

Particle -sya in Russian:  
Mystery, or Defunct Grammatical Relation?\*

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In this paper, through the framework of Relational Grammar (RG), I indicate how the appearance of the Russian particle -sya is syntactically predictable in a much broader range of instances than has been generally thought. Due to limitations of space, the discussions here are too brief to give a thorough accounting of every instance of -sya. However, I believe that the processes and principles outlined here can be applied to all instances successfully.

An obstacle to any syntactic discussion of the particle is presented by two classes of verbs: those which never appear with -sya, and those that never appear without it. A thorough treatment would include an adequate understanding of these classes but this is not achieved here. Some light is cast upon these verbs, and some avenues of future research are indicated in this direction but on the whole I have limited the discussion to verbs which can appear both with and without the suffix. The examination below of some -sya and non--sya paraphrase pairs reveals straightforward syntactic relationships. These relationships are then compared in order to find a common property which may underlie the principle operative in triggering the appearance of the suffix.

There are at least four different hypotheses predicting the appearance of -sya:

1. No principles govern the appearance of -sya.
2. Some appearances of the particle are principled, but many are not.
3. All appearances are according to principle, but more than one principle is operative.
4. A single principle governs all appearances of -sya.

The first hypothesis is weakest, and is not held by anyone to my knowledge. The second is the traditional one and is found in most of the literature on the subject. Leaving the third hypothesis aside for a moment, the fourth hypothesis is the strongest and would offer the greatest simplification to the grammar. This, therefore, is the hypothesis sought here. However, since the final generalization achieved in the present investigation contains an either-or statement, and since the interaction with aspect is not completely resolved, the third hypothesis is the most acceptable at this point.

The syntactic processes involved in the appearance of -sya are

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\*Special thanks are due to Terry Klokeid and William O'Grady who made a multitude of valuable comments and criticisms, at several stages of this paper. I bear complete responsibility for the remaining errors and weaknesses.

outlined in the framework of RG because the latter provides a set of rules and laws which offer a straightforward account of the phenomenon.

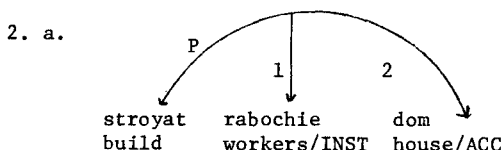
The occurrences of the particle -sya which are probably best understood by traditional grammarians are those in passive, reflexive, and reciprocal sentences. In fact, from the syntactic processes involved in these, an initial hypothesis is formable which closely resembles the one to be stated finally. For these reasons I begin the discussion with these sentences.

# 1. Passives

In Relational Grammar, passivization receives universal expression in the rule of 2-1 Advancement. This means that what is semantically the patient of a sentence, and therefore the initial direct object, is also the final subject. Consider the active-passive pair 1a-lb. The semantic relations are the same for both, but in the active, 1a, the agent is final subject while in passive 1b the patient is final subject. In Russian the final grammatical relations (GR) of nominals are in general indicated by case. Subjects appear in NOM<sup>1</sup> and direct objects in ACC.

1. a. Rabochie      stroyat      dom.  
Workers/NOM build      house/ACC  
'The workers are building the house.'
- b. Dom      stroitsya<sup>2</sup>      rabochimi.  
House/ACC builds      workers/INST  
'The house is being built by the workers.'

It is the working hypothesis of RG that the semantic relation of any nominal determines in an invariant and universal fashion, the initial GR of that nominal. Under this assumption, the sentences in 1 have the same initial GR. These can be illustrated by means of a network of arcs. (I adopt here the terminology and notation of RG exemplified in Perlmutter and Aissen (1976), etc.) 2a is the network for 1a.

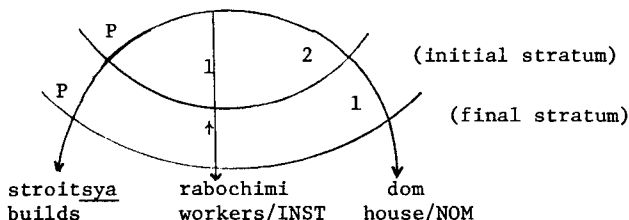


In RG, subjects are labelled 1, and direct objects, 2. Agents are initial 1s and patients are initial 2s. In this way, 2a shows both the initial and final relations of the nominals in 1a. Rabochie 'workers' is both agent (hence initial subject) and final subject, while dom 'house' is patient (hence initial direct object) and final direct object.

In 1b, however, the initial and final relations are not the same. Since dom, the patient, is also final subject, it is said to have advanced from the initial 2-relation to the final 1-relation. Two distinct stages of grammatical relations, or strata, are, then, observable here: an initial stratum directly linked to the semantic relations and a final stratum which

shows the ultimate grammatical relations. 2b is the network for 1b.

2. b.



The grammatical relations 1 and 2 together with indirect objects (3) are defined in RG as terms. There can be only one nominal bearing a particular term relation per stratum.<sup>3</sup> Because of this, in 2b above, when dom 'house' advances to 1, rabochimi 'workers' can no longer retain its 1-hood. This latter term is said to be en chômage. Since chômeurs often show the syntactic and morphological characteristics of their previous term-hood, they are represented by means of their former numerical status with a circumflex accent. Thus, rabochimi 'workers' in 2b is initially 1 and finally 1̂ (1-chômeur). It is characteristic of Russian 1-chômeurs which are created by 2-1 Advancement that they appear in INST.

In the active-passive pair above, repeated here as 3a-3b, -sya occurs only in the passive.

3. a. Rabochie stroyat dom  
Workers/NOM build house/ACC  
'The workers are building the house.'

b. Dom stroitsya rabochimi  
House/NOM builds workers/INST  
'The house is being built by the workers.'

It could thus be claimed that -sya is the morphological side-effect of 2-1 Advancement. However, passivization in Russian is more complicated than this for two reasons. First, not all passives show the particle, and second, not all active sentences can be passivized. To my knowledge, neither of these complications is entirely resolved in any extant analysis. For this reason, I feel some comment in this regard is justified although it constitutes a digression from the main topic.

In my opinion, there are two clearly definable parameters of the class of sentences which can be passivized with -sya. The first parameter is related to aspect, and the second to animacy.

## 2. The Aspect Parameter

In the literature on Russian syntax there is an awareness that verbal aspect plays a role in passivization with -sya. At the same time, nowhere, to my knowledge, is the claim made that an exception-free statement

in this regard is possible. Yet it seems that there are no exceptions to the following rules:

4. a. Imperfective verbs always passivize with -sya and never with the short form present passive participle and the verb byt' 'to be'.
- b. Perfective verbs always passivize with the short form past passive participle and the verb byt' 'to be' and never with -sya.

These rules are operative in the passivization of the imperfective and perfective counterparts of the verb vypolnyat': vypolnit' 'to fulfil', as shown in 5 and 6 below.

5. Imperfective  

Active	Uchenik	vypolnyaet	zadanie
	Student/NOM	fulfils	task/ACC
	'The student is fulfilling the task.'		
Passive	Zadanie	vypolnyaetsya	uchenikom
	Task/NOM	fulfils	student/INST
	'The task is being fulfilled by the student.'		
6. Perfective  

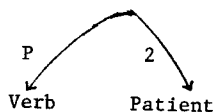
Active	Uchenik	vypolnil	zadanie
	Student/NOM	fulfilled	task/ACC
	'The student fulfilled the task.'		
Passive	Zadanie	vypolnen	uchenikom
	Task/ACC	(is) fulfilled	student/INST
	'The task was fulfilled by the student.'		

In the literature, lists of sentences are to be found which are considered exceptional to the proposed rules 4a and 4b. I will deal with the apparent exceptions to the latter rule first because those related to 4a are closely involved with the animacy parameter and are best discussed as an introduction to it.

### 3. Apparent Exceptions to 4b: "Perfective Passives with -sya."

Harrison (1967) gives a list of at least sixteen semantic classes of perfective verbs which he claims passivize with -sya. In RG, however, these are uniformly analysed as representative of the so-called unaccusative construction, that is, as sentences whose initial network of GRs includes a 2 but no 1.

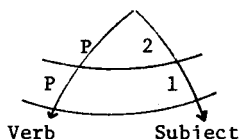
### 7. Initial relations of unaccusatives



Because sentences must have a final subject,<sup>4</sup> it is a universal principle

of RG that in any stratum where there is a 2 in the absence of a 1, the 2 automatically advances to 1. 8 shows this further evolution of unaccusative sentences.

8. Final relations  
of unaccusatives



In this way, the subjects of this class of verbs are also patients. For instance, in 9, komnata 'room' is patient and final subject.

