

**Agent-backgrounding as a functional domain:  
reflexivization and passivization in Czech and Russian**

[preproofs version]

*Mirjam Fried, Princeton University*

**1. Introduction**

**1.2 Agent-demotion and passive**

The topic of ‘passiveness’ has commanded linguists’ sustained interest for a long time, whether as an issue of typological classification or an issue of representation within various theories of grammar. Yet, a consistent definition – and, by implication, a full understanding – of the phenomenon remains elusive, especially when considered in relation to the more general question of agent demotion. The vast literature dedicated to studying passives and similar patterns covers a wide range of approaches (syntactic, semantic, functional, morphological) and offers a wealth of often conflicting and confusing terminology, which only compounds the challenge of understanding the nature of the various patterns that have been labeled ‘passive’. This is perhaps to be expected in broad cross-linguistic comparisons, but capturing the essence of passive-like patterns or agent-demotion in their various formal and functional manifestations is not a trivial task even within a single language.

In this study, I will examine these two notions from a functional, usage-based perspective. In order to avoid terminological confusion with the syntactically defined agent demotion, and anticipating the distinctions that will be substantiated in the body of this paper, I prefer the label ‘agent backgrounding’, understood, roughly, as making the agent referentially obscure. ‘Passive’, then, will be shown to be a particular instantiation of agent backgrounding, which I take to be a broader functional domain than passiveness. Overall, one of my aims is to elucidate (some of) the factors that determine what may count as passive, in contrast to other kinds of agent backgrounding, in a given language.

Slavic languages are known for their rich inventories of agent-backgrounding constructions, including those that have been traditionally treated simply as types of passive: the periphrastic *be*-passive and the so-called ‘passive reflexive’. Although selected aspects of these two patterns, including their ‘impersonal’ variants, have been under much discussion both in Slavic linguistics and in various typological studies (e.g., Jakobson 1957, Babby & Brecht 1975, Babby 1983, Siewierska 1984, 1988, Croft et al. 1987, Schenker 1988, Haspelmath 1990, Janda 1993, Kemmer 1993,

Croft 2001), there is no general consensus about the exact formal and functional nature of the clause types in which each form occurs, whether in individual Slavic languages or in the family as a whole.

The problem is rooted in the way the issue is traditionally framed. We are confronted with two morphologically distinct forms (passive participle vs. a reflexive form of an otherwise non-reflexive verb) that appear to have a comparable effect on the argument structure of transitive verbs and its expression in a sentence (patient promotion, agent demotion). At the same time, the very fact that they are morphologically wholly unrelated to each other suggests, at least hypothetically, that speakers could be using each form to encode a different communicative content. Once we allow ourselves to frame the question of their similarities and differences in this way, we may very well arrive at a different picture: one that moves beyond the issue of transitivity and syntactic patterning as the central defining characteristics and, instead, focuses on the functional domains associated with each form as the primary source of explanation for their overall behavior.

It is the latter approach that frames the present study. I will assume a general functional domain, labeled ‘agent-backgrounding’ (in the pragmatically motivated sense of casting an agent referent as less prominent or distinct than the lexical meaning of the verb would suggest) and examine how different morphosyntactic patterns fit within that space. Specifically, I will study the relationship between the *be*-passive and the ‘passive reflexive’ in Czech and Russian, challenging the common assumption that both constructions are simply two different expressions of passiveness. Moreover, I will show that the Czech patterns differ from their Russian counterparts, which are generally better known and, with the exception of Siewierska’s 1984 study, uniformly (but mistakenly) taken to represent Slavic languages in general.

The goal of the paper is thus two-fold. First, I present evidence that differentiating between individual agent-backgrounding patterns, even within this restricted inventory, involves much more than syntactic promotion/demotion (Comrie 1977, Siewierska 1988, Haspelmath 1990), change in transitivity or argument structure (Babby & Brecht 1975, Babby 1983, Haiman 1983, Keenan 1985, Croft & al. 1987, Kemmer 1993, Givón 1994), relative topicality of agents and patients and generally information-structural motivations (Shibatani 1988, Givón 1994, Hidalgo 1994), or subject affectedness (Siewierska 1988, Janda 1993). I will draw attention to a number of semantic and pragmatic constraints that help differentiate between the *be*-passive and the reflexive and situate each of them within the grammar of a given language. Second, I will argue that we cannot formulate any meaningful generalizations – language-specific or typological – without first establishing a clear understanding and adequate representation of the properties (morphosyntactic, semantic, pragmatic,

discourse-based) that collectively shape the speakers' native-like knowledge of each pattern.

The analysis leads to the conclusion that what may resemble 'passive' on the basis of superficial morphosyntactic features (patient-subject, agent-oblique) amounts to distinct, albeit partially overlapping, communicative patterns, not all of which are truly passive. Rather, they occupy different parts of the agent-backgrounding functional space and must be represented as such. The criteria that will emerge as relevant include agent animacy, indefiniteness vs. genericity of the suppressed agent, inherent verb semantics, distribution of aspect, and the potential for semantic extensions. Overall, the crucial contrast is one between highlighting the end-result of an action vs. an existential, event-reporting function, both of which, however, presuppose a referentially relatively obscure ('demoted') agent.

## 1.2 Data

My primary focus will be on the relevant clause types in Czech, using mostly data from the Czech National Corpus (a 100,000,000-word electronic corpus of both spoken and written contemporary Czech) and supplementing the discussion by Russian corpus examples in order to bring out the differences between the two languages.

The introductory example in (1) below briefly illustrates the fact that the Slavic reflexive is a richly polysemous category; the Czech example in (1b) shows some, though not all, of the well-known functions of the reflexive clitic *se*, in contrast to the active transitive form of the same verb in (1a).<sup>1</sup>

- (1) a. *Zavřel jsem branku.*  
 close.PF.PPL.SG.M AUX.1SG gate.ACC.SG.F  
 'I closed a/the gate.'
- b. *Zavřela se.*  
 close.PF.PPL.SG.F RF  
 (i) 'She closed herself [in].'  
 (ii) 'She/it got closed [in] / One closed her/it.'  
 (iii) 'It closed.'

In the absence of any overtly expressed arguments, the reflexive can be ambiguous between several readings; here I will only be concerned with the interpretation in (1b-ii), which is the one directly related to the issue of passiveness (the full family of Czech syntactic reflexives is treated in Fried 2004 and forthcoming). Corpus examples corresponding to (1b-ii) are in (2), showing four transitive verbs (*uzavírat* 'to close/finalize', *slavit*

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations: NOM 'nominative', GEN 'genitive', ACC 'accusative', DAT 'dative', INS 'instrumental', M/F/N 'masculine/feminine/neuter', SG/PL 'singular/ plural', RF 'reflexive', (I)PF '(im)perfective', PRES 'present tense', PPL 'past participle', INF 'infinitive', NEG 'negative', AUX 'auxiliary', PASS 'passive participle'.

