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Loss and Emergence of Grammatical Categories

Abstract: An instance of loss and re-emergence of a grammatical category, whereby the old function is preserved is the continuation of the Indo-European synthetic medio-passive in Germanic. First in this paper, the form and semantics of the inherited medio-passive is described, secondly, we will discuss potential competitors with the synthetic medio-passive and explain why new forms emerged and finally, we will compare the expressions for the medio-passive meaning in Pre-*proto-Germanic*, Gothic and West Germanic.

Zusammenfassung: Ein Beispiel für den Verlust und das Wiederauftreten einer grammatischen Kategorie ist die Fortsetzung des indogermanischen synthetischen Medio-Passivs im Germanischen. Im Beitrag wird zunächst die Form und Semantik des ererbten Medio-Passivs beschrieben, dann werden potentielle Konkurrenten des synthetischen Medio-Passivs diskutiert und schließlich die Ausdrücke für das Medio-Passiv im Vorurgermanischen, Gotischen und Westgermanischen miteinander verglichen.

Introduction

One possibility to define Germanic is by enumerating the grammatical categories which are specific to the language. According to the usual definition, a grammatical category is a set of syntactic features that express meanings from the same conceptual domain, occur in contrast to each other, and are often expressed in similar ways in a language. Briefly speaking grammatical categories connect grammar and semantics, for example a set of auxiliary verbs that express modality. To revert to Germanic, the class of modal verbs is exactly such a language defining grammatical category. It arose in the prehistory of Germanic; it lacks its predecessor, the Indo-European language. Other such categories are the weak preterite, the weak inflection of the adjective, as is well known. However, besides these categories some that belonged to the same conceptual domain as in Indo-European exist, but were expressed differently. Formally, these categories have to be replaced by others with the same syntactic and semantic function. They were lost and

arose anew. But these two processes cannot have occurred one after another, they must have overlapped.

An instance of such a loss and re-emergence of a grammatical category, whereby the old function is preserved, is undoubtedly the continuation of the Indo-European synthetic medio-passive in the Germanic languages, a category which had both middle and passive meaning. Middle in this case is a semantic category indicating that "the 'action' or 'state' affects the subject of the verb or his interests."¹

By the way, the use of the term medio-passive in Indo-European linguistics differs from that which is standard in modern linguistics: Here, a medio-passive is an intransitive coding of a transitive event with a patient in subject position but without an external cause or agent role.²

- (1) (a) English *This material won't wash*
- (1) (b) German *Dieses Material lässt sich nicht waschen.*
- (1) (c) German *Dieses Material kann man nicht waschen.*
- (1) (d) English *The book sells/reads well.*³

In any case, medio-passives and ergatives like *open*, *freeze* and *break* are distinguished.⁴

In regard to the Indo-European notion of medio-passive, this grammatical category is well developed in the older Indo-European languages Hittite, Old Indic, Greek. It is used in different tenses and moods. In contrast, in Gothic, Old Norse and the West-Germanic languages there are only more or less widespread traces of this formation. For example the corresponding diathesis in Gothic appears only in the indicative and optative present. Compared with this, an analytic passive with the verbs **wesan* and **werþan* appears in the preterite. These analytic formations are documented in all Germanic languages. Additionally in all these languages reflexive verbs with the reflexive pronoun **sik* etc. exist. Furthermore Gothic and Old Norse

¹ Lyons, Introduction, p. 373.

² Hundt, English mediopassive constructions, p. 67.

³ Hundt, English mediopassive constructions, p. 23 considers only "facility-oriented passives" and "facility events" as medio-passive constructions. These kind of medio-passives are a phenomenon at the border between syntax and the lexicon (p. 21).

⁴ Keyser – Roeper, Middle and Ergative Constructions, argue that there is no implied agent in ergative constructions because they – unlike middles – can combine with the phrase *all by itself*: *The boat sank all by itself*.

developed a new synthetic passive-like formation: verbs in *-na-*. Hence, the concept of passive and the related concept of reflexivity have many expressions in the Germanic languages, with only one of them, the synthetic medio-passive, being inherited from Indo-European. Consequently, the fate of the old medio-passive in Germanic and its compensatory formations is a good example to study both the loss and emergence of grammatical categories maintaining the same semantics, but changing their form. However, the aim of our exploration is to find out the triggers for this evolution.

