

Antipassive reflexives in Latvian

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This article deals with antipassive reflexives in Latvian, with side glances at other Baltic and Slavonic languages. The purpose of the article is to locate antipassive reflexives in the semantic space of reflexives and middles by establishing their mutual relationships and their conceptual and diachronic links to other types of reflexive-marked middles. Two types of antipassive reflexives already identified in the literature, viz. deobjectives and deaccusatives, are discussed. First, deobjectives are set apart from metonymic reflexives. Then the relationship between deobjectives and deaccusatives is discussed: deobjective constructions, which suppress the object, encode decreased prominence of the patient, whereas deaccusatives, which substitute oblique (prepositional) marking for direct object marking, encode decreased affectedness and atelicization. A further type is also introduced that has not hitherto been identified in the literature, the ‘deagentive-deaccusative’ type. With antipassive reflexives it shares the oblique marking of the object but it differs from them by a shift of subjecthood from the agent to a theme/medium argument; in this respect, they resemble anticausatives.

Keywords: antipassive, reflexive, deobjective, deaccusative, Latvian, Lithuanian

1. Introduction¹

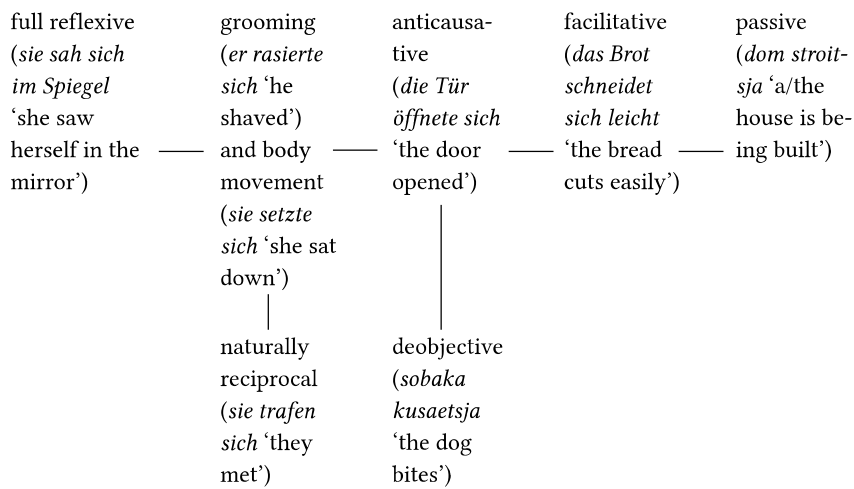
Reflexive-marked verbs are notoriously heterogeneous semantically. In many languages reflexive markers undergo grammaticalization and acquire so-called middle-voice meanings (on the semantic domain of the middle cf. Kemmer 1993). In the process, reflexive markers originating as reflexive pronouns lose their syntactic argument position and (whether they remain free morphemes, or become cliticized, as in West and South Slavonic, or develop into affixes, as in East Slavonic and Baltic) they become purely grammatical markers.

An overview of the different types of middle-voice reflexives can be found in Geniušienė’s classic study (Geniušienė 1987). On the basis of research by Geniušienė (1987) and Kemmer (1993), a semantic map of reflexives and middles is given in Haspelmath (2003). I reproduce it in Fig. 1, giving German examples

¹ I wish to express my thanks to two reviewers whose constructive criticisms have allowed me to make important improvements to the article, and to Peter Arkadiev, Wayles Browne, Claire Moysse-Faurie and Bernhard Wälchli for numerous useful suggestions and comments. For the remaining shortcomings of the article I am solely responsible.

for most types of use (German is convenient because its marker *sich* has retained the reflexive function proper alongside middle-voice functions) but Russian ones for two types lacking in German (deobjectives and passives):

Figure 1. A semantic map of reflexives and middles
(based on Haspelmath 2003)



More recent work has clarified a few details of this semantic map, e.g., a detailed partial semantic map for what is somewhat inadequately described as 'potential passives' by Geniušienė (1987, 109ff) is proposed in Holvoet, Grzybowska & Rembiałkowska (2015); Holvoet (2016) adds the permissive middle, which had not been previously identified. In this article I will concentrate on what is roughly described, on the semantic map in Fig. 1, as the deobjective. This term points to a construction demoting or eliminating the object. In Geniušienė's fundamental work, two closely related type of reflexives relevant to our discussion are introduced, the absolute reflexive and the deaccusative reflexive (Geniušienė 1987, 83, 94). These two types can be illustrated with (1) and (2) respectively:

- (1) Latvian
Zirg-i spārdījā-s un zviedza.
horse-NOM.PL kick.PST.3-RFL and neigh.PST.3
'The horses were kicking and neighing.'
- (2) *Es šķirstījo-s pa vārdnīc-ām.*
1SG.NOM. leaf.PST.1SG-RFL in dictionary-DAT.PL
'I was leafing about in (the) dictionaries.'

In (1), which I will call deobjective, the transitive verb *spārdīt* ‘kick repeatedly’ is used without an object, and this use is accompanied by reflexive marking on the verb. In (2), the deaccusative type, the equally transitive verb *šķirstīt* ‘leaf (a book etc.)’ is intransitivized but its complement is not eliminated and appears as an oblique argument.

In more recent publications, the term ‘antipassive reflexive’ has also been used (cf. Say 2005), which has the advantage of subsuming the deobjective and deaccusative subtypes. According to Polinsky, an antipassive construction is

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

The two formal features mentioned in the second part of this definition (suppression and oblique encoding) presumably correspond to certain semantic and pragmatic effects of the antipassive derivation. In the definitions appearing in the literature, we find, first of all, the notion of ‘prominence’, presumably viewed as the grammaticalization of pragmatic saliency:

The antipassive voice denies grammatical prominence to the patient nominal by either encoding it as an oblique constituent or not syntactically encoding it at all. (Shibatani 1988, 5)

And a non-discourse-related semantic feature is also invoked:

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

The pragmatic and semantic features of the so-called antipassive reflexives will be discussed further on. With respect to (morpho)syntactic properties, we see that the term antipassive subsumes the deobjective type illustrated in (1), where the object is suppressed (implicit), and the deaccusative type illustrated in (2), where the object is realized as an oblique argument. The term ‘antipassive reflexive’ can therefore be used as a convenient cover term for both deobjectives and deaccusatives, but I will use the more specific terms below in discussing the individual types. Let us note that other terms have been proposed in the literature alongside deobjective, viz., objectal suppressive (Mel’čuk 1993), depatientive (Lichtenberk 1991) and absolute (as in ‘absolute reflexive’ in Geniušienė 1987). The term ‘deobjective’ is used in Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey (2004) and Kulikov (2010).

The use of the term ‘antipassive’ with reference to a certain type of reflexives in Latvian calls for a comment. In the literature this term was once associated mainly with ergativity, to refer to a voice gram functioning as a mirror image of the passive, i.e. enabling the equation (e.g., for purposes of coordination) of agent and intransitive subject in a case marking system normally equating object and intransitive subject (cf. Dixon 1979, 17). Nowadays antipassive constructions are recognized also in languages with accusative alignment (among recent work, we may refer here especially to Janic 2013). In languages with accusative alignment, antipassives will not have the characteristic syntactic function they perform in connection with ergative alignment, viz. that of enabling the equation $A = S$ instead of $O = S$; instead, they will have certain semantic and pragmatic effects such as encoding backgrounding or weak affectedness of the patient (on these two functions and their mutual relationship cf. Cooreman 1994). It is these semantic and pragmatic functions that will come to the fore in my discussion of antipassive reflexives.

In the present article, apart from these two types of reflexives which we can characterize as antipassive, I will introduce a third one not hitherto identified in the literature. I will call it deagentive-deaccusative, as it combines the deagentivizing effect characteristic of the anticausative with the oblique marking of the object also observed in the deaccusative type. It does not strictly satisfy the defining properties of antipassives because its subject is not an agent, but because of the oblique marking of the object it can be regarded as a peripheral type of the antipassive reflexive.

In my article I will focus on antipassive reflexives rather than on antipassives in general, and I will raise no claims meant to be relevant to antipassives as a whole. That reflexive and antipassive may have common markers is a well-known fact (Polinsky 2005, Sansò 2017), and the antipassive (deobjective) function is duly reflected among the functions of reflexive markers on the semantic map in Fig. 1 above.

No special study has hitherto been devoted to Latvian antipassive reflexives, although they are well represented and productive in this language, making it an excellent ground for research into this and related categories. Basing myself on Latvian data,² I will make a number of observations on the types of antipassive reflexives already identified earlier, viz. the deobjective and deaccusative

² No systematic data-collecting was conducted for the purposes of this article. The examples used to illustrate my points were found through Google searches or taken from literary texts (some of them cited in dictionaries). To illustrate types already well known from the literature, I use constructed examples.

subtypes; and I will argue for an additional type, the deagentive-deaccusative one. I will also formulate a hypothesis concerning the mutual relationship of these three types, the pathways of semantic development between them, and their position in the semantic space of reflexives and middles.

The structure of the article is as follows. Section 2 is devoted to demarcation: as antipassives are not always sufficiently clearly set apart from metonymic reflexives (more accurately called grooming-type reflexive-marked middles), I start with expounding my view of the difference between them. In sections 3 and 4 I deal with deobjectives and deaccusatives respectively, and in section 5 I discuss their mutual relationship. In section 6 I introduce the deagentive-deaccusative type. Finally, in section 7 I present my hypothesis concerning the place of the three above-mentioned types on the semantic map of reflexives and middles.

2. Metonymic reflexives

I will start my exposition with a discussion of a group of verbs that has been described as antipassive (Say 2005, for Russian, but Latvian, Lithuanian etc. do not differ from Russian on this point) but should, in my view, be set apart, though they may be regarded as a transitional stage to antipassive reflexives. I am referring to reflexive middles that rest on an extension of the metonymic relation often involved in the use of reflexive markers.

In the literature on reflexives and middles we find the so-called grooming type, illustrated by such constructions as

- (3) Latvian
Es skujo-s spoguļ-a priekš-ā.
 1SG.NOM shave.PRS.1SG-RFL mirror-GEN.SG front-LOC.SG
 ‘I shave in front of the mirror.’

