Research Master's thesis

Functions of the Czech reflexive marker *se/si*

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Acknowledgements

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1. INTRODUCTION

The present thesis examines the diverse functions of the Czech verbal clitic *se*, to be referred to here as the 'reflexive marker' (RM). This label reflects the common assumption that the primary function of *se* is to mark reflexivity, i.e. the fact that one of the grammatical objects in a clause refers to the same entity as the subject. In other words, a reflexive situation is one in which the subject referent performs the action denoted by the verb upon him- or herself. The 'truly' reflexive use of *se* is illustrated in (1a), where coreference holds between subject (S) and direct object (DO). (1b) shows the corresponding non-reflexive transitive construction.

(1) a. *Lenka   se   polévá vodou.*
        Lenka:NOM RM:ACC douses   water:INS
        'Lenka douses herself with water.'

   b. *Lenka   polévá Dana   vodou.*
        Lenka:NOM douses Dan:ACC water:INS
        'Lenka douses Dan with water.'

A comparison of the two examples in (1) shows that when S and DO are coreferential, the latter surfaces as *se*.[1] However, marking reflexivity is by far not the only function of the RM. Examples (2) to (4) show three other construction types making us of *se*.

(2) *Lenka   a   Dan   se   polévají   vodou.*
      Lenka:NOM and Dan:NOM RM:ACC douse:3.PL water:INS
      'Lenka and Dan douse each other with water.'

(3) *Dveře   se   otevřely.*
      door:NOM RM:ACC opened:3.PL[2]
      'The door opened.'

(4) *Takové   boty   se   už   nevyrábí.*
      such:NOM.PL.F shoes:NOM RM:ACC already NEG-make:3.PL
      'They[generic] don't make such shoes anymore.'

Obviously, in none of (2) through (4) can the subject referent be deemed to perform an action upon itself. The sentence in (2) describes a situation of two individuals engaged in a mutual activity and *se* there thus marks reciprocity rather than reflexivity.[3] The subject referent in (3) is an inanimate entity and as such not considered capable of performing any action whatsoever. The event described in (3) must have had an external cause, e.g. the wind. However, this cause is unknown, unidentifiable or otherwise non-salient and the speaker thus depicts the event as one that came about spontaneously. Since elimination of the external

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[1] And assumes a position right after the first syntactic constituent of the clause; prosodic properties of the RM will be discussed in Section 2.2.

[2] The reason why the verb in (3) bears plural marking is that the subject *dveře* 'door' is a plurale tantum.

[3] In fact, the sentence in (2) has also the truly reflexive reading "Lenka douses herself with water and Dan douses himself with water." At this point, however, my only concern is to illustrate the most characteristic functions of *se*. More on the polysemy between the truly reflexive and reciprocal constructions and other polysemy patterns associated with the RM will be said in the following chapters.

cause is a distinctive property of the construction in question, this construction is most commonly referred to as the 'anticausative'.[4] The subject referent in (4), too, is an inanimate entity. Nevertheless, in this case no seeming spontaneity of the event is being communicated. Rather, we are dealing with a generic statement which resembles passive constructions in "downplaying" the agentive referent (i.e. the shoemaker or shoemakers). Indeed, constructions of the (4) type are commonly termed 'reflexive passive', although we will see below that another label may be more appropriate. Note that the RM in (3) and (4) not only does not convey identity of its referent with the entity denoted by the subject. In fact, it can hardly be claimed to have any referent at all. Consequently, *se* in these sentences does not seem to have the status of grammatical object or any other syntactic function. All it seems to do is to mark a certain alternation in the verbal semantics and/or argument structure.

The constructions exemplified in (2) through (4) certainly cannot be regarded marginal or secondary. In fact, it can safely be stated that in actual speech, utterances of the (3) and (4) type outnumber the truly reflexive uses of *se* illustrated in (1a). Moreover, our list of constructions utilizing the RM is far from complete. Hence, marking reflexivity is just one of many functions of the RM and using the label 'reflexive marker' for any occurrence of *se* is misleading at best. There are, however, several good reasons to still adopt this label. First, it is a conventional term broadly used in the literature, based on the etymology of this clitic which goes back to the Proto-Indo-European form **s(u)e-* 'own'. Second, as we will see in Chapter 2, Czech *se* actually comes in two case forms; the label 'reflexive marker' unambiguously covers both of them. Third, having a label like this enables us to apply it not only to Czech *se*, but also to its equivalents in other languages. Finally, the word 'marker' is convenient for its neutrality with respect to the grammatical status of *se*, which, as we shall see, remains a matter of debate among Czech linguists. For now, nevertheless, the most important thing for the reader to keep in mind is that whenever I write RM, I intend *se* or one of its crosslinguistic counterparts as a linguistic unit regardless of its actual function. Needless to say, this implies that I conceive there to be for each language one polyfunctional RM rather than a spectrum of homophonous specialized markers.

The initial impulse for writing my thesis about the RM and its functions was the realization of its abundance in Czech and other Slavic languages when compared to English and Dutch – the languages I know the best from all non-Slavic ones. Why do Slavic languages employ the RM to such an excessive degree? And what, if something, do its different functions have in common? Is the polysemy of the RM a peculiarity of Slavic languages or is it a more universal phenomenon? If nothing was previously known about the topic, finding answers to these questions would be a gigantic task. However, becoming intrigued with reflexivity, one soon discovers that there is an extensive body of literature dealing with the functions of reflexive markers both in specific languages and from a crosslinguistic perspective and containing detailed and appealing answers to all the questions mentioned above.

While this is good news for someone who would just like to satisfy his or her curiosity about the reasons for the "extreme" exploitation of the RM in Czech and/or other languages, it is not that good news for someone who decided to devote his/her master's thesis to that topic: it almost looks like there is nothing left for research. True, while collecting data for the thesis, I have come across uses of the Czech RM that to my knowledge had previously been paid only marginal attention or went altogether unnoticed; some of them will be discussed in the final part of the thesis. However, as I am currently not in a position to attempt a comprehensive

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[4] Another frequently used label is 'decausative'. For some other terms used see Kulikov (2013: fn. 5).

survey of such "minor" reflexive constructions in Czech,[5] these do not form the main focus of the present work. Rather, the main objective remains tackling the major questions mentioned in the preceding paragraph, thereby taking full advantage of the most compelling insights into the subject offered by linguists working within different functionally oriented research frameworks.

The remainder of the text is organized as follows. Chapter 2 describes the morphological and prosodic properties of the Czech RM, providing necessary background for the discussion. Chapter 3 reviews the debate among Czech linguists concerning the RM's grammatical status. Chapter 4 summarizes the main findings of typological research on reflexive markers and sketches the diachronic path along which they typically develop. Chapter 5 offers a systematic discussion of the functions of the Czech RM. Chapter 6 summarizes and concludes the discussion.

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[5] The word 'construction' is to be understood here in the sense of Construction Grammar as an abstract and relatively complex "conventionalized pairing of meaning and form" (Fried (2004: 630)), whatever its precise grammatical status. A 'reflexive construction' is any such construction of which the RM forms an integral part. The term 'reflexive structure', on the other hand, will be used to denote concrete instantiations of these abstract patterns.

2. FORMAL PROPERTIES OF THE RM

The following three chapters prepare the ground for the overview of semantic and pragmatic functions of the Czech RM, presented in Chapter 5. The present chapter looks closely at formal properties of the RM. It is divided into two sections. Section 2.1 inspects the morphological shape of the RM and Section 2.2 illustrates its prosodic behavior.

2.1. MORPHOLOGICAL PROPERTIES

Apart from the form *se*, which is generally taken to be case-marked for accusative, the RM has a dative form *si*.[6] As demonstrated in Table 1 below, the two forms of the RM are morphologically parallel to the clitic forms of 1.SG and 2.SG personal pronouns. Note that personal pronouns have clitic forms only for the ACC, DAT and GEN cases.

	ACC	DAT	GEN
RM	*se*	*si*	(*se*)
1.SG	*mě*	*mi*	*mě*
2.SG	*tě*	*ti*	*tě*

Table 1. Case forms of the RM and 1.SG and 2.SG pronominal clitics.

The RM is like the 1.SG and 2.SG clitics in two respects. First, like them (and unlike 3.SG personal pronouns) it is not specified for gender. Second, as we see, the two forms of the RM and the corresponding 1.SG and 2.SG clitics end in the same vowels.[7] It seems self-evident that the vowels -*e* and -*i* in all these forms are case endings.[8] These formal similarities make it plausible to think about the RM simply as a 'reflexive pronoun'. Yet, there are limits to the parallelism.

Firstly, unlike the 1.SG and 2.SG personal pronouns which have suppletive counterparts in plural, the RM forms are specified neither for person nor for number. Hence, the forms *se* and *si* combine with verbs in all person-number forms, cf. *já se polévám* 'I douse myself', *ty se poléváš* 'you douse yourself', *my se poléváme* 'we douse ourselves' etc. Secondly, whereas the 1.SG and 2.SG pronominal clitics relate to a full NOM form, there is no NOM form the RM can be linked to. This, nevertheless, is what we expect of a reflexive element: since it is primarily designed to function as a grammatical object, it cannot have the NOM form, this case being reserved for the subject. Finally, as indicated by the use of parentheses in the relevant cell of Table 1, the existence of a GEN form of the RM is questionable. There is only one construction in which *se* seems to be in GEN rather than ACC, namely when modifying action nouns. For example, *mytí se* 'washing of oneself' is parallel to *mytí Tomáše* 'washing of Tomáš' where the proper noun *Tomáš* appears in GEN. However, the presence of *se* in this context is optional and mostly even superfluous and it seems to be inserted here merely by analogy with the corresponding infinitives such as *mýt se* 'wash oneself'.[9] Consequently, all available Czech grammars present the form *se* simply as marked for ACC. In sum, we have

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[6] Special DAT forms of the RM exists in all West and South Slavic languages except Polish, and also e.g. in Romanian.

[7] The "wedge" above the letter *e* in *mě* and *tě* indicates palatalization of the preceding consonant, not a change in vowel quality.

[8] The same vowels also mark the respective case/number slots in various nominal declensions.

[9] The question whether verbs of body care like *mýt se* 'wash$_{intr}$' should be seen as separate lexical entries different from their transitive counterparts like *mýt* 'wash$_{tr}$' will be addressed in the following chapter.

seen that when compared to the 1.SG and 2.SG personal pronoun clitics, the RM paradigm is defective in the following respects: (i) the forms *se* and *si* are person- and number-neutral, (ii) there is no NOM form they could be linked to, and (iii) the paradigm lacks a GEN form.

There is, however, one more important characteristic which the RM shares with the pronominal clitics. Like them, it is linked to a paradigm of "full" or "heavy" forms, the members of which can moreover be unequivocally categorized as reflexive/reciprocal pronouns. That is, they always have the status of grammatical object and invariably mark either true reflexivity (coreference between the subject referent and the object referent they denote) or reciprocity (involvement of different entities denoted by the subject in a mutual activity). As the NOM slot of this paradigm is not filled (the reason of which has been explained in the preceding paragraph), the ACC/GEN form *sebe* is by convention used as the citation form. The complete paradigm is given in Table 2. For the sake of comparison, the full forms of the 2.SG personal pronoun are given in the rightmost column. As we see, the two paradigms are perfectly parallel, leaving little doubt about the pronominal nature of *sebe*.

	oneself	**you.SG**
NOM / VOC	-	*ty*
ACC / GEN	*sebe*	*tebe*
DAT / LOC	*sobě*	*tobě*
INS	*sebou*	*tebou*

Table 2. The *sebe* and the non-clitic 2.SG paradigms.

The formal similarities between the RM and the full reflexive/reciprocal pronoun are manifest. First, both *se* and *sebe* are built on *s-* (just like all forms of the 2.SG pronoun, clitic and full, are built on *t-*). Second, of course, both *se* and *sebe* miss the NOM form. Third, both *se* and *sebe* are underspecified for person, gender and number. Most importantly, however, the ACC and DAT forms of *se* and *sebe* overlap semantically: in truly reflexive constructions the pairs *se*/*sebe* and *si*/*sobě* are semantically equivalent, the choice of one form over the other being determined by factors that are pragmatic and/or prosodic in nature. Put simply, the clitic (i.e. the RM) will be selected by default (as in (1a), repeated here as (5a)), while the "heavy" form will be used either when emphasis or contrast are needed (as in (5b)), or when the reflexive pronoun is coordinated with another NP (as in (5c)), or after a preposition (as in (5d)). Analogous examples could be given for the DAT forms *si* and *sobě*.

(5) a. *Lenka   se   polévá   vodou.*
     Lenka:NOM RM:ACC douses water:INS
     'Lenka douses herself with water.'

   b. context: *Whom does Lenka douse with water?*

     Lenka   polévá vodou   sebe.[10]
     Lenka:NOM douses water:INS oneself:ACC
     'Lenka douses HERSELF with water.'

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[10] Note that the emphasized constituent is relocated to the right edge of the clause rather than receiving sentential stress and staying in place as is the case in English (indicated by capitalization in the translation of (5b)). See the discussion in Section 2.2 and in particular fn. 11.

c. *Lenka   polila   sebe   a Dana   vodou.*
   Lenka:NOM doused:SG.F oneself:ACC and Dan:ACC water:INS
   'Lenka doused herself and Dan with water.'

d. *Lenka   na sebe   lije   vodu.*
   Lenka:NOM on oneself:ACC pours   water:ACC
   'Lenka pours water on herself.'

To sum up, in this section we have seen that on morphological grounds the RM can be best described as a clitic form of a reflexive/reciprocal pronoun. It comes in two case forms whose morphological make-up parallels that of other pronominal clitics, and it is related to the "heavy" reflexive/reciprocal pronoun both formally and semantically. However, there are good reasons to view the RM as a unit distinct from the heavy pronoun: while the heavy forms occur exclusively in truly reflexive and reciprocal contexts, the two RM forms, as we know from Chapter 1, are employed in a variety of other constructions where they serve other functions than marking reflexivity or reciprocity. This issue is going to be taken up in the subsequent chapters. First, however, let us turn our attention to the prosodic behavior of the RM.

2.2. PROSODIC PROPERTIES

The Czech RM is a textbook example of a 'Wackernagel clitic', occupying the position right after the first syntactic constituent of a clause. Note that the clause-initial syntactic phrase can consist of more than one lexical unit. This can be seen in sentences (2) and (4) above, where the leftmost constituent (the subject) is realized respectively by a coordinate structure ('Lenka and Dan') and by an NP including an adjective ('such shoes').

Like other Slavic languages, Czech is known to have a relatively "free" word order. Although the basic or "neutral" pattern is generally held to be subject–verb–object (demonstrated nicely in sentences (1b) and (5c)), the actual arrangement of words in a clause is largely governed by information structuring considerations. That is to say, information inherited from the context (the 'topic' or 'theme') will normally be mentioned first, while the newly introduced piece of information (the 'focus' or 'rheme') will usually come last.[11] Hence, in appropriate contexts, the sentence *Lenka se polévá vodou* 'Lenka douses herself with water' from (1a) can be restructured either as (5b) (see above) or in one of the ways illustrated in (6).[12]

(6) a. context: *Who douses herself with water?*

   Vodou   se   polévá Lenka.
   water:INS RM:ACC   douses Lenka:NOM
   'LENKA douses herself with water.'

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[11] In languages like English with a (relatively) fixed word order, topic vs. focus are distinguished mainly by means of sentential stress (as indicated in the translations of (5b) and (6) by capitalization). When compared to such languages, sentential stress in Czech (and Slavic in general) can be said to be of lesser importance, although it is still employed to mark contrast.

[12] Notice that verb-initial word order patterns are reserved for polar (yes/no) questions, cf. *Polévá se Lenka vodou?* 'Does Lenka douse herself with water?'.

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b. context: *What is Lenka doing with that water?*

 Lenka se tou vodou polévá.
 Lenka:NOM RM:ACC that:INS water:INS douses
 'Lenka DOUSES herself with that water.'

Yet, despite of this seeming "word order freedom" the word order rules for clitics are very tight. In all the examples we have seen so far the RM takes the position right after the first syntactic constituent, and in all but (4) this is the only possible position for it in order for the sentence to be grammatical. In (4), the order of the RM and the adverb *už* 'already' can be switched, as shown in (4') below. To me, this word order alteration does not impact the interpretation of the sentence in any material way.[13]

(4') *Takové boty už se nevyrábí.*
   such:NOM.PL.F shoes:NOM already RM:ACC NEG-make:3.PL
   'They[generic] don't make such shoes anymore.'

Besides *už*, the RM can only be separated from the clause-initial syntactic phrase by another clitic, namely by one of the PRES forms of the auxiliary *být* 'be', by one of the person-number forms of the COND particle *by*, and/or by the interrogative particle *-li*. To be precise, in clitic clusters any of the clitics just mentioned *must* precede the RM. By contrast, personal pronoun clitics always *follow* the RM when co-occurring with it. This general pattern is illustrated in (7), with the first constituent (*Tomáš*) followed first by the COND particle, then the RM and finally the 2.SG pronominal clitic.[14]

(7) *Tomáš by se ti měl omluvit.*[15]
   Tomáš COND:3.SG RM:ACC you.SG:DAT should:SG.M apologize
   'Tomáš should apologize to you.'

Note that the clitics clearly are not ordered based on their phonological weight: Czech clitics do not really differ on this parameter (witness the three instances in (7)) and one would thus expect considerably more variation in their ordering if this were the case. Rather, what seems to matter is location of the clitics on the continuum from grammatical (or function) to lexical (or content) elements, the rule being "grammatical first – lexical last". Hence, the clitics that obligatorily precede the RM (i.e. auxiliaries and conditional and interrogative particles) can be characterized as purely grammatical in that they merely mark certain grammatical categories

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[13] As far as I can see, *už* 'already' is the only item of its kind that can climb over *se*. Other adverbs, regardless of their phonological weight, can not, as shown below for *ještě* 'yet', *teď* 'now' and *tu* 'here' (the asterisk inside the parentheses indicates that the bracketed phrase may not occur in the given position). At this moment I have no explanation for this curious behavior of *už*.

(i) *Takové boty (*ještě) se (ještě) nevyrábí.*
  'Such shoes are not yet being made.'

(ii) *Takové boty (*teď) se (teď) nevyrábí.*
  'Such shoes are not in production right now.'

(iii) *Takové boty (*tu) se (tu) nevyrábí.*
  'Such shoes are not made here.'

[14] For further details regarding the ordering of clitics in clitic clusters see Medová (2009:40ff).

[15] The RM in (7) can be argued to be an integral part of the verb *omluvit se* 'apologize', an autonomous lexical unit distinct from *omluvit* 'excuse'. I will come back to this issue in the following chapter.

without having any lexical meaning. Clitic forms of (non-reflexive) personal pronouns, on the other hand, always retain the semantics of their "heavy" counterparts and can thus be regarded as fully lexical items. In this sense, the surface position of the RM between the "grammatical" and the "lexical" clitics seems to reflect its divided nature. We can hypothesize that because in truly reflexive and reciprocal contexts the RM still functions as a pronoun, it scores higher in lexicality than the purely grammatical clitics such as the COND particle *by* and therefore has to follow these items in clitic clusters. On the other hand, since in constructions like (4) above the RM functions as a mere grammatical marker, it is more grammaticalized than the fully lexical pronominal clitics and therefore has to precede them in clitic clusters.[16]

Finally, it should be pointed out that the RM can be separated from its verbal carrier. In the examples given so far, this is best illustrated in (6b) where *se* is divided from the verb by the DP 'that water'. However, the intervening sequence may be much longer than that and can be made up of several syntactic units. Altogether, besides the morphological properties discussed in the preceding section, the sensitivity of the RM to syntactic constituency and its independence on the verb in terms of surface positioning give us further reasons for considering it a syntactic, rather than a (purely) morphological, element.[17] On the other hand, its position in clitic clusters reveals that speakers perceive the RM as being partially grammaticalized. We are now ready to turn to the question of the RM's grammatical status.