Since the old medio-passive seems to be still vivid in Gothic at least in the present system we will concentrate on this language to investigate the grammatical renewal of an inherited grammatical category. This contribution is organized as follows: First, we will describe the form and semantics of the inherited medio-passive, whereby we go into the history of this formation. Secondly, we will discuss potential competitors with the synthetic medio-passive and will explain why new forms emerged. Thirdly, we will compare the expressions for the medio-passive meaning in Pre-Proto-Germanic, Gothic and West Germanic.

1. The inherited medio-passive

1.1. Form

In the North and West Germanic languages traces of the Indo-European medio-passive inflection are only found in the intransitive verb 'to be called':

- (2) Old West Norse *heite*, Runic *hafi]te-ka*, *haite*, *haitika*, Old Swedish *hæti*, Old English 1.3.sg.ind.pres.pret. *hätte*, 3.pl.ind.pres.pret. *hätton*, Middle Dutch, Middle Low German *hette* 'is called', 'are called', 'was called', 'were called'

Apparently these forms are remnants. In contrast to this, Gothic has a complete paradigm continuing the Indo-European medio-passive in the indicative and optative present, as mentioned above. While the respective third persons in the singular and plural indicative *-ada*, *-anda*, optative *-aida*, *-aïndau* occur frequently, there are only a few attestations of the first and second person, for example:

- (3) 1.sg.ind. *fragimada*, 2.sg.ind. *haitaza*; 1.pl.ind. *þreihanda*, 2.pl.ind. *tiuhanda*; 1.sg.opt. *fragibaidau*, 2.sg.opt. *haitaizau*; 1.pl.opt. *bigitain-*

dau, 2.pl.opt. *fraqimaindau*. Furthermore, the Gothic imperatives *liugandau* and *lausjadau* belong to the medio-passive.

It is not difficult to say why the first and second persons are very rare: In the language of the Bible the first and second person appear mainly as agent and not as patient. The answer to the question why there is no preterite in Gothic is more difficult to find. Here we depend on speculations, which might be concerned with the age of the formation. In this regard the derivation of the endings from the Indo-European medio-passive is unproblematic.⁵ But let us consider the thematic vowel. Since the thematic vowel shows vowel gradation *-o-* in the first singular, first plural, third plural and *-e-* in the second singular, second plural in Indo-European in the active inflection, the consistent *-a-*, older *-o-* in the medio-passive is striking. Formerly this *-a-* was explained by analogy, namely as vowel harmony between the *-a-* of the ending and the *-a-* of the thematic vowel. However, there is evidence for the assumption that the thematic vowel in the Indo-European medio-passive was invariably *-o-*. As Klingenschmitt⁶ has shown, the non-occurrence of palatalization of a velar in the root coda of the media tantum is very old: compare:

- (4) Old Indic *locate* 'sees, perceives', *sāṅkate* 'doubts, fears, distrusts, is anxious', *ślāghate* 'confides, trusts' < **léwko-* etc. (active *pácati* 'cooks, bakes' < **pék^he/o-*), further the West Tocharian present (*mā*)*rs[e]trā* (gerund I *mārselle*) 'forgets' < Pre-Proto-Tocharian middle **merso-* or **mṛso-*.⁷

But if the vowel color of the Gothic thematic vowel proves to be old, a second archaism may have continued in this verbal category in Germanic: In Indo-European there was an inflectional type, in the paradigm in which a middle present and an active aorist or active perfect are combined.⁸ The most important instance is the inherited verb:

⁵ Lühr, *Medialflexion im Germanischen*, p. 109ff.

⁶ *Das Albanische*, p. 442.

⁷ *Das altarmenische Verbum*, p. 108 Anm. 3.

⁸ *Das altarmenische Verbum*, p. 108.

(5)	present middle	aorist active	perfect active
	Old Indic <i>vārtate</i> 'turns'	3.sg.ind. <i>avart</i> , 3.pl. <i>avṛtan</i>	<i>avárta</i>
	Latin <i>revertor</i> 'I return'		<i>reverti</i> ⁹
	compare further:		
	Greek ἵσταμαι 'I tread'	ἕστην	
	τήκομαι 'I melt'		τέτη-κ-α ¹⁰ .

