

# The rise of the affixal reflexive in Baltic and its consequences: Morphology, syntax and semantics

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The article deals with the consequences of the affixalisation of the formerly enclitic reflexive pronoun in the Baltic languages. This affixalisation caused a reorganisation in the system of reflexive marking, as the new affixal forms became restricted to middle-voice meanings. The Old Lithuanian and Old Latvian texts reflect a transitional stage in this process. Oscillations in the choice of a verbal form to which an affixalising reflexive pronoun could accrete led to the rise of interesting morphosyntactic patterns with double or varying placement of the affixal marker. The disappearance of the reflexive marker from the syntax furthermore caused syntactic changes leading to the rise of new grammatical constructions. This is discussed in the article for permissive constructions as well as for raising constructions with verbs of saying and propositional attitude. The emphasis on the affixalisation process and on the semantic, morphosyntactic and syntactic processes it set in motion provides a common thread linking a number of seemingly unconnected changes. Though occurring in the prehistory of the Baltic languages, the affixalisation led to a chain of diachronic processes extending to the early 21th century.

**Keywords:** affixation, clitic, reflexivity, middle voice, Baltic, Lithuanian, Latvian

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

In Lithuanian and Latvian, as in (most of) East Slavonic (Kiparsky 1967, 196–197) and North Germanic (Haugen 1984, 391–393), an originally enclitic reflexive marker has become an affix. This process occurred in the prehis-

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tory of Baltic, and the oldest extant Baltic texts already reflect a situation in which it has basically been completed. In Old Lithuanian a few examples are attested in which the reflexive marker seems not yet to have become part of the verbal form and apparently behaves as a Wackernagel clitic:

- (1) Old Lithuanian (KN, 1653, 117.1; cf. Bezzenberger 1877, 165, 231)

*o dumoghimay wissi // nežiń*  
 and thought.NOM.PL all.NOM.PL.M unknown

*kur=si=desti=si*

where=REFL=put.PRS.3=REFL

‘and no one knows whither all his thoughts go’

A similar pattern seems to have existed in Old Prussian:

- (2) Old Prussian (*Enchiridion* 55.25 in Trautmann 1910)

[*kai stai quai stan Ebangelion pogerdawie*]

*Turei sien esse.stan Ebangelion maitātun-sin.*

must.PRS.3 REFL from.DEF.ACC.SG Gospel[ACC] nourish.INF-REFL

‘[that those who preach the Gospel] should sustain themselves from the Gospel’

(German *das die das Euangelium predigen sollen sich vom Euangelio neeren*)

In Latvian folk songs, under the fossilising influence of the metre, we sometimes find clusters of verbal prefix and reflexive clitic separated by one or more words from the verbal form:

- (3) Latvian (BW 205, cited by Endzelin 1922, 480)

*iz=sa gauži raudājuo-s*

out=REFL sorely weep.PST.1SG-REFL

‘I wept my eyes out sorely.’

In all examples cited above, the reflexive marker is added a second time at the end of the verbal form, a feature also observed within verbal forms: when the verb is prefixed, the reflexive marker is now inserted after the prefix, which was originally an independent particle, but in Old Lithuanian texts it is often repeated at the end of the verbal form. In fact, we find three placements of the reflexive marker: after the prefix (4), word-finally (5) and in both positions simultaneously (6):

- (4) Old Lithuanian (Bretke’s OT, Ruth 3.7)

[*Jr kaip Boas walgens bei gierens buwa*]

*pa-fsi-linksmina jo Schirdis*

PFX-REFL-make.merry.PST.3 3.GEN.SG.M heart.NOM.SG

‘[And when Boaz had eaten and drunk,] his heart was merry.’

- (5) Old Lithuanian (Bretke's OT, 1 Sam. 20.18, cited from Bezzenger 1877, 230)
- |             |                     |               |            |               |                  |
|-------------|---------------------|---------------|------------|---------------|------------------|
| <i>nefa</i> | <i>pa-gefi-s</i>    | <i>tawęs,</i> | <i>kur</i> | <i>fedeti</i> | <i>paiukai</i>   |
| for         | PFX-miss.FUT.3-REFL | 2SG.GEN       | where      | sit.INF       | get.used.PST.2SG |
- 'and thou shalt be missed, because thy seat will be empty'  
(Luther: *Denn man wird dein vermissen / da du zu sitzen pflegest.*)
- (6) Old Lithuanian (Bretke's OT, 2 Kings 14.8, cited from Bezzenger 1877, 231)
- |              |                          |           |                |
|--------------|--------------------------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>Ateik</i> | <i>fu-fsi-regetun-fe</i> | <i>fu</i> | <i>manimi.</i> |
| come.IMP.2SG | PFX-REFL-see.SUP-REFL    | with      | 1SG.INS        |
- 'Come, let us look one another in the face'

This shows a certain hesitation as to the position in which the reflexive enclitic could possibly affixalise. Further on we will discuss situations where a similar hesitation can be observed, but in a syntactic construction rather than within the same verbal form.

In this article we will be concerned with the consequences of the affixalisation process. These were of several types. First, the affixalisation of the reflexive marker brought about a change in its functional scope. This is not immediately obvious because the same function can often be performed by a clitic and an affix. However, we may assume that as long as the reflexive marker was a clitic, it could perform a twofold role: it could function either as an unstressed variety of an orthotonic reflexive pronoun, or as a grammatical marker. This can be seen in those Slavonic languages where the reflexive marker is still a clitic, e.g., Polish:

- (7) Polish
- |              |                   |          |                 |
|--------------|-------------------|----------|-----------------|
| <i>Widzę</i> | <i>się/siebie</i> | <i>w</i> | <i>lustrze.</i> |
| see.PRS.1SG  | REFL/REFL.ORTH    | in       | mirror.LOC.SG   |
- 'I see myself in the mirror.'
- (8) Polish
- |               |                    |                   |
|---------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Lustro</i> | <i>się/*siebie</i> | <i>stłukło.</i>   |
| mirror.NOM.SG | REFL/REFL.ORTH     | break.PST.N.SG[3] |
- 'The mirror broke.'

In (7), the enclitic reflexive pronoun *się* is used almost interchangeably with the orthotonic pronoun *siebie* (though only the latter could be used with contrastive stress); *się* could be argued to occupy a syntactic argument position in the same way as *siebie*. In (8), on the other hand, *się* has become a grammatical marker characterising the anticausative construction; as we are dealing with a one-place predicate, *się* clearly does not occupy a syntactic argument position here.

As it affixalised, the reflexive marker lost the ability to function as an unstressed variety of the reflexive pronoun, and it correspondingly lost its properly reflexive function. In the modern Baltic languages, verbs with morphological reflexive markers are restricted to situations of natural reflexivity and reciprocity—situations where the coincidence of agent and patient, or the reciprocal character of the relationship between two agents-patients, is a default whereas non-coincidence or non-reciprocity is a marked option (on this cf. Kemmer 1993, 58, 78). They are furthermore used in encoding anticausative situations (the type illustrated by (9)) as well as in facilitative constructions (on which see Holvoet & Daugavet 2020b), and thus extend to a functional domain that is traditionally referred to as the middle voice (for a recent overview of the middle-voice grams of Baltic see Holvoet 2020). Canonical reflexive and reciprocal situations, on the other hand, can be rendered only by the use of the reflexive pronoun. By ‘canonical’ we mean that the function of the reflexive marker is to mark the coincidence of normally distinct A and P (in reflexive situations), or the coincidence of two normally distinct events in which two participants figure alternately as A and P (in reciprocal situations). In naturally reflexive situations A and P are insufficiently differentiated (they refer, for instance, to the psychomotor centre and the body of the same person), while a naturally reciprocal situation involves a single event notionally requiring reciprocity, like ‘meeting’, ‘quarrelling’ etc. Compare the following examples, with a ‘canonical reflexive’ and a ‘naturally reflexive’ construction respectively:

(9) Lithuanian

<i>Ona</i>	<i>mato</i>	<i>save</i>	<i>veidrodyje.</i>
PN.NOM	see.PRS.3	REFL.ACC	mirror.LOC.SG

‘Ann sees herself in the mirror.’

(10) *Jonas skuta-si.*

PN.NOM	shave.PRS.3-REFL
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‘John is shaving.’

Like the affixalisation process itself, the functional reassignment that went hand in hand with it may be assumed to have been a gradual process. As the Old Lithuanian and Old Latvian texts reflect, in some respects, the final stage in the formal process of affixalisation, we want to examine whether they also reflect the final stage in the functional redistribution of reflexive markers.

Apart from these shifts in semantic functions, the process of affixalisation had some unexpected consequences in morphosyntax. As it turns out, it was by no means always clear which verb the affixalising reflexive marker should select as a host to which it could attach. This was the case when a relationship close to that of auxiliation arose between two verbs, as in the case of modal verbs; such situations gave rise to interesting marking patterns.

The affixalisation of the reflexive marker furthermore had consequences in which syntax played a more prominent role. In some cases the disappearance of the reflexive marker from syntax and its passage to morphology required a syntactic reorganisation of the sentence. This occurred in complex sentences, where the morphologisation of the reflexive marker induced changes across the clausal boundary. The situations referred to involve long-distance reflexivisation and raising.

The first situation is represented in complex sentences with permissive complement-taking verbs. These can be illustrated with the following example from Lithuanian:

- (11) Lithuanian (CCLL)
- |            |                |             |               |                      |
|------------|----------------|-------------|---------------|----------------------|
| <i>Jis</i> | <i>leidžia</i> | <i>save</i> | <i>tapyti</i> | <i>šiulaikiniams</i> |
| 3.NOM.SG.M | allow.PRS.3    | REFL.ACC    | paint.INF     | modern.DAT.PL.M      |
- dailininkams.*  
artist.DAT.PL
- ‘He lets himself be portrayed by contemporary artists.’  
(lit. ‘He lets contemporary artists paint himself.’)

This is an instance of long-distance reflexivisation, a reflexive pronoun in the embedded clause being controlled by a main-clause subject. If, in a structure of this type, the reflexive pronoun affixalises and disappears from the syntax, a reorganisation of syntactic structure is required. The processes resulting from this will be discussed in section 4.

A similar situation obtains when a reflexive pronoun is raised to main-clause object. This can be illustrated with the following example from Old Lithuanian:

- (12) Old Lithuanian (Bretke’s OT, 2 Chron. 6.1)
- |                |               |                   |                    |                |
|----------------|---------------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| [ <i>Tadda</i> | <i>biloia</i> | <i>Salomonas,</i> |                    |                |
| <i>PONAS</i>   | <i>fakė</i>   | <i>fawė</i>       | <i>norinti</i>     | <i>giwenti</i> |
| Lord.NOM       | say.PST.3     | REFL.ACC          | want.PPRA.ACC.SG.M | live.INF       |
- tamfumoie.*  
darkness.LOC.SG

‘[Then said Solomon,] The LORD hath said that he would dwell in the thick darkness.’