‘to celebrate’, *studovat* ‘study/attend [a school]’, *poznat* ‘to identify’); the patient is in the nominative, agreeing in number (and, in the past tense, gender) with the verb; this is also the pattern associated with *be*-passives, which is shown in (3) with the transitive verbs *vybavit* ‘to equip’ and *obsadit* ‘to occupy’.

- (2) a. *celá řada těch manželství se uzavírala [...] z nutnosti*  
 whole.NOM.SG.F series.NOM.SG.F those.GEN.PL.N marriage.GEN.PL.N RF  
 close.IPF.PPL.SG.F from necessity.GEN.SG.F  
 ‘a large number of these marriages were formed [...] out of necessity’  
 [PMK185;001-MVAF]
- b. (*tim neříkam, že*) *by se na anglistice nikdy nic neslavilo*  
 COND RF on English.dept.LOC.SG.F never  
 nothing.NOM.SG.N NEG.celebrate.IPF.PPL.SG.N  
 ‘(I’m not saying) there weren’t ever any celebrations in the English department’  
 [PMK 137;145-ZIBN]
- c. *na to se studujou vysoký školy*  
 for it RF study.IPF.PRES.3PL university.NOM.PL.F  
 ‘(it’s called Management & Planning), one goes to college to study it’  
 [PMK199;187-MVBN]
- d. (*prosim vás pěkně*) *a jak se to pozná?*  
 and how RF it.NOM.SG.N identify.PF.PRES.3SG  
 ‘(please be so kind) – how can one tell?’ [PMK401;006-ZVBN]
- (3) a. *kdyby zvěř nebyla přírodou lépe vybavena než člověk...*  
 if game[animals].NOM.SG.F NEG.be.PPL.SG.F nature.INS.SG.F  
 better equip.PF.PASS.SG.F than man.NOM.SG.M  
 ‘if animals weren’t equipped by [mother] nature better than man...’  
 [SYN 003-p35s10]
- b. *Šli kolem lavičky, která byla obsazena lázeňskými hosty*  
 go.PPL.PL.M around bench.GEN.SG.F which.NOM.SG.F be.PPL.SG.F  
 occupy.PF.PASS.SG.F spa.ADJ.INS.PL.M guest.INS.PL.M  
 ‘They walked past a bench that was occupied by spa guests.’

Because of the morphosyntactic similarity, together with the fact that the reflexive form sometimes appears to report a transitive situation in a way that is roughly comparable to what the *be*-passive expresses, as in (2a), analyzing the reflexive morpheme as a passive voice marker has been the preferred option in most accounts (Kopečný 1954, 1962, Parolková 1967, Králíková 1981, Babby 1983, Haiman 1983, Croft & al. 1987, Siewierska 1988, Kemmer 1993, Grepl & Karlík 1998). However, the Czech reflexive differs from the *be*-passive, and also from its Russian

cognate, along a number of criteria (syntactic, semantic, pragmatic) that prove the traditional analysis overly reductionist and, hence, inadequate.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 is a brief review of the features that characterize the Czech and Russian *be*-passive. Section 3 contains a detailed description of the reflexive in Czech, contrasting it with its Russian cognate. Section 4 brings both forms in both languages together in a feature-by-feature comparison and summarizes the crucial functional distinction between them in terms of different event structures: marking resultant state vs. reporting an event brought about by an anonymous agent. Section 5 relates the analysis to a broader typology of passives and suggests a representation of the contrast between the Czech and Russian systems, in the form of a network of partially overlapping grammatical patterns. Section 6 briefly concludes the paper.

## 2. *be*-passive

Let us start by summarizing the main (all well-known) properties of the periphrastic passive. Based on the patient promotion and the verb agreement pattern described above, with the attendant reconfiguration of the argument structure, the *be*-passive is analyzed, uncontroversially, as a diathetic shift, in which the agent has the syntactic status of an optional adjunct, in Czech and Russian marked by the instrumental case, as shown for Czech in (3).

The quintessential pragmatic function of the passive is to draw attention to the endpoint/result of a transitive event (cf. also Givón 1979, Haspelmath 1990). The sentence in (3a), for example, is part of a tongue-in-cheek narrative about the differences between wild animals and their hunters; the center of attention is the effect mother nature leaves on its creation, so to speak. Similarly in (3b), where the use of a relative clause makes it explicit that the focus of interest is the bench and the state it was in as a result of some event. (This “aboutness”, however, is not to be understood in the topic-comment sense necessarily; I will return to this issue in section 4.) The rest of the commonly acknowledged properties of this morphosyntactic pattern follow from its function, then: the agent is cast in a less prominent role, the *be*-passive shows strong preference for perfective verbs (highlighting the resultative flavor of the *be*-passive) and an even more pronounced preference for semantically strongly transitive verbs (as defined in Hopper & Thompson 1984), since such verbs readily provide an (affected) endpoint.

It is important to stress that this cannot be just a matter of *syntactic* transitivity since not all verbs that fit the nominative-accusative case marking pattern in their active form can be used in the *be*-passive. Particularly, verbs of perception and cognition, such as *vidět* ‘to see’, *slyšet* ‘hear’, *cítit* ‘feel’, *vědět* ‘know’, etc., do not passivize, as shown in (4b), even though in an active sentence they mark their second argument

by the accusative (4a). Notice further that the impossibility of (4b) cannot be explained by appealing to any aspectual preferences either: the presence of the perfectivizing prefix *u-*, which presumably should improve the verb's compatibility with the passive on aspectual grounds, does not change anything about the severe ungrammaticality of (4b).

- (4) a. *Pak jsem (u)slyšel ránu.*  
 then AUX.1SG (PF)hear.PPL.SG.M bang.ACC.SG.F  
 'Then I heard a bang.'  
 b. \**Pak byla (u)slyšena rána.*  
 then be.PPL.SG.F (PF)hear.PASS.SG.F bang.NOM.SG.F  
 'Then a bang was heard.'

The properties listed above hold equally for Czech and Russian. However, it is potentially significant that the *be*-passive is not exactly the same in both languages in other respects. One difference is the aspectual restriction, which is almost absolute in Russian (e.g. Janda 1993, Israeli 1997), while in Czech it is only a relatively strong tendency, allowing imperfective verbs to appear much more commonly than we find in Russian; an imperfective Czech example is in (5), in contrast to the perfectives in (3).

- (5) *protože je tím rušena*  
 because be.PRES.3SG that.INS.SG.N disturb.IPF.PASS.SG.F  
*zvěř* [SYN 002-p37s6]  
 game[animals].NOM.SG.F  
 '(it isn't exactly smart to engage in intensive hunting...) because it disturbs the animals [lit. 'by that the ANIMALS<sub>Focus</sub> are disturbed]'

Another difference has to do with the range of referents that the demoted agent can designate. In Russian, the agent is semantically unrestricted and freely includes even direct discourse participants, while the Czech *be*-passive excludes the speaker or hearer as possible agents, although otherwise does not restrict the agent semantics either: both animate (3b) and inanimate entities (3a, 5) are permitted. The Russian usage is illustrated in (6a), where the agent is the speaker, as compared to its Czech translation in (6b).