Such constructions differ from properly reflexive constructions; e.g., in Latvian (as well as in Lithuanian and East Slavonic) the affixal reflexive marker can be used in the grooming function but not in properly reflexive constructions as illustrated in (4):

- (4) Latvian
*Es redz-u sevi (*redz-o-s) spoguļ-ī.*
 1SG.NOM see.PRS-1SG self.ACC (see.PRS-1SG-RFL) mirror-LOC.SG
 ‘I see myself in the mirror.’

As Kemmer (1993, 65–67, *passim*) formulates it, the difference consists in the degree of relative distinguishability of subject and object: in a reflexive situation agent and patient are normally distinct and coincide only in special cases; in middle situations agent and patient coincide by default. As a result, the patient is not a conceptually fully autonomous entity in the grooming type, which is reflected in the fact that it is no longer represented by a syntactic argument (whereas *sevi* in (4) occupies the position of direct object). For the transitional position of the grooming type between reflexive proper and middle cf. the use of zero-marked middles rather than reflexives in English *he washed, shaved, dressed* etc., and the hesitation between *lavat se* and *lavatur* ‘washes’ in Classical Latin.

The semantically not fully autonomous object argument can be the subject’s body as a whole, but also some particular body part, as in

- (5) Latvian
Jān-is saķemmēja mat-us.
 PN-NOM.SG comb.PST.3 hair-ACC.PL
 ‘John combed his hair.’
- (6) *Jān-is saķemmēja-s.*
 PN-NOM.SG comb.PST.3-RFL
 ‘John combed [his hair].’

Apart from body parts, certain objects belonging to the personal sphere of the subject may be treated in the same way. These are the items usually characterized as falling under the category of inalienable possession. In (7) and (8), for instance, items of clothing are involved:

- (7) Latvian
Pēter-is aizpogāja mētel-i.
 PN-NOM.SG button.up.PST.3 coat-ACC.SG
 ‘Peter buttoned up his coat.’
- (8) *Pēter-is aizpogājā-s.*
 PN-NOM.SG button.up.PST.3-RFL
 ‘Peter buttoned himself up.’

Yet further extensions are possible, though less frequent and less predictable. In some languages the situation of a person building a house for himself/herself can be referred to in the same fashion, by means of a reflexive verb without overt object:

- (9) Latvian
Neatkarīg-ās Latvij-as laik-ā Mežapark-ā
 independent-GEN.SG.F.DEF Latvia-GEN time-LOC.SG Forest.Park-LOC
būvējā-s daudz-i latvieš-u kultūr-as
build.PST.3-RFL many-NOM.PL.M Latvian-GEN.PL culture-GEN.SG
darbiniek-i, zinātniek-i, ārst-i, valstsvīr-i.
 worker-NOM.PL scientist-NOM.PL doctor-NOM.PL statesman-NOM.PL
 ‘In the times of independent Latvia many Latvian cultural figures, sci-
 entists, doctors and statesmen built houses for themselves [lit. ‘built
 themselves’] in Forest Park (Kaiserwald).’³

In a similar way, in Lithuanian, a reflexive form of *tvarkyti* ‘tidy up, bring in order’ may be used in the sense of tidying up one’s room, house, territory etc.:

- (10) Lithuanian
E. Čilinsk-o nuomon-e, poilsini-ų savinink-ai
 PN-GEN.SG opinion-INS.SG summerhouse-GEN.PL owner-NOM.PL
tvark-o-si tiek, kiek išgal-i.
tidy.up-PRS.3-RFL as.much as be.able-PRS.3
 ‘In E. Čilinkas’ opinion, the owners of summerhouses are tidying up
 their properties as well as they can.’⁴

Such extensions beyond the normal grooming situations are rather idiosyncratic and unpredictable: the Latvian construction in (9) has a counterpart in Polish *budować się*, whereas Lithuanian *tvarkytis* in (10) has no counterpart in either Polish or Latvian, but has one in Russian *ubirat’sja*, etc. Such extended uses are therefore restricted lexically. I will refer to such verbs exploiting occasional extensions of what is assigned to the personal sphere of the subject as ‘metonymic middle-voice reflexives’.

In spite of this lexical restriction to verbs denoting actions that are somehow inherently connected with the subject’s personal sphere, less expected extensions also occur. Say (2005) provides interesting data on Russian, attesting to a considerable productivity of the type. His examples include (11):

- (11) Russian (from Say 2005)
Vy tam sam-i zavernete-s’?
 2PL.NOM there oneself-NOM.PL wrap.up.FUT.2PL-RFL

³ <http://www.videsvestis.lv/content.asp?ID=99&what=28>

⁴ <http://www.palangostiltas.lt/skirtingai+nei+palangoje+sveciai+sventojoje+gali+atsipalaiduoti+bei+negalvoti+kaip+atrodo,7,2,2016.html>

‘Will you wrap up your purchases yourself?’ [lit. ‘Will you wrap yourself up?’] (said by a shop assistant to a customer)

Say calls these verbs antipassive, which suggests he regards their reflexive marking as reflecting an object-removing and therefore antipassive operation. The problem with applying the notion of antipassive to such types is that a certain lack of conceptual autonomy of the object is still characteristic, though perhaps less so than in the typical grooming situation, of uses like this: in (11) the customer’s purchases are viewed as a temporary extension of her/his personal sphere. Now a two-place predication with conceptually clearly distinct agent and patient is, in my view, a precondition for a construction to be recognized as antipassive, as it is also essential for defining a passive. This condition is met in (1), where the potential objects of the horses’ kicking are, first of all, people failing to keep a safe distance—at any rate, completely autonomous animate entities. Cases like (11) cannot be compared to this as the implicit objects are accessories belonging to the personal sphere of the agent, though perhaps only temporarily incorporated into it. If we fail to impose such conditions we could end up describing almost every grooming-type reflexive as antipassive. We would, for instance, have to describe Latvian *saķemmēties* in (6) as an antipassive because one can also say, and frequently says, *saķemmēt matus* ‘comb one’s hair’ as in (5), whereas a verb like *nomazgāties* ‘wash, perform one’s ablutions’ would have fewer chances to be qualified in this way merely because it is not common to say ‘wash one’s body’ (still less to enumerate all body parts affected by one’s morning ablutions).

Weak differentiation of agent and patient is admittedly a defining feature of middles (cf. Kemmer’s notion of ‘relative distinguishability’ mentioned above), and situations in which the object belongs to the personal sphere of the agent have therefore a natural propensity for middle marking, which is reflected in the grooming type discussed above. The notion of antipassive should, however, be reserved for situations in which the object is in itself clearly distinct conceptually from the agent, regardless of what may be additionally conveyed by a middle-voice formation. The object of (11) does not meet this condition of conceptual autonomy, so that I would prefer to classify this example with metonymic reflexives, reserving terms like ‘antipassive’ or ‘deobjective’ for cases where the implicit object does not belong to the agent’s personal sphere.

There may be various lengths of metonymic extension of middle-voice reflexive marking, some obvious and therefore hardly discussed (as in the case of shaving facial hair or combing scalp hair), others less obvious and less frequent, such as building or tidying up one’s house. The greater the degree of autonomy

of the object with regard to the agent, the stronger the inclination will be to speak of object suppression rather than of metonymic extension of the reflexive marking. It seems that Janic (2013, 291) has the same in mind when she calls the metonymic uses a borderline case of the antipassive middle. Perhaps further research will prove that it is practically impossible to draw a line of division between the two, but my main point in section 3 will be to show that the two are contiguous in semantic space.

3. Deobjectives

As mentioned above, deobjectives are antipassives that eliminate the object rather than just demoting it by assigning it oblique marking. A textbook example of a deobjective, repeated in many works on reflexivity and voice in general, is

- (12) Russian
Sobak-a kusaet-sja.
 dog-NOM.SG bite.PRS.3SG-RFL
 ‘The dog bites.’

The implicit object is, in this case, any person, dog, etc. coming too near. Let us note that this sentence will probably not be used if a dog is, for instance, in the habit of biting its own tail, so that we cannot speak of metonymic extension here.

There seems to be a widespread conviction that such constructions as (12) may only be individual-level or generic, that is, refer to a persistent or characteristic habit of an individual or species. Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey (2004, 1132) describe it as a ‘potential deobjective’. Availing themselves of Geniušienė’s Lithuanian example

- (13) Lithuanian
Berniuk-as muša-si.
 boy-NOM.SG beat.PRS.3-RFL
 ‘The boy fights (is pugnacious)’

they claim that “potential deobjectives [...] occur only in irrealis or generic sentences, never in specific realis sentences”. In a similar vein, Kulikov (2010, 382) renders Russian *kusaetsja* as ‘bites (in a habitual context)’. These formulations seem to be an unfounded generalization of a statement found in Geniušienė, who herself uses the term ‘absolute reflexive verb’ and states that “Absolute

R[eflexive] V[erb]s imply either an indefinite [...] or generalized [...] Patient, which results in the development of the modal potential meaning in absolute R[eflexive] V[erb]s when they come to denote a habitual activity as a particular permanent characteristic of the Agent” (Geniušienė 1987, 85). As can be seen from this quotation, Geniušienė refers to a ‘potential’ meaning contingent on habitual use, but does not claim the habitual use is the only one. She does not cite examples of non-habitual use but they are easy to find; the following illustrates a non-habitual use of Geniušienė’s Lithuanian example *muštis* ‘fight’, occurring alongside a similar use of *spardyti* ‘kick (about)’ (whose Latvian counterpart is exemplified in (1))

(14) Lithuanian

[*Bet kartą grįžusi namo ir man ištaisė panašią sceną—užsiožiavo dėl smulkmenos, o įsirėkė iki užkimimo, ...*],

ji tik spardė-si, mušė-si ir
3.NOM.SG.F only kick.PST.3-RFL **fight.PST.3-RFL** and
klykė.

