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# Grammatical voice and tense-aspect in Slavic*

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In this paper, we analyse the prototypicality of the passive voice in the Slavic languages. We argue that there are some variations in the periphrastic passive, which stem from the historical development of the tense-aspect system, particularly from an earlier resultative construction in the case of Indo-European languages. The periphrastic construction in some languages has abandoned the earlier tense-aspectual features, while in other languages they are still preserved. The periphrastic construction in every branch of Slavic has been considered passive in previous works. However, we claim that it is a case of the passive in East and some of West Slavic, while that in South Slavic is better considered as a resultative. This diversity motivates the continuum of tense-aspect and passive in Slavic.

## 1. Introduction

In this paper we demonstrate the complexity involved in the category of passive voice and analyse its prototypicality in Slavic languages. The passive is an elusive category, and various constructions are considered under this term. When this fact is considered diachronically, the definition becomes even more complex. The passive voice in Slavic has been much discussed in the literature, and the periphrastic construction with the passive participle, found in all branches of the Slavic languages, is collectively considered passive. We question whether these periphrastic constructions are really cases of the passive voice, following similar questions raised earlier, e.g. Comrie (1981); Abraham (1999, 2004). We also analyse whether there is a difference in the interpretation of the periphrastic construction over the different branches of the Slavic languages. In order to answer these questions we examine the periphrastic constructions both synchronically and diachronically. In particular, we demonstrate that the historical aspect of this construction plays an important role in our analysis.

We organise this paper as follows: first, we review the relationship between the tense-aspectual system and the passive, paying particular attention to the periphrastic passive construction and passive prototype. We then examine constructions generally considered to be passive in the Slavic languages: we question the passiveness of these constructions and analyse them synchronically, focusing on the stative-dynamic aspectual difference and the causer-causee relationship. Finally, we analyse the periphrastic

Table 1. Slavic languages

| East Slavic | West Slavic | South Slavic |
|---|---|---|
| Belarusian | Czech | Bulgarian |
| Russian | Kashubian | Macedonian |
| Ukrainian | Rusyn | Serbo-Croatian |
| | Slovak | Slovene |
| | Sorbian (Upper) | |
| | Sorbian (Lower) | |
| | Polish | |

passive construction diachronically. This allows us to clarify the prototypicality of the passive in relation to tense and aspect because the periphrastic construction is not necessarily the passive in every language.

The languages shown in Table 1 are what we consider as modern Slavic languages for purposes of this paper. It is a common practice, following Ruhlen (1990:327), to divide them into three groups, i.e. East, West, and South. We adopt this distinction since it will be useful in our later argument. Ruhlen's list of Slavic languages, however, does not include Rusyn. As noted in Tommola (2000:471, Fn. 1), whether Rusyn belongs to West Slavic (due to the similarity to Slovak), East Slavic (since most speakers live in the Ukraine) or even something else is questionable. In this work, we adopt the view that, based on the grammatical characteristics, it belongs to the West Slavic group.

In addition to the languages listed in Table 1, there are several more in the course of development. Proto-Slavic (sometimes known as Common Slavic) was the origin of the Slavic branch of Indo-European languages. It dates from approximately 3,000 BC. The division into the current three branches occurred between the 6th and the 9th century AD. Some grammatical and phonological characteristics of Proto-Slavic are reconstructed, but there were various written records in the later stage of the historical development. This involves Old Church Slavonic (as early as the 10th–11th century BC), Old East Slavic (also known as Old Russian), Old Ukrainian, Old Polish, etc. Also, there is another extinct Slavic language called Polabian, which was spoken as late as the 18th century. As we will see, the data from this language also helps in our analysis.

## 2. Relationship between passive and tense-aspect

### 2.1 Tense-aspect and periphrastic passive

A number of scholars have identified the relationship between the tense-aspectual system and the passive. For example, Givón (1990:571–572) claims that stativisation is one of the main functions of the passive in the sense that passivization includes the use of the auxiliary 'be' with less finite verb forms such as the adjectival, perfect participial, or nominal form. There are varying degrees of restrictions according to each language: in Germanic languages, for example, it is common to find two auxiliaries, e.g. 'be' and

'become', with 'be' normally used for expressing the state (except in Dutch and Frisian, where 'be' is exclusively used to express the perfective aspect; cf. (1) for an example in Dutch), while the other choice, 'become', exclusively expresses the dynamic aspect. In these cases, the aspectual difference is achieved by the choice of auxiliary. Other language families in Indo-European languages, such as the Romance languages, do not have this binary choice of auxiliary and 'be' often stands on its own, expressing mainly state. However, the dynamic aspect is often expressed by the same auxiliary. Beyond the boundary of Indo-European, a case similar to the latter can be found in Finnish, as in (2), where the perfect, as well as the resulting state, is optionally expressed.

Dutch

(1)  *Jan is slecht behandeld*
     Jan is badly treat.PAST.PART
     'Jan has been treated badly.'

Finnish (Harris & Campbell 1995:91)

(2)  *Seinä-t    o-vat    maala-tu-t*
     wall-NOM.PL  be-3PL  paint-PAST.PART.PL
     'The walls are painted' or 'The walls have been painted.'

We note that stativity can be divided into two subtypes: natural state (state without outer case) and secondary state (state resulting from some outer cause) (cf. Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988:4). The clause expressing the state in periphrastic constructions like (1) and (2) is normally the secondary state. See Section 3.3 below for the importance of outer cause. When the tense-aspect is analysed in relation to the passive, it is always the stative-dynamic distinction that is considered relevant. The periphrastic construction in Slavic is often analysed in this context (Harrison 1967:22–37; Siewierska 1988:247–251; Thieroff 1994:11; Bulanin 1995:122; Schooneffemmer 1995; Tommola 2000:463). Furthermore, notice that these examples are all periphrastic passives. This may indicate that the tense-aspect is related exclusively to the periphrastic passive. However, the morphological passive in some cases can be related to the stativisation, although it is extremely rare typologically. One such language is Arabic. Arabic involves internal vowel changes to mark tense distinctions. The basic tense system of Arabic consists of present, past and future and lacks perfect and imperfect tenses. Thus, the perfect/imperfect tenses are expressed by what is known as the passive as in (3) (vowel pattern $C$-$u$-$C$-$i$-$C$-$a$ for perfect, $C$-$a$-$C$-$a$-$C$-$u$ for imperfect). The same vowel change pattern can be also applied to monovalent verbs, as shown in (4).

