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Old Church Slavonic Roots of the Present-Day Polish Anticausative System[1]

Abstract

In this paper we will present a theory on the source of prefixation differences between Polish analytic and synthetic anticausatives. Analytic anticausatives are freely prefixed with superlexical, lexical and 'pure perfectivizer' prefixes, while synthetic anticausatives show propensity for 'pure perfectivizers', if indeed they are prefixed at all. We have looked for a source of this distinction in OCS anticausative morpho-syntax. We claim that OCS analytic anticausatives are formed within the limits of the voice system of OCS as middle voice word-forms. As such, they have the same rich prefix inventory as other verbal stems that have the same roots, with some of the prefixes introducing changes in verbal lexical meaning. On the other hand, synthetic anticausatives are already at this time members of the OCS lexicon, mostly without any related verbal forms, but sharing roots with nouns and adjectives (for which prefixation is not a frequent operation in Slavic languages). The prefixes appearing with synthetic anticausatives have the function of realizing the viewpoint aspect, rather than word-formational functions. We have traced the distinction between the two classes of anticausatives from the OCS times to Present-Day Polish, quoting also some intermediate stages in the history of these verbs.

Keywords

Old Church Slavonic, Polish, anticausative, middle voice, diachrony, reflexive clitic

Streszczenie

W niniejszym artykule zostało zaproponowane wyjaśnienie istnienia różnic pomiędzy prefiksacją syntetycznych i analitycznych czasowników antykauzatywnych w języku polskim na podstawie historii ich rozwoju w językach słowiańskich, z uwzględnieniem staro--cerkiewno-słowiańskiego. Zaobserwowano, że syntetyczne czasowniki antykauzatywne przyjmują łatwo prefiksy zmieniające aspekt czasownika, ale nie jego znaczenie leksykalne, podczas gdy takie ograniczenie nie istnieje dla formacji analitycznych. Sytuacja ta wywodzi się z systemu, jaki istniał jeszcze w staro-cerkiewno-słowiańskim, w którym analityczne formacje były podstawą strony „zwrotnej", wchodzącej w skład systemu stron charakterystycznych dla odmiany w tym języku. Wskutek tego formacje analityczne otrzymywały te

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same elementy prefiksalne co czasowniki oparte na identycznych rdzeniach, ale realizujące stronę czynną, to jest te prefiksy, które również mogły istotnie modyfikować znaczenie czasowników. Inaczej działo się w przypadku syntetycznych antykauzatywów. Już w czasach wczesnosłowiańskich były one elementami leksykonu i nie miały innych skojarzonych z nimi form czasownikowych, lecz jedynie leksemy przymiotnikowe i rzeczownikowe (dla których to form system słowiański nie oferował licznych wzorców prefiksalnych). Wskutek tego czasowniki syntetyczne wzbogacały się o prefiksy realizujące tylko opozycje aspektowe, a nie funkcje słowotwórcze. W niniejszym tekście historia obu grup czasowników została prześledzona od czasów wczesnosłowiańskich poprzez fazy pośrednie do dziś.

Słowa kluczowe
staro-cerkiewno-słowiański, polski, antykauzatywa, strona „zwrotna", diachronia, klityka zwrotna

1. Introduction

In Present-Day Polish, like in some other Modern Slavic languages (e.g. Czech, Slovak), we may distinguish two differently formed classes of anticausatives. The first class, which will be called analytic in this paper, is characterized by the presence of the reflexive-like morphological element. This element, depending on a specific language,[2] may constitute an integral, though clearly divisible, part of a verb (e.g. Russian suffix -*sja*) or be a semi-independent formative[3] (e.g. Polish clitic *się*,[4] Czech *se*[5]). The second class, here called synthetic, is marked with a number of stem-forming suffixes, not related in any way to the reflexive morphemes in respective languages.[6]

The analytic anticausatives, depending on the views of particular researchers, may continue the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) auto-benefactive constructions (see Gorković-Major 2009), or may be a new Slavic development (see Savčenko 1974; Madariaga 2010), though the reflexive morpheme is a continuation of the PIE reflexive pronoun *s(u)e-* (see Cennamo 1995: 278). This originally reflexive pronominal morpheme may have acquired a completely different, non-pronominal function in OCS (to be discussed in Section 3 below).

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[2] See e.g. Laskowski (1984), Rivero and Milojević Sheppard (2003), Bułat (2004), Ackema and Schoorlemmer (2006), Jabłońska (2007), Medová (2011), Junghanns et al. (2011) for presentations of this class of anticausatives in various Slavic languages.

[3] We call this formative semi-dependent as it cannot freely appear in any position in a sentence and, characteristically, is pre- or post-cliticized to the host verb (unless it would have to appear in the absolute initial or final positions – see e.g. Bułat 2004).

[4] Overviews of properties of this clitic in Polish can be found, e.g. in: Ozga (1976), Bułat (2004).

[5] See e.g. Medová (2009, 2011).

