ПОРІВНЯЛЬНО-ТИПОЛОГІЧНІ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ ГРАМАТИЧНИХ СИСТЕМ

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THE DOG BITES: ON THE "AGGRESSIVE" ANTIPASSIVE IN SLAVIC AND BALTIC[1]

Several Slavic and Baltic languages have an "aggressive" antipassive construction, where in a reflexive marker is used to mark object omission. The construction often carries habitual or potential aspectual meanings and is restricted to a small group of verbs. This study examines the lexical restrictions of the constructions across a sample of 11 Slavic and Baltic languages, with a special focus on Russian. The results show that across the languages, the construction is used to express a set of concepts, of which 'hit' and 'push' are the most prototypical. Verbs used in the antipassive express unwanted action on an animate patient, and they also share features of inherent atelicity and potential reciprocality. All languages in the survey display syncretism of reciprocal and antipassive markers, resulting in ambiguous plural subject constructions. Based on this, it is suggested that the "aggressive" antipassive with animate subjects has grammaticalized from the reciprocal function of the reflexive marker. Lexical semantics hence play an important role in the extension of functions of reflexive markers in these languages.

Key words: antipassive, reflexive, reciprocal, grammaticalization.

Introduction and theoretical background. A reflexive construction typically expresses co-reference of two participants in the clause, e.g. in *I wash myself* the 'washer' and the 'washed' are the same person. Reflexive markers also tend to grammaticalize to take on several related meanings, sometimes called the "middle voice" (Kemmer, 1993). The middle voice, according to Kemmer (1993), covers a large semantic domain characterized by a low degree of elaboration of participants. The semantic roles of the participants may be reversible (as in reciprocal constructions), or the agent may not be expressed at all (as in impersonal constructions).

In the Slavic and Baltic languages, the reflexive marker also appears in a construction with a typically transitive verb, where the patient is not expressed syntactically. For example, the Russian construction in (1) differs from its transitive

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counterpart in (2) where the patient is not expressed syntactically but still implied semantically, and the verb is marked with the etymologically reflexive *-sja*. Example (1) typically describes a characteristic of the dog, rather than an action of the dog, while the unnamed potential patient (people being bitten) is backgrounded. It often says something about the dog, rather than describes an action. Similar constructions are found in a number of Slavic and Baltic languages (Janic, 2016; Israeli, 1997; Holvoet, 2017).

(1) Russian
Sobak-a ***kusa-et-sja.***
dog-NOM bite.IPFV-3SG.PRS-REFL
`The dog has a habit of biting (people or animals).' (or `The dog bites.')

(2) Russian
Sobak-a ***kusa-et*** *ljudej.*
dog-NOM bite.IPFV-3SG.PRS people.ACC
`The dog bites people'

These constructions have been analyzed as antipassives (Kulikov, 2012; Janic, 2016; Letuchiy, 2016, p. 212; Holvoet, 2017 and others). Antipassive constructions either demote or remove the patient syntactically, with the pragmatic effect of topicalizing the agent and backgrounding the patient. In this way, it is a mirror image of the passive, which serves to topicalize the patient and background the agent. Traditionally, the antipassive has been treated as a syntactic, highly regular and productive phenomenon of voice. More recent works include lexical constructions of limited productivity in the definition of antipassive (Heaton, 2020) and this is the view that will be adopted here.

The Slavic and Baltic languages have several constructions with a reflexive marker that can be analyzed as antipassives (see e.g., Say (2005) on Russian, Janic (2016) on other Slavic languages and Holvoet (2017) on Latvian). Here, the focus is on the construction exemplified in example (1) above. This construction is limited to a small group of transitive verbs, which appear to be similar across the languages. Hence, lexical semantic properties appear to determine what kind of verbs can be used in the antipassive. Israeli (1997) argues that the Russian antipassive is limited to "aggressive verbs": verbs denoting an uninvited, unwanted action on an animate patient. Similar observations have been made by Say (2005), by Janic (2016:, Ch. 5) on other Slavic languages, and by Holvoet & Daugavet (2020, p. 257) on Latvian. Previous studies have not systematically compared the type of verbs used in this antipassive construction across languages. In this study, I examine the lexical restrictions of this construction in a sample of 11 Slavic and Baltic languages. Based on the sample data, I also propose a grammaticalization path from the reciprocal meaning to the antipassive.

Aims and method. Here, the "aggressive" antipassive constructions is defined as follows:
• implies an (often generic) generic patient that is not expressed syntactically (object omission).
• Uses a reflexive marker.
• Can be used with both singular and plural agents.
Typically, such constructions also have a transitive counterpart without the reflexive marker. This, however, was not posited as a requirement since it is not

clear to what degree the antipassive preserves the lexical meaning of the base verb. The construction is sometimes associated with meaning shifts, related to the changes in telicity, and such meaning shifts can be lexicalized.

The aim of the investigation is to identify the concepts most often expressed by the construction in a survey of 11 Slavic and Baltic languages. Such an investigation may contribute to our understanding of the grammaticalization of reflexive markers to other functions. The languages included and the sources used are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Languages included in the survey

Language family		Language	Source
Slavic	East Slavic	Belarusian	Russian National corpus parallel corpora
		Russian	Israeli (1997)
		Ukrainian	Lakhno (2016)
	West Slavic	Czech	Medová (2009)
		Polish	Janic (2016)
		Slovak	Isačenko (2003)
	South Slavic	Bulgarian	Gradinarova (2019)
		Serbo-Croatian	Marelj (2004)
		Slovenian	Rivero & Milojević-Sheppard (2003)
Baltic		Latvian	Geniušienė (1987), Holvoet & Daugavet (2020)
		Lithuanian	Geniušienė (1987), Holvoet (2017)

Data on the languages in the survey have been collected from linguistic articles and books. Parallel corpora were consulted but were found to contain too few examples for most languages. Descriptive grammars do not always treat this usage of reflexive markers, either because it is considered a peripheral feature or a feature of colloquial language. Dictionaries were not used for data collection since most dictionaries do not differentiate reciprocal and antipassive uses of a verb. For Belarusian, where descriptive data were lacking, the Russian- Belarusian parallel corpus available at the Russian national corpus (http://ruscorpora.ru/new/search-para-be.html) was used.

In some cases, the sources clearly state which verbs are not possible as an antipassive in the language. More commonly, however, it was not possible to deduce from the source with certainty that a particular concept is not expressed with the antipassive in a certain language. Since absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, the survey should not be read as a complete description, but rather as a general idea of which type of verb appear as an antipassive frequently enough to be mentioned in grammars or articles.