Arabic

(3)  a.  *Qutila    Zaydun*
         kill.PASS  Zaid
         'Zaid was killed.' (perfect passive)
     b.  *Yaqtalu   Zaydun*
         kill.PASS  Zaid
         'Zaid has been killed.' (imperfect passive)

(4) a. *ntuwwita*
die.PRF
'One died'. (perfect active)

b. *Yimawwatu*
die.IMPRF
'One has died.' (imperfect active)

Notwithstanding the examples in (3), when the passive is considered to be related to the tense-aspect system, its construction is normally periphrastic.

The relationship between the passive and tense-aspect seems to be widely recognised. However, in some extreme cases, what is commonly known as the passive is only considered an aspectual construction: Some earlier works such as Beedham (1981, 1982) consider the Russian periphrastic passive to be a type of aspectual construction and not a grammatical voice construction per se. Andersen (1991:92–95) also considers that the English passive is basically used as an aspectual construction. Such a view is criticised by Palmer (1994:139), who claims that there are various aspectually marked constructions which appear together in the periphrastic passive. For example, English uses two distinctive auxiliaries, *be* for the passive and *have* for the perfect tense. These can be used in a same clause, e.g. *This TV has been fixed by my friend*. Cross-linguistically, however, the relationship between the tense-aspect and the passive is highly questionable, as Haspelmath (1990:38) notes "there is no direct relation between passives and states." There are some cases of the passive morpheme relating to dynamicisation in languages such as Nimboran (Indo-Pacific) and Mwera (Niger-Kordofanian). However, stativisation is not really crucial in the passive. The periphrastic constructions are indeed sometimes better considered aspectual constructions. In addition, the periphrastic passive is both geographically and genetically restricted mainly to Indo-European languages, as we will see in more details in Section 4. For the moment, it suffices to claim that the stativisation is not directly related to the grammatical passive.

## 2.2 Passive prototype

Identification of passive is not easy, as may at first appear, but it is in fact rather complex. As Siewierska (1984:1) says, "the analysis of the various constructions referred to in the literature as passive leads to the conclusion that there is not even one single property which all these constructions have in common." Let us consider a case presented in Lazard (1995:192): he usefully provides various cases of what is commonly described as passive to illustrate the diversity of its syntactic properties. The list of forms in (5) illustrates what is commonly considered the passive where $V^P$ stands for a passive verb and $V^r$, a reflexive verb. The inclusion of reflexive verbs alone indicate that the boundary between the passive and the reflexive verbs is not clear. The reflexive is known to express the passive, once the subject's volitionality is reduced (cf. Croft, Shyldkrot, & Kemmer 1987).

(5) – V changes to $V^P$ (passive voice), Y becomes 'subject', X drops or becomes $X_n$ (n = oblique marker): this is the 'canonical' passive as found in Western European languages;
– V changes to $V^P$, Y remains unchanged, X drops or becomes $X_n$: this is the 'impersonal passive', as, for example, in French;
– V changes to $V^P$, X and Y remain unchanged (Jinghpaw (Sino-Tibetan));
– V changes to $V^r$ (reflexive), Y becomes 'subject', X drops or becomes $X_n$ (Russian);
– V changes to $V^r$, Y remains unchanged, X drops: 'impersonal' (Spanish);
– V remains unchanged, Y becomes 'subject', X drops or becomes $X_n$ (Chinese).

In most theoretical approaches, each category is clearly distinguished, and needless to say, the passive is commonly considered a distinctive category.

The approach we employ in this paper is somewhat different, and we do not assume distinctive categories, say, between the passive and the reflexive. Instead, we posit the idea of a continuum (cf. Comrie 1989; Givón 1984:164; Shibatani 1985, 1998). This idea has been used in some earlier works. Shibatani (1985:821), for example, claims that "passives form a continuum with active sentences." However, the passive seems to be related not only to the active but also to other categories, such as the middle, inverse voice, anticausative, etc., as more recently discussed extensively in Croft (2001:283–319). We consider that each voice category does not exist independently and that they are somehow related to each other, whether the relationship is syntactic, semantic or functional. However, it is important to note that each category has a prototype and, by employing the continuum, we do not exclude any overlaps of properties among different categories.

So what is the passive prototype then? This may be one of the hardest questions one can ask about the passive. One obvious characteristic is that the passive requires a formal marking, whether the construction is periphrastically or morphologically marked. However, apart from that, it seems difficult to achieve a consensus among scholars as to what the passive prototype is. There have been numerous works discussing the definition of the passive (cf. Siewierska 1984:265; Keenan 1985; Cooreman 1987; Dik 1989:219–221; Givón 1990:567; Haspelmath 1990; Dixon 1991:229; Palmer 1994:117–127; Thompson 1994; Payne 1997:204, to name but a few). Among them, several points are repeatedly mentioned, which involve the following:

(6) i. The passive has an active counterpart, i.e. the passive subject corresponds to the active object, and the oblique actor phrase of the passive corresponds to the active subject, i.e. $NP_1(SUBJ)–VP(ACT)–NP_2(OBJ) = NP_2(SUBJ)–VP(PASS)–(NP_1)$ (OBL, optional)

ii. The passive is reduced in valence by one argument as compared to its active counterpart, i.e. divalent active verb becomes monovalent in the passive.

iii. The passive subject is more topical than the active object.

iv. The oblique actor phrase in the passive, whether it is overtly expressed or not, is highly non-topical and its identity is often unknown.

v. The passive subject tends to be lower entity in the animacy hierarchy (cf. Silverstein 1976), typically inanimate.