Assuming, that in the pre-stage of Germanic such medio-passive present and active preterite forms were also connected in one paradigm, why was this system altered? Why did new preterites with periphrastic verbs arise? Was there no possibility to remodel the inherited medio-passive present to a medio-passive preterite in Gothic?

As mentioned before, Old English, Middle Low German and Middle Dutch have a first and third singular preterite *hätte*, *hette* and a third plural *hätton* i.e. 'was called', 'were called'. In order to explain why Gothic did not participate in this development one has to go into the matter of sound changes. The basis for the development to a preterite is the third singular **χαι̇tadai*, a trisyllabic form. It is constituted of a quantity-sensitive and left dominant trochee, the first mora of which is resolved into two syllables.¹¹ Two constraints are interacting:¹²

- (6) (a) *μμμ: A syllable rhyme is maximally binary.
 (b) FOOTBIN: Feet are binary.

After having been weakened to -ə- the thematic vowel in **χαι̇tadai* disappeared in the weak branch of the stressed foot¹³. Thus, $[[χαι̇t + ə]_ω dai]_ω$ develops into $[[χαι̇t]_ω dai]_ω$ and the result is a form which has the shape of a weak preterite in the singular. This form also entailed a third plural preterite *hätton* in Old English.¹⁴

⁹ Hoffmann, *Zum Optativ*, p. 248.

¹⁰ In Greek especially the inherited root aorist has an inchoative meaning (Rijksbaron, *Syntax and Semantics*, p. 144ff.; Bakker, *Voice*; Kaufmann, *Medium und Reflexiv*, p. 132). Why a middle and an active could be concurrent in one paradigm is unclear. Bakker, *Voice*, thought of changes of state without affectedness of the subject in the root aorist. But perhaps the coexistence of middle and active is caused by the post-state which is expressed in the preterite.

¹¹ Dresher – Lahiri, *The Germanic foot*; cf. Lühr, *Sprachliche Beschränkungen*.

¹² Kiparsky, *Germanic Weak Preterite*, p. 6.

¹³ Lahiri – Riad – Jacobs, *Diachronic prosody*, p. 345.

¹⁴ Lühr, *Medialflexion im Germanischen*, p. 115.

However, the process in Gothic is different. In Gothic *-a-* is not weakened to *-ǣ-* in middle syllables. Consequently, *-a-* in *haitadai* is preserved.¹⁵ A formal adaptation to the weak preterite could not take place.

1.2. Semantics

If medio-passive present forms and active preterite forms were really connected in one paradigm, what was the semantic function of the Germanic medio-passive? Neither middle, nor passive, but unaccusative¹⁶, as the following intransitive Ancient Greek verb shows:

- (7) δ 495 πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν γε
 many-NOM.PL.M but for of them-GEN.PL.M verily
 δάμεν, πολλοὶ δὲ
 were killed-3.PL.IND.AOR.PASS/perished-3.PL.IND.AOR.MED many-NOM.PL.M but
 λίποντο
 were left-3.PL.IND.AOR.MED
 'many of them were killed/perished, many were left'

In this case, the verb could be interpreted both intransitive and passive, having the same argument structure:

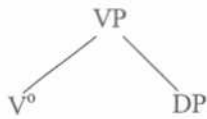
- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (8) | PASSIVE | | UNACCUSATIVE |
| | πολλοὶ | δάμεν | πολλοὶ δάμεν |
| | many | were killed by someone | many perished |
| | 1 | P F (unspecified) | 1 P |
| | 2 | P 1 | 2 P |
| | passive interpretation of (7) | | unaccusative interpretation of (7) |

¹⁵ Syncope of the vowel in the third syllable occurred only in the plural: 1. Pl. *χαῖtamedai > *haitanda*.

¹⁶ Lühr, *Sprachliche Beschränkungen*; Benedetti, *Passive morphology*; Grimshaw, *Argument structure*, p. 122; Engelberg, *Verben*, p. 56f.; Napoli, *Aspect and Actionality*, p. 164.

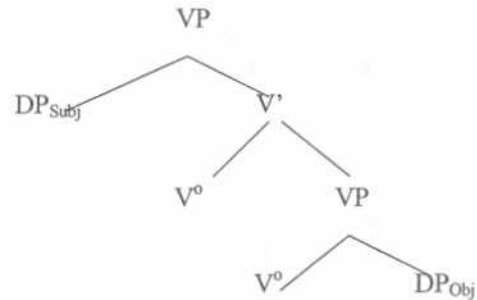
unaccusative

(9)(a)



transitive

(9)(b)



However, if the antecedent of the Germanic medio-passive was really the unaccusative, which could be used with middle or transitive endings within the same paradigm, the meaning has to match this mixture of diatheses.