- (6) a. *Samyže rezkije slova byli mnoj skazany*  
 most harsh word.NOM.PL.N be.PPL.PL 1SG.INS say.PF.PASS.PL  
 'The harshest words were said by me [...].' [Ogonek 16/6/1997]  
 b. *Jen ta nejprudší slova byla (\*mnou)*  
 only those harshest word.NOM.PL.N be.PPL.PL 1SG.INS  
*použita.*  
 use.PF.PASS.PL.N  
 'Only the harshest words were used (\*by me).'

The 1<sup>st</sup> pers. pronoun in (6b) is not possible and in the absence of any other NP, the only interpretation available then is 'by someone' (some

unidentified third party), *not* ‘by me/us/you’, regardless of context. I will return to this point in section 3.1, in a comparison to the reflexive form.

### 3. Anonymous-agent reflexive

Traditional accounts make a distinction between the ‘passive’ reflexive and an ‘impersonal’ reflexive, which differs from the ‘passive’ reflexive in not having any nominative NP with which the verb could agree; instead, the verb is in the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sg. neuter form. Czech examples of the impersonal form are in (7), showing the verbs *pracovat* ‘to work’ (7a) and *křiknout* ‘to yell and *jít/šlo* ‘to go/went’ (7b). A Russian example (note the reflexive suffix *-sja* on the verb) is provided in (8).

- (7) a. (*V tý práci trávím asi jednu třetinu dne* ,)  
*jako dyž se pracuje vosum hodin*  
 like when RF WORK.IPF.PRES.3SG eight HOUR.GEN.PL.F  
 ‘(I spend about one third of the day at work,) if one, like, works eight hours’ [PMK271;009-MIBF]
- b. (*ty děti zloběj*), *tak se na ně křikne, místo aby*  
 SO RF ON 3PL.ACC yell.PF.PRES.SG instead.of  
*se třeba k nim šlo*  
 RF maybe to 3PL.DAT GO.PPL.SG.N  
 ‘(the kids get naughty), so they get yelled at, instead of – I dunno – [somebody] coming over to them’ [PMK329;001-MIBF]
- (8) *\*zdes’ ne rabotajetsja*  
 here NEG WORK.PRES.3SG.RF  
 ‘One doesn’t work here/there’s no working going on here’

I will argue, however, that the emphasis on the personal/impersonal sentence structure as a defining distinction draws the dividing line in the wrong place: it is based purely on the superficial difference in verb form (ultimately reflecting the difference in syntactic transitivity of the verb) and obscures the fact that in Czech both types of reflexive have something important in common that sets them apart as a *functionally* unified grammatical category, different from the *be*-passive. The rest of this section discusses some of the ways in which both Czech reflexives, personal and impersonal, are alike, and together differ from the *be*-passive (cf. also Fried 1990). I will refer to both reflexive forms collectively as ‘anonymous-agent reflexive’ (AAR), for reasons that will become clear in the subsequent section.

The fact that the reflexive can be formed from both transitive and intransitive verbs with equal ease contrasts directly with the *be*-passive, as inherently intransitive verbs (and especially verbs of motion) do not passivize at all. This restriction concerns not only monovalent verbs, such as *křiknout* ‘yell’, *jít* ‘go’ in (7b), but also all polyvalent verbs that are not of the nominative-accusative type. One example is in (9) below, showing the verb *říkat něčemu X* ‘call something.DAT X’: (9a) illustrates its non-

reflexive use, (9b) is a corpus example of a reflexive use, and (9c) is an unsuccessful attempt to use the *be*-passive.

- (9) a. *česky mu říkáme sada.*  
 in.Czech 3SG.DAT.M say.PRES.1PL set.NOM.SG.F  
 ‘[a *set* in English], in Czech we call it *sada*’
- b. *česky se mu říká sada.*  
 in.Czech RF 3SG.DAT.M say.PRES.3SG set.NOM.SG.F  
 ‘... in Czech you<sub>generic</sub> call it *sada*’ [PMK273;017-MVAN]
- c. \**česky je mu říkáno sada*  
 in.Czech be.PRES.3SG 3SG.DAT.M say.PASS.SG.N set.NOM.SG.F  
 ‘... in Czech it’s called *sada*.’

Moreover, most of the personal reflexives cannot be naturally paraphrased by the *be*-passive. In the data presented here, only (2a) would sound reasonably acceptable in such a paraphrase. It must also be noted that this cannot be attributed simply to the potential clash in aspect: consider (2a), which has an imperfective verb but could be passivized, and (2d), which contains a perfective verb and yet, cannot be interpreted as reporting a resultant state of the kind *be*-passives encode; the failed attempt at a *be*-passive paraphrase of (2d) is in (2d’) below.

- (2d’) \**a jak je to poznáno?*  
 and how be.PRES.3SG it.NOM.SG.N recognize.PF.PASS.SG.N  
 ‘and how is it recognized/known?’

This is not a problem of forming the passive participle *per se*; the verb can be used in the *be*-passive, as shown in (10):

- (10) a. *Nebezpečí rentgenových paprsků bylo poznáno již v r. 1902* [SYN 34007147]  
 danger.NOM.SG.N X-ray.GEN.PL.M be.PPL.SG.N  
 recognize.PF.PASS.SG.N already in year ...  
 ‘The danger of x-rays was known/recognized as early as in 1902’
- b. *byl mezi důstojníky přítomnými 24. dubna poznán i nadporučík (tajné policie...)*  
 be.PPL.SG.M among officer.INS.PL.M present.INS.PL.M  
 identify.PF.PASS.SG.M also first.lieutenant.NOM.SG.M  
 ‘(According to independent news media), A SECRET SERVICE LIEUTENANT<sub>Focus</sub> was also identified [as being] among the officers present on April 24<sup>th</sup>; (he introduced himself...)’ [SYN47179048]

The problem is the overall meaning expressed in (2d): it is active, just like in all the other reflexive examples. Notice that to render the meaning of these sentences in English, it is often necessary to use the generic pronouns *one* or *you*, rather than the periphrastic passive. In fact, AAR is best understood as being about *events* – forming a marriage (2a), celebrating something (2b), attending college (2c), identifying something (2d), working for eight hours (7a), yelling out to the kids (7b), etc. – rather than about *entities* to which something happens (marriages being formed,



something being celebrated, college being attended, something being identified, kids being yelled at), which is the functional domain of the *be*-passive. It is not surprising, then, that transitivity may not be relevant in AAR, since attention to the result or endpoint is not what the reflexive is primarily concerned with.

This event-reporting characteristic of AAR is further confirmed by the conditions that constrain the encoding of the arguments, both agents and patients (if present).

