

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN OBJECT CASE MARKING OF INDO-EUROPEAN MIDDLE- PASSIVE VERBS*

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This work is a generative analysis of the change that affected the selectional properties of the Indo-European middle-passive verbs that take two arguments (which I will call psych verbs of separation). Here, I will account for the differences in case marking of the objects of such “middle-passive” verbs, paying special attention to the contrast between the Ancient Greek pattern and the Old Church Slavonic pattern. I will show that the Greek and the Slavic middle-passive structures differ in a series of properties, and argue that they represent different points in the evolution from a PIE intransitive / stative pattern to independently developed patterns: Greek developed into an active-middle pattern (similar to Latin deponents), while Slavic developed into a passive, namely, a reflexive passive pattern.

1. The puzzle

Ancient Greek (Gk) middle verbs denoting ‘separation’ and related notions, such as ‘fear’, ‘shame’ and ‘refusal’ (e.g. *phobeisthai* ‘to be afraid’), like Indo-European (IE) deponent verbs in general, seem not to undergo Burzio’s Generalization (Burzio 1986), according to which verbs that lack an external argument should block accusative assigning on their complement. Consider, for example, the sentence in (1), where a Gk middle verb of fear takes an accusative object:¹

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¹ Most Greek examples have been extracted from the Perseus and the Titus internet pages (Perseus Digital Library: www.perseus.tufts.edu; Thesaurus Indo-Germanischer Text und Sprachmaterialien: <http://titus.uni->

(Gk: Thucydides, 2: 87)

- (1) Tis ára di' autèn hymōn phobeĩtai tēn mēllousan, oukhì dikaían ékhei.
who part. because her of-you fears [the future]_{AC} not truth has
'Those of you who fear the future (battle) because of the last one are not right.'

On the other hand, Old Church Slavonic (OCS) and other Slavic languages (Old Russian) conserved the PIE ablative case (incidentally, we must note that its uses were conflated with the ones of the genitive case in Greek and Slavic) on the objects of the verbs of 'separation' and related notions (e.g. *bojati sę* 'to be afraid'), observing Burzio's Generalization in that verbs that lack an external subject cannot assign accusative case to their objects, as shown in (2):

- (2) Ne uboite sę ubivajǫščixъ tělo. (OCS: Mt. 10: 28)²
not fear refl. _{AC} killing _{PART.GN} body
'Do not be afraid of those who kill your body.'

Finally, both languages have innovated with respect to PIE in that they made occasional use of the mechanism of replacing the PIE ablative case with a PP headed by an overt preposition (Allan 2003, Luraghi 2003), as in (3):

- (3) a. Dídakson, ei didaktón, eks hótou phobēi. (Gk: Sophocles, *Trachiniae* 671)
explain if explainable from what _{GN} fear
'Explain, if you can, what you are afraid of.'
- b. Nъ ne boi sę otъ mǫkъ. (OCS: *Codex Suprasliensis* 8b: 7)
but not fear refl. _{AC} from tortures _{GN}
'But do not be afraid of suffering.'

In this work, I will account for the contrast between the case marking patterns of middle-passive sentences in Gk and OCS (with more general reference to IE and PIE, too). I will show that this contrast is not superficial, but has deep roots in the structure of IE middle-passives itself and their development during the history of the different IE groups of languages.

frankfurt.de), and some of the Old Church Slavonic ones, from the dictionary by Cejtin, Večerka, Blagova *et alii* (1999 [1994]).

² The OCS New Testament references for which the source is not explicitly specified are all from the *Codex Marianus*.

This work is organised as follows: in section 2, I will overview the types and general characteristics of IE middle-passive constructions, based on previous accounts about these constructions in PIE and early IE. In section 3, I will introduce the main hypothesis of this work, and in sections 4 and 5, I will provide different arguments in favour of my proposal. In section 4, I will present evidence in favour of the structures triggered by the verbs under analysis, according to my proposal; and in section 5, I will show how these structures account for the differentiated object case marking of these verbs. Finally, in section 6, a conclusion is offered.

2. Observations about IE middle-passives patterns in the literature

In this section, I will provide the classifications of the middle-passive patterns in IE that have been proposed in the literature, according to different properties: semantic, and morphological, as well as from the point of view of their historical development.

2.1. Semantic middle-passive patterns and their classifications

The semantic properties of middle-passives in PIE and early IE have been investigated in the non-generative literature, and given in the form of hierarchies of constructions with respect to some semantic or pragmatic property. Here, I will review some of these proposals, namely, the ones that are relevant for the account I am developing here.

Croft, Shyldkrot & Kemmer (1987) consider the semantics of middle constructions close to reflexives and related to transitive verbs from the point of view of the causal chain of event: the subject of middles is both the initiator and the endpoint of the action (vs. passive constructions, where the subject is the endpoint, but not the initiator of the action). Middle voice, therefore, does not consist in valence decreasing (as in passives), but in valence increasing (cf. also Gerritsen 1992, among others). Consider example (4):

- (4) Ivan breetsja. (Russian)
Ivan_{NOM} shaves_{3SG-PASS}
'Ivan shaves himself / Ivan gets himself shaved (by someone else).'

Sentence (4) has two readings: a middle reflexive reading (Ivan shaves himself) and a causative reading, where someone else shaves Ivan. In both cases, the middle form adds a second argument to

the one we have in overt syntax (*Ivan*), namely, an implicit agent (be it *Ivan* himself or someone else). We will come back later to this notion of implicit arguments.³

Allan (2003) provides a semantic classification of the Ancient Greek middle construction, in a hierarchy according to the property “subject affectedness”, which, as we will see later, correlates with the morphological markers of Gk middle. Thus, his hierarchy goes from verbs with “a subject that undergoes a change of state” to the ones where “the subject does not undergo a change of state”:

- a) Passive: *poiétai* ‘is made’.
- b) Spontaneous / mental processes: *kaíomai* ‘I get burned’ / *phobéomai* ‘I fear’.
- c) Body / collective motion: *trépomai* ‘I turn’ / *alízomai* ‘to gather’.
- d) Perception / mental activity: *geúgomai* ‘I taste’ / *logízomai* ‘I consider’.
- e) Reciprocal: *agōnízomai* ‘I fight’.
- f) Direct / indirect reflexives: *ksýromai* ‘I get shaved’ / *poiéomai* ‘I make for myself’.

The classification given by Savčenko (2003 [1974]) specifies the following meanings of the middle-passive forms in early IE languages (I will concentrate on the early Gk examples):

- a) Intransitive meaning: he defines it as the most ancient one, as we will see later on.
- b) Stative meaning: also very frequent in Homer and early IE languages; ex. *keĩmai* ‘I am lying’.
- c) Middle in the classical sense (indirect reflexive), that is, the active meaning of the verb adding ‘for oneself’, as in Classical Gk *poiéomai* ‘I do something for myself’.
- d) Reflexive meaning: as in *kylýptetai* ‘covers oneself’.
- e) Passive meaning: probably a late development (cf. below).

Finally, to complete the picture, I will briefly mention Vaillant’s (1965 [1924], 2002 [1948]) classifications of middle-passive meanings in OCS (examples with the middle-passive reflexive *sę*):⁴

³ For implicit arguments in passive / middles in English, see also Bhatt & Pancheva (2005).

