

Rethinking Reflexivity:

SJA/SE-verbs in Russian and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian

By

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a comparative study of the class of verbs commonly termed “reflexive” in Russian and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS). These verbs occur with the affix *-sja* in Russian and with the clitic *se* in BCS. Despite the fact that they are commonly called reflexive, they do not necessarily refer to reflexive events in which the same entity is both agent and patient.. The analysis has an emphasis on semantics and uses Cognitive Grammar as a framework to determine the semantic prototypes for this group of verbs in each language. It uses as a starting point Suzanne Kemmer’s (1993) monograph on middle voice, which shows that Russian is a middle-marking language in which the light form *-sja* denotes middle voice and the heavy form *sebja* denotes true reflexivity. The study hypothesizes that Kemmer’s analysis is accurate for Russian, but not for some other Slavic languages, namely BCS. Quantitative and qualitative analysis shows that in Russian the semantic prototype for verbs with *-sja* is MIDDLE, while in BCS the prototype for verbs with *se* is REFLEXIVE. The study defines semantic types for this group of verbs including REFLEXIVE, POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE, RECIPROCAL, IMPERSONAL, PASSIVE, MIDDLE and BENEFACTIVE and sets up diagnostic tests for determining REFLEXIVE, POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE, and RECIPROCAL events. Quantitative analysis is based on data collected from the Parasol parallel corpus from three parallel texts and shows that both languages have MIDDLE as the most frequent semantic type for *SE*-verbs for both languages, but also that that Russian sometimes uses a heavy form for REFLEXIVE, POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE, or RECIPROCAL semantic types where BCS has a light form *SE*-verb. Qualitative data shows that BCS *SE*-verbs occur in various situations unique to BCS and not in Russian, including across-the-board dependencies, past passive participles formed from *SE*-verbs, and *se* modified by adjectives as a noun or

pronoun would be modified. The combined quantitative and qualitative analysis shows that BCS *SE*-verbs maintain the syntactic structure of REFLEXIVE verbs, pointing to the conclusion that the prototype for BCS *SE*-verbs is REFLEXIVE, while the prototype for these verbs in Russian is MIDDLE.

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Forward

This dissertation investigates the class of verbs commonly termed “reflexive” in Russian and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS) with an emphasis on semantics, Cognitive Grammar, and a comparative typology of Slavic languages. They occur in Russian with the affix *-sja* and in BCS with the clitic *se*. This group verbs as a whole are termed *SE*-verbs in this dissertation, as a generic way to identify them in both Russian and BCS. When only referring to the Russian verbs in Chapter 3, they are called *SJA*-verbs. As a semantic study employing Cognitive Grammar, it describes and defines the meanings of these verbs, establishing semantic prototypes for these verbs in each of the languages. As a typological study, it establishes typological differences in the verbal systems between East and South Slavic languages. However, the origins of this study are in second-language learning, and it is my hope that the findings will have an impact on how Slavic languages are taught and how second-language learners encounter the semantics of this group of verbs.

My own experience with Russian and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian began in a university classroom. The span of time in which I conducted research for this project ran parallel to my studying Croatian and teaching Russian in university classrooms. So my thoughts about these verbs have inevitably been influenced by what happens in a second-language classroom. As I have observed the experiences of my students and of myself, I have been forced to consider and reconsider how these verbs are presented and how non-native speakers learn to interpret their meanings. Those observations led me to want to understand how native speakers process the meanings of these verbs. Cognitive Grammar was a natural fit for a study that would seek to better understand how speakers think about the meaning of this specific set of verbs.

As a non-native speaker of Russian, I had often noticed my own frequent confusion about the semantics of reflexive verbs. Having learned at the elementary level of study that these verbs were reflexive and that the affix *-sja* corresponded to the reflexive pronoun *sebjja* ‘self’, I had quickly assimilated the idea that these verbs referred to events that involved a subject doing something to itself. This idea seemed to work with the first few reflexive verbs I had learned, which were presented in opposition to a non-reflexive verb. It was simple to understand that: *brit'*, ‘shave’ and *myt'* ‘wash’ are transitive verbs, and *brit'sja* ‘shave oneself’ and *myt'sja* ‘wash oneself’ are reflexive. It seemed a bit more complicated when I encountered other pairs such as *zakryvat'/zakryvat'sja*, ‘close’ as they appeared in utterances such as *Dver' zakryvaetsja*, ‘The door closes’. I can recall even noting to myself that this utterance was not really reflexive, because the door does not actually close itself. And, yet, even when an instructor casually used a word such as middle or intransitive to describe the event, I continued to assume that these verbs were just some subset of reflexive, and they still somehow referred to the subject doing something to itself. As my experience with Russian progressed, the notion of reflexivity continued to become more complicated, especially when I began to encounter more verbs that could not be interpreted as reflexive events, including *bojat'sja* ‘be afraid’ and *xotet'sja* ‘want’. And while these verbs were quickly learned and accepted because of their frequency, I often encountered new verbs with the prefix *-sja* and always began with the notion of reflexivity when trying to interpret their meaning. When I could not make any sense about how an utterance had anything to do with doing something to oneself, I would begin to create metaphors in my mind to explain how the given verb was really reflexive, but just got interpreted differently in this instance or even in most cases. This practice became increasingly exhausting and frustrating as

my study of the language continued. I believe at some point, I must have thrown my hands in the air, rolled my eyes and made some comment about the “complicated Russian language.”

Perhaps my experience seems cliché or exaggerated. Perhaps I remember it as more dramatic and confusing than it was. Perhaps the reflexive act of examining oneself as a learner is too subjective to be useful. However, when I began teaching Elementary Russian to university students, I noticed that they would often go through the exact same process I had. I, like my own instructors had with me, told my students a white lie about this group of verbs. I told them that they were reflexive. I labeled them this way on worksheets, just as they were labeled this way in the textbook. I even explained the notion that *-sja* comes from the reflexive pronoun *sebjja* ‘self’. I watched lights go on as they noted down mentally that *-sja* means ‘self’. And then I listened over the next few months as they began to create the same confusing metaphors that I would create as an early student of Russian. I even heard students explain to each other how a given verb is “sort of like doing something to oneself.” And I watched them become increasingly troubled as they tried to make sense of things they would read in Russian. Quickly, I began to regret ever telling the white lie about reflexive verbs. Some little lies are necessary in early language learning. Clearly, this one was a problem.

During my master’s level coursework, I began to study the structure of Russian. Reading several linguistic articles about the semantics and structure of so-called reflexive verbs in Russian, including the works of Babby (1975), Israeli (1997), and Brecht and Levine (1985). For example, Babby’s study states that *-sja* marks a removed direct object or derived intransitivity (1975:352). These studies opened my eyes to what might be the truer story behind this group of verbs. I realized that my understanding of how to understand and interpret these verbs as a non-native speaker needed to be seriously reevaluated, both for my own knowledge of Russian and

for the sake of my students. I began to learn to refer to the verbs in more concrete semantic terms, with more deliberate consideration of their actual meaning and usage, adding words like intransitive, middle, and procedural to my vocabulary when discussing their meanings.

By the time I began my own study of Croatian, I was already thinking more deeply about semantics in language and about verbal categories such as aspect and voice. But my encounters with the so-called reflexive verbs in Croatian brought a new complication. I was prepared to consider the varied semantic categories of these verbs, but I was not prepared for the fact that they were formed with a clitic. The reflexive clitic *se* actually is reflexive in many cases. I saw places where it stood in as a pronoun for a specific person or thing. Since my first eleven years of experience with Slavic languages involved only Russian, I could not help but constantly compare Croatian to my pre-existing knowledge of Russian. I noticed the similarities, but more often I noticed the differences.

At the same time, I began to explore the notion of linguistic typology and verbal categories while studying with Stephen Dickey and focusing on his comparative work on verbal aspect in Slavic. My MA study included some comparative research on verbs of communication in Russian and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian. At some point in my early doctoral studies, my thoughts about reflexive verbs were joined with the idea of comparative work on verbal categories, and the research for this dissertation was born.

I knew that the word “middle” would become important as I began to study the semantic nature of this group of reflexive verbs. Quite quickly, I found Suzanne Kemmer’s monograph, *The Middle Voice*. In it, she introduces the idea of middle-marking languages, in which markers, such as Russian *-sja*, mark middle voice and not reflexive, while heavy forms, such as Russian *sebjja*, mark reflexive semantics. Kemmer identified Russian as one of the middle-marking

languages, but made no comments about other Slavic languages. I realized that her comments about Russian might not hold true for other languages, despite the fact that Slavic languages often get grouped together (and even subsumed under Russian) in linguistic typologies. Since I was also beginning study of Polish at that time, I decided a good starting point for this project would be to test the basic idea of her hypothesis about middle-marking languages against BCS and Polish. In the end, including detailed data for all three languages turned out to be too broad for this dissertation. So what is presented here is only detailed analysis for Russian and BCS. However, some basic comments about Polish are included in the conclusion in Chapter 6.

Parallel to the years in which this research took place, something else was happening in the field of linguistics. The field of corpus linguistics was expanding rapidly and possibilities for parallel corpus work were beginning to appear. Some of these were options that had not even existed when the research project began. As a result, this project also became a study, for me, in the changing field of comparative linguistics.

After a personal leave of absence and break from work on the research project, I returned to my research to find an excellent tool in the parallel corpus, ParaSol (parasolcorpus.org), housed at the University of Bern. This corpus of post-war belletristic texts representing all Slavic languages and several Romance and Germanic languages appeared at some point in the early days of my research. However, it has been greatly expanded both in terms of size and functionality in very recent years. To my delight, it proved to be a productive way to find data to test my hypothesis for this project. What follows, then, is the result of an exploration of the semantics of the so-called “reflexive” verbs, using both parallel corpus data and some more traditional methods of manual data collection. It is my hope that this research will be a starting

place for more comparative research on the semantics of these verbs in other Slavic languages and in diachronic analysis.

Chapter 1: Introduction and Methodology

1.0. Purpose

This dissertation is a study of the semantics of those verbs commonly called reflexive in Slavic languages, specifically in Russian and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian. They occur with the affix *-sja* in Russian and with the clitic *se* in BCS, and are termed *SE*-verbs in this study. The study uses Cognitive Grammar as a framework for establishing semantic prototypes and networks for these verbs in both languages. It also establishes typological differences in the verbal systems between East and South Slavic languages. The study uses examples collected from the ParaSol parallel corpus to show semantic types for these verbs and establish some relative prominence of the types in each language.

The research included here focuses on rethinking the nature of reflexivity in this class of verbs and questioning whether they should actually be identified as reflexive in Russian and BCS. The study focuses on a discussion of the semantics of this class, echoing the work of Sergey Say (2010), which states that a definition of this class must take into consideration semantics in addition to derivation. In a reflexive predicate, the agent and patient are co-referential. The lexical verbs that express such actions are generally agentive in nature, meaning that they are semantically transitive verbs that involve an agent directly acting upon a patient. Such actions are reflexive when the agent and patient are the same entity. In English such actions are rendered with an agentive verb and the use of ‘self’ and its forms. Reflexive verbs in English include *hate oneself*, *bathe oneself*, and *hit oneself*. Note that all of these base verbs (*hate*, *bathe*, *hit*) are English transitive verbs. Likewise, transitive variants of certain verbs (that are transitive

in only certain meanings) can also be reflexive. One such example is *see oneself*, when used in a literal, transitive meaning such as *see oneself in the mirror*, or *see oneself in a dream*.¹

The study is a synchronic analysis of *SE*-verbs, that is, verbs in Slavic that carry the historically reflexive marker, either as an affix or a pronominal clitic, yet the idea of comparing verbs in the class of so-called reflexive verbs requires some degree of diachronic linguistic knowledge and analysis. These verbs are commonly called reflexive because they include an affix (*-sja*) or clitic (*se*) that is etymologically related to the reflexive pronoun *sebjja*. From a comparative perspective, we assume this class of verbs to be related across Slavic languages because the verbs are etymologically related as a class of verbs combined with the short-form reflexive pronoun. A larger scale project might look carefully at how this development took place on a semantic level and what changes happened in each language with the semantics of this class of verbs over time. In fact, the results of this study show that such a diachronic study would be of great interest and importance in establishing linguistic typologies among the Slavic languages.

However, what follows here is purely a synchronic study. The purpose is to evaluate and determine the semantics of these verbs in contemporary language. The forward describes some of the challenges with regard to second-language learning of the contemporary languages. This study is focused on teasing out the synchronic situation as it exists today. In fact, it shows that, semantically, these verbs vary significantly between Russian and BCS. For this reason, examples used are from 20th century literature and relatively recent Internet postings: all examples of the

¹ By transitive variant, I refer to a transitive meaning of a given verb that can be either transitive or intransitive. English *see* can be either intransitive, e.g., *I cannot see* or transitive, e.g., *I see the book*. The transitive meanings of such verbs sometimes can be REFLEXIVE.

contemporary languages. Future research could include a more detailed diachronic study. This possibility is discussed in more detail in the conclusion in Chapter 6.

1.1. Cognitive Grammar

In order to compare the semantics in Russian and BCS of the so-called reflexive verbs, a theoretical framework is necessary. The focus of the study is on analyzing the semantic nature of this specific group of verbs that have the *-sja* affix in Russian and the *se* clitic in BCS. Cognitive Grammar (CG), and specifically semantic prototypes, as defined by Ronald Langacker (1987), is used in order to explain the framework for the semantic types found in these verbs. While Kemmer's (1993) work on middle verbs mentioned in the forward essentially shows that middle voice is prototypical for her middle-marking languages, this dissertation uses CG to compare Russian and BCS and determines semantic prototypes for this group of verbs in each language. CG is utilized to explain semantics of Slavic verbs and verbal systems by Dickey (2000), Nessel (2000), and Danaher (2003), among others. This study uses a similar approach, determining a prototype for Slavic *SE*-verbs in each of the languages examined.

CG asserts that meaning is central to language and attempts to explain structures in language according to the cognitive processes of the human mind. It approaches semantics in a framework that attempts to understand the way that the mind of a native speaker understands and interprets lexical tokens or grammatical categories. Danaher's (2007) explanation of CG stresses that with this approach, "meaning is central to all linguistic matters." He states that CG is a "non-formal, image-based understanding of grammar [that] does not lead to a focus on uncovering 'deep' grammatical structure or a set of grammatical universals." CG assumes that linguistic units are not semantically empty, but rather all have meaning.

Because CG is concerned with human cognition, it uses construal as a basic concept. Danaher states that “one and the same real entity (person, thing, event) can be construed in different ways depending on how the speaker construes or views the entity.” Construal is important because according to Langacker (1987) meaning is not derived “in any unique or mechanical way from the nature of the objective situation it describes.” Rather, construal is determined by the language produced by the speaker, such that a given entity can be construed in various ways. This is the nature of human cognition and its relationship with language. Construal is important for the analysis of *SE*-verbs in this dissertation.

CG establishes semantic networks that indicate the ways in which different meanings for a given lexeme or grammatical category are related via shared features. It identifies various meanings for a given lexeme or grammatical category and establishes a map, or network, to describe how the meanings may be related to each other in human cognitive processes. For example, the English lexeme “tree” may conjure various ideas, including an oak tree, a fir tree, a diagram of related management positions in an organization, and a drawing of family relationships. All of these may be identified with the lexeme “tree.” They may all exist in a network, in which an oak tree (with a tall trunk, long branches, and green leaves) is the prototypical meaning, and yet all other meanings are present in the network and are related to the prototype or other meanings through some shared characteristics. An example of a network is given in Figure 1, which shows Langacker’s (1990) network for the verb *run*. The prototype in this network, indicated by the darker outline, is “rapid 2-legged locomotion by a person,” and other meanings are shown in the network in relation to this prototype.

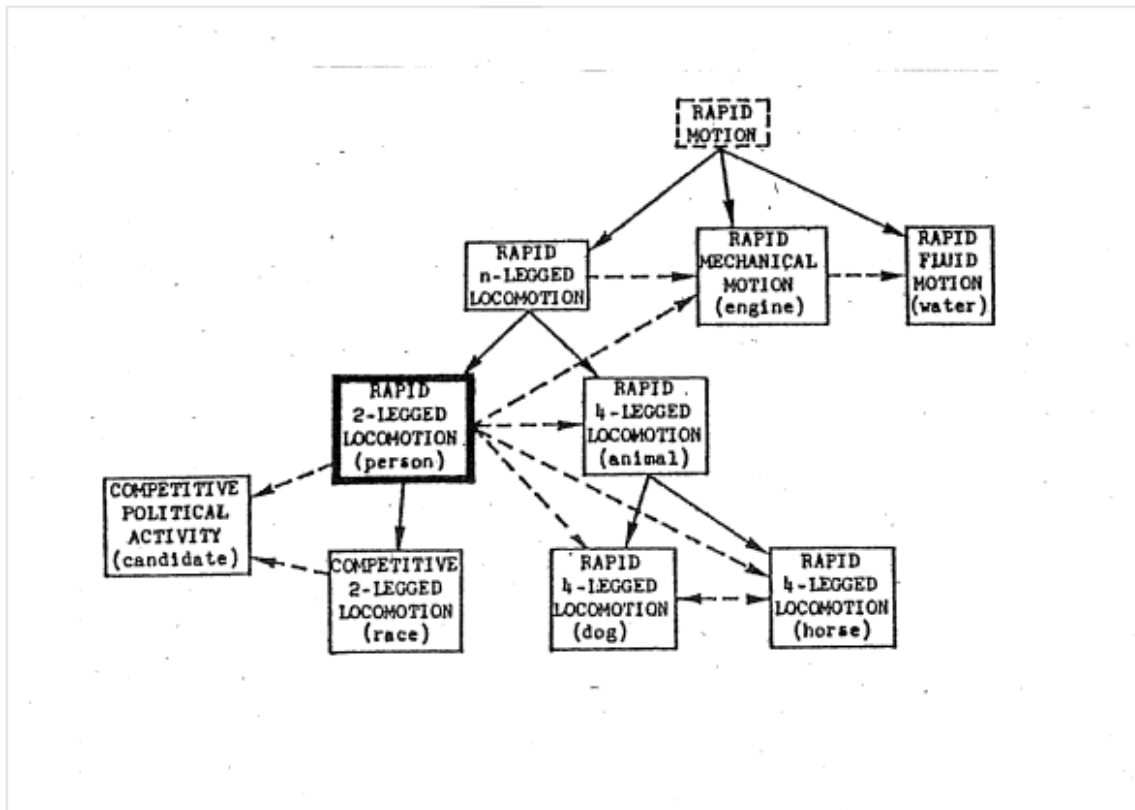


Figure 1. Langacker's (1990: 267) semantic network for the verb *run*

The prototype is an important part of this model and is an essential part of this investigation of Slavic verbs. Langacker describes the nature of a prototype in his framework:

Experimental work in cognitive psychology (pioneered by Rosch, e.g. 1973, 1975, 1977, 1978) has demonstrated that categories are often organized around prototypical instances. These are the instances people accept as common, run-of-the-mill, garden-variety members of the category. They generally occur the most frequently in our experience, they tend to be learned the earliest, and can be identified experimentally in a variety of ways (e.g., respondents accept them as

class members with the shortest response latencies). Nonprototypical instances are assimilated to a class or category to the extent that they can be construed as matching or approximating the prototype. Membership is therefore a matter of degree: prototypical instances are full, central members of the category, whereas other instances form a gradation from central to peripheral depending on how far and in what ways they deviate from the prototype. Moreover, the members are not necessarily a uniquely defined set, since there is no specific degree of departure from the prototype beyond which a person is absolutely incapable of perceiving a similarity. The best we can say, as a general matter, is that substantial dissimilarity to the prototype greatly diminishes the probability that a person will make that categorization. (Langacker 1987, 17–18)

This definition is important for the analysis that follows. The prototype is usually, but not always, the most frequent member in the class. There can be other factors or features that may indicate that a specific member is a prototype and a “full, central member of the category.” Prototypes are the most salient members of the network, but not necessarily the most frequent. The ideas that prototypes are often learned the earliest and respondents quickly identify them as class members is important and is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5 with regard to the prototype for BCS.

1.2. Data Collection and Method

The hypothesis for this project is that the semantic prototype for contemporary Russian verbs with *-sja* is MIDDLE, while the prototype for contemporary BCS *SE*-verbs is REFLEXIVE. In order to test the hypothesis, comparative data was needed to show the representation of various

semantic types in the languages. Gathering and compiling meaningful data for the project proved more difficult than originally expected. This situation was made more interesting because the project spanned over six years and occurred during a time when options for corpus research were changing and expanding rapidly. So, over the course of the project, the data collection methodology changed several times to best fit the project and a sound means of presenting meaningful data.

I began the process by simply reading and comparing parallel texts including parallel translations of J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix*. This exercise proved somewhat challenging, because it was often hard to pair tokens of *SE*-verbs between the two languages. Often one language would have a *SE*-verb while another had some other construction. This seemed to occur most often with a *SE*-verb occurring in Russian and something else occurring in BCS. It was also clear that Russian had a greater number of tokens of *SE*-verbs, but it was difficult to establish distinct patterns about the nature of the semantic types other than to say that there was a huge preponderance that fell into the definition of MIDDLE, a semantic type of verbs defined in 2.6 as a one-participant subject-focused event. Very few that were REFLEXIVE showed up in the collection of samples. This occurred in the data for both languages.

At the same time, my research included Internet searches on Google to find examples of verbs in an attempt to gather some kind of information about frequency of specific verbs or phrases. In a few places in the dissertation there are mentions of this research, and some examples from these searches are used with sources given in the footnotes. For consistency, I conducted searches using Google as the search engine and limiting hits to the target language. Searches were conducted in the local orthography (Cyrillic for Russian, Latin for Croatian and Serbian, as well as some Cyrillic for Serbian variants). The searches were for individual lexemes

or phrases in order to test the existence of some unusual constructions found in reading parallel translations. The only examples I selected were those found on websites originating in countries where the target language is spoken by native speakers, noted by respective URL extensions .ru (Russia), .hr (Croatia), .rs (Serbia), or .pl (Poland). I did allow for examples from blog and forums, but, as with all other examples, I limited those to blogs or forums in the original country for the language, in an effort to limit the data to language samples provided by native speakers. In some cases, the examples include some minor spelling or punctuation errors. Those have been left unchanged in the examples given in the dissertation, in order to preserve the authentic language samples. Errors are noted, but left unchanged. My data deliberately includes these kinds of vernacular examples as valuable linguistic data. Diemer (2012) points out that while Google has limited use for quantitative corpus linguistical analysis, it is a useful place to find examples for lexical and semantic studies. Non-formal use of language found on blogs and other kinds of Internet postings are good for extracting qualitative information about language. My experience showed this to be true. Open Internet searches proved fruitful for gathering specific examples and for getting a basic idea about the relative number of occurrences of specific verbs or phrases in contemporary language. However, gathering meaningful quantitative data from open Internet searches was also basically impossible, since each hit in a given search needed to be carefully considered for context and other issues in the utterance, and there are situations in which Google can pull multiple hits for the same website, or an occurrence of a particular text appears on multiple websites.

I did some additional parallel research by pulling lists of verbs from Russian and Croatian dictionaries listed in the bibliography in an attempt to categorize long lists of the verbs into semantic types. This method also proved complicated for several reasons. In Russian, many

verbs with *-sja* had multiple meanings. For a given verb, there might be one meaning is RECIPROCAL and also the potential that the verb could be used in a PASSIVE construction. For example *videt'sja*, 'see-[*sja*]' can be a RECIPROCAL, 'see each other' or a PASSIVE, 'be seen/visible'. In BCS the dictionary work was even more challenging, but for different reasons. BCS verbs were often not listed individually as *SE*-verbs. Since the clitic is not a part of the verb, sometimes the *se* variant would be listed as part of the definition. Sometimes a *se* variant might occur in attested language, but it might not be a part of the dictionary listing or definition. Additionally, not all of the semantic types defined herein can fit neatly into a list of dictionary entries. PASSIVE and IMPERSONAL are both constructions and not a specific types of verbs. They may occur with *SE*-verbs that in another construction have a different semantic function. A neat and countable list of these verbs with their semantic types was not to be easily assembled for any strong research benefit.

The most productive place to find and sort parallel examples was the ParaSol parallel corpus of Slavic texts (parasol.unibe.ch), housed at the University of Bern. This corpus of twentieth century post-World War II belletristic texts includes most contemporary Slavic languages (Bulgarian, Belarusian, Czech, Croatian, Macedonian, Polish, Russian, Slovak, Slovene, Serbian, Ukrainian, and Upper Sorbian) and multiple Romance, Germanic, Baltic, and other languages. The details of data collection from ParaSol are described in more detail in Chapter 5. Data pulled from parallel translations of three texts in the ParaSol corpus (one original English, one original Russian, one original Serbian) is used for the meat of the comparative analysis found in Chapter 5. Data sets from that research are made available on the TROLLing Dataverse of the Tromsø Repository of Language and Linguistics (<http://opendata.uit.no/dvn/dv/trolling>).

1.3. Overview

Analysis in the subsequent chapters shows that the inventory of semantic types for Slavic *SE*-verbs in Russian and BCS are similar in both languages. It also shows that MIDDLE semantic types occur most frequently in both languages. However, while MIDDLE is the prototype for Russian, it is not the prototype for BCS. BCS retains REFLEXIVE as the prototype for this verb, as shown by the highly referential nature of the clitic *se*, which leads speakers to continue to interpret reflexive and anaphoric meaning for *se* in many of these verbs.

Chapter 2 discusses previous literature on the subject, and presents some preliminaries for the project. It also provides definitions and diagnostics for all of the semantic types of *SE*-verbs analyzed in the research project. Chapter 3 presents all of the semantic types for Russian *SE*-verbs and includes examples for each. Chapter 4 presents the semantic types and examples for BCS along with examples. Chapter 5 presents the results of corpus data collection, analysis of other important examples, and provides a semantic network with the prototype for each language. Finally, Chapter 6 is a conclusion, including suggested areas for future study, brief comments about Polish with regard to the topic, and some preliminary ideas about the phenomenon of incorporation as a driving factor for the semantic differences between Russian and BCS in this group of verbs.

Chapter 2: Semantic Types of *SE*-verbs: Definitions and Preliminaries

2.0. Introduction and Background.

This chapter offers a universal conceptual definition of reflexivity as a semantic characteristic of verbs in any language. It then expands that definition to describe the specific qualities of certain verbs that are termed REFLEXIVE² in this dissertation. In addition to REFLEXIVE, it defines RECIPROCAL and POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE meanings as closely related to REFLEXIVE. It then defines PASSIVE and IMPERSONAL as distinct constructions in which Slavic *SE*-verbs are used. Finally, it introduces the concept of MIDDLE and provides a definition of MIDDLE as it relates to certain verbs treated throughout the dissertation.

The six major categories (indicated in small caps) are employed to semantically classify Slavic *SE*-verbs. For Russian a BENEFACTIVE category is also included in and described in detail in Chapter 3. The six categories correspond roughly to those presented in the previous literature; however, the presentation of semantic notions with regard to such verbs varies in detail and precision through the literature. The previous literature on *SE*-verbs in Slavic can be divided into four types: 1) general linguistic typologies of *SE*-verbs, 2) reference grammars for each of the respective languages, 3) studies of *SE*-verbs in each of the respective languages, and 4) comparative studies of *SE*-verbs in Slavic. Literature of all four types is considered briefly here. Though the verbs are often termed “reflexive” in this literature, I have preserved my naming

² Throughout the dissertation, semantic types specifically defined in this project are identified with small caps to distinguish them from other uses of the same words. Small caps indicate a reference to the semantic types defined in each of the definitions given in Chapter 2.

scheme and refer to them as *SE*-verbs when discussing the literature in order to avoid some confusion.

While the treatment of types of *SE*-verbs in Russian varies, most works list the general categories presented in Table 1, which presents the inventory of semantic types from prior literature, noting citations when necessary for individual examples or types and giving exceptions and variation to terminology with the relevant author in the far right column. When not cited, the type and example are represented generally and consistently in prior literature.

Type	Example, with citation as necessary	Variations in terminology
<i>reflexiva tantum</i>	<i>bojat'sja/po-</i> , 'be afraid'	
<i>true reflexive</i> (agent acts upon itself)	<i>myt'sja/u-</i> , 'wash oneself'	Gerritsen (1990: 67), <i>primary reflexive</i> subdivided into <i>actional reflexives</i> in which the entire body is involved (e.g., <i>brosat'sja</i> 'throw oneself') or <i>agentive reflexives</i> in which part of the body acts on another part (e.g., <i>myt'sja</i> 'wash oneself')
<i>reciprocal</i>	<i>vstrečat'sja/vstretit'sja</i> , 'meet (each other)'	
<i>agent-attributive</i>	<i>sobaka kusaetsja</i> ^{impf} , 'the dog bites/the dog is a biter', Brecht and Levine (1985: 121)	Timberlake (2004: 346), <i>habitual</i> Gerritsen (1990: 98), <i>potential active</i> <i>Russkaja grammatika</i> , Švedova (RG) and Vinogradov (1986), <i>aktivno-bezob''ektnyj</i> , Offord (2004: 368), <i>characteristic</i> ;
<i>impersonal</i>	<i>ne rabotaetsja</i> ^{impf} , 'doesn't feel like working'	Gerritsen (1990: 173). <i>proper impersonals</i> Timberlake (2004: 346), <i>modal impersonals</i>
<i>intransitive</i>	<i>vozvraščat'sja/vozvratit'sja</i> , 'return (intransitive)', Timberlake (2004: 346),	

<i>passive</i>	<i>tovar pokupaetsja</i> ^{impf} , 'goods are being bought', Offord (2004: 368)	
<i>phenomenological</i>	<i>zelenet'(sja)</i> ^{impf} 'become (show) green', Timberlake (2004: 346)	Gerritsen (1990: 226) has these as a <i>phenomenological</i> subset of <i>medial</i> and <i>processual decausatives</i>
<i>procedural</i> (-sja combined with prefix)	<i>naest'sja</i> ^{pf} 'eat one's fill', Offord (2004: 368)	Timberlake (2004: 347), <i>quantifying</i> This category is omitted from discussion of <i>SE</i> -verbs in the RG, but is included in discussion of aspect and procedural verbs (<i>sposoby</i> <i>glagol'nogo dejstvija</i> ; 1413)
<i>quasi- synonymous</i>	<i>rešit</i> ^{pf} and <i>rešit'sja</i> ^{pf} , both 'decide', RG, Gerritsen (88) and Israeli (1997)	Israeli's treatment is the most thorough
<i>characterizing</i>	<i>mašina xorošo</i> <i>zavoditsja</i> ^{impf} , 'the car starts well', RG ³	
<i>general</i>	<i>serdit'sja/ras-</i> , 'be angry', RG	
<i>collateral</i> (<i>pobočno</i> <i>vozvratnyj</i>)	<i>cepljat'sja</i> ^{impf} , <i>za ruku</i> , 'catch by the hand', RG	
<i>benefactive</i> , (indicates an action made for the benefit of the implied agent)	<i>stroit'sja</i> ^{impf} , 'build (a home for oneself), Gerritsen (85) and RG	
<i>possessive</i> (indicates use of a part of the body)	<i>skalit'sja/o-</i> , 'bare one's teeth' Gerritsen (80) and Knjazev (1985: 22)	

Table 1. Semantic types of Russian -SJA verbs from prior literature

³ These types are essentially the same as agent-attributive, but the RG separates them out as a unique category, so I have reflected that here as part of the review of literature.

In addition to the semantic types listed above, Gerritsen generally provides the most thorough and detailed categorization of Russian *SE*-verbs, identifying detailed categories such as *decausative*, *causative*, *autocausative*, *medial* and *processual*, of which *autocausative*, *medial* and *decausative* are considered MIDDLE verbs according to the definition used in this dissertation. The *intransitive*, *phenomenological* and *agent-attributive* meanings described above are also considered MIDDLE in the analysis in this dissertation. Many of the categories mentioned above are categorized in different ways in this dissertation. For example, the RG *collateral* verbs are included in POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE verbs, which correspond to the *possessive* verbs identified by Gerritsen (80).