### 3.1 Constraints on the agent

The most readily observable difference consists in the fact that the Czech reflexive does not allow the agent to be expressed at all, in contrast both to the Czech and Russian *be*-passive, as we saw in (3), (5), and (6a), and to the Russian reflexive as well. The latter is exemplified by (11), with the instrumental-marked agent *vsemi graždanami* ‘by all citizens’:

- (11) (*sejčas, kogda Konstitucija prinjata,*)  
*ona dolžna ispolnjat'sja vsemi graždanami*  
 3SG.F.NOM OBLIG.SG.F uphold.INF.RF all.INS.PL citizen.INS.PL.M  
 ‘(now that the Constitution has been accepted,) it must be upheld  
 by all citizens’ [Izvestija 15/10/1988]

In addition, the identity of the agent in AAR is restricted to human beings, which is not the case in the *be*-passive, as evidenced by (3a) or (5). Furthermore, in contrast to both the *be*-passive and the Russian reflexive (cf. Israeli 1997: 183), the Czech AAR allows the agent to be interpreted as a direct discourse participant. Recall that explicit reference to discourse roles in the Czech *be*-passive is impossible (6b), and if an agent is left out altogether, the passive can never be used to imply the speaker or the hearer as being the understood agent.

AAR, on the other hand, is very commonly used in contexts in which the speaker has reasons for keeping a communicative distance from his own or his interlocutor’s involvement in the reported event, and for highlighting, instead, the event itself. (2d), for example, is part of a phone conversation in which the speaker is asking for hints about how to identify the tour guide assigned to the particular group in which the speaker belongs; the referent of the unexpressed agent is clearly the speaker herself, along the lines of ‘how will I know/tell...?’. In this respect, AAR also constitutes one of the syntactic strategies Czech speakers use for encoding indirectness, motivated by general social conventions associated with expressing politeness; a comparable discourse-functional extension is not associated with the *be*-passive. A typical example of a polite directive generalized to any potential audience is in (12a), which is an excerpt from an instructional text about the DOs and DON’Ts of working out seating arrangements for various occasions. (12b), using the same verb, illustrates an indirect order from an aunt to her nephew with whom she is displeased

at the moment – here it is intended specifically for her interlocutor, as a less harsh alternative to the direct imperative that precedes it:

(12) a. (*U stolu, natož u slavnostní tabule,*) *se neseď libovolně.*  
RF NEG.Sit.PRES.3SG randomly  
 ‘You<sub>generic</sub> can’t [let people] sit around the [dinner] table, let alone a festive one, in a random order.’ [SYN doc11866, s2329267]

b. *Sed’ pořádně! Takhle se neseď.*  
sit.IMP.2SG properly this.way RF NEG.Sit.IPF.PRES.3SG  
 ‘Sit properly! You can’t sit like this.’ [SYN doc54,s91323]

Finally, the restriction to human agents also brings out the AAR’s relationship to another agent-demoting non-passive construction known in both Czech and Russian: the so-called ‘generic agent’ sentences (Panevová 1973) in which the verb is in the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. plural and the agent, necessarily human, is obligatorily unexpressed and interpreted as ‘folks that can generally be expected to do such things’. An illustrative example of the similarity between this sentence type and AAR is in (13), which shows a reflexive form involving the transitive verb *vyrábět* ‘make, manufacture’, followed by what clearly is taken as its non-reflexive paraphrase, with the verb *montovat* ‘put together, construct’ used as an instance of the active 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. plural generic-agent pattern:

(13) *a tam se dřív vyrábělo -- tam*  
and there RF earlier make.IPF.PPL.SG.N there  
*montovali nějaký auta*  
put.together.IPF.PPL.PL.M some car.ACC.PL.N  
 ‘and in the old days, [that place was used for] manufacturing -- making cars [is what went on] there’ [PMK276;031-ZIBN]

Both in the ‘false start’, with the AAR form, and in the follow-up, which is in the form of the generic-agent clause type, the agent is obligatorily left unexpressed and refers to some generic ‘they’ – the same unidentified group of humans in both cases.

To summarize, the human agent of AAR can be, depending on context, interpreted as generic, indefinite, or even as a direct discourse participant, but its referent can never be named directly. This is not a surprising feature, though: it is fully consistent with the generalizing function of AAR, and it also motivates additional pragmatic functions the AAR exhibits, such as its well-known shifts into various modal interpretations, especially ability (2d) and obligation.

### 3.2 Constraints on the patient

As the following examples illustrate, there is also a telling restriction on the patient referent in AAR with transitive verbs: the reflexive does not tolerate patients that are referred to by proper nouns (14b), while the *be*-passive shows no such constraint (14a). This suggests that AAR not only suppresses the identity of the agent, but there is a

threshold for the degree of individuation on the patient as well. Highly specific, highly individuated patients give too much prominence to the endpoint of the reported situation and thus clash with the event-focused semantics of the reflexive.

(14) a. (*Ivanka je velmi čilá ...*) *Často bývá napomínána*  
 Ivanka.NOM.SG.F ... often be.PRES.3SG reprimand.IPF.PASS.SG.F  
 ‘(Little Ivanka is very active...) She is often reprimanded (for hyperactivity).’ [SYN001-p185s2]

b. \**Ivanka se často napomíná.*  
 Ivanka.NOM.SG.F RF often reprimand.IPF.PRES.3SG  
 ‘Little Ivanka gets reprimanded often...’

Similarly, patients that refer to direct discourse participants are highly unusual in AAR, again in contrast to the *be*-passive. The example in (15a) below is syntactically well-formed and the verb is semantically appropriate, but the sentence is very odd pragmatically, as indicated by the symbol #. Note that a passive form, shown in (15b), would be perfectly natural with a 2<sup>nd</sup> person patient (the same holds for 1<sup>st</sup> person as well).

(15) a. #*Vyzýváte se, abyste (dlužnou částku splatil do tří dnů).*  
 request.IPF.PRES.2PL RF PURP (...)  
 ‘It is [hereby] requested of you that (you pay your bill within three days).’

b. *Byl jste vyzván, abyste (dlužnou částku ...).*  
 be.PPL.SG.M AUX.2PL request.PF.PASS.SG.M PURP (...)  
 ‘You’ve been asked to (pay your bill ...).’

This usage is limited to a particular type of institutional discourse, and serves essentially as a performative. As such, it constitutes a distinct formal and functional sub-type of AAR.

This analysis of low saliency of the patient is also consistent with cases of a non-agreeing AAR occasionally found in spoken Czech, where the patient is formally promoted but fails to trigger agreement on the verb, as in (16a). The ‘standard’, promotional form would require the finite verb to agree in gender with the nominative, as shown in (16b).