[6] For more in-depth presentations of such anticausatives in Slavic languages see e.g.: Wróbel (1984), Jasanoff (2002–2003), Gorbachov (2007), Kulikov (2011).

From the semantic perspective, Slavic anticausatives subsume various change of state verbs: These spell out situations in which the subject argument of the event described modifies in some way its physical or mental characteristics, or, alternately, it is modified by a factor which does not constitute a core argument of the anticausative verb,[7] and it need not be specified in the event structure. So, meaning-wise, all anticausative verbs constitute a relatively uniform class of predicates.

As far as their morphological build-up is concerned, they fall into two major subclasses, illustrated below in (1) and (2, 3). (1) provides examples of analytic anticausatives from Modern Polish, Russian[8] and Czech:

> (1) *przyzwyczaić się* 'get used to', *zagłębić się* 'deepen' (Polish)
> *zažaritsja* 'burn', *ubystritsja* 'become quick' (Russian)
> *zatoulat se* 'roll up', *valit se* 'fall' (Czech)

As the examples above illustrate, analytic anticausatives constitute a relatively homogenous class of morphologically complex verbs, all marked with reflexive-like morphology.

Synthetic anticausatives differ significantly from analytic ones in this respect. They subsume morphologically marked stem groups, invariably suffixed in characteristic ways.[9] Particular morphemes date from the Balto-Slavic period up to Modern Slavic. We will take into consideration only those markers which could already be noticed in OCS because the diachronic perspective we have adopted here reaches back to that period of Slavic morphosyntax.[10] One of the groups included in our analysis subsumes the anticausatives marked with a nasal consonant which, according to Gorbachov (2007), were a common Balto-Slavic development, traceable in all the languages belonging to this division. In Present-Day Polish this group can be represented by such verbs as:

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[7] Core arguments subcategorize a verb or are subjects of the clauses containing the verb. In root-based approaches they are specified by the structures into which roots are inserted and thus they are not optional.

[8] As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, the term 'analytic' anticausative does not fit equally well Russian suffixed data. However, because the optics in this text is mainly from the perspective of languages that justify the use of the term (OCS, Polish), we will use it as a useful instrument to distinguish the two classes clearly and in a concise, non-descriptive way. In Russian the use of the term also makes some sense as the analysis of the verbal form into the base and the suffix is especially easy, as compared with other morphologically complex verbs.

[9] The inventory of morphemes marking anticausative stems is richer than presented in the text – see e.g. Wróbel (1984). However, only the suffixes that we analyze in this text can be matched with Old Church Slavonic data.

[10] Consequently, such suffixes as -*ow*-, e.g. in *brązowieć* 'get brown' will not be considered here, as well as some zero-derived formations, e.g. *awansować* 'promote/be promoted', or other marginal patterns.

(2) *głuchnąć* 'grow deaf, *mięknąć* 'grow soft', *rzednąć* 'grow more diluted'[11]

The other subgroup to be discussed here is marked in Present-Day Polish with *-e-/-ej-* (or with their allomorphic variants *-nie-/-niej-*, see Wróbel 1984: 495, 498, 503). They may show a similar line of development as Vedic suffixed *-ʿya*-non-passive verbs, which expressed the semantics of the change of state (see Kulikov 2011: 186–187). In OCS such verbs had roots common with nouns, adjectives and/or transitive verbs and they had predominantly inchoative meaning (the beginning of a change of state). The stem-forming vowel was *-ē-*, as e.g. in *starēti* 'grow old' (see Jasanoff 2002–2003). In Present-Day Polish such verbs are represented by, e.g.:

(3) *bieleć* 'grow white', *dziczeć* 'grow wild', *chłopieć* 'grow more like a peasant'[12]

The fact that two distinct patterns, i.e. cliticization and suffixation, deriving same-semantic verbs, operate in a single language, frequently producing doublets, is of theoretical interest in itself. For instance in Polish many verbal stems allow both types of derivations (occasionally even three forms have been attested), e.g. *rzednieć – rzednąć – rozrzedzić się* 'grow thin'.

In this text, we will look for the roots of the proliferation of anticausatives in Present-Day Polish. This proliferation will be seen as a far-reaching consequence of the very different places that the two groups of anticausatives occupied in OCS. We will claim that analytic anticausatives were formations turned out by the voice system of OCS, so grammatical word-forms in nature, while synthetic anticausatives constituted a semantically uniform class of lexical items. Distinct proveniences of the two groups will be shown to correlate with distinct prefixation patterns in the two classes of anticausatives, as well as with other distinct characteristics. At the same time, we will show that the distributional facts of Present-Day Polish anticausatives cannot be accounted for within the limits of a lexicalist view upon Polish morpho-syntax (see e.g. Everaert et al. 2012; Bloch-Trojnar 2013), but could be more expediently described and explained within the root based construction approaches (see e.g. Alexiadou 2010; Alexiadou and Doron 2012), especially when the diachronic perspective is taken into consideration.