Results and discussion

1. Concepts expressed by the antipassive

To exclude possible reciprocal readings, only examples with singular subjects were considered. Constructions with plural subjects are often ambiguous between an antipassive and a reciprocal meaning due to syncretism of the reflexive marker.

The most frequent meanings were collected and grouped together as 'concepts'. For example, the meanings 'tease', 'call names' and 'mock' and other near-synonyms were grouped as one concept. This was deemed preferable to counting lexical roots because the aim was to find out the scope of the lexical restrictions on the construction, and not the exact number of synonyms used in a certain language. See Appendix for a table of individual lexical items.

Table 2. Concepts expressed by antipassive constructions in Slavic and Baltic languages

Concept	Languages (out of 11)
hit/fight	11
push /butt	10
bite	7
pinch	7
scratch	7
spit	7
tease/call names/mock	7
kick	5
sting/burn/prick	5
curse/swear/use bad language	5
tickle	2

Table 2 shows the results, with all concepts found in more than one language represented. First, there are considerable similarities in the concepts expressed by the construction in different languages. It is obvious that there is a core group of verbs that tends to be used in antipassive more often than others. Physical aggression verbs such as 'hit', 'push' and 'bite' stand out as the most frequent meanings. Verbs of verbal aggression, such as 'tease' and 'curse' are also common. Verbs of 'psychological aggression', such as 'curse' and 'tease' are also common, and such verbs might have come to be used in the construction by a metaphorical extension linking verbal aggression to physical aggression. In Russian, *draznit'* 'tease' is also etymologically related to *drat'* 'tear', and *rugat'* 'abuse, swear' may have its etymological roots in a word meaning 'gape' (Fasmer, 2004).

Not all aggressive verbs can be used as antipassives though, and this raises the question of what these verbs have in common, except aggressive semantics? Why is 'hit' commonly used as an antipassive, but not 'kill'?

Say (2021) identifies five features that are typical of what he calls "natural antipassives". The properties include a high agentivity of the agent, specification of manner, inherent atelicity, a narrow class of potential patient arguments and high affectedness of the A argument. Verbs with such properties are more likely to be subject to antipassivization in those language with a lexically restricted antipassive and are more likely to receive an antipassive interpretation when used with markers that are syncretic with other functions, such as the reflexive. The first three factors are relevant to the aggressive antipassive, but Say notes that the correlation between aggressivity and antipassive is not common cross-linguistically.

Analyzing the base verbs, i.e., the corresponding verbs used in transitive constructions, it is found that none of them are inherently telic or bounded in time. A common test of telicity is sensitivity to time expressions such as 'in an hour'. Example (4) demonstrates the incompatibility of the Russian verb *kusat'* 'bite'

with such time adverbials. The imperfective verb does not convey a result, i.e., it is not followed by a change of state. To make the event telic and/or resultative, the perfective verb is used, as in (4). The perfective verb *ukusit'* 'bite' cannot form the antipassive **ukusit'sja*.[2]

(3) Russian

Sobak-i	**kusa-l-i**	*ego*	*neskol'ko*	*minut*	*(*za*	*neskol'ko*	*minut).*
dog-	bite.IPFV-	him	few	minute.PL.	*in	few	minute.PL.
PL.NOM	PST-PL			GEN			GEN

'The dogs were biting him for a few minutes (*in a few minutes).'

(4) Russian[3]

Klešč-i	**ukusi-l-i**	*za*	*nedelju*	*(*nedelju)*	*počti*	*380*	*žitelej*	*Karelii*
tick-	bite.PF-	in	week.	week.ACC	almost	380	inhabitant.	Karelia.
PL.NOM	PST-PL		ACC				PL.GEN	GEN

`Ticks bit almost 380 inhabitants of Karelia in a week (*for a week).'

Without a detailed examination of all lexical items in all the languages in the survey, I will assume that the verbs representing the concepts in Table 2 are atelic. The verbs share dynamism and atelicity: they describe actions that are directed towards a patient but without necessarily leaving a lasting effect on the patient. This explains why we do not find verbs such as 'kill' used as antipassives.

Aggressive antipassives occur almost exclusively in the imperfective. While imperfective aspect is not synonymous with atelicity, (see e.g., Borik, 2006, Ch. 3), imperfective verbs expressing activities and semelfactives are always atelic. This atelicity inherent in the verbs is strengthened further when the verbs are used as antipassives. Such aggressive verbs also have a component of potential reciprocality. Except for 'sting/burn/prick', mostly used with non-animate subjects, the verbs in question can describe both one-sided action (just one person hitting without being hit back), or one-sided action in a reciprocal context (one person hitting and being hit back).

There is also a tendency for the antipassive to express characteristically habitual meaning, where the action described is taken to be an inalienable characteristic of the agent. Similarly, a potential meaning is also possible. *Sobaka kusaetsja* 'the dog bites' can express that the dog has the potential to bite, although it may or may not have done so yet. Other descriptions of the antipassive, especially in Russian, heavily emphasize the semantic aspects of potentiality and habituality. However, not only habitual aspect is possible. In many languages, the antipassive can also describe an action that is ongoing at the present moment. 'Do not push (me, right now!)!' is a common example that appears in descriptions of several languages. The constructions are often triggered by negative imperatives (Don't push! Don't fight!), or the phasal verb 'stop'. In (5), the pushing is more readily interpreted iteratively (i.e., the person has already pushed somebody several times), while the transitive counterpart with *tolkat'* 'push' could be interpreted both continuously and iteratively.

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[2] *Ukusit'sja* is lexicalized as 'burn oneself', analogous to *obžeč'sja*. In colloquial language, it is possible to find examples of antipassive with perfective verbs such as *cena ukusilas* 'the price bit' (was expensive), but this is not standard usage.
[3] http://rk.karelia.ru/accident/kleshhi-ukusili-za-nedelyu-pochti-380-zhitelej-karelii/

(5) Russian
     Perestan' ***tolka-t'-sja.***
     stop.IMP   push-INF-
                 REFL
     `Stop pushing (me)!'

