

# Reflections on diachronic reflexivity: From the decausative to the deagentive, its relationship to the passive and beyond

## Part II<sup>44</sup>

Aleš Půda

Department of Slavic Studies, Heidelberg University, Germany  
ales.puda@slav.uni-heidelberg.de

**ABSTRACT:** First, the structure and most significant findings of Jiří Pergler's (2020) monograph on the reflexive deagentive (= RD) in 15th–17th century Czech are presented. Thereafter, selected aspects that draw attention to the constructional approach to accounting for change (Traugott 2015; Smirnova & Sommerer 2020; etc.) are critically developed to show how the features of precursor constructions change along the path towards the reflexive deagentive. By this we aim to emphasize the gradualness of change, favoring a model that posits context-induced small-step reanalyses leading from the decausative to the deagentive construction, instead of positing a single ambiguous form (Pergler 2020), thus also abandoning the traditional dichotomy (e.g. Comrie 1985; Haspelmath 1993; 2021) between the said constructions. We adapt the model proposed by Heine (2002), according to which there are two successive stages in particular, called the bridging context and the switch context, which can account for the process and result of constructionalization (decausative → transitional → deagentive). Developing the notion of constructional networks (Fried 2013a) according to which reflexive constructions represent a web of family-resemblance relationships (*Familienähnlichkeiten*, Wittgenstein 1953), we treat the network structure of reflexive constructions as organized primarily by family inheritance, being united by genetically related but not identical syntax and by genetically related but not identical semantics (AB...*n* → BC...*n* → CD...*n* → DE...*n*). With respect to the relation of the deagentive to the passive, we propose that divergent manners of agent integration within two different inactive concepts (a processual one, in the case

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<sup>44</sup> Part II of the article includes the following sections: 4. Agent realization within the argument structures of the RD; 5. From inactive situations such as those specified by the decausative or the object resultative to the RD or passive; 6. Discourse relevance with regard to the participants of the RD; 7. The discourse roles of the RD in the context of family inheritance; 8. Agent realization in view of the discourse roles of the passive; 9. The deagentive infinitive in older Czech; 10. Conclusion; Abbreviations of grammatical terms; List of abbreviations and sources; Sources of corpus data; References.

Part I of the article is published in the previous issue of the journal and includes the following sections: 1. Composition and findings of Pergler's (2020) monograph; 2. Towards the RD: the gradualness of change and the network of family inheritance; 3. Inside the Czech RD and beyond it: argument structures and verb classes. See PŮDA, A. (2022): Reflections on Diachronic Reflexivity: From the Decausative to the Deagentive, its Relationship to the Passive and beyond. Part I. *Korpus – gramatika – axiologie*, 25, 7–35.

of the decausative, and a stative one, in the case of the objective resultative) participated in the emergence of functionally different constructions, which have not generally been distinguished in the relevant literature (e.g. Haspelmath 1990).

**KEYWORDS:** constructional change; participial passive; (personal / impersonal / transitive impersonal) reflexive deagentive; reflexive decausative; transitional construction

## Úvahy o diachronní reflexivitě:

### Od dekauzativu k deagentivu a jeho vztahu k pasivu. Část II

**ABSTRAKT:** Nejprve představíme obsah a nejdůležitější poznatky z monografie Jiřího Perglera (2020) k reflexivnímu deagentivu (= RD) v češtině 15.–17. století. Poté soustředíme pozornost na vybrané dílčí aspekty, přihlížejíce ke konstrukčnímu přístupu k diachronním změnám (Traugott 2015; Smirnova & Sommerer 2020; aj.). Zajímat nás bude, jak se jednotlivé rysy předchozích konstrukcí mění směrem k deagentivu. Zdůrazňujeme přitom postupnost změn místo význačného užití (Pergler 2020) a tudíž upřednostňujeme kontextuálně vymezenou reanalýzu „po etapách“, vedoucí od dekauzativní k deagentivní konstrukci. Zároveň se tím vzdáváme tradičně vymezované dichotomie mezi těmito konstrukcemi (např. Comrie 1985; Haspelmath 1993; 2021; aj.).

Vycházejíce z pojetí konstrukčního síťování (Fried 2013a), podle něhož reflexivní konstrukce představují uskupení v síti vztahů na základě rodinné podobnosti (*Familienähnlichkeiten*, Wittgenstein 1953), považujeme ovšem za podstatné zachytit to, že koncepce síťování reflexivních konstrukcí je organizována na principu „rodinné dědičnosti“, při níž jsou konstrukce propojeny geneticky příbuznou, nikoliv identickou syntaxí a geneticky příbuznou, avšak ne identickou sémantikou (AB...n → BC...n → CD...n → DE...n).

Modifikujeme zde Heinův (2002) model, v němž vystupují dvě po sobě následující stadia, nazvaná styčný a přepínací kontext, které lze pokládat za odpovědné za proces a výsledek konstrukcionalizace (dekauzativ → přechodná konstrukce → deagentiv).

Co se týče vztahu k pasivu, zůstala doposud nezodpovězena otázka, jak se tyto konstrukce, obě Haspelmathem (1990) označované jako „pasivum“, od sebe navzájem funkčně liší, pokud v daném jazyce vznikly na základě morfoloické inaktivizace situace, označené slovesným kmenem. Předpokládáme, že se v průběhu vývojového procesu participant s rolí agentu, integrovaný do dvou sice původně inaktivních, ale odlišných konceptů (procesuální stadium u dekauzativu a stavové stadium u předmětového resultativu), spolupodílel na utváření do různé míry funkčně odlišných konstrukcí deagentivu a pasiva.

**KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA:** konstrukční změna; pasivum participiální; přechodná konstrukce; (personální / impersonální / tranzitivně impersonální) reflexivní deagentiv; reflexivní dekauzativ

## 4. Agent realization within the argument structures of the RD

Closely related to argument structure and valency is also the question of agent realization in older Czech. Although according to Meyer (2010: 303) the realizability of the agent is independent of the distinction between the personal and impersonal RD, figure 2 shows that overt expression of the agent is restricted to stages I, II and III(a), i.e. to (di-)transitive verbs, ACC/NON-ACC verbs and intransitive object-taking verbs, while, for objectless intransitives (IIIb) and transitives used without an object, no realization of the agent was possible even in older Czech (*\*pracovalo/umíralo se námi* lit. ‘it has been / was being worked/died by us’). We do not presently have any

data from other Slavic languages either that exhibit such a syntactic property today.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, the *verbum dicendi* cited in this context, *volati* ‘to call’ (Meyer 2010: 297; Pergler 2020: 116; 172), which supposedly documents the possibility of an overt expression of the agent with intransitive verbs, is only of limited validity as an attestation, because it is a representative of the ACC/NON-ACC verbs addressed above, which realize their complement in various manners: “A *volá* (P) / *na* P / *k* P” ‘A is calling (P)’ / lit. ‘onto’ P / lit. ‘to’ P”. One attestation of a real intransitive object-taking verb dates from 1550 to 1553, cf. (51):<sup>46</sup>

(51) *jestliže by pak týž Vávrový a nebo pánu jejímu se zdálo,*

|           |           |           |              |            |           |           |           |                 |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|
| <i>že</i> | <i>by</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>jí</i>    | <i>ode</i> | <i>mě</i> | <i>tu</i> | <i>co</i> | <i>ublížilo</i> |
| that      | SBJV.3SG  | REFL      | her.DAT.SG.F | by         | me.GEN.SG | somehow   |           | hurt.PST.3SG.N  |

(ListDorotaZKrumlova1, VII'1r–v)

‘if it seemed then to the same Mrs. Vávra or to her husband that she would somehow be hurt by me’

## 5. From inactive situations such as those specified by the decausative or the object resultative to the RD or passive

The diachronic study of passive and deagentive morphology tells us what the original semantic functions of the passive and deagentive markers were, before they were formally reduced and semantically generalized as grammatical items (Haspelmath 1990: 25). A feature common to them is that they express the inactiveness of the situation directly on the verb (Haspelmath 1990: 59). For Haspelmath, it is important to note that such inactive situations led to the development of the “passive”. The functional differences between the various constructions subsumed here under the label “passive” are not further addressed, but become crucial for us when they appear in parallel in a language such as Czech. Typological similarities have arguably led previous studies to label the modern Czech personal RD as a “reflexive passive”, cf. especially the features (d.-i.) in table 3 below.

