

Reflexive permissives and the middle voice

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The article deals with the ‘permissive middle’, a permissive construction characterized by the coincidence of the permittor and the embedded clause patient (as in *They allowed themselves to be cheated*) and belonging to the middle voice in the sense that its formal markers, though originating as reflexive pronouns, have lost their original reflexive function. Such permissive middles can be clearly set apart from permissive reflexives in those languages which have a formal differentiation of reflexive pronouns proper and originally reflexive markers that have shifted to middle or mediopassive function. The data of the Baltic languages are used in the article to illustrate the formal properties of permissive middles (a characteristic feature is the oscillation between reflexive marking on the matrix verb and on the embedded verb) and the tendencies in their development. Permissive middles are also shown to be attested outside Baltic, e.g. in East Slavonic. The second part of the article is devoted to a discussion of the place of the permissive middle on the semantic map of the middle voice, and in particular to its relationship to the ‘curative’ middle (the ‘causative-reflexive’).

Keywords: reflexives, middle voice, permissives

1. Introductory remarks¹

Like East Slavonic and Scandinavian, the Baltic languages have developed affixal reflexive marking which, after losing the properly reflexive function (by which I mean the use of the relevant markers in prototypically reflexive constructions of the type *I see myself in the mirror*), mainly conveys meanings belonging to the semantic domain of the middle voice (on this semantic domain cf. Kemmer 1993), though (especially in East Slavic and Scandinavian) further development towards passive function also occurs.

In this article I pause over the consequences which the loss of properly reflexive functions has in one particular type of constructions, viz. reflexive permissive constructions of the type *he allowed himself to be*

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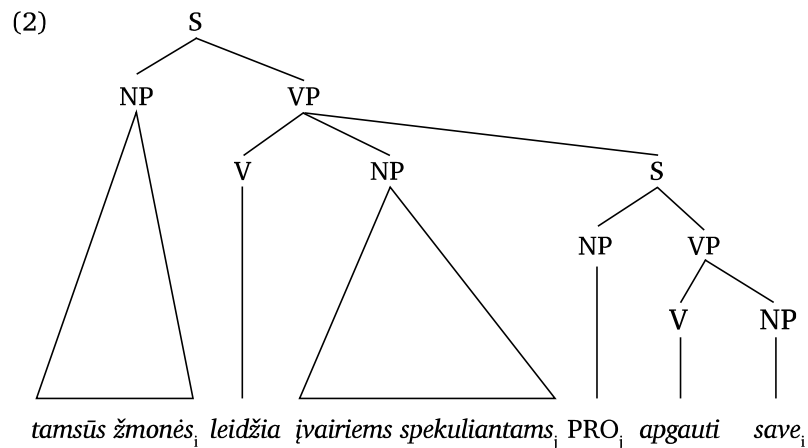
cheated. As the affixal markers lose the properly reflexive function, they should also be ousted from the reflexive permissive construction. In fact, they survive but I argue (in section 2) they have evolved into a type of middle-voice constructions, the permissive middle. In section 3 I give an overview of the formal varieties of permissive middles in contemporary Latvian and Old Lithuanian. Section 4 discusses the syntactic implications of the rise of a permissive middle. Special types of complementation of permissive constructions (participial and finite) are discussed in sections 5 and 6, whereas section 7 deals with non-clausal complementation. Section 8 provides evidence for the existence of a permissive middle outside Baltic, viz. in East Slavonic. In section 9 I discuss the place of the permissive middle on the semantic map of middle-voice reflexives. Section 10 briefly deals with semantic developments leading beyond the permissive use (towards modal meanings), and section 11 presents some conclusions.

2. Introduction

A permissive construction will here be understood as a complementation construction in which a permissive manipulative verb like *allow*, *permit* is used with a clausal complement (on manipulative complement-taking predicates see Noonan 2007, 136–137). It is to be noted that the manipulative type of complement-taking verbs does not exclude verbal acts of authorization, but does not specifically refer to them; rather, the ‘manipulation’ will usually be situational though possibly also including some extent of verbal interaction. A reflexive permissive construction will here be understood as one in which the permittee is allowed to do something to the permittor (not one in which permittor and permittee coincide):

- (1) Lithuanian
 [tai vienur tai kitur]
 mūšų kaim-o tams-ūs žmon-ės
 our country-GEN.SG ignorant-NOM.PL.M people-NOM.PL
 leidžia save apgau-ti įvair-iems
 let.PRS.3 self.ACC deceive-INF various-DAT.PL.M
 spekuliant-ams [...]
 speculator-DAT.PL
 ‘Here and there our ignorant countryfolk allow themselves to be
 deceived by various speculators.’ (*Trinitas* 41 (111), 1922)

If, for the time being, we assume that in this construction no process of clausal union has occurred, then the syntactic structure of a sentence like (1) can be represented as follows:



The structure is (still on the above assumption) bi-clausal. The permissive verb selects a nominal ‘permittee’ complement as well as a clausal complement whose covert subject is controlled by the permittee, and the object, as being coreferential with the matrix clause subject (the permittor), is reflexivized.² It is interesting to note (and will prove to be important in the context of this article), that this type of reflexive construction differs in an essential way from what we could call the prototypical reflexive construction. The latter could be illustrated with (3):

- (3) Lithuanian
Mat-au save veidrod-yje.
 see-PRS.1SG **self.ACC** mirror-LOC.SG
 ‘I see myself in the mirror.’

In (3), the same verb assigns a semantic role to the reflexivized argument and to its controller (the subject). In (1), on the other hand, two different verbs determine the properties of the reflexivized argument: the embedded infinitive (*apgauti*) assigns a semantic role to the reflexivized argument, whereas the matrix clause verb (*leidžia*) assigns a semantic role to its controller.

²This is an instance of long-distance reflexivization, a phenomenon that has received quite some attention in the literature, cf. Koster & Reuland, eds. (1991). The extent of this phenomenon in Lithuanian has not been investigated.

Now let us compare with (1) example (4) from Latvian:

- (4) Latvian
Pat-s vainīg-s, ka ļāv-ies
 self-NOM.SG.M guilty-NOM.SG.M that allow-PST.2SG.RFL
aplaupī-t-ies.
rob-INF-RFL
 ‘It’s your own fault you allowed yourself to be robbed.’³

At a first glance, the difference with regard to (1) reduces to the fact that the reflexive markers in (4) are affixal, whereas (1) has an orthotonic reflexive pronoun presumably occupying (again, on the assumption that no syntactic restructuring has occurred) a syntactic argument position. It is also interesting that this reflexive marking occurs on both verbs, viz. matrix clause verb and embedded infinitive; I will return to this later. The most remarkable thing, however, is the very fact that reflexive markers on the verb can at all be used here. In both contemporary Baltic languages the affixal reflexive marker, which has developed through accretion of an originally enclitic reflexive pronoun to the verb, has lost its original reflexive function; whereas reflexive verbs (verbs with the affixal reflexive marker) have a large array of other meanings, in properly reflexive function only the orthotonic reflexive pronouns can be used. In order to avoid confusion, I use the gloss ‘self’ for the orthotonic reflexive pronoun, reserving RFL for the reflexive marker on the verb:

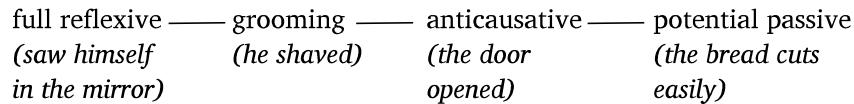
- (5) Lithuanian
 (=3) *Mat-au save (*matau-si) veidrod-yje.*
 see-PRS.1SG self.ACC see.PRS.1SG-RFL mirror-LOC.SG
 ‘I see myself in the mirror.’
 (6) *Skut-uo-si prieš veidrod-į.*
shave-PRS.1SG-RFL in.front.of mirror-ACC.SG
 ‘I shave in front of the mirror.’

Whereas (5) is a prototypical instance of reflexivization, (6) is not properly reflexive, as shown by the English equivalent *shave* (rather than *shave oneself*): the identity of agent and patient being the default case here, such ‘grooming’ situations are often interpreted as middle, with

³ http://www.tvnet.lv/zinas/viedokli/518240-virzot_usakovu_premjera_amatam_saskana_megina_piesaistit_latviesu_veletajus/comments/page/2

the patient not singled out as a separate syntactic argument marked for coreferentiality with the subject, as in *see oneself* (on this difference between reflexives and middles cf. Kemmer 1993, 41–94). The type of situation reflected in (6) is referred to as the ‘grooming’ type in the semantic map of reflexives in Haspelmath (2003), a map at least partly based on Geniušienė’s (1987) work on reflexives and on Kemmer’s (1993) work on the middle voice. Grooming-type reflexives (together with body-motion reflexives) are intermediate between reflexives proper (which reflect the coreference of two conceptually distinct arguments) and anticausative reflexives (which reflect one-place predicates):

Fig. 1. Partial semantic map of reflexives (from Haspelmath 2003)



For purposes of comparison, I cite the equivalents of these sentences in Polish, where verbs occurring with the enclitic reflexive pronoun *się* can still be used in properly reflexive function, though the construction with the orthotonic pronoun *siebie* is just as common even without special emphasis; apart from that, Polish *się* also has the middle-voice functions characteristic of the Baltic reflexive affix (in this case the use of the orthotonic reflexive pronoun *siebie* would hardly be possible):

- (7) Polish
Widz-ę się / siebie w lustrz-e.
 see-PRS.1SG RFL / self.ACC in mirror-LOC.SG
 ‘I see myself in the mirror.’
- (8) *Gol-ę się (*siebie) przed lustr-em.*
 shave-PRS.1SG RFL self.ACC in.front.of mirror-INS.SG
 ‘I shave in front of the mirror.’

And, of course, the same enclitic pronoun *się* is used in permissive constructions of the type illustrated in (1):

- (9) Polish
Starsz-y pan nie da-ł się
 elderly-NOM.SG.M gentleman.NOM.SG NEG give-PST.M[3] RFL

oszuka-ć fałszyw-emu bratank-owi.
deceive-INF fake-DAT.SG.M nephew-DAT.SG
‘The elderly gentleman did not allow himself to be deceived by
the fake nephew.’⁴

Whereas (9) could be represented syntactically in the way illustrated in (2), it is extremely doubtful whether such a representation would be possible in the case of (4). If the Latvian affixal reflexive marker has lost the properly reflexive function, this must mean that it is not able any more to function as a full anaphoric pronoun occupying a syntactic argument position. Now the possibility for the reflexive pronoun to occupy a syntactic argument position is a condition for it to occur in a syntactic structure as in (2). This means that (4) cannot have the structure shown in (2).