It is obvious that characteristics (i) and (ii) in (6) are more morphosyntactic, while (iii) and (iv) are functional. The morphosemantic characteristics of characteristic (v) (cf. Comrie 1977; Givón 1990:295–303; Toyota 2003:111–113), which claims that the passive subject tends to be inanimate while the active subject tends to be human, has been much discussed in the literature. We consider these five characteristics as properties of the prototypical passive.

## 3. Slavic passive: Synchronic analysis

### 3.1 Myths of Slavic periphrastic constructions

A number of previous works, such as Harrison (1967), Siewierska (1988) and various descriptive grammar books of individual Slavic languages, claim that Slavic languages possess several constructions, such as the reflexive, which express meanings commonly associated with the passive voice. The construction that we consider as the passive per se in Slavic languages is a periphrastic passive construction, shown below in (7) to (9).

Russian (Babby & Brecht 1975:342)

(7) *Kalitka    byla    otkryta              Olegom*
    gate.NOM   was     open.PAST.PART.PASS   Oleg.INSTR
    'The gate was opened by Oleg.'

Czech (Dušková 1972:101)

(8) *Princeton   pokus       byl   proveden              blinikem         a*
    Princeton   experiment  was   perform.PAST.PART.PASS  aluminium.INSTR  and
    *zlatem*
    gold.INSTR
    'The Princeton experiment was performed with aluminium and gold.'

Serbo-Croatian

(9) *Dokaz  je   pronađen            (od   naučnika)*
    proof  is   find.PAST.PART.PASS  of    scientist
    'The proof is found (by the scientist).'

There seem to be several reasons to believe that these constructions are passive, which can be listed below:

(10) i.   The subject is an undergoer, not an actor
    ii.   The actor can be expressed in an oblique phrase (cf. (9)) or by the instrument case (cf. (7))
    iii.  The construction differs from unmarked active constructions, in having an auxiliary and the main verb in passive participle form.

Also notice that (7) to (9) represent each branch of the Slavic languages. These examples are all considered passive (see, for example, Siewierska 1988 and various other

descriptive grammars), and this view has gone somewhat unchallenged so far. The characteristics in (10) fit with the characteristics indicated in i, ii and v in (6), which motivates the claim that (7) to (9) are instances of the passive. However, what appears to be a periphrastic passive in Slavic can be another construction in disguise. Once the historical development is taken into consideration, it is possible to consider them as a type of tense-aspectual construction in some branches. This is discussed extensively in Section 4, but before this, we take a look at some synchronic characteristics.

### 3.2 Stative-dynamic aspectual distinction

In distinguishing the passive voice from the tense-aspect relationship, one of the key factors is the aspectual distinction between the stative and the dynamic aspects. Since the passive is not supposed to be related to the stative aspect (cf. Section 2.1), a clause expressing the dynamic aspect is more likely to be considered the passive. A number of scholars use such criteria as a diagnostic of the passive (cf. Estival 1986, 1989; Siewierska 1988; Givón 1990:600–602; Toyota 2003). It is often cited that the particular syntactic environment can help us to identify the dynamic reading (cf. Freed 1979:57–58; Dowty 1979:55–56; Brinton 1988:242). With specific reference to Germanic languages, for example, the 'have'-perfect and the progressive constructions are often used as an indicator of the dynamic aspect (cf. Toyota 2003:55–60). However, these tests are not useful in Slavic, since the Slavic verbs always carry derivational morphologies distinguishing between the perfective and imperfective aspect. This, combined with the overt tense marking, can create tense-aspectual distinctions, including the perfect and progressive. In theory, the passive participle in Slavic can be formed with both perfective and imperfective verbs, but in reality, the participle tends to be formed with the perfective verb, perhaps with the exception of Polish (Siewierska 1988:247). Russian, in fact, always forms the passive participle with the perfective verb. This tends to cause the clause to be viewed as an entirety, but the overall interpretation of the clause can be contextual, too (Bulanin 1963).

A possible test applicable to the Slavic is the insertion of a time adverbial (cf. Przygoda 1976). For example, anything referring to the duration of time, such as *for two weeks, always*, etc., expresses the stative aspect, while others such as *by tomorrow, in two days*, etc. denote the dynamic aspect. Consider the following examples of dynamic clauses: (11) is an example with a temporal adverb indicating the dynamic aspect and (12) is based on the contextual clues. An important point in examples like (11) and (12) is that the use of the copula does not affect the overall aspectual distinction, i.e. the copula is an inherently stative verb, but the overall aspectual interpretation of the clause comes from the past participle.

Russian (Siewierska 1988:249)

(11) *Za   dva   časa    vsio        bylo   ulazeno*
    in   two   hours   everything  was    arrange.PAST.PART.PASS
    'Everything was arranged in two hours.'

Polish (Siewierska 1988:250)

(12) Wkrótce skóra była zdjęta                     i     udziec   oddzielony
     shortly skin was remove.PAST.PART.PASS and leg separate.PAST.PART.PASS
     od    grzbietu
     from back
     'Shortly the skin was removed and the leg separated from the back.'

Phrases referring to egressive aspect are a sign of dynamic aspect, since the stativity cannot refer to the end of state or action. The phrase referring to ingressive aspect, on the other hand, can be both stative and dynamic.

Apart from what we have seen so far, some West Slavic languages, namely Polish and colloquial Sorbian, use an auxiliary 'become' to express the dynamic aspect overtly, as shown in (13) (colloquial Sorbian) and (14) (Polish).[1] This auxiliary does not appear in the tense-aspect related constructions. So it can be considered a passive auxiliary.

Colloquial Sorbian (Knjazev 1988:367)

(13) Hdyž běchu  plany wobkručene,           wordowachu         chěže   skok
     after be.PAST plan  approve.PAST.PART become.PAST.3PL houses short.time
     natwarjene
     build.PAST.PART
     'After the plan had been approved, the houses were built in short time.'

Polish (Siewierska 1988:251)

(14) Pokój został        pomalowany       w  zeszłym roku
     room  become.PAST paint.PAST.PART in last     year
     'The room was painted last year.'

Upper Sorbian optionally omits the auxiliary być 'be', but it still allows wordować 'become' to appear at colloquial register. Lower Sorbian allows both być 'be' and wordowaš 'become'. Polish does not use auxiliaries for tense-aspect (except for 'have' in a colloquial speech, cf. Note 2) and the additional choice, found only in the passive, may be taken as an indicator for the establishment of the category of passive.