BCS *SE*-verbs are examined with varying degrees of detail in different sources. The primary categories for these verbs are similar to those identified for Russian *SE*-verbs. Several primary BCS sources including Stevanović (1986), Barić (1995), Hammond (2005), and Jahić (2004: 261) list three major types of *SE*-verbs (*povratni glagoli* ‘reflexive verbs’) along with two other functions of the reflexive pronoun *se*. Most works list the general categories as presented in Table 2, which, like Table 1 for Russian, presents the inventory of semantic types of BCS *SE*-verbs from prior literature, noting citations when necessary for individual examples or types and giving exceptions and variation to terminology in the far right column. When not cited, the type and example are represented generally and consistently in prior literature.

Type	Example, with citation as necessary	Variations in terminology
<i>true reflexive (pravi povratni)</i>	<i>kupati se/o-</i> , ‘bathe’	
<i>reciprocal (uzajamno povratni or recipročni)</i>	<i>ljubiti se/po-</i> , ‘kiss each other’	
<i>false reflexives (nepravi povratni)</i> (usually includes all verbs not in the other categories)	Includes: <i>reflexiva tantum, bojati se/po-</i> , ‘be afraid’	Stevanović (1986) and Barić (1995), <i>medial (medijalni)</i> Barić (231) states that <i>medijalni</i> include occurrences in nature (e.g., <i>mračiti se</i> , ‘become dark’) and in people (e.g., <i>brinuti se</i> ‘worry’)
<i>aktivno bezobjektne (agent-attributive)</i>	<i>on se tuče^{impf} = on tuče druge,</i> ⁴ ‘he hits (others), he is a hitter’, Belaj (2001: 2)	
<i>impersonal</i>	<i>govori^{impf} se da</i> , ‘it is said that’	
<i>passive</i>	<i>meso se mora jesti^{impf}</i> , ‘the meat must be eaten’	
<i>intransitives</i>	<i>vraćati se/vratiti se</i> , ‘return (intransitive)’	
<i>inclinational</i>	<i>Ne spava^{impf} mi se</i> , ‘I cannot sleep’, Barić (232) ⁵	
<i>procedurals</i>	<i>najesti se^{pf}</i> , ‘eat one’s fill’, Barić (232)	

Table 2. Semantic types of BCS *SE*-verbs from prior literature

⁴ This construction is similar to Russian agent attributive. It is treated in more detail in Chapter 4. Agent attributive is quite infrequent in BCS. Its presentation in the literature generally reflects the fact that the categories of Russian *SE*-verbs are often attributed to BCS *SE*-verbs, regardless of the productivity or frequency of the types in BCS. This is one example of an agent attributive in BCS, but they are rare.

⁵ The inclinational type is subsumed in IMPERSONAL constructions in this dissertation.

2.1. REFLEXIVE Verbs.

The term “reflexive” is problematic for investigations of verbs with etymologically reflexive pronouns or affixes for several reasons. Much of the confusion occurs because the semantic notion of reflexivity does not consistently correspond to the actual semantics of verbs with reflexive pronouns. The aim of this dissertation is to explain the semantics of a class of verbs in Slavic languages that are commonly termed ‘reflexive verbs’ (Rus *vozvratnye glagoly*, BCS *povratni glagoli*). They have traditionally been labeled in this way because the verbs are formed with the addition of the light (short-form) reflexive pronoun, which appears as *-sja*, in Russian (Rus) and *se* in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS). As defined by Kemmer (1993) in her analysis of multiple languages that employ light and heavy reflexive pronouns, light pronouns are used in contrast to the heavy (long-form) reflexive pronoun. In Slavic, the heavy forms appear in contemporary languages as Rus *sebjja* and BCS *sebe*, while the corresponding light forms are the suffix *-sja* and the clitic *se*. Kemmer (25) notes that in languages like Russian and Djola (which has heavy form *-ɔrɔ* and light form *-ɔ*), the heavy and light forms are similar and historically related. Kemmer states that these languages have a two-form cognate system. In some other languages, such as Latin (which has heavy form *se* and light form *-r*), the two forms are not similar or historically related and are not cognates. These languages have a two-form non-cognate system. In this dissertation, the focus is on the two-form cognate system languages, in which the light and heavy forms are similar and historically related. Slavic languages fall into this type.

The heavy reflexive pronouns in Russian and BCS correspond in meaning to English ‘self’ and carry a true REFLEXIVE meaning in that they always refer back to the subject. They are

accusative case pronouns and when used with a transitive verb they indicate that the subject performs an action upon itself. While the term “reflexive” is appropriately suited to the semantics of the heavy reflexive pronouns, it is sometimes, but not always, suited to the semantics of those verbs with the light reflexive pronoun that are nevertheless commonly termed “reflexive” verbs. Because of this confusion, the verbs in question in this dissertation are termed *SE*-verbs. They are defined as verbs in Slavic languages that carry the clitic or affix that is etymologically the light reflexive pronoun originally corresponding to reflexes of the Proto-Slavic heavy form reflexive pronoun **sebe* ‘self’. In Russian these verbs contain the affix *-sja*, and in BCS they co-occur with the clitic *se*. It is worth emphasizing at this point that the *-sja* in Russian is an affix and is permanently affixed to the verb. It does change according to a phonological and orthographical rule, such that when *-sja* follows a vowel it occurs instead as *-s’*. By contrast, in BCS the light pronoun is a clitic and still bears many of the qualities of pronouns. This difference is discussed in more detail in later chapters.

Use of the term “reflexive” to define a class of verbs that do not necessarily carry true reflexive meaning is not limited to Slavic verbs. In fact, the *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Linguistics* defines “reflexive verbs” according to their structure and not according to semantics. According to this dictionary, a reflexive verb is “a verb containing or accompanied by a reflexive element. Especially one in which the two together are treated as a lexical unit” (Matthews 1997). Slavic *SE*-verbs meet the criteria for this definition, as do other “reflexive” verbs in other Indo-European languages such as French and German. For example, “reflexive” verbs in German include the reflexive pronoun *sich*. However, such a naming convention gives no information

about the semantic nature of the verbs in any of these languages. Hence, there is a necessity to establish a separate naming convention, especially when discussing verbal semantics.

In her detailed typological analysis of the middle voice, Suzanne Kemmer identifies certain languages as reflexive-marking languages (1993:49), those that have a grammatical device employed both with reflexive and middle (and often with reciprocal) semantic functions. Kemmer identifies the verbs in these languages as having both light and heavy forms. For Slavic verbs, the light form would be the verb that is accompanied by the light pronoun (*-sja, se,*) and the heavy form includes those verbs that are accompanied by the heavy pronoun (*sebja, sebe*). In this dissertation, *SE*-verb refers to the light form. Kemmer observes that the light form usually indicates middle voice, while the heavy form usually indicates true reflexivity. The same terms have been adopted by other scholars, including Nessel and Enger (1999), Wiemer (1999) and Calude (2007). The terms light and heavy are used here following Kemmer's conventions. Light refers to Slavic *SE*-verbs with the light clitics or affixes (*-sja* and *se*), and heavy refers to the corresponding transitive verbs with the heavy pronouns (*sebja* and *sebe*) as well as the reciprocal pronoun phrases (Rus *drug druga* and BCS *jedan drugog*). This dissertation shows that Kemmer's generalization about the light form indicating middle voice and the heavy form indicating true reflexivity is true for many Russian verbs, but it is not for other verbs in other Slavic languages, specifically for BCS.

The light form verbs investigated in this dissertation are called Slavic *SE*-verbs. These verbs may have a variety of semantic functions within the languages. Among these is a meaning that is truly reflexive, such that the event involves the subject acting upon itself. This meaning is termed REFLEXIVE in the analysis in this dissertation, and a REFLEXIVE verb is a verb with the

REFLEXIVE meaning. Thus, this terminology (indicated by small caps) refers only to the semantics of the verbs here.

Now let us consider the notion of REFLEXIVE as a semantic category of verbs. A verb that is REFLEXIVE describes an event in which an entity, which is the agent, does something to a patient, itself. In a REFLEXIVE predicate, the agent and patient are co-referential. The lexical verbs that express such actions are generally agentive in nature, meaning that they are semantically transitive verbs that involve an agent directly acting upon a patient. Such actions are REFLEXIVE when the agent and patient are the same entity. In English such actions are rendered with an agentive verb and the use of ‘self’ and its forms. REFLEXIVE verbs in English include *hate oneself*, *bathe oneself*, and *hit oneself*. Note that all of these base verbs (*hate*, *bathe*, *hit*) are English transitive verbs. Likewise, transitive variants of certain verbs (that are transitive in only certain meanings) can also be REFLEXIVE. One such example is *see oneself*, when used in a literal, transitive meaning such as *see oneself in the mirror*, or *see oneself in a dream*.⁶

An important criterion for REFLEXIVE verbs is that the agent and patient must participate in the situation with their roles undiminished (i.e., they participate both fully as the agent and fully as the patient), yet refer to the same entity. Again, in order for this to be true, the predicate must include an anaphoric pronoun or other element that refers back to the agent. In Slavic languages, this can be either the heavy reflexive pronoun (*sebjja*, *sebe*), or in some cases it can be the light form reflexive pronoun as it appears as a clitic or affix (*-sja*, *se*). REFLEXIVE verbs are regularly formed in Russian with the heavy form reflexive pronoun *sebjja*. In some cases, Russian

⁶ By transitive variant, I refer to a transitive meaning of a verb, which can be either transitive or intransitive. English *see* can be either intransitive, e.g., *I cannot see* or transitive, e.g., *I see the book*. The transitive meanings of such verbs sometimes can be REFLEXIVE.

verbs with *-sja* also have REFLEXIVE meaning. However, those verbs with the heavy pronoun *sebja* are definitively REFLEXIVE, because the heavy reflexive pronoun is always anaphoric.⁷ The same is true for BCS. REFLEXIVE verbs in these two languages can be formed with the heavy form pronoun *sebja/sebe*. But BCS also regularly forms REFLEXIVE verbs with the light reflexive clitic *se*. In both languages, the heavy pronouns with a transitive verb may be used in the place of a REFLEXIVE verb that is formed with the light form pronoun. When this occurs, the heavy pronoun indicates emphasis. In other situations, the distinction between heavy and light is the difference between a REFLEXIVE verb and a verb with some other meaning.

Treatment of the semantic meaning REFLEXIVE varies within literature on Slavic verbs. Scholars agree that a verb that has REFLEXIVE meaning must involve the agent and patient as the same entity. However, beyond that criterion, there is much variation in opinions of which verbs are REFLEXIVE. As mentioned earlier, Gerritsen (1990:67) separates Russian verbs with true reflexive meaning into two groups. *Actional Reflexives* are those in which the entire body is involved (e.g., *brosat'sja* ‘throw oneself’) and *Agentive Reflexives* in which part of the body acts on another part (e.g., *myt'sja* ‘wash oneself’). Though Gerritsen has carefully defined two types

⁷ In this study I have formally only dealt with the simple light and heavy forms of these verbs, where the heavy form is the accusative case reflexive pronoun. There are constructions in both Russian and BCS that use the reflexive pronoun in other cases, notably dative case Rus *sebe* and BCS *sebi*, used as an indirect object. These constructions tend to differ a bit from the formal definition of reflexivity involving an agent and patient. In Russian, there are some “double” reflexive forms, where a light form is used in conjunction with a heavy form in a non-accusative case. Many of these do have a REFLEXIVE meaning. Examples include the light form with the heavy form in instrumental case: *Ja goržus' soboj*, ‘I am proud of myself’, and the light form with the heavy form in a preposition + accusative construction: *Ne nado serdit'sja na sebja*, ‘There is no need to be angry at yourself’. These examples show that the system is somewhat complicated and in these Russian examples, the light form is clearly serving a semantic function other than REFLEXIVE, since the heavy form is also needed to render REFLEXIVE meaning. More work on these kinds of constructions might be included in a future study.

BCS *ubiti se* ‘kill oneself’, and Rus *zastrelit'sja*, BCS *ustrijeliti se* ‘shoot oneself’. Clearly, the death event involves the patient being affected in total, since the act of killing or shooting oneself ultimately affects the whole body to the point of death. The verbs of attitude include events involving taking an attitude towards oneself, such as hating, Rus *nenavidet' sebja* ‘hate oneself’, BCS *mrzjeti se* ‘hate oneself’. The events also involve an attitude that is directed towards the self *in toto*.

Other groups sometimes involve Total Affectedness. The first of these involves a physical effect. These often, but not always, are events of harming oneself. They include *kalečit'sja/po-*, ‘cripple oneself,’ and *travit'sja/o-*, ‘poison oneself.’ Another group of REFLEXIVE verbs involve altering one’s appearance. Israeli draws attention to this group (1997: 51) and includes events such those that involve revealing or baring one’s whole body (*obnažat'sja/obnažit'sja*, ‘bare oneself’ *ogoljat'sja/ogolit'sja*, ‘bare oneself, strip’) or covering one’s whole body (*kutat'sja/za-*, ‘wrap oneself up, overdress), as well as those that involve altering appearance in some other way (*maskirovat'sja/za-*, ‘camouflage oneself’ *molodit'sja*^{impf}, ‘make oneself look younger’). These are all events in which a person’s whole appearance is altered.

However, there are some events of altering appearance in which only part of the body is altered. These are not events of Total Affectedness. These include events such as dying one’s hair, *krasit'sja/po-*. They also include certain grooming verbs such as shaving, washing hands or brushing hair. With these verbs, only a part of the body (e.g., face, hands, hair) is affected by the event. Other events included in the list of verbs of Total Affectedness include those of defending oneself, including some listed in Israeli (52). They include *oboronjat'sja/oboronit'sja*,

‘defend.’ Defense events may also involve only partial affectedness, such as protecting one’s arm. Many of these verbs are classified in this dissertation as a sub-type of REFLEXIVE, termed POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE, and discussed in 2.2.

Thus, we have established that REFLEXIVE verbs are agentive, have an identical agent and patient, and yet the agent and patient are construed as two distinct participant roles. These things must be true for a verb to be REFLEXIVE. Additionally, many, but not all, REFLEXIVE verbs will involve total affectedness, intentional effect, and express actions not typically carried out on the self.

Table 3 lists characteristics of REFLEXIVE verbs according to the definition.

Semantic Characteristics of REFLEXIVE Verbs	
All REFLEXIVE Verbs	Many REFLEXIVE Verbs
Agentive Co-referential Agent and Patient Agent and Patient construed as two distinct participants	Total Affectedness Intentional Effect Not typically carried out on self

Table 3. Semantic Characteristics of REFLEXIVE Verbs

Table 3 shows all possible semantic characteristics of REFLEXIVE verbs. These characteristics are possible for all verbs that are REFLEXIVE. Those in the left column are those that characterize all REFLEXIVE verbs. The right column lists some characteristics that are common for many REFLEXIVE verbs. They involve Total Affectedness, are not normally carried out on the self and

involve intentionality on the part of the agent. An example of such a verb would be Rus *zastrelit'sja*^{pf}, ‘shoot oneself’.

If REFLEXIVE verbs are *SE*-verbs, they also meet the criteria of Diagnostic 1 (see below) in that they can be substituted with the corresponding transitive verb and heavy reflexive pronoun. In the example above, *zastrelit'sja* has the same meaning as *zastrelit' sebja*, and the former can be defined using the latter.

Another REFLEXIVE verb would be *oboronjat'sja/oboronit'sja*, ‘defend oneself’. This event involves Total Affectedness and Intentional Effect, but it is typically carried out on the self. The verb *rezat'sja/po-*, ‘cut oneself’ may involve Intentional Effect and it is not typically carried out on the self, but it also involves Partial Affectedness because only a part of the body is cut.

A Slavic *SE*-verb can be tested to determine if it is REFLEXIVE by checking for the existence of the verb with the heavy reflexive pronoun. For example, Russian REFLEXIVE verbs are often defined using the verb with the heavy form pronoun. In other words, *myt'sja/u-* = *myt'/u- sebja* ‘wash oneself’. Since this is true, *myt'sja* is REFLEXIVE. However, this also assumes that the meanings of *myt'sja* and *myt' sebja* are truly the same. They may occur in different environments, but the difference in the environments should simply be that the heavy pronoun is used for emphasis, not for any separate meaning. The heavy pronoun might also appear because of a compound patient, such as in a situation in which the agent washes both himself/herself and someone else. This distinction is discussed more fully in Chapter 3, showing that it is possible that a *SE*-verb, which appears to be REFLEXIVE, may actually not be REFLEXIVE if it becomes clear that the verb with the heavy reflexive pronoun is used with a different meaning than the *SE*-verb. Thus we can now give the following diagnostic for identifying REFLEXIVE *SE*-verbs.

Diagnostic 1. REFLEXIVE Slavic SE-Verb

A Slavic SE-verb is REFLEXIVE if it can be substituted with the corresponding transitive verb and the heavy pronoun and the only change in meaning is one of emphasis or for a compound patient.

This diagnostic is critical to the identification of REFLEXIVE SE-verbs. If a SE-verb can be defined using the heavy form, e.g., if *myt'sja* can be defined in terms of *myt' sebja*, it is REFLEXIVE. If it cannot, it is not REFLEXIVE.

2.2. POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE Verbs

A type of SE-verb closely related to REFLEXIVE is POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE. These verbs involve a co-referential agent and patient and can involve Intentional Effect. They always involve Partial Affectedness. The patient is affected in the event, but only a part of the patient or a possession of the patient is affected. They include grooming verbs such as Rus *zavivat'sja/zavit'sja*, 'curl one's hair'; Rus *prisčesyvat'sja/prisčesat'sja*, 'comb one's hair', BCS *češljati/o- (se)* 'comb one's hair'. They also include verbs that by extension involve the patient's belongings, Rus *zapaxnut'sja*^{pf}, 'close one's coat' or Rus *tratit'sja*^{pf}, 'spend (one's) money'. These verbs are shown to be POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE as opposed to REFLEXIVE when considering the heavy form variants. For these SE-verbs the corresponding heavy form variant is not formed with the heavy reflexive pronoun. Instead it is formed using the transitive verb and the noun referring to the possession or body part. Thus *zavivat'sja*, 'curl' + *-sja* [light form suffix] is defined as *zavivat' volosy* 'curl [one's] hair', and *tratit'sja*, 'spend' + *-sja* [light form suffix] is defined as *tratit' den'gi* 'spend

[one's] money'. The details of such constructions are explained more fully with regard to Russian in 3.2. For now, the following definition and diagnostic allow the verbs to be distinguished.

Definition 2. POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE

A verb is a POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE if it involves the agent acting upon itself or its possession(s) such that only the possession or part of the self is affected by the event.

Diagnostic 2. POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE Slavic *SE*-verb

A Slavic *SE*-verb is POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE if it meets the criteria of Definition 2 and cannot be paraphrased using the corresponding heavy form pronoun, but is often paraphrased using a noun for the affected possession or body part.

Even though Diagnostic 2 states that the heavy form pronoun is not used to define these verbs, these can be defined using a full noun phrase for the name of the body part or possessed item that is affected by the event. For POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE verbs, *zavivat'sja* 'curl one's hair' is the light form for the parallel heavy form '*zavivat' volosy*, 'curl one's hair', according to the same structure in which for REFLEXIVE verbs *myt'sja*, 'wash oneself' is the light form for the parallel heavy form *myt' sebja*, 'wash oneself'.

2.3. RECIPROCAL Verbs.

Another closely related meaning to REFLEXIVE is RECIPROCAL. RECIPROCAL verbs are those that describe an event in which two or more entities act upon each other. These verbs indicate “that an action or process is reciprocated by two equal participants,” according to *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*. (Matthews 2014) While English renders REFLEXIVE verbs with the reflexive pronoun ‘self’ (‘himself,’ ‘herself,’ ‘itself,’ etc.), it renders RECIPROCAL verbs with the phrase ‘each other.’ Slavic renders the same verbs with the light reflexive pronoun or with a heavy form using a phrase meaning ‘each other’, Rus *drug druga* and BCS *jedan drugog* (and inflectional variants agreeing with subjects of different genders).

This RECIPROCAL meaning is quite similar to REFLEXIVE and can even be considered a sub-type of the REFLEXIVE meaning. While REFLEXIVE predicates often involve a singular agent, RECIPROCAL predicates always have a plural agent. The predicate consists of a transitive verb, and the entities are both agent and patient inasmuch as they act upon each other. Because the action takes place between or among the two or more entities, we may consider that the group itself is the co-referential agent and patient as defined for REFLEXIVE verbs. Further, as the entities act upon each other, they can both clearly be distinguished as separate participants in the event, which both act upon another entity and also receive the action of that other entity. Rus *vstrečat'sja/vstretit'sja* ‘meet’ is RECIPROCAL when it occurs with a plural subject.⁸ BCS *ljubiti se/po-*, ‘kiss each other,’ is likewise RECIPROCAL with a plural subject. For these verbs, the

⁸In fact, this verb is also RECIPROCAL when it occurs with a singular subject as in the phrase, *Ja vstretilsja s nej*, ‘I met with her’, because the event described involves two people who meet each other, thereby both acting as agent (‘meeting someone’) and patient (‘being met’). This kind of singular reciprocal construction, which is common with reciprocal verbs in Rus and BCS, is not considered in detail in this dissertation.

participants have the role (as individuals) as both agent and patient. The following definition then logically follows from Definition 1.

Definition 3. RECIPROCAL

A verb is RECIPROCAL if it refers to an agentive event with a plural agent in which each individual agent acts on another agent, which is the patient, or upon the group as a whole, thereby reflecting a construal of two entities: both agent and patient.

Just as *SE*-verbs can be shown to be REFLEXIVE using the test case given in Diagnostic 1, *SE*-verbs can also be shown to be RECIPROCAL with a similar test. Recall that RECIPROCAL verbs can either be *SE*-verbs or they can be transitive verbs with the heavy reciprocal pronouns, so that both *celovat'sja* and *celovat' drug druga* are RECIPROCAL verbs, 'kiss each other'. They simply occur in varying situations, but mean the same thing. Using Diagnostic 1 as the basis, the following diagnostic is presented.

Diagnostic 3. RECIPROCAL Slavic *SE*-Verbs

A Slavic *SE*-verb is RECIPROCAL if it can be substituted with the corresponding transitive verb and the heavy reciprocal pronoun/phrase and the only change in meaning is one of emphasis.

2.4. PASSIVE Constructions.

If REFLEXIVE, POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE and RECIPROCAL verbs are identified using the specific definitions given in 2.2. and 2.3, what then is to be done with *SE*-verbs that do not fit these definitions? The decision about how to define the semantics of the many remaining *SE*-verbs (especially the abundance of other such verbs in Russian) is one of the central issues of this dissertation. One other significant use of *SE*-verbs is the PASSIVE. Unlike the first three functions discussed in 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3, PASSIVE constructions are grammatical constructions containing a transitive verb and a light form. They do not refer to a specific set of *SE*-verbs with a specific semantic function associated with the lexical item.

In general, PASSIVE predicates involve a situation in which the patient is promoted to subject and the agent is demoted from the subject. The semantic patient is the syntactic subject, as in the sentence, *Pizza is eaten (by hungry men)*. Here the patient *pizza* is the subject of the sentence. The agent has been demoted and can be included using the *BY*-phrase *by hungry men*. A *BY*-phrase is so named because of its common use of the word ‘by’ in English and similar constructions in other languages. In Slavic languages, *BY*-phrases may be formed with the instrumental case or with a prepositional phrase, such as a prepositional phrase with *od* ‘from’ in BCS (Blevins 2003).

Slavic *SE*-verbs are often used as PASSIVE to reconfigure the syntactic roles of the agent and patient. This syntactic change can also be termed agent demotion, meaning that the agent is no longer in the position of the nominative subject. It should be noted that in most places the patient is also promoted, that is, it occupies the nominative subject position, e.g. Rus *tovar pokupaetsja*, ‘goods are being bought’ and BCS *meso se mora jesti* ‘the meat must be eaten’.

Thus PASSIVE can best be characterized for Slavic as agent demotion and patient promotion. It can be defined with Definition 5.

Definition 4. PASSIVE

A verbal construction is PASSIVE if it expresses an agentive event in which the agent has been demoted from nominative subject position thereby detransitivizing the verb such that the patient is not the object, and the patient is likewise promoted to subject position; in some cases the agent can be identified using a *BY*-phrase.

According to this definition, for an event to be considered passive there must be a clear agent in the event, even though it often is not named in the utterance. For example, in the PASSIVE construction mentioned above, *tovar pokupaetsja^{impf}*, ‘goods are being bought’ the goods are the subject, but the agent is unstated in the utterance. However, the event has an agent, who is the people who are buying the goods. The PASSIVE function is defined in more detail in chapters 3 and 4 in conjunction with analysis of data samples from each of the languages.

2.5. IMPERSONAL Constructions.

Another construction that exists for *SE*-verbs in both languages discussed in this dissertation is IMPERSONAL constructions. Like PASSIVE, this category refers to a construction, not a specific lexical type of verbs with a particular semantic function. These constructions lack a syntactic subject or a distinction of person (i.e., first or second person). They simply indicate that some

action happens without identifying the specific subject. Matthews (1997), draws a distinction between impersonal constructions and impersonal passives. Impersonal constructions are simply subjectless, however, impersonal passives are both subjectless and render the verb passive, such as Spanish *Se venden casas*, ‘Houses for sale,’ in which the normally active verb *venden*, ‘to sell’ is passive with reference to *casas*, ‘houses’. Kemmer states that for impersonal constructions, the agent is always generic. In her description

. . . [in] the impersonal situation type . . . the Agent is always generic. The impersonal situation type subsumes both situations in which there is an affected entity (which is coded as subject or chief nominal participant) as in *one should never serve wine/wine should never be served on such occasions*, and those in which there is no particular affected entity, as in *one can work well here*.

(Kemmer 1993: 148)

Impersonal constructions with Slavic *SE*-verbs can and often do preserve the transitivity of the original non-*SE*-verb, but do not preserve a syntactic subject. Blevins (2003) describes impersonals as having both transitive and intransitive types. Some varied examples are given below in the discussion of Israeli’s treatment of impersonals. An impersonal construction can be defined according to Definition 5.

Definition 5. IMPERSONAL Constructions with Slavic *SE*-verb

A Slavic *SE*-verb is in an impersonal construction if the lexical meaning of the verb is identical to the non-*SE* correlate, and it occurs without a syntactic subject, and the agent is unspecified or specified only in the surrounding context; in some cases impersonal constructions retain the transitivity of the corresponding non-*SE*-verb.

Israeli (1997) lists three types of impersonals in Russian that are formed using *-sja*. One group does not change in meaning when used in an impersonal usage. Israeli gives the example with *ostat'sja*: which has a personal construction, *Ja ostalsja odin doma*, 'I remained home alone' versus the impersonal *Mne ostaetsja tol'ko uexat'*, 'The only thing remaining for me to do is to leave' (1997:128). Her second group of *-sja* imperfectives also has a personal counterpart, but the lexical meaning differs. An example is with the verb *prixodit'sja*: *on prixoditsja mne bratom*, 'he [NOM] is a brother to me,;' versus the impersonal *emu prixoditsja rano vstavat'*, 'he [DAT] has to [unwillingly] get up early' (1997:129). The third group involves constructions in which the *-sja* renders the verb impersonal and changes the meaning. An example is with *privesti*: *On privel menja v ix dom*, 'He brought me to their home,' versus the *-sja* impersonal *Nakonec privelos' mne pobrvat' v stolice*, 'Finally I had a chance to visit the capital' (1997:130). Israeli's final group is identified as true impersonals. These are primarily the inclinational type and involve a lack of responsibility for impersonal subject. They include constructions such as *Mne ne pišetsja*, 'I just cannot write' (1997:133) and would include the BCS example, *ne spava*

mi se, 'I cannot sleep.' Israeli also mentions the existence of impersonal-passives in which the verb is used in an impersonal construction but have an underlying agent. These are included in PASSIVE for this study. One verb often used in impersonal constructions in both languages is 'to speak/say,' Rus *govoritsja*^{impf}, BCS *govoriti se*^{impf}. Examples include Rus *ne rabotaetsja* 'doesn't feel like working' and BCS *govori se da* 'it is said that'. Further examples are given for Russian and BCS in Chapters 3 and 4.

2.6. MIDDLE Verbs.

Any treatment of Slavic *SE*-verbs either in reference grammars or in scholarly linguistic literature immediately identifies REFLEXIVE, RECIPROCAL and PASSIVE meanings. Beyond these three meanings however, there is significant variation in categorization. Some of the variation is simply in terminology. Many of these terms are described in 2.0. For example, Russian *SE*-verbs of the type that describe a characteristic of the subject, such as the phrase, *sobaka kusaetsja* 'the dog bites/the dog is a biter' have various names in the literature, including AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE, *habitual*, *potential active*, *aktivno-bezob"ektnyj*, and *characteristic*. Other types including quasi-synonymous verbs (e.g., *rešit'* and *rešit'sja*, both 'decide' (Israeli 1997: 83).

While there is also some variation in the treatment of BCS *SE*-verbs, they tend to have less diversity in semantic types of *SE*-verbs as will be shown in the data analysis in subsequent chapters. However, BCS verbs certainly have many uses that do not fit into the categories of REFLEXIVE, RECIPROCAL and PASSIVE meanings. Unfortunately, treatments of *SE*-verbs in BCS are often affected by the prevalence of a Russo-centric approach to Slavic linguistics. Even reference grammars for BCS show this bias. For example, Stevanović (562) includes some discussion of

the differences between Serbian *SE*-verbs and Russian *SJA*-verbs in the discussion of the verbs he terms Serbian “medial” verbs in his reference grammar of modern Serbo-Croatian (BCS).

The category that will account for the semantic types described above is MIDDLE. Many of the categories defined above are subsumed by MIDDLE. What is MIDDLE? This category requires special explanation and definition for the hypothesis advocated in this dissertation. Its meaning is not readily apparent, and, as a category, it has been used in many varied ways in linguistic literature, both with reference to Slavic and other languages and language groups. Many treatments of *SE*-verbs in Slavic include a discussion of middle voice,⁹ including Mitkovska (1994), Sohn (1998), Enger and Nessel (1999), Enger (2001), and Ahn (2006). However, in some linguistics literature, the middle voice has been a catch-all and an ambiguous term, being used for a variety of linguistic meanings, and which has no universally accepted definition. The term *middle* has been used in linguistic literature commonly to describe a voice distinction that is intermediate between active and passive (Matthews 1997). Originally it was used to designate specific forms of verbs in Ancient Greek that had some broadly reflexive meaning, but could be transitive, such as in the structure *I bought-MIDDLE house* ‘I bought myself a house’ (Matthews 1997). These verbs also included those that could be considered “subject-oriented,” as shown in the two forms of the following Ancient Greek verb: Active *bouleúō* ‘I take counsel’ vs. middle *bouleúōmai* ‘I take counsel with myself, deliberate’ (*International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*: 91). These Greek verbs are semantically not unlike some Russian *SJA*-verbs that have been labeled *benefactive*, and are discussed in RG and by

⁹Despite the fact that I use the term MIDDLE, I refer to middle voice when referring to works in which the term middle voice is used.

Gerritsen (85). These include verbs such as *stroit'sja* 'build [a home for oneself].¹⁰ However, the Russian verbs do not normally take an accusative complement, while the Greek verbs can.¹¹ The Greek middle verbs are specifically denoted by the inflectional marker that is labeled a 'middle marker,' but are not necessarily unified in terms of their semantic functions.

Middle voice has also been used to describe verbs and constructions in other languages that are reflexive or intransitive, including intransitives with seemingly passive subjects, such as *This stone cuts easily*, meaning 'This stone can be cut easily' (Matthews 1997). Unfortunately, most linguistic treatments of the middle voice have been vague at best; either treating it as a formal grammatical inflectional category, as in Ancient Greek, or semantically categorizing it in negative terms, indicating that it is a voice category that is neither active nor passive. There are few scholarly works that directly define middle voice in positive terms. This dissertation attempts to use positive terms to define a semantic type of events as MIDDLE. Some previous works include Lyons (1969: 3), which presents a semantic discussion of middle voice in which he introduces the notion that Kemmer (1993) calls "subject affectedness." Lyons (1969: 373) characterizes the middle voice in that "the 'action' or 'state' affects the subject of the verb or his interests." A more recent and thorough treatment of the middle voice, which is relevant for discussion of Russian *SJA*-verbs, is the lengthy discussion in Kemmer (1993). Kemmer's work on middle-marking languages notes differences between light and heavy forms in marking reflexive and middle semantics and also introduces the idea of "low degree of elaboration of events" as discussed below. While Kemmer's work is useful for identifying the structure of these verbs in

¹⁰As mentioned in 2.0, these benefactive verbs occur in Russian, but not in BCS.