The morphology diachronically underlying the participial passive originally signaled only a stative situation expressed by an object resultative, whereas that of the RD signaled a processual one expressed by a decausative.<sup>47</sup> This is precisely where our hypothesis comes in, namely that the integration and stabilization of the agent’s position in differently conceptualized inactive situations reinforced the functional

<sup>45</sup> With two participants in stage V, the overt expression of the agent seems to be licensed again, cf. the Ukrainian transitive impersonal deagentive (*Матір'ю*) *миється дитину/дитина* ‘The child is being washed (by [its] mother).’ (Fehrmann & Junghanns & Lenertová 2010: 206).

<sup>46</sup> Pergler’s (2020: 317) three impersonal RDs with an overt agent are based on transitive and intransitive object-taking verbs, and each structure contains a complement (PP, SC and IO).

<sup>47</sup> Different constructions are assumed, for example, by Chodova (1980) for Old Church Slavonic and by Dankov (1981) for Old East Slavic.

difference between these two constructions in modern Czech (cf. features b.-c. in table 3).

**Table 3:** Essential characteristics of the RD and the passive in modern Czech

|    |   | <b>Deagentive</b>             | <b>Passive</b>                |
|----|---|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| a. | morphology of V                         | 3p + <i>se</i>                | <i>být</i> + -n/-t-participle |
| b. | original A implication                  | decausative process           | object-resultative state      |
| c. | diachronic <i>tertium comparationis</i> | ┌ non-agentive events ┘       |                               |
| d. | A demotional                            | +                             | +                             |
| e. | P promotional                           | ±                             | ±                             |
| f. | P focusing                              | ±                             | +                             |
| g. | A defocusing                            | +                             | +                             |
| h. | discourse relevance of A                | lower                         | lowest                        |
| i. | overt A (new Cz)                        | - (A = [+hum])                | ± (A = [±hum])                |
| j. | relative topicality                     | P > A <sup>48</sup> ; A > (P) | P >> (A) <sup>49</sup>        |
| k. | topic propensity of A                   | (secondary) topical           | extremely non-topical         |
| l. | dyadic verb                             | ±                             | +                             |
| m. | verbal aspect                           | impfv > pfv                   | pfv > impfv                   |

In particular, this has consequences for the agent's degree of discourse relevance. Among its evolutionary properties, argument structure is primarily concerned with the way participants are involved in events and with their discourse relevance (communicative value) with respect to the nature of their arrangement. Here we invoke a notion of discourse relevance that is inherently connected to a particular construction and cannot be equated with its information structure, though the two may overlap just as well as they may counteract each other in the way they characterize the participants over a stretch of discourse. The relationship between the argument structure and the discourse relevance of the participants can be stated in the intuitive form of Shibatani's (2006: 261) coding principle: The higher the degree of discourse relevance a participant bears, the more centrally its syntactic status will be reflected in the coding of arguments. It is well known that deagentive constructions are used when the agent is to be defocused, such that it bears a lower degree of discourse relevance; hence it is this participant for which a less central or even no syntactic role at all is reserved. Passive constructions, on the other hand, are typically chosen when the patient is to receive a higher degree of discourse relevance than the agent. The patient is thus encoded in a central syntactic role, while the identity of the agent counts as communicatively unimportant information that is not expected to persist

<sup>48</sup> The agent corresponds to the secondary topic.

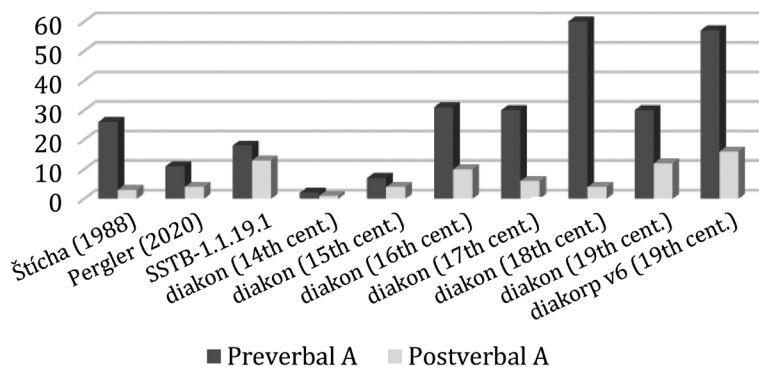
<sup>49</sup> The agent corresponds to the focus.

in the subsequent context and can therefore be left zero-marked (Givón 2017: 187). Only when the agent is deemed communicatively indispensable does it become overtly realized.<sup>50</sup>

The question then arises as to how the integration of the agent and the stabilization of its position interacts with the two originally inactive situations, or more precisely, what degree of discourse relevance can be observed for the agent in the passive vs. in the RD. We assume that in present-day Czech the agent has a higher degree of discourse relevance in the RD than it does in the passive. This is in line with Štícha (1988: 23; 1996: 849), according to whom the function of the RD is to represent the event as proceeding from the defocused agent, while the function of the passive is to represent the event as proceeding from the patient affected by the event. The agent in the passive is meanwhile understood to be backgrounded, existing only on the periphery of the underlying event.

The agent's degree of discourse relevance should also be reflected in its syntactic position. We therefore expect that the agent in the RD will tend to appear in a preverbal position, whereas the agent in the passive should tend to appear in a peripheral postverbal position.

To substantiate our assumptions here, we have taken a closer look at the data with respect to the syntactic position of the agent in the RD and in the passive of older and modern Czech and have undertaken a first probe into various diachronic (SSTB-1.1.19.1, diakon, diakorp v6) and synchronic (syn2020) corpora as well as into the evidence given by Pergler (2020) and Štícha (1988) (cf. table 4 and figure 4):



**Figure 4:** Absolute frequencies of the preverbal agent (with *od/t-PP*) in relation to the postverbal agent in the older Czech RD

<sup>50</sup> In line with this, it is believed that ca. 10% of passive forms in Czech have an overt agent (Štícha 2011: 821). Nevertheless, Karlík (2020: 99) points out that the difference between the passive and the resultative must be taken into account.

**Table 4:** Agent expression by means of an *od/t*-PP in the older Czech RD

| Source                      | Preverbal <i>od/t</i> -PP  | Postverbal <i>od/t</i> -PP | In total         |    |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|----|
| Štícha (1988)               | 26                         | 3                          | 29 <sup>51</sup> |    |
| Pergler (2020)              | 11                         | 4                          | 15 <sup>52</sup> |    |
| SSTB-1.1.19.1 <sup>53</sup> | 18                         | 13                         | 31               |    |
| diakon                      | (14th cent.) <sup>54</sup> | 2                          | 1                | 3  |
|                             | (15th cent.)               | 7                          | 4                | 11 |
|                             | (16th cent.)               | 31                         | 10               | 41 |
|                             | (17th cent.)               | 30                         | 6                | 36 |
|                             | (18th cent.)               | 60                         | 4                | 64 |
|                             | (19th cent.)               | 30                         | 12               | 42 |
| diakorpv6                   | (19th cent.) <sup>55</sup> | 57                         | 16               | 73 |

Since the data from the 14th to the 19th century show a preference for the *od/t*-PP, we have restricted our analysis to this most prevalent mode of agent expression in the RD and left the less frequently used instrumental NP and *skrz(e)*-PP aside. It is striking that, in the RD, the agent is most often realized after the patient but still before the verb, cf. (52):

(52) *Dryák benátský, dryák zlatý, prach zlatý a jiná lékařství k těm podobná,*

*jenž vůbec od doktoruov se užívají, [...].*  
 which in general by physician.GEN.PL REFL use.PRS.3PL

(VočehMor, E3v)

'A remedy from Venice, a golden remedy, golden powder and other similar remedies that are used by physicians in general, [...].'

Deviations from this tendency can be explained by recourse to principles of syntactic organization – e.g. when the agent occurs as the antecedent of a relative clause (53):

<sup>51</sup> Three further examples from Štícha (1988) are not addressed here, as they pertain to other reflexive functions.

<sup>52</sup> Though Pergler's (2020: 318) table 22 contains a total of 21 attestations, we have excluded some of those with the verb *dieti se* 'to happen', which we do not take to be RDs but rather transitional.

<sup>53</sup> Query within SSTB-1.1.19.1: [tag="V.....3.\*"] → P-filter (interval -5/+5) [lc="sě|se"] → P-filter (interval -5/+5) [lc="ot|od"], thereafter a manual filter.