Two things should be clarified here. First, my claim concerning the loss of properly reflexive function is not in itself based on changes in formal marking. I am not assuming that, since the reflexive pronoun has developed into an affixal marker in Baltic, this must mean the reflexive meaning has been lost. Faltz (1977, 4–5, 60) already emphasizes that, though affixation of reflexive markers often reflects a long development process accompanied by a shift from reflexive to middle meanings, this does not mean reflexive markers cannot be affixal, and he cites the example of Lakhota as a language that has affixal markers in properly reflexive function. The only way of establishing whether a marker is reflexive is to see whether it can be used in prototypically reflexive contexts such as (3) (this example with the verb ‘see’, by the way, coincides with Faltz’ test case for a prototypical reflexive construction). If it cannot be, then this means that the reflexive marking cannot occupy a syntactic argument position any more, even if it has not yet become an affix; in fact, it is quite possible (though not of concern here) that the Baltic reflexive markers were still clitics rather than affixes at the moment when they lost the properly reflexive function.⁵

Secondly, it is often found that a marker of some category loses its core use while retaining some of its peripheral uses. So, for instance, the

⁴ <http://www.dziennikbaltycki.pl/artukul/777073,gdansk-starszy-pan-nie-dal-sie-oszukac-falszywemu-bratankowi-telefon-odebrali-straznicy-miejscy,id,t.html?cookie=1>

⁵ In fact it is not quite clear whether the reflexive markers of Lithuanian have completely lost their original status as clitics and have become purely affixal; for some discussion cf. Holvoet (2015b).

possessive construction *man yra* ‘mihi est’ has fallen out of use in Lithuanian in its core function, possession of objects like houses, money, cattle etc. (here it has been replaced with *turėti* ‘have’), but has been retained in peripheral domains like ‘having a disease’, ‘having a bad temper’, ‘having an appointment’ etc. Could one not argue the reflexive function of the Baltic affixal reflexive marker has been retained in a peripheral domain while having been lost in its core use? The answer must be, in this instance, in the negative because of the syntactic aspects of the difference between the properly reflexive function and other (middle-voice) functions of an originally reflexive marker. Properly reflexive markers can be of two types: some represent a semantic argument but do not occupy a syntactic argument position, while others are pronouns (enclitic or not), in which case they represent semantic arguments and also occupy a syntactic argument position. If a reflexive marker can mark coreferentiality with the main clause subject while being assigned a semantic role in an embedded clause, it must be of the second type, i.e. it must be a reflexive pronoun occupying an argument position. This clearly entails a properly reflexive function also within a simple clause, when a reflexive pronoun is assigned a semantic role by the same verb by whose subject it is controlled. When the reflexive pronoun loses its ability to occupy an argument position in the main clause, this is bound to have consequences for reflexive pronouns belonging to embedded clauses (though controlled by the main clause subject) as well.

For the reasons just expounded the loss of the original reflexive function by the enclitic reflexive marker should entail its replacement with the orthotonic reflexive pronoun also in the reflexive permissive construction, because if the reflexive pronoun loses the ability to occupy an argument position, this must also affect that of the object in complement clauses as in (1). Not surprisingly, we find the orthotonic reflexive pronoun, rather than an affixal reflexive marker, in Lithuanian sentence (1) from which I started my argument.

In view of the above we must come to the conclusion that the Latvian construction in (4) cannot be described as reflexive in the sense (1) and (3) can be described as reflexive. The reflexive marking reflects a certain type of middle-voice marking, similar to the grooming type reflected in (6). The reflexive marker does not represent an anaphoric pronoun but functions as a kind of grammatical marking along with other kinds of grammatical functions of the reflexive marker within the semantic do-

main referred to as the middle voice. At the same time this type of middle-voice reflexive marking cannot be identified with any of the types hitherto singled out and located on the semantic map of middle-voice reflexives. I will refer to it as ‘the permissive middle’, and most of this article will be devoted to it.

The changes discussed here are driven by a process of grammaticalization of the reflexive marker, which develops beyond its original reflexive function. This process should be set apart from processes of grammaticalization of the permissive construction as such, which are the principal object of von Waldenfels’ important study of constructions with ‘give’ in Slavonic (von Waldenfels 2012). However, the effects of the two grammaticalization processes cannot always be clearly separated; this could probably be said, e.g., about the processes of syntactic restructuring discussed in section 4 below, though it is argued here that the grammaticalization of the reflexive marker has been the driving force in these processes.

3. The permissive middle in Baltic

Lithuanian examples like (5) and (6) reflect a process in which a reflexive pronoun loses its ability to occupy an argument position and becomes a grammatical marker. Concomitantly, it develops from clitic reflexive pronoun to clitic grammatical marker and finally to affixal grammatical marker. As noted above, these processes need not be exactly parallel (an affixal marker may retain the properly reflexive function), but, at any rate, in Lithuanian a stage has been reached at which there is a clear functional difference between an orthotonic reflexive pronoun capable of occupying an argument position, and an affixal marker devoid of this ability and functioning as a grammatical marker expressing various meanings in the semantic domain of the middle voice. The same applies to Latvian, as shown by (10) and (11), the counterparts of (5) and (6):

(10) Latvian

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

(11) *Es skuj-o-s spoguļ-a priekš-ā.*

1SG.NOM shave-PRS.1SG-RFL mirror-GEN.SG front-LOC
 ‘I shave in front of the mirror.’

The process by which a reflexive pronoun loses its status of anaphoric pronoun and becomes a grammatical marker (shifting, in the process, to middle-voice meanings) occurs in the core domain of reflexive marking, the simple clause. There can be, in this case, no indeterminacy as to the verb to which the affixal reflexive marker will accrete: it will be the verb whose subject controls reflexivity and which also assigns a semantic role to the reflexive pronoun. When this process occurs within the clausal domain, it must also have repercussions in those instances in which the reflexive pronoun is controlled across clause boundaries, viz. in the permissive construction. Here, however, the reflexive pronoun will not, in the process of its transition to a grammatical marker, find a natural locus in which to affixalize. As mentioned above, this reflexive marker is associated with the matrix clause verb in virtue of being controlled by its subject and with the embedded infinitive in virtue of being assigned a semantic role by it. The result will be an oscillation with regard to the locus of affixalization. This is perfectly illustrated by the Latvian examples. In permissive constructions as illustrated by (4), the reflexive marker may accrete to the matrix verb, as in (12), to the embedded infinitive, as in (13), or to both, as in (14):

(12) Latvian

[*Citādi būs kā manam draugam, tagad nožēlo,*]
ka ne-ļāv-ās pierunā-t nopirk-t
 that NEG-allow-PST.3.RFL persuade-INF buy-INF
dārg-āk-u model-i.
 expensive-COMP-ACC.SG model-ACC.SG

‘[Otherwise you will experience the same as my friend, who now regrets] he didn’t allow himself to be persuaded to buy a more expensive model.’⁶

(13) *Ne-vajadzēja ļaut iebiedē-t-ies,*
 NEG-be.needed.PST.3 allow-INF intimidate-INF-RFL

[*reāli Tev ir fiziski uzbrukts un izteikti nopietni draudī.*]

‘You shouldn’t have allowed yourself to be intimidated: [you have in fact been physically assaulted and seriously threatened].’⁷

⁶ <http://www.xc.lv/mtb/forums/viewtopic.php?pid=251513>

⁷ <http://cosmo.lv/forums/topic/182172-psihopats-kaimins/>

- (14) *Lai tie kreditor-i draud,*
 HORT DEM.NOM.PL.M creditor-NOM.PL threaten.PRS.3
ne-ļauj-ie-s iebiedē-t-ies.
 NEG-allow-PRS.2SG-RFL intimidate-INF-RFL
 ‘Let those creditors utter threats, don’t allow yourself to be intimidated.’

Alongside these, new constructions with the orthotonic pronoun *sevi* are used, providing a parallel to the Lithuanian construction as in (1):

- (15) Latvian
 [*Starptautiskā vides aizstāvju organizācija «Greenpeace» nepārstās cīnīties par Arktikas glābšanu*]
un ne-ļau-s sevi iebiedē-t.
 and NEG-allow-FUT.3 self.ACC intimidate-INF
 ‘[The international environmental organization Greenpeace will not cease fighting to save the Arctic] and will not allow itself to be intimidated.’⁸

And there are constructions where the orthotonic reflexive pronoun occurs together with affixal marking on the verb. This reflexive marking may be on one of the verbs, as in (16), but it may also be on both matrix verb and embedded infinitive, as in (17):

- (16) *Maz-ais arī ne-ļauj-a-s sevi*
 little-NOM.SG.M.DEF also NEG-allow.PRS.3-RFL self.ACC
iebidē-t.
 intimidate-INF
 ‘The little one doesn’t allow himself to be intimidated either.’⁹

- (17) Latvian
Es atceros, ka vēl-ā ruden-ī
 1SG.NOM remember.PRS.1SG that late-LOC.SG autumn-LOC.SG
ļāvo-s sevi pierunā-t-ies uz viņ-a
 allow.PST.1SG-RFL self.ACC persuade-INF-RFL to 3-GEN.SG.M
koncert-u...
 concert-ACC.SG

⁸ http://www.tvnet.lv/zala_zeme/zala_dzive/482978-greenpeace_nelausot_krievijas_gazprom_sevi_iebidet

⁹ <https://twitter.com/vigants/status/247768668631613440>

‘I remember that in late autumn I allowed myself to be persuaded [to go] to a concert of his.’¹⁰

How can this co-occurrence of affixal markers and orthotonic reflexive pronoun be accounted for? Presumably the orthotonic reflexive pronoun is an innovation which has been introduced alongside the older construction with affixal reflexive markers, and the two types of marking occasionally intermingle. Perhaps this new construction will eventually oust the old one, but this need not necessarily be the case. Such a process has, however, been almost completely accomplished in Lithuanian. Old Lithuanian texts show a situation parallel to that just illustrated for Latvian. The examples below are from the 17th-century Chyliński Bible (Kavaliūnaitė, ed., 2008). I here illustrate constructions with a reflexive marker on the matrix verb (18), on the embedded infinitive (19), and on both (20):