Verbs expressing the concept 'spit' stand out as somewhat of an exception, since they are typically used with prepositional objects. They are still included, because of the similar semantics exemplified in the parallelism of *plevat'sja* 'spit' and *rugat'sja* 'abuse, swear' in (6):

(6) Russian (Russian National corpus)

Ona	***pleva-l-a-s'***	*i **ruga-l-as'***	*v adres*	*oranževyx*	*lent*	*na*	*našej*	*odežde.*
she	spit.IPFV-PST-F-REF	and abuse.IPFV-PST-F-REF	in direction	orange.GEN.PL	ribbon.GEN.PL	on	our	clothes

`She was spitting and arguing at the orange ribbons on our clothes.'

To summarize, the aggressive antipassive in Slavic and Baltic languages is used with imperfective verbs characterized by aggressive semantics, potential reciprocality and a lack of inherent telicity and resultativity. Some observations and examples from individual languages follow.

1.1 East Slavic Languages

In Russian, the construction is restricted to a subgroup of transitive verbs expressing, from the perspective of the patient, unwanted action (Israeli, 1997, Ch. 4; Letuchiy, 2016, p. 212). The Russian antipassive is used to describe habitual action that is characteristic of the subject, as in example (7a). This meaning is commonly used with an animal agent. It can also be used to express an actual, ongoing action, as in example (7b), typically with a human agent (Israeli, 1997: Ch. 4). In both cases, only imperfective verbs are used (Letuchiy, 2016, p. 212). The most typical agent is a human or an animal, even though there are a few exceptions, notably 'burn' and 'sting' (Israeli, 1997, Ch. 4). The patient is always animate (Israeli, 1997, Ch. 4; Letuchiy, 2016, p. 212).

(7**)** Russian (Israeli, 1997, p. 113)
a.   *Kon'*   ***bryka-et-sja.***
     horse.NOM   bite.IPFV-
                  3SG.PRS-REFL
     `The horse kicks.' (has a habit of kicking).
b.   *Mužčin-a* *Nu* *xvatit*   *mož-et*   ***tolka-t'-sja?***
     man-NOM   Dm   enough   can.IPFV- push.IPFV-
                                  3SG.PRS   INF-REFL
     `Man, maybe it's enough pushing?'

The Ukrainian set of verbs used in the construction is almost identical to the Russian as far as this survey goes. The construction can express both habitual, potential action and concrete action (Lakhno, 2016). Typically, only imperfective

verbs are used (Lakhno, 2016, p. 93). Ukrainian shows the same pattern as Russian in that the habitual function is mainly realized with animal agents (Lakhno, 2016, p. 92). Usage with inanimate agents is described for verbs that are synonyms of 'burn' and 'sting' (Lakhno, 2016, p. 93).

(8)   Ukrainian (Lakhno, 2016, p. 92) [Gloss and translation added]
a.   *Kropyv-a   žalit'-sja.*
       nettle-NOM   sting.IPFV.3SG.PRS-
                     REFL
       `Nettle stings'
b.   *Kušč   kolet'-sja.*
       bush.NOM   prick.IPFV.3SG.PRS-
                     REFL
       `(The) bush pricks.'

There are limited data on the function and restrictions on the Belarusian antipassive. Translations from the Russian-Belarusian parallel corpus suggest a similar usage as in Russian. Out of the 11 concepts found expressed as antipassives in Russian, 10 also have Belarusian antipassive counterparts in the corpus. There is no data on their aspectual meanings, but all verbs found are imperfective.

(9)   Belarusian (Russian National corpus)
        Tol'ki   ne   kusaj-sja.
        just   NEG   bite.IPFV.2SG.IMP
        `Just do not bite.'

1.2 West Slavic Languages
The antipassive in Polish is used with human agents and inanimate agents, but not with animal agents (Janic, 2016: p. 143). Judging by the glossed translations, Polish antipassives can express both habitual, or iterative, action, as in example (10a), and non-habitual action, as in example (10b). Examples of verbs given in the literature are mostly restricted to physical action on an animate patient. There is no data on aspectual usage, but all the examples given use imperfective verbs.

(10)   Polish (Kański 1986, referred to in Rivero & Milojević-Sheppard (2003: p. 115))
a)   *Marek   się   bi-je.*
       Mark.NOM   REFL.PRON.ACC   fight.IPFV-3SG.PRS
       `Mark fights (other people).'
b)   *Nie   pchaj   się,   pan!*
       NEG   push.IPFV.2SG.IMP   refl.   man
                              REFL.PRON.ACC.acc
       `Stop pushing (others), man!'

The use of the antipassive in Czech is limited to a few verbs and is only possible with a human agent and a human patient. 'Fight' and 'push' are among these verbs (Medová, 2009: p. 24). A habitual reading is possible. Given the right context, the reading can also be non-habitual, as in example (11), i.e., Valenta is pushing other children right now. Medová (2009: p. 24) describes this construction as 'reciprocal by nature' with a singular subject. There is no data on the aspectual usage, but all the examples given use imperfective verbs.

(11) Czech (Medová, 2009: p. 24)

Paní	*ucitelko,*	*Valenta*	*se*	*strká!*
mrs	teacher.	Valenta.NOM.SG.	REFL.PRON.	push.IPFV.3SG.PRS
	VOC.F	M	ACC	

`Teacher, Valenta is pushing (other people)!'

The available data on Slovak are rather limited. The reflexive marker *sa* is more readily interpreted as reflexive proper, i.e., co-reference of agent and patient, along with verbs such as 'bite' and 'kick'. Reflexively marked 'bite' or 'kick' would thus be interpreted as the subject acting on itself. 'Fight' is the only attested antipassive example in the available material.

(12) Slovak (Isačenko, 2003: p. 388) [Translation added]

Bije	*sa.*
hit.IPFV.3SG.PRS	REFL.PRON.ACC

`He fights (is a fighter).'

1.3 South Slavic Languages

Antipassives in Bulgarian are described as a feature of children's speech that has spread to the speech of adults (Gradinarova, 2019: p. 27-28). Only human or animal agents are possible in the construction (Gradinarova, 2019, p. 31). The verbs described all express physical, violent action on an animate patient. The verbs used in the construction are mostly imperfective. The perfective *razritam se* 'start kicking' or 'kick several times' is a notable exception (Gradinarova, 2019: p. 29). As a side note, some dialects of Macedonian use antipassives with animal subjects (Geniušienė, 1987, p. 250). *Kloca* 'kick' is the only attested example in the data, and Macedonian is therefore not included in the survey.

Slovenian antipassives are limited to verbs where a reflexive reading is not natural, i.e. it is not something one would wish to do to oneself. Examples include *porivati* 'push', *tepsti* 'beat' and *grizti* 'bite'. Examples such as (13) show a non-habitual meaning. A habitual reading is also possible (Rivero & Milojević-Sheppard, 2003, p. 117). There is no data on the aspectual usage, but all attested examples use imperfective verbs.