<sup>54</sup> Query within diakon: [word="ot|od"] → P-filter (interval -5/+5) [word="sě|se"] [] within <doc temp="14.\*" /> → sorting right context, thereafter a manual filter.

<sup>55</sup> Query within diakorpv6: [lc="ot|od"] → P-filter (interval -5/+5) [lc="sě|se"] → [] within <doc temp="18.\*" /> → sorting doc.temp (1800–1899), thereafter a manual filter.

- (53) [...] *ale ty věci požívají se od najhorších lidí, ješto*  
 but these things apply.PRS.3PL REFL by worst.GEN.PL people.GEN.PL who  
*bez víry sú i beze vší ctnosti.* (ChelčLid, 78r)  
 '[...] but these things are applied by the worst of people, who are without faith and without all virtue.'

For the passive, the data do not show as consistent a picture as for the RD, and the above assumption of a postverbal tendency for the position of the agent does not hold for the older passive from the 14th to the 18th century, where a preverbal preference tends to be evident for all manners of expressing the agent (cf. table 5, with the exception of the *od/t*-PP in the 15th century):

- (54) *A tak všecko kázanie, což jim jich opat přikázal, to vše míle,*  
*jako by od samoho boha bylo*  
 as if.SBJV.3SG by himself.GEN.SG God.GEN.SG be.PST.3SG.N  
*přikázáno, učiniechu.*  
 command.PTCP.PASS.SG.N do.IMPF.3PL  
 (OtcB, 116r; 10s of the 15th century)  
 'And so all the preaching with which their abbot had charged them, all this they did in a loving manner such as if it had been commanded by God himself.'

**Table 5:** Agent expression by different means in the older Czech passive

| Source: SSTB-1.1.19.1 |            | <i>od/t</i> -PP | INS-NP      | <i>skrz(e)</i> -PP |
|-----------------------|------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------------|
| 14th cent.            | Preverbal  | 29              | 88          | 0                  |
|                       | Postverbal | 31              | 20          | 1                  |
| 15th cent.            | Preverbal  | 787             | 414         | 141                |
|                       | Postverbal | 1014            | 232         | 78                 |
| 16th cent.            | Preverbal  | 215             | 134         | 68                 |
|                       | Postverbal | 119             | 74          | 29                 |
| 17th cent.            | Preverbal  | 110             | 35          | 14                 |
|                       | Postverbal | 24              | 10          | 2                  |
| 18th cent.            | Preverbal  | 11              | 1           | 3                  |
|                       | Postverbal | 3               | 1           | 0                  |
| <b>In total</b>       |            | <b>2343</b>     | <b>1009</b> | <b>336</b>         |

To fill the gap in the data for the 19th century, we consulted the corpus *diakon* with respect to the position of the agent and observed an almost balanced distribution for the instrumental PP (preverbal A: 158, postverbal: 148), while preverbal positioning continued to predominate for the *od/t*-PP (preverbal A: 27, postverbal A: 13).<sup>56</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Query within *diakon*: [word=".\*án[aoiy]|.\*at[aoiy]|.\*en[aoiy]|.\*ěn[aoiy]|.\*nut[aoiy]|.\*ut

From the 20th century onwards, the instrumental PP prevails in the standard language for expressing the agent.

Finally, we cross-checked the frequencies of the agent's positioning for the modern Czech passive in syn2020 and were able to confirm the initially assumed tendency that, in modern Czech, the agent appears postverbally more frequently than it does preverbally (cf. table 6 and figure 5):<sup>57</sup>

(55) *V mém životě jsou všechny věci řízeny*  
 in my life be.PRS.3PL all things.NOM.PL.F direct.PTCP.PASS.PL.F  
*náhodou nebo Pánem Bohem. (syn\_v9)*  
 by chance or Lord God.INS.SG  
 'In my life, all things are directed by chance or by the Lord God.'

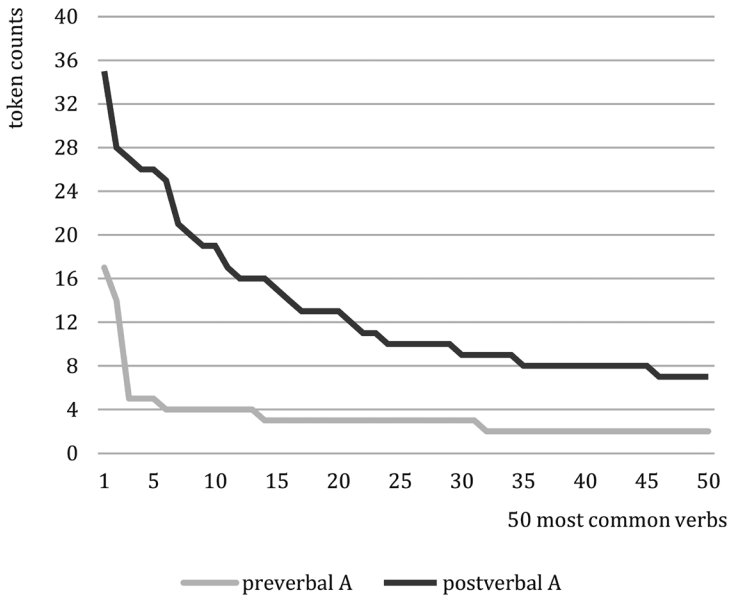


Figure 5: Relational frequency of the agent's position in the modern Czech passive for the 50 most common verbs within the present dataset

[aoiy]|.\*yt[aoiy]|.\*it[aoiy]" → P-filter (interval -5/+5) [word="by|byl|byl[aoiy]]je|jsem|jsi|jsme|jste|jsou|bude|budou|být" → P-filter (interval -5/+5) [word="\*em|\*ou|\*í|\*ím|\*y|\*i|\*am|\*em|\*ěm|\*ím|od"] within <doc temp="18.\*" /> → manual filter.

<sup>57</sup> Query within syn2020: [tag="Vs.\*"] → P-filter (interval -2/+2) [lemma="být"] → P-filter (interval -2/-1 resp. +1/+2) [tag="N.M.7.\*"], thereafter a manual negative filter for verbs that encode arguments within their valency in the instrumental case.





The initially processual perspective, which proceeded from the patient, has thereby been able to develop further, such that it moves from the patient to the agent and then onwards (cf. the feature h. in table 3).

However, we must take into consideration here that the agent is only very rarely overt; as was already mentioned above, the 15th–17th centuries account for only about 5% of overt cases (cf. sec. 1). This is in line with the universal tendency for passive structures not to express agents overtly (Shibatani 1985: 831; 1998: 137; Givón 2001: 126).<sup>58</sup> The deagentive construction became further conventionalized at the point in time when the agent had become predictable as a zero-marked topic. The later retraction, i.e. the loss of the overt agent, thus affected only a very small proportion of instances, and one of its causes can be seen in analogy to the impersonal objectless RD, which also did not express an overt agent (cf. figure 2).<sup>59</sup>

As for the agent's position within information structure in present-day Czech, we posit the following: In the case of an RD with a patient promoted into initial subject position, the agent functions as a secondary covert topic and occurs after the patient, which is the primary topic (cf. e.g. 57).<sup>60</sup> In the case of an RD with a postposed patient, the latter is prototypically interpreted as the focus, while the agent continues to represent the covert topic unchanged, as in an RD without a patient.

Like the RD, the passive based on an objective resultative is also a patient-oriented construction. The expressed event is conceptualized from the perspective of the patient it affects insofar as it typically comes to its conclusion with the patient serving as a result or an inner limit of the event. According to the data available so far, the agent in the older passive had a comparably high degree of discourse relevance to the agent in the RD. It seems that the agent of the passive has stabilized in a peripheral syntactic role with a very low degree of discourse relevance only in modern Czech,

<sup>58</sup> The quantitative distribution of overt expression of the agent between transitive verbs and intransitive object-taking verbs would also be relevant here.

<sup>59</sup> Vintr (1980: 112) supposes that overt expression of the agent of the RD was lost after the participial passive became paradigmaticized and after the expansion of homonymy-producing reflexive intransitives (*běleti se* 'to shimmer white'; *napracovati se* 'to work hard'). This may, however, be contradicted not only on chronological grounds (retraction occurred only from about the middle to the end of the 19th cent.), but also due to syntactic restrictions upon the formation of the RD based on reflexive verbs and upon expression of an agent in objectless structures (cf. figure 2, stage IIIb). Mrázek's (1979: 11) claim – namely that the somewhat less-restricted availability of the overt agent in the Slovak RD indicates its more archaic character – requires cross-checking in the SNK, because the given attestations of the agent (*Zošity sa kontrolujú učiteľom* 'The exercise books are checked by the teacher') have Czech equivalents that occur also in habituais where the agent coincides with the function of manner adverbials bearing the feature [+hum] (*Voda v nádrži se pravidelně kontroluje hygieniky* (syn\_v9) 'The water in the tank is regularly checked by health inspectors').