(18) Old Lithuanian

bet wardu mano WIESZPATS ne-si-dawiau
 but name.INS.SG my Lord NEG-RFL-give.PST.1SG
jems pažyńt.
 3.DAT.PL.M know.INF
 ‘but by my name the Lord I did not make myself known to them’
 CHOT, Ex. 6.2

(19) *bet ne-dok pa-fi-żyńt anamuy*
 but NEG-give.IMP.2SG PFX-RFL-know.INF that.DAT.SG.M
żmoguy
 man.DAT.SG
 ‘but make not thyself known unto the man’ CHOT, Ruth 3.3

(20) *Jozefas galaufiey doda-ś pa-fi-żyńt*
 Joseph.NOM.SG finally give.PRS.3-RFL PFX-RFL-know.INF
brolamus fawo
 brother.DAT.PL RPO
 ‘Joseph finally makes himself known to his brothers.’ (CHOT,
 chapter summary for Gen. 45)

With example (18) compare the rendering of Ex. 6.2 in the modern Lithuanian Ecumenical Bible (Rubšys & Kavaliauskas 1999), which has the

¹⁰ <http://www.tauta.lv/diskusijas/tema/?tid=5039&pag=7280>

same verb *duoti* ‘give, allow’ in the main clause, but uses the orthotonic reflexive pronoun *save*:

(21) Lithuanian (modern)

bet vard-u ‘*VIEŠPATS*’ *jiems* *ne-daviau* *save*
 but name-INS.SG Lord 3.DAT.PL.M NEG-give.PST.1SG self.GEN
pažinti.
 know.INF

At the initial stage of the reintroduction of the permissive reflexive in the place of the permissive middle, affixal reflexive markers may evidently be retained alongside the newly introduced orthotonic reflexive pronoun, yielding mixed constructions as in (16), (17).

With regard to the Old Lithuanian constructions illustrated above the question arises, of course, whether it is not possible that, at this earlier stage of language development, the affixal reflexive markers still retained their properly reflexive function, so that (18), (19), (20) were actually permissive reflexives rather than permissive middles. This is not the case, however: the present-day state of affairs with regard to the use of reflexive forms in properly reflexive use had already been achieved, as can be seen from the following pair of examples from the Chyliński Bible (compared with the corresponding Dutch forms, as the Chyliński Bible is based on the 1637 Dutch *Statenvertaling*):

(22) Old Lithuanian

ir tujen pakietey jawe Galwa and wifo
 and 2SG.NOM exalt.PST.2SG self.ACC head.INS.SG above all.GEN
 ‘and you have exalted yourself as head above all’ (1 Chron.
 29.11)

Dutch *ende ghy hebt u verhoogt tot een Hooft boven alles*

(23) *pakiete Karobli, teyp jog pa-fi-kiete wirfzuń*
 lift.PST.3 ark.ACC.SG so that PFX-RFL-lift.PST.3 above
ziames.
 earth.GEN

‘lifted up the Ark so that it rose above the earth.’ (Gen. 7.17)

Dutch *ende hieven de Arke op, so datse oprees boven der aerde*.

These examples show the contrast between the reflexive *pakelti save* ‘exalt oneself’ (Dutch *zich verhogen*) and the body-motion middle or anti-causative *pasikelti* ‘rise’ (Dutch *oprijzen*).

The developments in Lithuanian and Latvian are thus parallel, but with a time lag. Latvian is, in this instance, more conservative than Lithuanian: to this day it has a fully productive permissive middle (though a reflexive permissive has been introduced alongside it), whereas in Lithuanian the corresponding constructions have fallen out of use. Isolated instances of constructions similar to (12) may still be found, but they are rejected by most native speakers of modern Lithuanian:

- (24) Lithuanian (example courtesy of Jurgis Pakerys):
 [šuo] *ir svetim-iems leidžia-si glosty-ti.*
 [dog.NOM.SG] also strange-DAT.PL.M **let.PRS.3-RFL stroke-INF**
 ‘The dog allows itself to be stroked by strangers as well.’¹¹

In Latvian, and to a lesser extent in Lithuanian, constructions of the type illustrated in (12), (13) and (14) are observed not only with strictly permissive verbs, but also with verbs allowing of a more active, causative interpretation. In Latvian these involve the verb *likt*, the usual meaning of which is now ‘order’. For reflexive *likties* with the infinitive, however, LLVV gives two meanings: either ‘order’ or ‘allow’. In both cases, however, the constructions with reflexive marking on the verb are now obsolete, and are characterized as such in LLVV. In the present-day language, only the construction with the orthotonic reflexive pronoun *sevi*, without reflexive marking on the verbs, seems to be used as a productive construction, with *likt* in the meaning ‘order’:

- (25) Latvian
Lejā Bert-a nesūtīja vis šofer-i
 downstairs PN-NOM.SG NEG.send.PST.3 PTC chauffeur-ACC.SG
uz garāž-u, bet lika sevi aizvizināt mājās.
 to garage-ACC.SG but **order.PST.3 self** drive-INF home
 ‘Downstairs Berta did not dismiss the chauffeur to the garage but ordered herself to be driven home.’ (P. Rozītis, *Ceplis*)

Older texts also have constructions parallel to (12)–(14), with affixal reflexive marking. These seem to have a meaning somewhat indeterminate between the more passive ‘allow’ and the more active ‘order, have’. I limit myself to one example with affixal marking on both matrix verb and infinitive:

¹¹ [http://banga.tv3.lt/lt/2club.club_f_reviews/161.613422.187.-=\(1162369952\)](http://banga.tv3.lt/lt/2club.club_f_reviews/161.613422.187.-=(1162369952))

(26) Latvian

[*Muižnieku kāzās arī muižu kalpi sēdās ap sevišķu galdu*
un likā-s mielo-t-ies līdzīgi muižniek-iem,
 and **order.PST-RFL regale-INF-RFL** like squire-DAT.PL
 [*kurus tiem nevajadzēja apkalpot.*]

‘[At a squire’s marriage the manor servants were also seated around a separate table] and had themselves regaled like the gentlefolk, [whom they didn’t have to wait upon.]’ (Teodors Zeiferts, 1922)

We may assume that, with *likties*, the choice between a purely passive and a more active interpretation was contextually determined, much as, say, in modern German constructions with *lassen*. At any rate, the degree of activity reflected in what I am here discussing under the general cover term of ‘permissive middle’, is a separate question with which I will not be concerned here.

Lithuanian *liepti* ‘bid, order’ occurs in similar constructions, but they are less well attested. The Chyliński Bible has attestations with reflexive marking on the embedded infinitive, as in (27):

(27) *Kial-ki-s ir liep-k ap-si-krykšty-t,*
 raise-IMP.2SG-RFL and **order-IMP.2SG PFX-RFL-baptize-INF**
ir numazgo-k griek-us tawo
 and wash.away-IMP.2SG sin-ACC.PL your
 ‘Arise and be baptized and wash away your sins’ CHNT Acts 22.16
 Dutch: *staet op ende laet u doopen*

A final point to be mentioned in this overview of the Baltic permissive middle is the sporadic attestation of a ‘datival’ permissive middle. In both Baltic languages (though in Latvian the feature is now obsolete but for a few completely lexicalized instances) the affixal reflexive marker can have datival function; in this case the reflexive marker does not detransitivize the verb and just marks the fact that the subject does something for his own benefit (or to his own detriment), or is in some way affected by his action:

(28) Lithuanian

Jon-as už-si-dėjo kepur-ę ir išėjo.
 John-NOM.SG PFX-RFL-put.PST.3 cap-ACC.SG and go_out.PST.3
 ‘John put on his cap and walked out.’

One can find occasional instances of a dative permissive middle, in which the reflexive marker on the main verb and the embedded infinitive reflects the affectedness of the permittor. The following example is from a Latvian fairy tale:

(29) Latvian

[*Otru nakti vecene tāpat klusiņām pienāca pie puisa gultas un maucā viņam iemauktus galvā,*]

bet puis-is ne-lāvā-s uzmauk-t-ies.

but boy-NOM.SG NEG-allow.PST.3-RFL put_ON-INF-RFL

‘[The following night the old woman once more moved quietly close to the boy’s bed and tried to put the bridle on his head,] but the boy didn’t allow [it] to be put onto him.’ LP, vii, i, 656, 5.

The object *iemauktus* is ellipsed as being contextually retrievable, but the verb *uzmaukties* is transitive here. Instances like this are rare, and they probably had no noticeable influence on the development of the permissive middle.

4. Syntactic interpretation

The shift from a permissive reflexive construction to a reflexive middle had certain inevitable syntactic consequences. The position of the original reflexive pronoun was lost, and a syntactic restructuring had to occur. The exact syntactic nature of the restructured construction is not the main topic of this article, and it cannot be discussed in much detail. At any rate it should be noted that, if syntactic restructuring was inevitable in constructions with the affixal reflexive marker due to the loss of an argument position for an embedded clause object, it does not follow that there is no restructuring in constructions with the reflexive pronoun, as illustrated in (1). We cannot exclude the possibility of a syntactic restructuring involving, for instance, the rise of a complex verb phrase (with the manipulative verb becoming auxiliary) still retaining a syntactic object position for the reflexive pronoun. I will not enter upon a discussion of this possibility, emphasizing only that, if in clauses with a properly reflexive pronoun restructuring is possible, in instances of affixal reflexive markers incapable of occupying a direct object position it is inevitable.