9. Komnata zastavilas' mebel'yu  
Room/NOM stuffed furniture/INST  
'The room was stuffed with furniture.'

In the unaccusative construction, the 2 advances to 1 because there is no initial 1. The RG analysis therefore predicts that these sentences would not appear with an agent, and this is correct. Example 10 (from Harrison 1967) is ungrammatical because there is an agent expressed.

10. \*Biblioteka otkryvas' bibliotekarem  
Library/NOM opened librarian/INST  
'The library was opened by the librarian.'

The sense of this sentence must be rendered in Russian either by 11a or 11b (from Harrison 1967).

11. a. Bibklioteka byla otkryta bibliotekarem  
library/NOM was opened librarian/INST  
b. Biblioteku otkryl bibliotekar'  
library/ACC opened librarian/NOM

In Harrison's analysis, not only must the semantic classes of perfective verbs which can passivize with -sya be listed separately but a restriction on the use of agents with these sentences must also be indicated. In the RG analysis, neither of these devices is necessary since these verbs are not passive. In addition, the unaccusative construction by definition does not occur with an agent.

The apparent exceptions to 4b are not exceptional because they are actually representative of a sentence type which is not passive. That 4a is also exception-free is more difficult to show.

4. Apparent Exceptions to 4a: "Imperfective Passives with the present participle passive."

I. Pulkina and E. Zakhova-Nekrasova (1960:390) make the following comments relative to rule 4a:

In Modern Russian the short form present participles passive of only a few verbs are used (lyubit' to love, uvazhat' to respect, tsenit' to value, xranit' to keep, muchit' to torture, ugnetat' to oppress, etc.). The use of the participle is restricted to the bookish language and even there they occur but rarely.

At the same time, the short form past participle passive is frequent in both the literary and colloquial language. This great discrepancy in usage is not in itself justification of Rule 4a but it is indicative of an underlying principle which provides justification.

Sentences 12a and 13a contain examples of the short form present participle passive. The b counterparts represent the more usual mode of expression.

12. a. Pisatel' lyubim narodom  
writer/NOM (is) loved people/INST  
'The writer is loved by the people.'
- b. Pisatelya lyubit narod  
writer/ACC love people/NOM  
'The people love the writer.'
13. a. On uvazhaem vseimi tovarishchami  
He/NOM (is) respected all friends/INST  
'He is respected by all his friends.'
- b. Ego uvazhayut vse tovarishchi  
Him/ACC respect all friends/NOM  
'All his friends respect him.'

There are two things to note about these verbs. First, they seem to be semantically limited to interpersonal relationships or at least to sentences in which the patient is a person. Secondly, it is impossible to use a -sya passive in these instances although the verbs are imperfective.

What I think is producing these constructions is a principle in Russian which prohibits an animate being from being the final subject of a predicate of external agency. Animate figures are regarded as potential participants in an action. Thus when they appear as final subjects they must have a greater role in the action than that of patient. The subjects of 12a and 13a may be regarded as being loved and respected because of their actions with respect to writing or friendship. In the b sentences (active constructions) the same figures are merely direct objects and it is possible that they have no active role in being loved and respected. In a -sya passive construction (ungrammatical here) they would have the same role as in the b (active) sentences: semantic relations are identical for actives and passives. Thus, these constructions may be seen as an attempt at a sort of a middle voice in which the patient is in some way also an active participant. If this proposition is accepted then these sentences can be considered to be something other than passive, and thus not exceptional to 4a.

In my opinion, this sense of a middle voice appears elsewhere in Russian. As would be expected, its appearance causes much confusion in understanding the passive voice since the two are closely related. This also clouds the view of principled appearances of -sya because the particle can be found both in middle and passive constructions. In fact, a delineation of the second parameter of passives with -sya involves clarifying the status of the apparent exceptions which are really other attempts at a middle voice.

## 5. The Animacy Parameter

Michael K. Launer (1974:100) makes a statement concerning this parameter which is the most absolute to my knowledge.

Russian transitive verbs are not passivized if the direct object, NP ACC, is animate -- an exception is interesovat'. What often occurs instead is the inversion of the active sentence.

He permits this single exception because he considers sentences like 15 and 16 to be derivationally related, 16 being the passive variant of 15.

15. Matematika interesuet Irinu.  
mathematics/NOM interest Irene/ACC  
'Mathematics interest Irene.'

16. Irina interesuetsya matematikoy.  
Irene/NOM interests mathematics/INST  
'Irene is interested in mathematics.'

It is noteworthy that the morphology of what Launer considers to be the agent, includes, in the English translation of 16, the preposition 'in'. It may be argued that English passives require the agent in a 'by-phrase' and thus the translation is not passive. But it would be inappropriate to argue that this is a non-exception purely on semantic grounds ('interested in' and 'interested by' may mean different things in English) by evoking semantic and morphological parallels from a different language. However, semantics does play a role in creating this 'exception'. In fact, there are several other verbs which are semantically related to interesovat' 'to interest' which show parallel syntactic behaviour. These fit the same criteria which Launer applied to his exception and so would likely also be considered exceptional by him.

17. uvlekat'	- uvlech'	= to fascinate
voskishchat'	- vosxilit'	= to enrapture
zanimat'	- zanyat'	= to occupy
vostorgat'	- --	= delight
pol'zovat'	- --	= to treat <sup>5</sup>
balovat'	- --	= to indulge

These verbs all appear in the form /NOM Verb ACC/ or /NOM Verb+sya INST/

and so near paraphrases of the type in 15-16 are construable for all. That so many other exceptions exist to Launer's rule and that they are somewhat related semantically requires some explanation.

Launer (1974:100) actually mentions another verb, udivlyat': udivit' 'to amaze' which:

seems to function similarly, but the -sya-form governs the dative case rather than the instrumental and is not, strictly speaking, passive.

This analyst desires to consider interesovat' and udivlyat': udivit' to be syntactically related but is prevented by his rules from doing so. In the framework of RG, on the other hand, these verbs can be shown to be syntactically related. Consider Launer's examples 11b and 11c given respectively as 18 and 19 below. There are two clauses involved here, the rightmost of which may be overlooked in this discussion. In 18 (non-sya) what I gloss as 'it' appears in NOM, while 'me' is in ACC. In 19 these nominals show up in DAT and NOM respectively. I offer separate translations to give a closer approximation of the constructions in English.

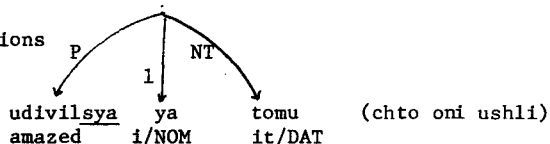
18. Menya udivilo to, chto oni ushli.  
me/ACC amazed it/NOM that they left  
'I was amazed that they left.' (Launer's translation)  
'It amazed me that they left.' (My translation)

19. Ya udivilsya tomu, chto oni ushli.  
I/NOM amazed it/DAT that they left  
'The fact that they left amazed me' (Launer)  
'I am amazed at their leaving' (my translation)

None of the grammarians I consulted treat sentences like 19 as true passives. Indeed, it is possible that 18 and 19 are not syntactically related, but I think this is unlikely.

At this point the notion of non-term (NT) needs an introduction. It was mentioned earlier that 1, 2, and 3 are called terms. All other sentential elements, including chômeurs, are NT. It is my opinion that tomu 'it' in 19 is a final NT. Final relations of 19 are shown in network 20.

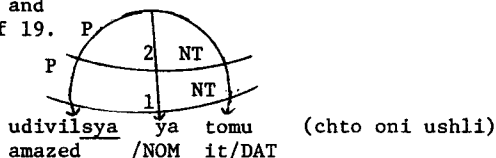
20. Final relations  
of 19.



Since the subject of 19 ya 'I' is a patient it is initially a 2. Thus, at some stage prior to that of the final relations there might be a 2 and a NT. If the 1-relation is absent, then by the unaccusativity principle the 2 would advance, giving final relations. These tentative and hypothetical relations are shown in 21.



21. Tentative earlier and final relations of 19.



I deliberately do not call the topmost stratum in 21 the stratum of initial relations because the above network is not entirely correct. Later I will show that the NT is actually a 1-chômeur but at the moment it is convenient to portray 19 as an unaccusative. But it is correct that tomu 'it/DAT' is a NT for the stages shown.

In RG non-terms show highly idiosyncratic variation in surface morphology within individual languages. In English they are sometimes without special morphological marking and other times they appear in prepositional phrases. In Russian, NTs show up in DAT, GEN, INST, LOC or in a prepositional phrase with the nominal in ACC, DAT, GEN, INST, or LOC. The particular morphology of the non-term is often semantically determined. This is the reason for the great variation in form.