Again, the affixalisation of the reflexive pronoun in structures like this must lead to a syntactic reorganisation. We will discuss the processes resulting from this in section 5.

The syntactic and morphosyntactic processes with permissive verbs and speech-act verbs have been the object of special investigation; for the permissive constructions see Holvoet (2016) and Holvoet (2020, 83–113), and on the constructions with speech-act verbs see Holvoet (2020, 203–224).

In this article, we will attempt to give an overall view of the whole complex of processes set in motion by the affixalisation of the reflexive marker, including an approximate chronology for the individual stages. The article will show that the affixalisation of the reflexive marker necessitated or induced further changes in different domains of the grammar, leading to a chain of changes spanning a period from the pre-attestation stage of Baltic to the 21st century.

The subject-matter of the article is necessarily somewhat heterogeneous, as the processes directly or indirectly conditioned by the affixalisation belong to different levels. Section 2 deals with the direct consequences: affixalisation causes the enclitic reflexive marker to lose its original function of unstressed reflexive pronoun, which forces the gradual retreat of the new affixal reflexives from the domain of canonical (as opposed to natural) reflexivity/reciprocity. Section 3 deals with morphosyntax: the oscillation with regard to a potential host for the affixalising reflexive marker leads to the spread of reflexivity marking over the complex of modal verb and infinitive. Section 4 deals with both morphosyntax and syntax: in addition to the pattern of spread marking of reflexivity, the disappearance of the affixalising reflexive marker from the syntax induces a syntactic reorganisation of the sentence. In section 5, the emphasis is again on the syntax, where the loss of the syntactic position occupied by a raised reflexive pronoun transforms the raising construction into a control construction, with further consequences for the function of the reflexive marker. The justification for including phenomena from widely different domains of grammar and the lexicon into one article lies in the fact that all the processes discussed here are part of one single causal chain, albeit one that is not immediately obvious and that has, in fact, not been noticed until now in the literature.

## 2. The loss of other than naturally reflexive and reciprocal meanings

As stated above, the affixalisation of the reflexive marker may be assumed to have brought about a redistribution of the functions of heavy and light reflexive markers, as we will call the orthotonic and enclitic/affixal markers respectively, adopting the terms used by Kemmer (1993). The newly affixalised marker became restricted to the domain of natural reflexivity and reciprocity. We assume this must have been a gradual process, just as the formal process of affixalisation was. The question is therefore whether the process of semantic reorganisation was already completed when the first Lithuanian and Latvian texts appeared in the 16th century, or whether traces of a situation predating the restriction of affixal reflexives to the sphere of natural reflexivity and reciprocity can be detected.

It seems that Old Lithuanian and Old Latvian do indeed present us with instances of verbal forms with affixal reflexive markers but residually retaining the properly reflexive use of the constructions with enclitic reflexive marker from which they evolved. What we mean is that when the enclitic reflexive marker affixalised, those of its uses that did not conform to the prototype of natural reflexivity/reciprocity were in course of time eliminated, but this did not happen in one fell swoop, and affixal reflexives in the sphere of canonical reflexivity/reciprocity continued to be used for some time. When we compare Bretke's translation of the New Testament (completed in 1590) with that of Chyliński, separated from Bretke's by a period of about seventy years (the Old Testament was partly printed in 1660), we do see, in a number of instances, a shift from the use of affixal reflexive forms to constructions with the orthotonic reflexive pronoun. This can be seen from parallel passages like the following:

- (13) Old Lithuanian (Bretke's NT, Mark 5.5)

[*Ir wifsadais buwo [...] ant kalnų ir Grabofu.*]  
*fchauke ir muschie-s akmeneis*  
 cry.PST.3 and hit.PST.3-REFL stone.INS.PL

- (14) Old Lithuanian (Chyliński's NT, Mark 5.5)

[*Wifadoσ [...] buwo kalnofe ir kopofe*]  
*βaukdamaσ ir pats fawe muzdamaσ*  
 cry.CVB.M.SG and EMPH.NOM.SG.M REFL.ACC hit.CVB.M.SG  
*akmenimio*  
 stone.INS.PL

[And always [...], he was in the mountains, and in the tombs,] crying, and cutting himself with stones.<sup>2</sup>

- (15) Old Lithuanian (Bretke's NT, John 8.54)

<i>iei</i>	<i>pats</i>	<i>garbino-s,</i>	<i>mana</i>	<i>garbe</i>
if	EMPH.NOM.SG.M	honour.PRS.1SG-REFL	my	honour.NOM.SG
<i>nieks</i>	<i>ira.</i>			
nothing.NOM	be.PRS.3			

- (16) Old Lithuanian (Chyliński's NT, John 8.54)

<i>jeygu</i>	<i>garbinu</i>	<i>pats</i>	<i>fawe,</i>	<i>garbe</i>
if	honour.PRS.1SG	EMPH.NOM.SG.M	REFL.ACC	honour.NOM.SG
<i>mano</i>	<i>nieku</i>	<i>ira.</i>		
my	nothing.INS	be.PRS.3		

'If I honour myself, my honour is nothing.'

- (17) Old Lithuanian (Bretke's NT, Mark 15.30)

<i>gielbeke-s</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>pats,</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>nukop</i>
save.IMP.2SG-REFL	now	EMPH.NOM.SG.M	and	descend.IMP.2SG
<i>nog</i>	<i>Kriβaus</i>			
from	cross.GEN			

- (18) Old Lithuanian (Chyliński's NT, Mark 15.30)

<i>Gialbek</i>	<i>patσ</i>	<i>fawe,</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>nuzeng</i>
save.IMP.2SG	EMPH.NOM.SG.M	REFL.ACC	and	descend.IMP.2SG
<i>no</i>	<i>kryziauσ</i>			
from	cross.GEN			

'Save thyself, and come down from the cross.'<sup>3</sup>

The only affixal reflexive consistently showing properly reflexive rather than middle meaning in Old Lithuanian is *darytis*, used in the meaning 'make oneself' (with a secondary predicate, as in 'make oneself known') rather than in the modern sense 'become'. This is noted by Mikulskas (2020, 17–20), who states that throughout the Old Lithuanian period *darytis* has only the original agentive meaning, never that of an inceptive copula:

<sup>2</sup> In modern Lithuanian, *muštis* can mean only 'fight'.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Lithuanian has both *išgelbėti save* (with orthotonic reflexive pronoun) and *iš-si-gelbėti* (with affixal reflexive marker), but the latter seems to be mainly non-agentive, in the meaning 'survive' (a calamity, crash etc.).



- (19) Old Lithuanian (Bretke's NT, John 10.33)

<i>iog</i>	<i>Szomogus</i>	<i>budams,</i>	<i>pats</i>	<i>darai-s</i>
that	man.NOM.SG	be.CVB.M.SG	EMPH.NOM.SG.M	make.PRS.2SG-REFL

*Diewu.*  
God.INS.SG

- (20) Old Lithuanian (Chyliński's NT, John 10.33)

<i>jog</i>	<i>budamao</i>	<i>zmogumi</i>	<i>darej-s</i>	<i>Diewu.</i>
that	be.CVB.M.SG	man.INS.SG	make.PRS.2SG-REFL	God.INS.SG

'that thou, being a man, makest thyself God.'

The situation is basically similar in Old Latvian, but here the ousting of affixal markers by the orthotonic reflexive pronoun outside the sphere of natural reflexivity seems slightly to lag behind the corresponding process in Lithuanian. Even towards the end of the 17th century we find a small number of clear instances with affixal reflexives used in situations where nowadays only the orthotonic reflexive pronoun would be possible:

- (21) Old Latvian (Glück's OT, Gen. 16.5)

<i>nu</i>	<i>redfah-s</i>	<i>wiņņa</i>	<i>gruhta</i>	<i>effoti/</i>
now	see.PRS.3-REFL	3.NOM.SG.F	pregnant.NOM.SG.F	be.PPRA.NOM.SG.F
<i>tad</i>	<i>tohpū</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>nizzinata</i>	<i>wiņņas</i>
so	become.PRS.1SG	1SG.NOM	despise.PPP.NOM.SG.F	3.GEN.SG.F

*Azzīs*  
eye.LOC.PL

'Now she sees herself (being) pregnant and I am despised in her eyes.'<sup>4</sup>

- (22) Old Latvian (Glück's OT, Wisdom of Solomon 2.13)

<i>un</i>	<i>nofauzah-s</i>	<i>par</i>	<i>weenu</i>	<i>Dehlu</i>	<i>ta</i>
and	call.PRS.3-REFL	for	one.ACC.SG	son.ACC.SG	DEM.GEN.SG.M

*Kunga*  
Lord.GEN.SG

'and he calleth himself the child of the Lord'  
(Luther: *unnd rhümet sich Gottes Kind*)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> In modern Latvian, *redzēties* is used only as a natural reciprocal verb meaning 'see each other, meet'.

<sup>5</sup> The reflexive *saukties* is still used in modern Latvian in the meaning 'be called, bear a name', cf. Lithuanian *vadintis*, Russian *nazyvat'sja* etc.

- (23) Old Latvian (Mancelius, LLP i 116.16)

<i>Tad</i>	<i>Wings</i>	<i>patz</i>	<i>mums</i>	<i>dohdah-β</i>
then	3.NOM.SG.M	EMPH.NOM.SG.M	1PL.DAT	give.PRS.3-REFL
<i>par</i>	<i>Barribu</i>	<i>und</i>	<i>Dfehren.</i>	
for	food.ACC.SG	and	drink.ACC.SG	

‘Then He gives himself to us for food and drink.’<sup>6</sup>

For some verbs affixal marking and a combination with an orthotonic reflexive pronoun are used side by side, which points to synonymous use:

- (24) Old Latvian (Glück’s NT, Mark 8.34)

[*Kas mannim gribb pakkaļ nahkt*]

<i>tas</i>	<i>lai</i>	<i>pats</i>	<i>aisleedfah-s [...]</i>
that.NOM.SG.M	HORT	EMPH.NOM.SG.M	deny.PRS.3-REFL

- (25) Old Latvian (Glück’s NT, Matthew 16.24)

[*Ja kaslabban mannim grib pakkaļ nahkt*]

<i>tam</i>	<i>buhs</i>	<i>aisleegt</i>	<i>fewi</i>	<i>pafchu</i>
that.DAT.SG.M	be.FUT.3	deny.INF	REFL.ACC	EMPH.ACC.SG

‘[If any *man* will come after me,] let him deny himself...’