The syntactic restructuring we must assume to have occurred in the permissive middle construction is likely to have been a factor in its reten-

tion after the introduction of a new marker in properly reflexive function. The scenario can be reconstructed more or less as follows. When the old reflexive marker loses its reflexive function, the permissive reflexive becomes a permissive middle, in which the reflexive clitic/affix is a grammatical marker. The introduction of the new reflexive marker in the core domain of reflexive marking, the simple clause, leads or may lead to its introduction in permissive constructions. However, the permissive middle construction cannot simply be renewed by introduction of the new reflexive marker instead of the old one because syntactic structure has changed in the meantime, and no direct object position is available for the new reflexive marker. A new reflexive permissive construction is therefore created alongside the permissive middle. Both may co-exist and to a certain extent intermingle, with redundant middle-voice marking introduced into the new reflexive permissive construction, as shown in Latvian example (17). If the permissive middle is eventually ousted by the permissive reflexive, as has occurred in modern Lithuanian, this is because the old permissive middle has fallen into disuse, not because it has been transformed into a permissive reflexive.

Syntactic restructuring may manifest itself in several ways; one is word order, another is morphosyntactic valency. Sentential word order being quite free in Baltic, we cannot hope to draw much evidence from it. We should note that even in the original reflexive permissive construction illustrated by (1), word order does not exactly correspond to that shown in the tree diagram in (2), without this being sufficient grounds for assuming syntactic restructuring: word order is determined to a large extent by relative weight, and if the object of the embedded clause were a slightly heavier nominal constituent like *užsienio turistai* ‘foreign tourists’ rather than a personal or reflexive pronoun, it would certainly follow the infinitive as shown in diagram (2).

Morphosyntactic valency is more likely to provide evidence. It is known that French and German causative constructions show certain types of argument marking that are not licenced by the separate components of the causative construction, viz. the causative verb and the embedded infinitive (examples cited from Noonan 2007, 84–85, with Noonan’s glosses):

- (30) *Roger laissera manger les pommes à Marie.*
 Roger let.3SG.FUT eat.INF the apples to Marie
 ‘Roger will let Marie eat the apples.’

- (31) *Roger laissera donner les livres à Jean par Marie.*
 Roger let.3SG.FUT give.INF the books to John by Marie
 ‘Roger will let Marie give the books to John.’

Neither *à Marie* in (30) nor *par Marie* in (31) could be licenced separately by the verbs entering the causative constructions. Similar evidence of this kind seems to be available in Latvian, which seems to show a clear difference between constructions with the orthotonic pronoun *sevi* and those with reflexive marking on either of the verbs. If an orthotonic pronoun is used, the verb *ļaut* seems to retain its usual valency, i.e. it assigns dative case to the permittee. To illustrate the usual case assignment with *ļaut*, I give an example of a construction with *ļaut* not involving reflexivization in (32), and a reflexivized variety in (33):

- (32) *Nelaujiet draug-iem un rad-iem bučo-t*
 NEG.allow.IMP.2PL friend-DAT.PL and relative-DAT.PL kiss-INF
jūs-u bērni-us!
 2PL-GEN child-ACC.PL
 ‘Don’t allow your friends and relatives to kiss your children.’¹²

- (33) Latvian
Kāpēc jūrmal-niek-i ļauj sevi aplaupī-t
 why PLN-dweller-NOM.SG allow.PRS.3 self.ACC rob-INF
Kreml-a varz-ai?
 Kremlin-GEN.SG gang-DAT.SG
 ‘Why do the Jurmala dwellers allow themselves to be robbed by a gang from the Kremlin?’¹³

When there is no reflexive pronoun, however, just reflexive marking, we usually find, instead of the dative normally assigned by the verb *ļaut* to its animate argument, a permittee marked by the preposition *no* ‘from’ (cf. the use of permittee phrases marked with *przez* ‘through, by’ instead of the dative in Polish, von Waldenfels 2012, 134–140):

- (34) Latvian
 [*Ja Jūs vēlaties šo bērniņu, tad*]

¹² <http://apollo.tvnet.lv/zinas/mate-bridina-nelaujiet-radniekiem-un-draugiem-bucot-jus-bernus/705873>

¹³ http://www.tvnet.lv/zinas/viedokli/513824-jaunais_vilnis_nav_privats_pasakums_tas_ir_kremla_melno_kaku_desants/comments/page/9

ne-ļauj-iet-ies *iebidē-t-ies* *no puis-a* *un*
 NEG-allow-IMP.2PL-RFL intimidate-INF-RFL **by boy-GEN.SG** and
viņ-a *ģimen-es*,
 3-GEN.SG.M **family-GEN.SG**
 ‘[If you want this child then] don’t allow yourself to be intimi-
 dated by [your] boyfriend and his family.’

True, this prepositional construction is not the only possible one. One sometimes finds a dative as well:

(35) Latvian

[*Un, protams, svars aug un attīstība notiek “kā pēc grāmatas”,*]
vis-ām *tant-ēm* *patik* *un labprāt*
 all-DAT.PL.F aunt-DAT.PL please.PRS.3 and willingly
ļauja-s *viņ-ām* *rok-ās* *ņem-t.*
 allow.PRS.3-RFL **3-DAT.PL.F** hand-LOC.PL take-INF
 ‘[And, of course, [his] weight increases and [his] development
 proceeds according to the book;] all aunties like him and he al-
 lows himself to be taken in the arms by them.’¹⁴

This datival pattern is, however, rare. A Google search for *ļaut/ļauties iebiedēties* ‘allow oneself to be intimidated’, carried out on November 20, 2015, yielded 12 instances of constructions with *no*, and none with the dative. Could this pattern be restricted to the construction with the reflexive marking instead of reflexive pronoun with the infinitive? One example with *no* used in a construction with the orthotonic pronoun *sevi* was also found:

(36) Latvian

Sieviet-es, *beidziet* *ļaut* *sevi* *iebidē-t*
 woman-NOM.PL stop.IMP.2PL allow-INF self.ACC intimidate-INF
no tēviņ-u ***rupjīb-ām!***
by male-GEN.PL impertinence-DAT.PL
 ‘Women, stop allowing yourselves to be intimidated by the im-
 pertinences of males!’¹⁵

The introduction of a type of case marking not normally licenced by the verb *ļaut* suggests that syntactic restructuring has taken place. The

¹⁴ <http://lv.kkm.lv/modules.php?name=Content&pa=showpage&pid=595>

¹⁵ attiecibas.jautajums.lv/454781

agent phrase introduced by *no* is evidently selected as an optional complement by the construction *ļauties iebiedēties* as a whole. The line of division is, it should be admitted, not quite neat: one sometimes finds the construction with *no* alongside an orthotonic reflexive pronoun, and the dative is not excluded if there is only affixal reflexive marking on the infinitive. Yet this does not seem to contradict the hypothesis that the change in case marking might reflect a syntactic restructuring.

It is interesting to note that agent phrases with *no* also used to occur in passive constructions. Up to the 19th century, agent phrases introduced by *no* occurred in passive constructions in the written language, probably under the influence of German agent phrases with *von*. In the 20th century this agented passive was ousted from the standard language, where only agentless passives are admitted (for details see Holvoet 2007, 166–171). However this may be, agent phrases with *no* seem to have remained available outside the passive construction.

In Old Lithuanian, the dative assignment otherwise characteristic of *duoti* ‘give, allow’ is also retained in constructions with reflexive marking on the verb:

(37) Old Lithuanian

žiednam weiuj / ir pagundimamus βietoná /
no.DAT.SG.M wind.DAT.SG and temptation.DAT.PL Satan.GEN.SG
ne tur duotis palánkt ir nufmerkt
 NEG MUST.PRS.3 give.INF.RFL bend.INF and destroy.INF
 KN SE 76,21–22
 ‘[Your faith] should not let itself be bent and destroyed by any
 wind, by any temptation of Satan.’

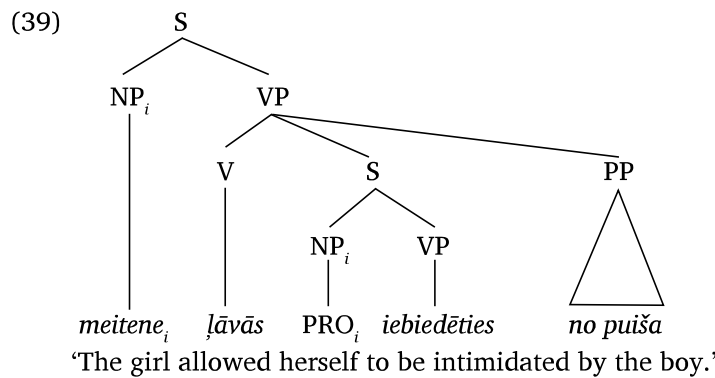
Constructions with *nuo* for encoding the permittee are not completely unattested in Old Lithuanian; we find them, e.g., in Chyliński, but their authenticity may be doubted, as they seem to adhere closely to the model of the Dutch source text, which has a construction with *van*:

(38) Old Lithuanian

ir dawes isiprašyt WIESZPATS nog jo
 and give.PST.3.RFL entreat.INF Lord.NOM **from 3.GEN.SG.M**
 ‘and the Lord was entreated of him’ (CHOT, Gen. 25.21)
 Dutch *ende de HEERE liet sich van hem verbidden*

Other authors, e.g. Daukša, do not seem to have this construction, using only the dative instead. One wonders whether, analogously, the Latvian construction in (32) does not echo the German construction *lass dich nicht von deinem Freund einschüchtern*. This seems quite possible but need not affect our syntactic analysis. The syntactic restructuring, which seems likely, could have created the preconditions for a syntactic borrowing from German, if such a borrowing is indeed involved.

A tentative structural description of the reorganized permissive construction as illustrated, e.g., in (34) could be as in (39). This structural description does not assume clausal union; such an assumption would be possible but not indispensable.



Here the predicate-taking verb would be lexically specified for coreference of the patient of the embedded predication with the main clause subject (this is often marked by a reflexive affix), so that the implicit subject of the embedded infinitive is now controlled by the main clause subject. The embedded predication is now intransitivized, which creates a certain similarity with the passive; this could account for the use, in Latvian, of an agentive construction also used with the passive.

5. The participial constructions in Lithuanian

In addition to the reflexive permissive construction illustrated in (1), modern Lithuanian also has a construction with the affixal reflexive marker on the matrix verb. The complement is, in this case, participial:

(40) Lithuanian

[*Kodėl žmonės, net ir įspėti, taip lengvai užkimba*]*ir leidžia-si apgaun-am-i*and **allow.PRS.3-RFL deceive-PP.PRS-NOM.PL.M***telefon-ini-ų sukči-ų?*

telephone-ADJ-GEN.PL impostor-GEN.PL

‘[Why do people so easily swallow the bait, even if they have been warned] and allow themselves to be deceived by telephone impostors?’