In this respect I would like to point out another verb which functions like udivlyat' - udivit' 'to amaze', which also has a -sya form taking an object (in the traditional sense) in DAT. Radovat' - obradovat' translates when -sya is suffixed with a phrase like 'to rejoice at'. It is more than coincidence that English and Russian show consistent morphology of NTs when used with these verbs: English has 'at-phrases' and Russian DAT.

I mentioned earlier that the list 17 contains verbs which may be regarded as semantically related to interesovat'. The fact that the NTs which occur with the -sya form are in INST is in RG explainable on semantic rather than on syntactic grounds. Thus, in this framework, the verb which Launer thought had behaviour like interesovat', that is, udivlyat', can be considered to have the same syntactic activity, even though their objects occur in different cases.

Launer's rule covers passivization in Russian in general, regardless of aspect. It is valid for both -sya and non--sya passives. This is a correct generalization. He discovered one exception to the rule which in this analysis is a representative of a different construction. Thus I feel I can state an exception-free rule regarding the animacy parameter. Since 'passivization' in RG is effected by a rule of 2-1 Advancement, and since agency is proposed to bear the relation NT at the time of Advancement then the following rule may clearly delineate the animacy parameter:

22. The Animate Patient Advancement Law in Russian (APA Law)

2-1 Advancement of an animate nominal is sanctioned only in unaccusative strata.

Earlier I claimed that much of the confusion about the passive is related to an effort to formulate expression in a middle voice. Such confusion has led one analyst to state an ad hoc rule concerning sentences which have reflexive morphology (this involves -sya) but are semantically related to passives. Harrison (1967:12) gives the following rule:

23. reflexive verbs proper are not used with an animate subject and an animate agent to express the passive.

It is sentences like 24 and 25 which induce this analyst to make the above formulation. 24 is plainly reflexive, the subject being both agent and patient, while in 25 there is agency implied which is external to the subject.

24. Ya breyus'  
I/NOM shave  
'I shave (myself).'

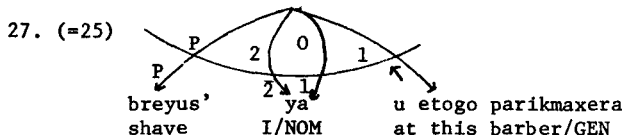
25. Ya breyus' u etogo parikmaxera  
I/NOM shave at this wig-maker/GEN  
'I get shaved at this barber's.'

In 25 it is clear to the Russian that the barber is doing the shaving but an ungrammatical sentence is the result if parikmaxer 'barber' is put in INST, the case for agents in Passives.

26. \*Ya breyus' etim parikmaxerom  
I/NOM shave this wig-maker/INST  
'I am shaved by this barber.'

In my analysis this ungrammaticality would be predicted by the APA Law. Yet the fact remains that there is agency understood in 25. Since semantic relations are initial GRs, the implied agent in 25 is initially a 1. But ya 'I' as patient or initial direct object (2) cannot advance to subject (1) if there is a 1 already present (according to the APA Law). Something must happen to the initial 1, which allows the patient to become final subject. This is a process which I would like to call Greedy Patient.

The Greedy Patient construction works as follows: a nominal bearing the patient relation, because it is also in some way a participant, usurps the relation of agent. At the same time it does not relinquish the relation of patient. The nominal, which is probably always animate, now bears both agent and patient relations -- the criterion of a reflexive -- and so the verb shows reflexive morphology (-sya).<sup>6</sup> These developments are shown for 25 in network 27.



In 27, ya 'I' is the Greedy Patient which usurps the 1 relation. This puts the initial 1 en chômage. Earlier it was shown that in passives the 1-chomeur (created by 2-1 Advancement) appears always in INST. Here the 1-chomeur is created by a Greedy Patient. It seems that Greedy Patient produced chomeurs belong to that class of NTs which appear in idiosyncratic, semantically determined morphology.

At this point I would like to backtrack and use the now motivated notion of Greedy Patient to strengthen the proposal that the apparent exceptions to the two parameter rules for passives with -sya are actually representative of a different construction.

A short form present passive participle with the verb byt' (12a and 13a) is an effect of a Greedy Patient. These verbs are participialized, and not suffixed with -sya, when exposed to Greedy Patients for perhaps three distinct but related reasons. First, some of these verbs, lyubit' 'to love', uvazhat' 'to respect', and ugnetat' 'to oppress', have no form with -sya.<sup>7</sup> Second, some of these verbs when used with -sya only occur with object patients: tsemit'sya 'to be valued' (refers to value or price of objects), xranit'sya 'to be kept' (money, silence or information in one's memory). Third, at least one verb muchit'sya 'to be worried' takes NTs in INST. (This latter could be included in 17, the list of exceptions to Launer's rule.) Perhaps the sentence morphology too closely resembles the passive, which is ungrammatical by the APA Law, and so the -sya form is avoided. For these reasons, when the sense of a middle voice is required the language has to turn to a non--sya construction and this is supplied by the participles. Although the agents in these constructions are in INST, they are not created by 2-1 Advancement. Although I cannot with assurance provide a reason for this particular case marking it could be that it is used by analogy to the other participial passives.

The exceptions to Launer's rule are also representative of the Greedy Patient construction, and are not unaccusatives as I tentatively suggested. It is this construction that relates the two verbs, interesovat' 'to interest', and udivlyat' 'to amaze' which Launer desired to consider related.

The morphological coincidence of objects of the verbs in list 17 with the agent in passives has presented difficulty for other analysts as well. Harrison (1967) offers a sentence containing a verb from 17 to claim that sentences with animate agents can be passivized. Indeed, it is tempting to consider this sentence (28) below as a passive since the morphology mimics that construction. Yet the instances of animate nominals appearing in INST with -sya verbs are very few. Also, if a true passive, this sentence would present a clear counterexample to the APA Law.

28. (from Harrison 1967)

Deti	chasto	baluyutsya	roditelyami
children/NOM	often	indulge	parents/INST

'Children are often spoilt by their parents.' (Harrison's translation)

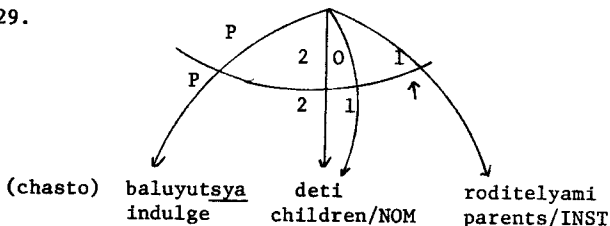
'Children often indulge in their parents.'

or

'Children often get spoiled by their parents.' (my translations)

I think this sentence (along with the other verbs in 17) is best analyzed with deti 'children' being both patient and agent. This is the reason for the last translation above involving a so-called 'get passive'.<sup>8</sup> 29 below illustrates the Greedy Patient construction involved in 28.

29.



In 29, deti 'children' usurps the 1 relation triggering verb agreement and the reflexive morphology (-sya). The 1-chomeur, roditelyami 'parents', is in INST not because it has been put en chômeage by an advancement of a 2 but because that is the idiosyncratic NT marking determined by the semantics of the verb.<sup>9</sup>

The notion of 'Greedy Patient' may appear to be a convenient, more or less ad hoc means of accounting for the data. Yet it seems that the concept 'greedy' can be extended to agents as well. Consider the verb slushat' -- poslushat' 'to listen to'. This is an interesting example because the English translation of the -sya forms of this verb must be effected with verbs which are for English speakers verbs unrelated to 'to listen to'. Usually slushat'sya - poslushat'sya is glossed with either 'to obey' or 'to follow'. Also, interestingly enough, the non-sya verb takes a nominal ACC while the -sya takes GEN. Sentences 30 and 31 are examples of the 'listen' translation while 32 and 33 show the others.

30. Ya slushayu ego  
I/NOM listen him/ACC  
'I listen to him.'

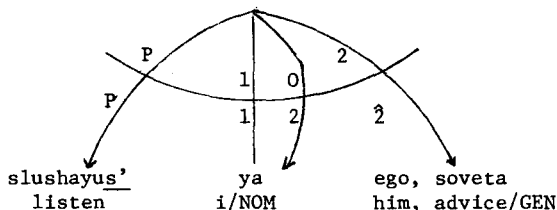
31. Ya slushayu sovet  
I/NOM listen advice/ACC  
'I listen to the advice.'