Turning to the special semantics of the Gothic medio-passive now, in the relevant literature this voice is only considered as a true passive.¹⁷ But this opinion is wrong. We find exactly the meaning of unaccusatives, namely both middle and passive. To consider the middle first and the Gothic data are compared with the situation types of the middle which Kemmer¹⁸ set up within Langacker's "Cognitive Grammar":¹⁹

1.2.1. Middle

(10)

- I. Reflexive middle: A participant has two participant roles. These roles are nearly indistinguishable
 - a. verbs of grooming or body care: German *sich waschen*, English *wash*, Latin *lavor*
 - b. verbs of non-translational movement: German *sich strecken*, English *to stretch out*, Latin *revertor*

¹⁷ For example Braune – Heidermanns, *Gotische Grammatik*, p. 141 do not use the term medio-passive any longer for the corresponding Gothic diathesis, since there is no middle meaning.

¹⁸ The Middle Voice.

¹⁹ Compare Kaufmann, *Medium und Reflexiv*, p. 8; Allan, *Middle Voice in Ancient Greek*.

- c. verbs of change in body posture: German *sich setzen*, English *to sit down*, Greek πέτεσθαι 'fly'
- d. verbs of locomotion: German *sich entfernen*, English *to remove*
- e. indirect middle: German *sich etwas mieten*, English *to rent a house for oneself*, Greek πορίζεσθαι 'to provide for oneself'
- II. Middle of emotion and cognition: The participant roles are not distinguishable.
 - a. verbs of emotion: German *sich erschrecken*, English *to get frightened*, Latin *irascor*
 - b. emotive speech acts: *sich beschweren*, English *to complain*, Latin *queror*, Greek ὀλοφύρεσται 'to lament'
 - c. verbs of cognition: German *sich überlegen*, English *to consider*, Latin *meditor*
- III. Reciprocal middle: identification of events and participant roles.
 - a. natural reciprocal events: German *sich umarmen*, English *to embrace*, Latin *amplector*
 - b. natural collective events: German *sich versammeln*, English *to assemble*
- IV. Spontaneous and passive situation types and facilitative: No realization of a participant role/of a participant.
 - a. spontaneous events: German *sich bilden*, English *to evolve*
 - b. passive events: frz. *La forge s'allume*, English *The torch inflames*
 - c. facilitative: German *Das Buch verkauft sich gut*, English *The book sells well*.²⁰

Among the Gothic medio-passives there are examples for verbs of emotion:

(11) Romans 14,15

ip jabai in matis broþar þeins gaurjada, ju ni bi friaþwai
 but if because meat brother thy grieves longer not with charity
 gaggis.

go

'But if thy brother be grieved because of thy meat, thou walkest no longer charitably.' (λυπεῖται)

(12) Matthew 11,6

jah audags ist hʒazuh saei ni gamarzjada in mis.
 and blessed is whosoever not takes offence at me

'And blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in Me.' (σκανδαλισθῆ)

²⁰ Kaufmann, *Medium und Reflexiv*, p. 23ff. systematizes this collection as differentiating readings of the middle: direct-reflexive reading by verbs of body care: German *er wäscht sich*, the causative-reflexive reading: German *er lässt sich rasieren* – the patient is the causer of the action which is done on himself, the indirect-reflexive reading: German *er legt es sich beiseite* – the beneficent is interpreted as coreferent with the agent, the decausative reading: German *sie versammeln sich*.

