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**REFLEXIVITY AND MIDDLENESS
IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN
(A CONTRASTIVE STUDY)**

a doctoral dissertation

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I shall simply point out that the syntactic and semantic structure of natural languages evidently offers many mysteries, both of fact and of principle, and that any attempt to delimit the boundaries of these domains must certainly be quite tentative.

Noam Chomsky

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FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

*Nihil enim est simul
et inventum et perfectum.*¹

Cicero

Having accomplished the project *Reflexivity and middleness in English and Serbian (a contrastive study)*, I feel obliged to express my deepest gratitude to all who were involved in it in their various capacities, either by influencing and shaping my linguistic ideas, or helping me articulate my thoughts and findings in a more or less direct way, or simply by being supportive and encouraging during some of my difficult moments. It was a real privilege having them on my side.

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¹ In fact, nothing is both inventive and perfect at the same time.

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S. K.

In Cambridge, 29 August 2005

REFLEXIVITY AND MIDDLENESS IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN (A CONTRASTIVE STUDY)

SUMMARY

Reflexivity and middleness in English and Serbian (a contrastive study) is a project that examines the way in which the idea of **reflexivity** and **middleness** has been grammatically encoded in **English** (E) and **Serbian** (S), using the method of **contrastive analysis**. This attempt to put a more precise borderline around the scope of the two phenomena has taken into consideration an important semantic property of the middle, known as the relative elaboration of events, which “is the parameter along which the reflexive and the middle can be situated as semantic categories intermediate in transitivity between one-participant and two-participant events, and which in addition differentiates reflexive and middle form one another” (Kemmer, 1994: 181). Another main theoretical standpoint, following Manney (2000), reiterates that middleness is notionally characterized either by a non-initiative emotional response or a spontaneous change of state, and thus is clearly distinguishable from prototypical reflexivity, invoking a scene “in which an individual acts on itself, intentionally or otherwise” (Manney 2000: 214). We have re-examined the ways of **grammatical encoding** of the notions of middleness and reflexivity, taking their **prototypical representation** as the platform of reference, or the *tertium comparationis*. Following the results of the analyses done so far, we have proposed ten different functions of the morpheme *se* in S, only five out of which belong to the reflexive semantic domain, while two of them are middle *sensu stricto*. Other functions, embraced by middle semantics, include passive, impersonal and modal uses. Then we have observed their E equivalents, which included some *reflexiva tantum* forms, passives, intransitives, some idiomatic forms, etc. Finally, we have briefly pointed out the most outstanding **similarities** and **differences** that E and S exhibit as regards this intriguing linguistic topic, concluding that further research within the proposed framework can yield contrastively valuable results that can be further applied to a variety of study fields.

Key words: reflexivity, middleness, English, Serbian, contrastive analysis, grammatical encoding, prototypical representation, similarities, differences, *genus verbi*, voice.

REFLEKSIVNOST I MEDIJALNOST U ENGLESKOM I SRPSKOM JEZIKU (KONTRASTIVNA STUDIJA)

REZIME

Refleksivnost i medijalnost u engleskom i srpskom jeziku (kontrastivna studija) je rad koji ispituje način gramatičkog enkodiranja koncepta **refleksivnosti** i **medijalnosti** u **engleskom** (E) i **srpskom** (S) jeziku metodom **kontrastivne analize**. Ovaj pokušaj da se utvrdi jasnija granica domena ova dva fenomena uzima u obzir vazno semantičko svojstvo medijalnosti, poznato kao relativna razrada događaja, što “je parametar u okviru kog se refleksiv i medijal mogu postaviti kao semantičke kategorije srednjeg stepena prelaznosti, između događaja sa jednim učesnikom i događaja sa dva učesnika, što takodje dodatno odvaja refleksiv i medijal jedan od drugog” (Kemmer 1994: 181). Drugo značajno teorijsko stanovište, koji zastupa Manney (2000), naglašava da medijalnost konceptualno karakteriše ili neizazvani emotivni odgovor ili spontana promena stanja, čime se jasno odvaja od prototipske refleksivnosti, koja stvara sliku “subjekta koji deluje na sebe, voljno ili nevoljno” (Manney 2000: 214). Preispitali smo način **gramatičkog enkodiranja** koncepta refleksivnosti i medijalnosti, uzimajući njihovu **prototipsku predstavu** kao *tertium comparationis*, odnosno ono zajedničko obeležje prema kom se poredjenje vrši. Sledeći rezultate do sada obavljenih analiza, predložili smo deset različitih funkcija morfeme *se* u S jeziku, od kojih samo pet pripada refleksivnom semantičkom domenu, dok su dve medijalne *sensu stricto*. Ostale funkcije, obuhvaćene medijalnom semantikom, uključuju pasivne, bezlične i modalne upotrebe. Zatim smo ispitali njihove prevodne ekvivalente u E jeziku, koji su uključili neke oblike *reflexiva tantum*, pasivne i neprelazne oblike, neke idiomatske izraze, itd. Konačno, istakli smo najznačajnije **sličnosti** i **razlike** koje E i S pokazuju u pogledu ove zanimljive lingvističke teme, zaključujući da dalja istraživanja u okviru predloženog teorijskog okvira mogu da donesu kontrastivno značajne rezultate koji zatim mogu naći primenu u nizu različitih disciplina.

Ključne reči: refleksivnost, medijalnost, engleski, srpski, kontrastivna analiza, gramatičko enkodiranje, prototipska predstava, sličnosti, razlike, *genus verbi*, stanje.

INTRODUCTION

Grammatically, languages do not differ in what they can and cannot convey. Any language is able to convey everything. However, they differ in what a language must convey.

Roman Jakobson

The project *Reflexivity and Middleness in English and Serbian (a contrastive study)* aims at shedding some more light on the nature and the properties of the two closely related linguistic phenomena, namely reflexivity and middleness, exemplified in the structure and principles found in the grammars of the two Indo-European languages – English (henceforth E) and Serbian (henceforth S). By making use of the methodological apparatus of contrastive analysis, the project primarily focuses on ascertaining similarities and differences between the investigated linguistic segments in the observed languages. It also proposes a model of analysis that starts from a prototypical representation of a concept, taken as an overall platform of reference, and examines its grammatical encoding in the contrasted languages. Finally, the analysis is performed in such a manner as to conform methodologically, technically and theoretically to contrastive grammars that have emerged as a result of major contrastive projects, the Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian-English Contrastive Project (henceforth YSCECP) being among the most prominent ones. It is primarily envisaged to complement and supplement the results of the YSCECP and stand as a possible chapter in a revised S-E Contrastive Grammar. It can also stand as a source for preparation of pedagogical materials.

The project has been carried out in several stages, the most important ones being: (1) defining the problem from a broader general linguistic viewpoint and a more specific one; (2) collecting a corpus of examples; (3) contrastive analysis of the relevant linguistic material and presentation of the results. Major characteristics of each will be now briefly presented.

(1) Defining the problem to be analyzed has presupposed the consulting of both general linguistics reference literature and some more specific titles. Primarily, reflexivity and middleness have been seen as part of the verbal diathesis in a general sense of the term and the phenomenon has briefly been observed both synchronically and diachronically. Synchronically, the verbal diathesis has been looked at in its typological perspective; the observation of the verbal diathesis in its diachronic perspective has been confined to the situation in the Indo-European language family.

The focus has then been shifted to the situation in the observed languages – E and S. Since the project has taken into account only the structure of modern standard E and S, this is precisely why normative, descriptive and pedagogical grammars of the languages in question are being taken as the most competent source of information, able to provide elaborate enough and reliable descriptive accounts not only of the verbal diathesis phenomenon in general, but also of those quite specific questions regarding reflexivity and middleness and their grammatical paradigms in E and S. Another major source of information has been found in the results of some relevant contrastive projects, most notably the YSCECP, as well as Djordjević's *Kontrastivna gramatika imeničke grupe* (1989) and *Englesko-srpski kontrastivni primeri* (2000).

This has also been the stage when the adequate theoretical framework needed to be chosen and defined. The main emphasis of the project has been put on its contrastive perspective *sensu stricto*, which has ultimately narrowed down the choice. Methodologically and technically the project has been carried out as a bilingual monodirectional corpus-based contrastive analysis in the traditional sense of the term. *Tertium comparationis*, the core concept of the analysis, however, has been derived from some more recent cognitive/prototype approaches, following their fruitful application to contrastive studies in the last decade or so. What has also become more and more apparent during the analysis is that traditional linguistic approaches could be (and indeed are) perfectly compatible with modern cognitive/prototype ones, mostly because of the fact that they are both deeply semantically orientated. Pedagogical implications of this fact are immediately apparent and contrastive analysis should not turn its back to them.

(2) Compiling a corpus of examples has had its own specific problems. First of all, the analysis, being bilingual, demanded a representative sample of relevant examples in both languages. It almost goes without saying that finding such a sample in Modern E has been a relatively easy task, simply because of the fact that there is a plethora of different corpora, mainly electronic, offering relevant information in this respect. When the situation in Modern S is concerned, however, one can quickly come to the conclusion that compiling a corpus of representative samples is not a straightforward task. The most outstanding reason for this is certainly a complex sociolinguistic status of Modern S (particularly if, synchronically, it is to encompass all the Štokavian speaking areas, or, diachronically, its pre-1990 Serbo-Croat period), but also the fact that the existing S linguistic material does not compare quite favourably, in terms of

volume and diversity, with E as one of the best described and investigated languages in the world. Nonetheless, the task has not proved to be impossible to achieve.

The main body of the corpus has been composed of relevant examples found in the in the various publications of the YSCECP and its subsequent publications, descriptive, normative and pedagogical S grammars, dictionaries, etc. Useful pieces of information have also been found in the electronic text corpora and databases.

The E counterpart of the corpus has chiefly been taken from the *British National Corpus*, relevant descriptive, normative and pedagogical grammars, dictionaries, as well as the results of the YSCECP. Some translation equivalents have already been previously established (e.g. the YSCECP corpus, translations of literary prose, etc), and some of them have been established here for the first time. In such a case, the *British National Corpus* has been consulted in order to find and confirm if other sequences of the same or similar type render into the same *se*-structure in S. The translation equivalents established in this way have also been double-checked and confirmed by another bilingual informant.

Once compiled, the original version of the corpus of examples has retrieved some 14,000 relevant occurrences of S *se*-representations found predominantly in written fictional and non-fictional prose extracts. The final version of the corpus, comprising some 600 most illustrative select pairs of S *se*-occurrences and their E translation equivalents, represents a collection of authentic and commonly used samples chosen by virtue of their representativeness in discourse, as well as their relative closeness to the prototypical representation of the concepts examined. Linguistic varieties included

embrace main regional ones (although priority has been given to Ekavian S and British E), but also a variety of genres and registers such as imaginative, academic, legal and administrative prose, as well as some samples taken from ephemeral literature (e.g. private correspondence, leaflets, instructions, cookery, advertising, etc).

The starting point of the classification of the collected material and indeed of the analysis itself has been derived from the legacy of the two eminent linguistic scholars, Professor Milka Ivić, and Professor Radmila Djordjević. More specifically, the taxonomy proposed by Prof Ivić (1961/62) and developed further by Prof Djordjević (1989) subsumes ten different types of the verbal morpheme *se*, five of which belong to reflexive semantics (*se₁-se₅*) in a wider sense of the term and only two of them notionally cluster around the middle idea *sensu stricto* (*se₆-se₇*). Other functions include passive, impersonal and modal usages.

(3) Contrastive analysis and the presentation of the results have chronologically been the last part of the project. The analysis itself naturally consisted of ascertaining in which aspects the observed language segments are alike and in which they differ, i.e. establishing similarities and differences as they are defined in the mainstream European tradition of contrastive studies, more specifically in the tradition of the Yugoslav contrastive linguistics school. These similarities and differences have finally been presented in the form of the so-called contrastive rule. All other technical and methodological questions regarding the analysis itself, such as the choice of the *tertium comparationis* for example, have also closely adhered to the same theoretical tradition. Following a positive outcome of some more recent contrastive projects

which have incorporated certain components of cognitive/prototype approaches into their analytical apparatus and yielded contrastively valuable results, this analysis has also included some major theoretical standpoints derived from that tradition. In particular, the analysis proposes a model that starts from the prototypical representation of the concepts of reflexivity and middleness defined as ontological entities and checked against their grammatical paradigm in the contrasted languages. It is envisaged that this analytical model can also be applied further to a variety of study fields, most notably representing a contribution to language teaching methodology as well.

The project and its results briefly described above have been presented in this work in the following way.

Chapter 1 has focused on defining the problem from a general linguistic point of view. The topics discussed have been grouped in three major sections:

(a) The issues touched upon have primarily included a brief theoretical overview of the verbal diathesis, *genus verbi*, in its synchronic and diachronic perspective. As already mentioned, the synchronic perspective has incorporated a sketchy discussion on some major typological classifications, while the diachronic descriptive account confined itself to the situation in the Indo-European language family. Naturally, the list of relevant topics could have been virtually endless, which is why the discussion has tried to be as selective as possible and include just the most important points that can bring into focus the main issue of the project. Finally, some taxonomic

considerations of the *se*-forms in Slavonic and Romance languages have also been briefly presented.

(b) Major theoretical and methodological standpoints of contrastive analysis in their historical perspective have also been discussed and all the technical terms used have been precisely defined and the source specified. In particular, the discussion has focused on the notions of similarity and difference and the possibility of their quantifying, translation equivalence, and *tertium comparationis*. After a short historical overview of the major developmental stages of contrastive studies in the 20th century, a possible direction for contrastive analysis in the future has been proposed.

(c) Finally, a brief descriptive account of reflexivity and middleness from the cognitive/prototype perspective has also been presented. It has been explained why this approach has been found particularly productive in contrastive studies. Following Chesterman (1998), it has been claimed that *tertium comparationis*, traditionally defined as the common platform of reference (Krzyszowski 1990: 15), is the prototype itself, and the features are observed “as being present or absent to a certain degree (...) and similarities are assessed in terms of relative closeness to a prototype” (Chesterman 1998: 8). By contrasting prototypes, the contrastivist can explore to what extent they overlap on the basis of similarity judgements, which “are (...) ways of organizing and clarifying one’s mental representations of the world” (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

More specifically, for the purpose of this contrastive research on how conceptualization of reflexivity and middleness has been linguistically realized in S and E, an initial distinction has been made between the two notions as ontological entities – prototypical reflexivity thus defined “invokes a scene in which an individual acts on itself, intentionally or otherwise” (Manney 2000: 214), whereas prototypical middleness is notionally characterized either by a non-initiative emotional response or a spontaneous change of state (*ibid.*, *op.cit.*). Another major theoretical standpoint, derived from Kemmer (1994), has maintained that an important semantic property of the notions in question is the so-called relative elaboration of events, defined as “the parameter along which the reflexive and the middle can be situated as semantic categories intermediate in transitivity between one-participant and two-participant events, and which in addition differentiates reflexive and middle from one another” (*ibid.*, 181). The same phenomenon has also been observed with respect to the steady decrease in agentivity and volition, while the thematic roles occupying the subject position have followed the direction Agent > Experiencer > Patient. Basic thematic roles and their grammatical encoding have been defined and discussed in order to specify the way they are going to be employed here.

Chapter 2 has observed the specific grammatical paradigm of reflexivity and middleness in S. In order to achieve that goal, a sketchy theoretical overview of *genus verbi* in S has been presented. The presentation has followed 20th century Slavonic linguistic tradition for the most part, as the main sources included in the overview clearly represent the major descriptive, normative and pedagogical grammars or other relevant studies of the modern standard language (e.g. Belić 1962; Djordjević 1989; Ivić 1962, 1967, 1983, 2000; Maretić 1963; Mihailović 1985; Mørk 1970; Piper 1984-

85; Simić 1999; Stanojčić 1989, 1990; Stevanović 1974, etc.). Although the characteristics of the Štokavian speaking areas have been included in the description, priority has been given to the author's native – Ekavian dialect. Since the concepts of reflexivity and middleness have been grammatically encoded into various phenomena within the *genus verbi* domain, the discussion has been confined to defining the sentence and its basic functional elements insofar as they have been relevant to the main subject. Thus the discussion included the topics such as the types of subjects (i.e. traditional division between the so-called grammatical and logical/psychological subject), 'subjectless' (impersonal) sentences; types of objects (direct and indirect objects; types of indirect objects), transitivity. They have been presented and defined in such a way as to conform to 20th century Serbian/Serbo-Croat grammatical tradition. Following Moravcsik (1978), the issue of ergative patterns in non-ergative languages, S being one of them, has also been briefly addressed. Finally, the issue of the current sociolinguistic status of the language has also been raised. Relevant literature addressing the issue in more detail has also been recommended.

The focus has then been moved to the description of the so-called '*se*-verbs', verbs followed by the morpheme *se*, which is a multifunctional grammatical device. Typologically, S has been classified as a language with a two-form cognate system (cf. Kemmer 1993), in which reflexive and middle markers are similar, but not identical. In this particular case, the reflexive marker is pronominal in form (*sebe/se*), whereas the middle marker is always a verbal affix, which is clitic in form (*se*). '*Se*-verbs' have been classified according to the taxonomy proposed by Prof Milka Ivić (1961/62), which includes ten different functions of the morpheme *se*. A revised

version of Ivić's taxonomy (Djordjević 1989; Kurteš 1998, 2003) has finally been accepted as a basis for the analysis.

In particular, it has been claimed that there is a clearly discernible core semantically expressing middleness as it is defined in some recent cognitive/prototype theoretical frameworks (e.g. Manney 2000), the basic characteristics of which is at the same time in accordance with some traditional grammatical approaches presented in the first section of the Chapter. It has also been possible to recognize the grammatical structure expressing prototypical reflexivity as it was previously outlined and thus propose a line of demarcation between the two notions – reflexivity and middleness. It has followed Kemmer's (1993, 1994) basic idea of the degree of distinguishability of participants as well. The complexity of the problem of *genus verbi* in S, reflexivity and middleness in particular, has determined the focus of the analysis and confined it only to 'se-verbs' and their specific nature. Other possible grammatical manifestations of reflexivity and middleness have simply remained outside the realm of this study.

Thus the content of **Chapter 3** has largely been narrowed down due to the fact that the situation in E has been examined and commented on only within the limits of the grammatical structures detected as the translation equivalents of 'se-verbs' in S. Nonetheless, reflexivity and middleness and their grammaticalization in E have briefly been presented in the first section of the chapter and the presentation has again followed 20th century grammatical tradition in order to make it comparable with its S counterpart. Main sources of information have been found in descriptive, normative and pedagogical grammars, relevant chapters of various contrastive projects and other studies of modern standard E (e.g. Biber *et al* 1999; Curme 1931, 1935; Djordjević

1996; Filipović 1985; Fries 1940; Graver 1986; Hornby 1957; Jespersen 1933, 1955, 1965; Long 1969; Lyons 1968; Matthews 1982; Palmer 1989; Poutsma 1916, 1926; Quirk *et al.* 1985; Schibsbye 1967; Stockwell *et al.* 1973; Sweet 1968; Zandvoort 1975, etc.).

The sources consulted have also revealed a great terminological and notional diversity as regards this grammatical segment – the problem, *mutatis mutandis*, already observed in the Serbian/Serbo-Croat grammatical tradition. First of all, there is no clear and consistent division line between ‘reflexive’ and ‘middle’ in grammatical terms. Furthermore, the very label ‘middle verbs’ does not always refer to the same grammatical phenomenon. Finally, middleness (and reflexivity to a lesser degree) as a concept defined in Chapter 1 can be found under a variety of grammatical manifestations with very different names. That is precisely the reason why the restrictions imposed by the nature of contrastive analysis have been found particularly useful. They have helped enormously in defining the scope of the investigated problem. Apart from that, the conceptualization of the notions of reflexivity and middleness as explained in the cognitive/prototype theoretical ramification has simply offered that *sine qua non* ‘platform of reference’ making the further comparison much easier.

The direction and scope of the investigation have thus been defined in precise terms and justified in practical terms – reflexivity and middleness have been defined at the conceptual level within the cognitive/prototype theoretical framework; grammaticalization of those concepts in S has been looked into, concentrating primarily on the ‘*se*-verbs’ and their semantic realization. Contrastive analysis rules

seem to be a natural choice when shifting the focus on the situation in E: they have simply provided that crucial structural support preventing the ‘structure’ from falling apart. More precisely, grammatical manifestations of translation equivalents of S ‘se-verbs’ have only been looked at and all other questions have simply remained outside of that focal point. As a result the project has finally got clearer contours with manageable structure and attainable goals.

In particular, the choice of topics commented on has followed the pattern adopted in Chapter 2. Namely, reflexivity and middleness have been observed as the phenomena grammatically encoded in the category of *genus verbi*, which is why the topics discussed involved the definition of the simple sentence and its functional elements: types of subjects and objects; predicates; transitivity and intransitivity (including the ways of conversion); passivization (‘passive gradients’); reflexive and *reflexiva tantum* verbs (including reciprocals), ‘middle’ and ‘middable’ structures of the NP V (PP) type, inchoatives, etc. The grammatical sources consulted include both major varieties of E (i.e. British and American), but priority has been given to British standard usage, primarily because of the fact that the corpus has been composed of samples mainly taken from British E, including the *British National Corpus*. Whether and to what extent the result would be different if the corpus had included other standard (or even non-standard) varieties of both languages falls beyond the scope of this project. Let it be a good enough incentive for further research in the field. Finally, the issue of the scope and status of E in the modern times, following its impressive demographic and geographical expansion during the last few centuries, has also been briefly addressed.

Chapter 4 has dealt with the results of the analysis of the investigated grammatical segment. As outlined in Chapter 1, the author's intention has been to perform a corpus based bilingual monodirectional contrastive analysis of grammatical manifestations of reflexivity and middleness in S and E. More precisely, S 'se-verbs' have been focused on, and their translation equivalents in E have been established (the major characteristics of the corpus of examples have been presented in more detail as well). *Tertium comparationis* has been found precisely in that initial platform of reference from where the theoretical overview had started – conceptual perception of prototypical reflexivity and middleness as ontological entities.

Technically and methodologically the presentation of the results has followed the traditional pattern mentioned above: the main goal of the analysis itself is to establish the relationship of similarity and difference between the analyzed grammatical segments and to propose the so-called contrastive rule. However, traditional contrastive studies used to make a further distinction between absolute and partial similarity, but the concept has largely been abandoned. A more recent concept of relative similarity has been adopted instead, found to be particularly productive in contrastive studies based on cognitive/prototype approaches. Thus similarity and difference have been established in terms of their relative proximity to the prototypical concepts of reflexivity and middleness.

The results of the analysis have been found and presented at the morphological, syntactic and pragmatic/stylistic levels. In each of the mentioned cases *tertium comparationis* has been established accordingly – morphological structure, syntactic function, pragmatic/stylistic effect. The overall platform of reference, though, has

always been the prototypical representation of reflexivity and middleness as defined in Chapter 1.

Similarities and differences have been finally listed in the form of a contrastive rule proposed by the project. They have been presented in the following way:

1. Similarities:

- (a) morphological level
- (b) syntactic level
- (c) pragmatic/stylistic level

2. Differences:

- (a) morphological level
- (b) syntactic level
- (c) pragmatic/stylistic level

The author is very aware of the fact that the results are neither inclusive nor final. It is to be hoped, though, that they can certainly serve as a starting point for yet another deeper and broader search with different aims and goals in view. What has been very stimulating and rewarding indeed is the fact that from the very early stage of the project one could clearly see patterns shaping and clustering around the key features observed. Most of the patterns have been predicted and expected (e.g. *reflexiva tantum* in both languages, reciprocals, some passive forms, etc.), but it has been particularly intriguing when apparently meaningless and amorphous units suddenly started to show their internal structure. In particular, this has been the case with some subtle stylistic/pragmatic effects that have shown unexpected similarity in nature. These are undoubtedly the moments which the contrastivist finds the most rewarding – discovering patterns and adding new value to some known facts about the

investigated language segment. Following its *raison d'être* contrastive analysis will hopefully manage not only to retain its current position among the other linguistic branches but also to become progressively more and more present. Contrastivists are certainly aware of its potentialities – it is high time linguists in other areas of expertise realized the same.

Finally, **Chapter 5** summarizes the main points presented by putting forward some concluding remarks, pointing out the relevance of the obtained results in general and applied linguistic contexts, avenues for future contrastive studies, as well as recommending further research in the proposed theoretical and methodological framework. A glossary of select technical terminology and a bibliography conclude the work.

CHAPTER ONE

Every description stretches, as it were, into a horizon of open possibilities; however far I go, I shall always carry this horizon with me.

Friedrich Weismann

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Chapter 1 focuses on examining and defining the scope and boundaries of theoretical issues relevant to the project. They are grouped into three main sections:

- (1) theoretical overview of *genus verbi* and related questions;
- (2) theoretical and methodological standpoints of contrastive analysis;
- (3) a concise descriptive account of reflexivity and middleness from the cognitive/prototype perspective defining the notions as they will be employed;

The choice of topics included has been very selective and only those issues directly relevant to the project and its particular nature have been discussed in detail. Topics not directly relevant have been mentioned only marginally, or briefly discussed in footnotes and/or references that deal with the raised issues competently have been recommended. The structure of each section and the choice of the topics included have been explained at the beginning of the section itself.

1.1 *GENUS VERBI* – A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

The section tries to explore the scope and boundaries of the verbal diathesis in its synchronic and diachronic perspective. The synchronic perspective includes a short discussion on some major typological differences which the languages show in regard to this grammatical segment, whereas the diachronic account confines itself to the presentation of the major developmental stages of the categories in question in the Indo-European language family.

1.1.1. PRELIMINARIES

Genus verbi (verbal diathesis, voice) is “one of the most ancient topics in the tradition of descriptive grammar” (Klaiman 1991: 1), which can be found even in Pānini’s *Astādhyāyī*, the Sanskrit grammar written some 2500 years ago (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*). It is in the traditional sense of the term normally understood “as a parameter of morphological variation in the verb” (*ibid.*, 2), as being active, middle and passive. Active is usually observed as representing the action notionally devolving “from the standpoint of the most dynamic, or active, participant partly involved in the situation, typically the Agent” (*ibid.*, 3). Passive, on the other hand, is regarded as notionally devolving “from the standpoint of a nondynamic, typically static participant in the situation, such as the Patient of a transitive verb” (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*). Finally, in this tradition middle is observed as standing between active and passive, having the characteristics of both. In other words, “the viewpoint is active in that the action notionally devolves from the standpoint of the

most dynamic (or Agent-like) participant (...). But the same participant has Patient-like characteristics as well (...)” (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*).

The notions of active, middle and passive as defined above can be morphologically unmarked, or marked in different ways crosslinguistically. Typologically speaking, languages can have an elaborate morphological system to express this distinction, which is, for instance, the case in Vedic Sanskrit and Ancient Greek. There are languages whose verbal morphology, though, belongs to a type which distinguishes between active and passive only. Latin is a good example of a language having the verbal inflectional paradigm that makes a basic distinction between the active/passive opposition, whereas middle forms, although semantically present, remain unmarked².

Finally, it is also important to notice in this context that there are languages in which the form employed to mark middle-ness is at the same time the marker that is used to denote reflexivity. German verbal morphology belongs to such a system. Languages can also have different morphological markers to distinguish between middle and reflexive (cf. Slavonic languages). What is becoming apparent at this stage is that, although not part of the canonical *genus verbi* system, reflexivity enters substantially into its semantic domain being inextricably linked with middle-ness. The main task of this work, though, is to try to define in more precise terms the scope of the two notions and delimit their boundaries³.

² The category of deponent and semi-deponent verbs in Latin, many of which belong to the middle semantic domain, will be mentioned later on. For a comprehensive study of Latin deponents cf. e.g. Flobert 1975; Roby 1896; Henry 1890.

³ The classification of *genus verbi* we have presented is by no means unique. As Geniušienė (1987) summarizes, there are three main classifications of verbal voice that can be found in linguistic literature: a system of three verbal genera (active, passive and reflexive/middle) and two distinct systems consisting of

1.1.2. A DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE

Genus verbi has been approached differently in the traditional linguistic literature of the 20th century, but it has predominantly been treated either as a formal grammatical category, in which case its inflectional manifestations have been focused on, or as a purely semantic phenomenon, concentrating on the main elements of a simple sentence – subject, verb, object – and their relations and thematic roles (cf. Kemmer 1993: 1; Lyons 1968: 373; Manney 2000: 18).

In one of the most comprehensive studies of this kind (Klaiman 1991), grammatical voice is treated as a verbal category, with further subcategorizations for derived voice, pragmatic voice and basic voice. According to this standpoint, Ancient Greek and Vedic Sanskrit are to be taken as prototypical examples of languages with a basic voice system with two clearly distinct inflectional categories – i.e. active and middle. They are regarded as basic, meaning that neither category has been derived from the other. Klaiman maintains that in basic voice systems voice inflection primarily denotes alternations in the thematic role of the subject, making a basic distinction between Actor and Controller⁴.

two genera – active and reflexive, or active and passive. For further comments on the issue cf. also Israeli (1997: 39ff).

⁴ For a more elaborate and competent discussion on Klaiman's views cf. Manney 2000: 18 ff.

Active and middle, however, have been traced back as two distinct categories in Proto-Indo-European (henceforth PIE)⁵, while passive has come into being at a much later stage (cf. Lehmann 1974; 1989; 1993; 1997; also Toyota 2003). According to this categorization, middle has normally been used to convey the idea of the action or process taking place with reference to the subject, as well as reflexive or reciprocal meaning (Lehmann 1974: 183). When PIE has started to assume VO characteristics by introducing pronominal elements for reflexive and reciprocal meaning, the central idea of middleness has become that of passive (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). Passive arguably has emerged as a separate category with the inclusion of an agent, either animate or inanimate (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*; also Gonda 1951: 73-78).

Reflexive and reciprocal categories, on the other hand, have commonly been expressed with verbal affixes in OV and VSO languages emerged from PIE, while SVO languages normally express these categories by means of pronominal forms. Speaking about basic functions of middle forms, Lehmann maintains that middleness usually indicates “that the action has some reference to the subject” (Lehmann 1974: 127). Depending on the context, though, it can also convey the idea of reflexivity. There is, however, another important point Lehmann makes in this context when he stresses the significance of the long-observed alignment between middle and perfect forms (found e.g. in Greek: cf. perfect *dédorka* and middle *dérkomai* ‘I see’⁶). Lehmann explains this phenomenon “on the basis of the resultative implications of the two forms” (*ibid.*, 143), i.e. “the result of action expressed by the verb has an impact for the subject (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). He comes to

⁵ Proto-Indo-European has been defined as a language spoken by a specific community situated north of the Black Sea around 3000 B.C.

⁶ After Wackernagel 1926: 168.

the conclusion that since both perfect and middle focus on the result of an action, their relationship is only natural. Following this line of argument, the middle *dérkomai* can be interpreted ‘I see with some impact on my future action’, but also ‘I see myself’ (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

Lehmann further argues that it is very important to examine the expression of reflexivization in order to understand Indo-European syntax. Namely, in both VSO and SOV languages the expression of reflexivization is indicated by verbal markers; reflexives, he points out, often have an intransitive meaning, but also “a meaning of ‘carrying out the action of the verb with regard to oneself’, that is, a meaning category often referred to as ‘middle’” (*ibid.*, 18). What should also be observed in this context is that middle inflection has gradually been lost in those Indo-European languages that adopted the VO pattern.

Another major characteristic of early PIE to be observed in this context is the fact that there were no inherently transitive or intransitive verbs. This characteristic can be traced in dialects as late as Latin, in which the accusative indicating the goal of the action is used with intransitive verbs (e.g. *Italiam venit* ‘he came to Italy’⁷). In early PIE, though, accusative nominal forms were generally not used with middle or perfect, probably because they both indicate state. Transitivity as a concept and its historical development will be discussed later.

⁷ After Hale and Buch 1903: 203.

1.1.3 REFLEXIVITY AND MIDDLENESS – TYPOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this section we shall briefly observe and discuss the main types of morphological marking of the ideas of reflexivity and middleness crosslinguistically. Typology adopted has been derived from Kemmer (1993).

It has already been pointed out that, typologically speaking, there are languages in which both reflexivity and middleness are morphologically marked by means of the same form, whereas in some languages there are two distinct markers used to denote these two semantic domains.

Taking into consideration these two main typological realizations, Kemmer makes a basic distinction between languages having a one-form middle system and languages with either a two-form cognate system or a two-form non-cognate system (*ibid.*, 24-5).

Verbal paradigm of the languages exhibiting a one-form middle system, according to this standpoint, is characterized by having only one form, which Kemmer classifies as the middle marker, capable of expressing both semantic domains. One such language is German.

/1/ Er sieht **sich**.⁸
‘he sees himself’

/1a/ Er fürchtet **sich**.
‘he is afraid’⁹

⁸ The relevant grammatical forms illustrated in the examples will be boldfaced for easy reference.

⁹ Examples /1/-/1a/ are taken from Kemmer (1993: 24).

It can be observed that /1/ belongs to reflexive semantic domain, while /1a/ denotes middle-ness. Morphological markers, though, are identical. French also belongs to this type.

The second major type is represented by two basic marking systems: two-form cognate and two-form non-cognate.

The two-form cognate system is found in languages in which the reflexive marker is similar in form with the middle marker, but not identical. Normally, in languages belonging to this type the reflexive marker is pronominal in form, while the middle marker is a verbal affix. It is also possible to observe another important tendency in this respect: the middle marker is less prominent in terms of its phonological dependence or number of segments, unlike the reflexive marker (cf. *ibid.*, 25). Kemmer refers to the middle and reflexive markers of this type as to the light and heavy forms, respectively. Russian belongs to this type, having the reflexive marker (*sebya*) pronominal in form and the middle marker (*-sya*) as a verbal affix. For example:

/2/ On utomil **sebya**.
 ‘he exhausted himself’

/2a/ On utomil**sy**a.
 ‘he grew weary’¹⁰

It is apparent that /2/ belongs to reflexive semantics, denoting a “situation in which someone brought about his physical exhaustion through his own exertion” (*ibid.*, 27). In /2a/, though, “a person has become weary through an unspecified process” (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

¹⁰ Examples /2/-/2a/ are taken from Kemmer (1993: 27).

Other two-form cognate languages are also Old Norse and its modern descendants. As it will be observed and discussed further, S is among languages of this type as well.

Languages with a two-form non-cognate system have the reflexive and middle markers that are clearly two distinct forms, both morphologically and diachronically. One such language is Latin, which reflexive marker (*se*) is pronominal in form, unlike its middle marker (*-r*), which is a verbal affix. A similar pattern can be found in Turkish: the form *kendi-* is nominal in form, inflected for case and number, while *-in-* is a verbal affix. Other languages exhibiting a two-form non-cognate system are Indonesian, Hungarian, Georgian, Votic, etc (*ibid.*, 26).

Let us also mention that there are languages representing an intermediate type between a two-form cognate and a two-form non-cognate system. One such language is Dutch, in which the middle marker *zich* occurs as part of the reflexive marker *zichzelf*. Fula also exhibits such a pattern (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

This brief typological overview has been presented with one basic aim. Namely, having started from the notion of *genus verbi*, our intention is to narrow down the focus on the complex relationship of reflexivity and middleness, both semantically and grammatically. Finally, we would like to observe the specific nature of the morpheme *se* itself, existing in the same or similar forms in some languages of the Slavonic and Romance group.

1.1.4 SE-FORMS – TAXONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS

The morpheme *se*, occurring as a verbal particle, can be found in grammatical structures of several languages of the Indo-European family denoting reflexive and middle semantic situation types. Steps towards their taxonomic reconsideration have been taken by various grammarians and linguists of different theoretical provenance. Let us briefly observe a few most prominent ones.

Maldonado (1992) observes the Spanish *se*-forms, claiming that they can denote the passive, the impersonal, the generic middle and the true reflexive; there are also benefactive and emphatic uses of *se*, or some specific modal or stylistic uses. He maintains that there are two basic types of the Spanish *se* – one occupying middle and the other reflexive semantic domains. Nonetheless, they comprise a unified semantic category essentially serving to reduce the transitivity of highly transitive events and to increase the transitivity of highly intransitive events. Its precise position on that continuum, though, is midway between prototypical transitivity and prototypical intransitivity (according to Manney 2000:30-2).

Scharf-Babcock (1970), on the other hand, maintains that the Spanish *se* is in essence the auxiliary of the middle voice (*ibid.*, 39). She defines it semantically as denoting, *inter alia*, spontaneity, emotional involvement and affect (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

Manzini (1986), however, distinguishes between four main types of the Italian *si*: impersonal, reflexive, middle and middle reflexive. Making use of government-binding theory when analysing the morpheme *si*, which is pronominal in form, she maintains that impersonal *si*-forms function as a free variable forming a chain with the underlying subject. Reflexive *si*, however, is an independent variable referring back to the subject and forming a chain with the underlying object. Middle *si*, according to this standpoint, is a free variable functioning as a passivizer. Finally, middle reflexive *si* is a variable whose interpretation is referentially dependent of its subject (according to Manney 2000: 26).

The French *se* has been observed as the marker primarily denoting the process of intransitivization, making “no direct contribution to the interpretation of the sentence” (Grimshaw 1982: 100). Other considerations maintain that the French *se*, belonging to reflexive, reciprocal and middle semantics, essentially denotes absorption of the object and subject roles, respectively (cf. Wehrli 1986; also Manney 2000: 27).

Geniušienė (1987) focuses on the classification of the reflexive markers in Russian, Lithuanian and Latvian maintaining that they essentially denote the reduction of the valency of a verbal predication. Although she primarily observes reflexive constructions, other semantically tangent construction types, such as reciprocals, inchoatives, passives, middles, are also commented on in this context.

The Russian postverbal affix *-sya* Gerritsen (1988; 1990) classifies into three major groups: passive, non-passive and derivational, denoting intransitivity. She maintains that

“-*sya* assigns an extra role to the subject of the verb it is attached to” (1990: 5). Vinogradov (1972), on the other hand, makes distinction between fifteen different types of postverbal –*sya*, while Jakobson takes a non-taxonomic approach, linking transitivity and voice in the following way: “The ‘reflexive’ restricts the participation in the narrative event. The non-reflexive verb corresponding to the reflexive verb may syntactically be transitive or intransitive. The transitive admits [...] a subject and a direct object, and the reflexive form excludes the second of them.”(1957 (1971): 140).

It should also be noted that Polish verb phrases containing the reflexive pronoun *się* (or its variants *siebie*, *sobie*, *sobą*) can be classified, according to Niedzielski (1976: 167ff), into seven possible groups. More specifically, he distinguishes between total reflexive, part reflexive, directed benefactive, observed benefactive, reciprocal, passive and emissive (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

The following can be reiterated. *Genus verbi* has been observed from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives. Synchronically, the discussion has focused on the major typological differences the languages exhibit as regards this grammatical segment. Diachronically, a short account of the major developmental stages of the grammatical categories comprising *genus verbi* in the Indo-European language family has been presented.

The focus has then been shifted to the observation of the typological signalling of the notions of reflexivity and middleness. Following Kemmer (1993), two major types have

been proposed: languages having a one-form middle system and languages with either a two-form cognate system or a two-form non-cognate system.

Finally, the focus has zoomed in at the phenomenon of the morpheme *se* itself. Being present in the same or similar form in languages belonging to the Romance and Slavonic group of the Indo-European family, some taxonomic considerations have been briefly discussed.

1.2 CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS – A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

Contrastive analysis is traditionally defined as the method which helps the analyst to ascertain in which aspects the two languages are alike and in which they differ (cf. Filipović, 1975b: 13). It includes the two main processes – description and comparison (cf. James, 1980: 63; also Chesterman, 1998: 52), set up in four basic steps: a) assembling the data, b) formulating the description, c) supplementing the data as required, and d) formulating the contrasts (James, 1980/Chesterman, 1998: *loc. cit.*). Although the term *contrastive analysis* is widely accepted and used, the problem of terminological diversity was very present in the relevant linguistic literature throughout the 20th century. Thus, this discipline has also been referred to as ‘parallel description’ (Fries, 1945: 9), ‘differential studies’ (Lee 1974: 141), ‘differential description’ (Mackey 1965: 80), ‘dialinguistic analysis’ (Nemser 1971: 15), ‘analytical confrontation’ (*ibid.*, *loc.cit*), ‘analytical comparison’ (Mathesius 1964a: 60), ‘interlingual comparison’ (Filipović 1975c: 6), as well as ‘comparative descriptive linguistics’ (Halliday-McIntosh-Strevents 1964: 112, 113), or ‘descriptive comparison’ (Catford 1968: 159)¹¹.

In its early days in the late 1940s and 1950s, contrastive analysis was seen by many linguists (e.g. Fries, 1945; Lado, 1957; etc.) primarily as a pedagogical tool. Results of the analysis – similarities and differences found between the two language systems - were thought to be able to predict the difficulties in language learning and thus be directly

¹¹ See also Djordjević 1987 and further literature recommended therein; also Kurteš 2005: 255ff.

relevant to language teaching methodology. In practice, these predictions did not always prove to be quite precise and successful.

Later empirical research tried to draw a distinction between theoretical and applied contrastive studies (cf. Fisiak, 1980; also Chesterman, 1998: 40-1). Theoretical studies in this sense of the word were close to language typology, “starting from some shared or presumably universal property and looking at its manifestations in two languages” (Chesterman, 1998: 40), while applied studies were still of high pedagogical relevance. They were said to be directional, as they “start from a property or expression in one language and investigate its manifestation in another” (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*). At the same time, there were contrastivists (e.g. Krzeszowski, 1990) who pointed out that both directional and non-directional contrastive studies could be both pedagogically and theoretically relevant. We shall come back to this point again.

The classical assumption which was mentioned, i.e. the direct correlation between linguistic difference and learning difficulty, was proved wrong by the empirical research in the 1960s and 1970s (cf. Chesterman, 1998: 41). The possible reason was seen in the fact that contrastive studies tried to describe a language as a whole, observing it “as a static unit, entirely ‘present’ at one time” (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*). Second language acquisition, however, is typically a dynamic and gradual process and there are certainly a number of extralinguistic factors which may determine whether or not the native-language structures will be transferred into foreign-language performance (*ibid.*, 41-43; also Sajavaara 1984). That is why some scholars proposed adopting new models which would take into account

the whole range of perceptual and conceptual strategies incorporated in the process of language learning. Basic concepts of cognitive grammar, as presented by Lakoff, Langacker and others, were seen as potentially very productive. The key issues of contrastive analysis, those of assessing degrees of similarity and defining the *tertium comparationis*, could be defined in terms of prototype theory as studies of some prominent contrastivists showed (e.g. Kalisz 1981; Krzeszowski 1986; Zhang 1995; Barcelona 2001, etc.), but these issues will be discussed more elaborately later on. The focus will now be shifted to some major historical facts in the development of contrastive analysis as a scientific and academic discipline which will be presented in more detail in the next section.

1.2.1. CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS AND ITS *RAISON D'ÊTRE* – A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

It is important to observe the basic semantic dichotomy regarding the very term *contrastive analysis*. Namely, it is a systematic scientific **method** in its own right and the most prominent **branch** of contrastive linguistics, together with theory of translation and error analysis. Its main aim is to explicitly define similarities and differences between languages based on a systematic comparison of their description. Robert Lado is unanimously regarded as the founder of contrastive analysis and 1957, the year in which he published his seminal book *Linguistics across cultures*, as the moment the discipline was officially established as a scientific field of study. But basic ideas expressed here are

certainly not unknown to scholars of the previous historic periods¹², which is why it is customary to talk about the (1) traditional, (2) classical and (3) modern period of contrastive studies. Here are the major features of each¹³.

(1) The end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, marked predominantly by typological studies, has been generally recognized as the traditional period of contrastive studies. It yielded also some titles relevant to the history of contrastive linguistics, such as *German and English Sounds* by Charles H Grandgent (1892), *Elemente der Phonetik des Deutschen, Englischen und Französischen* by Wilhelm Viëtor (1894), *Petite phonétique comparée des principales langues européennes* by Paul Passy (1906), *A Preliminary Study of English Intonation (with American Variants) and Its Chinese Equivalents* by Yuen Ren Chao (1933), etc. Some outstanding linguistic scholars of that period also emphasized the relevance of the contrastive approach to linguistic research, Leonard Bloomfield being among the most prominent names. In particular, Bloomfield (1933: 270) emphasized the importance of interlingual comparison to the study of language universals, claiming it to be the main task for linguistics in the future. Of similar opinion were many other prominent linguists of the time, such as Henry Sweet (1968: 5), and Baudouin de Courtenay (1963: 102, 342). Linguists of the Prague School, most notably Vilém Mathesius, Bohumil Trnka and Josef Vachek, particularly dedicated themselves to what was termed linguistic characterology – a discipline focusing only on the most outstanding and fundamental characteristics of a

¹² Probably the earliest known record of a work in which some basic principles of contrastive analysis in the modern sense of meaning were employed is the study by the Roman grammarian Macrobius (c. 5th century AD; cf. Macrobius 1990), who had done a parallel description of Latin and Greek verbs, focusing particularly on their similarities and differences. On early contrastive studies in England, cf. Krzeszowski 1995.

¹³ For a comprehensive historical overview of the development of contrastive studies see Djordjević 1987.

particular language in a synchronic perspective. More specifically, in his articles *On Some Problems of the Systematic Analysis of Grammar* and *On Linguistic Characterology with Illustrations from Modern English*, Mathesius (1964a; 1964b) emphasizes the advantages of parallel linguistic comparison of two or more languages for a better and more profound understanding of each of those languages, and, in a broader sense of meaning, for the advancement of typological studies. What should be pointed out, however, is that the very term ‘contrastive linguistics’ was actually coined by Benjamin Lee Whorf in his article *Languages and logic* published in 1941, where he drew the distinction between comparative and contrastive linguistics, maintaining that the latter was “of even greater importance for the future technology of thought” (1967: 240), and defining it as a discipline which “plots the outstanding differences among tongues – in grammar, logic, and general analysis of experience” (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*).

(2) The period between the end of the Second World War and 1965, also known as the classical period of contrastive studies, is of particular relevance. It was the time when contrastive analysis was finally recognized and fully established as a scientific, pragmatic and academic discipline able to yield numerous results which were subsequently successfully applied to studies of bilingualism, teaching methodology, translation studies, language planning, etc. Among the most prominent names of this period were Charles Fries, Robert Lado, Kenneth Pike, Uriel Weinreich and others. In particular, Fries published his highly influential book *Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language* in 1945, expressing his well-known standpoint that “the most effective materials are those that are based upon a scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the native language of the

learner”(Fries 1945: 9). This was also the time when bilingual studies started becoming very prolific. The importance of comparing the grammatical structures of two languages in order to understand better whether and how they can influence the acquisition of those languages was particularly stressed in Uriel Weinreich’s study *Languages in Contact*, published in 1953. Weinreich introduced the notion of interference, which would become a widely adopted technical term in both bilingual studies and foreign language teaching methodology. The possibility of defining the differences between the two language systems was discussed in Zellig Harris’ highly influential article *Transfer Grammar* (1954: 259, 260) in which he postulated the so-called transfer rules. Certainly, this was also the time when Robert Lado published *Linguistic across Cultures* – reiterating the importance of culture studies to linguistics, laying the foundations not only of contrastive analysis, but also of what is today known as cross-cultural communication studies. In Europe, in 1954 A. V. Isačenko published in Bratislava the first volume of his *Grammatičeskij stroj ruskogo jazyka v sopostavlenii so slovackim* [Grammatical Structure of the Russian Language in Contrast to Slovak]. The second volume was published in 1960. Numerous theses and dissertations in this field were done in all major academic centres of the world during this period, hence the necessity of making the first bibliographic surveys of contrastive studies (cf. Gage 1961; Hammer-Rice, 1965)¹⁴. The Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington organized the first contrastive studies project the result of which were ten studies, *Contrastive Studies Series*, published between 1962 and 1965. *Series* presented the results of the phonological and grammatical

¹⁴ In the former Yugoslavia such a bibliography appeared in *Suvremena lingvistika* (nos. 10-14); see also Djordjević 1987 for further details. An updated bibliography of theoretical studies in contrastive analysis appeared in Djordjević 2000 as well.

contrastive analysis between English and five other languages commonly taught as foreign languages in America – German, Russian, French, Spanish and Italian.

(3) The modern period of contrastive studies was introduced by a huge number of contrastive projects being carried out in many academic centres all over the world, further elaboration and advancement of theoretical issues and application of modern approaches, better communication between contrastivists on the international scale, etc. This was also the period when some of the basic theoretical issues expressed during the previous periods started to be severely criticized (cf. Hamp 1968). As a result, two major international conferences were organized to address the issues raised and offer some clarification – *19th Annual Round Table: Contrastive Linguistics and Its Pedagogical Implications* in Georgetown in 1968 and *Honolulu-Hawaii Pacific Conference on Contrastive Linguistics and Language Universals* in 1971. Di Pietro's highly influential book *Language Structures in Contrast* was also published in 1971. On the European continent, however, this was the time of some major contrastive projects, the most important ones certainly were the YSCECP in Zagreb¹⁵, The Poznań Polish-English Contrastive Project, Projekt für angewandte kontrastive Sprachwissenschaft in Stuttgart, The Finnish-English Contrastive Project in Jyväskylä, The Romanian-English Language

¹⁵ The Yugoslav Contrastive Project, among the first to be organized in Europe, was undertaken primarily with applied and pedagogical goals in view, but theoretical linguistic topics were tackled equally rigorously. The Project was guided by Prof Rudolf Filipović of Zagreb University and eminent linguists from Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo took part in it – Prof Ljubomir Mihailović and Prof Ranko Bugarski from Belgrade University, Prof Vladimir Ivir, Dr Leonardo Spalatin and Dr Željko Bujas from Zagreb University, Dr Midhat Ridžanović from Sarajevo University, to name but a few. Results of the Project were published in three different types of publications: *A. Reports*, *B. Studies*, and *C. Pedagogical Materials*, but also in various other relevant linguistic publications (for further details see Filipović 1969a-1976; Djordjević 1987; 2000).

Contrastive projects that observed some other languages and Serbo-Croat also took place. For the results of the Italian-Serbo-Croat contrastive project cf. Klajn (ed) 1980, 1982; the results of the German-Serbo-Croat contrastive project appeared in Engel-Mrazović (eds) 1986.

Project in Bucharest, English-Hungarian Contrastive Project in Budapest, Swedish-English Contrastive Studies in Lund, etc. Several international conferences gathering European contrastivists were also successfully organized: in Zagreb (1970), Bucharest (1975), Trier and Saarbrücken (1978), Charzykowy (1980), Jyväskylä (1982), etc. This was also a period when contrastive analysis became established as an academic discipline at various universities throughout the world, as a wider scholarly community acknowledged not only its applied or theoretical aspect, but also granted it full academic status¹⁶. In this context it is important to mention Sajavaara's bibliographic survey of contrastive analysis (cf. Sajavaara-Lehtonen 1975) and particularly Selinker's annotated bibliography of PhD dissertations in contrastive linguistics in the United States, covering the period between 1970 and 1983 (cf. Selinker 1988)¹⁷.

The last couple of decades of the 20th century were also quite prolific for contrastive studies and it is to be hoped that the methods developed and results achieved so far will attract attention of new generations of researchers and inspire their confidence into the discipline. Modern linguistic approaches as well as modern technology have opened new horizons for contrastive analysis and the new direction into which it strives can now be recognized quite clearly. More precisely, cognitive linguistics, pragmatics, corpus linguistics, etc. have all offered precious new theoretical frameworks and methodology that have been incorporated into recent contrastive studies, thus laying the foundation of

¹⁶In the former Yugoslavia contrastive analysis also became an academic discipline during the 1970s, having been incorporated into higher education curricula. At Belgrade University Philological Faculty, for instance, it has been continuously taught since 1979/80 academic year.

¹⁷ A similar bibliography was compiled by Djordjević (1987). It contains a list of MA theses and PhD dissertations defended at the Department of English of Belgrade University Faculty of Philology between 1965 and 1980. An updated version appeared in Djordjević 2000, giving a list of theses and dissertations defended up to 1999.

contrastive analysis of the 21st century¹⁸ (cf. Kurteš 2002d; 2005; to appear (b)). Its scope and depth is ever increasing and the variety of approaches and theoretical ramifications taken quite impressive.

Thus, for example, modern contrastive studies include a growing number of languages other than English, which some of the more recent projects persuasively show: e.g. French-Finnish (Välikangas-Helkkula 1995), French-French-based Creoles (Arends 2003); Macedonian-Bulgarian (Topolinjska 1996), Ukrainian-Russian (Bubleinyk 1996), Arabic-Persian (Abd al-Mun'im 2004), German-Arabic (Ahmad 1996), German-Russian (Paul-Maslova 1999), German-Bulgarian (Petkov-Wiegang 2000), Estonian-Finnish (Grünthal-Kasig 1998), Turkish-German (Johanson-Rehbein 1999), Yiddish-Polish (Sitzat 2000), Mandarin Chinese-Korean (Lehonkoski 2000), Brazilian Portuguese-Spanish (Simoes 1992), etc. There is a growing number of trilingual contrastive grammars, some on them including some less widely spoken or endangered languages (e.g. Islander-Caribbean Standard English-Spanish, cf. Bartens 2003; Spanish-Catalan-French, cf. Camprubí 1999; Greek-Polish-Swedish, cf. Lindvall 1998), registers (Biber 1995), aspects of rhetoric and composition (Connor 1996), elements of culture (Kniffka

¹⁸ There are a few projects currently underway which are certainly worth mentioning in this context. One such project is the COLLATE research network, based in Ghent University in Belgium (<http://bank.rug.ac.be/contragram/collate.html>). Contrastive Linguistics and Language Typology in Europe – COLLATE for short – is an international research network set up in 1996 in order to “bring together, promote and co-ordinate fragmented research efforts in the field of contrastive linguistics”. Among other things, one of the most comprehensive bibliographies on contrastive linguistics is to be found on their website. Participating research units (such as CONTRAGRAM) and other partners (e.g. The Corpus Linguistics Group of Birmingham University, or the INTERSECT Project of Brighton University) all contribute to the quality of the research results of the network (cf. Willems (ed) 2003). Another important research project is underway at the University of Murcia in Spain, lead by Dr Antonio Barcelona and his associates Dr Javier Valenzuela and Dr Ana Rojo. The project focuses on the systematic English-Spanish contrastive analysis of the conceptualisation and lexico-grammatical symbolization of four emotional domains. For preliminary results of the analysis cf. Barcelona 2001; also Barcelona 2000.