⁴ Another way to form passive constructions in Slavic is by combining a passive participle with a copular verb (OCS: *byla sępasena*_{PAST-PASS.PART.} ‘(she) was saved’). I will disregard here these constructions because their middle-passive status is not clear. It could be argued that these constructions are copular sentences or Small Clauses in the classical sense, and not what is usually understood under “passive” voice for the following reasons: (i) they do not show the whole range of meanings that the *sę* form has (they form only passives, not medial or reflexive-reciprocals); (ii) as a consequence, they do not combine with middle-passive verbs of mental state, the ones denoting fear, refusal, and that take internal arguments and are our object of study (i.e. verbs like OCS *bojati sę* ‘to be afraid’ do not form passive participles); (iii) they show very distinct properties with respect

a) Intransitive forms (he calls them “reflexive forms”, because of the pronoun *sę*), which can be divided into two groups: (i) the ones that are only “reflexive”, e.g. *blistati sę* ‘to shine’. The middle-passive verbs of mental state and perception that are conserved in OCS are included here, e.g. *radovati sę* ‘to be happy’, *diviti sę* ‘to be surprised’, *bojati sę* ‘to be afraid’; and (ii) the ones that can be either reflexive or active. The pairs of verbs in this last group can have different meanings, depending on the presence of the reflexive *sę* or not, e.g. *drъžati* (+ accusative case) ‘to hold (an object)’ vs. *drъžati sę* (+ genitive case) ‘to observe (laws or principles)’.

b) Reciprocal: *svbirati sę* ‘to gather’.

c) Passive: *dastъ sę vamъ* ‘it will be given to you’.

2.2. Middle-passive patterns from the point of view of their morphology and history

The previous literature about the IE middle-passives proposes different possible paths of development of these constructions in the history of the IE languages. Jasanoff (1978) argues that statives and middles were closely related in IE, as opposed to the active paradigm. He shows that the perfect (and stative) desinences and the middles ones are etymologically related in many early IE languages, such as Hittite, Gk or Indo-Iranian, and have similar distribution in them.⁵ For example, the Gk deponent present verbs *gígnomai* ‘to become’ and *maínomai* ‘to get mad’, with middle desinences, correspond to the active perfect forms *gégona* and *mémēna*, respectively.⁶

Savčenko (2003 [1974]) also identified intransitive and stative meanings as the most ancient of the IE middle forms. In fact, the Homer middle forms do not have the classical indirect reflexive sense found later (“for oneself”). Thus, according to Savčenko (2003 [1974]), the Homeric verb *hístemi* means ‘to stand’ and not ‘*to put for oneself’, *ékhomai* is ‘to hold, to keep oneself’ and not ‘*to have for oneself’, etc. The stative meanings were very frequent in Homer (purely statives: *hēm̄mai* ‘to be sitting’, *keĩmai* ‘to be lying’, or mental / sensitive states: *lilaíomai* ‘to want’, *ázomai* ‘to be afraid’, *médomai* ‘to think’) and other early IE languages, e.g. Hittite (*ar-* ‘to stand’, *iya-* ‘to go’), Sanskrit

to *sę* forms: e.g. the famous Ukrainian *-no/to-* constructions (passive constructions with an accusative object) are exclusively found with past participles, but not with *sę*).

⁵ Rix (1988) -cf. also Clackson (2007:149)- proposes two initial paradigms: stative vs. active. Clackson (2007: 149) points out that there have been reconstructed different series of desinences for PIE middle voice, ranging from two (middle / stative and active) up to four (active, middle, stative and perfect).

⁶ According to Jasanoff (1978), in early IE, the old perfect forms lost their connection with the middles and merged with other past forms, e.g. Hittite **akha* originally meant ‘I have died’, but later became ‘I am dead’.

(*āste* ‘is sitting’, *īhate* ‘wants’, *bhāyate* ‘to be afraid’), etc. In addition, some active stative verbs have middle desinences, which is a proof of their semantic relation; for example, the stative verb *nahsariya-* ‘to be afraid’ in Hittite (cf. Gk *phobéomai* ‘to be afraid’) had middle desinences. Finally, some middle verbs of process (non-eventive) in Homer could be transitive and have a direct object (e.g. *aráomai* ‘to pray’, *ázomai* ‘to be afraid’); the same observation holds for Sanskrit (*arthate* ‘wants’, *lokate* ‘sees’).

The passive meaning of these forms is found in the Indo-Iranian, Italic and Celtic languages, as well as in Greek and Gothic. However, Savčenko (2003 [1974]) also argues that the passive meaning of these forms is probably a late development from the stative meaning because: (i) it is semantically related to the corresponding statives, i.e. were always non-eventive (cf. Latin deponent verbs); and (ii) in the early texts, the passive constructions could not have an overt agent. In early Gk, Latin and Gothic texts, the passive constructions very rarely took an agent marked with an oblique case; later on, this agent appears more and more frequently. In conclusion, Savčenko (2003 [1974]) proposes the following path of evolution for IE middle forms: stative constructions (nominative subject) > stative passive (nominative subject, without an agent) > passive with agents.

In any case, in later IE languages, the original IE middle-passive desinences got lost and new middle-passive constructions arose adding a reflexive pronoun to active verbs. This was the case of Romance and Slavic, where the 3rd person accusative (some times, also the dative) form of the reflexive pronoun (Latin *sē*, OCS *se*) was reanalyzed as the marker of the constructions analyzed here (cf. Haspelmath 1987 and Kemmer 1995 for Romance: reflexive > middle > passive).⁷

In this paper, I will concentrate on those middle-passive verbs that could take more than one argument. In Allan’s (2003) classification, these are mental processes (*phobéomai* ‘I fear’), and perception and mental activities (*geúgomai* ‘I taste’ / *logízomai* ‘I consider’). In Vaillant’s (1965 [1924]) classification, the crucial verbs are intransitives expressing mental processes and perception / mental activities (*moliti se* ‘to pray’, *drěžati se* ‘to observe (laws or principles)’, *bojati se* ‘to be

⁷ Looking at the etymology of the verb *bojati se* ‘to be afraid’, for example, we can track down its ancestor to an active reconstructed form **baje-* (infinitive **bītēi*) > **bojati* ‘to scare’ (Vasmer 2003 [1950-58]). The morphological formation of *bojati se* is quite transparent: it should have been formed by adding the short accusative reflexive pronoun form *se* to an active verb (perhaps the reconstructed form **bojati*), although the corresponding active form is not attested in Slavic. In other Indo-European languages, however, active forms etymologically related to *bojati se* are common, for example, the active form in Avestan *bayente* ‘to scare, to frighten’ (Vasmer 2003 [1950-58]).

afraid’, *styděti se* ‘to be ashamed’, etc). We can characterize all these verbs as non-eventive verbs (processes and activities) of perception.