¹¹ There are a few colloquial examples of Russian middle verbs taking an accusative complement, including *ja bojus' mamu*, 'I am afraid of mama'. They are discussed briefly in 3.6.6.

Slavic languages, my study provides a positive definition for MIDDLE as a one-participant subject-focused event. It also shows that Kemmer's analysis of Russian as a middle-marking language in which the light form is regularly middle holds true for Russian, but not for BCS.

Kemmer treats middle voice as a semantic category by considering multiple languages that employ a formal marker (called a middle marker and not unlike the Greek middle marker) to distinguish verbs that have a middle voice meaning. Kemmer's semantic definition of middle voice is intended to both subsume and refine Lyon's notion of "subject-affectedness." According to Kemmer, middle voice is a "semantic area comprising events in which (a) the Initiator is also an Endpoint, or affected entity and (b) the event is characterized by a low degree of elaboration of events. The first property is a sub-aspect of the second" (243). According to this definition, Initiator and Endpoint refer to those entities that might otherwise be termed Agent and Patient. "Low degree of elaboration" refers to a low degree of distinguishability between Initiator and Endpoint and also between the component events (Kemmer call them subevents) of a verbal event (121). By contrast, those verbs that are true reflexives for Kemmer have a greater degree of elaboration of events. The Initiator and Endpoint for true reflexives are co-referential, but they are in "events that normally involve distinct entities as participants" (203). In this way, they pattern closer to true two-participant events, i.e., events with distinct agent and patient roles, while middle verbs pattern closer to one-participant events. Kemmer (73) sets up a continuum of event types, which is given in Figure 2 below.

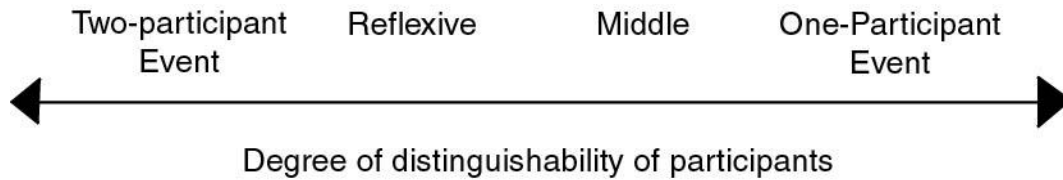


Figure 2: Kemmer's (1993) Continuum of Event Types

According to this schema, transitive verbs fall on the two-participant end of the spectrum and intransitive on the one-participant end, with the lowest degree of distinguishability of participants and elaboration of events (Kemmer 1993: 205).

Kemmer identifies two major types of middle-marking languages. The first type, which includes German and French, has a “one-form middle system” in which the same marker is used for both the true reflexive and middle meanings. For example, the German marker *sich* is used in conjunction with verbs to create verbs that are either true reflexive e.g., *Er sieht sich*, ‘He sees himself; or middle e.g., *Er fürchtet sich*, ‘He is afraid’ (24). The second type includes Russian and Turkish, and is called a two-form system. These languages have two markers, which are called “heavy” and “light” forms, which are discussed in 2.1. For Kemmer’s two-form languages, the heavy form signals true reflexivity and the light signals middle voice. The reflexive marker “is usually nominal or pronominal in form, while the middle marker is a verbal affix” (25). Kemmer identifies Russian as one of these second type of middle-marking languages. Russian *-sja* is an affix, which is always bound to the verb, whereas *sebja* is a free-standing reflexive pronoun. Additionally, Kemmer observes that in these languages “the middle marker has less phonological ‘body’ than the reflexive marker, measured in terms of number of segments and degree of phonological dependence on the verb root” (25). The relatively high

degree of phonological dependence of Russian *-sja* is illustrated neatly by the alternation in its form depending upon the final phoneme of the verb form: *-sja* is spelled as *-sja* when it follows a consonant (i.e., *kupaetsja*, *kupalsja*) but it changes to *-s'* when it follows a vowel (i.e., *kupaetes'*, *kupalas'*). Kemmer also states that in two-form languages the two forms are ordinarily historically related, as are *-sja* and *sebja*: *-sja* comes from the Old Russian accusative light reflexive pronoun *sja*, which does not occur independently in Contemporary Standard Russian.

Steinbach (2002: 300) elaborates on Kemmer's treatment of middle markers and addresses morphology in addition to phonology with regard to the markers. Steinbach states that "the middle marker is always the pronominal element, which is morphologically less specified. Usually, the middle marker is a weak reflexive pronoun, whose morphosyntactic properties might differ considerably from language to language."

Many treatments of middle voice in the linguistic literature begin by structurally defining middle verbs as those that have a middle marker. Other works elaborate upon Kemmer's model and refine her definition of middle, while still relying on the notion of heavy and light markers. Enger and Nessel (1999) discuss middle markers in Russian and Norwegian, noting that Russian uses the heavy marker for true reflexives (e.g., *On nenavidit sebja*, 'He hates himself'; 34) and the light marker for all other types of *SJA*-verbs, which they characterize as an elaborate "reflexive-middle-passive system" (33). They also utilize the notion of low elaboration of events and Kemmer's idea of a continuum of two-participant and one-participant events as indicated in Figure 2. Calude (2007) likewise employs Kemmer's notion of 'low degree of elaboration of events' in a treatment of heavy and light markers in Romanian.

However, much of this discussion is still on a syntactic level, and though Kemmer's definition of two-form middle marking languages may describe the system in place in Russian, it does not give a concise definition of the semantics of MIDDLE verbs in Slavic. In fact, it does not treat any Slavic languages other than Russian. Kemmer's notion of the low degree of elaboration of events is a starting point, especially in that it moves the definition of MIDDLE verbs towards a one-participant intransitive verb. In a typology of middle voice, Greenspon (1996) further describes middle voice by suggesting that it involves a "surface subject derived from a non-subject slot" and "detransitivized verbal morphology" and "an agent". Semantically, Greenspon notes that middle verbs express the "primary responsibility' of the subject" (200), a notion that suggests a focus on the subject with these predicates. Subject focus is important for the definition of MIDDLE given in this dissertation.

While Kemmer's assertion that Russian is a middle-marking language may be structurally accurate for a description of her specifically identified middle-marking languages, it does not fully describe the semantics of Russian *SJA*-verbs. Kemmer's work is a general-linguistic typological study, accounting for multiple languages and only addressing Russian in a rudimentary manner. As a result, her account of middle voice with relation to the complex situation with Russian *SJA*-verbs is in need of revision. Israeli (1997: 80) criticizes Kemmer because her treatment of Russian does not deal with additional semantic categories for Russian *SJA*-verbs such as the quasi-synonymous type in which the addition of *-sja* slightly alters the meaning of synonymous verbs by adding notions such as "volition" or "lack of impact on others." Her general typology does not allow for the very different situation in other Slavic languages including BCS.

In this dissertation, MIDDLE verbs are positively defined in the following way.

Definition 6. MIDDLE

A verb is MIDDLE if it expresses the construal of an event as involving only one participant and is accordingly “subject-focused;” that is, the verb signals that the action is relevant for the subject and focuses on that relevance, to the exclusion of other possible participants.

Various Slavic *SE*-verbs fit into this MIDDLE category, including intransitives, procedural verbs, and also some of the quasi-synonymous verbs. For example, intransitive verbs such as *on vozvraščalsja* ‘he returned’ and *dver’ otkrylas’* ‘the door opened’ are MIDDLE in that there is clearly only one participant and the focus of the action is on the grammatical subject. The list of types of semantic verbs types that are included in my definition of MIDDLE can be found in Table 4. Types of these verbs are given in 2.0 and discussed for the two specific languages in chapters 3 and 4.

Types of MIDDLE Verbs
Decausative
Agent-Attributive
Phenomenological
Quasi-synonymous
Procedural
Reflexive tantum

Table 4. Types of MIDDLE Verbs

Most of these types are found in Russian and BCS. However, AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE and QUASI-SYNONYMOUS exist only in Russian. BENEFACTIVE is limited to Russian, and could be included as a MIDDLE verb. It is not listed here, because it has been treated separately in the semantic networks presented in Chapter 5. The quasi-synonymous verbs discussed in Israeli (1997) can be considered MIDDLE. For example, Israeli identifies a class of volitional Russian *SJA*-verbs in which the addition of the *-sja* adds a meaning of extra volition to the verb (*rešit*^{pf} ‘decide’; *rešit'sja*^{pf} ‘bring oneself, to dare’). Additional volition on the part of the subject in these verbs provides an additional level of focus on the subject, thereby making these one-participant events MIDDLE. Another category of Israeli’s quasi-synonymous verbs is that of verbs with a “lack of impact”. With these verbs, the *-sja* form indicates a lack of impact on others (*svetit*^{impf}, ‘shine, illuminate’; *svetit'sja*^{impf}, ‘shine, glow [with no impact on anything else]’; 96). Again, these verbs can clearly be considered to be subject-focused: the suffix *-sja* signals that the impact of the action is limited to the subject.

A full explanation of those verbs that are MIDDLE in each language is provided in each of the subsequent Chapters 3 and 4. At first the group may seem quite diverse, but they all share the semantic characteristics given in Definition 7 in that they construe an event as having only one participant, and are consequently subject-focused.

2.7. Chapter Conclusion.

Slavic *SE*-verbs found in Russian and BCS can be classified into semantic categories based on their meanings in various utterances. The majority of these verbs fall into the categories of REFLEXIVE, POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE, RECIPROCAL, PASSIVE, IMPERSONAL or MIDDLE. An analysis

of linguistic data samples from both languages in subsequent chapters will explain in detail how each type of *SE*-verb fits into each of these categories. The comparative analysis in Chapter 5 then further explains which of these types is found to be prototypical for each language.

Chapter 3: *SE*-verbs in Russian

3.0. Introduction

In Russian, *SE*-verbs are formed with the affix *-sja*. Throughout this chapter, which focuses only on these verbs in Russian, they are termed *SJA*-verbs. These verbs occur with a wide variety of functions. However, once grouped and evaluated, these uses can all be considered to be part of one of the semantic types: REFLEXIVE, POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE, RECIPROCAL, PASSIVE, IMPERSONAL, MIDDLE, or BENEFACTIVE. All of these semantic categories are discussed here with examples of verbs for each category.

Section 3.1 presents REFLEXIVE as a strictly defined category with a relatively small number of verbs. Section 3.2 presents the verbs of the secondary type, POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE, and shows that they are closely related to REFLEXIVE verbs. RECIPROCAL is presented in 3.3, and is also similar to REFLEXIVE in some ways. Section 3.4 presents *SJA*-verbs constructions that are PASSIVE and describes the formal restrictions on them, such as the necessity that PASSIVE be formed only from imperfective verbs. IMPERSONAL constructions with *SJA*-verbs are given in 3.5. The largest group of verbs is identified in 3.6 as MIDDLE. Sub-types within the group of MIDDLE verbs include *intransitive*, *agent-attributive*, *phenomenological*, *procedural*, *reflexiva tantum*, which are those verbs that occur only as *SJA*-verbs and have no transitive counterpart.¹² and *quasi-synonymous SJA*-verbs. Though these types seem varied, they are shown be united semantically as MIDDLE verbs because they are subject-focused and are covered by Definition 7 given in 2.6.

¹² However, a few of these *reflexiva tantum* are shown to occur occasionally in Contemporary Standard Russian as transitives.

Finally, 3.7 presents the BENEFACTIVE verbs as a unique group in Russian that is similar to some middle verbs in Ancient Greek. It could also generally be subsumed in the MIDDLE type, but it is treated separately here because it differs from BCS. Examples of verbs for each type are given. The lists of examples are not intended to be exhaustive, but provide good representative examples to establish the semantic types for the data tagging discussed in Chapter 5. A given verb may occur in more than one semantic category based on the unique meanings of the verb for each category. For example the Russian verb *naxodit'sja*, ‘to be found’ occurs as a MIDDLE in the phrase *Peterburg naxoditsja na Neve*, ‘Petersburg is located on the Neva River’, but it may also occur in the REFLEXIVE meaning ‘to find oneself’ in the phrase *Ja naxožus' v trudnom položenii*, ‘I find myself in a difficult position’. For this verb, the major difference is the animacy and agentivity of the subject. In the former example, the inanimate, non-agentive subject *St. Petersburg* occurs in an event that is interpreted as middle for the verb *naxodit'sja*. The latter, with the animate, agentive subject *I* occurs with the same verb. The agentive subject clearly is involved as both agent and patient in the event in which a person finds himself/herself. Finally, the conclusion for Chapter 3 is in 3.8.

3.1. REFLEXIVE SJA-Verbs

Russian has a small group of SJA-verbs that are REFLEXIVE. As stipulated in Definition 1 in Chapter 2, a verb is REFLEXIVE if it is an agentive predicate in which the agent and patient are the same entity but they are construed as distinct participants in the event. Scholars have chosen to group Russian REFLEXIVE verbs in various ways. Gerritsen (1990) considers them to be either *Actional Reflexives* or *Agentive Reflexives* (cf. the definitions in of these terms in 2.1). Israeli

(1997: 51) groups them according to lexical criteria, identifying the kind of action performed, such as verbs of grooming, altering one's appearance, harming oneself, defending oneself, etc. Kemmer (1993) likewise classifies them according to the kind of activity expressed (e.g., grooming verbs). Since the inventory of these verbs is rather small in Russian, it is not really necessary to further subdivide them beyond just REFLEXIVE. Here I simply classify them in two groups, based on the semantic characteristics given in Table 3 in 2.1. All Russian REFLEXIVE verbs meet the requirements of Definition 1 and Diagnostic 1 given in Chapter 2. They are agentive predicates in which the agent and patient are the same entity, but are construed as distinct participants in the event, and the verb can be substituted with the corresponding transitive verb and the heavy pronoun without a change in meaning other than emphasis.

The REFLEXIVE verbs given in Table 5 below also include those characteristics given as relevant for some REFLEXIVE verbs in Table 3 in 2.1. The semantic characteristics for these REFLEXIVE verbs involve Total Affectedness, Intentional Effect, and are not typically carried out on the self. These types include events of physical effect, attitude and perception, altering appearance, and harm and defense.

(Total Affectedness, Intentional Effect, Not typically carried out on self)

Altering Appearance	
<i>obnažat'sja/obnažit'sja</i>	‘bare oneself’
<i>ogoljat'sja/ogolit'sja</i>	‘bare, strip oneself’
<i>zavertyvat'sja/zavernut'sja</i>	‘wrap oneself’
Attitude and Perception	
<i>gljadet'sja</i> ^{impf}	‘look at oneself’

<i>smotret'sja</i> ^{impf}	‘look at oneself’
<i>vverjat'sja/vverit'sja</i>	‘entrust oneself’
<i>zakabaljat'sja/zakabalit'sja</i>	‘tie oneself down’
Harm	
<i>ranit'sja/po-</i>	‘injure oneself’
<i>zarubat'sja/zarubit'sja</i>	‘wound (by an axe)’
<i>zastreljat'sja/zastrelit'sja</i>	‘shoot oneself’

Table 5. Reflexive SJA-Verbs, Group 1

All of the verbs above are listed in the the Dictionary of the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAD 1984) with a definition that includes the heavy reflexive pronoun *sebjja*. This means that according to Diagnostic 1 given in 2.1, they can be substituted with the corresponding transitive verb and the heavy reflexive pronoun and the only change in meaning is one of emphasis or in the case of a compound patient. In other words, a SJA-verb can be tested to determine if it is REFLEXIVE by checking for the existence of the verb with the heavy reflexive reflexive pronoun that has the same basic meaning as the SJA-verb. For a very simple explanation of this concept, consider the following examples from Russian news headlines.

- (1) *Gost' na svad'be zastrelilsja*.¹³
‘A wedding guest shot himself.
- (2) *Mužčina iz revnosti zastrelil sebjja i ženu*.¹⁴
‘Man shot himself and his wife out of jealousy.

¹³<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9yoowPE9M08>, 13 June 2011

¹⁴<http://gazeta.a42.Rus/lenta/show/muzhchina-iz-revnosti-zastrelil-sebya-i-zhenu.html>, 13 June 2011

Both verbs indicate that the agent shot himself. Example (2) with the heavy reflexive pronoun includes a compound patient. The man shot both himself and his wife.

Now consider an example of the heavy reflexive pronoun in contrast to the *SJA*-verb, using one of the verbs in Table 5, ‘to entrust oneself’.

- (3) *No Sam Iisus ne vverjal Sebja im, potomu što znal vse,*¹⁵
‘But Jesus, on His part, was not entrusting Himself to them, for He knew all men,’¹⁶
- (4) *Est' raznica meždu tem, čtoby ljubit' kogo-to i vverit' sebja emu.*¹⁷
‘There is a difference between loving someone and entrusting oneself to him.’
- (5) *Xristos ne vverjalsja NI KOMU iz ljudej.*¹⁸[sic]
‘Christ was not entrusting himself to any of the people.’

The verbs in all three examples carry the meaning ‘to entrust oneself.’ However, the verb with the heavy reflexive pronoun *sebja* in (3) indicates specific emphasis on the patient ‘Jesus’ even to the extent that the co-reference of the patient with the agent is specifically indicated by the capitalization of the pronoun in keeping with the textual convention of capitalizing all nominal and pronominal references to God. The heavy reflexive verb is used in (4) as a parallel

¹⁵John 2:24, *Russian Synodal Bible*,

<http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=От+Иоанна+2&version=RUSSV>, 26 April 2011

¹⁶John 2:24, *New American Standard Bible*,

<http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=john%202:24&version=NASB#en-NASB-26120>, 26 April 2011

¹⁷<http://www.lifesway.org/html/040923r.html>, 07 April 2011

¹⁸<http://www.evangelie.Rus/forum/t32708-9.html>, 07 April 2011

grammatical structure and contrasts with the predicate *ljubit' kogo-to*. Since the first verb in the clause uses a verb and pronominal patient structure, the second verb does the same, using the reflexive pronoun as the pronominal patient and thereby indicating the contrast between the “other” of *kogo-to* and the “self” of *sebja*. However, in (5), the *SJA*-verb is used because there is no need for specific emphasis or contrast in the given event.

Additionally, with this list, it should be noted that these verbs are included as REFLEXIVE verbs only for the meanings listed, specifically for the events in which these are agentive events of Intentional Effect. The verbs of harm also have meanings that are more inchoative and thus intransitive in nature, e.g., *ranit'sja* ‘to become injured’. The REFLEXIVE verbs do not profile intransitive, changes of state, but involve the agent intentionally inflicting pain/harm upon itself, as seen (6).

- (6) *Ja sama vybiraju ranit'sja, pričiny poka vyjasnjaju, no uže men'se etix destruktivnyx želanij.*¹⁹
'I myself choose to injure myself, I will explain the reasons, but I now have fewer of these destructive wishes.'

The predicate in (6) is clearly agentive, as the context provides evidence that the agent was actually intentionally harming herself, but now has less destructive behavior as stated in the utterance.

Some REFLEXIVE *SJA*-verbs exist in contemporary language, but their meaning is more often rendered with a transitive verb and the heavy reflexive pronoun *sebja*. This is true for some verbs

¹⁹<http://aksonova.livejournal.com/93627.html>, 24 May 2011

of attitude involving looking or seeing. For example, *smotret'sja (v zerkalo)*, ‘look at oneself (in a mirror)’ exists and can be found with thousands of hits via Internet searches (around 100,000 hits).

- (7) *Kogda vy v poslednij raz **smotrelis'** v zerkalo?*²⁰
‘When did you last look at yourself in the mirror?’

However, far more common is *smotret' na sebja (v zerkalo)*, ‘look at oneself (in a mirror)’, which appears with over 3.3 million hits on Google.

- (8) *Mnogie ljudi, osobenno ženščiny, ljubjat podolgu **smotret' na sebja** v zerkalo.*²¹
‘Many people, especially women, love to look at themselves for a long time in the mirror.’

Also, in the same semantic category, is *gljadet'sja*, ‘to look at oneself’ and the less deliberate *videt' sebja v zerkalo*, ‘see oneself in the mirror.’²²

- (9) *Ty **sebja** v zerkalo **videl**, vampir?*²³
‘Have you seen yourself in the mirror, vampire?’

This variant does not exist as a *SJA*-verb, i.e., the verb *videt'sja* does not have a REFLEXIVE meaning and is only used in RECIPROCAL and other meanings.

²⁰<http://www.aufo.Rus/forum/viewtopic.php?p=138234>

²¹<http://www.newsvm.com/news/13/49685/>

²² Note that *smotret'sja* can also occur in the meaning, ‘to appear’, but that middle meaning is not discussed directly in this section.

²³<http://aeterna.Rus/test.php?link=tests:28043>

- (10) **On videlsja v zerkalo.*
*‘He saw himself in the mirror.’

In the list of REFLEXIVE verbs given above in Table 5, there are few verbs of attitude listed. This is because most of the REFLEXIVE verbs of attitude in Russian are not *SJA*-verbs. Instead they are rendered with the heavy form pronoun, e.g., *nenavidet' sebja*. A full inventory of the category of semantically REFLEXIVE verbs in Russian would yield a large number of the verbs using the heavy reflexive pronoun *sebja*.

The next set of REFLEXIVE verbs consists primarily of those that involve Intentional Effect. While some of these verbs, especially those indicating harm, may involve accidents in certain events, (i.e., *ukolot'sja*, ‘prick oneself’), their primary REFLEXIVE usages are those in which the effect involves the voluntary intent of the agent. Therefore, those that are listed here are the verbs that involve agentive events with Intentional Effect of the agent. The verbs in Group 2 differ from Group 1 in that they are typically carried out on the self. As expected, these verbs do not include verbs of harm, since one does not normally intentionally harm oneself. Generally they also do not involve verbs of attitude since most of the attitude verbs involve types of attitude (loving, hating, glaring), which are most often considered attitudes taken towards others and not usually towards oneself. Most of these, other than those involving personal defense, are grooming verbs. They are identified here as REFLEXIVE especially because they involve Total Affectedness, thereby affecting a change on the whole patient. Those grooming verbs that involve only a part of the body are treated as POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE verbs in the next section.

Altering Appearance	
<i>brit'sja/po-</i>	‘shave oneself’
<i>grimirovat'sja/na-</i>	‘make oneself up (with actor’s makeup)’
<i>maskirovat'sja/za-</i>	‘camouflage/disguise oneself’ ²⁴
Defense	
<i>oboronjat'sja/ oboronit'sja</i>	‘defend oneself’
<i>zaščiščat'sja/zaščitit'sja</i>	‘defend oneself’
Physical Effect	
<i>vytirat'sja/vyteret'sja</i>	‘dry oneself’
<i>myt'sja/u-</i>	‘wash oneself’

Table 6. REFLEXIVE SJA-Verbs, Group 2
(Total Affectedness and Intentional Effect, but typically carried out on self)

These verbs involve Total Affectedness and are also defined in the Academy Dictionary (Evgen'ev) with the heavy reflexive *sebja*. One potentially misleading verb in this group is *zaščiščat'sja/zaščitit'sja*. This verb listed above specifically refers to the meaning that is literally ‘to defend oneself’ as opposed to the common meaning, ‘to defend one’s dissertation’, which is a POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE. The former meaning is seen in the following examples from news headlines.

- (11) *Berluskoni zakonom zaščitilsja ot suda.*²⁵
‘Berluskoni defended himself from trial with a law.’

²⁴ The verb *maskirovat'sja* is included here only in the meaning of a person disguising himself/herself, not in a middle meaning that occurs in the military where vehicles can be disguised with camouflage.

²⁵ <http://lifenews.Rus/news/56143> 31 May 2011

- (12) *Tailand **zaščitilsja** ot Kambodži amuletami.*²⁶
'Thailand defended itself from Cambodia with amulets.'

This verb is also found in the heavy reflexive variant as seen below in a headline from November 1992.

- (13) *El'cin **zaščitil sebja** i vauchery.*²⁷
'Yeltsin defended himself and vouchers.'

The heavy *sebja* in (13) occurs because of the compound patient. Both *sebja* and *vaučery* are patients in this event and thus the heavy reflexive is needed for the parallel with the other patient. Russian *SJA*-verbs cannot be used with compound patients, because *-sja* is a part of the verb and is not considered an independent pronoun that could be used in a parallel structure with another (nominal or pronominal) patient.

3.2. POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE *SJA*-Verbs.

A semantic function that is closely related to REFLEXIVE is POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE. These verbs by definition involve Partial Affectedness. This means that the agent (in its REFLEXIVE role as patient) is not affected in total by the event. Normally for these verbs a part of the agent's body or the agent's belongings are affected. These verbs indicate that the action only affects some specific part of the patient and the agent acts upon one specific part of itself, i.e., its hair, its foot,

²⁶<http://www.dni.Rus/polit/2011/2/14/207378.html> 31 May 2011

²⁷<http://www.kommersant.Rus/doc/26403>, 31 May 2011

its teeth. Some treatments of such verbs indicate that the *-sja* in these verbs actually stands for the body part or part of the entity that receives the action (cf. Brecht and Levine, 1985). In other words, the *-sja* is the direct object of an otherwise transitive verb, but is used instead of the noun for the body part that is acted upon. These verbs are distinct from the first list given in this chapter in that the *-sja* cannot be replaced with *sebja*, because the action is not carried out upon the whole person or entity as the patient. Instead, the patient is some part of the entity.

REFLEXIVE events indicate an equivalent relationship between the *SJA*-verb and the verb with the heavy pronoun. The substitution of heavy reflexive pronoun cannot occur with POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVES.

The following examples will help to demonstrate what constitutes the POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE function. Example (14) is from a posting on a Russian social networking website.

- (14) *-Kakie u tebja krasivye kudrjaški! -Konečno, ja vse utro zavivalas*²⁸
'What beautiful curls you have! Of course, I curl my hair all morning.'

This example uses the light form to indicate the action of curling hair, which the agent does to herself. However, the heavy form cannot be used for such a meaning.

- (15) **Konečno, ja vse utro zavivala sebja.*
*'Of course, I curl myself all morning.'

²⁸http://vkontakte.Rus/id587504#/wall587504_948, 13 May 2011

Example (15) is not possible because the event does not involve Total Affectedness. The curling event affects only the agent’s hair and therefore the heavy form is not possible for the same meaning (or for any expected literal meaning for this verb). The transitive verb can be used with the dative case reflexive pronoun *sebe*, or the patient can be the possessed body part *volosy*, ‘hair’.

Just as with REFLEXIVE events, POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE events can be grouped into those that are not typically carried out on the self and those that are typically carried out on the self. Group 1 is the former. As expected, these are primarily verbs of harm as well as a few of altering appearance. They do not include verbs of attitude or defense.

Altering Appearance	
<i>belit'sja/na-</i>	‘whiten oneself (with makeup)’, ‘powder oneself’
<i>krasit'sja/po-</i>	‘dye (hair)’
Harm	
<i>rezat'sja/po-</i>	‘cut oneself’
<i>kolot'sja/u-</i>	‘prick oneself’

Table 7. POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE SJA-Verbs, Group 1
 Partial Affectedness and Intentional Effect;
 not typically carried out on self, involves a part of the body

Because these verbs involve Partial Affectedness, they are not defined with the heavy reflexive pronoun *sebja*. Those in this class are defined with the dative reflexive pronoun *sebe* or with the name of a body part in accusative case. For example, *belit'sja* ‘whiten oneself’ is defined with *sebe*, ‘oneself [DAT]’, and *krasit'sja* ‘put on makeup’ with *sebe lico* ‘oneself [dat] face’.

Likewise, *krasit'sja* does not often appear in contemporary usage (with the meaning of dying hair) with the heavy reflexive pronoun *sebja* ‘oneself [acc]’. Instead, the corresponding “heavy form” for this verb often gives the name of the body part in accusative case. Consider the following examples, both from online forums.

(16) *Kto krasilsja kraskoj KAPOUS?*²⁹
‘Who has dye his/her (own) hair with the dye KAPOUS?’

(17) *Možno li krasit' volosy vo vremja beremennosti?*³⁰
‘Can one dye one's hair during pregnancy?’

Example (16) is the POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE *SJA*-verb, while example (17) is the heavy form. However, (17) does not use *sebja*, rather it uses the accusative noun ‘hair.’ Thus, this verb is not REFLEXIVE, because it does not meet the requirements of Definition 3 in 2.3 in that it cannot regularly be substituted by the corresponding transitive verb and the heavy reflexive pronoun. POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE verbs do meet the criteria of Definition 1, but they involve Partial Affectedness and have a “heavy form” consisting not of the accusative case reflexive pronoun *sebja* but of the transitive verb with the accusative case of the body part as the patient as in (17).

Also, consider this example from a conversation with an intravenous drug user:

²⁹<http://www.parikmaher-online.Rus/node/393>, 01 June 2011

³⁰<http://questionsmoms.Rus/q/11-04-2011/mozhno-li-krasit-volosy-vo-vremya-beremennosti>, 01 June 2011

- (18) *Ja ne mogu izmenit'sja - na vyxodnyx snova ukololsja. Ne vižu ser'eznyx pričín, čtoby ne vernut'sja k upotrebleniju.*³¹
 'I cannot change - I pricked myself (shot up) again on the weekend. I do not see a serious reason not to return to [drug] use.'

Here this verb involves an intentional action, which is normally rendered by the idiom 'shoot up' in English. The POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE meaning is actually rather rare for this *SJA*-verb, as it is for many verbs of harm. The POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE meaning does exist for these *SJA*-verbs as seen in the examples given, and thus they are listed in this group with reference to those specific meanings.

The second group of POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE verbs also consists of verbs of Partial Affectedness and Intentional Effect, but they are typically carried out on the self. As a result, they do not include the categories of harm or attitude, just as mentioned in the discussion for Table 2 in 2.0. This group does include a number of grooming verbs, which are by definition typically carried out on the self.

Physical Effect	
<i>carapat'sja/o-</i>	'scratch oneself'
<i>bryzgat'sja vodoj</i> ^{impf32}	'splash oneself'
Grooming	
<i>dušit'sja/na-</i>	'perfume oneself'
<i>rasčěsyvat'sja/rasčesat'sja</i>	'comb one's hair'
<i>sur'mit'sja/na-</i>	'darken one's hair or eyebrows'

³¹<http://www.aidsalliance.org.ua/Rus/library/our/motivationinterview/pdf/mg6.pdf>, 24 May 2011

³² The verb *bryzgat'sja* also occurs in a reciprocal meaning, 'splash each other'. It is not uncommon for *SE*-verbs to be used in multiple semantic functions. A perfective for this construction is not regularly attested. This verb occurs with both REFLEXIVE (total affectedness) and POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE (partial affectedness) meanings.

<i>zavivat'sja/zavit'sja</i>	'curl one's hair'
<i>xmurit'sja/za-</i>	'frown, knit one's brow'
Clothing	
<i>zatjagivat'sja/zatjanut'sja (pojasom/v korcet)</i>	'tighten oneself into a belt/corset'
<i>zapaxivat'sja/zapaxnut'sja</i>	'wrap oneself, close one's coat'
<i>zastegivat'sja/zastegnut'sja</i>	'button oneself up'
Defense	
<i>ogoraživat'sja/ogorodit'sja</i>	'fence oneself in'
Other	
<i>skalit'sja/o-</i>	'bare one's teeth'
<i>xmurit'sja/za-</i>	'frown, knit one's brow'
<i>zaščiščat'sja/zaščitit'sja</i>	'defend one's dissertation'

Table 8. POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE SJA-Verbs, Group 2

Partial Affectedness and Intentional Effect;
typically carried out on self, involves a part of the body

The POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE verbs above have been defined in Evgen'ev with the heavy dative reflexive pronoun *sebe* or some other phrase indicating part of a person's belongings and normally using the reflexive possessive pronoun *svoj*. In this way they are similar to some of the verbs in Table 6 in 3.1. For example, *ogorodit'sja* is defined *ogorodit' sebja/svoe vladenie*, indicating that it is not universally a REFLEXIVE, but rather can be REFLEXIVE or POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE. In most instances, these verbs are like those in Table 6, in that the heavy form variants use the dative case reflexive pronoun *sebe* along with an accusative case noun for the belonging or body part. Consider the event associated with the verb *zapaxivat'sja/zapaxnut'sja*, for which the heavy variant often involves a piece of clothing as the accusative patient after the dative or prepositional reflexive pronoun.