1995), text and discourse (Yarmohammadi 1995), lexicon (Altenberg-Granger 2002), to name but a few.

In this context we certainly agree with Bugarski who maintains that “the days of easy generalizations, of whole languages, ideal speakers and undifferentiated speech situations seem to have gone; one is increasingly likely to have to ask first whose language is to be contrasted, for what purpose, and when it is really comparable to what other variety. The intrusion of actual speakers and social contexts onto the territory of contrastive studies may yet cause reverberations much louder than the ones we are beginning to hear, with considerable implications for the entire pursuit, affecting not only the notion of *tertium comparationis* but also related basic concepts, like ‘contrast’ or ‘equivalence’” (Bugarski 1991: 78-9).

Contrastivists have long been aware of the fact that contrastive analysis, being a branch of contrastive linguistics, can be considered to be both theoretical and applied discipline. Nonetheless, the discussion whether it belongs to ‘pure’ or ‘applied’ science have yielded three main clearly distinguishable standpoints: (1) contrastive analysis is a method of contrastive linguistics, which is a branch of theoretical linguistics, and its results are relevant to both ‘pure’ (e.g. typological studies) and applied linguistics (e.g. language teaching methodology, translation studies, etc.); (2) being a branch of applied linguistics, the results of contrastive analysis are primarily relevant to foreign language teaching methodology; (3) there is no justifiable reason to insist on the distinction between the two; instead the term contrastive studies should be used to cover both (cf. Filipović 1971:

31-32; Slama Cazacu 1974: 236; Fisiak-Lipińska Grzegorek-Zabrocki 1978: 9; Djordjević 1987: 8-9; 1975a; 1975b; 1983; 1885).

In view of the above, we are inclined to adopt Carl James' (1969: 83; cf. also James 1971; 1972; 1994) standpoint. He maintains that contrastive analysis is a branch of general linguistics and a principle of applied linguistics. As it has already been emphasized, contrastive analysis is undoubtedly a theoretical discipline in its own right, the result of which can have many practical applications. Its openness and adaptability to new approaches, methodologies and techniques, the versatility of its interests and ability to address the relevant issues at all levels of language structure should grant it a special status among other disciplines.

1.2.2. SIMILARITY AND QUANTIFICATION OF SIMILARITY

Clearly the central theoretical issue and the ultimate goal of contrastive studies is the question of establishing similarities and differences. The very concept of similarity is in fact ambiguous. Here, we are inclined to agree with Chesterman (1998), who makes a useful distinction between 'similarity-as-trigger', defining it as "the notion of a particular relation existing between entities in the world, a relation that impinges upon human perception, from matter to mind" (*ibid.*, 7) and 'similarity-as-attribution', which goes in the opposite direction, from mind to matter. It is essentially a subjective, cognitive process that perceives two entities as being similar (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*).

There is yet another important methodological problem raised by contrastivists, and it concerns the quantification of similarity and measuring degrees of similarity. Chesterman is of the opinion that the concept of similarity should be constrained somehow, otherwise it may become vacuous. Prototype theory could be relevant in this sense of meaning. Namely, similarity can be established and assessed in terms of relative closeness to a prototype (*ibid.*: 8). The notion of ‘relative closeness’ is to be understood in terms of sharing the prominent prototypical feature (*ibid., loc. cit.*). Judgements of similarity in this context are bound to be relative, variable and culture dependent (Goodman 1972: 438). Thus Chesterman is certainly right to claim that similarity judgements “are (...) ways of organizing and clarifying one’s mental representations of the world” (1998: 8). This standpoint also seems to be in tune with Whorf’s understanding of the nature of the subject (cf. Whorf 1967: 240). The positive experience of some recent contrastive studies that employed the theoretical framework based on prototype theory essentially confirmed these claims. We shall come back to this point.

1.2.3. COMPARABILITY CRITERION AND *TERTIUM COMPARATIONIS*

Comparability criterion is yet another major concept notoriously difficult to define, in spite of the proliferation of literature dealing with the issue. Being a fundamental concept of any contrastive research, however, comparability criterion has to be established prior to any analysis which is to be performed. Effectively, the analyst is supposed to answer the question what can be compared in the observed languages. Traditionally, there are three main ways of dealing with the problem of comparability. Originally, it used to be

established either at the semantic or formal/grammatical level. The third way of establishing comparability criterion assumes defining the relations of **equivalence**, **similarity** and **difference** in the observed languages¹⁹. This is also the criterion we shall adopt and, with minor changes, make use of in the analysis about to be performed.

The notion of equivalence was originally taken from theory of translation and it involved the concept of translation equivalence (cf. Ivir 1969; 1970; 1978a; 1978b). More specifically, equivalence in contrastive studies assumes that there is a universal feature, an overall platform of reference, *tertium comparationis*, which enables the comparison to be performed. The actual realization of that universal feature in the two languages is what the contrastivist is interested in. In other words, equivalence is one of the key issues of contrastive analysis, and the basic working law of the discipline can be presented graphically as a triangle, interrelating the contrasted features in the observed languages by means of that third element, *tertium comparationis*, as is shown on Fig.1 (cf. Djordjević 1987: 58; cf. also Djordjević 1984).

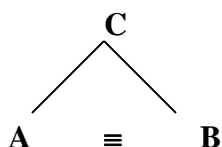


Fig. 1 Equivalence and *tertium comparationis*

We shall come back to this point later on. Let us now briefly observe the other two relations relevant to defining comparability criterion.

¹⁹ In the classical period of contrastive analysis comparability criterion involved two basic relations, namely similarities and differences, and they were observed at three separate levels: in form, meaning and distribution. This standpoint was originally proposed by Lado (1957).

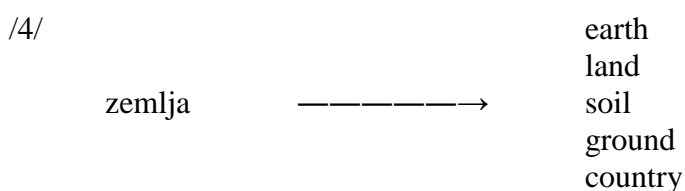
Similarities and differences were observed in the form, meaning and distribution of the relevant language segments. Following that standpoint, contrasted elements can be similar in form, but different in meaning and distribution, etc.

Further development of contrastive studies was represented by introduction of the notion of contrast, defining differences among the observed language in more precise terms. Namely, contrast was seen in the so-called convergent and divergent relations between the analyzed linguistic segments, while difference was now observed in the 'zero relations'. Let us briefly have a closer look at each of these notions.

Convergent relations between the observed language segments can be established in the situation when two or more symbols in language A are confronted with only one symbol in language B representing the same segment of reality. These relations can be observed at both grammatical and lexical levels. For example, convergent relations are established at the grammatical level between forms of reflexive pronoun in S and E, stating that there is only one possible form in S (*sebe/se*) as opposed to nine respective forms in E (*myself, yourself, himself, herself, itself, ourselves, yourselves, themselves, oneself*). Or:

/3/	myself		
	yourself		
	himself		
	herself		
	itself	—————→	sebe/se
	ourselves		
	yourselves		
	themselves		
	oneself		

Consequently, divergent relations are to be established in the situation when a symbol in language A is confronted with two or more symbols in language B representing the same segment of reality. Again, these relations can be observed at both grammatical and lexical levels. Thus, for example, if the direction of the analysis is reversed, i.e. from E to S, then nine forms of the English reflexive pronoun stand in a divergent relation across one single form of the same grammatical segment in S. At the lexical level, the same relation can be illustrated by the following: S lexical unit *zemlja* stands in a convergent relation to five lexical units in E representing the same segment of reality – *earth, land, soil, ground, country*²⁰:



Divergent and convergent relations as defined above constitute the notion of contrast between the observed languages, while the notion of difference, as it has been employed in some more recent contrastive studies, is represented by ‘zero relations’ (cf. Carroll 1963: 17-18; Rivers 1968: 153-154; Djordjević 1987: 70-75; 1990). These relations can be spotted in the situation when there is a symbol in language A labeling a certain segment of reality and the corresponding symbol in language B cannot be found. Again, zero relations can be observed at both grammatical and lexical levels. Examples are abundant – with reference to S and E zero relations can be observed, for instance, in the fact that, at the grammatical level, there are no articles in S (although the idea of definiteness and specificity, being universal, certainly can be expressed in the language!).

²⁰ Taken from Djordjević 1987; see also further comments therein.

At the lexical level examples are even more apparent and can be found particularly in culturally specific terminology. Here are some examples of zero relations of this kind between E and S:

/5/ cider Ø
 opanci²¹ Ø (Djordjević 1987: 72)

Having briefly observed all the major questions the contrastivist has to face when trying to determine the comparability criterion, we are now in a position to redefine the three basic notions of contrastive analysis – equivalence, similarity and difference. Namely, the notion of equivalence traditionally presupposed translation equivalence or equivalence in meaning, as it was originally borrowed from theory of translation and was closely connected to another key issue – that of *tertium comparationis*. Similarity among the observed language segments was to be established either in form or distribution; convergent and divergent relations constitute the notion of contrast, and, finally, zero relations define the difference between the observed language segments. Fig 2 represents these basic relations fundamental in establishing the comparability criteria (cf. also Whitman 1970: 196; Djordjević 1987: 74; Kurteš 1991: 12).

	Language A features	Language B features	Type of relation
Equivalence	+/-	+/-	1:1
Similarity	+++	++-	all
Contrast	++++	+++--	all
Difference	+/-	-/+	1:0/0:1

Fig. 2 Basic contrastive relations

²¹ A kind of Serbian peasant shoes.

At this point it is important to have a closer look at the notion of *tertium comparationis* and the ways it evolved in the course of time. *Tertium comparationis* in traditional contrastive studies is defined as the common platform of reference (Krzeszowski 1990: 15) and the starting point of a comparison *sine qua non*. It is that third element which enables the two entities to be compared (cf. Djordjević, 1987: 58). To determine the *tertium comparationis* essentially means to set the comparability criterion, to establish that shared ground. Classical contrastive analysis made use of various kinds of *tertium comparationis* (cf. James 1980) that were either formally or semantically based. In the former case, similarity is established by means of ‘formal correspondence’, a relation established at the formal level, while in the latter case, similarity judgements are essentially dependent on translation (which can include use of corpora, native speaker’s intuition, bilingual translation competence, etc.) (cf. Chesterman, 1998:58).

In particular, when prototype theory is used in contrastive studies, the prototype itself actually serves as the *tertium comparationis* and features are observed “as being present or absent to a certain degree, not absolutely, and similarities are assessed in terms of relative closeness to a prototype” (*ibid.*:8). It should be noted that the concept of equivalence, in traditional contrastive studies closely connected to *tertium comparationis* (cf. Krzeszowski, 1990:23ff), gradually gives way to the notion of ‘maximum similarity’ frequently used in modern contrastive analysis (Chesterman, 1998:37). We shall come back to this point again when we discuss the suitability of prototype theory for contrastive studies.

Different, sometime even opposing, approaches to language during the 20th century, most notably universalist and relativist ones, brought about different views on the nature and role of the *tertium comparationis* in contrastive studies. It seems, however, that both of the mentioned approaches in their strong versions made the very possibility of contrasting languages somewhat problematic. Paradoxically enough, if each language is *sui generis*, influencing cognition differently in the Whorfian sense of meaning, then the very concept of similarity is simply impossible or extremely difficult to define. On the other hand, if all languages at some point share the same universal underlying structure, then why contrast them at all?

Modern contrastive studies, though, try to find a balance between the two approaches, emphasizing the fact that “human cultures are neither all the same nor totally different” (*ibid.*, 49). Bearing that in mind, it seems only natural to accept the view that similarity observed between the two entities should be understood only in the relative sense of meaning. Contrastivists today seem to be right to focus on “overlap between different ways speakers of different languages tend to speak” (*ibid.*, 50), committing themselves “neither to an identical universal base nor to insurmountable difference” (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*) of the languages in contrast. Chesterman goes on to claim that although every analysis is bound to be partially biased by the analyst’s own culture-specific cognitive perception of reality, it is certainly true that human beings can function mentally at the metaphorical level which enables them to perceive reality from a different perspective (*ibid.*, 52). In other words, by contrasting prototypes the contrastivist can explore to what extent they overlap, operating on “a level at which the overlaps can be formulated between such prototypes” (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). Numerous contrastive projects that followed this line of

argument while defining their theoretical framework actually proved them right by successfully yielding valuable results.

1.2.4. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

As mentioned previously, traditional contrastive methodology incorporated two basic processes – description and comparison. Krzeszowski (1990:35) speaks about three main steps in classical contrastive studies – description, juxtaposition and comparison. Clearly the description of the situation in the languages in question must be based on the same model in order to enable the analysis to be performed.

Chesterman (1998:52ff) proposes a new methodology, slightly more elaborate, essentially derived from the traditional one. He also takes into account Popper's view expressed in his philosophy of science (e.g. Popper 1972). Popper claims that objective knowledge is gained through an endless process of problem solving, basically consisting of suggesting, testing and refuting initial hypotheses, which are revised and tested again, etc. Following this line of argument, Chesterman proposes the methodological framework that is essentially composed of the following main stages:

- 1) Collecting primary data against which hypotheses are to be tested. Primary data involve all instances of language use, utterances that speakers of the languages in question produce.

- 2) Establishing comparability criterion based on a perceived similarity of any kind.
In the same context Chesterman is reminiscent of Janicki's (1986:1240) claim that "a perceivable amount of sameness" is the initial reason for making a comparison.
- 3) Defining the nature of similarity and formulating the initial hypothesis.
- 4) Hypothesis testing: determining the conditions under which the initial hypothesis can be accepted or rejected. This process will normally include selection of a theoretical framework, selection of primary and additional data and use of corpora, appeal to one's own intuition or other bilingual informants, even the results of error analysis of non-native usage.
- 5) Formulating the revised hypothesis.
- 6) Testing of the revised hypothesis, and so on.

Chesterman is of the opinion that these contrastive formulations can be successfully tested by finding them in a corpus or checking the behaviour of speakers. The real task for the contrastivist is to specify the conditions under which the formulations are valid, which is essentially in traditional contrastive studies known as the contrastive rule. Depending on the comparability criterion, these conditions can be syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, stylistic, contextual, etc. (*ibid.*:60). This is another major point to be borne in mind – no problem is solved forever; results of contrastive analysis, no matter how extensive and thorough they can be, are to be taken as initial hypotheses for yet another more sophisticated analysis. "The more stringently a given hypothesis is tested – against a corpus, other speakers' intuition, in a controlled experiment – the better corroborated it will be" (*ibid.*:60-61).

In this section we have presented and discussed some key issues relevant to contrastive studies. Our intention was to present contrastive analysis in its historical perspective and relate it to other linguistic disciplines. Apart from that, we have defined the terminology to be used and illustrated the key terms with relevant examples.

1.3 REFLEXIVITY AND MIDDLENESS – A COGNITIVE/PROTOTYPE APPROACH

In Section 1.3 we shall define and discuss the relevance of cognitive/prototype approaches to language for contrastive studies by deriving major standpoints from some recent studies done within the mentioned framework. More specifically, their positive experience with the implementation of the cognitive/prototype theoretical assumptions makes us also inspired to observe and redefine the concepts in question in the same framework. As a result of that we shall be able to propose a possible way in which the cognitive/prototype theory can be applied here in order to facilitate the definition of the scope of reflexivity and middleteness from the notional point of view, and thus make the starting point of the analysis which is about to be performed.

As pointed out previously, cognitive and prototype approaches to various language phenomena have proved to be very productive in modern contrastive analysis. Langacker's basic claim that "language is an integral part of human cognition" (1987:12) has been taken as a starting point in many studies which yielded contrastively and typologically valuable results (e.g. Kalisz 1981; Kemmer 1993; Krzeszowski 1986; Zhang 1995; Manney 2000 etc). Another important standpoint that should be singled out in this context maintains that "the conceptual system that emerges from everyday human existence (...) [is] the basis for natural-language semantics in a wide range of areas" (Sweetser 1990:1) which modern contrastivists take into account when defining their analytical prerequisites (cf. Zhang 1995:23). The main advantage of the research

performed in the cognitivistic framework should be seen in the fact that it essentially aims to reveal and explain the intricate structure of the conceptual and semantic organization of human experience (cf. Rasulić 1999: 51). In that context, language is seen as a manifestation of the entire human mental functioning (*ibid.*, 43; also Rasulić 1995).

One of the more recent contrastive studies that successfully employed this approach has been performed by Zhang (1995). For the purpose of her own contrastive research as to how the aspectual conceptualization is realized linguistically in German, English and Chinese, Zhang makes an initial distinction between dynamic and stative situations, claiming that they are basic and, as ontological entities, expressed in most languages of the world (*ibid.*, 24). In the context of this work, though, it is particularly noteworthy to observe that the concept of ‘change’ has been defined as being “based on an understanding of our real world experience in terms of our existence in certain states and our motor movement from one state to the other” (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). It is certainly true that our daily activities can clearly be recognized as dynamic situations in this sense, as they all require various degrees of physical energy. Without this energy expenditure, though, “we think of ourselves as being in a state of rest, or as being in a certain emotional state, a state of certain quality, or as possessing things” (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). It is possible to change these states with either internal or external energy expenditure. Zhang points out that this concept of ‘change’ in defining the distinction between stative and dynamic situations is present in the works of many other scholars (e.g. Givón 1979, Dahl 1985, Talmy 1988). In particular, the concepts of energy expenditure (following Comrie 1976) and change through time (following Langacker 1987) should be seen as basic features for

characterizing the main aspectual situations, dynamic and stative (Zhang 1995: 27). When referring to these notions while examining the concepts of reflexivity and middleness, we shall primarily have in mind Zhang's definition.

Focusing more closely on reflexivity and middleness in order to define the concepts in terms of their prototypical representation, let us now find a proper way of linking our cognitive experience of this particular segment of reality and the grammatical paradigm providing its conceptual map.

Following Talmy (1972), Kemmer further adopts the concept of situation types, defining them "in terms of the semantic properties which the contexts within that type share" (Kemmer 1993: 7). For the purpose of her own research, she examines the characteristic semantic properties of different situation types within the middle domain. She hypothesizes the existence of grammatical prototypes, defining them as situation types with a privileged status (*ibid.*, 9; also Kemmer 1992). In her opinion, this privileged status can be observed both typologically and diachronically. Typologically speaking, these grammatical prototypes tend to be associated, across languages, with a characteristic morphosyntactic form. From a diachronic perspective, though, the prototype situations appear to be more stable than non-prototype uses cross-linguistically. Bearing these assumptions in mind, Kemmer makes reference to the following prototype situations: (1) prototypical two-participant events, (2) prototypical one-participant events, (3) prototypical passive events, and (4) direct reflexive situations (1993: 9). We shall make use of this classification as well.

Starting from the concept of middleness, let us first observe that it is by no means straightforward and clear-cut, subsuming many different grammatical categories in various languages (let alone the terminological diversity²²). In this context it is particularly noteworthy that even “without fixed and precise boundaries, (...) [middleness] has a clearly discernible semantic core” (Kemmer 1993: 3). In the traditional characterization of middle voice, for instance, this semantic core is recognized in terms of affectedness of the subject (cf. Lyons 1968: 373). Let us, however, observe, that, in terms of prototypicality, major semantic characteristics of middleness and reflexivity can be recognized in the following.

More specifically, in an attempt to put a more precise borderline around the scope of the middle semantics we shall take into consideration an important semantic property of the middle, termed by Kemmer (1994: 181; 1993: 73) as the **relative elaboration of events**, which “is the parameter along which the reflexive and the middle can be situated as semantic categories intermediate in transitivity between one-participant and two-participant events, and which in addition differentiates reflexive and middle from one another” (Kemmer 1994: 181). In particular, the **two participant events** represent prototypical transitivity (cf. Givon 1984) with two clearly distinguishable participants - the animate Agent²³ and the inanimate Patient, the relation between them involving “some kind of transmission of force or energy from the animate participant to the second

²² Just a quick look at the linguistic literature of the English-speaking world will be enough to illustrate this diversity. The same phenomenon is referred to as pseudo-intransitive (Kilby 1984: 45), activo-passive use of a verb (Jespersen 1927: 345), unmarked passive (Joos 1968: 69), promotion-to-subject construction (Dixon 1991:322), transitive verbs converted into intransitive (Poutsma 1926: 58), etc. We shall have a closer look at this problem in Chapter 3.

²³ We shall define the thematic roles in question in the next section.

affected participant” (Kemmer 1994: 191). It is also important to notice that the participants are completely separate entities (Kemmer 1993: 73). At the other end of the continuum, however, there is the **one-participant verbal event**, or prototypical intransitivity. Reflexive and middle semantic domains occupy the central position, the former approaching the left side of the continuum, the latter coming closer to the right side. The following diagram is proposed (cf. Kemmer 1993: 73; 1994: 209):

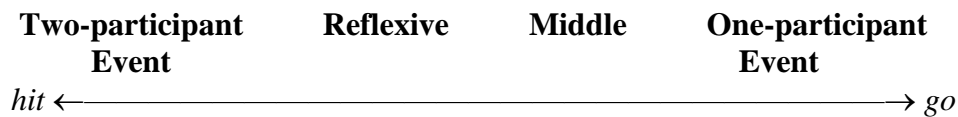


Fig. 3. Degree of distinguishability of participants

What does this *de facto* mean? Reflexivity and middleness are semantically very close and very often treated as alternatives in the traditional linguistic literature. Following Haiman’s (1983) proposition of an iconic conceptual separation in the mind of a speaker between the two participants - the acting and acted-on, Kemmer argues that the crucial property of middle semantics is not the question of the subject-affectedness, as is often implied, but the low degree of participant distinguishability, approaching prototypical intransitivity, where this conceptual differentiation simply does not exist. The prototypical reflexive idea, however, still maintains the conceptual separation between Initiator and Endpoint, although they are coreferential, “filled by the same entity” (Kemmer 1994: 207). The middle domain, on the other hand, “refers to a single holistic entity without conceptually distinguished aspects” (*ibid., loc. cit.*). This distinction can be graphically represented as follows (cf. *ibid., loc. cit.*):

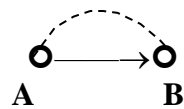


Fig. 4. Prototypical reflexivity



Fig.5. Prototypical middleness

The dotted line in Fig. 4 refers to the single entity with two participant roles (A and B, i.e. Initiator and Endpoint), while in Fig. 5 the lower degree of conceptual differentiation between the initiating and endpoint entities is represented by the single circle (cf. *ibid.*, 207-208).

Another major theoretical standpoint, derived from Manney (2000), maintains that **middleness** is notionally characterized either by a non-initiative emotional response or a spontaneous change of state, whereas archetypical **reflexivity**, subsuming co-reference between two nominal arguments, “invokes a scene in which an individual acts on itself, intentionally or otherwise” (Manney 2000: 214). It is also possible to observe a steady decrease in agentivity and volition while the semantic roles occupying the subject position move in the following direction: Agent > Experiencer > Patient. Following Kemmer (1994), we shall agree that on the active/passive continuum reflexivity and middleness are to be situated midway between the two ends, reflexivity approaching the active end and middleness the passive end of the continuum. In view of the above, we are proposing the following sentence as expressing a prototypical reflexive segment of reality as defined above:

/6/ I cut myself. Posekao sam se²⁴.

The prototypicality of this situation type can be confirmed in all the major characteristics as defined above, including the energy expenditure confirmed by Zhang as a defining feature of the dynamic situation types. Moreover, it also confirms Kemmer's claim that reflexivity maintains that conceptual separation of the Initiator and the Endpoint. Namely, /6/ can be notionally elaborated further in order to pinpoint both the Initiator and the Endpoint, in spite of the fact that their coreferentiality is fully maintained. Thus, a slightly rephrased version of /6/ can perhaps read:

/6a/ I cut my finger. Posekao sam prst.

Prototypical middleness, on the other hand, presented graphically in Fig. 5 and described as notionally clustering around two main ideas – noninitiative emotional response and spontaneous change of state – can be easily exemplified in the following:

/7/ Grandpa tires easily. Deda se lako zamara.

The prototypicality of this situation type notionally captures both major semantic domains of middleness and at this point it is not necessary to separate it any further. Moreover, it particularly emphasizes the concept of 'change through time' (cf. Zhang 1995: 27; also Langacker 1987), with no detectable energy expenditure, internal or external, confirming the stative status of this situation type. Figures 6 and 7 try to summarize these defining features of prototypical reflexivity and middleness diagrammatically (cf. also Kurteš 2003; 2005; to appear (a)).

²⁴ The fact that we have encoded the sentences in the grammatical systems of E and S is irrelevant at this point. What we actually want to show is that the segment of reality they refer to notionally represents prototypical reflexivity.

Finally, let us observe the following as well. Namely, from the typological point of view languages normally express the distinction between the one- and two-participant verbal events, as a conceptually universal dimension. In addition to that, languages can have in their morphological inventory a morpheme, either bound or free, that encodes reflexive verbal events. In terms of the distinguishability of participants, though, reflexive verbal events capture both notions in a unique way, having the ability to refer to both ends of the continuum in the way defined above. Finally, as we have already mentioned in another context, middleness can also appear as an inflectional verbal category which expresses the one-participant verbal event of a complex internal structure (cf. *ibid.*, 209). Some languages express both reflexive and middle semantics with the reflexive markers only (e.g. German), while other languages have different morphological markers for both categories, the reflexive one usually being nominal or pronominal in form, and the middle one being a verbal affix (e.g. Russian) (cf. Kemmer 1993: 24-28).

To sum up, it can be pointed out again that the crucial property of middle semantics is not necessarily the question of the subject-affectedness, but rather the low degree of participant distinguishability, coming closer to the one-participant verbal events, traditionally known as prototypical intransitivity. The degree of distinguishability also separates the scope of middleness from the idea of reflexivity. There are languages that express this distinction with two grammatically distinct categories or languages expressing both semantic domains with the reflexive markers. Notionally speaking, middleness is also characterized by a non-initiative emotional response or a spontaneous

change of state, whereas reflexivity presupposes a scene involving an individual acting on itself, intentionally or otherwise.

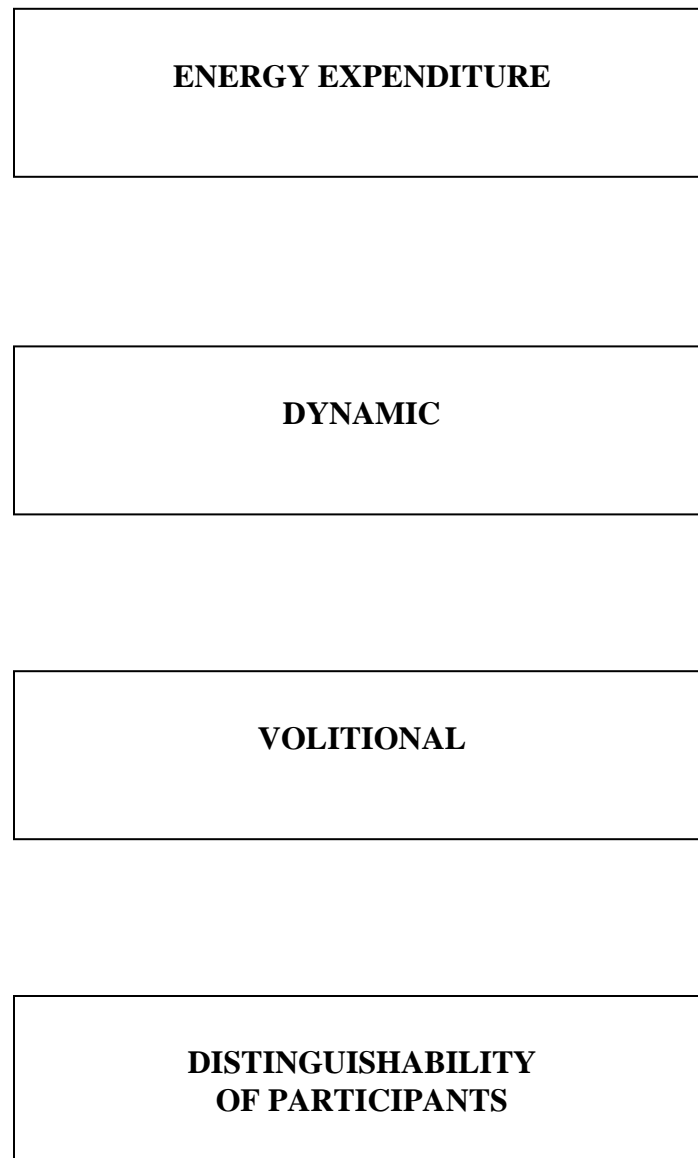


Fig. 6. Defining features of prototypical reflexivity

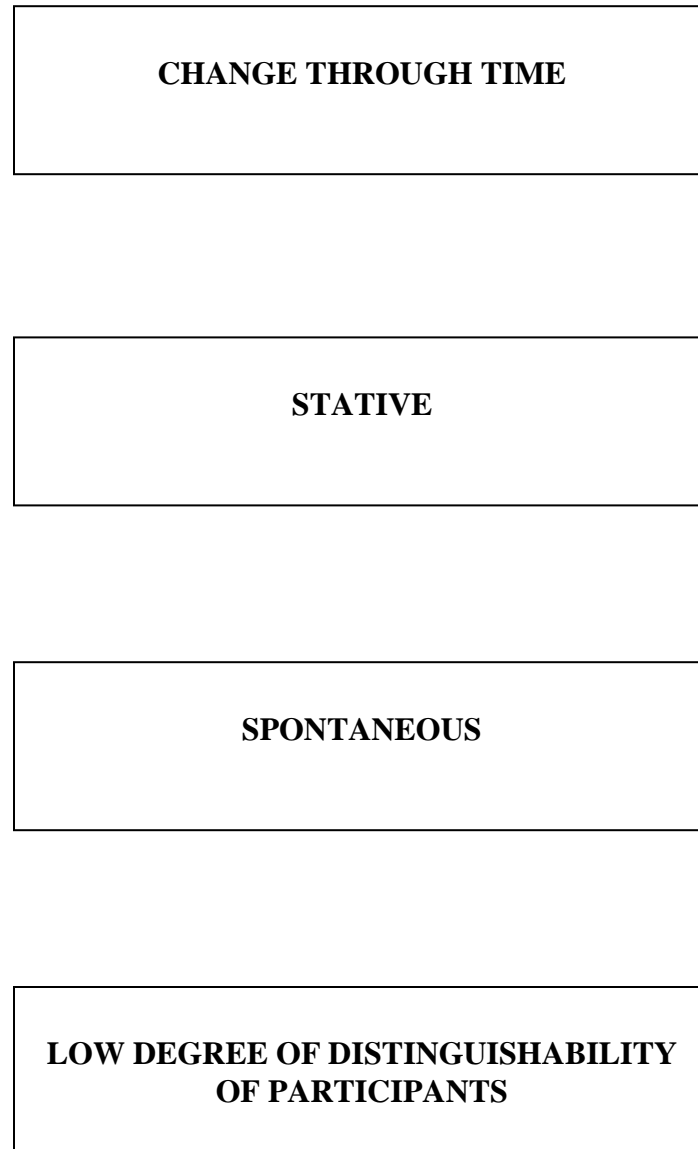


Fig. 7. Defining features of prototypical middleness

1.3.1. THEMATIC ROLES AND THEIR GRAMMATICAL CODING

In trying to define the prototype situation types, Kemmer takes a closer look at events, participants and relations and analyses their semantic structure (*ibid.*, 7-8). At various points of her analysis she refers to thematic roles, “a set of relations among participants” (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). The exact number of thematic roles to be distinguished and their real nature have been long debated among scholars in the prolific literature addressing the issue, which is of no theoretical relevance for the point we want to make. Here, for the sake of clarity and precision, we shall specify and define the exact meaning and scope of the thematic roles which are to be employed when defining the notions of reflexivity and middleness.

In order to achieve that main goal, clarity and precision in defining the semantic charge of the major thematic roles we are about to define, we have adopted Frawley’s (1992) view, who limits his discussion to 12 basic roles and confines himself strictly to observing the question in terms of linguistic semantics. The relevant thematic roles are categorized into 2 basic groups – participant and non-participant roles (*ibid.*, 201). Among participant roles, which tend to be coded in the direct grammatical relations – subject, direct object, indirect object – Frawley distinguishes three main groups: (1) logical actors, (2) logical recipients, and (3) spatial roles. Logical actors and logical recipients seem to be particularly relevant to the issues in question, which is why we are going to have a closer look at them.

Frawley argues that the concept of agentivity is best understood as “a gradient of directness of execution of the predicate” (*ibid.*, 207), going in the direction agent > author > instrument. He defines the agent as “the deliberate, potent, active instigator of the predicate” (*ibid.*, 203) and connects agentivity with “volition, will, intentionality and responsibility” (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*). It is emphasized that volition is the crucial characteristic, defining agents normally as animate and human, generating the effect themselves (*ibid.*: 205; also DeLancey 1984: 193). However, it should be noted at this point that we shall also make use of the notion of agentivity as being both animate and inanimate, particularly with respect to some specific semantic aspects of middleness. The specific characteristics of the Agent [-animate] concept will be discussed at a later point.

Frawley makes a further distinction between the agent and the author, maintaining that the author should be understood as the thematic role expressing inactive cause, which means that animacy, intentionality and responsibility are not required in this context (*ibid.*: 206). In other words, “the agent is the direct doer, the author is simply the enabler, or the indirect cause, often differentiated from the agent by degree of involvement in the act” (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*; also DeLancey 1984). Frawley goes on to say that in many languages the difference between authors and agents is expressed syntactically²⁵.

²⁵ Thus, for example, in Russian if the agent is passivized, it will take the instrumental case. When the author is passivized, though, it will take the dative case, using the so-called ‘flip construction’, a syntactic structure which Frawley compares with the medio-passive in, for example, Spanish (*ibid.*: 206). He also discusses this phenomenon in the context of the active/stative distinction (*ibid.*: 157-8).

According to this standpoint, the thematic role of author should be located between the agent and the instrument. Namely, whereas agents are understood as “the direct instigators of the predicate” (*ibid.*: 207), “instruments are the tools used by agents to carry out acts directly” (*ibid., loc. cit.*). There is, however, a major difference which should be observed in this context – “instruments (...) must be *acted upon by something else* in order to participate in the situation; their energy source is external to them” (italics W.F.; *ibid.*: 208). Starting from Fillmore’s (1968) original definition of the thematic role of instrument as the inanimate force causally involved, Frawley goes on to say that instrumentality is characteristically represented by the absence of volition²⁶.

The concept of patienthood, however, is to be observed as scalar in its nature, conceptually tied to agentivity. In this context, there are three main thematic roles associated with the logical recipients of the event – the patient, the experiencer and the benefactive. It is important to define their semantic scope precisely.

The patient itself is to be understood as “an argument [which] undergoes, is changed by, or is directly affected by a predicate” (*ibid., loc. cit.*). In terms of surface grammatical relations, patients are normally encoded as direct objects. There is, however, another important distinction that Frawley makes in this context. Namely, he introduces a

²⁶ Although he points out that instruments can rarely take the position of the surface subject, this combination is still possible in S (when the subject also takes the instrumental case), admittedly, only marginally (cf. also Frawley 1992: 210). For example, in the expression:

kamenom (*instr*) razbijen prozor the window broken with the rock
 one can understand the structure as being derived from:

kamen je razbio prozor ⇒ the rock broke the window ⇒
 neko je razbio prozor kamenom somebody broke the window with the rock

Again, it should be pointed out that the possible usages of similar expressions often seem to be confined to the literary discourse only.

subcategory of the basic thematic role of the patient, a weak form of it, as it were. Following Wilkins (1987) and Lebeaux (1988), he argues for a weak version of the patient, calling it ‘affected’, and defining it as the argument which is simply being acted on, but not altered. That is exactly the crucial difference between patients and affected arguments – patients are fully affected and altered. Frawley particularly draws attention to Wilkins’ claim that middles normally take affected arguments, while ergatives take patients. Whether it is true cross-linguistically remains to be seen, but Frawley agrees with the following – “all patients are affected, but not vice versa; so all agents are authors, but not vice versa” (*ibid.*: 213). This distinction seems to support the prototypical representation of reflexivity and middleness as they have been outlined above.

The thematic role of experiencer is recognized when “a predicate affects *the internal state or constitution* of an argument” (italics WF; *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*). Although Fillmore originally expected experiencers to be human, or at least animate, mostly because they should be able to detect or register internally the effect of the event, Frawley argues that because it is not always clear what is understood by ‘an internal state’, experiencers actually need not be animate at all. As long as the external experience is registered internally, or experiencers simply undergo a disposition, it is possible to observe the thematic role concerned. Its surface grammatical coding is normally realized in oblique forms, very often dative. The experiencer is, thus, the logical recipient of action, which also includes the mental registration of the input (whether pleasurable or not)²⁷.

²⁷ In traditional Serbian grammatical terminology it is normally referred to as the ‘logical’ or ‘psychological’ subject, recognized by its dative surface form, but also appearing in genitive or accusative (cf. Stevanović 1974: 92, 571; Stanojčić *et al* 1989: 236-7). For example:

Spava **mi** (*dat*) se.

I feel sleepy.

The last thematic role to be discussed in this context will be the benefactive. Benefactives are defined as recipients “that derive actions or entities from the actions of another” (Frawley 1992: 215). It is emphasized that benefactives do not necessarily ‘benefit’ from the surrogate action of others, since the final result can be interpreted in both *commodi* or *incommodi* sense of the term. Frawley compares benefactives to instruments, claiming that “while instruments are secondary agents, benefactives are secondary recipients” (*ibid.*: 216). Benefactives co-occur with agents, which is why they are likely to be found with nonstative predicates, most frequently those of resultative, motional and transactional type. Because of that important semantic element of surrogacy, benefactives are predominantly human. The notion of *commodi/incommodi* will be particularly observed in defining the meaning and function of some *se*-forms in S and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

The following major points presented in Chapter 1 can be reiterated. We have defined and elaborated on the theoretical framework chosen for the analysis about to be performed. The topics discussed have been segmented into three main sections that focused on major issues of the work – *genus verbi* and its main characteristics both in linguistic synchrony and diachrony; contrastive analysis observed both as a scientific discipline and method of analysis; and finally, definition of reflexivity and middleness in term of their prototypical representation. In order to achieve that goal, it has been

Boli **ga** (*acc*) glava.

He has a headache.

Još ima **vremena** (*gen*).

There is still some time left.

It should also be noted that a great deal of these verbs also belong to middle semantics, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

necessary to observe briefly the basic assumptions of the cognitivist approach to linguistic analysis as well as to examine and define the basic thematic roles and their grammatical encoding. In more detail, these are the major points presented in each section:

1) *Genus verbi* is one of the most ancient topics in the tradition of descriptive grammar. It is a parameter of morphological variation of the verb, represented traditionally by categories of active, middle and passive. Their exact morphological paradigm and distribution can vary crosslinguistically.

Historically, active and middle existed in PIE syntax as two distinct categories, while passive emerged later. When PIE has started to assume VO characteristics by introducing pronominal elements for reflexive and reciprocal meaning, the central idea of middleness has become that of passive.

2) Contrastive analysis, a branch of general linguistics, and a principle of applied linguistics, tries to ascertain in which aspects the two languages are alike and in which they differ. Its main aim is to explicitly define similarities and differences between the languages based on a systematic comparison of their description.

Having been established as a scientific and academic discipline in the 1950s, contrastive analysis has undergone three major developmental stages in its history – traditional (late 19th c. – early 20th c.), classical (1945-1965) and modern (1965-).

The basic notions of contrastive analysis – equivalence, similarity and difference have been defined. Namely, the notion of equivalence traditionally meant translation equivalence or equivalence in meaning, as it was originally borrowed from theory of translation. It is closely connected to another key issue – that of *tertium comparationis*. Similarity among the observed language segments is to be established either in form or distribution; convergent and divergent relations constitute the notion of contrast, and, finally, zero relations define differences between the observed language segments.

3) Finally, reflexivity and middleness have been defined in terms of their prototypical representation, derived from the cognitivistic approach to language analysis. More precisely, our main theoretical standpoint, derived from Manney (2000), reiterates that middleness is notionally characterized either by a non-initiative emotional response or a spontaneous change of state, and thus is clearly distinguishable from archetypical reflexivity, invoking a scene “in which an individual acts on itself, intentionally or otherwise” (*ibid.*, 214).

CHAPTER TWO

*Nije stvar u rečima, nego u onom što one stvarno kazuju ili što bi htele da kažu, znači u namerama koje imamo upotrebljavajući ih, u smislu koji im dajemo kad ih izgovaramo ili pišemo.*²⁹

Ivo Andrić

2. REFLEXIVITY AND MIDDLENESS IN SERBIAN

2.1 PRELIMINARIES

As it has already been pointed out in the Introduction, Chapter 2 will observe the specific ways of grammaticalization of reflexivity and middleness in S, focusing primarily on the meaning and function of the *se*-verbs. In order to achieve that goal, a theoretical overview of *genus verbi* in S is to be presented first. The presentation will follow 20th century Slavonic grammatical tradition, more precisely the legacy of the Yugoslav theoretical and contrastive linguistic school of thought³⁰, and some more recent sources of the same provenance for the most part. The reason is twofold. First and foremost, to make them known to a wider scholarly audience, primarily the Western one, and let the ideas expressed there be disseminated further. Secondly, to make an original contribution to the discussion of the phenomena of reflexivity and middleness by drawing from some less commonly quoted literature, thus challenging the mainstream line of argument normally derived from well-known sources of the Western linguistic tradition. The main reference items included in the overview clearly represent the major descriptive, normative and pedagogical grammars and

²⁹ “It is not a question of words on their own, but of their real meaning or what they would like to mean, that is to say of the intentions we have when using them, of the sense we give them when we utter them or write them down.”

³⁰ For a more general overview of basic trends and achievements in the field a good starting point (presented in E) could be Radovanović (ed) 1989 and Mišeska Tomić-Radovanović (eds) 2000 and further references recommended therein.

other relevant studies of the modern standard language (e.g. Belić 1962; Bugarski 1994, 1997a, 1997b, 2001a; Djordjević 1989; Grickat 2004; Hammond 2005; Ivić 1961/62, 1967, 1983, 1995, 2000; Klajn 2000; Maretić 1963; Mihailović 1985; Mørk 1969, 1970a, 1970b; Piper 1984-85; Simić 1999; Stanojčić 1989, 1990; Stevanović 1974; Škiljan 1988, etc.). Although all main Štokavian varieties have been included in the description, priority has been given to the author's native – the Ekavian one. Since the concepts of reflexivity and middleness as defined previously are grammatically encoded into various phenomena within the *genus verbi* domain, the presentation of its grammatical paradigm will try to include its all major aspects: morphological, syntactic and pragmatic/stylistic. In order to achieve that goal, the discussion will be structured in such a way as to start from a general view gradually zooming in at the focal point of the work, i.e. the taxonomy of the *se*-forms. More specifically, it will start from defining the sentence and its basic functional elements focusing only on those issues that will help understand and define the nature of the grammatical segment in question. The overview will thus include topics such as the types of subjects (i.e. traditional division between the so-called grammatical and logical/psychological subject), 'subjectless' (impersonal) sentences; types of objects (direct and indirect objects; types of indirect objects), transitivity, verbal aspect and valence. Following Moravcsik (1978), the issue of ergative patterns in non-ergative languages, S being one of them, has also being briefly addresses.

The focus will then move to the description of the so-called '*se*-verbs', verbs followed by the morpheme *se*, which is a multifunctional grammatical device. Typologically, S will be classified as a language with a two-form cognate system (cf. Kemmer 1993), in which reflexive and middle markers are similar, but not identical. In this particular

case, the reflexive marker is pronominal in form (*sebe/se*), whereas the middle marker is always a verbal affix, which is clitic in form (*se*). ‘*Se*-verbs’ will be classified according to the taxonomy proposed by Prof Milka Ivić (1961/62), which encompasses ten different functions of the morpheme *se*. A revised version of Ivić’s taxonomy (Djordjević 1989; Kurteš 1998a, 2003) has finally been accepted as a basis for the analysis.

A few words will also be said about the sociolinguistic status of S today – particularly in relation to the linguistic status of Serbo-Croat, glotto-politically now considered to be its predecessor. The issues raised, however, have further pedagogical implications and their relevance can certainly be observed in the applied linguistics context as well. Since the author believes that these are the two main subject fields that are about to draw on the results from this study, the discussion about the sociolinguistics status of Modern Standard S has tried to define in more precise terms and bring into focus the relevant issues that should be addressed and examined further in scholarly terms.

The structure and theoretical framework in which this grammatical segment in S has been presented in this chapter has been carefully chosen and composed, primarily because of the fact that, according to traditional contrastive studies, it has to serve as a model against which the situation in E is to be described. Furthermore, the great disproportion between linguistic and grammatical descriptions of S and E, primarily in quantitative terms, but also in terms of diversity of theoretical frameworks chosen, has certainly demanded an appropriate action. This is precisely why the presentation has followed the traditional 20th century grammatical school of thought trying to provide a comprehensive description of the core structural properties of the observed

language segment in theory-neutral terms. This approach, the author believes, will guarantee better accessibility of the presented material to researchers of various theoretical provenances, as well as further applicability to a wider spectrum of disciplines. Finally, the complexity of the problem of *genus verbi* in S, reflexivity and middleness in particular, has determined the focus of the analysis and confined it only to the so-called ‘*se*-verbs’, verbs followed by the morpheme *se*, and their specific nature. Other possible grammatical manifestations of reflexivity and middleness have simply remained outside the scope of this study. Let it also be a good enough incentive and encouragement to the contrastivists to have a closer look at them.

2.2 SERBIAN – A LINGUISTIC PROFILE AND ITS CURRENT SOCIO-LINGUISTIC STATUS

S belongs to the South-Slavonic group of the Indo-European language family. The total number of speakers, including both those who speak it as their first or second language and involving the whole of the Štokavian speaking territory, is currently approximately 20 million. Geographically, this territory primarily subsumes the countries which formerly comprised Yugoslavia (notably Serbia and Montenegro, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Slovenia). Finally, sizeable émigré communities speaking S as their first or second language are also to be found in the Western Europe, Canada, the USA, Australia and elsewhere.



Fig. 8 Map of the Štokavian speaking areas
 (The UCLA Language Materials Project, <http://www.lmp.ucla.edu/profiles/profs01.htm>)

Its rich nominal and verbal morphology retained many of the features of Common Slavonic. S has a fully-fledged case system with 7 distinctive morphologically marked cases of complex semantics. The verbal system of the language includes simple and compound tense forms. The complexity of its verbal morphology is particularly well exhibited in a very elaborate aspectual system, which includes perfectives and imperfectives, as major aspectual forms, as well as iterative forms. It is assumed to be an SVO language, although the order of the major sentential constituents is fairly loose (cf. Zec, 1985: 369). Now we shall briefly discuss each of these and some other important points in more detail.

The orthography of the language follows the phonemic principle with very rare exceptions. S is spelt in both Cyrillic and Roman alphabets, consisting of 30 characters each. Since the correspondence between the alphabets is absolute, the transliteration is automatic (cf. Fig. 9; also Corbett 1987: 127). The parallel use of both alphabets was particularly characteristic in the eastern and central parts of the Štokavian speaking areas, while the Roman alphabet was predominantly used in the western parts. Today it can be noticed that in the eastern parts of the Štokavian speaking areas Cyrillic is predominantly used. We shall come back to this point later on, commenting on the current sociolinguistic status of the language.

Historically speaking, the Glagolitic alphabet had been originally used before Cyrillic (12th c.) and Roman (14th c.) alphabets were introduced. Spelling conventions varied in both Cyrillic and Roman when steps towards standardization and simplification were taken by Vuk Karadžić (1787-1864) and Ljudevit Gaj (1809-72) respectively. Karadžić's reform included the elimination of several letters and introduction of six

new ones, as well as the adoption of a phonemically based orthography. Gaj, on the other hand, modified the Roman alphabet by using diacritic symbols based on the Czech model and introducing three digraphs. With minor changes only, both alphabets are still in use (cf. Comrie 1987; Corbett 1987; Campbell 2000; Kordić 1997; Hammond 2005).

Roman		Cyrillic		Roman		Cyrillic	
A	a	А	а	L	l	Л	л
B	b	Б	б	Lj	lj	Љ	љ
C	c	Ц	ц	M	m	М	м
Č	č	Ч	ч	N	n	Н	н
Ć	ć	Ћ	ћ	Nj	nj	Њ	њ
D	d	Д	д	O	o	О	о
Dž	dž	Џ	џ	P	p	П	п
Đ (Dj)	đ (dj)	Ђ	ђ	R	r	Р	р
E	e	Е	е	S	s	С	с
F	f	Ф	ф	Š	š	Ш	ш
G	g	Г	г	T	t	Т	т
H	h	Х	х	U	u	У	у
I	i	И	и	V	v	В	в
J	j	Ј	ј	Z	z	З	з
K	k	К	к	Ž	ž	Ж	ж

Fig. 9 The alphabets of Serbian/Serbo-Croat

S nominal morphology, typologically speaking, is fusional. As it has already been pointed out, S retained most of the features found in Common Slavonic: there are seven morphologically marked cases (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, instrumental, locative), three genders (masculine, feminine, neuter) distinguished in both singular and plural (dual residues found only in oblique cases); the consonant mutation found in the first and second palatalisation is also preserved. Verbal morphology in S is equally rich and elaborate. Like in many other Slavonic languages, the aspectual system plays an important role in the language's verbal system, probably even marginalizing the status of tenses other than the main ones (cf. Corbett 1987: 139). Semantically, three main aspectual forms can be distinguished – perfective and imperfective, as the most prominent ones, and iterative.

Morphologically, perfective forms are normally derived from imperfectives by the prefixation; iterative forms are derived from perfectives by the infixation, an expansion of the stem (e.g. *trčati – pretrčati – pretrčavati* ‘run – run across – keep on running across’)³¹. Tenses are simple (present, imperfect and aorist) and compound (perfect, pluperfect, future and exact future). In the modern colloquial language, though, only the present, perfect and future tenses are in frequent use, leaving all the rest quite stylistically marked and confined to the literary register predominantly. There are three main conjugation types.

S is generally regarded to be an SVO language, which is at the same time an unmarked word order; the major sentential constituents can take a different order thus producing different stylistic or focal effects. The agreement of attributive modifiers is found in gender, number and case; finite verb forms agree with their subjects in person and number, participles in gender and number. Clitical forms are another well-known feature of the language. They are pronominal (genitive, dative and accusative of the personal pronoun; accusative of the reflexive pronoun) and verbal (auxiliaries *biti* ‘be’ and *hteti* ‘want’); the interrogative particle *li* also belongs to this category. Prosodically, they function as enclitics predominantly, although there are sequences in which they can behave as proclitics. The sentential order of clitics is fixed. They

³¹ For a comprehensive analysis of the Serbo-Croat verbal aspectuality cf., *inter alia*, Jovanović Gorup (1987). The study starts from the claim that “the morphological forms are signals of meanings that are being used deliberately for the communication of a message” (*ibid.*, vi) and establishes a basic aspectual dichotomy referred to as ‘low focus’ and ‘high focus’. In this taxonomy, aspectually perfective events tend to cluster around ‘high focus’, while imperfective events denote ‘low focus’ (cf. *ibid.*, 73 ff). Other comprehensive studies of aspectuality in Serbo-Croat include Ridjanović 1969, Cochrane 1977, Levenberg 1981, etc. Furthermore, verbal aspectuality has been well studied within linguistic stylistics and narratology. One of the widely accepted views on this phenomenon maintains that “the imperfective form gives the effect of extended time; it invites us to place ourselves, as it were, in a synchronic relationship to an action, and to become witness to it” (Uspensky 1973: 75), while the aspectually perfective verbal forms indicate that the action can be observed as retrospective, putting the narrator in focus (cf. Levenston-Sonnenschein 1986: 55). For a practical application of aspectuality thus defined cf. Kurteš 1998c; 2002c.

occupy the second position in the sentence in the following order: interrogative, verbal, pronominal. Probably the most outstanding feature of the S clitics system is that they may stand after the first accented word of the constituent, irrespective of the fact that they will be inserted into the constituent itself, thus splitting a meaningful unit (e.g. *moj će ti se brat javiti* ‘my brother will call you’; lit. ‘my will to you *se* brother call’ – i.e. the constituent *moj brat* ‘my brother’ is being intercepted by three clitics) (cf. Kordić 1997: 8, 46; also Hamond 2005: 249ff). There are further stylistic and pragmatic implications of this feature and we shall come back to this point later on.

The language is also a good example of a dialectal continuum. This feature can be particularly well observed starting from the north-west, where the closest linguistic affiliation of the dialect spoken in the region is with Slovene, going to the south-east, where the dialects exhibit a close similarity to Macedonian and Bulgarian (cf. Fig. 8; also Fig. 10). Historically speaking, three main dialects, or rather “a set of related dialects” (Corbett 1987: 128) can be distinguished – Štokavian, spoken in the biggest part of the former Serbo-Croat speaking areas and also the basis of the modern standard language; Čakavian, now confined mostly to the Dalmatian coast, the Adriatic islands, Istria and a small part of northern Croatia; and Kajkavian³², spoken in the north of Croatia and around the capital, Zagreb (cf. Fig. 10).

Štokavian, as the basis of both the former Serbo-Croat and modern standard S, is further composed of two main subdialects, which represent the basic distinction between the so-called Eastern and Western varieties of the language. These

³² The names of dialects (originally known as *štokavski*, *čakavski* and *kajkavski*) have been derived from the words used for the interrogative pronoun ‘what’ – *što*, *ča* and *kaj* respectively.

subdialects are known as Ekavian and Ijekavian, named after the reflex of Common Slavonic letter *ě* (*jat*), which can be realized either as *e* or *ije* (*je* if the vowel is short), e.g. *reka* / *rijeka* ‘river’; *pevati* / *pjevati* ‘sing’. In terms of their geographical distribution, Ekavian is spoken in Serbia proper, while Ijekavian covers the rest of the territory, namely Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro. It is also interesting to observe that the Ijekavian spoken in Bosnia represents the variety that stands between the eastern and western ones, i.e. those spoken in Serbia and Croatia. Furthermore, the Ijekavian of Montenegro is very close to the variety spoken in Serbia, both lexically and syntactically. This is important to know in order to understand better the current sociolinguistic status of the language, which we are going to examine briefly.



