Kansas Working Papers
in
Linguistics

edited by

John Kyle

Volume 23, Number 2
1998

Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics
Volume 23, Number 2
1998

FROM REFLEXIVE TO PASSIVE

Joong-Sun Sohn
The University of Kansas

Abstract: Previous approaches to the passive development from a reflexive marking focus on how the former is similar to the latter semantically and syntactically. I show that the passive evolution is better understood by looking at the internal procedures that the reflexive undergoes on the way to the passive. This approach clearly recognizes that reflexive clauses with agent subjects are highly resistant to the passive interpretation, for example. A reflexive marking tends to acquire a canonical passive function when it loses the true reflexive use, and morphologically, when it becomes an affix.

I. Introduction

It has long been recognized that a reflexive marking has extended to mark passive sense in many languages of the world (e.g., Sweet 1891). The purpose of this paper is to examine how a reflexive marking has extended its function to mark varieties of passivity cross-linguistically. I point out that previous accounts of the development of the passive from the reflexive have focused on how the passive is similar to the reflexive semantically and syntactically, paying little attention to the internal procedure of the development. In these accounts, for example, a passive can develop immediately from a typical reflexive like *John killed himself*, especially when *John* is non-volitional. This idea proves to be suspicious typologically. I claim that passive evolution is better understood by looking at the internal procedures that the reflexive undergoes on the way to the passive. This point of view differs from the previous approaches, because it clearly recognizes that reflexive clauses with an agent subject are highly resistant to the passive interpretation. The developmental procedure is by and large associated with verb classes pertaining to argument subcategorization. The functional extension of the reflexive at the initial stage tends to apply to verbs denoting an event which occurs spontaneously to an inanimate object (*turn, bend, melt, break,* etc.). These verbs produce inchoative interpretations. The next extension is to verbs subcategorizing an agent subject and non-agentive object (*eat, cook, build, fry,* etc.). When clauses with these verbs may not take agent-licensing expressions, they yield resultative interpretations. The emergence of a

canonical passive can be characterized as the inclusion of the agent semantic role that is syntactically covert but licensed, or overtly expressed in oblique case. This pattern of encroachment of the reflexive toward the passive is supported cross-linguistically.

I will also point out that the morphology of the reflexive marking and the acquisition of the passive function are deeply interrelated, a point to which previous research has paid little attention. I will show that all languages whose reflexive-origin marking has acquired the canonical passive function, have deprived the marking of its original true reflexive function. I advance two hypothesis regarding the functional evolution of the reflexive marking based on my typological observations.

II. Definitions of the Constructions

Since only reflexive-marked clauses are discussed in this paper, when a clause is referred to as a reflexive, reciprocal, inchoative, and passive, those terms should be understood as interpretations the clause renders. The following clauses exemplify these functions:

(1) Reflexive
John se viděl v zrcadle.   (Czech)
John Refl saw   in mirror
'John saw himself in the mirror'

(2) Middle Reflexive
John moet-sja.   (Russian)
John wash.Imp-Refl
'John is washing (himself)'

(3) Reciprocal
Viņi satikā-s.   (Latvian)
they met-Refl
'They met'

(4) Inchoative
La fenêtre s'est cassée   (French)
the window Refl-is broken
'The window broke'

(5) Passive
Vinduene knuse-s   av John. (Norwegian)
windows broke-Refl by John
'The windows were broken by John'

In reflexives the agent subject performs an action onto itself. That is, the reflexive marking and the non-reflexive NP are coreferential. The true reflexive is one whose verb is used more normatively as a non-reflexive (e.g., *kill, beat, see, love,* etc.), whereas the middle reflexive is one whose verb often conveys an inherent reflexive sense (e.g., *move, shave, wash, dress,* etc.). In English middle verbs are more commonly used without a reflexive pronoun (cf. *John washed* vs. *John washed himself*). The inchoative refers to what happened to the subject without showing any interest to the external agent. It does not involve an external agent syntactically realized. In this respect the inchoative is similar to the reflexive. However, the inchoative differs from the reflexive, in that while the subject of the former is not the agent of the action, that of the latter is the agent. Inchoative differs from passive in that the passive license the agent which is realized overtly or covertly in syntax. Passivity of a clause will be determined by its ability to occur with agent-licensing expressions such as agent-oriented adverbials (e.g., *deliberately*) and oblique agent phrases. A clause is a passive, if the non-reflexive NP of the clause is the subject, and the clause allows the agent-licensing expressions just mentioned.[1] Notice that it is cross-linguistically common that the reflexive-marked clause may not occur with agent phrases, while it may occur with agent-oriented adverbials. The reverse is not true. That is, the occurrence with agent phrases guarantees ability to occur with the agent-oriented adverbials, but not the other way round. I assume that ability to occur with agent-oriented adverbials is sufficient for a reflexive-marked clause to be a passive. When I need to refer to a passive which can occur with agent phrases, however, I will use the term 'canonical passive'.