<sup>60</sup> Cf. also Berger (1991: 76) on the topical function of the implicit agent in the defocusing construction with the 3p pl.

after the agent of the RD had stabilized in its defocusing function and dropped from overt syntactic realization. Accordingly, the divergent discourse relevance of the agent in the two constructions seems to be a fairly recent development.

## 6. Discourse relevance with regard to the participants of the RD

As we have shown above, the manner of the agent's integration and the stabilization of its position in the RD vs. in the passive accounts for their different degrees of discourse relevance in modern Czech. While the agents of both personal-RD and passive clauses have a lower degree of discourse relevance or topicality in comparison to patients promoted into initial position, the agent of an RD still has a higher degree of relevance than that of a passive, which is extremely low in its degree of discourse relevance. This is a major difference between the RD and the passive as defocusing construction types.

In summary, then, the agent's degree of discourse relevance is lower in agent-defocusing constructions than it is in canonical diathesis. This is true, incidentally, not only for the RD and the passive, but also for the defocusing construction with the 3p plural. The latter exhibits a comparable degree of discourse relevance (which requires its own in-depth study), such that the discourse hierarchy of the agent may be stipulated as follows:

(56) canonical diathesis > 3p pl, RD > passive

Different degrees of discourse relevance can also be observed within the argument structure of the RD itself (cf. figure 2). From the point of view of the patient, which is affected by the constructional changes in stages I–V, the decline of its own degree of discourse relevance occurs in relation to the agent. In the case of an RD with a (topical) patient promoted into initial position, the patient's high degree of discourse relevance ensures that it is promoted to subject with typical subject-coding properties, despite its bearing several features that are not prototypical of subjects (behavior and control properties, semantic properties, e.g. a lack of agentivity, frequently also of animacy) in the sense of Keenan (1976):<sup>61</sup>

(57) *V bytě každého varšavského intelektuála i za nejhoršího stalinismu byly vystaveny knihy exilových vydavatelství z Paříže, z Londýna.*

|                  |                |                  |                         |               |          |                  |
|------------------|----------------|------------------|-------------------------|---------------|----------|------------------|
| <b>Ty</b>        | <b>knihy</b>   | <b>se</b>        | <b>četly,</b>           | <b>třebas</b> | <b>v</b> | <b>tramvaji,</b> |
| the              | books.NOM.PL.F | REFL             | read.PST.3PL.F          | for example   | in       | tram             |
| <b>půjčovaly</b> | <b>se,</b>     | <b>citovaly.</b> | <small>(syn_v9)</small> |               |          |                  |
| borrow.PST.3PL.F | REFL           | quote.PST.3PL.F  |                         |               |          |                  |

<sup>61</sup> Based on a multifactor concept of subjecthood in general, syntactically derived subjects are, according to Keenan (1976: 323), never more subject-like than basic subjects in the sense that they do not present a fuller complement of the properties that universally characterize basic subjects.

'In the apartment of every Warsaw intellectual, even under the worst Stalinism, there were books by publishers in exile on display, from Paris and London. These books were read, perhaps on the tram, borrowed, quoted.'

The degree of discourse relevance of the patient is reduced when it occurs after the verb (58) or additionally remains *in situ* as an IO, SC, INF or DIRS without promotion (stage II<sub>d</sub>, cf. 59). Incidentally, a postposed patient no longer needs to be intuitively perceived as a subject if the encoding of the nominative case coincides syncretically with that of the accusative case, marking objects:<sup>62</sup>

(58) *Děda mě učil jazyky a chodil se mnou na tajné výlety.*

|                                |                   |                                    |  |                    |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|--|--------------------|
| <i>Hrály</i><br>play.PST.3PL.F | <i>se</i><br>REFL | <i>karty,</i><br>card.NOM=ACC.PL.F | <i>zpívalo</i><br>sing.PST.3SG.N           | <i>se,</i><br>REFL |
| <i>četlo</i><br>read.PST.3SG.N | <i>a</i><br>and   | <i>pilo</i><br>drink.PST.3SG.N     | <i>víno. (syn_v9)</i><br>wine.NOM=ACC.SG.N |                    |

'My grandfather taught me languages and went on secret trips with me. Cards were played, there was singing, reading and drinking of wine.'

(59) *Dříve se říkalo: Co Čech, to muzikant, Čechy –*  
once REFL say.PST.3SG.N what Czech that musician Bohemia  
*konzervatoř Evropy. (syn\_v9)*  
conservatory Europe

'It used to be said that every Czech is a musician, and Bohemia is the conservatory of Europe.'

When the discourse relevance of the patient decreases, the discourse relevance of the defocused agent increases, which, however, always remains lower in the RD than it does in canonical diathesis.<sup>63</sup> In objectless structures, the degree of discourse relevance of the agent is naturally high, due to the absence of a patient (stage III(b), cf. 60); after all, in the case of substandard transitive impersonal deagentives, the comparatively lower degree of discourse relevance of the patient is reflected by it being morphologically encoded as a direct object (stage V, cf. 61):<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> The gradual change of the postposed patient from subject to object (stage II to V) proceeds also by small steps and affects the verbal agreement: to begin with, the predicate (default with -o) and, later, also the patient (NOM → ACC), cf. (46–49).

<sup>63</sup> The diminished referential status of the agent goes back to the under-specification of the features [person], [number] and [gender] associated with its syntactic demotion.

<sup>64</sup> The patient in (49) is topicalized due to the information structure and its high discourse relevance, but it remains encoded as a direct object due to its animacy (NOM≠ACC). The otherwise expected encoding as a subject would be homonymous with the subject participant of a cognate precursor (= semantic reflexive). The question raised in EŠČ (2001: 371) about the coding of the patient in *Ta dívka / Tu dívku se líbá dobře* 'The girl is good to kiss' can be answered similarly. The accusative encoding of the object avoids homonymy with the subject participant of a cognate precursor 'The girl kisses well' (= reciprocal reflexive with second participant omitted, cf. *Červená vázanka: vášnivý typ, rád a často se líbá. (syn\_v9)* 'Red tie: a passionate guy, he likes to kiss a lot.').

- (60) *Dokud se zpívá, ještě se neumřelo.* (syn\_v9)  
 as long as REFL sing.PRS.3SG yet REFL die.NEG.PST.3SG.N  
 'As long as one sings, one hasn't died yet.'
- (61) *Do března se bude podporovat vědeckou zvědavost a intuitivní schopnosti.* (syn\_v9)  
 until March REFL be.FUT.3SG encourage.INF scientific.ACC.SG.F  
 curiosity.NOM=ACC.SG.F and intuitive.NOM=ACC.PL skills.NOM=ACC.PL  
 'Until March scientific curiosity and intuitive abilities will be supported.'

It follows from what has been said that we do not fully agree with the hypothesis of Fried (2006: 88; 2007: 732) and, following her, Pergler (2020: 131), according to which the patient's degree of discourse relevance is invariably low, as this does not apply to the RD with a patient promoted to initial position. Interpreting Fried (2007: 732), there is no one-to-one correspondence for the RD between syntactic promotion of the patient, on the one hand, and a high discourse relevance, on the other ('while the Czech be-passive is promotional both formally and functionally, the AR [= RD, A.P.] is formally promotional [...] but functionally demotional', Fried 2007: 732).<sup>65</sup> However, in our opinion, this mismatch between form and function stands in contradiction to the motivation of economy (Haspelmath 1998: 1050–1051; the principle of maximized economy, Goldberg 1995: 69), which works to constrain the quantity of constructions in a language. We therefore see here rather the motivation of clarity in operation, which works in the opposite way, creating a tendency toward forms that are more distinct (the principle of maximized expressive power). Since the RD is, at least in its personal structure, a genuine promotional construction, Fried's deemphasizing function with respect to the patient can only apply to those structures of the RD in which the patient either occurs postposed (with possible syncretism of the NOM and ACC) or is not present in the argument structure at all.