From the point of view of their object case marking, I will concentrate on the perception / mental non-eventive verbs denoting “separation” and related notions (e.g. “fear”, “shame”), that is, the ones that correspond to a PIE verb with ablative case on its internal object; remember that the use of the ablative case conflated with those of the genitive case in Greek and Slavic (hereby, I will call this case ablative-genitive case). The examples in (5a, 6a, 7a, 8a, 9a) illustrate some of these verbs in OCS; compare their ablative-genitive objects with the accusative ones in the parallel New Testament Greek examples in (5b, 6b, 7b, 8b, 9b):

- (5) a. Ne strašø se protivnaago. (Codex Suprasliensis 490, 9)
not fear_{ACT} refl. enemy_{GN}
- b. Ouk eti frítō tōn polém[i]on. (St. John Chrysostom *In sanctum pascha*, 3)
not even fear_{ACT} [the enemy]_{AC}
‘I am not afraid of the enemies.’
- (6) a. Posramlějotъ se s[y]na moego. (Mk. 12: 6)
are-ashamed_{ACT} refl. [son mine]_{GN}
- b. Entrapēsontai tōn hyiōn mou.
Respect_{MID} [the son my]_{AC}
‘They will respect my son.’
- (7) a. Postydītъ se mene i moiχъ slovesъ. (Lk. 9: 26)
is-ashamed_{ACT} refl. me_{GN} and [my words]_{GN}
- b. Epaiskhynthēi me kai tōus emoūs lógous.
is-ashamed_{MID} me_{AC} and [the my words]_{AC}
‘(The one who) is ashamed of me and my words.’
- (8) a. Vъsego brašъna vъzgnøša se. (Psalm 106: 18)
[all food]_{GN} loathes_{ACT} refl.
- b. Pān brōma ebdelýksato.
[all food]_{AC} loathes_{MID}
‘(They) loathed all kind of food.’

- (9) a. Ne οὐβνργ̃γο σε tebe. (Mt. 26: 35)
 not will-deny_{ACT} refl. you_{GN}
- b. Ou mē se aparnēsomai.
 not not you_{AC} will-deny_{MID}
 ‘I will not refuse you.’

The examples in (5b, 6b, 7b, 8b, 9b) have been taken not from Ancient Greek, but from New Testament Greek, in order to show the exact contraposition between the two patterns (OCS and Greek). But of course, Ancient Greek, right from Homer’s times, had already replaced ablative-genitive objects by direct accusative objects, as shown in (10):

- (10) a. Oudè tí min *thánaton* troméesthai ánōga. (Homer *Odyssey* 16, 446)
 not something him death_{AC} fear_{MID} bid
 ‘I bid him not be afraid of death.’
- b. Kai apoxōrōn ou mē deísēis *tòn polémion*. (Xenophon *Anabasis* 7, 3, 26)
 and retreating not not fear_{MID} [the enemy]_{AC}
 ‘And retreating, you shall not fear the enemy.’

2.3. Known properties of middle-passives in Gk vs. OCS

In this section, I will check some well-known syntactic properties of the middle-passive verbs which can have internal objects in Ancient Greek (Gk) and Old Church Slavonic (OCS). Some of the differences between old and new IE middle-passives have been previously detected in the literature (see e.g. Comrie 1998, Jasanoff 1978), as mentioned in section 2.1:

(i) As we said before, the Gk morphological middle pattern corresponds to a PIE series of middle desinences, shared with the Indo-Iranian group (Jasanoff 1978, Savčenko 2003 [1974]), directly inherited from one of the possible –reconstructed– PIE middle systems. OCS, however, has innovated with respect to the IE ancestor in that it has lost the middle conjugation and created a new pattern of passive voice by adding the reflexive accusative pronoun *se* to an active verb. This is the evolutionary path followed by other new IE creations, such as Romance middle-passives. By the moment, I will call these two patterns the “old” middle-passive (Gk) and the “new” middle-passive (OCS).

(ii) The old middle morphology could denote the old PIE semantic values, i.e. stative and indirect reflexive meanings (an active verbal action in benefit of oneself), while the new pattern did not have those meanings: on the one hand, stative verbs are not *se*-verbs in OCS, as shown in (11b) vs. Gk stative middle verb in (11a). On the other hand, in OCS, indirect reflexives are not middles, but construed with an active verb and a dative complement or a complex PP, as shown in (12b) –cf. with the middle form in Gk with an indirect reflexive meaning (12a):

- (11) a. En tōi toi *keĩtai* leúk' ostéa, faídīm' Akhilleũ ... (Gk: *Odyssey* 24, 75)
 in it part. are-lying_{MID} white bones illustrious Achilles...
 'There are lying your white bones, glorious Achilles.'
- b. I vь ložixь svoixь *ljegotь*. (OCS: *Sinai Psalm* 103, 22)
 and in beds theirs are-lying_{ACT}
 'And they are lying in their beds.'
- (12) a. Ou gār ēn hópla en khōríōi erēmōi *porisasthai*. (Gk: Thucydides 4: 9)
 not part. was arms_{AC} in country uninhabited to-procure_{MID}
 'It was impossible to procure arms for themselves in an uninhabited country.'
- b. Tako sьbirajęi *sebě* a ne vь b[og]ь bogatěje. (OCS: Lk 12: 21)
 thus collect_{ACT} himself_{DT} and not towards god being-rich
 'This is how is the one that makes money for himself and is not rich in God.'

(iii) In this paper, I have introduced an additional difference between the two patterns: Burzio's (1986) Generalization seems to apply to the new pattern but not to the old middle one. Recall from examples (1-2), repeated below for convenience, the different subcategorization of the Greek and Slavic middle-passive verbs of mental / perception processes with respect to their possible internal arguments: Gk middles could take an accusative NP (see example 1 above), while OCS took a genitive NP as their object (example 2 above).

Thus, the Gk pattern seems not to observe Burzio's (1986) Generalization, while the OCS one does. This follows from the fact that the objects of passive verbs cannot be marked with accusative case, according to this generalization:

All and only the verbs that can assign a θ -role to the subject can assign accusative case to an object. (Burzio 1986: 178)

Burzio's Generalization predicts that verbs without a specifier position are unable to assign accusative structural case to an object. Passive verbs lack an external argument (a "subject"), so that is why they do not assign accusative case to their objects; the first argument merged (a theme) values the first case available, i.e. nominative case. A "subject" here is an external subject; in the "strong" version of Burzio's Generalization a "subject" is taken to be an agent. However, if we widen the notion of external subject to other categories, following Baker (1997), the Gk pattern above can be accounted for without violating Burzio's Generalization, as we will see later.⁸

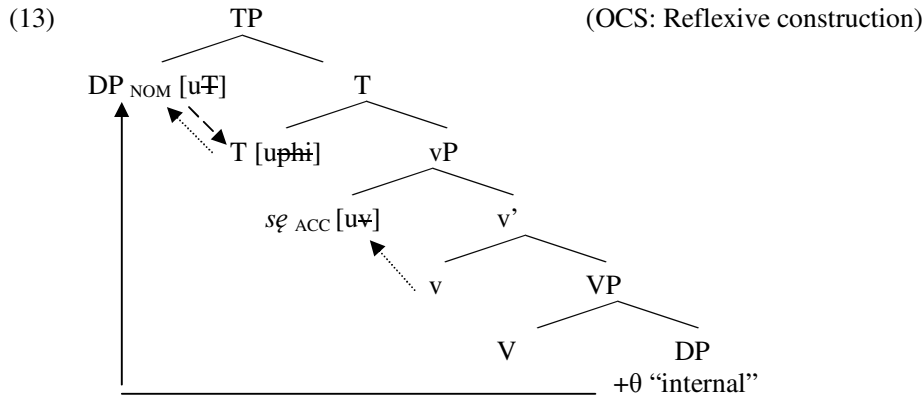
3. The hypothesis

In this paper, I propose that the difference in the object marking of Greek vs. Slavic middle-passive verbs lies in their different nature and structures. I will argue that Burzio's (1986) Generalization contradicts neither the Gk nor the OCS pattern because of the following reasons: the OCS construction in (2) contains a pronoun, which is the one that receives accusative case and therefore blocks accusative case assigning to any other possible argument. This pronoun does not have phi-features, so that it cannot be attracted by the set of unvalued uninterpretable features of T. The DP that surfaces as nominative is merged in the object position, does have phi-features and is the one that values the features of T, raises to [Spec, T], and gets nominative case (Chomsky 2001).