2. The problem

Polish anticausative data shows interesting phenomena as far as the possibilities of creating aspectual forms are concerned. The distribution of prefixed (perfective) and unprefixed (imperfective) forms of anticausatives

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[11] See also e.g. *gloxnut'* 'grow deaf' for Russian, or *vadnout* 'wilt' for Czech.
[12] See also e.g. *bielet'* 'grow white' (Russian), *bĕlet* 'grow white' (Czech).

seems convoluted and hardly explicable: namely, reflexively marked analytic anticausatives are, as a rule, freely prefixed, while synthetic ones have limited prefixation possibilities. Polish prefixes can be divided into three classes, changing the viewpoint aspect, telic properties, and modifying other semantic and argumental properties of a clause. In-depth analyses of aspectual and combinatory properties, as well as the semantics of the system can be found in, e.g. Svenonius (2004), Młynarczyk (2004), Willim (2006), and Łazorczyk (2010). Here we will just make use of some of the findings which are essential to the problem at hand.

Thus prefixes can be divided into lexical, i.e. such that directly precede the verbal root, may change the meaning of a verb and its argument structure, and are, phonology-wise, unified with the verbal stem. Superlexical prefixes do not affect the argument structure of the verbal stem and may just modify its meaning in subtle ways.[13] They can also stack outside lexical prefixes. The third group are 'pure perfectivizers,' which affect the viewpoint aspect of a clause and the verbs formed with them do not produce secondary imperfectives (see however ftn. 13 below). They are also neutral with respect to the meaning of the basic verb and do not change the argumental build-up of a clause. For instance in the form: *po-w-czytywać*, *po-* constitutes a superlexical prefix adding the distributive modification of meaning to the verb form, while *w-*, together with the verbal root *czyt* 'read,' decide about the basic lexical meaning of the verb: 'download'. *Po-w-czytywać* means 'download in installments', as predicted. When the very same stem, with the basic meaning 'read' is prefixed with a pure perfectivizer, e.g. *prze-*, the verb still means 'read', but the situation is viewed from the perfective perspective, understood, for instance, along the lines proposed by Filip (2013), as the maximum information available at the stage reading of a given event structure, so consequently as telic in this instance.

The distributional facts concerning the system of Polish anticausatives are such that analytic anticausatives can take up the full range of prefixes of all types. So we have: *roz*(lexical)*łamać się* 'break', *za*(lexical)*łamać się* 'collapse', *po*(superlexical)-*roz*(lexical)*łamywać się*, *z*(pure perfectivizer)*łamać się*. Of course the distribution of prefixes would depend on particular semantic properties of individual verbs and the semantic contribution of specific prefixes, which have to be compatible with the meaning of the root and with each other, as well as with the character of clausal arguments: thus the form *poumierać* 'die in installments' will not be used with an animate argument in the singular. Additionally, various incidental gaps and exceptions have to be admitted, but, generally speaking, the choice of the type of a prefix (lexical, superlexical or pure perfectivizer) is relatively free.

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[13] For details of the distinction see Svenonius (2004). Within the limits of this paper we cannot argue extensively for the adopted system.

On the other hand, synthetic anticausatives, if prefixed at all, appear predominantly with 'pure perfectivizers':[14]

(4) *czerwienieć* 'grow red, IMP.' – *zczerwienieć* 'grow red, PERF.', **rozczerwienieć*, **zaczerwienieć*
    chudnąć 'grow slim, IMP.' – *schudnąć* 'grow slim, PERF.', **rozchudnąć*, **nachudnąć*[15]

Lexicalist approaches to verbal morphology would look for the roots of such a differentiation in the bases appropriate for forming anticausatives. In particular, the analytic anticausatives, as more complex morphologically, could be derived from their causative counterparts, already with the prefixes present in the bases.[16] Such a solution would be viable for analytic anticausatives in Polish, as they are more complex formally than their causative counterparts – they possess the additional reflexive clitic element, absent in causatives, e.g.: *wy-łamać* 'break, PERF.CAUS.' – *wy-łamać się* 'break, ANTC.' Similarly, they can be treated as equally complex semantically as their corresponding causatives – see e.g. Koontz-Garboden's (2009) semantic treatment of morphologically transparent anticausatives (cf. Malicka-Kleparska 2012). The availability of the prefixed causative bases would account for the occurrence of prefixed anticausatives in Present-Day Polish. However, a similar explanation would not be available for the limitations on the distribution of prefixes with synthetic anticausatives: the causative verbs based on identical roots are morphologically as complex as the corresponding anticausatives. Causatives differ from their anticausative counterparts in the type of the stem-forming morpheme: causatives are characterized by *-i-*, while their corresponding counterparts – by *-e-*, or *-ną-*, as mentioned earlier, e.g. *czerwien-i-ć* 'grow red, CAUS.' vs. *czerwieni-e-ć* 'grow red, ANTC.'[17] As far as the

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[14] It has to be stressed that in the Polish system we have a lot of syncretism in the form of prefixes and that the same form may perform different functions in different words. For instance, the distributive *po-* may change into a pure perfectivizer in some verbal forms, e.g. *czerwienieć* 'grow red', *poczerwienieć* 'grow red, PERF.', **poczerwieniać* 'grow red, SECONDARY IMPERFECTIVE' – the impossibility to create the secondary imperfective form can be used as a test for the 'pure perfectivizer' status of the prefix – see Młynarczyk (2004). In Russian the opportunities to attest pure perfectivizers is much more limited – see e.g. the project: *ExploringEmptiness* – because secondary imperfectives arise corresponding to 'pure perfective' verbs much more easily. There are also doubts whether 'pure perfectivizers' exist in Russian at all – see e.g. Janda et al. (2013), Janda and Lyashevskaya (2013) for arguments against 'pure perfectivizers'.