scream.PST.3

‘[But once, on coming home, she made a similar scene to me as well—she flew into a rage over a trifle and went off yelling herself hoarse, ...] she just kicked, fought and screamed.’⁵

That is, reflexive verbs of this type display stage-level uses alongside individual-level and kind-level ones, as has actually already been noticed by Janic (2013, 146–148). Stage-level uses are also easy to find in Latvian, cf. (15) for stage-level use and (16) for individual-level use:

(15) [*Sievietes nereaģēja, bet, gluži pretēji, uzsāka fiziski aizskart policijas darbiniekus—*]

sita ar dūr-ēm, spārdījā-s un rāva aiz
hit.PST.3 with fist-DAT.PL **kick.PST.3-RFL** and pull.PST.3 at
form-as tērp-a.

form-GEN.SG dress-GEN.SG

‘[The women did not comply but, quite to the contrary, began to assault the police officers physically—] they hit them with their fists, **kicked** and pulled at their uniforms.’⁶

⁵ <https://www.supermama.lt/forumas/lofiversion/index.php/t11173.html>

⁶ <http://www.delfi.lv/news/national/criminal/policisti-riga-aiztur-cetras-agresivas-sievietes.d?id=25112175>

- (16) [*Rikšos un soļos visi jāj viens aiz otra,*
bet zirg-s, kas spārdā-s, iet
 but horse-NOM.SG REL.NOM **kick.PRS.3-RFL** go.PRS.3
pēdēj-ais rind-ā
 last-NOM.SG.M.DEF line-LOC.SG
 [*vai arī pārējie turas no tā pa gabalu*].

‘When trotting or pacing all ride one after the other, but a horse that kicks [is in the habit of kicking] walks last in the line, or else the others keep a distance from it.’⁷

Describing a person’s outward behaviour is a way of depicting this person’s character or personality, so that individual-level uses of behaviour-characterizing deobjectives are probably frequent, perhaps statistically predominant. This does not mean, however, that the ‘potential’ character is a constitutive feature.⁸ As Polinsky puts it, “the use of a prototypical transitive verb entails that the event denoted by that verb causes a change of state in the object participant [...] The semantic function of the antipassive is to cancel such an entailment” (Polinsky 2005). The potential character of the deobjective (antipassive) is therefore entirely on the side of the object: deobjectives are noncommittal as to the actual affectedness of an object. The notion that deobjectives must be ‘potential’ also with regard to the subject argument’s agency rests on a misunderstanding. Anyone coming near a person displaying physical or verbal aggression runs the risk of becoming its target, but still the label ‘potential’ is misleading in that it suggests this type has only kind-level or individual-level readings. Perhaps (this would have to be investigated) there are differences between individual languages with regard to the degree of predominance of individual-level (or kind-level) uses over stage-level uses. Let us note that the habitual use in the Russian textbook example (12) also stands alongside a stage-level use:

- (17) Russian
On-a bryka-l-a-s’, carapa-l-a-s’, kusa-l-a-s’,
 3-NOM.SG.F **kick-PST-F-RFL scratch-PST-F-RFL bit-PST-F-RFL**
pytajas’ osvobodi-t’ golov-u, zaža-t-uju
 try.CVB disengage-INF head-ACC.SG squeeze-PP.PST-ACC.SG.F

⁷ <http://zirgam.lv/2012/07/20/ko-darit-ja-zirgs-nikojas-iii-dala/>

⁸ As Claire Moyse-Faurie pointed out to me, the verbs used in such constructions will usually be iterative in terms of lexical class, which is perhaps a source of confusion. Iterative is, of course, not the same as habitual.

pod myšk-oj Magd-y.
 under place.under.arm-INS.SG PN-GEN.SG
 ‘She kicked, scratched and bit, trying to wriggle free her head which
 Magda held squeezed under her arm.’ (N. N. Španov, NKRJJA)

Whether the character described in this passage actually succeeded in biting her tormentor is not known, but ‘potential’ does not really capture the effect produced by the reflexive form. For Swedish, where deobjective use of the ‘passive’ forms in *-s* is also observed (Holmes & Hinchliffe 2003, 272), native speakers tend to say the habitual use is the most natural one that comes to the mind, but non-habitual uses also occur:

- (18) Swedish (example courtesy of Jim Degrenius, Vilnius)
Mann-en bet-s och hota-de polis-er-na
 man-DEF **bite.PST-RFL** and threaten-PST policeman-PL-DEF
på ett mycket grov-t sätt,
 at INDEF much rude-N manner
 [säger Angeria till DN.se].
 ‘The man bit and threatened the policemen in a very rude way, [so
 Angeria told Dagens Nyheter].⁹

Verbs describing physical demeanour (bite, scratch, kick...), when used in the deobjective construction, will thus tend to refer to a characteristic behaviour of an individual or kind. Such verbs will probably not be conceptualized as activities in the Vendlerian sense (??*He was busy biting, scratching...*). Latvian, however, also has deobjective reflexives referring to activities—not only habitual activities, but also a person’s activity at a particular moment. This is illustrated in examples (19) and (20), containing the verbs *velēties*, which LLVV defines as ‘be engaged in washing and related activities for a long time’ (‘ilgāku laiku velēt, veikt ar velēšanu saistītus darbus’), and *lāpīties*, defined as ‘mend, usually pieces of clothing, for a long time and in large quantities’ (‘ilgāku laiku, daudz lāpīt, parasti apģērba gabalus’):

- (19) Latvian
Ķēķ-ī bija vann-ā samērķ-t-as
 kitchen-LOC be.PST.3 tub-LOC.SG soak-PP.PST-NOM.PL.F
drēb-es: māt-e šodien velē-s-ies,
 clothes-NOM.PL **Mother-NOM today launder-FUT.3-RFL**

⁹ <http://www.dn.se/sthlm/singelolycka-slutade-i-slagsmal/>

dzīvo-s pa ār-u.

live-FUT.3 about outdoors.space-ACC

‘In the kitchen clothes have been soaked in a tub: Mother is going to do her laundering today, she will be busy outdoors.’ (Augusts Saulietis, 1869–1933, cited from LLVV)

(20) *Miz-as mā-t-e sē-dēja pie maz-a*

PN-GEN.SG mother-NOM.SG sit.PST.3 at small-GEN.SG.M

gal-d-iņ-a... un lā-pijā-s.

table-DIM-GEN.SG and mend.PST.3-RFL

‘Mother Miza was sitting at a little table and doing her mending.’ (Augusts Saulietis, 1869–1933, cited from LLVV)

The reflexives in (19) and (20) are listed in the dictionaries, but the type is productive and new instances, not listed in the dictionaries, appear as well, e.g., *gleznoties* ‘be busy painting, be absorbed in painting’ (not in LLVV):

(21) Latvian

[*Māksliniece Anita Holma, kura ir Šķērsielas iedzīvotāja,*

ar kolēģ-iem un draug-iem gleznojā-s

with colleague-DAT.PL and friend-DAT.PL paint.PST.3-RFL

*vis-as iel-as garum-ā.*¹⁰

whole-GEN.SG street-GEN.SG length-LOC.PL

[‘Artist Anita Holma, who is a resident of Crossroad Street,] was happily painting away together with colleagues and friends along the whole length of the street.’

Examples (19) and (20) are interesting because of their connection with what I have called the metonymic type. They need not be understood as implying that the clothes the women are washing or mending are their own, so there need be no strict metonymic relation. But very often ‘do one’s washing’ will mean, first of all or among other things, washing one’s own clothes, and the clothes one has been assigned for washing also constitute an extension of one’s personal sphere. A further extension may lead to an interpretation of ‘do one’s washing’ as a kind of socially sanctioned activity. In (21), however, *gleznojās* does not mean ‘did their painting’, in the sense of, say, a painting assignment. One could suggest that the paintings are still emanations of the subject’s artistic personality, and propose a paraphrase along the lines of ‘produce the paintings

¹⁰ <http://apollo.tvnet.lv/zinas/skersiela-tagad-skatama-ari-uz-audekla/566198>

one carries within oneself'. But in order for the reflexive to be susceptible of a metonymic interpretation the implicit object (the paintings) would have to be viewed as pre-existent in the subject's mind and thereby definite. Such an interpretation of (21) seems, however, far-fetched and hardly convincing. Here, the effect of the reflexive derivation seems to be to evoke a self-contained activity absorbing the subject while the implicit object is backgrounded and low in referentiality. The semantic shift is initiated by a relaxation of the possessive relationship, from inalienable possession to a looser connection to a person's socially sanctioned sphere of activity; in a next step, the implicit object shifts from referential but presupposed (and hence not in need of being made explicit) to low in referentiality.

As already recognized by Janic (2013, 294, *passim*), the link between reflexivity and antipassive passes through the notion of middle voice. Deobjective reflexives do not arise at all from reflexives proper (such as (2)), but from middle-voice reflexives (such as (1)), in which the initial feature of identity of agent and patient has been replaced with the feature of low distinguishability of agent and patient. The patient is not so much identical with the agent as conceptually not fully autonomous; it is, in the grooming type, the agent's body or some body part, or a further, less obvious extension of the agent's personal sphere. In the metonymic extensions discussed in the previous section the conditions on being assigned to the personal sphere of the agent are relaxed. In the deobjective type they are ultimately abandoned, and the feature of 'weak autonomy' gives place to that of object backgrounding. This is one of the pathways leading to the deobjective function.

This explanation does, however, not apply to the behaviour-characterizing verbs like 'bite', 'kick' etc. The peculiarities of this type are largely inherent to the class of verbs to which it applies, that is, verbs describing mostly aggressive (physical but also, for example, verbal) behaviour which is usually referred to in order to characterize a person. As aggressive behaviour is typically directed at other persons and is often part of more complex physical or verbal interaction, this type of deobjectives shows a natural affinity with reciprocals, and indeed reciprocal-depatientive polyfunctionality has been noted in the literature, e.g., for To'aba'ita by Lichtenberk (1991). Sansò (2017, 207–208) argues that when reflexive markers develop antipassive functions, it is actually their reciprocal function that leads to this use. This is certainly true for the behaviour-characterizing subtype, but cannot explain the activity subtype illustrated above for Latvian; the latter has a stronger affinity with metonymic reflexives. In both cases, however, we are dealing with middle-voice functions: on the one hand,

‘natural reflexives’ (the grooming type) and, on the other, ‘natural reciprocals’ like ‘fight’, ‘quarrel’ etc.

