Axel Holvoet

On the scope of the middle voice in Baltic
Argument Structure and Argument Realization in Baltic
Salos, July 29 — August 3, 2013

INTRODUCTION
In this talk I will discuss certain types of middle voice (formally reflexive) constructions in the Baltic languages, and their mutual relationships. This investigation is part of the typology of reflexives, if one defines the field on the basis of the formal marker (as in Geniušienė 1991); or it is part of the typology of the middle voice, if one defines the field on the basis of the meanings expressed (as in Kemmer 1993).

THE SEMANTIC MAP
The schema below is part of a semantic map, here cited from Haspelmath (2003), but essentially based on the implicational hierarchies formulated in Geniušienė (1987). It was divised as a semantic map for reflexives and shows diachronical shifts in their functions from proper reflexivity (1) to passive (5) and impersonal (6) meaning.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
reflexive	grooming & motion	anticausative	potential passive	passive	impersonal
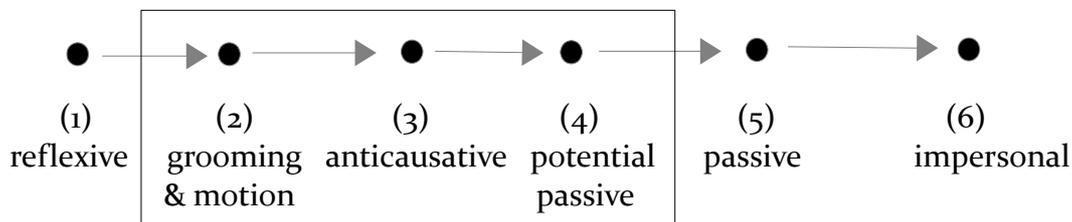
(1) *si se non noverit* 'if he will not know himself' (Ov., *Met*. i.348)   Latin
(2) *nec se movit humo* 'and did not rise from the ground' (Ov., *Met*. iv.264)   Latin
(3) *cukrus išsipylė* 'the sugar spilt'   Lith.
(4) *tylne siedzenia się wyjmują* 'the back seats can be taken out'   Polish
(5) *prodaetsja koška* 'cat for sale' ('is being sold')   Russian
(6) *czego się nie robi dla rozgłosu*. 'what doesn't one do to get into the news'   Polish

Types (2)—(4) are typical middle voice meanings. They have different types of marking:
(i) dedicated markers (Latin *admovetur* 'moves closer', Hebrew *ni-ptaḥ* 'opened'—both actually mediopassive).
(ii) borrowed from the reflexive (Lithuanian *skutasi* 'is shaving', *susilanksto* 'folds')
(iii) zero marking (*he was shaving*; *the door opened*; *the book sells well*)
This presentation deals basically with the types subsumed by Geniušienė under the name 'potential passive'. These constructions are not really passive, as Geniušienė and other authors

using the term are well aware. There are probably several reasons for using the term 'passive':
(i) avoidance of the term 'middle voice';
(ii) the possibility of paraphrasing some of the relevant constructions by means of the modal verb *can* and a passive infinitive (*cuts easily = can be cut easily*)
(iii) the fact that the relevant constructions are semantically closest (though not identical) to passives, and (diachronically) evolve into passives. This relative closeness to the passive rests on the degree of notional indispensability of the (expressed or unexpressed) agent.
But why 'potential'?

THE 'POTENTIAL PASSIVE'
For accomplishment verbs the notion of potential passive is hard to justify. To the extent that middle voice forms can have 'potential' uses, they will have 'actual' uses to match them. (The terms are awkward, so it would perhaps be better to say that the individual-level use (or generic use) is always matched by a stage-level use and *vice versa*—using the terms introduced by Carlson 1977). Cf. The following examples:

(7)   *I agree, vinyl cuts well (I've done plenty of vinyl cutting myself).*
        http://powder365.com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=3&t=3326&start=10
(8)   *The vinyl has cut well also.*
        http://forum.fablabmanchester.org/read.php?27,45,45
(9)   *Auch Fleisch, Tomaten oder Käse schneiden sich gut...*
        http://www.dooyoo.de/messer-scheren/herder-classic-windmuehlenmesser/1114986/
(10)   *Der Stahl macht einen super Eindruck und alles was ich bisher damit gesäbelt hab hat sich gut geschnitten.* http://www.fisch-hitparade.de/angeln.php?p=

If (for some reason) the 'actual' (stage-level) use is impossible, the 'potential use' (individual or generic level use) seems to be impossible as well, cf.

