Valency, Argument Realization and Grammatical Relations in Baltic

5

The Middle Voice in Baltic

Axel Holvoet

John Benjamins Publishing Company

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Valency, Argument Realization and Grammatical Relations in Baltic (VARGReB)

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Volume 5

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Amsterdam / Philadelphia

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To the memory of my parents
Eugenie (Nini) Martens and Willy Holvoet

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List of grammatical abbreviations

ACC	accusative
ACN	action noun
ACT	active
ADJ	adjectival suffix
ADV	adverb
AGN	agent noun
ANT	anterior
AOR	aorist
AUX	auxiliary
CAUS	causative
CNT	continuative prefix
COMPL	complementizer
COND	conditional
CVB	converb
DAT	dative
DEB	debitive, a necessitive modal verb form in Latvian
DEF	definite article, also a definite adjectival ending of the adjective in Baltic
DELIM	delimitative prefix, a preverb denoting a limited duration of a state or activity
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
EVID	evidential
EXPL	syntactic expletive
F	feminine
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HORT	hortative
ILL	illative
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfect
INDECL	indeclinable
INDEF	indefinite article or pronoun
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
IPFV	imperfective
IPP	*infinitivus pro participio*, an infinitive substituting for the past participle in certain embedded constructions in German and Dutch

IRR	irrealis
ITER	iterative
LFORM	the *l*-form of the verb, a morphome underlying past tense (perfect/evidential), conditional and sometimes also future verb forms in Slavonic
LOC	locative
LOG	logophoric pronoun
M	masculine
MED	middle voice
N	neuter
NEG	negative, negation
NOM	nominative
NVIR	non-virile (gender form of plural agreeing adjectivals in Polish)
OBJ	object
PF	perfect
PFV	perfective
PFX	prefix
PL	plural
PLN	place name
PN	personal name
POSS	possessive
PP	past participle
PPA	past participle active
PPP	past participle passive
PPRA	present participle active
PPRP	present participle passive
PRED	predicative form, predication marker
PREP	preposition (without exact translation equivalent)
PRS	present
PST	past
PTC	particle
Q	question marker
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative pronoun
RPO	reflexive possessive pronoun
SBJ	subject
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
TEL	telicizing prefix
VIR	virile (gender form of plural agreeing adjectivals in Polish)

Preface

The present volume consists of a number of studies on the middle-voice grams of Baltic, that is, on a family of constructions that are formally characterized by a marker of reflexive origin but cannot, in most cases, in a meaningful way be described as reflexive. The notion of middle voice has become somewhat discredited in the literature; it has been described as 'nebulous' (Margulies 1924: 111) or even as a gross misunderstanding – a heterogeneous conflation of categories that are in themselves well established and easy to define (Meľčuk 1993: 21–22). I must therefore, without wanting to sound apologetic, clarify my use of the notion.

Since Geniušienė (1987) it has been customary to use, in referring to the verb forms constituting the subject-matter of this book, the term 'reflexive verbs', based on the origin of the formal marker, and to refer to functions by means of more specific terms that are assumed to be cross-linguistically identifiable, such as 'anticausative', 'deobjective', 'potential passive' etc. There can be no question that we need the more specific terms based on function and therefore cross-linguistically valid, but 'reflexive' is also a term with descriptive content, and while its most uncontroversial use is that referring to a syntactic structure with an anaphoric (reflexive) pronoun, it does not by itself exclude morphological exponency, which muddles the borderline between forms that can, in some sense, be called reflexive, and forms that cannot be described as such semantically. For many linguists, the fact that 'reflexive' at least has some descriptive content, whereas 'middle voice' has none, seems to make the former term inherently superior to the latter. The descriptive content is, of course, misleading, as the semantic notion of reflexivity accounts only for part, and often just a small part, of the usage types of verbs with the historically reflexive marker. In this book I will furthermore argue that the affixal or enclitic markers of reflexive origin in Baltic and Slavonic do not represent either a syntactic or a semantic argument of the verb. They are just morphological markers whose meanings (which can, in some cases, be characterized as reflexive) are determined by the constructions in which they occur. Verb forms carrying these markers will be referred to as middle-voice forms, which means that this term is used to denote a form category, not a meaning category; in fact, I associate no particular meaning with it. Morphologically and syntactically, there is no overlap between the verb forms just referred to and the syntactic constructions in which an orthotonic reflexive pronoun represents a syntactic and semantic argument of the verb, though

historically, of course, the former develop from the latter (and, in a number of instances, reflexive constructions and middle-voice forms can be used more or less synonymously). What I here call middle-voice forms could simply be referred to, in Baltic, as '-*s(i)*-verbs' in recognition of the fact that we are talking about a form category. But this term would not be enlightening cross-linguistically, whereas if we take into account that they have a sphere of use comparable to that of the Ancient Greek middle, the subject-matter of the book will be clear not only to Baltic scholars but probably to a majority of linguists, including those who do not really approve of this use of the term. In other domains of scholarship as well, linguists are finding it convenient to use this term of Classical Greek grammar: the Hebrew *nifʿal* and *hitpaʿel* are now being characterized as middles as well (cf. Halevy 2013; van Wolde 2019). Of course I am not suggesting the traditional term 'reflexive verbs' should be discarded – it will continue to be used just as Hebrew scholars will continue to speak of the *nifʿal* and the *hitpaʿel*. But this book is a contribution to the typology of the middle voice (though I will occasionally mention reflexive constructions in order to discuss historical developments or syntactic and semantic differences), and this is the reason for using this term both in the title and throughout the book.

The present book does not give a complete overview of the middle voice in Baltic. I concentrate on a number of regular and productive patterns that can be characterized as middle-voice constructions. Whether these constructions are lexical or grammatical in nature is a separate question. I will argue in this book that in this respect the middle voice is split: while some types show low productivity, are basically stored in the long-term memory and affect argument structure (which is generally considered to be associated with a lexical entry), others are productive, are created 'online' and retain the argument structure of their input verbs. The latter may legitimately raise a claim to the status of voice grams, as they change the assignment of grammatical relations – while adding, of course, their specific constructional meanings, but these are not in contradiction with the notion of voice.

I do not assume a general meaning in the sense of an invariant feature (in the structuralist spirit) or a conceptual archetype (in the spirit of Kemmer 1993) for the middle voice. In the course of the last decades the view of grammar has become increasingly constructional, and grammatical meanings are usually regarded as definable in the context of the constructions of which they are part. General meanings subsuming the various constructional meanings are generalizations *ex post*, and even if they appear enlightening to linguists, they are probably not part of the speakers' knowledge of language. Between constructions sharing a common morphological marker there are always diachronic links and often also conceptual affinities worth investigating. These will be among the main topics of the present book, which concentrates on questions of taxonomy, demarcation, semantic interpretation and diachronic links between the different constructions. Though the main emphasis is

on Baltic, I have consistently taken the Slavonic languages, especially Russian and Polish, into account as well, and a few constructions not instantiated in Baltic are discussed on the basis of Slavonic data only. If only Baltic figures in the title of the book, this is because Slavonic is a vast research area to which the present work, in which just a few Slavonic languages are regularly referenced, could never do justice.

The linguistic facts discussed in the book are illustrated with authentic material from my own excerption of literary texts, or found in corpora, or through Google searches. Constructed examples are used wherever my purpose was just to illustrate the formal difference between two structures in a simplified form, stripped of extraneous matter. Due to the modest size of the available Lithuanian and Latvian corpora, a consistently corpus-based analysis of the different types of middle-voice constructions is as yet impossible. It remains, therefore, a task for the future, and I do not doubt that the tentative conclusions reached in this book will have to be corrected in many respects once this task is accomplished. However, a considerable part of the discussions in the book concern notional problems that can be contemplated without recourse to quantitative data. I can but hope that my reflections on these questions will be taken note of, ultimately contributing to an improved understanding, classification and demarcation of the individual middle-voice constructions, which is a precondition for future meaningful empirical work, and also to new insights into the typology of the middle voice.

Vilnius, January 17, 2020

Reflexives and middles

1.1 Introduction

This introduction is about reflexives and how they become middles, that is, how they lose their reflexive meaning and enter the semantic domain of what is sometimes referred to, in general linguistics and typology, with the label 'middle voice' borrowed from Greek and Latin grammar. The term and the notion are not uncontroversial, and terminological usage is additionally complicated by the fact that in the literature of the formal persuasion the term 'middle' is often arbitrarily restricted to one particular subtype of middles, viz. what is here called 'facilitatives' like *The bread cuts easily* (Ackema & Schoorlemmer 1994; Steinbach 2002 etc.). But the term lives on, in its broader meaning, thanks to linguists with a Classical or comparative background and probably also thanks to Suzan Kemmer's 1993 book *The Middle Voice*, in which she attempts to find a unitary conceptual framework for a cluster of grams showing similar formal marking, often of reflexive origin, across languages. Probably under the influence of Kemmer's book, more recent work in the generative tradition has also revived the notion of middle voice in its broader and more traditional meaning (Alexiadou & Doron 2012). In this book, I will be using the term 'middle voice' for mostly practical purposes, to refer to a family of grams sharing morphology of reflexive origin. I will not assume a unitary conceptual framework, be it in the form of a general meaning supposedly underlying all 'middle' constructions, or in that of a radial network. Grammatical research is now more often than not informed by the constructional approach, which means that we can dispense with the search for invariants and formulate the meanings of grammatical forms within the constructions they help constitute. The development of one construction into another is often driven by syntactic change, shifts in argument structure, lexical extension etc., rather than by conceptual shifts. The network of meanings which we discern when comparing the different constructions based on a common morphological marker is but a generalization *ex post*, and one may wonder to what extent it is simply epiphenomenal. This introductory chapter focuses on the relationship between reflexive and middle, and on what exactly we mean when we say that a construction, though still containing a marker that is reflexive in origin, has become a middle-voice construction.

1.2   Reflexive and middle

The borderline between 'reflexive' and 'middle' runs across a domain that we can uncontroversially refer to as semantically reflexive, though this reflexivity may be encoded in different ways. A split occurs within the domain of the marking of subject-object coreferentiality in the sense that not every type of coreferentiality is conceived or treated in the same way. Some types of coreferentiality are expected, e.g. in the case of 'washing' the expected situation is that people will wash themselves except in the case of children, sick people etc.; in the case of a fight the expected situation is that every participant both deals and receives blows (in this case this is not so much an expectation as a notional necessity if the term 'fight' is to be applicable); and in the case of a purchase one expects that more often than not the buyer will also be the beneficiary for whom the purchase is meant (on the distinctive treatment of expected coreferentiality cf. Kemmer 1993: 58, 78, 102). In such instances coreferentiality (in the different configurations mentioned above) is the default situation, whereas in other cases it is a marked option: people do not normally see themselves, except when standing in front of a mirror etc. When coreferentiality is the default situation, it needs no elaborate marking, hence the occurrence of zero marking (*he washed*, *they met* etc.), or the so-called 'light markers', as Kemmer (1993) calls them, like the Slavonic enclitic *sę* (as opposed to *sebe*) or Lithuanian affixal *-s(i)-* (as opposed to *save*, *sau* etc.). When coreferentiality is not the default situation but a marked option, we will (to the extent that the two types of situation are differentiated) find the so-called heavy markers, as in *she saw herself in the mirror*, *they accused each other of populism*, etc.

For Baltic, three types of formal distinctions belonging to the borderline between reflexive and middle will be discussed in this chapter. For the sake of brevity, I give only Lithuanian examples here. The situation in Latvian will, however, also be discussed in detail below.

First, we have a distinction between naturally reflexive *-si* verbs and constructions with the heavy marker *save* in the position of direct object:

(1) Lithuanian
     [*Jau kelios būsimos savanorės kreipėsi į mus,*]
     *planuoja   ir   ruošia-si   (*ruošia   save) važiuoti į*
     plan.PRS.3 and prepare.PRS.3-REFL (*prepare.PRS.3 REFL) go.INF   to
     Lietuvą
     Lithuania.ACC
     '[A few prospective volunteers have already contacted us], they are planning and preparing to go to Lithuania.'
                                   http://www.draugas.org/legacy/01-15-10kubiliute.html

(2) *Beveik   trečdalis   rusų   vadina   save   (*vadina-si)*
almost third.NOM.SG Russian.GEN.SG call.PRS.3 REFL.ACC (call.PRS.3-REFL)
abstinentais.
teetotaller.INS.PL
'Almost one third of the Russians call themselves teetotallers.'
https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/hot/beveik-trecdalis-rusu-
vadina-save-abstinentais.d?id=74683168

Next, we have a distinction between naturally reciprocal *-si* verbs and constructions with the heavy reciprocal marker *vienas kitą* (Latvian *vienam otru*) 'one another, each other':

(3) Lithuanian
Visi   draugai   su-si-tiko   (*sutiko
all.NOM.PL.M friend.NOM.PL PFX-REFL-meet.PST.3 (*meet.PST.3
vienas kitą)   prie Operos   ir   baleto   teatro.
one.another.ACC) near opera.GEN.SG and ballet.GEN.SG theatre.GEN.SG
'All the friends came together near the Opera and Ballet Theatre.'
https://eteismai.lt/byla/158003824754492/1-1248-754/2015

(4) *Baku   ir   Stepanakertas kaltina   vienas kitą*
PLN[NOM] and PLN.NOM   accuse.PRS.3 one.another.ACC
(*kaltina-si)   paliaubų   pažeidinėjimu.
(*accuse.PRS.3-REFL) ceasefire[PL].GEN breach.ITER.ACN.INS.SG
'Baku and Stepanakert accuse each other or repeatedly breaching the ceasefire.'
https://www.ve.lt/naujienos/pasaulis/baku-ir-stepanakertas-
kaltina-vienas-kita-paliaubu-pazeidinejimu/

As a third type of opposition we could add the distinction between 'autobenefactive' naturally reflexive *-si* verbs (I borrow the term 'autobenefactive from Kulikov 2013; the term used by Kemmer 1993 is 'indirect middle' and Geniušienė 1987 uses the term 'datival') and constructions with heavy markers like *sau* (Latvian *sev*) '(for) oneself' and occasionally also other reflexive forms like Lithuanian *su savimi* '(take) along, with oneself'. As we shall see further on, there are certain difficulties with describing the distinction of affixal and orthotonic exponent in the same way as for the types hitherto mentioned, but on a purely conceptual level one could imagine a similar notion of 'naturally autobenefactive' verbs like 'buy' (one often buys things for oneself):

(5) Lithuanian
Bet už   poros   mėnesių   jis   nu-si-pirko
but after pair.GEN.SG month.GEN.PL 3.NOM.SG.F PFX-REFL-buy.PST.3
naują   motociklą   į darbą   važiuoti.
new.ACC.SG motorbike.ACC.SG to work.ACC.SG drive.INF
'But two months later he bought himself a new motorbike to drive to his work.'

(6) *Ji   įrodė   sau,   (*į-si-rodė)   kad gali*
3.NOM.SG.F prove.PST.3 self.DAT (*PFX-REFL-prove.PST.3) that be.able.PRS.3
būti   žvaigžde   ir už   vandenyno.
be.INF star.INS.SG also beyond ocean.GEN.SG
'She proved to herself she could be a star over the ocean as well.'

The above formulations for the rationale behind the twofold marking, invoking a difference in expected coincidence of participants, seem uncontroversial. But several explanations can be given for how this difference in expectedness actually underlies the split in marking, and several accounts can be devised for what the twofold marking actually means apart from the mere difference in phonological length. This is what the following sections will be about.

1.3   Explaining split reflexivity and reciprocity

Two ways are open in trying to explain the split described above. One possible account involves conceptualization. As Kemmer (1993) points out, there is a difference in conceptual distinctness of arguments between situations where agent(s) and patient(s) are normally clearly opposed but there are cases of exceptional coincidence, and situations where agent and patient flow into each other. In the body-care situation (washing, shaving, dressing etc.) as well as in the domain of body motion (sit down, turn round etc.) the distinction is reduced to that between a person's mind and motoric centres (agent) and their body and its appendencies (patient). In the case of reciprocity, the relative degree of agency and affectedness is usually hard to establish. Kemmer (1993) uses, in this context, the notion of 'low degree of elaboration of events'.

An alternative account would invoke frequency. The domain of default coincidence of agent and patient comprises mainly everyday situations of body care and control of body movements. What is most frequent and expected is not in need of

strong distinctive marking, hence the light markers or complete lack of marking appearing in this domain. In a similar way, socializing, quarrelling or making love are frequent reciprocal situations. The superiority of frequency-based over conceptual explanations has been argued on several occasions by Haspelmath; with specific reference to reflexive marking see Haspelmath (2008).

Probably neither of the two explanations is sufficient in itself to account for the split. Frequency is certainly a factor for the use of a light marker and its subsequent cliticization and affixalization. The success of a frequency-based account could be an encouragement to neglect conceptual factors, but it is not clear these can be completely dispensed with. What points to a conceptual basis for the class of natural reflexives is the metonymic extensions that will be discussed in slightly greatly detail in Chapter 2. Languages tend to have natural reflexives involving metonymy, with various objects belonging to the personal sphere of the subject being eligible for representing the subject's self in a reflexive construction. Examples of this would be 'button oneself up' instead of 'button up one's coat (jacket, blouse etc)': Russian *zastegnut'sja*, Lithuanian *užsisagstyti* etc.; or 'comb oneself' instead of 'comb one's hair': Polish *uczesać się*, Lithuanian *susišukuoti*, Latvian *saķemmēties,* etc. The most typical and frequent instances of this are lexically entrenched in every language, but the construction also licences occasional extensions arising on the spur of the moment. A few nice examples are provided by Say (2005), cf. (7):

(7)   Russian   (from Say 2005: 265)
      Vy   tam   sami   zavernete-s'?
      2PL.NOM there self.NOM.PL   wrap.up.FUT.2PL-REFL
      'Will you wrap up your purchases yourself?' (lit. 'Will you wrap yourself up?')

The metonymic reflexive *zavernut'sja* 'wrap up one's own purchases' is probably not frequent, and the dictionaries do not list it. The constructional model, however, exists in the speakers' minds and it licences reflexives of a similar kind that are created 'online' rather than taken from the lexicon stored in the long-term memory. In order to be licenced by the construction, the reflexive verb must reflect a situation in which the object identified with the agent's 'self' for purposes of reflexivization belongs in some way or other to the agent's personal sphere, as the object purchased in the situation of Example (7) is made part of the buyer's personal sphere as a result of the act of purchase. The metonymic relation is part of the constructional meaning, and it is established conceptually. Here we are indeed entitled to speak of a situation in which agent and object are not fully distinct conceptually. In other words, the indistinctness of agent and patient as a conceptual foundation for the naturally reflexive construction is a linguistic fact that must be invoked if we are to give a satisfactory explanation of occasional extensions like (7).

This claim, however, says nothing about the origin of the construction: it could well have arisen as a result of frequency. At a next stage came the generalization that objects somehow assigned to the agent's personal sphere (and this assignment may be situationally determined) may vicariously stand for the agent in the naturally reflexive construction. A certain measure of conceptual indistinctness is inherent to this vicarious relationship.

1.4   Syntax and semantics

The light marker characteristic of naturally reflexive or reciprocal verbs is not only phonologically light but also tends not to occupy a syntactic argument position. This is obvious in the case of the Baltic or East Slavonic reflexive markers on the verb, which are affixal. These affixal markers had certainly lost their ability to occupy a syntactic argument position before they affixalized. The West and South Slavonic languages abound in instances where the cliticized reflexive marker is still a syntactic unit but clearly does not represent an argument position, as, for instance, in the case of anticausatives, which can be uncontroversially characterized as one-place predicates:

(8)   Polish
Drzwi   się   otworzyły.
door[PL].NOM REFL open.PST.NVIR.PL
'The door opened.'

However, the syntactic split between 'heavy marking' (with reflexive pronouns occupying syntactic argument positions) and 'light marking' (with reflexive markers not occupying syntactic argument positions) runs across the broadly defined domain of semantic reflexivity or reciprocity. The Polish enclitic reflexive marker *się* (and those of West and South Slavonic in general) can, in certain cases, be replaced with the orthotonic reflexive pronoun *siebie*, which will always be the case in situations of contrastive emphasis, but is also frequently observed without noticeable difference in emphasis:

(9)   Polish
Jak Drakula   się   goli, –   skoro   nie
how Dracula.NOM.SG REFL shave.PRS.3SG considering.that NEG
widzi   się   w lustrze?
see.PRS.3SG REFL in mirror.LOC.SG
'How does Dracula shave, considering he doesn't see himself in the mirror?'
                    https://demotywatory.pl/1831418/Jak-Drakula-sie-goli

(10) Polish
    Czy   kot   widzi   siebie   w lustrze?
    Q   cat.NOM.SG see.PRS.3SG REFL.ACC in mirror.LOC.SG
    'Can a cat see itself in the mirror?'
        http://forum.gazeta.pl/forum/w,525,155603991,155603991,
        Czy_kot_widzi_siebie_w_lustrze_.html

Naturally reflexive verbs, however, behave differently, as can be seen in the Polish version of the barber paradox, one of the illustrations of Russell's paradox:

(11) Polish
    W pewnym   mieście   fryzjer   goli   tylko
    in certain.LOC.SG.N town.LOC.SG barber.NOM.SG shave.PRS.3SG only
    tych,   którzy   nie golą   się sami.
    DEM.ACC.PL.VIR REL.NOM.PL.VIR NEG shave.PRS.3PL REFL self.NOM.PL.VIR
    'In a certain town the barber shaves only those who don't shave themselves.
        http://www.deltami.edu.pl/temat/roznosci/historia_
        i_filozofia/2012/03/01/W_poszukiwaniu_prawdy/

Here an attempt to replace the reflexive *się* with the orthotonic pronoun *siebie* yields theoretically possible but awkward results:

(12) ?*... którzy   nie golą   siebie.*
    REL.NOM.PL.VIR NEG shave.PRS.3PL REFL.GEN

The possibility of replacing *się* with *siebie* in (10) is not sufficient to prove that *się* occupies a syntactic argument position, because two distinct though related constructions, say, a reflexive and a middle-voice one, could be available for the same situation. But, of course, it would be reasonable here to assume that the two constructions are syntactically equivalent. On the other hand, the near-impossibility of this substitution in (11) indicates that a properly reflexive construction is not available for the type of situation here referred to, or at least strongly dispreferred. The contrastive emphasis is here achieved through the use of the emphatic pronoun 'self' instead of the orthotonic reflexive pronoun.

    An important question we have to address at this point is the relationship between syntax and semantics in reflexive verbs. The situation is perfectly clear in a sentence like (13):

(13) *Bill accuses himself (of having set fire to the house.)*

Here we have two syntactic arguments, one of which is marked by the use of a reflexive pronoun as being coreferential with the subject argument. It is also natural to assume that there are two coreferential arguments: *Bill$_i$ said that Bill$_i$ was*

guilty of setting fire to the house. But the coreferentiality is not obvious in the case of *wash oneself* etc., because the subject of 'wash' is a mental entity (psychomotor centre) while the object is a physical entity. Languages will, at least in a number of cases, treat these two entities as distinct arguments – coreferential as belonging to the same person but still distinct in the sense of being able to occupy two distinct argument positions. When the reflexive marker disappears from syntax and passes to morphology, nothing seems to change semantically, hence the widespread view that a reflexive verb like Lithuanian *prausiasi*, Russian *moetsja* 'washes' etc. has one syntactic argument but two semantic arguments. Formulations are not always clear because 'semantic argument' and 'semantic role' are often used interchangeably, e.g., Kulikov (2011: 369) mentions "the level of semantic arguments, or semantic roles". In fact the notions are not identical. We can distinguish two arguments A_1 and A_2 of 'wash', lexically entailed by the verb, and specified, in terms of semantic roles, as A and P. If we associate each semantic role with one argument position, the subject of Lithuanian *prausiasi*, Russian *moetsja* represents (even though there is only one discourse participant) two semantic arguments, which are spread over two NPs in structures of the type *John likes himself*. But one could envisage an alternative account, in which two different semantic roles, A and P, are borne by one semantic argument, defined in accordance with the number of discourse participants. As Klaiman (1991: 41), following up on a discussion by Dowty (1989), puts it, "either theta-roles are individuated relative to argument positions in lexical structures, or they are individuated relative to the denotata of arguments". The choice appears to be based on purely semantic criteria, so that if we opt for the second alternative, it would also apply to structures with two NPs, such as *John likes himself*, in which we would have to single out one argument, as reference is made to one discourse participant. As this does not look like an attractive solution, it would seem preferable, at first sight, to be guided by lexical structure and to view the subject of Lithuanian *prausiasi*, Russian *moetsja* etc. as representing two semantic arguments. But this solution also runs into difficulties once we enter the zone of natural reflexivity.

The problem is that for many purposes people participate in various situations in a dual quality – as mental and physical entities. However, linguists do not conclude from this that, for instance, *walk* and *dance* are two-place predicates, with the subject's psychomotor centre as one argument and the subject's body as another. Of course, the case of Lithuanian *prausiasi* and Russian *moetsja* appears to be different because these verbs have so-called 'reflexive' markers and are or appear to be derived from the non-reflexive verbs *prausia* and *moet*. But Lithuanian *jis prausiasi* 'he is washing' and Russian *on moetsja* 'id.' do not differ semantically from English *he is washing*, which means that the intransitive English *wash* is semantically reflexive if we operate with the notion of semantic reflexivity. There is nothing intrinsically wrong with this but linguists usually speak of reflexive verbs when there is

morphological marking associated with reflexivity. When there is no such marking, they will usually simply call the verb intransitive – the usual treatment of English *he is washing* as it is of *he is walking*. The terminological usage consisting in calling Lithuanian *prausiasi* and Russian *moetsja* reflexive is perfectly rational, but the presence or absence of morphological marking is a matter of historical contingency, not of notional necessity. Languages have the possibility of marking the fact that a person participates in an event in a dual quality of mental and physical entity, but there is no need to do so. When a reflexive pronoun occupies a syntactic position of its own, we will, of course, also posit two 'coreferential' arguments. When the reflexive marker does not occupy a syntactic position, the question is undecidable. We may say that both Lithuanian *prausiasi* and English (intransitive) *is washing* have two semantic arguments, or that they both have one semantic argument. The former solution has its complications, as we would be at pains to explain why *she is washing* is interpreted in one way and *she is walking* in another.[1] I will therefore assume that natural reflexives (and, *mutatis mutandis*, natural reciprocals and naturally autobenefactive reflexives) with affixal reflexive markers are one-place predicates both semantically and syntactically. The relationship between subject and object entailed by the verbal lexeme is one of coinstantiation rather than of coreference.[2]

It must be emphasized that this claim does not entail that Lithuanian *prausiasi* and Russian *moetsja* have no reflexive meaning – they have, of course, in a way that English *he is washing* has not. The English verb form is underspecified and gets its reflexive interpretation from being used without a direct object, whereas the Lithuanian and Russian forms additionally have reflexive marking. Once again, however, this does not prove a difference in argument structure.

The line of division between reflexive and middle is thus, ultimately, one of syntax and argument structure, the two being closely bound up. It is also, of course, conceptual, because whether we view an event as involving two entities or one entity is a conceptual difference. But languages have a choice between the two ways of conceptualization. The situations referred to, and, in that sense, the meanings, may be called reflexive in the case of Russian *moetsja*, Lithuanian *prausiasi* etc. When the 'coreferential' physical entity is not selected as a separate argument and represented in syntax, we can speak, with Faltz (1977: 9, *passim*), of a middle strategy

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1.   Another kind of complication arises, in my view, if one refuses to recognize a reflexive pronoun occupying a syntactic position as an entity in syntax and semantics (Geniušienė 1987: 58).

2.   This does not mean that only what is represented in syntax can be represented in argument structure; human zero subjects, for instance, obviously refer to arguments. But the case of reflexives is special because the controller of reflexivity is represented in argument structure anyway; the assumption that it must be represented a second time as a coreferential argument is specious, but has undesirable consequences, as I point out above.

for expressing reflexivity.[3] In my understanding, we can speak of a middle strategy when the 'coreferential' entity is not represented in syntax, which I consider to be indicative of its not being represented in argument structure.[4] The morphological marking may still be reflexive but that need have no implications for argument structure. We are accustomed to dealing with forms that also have reflexive marking but which most people would not call properly reflexive, such as anticausatives, passives (in some languages), etc. When a middle strategy is chosen, there is no point in explaining reflexive meaning in terms of coreferentiality (a notion presupposing distinct even though coreferential arguments), and the notion of subject affectedness proposed by Frajzyngier (1999) is obviously more apposite here.[5]

In the development of reflexives, it is this twofold change, syntactic and semantic, that opens the way for further shifts leading to the heterogeneity characteristic of the middle voice generally. Once the reflexive pronoun is removed from syntax and argument structure, the reflexive form or construction (as the case may be) starts representing a one-place predicate rather than a two-place predicate. The shift from reflexive to anticausative is a natural consequence of this: it is a process of lexical extension, from verbal lexemes whose subjects are agents to verbal lexemes whose subjects have different semantic functions. The lexical class playing a crucial role in this shift might be that of body-motion verbs, whose subjects have the twofold semantic role of agent and theme; here, the extension involves a weakening of agentivity, while the role of theme remains.

But apart from the shift in argument structure, the purely syntactic aspects of the change from reflexive to middle is also a not unimportant factor conditioning

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3.   In a way, of course, this formulation is misleading, as we should actually be talking about a 'reflexive strategy' and a 'middle strategy' for describing the same sort of situations involving the mind-body dichotomy, where identifying the two as representing one 'self' and representing the two as separate arguments is a matter of choice.

4.   This middle strategy is no doubt more frequent in situations of 'natural' reflexivity, when the relation of coreferentiality is stated between the mental and the physical entity constituting one person, but I am not claiming it must be restricted to such situations. In all reflexive situations one discourse participant is involved, so that there is no notional necessity of this participant being represented by two coreferential but distinct arguments. It may be, but need not. The difference between the two treatments is basically syntactic.

5.   Frajzyngier generalizes that when a language has twofold marking of reflexivity (this would correspond to Kemmer's light and strong markers), one marker will encode coreferentiality while the other encodes affectedness of the subject. He does not associate this distinction with formal means of encoding, but his data from the Chadic languages Xdi, Gidar and Mina consistently point to what Frajzyngier characterizes as lexical encoding of coreferentiality. In all these cases, 'lexical' entails 'syntactic', the lexical markers (including words like 'body') apparently occupying syntactic argument positions.

the rise of new middle-voice grams. Two of the middle-voice grams discussed in this book, the permissive middle and the coreferential middle, have arisen because the change in the syntactic status of the original reflexive marker necessitated further syntactic and correspondingly also semantic changes.

1.5   Chronology

As argued above, a split occurred, at a certain moment of the history of the Baltic languages, in the domain of reflexivity. The enclitic reflexive pronoun lost the ability to occupy a syntactic argument position and it also ceased to function as an argument semantically. In the course of time, the reflexive marker became affixalized, but the momentous changes in syntax and semantics were independent of that: affixalization is not a condition for a reflexive pronoun to lose its ability to occupy a syntactic argument position, it is only a manifestation of this process.

The split referred to here was probably not a sudden process. The oldest attested Baltic texts reflect a situation in which the split had already occurred, but traces of the situation predating the split subsist. This also holds for the morphological aspect of the split, viz. the ultimate affixalization of the reflexive marker. The affixal reflexive forms were already in place in the Baltic languages in the earliest period of attestation, but Lithuanian has a few instances of the reflexive marker as an enclitic not hosted by the verbal form itself (Bezzenberger 1877: 165, 231):

(14) Old Lithuanian   (*Kniga nobaznystes krikśćioniszkos*, 1653, 117.1)
      o   dumoghimay   wissi //   neżiń   kur=si=desti=si
      and thought.NOM.PL all.NOM.PL.M unknown where=REFL=PUT.PRS.3=REFL
      'and no one knows whither all his thoughts go'

There are, however, no more than a few isolated examples of the original status of *si* as an enclitic in the whole body of Old Lithuanian writings of the 16th and 17th centuries. We just get a glimpse of a period of development which was in its final stage when the attested history of Baltic begins. The situation in Latvian is only slightly different. Though in this case the old texts give us no instances of the pre-affixal stage of development of the reflexive marker, Latvian folk songs, which retain occasional archaisms as a result of the fossilizing influence of the metre, sometimes show clusters of verbal prefix and reflexive clitic separated by other words from the verbal form (which is itself redundantly provided with a reflexive affix):

(15) Latvian,   (Barons & Wissendorffs 205, cited by Endzelin 1923: 480)
      iz=sa   gauži raudājuo-s
      out=REFL sorely weep.PST.1SG-REFL
      'I wept my eyes out sorely.'

In Old Prussian we find reflexive markers apparently both affixed to the verb and separate from the verb in Wackernagel position, often pleonastically in both, as in (16) below. In view of the poor quality of the Prussian language material, it is hard to establish with certainty what the status of the reflexive marker was, but the situation was perhaps close to what we find residually in Old Lithuanian, i.e. affixalization was advanced but the reflexive marker still showed traces of its former status as a Wackernagel clitic:

(16)   Old Prussian   (*Enchiridion*, Trautmann 1910: 55.25)
      [*kai stai quai stan Ebangelion pogerdawie*]
      Turei   sien esse.stan   Ebangelion   maitātun-sin.
      must.PRS.3 REFL from.DEF.ACC.SG Gospel[ACC] nourish.INF-REFL
      '[that those who preach the Gospel] should sustain themselves from the Gospel'
      (German *das die das Euangelium predigen sollen sich vom Euangelio neeren*)

For some time (well into the 17 century, actually) lexical and syntactic traces of the older state of affairs also subsisted in both Lithuanian and Latvian. For instance, affixal reflexives are sometimes attested in Old Latvian texts with verbs that in modern Latvian, in their properly reflexive function, would require the orthotonic reflexive marker. This can be seen in Example (17), with the form *redzēties* 'see oneself'. This form is remarkable as 'see oneself' is the prototypical instance of 'non-natural reflexivity'; Faltz (1977: 7) takes it as the prototype of a properly reflexive (rather than middle) verb.

(17)   Old Latvian   (Glück's Old Testament, Gen. 16.5)
      nu   redsah-s   wiņņa   gŗuhta   eśśoti/   tad
      now see.PRS.3-REFL 3.NOM.SG.F pregnant.NOM.SG.F be.PPRA.NOM.SG.F so
      tohpu   es   nizzinata   wiņņas   Azzîs
      become.PRS.1SG 1SG.NOM despise.PPP.NOM.SG.F 3.GEN.SG.F eye.LOC.PL
      'Now she sees herself (being) pregnant and I am despised in her eyes.'

Bretke's Lithuanian translation has the orthotonic reflexive pronoun here:

(18)   Old Lithuanian   (Bretke, Old Testament, ibid.)
      O   ana   regedama   sawe   nieschczia   sancze,
      and 3.NOM.SG.F see.CVB.F.SG REFL.ACC pregnant.ACC.SG be.PPRA.ACC.SG.F
      mane   paniekin   priesch sawe
      1SG.ACC despise.PRS.3 before REFL.ACC

Also characteristic is *nosaukties* in (19), as the form with affixal reflexive marker now means only 'be called, go by a name':

(19) Old Latvian   (Glück's Old Testament, Wisdom of Solomon 2.13)
un nośauzah-s   par weenu   Dehlu   ta
and call.PRS.3-REFL as   one.ACC.SG son.ACC.SG DEM.GEN.SG.M
Kunga
Lord.GEN.SG
'and he calleth himself the child of the Lord' (Luther: *unnd rhümet sich
Gottes Kind*)

Though atypical as to its lexical input, the construction in (17) shows the full imple-
mentation of the morphosyntactic consequences of the reflexive marker's elimina-
tion from syntactic structure. The participle, which (together with the predicative
adjective) must originally have agreed with the accusatival reflexive pronoun, is
now in the nominative.

Gradually the affixal markers were ousted from reflexive constructions with
the exception of naturally reflexive situations, and orthotonic pronouns took their
place. Initially, these were often superadded to forms retaining their affixal reflexive
marking, as in (20); this time Bretke has a verb form with an affixal marker:

(20) Old Latvian   (Glück's New Testament, John 10.33)
ka tu   Zilweks   śewi   par Deewu   darree-s
that 2SG.NOM man.NOM.SG REFL.ACC into God.ACC.SG make.PRS.2SG-REFL

(21) Old Lithuanian   (Bretke, New Testament, ibid.)
iog Szmogus   budams,   pats   darai-s
that man.NOM.SG be.CVB.M.SG self.NOM.SG.M make.PRS.2SG-REFL
Diewu.
God.INS.SG
'that thou, being a man, makest thyself God.'

As can be seen from the above examples, Lithuanian and Latvian sometimes differ
in their rendering of the same source construction. This may indicate that for the
translators the verb with affixal reflexive marker could still be used more or less in
the same situations as the combination with orthotonic reflexive pronoun. We must,
of course, keep in mind that the intuition of the translators, who were not always
native speakers of the languages into which they translated, may sometimes have
failed them. Still, an investigation carried out on a sufficiently large body of texts
should bring more clarity. Taking into account that the Old Lithuanian and Old
Latvian texts represent the final stage in the morphological process of affixalization,
it is quite conceivable that with respect to functions as well the Old Lithuanian and
Old Latvian texts give us a glimpse of the final stage in the existence of reflexive
verbs covering all types of reflexive meaning, from canonically reflexive to naturally

reflexive situations. Basically, Old Lithuanian and Old Latvian already present a picture very similar to that of the present-day languages, where the affixal forms have become restricted to the sphere of natural reflexivity, and reflexive and middle are clearly opposed.

1.6   Natural reciprocals

Reciprocal meaning can have marking distinct from that of reflexivity, but it can also be subsumed under reflexivity, as each of the participants of a reciprocal situation is both an agent and a patient, as in the case of the sole argument of a reflexive situation. An overview of the distribution of light and heavy markers in reciprocal constructions in Lithuanian, as well as of alternative means of expression of reciprocity, is given in Geniušienė (2007). In accordance with the principles outlined above, I assume that reciprocals with affixal markers represent one-place predications, just like natural reflexives. However, this is the case only if they combine with plural (collective) subjects. In English 'underspecified' reciprocals (such as *they met*, *they kissed* etc.), the reciprocal meaning will be the default reading when no complement is added, whereas in Baltic and Slavonic the reciprocal meaning must be marked in morphology:

(22)   Lithuanian
Bernai   mušė-si,   o   merginos   bėgo   ir
boy.NOM.PL fight.PST.3-REFL and girl.NOM.PL run.PST.3 and
slėpė-si,   kur   galėjo.
hide.PST.3-REFL where be.able.PST.3
'The boys were fighting, and the girls ran and hid where they could.'
http://punskas.pl/apie-klevus-ir-vakarelius/

In a number of languages, including Baltic, Slavonic among many others, reciprocals can also take singular subjects, the other participant(s) in the reciprocal relationship appearing as an oblique complement ('discontinous reciprocal constructions', Dimitriadis 2004). When the subject is singular, a natural reciprocal represents a two-place predication, and the oblique complement is required:

(23)   Lithuanian
Simas   Jasaitis dėl mylimosios   Oksanos dėmesio
PN.NOM PN.NOM for beloved.GEN.SG.F.DEF PN.GEN   attention.GEN
muša-si   su… Jamesu Bondu.
fight.PRS.3-REFL with PN.INS PN.INS
'To catch the attention of his beloved Oksana, Simas Jasaitis fights … James Bond.'   https://www.ve.lt/naujienos/tv/tv/simas-jasaitis-del-mylimosio s-oksanos-demesio-musasi-su-jamesu-bondu/komentarai/

However, some natural reciprocals with singular subjects can occur without a complement, but this implies a meaning shift. The focus is then on the agent's physical and verbal behaviour as externally manifested, while the patient and her/his counteragency is backgrounded:

(24) Lithuanian

*Tačiau   įkaušę   vyrai   **mušė-si**   ir*
however drunken.NOM.PL.M man.NOM.PL fight.PST.3-REFL and

spardė-si,   išvartė   prekes,   išdaužė
kick.PST.3-REFL turn.upside.down.PST.3 shop.item.ACC.PL destroy.PST.3

lentynas.
shelf.ACC.PL

'The drunken men fought and kicked and turned the shop items upside down and destroyed the shelves.'   http://www.santaka.info/?sidx=28562

In (24) reference is made to behaviour identical to that what could have expected in a regular fight, but the situation is one of containment of violence rather than a fight in both directions. The fighting is therefore a property ascribed to one person, not several. This is a transition to what is now described as the antipassive deobjective reflexive, to be dealt with in Chapter 3.

Lithuanian and Latvian do not essentially differ with regard to the principles of distribution of light and heavy markers.

1.7   Autobenefactive reflexive verbs

Above I introduced the notion of naturally autobenefactive indirect reflexives, illustrating this type with Lithuanian *nusipirkti* 'buy for oneself'. 'Buy' is, of course, a classroom example of an inherently autobenefactive verb, as people usually buy things for themselves. The Kaunas Corpus of Contemporary Lithuanian gives 2154 occurrences of the reflexive *nu-si-pirko* 'bought herself/himself/themselves' as against 1866 for the non-reflexive *nupirko*. By way of comparison, it does not give a single hit for *nupirko sau* 'bought for herself/himself/themselves' (with orthotonic datival reflexive prounoun) and just 7 for *nusipirko sau* (with both affixal reflexive marker and orthotonic reflexive pronoun). The zero hits for *nupirkti sau* does not mean it does not exist; it may be called for in specific situations, as when the beneficiary coreferential with the agent must be coordinated with a beneficiary NP, as in (25):

(25)   Lithuanian
[…] *nieko   keisto   čia nematau,   kad kareivis*
  nothing.GEN strange.GEN.SG here NEG.see.PRS.1SG that soldier.NOM.SG
karštą   dieną   nupirko sau   ir   savo draugams
hot.ACC.SG day.ACC.SG buy.PST.3 REFL.DAT and RPO friend.DAT.PL
alaus.
beer.GEN.SG
'I see nothing strange in the fact that this soldier bought some beer for himself
and for his friends on a hot day.'

    https://www.diena.lt/naujienos/kaunas/miesto-pulsas/kauniecius-nustebino-
        kariu-pirkinys-vezimelyje-ne-viena-deze-alaus-867912?komentarai

Kemmer (1993: 74, 78) characterizes the difference between indirect reflexive and
indirect middle in terms of a distinction between events "in which the Agent and
Recipient/Beneficiary normally are distinct entities" and "actions that one *normally*
or *necessarily* performs for one's own benefit". But in Lithuanian, the distinction
between *-si-* and orthotonic *sau* does not appear to correlate with the natural or
non-natural character of autobenefactive reflexivity as clearly as in the case of di-
rect and reciprocal reflexives. Autobenefactive reflexivity need not be natural in
terms of verbal semantics in order to be encoded by the affixal *-si-*. Let us consider
the below examples with *apsunkinti* 'complicate, render more difficult' – hardly a
naturally autobenefactive verb:

(26)   Lithuanian
Tas,   kuris   nesinaudoja   kompiuteriais – labai
DEM.NOM.SG.M REL.NOM.SG.M NEG.use.PRS.3 computer.INS.PL a.lot
apsunkina   sau   verslą.
complicate.PRS.3 REFL.DAT business.ACC.SG
'Those who don't use computers considerably complicate their own business
activities.'   http://www.tpa.lt/it-igudziu-mokymas-kam-jo-reikia/

(27)   Lithuanian
[…] *daugelis   žmonių   **ap-si-sunkina**   visas   savo*
  many.NOM people.GEN.PL PFX-REFL-complicate.PRS.3 all.ACC.PL.F RPO
pastangas   numesti   svorio   vartodami
endeavour.ACC.PL throw.off.INF weight.GEN.SG consume.CVB.M.PL
alkoholinius   gėrimus.
alcoholic.ACC.PL.M beverage.ACC.PL
'many people complicate their own endeavours to lose weight by consuming
alcoholic beverages.'   https://aidas.us/7-klaidos-kurias-daro-ir-sveikuoliai

(28) *Moteris   dažnai ap-si-sunkina   sau   gyvenimą*
      woman.NOM.SG often   PFX-REFL-complicate.PRS.3 REFL.DAT life.ACC.SG
      [*galvodama, pavyzdžiui, kad turi sverti 57 kg, …*]
      'A woman often complicates her own life [by thinking, for instance, that she
      should weigh no more than 57kg …]'
                              https://www.moteris.lt/lt/sveikata/g-43469-asmenine-
                              trenere-ruta-beisyte-zino-recepta-kaip-pasiekti-tobula-figura

In all these examples, the dative is a dative of external possessor: 'complicate one's
own life', 'complicate one's own business activities' etc. This type of dative is closely
related to the dative of beneficiary (*dativus commodi* or *incommodi*), a dative en-
coding a discourse entity to which a situation described in a clause is relevant
but which does not directly participate in the relationship described by the verb
(whereas an external possessor always indirectly participates as possessor of a core
participant). The status of such 'free datives' (a class also including the *dativus
iudicantis* and ethical datives) is problematic in the syntax because it is difficult to
classify them as either complements or adjuncts. The best way to deal with them is
to adopt a constructional approach and to posit a beneficiary construction adding
its constructional argument to the verb's lexical argument structure.[6]

    While the autobenefactive marker *-si-* regularly corresponds to datives of inter-
est or datives of external possessor, it basically does not correspond to arguments, as
was already noted by Geniušienė (1987: 129). This is seen in the following example,
where substitution of the affixal reflexive marker for the orthotonic datival reflexive
pronoun representing the recipient argument of 'give' would be impossible:

(29) Lithuanian
      [*Jis pats sakė, jog kūriniui pabaigti ir išpildyti*]
      duoda   sau   (*duoda-si)   metus   laiko.
      give.PST.3 REFL.DAT (*give.PRS.3-REFL) year[PL].ACC time.GEN.SG
      'He himself [the composer] says he is giving himself a year [to complete and
      to perform the composition].' '
                             https://www.lrytas.lt/kultura/scena/2018/11/05/news/sestadienis-festivalyje-
                                 gaida-m-lindbergo-kurybos-tobulumas-ir-trimito-c-ronaldo--8122799/

Compare also the following pair of examples with *pasakoti* 'narrate, tell'. The re-
cipient/experiencer complement in (30) is expressed by the orthotonic reflexive
pronoun, while the affixal marker in (31) has an autobenefactive element in that it
emphasizes the narrator's emotional need to disburden themselves:

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6. The notion of free datives originates in German grammar, and they have been discussed
mainly with reference to German. For a recent constructional approach see De Knop & Mollica
(2017).

(30) Lithuanian
Nesustodami   jie   pasakoja sau,
NEG.cease.CVB.M.PL 3.NOM.PL.M tell.PRS.3 REFL.DAT
[*koks blogas tas žmogus ir koks pasaulis neteisingas*].
'They incessantly tell themselves [how bad people are and how unjust the world is].   https://www.lrytas.lt/gyvenimo-budas/psichologija/2018/09/28/news/nerimas-kas-ji-sukelia-ir-kaip-su-juo-kovoti--7715149/

(31) *Žmonės   mane   priėmė,   pa-si-pasakojo   savo*
person.NOM.PL 1SG.ACC receive.PST.3 PFX-REFL-tell.PST.3 RPO
vargus,
hardship.ACC.PL
[*prašė drabužių, daržovių, invalidų vežimėlio.*]
'These people received me, told me about their hardships, [asked for clothes, vegetables, an invalid wheelchair].'
http://musu.skrastas.lt/?data=2002-02-04&rub=1143711027&id=1146660211

Interestingly, *pasipasakoti* may still select a dative recipient argument even though it incorporates a 'dative' reflexive marker *-si-*, which shows that the latter does not reflect an argument of predication:

(32) Lithuanian   (Vincas Mikolaitis-Putinas, 1893–1967, *Altorių šešėly*, 1933)
Kartą, kai Vasaris pa-si-pasakojo   jai   savo
once   when PN.NOM PFX-REFL-tell.PST.3 3.DAT.SG.F RPO
nugąstavimus   dėl   ateities,
apprehension.ACC.SG about future.GEN.SG
[*ji nerūpestingai numojo ranka ir sušuko: – Niekai!*]
'Once, when Vasaris confided to her his apprehensions for the future, [she carelessly waved everything away and shouted: "Trifles!"]'

What could be the reason for this restriction to non-arguments? Geniušienė (1987: 129) formulates the generalization in terms of verbal semantics, suggesting that *-si-* cannot replace the recipient argument of verbs like *duoti* 'give', *sakyti* 'say', *pranešti* 'tell' etc., "probably because they denote activities characteristically unreflexive". But it seems doubtful whether the decisive factor can be formulated in terms of verbal semantics. 'Complicate', illustrated in (27), is probably not a 'characteristically reflexive' verb, and nor is 'ruin', and yet we have *su-si-gadinti* 'ruin one's own reputation, health' etc.:

(33) Lithuanian
      [*Važiuodamas neblaivus jis padarė didelę klaidą*],
      su-si-gadino   *reputaciją* […]
      PFX-REFL-ruin.PST.3 reputation.ACC.SG
      '[By driving under the influence he committed a grave mistake] and ruined his
      reputation…'   https://eteismai.lt/byla/155289707810856/1-1635-1033/2018

But a person's reputation, health, etc. obviously belong to their personal sphere,
just as one's life, business, etc. The fact of belonging to the subject's personal sphere
will more often than not be reflected in nominal rather than verbal semantics; this
is observable in the situations where the autobenefactive marker corresponds to
a dative of external possessor, marking the fact that the direct object represents
something belonging to the subject's personal sphere, while verbal semantics is
largely irrelevant. In the case of the natural accusatival reflexives discussed above,
like *praustis* 'wash', it is less easy to keep apart what is implied by nominal and
verbal semantics: 'washing' is a type of activity normally applying to what belongs
to the subject's personal sphere. Here, in the case of autobenefactive reflexives, this
difference is more pronounced, though interaction between nominal and verbal
semantics certainly occurs. So, for instance, the example of *nusipirkti* shows that
-si- can not only mark the fact of an object permanently belonging to the subject's
personal sphere (independently of the event described by the verbal semantics),
but also an event of inclusion in the subject's personal sphere. If what is implied by
the reflexive marker were expressed in the form of a separate datival NP, it would
no longer be a dative of external possessor but a *dativus commodi*. Transfer in the
opposite direction (out of the subject's personal sphere) does not belong to the
meanings covered by autobenefactive *-si-*, and one might argue that this is the rea-
son why the recipient arguments of 'give' and 'tell' are not represented by the affixal
marker. One could call these verbs 'characteristically unreflexive', but the problem
with this formulation is that 'give' and 'tell' can actually be reflexivized, as shown
by Examples (29) and (30) above; this is achieved with the aid of orthotonic datival
reflexive pronouns. Such reflexives do mark an event of inclusion in the recipient's
personal sphere, and there is no reason to regard 'give' and 'tell' as inherently less
fit to become the input of reflexive constructions than other verbs.

    The most plausible explanation is therefore to assume that the affixal benefi-
ciary reflexive marker cannot correspond to an argument of the verb, or at least that
this marking is strongly dispreferred when corresponding to an argument. This ban
applies not only to the indirect objects of 'give', 'tell' etc., but extends to the datival
first-ranking objects of verbs like 'help' or 'harm'. Exceptions do occur:

(34) Lithuanian

[…] *kelių   dienų   superištvermės   išbandymuose*
several.GEN.PL day.GEN.PL super.endurance.GEN.SG test.LOC.PL

pa-si-kenkė   taip, kad
PFX-REFL-harm.PST.3 so   that

[*net po kelių metų normaliame maratone rezultatai neatsistato*].

'During super endurance trainings extending over several days they did them-
selves such harm that [they can't recover their previous performance in normal
marathons even after several years].'   http://osport.lt/forum2/viewtopic.
php?p=30375&sid=7d8c344a8e812fdb99359c7607a9e109

The number of attestations is, however, vanishingly small: a Google search for
pasikenkė yielded just two instances. With rare exceptions, therefore, the functional
domain of autobenefactive affixal marking corresponds to that of non-argument
datives – free datives of interest and datives of external possessor.

This means that, basically, the autobenefactive marker -*si*- is not a means of
marking, in morphology, the coreferentiality of two valency positions of the verb.
If it were, arguments would not be excluded. But there is more: sometimes the
marker -*si*- does not correspond to a beneficiary argument that could appear as a
noun phrase in the syntax. This was already illustrated with *pasipasakoti* in (31),
(32) above; let us add an example with *skambinti* 'call on the phone':

(35) Lithuanian

Prieš atvykdami   visada pa-si-skambinkite,   ne visuomet
before arrive.CVB.M.PL always PFX-REFL-call.IMP.2PL not always

būnu   vietoje.
be.PRS.1SG spot.LOC.SG

'Before coming [to visit me] always call me first, I'm not always present on
the spot.'   Https://Www.Skelbiu.Lt/Paieska/Autoplius/23

It seems to be impossible to use *pasiskambinti* in the meaning 'call oneself on the
phone', not for technical reasons but because complement datives are not affixal-
ized, as mentioned above. The addressee of the call is implicit in (35) but may be
expressed explicitly by a recipient dative, as in (36):

(36) Lithuanian

Patarčiau   pa-si-skambinti   tam   antstoliui,
advise.IRR.1SG PFX-REFL-call.INF DEM.DAT.SG.M bailiff.DAT.SG

[*bet manau, jei yra nurodyta konkreti suma, tai tiek ir reikia pervesti, …*]

'I would advise you to call this bailiff on the phone, [but I think that if a con-
crete sum is quoted [sc. on the bailiff's order] then that is the sum you have to
transfer].'   http://www.buhalteriams.lt/forumas/
vykdomasis-rastas-15/page-24-2/sort-top/

The meaning of *-si-* is that the caller makes her or his call in connection with business relevant to her or him. It could not be replaced with the orthotonic reflexive pronoun *sau*, as *paskambinti sau* can mean only 'call oneself (on the phone)'. The same is observed with *pasižadinti* 'wake up':

(37) Lithuanian
Vieną   dieną   žmona   pa-si-žadina   savo
one.ACC.SG day.ACC.SG wife.NOM.SG PFX-REFL-wake.up.PRS.3 RPO
vyrą   ir   sako   jam:
husband.ACC.SG and   say.PRS.3 3.DAT.SG.M
[*"Žinai, man atrodo, kad aš tave paliksiu".*]
'One day a wife wakes up her husband and says to him: 'You know, I think I'm going to leave you."'   https://knyguziurkes.wordpress.com/2015/02/02/

Here the reflexive form makes it clear that the wife awakens her husband in order to tell him something, not because he has, for example, to get up and go to work. The relevance to the subject may consist in the event corresponding to an emotional need, as with *papasakoti*, mentioned above in connection with the impossibility of affixalizing a dative complement. In all these cases it would be possible to explain the relevance by adding a subordinate clause: she called the information because she had a question, she awakened her husband because she wanted to tell him something, etc., but this background knowledge could not be condensed in the form of a case form or prepositional phrase involving a reflexive pronoun.

All these examples are reminiscent of the way in which the middle voice is defined in grammars of Classical Greek, where it is said that "the middle voice denotes that the subject is in some especial manner involved or interested in the action of the verb" (Gildersleeve 1900: 64). While this definition, known from school grammars, sounds somewhat old-fashioned, it is obviously preferable to some more modern definitions in terms of argument structure. The affix *-si-* in autobenefactives does not reflect arguments of the verb: in most cases it corresponds to a 'free dative', and sometimes it does not correspond to anything at all in syntactic structure.

The idea that indirect reflexives add an argument to the basic argument structure of the non-transitive verb is also problematic (for a brief discussion cf. Kemmer 1993: 37–38).[7] It might, indeed, be tempting to think that a non-argument dative

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7. Kemmer is right in emphasizing the difficulties arising from an account explaining indirect middles as adding a recipient/experiencer argument: one must either assume that the verbs involved always have a recipient/experiencer in their argument structure (so that *buy an ice-cream* would be a three-place predication with a silent beneficiary argument), or that the indirect reflexive adds an argument only for the sake of having it deleted under coreferentiality. But Kemmer's proposal to operate with participants rather than with arguments shifts the problem rather than solving it: *He bought himself an ice-cream* may have three arguments, but still there are only two discourse participants: the buyer and the ice-ceam.

(a dative of interest or of external possessor) becomes an argument when integrated morphologically into the verb. This would mean that autobenefactive indirect reflexives have become a mechanism integrating non-arguments, and only these, into the argument structure of the verb, and also occasionally integrating beneficiaries that cannot appear as separate noun phrases in the syntax. I would like to argue, however, that in this case, as in the case of naturally reflexive and naturally reciprocal middles discussed above, the reflexive marker does not represent an argument of predication. To be sure, the reflexive marker conveys information to the effect that the subject-agent, not another discourse participant, is affected. Other languages do not mark this but treat it as the default interpretation when no other discourse participant is referenced. This time we could take Russian instead of English as a comparand:

(38)   Russian
On   slomal   nogu.
3.NOM.SG.M break.PST.M.SG leg.ACC.SG
'He broke a leg.'

(39)   Lithuanian
Jis   su-si-laužė   koją.
3.NOM.SG.M PFX-REFL.break.PST.3 leg.ACC.SG
'He broke a leg.'

The situation is analogous to that of English *he washed* and Russian *on pomylsja*, where the Russian form conveys, through its reflexive marker, information that is inferred as a default in the English construction. In this case it is the Lithuanian verb form that conveys information which Russian fails to encode, as it is the default interpretation. But it is reasonable to assume that the verb's argument structure is the same in Russian and in Lithuanian. This should be particularly obvious in the case of possessors. If the possessor of a body part had to appear as a separate argument, we would expect the same treatment for *he broke his arm* and *he raised his arm*. But this not the case:

(40)   Lithuanian
Jis   su-si-laužė   ranką.
3.nom.sg.m PFX-REFL-break.PST.3 arm/hand.ACC.SG
'He broke his arm/hand.'

(41)   *Jis   pakėlė   ranką.*
3.NOM.SG.M raise.PST.3 arm/hand.ACC.SG
'He raised his arm/hand.'

The difference is one of affectedness, but that is a matter of verbal semantics, not argument structure. As argued above, the safest assumption is that a reflexive marker in syntax represents a distinct argument of predication, whereas a reflexive marker in morphology does not represent a distinct argument.

The whole above discussion on autobenefactive indirect reflexives was based on Lithuanian; a few words should be added on Latvian. In modern standard Latvian, the autobenefactive reflexive has virtually disappeared but for a relatively small group of completely lexicalized items. In Old Latvian, we still find a productive autobenefactive type:

(42) Old Latvian   (Glück's New Testament, Luke 22.36)
[*Un kam nevaid,*]
tas   laid   pahrdod śawas   Drehbes   un
DEM.NOM.SG.M HORT sell.PRS.3 RPO.ACC.PL.F clothes.ACC.PL and
pirkah-s   Sohbinu
buy.PRS.3-REFL sword.ACC.SG
'And he that hath no [purse], let him sell his clothes and buy himself a sword.'

(43) Old Latvian   (Glück's New Testament, John 3.27)
Zilweks   ne   warr   neneeka   ņemtee-s,   ja
human.NOM.SG NEG be.able.PRS.3 nothing.GEN take.INF-REFL if
tas   wiņņam   ne   tohp   no   Debbes
DEM.NOM.SG.M 3.DAT.SG.M NEG become.PRS.3   from heaven.GEN.SG
dohts.
give.PPP.NOM.SG.M
'A man can receive nothing, except it be given him from heaven.'

For the language of the dainas, Gāters (1993: 285) states that the autobenefactive middle is even more frequent than the naturally reflexive middle, citing examples like

(44) Latvian   (Barons & Wissendorffs 18173)
Es   guntiņu   sakūro-s.
1SG.NOM fire.DIM.ACC.SG light.PST.1SG-REFL
'I lit a fire for myself.'

The ban on autobenefactive reflexives with reflexive marker *-si-* reflecting an argument of the verb does not seem to have held in Old Latvian, cf.

(45) Old Latvian   (Glück's New Testament, Luke 23.35)
lai   wiņśch   śew   pats   palihdsah-s
HORT 3.NOM.SG.F REFL.DAT self.NOM.SG.M help.PRS.3-REFL
'let him help himself'

In classical writers of the 19th and early 20th century, autobenefactive affixal marking is already exceedingly rare, but it subsists in a few groups, e.g., in the case of verbs denoting the putting on of clothes:

(46)   Old Latvian   (Glück's New Testament, Acts 12.8)
        apmettee-s   śawu   Mehteli /   un   eij
        cast.about.IMP.2SG-REFL RPO.ACC.SG coat.ACC.SG and go.IMP.2SG
        man   pakkaḷ.
        1SG.DAT   after
        'Cast thy garment about thee, and follow me.'

(47)   Latvian   (Teodors Zeiferts, 1865–1929, *Latviešu rakstniecības vēsture*, 1922)
        Tautu   meita   apauna-s   baltas
        folk[PL].GEN daughter.NOM.SG put.on.PRS.3-REFL white.ACC.PL.F
        kājas   pie melniem   lindrakiem   vai arī baltas
        foot.ACC.PL with white.DAT.PL.M skirt[PL].DAT or else white.ACC.PL.F
        zeķes   un melnas   kurpes.
        sock.ACC.PL and black.ACC.PL.F shoe.ACC.PL
        'The folk maid puts on white footwear to match a black skirt, or white socks and black shoes.'

It is sometimes used as a conscious archaism in contemporary literary texts:

(48)   Latvian   (Valentīns Jakobsons, 1922–2005, *Brokastis pusnaktī,* 1992)
        Neolīts ir   apvilcies   baltu   kreklu
        PN.NOM be.PRS.3 put.on.PPA.NOM.SG.M.REFL white.ACC.SG shirt.ACC.SG
        un melnas   īsbikses […]
        and black.ACC.PL.F short.trousers[PL].ACC
        'Neolith [jocular deformation of the name Leonid] has put on a white shirt and short black trousers.'

Basically beneficiary reflexives have become a lexicalized, closed class of slightly over 20 verbs, some of which exist only in the reflexive form, such as *atcerēties* 'remember', *iegādāties* 'purchase, acquire', *izraudzīties* 'pick out, choose'; while others stand in a kind of converse relationship to their non-reflexive counterparts, such as *mācīt* 'teach' and *mācīties* 'learn'; *aizņemties* 'borrow' also stands in a converse relationship to a non-reflexive *aizdot* 'lend', but here the stems (*dot* 'give' and *ņemt* 'take') differ as well.

(49) Latvian
 Pirms vairākiem gadiem ģimene   kredītā
 before several.DAT.PL.M year.DAT.PL family.NOM.SG credit.LOC.SG
 iegādājā-s   māju.
 purchase.PST.3-REFL house.ACC.SG
 'Several years ago, the family purchased a house on credit.'
  http://www.staburags.lv/citas-zinas/viedokli/nav-laime-trucigam-but-16502

This process of complete lexicalization and loss of productivity of autobenefactives in Latvian was a relatively recent development, as examples like (46) from the early 20th century still attest to a slightly greater productivity at least within a certain lexical class.

1.8 Middle-voice markers licenced by prefixation

A fourth 'naturally reflexive' subdomain of the middle is that in which agents or quasi-agents double as experiencers whose physical or mental state measures out the event denoted by the verbal stem. This type of reflexive marking occurs only in conjunction with prefixes characterizing, in a very general way, the kind of effect produced on the agent-experiencer. In (50) the prefix *no-* implies an undesirable effect, specified by a resultative secondary predicate:

(50) Latvian
 *Ar visu mīksto   beņķi   **no-sēdējo-s***
 with all.ACC.SG soft.ACC.SG.DEF bench.ACC.SG **PFX-sit.PST.1SG-REFL**
 līks.
 crooked.NOM.SG.M
 'In spite of the soft bench I sat myself crooked.'
    http://www.copeslietas.lv/site/sarunas/topic/221/?sort=DESC&p=788

As it is the agent's physical or mental state that measures out the event, there is not really, within Baltic, an alternative with a construction containing an orthotonic reflexive pronoun showing this to be a borderline case of the reflexive; but we could compare constructions like (50) with English constructions containing what has been called 'fake reflexives' (for the notion cf. Levin & Rappoport-Hovav 2005: 104, 116), as in (51):

(51) *I'm at this weblogging thing for… what? A little less than a month. And I've already **bored myself stiff**.*   http://soldierant.net/archives/2002/10/

The experiencer whose physical or mental state measures out the event is coreferential with the agent; the incrementally affected experiencer may receive its own syntactic representation in the shape of a reflexive pronoun, as in English, or its syntactic representation may coincide with that of the quasi-agent, as in Baltic. In this case the twofold treatment does not reflect different conceptualizations of the mind-body duality, as in both cases the person as a mental entity is involved, but with different semantic roles. Semantically, a verb like *nosēdēties* represents a complex predication consisting of a higher predication P_1 'x is negatively affected by P_2', where P_2 is the predication expressed by the verbal stem, in which x is also an argument (cf. Spencer & Zaretskaya 1998 on similar formations in Russian). The 'fake reflexive pronoun' is an argument of P_1, which may be conceptualized as reflexive (x_i negatively affects x_i by P_2) or just as intransitive (x is negatively affected by P_2). I think in this case as well, we should take the evidence of the syntax seriously and recognize that the reflexive pronoun is not 'fake' but actually represents an argument in predication, while this argument is lacking from the semantic structure of the Latvian construction.