Some contrastive research on deobjectives and the lexical classes in which they are represented would be welcome. It might well be the case that the behaviour-characterizing subtype is the only type of use in Russian, and that the occupational subtype is characteristic of Latvian, etc.

4. Deaccusatives

Verbal constructions felt to be related to deobjectives may also fail to eliminate the object from argument structure while at the same time demoting it morphosyntactically. Geniušienė (1987, 94) introduces the notion of deaccusatives: the verb retains its object argument but it receives oblique marking (cf. also Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey 2004, 1132, who suggest ‘antiapplicative’ as an alternative term).

Geniušienė’s exemplification of deaccusatives includes cases like French *moquer quelqu’un*¹¹ and *se moquer de quelqu’un* ‘mock sb, poke fun at sb’, or German *etwas fürchten* and *sich vor etwas fürchten* ‘fear sth’. These constructions display one important formal feature of antipassives, viz. the oblique marking of the object. The semantic side of such derivations is, however, not quite clear, especially with respect to the features mentioned in the literature as being associated with antipassives. As noted above, Comrie (1978, 362) states that in a number of languages the antipassive may encode “incompleteness of the situation described in so far as it affects the object”, and he cites examples like *shoot at* as against *shoot*, *plough away at* as against *plough*. Polinsky, also cited above, speaks of cancellation of the usual entailment to the effect that the event denoted by a verb causes a change of state in the object participant (Polinsky 2004). Such characterizations suggest that antipassive marking applies to verbs denoting an agency capable of producing a change of state in the patient. The French and German pairs cited as examples by Geniušienė, and the French ones discussed by Janic (2013), such as *apercevoir* and *s’apercevoir de*, *attaquer* and *s’attaquer à*, show very subtle, if any, semantic differences; they fit the formal definition of antipassives (derivative construction and prepositional marking) but can hardly be claimed to match the semantic formulations. In terms of thematic structure, the subjects of verbs like *sich fürchten*, *s’apercevoir* etc. are not

¹¹ The non-reflexive form of this verb, cited by Geniušienė, is now archaic, though still used in the passive.

agents; their objects are not affected (they are often stimulus arguments), and it is not clear how incomplete affectedness could apply to them. They can, of course, be backgrounded, but whether *il s'aperçut d'une femme qui s'approchait de lui* 'he noticed/became aware of a woman who was coming up to him' reflects diminished prominence of the object compared to *il aperçut une femme qui s'approchait de lui* (meaning more or less the same) is very difficult to assess. To my mind it is not obvious that such verbs should be treated on a par with pairs showing a clear semantic differentiation (of the type *plough : plough away at*).¹²

Here, in dealing with Latvian, I will restrict the notion of deaccusative to constructions whose defining properties can be formulated as follows: (1) the verb describes a physical agency involving some object; (2) the change-of-state entailment associated with the transitive verb is cancelled (if the verb is by itself atelic, there is an additional nuance of dispersed and ineffectual manipulation) and (3) the object acquires some type of non-accusative marking reflecting a reinterpretation in terms of semantic role, basically a shift to local/directional or instrumental marking (Geniušienė 1987 does in fact identify both types in her discussion of Baltic deobjectives). I am not claiming that features (1) and (2) (feature 3 being generally accepted) are necessary defining features of all antipassive deaccusatives; all I can say is that the meaning differences associated with verbs like *sich fürchten* or *s'apercevoir* are too vague to be useful in a discussion of antipassive reflexives.

A Latvian example of a deaccusative displaying the features listed above, with local marking of the object, would be *šķirstīties (pa)* 'leaf about in sth' as opposed to *šķirstīt* 'leaf, turn the pages of sth':

- (22) Latvian
[*Kādu nedēļu nebiju Latvijā un*]

¹² The question must of course be raised what these reflexive verbs are if they are not antipassive. The answer is far from obvious. Pairs of the type *apercevoir : s'apercevoir de* are dealt with by Haspelmath & Michaelis (2008, 159–161), who invoke the notion of 'background theme' to account for the function of the genitival expression (in this case, the construction with *de*). They state explicitly, however, that they do not use the notion of 'background' in the sense of diminished discourse prominence, but rather in the sense of the 'figure vs ground' distinction of Cognitive Grammar. Their account is therefore not directly compatible with those describing these pairs by means of an antipassive derivation denying prominence to the patient. Most of the verbs involved seem to belong to Kemmer's class of 'cognitive middle' (Kemmer 1993, 19); cognition verbs are furthermore (as Haspelmath and Michaelis observe) among those that attract genitival marking (in Latin or German) or its counterparts with the prepositions *de*, *di* in Romance, even if they are not reflexive, cf. German *gedenke meiner* 'think of me:GEN'; one could also compare English *conceive* and *conceive of*. Such pairs as *apercevoir : s'apercevoir de* seem therefore to be the result of several concurring historical factors rather than the effect of a construction combining reflexive marking with a certain type of prepositional marking and a regular semantic modification.

tagad atbrauc-is *šķirst-u* *avīz-es,*
 now return-PA.PST.NOM.SG.M leaf.PRS-1SG newspaper-ACC.PL
skat-o-s *informācij-u* *un ne-var-u*
 look-PRS.1SG-RFL information-ACC.SG and NEG-be.able-PRS.1SG
saprast – *kas* *notiek!?*
 understand-INF what.NOM happen.PRS.3

'For a week I've been away from Latvia, and now on my return I leaf the newspapers, look at the news and cannot understand what's going on.'¹³

- (23) [*Mana muzikālā garlaicība ir nonākusi līdz tam, ka*]

es tagad šķirst-o-s pa visād-iem
 1SG.NOM now leaf-PRS.1SG-RFL about various-DAT.PL.M
the best albums of 2011 (so far) list-iem.
 list-DAT.PL

'My musical boredom has reached such a degree that I am leafing about in all kinds of lists of 'The best albums of 2011 (so far)'.¹⁴

The reflexive, combined with a prepositional phrase with *pa*, which denotes a dispersed, non-directional motion, has the meaning of aimlessly leafing about in something. The effect is similar to that achieved by the use of a particle verb combined with prepositional marking in English (where, of course, the reflexive marking is lacking):

- (24) *The only way you could tell if a book was good or bad was by studying the cover and leafing about in it.* (Tim Parks, *The Novel. A Survival Skill*)

Other verbs illustrating the effect of the deaccusative derivation include *jaukt* 'stir, mix by stirring' (telicized /perfectivized *sajaukt*) → *jaukties* 'stir about in' (*jaukties pa cukuru* 'stir, mess about in the sugar'), *mīcīt* 'knead' (telicized/perfectivized *samīcīt*) → *mīcīties* 'knead, mess about in sth' (*mīcīties pa māliem* 'knead about in clay') etc. In many cases there is no very clear meaning difference because the verb itself inherently refers to a clumsy and ineffectual manipulation, but the reflexive form additionally emphasizes the dispersed, chaotic and clumsy way in which this manipulation takes place:

- (25) Latvian
 [*Viņš pacēlās sēdus, un*]

¹³ <http://www.kurzemes-vards.lv/lv/laikraksts/numuri/2007/10/04/?p=8>

¹⁴ <http://klab.lv/~wraa/347986.html>

- rokas gramstīja ūden-s krūz-i,*
 hand-NOM.SG grope.PST.3 water-GEN.SG jug-ACC.SG
 [lai dzesētu mocošās slāpes.]
 ‘[He sat up and] his hands groped for the water jug [to quench the
 tormenting thirst].’ (Zeiboltu Jēkabs, *Liktenis*, 1902)
- (26) *Arnold-s tums-ā gramstījā-s ap aparāt-u.*
 PN-NOM.SG darkness-LOC grope.PST.3-RFL about telephone.set-ACC.SG
 ‘Arnold groped about for the telephone in the darkness.’ (Aivars
 Tarvids, *Nelāga diena*, 1992)

Alongside constructions with locative marking for the object we also find constructions with instrumental marking. This subtype consists of verbs of caused motion, and their object is a theme. The deaccusative derivation marks the fact that the causation of motion proceeds with difficulty or in an uncoordinated way. The reflexive derivation cancels the usual change-of-location entailment and induces the conceptualization of the event as a self-contained activity in which the theme (mover) is only an instrument:

- (27) Latvian
Un nu viņ-i pa ab-iem ar
 and now 3-NOM.PL.M between both-DAT.PL.M with
kundz-i stīvēja augšup pa kāpn-ēm
 missus-ACC.SG lug.PST.3 upward along stairs-DAT.PL
instrument-u.
 instrument-ACC.SG
 ‘And now he and his missus were lugging the instrument upstairs
 together.’ (Guntis Berelis, *Ugunīgi vērsi ar zelta ragiem*, 2007)
- (28) *Sviedr-iem aumaļām plūst-ot, arī maz-ais*
 sweat-DAT.PL profusely pour-CVB also small-NOM.SG.M.DEF
stīvējā-s ar div-iem milzu saiņ-iem.
 lug.PST.3-RFL with two-DAT.PL.M enormous bundle-DAT.PL
 ‘Sweat pouring down profusely, the small one was also lugging away
 at two enormous bundles.’ (Anšlavs Eglītis, *Homo novus*, 1944)

Examples of both types (with locative and instrumental marking) are discussed in Geniušienė, though they receive somewhat divergent treatments. For the locative type Geniušienė seems to recognize a different conceptualization. She states: “the second referent in the R[eflexive] C[onstruction] is interpreted as Locative, i.e., the surface case is ascribed the semantic function of encoding a change in the interpretation of the referent role” (Geniušienė 1987, 95). How-

ever, for the instrumental type illustrated in (27), (28) Geniušienė formulates the following, rather surprising conclusion: “Both constructions [viz. the reflexive and non-reflexive one—A. H.] refer to the same external situation and the inanimate referent is assumed to retain its patient role, the instrumental case of the Obl[ique]O[bject] having the communicative function of reducing the degree of prominence of the referent without changing its role” (Geniušienė 1987, 94). Whatever the reason for this divergent treatment may be, Geniušienė’s characterization of the adpositional marking as reflecting reduced prominence of the object is echoed in later works but generalized to all deaccusatives: Haspelmath and Müller-Bardey (2004, 1132) characterize the deaccusative as “a patient-backgrounding rather than a patient-removing category”. Again, we seem to be dealing with an unfounded generalization of Geniušienė’s statement, which actually runs as follows: “the case form of the OblO in RC has either a semantic function and encodes the role assigned to the referent, or it has the pragmatic function of lowering the constituent down the scale of prominence” (Geniušienė 1987, 94).