(13) Mark 3,24

jah jabai þiudangardi wibra sik gadaijada, ni mag standan so
 and if kingdom against itself gets at odds not can stand ART
 þiudangardi jaina.
 kingdom that

'And if a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand.' (μερισθῆ)
 (compare Mark 3,25)

(14) Luke 6,21

audagai jus gredagans nu, unte sadai wairþiþ. audagai jus
 blessed you hungry now because filled get blessed you
 gretandans nu, unte ufhlohjanda.
 hungry now because you laugh

'Blessed are ye that hunger now, for ye shall be filled. Blessed are ye that weep now, for ye shall laugh.' (γελάσετε)

Furthermore, the meaning of *bigitaindau* in (15) is comparable to that of Greek φαίνομαι 'I appear', a verb of non-translational movement:

(15) 2 Corinthians 5,3

jabai sweþpauh gawasidai, ni naqadai bigitaindau.
 if at least clothed not naked we shall be found
 'that, being so clothed, we shall not be found naked.' (εὕρεθησόμεθα)

And examples for facilitatives are:

(16) 1 Corinthians 13,5

ni aiwiskoþ, ni sokeiþ sein ain, ni ingramjada, nih
 not behaves unseemly not seeks her own not is easily provoked and not
 mitoþ ubil
 thinks evil

'[Charity] doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil' (παροξύνεται)

(17) Galatians 1,6

sildaleikja ei swaswe sprauto afwandjanda af þamma
 I marvel that so soon you are removed from this one
 laþondin izwis in anstai Xristaus du anþamma aiwaggelja,
 calling you into grace Christ to other gospel
 'I marvel that ye are so soon removed from Him, that called you into the grace of Christ, for another gospel' (μετατίθεσθε)

These records are sufficient. They show clearly that the Gothic medio-passive had a middle meaning for one thing.

1.2.2. Passive

For another the Gothic medio-passive had a passive meaning. Sometimes the meaning of a verb can be interpreted as a middle or as a passive, as the verb *haitada* 'is called' demonstrates – in German the intransitive meaning is 'heißen':

(18) Luke 2,4

... in Iudaian, in baurg Daweidis sei haitada Beþla <i' > haim
 into Judea into city David which is called Bethlehem
 '... into Judea, unto the City of David which is called Bethlehem' (καλεῖται)
 compare Luther: *die da heyst Bethlehen*

But mostly the meaning is undoubtedly passive. Only a few examples need to be cited, for the passive meaning is unchallenged:

(19) John 16,32

sai, qimip *eila jah nu qam, ei distahjada hvarjizuh du
 behold comes hour and now is come that is scattered everybody to
 seinaim
 his own
 'Behold, the hour cometh, yea, is now come, that ye shall be scattered, every man
 to his own' (σκορπισθητε)

(20) John 12,32

jah ik jabai ushauhjada af airþai, alla atþinsa du mis.
 and I if am lifted up from earth all I draw to me
 'And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me.' (ὕψωθῶ)

The medio-passive also occurs with agent expression:²¹

(21) John 14,21

<jah þan saei frijoþ mik, frijoda fram attin meinamma
 and then who loves me is loved by father my
 'and he that loveth Me shall be loved by My Father' (ἀγαπηθήσεται)

Having scrutinized the semantics of the Gothic synthetic medio-passive we can now state that this diathesis is an unaccusative and both middle and

²¹ In Ancient Greek, for example, the motivation for the change of a medium to a passive is the presence of an appropriate agent:

1. medium – external 'animated' agent → restructuring into a passive
2. medium – internal 'inanimate' agent → restructuring into a passive
3. 'inanimate' agent (Lühr, Subjekt und Agens).

passive. These findings are decisive for the question which forms compete with the synthetic medio-passive in Gothic.

2. Competitors of the synthetic medio-passive

The competitor of the middle is the reflexive construction with reflexive pronoun and that of the passive the *wairþan-*, *wisan-*passive and the verbs on *-na-*. These competitors emerged in Proto-Germanic and acquired a firm position during the development of Gothic. Thus, Gothic tried to avoid the ambiguity between the functions passive and middle of the synthetic medio-passive. However, the main semantic difference between the two constructions concerns the theta-roles: In the case of the passive the original subject is eliminated or put into the periphery and the theta-role theme becomes the subject²², while in the case of the middle the subject is preserved and the theta-role theme is more or less absorbed. This last construction “defocuses an agent-like active subject and focuses a patient”²³.

But all competitors of the synthetic medio-passive have an advantage in common over the synthetic medio-passive whatsoever its meaning is: they can form a preterite and thereby are equivalents to the corresponding active preterites.