Fig 10. Serbo-Croat dialects and their distribution
(Kordić 1997: 3)

The sociolinguistic status of modern standard S is rather complex. In the former Yugoslavia Serbo-Croat was widely used as a *lingua communis* (cf. Radovanović 1986) and was considered to be a language of polycentric standardization (cf. Bugarski 2001a; 2001b) that clustered around the varieties spoken in Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo. The political crisis and disintegration of the country also had their linguistic consequences, although it seems to be valid *vice versa* as well – the language has had a crucial role in both the formation and disintegration of the country³³. Although the former Serbo-Croat language is now officially referred to, according to the names of the successor countries, as Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian³⁴, the wider scholarly community, particularly in the West, still readily retains the old term when referring to the language, claiming that, technically speaking, it is still the same linguistic unit, with just minor phonological/prosodic, morphological, syntactic and lexical differences which do not by any means hinder mutual intelligibility. It is not easy to predict, however, for how long this will be the case.³⁵

³³ The conference *Language in the Former Yugoslav Lands* held at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, 8-9 September 2000, addressed this issue particularly in its historical perspective. Further particulars are to be found at <http://www.ssees.ac.uk/language.htm>. The conference proceedings are in preparation (cf. Bugarski-Hawkesworth (ed) 2004). The problem was also observed in its wider Slavonic context at the Symposium *Language Policy and Lexicography in Slavic Languages after 1989*, held at the Slavic Department of the University of Amsterdam, 23-24 November 2000 (<http://www.hum.uva.nl/lplsymposium/>), cf. also Lučić (ed) 2002.

³⁴ Conventions are not unique and consistent by any means, so it is possible to come across various labels. One such label is Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian, B-C-S for short, as one of the working languages at The United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in the Hague, apparently denoting one language spoken predominantly in Ijekavian and spelt in both alphabets (cf. <http://www.un.org/icty>); Serbian and Croatian, or Serbian or Croatian is a label which tends to denote, so it seems to us, one language spoken in Ekavian and Ijekavian (see e.g. Radio France Internationale programmes in foreign languages at <http://www.rfi.fr>); The Office of the High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina publishes on-line press releases in Serbian (Ijekavian/Cyrillic), Bosnian (Ijekavian/Roman) and Croatian (Ijekavian/Roman). These versions often exhibit but minor lexical/syntactic differences briefly described above (cf. <http://www.ohr.int>).

³⁵ It is still possible to observe all the major features of Ekavian and Ijekavian subdialects on the whole of the Štokavian speaking areas, although the language policy at the official level in the successor states of the former Yugoslavia sometimes emphasizes and promotes the differences between the varieties, particularly at the lexical level. As far as the use of scripts is concerned one can also see that the issue has become politically charged as well. Nevertheless, both scripts are still in use in Serbia and Montenegro, even though not equally frequently. Furthermore, in Bosnia and Herzegovian digraphia is still constitutionally guaranteed, while in Croatia only the Roman alphabet continues to be in use. For a more elaborate and competent discussion on the historic perspective as well as the current

Our position here is to acknowledge the glotto-political reality stating that constitutionally and nominally Serbo-Croat ceased to exist in the countries formerly comprising Yugoslavia, while at the same time maintaining that it can still linguistically be observed as an integral unit (cf. Kurteš 2004). Following this line of argument, we are inclined to agree with Bugarski (2000; 2001a; 2001b) who stands for the fact that a distinction should be made between two different levels from which the problem is to be observed – linguistic-communicative and political-symbolic. From the linguistic-communicative perspective it is quite legitimate to refer to the standard Serbo-Croat language and to make a further distinction among its regional/national varieties. The linguistic similarity between these varieties, primarily exhibited in its structural identity, is so overwhelming that it exceeds even those found between the varieties of languages such as English, Spanish, or French (cf. Bugarski 2001a: 15). In this case, Serbo-Croat is to be treated as a hyperonym in a superordinate relation to different idioms that subsequently came into existence out of it. Mutual intelligibility and normal communication, still quite untarnished, is another important factor in acknowledging Serbo-Croat as an integral linguistic entity. Viewed from the political-symbolic perspective, though, the fact remains that Serbo-Croat does not exist as the official language in any of the successor states any more. Furthermore, idioms now known as Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian undoubtedly play a very important role as a symbol of national identity and sovereignty of the newly established states. This is the level at which their existence as separate entities should be acknowledged (*ibid.*, 15-16).

sociolinguistic aspect of this issue we recommend Magner 2001. Further details about the language planning and policy in the former Yugoslavia can be found, *inter alia*, in Škiljan 1988; also Bugarski-Hawkesworth 1992. On some more recent trends in language policy and lexicography in the Slavonic languages of Central, East and South-East Europe cf. Lučić (ed) 2002 and particularly Greenberg 2004..

In other words, both levels reflect the reality from two different aspects, which is why they are both correct and should be accepted as such. The important thing to be borne in mind, though, is to keep these two levels clearly separate when discussing the issue in order to avoid any misunderstanding or even manipulation (*ibid., loc.cit.*).

Briefly, we can agree with the view claiming that “(...) standard Serbo-Croat represents a global linguistic system with sociolinguistic sub-systems functioning politically as separate standard languages under their single national-territorial names in the newly established states within the speaking areas of the language” (*ibid., 16*).³⁶

In concluding remarks, the following can be reiterated. S, a South Slavonic language of the Indo-European family, is a language of rich verbal and nominal morphology. It is digraphic, spelt in both the Roman and Cyrillic alphabets. Its orthography follows the phonemic principle with very rare exceptions. The language is a good example of a dialectal continuum, which can be observed starting from the north-west to the south-east. The main dialect, Štokavian, also the basis of the modern standard S, is spoken in two main subdialects, Ekavian/Eastern and Ijekavian/Western. The current sociolinguistic status of the language is rather complex. In order to overcome this problem one should bear in mind that there are two separate levels from which the issue can be observed – linguistic-communicative and political-symbolic. At the linguistic-communicative level, it is correct to observe Serbo-Croat as an integral linguistic system with two/three main subsystems; observed from the political-

³⁶ “(...) standardni srpskohrvatski predstavlja jedan globalni lingvistički sistem čiji sociolingvistički podsistemi politički funkcionišu kao odeliti standardni jezici pod jednočlanim nacionalno-teritorijalnim imenima u novim državama na teritoriji toga jezika” (*ibid., 16*).

symbolic level, though, it is legitimate to speak about separate languages named after the successor countries of the former Yugoslavia – Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian.

2.3 GENUS VERBI IN SERBIAN

Shifting the focus to the description of the way reflexivity and middleness are grammatically encoded in S, confining ourselves primarily to the *se*-verbs, we shall introduce the topic by giving an overview of the verbal voice in S seen from the traditional Slavonic grammatical school of thought. The discussion will start from a more general view, observing the main sentential constituents – subject, predicate, object – and their types. The focus will then be narrowed down to discussing the issues such as verbal transitivity, verbal valence, etc. The category of the so-called quasi-reflexive verbs will be looked at prior to zooming in at the *se*-forms and their possible taxonomy. As already pointed out, this grammatical overview has been envisaged to complement and supplement the results of the contrastive projects done previously, primarily the YSCECP and *Kontrastivna gramatika*, which is why it is going to follow them methodologically and technically. The grammatical paradigm of the concepts of reflexivity and middleness will be largely presented in theory-neutral terms, making it more accessible and applicable to a wider spectrum of disciplines.

2.3.1 PRELIMINARIES

If we are to speak about the verbal voice in S or even in the wider Slavonic context, we can observe that grammatical literature has not paid enough attention to this problem in its entirety, in spite of some more recent proliferation of works addressing the issue predominantly from the syntactic point of view in the theoretical framework of the Chomskyan provenance. Comprehensive grammatical reference material,

however, does not always give a clear-cut descriptive account of the phenomenon that is at the same time detailed enough to include morphological, syntactic and stylistic/pragmatic considerations of the problem. Moreover, terminological inconsistencies, particularly referring to the verbal voice (originally *glagolsko stanje*) and verbal genus (*glagolski rod*) or diathesis (*dijateza*) as terminological alternatives, certainly make it even more difficult to deal with. Traditional Yugoslav grammatical literature seems to prefer the term voice (*stanje*), referring primarily to active and passive forms of a verb, as morphologically marked (cf. Stevanović, 1974: 545). Furthermore, descriptive grammars also distinguish between transitive, intransitive and reflexive verbs with respect to the sentential role of the object. More often than not, further correlations between the systems are not being made (*ibid.*, 572). Finally, the multifunctional grammatical device – the verbal particle *se* – is normally mentioned only sporadically and most frequently referred to only as the reflexive marker, despite the fact that a minority of its possible uses is reflexive *sensu stricto*. Observed historically, it seems that this intriguing linguistic phenomenon has found itself in the focus of linguists' interest with the rise of interlingual contrastive projects from the 1970s onwards, when some more thorough and systematic studies of this kind have been done. Nevertheless, lexical, semantic and functional diversity of 'reflexive' constructions in Slavonic languages is a phenomenon still waiting to be fully analysed and explained, particularly in the interlingual contrastive perspective. Pedagogical materials with these aims in view would certainly be very welcome.

Let us now have a closer look at the concept of verbal genus or voice. Etymologically speaking, the term 'voice' comes from the Latin word *vox* and the Roman grammarians used to employ it to denote two different categories – voice in the

acoustic sense of the term and word forms generally (Lyons 1968: 371-2). The former sense of the term has been preserved till our times, while the latter has been modified and refers primarily to specific verb forms. On the other hand, the traditional Latin term denoting this verbal category was *species* or *genus*; later on *genus* was also employed to denote the nominal gender as well. Diathesis, a word of Greek origin (διαθέσεις), is normally taken to be the equivalent of verbal voice.

From the general linguistic point of view it is customary to talk about active, middle (or medial) and passive verbal voice (cf. also Chapter 1). However, there are grammarians (cf. Stevanović 1974: 545 ff) who argue that this typology, reflecting the structure of some ancient languages, such as Ancient Greek or Vedic Sanskrit, in which these categories were morphologically marked, may not be that reliable when it comes to languages of which the morphological system in this particular segment is simply different. Supporting this line of argument, Stevanović goes on by saying that this is already valid for Latin, the morphological system of which exhibits a dichotomy consisting of active and passive forms, but among the so-called deponent verbs there are a lot that cannot be classified either as active or passive. Semantically speaking, they are actually middle (also Moore 1934: 68-70)³⁷.

Observing the problem of verbal voice in a wider Slavonic context, one can say that grammatical literature takes into account both semantic and syntactic aspects when defining verbal diathesis, although some more traditional sources tended to focus

³⁷ Verbs such as *morior* 'I die', *nascor* 'I am born', *misereor* 'I commiserate' (governing genitive), *laetor* 'I rejoice' (governing ablative), *irascor* 'I grow angry' (governing dative), *patior* 'I suffer', *vereor* 'I fear', *fateor* 'I confess', *meditor* (from Greek *μήδομαι*) 'I think over, consider', *obliviscor* 'I forget', *opinor* 'I believe' etc. would all belong to this category. Furthermore, some Latin intransitive verbs can be passivized – *ire* 'go' is one such verb, the passive form of which can be found in the 3rd person singular – *itur*. For further details on Latin deponent verbs cf. Roby 1896: 236ff; also King-Cookson 1888: 440.

predominantly on the morphological aspect. In particular, the problem used to be oversimplified in some comprehensive reference grammatical literature by claiming that, for instance in Russian, verbal genus can be established only in those ‘reflexive’ verbs which at the same time can appear without the reflexive suffix *-sya*³⁸. If this claim was to be adopted, the number of verbs the genus of which could be established would be drastically reduced (e.g. in S *ljutiti se* ‘to be angry’ would be possible to classify because the form *ljutiti* ‘to make (sb) angry’ exists, whereas *nadati se* ‘to hope’ would simply remain outside the scope of that analysis). That is why it has been emphasized that the real meaning of verbal genus can be defined only in a sentence, and context plays an important role in this process³⁹.

The specific problem of the ‘reflexive’ verbal particle, though, has also been long observed. It was particularly reiterated by Milka Ivić (cf. 1961/62:137) that the very obvious lexical divergence as regards the absence or presence of the ‘reflexive’ particle throughout Slavonic speaking areas deserved a closer look. Thus, for instance, S *seva* ‘it is lightning’ compared with Czech *blýská se*; Czech *mrzne* ‘it freezes’ vs. S *mrzne se*; S *sviče* ‘it is dawning’ vs. Slovene *svita se*; Russian *smërkaet* ‘it is getting dark’ vs. S *smrkava se*, etc (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*). This is precisely the reason why it would be quite revealing to see the results of a systematic interlingual contrastive study that would focus on this particular segment of the grammar of Slavonic languages.

Finally, zooming in at the way *genus verbi* in S descriptive grammars is represented, one can see that the issue has been treated mostly from the morphological point of view, but the semantic and syntactic aspects of this phenomenon are also sometimes

³⁸ According to Stevanović (*ibid.*, 547), this was Fortunatov’s claim.

³⁹ According to Stevanović (*ibid.*, 549), this was the view expressed by G. A. Stahova.

taken into account. One of the most usual viewpoints distinguishes between active and middle verbal genera, adding that a verb can be used passively in a sentence (Stevanović 1974: 549). Active and middle verbs can be both transitive and intransitive. What is particularly noteworthy is that, according to this standpoint, middle verbs are defined as denoting mental states and conditions which the subject comes into unintentionally and/or spontaneously (cf. *ibid.*, 550). Most of these verbs are followed by the verbal particle *se*, which is, following the widespread Slavonic tradition, referred to as the reflexive marker. It is also important to notice that there is a large group of verbs which semantically fall into this category, but are not followed by the *se*-particle, such as *patiti* ‘suffer’, *čeznuti* ‘long’, *tugovati* ‘mourn’, *zepsti*⁴⁰ ‘freeze, feel cold’, *venuti* ‘wither’, *stariti* ‘grow older’, *ozdraviti* ‘get well’, *zaspiti* ‘fall asleep’, etc. (cf. Stevanović, *s.a.*: 108). This group of verbs will remain outside the scope of this study. Our intention here is to focus only on the category of *se*-verbs, their meaning and function.

Giving a brief recapitulation of the preliminary remarks just presented, the following should be reiterated. The problem of terminological diversity and inconsistency is present. Verbal voice (*glagosko stanje*), genus (*rod*) and diathesis (*dijateza*) are frequently used to denote the same grammatical segment. Very close to this is the ‘reflexive’ verbal particle, commonly found in Slavonic languages. Verbal genus in S also distinguishes three main forms; ‘reflexive’ verbs are closely connected to this topic as well.

⁴⁰ The verb *zepsti* requires an animate subject only, whereas *mrznuti se* can imply both animate and inanimate subjects; the form *mrznuti* is also possible.

2.3.2 SENTENCE AND ITS CONSTITUENTS – AN OVERVIEW

This brief overview will take into account only a simple declarative sentence and its main constituents as they are defined in main descriptive grammars of modern standard S and other pertinent reference sources. We shall pay special attention to defining the notions that are particularly relevant to the problem of *genus verbi*.

A simple sentence is defined as a “syntactic unit which denotes a certain situation”⁴¹ (Stanojčić 1989: 198). According to the same standpoint, a basic distinction should be made between the so-called predicative and special sentences. Predicative sentences, defined as a syntactic unit composed of a finite verb functioning as a predicate, can be personal (or ‘subjective-predicative’) and impersonal (*ibid.*, 199). Personal sentences are composed of a syntactically independent nominal constituent functioning as a subject. Impersonal sentences appear without a subject, whereas special sentences appear without a predicate (*ibid.*, 198-9). Generally speaking, a sentence in S is normally composed of two main constituents – nominal and verbal – with an important, though not numerous, group of impersonal sentences composed only of the verbal constituent.⁴²

One of the definitions of the subject of a sentence in the Slavonic languages maintains that “(...) the role of a (grammatically legitimate) subject has been assigned to every nominal word in the nominative which is not lexically part of a predicate. In

⁴¹ “(...) takva sintaksička jedinica kojom se označava određena situacija.”

⁴² This should not be confused with what was relatively recently termed as a ‘pro-drop’ or ‘null-subject’ parameter, etc within the theoretical ramification of the Chomskyan provenance. Moreover, M. Ivić (1983: 62 ff) was very critical even of the very first version of the Generative Theory, reminding us that the very basic postulate – that a sentence is a compulsory unit of nominal and verbal constituents – simply cannot be universal, or, at least, is not characteristic of Slavonic languages. S, being one of them, exhibits the syntactic reality that accepts a sentence with the verbal constituent only.

other words: in the Slavonic-speaking world the subject status is given to that sentential element having the characteristics that coordinates a certain morphological feature (the nominative case) with a certain distributional feature (not being part of a predicate)”⁴³ (Ivić 1983: 61). The subject is normally seen as the only independent part of a sentence, its central and main part (Stevanović 1974: 34). Furthermore, it is customary to make a further distinction between the so-called grammatical or syntactic subject, recognized by its nominative case form and the verb that agrees with it, and the logical or semantic subject, normally found in the oblique cases (most frequently in the dative, but also in the genitive and accusative), but the important feature is that the verb does not agree with it. Logical subjects are sometimes referred to as psychological (*ibid.*, 92, 571) and very often the terms are used as alternatives. In this context Ivić also reminds us that there is no direct correlation between agentivity and the subject of a sentence – in terms of agentivity the subject is semantically unmarked in S just as it is in many other languages (Ivić 1983: 70-1), so “(...) in principle all shades [of this correlation] are possible, from a prominently active role [of the subject] to prominently passive, including both of these extremes (...).”⁴⁴ (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). It is important to note here that there are grammarians (cf. Maretić 1963: 422) who would even argue that sentences such as:

/8/ Strah **me** je. I am afraid.
 fear-*nom* me-*acc* is⁴⁵

/9/ Zima **mi** je.⁴⁶ I feel cold.

⁴³ “(...) Ulogu (gramatički legitimog) subjekta preuzima na sebe svaka ona imenički upotrebljena reč u obliku nominativa koja ne ulazi u leksički sastav predikata. Drukčije rečeno: rang subjekta se u slovenskom jezičkom svetu dodeljuje onom rečeničnom elementu u čije odlike spada udruženost određenog morfološkog obeležja (nominativnog oblika) s određenim distribucionim svojstvom (s neulaženjem u sastav predikatske jedinice).”

⁴⁴ “Tu su u principu moguće sve nijanse od izrazito aktivne uloge do izrazito pasivne, uključujući oba ta ekstrema (...).”

⁴⁵ For easy reference, examples in S will be glossed only in Chapter 2. Namely, the work itself primarily addresses the audience with at least working knowledge of the structure and principles of the language, although it certainly remains open to scholars who might be interested to observe theoretical issues discussed or test the analytical model to be proposed on a different set of languages.

Cold-*nom* to me-*dat* is

simply do not have a subject at all, claiming that the nouns *strah* and *zima* are used adverbially, and denying the possibility that the pronouns (*me* and *mi*) could be functioning as the logical subject.

For the purpose of our analysis, and following Stevanović and Ivić, we shall adopt a viewpoint that in sentences such as /8/-/9/ nominal constituents in the oblique cases (dative, genitive and accusative) function as the logical subjects (semantic or psychological are also terms to be used here). These subjects can be both animate and inanimate, although animate ones seem to be appearing more frequently. Let us now briefly observe the notion of impersonal sentences and their grammatical features.

Impersonal sentences are far less numerous in S compared to, for instance, Russian. Their exact number is quite limited and they normally belong to several basic types. The most common type of an impersonal sentence is the one denoting natural, meteorological and cosmic phenomena. Here are some examples⁴⁷:

/10/	Grmi. thunders	It thunders.
/11/	Sviće. dawns	The day is dawning.
/12/	Smrkava se. gets dark <i>se</i>	It is getting dark.
/13/	Oblači se. gets cloudy <i>se</i>	The sky is getting cloudy.

⁴⁶ Examples taken from Maretić (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

⁴⁷ The structural similarity with languages such as Latin is noteworthy: cf. the impersonal use of verbs (i.e. 3rd person singular active form) in *pluit* 'it is raining', *tonat* 'it thunders', *ningit* 'it is snowing', *lucet* 'it is light', *advesperascit* 'it is getting late', etc.

Although it is clear that processes expressed in the above sentences must have an instigator, some kind of source or cause, it clearly cannot be expressed explicitly. This is precisely the main characteristic of impersonal sentences – the events and processes denoted by the verb cannot be semantically attached to any specific subject (cf. Stevanović 1974: 88). In terms of their grammatical form, these verbs, also known as impersonal, appear only in the third person singular – considered to be the least specific – and take the neuter grammatical concord. These characteristics are the major distinctive features of this quite specific group of verbs. It should be noted, though, that if they are used metaphorically, their grammatical paradigm becomes quite regular:

/14/ Razvedrilo se. The sky has cleared up.
cleared up-act part neut sing⁴⁸ se

/14a/ Oni se odjednom **razvedriše**. Suddenly, their faces lit up.
they se suddenly cleared up-aorist 3rd pl⁴⁹

On the other hand, some of these impersonal verbs can be attached to a specific subject, so it is possible to say:

/15/ Seva. It is lightning.
flashes

/15a/ Sevnula je **munja**. There was a flash of lightning.
Flashed-act part fem sing is-aux lightning-nom

A limited number of verbs denoting sensation and perception (*videti* ‘see’, *čuti* ‘hear’, *osetiti* ‘feel’, *mirisati* ‘smell’, etc) also belong to this category (*ibid.*, 91). For example:

/16/ Već se lepo **videlo**. One could already see clearly.
already se well seen-act part neut sing

⁴⁸ The form *razvedrilo* is the active participle of the verb *razvedriti* (*se*). The active participle is used in compound tenses (perfect, past perfect and future exact) and conditionals. It is inflected for number and gender (cf. also Kordić 1997: 34ff).

⁴⁹ Aorist is one of the marginal past tenses, formed from aspectually perfective verbs.

/17/ **Mirisalo je** na vlagu.⁵⁰ One could smell the damp in the air.
 Smelt-act part neut sing is-aux on damp-acc

This grammatical feature has also been observed in its wider Slavonic context, where impersonal sentences can denote similar segments of reality, such as atmospheric phenomena, psychological and physiological states and processes, presence or absence of a notion, etc. (cf. Stanojčić 1989: 233-4). The basic distinction between personal and impersonal types of sentences is shown on Fig. 11 (cf. also *ibid.*, 234). A contrastively relevant issue, though, is that, again, a huge lexical and grammatical diversity can be found even in languages of close linguistic affiliation when it comes to expressing these segments of reality. A further more comprehensive investigation within the contrastive framework would certainly be highly welcome.

	Personal sentence	Impersonal sentence
Subject	appears	does not exist
Verb form	finite; agrees with Subj	3 rd sing neut; does not agree
Meaning	situation attributed to Subj	situation realized without involvement of Subj

Fig. 11 Types of sentences in Serbian

A similar structure, sometimes referred to as impersonal, should be noted here as well. It is also known as the ‘reflexive’ or *se*-passive that occurs in many Slavonic languages, and Stanojčić (*ibid.*, 238) uses the term ‘impersonalized’ sentences (*obezličene rečenice*). The main characteristic is the omission of the subject normally because it cannot be specified, but its existence is notionally understood. The structure is, therefore, ‘deagentivized’, implying a collective subject to which the event has been attributed. Intransitive verbs predominantly appear in this construction (*ibid.*, 239). For example:

/18/ Nekada **se** retko **putovalo**. Once people used to travel rarely.

⁵⁰ Examples /16-/17/ are taken from Stevanović (*ibid.*, 91).

once *se* rarely travelled-act part neut sing

/19/ Do tog mesta **se** teško **stiže**.⁵¹ That place is difficult to reach.
to that place-gen *se* difficult comes

/20/ Tri dana **se jelo, pilo,** People ate, drank, sang and danced
three days *se* eaten drunk for three days.
pevalo i igralo.⁵²
sung and danced – *pres part neut sing*

We shall have a closer look at this structure later on.

Let us now focus on another main sentential constituent – the predicate. We shall observe how the main descriptive grammars and other relevant reference sources define it, paying special attention to the types of predication and their relationship with verbal transitivity. The overview will cover the main points only.

The predicate is traditionally seen as a sentence unit which attributes a quality to the subject. The quality attributed can denote either a characteristic of the subject, its state, or a process undertaken by it (cf. Stevanović 1974: 34). Normally three main types of predicates can be distinguished – verbal, nominal and adverbial. Nominal and adverbial predicates are expressed by means of a copulative verb, *biti* ‘be’ being among the most frequently used ones. But there is a group of other verbs that can function as copulative as well, such as: *postati* ‘become’, *zvati se*, ‘be called’, *prozvati* ‘give (sb) a name’, *imenovati* ‘name’, *oglasiti* ‘announce’, *moći* ‘can’, *hteti* ‘want’, *morati* ‘must’, *početi* ‘start’, *stati* ‘stop’, *trebati* ‘need’, etc. (cf. Stevanović *s.a.*: 279).

Closely connected to the question of the types of predicate is the notion of the object – a constituent that serves as a verbal complement. The object is expressed by a

⁵¹ Examples /18/-/19/ taken from Stanojčić (*ibid.*, 238-9).

⁵² Example /20/ is taken from Stevanović (*ibid.*, 94).

nominal unit, which, depending on the verbal government (originally *glagolska rekcija*), can appear in the accusative, genitive, instrumental and locative cases. The type of verbal government will also determine the type of the object – direct or indirect (cf. Stanojčić 1989: 217-20). The direct object is defined as a “nominal expression complementing a transitive verb”⁵³ (*ibid.*, 218) and appearing normally in the accusative. Under special semantic conditions, though, the direct object can appear in the genitive as well. For example:

- /21/ Nije rekao **ni reči**. He did not say a word.
 is not-*aux* said-*act part masc sing* no word-*gen*
- /22/ Cele noći nisam **oka** sklopio.⁵⁴ I did not sleep a wink all night along.
 All night am not-*aux* eye-*gen* closed-*act part masc sing*

This particular phenomenon can be best understood in its wider Slavonic context. Namely, in Common Slavonic transitive verbs in the negative form used to govern a genitive object. The phenomenon can also be observed in other languages, such as Lithuanian or Finnish. In S grammatical tradition it is common practice to refer to the genitive used in this way as to the Slavonic genitive (cf. Stevanović 1974: 79), defined as a complement to negative transitive verbs and not being involved in the action of the verb itself (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). It should be noted, though, that this pattern has not been very well preserved in S compared to some other Slavonic languages, such as Russian. In modern S it is stylistically marked, producing the effect of an archaic usage⁵⁵.

⁵³ (...) “imenički izraz kojim se dopunjava prelazni (tranzitivni) glagol.”

⁵⁴ Examples /21-/22/ are taken from Stanojčić (*ibid.*, 218).

⁵⁵ It is noteworthy in this context that Moravcsik (1978) sees these structures as, what she calls, ergative patterns in non-ergative languages, obliquely marked objects and intransitive subject being among them. For a more comprehensive overview of Moravcsik’s standpoints cf. note 102.

Another type of the direct object in the genitive is the so-called partitive direct object, denoting that the notion expressed by the object is only partially involved in the semantics of the verb. For example:

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| /23/ | Uzmi kolača!
take cakes- <i>gen</i> | Help yourself to some cakes! |
| /24/ | Donesi mleka! ⁵⁶
bring milk- <i>gen</i> | Bring some milk! |

It is important to observe, though, that the objects illustrated in /21/-/24/ are all direct objects governed by transitive verbs and they can appear in the accusative as well. That is, according to Stanojčić (*ibid.*, 218), the basic test that makes it possible to distinguish between the direct and indirect objects. For example, *piti* ‘drink’ can be followed by an object in both the accusative and genitive, while *napiti se* ‘drink up, quench one’s thirst’ can appear only with a genitive object:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| /25a/ | piti vodu-acc / vode-gen | drink (some) water |
| /25b/ | napiti se vode-gen / * vodu-acc | drink up the water |

In other words, in /25a/ both *vodu* and *vode* function as direct objects of the transitive verb *piti*. To make a further distinction between these two types, though, it is customary to refer to an accusative direct object as an unmarked structure and a genitive direct object as a marked one (cf. Ivić 1967: 989-90).

From the semantic point of view, though, the difference between unmarked and marked structures can be further defined in a more precise way. What should be noted in this context is that unmarked direct objects denote that “(a) (...) the action of the verb is directed towards the entire mass of the item conceived as D[irect] O[bject]; (b) (...) the agent and DO (i.e. the goal of the action) are two different entities; (c) (...)

⁵⁶ Examples /23/-/24/ are taken from Ivić (1967: 989).

the DO function belongs to an identified item” (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). Marked structures, on the other hand, should be understood in the following way: “(a’) the action is directed towards only a part of the item conceived as DO, or (b’) the agent and the goal of the action are in fact the same entity, or (c’) the DO function belongs to an non-identified entity” (*ibid.*, 990). Markedness explained in (a’) refers to those instances in which the genitive functions as a direct object and depends solely on the specific lexical meaning of the nominal constituent functioning as a direct object. This type of markedness is particularly common in situations when the direct object denotes an easily quantifiable entity (e.g. mass nouns or nouns in the plural form) (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). The difference in meaning between the accusative and partitive objects in the following examples is rather detectable:

/26a/ Kupio sam **knjige**. I have bought **the books**.
 bought-*act part masc sing am-aux* books-*acc*

/26b/ Kupio sam **knjigā**.⁵⁷ I have bought **some books**.
 bought-*act part masc sing am-aux* books-*gen*

Ivić explains that the accusative direct object exemplified in /26a/ has a referential interpretation, whereas the genitive one in /26b/ is generic. The accusative, though, can also be used in a generic sense, but the genitive cannot be used referentially. That is another reason why it is treated as a marked structure (Ivić 1983: 117). The phrase structure of referential and generic interpretation of the direct object as defined above (exemplified in /26a/ and /26b/) is presented in Fig. 12 (cf. *ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

Markedness in (b’) and (c’), however, depends exclusively on the semantics of the verb itself – *se*-verb, to be more precise. This is also an important point we shall have

⁵⁷ Examples /34a/-/34b/ are taken from Ivić (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*)

a closer look at later on, when we examine the nature of *se*-verbs in more detail. So we are going to leave it here for the time being.

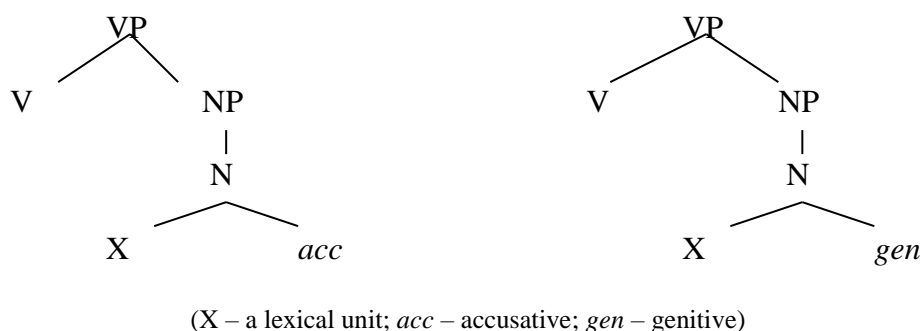


Fig. 12 Phrase structure of referential and generic direct objects

Let us now focus on the indirect object and the way it can be governed by a verb. The indirect object has been defined as a nominal unit complementing an intransitive verb. Depending on a verb that governs it, the indirect object can appear in any oblique case; the accusative and locative always appear in a prepositional phrase, the genitive and instrumental can appear both in a prepositional phrase or stand alone, whereas the dative predominantly stands alone (Stanojčić 1989: 219). It is not always possible to draw a clear line of demarcation between different types of indirect objects governed by a verb, simply because the complex semantics of certain verbs can require different types of complementation, or, for instance, a verb can allow two or more different ways of complementation. Here are some typical examples of indirect object complementation and verbs they are governed by (cf. *ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). The list is by no means exhaustive.

Indirect object complementation

Partitive genitive

Verbs that govern it

najesti se ‘stuff oneself’, *napiti se* ‘drink one’s fill’, *prihvatiti se* ‘begin to do sth’, *zaželeti se* ‘long’, *domoći se* ‘reach’, *etc.*

Ablative genitive	<i>čuvati se</i> ‘keep away’, <i>osloboditi se</i> ‘set free’, <i>sećati se</i> ‘remember’, <i>bojati se</i> ‘fear’, <i>stideti se</i> ‘be ashamed of’, etc.
(<i>od</i> +) genitive	<i>odučiti se</i> ‘break of a habit, give up’, <i>stideti se</i> ‘feel ashamed’, <i>zavisiti</i> ‘depend on’, <i>uzdržati se</i> ‘refrain from’, <i>odustati</i> ‘change one’s mind, give up, etc.
dative	<i>obratiti se</i> ‘turn to sb’, <i>zahvaliti (se)</i> ‘thank, express gratitude’, <i>diviti se</i> ‘admire’, <i>radovati se</i> ‘rejoice’, <i>verovati</i> ‘trust’, etc.
<i>prema</i> + dative	<i>ohladneti</i> ‘turn cold’, etc.
<i>na</i> + accusative	<i>ličiti</i> ‘look like’, <i>misliti</i> ‘think about’, <i>navići se</i> ‘get used to’, <i>odvažiti se</i> ‘get up courage to do sth’, etc.
<i>u</i> + accusative	<i>sumnjati</i> ‘doubt’, <i>zaljubiti se</i> ‘fall in love with’, <i>uveriti se</i> ‘convince oneself of’, <i>uživeti se</i> ‘get accustomed to’, etc.
<i>za</i> + accusative	<i>zalagati se</i> ‘support, intercede in favour of’, <i>opredeliti se</i> ‘decide’, <i>zanimati se</i> ‘be interested in’, <i>interesovati se</i> ‘be interested in’, etc.
<i>o</i> + accusative	<i>ogrešiti se</i> ‘offend, violate’, etc.
instrumental	<i>upravljati</i> ‘control’, <i>vladati</i> ‘rule’, <i>služiti se</i> ‘make use of’, <i>koristiti se</i> ‘make use of’, <i>baviti se</i> ‘go in for’, <i>oduševiti se</i> ‘be delighted with, be enthusiastic about’, etc.
<i>s(a)</i> + instrumental	<i>početi</i> ‘begin with’, <i>nastaviti</i> ‘carry on with’, <i>prestati</i> ‘stop, cease’, <i>saosećati</i> ‘sympathise with’, etc.
<i>za</i> + instrumental	<i>čeznuti</i> ‘long’, <i>žudeti</i> ‘long’, <i>žaliti</i> ‘mourn, be sorry for’, <i>tugovati</i> ‘grieve for’, etc.
<i>o</i> + locative	<i>govoriti</i> ‘talk about’, <i>misliti</i> ‘think about’, <i>sanjati</i> ‘dream about’, etc.

<i>u</i> + locative	<i>učestvovati</i> ‘take part in’, <i>uživati</i> ‘enjoy’, <i>uspjeti</i> ‘succeed’, <i>etc.</i>
<i>na</i> + locative	<i>iskaliti se</i> ‘vent one’s anger’, <i>zasnivati se</i> ‘base, found’, <i>insistirati</i> ‘insist on’, <i>etc.</i>

Fig. 13 Types of indirect object complementation

As it can be clearly observed, the majority of verbs that govern indirect object complements are actually *se*-verbs. It might be useful to have a closer look at some of the structures mentioned above and offer further clarification.

The dative is certainly the most frequent case of the indirect object complementation. It has been traditionally defined as the case denoting the entity that the action of the verb has been directed to and is commonly used with the so-called *verba commodi* and *verba incommodi* as well as some verb denoting physical or mental states.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| /27/ | Divi se njenoj lepoti .
admires <i>se</i> her beauty- <i>dat</i> | He admires her beauty. |
| /28/ | Smučilo mu <i>se</i> . ⁵⁸
felt sick- <i>act part neut sing</i> to him- <i>dat se</i> | He was sick of everything. |

Some verbs denoting physical and mental states have already been commented on particularly in connection with the notion of the so-called psychological subject. Notionally, it is possible to notice a close similarity between the examples /8/-/9/ and /28/. Namely, the dative complement in /28/, semantically speaking, can be defined as the entity to whom/which the state denoted by the verb refers to (cf. Stevanović 1974: 82), which is notionally quite close to the idea of the psychological subject itself. On the other hand, verbs of mental states such as *diviti se* ‘admire’, *radovati se* ‘rejoice, be happy’, *čuditi se* ‘wonder’, all govern the dative object complements. It is

⁵⁸ Example /28/ is taken from Stevanović (1974: 81).

interesting to note, though, that these complements are sometimes thought to be functioning adverbially. Stevanović is of the opinion that they should be treated as complements (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

Genitive complements can also denote the source of the action expressed by the verb.

For example:

/29/ Spasao se **velike bede**. He saved himself from that big misery.
 saved-act part masc sing se big misery-gen

/30/ Klonili su se **te napasti**.⁵⁹ They stayed away from all the trouble.
 Stayed away-past part pl are se this trouble-gen

It is important to notice that there is a group of verbs which govern two object complements, due to their specific semantic structure. These verbs normally belong to the semantic scope of giving (*dati* ‘give’, *pokloniti* ‘donate’, *dodati* ‘pass’, *uručiti* ‘deliver’, *poslati* ‘send’, etc) and communication (*reći* ‘say’, *pričati* ‘tell’, *saopštiti* ‘announce’, *napisati* ‘write’, *pročitati* ‘read’, etc.), governing the indirect object in the dative and the direct object (*ibid.*, 220). It is possible, admittedly only exceptionally, for a transitive verb of a special semantic structure to govern two direct objects. Verbs such as *učiti* ‘teach’, *pitati* ‘ask’, *moliti* ‘ask for a favour’, etc belong to this category.

For example:

/31/ Učitelj **nas** je naučio The teacher has taught us a nice poem.
 teacher-nom us-acc is-aux taught-act part masc sing
jednu lepu pesmu.
 one nice poem-acc

/32/ Molio bih **te jednu stvar**.⁶⁰ Could I ask you for a favour?
 asked-act part masc sing want-aux you-acc one thing-acc

⁵⁹ Examples /29/-/30/ are taken from Stevanović (1974: 82)

⁶⁰ Examples /31/-/32/ are taken from Stevanović (1974: 78)

The following can be reiterated. This overview has a task to take a closer look at a simple declarative sentence in S. A basic distinction has been made between personal and impersonal sentences, the latter being looked at more closely. Main sentential constituents have been defined, more specifically psychological subjects appearing in oblique cases as well as direct and indirect objects. Types of indirect object complementation have been discussed with regard to verbal government issues. A large number of these verbs are the *se*-verbs.

2.3.3 TRANSITIVITY AND RELATED QUESTIONS – AN OVERVIEW

The question of verbal transitivity in S grammatical tradition is closely connected to the question of verbal genus in a wider sense of the term and it is normally discussed within this grammatical category. Furthermore, the question of reflexivity also stands very close to these issues. This is the way we are going to introduce and have a closer look at these issues.

20th century grammarians, as it has just been pointed out, place verbal transitivity within the category of verbal genus in a wider sense of the term⁶¹, and a possible explanation can be as follows: “Since transitivity and intransitivity of the verb are determined by the object of the verbal process in relation to its subject, which is also the question of verbal genus in a narrower sense, we are not inclined to separate the

⁶¹ Here it is important to note, though, that Aleksandar Belić (cf. 1962: 207) criticized this widespread opinion, claiming that transitivity should not be classified as part of the category of verbal genus. But in some previous work (cf. 1941: 420) his standpoint as regards this issue was in accord with the mainstream line of argument, maintaining that there are two basic groups of verbal genera: a) when the object of the verb is beyond the semantic scope of the subject and b) when the object falls within the scope of the subject. The latter group, according to Belić, is composed of the three main subgroups: 1) verbs denoting mental states (the object falls within the scope of the subject, but it is not a direct object of the verbal action), b) reflexive verbs (the object of the verbal action is coreferential to the subject) and c) passive (the subject is being acted upon).

categories of transitivity and intransitivity from the category of verbal genus, considering them to be part of the question of verbal genus in a wider sense of the term.”⁶² (Stevanović 1974: 550). The category of verbal genus in a wider sense of the term, including transitive, intransitive and reflexive verbs, essentially makes a distinction between the verbs that require a direct object, either expressed or recoverable from the context, and the verbs that do not (cf. Stanojčić 1989: 97). Let us have a closer look at each of these categories and the way they are defined in the relevant reference grammatical literature.

A transitive verb denotes an action which, in order to be accomplished, needs a separate entity entirely outside the subject itself (cf. Stevanović 1974: 551). According to this standpoint, there are four main groups of transitive verbs that can be distinguished according to the basic semantic information they bear:

- 1) creative, denoting an action the accomplishment of which creates a new entity represented by the object acted upon (such as *graditi* ‘build’, *pisati* ‘write’, *načiniti* ‘create’, etc.);
- 2) transformational, denoting an action the accomplishment of which creates a new quality or a new form of the object acted upon (e.g. *seći* ‘cut’, *prati* ‘wash’, *obrisati* ‘wipe out’, etc.);
- 3) verbs of motion, denoting an action the accomplishment of which entails a change of place of the object acted upon (*baciti* ‘throw’, *doneti* ‘bring’, *sipati* ‘pour’, etc.);

⁶² “Pošto se prelaznost i neprelaznost glagola određuje objektom glagolskog procesa u odnosu na njegov subjekat, a u tome odnosu se ogleda i glagolski rod u užem smislu, mi ni kategorije prelaznosti i neprelaznosti ne odvajamo sasvim od glagolskog roda, već ih ubrajamo u glagolski rod u širem smislu.”

- 4) neutral, denoting an action the accomplishment of which does not entail any visible change of the object acted upon (*e.g. posetiti* ‘visit’, *pročitati* ‘read’, *sačekati* ‘wait’, etc.) (cf. *ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

It is important to notice that there is a special group of verbs, normally referred to as quasi-transitive (originally *nepravi prelazni*), simply defined as verbs which govern an object complement other than the accusative. We have briefly discussed these object complements in oblique cases in the previous section.

Intransitive verbs, on the other hand, denote “a process the accomplishment of which does not require any object beyond the subject”⁶³ (*ibid.*, 551), such as *sedeti* ‘sit’, *ležati* ‘lie’, *trčati* ‘run’, *tugovati* ‘mourn’, *sušiti se* ‘wither’, *bledeti* ‘fade away’, *rasti* ‘grow’, etc. The important thing to note here is that the grammarians normally consider intransitive even those verbs the accomplishment of which involves certain changes of the subject itself. That aspect of intransitivity is an important piece of evidence that the object is notionally involved in the semantic scope of the subject (*ibid.*, 552). This is the reason why it is possible to talk about the same four basic groups of intransitive verbs according to the semantic information they bear:

- a) creative intransitive verbs, denoting that an entity is being created, is appearing, coming into existence, such as the verbs denoting natural and meteorological phenomena (*e.g. vedri se* ‘the sky is clearing’, *oblači se* ‘the sky is getting cloudy’, *smrkava se* ‘it is getting dark’, *grmi* ‘it thunders’, etc.);
- b) transformational intransitive verbs, denoting some qualitative change of the subject, such as *rasti* ‘grow’, *cvetati* ‘blossom’, *mršaviti* ‘lose weight’, etc.;

⁶³ “(...) bilo kakav proces za čije vršenje nije potreban nikakav objekat izvan subjekta”.

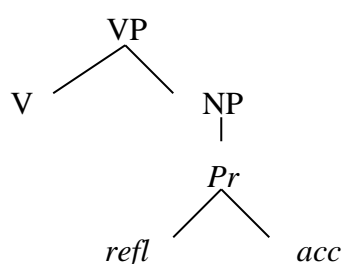
- c) intransitive verbs of motion, denoting a change of place of the subject, such as *ići* ‘go’, *trčati* ‘run’, *skakati* ‘jump’, *putovati* ‘travel’, etc.;
- d) neutral intransitive verbs are far more numerous, denoting no change whatsoever in the status of the subject they refer to (*sedeti* ‘sit’, *nalaziti se* ‘be situated’, *dremati* ‘snooze’, *strahovati* ‘fear’, etc.) (*ibid.*, 553).

It is certainly very important to emphasize that intransitive verbs in S can be both active and middle, and they cannot be passivized. Traditionally, particularly in the Slavonic context, active verbal voice has been associated with transitivity, while middleness has been placed close to intransitivity, which is the standpoint derived from some ancient grammarians (cf. *ibid.*, *loc.cit.*)⁶⁴. Stevanović, however, is of the opinion that those intransitive verbs which denote a change of position or a change of state of the subject performed by the subject itself can be regarded as active; whereas middle verbs are those which denote an internal emotional response or a mental state that the subject comes into involuntarily, invoked by an unspecified source. Stevanović maintains that middle verbs can be both transitive and intransitive (*ibid.*, 555). What should not go unnoticed in this context, however, is the way this traditional concept of verbal middleness corresponds with some quite recent cognitivist approaches to the phenomenon. Their compatibility is to be observed primarily in the fact that both the traditional grammatical school of thought and cognitivist approaches to language analysis are essentially semantically oriented. Pedagogical implications are quite obvious and modern language teaching methodology is increasingly becoming aware of the advantages of this fact. We shall come back to this point and observe in it more detail in our concluding remarks.

⁶⁴ This is also quite close to Kemmer’s view (1993) presented in Chapter 1. She maintains that middleness, characterized by low degree of distinguishability of participants, approaches intransitive end of the transitivity/intransitivity continuum.

Shifting the focus to the category of reflexive verbs and their status within the wider question of verbal transitivity, it is necessary to make an initial distinction between the basic types of reflexive verbs. The relevant reference sources maintain that these are:

- 1) pure reflexive verbs, denoting an action that the subject does on itself; the morpheme *se* here functions as the accusative form of the reflexive pronoun *sebe* (e.g. *češljati se* ‘comb (oneself)’, *umivati se* ‘wash one’s face’, *kupati se* ‘bathe’, *spremiti se* ‘get ready’, etc.);
- 2) reciprocal verbs, denoting an action that two subjects do reciprocally (e.g. *tući se* ‘fight’, *sprijateljiti se* ‘become friends’, *ljubiti se* ‘kiss’, *zagrliti se* ‘hug’, etc.);
- 3) quasi-reflexive verbs, a numerous group of complex and elaborate semantics, recognized by the fact that the morpheme *se* here does not represent the accusative of *sebe* (such as *nadati se* ‘hope’, *čuditi se* ‘wonder’, *ljutiti se* ‘be angry’, *bojati se* ‘be afraid’, etc.) (*ibid.*, 553).



(*Pr* – particle; *refl* – reflexive; *acc* – accusative)

Fig. 14 Phrase structure of pure reflexivity

Pure reflexivity in S grammatical tradition is defined as the situation in which the morpheme *se* functions as the direct object that is coreferential with the agent of the

action (Ivić 1967: 991). The phrase structure diagram of pure reflexivity shows that *se* appears on the right hand side branching (cf. Fig. 14; also *ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

The scope of pure reflexivity is notionally significantly widened in Stevanović's understanding of the problem. Namely, he is of the opinion that pure reflexivity can be recognized in the meaning of the verbs denoting the change of the position of the subject including its spatial movement, but only when the subject has the feature [+animate]. If the subject is [-animate] Stevanović maintains that the verb does not denote pure reflexivity, but rather middleness, or even the passive idea, particularly if the change of the position has been accomplished by means of a force outside the subject itself (cf. *ibid.*, 558-9). The verbs that would belong to this classification are: *šetati se* 'go for a walk', *dići se* 'rise', *sniziti se* 'diminish oneself', *zaleteti se* 'speed up', *skloniti se* 'hide', *okretati se* 'revolve', *zaustaviti se* 'stop oneself', *odmaći se* 'detach oneself', *nasloniti se* 'lean (against)', *povlačiti se* 'retreat oneself', etc. It is certainly noteworthy to observe that most of these verbs can appear without the morpheme *se*, in which case can become either quasi-transitive and govern indirect objects or transitive verbs with the accusative direct objects. For example:

/33/ *šetati se* / *šetati psa* go for a walk / walk the dog
 walk *se-refl* / walk dog-acc

As far as the relationship between reflexivity and transitivity is concerned, one can also note that in the relevant reference literature reflexive verbs are actually classified as intransitive because "the action [of the verb] is confined to the subject (...) without being extended to any other entity"⁶⁵ (Maretić 1963: 512). Reflexivity, according to this standpoint, is defined as denoting a spontaneous, non-initiated action or state (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*), which can be exemplified in the following:

⁶⁵ "radnja ostaje u subjektu (...) i ne prelazi na drugi predmet."

- /34/ Drvo se suši. The tree is withering away.
tree-*nom se* withers
- /35/ Mesec se okreće oko zemlje.⁶⁶ The Moon revolves round the Sun.
moon-*nom se* revolves round sun-*gen*

Although the morpheme *se* in the above examples has lost its primary meaning, it has nevertheless retained its force to prevent the appearance of an accusative direct object after the verb. The morpheme *se* can be understood here as an expression of verbal intransitivity, which is why it can also be found with some clearly intransitive verbs – just to intensify the effect. That is precisely the reason why it is possible to find the following sequences: *bleštati / bleštati se* ‘glare, sparkle’, *blistati / blistati se* ‘shine’, *sijati / sijati se* ‘shine, beam’, *dimiti / dimiti se* ‘give out smoke’, *brinuti / brinuti se* ‘worry’, *mrznuti / mrznuti se* ‘freeze’, *drveniti / drveniti se* ‘stiffen’, *penušati / penušati se* ‘foam’, *raspući / raspući se* ‘crack’, *zaplakati / zaplakati se* ‘weep, burst into tears’, *ućutati / ućutati se* ‘remain silent’, etc (cf. *ibid.*, 513; also Stevanović 1974: 567). Namely, these verbs can appear with or without the morpheme *se* without any substantial change of meaning. The only detectable difference in the above examples can be observed at the stylistic level and the presence of the morpheme *se*, on its own semantically empty, is to be understood as the intensifier of verbal intransitivity.

Reciprocity, on the other hand, is traditionally defined as denoting the action that two or more subjects perform on each other or towards each other (cf. *ibid.*, 559). The morpheme *se* can be replaced by the reciprocal pronoun *jedan drugog / jedni gruge* ‘each other / one another’ (cf. Fig. 15; also Ivić 1967: 992-3). Reciprocal verbs are, according to Stevanović, active only, while Ivić is of the opinion that they can be

⁶⁶ The classification we are going to adopt here will not consider /34/-/35/ as reflexive. Nevertheless, our opinion is that it is important to illustrate the diversity of opinion as regards this category and relevant issues in the pertinent reference literature.

considered to be active and passive simultaneously, bearing in mind that the subjects act and are acted upon (cf. Ivić 1967: 991). Some of the verbs typically belonging to this group are: *svadjati se* ‘quarrel’, *tući se* ‘fight’, *udarati se* ‘kick each other’, *prepirati se* ‘argue’, *sresti se* ‘meet’, *dogovoriti se* ‘agree, come to an agreement’, *rastati se* ‘part, take leave’, *venčati se* ‘marry’, *voleti se* ‘love each other’, etc. A very important feature of the category of reciprocal verbs in S is that some of them can appear without the morpheme *se*, which is not the case with pure reflexive verbs; so, for example *pričati* ‘talk’, *razgovarati* ‘converse, discuss’, *ratovati* ‘wage war, fight’, etc. are all notionally reciprocal verbs (cf. Stevanović 1974: 561).

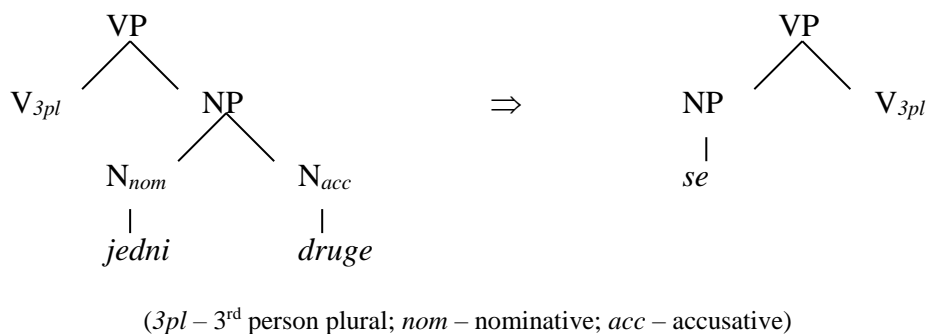


Fig. 15 Phrase structure of reciprocity

Summarizing the important points, we can reiterate the following. 20th century grammarians see verbal transitivity as part of verbal genus in a wider sense, where they distinguish between transitive, intransitive and reflexive verbs. Transitive verbs, denoting an action the accomplishment of which entails a separate entity entirely outside the subject itself, semantically can be classified into four main groups: creative, transformational, verbs of motion and neutral. Some grammarians speak about the so-called quasi-transitive verbs, referring to those verbs which govern object complements in cases other than the accusative. Intransitive verbs, on the other hand, denote a process the accomplishment of which does not require any object beyond the

subject. In S these verbs can be both active and middle and cannot be passivized. Semantically, it is possible to distinguish between the four basic groups: creative, transformational, verbs of motion and neutral. Reflexive verbs, though, can denote pure reflexivity, reciprocity, or can be the so-called quasi-reflexive. Pure reflexivity is the situation notionally recognized as the coreference between the direct object and the agent of the action, and the morpheme *se* represents the shortened form of the pronoun *sebe* in the accusative. Reciprocal verbs refer to the action that two or more subjects perform on each other or towards each other, and the morpheme *se* can be replaced by the reciprocal pronoun *jedan drugog/jedni druge*. Finally, quasi-reflexive verbs are semantically very complex and heterogeneous. As far as the relationship between reflexivity and transitivity is concerned, there are grammarians who would claim that the morpheme *se* should be understood as an expression of verbal intransitivity, which is why all *se*-verbs, according to this standpoint, are classified as intransitive as well.