32. Ya slushayus' ego  
I/NOM listen him/GEN  
'I obey him.'

33. Ya slushayus' soveta  
I/NOM listen advice/GEN  
'I follow the advice.'

In 32 and 33 ya 'I' is agent (initial 1) while the nominal in GEN is patient (initial 2). Since the subject is in some way also being acted on by the other nominal, it usurps the 2 relation putting the initial 2 en chômage. Now that the greedy agent possesses both a 1 and a 2 relation, the criterion of a reflexive is met and reflexive morphology (-sya) is taken by the verb. The particular form of the 2̂ is determined by the semantic property of the verb. 34 is a network for 32 and 33.

34.



At least one other verb behaves like slushat' 'to listen'. In the non-sya form of sentences with dobivat' - dobit' the translation of the verb is something like 'finish off' or 'deal the final blow to' and the object is in ACC. With the particle, the meaning is 'obtain', 'achieve', or 'secure' and the object is in GEN.

#### 6. Summary of Passives with -sya

Two exception-free rules describe the parameter of the class of sentences which can passivize with -sya. The effect of these is that no perfective verb with -sya is a true passive and that no sentence with an animate patient can be passivized. Perfective verbs appearing with -sya are unaccusative constructions. Short form present passive participles and many -sya verbs with animate subjects are attempts at a 'middle voice' and are effects of a greedy agent or patient. Thus, none of the apparent exceptions are examples of the passive construction.

A simple statement describing passives with -sya is possible:

35. -sya appears with 2-1 Advancement within the animacy and aspect parameters.

No further remarks on the passive will be made for the moment.

The second group of sentences in which the appearance of the particle is understood by most grammarians to be triggered by a syntactic effect, does not involve 2-1 Advancement.

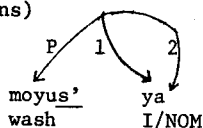
#### 7. Reflexives and Reciprocals (RR)

Although these types of sentences are considered separately in traditional grammars, in RG the same sort of relationships occur in both; for this reason I consider them together.

In reflexives the final subject is initially both a 1 and a 2. Thus sentence 36 will have network 37.

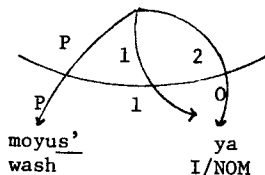
36. Ya moyus'  
I/NOM wash  
'I wash (myself)' or 'I'm washing up.'

37. (Initial relations)



A single nominal can bear only one relation overtly in Russian. Since there is no ACC nominal on the surface, it may be said that the 2-relation has been nullified in favour of the requisite subject. This is usually shown by means of a surface stratum in which the initial 2 arc bears a final 0. 38 is the more complete network for 36.

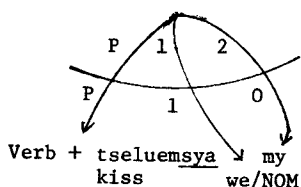
38.



In reciprocals as well, the final subject is initially both a 1 and a 2. Thus sentence 39 will have network 40.

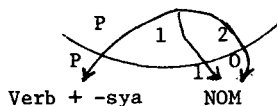
39. My tseluemsya  
We/NOM kiss  
'We kiss (each other).'

40.



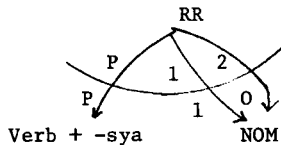
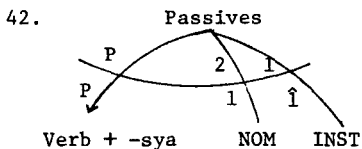
As for reflexives, the relation of patient has no surface form. However, both of the verbs in these examples may appear with a nominal ACC but in such cases -sya does not show up.<sup>10</sup> The relevant details of a network for both reflexive and reciprocal sentences may be abstracted. 41 represents such an abstraction.

41. Abstract network  
for reflexives and  
reciprocals (RR)



8. The Hypothesis

For traditional grammarians passives and RR are perhaps the best understood appearances of -sya. Taking just these two constructions it is possible to select an activity common to both and propose this to be related to the appearance of the particle. In 42 are abstract networks for Passives and RR.



It may be said that in passives the appearance of -sya is associated with 2-1 Advancement while in RR it is associated with an initial 2 having no surface form. From these facts I tentatively propose hypothesis 43 as representing the principle governing the appearance of the particle.

43. -sya appears when an initial 2 becomes a 1 or 0 in the final stratum.

Although the Greedy constructions were not considered in the positing of 43 it will be readily seen that they are consonant with it. As in RR, the 2-relation is nullified. Yet there is a significant problem with the hypothesis as it now stands. A major category of constructions, the passives with perfective verbs, does not conform to the formula. The reason seems to me to be intimately linked with the verb byt' 'to be' which is used in this type of passive. The RG notion unaccusative is a key concept in understanding the special nature of byt'.

9. The Unaccusative

Basically, this term means 'a 2 in the absence of a 1'. It can be ascribed either to sentences (thus verbs), in which case the term refers to the initial relations, or it can be applied to strata which fit the description above and which appear elsewhere in the course of the evolution of a sentence.

What are sometimes called existential and/or equational verbs are considered to be unaccusative. Hypothesis 43 would predict that these would all have -sya on the surface, but this is incorrect.

There are possibly four distinct types of equational-existential verbs in Russian. It can be shown that regular and consistent principles regulate an otherwise baffling maze of data in this regard.

#### 10. Group One

There is a group of verbs in which there is a four way contrast discernible which is drawn by aspect and unaccusativity. That is, there are perfective and imperfective, unaccusatives and ergatives (ergative means a 1 in the presence of a 2; this is traditionally called transitive).

<u>Ergatives</u>	<u>Unaccusatives</u>
delat' - sdelat' (to make, to do)	delat'sya - sdelat'sya (to become, to happen)
kazat' - pokazat' (occurs in single phrase: 'ne ... glaz', 'to avoid seeing')	kazat'sya - pokazat'sya (to seem)
okazyvat' - okazat' (to render; when this means: 'to cause to become')	okazyvat'sya - okazat'sya (to turn out/be found/prove to be)
yavlyat' - yavit' (to show)	yavlyat'sya - yavit'sya (to appear, to be)

A further complication could be added to this chart. In the unaccusative column only the imperfective verbs can be considered equational-existential. This aspect implies either a condition or a set of repeated acts which may be thought to represent a characteristic. The perfective on the other hand can not be considered equational-existential because a single act, and not a state, is denoted by them.

#### 11. Group Two

Another group shows a three way contrast. There are perfective and imperfective ergatives but only imperfective unaccusatives. Two of the perfectives here may also appear with -sya but their meanings are different from that of the imperfectives.

<u>Ergatives</u>	<u>Equational-Existential Unaccusatives</u>
nazyvat' - nazvat' (to call)	nazyvat'sya - (nazvat'sya) (to be called) (call oneself, assume the name)(reflexive construction)
schitat' - schest' (to consider)	schitat'sya - - - - - (to be considered)
naxodit' - nayti (to find)	naxodit'sya - (naytis') (to be (located)) (to be found (once)) (unaccusative construction)



Again only the imperfectives with -sya are equational-existential. This class alone denotes a state rather than an action.

## 12. Group Three

The third group shows an interesting two-way contrast between imperfectives with -sya and perfectives without. It is noteworthy that imperfectives without -sya and perfectives with it simply do not exist for these verbs.<sup>11</sup> An analysis similar to that used for the preceding groups may be applied here. The imperfectives represent a state of lying, sitting, or standing, which may be considered a form of being. In this way they are seen to be existential. The perfectives describe one act of lying down, sitting up/down, or standing up. Action rather than beingness is the semantic content of these verbs. Traditionally intransitive, these verbs in RG would be called 'unergatives'. This is defined as a verb whose initial relations include a 1 in the absence of a 2.

<u>Unergatives</u> (perfectives only)		<u>Unaccusatives</u> (imperfectives only)	
lech'	- 'to lie down'	lozhit' <u>sya</u>	- 'to be lying'
sest'	- 'to sit up/down'	sadit' <u>sya</u>	- 'to be sitting'
stat'	- 'to stand up' or 'to become'	stanovit' <u>sya</u>	- 'to be standing' or 'to be becoming'

## 13. Group Four

The fourth discernible group has no contrasts of aspect or of unaccusativity. Each verb has only an imperfective non-sya form. Because these are existential-equational, and hence unaccusatives, hypothesis 43 would predict the appearance of -sya. But this is not the case. The previous three groups all showed their equational-existential counterparts with the suffix, so why does none occur here? The absence of -sya is due, in my opinion, to the lack of contrast with aspect and other verb types. The first three sets of verbs contained members of the perfectives aspect and representatives of other constructions: reflexives, ergatives, unergatives, as well as non-existential-equational unaccusatives. Since the following verbs invariably appear in only one construction and have only one aspect it is possible that there is no motivation for appending the particle.