The resultative interpretation or function should be recognized in the evolution of the reflexive. The verbs in the resultative subcategorize only for an agent subject and an inanimate or non-agentive animal object (e.g., *eat, cook, paint*). These verbs thus refer to an action which is normally performed only by a human agent. Resultatives are usually translated into English passives. They, however, do not allow agent-oriented adverbials, and thus do not render a reading which can be properly called a passive. The following Spanish example renders a resultative interpretation.

(6) Los libros se   vendían *deliberadamente a cien   pesetas
     the books Refl sold   deliberately   at hundred pesetas
     'The books were sold *deliberately at 100 ptas.'

III. The Reflexive as a Passive Source[2,3]

The Old Norse reflexive pronoun *sik*, which was cliticized to the verb, came to mark the passive use among others (Hopper and Traugott 1993, quoting from Heusler 1921):

(7) a. Reflexive
Hann bauþ   sik.
he   offered himself
'He offered himself'.   (Hopper and Traugott 1993:151)
b. Passive
Skip búa-sk
ship build-Refl
'The ships are being built'. (Hopper and Traugott 1993:152)

In modern Danish, the reflexive marking was simplified as *-s*, and can be used to mark passivity, more often in the present tense and habitual aspect (Allan *et al.* 1995; Hopper and Traugott 1993; Haspelmath 1990). The case is similar for Swedish (Holmes and Hinchliffe 1994; Siewierska 1984).

(8) Danish
Slottet   eje-s   af en fond.
castle.Def own-Refl by a foundation
'The castle is owned by a foundation'.
                    (Allan *et al.* 1995:316; parsing added - JS)

(9) Swedish
Boken   läs-es   av mina vänner
Book.Def read-Refl by my   friends
'The book is read by my friends'.

Kemmer (1993) states that in Romance the *se*-passive began as an impersonal with the reflexive mark signaling the unspecified agent and the verb agreeing with the indefinite subject. In modern Florentine this structure has been preserved, as in (9). However, in Standard Italian, which is known to have evolved from the literary Florentine of the 14th century, the verb does not agree with *si* but agrees with the noun phrase which is identified as an object in the corresponding Florentine impersonal passive, as in (10). The Italian *si*-passive displays characteristics of the promotional passive.[4]

(10) Qui e' si legge troppi libri
here one Refl read.Sg many [*sic*] book.Pl
'Many [*sic*] (Too many) books are read here.' (Kemmer 1993:179)

(11) Qui si leggono troppi libri
here Refl read.Pl many [*sic*] book.Pl
'Many [*sic*] (Too many) books are read here.' (Kemmer 1993:178)

Likewise, in Spanish, the reflexive marking *se* has spread to impersonal and promotional (or personal) passive uses. In the impersonal passive the verb always agrees with *se*, and thus is in singular form. In the promotional passive it agrees with the non-reflexive NP (examples from Butt and Benjamin 1988:305; parsing added - JS):

(12) a. Impersonal
Se acusó a tres personas
Refl accused.Sg Dat three persons
'Three persons were accused.'

b. Promotional
Las tuercas se quitan con llave
the bolts Refl removed.Pl with spanner
'The bolts were removed with a spanner.'

Portuguese and Romanian reflexives also show a more or less similar pattern to Spanish (Naro 1976; Siewierska 1984).