For the sake of brevity, we outline here four further indications that substantiate the view of patients promoted into initial position as having a high degree of discourse relevance and corroborate these with supporting evidence:

- An RD and a passive can share a common patient, which in the case of the latter construction bears a high degree of discourse relevance (cf. 62):<sup>66</sup>

- (62) a. *Potom vezli guláš dál na Tiszalök, Zombor, a když už nikdo nečekal, že se bude guláš rozdávat, zastavil se vlak v Novém Městě pod Šiatorem, kde se znovu rozdělal oheň pod kotlí,*

<sup>65</sup> For a purely formal-syntactic consideration of these terms, cf. Comrie (1977).

<sup>66</sup> Neither the English nor the German translation employs here similar defocusing constructions such as the 3p pl *they* or the *man*-construction, respectively (the latter being comparable to use of the generic pronoun *one* in English), because, in contrast to the Czech RD, these do not have a patient in subject position, but rather an agent, which for its part cannot be coordinated with the patient of the passive.

|   |                   |                                |                 |                            |                           |
|---|-------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| <b>guláš</b><br>goulash.NOM.SG.M            | <b>se</b><br>REFL | <b>ohřál</b><br>heat.PST.3SG.M | <b>a</b><br>and | <b>byl</b><br>be.PST.3SG.M | <b>konečně</b><br>at last |
| <b>rozdán.</b><br>distribute.PTCP.PASS.SG.M |                   |                                |                 | (syn_v9: J. Hašek, Švejk)  |                           |

- b. English: *And so they took the goulash farther on to Tiszaľok and Sambor, and when no one any longer expected that any goulash would be distributed the train stopped at Sátoraljaujhely, where fires were again lit under the cauldrons and **the goulash was again heated and at last distributed.*** (InterCorp v13ud, translator: C. Parrott)
- c. German: *Dann transportierte **man** das Gulasch weiter nach Tisza-Lucz, Zambor, und als schon niemand mehr erwartete, dass **man** das Gulasch verteilen werde, hielt der Zug in Neustadt bei Satoraljaujhely, wo neuerdings unter dem Kessel Feuer gemacht, das **Gulasch gewärmt und endlich verteilt wurde.*** (InterCorp v13ud, translator: G. Reiner)
- Since, according to the family inheritance theory, constructions are linked by inheritance relations, we see a network of the decausative, the modal constructions (e.g. the Russian “potential passive”, cf. (63), and middle constructions (64–65)) and the personal RD, all of which are linked by the inherited feature of having a high degree of discourse relevance for the (topical) patient. All four constructions draw attention to the same promoted participant, which, instead of being downplayed, acquires a temporary or even an obligatory inherent property, as is specified by the semantics of the sentence in question. This effect is exemplified in (63–65).<sup>67</sup>

(63) Russian: *Новинка примечательна тем, что всего за шесть приемов*

|  |  |       |  |
|--|--|-------|--|
| <b>велосипед</b><br>bike.NOM.SG                                  | <b>складывается</b><br>fold.PRS.3SG.REFL |       |  |
| <i>до минимальных размеров и помещается в небольшой чемодан.</i> |  | (RNC) |  |

‘The novelty is notable for the fact that in just six steps the bike folds up to its minimum size and fits into a small suitcase.’

(64) Polish: **Szarlotka** **się** **łatwo** **kroi.**  
apple pie.NOM.SG REFL easily cut.PRS.3SG

‘The apple pie cuts easily.’ (Holvoet & Linde-Usiekiewicz 2015: 109)

(65) **Kiwi** **se** **dobře** **krájí** **na** **vajíčkovém kráječi.** (syn\_v9)  
kiwi.NOM.SG REFL well slice.PRS.3SG on egg slicer

‘Kiwi slices well on an egg slicer.’

<sup>67</sup> This is contrary to Sansò (2006: 242–243), who assigns a “low individuation” to the patient in the middle construction (fr. *Le livre se vend bien* ‘The book sells well’) and the modal-deontic RD (fr. *Cela ne se dit pas* ‘One doesn’t say that’) in the context of an “agentless generic event”. Sansò’s (2006: 241) situation type “bare happening” with a “low individuation” also applies to the structures of the RD with a postposed patient or to those of the RD without a patient, but not to those with an initially promoted patient, as postulated by Pergler (2020: 130) (cf. figure 2). Taken together, Pergler’s (2020: 311, tables 19, 20) diachronic data on word order also suggest that the RD emerged from a patient-oriented construction (S–V with 57% vs. V–S with 25%).

- Similar pragmatic restrictions against an animate patient in the Czech RD and the Russian reflexive passive are in contradiction to the patient of the latter being ascribed a high degree of discourse relevance. Compare the following rendering of the Czech passive in combination with an animate patient to the Russian translation, in which the reflexive passive is not used (cf. 66):

(66) a. *Pak byl vlečen průjezdem přes schody*  
 then be.PST.3SG.M drag.PTCP.PASS.SG.M carriage-way across stairs  
*k svému bytu a v bytě hozen jako žok na pohovku.*  
 to his apartment (syn\_v9: J. Hašek, Švejck)

b. English: **They dragged him** roughly down the carriage-way and up the stairs to his apartment. Once inside, they threw him down like a bale of hay onto the sofa.  
 (INTERCORP, translator: Z. “Zenny” K. Sadloň)

c. Russian: *Еле-еле его втащили квартиру по лестнице в*  
 with effort him drag.PST.3PL apartment across stairs to  
*и, как мешок, свалили на диван.* (INTERCORP: translator P. Bogatyrev)

- Highly individuated patients denoted by proper nouns are in fact rarely permitted (contrary to Fried 2006: 95 and Pergler 2020: 134). They occur only when the patient from one descendant (= RD) does not conflict with the agent of a cognate precursor (= semantic reflexive) resulting in ill-formedness or potential homonymy (cf. 67 vs. 68):

(67) *Venoušek se poznal na školní fotografii*  
 Venoušek.NOM.SG.M REFL recognize.PST.3SG.M in school photo  
*z Lidic. (syn\_v9)*  
 from Lidice

‘Venoušek recognized himself in a school photo from Lidice.’

(68) *Mickey Mouse se pozná podle toho,*  
 Mickey Mouse.NOM.SG. REFL recognize.PRS.3SG according to this  
*že má čtyři prsty. (syn\_v9)*

‘Mickey Mouse can be recognized by the fact that he has four fingers.’

## 7. The discourse roles of the RD in the context of family inheritance

The hypothesis that the patient of an RD has a low degree of discourse relevance, the validity of which is restricted here to patients only in certain positions, is also connected by Fried (2007: 733–734) to the interaction of discourse roles. The basic pragmatic function of the RD in her view is to allow reference to discourse roles in an indirect way, which, however, excludes the 1st and 2nd person, as these impart a high degree of discourse relevance to the patient. Pergler (2020: 134, fn. 114) adopts this hypothesis and sees evidence in (69) that the low degree of discourse relevance in combination with the 3rd person permits the use of the RD with an animate patient, despite the potential for homonymy with other reflexive functions:

|  |           |                  |                    |
|--|-----------|------------------|--------------------|
| (69) <i>Cizinci</i>                    | <i>se</i> | <i>obsluhují</i> | <i>přednostně.</i> |
| foreigner.NOM.PL                       | REFL      | serve.PRS.3PL    | with priority      |
| 'Foreigners are served with priority.' |           |                  | (MČ 3 1987: 239)   |

If the allocation of the patient were indeed only dependent on its degree of discourse relevance, then we should not expect any pragmatic restrictions against an animate patient in combination with the 3rd person. However, we encounter animate patients – as has incidentally also been noted by the grammarians of the Czech National Revival (Tomsa 1782: 368; Dobrovský 1819: 233; cf. Půda 2019) – as a rule only where this constructional feature does not conflict with the agent of a cognate precursor construction (see below) resulting in potential homonymy or ill-formedness.<sup>68</sup>

The behavior of the Russian cognate construction also contradicts the explanation given above for the exclusion of the 1st and 2nd person. The Russian reflexive passive assigns a high degree of discourse relevance to its patient but nevertheless behaves just like the Czech RD in that, contrary to the hypothesis, it usually does not allow patients in the 1st and 2nd person.