(11)   **The back seats took out easily.*
(12)   **Die hinteren Sitze haben sich leicht herausgenommen.*
(13)   **The back seats take out easily.*
(14)   **Die hinteren Sitze nehmen sich leicht heraus.*

Latvian also illustrates both the potential and the actual use. In this case we clearly see the aspectual nature of the difference (middle voice constructions have been the starting point for more general insights into the relevance of aspectual properties for argument realisation, cf. Levin & Happaport Hovav 2005, 96ff, with overview of the literature): the 'potential' type has the imperfective phrasal verb *ņemt ārā*, whereas the 'actual' type has the prefixed perfective *izņemt*:

(15)   *Pietiek*   *izņemt*   *taustiņ-us.*   *Tie*   *vis-i*   Latvian
        suffice.PRS.3 take.out.INF key-ACC.PL   3.NOM.PL.M   all-NOM.PL.M
        smuki   **ņemas**   **ārā**   *no*   *sān-a*   *tos*
        nicely   take.PRS.3.REFL out   from   side-GEN.SG   3.ACC.PL.M
        palaužot   *ar*   *kād-u*   *plakan-u*   *priekšmet-u.*
        press.CVB   with   some-ACC.SG flat-ACC.SG   object-ACC.SG
        'It suffices to take out the keys. These allow themselves nicely to be taken out by pressing them from the side with a flat object.'
        http://spoki.tvnet.lv/praktiskais/Iztiriju-klaveni/475087

(16)   *Otr-u*   *lamp-u*   *sakarsēju*   *līdz*   *tam,*   *kad*
           other-ACC.SG lamp-ACC.SG   heat.PST.1SG till   that-DAT.SG.M   when
           vienk[ārši]   *ar*   *roku*   *pavelkot*   *stikls*   **izņēmās.**
           simply   with   hand- ACC.SG pull- CVB   glass-NOM.SG   take.out.PST.3
           http://www.e30.lv/showthread.php?281-Jaut%E2jumi-skr%FBv%E7%F0an%E2-viss
           -par-visu/page372
           'I heated the other lamp to the point when the glass allowed itself to be taken out by
           simply pulling by hand.'

True, there are cases where a 'potential passive' cannot be perfectivised and used with reference to an actual event. Cf. the following Polish example with an iterative achievement verb:

(17)   *Ta*   *książk-a*   *się*   *dobrze*   *sprzedaje.*   Polish
           that.NOM.SG.F   book-NOM.SG   REFL   well   sell.IPFVE.PRS.3SG
           'This book sells well.'

In this case the use of the perfective verb is possible, but only in a specific sense:

(18)   *Książka*   *się*   *dobrze*   *sprzedała.*   Polish
           book-NOM.SG   REFL   well   sell.PFVE.PST.F.SG
           'The book has sold well.'

This can be said only of the print-run of a book, not of one copy: selling one copy is not a valid grounds for saying a book sells well. Here, a certain accumulation is needed.
The type of non-perfectivisable 'potential passives' also comprises state and activity verbs. Not all of them can take objects, but some can; there are, e. g., the verbs of directed perception, which are basically stative but can be conceptualised as accomplishments through the quantification of the object, which can measure out the event: 'read', 'listen', 'watch' etc. The type is only marginally perfectivisable:

(19)   *Książka*   *się*   *dobrze*   *czyta*   Polish
           book-NOM.SG   REFL   well   read.IPFVE.PRS.3SG
           'the book reads well'
(20)   ? *Książka*   *się*   *dobrze*   *przeczytała* (marginally acceptable)
            book-NOM.SG   REFL   well   read.PFVE.PST.F.SG
           'The book has read well.'
(21)   *Film*   *się*   *dobrze*   *ogląda*
           film.NOM.SG REFL   well   watch.IPFVE.PRS.3SG
           'The film watches well'
(22)   *Film*   *się*   *dobrze*   *obejrzał.*
           film.NOM.SG REFL   well   watch.PFVE.PST.M.SG

We can regard the second type, which we will call facilitative (Kemmer 1993, 19–20), as an extension of the first, which we will call the successful performance type. It comprises state and activity predicates as well as iterative achievement predicates. It is inherently imperfective: with the exception of those verbs that can be recategorised as accomplishment verbs, there can be no successful performance here, only successful activity or satisfactory state.
This extension beyond accomplishments proper is not automatic, e. g., it is traditionally

absent from Baltic even though in recent times Russian influence occasionally leads to constructions like

(23) *!Knyg-a*   *gerai* *parsiduoda.*   Lith
      !Grāmat-a   *labi*   *pārdodas.*   Latv
      book-NOM.SG   well   sell.PRS.3REFL
      'The book sells well.'

