

Alina Israeli

Semantics and Pragmatics of the "Reflexive" Verbs in Russian

Verlag Otto Sagner München · Berlin · Washington D.C.

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«Verlag Otto Sagner» ist ein Imprint der Kubon & Sagner GmbH.

Alina Israeli - 9783954790753

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SLAVISTISCHE BEITRÄGE

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BAND 349

VERLAG OTTO SAGNER
MÜNCHEN 1997

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To Paul



ISBN 3-87690-669-5
© Verlag Otto Sagner, München 1997
Abteilung der Firma Kubon & Sagner
D-80328 München

97 P 87690

PREFACE

This book represents a revised version of a 1991 Yale University Ph.D. dissertation. While one chapter of the original dissertation will be published separately as an article, one additional chapter (Chapter 3) was added. All original chapters underwent substantial revisions and updating.

I would like to thank Olga Yokoyama for rescuing the project, Laura Janda for suggesting that it be published, Valentina Zaitseva for her careful reading and her many suggestions, and Dr. Peter Rehder for accepting it for publication.

My thanks also go to George Fowler for providing the font for the transliterations of the Russian examples.

Washington, D.C.
January 30, 1997

Alina Israeli

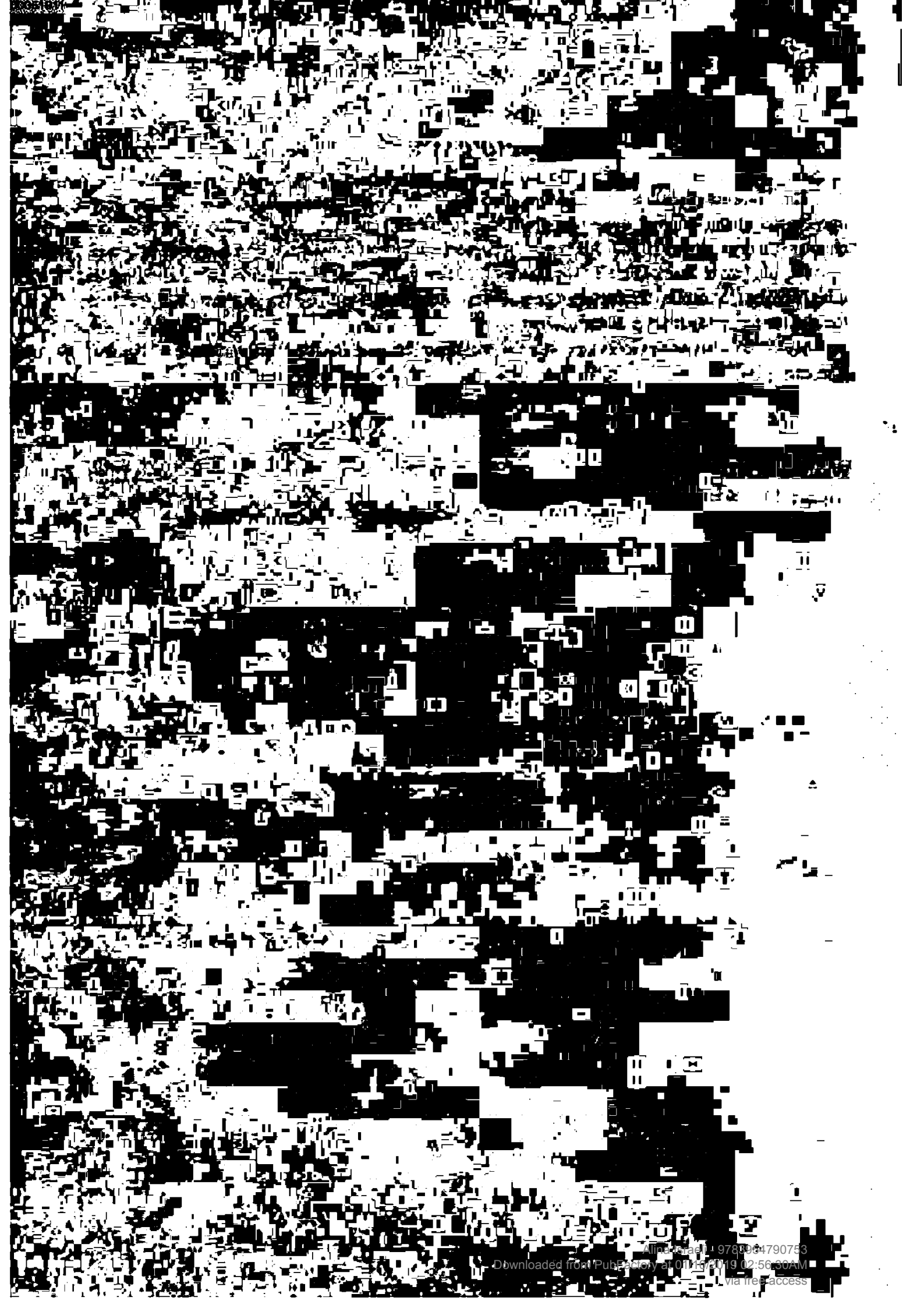


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such'. 'Pragmatic meanings' are inextricably intertwined in natural languages with meanings based on 'denotational conditions'.

The second facet of the "human factor" is related to what Saussure calls *parole*, that is the actual manifestation in speech. Yokoyama (1986, 1991 and 1994) addresses the theoretical aspect of human choices involved in creating language material within a communication.

It is within the above specified contexts that I discuss *subjectivity*. Lyons (1982, 101) writes that the notion of subjectivity has acquired a pejorative connotation "by virtue of its opposition with a positivistic interpretation of 'objectivity'." Here, however, I deal with subjectivity not as the opposite of objectivity, but in two senses that language is subjective (let us call them S1 and S2). Both types of subjectivity result from the fact that language is the product of the collective national linguistic consciousness. It is the grid of concepts through which a speaker of a given language sees the outside world and his own inner feelings or states. Apresjan (1986) calls this "the naive view of the world."

Wierzbicka (1979, 313) points out that "it is a commonplace to say that every language embodies in its very structure a certain world-view, a certain philosophy." In her study entitled "Ethno-syntax," she begins with the premise that "since the syntactic constructions of a language embody and codify certain language-specific meanings and ways of thinking, the syntax of a language must determine to a considerable extent this language's cognitive profile," (Wierzbicka 1979, 313) which constitutes a manifestation of S1.

The second kind of subjectivity (S2) is the result of the speaker's choice when the language offers different ways of describing given facts, and the speaker, naturally, chooses one of those ways. S2 involves his/her personal judgement and attitude towards the narrated event and/or the participants of the narrated event.

Previous definitions have given a more limited view of subjectivity. Apresjan (1988, 8-9) defines pragmatics as subjectivity that is language based (S1) and not discourse-related subjectivity ("freely created by the speaker in discourse", S2 in my terms). I will refrain from using the term "pragmatics" in this sense in order to avoid ambiguity and confusion.

Maynard (1993) subdivides linguistic material into that which has propositional characteristics and that which has non-propositional characteristics, the latter being interactionality, subjectivity and textuality. This is a narrow view of subjectivity which suggests that some elements of the language are purely subjective while others are not. The elements of language that Maynard discusses that have no referents represent S1, while their use in discourse represents S2.

However, the subjectivity of S2 includes much more than just the non-referential lexemes. The message itself as well as the shape it takes is the result of processing by the speaker's mind. Being the product of an individual human mind, any utterance bears some elements of subjectivity. With regard to human limitations as compared to computers, Zubin (1979, 471) argues: "We are subject to the limitation of selective attention. We are subject to an egocentric bias." And according to Yokoyama (1986, 148):

A pragmatic model of discourse must give primacy to the subjectivity of the speaker, on whose assessment of the discourse situation alone an utterance is based, and whose knowledge, both informational and metainformational, the utterance conveys. Verbal communication is part of human be-

havior. It is therefore hardly surprising that the speaker's subjectivity plays an important role in it, as it does in other forms of human behavior.

S2 is present in discourse participant's assessment, in choice of information and in mode of information. For example, according to Jakobson (1959/1971), the speaker is presented with a choice between active and passive, while at the same time there are rules of language and communication.

S1 and S2 are fundamental concepts which will be used throughout this work.

1.2. Subjectivity and Types of Knowledge

Subjectivity manifests itself not only in assessment or mode of expression. The way that certain propositional knowledge may be attained has bearing on grammar. A number of linguists, including Russell (1940), Kuroda (1973), Coppieters (1982) and Vogeleer (1987), have noted that there are three types of messages and that not all statements represent the same type of perception of or knowledge about the Object. For example, statements (1)—(4) even though quite parallel in syntactic structure, do not represent the same kind of knowledge:

- (1) John is tall.
- (2) I am hungry.
- (3) John is hungry.
- (4) John is stupid.

In (1) and (2), the speaker relates information acquired through observation and personal experience. This is perceptual knowledge.

In (3), there are three possibilities: first, the speaker (or rather the narrator) has omniscient power, that is s/he can "enter" any character's skin and knows just as much about the character's feelings as about his/her own. In this case, the sentence represents the same type of statement and knowledge as in (2), except that the third person is used instead of the first. Genette (1972) calls this "focalization"; that is, the narrative represents John's point of view even though it is told in the third person.

The second possibility is that the speaker does not possess omniscience and somehow came to the possession of his/her knowledge through ordinary means, such as being informed by someone. Kuroda (1973) calls this "reportive style." It is epistemological knowledge.

The third possibility is that the speaker is observing John, who either is eating at the moment that this statement is uttered or else has a starved look in his eyes that suggests hunger to the onlooker. In this case, the speaker deduces that John is hungry. This is deductive knowledge.

Statement (4) represents the speaker's opinion and may well not be shared by anyone else. This is conceptual knowledge.

Kuroda, Coppieters and Vogeleer demonstrate that these different types of knowledge (or, in Coppieters' terms, attitudes — intrinsic or extrinsic; in Vogeleer's terms, point of view — perceptual or epistemological) have a bearing on Japanese and French grammar.

What is important for Russian is the distinction between (1) and (2), both of which represent perceptual knowledge. This distinction can be formulated as "objective" vs. "subjective." Whether John is tall or not can be observed by anyone (even though conclusions may differ), whereas no one else can directly observe my hunger or any other inner feelings; these can only be deduced, rightly or wrongly.

An example of this distinction may be seen in the two ways that a Russian speaker can say "My feet are cold." If the speaker views the knowledge as perceptual subjective, s/he puts the Subject in dative:

- (5) Moim nogam xolodno.
'My feet/legs feel cold.'

If the speaker views the knowledge as perceptual objective, s/he expresses the Subject in nominative:

- (6) U menja xolodnye/zamerzli nogi.
'My feet/legs are cold/are freezing.'

Thus, the speaker's view of the type of knowledge has an effect on Russian grammar as well. Since the speaker makes a choice, this is a case of S2.

The following three sections give additional examples of both types of subjectivity in Russian and how the types of knowledge affect the language. Section 2 discusses the use of impersonal constructions to signify that external forces are the Agent. It includes examples of both S1 and S2. Section 3 gives a brief description of how Russian's view of both the alienability or inalienability of body parts and the involuntary movement of body parts are expressed syntactically, features of S1. Section 4 deals with empathy in selected verbs and prepositions, which is quintessentially an element of S2.

2. External Forces and Impersonal Constructions

Russian, like other European languages, has a large number of impersonal constructions. However, Russian, in addition to weather/time conditions, has other impersonal constructions which have no counterparts in other European languages. Mel'čuk (1974a and 1979) analyzes one such type. His analysis of constructions of the type of (7) shows that the implied meaning is that the action was propelled by "natural forces" or "elements."

- (7) Ulicu zasypalo peskom.
'The street was covered with sand.'

Wierzbicka (1988, 223-234) ascribes the action in such constructions to “unknown” forces not initiated and not controlled by the Subject, while Siewierska (1988, 275) ascribes it to “supernatural phenomena”.

While there are actions that can be indeed ascribed to the forces of nature, as in (8) where such force is explicit, or in (9) where it is clear that the action of throwing around was generated by some natural force (a storm on the open sea, a bumpy ride, or choppy air), in (10) no obvious natural force could be responsible for the actions:

- (8) Ego ubilo molnjej.
'He was killed by lightning.'
- (9) Nas brosalo/švyrjalo/boltalo iz storony v storonu.
'We were thrown from side to side.'
- (10) a. Vdrug ego osenilo. (Ožegov)
'All of a sudden it dawned upon him / he got an idea.'
- b. Otkuda ee prineslo?
'Where did she come from?'
- c. Slava Bogu, proneslo!
'Thank God it's over (it bypassed me/us).'
- d. Ego zaneslo.
'He got carried away.'
- e. Ej prispichilo.
'She has got an urgent desire.'
- f. Ugorazdilo ego skizat' takoe!
'How could he say such a thing! (Did he put his foot in it)'

There are many such examples. In addition, there are phrases that designate non-natural disasters, as in (11):

- (11) a. Vrača kontuzilo vo vremja vojny.
'The doctor had a (severe) concussion during the war.'
- b. Ego ranilo šrapnel'ju.
'He was wounded by shrapnel.'
- c. Ee sbilo mašinoj.
'She was hit by a car.'

What all of the above examples do have in common is that they indicate action carried out by forces external to the Subject. Since most of these examples do not have personal counterparts, the

conception that outside forces are the Agents of the various actions can be considered part of the S1 of the Russian language.

Counterparts for (11b) and (11c) do exist; while (11'b) is strange, (11'c) changes the connotation by putting the blame on the car:

- (11') b. ??? Ego ranila šrapnel'.
'Shrapnel wounded him.'
- c. Ee sbila mašina.
'The car hit her.'

The problem here is two-fold: 1) Who or what is responsible for the actions? and 2) What is the role of the human Subject described in such constructions? With respect to the first question, at the end of her chapter on ethno-syntax, Wierzbicka (1988, 233) asks:

Is there any connection between *stixijnost'*, the anarchic (and at the same time fatalistic) Russian soul, or the novels of Dostoevskij, and the profusion of the constructions in Russian syntax that acknowledge the limitation of human knowledge and human reason, and our dependence on 'fate', and hint at subterranean uncontrollable passions that govern the lives of people?

While she provides no definitive answer, the impersonal constructions mentioned above (which were not discussed in her monograph), particularly those which do not have "natural forces" overtones, do point towards this conclusion. What else but fate could be responsible for the following result:

- (12) Razmetalo/razbrosalo družej po svetu.
'The friends got scattered around the world.'

The following example from Dostoevsky similarly plays on fatalistic/supernatural overtones and illustrates the contrast between personal and impersonal constructions with the same verb:

- (13) [Kak ona v ee položenii perelezla čerez vysokij i krepkij zabor sada, ostavalos' v nckotorom rode zagadkoj.] Odni govorili, čto ee "*perenesli*", drugie, čto "*pereneslo*". (Dostoevskij. Brat'ja Karamazovy) (Bulygina 1980, 328-329)
- '[How she in her state climbed over the tall and sturdy fence remained in some way a mystery.] Some said that she was carried over [by people], others that she was carried over by some force.'

As far as the second question is concerned, the human Subject(s) is (are) portrayed as not responsible for the actions in which s/he (they) is (are) involved, which constitutes the feature of [-responsibility]. There are examples where both personal and impersonal constructions are possible, in which case (S2) the impersonal ones portray the Subject as not responsible for the action.

Impersonals present the action as propelled by an outside force, designated by accusative of the noun and third person singular (neuter) of the verb (with no grammatical subject). In contrast,

their -sja middle counterparts present the action as originating within the Subject itself/himself (or as being so perceived), designated by nominative of the noun and agreement of the verb with the grammatical subject. Thus, in the a-series of the following examples, it is implied that an outside force makes the Subject perform the action, while in the b-series the Subject does it himself (or itself), or so it is perceived, regardless of whether he (or it) does it willingly or not:

- (14) a. Lodku kačæet.
'The boat is being rocked.'
- b. Lodka kačaetsja.
'The boat is rocking.'
- (15) a. Ivana kačæet.
'Ivan is staggering.'
- b. Ivan kačaetsja.
'Ivan is staggering.' or 'Ivan is rocking.'
- (16) a. Lodku perevernulo.
'The boat got overturned.'
- b. Lodka perevernulas'.
'The boat overturned.'
- (17) a. Ego vsego skrjučilo ot boli.
'He got all twisted up from pain.'
- b. On skrjučilsja ot boli.
'He twisted up from pain.'

In (17a), it is an outside force that caused the convulsions. In (17b), no such implication is made. A similar distinction can be made between (18a) and (18b), in (18a) the feeling comes from the outside, while in (18b) it come from the inside:

- (18) a. Ego tjanulo domoj.
'He was drawn home.'
- b. On tjanulsja domoj.
'He longed to go home.'

However, there is a difference in the type of knowledge communicated in the last two examples: (17) is comparable to (1) *John is tall*, where the speaker relates perceptual knowledge acquired by observation, while (18) is comparable to (3) *John is hungry*. In (18a) the described state can represent either "focalization" or reported, epistemological knowledge. In (18b), in addition to these possibilities, the described state can represent deductive knowledge, since in (18b) the sentence with a verb may represent an action or an activity. Consequently, (18c) is impossible if

“focalization” is involved since there are multiple Pⁿ's, and highly marginal in case of reported, epistemological knowledge, since it would involve “multiple reports”, so to speak. Sentence (18d) can represent only deductive knowledge: the speaker observed the behavior of the Subjects and drew his/her conclusions.

- (18) c. */??? Vsex tjanulo k nemu.
 ‘Everyone was drawn to him.’
- d. Vse tjanulis' k nemu.
 ‘Everyone was drawn to him.’

Wierzbicka (1988, 253-254) presents similar parallel sets to demonstrate that

Russian has a syntactic contrast between ‘voluntary emotions’ (designated by a verb with the experiencer in the nominative), ‘involuntary emotions’ (designated by an adverb-like category, the so-called *kategorija sostojanija* ‘category of state’, with the experiencer in the dative case), and — in some cases — neutral emotions (designated by an adjective, with the experiencer in the nominative). For example: [a-series vs. b-series]

- [19] a. Ivan styditsja.
 ‘Ivan is “giving himself” to shame (and is showing it).’
- b. Ivanu stydno.
 ‘Ivan feels ashamed.’
- [20] a. Ivan skučæet.
 ‘Ivan is “giving himself” to boredom/melancholy (and is showing it).’
- b. Ivanu skučno.
 ‘Ivan feels bored/sad.’
- [21] a. Ivan raduetsja.
 ‘Ivan rejoices.’
- b. Ivan rad.
 ‘Ivan is glad.’

Even luck can be perceived either as an intrinsic quality of a person, as in (22a), or as a quality that comes from the outside, the Subject having nothing to do with it, as in (22b):

- (22) a. Ona vezučaja (vczučij čelovek). / Ona sčastlivaja.
 ‘She is a lucky person.’
- b. Ej vezet.
 ‘She is lucky.’

Akišina (1994) presents a very long passage, of which (23) is a small excerpt with a single personal sentence. Example (23) presents events as not having an agent, as happening by them-

selves, and the Subject (protagonist) as enduring events and not having any active role in the events:

- (23) *Podano užitat'. A est' ne xočetsja. Govorjat anekdoty, smejutsja. A mne ne ulybaetsja, ne smešno. Vse vremja dumaetsja o prikaze. Skazano: "Vam nadležit èto vypolnit'." Menja togda kak nožom po serdcu polosonulo, vzorvalo ot ètoj derzosti i ot slova "nadležit". Podmyvalo skazat' vsě, što ja dumaju po ètomu povodu. Da to li smelosti ne xvatilo, to li podumalos', što ne podobaet sporit' v takoj situaciji. Vpročem, vsě možno sdelat', liš' stalo by oxoty. Sil xvatit na vsě. Da i pozdno teper' protivit'sja.*

'Supper is served. But I don't feel like eating. They are telling jokes and laughing. But I don't feel like smiling, it's not funny. I keep thinking about the order. I was told: "You ought to fulfill this." I felt then like I had a knife in my heart, I was ready to burst from this insolence and from the word "ought". I was on the verge of saying everything I thought about this subject. But either I did not have the nerve or thought that one is not supposed to argue in such circumstances. However, everything can be done, as long as I have the desire. I will have enough strength for everything. And also it is late now to resist.'

There are two additional areas where the Subject is presented as not responsible for the action: modality and bodily functions. In Russian, a large number of modals can be used only impersonally; they present a need, necessity or obligation as coming from outside of the Subject, as being imposed upon him or her:

- (24) a. *Vam sleduet/nado/neobxodimo pozvonit' po ètomu nomeru.*
'You have to/need to/must call this number.'
b. *Mne nužno s toboj pogovorit'.*
'I need to talk to you.'

Only *objazan* and *dolžen* are personal:

- (24) c. *Ja objazan/dolžen vam skazat' pravdu.*
'I must tell you the truth.'

In contrast to Russian, Polish, another Slavic language, renders modality by conjugated forms:

- (25) a. *Muszę to przepisać.*
'I must rewrite this.'
b. *Mamy vyjechać na lato v góry.*
'We should go the mountains for the summer.'
c. *Powinnyścic były zrobić to wczoraj.*
'You should have done this yesterday.'

As far as bodily functions are concerned, in addition to the commonly cited impersonal verbs *tošnit* 'be nauseous', *rvat* 'vomit', and *lixoradit* 'be feverish', as in (26), some common physiological aspects of childhood are rendered syntactically in Russian as simply happening to the child, as in (27)—(28), as opposed to the active personal constructions found in many other languages:

- (26) Ego tošnit/rvet/lixoradit.
'He is nauseous/is vomiting/has a fever.'
- (27) a. U rebenka režutsja zuby.
'The child is teething.'
b. Fr. L'enfant fait ses dents.
c. Germ. Das Kind zahnt.
d. Pol. Dziecko zubkuje.
- (28) a. U rebenka tekut sljuni.
'The child is drooling.'
b. Fr. L'enfant bave.
c. Germ. Das Kind sabbert.
d. Pol. Dziecko ślini się.

The perception that certain actions are (S1) or may be (S2) caused by external forces — natural or supernatural forces, humans other than Pⁿ₁, fate, or subconscious passions — represents a particular feature of Russian culture's view of the world. This feature is encoded syntactically by impersonal constructions, notably with the majority of modals and with verbs denoting bodily functions; this is also the case with bodily functions experienced by children. In the S2 cases, the opposite perception — that the Subject originates an action — is encoded by middle voice.

3. Body Parts and Involuntary Movements

In Russian, some body parts are considered alienable and some inalienable (Wierzbicka 1988, 204-210):

This means, that although one cannot refer to the breaking of a person's tooth while ignoring the person himself, one CAN conceive of breaking of the tooth as an autonomous event (an event necessarily involving the owner of the tooth, but consisting of the breaking of the tooth as such). A leg on the other hand is viewed differently: one cannot conceive of the breaking of a person's leg as an autonomous event. (Wierzbicka 1988, 208)

To be precise, *zub* 'tooth' and *most* '(tooth) bridge', which are both mentioned by Wierzbicka, are not the only two nouns that are viewed as separate entities, so to speak, the breaking of which could be perceived as an autonomous event. All body parts that are not made of flesh (teeth, nails

and hair) have the same status, and only they can take a *-sja* verb, *slomat'sja*, or in the case of hair, *lomat'sja*.¹

It is impossible to use middle for inalienable parts of the human body as in (29a) or (29b), but only active as in (29c), while middle (30a) and active (30b) are both correct for separable parts:

- (29) a. *Ego noga slomalas'.
'His leg broke.'
- b. *U nego slomalas' noga.
'He got a broken leg.'
- c. On slomal nogu.
'He broke his leg.'
- (30) a. U nego slomalsja zub.
'He got a broken tooth.'
- b. On slomal zub.
'He broke a tooth.'

On the other hand, non-deliberate movements of parts of the human body can be described only with middle, not with impersonal constructions:

- (31) a. U nego trjasutsja ruki.
b. *U nego trjaset ruki.
'His hands shake.'
- (32) a. U nego dergaetsja ščeka.
b. *U nego dergaet ščeku.
'His cheek twitches.'

Both the view of body parts as being either alienable or inalienable and the relationship of this characteristic to breakage and involuntary motion are part of Russian S1, although the choice between (30a) and (30b) is part of S2.

4. Empathy

Consider the situation where the speaker ($P^s=P^{n_2}$ in (33) and (34) and $P^s=P^{n_1}$ in (35)) holds a letter in her hand (or points to it) and says one of the following:

- (33) Paul wrote me a letter.

¹ For example, here is how the verb *seč'sja* 'break, have split ends (speaking of hair)' is defined in BAS (13, 738): "Delajas' suximi, rasščepljat'sja, lomat'sja i vypadat'. O volosax." ['While getting dry, splitting, breaking and falling out. About hair.']

(34) Paul sent me a letter.

(35) I got/received a letter from Paul.

All of these sentences describe the same situation; it is the speaker's choice whether to use (33), (34) or (35) to describe the event.

The differences between these sentences can be explained by the notion of empathy which was introduced by Kuno & Kaburaki (1977, 628): empathy is the "speaker's identification, *with varying degrees* ..., with a person who participates in the event that he describes in a sentence." Empathy with a person means that the speaker accepts to a greater or lesser extent this person's point of view. Empathy is a form of S2: the same narrated event can be described differently, depending on with whom the speaker is siding or empathizing, as Kuno & Kaburaki explain:

- [36] a. John hit Mary.
 b. John hit his wife.
 c. Mary's husband hit her.

All the above sentences are identical in their logical content, but they differ from each other with respect to "camera angles". In [36a], it is most likely that the speaker is describing the event objectively, with the camera placed at some distance from both John and Mary. In [36b], on the other hand, the camera is placed closer to John than to Mary. This can be seen by the fact that the speaker has referred to John as *John*, and to Mary as *John's wife*. The situation is reversed in [36c], the camera is placed closer to Mary than to John. (Kuno & Kaburaki 1977, 627)

In Russian, the speaker's choice of empathy can change the meaning of a polysemic word, for example *terjat'sja*. It can also, in connection with the speaker's knowledge, determine which one of a pair of quasi-synonyms, such as *poslat'* 'send' and *prislal'* 'send (and have received)', may be used. If the speaker chooses to switch empathy between the clauses of a complex sentences, s/he can use certain prepositions, such as *do* 'before', but not its quasi-synonym *pered* 'right before.' The remainder of this section deals with each of these examples in turn.

4.1. *terjat'sja*

Empathy can affect the meaning of a polysemic word, such as the verb *terjat'sja*.

- (37) a. *Kogda ja vxožu v ètot ogromnyj univermag, ja vseгда terjajus'.*
 'Whenever I go into this enormous department store, I am always at a loss (confused).'
- b. *Kogda my s Maksimom xodim v univermag, on vseгда terjaetsja.*
 'Whenever Maxim and I go to the department store, Maxim always gets lost.'

In both of these sentences, the empathy lies with the speaker ($P^s=P^n$); in (37a), the knowledge is perceptual subjective (as in (2) *I am hungry*), consequently the loss is metaphoric; in (37b), since the empathy cannot lie with P^{n_2} ($my = P^{n_1}+P^{n_2}$, $P^s=P^{n_1}$), the knowledge cannot be either perceptual subjective or epistemological, but only perceptual objective, hence the loss is physical.

Consider a third possibility:

- (37) c. *Kogda Maksim xodit v univermag, on vseгда terjaetsja.*

The meaning of this sentence depends on where the empathy lies: if it is with Maxim, the knowledge may be either perceptual subjective (with “focalization”) or epistemological; in both cases the meaning of *terjat'sja* is metaphoric, and the sentence becomes similar to (37a): ‘When Maxim enters the department store, he always feels lost.’ If the empathy is not with Maxim, but rather with some real or imagined outsider, as in (37b), then the meaning of *terjat'sja* is physical: ‘When Maxim enters the department store, he always gets lost.’

4.2. *poslat'* vs. *prislal'*

The connection between empathy and speaker’s knowledge can account for the difference between the verbs *poslat'* (or *vyslat'*) and *prislal'*, all of which mean ‘send’.

- (38) *Ja poslala/vyslala emu den'gi.*
‘I sent him money.’

- (39) *On prislal mne den'gi.*
‘He sent me money.’

Both are perfectly correct and express the respective speaker’s point of view. In (38), the speaker is the sender ($P^s=P^{n_1}$) whose point of view is expressed by *poslat'*, while in (39), the speaker is the recipient ($P^s=P^{n_2}$) whose point of view is expressed by *prislal'*. In both sentences the speaker’s knowledge is obtained from firsthand experience (perceptual-objective knowledge), because she either did the sending or the receiving.

Similarly, in (40), the empathy is with P^{n_1} , while in (41) it lies with P^{n_2} :

- (40) *On poslal ej den'gi.*
‘He sent her the money.’

- (41) *On prislal ej den'gi.*
‘He sent her the money.’

This is so, due to the meaning of the two verbs: *poslat'* ‘to send’ vs. *prislal'* ‘to send and have received’ (as exemplified by (39) — not only did the sender (*on*) send the money, but the recipient (*ja*) has received it). In (40), the speaker knows from someone who is in some way connected with the sender that the money has been sent, while there is no knowledge as to whether or not it has arrived. In (41), the speaker knows from the addressee that the money has not only been sent but has also been received.

Let us examine another pair of sentences:

(42) ? On poslal mne den'gi.
'He sent me the money.'

(43) *Ja prislala emu den'gi.
'I sent him the money.'

Sentence (42) means that 'he has sent, but I haven't received'; here the speaker's knowledge of the fact that the money has been sent must have come from some source (a letter, a telephone conversation, or information transmitted by a third party) other than the actual receipt of the money, which has not yet occurred. This sentence is somewhat awkward (or unmotivated) and can be corrected either by change of stress — an emphasis on *poslal* as in (42') contradicts the addressee's assumption that Pⁿ₁ failed to do what he was expected to do — or by additional context, as in (42'') and (42'''):

(42') On poslál mne den'gi.
'He did send me the money.'

(42'') On poslal mne den'gi, no ja ix ešče ne polučila.
'He sent me the money, but I haven't received it yet.'

(42''') On uže poslal mne den'gi.
'He already sent me the money.'

Sentence (43) is absolutely impossible, and no additional context would make it acceptable. Since *prislal'* has inherent empathy with the recipient, (43) violates Kuno's Ban on Conflicting Empathy Foci. If the speaker possesses the knowledge that the money is received, she may use one of the following two variants:

(43') On polučil den'gi, kotorye ja poslala.
'He received the money that I sent.'

(43'') Ja poslala emu den'gi, i on ix uže polučil.
'I sent him the money, and he already received it.'

The complexity of the difference between *poslat'* and *prislal'* appears when answering the question *kogda?*.

(44) — Kogda on poslal knigi?
'When did he send the books?'

The answer can be as vague or as precise as the speaker desires or is able to make it, since the action occurred at a single point in time:

- (45) — On ix poslal včera / na prošloj nedele / v tri časa dnja etc.
 ‘He sent them yesterday / last week / at three o’clock etc.’

The answer to question (46) cannot possibly be a precise time, because it includes the span between the two actions of sending and receiving, thus making (47a) incorrect:

- (46) — Kogda on prislat knigi?
 ‘When did he send the books?’
- (47) a. —*Včera v tri časa dnja.
 ‘Yesterday at three p.m.’
- b. —Na prošloj nedele / v prošlom godu / v mae mesjace.
 ‘Last week / last year / in May.’

The difference in lexical meaning between the quasi-synonymous verbs *poslat* and *prislat* interacts with empathy and the speaker’s knowledge. Sentences in which the speaker expresses a different empathy than that which is inherent in the particular verb used are either awkward, requiring additional context to make them acceptable, or impossible.

4.3. *do* vs. *pered*

Not only is double empathy impossible, but a switch in empathy from one person to another within the same complex sentence is restricted by speaker’s knowledge. To illustrate this, let us examine the two Russian quasi-synonymous prepositions *do* and *pered*. The former means ‘before,’ and the latter means ‘just before, immediately prior to.’ When used in simple sentences, they do not reveal any differences other than lexical meaning:

- (48) a. On prinjal lekarstvo do obeda.
 ‘He took medicine before dinner.’
- b. On prinjal lekarstvo pered obedom.
 ‘He took medicine (just) before dinner.’
- (49) a. Do obeda on čital.
 ‘He read before dinner.’
- b. Pered obedom on čital.
 ‘He read right before dinner.’

Do has an antonym *posle*, while *pered* has none.

- (50) Kogda ty prinimaeš’ lekarstvo, do ili posle edy? (*pered ili posle edy?! ? pered edoj ili posle edy?)
 ‘When do you take your medicine, before or after dinner?’

The difference in meaning becomes more apparent if the noun is *smert'* 'death'. For example:

- (51) a. *Pered smert'ju deduška žil v ètom dome.*
 'Just prior to his death grandfather lived in this house.'
 b. **Do smerti deduška žil v ètom dome.*
 'Before his death grandfather lived in this house.'

One might expect sentence (51b) to be correct and quasi-synonymous to (51a); however, it is absolutely unimaginable, because it implies that after his death grandfather moved to another house or something of this nature. Insertion of a modifier may make (51b) correct, but it will substantially change the meaning of the preposition and the sentence:

- (51) c. *Do samoj smerti deduška žil v ètom dome.*
 'Up until his death grandfather lived in this house.'

In complex sentences using *do* and *pered*, empathy and the speaker's knowledge come into play.

- (52) *Pered tem kak načat' razgovor, ja zakryl dveri.*
 'Before beginning the conversation, I closed the doors.'

This sentence clearly represents the speaker's point of view ($P^s=P^n$): I intend to begin a conversation (this is my inner/subjective knowledge), and before doing so, I close the door. In the next sentence

- (52') *Pered tem kak načat' razgovor, Nikolaj zakryl dveri.*
 'Before beginning the conversation Nicholas closed the doors.'

it is impossible to say without a broader context whether the speaker or narrator is in any way present on the scene or in the larger setting of the story, that is whether it is a third or first person narrative. If (52') represents a third person narrative, and consequently Nicholas' point of view, the empathy is the same as in (52). However, (52') could also be a first person narrative, in which the speaker/narrator is Nicholas' interlocutor. In this case, the impending conversation must have been already announced for this sentence to be correct. Thus, in both cases, the speaker must possess knowledge that a conversation is about to begin in order for the use of *pered* to be correct.

Let us examine what happens when more than one person is explicitly present.

- (53) *Pered tem kak on mne èto skazal, on vnimatel'no posmotrel na menja.*
 'Just before telling me/he told me that, he looked at me attentively.'

In (53), there is clearly a "doer" and a "recipient", and, despite the fact that the recipient is the speaker/narrator, the sentence represents the doer's point of view. Note the awkwardness of (53'):

- (53') ?? Pered tem kak on mne èto skazal, ja vnimatel'no posmotrela na nego.
'Just before telling me/he told me that, I attentively looked at him.'

The first clause of (53') empathizes with *on* (P^{n_1}), and the second with *ja* (P^{n_2}). Moreover, the problem is more complex than an empathy conflict. Even in retrospect, P^{n_2} cannot know what is coming, since P^{n_1} did not give any forewarning. P^{n_2} does not possess the epistemological knowledge in question.

Let us consider how the prepositions *do* and *pered* interact with the action of acquiring knowledge.

- (54) ?? Ja kupil putevoditel' po Moskve pered tem kak ja uznal, èto ne poedu.
'I bought the Moscow guidebook just before I found out that I was not going.'

What makes this sentence awkward is the fact that *uznal* constitutes a passive act (in the semantic rather than grammatical sense). The knowledge befell the speaker; he did not take a deliberate action to find it out. Even in retrospect, an action cannot immediately precede a "non-action". If $P^s=P^n$ does make a conscious effort to find out and thus becomes a "doer", the sentence becomes acceptable, as in (54'), where the actions are described sequentially:

- (54') Ja kupil putevoditel' po Moskve pered tem kak ja uznal, poedu li.
'I bought the Moscow guidebook just before I found out whether I was going.'

This, incidentally, proves that there are two different verbs *uznat'* 'to find out': *uznat'*₁ 'to learn' and *uznat'*₂ 'to inquire.' Aspectual pairs of the above sentences serve as additional proof:

- (54'') *Ja kupil putevoditel' po Moskve pered tem, kak ja uznaval, èto ne poedu.
'I bought the Moscow guidebook just before I was finding out, that I was not going.'

- (54''') Ja kupil putevoditel' po Moskve pered tem, kak ja uznaval, poedu li.
'I bought the Moscow guidebook just before I was finding out, whether I was going.'

Sentence (54) can also be corrected in another way: by describing actions in reverse sequence, using the preposition *do*:

- (54''''') Ja kupil putevoditel' po Moskve do togo kak ja uznal, èto ne poedu.
'I bought the Moscow guidebook before I found out that I am not going.'

The following additional examples illustrate this distinction between the prepositions *do* and *pered*. Just as in (54), where an action cannot take place immediately before a "non-action", (the knowledge befalling $P^s=P^n$), in (55) and (56) an action cannot take place immediately before an action performed by another participant (P^{n_2}):

- (55) a. ? Pered tem kak on priexal, ja žil na ulice Gor'kogo.
'Just before he arrived, I lived on Gorky street.'

- b. Do togo kak on priexal, ja žil na ulice Gor'kogo.
'Before he arrived, I lived on Gorky street.'
- (56) a. ?? Ja kupil ètu knigu pered tem kak on priexal.
'I bought this book just before he arrived.'
- b. Ja kupil ètu knigu do togo kak on priexal.
'I bought this book before he arrived.'
- (57) a. ?? Mama pozvonila pered tem, kak ja sel zavtrakat'.
'Mama called just before I sat down to breakfast.'
- b. Mama pozvonila do togo, kak ja sel zavtrakat'.
'Mother called before I sat down to breakfast.'

What makes (57a) awkward and very unlikely is the fact that the empathy is with "mama," who somehow should have known that the speaker was about to have breakfast. Sentence (57b) represents empathy with the speaker, and the order of things is simply recounted in retrospect.

4.4. Summary

Empathy is a pragmatic feature of Russian sentences, one that allows speakers a quintessential S2 choice. We have seen that it can change the meaning of *terjat'sja* from 'get lost' to 'become confused'. It can also determine which one of a pair of quasi-synonymous verbs or prepositions may be used in a given utterance. In combination with the speaker's knowledge, it does so in the case of *poslat* 'send' vs. *prislat* 'send (and have received)'. And in complex sentences where empathy is switched mid-sentence, *do* 'before' may be used, while *pered* 'right before' may not.

5. The Modesty Principle (or The "Me First Principle" Revisited)

Я— последняя буква в алфавите.
[I is the last letter of the alphabet.]
(common Russian saying)

The immediately preceding epigraph is not about a letter, but about the pronoun *ja* 'I', and it is usually addressed to people who like to say *ja* too often.² This could have been anecdotal, but compared to the capitalized pronoun *I*, it may deserve some attention.

² Here is an example of its use:

- (i) — «Ja, ja, ja»... — raz"jakalsja. Zapomni: «ja» — poslednjaja bukva v alfavite, a vperedi stoit «my».
Jasno? (V. Avdeev. Len'ka Oxnar)
' "I, I, I" ... you are saying nothing but 'I'. Remember: 'I' is the last letter of the alphabet, and 'we' stands in front of it. Is that clear?'

Kuno and Kaburaki's Speech Act Participant Hierarchy (1p>2p>3p) — that is, the first person has priority over the second person, which in turn has priority over the third person — was challenged by DeLancey (1981a), who suggested that the universal is not (1p>2p>3p), but (1p=2p)>3p, while the ranking of first and second persons is a language-particular phenomenon. Russian data presents a challenge to the idea of a universal, particularly because for Russian, 1p>2p is not always correct, nor is 1p>3p always applicable. In order to see that, let us examine the Modesty Principle³ as it applies to Russian.

The Modesty Principle was introduced in a discussion of the laws of empathy by Kuno (1987, 233), who stated it as follows: "In the coordinate NP structure, give the least prominence to yourself."

- (58) a. ?? I and John are good friends.
 b. John and I are good friends. (Kuno 1987, 233)

Since the coordinate NP's is the only place where the Modesty Principle is apparently applicable in English, for which it was developed, the Principle as formulated has an *ad hoc* appearance. If we shorten it to make it more general — "Give the least prominence to yourself." — we can then observe where it is applicable in Russian.

Kuno himself stressed that the Modesty Principle, while applicable in one particular case (in the coordinate NP structure), "is an artificial one [in English] that is taught repeatedly at the grade school level" (Kuno 1987, 233). That is why one can hear adults as well as children who have not mastered the Principle say the following sentence:

- (59) Me and John are good friends. (Kuno 1987, 233)

However, Kuno (1987, 302, fn. 20) observed, albeit in a footnote, that "this rule is not a mechanical rule that is applied blindly." Here are some of Kuno's examples:

- (60) a. I and someone else went to Paris.
 b. *Someone else and I went to Paris.
 c. I and three others went to Paris.
 d. *Three others and I went to Paris. (Kuno 1987, 301)

If we turn now to the Russian data, we will note that the Modesty Principle permeates the Russian language as well as Russian culture on all levels. It can be observed on the levels of *langue*, *parole*, discourse, and stylistic and cultural conventions, particularly if compared with English. Due to the hierarchy of cases (Jakobson 1958/1971, Chvany 1982), it is obvious that a noun in the nominative has higher prominence than a noun in an oblique case. Consequently, in the following

³ Cooper & Ross (1975) discuss the opposite principle, which they call the "Me First Principle".

utterances, whenever the case assigned to the $P^{n_1} \neq P^s$ is higher in prominence than the case assigned to $P^{n_2} = P^s$, we can speak of the application of the Modesty Principle.

The following examples give “modesty” vs. “me first” pairs at each of these levels:

1. *Langue*, where the speaker has no choice of construction for conveying his/her message. In none of the following sentences is the Subject in nominative in Russian as opposed to English (the b-series represents the English translation of the Russian examples):

- (61) a. Mne nužen karandaš.
b. I need a pencil.
- (62) a. U menja bolit golova.
b. I have a headache.
- (63) a'. U menja ideja.
a". Mne prišla v golovu ideja.
b. I've got an idea.
- (64) a. Mne ispolnilos' / stalo 30 let.
b. I turned 30.
- (65) a. U nego vyšla kniga.
b. He has a book published.
- (66) a. U nas segodnja svad'ba.⁴ (Zolotova 1985, 92)
b. We are getting married today.
- (67) a. U menja končilsja benzin.
b. I ran out of gas.
- (68) a. Peredo mnoj staraja fotografija.
b. I have an old photograph in front of me.
- (69) a. U menja pojavilos' želanie učit'sja.
b. I got the desire to study.
- (70) a. Mne nejasno/neponjatno značenie ètogo dokumenta.
b. I am not clear as to/I do not understand the meaning of this document.

⁴ Even though the Russian language does allow the following phrase where the Subject occupies the subject position, such a phrase seems more artificial and less likely:

- (i) My segodnja ženimsja.
'We are getting married today.'

At the same time, Russian is the only Slavic language that did not preserve the constructions related to the verbs *iměti/imati* 'have' as opposed to, for example, Polish (71b) and Ukrainian (71c):

- (71) a. U menja est' otec.
 b. Mam ojca.
 c. Maju bat'ka.
 'I have a father.'

2. *Parole*. Quasi-synonyms.

a) The language offers options, and it is up to the speaker whether or not to use the Modesty Principle, as in the a-series.

- (72) a. Mne dolžny pozvonit'.
 b. Ja ždu zvonka.
 'I am expecting a call.'

- (73) a. Ko mne dolžny prijeti.
 b. Ja ždu gostej.
 'I am expecting guests.'

However, there are instances where such substitution is impossible:

- (74) Segodnja byl sumasšedšij den', ja ustal. A v vosem' *mne dolžny pozvonit'*. (V. Rasputin. Rudol'fio)
 'It was a crazy day today, I am tired. And I am expecting a call at eight o'clock.'

In (74), it is impossible to substitute the utterance in question with the Subject-centered one due to the strict time-frame.⁵

In all of the above examples where the Subject does not occupy the subject position, the Subject is no longer the agent, according to Wierzbicka (1981, 46); instead, "the speaker regards himself as the quintessential 'victim' or the quintessential experiencer."

b) "Obscuring" the "I" or "I" as a part of a group.

In many instances, constructions of the type of (75a) are preferred to the type of (75b); while (75a) expresses the simultaneity of participants' actions, the disjointed construction of the type of (75c) expresses the non-simultaneity of participants' actions, and (75b) is ambiguous in this respect.

⁵ For more on *ždat'* 'wait' see Zaliznjak (1992, 105 ff.).

- (75) a. My s otcom xodili na rybalku.
'Father and I went fishing.'
- b. Otec i ja xodili na rybalku.
'Father and I went fishing.'
- c. I otec i ja xodili na rybalku.
'Both father and I went fishing.'

At the same time, there are situations where substitutions are impossible. Sentence (76a) may be said only by a student, while (76b) may be said only by the teacher:

- (76) a. My s klassom xodili v teatr.
'Our class (me included) went to the theater.'
- b. Ja s klassom xodila v teatr.
'I went with the class to the theater.'

Thus the feature [+authority] blocks the Modesty Principle.

Another instance is the way the possessive pronouns are used in Russian as opposed to English. English permits constructions with the possessive pronoun *my* in reference to objects that the person does not possess, but rather is part of, such as town, university, neighborhood etc., while Russian does not:

- (77) a'. U nas v gorode ... / V našem gorode ... / *U menja v gorode ... / *V moem gorode ...
- a". U nas v universitete ... / V našem universitete ... / *U menja v universitete ... / *V moem universitete ...
- a'''. U nas vo dvore⁶ ... / V našem dvore ... / *U menja vo dvore ... / *V moem dvore ...
- b'. In my town ...
- b". In my university ...
- b''''. In my neighborhood ...

c) Stylistic ban of "I". Authorial "we".

The use of "I" in non-fiction signals the author's high status. Using the "I" form would otherwise be perceived as immodest. Consider the following examples from noted linguists, all of whom avoid using "I":

- (78) a. slyšano *nami* v molodosti. (Peškovskij. Russkij sintaksis v naučnom osveščeni)
- 'heard by us in [our] youth.'

⁶ *Dvor* here refers not to the yard of a family home, but to one shared by many apartment buildings.

- b. V zaključenie *ukažem* ešte raz, čo ... (L. L. Bulanin. Trudnye voprosy morfologii)
'In conclusion, let us point out once again that ...'
- c. *My* upomjanuli vyše možnosť vnútornej protivočivosti, rozdvoennosti, kak svojstva bezličnyx predloženíj. (V. M. Pavlov. Sub"ekt v bezličnyx predloženíjax)
'We (= I) already mentioned earlier the possibility of internal contradiction, splitting as a property of impersonal sentences.'

There is another way to avoid the use of "I":

- (79) Zdes' sleduet priznat' dopuščennuju *avtorom* v pervonačal'noj publikacii ošibku, povlek-šuju za soboj neželatel'nye posledstvija. (G. A. Zolotova, Očerok funkcional'nogo sintaksisa russkogo jazyka)

'Here one should acknowledge a mistake committed by the author in the first publication, a mistake which led to undesirable consequences.'

d) Cultural perception linguistically expressed.

In addition to the epigraph to this section, which mocks a speaker who uses *ja* too often, there are words such as *jakat'* and *jakan'e* (the latter is defined in MAS as 'To mention oneself too often in speech boastingly using *ja*.'), as well as *jačestvo* (which is defined in MAS as 'An attempt to put oneself, one's ego forth as a manifestation of extreme individualism.'). In English, on the other hand, "I" is the only non-proper name which is always capitalized; in addition, "individualism" does not have the negative connotation that it has in Russian; in fact, the opposite is true (cf. "rugged individualist", which has a highly positive connotation).

e) Cultural conventions.

One convention is to say the last name first and then the first name in official contexts (the Asian model), thus making the family name more important than the given name.

Another such cultural convention is to write the address on an envelope beginning with the largest entity (the country, then the city), with the addressee last. In the Western tradition, the addressee has primacy over the location.

3. Discourse.

a) Order of statements in a dialogue: in English the second speaker (P^s_2) speaks first about himself/herself, then thanks the interlocutor for his/her interest, while in Russian the order is reversed.

- (80) a. A: Kak dela?
B: *Spasibo, xorošo/ničego.*
- b. A: How are you?
B: Fine, *thank you.*

This is precisely what we find in the following dialogue from a play, where Goncharenko first thanks Božena and then answers her question:

- (81) Vxodit Božena. Gončarenko vstaet.
 Božena. Sidite, požalujsta. Kak vam spalos'?
 Gončarenko. *Blagodarju*, kak doma. (K. Simonov. Pod kaštanami Pragi)
 'Božena enters. Goncharenko gets up.
 Božena. Please, don't get up. How did you sleep?
 Goncharenko. Just like at home, *thank you*.'

b) Conventions, such as formulas of request, for example asking to speak to someone on the telephone: the English speaker in (82a) speaks of his/her needs and wants, while the Russian speaker in (82b) makes requests and speaks of what he/she would like the other to do:

- (82) a'. *I would like to speak to Mary.*
 a". Could/May *I* speak to Mary (please)?
 b'. Možno Mašu k telefonu?
 b". Pozovite, požalujsta, Mašu.

The next example (83a) is from an American film "The Triumph of the Spirit", where a Nazi officer checks the documents of a suspected Jew in a Greek movie theater; (83b) represents the voice-over translation for the Russian television audience (the film was not dubbed):

- (83) a. May *I* see your documents?
 b. Pred"javite dokumenty.
 'Present your documents.'

Thus, as we can see, the "Me First Principle" does not permeate the Russian language. Future studies will determine to what extent it is applicable to Russian. On the other hand, the Modesty Principle has wide application in Russian. Its additional applications will be discussed with respect to the reflexive verbs in Russian in later chapters.

6. Summary

The cornerstone concept of this study is subjectivity, a way of analyzing "the human factor" in language on two levels. One type of subjectivity (S1) refers to the particular view of reality embodied in a language and its syntax. Another type (S2) refers to a particular speaker's choice when the language offers more than one way to describe some fact or event. S1 does not require S2 (the language may only provide a single way for speakers to describe something), but S2, as a choice granted to the individual speaker, must by definition reflect an S1 containing dual or multiple possible views of a particular aspect of reality.

The following examples of S1 and S2 in Russian and how they are encoded were given in this chapter:

1) Perceptual knowledge may be considered either subjective or objective (S2). If subjective, the Subject is in dative case; if objective, the Subject is nominative.

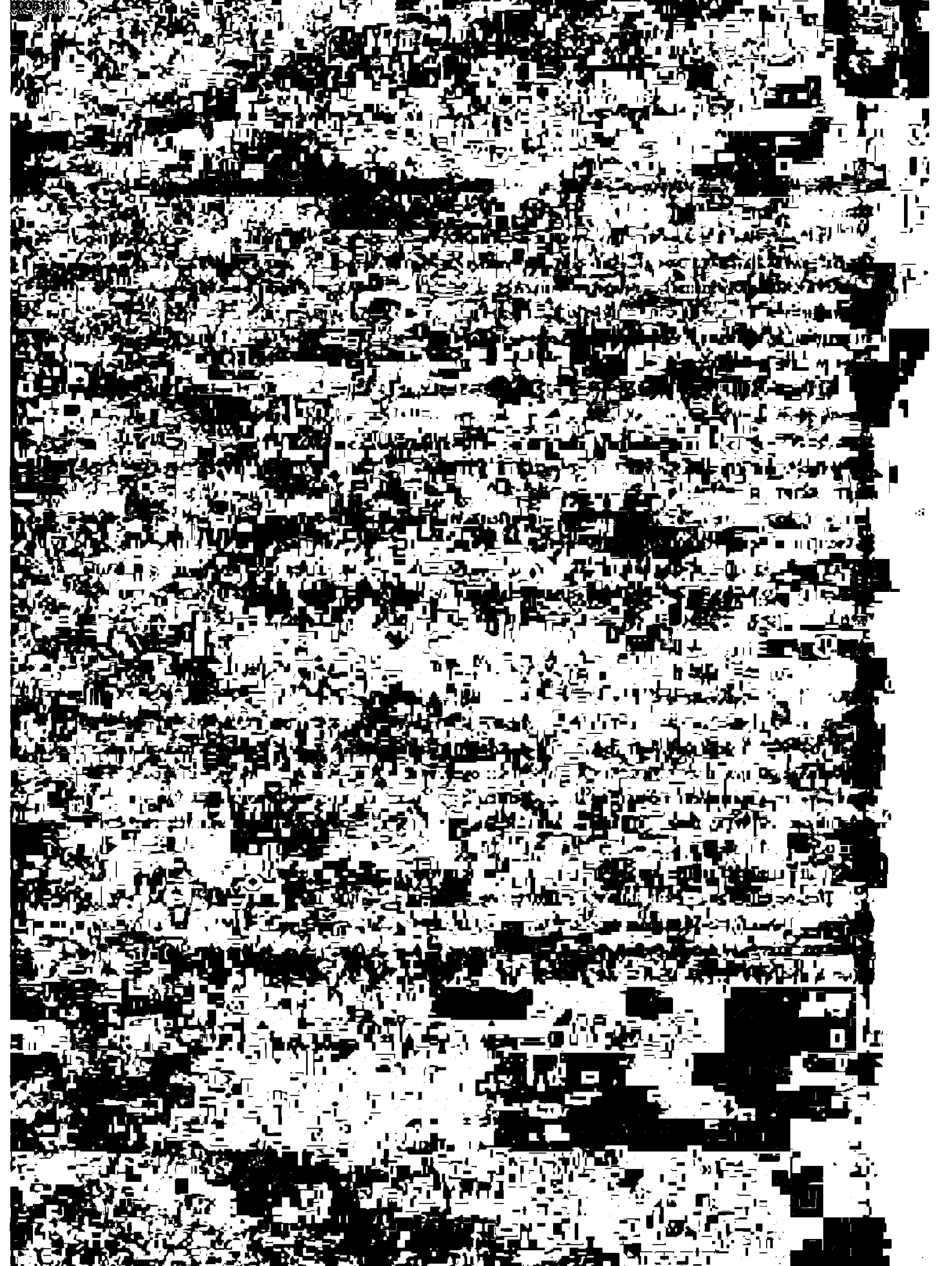
2) Certain actions either are (S1) or may be (S2) caused by *external forces* — natural or supernatural forces, humans other than P^n_1 , and fate. They are encoded syntactically by impersonal constructions. If, on the other hand, the cause is seen as internal forces (the Subject originates an action) middle voice is used.