Telicizing prefixes may direct the measuring-out of the event in two different ways: either the object (patient) measures out the event, or the physical or mental state of the agent does this. Sometimes the same prefix may be used for both types of quantification, e.g., *iz-* denotes removal, movement through a space, complete consumption or complete coverage of an object (measured out by the object), or satiation of the agent-experiencer (measured out by the subject-experiencer). In the latter case the verb receives reflexive marking and it may remain transitive, but the object is obligatorily unbounded as it is the experiencer argument that measures out the event. Cf. *izēst* 'eat up' (a quantity of food) or 'empty' (a vessel) as against *izēsties* 'eat one's fill':

(52)   Latvian
Sākumā   **iz-ēda**   *visu*   *barību,*   *kas*   *tika*
beginning.LOC.SG **PFX-eat.PST.3** all.ACC.SG food.acc.sg REL.NOM AUX.PST.3
sniegta,
offer.PPP.NOM.SG.F
[*bet ar laiku saprata, ka nekur tā nepazudīs.*]
'Initially [the dog] ate all the food that was offered, [but in the course of time it understood the food wouldn't disappear].'   https://patversme.lv/ulla/

(53)   Latvian   (Alberts Bels, 1938–, *Saknes*, 1982)
Māte   *solīja,*   *ka* *gan* *jau* *pēc* *kara*
mother.NOM.SG promise.PST.3 that PTC PTC after war.GEN.SG
iz-ēdī-š-ot-ies   *īstas*   *olas.*
PFX-eat-FUT-EVID-REFL real.ACC.SG.F egg.ACC.SG
'Mother promised they would eat their fill of real eggs after the war.'

It must be mentioned that this construction may undergo further semantic changes. In its original meaning, verbs of the type illustrated here are complex predications of the type P_1 '*x* achieves a feeling of satiation as a result of P_2', where P_2 is the predication expressed by the verbal stem. But most verbs of this type are associated with an implicature to the effect that the situation characterized by P_2 is continued for a long time. LLVV defines *izgaidīties* as 'wait for a long time, usually in vain', with the following example:

(54) Latvian   (Žanis Grīva, 1910–1982, LLVV)
  Tramvaja   nav.   Pusstundu   iz-gaidījo-s
  tram.GEN.SG be.PRS.3.NEG half.hour.ACC.SG PFX-wait.PST.1SG-REFL
  taksometru, bet arī   tā   nav.
  taxi.ACC.SG but also DEM.GEN.SG.M be.PRS.3.NEG
  'There's no tram. I waited half an hour for a taxi, but there wasn't one either.'

If all that is retained from the original constructional meaning is temporal modification (long duration), then the subject no longer measures out the event, and the reflexive derivation completely loses its original function. But perhaps definitions given in the dictionaries just reflect an implicature (from waiting till exasperation or boredom to long duration), and the constructional meaning of the subject reaching a certain physical or mental state (pragmatically specified as one of satisfaction, boredom, exasperation etc.) is retained.

1.9   In conclusion

In this chapter I have dealt with constructions that, with good reason, could be called semantically reflexive: we are dealing with human agents whose agency is, in different senses, directed at their own person. Semantic reflexivity can be reflected in a reflexive construction, where the same agent argument appears a second time in the form of a reflexive pronoun, marked this time as agent, beneficiary, etc. Or it can be reflected in what I here call a middle construction, in which there is no coreferential argument in syntax and arguably not in semantic structure either. There is a priori no semantic reason for the choice of one of these treatments: Lithuanian *jis užsisagstė*, a middle-voice construction, corresponds to English *he buttoned himself up,* a reflexive construction, while the usual English counterpart to the Lithuanian middle construction *jis nusiprausė* will be the intransitive *he washed*, which has no voice marking at all. In all these cases we could reasonably argue that we are in the domain of semantic reflexivity. What corresponds to this semantic domain in terms of grammatical categories is another matter. I will apply the term 'reflexive construction' to constructions with a reflexive pronoun capable of representing a

syntactic argument. Uses like English *he washed* are simply intransitive constructions for which the reflexive interpretation is the default reading. The Lithuanian form *prausiasi* has morphological marking that should somehow be accounted for in the grammar. Its marking is, historically speaking, reflexive and so is, in this case, its function, but the same marker appears in many other constructions in association with meanings that could no longer be called reflexive. I use the term 'middle voice' as a cover term for all these meanings, as this is a cross-linguistically recognizable notion convenient for situating the relevant constructions in the landscape of voice. True, attempts have been made to oust all of the constructions I will here be discussing from the domain of voice, by claiming they are derivational and therefore belong to the lexicon, not to grammar. But this claim cannot be maintained: the middle voice constructions under discussion here are a heterogeneous set, and while some of them are indisputably lexicalized, others are clearly grammatical, and no other grammatical domain suggests itself for their description than that of voice. Of course, I do not intend to use the notion of middle as a language-specific descriptive category: we have precise terms to refer to the individual constructions that are both descriptively and cross-linguistically adequate, such as 'anticausative', 'antipassive', 'facilitative', etc., and the notion of middle is used only to subsume them, not to replace them. When, in discussing individual constructions, I use the term 'middle', as in 'permissive middle', 'coargumental middle' etc., this is just to differentiate the construction referred to from the corresponding properly reflexive constructions containing reflexive pronouns in syntactic argument positions. Least of all, I would wish to operate with a middle voice in the traditional sense, as a value in a grammatical voice correlation alongside the 'active voice' and the 'passive voice'.

Metonymy and antimetonymy

2.1 The natural reflexive and metonymy

In Chapter 1 I discussed naturally reflexive situations, encoded with the aid of markers of reflexive origin which can no longer be said to occupy the syntactic position of a direct (or indirect) object, and probably do not represent a separate semantic argument either. This latter claim, to the effect that reflexives may be one-place predicates not only in syntax but also in semantics, may seem surprising in view of the fact that reflexivity is conceived as a situation of coreferentiality of arguments. But naturally reflexive situations allow for different ways of conceptualizing the role of human beings in various situations. Humans often participate in these situations in a dual quality, as mental and as physical entities. Languages can either treat these entities as distinct arguments and give them distinct syntactic representations (as in (1)), or they can treat them as one single argument, in which case some languages still use reflexive marking (as in (2)), while other languages simply treat this configuration as the default reading of a verb in intransitive use (as in (3)):

(1) *She directed herself to the door.*

(2) Russian
Ona   dvinulas'   k   dveri.
3.NOM.SG.F move.PST.SG.F towards door.DAT.SG
'She moved towards the door.'

(3) *She moved towards the door.*

The choice is determined by certain general tendencies which have been discussed in Chapter 1, but it also depends on the idiosyncratic behaviour of individual lexemes. Compare:

(4) Russian
Mal'čik   umyl-sja
boy.NOM.SG   wash.PST.M.SG-REFL

(5) *The boy washed.*

(6) Russian
Mal'čik   zastegnul-sja.
boy. NOM.SG button.up.PST.M.SG-REFL

(7)   *The boy buttoned himself up.*

(8)   Russian.
      Mal'čik   pričesal-sja.
      boy. NOM.SG   comb.PST.M.SG-REFL

(9)   *The boy combed his hair.*

The three Russian examples are marked in exactly the same way, but English has three different constructions. The last example reminds us that there is also variation in the characterization and expression of the physical entity immediately involved in the reflexive situation. What kinds of entities are entitled to represent the self as a physical being? This depends, of course, on the situation described by the verb. When the action is 'combing', the object is usually the hair on a person's scalp, and as it is taken for granted some languages allow it to stand metonymically for the whole person as a physical entity, as in Russian *pričesalas'*, Lithuanian *susišukavo*, Latvian *saķemmējās* lit. 'combed herself', whereas English has only *she combed her hair*, not *s*he combed herself* or *s*he combed*. It will probably not seem controversial to say that metonymy is often involved in reflexive situations, but the extent of its involvement is not always fully realized and correctly assessed. It is to such questions that I will turn in this chapter.

2.2   Extended metonymy

The problem of the representation of the self for the purpose of reflexivization is not restricted to the purely physical aspects of a person. One can also *express oneself* and *explain oneself*; here the self is represented by thoughts, feelings, intentions etc. produced by the human brain, but we could say that these also have to be put into words and thus assume a physical shape in order to be exteriorized.

   Representation of the self always involves metonymy. If a reflexive construction or form is based on the equation of A and O, then the representation of the agent by her or his body as a whole is already an instance of metonymy, even though the identification of the subject's body with (the physical side of) the subject's self is perhaps so obvious that it could be regarded as the zero point of metonymy. The metonymy involved in most reflexive or reflexive-marked middle voice constructions usually remains unnoticed and is obfuscated by the simplifying formula A = O. It is only when the connection between the object selected as representative of the agent's self and the agent's personal physical sphere becomes somewhat looser (in those cases we will observe more cross-linguistic variation, with one language allowing the metonymic extension while others disallow or disprefer it) that the

use of a reflexive verb form instead of a verb form with a direct object is perceived as 'atypical' and mentioned separately in the literature on reflexives. I will give just a few instances of this extended metonymy:

'tidy oneself up' = 'tidy up one's room, house, territory etc.' (Lithuanian *tvarkytis*, Russian *ubirat'sja*, Polish *sprzątać się*, etc.)

(10) Lithuanian
      E. Čilinsko nuomone,   poilsinių   savininkai
      PN.GEN.SG opinion.INS.SG summerhouse.GEN.PL owner.NOM.PL
      tvarko-si   tiek,   kiek išgali.
      tidy.up.PRS.3-RFL as.much as   be.able.PRS.3
      'In E. Čilinskas' opinion, the owners of summerhouses are tidying up their
      properties as well as they can.'   http://www.palangostiltas.lt/skirtingai+
                              nei+palangoje+sveciai+sventojoje+gali+atsipalaiduoti+
                              bei+negalvoti+kaip+atrodo,7,2,2016.html

'pack oneself' = 'pack one's suitcases'

(11) Polish
      *Oliwia w noc*y […]   *spakowała   się   i   wyszła*
      PN.NOM in night.LOC.SG pack.PST.F.SG[3] REFL and walk.out.PST.F.SG[3]
      z   domu
      from house.GEN.SG
      [*nie zostawiając żadnej wiadomości*].
      'At night Olivia packed her bags and left home [without leaving notice].'
                              https://polskieradio24.pl/5/3/Artykul/947067,
                        Zaginiona-trzynastolatka-z-Poznania-odnalazla-sie-w-Paryzu

'park oneself' = 'park one's vehicle' (Russian *zaparkovat'sja*, Polish *zaparkować się*, etc.):

(12) Russian
      Mužčiny-voditeli   uvereny,   čto oni
      man.NOM.PL-driver.NOM.PL convinced.NOM.PL that 3.NOM.PL
      umejut   parkovat'-sja   namnogo lučše ženščin.
      know.how.PRS.3PL park.INF-REFL much   better woman.GEN.PL
      'Male drivers are convinced they know how to park their cars much better
      than women.'   http://www.obovsem.ru/newscateg3-6.html

In these examples the implicit objects representing the agent's self are pre-existent, that is, they are already part of the agent's personal sphere independently of the event described by the verb. A slightly different situation is described in (13), where a house may certainly be recognized as a part of someone's personal sphere but is not pre-existent with regard to the process of building:

'build oneself' = 'build a dwelling for oneself' (Latvian *būvēties*, Russian *stroit'sja*, Polish *budować się*, etc.)

(13) Latvian
      Neatkarīgās   *Latvijas*   *laikā*   *Mežaparkā*
      independent.GEN.SG.F.DEF Latvia.GEN time.LOC.SG Forest.Park.LOC
      būvējā-s   *daudzi*   *latviešu*   *kultūras*
      build.PST.3-RFL many.NOM.PL.M Latvian.GEN.PL culture.GEN.SG
      darbinieki,   *zinātnieki,*   *ārsti,*   *valstsvīri.*
      worker.NOM.PL scientist.NOM.PL doctor.NOM.PL statesman.NOM.PL
      'In the times of independent Latvia many Latvian cultural figures, scientists,
      doctors and statesmen built houses for themselves in Forest Park (Kaiserwald).'
                                 http://www.videsvestis.lv/content.asp?ID=99&what=28

Authors sometimes attempt to single such uses out as a distinct usage type of reflexive verbs. This may be done on a semantic basis, e.g., Wilczewska (1966: 35) singles out 'indirectly reflexive verbs', whose characteristic feature is that "the action is not directed at the subject's own person but at an object that is his property"; but the borderline is hard to draw: what about clothes, for example? Others adopt a syntactic criterion, e.g., Say (2006) would assign Russian *pričesalsja* 'combed his hair' to the antipassive type of reflexives because the reflexive verb occurs as an alternative to a construction with an overt direct object denoting the body part affected; this treatment corresponds, perhaps, to a tradition in Russian grammar, cf. the notion of *vozvratnye glagoly vključennogo ob"ekta* 'reflexive verbs with object inclusion' in Janko-Trinickaja (1962: 173–178); Letučij (2016) offers the somewhat unusual term 'object impersonal'. These notions are based on alternations like (14) vs (15):

(14) Russian
      Ja   *pričesal-sja.*
      1SG.NOM comb.PST.M.SG-REFL

(15) *Ja*   *pričesal*   *volosy.*
      1SG.NOM comb.PST.M.SG hair.ACC.PL
      'I combed my hair.'

I will come back to the relationship between reflexives proper and reflexive antipassives further on, but suffice it to point out at this stage that both types of arguments ignore the workings of metonymy. The parallel of English *he buttoned himself up* alongside *he buttoned his coat up* shows that the argument *volosy* 'hair' in (15) is suppressed in syntax not just because it is not prominent but mainly because it is taken to stand metonymically for the subject's self for the purpose of what is expressed in the verb; in consequence, it may appear either as a reflexive pronoun as in the English construction in (7), or it may disappear from syntax and leave a trace

as a reflexive marker on the verb, but that is a difference in the way languages deal with reflexivity. It simply would not do to call one construction reflexive and the other antipassive, because this would deprive us of the possibility of setting apart reflexives and antipassives in a rational way.[1]

For the sake of convenience, I will refer to the verbs in (10)–(13) as extended metonymic reflexives, but the degree of extension is a relative notion, and there is no difference of principle that would compel us to single out these verbs as representing a distinct type of metonymy. Of course, as the metonymic link between the possessor and the possessee becomes more and more diluted, the moment may ultimately come when it is not so much abandoned as reinterpreted, and at that stage we arrive at an antipassive, as I will show in Chapter 3. But as long as we can plausibly claim that the object is connected with the personal sphere of the subject so that it can be chosen to stand for the subject herself or himself, we are still in the domain of metonymy.

Whereas a certain number of such instances of extended metonymy will always be lexically entrenched, the spoken languages provide numerous instances of such metonymic constructions which rarely make it to the written languages and were therefore harder to discover a few decades ago than they are now that we have corpora at our disposal. Wilczewska (1966) gives a few examples of constructions for which she has no attestations from written sources but which she says are occasionally produced, on the spur of the moment, in the spoken language, such as:

(16) Polish   (Wilczewska 1966: 35)
    Proszę   się   zdjąć.
    beg.PRS.1SG REFL take.off.INF
    'Please take off (your coat)'

(17) Polish   (Wilczewska 1966: 35)
    Zapal   się.
    light.IMP.2SG REFL
    'Light up (your cigarette).'

As an exceptional instance captured in a written text, Wilczewska cites:

(18) Polish   (Wilczewska 1966: 36, from Krystyna Żywulska, 1956)
    [*Własny syn mówi do mnie*]
    Mama,   zlikwiduj   się   nareszcie.
    mum.NOM.SG fold.up.IMP.2SG REFL at.last
    '[My own son says to me:] Mum, fold up [your shop] at last.'

---

1. Letučij (2016) notes the difficulties with keeping what he calls 'object impersonals' (his term for constructions like (14)) apart from reflexives, but fails to draw the natural conclusion from this.

Of the instances cited by Wilczewska, the first refers to an item of clothing and thus belongs to a category that is in itself a good candidate for metonymic extension, but the verb is not specific enough for the construction with metonymic reflexivization to become entrenched, whereas, say, *zapiąć się* 'button oneself up' is more usual because *zapiąć* 'button up' can hardly refer to anything else than an item of clothing:

(19)   Polish   (Jacek Dehnel, *Lala*, 2008, NKJP)
      Zapnij   się   pod   szyją.
      button.up.IMP.2SG REFL under neck.INS.SG
      'Button yourself up at the neck.'

Also quite usual, though jocular because of the ambiguity of 'hanging oneself', is *powiesić się* 'hang up one's outer garment' etc.

(20)   Polish
      Powieś   się   w szafie.
      hang.IMP.2SG REFL in wardrobe.LOC.SG
      i.   'Hang yourself in the wardrobe.'
      ii. 'Hang up your coat etc. in the wardrobe.'

As to (17), the situation is probably the reverse: the verb is specific enough, as in the given situation there is not much more that could be lit than a pipe or cigarette or the like, but the latter are probably not very good candidates to represent the self for the purpose of reflexivization. In a particular situation, however, various unexpected extensions may occur both with regard to the degree of specificity of the verb and with regard to the kind of object selected for representing the self.

The arrival of the internet gives us a more accurate idea of the occasional formations occurring in the spoken language. Say (2005) gives a number of interesting examples (erroneously describing them as antipassive, as mentioned above – a question to which I will return in 2.3 below):

(21)   Russian   (from Say 2005)
      Vy   tam   sami   zavernete-s'?
      2PL.NOM there self.NOM.PL wrap.up.FUT.2PL-REFL
      'Will you wrap up your purchases yourself?' (lit. 'will you wrap yourself up?')
      (said by a shop assistant to a customer)

Examples like this attest to a certain productivity of the type in Russian, which confirms Wilczewska's observations for Polish. For Baltic there is no research showing the productivity of extended metonymic middles in the spoken language, and this kind of research would probably be much more complicated than it is for Slavonic, at least in Lithuanian. The reason is the extraordinary productivity, in this language, of autobenefactive natural reflexives. Consider (22):

(22) Lithuanian

[… *jai buvo atnešta plastikinė dėžutė su kitu klausimu –]*
su-si-pakuosite   ar su-pakuoti?
PFX-REFL-wrap.up.FUT.2PL or PFX-wrap.up.INF
'[They brought her a plastic box together with another question –] will you wrap it up yourself or shall I wrap it up?'

        http://pragarovirtuve.lt/maitinimas-lietuviskame-pajuryje/407/

The form *susipakuosite* is, in principle, ambiguous, but the odds are that it is an autobenefactive reflexive middle with datival *-si-*, used with ellipsis of the object. As ellipsis of the object is frequent in the spoken language, where we should be most likely to find instances of extended metonymic reflexives, it is probably impossible to get even an approximate idea of their extension. It is only for Latvian that more research would yield reliable results, as the autobenefactive middle has become completely unproductive in that language.

2.3   Metonymic reflexives and antipassives

Some authors tend to regard extended metonymic reflexives that can replace a combination of the non-reflexive verb with an object as antipassive. So, for instance, Say (2005), Janic (2013: 150–155). The term 'antipassive' is applied, for instance, to (24) as opposed to (23):

(23) Russian   (Say 2005)

Ja   zažmuril   glaza.
1SG.NOM screw.up.PST.M-REFL eye.ACC.PL

(24) *Ja   zažmuril-sja.*
1SG.NOM screw.up.PST.M-REFL
'I screwed up my eyes.'

This usage of the term 'antipassive' does not deserve recommendation. Natural reflexives in the sphere of grooming and body motion routinely involve metonymy and may occur alongside constructions where a body part is mentioned explicitly. And apart from the instances where 'self' is used metonymically for body parts, items of clothing etc., we have occasional extensions to the broader personal sphere, illustrated in (10)–(13).

    The objects that appear in such alternations can only belong to a limited range of possible objects, all somehow belonging to the subject's personal sphere. But there is nothing in the notion of antipassive that should impose such a restriction as to the range of possibly suppressed objects. When we have to define an antipassive,

it seems reasonable to start out from a configuration with clearly distinct A and O, as we do in the case of the passive. One of the varieties of the antipassive reflexive, often called the 'deobjective variety', has an object that is, in principle, conceptually distinct from the subject but is omitted as it is generic, and the identification of the object is moreover irrelevant as the purpose of the construction is, for instance, to characterize the subject:

(25) Russian
      Sokaba   kusaet-sja.
      dog.NOM.SG bite.PRS.3SG-REFL
      'The dog is biting/bites.'

Here we can interpret the object as generic ('bites anyone who comes too near') – people, other dogs etc., but at any rate it is conceptually distinct from the subject; it is certainly not the dog's own tail. It is true that when the intrinsic connection between subject and object is relaxed, we gradually pass from the metonymic type to the antipassive type, a transition that will be explored in the next chapter. In this sense what is here described as the 'extended' metonymic type is a transitional type between the naturally reflexive type and the antipassive reflexive, as Janic (2013: 291) also suggests. But it is firmly on the side of the metonymic reflexive and cannot in any reasonable sense be called antipassive. For extended metonymic reflexives to develop into antipassives, an extension of the class of implicit objects has to occur. This does not apply to deobjectives like (25), which develop from reciprocal reflexives; but in my discussion of Latvian antipassive reflexives in 3.5 I will show how extended metonymic reflexives can also develop into antipassive reflexives.

2.4   Antimetonymic middles in Polish and elsewhere

In this section I will discuss another category that has been inaccurately classified as antipassive but is actually indirectly based on metonymy, in the sense that its function is to undo the effects of metonymic extension. It is based on reflexive verbs that involve a clear metonymic transfer, such as *explain oneself = explain one's thoughts, intentions, decisions* etc. The notional object is not represented in syntax because it metonymically stands for the subject's self and is thus implicit in the reflexive marker. However, in addition to the absolute uses of such metonymic reflexives, we find constructions in which the implicit object is made explicit – it is reintroduced in the shape of a prepositional phrase. The following examples from French are cited from Janic (2013), who claims they are instances of the antipassive construction (which is repeated by other authors, cf. Zuñiga & Kittilä 2019: 105):

(26) French   (Janic 2013: 196)

    Il   *confesse*   *ses*   *péchés.*

    3.M.SG.SBJ confess.PRS.3SG 3.POSS.PL sin.PL

(27) *Il*   *se*   *confesse*   *de ses*   *péchés.*

    3.M.SG.SBJ REFL confess.PRS.3SG of 3.POSS.PL sin.PL

    'He confesses his sins.'

(28) *Le*   *préfet devra*   *justifier*   *sa*   *décision.*

    DEF.M.SG prefect must. FUT.3SG justify.INF 3. POSS.F.SG decision

(29) *Le*   *préfet devra*   *se*   *justifier*   *de sa*   *décision.*

    DEF.M.SG prefect must.FUT.3SG REFL justify.INF of 3.POSS.F.SG decision

    'The prefect will have to justify his decision.'

The characterization of these constructions as antipassive is based on the fact that the definition of the antipassive (on which I will dwell in more detail in Chapter 3) also provides for instances where the object is not eliminated but appears as an oblique noun phrase or prepositional phrase. This subtype of antipassives could be called 'deaccusative' (a term introduced by Geniušienė 1987: 94). Janic (2013) argues that there is a difference in meaning between (26) and (27), a claim with which I fully agree. Janic points out that (27) emphasizes the effect of the event on the subject, who is relieved of the burden of his sins. While this characterization is convincing, it is not clear how it relates to the functions associated, in the literature, with the antipassive. Two semantic-pragmatic features of the antipassive (in addition to purely syntactic functions) have been highlighted in the literature: diminished prominence of the object and incomplete affectedness of the object. The latter features obviously does not apply here, because even if we could conceive the subject's sins as objects that can be affected by the act of confession to a different extent (incomplete confession, for instance?), it does not seem the reflexive form could denote a diminished degree of affectedness. As to prominence, we may ask in what sense the object is less prominent. That the object of a person's confession will be that person's sins may be taken for granted, so that the direct object *ses péchés* 'his sins' may be omitted and the verb reflexivized instead, as in other instances of metonymic reflexivity discussed above:

(30) French

    Je   *voudrais*   *me*   *confesser.*

    1SG.SBJ want.COND.1SG REFL confess.INF

    'I would like to have my confession heard.'

But if the object in (27) is backgrounded, then why is it expressed? Surely the best indicator for backgrounding is omission. We are dealing here with an important question because we should be careful in our use of the notion of backgrounding

or reduced prominence. It has been claimed, for instance, that the passive is an agent-backgrounding device. This is correct to the extent that the passive allows the agent not to be expressed while still remaining present in semantic structure. This is then also a good way of characterizing the passive, as the prototypical passive cross-linguistically is agentless (Keenan & Dryer 2007: 328–329). But if the passive is expanded with an agent phrase, then is the agent still backgrounded? This not obvious: the agent is no longer a topic but may constitute the most important rhematic/focal content of the clause (cf. *St Paul's Cathedral was designed by Christopher Wren*), so that the notion of backgrounding is hardly adequate. If the agentless passive backgrounds the agent, then the agented passive should probably be described as a distinct construction with a different purpose, e.g., of topicalizing the patient, or putting the agent in focus. Historically it developed, of course, as a secondary expansion of the agentless passive, but its function changed in the process.

My point is that the same holds for constructions like (27), (29). They can be viewed as a secondary expansion of constructions as in (30), which are object-backgrounding, but they are not object-backgrounding any more themselves.

The evidence for the prepositional complement in (27), (29) as being reduced in prominence is not convincing, and thus neither of the criteria for classifying the construction with the antipassive is met. Special affectedness of the subject (the feature we could single out as opposing (27) to (26)) is not mentioned as a characteristic feature of the antipassive, but it could arguably be mentioned among the characteristic features of reflexives.

I will therefore offer an alternative account for the constructions in (27), (29), in which the affectedness of the subject plays a central role. First, however, I will show more details from a language in which this type of 'expanded metonymic reflexives' is relatively productive, viz. Polish. The Baltic languages afford no instances as far as I have been able to ascertain, and among the Slavonic languages none seems to have the construction to a similar extent as Polish.

Polish has a series of alternations in which alongside an extended metonymic reflexive of the type described above we find an analogous reflexive construction expanded with an oblique object. There are several types of marking for the oblique object. I give a simplified constructed example of the alternation:

(31)   Polish
    Dziedzic   *musiał*   *wyprzedać majątek.*
    squire.NOM.SG be.obliged.PST.M.SG[3] sell.off.INF estate.ACC.SG
    'The squire had to sell off his estate.'

(32)   *Dziedzic*   *musiał*   *się*   *wyprzedać.*
    squire.NOM.SG be.obliged.PST.M.SG[3] REFL sell.off.INF
    'The squire had to sell off [his property.]'

(33)   *Dziedzic   musiał   się   wyprzedać z   majątku.*
     squire.NOM.SG be.obliged.PST.M.SG[3] REFL sell.off.INF of estate.GEN.SG
     'The squire had to sell off his estate.'

The effect of the construction in (33) here is to reintroduce the object that remains implicit (as being, in a general way, easily deducible from the lexical meaning of the verb) in the extended metonymic reflexive as illustrated in (32). As the verb has been intransitivized by the reflexive derivation, the object is reintroduced not in the original accusative, but as an oblique object – either in an oblique case such as the instrumental, or as a prepositional phrase. I have been able to identify three types of marking in constructions similar to (33): bare instrumental, instrumental with *z* 'with', and *z* 'from' with the genitive. Each type of marking is represented by a small group of verbs with more or less identifiable common features.

The marking of the oblique object with *z* and the genitive illustrated in (33) is found with a small group of other verbs including *wytłumaczyć* 'explain' and *zwierzyć* 'confide'. While with these verbs the encoding pattern is quite frequent, Wilczewska also notes a few less common examples from literary texts, based on *wyładować* 'unload' and *wypowiedzieć* 'pronounce, utter'. They might have a more or less occasional character, which could point to a certain productivity of the construction:

(34)   Polish
     Część   osób   miała   okazję   wyładować
     part.NOM.SG person.GEN.PL have.PST.F.SG[3] occasion.ACC.SG unload.INF
     nerwy   przy pracach   fizycznych
     nerve.ACC.PL at   work.LOC.PL physical.LOC.PL
     'Part of the people had occasion to unload their nerves with physical exercise.'
                       http://www.xvlo.gda.pl/?menu=artykul&id=53

(35)   Polish   (Wilczewska 1966: 43, from Bolesław Wiernik, 1960)
     Piję,   żeby   się z nerwów   wyładować
     drink.PRS.1SG in.order.to REFL of nerves.GEN.PL unload.INF
     'I drink to unload my nerves [lit. to unload myself of my nerves].'

These verbs probably have certain semantic features in common, but I will not attempt to define them. For the sake of a label (which is not meant to be a semantic description), we could informally characterize them as 'disburdening' or 'riddance' verbs. This group once included the verb *spowiadać* 'confess', the counterpart of French *confesser* in (26), (27), for which both constructions are attested in Old Polish:

(36)   Old Polish   (*Skarga umierającego*, between 1461 and 1470, SłStp viii, 358)
A   nygdy=m svych   grzechow   spravedlive ne
and   never=1SG RPO.GEN.PL sin.GEN.PL duly   NEG
spovedal.
confess.LFORM.M.SG
'And I have never duly confessed my sins.'

(37)   Old Polish   (*Kazania gnieźnieńskie*, about 1409, SłStp viii, 358)
Nechacz szo   ten tho   lud   pred   tobo
HORT   REFL DEM.NOM.SG.M people.NOM.SG before 2SG.INS
spoueda   a   thy   ge   przesegnag.
confess.PRS.3SG and 2SG.NOM 3.ACC.SG.M bless.IMP.2SG
'Let these people confess before you and you bless them.'

The reflexive construction in (37) has, however, completely ousted the non-reflexive one in (36) in its original function[2]; the non-reflexive verbs was reinterpreted as a causative with regard to the reflexive *spowiadać się* and now means only 'hear somebody's confession':

(38)   Polish
[*Ksiądz chrzci ludzi, gdy się rodzą, uczy ich w szkole,*]
spowiada   ich   z grzechów …
hear.confession.PRS.3SG 3.ACC.PL.VIR of sin.GEN.PL
'[The priest baptizes people at their birth, teaches them at school] and hears their confession.'   https://docplayer.pl/52942614-Judaszow-czyli-rzecz-
o-klerykalizmie-napis-franciszek-mlot-krakow-1906.html

The use of the non-reflexive verb illustrated in (36) was apparently already rare in Old Polish, so the antimetonymic construction which ousted it must be quite old.
    Another small group has an oblique object with the preposition *z* and the instrumental:

(39)   Polish
Większość   biegaczy   zadeklarowała   chęć
majority.NOM.SG runner.GEN.PL declare.PST.F.SG[3] intention.ACC.PL
wystartowania   w maratonie, …
start.ACN.GEN.SG in marathon.LOC.SG
'Most runners declared their intention of starting in the marathon.'
https://www.sportgdansk.pl/wystartowal-program-aktywuj-sie-w-maratonie/

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2.   Something similar seems to have occurred with Russian *ispovedovat' grexi* and *ispovedovat'sja v grexax*, see below on Russian. Russian has also developed the causative use of *ispovedovat'* as 'hear somebody'sconfession'.

(40) [*W pracy muszę odpowiednio wcześniej*]
    zadeklarować się   z   chęcią   wykorzystania   urlopu.
    declare.INF   REFL   with   intention.INS.PL   use.ACN.GEN.SG   vacation.GEN.SG
    '[At work I must announce in due time] that I intend to use up my vacation days.'
                                        http://forum-bron.pl/viewtopic.php?t=141689

Other verbs with the same marking are *zdradzić się* and *wydać się*, both meaning 'betray'. The general meaning for these three verbs is something like 'come or be brought into the open with something, either intentionally or non-intentionally'. The implication seems to be that the subject declares or unintentionally reveals her or his stance and thereby positions herself or himself in a certain way.

Finally, there is at least one construction with a bare instrumental:

(41) Polish
    Pan   burmistrz   również wykazał
    Mr.NOM.SG mayor.NOM.SG also   demonstrate.PST.M.SG[3]
    rozwagę,
    prudence.ACC.SG
    [*nie reagując na komentarze w/w radnych*].
    'Mr Mayor also gave proof of prudence [in not reacting to the comments of the above-mentioned council members].'   https://docplayer.pl/16253135-Pleszew-18-000-zl-na-festiwal-dom-kultury-otrzymal-dotacje.html

(42) [*Chłopiec został nagrodzony, bo*]
    wykazał   się   rozwagą,   której   pozazdrościć
    demonstrate.PST.M[3] REFL prudence.INS.SG REL.GEN.SG.F envy.INF
    mógłby   niejeden   dorosły.
    be.able.IRR. many.a.NOM.SG.M adult.NOM.SG.M
    '[The boy was rewarded because] he demonstrated a prudence many an adult might have envied him.'   http://www.poznan.uw.gov.pl/en/node/6717

I am not aware of other examples with this bare instrumental marking and there is therefore no point in attempting to formulate a meaning for it. I assume, at any rate, that the three types mentioned here share a general feature which is relevant to our discussion, and that each of the subtypes has a special way of representing the subject as 'affected'. Even when lumping all the patterns of marking together, it would still be a minor type, represented by just a few examples per subtype, but actually the differences in marking prevent us from recognizing it as a unitary construction type. Rather, we have a small family of lexical construction types.

As to the difference in meaning between the deaccusative construction and the accusatival construction, it is sometimes truth-conditional, sometimes not. There is a clear truth-conditional difference in Example (45) with the verb *wytłumaczyć*:

whereas this verb, when used with an accusative object, refers to an act of explaining an idea, course of action etc. not necessarily conceived by the subject, the metonymic reflexive reduced the range of possible *explananda* to a course of action, policy, behaviour etc. of the subject, and also suggests that this course of action, behaviour etc. has been criticized. All these elements are retained in the construction expanded with an oblique object.

(43) Polish
    Teraz będzie   musiał   wytłumaczyć swoje
    now   FUT.3SG be.obliged.LFORM.M.SG explain.INF   RPO.ACC.N.SG
    zachowanie   przed prokuratorem.
    behaviour.ACC.SG before prosecutor.INS.SG
    'Now he will have to explain his behaviour before the public prosecutor.'
                    http://egrudziadz.pl/region-kujawski/wiadomosci-
                    kryminalne/zaatakowal-policjantow.html

(44) [*Związkowcy i pracodawcy zyskają szerokie przywileje legislacyjne.*]
    Rząd   będzie musiał   się   wytłumaczyć,
    government.NOM.SG FUT.3SG be.obliged.LFORM.M.SG REFL explain.INF
    jeśli nie zajmie   się   ich   pomysłami.
    if   NEG occupy.FUT.3SG REFL 3.GEN.PL idea.INS.PL
    '[Unionists and employers are set to acquire broad legislative privileges.] The government will have to explain itself if it fails to take up their proposals.'
                    https://www.rp.pl/Kadry/307079828-Rada-Dialogu-
                    Spolecznego---jakie-bedzie-miala-kompetencje.html

(45) *Macierewicz nigdy nie wytłumaczył   się   z tych*
    PN.NOM   never NEG explain.PST.M.SG[3] REFL of these.GEN.PL
    powiązań.
    connection.GEN.PL
    'Macierewicz never gave a satisfactory account of these connections.'
                    http://wyborcza.pl/7,75398,22329817,tomasz-piatek-u-
                    kuby-wojewodzkiego-antoni-macierewicz-tylko.html

On the other hand, there are instances where no truth-conditional differences can be detected between the two constructions. *Zwierzyć* 'confide' cannot be said of another person's thoughts or feelings, nor can *wyprzedać* 'sell off' normally be said of another person's possessions. Still, though non-truth-conditional, a certain difference in meaning can be said to exist.

    As suggested above, the specific feature of the constructions in (33), (35), (40), (42) seems to consist in the marking of a certain type of affectedness of the subject. It should once more be repeated (as I have argued in Chapter 1) that human agents participate in various situations in a dual quality: that of a mental entity

and that of a physical entity. When the construction is reflexive, with separate syntactic representation of A and O (*she saw herself in the mirror*), we treat these two entities as different arguments; when we use a reflexive verb (like Russian *pričesat'sja*, Lithuanian *susišukuoti*), we do not treat them as different arguments, but still express the fact that two entities are involved, a mental and a physical one, and these belong to one person. What is affected in naturally reflexive situations is the subject's body or part of it, or extensions of that body such as clothes. In a wider sense, it can include various objects belonging to the subject, like luggage, dwellings etc., but also non-material objects like the subject's feelings, decisions, thoughts etc. At any rate, it is not the agent as a sentient mental entity that is affected (the Subject as opposed to the Self as defined by Lakoff 1996); even if the affected object is not the agent's body or belongings, it will be an externalized mental process viewed as more or less autonomous with regard to the current ego. What the construction in (33), (35) etc. does is exactly to shift the implication of affectedness from objects metonymically standing for the agent's 'self' to the agent as a mental entity (Lakoff's 'subject'). In a way, strict coreferentiality is introduced here, and the metonymic nature of the construction disappears.

This shift presumably has its origins in the non-expanded metonymic reflexive as illustrated in (32) and (44). A construction like *explain oneself* can easily become vague or ambiguous between a metonymic reading 'explain one's behaviour, decisions etc.' and an ego-oriented reading 'clear one's character by explaining one's behaviour, decisions etc. When the latter reading is selected, the externalized object (the subject's possessions, thoughts, decisions etc.) can, in some languages, be reintroduced in a construction where it was originally implicit but syntactically blocked by the nature of the reflexive construction.

As mentioned above, the lack of uniformity in the encoding of the demoted object prevents us from describing the constructions examined here as one grammatical or derivational construction. Rather, a small number of minor lexical-class constructions is involved here. They differ in how the effect on the subject is conceptualized – as disburdening or exteriorization, for instance – but the indication of the existence of such an effect is a feature they all share. We could perhaps capture the emphasis on the effect produced on the subject as the centre of consciousness by introducing, for these types, the term 'antimetonymic'.[3] A certain paradox is hidden in this term, as the whole construction is based, diachronically, on metaphoric extension. This metonymic extension is, however, undone when the original

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3.   The term 'antimetonymic' is also used, in a different sense, by Miura (2008), who uses it to characterize instances of lacking metaphorical extension in Japanese when compared to English and European languages in general. However, the mind-body dualism is involved in the cases discussed by Miura as well as here.

object, referring to an extension of the self, is reintroduced: this operation encodes the fact that not this extension of the self, but the self as a centre of consciousness, is ultimately affected.

The effect of the constructions with antimetonymic reflexives is not reflected in argument structure. It is not the case that the antimetonymic construction introduces, in addition to the agent and the original object (normally identified with the subject's self for the purposes of the reflexive construction), a sentient 'affectee' argument coreferential with the agent. The sentient affectee cannot be represented in syntactic structure in the form of an orthotonic reflexive pronoun:

(46)   Polish
    *Ania   zwierzyła   siebie koleżance   z kłopotów.
    PN.NOM confide.PST.SG.F[3] REFL friend[F].DAT.SG of trouble.GEN.PL
    'Ann disburdened herself of her troubles to a friend.'

That is, the antimetonymic effect is an element of meaning but not of argument structure. The whole antimetonymic construction (or set of constructions) is in the sphere of the middle voice.

As mentioned above, the antimetonymic type is not represented in Baltic, which is the reason why I have taken Polish examples to illustrate it. Nevertheless, it can be identified as a cross-linguistic type. French, which has already been mentioned here, has a small group of instances, most of them coinciding in meaning with Polish examples cited above. Though further research would be necessary to confirm this, apparently one type of marking for the oblique object occurs in French, viz. the 'genitival' marking with the preposition *de* (on this type of marking and its interpretation cf. Haspelmath & Michaelis 2008):

(47)   French
    En ligne, il se   lie   d'amitié   avec un jeune, pakistanais
    in line, he REFL bind.PRS.3SG of-friendship with a   young Pakistani
    à   qui il s'est   confié   de ses
    to REL he REFL-be.PRS.3SG confide.PP.M.SG of POSS.3SG.PL
    déboires.
    disappointment.PL
    'Online he befriends a young Pakistani to whom he has confided his disappointments.'   https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/
                                    Attentat_de_Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu_de_2014

(48) French
[*En France, c'est un scandale républicain*]

que le gouvernement ait		*à s'expliquer*	*de sa*

that the government have.SBJV.PRS.3SG to REFL.explain.INF of its
politique étrangère   devant une communauté religieuse.
policy   foreign.F.SG before a   community religious.F.SG
'[In France it's a scandal of republican scale] that the government has to give
an explanation of its foreign policy before a religious community.'
https://radionotredame.net/2018/geopolitique/rony-brauman-lexercice-
du-pouvoir-est-toujours-soumis-aux-tentations-den-abuser-148656/

And finally, we can also find parallels in English, though no reflexive marking is
involved here. Instances are probably rare and isolated, but it seems that a similar
mechanism is involved as in the Polish and French constructions. First, the verb
develops a type of absolute use enabled by the fact that the object is obvious and
can be taken for granted:

(49) *When we have sold out our tickets we will allow resale through this site.*
https://foreveryoungfestival.ie/buy-tickets/

(50) *We are really sorry to say that we have sold out and that there are no tickets left.*
http://www.enterteasement.com/sold-out

In a next step, the absolute construction with implicit object is secondarily ex-
panded with a prepositional object:

(51) *If you are not able to select a date or time slot online it means we have sold out*
of advance tickets.
http://www.tate.org.uk/about-us/frequently-asked-questions/ticketing

It would have to be checked whether other Romance languages besides French also
have this pattern. Outside Polish, something reminiscent of the antimetonymic
reflexive can be found in Russian, though the instances are less clear here. Polish
spowiadać się z grzechów 'confess one's sins' alongside *spowiadać grzechy* (obs.) is
echoed by Russian *ispovedovat'sja v grexax* alongside *ispovedovat' grexi*, but it is
not clear whether this is a productive type. Especially intriguing in Russian is a
type with instrumental marking for the object, somewhat reminiscent of the Polish
antimetonymic reflexive discussed above but different in a crucial respect. They are
mentioned by Janko-Trinickaja (1962: 202), who calls them 'reflexive verbs with
switched object' (*vozvratnye glagoly pereključennogo ob"ekta*) and by Letučij (2016),
who describes these verbs as 'reflexive-benefactive', offering 'antipassive' as an al-
ternative term. An example cited by Janko-Trinickaja is *zavestis'* 'establish oneself',
used in (53) and here compared to the non-reflexive form in (52):

(52)   Russian   (A. Rostovskij, 2000, RNC)
      [*Mne rasskazyvali, čto on mnogo stradal, no potom*]
      zavel   sem'ju   i   živet   gde-to   vo Floride.
      establish.PST.M.SG family.ACC.SG and live.PRS.3SG somewhere in PN.LOC
      '[I was told he suffered a lot, but in the end] established a family and is now
      living somewhere in Florida.'

(53)   Russian   (F. I. Buslaev, 1818–1889, *Povest' o gore i zločastii*, 1856, RNC)
      [*Prostymi slovami skazat' – on zabyl otca s mater'ju i …*]
      ženilsja   i   zavelsja   sem'eju   na
      married.PST.M.SG and establish.PST.M.SG family.INS.SG in
      čužbine.
      foreign.land.LOC
      '[To put it simply – he forgot his father and mother and …] married and estab-
      lished himself with a family in a foreign land.'

Another pair of examples cited by Janko-Trinickaja is *zadat' vopros* 'pose a question'
vs *zadavat'sja voprosom* 'be preoccupied by a question':

(54)   Russian   (Sergej Taranov, 1948–, *Čert za spinoj*, 2001, RNC)
      Starik   ne   zadaval   voprosa,   on   prosto
      old.man.NOM.SG NEG pose.PST.M.SG question.GEN.SG 3.NOM.SG.M merely
      konstatiroval   fakt.
      state.PST.M.SG fact.ACC.SG
      'The old man was not asking a question, he was just stating a fact.'

(55)   Russian   (Daniil Granin, 1919–2017, *Zubr*, 1987, RNC)
      Nikto   ne   zadaval-sja   voprosom,   počemu
      nobody NEG pose.PST.M.SG-REFL question.INS.SG why
      sledovateli   ne   pred"javili   emu   podobnogo
      investigator.NOM.PL NEG present.PST.PL 3.DAT.SG.M similar.GEN.SG.N
      obvinenija.
      charge.GEN.SG
      'Nobody raised the question why the investigators did not present him with
      similar charges.'

In spite of a superficial resemblance to the antimetonymic type discussed here,
these constructions are different, as it is not clear they involve metonymy. If they
did, there would be absolute constructions like *on zavelsja* in the sense of 'establish
oneself' (as head of a family, with 'family' as an implicit object), or *on zadavalsja*
(with 'question' as an implicit object), but such constructions do not seem to be
attested. While 'family' would be a plausible example of an object close to the sub-
ject's personal sphere and therefore eligible for metonymically representing the
subject, it would be difficult to imagine this in the case of *vopros* 'question'. Yet it

is possible to establish a link to the antimetonymic type if one takes constructions like (56) as a point of departure:

(56) Russian   (cited by Letučij 2016)
Anka   s   Tanej   begut   zakupat'-sja   čtivom
PN.NOM with PN.INS run.PRS.3PL buy[IPFV].INF-REFL reading.matter.INS
na dorogu.
for road.ACC.SG
'Anka and Tanya rush off to buy some reading matter for the journey.'

This looks like a secondary extension of the absolute reflexive *zakupit-sja* (PFV), *zakupat'-sja* (IPFV) 'do one's shopping, buy one's supplies', illustrated in (57):

(57) Russian   (I. S. Aksakov, 1823–1886, *Pis'ma rodnym*, 1849–1856, RNC)
[*Odni priezžajut, čtoby prodat' šerst',*]
drugie   čtob   zakupit'sja   na
other.NOM.PL in.order.to buy.one's.supplies[PFV].INF-REFL for
celyj   god,
whole.ACC.SG.M   year.ACC.SG
[*tret'i – prosto čtob poveselit'sja*].
'[Some come here to sell their wool,] others to buy their supplies for the whole year, [yet others simply to make merry].'

This is a borderline case of metonymic reflexive of the type characterized above, comparable to *stroit'sja* 'build a house for oneself' (illustrated above in the Latvian Example (13) with the verb *būvēties*). It is a borderline case because in the typical metonymic reflexive the implicit object is viewed as pre-existent, i.e. it is assumed already to be part of the subject's personal sphere independently of the event described by the verb, whereas here it is included into the personal sphere of the subject as a result of the event described by the verb. Evidently the construction in (57) was expanded by reintroducing the implicit object in the form of an instrumental noun phrase. This construction then served as a model for constructions like (53) and (55), for which no varieties without oblique objects (comparable to (57) alongside (56)) seem to be available. Whereas at type level the construction in (56) presupposes the construction in (57) (this mechanism is shown in (58) below), this is not the case at token level, where the case frame and morphosyntactic marking can be acquired at once by new lexical items, as shown in (59) below:

(58) Russian
zakupili produkty 'bought (their) supplies'
→ *zakupili-s'* 'did their shopping'
→ *zakupili-s' produktami* 'did their shopping of supplies'

(59)   Russian
       zakupili produkty bought their supplies' : *zakupili-s' produktami* 'did their shop-
       ping of supplies'
       zavel sem'ju 'established a family' : *zavel-sja sem'ëj* 'established himself with a
       family'

Constructions like (53), (55) and (57) are not antipassive, because the defining
features of the antipassive – diminished prominence or affectedness of the object –
are (in my view) lacking. It seems preferable to describe them as a peripheral case
of the antimetonymic reflexive as the feature of mental affectedness of the subject
seems to be present as well.

   There are various types of situations in which a transitive construction with an
accusative object alternates with a reflexive construction where the direct object is
replaced with an oblique object. Geniušienė (1987: 94–97) subsumes them all under
the term 'deaccusatives'. There is no single explanation that would account for them
all. Some of them can be classified with the antipassive; these will be dealt with,
for Baltic, in Chapter 3. Others do not display the defining features of antipassives
and can more convincingly be explained as expansions of metonymic reflexives.
All this points to the conclusion that the notion of 'deaccusative reflexive' intro-
duced by Geniušienė (1987: 94–96) is actually a heterogeneous class without a set
of common functional characteristics. Some of them are antipassive, but we should
not forget that Geniušienė introduced the notion of deaccusatives on the basis of
formal (morphosyntactic) criteria whereas antipassives are identified on the basis
of different (syntactic and semantic/pragmatic) criteria. One should not a priori
expect both categories to coincide, as Janic (2013) does. In view of its functional
heterogeneity it is highly doubtful whether the notion of deaccusatives is really
useful to refer to a descriptive or cross-linguistic category, unless we use the term
in combination with a term specifying a construction type that can also be defined
on a semantic basis, as in 'deaccusative antipassive'.

2.5   Antimetonymic middles and antipassives

Let us once more consider the relationship of the constructions discussed here to
the antipassive. If the above analysis is correct, and the effect of the reflexive mark-
ing is to emphasize the mental affectedness of the subject, then one might argue
the object (now demoted to oblique object) is diminished in prominence, which
is one of the defining features of antipassive constructions. However, even if this
reasoning were justified, there would still be serious objections against regarding
the constructions considered here as antipassive.

First of all, I have already pointed out above that we should not describe as antipassive a construction that denies prominence to the object but does so only if this object is not fully independent conceptually of the subject. Objects that belong to the personal sphere of the subject and may be taken for granted often remain unexpressed; it is when the object is conceptually independent of the subject that its non-expression, motivated in this case not by conceptual closeness to the subject but by other factors such as genericity (*this dog bites* i.e. *bites anybody within its reach*), calls for a different explanation, and one can then resort to the notion of antipassive. Secondly, reduced prominence of the object would be difficult to prove. The best measure of reduced prominence is omission; and there can be no doubt that the implicit object of an extended metonymic reflexive (of the type 'build oneself' in the meaning of 'build a house for oneself') is lower in prominence than in the transitive construction 'build a house'. However, when in a construction of this type the object is reintroduced albeit in an oblique shape, does this mean that this object, though now made explicit, is still low in prominence? Possibly, but it is hard to prove. Finally, antipassives have also been said to denote incomplete affectedness of the object. This does not seem to apply here: in all the instances discussed here, the externalized object is a theme rather than a patient, and no differences in affectedness can be noted (or even imagined) when we compare the expanded reflexive construction with the basic transitive construction.

This is not to say that there are no features shared between our construction and the antipassive. Both the antimetonymic reflexive and the deaccusative antipassive originate as secondary extensions of a reflexive-marked middle with an implicit object that is low in prominence. But the deaccusative antipassive arises from a construction that is already antipassive (the low prominence of its implicit object is not a consequence of its lack of conceptual autonomy with regard to the subject, but is constructionally determined), and it retains its antipassive character while switching from one antipassive feature (low prominence of the object) to another (low affectedness of the object). The metonymic reflexive construction, on the other hand, is not antipassive because the low prominence of the implicit object is connected with its lack of conceptual autonomy; its expanded variety, which we have characterized here as antimetonymic, does not become antipassive either.

2.6   In conclusion

The problems discussed in this chapter are of crucial importance for the understanding of reflexivity and the middle voice. 'Reflexive' means pointing back to the self, but the self is a fluid notion encompassing a range of entities comprising the subject's mental, motoric and emotional centre, the subject's body, and a varying

range of objects external to the subject's body but capable of representing the self. The grammatical subject of a reflexive (middle) verb is always the self as a mental and emotional centre, the object identified with it can be anything within the range just characterized. To the extent that reflexivity requires strict identity, canonical reflexives would therefore include *he hates himself*, *he regards himself as a great artist*, *she accuses herself, know thyself* etc. The middle basically does not occur in such prototypically reflexive situations; it always involves metonymy.

In all, four distinct strategies are available for referring to the control which the mental, motoric and emotional centre exercises over the body. The intransitive strategy ignores the physical part of the self (*she walked about*, *he shaved*). The reflexive strategy represents the physical part of the self by means of a reflexive pronoun (*she sat herself down on the floor*, *he buttoned himself up*). The explicit strategy names the body part involved and represents it in syntax (*she combed her hair*, Lithuanian *jis užmerkė akis* 'he closed his eyes'). The middle strategy does not represent the body part in syntax but marks affectedness of the self in morphology (Lithuanian *jis užsimerkė* 'he closed his eyes'). There is no reason to assume that any of these strategies is more fundamental and the others derived from it. More specifically, there is no reason to believe that Lithuanian *jis užsimerkė* 'he closed his eyes' semantically incorporates a body part argument (expressed overtly in *užmerkė akis*) and is therefore antipassive; and there is also no reason to believe that Lithuanian *jis nusiprausė* 'he washed' is a two-argument structure in semantics because what appears to be a distinct syntactic argument appears in other languages (German *er wusch sich* 'he washed'). The simpler, and better, assumption is that the syntax reflects the semantics. The affectedness of the self is part of the semantics of *nusiprausti*, but there is no need to posit a semantic structure with two distinct argument positions. The information on affectedness of the self could in fact be formulated purely negatively: what is marked in morphology is just that the subject's agency is not directed at another discourse participant, as might be the default in many cases. While one language may regard the lack of an overt object as sufficiently clear marking of this, others may choose to mark it explicitly, hence the difference between English *he washed* and Lithuanian *jis nu-si-prausė*.

The most interesting aspect of the antimetonymic middle illustrated in this chapter from French and Polish is that it references two different aspects of the self in the same construction: the mental and emotional centre, and an external object also metonymically representing the self.

CHAPTER 3

Antipassive middles

3.1   Introduction

This chapter is about reflexive-marked middles that can functionally be identified as representing the cross-linguistically identifiable voice gram of antipassive. The antipassive is a voice category that can be viewed as a counterpart to the passive: instead of demoting or backgrounding the agent, it demotes or backgrounds the patient. Once associated with ergativity, the notion is nowadays applied to grams occurring in languages with nominative alignment as well; for an overview of antipassives in nominative-accusative languages cf. Janic (2013). Among the types of polyfunctionality involving the antipassive, reflexive-antipassive and reciprocal-antipassive polysemy have been noted (Polinsky 2005; Janic 2010). Both will be discussed in this chapter, as Baltic and Slavonic have the same encoding for those types of reflexive and reciprocal meaning that are in the sphere of the middle voice, viz. those reflecting 'naturally reflexive' and 'naturally reciprocal' situations. It is these subtypes of reflexive and reciprocal meaning that are relevant to the topic of this chapter, because it is only in the sphere of the middle voice, that is, in types where properly reflexive or properly reciprocal markers cannot be used, that the reflexive-antipassive and reciprocal-antipassive polysemy can be observed.

Two types of use of reflexive-marked verb forms singled out previously in the literature can be associated with the cross-linguistic gram-type of antipassive: 'deobjective' reflexives (Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey 2004: 1132; called 'depatientive' in Lichtenberk 1991 and 'suppressing antipassives' in Zuñiga & Kittilä 2019: 105; in Geniušienė 1987 these are called 'absolute reflexive verbs') and 'deaccusative' reflexives (Geniušienė 1987: 94).[1] These two types were, however, identified on the basis of formal criteria, even if they were also characterized in functional terms. There is, as has been argued in the preceding chapter and will also be argued here, no one-to-one correspondence between the formal and functional categories. Not every verb

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1.   Zuñiga & Kittilä (2019: 105) call the latter type 'adjunct-P antipassives', evidently on the erroneous assumption that patients marked by means of prepositions or non-core cases are always adjuncts.

that can be used without an object when reflexivized, or takes an oblique case or a prepositional object instead of a direct object when reflexivized, can automatically be classified as antipassive. My focus in this chapter will be on those 'deobjective' and 'deaccusative' verbs that can be identified as antipassives on the grounds of their functional features, not just their form.

3.2   Definition

In an early period of research, there was a tendency to view the antipassive in close connection with morphosyntactic alignment, emphasizing the basically syntactic, realigning function of the antipassive (cf. Dixon 1979: 17). Just as, in a nominative-accusative language, the passive aligns the intransitive subject S with the patient P, diverging from the default alignment of A with S, in an ergative-absolutive language the antipassive aligns S with A, diverging from the default alignment of P with S. At the same time, it was pointed out that this realignment often had a pragmatic or semantic motivation:

> In Walbiri and Circassian, for instance, its [sc., the antipassive's] main function is to express a difference in sentence-internal semantics, namely incompleteness of the situation described in so far as it affects the object.   (Comrie 1978: 362)

Realignment does not inherently need a semantic motivation, however; it may be needed for purely syntactic reasons, e.g., in clausal coordination, when it is necessary to select A as a pivot taken up by an intransitive subject in a coordinated clause (for the notion of pivot cf. Dixon 1979, 1994). This is reflected in Cooreman's definition, which takes into account both syntactic and semantic/pragmatic functions. In an ergative-absolutive language both will be relevant, in a nominative-accusative language only the latter. Cooreman defines them as follows:

> The antipassive which is used for semantic/pragmatic reasons is best described as indicating a certain degree of difficulty with which an effect stemming from an action by A on an identifiable O can be recognized.   (Cooreman 1994: 67)

This is a carefully crafted definition that could be rewritten in the form of an algorithm. Two features are involved: identifiability of the object and affectedness of the object. It seems reasonable to assume that an object must first be identified before one can assess to what extent it is affected by the event described in the clause. If no object is identified, degrees of affectedness will be irrelevant even if they can be established. We thus arrive at the following algorithm:

```
                        ± identifiable
                       /            \
            − identifiable      + identifiable
                                 /          \
                        − completely    + completely
                          affected         affected
```
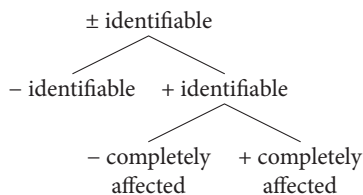
The features [−identifiable] and [−completely affected] can both be encoded by the antipassive. In many definitions of the antipassive, these two features are lumped together and formulated as 'diminished prominence'. As Shibatani (1988: 5) puts it,

> the antipassive voice denies grammatical prominence to the patient nominal by either encoding it as an oblique constituent or not syntactically encoding it at all.

Both formal varieties, patient suppression and oblique marking, are thus viewed as reflecting the same functional feature: low prominence of the patient. In Tsunoda's (1988: 629) list of attributes of the prototypical antipassive, diminished patient prominence and diminished transitivity in terms of aspect and affectedness are listed separately:

> (i) the A is realized as the d-S, (ii) the O is realized as the OBL, or is not realized at all, (iii) the patient is backgrounded, and (iv) the clause shows a lower degree of transitivity than the corresponding Vtr in terms of aspect and affectedness.

Still, the fact that both features appear next to each other as attributes of a canonical antipassive suggests that a prototypical antipassive could characterize the object as backgrounded and weakly affected at the same time. In fact, the features of 'backgrounding' and 'affectedness' are highly unlikely to occur together. If an object O can be identified, its degree of affectedness can be specified; if it cannot be identified, the degree of affectedness is likely to be irrelevant. Both features are, of course, related through the notion of low semantic transitivity in the sense of Hopper & Thompson (1980), as had already been recognized by Cooreman (1994). We can offer a unitary semantic-pragmatic characteristic of the antipassive as connected with 'semantic intransitivization', but this does not free us from the obligation of looking, in every case, which of its constitutive features is involved. Though these two features can both be regarded as part of the antipassive prototype, they can only participate in it alternatively, not together. In this chapter, in discussing antipassive reflexive-marked middles in Baltic, I will separate the two features mentioned here and argue that each of them can be associated with a different variety of reflexive-marked antipassive constructions: while deobjective reflexives reflect low object prominence, deaccusatives reflect low affectedness.

3.3   Antipassives, deobjectives and deaccusatives

Before we can go on to discuss deobjective and deaccusative antipassives in detail, we must clarify the notions and criteria used in defining and identifying these constructions. As mentioned above, Geniušienė (1987) introduces the notions of 'absolute reflexive verbs' and 'deaccusative reflexive verbs' on the basis of formal criteria, although she associates at least part of them with diminished prominence. The formal criteria coincide with those commonly used in characterizing the antipassive, which has been defined as

> [a] construction with a two-place predicate, related to a corresponding transitive construction whose predicate is the same lexical item. In the basic transitive construction, the patient-like argument is realized as a direct object; in the antipassive construction, that argument is either suppressed (left implicit) or realized as an oblique complement.   (Polinsky 2005)

The notion of antipassive reflexives does not appear in Geniušienė, but it is used by subsequent authors, e.g., Say (2003), Janic (2013). The convergence of two lines of research, one on reflexives and another on antipassives, is, of course, a positive development, but we need to check carefully whether what is defined, on the basis of formal criteria, as deobjectives or deaccusatives, can always be equated with what is defined, on the basis of functional criteria, as an antipassive. This has not always been done. A number of grams superficially resembling antipassives but actually performing completely different functions ('spurious antipassives') have been cited from different languages in the literature (cf. Zuñiga & Kittilä 2019: 108–110), and a considerable number of allegedly antipassive reflexives in Slavonic, Baltic, Romance etc. should be added to this list. I will discuss the problems arising from this separately for deobjectives and deaccusatives.

In a number of languages, alternations are observed between a reflexive, or reflexive-marked middle verb, and a non-reflexive verb with an explicit object. Say (2003) cites

(1)   Russian
       Ja   zažmuril   glaza.
       1SG.NOM screw.up.PST.M.SG eye.ACC.PL
       'I screwed up my eyes.'

(2)   *Ja   zažmuril-sja.*
       1SG.NOM screw.up.PST.M.SG-REFL
       (same meaning)

As the reflexive marking on the verb seems to go in hand with the suppression of the object, Say calls such verbs antipassive (possibly in line with a tradition in Russian grammar, cf. Janko-Trinickaja's (1962: 173–178) notion of *vozvratnye glagoly vključennogo ob"ekta* 'reflexives with object inclusion'). This is a misunderstanding. In the sphere of natural reflexives, i.e., in the domain of events in which agent and patient coincide by default, an important role is played by metonymy. It is true that 'wash (oneself)' usually involves more than washing one's hands or face, but in order to button oneself up it is quite enough to button up one's coat or jacket, so that the following sentences are broadly synonymous:

(3)   *John buttoned up his coat.*

(4)   *John buttoned himself up.*

(3) is more specific as to what the subject was wearing, but both sentences refer to the same type of event. Both are, moreover, syntactically similar: they are both transitive, and the difference consists in that in (4) the object is a reflexive pronoun that seems to 'substitute' for the object *his coat.* But actually no substitution is involved: the garment that is being buttoned up is allowed metonymically to stand for the agent's self, and it is the agent's self (not specifically the garment) that is marked by the reflexive pronoun *himself.* Let us now look at the Russian counterparts:

(5)   Russian
       Djadja   zastegnul   pal'to.
       uncle.NOM.SG button.up.PST.M.SG coat[ACC.SG]
       'Uncle buttoned up his coat.'

(6)   *Djadja   zastegnul-sja.*
       uncle.NOM.SG button.up.PST.M.SG-REFL
       'Uncle buttoned himself up.'

The situation is different here because the reflexive marker has become an affix; it has disappeared from syntax and the verb is now intransitive. The reflexive marker *-sja* is not a specific substitute for the object *pal'to.* The difference between the two sentences consists in whether metonymic extension operates or not. But at a superficial glance the reflexive-marked construction is now opposed to a transitive construction whose object has become implicit, and the construction is now, unexpectedly, antipassive if we follow the reasoning in Say (2005) and Janic (2013), and now also in Zuñiga & Kittilä (1919).