(24) *!Knyg-a*   *gerai* *skaitosi.*   Lith
      !Grāmat-a   *labi*   *lasās.*   Latv
      book-NOM.SG   well   read.PRS.3REFL
      'The book reads well.'

TWO TYPES OF 'POTENTIAL PASSIVES'
Succesful accomplishment:
– only accomplishment predicates
– object affected
– perfective and imperfective
Facilitative:
– activity and iterative achievement predicates
– object usually not affected (but may be used for delimitation of the activity)
– imperfective (limited possibility of perfectivisation, actually a transitional stage to the successful accomplishment type)

Geniušienė (1987, 109ff) distinguishes 'potential passive' and 'resultative/perfective passive'. She adds that there is an overlap between the types, citing

(25) *Batai*   *greit* *nusiavi.*   Lith
      shoe-nom.pl fast   wear.out.prs.3.refl
      'Shoes wear out fast.'

(26) *Bat-ai*   *greit* *nusiavėjo.*   Lith
      shoe-nom.pl fast   wear.out.pst.3.refl
      'The shoes got worn out fast.'

But cf. *my shoes have worn out fast, die Schuhe haben sich schnell abgenutzt* etc. We have identity rather than overlap. It seems preferable to base the distinction between type of reflexives on aspectual classes rather than on aspectual values, and to single out the constructions with non-accomplishment verbs as a distinct type because of the obvious limitations to which it is subject (its absence in Baltic, for example).

      The term 'potential passive', though basically a misnomer, finds a certain justification in the fact that it probably acts as a transitional stage to the passive (as noted by Geniušienė 1987, 351). The successful performance type needs no actual performance: one successful performance, or even constructional properties of the object, will be sufficient to predict that the performance will be successful. But it is not sufficient to sell one book in order to say it sells well. Facilitative constructions based on iterative achievement predicates, activity predicates etc. require a certain accumulation.

      This gives rise to a relation of entailment: in order for us to say that something can be taken out, opened, washed etc. it does not need to be actually taken out etc. But 'X sells well' entails 'X is sold'. This type is thus actually even less 'potential' than the successful performance type. This is what probably enables this type to serve as a transitional stage to the passive. Note that passives of middle voice origin are basically imperfective, as shown by

Russian (where the reflexive passive applies to imperfective verbs).

IMPERSONAL (INTRASITIVE-BASED) FACILITATIVES
The facilitative type spreads to intransitive verbs, giving rise, in most cases, to an impersonal facilitative:

(27) *Tu   się   wygodnie   siedzi.*   Polish
      here   REFL   comfortably   sit.PRS.3SG
      'One sits comfortably here.'
(28) *Hier   wohn-t   es   sich   gut.*   German
      here   live-PRS.3SG   EXPL   REFL   good
      'It's good to live here.'

A more accurate label for 'impersonal facilitatives' would be 'intransitive-based' facilitatives, as there are alternatives for the impersonal use of intransitive middles. Dutch, for instance, has the impersonal construction (29), but it also has constructions in which a local argument is promoted to subject instead (30):

(29) *Het   zit   lekker   op   zo'n   paard*   Dutch
      it   sit.prs.3sg   nice   on   such   horse
      en   het   zijn   zulke lieve   beest-en.
      and   it   be.PRS.3PL   such   gentle   beast-PL
      'It's nice to sit on such a horse, and they are such gentle creatures.'
      http://kvk-kinderen-voor-kinderen.clubs.nl/nieuws/detail/1282717_karijn
(30) *Ergonomische   stoel-en   zitten   lekker*   Dutch
      ergonomic   chair-PL   sit.PRS.3PL   nice
      en   versterken   de   rug.
      and   strengthen.PRS.3pl   DEF   back
      'Ergonomic chairs are nice to sit on and strengthen the back.'
      http://www.velto.nl/advies/gezond_zitten

Baltic has not independently developed the impersonal facilitative type (as it presupposes the 'personal' facilitative construction), but it is also borrowed from Slavonic along with the personal type:

(31) *Vien-i "meistr-ai"   labai   rekomendavo   tok-į*   Lith
      some repairman-NOM.PL   strongly   recommend-PST.3   such-ACC.SG.M
      glaist-ą,   sakė   gerai   dirbasi   su   juo.
      plaster-ACC   say-PST.3   well   work.PRS.3.REFL   with   3.INS.SG.M
      http://banga.balsas.lt/lt/2forum.showPosts/814840.333.3-=(3422185789
      'Some repairmen strongly recommended this kind of plaster, they said it's good to
            work with.'