3) Parts of the body are classified as either alienable or inalienable (S1). The breaking of inalienable parts is an active act committed by the person; the body part is the object of an active verb, with the person as its subject. Alienable parts, on the other hand, can break as if by themselves, as the subject of a middle -sja verb. However, when inalienable parts move involuntarily (as opposed to breaking), they also do so by themselves and thus are subjects of middle -sja verbs.

4) When an utterance has at least two participants, the speaker's empathy with one or the other is the quintessential S2 choice. That choice changes the meaning of polysemic verbs such as *ter-jat'sja* 'get lost' or 'become confused'. It also determines, in some cases along with the speaker's knowledge, which one of a pair of quasi-synonymous verbs, such as *poslat'* 'send' vs. *prislal'* 'send (and have received)', or prepositions, such as *do* 'before' vs. *pered* 'right before', may be used in a complex sentence.

5) The Russian language incorporates on a broad basis the Modesty Principle. It is considered impolite to focus on oneself. In some instances, such a focus is completely prohibited (S1), while in others the choice is left up to the speaker (S2). Focus is deflected from the self in a variety of ways: by use of oblique cases; by use of quasi-synonyms in reference to the self, such as plural subjects or possessive pronouns; by cultural conventions such as saying a family name first followed by the given name or writing the entire name last in an address; by the order of statements in a dialogue; and by conventions of request that focus on the desired actions of the other party, not the individual's needs and wants. Russian's negative view of focusing on the self stands as a starkly different S1 to that of English.

These examples demonstrate the utility of the concept of subjectivity and the feasibility of using it as a basis for explanation of permissible and impermissible constructions (S1) and of the different meanings of quasi-synonymous constructions (S2). The challenge in the remainder of this work is to apply this method to the postfix -sja.



CHAPTER TWO

The Postfix -Sja: Theory and Taxonomy

There is a long tradition of the study of the reflexive verbs in Russian and of the related problem of voice, beginning with Lomonosov.¹ The goal of this chapter is to identify and critique the major existing theories and to further develop an integrative theoretical framework to employ in this study.

Conceptions of the nature of the postfix -sja have ranged from one extreme to another. Geniušienė (1987, 12) divides approaches to the reflexive verbs into taxonomic and anti-taxonomic groups, the latter having been developed within generative grammar: “[T]his approach is more concerned with invariance among RVs [reflexive verbs], the taxonomic approach being concerned with variance” (Geniušienė 1987, 15). Actually, one can take these two pure types as the endpoints of a continuum, since there are some mixed points of view that fall in the middle. In addition, recent scholarship has transcended this division by recognizing taxonomies of -sja while searching for a unifying formal or semantic feature.

To complicate matters, there are also several classifications of voice. As Geniušienė (1987) points out, there are three existing voice classifications: 1) a system of three voices: active, passive and reflexive (middle); 2) a system of two voices: active and reflexive; and 3) a system of two voices: active and passive.

And there is a special problem in Russian concerning the relationship between the reflexive marker -sja and voice. As Isačenko (1960.2, 374) and Bondarko (1972, 30) emphasize, the majority of -sja verbs have a different lexical meaning than their non-sja counterparts, and those cases where the lexical meaning is the same are not regular enough. Thus it is impossible to call their relationship paradigmatic.

This chapter will survey and critique the different theoretical approaches in the following order: a) pure taxonomic approaches, b) pure anti-taxonomic approaches, and c) semantic approaches. Then, building on this discussion, the integrative approach to be used in the present work will be spelled out and evaluated. A semantic typology of -sja verbs will be included.

1. Taxonomic Approaches

Since the essence of these approaches is classification, it is not surprising that there are many different and conflicting categorizations of the various meanings of -sja.

Vinogradov (1972) lists fifteen different meanings of the postfix -sja (out of which two describe some prefix-plus-sja combinations) and eleven prefix-plus-sja combinations, all of them having equal status. Janko-Trinickaja (1962, 21) takes a similar stand, treating all verbs with -sja as cases of word formation.

¹ A detailed history of the study of -sja verbs is presented in Vinogradov (1972). A comparative analysis of different definitions of voice is given in Moiseev (1958), Korolev (1969a) and Geniušienė (1987).

Geniušienė's (1987) typological classification of about fifty languages is based on the theory of the diathesis introduced by the Xolodovič-Xrakovskij school of Structural Linguistics. Geniušienė (1987, 53) defines diathesis "as a pattern of correspondences between constituents of the RefS [referent structure] and the constituents of the RolS [role structure] and SynS [syntactic structure]. ... Diathesis is a cluster of the basic semantic and syntactic properties of a verb reflecting its semantic component structure."

For Geniušienė (1987, 3),

the reflexive marker in each and every reflexive verb ... has, first and foremost, a semantic function rather than a syntactic function of marking, say, derived intransitivity or any other syntactic process, the syntactic properties of reflexive verbs being completely dependent on and secondary to their semantic properties. The popular claim that the reflexive marker is a marker of derived intransitivity is only part of the truth as it concerns only some types of reflexive verbs and being a syntactic property has to be explained on the basis of reflexive verb meaning. What is common to all reflexive verbs is valence lowering, or recession, derived intransitivity being only one instance of valence recession.

Geniušienė's main point echoes Lyons' (1969, 481) premise: "the syntactic structure of languages is very highly determined by their semantic structure: more especially, by the 'modes of signifying' of semantically based grammatical categories." However, Russian language is not a particular focus of Geniušienė's study, while English and Baltic languages are. Although Geniušienė (1987, 12) admits "in Russian ... all semantic types of verbs with RM [reflexive marker] are limited in number and lexically highly restricted, each being derived from a lexico-semantic set (or sets) of NVs [non-reflexive verbs]," she also claims that her study "views RVs [reflexive verbs] of a given language as [a] unified phenomenon" (Geniušienė 1987, 18), even though she does not specify in what way.

2. Anti-Taxonomic Approaches

Jakobson takes a pure anti-taxonomic approach in which he attempts to identify a single meaning for -sja by considering reflexive as the sole opposing voice to active voice. This is the second approach to voice identified above by Geniušienė. Jakobson (1956/1971, 140) also links transitivity and voice:

the "reflexive" restricts the participation in the narrative event. The non-reflexive verb corresponding to the reflexive verb may syntactically be transitive or intransitive. The transitive admits two primary P^n — a subject and a direct object, and the reflexive form excludes the second of them.

But Jakobson (1932/1984, 4) blurs matters by sneaking the passive voice back into his model as a subcategory: he subdivides reflexive into " 'passive' (marked) ~ 'reflexive' ". The general correlation of voice embraces all conjugational forms, whereas the further correlation affects only participles." Thus Jakobson has reflexive₁ and reflexive₂, the former being a purely formal category and the latter being reflexive₁ minus passive. The semantic reflexive never comes into play:

In the phrase *devuški, prodavaemye na nevol'nič'em rynke* 'the girls being sold on the slave market', the participle signals "passivity"; but if we replace it with the form *prodajuščiesja* '(which are) being sold / (which are) selling themselves', the passivity is given only by the context, while the form as such merely denotes non-transitivity. Compare, for example, the phrase *devuški, prodajuščiesja za kusok xleba* 'girls selling themselves for a piece of bread' — here the passive meaning is completely lacking, since the context does not suggest it. (Jakobson 1932/1984, 4)

This classification, while preserving all appearances of being formal, in fact introduces the context. Gerritsen (1988, 109) correctly points out that "it is the word *nevol'nič'em*, together with our knowledge of extra-linguistic reality, which leads us to a 'passive' interpretation" of (1):

- (1) *devuški, prodavaemye na nevol'nič'em rynke*
'the girls who are being sold on the slave market'

while "the part *za kusok xleba* suggests that the girls do sell themselves" in (2):

- (2) *devuški, prodajuščiesja za kusok xleba*
'the girls who are selling themselves for a piece of bread'

Gerritsen then suggests that "if we replace the -sja-participle by an -m-participle, the sentence will become a passive sentence despite the context. In that case also, the piece of bread is intended for the person who does the selling, but this person is not the subject of the sentence."

- (2') *devuški, prodavaemye za kusok xleba*
'girls who are being sold for a piece of bread'

Jakobson's classification avoids stating where phrase (3) belongs.

- (3) *devuški, prodajuščiesja na nevol'nič'em rynke*
'girls who are being sold / ? who sell themselves at the slave market'

Gerritsen (1988, 109) remarks that "a 'true reflexive' interpretation ... is, albeit unlikely, not impossible." Let us assume sentence (3) represents a 'true reflexive', in which case it can be paraphrased as sentence (4):

- (4) *devuški, kotorye prodajut sebja na nevol'nič'em rynke*
'girls, who sell themselves at the slave market.'

This constitutes a difficult reality for the Western (and perhaps not only the Western) mind: while it is conceivable that a slave would like to buy out his freedom, it is hard to imagine that one would *sell* oneself, as opposed to someone else, into slavery, for it is not even clear how one could use the proceeds, or whether one would even own them after becoming a slave. That is not to say that in our civilization there is no selling of oneself, but it is understood as *partial* selling: either body or soul.

In addition, the above classification does not accommodate sentences like *Devuški byli prodany za kusok xleba / s molotka*.

Jakobson's approach, being so formal, does not advance understanding of the system or of individual subgroups.

There are other anti-taxonomic approaches, primarily within generative grammar, beginning with Channon (1968). These approaches are concerned with invariance, although more recent works present a more elaborate picture of individual subgroups. For Babby (1975, 299), -*sja* added to transitive verbs marks "syntactically derived intransitivity". For Babby & Brecht (1975, 365), -*sja* "signals a marked realization of a verb's subcategorization feature." Nakhimovsky (1983, 85) questions the invariance of this formulation: "The specific meaning of such a 'marked realization' presumably results from the interaction between 'derived intransitivity,' the verb's lexical meaning, and the context." In addition, this approach obviously excludes the reflexiva tantum, the intransitive verbs that can acquire the postfix -*sja*, and the transitive reflexives, although these linguists acknowledge their existence.

Brecht & Levine (1984, 134) contend that there is "very strong evidence for the analysis of -*sja* as the general voice marker in Russian, indicating the violation of the direct correlation between semantic and syntactic functions."

Williams (1993, 181) suggests the following unifying function of -*sja*: "-*sja* is a device that enables a speaker to bring an entity into focus; i.e., to talk about it, without having to be distracted by the mention of other entities."

Langacker & Munro (1975, 801), in their typological study, suggest that "in both configurations ... [reflexive and passive], the subject and direct object are non-distinct." They go on to say that once the reflexive marker has come to mark passive, it is susceptible to further re-analysis which leads to the rise of impersonal constructions with intransitive verbs such as Spanish *Se trabajó* 'One worked.' (Langacker & Munro 1975, 801, fn. 19)²

Such constructions, while possible in Spanish, Italian,³ Rumanian and Portuguese, are not possible in French, another Romance language; they are possible in Polish but not in Russian, even though the prerequisites outlined by Langacker & Munro exist. In fact, the potential for such use in Russian exists, as exemplified in (5):

- (5) Očen' zdorovo *idetsja* v mir cvetnoj — osobenno iz obmoroka, kotoryj slučilsja so mnoju tol'ko odin raz, iz derevni, kogda Moskva seraja, uzkaja, mračnaja, iz Leningrada, kogda Moskva zelenaja, teplaja i milaja. (A. Baxtyrev. Ėpoxa pozdnego reabilitansa)

'It's great to go into the colorful world, especially from a fainting spell which happened to me only once, from a village when Moscow is gray, narrow, gloomy, and from Leningrad when Moscow is green, warm and nice.'

² García (1975) simultaneously but independently from Langacker & Munro comes to the conclusion that in Spanish there is one reflexive pronoun *se*.

³ Napoli (1976) and Costa (1975) independently come to the conclusion that Italian, unlike Spanish, has two reflexive pronouns *si*'s.

On the other hand, such a construction can also disappear from a language. According to Abrosimova (1985), impersonal *se* constructions existed in Old French: *Or se cante* 'Now one sings', *Or se die* 'Now one speaks'. Yet Langacker & Munro do not take such possibilities into account.

Desclés, Guenchéva & Shaumyan (1986) and Shaumyan (1987) describe two general meanings of the reflexive markers: nondistinction and intransitivity. Shaumyan (1987, 242-243) follows the conclusion of Langacker & Munro, for whom in his words, "reflexive predicates involve the nondistinction of the agent and patient. But this nondistinction of the agent and the patient must be a specific characteristic of only obligatory intransitive predicates."

Thus, the general meaning of -sja has been variously identified by anti-taxonomic studies as being intransitivity, 'marked realization', nondistinctness of subject and direct object, focus and reflexive voice. In addition, those meanings other than intransitivity have been linked to intransitivity. One major weakness, then, in the entire anti-taxonomic approach is how to account for transitive reflexive verbs. While intransitivity is indeed a "general characteristic of all RV's in Russian" (Geniušienė 1987, 14), the ever growing number of transitive -sja verbs should be acknowledged.

Janko-Trinickaja (1962, 60), Babby (1975, 297-332) and KRG (1989, 357) mention two transitive -sja verbs: *bojat'sja* 'fear' and *slušať'sja* 'obey'.⁴

- (6) a. Džadja Paša *boitsja svoju ženu*. (F. Kandel'. Koridor)
'Uncle Pasha is afraid of his_{Acc} wife_{Acc}.'
- b. Provodi menja, a to ja *Polju bojus'*. (I. Grekova. Letom v gorode)
'Come with me, for I am afraid of Polya_{Acc}.'
- c. Pavlik nazýváet Mironixu mamoj, on ljubít i *slušaetsja* i Valju. A Loru ne *slušaetsja*. (Oseeva. Vasek Trubačev) (Gorbačevič 413)
'Pavlik calls Mironikha Mom, he also loves and obeys Valya_{Acc}. But he does not obey Lora_{Acc}.'

In addition to these two, Ickovič (1982, 35-36) also lists *doždat'sja-doždat'sja* 'wait', *opasat'sja* 'fear', *osteregat'sja* 'beware', *pobaivat'sja* 'fear a bit', *oslušat'sja* 'disobey' and *doprosit'sja* 'get a response to a request' as transitive.

- (7) a. Kak-to on zašel pered samym zakrytiem masterskoj, *doždalsja Tanju*, provodil ee do ostanovki trollejbusa. (Lidin. Serdca svoego ten') (Gorbačevič 119)
'Once he came right before the closing of the shop, waited for Tanya_{Acc}, and walked her up to the trolley bus stop.'
- b. Možet potomu ja i *pobaivalsja ètu prijatel'nicu Sonju*, što ona pervaja, i srazu že, raznjuxala o moej vlyublennosti v Allu. (A. Pristavkin. Rjazanka)
'Maybe that is why I feared a bit this (female) friend Sonja_{Acc}, that she first and immediately found out about my being in love with Alla.'

⁴ They are marked *dopustimo* 'acceptable' in Gorbačevič (1973).

Storonit'sja 'shy away', *stesnjat'sja* 'be bashful, embarrassed', *stydit'sja* 'be ashamed, embarrassed' and *dobit'sja-dobivat'sja* 'achieve' are other verbs which can have an animate object in either the accusative or genitive case.

- (8) a. Olja tože *stonilas' Pul'xeriju*, no priglasila ee kak obyčno idti v stolovuju vmeste ... (L. Petruševskaja. V sadax drugix vozmožnostej)
'Olga also kept away from Pulkheriya_{Acc} but as usual invited her to go to the cafeteria together ...'
- b. Volodja ne govoril, a otdaval rasporjaženija. A sam sidel lopouxij, brovastyj, nasuplennyj — užasno *stesnjalsja otca i mat'*. (Šugaev. Begu i vozvraščajus') (Gorbačevič 429)
'Volodja did not talk, but rather gave orders. And he himself sat big-eared, bushy-browed, and scowling, feeling terribly bashful in the presence of his father and mother_{Acc}.'

Even *naslušat'sja* 'get one's fill by listening, listen a lot' exhibits a tendency towards accusative:

- (9) Devki vse byli moloden'kie, govorlivye, i ja ponevole *naslušivalsja massu samyx neverojatnyx istorij* ... (A. Pristavkin. Rjazanka)
'All the girls were young and talkative, and I despite myself got my fill of loads_{Acc} of the most incredible stories ...'

The use of transitive -sja verbs is even more widespread in colloquial and substandard Russian:

- (10) — Nu, ničego, Stepa, ničego, sdelayut operaciju, vyjdeš, poedeš' v dom otdyxa, v Repino, ja v zavkom xodila, mne Manefa Petrovna *obeščalas' putevku*. (G. Goryšin. Vesna za oknom)
'“It's all right, Stepa, it's all right, they'll operate on you, you'll get out and go to the resort in Repino; I went to the Union, Manefa Petrovna promised me a ticket_{Acc}.”'
- (11) Vyšla замуž dočka Lena, uexala s mužem v gorod Čeljabinsk. Xorošo živut, bogato, s dvumja det'mi tret'ego ždut, zovut — *ne dozovutsja rodnuju babušku*, čtoby svoix, ne čužix, njančila, da ona ne edet. (F. Kandel'. Koridor)
'The daughter Lena got married and left with her husband for the city of Chelyabinsk. They live well, richly, with two children and are expecting the third, they keep inviting their own grandmother_{Acc} to come but with no results, so she could take care of her own family's children, not strangers' children, yet she does not come.'

Nichols (1993, 82) states that “[t]he accusative with these verbs [*bojat'sja* and *slušat'sja*] is possible only with second-declension nouns and is favored by animacy and individuation.” The first half of Nichols' statement is erroneous. There is no reason to suggest that in a parallel structure, such as in (8b), the masculine object is in genitive while the feminine one is in accusative. In

fact, the proliferation of transitivity is obscured, due to the fact that the clear-cut distinction between accusative and genitive cases exists only for feminine singular nouns belonging to the second *and* third declensions, as in (8b), and for a limited number of masculine singular nouns belonging to the second declension. In all other cases, accusative animate is the same as genitive.

The phenomenon of transitive reflexive verbs is new in the Russian language but is known in other Slavic languages, for example Slovak, according to Isačenko (1960.2, 353), as well as Czech and Bulgarian, and also Lithuanian, according to Geniušienė (1978, 156). The existence of transitive reflexives in Russian challenges Jakobson's assertion of restriction of Pⁿ, since that assertion is based on the intransitivity of the reflexive verbs in Russian, as well as those anti-taxonomic approaches which view intransitivity as the sole unifying feature.

3. Semantic Approaches

Recent works by Gerritsen (1990) and by Kemmer (1993 and 1994) represent attempts to combine elements of the taxonomic and anti-taxonomic approaches. These two authors are diametrically opposed, however, as to the importance of voice. Gerritsen questions whether -sja passive is really passive at all, while Kemmer sees middle voice as the unifying feature for all the lexical classes of -sja.

Gerritsen (1988 and 1990) maintains that "the various uses of -sja ('reflexive', 'middle', 'passive', etc.) are only contextually dependent interpretations of a single, invariant meaning" (Gerritsen 1988, 99). Her unifying notions are "starting point" (Stp) and "terminal point" (Tp). Stp and Tp refer to what Wierzbicka (1980) calls the "causal chain of events" expressed in the sentence. Gerritsen applies this notion to -sja as follows:

The Stp of a personal non-reflexive finite verb is expressed by its subject: the causal chain always starts from the subject-referent, unless this subject-referent role has a patient role as its only role, which is the case with participial passive; the Tp is expressed by the acc. O[bject] of a transitive verb (and by the subject of a PP [passive participle]).

The invariant meaning of personally used -sja may now be described as follows: the causal chain of events starts and ends with the subject-referent, i.e. the subject of a Vsja is both the Spt and Tp. (Gerritsen 1990, 11)

Such a notion requires a mechanism for identifying the different possible -sja's for each verb. However, no such mechanism has yet been identified. The identification of what type of -sja's may be attached to each verb may be achieved only empirically; that is, after all the -sja's have been catalogued, each and every verb with all possible -sja's should be tested on native speakers, after which all of the -sja verbs may be listed in a dictionary.

In addition, only a small number of verbs in Russian can attach a purely reflexive ("agentive reflexive" in Gerritsen's terms), a reciprocal or a causative -sja. In fact, out of seventeen groups outlined in Gerritsen (1990) (A through S, skipping I and O), only three constitute large groups of verbs: passive, medial and actional decausative. Nonetheless, Gerritsen (1990) represents the most comprehensive approach to the reflexive in Russian to date.

Kemmer (1993 and 1994), in her typological study of the middle voice, proposes a unified semantic approach which at first glance might seem similar to Gerritsen's (1986 and 1990) model. There is, however, an important difference: Gerritsen views the system of -sja verbs as a continuum from reflexive to passive, while Kemmer treats them as the middle voice and explains why in some languages middle has come to denote reflexive, reciprocal and other semantic types.

Kemmer (1994) analyzes the middle voice in a variety of languages and describes ten semantic types that are typically associated with it. For Kemmer, middle voice is a purely formal category, that is everything that has a middle marker is middle, which she explains semantically; she argues against the exclusion of deponents (*reflexiva tantum*). Gerritsen, on the other hand, like many linguists, does not even include them in her classification.

As far as it is relevant for Russian, Kemmer's reasoning is as follows: Russian has a reflexive form ("heavy form") *sebja* and the middle marker MM ("light form") -sja. Following Haiman (1983) (Cf. Gerritsen 1986),

when the middle marker does occur with a canonical transitive verb root, the meaning is not reflexive ... :

- [12] a. On utomil sebja
'He exhausted himself' (reflexive event)
- b. On utomilsja
'He grew weary' (spontaneous event)

The most reasonable conclusion to draw from such facts is that the semantics associated with light forms is essentially non-reflexive: these languages ... have one form dedicated to expressing reflexive semantics, and a second one that covers middle situation types, including the body actions. (Kemmer 1994, 203)

Indeed, by far the largest group of -sja verbs fall into the category of the middle (Vinogradov's (1972, 496) "sredne-vozvratnoe [middle reflexive]" and "obšč'e-vozvratnoe [general reflexive]").

"Grooming or body care" is one of Kemmer's semantic groups of the middle voice. The reason Kemmer classifies it as middle is that these verbs denote actions which are typically performed on oneself ("ordinary grooming"). A non-sja verb with the reflexive pronoun designates a situation out of the ordinary (in accord with Haiman (1983) and Gerritsen (1986) and contrary to Klenin (1975)):

In reflexive events, the initiator acts on itself just as it would act on another entity; the reflexive marker is there simply to signal the unusual fact that the different participant roles happen to be filled by the same entity. The middle marker, on the other hand, has the basic function of indicating that the two semantic roles of initiator and Endpoint refer to a single holistic entity. (Kemmer 1993, 66)

Similarly, the reciprocals are freely formed with the reciprocal pronoun *drug druga* 'each other'; on the other hand, the reciprocal verbs in -sja denote "naturally reciprocal events" and thus according to Kemmer fall into the middle voice. Other middle groups include: "nontranslational motion", such as 'stretch' and 'turn'; "change in body posture", such as 'sit down' and 'kneel down'; "translational motion" such as 'climb up' and 'fly'; "indirect middle", such as 'acquire' and

'request'; "emotion middle", such as 'be angry' and 'grieve'; "emotive speech actions", such as 'complain' and 'lament'; "cognition middle", such as 'ponder' and 'believe'; and "spontaneous events", such as 'vanish' and 'recover'.

Kemmer's model provides an extremely interesting and useful framework for application to -sja verbs in Russian. However, as might be expected of a theory that was originally developed for a variety of languages, it runs into problems in handling many of the details of a particular language. Specifically, many additional semantic groups and subgroups must be added in order to comprehensively classify all -sja verbs in Russian. In addition, a distinction needs to be made between -sja verbs and -sja forms. The remainder of this chapter will carry out precisely these tasks.

The next two sections will examine to what extent Kemmer's model is applicable to Russian. However, unlike Kemmer, who includes passive into the middle on the basis of the presence of the middle marker and attributes the "special semantics of genericity or habituality" (Kemmer 1993, 148), although she does not analyze any Russian data, I will draw the crucial distinction between -sja verbs (middle) and -sja forms (passive). Then, I will examine the various semantic groups of Russian -sja verbs to determine their fit with Kemmer's fundamental hypothesis.

Gerritsen's model, on the other hand, while developed specifically for the Russian language, is of an exhaustive nature: it seems to encompass every single type of -sja verb present in Russian. While many of her groupings seem questionable, as will be discussed below, within certain groups she does offer some keen observations. Her work (Gerritsen 1990) also presents a rich resource for further analysis of -sja verbs in Russian.

4. -Sja Verbs and -Sja Forms

This study adopts the third approach to voice (active vs. passive) mentioned above by Geniušienė (1987), which, following Isačenko (1960), Bulanin (1967) and Geniušienė (1987), subdivides all reflexives into -sja v e r b s and -sja f o r m s . Passive -sja forms are regularly formed from imperfective non-sja verbs; thus they are considered as part of the non-sja verbs' paradigm. -Sja verbs, on the other hand, constitute highly restricted lexical classes, as Geniušienė (1987, 12) points out, and their analysis here will represent an extension of Kemmer's framework to handle Russian.

The postfix -sja has three variants: -sja, -s' (after vowels, except in participles) and Ø_{sja} (in past passive participles derived from the reflexive verbs).⁵ Thus we find: *vljubit'sja, ona vljubilas', on vljubljenØsja*.⁶

⁵ The introduction of a Ø follows the reasoning in Mel'čuk (1974a and 1979).

⁶ *Vljubljen* is not formed from the verb *vljubit'*, which is given an unequivocal status in all of the dictionaries. Yet, unlike other transitive verbs, it does not allow formation of agentive passive:

- (i) *On byl vljubljen eju (v sebja).
'He was made to fall in love (with her) by her.'

In fact, *vljubit'* is derived from *vljubit'sja* and it is deficient compared to *vljubit'sja*, which is a "synergetic" verb similar to *vdumat'sja, vslušat'sja* and others that are formed by simultaneously attaching a prefix and the postfix -sja.

Gerritsen (1988, 141) remarks that “a sentence like for instance *On prostužen* implies *on prostudilsja*, but not *ego prostudili*.” In fact, the list of such verbs can be extended. The following examples illustrate unambiguously that the participles in the b-series are part of the paradigm of the reflexive verbs:

- (13) a. *On obidelsja* na menja.
‘He got offended at me.’
b. *On obiženØsja* na menja.
‘He is offended at me.’
- (14) a. *Ego lico pokrylos’* pjatnami.
‘His face got covered with spots.’
b. *Ego lico pokrytoØsja* pjatnami.
‘His face is covered with spots.’

Henceforth, I will abandon the term *reflexive* as it was used above, meaning indiscriminately any verbal form with a postfix *-sja*. I am doing so to avoid terminological confusion due to the ambiguity of the term *reflexive verbs*, an ambiguity which can be avoided in French (verbes pronominaux vs. verbes réfléchis). This is especially necessary since “only a small number of the verbs that occur with *się* in Polish or *-sja* in Russian acquire thereby a truly reflexive meaning (i.e. object = subject), despite the tradition of calling such verbs reflexive” (Rothstein 1970, 194). I will reserve the term *reflexive* for purely reflexive verbs.

Gerritsen (1988), which is very provocatively entitled “How passive is ‘passive’ *-sja*?”, argues that it is not passive at all. Arguing against Geniušienė & Löttsch (1974), who claim that aspectual pairs are distributed as follows: *pisalsja* → *napisan*, *mysjsja* → *pomyjsja*, Gerritsen (1988, 110) adds: “However, *mysjsja* could also be replaced by the perfective PP [past participle] *pomyt*.” This last statement by Gerritsen is incorrect if we accept that a paradigm is a reality, in which case the paradigm for the reflexive verb *myt’sja* ‘wash oneself’ will appear as follows:

- (15) present: a. *Katja moetsja*. ‘Katya is washing herself.’
past: b. *Katja mylas’*. ‘Katya was washing herself.’
c. *Katja vymylas’/pomylas’*. ‘Katya washed herself.’
future: d. *Katja budet myt’sja*. ‘Katya will be washing herself.’
e. *Katja vymoetsja/pomoetsja*. ‘Katya will wash herself.’

On the other hand, the passive paradigm for the verb *myt’* will appear as follows:

- (16) present: a. *Pol moetsja*. ‘The floor is being washed.’
past: b. *Pol mylsja*. ‘The floor was being washed.’
c. *Pol byl vymyt/pomyt*. ‘The floor is washed.’
future: d. *Pol budet myt’sja*. ‘The floor will be [being] washed.’
e. *Pol budet vymyt/pomyt*. ‘The floor will be washed.’

Sets (15) and (16) clearly show that *pomylsja* 'washed himself' (15c) and *pomyt* 'is washed' (16c) belong to two different paradigms ((15) is the paradigm of a -sja verb, while (16) is the paradigm of a non-sja verb which includes -sja forms), and consequently they are not interchangeable.

The inability to keep -sja forms and -sja verbs separate leads to confusions such as the following in Janko-Trinickaja (1962, 129). She ascribes (17) passive meaning "despite the animate subject" and (18) "non-passive", i.e. active, meaning despite the inanimate subject:

(17) S ètix por každyj večer v stolovoj pojavljalas' zakuska. Naružnye stavni okon zatvorjalis', *prisluga udalj alas' spat'*, i plemjannica s djadjej ostavalis' glaz na glaz. (M. E. Saltykov-Ščedrin. *Gospoda Golovlevy*)

'Since then hors-d'œuvres appeared every evening in the dining room. The storm windows were closed, the servants went off to sleep, and the niece and the uncle remained tête-à-tête.'

(18) Kogda *udalj alsja priliv*, ja begom do samoj volny dobegala. (N. A. Nekrasov. *Russkie ženščiny*)

'When the high tide would recede, I would run right up to the wave.'

The perfective to her first sentence (17') would be (17''), not (17'''), mainly due to verbal government: *udalit'sja kuda* (*udalit'sja v derevnju*), but *udalit' otkuda* and not **udalit' kuda*:

(17') *prisluga udalj alas' spat'*
the servants went off (? were removed) to sleep

(17'') *prisluga udalilas' spat'*
the servants went off to sleep

(17''') **prisluga byla udalena spat'*
the servants were removed to sleep

Thus, the verb in (17) is not a passive -sja form, but rather an active -sja verb. And in (18), we are indeed also dealing with an active -sja verb, as Janko-Trinickaja states, and not a passive; however, this is an active construction not despite the inanimacy of the noun, as Janko-Trinickaja claims, but based on the paradigm outlined earlier. The perfective counterpart of (18') is (18'') and not (18'''):

(18') *Priliv udalj alsja.*
'High tide was receding.'

(18'') *Priliv udalilsja.*
'High tide receded.'

(18''') **Priliv byl udalen.*
'High tide was receded.'

In fact, it is possible to create both active and passive paradigms with an animate Subject:

A. active -sja verbs constructions with *bol'noj* in the subject position:

- (19) Bol'noj *udaljalsja* v derevnju.
'The sick man usually moved away into the village.'
- (20) Bol'noj *udalilsja* v derevnju.
'The sick man moved away into the village.'

B. passive constructions with *bol'noj* in the subject position:

- (21) Bol'noj ne raz *udalalsja* iz palaty za p'janstvo.
'The sick man was more than once forcibly removed from the hospital room for drinking.'
- (22) Bol'noj *byl udalen* iz palaty za p'janstvo.
'The sick man was forcibly removed from the hospital room for drinking.'

Sentence (22) corresponds to the active sentence (23):

- (23) Bol'nogo *udalili* iz palaty za p'janstvo.
'The sick man was forcibly removed from the hospital room for drinking.'

This reasoning follows Korolev's (1969b) set of rules and devices for testing whether a given -sja construction belongs to passive or non-passive voice.⁷

Gerritsen (1988, 104-105) also complains that "[t]he imperfective PP [passive participle] is treated as the 'Cinderella' of passive devices in Russian" particularly since "[p]resent PP's, according to Ivanova [1982], constitute a living and productive category." However, Gerritsen (1988, 169, fn. 9) admits that "[u]sually, the opposite view is expressed ... " In fact, Zaliznjak's (1977) verbal types 6 through 14 (all transitive imperfectives) lack the present passive participles in all but a few cases, while transitive imperfectives of types 1, 2, 4 and some verbs of type 5 do form those participles. Clearly, it is difficult to speak of them as "freely derived from transitive imperfective verbs" (Gerritsen 1988, 105).

Gerritsen (1988, 102) remarks that only twice did she come across the type of comparison illustrated by (24) vs. (25):

⁷ Gerritsen's objection to Korolev's set of criteria for disambiguation of passive from non-passive -sja lies in one example that BAS classified as non-passive despite the presence of an instrumental agent:

- (i) Byvali slučai, kogda postavlennaja uže *p'esa zapreščalas'* cenzuroj i ee snimali s repertuara. (Jur'ev) (Gerritsen 1988, 111)
'There were cases when a play that was already staged was forbidden by the censor and it was removed from the repertoire.'

In fact, this was a mistake which was corrected in the second edition, BAS-20, where it is classified as passive.

- (24) *pole vspaxivalos' kolchoznikami*
 'the field was ploughed by kolkhozniks'
- (25) *pole bylo vspaxivaemo kolchoznikami*
 'the field was being ploughed by kolkhozniks'

Then she proceeds with a comparison of imperfective passive participles. Her very illuminating discussion, however, bears exclusively on the semantics of the participles used as modifiers. Only a small part of it (Gerritsen 1988, 119-121) is related to the predicative use of the present passive participles. The reason for this is simple: phrases such as (25) are not freely formed, nor are they common.

To avoid confusion, it is important to distinguish between -sja verbs and -sja forms, and this study will do so at all times. Chapters 3 and 4 will deal with different types of -sja verbs, Chapter 5 will deal with the impersonal -sja forms and the receptive and quasi-passive -sja verbs, and Chapter 6 will cover passive -sja forms. The remainder of the present chapter looks at groups of -sja verbs.

5. The Kemmer Hypothesis and the Semantics of -Sja

Now let us approach the task from the opposite direction: let us examine the various groups of Russian -sja verbs and determine to what extent they exhibit the semantic features outlined by Kemmer. This section will be devoted to an examination of the following semantic groups: reflexive, 'partitive object', decausative (actional, emotional and medial), medial proper, benefactive, possessive, consequential, causative, deictic, volitional, non-consequential, receptive, quasi-passive, aggressive and reciprocal. Of these, some reflexives, the nontranslational motion verbs ('partitive object'), translational motion verbs (actional decausative), emotion middle (emotional decausative) and the reciprocals are included in Kemmer's model.⁸ The remaining groups can also be treated as middle, following Kemmer's model, even though they are not formally included in it.

5.1. Reflexive

One of the largest semantic subgroups among the Russian reflexives deals with *g r o o m - i n g a n d b o d y c a r e*: *myt'sja* 'wash', *brit'sja* 'shave', *krasit'sja* 'dye (hair)', *belit'sja* 'whiten (face)', *nasur'mit'sja* 'paint eye-brows black', *vyteret'sja* 'dry', *dušit'sja* 'perfume', *zavivat'sja* 'curl hair' and so on. This group also includes verbs dealing with *r e v e a l i n g o n e ' s b o d y* as well as with *c o v e r i n g* it: *obnažit'sja* 'bare', *ogolit'sja* 'bare, strip', *(za)kutat'sja* 'wrap, overdress', *zapaxnut'sja* 'close one's coat', *zavernut'sja* (*v odejalo*) 'wrap oneself (in a blanket)' and *zatjanut'sja* (*pojasom*) 'tighten (a belt)'.

A second subgroup that could be viewed as semantically adjacent or closely related to the first one concerns *a l t e r i n g o n e ' s a p p e a r a n c e*: *maskirovat'sja* 'camouflage', *molo-*

⁸ Two more types of Russian constructions are acknowledged; see the discussion of aggressive below and true impersonals in Chapter 5.

dit'sja 'make oneself look younger', *grimirovat'sja* 'use actor's make-up' and so on.

A third subgroup deals with **harming oneself** (including **dirtying or soiling oneself or one's clothing**): *pokalečit'sja* 'cripple oneself', *zarubit'sja* 'wound (by an ax)', *zadušit'sja* 'suffocate', *zastrelit'sja* 'shoot to kill', *otravit'sja* 'poison' and so on, including accidentally harming oneself: *obžeč'sja* 'burn', *ukolot'sja* 'prick', *porezat'sja* 'cut', *poranit'sja* 'wound', *ocarapat'sja* 'scratch'; *vypačkat'sja* 'dirty', *zaljapat'sja* 'get covered with splotches', *zamurzat'sja* 'get soiled', *izmarat'sja* 'get very dirty' and so on. This third subgroup could be viewed as part of "altering one's appearance", thus distancing it from "grooming and body care".

A fourth subgroup deals with **defending oneself and delimiting one's surroundings**: *zaščičat'sja* 'defend', *oboronjat'sja* 'defend', *zabarrikadirovat'sja* 'barricade', *zaperet'sja* 'lock', *zakryt'sja* (na vse zasovy) 'close (i.e. lock all the locks and bolts)', *ogorodit'sja* 'set limits' and so on.

A fifth subgroup deals with **altering one's state**, in particular to become a slave: *zakabalit'sja* 'get enslaved', *zakrepostit'sja* 'get enslaved' and so on.

And finally there are **reflexives par excellence**, whose counterparts in French and German are described by Kemmer (1994, 216-217) as having a RM, *Jean se voit* 'John sees himself': *smotret'sja* 'look at oneself', *gljadet'sja* 'look at oneself' and so on.

It should be pointed out that the verbs of accidental physical harm imply that the action was done by the Subject himself or herself. Moreover, each of these verbs implies that the physical harm is limited and localized, most likely to a hand or a finger, or, in the case of *obžeč'sja*, a lip. This is important because the verb *obžeč'sja* cannot denote the result of a fire (as does *polučit' ožogi* 'receive burns').

Clearly, the Russian language presents additional semantic groups associated with the reflexive (middle) as well as reflexives par excellence which are not included in Kemmer's original model.

Brecht & Levine (1984, 120-121) expresses similar ideas to Kemmer's concerning Russian reflexives, namely the *-sja* vs. *sebja* distinction and the fact that some verbs may be "intuitively reflexive":

In Russian the reflexive pronoun occurs as the Patient in the accusative case when it is either stressed or contrasted, or when the action involved is not usually conceived of as reflexive:

- [26] a. V konce koncov mal'čik *sebja* moet.
'The boy is finally washing himself.'
- b. Ja dolžen i *sebja* odet'.
'I [...] have to dress myself [too].'⁹
- [27] a. Anton *zaščičaet* *sebja*.
'Anton is defending himself.'
- b. Maša *vidit* *sebja* v zerkale.
'Masha sees herself in the mirror.'

⁹ Brecht & Levine's translation is 'I even have to dress myself.'

In [26] the reflexive direct object is contrasted and stressed. In [27] it occurs with a verb which is not characteristically reflexive: 'defending' and 'seeing' are not intuitively reflexive as are 'washing' or 'dressing', for example. When the Patient is not stressed or contrasted and the action involved is characteristically reflexive, then the reflexive pronoun is normally omitted — just as it is in English.

- [28] a. Mal'čik *moetsja* v duše.
'The boy is showering (himself).'
- b. Devočka *odevaetsja* očen' medlenno.
'The girl dresses (herself) very slowly.'
- c. Vanja *vyтираetsja* polotencem.
'Vanja is drying (himself) off with a towel.'

In English the active form of the verb is used in this construction. In Russian, since the Patient does not occur as the direct object, the voice marker *-sja* must appear. However, contrary to the passive constructions in [Našim klubom organizujutsja interesnye večera. 'Interesting parties are organized by our club.'] and [Učenymi mnogix stran izučaetsja kosmos. 'The cosmos is studied by scientists of many countries.'], ... , the subjects in these sentences are agentive, consciously performing actions upon themselves. They therefore cannot be understood as Patients. Since the Patient is missing and thus does not occur as the direct object, the voice marker *-sja* appears on the verb.

However, attempts to create emphatic and split patient sentences often lead to incorrect or highly marginal examples, such as Brecht & Levine's (26a), which should be restated as follows:

- (26) a'. Nakonec mal'čik *moetsja* sam.
'Finally the boy washes himself.'

Gerritsen (1986, 93) reluctantly stated that the substitution of *-sja* by *sebja*

can be used also (although there may not be much need to do so with certain verbs, where the action is usually performed by the agent on his own body), if only in conjunction or contrast with other D[irect] O[bject]s:

- [29] Ona pričesala *sebja* i doč' / *sebja*, a ne doč.
'She combed herself and her daughter / herself and not her daughter.'

In fact, these two examples should not be combined. The economy provided by the first example does not seem to reflect the tendency of the Russian language, as seen in (30); hence the first half of (29) should be treated as questionable, as in (31), and restated correctly as (32):

- (30) Drugoj mužik, po imeni Kostja, ubil svoju ženu i xotel *zarezat'sja* sam. Na levoj grudi u nego byl širokij krasnyj šram. (V. Bukovskij. "I vozvraščaetsja veter...")
'The other guy, by the name of Kostya, killed his wife and wanted to knife himself. On the left side of his chest he had a wide red scar.'

- (31) ? *Ona pričesala sebja i doč'*.
'She combed herself and her daughter.'
- (32) *Ona pričesalas' sama i pričesala doč'*.
'She combed herself and combed her daughter.'

The other half of Gerritsen's example, even though still strange, is more likely:

- (33) ? *Ona pričesala sebja, a ne doč'*.
'She combed herself and not her daughter.'

The reason is that realistic contexts are difficult (if not impossible) to come by. The following dialogue exhibits either a serious flaw in communication or else a personality problem:

- (34) — Nu čto, devočka nakonec pričesana?
— Net, Inna *pričesala sebja, a ne doč'*.
' "Well, is the girl's hair finally done?"
"No, Inna combed herself and not her daughter." '

It is easier to create a reverse dialogue; that is, one expects the mother to perform her duties towards her daughter and to forget about herself, rather than to do her own grooming when she is expected to take care of her daughter:

- (35) — Nu čto, ona nakonec *pričesalas'*?
— Net, ona pričesala ne *sebja*, a poka tol'ko doč'.
' "Well, did she finally do her (own) hair?"
"No, she did not comb herself, but so far only her daughter." '

Brecht & Levine's example (26b) is correct, but the meaning of the verb *odet'* 'dress' here is not 'put clothes on' but 'acquire/provide clothes'; thus (26b) means that the speaker has already provided clothes for others, and now it is time to take care of his own wardrobe. If the desired meaning is 'to put clothes on', (26b) should be modified the same way (26a) was:

- (26') b. Ja dolžen i sam *odet'sja*.
'I must also get dressed.'

Example (27a) is possible only if there are other Patients in addition to the self that are overtly expressed as in (27'a); otherwise, reflexive should be used, since *zaščiščat'sja* 'defend oneself' is one of the "natural reflexives" in Russian, as listed above.

- (27') a. Anton *zaščiščaet i sebja i druzej*.
'Anton defends both himself and his friends.'

Example (27b) is correct, but not because seeing is or is not “intuitively reflexive”. (27b) denotes an accidental action, that is Masha is not looking at herself in the mirror, but rather is looking at the mirror or someone else’s reflection when she accidentally sees herself in the mirror (*videt’sja* as a reflexive does not exist). If she is looking at herself in the mirror, that event should be expressed as (27’b):

- (27’) b. Maša *smotritsja* v zerkalo.
 ‘Masha is looking at herself in the mirror.’

Kemmer’s treatment of the above-mentioned reflexives as middle has a number of advantages. First of all, in Kemmer’s treatment the “grooming” verbs are not distinguished by whether or not the action affects the entire body or only part of it. Veyrenc (1980, 227-228), on the other hand, does rely on this distinction. He classifies *deržat’sja* ‘hold on’, *utešat’sja* ‘console’ and *prevračat’sja* ‘turn into’ together with *zastrelit’sja* ‘shoot and kill’, *otravit’sja* ‘poison’ and presumably *myt’sja* ‘wash’ on the basis that -sja may be replaced by *sebja*. Then he classifies *zapaxnut’sja* ‘close the coat’ and *zastegnut’sja* ‘button’ together with the benefactives *uložit’sja* ‘pack’ and *stroit’sja* ‘build’ and the reflexives *brit’sja* ‘shave’, *pričesyvat’sja* ‘do hair’, *pomadit’sja* ‘use hair cream’, *umyvav’sja* ‘wash up’ and others separately for the reason that they affect only part of the body, and therefore -sja cannot be replaced by *sebja*.

However, while Veyrenc is correct that substitution with the reflexive pronoun is impossible, substitution with personal pronouns in parallel non-reflexive constructions *is* possible, thus upsetting the balance of constructions. In other words, (36a) cannot be replaced by (36b) but only by (36c), while (37a) can be replaced by (37b). Similarly, (38a) and (40a) cannot be replaced by (38b) and (40b), while (39a) and (41a) can be replaced by (39b) and (41b) respectively.

- (36) a. Brat *breetsja*.
 ‘My brother shaves.’
 b. *Brat *breet sebja*.
 ‘My brother shaves himself.’
 c. Brat breet (sebe) borodu.
 ‘My brother shaves his beard.’
- (37) a. Otec breet brata.
 ‘Father shaves my brother.’
 b. Otec ego breet.
 ‘Father shaves him.’
- (38) a. Sonja *pričesyvaetsja*.
 ‘Sonja is combing her hair.’
 b. *Sonja *pričesyvaet sebja*.
 ‘Sonja is combing herself.’

- c. Sonja pričesyvaet sebe volosy.
'Sonja is combing her hair.'
- (39) a. Mama pričesyvaet Sonju.
'Mama is combing Sonja.'
b. Mama ee pričesyvaet.
'Mama is combing her.'
- (40) a. Akter grimiruetsja.
'The actor is making himself up.'
b. *Akter grimiruet sebja.
'The actor is making up himself.'
c. Akter grimiruet sebe lico.
'The actor is making his face up.'
- (41) a. Grimer grimiruet aktera.
'The make-up artist is making the actor up.'
b. Ego grimiruet grimer.
'The make-up artist is making him up.'

The fact that only a part of the body is affected by the action is neglected in non-reflexive verbs but is highlighted by the reflexive verb. By not relying on the distinction between the whole body and a part of it, Kemmer's model accommodates this idiosyncrasy.

Another advantage is that Kemmer's model provides an explanation for marginal cases, such as (42):

- (42) Mat' sobiralas' pomyt' svoju doč', no doč' ne zaxotela *myt'sja*. (Nedjalkov 1979/ Gerritsen 1988, 109)
'The mother was planning to wash her daughter, but the daughter did not want to wash.'

Nedjalkov (1979, 59) did not interpret *myt'sja* as a 'true reflexive'. Kemmer's model provides an explanation: *myt'sja* is a middle verb that refers to actions performed by adult able-bodied people on themselves. In (42), we are dealing with a child who is washed by her mother, since the child cannot wash herself yet; thus the middle explanation of the grooming eliminates the contradiction. The verb *kupat'sja* could have been used in the same sentence with the same result:

- (42') Mat' sobiralas' iskupat' rebenka, no on ne zaxotel *kupat'sja*.
'The mother was planning to bathe the child, but he did not want to bathe.'

Another borderline case is dirtying: if the action of dirtying oneself is (or is perceived by the speaker as) deliberate, than it is reflexive, as in (43a); if it is accidental, it is perceived as middle, as in (43b):

- (43) a. [Pastuxov] otkryl okna i pečnuju trubu. *Vypačkavšis'* v saže, on tščatel'no vymyl ruki. (Fedin. *Pervye radosti/MAS*)
'[Pastukhov] opened the windows and the chimney pipe. Having gotten soot on himself, he carefully washed his hands.'
- b. [Meškov] priblizilsja k rotmistru i mjagko poščelkal ukazatel'nym pal'cem po ego kitelju, poniže pogona. — *Ispačkalis'*, vaše blagorodie, — skazal on. (Fedin. *Pervye radosti/MAS*)
'[Meshkov] approached the officer and softly tapped his index finger on his uniform below the epaulette. "You have gotten dirty, your excellency," he said.'

The same is true for the verbs *oblučat'sja-oblučit'sja* 'irradiate': they are perceived as reflexive only when the action of self-irradiation is deliberate:

- (44) On *oblučaetsja* kvarcem.
'He takes quartz ray baths.'

And then there are instances where the distinction between the middle and the reflexive must be highlighted: in some cases the middle has no aspectual pair, while the same verb with a reflexive meaning has a pair. For example, the middle *oblivat'sja*, as in (45), has no aspectual pair:

- (45) On *oblivaetsja* pótom.
'He is bathing in sweat.'

Meanwhile, the reflexive *oblivat'sja-oblit'sja* has both aspects; however, in addition to the aspectual distinction between the middle and the reflexive there is a question of intentionality: *oblit'sja* means 'accidentally pour some liquid over oneself': *oblit'sja supom, čaem*, etc. 'spill soup, tea on oneself', while *oblivat'sja-oblit'sja* means 'intentionally pour a liquid over oneself':

- (46) a. On *oblivaetsja*ⁱ každoe utro xolodnoj vodoj.
'Every morning he pours cold water over himself.'
- b. ... kogda Marija Vetrova sožgla sebja v kamere, *oblivšis'*^П kerosinom iz lampy. (Koptelov. *Vozgoritsja plamja/MAS*)
'... when Maria Vetrova burned herself in her cell, after having poured the kerosene from the oil lamp over herself.'

The nonintentional imperfective, as in (45), constitutes middle, while the nonintentional perfective, as in *oblit'sja supom, vinom* 'spill soup, wine on oneself', constitutes reflexive.

Another verb where intentionality is important is *otravit'sja* 'poison oneself'. The intentional reflexive, as in (47), should be distinguished from the accidental middle, as in (48):

- (47) Tereza *otravilas'* cianistym kaliem.
'Theresa poisoned herself with cyanide.'

- (48) *Sosed otravilsja gribami.*
 ‘The neighbor got poisoned by mushrooms.’

And here again the middle has no aspectual counterpart:

- (47') *Tereza ne raz travilas' cianistym kaliem (no ee každyj raz spasali).*
 ‘Theresa poisoned herself with cyanide more than once (but every time she was saved).’
- (48') **Sosed ne raz travilsja gribami.*
 ‘The neighbor got poisoned by mushrooms more than once.’

In addition to the advantages of Kemmer’s model in dealing with reflexives, there are also problems. As mentioned earlier, the group of reflexives par excellence in Russian have the -*sja* MM, as opposed to their French and German counterparts, which have a RM. Kemmer does not explain (nor does her model) why some single-participant events (the semantic essence of her middle voice) are true reflexives while others are middle. Part of the problem is that Kemmer explicitly specifies a formal definition of middle voice (anything with a MM), which does not match her implicit semantic definition.

Nonetheless, Kemmer’s original reflexive (middle) category did include the subgroup grooming and body care, which along with related subgroups is found in Russian, and it can be easily extended to include other Russian subgroups such as harming oneself, defending oneself and altering one’s state.

5.2. ‘Partitive Object’

A group that could fit Kemmer’s model as the *nontranslational motion* type (Kemmer 1993, 196) is the “‘partitive object’ reflexives” (Geniušenė 1987, 246-249) or a combination of Brecht & Levine’s (1984) “exclusive patient” and “prioritized patients” groups. The latter two classifications follow Janko-Trinickaja’s (1984, 175-182) “glagoly vključennogo neoduševlennogo ob’ekta” [included inanimate object verbs], although she also includes in this group verbs that other linguists classify with benefactives and causatives. Gerritsen (1990), whose classification has a separate benefactive group, combines in the same possessive reflexive group the non-translational motion verbs discussed below, verbs that are related to “natural grooming” such as *zastegnut’sja* ‘button’, *rasstegnut’sja* ‘unbutton’ and *podpojasat’sja* ‘belt’, two verbs that could be viewed as benefactive *pribirat’sja* ‘tidy’ and *ubrat’sja* ‘clean up’, and also possessive verbs (with “exclusive Patient”) such as *tratit’sja* ‘spend’, *propit’sja* ‘spend all one’s money drinking’ and *promotat’sja* ‘get ruined by wasteful spending’.

Kemmer’s nontranslational motion verbs (1993, 196) “denote actions or motor manipulation of the body or a body part, without any particular change of location of the body” and includes “verbs which denote actions like ‘turn’, ‘twist’, ‘bend’, ‘nod’, ‘shake’ (e.g. one’s head), and ‘bow’”. Only a few of these actions coincide with the ‘partitive object’ group in Russian, which includes verbs such as *povernut’sja* ‘turn (the body)’, *obernut’sja* ‘turn (the head)’, *(po/na)morščit’sja* ‘frown’, *(vy)smorkat’sja* ‘blow one’s nose’, *(za)žmurit’sja* ‘close one’s eyes tightly’,

(*pri*)ščit'sja 'squint', (*o*)skalit'sja 'bare one's teeth', (*vy*)taraščit'sja 'stare', (*vy*)pjalit'sja 'stare', (*s/po*)kosit'sja 'look sideways', *raspušit'sja* 'fluff up (feathers or wool)' and so on.