Another feature that seems to point to a transitional situation is double marking, that is, the occurrence of an affixal reflexive marker alongside an orthotonic reflexive pronoun. This is frequent in Old Latvian:

- (26) Old Latvian (Mancelius, LLP ii 327.1)

<i>Tu</i>	<i>föw</i>	<i>paffchu</i>	<i>mieloojee-β</i>	<i>nhe</i>
2SG.NOM	REFL.ACC	EMPH.ACC.SG	love.PRS.2SG-REFL	NEG
<i>arr</i>	<i>willtighu</i>	<i>firdi</i>		
with	deceitful.ACC.SG	heart.ACC.SG		

‘You love yourself not with deceitful heart.’

Here the process of renewal of the reflexive construction has already been completed: there is an orthotonic reflexive pronoun occupying a syntactic argument position, but the old affixal marking is added redundantly.

In Old Latvian, as in Old Lithuanian, *darities* has agentive meaning and means ‘make oneself’ (with a secondary predicate):<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> In modern Latvian *doties* is a motion middle meaning ‘betake oneself, go to some place’.

<sup>7</sup> In fact, this verb never acquired the meaning ‘become’, observed in Lithuanian *darytis*, Russian *delat’ sja* etc. It did acquire middle-voice meaning, but as an antipassive, see Holvoet & Daugavet (2020a), this volume. In John 10.33 the revised 1965 Latvian Bible translation (<https://www.bible.com/versions/488-rt65-1965-gada-bibeles-izdevuma-revidetais-teksts>) has *tāpēc ka Tu, cilvēks būdams, dari Sevi par Dievu*.

- (27) Old Latvian (Glück's OT, chapter summary for Gen. 45)

<i>Jahfeps</i>	<i>darrah-s</i>	<i>pehz</i>	<i>faweem</i>
Joseph.NOM	make.PRS.3-REFL	after	RPO.DAT.PL.M
<i>Brahļeem</i>	<i>finnamu.</i>		
brother.DAT.PL	known.ACC.SG		

'Joseph makes himself known after his brothers.'

This last example also retains the original syntax associated with the properly reflexive use: the resultative secondary predicate *zināmu* is in the accusative singular as if agreeing with an accusative reflexive pronoun *sevi*; this pronoun is, however, absent from the syntax.<sup>8</sup>

What was discussed here for reflexive uses of the reflexive marker has a certain parallel in the domain of reciprocity. In the modern Baltic languages the affixal reflexive marker is used not only for naturally reflexive but also for naturally reciprocal situations, that is, situations in which the participation and interaction of at least two persons is notionally required, such as 'meet', 'quarrel', 'make love' etc. Situations like that of mutual liking, love, hatred etc., not being reciprocal by necessity, are expressed by means of a 'heavy marker', a dedicated reciprocal pronoun not used in reflexive function:

- (28) Modern Lithuanian (Peter Lauster,
- Gyvenk lengvai ir laisvai*
- , 2002, CCLL)

[ <i>Taigu jūs remiatės idealia prielaida, kad</i>			
<i>abu</i>	<i>sutuoktiniai</i>	<i>myli</i>	<i>vienas</i>
both.NOM.M	spouse.NOM.PL	love.PRS.3	one.NOM.SG.M
<i>kitą.</i>			
other.ACC.SG			

'[So you start out from the ideal assumption that] the two spouses love one another.'

The situation is thus different from that of reflexive marking in that the strong (orthotonic) marker is not based on the same stem as the weak (enclitic) one, and they may well have differed in prehistoric Baltic as well.<sup>9</sup> But whatever the situation was, it is almost certain that the weak

<sup>8</sup> Compare this with the emphatic pronoun *pats* in (23), which agrees with the subject though semantically it should agree rather with the implicit object, as it does with the overt object in (25).

<sup>9</sup> Note, however, the reciprocal function of the orthotonic pronoun in *tarp saveš* in example (31) below, now obsolete but retained in modern Lithuanian *tarpusavy(je)* 'mutually'.

form of the reflexive pronoun performed a twofold role in this case as well: it was used in cases of natural reciprocity but also as an unstressed reciprocal pronoun in cases of canonical reciprocity, as we can see, again, in present-day Polish:

- (29) Polish  
*Małżonkowie spotykają się rzadko.*  
 spouse.NOM.PL meet.PRS.3PL REFL rarely  
 ‘The spouses meet rarely.’
- (30) *Małżonkowie oskarżają się (nawzajem)*  
 spouse.NOM.PL accuse.PRS.3PL REFL (mutually)  
*o zdradę.*  
 of unfaithfulness.ACC.SG  
 ‘The spouses accuse each other of unfaithfulness.’

We can reconstruct a similar situation for prehistoric Baltic on the basis of examples attested in the oldest Lithuanian and Latvian texts, e.g.,

- (31) Old Lithuanian (Willent, EE, 125.19 = 1Thess 4.18)  
*A taip linxinkete-fi tarp fawęs*  
 and so comfort.IMP.2PL-REFL among REFL.GEN  
*tais βodzeis.*  
 this.INS.PL.M word.INS.PL  
 ‘Wherefore comfort one another with these words.’

In this case as well, the affixalisation of the reflexive-reciprocal marker changed its status: it continued to be used as a grammatical marker for natural reciprocity, but could no longer serve as an unstressed variety of the reciprocal pronoun. Some eighty years later, Chyliński has only the orthotonic reciprocal pronoun:

- (32) Old Lithuanian (Chyliński’s NT, 1 Thess 4.18)  
*Teyp tada tieszykite wieni kitus*  
 so then comfort.IMP.2PL one.NOM.PL.M other.ACC.PL.M  
*teys zodzieys.*  
 this.INS.PL.M word.INS.PL  
 ‘Wherefore comfort one another with these words.’

The so-called Bythner New Testament (1701) has the same verb *linksminti* for ‘comfort’ as in Willent and Bretke (as against Chyliński’s Slavonic loanword *tieszysi*), but the reciprocal pronoun rather than the affixal marker is used:

- (33) Old Lithuanian (Bythner's NT, 1701, *ibid.*)  
*Togidel linkfminkite kits kitq*  
 therefore comfort.IMP.2PL other.NOM.SG.M other.ACC.SG  
*tais zodzieys.*  
 this.INS.PL.M word.INS.PL  
 'Wherefore comfort one another with these words.'

But Bible translations sometimes retain archaic forms, especially in Gospel pericopes, which passed from one translator to another, starting with Willent and Bretke. So for instance, Chyliński, who was not dependent on the translations from Prussian Lithuania,<sup>10</sup> has only *mylėti vienas kitą* in the sense of 'love one another':

- (34) Old Lithuanian (Chyliński's NT, John 15.12)  
 [*Tas ira prifakimas mano.*]  
*idand miletumbite wieni kituos,*  
 that love.IRR.2PL one.NOM.PL.M other.ACC.PL.M  
 [*kaypo aß juõ numilejau.*]  
 '[That is my commandment,] that you should love one another  
 [as I have loved you].'

The Bythner New Testament (1701) shows both forms side by side:

- (35) Old Lithuanian (Bythner's NT, John 15.12)  
 [*Tas ira prifakimas mano*]  
*idant tarp fawęs miletumbite-s*  
 that among REFL.GEN love.IRR.2PL-REFL
- (36) Old Lithuanian (Bythner's NT, John 15.17)  
 [*TAtai jumus prifakau*]  
*idant wienas antrq miletumbit.*  
 that one.NOM.SG.M other.ACC.SG love.IRR.2PL

Either the translator of this fragment still had a choice between the two constructions, or the one with the affixal marker is carried over from some earlier translation. This would be unexpected in the immediate

<sup>10</sup> A written tradition in Lithuanian, associated with the spread of Lutheranism, existed in Ducal Prussia from the 16th century onward. The Reformation literature of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, represented by Chyliński, was inspired by Calvinism. The two traditions interacted but remained separate. Instead of following Luther and the Lutheran Lithuanian authors of Ducal Prussia, Chyliński took the Calvinist Dutch *Statenvertaling* as the basis for his Bible translation (see Kavalūnaitė 2008, cvii–cxiii).

vicinity of the newer construction (only a few lines separate (35) and (36) in Bythner's New Testament), but it seems less odd when one sees exactly the same rendering of John 15.12 appear in Giedraitis' New Testament from 1816, with a just slightly modernised irrealis ending:

- (37) Early modern Lithuanian (Giedraitis, John 15.12)  
 [*Tas ira prisakimas mano,*]  
*idant tarp sawęs miletumete-s.*  
 that among REFL.GEN love.IRR.2PL-REFL  
 '[That is my commandment,] that you should love one another.'

It is hardly likely that the properly reflexive affixal form should have been retained in the living language until the 19th century. We may assume the canonically reciprocal function of the affixal reflexive marker went out of use in the course of the 17th century. The same might apply to Latvian. At the end of the 17th century, Glück still has the affixal form:

- (38) Old Latvian (Glück's NT, 1 Thess 4.18)  
*Tad nu eepreezinajeete-s fawâ ftarpâ ar*  
 then now comfort.IMP.2PL-REFL mutually with  
*fcheem Wahrdeem.*  
 this.DAT.PL.M word.DAT.PL  
 'Wherefore comfort one another with these words.'

But in Latvian as well, these were going out of use, and if the affixal marker is found it is normally redundant use alongside a reciprocal pronoun occupying the position of direct object:

- (39) Old Latvian (Mancelius, LLP ii 327.18–19)  
 [*Taß gir manns Baußliß*]  
*ka juhs weens ohtru*  
 that 2PL.NOM one.NOM.SG.M other.ACC.SG  
*mielojete-ß*  
 love.PRS/IMP.2PL-REFL  
 '[That is my commandment,] that you should love one another.'

And there are constructions with only the orthotonic reciprocal pronoun:

- (40) Old Latvian (Mancelius, LLP i 529.3–4)  
*Labbi Draughi fohlah-ß weens*  
 good.NOM.PL.M friend.NOM.SG promise.PRS.3-REFL one.NOM.SG.M  
*ohtru apluhkoht par Šwähtkeem.*  
 other.ACC.SG visit.INF for holiday.DAT.PL  
 'Good friends promise to visit each other over the holidays.'