- (19) *Togda ja plotnee **zapaxnulsja** v kurtku, zabralsja na krovat' i svernulsja v klubok.*³³
 'Then I closely wrapped myself in a jacket, climbed on the bed, and curled up in a ball.'
- (20) *Zajac krepče **zapaxnul na sebe kurtku**, čtoby lučše čuvstvovat' den'gi, ležaščie u nego v karmane.*³⁴
 'The hare more firmly wrapped the jacket around himself, in order to better feel the money in his pocket.'

Example (20) uses the transitive verb with the patient indicated by the phrase with a prepositional phrase and an accusative complement, *na sebe kurtku*. Example (19) simply uses the *SJA*-verb. In fact, it has been argued earlier that the heavy form is often used for a parallel grammatical structure with a compound patient. Likewise, one can argue that in (19) the *SJA*-verb is used for a parallel grammatical structure with the other two *SJA*-verbs in this compound predicate.

A final type of POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE involves those events in which the agent acts upon one of his possessions. Examples include *tratit'sja*, 'spend money' and *upakovat'sja*, 'pack one's things up'. With these verbs, one might consider that the *-sja* stands in the place of the possession, such that *tratit'sja* is interchangeable with *tratit' den'gi* and *upakovat'sja* is interchangeable with *upakovat' vešč'i*. These verbs typically do refer to patients that belong to the agent (as opposed to belonging to some other entity), and thus they are POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE.

POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE verbs are thus similar to REFLEXIVE, but for these verbs, the corresponding heavy form is not the reflexive pronoun *sebj'a*, but is the name of the body part or possessed item as suggested in Diagnostic 2 in 2.2.

³³<http://www.dartsexperts.Rus/darts-151-4.html>, 01 June 2011

³⁴http://www.niworld.Rus/Skazki/Skazki_nar_mira/Rusminsk/zais.htm, 28 May 2011

3.3. RECIPROCAL *SJA*-Verbs

As stated in Definition 4, RECIPROCAL verbs involve a plural subject³⁵ in which the agent and patient both act upon each other. The discussion in 2.3 explains that RECIPROCAL verbs might be considered a sub-type of REFLEXIVE because RECIPROCAL verbs involve both the agent and patient (as a total plural entity) acting upon themselves together. The corresponding heavy form for Russian RECIPROCAL *SJA*-verbs is the transitive verb with the heavy reciprocal form *drug druga*. Therefore, according to Diagnostic 3 in 2.3, a Russian *SJA*-verb is considered to be RECIPROCAL if it can be substituted (or defined) with the heavy form. For example, *vstrečat'sja*, ‘meet each other’ is the same as *vstrečat' drug druga* ‘meet each other’ when the former is used with a plural subject. Examples of Russian RECIPROCAL *SJA*-verbs are given in Table 9.

<i>celovat'sja/po-</i>	‘to kiss each other’
<i>vstrečat'sja/vstretit'sja</i>	‘meet each other’
<i>znakomit'sja/po-</i>	‘get to know each other’
<i>obnimat'sja/obnjat'sja</i>	‘embrace each other’
<i>zdorovat'sja/po-</i>	‘greet each other’
<i>sorevnovat'sja</i>	‘compete with each other’
<i>drat'sja/po-</i>	‘hit each other’

Table 9. RECIPROCAL *SJA*-verbs

³⁵There is a secondary type of reciprocal verbs that involve singular subjects. They are not treated as a separate type of RECIPROCAL in this work, but often occur with a “with” phrase, such as *Ja vstretilsja s nej* ‘I met (with) her.’

The entries in this small set of verbs are all defined in the RAD with the heavy form *drug druga*. For example, *celovat'sja* is defined as *celovat' drug druga*. These verbs primarily occur with a plural or compound subject in which two participants act upon each other. The list is much smaller than might be expected, but this is because of the defined constraints of Diagnostic 3 in 2.3. Many verbs that have been identified as RECIPROCAL in descriptions of Russian *SJA*-verbs, including Čagina (2009), include verbs, such as *obščat'sja*, ‘associate with’, that cannot be substituted with the heavy form, i.e., *obščat'sja* is not *obščat' drug druga*. Example (21) is a RECIPROCAL *SJA*-verb.

- (21) *Vladimir vidit kak Anna i Mixail celujutsja.*³⁶[sic]
 ‘Vladimir sees that Anna and Mikhail kiss each other.’³⁷

RECIPROCAL verbs are rare for *SJA*-verbs, just as REFLEXIVE verbs are rare for *SJA*-verbs. Like REFLEXIVE verbs, in which the REFLEXIVE event is more often rendered with the heavy form, RECIPROCAL events are also more often rendered with the heavy form. For example, the verb *uvidet'sja*, ‘see each other’, tends to be RECIPROCAL only in the perfective aspect.

- (22) *Oni uvidelis' v izdatel'stve, no devushka sdelala vid, što eë ne zametila.*³⁸
 ‘They saw each other at the publishing house, but the girl pretended that she did not notice.’

The imperfective *videt'sja* does sometimes have RECIPROCAL meaning as seen in (23).

³⁶<http://frensbn.narod.Rus/descrip/descr28.html>, 29 March 2014

³⁷ Note that *celovat'sja* can also be interpreted as an intransitive kiss, meaning just ‘to kiss’ with no reference to a patient, as opposed to a reciprocal meaning as given here.

³⁸<http://forum.littleone.Rus/archive/index.php/t-3852159.html>, 28 May 2011

- (23) *No mne bol'no, ottogo, čto – my redko vidimsja, potomy čto on zanjat . . .*³⁹
'But I am hurt due to the fact that we rarely see each other because he is busy . . .'

When the imperfective verb is used, the RECIPROCAL is rendered more often with the heavy form *drug druga* as seen in (24), (25), (26) and (27).

- (24) *My nikogda ne videli drug druga, no my rodnye.*⁴⁰
'We have never seen each other, but we are relatives.'
- (25) *Repery, kogda my vidim drug druga na ulice, vseгда zdarovaemsja [sic].*⁴¹
Rappers, when we see each other on the street, always greet each other.
- (26) *Dva komputera ne vidjat drug druga.*⁴²
'Two computers cannot see each other.'

All three examples show the heavy form used for a reciprocal meaning. (24) and (25) are examples of the literal meaning 'to see each other [physically, with the eyes]', while (26) is for a more figurative meaning used with computer networking. A similar figurative meaning is seen in the headline given in (27).

- (27) *Kak turki i kurdy vidjat drug druga i kurdkij vopros?*⁴³
'How do Turks and Kurds see each other and the Kurd question?'

³⁹<http://www.chelpsy.Rus/psyonline/my-redko-vidimsya>, 29 March 2014

⁴⁰http://duhliderstva.blogspot.com/2010/07/blog-post_5027.html, 29 March 2014

⁴¹<http://vkontakte.Rus/club1934743>, 29 March 2014

⁴²<http://forum.oszone.net/thread-108651.html>, 31 October 2014

⁴³http://kurdistan.Rus/2011/06/16/news-10942_Kak_turki_i_kurdy_vi.html

This figurative meaning is more with reference to ‘considering/having an opinion of each other’. From (25) and (27) it is clear that the heavy form is used with imperfective verbs that indicate habitual actions and not only with negated imperfectives as seen in (24) and (26). Example (25) is interesting because it includes two RECIPROCAL verbs. The first, ‘see each other’ is rendered with the heavy form *videt' drug druga*, but the second is rendered with the light form *zdorovat'sja* (though the writer uses a vernacular spelling, *zdarovat'sja*). It is clear from this juxtaposition that the heavy RECIPROCAL form is preferred for the imperfective verb *videt'*. This preference occurs because of the possible PASSIVE or IMPERSONAL meanings of this verb and the necessity to disambiguate the RECIPROCAL meaning from the other meanings is more salient than the need for a parallel structure with the second light RECIPROCAL form verb, which is basically restricted to the meaning of ‘greet one another’ in any context. Example (28) includes a compound patient, the Turks and Kurds perceive both each other and see the Kurd question.

Other verbs may be considered RECIPROCAL in meaning, but upon application of diagnostic rules as well as further consideration of the semantic notions involved, it is clear that they are MIDDLE instead. Consider these verbs: *dogovarivat'sja/dogovorit'sja*, ‘agree with each other (on an agreement)’ and *sobirat'sja/sobrat'sja*,⁴⁴ ‘gather together’; these verbs seem to be RECIPROCAL because they involve plural agents performing the same activity relative to one another. Neither of these verbs meets the requirements of Diagnostic 3, because they cannot be

⁴⁴These examples refer only to the apparent reciprocal meaning of *sobirat'sja/sobrat'sja*, and not to the MIDDLE meaning, ‘to plan to’.

substituted by the corresponding heavy RECIPROCAL form. Examples (28) and (30) are acceptable, but (29) and (31) are not.

- (28) *My sjadem i dogovorimsja.*⁴⁵
'We will sit down and come to an agreement (with each other).'
- (29) **My sjadem i dogovorim drug druga.* [= (28)]
- (30) *Okolo 150 čelovek sobralis' na miting protesta v moskovskom rajone Jasenovo.*⁴⁶
'Around 150 people gathered together at a protest meeting in the Moscow region Jasenovo.'
- (31) **Okolo 150 čelovek sobrali drug druga na miting protesta v moskovskom rajone Jasenovo.* [= (30)]

Because these verbs do not allow the heavy form in the same meaning as the light form, they do not meet the diagnostic requirements and therefore are not RECIPROCAL verbs. Semantically these verbs appear to have a type of RECIPROCAL meaning because they indicate an event in which multiple subjects act upon each other. However, upon closer consideration, it is clear that these events actually involve plural subjects acting together as one (i.e., 'gather together,' 'come to an agreement') as opposed to acting upon each other. This explains why the transitive verbs cannot be used with the heavy RECIPROCAL pronouns and result in the same meaning. In fact, the transitive *dogovarivat'/dogovorit'* has a different meaning in the non-*sja* form. It simply means

⁴⁵<http://www.echo.msk.Rus/blog/nzlobin/790338-echo/>, 16 July 2011

⁴⁶<http://www.kasparov.Rus/material.php?id=4DCFC16BD1976>, 21 July 2011

‘finish speaking/telling/saying.’ Thus, the *-sja* adds additional semantic change to the event. This is common for MIDDLE verbs and is discussed in more detail in 3.6.

3.4. PASSIVE *SJA*-Verb Constructions

Russian has several passive constructions including past passive participles, subjectless constructions, and *SJA*-verbs. As specified in Definition 5 in 2.4, a verbal construction is PASSIVE if it expresses an agentive event in which the patient has been promoted to the nominative subject. The agent is either unspecified or it is present in a *by*-phrase in the instrumental case. Russian PASSIVE constructions with *SJA*-verbs are generally limited to imperfective verbs, such as in (32).

- (32) *Gde **pokupajutsja** korabli?*⁴⁷
‘Where are ships bought?’

An example like (32) rarely includes the agent (in the instrumental case). Thus, (33) can occur, but constructions like this with instrumental agents are relatively rare, as mentioned by Brecht and Levine (1985), Israeli (1997), and Björklund (2003).

- (33) *Bilety Moskva-Kiev i Užgorod-Moskva **pokupajutsja** moskvičami v Moskve.*⁴⁸
‘Tickets from Moscow to Kiev and from Uzhgorod to Moscow are bought by Muscovites in Moscow.’

⁴⁷<http://Rus.board.bigpoint.com/bgo/showthread.php?t=187404>, 22 July 2011

⁴⁸<http://www.liveinternet.Rus/community/kiiev/post909299/>, 25 July 2011

PASSIVE constructions do not occur with perfective *SJA*-verbs in Russian. Perfective events are made PASSIVE with the use of a past passive participle or other construction such as subjectless constructions. Terence Wade suggests that while perfective passives in Russian are normally created with participles, there are a few perfective passives created with *SJA*-verb, giving examples such as *Veršiny pokrylis' snegom*, 'The peaks became covered in snow' (2000, 332). Wade notes that these kinds of perfective passives denote an action, as opposed to a state indicated with a passive participle, *Veršiny pokryty*, 'The peaks are covered in snow.' However, the snow in this utterance is not an agent and the event is not in any way agentive. Snow does not act as an agent in covering something in snow. In this dissertation, the predicate given above is included in the category of phenomenological verbs, which are inchoative in nature, with the meaning 'become X' and are among the verbs classified as MIDDLE.

Thus, I assume that PASSIVE perfectives with *SJA*-verbs in Russian are extremely marginal at best. As a result of this aspectual restriction, PASSIVE constructions cannot be considered prototypical for *SJA*-verbs. Instead they represent a very minor usage pattern with syntactic restrictions. Additionally, Israeli (1997) shows that perfective *SJA*-verbs do not occur in PASSIVE constructions.

3.5. IMPERSONAL Constructions in *SJA*-Verbs.

Another type of construction involving Russian *SJA*-verbs is that of IMPERSONAL constructions. When discussing the IMPERSONAL or PASSIVE functions, one cannot give a specific list of verbs that fall into this category. Rather, various *SJA*-verbs, (which could otherwise be REFLEXIVE, RECIPROCAL or MIDDLE) can be used in IMPERSONAL constructions. As stated in Definition 6 in

2.5., IMPERSONAL constructions are subjectless constructions in which the transitivity (inherent to the original non-*SE*-verb) is not necessarily lost. In these constructions, the addition of *-sja* simply signals the lack of a syntactic subject and therefore expresses a situation in which no determination of person is given. These constructions occur in third-person forms and express general situations about the state of the world or a given situation. Example (34) provides an example of a common impersonal construction with the phrase *govoritsja*, ‘as it is said’.

- (34) *Kak govoritsja, pervyi blin komom.*
‘As it is said, the first pancake is mush [better luck next time].’⁴⁹

Prominently included as IMPERSONAL constructions among Russian *SJA*-verbs is the so-called inclinational construction, in which the *SJA*-verb is used in conjunction with a dative case noun or pronoun to indicate that the (dative case) subject is or is not inclined to perform the action of the verb. Gerritsen lists these as the “*Rabotaetsja* type,” making reference to the construction *Emu ne rabotaetsja legko*, ‘He feels that he is not able to work easily’ (173). Gerritsen’s interpretation of inclinational constructions is ‘V (= non-*sja*-verb) comes/does not come easily [to subject]’ or ‘[subject] feels that [subject] can/cannot perform V well.’ This construction occurs with a variety of verbs including those listed in Table 10; all are imperfectives.

⁴⁹ <http://www.livelib.Rus/review/285524>, 25 October 2014

<i>emu ne poetsja</i>	‘he does not sing well’
<i>ej rabotaetsja legko</i>	‘she works easily’
<i>mne ne spitsja</i>	‘I do not feel like sleeping/cannot sleep’

Table 10. Inclinational IMPERSONAL Constructions

Gerritsen also notes that these constructions are fairly productive, as seen in neologisms with verbs such as *improvizirovat'sja*^{impf} and *direktorstvovat'sja*^{impf} (174). Another similar example is found in the novel *E.B.Zh.* written by Tatyana Garmash-Roffe, in which a woman is asked about her role as director.

- (35) *Kak tebe tut u nas direktorstvyetsja? Ne obizajut mužiki?*⁵⁰
 ‘How are you doing as our director? The guys don’t offend you?’

The high productivity of these constructions seems to indicate that they have a level of salience as a type of Russian *SJA*-verbs.

3.6. MIDDLE *SJA*-Verbs

The largest group of Russian *SJA*-verbs fall into the last group defined here: MIDDLE. As defined in Definition 7 in 2.6, MIDDLE verbs are those that are “subject-focused;” that is, the verb signals that the action is relevant for and focuses on the subject, to the exclusion of other possible participants. Among the *SJA*-verbs that are subject-focused and can be therefore categorized as

⁵⁰<http://knigger.com/texts.php?bid=2301&page=47>, 08 October 2011

MIDDLE verbs, there are several distinct groups of types of verbs. They are listed in 2.6. They include DECAUSATIVE, AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE, PHENOMENOLOGICAL, QUASI-SYNONYMOUS, PROCEDURAL, and *REFLEXIVA TANTUM*. Each of these categories is discussed below with examples given for each.

3.6.1. MIDDLE *SJA*-verbs: DECAUSATIVE

The first group of middle verbs is DECAUSATIVE. These are intransitive *SJA*-verbs that have been defined as DECAUSATIVE by Gerritsen (1990: 12) because the addition of *-sja* removes the notion of external causation from the verb. Consider, for example (as Gerritsen does) the verb pair *vozvraščat' vozvraščat'sja* and *vernut'/vernut'sja*, 'to return (transitive)/to return (intransitive). *Vernut'* involves an action upon a patient, causing the patient to return, while *vernut'sja* simply involves the subject doing the action, returning. Thus, *vernut'* might be paraphrased as 'to cause *vernut'sja*. The addition of *-sja* results in a loss of causation. This group of *SJA*-verbs profiles an internal causation event as opposed to an external causation event (which is present in the non-*SJA*-verb in which the causation comes from the agent). These *SJA*-verbs are accordingly MIDDLE verbs in that they involve one-participant events and the lack of external causation indicates that the events are subject-focused. A few examples of these verbs are given in Table 11, along with their corresponding causative partners.

<i>gotovit'sja/pri-</i>	‘prepare’ (intr.)	<i>gotovit'/pri-</i>	‘cause to be prepared’
<i>načínat'sja/načat'sja</i>	‘begin’ (intr.)	<i>načínat'/načat'</i>	‘cause to begin’
<i>učít'sja/na-</i>	‘learn’	<i>učít'/na-</i>	‘cause to learn, teach’
<i>vosvraščat'sja/ vernút'sja</i>	‘return’ (intr.)	<i>vosvraščat'/vernút'</i>	‘cause to return’

Table 11. Middle *SJA*-verbs: Decausative

3.6.2. MIDDLE *SJA*-verbs: AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE.

A second group of Russian *SJA*-verbs that are MIDDLE consists of those that are used in a construction that is far more common in Russian than in other Slavic languages. These are called AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE by Brecht and Levine (1985: 121). As mentioned in Chapter 2, verbs used in this construction have also been identified as *habitual* by Timberlake (2004: 346), *potential active* by Gerritsen (1990: 98), and *characteristic* by Offord (2004: 368). Russian sources, such as RG and Vinogradov (1986) term them “*aktivno-bezob"ektnyj*”. Other than AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE, Offord’s choice of terminology is the most meaningful, because these verb constructions characterize an agent in some way. They indicate an agentive action, in which the agent is regularly involved, or which typifies the behavior of that agent. While the patient is not normally present in the construction, the event itself is nonetheless agentive. For this study, I have chosen to use Brecht and Levine’s term, AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE.

A few examples of these verbs and their AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE constructions are found in Table 12; all are imperfectives.

<i>sobaka kusaetsja</i>	‘the dog bites/the dog is a biter’
<i>krpiva žžetsja</i>	‘the nettles sting’
<i>korova bodaetsja</i>	‘the cow butts’
<i>lošad' ljagaetsja/brykaetsja</i>	‘the horse kicks/butts’
<i>verbljud' pljuetsja</i>	‘the camel spits’

Table 12. MIDDLE SJA-verbs: AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE constructions

Most of these indicate agentive events that the given agent does on a regular basis, such that the event itself somehow characterizes, or attributes qualities to the agent. The nettle in *krpiva žžetsja* is not agentive, but the predicate here does attribute negative and metaphorically active qualities to the nettle. However, for all of these predicates, the patient is unspecified and is even assumed to be the sympathetic speaker (or someone else with whom he has sympathy), who is or could be the recipient of the (usually harmful) agentive action. Thus these constructions are used for warnings or to describe someone or something. Only a person who is afraid of being bitten or wants to warn someone else about the possibility of a dog bite would utter the phrase *sobaka kusaetsja*.

- (36) *Čto delat', esli ščenok kusaetsja?*⁵¹
 ‘What is one to do if (his/her) puppy bites?’

This question asks for advice about how to handle a habitual problem: the puppy is a biter and bites others. While all of the verbs used in AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE constructions have agentive non-

⁵¹<http://all-small-dogs.Rus/training/chto-delat-esli-schenok-kusaetsya/>, 06 September 2011

SJA-verb partners (e.g., *kusat* ‘to bite’, *sobaka kusaet detej*, ‘the dog bites children’), the *SJA*-verb in AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE constructions appear without a syntactic patient and simply indicate the habituality of an action, as opposed to one specific instance of the event. Additionally, these verbs tend to involve a level of aggression, reflecting an aggressive characteristic of the subject (e.g., biting, cursing, kicking, stinging).

Like those verbs used in PASSIVE and IMPERSONAL constructions, the *SJA*-verbs used in AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE constructions may also appear as other semantic functions. For example *bodaet'sja*, (which is shown as an AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE in (37)) also occurs as a RECIPROCAL as in the headline about smartphone advertisements given in (38) and in a political story headline in (39).

(37) *Ostorožno, korova **bodaetsja!***⁵²
‘Be careful, the cow butts!’

(38) *Apple i Motorola “**bodajutsja**” v reklame.*⁵³
‘Apple and Motorola butt each other in an advertisement.’

(39) *Tipično amerikanskaja politika – dve partii **bodajutsja** iz-za uveličenija nalogov na 0,1%.*⁵⁴
‘Typical American politics – the two parties are butting each other over a tax increase of 0.1 percent.’

⁵²<http://vseklub.Rus/node/20897>, 06 September 2011

⁵³<http://mobiledevice.Rus/droid-x-iphone-4-motorola-smartfon-apple-reklama-antenna.aspx>, 06 September 2011

⁵⁴<http://www.kommersant.Rus/doc/1685627>, 06 September 2011

3.6.3. MIDDLE *SJA*-verbs: PHENOMENOLOGICAL.

A third group of Russian *SJA*-verbs are those that are often termed PHENOMENOLOGICAL. This is a relatively small group of verbs that indicate that the subject shows a specific color or trait. These *SJA*-verbs are generally synonymous or quasi-synonymous with their non-*SJA*-verb pairs. For example, *belet'sja* = *belet'* = 'show white'. This does not account for a second meaning of the imperfective non-*SJA*-verb verb *belet'*, which is inchoative/processual, 'become white'. Thus, the imperfective non-*SJA*-verb has both the processual ('become X') and stative ('show X') meanings, while the imperfective *SJA*-verb has only the stative meaning. Gerritsen (40) points out that according to native informants of Contemporary Standard Russian, the PHENOMENOLOGICAL *SJA*-verbs (e.g., *belet'sja*) are always "interpreted statively," but she also denotes some older examples of processual PHENOMENOLOGICAL *SJA*-verbs, (e.g., *zelenet'sja*) from the nineteenth century in Turgenev. Moreover, she indicates that the perfective "partners" of these *SJA*-verbs do carry both the processual and stative meanings. Thus *belet'sja* = *zabelet'sja*, 'become/show white'. Knjazev notes that the differences between the *-sja* and non-*sja* variants of these verbs are quite subtle and therefore they are almost synonymous, such that Russian *belet'* is often interchangeable with *belet'sja* (2007:267).

These verbs are neither transitive nor agentive. They simply indicate a change that comes over the subject. Because they describe a change that is limited to the state of the subject, they are clearly subject-focused and accordingly can be included in the group of middle *SJA*-verbs. A few examples are given in Table 13.

<i>belet'sja</i>	‘show white’	<i>zabelet'sja</i>	‘become, show white’
<i>sinet'sja</i>	‘show blue’	<i>zasinet'sja</i>	‘become, show blue’
<i>zelenet'sja</i>	‘show green’	<i>zazelenet'sja</i>	‘become, show green’

Table 13. MIDDLE *SJA*-verbs: PHENOMENOLOGICAL

A non-contemporary example of these PHENOMENOLOGICAL *SJA*-verbs occurs in the first of line of Alexander Pushkin’s 1835 lyric poem.

- (40) *Čto **beleetsja** na gore zelenoj?*⁵⁵
‘What is showing white on the green hill?’

Google searches for these verbs lead to nineteenth century literature more often than to contemporary usage (blogs, forums, etc.), thus indicating that these *SJA*-verbs probably exist more in *belle lettres* than in contemporary speech. While this group is similar to the QUASI-SYNONYMOUS pairs of MIDDLE verbs discussed in 3.6.4, I have separated them out here in order to show how they are parallel to the same group of verbs in BCS, which also tend to occur most often in literature. Those verbs are discussed in 4.6.3.

3.6.4. MIDDLE *SJA*-verbs: QUASI-SYNONYMOUS Pairs.

Israeli (1997) defines a group of Russian *SJA*-verbs that are grouped as QUASI-SYNONYMOUS pairs. These pairs include both a *SJA*-verb and its non-*SJA*-verb partner. The two verbs are quasi-synonymous in meaning; that is, they have basically the same meaning, however they are used in

⁵⁵<http://www.as-pushkin.Rus/index.php?cnt=22&fl=ch&st=s2&id=376>, 21 September 2011

slightly different contexts or have slightly different shades of meaning. Israeli identifies several three different semantic types for these pairs. They include three basic types, which she terms (1) *volitional*, (2) *lack of impact on others* and (3) *lack of knowledge*. All of these types involve the semantic notion of subject-focus and are thus categorized as MIDDLE verbs. Each type is described briefly here, using the sample verb pairs provided by Israeli.

The first group is *volitional* (Israeli 1997: 83). With these verb pairs, the *SJA*-verb has an added semantic notion of volition from the subject. The two verbs have close to the same meaning, but the *SJA*-verb is used in a context in which the subject exerts extra volition. Several examples are found in Table 14.

<i>rešat'/rešit'</i>	'decide'	<i>rešat'sja/ rešit'sja</i>	'bring oneself to decide/do, dare'
<i>priznavat'/priznat'</i>	'admit' (can be just to oneself)	<i>priznavat'sja/ priznat'sja</i>	'confess, admit' (must be verbalized to another party)
<i>stučat'/po-</i>	'knock' (creating a sound)	<i>stučat'sja/po-</i>	'knock' (as a request for admittance, either literal or figurative)
<i>zvonit'/po-</i>	'ring' (creating a sound)	<i>zvonit'sja/po-</i>	'ring' (as a request for admittance, either literal or figurative)
<i>otkazyvat'/otkazat'</i>	'refuse' (often as one in authority)	<i>otkazyvat'sja/ otkazat'sja</i>	'refuse' [when not in a position to do so] (often as a subordinate, thus requiring extra volition)

Table 14. MIDDLE *SJA*-verbs: QUASI-SYNONYMOUS Pairs (*Volitional*)

As described by Israeli (1997: 83-95)

It is clear from the glosses and clarifying descriptions given above that the *SJA*-verbs in the above pairs are not REFLEXIVE. In fact, the non-*sja*-verb *priznat'* can mean ‘to admit to oneself’ (seemingly a REFLEXIVE meaning), while the *SJA*-verb partner *priznat'sja* means ‘to admit (verbally to another)’. Clearly, the addition of the affix *-sja* for this verb does not add a REFLEXIVE meaning. Instead it adds the semantic notion of *volition*, as described by Israeli. If these verbs signal that the event involves an additional degree of *volition* on the part of the subject, the predicates must be subject-focused. They are subject-focused inasmuch as the potential negative consequences are relevant for the subject and no one else. Indeed, they involve a greater degree of focus on the subject than the non-*SJA*-verb partners involve. Thus they are MIDDLE verbs.

The second group of QUASI-SYNONYMOUS verbs involve *lack of impact on others*. For this group of verb pairs, the *SJA*-verb indicates that the event does not have an impact on others. Some examples of these verbs as presented in Israeli (95–107) are given in Table 15.

<i>dymit'/na-</i>	‘smoke (with impact on people)’	<i>dymit'sja/na-</i>	‘smoke (without an impact on people)’
<i>kružit'/po-</i>	‘circle (with impact)’	<i>kružit'sja/po-</i>	‘circle (without impact)’
<i>pleskat'/po-</i>	‘splash (with impact)’	<i>pleskat'sja/po-</i>	‘splash (without impact)’
<i>svetit'/za-</i>	‘shine (and illuminate)’	<i>svetit'sja/za-</i>	‘shine, glow (without illuminating)’

Table 15. MIDDLE *SJA*-verbs: QUASI-SYNONYMOUS Pairs (*Lack of Impact on Others*)

These QUASI-SYNONYMOUS pairs are based on *lack of impact*, indicating that the addition of the affix *-sja* for these verbs does not add the semantic notion of reflexivity. Instead, the addition of the affix actually removes the notion of *impact on others*. However, this can also be described as the addition of the semantic notion of subject-focus, inasmuch as the action is restricted to the domain of the subject. Therefore, these Russian *SJA*-verbs fit into the semantic group of MIDDLE verbs. Consider the following examples for the pair *pleskat'/pleskat'sja*. The non-*SJA*-verb in (41) is taken from a question on an online forum about auto repair.

- (41) *A remontnuju židkost' v pokryšku ne pleskal'?*⁵⁶
'You didn't splash the repair fluid into the tire casing, did you?'

The context of this question makes it clear that the verb involves an impact on something, because the question is about whether the tire casing was somehow harmed by the repair fluid.

The corresponding *SJA*-verb example in (42) is from a science article headline from 24 November 2009.

- (42) *Na Marse kogda-to pleskalsja ogromnyj okean.*⁵⁷
'At some time a giant ocean splashed about on Mars.'

This event does not involve any impact on anyone or anything. It simply refers to a situation in which a body of water existed, thus resulting in the English translation, 'splashed about'. This event is subject-focused in that it involves only a subject and the action is not transitive, it simply

⁵⁶<http://www.opeldriver.Rus/message-14165785.htm>, 10 October 2011

⁵⁷<http://prostonauka.com/na-Marse-kogda-to-pleskalsja-ogromnyj-okean>, 08 October 2011

describes the state of the subject at a given time. This and other QUASI-SYNONYMOUS *SJA*-verbs involving *lack of impact* are good examples of MIDDLE verbs.

The final group of QUASI-SYNONYMOUS verbs described by Israeli is really not a group at all. She defines it as those involving *lack of knowledge*. However, the only verb pair treated in her work for this group is *stat'/stat'sja*, ‘become of’. The lack of knowledge described by Israeli (107) for this pair involves the speaker’s lack of knowledge of the fate of the subject. Israeli (108) also notes that *stat'* is generally used “regarding minor, passing occurrences,” while *stat'sja* “is used in questions about the fate (life vs. death) of a person (or an important inanimate entity).” While this pair seems a bit less clear than those of the previous two groups of QUASI-SYNONYMOUS verb pairs, the *SJA*-verb *stat'sja* is reasonably assumed to be subject-focused in that it involves a serious (life vs. death) question about the subject. This focus on the fate of the subject (as opposed to simply the passing state of the subject with the non-*SJA*-verb *stat'*) indicates that the addition of *-sja* in this verb pair adds the semantic quality of *subject focus*. With *stat'* the speaker knows what happened, but with *stat'sja* the speaker has no idea and so the events are left only with the subject, in turn making these utterances subject-focused.

All of the three types of QUASI-SYNONYMOUS *SJA*-verbs described by Israeli (1997) indicate a situation in which the addition of the affix *-sja* adds the notion of *subject focus* to the Russian *SJA*-verb in the pair. These verbs are thus categorized as MIDDLE verbs.

3.6.5. MIDDLE *SJA*-verbs: PROCEDURAL.

A group of *SJA*-verbs described in all of the literature includes procedural verbs, also termed *sposoby glagolnogo dejstviya* in the Russian language linguistic literature. In this dissertation this

verbs are termed PROCEDURAL for all of the languages treated. In Russian, these verbs have both the suffix *-sja* and a prefix. Together these alter the meaning of the base verb to change the nature of the event. For example, *na-X-sja* results in the meaning ‘do X to satiety’, as seen in *naest'sja*, ‘to eat one’s fill’. A few of these, specifically the satiatives, of the format *na-X-sja*, and the absorptives, of the format *za-X-sja*, are inherited from Common Slavic. These exist both in Russian and in BCS and are discussed in 4.6.4. Russian, however, has many more examples of these verbs, formed with various prefixes for various meanings. These Russian verbs have been examined and catalogued in detail by Rutkowska (1981) and are defined and in Dickey (2011) as found in Table 16.