2.3.4 QUASI-REFLEXIVE VERBS – MEANING AND FUNCTION

This section will try to shed some more light on the category of the so-called quasi-reflexive verbs, which have been briefly defined in the previous section. Namely, those verbs accompanied by the morpheme *se* which cannot be understood as the accusative form of the reflexive pronoun *sebe* are to be treated as quasi-reflexive. This is a very numerous group of verbs, semantically diverse. Linguistic tradition, however, is not consistent in describing and defining them. As we did in the previous sections, we shall give a short and systematic descriptive account of this grammatical category, focusing on the major characteristics of its grammatical paradigm.

One of our aims here is to draw a possible line of demarcation between the notions of reflexivity and middleness, the prototypical representation of which has already been observed. It is now certainly noteworthy to have a closer look at the category of the so-called quasi-reflexive verbs, focusing particularly on meaning and function of the morpheme *se*, designated sometimes as the ‘empty’ morph. This attempt to examine and define its main properties will again rely on the main descriptive S grammars and other pertinent sources. Finally, the morpheme *se* will be observed in a taxonomic perspective, which will try to define its major characteristics, linking, on the one hand, its meaning and function and prototypical representation of reflexivity and middleness, on the other.

As has already been pointed out, the term ‘quasi-reflexive verbs’ refer to all categories of the *se*-verbs excluding pure reflexive and reciprocal ones (cf. Stevanović 1974: 561). The morpheme *se* itself is interpretable within the semantic range of the accusative, dative and genitive cases. The accusative meaning of *se* has already been observed in the grammatical manifestations of pure reflexivity. Let us now briefly focus on its dative and genitive semantic domains.

There is a group of quasi-reflexive verbs where *se* expresses a benefactive meaning within the semantic range of the dative. Verbs such as *sažaliti se* ‘feel sorry, pity’, *bojati se* ‘fear’, *brinuti se* ‘worry’, *diviti se* ‘admire’, *nadati se* ‘hope’, *moliti se* ‘pray’, etc belong to this category (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). The dative semantic characteristics of the morpheme *se* in the mentioned examples is recoverable in their interpretation rephrased in the following way: *sažaliti se sebi* ‘pity oneself’, *bojati se za sebe* ‘fear

for oneself', *moliti se za sebe, u svom interesu* 'pray for oneself, in one's own interest', etc. (*ibid.*, 562). The dative meaning has still been preserved is still recoverable in *domoći se* 'acquire, grab sth, manage to get', *koristiti se* 'make use of', *poslužiti se* 'help oneself', etc (*ibid.*, 563-4).

In certain types of *se*-verbs, however, it is still possible to observe the original ablative meaning of the morpheme *se*. Some of these verbs are of inchoative type, such as *beleti se* 'become white', *crneti se* 'become black', *rumeneti se* 'blush', *žuteti se* 'turn yellow', *zeleneti se* 'turn green', etc. (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). Finally, there are *se*-verbs where *se* still bears the semantic information of the ablative genitive that originally existed in the language. Such are the verbs *rugati se* 'mock', *zahvaljivati se* 'thank', *tužiti se* 'complain', etc.

Among quasi-reflexive verbs there is a quite numerous group represented by verbs that semantically belong to the middle idea in the traditional sense. Some of them are characterized by the features [-animate], [-human], denoting processes the accomplishment of which does not include any volitional activity of the subject itself. Moreover, since the subject is inanimate, these processes occur spontaneously, emphasizing the state which the subject has been undergoing. In case the subject is [+animate], these verbs actually denote the mental state or mood of the subject (*ibid.*, 565). Here are some of the verbs that belong to this category: *primicati se* 'approach', *pomaljati se* 'become visible', *širiti se* 'expand', *hvatati se* 'stick, adhere', *izviti se* 'bend, curve', *izdizati se* 'rise', *pomerati se* 'move', *gubiti se* 'disappear, lose consciousness', *zaustaviti se* 'stop', *okretati se* 'revolve', *primaći se* 'come close',

opustiti se ‘relax’, *rastegnuti se* ‘stretch’, *nabrati se* ‘wrinkle, crease’, *dići se* ‘rise’, *vući se* ‘drag’, etc. (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). For example:

- /36/ **Udubio se** u misli. He became engrossed in his thoughts.
engrossed-act part masc sing se in thoughts-acc
- /37/ **Oseti se** osramoćen. He felt ashamed.
felt-aorist 3rd sing se ashamed-pass part masc sing⁶⁷
- /38/ Dečak je brzo stao da **se menja**. The boy started to change quickly.
boy is-aux quickly started-act part masc sing that se changes
- /39/ Beznadje i čamotinja Hopelessness and loneliness have
hopelessness and loneliness been thickening and settling.
se zgušnjavaju i talože.
se thicken and settle
- /40/ Zimske magle **vuku se** nad rekom. The winter fog is dragging over the river.
winter fog-nom pl drag se above river-instr
- /41/ **Mrak se hvata**.⁶⁸ It is getting dark.
darkness se sticks

Regarding this traditional definition of middleness, two important issues are to be borne in mind. First of all, S grammatical tradition maintains that both animate and inanimate subjects can convey the idea of middleness. Secondly, the above definition focuses on exactly the same key points that some quite recent theories emphasized. Thus, for example, we have adopted the standpoint that, following Manney 2000, middleness is notionally characterized either by a noninitiative emotional response or a spontaneous change of state. Subjects with the feature [+animate], [+human] are predominantly to be found as expressing a noninitiative emotional response, while [-animate] subject can be recognized as undergoing a spontaneous change of state. This quite recent theoretical standpoint clearly does not contradict the above definition of middleness. We shall come back to this point again.

⁶⁷ The passive participle is inflected for gender and number. It is normally used for forming the passive, but can also function as a proper adjective (cf. also Kordić 1997: 35).

⁶⁸ Examples /36/-/41/ are taken from Stevanović (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

Middle verbs in the traditional grammatical perception can also be found among those quasi-reflexive verbs that govern an object complement in any oblique case apart from the accusative. The majority of these verbs are the verbs of emotion and cognition, defined by Stevanović as denoting “a process initiated in the subject without its proper activity, without a conscious involvement of its will and energy”⁶⁹ (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*); that process has been initiated by an entity outside the subject itself, causing the state that the subject has entered into. Some of the verbs mentioned in this case are *tresti se* ‘tremble’, *ponositi se* ‘pride oneself’, *ljutiti se* ‘get angry’, *bojati se* ‘be afraid’, *čuditi se* ‘wonder’, *nadati se* ‘hope’, *setiti se* ‘remember’, *navići se* ‘get used to’, *sekirati se* ‘worry’, etc (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). Here are some examples:

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| /42/ | Tu se starac valjda priseti .
here <i>se</i> old man probably
remembered-aorist 3 rd sing | At that point the old man probably
remembered it. |
| /43/ | Ljuti se na tebe.
gets angry on you-acc | He is angry with you. |
| /44/ | On se još nadao da će kurir doći. ⁷⁰
he <i>se</i> still hoped-act part masc sing
that will-aux courier come-inf | He still had some hope that the courier
would come. |

Furthermore, middleness of this type can also be found among certain categories of reciprocals, such as *voleti se* ‘love each other’, *želeti se* ‘want each other’, *ceniti se* ‘appreciate each other’, *poštovati se* ‘respect each other’, etc (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

It should be reiterated that only the verbs denoting “mental states or moods, or their unconscious, instinctive manifestations”⁷¹ belong to this category. This is yet another

⁶⁹ “(...) proces nastao u subjektu bez njegove prave aktivnosti, bez svesnog angažovanja njegove volje i energije.”

⁷⁰ Examples /42/-/44/ are taken from Stevanović (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

⁷¹ “(...) duševna stanja ili raspoloženja, odnosno nesvesne, nagonске njihove manifestacije.”

instance in which the traditional definition of middleness comes quite close to the one we are employing here. Stevanović's understanding of a process performed without a conscious involvement of the subject is perfectly compatible with our understanding of a noninitiative emotional response, representing one aspect of core middleness as defined previously.

Among the quasi-reflexive forms a very prominent place belongs to the so-called reflexive passive, characterized by "the passivity of the role of their subject in the activity denoted by the predicate, which is effectively carried out by an external force, an external agent onto the grammatical subject"⁷² (*ibid.*, 567-8). For example:

/45/	Krovovi obrasli roofs overgrown-act part masc pl mahovinom jedva se raspoznaju . moss-instr hardly se recognize	The roofs overgrown with moss can hardly be recognized.
/46/	To je onaj deo mosta it is that part (of) bridge-gen koji se zove ćuprija. which se calls ćuprija	It is that part of the bridge which is called ćuprija.
/47/	Tu se izlažu i prodaju here se display and sell prve trešnje. ⁷³ first cherries-acc	The first cherries are displayed and sold here.

It is very important to notice, though, that it is not always possible to draw a clear-cut line of demarcation between the semantic domains of the *se*-passive construction and middleness. There are cases in which only the focal point will distinguish between the two: if the emphasis is put on the state of the subject rather than on the action itself, the verb can be understood as middle, and *vice versa* (*ibid.*, 569). Thus, /45/-/47/ can

⁷² "(...) pasivnost uloge njihova subjekta u predikatom označenim radnjama koje stvarno vrši kakva spoljna sila, spoljni vršilac na gramatičkom subjektu."

⁷³ Examples /45/-/47/ are taken from Stevanović (*ibid.*, 568).

be understood as emphasizing the action, whereas /48/-/49/ focus on the state of the subject itself:

/48/ **Zasjeniše** mu **se** oči. His eyes got blinded.
got blinded-*aorist* 3rd *pl* him-*dat* *se* eyes-*nom*

/49/ Pred njim **se stvori** stravična slika.⁷⁴ A horrific scene appeared in front of him.
in front of him-*instr* *se* appeared-*aorist* 3rd *sing* horrific scene-*nom*

Although there is a striking structural similarity between the impersonal construction and the *se*-passive, the difference between them should be borne in mind. Namely, as it has already been pointed out, the impersonal construction cannot have the grammatical subject, whereas the *se*-passive structure agrees with the subject. Furthermore, the subject in the *se*-passive is semantically the patient, while in the case of the impersonal structures, their subject, although unexpressed, is still notionally recoverable as an unspecified entity. This unspecified entity, however, is *de facto* the doer of the action, the agent (*ibid.*, 570). Most importantly, the impersonal construction is clearly active. For example:

/50/ Priča **se**. People say / there are rumours.
says *se*

/50a/ **Ljudi** pričaju. People say.
people say

/51/ Govori **se**. It is said.
says *se*

/51a/ **Ljudi** govore. People say.
people say

Let us also have another look at the impersonal verbs, which we briefly discussed previously. A number of them belong to the category of the quasi-reflexive verbs as well. As it has already been pointed out, the impersonal verbs refer to natural, meteorological and cosmic phenomena “without specific factors which could be

⁷⁴ Examples /48/-/49/ are taken from Stevanović (*ibid.*, 569).

assumed as their agents (...)”⁷⁵ (*ibid.*, 571). What should be particularly stressed at this point is that some of these verbs could also belong to the middle semantics the way it has been defined here. In particular, this applies to those impersonal verbs denoting actions the accomplishment of which is carried out without any wilful involvement of the subject itself. Similarly, some of the structures with logical subject in the dative can also express the middle idea *sensu stricto*. For example:

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| /52/ | Spava mi se.
sleeps to me- <i>dat se</i> | I feel sleepy. |
| /53/ | Muti mi se u glavi.
stirs up to me- <i>dat se</i> in head- <i>loc</i> | I feel dizzy. |
| /54/ | Jede mu se.
eats to him- <i>dat se</i> | He feels like eating / he is hungry. |
| /55/ | Pije mu se nešto hladno.
drinks to him- <i>dat se</i> something cold- <i>nom</i> | He feels like a cold drink. |

Stevanović particularly emphasizes that examples /54/ and /55/ can be regarded as both active and middle, again depending on the focal point one wants to make. Their middleness can be recognized in the fact that they express a sensation one feels, which does belong, in a broader sense, to the middle idea.

To sum up briefly, let us reiterate again the fact that verbs can be active, passive and middle depending on the role the subject takes in the accomplishment of the process; on the other hand, they can also be transitive, intransitive and reflexive depending on the position of the object in connection to the subject (*cf. ibid.*, 572).

Narrowing down the focus onto the meaning and function of the morpheme *se*, we shall emphasize again its importance in establishing the verbal genus in S and in the

⁷⁵ “(...) bez određenih faktora za koje bi se moglo reći da ih vrše (...)”

other Slavonic languages. This is particularly reiterated by Ivić (cf. 1961-62: 137), who points out the fact that in S the morpheme *se* has preserved its autonomous position from the verb and maintains that this connection should be best observed syntactically (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). As it has already been pointed out, although the morpheme *se* is very frequently referred to as reflexive, its reflexive meaning in the strict sense is in fact only one of many other possible meanings. It is, in fact, a multifunctional grammatical device which is frequently analysed within the field of verbal morphology, as well as a syntactic phenomenon (*ibid.*, 138). Ivić is of the opinion that the syntactic perspective of the problem should be given the priority (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

In an attempt to give a possible taxonomic overview of the nature of the connection that the morpheme *se* can have with the verb in S, Ivić makes a preliminary distinction between four main types of sentence structures, focusing primarily on a simple sentence with a “predicate in a finite form, excluding the construction with the past participle and the construction with the nominal predicate”⁷⁶ (*ibid.*, 139). A sentence is labelled R (from *rečenica*), S stands for the subject, P for the predicate, A for the agent, while V is every predicate in a finite form without *se*. Finally, V^{se} denotes a predicate in a finite form followed by the morpheme *se*.

The construction R_(I) represents the case in which S is identical with A and it can be explicitly expressed with P. In this case P is an occasional or optional variant of the connection S+P (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). More precisely, R_(I) refers to those instances when the subject can be omitted, being recoverable from the morphology of the verb: *pevam* →

⁷⁶ (...) čiji je predikat u bilo kojem ličnom glagolskom obliku, isključujući konstrukciju s trpnim pridevom i konstrukciju s imenskim delom predikata.”

ja pevam ‘(I) sing’, *ja pevam* → *pevam*; *bojiš se* → *ti se bojiš* ‘(you) are afraid’ *ti se bojiš* → *bojiš se*, etc (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). In other words, $R_{(I)}$ can appear with both V_1 and V_2 . V_1 here denotes a verb governing the accusative direct object (O_4), whereas V_2 represents an intransitive verb. This distinction can be represented in the following way:

/56/ $V_1 = V \rightarrow V + O_4$

/56a/ $V_2 = V \rightarrow *V + O_4$

V_1 further represents prototypical transitivity exemplified in the case such as *volim* → *volim majku* ‘I love → I love my mother’, whereas V_2 , as the prototypical intransitive verb can be exemplified in, for instance, *drhtim* → **drhtim nešto/nekoga* ‘I shiver → *I shiver something/somebody’. It is particularly important to notice that the use of the morpheme *se* is incompatible with the form O_4 , which is why the V-forms are considered unmarked, as opposed to the V^{se} -forms viewed as marked in this respect (cf. *ibid.*, 140-1). Furthermore, transitive verbs normally take the V_1 -form and if the morpheme *se* follows, it represents the shortened, cliticized form of the reflexive pronoun *sebe*. On the other hand, intransitive verbs can appear in both V_2 and V^{se} forms. Another noteworthy point here is that the V^{se} -form should be distinguished from the syntactic structure of the type $V+se$, where V clearly represents the predicate governing the accusative direct object exemplified in the reflexive pronoun *se* (cf. *ibid.*, 141). By performing a simple transformational test it is possible to establish precisely whether the *se*-form can or cannot be replaced by any O_4 -form (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). In other words, whether the morpheme *se* expresses pure reflexivity or a spectrum of the complex quasi-reflexive semantics, middleness being the most prominent part of it. The proposed test runs as follows:

/57/ $V^{se} : boji se \rightarrow *boji nešto/nekoga$ ‘he is afraid’

/57a/ V+*se* : *češljam se* → *češljam nekoga*⁷⁷ ‘I comb myself → I comb somebody’

The test essentially shows the difference between pure and quasi-reflexive verbs which has already been discussed.

What should be observed at this point is that there are three main types of the construction V+*se*. V+*se*₁ represents pure reflexivity. The *se*-form itself is commutable with the O₄-form, primarily with the form *sebe*, exemplified in /57a/.

V+*se*₂, in Ivić’s terminology, represents the situation in which *se*₂ is commutable with all O₄-forms, excluding the form *sebe*. In particular, this form emphasizes the presence of an unspecified object (*ibid.*, 142), as it is illustrated in the following example:

/58/ *bije se* → *bije nekoga* ‘he fights, he beats somebody’

/58a/ *bije se* → **bije sebe*⁷⁸

The third type of the construction V+*se* presupposes that *se*₃ can be commutable with only one O₄-form – the reciprocal pronoun *jedan drugog* / *jedni druge* (*ibid.*, 143). It is particularly noteworthy to observe that the structure V+*se*₃ refers only to transitive verbs. Some of these verbs are followed by the morpheme *se* in both singular and plural, while others can be followed only by the plural *se*, denoting an “object of an action in reciprocal involvement”⁷⁹ (*ibid.*, 144). This distinction can be illustrated by the following examples:

/59/ *tuče se* → *tuče nekoga* / *tuče se s bratom* ‘he fights → he beats somebody / he fights with his brother’

⁷⁷ Examples /57/-/57a/ are taken from Ivić (*ibid.*, 142).

⁷⁸ Examples /58/-/58a/ are taken from Ivić (*ibid.*, 142).

⁷⁹ “(...) objekat radnje u unakrsnom obuhvatanju”.

/59a/ *volimo se* → *volimo jedni druge*⁸⁰ ‘we love each other’

It is quite obvious that /59/ is contextually dependent. Namely, *se* can be interpreted as both *se*₂, denoting an unspecified object or as *se*₃, invoking reciprocity. In /59a/, though, such a distinction cannot be made, as the plural *se* expresses prototypical reciprocity only.

There is another important feature of the construction R_(I) to be observed at this point. Namely, Ivić reiterates that there are eight different types of verbal lexemes to be distinguished regarding the arrangement of the forms V/V^{se}/V+*se* (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). In the following taxonomy, these verbal lexemes are labelled X. Here are their basic characteristics.

X₁ represents the verbal lexeme that can appear without the morpheme *se* only. One such case is for example: *pevam* → **pevam se* ‘I sing’.

X₂, on the other hand, denotes the verb which can appear as a *se*-verb only, such as *bojim se* → **bojim* ‘I fear, I am afraid’.

X₃ subsumes the cases in which the verb can take both V^{se} and V form without any visible change of meaning, for example *šetam se* → *šetam* ‘I walk’.

X₄ is the situation in which the transitive verb appears without *se*, while its intransitive counterpart is followed by *se*, effectively representing a morphological

⁸⁰ Examples /59/-/59a/ are taken from Ivić (*ibid.*, 144).

marker of intransitivity, as is the case in *vozim (nekoga) → vozim se* ‘I’m giving somebody a lift → I am going by car’

X₅ denotes a situation in which the transitive verb can be elaborated further into a *se*-construction of the V + O₄ type, e.g. *perem → perem se* ‘I wash → I wash myself’.

X₆ represents the conversion of the transitive verb into the intransitive *se*-verb which can be still further elaborated into the V+*se* construction. For example: *udario (nekoga) / udario se → udario se rukom po kolenu* ‘he hit somebody / he hit his knee with his hand’.

X₇ represents a theoretical possibility in which a verb would appear only in the V+*se* construction, but such a situation has not been empirically confirmed.

Finally, X₈ also denotes another theoretical possibility in which a verb would appear in both V^{se} and V+*se* forms, but never in the V-form. Such a situation has not been empirically confirmed in S, either (*ibid.*, 144-5).

Let us briefly observe the remaining sentence structures. The construction R_(II) can be recognized as representing the situation in which S is identical with A, while the transitive verb functions as P. In other words, this construction can be defined, in terms of traditional grammar, as a passive sentence (*ibid.*, 154). What should be noted, though, is that it is not important “who does the transitive action P and whether it is possible, in every given case, to identify the doer, or whether in the very S-form

one can always recognize the object involved in the realization of that action”⁸¹ (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). For example:

/60/ *čovjek se kažnjava (zbog nedela) → neko čoveka kažnjava (zbog nedela)* ‘a man has been sentenced (for an offence) → somebody has sentenced a man (for his offence)’

The construction R_(III) represents the so-called impersonal sentence, which “can be composed by either transitive or intransitive verbs semantically functioning as P, and there is a special grammatical device to mark that the doer of the action P is not a specific person, but anyone, everybody, people in general”⁸² (*ibid.*, 146). Ivić also remarks that in many European languages there is a special device to denote that unspecified doer of the action – *on* in French, *one* in English, or *man* in German, for instance (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). In S the same effect can be achieved by obligatory omission of the form S=A, while the predicate appears in the 3rd person singular accompanied by the morpheme *se*. For example:

/61/ *priča se → *on se priča → *ja se pričam → *priča* ‘people say, there are rumours’

According to this standpoint, the impersonal sentences (‘subjectless’ in Ivić’s terminology) also belong to the R_(III) structure. In this particular case, S is omitted due to the semantics of the verb functioning as P – it normally “denotes a natural or physiological phenomenon with non-distinguished relation agent/action (...)”⁸³ (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). Ivić in particular refers to the following sentences:

/62/ Sipi. It is drizzling.
drizzles

⁸¹ “(...) ko vrši prelaznu radnju P, da li ga je uopšte moguće u datom slučaju identifikovati, i da li je u formi S svaki put moguće sagledati objekat obuhvaćen realizacijom takvog vršenja.”

⁸² “(...) mogu obrazovati bilo tranzitivni bilo intransitivni po značenju glagoli u funkciji P, s tim da se posebnim gramatičkim sredstvima označi da vršilac radnje P nije neko određeno lice, već bilo ko, svako, ljudi uopšte.”

⁸³ “(...) označava prirodni ili fiziološki fenomen sa neraščlanjenim odnosom agens/akcija (...)”

/63/ Grebe ga u grlu.⁸⁴ He has a tickle in his throat.
 tickles him-*acc* in throat-*loc*

The construction R_(IV), on the other hand, belongs to modal semantics in a wider sense. Its main characteristics can be defined as the “presence of the morpheme *se* preceded by the finite verbal form and explicitly expressed agent (which is not identical with the subject) in the dative case”⁸⁵ (*ibid.*, 147). We have already observed this structure discussing its ‘logical’ subject in oblique cases, normally the dative, accusative or genitive. The modality of this structure, however, should primarily be seen in the fact that when applying the transformational test the predicate adopts a modal form, and the subject becomes identical with the agent. For example:

/64/ *spava mi se* → *osećam potrebu za spavanjem, ja bih da spavam*
 ‘I feel sleepy → I feel a need for sleeping, I would like to sleep’

/65/ *jedu mu se trešnje* → *želi da jede trešnje, on bi da jede trešnje*
 ‘he has a craving for cherries → he wants to eat cherries, he would like to eat cherries’

It is particularly noteworthy that only verb in the V-form can be found in the R_(IV) structure (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

In view of the above, it is possible to conclude that the “morpheme *se* (...) marks various stylisations of the basic syntactic relations: the relation between the predicate to the direct object on the one hand, and the relation between the predicate to the subject, on the other”⁸⁶ (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

⁸⁴ Examples /62/-/63/ are taken from Ivić (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

⁸⁵ “(...) prisustvo morfeme *se* uz lični glagolski oblik i eksplicitno obeležavanje agensa (koji nije identičan sa subjektom) dativnom formom.”

⁸⁶ “(...) morfema *se* (...) služi obeležavanju različitih stilizacija osnovnih sintaksičkih odnosa: odnosa predikata prema direktnom objektu, s jedne strane, i odnosa predikata prema subjektu, s druge.”

To sum up, we can emphasize the following points. Our intention in the section 2.3 was to examine the verbal genus in S primarily from the viewpoint of the Slavonic linguistic tradition, more precisely the S grammatical school of thought. In order to achieve that goal, we have observed *genus verbi* from the general linguistic point of view (Section 2.3.1) and then focused on the basic sentential constituents – subject, predicate and object – defining them and examining their basic types (Section 2.3.2). In the Section 2.3.3 the problem of transitivity and related questions have been raised. Transitivity has been seen as part of verbal genus in a wider sense of the term and the distinction has been made between transitive, intransitive and reflexive verbs. Reflexive verbs have further been observed as denoting pure reflexivity, reciprocity and quasi-reflexivity. Section 2.3.4 was exclusively devoted to examining the meaning and function of the quasi-reflexive verbs, many of them belonging to the middle semantics *sensu stricto*.

Our intention now is to have a closer look at the morpheme *se* in its entirety and offer a possible taxonomy of its meaning and function. Again, we shall derive our claims from the pertinent S grammatical literature.

2.4 SE-FORMS – MEANING AND FUNCTION

As it has already been pointed out, we are now going to shift the focus, zooming in at the morpheme *se* and the way it has been semantically and functionally realized in S. The morpheme *se* is a multifunctional grammatical device, frequently referred to as reflexive, but the discussion in the previous sections clearly showed that reflexivity is only one of the possible meanings of this intriguing grammatical phenomenon. It can appear in several types of a simple sentence and there are ten distinct functions it can perform, only five of which belong to the reflexive semantics *sensu stricto*. Let us now observe the proposed in more detail.

We have discussed and observed the fact that a large group of S verbs is followed by the morpheme *se* and they can be classified into several different subclasses. Taking into account the analyses done so far (cf. Ivić 1961/62; Djordjević 1989; Kurteš 1998a; 2003) we are going to propose a taxonomy essentially derived from Ivić's, linking it with the prototypical representation of the concepts of reflexivity and middleness as defined previously. We shall maintain that *se* can appear in several different structures of a simple declarative sentence: reflexive, reflexive-passive, impersonal and modal (cf. Djordjević, 1989: 257). We shall also reiterate that although the *se*-forms are usually referred to as reflexive, there is a large group of the so-called quasi-reflexive verbs of complex semantics clearly clustering around the middle domain. In what follows our intention is to have a closer look at this intriguing grammatical device and propose a possible way to approach, classify and understand

the complexity of its function and meaning by combining traditional S grammatical tradition with some more recent cognitivist approaches to language analysis.

2.4.1 *SE*₁ – PROTOTYPICAL REFLEXIVITY

Structures of the *se*₁-type belong to the category designated in the literature as ‘pure’ or ‘plain’ reflexivity, denoting primarily the co-reference between the two nominal arguments. Following Manney (2000: 214), we shall observe *se*₁ as prototypical reflexivity, which “invokes a scene in which an individual acts on itself, intentionally or otherwise” (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). As we have already pointed out (cf. Chapter 1, p. 20 ff), prototypical reflexivity, notionally speaking, approaches the active end of the active/passive continuum, and the semantic role occupying the subject position expresses a very high degree of agentivity and volition. There is, however, another important feature of prototypical reflexivity which should be reiterated at this point. Namely, that in terms of the degree of distinguishability of participants, reflexivity can be recognized as a two-participant verbal event, characteristic of prototypical transitivity. Namely, it still maintains the conceptual separation between Initiator and Endpoint, in spite of the fact that they are coreferential (cf. examples /6/-/6a/).

The verbs followed by *se*₁ are always transitive (V + O₄ type in Ivić’s terminology) and *se* functions as the direct object. It is important to notice that only *se*₁ can be replaced by *sebe*, the accusative form of the reflexive pronoun (cf. Djordjević, 258). The verbs appearing in the *se*₁ structure can also be used without the morpheme *se*, when they act as pure transitive verbs governing the accusative direct object. For example:

/66/ On je povredio **nju**.

He hurt **her**.

he is-*aux* hurt-*act part masc sing* her-*acc*

/66a/ On **se** povredio. He hurt **himself**.
 he *se* hurt-*act part masc sing*

It is also noteworthy that there is a limited number of cases in which the verb changes the meaning, depending on whether it appears with *se*₁ or governs any other accusative direct object. *Jesti* ‘eat’ is one such verb:

/67/ On jede **pljeskavicu** svakog dana. He eats **a hamburger** every day.
 he eats hamburger-*acc* every day

/67a/ Mesec **se jede**. The Moon **is waning**.
 moon *se* eats

As it has already been mentioned, *se*₁, as the reflexive marker is pronominal in form appearing either in a full or cliticized form. If it appears in its cliticized form – *se* – it is always a combinatorial variant of the full form – the reflexive pronoun *sebe*⁸⁷ (Ivić 1961/62: 137-51; also Browne 1974).

The full form is also considered to denote markedness and in Modern Standard S it appears predominantly to express emphasis and zoom in at the chosen focal point, thus making a stylistic effect. Conversely, the shortened, cliticized form, stylistically and contrastively neutral, appears predominantly in both spoken and written S. For example:

/68/ Ubio **se**. He killed **himself**.
 killed-*act part masc sing se*

/68a/ Ubio je nju, pa **sebe**. He killed her, then **himself**.
 Killed-*act part masc sing* her-*acc* then himself-*acc*

⁸⁷ The grammatical paradigm of the reflexive pronoun also involves two other forms: *sebi* (dative and locative) and *sobom* (instrumental). Only accusative *sebe* can have a cliticized form (*se*). However, dative *sebi* commonly appears in a cliticized form *si* in some regional varieties of S (cf. *kupio sam si kola* ‘I bought myself a car’), but also in the Western version of the former Serbo-Croat. For further details on the reflexive pronouns in S cf., *inter alia*, Barić *et al* 1979: 121; Brabec-Hraste-Živković 1970: 95 ff; Djordjević 1989: 256 ff; Kordić 1997: 22; Maretić 1963: 189; Piper 1984/85: 635 ff, etc).

*Se*₁ can clearly be recognized as a manifestation of reflexivity in all its prototypical defining features (cf. Fig. 6). It represents a distinct semantic core of the concept observed as an ontological entity, invoking a scene “in which an individual acts on itself, intentionally or otherwise” (Manney 2000: 214).

2.4.2 *SE*₂ – ABSOLUTE REFLEXIVITY

Verbs followed by *se*₂ are known in the traditional grammatical reference literature as the *verba incommodi* and the structure has also been known as the absolute reflexive (Geniušienė 1987: 83-84). *Se*₂, although considered to be semantically empty, still bears the grammatical information about the notional presence of an unspecified object. In other words, *se*₂ is commutable with all *O*₄ forms, apart from the form *sebe*. Slavonic grammatical tradition defines *verba incommodi* as those verbs of which the semantic focus is to be found on the qualitative specification of the agent (cf. Djordjević 1989: 259). More importantly, that specification is always negative. Let us illustrate this with the following example:

/69/	Ona se pljuje. she <i>se</i> spits	She spits on people; she has a habit of spitting on people.
/70/	On se bije. ⁸⁸ he <i>se</i> fights	He always fights; he is pugnacious. ⁸⁹
/71/	On se gadja kamenjem. he <i>se</i> throws stones- <i>instr</i>	He throws stones on people; he has a habit of throwing stones on people.

One can certainly immediately observe that the underlying reflexive semantics of *se*₂ stands quite far away from the prototypical core features observed in *se*₁.

⁸⁸ Examples /69/-/71/ are taken from Djordjević (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

⁸⁹ It is noteworthy to observe exactly the same structure in Lithuanian (cf. Geniušienė 1987: 83-4):

Berniukas muša vaikus. boy- <i>nom</i> beats children- <i>acc</i> ‘the boy beats the children’	Berniukas mušasi. boy- <i>nom</i> beats- <i>refl</i> ‘the boy fights/is pugnacious’
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Nevertheless, absolute reflexivity, although belonging to the periphery of the category, still should be observed within the semantic boundaries of reflexivity. Namely, the semantic focus is *de facto* on the negative qualification that the subject gives about itself, and not on the action. This is particularly emphasized by the semantics of the *verba incommodi*.

2.4.3 SE_3 – PROTOTYPICAL RECIPROCITY

This type of the V+ *se* construction involves the situation in which *se* is commutable with only one O₄- form, which is the reciprocal pronoun *jedan drugog / jedni druge*. In other words, se_3 -forms represent reciprocal verbs⁹⁰. Prototypical reciprocal verbs can appear only in plural, which is also one of the “reliable signs of reciprocity, mutual merging of the function of the agent and the function of the object”⁹¹ (cf. *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*). For example:

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| /72/ | Volimo se .
love-1 st pl <i>se</i> | We love each other. |
| /73/ | Sreli su se opet.
met-act part masc pl are-aux <i>se</i> again | They met (each other) again. |

Se_3 , therefore, represents prototypical reciprocity, mutual and equal involvement of both nominal arguments in the accomplishment of the verbal action, while the semantic roles of agent and patient are simultaneously present and performed by both arguments.

⁹⁰ Here we are not going to take reciprocity as a separate entity, but only as a manifestation of reflexivity. For a more comprehensive discussion of reciprocity cf., for example, Frajzyngier-Curl 2000.

⁹¹ “(...) pouzdan znak recipročnosti, uzajamnog mešanja funkcije agensa i funkcije objekta.”

It should also be noted that *se*₃ is a combinatorial variant of the reciprocal pronoun *jedan drugog / jedni druge*. Similarly, the cliticized form *se* appears as unmarked, both stylistically and contrastively, as opposed to the use of the full pronominal form, the markedness of which can be observed in the fact that it produces a certain stylistic effect and sheds light on a particular focal point, as is the case with *se*₁, prototypical reflexive structures. Another important feature to be observed at this point is that *se*₃, although used obligatorily with prototypical reciprocal verbs, can be omitted when stylistic and contextual or euphonic reasons demand so. For example:

/74/ Zagrlili su **se** i poljubili [Ø]. They hugged and kissed.
 hugged-act part masc pl are-aux *se* and kissed-act part masc pl

Stylistic, pragmatic and contextual aspects of the omission of *se* will be discussed in more detail later on.

2.4.4 *SE*₄ – RECIPROCITY [± PLURAL]

*Se*₄-form is another type of the transitive reciprocal verb, the main characteristic of which is that it can appear both in singular and plural. When used in singular, these verbs are usually accompanied by an appropriate sociative complement in the instrumental case (cf. *ibid.*, 260):

/75/ Tuče **se** s bratom.⁹² He is fighting with his brother.
 fights *se* with brother-*instr*

In the plural this instrumental complement does not appear obligatorily, leaving room for the morpheme *se* to be interpreted either as *se*₂, i.e. in the sense of absolute reflexivity, or in the *se*₄ reciprocal semantics (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). For example:

/76/ Tuku **se** s drugom decom.⁹³ They are fighting with other children.

⁹² Example /75/ is taken from Djordjević (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

⁹³ Example /76/ is taken from Djordjević (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

fight-3rd *pl se* with other children-*instr*

/76a/ Tuku **se**. They are fighting.
fight-3rd *pl se*

2.4.5 SE₅ – INTRANSITIVE RECIPROCITY

While *se*₃ and *se*₄ forms are both transitive reciprocal verbs, *se*₅ denotes intransitive reciprocal verbs, which can appear both in singular and plural, with or without an appropriate sociative complement. In other words, *se*₅ denotes the intransitive verb, reciprocity of which is incorporated into its very semantics (cf. *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*). For example:

/77/ On **se** često svadja (sa sestrom). He often quarrels with his sister.
He *se* often quarrels (with sister-*instr*)

/77a/ Oni **se** često svadjaju They often quarrel with their neighbours.
they *se* often quarrel
(sa komšijama).⁹⁴
(with neighbours-*instr*)

At this point it should be reiterated that these five functions of the morpheme *se* belong clearly to the reflexive semantic domain in a broader sense that includes reciprocity as well. Furthermore, another very important feature to be observed here is the co-reference of the surface subject and the underlying Agent in all the cases mentioned above. This characteristic reiterates some of the defining features of reflexivity as previously observed (cf. Fig. 6). Namely, the agentivity of the subject subsumes a dynamic situation type that involves energy expenditure and volitionality in order to be performed. Finally, and most importantly, it is possible to observe the notional separation of the participants involved that has been preserved in all above mentioned cases. In terms of their grammatical paradigm, though, the *se*-forms

⁹⁴ Examples /77/-/77a/ are taken from Djordjević (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*).

belonging to the reflexive semantic domain (i.e. *se*₁₋₅) can be subcategorized as follows (cf. *ibid.*, 261):

<i>SE</i> ₁	<i>SE</i> ₂	<i>SE</i> ₃	<i>SE</i> ₄	<i>SE</i> ₅
+ <i>Pro</i>	+ <i>Pro</i>	+ <i>Pro</i>	+ <i>Pro</i>	+ <i>Pro</i>
+ Reflexive	+ Qualitative	+ Reciprocal	+ Reciprocal	+ Reciprocal
+ Transitive	+ Transitive	+ Transitive	+ Transitive	- Transitive
± Plural	± Plural	+ Plural	± Plural	± Plural
+ DO	- DO	+ DO	+ DO	- DO
			+ Instrumental	± Instrumental

Fig. 16 Subcategorization of the *se*-forms expressing reflexivity

The remaining five functions of the *se*-forms belong to quasi-reflexive semantics. More specifically, some of the *se*-forms will be recognized as core middleness as defined previously. Formally, these forms also include passives, impersonals and modal constructions. Let us have a closer look at each of them.

2.4.6 *SE*₆ – MIDDLENESS AS A NONINITIATIVE EMOTIONAL RESPONSE

Let us first remind ourselves that the concept of middleless, as it has been presented in Chapter 1, semantically clusters around two main ideas. Following Manney (2000), we have defined them as a noninitiative emotional response and a spontaneous change of state. Frequently, but not exclusively, verbs expressing noninitiative emotional response situation types tend to appear with subjects having the feature [+ animate]; similarly, inanimate subjects seem to appear more commonly with verbs expressing spontaneous change of state situations types. Nevertheless, the exceptions are numerous, appearing primarily in literary texts or, generally speaking, in any instance of the metaphorical use of the language. In what follows our intention will be to examine more closely the second half of the proposed *se*-form taxonomy, focusing on the scope and complexity of the middle semantic domain they express.

The *se*₆ structure types belong to what is traditionally termed as quasi-reflexive verbs, a varied and complex category that has been examined from different aspects in the previous sections of this chapter.

*Se*₆ in S grammatical tradition is normally said to represent an empty morph, denoting a quasi-reflexive verb. Here the idea of ‘emptiness’ is to be understood in semantic terms, more specifically it refers to ‘quasi-reflexivity’ of the structure. Diachronically, however, in many *se*-verbs that belong to this category, *se* is to be observed as a remnant of the indirect object that was an integral part of the structure (cf. Stevanović 1976: 563). *Se*₆ itself cannot be seen as a combinatorial variant of *sebe*, which is a reliable test for distinguishing ‘pure’ from ‘quasi’ reflexivity (cf. Ivić 1961-62: 141ff). Furthermore, S, as a language belonging, in Kemmer’s terminology (Kemmer 1993), to a two-form cognate system, in which middle and reflexive markers are similar, but not identical, clearly makes the distinction between the reflexive *se*-forms, of pronominal nature, and quasi reflexive *se*-forms, appearing as a verbal affix and belonging to middle semantics in a wider sense of the term.

Let us now observe more closely the nature of middle semantics of *se*₆, represents one of the two main prototypical middle situation types.

Verbs of the *se*₆-type fall into two broad categories. Namely, they can be of the *V^{se}* type only, when they are either transitive (e.g. *baviti se* ‘to engage in, be occupied with’, *bojati se* ‘fear, be afraid of’, *čuditi se* ‘wonder, be surprised’, *diviti se* ‘admire’, *domoći se* ‘reach’, *dosetiti se* ‘remember, recall’, *kloniti se* ‘stay away’, *mašiti se*

frightened’, *uplašiti / uplašiti se* ‘frighten / be frightened’, etc.). When used transitively without *se*, these verbs are usually followed by the accusative DO (cf. *ibid.*, 261-262). For example:

/85/	Čuvaj se! take care- <i>imperative sing se</i>	Take care of yourself!
/85a/	Ona čuva decu. she takes care children- <i>acc</i>	She takes care of the children; she looks after the children.
/86/	Raduje me ta vest. makes happy me- <i>gen</i> that news- <i>acc</i>	The news makes me happy; I am happy to hear the news.
/86a/	Radujem se tvom uspehu. rejoice- <i>1st sing se</i> your success- <i>dat</i>	I rejoice at your success; I am pleased to hear about your success.

2.4.7 *SE*₇ – MIDDLENESS AS A SPONTANEOUS CHANGE OF STATE

*Se*₇, in traditional grammatical terms, denotes the process of verbal conversion from transitive into intransitive (*ibid.*, 262) and bears semantic information of an unspecified instigator of the action that is notionally detectable and feasible. This is illustrated in /87/, which shows the way in which the transitive structure can be derived into the intransitive one: the unspecified inanimate underlying Agent is replaced by the *se*-morph; then the object of the transitive structure is promoted into the subject slot and transferred into initial position. It is important to notice that in the

/82/	miriti se sa sudbinom	be reconciled to one’s fate; reconcile oneself to
/83/	Oni se svadjaju i mire.	They keep quarrelling and making up.
/84/	pomiriti se sa sobom	be reconciled to oneself; calm oneself

Miriti in /81/ is a downright transitive verb governing the accusative direct object (*zavadjene rodjake*) belongs to the *V*₁ type in Ivić’s terminology; *miriti se* as used in /82/, on the other hand, could be understood as belonging to both middle and reflexive semantic domains, which depend on the focal point one wants to zoom in at. If *se* is to be understood as a combinatorial variant of *sebe*, which is possible semantically, /82/ clearly belongs to reflexive semantics or the *V+se* type of structure; conversely, if *miriti se* is to be taken as belonging to the *V^{se}* type of quasi-reflexive verbal semantics, it will focus on the process the subject is going through spontaneously and/or involuntarily. This interpretation will clearly belong to middle semantics. Furthermore, *miriti se* in /83/ (*se* is omitted for euphonic and stylistic reasons) is the antonym of *svadjati se*, both verbs expressing reciprocity in its prototypical sense of meaning. Finally, /84/ can be understood as an idiomatic expression with both major semantic domains – reflexive and middle – merging and producing an opalescent effect. *Smiriti / smiriti se* ‘calm, sooth, pacify / calm oneself’ seem to follow a similar pattern.

intransitive structure the Agent cannot be expressed, although its presence remains notionally detectable. For example:

/87/	nešto stalno vredja njega⇒	something always offends him- <i>acc</i>
	se stalno vredja njega⇒	se always offends him- <i>acc</i>
	se stalno vredja on ⇒	<i>se</i> always offends he - <i>nom</i>
	on se stalno vredja	he <i>se</i> always offends
		‘He always takes offence’

More specifically, *nešto* ‘something’, is taken to represent that unspecified instigator, designated as the Agent [-animate], which is replaced by *se*₇. The accusative object *njega* ‘him’ is transformed into the nominative subject *on* ‘he’ and promoted to the subject position, expressing semantics of the Experiencer domain. In the derived intransitive structure the Agent cannot be expressed although it remains notionally present and the semantic scope of the verb clearly falls into the middle semantic domain. Namely, it does occur spontaneously without any volitional and/or dynamic involvement of the subject, which remains the only visible participant.

The notion of Agent [-animate] needs further clarification. Originally derived from Djordjević (*ibid.*, 262), apparently it comfortably accommodates the idea of a spontaneous change of state experienced by the subject in prototypical middle event type situations as defined by Manney (2000). Namely, although the process itself is being performed spontaneously, without the subject’s volitional involvement and/or initiation, one still feels the necessity to define the nature and semantic scope of the Agent causing the action, even at a highly abstract and general level. Since the *se*₆ and *se*₇ type of verbs semantically predominantly denote physiological, physical, meteorological and cosmic phenomena, it seems reasonable, in this context at least, to introduce the idea of a non-animate instigator causing and/or governing the processes the subject comes into spontaneously and non-volitionally. We shall not develop the

idea any further, defining it simply as an abstract notion in the semantic domain of physical and cosmic forces governing the universe and capable of causing the processes and events that on the surface appear to be spontaneous and non-initiated⁹⁶.

Again, paradigmatically *se*-verbs belong to the quasi-reflexive type, and most of them can also appear in the V+O₄ type of the structure, when they become downright transitive, e.g. *beleti / beleti se* ‘whiten / turn white’, *vući / vući se* ‘pull / drag oneself’, *gasiti / gasiti se* ‘extinguish / fizzle out’, *gubiti / gubiti se* ‘lose / fade out’, *dimiti / dimiti se* ‘cause to smoke / give out smoke’, *dići / dići se* ‘raise / rise’, *lomiti / lomiti se* ‘break / get broken’, *nabrati / nabrati se* ‘crease, pleat / get creased’, *nagnuti / nagnuti se* ‘lean, bend / lean towards, be inclined’, *nalaziti / nalaziti se* ‘find / find oneself’, *osetiti / osetiti se* ‘feel, sense / feel + adj’ *osušiti / osušiti se* ‘dry / get dry’, *sekirati / sekirati se* ‘upset, worry / be upset, worried’, *sijati / sijati se* ‘shine / give out shine’, *širiti / širiti se* ‘make wider / widen, dilate’, *tresti / tresti se* ‘shake / tremble’, *trgnuti / trgnuti se* ‘startle / get startled’, *uvrediti / uvrediti se* ‘offend / take offence’, *utišati / utišati se* ‘turn down (volume) / become quieter’, *zaboraviti / zaboraviti se* ‘forget / forget oneself’, *zamisliti / zamisliti se* ‘imagine / become pensive’, *zaustaviti / zaustaviti se* ‘stop / stop oneself’, etc. (cf. *ibid.*, 262). Here are some examples illustrating the mentioned:

/88/ Pokušavali su **ugasiti** vatru. They tried to extinguish the fire.
 tried- *act part masc pl* are-*aux* extinguish-*inf* fire-*acc*

/88a/ Strast **se** **ugasila**. The passion has fizzled out.
 passion-*nom se* fizzled out-*act part fem sing*

/89/ **Utišaj** taj radio! Turn that radio down!

⁹⁶ One can probably go further and pinpoint phenomena such as magnetism, gravity, light, etc as belonging to the category of Agent [-animate] as defined above, but for the purpose of our analysis, the specificity of the given definition is sufficient. On a more general level, we do agree with Lyons’ (1968: 358-9) understanding of the relationship between transitivity and animacy and the typological distribution of possible combinations in world’s languages. Cf. also note 137 for further details.

turn down-*imperative sing* that radio-*acc*

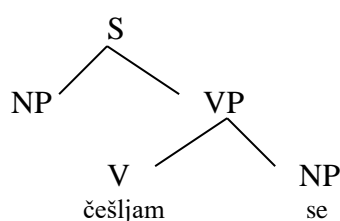
/89a/ Oluja **se utišala**. The storm calmed down.
 storm-*nom se* became quieter-*act part fem sing*

It is important to notice that our prototypical example (cf. /7/) belongs to this category. Another example of the same type could be:

/90/ Drvo **se suši**. The tree is withering away.
 tree-*nom se* withers

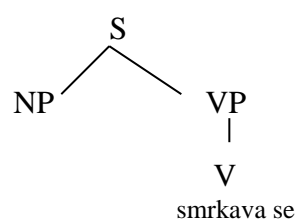
In S grammatical tradition *se*₆ and *se*₇ are said to be ‘dominated’ by the verb itself, and not the verb phrase, referring to the fact that they are not of pronominal nature, but a verbal affix, notionally an integral and inseparable part of verbal semantics, on their own, though, treated as ‘empty’. This is the reason why they are positioned on the left side branching of the VP. Conversely, this is not the case with the verbs from the reflexive/reciprocal semantic domain, where the morpheme *se* represents a combinatorial variant of the reflexive or reciprocal pronoun (*sebe* / *jedan drugog*) of the V+O₄ type. For example:

/91/



‘I comb myself’

/91a/



‘It is getting dark’

In other words, a distinction is to be made between, e.g. *češljam se* ‘I comb (myself)’, in which case *se* can be further elaborated into a separate noun phrase (*sebe*) and thus ‘detached’ from the verb into the structure V+O₄, and, for example, *smrkava se* ‘it is getting dark’, where *se* represents a verbal affix, traditionally termed an ‘empty

morph', 'dominated' by the verb itself. This distinction is represented by means of the phrase structure diagram, in /91/ and /91a/ respectively.

Furthermore, it should also be pointed out that the reflexive and middle notions in S grammatical interpretation are very close and sometimes even overlapping – processes and/or states that the subject is coming into spontaneously or unintentionally which affect the subject and its interests. This can basically be understood as a reflexive notion in its most traditional sense (cf. Musić-Majnarić 1970). On the other hand, middle semantics, traditionally grasped, includes the idea of the subject doing something for its own interest, which is, in fact, the *commodi* function, in Case Grammar designated as *Benefactive*. There are, however, two significant paradigmatic properties of the middle type *se*-forms which make them quite conspicuous – their Agent, although notionally conceivable and detectable, cannot be specifically expressed and they cannot be passivized (cf. *ibid.*, 263). Nonetheless, it should be observed that a limited number of predominantly *se*₆-verbs appear in a passivized form, but only if they are aspectually perfective⁹⁷. For example:

/92/ Ona **se** uvek **smeje**. She always laughs.
she *se* always laughs-*imperf*

/92a/ Ona **je** uvek **nasmejana**/***smejana**. She is always smiling.
she is-*aux* always smiled-*pass part fem sing*

/93/ On **se** **ljuti**. He gets angry.
he *se* gets angry

/93a/ On **je** **naljućen**/***ljućen**. He is angry.
He is-*aux* angry-*pass part masc sing*

⁹⁷ It is possible to come across some exceptions, though. Namely, although the pair *ženiti se / biti oženjen* 'marry / be married' follows the mentioned pattern, it is still possible to say *biti ženjen*, with the aspectually imperfective participle. But there is a semantic distinction to be observed here. In particular, the imperfective structure focuses on the fact that the person has been married (at some point at least, as opposed to 'remained single') and probably is not at the moment. Admittedly, the distinction is very subtle.

Admittedly, this type of passive belongs to the periphery of the category. We shall, however, have a closer look at another type of S passive, the so-called ‘reflexive passive as a manifestation of the *se*₈ structure.

2.4.8 *SE*₈ – ‘REFLEXIVE’ PASSIVE

Passive in S, as well as in other Slavonic languages, can also be expressed by means of the structure known as ‘reflexive’ or ‘*se*-passive’. This is precisely the function of *se*₈. It can be observed that the connection between reflexivity and the passive notion is probably stronger in S than in any other Slavonic language (*ibid.*, 263). One of the most important features of the reflexive passive from the grammatical point of view is the fact that the Agent cannot be verbally specified, but its existence is notionally conceivable and indicated by the morpheme *se*. The structure is thus impersonalised and deagentivized, implying a collective subject to which the event has been attributed (cf. Stanojčić 1989: 238ff). The verb is transitive and appears in the 3rd person singular (i.e. agrees in number with its subject), followed by the morpheme *se*, which bears the semantic information of an unspecified human agent (cf. Kordić 1997: 43ff). The structure mostly appears in the present tense with aspectually imperfective verb forms. The Patient occupying the subject slot is normally inanimate (cf. Točanac 1982: 56). For example:

/94/	Knjiga se čita . book- <i>nom se</i> reads	The book is being read.
------	------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------

The passive structure is derived from the active one in the following way (cf. Mørk 1969:255-262; Mihailović, 1985: 341-342: also Djordjević, *ibid.*, 263):

/95/	Oni jedu samo belu ribu ⇒ se jedu samo belu ribu ⇒	they eat only white fish- <i>acc</i> <i>se</i> eat-3 rd <i>pl</i> only white fish- <i>acc</i>
------	---------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

jedu se samo belu ribu⇒	eat-3 rd <i>pl se</i> only white fish- <i>acc</i>
jede se samo belu ribu⇒	eats <i>se</i> only white fish- <i>acc</i>
Jede se samo bela riba .	eats <i>se</i> only white fish - <i>nom</i>
	‘Only white fish is eaten’

In the first step the subject of the active sentence *oni* ‘they’, functioning as the Agent, is deleted and *se* is introduced; the verb takes the 3rd person singular concord and the object of the active sentence (expressing the Neuter case⁹⁸ semantics) is promoted to the subject position taking the nominative case. Mihailović (1985: 341-2) specifies the nature of the *se*-passive instances, saying *ad verbum* this: ‘Passive sentences of the ‘reflexive’ type contain a transitive verb marked by the morpheme ‘*se*’, which is transformationally introduced (...). The condition for the ‘*se*’ addition transformation is the deletion of the underlying Agent or Experiencer case which is the candidate for the subject of the active sentence. The deleted NP must have the feature [+ human]. This transformation entails the promotion of the underlying Neut case to subject function (but only when the Neut turns up in the active sentence with acc inflection). The subject has the nominative inflection and the verb is in number and gender agreement with it’ (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). Here is another example illustrating the relationship of the underlying thematic roles and their grammatical coding in the realization of the *se*-passive structure. In the following example the underlying cases will be put under the NPs and the morphological markers of cases in brackets after the NPs, as proposed by Mihailović (*ibid.*, 342):

/96/ ljudi (nom) su najviše jeli orahe (acc) people are-*aux* mostly eaten-*act part masc pl*

⁹⁸ For the purpose of her analysis Mihailović makes use of six cases: Agent (Ag), Experiencer (Exp), Instrument (Ins), Neuter (Neut), Goal (Goal), and Locative (Loc). The semantic scope of Neuter has been taken over from Stockwell *et al.* (1973) and defined as ‘the case associated most closely with the verb itself and least interpretable independently of the verb’ (Stockwell 1973: 8). The Neut case typically has zero preposition, but specific verbs may have particular prepositions associated with them. For example, (a) ‘we mentioned **the matter**’ vs. (b) ‘we referred **to the matter**’, or (c) ‘we considered **the matter**’ vs. (d) we insisted **on the matter**’ (Mihailović 1985: 339-340). All the constituents in bold type are the realization of the underlying Neut case, whereas it is marked only in the examples (b) and (d). In the S equivalents the Neut case is marked only in (d): *insistirali smo na toj stvari*.