We must remember, however, that the evidence of the Old Latvian texts is reliable only to a limited extent, as the linguistic competence of the translators was far from perfect. In many respects its authenticity is confirmed by the facts of the modern language; this holds, for instance, for the non-trivial patterns of use of reflexive markers in permissive constructions, to be discussed in the following sections. In the case of residual properly reflexive and reciprocal uses of reflexive verb forms in Old Latvian there is nothing the evidence of the modern language could confirm; the evidence for such uses in Old Latvian is not abundant, and the question whether it can be taken at face value is probably undecidable. The Old Lithuanian authors' linguistic competence was much superior to that of their Latvian counterparts (they were mostly native speakers of the language), but their language also shows the influence of the source texts, and their translations (e.g., of Bible texts) often underwent the influence of older translations that represented, in many respects, older stages of language development. An additional problem is that the borderline between canonical and natural reflexivity or reciprocity is not clear-cut, and there are transitional cases. So, for instance, 'understand each other, have a good mutual understanding' is *saprasties* (with affixal marker) in Latvian but *suprasti vienas kitą* (with heavy marker) in Lithuanian; 'be acquainted' is now only *pažinti vienas kitam* (with heavy marker) in Lithuanian, but *pa-si-žinti* (with affixal marker) was still possible in the 1st half of the 20th century. While it is easy to point out the prototypical cases, like 'see oneself'<sup>11</sup> for a canonically reflexive situation and 'see each other, meet' for a naturally reciprocal situation, the typical borderline cases between the two have not been cross-linguistically identified. For the verbs selected above as examples for the transition from light to heavy markers the contemporary Baltic languages were taken as a point of reference, but this is, of course, but a makeshift.

To sum up the findings of this section: the affixalisation of the reflexive marker had certain consequences driven by grammatical semantics. As the reflexive marker lost the function of unstressed reflexive pronoun, it was gradually ousted from the sphere of canonical reflexivity and restricted to middle-voice functions. Though the reflexive marker disappeared from

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<sup>11</sup> 'See oneself' is already used as an example of a crosslinguistically canonical reflexive (rather than middle) verb in Faltz (1977).

the syntax, this had no further syntactic consequences as the process occurred clause-internally. The changes dealt with in the following sections occurred in syntactically more complex contexts.

### 3. Traces of former mobility of the reflexive marker: Constructions with modals

Apart from the functional shift accompanying the affixalisation of the reflexive marker, this process also had certain consequences in morpho-syntax. The affixalisation process is described above in the context of the nuclear clause, where there is only one verb assigning a semantic role to what is originally the reflexive pronoun, and therefore naturally becoming the host for the affixalising reflexive marker. The situation was more complex in complementation constructions, where two verbs were involved. This can be seen in Old Latvian texts, where we sometimes find verb phrases in which the modal verbs *varēt* ‘be able’ and *gribēt* ‘want to’ assume a reflexive marker when their complement contains a reflexive verb:

- (41) Old Latvian (Glück’s OT, Deut. 28.68)

<i>Un</i>	<i>tur</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>gribbefeē-s</i>	<i>taweem</i>	
and	there	2SG.NOM	want.FUT.2SG-REFL	YOUR.DAT.PL.M	
<i>Eenaidneēkeem</i>	<i>par</i>		<i>Kalpeem</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>par</i>
enemy.DAT.PL	as		bondsman.DAT.PL	and	as
<i>Kalponehm</i>		<i>pahrdoteē-s.</i>			
bondswoman.DAT.PL		sell.INF-REFL			

‘and there you will want to sell yourselves to your enemies as bondsmen and bondswomen.’

- (42) Old Latvian (Glück’s OT, 2 Kings 5.12)

[*Neġģi Amana un Warwara tahs Uppes no Damaskus irr labbakas ne kà Ifraēla Uhdens*]

<i>neġģi</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>tur</i>	<i>warretoh-s</i>	<i>masgateē-s</i>	<i>ka</i>
QNEG	1SG.NOM	there	may.IRR-REFL	wash.INF-REFL	that
<i>es</i>	<i>fchķihsts</i>	<i>taptu?</i>			
1SG.NOM	clean.NOM.SG.M	become.IRR			

‘[Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel?] May I not wash in them, and be clean?’

The reflexive marker is associated grammatically with the embedded infinitive, not with the modal verb, so that we expect no reflexive marker on the modal. Indeed, we find none in (43):



- (43) Old Latvian (Glück's NT, Luke 13.11)

[un ta bija lihka]

<i>un</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>warreja</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>wiff</i>	<i>uszeltee-s</i>
and	NEG	be.able.PST.3	NEG	at.all	raise.INF-REFL

'and [the old woman] was bowed together, and could in no wise lift up *herself*.'

As the embedded infinitive had no overt subject, the reference of the reflexive marker was, for all practical purposes, controlled by the main-clause verb, so that the clitic could easily climb above the complement and end up being attached to the modal verb. This use is not very frequent, e.g. out of 9 instances where *varēt* and *gribēt* have reflexive complements in Glück's Gospels only one has the reflexive marker on the modal verb (this count does not include impersonal uses of *gribēties* with dative subjects, where the reflexive marker has a different function, on which see Holvoet 2020, 178–179). In all, there seem to be only 8 instances in the whole of Glück's Bible.<sup>12</sup> But Glück's testimony is corroborated by that of Mancelius, whose *Langgewünschte lettische Postill* (LLP, vols. i–iii) contains 32 instances, 26 with *gribēties* and 6 with *varēties*:

- (44) Old Latvian (Mancelius, LLP i 64.7-8)

<i>beß</i>	<i>winja</i>	<i>Dohfchanas</i>	<i>nhe</i>	<i>warrah-ß</i>
without	3.GEN.SG.M	giving.GEN.SG	NEG	be.able.PRS.3-REFL
<i>nhe</i>	<i>weens</i>	<i>ko</i>		<i>jemmtee-ß</i>
NEG	one.NOM.SG.M	anything.ACC		take.INF-REFL

'No one can take anything without his giving.'

Moreover, Mancelius' Postil also contains a few instances with a reflexive marker on the modal verb only instead of on the embedded verb:<sup>13</sup>

- (45) Old Latvian (Mancelius, LLP i 365.10–11)

<i>Ja</i>	<i>tad</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>taß</i>	<i>Zillwähx</i>
if	then	now	that.NOM.SG.M	man.NOM.SG
<i>gribbah-ß</i>		<i>fawu</i>	<i>pirrmu</i>	<i>wätzu</i>
want.PRS.3-REFL		RPO.ACC.SG	first.ACC.SG	old.ACC.SG

<sup>12</sup> Deut. 28.68, 2Kgs. 5.12, Ps. 55.13, Ps. 89.47, Prov. 8.11, Jer. 4.0 (chapter summary), Judith 1.2 and Matt. 5.39 (marginal note).

<sup>13</sup> The other instances are i 137.27–28, i 230.21–22, iii 162.26.

*Ghohdu*            *atkal*        *dabbuit...*  
 glory.ACC.SG      again        obtain.INF

‘If, then, man wants to recover his former glory...’

In all these examples the reflexive marker belongs semantically to the embedded verb.<sup>14</sup> Its occurrence on the higher verb or on both verbs probably reflects a hesitation as to which verb should serve as a host for the affixalising reflexive marker. This situation is reminiscent of the hesitation we noted in the placement of the reflexive marker within verbal forms, as illustrated in examples (4)–(6) above. The difference is that in this case the hesitation manifests itself in a syntactic construction rather than within a word.

Through their association with modal verbs, the constructions discussed here are reminiscent of Romance constructions with so-called clitic climbing (Rizzi 1978), and this process provides a plausible historical explanation for the phenomenon involved here. However, the simultaneous placement of the reflexive marker on the complement-taking and the embedded verb (also observable in the case of the permissive constructions, which we will discuss below) seems to be specifically connected with the process of affixalisation. As long as the reflexive marker was a clitic, the process of clitic climbing could probably lead to duplication of the clitic, that is, the occurrence of a reflexive marker in the vicinity of both modal verb and embedded verb, but this situation would not have been stable. Double clitics are amenable to clitic haplogy even if the clitics belong grammatically to different words. We can see this in those Slavonic languages where the reflexive marker is still a clitic. In Polish example (46) we should have two instances of the enclitic reflexive marker *się*, one belonging to *bać się* ‘be afraid’ and the other to *spóźnić się* ‘be late’, but only one can surface in actual usage:

<sup>14</sup> It should be noted that Old Latvian also had an autobenefactive reflexive verb *gribēties* ‘want for oneself’, used with object noun phrases, as in *ja tee nhe ghibbahš ihten tahdu Allghu* Mancelius, LLP i, 181.6–7 ‘if they don’t want for themselves such a reward’. We must therefore pose the question whether this reflexive verb could not also take clausal complements, and whether sentences like (45) could not be instances of this. However, it would be difficult to explain why this reflexive *gribēties* should overwhelmingly combine with reflexive infinitives, as is shown by the proportion of 32 instances to 4. This suggests the reflexive marking on the modal verb is not a lexical feature of this verb but a feature of the whole construction.

(46) Polish

<i>Boję</i>	<i>się</i>	<i>spóźnić</i>	(* <i>się</i> ).
be.afraid.PRS.1SG	REFL	be.late.INF	REFL

'I'm afraid of being late.'

There is no reason to expect double clitics to behave differently when their duplication is redundant, resulting from clitic climbing, as in the constructions with modal verbs under discussion here. When the clitic affixalises, however, it is no longer accessible to syntactic mechanisms, and there is consequently no 'affix haplology' in constructions like (41) and (42).<sup>15</sup> This is the crucial argument for our assumption that the double reflexive marking in the constructions under discussion here is a consequence of the process of affixalisation of the reflexive marker.

Though well attested in 17th century Latvian texts, the double affixation observed in constructions like (41) and (42) has disappeared without trace. Old Lithuanian shows no trace of it at all. The reason for the ultimate loss of the clitic duplication in Latvian might be sought in the fact that the reflexive marking was semantically associated only with the embedded infinitive, not with the modal verb. In the following section we will note a similar case of double reflexive marking, occurring, however, in a slightly different syntactic configuration that was more favourable to the retention of the double or oscillating affixation described here.

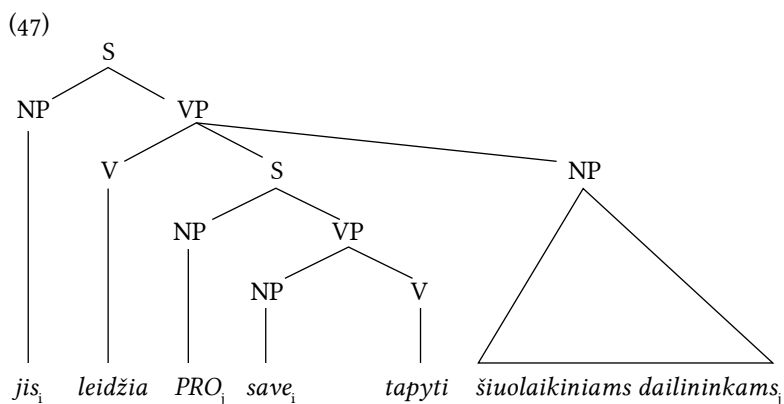
While section 2 dealt with a local (clause-internal) consequence of the affixalisation, what is described in this section results from the movement of the reflexive marker beyond clausal boundaries, which leads to the appearance of a new potential host for the affixalising marker. The processes discussed here involve syntax and morphosyntax, but not semantics, although they do manifest themselves within a specific lexical group, that of modal verbs. It was probably the high frequency of embedded infinitives with these verbs that determined the fossilisation, in morphology, of the syntactic process of clitic climbing.