2.1. Competitors of the middle

We will start with the competitors of the middle. In order to understand the spread of the reflexive construction in Germanic, let us come back to Kemmer's²⁴ approach. Following Hopper-Thompson²⁵, Kemmer assumes that in language evolution grammatical prototypes exist which are more robust than others so that their morphosyntactic markers can be conferred to other semantic domains. As for situation types she distinguishes prototypical two-participant events, prototypical one-participant events, prototypical passive and direct-reflexive events. Further she assumes that these situation types

²² Compare Shibatani, *Passive and Related Constructions*, p. 839: “true passives are semantically ‘transitive’ in having both agent and patient in the semantic frame; but syntactically, they are typically intransitive.”

²³ Fagan, *Syntax and Semantics*, p. 78. – Compare Givón's (*English Grammar*, p. 46) description of a patient as “a non-volitional, inactive non-controlling [entity], who registers the event's changes-of-state, and thus is its salient effect.”

²⁴ *The Middle Voice*.

²⁵ *Transitivity in grammar*, p. 277.

form a scale of which the positive end is occupied by the two-participant events and the negative end by the one-participant events. Reflexive events are located in between. Though two participant roles are given, these are filled by the same entity. On the whole the minor elaboration of events is characteristic of middle situation types. However, the related middle constructions are “non-basic or marked”²⁶, insofar as “the patient subject takes on a property typically associated with agents: responsibility of a property, or independence of action”.²⁷ And with respect to the processual passive reflexive constructions are typically static or atelic.²⁸

If this scenario of reflexive events is cross-linguistically valid, the starting point for the expansion of the reflexive constructions is the direct reflexive reading. Firstly, the reflexive pronoun is to be found in connection with transitive verbs. The verb assigns a theta-role to its internal argument, thus the verb has two theta-roles, the agent and the theme; both the simple anaphoric *sik* and the complex anaphoric *sik silban* appear and the anaphora is locally bound. The verb is still transitive but the object is reflexive:

(22) Ephesians 5,28

saei seina qen frijoh, jah sik silban frijoh.

who his wife loves and himself loves

‘He that loveth his wife loveth himself.’ (ἐαυτὸν ἀγαπᾷ)²⁹

For the coexistence of *sik* and *sik silban* with the same verb compare *domjan sik silban* with *gadamjan sik* – the basic meaning of the verb is ‘to judge’.

(23) 2 Corinthians 10,12

unte ni gadaursum domjan unsis silbans aip̄pau gadamjan uns du
 for not we dare number ourselves or compare ourselves with
 þaim sik silbans anafilhandam
 those themselves commending

²⁶ Langacker, Foundations, p. 294; Hundt, English mediopassive constructions, p. 67, 76. She claims that “prototype-based approaches to mediopassive constructions are ... able to avoid the major problem that generative approaches have in accounting for the fact that the acceptability of these constructions does not seem to depend on purely syntactic constraints but to a greater extent on cognitive plausibility.” (p. 78).

²⁷ Van Oosten, The Nature of Subjects, p. 129.

²⁸ Hundt, English mediopassive constructions, p. 165.

²⁹ Ferraresi, Word Order, p. 88; Vikner, Parameters of Binder; Hestvic, Anaphers and Pronouns.

'For we dare not number ourselves, or compare ourselves, with some who commend themselves.' (ἐγκρίναι ... συγκρίναι ἑαυτούς)

(24) Luke 10,29

ip is wiljands uswaurhtana sik domjan qap du Iesua
 but he wanting righteous himself judge said to Jesus
 'But he, wanting to justify himself, said unto Jesus' (δικαιοῦν ἑαυτὸν)

As Ferraresi³⁰ has shown, *sik silban* can be fronted and focussed:

(25) Ephesians 5,25

jus wairos frijoþ qenins izwaros, swaswe jah Xristus frijoda
 you husbands love wives your as and Christ loved
 aikklesjon jah sik silban atgaf faur þo
 church and himself gave for it
 'Husbands, love your wives even as Christ also loved the church and gave Himself for it' (ἑαυτὸν παρέδωκεν)

Besides this reflexivization type there is another type. The reflexive pronoun must be adjacent to the verb in postverbal position. The verb has only one theta-role, and the reflexive can only be simplex:

(26) Mark 4,1

jah galesun sik du imma manageins filu
 and came together (themselves) to him multitude great
 'And there was gathered unto Him a great multitude' (συνήχθη)

The verbs of this group are transitive, too; but they have an inherently reflexive variant.