    This is clearly undesirable. We must have a principled way of setting antipassives apart from reflexives, or, to be more precise, from the middle-voice verbs belonging to the class of natural reflexives. As discussed in the previous chapter, the

latter involve metonymy, that is, various objects from the agent's personal sphere are allowed to stand, metonymically, for the agent's self. In other words, we must set apart those cases where a transitive verb with an explicit object alternates with a reflexive-marked middle thanks to metonymic transfer, and those where this metonymic relationship does not hold and an alternative explanation for the suppression of the object must be sought. The object-suppressing function of the antipassive and, correspondingly, the antipassive reflexive-marked middle, must be restricted to objects that do not belong to the subject's personal sphere and hence are not eligible to be extended to metonymically represent the subject's 'self' for the purposes of reflexive marking, such as the subject's thoughts and feelings in 'express oneself' (Russian *vyražat'sja,* Polish *wyrażać się*, Latvian *izteikties*), the parts of the subject's head covered by facial hair in 'shave (oneself)' (Russian *brit'sja,* Polish *golić się,* Lithuanian *skustis*, Latvian *skūties*) etc. It would therefore make sense to specify that in an antipassive construction the suppressed object may be backgrounded but must be, to the extent that it can be formulated, notionally and referentially distinct from the subject. This condition is clearly met in (7):

(7) Russian
Sobaka   kusaet-sja.
dog.NOM.SG bite.PRS.3SG-REFL
'The dog bites.'

We may assume the dog referred to in (7) is in the habit of biting other dogs as well as people, but not itself. The potential objects are backgrounded as the emphasis is on a certain property of the dog and not on who or what is actually affected, but the category of possible patients comprises only entities that can be viewed as notionally and referentially clearly distinct from the dog referred to by the subject noun phrase. The notional and referential distinctness of the backgrounded patient must be recognized as a definitional feature of the antipassive, otherwise we will not have a means of keeping antipassives apart from reflexives.

Similar difficulties present themselves in the case of deaccusatives. Geniušienė (1987: 256) illustrates her deaccusative reflexive with examples like

(8) German
Das   Kind   fürchtet   den   Hund.
DEF.NOM.SG.N child.NOM.SG fear.prs.3sg DEF.ACC.SG.M dog.ACC.SG

(9) *Das   Kind   fürchtet   sich   vor   dem*
DEF.NOM.SG.N child.NOM.SG fear.PRS.3SG REFL before DEF.DAT.SG.M
Hund.
dog.ACC.SG
'The child is afraid of the dog.'

(10) French
      Elle   moque   tout le monde.[2]
      3SG.F.SBJ mock.PRS.3SG everybody

(11) *Elle   se   moque   de tout le monde.*
      3SG.F.SBJ REFL mock.PRS.3SG of everybody
      'She makes fun of everybody.'

While these examples meet the formal criteria for an antipassive, it is not clear in which sense they meet the pragmatic and semantic criteria. Geniušienė suggests diminished prominence, but it is difficult to see in what sense the prepositional phrases in (9) and (11) are backgrounded or lower in prominence. As discussed in the previous chapter, the best test for backgounding or low prominence is remaining unexpressed. It is in this sense that the passive can be characterized as an agent-backgrounding device: in the canonical passive construction the agent is simply not expressed (Keenan & Dryer 2007); inasmuch as it is always present in semantic structure, it may be said to be backgrounded. If, in a passive construction, an agent is nevertheless reintroduced as an oblique agent phrase (a *by*-phrase in English) it is thereby restored to prominence, but it remains true (keeping in mind the canonical variety) that the passive is an agent-backgrounding device. Nothing of the kind applies to (9) and (11). The reflexive French *elle se moque* is difficult to imagine without an object. As to the German example with *sich fürchten*, it is true that one can say

(12) German
      Das   Kind   fürchtet   sich.
      DEF.NOM.SG.N child.NOM.SG fear.PRS.3SG REFL
      'The child is afraid.'

But (9) and (12) probably have different argument structures, as emotive predicates may describe emotive states considered by themselves (on the basis of their symptoms) or as induced by external stimuli (this twofold conceptualization will be discussed in greater detail in 5.5). The analogy of other emotive predicates (like *sich freuen* 'be pleased, rejoice', opposed to *freuen* 'delight, gladden' etc.) shows that the function of *sich* is not to background an object-stimulus even when this object-stimulus is not expressed. When it is expressed it is, *a fortiori*, not backgrounded. When backgrounding is reflected in non-expression, as with the deobjective reflexive-marked middle already illustrated in (7) above and to be discussed in more detail in sections 3.4 and 3.5 below, it is an observable fact. If it cannot be tested, it remains wholly subjective and unverifiable, and this is the case with the alleged backgrounding in constructions like (12).

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2.   The non-reflexive *moquer* is now obsolete, though still used in the passive.

If no backgrounding is involved, then perhaps low affectedness could be involved? This obviously does not apply to cases like (9), as the object of 'fear' is not affected by the event. No difference involving affectedness could therefore exist between (8) and (9). In fact, there seems to be no meaning difference at all between these two sentences, but even if some meaning difference could be discovered between them, it would probably not be a one characteristic of the antipassive derivation. The same can be said of the pairs of non-reflexive and reflexive French verbs discussed by Janic (2013: 175–231), such as *attaquer* and *s'attaquer à* 'attack', *apercevoir* and *s'apercevoir de* 'become aware, notice', *attendre* 'await' and *s'attendre à* 'expect' etc. Janic finds various subtle semantic differences between these pairs of verbs (e.g., a difference between more concrete and more abstract meanings), and her explanations may well be accurate – in fact, in some cases they are obvious and would be rendered lexically in English, e.g.

(13) French
    Elle attendait   le   bus.
    she wait.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG bus
    'She was waiting for the bus.'

(14) *Elle s'   attendait   à une   réponse.*
    she REFL wait.impf.3sg to DEF.F.SG answer
    'She was expecting an answer.'

One would be at pains, however, to find anything in common between Janic's formulations of the semantic differences characterizing pairs of sentences like (13) and (14) and the pragmatic/semantic features that have been associated, in the literature, with the antipassive. The fact that a pair of verbs meets the formal criteria for an antipassive and shows *some* difference of meaning does not mean an antipassive derivation must be involved. In fact, in many of the cases discussed by Janic it could not be involved. Waiting, for instance, is not an activity whose object could remain unspecified (like eating, reading, writing etc.), so that object backgrounding is *a priori* unlikely; and its object is not affected by the event, so that the notion of incomplete affectedness could not apply here.

A legitimate question would be, of course, how to account for those pairs of verbs that meet the formal criteria for antipassives (formal marking, derivative relationship, intransitivization) but do not show the pragmatic/semantic features of antipassives. There is no single answer to this question: 'deaccusatives' are, as I have argued in the previous chapter and elsewhere, a heterogeneous set (cf. Holvoet 2019). Some pairs (like French *attaquer* and *s'attaquer*) are accidents of language history and do not represent any regular pattern. In other cases a pattern may be discerned, but the meaning difference has nothing in common with

the antipassive derivation; this is the case with the 'antimetonymic constructions' discussed in Chapter 2.

It is probably useful to supplement the list of attributes discussed above as defining the antipassive with at least one more feature. Heaton (2017: 62) suggests that the subject of an antipassive construction should be an agent, and I think this deserves to be included in the defining features of the antipassive. It correlates in part with the object-oriented features already mentioned: low affectedness of the object presupposes a possible physical impact produced by an agent, so that certain semantic classes lacking the features of agency and affectedness are not eligible for antipassive derivation.

3.4   Deobjectives 1: The behaviour-characterizing use

I will now discuss the types of antipassive reflexive-marked verbs represented in Baltic in more detail. I will start with the deobjective. An example of a deobjective reflexive would be (7), here once more repeated as (15):

(15)   Russian
    Sobaka   *kusaet-sja.*
    dog.NOM.SG bite.PRS.3SG-REFL
    'The dog bites.'

This sentence obviously has an implicit patient ('people', 'other dogs' etc.), but it is generic and backgrounded. Geniušienė uses the term 'absolute reflexive verbs', but it seems preferable to apply this term in a broader sense, to refer to objectless uses of transitive verbs not necessarily marked morphologically (as in *I am reading*). The term 'deobjective' is used in Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey (2004: 1132), but these authors add an epithet and call sentences like (15) 'potential deobjectives', stating that "potential deobjectives […] occur only in irrealis or generic sentences, never in specific realis sentences". This interpretation is reflected in the translation offered for their Lithuanian example:

(16)   Lithuanian   (Geniušienė 1987: 84)
    Berniuk-as   *muša-si.*
    boy-NOM.SG beat.PRS.3-RFL
    'The boy fights (is pugnacious)'

The characterization of deobjectives as inherently habitual is also found in Kulikov (2011: 382), who renders Russian *kusaetsja* as 'bites (in a habitual context)'. The claim that the deobjective always refers to habitual action as a means of

characterizing an individual is inaccurate, though it might be true as a statistical tendency. However, it is not difficult to find counterexamples. Here is a pair of examples from Lithuanian, with the same verb *muštis*, one in a habitual meaning and the other referring to a particular situation:

(17)   Lithuanian
[*Dažnas tėvas sunerimsta –*]
vaikeliui   nėra   nė dvejų   metų,   o   jis
child.DIM.DAT.SG be.PRS.NEG.3 PTC two.GEN year[PL].GEN but 3.NOM.SG.M
jau   muša-si.
already fight.PRS.3-REFL
'Many a parent is worried: their child is not even two years old but already picks fights.'   https://www.alfa.lt/straipsnis/147647/
kaip-elgtis-tevams-jei-1-3-metu-vaikas-musasi

(18)   Lithuanian
[*Bet kartą grįžusi namo ir man ištaisė panašią sceną – užsiožiavo dėl smulkmenos,
o įsirėkė iki užkimimo, …*],
ji   tik spardė-si,   mušė-si   ir   klykė
3.NOM.SG.F just kick.PST.3-RFL fight.PST.3-RFL and scream.PST.3
'[But once, on coming home, she made a similar scene to me as well – she flew into a rage over a trifle and went off yelling herself hoarse, …] she just kicked, fought and screamed.'
https://www.supermama.lt/forumas/lofiversion/index.php/t11173.html

Of course, uses like this are probably not too frequent because (16) is, in origin, an instance of the naturally reciprocal use of the reflexive marker. Most uses of *muštis* referring to particular situations will be references to a collective fighting event, while a propensity for taking part in such events can be predicated of one person. Hence the assumption that uses like (16) must be 'individual-level' predicates in the sense of Carlson (1977). But this is probably just a statistical tendency, as shown by stage-level uses like (17). This example is, however, in several respects similar to (16). Though it does not refer to a person's habitual behaviour but to behaviour at a particular moment, it is still iterative in the sense that there must be several instances of the relevant type of behaviour in order for it to be identified; moreover, it is also about a certain *type* of physical behaviour, the effects of this behaviour being out of focus. The same twofold use (individual-level and stage-level) is seen in the following examples from Latvian:

(19) Latvian
[*Rikšos un soļos visi jāj viens aiz otra,*]
bet zirgs,   kas   spārdā-s,   iet   pēdējais
but horse.NOM.SG REL.NOM kick.PRS.3-RFL go.PRS.3 last.NOM.SG.M.DEF
rindā
line.LOC.SG
[*vai arī pārējie turas no tā pa gabalu*].
'[When trotting or pacing all ride one after the other,] but a horse that kicks (is in the habit of kicking) walks last in the line, [or else the others keep a distance from it].'   http://zirgam.lv/2012/07/20/ko-darit-ja-zirgs-nikojas-iii-dala/

(20) [*Sievietes nereaģēja, bet, gluži pretēji, uzsāka fiziski aizskart policijas darbiniekus –*]
sita   ar   dūrēm,   spārdījā-s   un   rāva   aiz formas
hit.PST.3 with fist.DAT.PL kick.PST.3-RFL and pull.PST.3 at form.GEN.SG
tērpa.
dress.GEN.SG
'[The women did not comply but, quite to the contrary, begin to assault the police officers physically –] they hit them with their fists, kicked and pulled at their uniforms.'   http://www.delfi.lv/news/national/criminal/policisti-riga-aiztur-cetras-agresivas-sievietes.d?id=25112175

And, finally, a Russian counterexample to the exclusively 'individual-level' use of the deobjective (here the possibility of using verbs of our type with reference to specific situations was already noted by Janko-Trinickaja 1962: 200):

(21) Russian   (N. N. Španov, 1896–1961, RNC)
Ona   brykala-s',   carapala-s',   kusala-s',   pytajas'
3.NOM.SG.F kick.PST.F-RFL scratch.PST.F-RFL bit.PST.F-RFL try.CVB
osvobodit'   golovu,   zažatuju   pod
disengage.INF head.ACC.SG squeeze.PPP.ACC.SG.F under
myškoj   Magdy.
place.under.arm.INS.SG PN.GEN.SG
'She kicked, scratched and bit, trying to wriggle free her head which Magda held squeezed under her arm.'

In all these examples, even though they refer to specific situations, the emphasis is still on behaviour, not on possible effects. Whether anybody is actually affected by this behaviour remains unspecified. As Polinsky puts it, "the use of a prototypical transitive verb entails that the event denoted by that verb causes a change of state in the object participant […] The semantic function of the antipassive is to cancel such an entailment" (Polinsky 2005). The potential character of the deobjective

is thus wholly on the part of the object and its possible affectedness, not on the side of the agent and her/his activity, about which there may be nothing potential. There is thus no need for the clause to be irrealis or generic. While deobjectives are always vague about affected entities, in every other respect deobjectives have the same types of use as the corresponding non-reflexive verbs: they can be kind-level (*dogs bite*), individual-level (*this dog bites*) or stage-level (*the dog was growling and biting*). The misunderstandings that have grown around the deobjective reflexive seem to stem from an inaccurate reading of Geniušienė's formulations. Geniušienė (1987: 85) states: "Absolute R[efexive] V[erbs] imply either an indefinite […] or generalized […] Patient, which results in the development of the modal potential meaning in absolute R[eflexive] V[erbs] when they come to denote a habitual activity as a particular permanent characteristic of the Agent". This statement contains a conditional clause ("when they come to denote…") and there is no claim to the effect that the verb itself must always develop a potential meaning. But in any case the deobjective type is behaviour-characterizing, and this probably creates a natural predilection for habitual use, and a statistical preponderance of habitual over specific, situationally anchored uses.

3.5 Deobjectives 2: The activity subtype

Not all deobjectives are behaviour-characterizing. Latvian also has a minor subtype referring to activity – not only habitual activity but also activity at a specific time:

(22) Latvian   (Augusts Saulietis, 1869–1933, cited from LLVV)
   Ķēķī   bija   vannā   samērktas   drēbes:
   kitchen.LOC be.PST.3 tub.LOC.SG soak.PPP.NOM.PL.F clothes.NOM.PL
   māte   šodien velēsie-s,   dzīvos   pa   āru.
   mother.NOM today launder.FUT.3-RFL live.FUT.3 about outdoors.space.ACC
   'In the kitchen clothes have been soaked in a tub: Mother is going to do her laundering today, she will be busy outdoors.'

(23) Latvian   (Augusts Saulietis, 1869–1933, cited from LLVV)
   Mizas   māte   sēdēja   pie maza   galdiņa…
   PN.GEN.SG   mother.NOM.SG   sit.PST.3 at small.GEN.SG.M table.DIM.GEN.SG
   un   lāpījā-s.
   and mend.PST.3-RFL
   'Mother Miza was sitting at a little table and doing her mending.'

Both uses illustrated here are listed in the dictionaries: *velēties* is defined in LLVV as 'be engaged in washing and related activities for a long time' ('ilgāku laiku velēt,

veikt ar velēšanu saistītus darbus'), and *lāpīties* as 'mend, usually pieces of clothing, for a long time and in large quantities' ('ilgāku laiku, daudz lāpīt, parasti apģērba gabalus'). But the type enjoys a certain productivity, and an internet search reveals examples that are not listed in the dictionaries, like *gleznoties* 'be busy painting':

(24) Latvian
[*Māksliniece Anita Holma, kura ir Šķērsielas iedzīvotāja,*]
ar   kolēģiem   un draugiem   gleznojā-s   visas
with colleague.DAT.PL and friend.DAT.PL paint.PST.3-RFL whole.GEN.SG
ielas   garumā.
street.GEN.SG length.LOC.PL
['Artist Anita Holma, who is a resident of Crossroad Street,] was happily painting away together with colleagues and friends along the whole length of the street.'
    http://apollo.tvnet.lv/zinas/skersiela-tagad-skatama-ari-uz-audekla/566198

We could also add examples with verbs that are deobjective in a slightly broader sense as they do not take accusative objects but dative objects, such as *zvanīt* 'call somebody on the telephone':

(25) Latvian   (*Kino Raksti,* 2007/1 (13), rudens)
[*Bet toreizējā festivāla direktore Benita Sarma*]
mēnešiem zvanījā-s   pa   visu   Latviju   lūgdamās,
for.months phone.PST.3-REFL about all.ACC.SG Latvia.ACC beg.CVB.SG.F
[*kamēr kādās nieka astoņās vietās šo programmu ar gariem zobiem paņēma pretī...*]
'[But the then director of the festival, Benita Sarma] was busy for months on end phoning all over Latvia with entreaties [before a mere eight cinemas reluctantly agreed to feature the programme…]'

Uses of this type are obviously unconnected to the behaviour-characterizing type discussed above. They mostly refer to activity, more specifically a person's activity during a particular interval of time. Individual-level uses do not seem to be excluded, however:

(26) Latvian   (Teodors Zeiferts, 1865–1929, *Latviešu rakstniecības vēsture*, 1922)
[*Saules meitas dara par sevi dažus sieviešu darbus:*]
velēja-s,   ada   cimdus,   auž   sagšas,
wash.PRS.3-REFL knit.PRS.3 glove.ACC.PL weave.PRS.3 shawl.ACC.PL
slauka   istabu.
sweep.PRS.3 chamber.ACC.SG
'[The Sun's daughters perform by themselves many women's tasks:] they wash, knit gloves, weave shawls and sweep the chamber.'

The implicit objects are, in this type, always inanimate, and there is obviously no connection to the reciprocal type of reflexive-marked middles. The type illustrated here is probably connected with the extended metonymic type discussed in the preceding chapter. The best-established instances are from the sphere of domestic activities, and the objects, e.g., clothes, will typically include objects belonging to the subject, though even in examples like (22), (23) the strictly possessive relationship may be viewed as relaxed: presumably they will be the clothes of the household. In (24) and (25) the possessive relationship is still further relaxed and the effect of the reflexive derivation seems to be to evoke a self-contained activity absorbing the subject, while the implicit object is backgrounded and low in referentiality.

The activity deobjectives illustrated here from Latvian do not seem to have developed in Lithuanian, or at least their existence is hard to prove. Some examples in the Academic Dictionary of Lithuanian are somewhat reminiscent of it, but they are basically still within the sphere of the extended metonymic reflexive. Unlike what we observe in Latvian, no uses are attested that would not be susceptible to a metonymic account and would therefore require an antipassive interpretation. Moreover, the relevant verbs could also be interpreted as indirect (datival) reflexives, which makes the identification of a putative antipassive type of use even more difficult.

(27) Lithuanian (LKŽ from Skirsnemunė)
Imsiu šiandien lopyti-s,
start.FUT.1SG today patch.INF-REFL
[*praplyšo kojinės po padais.*]
'I'm going to do my darning today, [the soles of my stockings are torn.]'

(28) Lithuanian (LKŽ from Druskininkai)
Pats velėjo-s, pats virė-si.
self.NOM.SG.M wash.PST.3-REFL self.NOM.SG.M cook.PST.3-REFL
'He washed his clothes himself and cooked his food himself.'

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, the productivity of the autobenefactive natural reflexive type in Lithuanian, combined with frequent ellipsis of the direct object in the spoken language, also makes it difficult to assess the scope and the frequency of extended metonymic reflexives (the type diachronically underlying the activity subtype of deobjectives) in Lithuanian.

The 'activity' subtype described here for Latvian (and perhaps also marginally represented in Lithuanian) does not seem to exist at all in Russian, and, more generally, in Slavonic. The literature on deobjective reflexives in Slavonic basically mentions two languages: Russian and Polish. The Polish type is highly specific in being restricted to children's language (Wilczewska 1966: 100):

(29)   Polish   (Maria Zientarowa, 1914–2007, cited from Wilczewska 1966: 100)
       Mama,   on   się   drażni.
       Mum.voc.sg 3.nom.sg.m refl tease.prs.3sg
       'Mum, he's teasing.'

These Polish 'kindergarten uses' seem to be characteristic of situations in which children are 'telling on' each other, which means that they usually refer to specific situations rather than to stable properties of an individual; in other words, they are specialized in stage-level use. In this sense they differ from the Russian type, which is probably predominantly individual-level. However, there is no difference with regard to the defining properties of this subtype of deobjectives: the implicit backgrounded object is, in principle, human, and the type develops from the naturally reciprocal type. The restriction to kindergarten parlance is, of course, a sociolinguistic fact: adults avoid the construction because it is stigmatized, but it is otherwise an element of Polish speakers' linguistic knowledge.

3.6   Diachrony: The rise of deobjectives

As already mentioned, the behaviour-characterizing deobjective is derived from the reciprocal reflexive. The rise of characterizing deobjectives has been noted for languages with dedicated reciprocal markers not combined with the marking of reflexivity, cf. Lichtenberk (1991) for To'aba'ita. Sansò (2017: 207–208) hypothesizes that when reflexive markers develop antipassive functions, this is always connected with the reciprocal function of reflexives. As shown above, this is accurate as far as characterizing deobjectives are concerned, but these are not the only type of deobjectives; the evidence of Latvian points to a second type arising from metonymic reflexives.

Though it is not difficult to find contexts in which the reciprocal reading does not apply and the behaviour-characterizing function is the only possible interpretation, lexically speaking the deobjective use seems not to have completely emancipated itself from the reciprocal type in Baltic. As pointed out above, reciprocal reflexives have, by nature, animate subjects and implicit objects. This feature is inherited by most of the deobjective reflexives. Deobjective verbs with inanimate subjects all seem to be metaphorical uses of reciprocal/deobjective verbs with originally animate subjects, e.g. *badytis* in (31), used with reference to a hedgehog's spines, is a metaphorical use of a verb originally meaning 'butt with the horns'. This is shown in (30), while (31) shows the deobjective use:

(30) Lithuanian
Ožkos   tarpusavyje labai mėgsta   badyti-s.
goat.NOM.PL mutually   very like.PRS.3 butt.INF-REFL
'Goats very much like to butt each other.'
> https://www.delfi.lt/partnerio-turinys/archive/laikai-keiciasi-vis-daugiau-lietuviu-geria-ne-tik-karves-piena.d?id=69077660

(31) Lithuanian
Supratęs,   kad spygliai   bado-si,   nuo
understand.PPA.NOM.SG.M that spine.NOM.PL prick.PRS.3-REFL from
jo   atsitraukė.
3.GEN.SG.M draw.back.PST.3
'After realizing [the hedgehog's] spines prick, it [sc. the cat] drew back from it.'
> http://www.paukstis.lt/forumas/viewtopic.php?f=10&t=4241&start=150

The lexeme *badytis* thus has either a reciprocal or a deobjective use as long as its subject is animate, but it can be used metaphorically about a hedgehog's spines or a rose's thorns, and then it will be exclusively deobjective. Russian seems to have gone beyond this stage by introducing reflexive forms used only with reference to inanimate subjects, so that the idea of a reciprocal activity does not apply. This is the case with *žeč'sja* 'burn' (about nettles), which does not seem to have a reciprocal use with animate subject:

(32) Russian
Krapiva   žžet-sja.
nettle.NOM.SG burn.PRS.3-REFL
'(The) nettles burn.'

This use can only refer to a characteristic property of nettles, not to a battle in which nettles attempt to hurt each other. That is, the deobjective *žeč'sja* could not come into existence as a deobjective use of a basically reciprocal verb, but was created at once as a deobjective. The deobjective type has thus emancipated itself lexically from the reciprocal type in Russian, but only to a minimal extent, as the number of instances where this can be observed is insignificant. In Lithuanian it is not clear whether there are such instances at all. For instance, *dilginti*, which means 'burn' with reference to nettles, does not seem to have a reflexive form analogous to the Russian one in (32):

(33) Lithuanian
Dilgėlės   dilgina(-si).*
nettle.NOM.PL burn.PRS.3(*-REFL)
'(The) nettles burn.'

The activity subtype of the deobjective middle described above for Baltic is also not fully emancipated lexically from its source type, the (direct and indirect) naturally reflexive type. Latvian *velēties* and *lāpīties* in (22), (23) can have both an extended metonymic reading ('wash or darn one's own clothes') or an antipassive reading ('be occupied washing or darning clothes'), but for *gleznoties* in (25) and *zvanīties* in (26) the extended metonymic interpretation no longer applies. For Lithuanian *velētis* and *lopytis* in (27) and (28) the indirect naturally reflexive use is primary and one can just point to sundry cases where they seem to have shifted to antipassive use.

3.7   Deaccusatives

The notion of deaccusative is problematic, as I have already shown in the preceding chapter. What I will discuss here is the deaccusative antipassive reflexive, one of the two subtypes of antipassive reflexives. Not every verb satisfying the formal criteria for a deaccusative (reflexive marking combined with substitution of oblique marking for the usual accusatival marking) is antipassive according to the semantic-pragmatic criteria formulated in the literature and outlined in the first section of this chapter. One subtype of formally deaccusative reflexives that is not antipassive is discussed in 2.4. A survey of possible ways in which transitive-deaccusative alternations may arise is offered in Holvoet (2019).

The deaccusative antipassive type will here be illustrated from Latvian, where it is most developed.

3.7.1   The locative subtype

The locative subtype replaces the direct object with a prepositional phrase denoting approximate location. A frequently used preposition is *pa*, which usually denotes dispersed motion over a surface, as in *staigāt pa dārzu* 'walk about in the garden':

(34)   Latvian
[*Kādu nedēļu nebiju Latvijā un*]
tagad atbraucis   šķirstu   avīzes,
now   return.PPA.NOM.SG.M leaf.PRS.1SG newspaper.ACC.PL
skatos   informāciju   un nevaru
look.PRS.1SG.REFL information.ACC.SG and NEG.be.able.PRS.1SG
saprast –   kas   notiek!?
understand.INF what.NOM happen.PRS.3
'[For a week or so I've been away from Latvia,] and now on my return I leaf the newspapers, look at the news and cannot understand what's going on.'
http://www.kurzemes-vards.lv/lv/laikraksts/numuri/2007/10/04/?p=8

(35) [*Augusts brīdi domīgs nolūkojās aizgājējam pakaļ,*]
    tad sāka   šķirstītie-s pa   papīriem.
    then start.PST.3 leaf.INF-REFL about paper.DAT.PL
    '[For a while August gazed thoughtfully after the retreating man], then started
    leafing about in his papers.'   https://newspapers.lib.sfu.ca/lat-27275/page-5

Also popular is *ap*, which may mean 'around', as in *ap galdu* 'around the table',
but may also express approximate location, as in *ap Limbažiem* 'in the environs
of Limbaži':

(36) Latvian   (Zeiboltu Jēkabs, 1867–1924, *Liktenis*, 1902)
    [*Viņš pacēlās sēdus, un*]
    rokas   gramstīja   ūdens   krūzi,
    hand.NOM.SG grope.PST.3 water.GEN.SG jug.ACC.SG
    [*lai dzesētu mocošās slāpes.*]
    '[He sat up and] his hands groped for the water jug [to quench the tormenting
    thirst].'

(37) Latvian   (Aivars Tarvids, 1952–2018, *Nelāga diena*, 1992)
    Arnolds   tumsā   gramstījā-s   ap   aparātu.
    PN.NOM.SG darkness-LOC grope.PST.3-RFL about telephone.set.ACC.SG
    'Arnold groped about at the telephone in the darkness.'

The third frequently used preposition is *gar* 'along', which suggests superficial mo-
tion in contact with a surface:

(38) Latvian   (lvTenTen14)
    [*Piemēram, vakar iznāca situācija, kad Robins gribēja pagriezt skaļāk mūziku un*]
    gramstīja-s   gar   pogām,
    grope.PST.3-REFL along button.DAT.PL
    [*no kurām neko lāga nesaprot.*]
    ['Yesterday, for instance, a situation arose in which Robin wanted to turn the
    music louder] and was groping along the buttons [about which he had no
    proper notion].'

Each of these prepositions suggests a different subtype of spatial conceptualization.

3.7.2 The instrumental subtype

The second subtype has instrumental marking. This type seems to be character-
istic of caused motion verbs which normally combine with a direct object and a
directional adverbial when goal-oriented motion is involved. If the causation of
motion is unsuccessful, the directional adverbial is lacking and the object receives

instrumental marking, which is perhaps not strictly instrumental but suggests the object is marginally involved in the process without its situation changing (one is reminded of Jakobson's characterization of the instrumental as a non-directional *Randkasus*, cf. Jakobson 1935/1971: 47):

(39) Latvian   (Guntis Berelis, 1961–, *Ugunīgi vērši ar zelta ragiem*, 2007)
      Un nu viņi   pa   abiem   ar   kundzi
      and now 3.NOM.PL.M between both.DAT.PL.M with missus.ACC.SG
      stīvēja   augšup pa   kāpnēm   instrumentu
      lug.PST.3 upward along stairs.DAT.PL instrument.ACC.SG
      'And now he and his missus were lugging the instrument upstairs together.'

(40) [*Ar virvēm bruņojušies komunālās saimniecības vīri*]
      stīvējā-s   ar   lielgabalu,
      lug.PST.3-REFL with cannon.ACC.SG
      [*ko iepriekšējā naktī kāds nezināms spēks bija nostūmis no paaugstinājuma*]
      '[Municipality workers, armed with ropes] were lugging at a cannon [which during he night some unknown force had thrown from its pedestal].'
              http://www.ntz.lv/novados/jaunpils/pie-jaunpils-pils-nogaz-lielgabalu/

3.8 The functional features of the deaccusative type

As mentioned above, the two subtypes of deaccusative antipassive in Baltic were already recognized and described by Geniušienė. Interestingly, she gives two different accounts of the semantic-pragmatic features of the two subtypes. In the locative type she assumes a semantic feature, viz, spatial conceptualization: "the second referent in the R[eflexive] C[onstruction] is interpreted as Locative, i.e., the surface case is ascribed the semantic function of encoding a change in the interpretation of the referent role" (Geniušienė 1987: 95). In the case of the instrumental type, Geniušienė sees no difference in conceptualization, only a pragmatic difference: "Both constructions [viz. the reflexive and non-reflexive one – A. H.] refer to the same external situation and the inanimate referent is assumed to retain its patient role, the instrumental case of the Obl[ique]O[bject] having the communicative function of reducing the degree of prominence of the referent without changing its role" (Geniušienė 1987: 94)

I think Geniušienė's idea of a difference in conceptualization is absolutely correct, but why could we not extend it to the instrumental type by assuming it represents conceptualization of the object as an instrument? On the other hand, if diminished prominence is involved in the case of instrumental marking, could it not also be involved in the case of locative marking?

While the conceptualization aspects connected with the encoding of the object by means of locative or instrumental phrases do not seem very controversial, diminished prominence is, in my view, difficult to prove. The best measure of diminished prominence is the possibility of omission, which does not seem to exist in most cases discussed here. Oblique marking is often associated with diminished prominence, especially if it is a concomitant of deletability, as in the case of *by*-phrases with the passive. But it can also be associated with other differences, and here I would like to suggest it is associated with low affectedness. Both diminished prominence and low affectedness are, of course, features associated with low semantic transitivity in the sense of Hopper and Thompson (1980).

Is low affectedness easier to prove than low prominence? Certainly not in all cases, but in some cases it is. What corroborates the relevance of low affectedness is, in my view, telicity. If an object is strongly affected, we may expect it to undergo a change in state, in which case the predication will become telic, that is, the gradual change of state will lead up to a final stage where the quantitative change becomes qualitative and the object enters a new state. This is illustrated by the examples with *mīcīt* in (41) and (42). In (41) this verb behaves as an accomplishment verb denoting the kneading or moulding of clay into figurines, while in (42) we have just an activity without reference to a change of state:

(41)   Latvian
[…] *vieni   mīcīja   mālus   un   veidoja*
one.NOM.PL.M knead.PST.3 clay.ACC.PL and mould.PST.3
svilpauniekus,
whistle.figurine.ACC.PL
[*bet citi našķojās ar nātru zupu.*]
'Some kneaded clay and moulded whistle figurines, [while others regaled themselves with nettle soup].'   http://www.rezekne.lv/rezeknes-zinas/zina/_/
rezeknes-zinas/-/475-rezekniesi-malos-lidz-ausim-video/

(42)   [*Epizodiski sākumskolas vecumā*]
mīcījā-s   pa māliem,   zīmēja,
knead.PST.3-RFL in clay.DAT.PL draw.PST.3
[*ar kaut kādiem modelīšiem ņēmās.*]
'[Episodically, at primary school age,] he messed around in clay, drew, [and engaged in some kind of modelling].'   http://calis.delfi.lv/forums/tema/
17709113-majmaciba-jeb-apmaciba-gimene/21/

The difference in telicity must have its consequences for aspect. If the predication is telic, it is eligible for perfectivization; this manifests itself in the addition of a prefix which could be characterized as telicizing and perfectivizing, and refers to the

telic process reaching its final stage. If it is atelic, it is eligible only for delimitative perfectivization, that is, for the addition of the prefix *pa-*, which does not telicize the predication but singles out a closed time interval filled by the activity. Not surprisingly, only delimitative prefixation is possible in the case of the deaccusative construction:

(43) Latvian
Tā arī Dievs   kādreiz sa-mīcīja   mālus,   iepūta
so also God.NOM.SG once   TEL-knead.PST.3 clay.ACC.PL blow.into.PST.3
un   sanācām   mēs.
and result.PST.1PL 1PL.NOM
'And so one day God kneaded some clay, blew into it and we were created.
                                                    http://t830x.lv/laupiana-latvieu-stila/

(44) *Ja* […] *Tevi   saista   iespējas   pa-mīcītie-s   pa*
if   2SG.ACC attract.PRS.3 possibility.NOM.PL DELIM-knead.INF-RFL in
māliem   vai iemācīties fotografēt […]
clay.DAT.PL or learn.INF photograph.INF
[*tad Tu droši esi mūsējais!*]
'If you are attracted by the possibility of spending some time messing about in clay or learning to make photographs, [then you are surely one of us]!'
                                            http://www.malpils.lv/uploads/filedir/File/
                                            Vestis/2006/Maalpils-maijs_2006-netam.pdf

When we look at the instrumental type, we find exactly the same differences between the transitive and the deaccusative construction with regard to telicity and aspect. With the verb *stīvēt* 'lug', which was used above to illustrate the instrumental conceptualization, we find the transitive verb can be combined with various local prefixes specifying direction, such as *aiz-* which encodes orientation to a certain goal away from the deictic centre:

(45) Latvian
Grūta   bērnība –   pārāk agri mani   aiz-stīvēja
difficult.NOM.SG.F childhood.NOM.SG too   early 1SG.ACC TEL-drag.PST.3
uz baznīcu,
to church.ACC.SG
[*kur es neko nesapratu, garlaikojos un salu.*]
'[Mine was] a difficult childhood – at a too early age they dragged me to church, [where I didn't understand a thing and felt bored and cold].'
                                            https://oysternotes.wordpress.com/2017/04/29/
                                            metamies-cina-jeb-marsa-menesis/

The reflexive *stīvēties* has only a delimitative derivative *pastīvēties* 'drag, tug at something for a certain time':

(46) Latvian
Atnāca saimnieks, brīdi pa-stīvējā-s ap
come.PST.3 landlord.NOM.SG while.ACC.SG DELIM-tug.PST.3-RFL about
logu tāpat,
window.ACC.SG just.like.that
[*tad atnesa gumijas āmuru un brīdi mēģināja izdauzīt iesprūdušo rāmi ārā.*]
'The landlord came and first spent some time tugging at the window just like that, [then he brought a rubber hammer and for some time tried to force out the window frame that had got stuck].' https://tjigra.wordpress.com/
2010/08/17/emigranta-iesaceja-piezimes-8-diena/

While the differences highlighted here constitute evidence for a semantic difference between the deaccusative construction and its transitive counterpart in terms of affectedness, it must also be said that this difference does not manifest itself everywhere. The deaccusative derivation atelicizes the predication if it is telic or can receive a telic reading (without a syntactic context, a verb like 'knead' or 'mould' can, of course, be either an activity or an accomplishment verb). But the deaccusative derivation also applies to verbs that are inherently atelic as they consistently refer to an atelic activity. This is the case with *vandīt* 'rummage', occurring in an example that can be found in Geniušienė:

(47) Latvian   (cited from Geniušienė 1987: 95)
Es vandu papīrus uz galda.
1SG.NOM rummage.PRS.1SG paper.ACC.PL on table.GEN

(48) *Es vando-s pa papīriem uz galda.*
1SG.NOM rummage.PRS.1SG-REFL in paper.DAT.PL on table.GEN
'I rummage among the papers on the table.'

A verb like 'rummage' is less likely to receive a telic reading, and the contrast between the two constructions is less pronounced. When compared to (47), sentence (48) represents perhaps some difference in conceptualization (with the preposition *pa*, denoting dispersed location, additionally emphasizing the chaotic character of the manipulation), but apart from that (47) and (48) mean exactly the same. However, even verbs like *vandīt* can be telicized by the addition of prefixes, e.g., there is *izvandīt* 'turn upside down (looking for something)', as in (49):

(49) Latvian
[*Kad Čekisti naktī ieradās Jūliju arestēt,*]
viņi iz-vandīja visu māju,
3.NOM.PL.M PFX-rummage.PST.3 whole.ACC.SG house.ACC.SG
meklēdami ieročus …
look.for.CVB.PL.M weapon.ACC.PL
'[When the Cheka people came at night to arrest Julius,] they turned the whole house upside down in search of weapons…'　https://www.geni.com/people/J%C5%ABlijs-Mi%C4%B7elsons/6000000010827261595

To be sure, a telicized derivative with the same prefix *iz-* is available also for the reflexive verb *vandīties*, but here the telicization is associated with the state of the agent: *izvandīties* means 'rummage in sth to one's fill', i.e., it refers to the moment when the agent has satisfied her or his curiosity, not to the moment a whole object has been searched (on this type cf. 1.8). The verb is thus atelic as far as the object is concerned.

(50) Latvian
[*Nogurusī daudzbērnu māte …*]
kārtīgi iz-vandījā-s pa saviem daudzajiem
thoroughly PFX-rummage.PST.3-REFL in RPO.DAT.PL.M many.DAT.PL.M.DEF
maisiņiem un pabrokastoja.
bundle.DAT.PL and have.breakfast.PST.3
'[The tired mother with many children] had a thorough search of her bundles and took her breakfast.'　https://www.lsm.lv/raksts/arpus-etera/arpus-etera/ingvilda-strautmane-privatais-autobuss.a122794/

With reference to verbs like *vandīt*, we could say that a construction emphasizing chaotic manipulation as opposed to goal-directed processing of an object leading to a change of state is applied to a verb that inherently and consistently expresses such a meaning, and is not susceptible to an 'accomplishment' reading. There is no contradiction here: what is expressed in lexical meaning can be additionally expressed by the grammar. In the domain of the middle there are more instances of this: we need only think of verbs like Russian *snit'sja*, Polish *śnić się*, Lithuanian *sapnuotis* 'dream' etc., where a middle-voice construction referring to a non-controllable process is applied to a verb that, lexically, expresses a non-controllable process (for more details see 7.2). As lexical units often select gram types to which they have a certain affinity by virtue of their lexical meaning, the deaccusative derivation marking low affectedness and atelicity will frequently apply to verbs that by themselves denote chaotic and ineffectual manipulation. This enhanced frequency will enhance

the likelihood of the corresponding verb making it to the dictionaries. The lexical material accessible to Geniušienė apparently contained only ineffectual manipulation verbs, hence the impression of the lack of a denotative difference between the deaccusative construction and the transitive construction. Access to the internet facilitates our task here, as it reveals more or less occasional formations which we would have no chance of discovering through the dictionaries.

It should be recognized that the deaccusative antipassive middle has not evolved far away from the 'ineffectual manipulation' type. It has, however, extended to verbs basically referring to some type of manipulation but enriched with semantic elements that allow them to become telic. A good example would be *šķirstīt*, a verb with the original meaning 'repeatedly part, brush apart', and with the derived meaning 'turn the pages of a book' and thence 'cursorily acquaint oneself with the contents of a book or the like'. This leafing may involve the successive assimilation of what is written on the pages of a book, newspaper etc., or just a chaotic leafing about in it. The element of systematic assimilation of information strengthens the telic character of the verb, although an incremental interpretation of the physical process (the pages being successively turned until the last is reached) already introduces telicity. The element of mental assimilation is predictably an important factor in the telic perfectivization of this verb, as opposed to the atelic perfectivization with the aid of a delimitative prefix:

(51)   Latvian   (Guntis Berelis, 1961–, *Ugunīgi vērši ar zelta ragiem*, 2007)
       Iz-šķirstīju   avīzes,   iedzēru   kafiju,
       TEL-leaf.PST.1SG newspaper.ACC.PL drink.PST-1SG coffee.ACC.SG
       palūkojos   laukā…
       look.PST.1SG   outside
       'I looked through the newspapers, had some coffee, looked out of the window…'

(52)   *Prieks   pa-šķirstītie-s   pa šīm   grāmatiņām.*
       joy.NOM.SG DELIM-leaf.about.INF-RFL in these.DAT.PL.F book.DIM.DAT.PL
       'It is a joy to leaf about for a while in these little books.'
                               http://liepajasmuzejs.lv/lv/lm/175-jaunakas-publikacijas/n54/

Finally, in some cases the antipassive derivation transforms a verb susceptible to a telic reading into a chaotic manipulation verb. The verb *mīcīt*, for example, basically means 'knead', and its telic interpretation is the most common one; the reflexive *mīcīties* does not only mean 'knead, mould ineffectively' (as in (42) and (44)), but also 'dabble about (in snow, mud etc.)':

(53) Latvian
    [*Gadatirgu vajadzētu taisīt uz plašā laukuma pie tuneļa*]
    nevis   *mīcītie-s*   *pa*   *dubļiem.*
    rather.than dabble.INF-REFL through mud[PL].DAT
    '[We should organize the fair on the large square near the tunnel] rather than dabble about in the mud.' http://www.ogrenet.lv/ogre/2419/?view_comments

A similar effect obtains in the case of *jaukt* 'mix by stirring' and *jaukties* 'aimlessly mess about in something':

(54) Latvian
    Laba   *ir*   *metode*   *glabāt*   *drogas*
    good.NOM.SG.F be.PRS.3 method.NOM.SG keep.INF herbs[PL].ACC
    katru   *atsevišķi un jaukt pirms lietošanas.*
    each.ACC.SG separately and mix.INF before use.GEN.SG
    'A good method is to keep your herbs separately and to mix them before use.'
                                https://www.draugiem.lv/httpnra.lvmaja/
                         news/padoms--ka-izgatavot-maisinu-tejas-glabasanai/

(55) *Lai*   *viņš*   *jauca-s*   *pa*   *ēdienu*   *gan ar*
    HORT 3.NOM.SG.M stir.PRS.3-REFL about food.ACC.SG both with
    karoti,   *gan ar rokām!*
    spoon.ACC.SG both with hand.DAT.PL
    'Let him mess about in his food with his spoon and with his fingers.'
                             http://www.sievietespasaule.lv/attiecibas/
               gimene_un_draugi/mazula_edinasana_pirmas_maltites/

The deaccusative antipassive type of reflexive middles thus selects verbs of physical manipulation; partly these are verbs of inherently chaotic and ineffectual manipulation, and in this case the ineffectual character of the manipulation is just additionally emphasized; but the type also selects verbs that denote a usually or frequently telic type of physical manipulation, and then either atelicizes it by emphasizing the ineffectual character of the manipulation, or carries over the verb to the class of inherently chaotic manipulation. In both latter cases, the effect is atelicization, and this may be taken to be the defining feature of the whole class of deaccusative antipassive reflexives, even though in some cases this feature cannot manifest itself because of the lexical meaning of the verb. The link between antipassive and atelicity has already been noted: as Polinsky (2005) puts it, "if there is no affected participant which allows one to measure out the effects of the event […] the event itself is interpreted as incomplete."

    In Lithuanian neither of the two subtypes discussed for Latvian is more than rudimentarily developed. Where the rudiments lay is the question to be discussed in the next section.

3.9   Diachrony: Deobjectives and deaccusatives

What is the diachronic relationship between the two subtypes of antipassive reflexives discussed here? We have no way of establishing this on the basis of written texts, as the formations we are discussing here belong to a language register that is not represented in Old Baltic texts.

From the viewpoint of internal reconstruction, it seems likely that the deaccusative type arose from the deobjective type. The oblique marking cannot have been substituted for the accusatival marking in one step: it was undoubtedly introduced as a secondary extension in an absolute (objectless) reflexive construction in which the object had first been eliminated. In their most distinctive realizations, however, the deobjective construction and the deaccusative construction have different semantic-pragmatic functions and they operate on different classes of lexemes. It seems, however, that we can identify the lexical class providing the lexical bases for the shift from one type to another. This is the class referred to above as that of chaotic or ineffectual manipulation.

Let us first illustrate this from Latvian. The examples below contain the verb *knibināt* 'pluck aimlessly at something, fumble with something'. As a non-reflexive verb it is transitive:

(56) Latvian   (Mirdza Bendrupe, 1910–1995, *Dieva viesuļi*, 1942)
Viņa   māte   stāvēja   malā un   vienaldzīgi knibināja
3.GEN.SG.M mother.NOM.SG stand.PST.3 aloof and indifferently pluck.PST.3
savas   sarkanās   jakas   malu.
RPO.GEN.SG.F red.GEN.SG.F.DEF jacket.GEN.SG rim.ACC.SG
'His mother was standing aloof and indifferently plucking at the rim of her red jacket.'

The reflexivized *knibināties* has an absolute use referring to some unspecified, minute and nugatory domestic activity:

(57) Latvian   (Zenta Ērgle, 1920–1998, *Nosargāt mīlestību*, 1987)
[*Vairums atprasījās no darba, apkopa mājas soli,*]
citas   tāpat **knibinājā-s,**   *atvilka   elpu   pēc*
other.NOM.PL.F just **trifle.PST.3-RFL** draw.PST.3 breath.ACC.SG after
kārtējās   sturmēšanas mēneša   beigās.
periodic.GEN.SG.F.DEF storm.GEN.SG month.GEN.SG end[PL].LOC
'[Most took free time from their work to attend to household chores], others were just trifling about and getting a breather after the periodic bustle at the end of the month.'

This construction can be expanded by adding an object shaped as a prepositional phrase with *ap* 'about':

(58) Latvian   (Alberts Jansons, 1915–1989, cited from LLVV)
Labās   rokas   pirksti   nervozi
right.GEN.SG.F.DEF hand.GEN.SG finger.NOM.SG nervously
knibinājā-s   ap   svārku   pogu.
fumble.PST.3-REFL   about jacket[PL].GEN button.ACC.SG
'The fingers of his right hand were nervously fumbling with the button of his jacket.'

The same development can be discerned in Lithuanian. I illustrate it with a verb etymologically almost identical with Latvian *knibināt*, viz. *knibinėti*.

(59) Lithuanian
… pavargau   nuolat   stebėti   ir   prižiūrėti, kaip ji
get.tired.PST.1SG all.the.time observe.INF and watch.INF how 3.NOM.SG.F
knibinėja   karoliukus,
fiddle.PRS.3   beads.ACC.PL
[*kaip smalsiai nužiūrinėja ir su dideliu entuziazmu nutaikiusi progą kiša į burnytę.*]
'I grew tired watching and checking how she fiddled with the beads, [how she looked at them curiously and put them into her mouth with great enthusiasm at every opportunity].'   http://www.getshopin.lt/musu-klientai/daikteline/

(60) [*Kantrybe ir kruopštumu išsiskiriantis bubiškis sako, kad*]
ilgiausiai knibinėja-si dažydamas,   klijuodamas   mažas
endlessly potter-RFL   paint.CVB.M.SG glue.CVB.M.SG small.ACC.PL.F
detales.
detail.ACC.PL
'[The patient and diligent native of Bubiai tells us that] he potters about endlessly painting and gluing small details.'
http://vilniauskrastas.lt/laivu-modeliais-per-svajoniu-vandenynus/

(61) Lithuanian   (Jonas Mikelinskas, 1922–2015, *Juodųjų eglių šalis*, 1988)
Baigęs   knibinėti-s   apie   sagas,
stop.PPA.NOM.SG.M fiddle.INF-RFL about button.ACC.PL
[*jis atsistojo skersai tako*].
'Having stopped fiddling about his buttons, [he planted himself across the path].'

In Latvian this threefold pattern is characteristic of quite a sizeable group of verbs, mostly verbs of manipulation. It includes *čubināt* 'fluff up' : *čubināties* 'fiddle about', *grābstīt* 'rake' : *grābstīties* 'rake about' (and the synonymous *grābāt* : *grābāties*), *rak(ņ)āt* 'break up, root up, rummage' : *rak(ņ)āties* 'rummage', *rušināt* : *rušināties* (same meaning), *taustīt* 'probe by touch' : *taustīties* 'grope about', and perhaps also *ņemt* 'take' : *ņemties* 'bustle about' and *meklēt* 'look for sth' : *meklēties* 'search about', but as the last two have a less precise manipulative meaning, it is not clear whether they reflect the general constructional pattern or whether they represent individual paths of semantic development. Many of the verbs mentioned here are iterative, e.g. *grābstīt* is an iterative from *grābt* 'grab, snatch', *rakņāt* is an iterative from *rakt* 'dig', etc. This is, of course, not a coincidence: ineffectual manipulation usually involves repeated unsuccessful attempts at carrying out an operation. The preference for iteratives is shared with the deobjective antipassive middle, though the reasons for this are slightly different in each case.

A small subgroup of verbs describing a sound produced by manipulation of objects also shows this threefold pattern. Interesting examples are *grabināt* '(make) rattle' and *čaukstināt* 'make rustle', causative verbs from *grabēt* 'rattle', *čaukstēt* 'rustle'. As causative derivatives they would be expected to be prototypically transitive, yet they can have reflexive deobjective derivatives, which, in its turn, derive deaccusative constructions:

(62)   Latvian
        [*Pirmajā cēlienā varēja izsmieties,*]
        bet otrajā   cēlienā   skatītāji   čaukstināja
        but second.LOC.SG.DEF act.LOC.SG viewer.NOM.PL rustle.CAUS.PST.3
        kabatas   lakatiņus
        pocket.GEN.SG kerchief.ACC.PL
        '[During the first act you could have a good laugh,] but during the second act the audience made their handkerchiefs rustle.'
                        http://www.la.lv/hantele-killeram-liks-aizdomaties-viriesiem

(63)   [*Tieši naktis, parāva aiz matiem,*]
        likās,   ka apsēžas   blakus vai uz kājām,
        seem.PST.3 that sit.down.PRS.3 nearby or   on leg.DAT.PL
        čaukstinājā-s,   vienreiz ieslēdza   TV
        rustle.CAUS.PST.3-REFL once   switch.on.PST.3 TV
        '[It was at night that [the ghost] pulled me by the hair,] it seemed to be seating itself nearby or on my legs, [it] made rustling noises, once [it] switched on the TV-set.'   https://calis.delfi.lv/forums/tema/
                                                            13964355-ja-nu-kads-var-paskaidrot/

(64) *bomžene* […]   *skatījās*   *filmu*   *un*   *čaukstinājā-s*
       tramp[F].NOM.SG watch.PST.3 film.ACC.SG and rustle.CAUS.PST.3-REFL
       ar   *maisiņiem.*
       with bag.DIM.DAT.PL
       '[The homeless woman] was watching the film and rustling with plastic bags.'
       https://www.liepajniekiem.lv/nedelas-jautajums/
       vai-jums-trauce-pilsetas-ielas-sastopamie-klaidoni-402

Interestingly, we find evidence for the productivity of the type in the shape of un-doubtable neologisms such as *klikšķināties* 'click about (on the Net)' from *klikšķināt* 'click (on a computer mouse; originally only about the sound effect)':

(65) Latvian
       [*Ja tev vajag regulāri kaut ko vairāk, kā*]
       ar   *vienu*   *pirkstu*   *klikšķinātie-s* *pa* *internetu* […]
       with one.ACC.SG finger.ACC.SG click.INF-REFL about internet.ACC.SG
       '[If you regularly need more than just] clicking about on the internet with one finger…'   https://lilit.dieviete.lv/forums/topic/152666-
                                          plansetdatori/?sort=ASC&pnr=2

However, this example, while showing the productivity of the type, also shows its limitations. *Klikšķināt* is still a verb of (directed) physical manipulation, and though this class is relatively broad, involving verbs denoting various everyday activities, it clearly circumscribes the lexical distribution of the construction.

From the above examples we can see how both subtypes of antipassive middle, the deobjective and the deaccustive type, took shape in a lexical class that can be defined as 'chaotic manipulation'. In Latvian both types have advanced beyond this class, extending to verbs with meanings broadly involving motoric activity but with more specialized meanings. In Lithuanian, unlike what we observe in Latvian, the development seems to have stopped at the stage of chaotic manipulation, without extending to verbs susceptible to a telic reading. This is not to say that there is no genuine deaccusative antipassive in Lithuanian. The construction in (61) is a gen-uine antipassive reflexive, but it has not advanced beyond the lexical group which gave rise to it.

Examples have been given, in the literature, of alternations similar to those described here but apparently of different origin. Geniušienė (1987: 94) offers the following pair of constructions as an illustration of the 'deaccusative' reflexive:

(66) Lithuanian
       Petras   *svaido*   *akmenis.*
       PN.NOM throw.PRS.3 stone.ACC.PL

(67) *Petras   svaido-si   akmenimis.*
      PN.NOM throw.PRS.3-REFL   stone.INS.PL
      'Peter is throwing stones.'

The problem with these examples is that *svaidyti* (like other verbs of throwing, like *mesti* and its iterative counterpart *mėtyti*; *svaidyti* is itself an iterative counterpart to *sviesti,* which has the same syntactic valency) can also take an instrumental complement when it is non-reflexive, as in (68).

(68) Lithuanian
      [*Demonstrantai lazdomis daužė pastato vartus,*]
      svaidė   akmenimis, pomidorais,   kiaušiniais.
      throw.PST.3 stone.INS.PL tomato.INS.PL egg.INS.PL
      '[The demonstrators hit the gate of the building with their sticks] and threw stones, tomatoes and eggs.'   https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/world/
                                                                   uzpulta-jav-ambasada-dzakartoje.d?id=8817589

This suggests that the instrumental in (67) is not connected with the reflexive derivation; the accusative-instrumental alternation with verbs of throwing is well known in both Slavonic and Baltic and has sparked a lot of discussion starting with Jakobson (1935/1971: 47–48); Wierzbicka (1980: 22), developing Jakobson's idea of the instrumental as a peripheral case, views the use of the instrumental as "a *sui generis* downgrading or demotion". Whatever the precise function of this instrumental may be, the reflexive construction in (65) should in all likelihood be viewed in connection with a construction already containing an instrumental. The form *svaidosi* in (67) is probably a behaviour-characterizing deobjective as in (17), (18); the instrumental is not a demoted object but an instrument complement, and the deobjective construction is apparently derived from the reciprocal one illustrated in (69):

(69) Lithuanian
      Priešiškos   grupuotės   svaidė-si   akmenimis ir
      hostile.NOM.PL.F gang.NOM.SG throw.PST.3-REFL stone.INS.PL and
      mosavo   lazdomis.
      wave.PST.3 stick.INS.PL
      'The hostile gangs threw stones at each other and waved with sticks.'
                              https://www.tv3.lt/naujiena/523457/egipto-gatvese-verda-
                                   karas-tarp-prezidento-opozicijos-ir-salininku-video-foto

In spite of this, it would probably be inaccurate to say that the opposition illustrated in (66) and (67) has nothing to do with the deaccusative type. Rather, it was just the diachronic process that was different here: it was probably the instrumental marking on the object that induced the introduction of the reflexive marking on the verb.

Lithuanian also has another type of alternation reminiscent of the deaccusative alternations discussed above but without the reflexive marking, viz. verbs denoting the causation of sounds, characterized by an accusative-instrumental alternation (on these verbs, but from another perspective, see Anderson 2011):

(70) Lithuanian
Mama barškina puodus, mazgoja medinę
mum.NOM.SG clatter.CAUS.PRS.3 pot.ACC.PL scrub.PRS.3 wooden.ACC.SG.F
geldą.
trough.ACC.SG
'Mum is clattering with pots and washing a wooden trough.'
<div align="right">http://juozasnekrosius.lt/index.php?start=468</div>

(71) [*Svečiai vėliau susirenka prie jaunųjų langų*],
barškina puodais, keptuvėmis
clatter.CAUS.PRS.3 pot.INS.PL pan.INS.PL
[*ir taip įsiprašo vidun*].
'[Later the guests assemble at the newlyweds' windows] and clatter with pots and pans,
[thus asking to be let in].'
<div align="right">https://www.sveikaszmogus.lt/
Straipsniai_zurnale-6395</div>

In Latvian such an alternation would typically involve a deaccusative middle, though the reflexive marker would be added to a verb with causative morphology:

(72) Latvian   (Pauls Bankovskis 1973–, *Pasaules vēsture*, preprint)
[…] *māte pie plīts grabinājā-s ar*
mother.NOM.SG at cooker.GEN.SG clatter.CAUS.PST.3-REFL with
pannām un kastroļiem.
pan.DAT.PL and saucepan.DAT.PL
'Mother was clattering with pots and pans on the cooker.'
<div align="right">https://www.satori.lv/article/pasaules-vesture</div>

This shows that Lithuanian makes less intensive use of the deaccusative middle than Latvian, using instead variation in case marking to convey ineffectual or uncoordinated manipulation of objects, much as English does with its prepositional phrases like *clatter about with pots and pans* as against *clatter pots and pans*.

3.10 In conclusion

What the Latvian evidence adds to our understanding of reflexive antipassives is that their deaccusative variety cannot be explained as object-backgrounding any more. The object is restored to full prominence by the fact of being made explicit.

The relevant semantic feature is not low prominence but low affectedness, encoded in the locative or instrumental object taking the place of the accusatival object. There can be, at the initial stage of the rise of deaccusative from deobjective reflexives, no atelicizing function, as the verbs involved are already atelic. The atelicizing function which the deaccusative derivation shows in Latvian wherever it can manifest itself is, however, important evidence showing the relevance of the feature of low affectedness.

The evidence of the Baltic languages thus contributes a few not unimportant insights to our understanding of the antipassive. Here, of course, I have based myself only on the material of Baltic and Slavonic, and the evidence of other languages may present a somewhat different picture. However, the facts of Baltic compel us to reconsider a few notional and definitional aspects of the antipassive as it is presented in the literature. The formal features of non-expression and oblique expression of the patient, and the semantic-pragmatic features of low prominence and weak affectedness, are often lumped together while they should, in fact, be carefully kept apart. They should also be kept apart from a diachronic point of view. Like the passive, the antipassive is likely, in any language where it occurs, to underlie several constructions. In a language having both an agentless and an agented passive, we could argue these are distinct constructions with distinct pragmatic properties: in the agentless passive either the agent is backgrounded, whereas the agented passive usually reflects a reversal of the pattern of information structure, with the agent, far from being backgrounded, acquiring rhematic/focal status. In a similar way, there may be different constructions meeting the definitional criteria for antipassive. The deobjective antipassive, reflecting patient backgrounding, and the deaccusative antipassive, reflecting reduced affectedness, are distinct constructions, each with its own lexical input.

The semantic map in Figure 1 below shows the relations between the subtypes of the antipassive middle, and the pathways leading to them.
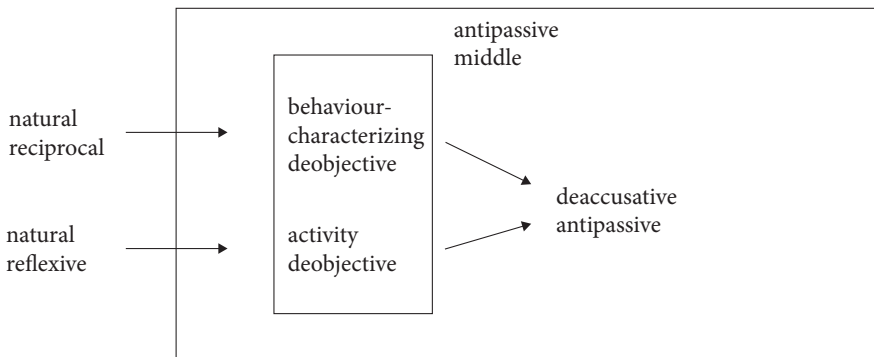
Figure 1. Antipassive middles

CHAPTER 4

The permissive middle

4.1   The notion of permissive middle

The reflexive-based permissive middle is a gram type that has long remained unnoticed in the literature (the first study is Holvoet 2016) and that can actually be clearly identified only in languages like Lithuanian and Latvian or the East Slavonic languages, where the originally reflexive middle marker has become affixalized. I will first clarify the notion.

A permissive construction is a manipulative complementation construction (the term is taken from Noonan 2007: 136–137) in which a person's lack of interference creates the conditions for an agent to realize a certain event. By reflexive permissive construction I understand a construction in which the permittor performs at the same time the role of patient in the permitted event, as in (1):

(1) Lithuanian   (*Trimitas* 41 (111), 1922)
     [*Tai vienur tai kitur*]
     mūsų   kaimų   tamsūs   žmonės   leidžia   save
     1PL.GEN village.GEN.PL dark.NOM.PL.M people.NOM.PL allow.PRS.3 self.ACC
     apgauti   įvairiems   spekuliantams ir   praeiviams.
     deceive.INF various.DAT.PL.M profiteer.DAT.PL and passer-by.DAT.PL
     'Here and there our simple country folk allow themselves to be deceived by various profiteers and passers-by.'   http://www.epaveldas.lt/vbspi/
                                             showImage.do?id=DOC_O_38665_1&biRecordId=4059

I assume this sentence to have the following structure:

(2)
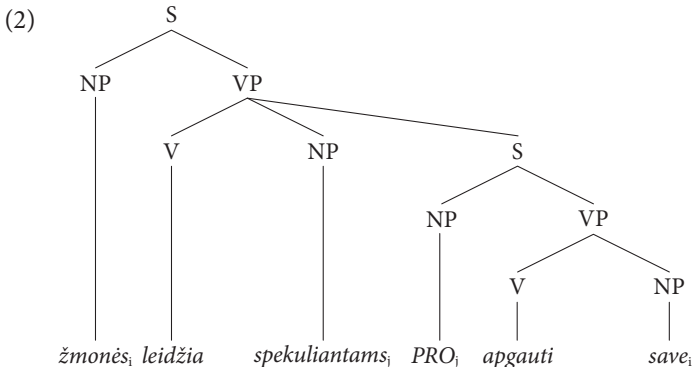
The reflexive pronoun *save* is controlled by the main clause subject *tamsūs žmonės* 'simple folk', but it is the object of the infinitive *apgauti* 'deceive' and is therefore, syntactically, in the embedded clause.

The affixal reflexive markers of the East Slavonic and Baltic languages are descended from the enclitic forms of the reflexive pronoun. The reflexive pronoun could originally occupy syntactic argument positions, e.g., that of direct object with transitive verbs. Probably even before becoming affixalized, the reflexive marker lost its ability to occupy syntactic argument positions; in the case of a reflexive pronoun originally occupying the position of direct object, this meant that reflexivity was still encoded in the verb form, but the verb became syntactically intransitive. This applied not only to the prototypical situation where a reflexive pronoun controlled by the subject of a verb expresses the object of that verb, as will be the case in simple sentences of the type *I am washing (myself)*, but also in less prototypical cases such as the one illustrated in (2).