Finally, one can also observe in a genetic descendant of the RD, the dispositional reflexive, that it is not the high degree of discourse relevance of the 1st and 2nd person that allows avoidance of a homonymous or ill-formed reading, but unambiguous identification of the patient. There is a particular peripheral dispositional type that allows the patient to bear a high degree of discourse relevance because the logical subject is encoded in the dative due to its role as experiencer and thus cannot overlap with the agent of antecedent constructions higher up on the inheritance path:

|  |           |           |                |                    |
|--|-----------|-----------|----------------|--------------------|
| (70) <i>Ty</i>   | <i>se</i> | <i>mi</i> | <i>kreslíš</i> | <i>dobře</i>       |
| you.NOM.SG   | REFL      | me.DAT.SG | draw.PRS.3SG   | well               |
| ( <i>, ale Alenu pořád ne a ne vystihnout.</i> )   |           |           |                | (Hencová 2007: 42) |
| 'You draw easily to me ≈ You are easy for me to draw (but I still can't get Alena right).' |           |           |                |                    |

The restriction to the 3rd person and the partial pragmatic restrictions against an animate patient can be explained in terms of the family inheritance of the constructions in question. The RD primarily developed from the decausative with an inanimate patient, which was typically in the 3rd person. From there, the construction took on the feature of having an animate patient in the third person, but only when no potential homonymy with cognate precursors or ill-formedness would arise (*řešení/nástupce se hledá* 'a solution/a successor is being sought'). A secondary inheritance path leads to the RD by way of decausatives with an optional or obligatory

<sup>68</sup> Incidentally, reflexive functions whose subjects have a high degree of discourse relevance of their own accord also employ clarifying linguistic devices (*sám* 'self') to exclude a contextually possible reading as an RD or another reflexive function (*Pro majitele barů jsou výhodou nižší náklady: nevyžaduje to takové nasazení personálu, zákazníci se obsluhují sami.* (syn\_v9) 'For bar owners, the advantage is lower costs: it doesn't require hiring so many staff, the customers serve themselves').



animate patient, such as e.g. of the type *zabije se* 'he kills himself on purpose' (= semantic (intentional)) → 'he kills himself by accident' (= semantic (non-intentional)) → 'he loses his life' (= decausative reflexive, transitional construction) → 'they kill him / he gets killed' (= RD):

- (71) *Takže se vyvinulo procesí: když se zabije vepř,*  
 thus REFL develop procession when REFL kill.PRS.3SG pig.NOM.SG  
*soudruzi provepřici ho položí na taková nosítka a nesou ho se zpěvem písně Nemelem, nemelem,*  
*teď se pěkně nažerem!* (syn\_v9: J. Škvorecký, Příběh inženýra lidských duší II)  
 'Thus, a procession developed: when a pig is killed, [...].'

In cases where the 1st or 2nd person is used, the RD is known to have been able to establish itself in conventionalized contexts only sporadically and temporarily (72), since the potential homonymy with its constructional precursors is scarcely resolvable even by context:

- (72) *Jménem Jeho Veličerstva císaře a krále odsuzujete se*  
 name His Majesty Emperor and King condemn.PRS.2PL REFL  
*k smrti provazem.*  
 to death rope (syn\_v9: J. Hašek, Švejk)  
 'In the name of His Majesty the Emperor and King, you are condemned to death by hanging.'

## 8. Agent realization in view of the discourse roles of the passive

In this connection, a short excursion into the discourse roles in the passive voice is in order. Fried (2006: 89; 2007: 729) as well as the handbooks PMČ (1995: 524) and SČ (1998: 134) state that overt reference to the speaker or addressee is impossible in the passive. Pergler (2020: 108, fn. 91) qualifies this insofar as he rules out only those cases where the referent in either of these discourse roles is identical with the agent, while stating that the agent can occur overtly only when it subsumes the speaker or the addressee as its proper subset.<sup>69</sup> Contrary to all these assumptions, the corpus syn\_v9 yields examples with some frequency in which the speaker (73–74) or the addressee (75–77) is not only implied but rather signified as the sole agent (contrastively, among other things). Given the appropriate verbal semantics, even coreference between the agent and the patient is not ruled out (77), contrary to Karlík (2004: 105):<sup>70</sup>

<sup>69</sup> MČ 3 (1987: 240) treats the inclusion of these two discourse roles only in the case of an implicit agent.

<sup>70</sup> For coreference between the agent and the patient in the passive, extroverted verbs (other-directed, *vystrašit někoho* 'to frighten someone') – i.e. those expressing an action that is usually not directed at a patient that is coreferential with the agent and which favor the two participants being distinguishable – are certainly more suitable than introverted verbs (self-directed, *mýt se* 'to wash (oneself)'). However, both MČ 3 (1987: 241) and Karlík (2004: 105) consider only reflexive verbs of the introverted type *Petr se oholil* 'Petr shaved', which merely form a subject resultative without an expressed agent (*Petr už byl oholen / \*sebou* 'Petr was already shaved / \*by himself').



- (78) *má-lit' se jim modleno býti a*  
 should REFL they.DAT.PL pray.PTCP.PASS.SG.N be.INF and  
*klaněno?*  
 worship.PTCP.PASS.SG.N (ŠtítBarl, 727; Šimek 1946: 120)  
 'Should they be prayed to and worshipped?'

- (79) *Učební materiál by měl být*  
 learning material.NOM.SG.M SBJV.3SG should.PST.3SG.M be.INF  
*osvojen takovým způsobem, jakým bude využíván.* (syn\_v9)  
 acquire.PTCP.PASS.SG.M such way  
 'The learning material should be acquired in the way it will be used.'

Pergler (2020: 296–297) presents a single attestation of a deagentive infinitive within a “Slavic accusative and infinitive” construction (AcI), which he considers to have been generally possible in older Czech:

- (80) *Gestliže geft pak [...] nabožný Knjže odjauzenému propřeti nemohl, pohnut gsa litofti, a flzy wyléwage, [...] z Stanu wen wycházal,*  
*aby newiděl krev fwého bližnjho k Smrti je*  
 so see.NEG.PST.3SG.M blood.NOM=ACC.SG his loved to death REFL  
*odfuzowati.*  
 condemn.INF (TannJanVácl, 20–21)  
 '[...] so he would not have to see the blood of his loved one, [who was] to be condemned to death.'

In Půda (2018), we previously tried to show that such reflexive infinitives as in (80), with an inanimate patient, can be read decausatively but not deagentively in present-day Czech, cf. (81):

- (81) a. *Viděl jsem ho ohýbat železné tyče.*  
 see.PTCP.PRF.SG.M be.PRS.1SG him.ACC.SG.M bend.INF iron.ACC.PL bars.ACC.PL  
 'I saw him bending iron bars.'
- b. *Viděl jsem ohýbat se železné tyče.*  
 see.PTCP.PRF.SG.M be.PRS.1SG bend.INF REFL iron.ACC.PL bars.ACC.PL  
 'I saw iron bars bending.' (Půda 2018: 43)

The extent to which the deagentive infinitive was anchored in the linguistic system of older Czech needs to be further examined using a larger database, because the example in (80) is in fact an imitation of an AcI in a Latin original, cf. (82):

- (82) *Quòd fi fic reo prodeffe non poterat pijjsimus Dux, motus compaßione, & lachrymarum affluens ubertate, [...] exibat de tentorio,*  
*ne proximi Janguinem in mortem videret*  
 so that not loved.GEN.SG blood.ACC.SG to death.ACC.SG see.IMPF.SBJV.3SG  
*condemnari.*  
 condemn.INF.PASS  
 (Trophae A Sancti Wenceslai Bohemiae Regis Ac Martyris, 1661: 24)

From the Czech example in (80), one can see that the raising of *krev* 'blood' – i.e. the subject of the infinitive clause – into the object position of the matrix verb was possible because its encoding as an accusative object coincided syncretically with its nominative form. Otherwise, an unresolvable conflict would have arisen with respect to case marking and an ACI would have been impossible:

- (83) a. *Viděl*                      *zloděje*                      *okrádat*                      *nebohou*                      *stařenku*. (syn\_v9)  
 see.PST.3SG.M            thief.ACC.SG            rob.INF            poor.ACC.SG.F            old lady.ACC.SG.F  
 'He saw a thief robbing a poor old lady.'
- b. \**Viděl*                      *nebohá*                      *stařenka*                      *okrádat*                      *se*.  
 see.PST.3SG.M            poor.NOM.SG.F            old lady.NOM.SG.F            rob.INF            REFL

In an effort to better understand Felix Kadlinský's approach to the translation of such Latin mediopassive *r*-forms, we examined the work from which the example above was taken, *Život a sláva Swatého Wácflava* (1669; 1702), and did not find any consistent rendering of passive infinitives in ACI constructions – but for one exception. After verbs of commanding and inducing (*iubere* or *imperare* 'to command' as well as *curare* 'to let, to arrange for'), which exhibit object control, the canonical, i.e. active, infinitive appears in the Czech translation:

- (84) a. [*S*]*školy*                      *wšfecky*                      *zawřiti*,                      *Koftely*                      *pak*,                      *aneb*  
 schools.ACC.PL            all.ACC.PL            close.INF            churches.ACC.PL            then            either  
*zazditi*,                      *aneb*                      *dokonce*                      *špáliti*                      *poručila*; [...].  
 brick.INF            or            even            burn.INF            order.PST.3SG.F

(TannJanVácl, 11)

'She ordered all schools to be closed, then the churches either to be bricked up or burnt down.'