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[16] In this connection, it is interesting to note that following Havránek (1928: 152-5), until about mid-17th century the RM could both precede and follow a personal pronoun clitic, the two patterns being in a more or less free variation. Havránek suggests that the final victory of the current pattern be ascribed to the particle-like nature of the RM in most of its uses. We will return to Havránek's work shortly.

[17] These properties are, nevertheless, common to all the clitics that we have discussed, i.e. even the "purely grammatical" ones.

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3. GRAMMATICAL STATUS OF THE RM IN CZECH LINGUISTIC TRADITION

The present chapter provides a review of the most important insights and arguments offered by Czech linguists in the debate concerning the RM's grammatical status, starting by Havránek (1928). In his monograph on verbal voice in Slavic, Havránek distinguished three basic functions of the RM which, in keeping with Wagner (2011), I will refer to here as "syntactic", "derivational" and "inflectional". This basic three-way distinction has been adopted by most later researchers and its appropriateness has to my knowledge not been seriously contested; the later accounts differ primarily in where they draw the lines between the three functional domains or, to put it differently, in what grammatical status they assign to certain particular occurrences of the RM. I will therefore first discuss Havránek's work in some detail and define the three basic RM functions (Section 3.1). After that I will turn to an article by Kopečný (1954) who strengthened and improved Havránek's account in several important respects (Section 3.2). Although I do not have access to some later writings on the topic commonly cited in the literature, most of these have been reviewed in detail by Wagner (2011) who introduces further refinements to the older accounts and presents alternative views on a number of related issues; certain aspects of Wagner's dissertation will therefore be discussed in the last part of this chapter (Section 3.3). As a whole, this chapter should give a good impression of the elusive nature of the RM, preparing the reader for the systematic discussion of its functions in Chapter 5.

3.1. HAVRÁNEK (1928)

Havránek's view of the basic functions of the RM is summed up in a nutshell in the following two extracts. He first observes that "there are cases when the reflexive pronoun *se* etc. can be regarded a grammatical object" (p. 120), but having reviewed its diverse usages he concludes that "it is obvious that the reflexive component *se* etc. is not always the object of the action described by the verb[18] and it [then] has neither the meaning of a reflexive pronoun, nor the function of a grammatical object; it has no independent meaning in the sentence whatsoever, merely modifying the meaning of the verb it combines with, either its *grammatical* (formal) or its *lexical* (actual) meaning, or not even modifying the verbal meaning" (p. 138; my translation, original emphases). Havránek thus recognizes the following RM functions.[19]

(i) *Syntactic*. The RM can be employed as a genuine reflexive pronoun[20] functioning as a grammatical object. This use of the RM has been sufficiently illustrated above (cf. examples (1a), (5a) and (6)) and I believe we can do without adducing further examples here.

(ii) *Derivational*. The RM can modify the lexical meaning of the verb it attaches to, merging with it into a lexical unit distinct from the base verb and hence functioning as a derivational morpheme. This can be seen e.g. with the verb *omluvit se* 'apologize' from example (7) above. Consider the two sentences in (8).

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[18] The first part of Havránek's formulation is somewhat loose and even confusing in the way it uses the word 'object'. Taking advantage of the terminology adopted in this thesis, we could restate it as follows: "… the reflexive component *se* does not always denote an entity affected by the action described by the verb".

[19] I repeat that using the labels 'syntactic', 'derivational' and 'inflectional' to refer to the three basic RM functions is my own innovation inspired by Wagner (2011).

[20] Havránek does not pay attention to the reciprocal function of the RM.

(8) a. *Tomáš   Katčino   zpoždění   omluvil.*
Tomáš:NOM Katka's:ACC delay:ACC excused:SG.M
'Tomáš excused Katka's delay.'

b. *Tomáš   se   Katce   omluvil   za   zpoždění.*
Tomáš:NOM RM:ACC Katka:DAT apologized:SG.M for delay:ACC
'Tomáš apologized to Katka for the delay.'

While the non-reflexive verb *omluvit* 'excuse' in (8a) denotes a situation where the subject referent overlooks somebody else's misdemeanor, the reflexive verb[21] *omluvit se* 'apologize' in (8b) conveys that the subject referent seeks pardon for a misdemeanor on his own part. Furthermore, the two verbs have different selectional properties. Whereas the former obligatorily takes a DO in ACC to designate the fact which is to be pardoned,[22] the latter, just like its English equivalent *apologize*, is basically intransitive, the expression of both the addressee and the cause of the apology being optional. In principle, each of the two differences just mentioned (i.e. the semantic contrast on the one hand and the discrepancy in syntactic/selectional properties on the other) can be seen as weighty enough for one to conceive of *omluvit se* as an autonomous lexical unit distinct from *omluvit*.[23]

(iii) *Inflectional*. The RM can serve as a purely formal means of marking certain grammatical properties on non-reflexive verbs. For instance, it can be employed as a marker of what appears to be a subtype of the passive. This use of the RM has been illustrated above in (4), repeated here as (9a).

(9) a. *Takové   boty   se   už   nevyrábí.*
such:NOM.PL.F shoes:NOM RM:ACC already NEG-make:3.PL
'They[generic] don't make such shoes anymore.'

Recall from Chapter 1 that *se* in the above example is clearly not employed referentially and thus cannot be considered a (reflexive) pronoun and does not have the status of grammatical object. However, there are also no grounds, syntactic or semantic, to assume the existence of a separate lexeme **vyrábět se* '*make/produce oneself' where the RM would act as a derivational morpheme. Hence, *se* in (9a) has neither of the functions described in (i) and (ii) above and appears to merely mark a certain inflected form of the non-reflexive verb *vyrábět* 'make/produce'. When built on transitive verbs as in (9a), Havránek describes such structures as "reflexive forms with passive meaning". This seems to be quite right: in (9a), the semantic agent (the shoemaker or shoemakers) is demoted from the subject position which in turn is occupied by the patient (the shoes). These conditions are precisely equivalent to those obtaining in the

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[21] The terms 'reflexive verb' and 'non-reflexive verb' are used here to refer to verbs that respectively *do* and *do not* have the RM as their integral part (i.e. as part of their lexical entry).
[22] Note that the word *Katčino* 'Katka's' in (8a) is a so-called possessive adjective that merely modifies the noun *zpoždění* 'delay'. *Katka* is thus not a part of the argument/participant structure of (8a).
[23] To avoid confusion, it should be said that neither the examples in (8) nor the arguments that I have put forward for regarding *omluvit* and *omluvit se* two distinct lexemes are adopted directly from Havránek (1928). They are, however, in line with Havránek's analysis and the semantic and syntactic criteria that I have made use of when determining whether *se* in *omluvit se* does or does not form an integral part of the verb are explicitly mentioned by Havránek (see e.g. p. 125).

"canonical" (i.e. periphrastic) passive construction.[24] Interestingly, however, while periphrastic passive in Czech operates only upon transitive verbs, the RM is employed as a marker of agent backgrounding also with intransitives and even modals. This process gives rise to several semantically distinct constructions, which Havránek subsumes under the label 'impersonal passive'. An example of one such structure is (9b).

(9) b.　　*V deset hodin　se　　šlo　　　domů*.
　　　　　　at ten　o'clock　RM:ACC　went:SG.N　home
　　　　　　'At ten o'clock, people/everybody/we went home.'

Again, *se* in (9b) is clearly not a grammatical object, and nor does it make sense to postulate the existence of a lexical unit like **jít se* '*go oneself'. Hence, also in (9b) the RM seems to merely mark a certain inflected form of the non-reflexive verb *jít* 'go'. The construction exemplified in (9b) is similar to that from (9a) and to passive constructions in general in that it demotes the agent (or, more precisely, the actor – those who left for home at ten) from the subject position. However, the verb in (9b) being intransitive, there is no argument that could be promoted to the subject position instead and this position thus stays vacated.[25] Just like in (9a), the agent/actor is not only demoted from the subject position, but eliminated altogether (see fn. 24). The only information sentences like (9b) provide about the actor is that it is [+human] and [+plural]. This information is nevertheless not provided explicitly e.g. by means of number or animacy marking. Rather, it is inherent in the construction: the construction can simply only be used to report on actions undertaken by groups of people, not e.g. by animals or separate individuals. All remaining information, however, such as the group's size, its make-up in terms of gender and even the speaker's membership in it must be inferred from a broader context of the utterance. A systematic overview of the different types of passive-like reflexive constructions will be given in Section 5.3 below.

(iv) Finally, the closing part of Havránek's above quotation ("not even modifying the verbal meaning") refers to occurrences of the RM where it appears to have none of the functions outlined in (i) through (iii) and actually no palpable function whatsoever. Namely, there are verbs called 'reflexiva tantum' or 'inherently reflexive verbs' which bear the RM obligatorily and lack a non-reflexive counterpart that could serve as the basis for their derivation. Examples are *smát se* 'laugh' and *ptát se* 'ask': there are no such verbs as **smát* or **ptát*. Such 'inherently reflexive' verbs are quite numerous in Czech: the online Valency Lexicon of Czech Verbs (VALLEX, version 2.6) lists 121 of them.[26] Besides, there are a handful of verbs that can occur in exactly the same context (or set of contexts) both with and without the RM. Examples are *koukat* (*se*) 'look/stare' and *chumelit* (*se*) 'snow heavily'. Also with these verbs the RM appears to have no

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[24] The most obvious difference between the reflexive construction of the (9a) type and the periphrastic passive is that while the latter allows for expression of the agent in the form of an adjunct, no overt expression of the agent is possible with the reflexive construction. Possibly, this could have been the reason for Havránek to use the somewhat cautious description "reflexive forms with passive meaning" rather than the otherwise broadly accepted label 'reflexive passive'. Further differences between the (9) type constructions and the canonical passive will be discussed in the subsequent chapters.

[25] Formally, the absence of a subject in (9b) is manifested by the default neuter gender marking on the verb. It can hardly be argued that the verb agrees in gender with *se* which then could be claimed to serve as a kind of "dummy" subject: comparison with (9a) where the subject position is filled by a morphologically fully specified NP makes clear that *se* in the passive-like constructions does not have any syntactic status. As a purely morphological element it cannot trigger syntactic agreement.

[26] VALLEX 2.6 is available via http://ufal.mff.cuni.cz/vallex/2.6/doc/home.html.

discernible function, the reflexive and non-reflexive forms behaving as competing variants of the same lexeme. Presumably, such verbs are either on their way to become reflexiva tantum, or, conversely, old reflexiva tantum that are about to drop the (redundant) RM.

With respect to the distinction between syntactic and derivational uses of the RM (i.e. between (i) and (ii) above), it is important to mention that Havránek assumes that in modern Czech the RM retained its syntactic/pronominal status with just a handful of verbs (e.g. with verbs of perception), while with most others (most notably with verbs of body care) it had fused into indivisible lexical units forming intransitive counterparts to their transitive base verbs. In support of this view, Havránek (pp. 156-61) points out the differing agreement patterns observed with secondary predicates: while such expressions normally case-agree with the DO (cf. (10a)), when this position is filled by the RM they will instead agree with the S (cf. (10b)); only in the few rare cases where the RM still functions as true DO, namely where it "refers not to the subject itself, but to its image, its double etc.", the secondary predicate may case-agree with it (cf. (10c)).

(10) a. *Dan   umyl   Toníka   *celý   /   ✓celého.*
      Dan:NOM washed:3.SG Toník:ACC whole:NOM.SG.M   whole:ACC.SG.M
      'Dan washes Toník completely.'

    b. *Dan   se   umyl   ✓celý   /   *celého.*
      Dan:NOM RM:ACC washed:3.SG whole:NOM.SG.M   whole:ACC.SG.M
      'Dan washes himself completely.'

    c. *Dan   už   se   vidí ✓bohatý   /   ✓bohatého.*
      Dan:NOM already RM:ACC sees rich:NOM.SG.M rich:ACC.SG.M
      'Dan already sees himself rich.'

After Havránek, similar examples kept on being repeated in the literature until Oliva (2001) declared that agreement of secondary predicates with the RM as illustrated in (10c) had already been dated in Havránek's time and is now completely out, pronouncing thus the RM as a pronoun dead. Yet, as a native and conscious speaker of Czech, I do not share Oliva's conviction. What is more, I can more easily imagine myself producing a sentence like (10b) *Dan se umyl celého* considered ungrammatical by both Oliva and Havránek, than a sentence like (10c) *Dan už se vidí bohatého* where I would certainly choose the NOM form of the secondary predicate. All in all, the secondary predicate agreement criterion introduced by Havránek for distinguishing between syntactic and derivational uses of the RM seems not to be very reliable and its importance might have been somewhat exaggerated in the literature. This being so, we can conclude that at least for verbs of perception and body care Havránek's judgments of the status of the RM rest exclusively on his linguistic intuitions, a fact which he seems to admit on different places of his monograph.

To sum up, Havránek's account certainly can and should be improved in a number of ways. Firstly and most importantly, except for the (problematic) secondary predicate agreement patterns discussed above, he omits to set explicit criteria for distinguishing among the three main RM functions. Secondly, his classification of the passive-like uses of *se* calls for significant refinements. Thirdly, there are other reflexive constructions besides the passive-like ones in which the RM modifies the meaning of the base verb in regular and predictable

ways, even if the precise contribution of the RM in these constructions may not be easily definable in terms of the traditionally acknowledged grammatical categories. Havránek fails to recognize these constructions as productive morphological templates, instead regarding their instantiations autonomous lexical units. Nevertheless, despite these reservations, Havránek's analysis takes us a long way in the right direction and has all the basic ingredients needed for a proper classification of the main RM functions.

3.2. KOPEČNÝ (1954)

Havránek's insights have been adopted and further developed by Kopečný (1954) who has transformed them into a coherent analytical model. To mention first, it was only Kopečný who made a consistent terminological distinction between 'reflexive verbs', i.e. lexical entries of which the RM forms a (semantically) inseparable part on the one hand, and 'reflexive forms', i.e. constructions where the RM merely marks a certain inflected form of a non-reflexive verb on the other. Havránek used these labels interchangeably, relying on the reader's good grasp of the distinction. More importantly, however, Kopečný considerably elaborated the taxonomy of RM functions.

In keeping with Havránek, Kopečný acknowledges the possibility that the RM may function as a grammatical object, but states that such cases are "rather rare". He too places the border between the syntactic and the derivational uses of the RM between the *vidět se* 'see oneself' and the *mýt se* 'wash_intr' types, referring to Havránek's secondary predicate agreement criterion discussed above: "[t]he more a speaker perceives real accusativeness and objecthood of the pronoun *se*, the more likely the secondary predicate is to be in accusative; this way, the possibility of accusative form of the secondary predicate is a measure of [grammatical] object status of the reflexive *se*" (p. 237; my translation). However, also Kopečný recognizes that the difference between the two types is "very subtle" and that the distinction is impressionistic in the first place. In his words, there is a "logical identity of the subject and the object" in the *mýt se* type, but the RM here "nevertheless does not *feel* like a true object" (pp. 236-7; my emphasis). Kopečný labels the *mýt se* type verbs as 'reflexive verbs proper': we are dealing with reflexive verbs (lexical entries containing the RM as an inseparable part) which nevertheless denote deliberate self-directed actions and thus have a truly reflexive meaning.

It is interesting to note that Kopečný weighs up an alternative view on the function of the RM in the *mýt se* type. Namely, he contemplates the possibility to regard such verbs simply intransitive *forms* of the corresponding transitives, rather than autonomous lexical units. In this scenario, the RM would serve as an inflectional (rather than derivational) morpheme marking the grammatical category of 'reflexive voice'. Kopečný eventually rejects this alternative, giving as the main reason that units like *mýt se* "admittedly are synthesized to a considerable degree, but are still analyzable" (p. 240). Note, however, that this – undoubtedly correct – observation could just as well be used as an argument for granting the RM in verbs like *mýt se* the status of grammatical object; we will return to this issue in the following section. Whichever path one finally decides to take, what remains is the fact that the true nature of the RM in verbs of body care and similar types is extremely elusive and hard to capture. This brings us to the another interesting aspect of Kopečný's article.

Moving beyond the *vidět se* and the *mýt se* types, Kopečný (p. 237) points out that there is an "entire cline" of the RM's "objecthood", a cline with numerous transitional cases between the various "clearly distinguished" grades. Hence, from the syntactic end of the continuum where the RM still functions as a grammatical object, via the 'reflexive verbs proper' where its

pronominality/objecthood seems degraded but can still be restored, one can inch toward the derivational extremity to find RM-marked verbs which seem to have lost any semantic connection with their non-reflexive counterparts, and finally 'reflexiva tantum'. In the area between 'reflexive verbs proper' and reflexiva tantum, Kopečný identifies the following prototypes.

(i) 'Verbs of unintentional action' which are just one step away from reflexive verbs proper. This can be particularly well illustrated with reflexive verbs derived from verbs denoting violent acts. For instance, according to Kopečný, the transitive verb *zabít* 'kill' serves as a derivational base for the properly reflexive verb *zabít se* 'kill oneself'. The latter verb, however, is ambiguous between the intentional reading 'commit suicide' and the unintentional reading 'die in an accident' and can only be correctly interpreted in the context (see example (11) on the following page). Not all "violent" reflexives are so perfectly ambiguous, however. Consider on the one hand *podřezat se* 'slash oneself' (one's wrists) where an unintentional reading seems almost excluded. On the other hand, with verbs like *uhodit se* 'hit oneself' the unintentional interpretation 'bump on something' is strongly preferred, although the intentional reading remains available. In fact, the event usually described by *uhodit se* (bumping on something) and the action normally denoted by the verb *uhodit* (hitting of somebody or something) are physically quite distinct: while hitting someone essentially involves a dynamic move of one's arm(s), in bumping on something arms normally do not play any important role. Moreover, while "hitters" can avail themselves of diverse instruments, no use of instruments is compatible with the notion of bumping on something. Consequently, the semantic distance between *uhodit* and *uhodit se* can be argued to be greater than e.g. that between *podřezat* 'slash somebody' and *podřezat se* 'slash oneself', where the denoted actions consist of (nearly) identical sets of movements and are achievable by precisely the same set of instruments. Hence, even within this subtype we can observe a gradual shift from syntactic-like to derivational-like uses of the RM − an issue we will return to in the following section.

Importantly, Kopečný (p. 242) states that his 'verbs of unintentional action' "often, perhaps even most of the times concern verbs taking an inanimate subject", some of his examples being *překotit se* 'capsize$_{intr}$', *thrat se* 'get torn' (e.g. trousers) and *třást se* 'shake$_{intr}$'. It thus becomes clear that 'verbs of unintentional action' is simply Kopečný's label for anticausatives like *otevřít se* 'open$_{intr}$' from example (3) above. By the time that Kopečný wrote his article, however, the term 'anticausative' had not yet been coined.[27]

(ii) Verbs in which the original reflexive meaning of the RM is still recognizable, but which are semantically clearly distinct from their non-reflexive counterparts. Here belong e.g. the verb *učit se* 'learn' derived from *učit* 'teach', and also *omluvit se* 'apologize' from *omluvit* 'excuse' discussed above in connection with example (8).