When it comes to prominence, it is hard to see in what sense the object is less or more prominent (backgrounded) in (23) or in (28). In the deobjective type, where the patient has no syntactic expression at all, it takes no stretch of the imagination to concede that diminished prominence of the patient is involved. The prepositional marking in the deaccusative type could, in principle, also be associated with diminished prominence, as we observe with agentive *by*-PPs in English passives or similar PPs in other languages; as is known, such agent phrases are more often than not absent (Keenan & Dryer 2007, 332), which seems to be a good diagnostic for reduced prominence. One wonders how we could lend more plausibility to the claim that the prepositional marking reflects reduced prominence. Showing that the oblique-marked object can be omitted would not solve the problem, as an antipassive reflexive used without an object would be under suspicion of being a deobjective. Below I will discuss a certain type of antipassive reflexives that can be used both with and without an object, and I will argue that they are a transitional link between deobjectives and deaccusatives. Testing the possibility of omission of the prepositional phrase could also be complicated by cases of contextual omission.

While it is not easy to check whether an object explicitly realized by a prepositional phrase is lowered in prominence, it is easier to show that such prepositional marking reflects lower affectedness. When an object is affected by some form of agency, its state may be changed in an incremental way and the predication becomes telic. Lower affectedness caused by ineffectual agency may then atelicize the verb. Indeed it is relatively easy to show that the deac-

cusative derivation has an atelicizing effect in those cases where the verb is in itself susceptible of a telic reading. As mentioned, there are cases where this atelicizing effect cannot be achieved because some verbs are always and inherently atelic, such as ‘rummage’, an example that can be found in Geniušienė (1987, 95):

- (29) Latvian
Es vand-u papīr-us uz gald-a.
 1SG.NOM rummage-PRS.1SG paper-ACC.PL on table-GEN
- (30) *Es vando-s pa papīr-iem uz gald-a.*
 1SG.NOM rummage-PRS.1SG-RFL in paper-DAT.PL on table-GEN
 ‘I rummage among the papers on the table.’

The verb *vandīt* is an atelic verb, denoting by itself a rather unsystematic, chaotic manipulation of objects not leading to any palpable result, and in this sense the reflexive derivation does not seem to be associated with a clear semantic import. But the verb *šķirstīt* ‘leaf (a book, newspaper)’, used in (22), is often treated as telic and in this case may have a perfective (or, if one prefers, telicized) prefixal counterpart *iz-šķirstīt* ‘peruse completely’, illustrated in (31):

- (31) Latvian
Iz-šķirstīj-u avīz-es, iedzēr-u kafij-u,
 TEL-leaf.PST-1SG newspaper-ACC.PL drink.PST-1SG coffee-ACC.SG
palūkojos laukā...
 look.PST.1SG outside
 ‘I looked through the newspapers, had some coffee, looked out of the window...’ (Guntis Berelis, *Ugunīgi vērsi ar zelta ragiem*, 2007)

This perfective, necessarily telic derivation is not possible in the case of the reflexive verb, which can have prefixal derivatives but only with delimitative meaning, referring to a short duration of an activity viewed as atelic:

- (32) Latvian
Priek-s pa-šķirstī-tie-s pa šīm
 joy-NOM.SG DELIM-leaf.about-INF-RFL in these.DAT.PL.F
grāmat-iņ-ām.
 book-DIM-DAT.PL
 ‘It is a joy to leaf about for a while in these little books.’¹⁵

¹⁵ <http://liepajasmuzejs.lv/lv/lm/175-jaunakas-publikacijas/n54/>

To show the regular character of this distinction, here is another series, with *mīcīt* ‘knead’:

- (33) Latvian
 [...] *vien-i mīcīja māl-us un veidoja*
 one-NOM.PL.M knead.PST.3 clay-ACC.PL and mould.PST.3
svilpauniek-us,
 whistle.figurine-ACC.PL
 [*bet citi našķojās ar nātru zupu*]
 ‘Some kneaded clay and moulded whistle figurines, [while others re-galed themselves with nettle soup].’¹⁶
- (34) [*Epizodiski sākumskolas vecumā*]
mīcījā-s pa māl-iem, zīmēja,
 knead.PST.3-RFL in clay-DAT.PL draw.PST.3
 [*ar kaut kādiem modelīšiem ņēmās.*]
 ‘[Episodically, at primary school age,] he messed around in clay, drew, and engaged in some kind of modelling.’¹⁷
- (35) *Tā arī Diev-s kādreiz sa-mīcīja māl-us,*
 so also God-NOM.SG once TEL-knead.PST.3 clay-ACC.PL
 [*iepūta un sanācām mēs.*]
 ‘And so one day God kneaded some clay, [blew into it and we were created].’¹⁸
- (36) *Jā [...] Tevi saista iespēj-as pa-mīcī-tie-s*
 if 2SG.ACC attract.PRS.3 possibility-NOM.PL DELIM-knead-INF-RFL
pa māl-iem vai iemācīties fotografēt [...]
 in clay-DAT.PL or learn-INF photograph-INF
 [*tad Tu droši esi mūsējais!*]¹⁹
 ‘If you are attracted by the possibility of spending some time messing about in clay or learning to make photographs, [then you are surely one of us]!’

The same test can be applied to verbs taking an instrumental prepositional phrase, as in (27), (28). The transitive *stīvēt* has several telic/perfective deriva-

¹⁶ http://www.rezekne.lv/rezeknes-zinas/zina/_/rezeknes-zinas/-/475-rezekniesi-malos-lidz-ausim-video/

¹⁷ <http://calis.delfi.lv/forums/tema/17709113-majmaciba-jeb-apmaciba-gimene/21/>

¹⁸ <http://t83ox.lv/laupiana-latvieu-stila/>

¹⁹ http://www.malpils.lv/uploads/filedir/File/Vestis/2006/Maalpils-maijs_2006-netam.pdf

tives, such as *aizstīvēt*, which describes the act of dragging or lugging a person or thing to a specific place:

- (37) Latvian
Grūt-a bērņib-a — pārāk agri mani
 difficult-NOM.SG.F childhood-NOM.SG too early 1SG.ACC
aiz-stīvēja uz baznīc-u,
 TEL-drag.PST.3 to church-ACC.SG
 [kur es neko nesapratu, garlaikojos un salu.]
 ‘[Mine was] a difficult childhood—at a too early age they dragged me to church, [where I didn’t understand a thing and felt bored and cold].’²⁰

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

- (38) Latvian
Atnāca saimniek-s, brīd-i pa-stīvējā-s
 come.PST.3 landlord-NOM.SG while-ACC.SG DELIM-tug.PST.3-RFL
ap log-u tāpat,
 about window-ACC.SG just.like.that
 [tad atnesa gumijas āmuru un brīdi mēģināja izdauzīt iesprūdušo rāmi ārā.]
 ‘The landlord came and first spent some time tugging at the window just like that, [then he brought a rubber hammer and for some time tried to force out the window frame that had got stuck].’²¹

The deaccusative derivation thus seems to be atelicizing wherever it can. If the verb is inherently atelic, this atelicizing effect cannot be achieved, and the reflexive marking will just additionally emphasize the chaotic, ineffectual character of the manipulation. It may well be the case that verbs denoting chaotic manipulation attract the type of reflexive marking under discussion here, which formally emphasizes a meaning element already inherent in these verbs. Geniušienė has no examples of the type illustrated in (22), (23) above, presumably because she bases herself on the data of the dictionaries rather than on Latvian texts. In fact, derivations like that illustrated in (23) are to a certain extent productive rather than lexicalized: *šķirstīties* in the sense illustrated in

²⁰ <https://oysternotes.wordpress.com/2017/04/29/metamies-cina-jeb-marsa-menesis/>

²¹ <https://tjigra.wordpress.com/2010/08/17/emigranta-iesaceja-piezimes-8-diena/>

(23) is not given in Latvian dictionaries (ME, LLVV), and it seems to be produced 'online'. Whereas in the case of *vandīt* the frequency of the reflexive form is perhaps comparable to that of the non-reflexive verb (leading lexicographers to list such verbs both in a non-reflexive and a reflexive form), the reflexive derivation represented in (23) may be too low in frequency for it to make it to the dictionaries. More detailed research would, of course, be needed to confirm this surmise.

It seems, then, that the deaccusative type is, in terms of characteristic features, the mirror image of the deobjective one: whereas the deobjective type denotes the reduced prominence of an object whose degree of affectedness remains unspecified, the deaccusative type denotes reduced affectedness of an object which cannot be said to be reduced in prominence. Their relationship must therefore be briefly addressed.

5. Deobjectives and deaccusatives

The use of the same reflexive derivation for the purpose of marking two different semantic-pragmatic features, viz. reduced prominence in one case and reduced affectedness (atelicization) in the other, is not surprising in the light of what has been found in research on antipassives. Cooreman (1994, 63–64) points out that all factors involved in the use of antipassives (at least, in what she calls the semantic/pragmatic type of antipassives, as opposed to the syntactic use of antipassive serving purposes of alignment in coordination, relativization etc., which is relevant only in languages with ergative alignment) figure in Hopper & Thompson's (1980) list of transitivity parameters. She also provides (Cooreman 1994, 67) a definition subsuming both types:

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

Tsunoda (1988, 629) mentions both object backgrounding and low affectedness as features of the prototypical antipassive, suggesting that in the prototypical antipassive both should somehow go together. But from the nature of the features involved one rather expects a unilateral implication. The lack of an identifiable object entails, of course, lack of identifiable affectedness, but the reverse does not hold: there is no reason why an object that is weakly affected because of ineffectual agency should necessarily be less prominent; in fact, if it is less prominent its degree of affectedness is unlikely to be relevant.