(27) John 6,12

galisip þos aflifnandeins drauhsnos, þei waihtai ni fraqistnai.
 gather the remaining fragments that at all not be lost
 'Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost.' (συναγάγετε)³¹

Ferraresi is surely right in assuming that the group of verbs which allow both two theta-roles and one theta-role is the starting point for the spread of reflexivization.

³⁰ Word Order, p. 88.

³¹ Ferraresi, Word Order, p. 90.

A good example is the verb *wasjan* 'to dress', which appears both as transitive and intransitive. As intransitive it has active morphology, medio-passive morphology and a reflexive pronoun with active morphology:

active:

(28)(a) Luke 15,22

jah gawasjib ina

and dress him

'and they dress him' (ἐνδύσατε αὐτόν)

intransitive: with active morphology

(28)(b) Matthew 6,31

hve wasjaima?

wherewith we shall cloth ourselves

'Wherewith shall we be clothed?' (περιβαλώμεθα)

with medio-passive morphology

(28)(c) 1 Corinthians 15,54

panuþ-þan þata diwano gawasjada undiwanein, þanuh wairþiþ

so when this corruptible dresses incorruption then becomes

ward þata gamelido

word that written

'and when this mortal has been clothed with immortality, then the word that is written will come true' (ἐνδύσῃται)

with reflexive pronoun and active morphology:

(28)(d) Matthew 6,29

þatei nih Saulaumon in allamma wulþau seinamma gawasida

that not even Solomon in all glory his was clothed

sik swe ains þize.

(himself) like one of these

'that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.' (περιεβάλετο)³²

Especially in the case of the verbs of body care, which have a transitive variant, a tendency to mark the object function also with an inherent reflexive could have come up. For reasons of symmetry this occurred outside of the verb as with the transitive verb, but postverbally. Also the transitive morphology was preserved in the new reflexive construction. In doing so an

³² Compare Ferraresi, *Word Order*, p. 109f. for another example.

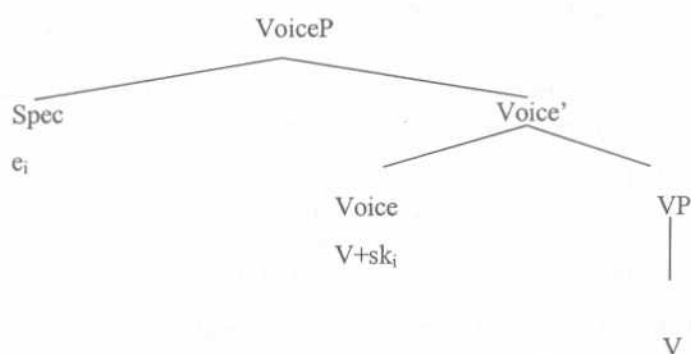
analogy happened. Formally an object position was created, although it had no theta-role. In analyzing this non-argumental reflexive pronoun Ferraresi³³ follows Eythórsson's³⁴ theory for the Old Icelandic middle.

(29)

þá skaltu spyrjask um vandilga, hverir þeir menn eru
 then shall you ask about carefully who those men are
 'then you will try cautiously to find out who those men are.'³⁵

According to this proposal the element *-sk* in the Old Icelandic middle is a clitic functioning as a voice marker coindexed with the specifier of VoiceP:

(30)



The marker *-sk* originates in [Spec, Voice] since it appears as the last morpheme following the tense and agreement morphemes. The non-argumental reflexive pronoun has the same position in Gothic. Therefore, I agree with Ferraresi³⁶, who – following Cardinaletti – Starke³⁷ – defines this pronoun as a clitic, whereas argumental *sik* is a weak pronoun and the complex reflexive *sik silban* a strong pronoun, since it can be topicalized.

³³ Word Order, p. 118ff.

³⁴ Verbal Syntax.

³⁵ Ferraresi, Word Order, p. 120; Anderson, Grammar of Icelandic Verbs, p. 237.

³⁶ Word Order, p. 118.

³⁷ Typology of Structural Deficiency.

Non-argumental *sik* then extends analogically also to verbs without a transitive variant, like the verbs of movement, for example *gaidđja sik* 'went' or *gaqiman sik* 'come', Kemmer's verbs of change in body posture.