Type	Examples
<i>do-X-sja</i> , ‘do X to the point of a negative result’	<i>donarkomanit'sja</i> , ‘take narcotics to the point of an adverse result’ <i>dorabotat'sja</i> , ‘work to the point of an adverse result’
<i>iz-X-sja</i> , ‘acquire a habit or permanent characteristics through the repeated performance of X’	<i>izolgat'sja</i> , ‘lie to the point of becoming an incorrigible liar’ <i>izvorobat'sja</i> , ‘steal to the point of becoming an incorrigible thief’
<i>ot(o)-X-sja</i> , ‘avoid something unpleasant or dangerous by performing the activity of X’	<i>otgovorit'sja</i> , ‘avoid something by talking/talk one’s way out of something’ <i>otsidet'sja</i> , ‘avoid a danger by sitting in shelter/hiding’
<i>ot(o)-X-sja</i> , <i>pro-X-sja</i> , ‘return to equilibrium/a normal state via the activity of X’	<i>otležat'sja</i> , ‘lie to the point where one returns to a normal state’ <i>prospat'sja</i> , ‘sleep to the point where one returns to a normal, sober state’
<i>pro-X-sja</i> , ‘ruin oneself, lose one’s money and property as a result of the activity X’	<i>promatat'sja</i> , ‘ruin oneself squandering one’s money’ <i>prostroit'sja</i> , ‘squander all one’s money building a house’
<i>o-/obo-X-sja</i> , ‘perform the action of X erroneously or unsuccessfully’	<i>ostupit'sja</i> , ‘misstep’ <i>oslyšat'sja</i> , ‘hear incorrectly’
<i>o-/obo-X-sja</i> , ‘become accustomed	<i>obterpet'sja</i> , ‘become accustomed to enduring

to performing the action of X'	physical or mental pain' <i>o(b)gljadet'sja</i> , 'become accustomed to looking in the dark'
<i>pri-X-sja</i> , 'become accustomed to something via the activity X'	<i>prigljadet'sja</i> , 'get used to looking at something' <i>pripit'sja</i> , 'get used to a beverage by drinking it'
<i>s-X-sja</i> , 'reach harmony/accord as a result of the activity of X'	<i>srabotat'sja</i> , 'reach harmony/accord in work' <i>spet'sja</i> , 'reach harmony/accord in singing'
<i>pod(o)-X-sja</i> , 'adapt to someone/gain someone's favor via the activity X'	<i>podol'stit'sja</i> , 'gain someone's favor by flattery' <i>podslužit'sja</i> , 'gain someone's favor through service'

Table 16. Russian Procedural *SJA*-verbs from Rutkowska (1981)

Table 16 gives two examples of each type, but Rutkowska has identified multiple examples for each, and dozens for the first two. As mentioned above, the PROCEDURAL *SE*-verbs exist in Slavic languages other than Russian, indicating that they have an origin in Common Slavic, as opposed to being a new innovation. However, they are particularly common in East Slavic, including Russian. Another group that is unique to East Slavic is the *za-X-sja* type of PROCEDURAL *SJA*-verbs. These involve the semantic notion of 'becoming lost in X', such as *začitat'sja*, 'become lost/engrossed in reading'. This can be seen in the following example in (43), from a November 2010 interview with Azerbaijani author Čingiz Abdullaev.

- (43) *Nedavno začitalsja svojej knjigoj i opozdal na poezd.*⁵⁸
'I recently got engrossed in reading my book and missed the train.'

Other similar examples (from both nineteenth century literature and modern Internet posts) can be found with the verb *zatančevat'sja*, 'get lost in dancing'.

⁵⁸<http://www.vestikavkaza.Rus/interview/kultura/29454.html>, 10 October 2011

The PROCEDURAL *SJA*-verbs are considered MIDDLE. They involve only one participant and involve little internal causation. Since the result has some noticeable effect on the subject (such as negative consequences, satiety, loss of normal behavior), the event is subject-focused and these verbs fall in the group of MIDDLE verbs.

3.6.6. MIDDLE *SJA*-verbs: *REFLEXIVA TANTUM*

The last group of *-SJA*-verbs in the MIDDLE group are those that are *REFLEXIVA TANTUM*. These verbs only occur with the affix *-sja*; they do not have a corresponding non-*SJA*-verb. Several examples are in Table 17.

<i>bojat'sja/po-</i>	‘be afraid’
<i>gordit'sja-po-</i>	‘be proud of’
<i>nadejat'sja/po-</i>	‘to rely on, count on, hope for’
<i>nravit'sja*/po-</i>	‘be pleasing’
<i>slučat'sja*/slucit'jsa</i>	‘happen’
<i>smejat'sja/po-</i>	‘laugh’
<i>starat'sja/po-</i>	‘try’
<i>ulybat'sja/ulybnut'sja</i>	‘smile’
<i>zdorovat'sja/po-</i>	‘say hello’

Table 17. MIDDLE *SJA*-verbs: *REFLEXIVA TANTUM*.

With the exception of the two verbs marked above with asterisks (*nravit'sja*, *slučat'sja*), the majority of the verbs in this group involve an active subject. Some are even agentive. These verbs only exist with the affix *-sja*, and therefore they do not reflect a situation in which the

addition of *-sja* adds the notion of REFLEXIVITY or any other semantic notion. Instead, these verbs simply reflect events with a semantic subject or with a semantic agent and semantic patient that occurs in an oblique case or with a prepositional phrase. For example, *bojat'sja čego*, *smejat'sja nad kem/čem*, *ulybat'sja o čem*. These verbs normally do not take an accusative case patient. This situation is the same for other REFLEXIVA TANTUM verbs in other Slavic languages. However, in Russian, some of these verbs are beginning to take accusative case complements in a few situations. This especially happens with *bojat'sja*, which occurs with an accusative complement in colloquial (and even some non-colloquial) environments. Consider the following example (44) from an online internet posting.

- (44) *Ja bojus' svoju mamu. Mne kažetsja, čto ona vse vremena zlja i v ljuboj moment mozet na menja nakričat'.⁵⁹*
 'I am afraid of my mom [accusative]. It seems to me that she is always evil and might shout at me at any moment.'

Contrary to the expected genitive case, the patient in this example occurs in accusative case.

With the exception of the unusual verbs noted above, this group of verbs is included in the MIDDLE group because they include one participant and do not focus on any effect on the complement.

The REFLEXIVA TANTUM group include *stanovit'sja*, 'stand up', *ložit'sja*, 'lie down', and *sadit'sja* 'sit down.' These imperfective verbs have a perfective partner verb that is not suffixed with *-sja*. The aspectual pairs are *stanovit'sja/stat'*, *ložit'sja/leč'*, and *sadit'sja/sest'*. This aspectual

⁵⁹<http://www.evrey.com/sitep/askrabbi1/q.php?q=otvet/q3213.htm>, 10 October 2011

difference in suffixation with *-sja* is unusual, and restricted to East Slavic as far as I am aware.

These imperfective verbs with *-sja* are in the *REFLEXIVA TANTUM MIDDLE* category, involving one participant and being subject-focused. The details of this kind of pairing can better be examined in an investigation of aspect or a future diachronic study considering the historical development of semantic types of *SE*-verbs in Russian.

3.7. BENEFACTIVE *SJA*-verbs.

A fairly unusual and unique set of Russian *SJA*-verbs is a small group called BENEFACTIVE. These are verbs that involve a subject participating in an event for the benefit of himself/herself.

According to RG, these verbs can be defined in Russian with the heavy pronouns (phrases) *dlja sebja*, ‘for oneself’ or *sebe*, ‘[dative] for oneself’. Several examples of such verbs are found in Table 18.

<i>pribirat'sja/pibrat'sja</i>	‘straighten things up (for oneself)’
<i>stroit'sja/po-</i>	‘build oneself a home’
<i>ukladyvat'sja/uložit'sja</i>	‘pack up (one's things)’ ⁶⁰

Table 18. BENEFACTIVE *SJA*-verbs.

These verbs could be considered to be related to POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE verbs, in that they often involve something that is possessed by the subject. However, unlike most POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE

⁶⁰ This verb also has the meaning ‘to fit’, but the benefactive meaning given in the chart is the meaning considered for this section.

verbs, they do not involve a body part of the subject, nor do they necessarily involve Partial Affectedness. They also cannot be paraphrased using the heavy form. The effect on the subject is often more abstract than concrete. The action simply somehow benefits the subject (such as the creation of a new home with *stroit'sja*, 'build oneself a home/structure'). See the following example for a benefactive verb taken from the title of a blog about the dacha with a huge fence Victor Yanokovych was having built for himself.

- (45) *Emu nado – on stroitsja.*⁶¹
'He needs it – he builds it for himself.'

Note that in some cases, the *-sja* might be replaced with a kind of heavy form, which is the patient of the verb used with the transitive verb. This appears to be similar to POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE verbs. However, with the BENEFACTIVES, these transitive versions do not refer to a body part, and the heavy form may or may not refer to the agent's own possessions, while with the *-sja* BENEFACTIVE verb, the implication is that the action is for the benefit of the agent and likely involves something that is important to or belongs to the agent.

The BENEFACTIVE verbs are semantically related to middle verbs in Ancient Greek, in which the middle marker often indicated a benefactive meaning (see 2.6). However, they are fairly rare among Russian *SJA*-verbs, and even rarer in BCS.

⁶¹ http://zhzh.info/blog/2014-02-16-12657#.UzfQp_lUkw, 29 March 2014

3.8. Chapter Conclusion

The semantic types of events described by Russian *SJA*-verbs have been described in the preceding sections. They include REFLEXIVE, POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE, RECIPROCAL, PASSIVE constructions, IMPERSONAL constructions, MIDDLE, and BENEFACTIVE and meet the definitions and diagnostics given in Chapter 2. REFLEXIVE, POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE and RECIPROCAL are shown to be fairly small circumscribed sets of verbs. PASSIVE constructions with *SJA*-verbs are shown to be limited primarily to imperfective verbs in Russian. Impersonal constructions for *SJA*-verbs are shown to be fairly productive. MIDDLE is shown to be a full category of *SJA*-verbs with multiple different types including DECAUSATIVE, AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE, PHENOMENOLOGICAL, QUASI-SYNONYMOUS, PROCEDURAL, and *REFLEXIVA TANTUM*. BENEFACTIVE is presented as a semantic type unique to Russian, which should also be subsumed in MIDDLE, but is treated separately here because it differs from BCS inventory of *SE*-verbs. The full semantic network for these types, which establishes that the prototype as MIDDLE, is found in Chapter 5 along with corpus data to support the argument.

Chapter 4 analyzes the same semantic groups of verbs for BCS that have been analyzed for Russian in this chapter. Chapter 4 shows that, on the whole, the same groups exist in BCS, other than the MIDDLE types QUASI-SYNONYMOUS and BENEFACTIVE, which rarely, if ever, occur in BCS. The groups of PROCEDURALS, AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVES and POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVES are also less common and diverse in BCS than in Russian. Chapter 4 lays out examples of from each group for BCS similar to the format of Chapter 3 for Russian.

Chapter 4: *SE*-Verbs in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian

4.0. Introduction

Chapter 2 laid out the basic framework for discussing semantic types of *SE*-verbs for both Russian and BCS. Chapter 3 then provided a more in-depth discussion of these types for Russian. This chapter will do the same for Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS). The language is identified in this study as BCS because the semantic trends discussed for *SE*-verbs in this dissertation are generally the same for these three languages. The data used for comparative analysis in Chapter 5 is from Croatian (translations into Croatian from English and Russian) and Serbian (original from Ivo Andrić) texts.

With a few exceptions, the catalog of semantic types of verbs is essentially the same for both Russian and BCS. As previously noted in Chapter 2, descriptions of *SE*-verbs in Slavic languages are often dominated by discussions of Russian semantic types and functions for these verbs. While this situation partially arises from the predominance of linguistic research centered on Russian (as opposed to other Slavic languages), it can be misleading for various reasons. Although *SE*-verbs are etymologically related among Slavic languages, the synchronic semantic trends may, and, as this study shows, do differ among the different languages. It is thus decidedly misleading to take the list of semantic functions of these verbs in Russian and simply attribute them to *SE*-verbs in another language with the assumption that the types will align in both languages. And, yet, that is exactly what has sometimes happened in the linguistic literature on this topic. A semantic type (such as AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE) may be listed in literature as occurring in BCS, when it is actually quite rare, if it exists at all. The research presented in

Chapter 5 attempts to tease out the actual relative occurrences of such types in these two languages based on data from a parallel corpus. Chapter 4 simply lays out the categories that exist for BCS *SE*-verbs, intentionally using naming conventions that are parallel to those categories defined in Chapter 2 and identified for Russian in Chapter 3. The type that is missing for BCS, but does occur in Russian is BENEFACTIVE. Within the MIDDLE type, QUASI-SYNONYMOUS is not included for BCS.

For a comparative study, it is undoubtedly best to use parallel names for the semantic types so that they can be matched and paired when the semantic types coincide. This was important for this study, because it compares relative occurrences and salience of the varied types. However, it is also worth noting that linguistic descriptions of *SE*-verbs in BCS (including those of Stevanović, Belaj, and Barić described in Chapter 2) tend to use a three-pronged system for identifying semantic types of BCS *SE*-verbs. They include include *true reflexives* (*pravi povratni glagoli*), *reciprocals* (*uzajamno povratni glagoli* or *recipročni glagol*), and *false reflexives* (*nepravi povratni glagoli*). *False reflexives* in this system include many of the verbs that are termed MIDDLE in this dissertation, such as REFLEXIVE TANTUM, PROCEDURAL, DECAUSATIVE, AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE, and others. The three-pronged system for BCS verbs is worth noting, because descriptions of semantic types of *SE*-verbs in Russian are rarely, if ever, so simple. Russian descriptions always include a long list of semantic types for the so-called ‘reflexive’ verbs. Instead, BCS descriptions essentially define the group by saying that there are reflexives, reciprocals, and verbs that are not reflexive. Clearly the perception of semantic types within this group of verbs in BCS is more straightforward than the perception in Russian. And it is certainly worth noting that the word “reflexive” remains prominent in the descriptions of the BCS verbs.

What follows in section 4.1 is a simple list of semantic types of BCS verbs along with a few representative examples for each group. These types are then used for the semantic tagging of data that is described in Chapter 5.

4.1. REFLEXIVE Verbs

Chapter 2 presented Definition 1, establishing that a verb is REFLEXIVE if it is an agentive predicate in which the agent and patient are the same entity but they are construed as separate entities. Diagnostic 1 established a way to determine if a Slavic *SE*-verb is REFLEXIVE by stating that it must be able to be substituted with the corresponding transitive verb and the heavy pronoun and the only change in meaning is one of emphasis or for a compound patient. Verbs that fit Diagnostic 1 are a bit more difficult to identify in BCS than in Russian. While Russian dictionaries often define a *-sja* verb with the transitive verb and *sebjja*, BCS dictionaries are not nearly so straightforward. In fact, BCS dictionaries often do not even list *SE*-verbs as separate entries. The fact that the *se* is actually a separable clitic tends to complicate the dictionary approach to identifying these verbs. The verbs given in Table 19 have attested examples of the same verb with *sebe*, generally found with Google searches. In other words, these verbs, like the Russian REFLEXIVES described in Chapter 3, can be paraphrased with the heavy form of the reflexive pronoun *sebe*. They meet the criteria of Diagnostic 1 because of these attestations and possible paraphrases. They represent REFLEXIVE events of Group 1 because they are events that are not typically carried out on the self, thus further distancing the agent from the patient in the construal.

Altering Appearance	
<i>obnažiti se</i>	‘bare oneself’
Attitude	
<i>mrzjeti/mrziti se</i>	‘hate oneself’
Harm	
<i>udarati/udariti se (u nogu)</i>	‘slap oneself (on the leg)’
<i>streliti/u- se</i>	‘shoot oneself’
<i>umoriti se^{pf}</i>	‘exhaust oneself’
<i>povrediti se^{pf}</i>	‘injure oneself’
<i>vešati se^{impf}</i>	‘hang oneself’

Table 19. REFLEXIVE BCS SE-Verbs, Group 1

(Total Affectedness, Intentional Effect, Not typically carried out on self)

For some of these verbs of harm, especially *udarati/udariti se (u nogu)* as seen above, the phrase may include an additional detail about the part of the body affected by the action. This can and does occur with both the light and heavy forms of the REFLEXIVE verb. Consider example (1) following example about the actions of Detroit Pistons basketball player Michael Bizli.

- (1) *To može samo Bizli: nezadovoljan svojom odlukom udario se u glavu i povredio...*⁶²
‘Only Bizli: he hit himself in the head and injured himself because he was dissatisfied with his decision . . .’

The verb *udario se u glavu*, ‘hit oneself in the head’ shows not only the REFLEXIVE event of hitting oneself, but adds the detail about where the person was hit. While this might appear to be a POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE event, it is in fact construed as REFLEXIVE, with a sense of total

⁶² <http://www.nbaserbia.com/vesti/5576to-mhowoze-samo-bizli-nezadovoljan-svojom-odlukom-udario-se-u-glavu-i-povredio>, 9 April 2014

affectedness. POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE events actually involve situations where the *-sja* or *se* can actually be replaced by the name of the body part that is affected. For these REFLEXIVE verbs, such as *udariti se*, the person is affected in toto by the event, but the prepositional phrase, *u glavu*, further clarifies the nature of the event. Example (2) shows a situation where the heavy pronoun is used and the prepositional phrase with the body part is still present.

- (2) *Boksač sam **sebe udario** u glavu!*⁶³
'The boxer hit himself in the head!'

In this case, the heavy form *udariti sebe* indicates emphasis on the surprise of the act. A boxer does not normally hit himself in the head, so his action is unconventional and the heavy form provides emphasis on the patient, himself. Within the same article about the basketball player, the heavy form is also used, as seen in example (3).

- (3) . . . *nakon dve greške on je sam **sebe izudarao** pesnicama **u glavu**.*⁶⁴
' . . . because of two mistakes he punched himself in the head with his fists.'

Note that example (1) includes two reflexive verbs, *udariti se*, 'hit oneself' and *povrediti se*, 'injure oneself', but only one instance of the clitic *se*. This across-the-board dependency frequently appears in BCS. Two REFLEXIVE verbs can share one clitic. The details of this occurrence are discussed in more detail in chapter 5, as it indicates a high degree of referentiality

⁶³ http://gol.dnevnik.hr/clanak/ostali_sportovi/video-boksac-samog-sebe-udario-sakom-u-glavu.html, 7 April 2014

⁶⁴ <http://www.nbaserbia.com/vesti/5576to-mhowoze-samo-bizli-nezadovoljan-svojom-odlukom-udario-se-u-glavu-i-povredio>, 08 April 2014

for the clitic and, thus, supports the fact that REFLEXIVE is more prototypical for BCS for *SE*-verbs.

Group 2 BCS REFLEXIVE *SE*-verbs also meet the requirements for Definition 1 and Diagnostic 1. They involve Total Affectedness and Intentional Effect, but they are events that are typically carried out on the self. A few examples are below. Like the same group for Russian verbs, many of these are grooming verbs, since those are REFLEXIVE events that are usually carried out on the self.

Altering Appearance	
<i>kupati/o- se</i>	‘bathe (oneself)’
<i>brijati/o- se-</i>	‘shave oneself’
Defense	
<i>čuvati/sa- se</i>	‘take care of oneself’
<i>čeličiti/o- se</i>	‘strengthen oneself’
Physical Effect	
<i>kriti/sa- se</i>	‘hide oneself’
<i>prskati/prsnuti se (vodom),</i>	‘splash oneself’
<i>vidjeti/u- se u ogledalu</i>	‘see oneself in a mirror’

Table 20. BCS REFLEXIVE *SE*-Verbs, Group 2

(Total Affectedness and Intentional Effect, but typically carried out on self)

These REFLEXIVE events are generally agentive and volitional on the part of the agent. Consider example (4), a line from a joke circulating on the internet.

- (4) *Tukla žena muža i on se sakrije ispod stola.*⁶⁵
The wife hit her husband and he hid (himself) under the table.

These verbs sometimes do not appear reflexive in English translations because they are implied to involve the self, but the syntactic structure of BCS requires in the inclusion of the clitic *se* for these events.

The verb listed above can occur in contexts which make an otherwise non-volitional subject to be agentive. Consider example (5), the title of a documentary film about poverty on the streets Croatia and its juxtaposition with the consumerism of the Christmas season.

- (5) *Gdje se sakrio Božić?*⁶⁶
Where has Christmas hidden (itself)?

In this instance, the agent is Christmas and the title of the film implies a kind of metaphorical volition on the part of Christmas, in the sense that it has hidden itself (and its merrymaking) from those who suffer in poverty. An agentive verb is also seen in (6), the headline for a news article about a viper who bit a man after hiding in his backpack.

- (6) *Poskok se sakrio u ruksak pa u šumi ugrizao muškarca.*⁶⁷
A viper hid (itself) in a backpack and bit a man while he was in the woods.

This might be assumed to be more MIDDLE, in the sense the the viper “was hidden” in the

⁶⁵ <http://www.cikpogodi.com/vic/2868/>, 09 October 2014

⁶⁶ <http://mojtv.hr/film/17756/gdje-se-sakrio-bozic.aspx>, 26 October 2014

⁶⁷ <http://www.24sata.hr/crna-kronika-news/poskok-se-sakrio-u-Ruksak-pa-u-sumi-ugrizao-muskarca-31-386306>, 01 October 2014

backpack and then struck the man with a bite, however, the context of the utterance is clearly agentive because as the viper is an aggressor. It hid itself and then attacked. While the English variant would more likely be a “viper hid in a backpack,” again the BCS syntax requires the reflexive clitic, retaining the transitive nature of the verb and requiring an accusative clitic.

4.2 POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE Verbs

Like Russian, BCS has a few POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE verbs, in which the event only involves Partial Affectedness. According to Diagnostic 2 in Chapter 2, these verbs can be substituted with the transitive verb and the heavy pronoun. These are less common in BCS than in Russian, as BCS *SE*-verbs involving a person’s possessions such as *tratit'sja*, ‘spend (one’s) money’ and *zaščičat'sja*, ‘defend (one’s) dissertation’ are not as common in BCS. Some examples of POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE BCS *SE*-verbs are given in Table 21.

<i>češljati (se)/o-</i>	‘comb one’s hair’
<i>mrštiti se/na-</i>	‘frown, knit one’s brow’
<i>kopčati se/za-</i>	‘button oneself (up)’
<i>šišati se/o-</i>	‘cut one’s hair’

Table 21. POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE BCS *SE*-Verbs

The verb *mrštiti se* listed above is to ‘frown’ and literally means to ‘wrinkle one’s brow’, thus reflecting a combination of the transitive verb ‘wrinkle, crease’ and the reflexive pronoun. It occurs regularly with the light form *SE*-verb as seen in (7), an article accusing a politician of

frowning during a meeting between Croatian and Serbian assembly delegates. The politician's defense response is seen in (7).

- (7) *Mrštio sam se što me slikate dok pušim!*⁶⁸
'I was frowning because you were taking photos of me while I smoked!'

While this example does not necessary highlight the wrinkling of the brow, a parallel example with the heavy form 'brow, forehead' shows the exact semantics of this POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE verb. Example (8) comes from a Wikipedia entry about the statue of Zeus at Olympia.

- (8) *Zeus iz Olimpije bio je posljednje djelo grčkog kipara Fidije . . . Postavljao je vrhovnog boga namrštenog čela, jer kad je Zeus **mrštio čelo** po grčkoj se mitologiji uzdrmao Olimp.*⁶⁹
'Zeus at Olympia was the last work of the Greek sculptor Phidias . . . He presented the supreme god of the furrowed brow, when, according to Greek mythology he furrowed his brow and shook Olympus.'

This example shows the heavy form in which the reflexive clitic *se* is replaced with the body part it represents, the forehead or brow, specifying exactly how the frowning appears. The use of the heavy form in this example is also relevant because of a parallel structure with the early phrase adjectival phrase *namrštenog čela* 'of the furrowed brow'.

Another example is with the verb *šišati se*, 'cut one's hair', which does not always indicate personal agentive participation in the event, i.e., the subject does not necessarily do the physical cutting, but it does refer to the intentional act of cutting or having one's hair cut. Both

⁶⁸ <http://www.kurir-info.rs/kasic-se-mrstio-hrvatima-u-skupstini-clanak-62110>, 10 October 2014

⁶⁹ http://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zeusov_kip_u_Olimpiji, 10 April 2014

examples (9) and (10) refer to a person who has not had her hair cut in 16 years. Example (9) shows the light form, and (10) shows the heavy form. Both are from the same article October 26, 2013 article on the media source Kurir. The light form in (9) is in the headline for the article.

- (9) **NIJE SE ŠIŠALA 16 GODINA: Nosi kosu dugu skoro tri metra**⁷⁰
'She did not cut her hair for 16 years: She wears hair almost three meters long'
- (10) *Kineskinja Ni Linmej (57) iz Tajuana u kineskoj provinciji Šansi 16 godina nije ošišala kosu, zbog čega je ona sada duga 2,9 metara.*⁷¹
'The Chinese woman Ni Linmej (57) from Taiyuan in the Chinese province of Shanxi did not cut her hair for 16 years, and therefore it is now 2.9 meters long.'

Both (9) and (10) have the same basic meaning; (9) with the light form is abbreviated perhaps because it is a headline.

It stands to reason that these POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVES would occur in BCS, especially since the clitic, which is free in the syntactic structure, tends to specifically represent a noun in the utterance. In the instances where it does not refer to the self as a whole, it may represent a part of the whole of the self, more specifically, a body part. When emphasis is placed on the represented part, the name of the part (in this case *kosa*, 'hair') is used rather than *sebe*, 'self'.

4.3. RECIPROCAL Verbs

BCS *SE*-verbs also occur regularly to construe events as RECIPROCAL. According to Definition 3 given in Chapter 2, RECIPROCAL *SE*-verbs involve a plural agent, in which each agent acts upon

⁷⁰ <http://www.kurir-info.rs/nije-se-sisala-16-godina-nosi-kosu-dugu-skoro-tri-metra-clanak-1054963>, 05 October, 2014

⁷¹ <http://www.kurir-info.rs/nije-se-sisala-16-godina-nosi-kosu-dugu-skoro-tri-metra-clanak-1054963>, 05 October, 2014

the other agent, which is the patient, or upon the group as a whole, thereby construing two distinct roles of agent and patient in which all are participants. Some examples of BCS *SE*-verbs that are RECIPROCAL are given in Table 22.

<i>susretati/susresti se</i>	‘run into each other’
<i>ljubiti/po- se</i>	‘kiss each other’
<i>voljeti/za- se</i>	‘love each other’
<i>vidjeti/u- se</i>	‘see each other’
<i>ganjati se^{impl}</i>	‘chase each other’
<i>častiti/po- se</i>	‘treat each other’
<i>znati se, ne znati se^{impl}</i>	‘know each other’, ‘not know each other’
<i>pozdravljati/pozdraviti se</i>	‘greet each other’
<i>nalaziti/naći se</i>	‘find each other’

Table 22. RECIPROCAL BCS *SE*-Verbs

The diagnostic for these verbs, given as Diagnostic 3 in Chapter 2, also states that these verbs can be substituted with the transitive verb and the corresponding heavy form. For RECIPROCAL *SE*-verbs, the heavy form is the reciprocal pronoun, which is *jedan drugog* (and its gender-appropriate inflectional variants). A common reciprocal verb is *voljeti se*, seen in examples (11) and (12). Example (11) is from song lyrics by Sema Suljakovic published on a lyric sharing website.

- (11) *Mi se volimo, mi se volimo, od ljubavi nase, niceg nema sladje.*⁷²
 ‘We love each other, we love each other, nothing is sweeter than our love.’

⁷² <http://tekstovi.net/2,14,374.html>, 10 April 2014

Example (12) includes the heavy form with *jedan drugog* and comes from a news article about Vladimir Putin embracing a leopard and discussing his love of animals.

- (12) *Ruski predsjednik nije skrivao oduševljenje bliskim susretom sa opasnom životinjom u njezinom kavezu. - **Volimo jedan drugog!** Pitajte ga... Ja volim životinje - kazao je kasnije novinarima Putin.*⁷³

‘The Russian president did not hide his delight with a close encounter with a dangerous animal in its cage. “We love each other! Just ask him . . . I love animals,” Putin told reporters later.’

Putin’s statement here profiles the reciprocity of this event. He does not just assert his own love for the animal, but also asserts that the animal is also a participant in the relationship. He indicates this by stating, *ask him*, thus personifying the leopard, and asserting that the leopard is also a participant in the RECIPROCAL act of love. At first glance, it might appear that the heavy form is used here because of lack of similarity in the two agents. However, the same construction can happen with like participants, especially in the negated form where emphasis is given to the RECIPROCAL event (or lack thereof). Example (13) comes from a blog post about marriage and includes a heavy form.

- (13) *Moj bračni život je bio dosadan vjerojatno zato što ni ona ni ja nismo cijenili pojedinosti u našim životima, a ne zato što više **nismo voljeli jedan drugog.***⁷⁴

‘My married life was boring probably because neither she nor I appreciated the details of our life, not because we did not love each other.’

Two RECIPROCAL *SE*-verbs appear in (14), a Serbian forum headline and topic.

⁷³ <http://www.vecernji.hr/svijet/putin-uzeo-u-Ruske-leoparda-groma-volimo-jedan-drugog-919181>, 10 April 2014

⁷⁴ <http://www.drugaciji.blog.hr/>, 20 October 2014

- (14) *Hrvati i mi ne moramo da se volimo, ali moramo da se poštujemo.*⁷⁵
'Croats and we do not need to love each other, but to respect each other.'

Example (14) uses two *se* clitics, one in each clause, unlike some examples of across-the-board dependencies with one *se* as discussed in Chapter 5. This occurs because of the subordinate clause. Without the subordinate clause, the sentence might include an across-the-board dependency. These across-the-board dependencies show the high nature of referentiality of the clitic in BCS.

4.4. PASSIVE Constructions

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, PASSIVE occurrences of *SE*-verbs are constructions in which the addition of the clitic *se* gives PASSIVE meaning to the utterance. They are not unique lexical items. According to Definition 4, PASSIVE constructions involve the demotion of the agent and promotion of the patient, such that the syntactic roles are changed.

One event that is generally assumed to be PASSIVE involves the verb *gubiti se*, 'get lost.' This verb is mentioned here because it presents a conundrum that can exist with the PASSIVE construction. *Gubiti se* is sometimes considered PASSIVE, in that it involves the demotion of the agent and promotion of the patient. Rather than an agent losing something, the subject is simply lost. This is seen in example (15), which is part of a quote from Dubravka Stojanović's 2011 forward to *Noga i vratima* on Biblioteka XX vek.

- (15) . . . zbog činjenice da su *se* u našoj prošlosti institucije **rušile i gubile** lakše nego što su *se* pravile, *Biblioteka XX vek* zaslužila je svoju biografiju.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ <http://www.topix.com/forum/world/serbia/T3LT05DM2RA8UFROB>, 12 June 2014

‘ . . . because of the fact that in our past institutions were destroyed and lost more easily than they were built, Biblioteka XX vek earned its biography.’

Here both *rušiti se* and *gubiti se* are PASSIVE constructions. The institutions have been destroyed and lost and no agent is identified in the utterance, though an agent was clearly present in the event to effect the destruction. These are PASSIVE constructions with a BCS *SE*-verb.

However it is worth noting that *gubiti se* does meet the requirements of Diagnostic 1, because the verb does occur with the same meaning with the transitive verb *gubiti* and the heavy pronoun *sebe*. Consider example (16), a Serbian translation from a 19th century Russian ecclesiastical writer, Theophan the Recluse.

- (16) *Kada si grešio, ne samo da si **gubio samoga sebe**, nego si se, gubeći sebe, udaljivao i od Boga. Sada, pak, vraćajući se iz grehovnog ropstva, . . . vrati sebe i Bogu.*⁷⁷
‘When you have sinned, you do not only lose yourself, but you, having lost yourself, walk away from God. Now, though, having returned from sinful slavery, return yourself to God.’

In this example, the subject is clearly agentive, having lost himself through sin. The agent is also identified and in the subject position. In fact, this also includes another heavy form, *vratiti sebe*, which is also more agentive than the otherwise MIDDLE verb *vratiti se*. A more contemporary example of the heavy form *gubiti se* is found in the lyrics to a song by recent Serbian performer Dr. Iggy seen in (17).