Ag	Neut	walnuts- <i>acc</i>
najviše su se jeli orasi (nom)		mostly are- <i>aux se</i> eatean- <i>act part masc pl</i>
	Neut	walnuts- <i>nom</i>
		People ate walnuts most of all.

2.4.9 *SE*₉ – IMPERSONAL STRUCTURE

*Se*₉ appears in some impersonal structures, denoting that the Agent does not take the subject position. These structures, normally referred to as ‘reflexive-impersonal’, are derived from intransitive verbs, which is the basic distinction between *se*₈ and *se*₉ (ibid., 264; also Mihailović 1985: 341-2). The subject of the intransitive verb (usually having the feature [+human]) is replaced by *se* and the verb takes the neuter concord (3rd person singular neuter) (cf. Mihailović, *ibid.*). The neuter verbal concord particularly shows that there is no noun phrase which can be chosen to fill in the subject slot (Spalatin 1973: 123-4; Barić *et al* 1979: 374; Mihailović 1985: 342-3; also Djordjević 1989: 264). For example:

/97/	Ljudi su umirali za otadžbinu ⇒	people were- <i>aux</i> died- <i>act part masc pl</i> for country- <i>acc</i>
	se su umirali za otadžbinu ⇒	<i>se</i> were- <i>aux</i> died- <i>act part masc pl</i> for country- <i>acc</i>
	se umiralo za otadžbinu ⇒	<i>se</i> died-act part masc pl for country- <i>acc</i>
	Umiralo se za otadžbinu.	died-act part neut sing <i>se</i> for country- <i>acc</i>
		People died for their country.

The deleted subject, however, remains notionally present and contextually recoverable, and the fact that the Agent does not occupy the subject slot denote that they are of pronominal nature, including forms such as *bilo ko* ‘anyone’, *svako* ‘everybody’, *ljudi uopšte* ‘people in general’ (Djordjević 1989: 264).

*Se*₉ is also very frequently used with some modal verbs:

/98/	To se mora učiniti.	It must be done.
	It- <i>nom se</i> must-3 rd <i>sing</i> do- <i>inf</i>	

/99/ **Moglo bi se reći.** It might be said.
 might-act part neut sing want-aux se say-inf

Pragmatically, however, it is possible to talk about the markedness of this construction. Namely, although it is grammatically defined as impersonal in terms of its inability to verbalize the subject to which the event has been attributed, pragmatically and stylistically, the subject is not only quite conceivable at the notional level, it is in fact zoomed in at. In some aspects of public communication and particularly in the language of the media this structure can be found quite frequently.

2.4.10 *SE*₁₀ – MODALITY

One specific type of construction expressing modality is followed by *se*₁₀. These are normally structures with the dative subject ('psychological' or 'logical') normally expressing the Experiencer case semantics. Both transitive and intransitive verbs can appear in this structure, taking the 3rd person singular form and neuter gender if it contains the active participle (Ivić 1983: 60; also Kordić 1997: 43)⁹⁹. Let us observe the following example:

/100/ Spava mi se. I feel sleepy.
 Sleeps to me-dat se

Modality of the structure is to be observed in the fact that it denotes the internal stimulus to action, which can be paraphrased as 'X feels a need to do Y, X feels like doing Y', (Ivić 1983: 60; also Djordjević 1989: 264-5). Clearly this interpretation places the *se*₁₀ structures within the middle semantic domain (cf. also Hadžiselimović 1970: 57)¹⁰⁰, denoting a spontaneous non-dynamic situation in which the subject has

⁹⁹ See also examples /52/-/55/ and comments made therein.

¹⁰⁰ There are grammarians, though, who see this construction as impersonal (cf. Barić *et al* 1979: 155).

found itself without any volitional involvement. Paradigmatically, the structure can be derived in the following way (cf. Ivić 1961-2: 146-7; Mørk 1969: 253-5; also Djordjević 1989: 265):

/100a/ ja mo spavam⇒	I mo sleep- <i>1st sing</i>
spavam mi se ⇒	sleep- <i>1st sing</i> me-dat se
Spava mi se.	sleeps-3rd sing to me- <i>dat se</i>
	I feel sleepy.

The modal element having the semantic interpretation *ja bih da spavam / osećam potrebu za spavanjem* ‘I would like to sleep / I feel the need to sleep’ is represented by the symbol *mo*. In the next step the nominative subject *ja* ‘I’ takes the dative case and *se* is introduced; finally, the 1st person singular form of the verb becomes the 3rd person.

Modality of this type can also be recognized in similar structures with the subject in the oblique cases (cf. Section 2.3.2., examples /8/-/9/), referred to by Moravcsik (1978: 240 ff; also Traugott 1972:81) as an ‘ergative-like’ pattern in an accusative language¹⁰¹. Here are some more examples:

¹⁰¹ More precisely, Moravcsik (1978) speaks about the ergative patterns in non-ergative languages, defending her position in the following way: “(...) An ergative case-marking pattern involves the assignment of identical case-markers for some objects and intransitive subjects, but not for any transitive subjects. Given that in an accusative language basic case-markers of objects and subjects are different, there are altogether three logically possible ways in which an accusative language can include a secondary ergative case-marking subsystem” (*ibid.*, 240-41). These three ways are recognized in the following situations:

(1) accusatively marked intransitive subjects – frequently found with verbs of emotion and sensation (e.g. Old E *mec longade* ‘I-acc longed’; S *boli me glava* ‘I-acc have a headache’, etc.; also important in this context is the expression *stamota me je* ‘I-acc feel ashamed’ and the synonymous *stidim se*);

(2) nominatively marked objects – frequently found in possessive, passive and perfective sentences. Georgian, for example, belongs to this category, exhibiting a passive-like ergative pattern involving sentences with verbs in the perfective aspect and/or past tense and, on a more general level, Moravcsik argues that “(...) the fact that non-ergative languages have passive sentences is just another piece of evidence for the contention that non-ergative languages do have ergative patterns” (*ibid.*, 243).

(3), recognized as the pattern with obliquely marked objects and intransitive subjects. In this context Moravcsik mentions E, explaining that it “exhibits an ergative case-marking pattern in indicating, for a particular set of verbs, whether the noun phrase referent is totally or possibly only partially involved in the event” (*ibid.*, 246-47). This is normally found in a class of verbs mostly related to fullness/filling or emptiness/emptying (cf. *ibid.*, 248), e.g. *John sprayed the wall with paint* vs. *John sprayed paint on the*

- /101/ Sramota **me** je. I feel ashamed.
 shame-*nom* me-*acc* is
- /110/ Muka **mi** je. I feel sick.
 sickness-*nom* to me-*dat* is

To sum up what has been discussed so far, the following should be reiterated. The morpheme *se* is a multifunctional grammatical device of complex semantic structure. Following the results of the analyses done so far, we have adopted and developed further the taxonomy proposing ten different functions of the morpheme *se*. Notionally, the *se*-forms cluster around two basic semantic domains – reflexive and middle. The forms *se*₁-*se*₅ express various aspects of reflexivity, the most distinct feature of which has been observed in the relative distinguishability of participants, engaged in a dynamic verbal action volitionally. On the other hand, the *se*₆-*se*₁₀ forms all belong to middle semantics, which has been defined as expressing two main ideas – a noninitiative emotional response and a spontaneous change of state. In this case it is not possible to talk about the distinguishability of participants – Experiencer (as well as Patient) filling the subject slot comes into the state or process denoted by the verb spontaneously and/or unintentionally. In terms of its grammatical function, the morpheme *se* can be either of pronominal nature, in which case it is a combinatorial variant of the reflexive or reciprocal pronouns, or as a verbal affix, the ‘empty’ morph in quasi-reflexive structures. The emptiness of *se* here primarily refers to the impossibility to pinpoint any specific semantic charge it bears on its own.

wall. Similar pattern can be found in S as well in examples such as *nalij vodu* ‘pour in the water-acc’ vs. *nalij vode* ‘pour in some water-gen’, where the genitive is used partitively. This was particularly closely examined by Ivić (1967: 989-990). A similar patterns mentioned in this context is observed in some negative sentences in Russian, Lithuanian and Finnish. “In all of these languages some noun phrase complements of at least some negated verbs are in the genitive or partitive case. The class of these genitive-partitive complements is ergatively defined: it includes some objects and some intransitive subjects but no transitive subjects” (Moravcsik 1978: 250). It is also important to observe that there is a similar pattern in S as well, although not that commonly used, as it feels a bit archaic in modern S (e.g. *jedem meso* ‘I eat meat-acc’ vs. *ne jedem mesa* ‘I do not eat meat-gen’). The genitive used in this way is normally referred to as the Slavonic genitive (cf. Stevanović 1974: 79).

Chapter 2 has focused on three main questions discussed in separate sections. In 2.2. a brief linguistic profile of S has been presented and a short current sociolinguistic status of the language drafted. S has been treated as one language system with polycentric standardization, represented by three main regional varieties clustering around the standards of Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo. In 2.3. the question of *genus verbi* has been examined and defined. In particular, sentence and its main constituents have been looked at; transitivity and related question have been discussed and a subsection has been specifically devoted to the meaning and function of quasi-reflexive verbs. Finally, in 2.4. *se*-forms, more specifically, their function and meaning, have been in focus. To sum up, we can point out the following:

1. Verbal voice, or *genus*, in S and other Slavonic languages has not been paid enough attention to in the relevant grammatical reference literature.
2. *Genus verbi* in S descriptive, normative and pedagogical grammars is treated mostly from the morphological point of view, but the semantic and syntactic aspects of the phenomenon are also taken into account.
3. One of the most usual viewpoints maintain that the verb can be active, middle and passive depending on the role the subject takes in the accomplishment of the process; the verb is transitive, intransitive and reflexive depending on the position of the object in connection to the subject. Another viewpoint distinguishes between active and middle verbal genera, stating that verbal passivity can only be syntactic.
4. S grammatical tradition refers to middle verbs as denoting mental states and conditions which are come into by the subject unintentionally and/or spontaneously.

5. Being a language with a two-form cognate system, S distinguishes the reflexive marker, which is pronominal in form (*sebe* / *se*) and the middle marker, which is clitic in form (*se*).
6. The morpheme *se* is a multifunctional grammatical device, appearing in several different structures of a simple sentence: reflexive, reflexive passive, impersonal and modal.
7. The structures involving *se₁-se₅* have been found to cluster around reflexive semantics, while the structures *se₆-se₁₀* belong to the middle semantic domain in the way it has been previously defined.

CHAPTER THREE

*Thus the ideal of comfort characteristic of
our age has found its grammatical reflection;
if all verbs of manipulation could become
hypothetical intransitives the world would
be perfect!*

Anna Granville Hatcher

3. REFLEXIVITY AND MIDDLENESS IN ENGLISH

3.1 PRELIMINARIES

As it has been outlined in the Introduction, Chapter 3 will examine the grammatical encoding of the idea of reflexivity and middleness in E, focusing primarily on the grammatical structure of the translation equivalents of the S *se*-forms. Our final task will be to perform contrastive analysis of the *se*-verbs and their E equivalents. Since reflexivity and middleness have been observed as phenomena grammatically encoded in the category of *genus verbi*, it is necessary now to present, examine and develop the idea of *genus verbi* in E and its grammatical paradigm. The choice of topics to be covered will follow the thematic structure of Chapter 2, taking into consideration the idiosyncratic features of E grammatical structure as well. The presentation will again follow the traditional 20th century grammatical school of thought in its aim to provide a comprehensive description of the paradigmatic properties of the observed language segment in theory-neutral terms for the most part. The main reason for taking such course of action is, of course, the basic rule of contrastive analysis requiring that the grammatical structures to be analysed have to be presented in exactly the same way. Another important reason for favouring the traditional grammatical approach is its all-

inclusive scope able to deal with and explain the whole spectrum of linguistic phenomena simultaneously and reliably. Moreover, traditional reference grammatical literature normally takes into account both synchronic and diachronic perspectives when observing the defining features of a language segment, as well as stylistic considerations without which any grammatical phenomenon cannot be explained in its entirety. Some more recent theoretical approaches to language analysis, however, simply tend to disregard this basic fact.

The discussion in Chapter 3 will be divided into three main sections. They will focus on the sentence and its main constituents, looking at the types of subjects and objects, predicates and copulas; transitivity and related questions; and the verbal genus in E, focusing on the passive and types of passive, reflexive and *reflexiva tantum* verbs, NP V (PP) ‘middle’ structures and their classification, etc. With very rare exceptions, the discussion will confine itself to the grammatical phenomena found in the corpus as reflecting the *se*-verb instances in S, respecting, of course, the specific nature of the E language. The sources consulted primarily include the major descriptive, normative and pedagogical grammars of E, as well as the results of the contrastive projects accomplished so far, primarily the YSCECP. The references include, *inter alia*, Biber *et al* 1999; Curme 1931, 1935; Djordjević 1996; Filipović 1968a-1978; 1985; Hornby 1957; Jespersen 1933, 1955, 1965; Long 1969; Matthews 1982; Palmer 1989; Poutsma 1916, 1926; Quirk *et al* 1985; Schibsbye 1967; Stockwell 1973; Sweet 1968; Zandvoort 1975, *etc.*

A few words will also be said about the current sociolinguistic status of Modern E. Namely, its rapid demographic expansion during the last couple of centuries, and

particularly during the 20th century, has led to its becoming a language of international communication on the one hand, and its elaboration into various regional varieties with comparatively distinct phonological, lexical and syntactic features, on the other. Bearing in mind such a situation, it is quite legitimate to ask a question whether it is still sustainable to talk about Modern Standard E as a single entity. Such a question is even more relevant when observed in applied and pedagogical contexts. Limitations imposed by the scope of this work will prevent a more elaborate discussion on this rather controversial a topic. Nevertheless, we shall briefly express our view and explain a standpoint taken in this project. Further relevant literature dealing competently with the topic will be recommended accordingly.

3.2 ENGLISH – ITS DEVELOPMENT, SCOPE AND CURRENT STATUS

E belongs to the West-Germanic group of the Indo-European language family. Diachronically, it has been developed from three Low German dialects spoken by the Angles, Saxons and Jutes who invaded the Island from Denmark and North Germany and settled in it from the mid-fifth century onwards (cf. Campbell 2000: 407 ff; Bugarski 1999: 21 ff; also McArthur 1998). Of four main dialects spoken in *Engleland*, the ‘land of the Angles’ – West Saxon, Kentish, Mercian and Northumbrian – West Saxon became prevalent and the language of the Old E literature.

The language was initially spelt in the runic script, which was subsequently replaced by the Roman alphabet. Old E was a highly inflected language in both nominal and verbal morphology. There were three grammatical genders (masculine, feminine, neuter), five nominal cases (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative and instrumental) and three declension types. The definite article was also inflected for number, gender and case. The verbal conjugation involved two basic types, found commonly in other Germanic languages as well. It was either weak (consonantal) or strong (vocalic). Both conjugations involved further classes and subclasses. The tenses were simple (present and past) and compound (perfect, past perfect and future). The verbal morphology also included three moods: indicative, imperative and subjunctive. Old E managed to preserve its privileged status up until the Norman invasion in 1066, when Norman French gradually assumed the dominant role (cf. Campbell 2000: 409 ff).

Middle E, covering the period between 1100 and 1500, clustered around two basic dialectal groups: Northern (comprising Northumbrian and Mercian) and Southern (West Saxon and Kentish). This developmental stage is particularly characterized by a substantial erosion of the Old E inflected paradigm. This is clearly observable in the case system, the morphological markers of which been almost completely lost by the end of this period. The genitive marker *-s* was the only one to remain. The verbal inflected paradigm also showed signs of reduction (cf. *ibid.*, 414 ff).

The periodization of Modern E includes three main developmental stages: Early Modern E (1500-1700); Late Modern E (1700-1900) and Contemporary E (the 20th c. and beyond). The morphological reduction characteristic of the Middle E has brought about almost total disappearance of inflection. The nominal morphology has been almost completely lost (only the plural and the genitive marker *-s* remained). The pronominal system, however, managed to preserve the morphological paradigm that existed in Middle E to some extent. The reduction of verbal morphology has resulted in the survival of the inventory of only four distinct forms (infinitive; 3rd person present indicative; past simple tense; present participle). The orthography of Modern E remains Gallicized, reflecting Middle E pronunciation (cf. *ibid.*, 416 ff).

The demographic growth of the E language is undoubtedly quite impressive. Having emerged as a tribal language some thousand years ago, it probably had around seven million speakers in Shakespeare's time. In the last four centuries, however, the number of speakers has grown more than hundredfold. Namely, recent estimates show that there are some 300-350 million native speakers of E, with further 400-500 million speakers of E as a second or foreign language. This expansion has led to the

emergence of a number of comparatively distinct varieties of E¹⁰³ (cf. Fig. 17) and broadening of the scope of usage of the language. Thus today it is possible to talk about New Englishes, World English(es), English for cross-cultural communication, International English, etc (cf. Bugarski 1999: 21ff).

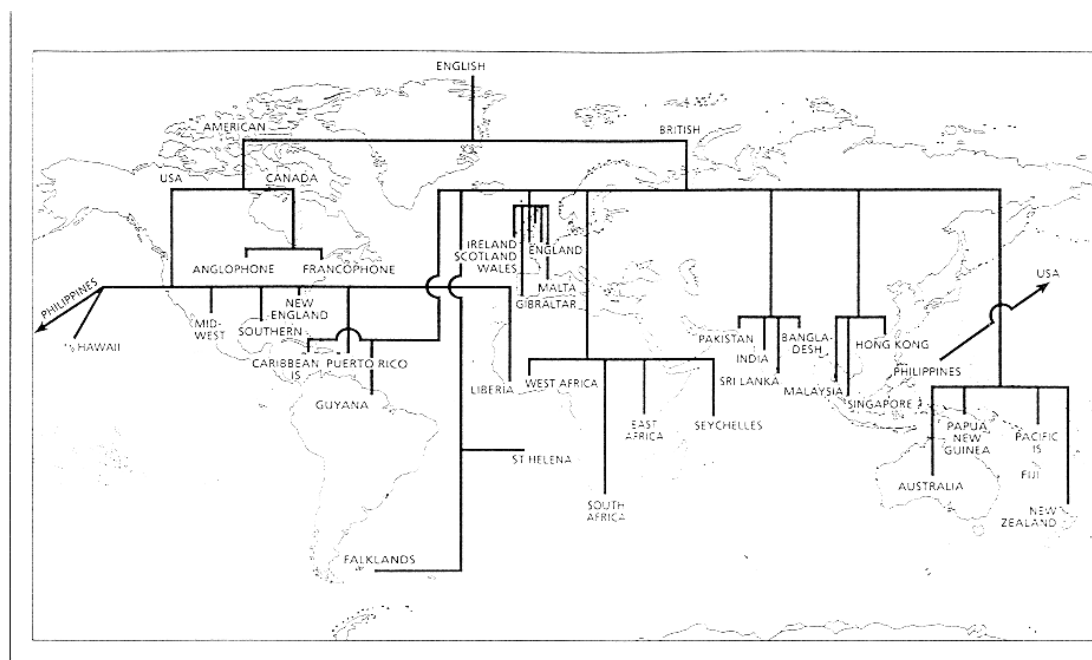


Fig. 17. Varieties of English
(McArthur 1998: 96)

In terms of the role and status of the E language in the modern world, it is possible to observe eight major categories identifying them. Following McArthur (1998: 38-42), we shall maintain that:

1) E is a *de facto* official language in the United Kingdom and the United States of America, where standard varieties (Standard British E and Standard American E) co-occur with other regional varieties of E and other languages (both indigenous and immigrant). Its *de facto* official status refers to the fact that although it is the language

¹⁰³ There is a significant proliferation of literature dealing with the grammatical and sociolinguistic identity of the new varieties. Here are some recommendations. For Ghanaian E cf., *inter alia*, Sey 1973; for Indian E cf. Kachru 1983, 1990, Mehrotra 1998; for Malaysian E cf. Baskaran 1987, Platt-Weber 1980; for Nigerian E cf. Awonusi 1985; for Pakistani E cf. Baumgardner (ed) 1993, 1996; for South African E cf. Mesthrie 1992, 1999; for Singaporean E cf. Platt-Weber 1980, Ho 1993, Foley *et al* 1998; for Zambian E cf. Tony 1983, etc.

of the government, administration, education, public communication, etc, it has never been declared official language in explicit legal terms;

2) It is a *de jure* official language in the Anglophone Caribbean, Belize, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago and Saint Lucia, co-occurring with other local varieties of E and other indigenous and immigrant languages;

3) It is a *de jure* official language in many Anglophone African countries (e.g. Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, etc) without having been either indigenous or a settler language, co-occurring with other languages and/or pidgins and creoles;

4) It is a *de jure* national language, co-existing with other languages in complex sociolinguistic situation types, in Canada, Cameroon, Botswana, Singapore and South Africa;

5) It is a non-official language in Kenya, Bangladesh and Malaysia, but its secondary status in legal terms is quite distinctive;

6) E has neither official nor special legal status in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands and Israel, although it is a widely used language in business, the media, professional life, etc;

7) E is one of the official languages of India, used as the associate official language and one of the national languages;

8) Finally, E is one of the official languages for international purposes, used in the United Nations (one of the six official working languages) and the European Union (one of the two official working languages and one of the twenty-one official languages) (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

Moreover, E is widely used as a sole or dominant language of many professions and study fields, such as aviation, computing, technology, business, advertising,

diplomacy, etc (Bugarski 1999: 22). It is a major source language for linguistic borrowing, so it is possible to talk about the process of Anglicization of many other languages. E itself, on the other hand, has proved to be remarkably flexible and adaptable to new roles and usages, becoming progressively ‘nativized’ particularly through the non-native varieties, culturally and geographically diverse (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*). Finally, there are opinions that ‘a long-term perspective might be to transform global English into a new language’ altogether (Ammon 2003: 33). This ‘Globalish’ (Amon 2000) is envisaged to ‘incorporate national peculiarities beyond those of today’s English, namely also those of non-native speakers’ (Ammon 2003:34) and exhibit pluricentricity in all its main characteristics, namely by carrying a specific norm for each centre, by guaranteeing mutual intelligibility and by accepting each norm as autonomous (cf. *ibid.*, *loc.cit.*; also Clyne 1992).

The following should be reiterated. E, a West Germanic language of the Indo-European family, has been developed from three Low German dialects spoken by the tribal settlers from the fifth century onwards. There are three major developmental stages: Old E (c. 500-1066), Middle E (1100-1500) and Modern E (1500-). Old E was a highly inflected language, with a very elaborate verbal and nominal morphology, the severe reduction of which has been the major characteristic of the subsequent developmental stages. The scope and role of E in the modern world, following its impressive demographic and geographical expansion during the last few centuries, has been broadly categorized into eight types, taking into consideration its historic, legal, political, cultural and sociolinguistic status in the countries where it is currently spoken.

3.3 SENTENCE AND ITS CONSTITUENTS – AN OVERVIEW

Going back to the main task of examining the grammaticalization of the concepts of reflexivity and middleness in E, we shall start with a brief overview of the sentence and its functional constituents. This overview will take into account a simple declarative sentence and its main constituents, focusing in particular on the notions that are going to be made use of later on. The problem of terminology and its inconsistency and diversity is also going to be raised.

One of the traditional definitions of a sentence maintains that it is “an expression of a thought or feeling by means of a word or words used in such form and manner as to convey the meaning intended” (Curme 1931: 1). A more modern grammatical approach defines it as “the maximum unit of grammatical analysis: that is, it is the largest unit that the linguist recognizes in order to account for the distributional relations of selection and exclusion that are found to hold in the language he is describing” (Lyons 1968: 176). A basic segmentation of an E sentence entails distinguishing two basic components – nominal and verbal. Following the choice of terminology already employed when discussing the grammatical counterparts in S, these components will be called subject and predicate constituents. In what follows we shall examine and discuss the ways these constituents are presented and defined in the pertinent reference literature.

The subject, in its traditional sense, is “the primary which is most intimately connected with the verb (predicate) in the form which it actually has in the sentence

with which we are concerned” (Jespersen 1965: 207). Quirk *et al* (1985: 723-4), on the other hand, are of the opinion that the subject is one of the most important elements of the clause, and an exhaustive description of the distinctive features of the subject and other functional sentential parts should be based on four basic criteria: description of its form, description of its place, its syntactic function and its semantic role.

As far as the form of the subject is concerned, it is normally represented by a noun phrase or a nominal clause. Its position in the sentence is in front of the verb, while its function is recognized primarily in the fact that it is, among other things, an obligatory constituent determining number and person of the verb, as well as person and gender of the reflexive pronoun functioning as the direct object. The subject is, semantically speaking, the topic of the clause and the given part of the information. Unless the clause is passive, the subject is agentive, assuming that the clause expressed agentivity at all (cf. *ibid.*, 725-6).

As it has already been pointed out, that the subject can be of two basic types – grammatical or psychological. We can elaborate the idea by saying that grammatical theory started making this terminological and notional distinction at the end of the 19th century, defining the psychological subject as a “starting point in the mind of a particular speaker” (Matthews, 1982: 102). The logical subject, which we are here treating as synonymous to the term ‘psychological’, has been defined in the following way: “Many grammarians use the term ‘logical subject’ for that part of a passive sentence which would be the subject if the same idea has been expressed in the active turn” (Jespersen 1955: 149). Poutsma, on the other hand, defines the distinction

between the grammatical and logical subject in E by reiterating that the subject is “the person or thing from which the predication is considered to originate (...). In some cases this person or thing is not denoted by the word(-group) which determines the form of the predicate; in other words the logical subject, *i.e.* the subject of the predication, does not always correspond to the grammatical subject, *i.e.* the word(-group) which determines the form of the predicate. (...) By the side of the grammatical and logical subject we have to distinguish the psychological subject, *i.e.* the notion which is foremost in the speaker’s thoughts, and which is, accordingly, the real theme of his communication or question” (Poutsma 1926: 7)¹⁰⁴. The significance of the initial position that the subject takes in Modern E can certainly be fully understood from the diachronic perspective. Namely, when the language’s inflected case paradigm started to erode, word order took over its syntactic function. That is why the subject in E, once in the nominative case, is now in the initial position. Furthermore, it is also an obligatory component of the sentence (Curme 1931: 3, 18)¹⁰⁵.

The predicate, on the other hand, is traditionally defined as “(...) a word by means of which an action, state or quality is predicated of a person or thing, or a number of persons or things. As a general term for the action, state or quality predicated the term predication may be used. The word(s) expressing the predication may be called the predicate” (Poutsma 1926: 5). The verb, clearly, has a crucial role in the predicate component of the sentence, which is “to specify or determine what was at the outset indefinite and indeterminate, that the subject is thus a *determinandum* which only by

¹⁰⁴ It is also noteworthy that Chomsky, in early versions of his theory, used to make the distinction between the grammatical and logical subject, the former denoting the subject of the ‘surface’ sentential structure, the latter the subject of the ‘deep’ structure (cf. Lyons 1968: 343-4).

¹⁰⁵ Exceptions include elliptical sentences and imperatives (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*), but that remains outside the scope of our focus. What is important, though, is the fact that there are languages, S being among them, where the subject constituent does not obligatorily appear in the sentence. Moreover, it also remains notionally inconceivable.

means of the predicate becomes a determination” (Jespersen 1955: 146). There are three basic types of predicates depending on the type of the argument it governs – transitive, copulative and intransitive (Matthews 1982: 98-9).

Apart from that, some more comprehensive reference grammars of E make an additional distinction between the so-called ‘illogical’ and ‘impersonal’ predicate, elaborating the idea further in the following way: “A predicate whose subject does not correspond to the subject of the predication may be called illogical. Illogical predicates mostly stand in what is called the passive voice of the verb. (...) Another kind of illogical predicate may be seen in sentences in which an intransitive verb is used in a causative meaning. (...) Sometimes a predication is mentioned without any originator being thought of. The predicate expressing it is then mostly furnished with a meaningless word by way of grammatical subject. (...) The predicate of which it is the subject is said to be impersonal. (...) Impersonal predicates are capable of showing the distinction of tense and mood. Naturally they can undergo no modification for person, number or voice” (Poutsma 1926: 7-8). The notion of impersonal predication here primarily refers to the verbs denoting atmospheric and natural phenomena, which in many Indo-European languages¹⁰⁶ appear without the subject component, and in Modern E it is ‘furnished’ with a semantically empty *it*, a structurally suitable subject appearing with copulative verb predication. Djordjević (1996: 93; also Scheurweghs 1961: 117; Mihailović 1962: 76; Schibsbye 1967: 190-1; Spalatin 1971: 117-20) refers to this specific non-pronominal function of *it* as the ‘complementing *it*’ (*dopunsko ‘it’*), exemplified in the following:

/111/ **It** is raining.

Pada kiša.

¹⁰⁶ Old E also belonged to this type, cf. *Rinþ* ‘It rains’ (Jespersen 1965: 221).

/112/ **It** is Saturday. Subota je.¹⁰⁷

The complementing *it* is seen “as a prop-word – a purely grammatical empty subject-word” (Sweet 1968: 93) and the impersonal nature of the structure is to be observed in the fact that the verb does not allow of any variation of person or number (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). In addition, the structure with the semantically empty complementing *it* used in this way in essence preserves the subjectless structure found in Old E. More specifically, “the original idea here was to call attention to any activity or a state without any reference whatever to a definite subject” (Curme 1931: 7).

A more recent investigation of the types of verbal complementation maintains that there are five such types to be distinguished (Quirk *et al* 1985: 1168 ff). They are:

- 1) intransitive verbs;
- 2) copulative verbs;
- 3) monotransitive verbs;
- 4) complex transitive verbs;
- 5) ditransitive verbs.

The question of transitivity will be looked at in more detail in the next section, when the three main types of the transitive, as well as the properties of the intransitive verbs will be discussed. At this point we shall focus on the question of copulative verbs and examine the specific characteristics that make them relevant to the main topic of this investigation.

¹⁰⁷ Examples /111/-/112/ are taken from Djordjević (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

Undoubtedly the most commonly used among the copulative verbs is *be*, but there is a range of other verbs functionally equivalent to it. The copulative complementation is normally of adjectival, nominal or adverbial type (*ibid.*, 1170-1):

- /113/ The girl **seemed restless**. Devojka **je izgledala uznemireno**.
 /114/ William **is my friend**. Vilijam **je moj prijatelj**.
 /115/ The kitchen **is downstairs**.¹⁰⁸ Kuhinja **je dole**.

In the reference literature these verbs are also known as ‘link-verbs’ and one of the definitions reiterates the following: “Although verbs are necessary for predication, there are many verbs which are incapable of forming logical predicates by themselves, and require the help of some other parts of speech – generally an adjective-word or noun-word. (...) We call such verbs link-verbs, because they serve to connect the predicate with its subject. *To be* is a pure link-verb (...)” (Sweet 1968: 94). Verbs of incomplete predication are copulative, and *be* is essentially “the oldest and the most common of the copulas” (Curme 1931: 26) which “has in most cases nothing whatever of its original concrete meaning, so that it for the most part is employed today not to convey sense but merely to perform a function, to indicate predication, connecting the subject with the real predicate” (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). That real predicate is to be found in the complement itself. It is possible to make a further distinction between three main types of copulative verbs in E. Namely, the copulas can indicate “that a person or thing (1) is in a certain state or has a certain quality; (2) continues to be in a certain state or continues to have a certain quality; and (3) gets into a certain state or assumes a certain quality” (Poutsma 1926: 5).

¹⁰⁸ Examples /113/-/115/ are taken from Quirk *et al* (*ibid.*, 1171).

Clearly quite a few verbs fall under any of these categories. Some of them are: *appear* ‘pojaviti se, izgledati’, *bang* ‘zalupiti’, *become* ‘postati’, *blow* ‘oduvati’, *blush* ‘pocrveneti’, *break* ‘probiti’, *break out* ‘izbiti’, *bulk* ‘obuhvatiti’, *burn* ‘izgoreti’, *burst out* ‘provaliti, izbiti’, *catch* ‘uhvatiti’, *come* ‘doći’, *commence* ‘početi’, *continue* ‘nastaviti’, *eat* ‘jesti’, *fall* ‘pasti’, *feel* ‘osećati (se)’, *flame* ‘goreti’, *flash* ‘treperiti’, *flush* ‘navreti, zarumeneti se’, *fly* ‘leteti’, *get* ‘dobiti’, *go* ‘ići’, *go on* ‘nastaviti’, *grow* ‘rasti’, *happen* ‘dogoditi se’, *hold* ‘držati’, *keep* ‘zadržati’, *keep on* ‘nastaviti’, *lie* ‘ležati’, *live* ‘živeti’, *look* ‘izgledati’, *loom* ‘pojaviti se, nazirati se’, *make* ‘napraviti, načiniti’, *prove* ‘dokazati’, *rank* ‘ubrajati’, *remain* ‘ostati’, *rest* ‘odmarati se’, *ring* ‘zvoniti’, *rise* ‘podići se’, *run* ‘trčati’, *seem* ‘izgledati, činiti se’, *shine* ‘sijati (se)’, *show* ‘pokazati’, *sit* ‘sedeti’, *smell* ‘mirisati’, *sound* ‘zvučati’, *spring* ‘skočiti’, *stand* ‘stajati’, *stay* ‘ostati’, *strike* ‘udariti’, *take* ‘uzeti’, *taste* ‘probati, imati ukus’, *turn* ‘okrenuti se’, *turn out* ‘ispasti’, *wear* ‘nositi’, *work* ‘raditi’ (Curme 1931: 27)¹⁰⁹. It is important to notice that some of these verbs can be used as verbs of complete predication as well, but when they are used as copulas, they are clearly always intransitive. There is a reliable test which transparently shows the distinction between copulas and verbs of complete predication. Namely, if the phrase can be passivized, the verb is clearly of complete predication, and vice versa (Schibsbye 1967: 5). Finally, it should be noted that “(...) although these verbs have some independent meaning of their own, none of them can stand alone (...) without a predicative complement” (Sweet 1968: 95). They can stand alone, though, only by changing their meaning and function, i.e. by becoming a verb of complete predication (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

¹⁰⁹ The S translation equivalents given above should be taken only at a very general level. Depending on a context, the E copulative structures have a lexicalised verbal unit as their S translation equivalent, e.g. *fall* /*fall in love* ‘pasti / zaljubiti se’, *grow* / *grow angry* ‘rasti / razljutiti se’, *turn* / *turn yellow* ‘okrenuti (se) / požuteti’, etc. See also examples /119/-/120/ and Curme’s comment on the issue (*ibid.*, 27-8).

The object is traditionally defined as “a primary word (or word-group) which is ultimately connected with the verb of a sentence, though less intimately so than the subject” (Jespersen 1965: 229). It denotes “the person or thing on which the action of the verb is performed” (Jespersen 1955: 157). The object’s place in the sentence is normally after the verb, which make E an SVO language. It can be either a noun phrase or a clause. Syntactically, the object appears in the object case which is still distinguishable in the personal pronouns, or if the subject and the object are coreferential, the object slot is filled by the reflexive pronoun, which concords with the subject in person, number and gender (cf. Quirk *et al* 1985: 726-7). Modern E distinguishes between the direct and the indirect object as well. Semantically, however, “the direct object typically refers to an entity that is affected by the action denoted in the clause. (...) The indirect object typically refers to an animate being that is the recipient of the action” (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). In IE languages of the ‘nominative-accusative’ type, the direct object is normally in the accusative case, and the indirect in the dative case. In Modern E, though, this distinction can now be observed at the morphological level only when the object is pronominal. However, the distinction between the accusative/direct and dative/indirect objects remains notionally present, bearing in mind that it is the word order that has taken over the role of the case inflection (Curme 1931: 114-5). The distinction should be seen in the fact that “[t]he accusative denotes the direct object, the person or thing affected or produced, and the dative the indirect object, the person or thing to whose advantage or disadvantage the action accrues” (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

An additional distinction is to be made between the so-called ‘ordinary objects’ and ‘objects of result’, also referred to as ‘affective’ and ‘effective’ (cf. Poutsma 1926: 27). The distinction should be observed in the following. Namely, “objects denoting the product of an activity, as in *to build the house, to write a letter*, etc., have been called effective objects, in contradistinction to such as denote things thought of as affected by it, which have been styled affective objects” (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). The idea of the object denoting the resulting effect of the verbal activity is not uncommon in literature (cf. Curme 1931: 98¹¹²). There are two basic subgroups of the objects of result to be observed in this context, namely (1) cognate and (2) instrumental objects.

(1) A special group of intransitives, followed by the so-called cognate objects are sometimes classified as a subgroup of the objects of result (Jespersen 1933: 109; 1965: 234). The intransitivity of the verb effectively remains intact, since the accusative object denotes “a meaning cognate or similar to that of a verb, repeating and also explaining more fully the idea expressed by the verb” (Curme 1931: 98-9). Some of the intransitives frequently followed by the cognate object are, for example, *tell a tale* ‘pričati priču’, *speak a language* ‘govoriti jezik’, *live a life* ‘živeti život(om)’, etc.

(2) Another subgroup of the object of result is known as the instrumental object, denoting the body parts that are involved in the performance of the action, such as *nod one’s head* ‘klimnuti glavom’, *wag one’s tail* ‘mahati repom’, *point one’s forefinger* ‘uperiti prstom’ (Jespersen 1933: 109). An important property of the instrumental object to be observed here is that they cannot be passivized. We shall come back to

¹¹² In a wider sense, this is compatible with Stevanović’s (1974: 550) distinctions between creative and neutral transitivity observed at the semantic level.

this point later on and examine the specific problem of intransitivity of the verbs followed by the accusative objects in more detail.

There are, however, two other important types of object which should be given a closer look at: ‘reflexive’ and prepositional. The so-called ‘reflexive object’, denotes a situation in which the reflexive pronoun functions as the direct object when the two nominal arguments are coreferential. What should be observed, though, is the tendency of the reflexive pronoun to be omitted whenever the context allows, particularly when the verb is understood as being inherently reflexive¹¹³. The same tendency can be observed in case of the reciprocal pronoun functioning as the direct object. For example:

/121/ I **washed, dressed and shaved,** **Okupao sam se, obukao i obrijao,**
and then felt infinitely better. i tada osetio neuporedivo bolje.

/122/ We **meet** occasionally.¹¹⁴ **Srećemo se** povremeno.

Furthermore, Curme emphasizes another significant tendency – namely, the reflexive pronouns can be used instead of the reciprocal one, giving the following example as an illustration:

/123/ They resolved between **themselves** **Dogovorili su se** da odmah krenu.
to start immediately.¹¹⁵

Finally, let us briefly have a look at the so-called prepositional object. Prepositions used in the structure are referred to as inflectional, bearing in mind that “verbs and adjectives which once required a simple genitive or dative object now take a prepositional object” (Curme 1931: 112). This primarily refers to the preposition *of*,

¹¹³ Jespersen, however, maintains that “it is natural that the tendency to use the verb without the reflexive pronouns is stronger in English, where these pronouns are heavy and cumbersome, than in other languages where the corresponding forms are short and light (French *se*, German *sich*, etc.)”(ibid., 112).

¹¹⁴ Examples /121/-/122/ are taken from Jespersen (ibid., 111, 113).

¹¹⁵ Example /123/ is taken from Curme (1931: 101).

indicating the genitive case, and *to*, indicating the dative. Although their original prepositional meaning has been preserved, they are also regularly used as inflectional prepositions. This can be observed in the way *for*, *on*, *upon* and *from* have been used, indicating the dative as well (cf. *ibid.*, 113). For example:

/124/	They applied for a theatrical licence.	Prijavili su se za dozvolu za rad pozorišta.
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The following should be reiterated. The sentence in the E language seen from the traditional point of view has been defined as being composed of two main constituents – subject and predicate. The subject, as an obligatory component, is being realized either as the grammatical or logical (psychological) subject. The predicate, on the other hand, can be transitive, copulative and intransitive, depending on the complement it governs. Impersonal and ‘illogical’ predicates have also been discussed, and some attention has been given to the copulative predication as well. Finally, direct and indirect objects have been defined, and the notion of affective and effective objects has been introduced. Among affective objects two subtypes have been distinguished – cognate and instrumental. Of particular importance here are reflexive and reciprocal objects, which have been briefly defined. They will be observed in more detail in the following sections.

3.4 TRANSITIVITY AND RELATED QUESTIONS – AN OVERVIEW

Historically speaking, the notion of transitivity in its grammatical context originates from scholasticism (13th-14th c.)¹¹⁶ According to this standpoint, the verb represented a focal point, determining the nature of the whole structure – either to be transitive or intransitive. This basic assumption has not been essentially changed by the traditional school of thought, so one of the definitions of transitivity reads: “A transitive verb is a verb that requires an object – noun, pronoun, or clause – to complete its meaning” (Curme 1935: 63). More modern approaches to this phenomenon, though, put an emphasis on the types of verbal complementation, talking about the transitive use or complementation of a verb, rather than a transitive verb as such (cf. Quirk *et al* 1985: 1168). Furthermore, the term complementation appears to be more precise, focusing on the nominal elements governed by the verb, excluding the subject. The notion of valence, however, involves the subject as well, although these two terms are sometimes used as alternatives (cf. *ibid.*, 1169). Schibsbye’s view is basically in accord with the above, maintaining that transitivity should be observed within the verbal functions (1967: 3). He is of the opinion that verbs can be used transitively, intransitively, as copulas or auxiliaries, but the line of demarcation is far from being

¹¹⁶ In Speculative Grammar the noun and the verb were considered to be the main functional elements of the sentence, and referred to as *suppositum* and *appositum*, respectively. It is also interesting to observe that the terms *subiectum* and *praedicatum* were used in logic only. The grammarians of the scholastic provenance observed that a word could ‘govern’ another one by determining its grammatical form. Furthermore, the notion of transitivity was also introduced as a syntactic category. *Constructio transitiva* and *constructio intransitiva* referred to the syntactic relations of the different sentential components involving various word classes. Thus, for example, in the sentence *Catullus amabat Claudiam* the relation between the noun *Catullus*, in this case *suppositum*, and the verb *amabat*, referred to as *appositum*, was defined as the intransitive construction; the relationship between the verb and the noun *Claudiam*, on the other hand, was seen as representing the transitive construction. Moreover, the transitivity understood in this way also referred to the syntagmatic relations. Thus, for example, *terra incognita* would be defined as intransitive, while *civitas Dei* as the transitive construction (for further details cf., *inter alia*, Bugarski 1984: 35 ff; Robins 1985: 81 ff; Lyons 1968: 223 ff, etc).

clear-cut (*ibid.*, 3-4). According to this author, transitivity is explained in the following way: “A verb used transitively expresses a two-sided action (...); that is to say, each sentence may be said to contain two more or less equally important elements: the activity of the subject (...), and the fact that the activity is directed towards the object (...)” (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). Poutsma, on the other hand, puts an emphasis on the fact that “the distinction between transitive and intransitive is, to a considerable extent, rather a syntactic than a semantic one” (1926: 45).

We shall now have a closer look at the classification proposed by Jespersen (1965: 320 ff), clarifying the phenomenon of transitivity in E in more detail. More specifically, the classification will focus on the process of conversion of transitives into intransitives, taking place frequently in E. In particular, there are eight main classes to be distinguished in this context, involving both synchronic and diachronic perspectives. They are:

- 1) omission of the affective object;
- 2) omission of the reflexive pronoun;
- 3) omission of the reciprocal pronoun;
- 4) verbs of motion or change;
- 5) verbs derived from an adjectival root;
- 6) verbs derived from a nominal root;
- 7) causatives and inchoatives;
- 8) activo-passive use of verbs (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

Let us observe this classification in more detail.

1) The omission of the affective object is one of the most productive ways of converting transitives into intransitives in E. This type includes only the cases where the object is recoverable from the context, for example:

/125/ I **wrote [a letter]** to him a fortnight ago, but he **hasn't answered [my letter]** yet. **Pisao sam mu [pismo]** pre dve nedelje, ali on još **nije odgovorio [na moje pismo]**.

The intransitivity of the verbs *write* and *answer* in /125/ is clearly to be observed only at the surface syntactic level, but their semantic transitivity remains intact, and the object, although unexpressed, clearly recoverable. Here is the list of verbs which can follow the same pattern. They are: *add* 'dodati', *answer* 'odgovoriti', *bear* 'nositi', *carry* 'nositi', *catch* 'uhvatiti', *do* 'raditi', *follow* 'pratiti', *give* 'dati', *hang up* 'prekinuti vezu', *leave* 'napustiti', *make up* 'popraviti', *mistake* 'pogrešiti', *pay* 'platiti', *pick up* 'pokupiti', *pinch* 'uštiniti', *propose* 'predložiti', *put* 'staviti', *send* 'poslati', *shrug* 'slegnuti', *shut up* 'zatvoriti', *smoke* 'dimiti', *shop* 'kupovati', *strike* 'udariti', *take* 'uzeti', etc.

2) The second class seems to be of particular interest to our main topic. Namely, the verb can obtain intransitivity by the omission of the reflexive pronouns functioning as the direct object. The tendency to omit the reflexive pronoun is very strong in English, “ (...) [h]ence also the development of the activo-passive use (...) in many cases where other languages have either the reflexive or the passive forms that have arisen out of the reflexive” (*ibid.*, 325). In this context Jespersen mentions the following verbs: *apply* 'primeniti', *attach* 'pričvrstiti', *back* 'podupreti', *behave* 'ponašati se', *bother* 'uznemiravati', *bow* 'poviti se', *complain* 'žaliti se', *declare* 'oglasiti', *divide* 'podeliti', *draw* 'vući', *dress* 'obučiti se', *engage* 'uključiti se', *feel* 'osećati se', *hide* 'sakriti se', *indulge* 'uživati', *keep* 'držati', *lift* 'podići', *mend* 'popraviti', *offer*

'ponuditi', *oversleep* 'uspavati se, prespavati', *prepare* 'pripremiti se', *present* 'predstaviti (se)', *prove* 'dokazati', *puzzle* 'zbuniti', *recover* 'oporaviti se', *repent* 'kajati se', *rest* 'odmarati se', *retire* 'povući se', *rouse* 'podići se', *settle* 'smestiti se', *shave* 'brijati se', *spread* 'proširiti se', *strip* 'skinuti, ogoliti', *submit* 'predati', *train* 'obučavati', *trouble* 'brinuti se, uznemiravati', *turn* 'okrenuti', *venture* 'odvažiti se', *wash* 'prati, kupati se', *wed* 'venčati se', *withdraw* 'povući se', *wonder* 'čuditi se', *yield* 'predati se, dati rezultat', etc (*ibid.*, 326-329). There is, however, another important issue to be noted at this point. Namely, the presence of the reflexive pronoun can shade the verb semantically and stylistically. For example:

/126/ We kept [ourselves] warm by walking to and fro ¹¹⁷ .	Grejali smo se tako što smo hodali gore-dole.
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There is another important stylistic feature to be observed here. The presence of the reflexive pronoun in /126/, namely, indicates a higher degree of commitment and effort to perform the action, which clearly belongs to modal semantics in a wider sense.

3) Very similar processes can be observed in the verbs which adopted their intransitivity by the omission of the reciprocal pronoun. Verbs such as *meet* 'sresti se', *kiss* 'poljubiti se', *embrace* 'zagrliti se', *greet* 'pozdraviti se', *hug* 'zagrliti se', *know* 'znati se', *kill* 'ubiti (se)', *love* ' voleti se', *see* 'videti se' all belong to this category (*ibid.*, 332):

/127/ Can't we meet tomorrow?	Možemo li sutra da se nadjemo ?
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4) The fourth group in Jespersen's taxonomy represents the so-called verbs of change. Their meaning is twofold, observed in the sense that they "(1) (...) produce a

¹¹⁷ Example /126/ is taken from Jespersen (*ibid.*, 330).

movement or change of something, and (2) (...) perform the same movement or undergo the same change” (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). The list of verbs following this pattern includes: *move* ‘pomeriti se’, *stir* ‘promešati’, *roll* ‘kotrljati se’, *turn* ‘okrenuti se’, *change* ‘promeniti se’, *begin* ‘početi’, *commence* ‘početi’, *end* ‘završiti’, *stop* ‘zaustaviti se’, *break* ‘slomiti se’, *burst* ‘raspući se’, *boil* ‘provriti’, *pass* ‘proći’, *drop* ‘ispustiti’, *shoot* ‘pucati’, *beat* ‘udarati’, *spread* ‘raširiti se’, *toss* ‘komešati se’, *blow up* ‘eksplozirati’, *shiver* ‘drhtati’, *slip* ‘okliznuti (se)’, *improve* ‘poboljšati’, *burn* ‘goreti’, *alter* ‘promeniti (se)’, *bend* ‘saviti (se)’, *circulate* ‘teći, cirkulisati’, *dash* ‘sudariti se’, *diminish* ‘umanjiti’, *embark* ‘započeti’, *fade* ‘bledeti’, *form* ‘načiniti’, *freeze* ‘mrznuti (se)’, *gather* ‘skupljati (se)’, *increase* ‘povećati’, *issue* ‘izdati’, *melt* ‘topiti (se)’, *separate* ‘odvajati (se)’, *shake* ‘tresti (se)’, *start* ‘početi’, *thaw* ‘otopiti (se)’, *twist* ‘uvijati (se)’, *upset* ‘uznemiriti (se)’ (cf. *ibid.*, 333). Less frequently the following verbs can also be used intransitively: *collect* ‘skupljati’, *connect* ‘povezati’, *consume* ‘upotrebiti’, *dip* ‘umočiti’, *fling* ‘baciti (se)’, *hatch* ‘izleći se’, *knit* ‘plesti’, *lift* ‘podići’, *light* ‘osvetliti’, *materialise* ‘ostvariti’, *pour* ‘sipati, teći’, *rent* ‘iznajmiti’, *revive* ‘oživeti’, *scatter* ‘razbacati’, *smash (up)* ‘(s)mrviti’, *spill* ‘prosuti’, *spoil* ‘upropastiti’, *stretch* ‘rastezati’, *tire* ‘umoriti se’ (*ibid.*, 334). The difference between transitive and intransitive use of verbs as described above can be illustrated in the following way:

/128/ The stone **rolls**.

Kamen **se kotrlja**.

/128a/ The stone **is rolled**.¹¹⁸

Kamen **se kotrlja/Neko kotrlja** kamen.

¹¹⁸ Examples /128/-/128a/ are taken from Jespersen (*ibid.*, 336). Jespersen’s explanation *ad litteram* reads: “In the former case the stone is thought of as somehow causing its own movement while in the latter case some other agent is more or less clearly present in the mind of speaker” (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). Following our definition of middleness, derived from Manney (2000), we can recognize Jespersen’s comment on /127/ as belonging to the core semantics of the middle phenomenon – represented by a spontaneous change of state. Furthermore, Jespersen’s understanding of the object ‘somehow causing its own movement’ corresponds neatly with Djordjević’s idea of Agent [-animate] which cannot be specified. Passive in /127a/ will be further commented shortly.

5) When speaking about the verbs derived from an adjectival root, Jespersen has on his mind primarily the difference that Old E made between causatives and intransitives, which is the property largely lost in Modern E. Only one form has been preserved which is why it is not possible to talk about the difference between the causative and intransitive use in a strict sense of the term. The verbs Jespersen mentions in this context are: *cool* ‘ohladiti (se)’, *warm* ‘ugrejati (se)’, *heal* ‘izlečiti (se)’, *fit* ‘pristajati, odgovarati’, *weary* ‘umoriti se’, *empty* ‘isprazniti’, *brighten* ‘posvetliti’, *ripen* ‘sazreti’, *open* ‘otvoriti (se)’, *close* ‘zatvoriti (se)’ (Jespersen 1965: 338-9). For example:

/129/ **Has** his anger **cooled** yet? Da li **se** već **odljutio**?

/129a/ Allow **to cool** slightly. Ostavite **da se** malo **ohladi**.

6) The verbs derived from a nominal root behave in a very similar way. Some of the verbs that belong to this category are: *benefit* ‘imati koristi’, *profit* ‘steći korist’, *board* ‘ukrcati se’, *delight* ‘oduševiti se’, *colour* ‘bojiti’, *button* ‘zakopčati (se)’, *count* ‘brojati’, *fire* ‘goreti’, *shape* ‘oblikovati (se)’, *contrast* ‘razlikovati (se)’, *measure* ‘meriti’, *fear* ‘bojati se’, *strengthen* ‘ojačati’, *weaken* ‘oslabiti’, *depress* ‘opadati’, *irritate* ‘ljutiti (se), etc (*ibid.*, 339-40).

/130/ He was beginning **to weaken**. Počeo je da **gubi snagu**.

/130a/ This **will weaken** his position. Ovo **će oslabiti** njegov položaj.

7) Causatives in Old E, although almost completely vanished from Modern E, still can be traced in the pairs such as *sit/set* ‘sesti/postaviti’, *lie/lay* ‘leći/položiti’, *rise/raise* ‘ustati/podići’ (*ibid.*, 141-7). In this context Jespersen mentions *stand* ‘stajati’, *hang* ‘okačiti’, *sink* ‘potopiti’, but there is also a significant group of intransitives that can be used causatively: *dine* ‘obedovati’, *doze* ‘dremati’, *grow* ‘gajiti’, *learn* ‘učiti’, *ring*

‘zvoniti’, *starve* ‘izgladneti’, *stick* ‘zalepiti’, *sweat* ‘znojiti (se)’, *work* ‘raditi’, *speed* ‘ubrzzati’, etc (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

/131/ Rice **grows** in warm climates. Pirinač **uspeva** u toplim klimatskim uslovima.

/131a/ They rented the land and **grew** the crops. Zakupili su zemlju i **uzgajali** useve.

8) Finally, the activo-passive use of verbs “(...) consists in the passive meaning to be attributed here to the active verb, which is thus notionally passive though formally active. Now this *activo-passive* use of some verbs is only the last link of the long chain of phenomena (...), by which active forms have often come to mean nearly the same things as passives of the same verbs (*ibid.*, 350). Here are some examples:

/132/ He **dresses** elegantly. On **se oblači** elegantno.

/132a/ He **is dressed** elegantly. On **je obučen** elegantno.

/133/ He **married**. On **se oženio**.

/133a/ He **was married**. On **je bio oženjen**.

/134/ His shirt **dried** in the sun. Njegova košulja **se sušila** na suncu.

/134a/ His shirt **was dried** in the sun. Njegova košulja **se osušila** na suncu.