The occurrence of the affixal reflexive marker on the matrix clause verb *leisti* stands in contrast with the almost exclusive use of the orthotonic reflexive pronoun *save* in the type with infinitival complementation as illustrated in (1). For constructions like (40), no variety with the orthotonic reflexive pronoun is available. In fact, it is doubtful whether constructions like (40) have ever been properly reflexive, considering they have no non-reflexive counterpart. In other words, there is nothing like

(41) Lithuanian

**Jis leido vaik-us apgaun-am-us.*

3.NOM.SG.M allow.PRS.3 child-ACC.PL deceive-PP.PRS-ACC.PL.M

Intended meaning: ‘He allowed the children to be deceived.’

The verb *leisti* in (40) is therefore a kind of middle-voice reflexive, a lexicalized middle that has developed its own type of complementation not attested with the non-reflexive *leisti*. The origin of constructions like (40) is wrapped in mystery. Pakerys (2016, 440) tentatively hypothesizes, as a possible source for (40), an original structure of the type

(42) **katin-as leidžia-si glost-om-q*

cat-NOM.SG allow.PRS.3-RFL stroke-PP.PRS-ACC.SG

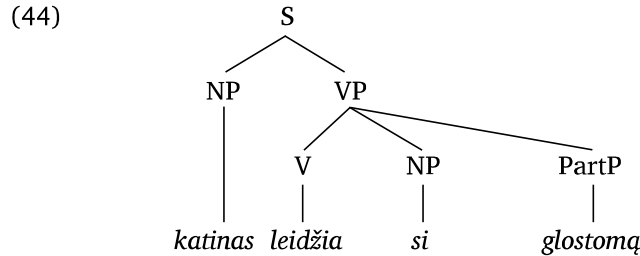
‘The cat allows itself to be stroked.’

This *accusativus cum participio* would then have been replaced, in course of time, with a *nominativus cum participio* as in (43):

(43) *katin-as leidžia-si glost-om-as*

cat-NOM.SG allow.PRS.3-RFL stroke-PP.PRS-NOM.SG.M

If (43) was a real intermediate stage (it is not now grammatical), the original structure of the putative construction (41) would have been



As described by Ambrazas (1979, 124), the *accusativus cum participio* was replaced with a *nominativus cum participio* (as in 43) when the reflexive marker lost its ability to occupy the syntactic position of object and became a morphological marker connected with the verb. The *accusativus cum participio* presupposes, in its turn, a non-reflexive construction of the type

- (45) **leidžia katin-q glost-om-q*
 allow.PRS.3 cat-ACC.SG stroke-PP.PRS-ACC.SG
 ‘(somebody) allows the cat to be stroked’

Constructions like (45) are attested in Old Lithuanian with verbs of saying and volitional verbs, as in

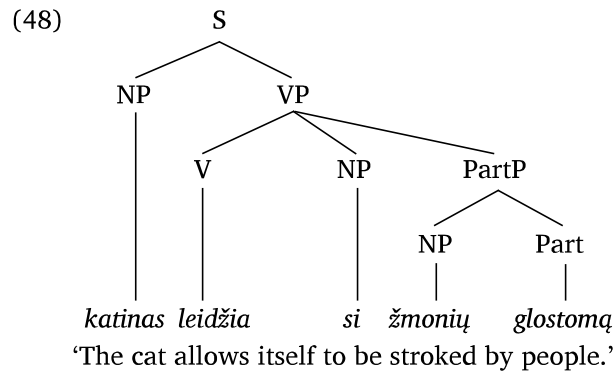
- (46) Old Lithuanian
kurie Mosaischkus jstatimus nareia
 REL.NOM.PL.M Mosaic.ACC.PL.M law.ACC.PL want.PST.3
laikomus
 keep.PP.PRS.ACC.PL
 ‘who wanted the Mosaic rites to be kept’ (*qui Mosaicis ritos servari volebant*) (Ambrazas 1979, 125, MT 208.14)

The derivation of participial complements with *leisti* from structures like (45) is, however, problematic. In addition to a propositional argument, a manipulative verb would select a permittee. Already in Old Lithuanian *leisti* ‘permit’ takes a dative permittee argument:

- (47) Old Lithuanian
 [*Ir eme ghi Saul anoy dienoy,*]
ir nelayde jam fugryfzt namofna
 and NEG.allow.PST.3 3.DAT.SG.M return.INF home.ILL.PL

tewa jo.
 father.GEN.SG 3.GEN.SG.M
 ‘[And Saul took him that day,] and would let him go no more
 home to his father’s House.’ ЧОТ, 1 Sam. 18.2

Now instead of this dative, we consistently find, in constructions like (40), a genitive, the case normally used in agent phrases with passive participles. The appearance of such an agentive genitive is not in itself surprising, and the most obvious explanation is that it is assigned by the passive participle *apgaunami* in (40), not by the verb *leisti*. The structure historically underlying sentences like (40) would therefore have been of the kind shown in (48):



Though such a construction is conceivable, we have no evidence showing that it existed in Old Lithuanian. Ambrazas (1979, 112–118; 1990, 132–145) nowhere mentions manipulative verbs like *leisti* among those taking participial complementation in Old Lithuanian: only phasal verbs, emotive verbs (the commentative verbs to be discussed below), verbs of (immediate) perception and verbs of saying are singled out.¹⁶ This might be an accidental omission, but it might as well reflect the facts of Old Lithuanian: I have not been able to find a single instance of the participial construction with *leisti* in Old Lithuanian. Daukša, the *Book of Christian Devotion* and Chyliński have no instances of it. We do not know, therefore, when constructions like (40) entered the language. Where *leisti* occurs in Old Lithuanian, it has an infinitival complement, as in (49):

¹⁶ The notion of complementation is actually not used in Ambrazas’ works; instead, the notion of ‘semi-predicative use’ appears, cf. Ambrazas (1979, 67nn).

(49) Old Lithuanian

o fwietuy nuo žodžia Diewá
and world.DAT.SG from word.GEN.SG God.GEN.SG
per-fi-kałbet ne-fi-táyfime
OVER-RFL-talk.INF NEG-RFL-let.FUT.1PL
'and we will not allow ourself to be turned aside by the world
from God's word.' KN SE 168,19

We are therefore entitled to consider an alternative scenario, based on the assumption that the type of complementation shown in (40) developed at a later stage, that it was peculiar to constructions with the reflexive form *leistis*, and that it arose at a stage when the reflexive marker in *leidžia-si* had already lost its original properly reflexive function.

As Noonan (2007, 72–74) points out, participles are not a highly typical complementation device (compared to, say, infinitives or nominalizations), but they are used in certain types of complementation for which their original modifying (adverbial) function predisposes them. Immediate perception verbs are a good instance of this: complementation structures of the type *I heard them singing* arise from structures where the participle performs an adverbial function: *I heard them (as they were) singing*. In Lithuanian, in addition to constructions with immediate perception verbs, active and passive participles also appear as a complementizing strategy with commentative predicates, i.e. predicates conveying an emotional reaction or a judgement on the complement proposition (Noonan 2007, 127):

(50) Lithuanian

[*Pasiekęs aukštesniąją pakopą jis*
didžiuojasi savo sugebėjim-ais, džiaugiasi
take.pride.PRS.3 RPO skill-INS.PL rejoice.PRS.3
giri-am-as kit-ų žmoni-ų ir
praise-PP.PRS-NOM.SG.M other-GEN.PL people-GEN.PL and
sielojasi dėl savo bičiuli-ų trūkum-ų.
be_sad.PRS.3 at RPO friend-GEN.PL shortcoming-GEN.PL
'[When he achieves the highest degree—sc. of mastership] he
takes pride in his skills, rejoices at other people's praise and is
saddened by his friends' shortcomings.'¹⁷

¹⁷ <https://rambynas.wordpress.com/category/gyvenimo-desniai/>

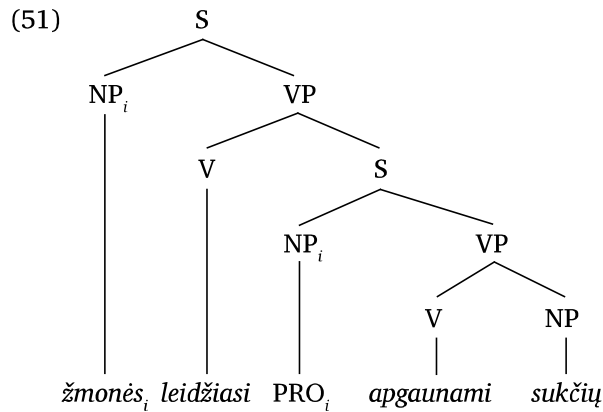
It is virtually impossible to establish whether *džiaugiasi giriamas* should be read as ‘rejoices when praised’ (with the participle in the function of a time adverbial) or ‘rejoices at being praised’ (with the participle expressing the complement of ‘rejoice’). The participle has certainly not been grammaticalized as a complementizing device clearly distinct from the original adverbial function, but it is undoubtedly a type of complementation strategy.

The common element shared by immediate perception predicates and commentative predicates that predisposes both to select participles as a complementizing device could be factivity. Commentatives usually presuppose the state of affairs referred to in the complement (*she regretted having given her consent* and *she did not regret having given her consent* both presuppose *she gave her consent*), and immediate perception predicates imply it (*I saw him being eaten by a lion* implies *he was eaten by a lion*; the entailment is lost in *I did not see him being eaten by a lion*). Now when verbs like *leisti* ‘suffer, allow’ are used as manipulatives rather than as speech act verbs (‘give permission’), they are implicatives in the sense of Karttunen (1971): if John allowed himself to be cheated then he was cheated, if he didn’t allow himself to be cheated he was not cheated. This makes manipulatives like *leisti* eligible for a participial (originally adverbial) complementizing strategy: *he allowed himself to be led away* can be rephrased as ‘action being taken to lead him away, he offered no resistance’, and *he did not allow himself to be led away* as ‘action being taken to lead him away, he offered resistance so as to ultimately prevent his being led away’.