### Non-Contrasting Existential-Equational Unaccusatives

byt'	- to be
byvat'	- to be, to happen, to take place
sushchestvovat'	- to exist, to be
zhit' <sup>12</sup>	- to live

At this point the problem with hypothesis 43 is open to clearer consideration. It will be remembered, that passives formed with perfective verbs have no -sya in their make-up. These passives consist of the short form past participle passive and the verb byt' 'to be'. This verb has only one form and it appears in only one construction: equational-existential. Since there is no contrast in usage, the existence of the

verb itself implies 2-1 Advancement and so -sya is redundant.

The short form past passive participle may occur with other equational verbs.<sup>13</sup> That these always appear with the particle is the result of their membership in one of the other three groups where contrasts exist. These verbs behave according to the predictions of 43.

Sentences 44a and 45a are examples of equational uses of the verb byt 'to be'. 44b and 45b are related to their 'a' counterparts and use equational verbs from the other groups.

44. a. kniga na stole  
book/NOM on table/LOC  
'The book is on the table.'

b. kniga naxodit sya naxoditsya  
book/NOM is (located) on table/LOC  
'The book is (located) on the table.'

45. a. On xoroshim diplomatom  
he/NOM good diplomat/INST  
'He is a good diplomat.'

b. On schitaetsya xoroshim diplomatom  
he/NOM considers good diplomat/INST  
'He is considered a good diplomat.'

A condition can now be stated on hypothesis 43 which will account for the non-appearance of -sya with perfective passives.

Condition on hypothesis 43: The verb must have a form which appears in constructions other than the unaccusative.<sup>14</sup>

#### 14. Other Unaccusatives

The notion of the unaccusative sentence in RG provides a simple explanation for the appearance of -sya in what for many authors is a multitude of widely disparate categories. There are several classes subsumed under the general heading but it is not necessary to consider them separately if it can be shown that all unaccusatives behave in the same way with respect to -sya.

In the following sentences there is no agency expressed and the patient appears as final subject.

46. Nashe xozyastvo razvivaetsya  
our economy/NOM develops  
'Our economy is developing.'

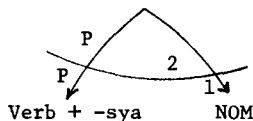
47. Chuvstvovalas' svezhest'  
felt coolness/NOM  
(Lit: 'A coolness was felt.')  
'There was a chill in the air.'

48. Tam delayutsya strannye veshchi  
 there do strange things/NOM  
 (Lit: 'There are done strange things there.')

'Strange things happen there.'

It is possible from these examples above to abstract the information relative to the construction. This is the basis for network 49.

49. Abstraction of the  
 Russian Unaccusative



This abstraction is not absolutely general: when the condition on hypothesis 43 is not met, then -sya does not appear.

Other appearances of -sya are associated with what are traditionally termed Impersonals. This group actually comprises entirely different syntactic constructions. One of these constructions would be called in RG '1-3 Retreat'.

#### 15. 1-3 Retreat

One author does distinguish this category from others containing -sya and from other Impersonals. A. A. Vil'gel'minina (1963) terms this group 'Reflexive - Passive'. In the RG analysis this is neither reflexive nor passive.

The process of 1-3 Retreat involves an initial 1 (agent) becoming final 3 (experiencer). Experiencers in Russian appear in DAT. In the following sentences (50 - 52) the a. counterparts have the person involved as subject (1) while in the b.'s he/she is experiencer (3). The patients show up in ACC (2) in the a. sentences and in NOM (1) in the b.'s

50. a. Ya chasto vspominayu detstvo  
 I/NOM often remember childhood/ACC  
 'I often remember my childhood.'

- b. Mne chasto vspominaetsya detstvo  
 me/DAT often remembers childhood/NOM  
 'My childhood often comes to my memory.'

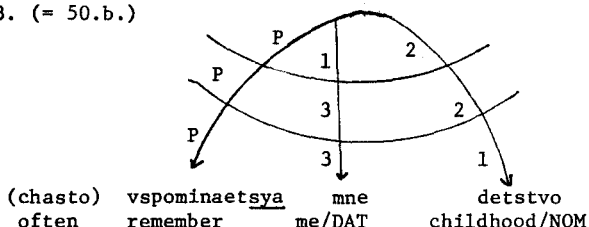
51. a. Nakonets ya pripomnil ego ideyu  
 finally I/NOM remembered his idea/ACC  
 'I finally remembered his idea.'

- b. Mne nakonets propomnilas' ego ideya  
 me/DAT finally remembered his idea/NOM  
 'His name finally came to me.'

52. a. Ona predstavlyala avariya vsyo yasnee i yasnee  
 she/NOM pictured accident/ACC all clearer and clearer  
 'She pictured the accident more and more clearly.'
- b. Ey predstavlyalas' avariya vsyo yasnee i yasnee  
 her/DAT pictured accident/NOM all clearer and clearer  
 'The accident appeared more and more clearly to her.'

In the framework of RG experiencers are initial 1's. This principle allows positing the following construction for the b. sentences. In the initial stratum there are an agent (1) and patient (2). In the second stratum, the agent becomes experiencer which implies a retreat from 1 to 3. This makes the second stratum unaccusative which automatically triggers 2-1 Advancement in the final stratum. These developments are shown in network 53 for sentence 50b.

53. (= 50.b.)



From the above illustration it can be seen that hypothesis 43 can account for this appearance of the particle here as well. Detstvo 'childhood' is an initial 2 which becomes 1 in the final stratum.

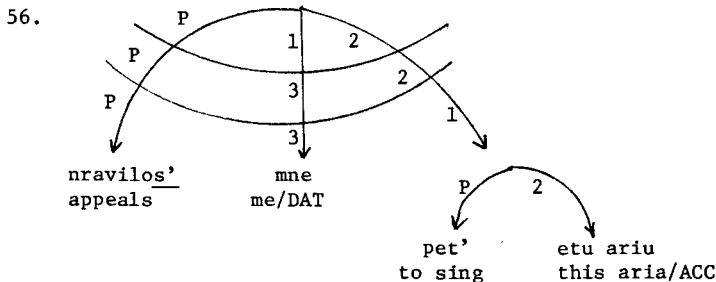
In RG non-nominal sentential elements can also bear GR. This is true of subordinate clauses. When the subject of the downstairs verb is not present (after having been removed by EQUI or RAISING) the verb in Russian appears in the infinitive. In this way sentences like 54 and 55 can be seen to be related by a rule of 1-3 Retreat.

54. Ya lyublyu pet' etu ariyu  
 I/NOM love to sing/inf. this aria/ACC  
 'I love to sing this aria.'
55. Mne nravitsya pet' etu ariyu  
 me/DAT appeals to sing/inf. this aria/ACC  
 'To sing this aria appeals to me.'

Although the verbs in 54 and 55 are morphologically distinct, it is possible to consider them as reflexes of the same verb.<sup>15</sup> One never appears with -sya and the other never appears without it. They seem to me to be closely related semantically, their meanings being separated by a nearly indefinable nuance. If they are considered to be reflexes of the same

verb then several things are simplified: there would be two fewer 'holes' in the lexicon; the semantic similarity could be explained; and the shade of meaning separating them can be understood by the rule of 1-3 retreat which applies to one form always.<sup>16</sup>

The network for 55, given below as 56 shows that the appearance of -sya even when subordinate clauses are involved is consonant with hypothesis 43.



Another process in which -sya is triggered is one in which otherwise ergative (transitive) verbs appear with no overt 2. By positing that a 2 exists initially but that it is not expressed because there is no definable direct object, it can be shown that these appearances of -sya are also consonant with hypothesis 43. Since in RG these might be called ergatives with no overt 2 I will refer to this construction as ENO 2.

#### 16. ENO 2

Vil'gel'minina (1963:126) has a set of sentences of this construction (with one exception)<sup>17</sup> in a separate category: "Verbs with Active Objectless Meaning". Other authors generally confound these with unaccusatives. According to this grammarian:

These verbs denote actions which are typical of certain animate beings or things and are in fact their inalienable attributes.

In my opinion, only sentences with animate subjects can be of this construction. Others are unaccusatives.

The following examples are popular with many analysts:

57. Sobaka kusaetsya  
dog/NOM bites  
'The dog bites (habitually).'
58. Loshad' lugaetsya  
horse/NOM kicks  
'The horse kicks (habitually).'

59. Staruxa rugaetsya

old woman/NOM scolds

'The old woman swears.' (Lit. 'The old woman scolds (habitually).')