<sup>15</sup> This, among other facts, is evidence against the interpretation of Lithuanian *-si-* as a clitic, for which see, e.g., Korostenskiene (2014). For other types of evidence see Nevis & Joseph (1992).

## 4. Traces of former mobility: Reflexive permissive constructions

### 4.1. Reflexive marking in permissive constructions

The construction dealt with in this section contains a verb meaning ‘allow’ (less frequently ‘order’) and a clausal complement with the infinitive. The permissive verbs involved in Lithuanian are *leisti* ‘allow’ and *duoti* ‘give, allow’; the more active verb is *liepti* ‘bid, order’. In Old Latvian the construction involves mainly *likt* ‘order; allow’; in modern Latvian it is *ļaut* ‘allow’, whereas *likt* now has only the more active meaning ‘order’. ‘Reflexive’ means here, semantically, that the permitter (the main clause subject) coincides with the patient of the embedded predication, so that the general meaning is ‘allow oneself to be (persuaded, deceived etc.)’. The constructions we are dealing with have a putative syntactic structure as shown in (47), which repeats example (11) with added syntactic representation:



Here the reflexive pronoun in the position of embedded clause object is controlled, across clause boundaries, by the main clause subject rather than by the implicit subject of the embedded clause. Configurations like this have been referred to as ‘long distance anaphora’ (cf. Reuland & Koster 1991).

If a structure of this type contained an enclitic reflexive pronoun, it had to affixalise as in other instances. In this case, however, affixalisation was not straightforward: there were two verbs qualifying as possible hosts—the main clause verb and the infinitive. The pronoun stood in a syntactic relationship to both—to the infinitive in virtue of being

assigned a semantic role by it, and to the main clause verb in virtue of being controlled by its subject. The presence of two potential hosts led to an oscillation reminiscent of what we have observed in constructions with modal verbs in Old Latvian: in Old Lithuanian and Old Latvian texts the reflexive marker can attach both to the main clause verb and to the infinitive; often it attaches to both at the same time. This last option is illustrated in (48) and (49):

- (48) Old Lithuanian (KN SE 192.11)  
*o            niekám            nuo            tiefos            át-fi-wefti*  
 and        nobody.DAT    from        truth.GEN    away-REFL-lead.INF  
*ne-fi-duok*  
 NEG-REFL-give.IMP.2SG  
 ‘and do not let yourself be led astray from truth by anybody.’

- (49) Old Latvian (Mancelius, LLP i 33.18)  
*labbahk        wings            leekah-β        Zeetumā*  
 better        3.NOM.SG.M    let.PRS.3-REFL    prison.LOC.SG  
*meβtee-β*  
 throw.INF-REFL  
 ‘He would rather let himself be thrown in prison.’

Alongside such constructions with double marking, there are also those with reflexive marking on the main clause verb only (50), or on the infinitive only (51):

- (50) Old Lithuanian (KN SE 76.21–22)  
*žiednam        weiuj [...]        ne            tur*  
 no.DAT.SG.M    wind.DAT.SG    NEG        have.to.PRS.3  
*duoti-s        palánkt*  
 give.INF-REFL    bend.INF  
 ‘[this tree] should not let itself be bent by any wind.’

- (51) Old Lithuanian (KN SE 200.11–12)  
*Ponop            áteyk            ir            jám*  
 Lord.ALL.SG    come.IMP.2SG    and        3.DAT.SG.M  
*át-fi-ráfti            duok.*  
 PFX-REFL-find.INF    give.IMP.2SG  
 ‘Come to the Lord and let yourself be found by Him.’

The threefold marking pattern was also characteristic of Old Latvian, though the 17th-century texts attest mainly instances with double mark-

ing as in (49). Moreover, modern Latvian (unlike modern Lithuanian) still has the constructions with all three patterns of marking, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (52) Latvian  
*Izstudē*                      *likumdošanu*                      *un*  
 study.IMP.2SG              legislation.ACC.SG              and  
*neļaujje-s*                                      *iebidētie-s!*  
 NEG-allow.IMP.2SG-REFL              intimidate.INF-REFL  
 ‘Study the law and don’t allow yourself to be intimidated!’<sup>16</sup>
- (53) Latvian  
*Nevajadzēja*                      *ļaut*                      *iebidētie-s,*  
 NEG.be.nEEDED.PST.3              allow.INF              intimidate.INF-REFL  
 [*reāli Tev ir fiziski uzbrukts un izteikti nopietni draudi.*]  
 ‘You shouldn’t have allowed yourself to be intimidated, [in fact you have been physically attacked and seriously threatened].’<sup>17</sup>
- (54) Latvian  
 [*Citādi būs kā manam draugam, tagad nožēlo, ka*  
*ne-ļāvās*                                      *pierunāt*                      *nopirkt*  
 NEG-allow.PST.3-REFL              persuade.INF              buy.INF  
*dārgāku*                                      *modeli.*  
 expensive.COMP.ACC.SG              model.ACC.SG  
 ‘[Otherwise you’ll be in the same situation as my friend, who now regrets that] he didn’t let himself be persuaded to buy a more expensive model.’<sup>18</sup>

The pattern of reflexive marking in this permissive construction is interesting in that it cannot be associated with either of the verbs involved but has to be recognised as a feature of the construction as a whole. The reflexive marking can surface on either of the verbs, or on both, without any difference in meaning. Of course, in all these cases the function of the reflexive marker cannot be properly reflexive any more in the sense that the reflexive pronoun in (47) is reflexive. The coincidence of main clause subject and embedded clause patient is encoded in another way, by the

<sup>16</sup> <http://pajauta.draugiem.lv/question/list/50/38148/kreditsaistibas-ar-ge-money/>

<sup>17</sup> <http://cosmo.lv/forums/topic/182172-/?sort=desc&pnr=2#postid-2167291>

<sup>18</sup> <http://www.xc.lv/mtb/forums/viewtopic.php?pid=251513>

construction as a whole. It is clear that when in a structure like (47) the reflexive pronoun affixalises and disappears from the syntax, the syntactic structure cannot remain unchanged. We shall now attempt to characterise the syntactic change.

#### 4.2. Changes in syntactic structure

To begin with, let us note that though structures like (50) are now rare in Lithuanian and those shown in (48) and (51) have ceased to exist, this language has a perfectly productive pattern similar to (50) but with a participial instead of an infinitival complement. The main clause verb has an affixal reflexive marker and the complement is expressed by a present passive participle:

- (55) Modern Lithuanian  
*Klaipėdiečiai*                      *ir toliau*                      *leidžia-si*  
 Klaipedian.NOM.PL                      further                      allow.PRS.3-REFL  
*apgaunami*                                      *sukčių.*  
 deceive.PPRP.NOM.PL.M                      impostor.GEN.PL  
 ‘The Klaipedians continue to let themselves be deceived by impostors.’<sup>19</sup>

Worth noting is that this construction has no counterpart with an orthotonic reflexive pronoun, and has no non-reflexive counterpart. There are therefore no structures like

- (56) \**jie*                      *leidžia*                      *save*                      *apgaunami*  
 3.NOM.PL.M                      allow.PRS.3                      REFL.ACC                      deceive.PPRP.NOM.SG.M  
 Intended meaning: ‘they allow themselves to be deceived’
- (57) \**jie*                      *leidžia*                      *žmones*                      *apgaunamus*  
 3.NOM.PL.M                      allow.PRS.3                      people.ACC.PL                      deceive.PPRP.ACC.PL.M  
 Intended meaning: ‘they allow people to be deceived’

Also worth noting is the replacement of the dative encoding the permittee in (50) with the genitive *sukčių* in (55). The genitive is the standard way of encoding the agent phrase with passive participles in Lithuanian, which suggests that the NP *sukčių* in (55) is no longer a complement of the main-clause verb but is in the embedded participial phrase, where it

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/lietuva/vel-patikejo-sukciais-56-47863>

receives its case from the passive participle. Interestingly, a similar shift seems to have occurred in Latvian, where alongside the dative we find also prepositional phrases with *no*, which are used to encode agent phrases:

- (58) Latvian  
*Neļaujietie-s*                      *iebiedētie-s*                      *no*  
 NEG-allow.IMP.2PL-REFL      intimidate.INF-REFL              from  
*skolotājiem*  
 teacher.DAT.PL  
 [*par ĻOOOTI grūtajiem eksāmeniem.*]  
 ‘Don’t let yourselves be intimidated by teachers [about those SOOO  
 very difficult exams.]’<sup>20</sup>

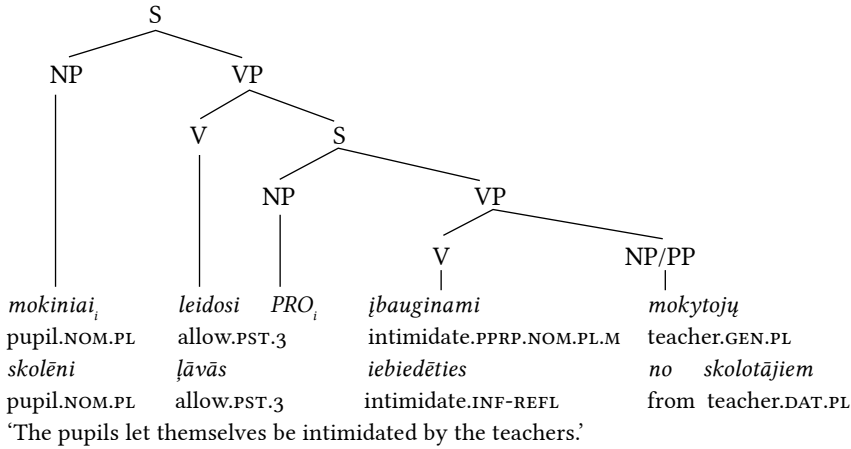
Agent phrases introduced by *no* have a somewhat special status in Latvian grammar, as their use in the passive construction is proscribed in modern standard Latvian. They were regularly used in Latvian writings until the early 20th century, having probably originated under the influence of German agent phrases with *von*, but as the Latvian popular language—as reflected, e.g., in the Latvian folk songs—has only an agentless passive, they were ousted from Standard Latvian by purist grammarians in the 20th century. But agent phrases occur not only in the passive; and while proscribed in the passive, Latvian agent phrases with *no* are still widely used in permissive constructions like (58).