Brecht & Levine (1984, 122-123) claim that in the constructions with the "exclusive Patient" "the specific mention of the Patient is so redundant as to be stylistically infelicitous", thus making the -sja sentences in (50) preferable to their non-sja counterparts in (49):

- (49) a. Kurica neset jajca.
'The [hen] lays eggs.'
- b. On zažmuril glaza.
'He [has closed] his eyes [tightly].'¹⁰
- c. Lev oskalil zuby.
'The lion is baring its teeth.'
- d. Papa vysmorkal nos.
'Papa blew his nose.'
- (50) a. Kurica nesetsja.
b. On zažmurilsja.
c. Lev oskalilsja.
d. Papa vysmorkalsja.

And yet we can find well formed and stylistically neutral sentences that do mention the exclusive Patient, as in (51), as opposed to "exclusive Patient" -sja verbs, as in (52):

- (51) a. Gusev protjagivaet ruku, čtoby prilaskat' ee [lošad'], no ona motnula golovoj, *oskalila zuby* i xočet ukusit' ego za rukav. (Čexov. Gusev/MAS)
'Gusev extends his hand to caress her [the horse], but she moved her head, bared her teeth and wants to bite his sleeve.'
- b. Vizžašćic bomby, kasalos' leteli prjamo k nej v jamu. Ona vobrala golovu v pleči i prisela, *zažmuriv glaza*. (V. Koževnikov. Mart — april'/MAS)
'Screaming bombs, it seemed, were flying straight into her pit. She pulled her head into her shoulders and squatted, having closed her eyes tightly.'
- (52) a. Vronskij podsunul palec pod podprugu. Lošad' pokosilas' sil'nee, *oskalilas'* i prižala uxo. (L. Tolstoj. Anna Karenina)
'Vronsky stuck his finger under the saddle-girth. The horse gave an even more sideways glance, bared its teeth and pressed its ear.'

¹⁰ Brecht & Levine's translation is 'He is squinting his eyes.'

- b. U dverej na solnyške, *zažmurivšis'*, ležala ljubimaja borzaja sobaka otca — Milka. (L. Tolstoj. *Detstvo/MAS*)
 'By the door in the sun lay father's favorite hunting dog Milka with her eyes closed.'
- c. Vyjdja iz pokoev, čtoby sadit'sja v èkipaž, ona *zažmurilas'* ot jarkogo dnevnogo sveta i zasmejas'. (Čexov. *Knjaginja*)
 'Having stepped out of her apartment in order to get into the carriage, she closed her eyes tightly from the bright daylight and began to laugh.'

The actual distinction between the use of (51) and (52) is that (51) describes just that body part, and as in the above two examples, the body part in question is one in a row of similar or identical body parts. The use of the *-sja* counterparts pertains to the total effect; it describes the whole body, not just the part. A similar distinction exists in English, as well as in other European languages: the statement *the man with blond hair* describes only the hair, while *the blond man* pertains to the whole body.

Indeed, the "exclusive Patient" feature unites the accidental physical harm verbs (reflexives) and the nontranslational motion verbs. Just as *obžeč'sja* may mean 'burn a hand, a lip, a tongue' but never a foot, *namorščit'sja* means 'frown a face' but not a forehead or a nose. On the other hand, such an "exclusive Patient" verb as *prikusit'* 'bite (one's tongue)' is used only with *jazyk* 'tongue', and yet it does not yield a verb **prikusit'sja*, which might be expected from Brecht & Levine's pattern.

A limitation of another kind should be mentioned: *nestis'* or *nesti jajca* means 'lay eggs'. This activity is common to all birds and some other animals, and one would imagine that it is possible to say (53):

- (53) ?? Utka / ?? gusynja / *strausixa / *čerepaxa / *pingvinixa *nesetsja*.
 'The duck / the goose / the ostrich / the turtle / the penguin lays eggs.'

However, these do not seem possible, despite the fact that other birds and animals lay eggs. The impossibility of the above sentences probably stems from the Russian reality, where ostriches, turtles and penguins are not common; that is, the language is influenced by the "naive view of the world" in Apresjan's (1986) words. "Strausixa nesetsja" must mean 'The female ostrich is running fast', for indeed it is known for its speed.

Brecht & Levine (1984, 132-134) provide a detailed analysis of constructions with the verbs in question which warrants reexamination. They subdivide these verbs into the following four groups (all the examples in (54)–(57) are from Brecht & Levine (1984, 132-133)):

A) verbs where the Patients are exclusive:

- (54) a. Vanja *zažmurilsja*.
 'Vanja [closed his eyes tightly]¹¹.'

¹¹ Brecht & Levine's translation of *zažmurilsja* is 'squinted'.

- a'. *Vanja *zažmurilsja* glazami.
'Vanja [closed] his eyes [tightly].'
- b. Sobaka *oskalilas'*.
'The dog bared (its teeth).'
- b'. *Sobaka *oskalilas'* zubami.
'The dog bared its teeth.'

B) verbs where the Patients are "prioritized":

- (55) a. Mama *ukololas'*.
'Mama pricked herself.'
- a'. ? Mama *ukololas'* pal'cem.
'Mama pricked her finger.'
- b. On *ustavilsja* na menja.
'He stared at me.'
- b'. ? On *ustavilsja* na menja glazami.
'He fixed his eyes upon me.'

C) verbs where "the [+Affected] [-Individuated] Patient is optionally omitted, the primed and non-primed examples are essentially equivalent":

- (56) a. Devočka *utknulas'* v podušku.
'The girl buried herself in the pillow.'
- a'. Devočka *utknulas'* golovoj v podušku.
'The girl buried her head in the pillow.'
- b. Mal'čik *potupilsja*.
'The boy lowered his gaze / head / eyes.'
- b'. [??] Mal'čik *potupilsja* vzorom.
'The boy lowered his gaze.'

D) verbs where "the Patient is omitted because it is totally lexically unspecified, representing only some body part":

- (57) a. Ona *stuknulas'* o dver'.
'She bumped into the door.'
- a'. Ona *stuknulas'* kolenom o dver'.
'She bumped her knee against the door.'

- b. Ona *porezalas'* ob ostryj kamen'.
'She cut herself on a sharp rock.'
- b'. Ona *porezalas'* nogoj ob ostryj kamen'.
'She cut her foot on a sharp rock.'
- c. Ona *udarilas'* o stol.
'She hit [herself] against the table.'
- c'. Ona *udarilas'* spinoj o stol.
'She hit her back against the table.'

The difference between group A and group B is that in A the exclusive Patient means that "they are the only ones possible after the respective verb" whereas in B "they are most favored and thus regularly omitted" (Brecht & Levine 1984, 133). By this definition *ustavit'sja* together with all the 'stare' verbs listed above should belong to group A, not group B, where Brecht & Levine actually classify it.

Brecht & Levine's additional supporting argument comes from the following example:

- (58) a. On *ustavilsja* na menja svoimi kruglymi, černymi glazami.
'He fixed his round, dark eyes on me.'

But such a sentence can be formed for the "exclusive Patient" (54b), although it cannot be formed for (54a), both of which belong to group A:

- (54) b". Sobaka *oskalilas'* na menja svoimi ogromnymi želtyimi zubami.
'The dog showed me its enormous yellow teeth.'

The reason (54a') cannot be modified into a correct sentence is purely lexical: in (54b") and (58a), we are dealing with prototypical situations of interaction through the medium of the "exclusive Patient". In (54b"), the dog interacts with the speaker by baring its teeth, and in (58a) "he" interacts with the speaker by fixing his eyes on the speaker; in both cases a certain attitude or intention is expressed by the action. In (54a), due to the lexical meaning of the verb, as soon as the action takes place, that is the eyes are closed tightly, the eyes cannot be part of a communication process. The verb (*pri*)ščurit'sja 'squint' behaves in a similar fashion, since it also means closing one's eye *from* something rather than for establishing an interaction.

Furthermore, *obžeč'sja*, like *ukolot'sja*, should belong to group B since its prioritized Patient is *ruka* 'hand' or *guba* 'lip'. Yet it is inconceivable to create sentences of the type of (55a):

- (59) *On *obžegsja* (verxnej) guboj / (pravoj) rukoj.
'He burned his (upper) lip / (right) hand.'

Brecht & Levine's conclusion about (56) that "primed and nonprimed examples are essentially equivalent" seems correct; however, neither it nor they provide an explanation of why (56a') is correct and (56b') is highly questionable (although they treat it as correct).

There are other verbs that fit this subgroup and behave similarly to (56b):

- (60) a. Starik *naxmurilsja*.
'The old man frowned.'
- b. Starik *naxmuril lob / brovi*.
'The old man frowned his forehead / eyebrows.'
- c. *Starik *naxmurilsja lbom / brovjami*.
'The old man frowned his forehead / eyebrows.'
- (61) a. Mat' *namorščilas'*.
'The mother wrinkled her face / grimaced.'
- b. Mat' *namorščila lob / brovi*.
'The mother wrinkled her forehead / eyebrows.'
- c. *Mat' *namorščilas'* lbom / brovjami.
'The mother wrinkled her forehead / eyebrows.'
- (62) a. Devočka *nadulas'*.
'The girl pouted.'
- b. Devočka *nadula guby / ščeki*.
'The girl pouted her lips / cheeks.'
- c. *Devočka *nadulas'* gubami / ščekami.
'The girl pouted her lips / cheeks.'

This points either to a problem with classification or to the fact that the case distribution is lexical, not semantic.

In any case, Kemmer's nontranslational motion category does basically account for this group of verbs in Russian. The reexamination of Brecht & Levine's examples points to some additional complications, namely that some of their divisions based on the type of participants are not systemic and may be lexical rather than semantic.

5.3. Decausative

This group constitutes the middle par excellence for the Russian language. Korolev (1969a) was the first to treat *d e c a u s a t i v e* as a separate group, although he also includes one group of verbs which is treated in this study as impersonal -sja forms, as in *emu ne spitsja* 'he just cannot sleep', and verbs that are treated in this study as quasi-passive, as in *nitki rvutsja* 'threads tear' (see Chapter 5). Vinogradov (1972, 496) distinguishes "sredne-vozvratnoe značenie" [medial reflexive meaning] which corresponds to *a c t i o n a l d e c a u s a t i v e* below and "obščje-vozvratnoe značenie" [general reflexive meaning] which corresponds to *e m o t i o n a l d e c a u s a t i v e*. Some of the decausatives fall into "sobstvenno-vozvratnoe (prjamo-vozvratnoe) znače-

nie" [direct reflexive meaning or proper reflexive], such as *gotovit'sja* 'prepare', *prisoedinjat'sja* 'join' and *sobirat'sja* 'get ready, plan' (Vinogradov 1972, 495).

While Vinogradov's subcategorization into actional and emotional middle is useful, his treatment of all of the remaining decausatives as reflexive proper seems questionable, particularly with inanimate subjects:

- (63) a. *Sobiraetsja dožd*.
'It is going to rain.'
- b. *Situacija usložnjaetsja*.
'The situation is getting more complicated.'

One possible solution to this classification problem is to create a third subgroup: medial. However, there are verbs that while not being decausative, otherwise would fit in the group of medials. Gerritsen (1990), for example, subdivides these verbs into medial and decausative. Such a subdivision could work, provided there is medial proper and medial decausative, if we want to preserve decausative as a defining feature, since there are medial verbs that are not decausative and which Korolev (1969a) classifies separately:

- (64) *Ruda soderžit železo*. (Korolev 1969a, 213)
'The ore contains iron.'
- (64') *V rude soderžitsja železo*. (Korolev 1969a, 213)
'Iron is contained in the ore.'

Gerritsen's own classification warrants some revisions since she includes with medial the color verbs in -sja, which in this study are classified as deictic (see below), and the verbs which in this study are classified as non-consequential, such as *svetit'sja* 'shine' and *dymit'sja* 'smoke' (see Chapter 3). In addition, she includes such verbs as *soobščat'sja* 'be conveyed', as in (65):

- (65) *Novost' soobščaitsja v gazete*. (Gerritsen 1990, 38)
'The news is conveyed in the newspaper.'

However, considering the impossibility of the perfective (65'), it seems more logical to treat it in the case of (65) as passive:

- (65') **Novost' soobščilas' v gazete*.

On the other hand, *soobščat'sja-soobščit'sja* meaning 'be transmitted', as in (66), is medial:

- (66) *Ego radost' soobščilas' vsem*.
'His joy was transmitted to everyone.'

The subgroups actional decausative, emotional decausative, medial decausative, and medial proper will now be considered in turn.

5.3.1. Actional Decausative

This group fits Kemmer's (1994, 82) group of translational motion verbs, in which she includes verbs that mean 'flying', 'walking' and 'climbing'. This group includes such verbs as *vozvraščat'sja* 'return', *otodvinut'sja* 'move away', *brostat'sja* 'throw yourself', *svalit'sja* 'fall', *naklonjat'sja* 'bend over'¹², *vertet'sja* 'twist, turn' and many others.

Gerritsen (1990, 63-67) also calls these verbs "actional decausative"; however, she makes a distinction as to whether or not the action takes place in nature. *Vertet'sja* 'turn' and *kačat'sja* 'swing' in the following examples belong in Gerritsen's (1990, 50-51) classification to "processual decausative Vsja: phenomena in nature":

- (67) a. Kryl'ja mel'nicy *vertelis'*, tak kak podnjalsja veter. (Gerritsen 1990, 51)
'The wings of the wind-mill were turning, since the wind picked up.'
- b. Vysoko volnovalas' povsjudu pšenica, *kačajas'* napravo i nalevo pod legkim dunoveniem veterka. (Morozov) (Gerritsen 1990, 51)
'Wheat was moving everywhere, swaying right and left under the light blowing of the wind.'

Gerritsen also includes in this latter group the verbs *zakryt'sja* 'get covered', *tumanit'sja* 'get foggy' and *osveščat'sja* 'get lit up', as in the following examples:

- (68) a. Solnce *zakrylos'* tučej. (Gerritsen 1990, 50)
'The sun got covered with a dark cloud.'
- b. ... tol'ko liš' vostok *tumanilsja* i xmurilsja. (Čexov) (Gerritsen 1990, 50)
'... only the East was getting foggy and frowning.'
- c. I kakoj-nibud' zamerzšij, posypannyj sol'ju moroza stebel' lebedy vo dvore vdruk *osveščalsja* neizvestno otkuda teplym svetom. (Paustovskij) (Gerritsen 1990, 50)
'And some frozen stalk of goose-foot in the yard covered with grains of frost would all of a sudden light up with warm light which appeared from nowhere.'

Gerritsen's subdivision of decausative into nature-related phenomena as opposed to other kinds does not seem necessary.

5.3.2. Emotional Decausative

This group fits Kemmer's (1994, 83) group of "emotion middle verbs", in which she includes verbs that mean 'be angry', 'be frightened' and 'mourn'. It includes such verbs as *serdit'sja* 'be

¹² Even though it is irrelevant for the classification of Russian -sja verbs, it is not quite clear from Kemmer's classification whether 'bending over' belongs to nontranslational motion, together with 'bow', or to change in body posture, together with 'kneel down'.

angry', *ispugat'sja* 'get frightened', *pečalit'sja* 'be sorrowful', *radovat'sja* 'rejoice' and *toropit'sja* 'hurry', but not *priznat'sja* 'confess, admit' (which is included in Vinogradov's classification (1972, 496) and in this study is treated as volitional (see Chapter 3)). Gerritsen (1990, 58-63) calls the group "reactional decausative", and in addition to the emotion verbs, she includes *šatat'sja* 'sway', as in (69):

- (69) On na xodu *šatalsja* ot iznemoženija. (Turgenev) (Gerritsen 1990, 61)
 'While walking he was swaying from exhaustion.'

It seems more appropriate to classify this verb with actional decausative.

5.3.3. Medial Decausative

This group includes decausative -sja verbs which are neither actional nor emotional. Gerritsen (1990, 55-58) calls this group "processual decausative Vsja: events involving human activity with regard to an external participant". They usually involve inanimate subjects, and the action is presented as if taking place by itself. I believe Gerritsen (1990, 48) is correct in her criticism of Geniušienė:

According to Geniušienė the event expressed by this sentence ["The door opened"] is non-autonomous if somebody opened the door or if the door opened because of the wind; it is considered autonomous if the door opened by itself.

The most important criterion used by Geniušienė thus seems to be the possible presence (not in the sentence, but in the situation) of a cause(r). The problem with this criterion is that it is based on extra-linguistic reality. The door which opens by itself, and the refrigerator which turns itself on do so because they possess the mechanism which causes them to open/turn on.

I believe that even in pre-electricity times one could speak of a door opening by itself, whether or not mechanical (or supernatural) explanations as to why it was opening existed. Yet, Gerritsen classifies *dver' otkrylas'* 'the door opened' with "processual decausative Vsja: events involving human activity with regard to an external participant".

Later Gerritsen (1990, 49) goes on to explain why *solnce podnimaetsja* 'the sun rises' is not decausative in her view. The reason is that the sentence "lacks a corresponding NR [non-reflexive construction] in which this cause [**ot vraščeniya zemli* 'from the rotation of the Earth'] functions as the subject (**vraščenie zemli podnimaet solnce* ['the rotation of the Earth raises the sun'])." Hence Gerritsen classifies it with medial. However, such reasoning implies that for all decausative constructions there should be parallel non-sja causatives, which is not the case with most actional decausatives due to the animacy of the subjects:

- (70) Kot *svalilsja* s kryši.
 'The cat fell off the roof.'
- (70') *Ja *svalila* kota s kryši.
 'I made the cat fall off the roof.'

This group includes constructions of the type “the door opened”, whatever the cause:

- (71) a. Dver' rassoxlas', a potomu postojanno *otkryvalas'*.
 'The door got dry, and therefore constantly opened.'
- b. — Požaluj, lučše vsego budet zdes', — skazal Torelli i tolknul pervuju že dver'. Ona *otkrylas'*, i my vošli v pustuju komnatu. (Paustovskij) (Gerritsen 1990, 57)
 '“I guess it would be best here,” said Torelli and pushed the very first door. It opened and we entered an empty room.'

Events can be triggered by animate non-human Subjects, as in (72), or not be triggered by any immediately preceding activity by any perceivable cause(r), as in (73) (unless all of the previous buttoning and unbuttoning are considered a cause; on the other hand the thread could have just gotten too old, even if no one had buttoned the coat for many years):

- (72) Myška bežala, xvostikom maxnula, jaičko upalo i *razbilos'*. (Kuročka Rjaba)
 'The mouse ran by, waved its tail, the little egg fell and broke.'
- (73) U menja *otorvalas'* pugovica na pal'to.
 'I've got a button torn off on my coat.'

5.4. Medial Proper

As mentioned earlier, this subgroup is needed to separate examples of the type of (64') from the type of (72)—(73) above.

- (64) Ruda *soderžit* železo. (Korolev 1969a, 213)
 'The ore contains iron.'
- (64') V rude *soderžitsja* železo. (Korolev 1969a, 213)
 'Iron is contained in the ore.'

Here is another example:

- (74) K otkrytiju vremenno zakrytoj školy v sele Žarove s moej storony prepjatsvij ne *imeetsja*. (Čexov) (Gerritsen 1990, 37)
 'There are no obstacles on my part to the opening of the temporarily closed school in the village of Zharovo.'

The last four subgroups are those that are traditionally referred to as middle. I will continue to refer to the middle in this narrow sense in Chapters 5 and 6.

5.5. Benefactive

This is the group of verbs denoting actions which the Subject performs for his or her own benefit or “to create or obtain something for himself” (Gerritsen 1990, 85), following Vinogradov’s (1972, 498) definition: “dejstvie sub”ekta ... soveršaetsja dlja nego, v ego interesax” [the action of the Subject ... is performed for him, in his interests].¹³ Vinogradov (1972, 498) lists the following six benefactive verbs (“kosvenno-vozvratnoe značenie” [indirect-reflexive meaning] in his terminology): (*po*)*stroit’sja* ‘build (one’s home)’, *pribrat’sja* ‘tidy’, *uložit’sja* ‘pack’, *zapastis’* ‘provide/stock up for oneself’ and *razdobyt’sja* ‘get/find for oneself’. One could add *složit’sja* ‘pack’, *razobrat’sja* ‘unpack’, *postelit’sja* ‘make the bed’, (*po*)*stirat’sja* ‘do laundry’, *zaščitit’sja* ‘defend one’s dissertation’ and so on. Many of these usages are not reflected in dictionaries, for example *počistit’sja* ‘clean’, *tormoznut’sja* ‘brake’ or *činit’sja* ‘fix’:

- (75) a. Vymyla pol, vyskrebla nožikom, pomyla-proterla okna, *pibralas’*, *počistilas’* — smotriš, i den’ prošel. (I. Grekova. Vdovij paroxod)
‘She washed the floor, scraped it with a knife, washed and wiped the windows, tidied up, cleaned up, and look — the day is gone.’
- b. I čut’-čut’ *tormoznut’sja* na ulice Zodčego Rossi. (A. Rozenbaum)
‘And brake a little bit at Rossi street.’
- c. Nekotorye iz matrosov, “poxozjajstvennee”, vospol’zovavšis’ dosugom, spravljali svoi deliški: kto *činilsja*, kto točal sapogi, kto zanimal’sja šit’em. (K. M. Stanjukovič. Matrosskij linč)
‘Some of the sailors, those that were more “domestic”, used the free time to manage their affairs: some fixed clothes, some made boots, and some sewed.’

The benefactive quality can be observed in the following parallel examples from the same author. In (76), the cleaning, even though not on the premises belonging to the person who does it¹⁴, is done at least in part for her own benefit, since she is a guest at his summer home. In (77), even though the tidying is done at home, it is done for the benefit of the guest:

- (76) — U vas venik i pyl’naja trjapka est’? — zagljadyvaja v komnatu, delovito i odstranenno sprosila ona, budto dlja togo tol’ko i priexala, čtoby *pibrat’sja* na ego dače. (V. Peruan-skaja. Kikimora)
‘“Do you have a broom and a dust rag?” she asked in a business-like and resigned manner, looking into the room, as if the only reason she came was to tidy up at his summer house.’

¹³ Emphasis in the original.

¹⁴ This point was crucial for Gerritsen (1990, 84-85), who classifies *pibrat’sja* ‘tidy’ and *ubrat’sja* ‘clean up’ with possessive reflexives and not benefactives.

(77) I Inessa vdrug počuvstvovala sebja v ètom dome svoego detstva ne prosto gost'ej, a slučajnoj, redkoj gost'ej, iz tex, s kem obyčno ceremonjatsja, radi kotoryx special'no *pribirajut* v kvartire i steljut na stol samuju narjadnuju skatert'. (V. Peruanskaja. Proxladnoe nebo oseni)

'And Inessa suddenly felt that she was not just a guest in this home of her childhood, but an accidental rare guest, one of those whom they usually treat with ceremony, for whom they specially tidy up the apartment and spread on the table the most fancy tablecloth.'

As mentioned earlier, nontranslational motion verbs are only part of Janko-Trinickaja's group "vključennogo ob"ekta" [included object] and Gerritsen's "possessive reflexives". Many of the remaining verbs in Janko-Trinickaja's group fall into the *b e n e f a c t i v e* category. On the other hand, some of Gerritsen's (1990, 86-87) benefactive verbs do not belong there. Gerritsen groups *probit'sja* 'get/break through', *prorvat'sja* 'break through' and *prorezat'sja* 'cut through' together with *stroit'sja* 'build (one's home)' and *zapastis'* 'provide/stock up for oneself', while *pibrat'sja* 'tidy' is in "possessive reflexives". While the first two of Gerritsen's examples, in (78), are indeed benefactive, the examples in (79) with the prefix *pro-* 'through (a barrier)' are not, particularly the last example: the teeth cutting through the gums do not do so for their own benefit; they do not create nor obtain anything for themselves:

- (78) a. Ivan *stroitsja*. V pervom ètaže doma budut žit' ego roditeli. (Gerritsen 1990, 87)
'Ivan is building a house for himself. His parents will occupy the first floor.'
- b. Nesčastlivcev: Kak že ty v dorogu ideš', a tabakom ne *zapassja*? (A. Ostrovskij) (Gerritsen 1990, 86)
'N: How is it that you are going on the road without having stocked up on tobacco?'
- (79) a. Pugačev s šest'judesjat'ju kazakami *probilsja* skvoz' neprijatel'skoe vojsko. (Puškin) (Gerritsen 1990, 87)
'Pugachev managed to get though the enemy regiment with sixty of his Cossacks.'
- b. Nam dolgo ne verilos', što ètot boleznennyj mjagkij čelovek byl načal'nikom učreždenija ... kotoroe totčas že obseli, pytajas' *prorvat'sja* v nego vsjakie deljagi, rvači, xapugi, rukosui i "levaki". (Paustovskij) (Gerritsen 1990, 87)
'For a long time we could not believe that this sickly soft person was the head of the organization ... which was immediately surrounded by all kinds of wheeler-dealers, grabbers, bribers and illegal traders trying to break into it.'
- c. U vas ešče ne *prorezalis'* zuby? (Paustovskij) (Gerritsen 1990, 87)
'You haven't got your teeth yet?'

Gerritsen's reason for inclusion of the examples in (79) is based on the MAS definition of *prorvat'sja* 'break through': "siloj proložit' sebe put" ['to break a path for oneself with force']. However, the relationship of the verbs in (79) to their non-sja counterparts *probit'*, *prorvat'* and *prorezat'* is questionable.

Benefactive is not listed among Kemmer's middle semantic types. Yet in Russian it is perhaps one of the most productive groups of -sja verbs. Therefore, we may consider it an addition to Kemmer's model.

5.6. Possessive

Gerritsen's (1990, 80-85) term *p o s s e s s i v e* -sja verbs, which she applies broadly to include some reflexives (*zastegnut'sja* 'button', *podpojasat'sja* 'put on a belt') and 'partitive object' verbs (*kurica nesetsja* 'the hen lays eggs') is better suited for some of the verbs in her subgroup (which are absent from Vinogradov's classification and are classified by Janko-Trinickaja in the same group as some reflexives, benefactives and 'partitive object' verbs). These include: *vyrazit'sja* 'express oneself', *sosredotočit'sja* 'concentrate', *tratit'sja* 'spend one's money', *propit'sja* 'spend all of one's money on drinking' and *promotat'sja* 'ruin oneself by wasteful spending'. Other verbs in this group are: *iz"jasnjat'sja* 'express oneself', *izlagat'sja* 'express oneself', *povtorjat'sja* 'repeat oneself', *najtis'* 'find an answer', *izderžat'sja* 'be low on cash', *proigrat'sja* 'lose money gambling', *produť'sja* 'lose money gambling', *opredelit'sja* 'find one's own place', *gruzit'sja* 'load one's things' and so on.

Possessive is not listed among Kemmer's middle semantic types, so this category represents another addition to her model.

5.7. Consequential

Gerritsen (1990, 88) found an excellent term — *c o n s e q u e n t i a l* — for the group that had previously been known as "pobočno-vozvratnoe značenie" [indirect-reflexive meaning] (Vinogradov 1972, 498). This group includes *deržat'sja* 'hold on', *brat'sja* 'get down to', *vzjat'sja* 'get down to', *cepljat'sja* 'grasp at', *ucepit'sja* 'grasp at', *xvatat'sja* 'grab at', *sxvatit'sja* 'grab at' and *uxvatit'sja* 'grab at'. The meaning of these verbs is "the consequence of the action for the agent, who supports himself by means of his action" (Gerritsen 1990, 88). The only problem with Gerritsen's classification is that she takes it too far, by including such verbs as *stučat'sja* 'knock', *zvonit'sja* 'ring', *skrestis'* 'scrape', *grozit'sja* 'threaten', *plevat'sja* 'spit', *rešit'sja* 'dare', *plakat'sja* 'complain' and *torgovat'sja* 'bargain', as well as a number of verbs formed by the synergy of a prefix and the postfix -sja,¹⁵ such as *zasidet'sja* 'get carried away staying, overstay', *prislušat'sja* 'listen in' and *načitat'sja* 'get one's fill of reading, overdo reading', and also verbs with the circumfixes *raz--sja* and *s--sja*.

Consequential is another category that is not listed among Kemmer's middle semantic types. Once again, we can add it to her model.

¹⁵ For all practical purposes these are circumfixes: the prefix and the postfix -sja are added simultaneously and the meaning of the newly formed verb cannot be derived from the verb without a prefix nor from the verb without the postfix, yet the meaning of the circumfixes is constant. An account of them can be found in Korolev (1968), Rutkowska (1981) and Fowler (1993). The case of *do--sja* is discussed in detail in Kulikov & Sumbatova (1993).

5.8. Causative

Another group that is not represented among Kemmer's middle is *c a u s a t i v e*. Toops (1987) mentions a number of -sja causatives¹⁶ (in Russian alphabetical order): *brit'sja* 'get a shave', *vzvešivat'sja* 'have oneself weighed', *krestit'sja* 'have oneself baptized', *lečit'sja* 'have oneself treated', *odevat'sja* 'have clothes made for oneself', *operirovat'sja* 'have oneself operated on', *pričesyvat'sja* 'have one's hair styled', *razvodit'sja* 'get a divorce', *snimat'sja* 'have one's picture taken' and also 'act in films', *strič'sja* 'have one's hair cut' and *fotografirovat'sja* 'have oneself photographed'.

This list can be substantially extended. But before doing so, it should be mentioned that many of the causatives semantically form groups similar to the reflexive: grooming — *(po)brit'sja* 'get a shave', *pričesyvat'sja-pričesat'sja* 'have one's hair styled', *(po)strič'sja* 'have one's hair cut' and *zavivat'sja-zavit'sja* 'curl hair', *ukladyvat'sja-uložit'sja* 'set hair' and *(po)krasit'sja* 'die hair', that is actions that a person might be expected to do to himself or herself or to delegate to someone else; taking care of one's body (health-wise) — *lečit'sja* 'be treated', *(pro)operirovat'sja* 'get operated on' and *obsledovat'sja* 'get medical tests', *nabljudat'sja* 'be under a doctor's observation', *proverjat'sja-proverit'sja* (u vrača) 'have a check-up' and *kolot'sja* (vitaminami) 'get a (vitamin) injection treatment'; and dealing with authorities, superiors, or in general, more powerful people — *vypisyvat'sja-vypisat'sja* (iz bol'nicy) 'check out (of a hospital)', *propisyvat'sja-propisat'sja* 'get a residency permit', *uvol'njat'sja-uvolit'sja* 'resign', *nanimat'sja-nanjat'sja* 'get hired', *verbovat'sja-zaverbovat'sja* 'get recruited', *oformljat'sja-oformit'sja* 'get documents straightened out (to get hired)', *reabilitirovat'sja* 'get rehabilitated (after an arrest)', *smenit'sja* (= prišla smena) 'be relieved (by the next shift)', *èkzamenovat'sja* 'to take an exam', *zapisyvat'sja-zapisat'sja* (na priem, v biblioteku) 'sign up, enroll (to see an official, get a library card)', *(za)straxovat'sja* 'get life insurance', *pečatat'sja* 'get published' and *vystavljat'sja* 'have one's work exhibited'.

Clearly, in all of these cases, the action is not performed by the subject. But to what extent does the subject control or cause the action? Depending on the lexical meaning of the verb, s/he does so to a greater or lesser degree. In the case of *reabilitirovat'sja* 'be rehabilitated' and *pečatat'sja* 'publish', the subject has very little control over the result,¹⁷ even though he or she undoubtedly is interested in achieving it. His or her causative action lies only in the initiation of the process.

Another such questionable causative is *izvinit'sja* 'apologize', which Gerritsen (1990, 107) describes as "poprosit' izvinit' sebja" 'ask to be forgiven'. Here again the subject initiates an action, but the request to be forgiven does not automatically grant forgiveness, that is the action of *izvinit'* and its result is in someone else's hands, thus making causality suspect.

Treating causatives as middle has similar advantages as with the reflexives, that is taking care of ambiguous or borderline cases. There are some borderline cases between causatives and true middle, such as (80):

¹⁶ Contrary to Toops' (1985, 108) claim, *sudit'sja* can never acquire a causative meaning.

¹⁷ Clearly, there is a large difference in meaning between the Soviet rehabilitation of wrongfully arrested people who as a result of their arrest lost their civil rights and the Western concept of rehabilitation of criminals, where the emphasis is on making them members of society again rather than of the criminal underclass.

- (80) On byl tjaželo bolen, no ne zaxotel *lečit'sja*.
'He was seriously ill but did not want to get treated.'

A similar ambiguity is eliminated in the following example:

- (81) Bal'zaminov (iz kuxni): Ne mešajte, mamen'ka! Matrena menja *zavivaet!* ...
Bal'zaminova: *Začem ty zavivaeš'sja-to?* (A. N. Ostrovskij. Prazdničnyj son do obeda) (J-T 180)
'Balzaminov (from the kitchen): Don't bother me, Mommy! Matrena is curling my hair! ...
Balzaminova: Why are you curling your hair?'

For Balzaminova it is totally irrelevant whether Balzaminov curls his hair himself or somebody else does it for him. Her question is "why does he curl his hair at all?".

The problem also lies in differentiating a strictly causative event from a possessive, as in the case of *pečatat'sja* 'publish one's work' and *vystavljat'sja* 'exhibit one's work'. *Vystavljat'sja v galeree* 'exhibit one's work in a gallery' is more likely to be interpreted as causative, while the following is more likely to be interpreted as possessive:

- (82) Xudožnik-modernist: tol'ko i *vystavljat'sja*, čto v koridore. (F. Kandel'. Koridor)
'He is a modernist artist, the only place for exhibiting his work is the hallway.'

In this case again, Kemmer's model explains why the verb can "migrate" from one subgroup to the next within the same category.

So, we may add the causative category to Kemmer's model.

5.9. Deictic

Another group that is not represented among Kemmer's middle is *deictic*. This is the group which includes nine color *-sja* verbs: *alet'sja* 'scarlet', *belet'sja* 'white', *černet'sja* 'black', *krasnet'sja* 'red', *pestret'sja* 'motley', *rdet'sja* 'crimson', *sinet'sja* 'blue', *zelenet'sja* 'green' and *želtet'sja* 'yellow'. The use of *-sja* verbs as opposed to their non-*-sja* counterpart constitutes the deictic feature of distance.¹⁸

This group could fit into Kemmer's model, because these verbs describe a single-participant event; however, there is a second quasi-participant, the observer.

5.10. Volitional and Non-consequential

An account of two more groups not included among Kemmer's middle, namely *volitional* (*rešit'sja* 'decide, dare', *stučat'sja* 'knock', *zvonit'sja* 'ring' and others) and *non-consequential* (*dymit'sja* 'smoke', *kružit'sja* 'circle', *svetit'sja* 'shine', *xvastat'sja*

¹⁸ A detailed account of this group of *-sja* verbs can be found in Israeli (in press).

'brag', *celit'sja* 'aim' and *balovat'sja* 'fool around, play pranks' and others) is presented in Chapter 3. Briefly, -sja conveys the exercise of will power in the volitional verbs and the lack of impact of the action in the non-consequential verbs. Both of these groups can be added to Kemmer's model.

5.11. Receptive

An account of another group not included among Kemmer's middle, namely *r e c e p - t i v e* (*vspomnit'sja* 'come to one's memory', *videt'sja* 'to be seen (through an inner eye)', *slyšat'sja* 'to be heard' and others), is presented in Chapter 5. In this group of verbs, the Subject is the recipient of sensory feelings. This group can be added to Kemmer's model.

5.12. Quasi-Passive

A detailed study of another group not included among Kemmer's middle, namely *q u a s i - p a s s i v e*, is also presented in Chapter 5. This group deals with constructions such as *nitki rvutsja* 'threads tear', *posuda b'etsja* 'dishes break', *palka ne gnetsja* 'the stick does not bend' and others which Vinogradov (1972, 498) calls "kačestvenno-passivno-bezob"ektnoe značenie" [qualitative-passive-objectless meaning], Townsend (1967, 198) "general characteristic", and Geniušienė (1987, 261) "quasi-passive reflexives". This group can be added to Kemmer's model.

5.13. Aggressive

Another group that is not represented among Kemmer's middle, although mentioned (Kemmer 1993, 149-150) as a construction "with generic activity", is *a g g r e s s i v e*, which is presented in Chapter 4. This is the group which is called "aktivno-bezob"ektnoe značenie" [active-objectless meaning] by Vinogradov (1972, 498) and many others, "general characteristic" by Townsend (1967, 198), "ob"ektnyj impersonal" [objective impersonal] by Mel'čuk & Xolodovič (1970, 118), "'absolute' reflexives" by Geniušienė (1987, 249) and "potential active" by Gerritsen (1990, 98-99). It includes thirty-eight verbs in such constructions as *sobaka kusaetsja* 'the dog bites', *korova bodaetsja* 'the cow butts' and *babuška rugaetsja* 'grandmother is scolding'.

The use of the aggressive constitutes empathy towards the understood or potential Patient of the action. Contrary to Kemmer (1990, 150), who claims that "there is an association of the construction exemplified above [*èta sobaka kusaetsja* 'this dog bites'] with generic activity", this construction is not less commonly associated with an action; besides, it refers not to just any generic activity but to a specific one, an aggressive activity which requires an aim, as any aggression does. Such an action clearly requires two participants. The way to fit it into Kemmer's model is to follow her treatment of "natural" events or activities. Biting, kicking, scratching and the like can be viewed as naturally aggressive actions. Some natural reciprocals, such as *celovat'sja* 'kiss' and *obnimat'sja* 'hug', become aggressive when the action is unwanted.

5.14. Reciprocal

Now let us apply the same approach to the *reciprocals*. According to Knjazev & Nedjalkov (1985) (who refer to Korolev without attribution), there are about forty reciprocals in Russian (“vzaimno-vozvratnoe značenie” [mutually reflexive meaning]¹⁹ (Vinogradov 1972, 497-498)). *Naturally reciprocal events*, which are described by Kemmer (1993, 119-123), form the main subgroup: *bratat'sja* ‘fraternize’, *ženixat'sja* ‘court each other’ (both reflexiva tantum), *obnimat'sja* ‘embrace’, *vstrečat'sja* ‘meet’ (on purpose, not by accident), *videt'sja* ‘to see each other’ as in ‘meet (on purpose)’, *ssorit'sja* ‘quarrel’, *mirit'sja* ‘reconcile’, *kontaktirovat'sja* ‘contact’, *obmenivat'sja* ‘exchange’ and so on.

The other subgroup of reciprocals is based on the semantically aggressive verbs discussed in the previous subsection, that is those verbs whose actions are deliberately aggressive and by their nature would be directed onto another animate entity. Strictly speaking, these actions do not have to be reciprocated, in which case they form a group of “aggressive” verbs. However, they often represent *reciprocal aggressive* actions, which in a sense may also be labeled “naturally reciprocal”, since the aggressive action by nature is such that one would not want to nor could one perform it on oneself. Therefore, one needs a target (which is never inanimate, as will be discussed in Chapter 4), which in the case of the reciprocal aggressive (unlike the pure aggressive) returns the action in kind. Examples include: *bodat'sja* ‘butt’, *ljagat'sja* ‘kick’, *klevat'sja* ‘peck’, *kusat'sja* ‘bite’, *branit'sja* ‘argue’, *gryzt'sja* ‘bitterly argue’, *brosat'sja* ‘throw’, *bryzgat'sja* ‘splash’ and so on.

Kemmer’s model has an advantage here since it eliminates the need for formal definition of reciprocal -sja verbs, which is nearly impossible, as we can see by testing the following definition:

Definition 1: *Vsja in A and B Vsja* is reciprocal if actions AVB and BVA take place at the same time.

This definition would take care of such instances as (83) but not (84), because *ssorit* ‘make someone quarrel’ and *mirit* ‘reconcile’ are causatives which, due to their lexical meaning, also require two participants in addition to the causer, as shown in (85):

(83) *Oni obnjalis' i pocelovalis'.*

‘They embraced and kissed each other.’

(83') *On obnjala ee, i ona obnjala ego.*

‘He embraced her, and she embraced him.’

(84) *Oni ssorilis' i mirilis'.*

‘They would quarrel and then make up.’

¹⁹ Gerritsen (1990, 99) indicates that Vinogradov (1947) had two reciprocal groups: “vzaimno-vozvratnoe značenie” [mutual reflexive meaning] and “vzaimno-motornoe značenie” [mutual motor meaning]. Clearly, the subdivision was later revised and combined in Vinogradov (1972) into one group.

- (85) a. On *ssoril ix i miril*.
 'He would make them quarrel and then would make them reconcile.'
 b. On *possoril ee s mužem*.
 'He made her quarrel with her husband.'

Then there are instances that cannot be paraphrased by means of a non-sja verb because such a verb does not exist, as in (86), its meaning shifts, as in (87), or the reciprocal -sja verb correlates with two different verbs, one of which is a -sja verb, as in (88):

- (86) Oni *pozdrovalis'*.
 'They said hello to each other.'
- (86') *On(a) *pozdroval(a)*.
- (87) *Ob"jasnjat'sja na ètu temu s nej davno perestali ...* (V. Peruanskaja. Zimnie kanikuly)
 'They stopped discussing this topic with her long ago ...'
- (87') *Ob"jasnjat' ej èto davno perestali*.
 'They stopped explaining this to her long ago.'
- (88) Vanja i Maša *poženilis'*.
 'Vanya and Masha got married.'
- (88') a. Vanja *ženilsja na Mašč*.
 'Vanya married Masha.'
 b. Maša *vyšla замуž za Vanju*.
 'Masha married Vanya.'

Thus, reciprocal -sja verb constructions cannot be syntactically derived from the corresponding non-sja verb constructions.

The most consistently reciprocal -sja verbs are those formed with the circumfix *pere--sja*, such as *perepisyvat'sja* 'correspond', *peregljadyvat'sja* 'exchange glances', *peregovarivat'sja* 'exchange remarks', etc. Not only are these verbs not reducible to their non-sja counterparts (*perepisyvat'* 'copy', **peregljadyvat'* and *peregovarivat'* 'talk things over, outspcak'), but the underlying reciprocal actions cannot take place at the same time; these verbs denote actions that are alternating par excellence. Definition 2 will accommodate all of the reciprocal verbs in -sja.

Definition 2: *Vsja in A and B Vsja* is reciprocal if the actions involved are performed by both A and B to one another, at the same time or in continuous alternation.

However, semantically and syntactically Russian reciprocals represent another problem that often goes unnoticed: word order, more specifically the positions of the participants (Pⁿ's) with respect to each other and to the verb. In order to analyze the difference in meaning due to word order, we need to turn again to the notion of empathy introduced by Kuno & Kaburaki (1977, 628).

In that definition of empathy, which is the “speaker’s identification, *with varying degrees* (ranging from degree 0 to 1), with a person who participates in the event that he describes in a sentence”, they propose a calculus which, is nowhere actually applied. Strictly speaking, it is very difficult to put a number on a degree of empathy, let us say 0.3 rather than 0.4; however, it is possible to speak of the *relative* degree of empathy, and Russian reciprocals are a good example of this.

First, let us examine sentences where the speaker is not a participant ($P^{s_1} \neq P^n$). If we compare (89a) and (89b), we will notice that they present the information much in the same way, that is there is no obvious favoritism towards one or the other of the participants; P^{n_1} and P^{n_2} represent coordinate NP’s, in which case one obviously has to precede the other. This creates a slight empathy towards the first NP, Vanya in (89a) and Masha in (89b), as opposed to absolute center in (89c), which of course cannot be discourse-initial:

- (89) a. Vanja i Maša *possorilis*.
 ‘Vanya and Masha quarreled.’
 b. Maša i Vanja *possorilis*.
 ‘Masha and Vanya quarreled.’
 c. Oni *possorilis*.
 ‘They quarreled.’

However, this same information can also be presented as (90) and (91):

- (90) Vanja s Mašej *possorilis*.
 ‘Vanya and Masha quarreled.’
 (91) Vanja *possorilsja* s Mašej.
 ‘Vanya quarreled with Masha.’

Clearly, due to the hierarchy of cases, NP “Vanya” occupies a more prominent position in (90) than NP “s Mašej”, and relative empathy towards Vanya is increased compared to (89a). In (91), if it is discourse-initial, the NP “Vanya” not only has higher prominence, but the predicate agrees with it, and the second NP “s Mašej” is separated from the first NP by the predicate, thus increasing the empathy with Vanya, compared with (90). This can all be stated as follows:

$$E(\text{Vanya})_{89a} < E(\text{Vanya})_{90} < E(\text{Vanya})_{91}$$

In cases where the speaker is a participant ($P^{s_1} = P^n$), the choices are not the same, due to the Modesty Principle:

- (92) a. *Ja i Maša *possorilis*.
 ‘I and Masha quarreled.’
 b. *Maša i ja *possorilis*.
 ‘Masha and I quarreled.’

- c. *My possorilis'*
'We quarreled.'
- (93) a. *My s Mašej possorilis'*
'Masha and I quarreled.'
- b. *Ja s Mašej possorilsja.*
'Masha and I quarreled.'
- (94) *Ja possorilsja s Mašej.*
'I quarreled with Masha.'

Sentences (92a) and (92b), which correspond to (89a) and (89b), are impossible. On the other hand, there are two sentences, (93a) and (93b), which correspond to (90). And there is also (94) which corresponds to (91). Thus there are again three sentences representing the same information. For the same reasons as stated above, the speaker's empathy with himself/herself in these sentences varies as follows:

$$E (I)_{93a} < E (I)_{93b} < E (I)_{94}$$

There is yet another possibility, where the speaker puts the blame for the quarrel on Masha; the word order in this case does not reflect the empathy, but the causal role:

- (95) *Maša possorilas' so mnoj.*
'Masha quarreled with me.'

The above examples (89)—(95) examined those instances where there are unambiguously only two participants. However, there can be more than two participants, or there may be utterances that are ambiguous as to how many participants there are, for example, (96a) and (96b):

- (96) a. *My dralis' ežednevno.*
'We fought daily.'
- b. *My s Petej dralis' ežednevno.*
'Pete and I fought daily.'

In (96b), the ambiguity is whether Pete and I fought with each other (in which case there would be only two participants) or each of us fought with someone else (in which case there would be multiple participants). In order to ensure unambiguous binary reciprocity, the pronoun *drug druga* 'each other' is added:

- (96) c. *My s Petej dralis' drug s drugom ežednevno.*
'Pete and I fought with each other daily.'

In order to ensure that binary reciprocity is not read into the meaning of sentence (96b), other participants have to be specified:

- (96) d. *My s Petej ežednevno dralis' s sosedskimi mal'čiškami.*
 'Pete and I fought daily with the neighborhood boys.'

This leads to the fact that word order can be used to disambiguate sentences with inclusive NP's such as *my* and *oni*. Example (96e) is unambiguous as to the role of Pete: whatever the number of participants included in *my* or *oni*, they all fought against Pete:

- (96) e. *My/Oni ežednevno dralis' s Petej.*
 'We/They fought with Pete daily.'

Thus for the reciprocals, word order on the one hand serves as a key to the speaker's empathy with the participants, and on the other may serve as a device to disambiguate sentences with multiple participants with regard to how the participants are subdivided with respect to one another and the action.

One can see that Russian reciprocals do fit overall Kemmer's model; however, what is considered naturally reciprocal in some cases may differ from other languages in her classification. For example, she attributes heavy reciprocal marking (in Russian *drug druga*) to sequential events, while sequential *perepisyvat'sja* 'correspond' and *peregovarivat'sja* 'exchange remarks' have light reciprocal marking (-*sja*) in Kemmer's terms.

5.15. Overall Evaluation

This section has attempted to apply and extend Kemmer's model of middle voice to Russian -*sja* verbs. Kemmer includes in her discussion of middle voice four grammatical-semantic subtypes — reflexive, reciprocal, impersonal and passive — in addition to the verbs traditionally treated as middle. She identifies ten lexico-semantic groups: 1) grooming or body care, which is a subtype of reflexives; 2) nontranslational motion; 3) change in body posture; 4) translational motion; 5) naturally reciprocal events, which are the foundation of the reciprocals; 6) indirect middle; 7) emotional middle; 8) emotive speech actions; 9) cognition middle; and 10) spontaneous events. Only two of these lexico-semantic groups correspond to the grammatical-semantic subtypes within Kemmer's system.

Russian has a much larger number of grammatical-semantic subgroups: in addition to reflexive and reciprocal, there are also 'partitive object' verbs that correspond to nontranslational motion, actional decausative that correspond to translational motion, and emotional decausative that correspond to emotion middle. In addition, there are grammatical-semantic groups that have no counterparts in Kemmer's model: benefactive, possessive, consequential, causative, deictic, volitional, non-consequential, receptive, quasi-passive and aggressive. Although they are not part of Kemmer's original model, they may also be considered middle voice. These ten groups can supplement the list of middle semantic subtypes in order to enable Kemmer's framework to handle Russian.

On the other hand, lexico-semantic subcategorization, which in Kemmer's model has equal status with grammatical-semantic subcategorization, does not always correspond to grammatical-semantic sub-groups. For example, there are individual verbs in Russian that fit Kemmer's lexico-

semantic groups, such as *pojavit'sja* 'appear' and *ostanovit'sja* 'stop' — spontaneous events, *žalovat'sja* 'complain' and *plakat'sja* 'complain' — emotive speech actions, and *sadit'sja* 'sit down' and *ložit'sja* 'lie down' — change in body posture. However, these are isolated verbs that are either reflexiva tantum (*pojavit'sja*, *ložit'sja* and to some degree *sadit'sja*, since *sadit'* is becoming obsolete) or unrelated to their non-sja counterparts (*žalovat'* 'honor' and *plakat'* 'cry'). But they do not form any semantic groups other than those based purely on their lexical meaning.

In addition, speaking emotional decausatives, for example *serdit'sja* 'be angry', have non-sja counterparts, in this case *serdit'* 'make someone angry'. As Vinogradov (1972, 496) points out, there is a group of verbs that is lexically related to emotional decausatives which represent reflexiva tantum: *starat'sja* 'try', *bojat'sja* 'be afraid', *opasat'sja* 'beware', *gordit'sja* 'be proud', *ulybat'sja* 'smile', *usmexat'sja* 'grin' and so on. Kemmer's formal approach would put them together with emotional decausative, since they too have a middle marker -sja and the same meaning of the emotion middle. Thus, her classification obscures what is one of the most important parts of the study of the Russian "reflexives": the relationship of non-sja verbs to their -sja counterparts.

While Kemmer (1990, 150) states that "[t]he MM in Russian is probably one of the most grammaticalized MMs made reference to in this study," the basis of this grammaticalization, that is the relationship between active and middle is not clear. For example, she does not address the issue of the semantic shift between non-sja verbs and -sja verbs. And while she objects to the fact that other studies of the "reflexives" eliminate "deponents", or reflexiva tantum in Russian, she does not present a coherent study of deponents to justify their inclusion on other than formal grounds.

Russian presents additional problems in this area since it has aspectual pairs where one verb is a deponent (reflexiva tantum) while the other lacks the -sja, or the middle marker in Kemmer's terminology: *stat'P-stanovit'sjaⁱ* 'become', *leč'P-ložit'sjaⁱ* 'lie down', *sest'P-sadit'sjaⁱ* 'sit down', *lopnut'P-lopāt'sjaⁱ* 'burst' (these were mentioned in Janko-Trinickaja (1962, 55) as one of the reasons why -sja is not semantically equal to *sebja*), *staret'ⁱ-sostarit'sja^P* 'grow old', *družit'ⁱ-podružit'sja^P* 'become friends', *skučat'ⁱ-soskučit'sja^P* 'be bored, miss' and possibly *tresnut'P-treskat'sjaⁱ* 'crack' (despite the existence of *potreskat'sja^P*). Note that the postfix -sja in these cases has no correlation with the aspect.²⁰

In sum, Kemmer's framework on the one hand must be expanded in order to account for all the Russian types of -sja verbs, and on the other hand, its lexico-semantic subcategorization does not correspond to grammatical-semantic types. But the main inconsistencies are in the area of deponents, or reflexiva tantum, particularly since a large number of the -sja verbs either have no non-sja counterparts or semantically differ from their non-sja counterparts, for example *poručit'sja* 'vouch'

²⁰ Another possible counterargument to Kemmer's model (at least in its present state) is the occurrence of double *si* in Italian. Unlike Spanish and Russian, Italian allows impersonal *si* constructions from reflexive verbs, in those cases *si si* is dissimilated into *ci si*:

- (i) Ci si guarda allo specchio.
'One looks at oneself in the mirror.'
- (ii) Ci si sveglia di buon'ora.
'One wakes up early.' (both Napoli 127)

vs. *poručit* 'entrust', *postupit'sja* 'give up (something)' vs. *postupit* 'act', *prostit'sja* 'say goodbye' vs. *prostit* 'forgive' and so on. The issue of the semantic relationship of the middle verb with its active counterpart is not addressed in Kemmer's study.

6. Summary

Taxonomic approaches reflect the diversity of meanings of -sja, with little regard for a unifying feature. Anti-taxonomic approaches have identified a number of possible invariant meanings of -sja, all of which either directly or indirectly involve intransitivity. The anti-taxonomic approaches therefore all fail to deal with the phenomenon of transitive -sja verbs. Gerritsen's and Kemmer's semantic approaches have attempted to integrate both points of view, although with a difference on the relationship of -sja to voice.