Here the presence of -sya denotes an habitual action of the subject. The verbs without the particle take an object (patient) in ACC, but these sentences do not imply that the action is characteristic. Compare 60 with 57.

60. Sobaka kusaet moyu nogu

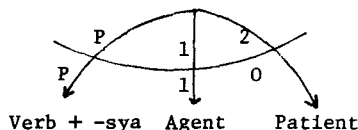
dog/NOM bites my leg/ACC

'The dog bites my leg.'

In 60, the dog may not be a 'biter' while in 57 it is the intent of the sentence that the dog is. 60 implies either 'is biting my leg at the moment' or 'habitually bites my leg'.

Since the action is habitual in 57-59 a specific direct object cannot be expressed. However, if the action is directed in specific instances, then the patients are identifiable as in 60 (moyu nogu 'my leg'). I propose that these constructions have initial relations of 1 and 2 (agent and patient) but since the patient is general and unspecificable it has no surface morphology. Because this is an initial 2 becoming 0 in the final stratum this analysis is consonant with hypothesis 43. An abstract network for ENO 2 constructions is given in 61.

61. Abstraction  
of ENO 2



The reality of the invisible patient in 57 - 59 and 61 may seem questionable. However, another construction provides further evidence that it exists.

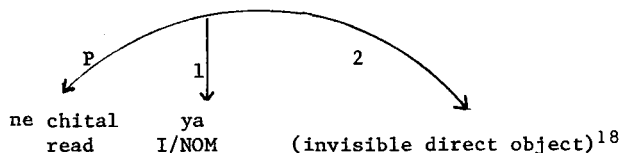
In a sentence like 62 there is no direct object because only the action is of interest. If a direct object is underlyingly there, but has no surface form because all attention is on the action (network 63), then it would be expected to advance to 1 after 1 - 3 Retreat. Sentence 64 shows what I think is the result of these processes. This would traditionally be considered an impersonal sentence, so I will call it Impersonal ENO 2. Its relations are given in 65.

62. Ya ne chital

I/NOM not read

'I was not reading.'

63. (= 62)

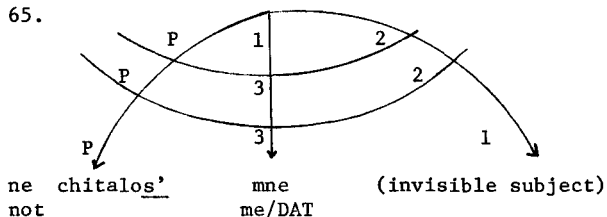


64. Mne ne chitalos'

me/DAT not read

'I could not read.' or 'I did not feel like reading.'

65.



By accepting the notion of an invisible patient existing with otherwise transitive verbs it is possible to account for the appearance of -sya in ENO 2 constructions and in sentences like 64 - 65. It also can explain why there is no overt subject in 64.

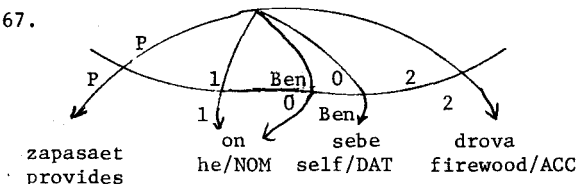
Another discernible set of sentences within the RG framework that show -sya, have the feature in common that the agent is also the benefactive.

17. 1 as Ben

This construction with -sya involves a single figure as agent and benefactive.<sup>19</sup> There are paraphrases possible with some of these which involve the non--sya variant of the verb, a reflexive pronoun in DAT (the case for benefactives in Russian) and a nominal in ACC. The relations initially and finally for these paraphrases are 1, 2, and Ben. 66 is such a paraphrase. Network 67 shows its relations.

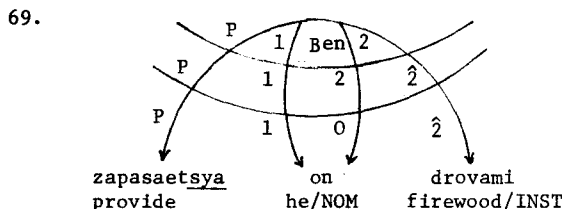
66. On zapasaet sebe drova  
he/NOM provides self/DAT firewood/ACC  
(Lit., 'He provides firewood for himself.')  
'He provides himself with firewood.'

67.



In 67 it is seen how a separate nominal, the reflexive pronoun sebya, appears in the final stratum to take the benefactive relation. In the -sya construction 68, on the other hand, there is no final nominal DAT which could take this relation. Also, the patient appears as a NT. These facts require a three stage analysis. Initially there are 1, 2 and Ben relations. In the second stratum, Ben advances to 2 putting the initial 2 en chomage. This latter shows up in morphology determined by the semantics of the verb. In this case in INST (for dobivat'sya : dobit'sya 'to gain for oneself' the initial 2 appears ultimately in GEN). The second stratum has a single nominal bearing 1 and 2 arcs. Since sentences must have a final subject, the nominal must bear the 1-relation on the surface. The 2-relation can be thus said to be nullified. 69 is a network showing these developments of 68.

68. On        zapasaetsya        drovami  
           he/NOM        provides        firewood/INST  
           'He provides himself with firewood.'



Here a problem appears with hypothesis 43. The initial 2 does not become a 1 or 0 in the final stratum. Yet the hypothesis can be revised to the following to encompass all instances of the particle thus far encountered:

- 43 Revised: sya appears when any 2 becomes a 1 or a 0 in the final stratum.

#### 18. The Impersonal Intransitives

To this point in the discussion the appearance of the particle -sya has been analysed for all the constructions of which I am apprised, save one. The remaining sentence type requires observations which can be made with less assurance than was the case for the ones preceding. This is due to the nature of the verbs. Traditionally, these are intransitive because they never appear with a nominal ACC. The other sentence types, with the partial exception of the unaccusatives, had verbs which could appear in both -sya and non-sya forms, the latter always having an associated nominal ACC. Part of the initiative of this investigation came from this observation -- it seems to be a generalization of Russian syntax. Yet the four (possibly five) verbs of this category of whose existence I am aware never appear with a direct object. Because the class is so small it is tempting to treat these as exceptions, possibly as analogical extensions of the impersonal ENO 2 constructions. However, I feel this alternative to be somewhat unacceptable for several reasons. First, although the group is



small, the frequency of appearance of these forms is significant. Consider a typical greeting as in 70.

70. Kak tebe zhivyotsya?  
How you/DAT lives  
(Lit. 'How does it live to/for you?')  
'How are you doing?' or 'How is it going?'

Second, as far as I can ascertain, native speakers do not find these forms any more irregular or imperfect than many others with -sya. Third, I think it may be possible to demonstrate that these sentences are the result of the interaction of other valid principles of the language. I will call these sentences Impersonal Intransitives (II) for reference.

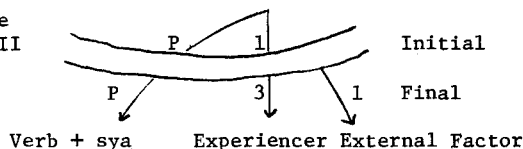
The four clearly II verbs are: zhit' 'to live'; rabotat' 'to work'; spat' 'to sleep'; and, sidet' 'to sit'.<sup>20</sup> Examples with these are found in 70 - 74.

71. Mne xorosho rabotalos'  
me /DAT well worked  
(Lit. 'It worked well to/for me.')  
'My work went well.'
72. Ey ne spalos'  
her/DAT not slept  
(Lit. 'It did not sleep to/for her.')  
'She couldn't sleep.' or 'She didn't feel like sleeping.'
73. Emu ne siditsya doma  
him/DAT not sits at home  
(Lit. 'It does not sit at home to/for him.')  
'He can't stand staying home.'

These sentences describe the relationship of an action to a person. Although the central figure is intimately involved in the action, the intent of the sentences is that a factor somehow external to the person is responsible for the effect. In the final relations of the sentence, the external factor is the subject (1) and the central figure is the experiencer (3).

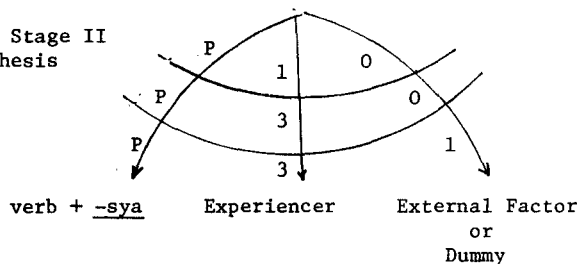
Since, in RG, experiencers are initial 1's, and since these verbs are intransitive, then there can be just the single initial relation of the person as 1. These disparate stages are shown in incomplete network 74.