/135/ The room **filled** rapidly. Soba **se** brzo **ispunila**.

/135a/ The room **was filled** rapidly.¹¹⁹ Soba **je** brzo **bila ispunjena**.

The verb *dress* in /132/ and /132a/ can be used in this type of structure primarily because the reflexive pronoun is normally omitted, which is the phenomenon already discussed. The verbs *dry* and *fill* (cf. /134/-/135a/), being derived from adjectives, can be used both transitively and intransitively in the sense outlined above. The verbs such as *begin* ‘početi’, *end* ‘završiti’, *move* ‘pomeriti (se)’, *roll* ‘kotrljati (se), etc,

¹¹⁹ Examples /132/-/135a/ are taken from Jespersen (*ibid.*, 350).

follow the same pattern due to “the natural intrinsic meaning of the verbs themselves” (*ibid., loc.cit.*)¹²⁰.

Jespersen clearly wants to reiterate the standpoint that the notion of transitivity, although being understood primarily as a semantic category from the general linguistic point of view, in the E language it is predominantly syntactic. Of a similar opinion is Poutsma, who focuses on an ‘unspecified nature’ of transitivity in E, which is due to the following:

- “a) some verbs have in the course of time changed their status, transitives having become intransitives, and vice versa;
- b) some verbs are used transitively and intransitively without any appreciable difference in meaning;
- c) some transitives have practically the same meaning as intransitives + preposition;
- d) some transitives correspond in cognate languages to verbs requiring a preposition or governing another case than the accusative, and vice versa.” (Poutsma 1926: 49).

In view of the above, there are three characteristic situations that are going to be commented on in more detail, namely: (1) verbs used both transitively and intransitively, (2) transitive verbs converted into intransitives, and (3) intransitive verbs converted into transitives¹²¹.

¹²⁰ Jespersen also points out that there is a significant semantic similarity between this type of intransitive verb in E and, for example, some French and German reflexive forms, which are different from the passive. What is clearly evident in both cases, though, is the pseudo-activity of the subject (e.g. the French equivalent of *it shows* is *se montre* rather than *est montré*; or the German equivalent of *this book reads well* would be *dieses Buch liest sich gut*, etc. (*ibid.*, 351).

¹²¹ Although Poutsma’s claims primarily refer to Late Modern E, in technical terms a period spanning from 1700 to 1900, they are still quite relevant for the point we want to make here. Apart from that, Poutsma’s *Grammar* is still the most comprehensive and detailed grammar of the E language ever written.

(1) The majority of E verbs can be used both transitively and intransitively. In some cases it is quite clear which form is original and which is derived, but there is a number of verbs not easy to define in this way (cf. *ibid.*, 54), which can be explained in the following way: “When the transitive and intransitive application of a verb seems to be equally natural, this is mostly owing to the fact that the action it denotes, although originated by the force lying outside a person or thing, is fancied to lie within the person or thing; in other words the person or thing which is in reality the recipient of the action is at the same time thought of as its originator” (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

For example:

/136/ The door **opened**.

Vrata su **se otvorila**.

/136a/ The door **opened itself**.¹²²

Vrata su **se sama otvorila**.

Moreover, the use of the reflexive pronoun in /136a/ puts an emphasis on the agentivity of the subject. In other words, it brings back transitivity to the verb, although its function here is clearly emphatic.

A numerous group of verbs derived from adjectives and nouns is also difficult to define in terms of transitivity. Nonetheless, when these verbs are used intransitively, their meaning is predominantly ingressive; when used transitively, causative semantics prevails. Thus, for example, *blacken* ‘pocrneti’ can mean both *become black* and *make black* (*ibid.*, 55). Several verbs follow this pattern: *brown* ‘potamniti’, *clear* ‘očistiti’, *crimson* ‘pocrneti’, *employ* ‘upotrebiti’, *grey* ‘posiveti’, *near* ‘približiti’, *slow* ‘usporiti’, *benefit* ‘imati koristi’, *feast* ‘gostiti se’, *blacken* ‘pocrneti’, *darken* ‘tamniti’, *deepen* ‘produbiti (se)’, *fatten* ‘udebljati (se)’, *harden* ‘ojačati’, *lessen* ‘umanjiti’, *moisten* ‘vlažiti’, *quicken* ‘ubrzzati’, *red* ‘crveneti’, *sicken*

¹²² Examples /136/-/136a/ are taken from Poutsma (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

'razboleti (se), *whiten* 'beleti (se)', *worsen* 'pogoršati (se), *hasten* 'požuriti (se), *heighten* 'povisiti (se)', *lengthen* 'produžiti (se)', *strengthen* 'ojačati', *blanch* 'beliti', *enlarge* 'povećati (se)', *fill* 'ispuniti (se), *sweeten* 'zasladiti', etc (*ibid.*, 55-6). Verbs denoting physical sensation also follow the same pattern: *feel* 'osetiti (se)', *smell* 'mirisati, osećati miris', *taste* 'imati ukus, okusiti', *sound* 'zvučati'. For example:

/137/ He **tasted** the food.

Okusio je hranu.

/137a/ The food **tasted** bitter.¹²³

Hrana **je imala gorak ukus / je gorčila.**

(2) Another large group of intransitives belong to the category of derived transitives. There are three main processes that enable this derivation. The first process involves (a) the absorption of the object, in the way which has already been briefly observed above. Another process is represented by (b) the passive meaning of the verb without any change of the verbal voice, and, finally, the third process is represented by the so-called (c) zero modification, i.e. the verb changes its transitivity properties without undergoing any visible process (c.f. *ibid.*, 58).

(a) Object absorption. A basic distinction between is to be made between the pregnant and absolute meaning of the verb. The verb which has absorbed its object appears in its pregnant meaning, while the absolute meaning of the verb denotes the situation in which the object of the verb has been omitted either because it is anaphorically or contextually recoverable. The absorbed object can also be the reflexive and reciprocal pronoun (cf. *ibid.*, 59). Some of the verbs that tend to absorb the object in this way are: *arrange* 'urediti', *approach* 'prići', *adjourn* 'raspustiti', *build* 'graditi', *carry on* 'nastaviti', *conduct* 'voditi', *cut* 'seći', *drink* 'piti', *exhibit* 'izložiti', *explain*

¹²³ Examples /137/-/137a/ are taken from Poutsma (*ibid.*, 56).

‘objasniti’, *fail* ‘ne uspeti’, *feel* ‘osećati’, *fix* ‘popraviti’, *forget* ‘zaboraviti’, *hear* ‘čuti’, *lay on* ‘položiti’, *learn* ‘naučiti’, *leave* ‘otići’, *lock up* ‘zaključati’, *pay* ‘platiti’, *promise* ‘obećati’, *read* ‘čitati’, *repent* ‘kajati se’, *sell* ‘prodati’, *set down* ‘smestiti se’, *strike* ‘udariti’, *take* ‘uzeti’, *throw up* ‘povratiti’, *turn* ‘okrenuti’, *weigh* ‘težiti’, *write* ‘pisati’ (*ibid.*, 59-61). In case of the absorption in the absolute sense, the object still remains discernible and can be notionally recovered.

(b) Passive meaning without the change of verbal voice. This process has already been observed as the activo-passive use of verb. It essentially refers to the absence of the agentivity of the subject, which are normally [-animate] as well (*ibid.*, 64). It is difficult to give an exhaustive list of verbs that can follow this pattern, predominantly because the semantic scope of certain verbs can be precisely outlined only in context. However, the following verbs can denote passive meaning without changing their voice: *adjourn* ‘rasпустiti’, *baptize* ‘krstiti’, *cancel out* ‘otkazati’, *catch* ‘uhvatiti’, *derive* ‘izvesti’, *hatch* ‘izleći (se)’, *let* ‘dozvoliti’, *miscarry* ‘propasti’, *pull* ‘povući’, *read* ‘čitati’, *scatter* ‘rasuti’, *sell* ‘prodati’, *take* ‘uzeti’, *compare* ‘porediti’, *construe* ‘konstruisati’, *digest* ‘variti’, *exchange* ‘razmeniti’, *keep* ‘držati’, *lock* ‘zaključati’, *spoil* ‘upropastiti’, *eat* ‘jesti’, *fish* ‘loviti ribu’, *peel* ‘ljuštiti’, *scan* ‘snimiti’, *translate* ‘prevesti’, *transplant* ‘presaditi’, *wear* ‘nositi odeću’, *cut* ‘seći’, *drive* ‘voziti’, *mend* ‘popraviti’, etc. (*ibid.*, 64-67). Here are some examples:

/138/ This orange **peels** easily. Ova pomoranza **se** lako **ljušti**.

/139/ The door **won't lock**. Vrata **neće da se zaključaju**.

/140/ The meat **cuts** tough.¹²⁴ Meso **se** teško **seče**.

¹²⁴ Examples /138/-/140/ are taken from Poutsma (*ibid.*, 65-6).

(c) Zero modification. This process primarily refers to those inherently transitive verbs used intransitively by undergoing no visible modification. *Catch* ‘uhvatiti (se)’ and count ‘*brojati, računati*’ are among them:

/141/ Her dress **caught on** a nail. Haljina joj **se zakačila** za ekser.

/142/ That **doesn't count**. To **se ne računa**.

(3) The process of conversion on intransitive verbs into transitive is the third major situation to be commented on in an attempt to more closely observe the nature of transitivity of E verbs. This process is represented by five major processes by means of which intransitives can be converted into transitives, but their final number is probably higher. These major processes are: (a) conversion of intransitives into transitives by employing their causative meaning; (b) by use of the cognate object; (c) by use of a semantic equivalent of the adverb of manner; (d) by use of the effective object; and finally (e) by means of the absorption of the preposition (cf. *ibid.*, 67-85). Let us briefly have a closer look at each of them.

(a) Some intransitive verbs, mostly verbs of motion, can be used in such a way to denote causative semantics, by means of which they effectively become transitive. This is a specific characteristic of E. Some of the verbs that can be used in this way are: *breathe* ‘disati’, *burst* ‘prsnuti’, *curdle* ‘grušati (se)’, *dance* ‘igrati’, *float* ‘lebdeti’, *gallop* ‘galopirati’, *graze* ‘okrznuti’, *hang* ‘visiti’, *hurry* ‘žuriti’, *jump* ‘skočiti’, *march* ‘marširati’, *quiver* ‘treperiti, drhtati’, *repose* ‘polagati’, *rest* ‘odmarati’, *retire* ‘povući se’, *roll* ‘kotrljati (se)’, *run* ‘trčati, voditi’, *sit down* ‘sesti’, *stand* ‘stajati’, *tumble* ‘prevrtati (se)’, *walk* ‘šetati (se)’, *work* ‘raditi’, etc (*ibid.*, 68-70). This distinction, though, is not discernable with a number of verbs, particularly if

they appear in collocations bearing a figurative meaning, such as *breed cattle* ‘uzgajati stoku’, *crack a joke* ‘našaliti se’, *fly a kite* ‘puštati zmaja’, *grow potatoes* ‘gajiti krompir’, *pass a law* ‘usvojiti zakon, ozakoniti’, *return an answer* ‘odgovoriti’, *sink a ship* ‘potopiti brod’, *swear a person* ‘zakleti osobu’, etc (*ibid.*, 71). Moreover, there are a number of inherently intransitive verbs, the intransitivity of which simply cannot be semantically traced any more. The modification in question, however, has been produced by means of the causative inversion. Again, some collocations follow this pattern, such as *bathe a child* ‘kupati dete’, *boil water* ‘provriti vodu’, *break a stick* ‘slomiti štap’, *burn wood* ‘goreti drvo’, *melt butter* ‘topiti puter’, *ring the bell* ‘zvoniti’, etc. (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). It should be noted at this point that the pattern ‘have + accusative + past participle’ can be understood as paraphrasing some causative conversions of intransitives. In this respect Poutsma primarily singles out verbs such as *catch* ‘uhvatiti’, *enter* ‘ući’, *freeze* ‘mrznuti (se)’ when used in the following way:

- | | | |
|--------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| /143/ | He caught his foot in the rope. | Zapleo je nogu u kanap. |
| /143a/ | He had his foot caught in the rope. | Noga mu se zaplela u kanap. |
| /144/ | He will enter himself for a race. | Prijaviće se za trku. |
| /144a/ | He will have himself entered for a race. | Prijaviće se za trku. |
| /145/ | He froze his feet in the previous December. | Stopala su mu se smrznula (od hladnoće) prošlog decembra. |
| /145a/ | He had his feet frozen in the previous December. ¹²⁵ | Stopala su mu se smrznula (od hladnoće) prošlog decembra. |

A small group of causatively converted intransitives governs the instrumental object, normally denoting bodily parts by means of which the action is being done. The verbs that follow this pattern are: *beat* ‘udarati’, *clap* ‘pljeskati’, *dab* ‘tapkati’, *fidget* ‘vrteti

¹²⁵ Examples /143/-143a/ and /145/-/145a/ are taken from Poutsma (*ibid.*, 71-72). They are slightly modified.

se', *glance* 'preleteti pogledom', *lean* 'nasloniti se', *snap* 'pucketati', *smack* 'pljesnuti', *stamp* 'nagaziti', *strike* 'udariti', etc (*ibid.*, 73). For example:

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| /146/ She could not help frequently
glancing her eye at him. | Nije mogla da odoli da svaki čas
ne uputi pogled u njegovom pravcu. |
| /147/ All the boys clapped hands. | Svi dečaci su zapljeskali . |
| /148/ She stamped her foot. ¹²⁶ | Lupila je nogom. |

(b) The second process of the conversion of intransitive verbs into transitives is represented by the use of the cognate object. As defined previously, cognate objects repeat and thus intensify the meaning of the verb itself. In addition, they also denote the result of the verbal action and, structurally speaking, can be either uniform or non-uniform with the verb that governs them. Thus, for example, *dream* 'sanjati', *laugh* 'smejati se', *live* 'živeti', *sleep* 'spavati', *smile* 'nasmehiti se' would all govern the uniform cognate object; non-uniform objects, though, can be exemplified in the expressions such as *fight a battle* 'voditi bitku', *run a race* 'trčati trku', *speak a language* 'govoriti jezik', etc. (*ibid.*, 77)¹²⁷.

(c) The third process, identified as the use of the noun phrase functioning as the semantic equivalent of the adjunct of manner, is particularly common with some verbs denoting an emotional reaction. Poutsma maintains that "what stands by way of object with such verbs in this peculiar action is: (a) a noun meant to describe the manner of the activity and, therefore, semantically equivalent to an adverbial adjunct of quality (...); (b) a sentence or equivalent phrase, whose function differs in no way from that of an effective object" (*ibid.*, 80). Examples are to be found in expressions

¹²⁶ Examples /146/-/148/ are taken from Poutsma (*ibid.*, 73). They are slightly modified.

¹²⁷ Uniform cognate objects also take zero derivation; for further details see Matthews (1982: 100).

such as *bow one's gratitude* 'pokloniti se u znak zahvalnosti', *kiss goodbye* 'poljubiti se na rastanku, oprostiti se uz poljubac', *smile one's acceptance* 'pristati uz smešak', etc. (cf. *ibid.*, 80-81).

(d) The use of the effective object, or the object of result, is recognized as the fourth process of converting intransitives into transitive verbs. The effective object can be semantically equivalent to the adjunct of degree or intensity, which is why this type of structure can be passivized. Here are some examples:

/149/ It **rained** a November drizzle. **Sipila je** novembarska kiša.

/150/ She **wept** quiet tears.¹²⁸ **Tiho je plakala.**

(e) Finally, intransitivity can also be achieved by the process of absorption of the preposition. Namely, as it has already been pointed out, the prepositional object is by definition indirect, governed by the intransitive verb. By the absorption of the preposition, therefore, the object becomes direct, which further enables the verb to become transitive. However, Poutsma points out, this conversion can be observed only at the syntactic level, while semantically the verb does not undergo any change at all. This is precisely the reason why it cannot be passivized (*ibid.*, 82). Most of the verbs that follow this pattern are mutative, denoting primarily change from one place to another or from one state into another, such as *fall* 'padati', *rise* 'podizati se', *arrive* 'stići', *blacken* 'crniti se', *wither* 'sušiti se', *melt* 'topiti se', *die* 'umreti', etc.¹²⁹. However, a large number of them can still be employed in a non-mutative sense, when they actually become transitive. Here are some typical examples:

¹²⁸ Examples /149-/150/ are taken from Poutsma (*ibid.*, 82). They are slightly modified.

¹²⁹ It is noteworthy that in OE this group of verbs used to appear with the verb *to be* in perfect tenses, following the pattern also found in other Germanic languages, e.g. in German with *sein*, in Dutch with *zijn*, etc. In Modern E, though, this characteristic has been lost, but it should be observed that the mutative verbs have preserved their intransitivity. For further details cf. Poutsma (*ibid.*, 23).

/151/ The butter has melted .	Puter se istopio .
/151a/ She has melted the butter.	Istopila je puter.
/152/ The leaves have reddened .	Lišće se rumeni .
/152a/ The frost has reddened the leaves. ¹³⁰	Lišće je potamnilo od mraza.
/153/ The fire lit quickly.	Vatra se brzo upalila .
/153a/ I have lit the fire.	Upalio sam vatru.
/154/ Things have changed since I saw you.	Stvari su se promenile otkada sam te video.
/154a/ I will go and change my clothes. ¹³¹	Otići ću da se presvučem .

It is certainly worth mentioning a few other marginal cases representing the process of conversion of intransitive verbs into transitives relevant in this context. Thus, it is sometimes possible for the verb accompanied by the adverbial to adopt transitivity which, at the same time, enables it to be passivized. Here the role of the adverb is to be understood as denoting “a locality or a state into which the person or thing indicated by the object is brought through the action denoted by the verb” (*ibid.*, 86). Passivization is not possible, though, if the object is composed of the possessive determiner coreferential with the subject, which is the case in the following example:

/155/ She cried her eyes out. ¹³²	Isplakala je oči svoje .
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Similarly, passivization is not possible if the object of the converted intransitive verb is the reflexive pronoun itself. For instance:

/156/ I cried myself to sleep. ¹³³	Uspavao sam se plačući.
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¹³⁰ Examples /151-/152a/ are taken from Poutsma (*ibid.*, 23).

¹³¹ Examples /153-/154a/ are taken from Eckersley (*s.a.*, 154-5).

¹³² Example /155/ is taken from Poutsma (*ibid.*, 86).

¹³³ Example /156/ is taken from Poutsma (*ibid.*, 87).

Another relatively frequent process of conversion is by prefixation. In particular, *be-*, *over-*, and *out-* are among the most prominent prefixes in this respect. This process, however, seems to be far more productive in the literary register than in colloquial speech. Here are some verbs that follow this pattern: *belie* ‘obmanjivati’, *bemoan* ‘oplakivati’, *bespeak* ‘odavati’, *outlive* ‘nadživeti’, *outstay* ‘ostati duže’, *overleap* ‘preskočiti’, *overlive* ‘preživeti’, *override* ‘pregaziti, odbaciti’, etc (*ibid.*, 90).

It should be noted that some relevant sources (cf. Sweet 1968: 90) in this context speak about the adverbial objects, in the expressions such as *run a mile* ‘trčati milju’, *stop the night* ‘ostati preko noći’, etc. As previously explained by Poutsma, their transitivity remains only at the syntactic level, being obtained by the absorption of the preposition, which is why they cannot be passivized.

There are, however, some intransitives which implicitly express the notion of reflexivity. Expressions such as *wash in cold water* ‘kupati se u hladnoj vodi’, *keep in the background* ‘držati se po strani’, *keep quiet* ‘ćutati’, etc, clearly express reflexivity which is realized within the semantic scope of the verb itself. This is precisely the reason why it is possible to speak about the intransitive reflexive verbs in E (cf. Sweet 1968: 91-2). Moreover, the more substantial the change of meaning of these converted intransitives, the less the degree of reflexivity observable. Thus, for example, reflexivity in *wash* ‘prati se’, or *dress* ‘oblačiti se’ feels almost inherent, while in *steal through* ‘pikradati se’ the notion of reflexivity incorporated in the semantics of the verb has been almost completely lost (cf. *ibid.*, *loc.cit*). For example:

/157/ The morning light **was stealing through** the shutters.

Jutarnja svetlost **pikradala se** kroz zamračene prozore.

Some more modern reference sources (cf. Quirk et al 1985: 1168), on the other hand, prefer to speak about the transitive complementation, whereby intransitive verbs, clearly, will possess no complementation at all. Here, though, one should distinguish between the three major categories: (1) ‘real’ intransitives that never appear with an object (e.g. *appear* ‘pojavit se’, *come* ‘doći’, *die* ‘umreti’, *digress* ‘udaljiti se’, *fall* ‘pasti’, *go* ‘ići’, *happen* ‘dogoditi se’, *lie* ‘ležati’, *rise* ‘podići se’, *wait* ‘čekati’, etc.)¹³⁴; (2) verbs that can also be transitive and denote the same semantic domain – these are normally the verbs the objects of which are omitted but recoverable, such as *approach* ‘pristupiti’, *drink* ‘piti’, *drive* ‘voziti’, *enter* ‘ući’, *help* ‘pomoći’, *leave* ‘otići’, *pass* ‘proći’, *play* ‘igrati (se)’, *win* ‘pobediti’, *write* ‘pisati’, etc.; (3) verbs that can also be transitive, but with an important difference in meaning: intransitive verbs primarily denote that the subject is the recipient at the same time, while the subject of the verbs used transitively is always agentive. This pattern is normally followed by the verbs such as *begin* ‘početi’, *change* ‘promeniti (se)’, *close* ‘zatvoriti (se)’, *drop* ‘ispustiti’, *increase* ‘povećati’, *move* ‘pomeriti (se)’, *turn* ‘okrenuti (se)’, *write* ‘pisati’, *walk* ‘šetati (se)’, *work* ‘raditi’, etc. The verbs denoting mutual participation – such as *meet* ‘sresti (se)’, *collide* ‘sudariti se’, etc. – also belong to this category (cf. *ibid.*, 1169).

Following this line of argument it is possible to observe between three main types of verbal complementation. They are monotransitive, complex transitive and ditransitive.

¹³⁴ A number of intransitive phrasal verbs also belong to this category. Quirk *et al* mention the following in this context: *fall out* [‘quarrel’] ‘svadjati se’, *come off* [‘succeed’] ‘uspeti’, *look up* [‘improve’] ‘popraviti se’, *make off* [‘escape’] ‘pobeći’, *fall back* [‘retreat’] ‘povući se’, *make up* [‘end a quarrel’] ‘pomiriti se’, *pass out* [‘faint’] ‘onesvestiti se’, *fall out* [‘decline’] ‘opadati’, *pass away* [‘die’] ‘umreti’, *catch on* [‘understand’] ‘razumeti’, *pull up* [‘stop’] ‘zaustaviti se’, *crop up* [‘occur’] ‘dogoditi se’, etc. (*ibid.*, 1170).

The monotransitive complementation is of an SVO type and includes the noun phrase functioning as the object. There are two basic subtypes, one of which allows passivization, and in the case of the second subtype, passivization is not normally possible. It also includes various other types of objects, such as clauses and infinitives (*ibid.*, 1171).

The complex transitive complementation, according to this standpoint, belongs to SVOC and SVOA types, where object complements can be adjectival, nominal, adverbial, as well as infinitives or clauses (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

The ditransitive complementation is described as belonging to an SVOO type. The direct and indirect object often appear as noun phrases, prepositional objects, or the structure can be composed of the indirect object followed by clauses or infinitives (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

There is another very important feature closely related to the notion of transitivity to be discussed here in more detail. Namely, Lyons (1968: 350) comments on the notion of transitivity, relating it with the idea of ergativity¹³⁵. We have briefly observed the notion of ergativity, more specifically, the notion of ergative-like patterns in non-ergative languages as defined by Moravcsik (1978; cf. also note 99). Lyons, however, develops the idea of transitivity by proposing a useful classification of the verbs according to the number of nominals that can be attached to them in the sentence nucleus. Thus, for example, *die* ‘umreti’ will be defined as a one-place verb, since it can attach only one nominal, the subject. *Kill* ‘ubiti’, on the other hand, will belong to

¹³⁵ Etymologically speaking, the word ‘ergative’ comes from the Greek noun *εργων* ‘work, achievement, result’ (cf. Majnarić-Gorski 1960: 223).

two-place verbs, whereas *give* ‘dati’ clearly can be seen as a three-place verb (cf. *ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). Starting from this basic assumption, Lyons relates the notion of ergativity to the fact that there are verbs in E that can be both one- and two-place. He primarily bears in mind verbs such as *move* ‘pomeriti (se)’, *change* ‘promeniti (se)’, *open* ‘otvoriti (se)’, which we have observed, labelling them mutative. The ergative relation here is defined as the situation in which “[t]he subject of an intransitive verb ‘becomes’ the object of a corresponding transitive verb, and a new ergative subject is introduced as the ‘agent’ (or ‘cause’) of the action referred to” (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*)¹³⁶.

Following this line of argument, Lyons goes on to say that a number of other verbs also follow the same pattern. In this context he specifically singles out *grow* ‘rasti, uzgajati’, *cook* ‘kuvati (se)’, *develop* ‘razvijati (se)’, *close* ‘zatvoriti (se)’, *start* ‘početi’, *stop* ‘zaustaviti (se)’, *begin* ‘početi’, *break* ‘slomiti (se)’, *crack* ‘raspući (se)’, *split* ‘razdvojiti (se)’, *tear* ‘pocepati (se)’, etc (*ibid.*, 359). They can be used both transitively and intransitively, but what is particularly noteworthy is that the two-place transitive structure can be derived from the one-place intransitive one by means of the causal operation, resulting in the introduction of the agentive subject (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). When used intransitively, though, their subject can be both agentive and non-agentive, and if they are used transitively, the subject is always animate (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

The notion of transitivity is certainly very closely connected with the issues of agentivity and animacy. We have briefly discussed both issues in Chapter 1, but also in Chapter 2, focusing primarily on the specific nature of S as regards this category.

¹³⁶ We shall come back to the issue of ergativity in the next section and briefly observe the scope of its semantic domain with respect to middleness itself.

That is precisely the reason why it is necessary to have a closer look at the situation in E and define it in more precise terms¹³⁷.

Lyons maintains that E shows the following regularities as regards the relationship between the categories of transitivity and agentivity. Namely, if the subject of the intransitive verb or the object of the transitive verb is inanimate, it is always non-agentive as well; generally, all animate subjects are also agentive; a small number of verbs can also be accompanied by agentive objects (*ibid.*, 358). These regularities can be schematised in the following way (cf. *ibid.*, 364):

<u>Transitive</u>			<u>(Pseudo-)Intransitive</u>		
Subject	Verb	Object	Subject	Verb	(Object)
A: + ag	<i>move</i>	B: -ag	B: ± ag	<i>move</i>	
A: + ag	<i>eat</i>	B: - ag	A: + ag	<i>eat</i>	(≠ A)
A: + ag	<i>shave</i>	B: - ag	A: + ag	<i>shave</i>	(= A)
A: + ag	<i>walk</i>	B: + ag	B: + ag	<i>walk</i>	
A: + ag	<i>build</i>	B: - ag	B: - ag	<i>build</i>	
A: + ag	<i>sell</i>	B: - ag	B: - ag	<i>sell</i>	

(A – subject of the transitive verb; B – subject of the intransitive verb or object of the transitive verb; + ag – agentive; - ag – non-agentive; ≠A – deleted object is not identical; = A – deleted object is identical)

Fig. 18 Transitivity and agentivity in English
(Lyons 1968: 364)

Let us briefly observe Lyons' comment on the above. *Move* 'pomeriti (se)', as it has already been pointed out, Lyons singles out as belonging to a group of ergative verbs in a way defined previously. The verb *eat* 'jesti' is here focused on primarily because

¹³⁷ From a general linguistic point of view, an 'ideal' system, following Lyons (*ibid.*, 359), could be defined as follows. The animate nominal can be both agentive and non-agentive in both transitive and intransitive structures; the inanimate nominal is always non-agentive. These regularities can be presented in the following way:

	<u>Transitive</u>	<u>Intransitive</u>
+ Animate →	± Agentive	± Agentive
- Animate →	- Agentive	- Agentive

Typologically, though, languages of the world can differ from this framework significantly.

of the possibility of it being used in a pseudointransitive, absolute way¹³⁸. There is, however, a significant semantic difference between transitive and absolute use of the verb *eats*, on the one hand, and transitive and intransitive use of the verb *move*, on the other. More specifically, *eat* is inherently transitive, so the deletion of its object gives a pseudotransitive, absolute construction (cf. *ibid.*, 360-1).

The verb *shave* ‘brijati se’ clearly represents a typical reflexive verb. We shall come back to this point and look at it in more detail later on.

Build ‘graditi’ and *sell* ‘prodavati’ both represent transitive two-place verbs, but their pseudointransitive use should be commented on further. More specifically, Lyons refers to the following examples:

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| /158/ The house is building . | Kuća se gradi . / Kuću se gradi. |
| /158a/ They are building the house. | Oni grade kuću. |
| /159/ Detergents sell well. | Deterdženti se dobro prodaju . |
| /159a/ They sell detergents. ¹³⁹ | Oni prodaju deterdžente. |

It can be observed that both /158/ and /159/ are non-agentive, although their Agent is clearly recoverable. Semantically they are very close to passive structures¹⁴⁰, but there is a significant difference in terms of a focal point that these structures zoom in at. Namely, Lyons maintains that /158/ and /159/ clearly belong to a process-oriented type, whereas their passive equivalents are more agent-oriented (*ibid.*, 366-7). We shall come back to this point again.

¹³⁸ Let us remind ourselves that Poutsma makes a similar distinction between an absolute and pregnant meaning of a verb (cf. Poutsma 1926: 59).

¹³⁹ Examples /158/-/159a/ are taken from Lyons (*ibid.*, 360, 361, 366)

¹⁴⁰ We have already observed that Jespersen refers to these structures as to ‘activo-passive’ use (cf. Jespersen 1965: 350).

Closely connected to the question of transitivity is the notion of verbal valency. It is certainly a complex topic, which cannot be presented here in full detail. Nevertheless, verbal valency undoubtedly tackles various aspects of transitivity, which makes it relevant to the discussion presented here. In a sketchy overview that follows we shall observe some basic issues and relate them to the topic of our primary interest.

Defining verbal valency Matthews (1982: 100) maintains that “(...) it is the valency of the verb which determines how many other elements the construction may or must have (a subject alone, both a subject and a direct object, a subject with or without a direct object, and so on), not the valency of an object which determines whether there may also be a subject and a verb or the valency of a subject which determines whether there may also be a verb and a direct object” (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). Matthews derives his views from the theoretical framework of dependency grammar, pointing out that that the sentence should be seen as being composed of a predicator and complements (cf. Fig. 19).

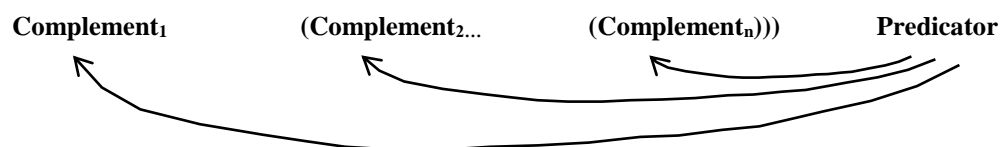


Fig. 19 Sentence structure in dependency grammar
(Matthews 1982: 114)

What is especially important in this context is that transitivity and intransitivity are to be seen as “special cases of a general schema in which a single predicator is accompanied (...) by zero or more dependent complements” (*ibid.*, 114). For the purpose of our analysis, though, we should observe that verbs such as *rain* are to be taken as zero-valent, or aivalent, due to the fact that they cannot take any

complement¹⁴¹. It is certainly noteworthy that, according to this standpoint, “[t]he predicator is the only essential element, and as such governs or controls a subject, precisely as it controls the direct object or other elements that enter into valencies” (*ibid.*, 103). In other words, one can observe the superiority of the predicator compared to any other sentential component. Nonetheless, the bond between the predicator and the subject is very strong, which is explained in the following way: “If a verb is objectless, no unit resembling an object enters into its construction (...). But a subjectless construction is not simply reduced to a predicator. It is also a marker which is specifically subject-like in form” (*ibid.*, 104). This is, in our opinion, a very important point that, to a certain degree, makes questionable the mainstream canonical view on the syntactic reality of E, seeing it as an obligatory bond of nominal and verbal constituents. As we have just seen, in case of aivalent verbs, that bond exists only at the formal level.

Let us conclude the section that has examined various aspects of verbal transitivity and related tangent phenomena. Transitivity itself has been presented by giving a brief overview of the relevant chapters of the most prominent descriptive reference grammars of the E language and some other pertinent sources. In particular, Jespersen’s and Poutsma’s views have been presented most exhaustively, due to the fact that both sources treat the subject thoroughly and systematically. Traditional in approach, their claims have sometimes been observed as obsolete, but it certainly cannot undermine the overall importance of the work both of the grammarians

¹⁴¹ We have briefly presented this issue in the previous section, commenting on the types of subjects, and particularly in Chapter 2, referring to the parallel question in S. It should be reiterated here, though, that verbs denoting meteorological, natural, and cosmic phenomena in some IE languages can be found in structures without the subject, while in other languages of the same family they are accompanied by the so called grammatical subject, which is semantically empty. E is clearly among the latter group of languages.

achieved. We have also observed Quirk *et al*'s view in more detail, as well as Moravcsik's and Lyons's understanding of the notion of ergativity and Matthews' comments on verbal valency insofar as they are relevant to the main topic of this work, although a definite line of demarcation is not always possible to draw.

More specifically, the following can be reiterated. Transitivity is primarily a syntactic category, rather than semantic, which is why it is customary to talk about a transitive use of a verb, or transitive complementation, rather than a transitive verb.

In view of this fact, Jespersen asserts there are eight classes of verbs to be distinguished, denoting basic processes by means of which the verb changes its transitivity. They are: the omission of the affective object, the omission of the reflexive pronoun, the omission of the reciprocal pronoun, verbs of motion and change, verbs derived from adjectives, verbs derived from nouns, causatives and inchoatives, and activo-passive use of the verb.

Focusing particularly on the unspecified nature of verbal transitivity, Poutsma comments extensively on the characteristics of the verbs used both transitively and intransitively, transitive verbs used intransitively, and, finally, intransitive verbs used transitively.

Speaking about intransitivity, Quirk *et al* maintain that the verb takes zero complementation, while, on the other hand, there are three main types of transitive complementation: monotransitive, complex transitive and ditransitive.

Ergative-like patterns, as observed and defined by Moravcsik, can also be found in E. Moreover, Lyons gives a list of E verbs which he defines as ergative.

Lyons also observes the categories of agentivity and animacy, pointing out the following regularity: if the subject of the intransitive verb or the object of the transitive verb is inanimate, it is also non-agentive. Generally, all animate subjects are agentive. Moreover, the object can sometimes be agentive as well.

Verbs can be aivalent, mono-, bi-, or tri-valent depending on how many, if any, nominal elements can be attached to them.

In what follows we shall have a closer look at the concept of *genus verbi* in E, trying to define it in grammatical terms, observe its semantic scope and comment on its major pragmatic/stylistic features insofar as they can facilitate the contrastive analysis to be performed.

3.5 *GENUS VERBI* IN ENGLISH – AN OVERVIEW

The category of verbal voice, *genus verbi*, in E will be presented and discussed from several aspects in this section, and special attention will be paid to the notions of reflexivity in middleness. As it has already been pointed out, it is necessary to take this approach in order to make the contrastive analysis possible. *Genus verbi* will be defined and observed from the traditional point of view, following the framework already used in the presentation of the relevant categories in S. The section will primarily focus on the characteristics and semantic scope of verbal voice as the problem has been treated in the major descriptive reference grammars of E, and other pertinent studies. The terminological diversity and inconsistency observed in the literature tackling the topic will also be commented on. The terminology used here, though, will follow the framework of the grammatical tradition employed throughout the work.

3.5.1 PRELIMINARIES

Prior to having a closer look at the category of *genus verbi* in E let us first observe a few more typological characteristics of this grammatical segment. The issue has been discussed in more detail in Chapter 1, but the features we are going to observe now will help us introduce the idiosyncratic nature of the *genus verbi* in the E language. As it has been pointed out, in the traditional sense the term ‘middle voice’ is often used to designate both form and function. Namely, in some ancient IE languages, such as Ancient Greek and Vedic Sanskrit, it is an inflectional verbal category, while, on

the other hand, its function is also explained in semantic terms (cf. Kemmer, 1994: 179). Let us illustrate both. The middle voice, as a verbal category contrasted with the active one, can be observed at the morphosyntactic level in both Ancient Greek and Vedic Sanskrit:

/160/ Λούω. I wash- <i>active</i>	I am washing (something). ¹⁴² Perem (nešto).
/160a/ Λούμαι τας χεираς. I wash- <i>middle</i> the hands- <i>acc</i>	I am washing my hands. ¹⁴³ Perem ruke.
/161/ Devadatto namati dandam. Devadatta- <i>nom</i> bends- <i>active</i> stick- <i>acc</i>	Devadatta bends the stick. Devadata savija štap.
/161a/ Namate dandah. Bends- <i>middle</i> stick- <i>nom</i>	The stick bends . ¹⁴⁴ Štap se savija .

On the other hand, the function of the middle voice very often is explained in semantic terms, stating that “the ‘action’ or ‘state’ affects the subject of the verb or his interests” (Lyons, 1968: 373).

Moreover, in traditional grammars of classical languages the notions of passive, middle, and reflexive are not always easy to define in clear-cut semantic terms. Thus, one of the definitions of the Greek middle reads that “it shows that the verbal action extends to the subject”¹⁴⁵ (Musić-Majnarić 1970: 64). Semantics of Greek middle forms is rather complex and, according to one of the pertinent sources, there are four basic types to be observed. Briefly, Greek direct middle denotes that the subject of the action is also the direct object, which is clearly the situation that can be notionally recognized as prototypical reflexivity (cf. /160a/). Indirect middle, on the other hand, appears in the transitive sentence where there is no coreference between the subject

¹⁴² Example /160/ is taken from Lyons (1968: 373).

¹⁴³ Example /160a/ is taken from Barber (1975: 22).

¹⁴⁴ Examples /161/-/161a/ are taken from Klaiman (1991: 31).

¹⁴⁵ “(...) pokazuje da se glagolska radnja proteže na subjekt.”

and the object, denoting that “ the action if being carried out by the subject for his own benefit or in his own interests” (Lyons 1968: 373-4). Clearly, this type can be recognized as belonging to the semantics of benefactive. For example:

/162/	Λούμαι χιτώνα.	I am washing myself a shirt. ¹⁴⁶
	I wash- <i>middle</i> shirt- <i>acc</i>	Perem sebi košulju.

Causative, also called causative-reflexive, middle structures is traditionally understood as denoting the action being done for the subject’s benefit. For example:

/163/	Διδάσκω.	I teach.
	I teach- <i>active</i>	Podučavam. / Predajem.
	‘I teach’	

/163a/	Διδάσκομαι.	I get myself taught. ¹⁴⁷
	I teach- <i>middle</i>	Podučavam se / Bivam podučavan.

Finally, traditional reference grammars of Greek also speak about dynamic middle, denoting the action performed by the subject itself. One can recognize the emphatic aspect of the semantics of the structure such as:

/164/	Ρόλεμον ποιοαύμαι. ¹⁴⁸	I wage war.
	War- <i>acc</i> I wage- <i>middle</i>	Vodim rat. / Ratujem.

The emphasis in on the subject itself and the choice of the middle verbal form rather than the active one, which is grammatically and contextually possible, makes a subtle stylistic difference. There is, however, another important point to be stressed. Namely, the subject of the middle structure is normally non-agentive and identical with the object of the corresponding active transitive sentence. This implies that “under these conditions, the distinction between the middle and the passive is ‘neutralized’” (*ibid.*, 374)¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴⁶ Example /162/ is taken from Lyons (1968: 374). Benefactive semantics of this type of structure can also be found in other languages, cf. French *Je me lave une chemise* (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

¹⁴⁷ Examples /163-/163a/ are taken from Lyons (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

¹⁴⁸ Example /164/ is taken from Musić-Majnarić (1970: 213).

¹⁴⁹ Latin is also interesting in this respect. Thus, for example, passive forms can appear with both agentive and non-agentive subject (e.g. *tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis* ‘times change and we change with them’. Moreover, a large number of deponent verbs clearly fall within the reflexive

The bond between middle, passive and agentivity of the subject is an intriguing topic that can be observed and investigated further from both the diachronic and typological points of view as well. Diachronically, it seems plausible that the notion of a non-agentive subject initiated the development of passive as a grammatical form reflecting that semantic phenomenon. This was certainly the case in many IE languages (cf. *ibid.*, 375). Typologically, though, languages grammaticalize this notion in a variety of structures, such as morphologically marked middle, intransitive structures, various ergative patterns, passive, reflexive or pseudo-reflexive structures, etc. Further investigation based on the principles of contrastive analysis will no doubt yield interesting results.

3.5.2 THE SCOPE OF GRAMMATICAL VOICE IN ENGLISH

Bearing in mind the above assumptions, let us first observe that one of the definitions of the verbal voice, with special reference to E, maintains that it is “a grammatical category which makes it possible to view the action of a sentence in either of two ways without change in the facts reported. (...) Changing from the active to the passive involves rearrangement of two clause elements (...). (a) The active subject becomes the passive agent; (b) the active object becomes the passive subject; and (c) the preposition *by* is introduced before the agent” (Quirk *et al* 1985: 159).

What immediately becomes apparent is the fact that the grammatical tradition of the E language normally acknowledges the existence of two distinct grammatical voices,

semantic domain, which is the characteristic that makes them similar to some categories of Greek middle forms (e.g. direct middle) (cf. Goodwin 1965; Henry 1890; Wright 1912). For further details on Latin deponent verbs cf. also Gortan *et al* 1982: 94ff.

namely active and passive. Middle voice, however, is rather a controversial category that is most frequently either ‘denied’ existence in descriptive grammars of E, or used to label various linguistic peculiarities of the language. Let us focus on the problem briefly, and then we shall get back to the problem of *genus verbi* in E by observing the grammatical paradigm and semantic scope of passive.

Quirk *et al*, for example, speak about middle verbs referring to a group of transitive verbs that cannot be passivized, such as *have* ‘imati’, *lack* ‘nedostajati’, *suit* ‘pristajati’, *become* ‘postati’, *fit* ‘odgovarati’, *equal* ‘jednačiti’, *resemble* ‘podsećati’, *strike as* ‘činiti se’, *consist of* ‘sastojati se’, etc (*ibid.*, 736). Most of them are in fact stative relational verbs which normally do not occur in progressive forms. For example:

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| /165/ | They have a small house. | Oni imaju malu kuću. |
| /166/ | Denis lacks confidence. | Denisu nedostaje sigurnost. |
| /167/ | The coat doesn’t fit me. ¹⁵⁰ | Kaput mi ne odgovara . |

However, there are verbs that do not allow for passivization, but do not belong to the category of middle as defined above. The noun phrase functioning as the direct object is semantically close to adverbial. Some of the verbs belonging to this group, though, can be passivized:

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| /168/ | A mile can’t be run
in two minutes. ¹⁵¹ | Milja se ne može pretrčati
za dva minuta. |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|

The ambiguous nature of these structures, adverbial and objective, is particularly reiterated by the fact that both groups of verbs allow the possibility of an adverbial question as well as a *what*-question (cf. *ibid.*, 735-6).

¹⁵⁰ Examples /165/-/167/ are taken from Quirk *et al* (*ibid.*, 736).

¹⁵¹ Example /168/ is taken from Quirk *et al* (*ibid.*, 375).

Let us now observe the category of passive in the E language in more detail. The overview will primarily touch upon those distinctive features of the passive voice, primarily its semantic scope, that can subsequently facilitate the analysis to be performed and support the claims to be made. Once again, it will be based on the most reliable pertinent reference sources.

The passive voice in E is widely recognized as the structure consisting of the auxiliary verb *be* and the Past Participle of the main verb (cf. Mihailović 1967). *Be* is certainly most commonly used as the passive auxiliary, but Quirk *et al* maintain that *get* can frequently appear in this structure particularly when the animate agent is not expressed. For example:

/169/ James **got beaten** last night.¹⁵² Džejs **je** sinoć **pretučen**.

However, *get* used as a passive auxiliary, according to this standpoint, can be seen as a dynamic conclusive verb, which makes a pseudo-passive construction with stative participles such as *dressed* ‘obučen’, *confused* ‘zbunjen’, *tired* ‘umoran’, *excited* ‘uzbudjen’, *lost* ‘izgubljen’, etc. (*ibid.*, 161). For example:

/170/ I have to **get dressed** before eight o’clock. Moram da **se obučem** pre osam sati.

/171/ Your argument **gets** a bit **confused** here.¹⁵³ Tvoja tvrdnja ovde **postaje** malo **nejasna**.

Quirk *et al* go on to say that in /170/-/171/ the value of *get* can also be recognized as copulative. Furthermore, the whole structure can be understood as putting emphasis on the subject which semantically becomes a focal point. At the same time, it also

¹⁵² Example /169/ is taken from Quirk *et al* (*ibid.*, 161).

¹⁵³ Examples /170/-/171/ are taken from Quirk *et al* (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

expresses a dynamic meaning, as opposed to the *be*-passive, in essence giving a stative reading of the sentence (*ibid.*, 162). For example:

/172/ The chair **is broken**. Stolica **je polomljena**.

/172a/ The chair **has got broken**.¹⁵⁴ Stolica **se polomila**.

Apart from *get*, verbs such as *become*, *grow*, and *seem* can also be used in this structure, labelled by Quirk *et al* as the pseudo-passive construction (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

The notion of the passive in E can successfully be observed in terms of its relative proximity to the prototypical representation of the concept. One of the reliable reference sources observes it along these lines, claiming that three basic gradients should be distinguished in this respect: central passive, semi-passive and pseudo-passive (*ibid.*, 167-71)¹⁵⁵. In a nutshell, these are the defining features of each.

Central or ‘pure’ passive represents an ‘ideal’ construction of dynamic meaning, which, at the same time, can be taken as equivalent to its active counterpart. The agent, if expressed, can be both animate and inanimate, introduced by a *by*-phrase (*ibid.*, 167-8). For example:

/173/ This violin **was made by my father**. Ovu violinu **napravio je moj otac**.

/174/ This conclusion **is hardly justified by the results**.¹⁵⁶ **Rezultati jedva opravdavaju** ovaj zaključak.

Semi-passive, on the other hand, is the structure defined as having both verbal and adjectival characteristics. The main verbal characteristics of the structure can be found in the fact that there is the equivalent active form. For example:

/175/ Leonard **was interested in** Leonard **se zanimao** za lingvistiku.

¹⁵⁴ Examples /172/-/172a/ are taken from Quirk *et al* (*ibid.*, 162). They are slightly modified.

¹⁵⁵ For a detailed analysis of the English passive taken as a voice continuum cf. Toyota 2003.

¹⁵⁶ Examples /173/-/174/ are taken from Quirk *et al* (*ibid.*, 168).

linguistics.

/175a/ Linguistics **interested** Leonard.¹⁵⁷ Lingvistika **je zanimala** Leonarda.

Its main adjectival characteristics, however, can be found primarily in the possibility of coordination of the participle with adjectives, or modification of the participle with intensifiers, such as *quite*, *rather*, *more*, etc, and, finally, the auxiliary *be* can be replaced by another verb, such as *feel* or *seem*, functioning as a copula. For instance:

/176/ Leonard **seemed very interested in and keen on** linguistics.¹⁵⁸ Leonard **je izgledao vrlo zainteresovano i motivisano** za učenje lingvistike.

In addition, semi-passive structures imply a stative meaning, partly because of the fact that adjectival participles bear the same semantic information. Apart from the *by*-phrase, there are other prepositions, such as *about*, *at*, *over*, *to*, *with*, that can introduce the agentive phrase or agentive-like phrase. Here are some examples:

/177/ We were all worried **about the complications**. Svi smo se brinuli **zbog komplikacija**.

/178/ I was a bit surprised **at her behaviour**.¹⁵⁹ Bio sam pomalo iznenadjen **njenim ponašanjem**.

Finally, pseudo-passive does not have the corresponding active equivalent. It primarily denotes a resulting state, rather than an action. The auxiliary *be* functions as a copula and can be replaced by some similar verbs, such as *become*, *feel*, *seem*, *remain*, etc. The agent cannot be expressed, and the participle is of the adjectival nature (*ibid.*, 169-70). For example:

/179/ The building **is already demolished**. Zgrada **je već srušena**.

/180/ The modern world **is getting more highly industrialized** and **industrijalizovan i mehanizovan**.

¹⁵⁷ Examples /175/-/175a/ are taken from Quirk *et al* (*ibid.*, 168).

¹⁵⁸ Example /176/ is taken from Quirk *et al* (*ibid.*, 168).

¹⁵⁹ Examples /177/-/178/ are taken from Quirk *et al* (*ibid.*, 169).

mechanized.¹⁶⁰

Some of the passive constraints are of particular importance here. Namely, in the case of the coreference of the subject and the object, in particular when the reflexive, reciprocal and possessive pronouns function as the direct object, the passivization is not possible (*ibid.*, 164). Here are some examples:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| /181/ | John could see himself in the mirror. | Jovan je mogao da se vidi u ogledalu. |
| /182/ | We could hardly see each other in the fog. | Jedva smo mogli da vidimo jedni druge u magli. |
| /183/ | The woman shook her head. ¹⁶¹ | Žena je odmahnula glavom. |

There is an additional very obvious reason why the reflexive and reciprocal pronouns cannot take the passive sentence subject slot. Namely, since their only existing grammatical form is in the object case, this is precisely why it is the only function they can perform (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). Only exceptionally, though, can the reciprocal pronoun be intersected by the verb phrase, for example:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| /184/ | Each could hardly be seen by the other . ¹⁶² | Jedva su mogli da vide jedan drugog . |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|

There is another important point that should be reiterated in this context. Namely, it is possible to observe a recognizable pattern in the grammatical encoding of this particular segment of reality in different genetically similar languages, and “in view of the semantic similarity of the reflexive and passive voice it is only natural that different languages do not always use the same voice in parallel cases” (Poutsma 1926: 158)¹⁶³. The frequency of the passive voice in E as the grammatical encoding of

¹⁶⁰ Examples /179-/180/ are taken from Quirk *et al* (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

¹⁶¹ Examples /181-/183/ are taken from Quirk *et al* (*ibid.*, 164).

¹⁶² Example /184/ is taken from Quirk *et al* (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

¹⁶³ Poutsma primarily refers to the situation in French and German, but it should certainly be noted that the same applies to S, as well. Some of his examples are: *rye is sown in autumn* ‘le seigle **se sème** en

a spectrum of semantically similar situation types is certainly due to a number of factors. Traditional grammatical sources summarize them by maintaining that they are:

“a) the levelling of the distinction between the dative and accusative cases and the consequent loss of differentiation between the notions underlying them;

b) the close coalescing of the preposition of a prepositional object with the verb, which imparts to the combination almost the character of a compound transitive verb (...);

c) the absence of an indefinite pronoun in the function of the Dutch *men*, German *man* or French *on*, by which the English language is sensibly incommoded (...) ¹⁶⁴;

d) the heaviness of the reflexive pronouns, which renders reflexive verbs less adaptable to express passiveness than is the case in either German or French” (*ibid.*, 106).

It should not go unnoticed, though, that some earlier grammarians, though, following the traditional pattern, used to talk about three genera in E, namely active, middle and passive. Thus, one of the traditional considerations of this phenomenon defines the verbal genus and its specific E characteristics in the following way: “The particular form which a predicate assumes in virtue of the relation in which the person(s) or thing(s) indicated by the grammatical subject stand(s) to the predication is called its

automne’ (cf. ‘raž **se žanje** u jesen’); *this word is no longer used* ‘ce mot ne s’emploie plus’ (cf. ‘ta reč **se** više **ne koristi**’); *this is easily understood* ‘das **versteh** sich’ (cf. ‘to **se podrazumeva**’); *the key has been found* ‘der Schlüssel **hat sich gefunden**’ (cf. ‘ključ **se pronašao**/je pronadjen’) (*ibid.*, 158).

¹⁶⁴ Poutsma obviously here oversees the use of the impersonal pronoun *one*, for example, which was frequently used in Late Modern E alongside passive. Thus, for example, the study by Seoane Posse (2001) shows that there were different impersonalising strategies already available in Early and Late modern E. In particular, she focuses on what she calls impersonal passives (e.g. *Altruism is valued, selfishness is not* ‘altruizam **se ceni**, a sebičnost ne’; *Golf is considered a snobby sport* ‘golf **se** smatra snobovskim sportom’) and impersonal subject constructions (e.g. *One does not visit such dangerous countries any more* ‘tako opasne zemlje više **se ne posećuju**’) and performs a corpus-based analysis of their frequency, textual distribution and functional potential in Early and Late Modern E. For further details see also Seoane Posse (2000).

genus or voice, the latter being the ordinary term used in English grammars. We may, therefore, distinguish three genera or voices, *i.e.* the active, the passive and the middle voice, the term middle voice to be understood as a rendering of medium in Greek grammars, which is meant to indicate the fact that the form expresses a meaning that is intermediate between that of the active and the passive” (Poutsma 1926: 13)¹⁶⁵. Let us now have a closer look at the most outstanding features of the middle voice thus defined in the context of the grammatical paradigm of *genus verbi* in E. More specifically, we shall focus on the grammatical paradigm of the reflexive verbs in E.

One of the basic points to be observed in this context is that reflexive verbs in E can belong to both intransitive and transitive verbal category in the sense previously defined. Intransitive reflexive verbs, on the other hand, can be either subjective intransitive or objective intransitive. This standpoint can be exemplified in the following:

/185/	Did you enjoy yourself at the party? ¹⁶⁶	Da li si se lepo proveo na zabavi?
/186/	He prides himself on his skill as a pianist.	On se ponosi svojim umećem sviranja klavira.