It seems therefore that, in spite of the link existing between the two antipassive features in virtue of low transitivity, they can be clearly set apart and

need not co-occur. If object backgrounding is crucially involved in the deob-jective type proper, telicity and affectedness are involved in the deaccusative type. Syntactically, the difference between the two types consists in that an overtly expressed syntactic argument is introduced in the deaccusative type. It expresses an object at which the agency is directed, but due to the ineffectuality of this agency the patient argument is conceptualized as a place in which this ineffectual agency is located, while the spatial object itself remains unaffected, or as an instrument involved in this ineffectual agency.

This distinctness of the two types does not mean there is, from a lexical point of view, a rigid line of division. A transition between them seems to be provided by a number of verbs denoting manual activity and possibly also manipulation of objects, though the object of manipulation needs not be specified, so that the same verb may refer to manipulation of an unspecified object or to ineffectual manipulation of a specific object. Take *knibināt* ‘trifle about, fumble’; its transitive use is illustrated in (39) (where the verb is telicized by the particle *vaļā* ‘open’):

- (39) Latvian
 [Jūlijā nākot ārā no tunēļa pie Strēlniekiem]
kād-a čigāniet-e jau
 some-NOM.SG.F Gipsy.woman-NOM.SG already
knibināja vaļā man-u rokassom-u.
fumble.PST.3 open my-ACC.SG handbag-ACC.SG
 ‘[In July, as I was coming out of the subway near the Riflemen’s mon-ument] a Gipsy woman was already fumbling open my handbag.’²²

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

- (40) Latvian
 [Vairums atprasījās no darba, apkopa mājas soli.]
cit-as tāpat knibināja-s, atvilka elp-u
 other-NOM.PL.F just trifle.PST.3-RFL draw.PST.3 breath-ACC.SG
pēc kārtēj-ās sturmēšan-as mēneš-a beig-ās.
 after periodic-GEN.SG.F.DEF storm-GEN.SG month-GEN.SG end[PL]-LOC
 ‘[Most took free time from their work to attend to household chores], others were just trifling about and getting a breather after the peri-

²² http://www.tvnet.lv/zinas/kriminalzinas/286786-kabatzaglu_skaitis_nemazinas/comments

odic bustle at the end of the month.’ (Zenta Ērgle, *Nosargāt mīlestību*, 1987)

But *knibināties* may also be combined with a prepositional object, usually with the preposition *ap* ‘about’, denoting a clumsy and ineffectual manipulation that fails to yield the desired result:

- (41) Latvian
Lab-ās rok-as pirkst-i nervozi
 right-GEN.SG.F.DEF hand-GEN.SG finger-NOM.SG nervously
knibinājā-s ap svārk-u pog-u.
fumble.PST.3-RFL about jacket[PL]-GEN button-ACC.SG
 ‘The fingers of his right hand were nervously fumbling with the button of his jacket.’ (Alberts Jansons, cited from LLVV)

The co-existence of a deobjective and a deaccusative formation points to the existence of a group of lexemes providing the link between deobjective and deaccusative.

Exactly the same pattern as with Latvian *knibināt* is found with its Lithuanian counterpart *knibinėti*:

- (42) Lithuanian
 ... *pavargau nuolat stebė-ti ir prižiūrė-ti,*
 get.tired.PST.1SG all.the.time observe-INF and monitor-INF
kaip ji knibinėja karoliuk-us,
 how 3.NOM.SG.F fiddle.PRS.3 beads-ACC.PL
 [*kaip smalsiai nužiūrinėja ir su dideliu entuziazmu nutaikiusi progą kiša į burnytę.*]²³
 ‘I grew tired observing and monitoring how she fiddled with the beads, [how she looked at them curiously and put them into her mouth with great enthusiasm at every opportunity].’
- (43) [*Kantrybe ir kruopštumu išsiskiriantis bubiškis sako, kad*
ilgiausiai knibinėja-si dažy-dam-as, klijuo-dam-as
 endlessly potter-RFL paint-CVB-M.SG glue-CVB-M.SG
*maž-as detal-es.*²⁴
 small-ACC.PL.F detail-ACC.PL

²³ <http://www.getshopin.lt/musu-klientai/daikteline/>

²⁴ <http://vilniauskraistas.lt/laivu-modeliais-per-svajoniui-vandenynus/>

‘[The patient and diligent native of Bubiai tells us that] he potters about endlessly painting and gluing small details.’

- (44) *Baig-ęs knibinė-ti-s apie sag-as,*
 stop-PA.PST.NOM.SG.M **fiddle-*INF-RFL*** **about** **button-*ACC.PL***
 [*jis atsistojo skersai tako*] (Jonas Mikelinskas, *Juodųjų eglių šalis*, 1988)
 ‘Having stopped fiddling about his buttons, [he planted himself across the path].’

In both languages, then, verbs of ineffectual manipulation seem to be the lexical class providing the link between deobjectives and deaccusatives, and it is perhaps the class in which the deaccusative derivation is best represented.

It should be noted that, though Geniušienė discusses deobjectives and deaccusatives as separate types of reflexives, many formulations in the literature on antipassives suggest the two phenomena are viewed as basically the same thing. As suggested in Shibatani’s definition cited above, antipassives reflect decreased prominence, and this may simply manifest itself, according to circumstances, in oblique encoding or no encoding at all. In this article I do not want to make any claims about antipassives in general, but with reference to antipassive reflexives I suggest there are two different constructions with different effects. There is a transitional zone between them because a number of verbs can be used in both constructions, not because the same pragmatic or semantic effect may manifest itself in a random way by object suppression or oblique encoding. I will also argue further on that these two constructions reflect different stages in the development of antipassive reflexives.

6. Deagentive deaccusatives

Apart from the two subtypes of antipassive reflexives discussed above, I wish to introduce a third type closely related to deaccusatives in the sense that it substitutes oblique (prepositional) marking for the accusative marking used with the non-reflexive verb, while also sharing certain features with anticausatives in the sense of eliminating the agent both from argument structure and from syntax. The type is illustrated in (45):

- (45) Latvian
 [...] *kad ir stipr-s vēj-š,*
 when be.PRS.3 strong-NOM.SG.M wind-NOM.SG
zar-i sita-s pret jumt-u
 branch-NOM.PL **hit.PRS.3-RFL** against roof-ACC.SG

‘When there is a strong wind, the branches hit against the roof.’²⁵

When it comes to finding a non-reflexive counterpart that could serve as a basis for comparison in evaluating the function of the reflexive marker in *sitas*, structures like (46) suggest themselves:

- (46) Latvian
Daudz-i trener-i šād-ās reiz-ēs
 many-NOM.PL.M coach-NOM.PL such-LOC.PL.F occasions-LOC.PL
sit nūj-u pret led-u, skaļi izsaka
hit.PRS.3 stick-ACC.SG against ice-ACC.PL loudly utter.PRS.3
sav-u sašutum-u ...
 RPO-ACC.SG indignation-ACC
 ‘Many coaches hit their sticks against the ice on such occasions and loudly utter their indignation.’²⁶

This would make (45) appear like a kind of anticausative derivation consisting in eliminating the agent from an input structure as in (46). Schematically this could be represented as follows (OImp stands for ‘object of impact’):

V	Ag (Subj)	Theme (Obj)	OImp (Obl)
→ V-RFL		Theme (Subj)	OImp (Obl)

The formulation ‘a kind of’ is added here for several reasons. First, because the canonical anticausative derivation is one reducing a two-place structure to a one-place structure, as in (47) → (48):

- (47) Latvian
Sētniek-s aizvēra vārt-us.
 caretaker-NOM.SG close.PST.3 gate-ACC.PL
 ‘The caretaker closed the gate.’
 (48) *Vārt-i aizvērā-s.*
 gate-NOM.PL close.PST.3-RFL
 ‘The gate closed.’

In (46) and (45) we would have a valency reduction 3 → 2. More importantly, however, one wonders how this can be an anticausative derivation con-

²⁵ https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=989500234473428&id=807198886036898&substory_index=0

²⁶ http://sportacentrs.com/hokejs/dinamo_riga/06092014-scstlivijs_sezonas_gaita_parliecibai_par?is_mobile=1

sidering that ‘hit’ is not a change-of-state verb. In his article on the grammar of hitting and breaking Fillmore (1970) points out that surface-contact verbs do not derive what we now call anticausatives: there is no construction **the window hit* analogous to *the window broke*. Fillmore states this, of course, for English, and other languages might perhaps behave in a slightly different way here. More importantly, Fillmore is referring to the fact that there is no anticausative construction putting the object of impact (corresponding to the grammatical object of the transitive counterpart) in subject position. In (45), it is a theme/medium that becomes subject, but this derivation can certainly not be described as a typical anticausative: the theme/medium moves but this motion is non-translocational and the verb describing it cannot be a change-of-state verb. That this is not really an anticausative derivation can also be seen by comparing the Latvian construction with those of a number of languages that also formally mark the anticausative derivation by means of reflexive forms. In Polish and in Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian, for instance, a non-reflexive form would be used in sentences like (45):

- (49) Polish
*Kamień uderzył (*się) o szybę.*
 stone.NOM.SG hit-PST.3SG.M RFL against window.pane-ACC.SG
 ‘A stone hit against the window-pane.’
- (50) Croatian (example courtesy of Wayles Browne)
*Val-ovi (*se) udaraj-u u obal-u.*
 wave-NOM.PL RFL hit.PRS-3PL in shore-ACC.SG
 ‘The waves hit against the shore.’