Let us now compare one of the possible constructions corresponding to (1) in Latvian:

(3)   Latvian
      [*Policisti arī ļoti negribīgi pieņēmuši iesniegumu ar lūgumu uzsākt krimināllietu –*]
      pats   vien esot   vainīgs,   ka   tik viegli
      self.NOM.SG.M PTC be.EVID guilty.NOM.SG.M that so   easily
      ļāv-ies   apkrāptie-s.
      allow-PPA.NOM.SG.M.REFL deceive.INF-REFL
      '[The police was also unwilling to accept his request to file a criminal complaint, saying] it was his own fault that he had allowed himself to be imposed upon.'
                          https://jauns.lv/raksts/zinas/41963-jauna-krapniecibas-
                          shema-kazino-izgerbts-biznesmenis-riga-tirgo-viltotus-aifonus

This structure is the result of the process of affixalization of the reflexive pronoun just mentioned, applied to a structure like (2). It is clear that (3) cannot have the same syntactic structure as (1), as there is no longer a reflexive pronoun that could occupy the object position in the embedded clause. What is stranger still is that instead of one reflexive marker we find two, on the permissive verb and on the embedded infinitive. As we will see, this placement of the affixalized reflexive marker is not the only possible one – there is a lot of variation in this respect. I will discuss the details in the following sections, and I will also attempt to characterize the syntactic process that has led to the rise of structure like (3). In any case, it is clear that (3) cannot be properly reflexive any more, because the syntactic position which the reflexive marker occupied in (2) has ceased to exist. Structures like (3), with an embedded clausal structure (infinitival or participial) dependent on a permissive

verb, and affixal marking of the coreference of permittor and embedded clause patient, is what I will here be referring to as the permissive middle.

4.2   The rise of the permissive middle

The rise of the permissive middle is connected with the process by which reflexive pronouns originally capable of occupying a syntactic argument position first lost this ability, and finally became affixalized. When the process of affixalization of this reflexive pronoun started, it had to affect contexts like (2) as well. Here, however, the situation was not as straightforward as it was in the case of prototypical reflexives in monoclausal structures, where a reflexive pronoun accreted to the verb that assigned it a semantic role and by whose subject it was controlled. In syntactic contexts like (2), the reflexive pronoun was controlled across the clause boundary. Syntactic configurations as in (2) are relatively rare; they have been referred to by the terms long-distance reflexivization, or long-distance anaphora (cf. Koster & Reuland, eds., 1991). What additionally complicated the situation was the fact that the reflexive pronoun was controlled by the subject of the main, complement-taking verb, but was assigned a semantic role by the embedded-clause verb. In this atypical situation it was not obvious in which position the reflexive marker should affixalize. Both main verb and embedded verb were eligible candidates for hosting the affixalizing reflexive marker, the former in virtue of its subject being the controller of reflexivization and the latter in virtue of its being a semantic role assigner. Actually, when we look at the material of the Baltic languages, we see the reflexive marker accreting to both main-clause verb and embedded-clause verb, not only in alternative constructions but even within one and the same construction. First, let us look at the evidence of Old Lithuanian.

4.3   Old Lithuanian

The permissive verb most frequently used in Old Lithuanian texts is *duoti* 'give', but one also finds *leisti* 'let, allow'. In the following examples from Chylinski's Old Testament, we have the same embedded verb, *pažinti* 'know, become acquainted, get to know'. The main translation source for the Chylinski Bible having been the Dutch *Statenvertaling* (cf. Kavaliūnaitė 2008), I give the Dutch version in every case. Only in one case does the Lithuanian construction accurately echo the Dutch one (*geeft sich te kennen* 'gives himself to be known'), whereas in the remaining cases the translation is freer and the constructions used evidently reflect authentic

Lithuanian usage. We see the reflexive marker appearing on the complement-taking verb in (4), on the embedded verb in (5), and on both in (6):

(4)   Old Lithuanian   (Chylinski's Old Testament, Exodus 6.2)
       bet wardu   mano   WIESZPATS ne-si-dawiau
       but name.INS.SG 1SG.GEN Lord.NOM.SG NEG-REFL-give.PST.1SG
       jems   paźyńt.
       3.DAT.PL.M know.INF
       'but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known to them'
       Dutch *met mijnen name HEERE, en ben ick haer niet bekent geweest*

(5)   Old Lithuanian   (Chylinski's Old Testament, Ruth 3.3)
       bet ne-dok   pa-si-źyńt   anamuy   żmoguy
       but NEG-give.IMP.2SG PFX-REFL-know.INF that.DAT.SG.M man.DAT.SG
       'but make not thyself known unto the man'
       Dutch [*maer*] *en maeckt u den man niet bekent*

(6)   Old Lithuanian (Chylinski's Old Testament, chapter summary for Genesis 45)
       Jozefas   galaufiey doda-ś   pa-si-źyńt   brolamus   fawo.
       Joseph.NOM finally   give.PRS.3-REFL PFX-REFL-know brother.DAT.PL RPOSS
       'Joseph finally makes himself known to his brothers.'
       Dutch *Ioseph geeft sich eyndelick sijnen broederen te kennen*

In modern Lithuanian, the constructions used in (5) and (6) are completely defunct. Only the type illustrated in (4) is still occasionally found, though most speakers do not readily accept it:

(7)   Lithuanian
       O   namie tai ir svetimiems   leidžia-si   glostyti   ir
       and at.home PTC even strange.DAT.PL.M allow.PRS.3-REFL stroke.INF and
       beveik ne-loja.
       almost NEG-bark.PRS.3
       'At home [the dog] allows itself to be stroked even by strangers and almost doesn't bark.'
          https://banga.tv3.lt/lt/2club.club_f_reviews/161.613422.187..-=(1162369952

Interestingly, we also find a variety containing both the orthotonic reflexive pronoun and the reflexive marker on the verb – apparently a kind of contamination of the varieties illustrated in (4) and (1):

(8) Lithuanian

[*Vienintelis šios mokesčių lengvatos koziris yra didelis jos populiarumas tarp „paprastų" žmonių*],

kurie   nesupranta   šios   lengvatos
REL.NOM.SG.M NEG.understand.PRS.3 DEM.GEN.SG.F reduced.rate.GEN.SG

esmės   ir leidžia-si   save   apgaudinėti,
essence.GEN.SG and allow.PRS.3-REFL REFL.ACC deceive.INF

'[The only strength of this reduced rate is its popularity among the "simple people",] who don't understand the essence of this reduced rate and allow themselves to be deceived.   https://www.delfi.lt/verslas/energetika/z-mauricas-kodel-reikia-naikinti-pvm-lengvata-centriniam-sildymui.d?id=66162502

In modern Lithuanian the reflexive permissive construction has thus been completely renewed, with introduction of the orthotonic reflexive pronoun, as illustrated in (1). There are a few relics of the older affixal markers, as shown in (7), and there are also instances of apparent contamination of the old and the new varieties, as shown in (8). Though no longer acceptable to all speakers of Lithuanian, these residual constructions suggest that the process of elimination of the older construction with affixal markers is not yet fully completed. However, two of the three varieties illustrated above, viz. those illustrated in (5) and (6), have completely fallen out of use, while the one illustrated in (4) is moribund. We do not know when this process started and how it evolved. It would be interesting to investigate this, but for this purpose we would need a historical corpus of the Lithuanian language encompassing also the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries, which is still a desideratum for the future.[1]

4.4   Latvian

The situation in Latvian is different from that of Lithuanian or, to be more precise, the development is completely parallel to what we see in Lithuanian but shifted in time. Latvian is, in this respect, more archaic than Lithuanian: it has retained all three of the constructions illustrated in (4)–(6). Alongside these, however, Latvian has also renewed the reflexive permissive construction by introducing the orthotonic reflexive pronoun *sevi*. This is illustrated in (9), which corresponds exactly to the Lithuanian construction in (1).

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1.   Among the texts available on the website of the Institute for the Lithuanian Language (http://seniejirastai.lki.lt/db.php), the 1727 New Testament still has a few examples of the construction with double reflexive marking, while I am not aware of instances in later texts. Perhaps the constructions illustrated in (5) and (6) went out of use in the course of the 18th century.

(9) Latvian
Ļauj   draugiem   sevi   pierunāt   doties
allow.IMP.2SG friend.DAT.PL REFL.ACC persuade.INF go.INF
izklaidēties.
amuse.oneself.INF
[*un izvēdināt galvu no ikdienas rūpēm un uztraukumiem*].
'Allow yourself to be persuaded by friends to go and amuse yourself [and to relieve your head of everyday cares and anxieties].'
https://apollo.tvnet.lv/5896102/svetdienas-horoskops-1-februaris

The old constructions with affixal markers were not done away with in one fell swoop, however, and old and new constructions coexist. Let us first illustrate the three original varieties as attested in Old Lithuanian and still fully alive in modern Latvian:

(10) Latvian
[*Par to pārliecinājās tie, kuri mūs apmeklēja un*]
ļāvā-s   pierunāt   ieiet   mūsu   ķemmertiņā!
allow.PST.3-REFL persuade.INF enter.INF 1PL.GEN little.room.LOC.SG
'Those who visited and let themselves be persuaded to enter our little room [could convince themselves of this.]   http://visitkandava.lv/turisma_
                profesionaliem/kandavas_turisma_informacijas_centrs_
                25_jubilejas_turisma_izstade_gadatirgu_balttour_2018

(11) *Viņš   ļāva   pierunātie-s   un   piekrita,*
3.NOM.SG.M allow.PST.3 persuade.INF-REFL and agree.PST.3
[*bet lūdza, lai nākošreiz padomājot, kādu jaunāku cilvēku ievēlēt…*]
'He allowed himself to be persuaded and agreed, [but begged that the next time people would think of electing a younger person.]
https://www.lns.lv/lat/?doc=1025

(12) [*Tā kā mazpilsētā stabilu un labi apmaksāta darba iespēju arvien nebija*],
viņš   ļāvā-s   pierunātie-s   doties peļņā
3.NOM.SG.M allow.PST.3-REFL persuade.INF-REFL go.INF gain.LOC.SG
uz Zviedriju.
to Sweden.ACC
'[As the little town offered no possibility of a stable and well-paid job] he allowed himself to be persuaded to go to Sweden to earn some money.'
http://cilvektirdznieciba.lv/lv/nedela-uz-pamestas-
                salas-jeb-sagrautie-sapni-par-pelnu-arzemes

Apart from the two systems of marking, represented in (9) and (10)–(12) respectively, we also find hybrid constructions combining elements of the old and the new

construction. The orthotonic reflexive pronoun can be introduced into constructions where the main verb and the embedded verb retain their affixal reflexive marking. As there are three varieties of the construction with affixal reflexive markers, this yields three 'contaminated' varieties, which all can actually be attested.[2] Instead of illustrating them all I will just give an example of a construction including, in all, three reflexive markers – two affixal ones and an orthotonic reflexive pronoun:

(13)   Latvian
    Es   *atceros,*   *ka* *vēlā*   *rudenī*
    1SG.NOM remember.PRS.1SG that late.LOC.SG autumn.LOC
    ļāvo-s   *sevi*   *pierunātie-s*   *uz viņa*
    allow.PST.1SG-REFL self.ACC persuade.INF-REFL to 3.GEN.SG.M
    koncertu.
    concert.ACC.SG
    'I remember that late in the autumn I let myself be persuaded to go to a concert of his.'   https://www.tauta.lv/forum/thread/?tid=5039&pag=7280

This abundance of reflexive markers is striking and may appear confusing, but syntactically, this sentence pattern does not differ from the one illustrated in (2): only the orthotonic pronoun *sevi* occupies a syntactic argument position, that of object of the verb *pierunāt* in the embedded clause. There is additional morphological marking on both verbs, but it is basically redundant. Still, if this affixal marking is present on one of the verbs at least, the orthotonic reflexive pronoun can be dispensed with, even though, as we have seen, these markers cannot have the properly reflexive function any more.

The variety with affixal reflexive markers on one or both of the verbs in the permissive construction also extends to instances of coreferentiality of the main clause subject with an indirect object of the embedded infinitival clause. This now seems to be obsolete; I illustrate it here from a folk tale:

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2. Not all of these varieties are equally frequent. An analysis of two random selections of 1000 examples from lvTenTen14 containing the verbs *ļaut* and *ļauties* respectively yielded, in all, 52 instances of the permissive middle construction, with the following breakdown: 31 instances of *ļauties* + V$_{refl}$ (the type *ļauties pierunāties*), 10 instances of *ļauties sevi* + V$_{nonrefl}$ (the type *ļauties sevi pierunāt*), 8 instances of *ļaut sevi* + V$_{nonrefl}$ (the type *ļaut sevi pierunāt*), 2 instances of *ļauties* + V$_{nonrefl}$ (the type *ļauties pierunāt*), and 1 instance of *ļauties sevi* V$_{refl}$ (the type *ļauties sevi pierunāties*). The types *ļaut* + V$_{refl}$ (*ļaut pierunāties*) and *ļaut sevi* + V$_{refl}$ (*ļaut sevi pierunāties*) are not attested in the sample. This suggests that if there is no orthotonic reflexive pronoun, the types with affixal reflexive marker on the permissive higher verb are preferred because they mark the coreferentiality of the embedded clause object with the main clause subject in an unambiguous way.

(14) Latvian   (Latviešu pasakas vii, i, 656, 5)
      [*Otru nakti vecene tāpat klusiņām pienāca pie puiša gultas un mauca viņam
      iemauktus galvā,*]
      bet puisis   ne-ļāvā-s   uzmauktie-s.
      but boy.NOM.SG NEG-allow.PST.3-REFL   put.on.INF-REFL
      '[The following night the old woman once more moved quietly close to the
      boy's bed and tried to put the bridle on his head,] but the boy didn't allow [it]
      to be put onto him.'

4.5   Two kinds of permissive middles

The state of affairs here described can be explained by assuming that modern Latvian
has, alongside a reflexive permissive construction, a permissive middle-voice con-
struction, in which the originally reflexive markers do not represent syntactic ar-
guments and function as purely grammatical markers. The difference between the
two constructions can be compared to situations where for the same meaning we
have a construction with a reflexive pronoun and a middle-voice construction with
the affixal reflexive marker, as in Latvian *stādīt sevi priekšā* and *stādīties priekšā* 'in-
troduce oneself'. Modern Lithuanian also has a permissive middle, for even though
the construction in (7) is now marginal and the construction with an infinitival
complement must contain an orthotonic, properly reflexive pronoun, Lithuanian
still has a modified variety of the original middle-voice construction with a parti-
cipial instead of an infinitival complement, to be discussed below.

      The syntactic aspects of the middle-voice permissive construction will have to
be addressed further on, but we must briefly comment on the notion of permissive
middle. Among middle-voice grams it will obviously have to be classified with
those that are semantically quite close to the reflexive construction, actually a kind
of transitional category between the reflexive and the middle domain. This follows
from the fact that this type of middle involves, like the reflexive, the coincidence of
agent and patient. But it would be difficult to set apart two distinct events in which
the subject would be, in one case, an agent and, in the other, a patient. Rather, there
is one complex event in which the subject is rather patient-like, though there is a
certain degree of control on the subjects' part. In this sense a reflexive permissive
is intermediate between reflexive and passive, and it is not quite surprising to see
in drawn into the sphere of the middle. A permissive middle is known in several
Indo-European languages, e.g., in Classical Greek. Wackernagel (1920: 128) cites
the following from Greek:

(15) Classical Greek (Aristophanes, *Ranae* 857)
élench' elénchou praiónōs
criticize.IMP.PRS.2SG.ACT criticize.IMP.PRS.2SG.MED gently
'Criticize gently and allow yourself to be criticized.'

And the Hebrew *nifʿal*, the Semitic counterpart of the Indo-European middle (as pointed out recently in van Wolde 2019), also has a permissive reading referred to as *nifʿal tolerativum* (Gesenius & Kautzsch 1909: 144–145):

(16) Biblical Hebrew (Isaiah 65.1)
nimṣē'-tî lə-lō' biqəš-ū-nî
find.PF-1SG.SBJ to-NEG seek.PF-3PL-1SG.OBJ
'I have allowed myself to be found by those who did not seek me.'

However, there is also a clear difference between such middles, which are inflectional or derivational forms of the verb, and the Baltic permissive, which is a syntactic construction with a complement-taking verb. This is certainly an important difference, and there need be no common origin for the two phenomena. However appealing explanations involving the notion of 'low degree of elaboration' (Kemmer 1993: 109–119) might be (it would apply both to monoclausal and biclausal constructions), it is not obvious we actually need to invoke them. The explanation for what I am here describing as the permissive middle with reference to complementation constructions is a historical one: the loss of the enclitic (subsequently affixal) reflexive pronoun's ability of occupying a syntactic argument position inevitably leads to syntactic changes in constructions where the reflexive was controlled across the clause boundary, and the result is a construction crucially differing from the original reflexive one, which it would be misleading to continue calling reflexive. It is therefore convenient to have the notion of permissive middle, as (i) 'middle' is a convenient term for constructions characterized by a reflexive marker that has lost its reflexive function, and (ii) this construction is situated in a domain where we find middle-voice marking elsewhere (in functionally similar constructions and in other languages). The question whether the permissive middle matches the general feature of 'low degree of elaboration' is probably not essential, as the functions of grammatical forms can best be characterized within the constructions in which they occur. With reference to permissive constructions, the difference between the reflexive and the middle varieties is certainly syntactic, but it is doubtful whether there is also a conceptual difference. In Latvian, the varieties with orthotonic reflexive pronouns and with affixal reflexives in different positions are apparently synonymous; their coexistence does not point to a semantic distinction but simply to an overlap of constructions reflecting different stages in a process of grammaticalization and renewal of reflexive markers.

With regard to the complementation constructions we are discussing here, the question should be posed what exactly we are classifying as a permissive middle – the whole construction, or the separate verb forms? In a sense, both. As we have seen, the whole construction can be seen as the locus of reflexive marking, as there is some oscillation as to which verb the affixal marker selects as a host, and the affixal marking can also be spread over the whole construction. As to the verbs, the interpretation of the reflexive marker must be different in the case of the complement-taking verb and in that of the embedded infinitive. I will discuss these two problems in two separate sections below.

Before we turn to the syntactic aspect, however, one final matter must be discussed in this section: why 'permissive'? Permissive constructions are usually discussed, in the literature, as a subtype of causative constructions: a causal relationship is the defining property of causatives, whereas degree of control and directness of causation are semantic parameters of variation (Comrie 1989: 171). Analytic permissives are discussed in the context of analytic causatives; for Baltic cf. the recent overview in Pakerys (2018). Within this broader category, a distinction can be drawn between a properly causative subtype, in which the causer is high in agentivity and controls the situation, and permissive type where the 'causer' is not in control and becomes a permittor.

Actually the Baltic constructions illustrated above also have varieties with more active verbs meaning 'order' – Lithuanian *liepti* and Latvian *likt*. (17) from Old Lithuanian shows the variety with the reflexive marker on the embedded verb, while (18) from Old Latvian has it on both complement-taking and embedded verb:

(17) Old Lithuanian   (Chyliński's New Testament, Acts 22.16)
   Kialkis   *ir*   *liepk*   *ap-si-krykßtyt,*   *ir*
   raise.IMP.2SG.REFL and order.IMP.2SG PFX-REFL-baptize.INF and
   numazgok   *griekus*   *tawo.*
   wash.away.IMP.2SG sin.ACC.PL your
   'Arise and be baptized and wash away your sins'
   Dutch: *staet op ende laet u doopen*

(18) Modern Latvian   (Teodors Zeiferts, 1865–1929,
                                       Latviešu rakstniecības vēsture, 1922)
   [*Muižnieku kāzās arī muižu kalpi sēdās ap sevišķu galdu*]
   un   *likā-s*   *mielotie-s*   *līdzīgi muižniekiem,*
   and order.PST-REFL regale.INF-REFL like   squire.DAT.PL
   [*kurus tiem nevajadzēja apkalpot.*]
   '[At a squire's wedding the manor servants were also seated around a separate table] and had themselves regaled like the gentlefolk, [whom they didn't have to wait upon].'

However, properly permissive constructions with the subject in a more passive role clearly predominate because for typically causative situations other strategies are available. Chylinski's New Testament has, for instance, one instance of the construction *liepti apsikrikštyti* and two of *apsikrikštyti* used without a causative higher verb but having by itself the causative sense of 'have oneself baptized', as in (19):

(19)   Old Lithuanian   (Chyliński's New Testament, Acts 2.38)
      koznas   *iß juſu*   *te-ap-ſi-krikßtyia*   *wardane*
      each.NOM.SG.M of 2PL.GEN HORT-PFX-REFL-baptize.PRS.3 name.ILL.SG
      Jezuſa   *Chriſtuſa*
      Jesus.GEN Christ.GEN
      'be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ'
      Dutch: *ende een yegelick van u werde gedoopt in den name Iesu Christi*

Constructions as in (19) reflect a causative situation but the causative element is ignored because the actual performer is backgrounded. Reflexive-marked verbs of this are frequent in both Baltic and Slavonic. They describe such situations like that of having one's hair cut at a hairdresser's or having oneself operated in a hospital – situations where the offices of a service provider are taken for granted so that they are communicatively not very prominent. I will come back to these reflexives later on.

4.6   Syntactic interpretation

As mentioned, the evolution of a reflexive permissive into a permissive middle must have involved a syntactic change. The exact nature of this change is not easy to establish. In principle, one could envisage several possibilities: (1) a reorganization of syntactic structure with retention of the complex, bi-clausal character of the construction, and (2) a clausal union with the complement-taking verb becoming a kind of auxiliary.

Regardless of whether there is reflexive marking on the embedded verb or only on the complement-taking verb, there is evidence that in the middle-voice construction the embedded verb becomes intransitive. The evidence can be found in certain morphosyntactic innovations in both Lithuanian and Latvian.

In modern Lithuanian, alongside the new reflexive permissive construction illustrated in (1) above, an alternative construction has arisen with retention of the affixal marking on the main verb. Instead of an infinitive, it contains a passive participle:

(20)   Lithuanian
        [*Kodėl žmonės, net ir įspėti, taip lengvai užkimba*]
        ir   leidžia-si   apgaunami   telefoninių
        and allow.PRS.3-REFL deceive.PPRA.NOM.PL.M telephone.ADJ.GEN.PL
        sukčių?
        imposter.GEN.PL
        '[Why do people, even when they have been warned, swallow the bait so easily]
        and allow themselves to be deceived by telephone imposters?'
                              http://naujienos.vu.lt/kaip-neuzkibti-ant-sukciu-kabliuko/

This construction, which has no counterpart in Latvian, is younger than the infinitival one. In Old Lithuanian texts of the 17th century it does not appear; the verb *leisti*, used in (20), occurs only with infinitival complements (showing the same patterns of marking as illustrated above for *duoti*) in Old Lithuanian:

(21)   Old Lithuanian   (*Kniga nobaznystes krikśćioniszkos*, SE 168,19)
        o   swietuy   nuo żodźia   Diewá   per-si-kałbet
        and world.DAT.SG from word.GEN.SG God.GEN.SG over-RFL-talk.INF
        ne-si-łáysime
        NEG-RFL-let.FUT.1PL
        'and we will not allow ourself to be turned aside by the world from God's word.'

As there is no historical corpus of Lithuanian covering later periods, I have not been able to establish when the participial construction came into being, or how this process was accomplished.[3] In reconstructing the process of introduction of participles into the permissive construction it is important to note that the reflexive participial construction in (20) has no non-reflexive counterpart, that is, there is not, and apparently never has been, anything like

(22)   Lithuanian
        **jis leidžia   žmones   apgaunamus*
        he allow.PRS.3 people.ACC.PL deceive.PPRP.ACC.PL.M
        intended meaning: 'he allows people to be deceived.'

---

3. In Latvian the participial construction is virtually non-existent, though one finds isolated instances, e.g.,

        Bille   stiepa   roku,   bet vardes […] *neļāvā-s*
        PN.NOM stretch.PST.3 arm.ACC.SG but frog.NOM.PL NEG-allow.PST.3-REFL
        noķeramas.
        catch.PPRP.NOM.PL.F
        'Bille stretched out her arm, but the frogs […] didn't let themselves be caught.'
                                                        (Vizma Belševica, *Bille*)

We may therefore conclude that the participle was introduced at once into the reflexive permissive construction and never occurred in non-reflexive permissive constructions. We can only speculate how this process might have occurred (cf. Holvoet 2016 for further discussion), and it is not immediately relevant here, belonging as it does to the history of clausal complementation in Lithuanian rather than to the history of verbal voice. What is relevant in the context of syntactic description is the introduction of a passive participle. The fact that a passive participle is introduced suggests that the construction in the embedded clause has become intransitive. As can be seen in (20), the permittee does not appear in the dative any more, as in (4)–(6), but in the genitive, the case regularly assigned by passive participles to their agentive complements; it is therefore in the embedded clause. The implicit subject of the passive participle is the patient-permittor, that is, it is controlled by the main-clause subject. These features having been established, the syntactic structure of the sentence can now tentatively be represented as follows:

(23)
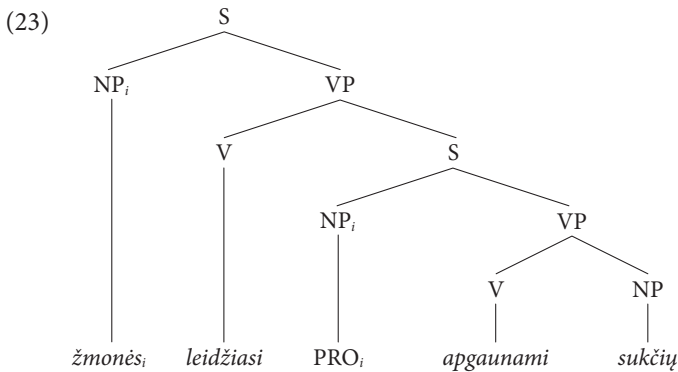
The fact that the passive participle could at all be introduced in this construction suggests that a structure similar to (23) already existed at the stage of the Old Lithuanian permissive middle with the infinitive illustrated in (4)–(6), that is, that the syntactic structure in the embedded clause was already intransitive. However, the dative permittee in (4)–(6) as well as in (21) seems to be licenced by the main-clause verb (*duoti* or *leisti*). The shift of the permittee to the embedded clause must have occurred when the participle was introduced. The syntactic structure of (4)–(6) could therefore have been as in (24):

(24)

```
                    S
           ┌────────┴────────┐
          NP               VP
          │        ┌────────┼──────────────┐
          │        V        NP              S
          │        │        │         ┌─────┴─────┐
          │        │        │        NP          VP
          │        │        │         │           │
     Jozefasᵢ   davėsi   broliamus  PROᵢ      pasižint
```
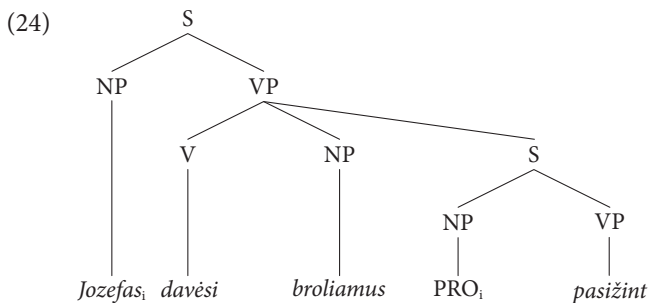
Of course a case could also be made for an alternative syntactic interpretation re-flecting a process of clausal union, with a closer syntactic association between the permissive verb and the infinitive or participle; on this interpretation, the permis-sive verb would have become a kind of permissive auxiliary. In the syntactic rep-resentation below, I use the notion of verbal grouping, a syntactic unit consisting of auxiliary and main verb, assuming the two to go together not only in morphology, but also in syntax.[4] A verbal grouping is not yet a full verb phrase, which would include a complement:

(25)

```
                         S
           ┌─────────────┴──────────────┐
          NP                           VP
          │                  ┌──────────┴───────┐
          │                VGr                  NP
          │            ┌─────┴─────┐             │
          │            V           V             │
          │            │           │             │
       Jozefas      davėsi     pasižint      broliamus
```
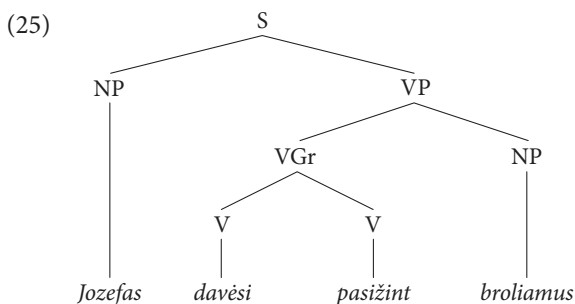
The choice between these two interpretations is not easy. Word order in the con-structions under discussion is quite free and there is no positive evidence for the rise of a closer syntactic association between the higher verb and the infinitive. There is therefore no compelling evidence for clausal union, although it is known from the literature that clausal union is regularly attested in causative constructions (Noonan 2007: 83–87).

   As mentioned above, Latvian has basically retained structures as in (24) or (25), but the permittee appears in two alternative shapes: alongside the dative as in (26) we also find a prepositional phrase with *no* as in (27):

---

4.   The notion is borrowed from Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 1213), though these authors do not actually use it in their syntactic analyses.

(26) Latvian
Ļāvo-s *būvniekiem* *pierunātie-s*
allow.PST.1SG-REFL construction.worker.DAT.PL persuade.INF-REFL
taisīt *"normālus"* *pamatus,*
make.INF normal.ACC.PL.M foundation.ACC.PL
[*aizvietojot kūdru ar smilti*].
'I let myself be persuaded by the construction workers to cast 'normal' foun-
dations, [replacing peat with sand].' https://buvejotmaju.
wordpress.com/2016/06/

(27) *Taču* *ļāvo-s* *pierunātie-s* *no savas*
however allow.PST.1SG-REFL persuadeINF-REFL by RPO.GEN.SG
vecās *mātes,*
old.GEN.SG.F.DEF mother.GEN.SG
[*kura šādai "apgrēcībai" negribēja piekrist*].
'However, I let myself be persuaded [sc. to go to confirmation] by my old
mother, [who could not approve of such "sinful behaviour"]'
https://www.irliepaja.lv/lv/raksti/liepajnieki/janis-
jaunsleinis-it-ka-meris-butu-parstaigajis/

The construction with *no* is similar to that once used for agent phrases in passive
constructions but subsequently ousted from the standard language. Just like its
counterpart in passive constructions, this prepositional phrase with *no* probably
reflects German influence (cf. German *er ließ sich von ihr überreden* 'he let him-
self be persuaded by her'), but unlike the agent complements with *no* in passive
constructions, those occurring in the permissive constructions under discussion
here seem never to have been condemned by prescriptive grammar. In modern
Lithuanian the construction is not to be found, but in the Old Lithuanian Chylinski
Bible it is also attested under the influence of the Dutch original:[5]

(28) Old Lithuanian (Chyliński's Old Testament, Genesis 25.21)
ir *dawes* *isiprasʒyt* *WIESZPATS nog jo*
and give.PST.3.REFL entreat.INF Lord.NOM from 3.GEN.SG.M
'and the Lord was entreated of him' (properly: 'the Lord let Himself be entreated')
Dutch *ende de HEERE liet sich van hem verbidden*

In spite of the foreign influence possibly underlying the construction with *no*, it is
perhaps revealing of the syntactic reanalysis that occurred in the permissive middle.

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5. In passive constructions prepositional phrases with *nuo(g)* in the function of agent phrases
were very common, clearly outnumbering the authentically Lithuanian constructions with the
bare agentive genitive.

As prepositional phrases with *no* are characteristic of passive constructions, one would expect them to be used only with intransitivized verbs, and intransitivization is also suggested by the introduction of passive participles in the corresponding Lithuanian construction.

4.7 Autopermissive complement-taking verbs

As shown above, the reflexive marker in the permissive middle must have been originally a reflexive pronoun belonging to the embedded clause as the object of the embedded infinitive. The accretion of the reflexive marker to the complement-taking permissive verb was a consequence of an oscillation in the process of its affixalization: the reflexive marker could (though this was not the only possibility) accrete to the higher verb because it was controlled by its subject. Initially this was part of a marking strategy that involved the whole complex sentence: the reflexive marker could appear in the main clause or in the embedded clause. In the course of time, this pattern, still productive in Latvian, was lost in Lithuanian and the reflexive marker ultimately accreted to the higher verb. The reflexive complement-taking verb is now dissociated from its source construction and can be interpreted as a distinct autopermissive complement-taking verb, that is, a complement-taking permissive verb with explicit marking of the fact that the action described in the embedded predication is directed at the participant functioning as main clause subject. In the case of the construction with the passive present participle this may be interpreted as redundant morphological marking of the coreferentiality of main and embedded clause subjects. Modern Lithuanian has two such permissive complement-taking verbs: *leistis* and *duotis*. The former is illustrated above in (21); the latter is illustrated in (29), which shows that the constructions used with the two verbs are exactly parallel. Whether there are any semantic differences between the two is a different question which I will not enter upon here:

(29) Lithuanian
[… *su išdrįsusiais nepaklusti gali būti bet kada susidorota*.]
Bet yra   tokių,   kurie   ne-si-duoda
but be.PRS.3 such.GEN.PL REL.NOM.PL.M NEG-REFL-give.PRS.3
bauginami.
intimidate.PPRP.NOM.PL.M
'[Those who disobey are at risk of harassment at any moment]. But there are people who do not let themselves be intimidated.'

> http://www.respublika.lt/lt/naujienos/pasaulis/kitos_pasaulio_
> naujienos/dar_viena_rusijos_ana_politkovskaja/,print.1

The reflexive marking on the complement-taking permissive verb, which arises in configurations where the embedded clause is non-finite, is sometimes carried over to structures with finite embedded clauses. An example from Lithuanian:

(30)　Lithuanian　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(cited from Pakerys 2016: 441)
　　　duktė　　　　　leidžia-si,　　　kad kvailybė　　　permerktų
　　　daughter.NOM.SG allow.PRS.3-RFL that silliness.NOM.SG soak.IRR.3
　　　ją　　　　　kiaurai　　kaip lietus
　　　3.NOM.SG.F throughout like rain.NOM.SG
　　　'The daughter allows silliness to soak her completely, like rain.'

And from Latvian we could cite (31):

(31)　Latvian
　　　[*Brālis Teodors, ienākot pa durvīm, piesteidz klāt, piegrūž vēso purniņu manām rokām*]
　　　un　ļauja-s,　　　ka　paglaudu.
　　　and allow.PRS.3-RFL that stroke.PRS.1SG
　　　'[Brother Theodore [a dog] enters through the door, comes close, pushes his cool muzzle against my hand] and allows me to stroke him.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　http://www.teodors.org/sapnos-esmu-redzigs/

This reflexive marking is not obligatory, unlike the reflexive marking in (20). (32) is syntactically and semantically analogous but does not have the reflexive marking of coreferentiality:

(32)　Lithuanian
　　　[*Lumerė yra labai draugiška, švelni,*]
　　　leidžia,　　kad ją　　　paimtum　　ant rankų.
　　　allow.PRS.3 that 3.ACC.SG.F take.IRR.2SG on hand.GEN.SG
　　　'[Lumerė [a cat] is very friendly and gentle] and allows you to take her in your arms.'　　　　　　　　　　　　https://www.delfi.lt/pilietis/ieskaunamu/
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　lazdynuose-dingo-katyte.d?id=69131836

Whereas the reflexive marking in (20) is, from a historical point of view, determined syntactically and is an obligatory feature of the permissive construction, in structures like (30) and (31) it should be regarded as a lexicalized feature, and *leistis* should probably be viewed as a separate complement-taking verb with marking of coreferentiality with one of the semantic or syntactic arguments of the embedded clause as its distinguishing feature. This is, however, an instance of a broader phenomenon, viz. the occurrence of (reflexive) middle-voice marking to encode coreferentiality relations with an embedded-clause argument. I will discuss this in detail in Chapter 8.

4.8   Lexical permissives

In the preceding section I discussed the further development of reflexive marking in the higher verb in the reflexive middle. I will now discuss its consequences in the embedded clause.

In a first stage, the accretion of the reflexive marker to the embedded verb leads to the rise of a class of reflexive verb forms occurring only in the permissive middle. For instance, a verb like Latvian *pierunāties* or Old Lithuanian *persikalbēti* would have only one form, the infinitive, used in just one construction, in combination with the permissive complement-taking verbs Lithuanian *duoti(s)*, *leisti(s)*, Latvian *ļaut(ies)*. We will probably not be inclined to regard such reflexive forms as lexicalized, considering their dependence on just one construction. Any infinitive used in this construction could assume reflexive marking.

The picture would be different if we imagined a reflexive form like Latvian *pierunāties* emancipating itself from the permissive complementation construction and starting an independent life. This would lead to the rise of a type of verbs V_{refl} 'allow oneself to be V-ed', a type that could reasonably be claimed to be lexicalized.

Lithuanian does not seem to have such verbs but Latvian has a very small group under suspicion of having originated in this way. To begin with, there are four verbs denoting mental impact, *iespaidot* 'impress', *ietekmēt* 'influence', *iedvesmot* 'inspire' and *vadīt* 'guide' (a small, but remarkably homogeneous group):

(33) Latvian   (Sandra Kalniete, *Es lauzu, tu lauzi, mēs lauzām, viņi lūza*)
Iespējams,   *ka   viņi*   *vadījā-s*   *no taktiskiem*
possible.NOM.SG.M that 3.NOM.PL.M guide.PST.3-REFL by tactical.DAT.PL.M
apsvērumiem,
consideration.DAT.PL
[*to vārdā upurējot principu*].
'It is possible that they allowed themselves to be guided by tactical considerations, [sacrificing their principles in the name of these].'

(34) *Beļģijā*   *gleznotājs*   *ietekmējā-s*   *no flāmu*
Belgium.LOC painter.NOM.SG influence.PST.3-REFL by Fleming.GEN.PL
ekspresionisma.
expressionism.GEN
'In Belgium the artist let himself be influenced by Flemish expressionism.'
                                    http://dom.lndb.lv/data/obj/63730.html

(35) *Pedagoģe*   *iedvesmoja-s*   *no   saviem*   *audzēkņiem.*
pedagogue[F].NOM.SG inspire.PRS.3-REFL from RPO.DAT.PL pupil.DAT.PL
                        http://www.bauskasdzive.lv/laikraksta-arhivs/pedagoge-
                              iedvesmojas-no-saviem-audzekniem-36102

These verbs can, of course, also be used in the permissive complementation construction:

(36) Latvian
      [*Bismarks, piemēram, neslēpa*]
      motīvus,   no kuriem   viņš   ļāvā-s
      motive.ACC.PL by REL.DAT.PL.M 3.NOM.SG.M allow.PST.3-REFL
      vadītie-s   strādnieku   šķiras   „labā".
      lead.INF-REFL worker.GEN.PL class.GEN.SG interest.LOC.SG
      'Birmarck, for example, did not hide the motive by which he let himself be guided in the so-called interest of the working class.'
                              https://melnaiskarogs.wordpress.com/melnais-karogs-6/

Such verbs cannot be characterized as passive, as Latvian has no reflexive passive. The best way to deal with them is probably to interpret them as a small group of 'lexical permissives'. The characteristic shape of their complements, consisting in propositional phrases with *no*, was probably carried over from the syntactic permissive construction, where it is frequent, cf. examples like (23). In a further development, verbs of this type may acquire quasi-passive function. LLVV states that *ietekmēties* normally has a human subject, but exceptions from this tendency can be found:

(37) Latvian
      Mūsu   gēni   nemitīgi   ietekmēja-s   no
      1PL.GEN gene.NOM.PL continually influence.PRS.3-REFL by
      apkārtējās   vides,   kurā   dzīvojam.
      surrounding.GEN.SG.F.DEF environment.GEN.SG REL.LOC.SG live.PRS.1PL
      'Our genes are continually influenced by the surrounding environment in which we live.'   http://www.saknes.lv/lv/sakumlapa/cik-viegli-musu-sabiedriba-pienem-%E2%80%9Ccitados-bernus

The development from causative to passive meaning is well attested (Haspelmath 1990: 46–49), and the pathway from permissive to passive is basically the same but for slightly different degrees of agency. However, the small group of verbs discussed here has not become a point of departure for new reflexive-marked verbs with passive meaning, so I prefer to refrain from labelling uses as in (33), (34) and (35) as passive: they basically still belong to the middle-voice.

As can be seen, lexical permissives are rare. While Latvian has just a few reflexive lexemes that could be characterized as permissive, there are considerably more verbs where the meaning is more active. I will discuss these below.

4.9 The permissive middle in Slavonic

The oscillation observed in the affixalization of reflexive markers in the permissive middle is not restricted to Baltic, but occurs in East Slavonic as well. Whereas in West and South Slavonic the reflexive marker that became a middle-voice marker is enclitic, East Slavonic affixalized it, and Old Russian *bojati sja* became modern Russian *bojat'sja*, Ukrainian *bojatysja*, Belarusian *bajacca*. If the process of affixalization in reflexive permissive constructions proceeded in the same way as in Baltic, this process must have shown the same oscillation, and this is what we actually find.

Neither grammars nor dictionaries of the East Slavonic languages tell us anything about reflexive marking in permissive construction because in the Russian grammatical tradition reflexivity is viewed as exclusively derivational: reflexive verbs are treated as distinct lexemes, so that reflexive forms only occasionally appearing in the permissive construction are simply ignored in dictionaries, and also in the description of the types of reflexives found in the grammars. In fact, only a constructional view of grammar would capture the function of the reflexive forms interesting us here as they occur only within a construction.

The most productive reflexive permissive construction in modern Russian, accepted by all speakers of Russian, is the one in (38), corresponding to the Lithuanian one in (1). It is properly reflexive and contains the orthotonic reflexive pronoun *sebja*:

(38) Russian (Georgij Arbatov, 1923–2010, *Čelovek sistemy*, 2002, RNC)
Gromyko […] *dal* *sebja* *ubedit'*,
Gromyko[NOM] allow.PST.M.SG REFL.ACC persuade.INF
[*čto operacija budet korotkoj i uspešnoj*].
'Gromyko […] allowed himself to be persuaded [that the operation would be brief and successful].'

In literary texts, internet blogs etc., we also find, however, constructions without orthotonic reflexive pronoun and with reflexive affixes on both higher and lower verb:

(39) Russian (Nina Sadur, 1950–, *Som-s-usom*, 1995, RNC)
[… *a ona naklonjalas' nad nim licom nejasnym, svetlovatym*]
i *šeptala* *čtob* *ne* *trepyxalsja*,
and whisper.PST.F.SG COMPL NEG thrash.about.LFORM.M.REFL
dal-sja *vzvesit'-sja*.
give.LFORM.M-REFL weigh.INF-REFL
'And she inclined her blurred and luminous face over it [sc. the catfish] and told it in a whisper not to thrash about and to let itself be weighed.'

The reflexive permissive construction with the orthotonic *sebja*, illustrated in (38), also has a variety with reflexive marking on the complement-taking verb, presumably a relic of the middle-voice construction, as we saw for Lithuanian:

(40) Russian   (Aleksandr Iličevskij, 1970–, RNC)
 Vadja ne srazu dal-sja   Korolevu sebja   ugovorit'.
 PN.NOM NEG at.once give.PST.M.SG-REFL PN.DAT   REFL.ACC persuade.INF
 'Vadya did not allow himself at once to be persuaded by Korolev.'

(41) Russian   (Andrej Beljanin, 1999, RNC)
 Čtob ešče kogda   dobrovoľno dal-sja   zakovat'
 COMPL even some.time voluntarily give.LFORM.M.SG-REFL shackle.INF
 sebja   v železo?!
 REFL.ACC into iron.ACC.SG
 'Is he to allow himself voluntarily to be put in iron shackles?'

The middle-voice construction with double reflexive marking is not recognized by many speakers of modern standard Russian, who declare it to be ungrammatical, but there are also speakers who accept it. It is not clear how this can be accounted for: one might think of regional differences, of differences in language register (with constructions as in (39) characteristic only of the popular language) or of a diachronic shift (the instances with double reflexive markers as isolated relics of a construction type that has basically fallen out of use).

In Ukrainian the original varieties of the permissive middle with the characteristic oscillation in the affixalization of the reflexive marker seem to be preserved much better than in Russian, which means that Ukrainian is more archaic here. The three varieties are here illustrated in the same order in which they are given in (4)–(6) for Old Lithuanian and in (10)–(12) for Latvian: first the variety with the reflexive marker on the higher verb, then that with a reflexive-marked embedded verb, and finally the variety with two reflexive-marked verbs:

(42) Ukrainian   (V. Budzynovs'kyj, 1868–1935)
 Odnak na sju   propagandu   daly-s'   zlovyty
 however at DEM.ACC.SG.F propaganda.ACC give.PST.PL-REFL catch.INF
 lyše nečyslenni odynyci.
 only few.NOM.PL entity.NOM.PL
 'However, only sundry individuals let themselves be caught by this propaganda.'
                                                            https://zbruc.eu/node/7827

(43) Ukrainian (Ivan Franko, 1856–1916, *Ne spytavši brodu*)
A vy, naivni romantyky, daly zlovyty-s'
and 2PL.NOM naive.NOM.PL romantic.NOM.PL give.PST.PL catch.INF-REFL
na ti mrii, blyskuči ta zludni.
with DEM.ACC.PL daydream.ACC.PL glamour.ACC.PL and illusion.ACC.PL
'And you, naive romantics, have allowed yourself to be caught with the bait of those daydreams, glamour and illusions.'
https://www.ukrlib.com.ua/books/printit.php?tid=3794

(44) Ukrainian (M. Haliv, 1986)
[*stattja … u jakij pysalos', ščo*]
nesvidomi ljudy daly-s' zlovyty-s'
uninformed.NOM.PL.M people.NOM.PL give.PST.PL-REFL catch.INF-REFL
na bil'šovyc'ku vudočku,
with bolshevist.ACC.SG.F fishing.rod.ACC.PL
[*jakoju je sprava patrijarxatu.*]
'[an article in which it was written that] uninformed people allowed themselves to be caught with the Bolshevist bait [that was the affair of the Patriarchate].'
http://www.patriyarkhat.org.ua/statti-zhurnalu/koho-oboronyaje-i-scho-zastupaje-ukrajinskomovnyj-katolytskyj-shlyah/

The same varieties can be attested in Belarusian, but here I will give only one example, with double marking of reflexivity:

(45) Belarusian (*Niva*, 07 01 2018)
[*U svajoj stomlenasci*]
ne daŭ-sja uhavaryc-ca na daŭžèjšuju
NEG allow.PST.M.SG-REFL persuade.INF-REFL to longer.ACC.SG.F
prahulku ŭ les.
walk.ACC.SG into forest.ACC.SG
'As he was tired, he didn't let himself be persuaded to make a longer walk into the forest.' http://niva.bialystok.pl/issue/2018/01/art_04.htm (accessed 2019 01 20)

Both in Ukrainian and in Belarusian the hybrid variety with both reflexive marking on the verb and an orthotonic reflexive pronoun, parallel to (40) and (41), is also attested. The following is from Ukrainian:

(46) Ukrainian
Vin   bez   sprotyvu   dav-sja
3.NOM.SG.M without resistance.GEN give.PST.M.SG-REFL
sebe   rozzbrojity.
REFL.ACC disarm.INF
'He allowed himself to be disarmed without offering resistence.'
http://www.e-reading.club/chapter.php/1050712/25/Doroshenko_-_
Stezhkami_holodnoyarskimi._Spogadi_1918_-_1923_rokiv.html

It would take a more careful investigation to give an accurate picture of the situation in all three East Slavonic languages and in their earlier stages of development. This is an undisclosed chapter in the grammar of the East Slavonic languages, and it is to be hoped that this topic will be taken up by some researcher.

Above I described how the reflexive marking on the embedded verb may lead to the rise of reflexive lexemes that have permissive meanings by themselves; this was illustrated from Latvian. It seems that instances of this process can also be found in Slavonic. We could cite such verbs as Russian *pojmat'sja*, Ukrainian *zlovytys'*, Polish *złapać się* 'get caught' (about an animal):

(47) Russian   (A. P. Čechov, 1860–1904, *Roman s kontrabasom*, 1886)
Ili   bol'šaja   ryba   pojmala-s', –   podumala   devuška, –
either big.NOM.SG.F fish.NOM.SG catch.PST.F.SG-REFL think.PST.F.SG girl.NOM.SG
[*ili že udočka zacepilas'.*]
'Either a big fish has got itself caught, though the girl, [or the fishing rod has got stuck somewhere].'

Russian dictionaries describe *pojmat'sja* as passive (e.g., *Slovar' russkogo jazyka* red. Efremova), but this is hardly adequate. Russian derives passives with reflexive morphology from imperfective verbs; they behave like real passives and combine with agent phrases. With *pojmat'sja* it is impossible to use an agent phrase:

(48) Russian
Často lovjat-sja   rybakami   i   xiščniki:
often catch.PRS.3PL-REFL fisherman.INS.PL also predator.NOM.PL
[*sudak, okun', som, ščuka*].
'The predators – zander, perch, catfish, pike – are also caught by fishermen.'
https://mayami-club.com/fish/zimnjaja-rybalka-na-dnestre/

(49) ˀ*Okun'   pojmal-sja   rybakom.*
perch.NOM.SG catch.PST.M.SG-REFL fisherman.INS.SG
intended meaning: 'The perch was caught by the fisherman.'

Rather than assuming this is simply an idiosyncratic feature of the verb *pojmat'*, I would venture that this is a kind of middle – a permissive middle. Apart from constructions like (47) it occurs in the (admittedly rare) permissive construction with *dat'sja*:

(50) Russian
[*golub'… sel ko mne na podokonnik*]
i   sam   dal-sja   pojmat'-sja   mne
and itself.NOM.SG.M allow.PST.M.SG-REFL catch.INF-REFL   1SG.DAT
'[The pigeon perched on my window sill] and allowed itself to be caught by me'
https://forum-beta.sakh.com/403028/

4.10   Permissives and curatives

Permissive meaning is close to causative meaning, and is mostly treated as a subtype of it. The question arises therefore what the relationship might be between lexical permissives as discussed in the previous section and the reflexive verbs that might be said to have a causative element in their meaning. These verbs are well-known in both Baltic and Slavonic (for Russian cf., e.g., Toops 1987). I will here refer to them as curatives, availing myself of a term used in Fennic and Baltic scholarship to designate causatives of the type 'have something done by somebody', with the causee often unexpressed (cf. Holvoet 2015: 167–173). Verbs of this type refer to situations in which a service provider performs an action on the customer's person, ranging from a shave to a surgical operation; as this service is delivered at the initiative of the customer and the participation of the service provider is taken for granted, the latter can be backgrounded. The service-provider may, however, be mentioned as the owner of the establishment at which the service is provided, e.g., 'at the barber's', 'at the tailor's' etc.

(51) Lithuanian
Kartą ji   ap-si-kirpo   pas žinomą   meistrą
once 3.NOM.SG.F PFX-REFL-cut.PST.3 at famous.ACC.SG master.ACC.SG
[*Leonardo, kuris norėjo išbandyti trumpų plaukų kirpimą*].
'Once she had her hair done by the famous master hairdresser [Leonardo, who wanted to try his hand at a short hairdo].'   http://www.ve.lt/naujienos/
laisvalaikis/stilius/pavasario-mada-2011-mini-ivaizdis-mini-eroje/

(52) Polish
[*Kiedyś ludzie chodzili do łaźni,*]
kiedyś mężczyźni   golili   się   u fryzjera.
once   man.NOM.PL shave.PST.VIR.PL[3] REFL at barber.GEN.SG
'[Once people went to the public baths,] and men went to the barber for a shave.'
http://sngkultura.pl/2019/01/prasowy-salonik-z-aneksem/

This more agentive curative function is also, alongside the more passive permissive function, known to be characteristic of the middle voice. For Greek this is noted by Wackernagel (1920: 128), who cites *apográphesthai* 'have one's name entered' as an example. Its use is seen in (53):

(53) Classical Greek   (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 2.1.18, transl. Walter Miller)
ho   men chréizōn   […] apographésthō   pròs
DEF.NOM.SG.M PTC wish.PPRA.NOM.SG.M enroll.IMP.PRS.3SG.MED with
tòn   taxíarchon
DEF.ACC.SG.M captain.ACC.SG
'Whosoever will, let him […] have his name enrolled with the captain.'

The situations referred to by such middle-voice forms involve, apart from the subject, who is also a patient, a causee who actually performs the caused event in which the subject is a patient, but as this causee is backgrounded, it can, for all practical purposes, be ignored.

In view of the close affinity between causative and permissive constructions, and the proven affinity of both to the middle voice, an interesting question is why causative meaning is represented by lexical verbs immediately assuming reflexive marking while permissive meaning is represented by complementation constructions involving permissive verbs, with reflexive marking spread, in different ways, over both. It is true that some reflexives have permissive meaning by themselves, cf. the examples in (27), (29) and (38). It is also true that, in the domain of middle marking, causative meaning can also be expressed by complementation constructions, cf. (14), (15). But the lack of symmetry is still striking. Lexical meaning cannot explain this in a satisfactory way: one could imagine single causative-permissive type of reflexives yielding the pragmatically most likely readings 'have one's hair cut' (causative) and 'allow oneself to be influenced' (permissive). To a certain extent, we actually observe this, but lexical permissives are rare.

What differentiates the two types is no doubt the difference in the status of the causee/permittee. There are many conventionalized and institutionalized situations where tasks are entrusted to service-providers such as barbers, tailor, surgeons etc., whose offices are taken for granted so that they can easily be backgrounded. It is thus, in a sense, a mistake to call verbs like *apsikirpti*, *ogolić się* etc. causative: causation is not linguistically encoded but simply ignored. Nothing similar can be observed in the case of permissives: these usually refer to situations where the subject fails to offer effective resistance to an agency that is not necessarily hostile (*be imposed upon*) but typically non-solicited (*be persuaded*). If this is indeed the mechanism involved, then one would expect no lexical permissives at all.

Where, then, do the few existing lexical permissives come from? One explanation could be that they are abstracted out of the permissive complementation

construction. In other words, Latvian *vadīties* would be based on *ļauties vadīties*, Russian *pojmat'sja* on *dat'sja pojmat'sja* etc. This remains speculative, of course, but in any case, on a semantic map such permissives as *pojmat'sja* can be put next to the permissive forms occurring in the permissive complementation construction. On the other hand, they will also be close to curatives. We could therefore draw a fragmentary semantic map as in Figure 1. For the sake of convenience, I refer to the reflexive in the permissive complementation construction as the syntactic permissive and to reflexives having the permissive meaning by themselves as lexical permissives.
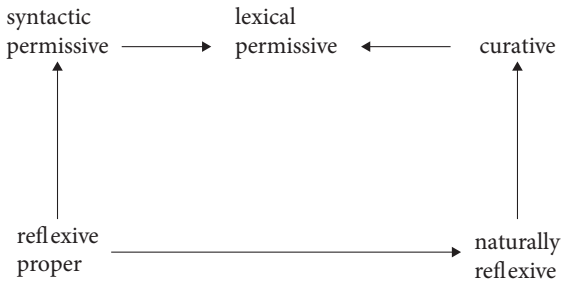
Figure 1. A partial semantic map for permissives and curatives

4.11 Broader outlook

Above I have identified a permissive middle on the basis of Baltic data, and pointed to the likelihood of the existence of such a category in Slavonic as well. The identification of this gram type was made possible by a morphological feature – the oscillating and/or double reflexive marking on the main and dependent verb. These peculiarities of marking are specifically connected with the affixalization process, and they do not manifest themselves in those Slavonic languages where the reflexive marker has remained enclitic. Is there, for example, a permissive middle in Polish?

(54) *Polish*
   Starszy   pan   nie dał   się
   elderly.NOM.SG.M gentleman.NOM.SG NEG give.PST.M.SG[3] REFL
   oszukać   fałszywemu   bratankowi.
   deceived.INF fake.DAT.SG.M nephew.DAT.SG
   'The elderly gentleman did not allow himself to be deceived by the fake nephew.'
        https://polskatimes.pl/gdansk-starszy-pan-nie-dal-sie-oszukac-
        falszywemu-bratankowi-telefon-odebrali-straznicy-miejscy/ar/777073

Polish *się* could be viewed as ambiguous between a reflexive pronoun occupying a syntactic argument position and a grammatical marker not occupying a syntactic argument position. We decide on the basis of meaning: in (55) we are tempted to think assume that *się* is a direct object, whereas in (56) we will view it as a grammatical marker because semantically we are dealing with a one-place predication.

(55) Polish
    Anna   widzi   się   w lustrze.
    Ann.NOM.SG see.PRS.3SG REFL in mirror.LOC.SG
    'Ann sees herself in the mirror.'

(56) *Cukier   się   rozsypał.*
    sugar.NOM.SG REFL spill.PST.M.SG[3]
    'The sugar has spilt.'

But this is also relatively easy to test: in (55) we can replace *się* with the orthotonic reflexive pronoun *siebie*. In the case of the permissive construction, this yields acceptable results, though a contrastive stress, as seen in (57), is necessary in order to make the construction sound natural:

(57) Polish   (Patryk Vega, 1977–, *Złe psy. Po ciemnej stronie mocy*)
    [*Tak że gość był na tyle kumaty, że*]
    nie dał   siebie   pobić,   tylko pobił
    NEG give.PST.M.SG[3] REFL.GEN beat.up.INF but   beat.up.PST.M.SG[3]
    komendanta.
    police.officer.ACC.SG
    '[So the guy was smart enough] not to let himself be beaten up but to beat up the police officer instead.'

We should, of course, recall the situation in modern Latvian, which has both the permissive reflexive (*ļāva sevi iebiedēt*) and the permissive middle (*ļāvās iebiedēties*). A similar situation could exist in Polish. In other words, we have no means of either proving or disproving the existence, in Polish, of a permissive middle in which *się* is just a grammatical marker not occupying a syntactic argument position. The situation is basically the same in the remaining Slavonic languages, with the exception of East Slavonic.

    This is, at least, the situation as long as the construction is properly permissive. In several languages there has been a process of grammaticalization of permissive constructions consisting in a shift from permissive to modal meanings. German is a well-known example of this:

(58) German
Enttäuschungen lassen sich nicht vermeiden.
disappointment.NOM.PL let.PRS.3PL REFL NEG avoid.INF
'Disappointments cannot be avoided.'

For Slavonic this process has been investigated in detail by von Waldenfels (2012), and I will dwell on the Slavonic parallels here because of the close structural similarities. For Polish, the process can be illustrated by the following example:

(59) Polish
[*Mecz był wyrównany a*]
końcowy rezultat długo nie dał
final.NOM.SG.M result.NOM.SG long NEG give.PST.M.SG[3]
się przewidzieć.
REFL predict.INF
'[The match was balanced and] for a long time the final outcome was impossible to predict.' https://www.sportowepodhale.pl/index.php?s=tekst&id=1466

This construction is formally still permissive but cannot be permissive semantically, because a permissive construction presupposes an animate permittor. The construction has become modal and has also lost the syntactic properties of the permissive construction. First, there can be no permittee NP in the dative, analogous to *fałszywemu bratankowi* in (54).

(60) Polish
**Wynik meczu nie dał się*
result.NOM.SG match.GEN.SG NEG give.PST.M.SG[3] REFL
widzom przewidzieć.
spectator.DAT.PL predict.INF
intended meaning: 'the outcome of the match was impossible for the public to predict.'

Secondly, the use of the orthotonic form *siebie* instead of *się* is rejected by native speakers of Polish:

(61) Polish
**Wynik meczu nie dał siebie przewidzieć.*
result.NOM.SG match.GEN.SG NEG give.PST.M.SG[3] REFL.GEN predict.INF
Intended meaning: 'The result of the match did not allow itself to be predicted.'

In a further development, the modal construction with *dać* is impersonalized. The original subject of the permissive verb now becomes the object of the embedded infinitive, and *(nie) dać się* can now be interpreted as an impersonal modal verb with the meaning 'it is (im)possible'.

(62) Polish
[*Według dzisiejszego stanu wiedzy*]
nie dało   się przewidzieć wstrząsu   o takiej
NEG give.PST.N.SG[3] REFL predict.INF shock.GEN.SG of such.LOC.SG.F
sile.
might.LOC.SG
'[To the best of our present knowledge,] a seismic shock of this magnitude was impossible to predict.'   https://katowice.gosc.pl/doc/5066089.Nikt-nie-zawinil-Tego-nie-dalo-sie-przewidziec

The extension of *dać się* to constructions with intransitive verbs, as in (63), was presumably an intermediate stage in this development (the syntactic pattern of the impersonal construction being carried over again to transitive verbs, with object marking for the patientive argument):

(63) Polish
Polacy   przyznają: nie da   się żyć   bez
Pole.NOM.PL acknowledge.PRS.3PL NEG give.FUT.3SG REFL live.INF without
telefonu   komórkowego.
telephone.GEN.SG cellular.GEN.SG.M
'Poles agree: It is impossible to live without cell phone.'
                                 https://www.rp.pl/artykul/207231-Polacy-przyznaja--nie-da-sie-zyc-bez-telefonu-komorkowego.html

This process of impersonalization (which is parallel to other processes of impersonalization of middle-voice constructions in Polish, cf. Chapter 6 on the facilitative construction) presumably occurred in a construction that had already lost several features of the original permissive construction. The meaning had, of course, already become modal. The original reflexive marker *się* had lost the ability to represent a syntactic argument position, as can be seen from the ungrammaticality of (61). The datival permittee could, in principle, have developed into a modal subject (i.e. the person experiencing a possibility etc.), but its syntactic position was lost, as can be seen from (60).

The development outlined here has two aspects, one semantic, and one syntactic. It is conceivable that the syntactic change was a concomitant of the semantic change from permissive to modal, but there is probably no means to verify this. As the data of Old Lithuanian and modern Latvian show, it is not necessary for a permissive verb to undergo a shift towards modal meaning for a middle-voice construction (with loss of the argument position of the reflexive pronoun) to arise. By the way, the modal meaning has been slow to arise in Baltic. True, in 19th-century Lithuanian texts we occasionally find modal uses of Lithuanian *duotis* with the infinitive in clearly modal meaning:

(64)   Lithuanian   (Petras Vileišis, 1851–1926, *Varpas*, 1897)
[*Stebėtina, kad po tokiai dainai*]
duoda-si   išgirsti   nuo   tų   pačių   žmonių
give.PRS.3-RFL   hear.INF   from   DEM.GEN.PL   same.GEN.PL   people.GEN.PL
balsai   apie   lietuvių   separatizmą […].
voice.NOM.PL   about   Lithuanian.GEN.PL   separatism.ACC.SG
'After such tunes it is surprising that from the same people voices make them-
selves heard about a Lithuanian separatism…'

However, such constructions seem to reflect the influence of Polish; modern
Lithuanian shows no trace of them, and they seem never to have been a fea-
ture of the living language. The modern corpora do, however, show instances of
quasi-modal use of the now predominant varieties of the permissive construction,
recognizable as such by the occurrence of inanimate nouns in subject position. The
metaphoric shift from lack of physical resistance to possibility is certainly active
but the number of instances is low.[6]

(65)   Lithuanian
[*kūrinys, besiremiantis autentiška dokumentine medžiaga ir turintis meniškai
organizuotą raišką,*]
sunkiai   leidžia-si   įspraudžiamas   į
with.difficulty   allow.PRS.3-REFL   squeeze.PPRP.NOM.SG.M   into
žinomus   žanrinius   rėmus.
familiar.ACC.PL.M   genre.ADJ.ACC.PL.M   framework.ACC.PL
'[The work, which is based on authentic documentary evidence and is
well-structured in its artistic expression,] is hard to squeeze into any familiar
genre framework.'

(66)   Latvian   (lvTenTen14)
Dekorāciju   jautājums   ļauja-s   vienkāršotie-s,
decor.GEN.PL   problem.NOM.SG   allow.PRS.3-REFL   simplify.INF-REFL
[*spēles laukumu sadalot proscēnijā, pusskatuvē un skatuvē.*]
'The problem of the decor can be simplified [by dividing the performing area
into a proscenium, downstage area and proper stage].'