According to the above mentioned basic classification, /185/ is illustrating a subjective intransitive structure, while /186/ belongs to objective intransitives. This standpoint maintains, though, that the reflexive pronoun in both cases, although syntactically functioning as a direct object, is semantically empty, *i.e.* “it does not indicate that the activity expressed by the verb is directed by the person or thing denoted by the subject or any other person or thing. The verb is, therefore,

¹⁶⁵ In spite of the fact that Poutsma devotes a whole chapter of his Grammar to the analysis of thus defined middle voice in E, he still admits that “the term (...) has found no acceptance in English grammar (...). Verbs furnished with a reflexive pronoun will simply be called reflexive verbs” (*ibid.*, 14).

¹⁶⁶ Example /185/ is taken from Poutsma (*ibid.*, 144).

semantically intransitive, either a subjective intransitive, (...) or an objective intransitive” (*ibid.*, 143-4). The verbs such as *overwork oneself* ‘naraditi se’, *betake oneself* ‘pokrenuti se’, *bethink oneself* ‘zamisliti se’, etc all belong to this category. It is very important to observe at this point that some of these verbs are *reflexiva tantum* and at the same time clearly semantically intransitive. Among them are the verbs such as *comport oneself* ‘ponašati se, držati se’, *deport oneself* ‘ponašati se’, *perjure oneself* ‘zakleti se lažno’, *pride oneself* (also *plume oneself*) ‘ponositi se’. Verbs such as *oversleep oneself* ‘naspavati se’ and *overeat oneself* ‘najesti se’ are also to be understood as semantically intransitive. There are also some of the *reflexiva tantum* verbs which can also be classified among intransitive, assuming that the reflexive pronoun functioning as their object is semantically insignificant. They are *bemean oneself* ‘poniziti se’, *bestir oneself* ‘razmrdati se, napregnuti se’, *betake oneself* ‘uputiti se, denuti se’, *demean oneself* ‘poniziti se’, etc. This phenomenon is referred to as a ‘fading transitivity’, particularly conspicuous with inanimate subjects, which is “due to the fact that little or no self-originated activity can be ascribed to lifeless things” (*ibid.*, 146). Finally, among clearly transitive *reflexiva tantum* are the verbs such as: *absent oneself* ‘udaljiti se’, *busy oneself* ‘baviti se, zanimati se’, *compose oneself* ‘pibrati se’, *intoxicate oneself* ‘napiti se’, etc.

Transitive reflexive verbs, on the other hand, are always accompanied by the reflexive pronoun functioning as the direct object which is coreferential with the subject. The structure clearly keeps the semantic charge of the reflexive pronoun and the notional separation of the main participants, although the degree of transitivity can be contextually determined (cf. *ibid.*, 144). /187/ gives an example of a transitive reflexive:

/187/ Don't **deceive yourself!**Ne **zavaravaj se!**

A noticeable number of verbs in E can appear in both reflexive and non-reflexive forms, but with a significant difference. Namely, they change their meaning as well as transitivity depending on the fact as to whether they appear with or without the reflexive pronoun. What is particularly important to note here is that when appearing with the reflexive pronoun, the pronoun is in fact semantically empty and can be classified as an empty morpheme as well (cf. Djordjević 1996: 106; also Long 1969: 351-2; Ivić 1967: 991). Moreover, when they appear with the reflexive pronoun they are at the same time also intransitive, since the reflexive pronoun does not function as the object. They become transitive, though, when appearing in the non-reflexive form. The change in meaning, however, can be well observed in the following pairs: *abandon/abandon oneself* 'napustiti/prepustiti se', *address/address oneself* 'obratiti se/posvetiti se', *bear/bear oneself* 'pritiskati/ponašati se', *carry/carry oneself* 'nositi/držati se', *collect/collect oneself* 'skupiti/pribrati se', *commit/commit oneself* 'izvršiti/posvetiti se, angažovati se', *declare/declare oneself* 'objaviti/deklarirati se', *deliver/deliver oneself* 'predati/izjasniti se', *draw up/draw oneself up* 'zaustaviti se/uspraviti se', *enjoy/enjoy oneself* 'uživati/lepo se provesti', *exert/exert oneself* 'vršiti/napregnuti se', *give up/give oneself up* 'odustati/predati se', *help/help oneself* 'pomoći/poslužiti se, *pull together/pull oneself together* 'saradjivati/pribrati se', *report/report oneself* 'saopštiti/prijaviti se', etc. (cf. Djordjević 1996: 107).

There is a strong tendency to delete the reflexive object in E whenever it is contextually possible, i.e. when it does not create any semantic or syntactic

ambiguity¹⁶⁷ (Djordjević 1996: 104; Poutsma 1916: 843ff; Quirk et al 1972: 211).

This primarily refers to the situation when the verb is clearly transitive, and its transitivity remains intact irrespective of whether the reflexive object is expressed or deleted. Moreover, its reflexivity, being inherently part of the verb's semantics, also remains observable. However, the reflexive forms of this type, as stylistically marked, can clearly bring about some subtle changes in meaning, connotatively clustering around the following notions:

a) Descriptiveness, making a distinction between a routine action and an action of a special kind: *dress (oneself)* 'obuči se', *make (oneself) up* 'našminkati se', *overeat (oneself)* 'prejesti se', *shave (oneself)* 'obrijati se', *wash (oneself)* 'prati se', etc. For example:

/188/ The clouds were moving swiftly now; sinister and certain, gathering themselves : grey and purple, flecked with white and furred with bronze.	Oblaci su se sada kretali brzo; skupljali se , preteći i neizbežni: sivi i purpurni, ponegde beličasti i ovičeni bronzom.
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/188a/ The clouds are gathering ; it will probably rain. ¹⁶⁸	Oblaci se skupljaju ; verovatno će padati kiša.
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b) Intentional activity, emphasizing the effort, success, responsibility: *adjust (oneself)* 'prilagoditi se', *behave (oneself)* 'ponašati se', *restrain (oneself)* 'uzdržati se', *settle (oneself) down* 'smestiti se', *shelter (oneself)* 'skloniti se', *trouble (oneself)* 'mučiti se', etc. For example:

/189/ You will have to adjust yourself to the new conditions.	Moraćeš da se prilagodiš novim uslovima.
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/189a/ They are not able to adjust to the changed environment. ¹⁶⁹	Oni nisu u stanju da se uklope u novonastalo okruženje.
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¹⁶⁷ For a detailed account on the interpretation of syntactic ambiguity in E cf. also Djordjević 1979.

¹⁶⁸ Examples /188/-/188a/ are taken from Schibsbye (1967: 198).

¹⁶⁹ Examples /189/-/189a/ are taken from Schibsbye (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). They are slightly modified.

c) Metaphorical meaning: *feel (oneself)* ‘osećati se’, *gorge (oneself)* ‘nasititi se’, *surrender (oneself)* ‘predati se’, *twine (oneself)* ‘uvijati se’, etc:

/190/ He **surrendered** to the enemy. **Predao se** neprijatelju.

/190a/ He **surrendered himself** to despair. **Prepustio se** očajanju.

/191/ How **are you feeling** today? Kako **se** danas **osećaš**?

/191a/ They could but **feel themselves** out of place in these unaccustomed surroundings.¹⁷⁰ Mogli su samo da **se osete** neprilagođeno u tim izmenjenim okolnostima.

d) Euphonic reasons: *organize (oneself)* ‘organizovati se’, *prepare (oneself)* ‘pripremiti se’, *reproduce (oneself)* ‘reprodukovati se’, etc. (Djordjević 1996: 105; also Long 1969: 352; Schibsbye 1967: 199). The following examples can illustrate this standpoint:

/192/ I see him **shaving** before a cracked mirror... at all odd moments **brushing, cleaning, washing, polishing**, so that he may go smart, as a soldier should (...).¹⁷¹ Video sam ga kako **se brije** pred raspuklim ogledalom... svaki čas **se češljajuć, čisteći, umivajuć i, glačajuć**, da bi mogao da ode uredan, kako dolikuje vojniku (...).

In the conversational discourse, as well as in many non-standard and regional varieties of E, there is also a very strong tendency to replace the reflexive pronoun with the personal pronoun if the deletion of the reflexive pronoun is not contextually possible. Moreover, the use of the non-standard shortened form *self* in the informal conversational style, but also as a feature of the journalistic genre, is becoming increasingly frequent. Here are some examples:

/193/ I’ve bought **me** a new car. Kupio sam [**sebi/si**] nova kola.

/194/ Look behind **you**. Gledaj iza **sebe**.

¹⁷⁰ Examples /190/-/191a/ are taken from Schibsbye (1967: 199).

¹⁷¹ Example /192/ is taken from Schibsbye (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

/195/ Had a pint after work to cheer self up.	Oдох na pivo posle posla da malo živnem.
/196/ War crime suspect shoots self .	Osumnjičeni za ratne zločine pucao u sebe .

The absorption of the reflexive pronoun can also convert the transitive verb into intransitive, as it has already been discussed. Semantically speaking, though, it is possible to recognize three basic tendencies notionally clustering around the following:

a) it is clear that the object is fully embraced by the verbal action semantic domain, being at the same time the initiator of the action (e.g. verbs such as *bathe* ‘kupati se’, *bend* ‘saviti se’, *contain* ‘sadržavati’, *concentrate* ‘koncentrisati se’, *disarm* ‘razoružati (se)’, *dress* ‘obući se’, *engage* ‘angažovati se’, *gorge* ‘najesti se’, *hold back* ‘oklevati’, *qualify* ‘kvalifikovati se’, etc.);

b) it is clear that the object is fully embraced by the verbal action semantic domain, but there is no unequivocal evidence that it is at the same time the initiator (e.g. *choke* ‘ugušiti se’, *convert* ‘preobratiti se’, *cure* ‘izlečiti se’, *derive* ‘izvesti, derivirati’, *dismiss* ‘odbaciti’, *hatch out* ‘izleći se’, *kindle* ‘zažariti se’, *modify* ‘preobraziti se, modifikovati se’, *taint* ‘potamniti’, *turn* ‘okrenuti se’, etc.);

c) the idea of the object embraced by the verbal action semantic domain is not clearly expressed or is not expressed at all (e.g. verbs such as *balance* ‘balansirati’, *break up/in* ‘’, *declare* ‘objaviti, deklarirati se’, *develop* ‘razviti se’, *dissolve* ‘istopiti se’, *fasten* ‘pričvrstiti’, *fold* ‘saviti’, *show* ‘pokazati (se)’, *spread* ‘širiti se’, *stop* ‘zaustaviti se’, *throw off* ‘osloboditi se, proizvesti’, *wear away* ‘izbledeti, istanjiti (se)’, etc.)

(Poutsma 1926: 150-3).

As regards the terminology, it has already been pointed out that some traditional reference grammars use the terms middle and reflexive as alternatives, but the same sources also emphasize that the E middle can be observed as semantically close to passive. More specifically, “[t]he fact that the construction with the reflexive pronoun represents an action as both originated and undergone by what is indicated by the subject naturally leads to a similarity in the function of the reflexive and the passive voice (...)” (*ibid.*, 156). The semantic closeness is particularly strong when the subject of the reflexive structure is inanimate and non-agentive. The structure is referred to as the reflexive passive, exemplified it in the following way:

/197/	The convulsion soon exhausted itself.	Grč je ubrzo popustio.
/198/	The trouble about him resolved itself into nothing of any importance. ¹⁷²	Taj problem u vezi s njim pretvorio se u nešto sasvim nevažno.

What is important, though, is that the middle voice, defined in the above sense, is semantically also recognized in the reflexive structures with inanimate agentive subjects¹⁷³ (*ibid.*, 157). The following examples illustrate this situation:

/199/	The cigar burnt itself out.	Cigara je sama dogorela.
/200/	The earth moves itself from east to west. ¹⁷⁴	Zemlja se okreće od istoka prema zapadu.

This traditional approach to middleness in E¹⁷⁵, encompassing a spectrum of semantic domains standing intermediate between the active and the passive end of the

¹⁷² Examples /197/-/198/ are taken from Poutsma (1926: 157); /194/ has been slightly modified.

¹⁷³ The idea of the inanimate Agent, derived from Djordjević 1989, has already been discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to some specific meanings of the *se*-verbs.

¹⁷⁴ Examples /199/-/200/ are taken from Poutsma (1926: 157); they are slightly modified.

¹⁷⁵ Jespersen, for instance, summarizes it by pointing out that “[o]n the middle voice as found, for instance, in Greek, there is no necessity to say much here, as it has no separate notional character of its own: sometimes it is purely reflexive (...), sometimes a vaguer reference to the subject, sometimes it is

continuum, should also be observed from the point of view of its striking compatibility with some recent theoretical standpoints dealing with the phenomena of middleness and reflexivity (cf. Manney 2000; Kemmer 1993), but also with the semantic scope of middleness and reflexivity as it has been traditionally defined in S reference sources. This is a very important point which we shall come back to in Chapter 4, when presenting the results of the analysis. Let us now focus on some other aspects of *genus verbi* in E in a more modern sense.

Some more recent reference and other pertinent sources frequently refer to the structure **NP V NP** alternating with **NP V (PP)** as to middleness (Levin 1993: 25). More specifically, this is the situation in which the subject of the intransitive verb semantically has the same role as the object of the transitive verb, or, in other words, the surface subject of the intransitive verb has been derived from the underlying object (cf. *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*). For example:

/201/	The butcher cuts the meat.	Mesar seče meso.
/201a/	The meat cuts easily.	Meso se lako seče .
/202/	Janet broke the crystal.	Dženet je razbila kristal.
/202a/	Crystal breaks easily. ¹⁷⁶	Kristal se lako razbija .

However, there is no common agreement about the technical term of this structure, either. In linguistic literature it goes under various labels, such as pseudo-intransitive (cf. Kilby 1984: 45), or the activo-passive use of a verb (cf. Jespersen 1927: 345); it is also known as the unmarked passive (cf. Joos 1968: 69), promotion-to-subject

purely passive and sometimes scarcely to be distinguished from the ordinary active; in some verbs it has developed special semantic value not easily classified" (1924: 168).

¹⁷⁶ Examples /201/-/202a/ are taken from Levin (1993: 26).

construction (cf. Dixon 1991: 322), or process of the conversion of the transitive verbs into intransitives (cf. Poutsma 1926: 58); finally, it is also referred to as the lexical passives/adverbial passive constructions (Palmer 1989: 92), etc.

Middleness defined in the above way imposes severe restrictions on the very conditions of middle formation. Following Dixon (1991: 325), one of the basic prerequisites for the middle formation (promotion-to-subject phenomenon, in his terminology) is the presence of some marker denoting the success of the activity. The marker can be an adverb, the negative particle, a modal, or the emphatic *do*. The set of adverbs that can occur in this construction belong to three basic semantic types:

- 1) **speed** (e.g. *slowly* ‘polako’, *fast* ‘brzo’, *quickly* ‘brzo’, *rapidly* ‘brzo’);
- 2) **value** (e.g. *well* ‘dobro’, *badly* ‘loše’, *properly* ‘ispravno’, *oddly* ‘čudno’, *strangely* ‘neobično’);
- 3) **difficulty** (e.g. *easily* ‘lako’, *with / without difficulty* ‘teško/sa lakoćom’) (*ibid.*, 325-326).

A negation is normally used to denote that the activity is performed unsuccessfully, while most modals can be used as markers of middle constructions. The emphatic *do* in this respect has a similar semantic value to an adverb such as *well*. It should also be noted that the structure can appear in the past tense range, although the most frequent tense occurring in this structure is present with generic time reference (*ibid.*, 326). Middle is, however, considered to be a very marked construction, bearing in mind that “the nature of the referent of a non-subject NP is the major factor in the success of some instance of an activity” (*ibid.*, 327). Pointing out that the middle construction is not a very common phenomenon, Dixon explains that “it applies only to certain kinds

of an NP filling non-subject relations, for just a handful of verbs from any one type” (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*). What roles in particular can be promoted into subject position? Following Dixon’s original classification (*ibid.*, 329ff) of the most prominent roles allowing subject promotion, we shall also maintain that they are:

1) **Motion and Rest:** Moving and Resting roles are promotable to subject slot, if they are not the natural subjects of these verbs. For example:

/203/ The custard **doesn’t pour** easily. Krem **se ne sipa** lako.

/204/ That box **lifts** easily.¹⁷⁷ Ta kutija **se** lako **podize**.

2) **Affect:** Manip and Target roles are particularly promotable to subject slot, as can be observed in the following examples:

/205/ That knife **cuts** well. Tim nožem **se** dobro **seče**.

/206/ Clothes **iron** better when damp.¹⁷⁸ Veš **se** bolje **pegla** kad je vlažan.

3) **Target:** The Gift NP as well as the Recipient can both be promoted to subject position:

/207/ Those cars **sell** quickly. Ti automobili **se** brzo **prodaju**.

/208/ The Kingsland police **bribe** easily.¹⁷⁹ Policija Kingslenda **se** lako **podmićuje**.

4) **Corporeal:** The Substance role is promotable with just a few verbs, and an instrumental NP can also be promoted into subject slot:

/209/ The wine **drinks** well. Vino **je** **pitko**.

¹⁷⁷ Examples /203/-/204/ are taken from Dixon (1991: 329).

¹⁷⁸ Examples /205/-/206/ are taken from Dixon (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

¹⁷⁹ Examples /207/-/208/ are taken from Dixon (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

/210/ This straw **sucks** well.¹⁸⁰

Pomoću ove slamke lako **se pije**.

4) **Speaking**: This type distinguishes four different roles, some of which can be promoted to the subject slot. There are a few cases in which the Addressee or, for example, Message-Content can be promotable, which is illustrated in the following way:

/211/ She **persuades** easily.

Nju je lako **ubediti**.

/212/ That joke **tells** well.¹⁸¹

Ta šala se lako **priča**.

6) **Experience**¹⁸²: If the Experiencer is [+human], it can be promoted to subject with several verbs of this category, such as: *scare*, *excite*, *annoy*, *anger*, *shock*, etc. It should be followed by an appropriate marker:

/213/ Grandpa **tires** quickly these days.¹⁸³ Deda **se** lako **zamara** ovih dana.

7) **Comparing**: When the object of *compare* is an NP with plural reference, or several coordinated NPs, it can be promoted to subject position (usually followed by an adverb). For example:

/214/ The travel agent **compared** those two countries in terms of cuisine.

Turistički agent **je uporedio** te dve zemlje po pitanju nacionalne kuhinje.

/214a/ Those two countries **compare** favourably in terms of cuisine.¹⁸⁴

Te dve zemlje mogu **se uporediti** po po pitanju nacionalne kuhinje.

The following generalization can summarize the promotability to the subject slot. Namely, “[t]hose non-subject roles that may be realized by an NP or a complement

¹⁸⁰ Examples /209/-/210/ are taken from Dixon (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

¹⁸¹ Examples /211/-/212/ are taken from Dixon (1991: 330).

¹⁸² The original Dixon’s term is ‘annoying’.

¹⁸³ Example /213/ is taken from Dixon (1991: 331).

¹⁸⁴ Examples /214/-/214a/ are taken from Dixon (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

clause are not promotable to subject; but those which must be realized through an NP (not a complement clause) are potentially promotable” (*ibid.*, 331).

The defining features of the grammatical paradigm of this structure also involve five major rules determining its formation and they can be summarized in the following way (cf. Fagan 1992: 160-197):

- (1) Assign *arb* to the external Θ -role.
- (2) Externalize (direct Θ -role).
- (3) + [___ AdvP]
- (4) Semantics: ‘be able to be Xed’
- (5) Conditions: V is not an achievement or state;
V is not ditransitive.

Following Fagan’s terminology, *Arb*, or ‘arbitrary interpretation’ represents the features that identify the set of properties such as [+human, +generic] (*ibid.*, 161), while the actual Θ -role is associated with the external argument of the verb (*ibid.*, 162). It should be noted that the Agent Θ -role is the usually understood Θ -role in middles, but verbs with subjects other than agents can also undergo middle formation. For example, verbs such as *excite*, *shock* or *surprise*¹⁸⁵, with patient subjects and experiencer objects, can make middle constructions as well (*ibid.*, 162).

The rule (2) stands for the fact that middle constructions are syntactically intransitive, which means that they do not involve movement in the syntactic component (*ibid.*, 163-164).

¹⁸⁵ According to our classification, though, verbs from to this category can only belong to middle semantics *sensu stricto*.

Middles in English can only be subcategorized for an adverbial phrase, as is represented in (3) (*ibid.*, 197).

The rule (4) represents necessary changes in the semantics of the verb, with the input meaning ‘X’ and yielding a middle verb with the meaning ‘be able to be Xed’ (*ibid.*, 194).

Finally, conditions in (5) refer to the constraints on middle formation in English, stating that, according to this standpoint, middles can be formed only from verbs expressing activities or accomplishments, not achievements or states (*ibid.*, 191)¹⁸⁶. Besides, since middles in English focus on properties of the subject, rather than on events, they cannot be derived from ditransitive verbs (*ibid.*, 193).

Fagan maintains that the middle reading of a sentence always implies an agent, but the purpose of middle is to focus on properties of the patient (cf. *ibid.*, 156-157). That is why an adverb used in middle constructions can never be an agent-centered one, or a verb without an affected object (cf. Humphreys 1994: 4875). For example:

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| /215/ | *Crystal breaks clumsily . | *Kristal se lomi nespretno . |
| /216/ | *The police avoid easily . ¹⁸⁷ | ?Policija se lako zaobilazi. / Policiju je lako zaobići. |

¹⁸⁶ The terminology Fagan uses here is essentially based on the Vendlerian typology of verbal events (cf. Vendler 1967), developed within philosophical semantics, taking into account what is believed to be their inherent semantic properties. Here priority would be given to Frawley’s (1992: 183 ff) “four-part typology of events (...) meant to be supplementary, not mutually exclusive (...)”, which includes: states (“static events”); acts (“events that are executed”); inchoatives (“events that unfold”); resultatives (“events that come to an end”). The relevance of Vendlerian views, however, cannot be denied in philosophy, more specifically philosophical semantics, defined by Frawley as “a deductive enterprise, devoted to an examination of what ought to be and from which the actual facts, what is, happily fall out” (*ibid.*, 5). Frawley’s typology, linguistic in its essence, fundamentally takes into account the principles of linguistic semantics, “an empirical discipline, inductive, data-driven, and therefore involved first with what actually exists, not what in principle must be” (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

¹⁸⁷ Examples /215/-/216/ are taken from Humphreys (1994: 4875).

Middles, defined in the above way, are thus general proposals of an inherent property of their subjects, and that is why they are non-eventive. For the same reason they do not normally permit purpose clauses (*ibid.*, 4874-4875):

/217/ This bureaucrat was bribed to avoid the draft.	Ovaj birokrata je podmićen da bi se izbegla naplata.
/217a/ *This bureaucrat bribes easily to avoid the draft. ¹⁸⁸	?Ovaj birokrata se lako podmićuje da bi se izbegla naplata.

In an attempt to define the semantic scope of the middle structure of the NP V (PP) type, the mainstream grammatical literature makes a further distinction between the middle thus defined and ergative¹⁸⁹ structures, observed in the following:

/218/ Suddenly the window broke.	Prozor se iznenada razbio.
/218a/ Be careful, the window breaks easily. ¹⁹⁰	Pazi, prozor se lako razbija.

According to this standpoint (cf. Kilby 1984: 45-46) there are four major criteria for distinguishing ergative from middle sentences¹⁹¹:

- a) middle sentences (cf. /218a/) are generic, while ergative (cf. /218/) refer to a specific event;
- b) activity on an agent is understood, although unexpressed in middle sentences, while the ergative concept does not suggest any such activity;
- c) middle constructions are very often (if not always) accompanied by an adverbial or modal determination of the verb, negation or phrases beginning with *like*:

/219/ This material washes well.	Ovaj materijal se lepo pere.
/220/ The door won't shut. ¹⁹²	Vrata neće da se zatvore.

¹⁸⁸ Examples /217/-/217a/ are taken from Humphreys (*ibid.*, 4874).

¹⁸⁹ By 'ergative', following Lyons, we here assume "the syntactic parallelism between the 'goal' of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive verb" (1968: 342).

¹⁹⁰ Examples /218/-/218a/ are taken from Kilby (1984: 45).

¹⁹¹ Kilby's original term is pseudo-intransitive (cf. *ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

/221/ His new book is selling **like hot cakes**. Njegova nova knjiga prodaje se **kao alva**.

d) finally, the use of the coordination test will show that when ergative verbs are coordinated with middle ones, the whole construction can be interpreted as middle.

For example:

/222/ This cup won't **scratch or break**.¹⁹³ Ova šolja neće **se ni izgrebati ni razbiti**.

It is also very important to notice that only action verbs can be used in middle sentences, though under certain restrictions. Namely, the subject in this construction “undergoes the action of the verb with a certain result, or in a certain manner” (*ibid.*, 47), but also makes “a major contribution to the course or outcome of the action exercised upon it” (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*).

For the purposes of our analysis, though, we shall maintain that ergative, as defined above, notionally still falls within the prototypical representation of middleness and represents one of its manifestations, clearly retaining all the major defining characteristics of it. To be more precise, middleness here is to be understood as a hyperonym, semantically embracing ergativity as its subcategory.

There is, however, another important feature of the semantic domain of the structure NP V (PP) to be observed at this stage. Namely, there is a narrow, but certainly important, segment of this semantic field where it is possible to recognize a significant overlap in meaning that some middle and reflexive forms denote. This phenomenon has particularly been pointed out by Levin (1993: 84 ff). More precisely,

¹⁹² Examples /219/-/220/ are taken from Kilby (*ibid.*, 46).

¹⁹³ Example /222/ is taken from Kilby (*ibid.*, *loc.cit.*).

when talking about the reflexive diathesis alternation (or virtual reflexive construction, in Levin's terminology), she observed the situation in which reflexivity can sometimes occupy the semantic domain of the middle one, although the verb retains its transitivity by taking the reflexive pronoun (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*). The following examples illustrate this situation:

/223/	The butcher cuts the meat.	Mesar seče meso.
/223a/	This meat cuts itself .	Meso se sâmo seče.
/223b/	This meat cuts easily.	Meso se lako seče .
/224/	The butler polished the silver.	Batler je uglačao srebro.
/224a/	The silver polishes itself .	Srebro se sâmo glača.
/224b/	The silver polishes well. ¹⁹⁴	Srebro se dobro glača .

What should be particularly emphasized at this point is the following. Namely, middle constructions, together with reflexive and reciprocal, all belong to the active verbal voice in English, unlike some other languages, e.g. Greek (cf. Barber 1975: 21). In other words, the active voice “subsumes all the cases in which the subject is agent (...), and the passive takes care of the remaining case, the one in which the subject is **not** performing the action” (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*).

Concluding remarks of the presentation of *genus verbi* in E, its grammatical paradigm and semantic scope, will briefly address some of its pragmatic and stylistic features that fully define the proper nature of this phenomenon¹⁹⁵.

¹⁹⁴ Examples /223/-/224b/ are taken from Levin (1993: 84).

¹⁹⁵ Biber *et al* 1999 give a detailed breakdown of the frequency of occurrences of grammatical structures in spoken and written E, including the grammatical phenomena within *genus verbi* domain, which is based on the results of a detailed corpus-based analysis.

What is particularly noteworthy in this context is that the NP V (PP) structure is very frequently used in certain discourses of Modern E, such as advertizing¹⁹⁶. There is a very transparent explanation of this phenomenon we are inclined to accept, which maintains that “(...) the idea of an agent is absolutely necessary for the implication of the verb; it is impossible to disregard the role played by the agent, for it is he who makes it possible for the subject to realize its proper function. (...) The suggestion of a hypothetical agent constitutes an appeal to none other than the potential buyer himself, whose existence is taken for granted and who is implicitly invited to test the capacities of the various commodities (...) (Hatcher 1943: 12). The verbs used in the structure are seen to be hypothetical intransitives, since the idea of an Agent is indispensable in the realization of the verbal action (*ibid.*, *loc cit.*). For example:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| /225/ | Couches convert easily into beds. | Kaučevi se lako rasklapaju . |
| /226/ | Bed-lamps attach and adjust easily. | Noćne lampe se lako pričvršćuju i podešavaju . |
| /227/ | The clock winds easily. ¹⁹⁷ | Sat se lako navija . |

This aspect of the NP V (PP) phenomenon can also be understood as the syntax rendering of the interactive processes of the metaphorical substitution *persona pro re* as well as the reverse one - *res pro persona*, which are very frequently found in everyday speech (cf. *ibid.*, 17). What might be concluded is that this special intransitive use of some English verbs with both animate and inanimate subjects neatly reflects this peculiarity of common metaphorical extensions found in modern language trying to “conjure up a utopian world where all the material and mechanical

¹⁹⁶ We are grateful to Dr Maarten Lemmens of The University Charles de Gaulle, Lille 3, who kindly drew our attention to the work of Davidse (e.g. 1992) and her explanation of the use of this structure in the advertising discourse, which is very much along these lines. In addition, Dr Lemmens’ account of lexical semantics of E ‘middable’ verbs (cf. Lemmens 1998a; 1998b) has also been found compatible with the main line of argument of this work.

¹⁹⁷ Examples /225/-/227/ are taken from Hatcher (1943: 12).

factors of our civilization ‘operate’ smoothly, easily, to the end that man shall be more comfortable – a world where the pass-word is ‘easy’” (*ibid.*, 13).

Some fairly recent studies (cf. Bruthiaux 2001), however, show that the NP V (PP) structure of the above type is also becoming very frequent in the discourse of Information Technology (henceforth IT) particularly related to computer software and Internet-based products. For example:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| /228/ | This MS-DOS program has terminated . | Ovaj MS-DOS program se završio . |
| /229/ | The icon will copy to your desktop. | Ikonica će se kopirati na vaš desktop. |
| /230/ | The menu will repeat . | Meni će se ponoviti . |
| /231/ | Modem will disconnect after 20 minutes of inactivity. ¹⁹⁸ | Modem će se isključiti ako nije u upotrebi duže od 20 minuta. |

Bruthiaux, referring to the structure as to metaphorical unaccusativity, argues that “the active intransitive use of verbs in this context reflects a comparable desire on the part of IT writers to present their products through the metaphor of active, dynamic entities with quasi-human control over their own operations and capable of human-like volitionality rather than as the passive sums of their mechanical parts”(*ibid.*, *op.cit*). This trend has its roots in the earlier technical discourse of the military, civil aviation, as well as space exploration.

Bruthiaux goes on to say that “this phenomenon is a further illustration of a frequently noted trend towards the reification of processes characteristic of technical communication in general. It will echo earlier interpretations of this reification that see the human mind as struggling with the inherent instability of processes. (...) The

¹⁹⁸ Examples /228/-231/ are taken from Bruthiaux 2001.

as the concept of transitivity. The main intention has been to present and discuss all the relevant grammatical forms that can encode the notions of reflexivity and middleness as defined here. More specifically, to observe all the grammatical categories that can stand as translation equivalents of S *se*-verbs and the meaning they convey. Structurally, the chapter largely followed the pattern of Chapter 2, since it is a prerequisite required for the analysis we are about to perform.

The following can be concluded:

1. Grammatical literature exhibits a noticeable terminological diversity when referring to the category of *genus verbi*. In E grammatical tradition the terms verbal voice and diathesis has become most frequently used.
2. Anglo-Saxon grammatical tradition does not always employ the term middle verb/voice to denote the same grammatical phenomenon; middle verbs in Quirk *et al* (1985) denote the verbs than cannot be passivized, while Poutsma (1926) uses reflexive and middle voice as alternatives.
3. Passive voice, on the other hand, is a grammatically marked category in E, formally represented by the connection of the auxiliary *be* (*get*, *become*, etc.) and the past participle of the main verb. The main difference between the *be*-passive and the *get*-passive Quirk *et al* (1985) define as the difference between a static and dynamic meaning.

4. Grammatical tradition makes use of the notion of the passive gradient, distinguishing between central, semi- and pseudo-passive. There is no clear line of demarcation between the gradients.

5. Passiveness, intransitivity and reflexivity are closely connected categories in E. Thus, it is customary to talk about reflexive verbs expressing strong passive meaning (particularly if the subject is inanimate). Passive force can also be recognized in verbs which have become intransitive by losing the reflexive pronoun. Finally, there are cases in which the passive structure semantically expresses reflexivity.

6. The middle structure in a more modern sense of the term subsumes **NP V NP** alternating with **NP V (PP)** (Levin 1993), which is the situation when the subject of the intransitive verb semantically has the same role as the object of the transitive verb, or, in other words, the surface subject of the intransitive verb has been derived from the underlying object. It belongs to the active verbal voice, though.

7. Middle sentences in the above sense of the term are generic; activity of an agent is understood, but it is unexpressed; middle verbs are accompanied by an adverbial or modal determination. They are general proposals of an inherent property of their subjects, which is why they are non-eventive and never followed by an agent-oriented adverb.

8. Certain discourses, such as advertising and IT, seem to accommodate the middle structure defined in the above way comparatively frequently. There are stylistic and pragmatic implications of that.

CHAPTER FOUR

Hamlet: *Do you see yonder cloud that's almost in shape of a camel?*

Polonius: *By the mass, and 'tis like a camel, indeed.*

Hamlet: *Methinks it is like a weasel.*

Polonius: *It is backed like a weasel.*

Hamlet: *Or like a whale?*

Polonius: *Very like a whale.*

William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* (III.2.400-406)

4. REFLEXIVITY AND MIDDLENESS IN SERBIAN AND ENGLISH – RESULTS OF THE CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

4.1 PRELIMINARIES

Chapter 4 will present the results of the contrastive analysis of the S *se*-verbs and their E equivalents taking the notions of prototypical reflexivity and middleness as the overall platform of reference. As outlined and discussed in Chapter 1, the analysis to be performed is a corpus based bilingual monodirectional contrastive analysis of the grammatical categories in question.

The process of analyses has included the following stages. S *se*-verbs have been focused on, and their translation equivalents in E have been established. The *tertium comparationis* has been initially found precisely in that overall platform of reference where the theoretical overview had started from – conceptualization of prototypical reflexivity and middleness as ontological entities. The analysis itself, however, will look at ways it has been grammaticalized, expressed in grammatical terms, across the contrasted languages, observing it through the optics of the S *se*-verbs grammatical paradigm. For the sake of clarity and precision, a terminological distinction will be made between the overall platform of reference, represented by the prototypical

representation of the concepts in question, which remains unchanged, and the traditionally defined *tertium comparationis*, which will be established accordingly.

More precisely, apart from establishing the results of the analysis at the semantic level in the sense defined above, they will be found and presented at the morphological, syntactic and, to a lesser degree, pragmatic and stylistic levels as well. In each of the mentioned cases *tertium comparationis* will be established following its traditional pattern – morphological structure, syntactic function, pragmatic/stylistic effect.

The presentation of the results will essentially follow the traditional school of contrastive linguistics – the main goal of the analysis itself is to establish the relationship of similarity and difference between the analyzed grammatical segments and to propose the so-called contrastive rule. As it has been pointed out, traditional contrastive studies used to make further distinction between absolute and partial similarity, but the concept has largely been abandoned. In accordance with that mainstream tendency, our decision here has been to take a more modern approach and adopt a more recent concept of relative similarity, found particularly productive in contrastive studies based on prototype approaches. Thus similarity and difference are to be established in terms of their relative proximity to the prototypical concepts of reflexivity and middleness as been defined in Chapter 1. Technically and methodologically, the presentation will follow the pattern deployed in *Kontrastivna gramatika* and the YSCECP, in order to make it complement and supplement the results presented therein.

In particular, similarities and differences will be finally listed in the following way:

1. Similarities:

- (a) morphological level
- (b) syntactic level
- (c) pragmatic/stylistic level

2. Differences:

- (a) morphological level
- (b) syntactic level
- (c) pragmatic/stylistic level

Finally, the findings will be presented in a form of the possible contrastive rule. The chapter will conclude by a short discussion of some practical applications of such analysis. Possible directions for further investigation in the field will be finally proposed.

4.2 RESULTS OF THE CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS – AN OVERVIEW

As outlined in Chapter 1, Chapter 4 will focus on presenting the results of the contrastive analysis of the S *se*-verbs and their E translation equivalents. The analysis will be based on the descriptive accounts of the phenomenon in question elaborated in Chapters 2 and 3. Finally, the theoretical framework will follow the outline presented in Chapter 1. More specifically, it will follow the traditional approach to contrastive studies, maintaining all the major characteristics of the legacy of 20th century European contrastive linguistics school of thought for the most part. The innovations implemented, on the other hand, primarily deal with the methodological improvements and follow the pattern already employed in some contrastive studies recently carried out. Here, we primarily refer to the redefinition of the concept of similarity which has abandoned the rigidity of the notion as it was grasped during some previous periods of contrastive studies. There is an additional reason for this. Namely, following the positive experience of some recent contrastive projects that have incorporated this and other methodological improvements discussed previously, we maintain that it is possible to achieve contrastively valuable results and shed new light on the phenomena that would otherwise remain unnoticed.

4.2.1. THE CORPUS OF EXAPMLES – MAIN CHARACTERISTICS

The presentation of the results of the analysis should certainly start with a brief overview of the process and its main characteristics. It has already been pointed out that the project has been carried out in several stages, one of the most important of

which being the compilation of the corpus of examples. Since the focus of the analysis has been put on the S *se*-verbs, it has clearly been necessary to start from creating a corpus of representative written and oral samples of modern S.

When it comes to finding relevant samples of modern standard S, the most useful pieces of information have been found in various electronic text corpora providing representative samples of written and, to a lesser degree, oral production of the language¹⁹⁸. The second most important source of useful examples has been found in the various linguistic literatures dealing with the relevant topics, more specifically, in the YSCECP publications and the subsequent contrastive literature (most notably, *Kontrastivna gramatika imeničke grupe* and *Kontrastivni primeri*), descriptive grammars, pertinent articles and linguistic studies. The exhaustive list of the sources has been given at the beginning of Chapter 2. Another very useful source has no doubt been the electronic text corpora *Hrvatski nacionalni korpus* (Croatian National Corpus)¹⁹⁹, a searchable electronic collection of samples that includes a representative number of instances of the language's written production particularly from its Serbo-Croat pre-1990 period. The particular relevance of this collection is also to be found in the fact that it has produced a frequency list of the most commonly occurring words, revealing that *se* is the fourth most frequent word in the language, being found after *i* 'and', *u* 'in, at', *je* 'is', with the total number of occurrences just below 150,000 out of approximately 9 million words the Corpus contains at the moment (cf. Fig.20).

¹⁹⁸ An exhaustive collection of links to the S text corpora is to be found at the URL: <http://main.amu.edu.pl/~sipkadan/korpus.html>; for a comprehensive bibliography of dictionaries, cf. Šipka 2000.

¹⁹⁹ The compilation of *Hrvatski nacionalni korpus* is still in progress. The aim of the editors, Dr Marko Tadić of Zagreb University and his associates, is to compile a corpus of Modern Standard Croatian, containing some 30 million words and representing various genres, including imaginative prose, articles from newspapers and magazines, essays, etc. The corpus can be accessed at the following URL: <http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr>.

Since the analysis wanted to focus on the Štokavian speaking area in its totality, it was also important to have representative samples of the Western standard of the former Serbo-Croat, which the Croatian National Corpus provided an abundance of.

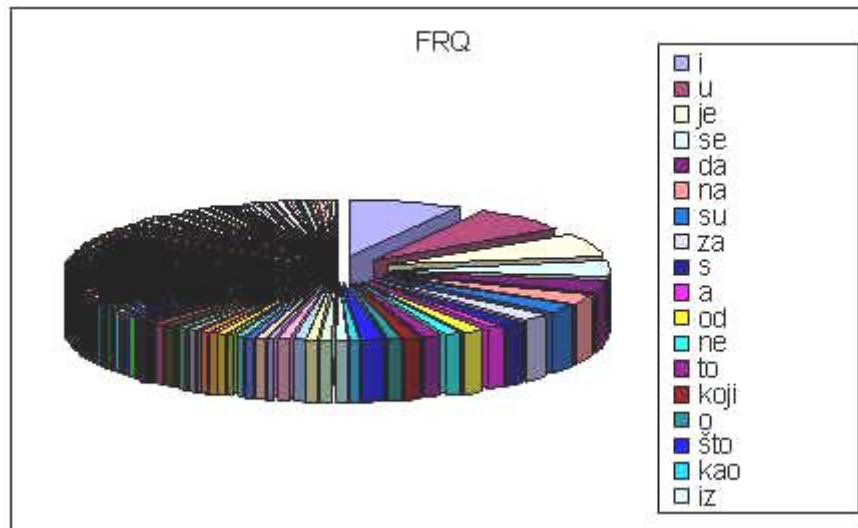


Fig. 20 Frequency of *se* occurrences in *Hrvatski nacionalni korpus*
http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr/grafovi_e.htm

Compiling the E counterpart of the corpus has proved to be much easier a task. The reason for this should primarily be sought in the theoretical framework chosen for the analysis. As it has been pointed out a few times earlier on, reflexivity and middleness in E has been examined only within the grammatical manifestations of translation equivalents of the S *se*-verbs. This is why the translation equivalents form the main body of the E counterpart of the corpus. Most of them have already been established previously, e.g. as part of the YSCECP project results and its subsequent literature, or otherwise. Some of them, though, have been established here for the first time. In such a case, their translation equivalent have been proposed by the author herself using her native speaker's intuition and then double-checked and confirmed by another bilingual informant. The biggest and most reliable single source of written and oral samples of modern E has no doubt been found in the *British National*

*Corpus*²⁰⁰, currently the most comprehensive searchable electronic corpus of Modern E incorporating its main regional and international varieties as well, but also other text databases and dictionaries available electronically. They have been indispensable particularly in the cases when it has been important to check certain E verbal occurrences in their natural sentential/contextual environment, examples of which can be found in Chapter 3 in particular. In those cases, their S translation equivalents have been established in order to confirm if they render into one of the *se*-structures as well. Relevant samples have also been collected from the pertinent literature, most notably the descriptive grammars, articles and studies, the exhaustive list of which has been given at the beginning of Chapter 3.

Once compiled, the original version of the corpus of examples has retrieved some 14,000 relevant occurrences of S *se*-representations found predominantly in written fictional and non-fictional prose extracts, with samples taken from the oral production been included only sporadically. The reason for this is mainly technical. Namely, it is still impossible to find a reliable text database comprehensive and representative enough to include a relevant proportion of oral samples of Modern Standard S²⁰¹. Moreover, traditional contrastive projects, the results of which we have taken into account here, were almost exclusively based on the analysis of literary samples as well. The same can be observed in traditional descriptive grammars and other relevant sources that have been quoted from here. This is precisely the reason why the same principle has been applied in compiling the corpus of examples here.

²⁰⁰ *British National Corpus* can be accessed at the URL <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/corpora.html> which allows free access for simple search.

²⁰¹ For a more elaborate, very competent and most recent discussion on the socio-political processes encircling the former Serbo-Croat and its subsequent 'offspring' – Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian, we recommend Bugarski 2001b; also Radovanović-Major (eds) 2001; Filipović-Kalodjera (eds) 2001; Carmichael 2002; Bugarski-Hawkesworth (eds) 2004; Lučić (ed) 2002; Greenberg 2004, etc.

The final version of the corpus, comprising some 600 most illustrative select pairs of S *se*-occurrences and their E translation equivalents, represents a collection of authentic and commonly used samples chosen by virtue of their representativeness in discourse²⁰², as well as their relative closeness to the prototypical representation of the concepts examined. Non-standard forms, occurring commonly in colloquial style, have remained in the corpus, but their grammatical status has been pointed out accordingly.

The principle of representativeness has been observed in terms of the qualitative and quantitative status of chosen samples, bearing in mind the limitations imposed by the structure of the available source text corpora of the S language. The chosen material at the same time represents a synchronic corpus of mostly written samples of the contrasted languages, encompassing for the most part their 20th century written production. Nonetheless, some 19th century samples have remained in the corpus as well if they were thought to be particularly significant, but their obsolete status have been pointed out accordingly. Linguistic varieties included in the corpus, however, embrace main regional ones (although priority has been given to Ekavian S and British E), but also a variety of genres and registers such as imaginative, academic, legal and administrative prose, as well as some samples taken from ephemeral literature (e.g. private correspondence, leaflets, instructions, cookery, advertising, etc). Few oral samples included in the final version have been taken from some recent pertinent literature dealing with the phenomena in question, or sampled from the author's private collection (e.g. telephone conversations, live television and radio

²⁰² For a more detailed overview of current issues on corpus-based approaches to contrastive linguistics cf., *inter alia*, Bilger (ed) 2000; Connor-Upton (eds) 2004; Granger *et al* (eds) 2003; Kettmann-Marko (eds) 2003, Wilson *et al* (eds) 2003; etc.

shows, etc). Local dialects are not represented in the corpus, apart from just a few non-standard forms occurring exclusively at that level and commented on briefly in the previous chapters. The same applies to social dialects associated with certain demographic groups (e.g. women/men; older/younger; social position, etc.), since the existing source text corpora of the S language did not provide enough background information along these lines. Let it be a good enough incentive to corpus linguists and sociolinguists to carry out further research in the field.

The following can be summarized. The results of the analysis will be presented by listing the similarities and differences at morphological, syntactic and stylistic/pragmatic levels respectively taking the prototypical representation of reflexivity and middleness as the overall platform of reference. Finally, a possible contrastive rule will be proposed. Examples will be taken from the bilingual corpus of examples, compiled by selecting the relevant S samples representing all the *se*-instances previously defined. Methodologically, the presentation will follow the mainstream European contrastive linguistics tradition, primarily the YSCECP and *Kontrastivna gramatika*.

4.3 SIMILARITIES – AN OVERVIEW

The presentation of similarities between S and E regarding the grammatical encoding of reflexivity and middleness should start with a short recapitulation of the concept of similarity as will be employed here.

In the traditional sense of the term similarity and differences were observed in the form, meaning and distribution of the contrasted language segment. More specifically, similarity was to be established either in form or distribution; the notion of equivalence, frequently used in traditional contrastive studies, normally encompassed translation equivalence, or equivalence in meaning, which is the concept originally borrowed from the theory of translation (cf. Chapter 1, Fig 2; also Djordjević 1987: 74 ff; Kurteš 1991: 11 ff). Differences, on the other hand, originally subsumed only the so-called zero relations, while the convergent and divergent relations constituted the notion of contrast.

As it has already been pointed out, we have decided to follow a more modern pattern and abandon that very rigid notion of similarity in the absolute sense of the term. Following Chesterman (1998: 50 ff), we have adopted the notion of similarity in relative terms, focusing on the prototypical representation of the notions of reflexivity and middleness and investigating their grammatical realization in the observed languages. The prototypical representation of the two concepts has mainly been derived from Kemmer (1993; 1994) and Manney (2000), defining a clearly distinguishable semantic core of both (cf. also Chapter 1). We have accepted the

definition maintaining that prototypical reflexivity “invokes a scene in which an individual acts on itself, intentionally or otherwise” (Manney 2000: 214). Prototypical middleness, on the other hand, notionally clusters around two main concepts: a noninitiative emotional response and a spontaneous change of state. Furthermore, reflexivity and middleness are to be taken as “semantic categories intermediate in transitivity between one-participant and two-participant events, and which in addition differentiates reflexive and middle from one another” (Kemmer 1993: 3; cf. also Chapter 1).

4.3.1 EQUIVALENCE AND SIMILARITY

4.3.1.1. Morphological level

1. The verb is *reflexiva tantum* in both S and E

Although the number of verbs which are *reflexiva tantum* only is not large (in E it is even more restricted), it is still possible to find the verbs that appear only with the reflexive pronoun in both languages. The fact that the syntactic function of the reflexive pronoun differs is of no importance in this context (cf. also Djordjević 1989: 268; 2000: 115).

/229/	Ona se ponosila odlučnošću kojom je izvršila svoj zadatak.	She prided herself on the resolute manner in which she had performed her task.
/230/	Tamo se ponašao kao jedan hrabar pošten gospodin.	He demeaned himself there as a brave honest gentleman.

2. The verb can be both reflexive and non-reflexive

This relation primarily refers to the situation in which the reflexive pronoun functions as the direct object. More specifically, this applies to the transitive verbs that govern direct objects, irrespective of the fact whether they are the reflexive pronoun or of any other kind (cf. *ibid.*: 269; 2000: 116; also Pervaz 1971: 79; Poutsma 1916: 838). For example:

/231/	Jedan mladić izdvoji se iz grupe.	A young man detached himself from the group.
/231a/	Jedan mladić izdvoji ih iz grupe.	A young man detached them from the group.
/232/	Htela je da se vidi u ogledalu.	She wanted to see herself in the mirror.
/232a/	Htela je da vidi usne u ogledalu.	She wanted to see her lips in the mirror.

3. The verb takes the passive form (in S reflexive passive)

The verb can be used passively in both languages. In S it appears in the reflexive passive form of the *se8* type (cf. Djordjević 1989: 276; 2000: 446; also Mihailović 1985: 340).

/233/	Pije se samo porto.	Only port is being drunk .
/234/	Nikakav zvuk se ne čuje .	Not a sound is heard .

4.3.1.2. Syntactic level

4. The reflexive pronoun functions as the direct object (in S cliticized form)

The reflexive pronoun can function as the direct object in both languages. The idiosyncrasy of S, though, allows the reflexive pronoun to appear in the cliticized form *se* (cf. also Djordjević 1989: 269; 2000: 101).

/235/	On se nikada ne bi ubio.	He would never kill himself .
/236/	Pitala se zašto je to uradila.	She asked herself why she had done that.

5. The reflexive pronoun functions as the direct object (in S full form)

This relation again involves the reflexive pronoun functioning as the direct object in both languages. This time, though, in S the reflexive pronoun appears in its full accusative form, *sebe* (cf. also Djordjević 1989: 269; 2000: 102).

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| /237/ On prihvata sve i sebe takodje. | He accepts everything and he accepts himself as well. |
| /238/ Zaista ne bi trebalo sebe da kriviš. | You should not really be blaming yourself . |

6. The reflexive pronoun functions as the indirect object

The reflexive pronoun in both languages can syntactically function as the indirect object. In case of S, the reflexive pronoun functioning as the indirect object can appear in all oblique cases apart from the accusative, always in its full form (*sebe*, *sebi*, *sobom*) (cf. also Djordjević 1989: 269; 2000: 205). The dative case, however, is by far the most frequent.

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| /239/ Mogao sam sebi da dozvolim samo jedan obrok dnevno. | I could permit myself only one meal a day. |
| /240/ Ona to brzo priznade sebi . | She admitted it to herself quickly. |

7. The reflexive pronoun is the prepositional object in both languages

The reflexive pronoun in both languages can function as the object of a preposition. In S the reflexive pronoun appear in all oblique cases, but always in its full form (*sebe*, *sebi* and *sobom*)²⁰³ (cf. also Djordjević 1989: 270; also 2000: 104-5).

²⁰³ In some regional varieties of S it is possible to come across the short form of the reflexive pronoun in this structure in a very limited number of occurrences. It can also be found in some gnostic

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| /241/ Nije mogla da sakrije od sebe činjenicu da u tom planu ima nečeg sramnog. | She could not conceal from herself that the prospect had something ignominious about it. |
| /242/ On promrmlja ime za sebe . | He muttered the name to himself . |

8. The reflexive pronoun functions as a prepositional complement

A prepositional phrase with the reflexive pronoun functioning as its complement can appear in both languages. In S only full forms of the reflexive pronoun can be used (*sebe, sebi, sobom*), appearing in all oblique cases²⁰⁴ (cf. also Djordjević 1989: 270; 2000: 105-6).

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| /243/ Ona se sve više povlači u sebe . | She retreats more and more into herself . |
| /244/ Izgledalo je kao da govori nekome u sebi . | He seemed to be talking with someone inside himself . |

4.3.1.2.1. Formal/Semantic aspect

9. The reflexive pronoun denotes pure reflexivity

The reflexive pronoun denotes pure reflexivity in both languages, invoking a scene in which an individual acts on itself. In S it can appear in both full and cliticized forms (belonging to the *se*₁ category).

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| /245/ Okupala se u tom ogromnom kupatilu. | She bathed herself in that huge bathroom. |
| /246/ Mogao je sebe da poštedi te informacije. | He could have spared himself that information. |

expressions, cf. the folk proverb *uzdaj se u se i u svoje kljuse* ‘rely only **on yourself**’, lit. ‘rely on yourself and your old horse’. For more details cf. Maretić 1963: 189; also Djordjević 1989: 257.

²⁰⁴ The reflexive pronoun performing this function and appearing with prepositions that govern the genitive and accusative cases prosodically exemplifies the proclitic phenomenon, throwing the accent from the pronoun to the preposition. The same phenomenon exceptionally takes place in a limited number of occurrences with the cliticized form of the reflexive pronoun (cf. the note above). For more details on the reflexive pronouns used proclitically cf. Brabec-Hraste-Živković 1970: 96.

10. The reflexive pronoun denotes reciprocity

The reflexive pronoun can also denote reciprocity, equal and mutual involvement of the participants. In E, though, the reflexive pronoun can be used in this way predominantly after adverbs *between* and *among* (cf. Poutsma 1916: 860-1; Schibsbye 1967: 197-8), while in S the reflexive pronoun can appear in both full and cliticized form (belonging to *se₃-se₅*) (cf. Djordjević 1989: 271; also 2000: 108-9).

/247/	Talasi su razgovarali medju sobom .	The waves were talking among themselves .
/248/	Plave senke oblaka jurile su se po travi kao laste.	The blue cloud-shadows chased themselves across the grass like swallows.

11. The reflexive pronoun is used emphatically

Emphasis in both languages can be expressed by means of the reflexive pronoun. Normally, it is the subject that is emphasized. However, while in E it is the reflexive pronoun itself that emphasizes the subject, in S the autosociative pronoun *sam*²⁰⁵ is normally used to convey the same meaning (cf. also Djordjević 2000: 108-9).

/249/	I sami smo na to pomišljali.	We thought of it ourselves .
/250/	Meni se činilo da je sama magla vrisnula.	To me it seemed as though the mist itself had screamed.

12. Quasi-reflexive verb denotes middle-ness

²⁰⁵ Djordjević (1989: 266-8) maintains that there are three main reflexive pronominal forms in S. Apart from *sebe/se*, which she refers to as general, the autosociative form *sam* and possessive *svoj* can also convey the notion of reflexivity. The general reflexive forms can be used either pronominally or as a verbal particle in way discussed in more detail here, while the autosociative and possessive forms can function as determiners as well. For further details cf. also Piper 1984/85; Maretić 1963: 488; Ivić 1983: 118-9; Mørk 1970b.