74. Incomplete  
Abstract II  
Network



In 74 a final relation appears where there was none initially. Contemporary syntacticians would argue that a rule of dummy insertion is in effect here. A dummy is basically a null or unmarked element which serves a syntactic function in the sentence. (The patients in ENO 2 constructions are dummies.) For these sentences then, an element would be inserted to take the subject relation after the initial 1 has retreated to 3. This could perhaps be accomplished in a three stage process, as hypothesized in 75.

75. Three Stage II Hypothesis



In 75, the second stratum is without a 1, and since there is no 2 to be advanced, a dummy 1 is automatically inserted. If this is the correct process, then it stands as a counter-example to the hypothesis expressed in 43 Revised. Yet there is perhaps reason to argue that this is incorrect.

There seems to me to be an animacy principle at work, governing the behaviour of dummies. Consider the following type of sentence which is traditionally also called Impersonal. For reference I will call these Impersonal Transitives (IT).

Sentences 76 and 77 are paraphrases. 76 is a personal transitive sentence in which an element of nature, volna 'the wave', is the subject and there is a nominal ACC lodku 'the boat'.

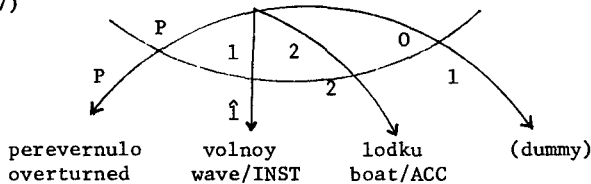
76. Volna perevernula lodku  
wave/NOM overturned boat/ACC  
'The wave overturned the boat.'

77, the IT paraphrase of 76 has unmarked, third neuter singular agreement on the verb. In Russian, this verb agreement, without an understood neuter subject, implies the existence of an inanimate dummy. Another feature of this sentence is that the agent appears in INST, the case for l-chomeurs produced in passivization. (Greedy Patient produced chomeurs have morphology which is determined by the semantics of the verb.) The case marking for the patient is the same as in 76.

77. Volnoy perevernulo lodku  
wave/INST overturned/3.n.s. boat/ACC  
(Lit. 'It overturned the boat by the wave.')

What I would argue is happening in 77 is simply dummy 1 insertion, which puts the initial 1 en chômage. This is shown in 78.

78. (= 77)



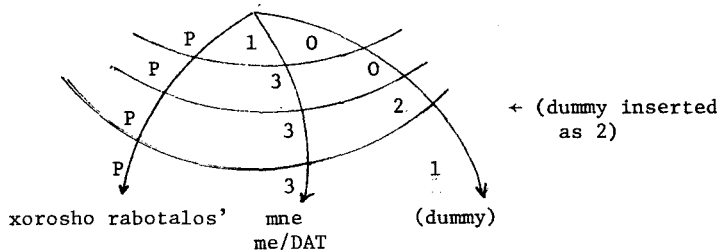
In the ENO 2 constructions the patients are dummies. When 1 - 3 Retreat occurs (Impersonal ENO 2), the dummy advances to 1 triggering -sya and unmarked agreement. In sentences of the IT type, the dummy is directly inserted as 1 and -sya does not appear. There is one further important distinction between these two constructions. In ENO 2 (and Impersonal ENO 2) the agent (final 1 or 3) is always animate, while in IT the agent (final 1) is always an inanimate force of nature. This difference is the basis for the following proposal:

79. Proposed Restriction on Dummy Insertion: A dummy cannot be inserted as subject where there is an animate agent.<sup>21</sup>

If this restriction is correct, then there are grounds for the following analysis of the II verbs. The initial lone relation is 1 (agent). In the second stratum this retreats to 3. The demand for a final subject cannot be satisfied by inserting a dummy 1 because of the restriction stated in 79. Elsewhere it has been suggested that the appearance of -sya is due to a 2 becoming a 1 or 0 in the final stratum. Therefore, it is reasonable to propose that a dummy is inserted as a 2 in the third stratum. Since this creates an unaccusative environment, the 2 automatically advances to 1, triggering -sya and verb agreement. 81 is thus the proposed network for 69, repeated below as 80.

80 (= 71) Mne xorosho rabotalos'  
me/DAT well worked  
(Lit. 'It worked well to/for me.')  
'My work went well.'

81.



More research is needed on the nature of dummies in Russian to ascertain the correctness of this proposal<sup>22</sup> but a preliminary examination indicates this to be an adequate solution.

## 19. Summary

It has been shown that there are perhaps ten distinct syntactic constructions in which the Russian particle -sya is found. For all of these, the particle appears when the relation of direct object (2) either becomes subject (1) or is nullified (0). The constructions are summarized in the following table:

### Constructions with -sya

2 → 1	2 → 0
Passive	Greedy Agent
Unaccusative	Greedy Patient
1-3 Retreat	RR
Impersonal ENO 2	ENO 2
I I (0 → 2 → 1)	1 as Ben (Ben → 2 → 0)

Several other ancillary claims have been made concerning Russian syntax:

- A: The extent of passivization with -sya is determined by two parameters:  
 The Animacy Parameter, as formulated in the Animate Patient Advancement Law; and  
 The Aspect Parameter, which restricts the activity to verbs of the imperfective aspect.  
 There are no exceptions to these.
- B: The verb byt' 'to be' never occurs with -sya because it has no contrasting forms: it is always imperfective and unaccusative. Since this latter quality invariably implies 2-1 Advancement, the appearance of the particle would be redundant. In this way the absence of -sya in perfective passives is explainable.
- C: There is, effectively, a middle voice in modern Russian. This is exemplified by the Greedy Agent and Patient constructions and by the short form present passive participle with the present tense of the verb byt' 'to be'.
- D: The verbs udivlyat'sya : udivit'sya 'to be amazed at' and interesovat'sya 'to be interested in' are related by the same construction (Greedy Patient) to their non--sya counterparts, despite the fact that the former takes an object in DAT while the latter takes one in INST.

- E: The verb lyubit' 'to love/like' may be syntactically related to the morphologically disparate nravit'sya : ponravit'sya 'to please' by a rule of 1-3 Retreat.
- F: Transitive verbs may appear without a direct object. Then, either, the action is characteristic, so a direct object cannot be specified (ENO 2) and -sya appears, or, the action itself is the focus of attention and direct object is not essential information (-sya does not appear). In the latter case, a rule of 1-3 Retreat causes the invisible 2 to advance to subject triggering unmarked agreement and the appearance of the particle -sya.
- G: There is an animacy principle operative with respect to dummy insertion. On one hand, a force of nature as 1 may be put en chômage by an inserted dummy subject, while for intransitive impersonal sentences (with an animate figure as 3), the dummy must be inserted as a 2.

## 20. Conclusion

Within the framework of Relational Grammar it is possible to provide a nearly unified accounting of the appearances of the particle -sya in Russian. An either/or statement embodies the principle at work:

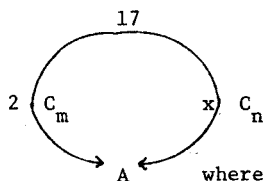
-sya appears when a 2 becomes a 1 or a 0 in the final stratum.

Paul M. Postal and David E. Johnson (MS) are developing a formalization for RG called Arc Pair Grammar.<sup>23</sup> The networks in this notational variant do not have horizontal lines marking strata. Each nominal instead bears a separate arc in each stratum. In this way, any arc bears only one relation.

The above statement can be formalized within the notation of Arc Pair Grammar in the following manner:

## 21. Formal Hypothesis

-sya appears in:



where:

- 17 = numerical clause referent  
(chosen at random)
- A = a dependent of clause 17
- C = stratum
- m = any non-Final stratum
- n = final stratum
- x = 1 or 0

# Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>The abbreviations used are: NOM, nominative; ACC, accusative; DAT, dative; GEN, genitive; LOC, locative or prepositional; INST, instrumental; P, predicate; and 3.s.n, third singular neuter.

<sup>2</sup>The particle will always be underlined wherever it appears. This is not done in Russian orthography.

When suffixed to a verbal constituent ending in a vowel, apocope reduces -sya to -s'.

The gloss of the verb in 1b, 'builds', might more appropriately be 'is being built'. Since, however, English translations of verbs with -sya vary highly, I feel it is more informative to gloss these verbs with the simple English meaning. This better illustrates the power of -sya. I also gloss nouns (where case is marked) with the simple English nominative/accusative form.

<sup>3</sup>This is a universal principle called The Stratal Uniqueness Law (Perlmutter and Aissen (1976)).

<sup>4</sup>The Final 1 Law (ibid.)