As for the reflexive pronoun in (2), I will argue that, even if it has no phi-features, being a pronominal element, it has an unvalued case feature, which is valued by the first functional head available, small *v*, surfacing thus as accusative case.

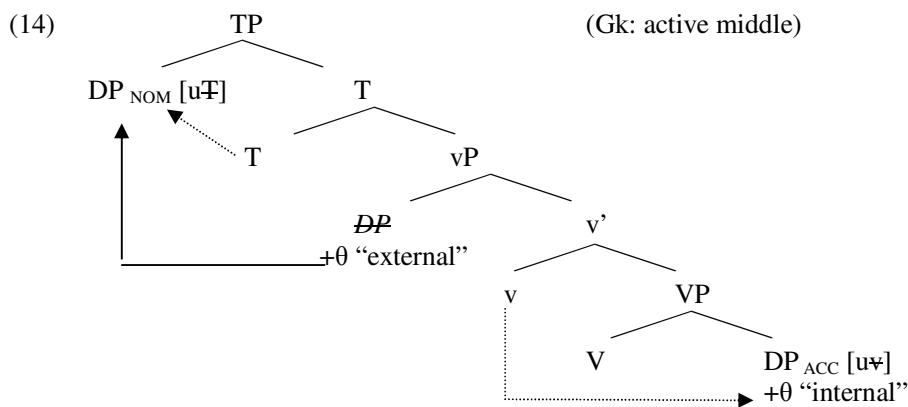
In this way, I support the association of phi-feature and case valuing for the head T (*à la* Chomsky 2001), but dissociate phi-feature valuing and case marking for the head small *v* (*à la* Béjar 2003), at least, in languages like most IE ones, where only the external argument "agrees" with the verb, but accusative case is no matter surfaced (cf. Alboiu 2007 for a similar proposal in Romanian). This is represented in structure (13):

⁸ I assume here Baker's (1997) account of "macro" theta-roles, in that he eliminates the notion of "experiencer", and relates it to other semantic roles (agent/cause, goal or theme), depending on the context. In this way, Baker (1997) reduces all the theta-roles to external vs. internal, which is the position I will adopt here.



This will be argued to be the OCS pattern, where middle-passive verbs are new formations created by adding the reflexive accusative pronoun *sɛ* to the active voice (Schmalstieg 1983, Vasmer 2003 [1950-58]). I will call this pattern “*reflexive construction*”.

As for the Gk pattern, I will argue that we are not dealing here with a real passive construction, but with the old IE middle-stative pattern, which could be either transitive or intransitive (cf. section 2.1). I will concentrate here on the transitive pattern, which I will denominate “*active middle*”. Active middles are typical of Gk and reconstructed also for PIE (Jasanoff 1978, Meillet 1965 [1924], Meier-Brügger 2003). The verbs under analysis in this paper give rise to the regular transitive structure represented in (14). The presence of an external argument allows accusative valuing on the object, as predicted by Burzio’s Generalization.



Finally, I will argue that the development of the original PIE constructions under analysis (perception / mental non-eventive verbs denoting “separation” and related notions) into Greek and Slavic was as follows: mental / perception processes were stative constructions in IE. The DP arguments that could be associated to them surfaced with the case required by the semantics of the relation between the verb and the DP, in our structures (verbs of “separation”), ablative-genitive case (cf. Meillet 1964 [1906],

Savčenko 2003 [1974]). Then, in Greek, many of the DPs marked with such “adverbial” cases became simple objects (marked with accusative case), and the structure became transitive. In Slavic, the middle desinences disappeared, and the new reflexive-passives arose; the change from PIE “adverbial” ablative-genitive case to accusative case on the internal arguments (which took place in Slavic in active verbs, cf. Borkovskij 1978) was not possible in reflexive-passive constructions, because of their structure, which was really passive (the internal argument surfaced as nominative, and accusative was valued by the passivizing accusative reflexive pronoun). Therefore, the objects of the reflexive verbs of “separation” and related notions were forced to preserve ablative-genitive case on their objects.

I will arrange the argumentation to prove this hypothesis around two main axes: in section 5, I will argue for a differentiated structure of the middle-passive verbs with internal arguments in OCS vs. Gk. Then, in section 6, I will account for the differences in object marking of these verbs, taking into account the corresponding structures and their evolution in IE.

4. The structure of the IE middle-passive constructions

4.1. The position of the nominative NP in (13) and (14)

Generative studies on Present-day languages have investigated under a new light the traditionally considered “passive” constructions. For instance, Raposo & Uriagereka (1996) show that the so-called “indefinite *se*” constructions in Romance (a similar new formation to the one of Slavic) are, in fact, active structures. Previous work on this topic had already established that another Romance *se*, “generic *se*”, triggers normal transitive structures (Cinque 1988). In this respect, Cinque (1988) and Raposo & Uriagereka (1996) find a contrast between French and Portuguese *se*-constructions.

- (15) a. Otem compraram-se demasiadas salsichas. (Portuguese)
 yesterday bought-se too-many sausages
 ‘Yesterday, too many sausages were bought.’
- b. La poubelle se vide au sous-sol. (French)
 the trash empties in underground-floor
 ‘One empties the trash in the underground floor.’

These authors argue that the Portuguese DP *demasiadas salsichas* and the French *la poubelle* have different properties; various subject tests, such as control, topicalization, and semantic properties,

suggest that the French DP behaves like a subject in [Spec, T], while object tests show that the Portuguese DP is a theme and has direct object properties.

In the OCS constructions under analysis, the DP that surfaces as nominative in (13) seems an object, rather than the subject. As for the nominative DP in the Gk construction in (14), it rather seems a subject than an object. Here are the arguments in favour of this.

5.1.1. Thematic relations

According to Croft (1993), mental perceptions and activities involve two participants: a stimulus and an experiencer, which usually involve two causal relations: the experiencer can direct his attention to the stimulus, and the stimulus can cause a mental affectedness in the mind of the experiencer. In the first case, the experiencer is more “agentive”; in the second case, the stimulus is more agentive.

I will then assume that the experiencer can be the external argument of a verb of mental / perception processes and activities (and the stimulus is, therefore, the internal argument), or the other way round: the stimulus can be the external argument, while the experiencer should be the internal one.⁹ Remember that I identify, following Baker (1997), the “experiencer” theta-role with the “external” theta-role in these constructions, while the “theme” will be the “internal” one (see fn. 7).

As I proposed in the structures in (13, OCS) vs (14, Gk), the participants in the event differ in the two languages depending on their position in the structure. The crucial test to show that these structures are correct is the contraposition of possible internal and external arguments. If (13) is correct, i.e. the DP that will be moved to [Spec, T] is the internal argument, the resulting structure is a real passive and therefore, we expect to be able to add an additional agent to such a construction (an external argument), as in common passives. On the contrary, in (14), if the DP moved to [Spec, T] is the external argument, while the other DP in the VP is the internal argument, the addition of an agent (a second external argument) is not expected.