This shows that the semantic changes in the Baltic permissive middle-voice con-
struction are not spectacular: since the first attestations in Old Lithuanian and
Old Latvian, its meaning has not essentially shifted. We can see from this that
the permissive middle is not necessarily a transitional stage leading to more

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6.   The Latvian internet corpus lvTenTen14 yields 494 hits for *ļauties*, out of which 440 repre-
sented the permissive middle construction. Among these, only 15 had inanimate subjects (cor-
porate subjects like 'State' or 'nation' being counted as animate).

grammaticalized modal meanings. Though all Baltic and Slavonic languages where it is attested show signs of having renewed the reflexive permissive construction through the reintroduction of a properly reflexive pronoun, the morphosyntactic marking strategy which I have here described as the permissive middle-voice construction has also proved relatively stable. In Latvian, for instance, the permissive middle with double reflexive marking, still fully alive in the modern languages as shown above, is attested already in the 17th century:

(65) Old Latvian   (Glück's New Testament, Matthew 20.19)
[*Arrig juhs warraht to Biḳḳeri dsert/ ko es dserśchu*]
un   ar   to   Kristibu   liktee-s   kristitee-s/   ar
and with DEM.ACC.SG baptism.ACC.SG bid.INF-REFL baptize.INF-REFL with
ko   es   tohpu   kristihts?
REL.ACC 1SG.NOM become.PRS.1SG baptize.PPP.NOM.SG.M
'Are ye able […] to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?'
(lit. 'to have yourselves baptized', Luther: *könnet ihr euch täufen lassen*)

That amounts to a history of at least four centuries, and in spite of the construction's renewal by means of the introduction of a properly reflexive marker, it shows no signs of falling into disuse. The East Slavonic examples (at least those of Ukrainian) also point to a history of several centuries. We can thus, in conclusion, describe the permissive middle as a well-established and potentially stable middle-voice gram. As I hope to have shown above, its rise was driven, in Baltic and Slavonic, by morphological and syntactic changes rather than by changes in conceptualization.

CHAPTER 5

The anticausative

5.1 On the notion of anticausative

The notion of anticausative refers to a situation where two predicates can be opposed, one referring to a process and the other to the causation of that process. The former verb will be intransitive, the latter transitive. While this formulation would suggest that the transitive verb has a more complicated semantic structure and may therefore be expected to be formally marked, this is not necessarily the case. In many instances we actually find an asymmetry of the kind suggested here, e.g. in (1) and (2) from Lithuanian:

(1) Lithuanian
Sriuba   šyla   ant ugnies.
soup.NOM.SG heat.PRS.3 on fire.GEN.SG
'The soup is heating on the fire.'

(2) *Šil-d-au   sriubą   ant ugnies.*
heat-CAUS-PRS.1SG soup.ACC on fire.GEN.SG
'I'm heating the soup on the fire.'

While the conjugational class to which the verb *šilti* belongs might be said to be characteristic of intransitive inchoative verbs, this will usually be felt to be a fact of historical grammar, whereas from a synchronic point of view the verb *šildyti* stands a good chance to be viewed as a causative derivative of *šilti*, which means that we have overt marking of the causative opposed to an unmarked inchoative. In other cases we have an opposite asymmetry, with overt marking of the intransitive verb. In (3) and (4) from Lithuanian, this is the reflexive marker:

(3) Lithuanian
Troškinu   kopūstus   ant ugnies.
stew.PRS.1SG cabbage.ACC.PL on fire.GEN.SG
'I am stewing cabbage on the fire.'

(4) *Kopūstai   troškina-si   ant ugnies.*
cabbage.NOM.PL stew.PRS.3-REFL on fire.GEN.PL
'The cabbage is stewing on the fire.'

Again, a historical analysis would show that *troškinti* contains a causative suffix (its derivational basis is synchronically not quite transparent), but in the opposition between (3) and (4) it is the intransitive *troškinti-s* that has the formal marking, whereas the transitive verb is unmarked with respect to it.

We thus have two apparent directions of derivation: a valency-increasing derivation introducing a causer and a valency-decreasing derivation eliminating the causer. Morphological causatives, derived mainly (though not exclusively) from intransitve inchoative verbs, are reasonably productive in Baltic; they have recently been the object of a series of studies (Arkadiev & Pakerys 2015; Nau 2015; Holvoet 2015). The direction of derivation seems to reflect "the probability of an outside force bringing about the event" (Haspelmath 1993: 103). The anticausative type as a subtype of reflexive-marked verbs implies a direction of derivation from the transitive verb to the intransitive verb.

In the context of this book, only the anticausative will interest me to the extent that the anticausative function is one of the grams belonging to the middle voice, that is, reflexive-marked predications that are not properly reflexive. Positively marked causative verbs will be mentioned only to the extent that they participate in oppositions of the type which Haspelmath (1993) calls equipollent, and which also involve the anticausative reflexive marker (the emotive predicates discussed in Section 6 below).

A few comments are called for in connection with the notion of anticausatives being, in a certain way, derived from the corresponding transitive verbs. This derivational relationship can be understood literally, as a kind of transformation, as is done in Generative Grammar. This can be a syntactic transformation, as in older generative accounts (cf. Babby 1975), or a lexical rule, as in more recent accounts (Grimshaw 1982); the more refined machinery of recent Generative Grammar, with its layers of functional projections, creates the conditions for dispensing with the derivational relationship altogether (cf. Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer 2005). But the relationship may still be viewed as derivational without the assumption of a transformation, in the sense that the function of the reflexive marker is established (and set apart from other possible functions of the reflexive marker) through comparison with the non-transitive verb; it is a certain type of relationship between constructions. The effect of the reflexive marker can then be formulated as elimination of the agent. However, a reflexive-marked anticausative may lack a non-reflexive counterpart containing in its argument structure the agent that is missing from the anticausative construction, e.g. this is the case with Baltic emotive predicates whose causative counterparts have overt causative marking: Lithuanian *iš-si-gąsti* 'take fright' has a reflexive marker but it has no causative counterpart that would differ from it only by the absence of the reflexive marker. Such a situation should not necessarily preclude the treatment of such

a verb as an anticausative. For both paired and unpaired anticausatives we may assume a common cluster of semantic features: (i) the event expressed by the verb may or may not have an agent-causer, and (ii) if there is an agent-causer, it is not represented in the verb's argument structure.

5.2   Argument structure

The derivational way in which the anticausative is defined results in its being described as a 'valency-reducing gram'. Cf. Kulikov's (2013: 272) formulation: "The main representative of the class of patterns deleting some argument(s) from the base structure is the anticausative (decausative), which removes the Subject (Agent) from the structure." I accept this definition, but it calls for a few comments.

First, every linguist using formulations like that of Kulikov above is aware that this is a synchronic statement; nobody assumes (4) to be historically derived from (3). Historically, the agent-eliminating function of the reflexive marker derives from older functions of this marker, viz. the properly reflexive function. Anticausatives are a further development from the naturally reflexive verbs discussed in Chapter 1. When we compare anticausatives with the type of reflexives from which they evolved, we see that the defining process of change leading from one type to the other is not elimination of the agent from a two-place predication. True, it is usually stated that morphological reflexives have one syntactic argument but two coreferential semantic arguments, whereas anticausatives have one syntactic argument corresponding to one semantic argument (cf. Kulikov 2013: 269, 272). But, as argued in Chapter 1, the assumption that morphological reflexives (representing naturally reflexive situations) represent two-place predicates has little to commend it. Humans always participate in various situations in a dual quality, as mental and physical entities. Languages have the possibility of representing these two entities as distinct semantic and syntactic arguments (as in *they refreshed themselves*), but they need not do so. In the absence of separate syntactic encoding of the mental and physical entities associated with a person, we have no reliable way of establishing whether they really constitute distinct semantic arguments. Morphological marking of reflexivity may suggest this, but it is obviously problematic to assign different argument structures to Lithuanian *jis prausiasi* and its English equivalent *he is washing*. I therefore assume that both represent one-place predications not only syntactically, but also semantically.

Given this, the shift from natural reflexive to anticausative is not a shift from two-place to one-place predications. What seems to be involved is mainly animacy. A lexical class that could have provided the basis for the shift is that of motion verbs. Compare:

(5) Lithuanian   (Antanas Vienuolis, 1882–1956, *Gražuolės Lalos kalnas*)
Lala   pa-si-kėlė   nuo žemės   išdidi   kaip
PN.NOM PFX-REFL-raise.PST.3 from earth.GEN.SG proud.NOM.SG.F like
karalienė   ir   metė   valdovui   į   akis: …
queen.NOM.SG and throw.PST.3 monarch.DAT.PL into eye.ACC.PL
'Lala arose from the earth proud as a queen and said, looking straight in the monarch's eyes…'

(6) Lithuanian   (Vytautas Bubnys, 1932–, *Mėnesėta naktis ir šešėlis*, CCLL)
…o sykį bangos   taip pa-si-kėlė,   kad tvartus
and once wave.NOM.PL so   PFX-REFL-raise.PST.3 that stable.ACC.PL
užpylė,   kluoną.
flood.PST.3 threshing-floor.ACC.SG
'…and once the waves rose so high that the stables and the threshing floor were flooded.'

The naturally reflexive *pasikelti* refers to motion of an animate participant, controlled by that participant's sensomotor system; this verb now extends to motion of inanimate objects, induced by external agents – a transfer facilitated by the fact that the observable visual effect of the motion is the same in both cases. The number of arguments does not change: there is one semantic argument in both cases, and actually the non-reflexive *pakilti* (distinguished from the transitive *pakelti* only by ablaut) could be used just as well in both situations:

(7) Lithuanian   (Vanda Juknaitė, 1949–, CCLL)
Elžbieta pakilo   nuo žemės, at-si-sėdo   ant
PN.NOM PFX.rise.PST.3 from earth   PFX-REFL-sit.down.PST.3 on
suolelio   prie lango, …
bench.GEN.SG by   window.GEN.SG
'Elžbieta rose from the ground, sat down on the bench near the window….'

(8) Lithuanian   (*Lietuvos žinios*, 28 04 2012)
Jūroje   bangos   pakilo   iki trijų   metrų
sea.LOC.SG wave.NOM.SG PFX.rise.PST.3 to three.GEN.PL metre.GEN.PL
aukščio,   todėl   laivams   neleista   išplaukti.
height.GEN.SG therefore boat.DAT.SG NEG.allow.PPP.N sail.out.INF
'In the sea the waves rose to three metres height, and boats were not allowed to sail.'   https://www.lzinios.lt/pasaulis/lektuvai-blaskesi-lyg-popieriniai/41704

It is clear that *pasikelti* and *pakilti* have exactly the same argument structures, and it is highly likely that in all cases illustrated here they have only one semantic argument. Of course, its semantic role will be different: it will be both an agent and a

theme in (5) and (7), but only a theme in (6) and (8). The anticausative structures in (6) and (8) say nothing as to whether the motion is a spontaneous process or whether it is caused by an external agent. By its reflexive marker, *pasikelti* in (6) additionally marks that it is derived from a transitive verb whose argument structure involves an agent.[1]

The idea that motion verbs provide the lexical basis for the shift from reflexive to anticausative is supported by the fact that with these verbs the shift required only a minimal adjustment: the unique argument of predication, originally doubling as agent and theme, was divested of one of its two semantic roles. In a next step, the newly created anticausative type could extend to other lexical classes, assigning the role of patient rather than theme.

An interesting proposal worth mentioning in this context is that of Koontz-Garboden (2009), who argues that anticausatives are actually real reflexives. His argument is based on the monotonicity requirement: because of its overt marker, the anticausative appears to be derived from the corresponding transitive verb, and derivations are supposed only to add information, not to eliminate it. As this is a theory-internal consideration, it should be solved by theory-internal means, which could also, for example, involve reversing the direction of derivation. There would presumably be no major problem with replacing a non-zero marker with a zero marker while deleting nothing from semantic structure; and the idea that the causative verb, being more complex in semantic structure, must be derived from the anticausative one is, after all, not new, cf., e.g. Gołąb (1968: 87–93) about pairs of emotive verbs like Russian *ispugat'* 'frighten' : *ispugat'sja* get frightened'. To the extent that we understand derivation not as a metaphor but as an actual historical process, it is probably true that the anticausative derivation does not delete an argument from semantic structure because the naturally reflexive verbs on which it is based already express one-place predications. In the case of natural reflexivity, the reflexive interpretation in the sense of positing two coreferential arguments (represented in syntax) is a notional possibility, but not a notional necessity: the subject as mental entity and the subject as physical entity may, but need not be interpreted as distinct arguments. In the case of the inanimate subjects characteristic of the anticausative type, there is by definition no notional duality as in the case of animate subject, so that a reflexive interpretation lacks a notional foundation.

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1.   According to prescriptive Lithuanian grammar, verbs like *keltis* should be used only with animate subjects whereas the use of ablaut-marked inchoatives like *kilti* is mandatory in the case of inanimate subjects. Actual usage diverges markedly from this principle, cf. Paulauskienė (2001: 219). One wonders whether these rules of prescriptive grammar were not created artificially.

A second comment concerns the number of arguments of anticausatives and their underlying or motivating transitive counterparts. It is usually assumed that the anticausative derivation reduces the number of arguments from two to one. But if elimination of the agent is the defining feature of anticausatives, we can also conceive of anticausatives eliminating the agent from a three-place predication. In the next sections I will argue that at least some languages have such anticausatives, and that the semantic class forming the basis for such anticausatives is that of surface-impact verbs.

5.3   Surface-impact verbs

Not surprisingly, authors have paused over which kind of verbs can derive anti-causative counterparts and which cannot. This is touched upon in Fillmore (1970), though the term 'anticausative' was not yet in use at the time. Fillmore contrasts the grammaticality of (9) with the ungrammaticality of (10):

(9)   *The window broke.*

(10) **The window hit.*

On the basis of this and other evidence Fillmore distinguishes 'change-of-state' and 'surface-impact' predicates. Only a change-of-state predicate can underlie a one-place predication; a surface-impact predicate always entails two arguments referring to objects being in a relation of impact or at least contiguity. This explains why, though (9) is ungrammatical, (11) is possible:

(11)   *The stone hit against the window.*

The intransitive use of *hit* in (11) stands alongside a transitive use of the same verb in structure (12), which contains an agent-causer:

(12)   *The boy hit the stone against the window.*

The fact that *hit* is intransitive in (11) could cause us to wonder whether it could stand to the transitive use in (12) in a similar relationship as *broke* in (9) to *The boy broke the window*. We would then have, in both cases, a kind of anticausative derivation, though a rather atypical one. But a more obvious explanation seems to be that in (11) the instrument simply takes over the subject position vacated by the agent, in an operation similar to what happens in *This key opens any door*. Let us call this operation agent-instrument conflation. This yields a plausible account, but compare the following Russian sentences, where (9) and (10) seem to represent structures analogous to (12) and (11) respectively:

(13) Russian

Vse	*tot že*		*veter*	*udarjaet*	*volny*	*morja*
always	same.NOM.SG.M		wind.NOM.SG	hit.PRS.3SG	wave.ACC.PL	sea.GEN.SG

o	*skalu*,
against	cliff.ACC.SG

'The same wind keeps hitting the waves of the sea against the cliff.'

https://teron.online/index.php?showtopic=48635

(14)

Volny	*morja*	*udarjajut-sja*	*o*	*bereg*
wave.NOM.PL	sea.GEN.SG	hit.PRS.3SG-REFL	against	shore.ACC.SG

[*i rassypajutsja blestjaščej penoj.*]

'The waves of the sea hit against the shore [and disperse in glittering foam].'

https://www.rulit.me/books/osada-azova-read-27407-40.html

What is interesting here is that *udarjat'sja* in (14) is reflexive. This use of the reflexive form is, however, not obligatory. We can also have a non-reflexive form, as in (15):

(15) Russian

Vo vremja	*buri*	*volny*	*udarjajut*	*o*	*bereg*
during	storm.GEN.SG	wave.NOM.PL	hit.PRS.3PL	against	shore.ACC.SG

[*s ogromnoj siloj, dostigajuščej 30 t na 1 kv. metr*].

'During a storm the waves hit against the shore [with a huge pressure reaching 30 tonnes per square metre].' http://www.activestudy.info/otlozhenie-osadkov-i-obrazovanie-novyx-gornyx-porod-v-moryax-i-ozerax/

The structure in (15) can easily be accounted for by an operation analogous to the agent-instrument conflation considered above for English *hit*. In order to have a more general term, we could call it agent-medium conflation, or agent-theme conflation. But this account cannot explain the reflexive form in (14). The question that arises is therefore: is *udarjat'sja* in (14) anticausative? It is not a typical one as it reduces a three-place predication to a two-place predication, and it is not a change-of-state predicate. But, in one sense, the derivation opposing (14) to (13) accurately matches what is contained in the term 'anticausative': it eliminates the causer from argument structure.

In this chapter I will take a broader view of anticausatives, showing that they are a somewhat heterogeneous group of reflexive-marked middles. A constant feature of the anticausative derivation is that it eliminates the agent from argument structure. Very frequently the result of this operation is that a two-place predicate is reduced to a one-place predicate, but in some instances the reduction is from three to two. And though the prototypical anticausative is, perhaps, a change-of-state predicate, this is not a constant feature.

5.4   Surface-impact verbs and their anticausative derivatives

The reflexive verb in (14) is intriguing in that it formally satisfies the notion of an anticausative derivation but diverges from the prototype of what we usually describe as anticausatives. Not unsurprisingly, perhaps, we see that the reflexive form found in (14) is not found in all Slavonic languages. Polish, for instance, has only a non-reflexive verb here:

(16)   Polish
Fale   uderzają   (*się)   o   brzeg.
wave.NOM.PL hit.PRS.3PL (REFL) against shore.ACC.SG
'(The) waves hit against the shore.'

As we saw, Russian also has a construction of this type. But while the non-reflexive form is possible in both languages, the reflexive form is impossible in Polish. The remaining Slavonic languages basically follow the divide along the lines West vs. East, Bulgarian siding with East Slavonic but the rest of South Slavonic with the West:

(17)   Serbo-Croatian-Bosnian
Valovi   veći   od 30 metara   udaraju   u
wave.NOM.SG greater.NOM.PL.M that   metre.GEN.PL hit.PRS.3PL on
obalu   Velike   Britanije.
coast.ACC.SG great.GEN.SG.F Britain.GEN.SG
'Waves of more than 30m height hit the coast of Great Britain.'
         https://www.index.hr/magazin/clanak/Razorna-moc-prirode-Valovi-
              veci-od-30-metara-udaraju-u-obalu-Velike-Britanije/726475.aspx

(18)   Slovenian
Lahko štejemo,   kolikokrat v minuti   valovi
one.can count.PRS.1PL how.often in minute.LOC.SG wave.NOM.PL
udarijo   ob   obalo.
hit.PRS.3PL against shore.ACC.SG
'We can calculate how many times a minute the waves hit against the shore.'
         https://www.mladina.si/100683/barbara-bajd-pojdimo-k-morski-obali/

(19)   Bulgarian
Vălnite   se   udrjat   v   brega   kogato
wave.PL.DEF REFL hit[IPFV].PRS.3PL against shore.DEF when
minavat   korabi.
pass[IPFV].PRS.3PL ship.PL
'The waves hit against the shore when ships pass.'
                    http://www.bgnes.com/laifstail/pyteshestviia/4434543/?fb_
                         comment_id=1126074207456604_1126402480757110

A quick look at the Baltic languages shows that they side with East Slavonic – they have the reflexive forms:

(20) Lithuanian
[*Jautresni žmonės net pabunda nuo neįprastos aplinkos,*]
kai   mariŭ   bangos   daužo-si   į   krantą.
when lagoon.GEN.PL wave.NOM.PL hit.PRS.3-REFL against shore.ACC.PL
'[More sensitive people even wake from the unusual noise] when the waves of the lagoon hit against the shore.'   https://www.alfa.lt/straipsnis/196997/
romantiski-vakarai-ant-kursiu-mariu-kranto

(21) Latvian
[*Neliela pastaiga gar pludmali*],
sacēlā-s   vējš   un ne tikai, viļņi   dauzījā-s
rise.PST.3-REFL wind.NOM.SG and NEG only wave.NOM.PL hit.PST.3-REFL
pret   krastu
against shore.ACC.SG
'[We made a short walk along the beach], a wind arose and moreover the waves hit against the shore.'   http://celoju.draugiem.lv/celojums/1552536/
pec-pieprasijuma-2dala-sala-sajukt-prata-aiz-milestibas

Comparing these two models with the three-place predications with explicit agents in (12) and (13), we can view the reflexive derivation and the argument-conflating construction as two alternative strategies for eliminating the causer.

In connection with Example (12) from Polish, it is important to note that the reflexive *uderzyć się* also exists in this language but it can have only an animate subject and occurs in constructions like (22):

(22) Polish (constructed)
Biegnąc   uderzył   się we   framugę   drzwi.
run.CVB.PRS hit.PST.M[3] REFL against frame.ACC.SG door[PL].GEN
'Running he hit himself against the door-frame.'

Here *uderzyć się* is clearly a body-motion middle, i.e. a member of the class of naturally reflexive verbs, where the subject has the double role of agent (as motor centre controlling the motion) and as theme (moving physical object). Above I have pointed out the importance of this class of natural reflexives for the rise of anticausative reflexives: the shift involves a transition from animate to inanimate subject. It seems logical to assume that constructions like (12) arose from constructions like (22) in a similar shift, which, however, occurred only in part of the languages discussed here.

While Russian has the non-reflexive construction with agent-theme conflation (illustrated in (15)) alongside the reflexive (anticausative) one, in Lithuanian and

Latvian the non-reflexive construction hardly seems to exist. A Google search for the non-reflexive Lithuanian *bangos daužo į krantą* and Latvian *viļņi sit pret krastu* '(the) waves hit against the bank/shore' (carried out on 10 07 2019) yielded just one hit for each language (as against 14 and 26 respectively for the reflexive constructions), which could mean that the construction with agent-theme conflation is possible in principle but extremely uncommon in actual usage.

While in the cases discussed until now individual languages often (though not always) opt for alternative strategies – either anticausative derivation or agent-theme conflation, there are also instances where, for a specific lexical class, both strategies regularly coexist within one language. A good example is that of verbs of filling and covering:

(23)   Latvian
Ļauj,   lai   dabiskā   gaisma   piepilda   telpu.
allow.IMP.2SG COMP natural.NOM.SG.F.DEF light.NOM fill.PRS.3 space.ACC.PL
'Allow natural light to fill the room.'

https://abc.lv/raksts/ka-mazu-vannasistabu-padarit-vizuali-plasaku

(24)   Latvian
[*Īsi pirms Zvaigznes dienas*]
šis   dievnams   pildā-s   ar   gaismu,
DEM.NOM.SG.M church.NOM.SG fill.PRS.3-REFL with light.ACC
[*visapkārt deg svecītes*].
'[Shortly before Epiphany] this church fills with light, [candles burn all around]'.

http://www.balvi.lv/en/65-aktualitates/aktualitates/16503-balvu-luteranu-draudze-sanem-novadnieka-vitrazu-meistara-rudolfa-matisa-davinajumu-lustru

What filling and covering verbs have in common with verbs like *hit (against)* is that they are also a kind of surface-impact verbs. The inner structure of whatever is covered is not changed by the act of covering, but contact is established between a covering object or substance and all or most of the surface of another object. In the case of filling, contact is established between a substance and the inner surface of a vessel or a similar object. The affinity of filling verbs to surface-impact verbs is shown by the fact that, in English, the intransitivized *fill* can take both the vessel (object of impact) and the substance (theme) as subject:

(25)   *How would I calculate the rate at which water fills into a cup?*

https://www.sciencebuddies.org/science-fair-projects/
ask-an-expert/viewtopic.php?t=19514

(26)   *The barrier is equipped with gates that are closed as the basin fills with water.*

http://www.thermalfluidscentral.org/
e-books/book-viewer.php?b=39&s=47

The construction in (25) is comparable to that in (11), the Slavonic constructions in (14) and (19) and the Baltic constructions in (20) and (21). Unlike other surface-impact verbs, however, verbs of 'filling' and 'covering' have a holistic implication and they thereby become telic; this makes them similar to change-of-state verbs. As a kind of change-of-state verbs, verbs of filling (and, of course, verbs of covering, which are completely analogous to them) come considerably closer to the lexical input for the canonical anticausative than other surface-impact verbs. In fact, if we compare (27), (28):

(27) *They filled the tank (with fuel).*

(28) *The tank filled (with fuel).*

and if we additionally assume that the prepositional phrase *with fuel* is not an argument but a modifier, we can view (28), when compared with (27), as a canonical anticausative derivation reducing a two-place predication to a one-place one. This is actually suggested by Jackendoff (1990: 159ff), who describes the *with*-phrase with verbs of filling as an adjunct making explicit an incorporated argument, and accounts for it by means of a linking rule providing for the optional realization (in the form of a non-restrictive modifier) of a theme position not indexed in the lexical entry for the verb. Filling is always filling with something, and if the focus is on the holistic affectedness (of a vessel in particular, where it is a functional state of the object), then the filler will often be backgrounded.

Of course, it would hardly do to qualify the theme (filler) as an adjunct when it occupies subject position, as in (29):

(29) *Fuel filled the tank.*

Jackendoff therefore posits that the theme argument oscillates between adjunct and argument status: the theme argument is an adjunct in (27) and (28) but an argument in (29). Jackendoff's assumption of an incorporated theme seems reasonable, and it easily accounts for the fact that, for instance, *He filled his glass* and *She covered her face* are complete sentences, whereas **He put his glass* or **She approached her face* are not. On the other hand, one has to concede that the view of the theme of the verb 'fill' as an incorporated argument is convincing only when it belongs to the semantic frame of the container noun. The sentences *He filled his glass* and *She covered her face* are acceptable because one need not specify what the filling substance or the covering fabric could be. In a similar way, *The room gradually filled* is acceptable but could only be understood to mean 'filled with people', not 'filled with light', as being filled with people, not being filled with light, is a functional state of a room. As a result, 'filling' and 'covering' verbs are ambivalent between typical surface-impact verbs (three-place predicates in their transitive varieties) and typical

change-of-state verbs (two-place predicates in their transitive varieties). They have anticausative derivatives also in those languages that do not derive anticausatives from typical surface-impact verbs.

The affinity of 'filling' and 'covering' verbs to anticausatives is obscured somewhat by the quasi-obligatory status of the theme argument in those cases where the theme argument is not predictable, as it is in (28). This has led researchers to compare (28) with (29) rather than with (27) and to regard a structure like (29) as the input for the intransitive construction in (28). This configuration has given rise to the notion of converse reflexives, which I will discuss in the next section.

As far as I know, the existence of anticausatives derived from three-place 'caused surface-impact' predicates had hitherto not been noticed in the literature. The idea that they are indeed anticausatives has noting incongruous about it. After all, the notion of anticausative revolves around a pattern of alternations opposing structures with and without a causer in argument structure; the type of event structure, and the number of arguments, are not defining features.

While an anticausative derivation based on a two-place predication (describing caused change of state) has a syntactically predictable outcome, this is not necessarily the case with anticausatives based on three-place predications describing caused surface impact. As shown by (25) and (26), in such a predication two arguments are eligible for being promoted to subject in the anticausative construction. In the case of filling and covering verbs it will usually be the object of impact that is selected because the holistic affectedness is a kind of change of state. When there is no holistic implication, it is the theme argument that is selected, probably in virtue of its being more active and hence more topicworthy.[2]

5.5   So-called converse reflexives

In the literature we find a number of references to 'converse reflexives'. The term was apparently introduced by Geniušienė (1977; 1987: 118–122). It is repeated, e.g., in Goto & Saj (2009: 199–200), Kulikov (2011: 380), Wiemer & Grzybowska (2015), Maskuliūnienė (2015).

The notion of converse reflexives would apply, for instance, to 'filling' and 'covering' verbs, exemplified by (23) and (24) above; I repeat them in a simplified form:

(30)   Latvian
Gaisma   pilda   istabu.
light.NOM.SG fill.PRS.3 room.ACC.SG
'Light fills the room.'

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2.   I am obliged to Anna Daugavet for pointing this out to me.

(31)   Latvian
Istaba   pildā-s   ar   gaismu.
room.NOM.SG   fill.PRS.3-REFL   with   light.ACC.SG
'The room fills with light.'

If we choose to base ourselves on these two constructions as defining the function of the reflexive marker with 'fill', we must ignore constructions like (32):

(32)   Latvian
Saule   piepildīja istabu   ar   gaismu.
Sun.NOM.SG   fill.PST.3   room.ACC.SG   with   light.ACC
'The sun filled the room with light.'

We would be ill-advised, however, to ignore structures like (32), as the relationship between (32), (30) and (31) is exactly parallel to that between (9), (11) and (10). We have, in this case as well, two alternative strategies to eliminate the causer: agent-theme conflation and the anticausative derivation. In other words, the derivational relationship between (30) and (31) is, in a sense, epiphenomenal, as both should also be seen in relation to (32). Of course, this is not to deny that (30) and (31) are converses, and that the formal marking accompanying the converse relationship consists in reflexive marking. There is, correspondingly, no problem with the notion of 'reflexive converses'. However, the notion of 'converse reflexives' is more controversial to the extent that it could mean that the effect of the reflexive derivation is to make the arguments of a two-place predication swap places. To draw such a conclusion from a comparison of (30) and (31) is to beg the question why (31) should be derived from (30) rather than from (32) in spite of the fact that the latter derivation is clearly more in line with the effect the reflexive derivation is usually observed to have.

However, in some instances cited in the literature, the case for a converse relationship looks stronger, because it is not always easy, or possible, to find a counterpart with an overtly expressed causer that can be taken as a derivational base for the construction with a reflexive verb. I will look at these instances one by one.

5.6   Emotive predicates

A converse relationship has been said to exist between constructions with emotive predicates and their causative counterparts as illustrated in (33) and (34):

(33)   Russian   (examples from Kulikov 2011: 380)
      Grom   ispugal   sobaku.
      thunder.NOM.SG frighten.PST.M dog.ACC.SG
      'The thunder frightened the dog.'

(34)   *Sobaka   ispugala-s'   groma.*
      dog.NOM.SG frighten.PST.F-REFL thunder.GEN.SG
      'The dog was frightened by the thunder.'

All Slavonic languages provide counterparts to such pairs of reflexive and non-reflexive forms: Polish *przestraszyć : przestraszyć się*, Serbo-Croatian-Bosnian *uplašiti : uplašiti se* etc. For Baltic it is not so easy to find pairs of constructions exactly matching the Slavonic ones cited here, because Baltic usually marks the difference between (33) and (34) in a slightly different way. While the counterparts of (34) will have a reflexive verb, those of (33) will have not the corresponding non-reflexive verb but a verb that not only lacks the reflexive marker but is additionally marked with a causative suffix. In Lithuanian, for instance, the counterparts of (33) and (34) would be (35) and (36):

(35)   Lithuanian
      Griaustinis   iš-gąs-din-o   šunį.
      thunder.NOM.SG frighten-CAUS-PST.3 dog.ACC.SG
      'The thunder frightened the dog.'

(36)   *Šuo   iš-si-gando   griaustinio.*
      dog.NOM.SG PFX-REFL-frighten.PST.3 thunder.GEN.SG
      'The dog was frightened by the thunder.'

This is a recurrent pattern in both Baltic languages, cf. Lithuanian *apsidžiaugti* 'be glad, rejoice' (alongside *nusidžiaugti*) vs *nudžiuginti* 'gladden', *nusistebėti* 'be astonished' vs *nustebinti* 'astonish', Latvian *nopriecāties* 'be gratified, glad' :*iepriecināt* 'gladden', *nobēdāties* 'grow sad' : *apbēdināt* 'sadden', *iztrūkties* 'be frightened' : *iztrūcināt* 'frighten'. On the other hand, we also find instances where only one of the markers is present, e.g., Lithuanian *nudžiugti* 'rejoice, be glad' vs *nudžiuginti* (*nudžiugti* being synonymous with *nusidžiaugti, apsidžiaugti*), *nustebti* 'be astonished' vs *nustebinti* (*nustebti* and *nusistebėti* are more or less synonymous), *suglumti* 'be stupefied' vs *sugluminti* (no reflexive form exists here), *nuliūsti* 'grow sad' (no reflexive form) vs *nuliūdinti* 'sadden'; Latvian *apmulst* 'get confused' vs *apmulsināt* 'confuse' etc.

The marking pattern of Baltic emotive verbs is thus typically symmetrical, with overt marking both for caused emotion and for emotion itself. A non-reflexive *išgąsti does not exist in modern standard Lithuanian, nor does *nopriecāt in modern standard Latvian. There are a few exceptions to this rule, e.g. Lithuanian įžeisti 'offend' and įsižeisti 'be offended at something', Lithuanian žavėti 'enchant, delight' and žavėtis 'be enchanted, admire', Latvian apvainot and apvainoties 'id.' are distinguished only by a reflexive marker.[3] The pair of sentences shown in (35) and (36) would satisfy the definition of 'converses', but not of 'converse reflexives', because here the reflexive form is not the only morphological marker of the converse relationship, and it would not even be clear whether we should apply the notion of 'converse reflexives' or that of 'converse causatives' here. Still, I will here discuss the Baltic constructions in parallel to the Slavonic ones because they illustrate the problems of argument structure relevant to our subject just as well as their Slavonic counterparts.

The account describing (34) as derived from (33) seems, at first sight, convincing, as nobody will probably suggest deriving (34) from a structure with an overt causer, say, *Zeus frightened the dog with thunder*. Sentences with a causer and a stimulus expressed separately do exist, of course, and they refer to situations where a human agent consciously manipulates an object, or evokes a mental representation etc. meant to inspire fear:

(37) Russian   (Vasilij Koreckij, 1975–, *10 japonskix užasov*, 2012, RNC)
      Kajdan pugal   zritelja   ne   monstrami,   a
      PN.NOM frighten.PST.M spectator.ACC.SG NEG monster.INS.PL but
      bezvyxodnoj   situaciej,
      hopeless.INS.SG.F situation.INS.SG
      [*v kotoroj okazyvalis' ego geroi*].
      'Kajdan frightened his spectators not so much with monsters as with the hopeless situations [in which his characters used to find themselves].'

In many instances, however, there is no animate agent, and causer and stimulus coincide. Moreover, even constructions like (37), with a subject-agent and an instrument-stimulus, do not always involve a genuine agent manipulating a stimulus; in some cases there is simply a part-to-whole relationship between the arguments denoted by subject and instrumental phrase, and it would be more accurate to speak of 'direct' and 'indirect' stimulus:

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3. The reason is probably that the etymological meanings of these verbs were not connected with the emotive sphere: the original meaning of Lith. *įžeisti* was 'wound' (now *sužeisti* in this meaning), whereas *žavėti* meant quite literally 'cast a spell on somebody or something.'

(38) Russian   (Jurij Kazakov, 1927–1982,
                                    Arbat byl zavalen oblomkami, 1960–1970, RNC)
[*Za pjat' let on privyk k tundre*]
i   put'   ne tomil   ego   i   ne pugal
and road.NOM.SG NEG tire.PST.M 3.ACC.SG.M and NEG frighten.PST.M
svoim   xolmistym   odnoobraziem.
RPO.INS.SG.M hilly.INS.SG.M monotony.INS.SG
'[Over these five years he grew accustomed to the tundra] and the road did not
tire him or frighten with its hilly monotony.'

The facts adduced here show that structures like (33) and (35), with a stimulus
rather than an agent manipulating that stimulus, should be a valid point of depar-
ture for the reflexive derivation, and there is no strict necessity to invoke structures
like (37). However, a good case could be made for regarding structures like (39)
and (40) as a regular outcome of a reflexive derivation taking (33) and (35) as their
point of departure:

(39) Russian
      Sobaka   ispugala-s'.
      dog.NOM.SG frighten.PST-REFL

(40) Lithuanian
      Šuo   iš-si-gando.
      dog.NOM.SG PFX-REFL-frighten.PST.3
      'The dog got frightened.'

This would be a regular causative derivation, eliminating the causer from argument
structure. One could argue that the emotive process must always be the result
of some stimulus, so that a full argument structure would have to take the form
appearing in (34), (36). This would mean that (39), (40) must be, in some way,
elliptic. But this is far from obvious. An emotive state like fear, joy, sadness etc. can
be conceived either as a response to some external stimulus or as a psychophysical
state that can be identified, described and classified on the basis of its symptoms,
independently of the stimulus inducing it. For this reason (39) and (40) are com-
plete sentences.

    If this is so, we are reminded of the account Jackendoff gives of the theme
argument with verbs of filling and covering. The possibility of a twofold conceptu-
alization of emotive events – let us call them 'symptom-oriented' (one-place) and
'stimulus-oriented' (two-place) respectively – suggests a twofold syntactic interpre-
tation of the stimulus argument, as an adjunct and an argument respectively. In the
former case the function of the adjunct would be to make explicit an incorporated

stimulus argument. This assumption of a twofold treatment is actually borne out by the data of several languages.

If we look at the encoding of the stimulus with 'frighten' in Lithuanian and Russian, we find, first of all, an encoding strategy involving an 'ablatival' genitive. In both Slavonic and Baltic, the Indo-European ablative, the case denoting motion away from an object, coalesced with the genitive. While in the contemporary Baltic and Slavonic languages properly ablatival meaning is usually expressed by prepositional phrases, the prepositionless genitive is still governed by verbs in whose meaning an ablatival element is inherent, such as 'fear' and 'avoid'. This use is seen in (34), (36). These genitives can be interpreted only as governed cases as they are licenced only by a few specific groups of verbs; it would be impossible to explain them as encoding a type of adjuncts. At the same time, however, alongside constructions with genitives as typical complement cases it is not difficult to find constructions involving the same verbs but with the stimulus realized as an adjunct, with the prepositional construction that is also used to encode cause in situations where it clearly has the syntactic status of an adjunct:

(41) Lithuanian   (*Lietuvos žinios* 2013 09 25)
 […] *visada rudenį*   *žmonės*   *iš-si-gąsta*
     always autumn.ACC.SG people.NOM.PL PFX-REFL-frighten.PRS.3
 mokesčių   *už šildymą*,
 charge.GEN.PL for heating.ACC.SG
 [*vis brangsta pragyvenimas…*]
 '…every autumn people are startled by the charges for heating, [the cost of life increases all the time…]'   https://www.lzinios.lt/lietuva/lietuvos-kulturos-
                    elitas-jei-taip-ir-toliau-tuoj-lietuva-netures-kuo-didziuotis/163899

(42) Lithuanian
 Mažiau išsilavinę   *iš-si-gąsta*   *nuo mokesčių*
 less   educated.NOM.PL.M PFX-REFL-frighten.PRS.3 from tax.GEN.PL
 gausos
 multitude.GEN.SG
 [*ir jau nebeskiria, kur pajamos, kur pelnas*], …
 'The less educated get frightened at the multitude of taxes [and in the end cease to keep apart revenue and profit]…'
                    https://www.traders.lt/forums.php?m=posts&q=627&d=8030

The encoding in (42) is similar to that in (43), where the prepositional phrase is clearly an adjunct as it is adjoined to a complete verb phrase:

(43)   Lithuanian
Aš   tai   beveik tikra,   kad šia   liga
1SG.NOM PTC almost certain.NOM.SG.F that DEM.INS.SG.F disease.INS.SG
susirgau   nuo ilgalaikio   streso.
fall.ill.PST.1SG from longterm.GEN.SG.M stress.GEN.SG
'For my part I am almost certain I caught this disease as a result of longterm
stress.'   https://www.supermama.lt/forumas/topic/370548-skydliaukes-
hipofunkcija-tiroiditas-iii/page-9#entry21222600(diacritics added)

We find the same duality in the encoding of the stimulus in Russian, with the
characteristic complement genitive in (44) and the marking used for adverbials of
cause, a prepositional phrase with *ot*, in (45):

(44)   Russian   (A. S. Grin, 1880–1932, RNC)
Devuška   ispugala-s'   mysli,   kotoraja,   kak
girl.NOM.SG frighten.PST.F.SG-REFL thought.GEN.SG REL.NOM.SG.F as
gromom,   porazila   ee,
thunderbolt.INS.SG strike.PST.F.SG 3.ACC.SG.F
[*xotja ešče ne stala slovami*].
'The girl startled from the thought that had struck her as with a thunderbolt,
[though it had not yet taken the shape of words].'

(45)   Russian (RNC)
Gljadja   na fotografiju,   možno ispugat'-sja   ot
look.CVB at photograph.ACC.SG possible frighten.INF-RFL from
mysli   nosit'   takoe   na ruke.
thought.GEN.SG wear.INF such.ACC.SG.N on arm.LOC.SG
'When looking at the photograph one is frightened at the thought of wearing
something like that on one's arm.'

Latvian provides no evidence either corroborating or contradicting that of Lithua-
nian. Original ablatival genitives governed by verbs, attested in the older language
and in the dialects (Endzelin 1923: 421–422), have been ousted in the standard lan-
guage by propositional phrases with *no* 'from'; this *no* is also a means of expressing
cause in adverbials, just like Lithuanian *nuo*.

(46)   Latvian
Negaisa   laikā   suns   sabijā-s
thunderstorm.GEN.SG time.LOC.SG dog.NOM.SG get.frightened.PST.3-REFL
no   zibens   spēriena   un aizbēga.
from lightning.GEN.SG stroke.GEN.SG and run.away.PST.3
'During the thunderstorm the dog got frightened by a stroke of lightning and
ran away.'   http://rs.gov.lv/?id=1031&top=0&rel=2309&

Prepositional phrases with *no* can therefore encode both complements and modifiers. Thus, without contradicting the data of Lithuanian, Latvian provides no positive evidence either. When we look at yet another language – Polish, we see that with verbs like 'be frightened' or 'be surprised' there is no regular prepositional construction also used for adverbial expression of cause (which would be *od* 'from'), but alongside the typical complement-encoding types of case marking like genitive, dative and instrumental there are also constructions where the emotive verb does not take a complement but occurs with an adverbial expression introduced by *na widok* 'at the sight of', *na dźwięk* 'at the sound of' etc.:

(47) Polish
      [*Na jednej z ulic miasta dostrzegli mężczyznę, który*]
      wyraźnie przestraszył   się   nadjeżdżającego
      visibly   frighten.PST.M.SG[3] REFL approach.PPRA.GEN.SG.M
      radiowozu.
      police.van.GEN.SG
      '[On one of the streets of the town they noticed a man who] was visibly startled at the sight of the approaching police van.'
          http://dzialdowo.wm.pl/559502,33-latek-zatrzymany-z-narkotykami.html

(48) *65-letni   kierowca   przestraszył   się   na*
      65.years.old.NOM.SG.M driver.NOM.SG frighten.PST.M.SG[3] REFL at
      widok   nadjeżdżającego   tramwaju
      sight.ACC.SG approach.PPRA.GEN.SG.M tram.GEN.SG
      [*i gwałtownie ruszył.*]
      'The 65 years old driver got frightened at the sight of the approaching tram [and sharply threw his car into motion].'
                      https://nowosci.com.pl/kolizja-na-placu-tomito/ar/11821366

The twofold treatment of the stimulus with emotive predicates thus seems to be confirmed by the evidence of several Slavonic and Baltic languages. We might speculate whether the twofold conceptualization of emotive predicates is not the cause of the exceptional morphological marking pattern which these verbs display in Baltic, considering that there is no other lexical group showing this symmetrical pattern with overt marking both on the intransitive and on the transitive verb.

There is also a second circumstance militating against the notion of Lithuanian *išsigąsti*, Russian *ispugat'sja* etc. as converse reflexives. If we think of the converse reflexive as a construction making the arguments of a two-place predication swap places, we may expect this construction to provide a regular morphosyntactic realization for these arguments. This may be illustrated with the passive construction, which promotes the original object to subject and realizes the original agent as an oblique phrase – a prepositional phrase with *by* in English, a genitive in Lithuanian

or an instrumental in Russian. There is no reflexive converse construction having the same effect as far as the original subject is concerned. Lithuanian *išsigąsti* and Russian *ispugat'sja* take a genitival complement, but other reflexive emotive predicates take different case forms, cf. the instrumental in (50) and the dative in (52):

(49) Lithuanian
Šis   *sprendimas*   *mus*   *nustebino*   *ir*
DEM.NOM.SG.M decision.NOM.SG 1SG.ACC astonish.PST.3 and
nuvylė.
disappoint.PST.3
'This decision has surprised and disappointed us.'

> https://www.rimi.lt/naujienos/lietuvos-konkurencijos-
> taryba-uzkirto-kelia-rimi-ir-iki-sandoriui

(50) [*Buvusi Seimo narė neslėpė, kad*]
ir   *policijoje*   *pareigūnai*   *nu-si-stebėjo*   *jos*
also police.LOC.SG officer.NOM.PL PFX-REFL-astonish.PST.3 3.GEN.SG.F
naivumu.
naivity.INS.SG
'[The former member of Parliament did not conceal that] the police officers were also astonished at her naivety.'

> https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/law/buvusia-seimo-nare-
> apgave-telefoniniai-sukciai-iklimpo-kaip-reikiant.d?id=75100178

(51) Russian   (*Znanie – sila*, 2003, RNC)
Naxodka   *i*   *obradovala*,   *i*   *opečalila*
discovery.NOM.SG and gladden.PST.F.SG and sadden.PST.F.SG
učenyx.
scientist.ACC.PL
'The discovery both gladdened and saddened the scientists.'

(52) Russian   (Fazil Iskander, 1929–2016, RNC)
Žena   *očen' obradovala-s'*   *ego*   *zvonku*.
wife.NOM.SG a.lot gladden.PST.F.SG-REFL 3.GEN.SG.M phone.call.DAT.SG
'His wife was very glad at his phone call.'

That is, every reflexive emotion verb selects its own morphosyntactic pattern for encoding its complement. The reasons for a particular selection are hard to establish: they are no doubt partly historical, but perhaps affinity to certain semantic classes plays a certain role synchronically as well. At any rate, there is no general pattern of case assignment that we could associate with a converse construction. Every emotive middle-voice verb selects the marking for its complement in an idiosyncratic way.

We see, then, that emotive predicates are not very good candidates for reflexive converses either. But there are more promising types, and one of them is that of what we will call 'reflection verbs', to be discussed in the next section.

5.7 'Reflection' verbs

With 'reflection verbs' I mean verbs referring to objects showing a mirror image of another object on their reflecting surface:

(53) Lithuanian
Ežeras   atspindi   dangų,
lake.NOM.SG reflect.PRS.3SG sky.ACC.SG
[*galima pagalvoti, kad jo vanduo mėlynas*].
'The lake reflects the sky, [and one could think the water was blue].'
                                        http://www.joniskis.net/laumes-pelke-tyrelis/

(54) Lithuanian
Aštrios   bokštų   smailės   at-si-spindi
pointed.NOM.PL.F tower.GEN.PL spire.NOM.PL PFX-REFL-reflect.PRS.3
ežere
lake.LOC.SG
[*ir natūraliam Viljandi grožiui suteikia dar daugiau savitumo*].
'The pointed spires of the towers are reflected in the lake [and lend Viljandi's natural beauty even more originality].'
                                        https://issuu.com/cityway/docs/1388066543313

Such pairs of constructions are among the most convincing pieces of evidence for the existence of 'converse reflexives' – a subtype of reflexives where the function of the reflexive derivation does not seem to be the elimination of a causer but just the establishment of a converse pattern of argument structure. Indeed, though we could, in principle, imagine a sentence like *The sun reflects the branches of the trees in the water*, they are probably hardly attested and are not a plausible point of departure for the derivation of reflexives like (54). It would therefore be quite natural to derive (54) from (53), to the extent that one regards the reflexive structure as the product of a reflexive derivation.

However, in view of the fact that at least two alleged types of converse reflexives discussed above have turned out to be instances of an anticausative derivation, it is tempting to speculate that 'reflection' verbs could have originated in a similar way. This is what I actually want to suggest here, though the link to anticausatives is an indirect one in this case. My explanation starts out from the assumption

that reflection verbs are a subtype of surface-impact verbs, which does not seem controversial. In terms of physics, rays of light are reflected by a physical object. Metonymically, not only the rays of light hitting a mirroring surface, but an object emitting them is also said to be reflected. This metonymical shift produces a shift in morphosyntactic marking reflecting a shift in conceptualization. Light can be said to be reflected *from* a surface, or to hit *against* a surface:

(55) Lithuanian
Saulės   spinduliai   at-si-muša   nuo kristalų.
sun.GEN.SG ray.NOM.PL PFX-REFL-bounce.PRS.3 from crystal.GEN.PL
'The rays of the sun are reflected from crystals.'
    https://www.lzinios.lt/Gamta/pribloskiantis-fenomenas-aplink-saule-susiformavo-sviesos-kryzius/256573

(56) Latvian
Stari   atsita-s   pret   ūdens   virsmu,
ray.NOM.PL bounce.PRS.3-REFL against water.GEN.SG surface.ACC.SG
[*radot asociācijas ar impresionismu*].
'the rays are reflected from the surface of the water [raising associations with impressionism].'   http://www.anothertravelguide.lv/kulturas_afisa/ziemelamerika/amerikas_savienotas_valstis/nujorka/izstades/hiroshi_sugimoto_7_days___7_nights_gagosian_gallery_lidz_7_martam_2009

When the focus shifts to the visual reflection appearing on the surface of the reflecting object, there is a shift towards locative marking, as the mirror image is perceived *on* or *in* the reflecting object. This can be seen in (57):

(57) Lithuanian
tie   patys   pilių   griuvėsiai   ir   eglutės
DEM.NOM.PL.M same.NOM.PL.M castle.GEN.PL ruins.NOM.PL and fir.NOM.PL
at-si-muša   vandenyje
PFX-REFL-reflect.PRS.3 water.LOC.SG
'The same castle ruins and fir trees are reflected in the water.'
    http://www.prodeoetpatria.lt/index.php/tevyne/knygos-uz-tevyne/185-m-k-ciurlionis-kurejas-ir-zmogus-stasys-yla

The use of the reflexive verb form in (55) and (56) is not surprising as in the Baltic languages, just as in part of the Slavonic languages, constructions with the impacting medium in subject position are reflexive, as can be seen in (20) and (21). But when we look at Polish, which has the non-reflexive verb in the corresponding constructions, we find, in this case, reflexive constructions as well:

(58) Polish
      W tym   przyrządzie obraz   odbija   się
      in DEM.LOC.SG.M device.LOC.SG image.NOM.SG reflect.PRS.3SG REFL
      kolejno   w dwóch   lustrach.
      successively in two.LOC mirror.LOC.PL
      'In this device an image is reflected successively in two mirrors.'

                                          https://epodreczniki.pl/a/D3GeWKbvb

In order to understand this it is useful to look at the behaviour of what we could call 'reactive impact verbs' like 'hit back' and its intransitive counterpart 'bounce back' – often the same verb that is also used to refer to a visual reflection. Here we also find reflexive marking:

(59) Polish
      Dlaczego piłka   odbija   się od   podłogi?
      why   ball.NOM.SG bounce.PRS.3SG REFL from floor.GEN.SG
      'Why does a ball bounce back from the floor?'

                                          https://brainly.pl/zadanie/10055529

An explanation for this reflexive marking could be sought in the fact that 'reactive impact verbs', unlike most other surface impact verbs, are telicized. There is no anticausative-like derivation for *the light hits the wall*, where no change of state is referred to, just a surface impact, but there is one for *the light bounces back from the wall* (or *is reflected on the wall*) because the reflection of the light is a motion event interpreted as a change of state.

Reflexive reflection verbs therefore ultimately go back to anticausatives, but the connection is indirect. The following series illustrates the transitive construction with a reactive impact verb (60), the corresponding anticausative derivation (61) and its application to the dedicated reflection verb *atspoguļoties* 'be reflected' (62), which inherits its reflexive marking though not, in a direct way, the prepositional marking of the locative argument as the emphasis is now no longer on the physical impact but on the visual reflection of an object on another object's surface:

(60) Latvian
      [*Uz līnijas stāvošais turku aizsargs*]
      ar   galvu   atsita   bumbu   pret   pārliktni.
      with head.ACC.SG bounce.PST.3 ball.ACC.SG against crossbar.ACC.SG
      '[The Turkish defender, who was standing out of play,] bounced the ball against the crossbar with his head.'   http://sportacentrs.com/futbols/eirokausi_
                                          fut/12032009-dynamo_un_cska_izcina_uzvaras

(61)   [*Soda sitienu gan valcēnieši nerealizēja,*]
    jo   bumba   atsitā-s   pret   vārtu   stabu.
    because ball.NOM.SG bounce.PST.3-REFL against goal[PL].GEN post.ACC.SG
    '[The Valka team did not take advantage of the penalty shot] as the ball bounced
    against a goal post.'   http://www.smiltene.lv/aktualitates/open/535

(62)   *Estrāde   atspoguļoja-s   ezera   ūdeņos.*
    stage.NOM.SG reflect.PRS.3-REFL lake.GEN.SG water.LOC.PL
    'The stage is reflected in the water of the lake.'
                         http://www.ogres1v.lv/assets/media/documenti/
                         maza_skolas_avizite/2_avize_2017_2018.pdf

5.8   Phasal anticausatives

A last group I will separately discuss here is phasal anticausatives. They can be
illustrated with the following examples:

(63)   Lithuanian
    [*Grupė nutraukė pasirodymą, o*]
    Chris'as Cornell'as užbaigė   koncertą   solinėmis   dainomis.
    PN.NOM PN.NOM   end.PST.3 concert.ACC.SG solo.ADJ.INS.PL.F song.INS.PL
    '[The group broke off its performance and] Chris Cornell concluded the concert
    with some solo songs.'
                      http://www.musique.lt/index.php/grupes/338-soundgarden

(64)   *Koncertą   užbaigė   didinga   G. Verdi operos   „Aida"*
    *c*oncert.ACC.SG end.PST.3 majestic.NOM.SG.F PN[GEN] opera.GEN.SG PN
    sugrįžimo   scena.
    return.GEN.SG scene.NOM.SG
    'The majestic return scene from Verdi's *Aida* concluded the concert.'
                 http://www.lvso.lt/lt/naujienos/lietuvos-valstybinio-simfoninio-
                  orkestro-30-ojo-jubiliejaus-koncertas-ispudingas-zvaigzdziu-
                                burys-ir-sveikinimu-gausa

(65)   [*Šeštadienio vakarą Kijeve*]
    didžiuoju   finalu   už-si-baigia   šiųmetinis
    grand.INS.SG.M.DEF final.INS.SG PFX-REFL-end.PRS.3 this.year.ADJ.NON.SG.M
    „Eurovizijos"   dainų   konkursas.
    Eurovision.GEN song.GEN.PL competition.NOM.SG
    'This year's Eurovision Song Festival concludes with the grand final [on Saturday
    evening in Kiev.]'   https://www.lrt.lt/projektai/eurovizija/naujienos/
                  31/172797/visos-eurovizijos-finalo-naujienos-tiesiogiai-per-lrt

The same pattern repeats itself here: an anticausative derivation opposes (63) to (64), but when we consider (64) and (65) in isolation, there appears to be a converse relationship between them. It is obvious that argument conflation is involved here; we could call it causer-phase conflation. The conflation occurring here is, in one important sense, similar to that occurring in the case of emotive predicates. An initial event is often an impulse setting in motion a causal chain, and can then take over the role of agent-causer; the same applies to final events, which may lead to a new situation in which the perceived causal chain comes to an end.

(66) *The assassination of Archduke Ferdinand started the First World War.*

(67) *The Treaty of Versailles ended the First World War.*

This pattern is then generalized and applied to situations where the arrangement of successive events is imposed by an external causer, without there being any causal links between the individual events, as in the case of items in a musical performance. We find, in this case, the same argument-adjunct indeterminacy as in the other types discussed here: the 'phase' argument is an adjunct in (63) but an argument in (64).

Only a few types of alleged converse reflexives have been discussed here. It is always easier to prove the existence of something than its non-existence, and even if we went through the whole list of examples adduced in the literature (cf. the recent survey for Lithuanian and Polish in Wiemer & Grzybowska 2015), there is no guarantee we will have provided proof *per exhaustionem* that converse reflexives do not exist. But such an occupation would certainly be profitable in the sense that it would reveal a lot of peculiarities of argument structure that may or must lead to the rise of converse relationships between constructions with non-reflexive verb forms and constructions with their reflexive counterparts.

5.9   The status of converse reflexives

As can be seen from the above, argument conflation and argument-adjunct indeterminacy are at the source of the converse relationships that have given rise to the notion of 'converse reflexives'. Neither of these is inherently associated with the reflexive derivation, which is basically of the anticausative type, i.e. it eliminates an agent-causer.

Of course both reflexive and non-reflexive verb forms occur in various constructions, and these constructions may interact in various ways. When a converse relationship arises, as a result of two mutually independent operations, between a construction with agent-theme conflation and an anticausative construction,

nothing prevents them from entering a direct relationship, whose existence would be confirmed if the pattern became productive and were reproduced elsewhere independently of the causative construction with which both constructions originally stood in a derivational relationship. This can actually be observed in the case of reflection verbs, which inherit a converse relationship from the larger group of surface-impact verbs of which they are an offshoot, without a causative derivational base being involved.

However, the evidence for a converse reflexive construction that would have emancipated itself from the anticausative construction is slender. There is certainly no unitary converse reflexive construction with a specific constructional type of morphosyntactic marking of the second argument, or with at least a few subtypes of marking if this 'converse reflexive construction' came in several varieties. But this does not seem to be the case: even the semantically quite homogeneous group of emotive middles shows a variety of marking patterns (an overview for Russian can be found in Janko-Trinickaja 1962: 158–163; instrumentals predominate here, but they stand alongside datives, genitives and prepositional phrases). In this respect, it is instructive to compare the so-called converse reflexives discussed here with the facilitative constructions to be discussed in the next chapter:

(68)   Lithuanian (constructed)
Lengvai iš-sukau   varžtą.
easily   out-turn.PST.1SG screw.ACC.SG
'I easily turned out the screw.'

(69)   *Varžtas   man   lengvai iš-si-suko.*
screw.NOM.SG 1SG.DAT easily   out-REFL-turn.PST.3
'I found it easy to turn out the screw.'

These constructions are somewhat reminiscent of the converses discussed in this chapter in the sense that they also reassign grammatical relations, with the original object in subject position. Probably most researchers would not recognize pairs of this type as instances of a converse relationship, as the latter basically do not change meaning apart from the natural differences of information structure and discourse prominence attendant upon a reversal of grammatical relations. Sentences like (69), on the other hand, have a clear added constructional meaning that is lacking in the case of converses. As we will discuss in the next chapter, in (69) as well the original effect of the reflexive derivation is just to eliminate the causer from argument structure; what happens next – the introduction of a datival argument originating as a dative of interest and, hence, as a non-argument – is diachronically a distinct process. But as a result we have a facilitative construction with a constructional meaning and with a constructional marking for both arguments. While what has

happened in the case of converses is basically the same, in the case of converses there is no overarching type of converse marking, and we can just single out a number of lexical constructions that are either isolated or restricted to just one very small lexical class. In the further development of reflexive-marked middles, the facilitative type plays a role as a type clearly distinct, in terms of argument structure, from the anticausative, whereas converses do not.

It is the lack of evidence for specific converse reflexive constructions that militates against the use of this notion. My point above was that the wrong constructions are being invoked in arguing for converse reflexives. Now this is not necessarily a compelling argument, because the motivational basis for a morphosyntactic operation may evolve. The reflexive derivation may start out from structures like (32) and then enter a direct relationship with structures as in (30). The reflection verbs could be an example of this. However, the morphosyntactic heterogeneity of the so-called converses makes it hard to identify them as a unitary construction type. The whole question deserves some further discussion.

5.10 Unpaired surface-impact anticausatives

Though anticausatives from surface-impact verbs are represented in both Baltic languages, as illustrated in (20) and (21), Latvian has gone farthest in extending them. The type I have in mind is a minor one, but I will briefly discuss it as it has never been mentioned in the literature.[4]

In all the examples cited above, not only (20) and (21), but also (14) from Slavonic, the anticausative construction contains a prepositional phrase also appearing in the full construction with expressed causer as illustrated in (13). Latvian, however, also has unpaired anticausative constructions with a theme-medium in subject position:

(70) Latvian
[*Saulīte patīkami silda,*]
viļņi   skaloja-s   pret   krastu,
wave.NOM.PL wash.PRS-REFL against shore.ACC.SG
[*smiltis patīkami gurkst zem pēdām*].
'[The sun is agreeably hot], the waves wash against the shore, [and the sand crunches agreeably under your feet].'
https://espati.lv/10-lietas-kuras-nepielaut-biroja-apgerba-vasara/

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4. In Holvoet (2017) structures like (70) are singled out as a distinct 'deagentive-deaccusative construction', but I now think it is better to treat them as anticausative.

This construction is reminiscent of that in (20) and (21) as well as (14) and (17) for Slavonic, but with one difference: there is no corresponding causative construction analogous to (13). The transitive *skalot* 'rinse, wash' refers to a surface impact on an object (vessel, piece of clothing etc.) with the intention of cleaning it, and the object is always the object of impact, not the medium.

(71)   Latvian (constructed example)
      Māte   skalo   traukus   ar   ūdeni.
      mother.NOM.SG rinse.PRS.3 vessel.ACC.PL with water.ACC.SG
      'Mother rinses the vessels with water.'

There is, in other words, no construction like (72), with the medium in object position:

(72)   Latvian
      *Vējš   skalo   viļņus   pret   krastu.
      wind.NOM.SG   wash.PRS.3   wave.ACC.PL   against shore.ACC.SG
      Intended meaning: 'The wind causes the waves to wash the shore.'
      (or *'washes the waves against the shore')

There is only a non-reflexive construction with the medium in subject position (we could refer to it as an instance of causer-medium conflation), but it has an accusatival rather than a prepositional object:

(73)   Latvian
      Gauja   skaloja   krastus,   gāžot   lielas,
      PLN.NOM   wash.PST.3 bank.ACC.PL   overturn.CVB   big.ACC.PL.F
      veselas   priedes   ārā, …
      whole.ACC.PL.F   pine.ACC.PL   out
      'The Gauja washed its banks, uprooting big healthy pines…'
        https://www.diena.lv/raksts/sodien-laikraksta/sapostiti-celi-un-sejumi-732400

The reflexive *skaloties* is therefore, in a sense, an unpaired anticausative: there is no causative construction from which it could be directly derived. But this situation is not exceptional: in the case of reflection verbs such a three-place construction with explicit causer is not available either. This does not mean we should deny the anti-causative character of the reflexive marking. Constructions like (70) can be easily explained as an extension of constructions like (21). The centre of this innovation was probably verbs of 'hitting'. Such unpaired surface-impact anticausatives constitute a very small group. The most frequently used, apart from *skaloties* 'wash', is *jumties* 'extend over something like a roof or canopy'. It is derived from *jumt* 'thatch (a roof), cover (a house) with a roof':

(74) Latvian (J. Kalējs, *Bērna atmiņas par "paradīzi"*)
    Salmu   jumtus   vairs   ne-ļāva   jumt,   tāpēc
    straw[PL].GEN roof.ACC.PL any.more NEG-allow.PST.3 thatch.INF therefore
    jumtus   juma   ar   2 cm bieziem   dēļiem.
    roof.ACC.PL roof.PST.3 with   thick.DAT.PL.M board.DAT.PL
    [*jo tie ir uguns nedroši*],
    'They didn't allow [us] any more to thatch roofs with straw [as such roofs were not safe from fire], so people covered roofs with boards 2 cm thick.'
                                        http://zagarins.net/sveiks/2001/102601kalejs.htm

(75) Latvian (Laura Uzule, Vita Zelče, *Latviešu kapusvētki: identitātes rituāls*)
    Milz-veci   bērzi   augstām,   sērām
    huge-old.NOM.PL.M birch.NOM.PL high.DAT.PL.F mournful.DAT.PL.F
    lapotnēm   jumja-s   pāri gulētājiem   un dzīvajiem.
    leafage.DAT.PL roof.PST.3-REFL over lie.AGN.DAT.PL and living.DAT.PL.M.DEF
    'Huge old birches extend their high, mournful foliage over those buried here and over the living.'   https://www.szf.lu.lv/fileadmin/user_upload/szf_faili/
                       Petnieciba/sppi/mediji/Zelche_Kapusvetki_majaslapai4.pdf

Apart from these two well-established items (both in LLVV), literary texts also yield occasional formations, testifying to a certain, albeit very restricted, productivity of this type. The following two examples, with verbs derived from *mazgāt* 'wash' and *slaucīt* 'wipe (with a cloth), sweep (with a broom)' respectively, neither of them noted in the dictionaries (at least in the sense referred to here) show that new items can occasionally be derived:

(76) Latvian   (Jānis Veselis, 1896–1962, *Tīrumu ļaudis*, 1927)
    Ausma   mazgājā-s   ap   māju   pakšiem.
    dawn.NOM.SG wash.PST.3-REFL about house.GEN.PL corner.DAT.PL
    'The light of dawn washed the corners of the houses.'