(iii) Verbs which can be related to a non-reflexive verb formally, but not semantically. In such verbs, the semantic connection to their non-reflexive counterparts has been distorted or entirely lost and they are thus "likely to be perceived as reflexiva tantum by

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[27] On the history of the term 'anticausative' see Haspelmath (1987: 8ff.). Kopečný nevertheless points out that "the corresponding non-reflexive verbs can be defined as c a u s a t i v e s to such reflexives" (p. 242; original emphasis).

most speakers" (p. 245). Just two examples are *chovat se* 'behave' from *chovat* 'breed_tr//cradle' and *hodit se* 'be suitable/appropriate' from *hodit* 'throw'.[28]

It should be pointed out that there is a striking disproportion in number between 'verbs of unintentional action' (i.e. anticausatives) on the one hand and Kopečný's types (ii) and (iii) on the other. To wit, anticausatives form a sizeable class ranging over a large, yet presumably continuous semantic area. By contrast, only a handful of verbs can be assigned to each of the latter two types, these verbs being moreover semantically rather heterogeneous. It therefore seems justified to conclude that the parameter distinguishing the three verb types identified by Kopečný is not the somewhat dubious notion of the RM's objecthood, but rather the degree to which the verbs are lexicalized.[29] Indeed, the anticausative derivation is a very productive and perfectly regular process, the outcomes of which nevertheless can be subject to (further) lexicalization, i.e. to acquiring idiosyncratic and unpredictable changes in meaning. The verbs classified by Kopečný as belonging to types (ii) and (iii) are just such lexicalized units, originally most likely derived through 'anticausativization' or another regular RM-adding operation.

Yet another noteworthy aspect of Kopečný's work are his intuitions regarding how the RM came to acquire all its different meanings/functions – hence what in later literature became known as the RM's 'grammaticalization path'. Like all other scholars whose work is discussed in this thesis, Kopečný proceeds from the assumption that marking reflexivity (i.e. coreference between the subject and one of the object arguments within a clause) is the diachronically primary function of the RM. This being so, how would it become part of intransitive predicates like *otevřít se* 'open_intr' from our example (3) or even turn into a marker of passive-like constructions like those discussed in connection with example (9)?

Exploring the connections between some of the types of reflexive verbs outlined above, Kopečný sketches an appealing scenario. We have seen in (i) above that certain reflexive verbs may be ambiguous between intentional and unintentional readings. The sentences in (11), based on examples given by Kopečný (p. 238), clearly elucidate how such an ambiguity can arise.

(11) a. *Pavel   se   zabil   skokem   z   okna.*
     Pavel:NOM RM:ACC killed:SG.M jump:INS from window:GEN
     'Pavel killed himself by jumping from a window.'

   b. *Pavel   spadl   z   okna   a   zabil   se.*
     Pavel:NOM fell:SG.M from window:GEN and killed:SG.M RM:ACC
     'Pavel fell from a window and died.'

To a passer-by, the events described in (11a) and (11b) may appear exactly the same. They also identically lead to Pavel's death, this information being communicated by means of the verb *zabít se* 'kill oneself' in both sentences. Yet, only in the situation described by (11a) can Pavel be regarded the causer of his own death in the strict sense. In (11b), on the other hand, he seems to figure as a mere undergoer. Hence, the verb *zabít se* can be argued to have a

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[28] Besides the three types summarized in (i) through (iii), Kopečný also pays some attention to the 'dynamic' meaning of the RM and to the 'prefixal and affective' types of reflexive verbs. I will, however, postpone the discussion of these types to Section 5.4 below.

[29] After all, one could hardly claim that the RM in anticausative structures with inanimate subjects such as *Dveře se otevřely* 'The door opened' is more object-like than e.g. *se* in Kopečný's type (iii) verb *chovat se* 'behave'.

different semantic structure in each of the two sentences: while it is clearly a causative in (11a), it denotes a plain change of state in (11b). Semi-formally, the meaning of the verb in the (a) sentence could be represented as [cause to become dead], with the stipulation that the causer and the causee (i.e. agent and patient) be the same individual. By contrast, the verb in the (b) clause would be assigned the simplex, intransitive structure [become dead], the only participant in the event being a patient rather than an agent. The distinction is supported by data from other languages, where formally unrelated verbs are employed to render the two meanings (cf. the English translations of the sentences in (11)).

According to Kopečný, once the subject of a reflexive verb no longer necessarily refers to the agent of the denoted event (as in (11b)), the way is free for inanimate referents to fill this position: "Through imitation of these reflexive verbs (both verbs where proper reflexive meaning can initially be assumed and verbs of unintentional action), there arise verbs denoting certain unintentional events also with inanimate subjects; here the subject cannot even be the cause of the event" (p. 239). This, then, is how the RM comes to be a part of prototypical anticausative predicates such as *otevřít se* 'open$_{intr}$'.

Note that the anticausative semantically borders on the passive, the defining property of both constructions being the demotion of the (animate) agent or the (inanimate) cause. The difference is that with passive-like reflexive constructions, such as *Takové boty se už nevyrábí* 'They$_{[generic]}$ don't make such shoes anymore' from example (4), the agent is conceptually necessarily present. On the other hand, the events described by anticausative utterances like *Dveře se otevřely* 'The door opened' from example (3) are conceived of as taking place spontaneously, without an evident external cause. Given such a semantic proximity, it is not difficult to see how the RM could expand from the anticausative to the passive domain. At this point, it would be a shame not to quote Kopečný's folklore example of a 'reflexive passive' form of the verb *zabít* 'kill'.

(12) *Prase   se   zabilo   a   snědlo.*
      pig:NOM RM:ACC killed:SG.N and   ate:SG.N[30]
      'The pig got killed and eaten.'

We will see in Chapter 4 below that Kopečný's insights have been largely substantiated by later typological research. Yet, in common with Havránek, Kopečný's distinguishing between the syntactic and derivational uses of the RM, as well as his division of 'reflexive verbs' into the main types discussed in (i) through (iii) above, remain intuitive and are not supported by any reliable formal criteria. We will now turn to Wagner's (2011) dissertation where some such criteria are proposed. As we shall see, their application will force us to shift the border between the syntactic and the derivational uses of the RM further toward the derivational end of the continuum.

3.3. WAGNER (2011)

Wagner's dissertation is concerned primarily with the possibility of predicting reflexive marking of German equivalents of Czech reflexive structures, proceeding on the assumption that reflexivity in two "relatively closely related languages that belong to the same linguistic area" should be mutually predictable. The author views such predictions as a "useful

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[30] Unlike in example (9b) above, the neuter marking on the past participles in (12) is due to gender agreement with the subject: the noun *prase* 'pig' is a neuter.

methodological fiction facilitating the verification of hypotheses about the structuring of reflexive constructions in Czech and German" (p. 10; my translation) and devotes a major part of his dissertation to a review of the different hypotheses.

One of the accounts discussed on the Czech part is that of Šmilauer (1966), which is often put into contrast with Kopečný's and Havránek's proposals outlined above. The reason for this is that Šmilauer seems to grant the RM the status of grammatical object in combination with a broader variety of verbs than is the case with the other two authors. To decide whether a particular occurrence of the RM has a pronominal status or not, Šmilauer employs a rather straightforward test which I have already previously hinted at. Namely, Šmilauer deems the RM to be a grammatical object whenever it can be replaced by the heavy reflexive/reciprocal pronoun *sebe* under emphasis, contrast or coordination. Since this is generally possible with Kopečný's 'reflexive verbs proper', e.g. with verbs of body care (one can say *Dan myje sebe (a Toníka)* 'Dan washes himself (and Toník)' when asked who it is that Dan washes), Šmilauer analyzes *se* when co-occurring with such verbs simply as a DO. Hence, in Šmilauer's opinion there is no such lexical entry as *mýt se* 'wash$_{intr}$', but only the verb *mýt* 'wash$_{tr}$' which takes *se* as the DO in case of identity between the agent and the patient.

While this view can go against native linguistic intuition (recall Kopečný's observation that *se* in *mýt se* "does not feel like a true object", this and similar verbs being "synthesized to a considerable degree"), the substitution test utilized by Šmilauer is likely to produce clear-cut judgments consistent among most speakers. If we thus seek a reliable "hard" criterion for distinguishing between the syntactic and the derivational uses of the RM, then Šmilauer's substitution test is a much better candidate than the secondary predicate agreement criterion applied by Havránek and Kopečný.[31]

It is interesting to see that Wagner, who is very critical about certain inconsistencies in Šmilauer's account, eventually decides to incorporate the substitution test into his own model, albeit with the modification that the RM must be substitutable for any NP of a fitting animacy, not just for the heavy reflexive pronoun. This modification is necessitated by the application of the test to German material, given that German lacks an equivalent of the Czech heavy reflexive pronoun.[32] However, it proves useful for Czech as well, making the application of

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[31] Moreover, the contrast between the two approaches (Šmilauer vs. Havránek/Kopečný) is not as sharp as is sometimes suggested in the literature (see especially Oliva (2001)). The main and perhaps only difference lies in the classification of Kopečný's 'reflexive verbs proper'. Anticausatives and the other types of reflexive verbs identified by Kopečný will not pass the substitution test. For instance, even though it is possible to replace *se* in *Dveře se otevřely* 'The door opened' for *sebe* to enforce a truly reflexive reading, for most speakers this will require the addition of the emphatic pronoun *sám* 'self'; this is illustrated in (i) where the question mark before the parentheses indicates that omission of the bracketed phrase adversely affects the grammaticality of the sentence. Even more importantly, however, coordination of the heavy reflexive pronoun with another NP results in a semantically deviant utterance, as indicated by the hash in (ii).

(i)   *Dveře   otevřely $^?$(samy)   sebe.*
        door:NOM   opened:PL   self (EMPH):ACC.PL   oneself:ACC
        'The door opened by itself.'

(ii) $^#$*Dveře   otevřely   sebe   a   Dana.*
        door:NOM   opened:PL   oneself:ACC   and   Dan:ACC
        '$^#$The door opened itself and Dan.'

[32] Unlike the Czech light RM *se*, the German RM *sich* can carry sentential stress and be coordinated with other NPs. Like the Czech heavy reflexive pronoun *sebe*, it can also combine with the emphatic pronoun *selbst* 'alone'

the test even more straightforward: if substitution of the RM by an NP other than *sebe* gives rise to a semantically deviant utterance, we know immediately that we are not dealing with a pronominal use of the RM and thus can dispense with the additional steps described in fn. 31. For instance, as demonstrated in (13), replacing *se* in the anticausative structure *Dveře se otevřely* 'The door opened' by an NP other than *sebe* invariably leads to a nonsensical statement, regardless of the position of the referent of that NP on the animacy scale. This information suffices to deny *se* in *Dveře se otevřely* the status of grammatical object.

(13) a. #*Dveře   otevřely   Dana.*
      door:NOM   opened:PL   Dan:ACC
      '#The door opened Dan.'

   b. #*Dveře   otevřely   kuchyni.*
      door:NOM   opened:PL   kitchen:ACC
      '#The door opened the kitchen.'

Yet more interestingly, Wagner (p. 369) admits that it was actual linguistic data which forced him to adopt Šmilauer's view on the demarcation between the syntactic and the derivational uses of the RM, rather than that of Havránek and Kopečný. Namely, Kopečný's 'reflexive verbs proper' belong among the most well-behaved verbs in that they almost invariably bear the RM in both languages examined by Wagner. Adhering to the tenet "regularities into syntax, irregularities into the lexicon", Wagner is left with no choice but to declare the reflexivization of these verbs to be a syntactic phenomenon. He does, nonetheless, plead for the substitution test to be carried out in a careful and structured fashion. In particular, he specifies the following conditions which should obtain in order for a particular RM occurrence to qualify as grammatical object even when it successfully passes the substitution test: (i) acceptability of the resulting non-reflexive structure, (ii) identity of the syntactic environment of the verb in both structures (reflexive and non-reflexive), and (iii) semantic identity of the verb in both structures (reflexive and non-reflexive).

Condition (i) explicitly points out the semantic nature of the substitution test which has so far been only tacitly acknowledged. For example, the Czech sentences in (13), just as their English counterparts, are *unacceptable* (i.e. semantically deviant, as indicated by the hash) but not *ungrammatical* (i.e. syntactically ill-formed, which would be marked with an asterisk). As a matter of fact, the substitution of the RM for another NP will only rarely produce a truly ungrammatical utterance (one such example is given in (15) below). Hence, if we were to judge the resulting sentences on their syntactic well-formedness rather than on their semantic acceptability, we would be forced to grant the syntactic status to a vast majority of RM occurrences.

The importance of the identity of syntactic environment of the verb (condition (ii)) has already been pointed out in connection with example (8) in Section 3.1 above, where differing selectional properties have been used as an argument for considering the verb *omluvit se* 'apologize' an autonomous lexical unit distinct from *omluvit* 'excuse something' (e.g. someone's delay). Now, note that there exists yet another sense of the non-reflexive verb *omluvit* 'excuse', namely the equivalent of 'excuse somebody (from something)'. As shown in (14a), in this sense, and only in this sense, the verb *omluvit* can take the RM as a DO to express true reflexivity (identity between the agent and the patient). (14b) shows that the RM

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to enforce the truly reflexive reading with verbs denoting typically other-directed activities (as e.g. in *sich selbst schlagen* 'hit/beat oneself').

in the structure at hand successfully passes the substitution test: the replacement of *se* by the proper noun *Katka* yields an utterance which is both syntactically and semantically flawless without effecting any change in either the syntactic environment of the verb or its lexical meaning.

(14) a. *Tomáš   se   omluvil   z   práce.*
      Tomáš:NOM   RM:ACC   excused:SG.M   from   work:GEN
      'Tomáš excused himself from work.'

    b. *Tomáš   omluvil   Katku   z   práce.*
      Tomáš:NOM   excused:SG.M   Katka:ACC   from   work:GEN
      'Tomáš excused Katka from work.'

With the reflexive verb *omluvit se* 'apologize', however, the substitution test will fail. Replacing *se* in example (15a) (a simplified version of (8b)) by another NP results in the severely degraded, in my judgment ungrammatical utterance (15b). Hence, a rigorous application of the substitution test, involving examination of the reflexive structure (verb + RM) in context rather than in isolation, enables us to distinguish between syntactic and derivational uses of the RM even within structures that appear identical on the surface.

(15) a. *Tomáš   se   omluvil   za   zpoždění.*
      Tomáš:NOM   RM:ACC   apologized:SG.M   for   delay:ACC
      'Tomáš apologized for the delay.'

    b. **Tomáš   omluvil   Katku   za   zpoždění.*
      Tomáš:NOM   apologized:SG.M   Katka:ACC   for   delay:ACC
      '*Tomáš apologized Katka for the delay.'

Finally, Wagner's condition (iii) aims at reflexive verbs which will pass the substitution test but should be distinguished from their non-reflexive counterparts on semantic grounds. One such verb is *učit se* 'learn' derived from *učit* 'teach', already mentioned in the preceding section. Below we see that the RM in (16a) is readily exchangeable for other NPs: the utterance in (16b) is perfectly acceptable, requiring no further changes in the sentence structure.

(16) a. *Dan   se   učí   počítat.*
      Dan:NOM   RM:ACC   teaches   count
      'Dan learns to count.'

    b. *Dan   učí   Marušku   počítat.*
      Dan:NOM   teaches   Maruška:ACC   count
      'Dan teaches Maruška to count.'

Yet, teaching something and learning something are conceptually clearly different, even though complementary activities. Teaching could be defined as the transfer of a certain knowledge or skill, learning as an activity aimed at its acquisition.[33] The significance of the

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[33] Leonid Kulikov (p.c.) remarks that the verbs *učit* 'teach' and *učit se* 'learn' form a causative pair. I tend to disagree, given the high agentivity typically assotiated with the subject referent of the latter verb (the learner). As should by now be clear, anticausatives are verbs denoting spontaneously or seemingly spontaneously occurring processes (more exactly, they comprise a formal subclass of this semantically defined class of verbs). And

distinction is corroborated by the fact that many languages, English among them, refer to the two activities by means of formally unrelated lexemes.

The situation is somewhat more complicated with verbs like *uhodit se* 'hit oneself', discussed in the preceding section under the heading 'verbs of unintentional action'. Recall that *uhodit se* in its usual unintentional interpretation 'bump on something' denotes an event which is rather different from the action described by its base verb. However, the intentional interpretation 'hit oneself' is still available. Consequently, as we see in (17), *uhodit se* passes the substitution test without stumbling.

(17) a. *Pavla   se   uhodila do hlavy.*
      Pavla:NOM RM:ACC hit:SG.F to   head:GEN
      preferred reading (unintetnional): 'Pavla hit her head.'
      possible reading (intentional): 'Pavla hit herself on the head.'

    b. *Pavla   uhodila Karla   do hlavy.*
       Pavla:NOM   hit:SG.F Karel:ACC to   head:GEN
       'Pavla hit Karel on the head.'

Sentence (17b) meets all three Wagner's conditions: it is perfectly acceptable, syntactically fully parallel to (17a), and – if we proceed from the intentional reading of (17a) – the meaning of the verb *uhodit* is exactly the same in both sentences. Yet, the default, most common reading of *uhodit se* is the unintentional one, and the denotation of *uhodit se* is then clearly distinct from that of its base verb. In fact, the unintentional variety of *uhodit se* might well be considered an anticausative, similarly to *zabít se* 'die in an accident' from example (11b) above.[34] Perhaps, then, it would be most adequate to treat *uhodit se* in its unintentional sense as a separate lexical unit, a reflexive verb distinct from its base *uhodit*, which nevertheless can take the RM as its DO when the subject referent intentionally hits him- or herself. This would mean that we assume there to be both a syntactic structure *uhodit + se* 'hit oneself' and a reflexive verb *uhodit se* 'bump on something'.

In yet other cases, the decision whether we are dealing with reflexive verbs or with non-reflexive verbs taking the RM as a grammatical object will depend purely on the granularity of our semantic analysis. To illustrate this point, Wagner (p. 246) compares the body care verbs *mýt* 'wash$_{tr}$' and *koupat* 'bath$_{tr}$' in terms of semantic distance to their reflexive counterparts. While with the former the activities denoted by both the base verb and the reflexive *mýt se* 'wash$_{intr}$' can be said to be quite similar (in the reflexive situation the washer just applies the washing movements to him- or herself), the distance between *koupat* 'give a bath' and *koupat se* 'have a bath' seems noticeably bigger: when having a bath, the bather lies submerged in the water in a bathtub, optionally self-applying the washing movements; when giving a bath to

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although there is no doubt that all living creatures continuously learn "along the way", to my mind the verb *učit se* principally denotes a deliberate human activity.
[34] Note, however, that following Wagner (who himself refers to the work of Van Valin & Wilkins (1996) and other authors) the loss of intentionality alone does not provide sufficient grounds to regard a reflexive verb as anticausative. This is because the feature [+intentionality] is by most verbs "not implied in their lexical structure, but inferred pragmatically" (p.282; my translation). A case in point is *říznout se* 'cut oneself' e.g. in *říznout se do prstu* 'cut one's finger': the person who cuts her finger will be seen as the causer of her injury regardless of whether she does so deliberately or by accident. Rather than intentionality, Wagner argues, the features truly essential for causation are [+activity] and [+control]. While with cutting one's finger both activity and control are present (the cutter *does* control the movements of the knife she operates), control can be diminished with bumping on something and both activity and control are absent by dying in an accident.

somebody, on the other hand, one necessarily applies washing to someone else while usually staying outside the bathtub. Furthermore, the reflexive verb *koupat se* acquired the additional meaning 'have a swim' with a denotation even more distant from that of the base verb. As a result, even though both *koupat se* and *mýt se* will successfully pass the substitution test, there are better semantic grounds for positing the existence of a distinct lexical unit *koupat se* than there are for positing the existence of a distinct lexical unit *mýt se*.