(16) a. *možná by se tam dalo udělat nějaká díra*  
 maybe COND RF there give.PPL.SG.N make.INF some.NOM.SG.F  
 hole.NOM.SG.F [PMK194;088-ZIBN]

‘maybe one could make some sort of a hole there’

b. *možná by se tam dala udělat ... díra*  
 maybe COND RF there give.PPL.SG.F make.INF ... hole.NOM.SG.F

In fact, we could take the form exemplified in (16a) as an iconic expression of the basic communicative function of the Czech AAR, which is to report processes brought about by human agents, whose identity must remain anonymous. The non-agreeing pattern highlights the event by de-emphasizing both its agent and its target (when such a participant is

required by the meaning of the verb): it leaves the patient argument only loosely associated with the rest of the sentence, indicating possibly an afterthought status of the patient, or a case of elaboration after the event as a whole has been named.

#### 4. Resultant state vs. agent anonymity

To summarize, the Czech AAR, whether personal or impersonal, can be contrasted with the *be*-passive in terms of distinct communicative functions: the *be*-passive highlights the endpoint of a (necessarily) transitive event, while the reflexive pattern serves primarily to cast the agent as anonymous, independently of the status of the patient (consequently, the patient can be downplayed as well). Each function is associated with specific semantic and formal restrictions that need not be stipulated but follow directly from the pragmatic function. In the preceding sections, I described this difference informally in terms of “aboutness” (*be*-passive being about the patient, AAR about events) but we can now make this notion more precise.

There is, of course, a correlation between patient topicality/agent non-topicality and the use of the *be*-passive, as has been repeatedly noted in various analyses of passives cross-linguistically (Shibatani 1988, Givón 1994, Hidalgo 1994), but these two phenomena are inherently independent of each other, as Slavic data easily demonstrate. For example, the clause-final patient in (5) and (10b) is actually the discourse focus, which means that these passive sentences still follow the most neutral word order pattern in Czech (Theme-first, Rheme-last). Examples of this kind are not difficult to find, either in Czech (17) or Russian (18).

- (17) a. *proč bylo ministerstvem schváleno [...] osm nových pojišťoven...?* [SYN hnh5 18580-p6s2]  
 why be.PPL.SG.N ministry.INS.SG.M approve.PF.PASS.SG.N eight new.GEN.PL insurance.company.GEN.PL  
 ‘why did the ministry approve eight new insurance companies?’ [lit. ‘why were 8 NEW INSURANCE COMPANIES<sub>Focus</sub> approved by the ministry?’]
- b. *Snad k nim mohou být připočteny i Kateřina Janovská, (Marie od Vtělení a Madame Guyon.)*  
 Catherine.NOM.SG.F....  
 ‘Added to those could be, perhaps, also Catherine from Genoa, (Marie of Incarnation, and Madame Guyon.)’ [SYN 001-P46S14]  
 [lit. ‘perhaps also CATHERINE ..., MARIE...<sub>Focus</sub> can be added to those’]
- (18) a. *(Režiser ... iskal aktera na rol’ Sergeja Esenina .... Etim akterom, blagodarja stečeniju ščastlivych obštojatel’stv), byl izbran ja.* [AIFnol 1-2jan98 iskusstva]  
 be.PPL.SG.M select.PF.PASS.SG.M 1SG.NOM  
 ‘(The director was looking for an actor to play Sergej Jesenin... To

be that actor), he selected (thanks to a lucky coincidence) ME.’

- b. *Nami bylo podgotovleno pjat’ versij*  
 1PL.INS be.PPL.SG.N prepare.PASS.SG.N five.NOM.SG.N version.GEN.PL.F  
 ‘(Various organizations participated in the preparation of this document.) By us, FIVE VERSIONS<sub>Focus</sub> [of the document] were worked out.’ [Segodnja 8/3/99]

These uses suggest that the passive is at least as much a marker of shifted event structure (highlighting the endpoint of a reported event) as a marker of shifted discourse structure (giving the endpoint’s a particular status in the flow of information). The relative order in AAR is equally flexible: the nominative patient (if present) can be found sentence-initially as a topical element, as in (2a,b,d), and sentence-finally as part of the focus (2c, 16). The *be*-passive and AAR thus have to be contrasted in terms of the event structure each encodes, not (just) in terms of information structure.

In addition, though, the reflexive holds a distinctly different status in each language, both relative to each other and relative to the *be*-passive, along a number of criteria: restrictions on agents and patients, preferences with respect to aspect and verb class/transitivity, and the potential for semantic and pragmatic extensions of the patterns each form occurs in. The differences and overlaps are summarized in Table 1.

		<i>be</i> -passive		reflexive	
		Russian	Czech	Russian	Czech
<b>Agent</b>	Adjunct <sub>INS</sub>	√	√	√	--
	Speaker/Hearer	√	--	--	√
	+ human	--	--	√	√
<b>Patient</b>	Proper N	√	√	√	--
	High saliency	√	√	--	--
<b>Aspect</b>		perf.	perf. favored	impf.	impf. favored
<b>Verb class</b>	V <sub>TRANS.</sub>	√	√	√	√
	V <sub>INTRANS.</sub>	--	--	-- <sup>2</sup>	√
	V of motion	--	--	--	√
<b>Extensions</b>	Modal	--	--	--	√
	Politeness	--	--	--	√

**Table 1.** *be*-passive vs. reflexive in Russian and Czech.

<sup>2</sup> Intransitive verbs can appear in Russian productively only in the ‘dispositional’ reading, such as in (i); for discussion of this usage, which is distinct from AAR, cf. Janda 1993: 313 and Israeli 1997: Ch. 5, Fried 2004 for Czech).

(i) *mně ne spitsja*  
 1SG.DAT NEG sleep.PRES.3SG.RF  
 ‘I don’t feel like sleeping/I can’t sleep.’

This feature-by-feature comparison confirms the standard analyses of Russian: the Russian reflexive is more truly passive, the difference between the two constructions being simply aspectual. The Czech AAR, on the other hand, is not a type of passive, whether formally, semantically, or pragmatically; while the *be*-passive serves to ‘profile’ the patient (‘profiling’ in the sense of Langacker 1985, 1993, Goldberg 1995, 2002, etc.) and focus attention on the result of the event denoted by the verb (hence also its unavailability for intransitive predicates), the AAR, personal or impersonal, functions as a signal of unexpected (non-explicit, not highly individuated) referential status of the agent and is, therefore, better understood as being about the event itself, rather than about its participants. By not forcing the reflexive pattern into a predefined expectation about its ‘passiveness’ due to some of its formal features, we can not only explain why we do not find the non-agreeing patterns of the kind in (16) in the *be*-passive, but also account for the fact that the AAR is by far the most common strategy for expressing generalizations, including various modal and performative interpretations, while the *be*-passive never serves such functions.

This difference could also be articulated in terms of the morphosyntactically defined typological contrast between promotional vs. demotional ‘passive’ (Comrie’s 1977): the Czech (and Russian) *be*-passive can be classified as promotional both formally and functionally (potentially greater communicative prominence of patient, optional presence of oblique-marked agent, no semantic restrictions on the agent or patient, restriction to syntactically transitive verbs, resultative interpretation, preference for perfective aspect), whereas the Czech AAR (but not its Russian cognate) presents a more complicated picture: formally it can be promotional (to the extent that a suitable argument is present in the first place), but *functionally* falls squarely in the demotional category, without placing any particular expectations on the (potential) patient as coming into greater focus.