The introduction of passive participles instead of the original infinitive in the Lithuanian construction and of agent phrases also characteristic of passive constructions in both languages are clearly related phenomena attesting to a syntactic restructuring that occurred as a result of the loss of the distantly controlled reflexive pronoun from syntactic structure. The result can be formulated as a process of intransitivisation of the infinitive that caused it to behave as syntactically passive. In Lithuanian this syntactic reinterpretation was reflected in the morphosyntax by the introduction of a passive participle, whereas in Latvian it manifests itself only in the syntax. We propose that the syntactic structure of (55) and (58) is identical and is as shown in (59):

<sup>20</sup> <http://www.apocalypse.com/forum/viewtopic/2930>



(59)



The passive participles of Lithuanian were therefore introduced in a context that was already syntactically passive.

The details of the syntactic processes reflected in structures like (55) and (58) are open to discussion. We should ask, for instance, whether these structures are still biclausal (as assumed in the analysis presented in (59)) or whether a process of clausal union has occurred, with the permissive complement-taking verbs having become permissive auxiliaries. This is an interesting question, but not immediately relevant here: what stands beyond doubt is that a syntactic restructuring must have occurred, and that it was set in motion by the affixalisation of the reflexive pronoun.

The relevance of the process of affixalisation for the characteristic patterns of reflexive marking described in these sections and for the syntactic processes set in motion by it is confirmed by the evidence of another group of languages where the reflexive pronoun has affixalised, viz. East Slavonic. Though the East Slavonic facts have not been noted in Slavonic scholarship, the threefold pattern of marking illustrated in (48), (50), (51) and in (52)–(54) is also attested here; examples from the three East Slavonic languages are provided in Holvoet (2020, 102–106), so here it will suffice to give just one example of the double marking from modern Russian:

- (60) Russian (Nina Sadur, *Som-s-usom*, 1995, RNC)  
 [... *a ona naklonjalas' nad nim licom nejasnym, svetlovatym*]  
*i*            *šeptala*                            *čto-b*            *ne*  
 and        whisper.PST.F.SG        COMPL-IRR        NEG  
*trep'yalsja,*                            *dal-sja*                            *vzvesit'-sja.*  
 thrash.about.LFORM.M.REFL    give.LFORM.M-REFL    weigh.INF-REFL  
 '[And she inclined her blurred and luminous face over it  
 [sc. the catfish]] and told it in a whisper not to thrash about  
 and to let itself be weighed.'

The reason why constructions of this type have remained unnoticed is probably that they are obsolescent in modern Russian; many speakers of modern Russian judge them ungrammatical. Janko-Trinickaja (1962) and Letučij (2016) do not mention them at all. Nothing is therefore known about their history. Whether something comparable has taken place in North Germanic, where the formerly enclitic reflexive pronoun has also affixalised, is not known either.

### 4.3. The rise of a permissive middle

The structure for which a putative syntactic structure is proposed in (59) can be characterised as a specific, morphologically and syntactically not quite transparent construction called the 'permissive middle' in Holvoet (2016). It is middle in the sense that the reflexive marker has lost its original function of marking a syntactic argument as coreferential with the main-clause subject. There is still a relation of argument sharing between the higher and the embedded predication, but it has become a feature of the construction as a whole, and the variation in the placement of the morphological marker (the former reflexive pronoun) shows that it is now construction-bound rather than governed by general rules of syntax. It is also middle in that it shows a certain conceptual affinity with the 'natural reflexives' mentioned above. Permissive constructions are, more generally speaking, a subtype of causative constructions. Whether the semantic relation is more active ('causative') or more passive ('permissive'), there is clearly a functional motivation for a special, structurally simpler type of marking for the frequent situation in which the caused or permitted situation involves the causer/permitter. In the case of properly causative constructions (involving an active role for the causer) this is reflected by the curative reflexives to be discussed below (the type *apsikirpti* 'have

one's hair cut' in (76)), which syntactically ignore a causee present in semantic structure.<sup>21</sup> In the case of permissive situations, it is reflected in a special permissive construction whose place in the family of 'middle-voice' constructions consists in 'weak differentiation' of situations (the notion 'weak elaboration' is used in Kemmer 1993). Just as in naturally reciprocal situations two events are viewed as one, in the permissive situation causing and caused situations are indistinct through argument overlap: one and the same participant acts as both permitter and patient. Permissive situations are rendered by middle verb forms in other languages as well: Classical Greek has a permissive middle (briefly mentioned by Wackernagel 1920, 128) and so has Biblical Hebrew, whose middle voice is traditionally known as the *nif'al*; its permissive use is known as the *nif'al tolerativum* (Gesenius & Kautzsch 1909, 144–145):

- (61) Biblical Hebrew (Isaiah 65.1)  
*nimṣē-tî*                      *lō-lō'*                      *biqāš-ū-nî*  
 find.NI-PF.1SG.SUBJ              to-NEG                      seek.PI-PF.3PL.SUBJ-1SG.OBJ  
 'I have allowed myself to be found by those who did not seek me.'<sup>22</sup>

This shows that the rise of a permissive middle can be conditioned by a semantic shift involving a form that already has a middle-voice function; in the case of Baltic, however, it was due to an external stimulus—the affixalisation of the reflexive marker. The proof is, again, as in the constructions with modal verbs discussed in the preceding section, provided by the double reflexive marking, which is a trace of a hesitation in the search of the affixalising reflexive marking for a host.

#### 4.4. Further developments

Whereas Old Lithuanian had a permissive construction with reflexive marking 'spread' over the whole construction (by means of double or mobile reflexive marking), modern Lithuanian has only residual uses of one of the three varieties attested in Old Lithuanian—the one with a reflexive marker on the main clause verb:

<sup>21</sup> Cf. also Greek middles like *apographeisthai* 'have oneself enrolled' (Wackernagel 1922, 128)

<sup>22</sup> This function is not reflected in the Authorised Version, which consistently renders the *nif'al* with the passive: *I am found of them that sought me not*.

## (62) Lithuanian

[*Kol kas dar nėra labai meili,*]

*ne visada leidžia-si paglostyti.*  
 NEG always allow.PRS.3-REFL stroke.INF

‘[[The little cat] is not very friendly yet,] it does not always let itself be stroked.’<sup>23</sup>

Such constructions are not accepted by all speakers of Lithuanian; many accept only the construction with an orthotonic reflexive pronoun:

## (63) Lithuanian

[*Buvo neįmanoma paimti ant rankų, dabar jau trumpam pabūna ant kelių,*]

*leidžia save glostyti.*  
 allow.PRS.3 REFL.ACC stroke.INF

‘[It was impossible to take [the cat] in one’s arms, but now it stays on your knees for some time and] allows itself to be stroked.’<sup>24</sup>

This is the construction for which we give a syntactic analysis in (47). We can say that after more than four centuries, the last traces of the constructions illustrated in (48), (50) and (51) have finally been done away with. We will now briefly look into the history of the demise of these constructions, and into how the language reassigned new functions to the reflexive markers occurring in them.

When the threefold marking pattern fell into disuse is not exactly known, The 1727 New Testament still has instances of all three constructions; here we give shortened examples:

## (64) Old Lithuanian (NT 1727, Acts 2.40)

*dūkitie-s gelbeti nū tū piktujū zmoniū*  
 give.IMP.2SG-REFL save.INF from these evil people  
 ‘let yourself be saved from these evil people’

## (65) Old Lithuanian (NT 1727, Acts 18.8)

*ir dāwe ap-fi-krikštiti-f*  
 and give.PST.3 PFX-REFL-baptise.INF-REFL  
 ‘and let himself be baptised’

<sup>23</sup> <https://www.15min.lt/ikrauk/naujiena/gyvunai/karalisko-grozio-katyte-iesko-namu-520-286970>

<sup>24</sup> <http://www.gyvunugloba.lt/help/news.41452>

- (66) Old Lithuanian (NT 1727, Galatians 1.6)  
*dūdaties nu-ffi-kreipti nū to, kurfai jus pawaddinno*  
 give.PRS.2PL-REFL away-REFL-direct.INF from him that called you  
 ‘you let yourself be led away from him that called you’

In more recent times the construction with reflexive marking on the embedded infinitive only does not seem to be attested any more. Throughout the 19th century, the dominant construction is that of the type illustrated in (67), with affixal reflexive marking on the higher verb:

- (67) Lithuanian (Vincas Kudirka, *Varpas*, 1898)  
*Ui, pons viršininke [...] už tokius*  
 INTERJ Mr.NOM.SG official.VOC.SG for such.ACC.PL.M  
*pinigus tai gera karvė*  
 money[PL].ACC PTC good.NOM.SG.F cow.NOM.SG  
*ni-si-duos nė pačiupinėti.*  
 NEG-REFL-give.FUT.3 even feel.INF  
 ‘How now, your grace, for such money a decent cow wouldn’t as much as allow itself to be handled.’

However, the construction with double marking can occasionally be found as late as the final decades of the 19th century; it is found, e.g., in Maironis:

- (68) Modern Lithuanian (Maironis, *Lietuvos istorija*, 3rd ed. 1906, written 1880–1886)  
*Antgalo Jadvyga davė-s per-si-kalbėti ir*  
 finally PN.NOM give.PST.3-REFL PFX-REFL-talk.INF and  
*prižadėjo tekėti už Jagielos.*  
 promise.PST.3 marry.INF after PN.GEN  
 ‘Finally Jadvyga let herself be persuaded and agreed to marry Jagiela.’

The date of introduction of the participial construction is not exactly known. The oldest instances we have succeeded in finding are from the first half of the 20th century.

- (69) Lithuanian (*Vienybė* 1924-04-24)  
 [*Deja, lenkai-karštuoliai turėjo atvėsti, nes*  
*lietuviai ne-si-davė bauginami.*  
 Lithuanian.NOM.SG NEG-REFL-give.PST.3 intimidate.PPRP.NOM.PL.M  
 ‘[Alas, the hot-headed Poles had to cool down,] for the Lithuanians did not let themselves be intimidated.’<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> [https://www.epaveldas.lt/vbspi/showImage.do?id=DOC\\_O\\_98766\\_1&biRecordId=10036](https://www.epaveldas.lt/vbspi/showImage.do?id=DOC_O_98766_1&biRecordId=10036)

Owing to the scarcity of data, it is impossible to reconstruct the exact process of demise of the affixally marked permissive construction and the rise of its participial construction. As the latter occurs in one variety only, with affixal reflexive marker on the main-clause verb and a non-reflexive participle, we may surmise it took the place of the infinitival construction illustrated in (62) after the reflexive marker had become immobilised on the main-clause verb.