Other languages, like Russian, agree with Latvian in using reflexive forms:

- (51) Russian
 [*Kak často my podobny morskim volnam,*
kotor-ye udarjaj-ut-sja ob utes-y...
 which-NOM.PL hit-PRS.3PL-RFL against cliff-ACC.PL
 (metropolitan Antonij Blum, cited from NKRJA)
 ‘[How often do we resemble waves of the sea] that hit against the cliffs.’

If this reflexive derivation is not anticausative, the question arises whether it could be deobjective. We would then expect the input construction to be like (52):

- (52) Latvian
 **Zar-i* *sit* *jumt-u*.
 branch-NOM.PL hit.PRS.3 roof-ACC.SG
 Intended meaning: ‘branches hit the roof’

This, however, is not accepted by native speakers of Latvian, so that a structure like (46) seems to be a better comparandum in trying to establish the effect of the reflexive derivation in (45). Besides, (45) would also be an atypical deobjective in that the argument in subject position is not an agent. After all, the specific feature of antipassives, notably the antipassive reflexives discussed until now, is that they leave the agent unaffected while backgrounding the patient or marking the lack of effect on the patient. In one respect, then, sentences like (45) are similar to deaccusatives, as they have the prepositional marking characteristic of the latter. The nature of the derivation eliminating the agent from argument structure remains, however, mysterious.

The anticausative derivation, as noted, typically denotes a change of state. For purposes of comparison, we could take a verb like ‘cover’, which also involves a surface impact but, unlike ‘hit’, has a holistic implication: a substance comes in contact with all parts of a surface, which becomes completely hidden from sight as a result. The verb ‘cover’, Latvian (*aiz*)*segt*, thereby becomes a change-of-state verb. Compare (53) and (54):

- (53) Latvian
Laur-a *aiz* *laim-es* *vispirms* *aizsedza*
 PN-NOM.SG out.of happiness-GEN.SG first cover.PST.3
sej-u *ar* *rok-ām*.
 face-ACC.SG with hand-DAT.PL
 ‘Out of happiness Laura at first covered her face with her hands.’²⁷

- (54) *Ceļ-š* *aizsedzā-s* *ar* *pārsl-u* *šķidraut-u*.
 road-NOM.SG cover.PST.3-RFL with flake-GEN.PL veil-ACC.SG
 ‘The road became covered with a veil of snowflakes.’²⁸

	SEGT	Ag (Subj)	OImp (Obj)	Theme (Obl)
→	SEGT-RFL		OImp (Subj)	Theme (Obl)

Interestingly, however, *segt* also derives a reflexive taking the theme/medium as a subject; the object covered up then has prepositional marking:

²⁷ <http://news.lv/Diena/2015/08/24/kapa-augsup-lidz-bronzai/print>

²⁸ <http://www.delfi.lv/archive/arturs-kronbergs-cirulputenis.d?id=4499027>

(55) Latvian

Migl-a sāk zust un saul-e
 mist-NOM.SG begin.PRS.3 disappear.INF and sun-NOM.SG

sedza-s ap mums
cover.PRS.3-RFL around 1PL.DAT.PL

[*un jau no paša rīta ir karsta, spiedoša.*]

‘The mist starts dispersing, the sun envelops us (lit. ‘covers itself around us’) [and from the early morning on it is hot and oppressive].’

(Jānis Akurāters, *Kalpa zēna vasara*, 1908)

	SEGT	Ag (Subj)	OImp (Obj)	Theme (Obl)
→	SEGT-RFL		OImp (Subj)	Theme (Obl)
→	SEGT-RFL		Theme (Subj)	OImp (Obl)

Latvian has no corresponding structure for ‘filling’, but something very similar can be found in a certain English use of *fill*. Compare:

(56) *Water fills the reservoirs.*

(57) *It has always been understood that the water that fills into the reservoirs following flood control releases is stored in priority to fill the demands of senior water rights first and then junior water rights second.*²⁹

(58) *The reservoirs fill with water.*

The structure in (55), (57) shows an obvious similarity to (45): in both cases a theme/medium becomes subject. For *sist*, however, there is no corresponding construction with a similar structure as in (54). It would therefore be interesting to know whether there are surface-impact verbs that do not have the holistic implication rendering ‘cover’ and ‘fill’ potentially telic, but are used in the two-fold pattern illustrated by (54) and (55). Such cases do indeed occur occasionally: an example is Latvian *skalot* ‘flush, rinse, wash, flow over sth’. This verb has a three-place argument structure when an agent is involved:

(59) Latvian

Pēc mazgāšan-as trauk-us skalo ar ūden-i.
 after washing-GEN.SG dish-ACC.PL rinse.PRS.3 with water-ACC.SG
 ‘After washing one rinses the dishes with water.’³⁰

²⁹ http://treasurevalleywaterusers.com/TVWUA_Boise_River_Basin_Water_Rights_Refill_Issue.pdf

³⁰ <http://www.birojs.lv/catalog/traukum/oz>

The reflexive *skaloties* occurs in two varieties, with either the theme/medium or the object of impact in subject position:

(60) Latvian

[*Lielisku efektu sniedz pastaiga gar jūras krastu, ļaujot,*
lai ūden-s skaloja-s ap pēd-ām un
 that water-NOM.SG flow.PRS.3-RFL about foot-DAT.PL and
potīt-ēm.
 ankle-DAT.PL

‘[A wonderful effect can be achieved by walking along the seashore, allowing] the water to flow around one’s feet and ankles’³¹

SKALOT-RFL Theme (Subj) OImp (Obl)

(61) *Nakt-s ir gaiš-a, vietām ceļ-š*
 night-NOM.SG be.PRS.3 clear-NOM.SG.F in.places road-NOM.SG
skaloja-s spilgt-ajā pilnmēnes-s gaism-ā.
 flush.PRS.3-RFL bright-LOC.SG full.moon-GEN.SG light-LOC.SG
 ‘The night is clear, in places the road bathes in the bright light of the full moon.’³²

SKALOT-RFL OImp (Subj) Theme (Obl)

In (61) *skalot* is clearly atelic, and the derivation leads to a valency decrease $3 \rightarrow 2$ arguments rather than $2 \rightarrow 1$, as in the case of the typical anticausative, but in other respects this formation is very similar to anticausatives: the agent is removed from argument structure and syntax, and subjecthood shifts to the patient, in this case the object of impact (rather than to the theme/medium). If the verb is rendered telic by the addition of a local adverb, as in *skalot ārā* ‘flush out of sth’, or a telicizing prefix, as in *izskalot* ‘id.’, the result is a canonical change-of-state anticausative:

(62) Latvian

Pārpalik-uš-ie nitrāt-i mūsu klimat-a
 remain-AP.PST-NOM.SG.M.DEF nitrate-NOM.PL 1PL.GEN climate-GEN.SG
apstākļ-os no augsnes izskaloja-s, ...
 circumstance-LOC.PL from soil-GEN.SG flush.out.PRS.3-RFL

³¹ <http://www.delfi.lv/vina/skaistums-un-stils/skaistumkopsana/jura-smiltis-un-refleksoterapija.d?id=38793551>

³² <http://stbn.lv/2011/09/100-km-22h45min/>

'In our climate conditions the remaining nitrates get flushed out of the soil ...'³³

SKALOT-RFL ĀRĀ Theme (Subj) Source (Obl)

Taken together, these examples allow us to identify a series of anticausative-like, but not strictly anticausative reflexive constructions derived from surface-impact verbs. The cases of *segties* and *skaloties* are particularly illuminating as they show the existence of two competing derivations, one with the object of impact and one with the theme/medium in subject position. We can surmise that this twofold derivation is determined by the fact that surface-impact predicates, which imply no change of state either in the theme/medium or in the object of impact, show, in many cases, no clear contrast in affectedness between the theme/medium and the object of impact. Even in the telic variety illustrated in (54), there is no radical change in state beyond contact extending over the whole surface of an object. Differences may occur, however, between individual verbs. The verb *sisties* 'hit against' seems to suggest a stronger physical impact on the part of the theme/medium and potentially a stronger passive affectedness on the part of the object of impact, and this is perhaps the reason why, alongside (45), there is no reflexive derivation putting the object of impact in subject position.

While the reflexive derivation illustrated in (54) and (61) is reminiscent of the anticausative derivation, the one illustrated in (45), (55), and (60) stands further from the anticausative in that the subject is a theme/medium rather than an agent. It also shows a clear affinity with the deaccusative type through the type of encoding used for the object of impact, the semantic role of the subject distinguishes it from deaccusatives as well. In the case of the deaccusative proper, as mentioned above, the subject is an agent. In some cases, language usage sanctions both a classical deaccusative (with an agent subject) and a variety with a theme/medium as subject. This is the case with *dauzīt* 'bang, knock', whose transitive use is illustrated in (63):

- (63) Latvian
 [Aizkraukles pagastā iereibis 1970. gadā dzimis vīrietis]
 niknum-ā **dauzīja durv-is** un izsita durvj-u
 fury-LOC.SG **bang.PST.3 door-ACC.PL** and smash.PST.3 door-GEN.PL
 stikl-u.
 glass-ACC.SG

³³ <http://www.betras.lv/lv/content/augsnes-analizu-rezultatu-izmantosana>

‘[In the civil parish of Aizkraukle an intoxicated man born 1970] furiously banged a door and smashed the door glass.’