[15] A similar regularity can be observed in Russian – see e.g. Malicka-Kleparska (to appear). This suggests that the roots of such a distribution should be looked for in the hypothetical common predecessor of both languages – Proto-Slavic.

[16] For various approaches to morpho-syntax within the lexicalist tradition of linguistics see e.g. Bloch-Trojnar (2013), Rościńska-Frankowska (2012), Reinhart and Siloni (2004, 2005), Everaer et al. (2012).

[17] The presence of the vowel *-i-* in the spelling of the causative root marks just the palatalized nature of the preceding consonant, and cannot be interpreted as the causativizing morphological formative.

semantic side is concerned, anticausatives of the synthetic type are generally considered to be simpler than causatives,[18] and the semantic complexity of causatives is greater, since they are accompanied by an additional causer argument and they subsume the meaning of the change of state (typical of anticausatives) as a part of more complex causative semantics (see Dowty 1979).

Still, even if we decided to derive anticausatives from such causatives, this analysis would not contribute to the solution of the prefixation problem in the least: the corresponding causatives accept all kinds of perfectivizing prefixes, unlike their anticausative counterparts:

(5) *podtopić* (lexical prefix) 'cause to sink a bit', *zatopić* (lexical prefix) 'cause to sink', *potopić* (superlexical prefix)' cause to sink (distributive)', *utopić* (pure perfectivizer) 'cause to sink, PERF.'

Let us add that the unattested synthetic anticausatives would be phonologically admissible, as well as semantically sound – as is revealed by these few exceptional synthetic anticausatives with lexical prefixes that exist in Polish, e.g.:

(6) *oślepnąć* 'go blind' vs. **ochłodnieć* 'get cold', *rozmoknąć* 'get soaked' vs. **roztopnieć* 'get melted', *zamoknąć* 'get wet' vs. **zaczerwienieć* 'get red', etc.

Nichols (2004: 70) signals a similar regularity concerning the distribution of prefixed causatives and unprefixed anticausatives based on identical roots in OCS, although without any further theoretical reflection. In this text we will take up this observation and develop a theory which may lay bare the reasons for this situation in OCS, and, subsequently, in Present-Day Polish.[19]

To sum up this section, we feel that all the attempts at the explanations of the existing sub-regularities in the distribution of verbal prefixes with anticausative verbs in Polish fail miserably if we try to adopt a synchronic lexicalist perspective. Below we will present a diachronic account of the distributional properties and characteristics of Present-Day Polish anticausatives, which will reach back to the OCS system and will be construction-based in theoretical terms.

3. Analytic and synthetic anticausatives in OCS

On the basis of OCS data, we will try to explain why in Modern Slavic languages, and in Present-Day Polish in particular, anticausatives belong to two competing classes, and at the same time they differ in possibilities of accepting different classes of prefixes. We will show that the reflexive-like (analytic)

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[18] See Jabłońska (2007), Koontz-Garboden (2009), Alexiadou and Doron (2012).

[19] We take OCS to be representative as far as early stages of the development of Slavic languages are concerned, without assuming its direct 'parenthood'.

anticausatives resemble the remnants of the middle voice marking in OCS. As middle voice formations, productive as inflectional phenomena typically are, those word forms were freely prefixed with the prefixes modifying their semantics in various ways, just like the OCS transitive (causative) verbs based on identical roots and representing the active voice.

On the other hand, the synthetic anticausatives were entered into the lexicon already in OCS, and if the pattern was productive at all, it could not compete with the productivity of the middle voice system. Synthetic anticausatives were frequently deprived of other verbal counterparts, while they shared roots with nouns and/or adjectives, which in itself may have adversely influenced their tolerance of prefixal modification.[20] Their verb-forming projection was regularly headed by a suffix, so the prefixal modification could be dedicated to realize the aspectual projection only.

The remnants of these significant differences between middle voice analytic anticausatives and lexical synthetic anticausatives survive till now in the modern systems of Slavic anticausatives.