<sup>5</sup>Although this form of the verb is used in modern Russian, the non-sya counterpart, pol'zovat' 'to treat', is obsolete.

At least two other verbs occur with -sya and a nominal in INST:  
gordit'sya = to be proud of  
lyubovat'sya = to admire

These were not included in list 17 because they have no non-sya form. This characteristic precludes them from the sort of synchronic discussion being conducted here.

<sup>6</sup>Although -sya can be described as the reflexive morphology, the particle does not appear simply because a single nominal bears 1 and 2 relations. It is also possible in some cases that this duality would trigger the insertion of the reflexive pronoun sebya. For example:

On ne kritikuet sebya  
he/NOM not criticizes self/ACC  
'He does not criticize himself.'

I state the condition in this fashion to simplify the presentation and delay the introduction of a necessary concept until the discussion later of reflexives. Actually, to be correct, networks 27, 29, and 34 should show a third stratum in which the 2-relation is nullified (becomes 0) in deference to the requisite final subject (Final 1 Law).

<sup>7</sup>This condition is possibly a result of the fact that these verbs

involve an attitude more than an action. In one dictionary (A. I. Smirnitsky (1971)) there are at least four other attitude-verbs which have no -sya form listed:

nenavidet'	= to hate
bogotvorit'	= to idolize
prezirat' : prezret'	= to despise
pochitat'	= to honour

Two other attitude verbs readily come to mind:

lyubovat'sya	= to admire
gordit'sya	= to be proud of
nravit'sya : ponravit'sya	= to please'

Yet these cannot be used as a basis for a counterargument since they are without -sya forms. Indeed, it could be argued that another middle voice construction, Greedy Patient, is responsible for this characteristic and thus the basis for the original claim would be strengthened.

<sup>8</sup>William D. O'Grady introduced this term to me along with some of its semantic implications. This was a major impetus to the development of the notion of Greedy Patient.

<sup>9</sup>At this point, the reanalysis of the verbs in list 17 seems to make certain aspects of the APA Law redundant. However, in the discussion later of the unaccusatives the law needs to be as powerful as stated.

<sup>10</sup>It is often thought that reciprocal verbs cannot appear with a final singular subject. This is because the subject must consist (in some logical sense) of at least two individuals who act upon each other. However, there is a rule of comitative float in Russian which can apply to a multiple (conjunct) subject after the reciprocal morphology has been triggered. In the examples A, B, and C, A shows a simple ergative construction, B is the reciprocal paraphrase and C is the latter after 'comitative float'.

A. Anna i Boris vstrechali drug druga  
Anna and Boris/NOM used to meet each other/ACC  
'Anna and Boris used to meet each other.'

B. Anna i Boris vstrechalis'  
Anna and Boris/NOM used to meet  
'Anna and Boris used to meet (each other).'

C. Anna s Borisom vstrechalis'  
Anna/NOM with Boris/INST used to meet  
'Anna used to meet with Boris.'

The rule of Comitative float has an interesting side effect in Russian. First and second person singular pronouns become plural after the comitative element has floated. Thus ya, first singular pronoun, in D becomes my, first plural pronoun in E.

D. Ya i Anna ochen' lyubim etogo pisatelya  
I and Anna/NOM very love this writer/ACC  
'Anna and I like this writer very much.'

E. My s Annoy ochen' lyubim etogo pisatelya  
we/NOM with Anna/INST very love this writer/ACC  
'Ann and I like this writer very much.'

Terry Klokeid (personal communication) also informs me that this side effect occurs in other languages, Spanish and Nitinaht among them.

<sup>11</sup>There is a verb which has the form a non-sya imperfective would appear in if such a form were to exist. However sadit 'to plant' is likely related to sad 'garden' and not to sadit'sya 'to be sitting'.

<sup>12</sup>zhit 'to live' does actually appear with -sya. This appearance is not related to the unaccusative nature of the verb but rather to its occurrence in the Impersonal Intransitive construction. This will be discussed later.

<sup>13</sup>Sentence F is a more literary paraphrase of the participial passive G. The verbs in both are existential-equational unaccusatives, the former coming from group one where there is a four way contrast and the latter (byt 'to be') from the group with no contrast.

F. Dver' yavilas' otkryta vetrom  
door/NOM was opened wind/INST  
'The door was opened by the wind.'

G. Dver' byla otkryta vetrom  
door/NOM was opened wind/INST  
'The door was opened by the wind.'

<sup>14</sup>I think this condition needs to be this strong in applying to all unaccusatives rather than just to the existential-equational ones because of the existence of other unaccusative verbs which appear in no other type of construction. For example, tayat : rastayat 'to melt'. As would be expected, these can also be used as unaccusatives and then -sya appears:

Ergative - 'to melt'

plavit' - - -  
rasplavlyat' rasplavit'  
smyagchat' smyagchit'

Unaccusative - 'to melt'

plavit'sya - - -  
rasplavlyat'sya rasplavit'sya  
smyagchat'sya smyagchit'sya

The last on the list means 'to melt' only figuratively. Otherwise it means 'to soften/assuage/mollify'. In its original sense the above principles are still valid.

<sup>15</sup>Less controversial examples are available. Compare the -sya and non-sya versions in H and I of the verb xotet : zaxotet 'to want'.



H. Ya xochu pet'  
I/NOM want to sing  
'I want to sing.'

I. Mne xochetsya pet'  
Me/DAT wants to sing  
(Lit. 'It wants to/for me to sing.')  
'I feel like singing.'

<sup>16</sup>It is not entirely outlandish to consider lyubit' 'to love' and nraivit'sya - ponraivit'sya 'to please' as reflexes of the same verb. Although they are formed from different roots several aspect pairs exist which are also from different roots. I. Pulkina and E. Zakhava-Nekrasova (1960) offer the following list (p. 325):

govorit'	- skazat'	= to speak - to say
brat'	- vzyat'	= to take, to borrow
klast'	- polozhit'	= to put
lovit'	- poymat'	= to catch
iskat'	- nayti	= to look for - to find

Also, although lyubit' and nraivit'sya - ponraivit'sya are different semantically, there are meaning differences in the first and last of the aspect pairs above. If aspect can bring a slight modification of semantics, why cannot 1-3 Retreat?

A final comment on these verbs has to do with a universal syntactic process called Causative Clause Union. There are initially two clauses: the upstairs (matrix) containing a causal verb (this may be abstract or even an incorporated element like aya or paya in Sanskrit) and the downstairs (embedded) clause which contains the main action. When these clauses are united into one the initial downstairs 1 becomes a 3 in the resultant single clause. (See Perlmutter and Aisen (1976) for a description of clause union in Spanish.) It seems possible to me to reanalyze nraivit'sya 'to please' as 'to cause to like' thus relating it more closely to lyubit' 'to like/love'.

<sup>17</sup>Although Vil'gel'minina has correctly separated this construction from others, she/he confuses among these the unaccusative verb in J.

J. Krapivy zhzhhyotsya  
nettles/NOM burn  
'Nettles sting.'

This action is characteristic of nettles but they are not the agent here. That unaccusative patients can have a characteristic action is perhaps more clearly seen in sentences like, 'Wood burns', 'Ice melts', 'Paper folds', 'Snow drifts', 'Ships sink', or 'Hot knives cut plastic like butter'.

<sup>18</sup>-sya does not appear for this invisible direct object because the 2-relation has not been nullified. Here the final 2 can still advance to

1 (as in 65) whereas it cannot in the ENO 2 constructions.

<sup>19</sup>Other verbs which show a 1 as Ben construction with -sya are:

dobivat' <u>sya</u>	-	dobit' <u>sya</u>	=	to gain for oneself
stroit' <u>sya</u>	-	postroit' <u>sya</u>	=	to build for oneself
sobirat' <u>sya</u>	-	sobrat' <u>sya</u>	=	to make oneself ready (possibly reflexive)
ukladyvat' <u>sya</u>	-	ulozhit' <u>sya</u>	=	to manage/pack for oneself

<sup>20</sup>It is possible that a fifth verb, nezdorovit'sya, be added to this. But since it has no non-sya form, it is more difficult to show the actual activity of -sya.

<sup>21</sup>This restriction may somehow be related to the APA law.

<sup>22</sup>Of particular interest in this regard is the relatedness of sentences like K and L:

K. Ona xolodna  
she/NOM (is) cold  
'She is cold (personality-wise).'

L. Ey xolodno  
she/DAT (is) cold  
(Lit. 'It is cold to/for her.')  
'She feels cold.' (i.e. It's forty below.)

<sup>23</sup>This formal notation is exemplified in Postal and Pullum (1978) in their solution to the English 'want to', 'wanna' contraction problem.

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