(77) Latvian.   (from Andrejs Johansons' translation of Swift's description of the female Yahoos in *Gulliver's Travels*, Stockholm 1953)
    [*Pupi viņām karājās starp priekškājām un*]
    ejot   gandrīz slaucījā-s   gar   zemi.
    walk.CVB almost sweep.PST.3-REFL along earth.ACC
    '[The dugs hung between their fore feet,] and often reached almost to the ground as they walked.'

With the exception of *jumt* 'thatch, cover with a roof', which can take as it object either the medium (the thatch or roof) or the building covered with a thatch or roof, none of the surface-impact verbs illustrated in this section (*skalot, slaucīt, mazgāt*) takes the medium as its object (or at least I have not been able to find any

instances of this). Nonetheless it is the medium argument that becomes subject in the anticausative derivation. Considering that in a surface-impact predication none of the arguments undergoes a change in state, one could a priori expect the two non-agentive arguments, the medium and the object of impact, to be equally eligible for subjecthood. Actually in the case of *skaloties* both options are attested. Apart from the construction illustrated in (70), with the medium as subject, a construction with the object-of-impact as grammatical subject is also found:

(78) Latvian
Nakts   ir   gaiša,   vietām   ceļš
night.NOM.SG be.PRS.3 clear.NOM.SG.F in.places road.NOM.SG
skaloja-s   spilgtajā   pilnmēness   gaismā.
flush.PRS.3-REFL bright.LOC.SG full.moon.GEN.SG light.LOC.SG
'The night is clear, in places the road bathes in the bright light of the full moon.'
http://stbn.lv/2011/09/100-km-22h45min/

However, *skaloties* seems to be the only Latvian verb displaying this twofold pattern, and the only surface-impact verb with which the object of impact becomes subject in the anticausative construction. This assignment of subjecthood is, of course, the standard choice when the verb is telicized by means of a prefix or postverbal particle, because the subject of impact then becomes the object undergoing a change of state:

(79) Latvian
Un jādzer   daudz šķidruma,   lai   tie
and DEB.drink much liquid.GEN.SG so.that DEM.NOM.PL.M
baciļi   ātrāk   skaloja-s   ārā no   organisma.
bacillus.NOM.SG sooner flush.PRS.3-REFL out from organism.GEN.SG
'And you should drink a lot of liquid so that the bacilli get flushed out of your organism.'   https://maminuklubs.lv/grutnieciba/iesnas-246442/

5.11   Surface-impact verbs elsewhere in grammar

The peculiarities of the anticausative derivation in the domain of surface-impact verbs are echoed, in an interesting way, by a similar atypical behaviour in passive constructions. In her discussion of the Lithuanian passive, Geniušienė notes a paradox in the occurrence of agent phrases in the resultative (stative) passive. In most cases such passives do not sound very good with agent phrases. While it is not easy to find an absolutely ungrammatical example in Lithuanian or Russian because these language have no dedicated means of expression for the dynamic and the stative passive, a language like Polish, which has different auxiliaries for the two, can demonstrate the deviant character of a resultative passive with an agent phrase:

(80) Polish
    Brama   *jest*   *zamknięta*   *przez* *dozorcę.*
    gate.NOM.SG be.PRS.3SG close.PPP.NOM.SG.F by   caretaker.ACC.SG

The reason for the incompatibility of resultative passive and agent phrase is obvious: a resultative does not directly refer to an event but only to the situation resulting from that event; in that situation, the agent no longer plays a role, so there is usually no reason for expressing it. There is a number of exceptions which have been discussed in the literature, especially for German, cf. most recently Gehrke (2011); for a discussion with reference to Baltic cf. Holvoet, Daugavet, Spraunienė & Laugalienė (2019). Here I will concentrate on one specific group of exceptions where not only an agent phrase regularly occurs but it is obligatory. This paradox was noted by Geniušienė (2016: 77):

(81) Lithuanian
    Gatvės   *buvo*   *užverstos*   *sniego.*
    street.NOM.PL be.PST.3 bury.PPP.NOM.PL.F snow.GEN.SG
    'The streets were buried under snow.'

(82) Lithuanian   (from Geniušienė 2016: 77)
    Elzė   *buvo*   *apnikta*   *nevilties.*
    PN.NOM be.PST.3SG beset.PPP.NOM.SG.F despair.GEN.SG
    'Elzė was beset by desperation.'

Geniušienė accounts for the different treatment of constructions like (81) and (82) by claiming that the verbs involved in such constructions are semantically not very informative and in this sense come close to the role of light verbs. She invokes the notion of 'lexical function' used in the 'Meaning ↔ Text' model and invokes two lexical functions, $Func_1$ and $Func_2$, allegedly represented by the verbs in question. Which lexical function is involved in which case is, however, not explained in detail, which makes a detailed discussion with Geniušienė's account rather complicated. One can see what Geniušienė means with regard to constructions like (82): the lexical function is 'experience something (an emotive state)', and this function can be rendered by a whole series of verbs, the choice being more or less idiomatic; instead of *apnikta nevilties* in (82) we could also have *apimta nevilties* 'enveloped by despair', and the meaning would not noticeably change. But one does not see how such an explanation could work for sentences like (81). Instead of *užverstas* 'buried under' we could have *apsuptas* 'surrounded'; we would then also have a spatial configuration, but a completely different one, and there seems to be no point in assuming these two verbs with entirely different meanings to represent one single lexical function. It is only when these verbs acquire metaphorical meanings that we come closer to a situation calling for an account in terms of lexical functions:

there is obviously no denotative difference between being pervaded by a feeling or being enveloped by it.

A much better explanation is available if we take into account that one of the two groups of verbs mentioned by Geniušienė are surface-impact verbs, and that the genitives occurring with the passive participles are not agents at all but themes. In the case of *užversti*, the construction in which 'snow' is the subject is an instance of agent-theme conflation, illustrated many times above; this can be seen from a comparison between (83) and (84);

(83) Lithuanian
[…] *smarki   žiemos   audra   užvertė*
violent.NOM.SG.F winter.GEN.SG storm.NOM.SG bury.PST.3
gausiu   sniegu   šiaurės   ir   šiaurės
abundant.INS.SG.M snow.INS.SG north.GEN and north.GEN
vakarinius   regionus.
western.ACC.PL.M region.ACC.PL
'A violent winter storm buried the northern and north-western regions under abundant snow.'   https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/world/
prancuzija-uzverte-sniegu.d?id=60883827

(84) *Sniegas   užvertė   ir   Vilniaus   gatves.*
snow.NOM.SG bury.PST.3 also Vilnius.GEN street.ACC.PL
'Snow buried the streets of Vilnius as well.'   https://www.tv3.lt/naujiena/
372835/sniegas-uzverte-lietuva-vilniaus-meras-siulo-ji-nusikasti-patiems

The passive in (81) is resultative in the sense that it is stative, but instead of referring to the result of a preceding agency already completed at reference time, it depicts a spatial configuration holding at the time to which the tense form of the verb 'be' refers. One knows that this configuration is the result of a force of nature that, at some earlier time, buried the streets under snow, but this force of nature is not expressed. Even though the theme 'snow' can occupy the subject position in the construction shown in (84), it is still a theme, not an agent. As surface-impact verbs always have two arguments in addition to the agent, viz. a theme argument and an object-of-impact, after elimination of the agent (actually a force argument) one is still left with two arguments, as can also be seen in the case of the anticausative derivation.

As to the second group of verbs mentioned by Geniušienė, it is important to note that a resultative passive like *būti persmelktam* 'be pervaded with', even though used figuratively, retains the argument structure of the lexical class in which it originates, that is, surface-impact verbs. Being pervaded with water and being pervaded with a feeling are no different with regard to argument structure: the noun occurring in the agent phrase is not an agent but a theme. This theme, by the way, can also be encoded by the instrumental:

(85) Lithuanian (Kazys Saja, 1932–, *Stulpininkas*, CCLL)
[*Iš gėdos jis niurktelėjo į ežerą*]
ir atsibudo, persmelktas skausmo tarsi šalto
and wake.up.PST.3 pervade.PPP.NOM.SG.M pain.GEN.SG as.if cold.GEN.SG.M
vandens.
water.GEN
'[Out of shame he dived into the lake] and woke up, pervaded with pain as if with cold water.'

(86) Lithuanian
Kiekvienas Svetlanos Aleksievič užrašytas
every.NOM.SG.M PN.GEN PN write.down.PPP.NOM.SG.M
sakinys persmelktas skausmu, kančia ir
sentence.NOM.SG pervade.PPP.NOM.SG.M pain.INS.SG suffering.INS.SG and
neviltimi.
despair.INS.SG
'Every sentence written down by Svetlana Aleksievich is pervaded with pain, suffering and despair.' https://petras.kudaras.lt/archyvas/2016-09-27/ dvidesimt-nobelio-vertu-rusijos-istoriju.html

As a basis for the derivation of the passive in (85) we can consider two different structures, connected through a process of agent-theme conflation:

(87) Lithuanian
[*Panevėžio apskrities VPK pranešimas …*]
turbūt kiekvieną persmelkė nerimu.
probably every.ACC.SG pervade.PST.3 anxiety.INS.SG
'[The Panevėžys District Chief Police Headquarters' announcement] must have pervaded everybody with anxiety.' https://www.temainfo.lt/tiriama- rokiskio-pramones-gatveje-mirties-priezastis/

(88) [*Gal ne viską, kas jų laukia, vaikai suvokė,*]
bet mokytojų nerimas persmelkė ir juos.
but teacher.GEN.PL anxiety.NOM.SG pervade.PST.3 also 3.ACC.PL.M
'[Perhaps the children did not realize all that was in store for them,] but the teachers' anxiety pervaded them as well.'
http://www.voruta.lt/zydintys-ir-kruvini-mano-kartos-birzeliai/

There is nothing special about resultative passives of the type illustrated in (82) from the viewpoint of the distinctive features of resultative passives. The agent is not expressed and it remains outside the field of attention. What appears in syntactic structure is only a theme, whose expression is obligatory because the spatial relationship (literal or figurative) between the theme and the object of impact constitutes the meaning of the verbal lexeme. Once again, it is not the

stative passive that consists of two fundamentally different operations, but the lexical input that differs.

We thus see a striking analogy in the functioning of the resultative passive and the anticausative derivation with regard to the relevance of the lexical input: when applied to change-of-state predicates, they produce one-place predications, but when they are applied to surface-impact predicates, the outcome is a two-place predication.

5.12   In conclusion

As can be seen from the different types of anticausatives discussed in this chapter, the anticausative middle is at the same time quite unitary and quite heterogeneous. It is unitary in the sense that there is basically one unitary operation that eliminates agent-causers from argument structure. In other terms, we could say the non-involvement of an identifiable agent is a common semantic feature of all anticausatives. This unity extends to types that have not been hitherto recognized as anticausatives in the literature, more specifically to instances where the reflexive derivation has been claimed to create a converse relationship. The heterogeneity of anticausatives is wholly on the lexical side, that is, it springs from the semantic heterogeneity of the predicates amenable to an anticausative derivation. In this regard languages differ: some, but not all languages allow an anticausative derivation from surface-impact verbs as well as from change-of-state verbs. But change-of-state predicates are the most prototypical anticausatives and they are the ones that have played a role in the further development of reflexive-marked middles. The shift from anticausative to facilitative middle crucially involves change-of-state predicates. These are therefore the group of anticausatives that will be considered in the following chapter. This is natural because it is always only a subset of the lexical input of a certain construction that provides the base for a shift to a different type. In the opening of this chapter I have expressed the assumption that motion predicates could have provided the lexical basis for the shift from natural reflexive to anticausative. In the same way, only a subtype of lexical items underlying the anticausative construction provided the basis for the shift from anticausative to facilitative, but this subtype is not the whole anticausative construction.

Facilitatives

6.1 The notion of facilitatives

Facilitative middles are middles similar to the anticausative in the sense that they have subjects that are patients or themes, but unlike anticausatives they always imply human agency, and an agent is often expressed in the facilitative construction. The importance of this agency for the realization of the event referred to by the verbal stem is, however, viewed as diminished, and this constitutes the constructional meaning of the facilitative middle. It is illustrated in (1) for Lithuanian and (2) for Latvian:

(1) Lithuanian
Audinys   gerai skalbia-si,   nelieka   dėmių,
fabric.NOM.SG well   wash.PRS.3-REFL NEG.remain.PRS.3 stain.GEN.PL
[*todėl tinka staltiesėms*].
'This fabric washes well, without stains being left, [and is therefore fit to be used for tablecloths].'   https://bntekstile.lt/lt_LT/shop/product/
drobe-n2320-290-2932?category=34

(2) Latvian
Galvenais   filtrācijas   diska   elements   viegli
main.NOM.SG.M.DEF filtration.GEN disc.GEN.SG element.NOM.SG easily
izņema-s,   skaloja-s   un izjauca-s
take.out.PRS.3-REFL rinse.PRS.3-REFL and disassemble.PRS.3-REFL
nepieciešamības gadījumā.
necessity.GEN.SG event.LOC.SG
'The main filter disc element can easily be taken out, rinsed and disassembled in case of need.'   http://akvafors.lv/lv/info/-178253263278279296.
html/?val=LVL

This construction is 'facilitative' in that it suggests that the properties of an object (patient) facilitate the accomplishment of certain processes affecting it, therefore reducing the importance of human agency as a factor determining the successful realization of the event. The presence of adverbials like Lith. *gerai* 'well', Latv. *viegli* 'easily', emphasizing the smooth progression of the process referred to, is highly characteristic of facilitatives though not always indispensable. Of course they could

also be replaced with adverbials like *blogai* 'badly' or *sunkiai* 'with difficulty' to refer to situations where the properties of an object are an obstacle to the successful realization of the event involving this object.

The term 'facilitative' was introduced by Faltz (1977: 13) and is also used by Kemmer (1993). Other authors use the term 'potential passive', following Geniušienė (1987). This refers to what some authors regard as a definitional feature of the facilitative middle, viz. that it "suggests the non-referential status of the Agent ("someone, whoever") and often adds the meaning of habituality" (Kulikov 2013: 267). The term 'passive' is presumably motivated by the fact that, in the construction under discussion, the original object of the active verb becomes a subject, as in the passive (and the anticausative) construction, and the involvement of an agent is implied in the facilitative construction as it is in the passive, whether this agent is expressed or not (this is a difference with regard to the anticausative, which does not imply an agent though it is not incompatible with the conceptualization of the event as induced by an agent). But the construction under discussion here often does not state that the event actually takes place, hence the term 'potential passive'. A related term is 'modal passive', used recently by Letučij (2016). This potentiality is, however, not an essential feature of the construction, which is why I prefer Faltz' term.

Finally, in the literature of the formal persuasion constructions like (1) are often simply referred to as 'middles', which is an arbitrary narrowing of the traditionally much broader notion of middle as represented in most of the functionalist literature (but also in some recent generative work, cf. Alexiadou & Doron 2012), cf. Ackema & Schoorlemmer (1994, 2003), Steinbach (2002), and several studies in Lyngfelt & Solstad (2006).

6.2   The classification of facilitatives

There is a widespread belief that facilitatives do not refer to actual, discourse-anchored situations. In the generative literature genericity is usually regarded as a defining feature of what, in this tradition, are simply called 'middles' (cf. Stroik 2006 with literature); and in the functionalist literature a similar view is reflected in the notions of potential or modal passive. In actual fact, facilitatives are differentiated in this respect, as has been noted by Geniušienė (1987).

In discussing the Baltic languages, Geniušienė distinguishes, alongside the potential passive, a 'resultative passive' or 'perfective passive'. She treats the potential and the resultative (perfective) passive as different types of use, or constructions, but states also that there is a certain overlap between them, in the sense that one

and the same verb can sometimes occur in both constructions. The two types are illustrated in (3) and (4), whose juxtaposition also illustrates the overlap in the sense that these two sentences contain the same predicate:

(3) Lithuanian (Geniušienė 1987: 109)
Batai   greitai nu-si-avi.
shoe.NOM.PL fast   PFX-REFL-wear.PRS.3
'Shoes wear out fast.'

(4) *Batai   greitai nu-si-avėjo.*
shoe.NOM.PL fast   PFX-REFL-wear.PST.3
'The shoes got worn out fast.'

These two sentences contain different tense forms of the verb and they also differ in the sense that (3) refers to an event type while (4) refers to an event token. We could say that the difference is between a kind-level predication illustrated in (3) and a stage-level predication illustrated in (4). This distinction is, of course, not inherently connected with the use of reflexive verb forms. It can as well be illustrated for active non-reflexive verb forms:

(5) Lithuanian (constructed)
Vaikai   greitai nuavi   batus.
child.NOM.SG fast   wear.out.PRS.3 shoe.ACC.PL
'Children/the children quickly wear out their shoes.'

(6) *Vaikas   greitai nuavėjo   batus.*
child.NOM.SG fast   wear.out.PST.3 shoe.ACC.PL
'The child quickly wore out its shoes.'

However, while most active verbs are susceptible to different readings – kind-level, individual-level and stage-level – facilitative reflexives often show restrictions in this respect. In some languages, like German, facilitative reflexives seem to allow only kind-level and individual-level uses, with stage-level uses clearly dispreferred. Compare the following examples taken from the Internet, one (7) with individual-level and one (8) with stage-level use:

(7) German
Auch das   Leder schneidet   sich gut mit einem
also   DEF.NOM.SG.N leather cut.PRS.3SG REFL well with INDEF.DAT.SG.M
Teppichbodenmesser.
carpet.cutter
'The leather also cuts well with a carpet cutter.'

http://makiwara-selber-bauen.de/

(8) [*Der Stahl macht einen super Eindruck*]
und alles   was   ich   bisher damit gesäbelt hab
and all.NOM REL.ACC.N 1SG.NOM hitherto with.it slash.PP have.PRS.1SG
hat   sich gut geschnitten.
have.PRS.3SG REFL well cut.PP
'[The steel makes a super impression] and everything I have slashed with it
until now has cut well.'   https://www.fisch-hitparade.de/forum/
threads/welches-filetiermesser.65745/

While some native speakers of German are prepared to accept (8) as a grammatical
sentence, many don't. This contrasts with the Lithuanian examples above, which
do not differ in their degree of acceptability. The Slavonic languages also seem to
use the perfective, stage-level forms quite freely, cf. the following examples from
Russian, with an individual-level and stage-level predicate respectively:

(9) Russian
L'njanaja   tkan'   iznosostojkaja,   legko
linen.NOM.SG.F fabric.NOM.SG durable.NOM.SG.F easily
stiraet-sja,
wash[IPFV].PRS.3-REFL
[*dolgoe vremja soxranjaet prezentabel'nyj vnešnij vid*].
'The linen fabric is durable, washes easily [and retains its presentable outward
look for a long time].'   https://tkano.ru/catalog/spalnya/navolochki/
navolochka-izo-lna-temno-serogo-tsveta-essential-50kh70/

(10) *V obščem   sidenija   očen' xorošo vystirali-s',*
on.the.whole seat.NOM.PL very well   wash[PFV].PST.PL-REFL
[*možna ne bojat'sja stirat' obyčnym sredstvom dlja myt'ja posudy*].
'On the whole, the seats have cleaned up very well, [one needn't be afraid to
clean them with an ordinary washing-up liquid].'
https://www.drive2.com/l/4481465/

Also with regard to the non-referential status of the agent, singled out by Kulikov,
languages with facilitative middles seem to differ. In Slavonic and Baltic, the facil-
itative construction can be expanded with an agent phrase (usually a datival noun
phrase) referring to a specific discourse participant, while German does not allow
this. Compare:

(11) Russian
Kak že slavno mne   sidit-sja   na berezovom
how PTC nicely 1SG.DAT sit.PRS.3SG-REFL on birch.ADJ.LOC.SG.M
pen'ke.
stump.LOC.SG
'What a great time I'm having sitting on this birch stump.'
https://www.stihi.ru/2019/04/11/3549

(12)   German
  *Mir   sitzt   es   sich hier gut.
  1SG.DAT sit.PRS.3SG EXPL REFL here well
  'I find it nice to sit here.'

This could, of course, be a purely syntactic restriction. However, there might be a semantic motivation behind it: if the agent is obligatorily generic in the German variety of the construction, then there is obviously no need to have a syntactic position for a noun phrase that could identify this agent, whereas the situation might be different in Slavonic and Baltic.

At first sight, the facts mentioned here concerning the obligatory individual-level (or kind-level) reading and the impossibility of overtly expressing the agent in German seem to confirm Geniušienė's interpretation to the effect that (3), (9) and (4), (10) represent different constructions: German would have only one of the two constructions (the potential passive), whereas Baltic and Slavonic would have both.

Without wishing to downplay the significance of the restrictions applying to the perfective variety illustrated in (4), (10) as well as to the overt expression of the agent in a language like German, I would like to venture that (3) and (9), (4) and (10) in fact represent one single construction type, though in some languages this construction is subject to restrictions with regard to the admissible 'level' readings. The motives for this decision are based on diachrony and cross-linguistic comparison; I do not wish to reject alternative classifications to the extent that these would seem adequate in describing facilitative constructions in individual languages.

The crucial point of my counterproposal is that lexical aspect, or aspectual class, should be decisive in singling out different types of facilitative constructions rather than grammatical aspect (and the different 'level' readings associated with it). I do not intend to go very deep into the complex problem of lexical aspect here; the basic notions I will use here are those introduced by Vendler (1957), though I am aware that Vendler's system and the way aspectual classes are understood have been refined in crucial ways by authors like Dowty (1979), Rothstein (2004), Croft (2012) and many others. When we look at the "imperfective" facilitatives which Geniušienė would describe as 'potential', we see that part of them cannot have perfective counterparts because they are not based on accomplishment predicates but on inherently imperfective state or activity predicates; in this case the Slavonic and Baltic languages will not be an exception. Let us take an example from Polish, a Slavonic language in which the existence of a grammaticalized opposition in verbal aspect is uncontroversial:

(13) Polish

Bluza   jest   z   domieszką   poliestru,   ale
blouse.NOM.SG be.PRS.3SG with admixture.INS.SG polyester.GEN.SG but

dobrze mi   się   nosi.
well   1SG.DAT REFL wear[IPFV].PRS.3SG

'The blouse has an admixture of polyester but I find it very nice to wear.'

https://ewuczkarecenzuje.blogspot.com/2018/01/
haul-zafulcom-listopadowa-przesyka.html

The verb *nosić* 'wear' is a state predicate and as such has no perfective counterpart referring to a result of (an amount of) wearing. Such perfectivization becomes possible only when the verb is telicized by the addition of a prefix, as in *znosić* (PFV) 'wear out, use by wearing'.[1] Only an imperfective variety of (13) is therefore possible, but is it potential? We may assume that (13) presupposes that the speaker actually wears the blouse or has actually worn it; without a certain minimal quantum of the wearing of a garment it is probably impossible to claim that it wears well, at least if this claim is made with reference to a specific person, which is clearly the case in (13) as indicated by the dative *mi*. That is, not every facilitative that is not perfective is necessarily potential, although there is no doubt that every imperfective facilitative *can* be potential. In order for it to be 'potential' it suffices to provide it with a generic agent (not represented in syntactic structure):

(14) Polish

Nasze   sukienki   są   nie tylko ładne,
our.NOM.NVIR.PL dress.NOM.PL be.PRS.3PL NEG only nice.NOM.NVIR.PL

dobrze się   noszą,   ale są   również wytrzymałe.
well   REFL wear.PRS.3PL but be.PRS.3PL also   durable.NOM.NVIR.PL

'Not only our dresses are beautiful and they wear well, but they are also durable.'

https://www.wprost.pl/tylko-u-nas/534679/W-Dolinie-
Krzemowej-nosza-polskie-sukienki-8211-wywiad-z-
projektantka-mody-Kamila-Dmowska.html

Predicates implying the incremental creation of an object are also not restricted to potential use – they have stage-level uses referring to the actual successful realization of a process as well:

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1.   Of course this is actually a complex predication in which the predication expressed by *nosić* 'wear' is, in a sense, downgraded with regard to a change-of-state predication 'deteriorate, render unusable'. Cf. Spencer & Zaretskaya (1998).

(15) Polish
      [*Jednak, o dziwo, była to jedyna książka,*]
      która   dobrze mi   się   pisała.
      REL.NOM.SG.F well   1SG.DAT REFL write[IPFV].PST.3SG.F
      '[However, strange as it may seem], this was the only book I found it so easy
      to write.'   https://www.portel.pl/kultura/morderstwo-w-
                                                         hotelu-pod-lwem/89454

It is fairly obvious that the facilitative constructions that are based on state predicates and can correspondingly have no perfective counterparts are a secondary
development with regard to similar constructions based on accomplishment predicates. As the facilitative construction arises from the anticausative, it describes, in
the initial stage of its development, a change of state in an object, induced by human
or other agency that is, however, ignored because the emphasis is on properties of
the object or other circumstances facilitating the change of state. This is the mechanism underlying the shift from *The window opened* to *The window opened easily*,
and it could, in a first stage, give rise only to facilitatives based on accomplishment
predicates; those based on state and activity predicates are a subsequent extension,
as reference to a change-of-state is absent here. In other words, those facilitatives
that are inherently imperfective are secondary with regard to those that, from the
viewpoint of their semantics, would be susceptible to perfectivization (even if the
perfective variety is only marginal, as seems to be the case, e.g., in German). In
view of this it is more logical to take aspectual class as a basis for a classification of
facilitative subtypes and to distinguish a subtype based on accomplishments and
one based on states and activities:

the window opens	→	the window opens easily	→	the dress wears well

My principal objection to the term 'potential middle' is therefore that it applies
to some languages but not to all. Balto-Slavonic might be specific here, but it
is not an unimportant local exception to a general rule. There is nothing in
the diachronic process leading from the anticausative to the facilitative middle that would logically necessitate a restriction to event types (kind-level and
individual-level uses). Why this restriction appeared in a number of languages is
certainly an important question, and I suspect two factors might be involved here.
On the one hand, an emphasis on the properties of an object or type of objects
might naturally lead to a specialization of the construction in individual-level and
kind-level uses. But perhaps the importance of the syntactic differences should
not be underestimated. Instead of saying that the restriction to structures with
generic agents renders the occurrence of agent phrases superfluous, we could

also say that the lack of such agent phrases blocks the occurrence of non-generic agents and hence imposes a restriction to individual-level and kind-level uses. Further discussion is needed here.

To conclude this section I must comment on the use of the terms 'imperfective' and 'perfective' in this chapter. I take over Geniušienė's term 'perfective', applying it not to a distinct type of use of reflexive-marked middles, but to different readings of one single facilitative construction. I extend this usage, applying the term 'imperfective' to Geniušienė's 'potential passive'. In fact, this distinction does not necessarily refer to constructions containing different verbs, with different aspectual values. In Lithuanian, a prefixed verb like *nuavėti* 'use by wearing' is perfectivized[2] and loses the ability to be used in progressive meaning, but it can still be used in iterative meaning, and, correspondingly, as an individual-level or kind-level predicate: in (3), an inherent property of a class of objects is characterized through the potentially repeated occurrence of a process of deterioration by use. The term is, however, inaccurate. One can, simplifying somewhat, characterize kind-level and individual-level predications as 'imperfective', but stage-level uses may also be imperfective when they are progressive, as in the following example from Polish, where the smooth progression of a process at a specific point in time is referred to (even though the positive properties of the object causing this smooth progression extend in time beyond the particular act of reading referred to):

(16) Polish
Dosyć dobra   książka,   dobrze mi   się
rather good.NOM.SG.F book.NOM.SG well   1SG.DAT REFL
czytała.
read[IPFV].PST.F.SG[3]
'Quite a good book, I found it nice to read.'

<div align="right">https://pansamochodzik.net.pl/viewtopic.php?t=412</div>

With this proviso in mind I will continue to use the terms 'imperfective' and 'perfective', but it must be kept in mind that 'perfective' actually means 'perfective stage-level predicate'.

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2.   The existence of grammatical aspect in Baltic is actually an object of controversy; it has been flatly denied (most recently Arkadiev 2011), but as argued in Holvoet (2014) and now also Arkadiev (2015), there is no difference of principle between Slavonic and Baltic verbal aspect (in both cases grammaticalized lexical aspect classes are involved), though the degree of grammaticalization is certainly weaker in Baltic. In the examples in this chapter, the aspectual value of verbs is indicated for Slavonic, but not for Baltic.

6.3 Adverbial modifiers

As mentioned above, the occurrence of adverbial modifiers such as 'easily' is characteristic of the facilitative construction but not always obligatory (cf. Lekakou 2006). In this respect we can distinguish two subtypes of facilitatives, which differ with regard to level readings, presence of adverbials and presence of datival agent NPs.

First, there are constructions referring exclusively to design properties of objects allowing them to be subjected to certain operations, e.g.

(17) Lithuanian
Sofa   iš-si-skleidžia,   gali   miegoti   svečiai.
sofa.NOM.SG out-REFL-fold.PRS.3 be.able.PRS.3 sleep.INF guest.NOM.PL
'The sofa folds out [into a bed], you can put up guests.'
                                        https://www.skelbiu.lt/paieska/sofa-su-fotelis/

This is presumably the type of use that has given rise to the term 'potential passive'. To the extent that properties of objects are referred to, the type will have individual-level or kind-level readings, the agent will be generic and not represented in syntactic structure, and adverbials are not required (though they may occur).

Secondly, there are constructions referring to accidental rather than design properties of objects. These are revealed during the actual performance of an operation on this object, but can also be generalized as a permanent property of the object. To the extent, however, that the property is established during performance in real time, external circumstances may also play a part in making the performance successful. This subtype has both individual-level (kind-level) and stage-level readings, it can have datival agent-NPs (contextually retrievable in the case of stage-level uses), and adverbial modifiers of the type 'easily' will frequently occur:

(18) Lithuanian
Brėžinyje   Nr. 21 pažymėtas   guolis   lengvai
figure.LOC.SG   mark.PPP.NOM.SG.M bearing.NOM.SG easily
į-si-statė   į   jam   skirtą   vietą.
into-REFL-fit.PST.1 into 3.DAT.SG.M assign.PPP.ACC.SG place.ACC.SG
'The bearing shown on Figure 21 was easy to fit into the place intended for it.'
                    https://www.oldtimers.lt/viewtopic.php?f=1&t=16166&start=45

However, such 'facilitative adverbials' are not absolutely indispensable:

(19)   Lithuanian
       [*Mano atveju vakuumo šlangutė buvo šiek tiek trumpesnė,*]
       bet į-si-statė   į   jai   skirtą   vietą.
       but into-REFL-fit.PST.1 into 3.DAT.SG.M assign.PPP.ACC.SG place.ACC.SG
       '[In my case the vacuum hose was a bit shorter,] but it let itself be fitted in the place intended for it.'
                                  https://www.audifanai.com/f,36,20676.html (diacritics added)

But as we move on from accomplishment predicates to state and activity predicates, it seems to become more and more difficult to drop the facilitative adverb:

(20)   Lithuanian
       [*…jos visada gerai perkamos.*]
       Ypač   jeigu pasiūtos   iš   geros   medžiagos,
       especially if   made.PPP.NOM.PL.F from good.GEN.SG.F fabric.GEN.SG
       jeigu gerai nešioja-si,   jeigu ne-si-glamžo.
       if   well wear.PRS.3-REFL if   NEG-REFL-crease.PRS.3
       '[These clothes lines always sell well,] especially if they are made from good fabrics, wear well and don't crease.'
                                  https://www.15min.lt/gyvenimas/naujiena/laisvalaikis/
                                  juozas-statkevicius-apie-maista-mandrybes-pradeda-
                                  nusibosti-1038-572051?copied

A clause like *rūbai nešiojasi* 'clothes wear' is hard to interpret without a facilitative adverb. The fact that accomplishment predicates can easily do without such facilitative adverbs suggests that the link between facilitatives and the anticausative type from which they developed has not been completely severed. A sentence like (19) is easily interpretable without a facilitative adverbial because it is a borderline case of the anticausative. On the basis of real-world knowledge we know that the hose could not have fitted itself in by its own, but the fact that *įstatyti* 'fit' is an accomplishment predicate, where causation and change of state can be set apart, seems to be a sufficient foundation for a quasi-anticausative use. Such quasi-anticausative uses become impossible in the case of state and activity predicates, where no change-of-state can be identified, and a facilitative adverbial becomes indispensable to licence the middle-voice construction.

A third subtype with specific properties with regard to the presence of adverbials is that of facilitatives emphasizing the disposition of the agent, but this subtype will be discussed in 7.5 in connection with the desiderative extensions of the facilitative middle.

The differences between the subtypes distinguished here are pragmatic rather than linguistically encoded. The encoded meaning of the facilitatives is underspecified as to the precise facilitating factor, and the adverb is needed in some cases to

make the sentence pragmatically interpretable. Even with a facilitative adverb, a facilitative middle is not always unambiguous as to what determines the successful realization of the event denoted by the verb, and the choice of a reading is, again, a matter of pragmatics. Of course, such pragmatic inferences may be conventionalized, leading to the rise of new middle constructions that can be set apart from the facilitative middle. They will be discussed in the next chapter.

6.4 The expression of the agent and its syntactic status

The overt expression of the 'agent' in the facilitative construction is, as we have seen, a characteristic property of the Slavonic and Baltic languages. The formal means of expression show some variation. Whereas Polish and the Baltic languages have a dative noun phrase, Russian has introduced prepositional phrases with *u* and the genitive, though instances with overtly expressed agents are said to be rare (Letučij 2016: 297):

(21) Russian   (Letučij 2016: 297)
U menja dver'   ne otkryvaet-sja.
at 1SG.GEN door.NOM.SG NEG open.PRS.3SG-REFL
'I don't manage to open the door.'

The dative is, however, used when there is no overt patient and the construction is impersonal:

(22) Russian   (V. S. Rozov, 1913–2004, cited from Letučij 2016: 326)
Nel'zja pisat', kogda tebe   ne pišet-sja.
impossible write.INF when 2SG.DAT NEG write[IPFV].PRS.3-REFL
'You shouldn't write when you don't feel like writing.'

This distinction will be briefly discussed below. The question on which I will concentrate here is that of the syntactic status of the agent phrase.

It seems reasonable to assume that the dative noun phrase originated as a free dative of interest (*dativus commodi* or *incommodi*) added to an anticausative construction. My contention is that it no longer has this status at the present stage, but is now:

a. an argument of predication,
b. it always corresponds to the subject of the active construction,
c. it is not a beneficiary but an agent, albeit a specific, constructionally modified agent, as the effect of the construction is to diminish the relevance of the subject's agency for the smooth progress of the event.

That the datival NP was originally a mere dative of interest follows from the fact that the facilitative construction developed from the anticausative construction. As mentioned above, the shift from anticausative construction to facilitative construction is based on a fiction to the effect that it is the inherent properties rather than the agency applied by the subject referent that causes the event referred to by the verb, so that one can actually speak of a spontaneous process. The agent, even though notionally indispensable, is reduced to the role of beneficiary. However, at the stage when the facilitative construction becomes entrenched, a situation of systematic grammatical ambiguity arises between a dative-of-interest construction in which the datival argument is not an agent, and a facilitative construction in which it is interpreted as the agent. Let us take the following sequence:

(23)   Lithuanian (constructed)
Vartai   man   at-si-darė.
gate[PL].NOM 1SG.DAT open-REFL-make.PST.3

This sequence is ambiguous, that is, it has two clearly distinct readings, with different syntactic structure (that is, different syntactic status of the datival NP) and with different semantic interpretations. To bring out the difference more clearly, let us take slightly expanded versions with more informative contexts:

(24)   Lithuanian (constructed)
Paspaudžiau mygtuką,   ir   vartai   man
press.PST.1SG button.ACC.SG and   gate[PL].NOM 1SG.DAT
at-si-darė.
open-REFL-make.PST.3
'I pressed the button and the gate opened before me.'

(25)   Lithuanian (constructed)
Nors   sunkiai,   bet vartai   man   pagaliau
though with.difficulty but gate[PL].NOM 1SG.DAT at.last
at-si-darė.
open-REFL-make.PST.3
'Though not without difficulty, I finally succeeded in opening the gate.'

In (24) the gate opens automatically: the subject referent presses a button but this is not the normal type of agency, incrementally transferred to the patient, required to open a gate. The subject referent is, of course, a beneficiary of the process. In (25) it is understood that the subject referent in fact performs the agency required to open a gate but this agency is downplayed as the properties of the object are foregrounded as a factor contributing to the change of state. The following are authentic examples of the two constructions discussed here:

(26) Lithuanian
Laimėjus   antrą   setą,   jai   at-si-rakino
win.cvb.pst second.acc.sg set.acc.sg 3.dat.sg.f un-refl-lock.pst.3
kelias   į   titulą
way.nom.sg to title.acc.sg
'After she won the second set, the way to the title opened before her.'

(27) *Man   ne-at-si-rakina   vairuotojo   durelės,   nei*
1sg.dat neg-un-refl-lock.prs.3 driver.gen.sg door[pl].nom neither
su   pulteliu   nei su   raktu   nei iš   vidaus
with remote.control.ins.sg nor with key.ins.sg nor from inside.gen.sg
su   rankenėle.
with grip.ins.sg
'I don't succeed in opening the door on the driver's side, not with remote
control, not with the key, and not from the inside with the grip.'

Example (26) has a dative of interest added to an anticausative predicate whereas
(27) has a datival agent (marked for diminished agentivity) added to what is clearly
a facilitative construction. Instrument adverbials like *su pulteliu* 'with remote con-
trol', *su raktu* 'with the key' combine with agentive predications but not with anti-
causatives, which allows us to rule out an anticausative reading of (27).

It could be argued that the fiction of the spontaneous character of the process
is kept up in these cases as well, and that the reflexive (27) also represents a spon-
taneous process, with the datival NP reflecting a dative of interest. The identity
of beneficiary and agent could be a matter of pragmatics. It would be difficult to
disprove this with reference to individual instances like (27). Proof of the shift of
the datival NP from non-argument dative of interest to argument is provided by
the extension of the facilitative type to intransitive verbs, as in

(28) Lithuanian
Asmeniškai man   gyvena-si   smagiai,
personally 1sg.dat live.prs.3-refl nice.adv
[*kol aš atostogaju namie su artimaisiais*].
'Personally I have quite an agreeable life [as long as I am on holiday with my
family].   http://kelione.blogspot.com/2008/04/
pirklys-ir-asotis-kjpman-og-mugge.html

As 'live' is a one-place predicate, there can be no reference to a process going on independently of the participant reflected by the datival NP. In order for the extension from transitive to intransitive verbs to take place, the datival NP must already have been reanalysed as an argument corresponding to the subject of the active construction.

The ambiguity of sentences like (23) provides important evidence in reconstructing the rise of the facilitative. We can, first of all, identify the class of verbs that can provide a basis for the shift from anticausative to facilitative. Secondly, we can account for the rise of the datival NP from a (non-argument) free dative of interest. And, finally, we can show that the facilitative has emancipated itself from the anticausative.

We may conclude from all this that the facilitative construction with an overt datival argument represents, as opposed to the corresponding active construction, a reshuffling of grammatical relations: the original object becomes a subject while the original subject becomes a kind of construction-specific 'non-volitional agent' marked with the dative. This non-volitional agent is often unexpressed. Its semantic interpretation will then depend on the semantic interpretation of the verbal form. If the verb represents a stage-level predicate, the subject-agent will be specific and situationally retrievable, as illustrated in (29):

(29)   Lithuanian
[*Po to, policijos pareigūnai jį nuvežė prie metalinio garažo*],
kurį   atrakino   iš   jo   paimtu   raktu,
REL.ACC.SG.M unlock.PST.3 from 3.GEN.SG.M take.PPP.INS.SG.M key.INS.SG
spyna   sunkiai   at-si-rakino.
lock.NOM.SG difficult.ADV un-REFL-lock.PST.3
'[After that the police officers drove him to the metal garage], which they unlocked with the key they took from him. The lock unfastened with difficulty.'
https://eteismai.lt/byla/165927779772582/1-32-836/2017

Here the non-expressed agent is clearly the police officers. When the verb represents an individual-level or kind-level predicate, the implicit agent will typically be generic, as in (30):

(30)   Lithuanian
Pasak   R. J., ši   namo   durų   spyna
according.to   DEM.NOM.SG.F house.GEN.SG door[PL].GEN lock.NOM.SG
visada sunkiai   at-si-rakina.
always with.difficulty un-REFL-lock.PRS.3
'According to R. J., this front-door lock always unfastens with difficulty.'
https://eteismai.lt/byla/74916752270197/1S-506-185/2014

The situation in Germanic with regard to the possibility of expressing the agent in the facilitative construction is mentioned in Ackema & Schoorlemmer (2003) and Stroik (2006). In English and Dutch agent expression seems to be marginally allowed:

(31) English   (Stroik 2006: 304)
The enemy battalion infiltrated surprisingly easily for the guerilla soldiers.

(32) Dutch   (Ackema & Schoorlemmer 2003: 136)
Deze deur sluit   makkelijk, zelfs voor kleine kinderen.
this door close.PRS.3SG easily   even for   small children
'This door is easy to close even for small children.'

However, such occasional uses of *for*-PPs do not amount to much, and there is clearly a difference of principle between the Germanic languages on the one hand and, on the other, Baltic and Slavonic, where datival agent phrases are too regular a feature to be overlooked. It is possible that the English and Dutch *for*-PPs are just beneficiary adjuncts, counterparts of the *dativus (in)commodi*, not arguments. The examples adduced here are, after all, individual-level uses, and we are dealing with potential, not actual agents. The coincidence of 'interested person' and 'potential agent' is, in the case of a facilitative construction, pragmatically expected because the interested person will be interested *qua* potential agent. The distinction between the two notions is not very pronounced, whereas that between 'interested person' and actual agent is much more clear-cut. The difference between (26) and (27) consists, *inter alia*, in that in (26) the dative is a non-agent, whereas in (27) it is an agent.

6.5   Facilitatives from intransitives

Once the development of the facilitative has reached the stage at which it is derived from state and activity predicates, it can spread from transitive to intransitive verbs denoting states and activities, such as 'walk', 'sit', 'live', 'walk', 'talk' etc. No semantic changes are involved here: the shift is purely syntactic. This development is widespread in Slavonic (cf. (33) from Russian) and is also attested, e.g., in German (34):

(33) Russian   (I. S. Turgenev, 1818–1883, RNC)
Šutki   v storonu,   zdes' xorošo živet-sja…
joke.ACC.PL to side.ACC.SG here well   live.PRS.3SG-REFL
[*Prijatnoe takoe smešenie russkoj derevenskoj žizni s francuzskoj vie de château…*]
'All joking aside, it's good to live here… [An agreeable mixture of Russian country life with French *vie de château*]

(34) German
Heute ist   die   Siedlung   immer noch beliebt: Es
today be.PRS.3SG DEF.NOM.SG.F settlement always still   popular EXPL
wohnt   sich gut dort.
live.PRS.3SG REFL well there
'Even now the settlement is still popular: it is good to live there.'
https://www.fnp.de/frankfurt/zeilsheim-fernen-westen-10422744.html

In Baltic the intransitive extension of the state and activity facilitative is attested but not really frequent. An example with *gyventi* 'live, dwell' is given above in (28). For the facilitative construction based on *sėdėti* 'sit' the Corpus of Contemporary Lithuanian does not have a single instance, but a Google search shows that it is used:

(35) Lithuanian
Kaip jums,   sėdėjo-si   ant suoliuko?
how 2PL.DAT sit.PST.3-REFL on bench.GEN.SG
[*dėl asmeninių pražangų nebegalinčiam tęsti rungtynių,*]
'How did you feel sitting there on the [penalty] bench [being unable to stay in the match because of individual fouls]?'
https://www.delfi.lt/krepsinis/herojai/ukrainieciai-nepamirsta-kaip-per-nakti-reikalavo-atimti-is-zalgirio-nepelnyta-pergale.d?id=76501355

In Latvian, the reflexive use of *dzīvot* 'live', referring to quality of life, is also found on the internet:

(36) Latvian
Breivīkam cietumā   dzīvoja-s   labi
PN.DAT   prison.LOC.SG live.PRS.3-REFL well
[*un apstākļiem nav nekādas vainas, secina tiesa*].
'Breivik has a good life in prison [and there is nothing wrong with the conditions, a court has found.]'
https://jauns.lv/raksts/arzemes/7757-breivikam-cietuma-dzivojas-labi-un-apstakliem-nav-nekadas-vainas-secina-tiesa

Reflexive forms of *sēdēt* 'sit' and *staigāt* 'walk' can be found in the informal register, on forums etc.

(37) Latvian   (lvTenTen14)
Mājās   man   nu   nekā   ne-sēža-s.
at.home 1SG.DAT PTC in.no.way NEG-sit.PRS.3-REFL
'I'm really not in the mood to sit at home.'

(38) Latvian
Nu forši   izskatās, labi staigāja-s,   feini   atpūsties,
PTC swell.ADV look.PRS.3 well walk.PRS.3-REFL nice.ADV relax.INF
[*un nekad nav bijis domas ka ir kas nelabi izdarīts.*]
'Well, it looks nice, it's good to walk there, a great place to relax, [and I have never felt something had been badly done].'

<div align="right">http://www.iecava.lv/lv/zinas/pasvaldiba/16010-aptauja-
vai-atbalstat-ieceri-veidot-piedzivojumu-parku-iecavas-parka</div>

In both languages the construction is not represented in the older literary languages, so that this extension seems to be relatively recent and the influence of the Slavonic languages might have something to do with it. For this reason facilitative constructions, especially those derived from intransitive verbs, have always been regarded with suspicion by Lithuanian prescriptive grammarians, cf., e.g., Paulauskienė (2001: 220).

The facilitative construction derived from intransitive verbs is important evidence for the argumental status of the datival NP. The variety without a datival NP is clearly not a zero-place predication: the implied quasi-agent is generic but present in semantic structure. Nothing changes with regard to argument structure when a datival NP is added: it is still a one-place predication.

As the shift leading from the personal to the impersonal facilitative construction is basically a syntactic one, one could, in principle, say that the two are just varieties of one and the same facilitative construction based on activity and state predicates, as the function of the reflexive derivation does not really differ. Yet at least one language differentiates the two constructions formally. As mentioned above, Russian has different expressions for the agent in personal and impersonal facilitative constructions. For the sake of convenience, I use simple constructed examples to illustrate the relevant patterns. (39) shows the transitive variety, (40) has a basically transitive verb but in absolute use, and (41) has a consistently intransitive stative verb:

(39) Russian (constructed)
U menja   xorošo pišet-sja   èta   stat'ja.
at 1SG.GEN well write[IPFV].PRS.3SG-REFL DEM.NOM.SG.F article.NOM.SG
'I'm finding it easy to write this article.'

(40) *Mne   po   nočam xorošo pišet-sja.*
1SG.DAT PREP night well write[IPFV].PRS.3SG-REFL
'I find it easy to write at night.'

(41) *Mne   zdes' xorošo sidit-sja.*
1SG.DAT here well sit[IPFV].PRS.3SG-REFL
'I find it nice to sit here.'

Certain semantic differences might be reflected in the different ways of encoding the agent in (39) on the one hand and (40) and (41) on the other. When no reference is made to an object whose inherent properties may be a factor determining the successful realization of an event, emphasis naturally shifts to other circumstances facilitating an activity or state, such as the mental disposition of the agent. But the purely syntactic factor – the presence or absence of a subject noun phrase – is certainly important as well and might even be decisive in this case. Prepositional phrases of the type *u menja* are one of the principal means of encoding possessivity in Russian; more specifically, they are one of the two ways of encoding external possessors (on this construction in general cf. Payne & Barshi 1999; on Russian cf. Garde 1985), which is illustrated in (42):

(42) Russian
      U menja   mašina   slomala-s'.
      at 1SG.GEN car.NOM.SG break[PFV].PST.SG.F-REFL
      'My car has broken down.'

The reflexive form used here is anticausative, which means there is no agent in argument structure and no agent is represented in syntax. Here, the prepositional phrase *u menja* is therefore purely possessive. But as we know that the facilitative construction evolves from the anticausative one, it is natural to assume that the prepositional possessive construction used to encode the agent in the transitive facilitative construction has been inherited from anticausative constructions expanded with external possessors. This is, however, a relationship of inheritance rather than of identity. Here, as in the Lithuanian Examples (24) and (25) cited above, we find clear instances of ambiguity:

(43) Russian
      U menja   dver'   ne   otkryvaet-sja.
      at 1SG.GEN door.NOM.SG NEG open[IPFV].PRS.3SG-REFL
      i.   'My door won't open.'
      ii. 'I don't manage to open the door.'

The ambiguity is, of course, not an exact counterpart of that obtaining between the Lithuanian sentences in (24) and (25), as the Lithuanian construction is based on the dative-of-interest, which does not have the possessive implication which the Russian construction with *u* has. But the ambiguity (it is certainly not an instance of vagueness) shows that the possessive phrase has been reanalysed in the facilitative construction and that the facilitative construction has emancipated itself from its anticausative source construction.

The diachronic aspects of this state of affairs should be separately investigated. Two facts must be taken into account. On the one hand, the dative found in the intransitive construction, having basically (though perhaps not exactly in this function) been inherited from Common Slavonic, is older than the prepositional construction of *u* with the genitive, which is an East Slavonic innovation. On the other hand, the intransitive facilitative construction is younger than the transitive one, which is a further development from the anticausative construction. It is therefore conceivable that the prepositional construction with *u* has ousted an older construction with a dative analogous to that of Polish and the dative languages. Actually, uses of a dative are attested in 19th-century Russian:

(44) Russian   (N. A. Nekrasov, 1821–1878, *Gore starogo Nauma*)
Solënyx   ryžikov   *ne est,*   *i   čaj*
salted.GEN.PL saffron.milk.cap.GEN.PL NEG eat.PRS.3SG and tea.NOM
emu   ne p'ët-sja.
3.DAT.SG.M NEG drink.PRS.3SG-REFL
'He does not eat salted saffron milk caps, and has no taste for tea.'

In spite of the semantic reanalysis (agent instead of possessor), the originally possessive prepositional phrases with *u* have evidently retained part of their original syntactic features, mainly that of being licenced by a noun phrase, and this is probably the reason why they did not extend to intransitive constructions.

6.6   Impersonal transitive facilitatives

A further syntactic shift is observed in Polish, where the impersonal facilitative has given rise to a transitive impersonal facilitative. This could be called a non-promoting facilitative middle. The shift can be seen in (45) and (46): while (45) has a verb in the plural agreeing with the nominative *historyjki*, (46) has a verb in the 3rd person singular (used impersonally), with an object in the accusative plural:

(45) Polish
Łatwo mi   się piszą   takie
easily 1SG.DAT REFL write[IPFV].PRS.3PL such.NOM.PL.NVIR
wierszowane   historyjki,
rhymed.NOM.PL.NVIR story.NOM.PL
[*na przykład o tym, co można namalować zieloną kredką*].
'I find it easy to write such rhymed stories, [for instance about what you could draw with a green pencil].'   https://vdocuments.site/malgorzata-
kalicniska-milosc-nad-rozlewiskiem.html

(46) Polish
Może dlatego   tak łatwo mi   się   pisze
maybe for.that.reason so   easily 1SG.DAT REFL write[IPFV].PRS.3SG
scenariusze?
scenario.ACC.PL
'Perhaps that is why I find it so easy to write scenarios?'
                          https://www.wprost.pl/356934/Mrok-we-mnie.html

This syntactic development, which is peculiar to Polish, is probably due to the influence of the reflexive-marked impersonal construction, that is, a construction with an implicit human subject, usually generic. This impersonal evolved, in its turn, from the reflexive-marked passive.

(47) Middle Polish   (Łukasz Górnicki, 1527–1603, cited by Pisarkowa 1984: 42)
[*w tym rejestrze nie było wyliczanie rzeczy*]
które   się jadły   albo piły
REL.NOM.NVIR.PL REFL eat[IPFV].PST.NVIR.PL or   drink[IPFV].PST.NVIR.PL
'[In that register there was no list of things] that were eaten or drunk.'

(48) Modern Polish (constructed)
takie   reczy   się wówczas jadło   i
such.ACC.NVIR.PL thing.ACC.PL REFL then   eat[IPFV].PST.N.SG and
piło.
drink[IPFV].PST.N.SG
'such things were eaten and drunk in those times.'

This was a long process, which manifested itself already in isolated instances in the 17th century, but was not completed until the turn of the 18th and the 19th centuries (Pisarkowa 1984: 43). There is no study focusing on the syntactic history of the facilitative middle in Polish because in the literature this construction is not kept apart from the reflexive-marked impersonal (even though differences between them were pointed out by Brajerski 1979). The main difference is that the reflexive-marked impersonals usually have generic human subjects present in semantic structure but not represented in syntax. The impersonal facilitative, on the other hand, may have an overt datival agent as shown in (46), and in this variety of the construction there is no covert argument not represented in syntax. The datival quasi-agent is omitted in specific circumstances, which may be of two kinds: (i) the quasi-agent is generic, and (ii) the quasi-agent is contextually retrievable. As a result of the failure of Polish grammar to keep the two constructions apart, it is not known whether there were any differences in the way in which they were affected by the process of impersonalization. It is conceivable that this process started in the reflexive passive and then spread to the facilitative construction, but there is no reason why it should not have started at the same time in both constructions. The process of impersonalization of

facilitatives, whose early history is not clear, is not yet completed. The nominative is clearly the recessive construction (it can probably always be replaced with the impersonal construction), but it holds out successfully in a number of situations in which probably several factors play a role. One of them is presumably whether it is the inherent properties of the object or some external circumstances that determine the successful realization of the event. Compare (49) and (50):

(49) Polish
[*Polecam powieści Amelie Nothomb.*]
Krótkie, *wciągają* *i* *dobrze* *się* *czytają,*
short.NOM.NVIR.PL absorb.PRS.3PL and well REFL read[IPFV].PRS.3PL
[*a nie są totalną kichą*].
'[I recommend Amélie Nothomb's novels]. They are short and absorbing, they read well [and are not complete rubbish].' https://f.kafeteria.pl/temat-
4845892-poleccie-jakas-lekka-lekture-na-letnie-wieczory/

(50) *Autobus* *MPK,* *tutaj dobrze* *się* *czyta* *książki.*
bus.NOM.SG here well REFL read.PRS.3SG book.ACC.PL
'The MPK bus: it's good to read books here.'
http://forum.gazeta.pl/forum/w,61,110923021,110923021,
Autobus_MPK_tutaj_dobrze_sie_czyta_ksiazki.html

Whereas (49) is concerned with the quality of Amélie Nothomb's books, (50) is about a place affording favourable conditions for reading, whereas nothing is said about the quality of the books. However, the impersonal construction with the accusative clearly predominates even in those cases where the original object is definite and its inherent qualities are presented as the factor facilitating the process (in other words, the personal construction can always be replaced with the impersonal one, but not the other way around):

(51) Polish
Tę *książkę* *dobrze się* *czyta,*
DEM.ACC.SG.F book.ACC.SG well REFL read.PRS.3SG
[*nawet jeśli nie każdy znajdzie w niej przełomowe dla swojej kariery koderskiej informacje.*]
'The book reads well, [even if not everybody will find in it information of decisive importance for their career as coders].'
https://bulldogjob.pl/news/122-co-czytaja-programisci

We may therefore assume that in the end the promoting facilitative construction will be completely ousted by the non-promoting, impersonal one. Another instance of this process of impersonalization of middle-voice constructions can be found in the modal variety of the permissive middle, discussed in 4.10.

6.7   Imperfective and perfective extensions

As the facilitative arises from the basically bi-aspectual anticausative, it is originally neutral with regard to aspect and has the potential to develop in two directions. The split-off occurs within the facilitative type itself. As soon as the facilitative extends from accomplishment predicates to state and activity predicates, the foundation is laid for a specifically imperfective, exclusively individual-level or kind-level facilitative construction. The perfective variety of the facilitative based on accomplishment predicates may die off, or become marginalized, as seems to have been the case in German. The perfective variety can then be ousted by a competing construction, like the modal construction of permissive origin, which is neutral with regard to aspect:

(52)   German
Das   Kork   hat   sich gut schneiden lassen
DEF.NOM.SG.N cork.NOM have.PRS.3SG REFL well cut.INF   let.IPP
[*und ist meiner Meinung nach sehr stabil.*]
'The cork has cut very well [and is, in my opinion, very stable].'
                                          https://www.amazon.de/pcr/Best-Bewertete-
                                                Pinnw%C3%A4nde/202834031

The perfective variety, on the other hand, can emancipate itself from the facilitative construction, as it has happened in the Baltic languages and in Polish. A process can, due to certain inherent properties of the patient or of external circumstances, produce a result opposite to what was intended, which opens the way for a semantic development from facilitative to unintended result and, ultimately, involuntary action. This is illustrated in (53) and (54): (53) is facilitative in the sense of emphasizing successful accomplishment resulting from favourable circumstances, whereas (54) refers to the unexpected and undesirable result of otherwise consciously directed manipulation:

(53)   Lithuanian
Man   iš-si-traukė   lengvai, daug kam   iš-si-traukia
1SG.DAT out-REFL-pull.PST.3 easily, many INDEF.DAT out-REFL-pull.PRS.3
pažaidus,
play.CVB.ANT
[*o būna žaisk nežaidęs, vistiek sulūš* …]
'I easily managed to extract [the radiator], many people manage only after some messing about, [and sometimes it will get broken anyway no matter how long you mess about.']   https://peugeot-klubas.lt/topic/61453-p407-
                                          coupe-ac-radijatoriaus-keitimas/

(54)   Lithuanian
[*Kad lengviau būtų ištraukti gabaritą nutariau išsiimti ilgų šviesų lemputę …*],
ir   netyčia   iš-si-traukė   man   tas
and inadvertently out-REFL-pull.PST.3 1SG.DAT that.NOM.SG.M
metalinis   ūsiukas,
metal.ADJ.NOM.SG.M clamp.NOM.SG
[*kuris laiko ilgų šviesų lemputę.*]
'[To make it easier to pull out the sidelight bulb I decided to take out the high beam bulb] and I inadvertently pulled out that metal clamp [holding the high beam bulb in place].'   https://www.vwklubas.lt/topic/1558-i%C5%A1spr%C4%99sta-1-priekiniai-gabaritai/ (diacritics added)

This semantic development will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Here we will only note that such constructions, expressing the unintended result of intended agency or the unintended performance of a motoric act that is normally performed consciously and directedly, are inherently perfective. This extension is observed in some languages, like Baltic and Polish, but it has not occurred, for instance, in German. The rise of the 'involuntary' extension should, of course, be viewed in conjunction with the occurrence of a more robust perfective subtype of the facilitative. In both instances we have a stronger focus on the result of a process, which may either be in line with the agent's intentions or run counter to them. This perfective line of development stands alongside an imperfective type focusing on inherent properties of the object, so that in languages like Polish, Lithuanian and Latvian 'potential' and 'actual' readings keep each other in balance. Where the result-focusing perfective subtype does not develop, the facilitative apparently specializes in imperfective, potential uses, as we observe in German. The following figure shows the successive shifts realizing this double-track development:
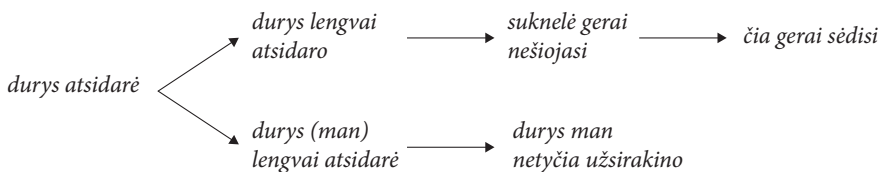
Figure 1. The development of facilitative constructions

6.8   In conclusion

The facilitative construction is highly productive and, apart from a few general constraints in terms of transitivity and aspectual class, shows remarkably few lexical restrictions. The prototype of a facilitative construction must have been a physical process set in motion by human agency, but of a kind that could also be fictionally construed as occurring spontaneously. In the present state of affairs, even the basic type of facilitative, associated with predicates of the accomplishment type, can apply to practically any kind of operation, also mental, as in (55):

> (55)   Latvian (lvTenTen14)
> *Eksperimentāli iegūtie   dati   labi*
> experimentally gain.PPP.NOM.PL.M data.NOM.PL well
> *aproksimēja-s   ar   Bolcmana sadalījumam*
> approximate.PRS.3-REFL with PN.GEN   distribution.DAT.SG
> *raksturīgo   eksponenciālo   funkciju.*
> characteristic.ACC.SG.DEF exponential.ACC.SG.DEF function.ACC.SG
> 'The experimentally gained data can be nicely approximated with an exponential function characteristic of a Bolzmann distribution.'

This lack of restrictions contrasts with the much more limited lexical extension of certain other types of middle-voice grams, such as the antipassive: as noted in 3.9, the latter also show a certain productivity, but within a well-defined lexical class, that of physical manipulation.

Baltic and Slavonic facilitatives differ from those of Germanic and Romance in that they have stage-level readings and allow for explicit expression of the agent. The difference has, therefore, both semantic and syntactic aspects. This does not, however, entail a difference in argument structure: even if a facilitative construction implies a generic agent, this agent will still be an argument.

The argument structure of facilitatives has been an object of discussion in the literature. According to a widespread view, voice operations may change only the assignment of grammatical relations, but not argument structure: argument structure being usually considered a property of the lexeme, any operation changing it is derivational in nature, i.e. it derives one lexeme from another. In Generative Grammar the difference is formulated as one between 'presyntactic' and 'syntactic' rules (Ackema & Schoorlemmer 2003, Stroik 2006 etc.). One of these would be whether a form is more likely to be stored in long-term memory (which suggests itself when the meaning is unpredictable) or whether one can conceive of its being created 'online' to yield a predictable meaning within a certain conventionalized construction. In this sense, reflexive-marked middles are differentiated, as I have

had occasion to note in several places throughout this book; the facilitative certainly looks highly inflection-like in the sense that it can be derived from any verb with the appropriate semantic features, and it occurs within a well-defined facilitative construction with precisely determined syntactic and semantic properties. Moreover, as mentioned above, I regard the datival NP in the facilitative construction as an argument, so that the facilitative is also inflection-like in leaving argument structure unchanged and just reassigning grammatical relations.

This makes the whole construction reminiscent of typical voice constructions like the passive. Actually, as we have seen, the facilitative construction has been described as a kind of passive, viz. a 'potential passive'. The facilitative construction does indeed meet two conditions for being recognized as a passive: the object is promoted to subject and the whole construction notionally implies an agent even if it is not expressed (note that many languages disallow the expression of the agent in the passive as well). Geniušienė's (1987: 116) refusal to recognize the datival NP as an argument is in apparent contradiction with her use of the term 'passive', but is in keeping with her assumption that most 'reflexive' operations (in our formulation, middle-voice constructions) are lexical and cannot be assigned to voice. In my view, the facilitative construction is a voice construction, but it is not quite a passive. Both the facilitative and the passive perform specific functions with regard to the quasi-agent. In the passive, it is often reduced in prominence (at least in the non-agented passive) but not in agentivity; if it is not reduced in prominence there is, at any rate, a reshuffling in terms of information structure. In the facilitative construction the quasi-agent is reduced in agentivity but not necessarily in prominence; if it is reduced in prominence, that is a side-effect of the constructional semantic modification – the emphasis on object properties or other circumstances independent of the agent.