3.1. Analytic anticausatives

We perceive analytic anticausatives as significant participants in the OCS morpho-syntactic system consisting of two major voices: active and middle, while the passive voice is marginal, in *statu nascendi* (see Malicka-Kleparska 2015a, 2015b). The concept of voice adopted here is taken from Alexiadou and Doron (2012), who interpret the category of voice not in terms of a consistent inflectional pattern, but as it stems from the ancient Greek tradition – as a morpho-syntactic realization of a semantically motivated event structure. In particular, Alexiadou and Doron (2012) propose that the category of the middle voice involves a single participant taking part in an event (and being the affected party), while this event is signalled by specific morphological formatives. These formatives in the case of OCS will be reflexive-like *sę* clitics. The category of the middle voice subsumes anticausatives, reflexives and reciprocals, marked with the reflexive-like formatives in various European languages. In this text we will modify the view expressed by Alexiadou and Doron (2012), adding to the middle voice in OCS also stative verbs and subject experiencer verbs, as they possess the appropriate semantics and morphological marking. Thus the middle voice structures in OCS will be dedicated to sole participants affected by, or in a state specified by the verb, and marked

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[20] We do not rule out the possibility that the actual coining of a morphologically complex form may be boosted by already lexicalized similarly formed complex words based on identical roots, if the semantic structures of the two forms differ, i.e. they are not going to be synonymous. We perceive the construction grammar rules and principles as a skeleton whose flesh – actual forms – may enter the system due to various factors, for instance as borrowings.

with the presence of the verbal clitic *sę*. Below we will give some examples of these verb forms in OCS:

(7) OCS middle voice subcategories:

Anticausatives
is*koreniti sę* 'uproot',[21] **ot***vrěsti sę* 'open', ***vŭz****vratiti sę* 'come back'

Statives
avliti sę 'seem', *črŭmŭnovati sę* 'look red', **o***stavlěati sę* 'remain', *hraniti sę* 'be protected'

Subject Experiencer verbs
blusti sę 'beware', *čojditi sę* 'be surprised', **oj***bivati sę* 'get scared', **pro***gněvati sę* 'get angry',
raz*gněvati sę* 'get angry', **otŭ***vrěšči sę* 'dissociate'

Reflexives
ob*lěšči sę* 'dress', **ob***ratiti sę* 'get converted', **o***děti sę* 'dress'[22]

With respect to the data above, we notice that the verbs which signify a change of state (anticausatives, processual subject experiencer verbs, reflexives) are typically prefixed in OCS, while statives and stative subject experiencer verbs are not.[23] Consequently, it may be claimed that prefixes in OCS are heads of the processual projections, and as such, essential in the formation of anticausatives, which are change of state verbs. In other words, analytic anticausatives in OCS are almost invariably marked with overt prefixes, and at the same time, since they fit the description of the middle voice, they are marked with the head of the middle voice projection – *sę*. Below we give an example of the anticausative structure which accounts for morphological and semantic properties of analytic anticausatives in OCS. The linearization of morphemes is conducted in the process of derivation according to the general principles of the Minimalist Program (see e.g. Chomsky 1995):[24]

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[21] The OCS examples used in this text come from *Codex Marianus* in the *Corpus Cyrillo-Methodianum Helsingiense*. Glosses have been verified against *PROIEL Corpus*. Transliteration convention has been adopted after Lunt (2001).

[22] In OCS reflexively marked verbs are also reciprocals and reflexiva tantum, and they figure prominent in impersonal structures. We do not intend to present here any detailed justification for classifying all these forms into a single middle voice category. The justification can be found in Malicka-Kleparska (2015a, 2015b).

[23] Prefixes are given in bold characters.

[24] The clitic element in OCS functions as a verbal, not a pronominal clitic, and, consequently, it appears in clauses predominantly as adjacent to verbs, in post-verbal, or, occasionally, pre-verbal positions. For more in-depth information about the clitic system of Old Slavic languages see e.g. Migdalski and Jung (2015).

(8)

Voice Phrase
|
Voice'
/   \
Voice   vP
| |
sę   v'
/   \
v   V
| /   \
is –   V   STP
| /   \
-i-   ST   DP
| |
√ koren   sad
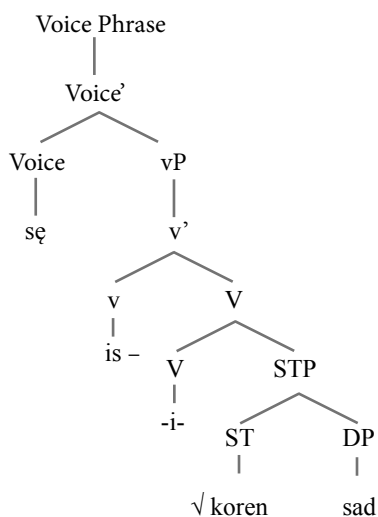
The proposed structure has been given for:

(9)
   Sadŭ   *is*korenitŭ   *sę*
   plant-NOM.SG   uproot-PRES.3rd.SG   REFL
   'The plant will get uprooted.'

The middle voice projection, headed by *sę*, accounts for the fact that the verb is mono-argumental, i.e. no external argument can be introduced into the structure, unlike in the active voice formations. The little *v* projection stands for the processual aspect of the semantics of anticausative verbs and it is headed by the prefix. The capital *V* projection makes the form verbal, with the use of suffixal *-i-*. The lowest projection is dedicated to the assertion of the state of the internal argument (see Embick 2009). The state is specified by the verbal root. Anticausatives with this structure have been inherited by the systems of Modern Slavic languages and that is why the analytic formations are frequently prefixed and productive. The ease of forming such anticausatives tallies with their across-the-board middle voice status in OCS.