The quasi-reflexive verbs in S appear with the reflexive pronoun which does not denote reflexivity and can be found only in the cliticized form. This type of structure has been defined as expressing prototypical middleness, thematically clustering around two main ideas: noninitiative emotional response and spontaneous change of state (belonging to *se*₆ and *se*₇). A very limited number of occurrences in E behave in the same way: they are accompanied by the reflexive pronoun which is semantically empty and the verb itself belongs to the middle semantic domain as defined here.

/251/ Odlično smo **se** proveli. We greatly enjoyed **ourselves**.²⁰⁶

/252/ U početku **se** držao skromno. He at first comported **himself** with modesty.

4.3.1.3. Stylistic/pragmatic level

13. The reflexive pronoun can be omitted for euphonic reasons

The reflexive pronoun (in S appearing only in its cliticized form) can be omitted in both languages for purely euphonic reasons. There are also some stylistic implications relevant in this context. Namely, the omitted reflexive pronoun can make for a better cohesion of the text (cf. also Ivić 1997; 2000; Halliday-Hasan 1976: 196).

/253/ Dovoljno je odrastao da **se** sam umije i obuče [Ø]. He is old enough to wash [Ø] and dress **himself**.

/254/ Svadjali su **se** i gložili [Ø] više nego ikad. They quarrelled [Ø] and bickered more than ever among **themselves**.

²⁰⁶ Example /229/ also belongs to this category.

4.4 DIFFERENCES – AN OVERVIEW

The presentation of the results will follow the pattern already adopted and employed above. The notion of difference will be treated as previously discussed and defined. Namely, it will include the divergent and convergent relations as well as the so-called zero relations. The results obtained will be grouped into three main sections – morphological, syntactic and stylistic/pragmatic. Notionally, reflexivity and middleness will be treated as defined above and their grammatical realization in S and E will be looked at and checked against the above named criteria.

4.4.1 CONTRASTS AND DIFFERENCES

4.4.1.1. Morphological level

14. Formal/grammatical divergence

The reflexive pronouns in S and E are in morphological contrast. Namely, there are five possible forms in S (three full forms and two cliticized) as opposed to nine forms in E (cf. Djordjević 1989: 271-2):

/255/	sebe	myself
	sebi	yourself
	sobom	himself
	se	herself
	si	ourselves
		yourselves
		themselves
		oneself

In terms of the grammatical features the reflexive pronoun in the contrasted languages exhibit, the contrasts can be observed in the following subcategorization:

/256/ Reflexive pronoun in S:	Reflexive pronoun in E:
+ Case	+ Person
+ Enclitics	+ Number
	+ Gender
	+ Generic form
	- Case
	- Enclitics

4.4.1.2. Syntactic level

15. Reflexive pronoun functioning as DO vs. omitted DO

In S the reflexive pronoun functioning as the direct object will always appear with verbs denoting pure reflexivity, while in E it is frequently omitted, particularly with the verbs expressing inherent reflexivity (e.g. ‘body-grooming’ verbs) (cf. *ibid.*, 272; also 2000: 102-3).

/257/ Koliko ti treba da se obučes?	How long does it take you to dress [Ø]?
/258/ Prilagodio se društvu za godinu dana.	He adjusted [Ø] to the company in a year.

16. Reflexive pronoun functioning as prepositional complement vs. DO

In a limited number of occurrences the reflexive pronoun can be found in a prepositional phrase functioning as a complement of a preposition in S, while its E equivalent is the reflexive pronoun functioning as the direct object (cf. also Djordjević 1989: 272; 2000: 103).

/259/ Stesao je prašinu sa sebe .	He dusted himself down.
/260/ Nije smeo da se pouzda u sebe .	He would not trust himself .

17. Reflexive pronoun functioning as DO vs. prepositional object

The reflexive pronoun, appearing in both full and short forms, can function as the direct object in S, while its E equivalent is the prepositional object (cf. also Djordjević 1989: 272; 2000: 104-105).

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| /261/ Ona je sebe smatrala oličenjem
nevinosti. | She looked upon herself as a figure
of innocence. |
| /262/ Pogledaj se , izgledaš strašno. | Look at yourself , you look awful. |

18. Reflexive pronoun functioning as IO vs. prepositional object

The reflexive pronoun can function as the indirect object in S, while its E equivalent appears with a prepositional object (cf. also Djordjević 1989: 272; 2000: 105).

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| /263/ Sipao sam sebi viski. | I poured Scotch for myself . |
| /264/ Ruke su mu se tresle,
ali je ponovo ovladao sobom . | His hands were shaking, but he'd got
hold of himself again. |

4.4.1.2.1. Formal/Lexical aspect

19. Reflexive pronoun vs. personal pronoun

When used non-emphatically the reflexive pronoun can appear in S as opposed to the personal pronoun in its E translation equivalent (cf. also Djordjević 1989: 273; 2000: 110).

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| /265/ Nije mi stalo do sebe . | I don't care about me . |
| /266/ Zatvorila je vrata za sobom . | She shut the door behind her . |

20. Reflexive pronoun (cliticized form) vs. lexicalization

The reflexive pronoun in its short, cliticized form denoting reflexivity can stand across another lexical unit, sometimes expressing inherent reflexivity as well, or absolute reflexivity standing across a structure resulting from free translation (cf. also Djordjević 2000: 118).

/267/ Pitam **se** kako si to mogao I **wonder** how you could do it.
da učiniš.

/268/ Deca su **se** spremala da podju. The children **were getting ready** to leave.

21. Reflexive pronoun denoting reciprocity vs. reciprocal pronoun

The reflexive pronoun when used in its short form can denote reciprocity (*se*₃), while in E in the parallel situation the reciprocal pronoun is used (cf. also Djordjević 1989: 273).

/269/ Oni **se** poštuju, iako su suparnici. They respect **each other**, although they
are rivals.

/270/ Vidimo **se** svakog dana na poslu. We see **each other** at the office every day.

22. Reciprocal pronoun vs. reflexive pronoun denoting reciprocity

In a very limited number of occurrences the reciprocal pronoun can appear alongside the cliticized reflexive pronoun in S, rendering into the reflexive pronoun denoting reciprocity in E (cf. *ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). Reciprocal semantics in S is sometimes achieved adverbially (e.g. *medjusobno*, *uzajamno* ‘mutually’).

/271/ Predstavili su **se jedno drugome** They introduced **themselves** at the party.
na zabavi.

/272/ Dogovorili su **se medjusobno** They settled among **themselves**
kako bi se to izvelo. how it might be done.

23. Reflexive pronoun denoting reciprocity vs. zero correspondent

The reflexive pronoun used in its short form denoting reciprocity in S (*se*₃) frequently renders into the zero correspondent in E (cf. *ibid.*, *loc.cit.*; also Djordjević 2000: 108-9). Normally, reciprocal semantics in E is inherently present in the verb itself..

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| /273/ Uveče su se opet okupili
da nešto popiju. | In the evening they gathered together [Ø]
again for drinks. |
| /274/ Sastali su se da razmotre taj problem. | They met [Ø] to discuss the problem. |
| /275/ Zagrlili su se i poljubili [Ø]. | They hugged [Ø] and kissed [Ø]. |

24. Reflexive pronoun denoting reciprocity vs. lexicalization

The reflexive pronoun denoting reciprocity (normally of the *se*₃ type) can render into another structure, normally resulting from free translation or alternative translation equivalents²⁰⁷ (*ibid.*, 277), particularly in literary prose.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| /276/ Nije hteo da prizna da se vole . | He would not have it that they were lovers . |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|

25. Two reflexive pronouns vs. one reflexive pronoun

In S it is possible to have two reflexive pronouns in a clause – one in the full form, another cliticized. The E equivalent can be a non-reflexive verb and the reflexive pronoun functioning as a prepositional complement. The fact that there are quasi-reflexive verbs in S which have no formal correspondents in E and that both

²⁰⁷ The same relation can be found *vice versa* as well. Namely, some idiomatic expressions in E containing the reflexive pronoun can render into other constructions in S. Frequently, reflexivity of the E structure is very weak or non-existent. For example:

I leave it entirely to yourself .	Ostavljam ti potpuno odrešene ruke .
------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------

The reason why this relation has been left aside is simply that it does not contain a 'se-verb' in S, which means that it falls out of the scope of the analysis performed here; cf. also Djordjević 1989: 277.

languages have reflexive prepositional complements make this relation possible (cf. Djordjević 1989: 253; 2000: 106; Poutsma 1916: 845ff; Quirk et al 1972: 211).

/277/ On **se** povlači u **sebe**. He retreats into **himself**.

/278/ Svako mora da **se** stara o **sebi**. Everyone's got to look after **themselves**.

26. Qualitative *se*₂ denoting absolute reflexivity vs. lexicalization / zero correspondent

The qualitative *se*₂ denoting absolute reflexivity in S often is expressed by the *verba incommodi* and, although semantically empty itself, still bears the grammatical information of an unspecified object. *Verba incommodi*, on the other hand, bring the semantic focal point onto the qualitative specification of the agent. More specifically, this specification is always negative. Their E equivalents, though, are always non-reflexive and that unspecified object is normally lexicalised (although it can remain unexpressed). This in addition confirms the fact that the object is actually present, which is not always readily transparent in S *se*₂ occurrences (cf. Djordjević 1989: 274-5; 2000: 112).

/279/ On voli da **se štipa**. He likes to pinch **people**.

/280/ Često **se tukao** kao dete. He used to fight [Ø] as a child.

/281/ Da li **se** dobro **ljubi**? Is he a good **kisser**?

27. Quasi-reflexive verb with *se*₆ denoting middleness vs. non-reflexive verbs (transitive and intransitive)

The quasi-reflexive verbs accompanied by *se*₆ represent one particular aspect of prototypical middleness, which has been defined as expressing a noninitiative

emotional response. What is particularly important is that *se* here cannot be seen as a combinatorial variant of *sebe*, which is a reliable test for distinguishing ‘pure’ from ‘quasi’ reflexivity. These *se*₆ instances can render predominantly into non-reflexive transitive and intransitive verbs (cf. *ibid.*, 275; Djordjević 2000: 112).

- /282/ On nije mogao da **se seti** He never remembered [Ø] a single case.
njednog slučaja.
- /283/ Ljudi **se ne oporavljaju** od It’s failure people do not get over [Ø].
neuspeha.

28. Quasi-reflexive verb with *se*₆ denoting middleness vs. predicative adjective

Some quasi-reflexive verbs of the *se*₆ type can be rendered into a structure with a predicative adjective (cf. Browne 1975: 57ff; Djordjević 1989: 275; 2000: 113).

- /284/ Vi **se** ničeg drugog ne **bojite**. You are **afraid** of nothing else.
- /285/ On **se ponosi** svojim sinom. He is **proud** of his son.

29. Quasi-reflexive verb with *se*₇ denoting middleness vs. intransitive verb

The quasi-reflexive verbs of the *se*₇ type have been defined as predominantly denoting a spontaneous change of state, another major notional cluster of middleness. These verbs by and large render into intransitive verbs in E (cf. Djordjević 1989: 276).

- /286/ Njeno lice **se menjalo** sa promenom Her face **changed** [Ø] with changing
njenih duševnih raspoloženja. states of mind.
- /287/ Drvo **se** polako **sušilo**. The tree **was** slowly **withering** [Ø] away.

30. Reflexive passive with *ses* vs. ‘middle’ verb

The reflexive passive structure of the se_8 type normally is found with aspectually imperfective verbs and the inanimate Patient. Its E equivalent is frequently the ‘middle’ construction of the NP V PP type (cf. also Djordjević 2000: 113).

/288/ Njegov poslednji roman His latest novel **is selling** [Ø] well.
 se dobro prodaje.

/289/ Ove suve grančice **se** lako **lome.** These dry twigs **break** [Ø] easily.

31. Impersonal structure with se_9 vs. impersonal structure with finite verb form

The impersonal structure of the se_9 type can render into an impersonal structure of a paraproximal type with the finite verb form (cf. *ibid.*, *loc.cit.*). The passive can also appear in E equivalents or structures resulting from free translation.

/290/ U Crvenoj kući **se doručkovalo** **Everyone breakfasted** at a different
 kad je ko hteo. hour in the Red House.

/291/ Samo **se** o njemu **pričalo.** Only he **was talked** over.

32. Modal structure with se_{10} vs. idiomatic expressions

The modal structure of the se_{10} type appears with the logical subject in the dative case and expresses modality of the type ‘X feels like doing Y’. The E equivalent of such a structure is normally a lexicalised idiomatic expression (cf. Ivić 1961/62: 146ff; Mørk 1969: 253ff; Djordjević 1989: 265, 276; 2000: 114-5).

/292/ **Ne ide** mi **se** tamo. **I don’t feel like going** there.

/293/ **Povraća** mu **se.** He’s **about to vomit.**

4.4.1.3. Stylistic/pragmatic level

33. Quasi-reflexive verb shading the expression stylistically vs. other structures

It is possible to observe a subtle stylistic difference between the use of some verbs in reflexive and non-reflexive forms. The reflexive forms seem to be preferred in more formal styles or in the expressions denoting some abstract notions.²⁰⁸ Reflexivity expressed here is normally semantically empty, which is why these verbs are classified as quasi-reflexive. Their E equivalents, though, express this difference by using other structures (frequently lexicalization).

/294/ **Dotakli smo se** te teme. We **touched upon** that subject.
/294a/ Dotakao [Ø] je zid. He **touched** the wall.

34. Omission of reflexive pronoun denoting informality vs. other structures

It is possible to come across a limited number of examples of the omission of the reflexive pronoun (when it normally appears in its cliticized form) in the colloquial style to emphasize informality²⁰⁹. In E this effect can be achieved by using some colloquial expressions.

/295/ Odoh da [Ø] malo odmorim. I'm off **to have a little break**.

/296/ Nedeljom [Ø] odmori! (a TV show) **Take a break** on Sundays!

²⁰⁸ The same seems to be valid *vice versa* as well. Namely, the choice between reflexive and non-reflexive forms also seems to be style-sensitive in E. Subtle semantic differences can also be observed. In S the differences can be lexicalised. For example:

He **surrendered himself** to despair. **Prepustio se** očaju.

He **surrendered** to the police. **Predao se** policiji.

Intransitive verbs in E can also be found in this pattern. There is a slight semantic difference to be observed as well (cf. Pervaz 1971: 80). For example:

He **laughed** all the time. **Smejao se** sve vreme.

He **laughed himself** to death. **Smejao se** do iznemoglosti.

²⁰⁹ A similar tendency can be observed in colloquial E as well. Moreover, if the omission is not possible, the substandard shortened form of the reflexive pronoun is used to achieve the effect of informality. For example:

Had a pint after work to cheer **self** up. Odoh na pivo posle posla da **se** malo razveselim
/ da malo živnem.

35. Omission of non-reflexive *se* in ellipsis (colloquial style) vs. ellipsis of other kind

Some quasi-reflexive verbs can drop the morpheme *se* when appearing in elliptical sentences, particularly in the conversational style. This normally occurs in dialogue when the addressee agrees with the point made by the speaker by making a replicative response and wants to add an additional piece of information, supporting the claim made by the speaker (cf. Ivić 1997; 2000). Ellipsis can be preserved in the E equivalents as well, although it involves the omission of different grammatical devices.

/297/ A: Ona **se**, čuo sam, **zapanjila**. A: I hear she **was shocked**.
 B: I zapanjila [Ø], ali i uvredila [Ø]: B: [Ø] Shocked, but also [Ø] offended:
 zar se tako razgovara sa svojom is that the way to talk to your associate?!
 saradnicom?!

Ellipsis of this type can also appear in conversational S to denote the addressee's disagreement with the speaker's claim²¹⁰. It remains preserved in E, but again involves the omission of different grammatical devices.

/298/ A: On **se**, kažu, **onesvestio**. A: He fainted, so they say.
 B: Onesvestio [Ø]?! Ma koješta! B: [Ø] Fainted?! Come on!

36. Omission of reflexive *se* in ellipsis (colloquial style) vs. ellipsis of other kind

Reflexive verbs can also drop the morpheme *se* when appearing in elliptical sentences in the conversational style. Again, they can normally be found in dialogue in which the interlocutors either agree with each other or disagree. Ellipsis is preserved in E translation equivalents, but include different grammatical devices.

/299/ A: Kako je on prošao? A: What happened to him?/How is he?

²¹⁰ For a more detailed overview of ellipsis of this type see Ivić (1997: 29-33; 2000: 105-12).

verbs belonging to mutative and inchoative semantics, but some other structures, such as adjectives ending in *-able* or the reflexive pronoun, are also possible to find.

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| /302/ | Rastvara se lako. | It dissolves easily. |
| /303/ | Pere se mašinski. | It is machine-washable . |
| /304/ | Isključuje se automatski. | It switches itself off . |
| /305/ | Pali se lako, a ne gasi Ø nikako!
(a commercial slogan) | Easy to set alight , impossible to extinguish! |

40. Quasi reflexive verb (with *se*) in political discourse vs. impersonalised structures/passive

The quasi-reflexive verbs of the *se*₈ type seem to increasingly frequently occur in modern S political discourse and public communication in general. Pragmatic implications of that are still to be fully investigated, but what emerges as a dominant effect is the opposite of what *se*₈ structures have been defined as canonically denoting – in spite of the fact that the Agent cannot be specified in *se*₈, pragmatically speaking the focus is brought straight onto the (political) opponent of the speaker (cf. Kurteš, to appear (c)). Their E equivalents range from some impersonalised structures (often involving free translation as well), to passives.

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| /306/ | Radi se na rasturanju koalicije. | There are attempts to destroy the coalition. |
| /307/ | Sprema se moja likvidacija. | There are plans to kill me. |
| /308/ | Očekuje se smena ministra. | The minister is expected to be deposed. |

41. Position of *se* shading the meaning modally or stylistically vs. other devices

Word order in S is relatively free and this property includes the possibility, quite unique among languages, of clitic insertion into a constituent that makes a semantic

unit. What is particularly interesting in this context is that the meaning of the message composed in such a way is shaded both modally and stylistically. More precisely, it is possible to observe an additional semantic charge revealing a higher level of the speaker's emotional involvement, decisiveness and positive attitude towards the topic in question or the addressee. Stylistically, though, the *se*-insertion will give the message a more formal reading and it can be comparatively frequently found in the Ijekavian variety of the language, particularly in the Western standard of the former Serbo-Croat. Moreover, *se* can also be part of the whole clitic sequence inserted in the same way²¹². In this case E will rely on other grammatical or stylistic devices to achieve the same effect: the choice of (modal) auxiliaries, full rather than shortened verbal forms, lexical choices, etc.

/309/	<u>Vrlo se dobro</u> znamo.	We do know each other very well.
/310/	<u>Moj će vam se brat</u> javiti.	My brother will call you.
/311/	<u>Lav se Tolstoj</u> proslavio svojim pisanjem.	Leo Tolstoy is famous for his writing.
/312/	<u>Antarktički se poluotok</u> tijekom posljednjih 50 godina zagrijao za 2,5 stupnja Celzijusa.	The Antarctic Circle has become 2.5 degrees Celsius warmer during the last 50 years.

²¹² Since the personal pronouns can also appear in their cliticized form, the order of their appearance is normally case determined. Namely, the sequence is dative-genitive-accusative. For more details see Barić *et al* (1979: 462); also Browne 1968; Hammond 2005.

4.5 CONTRASTIVE RULES

In Section 4.4 the list of similarities and differences between S *se*-structures and their E translation equivalents has been presented. It has been divided into two main parts: in the first part the relations of equivalence and similarity have been listed, briefly commented on and illustrated; in the second part the relations of contrast and difference have been presented accordingly. There are forty-one relations listed, thirteen of which were similarities and twenty-eight differences observed taking the morphological, syntactic and stylistic/pragmatic realization of the contrasted language segment as their *tertium comparationis*. The overall platform of reference remained the prototypical representation of reflexivity and middleness as defined previously. However, two separate subsections have been established, that have focused exclusively on the formal/semantic and formal/lexical aspects of the relevant forms in S in E. The reason for this is simply a striking similarity between the two languages in this particular grammatical form and the semantic charge it bears, on the one hand, and the idiosyncratic nature of certain features observed that could not be classified into any of the categories in the strict sense.

Our intention now is to propose possible contrastive rules that can come out as a result of the review of the list of the relations established above. What should be borne in mind, though, is that the list of the relations that has been pointed out is by no means exhaustive or final, but comprehensive enough to allow for this last phase of this contrastive project comprising the presentation of the results. They are defined in such a way as to complement and supplement the results of the contrastive project

previously performed and the contrastive rule will be defined accordingly. Methodologically and technically they will follow the structure of existing contrastive grammars, deepening and sharpening some of the definitions presented therein.

EQUIVALENCE and **SIMILARITY** between S and E regarding the grammatical realization of the notions of reflexivity in middleness (taking into consideration only the S *se*-forms and their E translation equivalents) can be established in the following.

Morphological level

Verb is always *reflexiva tantum* ----- Verb is always *reflexiva tantum*

Verb can be both reflexive and non-reflexive ----- Verb can be both reflexive and non-reflexive

Verb in *se*-passive (*se₈*) ----- Verb in passive

Syntactic level

Reflexive pronoun (*se*) is DO ----- Reflexive pronoun is DO

Reflexive pronoun (*sebe*) is DO ----- Reflexive pronoun is DO

Reflexive pronoun is IO ----- Reflexive pronoun is IO

Reflexive pronoun is prepositional object ----- Reflexive pronoun is prepositional object

Reflexive pronoun is prepositional complement ----- Reflexive pronoun is prepositional complement

Formal/Semantic aspect

Reflexive pronoun	Reflexive pronoun
denotes pure reflexivity (<i>se</i> ₁) -----	denotes pure reflexivity
Reflexive pronoun	Reflexive pronoun
denotes reciprocity (<i>se</i> ₃) -----	denotes reciprocity
Reflexive pronoun	Reflexive pronoun
is used emphatically -----	is used emphatically
Quasi-reflexive verb	Quasi-reflexive verb
denotes middleness (<i>se</i> ₆ , <i>se</i> ₇)-----	denotes middleness

Stylistic/pragmatic level

Reflexive pronoun	Reflexive pronoun
omitted for euphonic reasons -----	omitted for euphonic reasons

CONTRAST and **DIFFERENCE** between S and E regarding the grammatical realization of the notions of reflexivity in middleness (taking into consideration only S *se*-forms²¹³ and their E translation equivalents) can be established in the following.

Morphological level

Reflexive pronoun exists	Reflexive pronoun exists
in five morphological forms -----	in nine morphological forms
Reflexive pronoun marked for	Reflexive pronoun marked for
two grammatical categories -----	six grammatical categories

²¹³ The only exception to this is taking the full form of the reciprocal pronoun (*jedan drugog / jedni druge*) into consideration. Its short form, *se*₃, clearly falls within the scope of the analysis by default.

Syntactic level

Reflexive pronoun (DO)	Reflexive pronoun (DO)
is not omitted -----	is omitted
Reflexive pronoun	Reflexive pronoun
is prepositional complement -----	is DO
Reflexive pronoun	Reflexive pronoun
is DO -----	is prepositional object
Reflexive pronoun	Reflexive pronoun
is IO -----	is prepositional object

Formal/Lexical aspect

Reflexive pronoun -----	Personal pronoun
Reflexive pronoun (<i>se</i>) -----	Lexicalization
Reflexive pronoun -----	Reciprocal pronoun
Reflexive pronoun -----	Zero correspondent
Reflexive pronoun -----	Other structures/expressions
Two reflexive pronouns -----	One reflexive pronoun
Reciprocal pronoun -----	Reflexive pronoun
Qualitative <i>se</i> ₂ (absolute refl.) -----	Lexicalization/zero correspondent
Quasi-reflexive verb (<i>se</i> ₆) -----	Non-reflexive verb (trans/intrans)
Quasi-reflexive verb (<i>se</i> ₆) -----	Predicative adjective
Quasi-reflexive verb (<i>se</i> ₇) -----	Intransitive verb
Reflexive passive (<i>se</i> ₈) -----	'Middle' verb (NP V PP type)
Impersonal structure (<i>se</i> ₉) -----	Impersonal structure with finite verb

Modal structure (*se*₁₀) ----- Lexicalization/idiomatic expressions

Stylistic/pragmatic level

Quasi-reflexive verb with
abstract notions ----- Other structures/devices; lexicalization

Reflexive pronoun is omitted
to denote informality ----- Colloquial expressions; other
structures/devices

Quasi-reflexive *se* is omitted
in ellipsis (colloquial style)----- Ellipsis of other kind

Reflexive *se* is omitted
in ellipsis (colloquial style)----- Ellipsis of other kind

Reciprocal *se* is omitted
in ellipsis (colloquial style)----- Ellipsis of other kind

Quasi-reflexive verb (*se*₈)
in technical (IT) genre ----- Intransitive verb / Passive / Reflexive
pronoun

Quasi-reflexive verb (*se*₈)
in advertising discourse ----- Intransitive verb / *-able* adjective /
Reflexive pronoun

Quasi-reflexive verb (*se*₈)
in political discourse ----- Impersonalised structures/passive

Position of *se* carries an additional
modal/stylistic charge ----- Other grammatical/stylistic devices

In a final overview the following should be pointed out. The final stage of the contrastive analysis, monodirectional and corpus-based, that focused on the S *se*-instances and their E translation equivalents, has resulted in forty-one distinctive relations observed at three major levels – morphological, syntactic and stylistic/pragmatic. The overall platform of reference has remained the prototypical representation of reflexivity and middleness seen as ontological entities. Notionally speaking, prototypical reflexivity has been defined as a scene “in which an individual acts on itself, intentionally or otherwise” (Manney 2000: 214), while prototypical middleness has been characterized either by a noninitiative emotional response or a spontaneous change of state. In terms of linguistic semantics, though, an attempt has been made to draw a more precise borderline around the scope of the two concepts. It has taken into consideration an important semantic property of middleness, known as the relative elaboration of events, which “is the parameter along which the reflexive and the middle can be situated as semantic categories intermediate in transitivity between one-participant and two participant events, and which in addition differentiates reflexive and middle from one another” (Kemmer 1994: 181). The analysis has then focused on observing the ways of grammatical realization of the notions of reflexivity and middleness thus defined. It has been confined, though, only to the S *se*-instances and their E translation equivalents.

The results of the analysis have shown that there is a clearly discernible semantic core denoting prototypical reflexivity grammaticalized by the *se*₁-instances and *se*₃-*se*₅ notionally clustering around it²¹⁴. The instances belonging to the *se*₂ phenomenon, termed, after Geniušenė 1987, as absolute reflexivity, stand furthest away from core

²¹⁴ As it has been pointed out, the notion of reciprocity (exemplified in *se*₃) has not been treated separately, being taken as a manifestation semantically embraced by the scope of reflexivity.

reflexivity, but not outside its semantic scope. Two basic notions of prototypical middleness, on the other hand, are found to be grammatically encoded by means of the instances exemplified by the *se*₆ and *se*₇ phenomena, respectively. The results of the analysis show that the instances belonging to *se*₈₋₁₀ are also embraced by the semantic scope of middleness thus defined, *se*₁₀ standing closest to the core middleness, and *se*₈ further away.

Their E equivalents have shown a spectrum of grammatical manifestations capable of conveying the meaning of the observed notions. Clearly they include structures with the reflexive and reciprocal pronouns as that semantic core denoting prototypical reflexivity. Verbal intransitivity, however, has proved to be the grammatical category comfortably accommodating the majority of instances expressing prototypical middleness. More precisely, mutative and inchoative semantics seems to be occupying the central position in this context, rendering into, and being rendered from, the majority of *se*₆ and *se*₇ cases. Other relevant categories include passive, some impersonal structures, and, finally, those NP V PP type of E ‘middle’ structures, the translation equivalents of which, rendering into *se*₈, *de facto*, stand relatively further away from core middleness as defined here. Figures 21-24 (pp.266-267) represent an approximation of these results diagrammatically.

Methodologically, technically and structurally the analysis has been consistent predominantly with the two seminal contrastive projects, the results of which it has taken into consideration and brought forward in order to be expanded, re-defined and re-examined. The projects we are referring to are the YSCECP and Djordjević’s *Kontrastivna gramatika imeničke grupe*.

The reason for taking this course of action has clearly been determined by the theoretical and methodological framework chosen. Namely, when proposing possible methodological improvements, we have adopted Chesterman's (1998) view, who, paraphrasing Popper (1972), maintains that knowledge is gained through an endless process of problem solving, consisting of testing of the initial hypotheses, which are revised and tested again. In other words, the results presented in the YSCECP and *Kontrastivna gramatika* presented that initial hypothesis and model for the analysis we have performed. The hope remains that the results we have just put forward will become a starting point for yet another possibly more profound and comprehensive analysis, advancing our understanding of the nature of the observed languages. We shall come to this point again in the final concluding remarks.

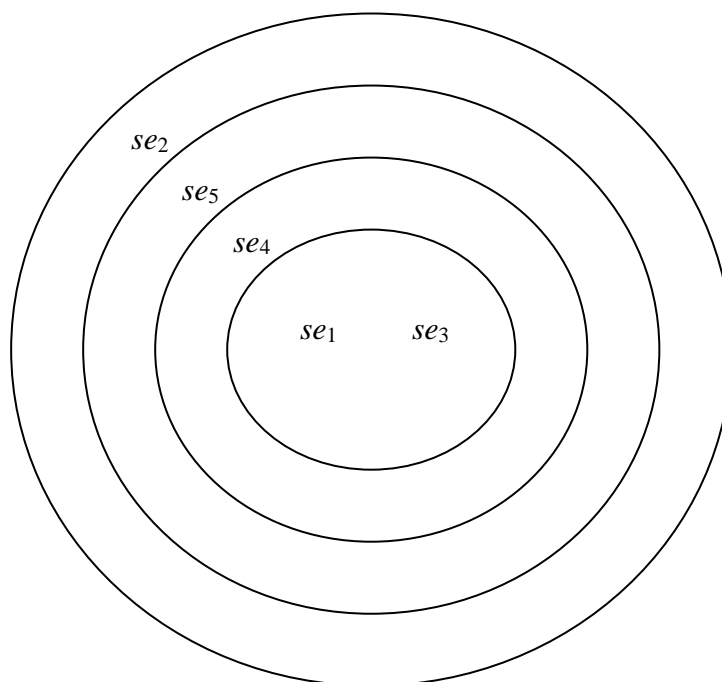


Fig. 21 Relative proximity of *se*-instances to core reflexivity

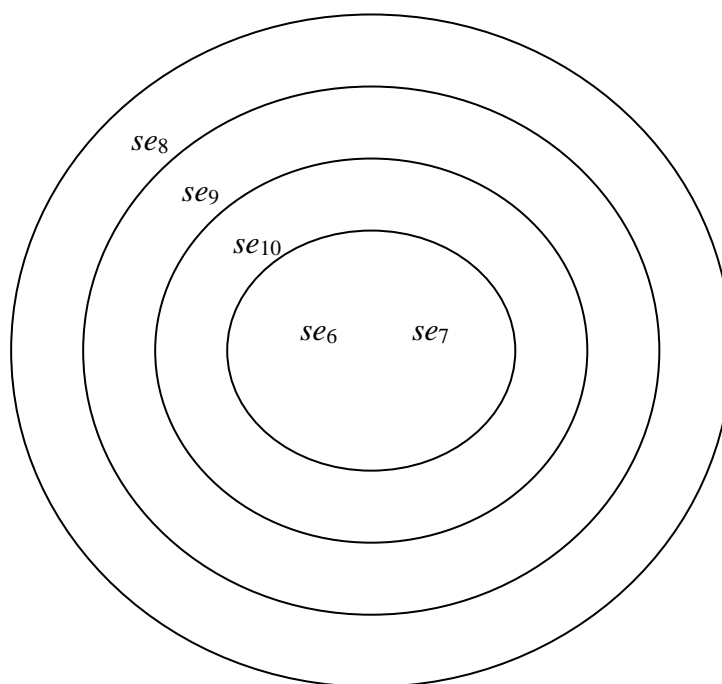


Fig. 22 Relative proximity of *se*-instances to core middleness

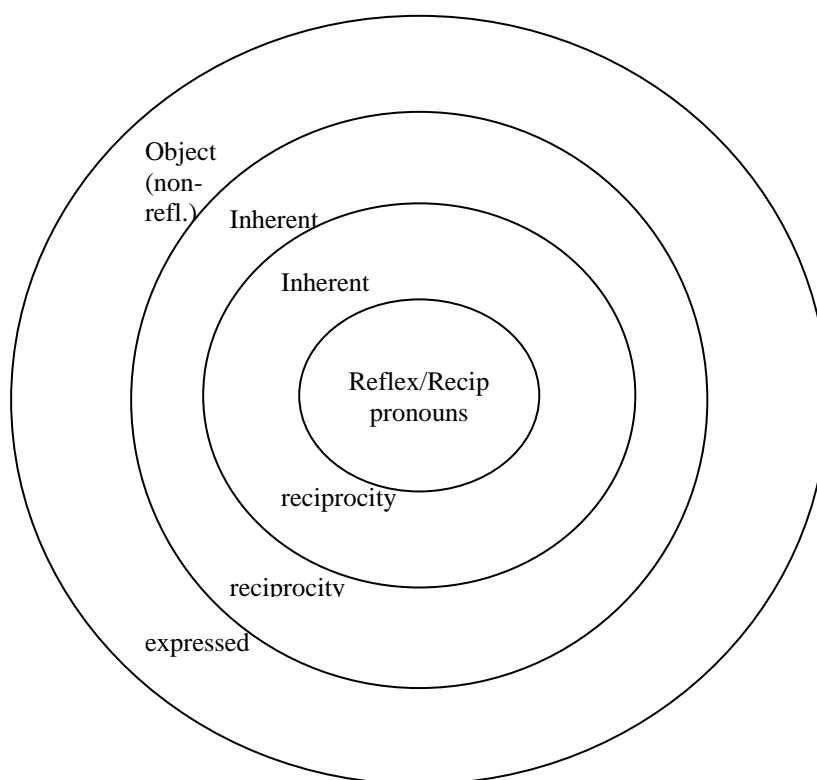


Fig. 23 Relative proximity of grammatical/lexical devices in E to core reflexivity (equivalent to relevant *se*-instances in S)

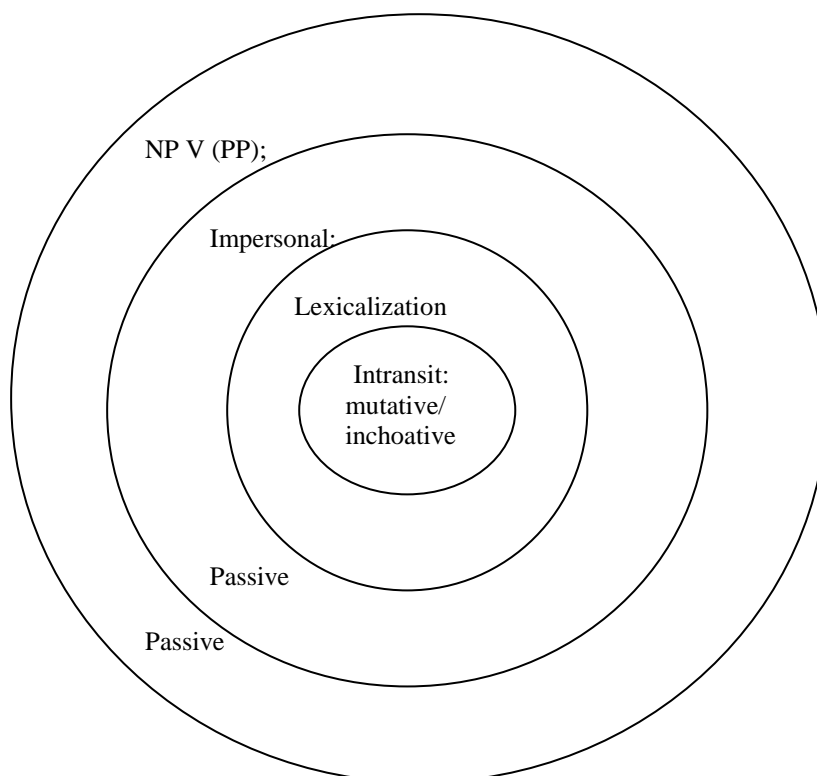


Fig. 24 Relative proximity of grammatical/lexical devices in E to core middleness (equivalent to relevant *se*-instances in S)

CHAPTER FIVE

*There's a millennium underway: we'll need
bottled water and foreign languages.*

Humphrey Tonkin

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Our concluding remarks will address the following issues:

- relevance of the obtained results in a wider general linguistic context;
- relevance of the obtained results in a wider applied linguistic context;
- opportunities for contrastive linguistics in the 21st century;
- recommendations for future research in the proposed theoretical and methodological framework.

The results of the contrastive analysis of the S *se*-verbs and their E translation equivalents in the proposed theoretical and methodological framework should primarily be seen as a contribution to the relevant chapter(s) of the existing and prospective Contrastive Grammar of S and E, and, in a more general sense, to our better understanding of the nature of the observed languages. They can also serve as a source for the preparation of pedagogical materials. We shall, however, point out at some, perhaps, less obvious applications that the obtained results can have in a wider general and applied linguistic context.

As it has been pointed out in Chapter 1, contrastive analysis is both a branch of general linguistics and a principle of applied linguistics (James 1969: 83). Being a theoretical discipline in its own right, its results are undoubtedly relevant to both

‘pure’ and ‘applied’ studies. More specifically, we are primarily here referring to studies of linguistic typology and language teaching methodology respectively, as the disciplines traditionally relying on and deriving from the results and achievements of contrastive studies. We are very optimistic that these ‘good relations’ between the mentioned disciplines and contrastive linguistics will continue in the future. Moreover, some new study fields that have emerged on the linguistic horizon during the last few decades of the 20th century have also given a new impetus to contrastive linguistics itself. Let us, in this context, single out cognitive linguistics, corpus linguistics and semantics of grammar.

Giving contrastive linguistics a new theoretical and methodological framework, these disciplines can also take advantage of the analytical results thus obtained. In particular, cognitive linguistics can benefit from this practical implementation of its basic postulates in modern contrastive analysis. One of the possible ways of that implementation has been exhibited in this work as well: prototypical representations of grammatical and linguistic concepts taken as an overall platform of reference and observed in terms of their characteristics as ontological entities. Then the ways of their grammatical realization in the contrasted languages are to be looked at and checked against a representative corpus of examples. The results of the analysis performed in that framework can strongly confirm the conceptual universality that lies in the very foundation of human cognition. Apart from that, similarities and differences between the analysed grammatical concepts obtained in this way can give us a deeper insight into the ways meaning is conveyed through grammatical forms²¹⁵. Linking basic postulates of cognitive linguistics and semantics of grammar by means

²¹⁵ This was particularly emphasized and well studied by Wierzbicka (e.g. 1988; 1991; 1997); also Wierzbicka-Harkins (eds) 2001, etc.

of their practical application in contrastive research seems to have opened a horizon of intriguing new opportunities for future linguistic research²¹⁶.

Comments on the relevance of the results of the contrastive analysis observed in a wider applied linguistic context will primarily focus on two disciplines, theory of translation and language teaching methodology.

Theory of translation and contrastive analysis have maintained their close links, established by the very fact that they are both branches of contrastive linguistics. They are not only tangent disciplines, but in many aspects overlapping and complementary, relying substantially on each other's findings. On this occasion, we would like to point out one specific aspect of theory of translation that can find this type of contrastive analysis particularly useful. Namely, theory of translation focusing on literary semantics, more specifically on the ways in which the grammatical devices used to achieve a certain stylistic effect in the original text can be used in the translated version to convey the same meaning and produce the same effect. Contrastive analysis, by paying more attention to stylistic and pragmatic aspects of interlingual analysis, can provide invaluable resources for future research in this particular field of theory of translation²¹⁷.

Language teaching methodology, on the other hand, substantially relied on the results of contrastive analysis, as well as error analysis, particularly during the 1960s. The

²¹⁶ In this context we have already mentioned and discussed works by Zhang (1995), Manney (2000), Barcelona (2001) etc. Here we should single out Rasulić (1995, 1999), Klikovac (1999, 2000) and Brdar (1992) in particular, all of whom focused on various aspects of the structure of S/S-C and/or E commenting on them in the cognitive/prototype framework.

²¹⁷ Here we are particularly referring to works and studies by Adamson (1994), Banfield (1982), Levenston - Sonnenschein (1986), Toolan (1990), Uspensky (1973), Vinay - Darbelnet (1995); cf. also Kurteš (1998c; 2002c).

goals and aims of foreign language learning of that time established the grammar-translation teaching method as dominant, while, at the same time, contrastive linguistics focused almost exclusively²¹⁸ on the various levels of language structure in its analysis, putting aside any extralinguistic and pragmatic factors that might have been worth looking at. However, with the introduction of the concept of communicative competence (Hymes 1974) and the redefinition of the goals of the foreign language learning more in accordance with the needs of the modern world, teaching methods adopted a more communicative approach, emphasizing the cultural context that a human language finds itself embedded in. Pedagogical materials started to be supported by communicative grammars and course books designed for learners with specific first language background, focusing particularly on culturally specific issues and putting the relevant language sequences in their natural pragmatic context. Again, the preparation of such materials would be much less successful without the readily available results of modern contrastive studies that took various extralinguistic factors as their platform of reference in the process of analysis²¹⁹.

In addition, current trends in the field of language teaching methodology emphasize the value of the pedagogical material prepared on the basis of the results of contrastive analysis that observe language as being based on cognition. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that such an approach will help the learner to rediscover the motivated structures and principles underlying a foreign language, which in turn

²¹⁸ Of course, Lado's seminal work *Linguistics across cultures* published in 1957 is a well-known exception to this pattern.

²¹⁹ Works in contrastive sociolinguistics, ethnolinguistics, pragmatics and similar disciplines in the last couple of decades or so support our claim. The proliferation of literature of this kind is impressive, but here we shall single out, *inter alia*, the works and studies by Baryaktaroglu-Sifianou (eds: 2001); Cooper (1998); Falk (2000); Fisiak (1980; 1984), Israeli (1997), Janicki (1986), Jaszczolt-Turner (eds: 1996; 2003), Kalisz (1981), Kurteš (1991; 1998b; 1999; to appear (c)), Márques Reiter (2000), Siepmann (2005); Weigand (1998), etc.; cf. also the selected bibliography of Yugoslav sociolinguistics covering the period between 1967-99 in Bugarski (2001a)

ultimately leads to a greater degree of learner autonomy²²⁰ (cf. Pütz *et al* 2001: xv; also Dirven 2001; Kurtyka 2001; Kovecses 2001, etc). We believe that the results of the analysis performed and presented here can be taken as another example substantiating the above claim. As it has been pointed out earlier on, their further application is primarily envisaged in the field of language teaching methodology and, consequently, preparation of pedagogical materials.

Finally, our intention is also to address the issue of the relevance of contrastive linguistics and its proper place in 21st century linguistics. Why contrastive analysis? Can its relevance in a wider linguistic context be justified at all?

Our main argument remains that the vitality and resilience of the discipline have been confirmed not only by its vast research potentialities that resulted in numerous contrastive research projects and successful application of their results in the whole spectrum of study fields, but also by its openness and adaptability to new methodologies and interdisciplinary approaches. Moreover, we maintain that contrastive linguistics should see its significant chance to take a much more prominent place in 21st century linguistics (cf. also Kurteš 2005; to appear (b)). Namely, the 20th century witnessed the creation of some very opposing models of linguistic analysis, such as relativist vs. universalist, synchronic vs. diachronic, psychological vs. social, to name but a few, that almost obliterated the common ground defining linguistics as an integral study field. Contrastive linguistics, however, has a unique opportunity to fill in this gap and give a new impact to the development

²²⁰ The concept of learner autonomy, although relatively new in pedagogical studies, has been well researched and written on. Here we primarily refer to some recent studies that deal with the issue in the context of language teaching and learning, such as, *inter alia*, Benson (ed) 1997, 1998, 2001; also Esch (ed) 1994, Macaro 1997, etc.

of linguistic thought. In particular, its capability to draw on and analyse data from all levels and perspectives of linguistic or interdisciplinary fields, such as phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, discourse, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, etc, should grant it a central place and integrating role among linguistic studies in the new century.

In finalizing our discussion, we would like to make a few recommendations for possible further research within the proposed theoretical and methodological framework.

Namely, it seems that contrastive stylistics and pragmatics can offer a new perspective by revealing and explaining some intriguing phenomena that would otherwise remain unnoticed or unexplained. Moreover, further research in this direction will provide an additional link between stylistics and pragmatics on the one hand, and semantics of grammar, on the other. The practical application of the results thus obtained should certainly be envisaged in the way described above.

There is, however, another interesting aspect of the S *se*-verbs that seems to be worth having another look at. More specifically, we are proposing further research in some specific issues in the occurrences of the *se*-structures in native, near-native and non-native oral production. Namely, a random analysis of quite a limited sample showed a very regular and intriguing pattern. It is possible to observe the following tendency: speakers of S, who are second- or third-generation immigrants in E-speaking countries with E gradually becoming their dominant language (or has already become their first language), tend to show the ‘*se*-loss’ in their oral production that

structurally corresponds to the non-native production of S learners with E-speaking background²²¹. It seems that this ‘*se*-loss’ becomes more apparent and more frequent with the loss of S as a first or dominant language. The following sequences can thus be heard:

- /313/ *Ja [Ø] nadam da je tako. I hope so.
 /314/ *On [Ø] ponaša nepristojno. He behaves badly.
 /315/ *Ona [Ø] boji mraka. She is afraid of the dark.

The research we are proposing can focus only on S speakers and observe this particular aspect of their language loss and/or maintenance, but it can also take a more general view and observe the characteristics of the oral production of the speakers of some other Slavonic languages with E as their second or dominant language²²². Research of this type can hopefully yield some valuable pieces of evidence that can help us understand better and explain various phenomena that are dealt with in the studies of bilingualism and language processing, first and second language acquisition, and other cognate study fields.

It goes without saying, though, that we invite and encourage the contrastivists themselves to challenge, re-examine, refine and advance further the results presented here in yet another contrastive project, taking, for example, a different set of variables as the platform of reference (e.g. sociolinguistic/ethnolinguistic ones), or testing the proposed model of analysis on a different set of languages. Although the contrastivists have no doubt been envisaged as our primary target audience, the results presented

²²¹ The problem has been long observed, though. Here we are primarily referring to Browne 1975 and the comments made therein particularly with respect to the ‘*se*-acquisition’ and the problems it imposes to the E-speaking learners of S.

²²² There are some comprehensive studies that have already addressed the issue taking into account various languages, including some Slavonic, cf., *inter alia*, Andrews 1999, Dutkova 1998, Fase *et al* (1992) Halmari 1997, Hlavac 2003, etc.

and discussed here have also been addressed to a wider spectrum of linguistic and educational scholars and professionals, clearly involving theoreticians of translation, semanticists, cognitive and corpus linguists, grammarians (primarily, but not exclusively, of S and E), educators and teaching methodologists, as well as professional translators, foreign language teachers, lexicographers, etc. Last, but by no means least, the results we have put forward can be brought to the attention of typologists and general linguists of various persuasion as well. They should all feel invited to respond and propose new avenues for further research in the field. Our ultimate intention, after all, has been and remains to inspire confidence of the future generation of linguists in contrastive linguistics and its enormous potentialities and encourage them to explore and expand its horizons.

APPENDIX

GLOSSARY

The following glossary offers a select list of major technical terms used, with a brief definition and a suggested S translation equivalent. The glossary is arranged alphabetically and cross-referenced, and the suggested equivalents should be seen as a modest contribution to the development of the modern S linguistic terminology. The list includes major concepts pertinent to the theoretical framework used, namely cognitive/prototype approaches of the concept of reflexivity and middleness, as well as issues in modern contrastive analytical methodology.

Degree of distinguishability of participants – stepen razlučivosti učesnika

A continuum defining a conceptual differentiation of participants between prototypical transitivity, where the participants are two separate entities, and prototypical intransitivity, with no iconic separation between the participants.

Direct reflexive situations – direktno-refleksivne (semantičke) situacije

A **situation type** representing prototypical reflexivity, maintaining the conceptual separation between the Initiator and the Endpoint, although they are coreferential, filled by the same entity.

Dynamic situations – dinamičke (semantičke) situacije

A situation type semantically characterised by **energy expenditure** and change through time; cf. **stative situations**.

Energy expenditure – utrošak energije

A basic semantic feature defining a situation type as **dynamic** and notionally invoking an idea of our existence in certain states and our motor movement from one state to the other.

Grammatical prototype – gramatički prototip

A situation type with a privileged status that can be observed both typologically and diachronically. Typologically, grammatical prototypes tend to be associated, across languages, with a characteristic morphosyntactic form. Diachronically, the prototype situations appear to be more stable than non-prototype uses cross-linguistically.

Maximum similarity – maksimalna sličnost

The contrastive relation in modern contrastive studies used instead of the traditional notion of equivalence, defined in terms of sharing the maximum perceivable amount of sameness.

Middle marker – medijalno obeležje

An overt morphological unit denoting middle semantics; cf. **reflexive marker**.

Non-initiative emotional response – neizazvani emotivni odgovor

One of the two main characterisations of middleness, involving no energy expenditure or volition, and exhibiting no iconic separation between the participants, which brings it close to prototypical intransitivity; cf. **spontaneous change of state**.

One-form middle system – jednoobrazni medijalni sistem

A verbal paradigm of the languages using only one marker – the **middle marker**, to express both semantic domains, reflexive and middle (e.g. German); cf. **two-form cognate system**; **two-form non-cognate system**.

Reflexive marker – refleksivno obeležje

An overt morphological unit denoting reflexive semantics; cf. **middle marker**.

Two-form cognate system – dvojni srodni sistem

A verbal paradigm found in languages with two different markers used to designate reflexivity and middleness. Normally, in languages belonging to this type the reflexive marker is pronominal in form, while the middle marker is a verbal affix (e.g. Russian); cf. **one-form middle system**; **two-form non-cognate system**.

Two-form non-cognate system – dvojni nesrodni sistem

A verbal paradigm of the languages having the reflexive and middle markers that are clearly two distinct forms, both morphologically and diachronically (e.g. Latin); cf. **one-form middle system; two-form cognate system.**

Prototypical one-participant event – prototipski dogadjaj s jednim učesnikom

A situation type representing prototypical intransitivity with no iconic separation between the participants, the acting and the acted-on.

Prototypical passive event – prototipski pasivni dogadjaj

A situation type representing prototypical passivity, with the inanimate Patient being acted on.

Prototypical two-participant event – prototipski dogadjaj s dva učesnika

A situation type representing prototypical transitivity with two clearly distinguishable participants - the animate Agent and the inanimate Patient.

Relative elaboration of events – relativna razrada dogadjaja

A parameter along which reflexivity and middleness can be situated as semantic categories intermediate in transitivity between **one-participant** and **two-participant events.**

Relative closeness – relativna bliskost

The contrastive relation of similarity defined in terms of sharing the prominent prototypical feature, observed as being present or absent to a certain degree, not in absolute terms.

Similarity-as-attribution – pripisana sličnost

A contrastive relation subsuming a subjective, cognitive process that perceives two entities as being similar, thus going from mind to matter; cf. **similarity-as-trigger.**

Similarity-as-trigger – objektivna sličnost

A contrastive relation observed as existing between entities in the world, a relation that impinges upon human perception, from matter to mind; cf. **similarity-as-attribution**.

Situation types – tipovi (semantičkih) situacija

Semantic properties shared by the contexts clustering around a (grammatical) notion.

Spontaneous change of state – spontana promena stanja

One of the two main characterisations of middlenes, involving no energy expenditure or volition, and exhibiting no iconic separation between the participants, which brings it close to prototypical intransitivity; cf. **non-initiative emotional response**.

Stative situations – statične (semantičke) situacije

A situation type semantically involving no volitional energy expenditure and spontaneous change through time; cf. **dynamic situations**.

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²²² The first date denotes the date of the first edition, and the second one the date of the edition we have used.

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²²³ The E titles in square brackets are provided only in cases when there is an E abstract originally appended. Otherwise, only the S title will appear. The same applies to the titles in languages other than S.

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ELECTRONIC RESOURCES

The British National Corpus:

<http://sara.natcorp.ox.ac.uk>

The Contrastive Linguistics and Language Typology Research Network, Ghent University, Belgium:

<http://bank.rug.ac.be/contragram/collate.html>

Contrastive linguistics – a select bibliography compiled by Bengt Altenberg (Lund) and Filip Devos (Gent):

<http://bank.rug.ac.be/contragram/biblio.html>

The Guide to Good Practice for Learning and Teaching in Languages, Linguistics and Area Studies : Contrastive Linguistics

<http://www.lang.ltsn.ac.uk/resources/goodpractice.aspx?resourceid=1395>

Hrvatski nacionalni korpus:

<http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr>

Office of the High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina:

<http://www.ohr.int>

Oxford English Dictionary Online

<http://www.oed.com>

Radio France Internationale: programmes in foreign languages:

<http://www.rfi.fr>

Srpskohrvatski tekstualni korpusi – a collection of links to the Serbo-Croat electronic text corpora (compiled by Dr Danko Šipka, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland):

<http://main.amu.edu.pl/~sipkadan/korpus.html>

Serbo-Croat electronic text corpus (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland):

<ftp://ftp.amu.edu.pl/pub/Serbo-Croat>

Serbo-Croat electronic text corpus (Århus University, Denmark):

<ftp://aau.dk/pub/slav>

The UCLA Language Materials Project – Serbo-Croatian linguistic profile:

<http://www.lmp.ucla.edu/profiles/profs01.htm>

The United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague:

<http://www.un.org/icty>

University of Amsterdam, Slavic Department: the symposium *Language Policy and Lexicography in Slavic Languages after 1989*, 23-24 November 2000:

<http://www.hum.uva.nl/lplsymposium/>

University of London, School of Slavonic and East European Studies: the conference *Language in the Former Yugoslav Lands*, 8-9 September 2000:

<http://www.ssees.ac.uk/language.htm>