In the following chapter I will discuss a few further types of reflexive-marked middles in the semantic domain extending between anticausative and passive, all characterized by the feature of diminished agentivity of the quasi-agent. It is interesting to note that the distinction here made between the features of diminished prominence of the agent and diminished agentivity of the agent has its counterpart in the domain of the antipassive. As I have argued in Chapter 3, antipassives may either encode diminished prominence of the patient (deobjectives) or its diminished affectedness (deaccusatives). There is an undisputable symmetry here, while there is also a certain asymmetry in the treatment the two categories receive in the literature. Discussions of the passive mention reassignment of grammatical relations and loss of prominence of the agent, but they do not seem to allow for semantic differences. In defining the antipassive, on the other hand, it seems necessary to operate both with the feature of low prominence and that of low affectedness of

the patient if one wants to preserve the unity of the category. If we do not object to this and, in defining voice grams, accept semantic differences (in terms of degrees of agentivity), we could indeed, as suggested by the term 'potential passive', regard the facilitative as a subtype of the passive.

Further extensions from the facilitative middle

7.1   Introduction

The facilitative type of the middle has been a point of departure for two further extensions. The first, represented about everywhere in Baltic and Slavonic, though to a different extent, is the non-volitional middle. The second, represented only in South Slavonic, is the desiderative middle. Both are extensions from the distinctive Balto-Slavonic variety of facilitative middles characterized by the presence of stage-level readings with specific (non-generic) agents that can appear as arguments in syntactic structure.

The non-volitional middle comprises constructions marking the non-volitional character of the event denoted by the verbal stem. It comes in two varieties, one based on transitive state predicates, i.e. predicates denoting directed mental and emotional states not controllable by the subject (so that the middle-voice marking just brings out a feature already inherent in the lexical meaning of the verb) and the other on perfective predicates basically denoting volitional events (so that it is the middle-voice marking that conveys the idea of involuntary agency). While the former is widely represented throughout the Baltic and Slavonic languages, though quite restricted in terms of lexical distribution, the latter is more limited in scope: to some extent it is represented in Baltic, especially in Latvian, as well as in Russian and Polish, but mainly in the colloquial language.

The non-volitional middle seems to arise from the facilitative type through conventionalization of a certain type of pragmatic inferences. The facilitative type of middle marks the fact that a smooth progression of a process affecting an object (secondarily also a state of a quasi-agent) is determined by factors other than the agent's agency. It rests, as already observed, on a fiction to the effect that the process is actually spontaneous and the agent plays no role at all in it, a pretence sometimes made explicit through the addition of adverbials like 'by itself' (e.g., Lithuanian *savaime* in Example (24) below). Human agency is actually notionally indispensable and the effect of the construction is not to deny this agency, but just to emphasize that it is not this agency that ultimately determines the successful realization of the event denoted by the verb. What the determining factor actually was must be inferred from the context, situation etc. Usually inherent properties of

the patient, external circumstances, the agent's predisposition etc., are responsible (this was already discussed in the preceding chapter), but in certain cases, especially when the successful or effortless realization of the event is negated (we could call this the 'difficilitative' variety), specific properties of the agency itself may be involved. This may be, for instance, psychomotor malfunction, distraction on the part of the agent etc.

The desiderative extension is closely related to the non-volitional middle in the sense that it refers to a spontaneous urge of a subject rather than to a deliberate act of volition. The disposition of a subject towards the realization of an event *e* is one of the possible factors contributing to a smooth progression of this event, and in this sense the desiderative middle is an extension of the facilitative middle. In the facilitative construction it is not exactly encoded, but may be pragmatically inferred. It may, however, become conventionalized. In the South Slavonic languages, where we observe this process, the desiderative middle has become completely dissociated from the facilitative middle through an additional shift in denotation from the event *e* (facilitated by the disposition of a subject towards the realization of an event *e*) to the disposition itself, so that the occurrence of the event *e* is no longer either asserted or implied.

7.2   The naturally non-volitional type

The first type to be discussed here is that of middles based on verbs denoting uncontrollable mental states. The classroom example would be 'dream', a verb referring to uncontrollable mental processes *par excellence*. Examples (1) and (2) show the basic active construction and the derived middle-voice construction respectively:

(1)   Lithuanian
Pamiegojau   mažai, nes   sapnavau   košmarus
DELIM.sleep.PST.1SG little   because dream.PST.1SG nightmare.ACC.PL
apie   boksą:
about boxing.ACC.SG
[*kad pralaimiu ir niekas man medalio neužkabina*].
'I had very little sleep, because I had nightmares about boxing: [I was losing and nobody was hanging medals on me].'

https://kauno.diena.lt/naujienos/kaunas/menas-ir-pramogos/
menotyrininke-kiekvienas-kaunietis-turi-pajusti-kad-kultura-
jam-ir-apie-ji-769094/favicon.ico?page=55643

(2) Lithuanian
Afrikos   knyga   atsirado   dėl   daugybės
Africa.GEN.SG book.NOM.SG arise.PST.3 because.of multitude.GEN.SG
košmarų,   kurie   man   sapnavo-si   po
nightmare.GEN.PL   REL.NOM.PL.M 1SG.DAT dream.PST.3-REFL after
kelionės   per   šį   žemyną.
journey.GEN.SG   across DEM.ACC.SG.M   continent.ACC.SG
'The African book grew out of the many nightmares I had after my journey
across this continent.'   https://www.delfi.lt/keliones/naujienos/
dkinderis-kelione-be-tikslo-tai-tik-valkatavimas-ir-
nesibaigiantis-saves-ieskojimas.d?id=63888170

This alternation is lexically restricted and shows a lot of language-specific varia-
tion; individual verbs moreover display idiosyncratic differences of behaviour. For
'dreaming', Latvian has only the active construction. In Russian, on the other hand,
the middle construction with *snit'sja* 'appear in a dream' has completely ousted the
active *snit'* 'dream':

(3) Russian   (M. A. Bulgakov, 1891–1940, *Teatral'nyj roman*, 1936–1937, RNC)
Mne   snil-sja   rodnoj   gorod,   sneg,
1SG.DAT dream.PST.M.SG-REFL native.NOM.SG.M town.NOM.SG snow.NOM.SG
zima,   graždanskaja vojna…
winter.NOM.SG civil.NOM.SG.F war.NOM.SG
'I dreamt of my native town, snow, winter, the civil war…'

The Russian National Corpus gives one (!) instance of the active *snit'*, but the dic-
tionaries do not even list it. Other languages have both options, like Polish, or
Slovenian; examples from the latter can be found in (4) and (5):

(4) Slovenian
Sanjal   sem   predsednika   države.
dream.LFORM.M.SG be.PRS.1SG president.ACC.SG state.GEN.SG
'I dreamt about the President of the Republic.'
https://epitomeart.si/sanjal-sem-predsednika-drzave

(5) Slovenian   (Fran Milčinski, 1867–1932)
Sanjal   se   mi   je   npr. dovtip,
dream.LFORM.M.SG REFL 1SG.DAT be.PRS.3SG e.g. joke.NOM.SG
[*tako je bil izboren, da se mu je celo gospod Hacin smejal.*]
'I dreamt, for instance, of a joke, [it was so good that it made even Mr. Hacin
laugh].'   https://sl.wikisource.org/wiki/Drobi%C5%BE

To the extent that in this case the middle-voice construction applies to a lexical item referring to a mental process that is inherently uncontrollable, like dreaming, it gives rise to pairs of constructions showing almost complete synonymy. One construction will then have grammatical (constructional) marking of the non-controllable character of the process, whereas the other variety also conveys, of course, the same semantic feature, but as an inherent feature of lexical meaning. In other words, the middle-voice construction is basically redundant, but this is not the only instance of a middle-voice construction becoming entrenched in a lexical group with which it has the most marked affinity as the constructional meaning is already inherent to lexical meaning; the same was noted for the antipassive middle and the class of verbs of ineffectual manipulation, cf. 3.9.

Uncontrollability is, of course, a matter of degree, and also of interpretation. To a certain extent, people can control their mental states and emotions, and they can also assume responsibility for them to a varying degree. 'Want', for instance, can refer either to a conscious act of volition following from rational premises and fully owned by the subject, or to an uncontrollable urge possibly disowned by the subject. It this second meaning, 'want' can, throughout Slavonic and Baltic, assume reflexive marking and develop a middle-voice construction. A certain ambiguity between the volitional and the non-volitional reading of 'want' (which is ultimately a matter of how much responsibility a person is prepared to assume for this volition or urge) is thereby resolved.

(6) Lithuanian
Aš   visada labai pasiilgstu   gamtos,   man
1SG.NOM always much long.for.PRS.1SG nature.GEN.SG 1SG.DAT
nori-si   pa-būti   jos   apsuptyje.
want.PRS.3-REFL DELIM-be.INF 3.GEN.SG.F environment.LOC.SG
'I always feel a longing for nature, I want to feel myself surrounded by her.'
https://www.lrytas.lt/kultura/daile/2018/08/29/news/menininkas-rolandas-dabrukas-man-visada-norisi-sukurti-svente-kitiems--7343049/

(7) Latvian
[*Kad mana meitiņa bija tādā vecumā,*]
man   drausmīgi **gribējā-s   šokolādi.**
1SG.DAT   terribly   **want.PST.3-REFL chocolate.ACC.SG**
'[When my little daughter was that age], I felt a terrible craving for chocolate.'
https://www.mammamuntetiem.lv/forum/9606/sokolade/reply/55146/1/sort1/

Comparing the construction with Lithuanian *norētis*, Latvian *gribēties*, Russian *xotet'sja,* Polish *chcieć się* etc. with that illustrated in (2), (3), (5), we notice a syntactic and morphosyntactic difference: whereas in (2), (3), (5) the original object is

promoted to subject, the construction in (6), (7) is impersonal and the original object appears in the same case form in which it would appear with the non-reflexive verb; in Example (7) from Latvian it is, for instance, in the accusative, in Lithuanian it would be the genitive:

(8) Lithuanian
Net ir didžiausiems juodos kavos mėgėjams
even PTC greatest.DAT.PL.M black.GEN.SG.M coffee.GEN.SG lover.DAT.PL
kartkartėmis nori-si kavos su pienu.
sometimes want.PRS.3-REFL coffee.GEN.SG with milk.INS.SG
'Even the greatest fans of black coffee sometimes have a taste for coffee with milk.' https://www.kavosdraugas.lt/blog/automatiniai-kavos-aparatai-kokie-gi-jie/

This is a secondary development with regard to the constructions with nominative; the latter must be original as the whole type evolved from the anticausative type, which requires a nominative subject. The deviant treatment of *norėtis* etc. apparently resulted from the fact that this verb governs (or, in Latvian, formerly governed) the genitive rather than the accusative. However, in spite of the morphosyntax, the constructions with *norėtis, gribēties* etc. belong semantically to the same type as (2), (3), (5).

When we look at other verbs of the same semantic class, we see that their behaviour with regard to the marking of the stimulus argument is highly unpredictable. Russian *grezit'* 'daydream' has oblique (instrumental or prepositional) rather than accusatival marking of the stimulus in the active construction but nominatival marking in the middle-voice construction:

(9) Russian (*Sel'skaja nov'*, 2003.10.07, RNC)
Ja s detstva grezil o kosmičeskix
1SG.NOM from childhood.GEN.SG dream.PST.M.SG about cosmic.LOC.PL
putešestvijax – govorit akter […]
travel.LOC.PL say.PRS.3SG actor.NOM.SG
'Since my childhood I have been dreaming about travels in space, the actor says.'

(10) Russian (V. K. Arsen'ev, 1872–1930, *V gorax Sixotè-Alinja*, 1937, RNC)
Mne grezil-sja kakoj-to bal,
1SG.DAT dream.PST.M.SG-REFL some.NOM.SG,M ball.NOM.SG
[*gde bylo mnogo ljudej*].
'I dreamt of some ball [where there were many people].'

Polish *tęsknić* 'long for something/somebody, miss something/somebody', on the other hand, has the same oblique marking in both constructions:

(11)   Polish   (Dorota Terakowska, 1938–2004, *Władca Lewawu*, 1989, NKJP)
Trochę tęsknię   za   Krakowem –
a.bit   long.PRS.1SG after PLN.INS.SG
[*wyznał mi pewnego razu*].
'"I miss Cracow a bit", [he once told me].'

(12)   Polish   (*Gazeta Krakowska* 2006.05.16, NKJP)
Tęskni   mi   się za   górami   i   za   dziećmi.
long.PRS.3SG 1SG.DAT REFL after mountain.INS.PL and after child.INS.PL
'I miss the mountains and [my] children.'

These irregularities of encoding show that the type discussed here is strongly lex-icalized. Often only one of the two constructions (active or middle) is instanti-ated, and where the two coexist, there is no simple rule changing morphosyntactic encoding in a regular and predictable way, unlike what we observe in the basic facilitative construction, and also in the perfective non-volitional middle to be discussed below.

Still, though largely lexicalized, the type may show a limited productivity. For the Lithuanian verb *kliedėti* 'be delirious, speak in delirium, rave', no reflexive forms are mentioned in LKŽ, but a Google search (2019-08-05) reveals a small (<10) number of instances:

(13)   Lithuanian
[…] *vis   kliedi   apie fašistų   tankus …   o*
    all.the.time be.delirious.PRS.3 about fascist.GEN.PL tank.ACC.PL and
dar   ir   kažkokie   ten   jam   kiti
more also some.NOM.PL.M there 3.DAT.SG.M other.NOM.PL.M
kliedesiai   kliedi-si […]
delirious.vision.NOM.PL fancy.PRS.3-REFL
'In his delirium he fancies he is seeing fascist tanks all the time, and more such delirious visions haunt his imagination.'   http://www.pipedija.com/
index.php/Donecko_respublika

Probably the same can be said for Latvian *murgot* 'have nightmares', for which LLVV does not list a reflexive form, though a Google search shows it is possible:

(14)   Latvian
Ja jums   murgoja-s   kāda   tehnoloģijas
if 2PL.DAT see.in.nightmare.PRS.3-REFL some.NOM.SG.F technology.GEN.SG
neizlabojamība,
unmendability.NOM.SG
[*īpaši komunicējošās, tas var nozīmēt, ka jūs nevarat līdz kādam nokļūt emo-cionālā līmenī.*]

> 'If you have nightmares about some unmendable technological devices, [especially communication devices, that means you cannot get close to somebody emotionally].'
> https://spoki.lv/vesture/10-fakti-par-pasiem-izplatitakajiem/546823

The lexical base for the type of middle-voice constructions we are dealing with here consists of verbs that are low in semantic transitivity: they belong to the class of transitive state predicates, i.e. predicates referring to states involving two entities, like 'feel', 'think of', 'long for', 'dream of', 'hallucinate', etc. The term 'transitive' is here used in the somewhat broader sense of two-place predications involving an object at which a mental state is directed. The verb need not show canonical accusatival marking for the subject. Actually such verbs are naturally prone to morphosyntactic encoding diverging from the canonical transitive structure. This tendency towards non-canonical encoding motivated by low transitivity is also reflected in the use of other non-canonical patterns of morphosyntactic marking not involving reflexive middle-voice constructions, e.g., alongside the middle construction in (10) we find an impersonal construction based on a predicative adjective assigning dative case to the experiencer, a strategy often used to encode non-volitional physical and mental states. With (12) above we could compare (15):

(15) Polish (Monika Żeromska, 1913–2001, *Wspomnienia*, NKJP)
Gdzie tu porównanie z Genewą, tęskno mi
where here comparison.NOM.SG to Geneva.INS.SG longful.PRED 1SG.DAT
do Genewy.
to Geneva.GEN.SG
'How does this compare to Geneva? I miss Geneva.'

Other transitive state verbs assign the non-canonical marking lexically, not constructionally as part of a middle-voice construction:

(14) Old Lithuanian (Chyliński's New Testament, Matt 15.32)
Gayli mi tos mines
be.sorry.PRS.3 1SG.DAT this.GEN.SG.F multitude.GEN.SG
'I have compassion on the multitude'

(15) Lithuanian (Vytautas Bubnys, 1932–, *Žmogus iš tenai*, 1995, CCLL)
Danieliui pagailo žmonos:
PN.DAT be.sorry.PST.3 wife.GEN.SG
[*ar ne per dažnai jis būna jai neteisus …*]
'Danielius felt sorry for his wife: [wasn't he too often unjust towards her]?'

Facts of this kind suggest the verbs displaying the dual marking exemplified above form a natural class based on inherent low volitionality and controllability.

Against this background, I will now discuss perfective constructions involving verbs that are not naturally low in transitivity and normally have canonical nominative-accusative marking. The middle-voice construction adds the implication that the usually implied conscious and directed agency does not, in a particular case, apply.

7.3   The achievement type

The second variety to be discussed here is exclusively perfective. It is not lexically restricted to verbs denoting non-volitional physical and mental states – the construction applies to verbs normally denoting volitional events, and renders them non-volitional.

The perfective non-volitional middle rests on a specialization of the stage-level variety of the facilitative middle. The stage-level variety is aspectually flexible, that is, it has an imperfective variety that expresses a smooth progress towards the successful achievement of a certain change of state resulting from the inherent properties of the object or certain other circumstances independent of the agent; but it can also have a perfective variety expressing the successful achievement of that change of state as a result of circumstances independent of the agent:

(16)   Lithuanian
Aš   sportbačius   skalbimo   mašinoj   skalbiau,   ir
1SG.NOM trainer.ACC.PL washing.GEN machine.LOC.SG wash.PST.1SG and
labai gerai iš-si-skalbė.
very   well   PFX-REFL-wash.PST.3
'I washed my trainers in the washing machine and they washed very well.'
                                                        http://www.auksarankes.lt/forumas/viewtopic.
                                              php?p=108573&sid=1a6c9bc7f821fc71661ae709b693131e

But as the inherent properties of the object, or other external circumstances, may also determine a not quite successful achievement of the desired change of state, the perfective variety of the stage-level facilitative may also refer to situations where the change of state achieved is different from the one intended. Compare (17), which describes a volitional event with predictable outcome, and (18), which describes the unintended result of otherwise volitional agency:

(17) Lithuanian
[*Pagal serviso instrukciją išardžiau visą kompą*]
ir   išėmiau   pagrindinę   plokštę.
and out.take.PST.1SG main.ACC.SG.F disk.ACC.SG
'[As recommended in the service manual I took apart the whole computer]
and took out the main disk.'   http://www.armandas.lt/kaip-
                                               sutaupiau-tukstanti-litu.html

(18) Lithuanian
[*Bet idomų dalyką aš radau ten prie to filtro, kai nuėmiau tą žaliai-geltoną filtro
'dangtelį'*],
tai   jis   man   iš-si-ėmė   kartu   su
then 3.NOM.SG.M 1SG.DAT out-REFL-take.PST.3 together with
tokiu   metalo   gabalu …
such.INS.SG.M metal.GEN.SG piece.INS.SG
'[But I discovered an interesting thing about this filter: while removing the
filter's yellow-green 'cover'], I pulled out together with it kind of a metal piece…'
            http://forumai.bmw-klubas.lt/viewtopic.php?f=36&t=24707&start=
            15&st=0&sk=t&sd=a&sid=94d499b6e15cf6d0414d7f833f3d1de0&
                                               view=print (diacritics added)

Here, agency is, of course, conscious and controlled by the subject just as in (15),
but part of the result (the pulling out of an unidentified piece of metal together
with the cover of the filter) was unintended and uncontrollable. This fact is marked
by the use of the middle-voice construction. The agent is retained in argument
structure and syntax and appears as a dative noun phrase. A similar contrast is
observable in Latvian, though Examples (17) and (18) describe a situation slightly
different from that reflected in the Lithuanian examples. The drawing of an exam
question is a volitional event with an unpredictable outcome. In this respect there
is no difference between (19) and (20), but (20) formally marks the uncontrollable
character of the aleatory procedure. There still is a difference, however, with regard
to the situations in (1) and (2) etc., where the whole of the mental process, from
beginning to end, is non-volitional.

(19) Latvian
Jaunākais   fināla   dalībnieks   Ernests Vēzis […]
youngest.NOM.SG.M.DEF final.GEN.SG participant.NOM.SG PN.NOM
debatēs   izvilka   jautājumu,   ko   darītu,
debate.LOC.SG pull.out.PST.3 question.ACC.SG what.ACC do.IRR
[*ja pats kandidētu EP vēlēšanās*].
'During the debates the youngest participant in the finals […] pulled out a ques-
tion about what he would do [if he ran himself for the European Parliament].'
        http://www.europarl.europa.eu/latvia/lv/jaunumi/jaunumi-2013/oktobris/
                jauniesi.html;jsessionid=601B35BA6B2497305FEFD2E4B67AD521

(20) Latvian
Man   izvilkā-s   jautājums   par   dzesēšanas
1SG.DAT pull.out.PST.3-REFL question.NOM.SG about cooling.GEN.SG
sistēmu,
system.ACC.SG
[*bet instruktors par šo tēmu neko man neminēja.*]
'I pulled out a question about the cooling system, [though the instructor hadn't told me anything about that].'   https://calis.delfi.lv/forums/tema/
15142737-kurs-licisvai-liek-tiesibas-part-26/85/

And from Slavonic we can cite analogous Polish examples:

(21) Polish
[*Przy wyjmowaniu baterii*]
przez przypadek   wyjął   mi   się   mechanizm
by   accident.ACC.SG take.out.PST.M.SG[3] 1SG.DAT REFL works.NOM.SG
i   wyjęła   się   taka   mała
and take.out.PST.F.SG[3] REFL such.NOM.SG.F small.NOM.SG.F
tasiemka   która   jest   do niego
ribbon.NOM.SG REL.NOM.SG.F be.PRS.3SG to 3.GEN.SG.M
przyczepiona.
attach.PPP.NOM.SG.F
'[While taking out the battery] I accidentally pulled out the works, and a small ribbon attached to them also got pulled out.'
http://zegarkiclub.pl/forum/topic/107602-problem-przez-
przyadek-wyj%C4%85%C5%82em-mechanizm-jak-za%C5%
82o%C5%Bcy%C4%87-ta%C5%9Bm%C4%99/ (spelling corrected)

An important shift should be noted here. The comitative adjunct in (18) and the subject-patient in (20) have rhematic/focal status in information structure, unlike what we observe in typical facilitative constructions like (16), where the patient is a topic (the patient being the grammatical subject, it is, to a certain extent, the default topic, though divergence from this default is always possible). In this case, the result achieved is the new and unexpected element of the situation. This difference in information structure is an important element of how the element of low involvement of agency may be interpreted in particular cases. Let us compare the two following structures, simplified for the sake of clarity:

(22) Lithuanian (constructed)
Dangtelis   man   nu-si-ėmė   (nesunkiai).
lid.NOM.SG 1SG.DAT off-REFL-take.PST.3 (easily)
Inferred reading: 'I somehow managed to take off the lid (without difficulty).'

(23) *Man   nu-si-ėmė   dangtelis.*
      1SG.DAT off-REFL-take.PST.3 lid.NOM.SG
      Inferred reading: 'I inadvertently took off the lid.'

Other aspects of the situation apart from the result achieved may also be unintended, e.g., the development of the process in time and the speed with which it reaches its term may not be quite amenable to the subject's control even though the ultimate outcome does not diverge from what could be expected. This can be observed in the following examples:

(24) Lithuanian
      Per 3 valandas   "savaime" išsigėrė   ir
      in   hour.ACC.PL by.itself   up-REFL-drink.PST.3 also
      Portugalijos-Kroatijos   rungtynėms   skirtas
      Portugal.GEN-Croatia.GEN match[PL].DAT intended.PPP.NOM.SG.M
      alus.
      beer.NOM.SG
      'In the course of three hours the beer intended for [drinking during] the Portugal-Croatia match also somehow got drunk up.'
                        https://www.traders.lt/forums.php?m=posts&q=727&d=5020

(25) Latvian
      [*Te nu šefpavārs no Rīgas Mareks Voiteckis varēja izpausties –*]
      bukstiņputra   apēdā-s   pavisam ātri.
      barley-potato.stew.NOM.SG eat.up.PST.3-REFL quite   quickly
      '[Here Marek Wojtecki, the chef from Riga, got an occasion to show what he could:] the *bukstiņputra* [barley-potato stew] got eaten up in no time.'
                              http://www.zz.lv/lietotaju-raksti/deju-kolektivs-
                              laipa-moldavi-ir-viesmiliga-tauta-ar-foto-161455

But these constructions have no distinctive features in terms of information structure, and they don't seem to play a role in the development from facilitative to non-volitional middle. What is also important for this development, alongside information structure, is the shift of the non-volitional reading illustrated in (23) to other aspectual classes. The examples given until now involve accomplishment verbs or verbs that can be construed as such. They involve an incremental process induced by human agency and affecting an object and leading to a change of state, which may sometimes diverge from what was intended. The fact that the result diverges from what was originally intended does not imply that the agency itself must have been involuntary or unconscious. However, owing to the divergence between the run-up process and what actually results from it, the middle-voice construction turns an accomplishment predicate into an achievement predicate.

But the type of middle marking illustrated here can sometimes spread beyond predicates originally belonging to the accomplishment type. In Latvian and Polish, one observes an extension to verbs denoting events in whose structure no distinction can be made between a run-up phase with conscious agency and incremental changes culminating in a qualitative change of state. The extension becomes clear when we look at motoric verbs like 'take' or 'reach out for'. Latvian, for instance, has a small group of verbs of taking, often used in the middle construction:

(26)   Latvian
       [*Braucot uz Rīgu,*]
       viņam   „nejauši”   paņēmā-s   līdzi   poēmas
       3.DAT.SG.M   accidentally take.PST.3-REFL along   poem.GEN.SG
       ieraksts   ērģelēm   un   balsij
       recording.NOM.SG   organ[PL].DAT   and voice.DAT.SG
       [*Mīlestība nekad nebeidzas …*]
       '[As he was going to Riga,] he "accidentally" took with him a recording of the
       poem for organ and voice [*Love Never Ends…*]

                               http://www.pietiek.com/raksti/haralds_simanis_es_
                    nevaru_pateikt_paldies_tiem_cilvekiem,_kas_mums_ir_ziedojusi

Unlike 'extract, take out', illustrated in (19), (20), which is telicized by the spatial prefix, 'take' is an achievement verb in whose meaning we cannot set apart a run-up phase. Whereas the interpretation of telic verbs as in (18), (20) is unequivocal (we are dealing with conscious agency yielding unexpected results), the situation with 'take' is not susceptible of one single interpretation. We cannot infer whether the subject consciously took something with her or him but this something proved to be different from what (s)he intended to take along, or whether the whole 'taking' event was an accidental concomitant of another event, or it was performed as a separate event but in a fit of distraction, etc. The event is, at any rate, understood by default as an indivisible non-volitional whole.

This extension to achievement predicates which we observe in Latvian does not seem to exist in Lithuanian. We find it, however, in Polish. Polish does not have an exact counterpart to (26) with the verb *wziąć* 'take', which is perhaps due to the competing meanings of the reflexive *wziąć się*, which means 'appear from somewhere, originate'. But there is an analogous construction containing a comparable motor verb, *sięgnąć* 'reach out for'. It is different, however, in that *sięgnąć* has a propositional object rather than an accusatival direct object that would normally be promoted to subject in the middle construction:

(27) Polish

Sięgnęło   mi   się   po   starą   powieść,
reach.out.PST.N.SG[3] 1SG.DAT REFL for old.ACC.SG.F novel.ACC.SG

prawdziwą   ramotę…
real.ACC.SG.F pulp.ACC.SG

'I accidentally took up an old novel, a real piece of pulp…'

http://jasminnoirmon.blogspot.com/2017/09/
parodia-to-tylko-parodia-m-samozwaniec.html

Another group of verbs illustrating the extension of our construction beyond the accomplishment type is that of verbs of saying. These should probably be classified as activity verbs; their perfective varieties denote a certain quantum of speech, but they can be telicized when the object refers to a complete sentence, utterance etc. In Polish, verbs of saying are quite frequently used in the non-volitional middle construction implying that a person blurts something out which they did not intend to say. There is a suggestion here of deficient control of the brain over the organs of speech.

(28) Polish

Kiedyś powiedziało   mi   się   jakieś   dziwne
once   say.PST.N.SG[3] 1SG.DAT REFL some.NOM.SG.N strange.NOM.SG.N

słowo,   neologizm,
word.NOM.SG neologism.NOM.SG

[*i zapytałem prof. Jerzego Bralczyka, czy takie słowo istnieje…*]

'Once I happened to use a strange word, a neologism, [and I asked Prof. Jerzy Bralczyk whether such a word existed.]

https://www.spidersweb.pl/rozrywka/2018/09/25/
michal-rusinek-wywiad-jezyk-polski-showrunner-remake/

A similar construction is attested in Latvian but it is apparently rare, perhaps obsolete:

(29) Latvian   (Kārlis Zariņš, 1889–1978, *Dārza māja*, 1930)

Piedodiet,   ka   man   izteicā-s   drusku   par maz.
pardon.IMP.2PL that 1SG.DAT say.PST.3-REFL somewhat too little

'Pardon me for mentioning, by mistake, such a small sum.'

And the involuntary middle construction can also be found, in both languages, with verbs of writing, drawing, etc.

(30)   Latvian
Man   uzrakstījā-s   pastāsts   par   to   pašu
1SG.DAT write.PST.3-REFL story.NOM.SG about that.ACC.SG same.ACC.SG
veco   labo   Baklažāna   kungu   un
old.ACC.SG.DEF good.ACC.SG.DEF eggplant.GEN.SG Mr.ACC.SG and
uzzīmējā-s   ilustrācija: Baklažāna   kunga
draw.PST.3-REFL illustration.NOM.SG eggplant.GEN.SG Mr.GEN.SG
māja.
house.NOM.SG
'I somehow wrote a story about the same good old Mr. Eggplant and drew an illus-
tration: Mr. Eggplant's house.'   http://vk050.blogspot.com/2015/02/
                                            eggplantss-house-baklazana-kunga-maja.html

(31)   Polish
Dopiero co napisał   mi   się   taki
just.now   write.PST.M.SG[3] 1SG.DAT REFL such.NOM.SG.M
limeryk: […]
limerick.NOM.SG
'A moment ago I somehow jotted down the following limerick […]'
                                            https://filolozka.brood.pl/pinezka-czy-pineska/

The implication here is that the writing or drawing required no conscious effort,
not that the subject's mental or motoric activity produced an undesired result.
'Writing' and 'drawing' are basically accomplishment predicates, at least when
they are used with an (incrementally created) object, but the non-volitionality and
non-controllability of the incremental process changes the accomplishment into
an achievement. A recent development that seems to have contributed to the pro-
ductivity of the type discussed here is the widespread use of computer technolo-
gies, which have reduced many traditionally more complex processes to the simple
striking of a key. A search for reflexive verbs combined with the adverb *nejauši*
'inadvertently' in the Latvian internet corpus lvTenTen14 yields a whole series of
instances describing operations inadvertently performed by striking the wrong
key. The verbs may belong to different classes, but, to the extent that a keystroke is
involved, all instances ultimately reduce to finger movement error.

(32)   Latvian lvTenTen14
Iepriekšējais   komentārs   nejauši   aizsūtījā-s
preceding.NOM.SG.M.DEF comment.NOM.SG inadvertently send.PST.3-REFL
nepabeigts   un ar visām   drukas   kļūdām.
unfinished.NOM.SG.M and with all.DAT.PL.F print.GEN.SG error.DAT.PL
'[I] inadvertently sent my comment unfinished and full of typographic errors.'

(33) *Nejauši   nopublicējā-s   nepabeigts   komentārs.*
inadvertently publish.PST.3-REFL unfinished.NOM.SG.M comment.NOM.SG
'By accident I published an unfinished comment.'

Before the advent of computer technologies, a verb like *nopublicēt* 'publish' would hardly have derived a non-volitional middle, because any publication process would have been too complex and extended in time to yield an unintended outcome as a result of momentary distraction. But extra-linguistic factors are not in themselves an explanation: the new wave of non-volitional middles just proves the productivity of the construction, which is freely created online from just about any verb if the situation calls for it.

Like the non-volitional middles from accomplishment verbs, illustrated in (23), those based on achievement verbs have a characteristic information structure in which the object is in rhematic position, as can be seen in (26), (28), (30), (31), (33). In (32) it is just a certain property of the object (represented by a depictive secondary predicate) that is rhematic/focal. This characteristic pattern of information structure, and the shift beyond accomplishment predicates to other aspectual classes, seem to be important elements in the development of a separate non-volitional middle distinct from the facilitative construction. In the Lithuanian pattern illustrated in (23), the non-volitional element ('by accident') is still a pragmatic inference, though the pattern of information structure makes the non-volitional reading ('by accident') more likely than the facilitative one ('it went easily'). The shift to verb classes other than accomplishments further restricts the possibility of alternative interpretations, such as a successful change of state of the object being facilitated by its design properties. As a result of these and perhaps also other shifts, the element of non-volitionality gradually becomes part of linguistically encoded meaning.

We can now attempt to formulate the characteristic features of this second, grammatical type of non-volitional middles, contrasting them with those of the lexical type discussed in the first part of this chapter:

a. the verb does not belong to a natural class of predicates low in transitivity and therefore having an inclination towards non-canonical morphosyntactic marking; the class affected basically includes volitional accomplishment and achievement verbs;

b. the construction reduces semantic transitivity by implying that whatever change of state is denoted by the verb was not the object of conscious agency on the part of the subject;

c. the verb is perfective as the focus is on the unexpected result of a completed event; no imperfective 'run-up stage' can be singled out because the run-up would have been associated with a different kind of outcome than was actually achieved.

In contrast, the type illustrated in (2), (4) has the following features:

a.   the verb belongs to a natural class of predicates low in transitivity; the verbs affected are basically transitive state predicates;
b.   the construction does not reduce semantic transitivity but just adds morphosyntactic marking for the already low transitivity that is inherent to lexical meaning;
c.   the verb is predominantly imperfective as referring to mental states but perfective counterparts for temporally delimited or ingressive mental states also occur.

In the languages hitherto exemplified the morphosyntactic encoding is the same for the two constructions, but in Russian we also find, in addition to the features mentioned here, a morphosyntactic difference: whereas the type based on verbs inherently low in transitivity has a quasi-agent in the dative (as illustrated in (3), for example), the type describing unexpected results of a volitional event (the accomplishment-to-achievement type) has a quasi-agent expressed by a prepositional phrase with *u*:

(34)   Russian
       Počemu-to   u   menja   pročitalo-s'
       for.some.reason at 1SG.GEN   read[PFV].PST.N.SG-REFL
       [“*Škola i učebniki dolžny vospityvat' idiotizm i gordost' za svoju stranu.*”]
       ‘Somehow I read this sentence as [“School and manuals should inculcate idiocy and pride in one's country”].’   https://pedsovet.org/beta/article/ucebnik-
             po-ekonomike-vykinut-iz-perecna-iz-za-nedostatocnoj-patrioticnosti

This type of marking, as opposed to datival marking, exactly matches the marking of the agent in the transitive variety of the properly facilitative middle as opposed to the intransitive variety (cf. 6.4). This is, of course, not a coincidence: the marking of the agent in the involuntary middle is carried over from the properly facilitative middle. Note that the difference is not just one of aspect. The subtype of the involuntary middle based on inherently non-volitional predicates is basically imperfective because it consists of state predicates, but they may have perfective varieties referring to temporally limited portions of such involuntary states, and the marking of the quasi-agent is then exactly the same, viz. the dative:

(35)   Russian   (V. Rozov, 1913–2004, RNC)
       Mne   dumalo-s',   čto igrat'   na takoj
       1SG.DAT   think[IPFV].PST.N.SG-REFL that perform.INF on such.LOC.SG.F
       scene   trudno.
       stage.LOC.SG difficult.PRED
       ‘It seems to me it should be difficult to perform on such a stage.’

(36) Russian   (I. K. Arxipova, 1925–2010, *Muzyka žizni*, 1996, RNC)
Pomnju,   kak mne   podumalo-s'   togda:
remember.PRS.1SG how 1SG.DAT think[PFV].PST.N.SG-REFL then
[*"Kak xorošo rabotat' v raznyx teatrax…"*]
'I remember it occurred to me at that time [how nice it would be to work with different theatre companies…]'

The marking of the quasi-agent in the type based on inherently non-volitional predicates shows its affinity to the facilitative constructions based on state and activity predicates, whereas the marking in the unexpected-result type matches that which we find in facilitatives based on transitive accomplishment predicates. Note, however, that in the latter case syntactic factors are no longer decisive: as we saw, in the properly facilitative constructions the marking of the agent with *u* + genitive was licenced by the presence of a nominative noun phrase expressing a subject-patient. In a non-volitional construction like the one illustrated in (36) there is no nominal subject, though the embedded clause could be argued to occupy the position of subject in the matrix clause. Still, a syntactic shift has clearly occurred, as the properly facilitative type requires a nominal subject to licence the prepositional phrase with *u* just as a nominal subject or object is needed to licence its source construction, the external possessor construction. We may therefore say that the rationale for the distribution of the dative and *u* + genitive has become semantic: in the variety based on inherently non-volitional mental states the emphasis is precisely on the mental state of the quasi-agent (who is actually an experiencer, typically marked with the dative), whereas in the subtype creating involuntary achievements out of purposeful accomplishment the emphasis is on the unexpected result, owned or disowned by the quasi-agent.

A question not commented upon until now in the discussion of the two types of non-volitional middles is that of argument structure. In both varieties discussed here the agent is never eliminated from argument structure and is, in most cases, obligatorily present; if it is not expressed, it is situationally retrievable, as in (37), where the context enables the identification of the agent as coreferential with the narrator:

(37) Latvian   (Valentīns Jakobsons, 1922–2005, *Brokastis pusnaktī*, 1995)
[*No sava mantu maisa es tagad velku laukā stepētu dūnu segu.*]
Taisni brīnums,   ka tā   Rīgā   bija
simply miracle.NOM.SG that 3.NOM.SG.F Riga.LOC be.PST.3
pagrābusies   līdzi.
grab.PPA.NOM.SG.F.REFL along
'[From my kitbag I now draw forth a quilted eiderdown.] It was nothing less than a miracle that I accidentally took it along from Riga.'

In this respect the non-volitional middle is similar to the facilitative middles discussed in the preceding chapter. With the latter, however, the agent is, in the case of the kind-level and the individual-level varieties, often generic and as such not overtly expressed. In the non-volitional type, however, the agent is more often specific and therefore either overtly expressed or situationally retrievable.

In contrast to the type discussed in the first part of this chapter, based on transitive state predicates, the type discussed here is not lexicalized and is therefore morphosyntactic rather than morpholexical in the sense of Sadler and Spencer (1998).

7.4   Non-volitional middles from one-place predicates

Several Slavonic languages have gone still further in the extension of the non-volitional middle: they also have non-volitional middles also from one-place intransitive predicates. Latvian, where the non-volitional type is otherwise well developed, does not go along with this development. Non-volitional middles from one-place predicates are, of course, impersonal, because there is no object that could be promoted to subject as in the non-volitional middles discussed above. I will illustrate this type from Polish.

The intransitive verbs occurring in the construction under discussion are different from those occurring in the variety based on transitive verbs. This is not quite unexpected as one-place predicates mostly denote a change of state rather than conscious agency directed at some external object. A striking feature of this subtype (for a recent study cf. Danielewiczowa 2017) is that it typically applies to bodily processes and functions, and these processes and functions are by themselves, to a large extent uncontrollable. Examples of such verbs would be *zasnąć* 'fall asleep', *kichnąć* 'sneeze', *połysieć* 'grow bald', *posiwieć* 'become grey', *schudnąć* 'throw off weight', *przytyć* 'put on weight', *zachorować* 'fall ill' and *umrzeć* 'die'. Here is a pair of examples opposing the active construction and its middle variety:

(38)   Polish
Przytyłam   przez   nieregularne   jedzenie,
put.on.weight[PFV].PST.F.SG.1SG through irregular.ACC.SG.N eating.ACC.SG
kolacyjki,   imprezki,   mało ruchu   i   stres.
supper.ACC.PL party.ACC.SG little motion.GEN.SG and stress.ACC.SG
'I have put on weight as a consequence of irregular meals, eating out, parties, lack of movement and stress.'   https://vitalia.pl/forum1,406101,7_Pytanie-do-osob-ktore-bardzo-szybko-przytyly.html

(39) Polish

[*Tym razem postanowiłam rozpocząć odchudzanie,*]
bo   przytyło   mi   się   sporo po
because put.on.weight[PFV].PST.N.SG 1SG.DAT REFL much after
zimie.
winter.LOC.SG
'[This time I've decided to start a slimming cure] because I've put on a lot of
weight during the winter.'   http://www.mlodzibadacze.pl/
                                              category/zdrowie-i-uroda/page/2/

Putting on weight is a non-volitional process but the subject can, by indirect means,
exercise some control over it or at least influence it. The middle-voice construction
seems to imply a failure on the part of the subject to control the process referred
to by the verb.

The quaintest use of the non-volitional middle in Polish is probably that based
on the verb 'die', illustrated in (40):

(40) Polish

[*A jeżeli już musi być patron, to najlepiej,*]
żeby   zmarło   się   biedakowi   co najmniej 200
COMPL.IRR die[PFV].LFORM.N.SG[3] REFL poor.fellow.DAT.SG at.least
lat   temu.[1]
year.GEN.PL ago
'[And if a patron [for a street] is needed, then the best you can have] is when
the poor fellow passed away at least two hundred years ago.'
              http://bydgoszcz.wyborcza.pl/bydgoszcz/51,48722,22776356.html?i=1

In spite of its being concentrated in the sphere of bodily processes affecting mostly
human subjects, this type is basically not lexicalized. It is a grammatical construc-
tion applying to predicates of a certain type and introducing a regular semantic
modification (a conclusion also reached by Danielewiczowa 2017).[2] It seems rea-
sonable to assume that no differences of argument structure are involved here:
the construction operates on one-place predicates and the output also consists of
one-place predicates with an additional semantic modification. The only difference

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1. Marking the act of 'dying' as involuntary is strange to say the least. The use with *biedak*
'poor fellow' as a subject is characteristic, as the construction often conveys compassion but also
condescension. Perhaps the very fact of marking the event as a result of the lowly workings of
physiology creates this element of condescension.

2. Danielewiczowa thinks that the middle construction always carries the suggestion that the
process is something undesirable, but counterexamples are not difficult to find on the internet.

is morphosyntactic. The expression of the unique argument changes in terms of marking but not of prominence: it is obligatory to the same extent as in the basic active construction.

In Russian the construction under discussion exists, but is more limited in scope, extending basically to a few verbs denoting uncontrollable physiological processes:

(41) Russian   (Galina Ščerbjukova, 1932–2010, *Malʹčik i devočka*, 2001, RNC)
Razbudila   mašina –   skazala   ona.   A   mne   tak
wake.up.PST.SG.F car.NOM.SG say.PST.SG.F 3.NOM.SG.F and 1SG.DAT so
sladko vzdremnulo-sʹ.
sweetly doze.off.PST.SG.N-REFL
'A car woke me up, she said. And I had dozed off so nicely.'

In South Slavonic the construction seems to have existed once but does not seem to be used any more:[3]

(42) Croatian   (Boranić 1899: 3)
Njemu   se   kihnulo.
3.DAT.SG.M REFL sneeze.PST.SG.N[3]
'He suddenly had to sneeze.'

(43) Slovenian   (Simon Jenko, 1858, courtesy of Wayles Browne)
Tudi kihnilo   se   je   Tilku   včasih.
also sneeze.LFORM.N.SG REFL AUX.PRS.3SG PN.DAT at.the.time
[*To je dobro znamenje, si je on mislil.*]
'Besides, Tilko sneezed at the time. [That's a good omen, he thought.]'

The modern South Slavonic languages only have similar constructions with imperfective verbs, which belong to the desiderative extension of the middle, to be discussed in the next section.

7.5   The desiderative extension

The desiderative extension, characteristic of South Slavonic, was briefly characterized above. It can be called desiderative in the sense that a verb like Latin *esurio* 'be hungry' is called desiderative: it does not refer to a conscious act of volition but to a spontaneous mental or physiological urge. 'Feeling like doing something' is therefore the most adequate English rendering. It has been described as the 'involuntary

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3.   I am obliged to Wayles Browne for clarifying the facts of South Slavonic.

state' or 'feel-like' construction (Marušič & Žaucer 2014). As mentioned above, the desiderative middle must have been originally a facilitative describing a situation in which an event progresses smoothly because the agent feels an urge to realize that event. However, the meaning has shifted from event to mental or physiological state, and the occurrence of the event is no longer part of the meaning of a desiderative middle:

(44) Croatian
Pije   *mi*   *se*   *kava*   *pa odlazim*
drink[IPFV].PRS.3SG 1SG.DAT REFL coffee.NOM.SG and go[IPFV].PRS.1SG
do obližnjeg   *kafića.*
to nearby.GEN.SG.M café.GEN.SG
'I feel like having coffee so I walk to a nearby café.'

<div align="right">https://super1.telegram.hr/relax/probala-sam-tjedan-
dana-zivjeti-bez-plastike-nije-bilo-bas-lako-ali-ni-nemoguce/</div>

Here *pije mi se kava* does not entail 'I have coffee', and the desiderative middle is, in this sense, unique among middle-voice constructions: to the extent that we can regard desiderative meaning as a subtype of modality, this type has a modal meaning (unlike the so-called 'potential passive', which is not in itself modal and assumes potential meaning only when it receives an individual-level or kind-level reading).

The desiderative middle developed from a facilitative construction in which the original object appears in subject position and the agent in the dative. This model is shown in (45):

(45) Croatian
Kad ljudi   *bolje žive,*   *i*   *kava*   *se*   *bolje*
when people.NOM.PL better live.PRS.3PL also coffee.NOM.SG REFL better
pije   *zajedno – rekao*   *je*   *u*
drink[IPFV].PRS.3SG together say.LFORM.M.SG be.PRS.3SG in
selu   *Borovo.*
village.LOC.SG PLN
'Where people live better, it is better to drink coffee together, he said [while campaigning] in the village Borovo.'

<div align="right">https://www.jutarnji.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/bandic-zagreb-je-
primjer-becu-i-parizu-u-odnosu-prema-manjinama/2876432/</div>

This construction implies that coffee-drinking actually occurs, and that it takes place to the satisfaction of the persons involved in it because of certain circumstances, in this instance, good company. The smooth progression of the activity may be determined by a disposition of the quasi-agent, and in this the source of the desiderative extension. The differentiation of the two constructions occurs when

the urge felt by a person is clearly set apart in time from the prospective event constituting the realization of that urge. The desiderative construction inherited the syntactic structure from the facilitative construction, with the sole difference that the characteristic evaluating adverb, usually obligatory in the facilitative con-striction, like *bolje* in Example (45), is not required. The desiderative middle also exists in a variety based on intransitive verbs, and in this variety the construction is, of course, impersonal, as with *šetati* 'walk' in (46):

(46) Croatian
Pije   mi   se   kafa   sa   nekim,
drink.PRS.3SG 1SG.DAT REFL coffee.NOM.SG with somebody.INS
gleda   mi   se   serija,   šeta   mi   se
watch.PRS.3SG 1SG.DAT REFL serial.NOM.SG walk.PRS.3SG 1SG.DAT REFL
po   gradu.
about town.LOC.SG
'I feel like having coffee with somebody, watching a serial, walking about in town.'   http://www.andjelijastojanovic.com/
                                                                                            da-li-ti-zadovoljstvo-krade-srecu/

In this case we cannot say whether the construction with intransitive verbs was a secondary extension from the one based on transitive verbs or whether both va-rieties of the facilitative middle – the personal and the impersonal one – have fed into the desiderative middle construction.

Russian dictionaries ascribe what could be called a desiderative meaning to a few frequently used reflexives such as *spat'sja* 'o želanii spat'' ('about a wish to sleep'), *rabotat'sja* 'o želanii, predraspoložennosti rabotat'' ('about a wish or predis-position to work'), and *plakat'sja* 'o naličii želanija, raspoloženija plakat'' ('about the presence of a wish or disposition to weep':

(47) Russian   (L. N. Tolstoj, 1828–1910, personal letter, 1894, RNC)
Sil   malo, ja   slab,   i   čto-to   ne
power.GEN.SG little 1SG.NOM weak.PRED.NOM.SG.M and somehow NEG
rabotaet-sja.
work.PRS.3SG-REFL
'I have little strength, I am weak, and I feel no inclination to work.'

If this were indeed the case, then Russian would have a limited number of lex-icalized instances of a desiderative middle, not created 'online' but listed in the dictionaries. One would be tempted to ascribe a similar desiderative meaning to certain personal constructions attested in 19th-century Russian but now obsolete, such as this example mentioned in 6.5:

(48) Russian   (N. A. Nekrasov, 1821–1878, *Gore starogo Nauma*)
      Solënych   ryžikov   ne est,   i   čaj
      salted.GEN.PL saffron.milk.cap.GEN.PL NEG eat.PRS.3SG and tea.NOM
      emu   ne   p'ët-sja.
      3.DAT.SG.M NEG drink.PRS.3SG-REFL
      'He does not eat salted saffron milk caps, and has no taste for tea.'

But such uses are not really desiderative in the same sense as the South Slavonic
constructions, as there is no clear distance in time between the urge and the pro-
spective realization of the state, activity etc. that is the object of this urge. It is per-
haps not necessarily the case that an attempt at working must have been made in
order for a sentence like (47) to be correct; the physical or mental inability to start
on a certain type of activity may also be involved. But the Russian construction
cannot be used with reference to a telic event projected into the future and viewed
as separated in time from the act of volition, e.g., a telic motion event:

(49) Russian
      *Mne   segodnja ne   idet-sja   na rabotu.
      1SG.DAT today   NEG go.PRS.3SG-REFL to work.ACC.SG
      intended meaning 'I don't feel like going to my work today.'

In South Slavonic, on the other hand, there are no restrictions of this type, be-
cause the South Slavonic desiderative construction expresses the urge conceived
as distinct from the event, so that the aspectual class to which the verb belongs is
basically irrelevant. In (50), the presence of the adverb *sutra* 'tomorrow' also points
to a distance in time between act of volition and potential realization:

(50) Serbian
      Ne ide   mi   se   sutra   na posao
      NEG go.PRS.3SG 1SG.DAT REFL tomorrow to work.ACC.SG
      [*pa tražim na internetu neku bolest za izgovor.*]
      'I don't feel like going to my work tomorrow [and I'm looking on the internet
      for some disease that would serve as an excuse].'
                      https://opusteno.rs/statusi/smesni/facebook/ide-sutra-posao-trazim-
                      internetu-neku-bolest-izgovor-tek-sad-razumem-vas-zene-fs8200.html

Like Russian, Baltic has not developed a desiderative middle. To be sure, it is possi-
ble to find instances where the reading is not typically facilitative in the sense that
there may be no reference to an actual process said not to be successfully realized
due to lack of disposition on the part of a quasi-agent, and there need be no actual
attempt at realizing this process. The following examples have the verb 'work', also
illustrated above for Russian:

(51)   Lithuanian
Būna   dienų,   kai   visai „ne-si-dirba",   būna, kad,
be.PRS.3SG day.GEN.PL when at.all NEG-REFL-work.PRS.3 be.PRS.3 when
aplankius   idėjai,   dirbu   iki išnaktų.
visit.CVB.ANT idea.DAT.SG   work.PRS.1SG till.late.in.the.night
'There are days that I cannot get down to working at all, and there are [days]
when an idea jumps to my mind and I work till late in the night.'

> http://www.sirvinta.net/be-kategorijos/
> svarbu-pagauti-minti-sako-dailininke/

(52)   Latvian
Reizēm   ir   tā, ka   tu   aizej   uz darbu   un
sometimes be.PRS.3 so that 2SG.DAT go.PRS.2SG to work.ACC and
saproti –   nebūs.   Vienkārši ne-strādāja-s.
understand.PRS.2SG neg.be.FUT.3 simply   NEG-work.PRS.3-REFL
'There are times when you go to your work and you understand nothing will
come of it. You simply don't feel like working.'

> https://www.feniksfun.com/dzivesstils/japastrada-9298

It is interesting to note the quotation marks in (51), suggesting that the construction
is felt to be contrary to correct usage, perhaps also that it is felt to reflect Russian
influence. The suspicion with which reflexives derived from intransitive verbs are
viewed in the prescriptive literature on Lithuanian has already been mentioned in
Chapter 6.

Though we cannot ascribe a desiderative middle construction to the Baltic
languages, we could say they have desiderative uses (or dispositional uses, as Fici
2011 formulates it) of the facilitative middle. As mentioned in Chapter 6, the fa-
cilitative construction is underspecified as to the 'facilitating factor' contributing
to the successful realization of an event. If we understand the decisive factor to be
the quasi-agent's disposition, this is basically but a pragmatic inference. Actually
it is difficult in specific cases to decide whether we are dealing with a desiderative
reading or not, though the presence of an adverb may point to external circum-
stances as the facilitating factor while a desiderative interpretation normally does
not require the addition of an adverb, cf. (53) and (54):

(53)   Lithuanian
Paklusniai valdo-si,   patogiai   sėdi-si   vairuotojui.
obediently control.PRS.3SG-REFL comfortably sit.PRS.3-REFL driver.DAT.SG
'[The car] is easy to control and the driver sits comfortably.'

> http://m.autoasas.lt/atsiliepimai/opel-corsa-
> opel-corsa-c-1-2-twinport-id-4230

(54) *Būk   tiek,   kiek   sėdi-si,   o   ne   tol,   kol*
be.IMP.2SG so.much as.much sit.PRS.3-REFL but NEG so.long as.long
tavęs   ims   klausinėti, ar tikrai nieko   ne-trūksta.
2SG.GEN begin.FUT.3 ask.INF   Q really nothing.GEN NEG-be.lacking.PRS.3
'You may sit here as long as you feel like sitting, and not as long as [the waiter] does not come to ask whether you really don't need anything more.'

> http://vmgonline.lt/plus-plus-plus-sekmes-istorija-parode-vidurini-pirsta-netikintiems-zemu-kainu-koncepcija/

The South Slavonic desiderative construction, on the other hand, strictly encodes the desiderative meaning; it refers to an urge rather than to an actual event, so that if the desiderative element were a pragmatic inference, no linguistically encoded meaning would be left.

The desiderative variety of the facilitative construction may be both transitive and intransitive; (55) is a transitive example from Latvian:

(55) Latvian   (lvTenTen)
Tas jau nav   nekas   slikts,   ka tev
that PTC be.NEG.PRS.3 nothing.NOM bad.NOM.SG.M that 2SG.DAT
ne-ēda-s   maize.
NEG-eat.PRS.3-REFL bread.NOM.SG
'There is nothing bad in your having no taste for bread.'

To the extent that the desiderative middle refers to a state, it is inherently imperfective. The perfective verbs occurring in the desiderative constructions are basically 'inceptive-state' verbs, referring to the beginning of the desiderative state, which is still seen as distinct from the prospective event.

(56) Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian   (Marušič & Žaucer 2014: 199)
Pri-spalo   mi   se.
PFX-sleep.PST.N.SG[3] 1SG.DAT REFL
'I started to feel like sleeping.'

Perfective achievement verbs like *kihnulo se* in (42) are not susceptible of such an explanation and therefore belong to a different construction, which is no longer extant. We can therefore conclude that up to the 19th century the 'involuntary-state' construction had a broader scope and could have non-volitional (perfective) and desiderative (imperfective varieties), but the former subsequently went out of use.

7.6 In conclusion

The constructions discussed in this chapter arise historically from the facilitative middle. They introduce additional semantic elements but do not differ radically from the facilitative type in terms of the defining properties discussed in the preceding chapter. The additional meaning elements presumably arise through conventionalization of implicatures: the encoded meaning of a facilitative being probably just the reduced involvement of agency in the occurrence of an event, different implicatures arise concerning the actual decisive factor (psychomotor malfunction, or disposition of the agent). All the types discussed here reshuffle grammatical relations without affecting argument structure: the agent, or quasi-agent in the case of predicates whose subject is an experiencer rather than a proper agent, remains present in argument structure and its expression is usually obligatory; if unexpressed, it is contextually retrievable. Of course the semantic interpretation of the agent is constructionally modified, as the function of the construction is to indicate that no conscious agency was involved in the achievement of a result. We could characterize this agent as a 'non-volitional agent'. In the non-volitional middle derived from one-place predicates – a type represented only in Polish – the marking of the diminished volitionality and control on the part of the quasi-agent is the only function of the whole construction. In all other instances, the middle-voice construction operates on a two-place predication and the output is also a two-place predication. In this sense, these middle-voice constructions are similar to passives, and indeed as we move through the middle-voice domain from the reflexive to the passive, we encounter on our way middle-voice constructions where the agent is already reintroduced (as in the passive) but it is reduced in agency. As long as this semantic modification – diminished agency – is involved, we cannot speak of a real passive. In the passive, the agent can only be reduced in prominence, not in degree of agency. Of course, both features mentioned here can be viewed as different dimensions of an overarching feature that is 'reduced transitivity'. In another area of the middle domain, the antipassive subdomain, we noted the coexistence of constructions expressing 'reduced object prominence' (deobjective) and 'reduced object affectedness' (deaccusative). At the other end of the middle domain, or, as we could more accurately say in this case, the mediopassive domain, we see reduced secondary intransitivity realized as 'reduced agent agency' (the facilitative middle complex) and 'reduced agent prominence' (the agentless passive). In languages where the passive grows, at least in part, out of the middle, as is the case in Slavonic, drawing the line between middle and passive is often problematic. In Baltic, where the reflexive-marked middle voice has not reached the passive stage, and the passive relies for its expression on participial constructions ultimately harking back

to resultative constructions, the line of division is much clearer, and the domain of 'reduced agent prominence' is almost exclusively served by participial constructions. Baltic has therefore no mediopassive.[4]

To conclude this chapter, I will just present a partial semantic map reflecting the area of the semantic domain of the middle showing the extensions from the facilitative middle:
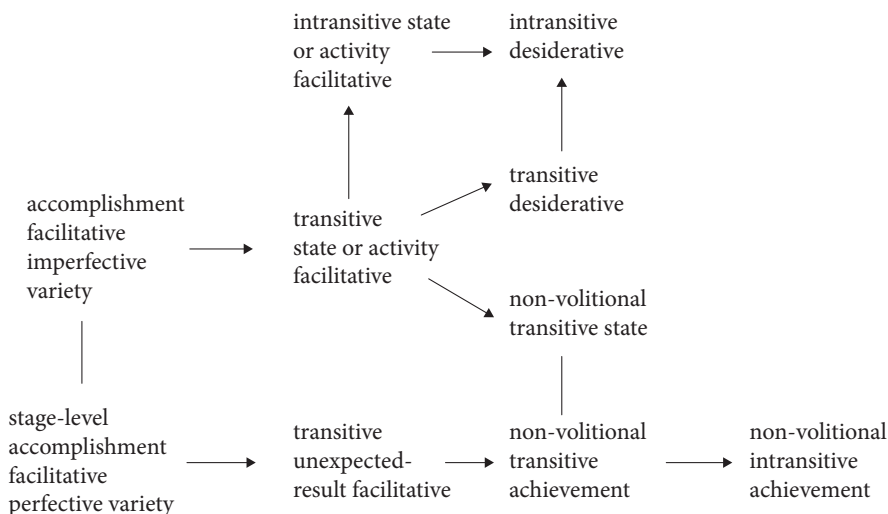
Figure 1. Extensions from the facilitative middle

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4. It is true that East Lithuanian and High Latvian dialects sometimes have passive uses (both personal and impersonal) of reflexive verb forms; Jakulienė (1968: 215) notes this for East Lithuanian, but emphasizes the occasional character of such uses. Passive and impersonal passive uses of reflexive forms (apparently mostly or exclusively generic) are cited from Antoṇina Reķēna's dictionary of the Kallupe dialect and discussed in Holvoet (2000), but Nau (2011: 56–57) does not note them for standardized Latgalian, which evidently adheres more closely to Standard Latvian in this respect.

The coargumental middle

8.1   Logophoric middles or coargumental middles

Kemmer introduces the category of logophoric middle (Kemmer 1993: 83), a notion based on that of logophoric marking introduced, initially with reference to a certain category of pronouns, by Hagège (1974). Logophoric pronouns are pronouns used to refer to the person whose words, thoughts, or emotions are being represented. Logophoric markers are used to 'overtly mark coreference of participants in the main and dependent events in reportive contexts' (Kemmer 1993: 83). These reportive contexts include 'any event involving representative speech or mental activity which a speaker can report' (ibid., 82). In other words, logophoric marking also applies to verbs of belief, mental activity etc. The term 'logophoric middle' refers to situations where a middle-voice form of a speech-act verb or a verb of epistemic stance marks the coreferentiality referred to above. Kemmer discusses the facts of Old Norse and Icelandic, illustrated by (1):

(1)   Old Norse
þú   sagði-sk   vera   goðr   læknir.
2SG.NOM say.PST.2SG-REFL   be.INF   good.NOM.SG.M   doctor.NOM.SG
'You said you were a good doctor.'

Here the middle-voice form of the main-clause verb *sagði* marks the relationship of coreference between main-clause and dependent-clause subjects or, in conceptual terms, the coreference between participants of the events referred to in main and embedded clause.

The Baltic languages have similar constructions – we will, for the time being, abstract away from the verbal forms used in the embedded clause, i.e. whether they are infinitives, participles or finite forms. The examples given here contain participial clauses, a type of complement clauses that is quite widespread in both Lithuanian and Latvian, though now somewhat on the decline:

(2) Lithuanian   (Antanas Vienuolis, 1882–1957, *Inteligentų palata*, 1922)
[*Naktigoniams ji puldinėjo po kojų, prašėsi dovanoti, paleisti ją,*]
sakė-si   esanti   niekuo   nekalta   ir
say.PST.3-RFL be.PPRA.NOM.SG.F nothing.INS NEG.guilty.NOM.SG.F and
nežinanti,   kas bažnyčią   apvogęs.
NEG.know.PPRA.NOM.SG.F who church.ACC.SG rob.PPA.NOM.SG.M
'[She threw herself on her knees before the night-watchers, asking them to forgive her and to let her go], and said she was innocent of everything and did not know who had robbed the church.'

(3) Latvian   (Jānis Jaunsudrabiņš, 1877–1962, *Mana dzīve*, 1957)
Viņš   pats   teicā-s   mācījies
3.NOM.SG.M self.NOM.SG.M say.PST.3-REFL teach.PPA.NOM.SG.M.REFL
Vitebskas   zīmēšanas   skolā.
Vitebsk.GEN drawing.GEN.SG school.LOC.SG
'He himself said he had been trained at the Vitebsk drawing school.'

In this chapter I will argue that in such types of use of reflexive-marked higher-clause verbs the relationship to logophoricity is rather loose. What is essential here (at least in the initial stage of development of the constructions under discussion) is the marking of coreference rather than the fact that the embedded clause refers to a speech act or a mental representation of a situation. The Baltic languages show no major difference between speech-act verbs and other types of verbs in this respect, though in other languages the situation may be different. This can be seen when we compare the following examples, one with a speech act verb and the other with a permissive verb. Permissive verbs belong to the manipulative type of complement-taking verbs, and though permission often involves an act of verbal communication, manipulative verbs do not crucially entail them. The embedded clauses are, in both cases, finite, but this does not alter the function of the reflexive marking on the higher-clause verb, which is similar in both cases. Compare (4), which contains a speech act verb, with (5), which contains a permissive verb:

(4) Lithuanian
Sakė-si,   kad jam   viskas   gerai,
say.PST.3-REFL that 3.DAT.SG.M everything.NOM well
[*kad juo labai rūpinasi anūkė Donata ir duktė Aldona*].
'He said everything was well with him, [and that his granddaughter Donata and his daughter Aldona took good care of him].'

http://www.sirvinta.net/be-kategorijos/
zemaiciui-is-telsiu-sirvintose-gyventi-gera/

(5) *Jeigu žmogus   leidžia-si,   kad jam   būtų*
    if   person.NOM.SG allow.PRS.3-REFL that 3.dat.sg.m be.IRR.3
    plaunamos   smegenys –   tai jo   pasirinkimas.
    wash.PPRP.NOM.SG.F brain.NOM.SG that 3.GEN.SG.M choice.NOM.SG
    'If a person allows themselves to be brainwashed, then that's their choice.'

    https://www.supermama.lt/forumas/topic/
    999461-knygu-skaitytoju-klubas-92-laida/page-5

In both cases the reflexive marking on the verb marks the fact that the subject of the main clause is also an argument of the embedded clause. I will therefore refer to this type of use of the reflexive marker as coargumental marking, and, considering that this reflexive marking is not properly reflexive here (in fact, as I will argue further on, the loss of the properly reflexive construction with its syntactic consequences was an essential factor in the development of the whole construction exemplified here), I will also use the term 'coargumental middle'.