Alongside the constructions with exclusively affixal marking which we have been discussing above, the orthotonic pronoun was already introduced in the Old Lithuanian and Old Latvian texts:

- (70) Old Lithuanian (Willent, EE 141.10–12)

[*Rachel apwerke waikus fawa ir*]

*ne-dawe*                      *sawęs*                      *palinksminti*                      *nefa*

NEG-give.PST.3              REFL.GEN              comfort.INF              for

*nebebuwa*

NEG.CNT.be.PST.3

‘[Rachel was weeping *for* her children, and] would not be comforted, because they are not.’

- (71) Old Latvian (Glück’s NT, Matt. 23.10)

*Ne*              *leezeet*                      *arri*                      *fewi*                      *Mahzitajus*                      *faukt.*

NEG              bid.IMP.2PL              also                      REFL.ACC              teacher.ACC.PL              call.INF

‘And you should not have yourself called teachers.’

Luther: *Vnd jr solt euch nicht lassen Meister nennen*

This construction interacts with the construction with affixal markers; the affixal marking is then added redundantly to a construction with an orthotonic reflexive pronoun:

- (72) Old Latvian (Glück’s NT, Acts 23.21)

*Tad*              *nu*                      *tu*                      *ne*                      *leezee-s*                      *few*

then              now                      2SG.NOM              NEG              let.IMP.2SG-REFL              REFL.ACC

*pahrrunnatee-s*              *no*                      *teem*

persuade.INF-REFL              by                      these.DAT.PL.M

‘But do not thou yield unto them.’

This construction need not be interpreted as a ‘renewal’ of the construction occurring after the affixal reflexive marker has lost its original reflexive function. The reflexive permissive construction probably existed in two varieties, one with the orthotonic and the other with the enclitic reflexive pronoun; after the affixalisation of the enclitic reflexive pronoun a

situation arose in which there were two distinct constructions—the old reflexive construction and the new permissive middle.

While in Latvian the permissive middle, with its characteristic double or mobile reflexive marking associated with the construction as a whole, is still fully alive, Lithuanian has transformed it. Out of the three patterns coexisting as late as the early 18th century, only one survived. Whereas the reflexive marking was originally grammatical, being associated with a grammatical construction rather than with individual lexemes, it became lexicalised through its restriction to the complement-taking verbs. We will discuss this lexicalisation in the following section.

#### 4.5. Lexicalisation of the reflexive marking

Though we cannot reconstruct the exact changes the permissive construction with ‘dispersed’ marking underwent after the early 18th century, we can characterise the general tendency at work: it was one of lexicalisation of the reflexive marking. What we see is the process of the rise of reflexive complement-taking permissive verbs *leistis* and *duotis* as separate lexical items. These lexemes have, in comparison with their non-reflexive counterparts, a lexical feature to the effect that what is expressed in the clausal complement somehow affects the participant expressed by the main clause subject. These lexicalised ‘autopermissive’ complement-taking verbs are now used not only with the above-mentioned infinitival or participial complements, but also with finite complements, as in (73):

- (73) Modern Lithuanian  
 [*Gal turite patarimų tiems tėvams,*]  
*kurių mažyliai ne-si-leidžia, kad*  
 REL.GEN.PL little.one.NOM.PL NEG-REFL-allow.PRS.3 that  
*tėvai valytų dantis?*  
 parent.NOM.SG clean.IRR.3 tooth.ACC.PL  
 ‘[Do you have any advice for parents] whose toddlers don’t allow  
 their parents to brush their teeth?’<sup>26</sup>

In this example the only marker indicating that the children’s teeth rather than their parents’ are involved is the reflexive marker on the

<sup>26</sup> <https://www.delfi.lt/seima/pirmieji-metai/odontologe-papasakojo-apie-klastingas-dantuli-gas-kuriu-tevai-iprastai-nepastebi.d?id=77355237>

complement-taking verb identifying the subject as being affected. As we can see here, the reflexive marker, which initially, before its affixalisation, occupied a syntactic argument position in the embedded clause, subsequently became a grammatical marker associated with the permissive construction as a whole, and finally became a lexical feature of the complement-taking verb.

Another path of lexicalisation of reflexivity starting out from the constructions illustrated in (52) and (53), viz. lexicalisation of the reflexive marking on the embedded infinitive, appears to have occurred, to a limited extent, in Latvian. It is clear that in these constructions the reflexive marking on the infinitive cannot be described as lexical: any verb used in the permissive construction may optionally receive reflexive marking. But Latvian also has a small group of lexical permissive verbs, showing remarkable semantic homogeneity. It includes *vadīties* ‘be guided’, *ietekmēties* ‘be influenced’, *iedvesmoties* ‘be inspired’ and *iespaidoties* ‘be impressed’. These verbs have complements introduced by the preposition *no*, a construction also mentioned above as expressing agent phrases in the construction with permissive complement-taking verbs:

(74) Latvian

<i>Vai</i>	<i>ekonomika</i>	<i>ļauja-s</i>	<i>vadītie-s</i>
Q	economy.NOM	let.PRS.3-REFL	guide.INF-REFL
<i>no</i>	<i>ētiskām</i>	<i>normām</i>	<i>un vērtējumiem?</i>
from	ethical.DAT.PL.M	norm.DAT.PL	and valuation.DAT.PL

‘Does the economy let itself be guided by ethical norms and valuations?’<sup>27</sup>

(75) Latvian

[ <i>Tāpēc mūsu kā partijas priekšlikums un ieteikums ir</i>			
<i>vadītie-s</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>aktuālās</i>	<i>situācijas.</i>
guide.INF-REFL	from	current.GEN.SG.F.DEF	situation.GEN.SG

‘[Therefore our proposal and recommendation as a party] is to let ourselves be guided by the current situation.’<sup>28</sup>

This similarity in the encoding of the agent is striking. Also important is the meaning of the verbs involved here. As is known, in both Baltic and

<sup>27</sup> <https://eng.atlants.lv/research-papers/etika-uznemejdarbiba/834757/>

<sup>28</sup> <https://www.delfi.lv/news/national/politics/varas-gaitenos-arkartejas-situācijas-iespejamai-pagarinasanai-izskata-vairakas-iespejas.d?id=52022505>



Slavonic reflexive verbs can often be used to refer to situations involving a causative element, which is, however, not linguistically encoded (for Russian cf., e.g., Toops 1987). This comprises cases like the following, where the agent can only be inferred from the location, the service-provider's establishment:

- (76) Modern Lithuanian (Grigorijus Kanovičius 2004, CCLL)
- |                    |                 |                    |              |                |             |
|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------|----------------|-------------|
| [...]              | <i>trumpai,</i> | <i>greičiau</i>    | <i>pagal</i> | <i>klimatą</i> | <i>negu</i> |
|                    | short.ADV       | rather             | according.to | climate.ACC    | than        |
| <i>pagal</i>       | <i>madą,</i>    | <i>ap-si-kirpo</i> | <i>pas</i>   |                |             |
| according.to       | fashion.ACC     | PFX-REFL-cut.PST.3 | at           |                |             |
| <i>kirpėją</i>     | <i>Idą</i>      |                    |              |                |             |
| hairdresser.ACC.SG | PN.ACC          |                    |              |                |             |
- '[...] He had his hair cut short, more according to climate than to fashion, at hairdresser Ida's.'

In such situations the client is the active participant who commissions the service denoted by the verb; the service-provider, whose agency is taken for granted, is backgrounded. We will call reflexives of this type 'curative', borrowing a term used to refer to a particular type of causatives in Fennic scholarship (Pennanen 1986); another term used in the literature is 'reflexive-causative' (Letučij 2016, 293–294). The causative element not reflected in linguistic encoding but implied by the situation is, at any rate, one of active causation and not of permission. Verbs of the type *vadīties* 'be guided', on the other hand, imply a passive role of the subject referent, and the causative relationship, wherever it is explicitly referred to, is permissive ('let oneself be influenced' rather than 'have oneself be influenced'). This permissive meaning, not otherwise present in the lexical meanings of reflexive verbs, seems therefore to have been inherited from the permissive construction, and the coincidence in the encoding of the agent suggests that these lexical permissives were abstracted from the permissive complement-taking construction. This could have happened by way of an analogical proportion:

<i>ļāvās apcirpties</i>	:	<i>apcirpās</i>
'let his hair be cut'		'had his hair cut'
<i>ļāvās vadīties no reālījām</i>	:	<i>x</i>
'let himself be guided by realities'		

where *x* = *vadījas no reālījām* 'let himself be guided by realities'. The analogical proportion is not perfect because reflexives like *apcirpties*

‘have a haircut’ are never accompanied by an agent phrase, but after all it belongs to the very essence of ‘curative’ reflexive constructions as in (76) that agency is ignored as it is taken for granted. Verbs like *vadīties*, on the other hand, are meaningless without their complements.

If such was indeed the origin of verbs like *vadīties*, it was another type of lexicalisation of the reflexive marking characteristic of the permissive construction, alongside that observed on the complement-taking verb. Verbs of the type *vadīties* are now fully-fledged verbal lexemes with a complete paradigm, including finite forms, as illustrated in (77):

- (77) *Es*                      *vado-s*                      *no*      *dzīves*                      *reālījām...*  
          1SG.NOM      lead.PRS.1SG-REFL      from      life.GEN.SG      reality.DAT.PL  
          ‘I let myself be guided by the realities of life...’<sup>29</sup>

The form *iebidēties* in (52), on the other hand, hardly entitles us to posit the existence of a lexeme *iebidēties*, as it would exist only in the infinitive and only in the permissive construction. Here the reflexive marking is still constructional.

The processes discussed in section 4 are, like those described in section 3, driven by syntax rather than semantics. They took place in a context characterised by control of reflexivity across clause boundaries, and it was this cross-boundary control that gave rise to the characteristic morphosyntactic pattern that we find in permissive middle constructions, and also necessitated a syntactic reorganisation. The subsequent development of the constructions involved lost its syntactic motivation and led to processes of lexicalisation of the reflexive marking.

## 5. Raising constructions

Another case where the affixalisation of the reflexive marker had repercussions in interclausal syntax is that of raising constructions with verbs of saying and of propositional attitude. With these verbs the Baltic languages have the *accusativus cum participio*, the counterpart of other languages’ *accusativus cum infinitivo*. These constructions have been dealt with in considerable depth by Vytautas Ambrazas (1979, 1990), and what is here discussed is based mainly on his research (cf. also Arkadiev 2012).