Kemmer's model of -sja as a middle voice marker was adopted as the basic framework in this chapter. Two sorts of adaptation were necessary in order to enable the framework to handle Russian. First, the vital distinction between -sja verbs and -sja forms had to be recognized. Second, ten additional semantic groups had to be added to Kemmer's list of middle types.

The Kemmer framework explains a number of borderline cases, but does not deal adequately with deponents, and it does not address the issue of semantic shifts between non-sja and -sja verbs. Kemmer's model also does not deal with volitional, non-consequential, receptive or quasi-passive verbs, and it mentions impersonal and passive forms only in passing.

CHAPTER THREE

Quasi-Synonymous Verbs

This chapter will examine those verbs that are defined in dictionaries (BAS and MAS, for example) as having the same meaning as their intransitive non-sja counterparts and which are not related to adjectives of color.¹ The only transitive verb in this group is *priznat* 'admit'. Three concepts — volition, impact and knowledge — will be used to demonstrate differences in pragmatic meaning between the quasi-synonymous -sja and non-sja verbs.

The chapter is organized as follows: Section 1 will resolve contending points of view as to which verbs should be included in the quasi-synonymous group. Section 2 will examine those verbs in which -sja indicates that the action involves volition. Section 3 will consider those verbs where -sja indicates that the action has no impact. Section 4 will examine a single verb where -sja denotes a lack of knowledge. Section 5 provides an overall conclusion.

1. Definition

It is a matter of considerable debate as to what should be included in this group. Janko-Trinickaja (1962, 231-236) includes the following verbs, although she acknowledges that *mužat'sja* 'gather courage', *plakat'sja* 'complain' and *torgovat'sja* 'bargain' cannot be replaced by non-sja counterparts:

<i>grozit'sja</i>	'threaten'	<i>zvonit'sja</i>	'ring'
<i>mužat'sja</i>	'take heart/courage'	<i>perestojat'sja</i>	'be leftover for too long'
<i>plakat'sja</i>	'complain'	<i>plevat'sja</i>	'spit'
<i>svetit'sja</i>	'shine'	<i>smotret'sja</i>	'be seen'
<i>stučat'sja</i>	'knock'	<i>torgovat'sja</i>	'bargain'
<i>trepetat'sja</i>	'tremble'	<i>xvastat'sja</i>	'boast'
<i>celit'sja</i>	'aim'	<i>dymit'sja</i>	'smoke'
<i>otkazat'sja</i>	'refuse'	<i>otstupit'sja</i>	'retreat'
<i>staret'sja</i>	'grow old'	<i>rešit'sja</i>	'decide'
<i>pleskat'sja</i>	'splash'		

Rozental' (1985, 224), in discussing "variants" with and without -sja, states that *kružit'sja* 'turn, spin', *pleskat'sja* 'splash', *rešit'sja* 'decide' and others are colloquial compared to their non-sja counterparts, and *igrat'sja* 'play', *plevat'sja* 'spit', *staret'sja* 'grow old', *tlet'sja* 'smolder' and others are colloquial-substandard (prostorečie). While *igrat'sja* and *staret'sja* are indeed substandard, the latter being obsolete, *plevat'sja* could be considered as gravitating towards colloquial use only due to its lexical meaning; in fact it does not belong here but to the group of aggressive verbs, together with *kusat'sja* 'bite', *tolkat'sja* 'push', *pinat'sja* 'kick' and the like (see Chapter 4).

¹ The color -sja verbs are analyzed in Israeli (in press).

At the same time, there are a number of non-sja verbs that are more colloquial or substandard than their -sja verb counterparts: *balovat'* 'fool around' and *xvastat'* 'brag', for example. The fact that both of these verbs are defined in MAS as being the same as the corresponding -sja verb, not the reverse, reflects this.

The verb *smotret'sja* is a passive form of *smotret'* and hence does not belong in this group.

As discussed in Chapter 2 in the subsection on consequential (5.7), Gerritsen (1990) includes within a single group of -sja verbs which she calls "consequential" such verbs as: 1) *uxvatit'sja* 'hold on to', *cepljat'sja* 'grab onto' and *deržat'sja* 'hold on', which in my opinion indeed belong there; 2) a number of verbs formed by synergy of various prefixes and the postfix -sja, such as *načitat'sja* 'get one's fill of reading', *zasidet'sja* 'overstay', *razrevet'sja* 'break up crying' and many others; and 3) the verbs that are the subject of this chapter, namely *stučat'sja* 'knock', *zvonit'sja* 'ring', *skrestis*² 'scratch', *grozit'sja* 'threaten', *rešit'sja* 'decide', *plakat'sja* 'complain', *torgovat'sja* 'bargain' and *slušet'sja* 'obey'.

Gerritsen (1990, 97) argues against Janko-Trinickaja's decision to exclude *plakat'sja* 'complain' and *torgovat'sja* 'bargain' as not having a matching semantic component with *plakat'* 'cry' and *torgovat'* 'trade' respectively; her reasoning is that "*plakat'* and *plakat'sja* share the element of 'expressing unhappiness', and *torgovat'* and *torgovat'sja* the element of 'trading'." In fact, the meaning of *plakat'* is 'secrete tears' ("prolivat' slezy" in MAS): *plakat' ot gorja* 'cry from grief' or *plakat' ot sčast'ja* 'cry from joy' or even *plakat' kogda čistiš' luk* 'cry while peeling onions'. *Plakat'sja* does not include the element of 'shedding tears', only 'complaining'. Similarly, *torgovat'sja* 'bargain, argue about price or conditions', while being etymologically related to *torgovat'* 'trade, sell', does not include the semantic element of 'trade'. Consequently, these two verbs should not be included. As for *slušet'sja* 'obey' as opposed to *slušet'* "'take into account someone's words'" (MAS/Gerritsen 1990, 97), *slušet'sja* implies the feature [+authority], and only in substandard Russian does *slušet'* acquire the meaning of 'obey'. Consequently, *slušet'sja* will not be analyzed here.

Janko-Trinickaja (1962, 236) states that *mužat'* and *mužat'sja* do not have a semantic element in common: *mužat'* means 'mature' (unlikely to be used for a woman, though), while *mužat'sja* means 'gather courage'. Here again the etymological connection is transparent; however, there is no synonymy. Gerritsen (1990, 76) points out that *staret'sja* 'grow old' is obsolete, hence it can be excluded from the discussion. The same can be said about *družit'sja* 'be friends'.

This leaves us with the following list of verbs:

Subgroup A — Volitional (discussed in Section 2):

<i>rešit'sja</i>	'bring oneself, dare'	<i>zvonit'sja</i>	'ring'
<i>priznat'sja</i>	'confess, admit'	<i>otkazat'sja</i>	'refuse'
<i>stučat'sja</i>	'knock'	<i>otstupit'sja</i>	'retreat'

² Gerritsen (1990, 95) states that "[t]he V-Vsja pair *skrestis(s')* behaves similarly to *stučat' (sja)*." I believe that *skrestis'* is more similar to the verbs in subgroup B; however, since it is a rare verb, it is difficult to collect enough data for a proper analysis.

Subgroup B — Lack of Impact (discussed in Section 3):

<i>svetit'sja</i> ³	'glow'	<i>xvastat'sja</i>	'boast'
<i>dymit'sja</i>	'smoke'	<i>celit'sja</i>	'aim'
<i>kružit'sja</i>	'spin'	<i>balovat'sja</i>	'fool around, play pranks'
<i>pleskat'sja</i>	'splash'	<i>grožit'sja</i>	'threaten'

Subgroup C — Lack of Knowledge (discussed in Section 4):

<i>stat'sja</i>	'become, happen'
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2. Volitional Verbs

This section examines the following quasi-synonymous verb pairs: *rešit'* 'decide' vs. *rešit'sja* 'venture, dare'; *priznat'* 'admit' vs. *priznat'sja* 'admit, confess'; *stučat'*—*stučat'sja* 'knock' and *zvonit'*—*zvonit'sja* 'ring'; and *otkazat'*—*otkazat'sja* 'refuse' and *otstupit'*—*otstupit'sja* 'retreat'. In all of these cases, it will be suggested that the -sja verb indicates a volitional quality of the action, or in other words, that the action involves will, while the non-sja verb has no such meaning.

2.1. *rešit'* vs. *rešit'sja*

Dictionaries, handbooks of language difficulties, and other studies suggest that *rešit'* 'decide' and *rešit'sja* 'venture, dare' are synonymous or quasi-synonymous. Schenker (1986, 38) summarizes the common view of this pair: *rešit'sja* means "'decide (after some hesitation)' as opposed to *rešit'* 'decide'."

In fact, *rešit'sja* is neither substandard, nor colloquial, as may be inferred from Rozental's previously mentioned statement, and it is only marginally synonymous to *rešit'*. Gerritsen (1990, 96), who suggests 'venture' as the translation of *rešit'sja*, presents a limited analysis of two types of government of this verb, without comparing it to *rešit'* in the same context:

The risk implied in the Vsja concerns the subject-referent, who will bear the consequences of his decision. This may be demonstrated by comparing

- [1] *Ja rešilsja ubit' ego[.]
[I decided to kill him.]

³ There are five more verbs that are related to light or fire, out of which only *smerkat'sja* and *brežžit'sja* are discussed in Gerritsen (1990, 220-222):

<i>brežžit'sja</i>	'dawn'	<i>temnet'sja</i>	'darken'
<i>svetlet'sja</i>	'lighten'	<i>smerkat'sja</i>	'get dusky'
<i>tlet'sja</i>	'smoulder'		

Even though examples of -sja verbs as opposed to non-sja verbs are scarce, the -sja verbs seem to convey a more subdued quality as opposed to the non-sja verbs. It is difficult to say whether this is due to a perceived speaker's distance as in verbs of color (see Israeli (in press)) or to lack of impact, as with *svetit'sja*.

to

- [2] Ja rešilsja na ubijstvo.
[I decided on murder.]

In the first case the decision is depicted as having consequences for an external entity (the object of *ubit'*: ego), while in the second case the consequences are depicted as related only to the subject-referent himself. (Gerritsen 1990, 97)

While Gerritsen's conclusions are correct for (1) and (2), where the action in question is killing, it is not the *-sja* verb, as will be shown later, that triggers the consequences for the P^n_1 (or subject-referent in Gerritsen's terms), but the construction of type (2), *rešit'sja na*. Gerritsen's analysis might suggest the impossibility of combining *rešit'sja* with an infinitive or the fact that the subject-referent is the only bearer of the consequences of his decision. In fact, neither is true; in the following examples, *rešat'sja-rešit'sja* are followed by infinitives, and the consequence of the P^n 's action clearly has implications for the outside entities:

- (3) Dlja togo čtoby doma vse bylo "v polnom porjadke", Semen Pavlovič *rešalsja* narušat' porjadok v našej bol'nice. (A. Aleksin. Zdorovye i bol'nye)
'In order that everything be in "perfect order" at home Semen Pavlovich dared to disturb the order in our hospital.'
- (4) Ja živu v ètom dome sorok tri goda, no ne *rešilas'* by xodit' po kvartiram. A Lenusja *rešilas'*. (A. Aleksin. Noč' pered svad'boj)
'I have been living in this apartment building for forty-three years, but would not dare to make the rounds of the apartments, while Lena dared.'

The difference between (3) and (3') below is that (3') requires purely mental decisions, while (3) also requires the participation of the will (the difference in aspect is irrelevant in this case):

- (3') Semen Pavlovič *rešil* narušit' porjadok v našej bol'nice.
'Semen Pavlovich decided to alter the order in our hospital.'

In other words, while *rešit'* requires a cerebral decision, *rešit'sja* requires the presence of will-power, the daring to make the decision and to perform the action. I will call verbs of the type *rešit'sja* *v o l i t i o n a l* verbs, since the main semantic distinction from their non-*sja* counterparts is the presence of will.

Another difference between *rešit'* and *rešit'sja* becomes apparent in negative sentences, where the verb *rešit'*—*rešit'sja* is negated and is followed by another verb. When an actual negative decision is made, whether a mental one as in (5) or a volitional one as in (6), both sentences are possible and correct, although their implications are different:

- (5) On *rešil* ne exat'.
'He decided not to go.'

- (6) On *rešilsja* ne exat'.
'He decided (= he brought himself) not to go.'

However, negative sentences denoting lack of a mental decision, as in (7), or lack of will, as in (8), are syntactically non-parallel. The structure of (7) also points toward the mental quality of the (in)decision, while *rešit'sja* does not have this mental component, thus making (8') incorrect. In addition, *ne rešit'sja* is best translated as 'not dare'.

- (7) On ne *rešil*, exat' ili ne exat'.
'He did not decide whether to go or not.'
- (7') *On ne *rešil* exat'.
- (8) On ne *rešilsja* exat'.
'He did not dare to go.'
- (8') *On ne *rešilsja*, exat' ili ne exat'.

Substitution of *rešat'sja-rešit'sja* by *rešat'-rešit'* in negative sentences is impossible, as can be seen from the following examples:

- (9) Otcy xoteli by zaščitit' Alenu. No ne *rešalis'*... Bojalis' isportit' vse delo. (A. Aleksin. Tretij v pjatom rjadu)
'The fathers wanted to defend Alena. But they did not dare... They were afraid to spoil the matter.'
- (9') ... *No ne *rešali*...
- (10) Voobšče Genka ne *rešilsja* by pojti na večernij seans. (A. Aleksin. Nepravda)
'In general Genka would not dare to go to the evening (movie) show.'
- (10') *Voobšče Genka ne *rešil* by pojti na večernij seans.

Now let us reexamine (1) and (2) in order to assess the ill-formedness of (1). The reason (2) is possible and (1) is not lies in the type of action for which the volitional decision is required. One can observe that some actions are much more daring than others; for example the actions in (9)—(10) are less daring than killing a person. So if we subdivide the daring acts into a) mildly daring and b) very daring (scandalous/outrageous or heroic or criminal), we can understand why (1) is incorrect. As can be seen from the following pairs of examples, constructions (1) and (2) are in complementary distribution based on the semantics of the complement. Type (1), *rešit'sja + infinitive*, describes actions of type a), while type (2), *rešit'sja na*, is impossible in this context:

- (11) Nakonec on *rešilsja* skazat' ej pravdu.
'Finally, he brought himself to tell her the truth.'

- (11') ??? Nakonec on *rešilsja* na razgovor.
- (12) Boris Ivanovič otčtetlivo soznaval togda, čto, liš' *rešivšis'* ujtj ot Lidy, on soxranit Katju. (V. Peruanskaja. Tridcat' tri bogatyrja)
'Boris Ivanovich clearly realized at the time that only having brought himself to leave Lida could he preserve his relationship with Katya.'
- (12') *Boris Ivanovič otčtetlivo soznaval togda, čto, liš' *rešivšis'* na uxod ot Lidy, on soxranit Katju.

Type (2), *rešit'sja na*, describes actions of type b):

- (13) a. On *rešilsja na* ubijstvo.
'He dared to commit murder.'
- b. Nu i otkolol naš Saška [ne vernulsja iz gastrolej]. Kto b mog podumat'? Vy by *rešilis' na* takoe? (V. Nekrasov. Malen'kaja pečal'naja povest')
'Our Sashka did some number [defected during the tour abroad]. Who could have thought? Would you dare to do something like that?'
- c. [Kornilov] odin, vopreki sovetam ... , *rešilsja na* ètot štur, i teper', k isxodu pervogo dnja, samouverennost' ego pokolebalas'. (A. N. Tolstoj. Vosemnadcatyj god/MAS)
'[Kornilov] alone, against advice ... , dared to start the siege, and now, towards the end of the first day, his self-assurance was shaken.'
- d. Togda ja *rešus' na* bolšee: vy budete ne sekretarem, a pomoščnicej. (A. Aleksin. Ivašov)
'Then I'll dare to do even more: you will not be a secretary, but an assistant.'
- (13') a. *On *rešilsja* ubit' ee.
b. ? Vy by *rešilis'* takoe sdelat'?
c. ??? [Kornilov] odin, vopreki sovetam ... , *rešilsja* šturmovat'.
d. ? Togda ja *rešus'* soveršit' bolšee: vy budete ne sekretarem, a pomoščnicej.

Murder, defection and attack clearly are considerably more daring than a conversation or even leaving one's wife, as in (12). The willful decision in (13d) is viewed by the speaker as a daring one, maybe even a scandalous one, while the actions referred to in (13'b)—(13'd), if possible, refer to more mundane actions, or actions perceived as non-daring on the part of the speaker. A more daring action of type (b) has greater implications for Pⁿ₁, as Gerritsen (1990, 96) remarks, while a less daring action of type (a) has greater implications for the external entity.

In addition, while (1) and its variant (1') below are indeed incorrect, (1') becomes correct as a subordinate clause of (15), but not of (14):

- (1') *On *rešilsja* ubit' staruxu.
'He dared to kill the old woman.'
- (14) *Ja znaju, što on *rešilsja* ubit' staruxu.
'I know that he dared to kill the old woman.'
- (15) Ne ponimaju, kak on *rešilsja* ubit' staruxu.
'I don't understand how he could dare to kill the old woman.'

The difference between (15) and (14) lies in the type of knowledge possessed by the speaker at the moment of the speech event and in the relative time of the speech event (E^s) with respect to the narrated event (E^n). By stating (14), the speaker (P^{s_1}) informs the interlocutor (P^{s_2}) of his/her knowledge of the willful decision to kill. P^{s_1} was informed of this decision, so (14) constitutes epistemological knowledge of the decision. Moreover, P^{s_1} came into possession of this knowledge prior to the actual act of killing, and the speech event (E^s) also precedes that act (E^n). Since the action has not taken place yet, its impact has not been realized, and due to the extreme nature of the action (type 2) may never be realized. Thus, prior to a type 2 action one can speak only of the P^n 's decision as such, not its impact. In (15), the speaker's dismay (*ne ponimaju*) refers not just to the willful decision, but to the decision *and* to the act of killing. While the knowledge may be epistemological (reported information) or perceptual (observed facts), the E^n precedes the E^s , the impact of the action is already known, and the speaker's knowledge is therefore objective.

In sum, *rešit'* 'decide' indicates a purely mental decision, while *rešit'sja* 'venture, dare' indicates a decision involving willpower and daring. This difference in meaning is especially obvious in negative sentences where the two verbs either cannot be interchanged at all or else convey different meanings. In addition, *rešit'sja* can convey greater or lesser daring, depending on its government: *rešit'sja* + infinitive describes actions of relatively lesser daring, such as ending a relationship, while *rešit'sja na* describes highly daring actions, such as murder. However, in a complex sentence, even *rešit'sja* + infinitive may describe a highly daring act if that act has already been carried out (has had impact) and the speaker's knowledge of it is therefore objective.

2.2. *priznat'* vs. *priznat'sja*

Priznat' 'admit' vs. *priznat'sja* 'admit, confess' exhibit a similar opposition. In this pair, the nature of communication plays an important role. In *priznat'* the speaker accepts knowledge (from the interlocutor or as the result of his or her own musings), while in *priznat'sja* the speaker shares knowledge with the interlocutor. That is why *priznat'* can be verbalized or not (if the communication is with oneself), while *priznat'sja* always involves another party and has to be verbalized. While *priznat'* primarily means thought in admitting something first and foremost to oneself (and possibly also to others), *priznat'sja* also means the involvement of will in disclosing something to others.

In the following pair of examples, (16) is said at the moment when the information becomes part of the speaker's knowledge set; in (16') that information was already present in the speaker's knowledge set prior to this statement:

- (16) Dolžen *priznat'*, što ja ee ne ponimal.
'I must admit that I did not understand her.'
- (16') Dolžen *priznat'sja*, što ja ee ne ponimal.
'I must admit/confess that I did not understand her.'

In (17), the Subject ($P^n_1=P^s_1=P^s_2$) adds the new information into his knowledge set:

- (17) On dolžen byl *priznat'*, što svoi nočnye terzanija ona xorošo skryvala. (V. Peruanskaja. Tridcat' tri bogatyrja)
'He had to admit that she hid her nightly torments very well.'

Example (18) clearly shows that the P^n understands but does not have the will to admit it (to others):

- (18) Èto ne bylo glavnym, on ponimal, no ne xotel *priznat'sja*. (G. Al'tov, V. Žuravleva. Černaja pyl')
'It was not the most important thing, he understood, but he did not want to admit it.'

In (19), the speaker admits something publicly that he knew all along, that he wanted a good apartment:

- (19) —Sejčas reč' ne obo mne, a o vas. Davajte govorit' prjamo: vy xotite kvartiru xorošuju.
...
—Da, — vynužden byl ja *priznat'sja*, — ja xoču kvartiru xorošuju. (V. Vojnovič. Ivan'kiada)
' "Now we are not talking about me but about you. Let's be frank: you want a good apartment. ..."
' "Yes," I had to admit, "I want a good apartment." '

Priznat' 'admit' mainly describes the mental act of admitting something above all to oneself, while *priznat'sja* 'admit, confess' also means exercising the volition to disclose something to others.

2.3. *stučat'* vs. *stučat'sja* and *zvonit'* vs. *zvonit'sja*

The opposition between *stučat'*—*stučat'sja* 'knock' and *zvonit'*—*zvonit'sja* 'ring' (wherever they are allegedly synonymous — for example, *stučat'*—*stučat'sja v dver'*, *v okno*, 'knock at the door, window' or *zvonit'*—*zvonit'sja v dver'* 'ring at the door' — and not the description of a

sound produced by a person or object) has traditionally been identified as a difference in intensity, the *-sja* verb being more intensive (Rozenal' 1985, 224; Schenker 1986, 32). In addition, the Subject displays self-interest, in seeking to have the door opened for him (Karcevski 1927, 90; Schenker 1986, 37). Yet we find examples such as sentence (20), where despite the obvious intensity and self-interest, non-*sja* verbs are used:

- (20) *Dva časa stuču, zvonju, švyrjajus' snegom v okna! Gde mama? (Kočetov. Molodost' s nami/BAS)*
 'I have been knocking and ringing and throwing snow at the windows for two hours!
 Where is mother?'

There are actually two semantic components here: the knocking sound and the request for admittance which requires volition. In *stučat'* the former prevails, while in *stučat'sja* the latter. This can be seen in the following examples that show the lack or impossibility of expressing one or the other meaning.

Andrews (1989) in his conference paper recounted how he presented his subjects with pictures that they were asked to describe. Sentence (21) was given by one of his female subjects:

- (21) *v dver' po-moemu stučitsja čelovek kotoryj vidimo slepoj/ tak kak on xodit s palkoj/ i po-moemu na nem temnye očki//*
 'I believe a man who is apparently blind is knocking at the door, since he is walking with a stick, and I think he has dark glasses on.'

- (21') **v dver' po-moemu stučit čelovek*

Sentence (21') would be impossible in this context since no actual sound was produced (since the action took place only in a picture); only the gesture that implies knocking was seen. Similarly, no knocking sound is produced in the metaphoric use of *stučat'sja* (similar to the French *elle frappe à mon cœur* (S. Lama) 'she knocks at my heart', for which the Russian counterpart is *ona stučitsja (ko) mne v serdce*):

- (22) *Ona [Rodina] odna znaet kakovo stučat'sja k nam v duši. (V. Rasputin)*
 'She [the Motherland] alone knows what it's like to knock at our hearts [souls].'
 (22') **Ona odna znaet kakovo stučat' k nam v duši.*

Sentence (22') is completely impossible. A similar metaphoric use is found in (23) where the mail-carrier is compared with fate:

- (23) *Idet vo vsjakuju pogodu po ulice Kirova devuška-počtal'on s polnoj sumkoj frontovyx pisem i stučitsja v okna, kak sud'ba. (V. Panova. Evdokija)*
 'In all kinds of weather the young woman letter carrier walks along Kirov street with a bag full of letters from the front and knocks at windows, like fate.'

- (23') *Idet vo vsjakuju pogodu po ulice Kirova devuška-počtal'on s polnoj sumkoj frontovyx pisem i *stučit* v okna, kak sud'ba.

Sentence (23') would mean that fate produces a knocking sound at the window. In fact, the association with fate is the opposite: it does not produce any knocking sound but demands admittance, therefore (23') is impossible. When *stučat'sja* is synonymous with 'asking admittance' or even 'coming' it cannot be replaced with *stučat*'.

- (24) I vse čašče *stučatsja* oni v dver' s raspisnoj vyveskoj kluba "Raduga": ne nado li čem pomoč'? (Iz žurnala "Rabotnica")
'And ever more often they knock at the door with the colorful sign of the club "Rainbow" asking if their help is needed.'

In (25), the emphasis on admittance is highlighted by the fact that those who knock are not let in; instead the host, Kostya, steps out to find out why they came:

- (25) *Postučitsja* kto iz rebjat, Kostja vyxodit k nemu i sprašivaet:
— Nu? Tebe čto? (V. Panova. Konspekt romana)
'If one of the kids would knock, Kostya would step out and ask:
"Well, what do you want?"'

In (26), *stučat'sja* can be translated as 'come in' due to the fact that some steps in the description are missing: clearly a) Panya would knock, b) the speaker would answer (or ask "Who's there?" and hear Panya's reply) and c) invite the guest in, d) Panya would come in and e) put the plate in front of the speaker. However, steps b) through d) are missing, thus step a) absorbed all of these components, which *stučat*' cannot possibly do, thus making (26') impossible:

- (26) ... daže gordaja Pan'ka i ta inogda *stučalas'* v moju dver', molča stavila na stol tarelku s kuskom i udaljalas', otrinuv moju blagodarnost'. (I. Grekova. Vdovij paroxod)
'... the proud Panya, even she sometimes would knock at my door, she would silently put a plate with food on the table and retreat, turning down my gratitude.'
- (26') ... *daže gordaja Pan'ka i ta inogda *stučala* v moju dver', molča stavila na stol tarelku s kuskom i udaljalas', otrinuv moju blagodarnost'.

On the other hand, if the sound of knocking is the dominant semantic element, *stučat*' cannot be replaced by *stučat'sja*:

- (27) V dver' *stučat*. Ioann vzdragivaet, krestit dver', stuk prekraščaetsja. (M. Bulgakov. Ivan Vasil'evič)
'They knock at the door. Ivan [the Terrible] jumps, makes a sign of a cross over the door, and the knocking stops.'

Here the emphasis is clearly on the knocking sound, which Ivan the Terrible (who, with the help of a time machine, has traveled to a twentieth century apartment) perceives as the work of evil forces which can be gotten rid of by making the sign of a cross. Sentence (27') would have been illogical:

(27') ?? *V dver' stučatsja*. Ioann vzdragivaet, krestit dver', stuk prekraščaetsja.

In (28), there is again an emphasis on knocking: on the sound itself, its loudness and how it is produced. Consequently, even though the speaker is knocking at the door and demands admittance, *stučat'* cannot be replaced by *stučat'sja*:

(28) *V koridore doma, polnogo ešče vospominanijami o golodnyx godax, ja stuču i stuču, uporno i bezostanovočno, v obituju kleenkej dver', kak bylo mne prikazano. Polutemno. ... Ja starajus' stučat' pogromče, no vojlok pod kleenkej zaglušaet stuk. Stuču nogami. Iz dveri naprotiv vygljadyvaet ženščina v platke.* (E. Švarc. Memuary)

'In the hallway of the apartment building, which was still full of memories about the hungry years, I knock and knock, persistently and without stopping, at the door upholstered with an oil-cloth, as I was ordered. It is kind of dark. ... I try to knock louder, but the padding under the oil-cloth muffles the knock. I knock with my feet. From the door opposite, a woman in a shawl looks out.'

Use in negative constructions accentuates the distinction. In (29), the *-sja* verb is used because the subject did not even attempt to ask admittance, since the door was locked. Sentence (29') is awkward:

(29) *Dver' GAI byla zaperta. Arsenij ne stal daže i stučat'sja.* (E. Kozlovskij. *My vstretilis' v raju...*)

'The door of GAI [= road patrol] was locked. Arseny did not even knock.'

(29') ?? *Dver' GAI byla zaperta. Arsenij ne stal daže i stučat'.*

On the other hand, in (30) the non-*sja* verb emphasizes quietness:

(30) *Dver' byla nezaperta. Arsenij ne stal stučat' i vošel.*

'The door was unlocked. Arseny went in without knocking.'

(30') **Dver' byla nezaperta. Arsenij ne stal stučat'sja i vošel.*

The distinction between *zvonit'* and *zvonit'sja* should be similar, except that *zvonit'sja* has apparently become obsolete, and contemporary examples seem all but nonexistent. The few examples that are cited in other sources support this distinction: (31) emphasizes the incessant ringing, while (32) emphasizes 'asking admittance':

- (31) Po vsemu bylo vidno, čto *zvonil* čelovek, ne stesnjajas' narušit' kvartirnyj pokoj: on *pozvonil* i raz, i drugoj, i tretij. (F. I. Panferov. Bor'ba za mir) (J-T 232)
'It was clear that the person who rang was not afraid to disturb the apartment's quiet: he rang once, then a second time, then a third.'
- (32) a. Tainstvennyj dikar' ogromnogo rosta i užasajuščego vida *pozvonilsja* odnaždy [k bary-ne] s neizvestnymi, no, očevidno, nedobrymi celjami. (V. G. Korolenko. Bez jazyka) (J-T 233)
'A mysterious wild man of enormous height and the most awful looks once rang [the lady's] door bell with unknown but evidently evil intentions.'
- b. Ja uže zaxodil, *zvonilsja* tri raza. (A. N. Tolstoj. Vosemnadcatyj god/MAS)
'I already stopped by, and rang three times.'
- c. Každyj zvonok zastavljaj ispuganno bit'sja moe serdce, i ja s oblegčeniem vzdychal, uznaj, čto *zvonilsja* ne bol'noj. (Veresaev. Zapiski vrača/MAS)
'Every [door bell] ring made my heart beat with fright, and I would breathe a sigh of relief after learning that it was not a patient who rang.'

Stučat' describes the action of knocking per se, while *stučat'sja* includes the *willful* decision to ask admittance. It is possible to see why *stučat'sja* was described as having increased intensity, since it comprises an additional semantic element: a willful act to ask admittance. A similar distinction exists (or existed) between *zvonit'* and the apparently obsolete *zvonit'sja*.

2.4. *otkazat'* vs. *otkazat'sja* and *otstupit'* vs. *otstupit'sja*

Gerritsen (1990, 75), following Janko-Trinickaja (1962, 234-235), discusses the difference between *otkazat'*—*otkazat'sja* 'refuse' and *otstupit'*—*otstupit'sja* 'retreat'. As far as *otkazat'*—*otkazat'sja*, Janko-Trinickaja considers the following usages with inanimate participants synonymous:

- (33) a. Spuskovoj mexanizm *otkazal*. (B. Polevoj. Povest' o nastojaščem čeloveke) (J-T 235)
'The trigger failed.'
- b. Golos ego prostužennyj v pjatisutočnom ležanii na l'du, *otkazal*, i dlja predači komand prišlos' deržat' pri sebe odnogo iz lyžnikov v kačestve "usilitelja". (L. Sobolev. Tret'e polenie/MAS)
'His voice chilled after the five days of lying on the ice failed, and in order to transmit commands he had to keep around one of the skiers who served as an "amplifier".'
- (34) a. Ostanovilis' lebedki, podnimavšie snarjady, i *otkazalis' služit'* vse mexanizmy. (A. S. Novikov-Priboj. Cusima) (J-T 235)
'The winches that were lifting the shells stopped, and all the mechanisms stopped working.'

- b. Golos soveršenno *otkazalsja služiti* mne, i ja molča ostanovilsja pered babuškoj. (L. Tolstoj. *Detstvo/MAS*)
 'My voice completely refused to serve me, and I stopped silently in front of my grandmother.'
- c. Kogda prosolennomu morskoj vodoj Tuba minulo vosem'desjat — ego ruki izuvečenyje revmatizmom, *otkazalis' rabotat'* — dostatočno! (M. Gor'kij. *Skazki ob Italii/MAS*)
 'When Tuba, who was salted through and through with sea water turned eighty, his hands, which were mutilated by rheumatism, refused to work — enough!'

However, in addition to the syntactic difference, there is a semantic distinction: in the examples in (33), the mechanism or the part of the body perceived as a tool malfunctioned. In the examples in (34), these mechanisms or parts of the body acted as if they had a mind of their own and as if they had made a conscious, willful decision; this is particularly evident in (34c), where it seems that the hands said "Enough!"

Cases where the participants are animate are analyzed by Gerritsen (1990, 75). Her conclusion as far as the semantic distinction is as follows: *otkazat'sja* "means that the subject-referent does not turn down someone else but, conversely, turns himself away from someone or something." What is interesting here is the asymmetrical position of the participants: in the case of *otkazat'* the Pⁿ₁, the one that is refusing, has either a position of authority or a one-up position, as in (35), whereas in the case of *otkazat'sja* the Pⁿ₁ has a subordinate position, as in (36):

- (35) Čerez dve nedeli on napisal raport s pros'boj vernut' ego na prežnjuju rabotu. Upravlenie *otkazalo*. (S. Antonov. *Stancija Ščeglovo/MAS*)
 'Two weeks later he wrote a report asking that he be returned to his previous job. The board turned him down.'
- (36) Ja *otkazalsja* davat' kakie-libo pokazanija, čtoby, govorja o sebe, ne povredit' kosvenno i tovariščam. (Morozov. *Povesti moej žizni/MAS*)
 'I refused to give any testimony whatsoever in order not to injure indirectly my comrades while talking about myself.'

Strictly speaking, the person in the subordinate position, as in (36), is not in a position to refuse, and it takes a volitional act to do so.

Gerritsen (1990, 75) ascribes *otstupit'* the feature of directedness which is absent in *otstupit'sja*, where "the emphasis lies on the giving up of plans or opinions by subject-referent, not on someone or something which causes him to give them up." In fact, both verbs could be used with the former emphasis:

- (37) *Otstupit'* ot svoix vzgljadov. (MAS)
 'To deviate from one's position.'

- (38) On prinužden byl *otstupit'sja* ot svoix trebovanij po voprosu ob obučenii. (Dobroljubov. Robert Oven i ego popytki obščestvennyx reform/MAS)
'He was forced to give up his demands on the issue of education.'

Otstupit'sja in this context conveys a deliberate and irreversible decision. The Object of the verb *otstupit'* may be compared with a demarcation line or a standard set up either by the Subject, as in (37), or by someone else, as in (39), which by its nature allows deviation and return to the original point. The Object of the verb *otstupit'sja*, on the other hand, is something that is very dear to the Subject, something that he or she cherishes and values highly, and once having given it up, there is no recourse for recapturing it.

Compare (38) where Robert Owen, even though forced by outside pressure, gave up an idea which was of importance to him, with (39) where the young girl did not deviate from the norms of behavior:

- (39) [Naden'ka] vse počti delala s vedoma materi! *otstupila* li dlja menja xot' raz ot uslovij sveta, ot dolga? — nikogda! (I. Gončarov. Obyknoennaja istorija/MAS)
'[Nadya] did almost everything with her mother's knowledge! did she even once deviate for me from society's rules, from duty? — never!'

While (40) is possible, (40') is not:

- (40) Ona ne raz *otstupala* ot pravil sveta.
'She deviated from society's rules more than once.'
- (40') *Ona ne raz *otstupalas'* ot svoix rešenij.
'She gave up her decisions more than once.'

When the participant gives up/retreats from a person or an entity (such as a city) that comprises a group of people, the non-*sja* verb, as Gerritsen points out, presents the action as a forced or an induced one, as in (41), while the *-sja* verb presents the action as a deliberate, irreversible, willful decision, as in (42):

- (41) [Matvej] šagnul k nej Ego naprjažennoe lico napugalo Tonju. Ona molča *otstupila*. (S. Antonov. Delo bylo v Pen'kove/MAS)
'[Mathew] stepped towards her His concentrated face frightened Tonya. She silently stepped back.'
- (42) Ona tak rešitel'no otkazalas' ot kakix by to ni bylo s nim vstreč, čto on v konce koncov *otstupilsja*. (V. Peruanskaja. Tridcat' tri bogatyrja)
'She so decisively refused any meetings whatsoever with him that he finally gave up.'

In sum, both *otkazat'sja* and *otstupit'sja* involve the exercise of will, as opposed to *otkazat'* and *otstupit'*. With inanimate subjects, *otkazat'* means merely to malfunction, while *otkazat'sja* attributes an anthropomorphic volition to the subject; it is as if the inanimate subject decides not to

work. With animate subjects, *otkazat'* is used with a Subject in authority which can make a decision to refuse without any need to exercise will. On the other hand, *otkazat'sja* is used with a subordinate Subject who must exercise volition in order to refuse.

An animate Subject of *otstupit'* engages in a reversible deviation from either an internally or externally imposed standard, while a Subject of *otstupit'sja* exercises the will to make an irreversible decision to give up something which s/he values very highly. In addition, if the participant is giving up or retreating from an individual or group, *otstupit'* indicates external force or compulsion as the cause of the action, while *otstupit'sja* conveys the exercise of will.

2.5. Summary

In all of the verb pairs examined in this section, -sja means an action that requires volition — the deliberate exercise of will. The types of actions described included: deciding to do something more or less daring, admitting or confessing something publicly, asking or demanding admittance, deliberating failing to work properly, refusing a higher authority, and forever giving up something or someone of high value. Without the -sja, the actions do not require volition, but only a mental decision, admitting something to oneself, audible knocking or ringing, simple malfunctioning, refusing a subordinate, temporarily deviating from a standard, or being forced to give up or leave someone.

3. Lack of Impact on Others

A number of -sja verbs can be used interchangeably with their non-sja counterparts. These verbs include *kružít'sja* 'circle, twist', *svetit'sja* 'shine, glow', *dymít'sja* 'smoke', *pleskat'sja* 'splash', *xvastat'sja* 'boast, brag', *celít'sja* 'aim', *balovat'sja* 'fool around' and *grozít'sja* 'threaten'. The goal for analysis is to find contexts where substitution is impossible and to analyze the connotations. As will be demonstrated below, these -sja verbs convey the meaning 'not having an impact' as opposed to their non-sja counterparts. Each pair is analyzed separately below.

3.1. *kružít'* vs. *kružít'sja*

The verbs *kružít'* and *kružít'sja* are glossed as having one common meaning 'circle, twist (intransitive)'. In the following examples with the non-sja verb, a boy is compared with a raven who circles in search of prey, and similarly a secret police pick-up was also nicknamed a "little raven". In both cases, the Subject's "circling" had an impact on others. In neither case is replacement with the -sja counterpart possible:

- (43) a. Golubkina rebjata prozvali Voronom: on slovno *kružil* nad klassom, ko vsem prigladyvajas' i vse v čem-to podozrevaja. (A. Aleksin. Tretij v pjatom rjadu)
'Kids nicknamed Golubkin Raven: it was as if he circled over the class, taking note of everyone and suspecting everyone of something.'

- b. Oni—to znajut, pomnjat ešče to lixoe vremja, kogda každuju noč' *kružili* po ulicam voronki i sobirali svoju dan'. (V. Bukovskij. "I vozvraščaetsja veter...")
'As for them, they know, they still remember that evil time when the pick-ups [little ravens] circled the city every night and collected their tribute.'

Conversely, in (44a) and (44b), the circling of the birds or leaflets has no impact on others. In (44a) the sparrows left their friend to die in solitude after circling, and in (44b) the leaflets circled like strange clouds without impacting anyone. In both cases, substitution with the non-sja verb is impossible:

- (44) a. On [vorobej] demulsja i uvjaz v gustoj, lipkoj masse. A druž'ja ego, vidja takoe, *pokružilis'* nad nesčastnym, sdělali proščal'nyj krug i uleteli, ostaviv ego pogibat' v odinočestve. (A. Starkov. Vorobej)
'It [the sparrow] jerked and got stuck in the thick sticky substance. And his friends, seeing this, circled over the wretched one, made a final turn and flew away, leaving it to die in solitude.'
- b. Tut my uslyxali žužžanie aèroplana. My snačala ne obratili na nego vnimanija i tixo razgovarivali. Vdrug on proletel nad našej golovoj i stal razbrasyvat' listy, kotorye *kružilis'* po gorodu strannymi tučami. (A. Èfron. Stranicy vospominanij)
'At that moment we heard the hum of the airplane. At first we did not pay any attention to it and talked quietly. Suddenly it flew over our heads and began to throw out leaflets, which swirled around the city like strange clouds.'

Given the ominous quality of *kružit'*, it can never occur with "benign" nouns:

- (45) Netoroplivo *kružitsja* plastinka, napolnjaja komnatu gluximi raskatami traurnogo marša Vagnera "Gibel' bogov". (A. Gladilin. Bespokojnik)
'The record is spinning unhurriedly, filling the room with dull roars of the funeral march "Twilight of the Gods" by Wagner.'
- (45') *Netoroplivo *kružit* plastinka.

Thus *kružit'* means 'circle (with impact)', and *kružit'sja* means 'circle (without impact)'.

3.2. *svetit'* vs. *svetit'sja*

The verbs *svetit'* 'shine' and *svetit'sja* 'shine, glow' are glossed as synonymous in MAS. In fact, their respective translations provide a clue to their semantic distinctions: the action of *svetit'* impacts others, while the action of *svetit'sja* does not. Speaking of the sun, for example, only the non-sja verb is possible:

- (46) U nas v Leningrade v pjatom času utra uže vovsju *svetit* solnce. (V. Panova. Konspekt romana)
 'Here in Leningrad the sun already shines full blast after four o'clock in the morning.'

The crescent moon in (47) is depicted as illuminating other objects (non-sja verb), while the drugstore lights in (48) are not (-sja verb):

- (47) Vot zapalo v golovu čužoe okošecko i mesjac nad černoj sosnoj. Tonkij mesjac *svetit*. Krasneetsja okošecko. Zovet dorožka, beguščaja k domiku. (V. Panova. Valja)
 'Somebody else's window and the moon over the black pine tree got stuck in the memory. The crescent moon is shining. The little window is red. The path that runs to the house is luring.'
- (48) Jacenko ostanovilsja pered aptekoj, *svetivšejsja* želtymi ognjami. (M. A. Aldanov. Ključ)
 'Yatsenko stopped in front of the drugstore, which shone with yellow lights.'

Both of these sentences can have counterparts. Sentence (47') is possible if the crescent moon does not provide light, but only glows in the sky. Sentence (48') is possible if the lights of the drugstore illuminate the street:

- (47') Tonkij mesjac *svetitsja*.
- (48') Jacenko ostanovilsja pered aptekoj, *svetivšej* želtymi ognjami.

The top of the volcano in (49a) and the pearls in (49b) do not provide light and consequently cannot have non-sja counterparts.

- (49) a. I cerez dva časa znakomo *zasvetilas'* v osennem solnce kruglaja golova vulkana, i samolet, grubo podprygivaja, prizemlilsja na ostrove. (Z. Žuravleva. Ostrovitjane)
 'And in two hours the round volcano head was shining in the familiar way in the autumn sun, and the plane, hopping roughly, landed on the island.'
- b. *Žemčužnoe ožerel'e svetilos'* na šelku. (K. Paustovskij. Molitva madam Bovè)
 'The pearl beads shone on the silk [dress].'
- (49') a. *I cerez dva časa znakomo *zasvetila* v osennem solnce kruglaja golova vulkana, ...
 b. **Žemčužnoe ožerel'e svetilo* na šelku.

Gerritsen (1990) classifies *svetit'sja* as "medial" along with the verbs *imet'sja* 'have', *naxodit'sja* 'be located', *soderžat'sja* 'be contained', *stroit'sja* 'get built' (as in *Moskva stroilas'*) and color verbs in -sja. She argues with Mučnik (1971), who states that the -sja verb represents an 'immanent property'. In her opinion, it is the non-sja verb that has the 'immanent property': 'The Vsja ... indicates that something that emits light shows itself. ... *Svetitsja luna/solnce* is, in fact, tautological, as the showing itself of the moon/sun already implies its shining' (Gerritsen 1990,

44). Actually, **svetitsja luna/solnce* is impossible, unless there are strong reasons for the sun or the moon not to emit enough light to illuminate:

- (50) a. Skvoz' tjaželoje radioaktivnoe oblako nežno *svetilos'* rozovoe solnce.
'The pink sun shone tenderly through the heavy radioactive cloud.'
b. Ešče ne stemnelo, a na svetlo-golubom nebe uže *svetilas'* kruglaja luna.
'It hadn't gotten dark yet, while the full moon was already shining in the light blue sky.'

Similarly, one would not expect a signal lamp not to emit light. However, there may be circumstances, such as fog in (51), that prevent it from doing so:

- (51) Na more podnjalsja tuman; edva skvoz' nego *svetilsja* fonar' na korme bližnego korablja.
(Lermontov. Taman'/MAS)
'A fog rose on the sea; the signal lamp on the stern of the next ship barely shone through it.'

Gerritsen's explanation of (52) is as follows: "the subject is *serp*: a sickle does, by itself, not have the immanent property of shining (the presence of *mesjaca* has no influence in this respect)" (1990, 43):

- (52) Na uzkoj plotine stojali tri starye ivy, i nad nimi *svetilsja* serp molodogo mesjaca.
(Veresaev) (Gerritsen 1990, 43)
'On a narrow dam stood three old willows, and above them shone the crescent [the sickle] of the new moon.'

In fact, this reasoning probably should be reversed: since the moon here does not emit sufficient light to illuminate but only enough to be seen, it has to be described in non-contradictory terms, either as *tonkij mesjac* as in (47) or the synonymous *serp molodogo mesjaca*. To further refute Gerritsen's point, an even more unlikely object than a sickle, namely the night, can be used as a source of light:

- (53) Sarving sidel v kajute, ... mnogo kuril, perečityval dokumenty, obohrannye u oficera. Ognja on ne zažigal. V okna *svetila* pasmurnaja severnaja noč'. (K. Paustovskij. Ozernyj front)
'Sarving sat in his ship cabin, ... smoked a lot, reread the documents confiscated from the officer. He did not turn a light on. Through the windows shone the gloomy northern night.'

Gerritsen (1990, 45) does add as an afterthought when discussing the verb *dymit'sja* that "svetit' ... also implies consequences for the person involved."

The particular impact here is illumination. *Svetit'* means 'shine (and illuminate)', and *svetit'sja* means 'shine, glow (without illuminating)'.

3.3. *dymit'* vs. *dymit'sja*

The pair *dymit'*—*dymit'sja* 'smoke' represents a similar distinction: *dymit'* describes the action as having an impact, while *dymit'sja* does not. Gerritsen (1990, 45) observes that "the only difference ... concerns the experience of the observer: the [non-sja] has a negative nuance ... he is irritated by the consequences of the smoking (pollution)." In fact, the speaker does not have to be irritated, s/he simply observes that the smoke has an impact. The stoves in (54), for example, are described as having an impact (the ceiling is covered with soot, and the air fills with smoke in winter — *ugarno* 'full of fumes, smoke'), even though the statement is uttered at a time when the stoves are not smoking:

- (54) Potolok zakopčen, kak v kurnoj izbe, — jasno, što zdes' zimoj *dymjat* peči i byvaet ugarno. (Čexov. Palata N 6/MAS)
'The ceiling is covered with soot, like in a peasant house; it is clear that the stoves here smoke in winter and one could suffocate.'

In (55a) and (55b), on the other hand, the smoke is described as not having any impact:

- (55) a. Vdali po Rejnu bežal i *dymilsja* paroxod. (Turgenev. Asja/MAS)
'There was a ship in the distance on the Rhine running and smoking.'
b. *Dymilis'* kirpičnye zavody. Gustoj černyj dym ... podnimalsja vverx. (Čexov. Step'/MAS)
'The brick factories were smoking. The thick black smoke was rising.'

Dymit' means 'smoke (with impact on people)', and *dymit'sja* means 'smoke (without an impact on people)'.

3.4. *pleskat'* vs. *pleskat'sja*

Another pair of verbs which are considered synonymous are *pleskat'*—*pleskat'sja* 'splash'. Janko-Trinickaja (1962, 236) remarks that the main meaning 'produce a splash (about masses of water) excitedly, while being in action' is equally attributable to both -sja and non-sja verbs. The verb pair is absent from Gerritsen's discussion.

Here again, the non-sja verb signals impact on other entities involved, while the -sja verb signals the lack of an impact. In the following example, the speaker, who is also the Pⁿ, is splashed in the eyes:

- (56) Drobitsja, i *pleščet*, i bryžžet volna *Mne* v oči solenoju vlagoj. (A. K. Tolstoj. Drobitsja, i pleščet...) (J-T 236)
'The wave shatters and splashes and sprinkles me in the eyes with salt water.'

In the next examples, however, the splashing of water clearly has no impact:

- (57) a. Katja molčala, tol'ko voda *pleskalas'* v koryte. (V. Panova. Evdokija)
'Katya was silent, only water splashed in the wash basin.'
- b. Kak bezmjatežno sejčas v ètom meste *pleščutsja* volny, vyzvannye probežavšim veselo paroxodikom. (O. Forš. Odety kamnem) (J-T 236)
'How peacefully the waves, caused by the little steamship that merrily passed by, splash now in this place.'

The next two examples from Pushkin exhibit the opposition: (58) describes a flood in Saint-Petersburg, while (59) depicts the poet's own trip to the Caucasus:

- (58) *Pleskaja* šumnoju volnoj V kraja svoej ogrady strojnoj, Neva metalas' kak bol'noj V svoej postele bespokojnoj. (Puškin. Mednyj vsadnik)
'Splashing a noisy wave into the borders of its elegant barrier, the Neva was raging like a sick man in his restless bed.'
- (59) Vse krugom molčit; Liš' volny *pleščutsja* bušuja. (Puškin. Kavkazskij plennik)
'Everything is quiet around, only the waves are splashing tempestuously.'

Pleskat' means 'splash (with impact)', and *pleskat'sja* means 'splash (without impact)'.

3.5. *xvastat'* vs. *xvastat'sja*

With respect to *xvastat'*—*xvastat'sja* 'boast, brag' and *celit'*—*celit'sja* 'aim', Gerritsen (1990, 76), who classifies them with "actional reflexives" such as *brosat'sja* (kamnjami), *plevat'sja*, *otstupit'sja* and *otkazat'sja*, observes that *xvastat'* is obsolete. It is certainly more colloquial than *xvastat'sja* and may be on its way out of the language. However, it is still encountered in contemporary Russian.

In all of the instances of the use of *xvastat'*, the impact on listeners is obvious. In (60), Glebov was vexed by the father's boasting in Levka's presence:

- (60) Krome togo, otec v prisustvii Levki stanovilsja neumerenno mnogosloven, rassuždal na raznye temy i, što Glebova korobilo, kak-to priviral i *xvastal*. (Ju. Trifonov. Dom na naberežnoj)
'Besides, in Leva's presence father would become extremely verbose, would discuss different topics, and would embellish things and brag, which bothered Glebov.'

In (61), the professor's quoting from Latin was meant to impress the students, which he did in the case of Vadim, despite the fact that the latter decided that the professor was boasting:

- (61) [Professor] načal s latinskogo izrecenija, kotoroe tut že perevel na ruskij. "*Xvastaet*," — rešil Vadim. (I. Grekova. Vdovij paroxod)
'[The professor] began with a Latin saying, which he immediately translated into Russian. "He is showing off," decided Vadim.'

In (62), the non-*sja* *xvastat'* emphasizes the fact that Vadim's boasting was divorced from reality and was said solely to impress (have an impact on) the listener. The speaker comes to this realization as a result of the described incident:

- (62) Vadim vseгда *xvastal*, što žizn' emu vovse ne doroga, a tut strusil, proklinal sud'bu i revel so slezami. (I. Grekova. Vdovij paroxod)
'Vadim always bragged that life was not dear to him at all, but here he felt cowardly, cursed fate and cried with tears.'

On the other hand, within the same work we find (63), where the content of the boast has no impact on the listener (narrator):

- (63) Kak on xoroš, kogda, naproказiv, vbegaet ko mne, čtoby *poxvastat'sja*, blestja glazami: — Kakoe ja bolvanstvo sdela! (I. Grekova. Vdovij paroxod)
'How beautiful he was when, after having committed a prank, he would run with his eyes shining into my room in order to brag: "What a dumbness I did!"'

In (64), the only effect Komarov's boasting has on the speaker is that she concluded that the information was a boast:

- (64) "Davnen'ko ne videlis",— privetstvoval menja Komarov i tut že, ne uderžavšis' *poxvastalsja* tem, čto uežžal v zagraničnuju komandirovku. (L. Šatunovskaja. Žizn' v Kremle)
' "We haven't seen each other in a long time," Komarov greeted me and immediately bragged, unable to restrain himself, that he had gone on a business trip abroad.'

Xvastat' means 'boast, brag (with impact)', and *xvastat'sja* means 'boast, brag (without impact)'.

3.6. *celit'* vs. *celit'sja*

Gerritsen (1990, 76), discussing *celit'*—*celit'sja* 'aim', correctly observes that "the action [of *celit'*] is performed with the purpose to hitting the object aimed at; ... the essence of the action [of *celit'sja*] is not the hitting but the aiming, i.e. the action itself." In other words, the action of *celit'* has to have an impact.

This dichotomy is best seen in the following examples. In (65), Lieutenant Schmidt, who is about to be executed, speaks to the commander of the firing squad, which was not likely to take good aim since its members admired Lieutenant Schmidt:

- (65) Gromko i prosto on [lejtenant Šmidt] skazal v neobyčajnoj tišine:
— Miša, skaži svojim ljudjam, čtoby oni *celili* vernee. (K. Paustovskij. Tri stranicy)
'He [Lieutenant Schmidt] spoke loudly and simply in the unusual quiet:
"Michael, tell your people to aim better."'