⁹ A similar semantic effect was described in generative accounts of psych verbs, such as Pesetsky (1987) or Dowty (1991). These authors claim the class of psych verbs varies with regard to its theta-role properties. For instance, the arguments in *John fears dogs* and in *Dogs frighten John* are ambivalent with respect to their theta-roles; in each of them, *John* or the *dogs* could be agents, experiencers, or patients, according to Dowty (1991).

This prediction is borne out: in OCS, besides the original IE ablative-genitive marking for the stimulus in the verbs of fear, we can have a stimulus that comes in the form of an agent, typically formed with the preposition *otъ* ‘from’ + genitive NP, as shown in (16).

- (16) Nъ ne boi sę *otъ* mоkъ. (OCS: *Codex Suprasliensis* 8b: 7)
 but not fear refl. _{AC} from tortures _{GN}
 ‘But do not be afraid of suffering.’

However, in Gk, agents (typically headed by *hypó* ‘under’, cf. Coulter 2005) are not compatible with the verbs under analysis (at least, until the New Testament Greek period); the prepositions that could marginally replace accusative case on the stimulus participant were various in Ancient Greek (*ek* + genitive, *prós* + genitive or accusative, *eis* + accusative), but never *hypó* (Allan 2003: 74). Examples of this are provided in (17a-b), taken from Allan (2003):

- (17) a. Dídakson, ei didaktón, *eks* hótou phobēi. (Sophocles, *Trachiniae* 671)
 explain if explainable from what _{GN} fear
 ‘Explain, if you can, what you are afraid of.’
- b. All’ei phobēi *pròs* toũto... (Sophocles, *Trachiniae* 1211)
 but if fear towards that _{AC}
 ‘But if you are afraid of that...’
 ‘Feeling fear towards her husband and children.’
- c. Sý d’*eis* tà mètròs mè phoboũ nympheúmata. (Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus* 980)
 you towards the mother not fear marriage _{AC}
 ‘Do not be afraid of a marriage with your mother.’

To appreciate the parallelism with (16) and (17), I give examples of regular agents headed by *otъ* in a purely passive sentence in OCS (18a) and by *hypó* in Gk (18b):

- (18) a. Kръsti sę *otъ* iоana vъ iordaně. (OCS: Mk. 1: 9)
 baptized refl. from Johann in Jordan
 ‘He was baptized by Johann in the Jordan river.’
 (Gk: Aeschines, *Speech on the Embassy* 2, 172)
- b. Tōn teikhōn *hypò* tōn barbárōn peptōkótōn.
 the walls under the barbarians destroyed _{PASS.PART.}
 ‘Having being destroyed the walls by the barbarians...’

5.1.2. Control and PRO

Gk verbs denoting fear could be followed by an argumental subordinate clause. This could not be an infinitive clause, but was always introduced by the conjunction *mē* and a subjunctive form, as in (19), being the subject of the main clause and that of the subordinate clause correferent (19a) or not (19b).

- (19) a. Phobeĩtai mē (...) tà éskhata páthēi. (Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 3, 1, 22)
 is-afraid that the last-punishment will-suffer_{3SG}.
 ‘He is afraid that he will suffer the severest punishment.’
 (Xenophon *Anabasis* 1, 10, 9)
- b. Édeisan hoi Hállēnes mē proságoien pròs tò kēras kai (...) autoùs katakópseian.
 feared the Greeks that advance_{3PL} towards the flank and them cut-down_{3PL}.
 ‘The Greeks were afraid that (the enemy) would advance against their flank and cut them down.’

Gk verbs of fear cannot take infinitive subordinate clauses for independent reasons. This restriction is derived from the fact that such constructions are direct inheritors of the PIE system where two paratactic clauses were connected by a particle –here by *mē*, initially a prohibitive particle (Smyth 1956 [1920]: 500ff).¹⁰ Compare (19) to (20), where the usual way how other perception verbs introduce argumental infinitive clauses is illustrated. Here, I provide an example of another verb of perception with an infinitive clause, where the subject is controlled (correferent subjects) (20):¹¹

¹⁰ The origin of these constructions as independent sentences is the reason why (19a) does not mean ‘He is afraid that he will *not* suffer the punishment’, despite the fact that the conjunction *mē* ‘may not’ is negative in Gk; (19a) rather means ‘He is afraid that he *will* suffer the punishment’ (this effect is usually explained as the parataxis of two original sentences, e.g. ‘He is afraid’ + ‘May he not suffer the punishment!’).

¹¹ Non-controlled subjects dependent on psych middle verbs are not found in Gk because it is pragmatically difficult to find a situation where the experiencer of shame or refusal is not the subject of the subordinated event (i.e. one can “refuse to do something” or “be ashamed of doing something”, but not “*refuse someone to do something” or “*be ashamed someone else of doing something”). Instead, a non-controlled subject with a verb of declaration is illustrated in (i):

- (i) Hoi hēgemónes ou phāsin eĩnai állēn hodón. (Xenophon *Anabasis* 4, 1, 21)
 the guides not say to-be_{INF} [another road]_{AC}
 ‘The guides say that there is no other way.’

Here, the subject of the infinitive, *állēn hodón* ‘another road’, is in case position (surfaces with accusative case). Notice that the contrast in control between different verb classes found e.g. in English by Hornstein (2003),

- (20) Mathōn gàr ouk àn arnoímēn tò drān. (Sophocles *Philoctetes* 118)
 knowing part not part refuse the_{AC} to-accomplish_{INF}
 ‘When I am informed, I will not refuse to act.’

Notice that the infinitive clause is in a case-marked position (presumably [Comp, V]), being introduced by the accusative neuter form of the article *tó* ‘the’, as in characteristic of Greek (cf. accusative subject of the non-finite clause in example (i) in fn. 11).

OCS, on the other hand, also can add an argumental subordinate clause to a verb of fear. In case the subject of the main clause controls that of the subordinate one, an infinitival PRO clause is used, as in (21a). If the subjects of the two clauses are not correferent, the conjunction *da* and a finite verb are used (with an overt subject), as in (21b):

- (21) a. I boěaxo sę vɔprosi ti. (Mk. 9: 32)
 and fear refl to-interrogate_{INF} him
 ‘And they were afraid of interrogating him.’
 b. Bljudęte sę da ne kto pręlstitɔ vasɔ. (Mk. 13: 5)
 guard refl part. not someone_{NOM} deceive_{3SG}. you
 ‘Take care in order for someone not to deceive you.’

The difference in the argumental subordinate clauses of control with the verbs of fear in OCS (infinitives) vs. in Gk follows from the structures proposed in (13) and (14): in Gk the internal argument in middle-active constructions is in [Comp, V]. This is a case position in the Gk constructions represented in (14), so if a DP merges there, it surfaces as an accusative object. Because

among others, also holds in Gk, namely, in the contrast between raising-like verbs, illustrated in (ii) below vs. obligatory control verbs, in (i):

- (ii) Hopósoi d’ eūnoí phāsín eīnai. (Lysias *Against Eratosthenes* 12, 49)
 who_i NOM loyal_{NOM} say to-be_{INF}
 ‘(They) who say that they are loyal.’