(13) Slovenian Rivero & Milojević-Sheppard, 2003, p. 115)

Uciteljica	*Janezek*	*se*	*spet*	*poriva.*
teacher.	Janezek.	REFL.PRON.ACC	again	push.IPFV.3SG.PRS
NOM	NOM			

`Teacher, Janezek is pushing (other people) again.'

Serbo-Croatian antipassives are restricted to human patients (Marelj, 2004, p. 248). The patient is usually interpreted as generic, non-referential and plural when the verb has a habitual reading. Given the right context, the reading can also be non-habitual with a referential, singular patient (Marelj, 2004, p. 249). The agent argument is not discussed explicitly but appears to be restricted to humans. Aspectual implications of the constructions are not discussed in the data, but all examples use imperfective verbs.

1.4 Baltic languages

Holvoet & Daugavet (2020) notes that Latvian detransitivized constructions can be divided into several subgroups, each with its own lexical restrictions and semantics. Here, I am concerned with the construction which in many ways is

a counterpart to the Slavic aggressive antipassive, what Holvoet calls "behavior-characterizing deobjectives" (Holvoet & Daugavet, 2020, p. 257).

Latvian and Lithuanian aggressive antipassives are used in the habitual sense, of an action that is characteristic of the agent, alongside with describing non-habitual action (Holvoet, 2017, p. 66). The agent is animate, a human or an animal, while the patient is always human (Geniušienė, 1987, p. 86). The construction is limited to a group of verbs describing aggressive behaviour, typically physical but sometimes verbal (Holvoet, 2017, p. 70). These verbs "show a natural affinity with reciprocals" (Holvoet, 2017, p. 70), and the group of verbs used partly overlaps with reciprocals (Geniušienė, 1987, p. 86). A Lithuanian example of such reciprocal-antipassive overlap is shown in example (14). Lithuanian and Latvian antipassives have a "potential" meaning on the part of the patient, as the patient may or may not be affected by the action. They are typically used in the present tense (Geniušienė, 1987, p. 85). There is no data on aspectual usage.

(14)   Lithuanian Geniušienė, 1987: p. 92
a.   *Jiedu*   ***muša-si.***
       They.two   beat.3.PRS-   (Reciprocal)
       REFL
       `They are fighting'.
b.   *Berniuk-as*   ***muša-si.***
       boy-   beat.3.PRS-   (Antipassive)
       NOM.SG   REFL
       `The boy fights (is pugnacious)'.

1.5 Summary of lexical restrictions

As the above observations show, the aggressive antipassive construction across Slavic and Baltic languages displays remarkable similarities not only in their semantic and pragmatic properties but also in their specific lexical restrictions. The construction is used with a group of verbs expressing an undesirable action on an animate patient. Such verbs are prototypically transitive, but when used in the antipassive have meanings otherwise associated with intransitive constructions, discussed further in Section 4. One such defining feature is their atelicity or lack of boundedness in time. The antipassive is restricted to verbs in the imperfective aspect and most commonly appears in the present tense. Verbs used in the antipassive take on habitual, iterative or potential aspectual meanings. Cross-linguistically, antipassives are associated with meaning shifts toward the imperfective aspect, such as the durative, progressive, iterative or habitual aspect (Cooreman, 1994).

All languages in the survey display syncretism of the reflexive marker, specifically an overlap between reciprocal and antipassive meaning, leading to constructions with plural, animate subjects being ambiguous. The consequences of this are discussed in Section 5. Constructions with inanimate subjects stand out in that they lack this ambiguity.

The languages vary in what types of agents are allowed, in a way that follows the animacy hierarchy: humans > animate > inanimate. All languages in the survey allow antipassive with human agents, while only some allow all animate agents. Inanimate agents are even rarer in the data and are only described in languages that also have animate agents. Thus, in the antipassive constructions of the languages in the survey, the following implication holds:

(15) inanimate subject ⊃ animate non-human subject ⊃ human subject

2. Volition, animacy and transitivity

The notion of aggression is connected to the animacy hierarchy in that aggression requires a volitional agent. Volitionality can be defined as the degree of intention to carry out an action (Hopper & Thompson, 1980, p. 286). Humans have high volitionality, while animals are understood to have a lower degree of volitionality. Inanimates, naturally, lack volitionality.

There are two typical cases where the "aggressive" antipassive is used. In the first case, there is a lowered degree of volition since the habitual action that the agent has a strong inclination to perform is not fully volitional. In the second case, the agent is inanimate and lacks volition.

1. A volitional, animate agent carries out an aggressive action that affects an implicit human patient. The action is often habitual.

2. A non-volitional, inanimate entity has the potential to cause (or causes) discomfort or harm to a human patient.

With inanimate subjects, the meaning component of the action being something that characterizes the subject is stronger. While the aggressive antipassive with animate subjects can refer to actual, one-time action, no such examples with inanimate subjects were found. In Russian, when the agent causing harm is inanimate and the action is seen as characteristic of the subject, the antipassive is strongly preferred, as noted by Israeli (1997). A direct object construction is construed as slightly odd or even ungrammatical, as in example (16a), outside of anthropomorphized fairytale characters. The antipassive, as in (16b), is almost obligatory.[4]

(16)   Russian (Israeli, 1997, p. 119)

a.   ?   Krapiv-a   **žž-et**   devočk-u.
           nettle-   burn-   girl-
           NOM.SG   3SG.PRS   ACC.SG
           `The nettle stings the girl.'

b.   Krapiv-a   **žž-et-sja.**
           nettle-   burn-
           NOM.SG   3SG.PRS-
                        REFL
           `Nettle stings.'

Animate subjects of the antipassive are often a child or a pet. This raises the question of whether the antipassive is more frequently preferred with animate agents with lower volitionality. Those would be agents that are portrayed as lacking awareness of or responsibility for their actions, due to limited mental resources, but this remains to be investigated. It is also interesting to note that antipassives have been described as typical of child language in Polish (Kubinski, 2010, p. 18), in Serbo-Croatian (Rivero & Milojević-Sheppard, 2003, p. 115-116) and Bulgarian (Gradinarova, 2019, p. 27).