<sup>29</sup> <http://kreisie.lv/?p=3236>

Participial complementation is well represented in Baltic, not only with verbs of immediate perception (where it is typologically widespread, cf. Noonan 2007, 73) but also with other types of complement-taking predicates. In the case of speech-act verbs, verbs of knowledge and verbs of propositional attitude the participial construction might actually have spread from the immediate-perception type. Example (76) shows an *acusativus cum participio* with a verb of knowledge:

- (78) Old Lithuanian (Willent, EE 89.33)
- |                   |             |               |                |
|-------------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>paβistam</i>   | <i>tawe</i> | <i>wiffus</i> | <i>daiktus</i> |
| know.PRS.1PL      | 2SG.ACC     | all.ACC.PL.M  | thing.ACC.PL   |
| <i>βinanti</i>    |             |               |                |
| know.PPR.ACC.SG.M |             |               |                |
- ‘We know that thou knowest all things.’

When the raised subject is coreferential with the main-clause subject, it will be expressed by a reflexive pronoun, as illustrated in (79):

- (79) Old Lithuanian (Willent, EE 174.6–7)
- |                  |              |              |             |                  |
|------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|------------------|
| <i>iog</i>       | <i>ghis</i>  | <i>fakie</i> | <i>fawe</i> | <i>fanti</i>     |
| that             | 3.NOM.SG.M   | say.PST.3    | REFL.ACC    | be.PPRA.ACC.SG.M |
| <i>Karaliumi</i> | <i>Szidu</i> |              |             |                  |
| King.INS.SG      | Jew.GEN.SG   |              |             |                  |
- ‘that he said he was the King of the Jews.’

In constructions of this type a reflexive pronoun could affixalise, which gave rise to constructions as in (80):

- (80) Old Lithuanian (Willent, EE 174.29)
- |               |              |                 |                  |
|---------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|
| <i>Nefa</i>   | <i>ghys</i>  | <i>fakie-fi</i> | <i>effas</i>     |
| for           | 3.NOM.SG.M   | say.PST.3-REFL  | be.PPRA.NOM.SG.M |
| <i>Sunumi</i> | <i>Diewa</i> |                 |                  |
| son.INS.SG    | God.GEN      |                 |                  |
- ‘For he said he is the Son of God.’

In this example we see that the participle no longer has an accusative raised subject to agree with; instead, it agrees with the main clause subject, by which it is now controlled. The raising construction has been replaced with a control construction. The transition was probably a gradual process; Ambrazas (1979, 122) cites a series of examples where the reflexive marker has affixalised but the participle is still in the accusative as if agreeing with the affixalised pronoun:

- (81) Old Lithuanian (Bretke's NT, Rev. 2.20)

[*materifschkei Iefabel*]

<i>kuri</i>	<i>fako-fi</i>	<i>Pranaſchiene</i>
REL.NOM.SG.F	say.PRS.3-REFL	prophetess.ACC.SG
<i>efancziq</i>		
be.PPRA.ACC.SG.F		

'[the woman Jesabel] who says she is a prophetess.'

The syntactic interpretation of this construction (analogous to that shown in (27) above) is not quite clear, but at any rate it shows the gradual nature of the process of syntactic transition associated with the affixalisation of the reflexive marker.

The rise of the control construction illustrated in (80) in the place of the raising construction in (79) is comparable to what we saw in permissive constructions in that the affixalisation necessitated a syntactic reorganisation of the complex sentence. The control construction has made it to contemporary Lithuanian, while the constructions with a raised orthotonic reflexive pronoun as shown in (79) are now stated to be rare (Ambrazas 1979, 123).

Not only did the affixalised reflexive marker disappear from the syntax, but it is no longer required. Already in Old Lithuanian, control constructions with participles also occur with the corresponding non-reflexive verbs, as in (82):

- (82) Old Lithuanian (Willent, EE 59.9–10)

[*moterifschkes ifch mufu ... ateia*]

<i>fakidamas</i>	<i>Angelu</i>	<i>weida</i>	<i>regejuſias</i>
say.CVB.F.PL	angel.GEN.SG	vision.ACC.SG	see.PPA.NOM.PL.F

'[certain women also of our company, came], saying, that they had also seen a vision of angels...'

It is not clear whether such structures arose through the loss of a reflexive marker on the verb or whether the participial type of complementation spread from constructions with other, non-reflexive complement-taking verbs; for discussion see Ambrazas (1979, 115–117). At any rate it seems that where the affixal reflexive marker on the verb occurs, it now has a semantic function. The reflexive marker has spread to constructions with finite complements, as briefly mentioned by Ambrazas (1979, 125) and Arkadiev (2012). Frequently this occurs in situations where one of

the arguments of the embedded clause is coreferential with the main clause subject:

- (83) Modern Lithuanian (Henrikas Algis Čigrėjus, 2007, CCLL)
- |                |                    |                 |               |                  |
|----------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------|------------------|
| <i>Lengvai</i> | <i>apsivilkęs,</i> | <i>sako-si,</i> | <i>kad</i>    | <i>jam</i>       |
| lightly        | dressed.NOM.SG.M   | say.PRS.3-REFL  | that          | 3.DAT.SG.M       |
| <i>niekad</i>  | <i>nešalta</i>     | <i>ir</i>       | <i>niekad</i> | <i>nekaršta.</i> |
| never          | NEG.cold.N         | and             | never         | NEG.hot.N        |
- ‘Lightly dressed, he says he never feels cold and never feels hot.’

But in many cases there is no coreference and the use of the reflexive particle seems to be motivated merely by the relevance of the content of the complement clause to the speaker, or perhaps it is just meant to reflect the subjectivity of the speaker’s judgement:

- (84) Modern Lithuanian (*Verslo žinios*, CCLL)
- [*Ilgamečiu darbu subūrusi savų klientų ratą, šiomet didelės plėtros neplanuoja.*]
- |                 |                 |               |                  |             |            |
|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|------------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>sako-si,</i> | <i>kad</i>      | <i>geriau</i> | <i>išlaikyti</i> | <i>tai,</i> | <i>kas</i> |
| say.PRS.3-REFL  | that            | better        | maintain.INF     | that        | what       |
| <i>jau</i>      | <i>sukurta.</i> |               |                  |             |            |
| already         | create.PPP.N    |               |                  |             |            |
- ‘[Having built up a body of customers over so many years, she is planning no big expansion this year–] she says it’s better to maintain what has already been built up.’

The spread of the reflexive marking to finite complement clauses (including direct speech) is already apparent in Old Lithuanian:

- (85) Old Lithuanian (Chyliński’s NT, John 19.21)
- |                   |                |                |              |            |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|------------|
| <i>ne-rašyk</i>   | <i>Karaluσ</i> | <i>Zydu,</i>   | <i>bet</i>   | <i>jog</i> |
| NEG-write.IMP.2SG | king.NOM.SG    | Jew.GEN.PL     | but          | that       |
| <i>fakie-σ,</i>   | <i>Efmi</i>    | <i>Karaluσ</i> | <i>Zydu.</i> |            |
| say.PST.3-REFL    | be.PRS.1SG     | king.NOM.SG    | Jew.GEN.PL   |            |
- ‘Write not, The King of the Jews; but that he said, I am King of the Jews.’

Reflexive marking of the type observed here has been described as logophoric (Kemmer 1993, 83), and to a certain extent this is correct, as the reflexive marking reflects the fact that the author of the verbal utterance or thought occurs as an argument in the embedded clause. However, the reflexive marking is not induced specifically by logophoricity, as what we observe with speech act verbs and verbs of propositional attitude is not

different from the reflexive marking on the permissive verbs discussed in the preceding section. A more general term proposed in Holvoet (2002, 203–224) is ‘coargumental middle’. In both cases of coargumental marking discussed here the rise of a specialised reflexive complement-taking verb marking affectedness of, or relevance to, the main clause subject is first of all a consequence of a syntactic process, viz. the demise of a raising type of participial complement clauses with subsequent reinterpretation and reappropriation of the reflexive marker (once a raised subject) in a new semantic function. The demise of the raising construction, which was a precondition for the spread of the reflexive marking to sentences with finite complements, was a consequence of the affixalisation.<sup>30</sup>

Like the processes discussed in section 4, those dealt with in this section were initially syntactic in nature, but they occurred, in this case, in a syntactic context of cross-boundary raising rather than control. Here as well, the subsequent development of the constructions involved lost its syntactic motivation and led to lexicalisation of the reflexive marking.

## 6. In conclusion

The affixalisation of the originally enclitic reflexive marker, a process that occurred in the prehistory of the Baltic languages, set in motion a series of morphosyntactic and syntactic changes that has not yet run its full cycle in the early 21st century. The interest of the processes connected by this unifying thread consists, on the one hand, in what they reveal about the affixalisation process itself and, on the other, in what they tell us about diachronic processes in the domain of the middle voice. The affixalisation itself was not always a straightforward process because of its syntactic implications. In some cases there was no obvious host verb for the affixalising reflexive marker to accrete to, which led to a situation in which the reflexive affix is grammatically associated with a whole construction rather than with its host verb (as shown by the constructions with modal verbs discussed in section 3 and by the permissive middle discussed in section 4). In those instances where the original reflexive pronoun was controlled across clause boundaries, the affixalisation could moreover necessitate a

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<sup>30</sup> Processes analogous to those of Baltic have been noted in East Slavonic (see Pičxadze 2017) and in Icelandic (see Anderson 1990).

radical syntactic restructuring. This is an interesting aspect of the diachrony of the middle voice. The rise of the middle voice as distinct from the reflexive has a partly conceptual basis, as shown by the distinction of ‘canonical’ reflexivity/reciprocity and ‘natural’ reflexivity/reciprocity discussed in the first section of the article. Its subsequent expansion and enrichment with new types crucially involves lexical extension, but the permissive and coargumental middle, discussed above, show the involvement of purely syntactic processes without conceptual motivation, put in motion by the affixalisation process occurring in Baltic and East Slavonic.

### ABBREVIATIONS

ACC — accusative, ADV — adverb, ALL — allative, CNT — continuative, COMP — comparative, COMPL — complementiser, CVB — converb, DAT — dative, DEF — definite, DEM — demonstrative, EMPH — emphatic pronoun, F — feminine, FUT — future, GEN — genitive, IMP — imperative, INF — infinitive, INS — instrumental, INTERJ — interjection, IRR — irrealis, LFORM — the *l*-form of the Slavonic verb underlying the past tense and the subjunctive, LOC — locative, M — masculine, N — neuter, NEG — negation, NI — Hebrew *nif'al*, NOM — nominative, OBJ — object marker, ORTH — orthotonic form, PF — perfect, PFX — prefix, PI — Hebrew *pi'el*, PL — plural, PN — personal name, PPA — past active participle, PPP — past passive participle, PPRA — present active participle, PPRP — present passive participle, PRS — present, PST — past, PTC — particle, Q — question marker, QNEG — negative question marker, REFL — reflexive, REL — relative pronoun, RPO — reflexive possessive, SG — singular, SUBJ — subject marker, SUP — supine, VOC — vocative

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cLL — Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language, at <http://tekstynas.vdu.lt>

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