This difference in function might also help explain the relative frequency of the reflexive (very high) vs. *be*-passive (practically non-existent) in spoken Czech: discourse-motivated promotion of the patient is most naturally accommodated by changes in word order, but diminishing the role of the agent in an event seems to require explicit morphosyntactic marking. Put differently, the verb meaning (for syntax mediated by a valence) suggests the presence of an agent (exclusively human at that, hence highly expected to be coded prominently), but no agent is covertly ‘acknowledged’ by the speaker. There are good reasons, cognitive and communicative, for having a special morphosyntactic pattern to indicate such an unpredictable, unexpected state of affairs. In Czech, the AAR serves this special function. Russian, as we shall see in section 5, employs a different construction for this purpose.

## 5. Networks of typologically related patterns

A close study of the Czech facts helps further clarify the relationship between ‘passiveness’ and the reflexive from a more general typological perspective, contradicting Haspelmath’s (1990:59f.) proposal of “inactivization” (in the sense of “suffering”) as the original function of AARs. Grammaticization of the reflexive pronoun into a marker of passive (through other stages, such as anticausative) is, of course, a common evolutionary path (Haspelmath 1990:44). However, the inactivization analysis that is supposed to explain that path, seems to gloss over the fact that the function of the Slavic reflexive pronoun is not to cast an active verb in an inactive (passive) situation, but to mark the lack of referential distinctness between the agent and the patient (Timberlake 1980; similarly Langacker & Munro 1975)), signaling that the non-explicit identity of the agent goes against the expectation raised by the valence of the verb, which presupposes two distinct participants, as exemplified in (19): the verb *vidět* ‘see’ requires two entities, the perceiver and the perceptum, but the reflexive pronoun marks them as having a single real-world referent.

- (19) *Vidím se v zrcadle*  
see.PRES.1SG self.ACC in mirror.LOC.SG.N  
‘I see myself in the mirror’

AAR can thus be understood as a particular extension of this semantic/pronominal reflexive in that it also marks an unexpected referential status of the agent (anonymity as an extreme manifestation of low individuation). Such an interpretation of AAR has several explanatory advantages over the ‘inactivation’ analysis for understanding the variety of agent-backgrounding functions associated with reflexives.

First, the ‘generalization’ analysis argued for in this study motivates the preference for imperfective aspect, which goes hand in hand with the function of defocusing the endpoints of events; it is also consistent with the fact that AAR is by far the most common form of expressing generalizations in Czech. Second, this kind of reflexive is not actually inactive (whether we understand this as ‘passive’ or simply ‘stative’), but merely keeps the agent obligatorily anonymous. It is thus no coincidence that a natural paraphrase for most instances of the Czech AAR are the generic-agent sentences, which keep active morphology, as discussed in section 3.1. And third, we have a plausible explanation for the otherwise puzzling “deobjective” uses found in some languages (Haspelmath 1990:55), in which the reflexive form is associated with de-emphasizing the patient to the point of leaving it unspecified. Haspelmath has no explanation for this relationship. However, if we acknowledge that the reflexive serves to focus on the event rather than on its participants (including the patient), then the reflexive clearly is *not* the same as passive

and a deobjective function need not be incongruous at all; Czech actually seems to suggest a stage that would lead toward such a development.

Both the non-agreeing form (16) and the restrictions on the extreme specificity of the patient referent (14-15) can be seen as an intermediate stage in deobjectification. But the full expression of that function is also commonly attested in cases of transitive verbs whose patient argument is left unexpressed, resulting in an impersonal variant of AAR (e.g. *jedlo se* ‘eating was going on’ vs. *jedla se večere<sub>NOM</sub>* ‘(every)one was eating dinner’; or *bude se uklízet* ‘cleaning will be going on/one will now be cleaning’). A particularly illustrative example is in (20), which shows the transitive verb *týrat* ‘to abuse’ both with its object in the non-reflexive form (*týraj své vlastní děti* ‘[they] abuse their own children’, underlined in line 1) and without it in the AAR form (line 2):

(20) 1: (*lidé, že jo, kteří teda týraj své vlastní děti sou samozřejmě velice*

=> 2: *hluboce nešťastnými rodiči –) a bohužel se týrá,*  
and unfortunately<sub>RF</sub> abuse.PRES.3SG

‘(people, y’know, who abuse their own children are of course deeply unhappy as parents –) and unfortunately abuse does exist/goes on’

[PMK400;005-ZVBF]

Uses of this sort are very easy to find in Czech and to my mind only strengthen the argument in favor of not separating AAR into ‘passive’ and ‘impersonal’ reflexives as if they were two contrasting patterns based on the inherent transitivity of the verb. Whether we end up with a personal or impersonal reflexive form in Czech is a fairly arbitrary issue, depending not only on the transitivity of the verb but also on the speaker’s decision whether to express a transitive patient overtly, or leave it only implicit in a given utterance. The example in (20) also demonstrates that the deobjective usage is not limited to verbs that may leave out the patient when its referent is implied under various conventionalized interpretations (e.g., generic, such as in case of *jíst* ‘eat’, *číst* ‘read’, or fixed in particular meanings, as in the case of *pít* ‘drink [alcohol]’); the verb *týrat* does not generally allow omission of the patient, but the patient’s absence in an AAR use is not semantically odd.

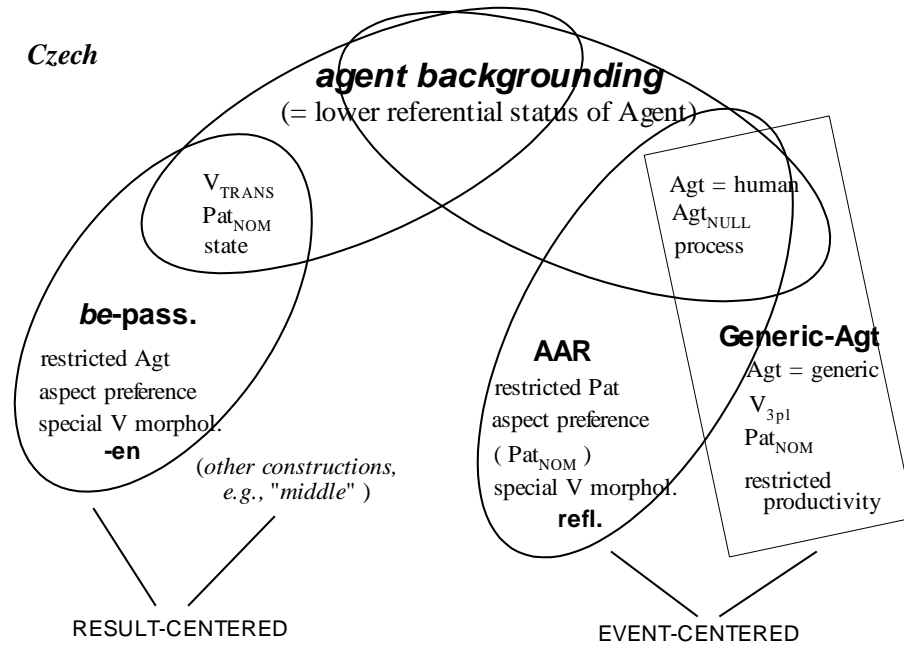
Finally, comparing Czech with Russian, we must conclude that the passive character of the Russian reflexive must be seen as a secondary development, whereby the generalization function of AAR, inherited from Proto-Slavic, has been marginalized in favor of incorporating the reflexive form into the grammatical voice opposition (active-passive) along the aspectual distinction: the *be*-passive form for perfective stems, the reflexive for imperfective stems. It further follows from this difference that the Russian reflexive overwhelmingly favors transitive verbs and is fairly rigid about excluding perfective verbs, while its Czech counterpart has completely obliterated the transitive/intransitive distinction and is more permissive with respect to the distribution of aspect.