The substitution test was originally designed as a tool for distinguishing between the syntactic and the derivational uses of the RM or, to put it differently, between syntactic combinations of non-reflexive verbs with the reflexive pronoun on the one hand and reflexive verbs on the other. Accordingly, "inflectional" uses of the RM, i.e. structures where it functions as a morphological marker of a certain grammatical property of an otherwise non-reflexive verb, have been disregarded in the preceding discussion. If we put one such structure through the test, however, we discover that the result is the same as with typical reflexive verbs. That is, the replacement of *se* in the 'reflexive passive' structure from examples (4) and (9a), repeated here as (18a), yields a semantically deviant utterance irrespective of the animacy of the substituting NP.

(18) a. *Takové   boty   se   už   nevyrábí.*
　　　 such:NOM.PL.F shoes:NOM RM:ACC already NEG-make:3.PL
　　　 'They[generic] don't make such shoes anymore.'

　　 b. #*Takové   boty   Dana / tkaničky   už   nevyrábí.*
　　　　 such:NOM.PL.F shoes:NOM Dan:ACC shoelaces:ACC already NEG-make:3.PL
　　　 '#Such shoes no longer make Dan / shoelaces.'

It thus seems that besides distinguishing between the syntactic and the derivational uses of the RM, the substitution test also enables us to distinguish between its syntactic and inflectional uses.[35] Yet, the distinction is somewhat less clear-cut with transitive verbs selecting a human patient such as *zvát* 'invite'. As illustrated by (19a), reflexive structures based on such verbs are ambiguous between the 'reflexive passive' reading and a reciprocal reading in which the RM functions as reciprocal pronoun with a DO status. Consequently, *zvát se* in (19a) passes the substitution test, as shown in (19b).

(19) a. *Rodiče   se   pravidelně zvou   do   školy.*
　　　 parents:NOM RM:ACC regulary   invite:3.PL to school:GEN
　　　 preferred reading (passive): 'Parents are regularly invited to the school.'
　　　 possible reading (reciprocal): 'Parents regularly invite each other to the school.'

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[35] This is all the more so given that substitution of the RM in 'impersonal passive' constructions like (9b), repeated here as (i), leads to irrecoverably ungrammatical utterances such as the one in (ii).

(i)　　 *V deset hodin se   šlo   domů.*
　　　 at ten   o'clock RM:ACC went:SG.N home
　　　 'At ten o'clock, people/everybody went home.'

(ii)　　**V deset hodin šlo   Dana   domů.*
　　　 at ten   o'clock went:SG.N Dan:ACC home
　　　 '*At ten o'clock, it went Dan home.'

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b. *Rodiče   ho   pravidelně zvou   do školy.*
  parents:NOM he:ACC regulary   invite:3.PL to school:GEN
  'Parents regularly invite him to the school.'

To a certain extent, the situation in (19) resembles that in (17) above where the reflexive structure *uhodit se* 'hit oneself' can be interpreted either as a reflexive verb denoting (unintentional) bumping on something or as a syntactic combination of a non-reflexive verb and the RM referring to someone's (intentional) hitting him- or herself. Note, however, that even on the "bumping" interpretation, the RM in *uhodit se* seems to have retained something of its original reflexive meaning. That is, the RM still signals identity between the agent and the patient, although the two roles are difficult to distinguish in a bumping event.[36] Consequently, *se* in *uhodit se* 'bump on something' can still be thought of as denoting a DO referent and is thus still *replaceable* by another NP, albeit this replacement automatically activates the default meaning of the verb *uhodit* 'hit'. By contrast, on the passive interpretation of (19a) the RM in *zvát se* clearly lost its reflexive meaning altogether, signaling now affectedness of the subject referent by an unspecified agent. As a grammatical marker deprived of all referential content, it cannot possibly be replaced by an NP as it simply functions on another level of grammar. In practice, the passive and the reciprocal readings of sentences like (19a) are so semantically remote that no formal criterion for teasing them apart is needed.

So far in this section, we have examined the boundaries between the syntactic function of the RM on the one hand in its derivational and inflectional functions on the other. We will now look at the distinction between the latter two functions. To be sure, there are verbs with which the RM can serve either of them. Actually, with certain verbs the RM can serve all three of its basic functions. As an example, let us again take the verb *omluvit* 'excuse'. As we know from above, in one of its senses this verb can take *se* as a DO (cf. example (14a)), but there also exists a reflexive verb *omluvit se* 'apologize' of which the RM forms an integral part (cf. examples (8b) and (15a)). Besides that, however, the non-reflexive verb *omluvit* 'excuse' can combine with *se* to take on the 'reflexive passive' form. This is illustrated in (20).

(20) *Katčino   zpoždění   se   omluvilo.*
     Katka's:NOM delay:NOM RM:ACC excused:SG.N
     'Katka's delay has been excused.'

For the sentence in (20), the passive reading is the only meaningful interpretation: an abstract concept such as a delay simply does not have the capacity to either apologize or to excuse itself from something. However, an analogous sentence with a human subject referent like that in (21) can have any of the three readings indicated by the glosses. Under the first reading, the RM functions as a grammatical object. Under the second, it is part of the reflexive verb *omluvit se* and thus serves to mark lexical derivation. Finally, under the third reading, the RM marks the 'reflexive passive' form of the non-reflexive verb *omluvit* and thus can be said to function as an exponent of inflection.

(21) *Tomáš   se   omluvil.*
     Tomáš:NOM RM:ACC excused:SG.M
     RM interpreted as a reflexive pronoun: 'Tomáš excused himself.' (e.g. from work)

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[36] I anticipate here on Kemmer's (1993) hypothesis that the main function of RMs crosslinguistically is to signal a decrease in 'relative distinguishability of participants' and more generally 'relative elaboration of an event'. We will return to Kemmer's study in the next chapter.

RM interpreted as a derivational particle: 'Tomáš apologized.' (e.g. for a delay)
RM interpreted as a passive marker: 'Tomáš got excused.' (e.g. from work)

It should be noted, however, that the passive reading is possible only with 3rd person subjects.[37] Hence, while in (22a) the passive interpretation of *omluvit se* is possible and (due to the coordination of the first clause with the 'impersonal passive' phrase in the second) perhaps even preferred, for the parallel utterance in (22b) the passive reading is not available. With 1st and 2nd person subjects, the passive-like reading can best be rendered using a basic transitive construction like (22c) where the phonetically null subject[38] may be interpreted both specifically and generically. Using periphrastic passive is possible too, but in the case at hand would be stylistically clumsy: periphrastic passive is quite formal and emotively neutral whereas the 'impersonal passive' phrase *jelo se* 'off we/they went' in the second clause is informal and expressive.

(22) a. *Tomáš   se   omluvil   z   práce   a   jelo   se.*
Tomáš:NOM RM:ACC excused:SG.M from work:GEN and went:SG.N RM:ACC
'Tomáš got excused from work and off we/they went.'
'Tomáš excused himself from work and off we/they went.'

   b. *Omluvil   jsem   se   z   práce   a   jelo   se.*
excused:SG.M AUX:1.SG RM:ACC from work:GEN and went:SG.N RM:ACC
'I excused myself from work and off we went.'

CANNOT MEAN: 'I got excused from work and off we went.'

   c. *Omluvili   mě   z   práce   a   jelo   se.*
excused:PL me from work:GEN and went:SG.N RM:ACC
specific reading: 'They excused me from work and off we went.'
generic (passive-like) reading: 'I got excused from work and off we went.'

Further details of the semantics of the different types of 'reflexive passive' will be discussed in Section 5.3 below. For now, suffice it to repeat that all constructions subsumed under this label are easily identifiable when sufficient context is provided, and that given their semantic distinctness they actually cannot be confused with either reflexive verbs or structures where the RM functions as a grammatical object.

4.3. SUMMARY

This chapter has introduced three main functional domains of the RM as traditionally recognized in Czech linguistic tradition: we have seen that the RM can be employed either as a

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[37] Some exceptions to this rule will be discussed in Section 5.3 below.
[38] Like other Slavic languages, Czech is a so-called null-subject language, which means that subject pronouns need not be overtly realized since the person, number and, to some extent, gender of the subject are marked on the verb. For instance, in (22b) the auxiliary *být* 'be' is in the 1.SG form and the past participle *omluvil* is marked for SG.M (by means of a null number-gender ending). Consequently, the subject pronoun *já* 'I' can be dropped and would be overtly expressed only if there was a need to contrast the subject referent with some other person. Note, however, that in (22c) there is neither an overt subject nor an auxiliary; in fact an auxiliary is also absent in (22a) and all other examples with a 3rd person subject and the verb in a PAST form. This is correct: in Czech, the auxiliary is obligatorily dropped in all 3.PAST verbal forms, irrespective of the value of other grammatical categories (number, mood, etc.). The person value in sentences like (22c) is thus inferable from the absence of an auxiliary or, put differently, marked by a null auxiliary.

pronoun with the status of grammatical object, or as an exponent of inflection, or as a means of lexical derivation. We have also explored the borders between the corresponding three functional domains and reviewed some criteria and empirical tests which should facilitate a proper grammatical categorization of each particular RM occurrence. The reader should by now have a good notion of the functional span of the RM as well as a of the semantic interconnectedness between the three main functional domains. The three-way distinction introduced in this chapter will form the background for the systematic discussion of the functions of the RM in Chapter 5.

4. CROSSLINGUISTIC CONSTRAINTS ON REFLEXIVE MARKING

The aim of this chapter is to place the Czech RM into a crosslinguistic context, thereby answering some of the "big questions" mentioned at the outset of this thesis. Section 4.1 gives an overview of formal types of items functionally similar to the Czech RM and briefly outlines the diachronic paths they typically follow. Section 4.2 examines the range of possible semantic functions of reflexive markers and sheds some light on how the different functional domains are interconnected. Where no references are provided, the information in this chapter, including the examples, is drawn from Faltz (1985), Geniušienė (1987), Haspelmath (1987) and/or Kemmer (1993).[39]

4.1. FORMAL TYPES OF REFLEXIVE MARKERS AND THEIR DIACHRONIC DEVELOPMENTS

Typological research of the past decades has shown that true reflexivity, i.e. referential identity of the most Agent-like participant and other participant(s) in an event, is a prominent semantic category marked in the majority, if not all, natural languages by means of specialized grammatical devices.[40] Yet, from language to language these devices can differ along multiple dimensions, in terms of both form and function.

First of all, languages can employ their reflexive markers either throughout the person paradigm, as is the case in Czech or English, or only in the 3rd person, as in French or German, where ordinary object pronouns are used in reflexive contexts in the 1st and 2nd persons.[41] Marking reflexivity explicitly only in the 3rd person is functionally sufficient, since, as Lichtenberk (1994: 3505) puts it, "it is only in the 3rd person that ambiguity between a reflexive and a nonreflexive interpretation may arise in the absence of an explicit reflexive strategy". Kemmer (1993: 48-9) takes the two patterns (i.e. reflexive marking in all persons vs. in the 3rd person only) to illustrate the influence of two opposing linguistic principles which she refers to respectively as 'expressive' and 'economic' motivation: the former is "responsible for the overt linguistic expression of information throughout a system, even where that information is predictable or redundant", whereas the latter "leads to the lack of overt coding for semantic information when such information is expected, predictable, or inherently present in a situation".

As to their form, reflexive markers can be: (i) **grammaticalized nouns** denoting 'soul', 'head', 'body', 'self' or similar concepts. In many languages, these are obligatorily accompanied by possessive pronouns, cf. the Basque *buru* 'head' → *nere burua* 'myself', lit. 'my head'; (ii) **reflexive pronouns** of very diverse morphological and prosodic properties

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[39] For an overview of the issues discussed in this chapter, see e.g. Lichtenberk (1994), Kazenin (2001) and Kulikov (2013).

[40] An apparent exception to this rule is Old English which used ordinary object pronouns to mark reflexivity in all persons including the 3rd. Yet, even in this language, the reflexive reading could be enforced by appending the emphatic marker *sylf/self* to the pronoun. This marker later coalesced with the object (3rd person) and possessive (1st and 2nd persons) pronouns to form the Modern English reflexive paradigm, the members of which, as is well known, continue to be used in the emphatic function, too (as e.g. in *I wrote this letter myself*).

[41] Faltz (1985: 44) mentions two languages where a different pattern is found: "Papago has a reflexive pronoun which is used in the third and second persons; corresponding sentences in the first person take ordinary object pronouns. And Pre-Old-Norse must have had a stage in which a reflexive pronoun was used in all cases except the first person singular, for which the ordinary object pronoun was used. But," he continues, "cases like these are rare, and, we shall see, reflect transitional stages. Thus, it will not be a gross distortion to assume that reflexive pronouns come in two kinds: third-person and all-person, if we keep in mind that such transitional types as Papago and Pre-Old-Norse do occasionally show up."

(compare the members of the English *-self* paradigm, which are full pronouns specified for person and number, and the Czech RM, which is a person- and number-neutral clitic). Diachronically, reflexive pronouns often derive from the set of nouns mentioned above, cf. the Hungarian *maga* 'oneself' ← *maga* 'body'. Another frequent source of reflexive pronouns are emphatic markers, as documented by the English *-self* forms (see fn. 40); (iii) diverse kinds of **verbal affixes**, some of which (e.g. the Russian postfix *-sja*) are traceable back to reflexive pronouns. Geniušienė (1987: 269, 303) further mentions the following reflexive strategies: (iv) a special **reflexive conjugation** found e.g. in Veps; and (v) a special **agreement pattern**, found e.g. in Siberian Yupik. However, these and similar "light" strategies are typically associated with semantic categories other than reflexive proper and coexist with reflexive markers of the types (i) through (iii) above.[42]

As demonstrated in grammaticalization studies, reflexive markers tend to develop from nominal to verbal elements (i.e. from nouns via full pronouns to clitics/particles and verbal affixes) over time. The various stages of this grammaticalization path are well-documented in the history of Indo-European languages and could be summarized as follows. Through a frequent use as a productive marker of true reflexivity, an initial substantive is subject to 'semantic bleaching' or 'desemanticization'. Along with its lexical content, the marker loses both inflectional specificity and phonological substance and gravitates more and more to the verb until it finally merges with it. In the later stages of this process (say from the clitic stage on), the marker is likely to acquire further semantic functions, first directly and later indirectly related to proper reflexivity. However, given the preference of natural languages to have unambiguous means for marking true reflexivity, such a polysemy of the RM is not desirable and a new, unambiguous (truly) reflexive marker can be introduced at this point. This way, the old RM begins to gradually lose semantic ground, often in favor of the new (truly) reflexive marker. Eventually, the old RM may become entirely meaningless, in which case it will either be dropped or incorporated into the verb stem.

Most parts of this process can be illustrated with examples from Slavic languages.[43] Recall from Chapter 2 that, besides the light polyfunctional RM *se*, Czech also has a "heavy" reflexive pronoun *sebe* used exclusively in truly reflexive and reciprocal contexts. Similar pairs can be found in all Slavic languages, cf. the Polish *się* and *siebie* and the Russian *-sja* and *sebja*. Yet, the Russian (as well as Belarusian and Ukrainian) light RM *-sja* differs in some respects from its West and South Slavic cognates. The West and South Slavic light RMs are clitics[44] and, to my knowledge, they all pattern with the Czech *se* in that they can express true reflexivity with any verb whose semantics permits of coreferentiality between the subject and one of the objects. That is to say, West and South Slavic languages employ the light RMs as the default strategy for marking true reflexivity and use the heavy reflexive pronouns only under special pragmatic and/or prosodic conditions (for details from Czech see example (5) above and the discussion there). By contrast, the East Slavic *-sja* is an affix and, importantly, is said to no longer function as a truly reflexive marker. For example, Kemmer (1993: 27) shows that some Russian transitive verbs that combine with the heavy reflexive pronoun *sebja* to express true reflexivity simply do not allow for the attachment of *-sja* (a case in point is *nenavidet* 'hate', cf. *Viktor nenavidit sebja* / **-sja* 'Viktor hates himself'), while other verbs

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[42] In fact, as we will see shortly, this is the case also with the Russian postfix *-sja*. A proper example of an affixal marker of true reflexivity is e.g. the Lakota prefix/infix *-ic'i-*, cf. Faltz (1985: 60).

[43] See Kemmer (1993: Chapter 5) for case studies of the development of reflexive marking in Romance, Germanic and Nilo-Saharan.

[44] The rules of clitic placement and ordering vary from language to language. For a comprehensive survey, see Franks & King (2000).

combine with both *sebja* and *-sja*, but the attachment of *-sja* marks an idiomatic shift in the meaning of the verb rather than true reflexivity (one such verb is *utomit* 'tire', cf. *On utomil sebja* 'He exhausted himself' (truly reflexive meaning) × *On utomilsja* 'He grew weary' (anticausative/spontaneous meaning)). Kemmer therefore classifies *-sja* as a 'middle marker' rather than a reflexive one.[45]

Since there is no doubt that all Slavic light RMs go back to a common source (ultimately the Proto-Indo-European form **s(u)e-* 'own'), with the above-sketched grammaticalization path in mind we can conclude that the East Slavic *-sja* represents a more advanced stage of diachronic development than its West and South Slavic counterparts, both from formal and semantic point of view: it shows a higher degree of fusion with the verb and has lost its truly reflexive function (with most verbs), while the West and South Slavic clitics still retain it. This, however, does not deny that the West and South Slavic light RMs covered quite a distance on their grammaticalization journey, too. They cliticized and, as we shall see in the next section, acquired most of the "secondary" semantic functions available for RMs. What is more, there is another item (the heavy marker) now competing with them in the truly reflexive and reciprocal domains.

What seems to hold true for all languages with the light vs. heavy RM dichotomy, whether the two markers are genetically related or not, is that it is the phonologically heavier marker which is used in truly reflexive contexts. Also, a language may have a specialized reflexive marker while lacking an overt strategy for marking the other functions associated with (light) polyfunctional RMs (English is one such language), but not the other way around. Based on these facts, Kemmer (1993: 229-31) concludes that true reflexivity is a "cognitively more primary" category than those associated with the light RMs and that the existence of a light polyfunctional RM ('middle marker' in her terms) depends on the existence of a (heavy) truly reflexive marker, even if the two items have a different diachronic source. From this it follows that, while truly reflexive markers can grammaticalize into 'middle markers', the opposite development is not possible since "semantic grammaticalization is unidirectional" and "markers do not in general decrease in their degree of semantic grammaticalization". Let us now turn our attention to the range of semantic functions covered by RMs.

4.2. SEMANTIC FUNCTIONS OF REFLEXIVE MARKERS

The primary aim of typological studies in reflexivity has been to gain understanding of the semantic mechanisms both enabling and constraining the spread of RMs beyond the properly reflexive domain. This crucially involved identifying which semantic categories RMs crosslinguistically happen to mark and discerning the connections between them. While individual studies may differ as to the methodologies and terminologies they adopt, there is a substantial agreement regarding the basic nodes and links on the "semantic map" underlying the expansion of RMs through the semantic space. In the present section, I will focus on exactly these main nodes (read: semantic categories) and links (connections between them) shaping the reflexive domain. A detailed and systematic overview of semantic functions of the Czech RM is the subject of Chapter 5.