On the basis of this we find a deaccusative structure, with an agent in subject position:

- (64) Latvian
 [*Ziedu ielā kādai sievietei kaimiņi traucēja naktsmieru*],
lamājā-s necenzēt-iem vārd-iem un
 swear.PST.3-RFL improper-DAT.PL.M word-DAT.PL and
daudzjā-s pie durv-īm.
bang.PST.3-RFL at door-DAT.PL
 ‘Neighbours disturbed a certain lady’s night rest in Ziedu street, uttering coarse swearwords and banging on the door.’³⁴

And from this we can set apart a deagentive deaccusative in which subjecthood passes from agent to theme (analogous to *sisties*, *skaloties*):

- (65) Latvian
 [*Neliela pastaiga gar pludmali, sacēlās vējš un ne tikai*],
viļņ-i daudzjā-s pret krast-u [...]
 wave-NOM.PL **hit.PST.3-RFL against shore-ACC.SG**
 ‘[A little walk by the seaside, a wind rose and not only that,] waves were hitting against the shore.’³⁵

This deagentive deaccusative is a minor type, and only a few of its representatives are frequently used: *sisties* and *skaloties* would be good examples. Others are of infrequent use, like *slaucīties* ‘sweep, drag along sth’ ← *slaucīt* ‘sweep’ (not in LLVV in this meaning):

- (66) Latvian
Pup-i viņ-ām karājās starp priekškāj-ām
 nipple-NOM.PL 3-DAT.PL.F hang.PST.3 between foreleg-DAT.PL
un ej-ot gandrīz slaucijā-s gar zem-i.
 and walk-CVB almost **sweep.PST.3-RFL along ground-ACC.SG**
 ‘The dugs hung between their fore feet, and often reached almost to

³⁴ <http://www.kurzemnieks.lv/print-node?id=833>

³⁵ <http://celoju.draugiem.lv/celojums/1552536/pec-pieprasijuma-2dala-sala-sajukt-prata-aiz-milestibas>

the ground as they walked.’ (from Andrejs Johansons’ translation of Swift’s description of the female Yahoos in *Gulliver’s Travels*, 1952)

Still others might be occasional formations created *ad hoc* in the literary language, such as *mazgāties* ‘wash, flow over’ ← *mazgāt* ‘wash’ (this meaning absent from LLV) in a novel by Jānis Veselis:

- (67) Latvian
Ausm-a *mazgājā-s* *ap* *māj-u*
 dawn-NOM.SG wash.PST.3-RFL about house-GEN.PL
pakš-iem.
 corner-DAT.PL
 ‘The light of dawn washed the corners of the houses.’ (Jānis Veselis, *Tīrumu ļaudis*, 1927)

We are clearly dealing here with a lexically severely restricted type of reflexives, though occasional productivity is not excluded. The lexical class to which this type of derivation applies is that of surface-impact verbs. It cannot be regarded as fully antipassive, as we may reasonably restrict the notion of antipassive to constructions where the subject is an agent, that is, preservation of the agent of the more basic transitive construction is a defining feature of antipassives (Heaton 2017, 62). In the deagentive deaccusative type the subject position is not occupied by a real agent but with a theme/medium that can be conceived as an ‘immediate cause’ (also called ‘effector’; cf. Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2005, 39–40, 70, *passim* on these notions). A characteristic feature of the antipassive that does appear is the oblique realization of the patient (the object of impact), but subjecthood is transferred to an argument lower in the thematic hierarchy. This transfer of subjecthood from the agent to another argument is also characteristic of anticausatives, but a true anticausative would require subjecthood to be transferred to the patient (the object of impact).

7. Concluding remarks

Assuming that the three types of middle-voice reflexives discussed above (de-objective, deaccusative and deagentive-deaccusative) have been correctly identified, the question arises what their position could be on the semantic map of reflexives and middles. I have started the discussion (in section 2) from metonymic grooming-type reflexives, as verbs belonging to this type have been described as antipassive in the literature. Though I contest this, I think some

authors' failure to distinguish the two types is significant and points to considerable conceptual affinity. I assume, in fact, that the deobjective type has, at least partly, arisen from the grooming-type reflexive (another source being the reciprocal reflexive). Conceptual affinity is one argument in favour of this assumption; the other is that ultimately all reflexive-marked middles develop out of reflexives proper, and the grooming-type reflexive, basically still a kind of reflexive construction but with a conceptually not fully autonomous object that is not represented in syntactic structure, is the first stage in this development, as shown on the semantic map in Fig. 1. It seems reasonable to assume that one line of development leads from the grooming type to the anticausative, whereas another leads to the deobjective. This shift can be seen most clearly in the Latvian 'occupational' subtype of deobjectives: a relaxation of the conceptual association (through inalienable possession) between agent and patient leads to a chain of semantic development of the type 'wash one's own clothes' → 'do one's washing' → 'be engaged / absorbed in washing'. Another way in which reflexives can become deobjective is through their reciprocal function, which seems to be a more plausible source for the behaviour-characterizing subtype. The patient, though now fully autonomous conceptually, is still not represented in syntactic structure because it is backgrounded.

My next assumption is that the diachronic chain of development leads further from the deobjective to the deaccusative. The two types—deobjective and deaccusative—are related in conceptual structure: they are both, semantically speaking, two-place predications, with marking of the low degree of transitivity. This low transitivity manifests itself in low prominence of the patient (which correspondingly is not represented in syntactic structure) and low affectedness of the patient (represented in syntax but with oblique marking) respectively. The appearance of an overt (though oblique-marked) object absent from the source constructions (be it the grooming or the reciprocal type) is an argument in favour of locating the deaccusative to the right of the deobjective, as a further shift in diachronic development. The deaccusative, in other words, presupposes the deobjective. Russian, for instance, has the deobjective type, already described above, and it also displays deaccusative reflexives:³⁶

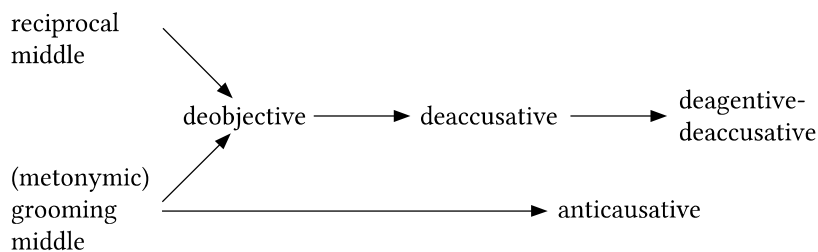
³⁶ It would not be difficult to find apparent exceptions, e.g., French does not seem to have deobjectives but if we are to believe authors like Geniušienė and Janic, cited above, they have deaccusatives. However, though reflexive constructions like *s'apercevoir de* are formally deaccusative, it is difficult to see in what sense they are antipassive.

- (68) Russian
Krot roet zemlj-u.
 mole.NOM.SG root.PRS.3SG earth-ACC.SG
 ‘The/a mole is rooting up the earth.’
- (69) *Krot roet-sja v zeml-e.*
 mole.NOM.SG root.PRS.3SG-RFL in earth-LOC.SG
 ‘The/a mole is rooting about in the earth.’

The next diachronic step, paralleled, in a sense, by the shift from grooming to anticausative, is a change in the semantic role realized in the subject position: subjecthood shifts away from the agent to an argument lower in the thematic hierarchy. In the anticausative this is a patient undergoing a change; in the deagentive-deaccusative this is a theme/medium; the patient, an object of impact, retains its oblique (prepositional) marking. This hypothesis rests on the assumption that the occurrence of the deagentive-deaccusative implies the existence of a deaccusative. As example (5) from Russian points to the existence of deagentive-deaccusative constructions in this language, we also expect it to have a deaccusative, which is borne out by the facts, cf. examples (68) and (69).

It has been pointed out above that the deagentive-deaccusative type resembles the anticausative. I will not, however, assume a connection on the semantic map between the two types, as this would imply (according to the methodology of semantic maps) that a language having a deobjective and an anticausative should also have the deagentive-deaccusative, and that antipassives are ultimately a source for anticausatives, both of which would be manifestly false. The ultimate proposal for a partial semantic map, which remains to be tested on the basis of more comprehensive cross-linguistic data, therefore looks as follows:

Figure 2. Antipassive reflexives and related types of reflexives



At every stage, one can find lexical items straddling the relevant lines of division, cf. (19), (20) for metonymic reflexives and deobjectives, (40) and (41) for deobjectives and deaccusatives, (64), (65) for deaccusatives and deagentive deaccusatives. These may have been the classes of verbs within which the semantic shifts from one type to another could take place.

As pointed out above, there are also verbs that could be said to straddle the line of division between deagentive deaccusatives and anticausatives. Here, however, the existence of such seemingly transitional types should probably not be taken as evidence for an actual transition from one type to another. The similarities between deagentive deaccusatives and anticausatives are the outcome of parallel development, not of a direct diachronic connection between them. One of the aspects of the development from reflexive to middle is the shift of subjecthood from the agent to arguments lower in the thematic hierarchy; in the shift to anticausative function subjecthood shifts to a patient, whereas in the deagentive-deaccusative type it shifts to a theme/medium; the two shifts are independent of each other but represent a common drift. The lack of a direct diachronic relationship does not preclude interaction between the two types, based on their structural and conceptual similarities.

The diagram presented in Figure 2 is based mainly on Latvian, and is to be understood as a working hypothesis for a semantic map to be tested by taking into account the data of a greater number of languages as well as diachronic evidence. More cross-linguistic evidence is necessary to assess whether more or fewer distinct types are needed for the purposes of cross-linguistic comparison. At the present stage, I want to present it as material for a semantic map. Working out the details is a task for future research.

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GRAMMATICAL ABBREVIATIONS

ACC — accusative, ADJ — adjective, AP — active participle, COMP — comparative, CVB — converb, DAT — dative, DEF — definite, DELIM — delimitative, DEM — demonstrative, DIM — diminutive, F — feminine, FUT — future, GEN — genitive, IMP — imperative, INDEF — indefinite, INF — infinitive,

INS — instrumental, LOC — locative, M — masculine, N — neuter, NEG — negation, NOM — nominative, PA — active participle, PL — plural, PLN — place name, PN — personal name, PP — passive participle, PRS — present, PST — past, REL — relative pronoun, RFL — reflexive, RPO — reflexive possessive, SG — singular, TEL — telicizing prefix

ABBREVIATIONS OF SOURCES

LLVV — *Latviešu literārās valodas vārdnīca* [Dictionary of Literary Latvian], <http://www.tezaurs.lv/llvv>
ME — *K. Mühlhach's lettisch-deutsches Wörterbuch, redigiert, ergänzt und fortgesetzt von J. Endzelīns*. Riga: Lettisches Bildungsministerium, 1923–1932.
NKRJA — *Narodnyj korpus russkogo jazyka* [Russian National Corpus], <http://www.ruscorpora.ru>

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