Whatever the correct historical explanation of the participial constructions with *leisti* may be, synchronically these constructions stand apart from the infinitival constructions in that their reflexive marker is not susceptible of a reflexive interpretation and must be accounted for as a kind of middle-voice marking. Whether the reflexive marking originated as reflexivity proper (assuming an original structure like (44)) or whether the reflexive *leistis* was carried over from infinitival constructions, is irrelevant.

It is clear that, when we compare the structures discussed in this section with those discussed in section 3, we are dealing with a process of lexicalization. Reflexive (middle-voice) marking is observed only on the matrix verb here, and it functions actually as a separate lexeme, combining the manipulative meaning conveyed by *leisti* with an additional

semantic element to the effect that there must be a relation of coreferentiality between the main clause subject and an argument (patient) of the clausal complement. The syntactic structure could be represented, for instance, as follows:



6. Finite clauses

Apart from constructions with participial complements, reflexive marking on the matrix verb is sometimes observed in the case of finite complements; the following example is cited from Pakerys (2016, 441):

- (52) Lithuanian
- | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>dukt-ė</i> | <i>leidžia-si,</i> | <i>kad kvailyb-ė</i> |
| daughter-NOM.SG | allow.PRS.3-RFL | that silliness-NOM.SG |
| <i>permerk-tų j-q</i> | <i>kiaurai</i> | <i>kaip liet-us</i> |
| soak-IRR.3 | 3-NOM.SG.F | throughout like rain-NOM.SG |
- ‘The daughter allows silliness to soak her completely, like rain.’

And we can add Latvian examples:

- (53) Latvian
- [*Brālis Teodors, ienākot pa durvīm, piesteidz klāt, piegrūž vēso purniņu manām rokām*]
un ļauja-s, *ka paglaudu.*
 and allow.PRS.3-RFL that stroke.PRS.1SG
 ‘[Brother Theodore [a dog] enters through the door, comes

close, pushes his cool muzzle against my hand] and allows me to stroke him.’¹⁸

Again, reflexive marking could not have originated in the embedded clause here. The finiteness of the embedded clause blocks reflexivization of the embedded-clause object. That is, most probably the reflexive marking was carried over from the infinitival type.

One cannot help being reminded here of another type of complementation in which middle-voice marking in the matrix clause marks the co-reference of the matrix-clause subject with an argument of the embedded clause, viz. complement clauses with *sakyti* ‘say’. In this case as well, reflexive marking is attested both with non-finite (in this case, participial) and finite clauses, and here as well, the middle-voice marking with the finite type seems to have been carried over from the non-finite type (for a discussion of this reflexive marking cf. also Arkadiev 2012):

(54) Lithuanian

[*Naktigoniams ji puldinėjo po koju, prašėsi dovanoti, paleisti ją,*
sakė-si es-ant-i niek-uo
 say.PST.3-RFL be-PA.PRS-NOM.SG.F nothing-INS
ne-kalt-a ir ne-žin-ant-i, kas
 NEG-guilty-NOM.SG.F and NEG-know-PA.PRS-NOM.SG.F who
bažnyči-q apvog-ęs.
 church-ACC.SG rob-PA.PST-NOM.SG.M

‘[She threw herself on her knees before the night-watchers, asking them to forgive her and to let her go,] and said she was innocent of everything and did not know who had robbed the church.’ (A. Vienuolis)

(55) [*Verutė, kaip ir ligos pradžioje, puldinėjo visiems po koju, prašėsi jos pasigailėti ir dovanoti*]

ir sakė-si, kad ji es-anti niek-uo
 and say.PST.3-RFL that 3.NOM.SG.F be-EVID.SG.F nothing-INS
ne-kalt-a.
 NEG-guilty-NOM.SG.F

‘[As in the beginning of her illness, Verutė threw herself on her knees before everybody, asked them to pity and forgive her] and said she was innocent of everything.’ (A. Vienuolis)

¹⁸ <http://www.teodors.org/sapnos-esmu-redzigs/>

Kemmer (1993, 83) introduces the term ‘logophoric middle’ to describe such constructions, as the middle voice marking points to the coreferentiality of the subject with the report speaker acting as subject in the complement clause. As Wälchli (2015, 162) observes, however, this link to logophoricity is rather indirect: the reflexive marker acts as a marker of coreferentiality here, and the logophoric flavour results from the fact that a speech act verb is involved. It would therefore be more accurate to speak, say, of a co-argumental middle with several varieties, one of them logophoric.

There is an obvious similarity between the constructions in (52), (53) and (55), though the syntactic processes involved in their rise are different. In the case of the logophoric middle the reflexive probably originated in the main clause: it was a variety of the *accusativus cum participio*, whose accusative subject probably originated as a matrix clause object (cf. Ambrás 1979, 152–157). In the case of the permissive construction we are dealing with middle-voice marking originally oscillating between matrix clause and embedded clause, but lexicalized in the case of the main clause verb. The two types of middle-voice marking are thus historically and conceptually distinct, but they share an important formal feature in that they apply to complement-taking predicates.

The reflexive marking is basically of the same type here as in the constructions with participial complementation, and in this case it must also be recognized as lexicalized.

7. Non-clausal complementation

The opposition between *leisti* and *leistis* discussed in sections 5 and 6 can also be observed in instances when we have a nominal instead of a clausal complement. In Lithuanian this happens but rarely:

(56) Lithuanian

[*Jau kurį laiką Amy kankina baisus kosulys, po kurio atsikosėja krauju,*]

bet ji **ne-si-leidžia** **medicinin-ei**

but 3.NOM.SG.F NEG-RFL-allow.PRS.3 medical-DAT.SG.F

apžiūr-ai.

examination-DAT.SG

‘[For some time now Amy has been racked by a terrible cough

after which she coughs up blood,] but she doesn't want to subject herself to a medical examination.¹⁹

In Latvian *ļauties* regularly combines with noun phrases in the dative:

(57) Latvian

Sun-s ir iemācīj-ies atkal uzticēties,
 dog-NOM.SG be.PRS.3 learn-PA.PST.NOM.SG.M again trust.INF
ļauja-s glāst-iem un luncina ast-i.
 yield.PRS.3-RFL caress-DAT.PL and wag.PRS.3 tail-ACC.SG
 'The dog has learned to trust [people] again, allows itself to be stroked (lit. yields to caresses) and wags its tail.'²⁰

Though it would be difficult to prove this (and I will not attempt to prove it here) it is conceivable that the reflexive marking was here carried over from constructions with clausal complements.

Finally, we observe the difference between *leisti* and *leistis* in instances where the complement is retrievable from the context, as in (56) and (57): the difference between *leistis* in (59) and *leisti* in (58) appears to be that the former marks the fact that the contextually retrievable complement has a patientive argument coreferential with the subject.

(58) Lithuanian

Galė-čiau saky-t, kad jis mano mokytoj-as,
 be_able-IRR.1SG say-INF that 3.NOM.SG.M my teacher-NOM.SG
bet jis ne-leidžia.
 but 3.NOM.SG.M NEG-allow.PRS.3
 'I could say he's my teacher, but he does not allow it'²¹

(59) *Sav-ajam aš nukirp-čiau plauk-us,*

OWN-DAT.SG.M.DEF 1SG.NOM cut-IRR.1SG hair-ACC.PL
bet jis ne-si-leidžia.
 but 3.NOM.SG.M NEG-RFL-allow.PRS.3

'My own husband's hair I would be prepared to cut, but he does not allow it.'²²

¹⁹ <http://www.alfa.lt/straipsnis/187920/amy-winehouse-serga-dziova>

²⁰ <http://ogreskepas.lv/?p=2352>

²¹ http://www.respublika.lt/lt/naujienos/lietuva/lietuvos_politika/laima_paksiene_buvusio_prezidento_rolando_pakso_zmona_noriu_kad_vyras_uzimtu_gerus_postus/print.1

²² <http://www.15min.lt/zmones/naujiena/interviu/grazina-baikstyte-bijau-ne-rauksliu-otapti-sena-bambekle-papildyta-liepos-28-d-672-161144>

This use should also be regarded as an instance of complete lexicalization, and it is difficult to associate any concrete function with the reflexive marking. Historically, however, we can reconstruct the connection with the coreference marking in the complementation construction.

8. Outside Baltic

In section 2 I have argued for characterizing certain Latvian and Old Lithuanian permissive constructions with affixal reflexive marking as a permissive middle on the grounds that these affixal markers cannot have properly reflexive function. Though this loss of properly reflexive function makes it possible to identify the constructions in (12), (13), (14) and (18), (19), (20) as middle rather than reflexive, this process is probably not a precondition for the rise of a permissive middle. It is possible that a Polish permissive construction as in (9) is also a middle, with the reflexive marker *się* acting as a grammatical marker, but in view of the twofold function of *się* (middle but also reflexive) the proof would not be trivial in this case. We can therefore formulate the following unilateral implication: if a language has markers of reflexive origin that have lost their original reflexive function, it is likely to have (had) a permissive middle, but the reverse does not hold.

The languages that may be expected to show at least traces of a permissive middle that can clearly be identified as such therefore include East Slavic, where the so-called reflexive affixal marker *-sja* is now exclusively mediopassive, and Scandinavian, where *-s* is now predominantly passive.

In contemporary Russian, as in contemporary Lithuanian, the reflexive permissive construction with *dat'* usually has the orthotonic reflexive pronoun *sebjā* (cf. the Lithuanian construction in (1)):

(60) Russian

On ne da-l sebjā obezoruži-t' i ne
 3.NOM.SG.M NEG give-PST[M.SG] **self.ACC** disarm-INF and NEG
soglasī-l-sja na plen. (G. Sadulaev 2009)
 agree-PST[M.SG]-RFL to captivity.ACC.SG
 'He did not allow himself to be disarmed and did not agree to be
 taken prisoner.'²³

²³ This and the following examples were found in the Russian National Corpus, <http://www.ruscorpora.ru/>.