In Russian, the reflexive marking -*sja/s'* is used for the passive in the imperfective aspect (Babby 1975; Babby and Brecht 1975; Siewierska 1984, 1988):

(13) pol-ø myl-sja devoček-oj
floor-Nom wash.Imperf-Refl girl-Instr
'The floor was being washed by the girl'. (Siewierska 1984:162)

Greek also has a reflexive suffix which comes to mark the passive use (Warburton 1975, quoted in Siewierska 1984):

(14) O Nickos skoto-θike apo tus exθrus
Nick kill-Refl.3s.Past by the enemy
'Nick was killed by the enemy'. (Siewierska 1984:166)

Langacker and Munro (1975:800-1) observed that the reflexive affix has extended to the passive use in various Uto-Aztecan languages:

(15) a. <u>Northern Paiute</u>
  nopi na-a'taa-'kɨ-'ti   ya?a
  house Refl-sit.Pl-Caus-Pres here
   'Houses are put up here'.

 b. <u>Papago</u>
  ýɨwɨḑ ?a-t   ?ɨ-moihu
  ground Aux-Perf Refl-plow.Perf
   'The ground was plowed'.

 c. <u>Aztec</u>
  mo-tesi
  Refl-grind
   'They are ground'.

Another example that demonstrates a reflexive-passive evolution comes from Yavapai, a Yuman language (Shibatani 1985, quoting Kendall 1976):

(16) hlo-v-c   siːl-v-kny
  rabbit-Dem-Subj fry-Refl-Compl (Compl = Complementizer)
  'The rabbit was fried'.

Dixon (1994) observes that in Lardil, a Tangkic language of Australia, the passive can be marked by the verbal suffix -*yi* which is cognate with the reflexive marker in other languages from Tangkic and Pama-Nyungan groups of Australia. He conjectures that its function was extended from reflexive to passive. The following Lardil example is from Siewierska (1984:166, quoting from Klokeid 1976).

(17) Nyingki pe-yi kun ngawun
  you.Abs bite-Refl Eventive dog.Dat (Abs = Absolutive)
  'You were bitten by the dog'.

Dixon (1994) gives other Australian languages in which a verbal derivational affix can mark reflexivity, passivity, or anti-passivity, depending on the context (e.g., Diyari from South Australia, Kuku-Yalanji of Pama-Nyungan group, etc.).

In addition Tucker and Bryan (1966, quoted in Siewierska 1984:162) report that the North East African Languages, Dongo, Mba, Ngunga, and Ma also use the reflexive marking to express passivity, albeit restricted to a limited number of verbs.

IV. Motivations of the Reflexive-to-Passive Evolution
4.1. Previous Studies

A first formal attempt to explain the diachronic passive development from the reflexive is the 'nondistinct argument' hypothesis advanced by Langacker and Munro (1975) and Langacker (1976). Based on their observations of Mojave and Uto-Aztecan, Langacker and Munro argue that the common diachronic development of the passive from the reflexive can be explained in terms of the 'nondistinct' referential properties which the subjects of the reflexive and passive share. The schematized underlying representations of the reflexive and the passive (p. 801) are Figure 1 and Figure 2, respectively.
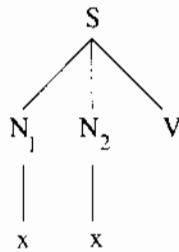

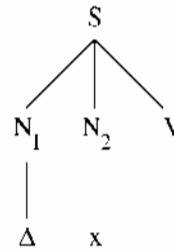FIGURE 1. Schematized underlying representation of the reflexive.

FIGURE 2. Schematized underlying representation of the passive.

N_1 designates the subject and N_2 the direct object. In both constructions, Langacker and Munro argue, the two arguments are nondistinct referentially. In the reflexive (Fig. 1), they are nondistinct because they are coreferential; in the passive (Fig. 2), they are nondistinct because, even though its existence is implied, the subject (N_1), which otherwise could be contrasted with the object and thus be distinct, is unspecified (as marked by Δ). Langacker and Munro claim that the common extension of a reflexive marker to the passive use in natural languages is to be attributed to these lexical-referential nondistinct properties of the subject and direct object in the two constructions. That is to say, the referential nondistinctness of the reflexive subject motivates the reanalysis of it as an unspecified external agent.[5] Thus the reflexive marker has been functionally generalized so as to cover not only coreference but the general case of referential nondistinctness.