⁷⁶ <http://www.bibliotekaxxvek.com/stojanovi-dubravka-noga-u-vratima-prilozi-za-politiku-biografiju-biblioteke-xx-vek/>, 7 November 2014

⁷⁷ http://www.svetosavlje.org/biblioteka/DuhovnoUzdizanje/PutKaSpasenju/Lat_PutKaSpasenju21.htm, 20 October 2014

- (17) *U svakoj sam trazio jedino tebe
i sve vise u tome **gubio sebe**⁷⁸
'In everything I looked only for you
and more and more lost myself in it'*

These REFLEXIVE predicates with the heavy form indicate the semantic nature of these types. The agentive predicates are REFLEXIVE and occur with the heavy form. However, the light form in (13) is PASSIVE, reflecting simply the promotion of the patient Filip to subject position. Thus, the same verb can occur as a REFLEXIVE or a PASSIVE, depending upon the context and utterance.

One more example of a passive BCS *SE*-verb is found in (18), which features instructions from a diet blog.

- (18) *Obavezno je da ako **se meso jede** za ručak **jede se** i za večeru, a ako su jaja za ručak, moraju biti i za večeru.*⁷⁹
Make sure that if meat is eaten at lunch, it is eaten at dinner, and if there are eggs at lunch, they must also be at dinner.

In this example the meat as the semantic patient is promoted to the subject position, so that this is a PASSIVE construction.

4.5. IMPERSONAL Constructions

IMPERSONAL constructions are defined in Definition 5 in Chapter 2 as constructions which do not have a syntactic subject and in which the agent is generic. Chapter 3 also indicates that many of these IMPERSONAL constructions include those *SE*-verbs, which are termed *inclinational* in some

⁷⁸ http://www.cafe.ba/tekstovi/4911_Dr-Iggy-Zadnji-trag-nade.html, 27 October 2014

⁷⁹ blog.dijeta.net/2012/03/25/un-dijeta, 10 October 2014

prior literature. They often appear with impersonal neuter verb endings, as seen in (19) from the translation of *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* as found in the ParaSol parallel corpus data used in Chapter 5 for comparative analysis. English translations are from the original text of the book.

- (19) *Reklo bi se da je to srebrn upaljač.*
'It seemed to be a silver cigarette lighter.'

A more literal English translation with the verb *reći*, 'to say' used in the IMPERSONAL construction in (19) is, 'One would say it was a silver cigarette lighter.' Another example is found in (20), from a headline on a 2010 article on *Jutarnji list*. It is an example with a dative case subject, which experiences the situation being described by the IMPERSONAL construction of the predicate.

- (20) *Od mlijeka **nam se ne spava**, a čokolada ne izaziva dobar osjećaj*⁸⁰
'Milk makes us unable to sleep, and chocolate does not cause a good feeling.'

The English translation of (20) does not adequately show the function of *se* in the IMPERSONAL construction for this utterance. A literal translation would be, 'Because of milk, sleep does not come to us'. The addition of *se* renders the verb IMPERSONAL, so that it indicates that the state of sleep will not come to 'us', because of some outside situation, which, in this utterance, in the consumption of milk. The same predicate in English is often more personal, such as 'I cannot

⁸⁰ <http://www.jutarnji.hr/od-mlijeka-nam-se-ne-spava--a-cokolada-ne-izaziva-dobar-osjecaj/904590/>, 10 October 2014

sleep' or personified, such as 'sleep will not come'. BCS has IMPERSONAL constructions created by the addition of *se* to a verb, just as Russian does.

4.6. MIDDLE Verbs

Like Russian, BCS has a preponderance of *SE*-verbs that are used for MIDDLE events. The analysis in Chapter 5 shows that the majority of *SE*-verbs in both languages are MIDDLE. This semantic group subsumes multiple semantic types defined in prior literature, including DECAUSATIVE, AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE, PHENOMENOLOGICAL, PROCEDURAL, and *REFLEXIVA TANTUM*. Examples of these types are given in the sections that follow. According to Definition 6, MIDDLE verbs represent a construal of an event that involves one participant and is subject-focused.

Although the BCS clitic *se* is like a pronoun in that it is grouped with other clitics in the utterance, it nonetheless does not always serve a semantic function that refers to the subject as an antecedent. Instead, it often changes the meaning of the verb in other ways, including MIDDLE, in which the subject is construed only as one participant. Many of these occur in BCS as shown in the results in Chapter 5.

4.6.1. DECAUSATIVE Verbs

The first sub-category of MIDDLE verbs described here are DECAUSATIVE. As stated in Chapter 3, these are intransitive *SE*-verbs that have been defined as DECAUSATIVE in Gerritsen's (1990: 12) analysis of Russian *SJA*-verbs. Gerritsen states that in Russian the addition of the *-sja* with these verbs removes the notion of causation from the verb. Though somewhat less common, this same semantic group of MIDDLE verbs exists in BCS. As stated in Chapter 3, Gerritsen presents the Russian verb pair *vernut'/vernut'sja*^{Pf}, 'to return (transitive)/to return (intransitive)'. *Vernut'*

involves an action upon a patient, causing the patient to return, while *vernut'sja* simply involves the subject doing the action, returning. Thus, *vernut'* might be paraphrased as ‘to cause *vernut'sjai*’. The same verb pair occurs in BCS: *vratiti/vratiti se*^{pf}, ‘to return (transitive)/to return (intransitive)’. In this case, *vratiti* might be paraphrased as ‘to cause *vratiti se*’. A few other examples are given in Table 23.

<i>topiti/po- se</i>	‘drown, sink’	<i>potopiti</i>	‘cause to drown, sink’
<i>vratiti/po- se</i>	‘return’	<i>vratiti</i>	‘cause to return’
<i>spremiti se</i> ^{pf}	‘prepare’	<i>spremiti</i>	‘cause to be prepared’

Table 23. MIDDLE BCS SE-Verbs: DECAUSATIVE

Two examples of verbs that fit this group are given in (21) and (22) with the verb *potopiti/potopiti se*^{pf}, ‘to drown, sink (transitive)/to drown, sink (intransitive)’. Example (21) is the title of a documentary film about the sinking of the German battleship Bismarck.

- (21) *Tko je potopio bojni brod "Bismarck"*⁸¹
 ‘Who sank the battleship Bismarck?’

This example is clearly transitive, and refers to the question of the identity of an intentional agent who sank the ship. Example (22) is also about a ship sinking, but instead refers to a one-participant, subject-focused event in which the ship simply sinks, with no agent or intentional

⁸¹ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ukxIxMh69-Y>, 9 April 2014

transitive act. It is a headline from a May 2014 news article about a ship of migrant workers sinking off the coast of Libya.

- (22) *Potopio se brod, poginulo 36 ljudi, među njima i trudnica.*⁸²
A ship sank, 36 people, including a pregnant woman, perished.

The related news article states that the ship sank because the hull cracked and was damaged due to the weight of the many passengers. Clearly no agent is identified in this utterance and the entire focus of the event is on one participant (the ship), which is not construed as both agent and patient, but simply as a subject that experiences an event (the sinking).

It is notable that several verbs that occur in the list of DECAUSATIVE verbs (in a transitive/intransitive relationship between the *SE*-verb and the non *SE*-verb) in Russian do not occur in BCS. For example, Russian has *načínat'/ načínat'sja*^{impf}, 'to begin (transitive)/to begin (intransitive)', but BCS has *počínjati*^{impf}, 'to begin (transitive and intransitive)' with no *SE*-verb variant. A similar set between the two languages is the verbs for 'to learn'. Russian has the pair *učít'/učít'sja*^{impf}, 'to teach/to learn (cause to learn)', but BCS simply has *učiti*^{impf}, 'to learn, teach'. There are also instances in BCS where *se* may have an intransitive meaning, but not obligatorily, such as, *završiti*^{pf} (transitive)/ *završiti (se)*^{pf} (intransitive), 'finish, complete', and *šetati (se)*^{impf} (intransitive), 'walk, stroll'. The absence of some of these transitive/intransitive pairs in BCS seems to indicate less prominence of this semantic group in BCS than in Russian.

⁸² <http://www.24sata.hr/svijet/potopio-se-brod-poginulo-36-ljudi-meu-njima-i-tRusdnica-366219>, 10 October 2014

4.6.2. AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE Verbs

A unique group of MIDDLE verbs in Russian is the AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE group. These are discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, with several examples given. Though they have been termed in several different ways in prior literature, in this dissertation the term AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE is used, because these *SE*-verbs attribute some quality, attribute, or behavior to a subject, which is usually semantically agentive, although no patient is present. The utterances in which these occur describe one-participant events and do not include any stated or identified patient. The verbs simply state something about the nature of the subject, such as the Russian phrase *sobaka kusaetsja*, ‘the dog bites/is a biter’. These types are less common in BCS than in Russian, but a few do occur. It is possible that the inclusion of this type of verbs in semantic types of BCS *SE*-verbs is partly due to the fact that some typological descriptions of *SE*-verbs in BCS are influenced by the prominent descriptions of Russian *SJA*-verbs already in existence. This group does not have salience as a semantic type in BCS, however, it is included here since at least one verb of this class exists. Belaj (2001:2) includes in this group the verb *tući se*^{impf}, ‘to beat, thrash’. This verb can and does occur as a RECIPROCAL, ‘to fight (each other)’, but Belaj states that it occurs in the meaning ‘he beats (others)’, such that *on se tuče* is the same as *on tuče druge*, ‘he beats (others)’ and *on se tuče s drugima*, ‘he fights (with other)’. This, then, is an AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE that ascribes the violent quality of ‘beating’ to a subject. Consider example (23), which comes from a parenting website with suggestions about childrearing, specifically about how to deal with a child who is a hitter.

- (23) *Kada se dete mnogo tuče, nadgledajte ga češće.*⁸³
'When a child hits a lot (= is a frequent hitter), watch him closely.

This utterance clearly does not refer to a two participants or to any specific agent. It simply refers to a subject, the child, who is described by the verb as being 'a hitter'. This meets the requirements for MIDDLE, in that the event is subject-focused and involves a construal of only one participant. However, this is an isolated case of a RECIPROCAL verb acting as a MIDDLE, and this group of AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVES are quite rare in BCS.

4.6.3. PHENOMENOLOGICAL Verbs

A third semantic group of MIDDLE verbs is the group of PHENOMENOLOGICAL verbs. These are described in Chapter 3 as the group of verbs for which the *SE*-verb indicates that the subject shows a certain color or trait. Many of these are synonymous or quasi-synonymous with their non-*SE* paired verb. As stated in Chapter 3, this is a relatively small group of verbs with more prominence in *belles lettres* than in contemporary vernacular use. Example (24) includes the verb *zelenjeti* (*se*)^{impf}, 'become [show] green' from a 1908 publication of the Croatian Writers' Society (*Društvo hrvatskih književnika*).

- (24) *Tamo preko porušena plota zelenio se travnik.*⁸⁴
'There over the destroyed fence, the lawn showed green.'

⁸³ <http://www.stetoskop.info/Ujedanje-grebanje-udaranje-336-s1-content.htm>, 10 October 2014

⁸⁴

http://books.google.com/books?id=7s7MAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA218&lpg=PA218&dq=zelenio+se&source=bl&ots=YDP9szz8kJ&sig=HHd7owjm_e8Zqxo73ZVAteB3eqs&hl=en&sa=X&ei=zWhWVIn1F4a9yQTb3IHAAg&ved=0CC4Q6AEwAw#v=onepage&q=zelenio%20se&f=false, 10 October 2014

Just as they are in Russian, PHENOMENOLOGICAL *SE*-verbs in BCS are a marginal group.

4.6.4. PROCEDURAL Verbs

The semantic group of PROCEDURAL verbs is also included in MIDDLE in this dissertation. These are a group of verbs in which the reflexive clitic or affix (*se* or *-sja*) combines with a prefix to change the meaning of the specific verb. In Russian this set of verbs has been carefully defined and examined in the RG and by many scholars, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. The group is less defined for BCS, but examples of this type exist. They are primarily those types inherited from Common Slavic, which include satiatives, where *na-X se* means to do something satiety. Examples include *najesti se*^{Pf}, ‘eat one’s fill’ and *napiti se*^{Pf}, ‘drink one’s fill’, which are analogous to Russian *naest'sja*^{Pf}, ‘eat one’s fill’ and *napit'sja*^{Pf}, ‘drink one’s fill’. The group is included as MIDDLE verbs because they construe one-participant events that are subject-focused because they focus on some effect on the subject. The verb *napiti se* can be used in the meaning ‘to get drunk’, as seen in example (25) from an internet forum posting.

- (25) *Cula sam da si se napila sinoc?* [sic]⁸⁵
‘I heard that you got drunk last night?’

These utterances do not reflect the construal of more than one participant, and the semantic focus of the utterance is on the effect of the event on the subject, in this case the fact that drinking led to drunkenness.

⁸⁵ <http://ask.fm/andreaa75/answer/39731060541>, 10 October 2014

Another type in BCS that is inherited from Common Slavic includes absorptives, of the type *zaX se*, which indicate that an action is done to some level of intensity. Examples include *zagledati se* ‘take a good look at’ and *zamisliti se* ‘think hard’.

4.6.5. REFLEXIVA TANTUM

The final group of MIDDLE verbs is those that only occur with *se* and are termed *REFLEXIVA TANTUM*. In traditional semantic groupings of BCS *SE*-verbs as discussed in Chapter 2, these verbs are usually grouped with *false reflexives*. Many, if not most, occur in pairs with the same verb in Russian. Several examples are given in Table 24.

<i>bojati/po- se</i>	‘be afraid’
<i>zaljubljivati/zaljubiti se</i>	‘fall in love’
<i>nadati se</i> ^{mpf}	‘hope’
<i>glibiti/u- se</i>	‘get stuck’

Table 24. MIDDLE BCS *SE*-Verbs: REFLEXIVA TANTUM

As explained in Chapter 3, verbs of the semantic type *REFLEXIVA TANTUM* take complements in some case other than accusative, often genitive or dative case, such as *bojati se koga*, ‘fear whom [GEN]’. This is seen in examples (26) and (27). Example (26) is the translated title of a children’s book.

- (26) *Zmije i dječak koji ih se bojao*⁸⁶
'Snakes and the Boy Who Was Afraid of Them'

Another example is seen in (27), an article from July 2014 about Croatia's World Cup soccer team.

- (27) *Nemamo se koga bojati, pokazali smo što možemo i idemo pobijediti Meksiko.*⁸⁷
'We have no one to fear, we have shown that we can and will beat Mexico.'

Chapter 3 explains that the same verb in Russian, *bojat'sja*, sometimes occurs with an accusative complement, both in colloquial and non-colloquial situations. This does not occur in BCS, because the clitic *se* already occupies the accusative position in the utterance.

On the other hand, BCS has some verbs that can be transitive, which do not occur as transitives in Russian. For example, Russian *smejat'sja/na-*, 'to laugh' is in the *REFLEXIVA TANTUM* type and only occurs with *-sja*. BCS has *smijati se/na-*, 'to laugh', but the verb also occurs as a transitive, *nasmijati*, 'to make laugh', as seen in (28). This example is a posting on an Internet forum regarding a humorous advertisement.

- (28) *Oglas koji me je malo nasmejao, pa rekoh da izreklamiram čoveka.*⁸⁸

⁸⁶

http://www.childrenslibrary.org/icdl/BookPreview?bookid=polsnak_01050008&route=text&lang=Croatian&msg=&ilang=English, 11 October 2014

⁸⁷ <http://www.vecernji.hr/sp-hrvatska-reprezentacija/nemamo-se-koga-bojati-pokazali-smo-sto-mozemo-i-idemo-pobijediti-meksiko-945688>, 30 October 2014

⁸⁸ <http://skijanje.rs/forum/showthread.php?s=af069ea08a142e0be3319c03936146d5&p=93269#post93269>, 30 October 2014

The ad that made me laugh a little, so I said I would promote the person.

This parallel structure with accusative case clitic with this verb (*nasmijati se/nasmijati me*) seems to indicate a high degree of referentiality of the reflexive clitic *se*; that is, *se* is used exactly in the same way that *me* is in another utterance. In one case the person laughs, in another something makes a person laugh. Moreover, BCS includes a past passive participle from this verb, *nasmijan*, ‘smiling, laughing’, which attributes the qualities of the verb to a noun. This is explained in greater detail in 5.4. The equal footing of *se* with other accusative clitics in BCS is part of the reason that BCS retains REFLEXIVE as the prototype for *SE*-verbs despite the fact that MIDDLE is the most frequent type of *SE*-verb in BCS.

4.7. Chapter Conclusion

Chapter 4 has analyzed the semantic types of BCS *SE*-verbs and shown that most of the types correspond with the types in Russian, with a few exceptions. BCS *SE*-verbs include REFLEXIVE, POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE, RECIPROCAL, PASSIVE constructions, IMPERSONAL constructions, and MIDDLE. BCS does not have the BENEFACTIVE type analyzed for Russian in Chapter 3. Also, within the MIDDLE type, BCS does not include the QUASI-SYNONYMOUS type, other than the fact that the PHENOMENOLOGICAL type includes some verbs that are QUASI-SYNONYMOUS with their non *SE*-verb pairs. As a distinct group, QUASI-SYNONYMOUS does not occur in BCS. Moreover, some differences in the inventory of the groups between Russian and BCS are shown: PHENOMENOLOGICAL and AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE types are marginal in BCS, and BCS has some verbs that are not REFLEXIVA TANTUM even though they are REFLEXIVA TANTUM in Russian.

Chapter 4 has also introduced the notion of across-the-board dependencies with BCS *SE*-verbs, which is discussed in more detail in the analysis of Chapter 5.

Chapter 5: Comparative Analysis

5.0. Introduction

This chapter compares the situations concerning the semantic types of *SE*-verbs in Russian and BCS and proposes semantic prototypes and cognitive networks for these verbs in each language. In order to compare the two languages, research includes data from three parallel translations found on *ParaSol: A Parallel Corpus of Slavic and Other Languages* (parasol.unibe.ch) and discussion of other phenomena peculiar to BCS *SE*-verbs, including across-the-board-dependencies, past passive participles, and referential adjectives with *se* as an antecedent. Section 5.1 presents the data from the parallel corpus, with quantitative analysis of the data and discussion of various specific examples from the data. Section 5.2 discusses the prevalence of non-*SE*-verbs in BCS by presenting material from the parallel corpus data showing common instances in which Russian has a *SE*-verb for MIDDLE and sometimes other types, but BCS has a non-*SE*-verb. Section 5.3 discusses across-the-board-dependencies in BCS as an argument for REFLEXIVE as a prototype in BCS. Section 5.4 discusses past passive participles formed from BCS *SE*-verbs, providing a discussion of phenomena and providing several examples. Section 5.5 discusses the ability of BCS *se* to serve as an antecedent for adjectives. Section 5.6 concludes with the presentation of semantic networks for *SE*-verbs in both languages; here it is claimed that the prototype for Russian is MIDDLE and the prototype for BCS is REFLEXIVE.

5.1. Data and Analysis from the Parallel Corpus

Chapters 3 and 4 have shown that the semantic types of *SE*-verbs in Russian and BCS include the following types, given in a basic overview in Table 25 below. Unless otherwise marked, these verbs are imperfective.

	Russian	Russian example	BCS	BCS example	Gloss for examples
REFLEXIVE	Unproductive	<i>zastreliť'sja</i> ^{pf}	Productive	<i>ustrijeliti se</i> ^{pf}	'shoot oneself'
RECIPROCAL	Unproductive	<i>uvidet'sja</i>	Productive	<i>vidjeti se</i>	'see each other'
POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE	Unproductive	<i>rasčesivat'sja</i>	Productive	<i>češljati se</i>	'comb one's hair'
MIDDLE	Productive	<i>smejati'sja</i>	Productive	<i>smijati se</i>	'to laugh'
IMPERSONAL	Productive	<i>govorit'sja</i>	Productive	<i>govoriti se</i>	'it is said'
PASSIVE	Productive	<i>terjat'sja</i>	Productive	<i>gubiti se</i>	'be lost'
BENEFACTIVE (Russian only)	Limited	<i>stroit'sja</i>	None		'build oneself a home'

Table 25. Semantic Types for *SE*-verbs in Russian and BCS

As previously stated, IMPERSONAL and PASSIVE are not semantic types of specific verbs, but rather semantic constructions that can occur with *SE*-verbs. BENEFACTIVE occurs only in Russian and not in BCS. With the exception of BENEFACTIVE, the semantic types in the two languages all exist, but with differing levels of productivity. REFLEXIVE, RECIPROCAL, and POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE are unproductive in Russian, while they continue to be productive in BCS. MIDDLE subsumes multiple subtypes previously described in 3.6 and 4.6. While most of the types occur in both languages, the previous discussion has shown that within the MIDDLE type, QUASI-

SYNONYMOUS does not occur in BCS and PHENOMENOLOGICAL and AGENT-ATTRIBUTIVE are marginal at best. Although it is listed as a separate semantic type, BENEFACTIVE might also be subsumed in MIDDLE, since BENEFACTIVE construes a two-participant event as a one-participant and subject-focused event, like the other MIDDLE types.

The overlap of types of *SE*-verbs Russian and BCS should not be taken to mean that the semantic nature of these verbs is identical in these languages. In order to assess the relative status of the different types in each language, a quantitative analysis was conducted using *ParaSol: A Parallel Corpus of Slavic and Other Languages* (parasol.unibe.ch) to find the occurrences of *SE*-verbs (light forms) in Russian and BCS, and the semantic types that occur in each. The analysis includes parallel translations of three fiction texts, an English original (names in parentheses are the names of the text in the corpus): *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone*, J.K. Rowling (potter1), a BCS (Serbian) original: *Na Drini ćuprija*, Ivo Andrić, (andricdrina), and a Russian original: *Master i Margarita*, Mikhail Bulgakov (bulgakovmaster).⁸⁹ Using one of each of the three original languages allowed for minimizing the possible effects of issues with the translator in which a Slavic original may result in an unnatural *SE*-verb in the translation. Parallel translations have some inherent problems, including style choices of the translator which may lead to an unusually high or low use of a particular grammatical structure, however, parallel translations also provide significant benefit for comparative analysis between languages on a contemporary level. The parallel corpus allows for detailed analysis on a sentence level of the

⁸⁹ All three works are fictional works of some literary value. Admittedly the Rowling text is written primarily for a young adult audience, while the other two are for an adult audience, however no specific analysis of genre with regard to audience is considered in this study.

varied uses of particular lexical items or grammatical structures. These are significant for the comparative analysis required for this project.

The total number of tokens of *SE*-verbs for each of the three texts is given in Table 26 and Figure 3 below.

	Russian text	BCS text
Rowling (English original)	2987	2077
Andrić (BCS original)	3936	2582
Bulgakov (Russian original)	4600	3813

Table 26. Total Tokens of *SE*-verbs for three texts

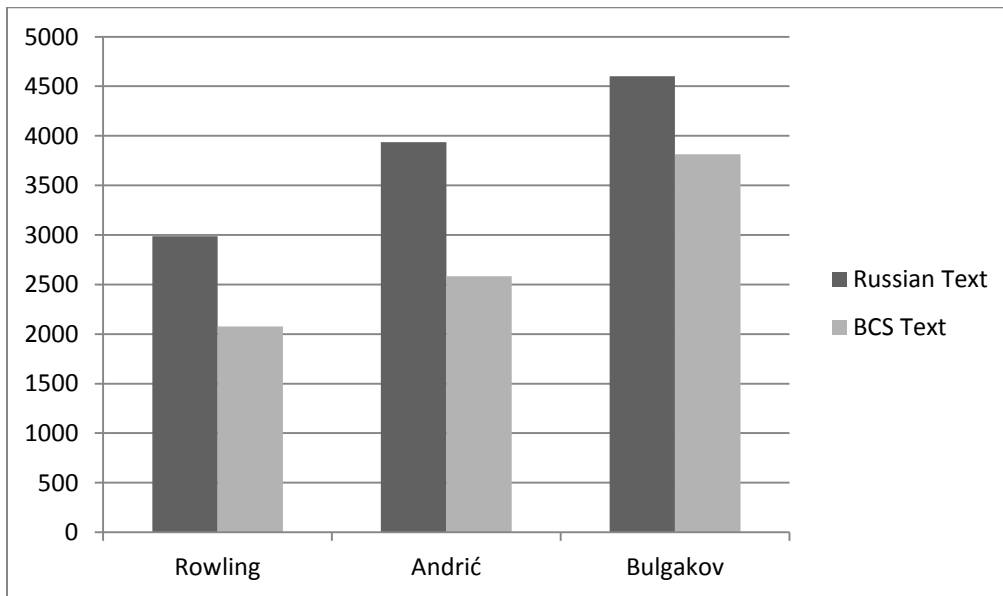


Figure 3. Total Tokens of *SE*-verbs for three texts

The difference in the overall number of tokens in each text is a consequence of the length of the text, i.e., Bulgakov is the longest text and has the greatest number of tokens.

In all three texts Russian has more *SE*-verbs than BCS does. While this likely shows a more frequent use of *SE*-verbs in Russian than in BCS, the difference may in part be due to the possibility of across-the-board dependency with BCS *SE*-verbs, where one clitic *se* can exist for multiple *SE*-verbs. However, as such across-the-board dependencies with *se* in BCS are fairly infrequent, the reason probably lies in something else.

In order to help determine the reason for the difference, three separate groups of tokens were created. The first is paired tokens, where both Russian and BCS have a *SE*-verb. The first 100 consecutive paired tokens (with the parallel Russian and BCS tokens) are tagged for semantic type. The other two groups are unpaired tokens. One group includes occurrences where Russian has a *SE*-verb and BCS does not, and the other group includes occurrences where BCS has a *SE*-verb and Russian does not. The first 100 consecutive occurrences for each of these groups are tagged for semantic type.

Paired tokens were identified by searching on the three texts using the criteria “.+с[яь]” for Russian and “se” for BCS. The Russian query indicates that the selection should include some word that ends in either *-ся* or *-сь*, both possible variants for a Russian *SE*-verb. After collecting all such paired occurrences, in which Russian has *-ся* and BCS has *se*, the set of Russian hits had to be revised in order to remove a few other words that fit the same criteria, namely the Russian words *вся*, *весь*, ‘all’, and *здесь*, ‘here’, which are not verbs, but fit the same spelling criteria as the verbs studied here. At this point, the total number of paired tokens based on the Parasol searches could be determined.

Unpaired tokens were harder to identify, because the Parasol corpus does not have a method available to query the absence of something in the text. The unpaired tokens are simply

determined as the remaining number of the full set of tokens in each text. For example, the Russian translation of Rowling’s work had a total of 2987 occurrences of *SE*-verbs and 1552 were found to be paired using the Parasol search. Thus, $2987 - 1552 = 1435$, and the number of unpaired occurrences is listed as 1435. Further analysis shows that these numbers are not entirely accurate, but it is presented here in order to display the methodology used to arrive at a set for semantic type tagging.

Table 27 and the following figures present the numbers for paired and unpaired tokens for the three texts, based only on numbers pulled from the Parasol database searches, not from direct analysis and tagging of the data, other than the removal of non-verbs described above. These numbers are presented here in order to further explain the use of the parallel corpus and the nature of data gained from it. Further discussion following the table and figures will explain the lack of accuracy of these raw numbers.

	Paired (both <i>-sja</i> and <i>se</i>)	Unpaired (<i>-sja</i> only)	Unpaired (<i>se</i> only)	Total tokens
Rowling (Rus translation)	1552	1435		2987
Rowling (BCS translation)	1552		525	2077
Andrić (Rus translation)	2078	1858		3936
Andrić (BCS original)	2078		504	2582
Bulgakov (Russian original)	3500	1100		4600
Bulgakov (BCS translation)	3500		313	3813

Table 27. Paired tokens and unpaired tokens for three texts
(based on Parasol searches only)

Table 27 shows that as a general trend, BCS *se*-verbs are more likely to be paired with a Russian *se*-verb than vice versa when the parallel texts are examined. The percentage of paired tokens is highest for the original Russian text by Bulgakov. This is likely due to the Russian original influencing the translator's choice of verbs when rendering the BCS translation.

However, the actual number of paired tokens is less than the original Parasol searches indicate. This is because of the nature of the parallel corpus and peculiarities of the two languages. In other words, some hits for paired tokens are not true hits. In fact, a large percentage of the Parasol hits were found not to be true paired occurrences. For the first 154 paired tokens found in Parasol for Rowling's work, only 100 are true hits. A few examples of the kinds of situations that lead to this are given below. Example (1) shows a presumed paired occurrence, which is actually an example of a *sja*-only occurrence for the Russian text and a *se*-only occurrence for the BCS text. Numbers given after the examples indicate the Parasol number for the token, which is equivalent to a word count for the text.

(1) *On niskol'ko ne somnevalsja, čto suščestvuet massa ljudej po familii Potter, u kotoryx est' syn po imeni Garri.* Rus (Potter 1, 1282)

Uvjeren je da ima mnogo ljudi koji se zovu Potter i koji imaju sina Harryja. BCS (Potter1, 1123)

'He was sure there were lots of people called Potter who had a son called Harry.'

Parasol indicates that this is an occurrence of a paired token, because both of the parallel sentences include *-sja* or *se*. However, in fact, Russian *somnevalsja* is parallel to BCS *uvjeren* and Russian *po familii* is parallel to BCS *se zovu*. This sentence includes two separate tokens,

neither are paired for this study. Instead of being a paired token, it reflects one unpaired instance of *-sja* and one unpaired instance of *se*.

The analysis of the data required finding these occurrences in order to determine the first 100 true paired tokens. Unpaired tokens were determined by searching in the database for the sets of all *SE*-verbs in each text and removing the paired tokens, so that the first 100 unpaired tokens were identified. The sets of paired tokens and unpaired tokens were tagged for semantic type. A full set of the 100 tokens for each of the six texts with semantic tags is found in the Appendix.

The raw numbers for semantic types are shown below in Table 28 for the sets of 100 paired tokens for each text. Totals for each type are given for each of the six texts (two language texts for each of the three novels). In other words, for the set of 100 paired tokens, how many of each Russian *SE*-verb fit in each semantic type and how many of each BCS *SE*-verb fit in each semantic type.

	Rowling Rus	Rowling BCS	Andrić Rus	Andrić BCS	Bulgakov Rus	Bulgakov BCS
MIDDLE	94	92	93	90	93	88
REFLEXIVE	0	0	3	3	1	4
RECIPROCAL	4	4	0	1	0	0
POSSESSIVE	1	1	0	0	2	2
IMPERSONAL	1	3	1	1	4	4
PASSIVE	0	0	3	5	0	2

Table 28. Semantic types for paired tokens (100 tokens)

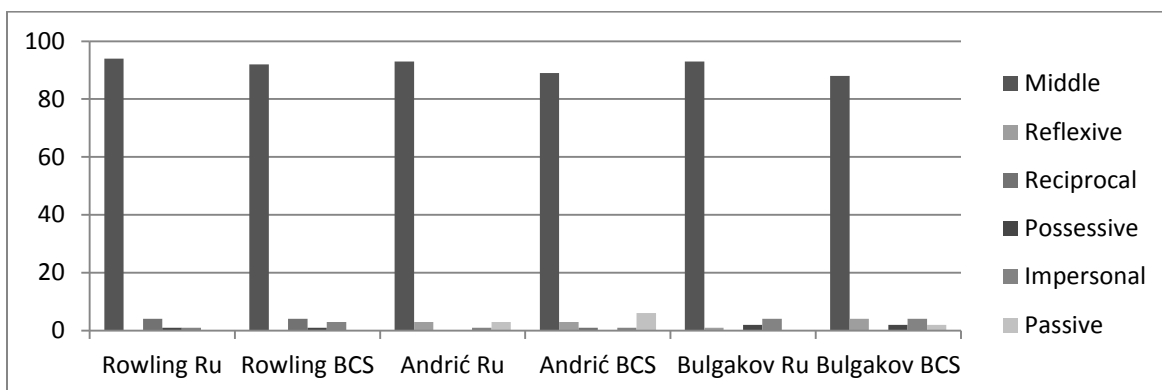


Figure 4. Semantic Types for Paired Tokens (100 tokens)

It is clear from this data that the great bulk of occurrences of paired tokens of *SE*-verbs are MIDDLE, and also that almost all are true semantic pairs, that is, they are the same semantic type of verbs. With a few exceptions, the types line up in a one-to-one correspondence. From this we can determine that MIDDLE is numerically the predominant type in both languages in these texts and also that when the two languages share the use of a *SE*-verb, most often they are both MIDDLE verbs.

Some examples of the types of pairing that occur are given in the examples below. In example (2) both texts have a MIDDLE *SE*-verb, the reflexive tantum verb *bojat'sja/bojati se*, 'to be afraid'.