IMPERSONAL TRANSITIVE FACILITATIVES
The impersonal facilitative can then be transitivised by the introduction of an accusative object; this seems to have happened in Polish only:

(32) *Autobus   MPK,   tutaj dobrze   się   czyta   książk-i.* Polish
      Bus.nom.sg   here   well   refl   read.PRS.3SG   book-acc.pl
      http://www.myrss.com.pl/detal_244525_autobus_mpk_tutaj,300.htm

'The MPK buses: it's good to read books here.'

This type is semantically distinct from the personal facilitative type *Książka się dobrze czyta*, even though the distinction may become blurred in individual cases. In this type the accusative object is backgrounded and its properties are not referred to, emphasis being shifted to other factors facilitating the action, such as place, mood, properties of the agent.

This construction is superficially similar to the Polish impersonal construction with *się*, as in

(33) *Tu   się   czyta   książk-i.*   Polish
here   REFL   read.PRS.3SG   book-ACC.PL
'Books are being read here.'

This impersonal construction developed from the passive, which was stated as a regular development by Geniušienė (1987, 350). In Polish, this path is no longer evident because the passive function of the reflexive/middle has become obsolete:

(34) *Król-owie   Polscy   chowa-l-i   się*   Old Polish
king- NOM.PL Polish.NOM.PL.VIR   bury-PST-PL.VIR   REFL
na Wawelu.
on.Wawel.Hill
'The Polish Kings used to be buried on Wawel Hill.'
(modern meaning: 'used to hide on Wawel Hill)

The impersonal facilitative construction and the impersonal construction should, of course, be kept apart. They have different meanings, and only the facilitative type can be expanded with a dative NP.

AGENT DATIVES
One of the properties enabling us to distinguish the successful performance type from the anticausative type is the agentive interpretation acquired by free datives (the *dativus commodi* or dative of interest). The agentive interpretation is obviously absent with anticausatives—here a dative will be a mere dative of interest:

(35) *Tikiu pasakymu, kad veidrodis tai durys į kitą pasaulį,*   Lith
ir   tos   dur-ys   man   atsidarė.
and   those.NOM.PL.F   door-NOM.PL   1SG.DAT   open.PST.3.REFL
http://www.point.lt/blog/197019/paralelinis-pasaulis-1-dalis
'I believe in the saying that a looking-glass is a door to another world, and this door
    opened before me.'

But it will be interpreted as the agent with the successful performance type:

(36) *Tai   ranken-a   man   lengvai   išsiėmė, ...*   Lith
so   handle-nom.sg   1SG.DAT   easily   take.out.PST.3.REFL
http://forumai.bmw-klubas.lt/viewtopic.php?
f=59&t=58013&sid=53feba21c6525f6cebc9cba94a5c36d5&view=print
'So I found it easy to remove the handle.'

Geniušienė (1986, 116) claims with reference to the constructions discussed here that '… the expression of the human Agent is banned'. She notes some uses with agentively interpreted datives from Latvian but adds that these are experiencers, not agents.

In fact datives receiving an agentive interpretation occur massively. To (30) add (31) from Latvian:

(37)   *Plūsmas*   *mērītāj-s*   *man*   *ideāli*   *izņēmās*   Latv
       flow-gen   meter-nom   1sg.dat   ideally   take.out.pst.3.refl
       bez baigā spēka pielietošanas.
       http://www.bmwpower.lv/forum_topic.php?topic=8653
       'I found it easy to take out the flow meter, without any use of force.'

Geniušienė's insistence (in the face of evidence) that the agent may not surface with 'potential passive' and 'perfective passive' reflexives is explained by the Leningrad School's definition of the basic diatheses (for a view close to this cf. Melčuk 1993). A defining property of reflexives in the Leningrad view is that A and O are represented by one syntactic argument; if A has a syntactic representation of its own, distinct from O, we have a passive rather than a reflexive.