Disregarding some crosslinguistically less prominent semantic categories, the "semantic map" underlying and constraining the functional expansion of reflexive markers can be represented as in (23) below, where the arrows indicate the (only possible) direction of the development.

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[45] The notion of 'middle' will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

$$> \text{reciprocal}$$

(23)   reflexive proper > middle > anticausative > potential passive > passive

$$> \text{impersonal passive}$$

Hence, as demonstrated in typological studies like those mentioned in the opening paragraph of this chapter, a (truly) reflexive marker cannot become an anticausative marker without first becoming a middle marker;[46] likewise, an erstwhile reflexive marker which has become an anticausative marker cannot spread to the passive domain otherwise than through the potential passive.[47] The reciprocal and impersonal passive, on the other hand, can be seen as (blind) branches of the main path. Thus, for instance, a truly reflexive marker can expand to the reciprocal domain without necessarily spreading to the middle domain (and further to the right), as well as, conversely, expand to the middle domain (and further to the right) without necessarily spreading to the reciprocal domain.[48]

It should also be emphasized that the "semantic map" depicted in (23) represents a possible, not a necessary, developmental path for reflexive markers. Thus, it is possible that a RM in a particular language expands as far as the anticausative, but no further, as there is another robust enough strategy operating in the domains further to the right. Also, the expansion of RMs (and other markers) through the semantic area under consideration is a gradual, piecemeal process, due to which there can be, at a particular stage in the historical development of a langue, two or more competing or complementary markers active in one semantic domain. Finally, of course, the functional expansion of a RM (i.e. its semantic grammaticalization) can be accompanied by its phonological simplification (i.e. formal grammaticalization) along the lines described in the previous section, which can eventually result in a formal split between a marker of true reflexivity on the one hand and a marker of (some of) the other functions (often called 'middle marker/MM') on the other.

To give some concrete examples of how different languages structure the semantic area in question, focusing only on the five categories located on the main path of (23) and only on the dominant marking strategy for each language and category, consider the following patterns as found in Czech, Russian, German, Dutch and English, i.e. five fairly closely related European

[46] A discussion of the concept of 'middle' as understood here follows shortly. For now, suffice it to say that, following Kemmer (1993), I reserve this term for a series of semantic verb classes whose members denote events in which the initiator (agent) is also the affected entity (patient).

[47] By 'passive' (without a premodifier) I mean the "canonical" passive constructions with a specific agent, which may or may not be overtly expressed (i.e. constructions semantically equivalent to the English *be*-passive, exemplified by *The car has been fixed (by John)*). The term 'potential passive' covers constructions functionally equivalent to English "facilitative" constructions like *The book is selling well*, with a generic agent and an evaluative meaning, usually rendered by adverbs like *well*, *slowly*, etc. Finally, the term, 'impersonal passive' refers to constructions like those exemplified in (9a) and (9b) above, with an obligatorily anonymous (and therefore overtly unexpressed), agent. The distinctions between 'canonical', 'potential' and 'impersonal passive' will be discussed in more detail in Section 5.3 below.

[48] These developmental patterns have been established by comparing the strategies employed to mark the semantic categories in (23) in large samples of genetically and geographically diverse languages. For instance, it turned out that besides languages marking the anticausative, potential passive and "canonical" passive in the same way, there are reasonably many languages using the same marking strategy for the anticausative and the potential passive and a different strategy for the canonical passive, as well as languages using the same strategy for both the potential and the canonical passive and a different one for the anticausative, but there are few to no languages that would use the same strategy for the anticausative and the canonical passive and a different one for the potential passive. Note further that a "right-to-left" development along the lines [passive > potential passive > anticausative] is possible, too (see especially Kulikov (2011a)), however not for markers of a reflexive origin.

languages. The Czech RM *se* marks all the categories from reflexive proper, where it is in competition with the heavy reflexive pronoun *sebe*, through potential passive, but not the 'canonical' passive (on this more in the next chapter). Russian has a heavy reflexive pronoun *sebja* and a formally related MM *-sja*, employed to mark all the categories from the middle through the 'canonical' passive, where, however, it is in complemetary distribution with the periphrastic passive (see Fried (2006)). The German RM *sich*, like the Czech *se*, covers the area from reflexive proper through potential passive. In the anticausative domain, however, the RM is often not needed, as many German verbs are 'labile', i.e. can be used both transitively and intransitively. Dutch can be said to have a different strategy for each of the five categories. It has a heavy reflexive pronoun *zichzelf* and a cognate MM *zich*, which, however, is basically restricted to the middle domain proper. As for Dutch anticausative, it is hard to identify any truly productive/dominant marking strategy. Instead, what we encounter in this domain is a cluster of lexical or, at best, semi-productive strategies.[49] The potential passive in Dutch requires no overt morphological marking, thus rendering the verbs 'labile', and for canonical passive, Dutch uses a periphrastic construction. Finally, English uses the reflexive pronoun *oneself* in the reflexive domain proper, labile verbs in the middle,[50] anticausative and potential passive domains, and periphrastic constructions in the canonical passive. The marking patterns just described are summarized in Table 4 below.

	Reflexive proper	Middle	Anticausative	Potential pass.	Passive
Czech	*sebe* / *se*	*se*	*se*	*se*	periphrasis
Russian	*sebja*	*-sja*	*-sja*	*-sja*	*-sja* / periphrasis
German	*sich*	*sich*	*sich* / LV	*sich*	periphrasis
Dutch	*zichzelf*	*zich*	?	LV	periphrasis
English	*oneself*	LV	LV	LV	periphrasis

Table 4. The main semantic categories crosslinguistically available for reflexive marking and primary means of their marking in Czech, Russian, German, Dutch and English (LV = labile verbs; ? = no primary/dominant marking strategy).

While the other labels used in (23) refer to relatively well-established semantic categories recognized by most linguists (despite persisting terminological heterogeneity), the concept of 'middle' as adopted here requires some further explanation, especially given the many ways in which this term is used in the literature.[51] Following Kemmer (1993), I reserve the term 'middle' for a series of situation types (corresponding to semantic classes of verbs) in which the initiator (agent) is also the affected entity (patient). The difference between the reflexive and the middle, then, is that the former signals self-directedness of events that are typically other-directed, whereas the latter comprises events that are necessarily (or at least typically) self-directed. Another defining property of the middle situation types is that they "all involve

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[49] Here belong the use of the MM *zich* as in *zich verspreiden* 'spread$_{intr}$' (from *verspreiden* 'spread$_{tr}$'), labile verbs like *oplossen* 'dissolve$_{tr/intr}$', and lexicalized combinations of copular verbs with predicative adjectives such as *dichtgaan* 'close$_{intr}$' (from *dicht* + *gaan* 'closed + go') or *vollopen* 'fill$_{intr}$' (from *vol* + *lopen* 'full + walk'). Besides that, however, Dutch has a decent inventory of derived causatives such as *verbranden* 'burn$_{tr}$' (from *branden* 'burn$_{intr}$') and causativizing constructions such as *doen zinken/tot zinken brengen* 'sink$_{tr}$' (lit. 'do sink/bring to sinking'). The causativity alternation strategies in Dutch call for further investigation.

[50] For a discussion of some secondary middle strategies in English see Faltz (1985: 5-11).

[51] For instance, the term 'middle' is sometimes used to refer to one or both of the categories labeled here 'anticausative' and 'potential passive'. Other authors use the term 'middle voice (/cluster)' to cover the (maximum) functional span of middle markers, i.e. essentially the entire semantic area depicted in (23) (cf. the range of functions associated with the Russian MM *-sja* in Table 4). Thus, as Kulikov (2013: 266) puts it, the middle "can be considered a result of a syncretic merger of several, closely related (from the functional point of view), linguistic categories such as reflexive, passive, anticausative, and some others".

events occurring in the mind and/or body of human or at least animate entities" (Kemmer (1993: 142)). This feature distinguishes the middle events from the 'spontaneous' events denoted by anticausative verbs, which "prototypically involve purely affected, often inanimate entities" (ibid).[52]

On this view, the middle is a (somewhat incoherent) cluster of semantically defined verb classes, and it is therefore more appropriate to speak of a 'middle domain' than of 'middle voice'. Details of the "cartography" of the middle domain as developed by Kemmer will be discussed in the next chapter. For now, suffice it to mention some of the most prominent and well-defined semantic verb classes which Kemmer includes here. These are verbs denoting (i) self-applied *grooming or body care*[53] such as washing, shaving or dressing oneself; (ii) *nontranslational motion* such as turning, bowing or stretching one's body; (iii) *change in body posture* such as sitting/kneeling/lying down, standing up etc.; (iv) diverse states and acts of *emotion* and *cognition* such as being or becoming angry, frightened or delighted, thinking, believing etc.; and (v) different sorts of (*emotive*) *speech actions* such as complaining, boasting or confessing.

The use of the term 'middle' for the semantic domain thus delimited is justified by the fact that the denoted events appear intermediate between prototypically transitive (two-participant) and prototypically intransitive (one-participant) events. The case of verbs of body care has already been discussed. The RM in structures such as *mýt se* 'wash$_{intr}$' can be demonstrated to function as a grammatical object, but at the same time does not "feel" (in Kopečný's words) like one: washing oneself is so common an occupation that speakers tend to conceptualize it as a unary, semantically intransitive activity. Moreover, activities denoted by reflexive structures such as *koupat se* 'have a bath' are physically quite different from activities denoted by the corresponding non-reflexive verbs (here *koupat* 'give a bath') – another good reason for regarding such reflexive structures as distinct, intransitive verbs. This is even more so with verbs of the different kinds of body motion specified in (ii) and (iii) in the preceding paragraph. To be sure, one might argue that when turning, bowing or kneeling down, an individual (the agent) performs an action upon his or her own body (the patient) in order to change its position. Yet, such an analysis is presumably far remote from how "ordinary" speakers construe the actions at hand. Besides, again, turning around or sitting down are actions physically very different from turning something or somebody else or seating somebody else down. Finally, with regard to the verbs subsumed above under (iv) and (v), one could cast e.g. the state of being angry as making oneself angry about something and the act of boasting as talking about one's own achievements with too much pride, both descriptions including two distinct sematnic roles. Yet again, most speakers are likely to have a unary (intransitive) conception of such states and activities.

Based on similar observations, Kemmer identifies relatively low distinguishability of participants as the defining semantic property common to all the verbs in the middle domain. As she puts it, the single participant in a middle situation "has two aspects or facets, in that it has an Initiator and Endpoint," but there is "minimal conceptual differentiation between initiating and endpoint entities" (p. 72). By contrast, a truly reflexive situation has "something

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[52] The set of reflexives populating the middle area as defined here roughly corresponds to Kopečný's 'reflexive verbs proper', discussed in Section 3.2 above. Faltz (1985) speaks in this connection simply of "commonly reflexive actions" and "commonly reflexive verbs". Geniušienė (1987) uses the label 'autocausative'. Haspelmath (1987) introduces the term 'endoreflexive', since "the action does not get outside in the first place, but remains, so to speak, within the actor, who is necessarily identical to the undergoer (hence "endo-")" (p. 27).
[53] The italicized phrases in (i) through (v) are Kemmer's original terms.

in between one and two participants" (ibid) and the relative distinguishability of participants in reflexive situations is thus higher than in the middle ones, although, naturally, not as high as with prototypical transitive events. (Decreased) distinguishability of participants is further argued to be a sub-property of (decreased) elaboration of events, which in turn is held to be the central notion linking all the semantic categories listed in (23).

Not all languages overtly mark verbs belonging to the middle domain as such.[54] Even in languages with explicit marking of the "middle proper", however, this marking is not productive in the usual sense of that word, i.e. as e.g. the Czech RM is a fully productive marker of true reflexivity or the anticausative derivation. Rather, as Kemmer shows, it conquers the middle domain gradually, spreading from verb to verb and from one semantic verb class to another. This, Kemmer argues, explains two major mysteries connected with middle marking: (i) the fact that often within one semantic class some verbs are middle-marked while others, often their (near-)synonyms, are not, and (ii) the existence of formally underived middle-marked verbs which in languages with RM/MM identity are known as 'reflexiva tantum'.

Let us now turn back to the semantic map in (23) and consider the semantic connections which hold between the adjacent categories and enable the expansion of reflexive (and other) markers form one domain to another. Most of these links have been individually hinted at in various places in the present and preceding chapter. Let us now tie up the loose ends and look at the complete picture. The semantic map in (23) is repeated here for convenience.

$$> \text{ reciprocal}$$

(23)   reflexive proper > middle > anticausative > potential passive > passive

$$> \text{ impersonal passive}$$

The connection between reflexive proper and the middle is manifest: in both cases, the most agent-like participant is also the affected entity. The difference is that self-affectedness of the agent is unusual/unexpected in the case of the former category, whereas it is the only or at least the default option in the case of the latter. The fact that the agent in reflexive and middle events performs an action upon him/herself has the effect that in both cases the syntactic subject of the verb denotes both an acting and an affected entity. It is exactly this property, *affectedness of the subject referent,* which forms the "semantic bridge" between reflexive proper and the middle on the one hand, and all the remaining categories represented in (23) on the other. In the case of the reciprocal, the subject referent is engaged in a mutual activity with the referent of one of the verb's objects and thus plays both an acting and an affected role, just as in the case of the reflexive and the middle. In the anticausative and the passive cluster on the right edge of (23), the S invariably denotes the affected entity. The differences between these four categories can be stated in terms of semantic and/or syntactic status of the acting entity (the agent or the most agent-like participant): semantically, it is absent in the anticausative, generic in the potential passive, and anonymous (but not necessarily generic) in the impersonal passive (see Section 5.3 below); syntactically, it is absent in the anticausative, impersonal passive and (in most languages) in the potential passive, and optional in the canonical passive.

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[54] Without giving any quantitative indication, Kemmer (1993: 232) states that "[t]he middle often has zero expression in languages".

The connections and patterns described in the preceding paragraph can be formalized using the concept of 'syntactic pattern' or 'diathesis' (in terms of the Leningrad / St. Petersburg Typology Group), designed to capture how semantic roles like agent and patient map onto syntactic functions like S and DO (see Kulikov (2011b, 2013) for an introductory discussion of this concept and further references). Thus, in a transitive utterance like *John opened the window*, the agent (John) is mapped onto the S and the patient (the window) onto the DO. This pattern, regarded as the "basic" or "unmarked" diathesis, can be graphically represented in a form of a simple table, as shown in (24). The labels A and P stand, respectively, for agent and patient or, more generally, for the most agent-like and the most patient-like semantic role within the given clause.[55]

(24)   *Basic transitive diathesis*

A	P
S	DO

The semantic categories listed in (23) can all be shown to represent variations on this basic pattern, with as common denominator the affectedness of the subject referent, or the fact that the P is mapped onto the S. In a prototypical reflexive utterance like *John hit himself*, the inventory of syntactic functions remains unchanged (the reflexive pronoun functioning as a DO) and also the A and P roles are clearly distinguishable. Yet, they are associated with the same referent and hence map onto both syntactic functions, as shown in (25).

(25)   *Reflexive diathesis*

A	=	P
S		DO

In the case of middle utterances like *John turned around*, the A and the P are still (to a certain degree) distinguishable, but are associated with the same referent by default, which, as shown in (26), is reflected in the syntactic structure of the utterance by the absence of a DO.[56]

(26)   *Middle diathesis*

A	=	P
	S	

In prototypical reciprocal utterances like *Paul and John hit each other*, the S (Paul and John) and the DO (expressed by the reciprocal pronoun) are, again, referentially identical. Yet, differently from the reflexive, they are semantically complex and thus associated with both the A and the P role. The reciprocal diathesis can be represented as in (27).

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[55] Most common descriptive labels used to refer to such 'macroroles' are Actor and Undergoer.

[56] Recall from Chapter 3 that the Czech RM *se* can function both as a reflexive pronoun with the syntactic status of a DO and as a derivational particle. The grammatical status of a particular occurrence of *se* can be determined by means of a so-called substitution test (see Section 3.3). In middle utterances such as the Czech equivalent of *John turned around* (*John se otočil*), the RM will not pass the substitution test on semantic grounds and can therefore be regarded a derivational particle with no syntactic status.

(27)   *Reciprocal diathesis*

A+P	A+P
S	DO

In the case of anticausative utterances like *The window opened*, as discussed in Chapter 3, the A is eliminated from the semantic structure of the verb. As a consequence, its position in the diathesis is vacated and taken up by the P. By this, there is no participant/role which could be linked to the DO, which is therefore dropped. This is shown in (28).

(28)   *Anticausative diathesis*

P
S

Also the passive diatheses have the P mapped onto the S, but differ from the anticausative in that the A is present in the semantic structure, even though usually not overtly expressed. In the case of potential passive (represented in (29)), the A receives a generic interpretation and cannot be overtly expressed in most languages, hence the absence of a grammatical object in the pattern.[57] In the canonical passive diathesis (given in (30)), the A can be optionally expressed by an OblO, in which case it receives a specific interpretation. Finally, the A in the impersonal passive diathesis (given in (31)), whether interpreted generically or specifically, is casted as anonymous and its overt expression is thus prohibited. Note that unlike the canonical passive, the potential and impersonal passives operate on both transitive and intransitive verbs. In the latter case, there is no patient to be promoted to the subject position, which therefore remains vacant (or, in some languages, is filled by a "dummy" subject). More details will be given in Section 5.3 below.

(29)   *Potential passive diathesis*   (30)   *Canonical passive diathesis*

P	$A_{generic}$		P	A
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S / -	-		S	- / OblO

(31)   *Impersonal passive diathesis*

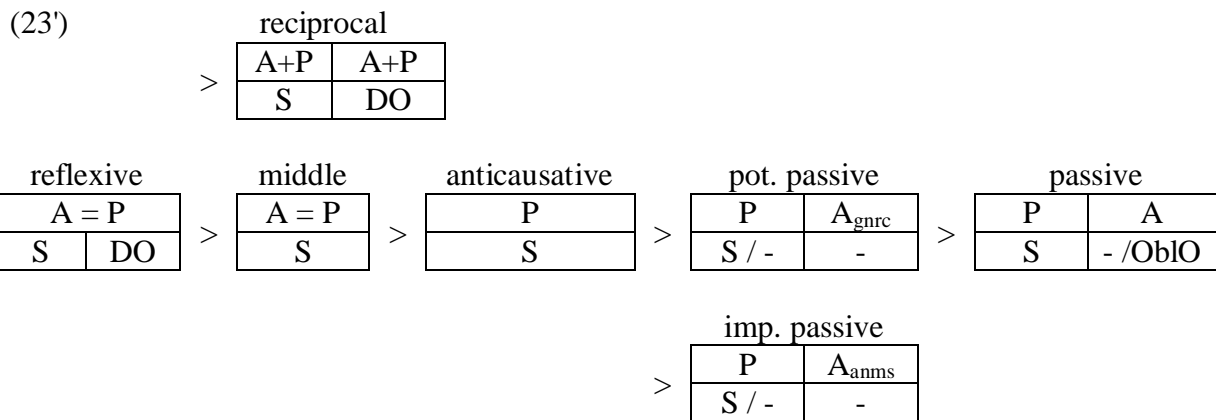| P	$A_{anonymous}$
S / -	-

If we now place the diatheses presented in (25) through (31) on the semantic map in (23), the similarities between the adjacent categories emerge very clearly and we can observe how the pattern gradually transforms from the reflexive on the left edge to the canonical passive on the right. Among other things, we are now able to account for the intermediate position of the

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[57] As we will see in Section 5.3, Czech is one of the languages that allow for an overt expression of the A in potential passive. For transitive verbs, the respective diathesis then differs from the canonical passive diathesis only in the type of grammatical object onto which the A is mapped (dative IO in the case of potential passive, instrumental OblO in the case of canonical passive). Yet, the obligatory presence of an evaluative expression and the overall evaluative meaning of the potential passive render the two types of passive semantically clearly distinct.

potential passive between the anticausative and the canonical passive. Its role as a transitional category consists in reintroducing the A into the semantic structure, albeit in a "reduced" (generic) form. The resulting picture is presented below as (23').