In (66), on the other hand, Chekhov aims at Levitan and fires, but his action is not going to produce an impact since his rifle is loaded with rags and paper:

- (66) V kustax sidel Anton Čexov so staroj berdankoj, zarjažennoj bumagoj i trjapkami. On xiščno *celilsja* v Levitana i spuskal kurok. (K. Paustovskij. Isaak Levitan)
 ‘Anton Chekhov was sitting in the bushes with an old rifle loaded with paper and rags. He would aim at Levitan like a predator and push the trigger.’

One can hit without aiming, as in (67), but not without even trying to impact, as in (67’); in the latter case one would not even shoot:

(67) *popast’ ne celjas’*

(67’) ?? *popast’ ne celja*

This is precisely what we find in (68), where the woman meant to hit the rabbit, although she did not take aim:

- (68) Staraja, s bol’nym serdcem ženščina na polnom xodu konja, *ne celjas’* po porxnuvšemu v klevler zajcu, *popala bez promaxa*. (È. Sevela. Viking)
 ‘The old woman with a bad heart on the galloping horse hit (without fail) without aiming the hare that rushed into the clover.’

Celit’ means ‘aim (and impact)’ and *celit’sja* means ‘aim (without necessarily impacting)’.

3.7. *balovat’* vs. *balovat’sja*

The verbs *balovat’*—*balovat’sja* ‘fool around’ represent a similar dichotomy. All dictionaries agree that *balovat’* is colloquial-substandard. It is indeed so in (69), as opposed to *balovat’sja* in neutral (70):

- (69) — Kak tut moj Sergej? — sprosil Gorelov ... — Ne *baluet* v novoj škole? (Dolinina. “A vot moj batja!...”) (Gorbačevič 25)
 ‘ “How is my Sergej doing here?” Gorelov asked... “He doesn’t fool around in the new school?” ’
- (70) No kogda oni [deti] *balujutsja*, šumjat vo dvore, vzroslye ix ne ostanavlivajut, sčitaja, čto vo vremja igry detjam položeno šalit’. (Barto. Zapiski detskogo poëta/BAS-20)
 ‘But when they [children] fool around, make noise in the courtyard, the adults do not stop them, thinking that during a game children are supposed to be bratty.’

There are instances where the speaker perceives the impact as the main purpose of fooling around, in which case the non-sja verb, despite its nonstandard status, will be used, as in (71):

- (71) a. On i ne somnevalsja, čto, streljaja naugad v klever, ona ne mogla popast' v zajca, no ne stal ej perečit', prinjal èto kak igru — *baluet* staruxa, soskočil i vošel v klever, srazu zamočiv koncy brjuk i stal staratel'no smotret' pod nogi, delaja vid, čto iščet. (È. Sevela. Viking)

'He did not even doubt that shooting at random into the clover, she could not have hit the rabbit, but he did not contradict her, took it as a game, the old woman is fooling around, he got off [the horse] and went into the clover, immediately getting the cuffs of his pants wet and started carefully looking under his feet, pretending to search.'

- b. [Rebjata] po nočam *balovali*. U kogo polennicu raskatjat, u kogo trubu šapkoj zatknut, a to i vorota vodoj primorozjat. (Belov. Privyčnoe delo/BAS-20)

'The kids would fool around at night. In one house they would scatter the fire wood around, in another stuff a hat in the chimney or even freeze the gate with water.'

It is true that MAS⁴ cites a similar example (72) with a -sja verb, but qualifies it as substandard (*prostorečie*) as opposed to colloquial (*razgovornyj*) for other usages of *balovat'sja*:

- (72) Oni načali *balovat'sja* ot skuki: to steklo rasšibut, to zabor polomajut. (Nosov. Priključenija Neznajki i ego družej/MAS)

'They began to fool around from boredom: they would either break a window or break a fence.'

So even though *balovat'* is colloquial-substandard, the association of -sja with lack of impact appears to still hold, at least in the colloquial usages, while the non-sja verb indicates impact. It is logical to expect that this distinction would become standardized.

3.8. *grozit'* vs. *grozit'sja*

The issues related to this verb are two-fold: whether the threat is verbal or not, and whether it has an impact or not. The second subcategorization applies only to verbal threats.

The opposition *grozit'*—*grozit'sja* 'threaten' has been repeatedly examined, beginning with Peškovskij (1956, 119), who states that *grozit'sja* refers to the gesture made by the threatening person. Both Peškovskij (1956, 119) and Vinogradov (1947, 105) state that *grozit'sja* pertains only to animate Subjects. However, Gerritsen (1990, 95-96) rightfully disputes Peškovskij's first claim, and states that the threatening gesture is more likely to be rendered by means of the verb *grozit'*, such as *grozit' pal'cem* but not **grozit'sja pal'cem*.

As will be demonstrated below, this latter statement does explain part of the difference between the verbs as well as why *grozit'sja* (indicating a verbal threat) may refer only to animate Subjects while *grozit'* (indicating a non-verbal threat) may refer to animate or inanimate subjects. In (73), non-verbal threats are made by people:

⁴ It is interesting to note that BAS-20 does not have this example, even though both dictionaries use the same card catalogue of examples.

- (73) a. Šalun už zamorozil pal'čik: Emu i bol'no i smešno, A mat' *grozit* emu v okno. (Puškin. Evgenij Onegin)
'The brat has already frozen his finger; it's painful and funny to him at the same time, while his mother is threatening him through the window.'
- b. Tut na kovre temneet pjatno, za kotoroe Griše do six por *grozjat pal'cami*. (Čexov. Griša)
'Here on the rug there is a dark spot for which they still shake their fingers at Grisha.'
- c. Kalistratov *pogrozil* emu kulakom. (Paustovskij. Sud'ba Šarlja Lonsevilja)
'Kalistratov threatened him with his fist.'
- d. Zametiv besporjadki na ulice, on ènergično *grozil* palkoj, ... (K. M. Stanjukovič. Groznyj admiral)
'Having noticed disorder on the street he energetically threatened with his stick, ...'

In (74), non-verbal threats are made by inanimate Subjects:

- (74) a. Nadela moju koftočku i povjazalas' legkoj, *grozivšej* uletet', kak vozdušnyj šar, kosynkoj. (A. Aleksin. Ivašov)
'She put on my shirt and tied a light scarf, which threatened to fly away like a balloon.'
- b. Užasnaja opasnost' *grozit* vsem bogaten'kim i počtennen'kim graždanam ètogo goroda. (A. N. Tolstoj. Zolotoj ključik)
'A terrible danger threatens all rich and respectable citizens of this town.'

Grozit'sja, on the other hand, depicts the verbal quality of the threat par excellence. In (75b), the particle *mol* specifically indicates the verbal quality of the threat, which is articulated without any accompanying threatening gestures:

- (75) a. A vpročem, govorjat, sočiniteli tol'ko *grozjatsja* — i nikogda svoix veščej ne žgut. (Turgenev. Nov') (J-T 233)
'However, they say, authors only threaten but never burn their work.'
- b. [Mal'čik] kliknul Balteka, strašno lenivogo, loxmatogo psa. Orozkul vse *grozilsja* pristrelit' ego — začem, mol, deržat' takuju sobaku. (Č. Ajtmatov. Belyj paroxod)
'[The boy] called Baltck, the terribly lazy, disheveled dog. Orozkul kept on threatening to shoot [to kill] him — why, he said, keep such a dog?'
- c. Palicyn posmotrel na nee — i vspyxnul; no uslyxav šorox v drugoj kornate, *pogrozivšis'* ušel. (Lermontov. Vadim)
'Palicyn looked at her, and gasped; but having heard a rustle in the other room, having threatened [verbally], left.'

The non-*sja* counterpart in the first example would be questionable, and in the third it would signify just the threatening gesture:

- (75) a. ? A vpročem, govorjat, sočiniteli tol'ko *grozjat* — i nikogda svoix veščej ne žgut.
 c. Palicyn posmotrel na nee — i vspyxnu; no uslyxav šorox v drugoj komnate, *pogroziv* ušel.
 'Palicyn looked at her, and gasped; but having heard a rustle in the other room, having made a threatening gesture, left.'

The modified (75'b) can be explained after the following examination of the impact of verbal threats, that is whether they were carried out or not.

In (75a), the threat is articulated but never carried out, and in (75b) the threat remained but a threat: it was never carried out, even though it was made repeatedly. Contrary to (75a) and (75b), with *-sja* verbs, where the threats were not carried out, in (76a) and in (76b), with non-*-sja* verbs, the threats either bore fruit or were carried out. In other words, in (76) these were not mere threats, as in (75), but threats that had consequences. In both sets of examples, the speech events take place *after* the moment when the action of carrying out the threat could have taken place.

- (76) a. On staromodno gnal i gnal lizkinogo poklonnika, i *grozil* emu, i kričal, i byl v isstuplenii. (L. Žukova. Ėpilogi)
 'He old-fashionedly kept on chasing away Liza's admirer, he threatened him, and screamed at him, and was furious.'
 b. Majja Andreevna vdrug vsxlipnula... Da kak ona smela tak pro nego podumat'? Ešče *grozila* "proverju"... (N. Katerli. Polina)
 'Maya Andreevna all of a sudden sobbed... How did she dare to think this way about him? She even threatened "I'll check"...'.

In the next sets of examples, (77) and (78), the speech events take place *prior* to the moment when the threats could be carried out. The use of *grozit'*, as in (77), reflects the speaker's perception that the threat is credible and it is likely to be implemented:

- (77) a. I takogo-to slavnogo psa *grozili* vykinut' za bort! (K. M. Stanjukovič. Kucyj) (J-T 233)
 'And they threatened to throw such a nice dog overboard!'
 b. Vskore vyjasnjaetsja, čto ja ne tol'ko bandit. Vera Ivanovna obzvanivaet podpisavšix-sja, stydit, *grozit*, trebuet snjat' podpisi pod podmetnym pis'mom. (V. Vojnovič. Ivan'kiada)
 'Soon it becomes clear that I am not just a bandit. Vera Ivanovna calls all the signers, shames them, threatens them, demands that they remove their signatures under the shameful letter.'

The use of *grozit'sja*, as in (78), reflects the speaker's perception that the threat is not credible and is unlikely to be implemented. If we compare (77a) and (78), whose syntactic structures are similar, we will see that the threat in (77a) is much more credible, simply because it is much easier for a person to carry out a death threat against a dog than against other human beings:

- (78) On v bezumnoj jarosti i *grozitsja* ix ubit'. (Ju. Trifonov. Vremja i mesto)
'He is madly furious and is threatening to kill them.'

Similarly, the modified example (75'b) would constitute a credible threat which has not yet been carried out:

- (75') b. [Mal'čik] kliknul Balteka, strašno lenivogo, loxmatogo psa. Orozkul vse *grozit* pristrelit' ego.
'[The boy] called Baltek, the terribly lazy, disheveled dog. Orozkul keeps on threatening to shoot [to kill] him.'

Janko-Trinickaja compares (77a), repeated immediately below, with (79) in order to show possible interchangeability:

- (77) a. I takogo-to slavnogo psa *grozili* vykinut' za bort! (K. M. Stanjukovič. Kucyj) (J-T 233)
'And they threatened to throw such a nice dog overboard!'
- (79) — Nel'zja, govorit, na sudne deržat' sobaku. I *grozilsja*, čto prikažet vykinut' Kucego za bort. (K. M. Stanjukovič. Kucyj) (J-T 233)
'You can't, he said, keep a dog on a ship. And he threatened that he would order to throw Kucy overboard.'

In fact, (77a) and (79), while being from the same story, represent two separate incidents of threat to the dog's life. Example (79) occurs earlier and is said after the threat has been averted. Consequently, in (79) the emphasis is on the threat speech act itself. Example (77a) occurs later and is said before the threat is resolved; thus at the moment of speech the threat is still pending and is considered by the speaker to be real. During this second threat to the life of the dog, a boatswain went to talk to the superior officer in defense of the dog's life, and when he returned he said:

- (80) — Razžalovat' *grozil*, — promolvil serdito bocman. (K. M. Stanjukovič. Kucyj)
'"He threatened to demote me," the boatswain uttered angrily.'

Again, at the moment of speech, the threat is very real, and consequences can still take place; therefore, the speaker uses the non-sja verb.

The following examples show how one and the same event may be described in two different ways by two participants: with -sja by the one who does not believe that the threat is credible, and without -sja by the one who thinks the threat is credible:

- (81) ... on [Ivkov], konečno, sčital unizitel'nym, zlijsja, kogda emu govorili, čto Kornev ego "vyvedet", i byval v vostorge, kogda vyvodil admirala iz sebja do togo, čto tot *grozilsja* ego povosit' na noka-ree, vo čto Ivkov ni na sekundu ne veril. (K. M. Stanjukovič. Bespokojnyj admiral)
'... he [Ivkov], of course considered it humiliating and was angry when he was told that Kornev would "make him" and was delighted when he would irritate the admiral to the

point that the latter would threaten to hang him on the yard, which Ivkov did not believe for a second.'

- (82) "Iš... "čert glazastyj"! Èto nepremenno Ivkov sočinil... Derzkij mal'čiška!" — myslenno govoril admiral, čuvstvovavšij nekotoruju slabost' k etomu "derzkomu mal'čiške", kotorigo on už *grozil* raz povesit' i raz rasstreljat'. (K. M. Stanjukovič. *Bespokojnyj admiral*)
 ' "Gee... "eyeing devil"! It is certainly Ivkov who composed it... Insolent boy!" the admiral was saying in his thoughts. He felt a certain weakness towards this "insolent boy", whom he had already threatened once to hang and once to shoot.'

Rare as it may be, even a -sja verb may be used with a non-verbal threat, provided that the threat is perceived as one that cannot have any consequences, as in the following example where a peasant woman is threatening the speaker, a landowner:

- (83) Odna baba s porogu svoej izby *pogrozilas'* mne uxvatom. (Turgenev) (Rozenal' 1985, 224)
 'One peasant woman from the threshold of her house threatened me with oven prongs.'

Non-verbal threat is usually expressed only by the non-sja verb *grozit'*. Verbal threat without impact, when it is nothing but a threat or when the speech event takes place after the threat could have been carried out, is expressed by the -sja verb *grozit'sja*. Verbal threat which was carried out, i.e. one that had an impact, or verbal threat that still may be carried out, i.e. one that has a potential impact (when the speech act takes place prior to the time when the threat may be carried out), is expressed by the non-sja verb *grozit'*.

3.9. Summary

In all of the verb pairs examined in this section, the non-sja verb means an action that has impact. The types of actions described included: circling, shining, smoking, splashing, boasting, aiming, fooling around and threatening verbally. With the -sja, the actions occur without impact.

4. Lack of Knowledge

There is one more verb that is treated as synonymous to its non-sja counterpart: *stat'sja* 'become, happen'. The -sja verb is used to denote the speaker's lack of knowledge as to the fate of the Subject, as opposed to the non-sja verb which denotes the state or condition of the Subject. The -sja verb has overtones of life vs. death (or at least of fate), as in (84), as opposed to the non-sja verb, which simply denotes a condition, as in (85):

- (84) a. Dal'se sled Džordža terjaetsja, čto s nim *stalos'* — ne znaju. ("Izvestija" N 98, 8 aprolja 1986)
 'Later the trace of George gets lost, I don't know what happened to him.'

b. Ona toržestvenno ob"javila, čto avtorom kartiny byla dostojnaja osoba i poklonnica (ne učenica) Vrubelja, a čto potom *stalos'* s ètoj učenicej (ili poklonnicej?) Vrubelja — tajna i nevedenie. (E. Ternovskij. Priemnoe otdelenie)

'She solemnly announced that a respectable person and a female admirer (not a pupil) of Vrubel is the author of the painting, and whatever happened to this pupil (or female admirer?) of Vrubel is a mystery and unknown.'

c. — Interesno, čto potom s ètim korablem *stalos'*. (V. Kaverin. Dva kapitana)

'I wonder, whatever happened afterwards with this ship.'

(85) Uvidja menja ona vzdrognula i zakričala. Čto togda so mnoj *stalo* — ne pomnju. (Puškin. Kapitanskaja dočka/MAS)

'Having seen me she shuddered and screamed. I don't remember what happened to me then.'

Thus *stat'sja* is used in questions about the fate (life vs. death) of a person (or an important inanimate entity), while *stat'* is used regarding minor, passing occurrences.

5. Summary

A fundamental premise of my research is that supposed synonyms are not really synonyms, or in particular for purposes of this chapter, quasi-synonymous -sja and non-sja verbs have semantic and pragmatic differences. The verbs considered in this chapter are those which have traditionally been considered either almost or completely synonymous; they therefore constitute an acid test for my premise. The chapter has demonstrated that the three pragmatic concepts [+volition], [-impact] and [-knowledge] are indeed associated with the use of -sja in this group of verbs and are absent from the non-sja counterparts.

CHAPTER FOUR

Aggressive Verbs and Empathy

This chapter examines the group of -sja verbs which has been called “aktivno-bezob”ektnoe značenje” [active-objectless] by Vinogradov (1972), “general characteristic” by Townsend (1967),¹ “ob”ektnyj impersonal” [object impersonal] by Mel’čuk & Xolodovič (1970), “ ‘absolute’ reflexives” by Geniušienė (1987), and “potential active” by Gerritsen (1990). Veyrenc (1980) classifies this group as one in which the postfix -sja may be replaced by a zero. This group includes verbs such as *žeč’sja* ‘bum’, *kusat’sja* ‘bite’, and *rugat’sja* ‘scold’ in phrases like:

- (1) *Sobaka kusaetsja.*
‘The dog bites (is a biter).’
- (2) *Krapiva žžetsja.*
‘Nettles sting.’
- (3) *Ona rugaetsja.*
‘She is scolding.’

This group has long been misunderstood and misclassified. For example, Janko-Trinickaja (1962, 198) describes the meaning of this particular -sja group as “značenje vozvratnogo glagola = značeniju proizvodjaščego glagola + ljuboj, vsjakij iz vozmožnyx ob”ektov” [the meaning of the reflexive verb = the meaning of the base verb + (just) any possible object]. Discussing the possible objects, Janko-Trinickaja (1962, 198) writes

U proizvodjaščego perexodnogo glagola vozmožny samye raznoobraznye prjamyje ob”ekty, počti bez vsjakogo leksičeskogo ograničenja, no samyj krug ètix perexodnyx glagolov ves’ma ograničen.

[The underlying transitive verb may have the most diverse direct objects, almost without any lexical limitations, while the list of these verbs is quite limited.]

However, as will be shown later, not just any object may be understood as the underlying referent of the -sja.

Peškovskij (1956), Janko-Trinickaja (1962) and Vinogradov (1972) claim that the action, while directed toward an object, is perceived as an action taking place within the subject or as a characteristic feature of the subject. This gave rise to the name of the group as “characteristic” or “potential” and to the description of this potential characteristic as “inalienable”, which persists in most of the contemporary literature dealing with reflexives in Russian.

For Janko-Trinickaja (1962, 199), the essence of this group is the “generalized included object”: “značenje vključennogo obobščennogo ob”ekta ničem ne otlišaetsja v glagolax nevozvratnyx i

¹ However, Townsend also includes sentences of the type *Èti plat’ja ne rvutsja* ‘These dresses don’t tear’, which in this study belong to quasi-passive (Chapter 5).

vozvratnyx, no v poslednix ono morfoložičeski vyraženo, zakrepleno.” [The meaning of the included generalized object in no way differs in the non-reflexive verbs and the reflexive verbs, but in the latter it is morphologically expressed and fixed.]

Brecht & Levine (1984, 130-131) insist that

each of these sentences [*sobaka kusaetsja* ‘the dog bites’, *eta krapiva žžetsja* ‘this nettle stings’, *korova bodaetsja* ‘the cow butts’] makes a statement about a particular inalienable characteristic of the subject/Agent, that is, that it typically performs the action denoted by the verb. Sentence *sobaka kusaetsja* does not mean that the dog is biting someone, but rather that the dog characteristically bites.

The entire subsequent discussion in their paper is based on this assumption and on the notion of “inalienable characteristic”. In fact, as will be shown later, sentences of the type *sobaka kusaetsja* may mean that the dog is biting someone as well as that the dog characteristically bites. In addition, there are verbs that produce only ‘actual’ and never ‘characteristic’ phrases of this type.

Recently Geniušienė (1987, 366) asked:

Is the RM [reflexive marker] used to mark direct object deletion as in the Russian:

[4a] *Sobaka kusaet detej*
‘The dog bites children.’

[4b] *Sobaka kusaetsja*
‘The dog bites’?

Do ‘absolute’ RVs [reflexive verbs] ever acquire the meaning of the potential ability or inclination of the Agent to perform the action expressed?

Yet it is not just any verb that by attaching -sja can acquire such a meaning, nor is it just any kind of potential action that is involved. For example, sentence (5), which would describe a potential ability or inclination on the part of the agent, is incorrect:

(5) *On *rasskazyvaetsja*.
‘He tells stories/ is a story-teller.’

The remainder of this chapter will proceed as follows: Section 1 will demonstrate that the action described by this group of -sja verbs represents an *a g g r e s s i v e* action; Section 2 will argue that the verbs do not necessarily describe an inalienable characteristic; and Section 3 will show first that the underlying object of the action is not just any object, but an animate one, and usually a human, and second that the use of this verb represents empathy with the object of the action.

While Xolodovič (1970) does not even allow for any semantic differences between *rugat* ‘scold’ and *rugat’sja* ‘scold’, only syntactic ones, Mel’čuk & Xolodovič (1970) call for a set of comprehensive rules of use of each voice (the subject of this chapter is the voice which they call “ob”ektnyj impersonal”), which would allow, forbid or prescribe the use of each voice in a given context. This chapter proposes to offer such rules for this particular group.

1. Aggressive Action

If we examine the verbs that are commonly associated with this group by various authors, including:

Peškovskij (1956, 116): *kusat'sja*, *ljagat'sja*, *bodat'sja*, *brykat'sja*, *klevat'sja*, *drat'sja*, *branit'sja* and *rugat'sja*, leaving out *kljast'sja* 'take an oath'

Vinogradov (1972, 498): *kusat'sja*, *tolkat'sja*, *žeč'sja*, *bodat'sja*, *pačkat'sja* and *rezat'sja*

Janko-Trinickaja (1962, 198-201): *bodat'sja*, *branit'sja*, *brykat'sja*, *draznit'sja*, *žeč'sja*, *kusat'sja*, *klevat'sja*, *ljagat'sja*, *rugat'sja*, *tolkat'sja*, *carapat'sja*, *celovat'sja*, *obnimat'sja*, *kolot'sja* and *pačkat'sja*, excluding *sprašivat'sja* 'ask permission' and *razobrat'sja* 'figure out, find out'

we will notice that the common semantic element is the aggressive quality of the verbs. This explains in part why the verbs *kljast'sja*, *sprašivat'sja* and *razobrat'sja* should be excluded. In addition, *kljast'sja* represents a semantic shift with respect to its non-sja counterpart (*kljast'* 'damn'), and *sprosit'sja* 'ask permission' represents a narrowing of meaning compared to the more general meaning without -sja (*sprosit'* 'ask'):

Gerritsen (1990), who does not provide a comprehensive list, mentions only three verbs — *žeč'sja*, *bodat'sja* and *kusat'sja* — as "potential"; two other verbs from the list below — *plevat'sja* and *brosat'sja* — are categorized as "actional reflexives" together with *otstupit'sja* 'renounce', *otkazat'sja* 'turn down', *celit'sja* 'aim', and others discussed in Chapter 3.

Another important feature of this group is that the action is directed outward, as Vinogradov (1972, 498) points out. This is to be expected, since an aggressive action presupposes a target. Veyrenc (1980, 228) goes further and points out that *kusat'sja* cannot mean 'bite oneself', nor can *ščipat'sja* mean 'pinch oneself'.

Using the aggressive semantics as the basis of this group, we can identify all together thirty-eight -sja verbs that have this meaning:²

² The order in which the verbs are presented deserves some explanation. Rather than give them in a totally arbitrary (from the point of view of meaning or use) alphabetical order, I group them by synonyms and quasi-synonyms wherever possible (*rugat'sja* — *branit'sja* — *materit'sja* — *matjugat'sja*; *obzyvat'sja* — *draznit'sja* — *zadirat'sja*; *tolkat'sja* — *pinat'sja* — *pixat'sja*; *brykat'sja* — *ljagat'sja*; *kolot'sja* — *rezat'sja*; *kidat'sja* — *brosat'sja* — *švyrvat'sja* — *švarkat'sja*; *švarkat'sja* — *bryzgat'sja* — *oblivat'sja* — *pleskat'sja*; *pačkat'sja* — *mazat'sja*; *obnimat'sja* — *celovat'sja* — *lizat'sja*). Within these groups, the order starts with totally "human" actions (*rugat'sja* through *ščipat'sja*), "human" or "animal" actions (*plevat'sja* through *žalit'sja*), and "human" or "thing" actions (*žeč'sja* through *rezat'sja*). Then follow "human" actions with different "complications": *kidat'sja*, *brosat'sja* and *švyrvat'sja* require a complement (the lack of one is ellipsis); *bryzgat'sja*, *oblivat'sja*, *maxat'sja* and *pleskat'sja* are not considered aggressive in standard Russian dictionaries or grammars, nor are the verbs *obnimat'sja*, *celovat'sja* and *lizat'sja*; and the verb *ebat'sja*, being taboo, is not mentioned in any standard dictionaries or grammars.

<i>rugat'sja</i>	'scold, curse'	<i>žalit'sja</i>	'sting'
<i>branit'sja</i>	'scold, curse'	<i>žeč'sja</i>	'burn'
<i>materit'sja</i>	'curse using <i>mat</i> '	<i>kolot'sja</i>	'pierce'
<i>matjugat'sja</i>	'curse using <i>mat</i> '	<i>rezat'sja</i>	'cut'
<i>obzyvat'sja</i>	'call names'	<i>kidat'sja</i>	'throw'
<i>draznit'sja</i>	'tease'	<i>brosat'sja</i>	'throw'
<i>zadirat'sja</i>	'pick on, bully'	<i>švyrjat'sja</i>	'throw'
<i>ščekotat'sja</i>	'tickle'	<i>švarkat'sja</i>	'throw with force, pour over'
<i>tolkat'sja</i>	'push'	<i>bryzgat'sja</i>	'sprinkle, splash'
<i>pinat'sja</i>	'kick'	<i>oblivat'sja</i>	'pour'
<i>pixat'sja</i>	'shove'	<i>pleskat'sja</i>	'splash'
<i>ščipat'sja</i>	'pinch'	<i>maxat'sja</i>	'swing'
<i>plevat'sja</i>	'spit'	<i>pačkat'sja</i>	'dirty, smear'
<i>carapat'sja</i>	'scratch'	<i>mazat'sja</i>	'smear'
<i>brykat'sja</i>	'kick'	<i>drat'sja</i>	'fight'
<i>ljagat'sja</i>	'kick'	<i>obnimat'sja</i>	'embrace'
<i>bodat'sja</i>	'butt'	<i>celovat'sja</i>	'kiss'
<i>kusat'sja</i>	'bite'	<i>lizat'sja</i>	'lick, smooch'
<i>klevat'sja</i>	'peck'	<i>ebat'sja</i>	'fuck'

The verbs *lizat'*, *obnimat'* and *celovat'* usually indicate non-aggressive actions;³ however, if they represent an uninvited, unwanted action, they acquire an aggressive meaning with the attachment of the postfix *-sja*. Their usage with this aggressive meaning will be discussed later.

The aggressive semantic component is supported by the ad hoc use found in literature, as in (6), as well as in children's speech, as in (7), where the postfix is attached to those verbs with unquestionably aggressive meaning, and which are said either by a victim or, as in (6b), from the point of view of the victim:

- (6) a. Prokljatye grabli!... kak že oni... bol'no *b'jutsja*. (N. Gogol'. Večera na xutore)
'The cursed rake! ... how painfully it hits.'
- b. Poka Vasja ždal tramvaja, ego dvaždy uspeli obrugat' — začem sobaka bez namordnika. Samoe interesnoe: oba raza *lajalis'* ne ženščiny, a zdorovennye molodye mužiki. (N. Katerli. Meždu vesnoj i letom)
'While Vasily was waiting for the trolley, he managed to get scolded twice: why is the dog without a muzzle? The most interesting thing is that both times it was not women who were scolding ("barking"), but strong young guys.'

³ Note, however, the peculiar absence of a Russian counterpart to the French verb *s'aimer* 'make love to one another'. The taboo verb *ebat'* expresses what a man does to a woman, not necessarily with her acquiescence or approval giving way to an aggressive action and consequently a verb — *ebat'sja*. Similarly *obnimat'sja*, *celovat'sja* and *lizat'sja* may represent an unwanted, hence aggressive action.

- (7) a. Saša *b'etsja!* (age 5)
'Saša is hitting me!'
- b. Papa v lob *ščelkaetsja!* (age 8)
'Papa is flicking me on the forehead!'
- c. Nu čto ty opjat' *šlepaes'sja?* (age 5) (all Cejtin 196)
'Why are you spanking me again?'

In cases where alternative usages of the verb are possible, the action is aggressive only when directed outward against another person. For those verbs that represent a benign action when done to oneself, such as *oblivat'sja* 'pour water over oneself' or *pleskat'sja* 'splash for one's pleasure', the action becomes uninvited and unwanted and therefore aggressive if another person is the target:

- (8) Vrode by Odissej čto-to ponjat' dolžen, kogda on niščij, i v nego vinom ženixi *pleskajutsja*.
(A. Bitov. Penelopa)
'It seems that Odysseus ought to understand something, when he is a pauper, while the eligible bachelors splash wine at him.'

All of the above data, including the neologisms, indicates that the meaning of this group of -sja verbs is 'aggressive'.

2. Inalienable Characteristic?

Verbs of this group indeed often represent a habitual or potential action or a characteristic, particularly when referring to animals or plants:

- (9) a. Sobaka *kusaetsja*.
'The dog bites.'
- b. Korova *bodaetsja, ljagaetsja*.
'The cow butts, kicks.'
- c. Koška *carapaetsja*.
'The cat scratches.'
- d. Kon' *brykaetsja*.
'The horse kicks.'
- e. Osa *žalitsja*.
'The wasp stings.'
- f. Krapiva *žžetsja*.
'Nettle stings.'
- g. Roza *koletsja*.
'The rose pricks.'

Geniušienė (1987) gives similar examples from other Slavic languages (with invariably aggressive meaning):

Belorussian

- (10) *Kot dzjare -cca*
 cat scratches-RM
 'The cat scratches' (Geniušienė 249)

Slovak

- (11) *On sa bije*
 he RM beats
 'He fights (is pugnacious)' (Geniušienė 249)

and Bulgarian

- (12) *Toj se buta*
 he RM pushes
 'He pushes everybody.' (Geniušienė 249)

But if the characteristic is inalienable, it is not just any inalienable characteristic, as sentence (5) demonstrates, but only an aggressive one. Moreover, (6)—(8) show that these verbs can be used to describe action in progress, not just potential actions. That is also precisely what we find in (13)—(15) below. In (13), the action is directed towards the speaker who is identified only as a voice (later to become a Pinocchio-like wooden doll named Buratino).

- (13) — *Oj, oj, oj, oj, slušajte, čego vy ščipletes?* — *otčajanno zapiščal tonen'kij golosok.*
 (A. N. Tolstoj. *Zolotoj ključik*)
 ' "Ouch, ouch, listen, why are you pinching me?" desperately squeaked a thin voice.'

In (14), the aunt's scolding is directed towards Zhenya:

- (14) — *Ty nado mnoj smeeš'sja ili čto?! — kričit tetka ne svoim golosom. — Ty že znaeš, lukavyj, čto lavka uže zakryta!!*
 — *Nu, zakryta,— soglašajetsja Žen'ka. — Čego že vy rugaetes?* (V. Panova. *Sereža*)
 ' "Are you making fun of me or what?!" the aunt screams in an angry voice. "Don't you know, you devil, that the shop is already closed?!"
 "All right, it's closed," Zhenya agrees. "Why are you scolding me?" '

In (15), the conversation is taking place in a line (which is also the title of the book):

- (15) — *Mužčina, nu xvatit možet tolkat'sja?!*
 — *A ja čto, tolkajus?*

- *Tolkaetes'*
 — Da nikto vas ne tolkaet.
 — Sidit i loktem *pixaetsja*.
 — Da ničego ja ne *pixalsja*. My krossvord razgadyvaem. (V. Sorokin. Očered')
 ‘ “Man, maybe it’s enough pushing?!”
 “And what am I doing, pushing?”
 “You are pushing!”
 “Nobody is pushing you.”
 “He is sitting and shoving with his elbow.”
 “I was not shoving at all. We are solving a crossword.” ’

Kučanda’s (1987) examples (16) clearly indicate that in Serbo-Croatian aggressives (which he calls “active pseudo-reflexives”) may mean an actual action, not just a characteristic:

- (16) a. Ivan *se tuče*.
 ‘Ivan is beating somebody.’ (Kučanda 79)
 b. Prestani *se gurati*.
 ‘Stop pushing (me/other people).’ (Kučanda 82)

Examples where the aggressive -sja verbs represent an action are quite numerous. Besides, if the premise that these -sja verbs describe only inalienable characteristics were true, then people would be characteristically and inalienably pushers, shovers, throwers, name callers, teasers, bullies, ticklers, pour-overs, cursers, threateners and many other things from the list above. The resolution of this possible paradox is to admit that some verbs may only represent an actual action and never a characteristic. Splashing is not an inherent characteristic of potential grooms, as in the case of (8) above, nor can we identify any mentally healthy adults for whom *kidat’sja*, *brosat’sja*, *švyrjat’sja*, *švarkat’sja*, *bryzgat’sja*, *oblivat’sja*, *pleskat’sja* or *maxat’sja* are characteristic. At the same time, some specific individuals, particularly children, may be viewed as having some of these features as a characteristic:

- (17) a. Oleg *obzyvaetsja*, ja ne xoču s nim sidet’.
 ‘Oleg calls people names, I don’t want to sit with him (at the same desk).’
 b. Mal’čiki ne *draznjatsja*. A èti [devočki] tol’ko i znajut — *draznit’sja*. (V. Panova. Sereža)
 ‘The boys don’t tease. But those [the girls] do nothing but tease.’
 c. Petuxi *kljajutsja*, koški *carapajutsja*, krapiva *žžetsja*, mal’čiški *derutsja*, zemlja sryvaet kožu s kolencj, kogda padaeš’, — i Sereža ves’ pokryt carapinami, ssadinami i sinjakami. (V. Panova. Sereža)
 ‘Roosters peck, cats scratch, nettle stings, boys fight, the earth tears the skin off the knees when you fall, and Serezha is all covered with cuts, scratches and bruises.’

According to Geniušienė (1987, 250), “two main lexical subsets of absolute reflexive verbs can be generally distinguished: (a) with a human subject, and (b) with an animal subject.” Russian allows these constructions with inanimate subjects as well (Janko-Trinickaja 1962, 201), as in (9f) and (9g) above, or as in:

- (18) a. Igolka *koletsja*. (J-T 201)
 ‘The needle pricks.’
- b. Èta ručka *pačkaetsja*.
 ‘This pen leaks.’
- c. Èta stena tol’ko što okrašena i potomu *pačkaetsja*. (Vinogradov 498)
 ‘This wall has just been painted and therefore the paint (still) comes off.’
- d. Stena *mažetsja*.
 ‘The paint on the wall comes off.’

In addition, in the last two examples, the feature of ‘inalienable characteristic’ is particularly dubious since the objects in question (the walls) are going to lose it as soon as they dry.

Thus, while these verbs may represent inalienable characteristics with animal, plant or child subjects, these characteristics always have an aggressive character. The verbs may also represent actions in progress with such subjects and usually represent such actions with adult human subjects. With certain inanimate subjects, the characteristic meaning may be present but inalienability is absent.

3. The Object and Empathy

All of the attention given to the subjects of the aggressive verbs (as the supposed possessors of the inalienable characteristic) has diverted attention from the objects of these verbs, which also bear examination even though they may not be explicitly stated. Geniušienė (1987, 249) points out that “‘absolute’ reflexives ... imply an animate (usually human) Patient which does not have any possessive relationship with the Agent.” This is true for Russian as well; for example, (1) may mean that ‘the dog does or can bite people or animals’ but does not mean ‘the dog bites things’, that is it is synonymous with actual (1’) or characteristic (1’):

- (1) Sobaka *kusaetsja*.
 ‘The dog bites.’
- (1’) Sobaka kusaet ljudej/ životnyx/ *veščī.
 ‘The dog bites people/ animals/ things.’
- (1’’) Sobaka možet ukusit’ čeloveka/ životnoe/ *vešč’.
 ‘The dog can bite a person/ an animal/ a thing.’

The next questions to ask are: What triggers the use of these objectless constructions? Under what conditions should the action of *rugat'*, for example, be considered aggressive and warrant the use of the aggressive verb? In what case, as a result, are sentences (19) and (20) synonymous?

- (19) Babuška *rugetsja*.
'Grandmother is scolding (someone).'
- (20) Babuška *ruget vnuka*.
'Grandmother is scolding her grandson.'

To answer these questions, I will turn to the notion of empathy discussed in Chapter 1: "Empathy is the speaker's identification with varying degrees ..., with a person who participates in the event that he describes in a sentence" (Kuno & Kaburaki 1977, 628).

In the case of aggressive reflexives, the speaker's empathy must lie completely with the unmentioned Object; otherwise aggressive cannot be used. Since there is only one variable — the absence or presence of the object in the sentence — empathy with it is either present or absent.

If the speaker in (20) sides with *babuška* in her action of scolding the grandson, that is if his/her empathy is with her, the action cannot be considered aggressive and (20) cannot be equated with (19). However, if the speaker disapproves of *babuška*'s action, that is if his/her empathy is with the grandson, the recipient of the action, then the action can be considered aggressive and (20) may be equated with (19).

Kuno & Kaburaki (1977) and Kuno (1987) base their empathy theory on English data and apply it only to that data. In English, the object of empathy is always present in the surface structure of the sentence. In the case of the Russian aggressive, however, the empathy is with an object which is not present in the surface structure.

In (21), which is from a tale about an old fisherman (who is mentioned in the title) and his mean and demanding wife, the empathy is with the old man toward whom the old woman's scolding is directed:

- (21) Ešče pušče staruxa *branitsja*: — Duračina ty, prostofilja. (Puškin. Skazka o rybake i rybke)
'The old woman scolds him even more: "You are a fool, a simpleton."'

Contrary to (21), in (22) the speaker does not perceive his father's action as aggressive, that is it does not trespass the boundary of the father's rights as viewed by the son:

- (22) [Otec] vse *branit* menja, što u menja net xaraktera, što ja legkomyslennyj. (Dostoevskij. Unižennye i oskorblennye/MAS)
'[Father] keeps scolding me that I have no character and that I am flippant.'

In (23), the story is being told from Vsevolod's point of view. The empathy is obviously with Vsevolod, towards whom the mother's scolding is directed:

- (23) On v samom dele do meločeje pomnil, kak oni s mater'ju vozvraččalis' domoj. Exali šikarno, v mjačkom vagone — gor'kovskij radiokomitet rasstaralsja. Čelymi dnjami Vsevolod torčal v koridore, vysunuv golovu v otkrytoe okno. Mat' *rugalas'* — vletit ugol' v glaz, oslepneš'. (N. Katerli. Cvetnye otkrytki)

'Indeed he remembered in minute detail how his mother and he were returning home. They were traveling luxuriously, in first class, the Gorky radio station had really made an effort. For days on end Vsevolod was hanging around in the corridor, sticking his head out the open window. His mother was scolding him: if a piece of coal gets into your eye, you'll go blind.'

In (24) with *rugat'*, the empathy is with the speaker, who participates in performing the action:

- (24) My okružili ee i zloradno, bez uderžu, *rugali ee* poxabnymi slovami. (M. Gor'kij. Dvadcat' šest' i odna/MAS)
'We surrounded her and maliciously, without any restraint, scolded her with obscene words.'

Consequently, if the events are presented in third person narrative, the presence or absence of aggressive *-sja* verbs allows us to see with whom the empathy lies, or whose point of view the narrator presents. For instance, in (25a) the empathy is with Anfisa and not with Fedor, since an aggressive verb is used for Fedor as the subject of the sentence. In (25b), the empathy is with Danute's mother who is within her rights scolding her daughter (*rugat'* is used with respect to the mother, and *rugat'sja* with respect to the daughter):

- (25) a. [Fedor] Treboval u Anfisy deneg, ona ne davala, on *branilsja*, uxodil s prijateljami, vozvraččalsja strašnyj, rvanyj. (I. Grekova. Vdovij paroxod)
'Fedor would demand money from Anfisa, she would not give (it to him), he would curse and leave with his friends and return dreadful, all torn.'
- b. Danute podošla k materi, postavila korzinu u ee nog, a ta stala *rugat' ee*. Al'gis slov ne slyšal, no videl, čto mat' otčityvaet ee za neudačnuju trgovlju, a potom ešče xlestnula rukoj po licu.

Danute otskočila ot nee, kak koza, *rugnulas'* v otvet i pobežala s perrona na tropinku, vysoko vskidyvaja bosye nogi. I bežala ne ogljadyvajas', poka sovsem ne skrylas' za kustami v ovrage. (È. Sevela. Viking)

'Danute approached her mother, put a basket by her feet, and the latter began scolding her. Algis did not hear the words, but saw that the mother was reprimanding her for the unsuccessful trade and then even slapped her across the face.'

Danute jumped away from her like a goat, cursed in reply and ran from the platform onto the trail lifting high her bare feet. And she ran without looking back until she completely disappeared behind the bushes in the ravine.'

With respect to animals, if the speaker perceives their action as unusually aggressive, than a -sja verb will be used, as in (26); on the other hand, if the speaker perceives their action as being within the normal range of behavior, the non-sja verb will be used, as in (27):

(26) *Sejčas komary otstupili, potrevožennye dymom; no otdel'nye xrabrecy i skvoz' dym naletali i kusalis'*, i togda rebjata zvonko šlepali sebja po nogam i ščekam. (V. Panova. Sereža)

'Now the mosquitos, bothered by the smoke, retreated; but some brave ones attacked and bit even through the smoke, and then the kids soundly smacked themselves on the legs and cheeks.'

(27) a. *Muxi nadoedlivo kusajut i ne dajut usnut' kak sleduet.* (Garšin. Iz vospominanij rjadovogo Ivanova/MAS)

'Flies annoyingly bite and don't let (us) fall asleep properly.'

b. *Naskol'ko ja ponjal vaše poslednee vosklicanie, vas kusajut klopy.* (Čexov. Noč' pered sudom/MAS)

'As far as I understand your last exclamation, bed-bugs are biting you.'

The anthropocentric view of the world, hence permanent empathy with humans rather than things, explains why (28) and (29) are unacceptable, even though they are syntactically grammatical (sentences (28) could be correct in a fairy tale where animals and plants are personified):

(28) a. ?? *Krapiva žžet devočku.*

'Nettle stings the girl.'

b. ?? *Roza kolet ruku šipami.*

'The rose pricks the hand with thorns.'

(29) a. **Stena mažet ljudej.*

'The wall smears on people.'

b. ? *Èta ručka pačkaet ruki.*

'This pen leaks on hands.'

The acceptable sentences, in which the empathy lies with one or more implicit humans, would be:

(30) a. *Krapiva žžetsja.*

'Nettle stings.'

b. *Roza koletsja šipami.*

'The rose pricks with its thorns.'

c. *Stena mažetsja.*

'The wall smears.'

- d. Èta ručka *pačkaetsja*.
'This pen leaks.'

Empathy with oneself also explains why the sentences quoted earlier, such as the children's speech in (7) or (13) and (14), mean 'X verb me', that is the speaker is the recipient of the aggressive action.

All this, of course, may suggest that the aggressive verb has no first person (singular or plural), since the speaker cannot have empathy elsewhere or perceive himself as an aggressor. However, the speaker is able to recognize his own action as inherently aggressive:

- (31) — Ja *rugajus'*, čtoby otvesti dušu, no bit' nikogo ne stanu, ja ne sadist ... (A. Korotjukov. Nelegko byt' russkim špionom)
'I am cursing in order to relieve my soul, but I will not hit anyone, I am not a sadist ...'

The use of the first person aggressive verb is not uncommon if the speaker is carrying out his own counterattack in response to an attack he is enduring:

- (32) Ja *brykalsja*, *vyryvalsja* i oral blagim matom, kogda oni *vyvoračivali* mne *sustavy*. (V. Vojnovič. Moskva 2042)
'I was kicking, struggling and screaming at the top of my lungs when they were twisting my joints.'

But most commonly, negative aggressive verbs are used to dispel fears, as in (33), or to deny any aggressive action altogether, as in (34):

- (33) a. Ja *ne kusajus'*.
'I don't bite.'
b. Nikogo vrode ne *trogaju*. Na ljudej *ne brosjus'*, *ne kusajus'*. (V. Bukovskij. "I *vozvraščajetsja* veter...")
'I apparently don't bother anybody. I don't jump at people, I don't bite.'
- (34) ... ja včera ves' den' byl vežlivyj i ničego ploxogo ne delal: *ne rugalsja*, *ne dralsja*, a esli i govoril kakie slova, to tol'ko "izvinite", "spasibo" i "požalujsta". (N. Nosov. Neznajka v Solnečnom gorode)
'... yesterday I was polite all day and did not do anything bad: I did not curse, I did not get into fights, and if I said anything at all, it was only "excuse me", "thank you" or "please".'

The notion of empathy is crucial when it comes to the verbs *celovat'sja*, *obnimat'sja* and *lizat'sja*. These do not necessarily mean a habitual action (the habitual action has to be stated by other means: *On ljubitel' celovat'sja / on ljubit celovat'sja* 'he loves kissing' etc.), but they may mean an action that is unwanted from the point of view of either the recipient or of someone who associates himself with the recipient. That action is therefore perceived as aggressive, as in the following disapproving sentence that a girl's father says to her sweetheart:

- (35) — Ège-ge-ge, zemljak! da ty master, kak ja vižu, *obnimat'sja*!! (N. Gogol'. Soročinskaja jarmarka)
 'Hey, fellow-villager, you, as I see, are a specialist in hugging!'

The next examples illustrate the aggressive usage of *celovat'sja*. In (36), the second speaker, Hanna, is the recipient of the kisses. It is clear from the extended context that she does not embrace nor kiss the young men. Quite the opposite, she is indignant at their behavior, and therefore kissing constitutes an aggressive action:

- (36) — Proščaj! proščaj! proščaj, Ganna! — i pocelui zasypali ee so vsej storon.
 — Da tut ix celaja vataga! — kričala Ganna, vryvajas' iz tolpy parubkov, napereryv spešivšix obnimat' ee. — Kak im ne nadoest besprestanno *celovat'sja*! Skoro, ej-Bogu, nel'zja budet pokazat'sja na ulice! (N. Gogol'. Majskaja noč', ili utoplennica)
 ' "Farewell, farewell, farewell, Hanna!" And the kisses rained down upon her from all sides.
 "But it's a whole gang of them!" Hanna was shouting, tearing herself out of the crowd of lads vying with each other in their haste to embrace her. "How come they don't get tired of endless kissing! Soon, I swear to God, it will be impossible to show oneself on the street."'

In the next example from Panova's *Serezha*, it is obvious from the first sentence that Serezha is not reciprocating the kisses from Korostelev. He rationalizes that these unexpected or perhaps unwanted kisses are due to the fact that Korostelev is now his father. When this scene takes place, Korostelev has just announced that he will marry Serezha's mother:

- (37) Korostelev naklonilsja k nemu i neskol'ko raz poceloval. Serezha podumal: "Èto on potomu tak dolgo *celuetsja*, čto on moj papa." (V. Panova. Serezha)
 'Korostelev bent down towards him and kissed him several times. Serezha thought: "The reason why he is kissing me for such a long time is because he is my daddy."'

In the following example, the focus on Serezha is obvious, even though the narrator is speaking. The second sentence is Serezha's thought in the form of indirect discourse. In this example, Serezha not only resents the kisses, but even considers continuing his game uninterrupted to be more important than the apple:

- (38) Pocelovav Serezhu svoej žestkoj borodkoj, Luk'janyč daet emu šokoladku ili jabloko. Spasibo, no začem, skažite požalujsta, nepremenno *celovat'sja* i otryvat' čeloveka ot igr — igra važnee jabloka, jabloko Serezha i potom by s"el. (V. Panova. Serezha)
 'Having kissed Serezha with his stiff beard, Lukyanych gives him a chocolate bar or an apple. Thanks, but why, tell me please, is it necessary to kiss and disturb someone's game — the game is more important than an apple. Serezha could have eaten the apple later.'

The expressions *lezt' celovat'sja* and *lezt' obnimat'sja* have a negative connotation from the point of view of the speaker. In (39), the poet talks to the dog and compares its kisses with the imposed kisses of a drunken friend:

- (39) I nikogo ni kapli ne sproviv, Kak p'janyj drug, ty *ležeš' celovat'sja*. (S. Esenin. Sobake Kačalova)
 'And not having asked anybody, you start kissing like a drunken friend.'

An attempt to arrest an aggressive action through verbal protest commonly uses the aggressive verb to describe the action, as in (14)—(15), or in (40):

- (40) No Ženja sil'no tolknula ego v grud'.
 — Ty čego *tolkaeš'sja*? — probormotal on žalobno. (Ju. Nagibin. Ženja Rumjanceva)
 'But Zhenya strongly pushed him in the chest.
 "Why are you pushing (me)," he mumbled pitifully.'

The aggressive verbs are most commonly used in imperfective aspect. The few possible perfectives are formed either by attaching the suffix *-nu-* meaning 'one time action', such as in *rugnut'sja*, *pixnut'sja*, *matjugnut'sja* and a few others:

- (41) Starik *rugnulsja* i vyšel iz komnaty.
 'The old man cursed and left the room.'
- (42) Tot za rulem *matjugnulsja*:
 — Čego ž ty ego otpustil. (F. Kandel'. Zona otdyxa)
 'The one at the wheel cursed (using *mat*):
 "So why did you let him go?" '

or by attaching the prefix *po-* meaning 'limited time', such as in *porugat'sja*, *podraznit'sja* and *poplevat'sja*:

- (43) Ničego, *podraznitsja* i perestanet.
 'It's all right, (he) will tease (you) for a while and then stop.'

The aspectual limitations have their ramifications for the imperative. Xrakovskij (1988) subdivided the use of imperatives into five subgroups: (a) negative imperatives; (b) non-negative imperatives quantitatively limited (repetitive or durative); (c) non-negative factitive imperatives; (d) non-negative imperatives expressing a wish; and (e) non-negative permissive imperatives. The semantics of aggressives precludes them from forming imperfective b-constructions (repetitive and durative), d-constructions (expressing a wish, such as *vyzdoravlivajte* 'get well'), and e-constructions, expressing permission (it is impossible to imagine a permission request for such an action), as in (44):

- (44) — #*Možno rugat'sja?*
 — #*Rugajsja!*
 ‘ “May I scold?”
 “Scold!”’

Imperative constructions of c-type are generally impossible, as in (45a), the only possible exception being a suggestion to take aggressive action in response to another aggressive action, self-defense in case of an attack, as in (45b):

- (45) a. #*Rugajsja!* / #*Pixajsja!* / #*Celujjsja!*
 ‘Scold! / Push! / Kiss!’
- b. *Esli na tebja napadajut, ty ne davajsja — pinajsja, kusajsja, carapajsja, kriči.*
 ‘If they attack you, don’t give in — kick, bite, scratch and shout.’

Discussing the use of imperfectives in c-constructions, Xrakovskij (1988, 278) writes “the speaker ... pretends to cause the action which in reality began independently of his will before his uttering the prescriptive imperative:

- [46] *Čto golubčik, plačeš? Nu, plač', plač' (*zaplač' / *poplač'). Tak tebe i nado.*
 ‘So what, honey, are you crying? Well, cry. It serves you right.’

Note the repetition in the above example of Xrakovskij’s as well as in the following example where the “imperative statement of the type

- [47] *Kuri, kuri.*
 ‘Keep smoking.’

is explained as ‘continue smoking’.” (Xrakovskij 1988, 278) The repetition in both cases (which is not commented upon by Xrakovskij) means pragmatic ‘I approve of the action’ on the part of the speaker. The repetition or the presence of *požalujsta* ‘please’ improve (48) compared to (45a); however, (48) cannot be an earnest invitation:

- (48) a. ? *Celujjsja, celujjsja!*
 ‘Keep on kissing!’
- b. ? *Obnimajsja, požalujsta!*
 ‘Hug to your heart’s content!’

These sentences with proper intonation (in the case of repetition, the two imperatives form a single prosodic unit with a continuously rising intonation, with a slight drop after the first word) represent a facetious invitation meaning: ‘You may kiss/hug at your own risk.’ (The sense is that the action is unwanted and may elicit an adverse reaction.)

What is expected grammatically and semantically are negative imperatives (a-type):

- (49) — *Ne deris'*, zaraza! — zakričal mal'čiška. — Djaden'ka! Tetka *deretsja*. (V. Panova. Evdokija)
 '“Don't hit (me), you pest!” shouted the boy. “Mister, the old woman is hitting (me).”'