      Of course, even if one recognises the massive occurrence of 'dative agents' in the successful accomplishment type, one can explain it away by saying the agent actually appears in the disguise of an experiencer or 'interested person'. It is not clear, however, what is gained by this. Agent phrases in passive constructions appear in various disguises, e. g., as source (*von Hans gebracht*), instrument (*osnovan Petrom Pervym*) etc. (cf. Keenan & Dryer 2007, 343–345). Datives of interest are a common source of agent phrases as well (though not mentioned by Keenan & Dryer), cf.

(38)   *illa nocte*   *mihi*   *Troiae*   *victoria*   Latin
       on.that.night   1SG.DAT   Troy.GEN   victory.NOM
       parta   *est.*
       engender.PPP.NOM.SG.F   be.PRS.3SG
       'On that night was the victory over Troy gained by me ' (Ov., *Met.* 13.348)
(39)   *wə'im …*   *lô*   *tiwwāsərû*   *l-î*   Class. Hebrew
       and.if   NEG   be.reformed.IPF.2PL.M   to-1SG
       'if ye will not be reformed by me' (Lv 26.23)

In fact, nothing much can be adduced against the comparison of the dative NPs in the constructions discussed here with agent phrases in passives if one is not a priori committed to the view that they must be something different, or, better still, should not exist at all.

THE UNEXPECTED RESULT TYPE

The successful performance type refers to actions being undertaken towards a certain result, and the success or ease with which this result is secured. If the success of an accomplishment is not guaranteed, thing may as well turn out differently, and middles may also refer to a result different from the intentions or expectations of the agent:

(40)   *Nu*   *tad*   *tagad*   *ķēros*   *atkal*   *klāt,* *iztīriju*   Latvian
       PCL   PCL   now   took.PST.1SG   again   to   clean.PST.1SG
       no   *putekļiem*   *un*   *nejauši*   *ar*   *procesora*   *redel-i*
       of   dust-DAT.PL   and   by.chance   with   processor-GEN.SG   rack-ACC.SG
       izņēmās   *arī*   *procesor-s.*
       take.out.PST.3   also   processor-NOM.SG

http://www.boot.lv/forums/index.php?/topic/103534-dators-nesledzas-ieksa-melns-ekrans-divains-gadijums/
'I went about work again, wiped off the dust and inadvertently pulled out the processor together with the processor rack.'

(41) *Eee, koks majonezas??? nėr majonezo.*   Lith
      Sorry!   *Man*   *kažkodėl*   *persiskaitė*   *„Vilniaus majonezas".*
                    1SG.DAT   somehow   read.PST.3.REFL
      'What's that about mayonnaise? There's no mayonnaise.
      Sorry! I somehow thought I read the words *Vilnius Mayonnaise*.'
      http://beatulia.blogspot.com/2011/11/vandos-statkevicienes-keksas.html

In this type, as in the successful performance type, the presence of a dative referring to the agent is quite common. Its semantic interpretation will be different, however. In the imperfective variety of the successful accomplishment type, the agent is understood as generic if not specified:

(42) *Taustiņ-i*   *viegli*   *ņemas*   *ārā*   Latv
      key-NOM.PL   easily   take.PRS.3.REFL out
      'it is easy (for anybody) to remove the keys'

The agent can, however, be specific, and is then always represented by a dative NP:

(43) *Man*   *taustiņi*   *viegli* *ņemas*   *ārā.*   Latv
      1SG.MAN   key-NOM.PL   easily   take.PRS.3REFL   out
      'I find it easy to remove the keys.'

In the perfective subtype the agent is always specific; if not realised in syntax, it is contextually retrievable:

(44) *Taustiņ-i*   *viegli*   *izņēmās.*   Latv
      key-NOM.PL   easily   take.out.PST.3.REFL
      'The keys allowed themselves to be removed easily.'

(45) *Man*   *taustiņi*   *viegli*   *izņēmās.*   Latv
       1SG.MAN   key-NOM.PL   easily   take.out.PST.3.REFL
      'I found it easy to remove the keys.'