Shibatani (1985) seeks for motivations of the reflexive-to-passive evolution in the semantic affectedness of the subject and syntactic valence reduction involved in the two constructions. A reflexive has a subject referent that is affected by itself. The passive subject is affected by an external agent. Shibatani remarks that in many languages reflexive clauses are often morphologically

expressed as having the valence reduced by one like passives. A passive interpretation can be imposed on the reflexive especially when its subject is non-volitional, as in Warrungu (Shibatani 1985:840; quoting from Tasaku Tsunota, p.c.):

(18) yuri-ø   watyn-li-n
     kangaroo-Abs cook-Refl-Past/Pres
        'The kangaroo is/was cooked.'

Siewierska (1988) endorses Shibatani's idea of the affected subject in both reflexive and passive as a motive of the passive development from the reflexive.

    While researchers given so far do not mention intermediate stages, Givón (1990, 1995) and Haspelmath (1990) advance as an intermediate stage the inchoative stage between the reflexive and passive. Givón (1990) argues that three similarities shared by the reflexive and passive motivate reinterpretation of the reflexive as marking passivity: a missing argument, the non-agentive subject, and thus low transitivity of the clauses. Givón (1990, 1995) states that the inchoative may play a crucial role in the passive development due to a substantial overlap in the meanings of the reflexive and inchoative, as can be seen in Spanish and English (Givón 1990:604, 639):

(19) se-cur-aron   los brujos
     Refl-cure.3s the sorcerers
       a. 'The sorcerers cured themselves.'
       b. 'The sorcerers got well.'
       c. 'The sorcerers were cured.'[6]
(20) a.   The plane crashed itself to the ground.[7]
     b.   The plane crashed to the ground.
     c.   The plane was crashed to the ground.

    Likewise, Haspelmath (1990) argues that dropping the agency of the reflexive subject leads to the inchoative sense and the passive is a further generalization of the inchoative to cover non-spontaneous occurrences as well. Givón and Haspelmath's idea can be illustrated by the comparison of the following clauses:

(21) a.   John hurt himself. (in volitional reading)
     b.   John hurt himself in a car accident.
     c.   John was hurt in a car accident.

Haspelmath remarks that the existence of the inchoative on the diachronic path to the passive resolves the disparity between the reflexive which excludes an external agent and the passive which includes it, because inchoative does not imply an external agent and thus neither excludes nor includes it.

4.2.   A Closer Look at the Functional Extension of the Reflexive

Generally, previous accounts of the reflexive-to-passive evolution do not approach it from the reflexive's point of view, but rather from the passive's point of view. That is, they have attempted to account for the evolution by comparing the end point (i.e., passive) with the starting point (i.e., reflexive). As outlined above, they seek for its motivations exclusively in semantic and syntactic characteristics of the passive (especially, the passive subject) that are similar to the reflexive. They have not paid proper attention to the internal procedures that the reflexive undergoes on the way to the passive. Givón (1990, 1995) and Haspelmath (1990) are aware of the inchoative as an intermediate stage before the passive, but they paid little attention to verb classes the reflexive extends to, which led them to untenable conclusions with regards to the diachronic procedure of the passive development.

The loss of the agency of the subject, for instance, may be sufficient for the inchoative interpretation, but is not sufficient for the passive interpretation. Languages are common, which allow the inchoative use of the reflexive with a human subject, but do not allow its passive use.

In German, the reflexive *sich* has only extended itself to the inchoative use. Thus, the clauses in (23) are unacceptable (examples from Haspelmath 1990:45).

      (22) a. Die Erde dreht sich.

            'The earth revolves.'

         b. Die Tür öffnete sich.

            'The door opened.'

      (23) a. *Der Brief schreibt sich.

            'The letter is writing itself.'

         b. *Das Heu mäht sich.

            'The hay is mowing itself.'[8]

The inchoative interpretation of a reflexive clause is allowed when the subject loses its agency, but its passive interpretation is prohibited. Thus, the following clauses must not be interpreted as passives in any situations:

(24) a. John hat sich bei einem Autounfall verletzt.
     'John hurt himself in a car accident'
   b. John hat sich beim Autounfall getötet.
     'John killed himself in a car accident'

In Russian, the reflexive has further generalized to render passive meanings to the verbs taking human subjects (Haspelmath 1990:45; agent phrases added - JS):

(25) a. Pis'mo pišet-sja   Olegom.
     letter write.Imp-Refl Oleg.Instr
     'The letter is (being) written by Oleg.'
   b. Seno kosit-sja   Olegom.
     hey mow.Imp-Refl Oleg.Instr
     'The hay is (being) mowed by Oleg.'