(23')

reciprocal

A+P	A+P
S	DO

>

reflexive

A = P	
S	DO

>

middle

A = P
S

>

anticausative

P
S

>

pot. passive

P	A_{gnrc}
S / -	-

>

passive

P	A
S	- /OblO

>

imp. passive

P	A_{anms}
S / -	-

4.3. SUMMARY

In this chapter, we have examined both formal (Section 4.1) and a functional (Section 4.2) constraints applying to reflexive markers crosslinguistically, thereby addressing some of the "big" questions mentioned at the outset of the present thesis: What, if something, do the different functions of the Czech RM have in common? And is the polysemy of the RM a peculiarity of Slavic languages or is it a more universal phenomenon? With regard to the former question, we have seen that the semantic categories associated with the Czech RM comprise a large, yet cohesive semantic area in which we encounter different types of transitivity alterations. A basic/general function of the Czech RM and similar items could be described as *signaling affectedness of the subject referent*.

With regard to the latter question, it is clear that the polysemy of reflexive (or functionally similar) markers is a common phenomenon, not restricted to Slavic or Indo-European languages (see Geniušienė (1987) for a comprehensive survey). On the other hand, we have seen that even fairly closely related languages can structure the semantic area susceptible for reflexive marking in very different ways, sometimes using a distinct marking strategy for practically each of the semantic categories that belong here. We are now ready to turn to a systematic discussion of the semantic functions of the Czech RM.

5. FUNCTIONS OF THE CZECH RM

This chapter provides a systematic overview of semantic functions of the Czech RM. Most of these have been introduced in the previous two chapters, which will now allow us to go into more detail while staying relatively concise. The main aim of the following discussion is to further clarify the basic functions of the Czech RM and the semantic connections between them, thereby highlighting certain peculiar properties of the constructions under discussion. The chapter is divided into three sections dealing with the three broad functional domains of the RM delimited in Chapter 3, viz. its "syntactic", "derivational" and "inflectional" functions.

5.1. THE RM AS A PRONOUN

As argued in the preceding chapters, the Czech RM *se* still retains its pronominal nature, at least when employed as a marker of true reflexivity (coreference between the subject and one of the grammatical objects) and reciprocity. When the reflexive/reciprocal object is in ACC or DAT, *se/si* will be selected by default, whereas its "heavy" counterpart *sebe/sobě* will be used only under special prosodic or pragmatic conditions. There is little new I can add here about the truly reflexive uses of the RM and I will therefore limit myself to recapitulating the main points. More attention will be paid to the reciprocal function of the RM, which has so far been neglected.

5.1.1. The RM as reflexive pronoun

As noted above, marking true reflexivity is generally assumed to be the basic and diachronically primary function of the RM. The most important thing for us to remember is that the Czech *se*, unlike e.g. the Russian *-sja*, can express true reflexivity with all verbs denoting actions and activities which can conceivably be self-directed (i.e. basically all transitive verbs that can take animate agents and patients). This holds true even for the most typically other-directed verbs, such as *nenávidět* 'hate', *ošidit* 'swindle' or *potřebovat* 'need', cf. the following corpus example borrowed from Wagner (2011: 271).

(32) *Už   se   nebudeš   potřebovat. Ani   já   tě   už*
      already RM:ACC won't:2.SG need:INF   neither I:NOM you:SG.ACC already
      nebudu   potřebovat.
      won't:1.SG   need:INF
      'You won't need yourself any longer. Neither will I need you.'

In fact, as the light RM can co-occur in a clause with the emphatic pronoun *sám* 'self', which often combines with the heavy reflexive pronoun *sebe* to enforce the truly reflexive reading, it may appear that the light RM can also be used under emphasis. However, as the examples in (33) illustrate, this is not the case.

(33) a. *Dan   se   znemožnil   sám.*
        Dan:NOM RM:ACC   made-a-fool:SG.M self (EMPH):NOM.SG.M
        'Dan managed to make a fool of himself.' (no one else had to do it for him)

     b. *Dan   znemožnil   sám   sebe.*
        Dan:NOM   made-a-fool:SG.M self (EMPH):ACC.SG.M himself:ACC
        'Dan made a fool of himself.' (not of someone else)

The difference in the interpretation of (33a) and (33b) makes it clear that only in the latter sentence *sám* refers to the DO (expressed by *sebe*). In (33a), on the other hand, *sám* refers to the S (Pavel) and has no relation to *se* which represents the DO. Structures of the (33a) type receive the interpretation [it was x himself who V]; if the verb is transitive, the DO may be coreferential with the S (as in (33a)) or not (as is the case in (33c) below).

(33) c. *Dan   ji   znemožnil   sám.*
      Dan:NOM   she:ACC   made-a-fool:SG.M   self (EMPH):NOM.SG.M
      'Dan made a fool of her himself.' (he didn't need anyone else to do it for him)

To conclude the discussion of properly reflexive uses of the RM, at least one example should be given of the dative form *si* used in this function. This example is provided in (34b); (34a) shows a corresponding non-reflexive structure.

(34) a. *Karel   mamince   připravil   snídani.*
      Karel:NOM   mommy:DAT   prepared:SG.M   breakfast:ACC
      'Karel prepared mommy a breakfast.'

    b. *Karel   si   připravil   snídani.*
      Karel:NOM   RM:DAT   prepared:SG.M   breakfast:ACC
      'Karel prepared himself a breakfast.'

5.1.2. The RM as reciprocal pronoun

The reciprocal function of the RM derives directly from its truly reflexive function. In reflexive situations, one of the grammatical objects of a verb refers to the same entity as the subject, due to which the subject referent receives two semantic roles: an agentive and an affected one. The same is true in reciprocal situations. In prototypical reciprocal structures like the one in (2) above, the subject denotes a complex entity consisting of two or more referents who are engaged in a mutual activity, thus having both an agentive and an affected role.

Also for reciprocal marking holds that the light RM can fulfil this function with all verbs semantically capable of entering into the reciprocal construction. At the same time, the semantic restrictions on reciprocalization are very loose. Unlike in the case of reflexivization, animacy of (either of) the referents is not required. This is evidenced by the examples in (35), each illustrating one case form of the RM.[58]

(35) a. *Nabídka   a   poptávka   se   zákonitě   ovlivňují.*
      supply:NOM   and   demand:NOM   RM:ACC   inevitably   influence:3.PL
      'Supply and demand inevitably influence each other.'

    b. *Tyto   dva   výroky   si   odporují.*
      These:NOM   two:NOM   statements:NOM   RM:DAT   contradict:3.PL
      'These two statements contradict each other.'

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[58] Naturally, the 'reciprocants' will in most instances be of the same animacy, i.e. either both animate or both inanimate. Yet, this rule is not absolute – think of sentences like *She felt herself and the ring were made for each other.*

As has been noted in Chapter 1, many reciprocal structures also have a reflexive reading. Clearly, though, this is not the case with either of the sentences in (35). The ambiguity between reciprocal and reflexive reading arises only when the 'reciprocants' are animate entities and only when the semantics of the verb allows for a reflexive interpretation (or, rather, when such interpretation is reasonable). Hence, no ambiguity is likely to be perceived in (36a), as reflexive interpretation of the verb *navštěvovat* 'visit' would be bizarre at best. In (36b), on the other hand, both interpretations seem to be equally plausible. In cases like this one, the reciprocal reading can be enforced through insertion of the adverb *navzájem* or *vzájemně* 'mutually', as shown in (36c).[59]

(36) a. *Iva   a   Zuzka   se   často   navštěvují.*
    Iva:NOM and Zuzka:NOM RM:ACC often visit:3.PL
    'Iva and Zuzka often visit each other'.

   b. *Tomáš   a   Dan   si   uvázali   kravaty.*
    Tomáš:NOM and Dan:NOM RM:DAT tied:PL.M ties:ACC
    'Tomáš and Dan tied each other's ties / each their own tie.'

   c. *Tomáš   a   Dan   si   navzájem uvázali   kravaty.*
    Tomáš:NOM and Dan:NOM RM:DAT mutually tied:PL.M ties:ACC
    'Tomáš and Dan tied each other's ties.'

Apart from the sentence in (35b) which has a collective subject, the reciprocants in (35a) through (36c) are connected by the conjunction *a* 'and' and form one syntactic constituent (the subject), as evident from the position of the RM which, as a rule, follows the first syntactic phrase of a clause (see Section 2.2). Alternatively, the reciprocants can be conjoined by the comitative preposition *s(e)* 'with', in which case the second NP receives instrumental case marking, as shown in (37a). The second NP can also be moved to the right of the RM, assuming the syntactic function of an oblique object. The verb then agrees only with the first reciprocant, as shown in (37b).

(37) a. *Zuzka   s   Ivou   se   často   navštěvují.*
    Zuzka:NOM with Iva:INS RM:ACC often visit:3.PL
    'Zuzka and Iva often visit each other'.

   b. *Zuzka   se   často   navštěvuje s   Ivou.*
    Zuzka:NOM RM:ACC often visit:3.PL with Iva:INS
    'Zuzka and Iva often visit each other / Zuzka often visits Iva'.

Structures of the (37b) type are known as 'discontinuous' reciprocal constructions. Despite their discontinuity in the surface structure, on the semantic level both reciprocants retain their "double" (agentive and affected) semantic roles. The effect of the syntactic changes consists merely in redistribution of pragmatic prominence of the participants.

It should be pointed out that the rules governing the use of the heavy reflexive/reciprocal pronoun *sebe* in reciprocal structures differ from those that apply in reflexive structures, described in Section 2.1 above (see examples (5b) through (5d)). Emphasis or contrast are

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[59] As a matter of fact, Czech has an unambiguous means of marking reciprocity, viz. the pronominal phrase *jeden druhého* 'one another'. However, this phrase does not sound completely natural in most contexts and is not used very frequently.

expressed in reciprocal constructions by adverbs such as *navzájem/vzájemně* 'mutually' (see above) or *spolu* 'together'. Replacing *se/si* in any of the examples given in the present subsection by the emphatic (*sám*) *sebe/sobě* would in fact enforce the reflexive reading. This means that the heavy pronoun *sebe* has the reciprocal function only in prepositional phrases (including those where the object is in the DAT or ACC case) and in a handful of non-prepositional collocations with the object in INS (cf. (38a)) or GEN (cf. (38b)).

(38) a. *Lukáš   a   Michal   sebou   (navzájem)   pohrdají.*
      Lukáš:NOM and Michal:NOM each-other:INS mutually   despise:3.PL
      'Lukáš and Michal despise each other.'

   b. *Ti   dva   se   sebe   nemohli   nabažit.*
       those:NOM two:NOM RM:ACC each-other:GEN NEG-could:3.PL get-enough:INF
       'The two couldn't get enough of each other'.

Note that the verb *nabažit se* 'get enough' in (38b) is a reflexivum tantum; the RM in this sentence thus has nothing to do with reciprocity. Interestingly, it seems that reciprocal structures with a non-prepositional object in GEN are formed exclusively by (obligatorily) reflexive verbs. Indeed, most of the few non-reflexive verbs taking a bare GEN object (e.g. *litovat* 'regret', *docílit* 'achieve') are semantically incapable of forming reciprocal structures. The only exception I can think of is the idiomatic phrase in (39a). Curiously enough, (39b) with the heavy pronoun replaced by the light RM sounds at least equally acceptable. Rather than a truly genitive usage of the RM, however, I believe what we see here is an instance of phonological reduction within a frequently occurring idiomatic expression.

(39) a. *Ti   dva   už   sebe   mají   dost.*
      those:NOM two:NOM already each-other:GEN have:3.PL enough
      'The two have had enough of each other.'

   b. *Ti   dva   už   se   mají   dost.*
       those:NOM two:NOM already RM:ACC have:3.PL enough
       'The two have had enough of each other.'

One last interesting detail to mention is that the adverb *spolu* 'together' is normally used instead of the INS form of *sebe* to mark reciprocity with instrumental objects headed by the preposition *s(e)* 'with'.[60] This is shown in (40a). Reciprocal utterances with *se sebou* like (40b) occur only marginally and are likely to be judged degraded by most speakers.[61] (40c) shows that no similar constraint exists for other prepositions. I have no reasonable explanation for this pattern.

(40) a. *Ostře   spolu   nesouhlasili.*
      sharply   together NEG-agreed:3.PL
      'They sharply disagreed with each other.'

   b. ?*Ostře   se   sebou   nesouhlasili.*
       sharply with each-other:INS NEG-agreed:3.PL
       'They sharply disagreed with each other.'

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[60] The vowel-final form of the preposition, which is homonymous with the RM *se*, is selected whenever the following word begins with /s/ or /z/.
[61] A search on Google renders 110 hits for "*spolu nesoulasili*" as against 6 for "*se sebou nesoulasili*".

c. *Toužili   nad   sebou   zvítězit.*
  desired:3.PL above each-other:INS win:INF
  'They longed to win against each other.'

5.2. THE RM AS A DERIVATIONAL PARTICLE

This section is concerned with instances where the RM functions as a derivational particle, merging with a non-reflexive verb or another word to form a new lexical entry, a reflexive verb. Both semantic and formal relations between reflexive verbs and their non-reflexive bases vary from straightforward and predictable to obscure and idiosyncratic. By the same token, the contribution of the RM to the meaning of reflexive verbs varies from instances where its original pronominal meaning is still apparent to instances where it, paradoxically, serves to signal elimination of a referent from the semantic structure of an event. In the rich and miscellaneous collection of reflexive verbs, two major classes can be identified based on their overall semantic properties: middle verbs and anticausatives. I will discuss each of them in turn.

5.2.1. The RM as middle marker

The middle domain as understood here is a series of semantically defined sets of verbs denoting events in which the most agent-like participant is also the affected entity. The label 'middle' reflects the intermediate transitivity of such verbs: the denoted events feature a single participant, which nevertheless has two more or less easily distinguishable semantic roles (see Section 4.2 above for further details). Middle verbs differ from anticausatives at least in that (i) the single participant in middle events is always an animate entity (typically a human), whereas the single participant of events denoted by anticausatives is prototypically inanimate, and that (ii) the derivation of anticausatives in Czech (and many other languages) is a regular and productive process, while the derivation of most middle reflexives exhibits formal and/or semantic idiosyncrasies, the few regular derivational patterns found in this domain being, as a rule, restricted to a single semantic verb set and to no more than a handful of verbs. Given such an amount of irregularity, it comes as no surprise that the middle domain is semantically extremely heterogeneous. Kemmer (1993), whose taxonomy I will use as the basis for my own classification of Czech middle reflexives, identifies no less than ten relatively broadly defined semantic sets of verbs that languages of the world commonly mark as belonging to this domain.

It is important to bear in mind that not all verbs belonging to the semantic sets below need be middle-marked. Rather, the middle marker, if a language has one, gradually spreads from verb to verb and from one semantic set to another. This, according to Kemmer, also explains the existence of middle-marked verbs that are not formally related to any non-middle base: some verbs may assume the middle marking simply to manifest their intermediate transitivity, without acquiring any change in their meaning. In languages like Czech, where RM and MM are identical, such verbs are known as 'reflexiva tantum'. In addition, as we will see, there are a number of middle verbs derived from nouns or other words and/or by means of complex formatives such as a combination of the RM with a verbal prefix or a change in the verb stem. In (i) through (ix) below, each of the semantic subtypes of the middle as delimited by Kemmer is illustrated by a few Czech reflexives. The verb sets are discussed in the order in which Kemmer (pp. 16-19) introduces them; her original labels for the respective sets are in boldface.

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(i) Verbs denoting **grooming and body care** actions, such as *mýt se* 'wash~intr~' and *koupat se* 'have a bath' already known from previous chapters; just a few others are *česat se* 'comb one's hair', *holit se* 'shave~intr~', *obout se* 'put on one's shoes' and *sprchovat se* 'shower'. In all these cases, the relation to the transitive base, both formal and semantic, is perfectly regular. Consequently, I have argued that it might be more adequate to treat these structures in Czech as syntactic rather than lexical units (i.e. as syntactic combinations of the transitive verbs with the reflexive pronoun *se* rather than as intransitive verbs derived by adding the derivational particle *se*). For languages like Russian, however, where the MM is an affix formally distinct from the reflexive pronoun, the classification of grooming verbs as derived lexemes is unproblematic.

(ii) Verbs of **nontranslational motion** (i.e. moving one's body without moving to another place), such as *protáhnout se* 'stretch one's body', *otočit se* 'turn around~intr~' and *ohnout se* 'bow~intr~'. Once again, the formal relation of these verbs to their transitive bases is perfectly regular. Yet, in contrast to the previous set, the semantic distinguishability of participants is clearly diminished and none of the verbs just mentioned would pass the substitution test outlined in Section 3.3, simply because bowing, turning or stretching one's own body are activities too different from bowing, turning or stretching something or somebody else. There is thus no doubt that these verbs are autonomous lexical units.

(iii) Verbs of **change in body posture**, such as *posadit se* 'sit down', *postavit se* 'stand up', *lehnout si* 'lie down' and *kleknout si* 'kneel down'. While these verbs are semantically similar to those from the previous set, the derivational patterns are somewhat more tangled here. For instance, besides *posadit se* 'sit down' there exist the verbs *sednout si* and *usednout*, which can be deemed its exact synonyms.[62] As we see, *posadit se* bears the RM in ACC, *sednout si* bears the RM in DAT and *usednout* is non-reflexive. *Posadit se* can be formally related to the transitive *posadit* 'sit somebody down', but the semantic relation between the two is not entirely regular (among other things, *posadit* requires a directional adverbial complement, *posadit se* does not). *Sednout si* and *usednout* are derived from the intransitive stative verb *sedět* 'sit'. Apart from the addition of, respectively, the dative RM and the prefix *u-*, the derivation of both verbs involves a stem alteration signaling a change of the verb's aspect from IPFV to PFV. Other synonym pairs within this verb set are *postavit se / vstát* 'stand up', *lehnout si / ulehnout* 'lie down' and *kleknout si / pokleknout* 'kneel down'.