What is crucial in the tense-aspectual domain of the passive is that the whole clause needs to express the dynamic aspect. As long as a clause expresses stative aspect, it can be considered related to the tense-aspectual construction. The dynamic aspect from the periphrastic construction is only possible in a limited number of Slavic languages: East Slavic and some of West Slavic (Polish, Czech and Slovak). What is common among them is that these languages have a much more grammaticalised past tense, which originated in the earlier periphrastic construction. We discuss this in detail, later, in Section 4.2.

## 3.3 Causer-causee relationship

What appears to be the passive can be an adjectival construction or a tense-aspectual construction in disguise. For example, constructions like *The house is located in the city centre* or *The box is covered with dust* in English are considered passive. Structure-wise, this example is identical to the verb passive. However, what distinguishes constructions like this from the passive is the presence of outer cause or causer-causee relationship. This is related to the characteristic (61), where the active counterpart is expected. These examples merely describe the state of the subject, with no outer cause implied in the clause. So these examples should be excluded from the passive category.

The causer-causee relationship is often considered in terms of transitivity. The term transitivity is normally used very loosely in linguistic theory, and at least two types can be identified. Semantic transitivity is concerned with the transfer of action or event from one entity (actor) to another (undergoer). Syntactic transitivity is solely concerned with whether the direct object is present (transitive) or absent (intransitive). Alternatively, transitivity can be viewed as a continuum, as proposed in Lakoff (1977) or Hopper and Thompson (1980). What we are concerned with here is the outer cause, so we are concerned more with semantic, rather than syntactic, transitivity. According to this type of transitivity, when a lexical verb is transitive, such as a verb of creation or destruction (cf. Kozinsky 1980; Testelec 1998), passivisation is more easily done. Kittilä (2002:23) rightly points out this correlation of the passive and transitivity as follows:

> Passivization makes it in many (but not all) cases possible to separate transitive clauses from less transitive ones, since … only clauses conceived of as somehow transitive are to be passivized in many languages. The acceptability of passivization correlates to some extent with transitivity: the more transitive a clause is, the more readily it can be passivised. (see, for example, Lehmann 1991:224ff; Rice 1987)

So once the clause is interpreted as the passive, it needs not only the recipient of outer cause, i.e. undergoer, but also the presence of an outer cause, i.e. actor (whether it is overtly expressed or not).[2]

In other branches of Indo-European languages, various tactics, such as the 'have'-perfect in the Germanic, were developed to accommodate the growing demands for the actor-oriented resultative construction. The following example shows earlier stages of the resultative in Germanic languages. The actor is expressed in the dative case.

Gothic (Toyota 2003:49)

(15) iþ  marei winda      mikilamma waiandin urraisida was
     and sea   wind.DAT great           blowing  raised    was
     'and a great blowing wind raised/has raised the sea' (John 6.18)

The periphrastic resultative construction often uses the auxiliary 'have' in Indo-European languages, and such characteristics lead to the distinction of *be*-language and *have*-language (cf. Isačenko 1974). Interestingly, the use of actor in dative case in (15) corresponds to the expression of possessor in the periphrastic possessive construction in Gothic, as shown below:

Gothic (Davis 1986:136)

(16)  jah  ni  was  im      barne
      and  not was  they.DAT children.NOM
      'They had no children.' (Luke 1.7)

As is obvious, the possession acquired the lexical verb 'have' in almost all Indo-European languages, although its etymology is not clear (cf. Meyer 1915:224–237; Hamp 1954; Markey 1986:8; Davis 1986:114–115, 134). In Germanic or Romance languages, the resultative construction (stative clause with undergoer-orientation) acquired the actor-oriented construction with an invention of 'have'. In Slavic, the active and passive participle distinction creates a difference in orientation. However, construction-wise, the actor is not clearly distinguished from the undergoer in the resultative.

The actor phrase can be also found in modern Slavic languages. It is expressed by either case marking (instrument in (17)) or prepositions as in (18), (19) and also earlier examples (7) and (9).

Russian (Wójcik 1973:119)

(17)  Konservacia      byla  zaakončena              rabotnikami
      conservation.NOM was   finish.PAST.PART.PASS   workmen.INSTR
      'The conservation work has been finished by the workmen.'

Polish (Siewierska 1984:10)

(18)  Majatek    był  administrowany            przez  Pana  Tadeusza
      estate.NOM was  administer.PAST.PART.PASS by     Mr.   Tadeusz
      'The estate was administered by Mr. Tadeusz.'

Bulgarian (Radewa 1984:214)

(19)  Lv't  bese  zatvoren               ot      horata
      lion  was   lock.up.PAST.PART.PASS from    people
      'The lion was locked up by people.'

Superficially, the presence of actor indicates high transitivity, and these examples appear to be passive. However, this can be a different construction in disguise. As shown in Gothic examples in (15) and (16), the actor of resultative construction can be expressed in the oblique phrase. This can be proven by analysing the historical development of the Slavic languages.

## 4.  Historical development

The passive involves two types of overt marking, i.e. periphrastic and morphological. This difference in construction seems to correspond to the geographic distribution of each form. Dryer (1982:55) claims "the use of copula plus an adjective in passive clause is rare outside Indo-European. In most languages, the passive is formed by adding a

passive suffix to the verb." Haspelmath (1990:29) and Anna Siewierska (p.c.) also express the same view. To this, we add languages in South-East Asia, such as Vietnamese, Thai, etc. and the Finnic languages (cf. (2)).

This geographic distribution is closely related to the origin of the construction, i.e. the periphrastic construction in the Indo-European languages as well as the Finnic (but not the languages in South-East Asia) stems from the earlier resultative construction, i.e. a construction that describes the resulting state with undergoer-orientation (Davis 1986; Givón 1990:600–602; Estival 1986, 1989; Toyota 2003). Needless to say, the Slavic languages fit in this type. However, there are varying degrees of development and the form in modern Slavic can be either resultative or passive. In the following three sections, we first demonstrate the origin of the passive and then the developmental path. Finally we illustrate how historical developments can be useful in deciding on the prototypicality of the passive.