The unexpected result type is always perfective (it is a stage-level rather than an individual-level or generic predication), and is, in this sense, distinct from the negative variety of the successful performance type.
      Alongside *the book reads well* we have, of course, *the book reads badly*, but this is basically the same type of use. In the imperfective variety, the outcome is said to be predictably good, middling or bad. What is unexpected, on the other hand, cannot be generalised about.
      The unexpected result type, then, refers to a specific situation and the agent cannot, by definition, be generic. If not realised in syntax, it is retrievable from the context.

THE UNCONTROLLABLE QUANTIFICATION TYPE
The unexpected result type has a subtype in which the result—usually the consumption of goods—is predictable but the quantification of the affected object, or the pace of consumption, is beyond the control of the agent.

8

(46) *Greitai*   *tas*   *butel-is*   *išsigėrė,*   Lith
fast   that.NOM.SG.M   bottle- NOM.SG   drink.up.PST.3.REFL
teko   *atsisveikinti*   *ir*   *namo*   *eiti.*
be.necessary.PST.3   take.leave.INF   and   home   go.INF
http://www.zdramys.com/indija2/2012-02-03.htm
'The bottle got emptied very fast, and I had to take my leave and go home.'

(47) *Man*   *kafij-a*   *izdzērās,*   *laikam*   *pietiek*   Latv
1SG.DAT   coffee-NOM   drink.up.PST.3.REFL   probably   suffice.PRS.3
pašreiz   *pļāpāt.*
for.now   chat.INF
http://www.lelb.lv/forums/?fu=l&id=4351&rid=952&start=3
'In the meantime my cup of coffee is empty [has got emptied], we've probably had enough of this chatting for now.'

The unexpected result type is a distinct type: languages that have the successful performance type do not necessarily have this one:

Es/mir lies sich versehentlich...
Mein Kaffee hat sich ausgetrunken...

Through the discrepancy between intended and actual result this type is drawn closer to achievement predicates, but the type remains restricted to accomplishment verbs and presupposes a corresponding successful performance type.

The two types evolving from the successful accomplishment type are aspectually differentiated:
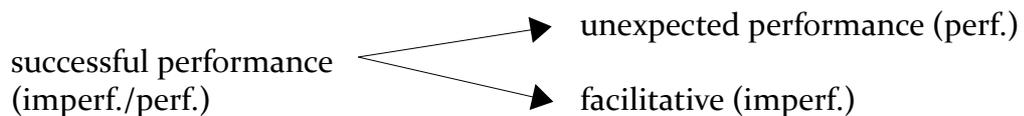
THE UNINTENTIONAL ACTION TYPE
An extention from the unintended result type is the unintentional action type. It is derived not only from accomplishment verbs, but also from achievement verbs. Here, instead of a deliberate action producing an unintended result, the whole event is conceived as unintended. This type is quite common in Latvian but does not seem to be characteristic of Lithuanian, where such constructions are derived with lesser ease. However, there is probably no rigid line of division between this type and the preceding one:

(48) *No sava mantu maisa es tagad velku laukā stepētu dūnu segu.*
Taisni   *brīnums,*   *ka*   *tā*   *Rīg-ā*   *bija*   Latv
simply   miracle   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 happened to grab it along in Riga.' (Valentīns Jakobsons)

(49) *Bet ...*   *piedodiet,*   *ka*   *man*   *izteicās*   *drusku*   Latv
but   forgive.IMP.2PL   that   1SG.DAT   say.PST.3.REFL   somewhat
par   *maz.* (Kārlis Zariņš)
too   little
'But pardon me, I mistakenly quoted too small an amount.'

THE INTRANSITIVE UNINTENTIONAL ACTION TYPE

In one language at least, the unintentional action type just illustrated for Latvian has extended to intransitive verbs. In Polish, impersonal middle voice constructions are derived from such verbs as *zasnąć* 'fall asleep', *umrzeć* 'die':

(50) *Dziadkowi   się   zasnęło   przed   telewizor-em.*
      Grandfather-DAT.SG REFL fall.asleep.PFVE.PST.N.SG in.front.of TV.set-INS.SG
      'Grandfather dozed off in front of the television set.'

THE VOLITIONAL EXTENSION

In some Slavonic languages middle voice constructions may have a volitional reading:

(51) *Mne   segodnja   ne   rabotaetsja.*   Russ
      1sg.dat   today   neg   work.PRS.3SG.REFL
      'I don't feel like working today.'