However, other types are attested as well. A reflexive marker occurs on the permissive verb *dat'* (61), or both on the permissive verb and on the infinitive (62):

- (61) Russian
spaniel' [...] *da-l-sja* *počesa-t'* *za*
 spaniel.NOM.SG give-PST [M.SG]-RFL scratch-INF behind
ux-om
 ear-INS.SG
 'The spaniel allowed itself to be scratched behind its ear.'
 (M. Šiškin 2009)
- (62) *tol'ko by ostrič'-sja on*
 only IRR give.a.haircut.INF-RFL 3.NOM.SG.M
da-l-sja
 give-PST [M.SG]-RFL
 'If only he would allow his hair to be cut.'
 (E. Permjak 1955–1965)

Instead of the reflexive infinitive the orthotonic pronoun *sebja* may also be used in combination with reflexive marking on the verb *dat'*:

- (63) Russian
Vadja ne srazu da-l-sja Korolev-u
 PN.NOM.SG NEG at.ONCE give-PST [M.SG]-RFL PN-DAT.SG
sebja ugovori-t'
 self.ACC persuade-INF
 'Vadya did not allow himself to be persuaded by Korolev at once.' (A. Iličevskij 2007)

These constructions are now obsolete and no longer felt to be grammatical by speakers of modern standard Russian. However, they have undoubtedly existed in older stages of the language. We may note that in Russian as well, *dat'sja* has become lexicalized in the meaning 'yield, allow oneself to be subjected to something'. Nowadays this verb is usually combined with nouns rather than verbs; it is possible that this use has been inherited from permissive constructions with infinitival complements, though this is by no means certain.

- (64) Russian
perv-yj duèt da-l-sja mne
 first-NOM.SG.M duet.NOM.SG give-PST [M.SG]-RFL 1SG.DAT

tjaželovato

rather.difficult

‘The first duet didn’t go very smoothly.’ (G. Vasil’ev 2002)

The same construction types illustrated for Russian in (61), (62) and (63) can be found in Belorussian, cf. (65), and Ukrainian, cf. (66). The examples illustrate only the variety with reflexive marking on both permissive verb and embedded infinitive, but many other varieties can be found:

(65) Belorussian

Ale ūsë nadarma – ni raz-u nja

but all.NOM.SG.N in.vain NEG.EMPH time-GEN.SG NEG

da-ŭ-sja ašuka-c-ca

give-PST [M.SG]-RFL deceive-INF-RFL

‘But it was all in vain—not once did he allow himself to be deceived.’ (Janka Zaprudnik, *Dvanaccatka*)²⁴

(66) Ukrainian

[*Kit dovhó ne išov het’ z toho miscja de buv znajdenyj*]

potim zovsim oslab i

then completely grow.weak.PST[M.SG] and

da-v-sja zlovy-ty-s’.

give-PST [M.SG]-RFL catch-INF-RFL

‘[For a long time the cat wouldn’t leave the place where it had been found] but then it grew weak and allowed itself to be caught.’²⁵

Scandinavian should also yield evidence of a similar kind, but a historical investigation would be needed to check this. The development of reflexive markers towards middle and passive functions is much more advanced in Scandinavian than in Slavonic and Baltic, and the affixal marker *-s* is nowadays restricted mainly to passive meaning.

²⁴ <http://kamunikat.fontel.net/www/knizki/historia/dvanaccatka/05.htm>

²⁵ https://vk.com/wall17426705_2972

9. Permissives and the middle voice

As shown above, the middle-voice reflexive marking occurring in permissive constructions is characterized by indeterminacy as to its locus: Latvian and Old Lithuanian examples show that the reflexive marker may occur either on the matrix verb, or on the embedded infinitive, or on both.

When we want to determine the place of the permissive middle among other middle-voice reflexives, we have to specify which type of marking we are talking about—that of the matrix verb or that of the embedded infinitive. As pointed out above, there was initially no functional difference between these two types of marking. However, the above discussion of the participial, finite and nominal types of complementation with *leistis* shows that a functional differentiation could occur between the reflexive marking on the matrix verb and that on the embedded infinitive. In Lithuanian constructions with participial and finite complements, we are dealing with reflexive matrix verbs, without reflexive marking in the complement. To this marking we may oppose reflexive marking on the embedded infinitive, which may, though need not, be replicated on the matrix verb as well.

When middle-voice reflexive marking attaches to the matrix verb, the result is basically a process of lexicalization. Alongside a manipulative complement-taking verb like Lith. *leisti* another, reflexive complement-taking verb *leistis* arises, with, as its distinguishing feature, the marking of coreferentiality between the matrix verb subject (the permittor) and the patientive argument of the complement. There are no grounds for regarding this reflexive marking as inflectional, and we can best regard *leisti* and *leistis* as distinct, though semantically related, complement-taking verbs, with different syntactic types of complementation (basically, in modern Lithuanian, *leisti* has infinitival and *leistis* participial complements).

In a taxonomy of middle-voice reflexives, the notion of permissive middle is necessary, first of all, to accommodate such reflexives as Latvian *aplaupīties* ‘be robbed’, *pierunāties* ‘be persuaded’, *iebidēties* ‘be intimidated’, *maldināties* ‘be misled’ etc., and Old Lithuanian *persiprašyti* ‘be entreated’, *persikalbėti* ‘be persuaded’, *užsiturėti* ‘be detained, delayed’, *susigauti* ‘be caught’ etc. (all these Old Lithuanian examples are from the Chyliński Bible). For Latvian, where they are still fully alive, these reflexive forms are nowhere mentioned in the literature, e.g., in the most recent survey (Kalnača & Lokmane 2012). The passive paraphrases are given

here for want of a better alternative, as these verbs are not passive. In fact they cannot be used independently as main verbs in a sentence in either passive or middle-voice function: they are used only in the infinitive and only in combination with the higher manipulative verb *laut(ies)*. They form an open class, as potentially any transitive verb selecting an animate object could be used in the middle-voice permissive construction. We are therefore dealing with a grammatical phenomenon.

The question arises therefore how to situate the permissive middle with regard to other middle-voice functions. It is clear that the permissive middle is very close to the reflexive proper. Permissive middles originate as reflexives, and in modern Lithuanian we see that the new orthotonic reflexive marker, which has ousted the enclitic (subsequently affixal) reflexive marker from the properly reflexive function, has also extended to the permissive reflexive. This suggests that on the semantic map the permissive middle must be contiguous to the reflexive proper. On the semantic map in Figure 1, the grooming type is also shown to be contiguous to the reflexive, which is conceptually convincing as both in the properly reflexive and in the grooming type the subject is an agent—the difference concerns the degree of conceptual autonomy of the object. It would therefore make no sense to insert the permissive between these two, as its subject is a patient with regard to the predication expressed by the embedded infinitive.

One type of middle-voice reflexives is, however, left out of consideration on the map as shown above, viz. the one called ‘causative-reflexive’ in Nedjalkov & Sil’nickij (1969, 41), that is, the middle-voice reflexive referring to services commissioned by the subject and performed by a craftsman or other service provider on the person of the subject:

(67) Lithuanian

Jon-as ***ap-si-kirpo*** (*pas kirpej-q*).
 John-NOM.SG **PFX-RFL-CUT.PST.3** at hairdresser-ACC.SG
 ‘John had his hair cut (at the hairdresser’s).’

Causatives expressing the commissioning of services are usually called curatives in Baltic scholarship (cf. Ambrazas, ed. 1997, 226, Arkadiev & Pakerys 2015, 81–90 for Lithuanian, Holvoet 2015a, 167–173 for Latvian), and I will apply this term to the type of reflexives under discussion as well. One can easily imagine this type to be an extension from the grooming function: the causative element being ignored because the real

agent, the service provider, is backgrounded, the illusion is created of the commissioner performing the proceedings in question on his own person. Toops (1987, 605) views the curative function as a contextual function of the middle: the subject of a middle verb being underdetermined with regard to agency (which may be direct or indirect), the exact interpretation is determined by extralinguistic factors or context.

There are no grounds for singling out the curative meaning as a distinct function on the semantic map if it is an automatic or contextually determined extension of the grooming type. But there is evidence that the curative function is one that languages may have or not have. Swedish, for instance, has a curative reflexive:

(68) Swedish

Jag klipp-er mig hos en iranier som inte

I cut-PRS me at IDF Iranian REL NEG

kan svenska.

can Swedish

'I have my hair cut by an Iranian who doesn't speak Swedish.'²⁶

It is conceivable that this curative reflexive has superseded an older curative middle with the affixal marker *-s*, as this marker must itself also have originated as a reflexive marker and, in shifting to its present-day, mainly passive, functions, must have passed through the grooming and body-motion stage. It is also possible, of course, that this type originated at a later stage and did not replace an earlier *-s* form. At any rate Danish, which has gone through a similar development with regard to reflexive markers as Swedish, does not have the curative function:

(69) Danish

**Jeg klipp-er mig hos frisør-en.*

I cut-PRS me at hairdresser-DEF

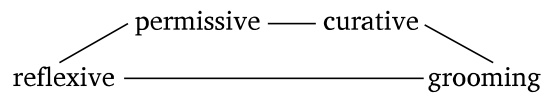
'I have my hair cut at the hairdresser's.'

Whether Danish has lost the curative use or has never developed it need not concern us here: the comparison of the two languages confirms that a language may either have or not have the curative construction. Once this construction appears as a dot on the map, it makes sense to locate it in the vicinity of the permissive middle. Curatives and permissive

²⁶ <https://www.flashback.org/t1816666>

middles have two important features in common. On the one hand, their subject is, semantically, a patient. On the other hand, this subject-patient is, in some way, an ultimate initiator as it is this subject's commissioning of a service, or his passive consent, that enables the agency. The difference between the two is the degree of control: in the case of the permissive middle the subject is passive, whereas in the curative reflexive type the subject, though physically undergoing the process, is in control by the fact of having commissioned the service. This makes it easier to ignore the true agent and brings this type closer to the grooming type. We could thus imagine the relevant portion of the semantic map in the following way:

Fig. 2. *Permissives and the semantic map of reflexives*



The line connecting the curative and the grooming reflects the obvious conceptual link as well as the diachronic pathway from grooming to curative meaning. We should indeed note that curatives arise from grooming middles without this entailing any kind of reflexivity. Let us take Albanian:

(70) Albanian (courtesy of Irena Sawicka)

Enver-i gjithmonë qeth-et tek i njëjt-i
 Enver-DEF always cut-PRS.3SG.MPASS at ADJ same-DEF
berber.
 barber.NOM.SG
 'Enver always has his hair cut at the same barber's.'