### 4.1   Origin of Slavic passive

The older Slavic languages already had periphrastic constructions, which involve the copula and a deverbalised adjective, such as an adjectival participle. This means that the participle often carries inflectional markers at earlier stages (cf. Szemerenyi 1980:297; Davis 1986:24; Greenberg 2000:182–186). Examples in (20), as well as (22) and (23), show the agreement marker of person, number and gender on the participle.

Old Church Slavonic (Hantley 1993:152)

(20)  prišelŭ                  jestŭ             vasilĭskŭ
      come.PRF.PAST.PART.MASC  be.IMPF.PRES.3SG  Basiliscus
      'Basiliscus has come.' (Suprasliensis 20.2)

(20) is concerned with aspect and the construction is active. Some modern Slavic languages still preserve this agreement system (cf. (24) and (25)). As we have seen in Section 3.3, the presence of outer cause is indispensable if a clause is to be considered a passive. However, the implication of outer cause is not sufficient to claim a construction as a passive: what appears to be the passive in (21) to (23) is, in fact, still related to tense-aspectual constructions, like the Gothic example (15). The hint of earlier passive constructions can be found in these examples, especially in terms of its structure and the existence of outer cause expressed in the instrument case in (21) and (22) or by the use of preposition 'of' (23).

Old Church Slavonic (Schmalstieg 1983:191)

(21)  ni  čisomu  že    bodetŭ   kŭ  tomu  da    izŭpana  bodetŭ   vĭnŭ  i    popiraema
      for nothing more  will.be  to  this  that  thrown   will.be  out   and  trampled.on
      č(lovĕk)y
      men.INSTR
      'It will be good for nothing so that it will be thrown out and trampled on by men.'
      (Matt. 5.13)

Old East Slavic (Dorosz 1975:89)

(22)   I     bie    obieszczano        Duchom     Swiatym     nie   widieti   smierti
       and   was    proclaim.PAST.PART.NEUT   ghost.INSTR   holy.INSTR   not   see   death
       'And it was proclaimed by the Holy Ghost that death will not be seen.'

Old Polish (Dorosz 1975:92)

(23)   ... by   thesz   krolesthwo   tho   nakomyecz   abo   skazano                     od
       so also  kingdom   this   end   or   sentence.PAST.PART.NEUT   of
       nyeprzyyaczol,   abo   posyandzyono        od   poganov   nye   bylo
       enemies   or   possess.PAST.PART.NEUT   of   pagans   not   be
       '... and also so that the kingdom will never be overrun by its enemies or possessed by pagans.'

This superficial similarity to the typical passive is due to the undergoer-orientation and the actor expressed in the oblique phrase. However, this is one of the inevitable stages in the development of Indo-European languages, i.e. the resultative was only possible with an undergoer-orientation. The origin of this construction may well date back to as early as Proto-Indo-European, especially where the distinction between the passive and active participle is concerned. In Proto-Indo-European, the basic binary nominal distinction into active and inactive nouns played an important role in the grammatical construction (cf. Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1995). Active nouns refer to entities which are capable of acting on their own. Therefore, they tend to be animate. The referent of inactive nouns, on the contrary, cannot initiate an action and therefore, they are normally inanimate. Proto-Indo-European perfect is believed to have been derived from the monovalent inactive noun construction, where the state of the subject was expressed (cf. Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1995:260). This lack of initiative to act automatically makes the inactive noun the undergoer, which can be considered to have created the undergoer-orientation in the perfective passive participle. The active participle was a later innovation. Also, due to the lack of the initiative expressed in the passive participle, this participle is also considered to have contributed to the emergence of the middle voice (Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1995:260–261). This is so, since the middle voice can express the spontaneous event, without implying the input of outer cause. So it is obvious by now that the earlier resultative is the origin of the Slavic passive.

### 4.2   The development of tense systems

Constructions like (21) to (23) are, however, not yet fully considered passive, and the development into a more prototypical passive is aided by the change in the tense system, especially the past tense. The tense-aspect system in the Slavic languages has not changed much. For example, Polabian has preserved the Proto-Slavic tense-aspectual system (Polański 1993:814). However, it does not exclude any changes, and we restrict our argument to changes relating to the ANTERIOR. The earlier aorist expressed the past without referring to the aspectual difference and it had its own conjugation. In the course of historical development, the periphrastic construction

like (20) to (23) became popular, although it sporadically existed even in Proto-Slavic (Schenker 1993:94). When the copula and the past participle, both active and passive, were used in the same clause, it often expressed a resultative or perfect. The difference between the active and passive participle is orientation, i.e. the active participle has actor-orientation and the passive participle, undergoer-orientation. This type of construction still thrives in some of modern Slavic languages.

The copula is historically the oldest choice of auxiliary, but some languages developed to use different ones: some West Slavic languages use 'have' as an auxiliary for the perfect, as in Czech (24), Kashubian (25) as well as in Macedonian (26).[3]

Czech (Maslov 1988:80)

(24)   Mám                      úloh-u                  napsa-n-ou
       have.1SG   task-ACC.FEM   write-PAST.PART-ACC.SG.FEM
       'I have written my task.'

Kashubian (Stone 1993:777)

(25)   On   mô            to   wszëtko   zrobiony
       he   have.3SG   it   all   do.PAST.PART.ACT.MASC
       'He has done it all.'

Macedonian (de Bray 1980a:207–208)

(26)   Imam          radoteno
       have.1SG   work.PAST.PART.PASS
       'I have worked.'

Furthermore, some express the same meaning without the use of auxiliary, as shown in the following examples:

Belarusian (Tommola 2000:445)

(27)   a.   Ja/Ty               wzo         atryma-l-a              zamežny   pašpart
             PRON.1/2SG   already   get.PRF-PAST-FEM   foreign   passport
             'I/You (have) got my/your passport already.'
       b.   My/Vy/Jany      pra-gljadze-l-i             kambinacy-ju
             PRON.1/2/3PL   through-look-PAST-PL   combination-ACC
             'We/you/they (have) overlooked the manoeuvre.'