We can summarize the differences by representing them within a network of grammatical patterns that are organized around shared features within a particular functional space. Such a network is akin to the way ‘semantic maps’ are used in cognitively oriented typological research to represent cross-linguistic generalizations about grammatical categories (Croft et al. 1987, Kemmer 1993, Haspelmath 1997, 2003, Croft 2001). As we have seen, an adequate description of the patterns must incorporate their formal, semantic and pragmatic features as they co-occur in specific conventional combinations. In order to capture this unity of form and function, I elaborate the notion of a semantic map into a ‘constructional’ map, treating the patterns as ‘constructions’ in the sense of Construction Grammar (e.g. Fillmore 1989, Goldberg 1995, 2002, Fried & Östman 2004), i.e. representations in which all the relevant dimensions are specified as equal contributors to a given pattern. Possible maps of the Czech and Russian constructions discussed in this study are in Diagrams 1 and 2, respectively. In order to keep the diagrams as uncluttered as possible, I abstract away from a number of details that a full constructional representation (and especially its fully formalized statement) would have to include. For our purposes, only certain features need to be listed, giving us a relatively high-level overview.

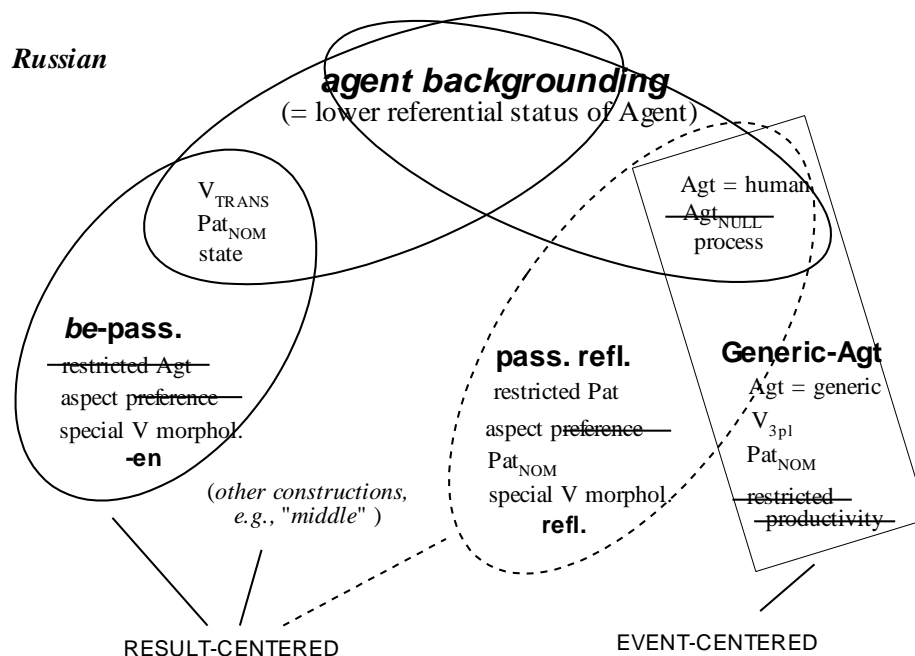
In the diagrams, the functional space, labeled “agent backgrounding” at the top, provides two clusters of features that motivate the different constructions. The cluster on the left says that transitive events are favored, with affected patients which are marked by the nominative, and that the overall interpretation tends to be stative. The cluster on the right delimits a particular kind of backgrounded agents (only human referents, obligatorily null in syntax) and associates them with an active interpretation of the patterns in which they figure; note that this cluster need not specify any requirements regarding the verb’s transitivity. Both of these clusters overlap (indicated by the top two ovals) as parts of what it could mean that an agent is backgrounded. And each cluster then overlaps with additional configurations of formal, semantic, and pragmatic features that give us the *be*-passive construction (on the left) and the AAR construction (on the right). The rectangle to the right of AAR indicates the overlap between AAR and the generic-agent construction mentioned in section 3.1; they both clearly share some functional features as well as the fact that they both focus on reporting events without putting much emphasis on their participants. Their ‘event-centered’ character puts them both in contrast to the ‘result-centered’ *be*-passive and various other constructions not discussed in this study (e.g., the middle-like pattern *Dveře se zavřely* ‘The door closed’, cf. Fried 1990, 2004). Overall, the network captures clearly that the Czech AAR is primarily not about emphasizing an affected argument but about removing a human agent;

hence, AAR is not really passive (semantically, pragmatically, and thus not necessarily in form either).



**Diagram 1.** ‘Constructional’ map of (some) Czech agent-backgrounding patterns.

In contrast, the main criterion for establishing the reflexive in relation to the *be*-passive in Russian is *aspect*: the reflexive serves as the preferentially imperfective counterpart to *be*-passive (preferentially perfective), otherwise both types share ‘passive’ properties, both structural and semantic/pragmatic. This shift away from the agent-related cluster toward the patient-related one is indicated in Diagram 2 by the dashed line enclosing the reflexive, which also cannot be labeled AAR the way it is in Diagram 1; the differences from the Czech patterns are indicated by a line through the relevant features. The Russian reflexive thus joins the inventory of ‘result-centered’ constructions, leaving the ‘event-centered’ domain to the generic-agent construction at the far right. It is also worth noting that the latter is fully productive in Russian, while its productivity in Czech is highly restricted.