Antipassive thus appears to signal both a low prominence of the patient, but also that the situation described is, in some way, not the typical transitive, volitional situation that would be suggested by the transitive construction counterpart (without

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[4] It is possible to find examples such as *Esli krapiva žžët kožu ruk - oden'te perčatki* 'If the nettle stings the skin on your hands - put on gloves', when the action is ongoing rather than potential. Object omission without any special marking, e.g. *krapiva žžët* 'nettle stings' is also attested in corpora, although it appears to be rarer than the antipassive. It is not clear how the semantics of this construction compares to the antipassive.

a reflexive marker). Transitivity in traditional grammar is often understood as the binary ability of a verb to take an object. According to Hopper & Thompson (1980), transitivity is better described as a continuum where the number of participants expressed is only of several features. The transitivity features discussed by Hopper & Thompson (1980) are found in Table 3.

Table 3. Transitivity features according to Hopper & Thompson (1980)

	High	**Low**
Participants	2 or more	1 participant
Kinesis	action	non-action
Aspect	telic	atelic
Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional
Affirmation	affirmative	negative
Mode	realis	irrealis
Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
Affectedness of P	P totally affected	P not affected
Individuation of P	P highly individuated	P non-individuated

Examples from the languages in the survey suggest that the antipassive is associated with atelic aspect, nonpunctual action, non-volitionality of the agent, negation, irrealis mood (in the form of potential meaning) and a non-individuated patient. At the same time, their transitive counterparts ('hit', 'bite', 'push') are typically transitive verbs, that in the prototypical case are associated with two clearly individuated participants, punctual action, high volitionality of the agent and a highly affected and individuated patient.

Hopper & Thompson (1980, p. 255) predict in their Transitivity hypothesis that whenever a clause contains an obligatory morphosyntactic marking of low transitivity, then other features in the clause will also be low transitivity. In other words, a proposition with several features of low transitivity is more likely to be expressed by a syntactically intransitive construction, such as the antipassive. Hence, in the view of Hopper & Thompson (1980) the antipassive is a strategy to convey semantic features of lower transitivity by detransitivizing the clause syntactically. Accordingly, one important function of the antipassive is to mark fewer transitive situations with otherwise prototypically transitive verbs, by marking the clause intransitive. This would explain why the antipassive construction is preferred with non-volitional subjects, such as stinging plants, in Russian.

3. Overlap with reciprocal construction
In constructions with animate agents, there is considerable overlap with reciprocal constructions. 'Aggressive' verbs are not inherently reciprocal. Still, there is a strong component of potential reciprocality in the event described when the participants are of the same type. It is symmetrical in that a person hitting another person risks being hit back and a dog first biting another dog can be bitten back by the second dog. The actions themselves are one-sided but the context is reciprocal.

All languages investigated here use the reflexive marker both for reciprocal meaning, with a certain set of verbs, as well as in the aggressive antipassive construction. These markers all have their origin in the Proto-Indo-European

reflexive *se (Beekes & de Vaan, 2011, p. 234) and are shown in Table 4.[5] [6] For example, in (17), it is not clear if the agents act on each other or on an implied and generic patient.

(17)   Russian
a.   *Oni*   *tolka-jut-sja.*
       they   push.IPFV-
                      3PL.PRS-REFL
       `They push each other' OR `They push (other people)'
b.   *Sobak-i*   *kusa-jut-sja.*
       dog-   bite.IPFV-
       NOM.PL   3PL.PRS-REFL
       `The dogs bite each other' OR `The dogs bite (other people or dogs)'

Table 4. Antipassive markers in the languages of the survey

Language	Reflexive marker	Form of marker
Belarusian	-cca (-sja)	affix
Russian	-sja (-s')	affix
Ukrainian	-sja (-s')	affix
Czech	se	clitic pronoun
Polish	się	clitic pronoun
Slovak	sa	clitic pronoun
Bulgarian	se	clitic pronoun
Serbo-Croatian	se	clitic pronoun
Slovenian	se	clitic pronoun
Latvian	-s	affix
Lithuanian	-s (-si-)	affix

Reflexive-reciprocal-antipassive syncretism appears in a number of languages across the world (Sansò, 2017; Polinsky, 2017; Janic, 2021). Different grammaticalization paths from the reflexive have been suggested. Some of these are summarized here.

Geniušienė (1987, p. 347) suggests that both the reciprocal and antipassive ("absolute reflexive") develops from the reflexive through the 'partitive object' and/or autocausative. In her view, the antipassive developed independently from the reciprocal. The reasoning behind this is based on the fact that some languages allow for a reciprocal, but not antipassive, interpretation of constructions with plural animal subjects (Geniušienė, 1987, p. 250-251).

Janic (2010) investigates reflexive-antipassive polysemy in several language families and suggests a scenario in which reflexive markers grammaticalize to antipassive markers. She argues that reflexivization is associated with a patient that is less distinguished and focused, being co-referential with the agent. The function of the antipassive is to signal a pragmatically less focused patient, and through this

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[5] Some languages have developed what Kemmer (1993) calls a two-form cognate reflexive system, where a "heavy" form coexists with a historically related "light" reflexive marker. Typically, the heavy form is reserved for reflexive proper, i.e., co-reference of the subject and the object, while the light form is used to mark other related meanings in the reflexive domain, such as grooming (Russian *myt'sja* 'wash oneself'), natural reciprocals (Russian *obnimat'sj*a 'hug') and decausative (Russian *dver' otkrylas'* 'the door opened (by itself)').
[6] The data on reciprocal uses is mostly gathered from Geniušienė (1987). Data on Slovenian are from Rivero & Milojević-Sheppard (2003, p. 100) and on Slovak from Isačenko (2003, p. 385).

functional similarity, speakers come to use the reflexive marker even for an event where participants are not co-referential. Further, in the grammaticalization process, these two meanings may or may not separate into two different constructions.

Janic (2016, p. 252) acknowledges a link between the reciprocal and the antipassive and argues that they are similar in terms of the plurality of their relations and a low degree of elaboration of events. Janic (2016, p. 255) does not exclude the development of the antipassive function from the reciprocal function but considers that independent development of reciprocal and antipassive functions from reflexive markers is more likely. She notes that in some language families, there is reflexive-antipassive polysemy without reciprocal meaning. Janic (2021) points out the semantic affinity of the antipassive and the reciprocal, which goes beyond Indo-European languages. In many languages, reciprocally marked constructions with plural subjects are ambiguous with an antipassive reading.