(iv) **Indirect** (or **self-benefactive**) **middle** verbs, a semantically heterogeneous set, whose members (in Czech all bearing the dative RM) exhibit a range of derivational strategies. Some, derived from ditransitive verbs, show a perfectly regular relation to their base so that *si* in these instances might be taken to function as a reflexive pronoun denoting the recipient; here belongs e.g. *opatřit si* 'get, obtain' from *optařit* 'procure'. In others, derived from monotransitives, the (self-)benefactive function of *si* becomes more prominent, by which the reflexive verb acquires semantic features absent in the base; here belong e.g. *nechat si* 'keep something' from *nechat* 'leave (something

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[62] From the three verbs, *usednout* sounds somewhat dated or at least quite formal (equivalent to English *sit oneself down*). I am, however, unable to tell any difference between *sednout si* and *posadit se*. Note that all three verbs can also be modified by the same set of adverbials such as *rychle* 'quickly', *bezmyšlenkovitě* 'thoughtlessly', na židli 'on the chair' or do kouta 'in the corner'.

somewhere)'.[63] Yet other members of this set are prefixal and/or denominal reflexives showing idiosyncratic meaning shifts, cf. *přivlastnit si* 'appropriate/usurp' from *vlastnit* 'own' and *osvojit si* 'acquire' (e.g. knowledge) derived from the reflexive possessive pronoun *svůj* 'one's own'.

(v) Verbs denoting **naturally reciprocal events**, such as *potkat se* 'meet (each other)', *obejmout se* 'hug (each other)' and *rozumět si* 'understand each other/get on well'. While these three verbs are perfectly regular both formally and semantically (so the RM could be taken to function pronominally here), other verbs in this set exhibit varying degrees of a semantic shift. For instance, the regular reciprocal verb *milovat se* 'love each other' has acquired the additional meaning 'make love (to each other)'. The reciprocal *bít se* 'fight (each other)' differs from its base *bít* 'beat' in that the agents of the reciprocal verb do not just deal blows, but also have to defend themselves so as not to receive any. The semantic distance is even greater between *bavit se* 'talk/chat' and *bavit* 'entertain/amuse', and hardly any semantic connection can be discerned between *hádat se* 'argue/quarrel' and *hádat* 'guess/estimate'. Also denominal reflexives like *shodovat se* 'agree/match' from *shoda* 'agreement/correspondence' and *dotýkat se* 'touch (each other)' from *dotek* 'touch_{noun}' belong to this set.

(vi) Verbs of **translational motion** (i.e. moving to another place), such as *pohybovat se* 'move_{intr}', *vrátit se* 'return_{intr}' and *vrhnout se* 'throw oneself' (from a window, into a job, at somebody, etc.). As noted by Kemmer, natural languages denote most actions that belong to this semantic area (walking, running, flying, swimming, jumping etc.) by non-derived intransitive verbs, reflecting the fact that they are "conceived of as being carried out by a completely unitary conceptual entity" (p. 69). In view of this, it is surprising that Kemmer chooses to consider the (rather numerous) middle-marked verbs found in this domain as denoting truly reflexive events, given that "the subject is moving him/herself as (s)he would move any object" (p. 156). This is simply not true, not even for the three above-mentioned verbs that are probably the most regular of all Czech reflexives in this set. First, although the function of the RM here certainly is to imply self-affectedness, it is not employed referentially, as follows from the fact that it cannot be substituted by the heavy reflexive pronoun.[64] Second, the actions denoted by the reflexives are physically dissimilar from those denoted by their transitive bases. In a prototypical situation, moving or returning somewhere will amount to going somewhere on foot, whereas moving or returning something/somebody somewhere is likely to include manipulating them using one's hands, but can also be achieved e.g. by giving an order, without actual physical contact with the entity to be moved/returned. The semantic distance between *vrhnout se* 'throw oneself' and its base *vrhnout* 'throw' is even greater. In fact, all the different senses of *vrhnout se* (such as those indicated above by the collocations 'from a window', 'into a job' and 'at somebody') can be shown to arise from a metaphorical extension of the semantic component [dynamic/energetic] of the highly polysemous transitive verb *vrhnout*. Indeed, some kind of metaphorical extension seems to underlie the formation of most reflexive verbs in this set. Not surprisingly, then, these verbs often acquire an expressive meaning. A few more examples, illustrating the semantic diversity and types of expressiveness encountered,

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[63] Note, however, that the non-reflexive *nechat* can optionally take a benefactive adjunct, as in the equivalent of *He left the house to her.*

[64] The structures #*vrátit sebe* and #*vrhnout sebe* are nonsensical. As for *pohybovat se*, the structure *pohybovat sebou* with the INS form of the reflexive pronoun is fine and has the truly reflexive meaning 'move oneself' (e.g. back and forth), which, however, is clearly distinct from the meaning of the reflexive *pohybovat se*.

are *hnát se* 'rush' from *hnát* 'drive' (e.g. sheep), *škrabat se* 'clamber' from *škrabat* 'scratch', *nést se* 'strut' from *nést* 'carry', *vypařit se* 'do a vanishing act' from the anticausative *vypařit se* 'evaporate', and the reflexiva tantum *řítit se* 'rush' and *potácet se* 'stagger'.

(vii) **Emotion middle** verbs, such as *zlobit se* 'be angry', *trápit se* 'worry$_{intr}$' or *vyděsit se* 'get a fright'. The derivation of these verbs, while formally regular, involves an interesting type of semantic shift. The semantic roles associated with the S and DO of the base verbs *zlobit* 'annoy', *trápit* 'worry$_{tr}$' and *vyděsit* 'frighten' are, respectively, stimulus and experiencer rather than agent and patient (associated with prototypical transitives). Note that the stimulus in the "emotion verbs" can be both animate and inanimate, the latter being the case e.g. in *The news worried him*; the experiencer, of course, is necessarily animate. Now, the semantic shift brought about by adding the RM to these verbs consists, once again, in promoting the DO referent to the subject position along with demoting the subject. The situation is thus parallel to those obtaining with other RM-adding operations (anticausativization, passivization); what makes the present pattern (sometimes called 'conversive', cf. Kulikov (2011b: 379)) look different from these operations at first sight is the fact that it is the necessarily animate referent which is being promoted and the (possibly) inanimate referent which is being demoted.[65] Besides formally regular reflexives of the above type and a handful of reflexiva tantum such as *bát se* 'be scared', this set contains a relatively high number of denominal reflexives such as *divit se* 'be surprised' from *div* 'wonder$_{noun}$', *obávat se* 'fear' from *obava* 'fear$_{noun}$', *vztekat se* 'throw a tantrum' from *vztek* 'fury' and *radovat se* 'rejoice' from *radost* 'joy'. It seems safe to conclude that these are formed by analogy with the regular 'conversives', utilizing the RM as a marker of affectedness of the subject referent by the emotion denoted by the noun.

(viii) Verbs denoting **speech actions**, such as *přiznat se* 'confess', *chlubit se* 'boast', *smát se* 'laugh' and *stěžovat si* 'complain'.[66] Since almost every one of the few Czech reflexives that belong to this set exemplifies a different derivational strategy, no regular patterns can be identified here. From the four verbs just mentioned, *přiznat se* is a deaccusative (see below), *chlubit se* is a denominal reflexive derived from *chlouba* 'pride (and joy)', *smát se* is a reflexivum tantum and also *stěžovat si* can be seen as synchronically underived, although related to e.g. *obtěžovat* 'trouble (somebody)' and other words with the root *-těž-* traceable to the adjective *těžký* 'heavy'.

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[65] Under the 'conversive' operation, just like under passivization, the erstwhile subject referent (i.e. the stimulus) is not eliminated from the semantic structure altogether, but receives the status of an adjunct expressible as an OblO whose precise form differs from verb to verb, cf. the examples in (i) through (iii).

(i) *Zlobil   se   (na ni).*   (ii) *Trápil   se   (tím / kvůli tomu).*
     was-angry:SG.M RM:ACC on she:ACC   worried:SG.M RM:ACC it:INS because-of it:DAT
     'He was angry (with her).'   'He worried (about / over it).'

(iii) *Vyděsil   se   (toho).*
      scared:SG.M RM:ACC it:GEN
       'He took a fright (at it).'

[66] Note that Kemmer further distinguishes between 'emotive speech actions' and 'other speech actions'. I choose to discuss these two sets together, partly because only a few Czech reflexives belong to each of them and partly because the division between them is not particularly clear.

(ix) Finally, **cognition middle** verbs form another small and heterogeneous set. For instance, *zajímat se* 'be interested (in)' from *zajímat* 'interest$_{tr}$' shows the 'conversive' derivational pattern we have seen with some emotion reflexives: the experiencer is promoted from DO to S, the stimulus (whose expression nevertheless remains obligatory) now surfacing as a locative PP headed by the preposition *o* 'about'.[67] *Rozhodnout se* 'make a decision' from *rozhodnout* 'rule/make a ruling' is another example of a deaccusative reflexive (see below). And *přesvědčit se* 'check/make sure' from *přesvědčit* 'convince' displays an evident semantic idiosyncrasy: if we informally paraphrase the meaning of the base verb as [communicate with someone in order to make them believe something], we see that at the very least the component [communicate with someone] is absent in the meaning of the reflexive, replaced instead by something like [gain information]. This meaning shift can hardly be attributed to the contribution of the RM alone, given that its main function also here is to signal that the event has just one participant rather than the expected two. A similar analysis could be given also for *vysvětlit si* 'interpret (something as something)' form *vysvětlit* 'explain (something to somebody)'. Besides these and similar (semi-)regular deverbatives, the present set includes a number of complex and/or denominal reflexives such as *rozmyslet se* 'make up one's mind' from *myslet* 'think', *představit si* 'imagine' from the noun *představa* 'idea' or *uvědomit si* 'realize/be(come) aware' from the adjective *vědom* 'aware'.

It should be noted that the purely semantic account of the middle domain as developed by Kemmer and adopted here differs from the approach taken by Geniušienė in her 1987 crosslinguistic survey of reflexive marking. Geniušienė takes the derivational relation between reflexive verbs and their non-reflexive bases as a starting point of her analysis and focuses almost exclusively on deverbal reflexives derived by means of the RM alone. As a consequence, she overlooks the semantic interconnections holding between all the formal types of reflexive verbs in the middle domain, including complex and/or denominal reflexives and reflexiva tantum, and is forced to exclude the latter types from her analysis as a puzzling anomaly. On the other hand, the formal approach enables Geniušienė to identify one more interesting derivational pattern which is active in the middle domain, but goes unnoticed by Kemmer. This is the 'deaccusative' derivation, to which I will turn now.

As the label 'deaccusative' indicates, the defining property of this type of reflexivization is demotion of the referent of the (accusative-marked) DO of the base verb to a syntactically less prominent position. Hence, we are once again dealing with a shift in diathesis, or the alignment between syntactic functions and semantic roles. Yet, this time the shift takes a different direction than was the case with the other operations discussed so far. Rather than gaining more prominence, the DO referent is (further) backgrounded, while the S referent stays in place. The pragmatic effect of such a shift is self-evident: defocusing the DO referent, while emphasizing the involvement of the S referent in the event. We will see in Section 5.4

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[67] Wagner (2011) treats the 'conversive' emotion and cognition reflexives (i.e. the *zlobit se* and *zajímat se* types) together as 'psychological [anti]causatives'. Although, as we have seen, the 'conversive' derivation shows important parallels with anticausativization, we should bear in mind that one of the defining features of the latter operation is a complete semantic and syntactic elimination of the cause(r); the expression of a cause(r) in anticausative constructions is possible, if at all, only through circumstantial phrases. By contrast, the stimulus in the 'conversive' reflexives seems merely demoted and is usually readily expressible as an OblO (or, with verbs like *zajímat se*, even retains the status of an obligatorily expressed argument). I therefore choose to stick to Kemmer's purely semantic classification of these verbs and to regard them as middles. On the other hand, I would have no objection to lumping emotion and cognition reflexives together under the label 'psychological' or 'mental reflexives', given the relatively small size of both sets and the diffuseness of the line separating them.

below that the RM actually marks this kind of diathetic shift very productively (to an extent that justifies using the label 'antipassive', implying an operation which is equally productive as passivization but has the opposite function). Here, however, I will discuss only the few fully lexicalized reflexive verbs following this derivational pattern.

Despite their small number, the members of this set show a degree of semantic diversity making it impossible to characterize the set in purely semantic terms. Although some of them (like *přiznat se* 'confess' and *rozhodnout se* 'make a decision') semantically fall into one of the sets discussed above, most of them do not. Furthermore, they also differ in terms of syntactic status of the demoted DO referent: while in some deaccusatives this participant retains the status of an (obligatorily expressed) argument, in others it becomes an adjunct, and it yet others its expression is prohibited. The different semantic types of deaccusatives are exemplified in (i) through (vi) below. Where syntactic realization of the demoted DO referent is possible, its form is indicated by a case symbol (preceded, if applicable, by the appropriate preposition); parentheses indicate that the phrase is an adjunct, the symbol '+' that it is an (obligatorily expressed) argument.

(i) **Mental deaccusatives**, such as: *obdivovat se* + DAT 'have a (great) admiration for someone' from *obdivovat* 'admire someone/something', where the derivation is regular in the sense that the actual meaning of the verb remains unchanged, the only idiosyncrasy being that the set of possible "objects of admiration" for the reflexive is narrowed down to human individuals (or their achievements, qualities, etc.); *přiznat se* (*k* DAT) 'confess (to something)' from *přiznat* 'confess/admit something', where the primary meaning of the reflexive is restricted to admitting an offense against the law or another system of rules; and *rozhodnout se* 'make a decision' from *rozhodnout* 'rule/make a ruling', where the reflexive has at least three equally salient senses (viz. the equivalents of *make a decision*, *decide* and *choose* in, respectively, *It's time you make a decision*, *She decided to leave* and *He chose the military*), none of which exactly coincides with the meaning of the base verb.

(ii) **Deaccusatives denoting speech actions**, such as the perfectly regular *zmínit se + o* LOC 'make a mention of something' from *zmínit* 'mention something'; and *vyjádřit se* 'express oneself' from *vyjádřit* 'express' (e.g. one's thoughts), where we observe a metonymic meaning shift.

(iii) **Deaccusatives of grasping**, such as *chytit se* / *držet se* + GEN 'take/keep hold of something' (e.g. a handrail, in order to seek support) derived from *chytit* / *držet* 'grab/hold something' (in order to do something with it). The set of patient referents compatible with the reflexives is just a tiny subset of the (almost unrestricted) set of patient referents compatible with the transitive base verbs. Note further that both the reflexives and the transitives mentioned here are highly polysemous, acquiring a medley of idiomatic meanings. To give just one example, *chytit se* and *držet se* can take the noun *myšlenka* 'idea' as their patient (more precisely: content) to express the equivalents of *fasten on* / *stick to an idea*.

(iv) **Deaccusatives with the meaning *dig around*, *burrow in something***, such us: *rýt se* + *v* LOC 'root around in something' (especially in the ground, in order to look for something) from *rýt* 'dig (something) with a spade', where the core meaning component [turn the soil over] is preserved, but the purpose of the activity is changed and the use of an instrument (a spade) is no longer implied; and *hrabat se + v* LOC 'poke around in

something' (e.g. in a bag, in order to look for something) from *hrabat* 'rake something' (e.g. leaves, using a rake), where the purpose of the activity is changed in the same way as with *rýt se*, but the semantic relationship between the base and the reflexive is a purely metaphorical one, based on something like [move things around quickly]. Besides, again, *hrabat se* acquires an array of further (sub)senses, as e.g. in *hrabat se v motoru* 'fiddle around with an engine'.

(v) **Deaccusatives of ingestion**, such as *najíst se* (GEN) 'have a meal' from *jíst* 'eat' and *napít se* (GEN) 'take a drink (of something)' from *pít* 'drink', both derived by means of the complex formative *na- se*, changing the verbal aspect from IPFV to PFV. As the English glosses indicate, the semantics of the two reflexives differs in that the former, but not the latter, strongly implies full completion of the activity and the participant's satisfaction. We will see in Section 5.4 that the formative *na- se* has yet another, very productive function.

(vi) **Other miscellaneous deaccusatives**, such as: *odměnit se* + DAT 'repay somebody (for something)' from *odměnit* 'reward somebody', where the difference between the base verb and the reflexive lies in that the former implies some sort of institutionalized relation between the agent and the patient, while the latter highlights personal involvement of the agent; and *trefit se* (*do* GEN) 'hit' (e.g. a target) from *trefit* 'hit', where the base verb and the reflexive are interchangeable in most context, one slight difference being that the reflexives implies a full and conscious participation of the hitter in the event, whereas the base verb may also be used to describe someone's hitting something unintentionally.

In sum, the examples in (i) through (vi) illustrate different extensions of the general function of the deaccusative derivation, i.e. stressing the involvement of the S referent in the denoted event. While I am not quite certain to what degree this function of the RM matches Kemmer's characterization of middle/reflexive markers as markers of low distinguishability of participants or (more generally) low elaboration of events, it certainly is consistent with the notion of affectedness of the subject referent.

5.2.2. The RM as marker of the anticausative derivation

The anticausative function of the RM has already been touched on at various places and exemplified e.g. in (3) above. Another example of this use of *se* is given in (41b); (41a) shows the corresponding causative (transitive) construction.

(41) a. *Vlny   převrátily   loď.*
      waves:NOM   capsized:3.PL   boat:ACC
      'Waves capsized a boat.'

    b. *Loď   se   převrátila   (na   vlnách).*
       boat:NOM RM:ACC   capsized:3.SG   on   waves:LOC
       'The boat capsized (in waves).'

The utterance in (41a) is arranged according to the "basic" transitive pattern, with the cause of the change of state denoted by the verb surfacing as the S and the entity undergoing the denoted change of state surfacing as DO. In (41b) we observe a shift in this pattern: the affected entity now occupies the subject position, while the agent/cause has been removed

from the argument structure of the verb and can only be expressed through a non-argumental circumstantial phrase. As argued in Section 3.3 above, the operation illustrated in (41) entails an elimination of the component CAUSE from the semantic structure of the verb, resulting in a derivation of a new verb. Hence, despite its regularity and relatively high productivity, anticausativization is regarded a derivational rather than inflectional operation by most scholars. Anticausative verbs are thus non-agentive intransitive verbs derived from causative transitives. As such, they comprise a formal subclass of the semantic class of non-agentive intransitives (like *die* and *fall*, as opposed to agentive intransitives like *run* or *resign*).

Prototypical anticausatives derive from causatives taking an inanimate patient such as *otevřít* 'open$_{tr}$' and *převrátit* 'capsize$_{tr}$' from our examples (3) and (41). In addition to these, most authors also include here a number of 'spontaneous' verbs derived from causatives taking a necessarily animate patient, such as *zabít se* 'die in an accident' from *zabít* 'kill' (see example (11) above), *zranit se* 'get hurt' from *zranit* 'hurt$_{tr}$', *unavit se* 'tire$_{intr}$' from *unavit* 'tire$_{tr}$' or *uzdravit se* 'get well' from *uzdravit* 'cure somebody', and further verbs like *počurat se* 'wet oneself' from *počurat* 'pee on something', *pozvracet se* 'throw up' from *pozvracet* 'throw up on something' and similar. It is, however, clear that all these verbs can be grouped into two readily definable semantic sets, to wit "verbs denoting change in one's physical state" (here would belong the verbs *zabít se* through *uzdravit se* and the like) and "verbs of incontinence" (here would belong *počurat se*, *pozvracet se* and similar verbs). We could therefore equally well include these two sets among the semantic verb sets discussed in the preceding subsection and take the 'spontaneous' verbs with animate subjects to belong to the middle rather than to the anticausative domain.

Note that adopting this solution enables us to draw a reasonably clear distinction between middles (verbs of intermediate transitivity taking an animate subject referent) on the one hand, and anticausatives (derived non-agentive intransitives taking an inanimate subject referent) on the other. In support of this solution, it can be argued that most, if not all of the "verbs denoting change in one's physical state" are not anticausative in the true sense of that word. As an example, take *zranit se* 'get hurt': while the unintentional reading undoubtedly implies lack of control on the part of the "hurtee", she can still be said to have *caused* her own injury, albeit only by her failure to pay enough attention.