The middle voice formations have their counterparts in active voice formations. Below we will give examples of such corresponding active (10a) and middle (10b) uses of predicates based on identical roots:

(10)

a.

    dvdŭ   *dhomŭ*   *ga*   *naricaetŭ*
    David-NOM.SG spirit-INS.SG.M master-ACC.SG.M call-IND.PRES.ACT.3RD.SG
    'David calls the Lord spirit.'

b.

    mati   *naricaetŭ*   *se*   *marie*
    mother-NOM.SG.F   call-IND.PRES.ACT.3RD.SG   REFL   Mary-NOM.SG.F
    'Mother calls herself/is called Mary.'

a.

    ispliniti   *brakŭ*
    fill-IND.AOR.ACT.3RD.PL   chamber-ACC.SG.M
    wŭzležęštihŭ
    fall- PART.PRES.ACT.GENPL.M.WEAK
    '(They) filled the chamber with the poor.'

b.

    egda   *isplinili*   *sę*
    when   fulfill-IND.AOR.ACT.3RD.SG   REFL
    'When she filled up.'

a.

    vlastĭ   *imatŭ*   *snŭ* […]   *otpojščati*   *grěhŭi*
    power-ACC.SG have-IND.PRES.ACT.3rd.SG son-NOM.SG pardon.INF. sin-ACC.PL
    'The son has the power to pardon sins.'

b.

    otŭpojštajǫtŭ   *sę*   *grěsi*
    pardon-IND.PRES.ACT.3rd.PL   REFL   sin-NOM.PL
    'Sins get pardoned.'

The system with the reflexively marked middle voice subsided in forming Slavic languages. In Polish, middle voice got replaced with periphrastically marked passive structures on the one hand, and with analytic anticausatives on the other hand. This conclusion is supported by the observations made on the basis of Old Polish, where reflexively marked forms, which in Present-Day Polish have lost the reflexive element, are still relatively frequent:[25]

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[25] The data below come from PolDi (Polish Diachronic Online Corpus), and in particular from: *Ewangeliarz Zamojskich* [EwZam], 2nd h. 15th c., *Modlitwy Wacława* [MW], 1482, and *Rozmyślanie przemyskie* [RozPrz], 1st h. 16th c. The corpus is based on the editions of the source texts subsequently published in Twardzik (ed.) (2006). For an edition of *Rozmyślanie przemyskie*, see Keller and Twardzik (eds.) (1998–2004).

(11)

a.

badał   **się**   *od*   *nich* […] *by*   **się**   *nie*
investigate-PST.3rd.SG REFL from them   in order REFL not
wracali[26]   *do Heroda.*
come back-PST.3rd.PL   to   Herod
'He asked them whether they were not coming back to Herod' [EwZam]

b.

A   **domnimującemu**   **się**   *ludu*
and think up-ADJ.PRT.DAT.M.SG   REFL   people.DAT
'And the thinking up people' [EwZam]

c.

przykazaniu   *twojem* **doświadczać** *będę*   **się**
commandment-DAT.SG your   obey-INF   be-FUT.1st.SG be-FUT.3rd.PL REFL
'I will obey your commandment' [MW]

d.

podobnie ziemi   *i*   *niebu*   **przeminąć się** *niżli twemu słowu*
similarly earth-DAT and heaven-DAT vanish-INF REFL than your   word-DAT
'The earth and heaven will vanish more probably than your word will' [RozPrz]

So analytic anticausatives derive their relative productivity and ease of taking prefixes from their status in OCS as reflexively marked middle forms with the processual event projection in their structure. Although many such marked forms went out of use, especially when they represented other meanings than change of state, canonical middles (cf. e.g. 11a), the anticausative core of the middle voice remains as a prominent group of morpho-syntactic formations in the lexicon of Present-Day Polish.

3.2. Synthetic anticausatives

As mentioned before, synthetic anticausatives had a different position in the system of OCS than the reflexively marked forms. The suffixes characterizing them (-ě- and -ǫ-) come from the pre-OCS phase of the development of Slavic languages. The synthetic anticausatives formed with their help are elements of the OCS lexicon, and not members of all-encompassing voice system: Consequently, they are few and far between. They also differ semantically from analytic anticausatives since they frequently possess a rather stative, non-processual meaning, or they appear in OCS in both functions – stative and

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[26] The form *wracać się* 'come back' functions in Present-Day Polish, but with a colloquial flavor.

anticausative at the same time. Below we will give a few examples of OCS synthetic anticausative verbs:

(12) **-ě-anticausatives**

bolěti 'get ill, be ill', *razouměti* 'come to know', **ou**mrěti 'die', *otvrěsti* 'open', *krěpěti* 'strengthen', **za**pojstěti 'get empty', *cělěti* 'heal'