Importantly, there are languages with markers that display reciprocal-antipassive syncretism but are not reflexive. Lichtenberk (2000) describes an antipassive construction ("depatientive") in the Oceanic languages and argues that it has arisen from the reciprocal. Lichtenberk (1991) sees the explanation for this in the low degree of distinction of participants and the relations held between them; in the reciprocal both the participants and the action they perform on each other are conceptualized as a whole, and in the antipassive, only one participant is clearly distinguished, and the action is often habitual, or non-distinct.

Sansò (2017) proposes an explanation for reciprocal markers grammaticalizing to antipassive markers, through the notion of 'co-participation', used by Creissels & Voisin (2008) based on their work on Wolof. Sansò (2017) argues that when the reciprocal verbs that imply co-participation are lexicalized, they also allow singular agents in object-demoting constructions. In the Hup example (18a) the reciprocal marker also has the reading of two cooperating agents, along with the reciprocal function. In example (18b) with a singular agent, the notion of co-participation has disappeared. A similar grammaticalization path from reciprocal to antipassive may have taken place in the Bantu languages (Janic, 2021, p. 273).

(18)   Hup (Naduhup, South America) (Epps (2005, p. 405-407), quoted in Sansò (2017, p. 207))

a.   *yaʔambŏʔ=dəh   ʔũh-g'ə́ç-əy*
         dog=PL   REC-bite-   (Cooperating
                                         DYNM   agents)
         'The dogs are biting each other/are fighting.'

b.   *yúp=ʔĩh   ʔũh-mǽh-ǽy*
         that=M   REC-hit-DYNM   (Antipassive)
         'That man is fighting (with someone).'

As for the aggressive antipassive in Slavic and Baltic, Holvoet (2017), discussing Latvian antipassives, suggests that it developed from the reciprocal function using the same marker. Aggressive behavior, as Holvoet (2017, p. 70) notes, is naturally directed towards other people and is therefore typical of reciprocal contexts. Knjazev (2013), discussing Russian, notes the overlap of the reciprocal and the antipassive ("absolutive"), that in his opinion is explained by the fact that the set of patients is often the same as the set of agents in the antipassive, which is also the case for reciprocals. Knjazev suggests that almost all reciprocals in Russian can be used as antipassives as well, which will be discussed in the next section.

4. From reciprocal to antipassive

The overlap of reciprocal and antipassive has been discussed before, as has a possible diachronic relationship between them. Here, I will expand on this as it connects to the lexical semantics of the aggressive antipassive. I will suggest a possible mechanism for the grammaticalization from the reflexive to the antipassive through the reciprocal.

(19)   Reflexive -> Reciprocal -> Antipassive

Stage 1. A language has a reflexive/reciprocal marker. Reflexive-reciprocal polysemy is common cross-linguistically and is the result of reflexive markers extending their function to reciprocality through semantic bleaching (Maslova & Nedjalkov, 2013).

Stage 2. A subset of "aggressive" verbs does not favor a reflexive reading. One does not generally bite or hit oneself. With such verbs, the marker is mainly or exclusively used with the reciprocal meaning. For example, the Croatian example in (20) can have a reflexive or a reciprocal meaning, but the reflexive reading requires a special pragmatic context to avoid sounding odd.

(20)   Croatian (own data[7])
Ps-i	*se*	*griz-u.*
dog-	REFL.PRON.ACC	bite.IPFV-
NOM.PL		3PL.PRS

`The dogs bite each other.' or `The dogs bite themselves.' or `The dogs bite (people or animals).'

In some languages, the two functions may grammaticalize into two different markers. For example, Russian has a two-form system where the 'light' suffixes mark reciprocal action, as in example (21a) and the 'heavy' full reflexive pronouns have a reflexive proper function, as in example (21b).[8][9]

(21)   Russian
a.   *Oni*   *der-ut-sja.*
         they   fight.IPFV-
                   3PL.PRS-REFL
         `They fight (each other)' (not `they fight themselves.')
b.   *Oni*   *b'j-ut*   *(samix)*   *sebja*.
         they   beat.IPFV-   self-   REFL.PRON.ACC
                   3PL.PRS   ACC.PL
         `They beat themselves.' (not `they beat each other.')

---

[7] Elicited from native speaker informants.

[8] Haiman (1998) suggests that the full reflexive pronoun, contrasted to the 'light' version, has its origins in the conceptualization of the self as two separate entities, the speaker representing himself as both a performer and an observer. The conceptualization of the self as two separate entities, or the speaker representing himself as both a performer and an observer, leads to the use of a transitive clause where there is a co-reference of the agent and the patient in the form of a full reflexive pronoun, such as in example (21), or 'I beat myself'. In other words, a high degree of self-awareness leads to the speaker seeing himself in the way others see him.

[9] As the reviewer points out, the 'light' reflexive pronoun tends to be used in situations that confirm to the listener's expectations. In reciprocal scenarios, the 'heavy' marker is reserved for (unexpected) reflexive proper meaning. In a reflexive scenario, such as getting dressed, the light marker conveys reflexivity (*odet'sja* 'dress oneself') while the more unexpected reciprocal meaning is conveyed by a 'heavy' reciprocal marker (*odet' drug druga* 'dress each other').

Stage 3. A subgroup of verbs with aggressive meaning take on an antipassive meaning when used with singular agents. Reciprocal verbs are typically used with plural agents, where the roles of the participants can be reversed without any change in meaning (Nedjalkov, 2007a, p. 6-7). This is illustrated in Figure 1: participant A does to participant B what B does to A.
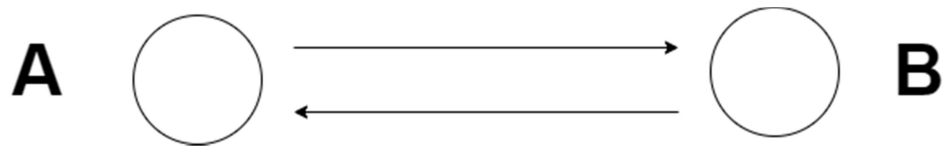
Figure 1. Relations between participants in reciprocal events