- b. '*Scholas igitur occludi omnes, templa verò aut obmurari iussit, aut comburi, adeòq; [...].*'  
 (Trophae A Sancti Wenceslai, 1661: 20)

We came across an analogous construction consisting of a control verb and an infinitive in Gebauer's (2007 [1929]: 571) historical grammar, which, however, is classified there as deagentive, cf. (85):

- (85) a. *Ten list nesčastný vévoda přečet, jal se posmievati a plinuv, na zemi povrh*  
*a*                      *toho*,                      *jenž*                      *list*                      *přinesl*,                      *nabiti*                      *sě*  
 and            this.GEN.SG.M            who            letter            bring.PST.3SG.M            beat up.INF            REFL  
*kázav*.  
 order.PTCP.PST.SG.M

*Takto svatému Antoní vzkázal.*

(PasMuzA, 97)

'The duke read the unfortunate letter, started laughing and, after spitting, threw it on the ground and ordered the one who had brought the letter to be beaten up. [...]

- b. *Infelix legit epistolam, irrisit et in eam [recent. legunt expuens] exsecrans ad terram project ac portitores verberibus multis afficiens Antonio talia remandavit.*  
 (Legenda aurea, Graesse 1890: 107)

It is evident even without the original that what we have here is not a deagentive infinitive, but rather the infinitive of a reflexive verb with genitive government (cf. 86). This construction corresponds exactly to Kadlinský's approach, mentioned above, of following verbs of commanding with an active infinitive:

(86) *Pak počē Tandariášovi hroziti, řkúc:*

|               |           |             |                 |                 |
|---------------|-----------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>„Musím</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>tebe</i> | <i>nabiti.“</i> |                 |
| must.PRS.1SG  | REFL      | you.GEN.SG  | beat up.INF     | (TandBaw, 173v) |

‘Then he began to threaten Tandariáš, saying: “I must beat you up.”’

With respect to translation in general, we agree with Pergler (2020: 412) that a mediopassive *r*-form in Latin does not guarantee a reflexive deagentive reading in Czech, since, as is well known, other medial functions also come into question, most prominently the decausative. But even *r*-forms that have an unambiguous deagentive reading in the original can acquire a decausative reading in the Czech translation. In example (87) below, the cause of Wenceslaus' potential moral deviation is directly referenced within the relative clause of the Latin original (cf. *persecutiones, quibus* ‘persecutions, which’) but becomes uncertain in the Czech translation, as the equivalent cause (*protiwenstwĵ* ‘adversities’) is syntactically detached, having no further reference made to it in the following clause:

(87) a. *Mnohá a těžká protiwenstwĵ řnářel Swatý Wáclaw*

|             |           |              |          |              |               |                 |            |           |             |
|-------------|-----------|--------------|----------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|------------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>wřak</i> | <i>od</i> | <i>prawé</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>přĵmé</i> | <i>stězky</i> | <i>ctnosti/</i> | <i>ani</i> | <i>za</i> | <i>wlas</i> |
| yet         | from      | true         | and      | straight     | path          | virtue          | neither    | for       | hair        |

*ře ohnauti nedopustil.*  
REFL divert.INF allow.NEG.PST.3SG (TannJanVácl, 27)

‘Saint Wenceslaus endured many and grave adversities, yet he did not allow that he be diverted from the true and straight path of virtue even by a hair’s breadth.’

b. *Ingentes sunt, quos Sanctĵsimus hic Princeps ab hominibus pařsus est persecutiones, quibus tamen ne latum unguem à recto Virtutis tramite ře avelli permĵfit.*  
(Trophae A Sancti Wenceslai, 1661: 27)

This scope of interpretation suggests that not only potential homonymy with genetic precursors (semantic reflexive, autocausative and decausative) inhibited constructionalization of the deagentive infinitive. The fact that the decausative infinitive largely fulfilled the same communicative purposes as the deagentive infinitive also indicates that the above-mentioned opposed motivations of economy and clarity were in equilibrium, and there was no pressure upon the decausative infinitive to undergo a categorial functional expansion.

## 10. Conclusion

In summary, in order to close the evolutionary gap between the decausative and the deagentive, we have reanalyzed the traditional categorial dichotomy into a somewhat more fine-grained set of related constructions that differ in their degree of the

agent's dissociation and which still occur in present-day Czech (autonomous, decausative, transitional, deagentive). We have shown how the transitional construction, which includes in its event structure a human instigator with a low degree of dissociation, is sufficient to fill the gap between its reflexive precursor and its descendant. Nevertheless, we could only present examples that can plausibly be regarded as reflexes of the bridging contexts leading to the emergence of the RD, since our earliest data go back only to the 14th century and, as we have argued, the personal RD represented a fully grammaticalized construction already at that time. Furthermore, we have shown how the argument structures in the RD, which reflect continual changes to the status of the patient, can be linked to a plausible evolutionary path. Finally, we determined the variable degrees of discourse relevance of the patient depending on the underlying structures of the RD and used this same parameter with respect to the agent to show that its discourse relevance in the RD is lower than it is in the active voice but still higher than it is in the passive voice in modern Czech.

On the whole, we would like to emphasize at the end of this paper the extraordinary value of Jiří Pergler's monograph and the progress it makes in offering a comprehensive functional-constructional and diachronic account of the RD. In reading it, questions for further research nearly suggest themselves: It would, for example, be particularly worthwhile to factor in the developmental phases before and after the 15th–17th centuries and to examine the RD's interaction with the passive and other agent defocusing constructions in more detail. It remains to be hoped that scholars interested in the diachronic development of reflexive constructions will yet take up these tasks.

### Abbreviations of grammatical terms

|       |                 |        |                                   |
|-------|-----------------|--------|-----------------------------------|
| A     | agent           | NOM    | nominative                        |
| ACC   | accusative      | O      | object                            |
| AGR   | agreement       | P      | patient                           |
| COMPL | complement      | PART   | participle                        |
| DEF   | default form    | PP     | prepositional phrase              |
| DIRS  | direct speech   | pfv    | perfective                        |
| EXP   | experiencer     | RD     | reflexive deagentive              |
| impfv | imperfective    | S      | subject                           |
| HAB   | habitual        | SC     | subordinate clause                |
| IMPF  | imperfect       | X > Y  | "X is more topical than Y"        |
| INF   | infinitive      | X >> Y | "X is more topical by far than Y" |
| IO    | indirect object | 3p pl  | 3rd person plural                 |