(13) **-ǫ-anticausatives**

vŭskrĭsnǫti 'rise again, be resurrected', **po**gybnǫti 'perish', *pridǫti* 'arrive', **pro**smrazdajǫti 'have, take a grave demeanor', **prě**minǫti 'pass', **i**stonǫti 'sink', *sŭxnǫti* 'dry', *mrĭknǫti* 'darken', **po**gręžnǫti 'sink'

Unlike the analytic anticausatives, the synthetic ones are frequently unprefixed, though some of them appear with prefixes in the corpus and these prefixes seem to introduce the perfective interpretation. Compare, for instance, the unprefixed and prefixed uses of the synthetic anticausative *mrĭknǫti* 'darken' given in (14) below:

(14)

slŭnĭce	*mrŭknetŭ*
sun-NOM.SG	darken-PRES.3rd.SG

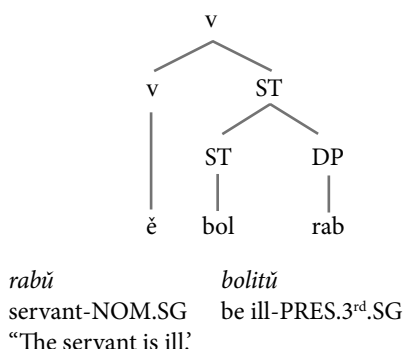'The sun is darkening' (Mat. 24.29)[27]

pomrŭče	*slŭnce*
darken-AOR.3rd.SG	sun-Nom.SG

'The sun went dark.' (Luke 23.45)

Apart from the difference in tense, the verbal forms differ in the presence of the prefix in the second case. The prefix seems to introduce the perfective viewpoint aspect to the situation Consequently, the presence of the viewpoint aspectual prefixes with synthetic anticausatives in Present-Day Polish may be directly attributed to the way in which those anticausatives functioned in Early Slavic, as exemplified by OCS.

We presume that the synthetic anticausatives in OCS have the maximally simple verbal structure, subsuming the specification of a certain state which is spelled out by the root. This root is usually shared either with nouns or with adjectives. The verbalizing head consists in either of the verbalizing suffixes (-ě-, -ǫ-).
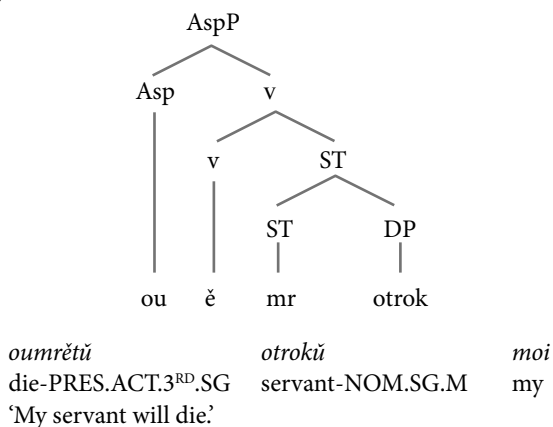
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[27] The quotations come from two different sources: the Gospels by St. Matthew and by St. Luke in *Codex Marianus*. The numbers mark the respective verses. Consequently, the difference might be not due to the language system, but to different language variants used by different scribes.

(15)

```
                            v
                        ┌───┴───┐
                        v       ST
                        │    ┌───┴───┐
                        │    ST      DP
                        │    │       │
                        ě    bol     rab
```

rabŭ   *bolitŭ*
servant-NOM.SG   be ill-PRES.3rd.SG
"The servant is ill."

The prefixes do not perform a lexeme forming function, and they do not modify the lexical meanings of the verbs: They simply contribute to the perfective interpretation of the situation, perhaps along the lines suggested by Filip (2013), i.e. enforcing the maximal stage interpretation of the event structure rendered by the clause.

(16)

```
                        AspP
                    ┌─────┴─────┐
                    Asp         v
                    │       ┌───┴───┐
                    │       v       ST
                    │       │    ┌───┴───┐
                    │       │    ST      DP
                    │       │    │       │
                    ou      ě    mr      otrok
```

oumrětŭ   *otrokŭ*   *moi*
die-PRES.ACT.3RD.SG   servant-NOM.SG.M   my
'My servant will die.'

If prefixed, the verbs acquire the perfective viewpoint aspect, and this outlook can be reflected in certain tense phenomena in OCS: the prefixed present tense verbs may function as referring to the future, and not to the present (see (16), and also (7) above), which seems to support the claim that their function it that of 'pure perfectivizers', giving the outside completed perspective of the viewed event, rather than contributing some semantic modification to a lexical item.

Consequently, we see the prefixes occasionally accompanying synthetic anticausatives as markers of the viewpoint aspect, and not of the processual projection (which was the case of analytic anticausatives). The telic interpretation

of the verb in (16) results from the combination of aspectual properties and the meaning of the root element, which names an intrinsically telic event (dying).