The use of this reciprocal form with a singular subject means that only participant A is expressed syntactically. The dotted lines around participant B represent this in Figure 2. The construction may still be interpreted as reciprocal. But the non-expression of participant B can also blur the semantic roles held between the participants. The reciprocal component of the meaning can be subject to semantic bleaching and the construction can also come to be interpreted as participant A doing something to an unnamed, generic and indefinite participant B, who may not do something to B. The context is still potentially reciprocal, but the action is not necessarily reciprocal.
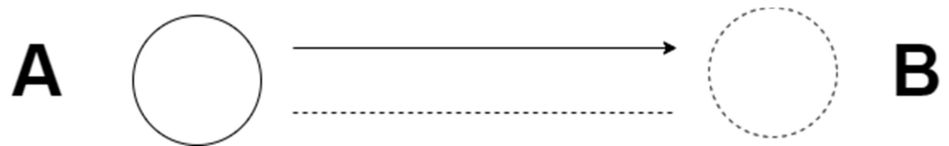
Figure 2. Relations between participants in reciprocal events
with a singular agent

In this way, the use of reciprocal constructions with singular agents acts as a bridging context where reciprocal constructions can be reinterpreted as antipassives. Example (22), with a comitative complement, is reciprocal with a singular subject. The example in (23) is ambiguous; it can mean that the boy fights with other children or that he hits other children (who do not necessarily hit back).[10] The ambiguity and reinterpretation are only possible with a subgroup of verbs that are not inherently reciprocal (i.e. reciprocality is not an obligatory part of the verb semantics) but tend to appear in a reciprocal context. This is the lexical group of the verbs outlined in Section 3.

(22)   Russian
        On   ***derët-sja***   *s*   *brat-om.*
        he   hit.3SG.PRS-   with   brother-
                  REFL   INST.SG
        `He fights with his brother'

---

[10] Note that Russian *drat'-sja* 'fight', has a meaning quite different from the transitive drat' 'tear'. It is not uncommon for reflexively marked verbs to lexicalize into different meanings.

(23)   Russian
    Mal'čik   ***derët-sja.***
    boy.NOM.SG   hit.3SG.PRS-
                 REFL
    `The boy fights (with someone)' or `The boy hits (other children)'

It is not possible with verbs whose reciprocality is a defining feature of the action described. The Russian verb vstretit'-sja 'to meet (each other)' requires mutual action, and hence (24) is not possible. Singular subjects of such verbs are only possible with a comitative complement, as in (25).

(24)   Russian
    ? *On*   ***vstreti-l-sja.***
       he   meet.PF-
              PST.SG.M-REFL
    `He met.'

(25)   Russian
    On   ***vstreti-l-sja***   *s*   *drug-om.*
    he   meet.PF-   with friend-INST.SG
          PST.SG.M-REFL
    `He met with a friend.'

Stage 4. The antipassive function of the singular form is conventionalized and used in the plural form as well, leading to a polysemous reciprocal/antipassive marker, as seen in (26).

The verbs used in the constructions are atelic. This atelicity, combined with the object omission that takes place in the antipassive, has aspectual consequences. The direct object, representing the patient argument, plays an important role in localizing the event in time. Syntactic omission of the patient argument leads to the implied patient being interpreted as non-specific. The cows in (26b) do not butt a specific cow or person, they butt a generic, non-named patient, i.e., people or cows in general. The antipassive takes on a habitual reading. Further down the grammaticalization path, such antipassives may lose their localization in time completely, and be interpreted as potential only. The subject-characterizing antipassive emerges. Restriction of the construction to mainly the present tense also contributes to the potential meaning.

To put it another way, I suggest the "aggressive" antipassive is the result of a certain lexical group of reciprocal verbs being used with singular subjects. The syntactic non-expression of the patient leads to such expressions being interpreted as unbounded in time, with a generic patient, which eventually leads to connotations of habituality or potentiality of the action. Syntactically omitting the patient argument leads to the agent being topicalized, rather than the event or the patient. Suppression of the event is associated with a shift towards property description (Kageyama, 2006).

(26)   Russian (Knjazev, 2007, p. 681)
a.   *Posmotr-i,* *dv-e*   *korov-y*   ***boda-jut-sja.***
    look.PF-   two- NOM.F   cow-   butt.IPFV-   (Reciprocal)
    IMP   NOM.PL 3PL.PRS-REFL

(26) Russian (Knjazev, 2007, p. 681)
      `Look, two cows are butting each other.'

b.   *Bud'*   *ostorožen,*   *korov-y*   **boda-jut-sja.**
       be.IMP   careful.SG.M   cow-   butt.IPFV-   (Antipassive)
                                               NOM.PL   3PL.PRS-REFL
      `Be careful, cows butt.'

To summarize, I suggest a grammaticalization path of reflexive markers to reciprocal functions and, through the use of singular agent constructions, the extension to an antipassive function. This process is only possible with a subgroup of verbs expressing the concepts discussed in Section 3. In short, this group of verbs consists of inherently atelic verbs denoting a single participant's aggressive action that is likely to be retaliated against, i.e., has a potential reciprocality.

The above analysis explains the most prototypical and frequent constructions with 'hit', 'bite' and 'push'. Such verbs are lexicalized to the degree of appearing in dictionaries. Other, more peripheral uses of the antipassive construction are less frequent, such as 'tease' or 'use bad words'. They are likely formed by analogy with these constructions. They are semantically similar to verbs of physical aggression through a semantic metaphor that links unwanted action to physical violence, conceptualizing them as "aggressive".

However, verbs such as 'burn' and 'sting' that are typically used with inanimate subjects may be better explained as a separate construction. With inanimate subjects, such as in (27), it is not relevant to speak of potential reciprocality. Inanimate entities cannot hurt themselves, which excludes the reflexive proper interpretation, nor hurt each other, which excludes a reciprocal interpretation.

(27) Ukrainian (Kobiljans'ka, 2015, p. 86) [Gloss and translation added]
       Teren   **kolet'-sja.**
       blackthorn.NOM   prick.IPFV.3SG.PRS-REFL
      `Blackthorn pricks.'

Inanimate subjects with aggressive antipassives appear to be limited to the Baltic and East Slavic languages. At least in East Slavic, the construction with inanimate subject has remarkably similar semantics and aspectuality as the animate construction, suggesting analogy could have played a role.

Conclusions. The type of verbs used in the antipassive are very similar across Slavic and Baltic languages. The most common ones have the meaning of 'hit/fight' and 'push/butt'. The construction is associated with habitual and iterative aspect across languages. The significant overlap of reciprocal and antipassive functions points to a grammaticalization path from reflexives to antipassive through the reciprocal function, with constructions with plural subject serving as a bridging context. Expressed differently, the "aggressive" antipassive is a result of a certain lexical class of reciprocal, reflexively marked verbs, being used with singular, animate, subjects and taking on connotations of habituality. It is not clear whether this development has occurred in parallel in different languages or if contact-induced grammaticalization (Heine & Kuteva, 2005, p. 80) is involved. A similar construction is found in the Germanic language Swedish (Lyngfelt, 2016, Holvoet, 2017, p. 67; Nedjalkov, 2007b, p. 297), which points to an areally clustered grammaticalization process. Antipassive verbs such as 'burn' and 'sting', typically used with inanimate subjects, share similar semantics and aspectual features and may have emerged by analogy with other aggressive antipassives.