Czech (Tommola 2000:446)

(28)   Ne,   ještě   se   nevrátí-l-a
       no   still   REF   return.NEG-PAST-FEM
       'No, she's still gone.'

These examples show that the suffix -l functions as a past tense marker. The past tense form in languages without the auxiliary used to be the active participle (de Bray 1980c:77, 153–154). This participle is formed with an infinitival form of verb and the suffix -l, which now functions as a past tense marker in the languages forming the past

tense without auxiliary. Since it was a participle earlier, it was inflected in gender and number (e.g. MASC -l; FEM -la; NEUT -lo; PL -li), as in (29).

Old East Slavic (Tommola 2000:459)

(29) čast' post-a preminu-l-a est'
     part fast-GEN PRF-PAST.PART.ACT-FEM COP
     'A part of the fast-time has passed.'

Notice the presence of the copula in (29). When it is dropped, the suffix -l became reanalysed as an inflectional past tense marker, but the agreement is still preserved as shown in (27) and (28).[4] The omission of the copula can be found in East Slavic and West Slavic except for Rusyn and Lower Sorbian. In Kashubian and Upper Sorbian, however, the copula is optionally allowed. Thus Kashubian, in particular, uses three different constructions, with 'have' (25), with 'be' (30a), and without an auxiliary (30b).

Kashubian (Stone 1993:777)

(30) a. jô jem robił(a)
        I am work.PAST.PART.ACT
        'I worked.'

     b. jô robił
        I work.PAST.PART.ACT
        'I worked.'

Stone (1993:776–777) notes that the construction with 'be' in Kashubian is found within literature or used by an older generation. This shows that constructions with 'have' (25) or without auxiliary (30b) are newer.

There is a general pattern in the grammaticalisation of auxiliary, ranging from a lexical verb to its loss through a period of auxiliary, cliticisation and affixation (cf. Givón 1984:270–271; Haspelmath 1990:38; Heine 1993), and the grammaticalisation of the past tense in the Slavic can be roughly formulated as in Figure 1. The arrow in the scale indicates the direction of historical change. Thus 'be' in the South Slavic is at the stage of full lexical verb or auxiliary, and in the East and West Slavic, it has developed further into its loss. Polish, however, still preserves its affixation stage (cf. Note 4).

The distribution of the different types of construction is more or less uniform according to the branch within the Slavic groups, except for West Slavic. For example, the omission of auxiliary is common in East Slavic, but not so in South Slavic, and West Slavic, such as Kashubian and Upper Sorbian, has a mixture of constructions. We
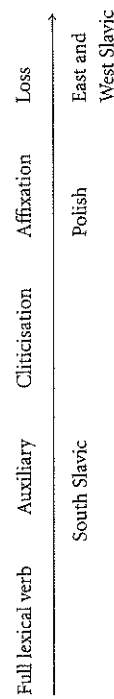
| Full lexical verb | Auxiliary | Cliticisation | Affixation | Loss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| South Slavic | | | Polish | East and West Slavic |

Figure 1. Schematic representation of past tense auxiliary

Table 2. Periphrastic constructions in modern Slavic

| | With auxiliary | | Without auxiliary | | Auxiliary |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Active | Passive | Active | Passive | |
| –EAST | | | | | |
| Belarusian | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | 'be' |
| Russian | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | 'be' |
| Ukrainian | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | 'be' |
| –WEST | | | | | |
| Czech | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | 'be'/'have'*† |
| Kashubian | ✓ | ✓ | (✓) | | 'be'/'have'/(×) |
| Polish | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | 'be'/'have'*† |
| Rusyn | ✓ | ✓ | | | 'be' |
| Slovak | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | | 'be' |
| Sorbian (upper) | ✓ | ✓ | (✓) | | 'be'/(×) |
| Sorbian (lower) | ✓ | ✓ | | | 'be' |
| –SOUTH | | | | | |
| Bulgarian | ✓ | ✓ | | | 'be'/'have'* |
| Macedonian | ✓ | ✓ | | | 'be'/'have' |
| Serbo-Croatian | ✓ | ✓ | | | 'be' |
| Slovene | ✓ | ✓ | | | 'be' |

Note: ✓ = characteristic is present; × = characteristic is absent; ( ) = characteristic is optional; * = 'have'-perfect is restricted to the spoken, colloquial register; † = 'have'-perfect cannot be formed with all the transitive verbs.

summarise the details of various types we have seen so far in Table 2.[5] We divide the constructions into two types, with or without auxiliary. We compare this distinction according to the type of past participle, i.e. whether active or passive. The subtle differences found in the West Slavic indicate the transitional stage into more uniformity in the tense-aspect system and judging from the direction of change, the auxiliary will be deleted in the future (cf. Figure 1). Considering the changes observed in the East and West Slavic, South Slavic languages seem to be at the beginning or intermediate stage of the change towards the past tense.[6] Also, note that we consider Table 2 as a summary of modern Slavic languages, so older languages, including Polabian, are not listed. This table clearly shows that the East and South Slavic are uniform, but West Slavic languages show more diversity. This, then, holds an important clue in the emergence of the passive.

4.3 The emergence of the passive in Slavic

With regard to the degree of grammatical change in the ANTERIOR constructions, those which express the tense-aspect without the auxiliary show a higher degree of grammaticalisation. So it is possible to say that the East Slavic languages do not rely heavily on the periphrastic construction any longer to deal with the subtle difference in tense-aspect. This can be applied to some West Slavic languages too and begs the ques-

tion why the periphrastic construction with the passive participle exists at all in these languages. Or let us put it in a slightly different way: those which have the periphrastic construction even with the active participle, such as South Slavic, may need the active participle construction in order to express some difference in tense-aspect, since the active and passive participle can form the binary opposition. What is the function of this stranded passive participle construction in East Slavic and some of West Slavic? In our view, this construction can be considered as the passive, but when it has its active counterpart, like in South Slavic, it is still used for the tense-aspect purpose.