Paired tokens, both MIDDLE

(2) . . . *i bol'she vsego na svete suprug* ***bojalis'***, *čto kto-nibud' etu tajnu raskroet*. Rus (Potter1, 198)

. . . *i najviše* ***se*** *od svega* ***bojali*** *da je tko ne otkrije* . BCS (Potter1, 180)

' . . . and their greatest fear was that somebody would discover it . '

Example (3) is a case in which both texts have a RECIPROCAL verb, *uvidet'sja/vidjeti se*, 'to see each other'. Interestingly, the English original (used for the gloss here) simply uses a transitive verb, 'to see,' but both Russian and BCS clearly use the RECIPROCAL, using the first person plural pronoun 'we' for the verb form, so that the literal translation of both languages would be 'I hope that we see each other soon, Professor McGonagall'.

Paired tokens, both RECIPROCAL

(3) “*Nadejus', skoro uvidimsja, professor Makgonagoll* “. . . Rus (Potter1, 5306)

“*Nadam se, profesorice McGonagall , da ćemo se uskoro opet vidjeti,*” BCS (Potter1, 4956)

“I shall see you soon, I expect, Professor McGonagall,“

Example (4) is an example where both languages have possessive REFLEXIVE.

Paired tokens, both POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE

(4) *Pričešis'!* Rus (Potter1, 6328)

Počešljaj se! BCS (Potter1, 5943)

‘Comb your hair!’

There are a few instances in which the verbs appear to correspond between the two languages, but actually do not. One case is given in example (5), where Russian has a MIDDLE verb and BCS has a PASSIVE construction.

Paired tokens, Russian MIDDLE, BCS PASSIVE

(5) . . . *inomu ustavšemu i promokšemu putniku, proxodivšemu eti mesta, slučajos' poželat', čtoby čerez širokuju i burnuju reku kakim-nibud' čudom **perekinulsja** most i pomog emu bystree i legče dobrat'sja do celi.* Rus (Andricdrina, 4102)

. . . *poneki putnik prolazeći ovuda , umoran i okisao , poželeo da se nekim čudom **premosti** široka i hučna reka i da mu tako omogući da lakše i brže dođe do svoga cilja..* . BCS (Andricdrina)

‘ . . . some traveler passing this way, tired and drenched, wished that by some miracle this wide and turbulent river were bridged so that he could reach his goal more easily and quickly.’

Here the Russian *perekinulsja* is a MIDDLE verb, in which the bridge (*most*) is ‘spread’ over the river, but BCS has the passive verb *premostiti se*, which indicates the river being ‘bridged’.

The main conclusions to be drawn from the paired tokens are that MIDDLE is the most frequently occurring semantic type of *SE*-verbs that occur in parallel with both languages. Additionally, when the verbs are paired between the languages, the types generally align. However, in each case there are more MIDDLE tokens in Russian than in BCS, and, conversely, there is no case in which there are more REFLEXIVE or RECIPROCAL tokens in Russian than BCS, which comports with the analysis advocated here, that MIDDLE is the prototype category for Russian *-sja*, whereas it is not for BCS *se*.

Useful material for analysis can be found in the semantic types which occur when the verbs are not paired. These are the occurrences where one language has a *SE*-verb and the other does not. Such data provide a useful tool to see what types of *SE*-verbs are more common in one language versus another: for example, if Russian, *-sja* really occurs freely with REFLEXIVE

meaning, there will be very, very few cases in which a *SE*-verb occurs in BCS and the heavy marker occurs in Russian.

The numbers of types for the first 100 unpaired tokens in each language for each text are presented in tables 29 and 30. These tables show the semantic types for the *SE*-verb in each text and for the corresponding construction or verb in the other language, where there is no *SE*-verb. The types are different, depending on whether or not the language has the *SE*-verb or does not. The possible types for *SE*-verbs are the same as the semantic types presented in Chapters 3 and 4 and used to tag the paired tokens above. For the occurrences without *SE*-verbs, three options exist: “non-*SE*-verb,” “heavy form,” or “other construction.” The label “non-*SE*-verb” is used when one language has a *SE*-verb and the other language has a verb with the same or parallel meaning, but is not a *SE*-verb. An example would be Russian *učit'sja*, ‘to learn’ and BCS *učiti*, ‘to learn’. These occur frequently when there actually is an existing pair like ‘to learn’, but they also occur when one language has a non-*SE*-verb with a similar meaning used parallel to a *SE*-verb in the other language.

The label “heavy form” applies almost exclusively to Russian, when BCS has a REFLEXIVE *SE*-verb and Russian instead has a REFLEXIVE verb with the heavy form *sebjja*, ‘self’, or BCS has a RECIPROCAL and Russian has the heavy form *drug druga*, ‘each other’. They also occur with some POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE verbs where the heavy form occurs (usually in Russian) with the body part and a transitive verb. The use of these heavy forms in Russian supports the conclusion, in 5.7, that REFLEXIVE is more important as a function of *se* in BCS and is indeed prototypical for BCS, in contrast to Russian. Russian sometimes uses heavy forms for REFLEXIVE, RECIPROCAL, or POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE, where BCS has a *SE*-verb.

The label “other construction” is used where the meaning of the verb phrase is rendered with some other kind of construction. It can be another verbal construction, an adverbial construction, another impersonal construction, or simply a different interpretation due to translation.

Total numbers for these groups of 100 unpaired tokens are given in Tables 29, for Russian *SE*-verbs with BCS non-*SE*-verbs and Table 30, for BCS *SE*-verbs with Russian non-*SE*-verbs.

	Rowling Rus	Rowling BCS	Andrić Rus	Andrić BCS	Bulgakov Rus	Bulgakov BCS
MIDDLE	100		97		90	
REFLEXIVE	0		1		0	
RECIPROCAL	0		0		1	
POSSESSIVE	0		0		6	
IMPERSONAL	0		0		3	
PASSIVE	0		2		0	
Non- <i>SE</i> verb		33		20		41
Heavy form		0		0		0
Other const.		67		80		59

Table 29. Semantic types in Russian texts for unpaired tokens, -*sja* only (100 tokens)

	Rowling Rus	Rowling BCS	Andrić Rus	Andrić BCS	Bulgakov Rus	Bulgakov BCS
MIDDLE		84		67		70
REFLEXIVE		5		2		5
RECIPROCAL		0		1		3
POSSESSIVE		3		0		0
IMPERSONAL		5		8		12
PASSIVE		3		22		10
Non- <i>SE</i> verb	31		16		25	
Heavy form	5		3		5	
Other const.	64		81		70	

Table 30. Semantic types in BCS texts for unpaired tokens, *se* only (100 tokens)

Admittedly, the final data sample for any given type (paired/unpaired) for each text is relatively small; this is due to the work necessary to get data of a particular type. It was impossible to analyze and tag the full set of 19,995 data points in addition to the qualitative description and analysis that has been undertaken in this study. Thus, 900 tokens were analyzed in total; 300 were taken from each text and 100 for each distinct group, representing a fairly small percentage of the total tokens in each text. For each text, there are only 200 tokens of actual *SE*-verbs in each language. The other 100 are the unpaired tokens, which represent something other than a *SE*-verb in the paired language.

The reason for taking equal numbers of paired and unpaired tokens, i.e., 100 paired tokens together with 100 unpaired tokens in each direction (*-sja* but no *se*, *se* but no *-sja*) is twofold. First, as mentioned above, the high total number of data points prevented a full analysis of the total data set. Second, the numbers of “false hits” for paired tokens uncovered in the spot

checks of the data combined with the differences in the number of paired versus unpaired tokens for each language (e.g., for Rowling, 1552 paired hits versus 1435 unpaired for Russian and 525 for BCS) makes it difficult to determine what the exact proportion would have to be, so taking equal numbers seems the safest approach.

Despite the fact that MIDDLE is the most frequent type of *SE*-verb in the data set in both languages, a close examination of Tables 28–30 reveals patterns that correspond to observations that have been made in the previous chapters. First, in no case for any of the texts does BCS attest a higher number of MIDDLE tokens than Russian; on the contrary, the number in BCS is always lower. This is true whether considering the paired tokens (Table 28) or comparing the numbers for the unpaired tokens for each text (Tables 29 and 30). BCS shows more variation in semantic types of verbs than does Russian. Further, for the unpaired tokens in these groups of 100, no heavy forms occur in BCS, but several occur for Russian non-*SE* variants.

In order to determine if the results found here are statistically significant, a chi-square test with Yates's continuity correction was conducted to compare the semantic types between the two languages. Both languages show a large number of MIDDLE verbs, but the tests were conducted to determine if the difference between numbers of the types in the two languages in the sample are statistically significant, that is to say, whether MIDDLE is more predominant for Russian, or the difference is likely to be random. Tokens from both the paired and unpaired groups were used, in order to give a representation of the set of *SE*-verbs in each language, both those that are paired (and which are predominately MIDDLE in both languages) and those that are unpaired (which tend to have more variance of semantic type). The chi-square test with a 2 x 2 table compared the

values of MIDDLE and non-MIDDLE verbs for Russian *SE*-verbs and MIDDLE and non-MIDDLE verbs for BCS *SE*-verbs. The 2 x 2 tables and test results are shown in Tables 31, 32, and 33.

	Middle	Non-Middle
Russian	194	6
BCS	176	24

X-squared = 10.414, df = 1, p-value = 0.00125
Effect size: 0.1613567 (small)

Table 31. 2 x 2 Table for Chi-Square Test for Rowling

	Middle	Non-Middle
Russian	190	10
BCS	157	43

X-squared = 22.2718, df = 1, p-value = 2.367e-06
Effect size: 0.235965 (small)

Table 32. 2 x 2 Table for Chi-Square Test for Andric

	Middle	Non-Middle
Russian	183	17
BCS	158	42

X-squared = 11.4519, df = 1, p-value = 0.0007142
Effect size: 0.1692033 (small)

Table 33. 2 x 2 Table for Chi-square test for Bulgakov

The p-values for the tests of the data sets show that the difference in the numbers of MIDDLE tokens versus non-MIDDLE tokens is not due to chance, and that the sample size was large enough to show patterns in the semantic types for the two languages. Thus, these tests support the idea that MIDDLE is a more salient function of Russian *SE*-verbs based on its frequency.

Given the uncertainty regarding the number of false matches in the full data set mentioned above, it may make sense to limit the chi-square tests of the data to the unpaired tokens, in which case it should be clear that the p-values are lower than for the chi-square tests for the two sets combined. (Thus, for Rowling the result for MIDDLE versus non-MIDDLE in the unpaired data is X-squared = 15.2853, df = 1, p-value = 9.243e-05; for Andric it is X-squared = 28.4892, df = 1, p-value = 9.422e-08; for Bulgakov it is X-squared = 11.2812, df = 1, p-value = 0.0007829.) A definitive rather than supportive statistical analysis must await the time when the relevant data can be extracted more easily from Slavic corpora.

In any case, examination of unpaired tokens reveals interesting evidence about how the semantic situation compares between the two languages. Examples of the types of occurrences are below. Full sets of data with the semantic tags included are made available on the TROLLing Dataverse of the Tromsø Repository of Language and Linguistics (<http://opendata.uit.no/dvn/dv/trolling>).

Russian *sja* only: Rus MIDDLE, BCS Other construction

- (6) *Mister i missis Durslej, obitateli doma 4, po Birjučinovoj allee, očēn' gordilis' tem, čto . . . Rus (Potter1, 34)*

Gospodin i gospođa Dursley , iz Kalinina prilaza broj četiri , bili su ponosni što . . . BCS (Potter1, 26)

'Mr and Mrs Dursley, of number four, Privet Drive, were proud to say that . . .'

- (7) *Garri radovalsja, čto škola užē končilas', no ot Dudli i ego prijatelej, ežednevno prihodivšix v gosti det'sja bylo nekuda. Rus (Potter1, 9658)*

Harryju je bilo drago što je prestala škola , ali nije mogao umaknuti Dudleyjevoj bandi koja se svakog božjeg dana okupljala u njihovoj kući. BCS (Potter1)

Harry was glad school was over , but there was no escaping Dudley ' s gang, who visited the house every single day.

Both of (6) and (7) include instances in which Russian has a MIDDLE *SE*-verb, but BCS has an adjectival construction for the same meaning.

The semantic types of verbs that occur with the unpaired tokens of BCS *SE*-verbs are more varied than the Russian unpaired *SE*-verbs. Some of examples are given below, beginning with instances in which Russian has the heavy form.

BCS *se* only: Rus Heavy form, BCS REFLEXIVE

(8) - *poberegi sebja, pervosvjaščennik* (Bulgakov, 11384)

– *Čuvaj se , prvosvećeniče!* (Bulgakov)
‘Watch out for yourself, High Priest.’

(9) *Tot vzdrognul, obrnulsja, no uspokoil sebja myslju, čto ego imja i otčestvo izvestny profesoru takže iz kakix - nibud' gazet.* (Bulgakov)

Taj se trgnuo , okrenuo , ali se umirio mišlju da je njegovo i očevo ime poznato profesoru također iz nekih novina. (Bulgakov, 15274)

The latter gave a start, looked back, but reassured himself with the thought that the professor had also learned his name and patronymic from some newspaper.

(10) *Eto čto, normalnoe košač'e povedenie, sprosil sebja mister Durslej.* Rus (Potter1, 1702)

Gospodin se Dursley priupita je li to normalno mačje ponašanje. BCS (Potter1, 1506)
‘Was this normal cat behavior? Mr Dursley wondered [asked himself].’

Examples (8), (9), and (10) show instances in which in Russian REFLEXIVE is indicated by the heavy form, while BCS has the same meaning with a light form *SE*-verb. Heavy forms did not

occur in the group of unpaired tokens in which Russian has a *SE*-verb, but BCS does not. They do occur in Russian, thus indicating that the REFLEXIVE meaning is often rendered in Russian with the heavy form.

As explained in 2.2 and 2.3, heavy forms can exist for POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE and RECIPROCAL verbs, in addition to REFLEXIVE verbs. For POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE verbs, the heavy form is used with the transitive verb and the body part or possession that is affected, i.e., *zavivat'sja*, 'curl one's hair' is defined as '*zavivat' volosy*'. For RECIPROCAL verbs, the heavy form is 'each other', i.e. *drug druga* in Russian. Heavy forms show up for some POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE verbs and RECIPROCAL verbs as shown in the examples in (11).

BCS *se* only, Rus Heavy form, BCS POSSESSIVE

- (11) *V pervoe mgnovenie on daže i ne ponjal, čto že takoe uvidel – no potom ryvkom **povernul golovu nazad***. Rus, (Potter1, 528)

*U prvi mah gospodin Dursley nije uopće shvatio što to vidi - a onda **se** naglo **osvrne za sobom***. BCS (Potter1, 480)

'For a second, Mr Dursley didn't realize what he had seen - then he jerked his head around to look again . . .'

Heavy forms found with Russian verbs shown above indicate that the REFLEXIVE and related POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE semantic types are not salient for Russian *SE*-verbs, and these semantic types are often rendered with heavy forms in Russian. This is not to say that the light forms may not exist, but they simply do not appear to be as salient for REFLEXIVE and related POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE semantic types. While REFLEXIVE *povernut'sja*, 'turn one's body' exists, the heavy form *povernut' sebja* is also occurs regularly. In the example above, the heavy form is used for

the POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE meaning. This shows that in Russian the element *-sja* seems to act as a true suffix and possesses a low degree of referentiality. It is resistant to actually being construed as a patient, while the patient role can be fulfilled with the reflexive heavy pronoun *sebjja* or an actual stated patient, as seen with body parts named in the heavy forms for the POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE semantic type. On the other hand, BCS *se*-verbs have a higher degree of referentiality, allowing the clitic pronoun *se* to be construed as a patient. Details and examples demonstrating the high degree of referentiality of BCS *se* are given in 5.5.

Section 5.1 presents data from the parallel corpus from three texts. It presents the methodology used to extract tokens from the corpus, selecting the first 100 tokens of three sets from each of the three sets: paired (in which both Russian and BCS have *se*-verbs, Russian unpaired (in which Russian has a *se*-verb and BCS does not), and BCS unpaired (in which BCS has a *se*-verb and Russian does not). This sampling methodology is presented as a best option, given the limitations of the parallel corpus and the existence of false hits on parallel tokens due to factors described above. The overall data shows that for all three texts, Russian has more *se*-verbs than BCS does. It also shows that the most commonly occurring semantic type for both languages is MIDDLE, but that Russian has a more frequent occurrence of MIDDLE *se*-verbs and BCS has more variation in types, especially for unpaired tokens, where only one language has a *se*-verb. Chi-square tests for the three data sets show that the larger number of MIDDLE *se*-verbs in Russian as compared to BCS is not random, but indicates some other significant difference between the distribution of semantic types of these verbs in the two languages. Finally, examples given show some of the differences in the semantic situation with these verbs in the two languages, including occurrences where Russian has a MIDDLE *se*-verb and BCS has another

construction, and where Russian has REFLEXIVE or POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE and BCS has a heavy form. The data presented from the parallel corpus supports the idea that MIDDLE is more prototypical for Russian *SE*-verbs, while BCS has more variance and is more likely to allow the clitic pronoun *se* to have a referential (non-MIDDLE) semantic function. This is supported by both the statistical analysis of the data and examples given.

5.2. Non-*SE* verbs in BCS

This section discusses the existence of pairs of verbs in Russian and BCS that involve a *SE*-verb in Russian, but a non-*SE*-verb in BCS. Multiple instances occur in the data collected from the parallel corpus that show that in the case of unpaired tokens, there are instances where one language has a *SE*-verb and the other has a non-*SE*-verb. These occur in both languages, but for BCS they almost always occur when BCS has a non-*SE* counterpart to a Russian MIDDLE *SJA*-verb, as seen by the large number of Russian MIDDLE verbs in table 29, including 100 percent MIDDLE verbs in the Rowling text for that set of data. Consider examples (12) and (13) below.

Russian -*sja* only, Rus MIDDLE, BCS Non-*se*-verb

(12) . . . *togo samogo dnja, kogda **načinaetsja** naša istorija . . .* Rus (Potter1, 362)

. . . *tog tmurnog , sivog utorka kad **počinje** naša priča . . .* BCS (Potter1, 307)
 ‘on the dull , gray Tuesday our story starts . . .’

(13) *Sam čelovek i upravljaet, - pospešil serdito otvetit' Bezdomnyi na etot, **priznat'sja**, ne očen' jasnyi vopros.* Rus (Bulgakov, 2803)

*-Sam čovjek upravlja požurio se da ljutito odgovori Bezdomni na ovo, treba **priznati**, ne baš jednostavno pitanje.* BCS (Bulgakov)

“Man governs it himself,” Homeless angrily hastened to reply to this admittedly none - too - clear question’.

Example (12) has a verb, ‘to begin/start’, that occurs as a *SE*-verb in Russian, but without *se* in BCS. Example (13) involves two examples of the same kind of parallel situation. The bold example involves the verb *priznat'sja/priznati*, ‘admit’, which is a MIDDLE *SE*-verb in Russian, but occurs without *se* in BCS. The English translation given (which is taken from the English translation provided on Parasol) is a bit misleading, in that it has an adverb, ‘admittedly’, where both the Russian and BCS texts simply include a verb, ‘(one) should admit’. Example (13) also includes the opposite kind of parallel text. The verb ‘hurry, hasten’ occurs as a *SE*-verb, *požuriti se*, in BCS, and as a non-*SE*-verb, *pospešit'*, in Russian. However, BCS *požuriti* occurs frequently without *se* as well, so this is not a clear parallel between *SE*- and non-*SE* verbs.

In addition to the verbs mentioned above, the same correspondences occur with several other verbs, such as seen in examples (14) and (15).

(14) *Na uglu on **ostanovilsja** i vytaščil? serebrjanuju Vzključalku.* Rus (Potter, 5338)

*Na uglu **zastane** i izvadi iz džepa svoj srebrni upaljač.* BCS (Potter)

‘On the corner he stopped and took out the silver Put - Outer.’

(15) *I vse eto **končaetsja** tragičeski.* Rus (Bulgakov, 3008)

*I sve to **završava** tragično.* BCS (Bulgakov)

‘It all ends tragically.’

In example (14), for the verb ‘to stop’ Russian has the MIDDLE verb *ostanovit'sja*, while BCS has the non-*SE*-verb *zastati*. In example (15) the pair for ‘to end’ is Russian *končat'sja* and BCS *završavati*. Other similar pairs found in the data from the parallel corpus include Rus *rasporjažat'sja*, BCS *raspologati*, ‘give orders’, Rus *priščurit'sja*, BCS *zažmiriti*, ‘to narrow one’s eyes’, (which represents a Russian POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE matched with a BCS non-*SE* verb), and Rus *prodolžat'sja*, BCS *trajaiti*, ‘to continue, to last’.

These types of correspondences between the two languages are found elsewhere. The common phrase ‘it says on this page’ referring to written content requires a *SE*-verb in Russian, *pišetsja na ètoj stranice* (lit. ‘it writes-*SE* on this page’), whereas in BCS the verb occurs without *se*, *piše na ovoj stranici* (lit. ‘it writes on this page’). Such cases indicate a stronger tendency for Russian to have MIDDLE type verbs marked with *-sja*, whereas BCS does not require *se*, and can have a MIDDLE semantic type with no need for the clitic to be present. This fact again indicates that Russian *-sja* has a different function than BCS *se* has.

5.3. Across-the-Board Dependencies in BCS *SE*-Verbs

This section considers across-the-board (hereafter: ATB) dependencies, which occur with *SE*-verbs in BCS but do not occur in Russian. It further shows the high degree of referentiality associated with the BCS clitic *se*, as seen with adjectives that agree in gender and number with the assumed agent and in case with the clitic. These occurrences show that despite the large number of MIDDLE *SE*-verbs in BCS, these verbs indicate a high degree of referentiality of the *se* clitic and support the idea that BCS *se* is qualitatively different than Russian *-sja*, and in particular the idea that the prototype for BCS *SE*-verbs is REFLEXIVE.

As explained previously, Russian *SE*-verbs occur with the suffix *-sja*. In BCS these verbs co-occur with the pronominal clitic *se*. Russian *-sja* is a suffix and is permanently affixed to the verb, and there is no positive evidence that *-sja* has any kind of pronominal status in contemporary Russian. In contrast, in BCS the clitic pronouns are nevertheless pronouns. A case in point is the use of the clitic reflexive pronoun *se* with prepositions, not only in dialects but also in Croatian journalistic texts, as in *morala za se skrbiti* ‘she had to provide for herself’.⁹⁰ This difference is important to the distinction that will be made here about across-the-board dependencies.

Franks (1993) provides a discussion of parallelism in across-the-board (ATB) dependencies with dependent clauses in Polish and Russian. Two examples from Russian from his article are below. The gaps are indicated by *[e]*.

(16) *devuška, kojoj ja byl uvlečen [e] i daval den'gi [e],*
 ... girl who(INST-DAT) I was carried-away-with and gave money
 'the girl who I was carried away with and gave money to' (Franks 1993: 513)

(17) **mal'cik, korigo [e] ne bylo na uroke i my izbegali [e] na ulice,*
 ... boy who(GEN-GEN) not was in class and we avoided on street
 'the boy who was not in class and we avoided on the street' (513)

Both of these indicate instances in which there is syncretism in the case endings, so one relative pronoun can stand for both verbal clauses. However, (16) is possible and (17) is not. Franks uses the notion of relative prominence to explain this. Franks states that, “In any ATB construction,

⁹⁰ The use of heavy form in prepositional phrases in BCS, e.g., *za sebe* ‘for oneself’, is surely more widespread, but the use of the light form/clitic *se* is common enough that it cannot be considered an unproductive, marginal usage pattern.

the gaps must pertain either to most prominent or to not most prominent arguments, consistently across all the conjuncts.” (515) Franks lays out a hierarchy determining the prominence in a thematic manner. The hierarchy appears as below:

Agent > Experiencer > Theme > Goal/Source/Location > Manner/Time (516)

The details of determining the prominence are not discussed here, but using this system, example (16) occurs because the two gaps are equal in prominence, and (17) does not occur because one is more prominent than the other. This notion of relative prominence will be relevant for the discussion of what happens with ATB dependencies with *SE*-verbs in Russian and BCS.

Let us consider some data for ATB dependencies in BCS and Russian *SE*-verbs. The light form *se* in BCS stands apart from the verb as a clitic. In this way, one clitic can stand for two *SE*-verbs. This occurs often when the two verbs have the same semantic function. Examples (18), (19), and (20) below present a situation in which the two verbs have the same semantic type (in this case, RECIPROCAL) and the light form occurs.

Same semantic type, light form

RECIPROCAL

- (18) *Poljubili smo se i zagrlili.*⁹¹ BCS
'We kissed each other and embraced each other.'
- (19) **My pocelovalis' i obnjali.* Rus
- (20) *Obnjalis' i pocelovalis'.*⁹² Rus
'They embraced and kissed [each other].'

⁹¹<http://hogwartslife.blog.hr/>, 20 August 2012

⁹²<http://www.u-mama.Rus/forum/messages.php?id=10080004>, 22 August 2012

Example (18) can occur as an ATB dependency, where one clitic *se* can exist for two *SE*-verbs. Russian cannot have an ATB dependency because omitting *-sja* on the second verb changes the meaning of the verb. The Russian variant of this sentence has to be (20). This observation may seem obvious because Russian *-sja* is incorporated into the verb as a suffix. To most Russian speakers it seems ridiculous to even consider the possibility of omitting the suffix on one of the verbs as it would change the meaning of the verb (or render it nonsense). However, it is precisely this comparison that sheds light on the different semantic nature of *se* in the two languages. In BCS, the same ATB can occur when both verbs are REFLEXIVE.

Same semantic type, light form

REFLEXIVE

- (21) *tri se dana nije brijao ni kupao*.⁹³ BCS
 ‘. . . he did not shave or bathe for three days.’
- (22) * . . . *tri dnja ne brilsja i ne myl*. Rus
- (23) *Tridcat' sem' let ne mylsja, ne strigsja i ne brilsja*.⁹⁴ Rus
 ‘He did not bathe, cut his hair, or shave for thirty seven years.’

Again, (21) includes an ATB dependency in BCS, but (22) is not possible in Russian. Example (23) shows a Russian instance with three REFLEXIVE verbs and no ATB dependency.

ATB dependencies in BCS can also occur when the semantic types are not the same.

Consider the following examples.

⁹³<http://www.24sata.hr/cudne-vijesti/preRussio-se-u-skitnicu-da-svoje-zupljane-nauci-lekciju-70704>, 20 August 2012

⁹⁴http://Rus.publika.md/link_327351.html, 22 August 2012

Different semantic types, light form

RECIPROCAL – MIDDLE

- (24) *Pogledali smo se i počeli smijati.*⁹⁵ BCS
'We looked at each other and began to laugh.'
- (25) **My smotrelis' i stali smejat'*. Rus
- (26) *počemu-to obnjalis' drug s drugom i stali smejat'sja.*⁹⁶ Rus
' . . . for some reason we embraced each other and began to laugh.'

Different semantic types, light form

RECIPROCAL – MIDDLE

- (27) *Onda smo se Arlet i ja pogledali i nasmiješili jedno drugom.*⁹⁷ BCS
'Then Arlet and I looked at each other and smiled at each other.'

Different semantic types, light form

REFLEXIVE – MIDDLE

- (28) *Umio sam se i pokušavao sjetiti kako sam dospio ovdje.*⁹⁸ BCS
'I bathed [myself] and tried to remember how I got here.'

These previous examples show occurrences where an ATB dependency occurs in BCS even when the semantic types are different. Example (24) has both a RECIPROCAL verb and a MIDDLE verb. Example (28) is the most interesting. In this situation, not only are the semantic types

⁹⁵ <http://www.blogger.ba/komentari/5978/350274/str2>, 20 August 2012

⁹⁶ Vasilii Nikifirov-Volgin, "Serebrjanaja Metel", as quoted on <http://www.ierei-korenev.Rus/arhiv/pregdeosv.html>, 22 August 2012

⁹⁷ http://wap.mtel.me/preview_story/111174?s=6npjcsfk67oik75klgfmavdd61, 22 August 2012

⁹⁸ <http://board.ogame.ba/board731-caffe/board34-ogame-caffe/board166-moulin-orange/42631-guardian/>, 22 August 2012

different, but the verb forms are also different. One is past tense and one is an infinitive, however the ATB dependency still occurs.

ATB dependency in Russian is prevented because the light pronoun *-sja* is incorporated as a suffix. There are rare instances, found in internet searches, in which ATB dependency occurs with a heavy form in Russian. An example is given in (29).

Same semantic type, heavy form (relatively rare in Rus)

RECIPROCAL

- (29) *L i Nia prosnulis' pervymi, nežno obnjali drug druga, pocelovali i stali pit' kofe.*⁹⁹ Rus
'L and Nia awoke first, gently embraced each other, kissed [each other] and began to drink coffee.'

The heavy form *drug druga* in example (29) is pronominal and can serve several verbs if the structure of each verb is the same, in this case reciprocal verbs, *obnjat'sja*, 'embrace' and *pocelovat'sja*, 'kiss'. This is the same phenomenon that happens with the pronominal clitic *se* in BCS. This shows that the BCS clitic *se* is more similar in syntactic use to the heavy form pronouns in Russian, while BCS *se* is not as similar to the Russian suffix *-sja*.

Returning to the notion of relative prominence as proposed by Franks with reference to ATB dependencies, it is clear that ATB dependencies occur with *SE*-verbs in BCS because the verbs in these constructions carry equal prominence, regardless of semantic type. The fact that they can occur even with different semantic types is somewhat surprising. Why does it happen? We can explain the discrepancy if we assume that all these *SE*-verbs, regardless of the semantic

⁹⁹ <http://beon.ru/tests/611-687.htm>, 22 August 2012

type, operate with the same syntactic “template” —i.e., BCS *se* is technically pronominal, whether it occurs in a REFLEXIVE predicate or MIDDLE predicate. The syntactic template is reflexive, where the clitic *se* is a separate element, an accusative clitic. If it were not consistently a pronominal form, ATB dependencies with these verbs would be impossible in BCS.

However, in Russian, the situation is different. The suffix *-sja* is a part of the verb, is not separable, and can only co-occur with that specific verb. It cannot occur in an ATB dependency with other similar verbs, whether they are the same in semantic type or not. This is because because Russian *-sja* is neither pronominal nor referential, and because its core (prototypical) function is to create intransitive (MIDDLE) verbs. That is to say, the suffix *-sja* changes the meaning of the verb, making it subject-focused, but is not referential or anaphoric.

On the other hand, these occurrences of across-the-board dependencies with Slavic *SE*-verbs are not limited to South Slavic. Knjazev (2007) points out that the same across-the-board dependencies with separable clitics occur in western dialects of Ukrainian, such that one separable clitic *sja* can stand for two Ukrainian *sja*-verbs, although Russian does not have across-the-board dependencies (2007:260). This may indicate that the western Ukrainian dialects pattern more like South Slavic or are a transitional zone between Russian and South Slavic.

5.4. Past Passive Participles from BCS *SE*-verbs

This section discusses the existence of past passive participles formed from BCS *SE*-verbs that are MIDDLE. These past passive participles are formed in the same way that a past passive participle can be formed from a regular transitive verb as seen in examples (30) and (31). Example (30) is an active transitive verb for ‘lose’, referring to a player losing a ball.

- (30) *Stanisavljević se poigravao na svojoj polovini, izgubio je loptu, . . .*¹⁰⁰ BCS
'Stanisavljević was playing around on his half and lost the ball . . .

Example (31) is a past participle formed from the transitive verb 'lose'.

- (31) *Izgubljena lopta.*¹⁰¹ BCS
'The lost ball [children's story title].' (Also can be a 'turnover' in soccer.)

Past passive participles are regularly formed in BCS with the patient of the transitive verb functioning as the subject of the past passive participial construction, or the head noun that the participle agrees with for gender, number and case in attributive and predicative usage. The latter actually happens with some BCS *SE*-verbs, even when the verb itself is a MIDDLE semantic type.

Two of these examples are in (32) and (33). The first is formed from the MIDDLE (PROCEDURAL) verb *zagledati se*, indicating doing something to excess, 'get lost in watching'. This *SE*-verb can be made into a participle referring to the child. The same occurs in (33) with the verb *zaigrati se*, 'to get lost in play'. Note that the meanings of transitive *zagledati* 'take a look at/into' and *zaigrati* 'lose while gambling' are irrelevant for the past passive participles at issue; they are formed from the MIDDLE verbs.