Abbreviations

ACC	Accusative
DM	Discourse marker
DYNM	Dynamic
F	Feminine
GEN	Genitive
IMP	Imperative
INST	Instrumental
IPFV	Imperfective
M	Masculine
NEG	Negation
NOM	Nominative
PST	Past tense
PF	Perfective
PL	Plural
PRS	Present tense
PRON	Pronoun
REC	Reciprocal
REFL	Reflexive
SG	Singular
VOC	Vocative

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Appendix

Concept	Russian	Belarusian	Ukrainian	Polish	Slovak	Czech	Serbo-Croatian	Bulgarian	Slovenian	Latvian	Lithuanian
hit/fight	драться	біцца	битися	bić się	biť sa	prát se	udarati se	бия се	tepsti se	plēsties	muštis
push/butt	толкаться	пхацца	штовхатися	pchać się		strkat se	gurati se	блъскам се	porivati se	stumdīties	stumdytis
bite	кусаться	кусацца	кусатися				gristi se		gristi se	kosties	kramtytis
pinch	щипаться	шчыпацца	щипатися	szczypać się			štipati se	щипя се			gnaibytis
scratch	царапаться	драпацца	дряпатися	drapać się			grebati se			skrāpēties	draskytis
spit	плеваться	плявацца	плюватися	pluć się			pljuvati se	плюя се		splaudīties	
tease/call names/mock	дразниться	дражніцца	дражнитися	drażnić się				закачам се		ķircināties	kibintis
kick	пинаться			kopać się			šutati se			spārdīties	spardytis
sting/burn/prick	жечься	пячыся	жалитися				bosti se			durstīties	
curse/swear/use bad language	ругаться	ляцца	лаятися							ganīties	keiktis
tickle	щекотаться	казытацца									

Only one example is given from each semantic group in each language.

Резюме

Бондаренко Аліс

СОБАКА КУСАЄТЬСЯ:
ПРО «АГРЕСИВНИЙ» АНТИПАСИВ У СЛОВ'ЯНСЬКИХ
ТА БАЛТІЙСЬКИХ МОВАХ

Постановка проблеми: Кілька слов'янських і балтійських мов мають «агресивну» антипасивну конструкцію, в якій рефлексивний маркер використано для позначення відсутності об'єкта, а також вираження звичних або потенційних аспектуальних значень. Досить відомим є російський приклад «собака кусается». Ця конструкція обмежена кількома дієсловами, які є схожими в різних мовах. Системний міжмовний аналіз групи дієслів, використаних у цій конструкції, не було раніше здійснено.
Мета статті: У цьому дослідженні розглянуто лексичні обмеження конструкцій на прикладі 11 слов'янських і балтійських мов.
Методи дослідження: На основі граматик і лінгвістичних статей зібрано та порівняно найпоширеніші для 11 слов'янських і балтійських мов концепти, що виражаються «агресивним» антипасивом.
Результати дослідження: Результати показують, що в усіх мовах конструкцію використовують для вираження набору понять, серед яких найчастіше трапляються «битися» і «штовхатися». «Удар / бійка» виникає в усіх мовах опитування. Ці дієслова фізичної агресії є прототипом дієслів, використаних у конструкції. Лексичні обмеження не є випадковими; дієслова, що використовують в антипасиві, виражають небажану дію (вплив) на живого об'єкта, і вони також мають спільні риси неграничності (відсутності внутрішньої межі дії) та потенційної реципрокності. Крім того, усі мови в опитуванні демонструють полісемію реципрокних і антипасивних маркерів, що призводить до полісемії підметових конструкцій множини.
Висновки та перспективи: На основі отриманих результатів можна дійти висновків, що «агресивний» антипасив із живими об'єктами граматикалізувався завдяки реципрокній функції рефлексивного маркера. Коли певний клас реципрокних, рефлексивно маркованих дієслів використовується з одниною, живими суб'єктами, вони набувають конотації звичності та зрештою починають функціонувати як антипасив. Конструкції з підметами у множині могли служити контекстом, що сприяв процесу граматикалізації. Отже, лексична семантика відіграє важливу роль у розширенні функцій рефлексивних маркерів у цих мовах.
Ключові слова: антипасив, рефлексив, реципрокність, граматикалізація.

Abstract

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THE DOG BITES:
ON THE "AGGRESSIVE" ANTIPASSIVE IN SLAVIC AND BALTIC

Background Several Slavic and Baltic languages have an "aggressive" antipassive construction, wherein a reflexive marker is used to mark object omission as well as habitual or potential aspectual meanings. A well-known example is Russian *Sobaka*

kusaetsja 'The dog bites'. This construction is restricted to a few verbs, that appear to be similar across languages. The group of verbs used in this construction have not been systematically compared cross-linguistically.

Purpose This study examines the lexical restrictions of the constructions across a sample of 11 Slavic and Baltic languages, with a special focus on Russian.

Methods Based on grammars and linguistic articles, the most common concepts to be expressed by the "aggressive" antipassive are collected and compared across 11 Slavic and Baltic languages.

Results The results show that across the languages the construction is used to express a set of concepts of which 'hit' and 'push' are the most frequently found. `Hit/fight' appear in all of the languages of the survey. These verbs denoting physical aggression are the prototypical example of the verbs used in the construction. The lexical restrictions are not random; verbs used in the antipassive express unwanted action on an animate patient, and they also share features of inherent atelicity and potential reciprocality. Further, all languages in the survey display polysemy of reciprocal and antipassive markers, resulting in ambiguous plural subject constructions.

Discussion Based on the results, it is suggested that the "aggressive" antipassive with animate subjects has grammaticalized from the reciprocal function of the reflexive marker. When a certain class of reciprocal, reflexively marked verbs are used with singular, animate subjects they take on connotations of habituality and eventually come to function as antipassives. Constructions with plural subjects may have served as a bridging context in the process of grammaticalization. Lexical semantics hence play an important role in the extension of functions of reflexive markers in these languages.

Key words: antipassive, reflexive, reciprocal, grammaticalization.

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