Considering the details of the historical change of periphrastic construction, what is important in the grammaticalisation of the passive is that the whole clause should represent the aspect expressed by the participle, not by the auxiliary 'be'. This means that when the auxiliary went through the semantic bleaching, the aspectual distinction should rely on the participle. This characteristic is not mentioned in (6), since this is a particular characteristic to periphrastic constructions, but on understanding the distinction of passive and tense-aspect relationship, it is crucial (cf. Siewierska 1988; Toyota 2003, for the same point). The stative reading in the passive is one of the crucial features in describing the historical development, but it is only relevant at the earlier stage and once the passive is grammaticalised, the clause should be able to express dynamic aspect.

Such a change often results in ambiguous examples. As demonstrated in Thieroff (1994:11), the following Russian example illustrates a case where the aspectual difference cannot be easily determined:

Russian

(31) Kogda ja prišel      v     pjat'  čas-ov,       dver'  by-l-a
     when  I   come.PAST  PREP  five   hour-GEN.PL   door   COP-PAST-FEM
     zakry-t-a                              no    ja ne   zna-ju,    kogda  on-a
     shut.PRF-PAST.PART.PASS-FEM            but   I  NEG  know-1SG   when   PRON-FEM
     by-l-a          zakry-t-a
     COP-PAST-FEM    shut.PRF-PAST.PART.PASS-FEM
     'When I came at five, the door was shut, but I don't know when it was shut.'

This type of ambiguity is a natural result of historical changes, but even the fact that the dynamic reading is possible indicates a sign of historical development, since it was not possible earlier. When the dynamic aspect becomes stabilised in the periphrastic construction, another problem is expected. As argued in Toyota (2003:85–89), the English passive with inherently stative verbs demonstrates a typical syntactic behaviour of the dynamic verbal passive, but the overall interpretation of aspect is still stative. It is highly likely that the East Slavic and some of the West Slavic periphrastic constructions encounter a similar ambiguity.

In order to determine the category passive in Slavic, the development of the past tense is crucial: when the past tense started to be expressed morphologically, the periphrastic construction with the passive participle is given a new function, i.e. the stranded passive participle construction became more attached to the grammatical

voice, most likely due to its orientation. The loss of a binary counterpart in terms of orientation in East Slavic and some West Slavic languages creates the markedness in terms of the orientation, which is crucial to the passive. This means that the passive construction does not develop on its own, but it is created due to the changes in the tense-aspectual domain and those languages that form the past tense without an auxiliary have the marked passive constructions. What is left from the earlier construction, which has a passive participle with an undergoer-orientation, is given a new function. Therefore, the construction itself has not changed much except for the aspectual coding, but such a change can also be attributed to the reanalysis of other constructions.

Based on Table 2, we compare the use of the auxiliary and the presence or absence of the passive. When the auxiliary is absent, in our view, the construction with the passive participle can be considered to be a passive, as illustrated in Table 3. When the construction is considered to be a passive, the choice of auxiliary is also illustrated. The passive is found in East Slavic and some of West Slavic, but not at all in South Slavic. West Slavic is a mixture of characteristics from East and South Slavic as far as the passive is concerned. Kashubian and both Upper and Lower Sorbian are considered to be at an intermediate stage, which is mainly due to the optionality of the auxiliary 'be'. In addition, Sorbian (both upper and lower) uses 'become' just for the periphrastic construction with the passive participle, and these languages are sensitive to the distinction of stative-dynamic distinction. Since 'become' is not used for the tense-aspectual constructions, it can be considered as a passive, but the presence of the 'auxiliary with

Table 3. Possibility of the passive in modern Slavic

| | Tense-aspect | | Passive | Periphrastic |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Aux. present | Aux. absent | | |
| – EAST | | | | |
| Belarusian | ✓ | | 'be' | Passive |
| Russian | ✓ | | 'be' | Passive |
| Ukrainian | ✓ | | 'be' | Passive |
| – WEST | | | | |
| Czech | ✓ | | 'be' | Passive |
| Kashubian | | (✓) | 'be'/'become' | Passive/tense-aspect |
| Polish | ✓ | | 'be' | Passive |
| Rusyn | ✓ | | | Tense-aspect |
| Slovak | ✓ | | 'be' | Passive/tense-aspect |
| Sorbian (upper) | ✓ | | 'be'/'become' | Passive/tense-aspect |
| Sorbian (lower) | ✓ | (✓) | 'become' | Passive/tense-aspect |
| – SOUTH | | | | |
| Bulgarian | ✓ | | | Tense-aspect |
| Macedonian | ✓ | | | Tense-aspect |
| Serbo-Croatian | ✓ | | | Tense-aspect |
| Slovene | ✓ | | | Tense-aspect |

Note: ✓ = characteristic is present; ( ) = characteristic is optional.

active participle' construction indicates the lesser degree of grammaticalisation than the construction with the passive participle only.

## 5. Conclusion

We have investigated whether there really exists a passive in the Slavic. Furthermore, we have demonstrated how the historical relationship between the tense-aspect and the passive affects the interpretation of the Slavic passive. We have argued that the periphrastic construction with the passive participle synchronically looks like the grammatical passive, that previous works, in fact, consider it passive in every branch of Slavic languages but that this can be misleading. The Slavic languages have often preserved an earlier periphrastic aspectual/resultative construction. Nonetheless, there have been changes, too. In the modern East Slavic and some of the modern West Slavic, the past tense is formed morphologically based on the earlier periphrastic construction with the active participle. This gave an opportunity for the old periphrastic construction with the passive participle to be reanalysed as the passive. However, this change has not happened in the South Slavic languages. This diversity influences the determination of the category passive in the Slavic languages.

The passive voice, therefore, does exist in the Slavic languages, but only in the East and some of the West Slavic, which express the past tense without auxiliary (cf. Table 3). The South Slavic languages still use the periphrastic construction as a means of expressing the ANTERIOR. Historically, the passive did not exist in the earlier periods in the Indo-European languages. This suggests that the passive is a new category, and it may still be developing further. This is exactly the case in Slavic languages. In order to determine grammatical categories like the passive, it is important to incorporate the historical development of the construction and see the extent to which it has been grammaticalised.