- (32) *Za dijete granica između stvarnog i izmišljenog nije pouzdana, a dijete koje odrasta zagledano satima u ekran nije sigurno u koju od te dvije stvarnosti više vjeruje.*¹⁰² BCS

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.fkdonjisrem.com/2014/08/beljic-zadovoljio-pravdu/>, 17 December 2014

¹⁰¹ <http://pricezadjecu.wordpress.com/2008/02/19/izgubljena-lopta/>, 17 December 2014

¹⁰² <http://starababa.blogger.hr/post/dijete-i-televizija-12/1854594.aspx>, 22 August 2012

‘For a child the boundary reality and imagination is not dependable, and a child who is raised with excessive watching for hours at a screen is not certain which of these two realities to believe in.’

- (33) *U školi se **zaigrano dijete** sukobljava s redom, organizacijom, očekivanjima, nastavnim planovima, postignućima.*¹⁰³ BCS
‘In school the excessively playful child comes into conflict with order, organization, expectations, curricula and goals.’

A third example in (34) shows a past passive participle formed from the MIDDLE *SE*-verb *najesti se*, ‘to eat to satiety’. In this example, this past passive participle occurs in a list with other past passive participles formed from transitive verbs, i.e. *oprati*, ‘to clean’, *obučiti*, ‘to dress’.

- (34) *Ja gledam, koji bog, šta sam napravila, dijete oprano, **najedeno**, lijepo obučeno, nije da ga mlatim, ono, šta?*¹⁰⁴ BCS
‘I look, good lord, what did I do?—The child is washed, sated, dressed nicely; it’s not like I beat it, so what are you talking about?’

These participles show that these verbs are patterning as transitive verbs with an accusative patient. They form passives in the same way that BCS transitive verbs form past passive participles. The new subject (the child who did the action of getting lost in play), is used with the past passive participle even though the verb itself is not semantically REFLEXIVE. This indicates that these verbs have the same syntactic patterning as transitive verbs.

¹⁰³ <http://www.mojdoktor.hr/Default.aspx?page=248&article=1522>, 22 August 2012

¹⁰⁴ <http://www.forum.hr/showthread.php?t=536100&page=13>, 16 February 2015

5.5. Predicate Adjectives Agreeing with BCS *SE*-verbs

This section presents the behavior of predicate adjectives used with BCS *SE*-verbs. Adjectives in BCS that have the clitic *se* as the antecedent often agree with *se* in gender and number, indicating a high degree of referentiality of the clitic for these verbs. In other words, the clitic in a REFLEXIVE *SE*-verb can be modified by adjectives that agree in gender and number with the agent and in case with accusative patient. Consider the following examples of answers to an online survey. The original question is given along with three answers from readers.

- (35) *Gdje vidiš sebe u naredne dvije ili pet godina?*
-*vidim se sretnog i zadovoljnog*¹⁰⁵
-*vidim se sretnu kao i sada*¹⁰⁶
-*Vidim se sretnu i veselu i živim mnogo bliže svom poslu.*¹⁰⁷

‘Where do you see yourself in the next two or three years?’

-I see myself happy and satisfied [masculine accusative]

-I see myself happy like now [feminine accusative]

-I see myself happy and cheerful [feminine accusative] and I live closer to my work.’

The first answer includes masculine accusative adjectives referring to the ‘self’ expressed by *se*, indicating that the respondent is a man; *se* agrees with the masculine singular nominative antecedent, and the adjective in turn agrees with the masculine singular accusative clitic. The second and third responses include feminine accusative endings, indicating that the respondent is a female. These are individual responses to a survey and multiple respondents used the same format, with adjectives indicating their gender. This clearly shows that *se* in these answers is

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.iskrice.com/profiles.php?id=627853>, 30 October 2014

¹⁰⁶ <http://www.iskrice.com/profiles.php?id=1020110>, 30 October 2014

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.iskrice.com/profiles.php?id=1070362>, 30 October 2014

highly referential, agreeing with the individual whom it represents. Furthermore, the light form *se* is used by all of the respondents in answer to a question that included the heavy form. The *se* is clearly understood to have the same function as the heavy form *sebe*, even to the degree that it can be modified by adjectives.

The situation with the MIDDLE past participles above in examples (32), (33), and (34) and the notion that BCS *se* is highly referential as indicated in (35), helps explain the nature of these verbs in BCS. In BCS, the prototypical *SE*-verb is REFLEXIVE, and other semantic types (such as MIDDLE) are simply a kind of REFLEXIVE for BCS. BCS *SE*-verbs are organized as reflexives, acting in the same manner that transitive and or REFLEXIVE verbs act. Thus, they can share the *se* clitic in ATB, they can form past passive participles, and they can have referential adjectives that modify the *se* as a patient.

5.6. Semantic Networks

This chapter provides a summary of the data and analysis in 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5 along with conclusions that can be drawn from this analysis. It leads to the presentation of semantic prototypes and basic semantic networks for *SE*-verbs in Russian and BCS. The constructed networks present a hypothesis that the semantic prototype for these verbs in Russian is MIDDLE, with other types related to MIDDLE, and the prototype for these verbs in BCS is REFLEXIVE, with other types related to REFLEXIVE.

The data and analysis in the previous sections of this chapter lead to several conclusions about the semantic inventory and prototypes of *SE*-verbs in Russian and BCS. First, Russian *SE*-verbs occur more often in the chosen parallel texts than BCS *SE*-verbs. The fact that this is

consistent across all three novels indicates that Russian has a greater frequency of these *SE*-verbs in general than BCS does. Second, the data samples indicate that MIDDLE is the most frequent semantic type for *SE*-verbs in both languages in narrative texts, while REFLEXIVE is infrequent. However, it is worth pointing out here that REFLEXIVE clauses tend to be infrequent in narrative texts in any language, so that significance of the infrequency of REFLEXIVE *SE*-verbs in these texts should not be over emphasized. The further analysis of the unpaired tokens in sections 5.1 and 5.2 shows that Russian MIDDLE *SE*-verbs occur when BCS uses other verbs or other constructions for the same functions. BCS MIDDLE *SE*-verbs also occur when Russian uses other constructions; however, the analysis of unpaired *SE*-verbs in BCS shows that BCS REFLEXIVE *SE*-verbs occur in places where Russian has a heavy form for the REFLEXIVE meaning, rather than a *SE*-verb. The analysis also shows that MIDDLE is more prominent in Russian in situations that are not paired with BCS *SE*-verbs. BCS unpaired *SE*-verbs are less likely to be MIDDLE than Russian *SE*-verbs are as shown by the chi-square tests for the unpaired data in 5.1.

Discussion in 5.2 shows that BCS has common examples of non-*SE*-verbs that occur where Russian has a MIDDLE *SE*-verb. According to the data presented in section 5.3, BCS *se* can occur as an across-the-board dependency, where one pronominal clitic *se* stands for two or more *SE*-verbs. Section 5.4 shows that BCS *SE*-verbs occur as participles where the verb refers to a subject, even though the verb is semantically MIDDLE. Finally, sections 5.5 shows that BCS *SE*-verbs can occur in REFLEXIVE verbs with predicate adjectives that refer to the clitic *se*, and agree with the agent in gender and number and with the accusative clitic *se* in case. The examples and analysis in these sections provide evidence that BCS *SE*-verbs are organized with the syntactic structure of REFLEXIVE verbs; that is to say, they seem to retain the properties of transitive verbs.

They also show that BCS *se* is referential in ways that Russian *-sja* is not. All of these facts indicate that *se* maintains a significant degree of referentiality in BCS *SE*-verbs of varied semantic types. The clitic appears to be consistently construed as a distinct entity in BCS, but the Russian affix *-sja* is not.

This analysis allows the construction of semantic networks for *SE*-verbs in the two languages. The predominance of MIDDLE as a semantic type in Russian, as well as the rarity of REFLEXIVE, even in cases where BCS has REFLEXIVE *SE*-verbs, suggests that the semantic prototype for Russian *SE*-verbs is MIDDLE. It exists in the center of the semantic network (shaded) and other semantic types are related to it. The semantic network for Russian *SE*-verbs is seen in Figure 5 below.

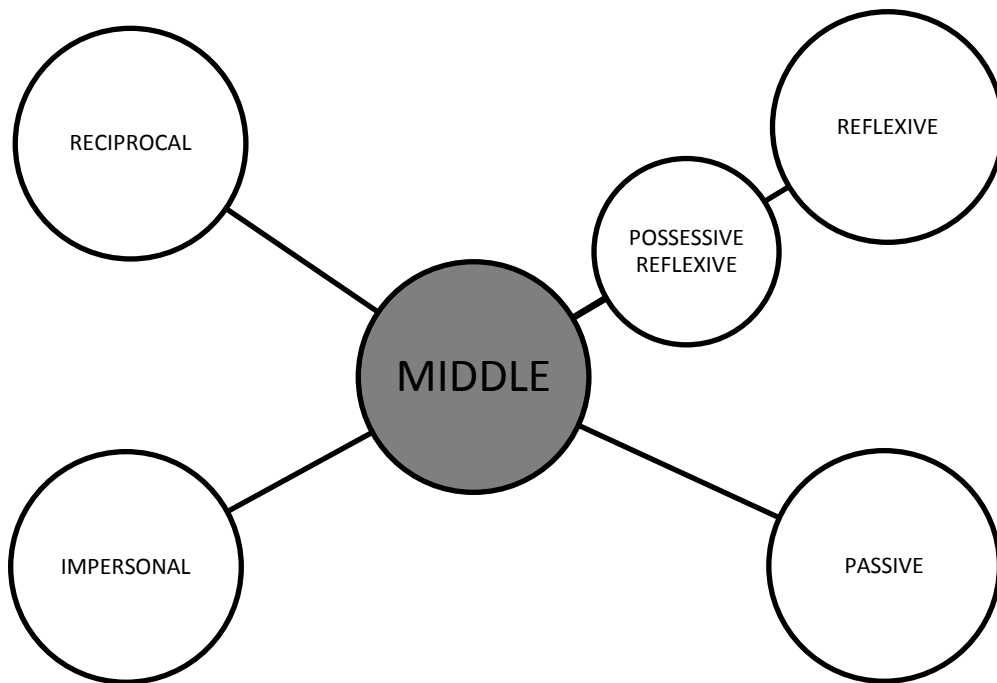


Figure 5. Network for Russian *se*-verbs

MIDDLE is the center and prototype of this network. Other semantic types are seen in the network, and POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE is an intermediate type, closely related to REFLEXIVE, as discussed in 2.2. Although the REFLEXIVE meaning has a long history with *SE*-verbs in Russian, in the contemporary language, the prominence of the MIDDLE meaning has led it to be prototypical for this group of verbs in Russian.

Ronald Langacker's definition of a prototype given in 1.1 notes that prototypes are often the most frequent type and also "tend to be learned the earliest." If the prototype for Russian *SE*-verbs is MIDDLE, we would expect that the MIDDLE type of *SE*-verbs is learned quite early among Russian children. In a study of Russian reflexive verbs and child language, S.N. Ceytlin (1978) shows that Russian children indeed use verbs with *-sja* in a large variety of environments, including REFLEXIVE, RECIPROCAL and various semantic types that are defined as MIDDLE in this study. Moreover, Ceytlin notes that the most frequent use for the voluntary addition of the suffix *-sja* in children is the decausative type, a MIDDLE type for this study. The article also concludes that Russian children display a command of the multiple semantic uses of the system for verbs with *-sja*, clearly including many MIDDLE types. While this short article does not reflect a comprehensive study of Russian child language for *SE*-verbs, its findings do support the conclusion that MIDDLE is the prototype for Russian *SE*-verbs.

The network for BCS *SE*-verbs is different. Despite the fact that BCS also has a large percentage of MIDDLE *SE*-verbs, other factors show specific salience of the referentiality of *se* and the construal of *se* as a separate entity with BCS *SE*-verbs. This leads to the conclusion that despite the large number of other semantic types, REFLEXIVE retains the role of prototype for

BCS. The semantic network for BCS is in Figure 6. It is similar to the Russian network except that REFLEXIVE is in the center as the prototype and MIDDLE is more on the periphery, related via POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE.

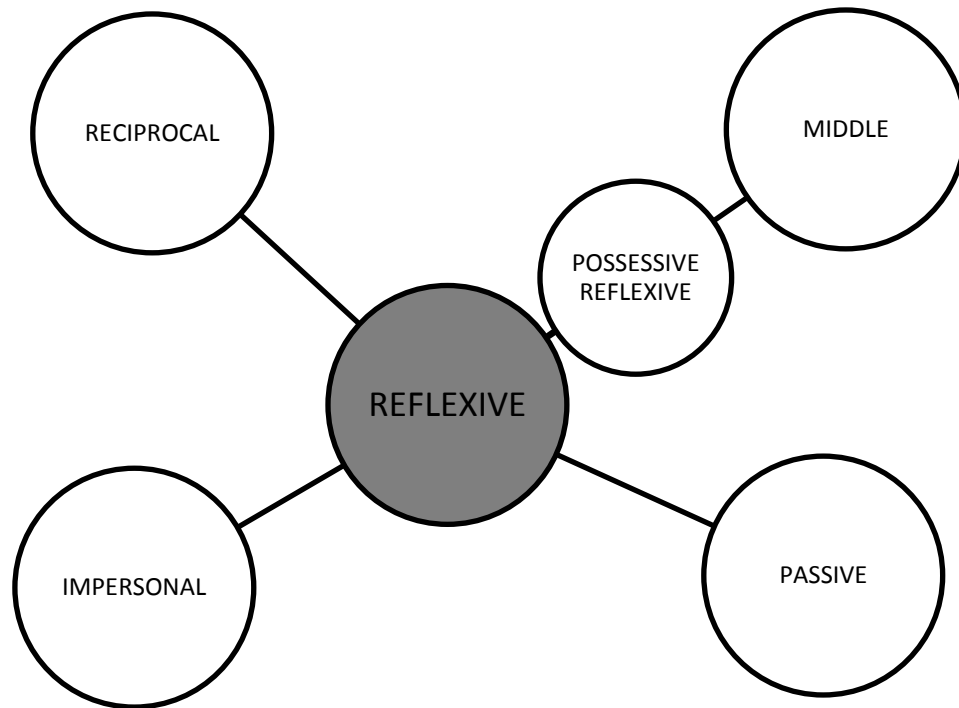


Figure 6. Network for BCS *SE*-verbs

While the inventory of types of verbs and the basic relationship of the types is similar for both languages, Russian has MIDDLE as its prototype and BCS has REFLEXIVE. This reflects the fact that data shows a certain cognitive salience to the REFLEXIVE in BCS because of the various ways in which other parts of the grammar (ATB dependencies, past passive participles, adjectival

agreement in predicate adjectives) indicate that the notion of reflexivity is prominent for these verbs in BCS.

The networks presented above can be posited based on the data and analysis given in Chapter 5 as an application of the semantic types described in Chapters 2, 3, and 4. Chapter 6 provides a conclusion to this study and suggestions various areas of future study related to this work as a linguistic typology for Slavic verbs. It also suggests incorporation as one of the factors that contributes to the different prototypes between Russian and BCS.

5.7. Chapter Conclusion

Chapter 5 presents data from the parallel corpus to analyze the semantic types of *SE*-verbs in Russian and BCS. Data is taken from three parallel translated texts in the parallel corpus, an original English, original Russian, and original Serbian. General totals from the parallel corpus reveal that the total number of *SE*-verbs is greater in Russian than in BCS for all three texts. For all texts and both languages, the predominant semantic type is MIDDLE. The groups of unpaired tokens have more variance in types for BCS *SE*-verbs than for Russian *SE*-verbs. Some BCS REFLEXIVE *SE*-verbs are paired with long form REFLEXIVE verbs in Russian. The prevalence of the MIDDLE type in the corpus data indicates that the semantic prototype for Russian *SE*-verbs is MIDDLE.

Additional evidence is presented about the peculiarities of *SE*-verbs in BCS. They occur with across-the-board dependencies where one *se* occurs with multiple verbs or the same or different semantic types. BCS MIDDLE *SE*-verbs also can form past passive participles in the same way that transitive verbs form past passive participles. Finally, BCS *SE*-verbs can occur with

predicate adjectives that modify the clitic *se* and agree in gender and number with the subject that the clitic refers to. All of these facts indicate that BCS *SE*-verbs maintain the syntactic structure of reflexive verbs, pointing to the conclusion that the prototype for BCS *SE*-verbs is REFLEXIVE.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Areas for Further Study

6.0. Introduction

This chapter presents a summary discussion of the findings of this dissertation and the conclusions drawn in Chapter 5. The basic conclusion is given in 6.1. In 6.2, it is suggested that the differences in the semantic prototypes of *SE*-verbs in Russian and BCS are due to the incorporation of Russian *-sja* as part of the verb. 6.3 presents areas for further study, including brief comments about Polish *SE*-verbs in relation to the findings of this dissertation and the suggestions about incorporation. Finally, 6.4 provides a few closing remarks about the relevance of the project.

6.1. Basic Conclusion

This dissertation has shown that the semantic prototype for *SE*-verbs in Russian is MIDDLE and for BCS is REFLEXIVE. In order to arrive at this conclusion, the work defines basic semantic types for *SE*-verbs (see Chapter 2). They include REFLEXIVE, POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE, RECIPROCAL, PASSIVE constructions, IMPERSONAL constructions, MIDDLE, and BENEFACTIVE. Diagnostics for the first three are also presented, in order to provide a means to determine if a verb is REFLEXIVE, POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE, or RECIPROCAL. The diagnostics draw on Kemmer's (1993) presentation of light and heavy forms. The heavy forms defined here are the reflexive pronouns *sebja* (Russian) and *sebe* (BCS), the reciprocal pronouns *drug druga* (Russian) and *jedan drugog* (BCS), and the possessive reflexive heavy forms with a named patient (*zavivat'sja* = *zavivat' volosy*, 'curl one's hair'). Corpus research with the Parasol parallel corpus was conducted in

order to determine the relative occurrence of the semantic types, using parallel translations of three contemporary novels.

This dissertation has provided three kinds of evidence to show that the semantic situation for *SE*-verbs in BCS is different than it is in Russian. Three types of evidence have been presented to argue the significant difference between the semantic situation in the two languages. The evidence is drawn from parallel corpus data and from internal data from BCS showing various unique structures with *SE*-verbs.

Raw data from the parallel corpus shows that there are cases when BCS uses *se* as a coindexed pronoun (for REFLEXIVE, RECIPROCAL, or POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE) and Russian uses a heavy or some other form. However, there is no data to indicate that BCS uses the heavy form where Russian has the light form *-sja*. Corpus research also shows that MIDDLE is the most frequently occurring semantic type for *SE*-verbs in both languages, but MIDDLE occurs more frequently in Russian, while BCS has a greater variety of semantic types for *SE*-verbs. Chi-square tests presented in 5.1 provide circumstantial support, suggesting that the greater frequency of MIDDLE semantic types in Russian in comparison with BCS is not random.

In addition to the corpus data, several other facts about BCS *SE*-verbs are presented in 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5. These other examples show that the BCS clitic *se* is referential, referring distinctly to the agent or subject in the utterance, even in some instances when the verb is not REFLEXIVE. This indicates that in BCS the transitivity of all *SE*-verbs is retained as much as possible for a given verb type. The data show that BCS *SE*-verbs can occur in an across-the-board dependency, where one *se* stands for two or more *SE*-verbs, even when the verbs are not both REFLEXIVE. BCS MIDDLE *SE*-verbs can also occur as past passive participles which are formed

from MIDDLE *SE*-verbs in the same way that they would be formed from transitive verbs. These past passive participles have a subject in the presumed place of the clitic patient. Furthermore, *se* can be modified by predicate adjectives that agree with the reflexive pronoun for nominal categories (number and gender), indicating that the clitic is distinctly referring to the subject. Conversely there is no evidence of any of these (across-the-board dependencies, past passive participles from MIDDLE verbs, or predicate adjectives referring to *-sja* as a nominal antecedent) occurring in Russian. These facts show the salience of *se* as a referential patient with BCS *SE*-verbs, indicating REFLEXIVE as more prototypical for BCS than it is for Russian and that even MIDDLE *SE*-verbs in BCS are syntactically similar to transitive verbs. On the other hand, the prevalence of MIDDLE *SE*-verbs in Russian and the lack of the aforementioned phenomena in Russian, lead to the conclusion that MIDDLE is prototypical in Russian for this group of verbs.

The different prototypes for *SE*-verbs in the two languages are established partly on the basis of several distinct usages of *SE*-verbs in BCS that do not occur in Russian. These occur in part because the clitic in BCS is separated from the verb, while it is not in Russian. Incorporation may be a key to the different semantic situations for this group of verbs in the two languages. This is discussed further in 6.2.

6.2. Incorporation

This study has teased out many some significant, if subtle, semantic differences between these verbs in two languages from two of the traditional branches of Slavic. Russian represents the East Slavic languages and BCS represents the South Slavic languages (western South Slavic in

particular—Balkan Slavic, i.e., Bulgarian and Macedonian, requires further study). Some of the distinct semantic differences have been shown in the data and analysis presented here.

However, there is another clear difference in these verbs between the East and South Slavic languages. In West and South Slavic, the marker for these verbs is a separable reflexive pronominal clitic (e.g., *se* in BCS), which is not formally an element of the verb; this was also the state of affairs in Common Slavic and Old Russian. Thus, BCS retains the structure found with these verbs and reflexive clitics in older stages of Slavic, including Old Russian. The BCS clitic occurs in the clause in various locations, normally in second position along with other pronominal and verbal clitics. In fact, it occupies the same accusative clitic slot as other pronominal accusative clitics, e.g., *me*, ‘me’, and *te*, ‘you’. Again, this shows its equivalence in status to other accusative pronouns, an equivalence that also is presented by the existence of across-the-board dependencies and the use of *se* with a preposition as described in 5.3.

On the other hand, in Russian and East Slavic the erstwhile reflexive clitic has been incorporated into the verb. It is now inseparable from the verb stem. In fact, it even changes orthographically and phonologically based on the form of the verb, appearing as *-sja* when the main verb ends in a consonant and as *-s'* when the verb ends in a vowel. That is to say, it has become a part of the inflected form of the verb. I use the term incorporation as it is often used in linguistic literature for nominal or pronominal incorporation. Incorporation is “a regular process by which lexical units which are syntactically complements of verbs can also be realized as elements within the verb itself,” according to *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics* (Matthews 2014). Examples of noun incorporation include ‘rabbit-hunting’, in which the direct

object ‘rabbit’ has been incorporated with the transitive verb ‘hunt’ to create a new lexeme (Matthews 2014).

A similar process has occurred with the short-form reflexive pronouns in Russian, wherein *-sja* is not separated from the verb, but is now a part of a new lexeme that includes the (former) short-form pronoun as a suffix. This pronominal incorporation is a bit different from noun incorporation, in that it creates not simply a new lexeme, but the end result of a process of grammatical development of the short-form clitic, so that it serves a new grammatical function. In fact, pronominal incorporation is a grammatical or inflectional process, whereas noun incorporation is etymological¹⁰⁸ according to Kroeber (1911).

Nonetheless, the pronominal incorporation involved in East Slavic *SE*-verbs does involve the creation of a new lexeme for each unique verb, wherein the non-*SE*-verb differs in meaning from the *SE*-verb. It is grammaticalized in the sense that the new resulting *SE*-verb is marked as (at least prototypically) MIDDLE; these new lexemes are almost without exception intransitive and do not take an accusative direct object, though a few exceptions with *REFLEXIVE TANTUM* verbs such as *bojat'sja* do take accusative complements in vernacular usage. Thus, East Slavic *SE*-verbs have undergone a change in the structure of the verb that has not happened in South Slavic. The original “reflexive” marker is a full part of the verb creating a unique lexical item distinct from the correlating verb without that marker. In fact, as mentioned in 1.2, Russian *SE*-verbs have unique dictionary entries, but BCS *SE*-verbs do not always have unique entries. The addition of *-sja* to a verb in Russian generally causes a distinct change in the lexical meaning of the verb.

¹⁰⁸ Kroeber uses the word “etymological” to explain the nature of nominal incorporation, but the general sense of the argument is that nominal incorporation is lexical, that is, it involves the combination of two words to form a new lexical item with a new meaning.

Russian *-sja* is a MIDDLE marker, according to Kemmer's (1993) definition. BCS *se* patterns more like a distinct pronominal element itself, both in its position in a sentence and as a pronoun modified by adjectives.

In my view, the only reasonable assumption is that the incorporation of *-sja* in Russian may have effected a change in the semantics of the verbs, whereas BCS, retaining an earlier structure with a separable clitic, also retains the REFLEXIVE meaning for the clitic as a productive function. Of course, many verbs *SE*-verbs in BCS are MIDDLE. This is not surprising based on Kemmer's typological work, which shows that many languages have one marker that is used for reflexive, middle, and reciprocal meanings. However, the BCS data is hard to reconcile with Kemmer's typology, and in fact indicates that the typology needs to be more finely tuned if it is to take into account Slavic languages other than Russian.

Thus, while Kemmer argues that Russian is a middle-marking language, this assumption should not be applied generally to Slavic languages. While this dissertation supports Kemmer's claim that Russian has MIDDLE as a prototype for *SE*-verbs, it also points out that BCS does not show a parallel situation. In fact BCS *SE*-verbs retain the characteristics of transitive REFLEXIVE verbs to a much higher degree. As pointed out in Chapter 2, some studies of BCS *SE*-verbs have applied semantic categories from Russian to describe BCS *SE*-verbs. This dissertation argues for an approach to the study of Slavic verbs that considers non-Russian Slavic languages according to their unique synchronic situations, both in terms of examining semantics and syntax. There is no reason to assume that Russian should be the center of the linguistic territory or a model to be applied for defining other Slavic languages, especially when it is Russian (East Slavic) that

appears to be typologically on the periphery with the incorporation of the reflexive short-form pronoun.

Although the study of this dissertation is synchronic, it appears that a diachronic analysis of the incorporation of the reflexive clitic in East Slavic may lead to meaningful analysis of the changing semantics of these verbs in Russian, one that led to MIDDLE as a prototypical meaning. As a result, 6.3 suggests the need for a diachronic study of these verbs as future research, as well as the addition of data from West Slavic and Balkan Slavic to lead to a more comprehensive typological presentation of Slavic verbs.

6.3. Areas for Further Study

This section presents several suggested areas for further study related to this work. They include additional data from the parallel corpus and from Polish, further study of pronominal incorporation in relation to Slavic *SE*-verbs, and a diachronic analysis of these verbs in Slavic.

First, in order to establish more definitive conclusions about the relative semantic types for *SE*-verbs, more data from the parallel corpus should be collected. The data sets in this study were relatively small. Although statistical analysis showed that the sets were large enough to show that MIDDLE is more prominent for Russian than BCS in unpaired (unique) occurrences, more data would be meaningful. Additional research should add more texts and more individual tokens for analysis.

In order to begin to establish typological analysis for these verbs in Slavic, data from a West Slavic language is needed. This language could be Polish. Though Polish is not treated in this dissertation, a brief discussion of semantic types is worth mentioning, in order to introduce

the environment in West Slavic languages. According to descriptions by Wiemer (2007), Bielec (2006) and Swan (2002), the categories of Polish *SE*-verbs correspond fairly consistently to the categories of BCS, and do not generally include those categories that are unique to Russian. Additionally, Polish *SE*-verbs are not used for the PASSIVE meaning. Finally, Polish includes some BENEFACTIVE verbs that correspond to the same verbs in Russian (e.g., *budowac się*^{impf}, 'build a home for oneself'). This is similar to Russian, although there is a question as to whether those BENEFACTIVE Polish verbs are actually borrowings from Russian. Also, Sohn (163) indicates that Polish *SE*-verbs display only limited productivity for the meaning of TRUE REFLEXIVE (163).

Polish, like BCS, has the reflexive marker as a clitic. Another relevant factor that is considered in surprising fashion in the literature is the placement of the *się* clitic in Polish. The rules for its position are less clear-cut than they are in BCS. Russian *-sja* is a verbal suffix, so its position is unproblematic. BCS *se* is always in second position along with other clitics and generally follows Wackernagel's Law for clitic placement. Polish *się*, however, is sometimes placed in second position as a clitic, and sometimes after the verb or even immediately before the verb. Bielec describes its position in the following ambiguous manner: "Usually, *się* stands after the first stressed word in the sentence, or after/before its verb. In very short sentences *się* can stand at the end" (128). While such a description seems to be a poorly phrased, insufficient explanation, it is supported by examples indicating that the situation is indeed this varied. However, the common factor in the position of *się* seems to be that it stays close to the verb. Swan (410) describes it along with other Polish clitics by indicating that they "tend not to occur too far away from the verb." This situation may indicate a shift towards more clearly associating

the clitic *się* as a part of the verb as opposed to it standing as independent, such as the enclitic pronoun in BCS. It may, in fact, reflect the early stages of reflexive pronoun incorporation in Polish.

Discussion in 6.2 has presented the idea of incorporation as a possible key to the semantic differences between Russian and BCS *SE*-verbs. It may also be a key to understanding the semantic situation with these verbs in Polish. The unusual and unpredictable placement of the Polish clitic, often described as “not far away from the verb” suggest that Polish may be moving towards a kind of incorporation in the placement of the clitic *się*. This could suggest that it is in a transitional state between the situation in BCS and that in Russian. It may be moving towards the East Slavic incorporation of the reflexive clitic. The existence of the BENEFACTIVE type, similar to Russian also may suggest it as a transitional situation, patterning a bit more closely to Russian than BCS in its semantics. Collection of Polish data for analysis can add significant more material for comparison of *SE*-verbs in Slavic. If Polish is shown to be transitional between BCS and Russian, such a situation would echo Dickey’s (2000) work that presents Polish as a transitional zone between an east/west division in aspect for Slavic languages.

Finally, in order to more fully examine the nature of *SE*-verbs in Slavic, a diachronic analysis is needed. This analysis would allow for more examination of possible grammatical incorporation and its relation to the semantic shift of these verbs in Russian and possibly Polish. I suggest that further study related to this dissertation should include additional data, examination of Polish, consideration of grammatical incorporation, and a diachronic approach to Slavic *SE*-verbs. These additional components could lead to a thorough typological presentation of *SE*-verbs in Slavic languages.

6.4. Closing Remarks

As stated in the forward and other introductory material, one goal of this project was to positively define “middle” as a semantic category, avoiding the situation in most past literature in which middle is a catch-all category for a variety of kinds of verbs with a specific grammatical marker. After the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the project was complete, it became clear that, despite providing a positive semantic definition for MIDDLE as a subject-focused, one-participant event, the category still seemed to be a catch-all for a lot of semantic types of Slavic *SE*-verbs. This may, in the end, be the best way to identify these types. The group of *SE*-verbs includes many semantic types, a preponderance of which can be grouped together as MIDDLE verbs. Further analysis of the relative occurrences of the individual types within MIDDLE might be productive in the future, but it is still useful and to note that these types can all be united in this catch-all category. In this way, this dissertation both supports and refines past definitions of MIDDLE as a semantic category.

The forward also states that the roots and implications of this project are partially found in second language learning and pedagogy. While the project is primarily a contribution to Slavic verbal typology, it is also my hope that it will have some influence in the teaching of Slavic languages as second languages. How then might this happen? First, it is my hope that this study shows the dangers of oversimplifying similarities between two languages such as Russian and BCS. I hope also that it reveals that the “white lie” about Russian *-sja* being “reflexive” is a bad white lie that should be avoided. In fact, the word reflexive should probably never or rarely be used with these verbs in a second language classroom. While detailed discussion of MIDDLE semantic types would not be productive in second language classrooms, a better approach could

be to carefully consider the kinds of verbs with *-sja* that students first encounter. They might first encounter intransitive MIDDLE types of these verbs so that the students avoid the confusion that comes from broadly applying the notion of reflexivity to this group of verbs. The verbs might be simply called *sja*-verbs, and the students might first encounter them in a variety of uses, many of which would be MIDDLE, thereby reflecting the actual relative occurrence of semantic types in the contemporary language. A similar approach might be taken in classrooms where BCS is taught. There the students might also encounter across-the-board dependencies early in their studies so that they recognize the nature of the clitic with these verbs. I hope that this study will encourage a reassessment of how we approach pedagogy of Slavic languages as well as begin to end the prevalent Russo-centric approach to Slavic linguistics and language pedagogy.

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