The opposition of unwanted (negative imperfective aggressive) versus invited action (positive imperfective non-aggressive) may be found in Chekhov's story “Razgovor čeloveka s sobakoj”:

- (50) Aaaa... ty *kusat'sja*??... Postoj, *ne kusajsja*... (Čexov. Razgovor čeloveka s sobakoj)
 'Ah, you are biting! Wait, don't bite.'

And a little later we find:

- (51) Eš', pēs! kusaj!... Ne žal'ko! Xot' i bol'no, a ne ščadi. Na, i ruki kusaj! (Čexov. Razgovor čeloveka s sobakoj)
 'Eat, dog! Bite!... No regrets! Even though it hurts, have no mercy. Here, bite the hands too.'

In sum, it is empathy with the animate, usually human Object of an aggressive verb that triggers the addition of *-sja*, while the non-*-sja* counterpart is used if empathy lies with the aggressively-acting subject. If the subject of such a verb is inanimate, then the *-sja* verb *must* be used, due to permanent empathy with humans. The *-sja* verb may also be used even if the aggressively-acting subject is oneself, as long as such aggressive action is either a counterattack or is a negated statement intended to dispel the fears of others or to deny aggressive action, since neither case violates permanent empathy with oneself.

The verbs *celovat'sja*, *obnimat'sja* and *lizat'sja* indicate unwanted and unilateral rather than desired and reciprocal actions when empathy lies with the underlying Object; they are typically used in protests against the aggressive action.

4. Summary

The *-sja* verbs generally known as “characteristic” (Townsend), “aktivno-bezob"ektnoe značenie” (Vinogradov), “ob"ektnyj impersonal” (Mel'čuk & Xolodovič), “‘absolute’ reflexives” (Geniušienė) or “potential” (Gerritsen) have an aggressive meaning. In some cases, the aggressive verb may indicate a potential (characteristic or habitual) aggressive action. But it may also mean a specific action that either is in progress or has already been completed. The objectless construction with an aggressive *-sja* verb indicates empathy of the speaker/author toward the patient of the action.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Subject and [-responsibility]

This chapter will deal with constructions that represent another type of “speakers’ interests and attitudes” (Wierzbicka 1988, 2) or “naive view of the world” (Apresjan 1986). In these constructions, certain actions or qualities are viewed as self-inflicting upon the human Subject who, although involved in the action, bears no responsibility for its performance.

Section 1 will discuss constructions that present the human Subject as an involuntary experiencer of an action. Section 2 will deal with constructions that present the human Subject as only an observer of a certain action, even though s/he is involved in it. Section 3 will present an overall conclusion.

1. The Subject as Experiencer

Wierzbicka (1981, 46) points out that, contrary to the belief of some contemporary linguists,

the speaker is more interested in what other people are doing to him than in what he is doing to other people; he is more sensitive to the ways in which other people’s actions affect him than to the ways in which his actions affect other people. The speaker regards himself as the quintessential ‘victim’ or the quintessential experiencer.

Wierzbicka bases her conclusions on an actual count of sentences reflecting human-to-human interactions in plays and fiction in different languages. In my terms, she is interested in S2, the speakers’ choice of utterances and the way they viewed an action or situation.

In Russian, this idea of a quintessential experiencer is not only present in S2, but it is also inherent in the language itself; thus it represents an element of S1 as well, as the following discussion of “true impersonal -sja forms” and receptives will attempt to demonstrate.

Typical impersonal constructions in Russian have dative or, more rarely, accusative or *u* + genitive of the experiencer, the human Subject. They can describe situations in which only one participant is involved, for example psychological and physical states:

- (1) Mne xolodno / žarko / teplo.
‘I am cold / hot / warm.’
- (2) Mne veselo / skučno / grustno / strašno / obidno / neujutno.
‘I am joyful / bored / sad / scared / offended / uncomfortable.’

Strictly speaking, the Subject can be other than first person. However, due to the fact that (1) and (2) present perceptual-subjective knowledge, sentence (3), unless it is a narrator’s device with focalization on *on*, represents either hearsay (epistemological knowledge) as in (4b) or the result of observations conveyed to a third party (perceptual-objective knowledge).

- (3) Emu skučno.
'He is bored.'
- (4) a. Speaker A to Speaker B: Mne skučno.
b. Speaker B to Speaker C: Emu skučno.

Note also the limited scope of (5):

- (5) Tebe skučno.
'You are bored.'

It conveys zero information, and the speaker says it to someone who is better informed than the speaker is.¹

Two types of constructions containing -sja verbs or -sja forms that deal with the Subject as quintessential experiencer will be outlined below. The first type is the true impersonal -sja forms, a distinct subset of all impersonal constructions. In order to examine them, I will first spell out a general classification of impersonal constructions and then explain what I mean by true impersonal -sja forms. The second type, which will be discussed afterwards, is receptive.

1.1. Typology of Impersonal Verbal Constructions

Impersonal verbal constructions in Russian can be subdivided into five groups. The following classification differs from those of Galkina-Fedoruk (1958) and Scholz (1973), which are identical and formal-morphological. Their classification includes two groups of verbal impersonal constructions, "the third person singular of non-reflexive verbs" (Scholz 1973, 64) and "the third person singular with the reflexive particle" (Scholz 1973, 93).

In my own classification (which has borrowed certain features from Arvat (1969)), I recognize the following five groups of verbal impersonal constructions: 1) true impersonal verbs, 2) verbs with personal counterparts (which are synonymous in one subgroup and homonymous in another), 3) -sja verbs whose meaning differs from their non-sja counterparts and which do not have personal counterparts, 4) impersonal-passive -sja forms with meanings identical to the base verbs, and 5) true impersonal -sja forms. An examination of each group follows.

¹ I would not go so far as to say that such a sentence is totally impossible. However, the intentions of this statement are other than to provide information. It could easily be imagined as having been said to Andrej Bolkonskij in *War and Peace* by his wife: "*Vam skučno, moj drug,*" which would call for a reassuring negative response.

Another possible context was suggested by Zaitseva (personal communication): speaker A (Ann) has invited B (Bob) (Clark (1979) suggests that A and B can be thought of as Ann and Bob.) to a movie and notices that he is not watching, or she is reading to him her new novel and he is not listening. She says (i) meaning 'let's do something else'.

(i) A: Tebe skučno.

What is interesting here is that the sentence (i) is used as a suggestion of an alternative activity, not a vehicle for information.

1. Impersonal constructions with a true impersonal verb (these verbs could be called impersonalia tantum). This group is very small and includes the following three semantic groups of verbs:

A. weather verbs: *svetat'*, *rassvetat'*, *rassvesti* 'dawn', *(po)xolodat'* 'get cold', *večeret'* 'get to be evening', *smerkat'sja-smerknuť'sja* 'get dusky', *v'južit'* 'be blizzard condition', *(za)doždit'* 'rain', *vyzvezdit'* 'get starry' and *raspogodit'sja* 'clear up';

B. verbs pertaining to the physical condition of a person: *nezdorovit'sja* 'not feel well', *nemožetsja* 'be under the weather', *znobit'* 'be shivery', *lixoradit'* 'have a fever', *tošnit'* 'be nauseous', *peršit'* 'have a frog in one's throat' and *sadnit'* 'have a scratchy throat';

C. verbs that have modal or fatalistic overtones: *nadležat'* 'be expected', *podobat'* 'be supposed to', *posčastlivit'sja* 'be lucky', *nesdobrovať'* 'not be able to escape trouble', *ne pozdorovit'sja* 'get into big trouble', *nejmětsja*² 'cannot keep still or keep away', *prispičit'* 'have an urgent need', *ugorazdit'* 'get the urge to do something negative' and *zablagorassudit'sja* 'get the idea'.

The distinction between group 1A on the one hand and groups 1B and 1C on the other is not purely semantic. The verbs in 1A are the only ones among Russian impersonal constructions that not only do not allow an explicit grammatical subject but also cannot possibly even have an underlying logical Subject. They are also the only ones that do not involve a human or animate Subject. All other impersonal constructions in Russian have a human or animate Subject involved.

2. Impersonal constructions with verbs that have personal counterparts. The two subgroups are:

A. verbs in which the lexical meaning of the personal and impersonal verbs is the same, for example:

(6) *duť*'

- a. *veter duť*
'the wind is blowing'
- b. *iz okna duť*
'it is blowing from the window'

(7) *gudet'*

- a. *motor gudit*
'the engine is humming / buzzing'

² *Nemožetsja* (subgroup B) and *nejmětsja* (subgroup C) do not have an infinitive or any other forms. *Nesdobrovať'* (subgroup C), on the other hand, has only the infinitival form. *Ne pozdorovit'sja* cannot be used without the negative particle "ne":

(i) **emu pozdorovitsja*.

Strictly speaking, the latter should have been spelled as one word, just like *nesdobrovať'* and *nejmětsja*.

- b. u menja v golove *gudit*
 'there is a humming noise in my head'

(8) *zvenet'*

- a. *zvenit* zvonok
 'the bell is ringing'
- b. u menja v ušax *zvenit*
 'there is a ringing noise in my ears'

(9) *ostat'sja*

- a. Ja *ostalsja* odin doma.
 'I remained home alone.'
- b. Mne *ostaetsja* tol'ko uexat'.
 'The only thing remaining for me to do is to leave.'

(10) *slučit'sja*

- a. Sobytija èti *slučilis'* davno.
 'These events happened a long time ago.'
- b. *Slučilos'* mne togda byt' v Peterburge.
 'I happened to be in St. Petersburg then.'

(11) *okazat'sja*

- a. On *okazalsja* našim byvšim sošedom.
 'He turned out to be our former neighbor.'
- b. *Okazalos'*, čto my zrja staralis'.
 'It turned out that we tried for nothing.'

B. verbs in which the lexical meaning of the impersonal and personal verbs is different, which makes it possible to call these verbs homonymous, for example:

(12) *ukačivat'*

- a. mat' *ukačivaet* rebenka
 'mother is rocking the child to sleep'
- b. ego *ukačivaet*
 'he gets motion sick'

(13) *rvat'*

- a. deti *rvat* bumagu
 'children are tearing paper'

- a'. deti *rvut* cvety
'children are picking flowers'
- b. ego *rvet*
'he is vomiting'

(14) *vezti*

- a. on *vezet* detej na jug
'he is taking the children south'
- b. emu *vezet*
'he is lucky'

(15) *stoit'*

- a. kniga *stóit* 20 dollarov
'the book costs 20 dollars'
- b. tebe *stóit* pojti na vystavku
'it's worth it for you to go to the exhibit'

(16) *sledovat'*

- a. on vseгда *sleduet* sovetam otca
'he always follows the advice of his father'
- b. ne *sleduet* ètogo delat'
'one ought not to do this'
- b'. vam *sleduet* javit'sja utrom
'you ought to come in the morning'

(17) *prixodit'sja*

- a. on *prixoditsja* mne bratom
'he is a brother to me'
- b. emu *prixoditsja* rano vstavat'
'he has to (unwillingly) get up early'
- b'. No sporit' s bibliotekaršej ne *prixodilos'*. (E. Švarc. Memuary)
'But I was not about to / It was impossible to argue with the librarian.'

(18) *dostat'sja*

- a. Ej *dostalsja* trudnyj bilet na èkzamene.
'She got (by chance) a difficult ticket (with questions) at the exam.'
- b. Ej zdorovo *dostalos'* / *dostanetsja*.
'She really got it / will get it. (= got / will get punished)'

As far as the -sja verbs in groups 1 and 2 are concerned, *posčastlivit'sja* 'get lucky', *smerkat'sja* 'be dusky', *nezdorovit'sja* 'not feel well', *nemožetsja* 'be under the weather', *ostat'sja* 'remain' and other reflexiva tantum do not differ from any of the other impersonal verbs within subgroups A and B, except for the presence of the postfix.

Verbs like *slučit'sja* 'happen' and *okazat'sja* 'turn out to be' behave exactly like other verbs of subgroup A whose lexical meaning does not change whether they are used in a personal or an impersonal construction, but is not related to the non-sja verbs: *slučit'* 'to couple' and *okazat'* 'to show (e.g. attention, trust)'. The presence of -sja is irrelevant to the formation of the impersonal construction.

Likewise, verbs like *prixodit'sja* 'be (related)' and *dostat'sja* 'get it (punishment)' behave exactly like other verbs of subgroup B whose lexical meaning changes depending on whether they are used in a personal or impersonal construction. The presence of -sja in *prixodit'sja* and *dostat'sja* is "accidental", for it is irrelevant to the formation of impersonal constructions, which in turn are not semantically related to constructions with the verb *prixodit'* 'to come' and *dostat'* 'to get with difficulty.' All of the above constructions with -sja are -sja verbs, not -sja forms.

3. Impersonal constructions with -sja verbs that unlike subgroup 2B have a different meaning from the same verbs without -sja, but that do not have personal -sja counterparts:

- (19) a. On *dovel* menja do doma.
'He took me up to my house.'
- a'. Èto tebjja do dobra ne *dovedet*.
'That will lead you to no good.'
- b. Mne (ne) *dovelos'* rabotat' s Kurčatovym.
'I had (did not have) a chance to work with Kurchatov.'

- (20) a. On *privel* menja v ix dom.
'He brought me to their home.'
- a'. Čto *privelo* ego sjuda?
'What brought him here?'
- b. Nakonec *privelos'* mne pobyvati' v stolice.
'Finally I had a chance to visit the capital.'

4. Constructions with impersonal-passive -sja forms, (21b) and (22b), whose meaning does not change from the base verb, (21a) and (22a), by attaching the postfix -sja:

- (21) a. Ja *predpolagaju*, čto my ucdem.
'I suppose that we will leave.'
- b. *Predpolagaetsja*, čto my znaem èti pravila.
'Supposedly, we know these rules.'

- (22) a. *My sčitaem ego svoim drugom.*
 'We consider him our friend.'
- b. *Sčitaetsja, čto on obrazovannyj čelovek.*
 'He is considered an educated man.'

These constructions, unlike the constructions in group 5, have an underlying Agent.

5. Constructions with true impersonal *-sja* forms³ that have the same meaning as their counterparts without *-sja*: These can be formed from a large number of verbs that refer to a concrete action of a human, with the exception of reflexiva tantum (Peškovskij 1956, 346). Vinogradov (1972, 500) calls this group "bezlično-intensivnoe značenie" [impersonal-intensive meaning]; however, he also includes *nezdorovitsja*, which does not have **nezdorovit*, **nezdorovit'* or any other forms, and which consequently are classified in this study in group 1B:

- (23) a. *Ja segodnja ne rabotaju.*
 'I don't work today.'
- b. *Mne segodnja ne rabotaetsja.*
 'I can't get any work done today.'

This group of constructions is a particular focus of the next subsection, for this group also contributes to our understanding of the "naive view of the world" (Apresjan 1986) as it is present in the mind of a Russian language speaker, especially since such *-sja* forms are specific to the Russian language.

1.2. True Impersonal *-Sja* Forms

This type of impersonal construction, which Geniušienė (1987, 289) classifies as "modal-deagentive reflexives" and Kemmer (1990, 150) calls "propensative" use, is used to imply that the reasons for an action or lack of action are not internal but external; the animate human Subject is not responsible for his or her ability or inability to perform the action, nor for its quality (Zolotova 1985, 90). As Townsend (1967, 199) put it, the "action [is] somehow independent of the will of the actor." The personal counterpart has the opposite meaning.

Gerritsen (1990) subdivides these forms into two groups: the *ikaetsja* type and the *rabotaetsja* type. The former type conveys that the Subject experiences a stimulus which leads to an uncontrolled activity, so-called "reflex acts" (first mentioned by Veyrenc (1980, 308)) such as *ikat'* 'hiccup', *čixat'* 'sneeze', *zevat'* 'yawn' and *kašljat'* 'cough' (Gerritsen 1990, 167). However, as she acknowledges, this type is not productive. This section is primarily concerned with her second group, the *rabotaetsja* type, which belongs to the class of [-responsibility].⁴ I will examine first their formation and then their usage and meaning.

³ Jaxontov (1974, 47) and Bulanin (1976, 150-151) also call them *-sja* forms rather than *-sja* verbs.

⁴ A different but not contradictory explanation is given in Pontoppidan-Sjövall (1963, 214):

1.2.1. Formation

Bulygina (1982, 77-83) gives an outline of different views on the possibility of formation of this type of impersonals, beginning with Karcevski (1927), who claimed that it was unrestricted. She ends with her own view, stating that for Objects devoid of will such constructions (or the process which she calls “desactivisation”) are impossible. Such usage with animals is questionable, unless it represents a personification which is possible for inanimate objects as well (Bulygina 1982, 78):

- (24) a. ? *Korovam ne myčalos’.*
 ‘The cows did not feel like mooing.’
- b. ? *Petuxu segodnja ne poetsja.*
 ‘The rooster does not feel like singing today.’
- c. ? *Koškam ne elos’.*
 ‘The cats did not feel like eating.’
- d. *My vas ždem, tovarišč ptica, otčego vam ne letitsja?* (Majakovskij)
 ‘We are waiting for you, comrade bird, why don’t you feel like flying?’

Gerritsen (1990, 302-303, fn. 71) both reiterates some of Bulygina’s points and presents some additional history of the discussion. Of particular importance is Gerritsen’s (1990, 175) comment that verbs in these constructions “denote activities which in principle are always initiated by an agent: they cannot happen spontaneously.” With respect to use with animals, Gerritsen (1990, 178) writes:

The criterion for the possibility of the use of an animal as the experiencer in this type of IR [impersonal reflexive construction] could be the way the animal is looked upon by the speaker. Dogs and horses, for instance, are often regarded as being almost ‘members of the family’.

In fact, the problem of formation is two-fold: a) what kind of verbs lend themselves to the formation of such constructions, and b) what kind of Pⁿ can the Subject/experiencer of this construction be. This subsection will deal with the first question. The following subsection will deal with the second.

If we compare the following examples, we will notice the impossibility of (26) and (27), as opposed to (25):

In the speech situation the speaker’s attitude is characterized by a linking up with the external world. When making an intellectual statement the speaker sees even himself as an object of this world. ... In the impersonal construction there is no integration into a personal *ego*, in *mne xočetsja*, for instance, the will, the desire, is represented as a course of events which, as it were, “strikes” me. In the personal construction, on the other hand, *ego* is the agent and the expression *ja xoču* occurs.

- (25) *Mne ne pišetsja.*
'I just cannot write.'
- (26) **Mne ne varitsja.*
'I just cannot cook.'
- (27) **Mne ne preziraetsja.*
'I just cannot despise.'

At the same time, (25) and (26) may have quasi-synonymous counterparts, (28) and (29), while (27) does not:

- (28) *U menja ne pišutsja segodnja pis'ma.*
'I can't get the letters written today.'
- (29) *U menja segodnja ne varitsja kaša.*
'I can't get the porridge cooked today.'
- (30) **U menja (segodnja) ne preziraetsja sosed.*
'I just cannot despise the neighbor (today).'

The reason for the impossibility of (27) as well as (30) is that the action in these constructions is such that the Pⁿ *wants* to perform it, except that some outside forces prevent him or her from doing so. Negative actions are not ones that the Pⁿ would actively want to perform.

The reason for the ill-formedness of (26) is different. In order to explain it, we need to turn to Vendler's (1957/1967) subdivision of verbs into activities, accomplishments, achievements and states. The following examples are from Mourelatos (1981, 191-192):

ACTIVITIES

run (around, all over)
walk (and walk)
swim (along, past)
push (a cart)

ACHIEVEMENTS

recognize
find
win (the race)
start/stop/resume
be born/die

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

run a mile
paint a picture
grow up
recover from illness

STATES

desire
want
love
hate
dominate

An examination of these verbal groups suggests that true impersonals can be formed for states (*xočetsja* 'want', *ljubitsja* 'love'), with the exception of undesired actions, and for activities (*guljaetsja* 'walk', *plavaetsja* 'swim', *bežaetsja* 'run'). All of the verbs below fall into these two

groups as well: states — *živetsja* 'live', *mečtaetsja* 'dream' and *grezitsja* 'dream'; and activities — *siditsja* 'sit', *ležitsja* 'be lying down' and *rabotaetsja* 'work'. On the other hand, *varit* 'cook' as in (26) is an accomplishment and thus does not form a true impersonal. Gerritsen's correct example (31) might appear to violate this principle, since hitting is neither a state, nor a desired activity. However, (31) is not a true impersonal, since (31') is incorrect, which shows consistency with the rule. Sentence (31) has as the underlying construction sentence (31''), which is of the same type as (28)—(29):

- (31) On udaril ne po zlosti, ne dlja potexi, ne potomu, čto ruka zateklas' krov'ju i prosila mocionu, a imenno "tak sebe", besoznatel'no, kak-to samo *udarilos'*, nečajanno. (Pomjalovskij) (J-T 213/Gerritsen 1990, 172)
 'He hit not out of spite, not for fun, not because the hand got sleepy and needed movement, but "just like that", unconsciously, it somehow happened by itself, accidentally.'

(31') [*] mne samo *udarilos'* (Gerritsen 1990, 175)

(31'') u menja samo *udarilos'*
 'my hitting happened by itself'

The rule also explains the ill-formedness of the following examples, which Veyrenc (1980, 308) explains based on homonymy with other -sja verbs, which in and of itself is insufficient. Gerritsen (1990, 303 fn. 71) mentions that for a number of verbs the true impersonal -sja form is one of a number of -sja possibilities, although all of her examples have only passive counterparts to the true impersonals, while Veyrenc's examples of impersonals (32) have middle, aggressive and volitional counterparts (for (32a), (32b) and (32c), respectively):

- (32) a. *Mame segodnja ne *gotovitsja*.
 'Mama just cannot prepare today.'
 b. *sobake legko *kusalos'*,...
 'the dog bit easily'
 c. *emu ne *stučalos'* (all Veyrenc 1980, 308)
 'he just could not knock'

In my view, it is the nature of the verbs that precludes the true impersonals in (32), not their homonymy. Note that the examples in (33) have non-passive homonymous constructions (*risovat'sja* can also be middle and receptive, and *igrat'sja* can also be benefactive):

- (33) a. Mame segodnja ne *risuetsja*.
 'Mama just cannot draw today.'
 b. Ne *igralos'*, ne *govorilos'*, daže pustjaki kak-to ne šli na um. (Saltykov-Ščedrin. Gospoda Golovlevy/MAS)
 'Did not feel like playing or talking, even trifles somehow did not come to mind.'

These constructions not only do not have explicit objects but cannot even have underlying objects, thus excluding the formation of a true impersonal from *tolkat'*, the Russian counterpart of 'push (cart)'. For the same reason, aggressive verbs, such as *kusat'sja* 'bite', which always imply an Object of aggression cannot form true impersonals.

The following examples from Bulygina (1982, 79), some of which (namely (34b)—(34e)) are cited by Gerritsen (1990, 174-175) as examples of productivity, are also examples of activities that involve only the Subject:

- (34) a. *Kak vam tam putešestvuetsja?*
'How is your traveling going?'
- b. *Xorošo li emu direktorstvuetsja?*
'Is it good for him being a director?'
- c. *Segodnja kompozitoru čto-to ne improviziruetsja.*
'Today the composer somehow cannot improvise.'
- d. *Nadejus', vam tam xorošo gastroliruetsja.*
'I hope that your tour is going well.'
- e. *Segodnja na seminare nam xorošo pofilosofstvovalos'.*
'Today at the seminar we had a good philosophizing session.'

The last example, despite being perfective, is atelic (*po-* being a prefix denoting short duration⁵); thus it still denotes activity.

The spontaneity of the action in these constructions, as observed by Gerritsen (1990, 175) and mentioned earlier, accounts for the impossibility of her examples, unless they are used as neologisms:

- (35) **emu bespokojlos', emu volnovalos'* (Gerritsen 1990, 166)
'he was worried, he was nervous'

The true impersonals can be formed for non-spontaneous states and activities with the exception of undesired actions; they cannot be formed for achievements or accomplishments. In addition, there must be no underlying object.

1.2.2. Usage and Meaning

What is interesting in the formal implementation of the true impersonal construction is that it cannot have only two elements, as in (36):

- (36) a. **Mne rabotaetsja.*
b. **Emu živetsja.*

⁵ Veyrenc (1980, 308-309) remarks that *po-* is the only perfective prefix which allows formation of such constructions.

It either has to have a negation, a modifier (Mrázek 1971, 123-124; Geniušienė 1987, 289), or a subordinate clause:⁶

- (37) a. Mne *ne* rabotaetsja.
'I can't work.'
- b. Stariku *ne* spitsja.
'The old man can't sleep.'
- c. *Kak* vam živetsja?
'How are you?'
- d. Ej *trudno* živetsja.
'Her life is hard.'
- e. *Zdes'* *legko* dyšitsja.
'It is easy to breathe here.'
- f. Emu *xorošo* rabotalos' v tu poru.
'It was easy for him to work well at that time.'
- g. Mne dumaetsja, *čto vsě skoro izmenitsja*.
'It seems to me that everything will soon change.'

The following additional examples illustrate this rule. Examples without a negative or a qualifier have not been found.

- (38) a. Inessa Lil'ku žalela, rasskazyvala, *kak im* tesno i bedno živetsja, no Mixail Stepanovič znal, čto tak kak Lil'ka, živet bol'sinstvo ljudej, ... (V. Peruanskaja. Proxladnoe nebo oseni)
'Inessa pitied Lila, she was telling how cramped and poorly they lived, but Mikhail Stepanovich knew that the majority of people lived like Lila.'
- b. *Kak* tebe *siditsja* sejčas, mužik Nikolaev, vpročem, ty uže, naverno, otsidel. (A. Baxtyrev. Èpoxa pozdnego reabilitansa)
'How is prison treating you now, old man Nikolaev, on the other hand, you are probably out by now.'
- c. Napiši mne slovečko, skaži, *kak* tebe živetsja i rabotaetsja. (A. Èfron. Pis'ma iz ssylki)
'Drop me a line, tell me how your life and work are going.'

The above findings contradict Nedjalkov's (1978, 32) assertion that "ocenočnyj opredelitel' neobjazatelen" [the qualifying modifier is not necessary]. He and Mrázek (1968) cite the same lone verb that does not require a negation or a modifier and which belongs to the *ikaetsja* type:⁷

⁶ Geniušienė (1987, 288) describes a similar pattern in German.

⁷ In addition, I believe that (39b) is a phrase made famous by Turgenev who used the device of 2 p. pl. as narrative in "Les i step" of *Zapiski oxotnika*; this use does not mean that the Pⁿ is the addressee.

- (39) a. Emu *dremletsja*. (Nedjalkov)
 'He is sleepy.'
 b. Vam *dremletsja*. (Mrázek)
 'You are sleepy.'

While true impersonal *-sja* forms presuppose [-responsibility] on the part of the Subject, they present either perceptual knowledge, as in (40):

- (40) a. Mne ne *spitsja*.
 'I cannot sleep.'
 b. Emu ne *rabotalos'*.
 'He could not work.'

or epistemological knowledge, as in (41):⁸

- (41) On [Zoščenko] uže nikomu ne veril, ni vo čto ne veril. Uže ne *pisalos'*. On zabolet beznadežnost'ju. (L. Žukova. Ėpilogi)
 'He [Zoshchenko] already did not believe anyone and did not believe in anything. He could not write anymore. He fell ill with hopelessness.'

Wierzbicka (1979, 375), discussing (42), suggested that "[t]he state of impotence is ... presented as purely subjective."

- (42) Mne čto-to ne *estsja*.
 'I feel that for some reason I can't eat.'

Gerritsen (1990, 176-177) takes this concept of subjectivity a step further, incorporating Adamec's (1973, 121-122) findings:

The subjectivity of the qualification explains why the adverbs which are inherently subjective (*tjaželo* ['hard'], *legko* ['easy'], *sladko* ['sweet']) may have the same interpretation in both NR [non-reflexive constructions] and IR [impersonal reflexive constructions], while adverbs that are neutral in this respect (*xorošo* ['well'], *ploxo* ['poorly']) are interpreted differently in NR and IR. In NR the latter give an objective qualification, ...

on xorošo rabotaet = dobrokačestvenno, s xorošimi rezul'tatami
 ['he works well = (his work is of) good quality, with good results'] ...

emu xorošo rabotat' zdes' = dlja nego xorošo, čtoby on rabotal zdes'
 ['it is good for him to work here']

⁸ See Chapter 1, pp. 15-16 for definitions and discussion of sentences (i) vs. (ii):

- (i) I am hungry.
 (ii) John is hungry.

In IR they give a subjective qualification of the way the action is felt to be performed ...

emu xorošo rabotaetsja zdes' = legko, prijatno
 ['his work comes well to him here = easily, pleasantly']

Inherently subjective adverbs can sometimes, in combination with certain verbs, be used only in IR, not in corresponding NR (e.g. *legko* ['easily'], *trudno* ['hard'], *tjaželo* ['hard']):

mne pisalos' trudno vs. *ja pisal trudno.
 ['it was hard for me to write' vs. 'I wrote with difficulty']

The subjective quality of these constructions explains both Pariser's (1982, 70) claim that imperfective future is not correct for this type of construction, as in (43), as well as why Gerritsen's (1990, 182) modal statement (44) is correct:

- (43) *Mne ne budet *spat'sja*.
 'Sleep will not come to me.'
- (44) Ja nadejus', čto tebe zdes' budet xorošo *spat'sja*.
 'I hope that you will sleep well here.'

Without any prior knowledge of circumstances, one cannot state something that is so subjective as a fact before it has occurred. It could be said only if such circumstances had already presented themselves, and the statement about the future is nothing but a projection of the past, as in (43')

- (43') Opjat' ne budet *spat'sja*.
 'I won't be able to sleep again.'

On the other hand, (44) is a wish, a desire, a highly subjective statement, and the projection of such a desire makes it a correct statement.

For the same reason, Veyrenc's (1980, 305) sentences (45) seem strange:

- (45) a. [?] Emu ne *rabotalos'*, a vse že on rabotal ne tak už ploxo.
 'He did not feel like working, and yet he worked not so badly.'
- b. [?] Emu tam prekrasno *rabotalos'*, a rabota polučilas' ploxo.
 'The work was coming to him beautifully there, but the work turned out bad.'

While (45) metalinguistically can represent an accurate statement, such a statement is unlikely to occur in discourse due to the shift from subjective to objective perspective within the same sentence.

But, in addition to subjectivity, the use of this form presupposes closeness between the speaker (P^s) and the participant of the narrated event (Pⁿ). This becomes obvious when other elements of an utterance indicate that there is a P^s/Pⁿ distance (cf. Yokoyama 1994). This makes sentences, such as (46), while grammatically possible, inconceivable, in contrast to (47):

(46) [*] Bol'nomu stalo legče *dyšat'sja*.⁹ (Mrázek 1968, 104)

'It is easier for the patient to breathe.'

(47) Bol'nomu stalo legče *dyšat'*.

'It is easier for the patient to breathe.'

Even eliminating the infinitive, as in (48), does not make the sentence acceptable, while a question form, as in (49), does:

(48) ? Bol'nomu uže legče *dyšitsja*.

'Now it is easier for the patient to breathe.'

(49) Nu čto, uže legče *dyšitsja*?

'Well, is it easier to breathe?'

In (48), P^s designates the Pⁿ in a way that indicates distance; a doctor or a nurse might call him that, not a narrator of a story. In (49), the lack of an address form and the familiar *nu čto* point to a P^s/Pⁿ closeness, which allows the presence of a -sja form.

A doctor or a nurse would also say (50) and not (51):

(50) Bol'noj *xočet est'*.

'The patient is hungry.'

(51) ?? Bol'nomu *xočetsja est'*.

'The patient feels like eating.'

For the same reason, (52) and (53) are formal and therefore correct while (52') and (53') are familiar and therefore questionable:

(52) Direktor instituta *xočet pogovorit' s vami*.

'The director of the institute wants to talk to you.'

(52') ?? Direktoru instituta *xočetsja pogovorit' s vami*.

'The director of the institute feels like talking to you.'

(53) Inžener ne *verit*, čto my zakončim proekt k sroku.

'The engineer does not believe that we will finish the project on time.'

(53') ?? Inženeru ne *veritsja*, čto my zakončim proekt k sroku.

'The engineer finds it hard to believe that we will finish the project on time.'

⁹ Mrázek (1968, 104) points out that such constructions are limited in speech ("v rečevoj realizacii") and at the same time explicitly signal the attitude towards the action.

If *inženjer* is replaced with *Petja*, a diminutive that implies familiarity between the P^s and the Pⁿ, then the sentence becomes correct:

- (53") Pete ne *veritsja*, što my zakončim proekt k sroku.
 'Pete can't believe that we will finish the project on time.'

A statement such as (54) can be made only when two conditions are met: a) Elena Obraztsova confessed beforehand, as in (55), and b) the speaker can claim an intimate involvement between himself or herself and the Pⁿ or is putting himself or herself in her shoes (as a biographer, as in sentence (41), but not a critic, would do).

- (54) Elene Obrazcovej xorošo *pelos'* v tot den'.
 'Elena Obraztsova had a easy time of it singing that day.'

- (55) Mne xorošo *pelos'* v tot den'.
 'I had a easy time of it singing that day.'

The third person singular can be used in these constructions only within the framework of a narration viewed through the eyes of the protagonist, what Genette (1972) calls "focalization". In that case, the narrator knows as much about the protagonist as the latter does about himself or herself, and the narrator presents to his readers or listeners this most intimate account of the protagonist, as in (56):

- (56) a. Kostja počemu-to poražen, i počemu-to ne *veritsja* emu, što u Majki byla ljubov' s Ženej. (V. Panova. Konspekt romana)
 'Kostya is somehow stunned and somehow cannot believe that Maya and Zhenya used to be involved.'
- b. Buratino užasno *zaxotelos'* sejčas že poxvastat'sja, što tainstvennyj ključik ležit u nego v karmane. (A. N. Tolstoj. Zolotoj ključik)
 'Buratino felt a strong urge to brag immediately that the mysterious key was in his pocket.'

In addition, a hypothetical statement, as in (57), or an observable action, as in (58), legitimizes such use of true impersonals:

- (57) Otsutstvie takix, kak Šukšin, mnogoe delaet nevospolnimym. Predstavljaju, kak by emu sejčas *pisalos'*. (M. Dement'eva. Taganka — èto vera)
 'The absence of people like Shukshin leaves much wanting. I can imagine how he could write now.'
- (58) Direktor javno ne *siditsja* na meste.
 'The director obviously can't keep still.'

This discussion also explains why such constructions are possible for animals that are viewed as “members of the family”, as Gerritsen (1990, 178) puts it, as opposed to other types of animals in neutral statements, and why they are possible in cases of personification of animals.

1.2.3. Summary

Of the two impersonal constructions with *-sja* forms (as opposed to *-sja* verbs), one is impersonal-passive, which is treated in this study as passive; the other is the true impersonal. Both of them retain the lexical meaning of their corresponding non-*sja* verbs (which is not necessarily the case with *-sja* verbs).

The impersonal *-sja* forms may be formed from verbs that describe activities or states (except for undesired actions), but not achievements or accomplishments. They do not denote spontaneous actions and cannot have an underlying Object. They always require negation, a modifier, or a subordinate clause.

Their meaning is that external forces, rather than a human Subject, are either responsible for an action or for the inability of the Subject to perform an action properly or at all. Thus they represent a case of [-responsibility]. In addition, they present either perceptual or epistemological knowledge and presuppose closeness (or else imagination or direct observation) between the speaker (P^s) and the participant of the narrated event (P^n).

1.3. Receptive

Another important construction that presents the human Subject as quintessential experiencer is receptive. Vinogradov (1972, 498) calls this group “*sredne-passivno-vozvratnoe značenie*” [medio-passive-reflexive], and Gerritsen (1990, 27-30) “*medial-passive*”. It includes two subgroups, one of which Geniušienė (1987, 273) calls “*modal-deagentive reflexives*”. In her view, sentences (59a) and (59b)

“[59a] *Ja slyšu muzyku*
I-NOM hear music-ACC
'I hear music'

[59b] *Mne slyšitsja muzyka*
I-DAT hears-RM music-NOM
'I can hear music'

differ only in the syntactic function of the Semantic Subject.” (Geniušienė 1987, 231)

Nedjalkov (1978, 33) comes closer to an explanation of these verbal constructions, stating that there are not more than fifteen verbs of certain semantics (feeling, perception and thought) whose development came about due to the weak participation of the Subject:

(60) a. *On vspomnil ètu noč'* → b. *Emu vspomnilas' èta noč'*.
'He remembered that night' → 'That night came to his memory'

In other words, since the original non-sja counterparts already show weak involvement on the part of the Subject, these constructions give rise to -sja constructions. The only logical conclusion from this statement would be that the -sja constructions show even weaker involvement on the part of the Subject.

Indeed, as Nedjalkov points out, all of the verbs in this subgroup have the semantics of 'sense, perceive.'¹⁰ The verbs of perception include: sight — (*pri*)*videt'sja* and *risovat'sja*; hearing — (*po*)*slyšat'sja*; taste, smell, touch and feel — (*po*)*čuvstvovat'sja*, *vosprinimat'sja* and *oščuščat'sja*; and memory and knowledge — (*za/vs/pri*)*pomnit'sja*, *predstavljat'sja*-*predstavit'sja* and a few others.

What is important in this subgroup is that a) the Pⁿ is not responsible for the perception of the objects, and b) the quality of the object and its perceptibility are greatly reduced:

- (61) Ja *vižu* more.
'I see the sea.'

Sentence (61) means that the P^s=Pⁿ is close enough to the sea to see it, while sentence (61') represents a vision through an "inner eye" or memory, as do (62a) and (62b):

- (61') Mne *viditsja* more.
'I can see the sea.'

- (62) a. Ja tol'ko odin raz videla ee muža Vadima, no *on mne zapomnitsja*, vysokij, očen' krasivyj. I počemu-to *viditsja mne* segodnja ego koričnevij *kostjum*. (L. Žukova. Ėpilogi)
'I saw her husband Vadim only once, but I remembered him, tall, very handsome. For some reason I can see today his brown suit.'
- b. Uvlečenija Ol'gi Evgen'evny byli mnogočislenny i burny. Daže vnučka ee Svetlana, *kotoroj ona risuetsja* v dymke romantičeskix vospominanij o detstve pišet o nej ... (L. Šatunovskaja. Žizn' v Kremle)
'Olga Evgenevna's escapades were many and tumultuous. Even her granddaughter Svetlana, who sees her in a mist of romantic memories of childhood, writes about her ...'

In addition, these verbs can also represent vision through pure imagination. According to Mrázek (1976, 6), "Vozvrat. forma *viditsja*, *videlos'* (*prividelos'*) v sovr[emennom] rus[skom] jazyke služít dlja oboznačénija n e r e a l' n o g o, imaginarnogo d e j s t v i j a ." ["The reflexive form of *viditsja*, *videlos'* (*prividelos'*) 'see (through an inner eye), imagine' in the contemporary Russian language is used to express an unreal, imaginary action."]¹¹ The following two examples are such cases:

- (63) a. Ej èto *prividelos'*.
'She imagined it. = She thought she saw it.'

¹⁰ The terms are borrowed from the title of Mrázek's (1976) article.

¹¹ Emphasis in the original.

- b. *Ix lica mne predstavljajutsja i teper' inogda v šume i tolpe sredi molodyx frantov.* (Gogol') (Vinogradov 498)
'I imagine their faces even now sometimes among the noise and the crowd of the young dandies.'
- c. ... *nikakaja istina odinakovo ne predstavljaetsja dvum ljudjam.* (L. N. Tolstoj)
'no truth is perceived identically by two people.'

Slyšat' also may involve real or imaginary sounds:

- (64) a. *Vnizu poslyšalis' golosa.* (M. A. Aldanov. Ključ)
'Voices could be heard downstairs.'
- b. *Mne poslyšalos', čto kto-to prišel.*
'I thought I heard somebody come.'

The most common group of verbs used with receptive are the verbs of thinking and memory:

- (65) a. *Mne dumaetsja, čto ...*
'I think that ...' (or: 'It seems to me that ...')
- b. *Skoro li budet pečatat'sja tvoe? Dumaetsja, čto skoro.* (A. Èfron. Pis'ma iz slylki)
'Is your work going to be published soon? It seems to me that it will.'
- c. *Privedu liš' odin razgovor, zapomnivšijsja mne počti doslovno.* (L. Šatunovskaja. Žizn' v Kremlje)
'I will cite only one conversation that stuck in my mind almost word for word.'
- d. ... *togda nikak ne myslilos', čto čerez desjatiletija budu smotret' èti že kadry v Štatax.* (L. Žukova. Èpilogi)
'at that time it was impossible to think that decades later I would watch the same footage in the States.'
- e. *Počemu napisala ob ètix žuravljax — i sama ne znaju. Razvernula tvoe pis'mo — i oni mne vspomnilis'.* (A. Èfron. Pis'ma iz slylki)
'I don't even know myself why I wrote about those cranes. I unfolded your letter, and they came to my mind.'
- f. *My s moej Marinoj byli ot nee [Gajanè Xolodovoj] bez uma v roli kakoj-to Eleny Lej. Zapomnilas' èta Elena Lej mne v černom plat'e, objagivajuščem aktrisu tak, čto vse vremja čuvstvovalas' opasnost': a vdrug vse èto lopnet.* (L. Žukova. Èpilogi)
'My Marina and I were crazy about her [Gajane Xolodova] in the role of some Elena Ley. I remember that Elena Ley in a black dress that wrapped the actress to the point that danger was felt all the time: what if all of this suddenly snaps?'

- g. Teper' on volen stavit' spektakli tak, kak *viditsja*, kak *čuditsja* emu. (L. Žukova. Ėpilogi)
'Now he is at liberty to direct plays the way he envisions them, the way he imagines them.'

These verbs of perception are supported by the existence of reflexiva tantum with inherent perceptive/receptive meaning: (*pri*)*snit'sja* 'dream', (*po*)*mereščit'sja* 'seem', (*po*)*kazat'sja* 'seem', (*po/razo*)*nrvat'sja* 'please' and others:

- (66) a. I *snitsja* strannyj son Tat'jane. (Puškin. Evgenij Onegin)
'And so Tatyana is having a strange dream.'
- b. Teatru uže *mereščilsja* Brežnev v lože, trupu lixoradilo. (L. Žukova. Ėpilogi)
'The theater was already imagining Brezhnev in a theater box, the troupe was shaken by frenzy.'
- c. Mne *pokazalos'*, čto kto-to prišel.
'It seemed to me that someone came.'
- d. A ona *nrvilas'* emu davno, i vot oni *vstretilis'* stol' romantično, — ona tože byla na praktike sredi xrizantem i vosxodjaščego solnca. (L. Žukova. Ėpilogi)
'For he had liked her for a long time, and here they met so romantically — she was also doing fieldwork among the chrysanthemums and the rising sun.'

The second subgroup of receptive verbs involves accidental encounters with another person or Object, or what Wierzbicka (1988, 16) calls "involuntary action", as in (67'), as opposed to "voluntary action", as in (67):

- (67) On *vstretil ee*.
'He met her, he came across her.'
- (67') Emu *vstretilas'* ona.
'He met her, he came across her, not because he wanted to.' (both Wierzbicka 1988, 17)

Indeed, a meeting by mutual agreement would require multiple Subjects and would be expressed differently, using either inclusive *my* or *oni*:

- (68) My *vstretilis'*.
'We met.'
- (69) Oni *vstrečalis'*.
'They used to meet.'
- (70) My s nej *vstretilis'*.
'She and I / we met.'

- (71) *My potom vstretilis' s nej v teatral'nom tualete. (= ja i ona) (L. Žukova. Ėpilogi)*
 'She and I met later in the dressing room.'

or using the preposition *s* + P^{n_2} :

- (72) a. *On vstretilsja s nej.*
 'He met her.'
- b. *Vstretilsja ja s nim, očevidno, uže letom. (V. Nekrasov. Višnevskij)*
 'I met him evidently already in summer.'

Even though there may be an element of chance in sentences (67) and (71), the meeting in sentence (68) is the result of *pure* chance, in addition to being contrary to the wishes or expectations of the Subject, as in (73), where dative denotes the experiencer, the Subject who is accidentally involved in the encounter:

- (73) *Vse-taki Axmet povstrečalsja Evdokii na puti, kogda ona šla po vodu. (V. Panova. Evdokija)*
 'Nonetheless Evdokiya came across Akhmet, when she was going for water.'

Another verb meaning 'to come across' is *popadat'sja-popast'sja*. It can involve either inanimate objects, as in (74), or animate, human beings, as in (75):

- (74) *Nakanune večerom Nikolaj Makarovič byl u nas, dopozdna my vtroem rezvilis', potjagivali vinco iz bokalov s dvorjanskimi venzeljami, — popalis' oni nam v Carskom v kakoj-to komissionnoj lavčonke. (L. Žukova. Ėpilogi)*

'The previous evening Nikolay Makarovich was at our place, the three of us were having a good time till late, we were sipping wine from wineglasses with the engraved initials of nobility — we came across them in Carskoe in some little second-hand store.'

- (75) *Ona ožidala, što priexav učit'sja v gorod, gde-nibud' objazatel'no vstretitsja s ètim negodjaem. No vot uže prošlo neskol'ko mesjacev, a on ej nigde ne popadalsja. Ej bylo udivitel'no, što on ej nigde ne popadaetsja. (F. Iskander. Pastux Maxaz)*

'She expected that, having arrived in town to study, she would surely meet with this scoundrel somewhere. But here a few months have already passed, and she did not come across him anywhere. She was surprised that she had not come across him anywhere.'

The verb that expresses the Subject as receptive experiencer par excellence is the verb *dat'sja*. It can mean either 'to achieve, learn, get' if used neutrally, as in (76), or 'to get stuck on an idea or thing' if used negatively, as in (77):

- (76) a. *Jazyki mne dajutsja. (B. Ezerskaja. Mastera/L. Tarasjuk)*
 'I am good at languages.'

- b. Èto rešenie *dalos'* im nelegko. (B. Ezerskaja. Mastera)
'The decision came to them with difficulty.'
- c. To, što Žene Loginovu *daetsja* igrajuči, Kostja Prokopenko beret trudom. (V. Panova. Konspekt romana)
'What Zhenya Loginov achieves (gets, learns) like child's play, Kostya Prokopenko achieves through work.'

(77) *Dalas'* tebe èta knižka. (Ožegov)
'This book has gotten into your head.'

In either case, the knowledge, the abilities, the decisions or the infatuations take hold of the Subject; he is only a vessel for them.

A similar [-responsibility] use can be found in a reflexiva tantum *udat'sja*:

(78) Odin iz issledovatelej tvorčestva Dostoevskogo, Leonid Grossman, pisal, što "pamflet na revoljucionnoe dviženie", obličitel'nyj pafos "Besov" *ne udalis'* romanistu. (L. Žukova. Èpilogi)
'One of the critics of Dostoevsky's work, Leonid Grossman, wrote that the novelist did not succeed in his "revolutionary movement pamphlet" and in the accusatory pathos of *The Devils*.'

The general meaning in the receptive group is imposition upon the Subject or the Subject's senses. The Subject is the involuntary experiencer of his or her own abilities, thoughts or feelings, someone else's presence, or sensory stimulation.

1.4. Summary

This section has dealt with -sja verbs and forms that present the human Subject as an involuntary experiencer of 1) his or her actions or inability to carry out actions properly or at all; and 2) his or her own abilities, thoughts and feelings, someone else's presence, or sensory perception. The two constructions that signify these meanings are true impersonal -sja forms and receptives, respectively. All of these meanings are instances of [-responsibility].

2. The Subject as Observer: the Quasi-Passive

This is the group that Vinogradov (1972, 498) calls "kačestvenno-passivno-bezob"ektnoe značenie" [qualitative passive objectless meaning], Bulanin (1967, 166-167) "passivno-kačestvennoe značenie" [passive qualitative meaning], Townsend (1967, 198) "general characteristic",¹² and Geniušienė (1987, 261) "quasi-passive reflexives", while Gerritsen (1990, 25) but not Gerritsen (1988) categorizes them as passive. It includes constructions such as:

¹² However, Townsend also includes sentences of the type *sobaka kusaetsja* 'the dog bites', which in this study belong to aggressive (Chapter 4).

- (79) a. *Jaščik vydvigaetsja.*
 'The drawer pulls out.'
 b. *Steklo ne gnetsja.*
 'Glass does not bend.'
 c. *Palka ne sgibaetsja.* (all Vinogradov 498)
 'The stick does not bend.'

Geniušienė's Russian examples of "quasi-passive reflexives" in the main corpus of her book are all perfective resultative which I do not include in my study of quasi-passives:

- (80) a. *Nož ploxo zatočilsja.*
 'The knife got hardly whetted.' (Geniušienė 264)
 b. *Mylo izmylilos'.*
 'The soap got used up.' (Geniušienė 264)
 c. *Pjlatno smylos'.*
 'The spot got washed off.' (Geniušienė 265)

In her questionnaire she lists (81) among the quasi-passives:

- (81) *Rubaška xorošo stiraetsja.*
 'The shirt washes well.' (Geniušienė 368)

In addition, despite the fact that she did not mention any imperfective examples in Russian in the main corpus of the book, one could infer that in her classification they would belong to the same class, since she goes on to say (Geniušienė 1987, 265):

Other means of expressing the potential meaning of quasi-passive RCs [reflexive constructions] are descriptive constructions such as

- [82] *Ėtu dver'-Ø trudno otkryt'.*
 this door-Acc hard to-open
 'It is hard to open this door.'

and constructions with deverbal adjectives such as the Czech

- [83] *Sklo je nerozbitné.*
 glass is non-breaking
 'This glass does not break.'

The descriptive construction (82) corresponds in Russian to a quasi-passive (82'):

- (82') *Ėta dver' otkryvaetsja s trudom.*
 'This door opens with difficulty.'

while the Czech construction (83) corresponds in Russian to a quasi-passive (83') and to the descriptive construction (83''):

(83') *Steklo ne b'etsja.*
'The glass does not break.'

(83'') *Èto neb'juščeesja steklo.*
'This is unbreakable glass.'

Geniušienė also gives imperfectives and/or present tense examples from other languages (a-series below) that would correspond to present tense imperfective examples in Russian (b-series below):

Polish:

- (84) a. *Książka czyta się przyjemnie.*
book-Nom reads RM pleasantly
'The book is pleasant to read.' (Geniušienė 262)
- b. *Kniga čitaetsja s udovol'stvijem.*
'It is a pleasure to read this book.'

Danish:

- (85) a. *Glas bøje -s ikke.*
glass bends-RM not
'Glass is not flexible.' (Geniušienė 262)
- b. *Steklo ne gnetsja.*
'The glass does not bend.'

German:

- (86) a. *Der Name schreibt sich ohne e.*
the name writes RM without e.
'This name (must be) spelled without e.' (Geniušienė 263)
- b. *Èta familija pišetsja bez mjagkogo znaka.*
'This last name is spelled without a soft sign.'

French:

- (87) a. *L'f dans le mot 'clef' ne se prononce pas.*
the f in the word 'clef' not RM pronounces
'The 'f' in the word 'clef' is not pronounced.' (Geniušienė 263)
- b. *N v slove 'solnce' ne proiznositsja.*
'The 'n' in the word 'solnce' is not pronounced.'

Napoli (1976) presents similar types of constructions from Italian and French:

- (88) a. *Le finestre si rompono.*
 'The windows break.' (Napoli 139)
- b. *Une branche comme ça, ça se casse sous son propre poids.*
 'A branch like that breaks under its own weight.' (Napoli 139)

Fellbaum & Zribi-Hertz (1989) treat sentences such as (89) together with (90) as middle:

- (89) a. *Le grec se traduit facilement.* (Fellbaum & Zribi-Hertz 1)
 'Greek translates easily.'
- b. *Cette chemise se lave facilement / bien.* (Fellbaum & Zribi-Hertz 1)
 'This shirt washes easily / well.'
- (90) a. *Cette branche s'est cassée.* (Fellbaum & Zribi-Hertz 9)
 'This branch broke.'
- b. *Le fromage s'est moisi.* (Fellbaum & Zribi-Hertz 9)
 'The cheese molded.'

However, (89) (as well as (88)) represents a generalized statement describing an overall quality of the Object: it is a quality of Greek to be easily translatable, and it is a quality of this shirt to be washable. Examples (90a) and (90b), on the other hand, represent singular resultative actions, which is why exact counterparts between present tense phrases as in (89) and past tense examples as in (90) are not always possible.

For example, one cannot say (91a), only (91b) or (91c), since one cannot refer to all of Greek having been translated easily, only a text or some expressions.

- (91) a. **Le grec s'est traduit facilement.*
- b. *Le texte grec s'est traduit facilement.*
- c. *Les expressions grecques se sont traduites facilement.*

On the other hand, (92) means an action in progress, not a quality of the Object; (88b) is one of the possible ways of dealing with the quality of a branch. However, sentence (93) can mean the quality of cheese, not a witnessed action in progress. This is due to the nature of the noun *le fromage* which can mean either 'the cheese' (specific) or 'cheese' (in general).

- (92) *Cette branche se casse.*
 'The branch is breaking.'
- (93) *Le fromage se moisit.*
 'Cheese gets moldy.'

Going back to the Russian examples, Vinogradov (1972, 498) correctly observed that in this case, *-sja* “*vyražajet naličie u sub"ekta xarakterističeskogo svojstva, obladanie sub"ekta sposobnost'ju podvergat'sja kakomu-nibud' dejstvuju*” [expresses the fact that the Subject possesses a characteristic quality or the ability of the Subject to perform a certain action].