A discussion of semantic restrictions on anticausativization (i.e. of the parameters determining which causative verbs can undergo anticausativization and which cannot), however interesting and challenging, has to be omitted here due to lack of space. The interested reader is referred to Haspelmath (1987) and especially Kulikov (1998). A relatively extensive list of Czech causative/anticausative pairs can be found in Wagner (2011: 334-335).

5.3. THE RM AS A GRAMMATICAL MARKER [68]

Besides its pronominal and derivational functions, the Czech RM is employed as a productive marker of a cluster of syntactic patterns which resemble the passive in that they serve to background the most agent-like participant. Owing to this functional similarity, these

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[68] The term 'grammatical marker', rather than 'inflectional marker', has been suggested to me by Leonid Kulikov (p.c.). The reason is that the grammatical status of the patterns discussed in this section is somewhat dubious. Rather than as inflectional categories, they can be characterized as 'grammatical constructions' in the sense of Construction Grammar (see also fn. 5). Wiemer (2004: 281) speaks in this connection of 'grammatical derivation'.

constructions are commonly referred to by labels such as 'reflexive passive', 'agentless passive', 'impersonal passive' or 'potential passive'. Yet, as pointed out by a number of scholars, while the "canonical" passive is a *promotional* category in that its principal function is to promote the initial patient of a transitive verb (agent demotion being a corollary to this), the reflexive constructions at issue (and their non-reflexive counterparts in other languages) are *demotional* in that they serve primarily as a means of agent backgrounding, irrespective of the status of the patient. The latter property also explains the fact that these constructions, unlike canonical passive, can operate on both transitive and intransitive verbs: since no patient promotion is necessarily required, no patient need to be present in the semantic structure of the verb.

The following discussion is based mainly on the insightful and innovative analysis of Czech reflexives offered by Fried (2004, 2006, 2007), who identifies two basic types of the passive-like reflexive constructions, further divided into several subtypes. The two main categories, for which I use the traditional terms 'impersonal passive'[69] and 'potential passive', are discussed below in turn.

5.3.1. The RM as marker of impersonal passive

As noted in Section 3.1, Czech linguists traditionally reserve the label 'impersonal passive' for reflexive forms of intransitive verbs, while the passive-like reflexive structures built on transitive verbs are termed 'reflexive passive'. Both construction types have been exemplified in (9) above, repeated here for convenience.

(9) a. *Takové   boty   se   už   nevyrábí.*
    such:NOM.PL.F shoes:NOM RM:ACC already NEG-make:3.PL
    'They[generic] don't make such shoes anymore.'

   b. *V deset hodin   se   šlo   domů.*
    at ten   o'clock RM:ACC went:SG.N home
    'At ten o'clock, people/everybody/we went home.'

The sentences in (9a) and (9b) are thus viewed as instances of two different constructions, as demonstrated by the following quotation from a recent reference grammar of Czech: "In the case of intransitive verbs, we are not dealing with [reflexive] passive, but with anonymization of the agent" (Rusínová & Nekula (1995: 324), my translation).[70] Yet, as Fried (2004 etc.) argues, anonymization of the agent (and not promotion of the patient as in the case of canonical passive) is the primary function of both sentence types, regardless of the verb's transitivity. This is evidenced by the fact that the initial DO in sentences like (9a) can be deleted rather than promoted to the subject position, in which case the patient receives a generic interpretation, thus being actually backgrounded. This is shown in (42).

(42) *V té   továrně   se   už   nevyrábí.*
    in that:LOC.SG factory:LOC.SG RM:ACC already NEG-make:3.SG
    'There's no more production [going on] in that factory.'

Fried therefore takes the sentence types exemplified in (9a), (9b) and (42) to instantiate a single construction, which, unlike the canonical passive, operates on both transitive and

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[69] As explained below, the way I use the term 'impersonal passive' is not entirely in accordance with tradition.
[70] It should be noted that in the chapter on syntax in the same volume, P. Karlík takes a view largely consistent with that explicitly formulated by Fried and adopted here.

intransitive verbs. It is in this sense that I use the term 'impersonal passive' here.[71] On the whole, Fried argues, this construction serves to draw attention to the event itself rather than to the participants: it is "best understood as being about the events […] rather than about entities to which something happens […] as would be the case in a true passive interpretation. Put differently, the [impersonal passive] sentences would be a natural follow-up to a question such as *What do/did people do?*, not to *What happened to x?*" (2007: 732).

The ban on overt expression of the agent, already mentioned in Section 3.1, follows directly from the agent-anonymizing function of the impersonal passive. Recall, however, that despite its anonymity, the agent can be interpreted both generically, as in (9a) or (42), and referentially, as in (9b) or in (12) above – *Prase se zabilo a snědlo* 'The pig got killed and eaten'. The only information provided about the agent (inherent in the construction as such) is that it is [+human] and [+plural]; everything else (including the agent's specificity) has to be inferred from a broader context of the utterance. With generic agents, the impersonal passive can be understood as a syntactic pattern marking the agent's low significance. With referential agents, on the other hand, it is rather employed as a "distancing device, allowing the speaker to refer to discourse participants in an indirect way" (Fried (2007: 733)).

According to Fried, the distancing function of impersonal passive and its event-focusing semantics together account for yet another restriction associated with this construction, namely its incompatibility with 1st and 2nd person patients (already mentioned in connection with example (22) in Section 3.3 above) and 3rd person patients referred to by proper nouns: "[h]ighly specific, highly individuated patients give too much prominence to the endpoint of the reported situation and thus clash with the event-focused semantics of the reflexive," (2006: 11) and "explicit reference to a discourse participant clashes with the pattern's distancing function" (2007: 733). The ban on 2nd person patients can be overridden only in the case of performative utterances, restricted to institutional contexts. This is illustrated by example (43), borrowed from Fried (2007: 734).

(43) *Odsuzujete   se   k   pěti   letům   vězení.*
      sentence:2.PL[72] RM:ACC to five:DAT year:DAT.PL jail:GEN.SG
      'You are [hereby] sentenced to five years in prison.'

Another distinct functional subtype of the impersonal passive are indirect orders, prohibitions, reprimands etc., illustrated by (44), likewise borrowed from Fried (2006: 10). The example concerns instructions given to a young boy by his aunt.

(44) *Seď   pořádně! Takhle se   nesedí.*
      sit.IMP.2.SG properly   this.way RM:ACC NEG-sit.3.SG
      'Sit properly! You can't sit like this.' (lit. 'One doesn't sit like this.')

Two more semantic constraints on impersonal passive (relatively strong tendencies rather than absolute rules) should be mentioned here: its incompatibility with (most) stative verbs and its

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[71] Fried (2004 etc.) instead introduces the label 'Anonymous-Agent Reflexive'. However, I found it more convenient to adopt a term which is already in general use. The label 'impersonal passive' appeared to be most suitable, given the semantic proximity of the words 'impersonal' and 'anonymous' and given that it is already employed for one of the sentence types comprising the construction in question. A further advantage of this term is that, unlike 'reflexive passive' or 'Anonymous-Agent Reflexive', it can accommodate also the semantically equivalent non-reflexive constructions found in other languages, such as the *Er wordt…* construction in Dutch.
[72] In Czech, like e.g. in Russian or French, 2.PL pronouns and verb forms are used to address a singular participant as a way of expressing politeness and/or social distance.

preference for imperfective verbs. Just as the ban on overt expression of the agent and the person/individuation restrictions on the patient, also the constraints on the verb can be shown to follow from the general function of the construction, which is to draw attention to the event rather than to the participants. By definition, an event is an ongoing (≈ imperfective) action or a process, not a state.

5.3.2. The RM as marker of potential passive

The so-called 'potential passive'[73] is exemplified by the sentences in (45). As we see, also this construction operates on both transitive and intransitive verbs.

(45) a. *Ta   knížka   se   prodává dobře.*
    that:NOM.F book:NOM RM:ACC sells   well
    'That book sells well'.

  b. *V těchhle   botách   se   nechodí   pohodlně.*
    in these:LOC.F shoes:LOC RM:ACC NEG-walks   comfortably
    'These shoes are not comfortable to walk in'.

Formally, the potential passive differs from the impersonal passive in two main respects: the obligatory presence of an evaluative expression (here the adverbs *dobře* 'well' and *pohodlně* 'comfortably') and the possibility to express the initial subject referent as a dative NP, illustrated in (46).[74]

(46) a. *Ta   knížka   se   jim   prodává dobře.*
    that:NOM.F book:NOM RM:ACC they:DAT sells   well
    'It is easy for them to sell that book'.

  b. *V těchhle   botách   se   mi   nechodí   pohodlně.*
    in these:LOC.F shoes:LOC RM:ACC I:DAT NEG-walks   comfortably
    'I don't find these shoes comfortable to walk in'.

These formal features reflect the semantic properties of the construction. The agent (actor in the case of (46b)), demoted from the subject position, acquires an additional experiencer role, coded by the DAT case marking and the presence of the evaluative expression; if unexpressed, the agent-experiencer is always interpreted generically. Note further that in emotional speech, the evaluative expression need not necessarily be realized lexically, but can be implied by an exclamative intonation contour. The examples in (47), borrowed from Fried (2007: 745), illustrate all four shapes potential passive utterances can take: (47a) is a corpus example containing the evaluative adverb *dobře* 'well', but no dative NP to denote the agent-experiencer; in (47b), the DAT form of the 1.SG personal pronoun (*mi*) is added; in (47c), the dative NP is still present, but the evaluative adverb is omitted, compensated for by exclamative intonation; finally, in (47d), both the evaluative adverb and the dative NP are absent.

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[73] This term is widely used and, to my knowledge, unproblematic. Fried (2004 etc.) uses instead the label 'dispositional reflexive', common in Czech linguistics.
[74] As has been noted in Section 4.2, overt expression of the agent in potential passive is not possible in most languages. The main distinctive feature of this construction is therefore the obligatory presence of an evaluative expression and its implications for the semantics.

(47) a. context: *Another guy, pretty smart, ...*

    dobře   se   s   nim   kecá.
    well   RM:ACC with he:INS gabs
    'fun to gab with.'

    b. *dobře se mi s nim kecá.*   'it's fun for me to gab with him.'
    c. *s nim se mi kecá!*   'what fun for me to gab with him!'
    d. *s nim se kecá!*   'what fun to gab with him!

According to Fried (2007: 744-745), the restrictions this construction imposes on the semantics of the verb are a stronger version of the constraints described above for impersonal passive: potential passive is incompatible with stative verbs (without exception) and, at least with transitive verbs, only allows imperfective aspect. On the other hand, the restrictions on the participants are looser than with impersonal passive: the agent in potential passive has to be "merely" animate (neither necessarily human nor plural), and the person/individuation constraints on the patient do not apply at all, as illustrated with the second clause of (48).

(48)   *Říkal,   že   jsem   se   mu   maloval   snadno.*
      said:SG.M that AUX:1.SG RM:ACC he:DAT painted:SG.M easily
      'He said he found it easy to paint me.'

5.4. OTHER FUNCTIONS OF THE RM

Apart from the functions discussed so far, the Czech RM, either alone or in combination with different prefixes, features in a number of derivational patterns of varying productivity, which all have in common that they modify the verb's aspect and/or signal the attitude of the speaker towards the action, process or state denoted by the verb. Space considerations do not allow me to provide a systematic and thorough discussion of these patterns, and I will therefore briefly introduce only the three most productive ones.[75]

Probably the most productive of these patterns is the complex formative ***na- se***, adding to the verb the meaning of intensity and duration/iteration. According to Kopečný (1954), the *na- se* formation is possible "with all (non-auxiliary) verbs, including reflexiva tantum" (p. 245, my translation). The first portion of this statement should nevertheless be qualified: the pattern in question only operates on imperfective verbs and in addition to the auxiliary *být* 'be' and the modals, it is not compatible, at the very least, with verbs of perception such as *vidět* 'see' or *slyšet* 'hear'. By contrast, verbs of perception activities such as *pozorovat* 'watch' or *poslouchat* 'listen' are allowed, as illustrated by (49a).[76] Note that the patient (i.e. the initial

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[75] I am not aware of any thorough and systematic discussion of these patterns in the literature, either. Some of them are dealt with by Kopečný (1954) and especially Medová (2009). A near-complete list of these patterns can be found in Šlosar (1995).

[76] Interestingly, Fried (2004: 640) observes that exactly the same restriction applies to the potential passive. She characterizes the verbs *vidět* 'see', *slyšet* 'hear' etc. as "inherently experiential verbs" and posits for potential passive the constraint "only Vs of deliberate action or process". So formulated, however, this constraint may be too strong. For instance, the verb *spát* 'sleep', which obviously is an 'inherently experiential verb' rather than a 'verb of deliberate action or process', is compatible with both the potential passive and the *na- se* pattern, as illustrated in (i) and (ii) below.

(i)   *V   téhle   posteli   se   hezky   spí.*
     in this:LOC.F bed:LOC RM:ACC nicely sleeps
     'This bed is nice to sleep in'.

DO) of transitive verbs is obligatorily expressed and receives genitive marking. The sentence in (49b) shows the *na- se* template imposed on the reflexivum tantum *smát se* 'laugh'; as we see, the RM is not duplicated.

(49) a. *Já   už   se   těch   řečí   naposlouchal   dost.*
      I:NOM already RM those:GEN.F talks:GEN *na*-listened:SG.M enough
      'I've had enough listening to all that talk.'

    b. *To jsme   se nasmáli!*
       DM AUX:1.PL RM *na*-laughed:PL
       'Oh how we laughed!'

Another productive pattern is the combination of *se* with imperfective transitive verbs denoting activities, termed by Medová (2009) the '**effort construction**'. Similarly to the *na-se* type, this pattern implies a prolonged duration of the activity, usually specified by a durative adverbial. Besides, by using the 'effort construction', the speaker depicts the activity as demanding, tough, exhausting and typically also fruitless. Yet, as Medová (2009: fn. 14) points out, the fruitlessness is merely implied, not entailed, and as such can be canceled out, for instance by means of a concessive clause. The example Medová provides to illustrate this, very slightly adapted, is given in (50). The actual 'effort construction', including the durative expression *celý odpoledne* 'whole afternoon', is in the first clause. As with the *na- se* pattern, the initial DO is obligatorily expressed, and surfaces as an instrumental OblO. The reflexive verb *povést se* 'come off/be a success' in the second clause is a reflexivum tantum.

(50)   *Vařila   jsem   se s   těma   knedlíkama   celý*
      cooked:SG.F AUX:1.SG RM with those:INS.M dumplings:INS whole:ACC.SG.M
      odpoledne,   ale aspoň se skvěle   povedly.
      afternoon:ACC but at.least RM splendidly came.off:PL
      'I spent the whole afternoon making the dumplings, but at least they came off just splendid.'

The **DAT form of the RM** combines with both transitive and intransitive imperfective verbs denoting activities in order to indicate delight on the part of the subject referent. Also this pattern is fully productive, just three examples being *kouřit si* 'be smoking (with great delight)', *plavat si* 'be swimming (with great delight)' and *sedět si* 'be sitting down (pleasantly)'. The RM *si* in this function can further combine with the prefixes *za-* and *po-* to express a relatively short duration and completion of the activity, cf. *za-/pokouřit si* 'have a cigarette/smoke', *zaplavat si* 'have a swim' and *posedět si* 'sit down for a while'.[77] The participant's delight is then still implied, albeit to a lesser extent.

The three patterns discussed above can be characterized as instances of the 'antipassive'. They are highly productive and regular, just like the passive, but have the opposite function:

(ii) *Ve stanech já   se   něco   naspal.*
    in tents:LOC I:NOM RM:ACC something:NOM *na*-slept:SG.M
    'I slept quite a few nights in tents.'

[77] Further analysis would be required to establish what semantic/lexical rules constrain the distribution of the prefixes *za-* and *po-*. As illustrated by the examples in the main text, some verbs combine with both prefixes (with a very slight meaning difference, as suggested by the gloss for *za-/pokouřit si*), while others with just one, cf. *poplavat si, *zasedět si.

rather than promoting the initial DO to the S and highlighting the affectedness of the patient, they demote the initial DO (if any) to an OblO, thereby backgrounding the patient and signaling a certain kind of affectedness of the agent.

6. SUMMARY

The main objective of this thesis has been to tackle the key questions that arise when one becomes aware of the omnipresence and seemingly unrestricted polysemy of the Czech reflexive marker *se/si*. Do all its different functions have something in common? And why are its equivalents in languages like English and Dutch exploited to a much lesser degree? Building on insights and solutions offered both by Czech structural grammarians and scholars working within different functionally oriented frameworks of present-day linguistics such as linguistic typology and Construction Grammar, I have tried to draw a coherent picture of the semantic network underlying the different functions of the marker and to set this picture in a historical and crosslinguistic context.

We have seen that the "excessive" polysemy of reflexive marking is by no means unique to Czech or to Slavic languages. Markers functionally similar to the Czech RM, often called middle markers, are found in languages of the world quite frequently and, regardless of their diachronic origin, had been shown to develop along a similar grammaticalization path. This implies that the polysemy of such markers is not unrestricted. In general, they are employed to signal a departure from the unmarked mapping of semantic roles associated with a verb on syntactic functions (prototypically, agent on subject, patient on direct object), i.e. a shift in the 'syntactic pattern' or 'diathesis'. As a result of such a shift, a semantic argument of a verb can be mapped onto a syntactic function higher or lower in the syntactic function hierarchy (S > DO > IO > OblO), accordingly receiving greater or lesser pragmatic prominence.

The RM-adding operations differ in terms of their productivity and grammatical status of the resulting formations. Most of the patterns operate on transitive verbs only and are sensitive to lexical and semantic properties of the verb such as type of the denoted event (activity, state) and animacy of one or more of the semantic arguments. Apart from its pronominal use, the Czech RM can mark both lexical and grammatical derivation. As a matter of course, reflexive verbs, even when derived through productive patterns, can further lexicalize, i.e. acquire idiosyncratic semantic features. A more interesting fact is that such idiosyncratic properties may also be acquired by the actual patterns, whether lexical (as in the case of the 'antipassive' patterns discussed in Section 5.4) or grammatical (as in the case of the 'potential passive' discussed in Section 5.3.2). Such patterns, then, do not merely indicate a shift in the mapping of semantic roles on syntactic relations (i.e. the diathesis), but also modify the verb's aspect and/or serve to express the attitude of the speaker towards the action, process or state denoted by the verb. To my knowledge, the 'antipassive' and other similar patterns have so far received little scholarly attention.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

A	the most agent-like semantic macrorole
DO	direct object
DP	determiner phrase
IO	indirect object
NP	nominal phrase
OblO	oblique object
P	the most patient-like semantic macrorole
PP	prepositional phrase
S	subject
V	verb

1 / 2 / 3	1st / 2nd / 3rd person
ACC	accusative
ACT	active
AUX	auxiliary
COND	conditional
DAT	dative
DM	discourse marker
EMPH	emphatic
F	feminine
FUT	future tense
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
IND	indicative
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
IPFV	imperfective
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MM	middle marker
N	neuter
NEG	negation
NOM	nominative
PASS	passive
PAST	past
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PRES	present
RM	reflexive marker
SG	singular
VOC	vocative

intr	intransitive
tr	transitive

*	ungrammatical structure
?	degraded grammaticality
#	semantically or pragmatically deviant structure

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