Notice, however, that reflexive passives like these are restricted to imperfective verbs that subcategorize an agent subject obligatorily like those in (24). In addition, the subject of the imperfective passive must not be animate:

(26) a. *Koška myla-s'   devoäkoj. (Babby and Brecht 1975:345)
     cat   washed.Imp-Refl little girl.Gen
     'The cat was being washed by the little girl'
   b. *John kusactsja Polom.
     John beat   Paul.Instr
     'John is being beaten by Paul'

Inchoative verbs in Russian are not sensitive to aspect while taking *-sja/s'* (Babby 1975; Babby and Brecht 1975). However, verbs which normally only subcategorize for an agent subject do not undergo inchoativization as in (27c):

(27) a. Zima   približaet-sja   (Babby and Brecht 1975:345)
     Winter approach.Imp-Refl
     'The winter is approaching'
   b. Dver'   zakryla-s'   (Babby 1975:300)
     door   closed-Refl
     'The door closed'
   c. *Stakan postavil-sja na stol   (Babby 1975:309)
     glass placed-Refl on table
     'The glass was put on the table'

In Spanish, clauses like (28) are generally acceptable, although a slight amount of residue of oddity may remain for some speakers:

(28) a. El libro se escribió en 1945.
'The book was written in 1945'
b. Los vasos se pusieron en la mesa
'The glasses were put on the table'

However, there is no general consensus with regard to acceptability of the occurrence of agent-oriented adverbials with *se*. Thus, for some speakers the clauses in (29) are marginally accepted at best:

(29) Los libros se *queman/?quemaron deliberadamente.
'The books are/were burned deliberately'

For speakers who do not accept clauses like those in (28-9), they seem to be more like resultatives, rather than passives.

Passive interpretations are far more restricted in clauses with highly agentive subjects in Spanish. Thus, in clauses like (30), even getting an inchoative interpretation calls for striving, and getting a passive interpretation is almost impossible (Green 1975:369-40, parsing added - JS):

(30) Los soldados se   mataron.
The soldiers Refl killed
'The soldiers killed themselves.' Or,
'The soldiers killed one another.'
*?'The soldiers got (themselves) killed.'
*'The soldiers were killed (by someone else).'

In Romanian clauses like (31) are allowed occasionally, which appear to be resultatives:

(31) a. Cartea s-a scris în 1930.
'The book was written in 1930'
b. Podul s-a construit în 1978.
'The bridge was built in 1978'

However, reflexive clauses with agent-oriented adverbials are prohibited, unless the subject is strongly emphasized:

(32) a. *?Cărțile s-au arse deliberat.

'The books were burned deliberately'

b. *?Mașinile se conduc cu grijă.

'The cars are driven carefully'

In most Romance, Baltic, and Slavic languages, clauses with a human subject are not allowed to be interpreted as passives.

The reflexive in Hualapai, a Yuman language, also suggests that a reflexive marker does not easily extend itself to non-reflexive interpretations of the clauses with a human subject. The reflexive marker -v in Hualapai has also extended to mark several other uses, albeit not to the passive use yet. Among them are the inchoative and the resultative use (see Watahomigie *et tal* 1994, and Sohn 1995 for details). When the subject is human, however, a clause with -v renders a reflexive (or reciprocal) interpretation only (33a). When the subject is inanimate the inchoative (33b) or resultative reading can be produced (33b, c). When a reflexive action is not expected, an animal subject can render a resultative reading (33d), too.[9] The following examples demonstrate such behavior of the reflexive.

(33) a. Cindy-ch   damo:-v-yu-ny.

Cindy-Subj 3.scratch-Refl-Aux/be-Past

'Cindy scratched herself'.

*'Cindy got scratched'.