Let us examine some of these phrases:

- (94) a. *Nitki rvutsja.*
‘Threads break.’
- b. *Farfor legko b'etsja.* (Russkaja Grammatika 618)
‘Porcelain breaks easily.’
- c. *Ètot karandaš lomaetsja.*
‘This pencil breaks.’
- d. *Materija legko pačkaetsja.*
‘The material easily gets dirty.’
- e. *Èta tkan' mnětsja.*
‘This fabric wrinkles.’
- f. *Mašina ne zavoditsja.*
‘The car does not start.’
- g. *Dver' ploxo otkryvaetsja.*
‘The door opens with difficulty.’
- h. *Frukty portjatsja.*
‘Fruit get spoiled.’
- i. *Korova ne doitsja.*
‘The cow does not milk.’
- j. *Izvestnjak legko režetsja.*
‘Limestone cuts easily.’
- k. *Rifmy legko zapominajutsja.* (Mrázek 1968, 103)
‘Rhymes are easy to remember.’
- l. *Bel'e xorošo stiraetsja.* (Xrakovskij¹³ 1974a, 45)
‘Linen washes well.’
- m. *Devjat' delitsja na tri.*
‘Nine divides (evenly) by three.’

In all of these cases, the imperfective use of a *-sja* verb denotes an inherent quality of the Object. The last sentence is a clear example of such an inherent quality¹⁴ as compared with its opposite:

¹³ Xrakovskij also does not qualify this example as passive, although he does not give it a name.

- (95) Devjat' *umnožaetsja* na tri.
'Nine is multiplied by three.'

Unlike even division, multiplication can take place anytime and does not suggest or require any inherent numerical quality; consequently sentence (95) can only be understood as passive, while sentence (94m) can be passive or quasi-passive depending on the context (that is, if analyzed from the reader's/decoder's point of view). However, sentence (96) is unequivocally quasi-passive:

- (96) Mnogočlen vseгда *delitsja* nacelo na naibol'šij obščij delitel' ego členov. (S. I. Tumanov. Èlementarnaja algebra)
'A polynomial always divides evenly by the largest common divisor of its terms.'

Janko-Trinickaja (1962, 115-118) and Isačenko (1960.2, 389) consider these constructions passive rather than quasi-passive. Refuting Isačenko's classification, Bojko (1963, 22-23) writes that in the sentence *Posuda b'etsja* the action of the verb is not directed towards the subject since it is impossible to form a semantically similar active construction, where *posuda* would occupy the object position. The essence of this construction is in underscoring a certain quality of the Object. A similar objection to Janko-Trinickaja's and Isačenko's reasoning is presented by Bulanin (1967, 167), who gives four reasons why quasi-passives should be considered *activa tantum*.

Indeed, sentence (97) does not in any way correlate with (97'), and sentence (98) in no way corresponds to (98'):

- (97) Dver' ploxu *otkryvaetsja*.
'The door opens with difficulty.'
- (97') N ploxu *otkryvaet* dver'.
'N opens the door badly / poorly.'
- (98) Korova ne *doitsja*.
'The cow does not milk.'
- (98') N ne *doit* korovu.
'N does not milk the cow.'

In other words, unlike passive, in quasi-passive there is no potential or implied agent.

Pupynin (1984, 183-184), however, supports Janko-Trinickaja, while acknowledging that

the main difference between active and passive is in the fact that imperfective passive conveys the quality of the Object, while the active conveys the quality of a specific agent. ... One can only pinpoint the generalized feature. The agents are "vse, kto zaxočet soveršat' dannoe dejstvie". This expression can be introduced into the constructions as the real agent.

¹⁴ Ožegov: *delit'sja* — *obladať sposobnost'ju delenija na drugoe čislo bez ostatka* ('*delit'sja* means to have the capability of dividing evenly by another number').

He suggests the following two examples:

- (99) *Xotja dver' otvorjalas' svobodno, no Zaxar otvorjal tak, kak budto nel'zja bylo prolezt'.* (I. Gončarov)
 'Although the door opened freely, Zaxar opened it as if it were impossible to get through.'
- (99') *Xotja dver' otvorjalas' svobodno vsemi, kto zaxočet ...*
 'Although the door was opened freely by anyone who would wish ...'

In other words, according to Pupynin, quasi-passive does not have an exact grammatical active counterpart, and the agent can only be expressed in the form "anyone who wishes". However, it is easy to find examples that make no sense under this premise: sentence (100) should then mean (100'), and (101) should then mean (101'):

- (100) *Posuda b'etsja.*
 'Dishes break.'
- (100') **Posuda b'etsja vsemi, kto zaxočet.*
 'Dishes are broken by anyone who would wish.'
- (101) *Èti plat'ja rvutsja.* (Townsend 198)
 'These dresses tear.'
- (101') **Èti plat'ja rvutsja vsemi, kto žaxočet.*
 'These dresses are torn by anyone who would wish.'

Such substitution becomes particularly strange in negative sentences, because it implies that people wish the failure of the action. Sentence (102), according to Pupynin, should correspond to (102'), (103) should correspond to (103'), and finally (104) should correspond to (104'):

- (102) *Na čto teper' koza? Vse ravno ne doitsja.* (K. Simonov) (Pupynin 186)
 'What's the goat good for now? It doesn't milk anyway.'
- (102') **Vse ravno [koza] ne doitsja nikem, kto zaxočet.*
 'Anyway the goat does not milk by anyone who would wish.'
- (103) *Mašina ne zavoditsja.*
 'The car does not start.'
- (103') **Mašina ne zavoditsja nikem, kto zaxočet.*
 'The car does not start by anyone who would wish.'

- (104) *Sotvoril nam Gospod' Bog ponačalu tverduju vodku. Suxar' suxarem. Poprobovali bezzubye: ne gryzetsja, ne krošitsja, ne lomaetsja.* (F. Kandel'. *Pervyj ètaž*)
 'At first God created hard vodka. Hard like stone. The toothless tried: it does not gnaw, does not crumble, does not break.'
- (104') **Poprobovali bezzubye: ne gryzetsja, ne krošitsja, ne lomaetsja nikem, kto zaxočet.*
 'The toothless tried: it does not gnaw, does not crumble, does not break by anyone who would wish.'

The notion of a generalized agent is most questionable if a negative value adverb, such as *ploxo*, is present: sentence (105) should correspond to (105')

- (105) *Dver' ploxo otkryvaetsja.*
 'The door opens poorly (insufficiently, with difficulty).'
- (105') ?? *Dver' ploxo otkryvaetsja vsemi, kto zaxočet.*
 'The door opens poorly (insufficiently, with difficulty) by anyone who would wish.'

All of the above examples support the conclusion that, contrary to Pupynin's claim, in quasi-passive there is no implied or potential agent. His potential agent "whoever would like" does fit the instructional passive subtype of agentless passive:¹⁵

- (106) a. *Plat'e nadevaetsja čerez golovu vsemi, kto zaxočet ego nadet'.*
 'The dress goes on over the head by anyone who would like to put it on.'
- b. *Èta zadača rešaetsja tak vsemi, kto xočet eë rešit'.*
 'This problem is solved this way by anyone who would like to solve it.'

and so on. This distinction emphasizes the difference between passive and quasi-passive that has already been outlined by Vinogradov (1972), Bulanin (1967), Xrakovskij (1974a) and Geniušienė (1987).

In all of the quasi-passives, the verbs describe a quality or some feature of the Object or substance or the possibility of an action occurring. However, in none of the sentences can the described action occur by itself,¹⁶ despite the SI-based perception to the contrary: "v vyražennii *èta dver' ploxo zapiraetsja* dostatočno jasno skvozit 'predstavlenie o dveri kak o dejstvujuščem lice —

¹⁵ See Chapter 6, pp. 185-186.

¹⁶ Sentence (94h) seems to be an apparent counterexample, since the fruit gets spoiled with no interference from humans. However, whether it is spoiled or not can only be judged by humans and reflects the humans' perception of its usefulness; compare for example

(i) ? *List'ja portjatsja.*
 'Leaves get spoiled.'

Consequently, the position of the Subject is still the position of the quintessential observer.

kak budto dver' sama tak delaet, čto ee trudno zaperet" ¹⁷ ["in the expression *ëta dver' ploxo zapiraetsja* there is a 'notion of a door as an actor, as if the door does something so that it is hard to lock it' "]. If threads are left alone and no one touches them, they will not tear (sentence (94a)), even in the following sentence proposed by Bulanin:

- (107) Nitki sami tak i *rvutsja*. (Bulanin 1967, 167)
'The threads tear quite by themselves.'

The addition of *sam*, *sama*, *samo*, or *sami* only emphasizes the nonresponsibility of the Subject. If no one touches the fabric (sentences (94d) and (94e)), it will neither get dirty nor wrinkled. All of the above actions can occur or the characteristic features can manifest themselves if and only if the human Subject comes into contact with the object.

When a feature that manifests itself is a negative one, the Subject is not strictly responsible for the outcome. Despite his acting upon or coming into contact with the Object, the Subject acts as observer of an undesired outcome. This type of *-sja* construction thus represents another occurrence of [-responsibility].

Now let us consider the past perfectives, as in (80), the ones that Geniušienė considers quasi-passive in the main corpus of her book. The obvious problem is that while such perfectives can be formed for some of the verbs listed above, for example (108), they cannot for others, for example, (109):

- (108) a. *Palka ne sognulas'*.
'The stick did not bend.'
b. *Ëta dver' otkrylas' s trudom*.
'This door opened with difficulty.'
c. *Steklo razbilos'*.
'The glass broke.'
- (109) a. **Jaščik vydvinsja*.
'The drawer got pulled out.'
b. **Rubaška xorošo postiralas'*.
'The shirt washed well.'
c. **Familija napisalas' bez mjagkogo znaka*.
'The last name got written without the soft sign.'
d. **N v slove 'solnce' ne proizneslos'*.
'N in the word 'solnce' did not get pronounced.'
e. **Kniga pročitalas' s udovol'stvjem*.
'The book read with pleasure.'

¹⁷ Vinogradov (1972, 491), quoting D. N. Ovsjaniko-Kulikovskij, *Sintaksis russkogo jazyka* (St. Petersburg: 1912).

The difference between the first and second sets is in the nature of the utterances: while the Objects in (108) can achieve the described state without human involvement — the stick may bend with time, the door may open from wind or by itself, the glass may shatter from heat or after being hit by some Object — the actions in (109) cannot be achieved without human involvement: someone must pull the drawer, wash the shirt, write the name, pronounce the word, and read the book.

3. Summary

There are three grammatical categories containing -sja verbs (receptive and quasi-passive) and -sja forms (true impersonal) that constitute [-responsibility]. Receptives present the Subject as a quintessential experiencer of his or her own abilities, thoughts and feelings, someone else's presence, or sensory perceptions. Quasi-passives describe a quality or some feature of an Object or substance or the possibility of an action occurring when a human Subject comes into contact with the object and observes (rather than causes) an undesired outcome. True impersonals present the Subject as an involuntary experiencer of his or her actions or inability to carry out actions properly or at all. Regardless of whether the Subject is depicted as a quintessential experiencer (on the S1 level) or as an observer, he or she does not bear responsibility for the actions of these types of verbs.



CHAPTER SIX

Passive

There are several questions that are relevant to the study of passive: 1) What is passive? 2) When can it be formed? 3) What is its relationship with active? and 4) Why and when is it used? An additional question is: 5) What does -sja passive entail as opposed to non-sja or be-passive?

The following sections will attempt to answer these questions. Section 1 examines various divergent definitions of passive before adopting a working definition. Section 2 considers the formation of passive -sja constructions. Section 3 catalogues the pragmatic meanings of agentive passive, and Section 4 does the same for agentless passive. Section 5 briefly examines perfective passive. Section 6 provides an overall conclusion.

1. Definitions of Passive

General agreement does not exist on how to define passive nor on precisely which constructions should be considered passive. Existing definitions of passive range from very narrow to very broad, including various points between these extremes. This section will survey this spectrum before settling on a working definition that will be used in the remainder of the chapter.

1.1. Morphological or Narrow Definition

The narrow definition includes constructions in which the patient (represented by a NP in nominative case) occupies the subject position. Examples include sentences (1b) and (2b) from the following active-passive paradigms in Russian (Babby & Brecht 1975):

(1) Imperfective paradigm:

- a. Oleg *otkryval* kalitku.
'Oleg was opening the gate.'
- b. Kalitka *otkryvalas'* Olegom.
'The gate was (usually) opened by Oleg.'¹

¹ This is not the translation given in Babby & Brecht's article. Their translation is 'The gate was being opened by Oleg.' Pupynin (1984) and Gerritsen (1988) analyzed such constructions and came to the conclusion that their use suggests repetition in the past, not an 'actual' past, hence my translation.

Note also that (1b) is correct but awkward and unlikely, not only because "there is a marked tendency to avoid it [passive]" in spoken language (Babby & Brecht 1975, 342, fn. 2), but because there are additional limitations on passive. This serves as an additional proof that active and passive constructions are not conversives. Compare for example (1a') and (1b'):

- (1a') Oleg *medlenno* *otkryval* kalitku.
'Oleg was slowly opening the gate.'

c. **Kalitka byla otkryvana* Olegom.²

(2) Perfective paradigm:

- a. Oleg *otkryl* kalitku.
'Oleg opened the gate.'
- b. *Kalitka byla otkryta* Olegom.
'The gate was opened by Oleg.'
- c. **Kalitka otkrylas'* Olegom.

One problem with the morphological definition is that it excludes sentences in other languages and in Russian dialects which, although they do not have a patient in subject position, may be semantically characterized as passive. In Russian, these include constructions with an infinitive or infinitival phrase in the subject position and impersonal sentences with no subject. The morphological definition is thus too narrow; even in Contemporary Standard Russian it separates constructions that are all semantically passive into different categories.

1.2. The Narrowest Definition (Gerritsen)

Compared to the narrow definition, Gerritsen's (1988, 136) treatment of passive should be called the narrowest: "as far as Russian imperfective is concerned reflexive 'passive' cannot be called passive" because passive *-sja* constructions cannot have an 'actual' interpretation; that is, if the agent is overtly expressed, the *-sja* passive construction cannot express an action witnessed by the speaker:

- (3) a. **On ubivaetsja* banditom. (Gerritsen 1988, 126)
'He is being killed by a bandit.'
- b. **Stakan b'etsja* Ivanom. (Gerritsen 1988, 126)
'The glass is being broken by Ivan.'
- c. **Ja slyšal, kak on obvinjalsja* v ubijstve. (Gerritsen 1988, 130)
'I heard him being accused of murder.'

(1b') **Kalitka medlenno otkryvalas'* Olegom.
'The gate was being slowly opened by Oleg.'

² The stark ungrammaticality of this sentence is partly due to the fact that Babby & Brecht used the nonexistent past passive participle *otkryvana* instead of the existing present passive participle *otkryvaema*. I assume that they did so deliberately in order to make this example consistent with the past tense paradigm which they were describing. Both forms are attested for a number of Russian verbs: *čitat* 'to read' — *čitamyj*, *čitannyj*; *stirat* 'to do laundry' — *stiraemyj*, *stirannyj*; *stelit* 'to spread' — *stelimyj*, *stelennyj*; and many others. In any case, Babby & Brecht's point would have also been served by use of the existing form, since sentence (1c') is not correct either:

(1c') **Kalitka byla otkryvaema* Olegom.
'The gate was being opened by Oleg.'

- d. *Smotri, *prodaetsja* butylka vodki. (Gerritsen 1988, 131)
'Watch, the bottle of vodka is being sold.'

In addition, "[i]f in a 'passive' -sja sentence, direct or indirect reference is made to a performer, then the subject gets an additional role, which prevents the performer from becoming the initiator" (Gerritsen 1988, 132-133). On the other hand, Gerritsen includes be-constructions with present passive participles (henceforth present PP), such as (4), as unequivocally passive, although most of her examples dealing with this subject represent present PP's as attributes, as in (5):

- (4) Vanja byl *dopuskaem* v detskuju. (Cvetaeva; RG 617) (Gerritsen 1988, 119)
'Vanja was allowed into the nursery room.'
- (5) Xrjukal porosenok, *otkarmlivaemyj* na uboj. (Saltykov-Ščedrin/BAS) (Gerritsen 1988, 118)
'A piglet which was being fattened for slaughter was oinking.'

While Gerritsen's findings pertaining to the opposition of the -m- present PP's to the -sja participles (e.g. *upotrebljaemyj*—*upotrebljajuščijsja* 'used') are very valuable, she maintains that -m- PP's are freely formed and presumably freely used. Both of these claims seem difficult to support. Gerritsen only goes as far as claiming that -sja passive is not passive; however, she does not proclaim it active (as Siewierska (1988), for example, does with -no, -to constructions in Polish). By completely denying -sja passive a passive status, she also denies the paradigmatic relationship exemplified by (1) and (2).

1.3. The Broadest Definition

On the opposite end of the spectrum, the definition offered by Xrakovskij (1970, 1973, 1974a and 1974b) deals with passive in the widest sense. In his view, passive constructions "are derived surface structures in which a concrete lexically expressed agent does not occupy the position of the subject."³ (Xrakovskij 1973, 60) According to this definition, each active construction yields a number of passive ones. The exact number is calculated by the formula $2(n+1)$, "where n is the number of possibilities for filling the position of the subject in passive constructions with participants." For example, in (6) there are two such possibilities: "John" and "a book", thus yielding (7) and (8). "1 [in the formula] is the possibility where this position remains unoccupied", as in (9), "and the multiplication by 2 designates two possibilities for the [S]ubject, which in passive structures either stands in the position of special complement, or does not occupy this position"

³ I believe that the 1973 definition is misleading, because it implies that the agent occupies a position other than the subject position. The Russian original (then forthcoming) (Xrakovskij 1974a, 15) has the same ambiguous definition "sub"ekt ne zanimaet pozicii podležaščego". However, it is qualified: "V etom slučae sub"ekt možet libo zanimat' poziciju kakogo-libo drugogo člena predloženiija i tem samym oboznačat' sja leksičeski, libo ne zanimat' pozicii drugogo člena predloženiija i, takim obrazom, ne oboznačat' sja v konstrukcii special'nym členom predloženiija." [In this case the agent can either occupy the position of any other member of the sentence and thus have a lexical representation, or not occupy the position of another member of the sentence, and thus not be represented in the construction by a special member of the sentence.]

(Xrakovskij 1973, 62), thus yielding (7a) vs. (7b) and (8a) vs. (8b). Even though Xrakovskij includes constructions with dummy and impersonal subjects (Fr. *on*: *On vend la maison* 'They_{impers} sell the house'; Germ. *es*: *Es wird getanzt* 'There was dancing there' and *man*: *Man baut ein Haus* 'They_{impers} are building a house'), his calculus does not allow their formal incorporation into his system, particularly given that there are languages that have two dummies (English) or a dummy and an impersonal pronoun (French and German). In English, this is illustrated by sentences such as (9).

- (6) The teacher gave John a book.
- (7) a. John was given a book.
b. John was given a book by the teacher.
- (8) a. A book was given to John.
b. ? A book was given to John by the teacher.
- (9) a. There was a book given to John.
b. ? There was a book given to John by the teacher.
c. *It was given to John a book.
d. *It was given to John a book by the teacher.
- (10) a. They_{impers} gave John a book.
b. They_{impers} gave a book to John.

The inclusion of (10) should not be unexpected, since in Xrakovskij's model, (11) yields (12), among other possibilities:

- (11) *Otec podaril bratu knigu.* (Xrakovskij 1974a, 16)
'Father gave (as a gift) a book to my brother.'
- (12) *Bratu podarili knigu.* (Xrakovskij 1974a, 16)
'They_{impers} gave (as a gift) a book to my brother / i.e. my brother was given a book as a gift.'

Incidentally, the ill-formedness of (9c)—(9d) does not preclude the pronoun "it" from forming passive:

- (13) They are expecting that I propose to Marie.
- (14) a. That I propose to Marie is expected.
b. That I propose to Marie is expected by them.

- (15) a. It is expected that I propose to Marie.
 b. It is expected by them that I propose to Marie.

As for Russian, Xrakovskij's model presents a multitude of possibilities for passive. Sentence (16), according to Xrakovskij, yields (17)—(18):

- (16) *Pulja ubila bojca.*
 'The bullet killed the soldier.'
- (17) a. *Bojca ubilo.*
 'The soldier was killed.'
 b. *Bojca ubilo pulej.*
 'The soldier was killed by a bullet.'
- (18) a. *Boec byl ubit.*
 'The soldier was killed.'
 b. *Boec byl ubit pulej.*
 'The soldier was killed by a bullet.'

Sentences (19) and (20) yield two passives, (21) and (22) respectively, which are "formal variants of a singular syntactic invariant. ... These variants are in complementary distribution." (Xrakovskij 1974a, 17)

- (19) *Molnija razbila stenu.*
 'The lightning destroyed the wall.'
- (20) *Rabočij razbil stenu.*
 'The worker destroyed the wall.'
- (21) *Stenu razbilo.*
 'The wall was destroyed.'
- (22) *Stenu razbili.*
 'They_{impers} destroyed the wall.'

Xrakovskij acknowledges that constructions of the type of (21) have the meaning of "unintentional 'unpleasant' action" (Xrakovskij 1974a, 27), although Mel'čuk's "elements" and Siewierska's (1988, 275) "supernatural" seem to better describe these constructions.

Xrakovskij (1974a, 42) argues that his approach is preferable to the traditional morphological one "because the category of voice unlike other verbal morphological categories is closely related to the syntax of the sentence." It is the different correspondences between the participants and the syntactic roles, he says, that provide the realization of the voice opposition.

In Xrakovskij's treatment of passive, each passive construction should have an active counterpart. Yet, there are sentences that fall into Xrakovskij's passive that may not have active counterparts:

- (23) a. Emu *razmožilo* glavu.
'His head was smashed.'
- b. Ego *razovalo* na časti.
'He was torn into pieces.'

Sentences (23a) and (23b) may not have active counterparts, or at least these counterparts cannot be formed without additional research into the nature of the disaster to find out what kind of force acted as the destructive agent. Similarly, according to Fellbaum & Zribi-Hertz (1989, 14), French passive (24) with the dummy "il" subject "requires the reconstruction of an Agent subject." This challenges the assumption of the existence of an underlying active for each passive.

- (24) Il *a été brûlé* plusieurs forêts pendant l'incendie.
'There were several forests burned during the fire.'

While Xrakovskij deals with passive on the formally syntactic level, he does not provide a list of all passives for any language. In addition, he does not explain why some perfective active constructions yield passives with past tense of *byt'*, while others yield passives with \emptyset copula. For example, in Xrakovskij (1973), (25) yields (26a) and (26b) among others, that is constructions with past tense of *byt'* for a copula, while in Xrakovskij (1974a), (25) yields (27a) and (27b), that is with \emptyset copula:

- (25) Otec *podaril* bratu knigu. (Xrakovskij 1973, 63)
'Father gave my brother a book.'
- (26) a. Kniga *byla podarena* bratu. (Xrakovskij 1973, 63)
'The book was given to my brother.'
- b. Kniga *byla podarena* bratu otcom. (Xrakovskij 1973, 63)
'The book was given to my brother by my father.'
- (27) a. Kniga *podarena* bratu. (Xrakovskij 1974a, 16)
'The book is given to my brother.'
- b. Kniga *podarena* bratu otcom. (Xrakovskij 1974a, 16)
'The book is given to my brother by my father.'

At the same time, Xrakovskij (1973) follows (26), which has a past tense copula, with passives with \emptyset copula, since (28) yields (29a) and (29b). Such inconsistencies detract from the overall formalism.

- (28) Prepodavatel' *ukazal* Maše na ošibku. (Xrakovskij 1973, 63)
'The teacher showed Masha her mistake.'
- (29) a. Maše *ukazano* na ošibku. (Xrakovskij 1973, 63)
'Masha is shown her mistake.'
- b. Maše *ukazano* na ošibku prepodavatelem. (Xrakovskij 1973, 63)
'Masha is shown her mistake by the teacher.'

Xrakovskij's formula calculates how many passives there theoretically could be per each active construction. However not all possibilities are embraced by the formula. We already saw that the presence or absence of the copula may provide a doubling of some possibilities (which were not addressed by Xrakovskij). It is also possible that for some active constructions in some languages, there exist two different passives with the subject position occupied by one and the same participant, as in (30) in Polish, or with the subject position unoccupied, as in (32) in Russian:

- (30) a. Pokój *był pomalowany* w zeszły roku.
'The room was only painted last year.'
- b. Pokój *został pomalowany* w zeszły roku.
'The room was painted last year.'⁴ (both Siewierska 1988, 251)
- (31) Ljudi mnogo *govorili* o tebe.
'People spoke a lot about you.'
- (32) a. O tebe mnogo *govorilos'*.
'You were spoken about a lot.'
- b. O tebe mnogo *govorili*.
'They spoke a lot about you.'

Xrakovskij's own examples demonstrate that the formula is too restrictive, since Polish offers three passive constructions with zero in the subject position:

- (33) Ludzie *posłali* Stefana na front. (Xrakovskij 1973, 67)
'People sent Stefan to the front.'
- (34) a. Stefana *posłali* na front. (Xrakovskij 1973, 67/69)
b. Stefana *posłano* na front. (Xrakovskij 1973, 67)
c. Stefana *się posłalo* na front. (Xrakovskij 1973, 69)
'Stefan was sent to the front.'

⁴ The distinction in translation reflects an additional semantic distinction: (30a) implies that the room already needs painting again, while (30b) does not.

Since Xrakovskij provides a formally syntactic treatment of the passive, he treats the semantic distinctions within a particular language as secondary. He also disregards semantic distinctions between languages. For example, Saloni (1986, 22-23) points out that Polish -no, -to constructions imply a human agent, as in (35), and Siewierska (1988) even treats them as active. But the corresponding Russian constructions imply an unknown force (Wierzbicka 1988, 223-233), as in (36):

(35) *Zamordowano ja.*
'She was murdered.'

(36) *Ee ubilo.*
'She was killed.'

In addition, (38) and (40), the latter being impersonal, may fit Xrakovskij's definition of passive, since in either case no concrete lexically expressed Agent occupies the subject position:

(37) *Ja zapomnil ètot den'.*
'I remembered that day.'

(38) *Mne zapomnilsja ètot den'.*
'I remembered that day.'

(39) *Nikto o provale ne vspominal.*
'Nobody brought up the failure.'

(40) *O provale ne vspominalos'.*
'Nobody brought up the failure.'

Overall, Xrakovskij's formula is more restrictive than his stated definition of passive: in addition to the dummy subjects mentioned earlier, (38) and (40) fit Xrakovskij's definition but do not fit his formula, since they cannot be doubled as the formula requires.⁵ In this study, sentences of the type of (38) are considered receptive rather than passive and were analyzed in Chapter 5. However, sentences of the type of (40) will be considered passive by virtue of their semantics.

A related flaw in Xrakovskij's framework is that the method used in his formula of deriving passive sentences from the corresponding active sentence conflicts with his claim that passive is not simply the converse of active.

1.4. Less Broad Definitions

Siewierska's (1988, 244) definition of passive is much more restrictive than that of Xrakovskij: she states that "no dummy subjects for passive clauses will be recognized in this work." With regard to Russian, her treatment is mainly morphological (she cites Babby & Brecht's paradigm as in (1) and (2)). As far as the constructions of type (41) are concerned, Siewierska, following

⁵ Geniušienė (1987, 231) treats (38) as 'modal-deagentive reflexive' and (40) as pure impersonal (1987, 285).

Mel'čuk (1979) and Doros (1975), states that it "is not derived from an underlying active, such as [46], but is itself an active clause with a covert inherent inanimate subject" (Siewierska 1988, 277).

(41) *Polja pobilo gradom.*
'The crops were destroyed by hail.'

(42) *Grad pobil polja.*
'Hail destroyed the fields.'

However, she makes a concession in her conclusion:

the constructions with the 3rd person singular neuter verb may be seen to be passive impersonal if the instrumental NP is regarded as the demoted subject. Alternatively, if a covert subject is postulated, or no subject at all, these clauses emerge as active impersonal. (Siewierska 1988, 280)

Janko-Trinickaja, who is concerned with passive proper only insofar as it is relevant to the "reflexive" verbs, includes imperfective as well as perfective verbs in her discussion of -sja passives. In addition, she treats constructions of the type of (38), which in this study are called receptives, as passives. Thus her definition of passive, while not being formalized, is wider than that of Siewierska and narrower than that of Xrakovskij.

1.5. A Working Definition

A unifying definition of passive constructions should refer to semantic, not only formal characteristics. The traditional definition of passive did not do this at all, while Xrakovskij's alternative definition went too far in some ways and not far enough in others. In this study I will adopt the narrow, morphological view of passive, as in (1b) and (2b), as a starting point since the paradigmatic approach provides a tool for testing (when necessary). However, I will also include additional constructions that are semantically passive.

Let us consider a case worthy of testing. Schenker (1986, 33) states that "[w]hen we read that *Bakterii uničtožajutsja*, we have no way of knowing whether the bacteria are dying [reflexive] or are being annihilated [passive]." Strictly speaking, the possible meanings to be considered are not 'dying' but 'destroying themselves' (reflexive), 'destroying each other' (reciprocal) and 'being destroyed' (passive). To perform the test, let us use forms that enter the reflexive paradigm but not the passive paradigm, namely past perfective with -sja. Sentence (43'a) represents a reflexive, and (43'b) represents a reciprocal; both of them are incorrect. Sentence (43'c) represents correct passive perfective:

(43) *Bakterii uničtožajutsja.* (Schenker 1986, 33)

- (43') a. **Bakterija uničtožilas'.*
'The bacterium destroyed itself.'
- b. **Bakterii uničtožilis'.*
'The bacteria destroyed themselves / each other.'

- c. *Bakterii byli uničtoženy.*
'The bacteria were destroyed.'

In other words, some apparently ambiguous sentences can be disambiguated through application of the paradigmatic relationships.

In addition to paradigmatic passive, I will define passive to include the following two types of impersonal-passive:

1. The first type consists of impersonal-passives with the Object (patient) in prepositional preceded by the preposition *O*.

- (44) *O den'gax ne zagovarivalos'.*
'Money was not mentioned.'

Contrary to Korolev (1969a, 206), who claims that these constructions are not characteristic of the contemporary state of the language, there is evidence that they remain part of contemporary usage. True, this type is semantically limited to the verbs of "communication" or "verba dicendi" (Geniušienė (1987, 285) treats these structures as purely impersonal): *ukazyvat'* 'point out, indicate', *pisat'* 'write', *govorit'* 'talk', *soobščat'* 'inform', *ob"javljat'* 'announce', *ob"jasnjat'* 'explain', *upominat'* 'mention', *vspominat'* 'reminisce, recall', *rasskazyvat'* 'tell (a story)', *pet'* 'sing' and so on. But such constructions are present in contemporary texts dealing with the object of the communication. For example:

- (45) a. *V rasskaze M. Čudakovej "Prostranstvo žizni" govoriťsja o čeloveke, žizn' ktorogo ne ograničena vo vremeni, on mog by žit' večno, no postepenno sokraščaetsja prostranstvo, gde on možet peredvigat'sja.* (L. Geller. *Vselennaja za predelom dogmy*)
'The story by Chudakova deals with a man whose life is not limited in time, he could live forever, but the space where he can move about gradually decreases.'
- b. *On organizoval zabastovku. On zadumal ee tak, kak ob ètom pisalos' v knižkax.* (B. Polevoj. *Pavel Korčagin iz černoj Afriki*)
'He organized a strike. He planned it in the way that it was written about in books.'
- c. *Ob ètom upominalos' ne raz na soveščanii.* (Arvat 26)
'This was mentioned more than once at the conference.'

Brecht & Levine (1984, 124) classify this type separately in a subsection entitled "Agent Omitted" under the heading "Intransitive Constructions". Semantically these constructions are passive; the syntactic difference of the expression of the Patient is due to the intransitivity of the verbs in question.

These constructions pass the morphological test as well, since the following perfectives are just as impossible as (2c):

(44') *O den'gax ne zagovorilos'.

- (45') a. On organizoval zabastovku. *On zadumal ee tak, kak *ob ètom napisalos'* v knižkax.
 b. *V rasskaze M. Čudakovej *skazetsja/skazalos'* o čeloveke ...
 c. *Ob ètom *upomjanulos'* na soveščanii.

2. The second type of impersonal-passive is an extension of the first type, that is those sentences in which the impersonal-passive is the predicate of the main clause of a complex sentence. For example:

- (46) a. Ne raz *govorilos'*, čto pora prinjat' mery.
 'It has been said more than once that it is time to take action.'
 b. A k obedu vyšel prikaz, i v nem *ob"javljalos'*, čto t. Semenovej desjat' sutok administrativnogo aresta. (M. L. Zapiski Maši Semenovej)
 'And by dinner time the order came out and in it it was announced that comrade Semenova was to undergo ten days of administrative arrest.'
 c. Nastojaščim *udostoverjaetsja* v tom, čto graždanka S. zdes' ne proživaeť.
 'This certifies that citizen S. does not live here.'
 d. V zapiske *utverždalos'*, čto rabota idet po planu.
 'The memo stated that the work was proceeding on schedule.'

I will also consider sentences with infinitives in subject position to be passive, for example:

- (47) Kurit' ne *razrešaetsja* / ne *razrešalos'*.
 'Smoking is not / was not allowed.'
 (48) a. V nojabre 1953 goda Šalamov priexal v Moskvu, no *žit'* zdes' emu ešče ne *razrešalos'*. (N. Sirotinskaja. Razgovory o samom glavnom...)
 'In November of 1953 Shalamov arrived in Moscow, but he was not yet allowed to live there.'
 b. V dorevoljucionnoj "gimnazii Gureviča" *učit'sja sčitalos'* čest'ju. (L. Žukova. Èpilogi)
 'It was considered an honor to study in the pre-revolutionary "gymnasium of Gurevich".'

All of the above -sja examples are imperfectives and do not have perfective -sja counterparts, which means that they are passive and not middle:

- (46') a. **Skazalos'*, čto pora prinjat' mery.
 b. *A k obedu vyšel prikaz, i v nem *ob"javilos'*, čto t. Semenovej desjat' sutok administrativnogo aresta.

(47') *Kurit' ne *razrešitsja* / ne *razrešilos'*.

At the same time they do have be-passive:

(46'') a. *Bylo skazano*, čto pora prinjat' mery.

'It was said that it is time to take action.'

b. A k obedu vyšel prikaz, i v nem *bylo ob"javleno*, čto t. Semenovoj desjat' sutok administrativnogo aresta.

'And by dinner time the order came out and in it it was announced that comrade Semenova was to undergo ten days of administrative arrest.'

(47'') Kurit' ne *bylo razrešeno*.

'Smoking was not allowed.'

This study adopts the narrow morphological or paradigmatic definition of passive, which allows for testing of ambiguous sentences, as a foundation and supplements it with the following types of semantically passive constructions:

- a) impersonal-passives with the Object in prepositional preceded by preposition O;
- b) impersonal-passives as the predicate of the main clause of a complex sentence;
- c) sentences with infinitives or infinitive clauses in subject position.

Thus, my definition of passive is wider than Siewierska's (provided her final retraction on the possibility of double interpretation of impersonals with 3rd person singular neuter is not taken into account) and both narrower than Janko-Trinickaja's in some interpretations (-sja perfectives and receptives) and wider in others (-sja impersonal passives).

2. Formation of Passive -Sja Forms and Passive -Sja Constructions

While the formation of -sja passive forms and -sja passive constructions (particularly agentive passive constructions) from imperfective verbs is considered a regular process (Apresjan 1980, Geniušienė 1987), some limitations do exist. Apresjan (1980, 39) states that "formally transitive stative verbs do not have a naturally expected passive -sja form", as in Apresjan's examples (49):

(49) a. *On *ljubitsja* (**nenaviditsja*, ?*uvažaetsja*) vsemi, kto ego znaet.

'He is loved (hated, respected) by everyone who knows him.'

b. ?Teorema Bernulli ploxo vami *ponimaetsja*.

'Bernoulli's theorem is being poorly understood by you.'

c. *A čto *sčitaetsja* vami?

'And what is thought by you (i.e. what is your opinion)?'

However, not only are such constructions equally impossible for a number of non-stative verbs, as in (50), but it may be possible to form -sja passive for some statives, as in (51):

- (50) a. **On b'etsja vsemi.*
'He is being beaten by everyone.'
- b. **Knigi často pokupajutsja vami / vsemi / moim sosedom.*
'The books are often bought by you / by everyone / by my neighbor.'

- (51) *Ubijca opoznaetsja svidetelem.*
'The killer is being recognized by a witness.'

Clearly, the formation of agentive passives is not automatic. Schaarschmidt (1968, 85) claims that "the -sja-passive is possible only in those cases when the underlying object is an inanimate noun, and if the aspect is imperfective (both conditions must be met)." These conditions may be necessary, but they are not sufficient, since sentence (50b) meets them and yet is incorrect.

On the other hand, while they are not common, there do exist instances of -sja passive with animate subjects, as in (52):

- (52) *Čelovek zalezal v dlinnoe krugloe žerlo. Zaxlopyvalas' zadnjaja kryška i otkryvalas' perednjaja. Sžatym vozduxom podvodnik vybrasyvalsja iz lodki.* (A. S. Novikov-Priboj. Podvodniki) (J-T 1962, 157)
'A man climbed into a long round orifice. The rear hatch was shut and the front one opened. The submariner was thrown out of the ship by the compressed air.'

In addition, there are verbs which *require* animate subjects of -sja passive, for example *arestovyvat'* 'arrest', *obvinjat'* 'accuse', *sudit'* 'try (in court)', *ssylat'* 'exile' and *prigovarivat'* 'convict':

- (53) a. *Moskovskie ostroslovy govorili, čto dlja togo čtoby uznat', skol'ko est' v Sojuze moščnyx radiostancij, dostatočno podscitat', skol'ko raz arestovyvalsja Minc.* (L. Šatunovskaja. Žizn' v Kremlje)
'Moscow jokers used to say that in order to find out how many powerful radio stations there are in the Soviet Union it is sufficient to calculate how many times Mintz was arrested.'
- b. *Podsudimye, kotoryx ja zaščiščaju... , obvinjajutsja v trex prestuplenijax.* (Plevako. Reči/BAS)
'The defendants whom I am defending are accused of three crimes.'
- c. —*Sudilis' kogda prežde?*
—*Nikogda ne sužden.* (L. N. Tolstoj. Voskresenie/BAS)
' "Were you ever tried before?"
"I was never tried." '

Consequently, Schaarschmidt's rule of inanimacy is not an absolute precondition for passive, although it usually applies.

Although -sja forms are part of the paradigm of the non-sja verbs, and the -sja form can be freely formed, the passive -sja construction (as well as non-sja passive) cannot:

(54) Oleg *sobiral* marki.
'Oleg collected (was collecting) stamps.'

(55) *Marki *sobiralis*' Olegom.
'The stamps were collected by Oleg.'

The reasons for this will be examined in the following section.

Another problem is that attempts to create ambiguous -sja constructions, such as those suggested by Jakobson, produce nonsensical phrases. Schaarschmidt analyzes the verb *umyvati* and suggests the following three examples, treating all of them as correct:

- (56) a. [*] Džadja *umyvaet* mašinu každyj den'.
'Uncle washes the car every day.'
- b. Džadja *umyvaetsja* každyj den'.
'Uncle washes himself every day.'
- c. [*] Mašina *umyvaetsja* džadej každyj den'.
'The car is being washed by the uncle every day.'

Sentences (56a) and (56c) are incorrect due to the lexical meaning of the verb *umyvati*, whose semantic component is 'to wash one's face'. However, if we replace *umyvati* by *myt* 'wash', (56c) is still unacceptable, just as (55) above is:

- (56') a. Džadja *moet* mašinu každyj den'.
'Uncle washes the car every day.'
- b. Džadja *moetsja* každyj den'.
'Uncle washes himself every day.'
- c. *Mašina *moetsja* džadej každyj den'.
'The car is being washed by the uncle every day.'

The general issue of sentences made up for synonymic purposes will be discussed in section 3.2.

Only an understanding of the pragmatics of -sja passives can provide the key to solving the puzzle of when they may and may not be formed.

3. Pragmatic Meaning of Agentive Passive

It has long been assumed that passive, whether agentive or agentless, belongs to the periphery of language use, and existing studies of passive employ made-up examples derived from active

constructions. It is the contention of this study that real uses of passive must be analyzed in order to derive its meaning and the reasons for its use.

In this section, existing concepts of the use of agentive passive, namely focus and text cohesion in non-discourse initial situations, will be examined. Then, a new explanation having to do with the expectedness or predictability of the Agent will be suggested. Next, some common made-up examples of passive will be examined from a discourse point of view in order to show why they are incorrect. Finally, correct examples will be offered, along with an explanation of what the proper discourse-initial situation is for each of them and why such sentences are associated with official language. Agentless passive will be dealt with in Section 4.

3.1. Non-discourse-initial Situation: Focus and Text Cohesion

While active and passive constructions are no longer seen as conversives (Isačenko 1960, Xrakovskij 1973, 1974a, 1974b and especially 1974c), agentive passive has long been considered a stylistic variant of active (Xrakovskij 1974b, Jaxontov 1974, Bogdanov 1978, Siewierska 1988). Furthermore, according to this view, this construction is primarily used in scientific language, although no one explains why this is the case. Siewierska (1988, 280) goes even further:

The continuing, though relatively infrequent, occurrence of passive in the written language is perpetuated by the literary tradition, the need for stylistic versatility, and perhaps even by the influence of English, particularly so far as scientific and journalistic texts are concerned.

This treatment of passive as a mere stylistic variant, particularly one limited to a certain area of discourse, clashes with the anti-conversive idea.

Fortunately, there is a growing tradition of differentiating active and passive on the basis of *focus*. Jakobson (1959/1971, 489) expresses this idea with regard to English: when the speaker chooses between passive and active, he chooses between focusing on the Patient and the Agent respectively. Tannenbaum & Williams (1968) and Turner & Rommetveit (1968) reach an identical conclusion, and so does Kurylowicz (1973, 96) regarding French: “On dit p. ex. *Pompée fut vaincu par César*, quand il est question de Pompée, mais *César vainquit Pompée* quand il est question de César.” Jakobson reiterates the same point with respect to Russian, according to Padučeva (1967),⁶ and the concept of focus with respect to passive vs. active in Russian is also accepted by Xrakovskij (1974b and 1974c).

Actually, Jakobson [Padučeva (1967, 36-37)] goes a step further, since he links the choice of focus or “logical stress” to the cohesion of the text:

aktivnaja i passivnaja formy predloženiya — *Razbojniki ubili krest'janina* i *Krest'janin byl ubit razbojnikami* — različajutsja tem, s kakoj točki zrenija predstavleno dejstvie (i potomu v tekste, v svjazi s raspredeleniem logičeskix udarenij, eti predloženiya moguť okazat'sja praktičeski ne vzajmozamenimymi: esli v predyduščem tekste šla reč' o razbojnikax, to vozmožen tol'ko pervyj variant, esli o krest'janine — tol'ko vtoroj).

⁶ Apparently Jakobson's original conference paper was never published.

[the active and passive forms of the sentence "Robbers killed the peasant" and "The peasant was killed by robbers" are distinguished by which point of view the action is presented from (and for that reason in the text, in connection with the distribution of logical stress, these sentences may turn out to be practically noninterchangeable: if in the preceding text the robbers were being talked about, then only the first variant is possible; if the peasant, only the second.)]

This still does not explain a) why passive is most commonly used in scientific texts; or b) how Jakobson's sentences (57a) and (57b) correlate, as far as focus is concerned, with sentences (58a) and (58b), which are identical to Jakobson's examples except for reversed word order, a variation allowed by Russian, but not by English or French:

- (57) a. Razbojniki *ubili* krest'janina.
'The robbers killed a peasant.'
- b. Krest'janin *byl ubit* razbojnikami.
'The peasant was killed by robbers.'
- (58) a. Krest'janina *ubili* razbojniki.
'The robbers killed a peasant.'
- b. Razbojnikami *byl ubit* krest'janin.
'The peasant was killed by robbers.'

In addition, Jakobson's point about text cohesion is difficult to confirm, since it is impossible to create a contextual environment for (57b) which has both the proper focus and cohesion: in the first sentence of (59a), the peasant is being talked about, and there is no mention of robbers prior to the passive construction. Yet the sentence containing the passive construction is impossible, and the text is devoid of cohesion. On the other hand, the first sentence of (59b) does mention robbers prior to the passive construction (in violation of Jakobson's rule), and even though the construction is still highly questionable, the text is slightly more cohesive:

- (59) a. Raz krest'janin sobral'sja v sosednij gorod na bazar. #Po doroge krest'janin (on) *byl ubit* razbojnikami.
'Once a peasant decided to go to the next town to the market. On the way the peasant was killed by robbers.'
- b. Raz krest'janin sobral'sja v sosednij gorod na bazar, a navstreču emu razbojniki. ??? Koroče govorja, krest'janin *byl ubit* razbojnikami.
'Once a peasant decided to go to the market in the next town, and there were robbers coming towards him. To make a long story short, the peasant was killed by the robbers.'

Moreover, passive is unlikely to be used in real discourse situations similar to (59). Here is an example of a similar context found in Paustovsky. All of the previous talk is about Van Teden and his death. The name of Christina appears only when the killer is finally named; however, the author does not use passive to introduce the name of the killer:

(60) Van-Teden byl mertv.

...

Govorili ob ubijstvu Van-Tedena i o tom, što, slava bogu, more ne prorvalo valy.

Van-Tedena ubila Kristina. (Paustovskij. Černye seti)

'Van Teden was dead.

...

They were talking about the murder of Van Teden and that — thank God — the sea did not break through the dams.

It was Christina who killed Van Teden.'

In fact, as I will argue, the opposite of the view expressed by Jakobson is correct: the agentive passive with animate Agent is used in non-discourse-initial sentences when either 1) the Agent is introduced prior to the passive construction, and the action in the passive is performed by the *expected* Agent; or 2) the Agent, although not previously mentioned, is the *logically predictable* one or, in other words, the action is performed by those who are supposed to perform it.

Examples (61)—(63) are examples of the first type. In (61), the protagonist describes her chair, Professor Fljagin, and his reading habits. Both the Agent (he) and the Object (the book) are introduced prior to the passive construction; thus the agent in the passive construction is the expected one.

(61) Nado odat' Fljaginu spravedlivost': on ne tol'ko s drugix treboval, no i s sebja. Dolgimi časami on sidel za svojim stolom s knigoj i konspektom, razvernutyimi rjadom, nizko naklonjas', kak by vyklevyvaja so stranic znanija, — čital i stročil, čital i stročil. Vidimo, bol'simi sposobnostjami on ne obladal, no trudoljubie ego bylo neslyxanno ("rabotosposobnost'", kak skazal Leva Markin). Ljubaja kniga, za kotoruju bralsja naš šef, izučalas' im vsegda doskonal'no, vse dokazatel'stva *proverjalis'* do bukovki i *vosproizvodilis'* v konspekte. Čital on očen' medlenno, stranic po vosem' — desjat' v den', zato čital na sovest'. Prazdnikom dlja nego bylo najti v knige ošibku... (I. Grekova. Kafedra)

'One must give Fljagin his due: he was demanding not only of others but also of himself. For long hours he would sit bent low at his desk with a book and notes opened next to it, as if pecking knowledge out of the pages — he would read and write, read and write. Apparently he did not have great talents, but his ability to work was unheard of ("work ethic," as Leva Markin said). Any book our boss would get down to was always *studied* by him meticulously, all the proofs were checked to the letter and reproduced in his notes. He read very slowly, about eight to ten pages a day, but he read conscientiously. For him a holiday was to find a mistake in a book.'

Similarly, in (62) the Agent (the father) and the Object (folders) are introduced prior to the passive construction. What is introduced in the passive construction is the action of decorating the folders with inscriptions:

- (62) P a p i n bol'šoj pis'mennyj stol, ... ja tak xorošo pomnju, pomnju černil'nicu s anglijskim matrosom, ... sinie p a p k i del, na kotoryx o n pisal svoimi figurnymi fantastičeskimi bukvami "Delo" N^o takoj-to, a p a p k i tex bumag, čto *sdavalis'* v arxiv, *ukrašalis'* i m nadpisjami "solenie", "marinovanie" ili "kopčenie". (M. Dobužinskij. Vospominanija, I)

'I remember so well D a d ' s big desk, I remember the ink holder with the English sailor, the blue case f o l d e r s on which h e wrote "Case" # such and such with his flowery fantastic letters, and the f o l d e r s of those papers that were archived *were decorated* b y h i m with the inscriptions "pickling", "marinating" or "smoking".'

In (63), clearly the Agent (Dunaevskij) has been introduced prior to the passive construction, since the article is about Dunaevsky:

- (63) Interesno to, čto p i s 'm o *pisalos'* D u n a e v s k i m v to vremja, kogda popularnost' veselogo kinofil'ma "Kubanske kazaki" dostigla apogeja. (N. Šafer. Paradoks Dunaevskogo)

'It is interesting that the l e t t e r *was being written* b y D u n a e v s k y at the time when the popularity of the comedy film "The Cossaks of Kuban" reached its peak.'

In all of these cases, the speaker (narrator) had a choice of presenting the information with an active or a passive construction, and this is precisely where focus comes into play. Instead of the passive in (61)—(63), the narrators could have chosen active (61')—(63') respectively; which place the focus on the Subject in each case rather than the Objects.

- (61') O n vseгда doskonal'no *izučal* ljubuju k n i g u , za kotoruju bralsja, *proverjal* vse d o k a z a t e l ' s t v a do bukovki i vosproizvodil (ix) v konspekte.

' H e always meticulously *studied* any b o o k he would get down to, *checked* all p r o o f s to the letter and reproduced them in his notebook.'

- (62') a p a p k i tex bumag, čto *sdavalis'* v arxiv, o n *ukrašal* nadpisjami "solenie", "marinovanie" ili "kopčenie".

'and h e *decorated* the f o l d e r s of those papers that were archived with the inscriptions "pickling", "marinating" or "smoking".'

- (63') Interesno to, čto D u n a e v s k i j *pisal* p i s 'm o v to vremja, kogda popularnost' veselogo kinofil'ma "Kubanske kazaki" dostigla apogeja.

'It is interesting that D u n a e v s k y *was writing* the l e t t e r at the time when the popularity of the comedy "The Cossaks of Kuban" reached its peak.'

In the passive constructions (61)—(63), the reason the Agent is present at all is because its absence might be understood as indicating a "generalized Agent" (see section 4.1 below).

Sentences (64)—(66) represent examples of the second type of agentive passive, where the Agent is not introduced prior to the passive construction but given the context is within the range of logically expected Agents and is immaterial for the discussion. In (64), the car is found by a duty patrol whose job it is to find stolen vehicles. The fact that the car in (64) was found by the duty patrol rather than another agency is immaterial to the story:

- (64) A vesnoj ètogo goda ee [mašinu] prosto ugnali. Samoe udivitel'noe, što v tot že den' mašina *byla obnaružena* dežurnym patrulom UVD i vozvraščena sčastlivomu vladel'cu. (Ogonek № 45 (4424))

'And in the spring of this year it [the car] was simply stolen. The most amazing thing is that the car *was discovered* by the duty patrol of UVD and was returned to the happy owner the same day.'

In (65), a murder is being investigated. The Agent in the passive construction belongs to the realm of common knowledge — medicine is prescribed by doctors:

- (65) —Lekarstva prinimajut bol'nye. Esli b Fišer čuvstvoval sebja ploxo, on ne poexal by, verojatno, na tu kvartiru. K tomu že ljudjam s serdečnoj boleznju *dajutsja* vrča mi bezobidnye veščestva i v očen' ničtožnyx dozax. (M. A. Aldanov. Ključ)

'The medicines are taken by sick people. If Fisher did not feel well he probably would not have gone to that apartment. Besides, people with heart problems *are given* benign substances in very insignificant doses by doctors.'

In (66), the fact that the songs were sung by some unnamed fashionable female singers (who are referred to pejoratively as *pevički* rather than *pevicy*) is immaterial to the discussion of the uncle's career:

- (66) No djadja predal vysokoe iskusstvo, ego zakružila legkaja slava (i legkie den'gi), i on stal sočinjat' vsjakie "Vasilečki-vasilečki" i "Ljubov' ne vseгда naslažden'e". Èto u nego polučalos', ego romansy *raspevalis'* modnymi pevičkami, — djadja akkompaniroval im svoimi nepovorotlivymi, tolstymi, kak sardel'ki pal'cami, pričem prevosxodno. (L. Žukova. Èpilogi)

'But uncle betrayed high art, he was in the whirlwind of easy fame (and easy money), and he began to compose all kinds of "Little corn flowers" and "Love is not always sweet". He did it well, his romances *were sung* by fashionable little singers — uncle accompanied them with his slow moving fingers that were fat like frankfurters, one must say superbly.'

In none of these cases can the corresponding active construction be used, since it would put into focus an Agent which is immaterial to the discussion.

Now let us go back to (59). The robbers cannot be viewed as immaterial to the event of the killing, nor are they the expected killer unless the killing itself is expected. This means that the Ob-

ject and the Agent should be introduced prior to the passive construction. Passive should then introduce only the action of killing. Consequently, a context that could incorporate (57b) should be similar to (59c):

- (59) c. Raz k r e s t ' j a n i n sobraljsja v sosednij gorod na bazar. Po doroge emu povstrečalis' r a z b o j n i k i . Razbojniki ego sxvatili i otveli v svoe logovo. Tam oni ego privjazali cep'ju k stene i potrebovali vykup. Krest'janin pytalsja bežat'. Ego pojмали, posadili v jamu i mučili golodom. Spustja tri dnja krest'janin *byl ubit* razbojnikami.