This type of use is characteristic of East and South Slavonic. Alongside the impersonal type illustrated in (51) there is also a personal type, particularly well known from South Slavonic, but used also in Russian:

(52) *Solënych   ryžikov   ne   est,   i   Russ.*
      salted.GEN.PL   saffron.milk.cap.GEN.PL   NEG   eat.PRS.3SG and
      čaj   emu   ne   p'ëtsja. (Erofeev, from NKRJa)
      tea.NOM   3.DAT.SG.M NEG   drink.PRS.3SG.REFL
      'He does not eat salted saffron milk caps, and has no taste for tea.'

As in all other cases, the personal variety (with a nominative subject) must be the older one. This extension is not characteristic of Baltic, though as a result of Russification in the Soviet period thay have made their way into colloquial Lithuanian and Latvian:

(53) *Var   redzēt,   ka   šodien   man   ne-strādājas.*   Latv
      be.able.PRS.3 see.INF that   today   1SG.DAT   NEG-work.PRS.3.REFL
      'You can see I'm not in a mood for working today.'
      klab.lv/users/djhurio/
(54) *Man   tai   visai   ne-sidirba,   todėl   ir*   Lith
      1sg.dat   PCL   at.all neg-work.prs.3.refl therefore   also
      nardau   čia.
      dive.prs.1sg here
      'As for me, I don't feel like working at all, that's why I'm surfing here.'
      http://www.tax.lt/temos/1981-viesoji-istaiga/9

The constructions is, of course, avoided in careful speech. In literary writing, it does not seem to appear before the Soviet period. When it appears, it is in the personal variety, which is less conspicuously borrowed:

(55) *Liepsarg-am   brokast-is   kaut kā   ne-ēdās.* (Alberts Bels)
      PN-dat   breakfast.NOM.PL   somehow   NEG-eat.PRS.3.REFL
      'Liepsargs ate his breakfast somehow without appetite.'

This example shows that the construction is somehow close to the successful accomplishment type, and has probably arisen from it. From the properties of the object as a factor determining the (un)successful performance of an action the emphasis shifts to the presence or absence of volition on the part of the agent.

In a further step, the construction may become purely volitional, i. e., the whole predication expressed by the verb may be conceived of as the object of positive or negative volition (without suggestion that the action is actually successfully or unsuccessfully performed). This seem to be characteristic of South Slavonic.

(56) | *Pije* | *mi* | *se* | *rakij-a.* | Serb.-Cr. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| drink.PRS.3SG | 1SG.DAT | REFL | raki-NOM.SG | |

'I wouldn't mind having some rakija.'

DIALECTAL SYSTEMS

The use of reflexive forms in Lithuanian and Baltic dialects would deserve a detailed investigation. Thanks to the Latvian lexicographical practice of listing all reflexive forms as separate verbs, Antoṇina Reķēna's dictionary of the dialect of Kalupe gives us an accurate picture of the use of reflexive forms in this dialect. Here the whole system of reflexive/middle forms seems to have been reorganised under Slavonic influence; Polish and Russian elements seem to be combined. Of course, reflexive forms are used in facilitative function:

(57) | *Ka* | *vys-s* | | *lab'i* | *satàiśiêc –* | | *pluškài* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| when | everything-NOM.SG.M | | well | prepare.PPP.NOM.SG.M | | plough.DAT.SG |
| *jaûnc* | | *l'em'eśś* | | *i* | *rezak-s* | |
| new-NOM.SG.M | | share. NOM.SG | | and | coulter-NOM.SG | |
| *dałykc,* | | *to* | *i* | *lab'i* | *arâs.* | |
| add. PPP.NOM.SG.M | | then | also | well | plough.PRS.3.REFL | |

'When everything is well in place and the plough is provided with a new share and
coulter, then it's good ploughing.'

But, moreover, reflexive forms are used in passive function in the Russian fashion (also known in older Polish):

(58) | *źiȓg'i* | *śliêdźüôs* | *àr* | *dźèļž-a* | *pynakl'-ìm* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| horse.NOM.PL | shut.PST.3.REFL | with | iron-GEN | hobble-DAT.PL |

'The horses used to be hobbled with iron hobbles.'
(cf. Russian *лошади сковывались железными путами*;
Standard Latvian *zirgus sapina/zirgi tika sapīti ar dzelzs pinekļiem*)

For intransitive verbs the reflexive is used impersonally, as in Polish (a type unknown to Russian):

(59) | *pastùov'eîg'i* | *bràucâs* | *àr* | *tù* | *zyȓg-u* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| continually | drive.PRS.3.REFL | with | this.ACC.SG | horse-ACC.SG |

'this horse is used for driving the whole time'
(cf. Polish *ciągle się jeździ tym koniem*)

AGENT DATIVES AGAIN

In the unexpected result type, as in the successful accomplishment type, dative agents frequently occur. If they are not represented in syntax, the agent will be interpreted as specific and context-retrievable.