Indeed mediopassives may extend not only to curative uses but also to permissive ones, as shown by the Hebrew permissive *niph'al* (or *niph'al tolerativum*, Gesenius & Kautsch 1909, 137):

(71) Biblical Hebrew

way-yē'āter l-ô YHWH
 and-entreat.IPF.MPASS.3SG.M to-3SG.M the Lord
 'and the Lord allowed himself to be entreated by him'
 (Gen. 25.21) (the original of ex. 36 above)

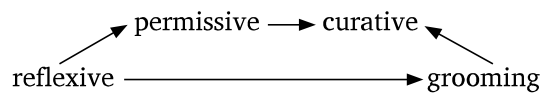
The development of reflexive middles may, however, be specific. It is interesting to note that when reflexive markers reach the grooming stage, which is basically a middle-voice meaning, they do not automatically develop the curative meaning. One does not observe the curative use in German, Dutch, French and many other languages with reflexive markers that have acquired middle-voice functions. One does, on the other hand, observe it in all Baltic and Slavonic languages. More specifically, it is observed in those language-groups that have a middle-voice reflexive marker that has lost its reflexive function. Lithuanian is illustrated in (67). East Slavonic also provides examples:

(72) Russian

Petr vsegda striž-et-sja u èt-ogo
 Peter.NOM always **cut-PRS.3SG-RFL** at DEM-GEN.SG.M
parikmaxer-a.
 hairdresser-GEN.SG
 ‘Peter always has his hair cut at this hairdresser’s.’

These are also languages where there is evidence for the existence of a permissive middle. I would, therefore, like to venture that the permissive middle could also be a possible path leading to curative function, or could at least be a factor contributing to the rise of curative uses. In that case the diachronic paths could be represented as follows:

Fig. 3. *Permissives, curatives and diachronic paths*



The relevance of the evidence of Baltic and East Slavonic does not consist in that only these languages have (had) a permissive middle, but in that in these languages its existence can easily be proved. Those Slavonic languages that do not have a differentiation of reflexive and middle markers (West and South Slavonic) do not provide evidence, as the ambiguity of the markers between reflexive and middle function, illustrated for Polish in (7) and (8), does not allow us unambiguously to state whether they have a permissive middle distinct from the permissive reflexive or not. These languages might, however, have a covert permissive middle (just as they have, e.g., a covert grooming middle, not formally distinguishable from the reflexive proper).

The hypothesis of an influence of permissives on the rise of curatives would have interesting consequences for the interpretation of non-reflexive curative constructions, as illustrated in (73).

(73) Lithuanian

Aš savo vaik-uči-us kerp-u pas savo
 1SG.NOM RPO child-DIM-ACC.PL cut-PRS.1SG at RPO
kirpėj-q.
 hairdresser-ACC.SG
 'I have my children's hair done at my own hairdresser's'²⁷

The existence of such constructions would seem to suggest that reflexivity is not an essential element of the curative construction, as has actually been claimed by several authors (cf. Babby 1983). It is interesting to note, however, that Nedjalkov and Sil'nickij simply overlooked the type in (73), as can be seen from their term 'reflexive-causative'. This is probably caused by its being much less frequent. A similar difference in frequency and naturalness can be observed between grooming-type reflexive middles and the corresponding non-reflexive grooming verbs. If their relationship had been symmetrical, the grooming middle would never have arisen: it owes its rise to the fact that in grooming situations agent and patient coincide by default. The same asymmetry can be observed between the curative reflexive middle and the corresponding non-reflexive construction as illustrated in (73). It is quite possible, therefore, that the term 'reflexive-causative', introduced by Nedjalkov and Sil'nickij, captures a correct insight. No matter whether curative middles arise from middle-voice grooming constructions or from permissive reflexive (and subsequently middle) constructions, in both cases it is quite possible that it is this curative middle type that has given rise to constructions as illustrated in (73).

10. Shifts to modal use

Permissive and curative middles are not the only instances where agent-backgrounding enables middle-voice marking. Another instance is the 'telic facilitative middle' (for the term cf. Holvoet, Grzybowska & Rembiałkowska 2015, 190).

²⁷ <http://vaikodiena.lt/diskusijos/tema/domina-vaiku-kirpyklos-kaune/>

(74) Lithuanian

*Užpakalin-ės sėdyn-ės lengvai iš-si-ima.*rear-NOM.PL.F seat-NOM.PL easily **out-RFL-take.PRS.3**

‘The rear seats allow themselves to be taken out easily.’

In cases like this the predisposition of an object for being subjected to a certain type of process is expressed by creating a fiction according to which this object spontaneously undergoes this process, even though an agent is notionally indispensable. An agent is necessary to take the seats out, but this process is accomplished so easily that the seats, as it were, take themselves out, the agent being backgrounded. In the same way, if in a reflexive manipulative construction the agent is backgrounded, the process he is subjected to can be conceptualized as a process he undergoes of his own accord, without noticeable interference from without. Indeed, it can be seen in languages like German how the two constructions can be used virtually synonymously:

(75) German

Das Brot schneid-et sich leicht.

DEF.NOM.SG.N bread.NOM.SG cut-PRS.3SG RFL easily

‘The bread cuts easily.’

(76) *Das Brot lässt sich leicht schneid-en.*

DEF.NOM.SG.N bread.NOM.SG let.PRS.3SG RFL easily cut-INF

‘The bread allows itself to be cut easily.’

However, the functional similarity which examples like (75) and (76) show between permissive constructions and the facilitative middle is a more distant one. In (76) we have a special development consisting in the occurrence of inanimate theme-subjects instead of animate permittors, a development further leading to modal meanings (dynamic possibility), a path explored by von Waldenfels (2012, 153–185). The shift towards inanimate use, and concomitantly to a quasi-modal function as we observe it in German *sich lassen* or Polish *dać się*, has not taken place in Baltic. It is true that occasional uses of *duodasi* in modal use can be found in Lithuanian writings in the 19th and well into the 20th century, but they have gone completely out of use in the contemporary language; it could be conjectured that they have never been part of living Lithuanian usage and that their occurrence in the written language echoes the influence of Polish:

(77) Lithuanian

[*Stebėtina, kad po tokiai dainai*]

duoda-si išgirs-ti nuo tų pači-ų
give.PRS.3-RFL hear-INF from DEM.GEN.PL same-GEN.PL

žmoni-ų bals-ai apie lietuvi-ų
 people-GEN.PL voice-NOM.PL about Lithuanian-GEN.PL

separatizm-ą [...].

separatism-ACC.SG

‘After such tunes it is surprising that from the same people voices make themselves heard about a Lithuanian separatism...’

(Petras Vileišis, *Varpas*, 1897)

This is an exact counterpart of Polish *dają się słyszeć głosy* ‘voices are heard’ (lit. ‘allow themselves to be heard’). Such uses can only be observed with *duotis*, echoing Polish *dać się*, not with *leistis*. There seems to be no spontaneous development from a permissive to a quasi-modal type of complementation in Baltic.

11. Concluding remarks

The permissive middle reflexives discussed in this article arise when reflexive markers lose their properly reflexive function and are ousted by new reflexive markers in the core domain of their use (with intraclausal control of reflexivity, as in *I see myself in the mirror*). This has repercussions in reflexive permissive constructions, which, as the old reflexive markers lose their ability to occupy the syntactic position of object, must undergo syntactic restructuring. To the extent that the old reflexive markers are retained after this process of restructuring, their function changes and they evolve into a permissive middle.

There are oscillations in the marking of the permissive middle, as it has no natural and obvious locus. Even at the original reflexive stage it has no natural locus because it is associated with the matrix verb through being coreferential with its subject and with the embedded infinitive through being its argument. The loss of reflexive function does not make the choice of the locus of marking any more obvious. The permissive middle may therefore be marked on the embedded infinitive, on the matrix verb or on both.

Though initially the alternative marking on the matrix verb or the embedded verb merely reflects indeterminacy in the choice of a host for

the middle-voice clitic or affix, slightly different processes are involved dependent on its locus. Every language has just a few permissive complement-taking verbs; attachment of the reflexive marker to the matrix verb therefore leads to the rise of a couple of new, reflexive complement-taking verbal lexemes with as their distinguishing feature the marking of coreferentiality between the permitter and the patient of the embedded predication. When attached to the embedded verb, on the other hand, the middle-voice reflexive marking creates an open class of reflexive forms (in principle, any transitive verb could occur here, though there are probably certain semantic restrictions), which are moreover created *ad hoc* (“online”) every time when the permissive middle construction is used. They also have perfectly predictable meanings, even if these can be defined only within the permissive construction in which they are used. For all these reasons they meet all the conditions for being regarded as inflectional rather than derivational. In this sense they are similar to the middle-voice constructions discussed in Holvoet, Grzybowska and Rembiałkowska (2015), illustrated, e.g., by the facilitative construction in (74). Facilitative and related middle-voice constructions are also inflectional in being derived online and changing the assignment of grammatical relations but not argument structure (the latter feature cannot be tested in the case of permissive middles in view of the fusion of argument structures and case frames of matrix and embedded verb). This illustrates the split nature of the middle voice: whereas many middle-voice reflexive forms are undoubtedly in the lexicon, some are inflectional and justify the view of the middle as a series of grams in the domain of grammatical voice. Of course this middle voice (understood as a grammatical phenomenon rather than a semantic domain) is not a homogeneous category but a heterogeneous collection of voice constructions, each with construction-specific syntactic peculiarities of its own. The permissive middle fits quite well into such a picture of the middle voice.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACC — accusative, ADJ — adjective, COMP — comparative, DAT — dative, DEF — definite article or marker, DEM — demonstrative, DIM — diminutive, EMPH — emphatic, EVID — evidential, F — feminine, FUT — future, GEN — genitive, IDF — indefinite article, ILL — illative, IMP — imperative, INF — infinitive, INS — instrumental, IPF — imperfect, IRR — irrealis, LOC — locative, M — masculine, MPASS — mediopassive, N — neuter, NEG — negation, NOM — nominative, PA — active participle, PFX — prefix, PL — plural, PLN — place name, PN — personal name, PP — passive participle, PRS — present, PST — past, PTC — particle, REL — relative pronoun, RFL — reflexive, RPO — reflexive possessive, SG — singular

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