(31) Mark 5,21

... gaqemun sik manageins filu du imma
gathered (themselves) crowd many to him
'... many people gathered unto Him' (συνήχθη)

Incidentally, the same procedure happens in postclassical Latin. The old deponent verbs disappeared from the vernacular. Instead many reflexive constructions came up, for example:

(32) *se approximare* 'to approach', *se plorare* 'to complain', *se vadere* 'to go', *se vertere* 'to turn (around)'³⁸

But in Gothic the reflexive construction also extended to the description of passive situation types, which is a kind of overcharacterization:

(33) Luke 6,18

þaiei qemun hausjan imma jah hailjan sik sauhte seinaižo
who came hear him and heal (themselves) diseases their
'who came to hear Him and to be healed of their diseases' (ἐθεραπεύοντο)

On the other hand, prototypical one-participant events like the just mentioned body care events are expressed by a pure intransitive verb as with the corresponding English verb:³⁹

(34) John 9,7

gagg þwahan in swumsl Siloamis galaiþ jah afþwoh
go wash in pool of Siloam went and washed
'"Go, wash in the pool of Siloam" He went his way therefore and washed'
(νίψαι ... ἐνίψατο) (compare John 9,11)

³⁸ Hofmann – Szantyr, Lateinische Syntax, p. 293f.; Kemmer, The Middle Voice, p. 153ff.

³⁹ For the decline of reflexive pronouns in Middle English compare Strang, History of English, p. 153; Hundt, English mediopassive constructions, p. 131, 135; Fellbaum – Zribi-Hertz, Middle Construction in French and English, p. 33f.: "English unlike French, does not have reflexive clitic pronouns, and second, English no longer has any reflexive morpheme deriving from Indo-European *se, but had to develop a series of reflexive pronouns on the basis of personal and possessive pronouns (e.g. *himself*, *myself*); compare also Fraser, Did OE Have a Middle Voice?, p. 132ff.

(35) 2 Corinthians 7,1

... hrainjam unsis af allamma bisauleino leikis jah
 let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and
 ahmins

of the spirit

'let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit' (καθαρίσωμεν ἑαυτοῦς)

This shows that the process of reflexivization in the case of one-participant events in Gothic was not completed. The development is still under way.

2.2. Competitors of the passive

2.2.1. Verbs on *-na-*

The verbs of the weak fourth class in Gothic are halfway between middle and passive. Like a middle they translate a Greek active or middle; but they also translate a Greek passive. It is a lexicalized class of derivations of adjectives, nouns or the preterite stem of the corresponding transitive verbs:⁴⁰

- (36) *auknan* 'become/get augmented', *gabatan* 'become improved', *gabliandnan* 'become blinded', *usbruknan* 'become broken', *andbundnan* 'become released', *afdaubnan* 'become deafened', *afdumbnan* 'become silenced', *gadauþnan* 'become killed', *drobnan* 'become excited', *infeinan* 'become moved', *fullnan* 'become filled', *gabignan* 'become rich', *usgeisnan* 'become scared', *usgutnan* 'become spilled', *ufarhafnan* 'become raised', *gahaftnan* 'become joined', *gahailnan* 'become healed', *ushauhnan* 'become raised', *dishnupnan* 'become torn', *afhvapnan* 'become extinguished', *keinan* 'become sprouting', *andletnan* 'become dismissed', *afliþnan* 'become left', *galuknan* 'become locked', *fralusnan* 'become lost', *managnan* 'become great/multiplied', *mikilnan* 'become grown', *usmerman* 'become known', *minznan* 'become decreased', *ganipnan* 'become saddened', *ganohnan* 'suffice', *fraquistnan* 'become spoiled', *gaqiunan* 'become alive', *usrunnan* 'become spread', *bisaulnan* 'become soiled', *gaskaidnan* 'become separated', *diskritnan* 'become torn', *aflauþnan* 'become frightened', *gastaurknan* 'become rigid', *swiþnan* 'become strong', *afþaurnan* 'become torn off', *gataurnan* 'die', *tundnan* 'become kindled', *þaurþnan* 'become thirsty', *gaþaurþnan* 'become withered', *gaþlahsnan* 'become scared', *gawairþnan* 'become worthy of', *gagawairþnan* 'become reconciled', *gawaknan* 'become woken', *weihnan* 'become holy'

⁴⁰ Ferraresi, Word Order, p. 111f.