**List of abbreviations and sources**

- AlxBM, AlxS, AlxV *Alexandreida, zlomek budějovicko-muzejní* [Alexandreis, the Budějovice and National Museum fragment]; middle of the 14th cent.; *Alexandreida, zlomek Šafaříkův* [Alexandreis, the Šafařík fragment]; middle of the 14th cent.; *Alexandreida, zlomek svatovítský* [Alexandreis, the St. Vitus fragment]; early 15th cent.; ed. Vážný, V. (1963): *Alexandreida*. Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd; ed. Zitová, A. (elec. edition VW).
- AnsNauč Anselm z Canterbury, *Naučenie svätého Anselma o poctivosti z nábožné milosti ku prijímaní tela božieho a o užitciech zámutka zde na tomto svete trpících* [The teaching of Saint Anselm concerning the honesty of religious grace to receive the body of God and the benefit of sorrow here in this world for those who suffer]; 3rd quarter of the 15th cent.; NK (Praha), sign. XVII B 6; ed. Hanzová, B. (elec. edition VW).
- BiblDrážď *Bible drážďanská, Matoušovo evangelium* [Dresden Bible, Gospel of Matthew]; 2nd half of the 14th cent.; Die Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (Dresden), sign. O e 85; ed. Kyas, V. (1981): *Staročeská Bible drážďanská a olomoucká. I. Evangelia*. Praha: Academia; eds. Voleková, K. – Svobodová, A. (elec. edition VW).
- BiblLitTřeb *Bible litoměřicko-třeboňská, A[ct]–Jud* [Litoměřice-Třeboň Bible, Acts–Jude]; 1411; Státní oblastní archiv (Biskupská knihovna) (Litoměřice), sign. B I F / 3–2; ed. Kyas, V. (1985): *Staročeská Bible drážďanská a olomoucká II. Epištoly, Skutky apoštolů, Apokalypsa*. Praha: Academia; eds. Šeráková, M. – Pytlíková, M. (elec. edition VW).
- Bible litoměřicko-třeboňská, R 1–R 15* [Litoměřice-Třeboň Bible, Rom 1–15]; 1411; Státní oblastní archiv (Třeboň), sign. A 2; ed. Kyas, V. (1985): *Staročeská Bible drážďanská a olomoucká II. Epištoly, Skutky apoštolů, Apokalypsa*. Praha: Academia; ed. Pytlíková, M. (elec. edition VW).
- BiblOl *Bible olomoucká, Genesis–Esdráš* [Olomouc Bible, Genesis–Ezra]; 1417; Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci (Olomouc), sign. M III 1/I; ed. Kyas, V. (1985): *Staročeská Bible drážďanská a olomoucká III. Genesis–Esdráš*. Praha: Academia; ed. Kreisingerová, H. (elec. edition VW).
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- BiblSeV *Biblij Česka* [Czech Bible [Severýn's 2nd edition 1537]]. W starem mieŝtie Prazkém Wytyfttiena. Leta Panie. Tifycyho / Pietifteho. XXXVII. [przedmluwa] [...] Pawel Sewerýn z Kapij hory [...]; NK (Praha), sign. 54 A 000014. Retrieved from: <http://www.manuscriptorium.com/cs> (17.02.2022).
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- DalV *Dalimilova kronika, rukopis vídeňský* [Chronicle of Dalimil, Viennese manuscript]; late 14th cent.; ÖNB (Wien), sign. NK Ser. nova 33; ed. Daňhelka, J. et al.; Černá, A. M. (elec. edition VW).
- Denník hraběte Heřmana Černína *Denník hraběte Heřmana Černína o druhé cestě poselské do Constantinople l. 1644–1645* [Diary of Count Heřman Černín about the second ambassadorial journey to Constantinople in the years 1644–1645]; ed. Jireček, J. In: Miklosich, F. – Fiedler, J. (1858): *Slavische Bibliothek oder Beiträge zur slavischen Philologie und Geschichte*. Zweiter Band. Wien: Bei Wilhelm Braumüller, 237–270.
- Dobrovský Dobrowsky, Joseph (1819): *Lehrgebäude der Böhmischen Sprache. Zum Theile verkürzt, zum Theile umgearbeitet und vermehrt*. [Edifice of teaching the Bohemian language] Prag: Bey Gottlieb Haase.
- DRV Douay–Rheims Version. *The Holy Bible. Translated from the Latin Vulgate, diligently compared with the Hebrew, Greek, and other editions in divers [sic] languages* [...]. Baltimore, Maryland: Copyright 1914, by John Murphy Company.
- HájPřfH Václav Hájek z Libočan, *O nešťastné příhodě, kteráž se stala skrze oheň v Menším Městě pražském a na Hradě svatého Václava i na Hradčanech etc.* [On an unfortunate incident, which occurred due to a fire in the Lesser Prague Town, at the Castle of St. Wenceslaus and in the Hradčany District etc.] Praha: Netolický z Netolic, Bartoloměj, 1541. NK (Praha), sign. 54 J 001484; elec. edition VW.
- HusDcerkaH Jan Hus, *Dcerka nebo O poznání cesty pravé k spasení* [The daughter or On recognizing the true path to salvation]; 1414; NK (Praha), sign. IV C 18; ed. Hanzová, B. (elec. edition VW).
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- KázDzikSct *Kázání dzikovská na okruh de sanctis* [Dzikowian sermons for the calendar of saints]; 1420s; Biblioteka Jagiellońska Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego (Kraków), sign. Przyb. 177/51; ed. Svobodová, A. (elec. edition VW).
- KázProv *Řeč na Provodní neděli* [Divine Mercy Sunday sermon]; 1st half of the 15th cent.; NK (Praha), sign. XVII C 15; ed. Hanzová, B. (elec. edition VW).
- KJV *The Bible. Authorized King James Version*. With an Introduction and Notes by Robert Carroll and Stephen Prickett. 1997, reissued 2008. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- KristA *Život Krista Pána, rukopis A* [The life of Jesus Christ, manuscript A]; 1360/1380; NK (Praha), sign. XVII A 9; Stluka, M. (2006): *Život Krista Pána*. Brno: Host; ed. Stluka, M. (elec. edition VW).
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- NaučRod *Naučení Ludvíka z Pernštejna rodičům o vlastním vychování* [The teaching of Ludvík of Pernštejn addressed to his parents on his own upbringing]; turn of the 15th and 16th cent.; KNM (Praha), sign. V H 30; ed. Hanzová, B. (elec. edition VW).
- NLA28 *Nestle-Aland. Novum Testamentum Graece. Greek – English New Testament*. 28th Revised Edition. Ed. Holger Strutwolf. 2012. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.

- OtcB *Životy svatých otců (poustevníků)* [Lives of the holy fathers (hermits)]; 1st decade of the 15th cent.; NK (Praha), sign. XVII D 36; eds. Stluka, M. – Svobodová, A. (elec. edition VW).
- Voldřich Prefát z Vlkanova, *Cesta z Prahy do Benátek* Voldřich Prefát z Vlkanova, *Cesta z Prahy do Benátek a odtud potom po moři až do Palestiny, to jest do krajiny někdy Židovské, země Svaté, do města Jeruzaléma k Božímu hrobu, kteraužto cestu s pomocí Pána Boha všemohúcího šťastně vykonal Voldřich Prefát z Vlkanova léta Páně MDXXXVI* [Journey from Prague to Venice and thereafter from there across the sea to Palestine, ...]; ed. Hrdina, K. (1947): *Cesta z Prahy do Benátek*. V Praze: Vesmír; Bočková, H. (2007): *Oldřich Prefát z Vlkanova. Cesta z Prahy do Benátek a odtud potom po moři až do Palestiny* [...]. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny.
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- Pror *Proroci rožmberští* [Prophets of Rožmberk]; late 14th cent.; NK (Praha), sign. XVII D 33; eds. Stluka, M. – Pečřírková, J. (elec. edition VW).
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- ŠtítSvátA Tomáš Štítný ze Štítného, *Řeči nedělní a sváteční, rukopis A* [Sunday and holiday sermons, manuscript A]; late 14th or early 15th cent.; NK (Praha), sign. XVII C 15; ed. Hanzová, B. (elec. edition VW).
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- TannJanVácl *Žiwot a sláwa Swatého Wácflawa Mučednjka/ Knjžete/ Krale a Pátrona Českého* [The life and glory of Saint Wenceslaus the martyr, Duke, King and Patron of Bohemia]; Wydaný W Latinjké Ržečj/ od Ctihodného Kněze/ Janna Tannera z Towaryšftwa Gežjffowa. [...] W Czeffjtju wvedený Od Kněze Felixa Kadlinjkého/ z téhož Towaryšftwa Gežjffowa. Wytjfftěný w Praze/ w Impresfy Univerfitytis, w Kollegi Towaryšftwa Gežjffowého/ bliž Moftu/ Léta 1702.
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- Wenceslai Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia and martyr], Avgvstissimae Domvs Avstriacae Magni Tritavi, Vniversitatis Pragensis Primarij Patroni, Honori Illuftrijfimi Domini, Domini Joannis Kaldschmidt Liberi Baronis Ab Eisenberg, Dum Theses Ex Vniversa Philosophia In Magna Vniversitatis Pragensis Avla Propugnaret erecta. Pragae, Typis Vniverfitytis Carolo-Ferdinandae in Collegio Societ: Jesv ad S. Clementem. Anno M.DC.LXI.
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