*'Cindy was scratched.'

b. wa'-h-ch   s'dak-v-k-yu

door-Def-Subj 3.open-Refl-SS-Aux/be (Def = Definitive)

'The door is open.' Or,

'The door opened.' But,

*'The door was opened.'

c. i'sivgo'-h-ch   nyimsav-m   jiyal-v-o-k-yu-ny

fence-Def-Subj 3.white-Instr 3.paint-Refl-Evid-SS-Aux/be-Past

'The fence was painted white.'   (Evid = Evidential)

d. waksi:-v-ch   sidth-k   bi'j-v-k-yu

cow-Dem/this-Subj 3.be=only-SS 3.leave-Refl-SS-Aux/be

'This cow is the only one left.'

The clause in (33c) renders a resultative reading probably because the verb normally subcategorizes for an agent subject only, and thus getting a spontaneous inchoative reading with the inanimate subject will not be easy. The subject is

animate in (27d), but its reflexive action of the verb is not expected. Hence a resultative interpretation.

Like Spanish and especially Romanian, the Hualapai reflexive also suggests that there can be another stage before the passive but after the inchoative: the resultative. This stage can be represented by a reflexive clause with an inanimate subject and a verb referring to an action which is only performed by an agent.

As a matter of fact, in many Scandinavian languages, some agent-taking verbs among the so-called *s*-verbs, where *s* originates from a reflexive marking, may render a passive interpretation occasionally.

(34) a. John sloges af Paul.   (Danish)
     b. ?John slogs av Paul.   (Swedish)
     c. John slåes av Paul.   (Norwegian)
         'John is beaten by Paul'

It is important to note, however, that in these Scandinavian languages the reflexive-origin verb ending -*s* has completely lost its original reflexive function. Thus, the following clauses never render reflexive interpretations (also see (26b) for Russian whose reflexive-origin marking -*sja/s'* has lost it reflexive function, too):

(35) a. *John sloges.   (Danish)
     b. *John slogs.   (Swedish)
     c. *John slåes.   (Norwegian)
         'John beats himself'

In Scandinavian languages even middle verbs have lost their reflexive sense, and the corresponding long form (*sig* in Danish and Swedish, *seg* in Norwegian) is facilitated for middle uses.

(36) a. John vaskede sig.   (Danish)
     b. John tvättade sig.   (Swedish)
     c. John vasket seg.   (Norwegian)
         'John washed (himself)'

In Russian the so-called middle verbs have not lost their reflexive sense, but have only lost the true reflexive function. Thus a full reflexive pronoun (*sebja*) is used for the true reflexive:

(37) a. John myl-sja   (Middle)
           John wash.prf-Refl
            'John washed (himself)'.
      b. John uvidel   sebja v   zerkale.   (True reflexive)
           John see.Imp self   in mirror
            'John is seeing himself in the mirror'

V. Hypotheses for the Evolution of the Reflexive

The cross-linguistic data given so far strongly suggest that an agent subject in a reflexive is highly resistant to the passive interpretation. The data also suggest that the passive development from the reflexive is associated with verb class. My hypothesis concerning the passive development from the reflexive is the following: the reflexive marker first extends to verbs denoting an event which occurs spontaneously to an inanimate object, like *melt, bend, open, turn*, etc. (cf. Kemmer 1993 for historical development of the so-called middle voice). This inchoative stage can be viewed as an extension of reflexivity from animate subjects to inanimate subjects. Notice that inchoatives often refer to events caused by the inner force of the subject with certain properties. This sense of reflexivity seems persistent in the reflexive-marked inchoative (see for similar views of the inchoative, Siewierska 1984; Gerritsen 1988).[10] At this stage, therefore, any of the notions advanced by the aforementioned theories as motives of the passive development (Section 4.1) are not crucially involved. Notions like affected subject and non-agentive subject will be noticeably operative at the next, resultative stage whose relevant verbs are those which subcategorize for an agent subject and non-agentive object such as *fry, build, paint*, and *cook*. Due to the semantic properties of the subject, resultatives may yield to the passive interpretation relatively easily. The emergence of passive is characterized as the inclusion of the external agent via implication or expressing it in oblique case. Notice that in many languages the reflexive-origin marking has not lost its reflexive function, but only has extended itself to other uses, taking more duties in addition to its primary duty, reflexive marking. When the subject is a human, therefore, its high agentivity and the reflexive's primary function combined will resist the passive interpretation.