This raises questions with regard to the conceptual autonomy of predicates like *pagrābties līdzi* (48), *izteikties* (49) etc. Of course the whole construction rests on the fiction that the action of grabbing something along, saying something etc. is a spontaneous process for which the agent is not responsible. Still, this is a fiction. The farther we move from the successful performance type to the unintentional action type, the harder it becomes to conceptualise the event without reference to an agent.

This is interesting in the context of diathesis . There is an analogon among passive constructions. Many languages have impersonal passives, whose main function is to 'derive zero-place predicates (sentences) from one-place predicates' (Keenan & Dryer 2007, 345):

(60) *Tika*   *dejo-t-s*   *un*   *dziedā-t-s.*   Latv
      AUX.PST.3   dance-PPP-NOM.SG.M   and   sing-PPP-NOM.SG.M
      'There was dancing and singing.'

Paradoxically, some languages may add an agent phrase to such a construction, undoing what the construction is supposed to achieve, cf. the frequently cited Dutch example (originally from Kirsner 1976):

(61) *Er*   *wordt*   *door* *de*   *jongens*   *gefloten.*   Dutch
      there AUX.PRS.3SG   by   DEF   boys   whistle.PPP
      'There was some whistling by the boys.'

It seems preferable, when faced with such instances, slightly to adapt one's definition of the impersonal passive (e. g., by saying that basically it serves to eliminate the agent but may also acquire other functions, in which case the demoted agent may resurface) than to claim that *door de jongens* is not an agent phrase but, say, an instrument phrase.

The same applies to the Slavonic and Baltic middle voice constructions with dative agents. They are basically middle, i. e., they refer to an undifferentiated subject-object (Kemmer 1993, 66), but they may acquire additional functions which require the agent to be reintroduced. These cases must somehow be accommodated in a theory of voice and diathesis.

A PIECE OF THE MAP
Note that this is only a piece of the map for reflexives—numerous types of reflexives, such as the indirect middle so characteristic of Lithuanian (*nusipirkti* 'buy for oneself'), object-suppressives (*kandžiotis* 'bite') etc., are not taken into account.

ABBREVIATIONS

REFERENCES

CARLSON, GREGORY. 1977. *Reference to Kinds in English*. Unpublished Ph.D thesis. University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Published 1980 by Garland Press, New York.

GENIUŠIENĖ, EMMA. 1987. *The Typology of Reflexives*. Berlin etc.: Mouton de Gruyter.

HASPELMATH, MARTIN. 2003. The geometry of meaning. Semantic maps and cross-linguistic comparison. In: Michael Tomasello, ed., *The New Psychology of Language* vol. 2. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 211–242.

HOLVOET, AXEL. 2000. Reflexiva typu słowiańskiego w pewnej gwarze górnołotewskiej. In: Ewa Wolnicz-Pawłowska & Wanda Szulowska, eds., *Kontakty językowe polszczyzny na pograniczu wschodnim. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Januszowi Riegerowi*. Warszawa: Semper, 97–102.

KEENAN, EDWARD. L. & MATTHEW S. DRYER. 2007. Passive in the world's languages. In: Timothy Shopen, ed., *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*. Vol. 1: *Clause Structure*. Cambridge: University Press, 325–361.

KEMMER, SUZAN. 1993. *The Middle Voice*. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins. (Typological Studies in Language, 23.)

LEVIN, BETH & MALKA RAPPAPORT HOVAV. 2005. *Argument Realization*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univerity Press.

MEL'ČUK, IGOR. 1993. Voice: Toward a rigorous definition. In: Bernard Comrie & Maria Polinsky, eds., *Causatives and Transitivity*. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1–46.

KIRSNER, ROBERT. 1976. On the subjectless pseudo-passive in standard Dutch and the semantics of background agents. In: Charles N. Li, ed., *Subject and Topic*. New York: Academic Press, 385–415.

REĶĒNA, ANTOŅINA. 1998. *Kalupes izloksnes vārdnīca*. Rīga: Latviešu valodas institūts.