'Once a peasant decided to go to the market in the next town. On the way he met robbers. The robbers grabbed him and took him to their den. There they chained him to the wall and demanded ransom. The peasant tried to escape. He was caught, put in a pit, and tormented by hunger. Three days later the peasant *was killed* by the robbers.'

Agentive passive in non-discourse initial constructions is used to put focus on the Object rather than the Agent of the action; the Agent in these cases is either an expected one or, if newly introduced, immaterial for further discussion.

3.2. Discourse-initial Situation: Official Language

There has been a long tradition of distinguishing "functional styles" in Russian (e.g. Rozental' 1987). Even though the implications of these distinctions are more practical than theoretical, certain elements bear on syntax in general and the use of passive constructions in particular. Grečko (1984, 82) remarks that, unlike fiction, which is concerned with people and their feelings, scientific texts are concerned with things and their qualities. Journalistic and business language, on the other hand, is concerned with reporting events, and as will be shown in this section, it makes use of a certain type of agentive passive which is virtually absent in other styles of the Russian language.

Grečko (1984, 82) points out that the "semantics of the passive" can be revealed provided one analyzes cases of "collision of active and passive" in fiction (and scientific texts, the basis of his research), rather than textbook examples such as *Rabočie strojat dom — Dom stroitsja rabočimi*. But before doing so, I would like to examine precisely this latter, frequently used example from a discourse perspective:

- (67) a. Dom *stroitsja* rabočimi.⁷ (Xrakovskij 1974a)
'A house is being built by workers.'

Sentence (67) cannot be a discourse initial statement because it has no informational value: some house is being built by some workers, which could hardly be of interest to anyone in a coherent discourse. In order to find a context in which such a sentence could be correct as a discourse-

⁷ Jaxontov (1974, 51) provides a similar example: *Dom stroitsja plotnikami*; Bogdanov (1978, 6) gives this same sentence with a different word order: *Plotnikami stroitsja dom*.

initial statement, a number of variants will now be examined. First, let us imagine a situation when this is not just any house, but a specific house:

- (67) b. A dom-to *stroitsja* rabočimi.
'The house is indeed being built by workers.'
- c. A dom u reki *stroitsja* rabočimi.
'The house by the river is being built by workers.'

The conjunction "a" is used here to switch to a new discourse topic; however, in both cases (67b) and (67c), the listener is aware of the house in question. Since the house is under construction at the moment that (67b) or (67c) is uttered, it is reasonable to assume that the listener knows that the construction has not been completed. Therefore there could be three possibilities: 1) the construction work has been going on continuously from the moment it started to the moment of the conversation; 2) the construction had been interrupted, a fact of which the listener is aware, but has since been resumed, which the listener does not know; or 3) there has been a dispute or an uncertainty as to who is going to build the house, let us say the workers or the owner.

In the first case, both (67b) and (67c) have no informational value, since the fact (α) is part of the language code:

(α) People who build houses professionally are called workers.

In the second case, the word *rabočimi* is superfluous in both examples for the same reason as above. The informational goal would be achieved without it:

- (67') b. A dom-to *stroitsja*.
'The house indeed is being built.'
- c. A dom u reki *stroitsja*.
'The house by the river is being built.'

In the third case, the focus of the discussion is on the workers, who rather than the owner are building the house. In this case, passive constructions (67b) and (67c) are impossible, since they would put *rabočie* 'the workers' in instrumental case, rather than focal nominative. Therefore, only active constructions (67'') are possible:

- (67) b. #A dom-to *stroitsja* rabočimi.
'The house is indeed being built by workers.'
- c. #A dom u reki *stroitsja* rabočimi.
'The house by the river is being built by workers.'
- (67'') b. A dom-to *strojat* rabočie.
'It is the workers who are building the house.'

c. A dom u reki *strojat* rabočie.

'It is the workers who are building the house by the river.'

Thus all three sentences, (67a), (67b) and (67c) are incorrect as discourse-initial utterances, since there is no plausible discourse situation in which they could be said.

Similarly, there is no proper discourse-initial situation for (67d), which should also be labeled incorrect:

(67) d. [#] Dom *stroitsja* rabočimi u reki. (Xrakovskij 1974b)

'A house is being built by workers by the river.'

In order to exhaust all possibilities for the sentence in question, let us examine a non-discourse-initial situation.

(68) A: U nas na ulice *stroitsja* novyj dom.

'A new house is being built on our street.'

(69) B: #Kem?

'By whom?'

(70) A: #Dom *stroitsja* rabočimi.

'The house is being built by workers.'

Sentence (69) is not incorrect by itself, but it is pragmatically impossible in this context for two reasons: 1) sentence (68) is not passive but middle, that is the action is presented as if it is going on by itself; hence the instrumental of the Agent is not motivated; 2) if the agent of construction is the focus of interest of Speaker B (let us assume A is female, and B is male⁸), he would naturally use the focal nominative case. Since (69) is impossible here, its answer, (70), is also impossible. A plausible question would resemble (69'), the answer to which is (71):

(69') B: A kto ego *stroit*?

'And who is building it?'

(71) A: Rabočie.

'Workers.'

Sentence (71) is also pragmatically questionable, for it does not introduce any new information. An understanding of why (71) is incorrect will bring us a step closer to understanding why agentive passive is more common in scientific and official language.

In order for B to ask (69'), one of the following four sets of circumstances would have to pre-exist; in all cases the speakers are aware of (α):

⁸ This device is borrowed from Clark (1979). He suggests that A and B can be thought of as Ann and Bob.

1) B does not really care who is doing the construction. Yet he asks question (69') in order to exhibit a feigned interest.

2) B indeed wants to know who is doing the construction; in other words, he wants to know who the owner or the contractor is. But he is aware that A does not know this information or indeed anything else about the house, for example if A has announced that she just saw the new construction site for the first time.

In both cases, B violates Grice's Maxim of Relation 'Be relevant.' His question can either elicit a polite empty response, as in (71), or be replaced by a much ruder one:

(71') A: Kto, kto?! Rabočie.⁹
'What do you mean, who?! Workers (of course).'

thus emphasizing the obviousness of the answer and consequently the uselessness of the question.

3) As in 2), B wants to know who is doing the construction. However, A misunderstands B's intentions or does not want to reveal the information. In either case, by replying with (71), she violates the First Maxim of Quantity of Grice's Cooperative Principle: "Make your contribution as informative as required (for the current purpose of the exchange)." (Grice 1975, 45)

4) As in 2) and 3), B wants to know who is doing the construction. The owner in this case is not an individual person, a fact known to A, who otherwise could not have uttered (68), only (68') (the fact that the identity of the individual is known establishes primacy of his/her actions over the action itself):

(68') A: X stroit u nas na ulice novyj dom.
'X is building a new house on our street.'

Consequently, the proper answer to (69') is one of the following:

- (72) a. Trest N105 / zavod Èlektrosila.
'Construction company #105 / The Èlektrosila factory.'
- b. Rabočie tresta N105.
'The workers of construction company #105.'

The nature of such specialized information is not a typical subject of communication among people who are not professionally interested in construction and construction sites. Hence, the nature of the communication is such that it belongs to the business register.

Now, let us imagine, that B, after receiving from A the information encoded in (68) and (72), decides to share it with C. Presumably both parts of it, that is (68) and (72), are unknown to C, and therefore B's statement will now be a discourse-initial utterance. There are a number of ways

⁹ More on such reduplicated questions with obvious answers can be found in Israeli (1997).

that B can encode the information, with various combinations of word order and voice, but only one of them, (73d), is correct:

- (73) a. #Novyj dom na Zelenoj ulice *stroit* trest N°105.
'It is construction company #105 that is building the new house on Green Street.'
- b. #Novyj dom na Zelenoj ulice *stroitsja* trestom N°105.
'The new house on Green Street is being built by construction company #105.'
- c. ?? Trest N°105 *stroit* na Zelenoj ulice novyj dom.
'Construction company #105 is building a new house on Green Street.'
- d. Trestom N°105 *stroitsja* novyj dom na Zelenoj ulice.
'Construction company #105 is building a new house on Green Street.'

Sentences (73a) and (73b) are impossible because they both presuppose knowledge by C of the existence of the house in question. Sentence (73c) states what construction company #105 is up to while (73d) states what is going on without a specific focus, and is consequently the only appropriate sentence, if B wants to share the information conveyed to him in (68) and (72).

It is precisely this type of agentive passive with this word order that is found in discourse-initial utterances:

- (74) Činovnikami v pogonax *razvorovyvaetsja* i *prodaetsja* voinskoe imuščestvo, prodovol'stvie. (TV. July 5, 1996)
'Military property and foodstuffs are being stolen and sold by bureaucrats in uniforms.'

The use of active here, as in (74'), would represent a statement about the military and their behavior, as opposed to the passive (74) which describes what is going on in the army:

- (74') Činovniki v pogonax *razvorovyvajut* i *prodajut* voinskoe imuščestvo, prodovol'stvie.
'Bureaucrats in uniforms steal and sell army property and foodstuffs.'

Sentence (74''), with the reverse word order of that in (74), is as impossible in discourse-initial statements as (73b) above.

- (74'') #Voinskoe imuščestvo i prodovol'stvie *razvorovyvajutsja* i *prodajutsja* činovnikami v pogonax.
'Military property and foodstuffs are being stolen and sold by bureaucrats in uniforms.'

Sentence (75) represents another, correct discourse-initial statement:

- (75) Demin soobščil, što po faktam xiščeniya prokuraturoj *vedetsja* proverka.
(TV. August 7, 1996)
'Demin reported that the investigation of the facts of the embezzlement is being conducted by the DA's office.'

There is another feature that unites (73d), (74) and (75) and which makes sentences of this type unlikely to be used in informal discourse: the semantic nature of the Agent NP. In all of these cases, the Agent NP does not represent a person, but a group or an organization. Compare (76) and (77):

(76) *Učenyimi issleduetsja vopros o postroenii novoj stancii.*

'The issue of the construction of a new station is being analyzed by scientists.'

(77) *Professorom Zavališinym issleduetsja vopros o postroenii novoj stancii.*

'The issue of the construction of a new station is being analyzed by Professor Zavalishin.'

While (76) is perfectly acceptable in an appropriate official context, (77) is stilted, for this sentence is not about Professor Zavalishin (in which case it would have been an active construction), but rather treats him as an official. This creates additional distance between the speaker (P^{s_1}) and the participant of the narrated event (P^n), in addition to the distance created by the title and the last name. Note the impossibility of (78):

(78) *#Mužem vyjasnjaetsja vopros o poezdke po Volge.*

'The question of a trip along the Volga is being looked into by my husband.'

Note also that not naming the street in (73'd) but calling it intimately Ann's street is inappropriate in conjunction with the other information presented in the sentence:

(73') d. *??? Trestom N105 stroitsja novyj dom na Aninoj ulice.*

'Construction company #105 is building a new house on Ann's street.'

Yokoyama (1994) argues that the distance between interlocutors (P^{s_1} and P^{s_2}) affects linguistic choices. Yokoyama (1991, 371) points out that "the reflexive [pronoun] depends not only on P^{s_1} 's position vis-à-vis P^n , but also on the relationship between P^{s_1} and P^{s_2} ." Example (73'd) and (78) show that a lack of distance between P^{s_1} and the P^n =Agent also blocks formation of -sja passive.

Thus we have seen that agentive passive with Agent-predicate-subject word order serves a discourse-initial function in business and journalistic language.

3.3. Summary

Active and agentive passive constructions are indeed not conversives. The distinction between active and agentive passive that is attributed by many linguists to focus and text cohesion is difficult to sustain given the artificial sentences upon which it is based. It is particularly difficult to support given the non-grammatical character of Russian word order. This section has demonstrated that a) certain passive made-up or "textbook" sentences are incorrect since there is no possible discourse situation where they would fit; b) agentive passive is used in nondiscourse-initial situations where the Agent is either expected (and already known to the listener/reader) or predictable and immaterial

to the discussion; and c) agentive passive with Agent-predicate-subject word order is used in discourse-initial situations in journalistic and business contexts to introduce a new event.

We now move on to consider pragmatic meanings of agentless passive.

4. Agentless Passive

The agentless passive is by far more common than the agentive passive. Lyons (1969) states that the ability to form agentless passive is common to all languages that have passive voice. Xrakovskij (1973, 74) suggests that historically agentless (short) passive appeared in European languages prior to the agentive passive; consequently "the short passive constructions cannot be treated as a reduced variant of agentive passive structures, although such a viewpoint is quite widespread."

This section will examine different uses of agentless passive, its pragmatic implications, and what kind of choice on the part of the speaker it implies in those cases where different choices are possible.

Logically, there can be the following possible reasons for nonexpression of the Agent: 1) it is impossible to express the Agent, who is unknown to the speaker (Brecht & Levine 1984, 120); 2) it is unnecessary to express the Agent, either because the Agent is irrelevant or because the listener will understand from the context who the Agent is (Brecht & Levine 1984, 120); or 3) the speaker is unwilling to express the Agent (the reasons for such unwillingness will be examined in section 4.2).

In reality, the first type, the agentless passive used for the sole reason that the speaker does not know who the Agent is, does not exist. Even in clear-cut cases, where the subject represents a victim of a crime perpetrated by some unknown criminals, the use of the agentless passive is driven by factors other than the lack of identity of the criminal. For example, in the most common type of agentless passive, namely resultative passive (with perfective past participle) as in (79), the fact of the crime and the result of the crime are more important than the name of the criminal.

- (79) a. Ego ded *byl ubit* v 1925 godu.
'His grandfather was killed in 1925.'
- b. Gospodin T. *byl ograblen* u vxoda v metro.
'Mr. T. was robbed at the subway entrance.'

The fact that the identity of the Agent is unknown has to be overtly expressed by such means as *kem-to* 'someone', *neizvestnym licom* 'by an unknown person' or *neizvestnym(i)* 'by unknown person(s)', thus making the passive agentive:

- (79') b. Gospodin T. *byl ograblen* u vxoda v metro *d v u m j a n e i z v e s t n y m i*.
'Mr. T. was robbed at the subway entrance by two unknown people.'

Even in non-topic-initial statements, the agentless passive, as in (80), does not convey the idea of “Agent unknown” but rather “appropriate Agent”. In order to express “Agent unknown,” it has to either be specified, as in (80'), or expressed by some other linguistic means, as in (80''):

(80) Rukopis' mnogo let proležala v jaščike. Potom ona *byla predana* redaktoru žurnala “Svoboda”.

‘For many years the manuscript lay in the drawer. Then it was given to the editor of the journal “Freedom”.’

(80') Rukopis' mnogo let proležala v jaščike. Potom ona *byla predana k e m - t o* redaktoru žurnala “Svoboda”.

‘For many years the manuscript lay in the drawer. Then it was given to the editor of the journal “Freedom” by someone.’

(80'') Rukopis' mnogo let proležala v jaščike. Potom ona *popala* k redaktoru žurnala “Svoboda”.

‘For many years the manuscript lay in the drawer. Then it got to the editor of the journal “Freedom”.’

In other words, agentless passive does not automatically imply “Agent unknown”.

Consequently, there are only two remaining possibilities: the overt expression of the Agent is unnecessary, or the speaker is unwilling to express the Agent. The following subsections will discuss the different possibilities within these two groups.

4.1. Overt Expression of the Agent is Unnecessary

There are four subtypes of agentless passive in which overt expression of the Agent is unnecessary: a) based on the context, the Agent is self-evident; b) the Agent is unimportant because the action is performed by those who are supposed to perform it; c) the Agent is generalized (the action described in the passive construction applies to all those who perform the action); and d) passive is used for instructional purposes. Here are some examples of each of these:

a) The Agent (who is not the speaker) is self-evident

In (81) the Agent is the mother:

(81) Xozjajkoj i predstavitel'nicej sem'i ... byla mama. ... Anna Konstantinovna s otcom ko vsemu èтому ne *podpuskalis'*; oni rabotali, posle raboty otdyxali, čitali, smotreli televizor, a mama byla domašnjaja xozjajka. (V. Peruanskaja. Kikimora)

‘Mama was the mistress and the representative of the family. ... Anna Konstantinovna and her father were not let near all of this; they worked, after work they rested, read, watched television, and mama was the housewife.’

In (82), Polina’s letter is discussed. Clearly, Polina is the Agent in the passive construction:

- (82) Bol'she o zdorov'e ni slova, zato na trex stranicax v vostonžennyx vyraženijax *opisyvalsja* kakoj-to Arsen Sarkisovič, Polinin lečaščij vrač. (N. Katerli. Polina)

'There was not another word about health, instead some Arsen Sarkisovich, Polina's physician, was described on three pages in excited terms.'

In (83), the sentence that precedes the passive indicates that the Agent in the passive sentence is "we":

- (83) No vydavalo nas drugoe. — my zaveli sebe zelenye kofty, počemu zelenye, — ne znaju. Gde oni ni *dobyvalis'*, iz čego tol'ko ni *šilis'*, iz sitcev, iz atlasov, iz dolgopolyx babuškinyx jubok, iz barxatnyx port'er, — nevažno, važno, čto oni byli zelenye, — znak prinadležnosti k ordenu gorovistok. (L. Žukova. Èpilogi)

'But a different thing made us recognizable — we got green jackets, why green, I don't know. No matter where they were gotten or what they were made of, cotton, satin, long grandmother skirts, velour draperies — it did not matter, what was important was that they were green, a sign of belonging to the order of Horovists.'

b) The Agent is unimportant

In these cases, the action is performed by those who are supposed to perform it, a tailor in (84a), servants in (84b), and theater management in (84c):

- (84) a. Pal'to *šilos'* ešče pri mame, let desjat' nazad, mama i material pokupala. (V. Peruanskaja. Kikimora)

'The coat was made while mama was still alive, about ten years ago, it was mama who bought the fabric.'

- b. Vorošilov i Budennyj žili v odnom osobnjake; ... K obedu *podavalis'* vino, frukty i živye cvety. (L. Vasil'eva. Kremlevskie ženy)

'Voroshilov i Budenny lived in the same cottage; ... Wine, fruit and fresh flowers were served with dinner.'

- c. Ja, ne otryvajas', gljadel na scenu — tam vosxiščali menja i gimnasty, i "èkscentriki" — klouny, i osobenno fokusniki. Pomnju *pokazyvalsja* velikan — kitaec ..., kotoryj pogloščal jajca celikom so skorlupoj i zatem ix izrygal nevredimymi na udivlenie vsej publike. (M. Dobužinskij. Vospominanija, I)

'I would watch the stage without tearing my eyes away, the gymnasts, the "eccentrics" — clowns — and particularly magicians excited me. I remember one giant was shown, Chinese, who would swallow eggs with shells and then burp them back unscathed to the entire public's surprise.'

c) The Agent is generalized

In these cases, the action is performed by any or all members of the understood group of potential Agents, namely people in (85a) and (85b), the reading public of the time in (85c), educators in (85d), and the governments of countries in (85e):

- (85) a. Izvestno, što ošibki v molodosti *soveršajutsja* bystro i legko, no rasplačivajutsja za nix dolgo i trudno. (A. Aleksin. Zdorovye i bol'nye)
'It is known that mistakes are committed in youth quickly and easily, but one pays for them long and hard.'
- b. Ibo rebenok, ne znajuščij otca, *travmiruetsja* na vsju žizn': v nem sliškom živ strax, nezaščičennost' pered vnešnimi silami. (Ju. Glazov. Tesnye vrata)
'For the child who does not know his father is traumatized for life: in him fear and defenselessness before outside forces are too strong.'
- c. Gazety s ego [Grossmana], kak i Èrenburga, korrespondencijami *začityvalis'* u nas do dyr. (V. Nekrasov. Vas. Grossman)
'The newspapers with his [Grossman's] as well as Ehrenburg's reports were read to shreds in our country.'
- d. Delat', kak mne kažetsja, nado ne tak, kak segodnja, k sožaleniju, *deluetsja* vo mnogix mestax. (A. Novikov. Marš, marš levoj/Ogonek)
'It should not be done, it seems to me, as it is unfortunately done today in many places.'
- e. Est', naprimer, armii professional'nye, kotorye *nabirajutsja* po principu kontrakcii, kak, naprimer, amerikanskaja. (A. Novikov. Marš, marš levoj/Ogonek)
'There are, for example, professional armies, which are drafted according to a contract principle, such as the American, for example.'

d) Instructional passive

The generalized agentless passive leads to the instructional passive: this is how something is generally done, consequently in order to do it properly this is the way that the listener (or reader) should do it.

- (86) a. Plat'e *nadevaetsja* čerez golovu.
'The dress is put on (goes on) over the head.'
- b. Forel' *očiščaetsja* ot češui, plavniki, xvost, golova *otrubajutsja* i vsja ryba *plastuetsja* vdol' pozvonočnika na dve poloviny. (Tadžikskaja kulinarija)
'The trout is cleaned of scales; the fins, tail and head are chopped off, and the whole fish is filleted along its backbone into two halves.'

- c. — Značit, gnezdo *v'etsja* tak... — zaščebetala vorob'ixa.— V kljuv *beretsja* solominka i *svoračivaetsja* v kolečko. (V. Medvedev. Barankin, bud' čelovekom)
' "So, the nest is woven like this," the female sparrow began to chirp. "You take a piece of straw into your beak and twist it into a ring." '
- d. Èta zadača *rešaetsja* tak.
'This problem is solved this way.'
- e. Ljudmila. Oj, kakoj vy smešnoj! Vy ego [primus] deržite vverx nogami. Ne tak nado deržat', a tak.
Abram. A zažigat'?
- Ljudmila. A razžigat' tak. Bljudečko vidite? Na nego nakačivajut pompoj kerosin. A ètot vintik vidite? *Otkryvaetsja*. Potom *beretsja* igla i *pročiščaetsja* golovka. Ponjatno?
Abram. Ponjatno. *Beretsja* pompa. *Pročiščaetsja* bljudečko. *Pokupaetsja* kerosin. ...
Ljudmila. Oj! Ničego vy ne ponimaete. Idemte, ja vam vse pokažu. (V. Kataev. Kvadratura kruga)
'L. You are so funny! You are holding it [gas stove] upside down. You should hold it not like that, but like this.
A. And how do you light it?
L. You light it like this. You see the saucer? You pump gas on it with the pump. You see this screw? It opens. Then the needle is taken and the head is cleaned. Got it?
A. Got it. The pump is taken. The saucer is cleaned. The gas is bought. ...
L. Boy! You don't understand anything. Let's go, I'll show you everything.'
- f. Pod vyraženiem $\ln r$ zdes' *ponimaetsja* liš' dejstvitel'noe značenie logarifma položitel'nogo čisla r , kotoroe legko *vyčisljaetsja* po tablicam logarifmov. (S. I. Tumanov. Èlementarnaja algebra)
'The formula $\ln r$ is understood here only as the real value of the logarithm of the positive number, which is easily calculated by the logarithm tables.'

The above sentences prescribe the proper way to perform an action. Possible non-sja counterparts either use *sleduet*, as in the following:

- (86') a. Plat'e sleduet nadevat' čerez golovu.
'One should put the dress on over the head.'
- d. Ètu zadaču sleduet rešat' tak.
'One should solve this problem this way.'

or use the infinitive imperative:

- (86') b. Očistit' forel' ot češui, otrubit' plavniki, xvost, golovu ...
'Clean the trout of the scales, chop the fins, the tail and the head off ...'

The use of -sja passive in such cases makes them less imperative.

4.2. The Speaker is Unwilling to Express the Agent

There are four subtypes of agentless passive in which the speaker is unwilling to name the Agent: a) the Agent is an antagonist of the speaker; b) the Agent is the speaker him/herself; c) the action is presented as disjoint, that is as if taking place by itself; and d) the Agent is an authority figure or the authorities in general.

a) The Agent is an Antagonist of the speaker

When the Russian speaker/writer disapproves of someone else's viewpoint, the agentless passive is used to avoid "pointing the finger" so to speak, in order to name the action but not the Agent. This creates the ambiance of distancing from the action, as demonstrated by the following examples from a memoir and a popular article:

- (87) Nikak ne vjazalos' s ego [Mariengofa] oblikom učenoe teoretizirovanie, no on napisal knižku i ob imažinizme, gde kak ob otkrytii govoril ob obraznosti poèzii. Tam že bylo čto-to o "bezličnosti glagola", glagolu *ob"javljalas' smert'*. No vopreki akmeistam *otricalos'* značenie ritma i togo, čto prinjato nazывать v poèzii muzykal'nost'ju. (L. Žukova. Èpilogi)

'The scholarly theorizing did not fit at all his [Marienhoff's] appearance, but he wrote a book about Imaginism where he spoke about imagery in poetry as if of a discovery. There, there was also something about "impersonality of a verb", death *was announced* to the verb. But unlike Acmeists, the meaning of rhythm and that which is customarily called in poetry musicality *were denied*.'

An active construction, on the other hand, would create a neutral statement.

In (88), the author does not even allude to whom she has in mind; she is simply opposed to the current structuralists' view and describes it in such a way so as to indicate disapproval without pointing a finger at her specific antagonists:

- (88) Žal' tol'ko, čto začatyj formal'noj školoj strukturalizm čačše vsego *sužaetsja* teper' do opasnyx predelov, kogda uže ne ostaetsja mesta dlja poèzii v poèzii, kogda *formuliruetsja* to, čto ne poddaetsja formulam, kogda vse *rasščepeno* kak atom, i net nepostiživosti i tajny tvorčestva, tajny ličnosti poëta. Vse *rassypano* na detali, *vysčitano*, *vymereño*. Otvlečeno, vne suti, *rassmotren* sintaksis xudožnika, *izučeny* zvuki, ix sočetanija, no *vyplesnuto* glavnoe — gumanističeskaja funkcija iskusstva. V sučšnosti, iskusstvo *degumaniziruetsja*. (L. Žukova. Èpilogi)

'It is unfortunate only that structuralism, which was founded by the formal school, is these days most often being narrowed down to dangerous limits, when no room is left for poetry in poetry, when that which is not subject to formulas is being formulated, when everything is being split like an atom, and there is no unattainability or mystery of creation, or mystery of the poet's personality. Everything is spilled into details, calculated and measured. The syntax of the artist is being analyzed abstractly, separate from the meaning, the sounds and

their combinations are studied, but the essence, the humanistic function of art, is thrown out. In essence, art is being dehumanized.'

In the next set of examples, the author argues against the revisionist position on interpretation of the music of the Soviet composer Dunaevsky:

- (89) a. Lučaščajasja v ego pesnjax radost' ... *russmatrivaetsja* čut' li ne kak uvod v debri beskonfliktnosti. (N. Šafer. Paradoks Dunaevskogo)

'The joy that is radiated from his songs ... is being treated almost like a withdrawal to the wilderness of conflictlessness.'

- b. Vpročem, to čto Dunaevskij "priblizil sovetSKUju muzyku k narodu" sejčas *koe-kem*¹⁰ *osparivaetsja*. Malo togo, *vnušaetsja* mysl', čto ego pesni byli "opiumom" dlja naroda. *Delaetsja* èto, konečno, ne vseгда vprjamuju. (N. Šafer. Paradoks Dunaevskogo)

'However, the fact that Dunaevsky "brought Soviet music closer to the people" is now being debated by some. Moreover, the opinion that his songs were "opium" for the people, is being promoted. It is not, of course, always being done directly.'

This type of passive is common in scholarly works. The next set of examples represents discussion of the works of Zolotova, with whom the author, Pavlov, vehemently but politely disagrees:

- (90) a. V ètix rabotax *podvergaetsja* kritike tendencija k analizu i opisaniju ... (V. M. Pavlov. Sub"ekt v bezličnyx predloženijax)

'In these works the tendency towards analysis and description is being subjected to criticism.'

- b. Tradicionnaja model' struktury predloženija ... rešitel'no *otbrasyvaetsja*, ... (V. M. Pavlov. Sub"ekt v bezličnyx predloženijax)

'The traditional model of sentence structure ... is being unequivocally rejected, ...'

- c. I xotja *priznaetsja*, čto ... (V. M. Pavlov. Sub"ekt v bezličnyx predloženijax)

'And even though it is recognized that ...'

b) The Agent is the speaker

There are instances in languages other than Russian where agentless passive is used with the deliberate goal of not "exposing" the Agent, when the Agent is the speaker or a group that includes the speaker. Bolinger (1968) discusses an example of such a passive in English used to justify retaliation against Blacks:

¹⁰ The fact that there is an expressed Agent *koe-kem* in the first sentence of this example does not alter the premise, since on the one hand the speaker is still avoiding naming the Agent, and on the other hand *koe-kem* (or *koe-cto*) in such contexts has a deprecating overtone, which clearly designates an antagonist.

(91) That's what they get for trying to force their way where they're *not wanted*.

Napoli (1976, 140) suggests that indefinite *si* sentences in Italian "enable the speaker to be non-committal".

But this type of usage of passive with respect to the speaker himself or herself, is not typical for Russian. Instead, Russian uses 3rd person plural subjectless constructions to convey this meaning:

(92) *Vam ved' govorjat russkim jazykom.*

'They are telling you in plain Russian (i.e. I am telling you).'

However, the reasons for not naming oneself could be other than being noncommittal. Vol'pert (1979, 31) points out regarding German passives that it is a device of modesty:

(93) *Wie schon eingangs betont wurde ...*

'As it was already underscored ...'

This is a common use of passive in Russian due to the Modesty Principle. Such use is particularly common in scientific/scholarly language. Examples (94a) and (94b) represent use similar to Vol'pert's:

(94) a. *Vyše byl priveden primer Uže svetaet. V kommentarii k nemu argumentiruetsja položenie o tom, što ... (V. M. Pavlov. Sub"ekt v bezličnyx predloženijax)*

'Earlier the example *Uže svetaet* was given. In the commentary on it the notion that ... is being argued.'

b. *V predyduščem izloženii vnimanie bylo sosredotočeno ... na probleme ... (V. M. Pavlov. Sub"ekt v bezličnyx predloženijax)*

'In the previous discussion attention was concentrated on the problem ...'

However, use of this type of passive is not limited to the scientific/scholarly language. In sentence (95), the author talks about herself:

(95) *Slučilos' mne v èti dni, što pišutsja èti stroki, polučit' po počte paket. (L. Žukova. Èpilogi)*

'These days, as these lines are being written, I happened to receive a package in the mail.'

She could have said (95'), using a less modest statement, attracting attention to her own action:

(95') *V èti dni, kogda ja pišu èti stroki, mne slučilos' polučit' po počte paket.*

'These days, as I am writing these lines, I happened to receive a package in the mail.'

Elsewhere in the editor's preface, we find:

(96) *Perepiska publikuetsja v sokraščennom vide.* (N. Sirotinskaja. *Razgovory o samom glavnom...*)

'The correspondence is being published in a shortened version.'

In (93)—(96), authors and an editor use agentless passive to denote an action produced by themselves. This type of construction obscures the Agent and focuses the reader's attention on the action and the object of that action or concomitant events.

c) Disjoint Action passive

This type of agentless passive is used in order to produce the effect of the action taking place as if by itself, in the same fashion as the middle does. This creates the implication (or at least the illusion) that no one bears responsibility for the action, the concept that I call [-responsibility]. Another way of looking at it is to say that the speaker attributes the action to some unknown force.

Bulanin (1976, 137), discussing the following example from Gogol', attributes to Russian agentless passives the meaning 'as if by itself':

(97) *No pokuda vse ograničivalos' odnim obdumyvaniem; izgryzalos' pero, javljalis' na bumage risunki, i potom vse otodvigalos' na storonu, bralas' namesto togo v ruki kniga i uže ne vypuskalas' do samogo obeda. Kniga èta čitalas' vmeste s supom, žarkím i daže pirožnym ... Čto že delalos' potom do samogo užina — pravo, uže i skazat' trudno. Kažetsja, prsto ničego ne delalos'.* (Gogol'. *Mertvye duši*)

'But for the time being it was limited to bemusing alone; a quill pen was being chewed, drawings appeared on paper, and then everything was moved aside, instead the book was taken in hand and it was not let go of until dinner. This book was read with soup, stew and even pastry ... What was being done later, up until supper, my word, it is really hard to say. It seems that simply nothing was being done.'

Discussing the difference in Italian between (98a) and (98b), if they are both pronounced with neutral intonation, Costa (1975, 114) states that they are answers to (99a) and (99b) respectively:

(98) a. *L'uva si mangia.*
 b. *Si mangia l'uva.*
 'Grapes are eaten' or 'One eats grapes.'

(99) a. *Cosa si fa dell'uva durante l'estate?*
 'What is done with grapes in summer?'
 b. *Che frutta si mangia d'estate in Italia?*
 'What fruit is eaten in Italy during the summer?'

Similarly, the disjoint action passive answers the question "What is/was going on?" rather than "What is (being) done to the subject?" The fact that the subject comes after the predicate, a position

occupied by an object in simplex sentences with neutral intonation, creates the impression of the disjoint action. Word order is the distinguishing factor that makes (97) disjoint action passive, while (96) is not.

In (100), taken from his memoir about Stanislavsky, the author describes his own actions on the morning of his meeting with the famous director. The described actions take place as if by themselves, which is also achieved by VS word order. The -sja passive achieves the psychological absence of the Subject from the described actions which, as in subtype a), can be seen as distancing:

- (100) V čas dnja nužno pozvonit' Stanislavskomu, čtob uznat' o čase priema. S utra vse gotovitsja k ètomu zvonku — *gladjatsja* brjuki, *vybirajutsja* i daže *stirajutsja* noski, *čistjatsja* botinki, polčasa *zavjazivaetsja* galstuk pred zerkalom. V bez četverti čas my uže sidim na lavočke v sadu zavetnogo doma, pomnutno pogljadyvaja na časy. (V. Nekrasov. Stanislavskij)

'Have to call Stanislavsky at one o'clock in order to find out about the time of the appointment. Since morning everything is being prepared for this telephone call — the trousers are being ironed, the socks are being selected and even washed, the shoes are being cleaned, the tie is being tied in front of a mirror for half an hour. At a quarter to one we are already sitting on a bench in the garden of the cherished house, every minute looking at our watch.'

The disjoint action passive with VS word order reaches its zenith when the Subject is denied all responsibility for the actions involved. The next example is set during the purges of 1937. It depicts life in a Russian family after the arrest of one of their friends (as described by the friend's wife) when the Subjects feel doomed. The passage creates an impression of an outside guiding force that eliminates the will and choice of Subjects:

- (101) Po zavedennomu porjadku oni vstavali utrom, *prinimaljsja* duš, *varilas'* ovsjanaja kaša, vnizu ždala mašina, no to, čto tvorilos' za predelami ix ujutnoj kvartiry, vkralos' zloveščeje atmosferej konca...

Oni bojalis' menja, xotja bojat'sja menja bylo naivno: neukosnitel'no *vypolnjalsja* plan. No oni menja bojalis', i ja ne mogla u nix nočevat'. (L. Žukova. Èpilogi)

'Following the established order, they would get up in the morning, a shower would be taken, oat porridge would be cooked, down below a car would wait, but that which was going on beyond the limits of their cozy apartment stole in as the malevolent atmosphere of the end...

They were afraid of me, although it was naive to fear me: a plan was being unflinchingly implemented. But they were afraid of me, and I could not spend the night at their place.'

All of the examples in this subsection describe disjoint action passive with VS word order and represent cases of [-responsibility] with respect to the Agent.

d) The Agent is an authority figure or “the authorities” in general

The actual Agent may be an authority figure, or “the authorities” in general (the most common type). The following set of examples from Xrakovskij (1973, 63) highlights “authoritative” use of passive. He says that sentence (102) yields two passives, (103a) and (103b):

- (102) *Prepodavatel' ukazal Maše na ošibku.*
‘The teacher showed Masha her mistake.’
- (103) a. *Maše ukazano na ošibku.*
‘Masha is shown her mistake.’
- b. *Maše ukazano na ošibku prepodavatelem.*
‘Masha is shown her mistake by the teacher.’

The imperfective *-sja* counterpart also exists:

- (103) c. *Maše ukazyvalos' na ošibku (*prepodavatelem).*
‘Masha was shown her mistake (by the teacher).’

What is particularly interesting in this example is the fact that sentences (103) presuppose an authority figure for the Agent; the Agent cannot be *mladšaja sestra* ‘younger sister’, nor *sosedsnij mal'čik* ‘neighbors’ boy’, or the like. *Prepodavatel'* ‘teacher’ is definitely an authority figure, thus yielding sentences (103).¹¹ Consider the reverse relationship: sentence (104) cannot be equated with (105), since Masha does not represent an authority figure for the teacher:

- (104) *Maša ukazala prepodavatelju na ošibku.*
‘Masha showed the teacher his mistake.’
- (105) *Prepodavatelju ukazano na ošibku (*Mašej).*
‘The teacher is shown his mistake (by Masha).’

Sentence (105) means that

- (106) *Staršij ukazal prepodavatelju na ošibku.*
‘A superior showed the teacher his mistake.’

More often, however, it is the authorities in general that represent the understood Agent:¹²

¹¹ Zaitseva (1995, 138-143) established the authority feature as a semantic component of certain *verba dicendi*; Israeli (1996) established [+authority] as a feature triggering imperfective in *verba creativa*, and Israeli (forthcoming) established [+authority] as a feature triggering perfective in *verba dicendi*.

¹² A similar observation was made by Costa (1975, 121) with respect to Italian constructions such as:

- (107) a. Neodnokratno *povtorjalos'*, čto pora proizvesti peremeny.
'It was repeated more than once, that it is time to make changes.'
- b. Ne raz *govorilos'* o neobxodimosti novoj sistemy.
'It was said more than once that a new system is necessary.'
- c. Emu *pripisyvalis'* ošibki, dopuščennye drugimi.
'The mistakes made by others were attributed to him.'
- d. Oto vsej *trebovalos'* neukosnitel'noe vypolnenie plana.
'The unwavering fulfillment of the plan was required from everyone.'

This is the form in which rules and prohibitions are expressed:

- (108) a. Kurit' ne *razrešaetsja*.
'Smoking is not permitted.'
- b. Vxodit' *vospreščaetsja*.
'Entrance is forbidden.'
- c. Genka očen' ljubil smotret' fil'my, na kotorye deti do šestnadcati ne *dopuskalis'*. (A. Aleksin. Nepravda)
'Genka very much liked to watch films to which children under sixteen were not admitted.'

Note that the presence of an Agent makes these sentences incorrect:

- (109) a. *Kurit' ne *razrešaetsja* direktorom.
'Smoking is not permitted by the director.'
- b. *Vxodit' *vospreščaetsja* milicionerom.
'Entrance is forbidden by the policeman.'
- c. *Deti do šestnadcati ne *dopuskalis'* biletëršej.
'Children under sixteen were not admitted by the ticket-taker.'

In the following examples in context, all of the actions are performed by those in power.

- (i) Comune di Firenze, Anagrafe.
Si certifica che COSTA BARRITT RACHEL è cittadina italiana.
'Municipality of Florence, Records Office. It is hereby certified that C. B. R. is an Italian citizen.'

In the legal language ... it is not appropriate for any human subject to be identified as the source of the certification, since the authority for this performative act devolves from the office held by the certifiers.

The Russian equivalent of (i) would be

- (ii) Nastojaščim udostoverjaetsja v tom, čto...
'This certifies that...'

- (110) a. V èti samye gody osobenno pyšno rascvetali parki kul'tury, osobenno často *zapuskalis'* fejerkerki, osobenno mnogo *stroilos'* karuselej, atrakcionov i tancploščadok. (N. Šafer. Paradoks Dunaevskogo)

'During those years the amusement parks were blooming particularly luxuriantly, fireworks were launched particularly often, and a particularly large number of merry-go-rounds, sideshows and dancing areas were being built.'

- b. K toj roli, kotoraja mne *prednaznačalas'* v predstojaščem processe, Komarov snačala pytalsja podvesti menja po-xorošemu. (L. Šatunovskaja. Žizn' v Kremle)

'At first Komarov tried to lead me on without using force to the role that was assigned to me in the upcoming trial.'

- c. V zloveščem tridcat' sed'mom pojavilas' stat'ja P. Kerženceva, — glavnomu režisseru TIM [Mejrxol'du] *vmenjalos'* v vinu otsustvie sovetского repertuara. (L. Žukova. Ėpilogi)

'In the sinister year '37, an article by Kerzhentsev appeared: the chief-director of TIM [Meyerhold] was accused of lack of Soviet repertoire.'

There is a certain omnipresence of power in sentences with agentless passive *-sja* constructions as opposed to third person plural impersonal constructions. The difference between (111) and (111') on the surface appears to be a change from a *-sja* to a non-*sja* construction.

- (111) My často i podolgu razgovarivali s nej po telefonu, xotja i znali, čto za našej družboj mnogo let sledjat i čto vse naši telefonnye razgovory *podslušivajutsja*. (L. Šatunovskaja. Žizn' v Kremle)

'She and I often and at length talked on the phone, although we knew that our friendship had been watched for many years and that all of our phone conversations were being monitored.'

- (111') vse naši telefonnye razgovory *podslušivajut*
'they monitored all of our telephone conversations'

In fact, in sentence (111) *vse naši telefonnye razgovory* is the grammatical subject and thus in focus position, while in sentence (111') it is the object and consequently in non-focus position. The change in focus from sentence (111) to sentence (111') creates a potentially (since it is still not named) more concrete and thus less omnipotent agent.

The same feature of P^s/P^{n_1} (=Agent) distancing that was described with respect to (73)—(78) also affects the distinction between (111) and (111'). The distancing presents the authorities as even more powerful.

4.3. [-responsibility]

The issue of responsibility with respect to Russian passive has been raised by Leinonen (1982), Siewierska (1984) and Gerritsen (1988). However, Gerritsen's understanding of "responsibility" is different from that of Leinonen and Siewierska. For Leinonen (1982, 206), "wherever there is a passive construction, it seems to indicate that the grammatical subject does *not* bear primary responsibility for the action."¹³ Siewierska (1984, 78) takes a similar approach:

The subject in passive clauses is depicted as 'bearing no responsibility' for the situation or state in which it is in even if logically it can or must be regarded as somehow responsible. Anticausative constructions [such as *dver' otkrylas'*, i.e. middle in this study] conversely express a situation which appears to be brought about spontaneously.

Leinonen and Siewierska understand the concept of responsibility literally, and Leinonen uses it as a test for passivity.

Gerritsen (1988) quotes this same excerpt from Siewierska, claiming that her "anticausative" means 'agentless passive', adjacent to a quote from García, without realizing that they contradict each other, since in Siewierska "the subject ... is depicted as 'bearing *no responsibility*' " while in García (1975, 7) "*no entity other than the subject is responsible for the event.*"¹⁴

Unlike Leinonen and Siewierska, Gerritsen (1988, 132-133) treats "responsibility" not in the sense of actual performance but in the sense of roles: "the subject [in the passive -sja constructions] gets an additional role, which prevents the performer from becoming the initiator." She implies the Agent's [-responsibility] is due to the fact that

the subject is in a certain way depicted as being the origin, if only by its properties, by its nature.
... Thus the content of the second role, at the higher level is: to prevent a participant other than the subject from being responsible for the fact that the action is performed. (Gerritsen 1988, 134)

In this study, the concept of "responsibility" is close to Gerritsen's understanding of the issue. By placing the Object in the subject position of the passive construction, the speaker assigns [-responsibility] to the Agent. However, I do not ascribe to Gerritsen's idea that no participant other than the subject is responsible for the performed action.¹⁵

¹³ Emphasis in the original.

¹⁴ Emphasis added.

¹⁵ Gaatone (1983) assigns responsibility to animate subjects of the French reflexive passive, (i) as opposed to (ii), in cases of unpleasant events. He clearly does not assign the subject responsibility in the Leinonen/Siewierska sense:

- (i) Roland s'est fait écraser par un train.
'Roland got himself crushed by a train.'
- (ii) Roland a été écraser par un train.
'Roland was crushed by a train.'

Similar constructions exist in English: in (iii) the subject is portrayed as responsible, as opposed to (iv):

- (iii) Bill got himself killed.

4.4. Summary

The two main usages of agentless passive outlined in this section are: 1) those cases where the expression of the Agent is unnecessary, because the Agent is either self-evident, unimportant, or generalized, or because passive is used for instructional purposes; and 2) those cases where the speaker chooses to avoid expression of the Agent, in order to obscure an antagonistic Agent, to avoid naming oneself due to the Modesty Principle, to represent an action as if it took place by itself, or to denote an action by an authority figure or the authorities in general.

These two main usages can be united under the concept of [-responsibility]: the speaker does not attribute to the human Subject the responsibility for the action or prefers to obscure the human Subject. This occurs due to the speaker's view of the action, while the language provides the choice between the two types of expression: active vs. passive. The feature of [-responsibility] structures the speaker's interests and attitudes in such a way so that s/he chooses to use agentless passive constructions: [-responsibility] accounts for the use of agentless passive while [+responsibility] accounts for the use of active voice or agentive passive.

However, -sja passive has another important feature. We have already seen in examples (73)—(78) and (111) that -sja passive represents a case of P^s_1/P^n (=Agent) distancing, where P^n is the subject of the passive construction. The speaker could choose an active construction, where the Agent's point of view would have been expressed. Instead s/he chooses -sja passive, in each case with his/her own discourse motivation, but in all cases representing the action as taking place more or less by itself (more so in disjoint action passive, less so where the Agent is self-evident).

5. Perfective "Passive"

Janko-Trinickaja, as was noted earlier, treats some perfective constructions as passive, including the constructions identified in this study as receptive (see Chapter 5), such as (112):

- (112) a. mal'čiku *slyšalas'* ešče ne zabytaja obida. (Korolenko. Slepoj muzykant) (J-T 100)
'the boy heard the still unforgotten offense.'
- b. Ivanu Il'iču jasno *viditsja* i domašnjij byt ego, i žit'e u Štol'ca. (Gončarov. Oblomov) (J-T 100)
'Ivan Ilych sees his home lifestyle and the living conditions with Schtolz clearly.'

(iv) Bill was killed.

However, in English such constructions are not limited to negative actions, as in (v) vs. (vi).

(v) John got himself fired.

(vi) John got himself hired.

Even though Gaatone never said so, it is a case of speaker's perception and speaker's choice to present the events in a way that make the subject responsible.

Gerritsen (1988) reanalyzes many of Janko-Trinickaja's examples and comes to the conclusion that they are not in fact passive. In this study, "passive" perfective is not passive by definition, since the morphological and semantic passives are the cornerstone of my approach.

However, one instance deserves special examination here. There are cases where an ad hoc perfective with *-sja* is created in order to underscore [-responsibility] on the part of the Agent. In the following example from her letter to Pasternak, Ariadna Ėfron laments Pasternak's treatment of the protagonists in *Doktor Živago*:

- (113) I èto ne slučajno, èto ne samo *napisalos'* tak (kak inogda "ono" pišetsja samo!). Èto umyšlennaja tvorčeskaja žestokost' po otnošeniju, vo-pervyx, k tebe samomu, ... a vovtoryx, po otnošeniju k gerojam... (A. Ėfron. Pis'ma iz ssylki)

'And it is not by accident, it was not written itself (as sometimes "it" writes itself!). It is an intended creative cruelty first of all towards yourself ... and secondly towards the characters...'

The perfective form *napisalos'* is not attested by dictionaries of the Russian language (for example, Zaliznjak 1977); it is a logical ad hoc form. Its meaning, as Ėfron herself writes, is that the action is propelled *by itself*, thus not making the Agent (Pasternak) responsible. We find similar explicit actions for which the Subject takes no responsibility in (114):

- (114) a. —Ili net nikakoj Sud'by, i nikakogo Roka, i nikakix bogin'! I nikakogo Boga, — tut že *dobavilos'* kak by pomimo nego. (V. Kormer. Nasledstvo)

'"Or there is no Fate at all, and no Fatality, and no goddesses! And no God," was immediately added as if despite him.'

- b. Èta lož' vyrvalas' u nego instinktivno — snačala skazal, a potom uže ponjal, počemu tak *skazalos'*, i požalel ob ètom (Krymov/MAS) (Gerritsen 1990, 136)

'This lie came out of him instinctively — first he spoke, and only later realized why it was said this way, and regretted it.'

- c. On udaril ne po zlosti, ne dlja potexi, ne potomu čto ruka zateklas' krov'ju i prosila mocionu, a imenno "tak sebe", bessoznatel'no, kak-to samo *udarilos'*, nečajanno. (Pomjalovskij) (J-T 213/Gerritsen 1990, 172)

'He hit not out of spite, not for fun, not because his hand got sleepy and needed movement, but just "like that", unconsciously, somehow it happened by itself, accidentally.'

6. Summary

This chapter has attempted to elucidate the complexity of Russian passive, in particular the *-sja* passive. The definition of passive, while having a morphological or paradigmatic definition as its core, was expanded to include other constructions that are semantically passive, including imper-

sonal-passives and sentences with infinitives in subject position which do not contradict the aspectual paradigmatic relationship.

Passive was not treated as a converse of active. Examination of traditional made-up passive sentences that are commonly used in works on passive demonstrated that they are not pragmatically feasible, that is there is no possible discourse situation where they could be used correctly. The possibility of creating -sja passives was examined in terms of the pragmatics of its use in real examples.

The results are as follows: In non-initial discourse situations, agentive passive constructions with subject-predicate-Agent word order are used when the Agent has been previously introduced or when the Agent is predictable or immaterial to the discussion; in these cases the purpose of passive is focus on the Object. In discourse initial situations, Agent-predicate-subject word order states 'what is going on' (as opposed to 'what is being done to the Object') and due to the P^s/Pⁿ distancing belongs to the journalistic or business register.

Agentless -sja passives are used in two categories of cases. In the first category, mention of the Agent is unnecessary, because the Agent is either a) self-evident, b) unimportant or c) generalized (for instructional or other purposes). In the second category, the Agent is deliberately not mentioned in order to a) obscure an antagonistic Agent, b) avoid naming oneself in accordance with the Modesty Principle, c) represent the action as if taking place by itself, or d) denote with VS word order an action by an authority figure or by "the authorities" in general. All of these uses of agentless passive (less so in the first category) bear the pragmatic feature of [-responsibility] (which was introduced in Chapter 1). Indeed, as discussed in Section 5, one can even observe the use of ad hoc perfective passives, which are not attested in dictionaries, precisely to emphasize this feature.

CONCLUSION

This work represents a comprehensive study of -sja verbs and forms in Russian. A distinction was made between -sja verbs on the one hand and passive and impersonal -sja forms on the other, since the latter are formed from non-sja verbs.

While there have been previous studies of both -sja verbs and -sja forms, this study for the first time offers a classification of Russian passive constructions based on their pragmatic functions (Chapter 6) and identifies the rules of creation of -sja impersonal forms and the pragmatic meaning of such constructions (Chapter 5).

A group of verbs commonly known as “characteristic”, as in *sobaka kusaetsja* ‘the dog bites’, was reanalyzed and shown to have an aggressive meaning, with the speaker’s empathy towards the victim (Chapter 4).

A difference in meaning was established for a number of -sja vs. non-sja pairs, such as *grozit'sja—grozit'* ‘threaten’ for example, which are traditionally considered to be either synonyms or stylistic variants (Chapter 3).

The overall classification of -sja verbs was revisited, more rigorous explanations were offered for group delineation, and some additional differences between -sja verbs and their non-sja counterparts were established (Chapter 2). While no claim was made about the invariance of the postfix -sja, an attempt was made to apply Kemmer’s middle voice model to the -sja verbs.

The idea of an invariant runs into problems with the ever-growing number of transitive -sja verbs (Chapter 2) and with the fact that the postfix -sja can mean different and even opposite things for different verb groups or -sja forms. For example, there is a group of -sja verbs called “consequential” (the term was introduced by Gerritsen (1990)), which includes such verbs as *deržat'sja* ‘hold on’ and *cepljat'sja* ‘cling on’, where the action is consequential from the point of view of the Subject. On the other hand, there is also a group called “non-consequential”, for example, *dymit'sja* ‘smoke’, where the action is described as having no impact on the outside environment, as opposed to the non-sja counterpart *dymit'*, where the action is viewed as having an impact.

Another example: the postfix -sja in true impersonals, such as *emu ne spitsja* ‘he just cannot sleep’, constitutes closeness between the speaker (P^s_1) and the participant of the narrated event (P^n), in this case *on (emu)*, while in passive constructions -sja signifies distance between the speaker (P^s_1) and the participant of the narrated event (P^n).

In addition (Chapter 1), the study modifies previous classifications of types of knowledge, based on the means of acquiring the knowledge: *p e r c e p t u a l*, based on one’s personal observation or personal experience; *e p i s t e m o l o g i c a l*, when the speaker is informed by someone else; *d e d u c t i v e*, when the speaker deduces the information; and *c o n c e p t u a l*, when the information represents the speaker’s opinion. In addition, perceptual knowledge can be *o b j e c t i v e*, when the information presented by the speaker can be observed by another person as well, or *s u b j e c t i v e*, when no one else shares the speaker’s experience or inner knowledge. Different types of knowledge impact grammatical expression, and consequently the classification provides a useful tool for explaining the intricacies of -sja verbs.

The study also examined the Modesty Principle, which was introduced by Kuno (1987), and its application to the Russian data, both in the area of -sja verb constructions as well as other areas of linguistic analysis.

Overall, this study contributes to the understanding of how outside reality is structured through linguistic representation and of how speakers' interaction affects the use of -sja constructions in Russian.

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