The subject of the subordinate infinitival clause in (i), depending on a declarative main verb, takes a nominative predicate *eūnoí* ‘loyal’, suggesting that the nominative subject *hopósoi* ‘who’ has been raised from below, as in Hornstein’s (2003) obligatory control (*John hopes to eat a bagel*). This contrasts with similar structures where the subjects are not correferent, as (20a) above, similar to Hornstein’s (2003) no-obligatory control structures (*John hopes that eating a bagel will be fun*), where the subject of the subordinate clause is accusative.

of that, we have also an accusative infinitive clause in that position, as shown in (20), or a finite subordinate clause, as shown in (19).¹²

In OCS, however, being the constructions represented in (13) really passive, the internal argument position is not a case position (the “theme” raises and values nominative against T), so that it remains free to be filled with an infinitive clause with PRO which, as is usual cross-linguistically, cannot be in a case position (cf. Hornstein 2003). The contrast between the OCS and Gk structures triggered by the verbs under analysis is the reason why the OCS verbs of fear need always to use a finite subordinate clause in cases of non-obligatory control (21b).

5.1.3. Past participles

If the Gk structure in (14) is correct and it is active, we expect to be able to derive from them passive verbal forms (passive participles, for instance), with the middle value they usually have. On the contrary, if the OCS counterparts in (13) are already passive, no additional passivization is expected. This prediction is borne out:¹³ in Gk, passive participles can be formed from the middle verbs under analysis, e.g. *anaínomai* ‘to refuse’ > *anainómenos* ‘refusing’, and examples in (22), while in OCS such formations are impossible.¹⁴

- (22) a. *Mēdè tì m’aidómenos.* (Gk Homer *Odyssey* 3, 96)
 not something me be-ashamed PASS.PART.
 ‘Not respecting me (lit. feeling ashamed because of me).’
- b. *Arnoúmenoi épainoi.* (Gk Plutarch *Parallel lives* 2, 58a)
 deny PASS.PART praises
 ‘Negative (lit. denying) praises.’

¹² The reason why the verbs of fear in general (middle or not) cannot have an accusative object + infinitive like the one in (20a) in non-controlled constructions is independent: in Gk, the verbs of fear are considered to be close to parataxis, and do not accept infinitival complements.

¹³ The data on word formation have been taken from the Perseus internet page, from Liddell & Scott (1883 [1968]) dictionary and Cejtlin, Večerka & Blagova (1999 [1994]).

¹⁴ Notice that I provide examples referred to “middle-passive only” verbs, that is, to verbs that lack active counterparts, in order to avoid the possibility to find passive participles that are in fact formed from an active form: Gk. *aidéomai* ‘to be ashamed’ and *arnéomai* ‘to refuse’; OCS *bojati se* ‘to be afraid’. The same observation applies to section 5.1.4, dealing with word formation.

In OCS, no passive participles can be formed from passive-reflexive verbs, e.g. *(u)bojati se* ‘to be afraid’ does not form a passive participle like **(u)bojanъ* (past) or **(u)boimъ* (present). Only active forms of the participle + the reflexive *se* are possible:

- (23) Даѣ esi *boještii*мъ *se* tebe znamenъe. (Psalm 59: 6)
 give aux. be-afraid ACT.PART.PRES. refl you GN standard
 ‘You gave the banner to those who were afraid of you.’

5.1.4. Passivizing verb formation

The final argument I will present here involves facts dealing with word formation (inspired in Keyser & Roeper 1984). In order to distinguish external arguments (undergoers) from internal arguments (simple themes), I will check “passivizing” word formation in the GK and OCS verbs under analysis.

If the Gk structure (14) is correct, and the Gk stimulus DPs of the psych verbs of separation are internal arguments, then we expect to be able to form passivizing adjectives with the help of the suffixes *-stós* or *-simos* (comparable to English *-able*), as we do with *káō* ‘to burn’ > *kaúsimos* ‘combustible (“burnable”)’. This prediction is borne out, and we can form the Gk adjectives in (24):

- (24) a. *Aidéomai* ‘to be ashamed’ > *aidestós* ‘respectable’ / *aidésimos* ‘respectable’
 b. *Arnéomai* ‘to deny, to refuse’ > *arnésimos* ‘deniable’

In OCS, on the contrary, no such formations are possible, which is expected from the fact that the internal argument DP in these constructions is not the stimulus, but the experiencer participant, and the construction cannot be passivized further, as it is already passive. In OCS, active verbs form passivized adjectives (equivalent to English *-able*) with the suffix *-ьнъ* or *-ьнъ*, as in *pečaliti* ‘to sadden’ > *pečalьнъ* ‘sad, pitiful’, and *piti* ‘to drink’ > *piti* ‘drinking (water)’. But reflexive-passive verbs of separation do not: e.g. *(u)bojati se* ‘to be afraid’ > **(u)boěнь* / **(u)bojatii*.

5.2. The position of *se* in (13)

Until now, I have given arguments for the position of the arguments in structures (13) and (14). Now let us analyze the *se* element in the OCS structure (13). Raposo & Uriagereka (1996: 778) argue that

the *se* element we find in Romance reflexive-passives has case features, but not phi-features, and that it is high in the structure. Here, I will argue the same about OCS *se* in structure (13).

5.2.1. *Se* has case features but not phi-features

First of all, let us show that *se* has case features, but not phi-features. The form *se* is the accusative form of the reflexive enclitic (atonic) pronoun; it has overt non-default morphological case, therefore. In addition, it seems not to value phi-features, as it remains invariant without regard to the person and number encoded in the verbal form, as shown in (25); (25a) illustrates 2nd person plural verbal agreement and (25b), 1st person singular. The reflexive pronoun *se* remains invariable:

- (25) a. *Azъ esmъ ne boite se.* (Mt, 14: 27)
 I am not are-afraid _{2PL} refl.
 ‘It is me, do not be afraid.’
- b. *Uže ne strašō se protivnaago.* (Codex Suprasliensis 490 : 9)
 already not fear _{1SG} refl. enemy _{GN}
 ‘I am nor afraid of the enemy any more.’

5.2.2. *Se* is higher than regular reflexive pronouns

The *se* in (13) is an enclitic pronoun, homophonous with the regular reflexive pronoun of 3rd person that can be placed in any argumental position. However, these two homophonous *se* seem to occupy different positions. In fact, both *se* can cooccur, as shown in (26a). In addition, the *se* of structure (13) and a non-enclitic (full) reflexive 3rd person pronoun in any grammatical case can cooccur, as illustrated in (26b):

- (26) a. *Vъsěkъ gradъ li domъ razdělъ se na se ne stanetъ.* (Mt. 12: 25)
 all city or house divided refl. against refl _{AC} not stand
 ‘All city or house divided against itself will not stand.’
- b. *Ašte kъto xoštetъ po mъně iti da otъvrъžetъ se sebe.* (Mt. 16: 24)
 if someone wants behind me to-go let refuse refl. refl _{GN}
 ‘If someone wants to follow me, let him refuse himself.’

Observe the position of the two different reflexives in the previous examples. The enclitic *se* that forms passive-reflexive constructions is higher, following the main verb, while the other reflexive

pronoun is placed in the case position that corresponds to its argumental role: in (26a), the second *se* is the complement of the preposition *na*, which requires accusative case, and in (26b), the full pronoun *sebe* is marked with genitive case, as required by the verb + reflexive *otvrěšti se* ‘to refuse’.