It is worthwhile to look at Russian and Scandinavian languages more closely, since they provide interesting information about the evolution of the function of the reflexive. As seen above, in both Russian and Scandinavian languages, reflexive-marked clauses can take agent phrases more or less freely. In addition, in all of these languages, the reflexive-origin markings have become affixes (i.e., suffixes), thus are no longer clitics which are independent of the verb

to a greater extent than affixes. On the other hand, Russian has lost the true reflexive use (e.g., verbs for *kill, love, beat,* etc.), but has not lost the middle reflexive use (e.g., verbs for *wash, shave, dress,* etc.). Whereas, Scandinavian languages has lost both true reflexive and middle reflexive use. Interestingly, as shown in (26b) and (34), Russian clauses with a human subject are not allowed as a passive, while Scandinavian clauses are acceptable to a far greater extent. According to my observation, in all languages which have not developed a canonical reflexive passive, the reflexive marking has not become an affix yet, and/or it has not lost its reflexive function. Therefore, I advance two hypotheses regarding the functional evolution of the reflexive; one is strong (1), and the other one less strong (2):

1. A reflexive marking may not acquire the (true) passive use, until it loses the true reflexive use.
2. A reflexive marking may not acquire the (true) passive use, until it becomes an affix.

Hypothesis (1) is strong in the sense that the reflexive-origin marking has lost its original reflexive function in all the languages whose clauses with the marking may occur with agent phrases. Hypothesis (2) is less strong than hypothesis (1) in the sense that there are languages which have affixal reflexive marking but it has not acquired the canonical passive function yet (e.g., Hualapai); and that there are languages who reflexive marking still remains as a clitic but acquired a function which is close to the canonical passive by being ability to occur with agent-oriented adverbials but not with agent phrases (e.g., most other Slavic languages than Russian).

VI. Conclusion

I have argued that the syntactic and semantic similarities of the passive and reflexive are not sufficient to explain the passive development from the reflexive. The development can be better understood by looking at its internal procedures the reflexive undergoes on the way toward the passive. Contrary to the pervasive conceptions, a reflexive clause with an agentive subject is highly resistant to the passive interpretation. Typological research suggests that the extension of the reflexive has a strong tendency to proceed first to spontaneous occurrence verbs, referring to an event caused by the inner force of the subject with certain properties or natural external causes. Next, it proceeds to verbs subcategorizing an agent subject and inanimate object, producing resultative

interpretations). The emergence of passive is characterized as the inclusion of the external agent either implicitly or explicitly in an oblique case.

I have argued that morphology of the reflexive marking and the acquisition of the canonical passive function are deeply interrelated. I have shown that in all languages which have acquired the canonical reflexive passive, the reflexive-origin marking has not only lost its reflexive function, but also it has become an affix. This makes a typological suggestion that a reflexive marking tends not to acquire the canonical passive use without losing its reflexive function, and that a reflexive marking tends to become an affix to acquire the canonical passive function.

NOTES

[1] This statement should not suggest that only the reflexive passive has this ability. In fact, most Indo-European languages have a so-called periphrastic passive (or *be*-passive), whether they have a reflexive passive or not. And the periphrastic passive appears to display more typical properties of the passive than the reflexive passive does.

[2] Examples in this section rely on the quoted researcher's taxonomy. This will not raise any serious problems since the purpose of this section is to show the historical fact that in numerous languages the reflexive mark has encroached 'toward' the passive use.

[3] For other uses the reflexive marking commonly extends to, see Hopper and Thompson (1980), Dixon (1977, 1994), Haspelmath (1990), and Givón (1990, 1995).

[4] A promotional passive is a passive in which the underlying object becomes the surface subject, whereas in the impersonal passive the reflexive pronoun becomes the surface subject. With an intransitive verb *si* derives an impersonal construction in Italian and thus the verb is always in the third person singular form.

[5] This reanalysis can result in two types of passives: impersonal and promotional. Both types are attested in Spanish.

[6] The native speakers I consulted did not accept this passive reading.

[7] I simply assume Givón's intuition about the clauses in (20). Some speakers do not accept (20a) and (20c). It is true, however, these type of clauses are often found in literary texts like novels.