Following from the diachronic relationships found in grammaticalisation, we have demonstrated that the diachronic development of the passive as well as tense-aspect is crucial to the correct analysis of the grammatical voice and tense-aspect in Slavic.

## Notes

1. Also historically, Polabian used *vårdot* 'become' as an auxiliary, as shown below, along with *bait* 'be'.

Polabian (Polański 1993:815)

i.  *Vårdol       baitĕ*
    become.PAST.3SG  beat.PAST.PART.PASS
    'He was beaten.'

2. Note the presence of outer cause, in addition to the stativity, makes the passivisation of perception verbs difficult, since the transitivity is not so high in this construction. The perception verbs also often have marked actor markings, such as the use of different cases. This also signals the peculiarities of these verbs.

3. In addition to these examples, some even claim that Polish has the 'have'-perfect. Bubenik (2000:82) says that "the 'have'-perfect is more or less limited to spoken language and it cannot be formed from all transitive verbs." However, the use of 'have' in Polish is generally not mentioned in the reference grammar (cf. de Bray 1980b; Bielec 1998) and there is no example cited in Bubenik.

4. In Polish, however, the further development can be observed: it uses a former past participle active, like the East Slavic, but it also requires an agreement marker, which is derived from the copula *być* 'be' (de Bray 1980c:311), e.g. compare *-em*, *-eś*, *-ø* in the examples below with the ending of the copula, *jest-em* 'I am; *jest-eś* 'you are (SG)'; *jest-ø*, 'he/she/it is'. Notice that it differs from the original agreement marker in the participle.

Polish (Tommola 2000:444)

i.  a.  *Porna-ł-em      ją*
        meet-PAST-1SG    her
        'I have met her.'

    b.  *Odrobi-ł-eś    już    lekcje?*
        do-PAST-2SG   already  homework
        'Have you done the homework?'

    c.  *On(-a)                      czyta-ł(-a)              tę    książkę*
        PRON.3SG.MASC/(FEM)  read-PAST.3SG.MASC-(FEM)  this   book
        'He/She has read this book.'

The development of *być* 'be' in particular illustrates an important step in the development. By this, we mean that in the East Slavic, the earlier copula became an auxiliary and now it is realised as a part of tense-aspectual affix. Cf. Figure 1.

5. We have not indicated the exact period of change, since it may vary from language to language. Shevelov (1993:967), on Ukrainian, claims that "it is safe to assume that in the Central Ukrainian area the imperfect was lost at the latest in the twelfth century, the aorist in the fourteenth century and the use of the auxiliary verb in the perfect by the seventeenth century."

6. In South Slavic, however, this form still survives with a different degree of mixture of older and newer forms: in Slovene, for example, the aorist and imperfect forms totally disappeared and the periphrastic construction became the past. Bosnian and Croatian dialects of Serbo-Croatian still preserve the aorist and imperfect form, but they are generally considered literary archaism, but in Serbian dialect, they are still used, although the periphrastic construction is edging its way (Savić 1991; Lindstedt 2000:374).

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# Passive in Nganasan*

Larisa Leisiö
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In this paper, the passive constructions in Nganasan will be discussed from a semantic-functional point of view. Nganasan (also called Tavgi and Tavgi-Samoyed) is one of the Northern Samoyed languages belonging to the Uralic language family. Nganasan is an essentially agglutinative accusative SOV language.

In Nganasan, there is a derivational verbal suffix which turns transitive verbs into passive ones. The structural object of the transitive verb becomes the subject of the corresponding passive construction. The formation of passive verbs is quite productive. The discussion will concentrate on the aspectual and modal properties of the passive verb constructions, the semantics of subjects, and the discourse functions of these constructions.

Along with the passive verbal constructions, there are passive constructions based on participles. An analysis of Nganasan participial passive constructions will be provided and the criteria for the use of a particular participle will be discussed. In the conclusion, the main function of the Nganasan passive will be formulated.

An analysis of syntactic and discourse functions of Nganasan passive verb constructions and the criteria of the participle choice in the participial passive constructions constitute a new input in the research of Nganasan syntax.

## 1.    Introduction

### 1.1   Preliminaries

In the accusative languages, the passive voice is a mechanism that denies the actor the subject role. The personal passive selects an undergoer as a subject. The impersonal passive denies both the actor and the undergoer the subject role: both are either syntactically unexpressed or their integration in syntax is marginal[1] (Shibatani 1988:3).

Among the Uralic languages,[2] all Baltic Finnic languages have an impersonal passive. In Mari and Hungarian, personal passives are obsolete. Personal passive is reported to be frequent only in the Ob-Ugric languages (Khanty and Mansi) (Comrie 1988: 468). It is also found in the Northern Samoyed languages: Nenets, Enets and Nganasan have a derivational verbal suffix that serves to derive a passive verb from

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Volume 68

Passivization and Typology: Form and function
Edited by Werner Abraham and Larisa Leisiö

# Passivization and Typology

Form and function

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# Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| A(G) | agent |
| AA | Aktionsart |
| ACC | accusative case morpheme |
| AgrP | agreement phrase |
| Aux | auxiliary (verb) |
| Cop | copula |
| DAT | dative case morpheme |
| DO | direct object |
| ECM | Exceptional Case Marking (AcI; Accusativus cum Infinitivo) |
| EPP | Extended Projection Principle (universal priciple for clausal subject realization) |
| eV | ergative (unaccusative) verb |
| FOC | focus |
| GB | Government and Binding theory |
| INF | infinitive |
| IO | indirect object |
| iV | intransitive verb |
| LCC | Linear Crossing Constraint |
| mC | middle construction |
| MHG | Middle High German |
| MP | Minimalist Program |
| mV | middle verb |
| NOM | nominative case morpheme |
| NPI | negative polarity item |
| O | object |
| OEP | ongoing event passive |
| OHG | Old High German |
| OT | Optimality Theory |
| P(AT) | Patient |
| P(REP) | preposition |
| PASS | passive morpheme |
| PERF | perfective |
| PM | passive morpheme |
| PP | prepositional phrase |
| PPA | active past participle |