**Diagram 2.** ‘Constructional’ map of (some) Russian agent-backgrounding patterns.

## 5. Conclusions

If by changes in voice we mean changes in the hierarchical arrangement of the same participants in a given event, then both the *be*-passive and the reflexive forms are, indeed, instances of diathetic changes, i.e. voice. The point of difference between them is the semantic and pragmatic function of each diathesis and the range of argument structures that can undergo such reconfigurations (i.e., it is not just a question of de-transitivization). They overlap in that both involve agent backgrounding and for transitive verbs also patient promotion (with telling restrictions in the Czech AAR, though). In the rest of their properties, though, we clearly have to allow for a more discriminating analysis of each grammatical pattern. Specifically, AAR highlights the event, rather than its participants, and this feature is motivated by the pragmatically grounded function of the semantic reflexive, which is a marker of unexpected (diminished) referential status of the agent and is inherently independent of the quintessential passive function of reassigning relative prominence between agents and patients vis-à-vis active voice.

On a more general level, the study makes a case for a constructional approach to linguistic analysis, which sees grammatical patterns in terms of conventionalized complex pairings between formal features, verb semantics, inherent semantics of its arguments, and a particular meaning or communicative function of the pattern as a whole.

Such an approach provides useful tools both for representing individual linguistic facts and for drawing typologically interesting generalizations. I suggest capturing the relationships between grammatical patterns in the form of ‘constructional maps’ that allow a systematic representation of both the overlaps and the differences, whether within a language (here, *be*-passive and AAR in Czech) or across languages (here, Czech and Russian).

**Sources of data:**

*Český národní korpus (PMK, SYN2000)*. Ústav Českého národního korpusu FF UK, Praha 2001. Available at <http://ucnk.ff.cuni.cz>.  
*The Uppsala Corpus of Russian*, at <http://heckel.sfb.uni-tuebingen.de/cgi-bin/koren.pl>

**References:**

- Babby, Leonard. 1983. The relation between causative and voice: Russian vs. Turkish. *Wiener Slawistischer Almanach*, Band II: 61-88.
- Babby, Leonard & R.D. Brecht. 1975. The syntax of voice in Russian. *Language* 51: 342-366.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1977. In defense of spontaneous demotion: the impersonal passive. In P. Cole & J.M. Sadock (eds.), *Grammatical relations* [Syntax & Semantics 8]. 47-58.
- Croft, William. 2001. *Radical Construction Grammar: Syntactic theory in typological perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Croft, William, Hava Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot & Susanne Kemmer. 1987. Diachronic semantic processes in the middle voice. In A. Giacalone Ramat, O. Carruba & G. Bernini (eds.), *Papers from the Seventh International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, 179-192. Amsterdam & Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.
- Fillmore, Charles J. “Grammatical Construction theory and the familiar dichotomies.” *Language processing in social context*. Eds. R. Dietrich & C.F. Graumann. Amsterdam: North-Holland/Elsevier. 1989, 17-38.
- Fried, Mirjam. 1990. Reflexives as grammatical constructions: A case study in Czech. *BLS* 16, 127-139.
- Fried, Mirjam. 2004. Czech reflexivization and the invariance principle revisited. *Slavic and East European Journal* 84.4, 625-650.
- Fried, Mirjam. Forthcoming. Constructing grammatical meaning: Isomorphism and polysemy in Czech reflexivization. *Studies in language*.
- Fried, Mirjam & Jan-Ola Östman. 2004. Construction Grammar: A thumbnail sketch. In M. Fried & J-O. Östman (eds.), *Construction Grammar in a cross-language perspective*, 11-86. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Givón, Talmy. 1979. *On understanding grammar*. New York: Academic Press.
- Givón, Talmy. 1994. The pragmatics of de-transitive voice: functional and typological aspects of inversion. In T. Givón (ed.), *Voice and inversion*, 3-44. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Goldberg, Adele E. 1995. *A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Goldberg, Adele E. 2002. Surface generalizations: An alternative to alternations. *Cognitive Linguistics* 13.4: 327-356.
- Grepl, Miroslav & Petr Karlík. 1998. *Skladba spisovné češtiny*. Praha: Votobia.
- Haiman, John. 1983. Iconic and economic motivation. *Language* 59: 781-819.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1990. Grammaticization of passive morphology. *Studies in Language* 14: 25-70.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1997. *Indefinite pronouns*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2003. The geometry of grammatical meaning: semantic maps and cross-linguistic comparison. In M. Tomasello (ed.), *The new psychology of language*, 155-175. Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Hidalgo, Raquel. 1994. The pragmatics of de-transitive voice in Spanish: from passive to inverse? In T. Givón (ed.), *Voice and inversion*, 169-186. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Hopper, Paul J. & Sandra A. Thompson. 1984. The discourse basis for lexical categories in universal grammar. *Language* 60: 703-752.
- Israeli, Alina. 1997. *Semantics and pragmatics of the "reflexive" verbs in Russian*. Verlag Otto Sagner.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1957/1971. *Shifters, verbal categories, and the Russian verb*. Cambridge, Mass.: Dept. of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Harvard University.
- Janda, Laura A. 1993. The semantics of Russian and Czech reflexives. In R. Maguire & A. Timberlake (eds.), *American Contributions to the Eleventh International Congress of Slavists, Bratislava*, 310-319. Slavica.
- Keenan, Edward. 1985. Passive in the world's languages. In T. Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*, Vol. I, 243-281.
- Kemmer, Susanne. 1993. *Middle voice*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kopečný, František. 1954. *Pasívum, reflexivní forma slovesná a reflexivní sloveso* [Studie a práce lingvistické]. Praha: Academia.
- Kopečný, František. 1962. *Základy české skladby*. Praha: SPN.
- Králíková, Květa. 1981. Reflexivnost sloves z hlediska automatické analýzy češtiny. *Slovo a slovesnost* XLII: 291-298.
- Langacker, Ronald. 1985. Observations and speculations on subjectivity. In J. Haiman (ed.), *Iconicity in syntax* [Typological studies in syntax 6], \_\_\_\_\_. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Langacker, Ronald. 1993. Universals of construal. *BLS* 19: 447-463.
- Langacker, Ronald W. & Pamela Munro. 1975. Passives and their meaning. *Language* 51: 789-830.
- Panevová, Jarmila. 1973. Věty se všeobecným konatelem. *Studia Slavica Pragensia*: 133-144.
- Parolková, Olga. 1967. "K problematice zvratných sloves a tzv. zvratného pasíva v současné spisovné ruštině a češtině." *Slavia* 36: 33-46.
- Schenker, Alexander M. 1988. "Slavic reflexive and Indo-European Middle: a typological study." *American Contributions to the Tenth International congress of Slavists, Sofia: Linguistics*. Ed. Alexander M. Schenker. Columbus, OH: Slavica. 363-383.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1988. Voice in Philippine languages. In M. Shibatani (ed.), *Passive and voice*, 85-142. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Siewierska, Anna. 1984. *The passive. A comparative linguistic analysis*. London: Croom Helm.
- Siewierska, Anna. 1988. The passive in Slavic. In M. Shibatani (ed.), *Passive and voice*, 243-289. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Timberlake, Alan. 1980. Reference conditions on Russian reflexivization. *Language* 56: 777-796.