[8] According to Haspelmath (1990), these clauses can be acceptable in the potential passive interpretation with a facility adverbial like *leicht* 'easily': *Das Heu mäht sich leicht*. 'The hay mows easily'. However, the native speaker I asked

did not accept this sentence. The verb *lassen* 'to let' is facilitated for this purpose, instead: *Das Brot läßt sich leicht schneiden.* 'The bread cuts easily' (lit. 'The bread let itself cut easily').

[9] In addition, the Yavapai example in (16) is presumably a resultative. Yavapai and Hualapai are mutually intelligible.

[10] In the actual discourse, however, an inchoative could be used not only in the context of spontaneous occurrence, but also in the context in which the speaker showed no concern at the external force but was only interested in what happened to the subject. Both contexts properly fall into inchoativity cross-linguistically (Kemmer 1993).

REFERENCES

Allan, Robin, Philip Holmes, and Tom Lundskær-Nielsen. 1995. Danish: A comprehensive grammar. London: Routledge.

Babby, Leonard H. 1975. A transformational analysis of transitive -SJA verbs in Russian. Lingua 35:297-332.

Babby, Leonard H., and Richard D. Brecht. 1975. The syntax of voice in Russian. Language 51:342-367.

Butt, John and Carmen Benjamin. 1988. A new reference grammar of modern Spanish. London: Edward Arnold.

Dixon, R.M.W. 1977. A grammar of Yidiny. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dixon, R.M.W. 1994. Ergativity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gerritsen, Nelleke. 1988. How passive is 'passive' -sja? Dutch contributions to the tenth international congress of Slavists. Linguistics. Studies in Slavic and general linguistics, Vol. 11. Eds. A.A. Barentsen, B.M. Groen, and R. Sprenger. 97-179.

Givón, Talmy. 1990. Syntax: A functional-typological introduction, Vol. II. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Givón, Talmy. 1995. Functionalism and grammar. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Green, John N. 1975. Reflections on Spanish reflexives. Review article. Lingua 35:345-391.

Haspelmath, Martin. 1990. The grammaticization of passive morphology. Studies in Language 14.25-72.

Heusler, Andreas. 1921. Altisländisches Elemetarbuch. Heidelberg: Winter, 2nd edn.

Hopper, Paul J., and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 1993. Grammaticalization. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hopper, Paul J., and Sandra A. Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. Language 56.251-299.

Kemmer, Suzanne. 1993. The middle voice. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kendall, Martha. 1976. Selected problems in Yavapai syntax: The Verde Valley dialect. New York: Garland.

Klokeid, T.J. 1976. Topics in Lardil grammar. Ph.D. dissertation. MIT.

Langacker, Ronald W. 1976. Non-distinct arguments in Uto-Aztecan. University of California Publications. Linguistics 82. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Langacker, Ronald W., and Pamela Munro. 1975. Passives and their meaning. Language 51.789-830.

Maiden, Martin. 1995. A linguistic history of Italian. London: Longman.

Naro. Anthony J. 1976. The genesis of the reflexive impersonal in Portuguese: A study in syntactic change as a surface phenomenon. Language 52:779-810

Holmes, Philip and Ian Hinchliffe. 1994. Swedish: A comprehensive grammar. London: Routledge.

Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1985. Passives and related constructions: A prototype analysis. Language 61.821-848.

Shibatani, Masayoshi (ed.). 1988. Passive and voice. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Siewierska, Anna. 1984. The passive: A comparative linguistic analysis. London: Croom Helm

Siewierska, Anna. 1988. The passive in Slavic. In Shibatani (ed.).

Sohn, Joong-Sun. 1995. The reflexive suffix -v in Hualapai. Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics 20:149-163.

Sweet, Henry. 1891. A New English Grammar. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tucker, A.N., and M.A. Bryan. 1966. Linguistic analysis. The non-Bantu languages of North-Eastern Africa. (Handbook of African Languages). London: Oxford University Press.

Warburton, I. 1975. The passive in English and Greek. Foundations of Language 13:563-578.

Watahomigie, Lucille J., Jorigine Bender, and Akira Y. Yamamoto. 1994. Hualapai reference grammar. Revised edition. Unpublished ms.