5.2.3. *Se* can be a second-position element

Besides the immediate position following the verb, another possible position for this *se* in OCS was second position in the sentence, shown in (27).

- (27) Ašte *se* bi ne rodilъ č[elově]kъ тъ. (Mt. 26 : 24)
 if refl was not born man that
 ‘If that man had not been born.’

This is, according to Vaillant (1965 [1924]), an old pattern and the one that will prevail in later (Old and New) Bulgarian (Pancheva 2005).¹⁵ This observation suggests that this element is really placed high in the structure, like Romance *se* (cf. Raposo & Uriagereka 1996), and as represented in (13).

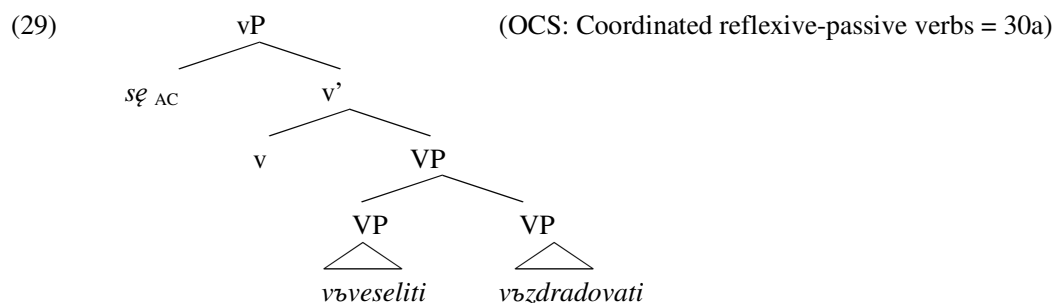
5.2.4. Coordination

Another piece of evidence for a high position of the *se* in OCS comes from coordination. Vaillant (2002 [1948]) observes that it was possible in OCS to coordinate two passive-reflexive verbs and have a single *se* for both verbs, as shown in (28):

- (28) a. *Vъveseliti že se i vъzdradovati.* (Lk. 15: 32)
 cheer part. refl. and be-happy
 ‘To cheer up and be happy.’
 b. *Da ne sъmъrđtaetъ se srъdъce vaše ni ustrašaetъ.* (Jn. 14: 27)
 let not embarrass refl heart our not fear
 ‘Let you heart not become ashamed or afraid.’

¹⁵ Pancheva (2005) analyses the variation in the position of the clitics in OCS and later Bulgarian. In general, it must be said that in some Slavic languages (e.g. Russian), the post-verbal position of the reflexive prevailed (the reflexive became the verbal suffix *-sja/-s’*, as in *bojat’sja* ‘to be afraid’). In other Slavic languages (e.g. Czech), the second-position pattern has prevailed (the reflexive form became the enclitic *se* always in second position in the sentence).

All the verbs in examples (28a-b) require the presence of the reflexive *sē* in order to be correctly interpreted as reflexive-passives, but the required element appears only once, following the first coordinated verb. This suggests structure (29) for example (28a), which follows from the basic structure proposed in (13):



5.3. Verbal morphology in Gk

Finally, I will mention a morphological fact, which shows that Gk middle constructions, as the one represented in (14) are really active structures and as such, they differed from other intransitive middles. Allan (2003) detects a correlation between the meaning and the verbal desinences related to the middle-passive Gk verbs. Recall Allan's (2003) semantic classification of middle constructions in Gk given in section 2.1: passives > spontaneous / mental processes > motion > mental activities > reciprocal > reflexives. In Classical Greek, these constructions were divided into two groups according to their aorist desinences: sigmatic vs. aorist in *-thē-*. The distribution in Homer's time was the following: passives and spontaneous processes were exclusively marked with *-thē-* aorist; on the contrary, mental activities, reciprocals and reflexives had exclusively sigmatic aorists.¹⁶

(30) **Homer's Greek**

SIGMATIC AORIST	>	<i>-THĒ-</i> AORIST
Reflexives, Mental activities, Reciprocals	>	Processes, Motion, Passive

This distribution shows that middle-passive constructions, at least originally, with two participants (reflexives, reciprocals and activities) displayed a sigmatic morphological pattern in the aorist, while

¹⁶ The distribution in Classical Greek was slightly different: passives, spontaneous processes and motions were marked with *-thē-* aorist, while mental activities, reciprocals and reflexives had sigmatic aorists, i.e. the *-thē-* aorist extended sporadically even to mental activities and reciprocals in Classical Greek, but never to reflexives.

constructions with an only participant (processes, motion and passives) displayed a *-thē-* aorist pattern. In fact, the sigmatic aorist is usually called “middle”, while the *-thē-* aorist is called “passive”.

But this distribution is not exact: psych middle-active verbs of “separation” are not passive but rather transitives, as we are showing in this paper, but could form *-thē-* aorists in certain cases. More specifically, these verbs formed a sigmatic aorist when followed by a direct object (overt or elided), but some times could form a *-thē-* aorist in the absence of a direct object. This is shown in examples (31) vs. (32): the verbs *aidésomai* ‘to be-ashamed’ and *arnéomai* ‘to refuse’ have a sigmatic aorist when they have an object, overt (31a) and elided (31b), but they surface in the *-thē-* aorist form in purely intransitive uses, without any possible direct object (32):

- (31) a. Oudè theōn ópin *ēidesát'* oudè trápezan. (Homer *Odyssey* 21, 28)
 not gods' wrath_{AC} is-ashamed not table_{AC}
 “He had not regard for the wrath of the gods or for the table”
- b. Ho dè Ámasis tēi dynámi tōn Perseōn akhthómenos (...) ouk eíkhe oúte doūnai
 the part. Amasis the power of-the Persians intimidated not could not to-give
 oúte *arnésasthai*. (Herodotus *Histories* 3, 1, 2)
 not to-refuse
 ‘Amasis, intimidated by the power of Persia, could neither give nor refuse (his daughter).’
- (32) (Pántes) *aídesthen* mèn anénasthai, deĩsan d'hypodékthai. (Homer *Iliad* 7, 92)
 (all) were-ashamed part. to-deny feared part. meet
 ‘They all were ashamed to deny him, and afraid to meet him.’

5. Case marking of objects of middle-passive verbs

Once established that the structures under analysis are different constructions (active in Gk / reflexive-passive in OCS), let us account for the differential case marking of their objects: accusative in Gk vs. ablative-genitive case in OCS. Recall examples (5a) and (10a), repeated below for convenience:

- (5a) Ne strašq se *protivnaago*. (Codex *Suprasliensis* 490, 9)
 not fear_{ACT} refl. enemy_{GN}

- (10a) Oudè tí min *thánaton* troméesthai ánōga. (Homer *Odyssey* 16, 446)
 not something him death_{AC} fear_{MID} bid
 ‘I bid him not be afraid of death.’