4. From OCS to Present-Day Polish

The gulf between two separate anticausative systems of OCS is filled up to some extent in Present-Day Polish. For instance, we find it significant that in OCS we encounter no doublets of analytic and synthetic anticausatives based on the same roots. This fact may support the claim that the two classes belong to distinct areas of the OCS grammar – analytic anticausatives are middle voice realizations arising only and automatically when active voice transitives are available. Synthetic anticausatives mark states and changes of states relative to some quality specified by an adjective or a noun based on the same root. No wonder the two classes do not coincide.

Present-Day Polish analytic anticausatives have lost their middle voice grammatical status and entered the lexical morphology proper. As they are members of the same lexical component as synthetic anticausatives, doublets occasionally occur in the data:[28]

(17)
   *Niechta – szepnęła Rozalia **czerwieniejąc**.* 'So be it – whispered Rozalia growing red.'
   *Barbara **czerwieniła się** i pomijała to milczeniem.* 'Barbara grew red and kept silent about it.'

   *oczy […] łatwo **czerwieniejące*** 'eyes reddening easily'
   *rzekł **czerwieniąc się** Niechcic* 'said reddening Niechcic'

   ***Przemókł** i dygotał tak strasznie.* 'He was soaked through and trembled something awful.'
   *Róże całą noc **moczyły się** w umywalni i są świeżutkie.* 'The roses soaked the whole night in the sink and are fresh.'

   ***Płonęło** mnóstwo świec.* 'A lot of candles were lit.'
   ***Paliła się** zdjęta ze ściany gromnica.* 'A candle taken from the wall was lit.'

The transformation from an Early Slavic system, illustrated by the OCS morpho-syntax, into the Present-Day Polish morpho-syntax, as we have presented it in this text, is supported also by other data coming from the diachrony of the Polish language. In Old Polish, synthetic anticausatives are still few and far between, like in OCS, while only in Modern Polish their number has grown significantly, with doublets and triplets admitted into the system (see

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[28] The examples come from sources by a single author in the *National Corpus of the Polish Language*.

Damborsky 1961 for extensive data to this effect). This may be a result of the rearrangement discussed in this paper, since the analytic anticausatives are no longer grammatically privileged, productive voice phenomena.

Likewise, the prefixation of synthetic anticausatives in Old Polish seems to bear traces of the pattern of the viewpoint aspect prefixation of OCS, as prefixes are infrequent and they do not introduce significant semantic changes into the verb stems:

(18)
> *Byli*   *poczęli*   schnąć
> Be-PST.3rd.PL   begin-PST.3rd.PL   dry-INF
> 'They began to dry up' [RozPrz]
>
> *A przeto*   *musiło*   **u**schnąć
> And so   must-PST.N.3rd SG   dry-INF
> 'And so it had to dry up' [RozPrz]
>
> *Ktorzy*   *pobici,*
> Who-NOM-PL   defeat-PART.PASS.NOM.PL
> *a też iżbt takież*   *mieli*   **po**ginąć[29]
> and in case that also   be.about-PST.3rd.PL   slaughter-INF
> 'Who were defeated, and in case they were to be slaughtered' [RozPrz]
>
> *gorąc*   *jemu w oczy*   *upadnie,*
> Hot-NOM.SG   him in eye-INS.PL   fall-FUT.3rd.SG
> *tak iże rącze*   **o**ślną
> so that quickly   get.blind-FUT.3rd.PL
> 'Heat will fall upon his eyes and they will go blind quickly.' [BW]

Thus analytic and synthetic anticausatives in the system of Present-Day Polish become more and more alike. The (still) visible differences in their prefixation patterns testify, however, to their very different life-histories, dating back to OCS times.

5. Conclusions

In this text we have presented a theory arguing that differences between Present-Day Polish anticausative subsystems may have their origins in very different positions of the two groups of anticausatives in Early Slavic, as illustrated by Old Church Slavonic. One group of anticausatives belonged to voice related phenomena and was a product of active, derivational morpho-syntax, related to the distinction between active voice (involving bi-argumental

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[29] *Po-* here has not the post-lexical, distributive status, but it is a 'pure perfectivizer'.

event structures), and middle voice (oriented towards the Patient/Theme of an event). Those anticausatives showed rich prefixation patterns, alike their causative/transitve counterparts. The other group was inherited from the Balto-Slavic lexicon and may have been limited to the constant class of verbal roots, common in this group of languages (see Gorbachov 2007). The appearance of prefixes with those verbs marked the viewpoint aspect. In time, the active/middle voice system collapsed and some functions of the middle voice came to be rendered with passive voice structures, while some middle-voice structures got fossilized and began to function as lexical units. Old Polish seems to have presented this type of anticausative morphology, with reflexively marked structures – relatively frequent, and with synthetic anticausatives – relatively infrequent. The balance towards the predominance of the synthetic pattern attained its peak in the early days of the 20th century, as Damborsky's (1961) data indicates. In Present-Day Polish analytic anticausatives are definitely de-grammaticalized, with occasional synthetic doublets in the lexical system and with traces of distinct prefixation patterns in the two groups.

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