The reflexive marking illustrated here has slightly different origins depending on the type of complement-taking predicate involved and on the type of embedded clause, but there is a common feature, viz. that reflexive marking originates in the embedded clause and then attaches to the main-clause verb when the reflexive pronoun loses its syntactic argument position. Parallelism in the development of this reflexive marking allows us to single out a relatively homogeneous type of middle-voice marking specifically associated with clausal complementation. Though not mentioned in Noonan's well-known overview of clausal complementation (Noonan 2007), it is an interesting aspect of the encoding of clausal complements, where marking of coreferentiality is a not unimportant aspect of the 'complementation strategy'.

8.2   Permissive verbs

I will start my discussion from permissive verbs, which were already discussed in Chapter 4. There I argue that the reflexive marking on the complement-taking verb in reflexive permissive constructions originates in the embedded clause where it is an instance of long-distance reflexivization. As the reflexive pronoun loses its ability to occupy a syntactic argument position and, in a next stage, becomes an affix, one of the eligible hosts for the affixalizing reflexive marker is the main-clause verb, whose subject controls reflexivity. There are also alternative possibilities, and actually reflexive marking tends to be diffuse in reflexive permissive constructions, as discussed in detail in Chapter 4. Here I will only be concerned with structures where the reflexive marking affects the higher-clause verb.

In Lithuanian, permissive constructions with reflexive marking on the main-clause permissive verb occur in two varieties. The first, with an infinitive, is now rare, the second, with a present past participle, is now the usual one:

(6) Lithuanian
[*Kol kas dar nėra labai meili*],
ne   visada leidžia-si   paglostyti – pagal   nuotaiką.
NEG always allow.PRS.3-REFL stroke.INF   according.to mood.ACC.SG
'[It [viz. the cat] is not very winsome yet] and it doesn't allow itself to be stroked, only when it's in the right mood.'

<div align="right">https://www.15min.lt/ikrauk/naujiena/gyvunai/
karalisko-grozio-katyte-iesko-namu-520-286970</div>

(7) [*Jis labai myli laisvę,*]
tačiau   leidžia-si   mokomas.
however allow.PRS.3-REFL teach.PPRP.NOM.SG.M
'[It [viz. the dog] loves its freedom very much] but allows itself to be taught.'
<div align="right">https://www.plutas.lt/sunu-veisles/terjerai/skotu-terjeras-101447</div>

But the construction with infinitival complement has been renewed: it has developed a new properly reflexive variant containing, in the embedded clause, a reflexive pronoun functioning as the direct object of the infinitive but controlled by the main clause subject. The reflexive marker on the main-clause verb may, however, be retained alongside the reflexive pronoun contained in the embedded clause:

(8) Lithuanian
[*Vienintelis šios mokesčių lengvatos koziris yra didelis jos populiarumas tarp „paprastų" žmonių, kurie nesupranta šios lengvatos esmės*]
ir   leidžia-si   save   apgaudinėti.
and allow,PRS.3-REFL self.ACC deceive.INF
'[The only strength of this rebate is its popularity among 'simple people', who do not understand the true nature of this rebate] and allow themselves to be deceived.'   https://www.delfi.lt/verslas/energetika/z-mauricas-kodel-reikia-naikinti-pvm-lengvata-centriniam-sildymui.d?id=66162502

A syntactic analysis of this kind of structure is given in 4.1, but I repeat it here for convenience:

(9)

```
                    S
          ┌─────────┴─────────┐
         NP                   VP
       žmonės_i      ┌────────┼──────────┐
                     V        NP          S
                 leidžia-si   [...]_j  ┌───┴────┐
                                      NP        VP
                                    PRO_j   ┌────┴────┐
                                           NP         NP
                                        save_i    apgaudinėti
```
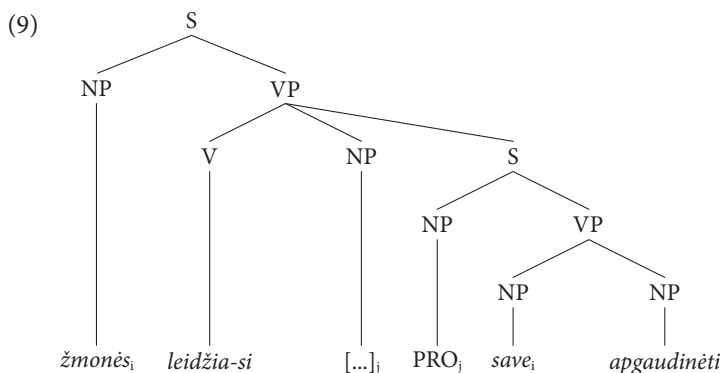
Unlike the reflexive pronoun *save* in the embedded clause, which occupies a syntactic argument position, the reflexive marker on the main clause verb plays no role in syntax, but it still has a function in the sense that it marks the coreferentiality of the main clause subject with the embedded clause object. This marking is not superfluous as the reflexive pronoun in the embedded clause is, in principle, ambiguous: it can be interpreted as an instance of long-distance reflexivization, referring back to the main clause subject, but it may also be interpreted as being controlled locally by the implicit subject of the infinitive: '…allow people$_i$ to deceive themselves$_i$". This ambiguity is resolved by the presence of the reflexive marker on the main-clause verb, and this was perhaps one of the reasons why it was retained even after the introduction of the orthotonic reflexive pronoun.

At this stage, the construction can be extended to situations where the coreferential argument in the embedded clause is not a direct object but an oblique noun phrase or prepositional phrase, cf. (10), where the coreferential argument is contained in the PP *su savim*:

(10) Lithuanian
      [*Savigarbos stygius, orumo nėra,*]
      jei žmogus   leidžia-si   su   savim, kaip su
      if person.NOM.SG allows.PRS.3-REFL with self.INS as   with
      šiukšle   elgtis.
      piece.of.garbage.INS.SG behave.INF
      '[It's a lack of self-respect, a lack of dignity] when a person allows other people to treat them like a piece of garbage.' https://banga.tv3.lt/lt/2forum.showPosts/515718.241.7-=(294751469

The coreferential argument expressed by the reflexive pronoun in the embedded clause may now have any syntactic function except that of subject – an understandable restriction as (in accordance with the permissive semantics of the main-clause

verb) the main clause subject must correspond to a patient or affected entity in the embedded clause. The reflexive marker on the main clause verb is still, in a sense, redundant as coreferentiality is already marked by the reflexive pronoun in the embedded clause. It is not altogether redundant, however, because of the potentially disambiguating function mentioned above: the reflexive marking on the main-clause verb may help identify the reflexive marking in the embedded clause as long-distance reflexivization controlled across the clausal boundary.

At the next stage, the reflexive marking spreads from constructions with participial or infinitival complement clauses to constructions with finite complement clauses. This is illustrated by Example (11):

(11) Lithuanian
[*Tai be galo mielas, žaismingas, jaukus katinėlis, …*]
noriai leidžia-si,   kad jį   glostytum.
readily allow.PRS.3-REFL that 3.ACC.SG.M stroke.IRR.2SG
'[It's such a gentle, playful, nice little cat] … it readily allows you to stroke it.'

<div align="right">http://www.gyvunugloba.lt/ro/main/g.52212</div>

In this structure there is no longer any reflexive marking in the embedded clause: the coreferential argument is expressed by a non-reflexive personal pronoun. As in many other languages, long-distance reflexivization is allowed, in Baltic, only in the case of non-finite complements (both tensedness and the presence of a complementizer are among the 'opacity factors' potentially bocking long-distance reflexivization, though languages differ in this respect, see Reuland & Koster 1991: 2). The reflexive marker on the main-clause verb now becomes the only marker of coreferentiality of an embedded-clause argument with the main-clause subject.

In the finite type illustrated in (11), there are no longer any restrictions on the syntactic position of the argument coreferential with the main clause subject. As we observed in the case of structures with non-finite complements illustrated in (10), the coreferential argument may now occupy various syntactic functions, notably:

a.   that of a prepositional object or adjunct:

(12) Lithuanian
[*Anoks mūsų vaizduotės sukurtas Dievas galbūt numalšina mūsų smalsumą*]
ir   leidžia-si,   kad apie Jį   parašytume
and allow.PRS.3-REFL that about 3.ACC.SG.M write.IRR.1PL
storas   disertacijas…
thick.ACC.PL.F dissertation.ACC.PL
'[Such a God created by our imagination maybe satisfies our curiosity] and allows us to write voluminous dissertations about him.'

<div align="right">http://laiskailietuviams.lt/index.php/1994m-9-spalis/
7930-neturek-kitu-dievu-tik-mane-viena</div>

b.   that of an adnominal (genitival) possessor:

(13)   Lithuanian
    […] *Woody   Allenas   pirmą   kartą   leidžia-si,   kad*
        PN[NOM]   PN.NOM   first.ACC.SG   time.ACC.SG   allow.PRS.3-REFL   that
    būtų   dokumentuojamas   jo   gyvenimas   ir
    be.IRR.3   document.PPRP.NOM.SG.M   3.GEN.SG.M   life.NOM.SG   and
    kūrybos   procesas.
    creation.GEN.SG   process.NOM.SG
    'For the first time, Woody Allen allows his life and creative evolution to be
    documented.'   https://kinopavasaris.lt/lt/filmai/629-woody-allenas

c.   that of an external possessor:

(14)   Lithuanian
    [*Visi turistai gali paglostyti krokodilus,*]
    šie   netgi leidžia-si,   kad jiems   atsisėstų ant
    DEM.NOM.SG.M   even allow.PRS.3-REFL   that 3.DAT.PL.M   sit.IRR.3   on
    nugarų   ir   nufotografuotų.
    back.GEN.PL   and   photograph.IRR.3
    '[All tourists can cuddle the crocodiles,] and the latter even allow people to
    sit on their backs and to photograph them.'

                              http://kauno.diena.lt/naujienos/mokslas-ir-it/
                              vieta-kur-zmones-ir-krokodilai-gyvena-harmonijoje-293249

But at this stage (unlike what we observe in the non-finite construction) the coreferential argument may also be a subject in the embedded clause, if the embedded verb is passive and the coreferential argument in the embedded clause is a patient:

(15)   Lithuanian
    o   tik   kvailas   šuva   leidžia-si   kad būtų
    and   only stupid.NOM.SG.M dog.NOM.SG allow.PRS.3-REFL   that be.*irr*.3
    pririštas.
    bind.PPP.NOM.SG.M
    'Only a stupid dog allows itself to be kept on a leash.'

                              https://www.tevu-darzelis.lt/forumas/topic/
                              santykiai-su-vyrudraugu-po-gimdymo/page/5

The fact that the coreferential argument can be a subject only when the verb is passive can readily be explained with the semantics of the reflexive permissive construction: the permittor must be an affected entity, so that it cannot be an agent. Apart from that, there are no obvious restrictions: the coreferential argument can be a patient, a beneficiary, a possessor etc. Thus, while there are obvious semantic restrictions on the coreferential argument, there are no syntactic restrictions. The reflexive marking now reflects coreferentiality with a semantic argument from the

embedded clause regardless of its syntactic position, while there were still some syntactic restrictions in the non-finite construction. A pattern of reflexivization that was originally determined syntactically is now determined purely semantically. Interestingly, the reflexive marking is often retained when *leisti* is used with an implicit complement immediately retrievable from the preceding context, so that the semantic role which the permittor would have in an overt embedded clause is deducible from the context:

(16)   Lithuanian
Katiną   bando   myluoti,   tampyti,   bet jis
cat.ACC.SG attempt.PRS.3 cuddle.INF pull.about.INF but 3.NOM.SG.M
ne-si-leidžia…
NEG-REFL-allow.PRS.3
'She attempts to cuddle the cat and to pull it about, but it doesn't let her…'
https://mamyciuklubas.lt/moteru-klubas/
ar-jusu-vaikuciai-turi-namie-augintini-14425/?page=2

(17)   *Savajam   aš   nukirpčiau plaukus,   bet jis*
RPO.DAT.SG.M.DEF 1SG.NOM cut.IRR.1SG hair.ACC.PL but 3.NOM.SG.M
ne-si-leidžia.
NEG-REFL-allow.PRS.3
'I would cut my own husband's hair, but he doesn't allow it.'
https://www.15min.lt/vardai/naujiena/lietuva/grazina-baikstyte-
bijau-ne-rauksliu-o-tapti-sena-bambekle-papildyta-liepos-28-d-1050-161144

Here, again, we see that the syntactic position the coreferential argument would occupy in the embedded clause is irrelevant, though there are certainly semantic constraints. What is relevant is not the coreferentiality of arguments occupying specific syntactic positions (as will be the case in a properly reflexive construction), but the fact that two predications (main and embedded) have a common participant, and that in the embedded predication it is not an agent.

The development just outlined for Lithuanian is echoed in Latvian, where the reflexive marking on the main-clause permissive verb *ļaut* has also spread to finite clauses:

(18)   Latvian
Skaidrojam,   kāpēc daži   visu   risina   ar   dūrēm,
explain.PRS.1PL why   some.NOM.PL.M all.ACC settle.PRS.3 with fist.DAT.PL
bet citi   ļauja-s,   ka viņus   iekausta?
but other.NOM.PL.M allow.PRS.3-REFL that 3.ACC.PL.M pummel.PRS.3
'We try to explain why some settle everything with their fists while others allow themselves to be pummelled.'   https://www.santa.lv/raksts/mansmazais/
berns/berndarznieks/kautins-bernudarza--ka-rikoties-vecakiem-2657/

(19) [*Ar mazāko meitu iet vieglāk …*]
ļauja-s,   ka   rausta   aiz degtuna,   astes   un
allow.PRS.3-REFL that pull.PRS.3 by nose.GEN.SG tail.GEN.SG and
spalvās   ieķeras.
fur[PL].LOC clutch.PRS.3
'[With the little girl things are easier…] [the dog] allows [her] to shake it by
the nose and the tail and to clutch its fur.'

                    http://www.suni.lv/viewtopic.php?f=3&t=41&start=1920

And, also echoing a development noted for Lithuanian, Latvian shows retention of
the reflexive marking when *ļaut* is used with an implicit complement retrievable
from the context, the semantic role which the permittor would have in an overt
embedded clause being also deducible from the context (a Latvian counterpart to
(16), (17)):

(20) Latvian
Viena   no sievietēm   mēģina aizvilkt   viņu   ar
one.NOM.SG.F of woman.DAT.PL try.PRS.3 pull.away.INF 3.ACC.SG.M with
ratiņiem   tālāk no   manis, bet viņš
wheelchair[PL].DAT farther from 1SG.GEN but 3.NOM.SG.M
neļauja-s.
NEG.allow.PRS.3-REFL
'[One of the women attempts to draw him away from me with his wheelchair,]
but he doesn't allow it.'   https://www.tvnet.lv/6425056/velesanu-
                    diena-caur-gurku-odekolona-plivuru-necenzeta-leksika

In a final development, the reflexive marker ceases to mark strict coreferentiality
and just reflects the fact that the situation in the embedded clause somehow affects
the permittor or is relevant to her/him:

(21) Lithuanian
[*O jei ir buvo tokių, tai kalčiausi tie, kurie vietoj principingo savivaldos atstovavimo*]
leidžia-si,   kad kažkas   kištųsi   į   Anykščių
allow.PRS.3-REFL that somebody.NOM interfere.IRR.3 into PLN[PL].GEN
savivaldybės   reikalus.
municipality.GEN.SG affair.ACC.SG
'[And even if there were such [cases], then this is mainly the fault of those who,
instead of representing the municipality in a principled way,] allow all kinds
of people to interfere with the affairs of the Anykščiai district.'
            saunef.home.mruni.eu/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/Anyksta.doc

(22)   Latvian
Un ļauja-s   ka būtībā   ekonomikas   grāvēji
and allow.PRS.3-REFL that essentially economy.GEN.SG ruin.AGN.NOM.PL
sponsorē   dažnedažādus   pasākumus…
sponsor.PRS.3   various.ACC.PL.M initiative.ACC.PL
[*Nu tā kā muļķu zemē…*]
'And they [the Latvians] allow people who in fact ruin the economy to sponsor
various initiatives… [Truly as in a land of fools].'
                                        http://majsaimniecespiezimes.lv/2018/01/27/cikstesana/

In these examples the embedded clause contains no noun phrase coreferential with
the main clause subject. In (21) it is still possible to see a part-to-whole relation
between the persons referred to in the main clause and the population of Anykščiai
referred to in the embedded clause, and in (22) it is understood that failed eco-
nomic policies would affect the Latvians, who appear as subject in the main clause.
Basically, however, the function of the reflexive marker seems to be to convey an
element of affectedness of the subject.

8.3   Speech-act verbs and verbs of belief

As Kemmer's notion of logophoric middle extends to verbs of belief, I will discuss
verbs of saying and verbs of belief together here. This does not mean they behave
in exactly the same way; in fact, small groups of verbs are involved in each case,
and each verb has slightly different properties. As the emphasis is, in this chapter,
on coargumental marking on the main-clause verb, I will not dwell in detail on
the internal properties of the complement clauses. I must mention, however, one
morphosyntactic difference existing in this respect between the two languages: in
the constructions discussed here Latvian has replaced the declinable participles
still used in Lithuanian with an indeclinable participle in *-m*. This is, in origin,
a passive participle but has, in most instance, lost its passive value (cf. Endzelin
1923: 715–716, 782–784).

In the case of speech act verbs and verbs of belief the mechanisms of the rise of
coargumental reflexive marking on the main clause verb were different from what
they were with permissive verbs. The source was, in this case, the *accusativus cum
infinitivo*, a raising construction[1] with an accusatival raised subject and a participle
in predicative function:

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1.   Here and further below I understand 'raising' in a non-transformational sense, as a mismatch
between syntactic and semantic structure caused by diachronic processes. For a similar use of
the term cf., e.g., Huddleston & Pullum, eds. (2002: 65–66, 226).

In participial complements with verbs of saying and belief, the position of raised subject of the participial clause could be occupied by an orthotonic reflexive pronoun capable of occupying a syntactic argument position, as illustrated in (27):

(27)   Old Lithuanian   (Vilentas, *Evangelias bei Epistolas*, 1612, 207/22, cited by Ambrazas 1979: 123)

[*Neraschik Karalius Szidu bet*]
iog   ghis   sakie   sawe   santi   Karaliumi
that   3.NOM.SG.M   say.PST.3   REFL.ACC   be.PPRA.ACC.SG.M   King.INS.SG
Szidu.
Jew.GEN.SG
'[Write not, The King of the Jews; but] that he said he is the King of the Jews.'

The situation was different in the case of the old enclitic reflexive pronoun that lost the ability of occupying a syntactic argument position and accreted to the verb. This process, which we have already seen at work in a number of constructions throughout this book, led, as in other cases, to a change in syntactic structure. As Ambrazas (1979: 124) argues, it was this process that led to the replacement of the *accusativus cum participio* with a *nominativus cum participio*. The original raising construction was replaced with a control construction: the verb was intransitivized and its subject began to control the implicit subject of the participle.

(28)   Old Lithuanian   (Simonas Vaišnoras, *Margaritha Theologica*, 1600, 70v.7)
Ir   S. Povilas   sako-ssi   tarnu   essąs
and   St.Paul.NOM   say.PRS.3-REFL   servant.INS.SG   be.PPRA.NOM.SG.M
Iesaus   Christaus   tarp   pagoniu.
Jesus.GEN   Christ.GEN   among   pagan.GEN.PL
'And St. Paul says (of himself) he is a servant of Jesus Christ among the pagans.'

(29)   Old Latvian   (Glück's Old Testament, Genesis 16.5)
Nu   redsah-s   wiņņa   gruhta   eśśoti/
now   see.PRS.3-REFL   3.NOM.SG.F   pregnant.NOM.SG.F   be.PPRA.NOM.SG.F
tad   tohpu   es   nizzinata
then   become.PRS.1SG   1SG.NOM   despise.PPP.NOM.SG.F
wiņņas   Azzîs
3.GEN.SG.F   eye.LOC.PL
'Now she sees herself (being) pregnant and I am despised in her eyes.'

As Ambrazas (1979: 122) points out, this syntactic reorganization did not occur all at once and for a certain time one finds the original construction with the accusative retained although the reflexive marker has already affixalized:

(30) Old Lithuanian   (Bretkūnas' New Testament, Revelation 2.20,)
duosi   *materischkei Iesabel kuri*   *sako-si*
allow.PRS.2SG woman.DAT.SG Jezebel REL.NOM.SG.F say.PRS.3-REFL
Pranaschiene   *esanczią*
prophetess.INS.SG be.PPRA.ACC.SG.F
[*makiti ir ischwesti mano Tarnus*]
'thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, [to teach
and to seduce my servants]'

The coexistence of varieties with an orthotonic reflexive pronoun and a reflexive
affix is parallel to the development in Old Norse, where the reflexive construction
is also attested. Kemmer correspondingly distinguishes a logophoric reflexive, with
a reflexive pronoun occupying a syntactic argument position, and a logophoric
middle with affixal marking:

(31) Old Norse   (cited by Kemmer 1993: 92)
Svasi   *kvað*   *sik*   *vera þann*   *Finninn.*
PN.NOM say.PST.3SG REFL.ACC be.INF that.ACC Finn.ACC.DEF
'Svasi said he was that Finn.'

The lack of Baltic texts predating the 16th century, a period where the affixal mark-
ers where already firmly in place, makes it impossible to determine the precise rela-
tionship between the reflexive and middle constructions in Baltic. It is conceivable
that both coexisted at one time, the reflexive construction being used for contrast
or emphasis; at any rate the reflexive construction did not oust the middle construc-
tion (as it happened in the case of permissive constructions with infinitival comple-
ments in Lithuanian, cf. 4.3), but itself fell out of use. The middle-voice construction
stayed in place and became the point of departure for further developments. One
of them was the extension of the middle-voice marking to finite complements.
This extension had already taken place in Old Lithuanian. The following example
contains the verb of belief *tartis*:

(32) Old Lithuanian   (Chylinski's, New Testament, 1 Cor. 8.2)
ir   *jeygu kas*   *taria-s*   *jog ką*   *moka,*
and if   anybody.NOM think.PRS.3-REFL that anything.ACC know.PRS.3
toks   *dar nieko*   *nemoka.*
such.NOM.SG.M yet nothing.GEN NEG.know.PRS.3
'And if any man think that he knoweth any thing, he knoweth nothing yet'

Moreover, Old Lithuanian also used the coargumental middle in sentences intro-
ducing direct speech, which does not seem possible any more in modern Lithuanian:

(33)   Old Lithuanian   (Chylinski's New Testament, John 19. 21)
     neraßyk   *Karalus*   *Zydu,*   *bet jog sakie-s,*
     neg.write.IMP.2SG King.NOM.SG Jew.GEN.PL but that say.PST.3-REFL
     Esmi   *Karalus*   *Zydu*
     be.PRS.1SG Kong.NOM.SG Jew.GEN.PL
     'Write not, The King of the Jews; but that he said, I am King of the Jews.'

Reflexive marking on verbs of saying and belief with finite complements is still fully alive in the modern languages, and it is also characteristic of the spoken varieties, whereas the participial constructions are now characteristic of the written varieties. Again, as we saw in the case of permissive verbs, there are, in the finite variety, no restrictions on the syntactic position the coreferential argument can occupy in the embedded clause. There are also, unlike what we observed with permissive verbs, no restrictions regarding its semantic role. With permissive verbs, owing to their semantics, the coreferential argument is excluded from the role of agent, but there are, of course, no such restrictions in the case of verbs of saying or belief. In (34), the coreferential argument is subject, and agent:

(34)   Lithuanian
     Tačiau *jėzuitas*   *Hell* […], *sakė-si,*   *kad jis*
     however Jesuit.NOM.SG PN[NOM] say.PST.3-REFL that 3.NOM.SG.M
     atrado   *šio*   *gydymo*   *principus.*
     discover.PST.3 this.GEN.SG.M treatment.GEN.SG principle.ACC.PL
     'However, the Jesuit Hell said it was he who had discovered the principles of this treatment.   http://www.vartiklis.lt/history/kiti/mesmer.htm

But again, we find a whole array of possible semantic role ranging from subject-like datival arguments as with *rūpėti* 'be of concern' in (34) to adnominal possessors, as in (35):

(34)   Lithuanian
     Net *94% apklaustų*   *Lietuvos*   *piliečių*   *sakė-si,*
     even   poll.PPP.GEN.PL Lithuania.GEN citizen.GEN.PL say.PST.3-REFL
     kad jiems   *rūpi*   *aplinkosaugos*
     that 3.DAT.PL.M concern.PRS.3 environment.control.GEN.SG
     problemos.
     problem.NOM.PL
     'As many as 94% of the polled Lithuanian citizens said they were concerned about problems of environmental control.'
                             https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/eko-zmogus/rusiuok/
                  skelbiame-kad-mums-rupi-aplinka-bet-ka-darome-365-156801

(35) [*Taigi, nors valstybės įmonės – urėdijos*]
    sako-si,   kad jų   veikla   yra
    say.PRS.3-REFL that 3.GEN.PL activity.NOM.SG be.PRS.3
    naudinga   […] visuomenei,
    beneficial.NOM.SG.F   society.DAT.SG
    [*negalima su tuo sutikti*].
    '[Thus, though the state-run forestries] say that their activity is beneficial […]
    to society, [one cannot agree with that].'   https://www.llri.lt/naujienos/
        ekonomine-politika/valstybes-valdymas/kas-gaudo-misku-nauda/lrinka

As shown by the discussion of permissive constructions above, this marking is not in itself logophoric, though there is a link to logophoricity. Of course, the coargumentative marking may be combined with logophoric marking, such as, in Latvian, the use of the proximal demonstrative *šis*, which also functions as a logophoric pronoun (on this cf. Nau 2006 for High Latvian, as well as Wälchli 2015; this use of *šis* had been noted by Endzelin 1923: 394, though of course the notion of logophoricity was unknown at that time):

(37) Latvian   (Reinis Kaudzīte, 1839–1920 and Matīss Kaudzīte,
                                      1848–1926, *Mērnieku laiki*, 1879)
    Tas   garais […]   *teicā-s,   ka   šis*
    that.NOM.SG.M tall.NOM.SG.M.DEF say.PST.3-REFL that LOG.NOM.SG.M
    esot   valsts   amatos,   esot   runas vīrs   vis,
    be.EVID State.GEN.SG office.LOC.PL be.EVID spokesman.NOM.SG PTC
    [*Prātnieks vārdā*].
    'The tall one […] said he was in public office, a public spokesman even, by the name of Prātnieks.'

Apart from the logophoric marking, (32) also illustrates the occurrence of finite complement clauses with verbs of saying displaying coargumental marking. The basic verb with coargumental marking is *teikties*, which, as in Lithuanian, occurs with participles, as illustrated in Example (3) above. When the embedded predicate has the same time reference as the speech act, an indeclinable (originally passive) participle in *-am* is used:

(38) Latvian
    [*Pēc brīža pie policistiem piesteidzās arī ziņotājs,*]
    kurš teicā-s   esam   veikala   apsargs.
    who say.PST.3-REFL be.PPRP.INDECL shop.GEN.SG security.worker.NOM.SG
    '[After some time the police were joined by the informer] who said he was the shop's security man.'   https://www.riga.lv/lv/news/imanta-par-viskija-
        pudeles-zadzibu-aizturets-nesen-no-cietuma-iznacis-virietis?15358

When the complement clause is finite, the coreferential argument need not be a subject but may occupy various syntactic positions, like that of dAtival object in (39):

(39)   Latvian   (LVK2018)
[*To arī uzsvēra Dārta, kura*]
teicā-s,   *ka   Kristīne viņai   ar   lielā   uzdevuma*
say.PST.3-REFL that PN.NOM 3.DAT.SG.F with big.GEN.SG.M.DEF task.GEN.SG
izpildi   tikpat   kā nav palīdzējusi.
performance.ACC.SG so.much as   NEG help.PPA.NOM.SG.F
'[This was also emphasized by Dārta, who] said Kristīne had almost not helped her with the performance of her big task.'

As in the case of permissive verbs, the development of complement clauses with reflexive verbs of saying seems to have gone well beyond the marking of coreferentiality. In many cases the embedded clause contains no argument coreferential with the subject, as shown in the following example from Latvian:

(40)   Latvian   (lvTenTen14)
[*Atzīšos, ka šim tornim eju garām kopš laikiem, kad biju pavisam mazs.*]
*Veicāki   **teicā-s,**   ka   agrāk   tas esot*
parent.NOM.SG **say.PST.3-REFL** that formerly it   be.PRS.EVID
bijis   milicijas   tornis.
be.PPA.NOM.SG.M militia.GEN.SG tower.NOM.SG
'[I must confess I've been walking past this tower since I was a small boy.] My parents told me it used to be the militia's tower.'

The feature of relevance to the main-clause subject referent, suggested above for similar situations with permissive verbs, hardly applies here, as with speech-act verbs (unlike what we observe in permissive complementation) the speech-act situation and the represented situation do not interact. But perhaps the notion of relevance could be reinterpreted here as subjectivity: the reflexive marking might be a means of indicating that the speech act verb refers to the expression of a subjective point of view, a personal opinion of the quoted person with which the speaker does not necessarily identify. This could be viewed as a process of subjectification (cf. Langacker 1990, with reference to earlier work by Traugott): situational relevance (relevance of the situation described in the embedded clause to the main-clause subject referent) is reinterpreted as relevance in the mental sphere, that is, in the sphere of the subject referent's opinions. In the case of Latvian, a fact that seems to confirm this conjecture is that the frequency of evidential verb forms in the embedded clause is significantly higher with the reflexive *teikties* than with the non-reflexive *teikt*. This was checked in the lvTenTen14 corpus for finite

embedded clauses (introduced by the complementizer *ka*) dependent on the 3rd person past-tense forms *teica* and *teicās*.[2] While with *teica, ka* 'said that' the ratio of present indicative forms to corresponding evidential forms in *-ot* was 1033 to 503, the corresponding ratio for *teicās, ka* was 91 to 139. A chi-squared test shows this distribution to be significant at p<.01. Assuming that evidentials in complement clauses with verbs of saying are more frequent in situations where the speaker does not want to assume responsibility for the truthfulness of what she or he is quoting (which is stated to be its main function in the Latvian Academy Grammar, cf. Bergmane et al., eds., 1959: 624; for Lithuanian cf. Ambrazas, ed., 2006: 262),[3] this would confirm the feature of greater subjectivity ascribed to complement clauses with *teikties* in comparison to those with *teikt*.

For Lithuanian, this element of subjectivity is more difficult to measure because there are no formal features that could be expected to correlate with it, as is the case with the Latvian evidential forms (evidential marking is rare in Lithuanian compared to Latvian). Moreover, no adequate corpus data are available. Still, it seems that uses of the reflexive *sakytis* not conditioned by coreferentiality marking can be interpreted as a marker of subjectivity as well:

(41)   Lithuanian
[*Lietuvos Tarybos pirmininkas Antanas Smetona, dar visai neseniai siūlęs per Vokietiją Lietuvai sugrįžti į Europą, dabar buvo atsargesnis ir net*]
sakė-si,   kad vokiečių   reikia   bijoti   labiau
say.PST.3-REFL that German.GEN.PL be.necessary.PRS.3 fear.INF more
nei   bolševikų.
than Bolshevik.GEN.PL
'[The Lithuanian Council chairman Antanas Smetona, who not so long ago had launched the idea of a return to Europe through Germany, was now more cautious and even] expressed the view that the Germans were to be feared more than the Bolsheviks.'   https://www.delfi.lt/multimedija/lt1918/
lietuva-pries-100-m-besikurianti-kariuomene-pirma-
akistata-su-bolsevizmu-ir-pazadinta-tautos-valia.d?id=79666729

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2.   I am indebted to Anna Daugavet both for the idea and the corpus data.

3.   Note that, in Baltic grammar, evidential verb forms are known as 'renarrative mood' (Latvian) or 'oblique mood' (Lithuanian). The term *modus relativus*, coined by Endzelin (1923: 697), is also used in Baltic scholarship.

8.4   Between speech act verbs and verbs of intention

A development apparently characteristic only of Latvian is the use of the coargu-
mental middle *teikties* with infinitival complements. The construction with the
infinitive refers to the future and shows a shift to desiderative meaning: it can
refer only to situations where the subject declares her or his intention of doing
something:

(42)   Latvian   (Jānis Jaunsudrabiņš, 1877–1962, *Baltā grāmata*, 1921)
[*To* [*siļķi*] *viņa man iedeva*]
un   teicā-s   iznest   no   istabas   maizes
and say.PST.3-REFL carry.out.INF from room.GEN.SG bread.GEN.SG
kādu   gabaliņu […].
some.ACC.SG piece.ACC.SG
'[She offered me the herring] and said she would fetch a piece of bread from
inside.'

The meaning is not purely desiderative as an act of verbal communication is still
part of the meaning, but the infinitival marking strategy is not elsewhere attested
in Baltic with verbs of saying (participles are the only non-finite strategy here,
corresponding to the infinitival constructions of other languages); this points to
an association between 'declared intention' and desiderative meaning and partly
shared grammatical behaviour, obviously based on the fact that a person's inten-
tions are known from their having announced them. This provides for a path of
semantic development from 'declared intention' to intention, a development paral-
leled by at least two original speech-act verbs in Latvian, viz. *dzirties* and *grasīties*.
Both now mean 'intend', but *dzirties* originally meant 'boast (Lithuanian *girtis*)
and *grasīties* meant 'threaten' (Lithuanian *grasyti, grasinti*). They have undergone a
meaning extension from 'boast/threaten to do something' to 'tell people one intends
to do something' and further to 'intend'. This provides evidence for a small lexical
class of verbs of 'declared intention' with reflexive marking and infinitival comple-
mentation. The infinitival complementation is obviously based on the desiderative
meaning element, while for the reflexive marking no better explanation presents
itself than assuming that it was carried over from the participial constructions
characteristic of speech-act verbs. Lithuanian has no counterpart to the Latvian
infinitival construction with *teikties*.

8.5   Desiderative verbs

Coargumental marking with volitional verbs is attested mainly in Latvian, and only for the verb *gribēt* 'want'. It is seen in such Old Latvian constructions as (43):

(43)   Old Latvian   (Glück's New Testament, Matt. 2.18)
[*Raële aprauda śawus Behrnus*]
un   ne   gribbah-s   eepreezinata
and   NEG want.PRS.3-REFL comfort.PPRP.NOM.SG.F
[*jo tee newa wairs*].
'[Rachel is weeping for her children], and would not be comforted, [because they are not].'

Judging by the evidence of Old Lithuanian, this structure arises from the reflexivization of an *accusativus cum participio*, that is, a clausal complement type with an accusatival subject and a participle as predicative form:

(44)   Old Lithuanian   (Simonas Vaišnoras, *Margaritha Theologica*,
                                                       1600, 208r.14, cited by Ambrazas 1979)
[*kad sawa pawaisdu pastiprin stanguma anu,*]
kurie   Mosaischkus   jstatimus   nareia   laikamus
REL.NOM.PL.M Mosaic.ACC.PL.M law.ACC.PL   want.PST.3 keep.PPRP.ACC.PL
'[that by his example he encourages the obduracy of those] who wanted the Mosaic rites to be kept' (*confirmantem exemplo suo pertinaciam eorum, qui Mosaicos ritos servari volebant*)

This looks like a raising construction, with the accusative syntactically in the main clause while it belongs semantically to the embedded clause. The original structure was presumably a construction with a depictive secondary predicate controlled by the object of 'want', as in English *I want my coffee hot*. The subsequent development was probably as outlined by Ambrazas for the participial construction with speech act verbs: the construction in (44) is reflexivized, but as the reflexive pronoun affixalizes and loses its ability to occupy a syntactic argument position, the raising construction is replaced with a control construction. The passive participle has an implicit subject controlled by the main-clause subject, and the participle now agrees with the main-clause subject. In this way we arrive at the construction in (43).

In Latvian, the construction illustrated in (43) does not seem to be directly attested. As in other cases, the declinable form of the present passive participle lost its ending in prehistoric times and appears as an indeclinable participle:

(45) Old Latvian (Glück's New Testament, Luke 15.16)
Un wiņśch gribbeja śawu Wehderu peepildam ar
and 3.NOM.SG.M want.PST.3 rpo.acc.sg belly.acc.sg fill.PPRP.INDECL with
śehnalahm/ ko Zuhkas ehde
husk.DAT.PL REL.ACC swine.NOM.PL eat.PST.3
'And he would fain have filled his belly (lit. 'wanted his belly to be filled') with
the husks that the swine did eat'

The reflexive construction evidently escaped this process because the reflexive pronoun became affixalized and the *accusativus cum participio* was replaced with the *nominativus cum participio*, as in the Lithuanian construction.

The construction illustrated in (43) has disappeared from the modern Latvian language. Occasionally the construction can still be found in the early 20th century, as in Example (46) from Deglavs. It is unclear, however, to what extent the construction was then still alive in the spoken language – probably it was just a feature of the Biblical language retained in written texts:

(46) Latvian (Augusts Deglavs, 1862–1922, *Rīga*, 1910–1920)
No viņa vien visi gribējā-s apdienami,
by 3.GEN.SG.M only all.NOM.PL.M want.PST.3-REFL serve.PPRP.NOM.PL.M
[*dzeramas naudas nežēloja, tā ka naudas viņam kā pelu.*]
'Everybody wanted to be served by him, [and people were not stingy with tips, so that he had money like dirt].'

The use of the coargumental middle in constructions with finite complement clauses with desiderative verbs is not very well attested, but Ambrazas (1979: 125) cites an example from Daukša:

(47) Old Lithuanian (Mikalojus Daukša, *Catechism*, 1595, 128.19)
[*ioǵ nê miłéio artimú sawú*]
teip kaipo pats noretų-ś idąnt iį miłetų
so as self.NOM.SG.M want.IRR.3-REFL that 3.ACC.SG.M love.IRR.3
'[that he did not love his neighbours as] he himself would be loved.'

Latvian seems to have no such traces, and nothing has remained in the modern Baltic languages of such coargumental marking in constructions with desiderative verbs. The reason is probably not to be sought in any kind of semantic incompatibility: coargumental marking with desiderative verbs was always a somewhat marginal phenomenon, and this probably prevented its further spread. Participial complementation is not, on the whole, characteristic of desiderative verbs.

8.6   In conclusion

Just as Kemmer distinguishes a logophoric middle from a logophoric reflexive (Kemmer 1993: 93), the former referring to structures like (1) and the latter to structures like (29), we can distinguish between a coargumental reflexive and a coargumental middle. The former would be illustrated by (25) and the latter by (26).

Kemmer (1993: 92–93) ponders whether logophoric constructions have a particular affinity with the middle voice. She points out that logophoric contexts often refer to "a Mental Source's beliefs and intuitions", and that "verbs reporting belief show up across languages as middle marked" (1993: 93). Hence, she argues, a strong affinity to middle semantics in verbs of belief in reportive contexts. Kemmer concedes that, in many languages, verbs of saying do not show the affinity to middle voice noted for verbs of belief, which somewhat weakens her point. Such an explanation in conceptual terms seems a bit far-fetched and one might wonder whether the rise of what Kemmer calls the logophoric middle, and what I prefer to call coargumental middle, is not simply a consequence of shifts occurring elsewhere in the language. The starting point is the change in the function of the reflexive marker in its core domain, that is, in situations where the reflexive marker originally marks coreferentiality of agent and patient in simple clauses. The changes occurring here have consequences elsewhere, as we have seen for the permissive middle and see once again here in the case of the coargumental middle. There is initially no functional difference between the coargumental reflexive and the coargumental middle (though, if both are available, the coargumental reflexive might be used in situations of emphasis or contrast, as suggested by Kemmer 1993: 91–92). Both have essentially the same function: they encode the fact that the situations referred to in the main clause and in the embedded clause are not fully distinct but share a participant. The difference is mainly syntactic. The coargumental reflexive relies on syntactic mechanisms. In the case of verbs of speech or epistemic stance, the mechanism is raising, which is subject to heavy syntactic restrictions: obviously not every noun phrase can be raised from the embedded clause to the main clause. In the case of the coargumental middle, as we saw, these restrictions are gradually relaxed. In the initial stages it is still a specific syntactic position whose coreferentiality with the main clause subject is encoded by the reflexive marker on the main-clause verb. In the finite variety, no such restrictions are left. Of course, the very extension of coargumental encoding to finite complement clauses already reflects a shift from coargumental reflexive to coargumental middle: raising from non-finite clauses does not exist in Baltic.

The difference between the coargumental reflexive and the coargumental middle being basically syntactic, that is, historically connected with reflexive pronouns losing their ability to occupy syntactic argument positions, there is initially no

very marked semantic difference between the two: coreferentiality links between the situations described in main and embedded clause are involved in both cases. Conceptual distinctions must have been involved in the process of split-off of reflexive-marked middles from the reflexive proper, but once two types were differentiated, a number of further shifts mechanically ensued without the original differentiating features necessarily applying. In this respect, the rise of the coargumental middle is analogous to that of the permissive middle: in both cases we are dealing with situations where an affixalizing reflexive marker and its host were originally separated by a clausal boundary. Further developments reflect the way the grammar coped, in the domain of clausal complementation, with the consequences of a syntactic process originating in a completely different syntactic environment.

Still, the coargumental middle is not just a variety of reflexive marking with a different type of marker. What is involved is not reflexivity in the sense of a relationship between distinct syntactic arguments that can be coindexed. In most cases the embedded clause does contain syntactic arguments that can be coindexed with the main clause subjects, but this coindexation would not obey precise syntactic rules, as would typically be the case with properly reflexive markers. In instances like (21) and (22) there is actually nothing that could be coindexed. This shows that the relationship has basically become semantic, even though there are still many cases where syntactic coindexation would also be possible. In situations where there is not even an implicit argument in the embedded clause that would be coreferential with the main-clause subject, the reflexive marker on the main-clause verb merely reflects either the affectedness of the main-clause subject, or (in the case of speech-act verbs) enhanced subjectivity, in that the content of the embedded clause is characterized as representing the main-clause subject's point of view (rather than that of the speaker). In this sense, there is a similarity between the coargumental middle and the other middle-voice constructions: the middle-voice construction overlaps with what could also be expressed by a reflexive construction involving strict coreferentiality and coindexation, but extends to situations that can be described in terms of affectedness or interestedness of the subject. In a final development, with speech-act verbs, the reflexive marker becomes a marker of subjectivity.

CHAPTER 9

In conclusion

In the chapters of this book I have discussed a number of middle voice grams that, in various ways, shed light on the nature of this grammatical domain, or which I found interesting in their own right. I have concentrated on regular and productive patterns, associated with clear constructional meanings, leaving aside isolated, lexicalized cases for which one can at best provide a historical explanation. I have formulated a number of new notions, such as those of permissive middle, antimetonymic middle construction, coargumental middle; and proposed certain corrections to current views on antipassive reflexives, anticausatives, so-called converse reflexives, facilitatives and their extensions, etc. I have concentrated mainly on notional problems relevant to the correct demarcation and definition of the individual reflexive-marked middle-voice constructions, and to the correct understanding of their mutual diachronic and conceptual relationships. Detailed corpus-based accounts of the middle-voice constructions defined or (at least partly) redefined in this book are a task for the future, and it is to be hoped that further advances in the corpus coverage of the Baltic languages and dialects will provide a solid foundation for them.

Though it is possible to point out elements of conceptual relatedness between the different middle-voice constructions dealt with in greater or lesser depth in this book, the manifold ramifications of the middle voice are the outcome of a heterogeneous set of mechanisms. For instance, the point of departure for the rise of the permissive and the coargumental middles is syntactic: an original reflexive pronoun loses its ability to occupy a syntactic argument position and the whole construction has to be correspondingly reinterpreted syntactically, which leads to the introduction of a new rationale for the use of the affixalizing reflexive marker. In other cases, the cause for the rise of a middle-voice gram is no doubt a change in selectional properties, cf. the shift from animate to inanimate subjects that presumably conditions the shift from the naturally reflexive to the anticausative middle. Pragmatic inferences must, in their turn, have played a role in the reinterpretation of the facilitative middle and the rise of non-volitional, dispositional or desiderative readings. By itself, the construction encoded low relevance of agentivity; pragmatic inferences as to the factor actually determining the character of the event described by the verb (external circumstances, the quasi-agent's disposition, an act of volition on the part of the agent etc.) were conventionalized in different ways in the

individual Baltic and Slavonic languages. In many cases, combinations of different factors of change are probably involved. Conceptual shifts play a relatively modest role in all this. The explanations proffered in this book can probably be improved upon; this, as well, is a task for future research. The domain of the middle voice shows an exceptional variety of finely differentiated construction types in Baltic and Slavonic; it is instructive to study the two language branches together, and the insights garnered from this research may contribute to a better understanding of comparable phenomena in other languages; as an example we might cite the Balto-Slavonic facilitative construction, which sheds an interesting light on the nature of the facilitative (or, as it is often abbreviatively called, 'the middle') in general.

Highly differentiated diachronic processes have given rise to a highly variegated patchwork of constructions united by a single formal marker, traditionally but also misleadingly called the reflexive marker. But even if we are conscious of the disparate causes leading to the functional expansion of a grammatical marker, it remains tempting to formulate a general meaning that makes it easier to grasp the fact that one linguistic sign may have such a diversity of uses. In this sense, Kemmer's analysis seeking the essence of the middle voice in weak elaboration of a situation or low distinguishability of arguments holds out remarkably well. The effect of low distinguishability of participants may be brought about in different ways. This can be shown on the example of the permissive middle, a two-event structure in which permittor and patient of the permitted event coincide, which makes the two events (the permission event and the permitted event) less distinguishable. Middles, regardless of their origin, seem to develop permissive readings on their own in what are clearly monoclausal structures, as witnessed by the Greek middle and the Hebrew *nifʿal*; but in Baltic and Slavonic it is driven by a syntactic change – the loss of the original reflexive pronoun's ability to occupy a syntactic argument position, which results in a syntactic reorganization and a reinterpretation of the function of the original reflexive marker, now no longer to be formulated in terms of coreferentiality. The rise of the coargumental middle is driven by the same syntactic change, and can also be viewed as a shift from coreferentiality marking towards marking of low distinguishability of participants and events. A shift from a situation where coreferentiality of arguments is precisely spelled out in syntax to one where we have just marking of reflexivity in morphology (so that coreferentiality is replaced with coinstantiation) always results in diminished distinguishability of participants and events. Convergent developments, like the rise of a new permissive middle from a biclausal permissive complementation structure in Baltic and Slavonic, and the existence of permissive middles (in monoclausal structures) in Greek and Hebrew, could reinforce the impression of the middle voice as a clustering attracting gram-types characterized by the features of low distinguishability and a low degree of elaboration, much as Kemmer seems to view it. But these features

are ultimately rather vague, and their explanatory value is doubtful. After all, little is known about the grammaticalization of the Indo-European middle and the Semitic -*n*-stem. As a generalization *ex post*, the features formulated by Kemmer sound convincing, much as with the category of irrealis, another suggestive notion with little explanatory value.

When the term 'middle voice' is used as a semantic domain with which the morphological markers of different languages (the Greek middle, the Hebrew *nifʿal* etc.) appear to have a particular affinity, the question is usually not raised to what extent the second member of this phrasal term – voice – is to be taken literally. Voice being usually associated with grammar (with the active-passive opposition as the canonical instance), a question we have to pose is whether middle-voice constructions belong to derivation or to inflection, that is, whether they create new lexemes or paradigmatic relations between forms of a single verbal lexeme. The most recent fundamental work on problems of this kind is Spencer (2013), where some attention is given to the domain of valency-changing operations. An important distinction is that made by Sadler & Spencer (1998) between 'morphosyntactic operations', which modify argument structure (here presumably viewed as including the assignment of grammatical relations), and 'morphosemantic operations', which modify semantic-conceptual representations and therefore can be viewed as creating new lexemes (there is, of course, an overlap between the notions inasmuch a different conceptual structure also entails a different argument structure). Sadler & Spencer mention passive and middle as prototypical examples of these two types. On the other hand, derivational vs inflectional status is commonly associated with differences in regularity and productivity, so that, e.g., for many languages causatives are described as inflectional forms of the verb because of the regularity of their formation, while the addition of a semantic predicate would be an argument for treating them as derivational (Spencer 2013: 101). Mediopassives of the kind represented in Latin, Russian etc. are an additional complication as they have both 'inflectional' and 'derivational' uses. The general impression from Spencer's discussion is that no ready solutions are available for the treatment of operations on argument structure in terms of what he calls 'lexical relatedness'.

Passives are commonly regarded as the classical instance of an inflectional voice category; they certainly do not seem to affect lexical meaning in the sense of conceptual structure, being relevant mainly for discourse prominence and information structure, so that one could regard them as endowed with specific pragmatic but not semantic features. But in this respect the passive is perhaps not representative of voice grams in general. Antipassives could also be viewed as just reducing the object in prominence (just as passives reduce the agent in prominence), but this would apply only to deobjective ('suppressing', 'absolute') antipassives; deaccusative antipassives cannot, to the extent that they encode reduced affectedness of the object,

be said to be irrelevant to lexical meaning. A clear constructional meaning (reduced agentivity of the agent) is also present in facilitatives; as argued in Chapter 6, they share with deaccusative antipassive middles the property of introducing a semantic modification (reduced agentivity and reduced affectedness respectively) without changing argument structure. And again, if the same forms are used both in facilitative and in passive constructions, as in Russian, would they be assigned to voice only in the latter case? The meaning elements just mentioned are, moreover, constructional – they are superadded to lexical meaning but do not really transform it.

If additional meaning components do not necessarily militate against assignment to the domain of grammatical voice, then regularity, productivity and lack of lexical restrictions gain in importance as diagnostic criteria. As shown in Chapter 7, non-volitional middles derived from verbs denoting inherently non-controllable transitive states are lexical: the relationship between reflexive and non-reflexive forms is unpredictable, with often only one of the two constructions (either the reflexive or the non-reflexive one) available; even if both are available, the morphosyntactic treatment given to the stimulus argument is also unpredictable; and as in this case the meaning element elsewhere found in similar middle-voice constructions (reduced agentivity or control) is already present in the lexical meaning, there is no constructional meaning we could associate with the reflexive marking. Non-volitional middle constructions of the perfective type, on the other hand, are basically inflectional: the semantic modification (the element of non-controllability superimposed on lexical meanings normally implying volitionality and controllability) and the morphosyntactic features (the case marking of agent and patient) are regular and predictable, and there is no exhaustive list of lexemes to which the construction may apply and which would have to be stored in the speaker's long-term memory. There is, in this case, a clear difference between an unproductive type stored in the lexicon and a productive type with instantiations that are created 'online'.

There are, of course, more serious problems with anticausatives, which, when compared with their bases, subtract an agentive argument. If we apply a monotonicity condition prohibiting the deletion of semantic information as a result of a morphosyntactic construction, then they must clearly be assigned to the lexicon. Much is to be said for this on other grounds as well, of course; in Lithuanian, for instance, anticausative middles sometimes stand alongside ablaut-marked inchoatives, with a certain semantic differentiation (e.g., *kelti-s* and *kilti* 'rise', *versti-s* and *virti* 'turn over', *keisti-s* and *kisti*, etc.); and emotive middles like Lithuanian *iš-si-gąsti* 'get frightened' would have to be derived from non-existent causatives (the actual causative *išgąs-din-ti* 'frighten' has itself a causative marker); and meaning differences not reducible to voice often arise between the correlated verbs. The

basically lexical character of anticausatives does not, of course, exclude a certain productivity. Given a relative neologism like *instaliuoti* 'install' (a computer program), an anticausative *instaliuotis* (as in *programa instaliuojasi* 'the program installs') is automatically given with a degree of predictability matching that of a tense or mood form. Construction Morphology (Booij 2010), which rejects the 'rule versus list fallacy', allows us to dispense with rigid borderlines, but we still have to determine the place different voice grams occupy on a rule versus list continuum as a criterion of demarcation for voice.

Apart from questions of conceptual structure, argument structure and productivity, the broader paradigmatic relations of the middle forms may also be indicative of their status. So, for instance, nominalizations could be taken as a diagnostic test of lexicality, as an action noun may be expected to inherit the grammatical features associated with the lexeme, such as (at least in Slavonic and Baltic) aspect, but not typical inflectional features like tense or mood. This test works well for reflexive-marked middle-voice forms. There are actually differences in this respect between different types of middles. Unsurprisingly, anticausatives are good nominalizers:

(1) Latvian
     Papildu   elektriskā   slēdzene   novērš   vārtu
     additional electric.NOM.SG.F.DEF lock.NOM.SG prevent.PRS.3 gate[PL].GEN
     atvēr-šan-ās   iespējamību
     open-ACN-GEN.SG.REFL possibility.ACC.SG
     [*stipra vēja gadījumā.*]
     'The additional electric lock prevents the possibility of the gate's [spontaneously] opening in case of strong wind.'
                              http://www.tekko.lv/teritorijas-vartu-piedzinas-rotamatic

And so are deaccusative antipassive middles:

(2) Latvian
     Pēc divu minūšu   klikšķinā-šan-ās   pa
     after two.GEN minute.GEN.PL clicking-ACN-GEN.SG around
     mājaslapu
     homepage.ACC.SG
     [*tā arī nesapratu, ko tieši reklamējat.*]
     'After a two minutes' clicking about on [your] homepage [I still don't understand what you are advertizing].   http://www.civciv.lv/new/14.10.2009

On the other hand, facilitatives and non-volitional middles are unamenable to nominalization:

(3) Latvian
^ʔ*logu*   *vieglā*   *atvēr-šan-ās*
window.GEN.PL easy.NOM.SG.F.DEF open-ACN-NOM.SG.REFL
'the fact of the windows opening easily'

(4) Latvian
^ʔ*mantu*   *paņem-šan-ās*   *līdzi*
belongings.GEN.PL take-ACN-NOM.SG.REFL along
intended meaning: 'the fact of having by coincidence taken along one's things'

True, it is possible to find exceptions; Nau (2016) cites a Latvian nominalization of a facilitative construction:

(5) Latvian   (Nau 2016: 478)
[*Tā kā laiku pa laikam tie ģimenes arhīvi ir jāpārbauda un*]
pie pirmajām   *ne-lasī-šan-ās*   *pazīmēm*   *jā-pārraksta.*
at first.DAT.PL.F.DEF NEG-read-ACN-GEN.SG.REFL sign.DAT.PL DEB-copy
'[So from time to time the family archives] have to be checked and with the first signs of unreadability they have to be copied.'

Of course, this might just be an instance of the lexicalization of one individual facilitative form rather than evidence for the lexical status of the facilitative middle in general. However, there is a priori no reason why grammatical voice features (like aspectual features, at least in Baltic and Slavonic) should not be inherited by nominalizations, considering that voice is inherently closer to lexical meaning than tense or mood. Retention of voice distinctions in nominalizations is not unattested in languages, cf. Comrie & Thompson (2007: 344–353, especially 348–351). The differences among middle-voice grams might result from certain properties of the syntactic structure and the argument structure of facilitatives and non-volitional middles that for some reason constitute obstacles to nominalization; one might think of the datival encoding of the (non-volitional) agent or the impersonal syntax (the lack of a nominative subject) as factors rendering nominalization more difficult.

    The above-mentioned aspects do not exhaust the question of the place of the middle voice grams in language structure, but it will have become clear that one of the points I want to make in this book is that there is a strong case for a middle voice alongside the passive voice in Baltic, Slavonic, Romance and some Germanic languages (though not in English, where, in the lack of a formal marker, the middle voice would be, at best, a certain set of intransitive uses of verbs). This does not mean that we should return to a structuralist view in which middle and passive are values in a system of voice correlations, more or less as in the tables of conjugation in Greek grammars; rather, it would be a set, or family, of middle-voice constructions. These constructions are rather heterogeneous, but after all the passive is

also not quite homogeneous. The impersonal passive, the agentless passive, the agented passive, the stative passive etc. could pretend to the status of distinct passive constructions with subtly different functions, together making up a family of passive constructions; and we should imagine the middle voice in a similar way. Not all cross-linguistically attested types are instantiated in every language, e.g., the Baltic languages, Polish and Russian have a non-volitional middle, while the South-Slavonic languages have a desiderative middle, etc. Again, there is no common (invariant) grammatical meaning that would predict what we should expect to find by way of voice grams in individual languages; but a notional domain should be created for lots of grammatical constructions that are often in limbo as the grammars, in their chapters on voice, provide a place just for actives and passives.

When we look at the map of the middle-voice domain shown in Figure 1 below, we can discern two major subdomains extending on both sides of the anticausative, which could be said to be at the centre. To the left, we find gram types representing variations on a central feature of 'non-distinctness' of the patient, which can mean low conceptual distinctness from the agent, low discourse prominence of the patient or low affectedness of the patient. To the right, between anticausative and passive, we find gram types representing different varieties of low agentivity of the agent, i.e., emphasizing the relevance of factors other than agency (properties of the patient, external circumstances, disposition of the agent) for the accomplishment of the event. These lower-level generalizations are actually more useful in subsuming
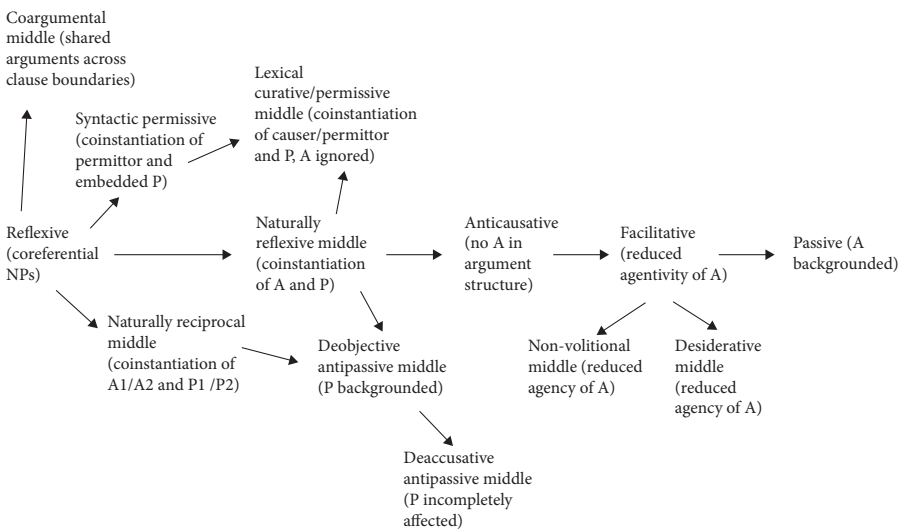
Figure 1. Semantic map of the middle domain

the different constructional meanings of the individual middle-voice grams than any single overarching feature one could propose to characterize the whole of the middle-voice domain. The anticausative constitutes a third subdomain by itself, unitary as to its defining feature (deagentivity) but structurally heterogeneous as a result of variation among the patterns of arguments structure of the lexical input (with surface-impact anticausatives and so-called 'converse reflexives' as lexically determined subtypes).

It is mainly in the subdomain to the right that we find gram-types with clearly inflectional features and a strong affinity to voice: specific syntactic structures retaining the lexical argument structure but reassigning grammatical relations, created online and endowed with clear constructional meanings: the facilitative, the non-volitional middle and the desiderative middle.

This split is paralleled in an interesting way by the situation in Dutch, where what is here described as two subdomains of the middle voice is encoded in different ways: gram types on the reflexive side, including the anticausative, contain the reflexive pronoun *zich*, like the anticausative construction in (6):

(6) Dutch
Micro-organismen ontwikkelen   zich door middel van diverse
micro-organism.PL develop.PRS.3PL REFL by   means of   diverse
voedingsbronnen
food.source.PL
'Micro-organisms develop by means of various food sources.'
https://www.hollandbuilding.nl/binnenmilieu/

The facilitative construction, on the other hand, has zero marking, that is, there is strictly speaking no middle voice construction here, just an intransitive construction:

(7) Dutch
Een goede tekst leest   prettig
a   good text read.PRS.3SG agreeably
[*en mag natuurlijk geen fouten bevatten*].
'A good text reads well [and may, of course, contain no mistakes].'
http://www.meesterlijketaal.nl/1_37_Teksten_redigeren.aspx

The inflectional subdomain characterized by reduced agentivity is contiguous with the passive, with which the relevant middle-voice grams have an important feature in common, viz. reduced involvement of the agent. This reduced involvement consists in reduced discourse prominence (backgrounding) of the agent in the case of the passive, while in the case of the middle-voice grams the agent is not (or not necessarily) backgrounded but is reduced in agentivity in the sense that the

constructional meaning specifies the subject's agency is not a decisive factor for the realization of the event. This is paralleled by a similar bifurcation in the case of the antipassive middle: while in the deobjective antipassive middle the object is reduced in discourse prominence, the deaccusative antipassive middle marks it as reduced in affectedness (in the sense that the agency is viewed as ineffectual) but not in prominence. Going one step further, and eliminating the agent from argument structure altogether, one arrives at the anticausative, which also belongs notionally to the middle and constitutes a homogeneous semantic domain with the other middle-voice grams mentioned above; it is, however, less obviously inflectional.

The more lexical character of the gram-types to the left of the anticausative seemingly contradicts what the labels would lead us to expect. Together with passives, antipassives are classified with what Kroeger (2005: 270) calls meaning-preserving voice grams (Zuñiga & Kittilä 2019: 82–119), and should therefore be eminently voice-like and correspondingly inflectional, like the passive. In fact, antipassives may be heavily restricted lexically even in languages with ergative alignment (Zuñiga & Kittilä 2019: 107–108), and it is not surprising to find such a situation in languages with accusative alignment.

Regardless of the grammatical or lexical character of the gram-types in question, it is mainly in the guise of anticausative and facilitative constructions that the notion of middle is and presumably will be used in the literature. The subdomain to the left of the anticausative is usually associated with reflexivity, though the notion of reflexivity is overused in the literature, and its explanatory value is overrated. The so-called reflexive-antipassive polysemy, for instance, cannot be properly understood without the notion of middle, because reflexives acquire an antipassive function when they cease to be proper reflexives. The very line of division between reflexives and antipassive has, in my view, not been properly understood until now, mainly because the workings of metonymy have not been sufficiently taken into account; I hope Chapters 1–3 of the present book will have contributed to a notional clarification. There is thus a certain contradiction between the explanatory usefulness of the notion of middle in the sense of a clustering of functions, and the difficulties we have in formulating its content in a unified way. This might tempt us, again, to look for an overarching middle feature for fear that, if we didn't find such a unifying feature, the notion would not be explanatory. But this fear is probably unfounded. The functions of the middle, like that of the irrealis – another example of a vague and elusive category – are connected by diachronic processes, and history is, of course, an explanation; but when a chains of diachronic shifts gets very long, too distant developmental stages cease to be immediately relevant. It is the lower-level generalizations, like those formulated above for the subdomains of the middle voice, that retain their relevance as explanatory notions.

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The fifth volume in the VARGReB series is a monograph presenting a collection of studies on middle-voice grams in Baltic, that is, on a widely ramified family of constructions with different syntactic and semantic properties but sharing a morphological marker of reflexive origin. Though the emphasis is on Baltic, ample attention is given to other languages as well, especially to Slavonic. The book offers many new insights into questions of syntactic and semantic interpretation, correct demarcation and diachronic explanation of middle-voice grams. The relationship between reflexive and middle, the workings of metonymy, changes in syntactic structure and lexical input as factors determining diachronic shifts within the middle-voice domain and transitions from one middle-voice gram to another – these are among the topics discussed in the book, which, beyond its relevance to Baltic and Slavonic scholarship, is also a contribution to the typology of the middle voice.

"This book is the first in-depth study of the middle-voice phenomena in Baltic languages since Geniušienė's seminal "The typology of reflexives" (1987) and builds upon the whole body of theoretical and typological work on voice and related categories that appeared since then. Based on rich empirical data from both contemporary usage as reflected in corpora and historical sources, the book offers a synchronic account of different constructions as well as a number of insights into their diachronic origins, against a broader typological and theoretical background. This is a book to be read by all specialists on reflexives, middles and valency-affecting processes in general, as well as by those interested in grammaticalization paths and historical development of morphosyntactic constructions."

Peter Arkadiev, *Russian Academy & Sciences & Russian State University for the Humanities*

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