The verbs under analysis in this paper, verbs of “separation” or “departure” and related notions (e.g. fear, refusal, shame) were characterized in PIE by having an ablative-genitive complement associated, as reconstructed by Lehmann (1974), Savčenko (2003 [1974]), Schmalstieg (1983). Some I-E languages (Latin, Sanskrit) conserved this ablative case as such, as shown in (33); in other languages (Greek, Baltic and Slavic), the ablative uses merged with the ones of the genitive case, giving rise to an ablative-genitive case, as shown in (34). The examples are from Savčenko (2003 [1974]: 347), and illustrate the ablative-genitive case of departure in a physical sense:

- (33) *Suis finibus* eos prohibent. (Latin: Caesar *Commentaries on the Gallic War*)
 [own borders]_{ABL} them prevent
 ‘They restrain them from their border.’
- (34) a. Argeioi dè ... *neōn* ēmýnonto. (Gk: Homer *Iliad* 179)
 Argons part. ships_{GN} were-prevented
 ‘And the Argons were expelled from the ships.’
- b. Se otxožju *světa sego*. (Old Russian: *Laurentian Chronicle*)
 this leave [world this]_{GN}
 ‘Now I am leaving this world.’

The notion of separation could be also understood in a metaphoric sense; thus, the psych verbs denoting fear, refusal and shame also fall under this classification (‘to be afraid’, ‘to avoid’, ‘to distrust’, etc) and, therefore, took ablative-genitive case-marked objects in Sanskrit, Avestan, Baltic, and Slavic (Meillet 1965 [1924], Borkovskij 1978, Schmalstieg 1983, Luraghi 2003). The following examples are from Sanskrit (35a) and Baltic (35b), also from Savčenko (2003 [1974]):

- (35) a. Vísvam bibhāya bhúvanam *mahāvadhāt*. (Sanskrit, *Rig-veda*)
 whole fears world of-the-mighty-weapon_{ABL}
 ‘The whole world is afraid of that with the mighty weapon.’
- b. Vaikaĩ dažnaĩ bijo *tamsōs*. (Lithuanian)
 children often fear darkness_{GN}
 ‘Children are often afraid of darkness.’

In some IE languages, like Greek and Latin, the semantic notion of “departure” was lost in the psych verbs (the ones with the metaphoric sense of separation), and the original ablative-genitive objects were reanalyzed as regular “theme” objects (and marked with accusative case). As said before, this is the pattern we find in the Gk verbs of fear, shame and refusal from the Homeric times.

The change from the PIE ablative-genitive pattern into an accusative pattern in the Gk verbs of fear was made according to a process that took place at different stages in various IE languages, which consisted in replacing lexical bare cases with non-lexical ones (structural or configurational). Sporadically, instead of a structural accusative or genitive case, an overt PP could be inserted instead (Borkovskij 1978, Luraghi 2003); recall examples in (3), repeated below for convenience:

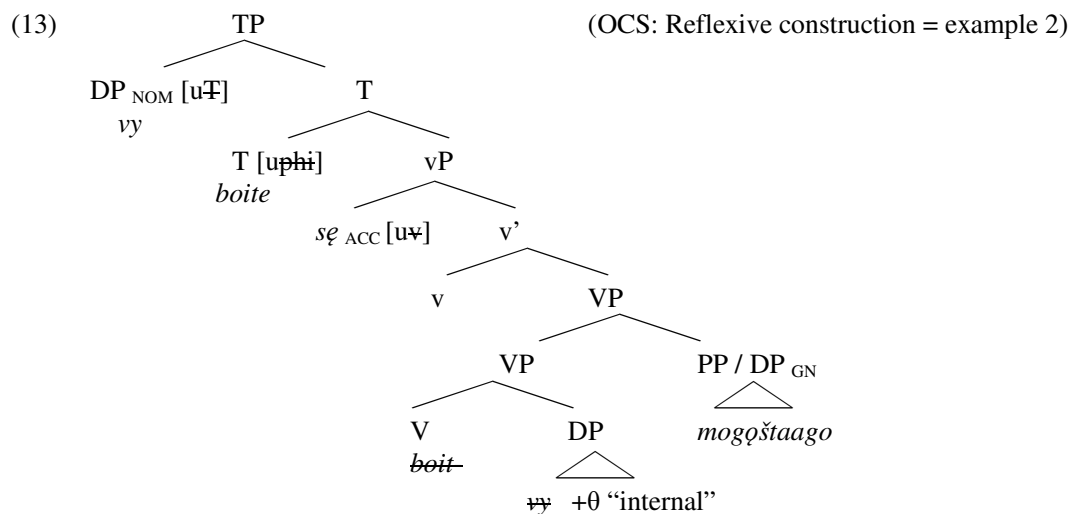
- (3) a. Dídakson, ei didaktón, *eks hótou* phobēi. (Gk: Sophocles, *Trachiniae* 671)
 explain if explainable from what_{GN} fear
 ‘Explain, if you can, what you are afraid of.’
- b. Нѣ ne boi sę *отъ мѣкъ*. (OCS: *Codex Suprasliensis* 8b: 7)
 but not fear refl._{AC} from tortures_{GN}
 ‘But do not be afraid of suffering.’

As we cannot track this change in documented Gk (the earliest appearances of the psych verbs of separation are already associated to an accusative object), let us see what the change looked like in a well-documented IE language, in Old Russian. This change process is analyzed in detail in Madariaga (in press, 2008) in the case of the Old Russian verbs denoting “taking care”, which changed from a genitive lexical pattern to a structural accusative one.

- (36) a. Раѣ же блjudи *slovesъ* jeho. (11th century OR: *Anthology of 1076*, 15)
 moreover part. guard words_{GN} his
 ‘And over all, observe his words.’
- b. Čistotoju *děvstvo* sobljula. (17th c. OR: *Life of the Archpriest Avvakum*, 246)
 with-cleanliness virginity_{AC} guard
 ‘She took care of her virginity by remaining chaste.’

The change that took place between (36a) and (36b), described in Madariaga (in press, 2008), was the following: the Old Russian system of grammatical case was transformed as a result of previous independent changes; basically, the old system of IE bare lexical cases (called “adverbial”

On the contrary, in Slavic, the change from genitive to accusative in the reflexive-passive verbs of ‘separation’, represented in (13), did not take place because the DP denoting the one that experiences fear or shame is the internal argument (“theme”), and only later raises to [Spec, T]. The reflexive pronoun, which is provided with case features, must value the only case available, accusative case, so that further accusative case valuing is blocked, and the stimulus of the fear or shame must surface as an adjunct with the lexical case that characterized it in PIE (ablative-genitive), or as a PP (cf. ex 3).



Only much later, when the passive morpheme (the OCS reflexive pronoun *sɛ*) wore out phonetically and became a verbal suffix was accusative case valuing allowed on the stimulus. This happened as late as in Present-day Colloquial Russian, where the originally passivizing reflexive form became the verbal passive morpheme *-sja/ -s'* (<*sɛ*), and later on, it was reinterpreted as a middle-deponent morpheme, similar to the middle desinences of the Gk active constructions analyzed in this paper. Thus, besides a normative paradigm where the DP associated to a *-sja/ -s'* verb of fear is still the genitive inherited from IE (38a), we have a colloquial pattern, where an accusative direct object is preferred (38b):

- (38) a. Ja bojus' teti. (Normative Present-day Russian)
 I fear aunt_{GN}
 'I am afraid of my aunt.'
- b. Ja bojus' tetju. (Colloquial Present-day Russian)
 I fear aunt_{AC}
 'I am afraid of my aunt.'

Instead of the OCS structure (13), the Colloquial Present-day Russian in (38b) can be represented as something similar to the Gk structure (14) proposed here; as an active construction, with no accusative pronoun, it observes Burzio's Generalization and licenses accusative case on the stimulus DP (Madariaga in press, 2008).

6. References

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