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Reflexives as Grammatical Constructions: A Case Study in Czech

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Reflexivization processes in Slavic and Romance languages are often described, correctly, as being similar in nature and origin (Hock, Barber, Geniušiene). They all involve the morphosyntactic form *V + Reflexive Morpheme* (RM), where RM was historically a form of the reflexive pronoun. Synchronically, however, these languages differ in the range of semantic/pragmatic functions served by this form and in the syntactic behavior displayed by a given use or function. Providing a unified account of the polyfunctional distribution of RM has been the goal of many proposals within various theoretical frameworks. However, since most linguists have focused primarily on Romance and especially French data (Croft *et al.*, Wehrli, Grimshaw) their accounts offer a very limited insight into the much more fragmented system of reflexives in the Slavic languages.

Within the Slavic family, Modern Czech (MC) provides perhaps the most challenging data for establishing a coherent network of the uses of the RM. At the same time, generalizations based on a broad variety of uses can contribute more to the understanding of languages with simpler systems. The reflexive uses in Czech involve a great deal of homonymy, ranging from the straightforward anaphoric construction *V + Reflexive Pronoun* (*Umyl jsem se/sebe* 'I washed myself') on the one hand to the fully lexicalized, no longer analyzable reflexive verbs (*smát se* 'to laugh') on the other, with a number of specialized but very productive constructions in between, traditionally labeled "passive", "impersonal", and "dispositional". In addition, the reflexive pronoun can appear either in the Accusative (*se*) or the Dative (*si*) form, each of which gives rise to different non-anaphoric uses.

The analysis of the anaphoric reflexives alone is a matter of some controversy, but it is especially the passive and impersonal uses that have generated the most interest - both with respect to each other and in relation to other reflexives. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the languages in question also make use of periphrastic passive forms and there are some clear distributional differences between the two that cannot be (although often have been) ignored. Focusing on two of the non-anaphoric uses of *se*, I will argue that the traditional treatments, which view reflexives primarily as either "intransitivizing" (Babby & Brecht, Grimshaw) or voice phenomena (Štícha, Barber, Croft *et al.*), cannot adequately capture their true nature. I will propose that a meaningful analysis of these uses should be based on the notion of grammatical construction (Fillmore 1988a) in which syntactic, semantic, and contextual information combine to form a uniquely identifiable linguistic unit.

Let us begin with a brief description of the anaphoric reflexive construction (AR) which is the source of the reflexive form and thus essential in any attempt to motivate the non-anaphoric uses. Without going into much detail, AR can be described as having two crucial properties: (i) a special configuration of grammatical relations, whereby the Subject marks both the Actor and Endpoint¹ arguments, and (ii) a special semantic relationship that holds between the Actor and the Endpoint and which consists in a single referent playing two semantic roles. In addition, AR has the following features that will be relevant in the subsequent discussion: AR relates an action, it does not allow one-place predicates, and the verb has active morphology.

cally, they can be represented as (4) and (5); for easier reference, I also include the periphrastic passive (3):

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|---|-----------------------------|---|-------------------|---|---------------------------|---|----------------------|
| (3) | NP _{NOM,Pat} | - | Vfin _{be} | - | V _{PASS} | - | (NP _{INST,Ag1}) | = | Periphrastic Passive |
| (4) | NP _{NOM,Pat} | - | Vfin _{ACT(ive)} | - | se | | | = | Reflexive Passive |
| (5) | | | Vfin _{3Sg,NeuLACT} | - | se | | | = | Impersonal Reflexive |

The traditional argument in support of this tripartite division goes as follows: the periphrastic passive and reflexive passive should be grouped together because they both promote the Endpoint of a transitive event into the Subject position, whereas the impersonal reflexive is reserved for verbs without an Endpoint argument. This purely syntactic treatment implies that (i) both passive constructions are limited to transitive predicates only and (ii) the Endpoint is always expressed (as Subject).

There are, of course, several problems with this division. As Kopečný points out (p. 226), it has, for example, nothing to say about sentences of the type (6):

- (6) Bylo tu zneužito naší důvěry.
 be-AUX-3SG-PAST-N here abuse-PASS-N our trust-GEN
 'Our trust has been violated.'

(6) is an example of a perfectly well-formed instance of periphrastic passive morphology formed from an intransitive verb, thus excluding even the possibility of Object promotion as the primary measure of its passivity. This sentence also has its (practically synonymous) impersonal reflexive counterpart (6'):

- (6') Zneužilo se tu naší důvěry
 abuse-3SG-PAST-N RM here our trust-GEN

It seems hard to justify that (6') should be analyzed as unrelated to (6) (i.e., impersonal reflexives vs. periphrastic passives), especially if (7) and (7') are not so analyzed (they are both considered "passive"):

- (7) Hrad bude opraven za pět let.
 castle-NOM-SG be-AUX-3SG-FUT repair-PASS in five year-GEN-PL
 'The castle will be renovated in five years.'
- (7') Hrad se opraví za pět let.
 castle-NOM-SG RM repair-3SG-PRES in five year-GEN-PL
 'The renovation of the castle will take five years.'

This, however, ceases to be a real problem if we abandon the formal signs of transitivity as the crucial criterion and instead focus on the underlying argument structure. The second argument of *zneužit* 'abuse' is encoded as Genitive, which prevents it from promotion to Subject in Czech, but it still is a two-place predicate with the general structure "Actor-Endpoint". This means that the impersonal form in (6) is just a formal requirement imposed by a specific verb rather than a signal that the impersonal form reports a state of affairs inherently different from that associated with personal passive.

More damaging (and apparently not challenged by Kopečný) is the fact that, by following the principle of Object promotion as the crucial unifying property of passives, the traditional account is equally inconsistent in subsuming under the label "passive" constructions that are morphosyntactically heterogeneous (periphrastic passive and reflexive active) and furthermore, in separating passive reflexives in which the Endpoint argument is overtly expressed from those which leave it out under the Indefinite Null Complement interpretation (Fillmore 1988b:94). Thus (8a) would be classified as an instance of passive reflexive, while (8b) would be an instance of an active impersonal reflexive construction, even though they both involve a clearly transitive verb:

(8) a. Večeře se jedla v sedm.
 dinner-NOM-SG-F RM eat-3SG-PAST-F at seven
 'They (generic) ate dinner at seven o'clock.'

b. Jedlo se v sedm.
 eat-3SG-PAST-N RM at seven
 'They (generic) ate at seven.'

The "impersonal reflexive" is thus characterized in contrast to "passive" as a construction involving only Subject deletion. This, of course, is a classification based strictly on surface syntactic forms and ignores not only the distribution of the underlying semantic roles (thus remaining incapable of explaining which verbs can or cannot participate in each of these constructions) but also the pragmatic content of each construction, which has to be taken as one of the distinctive parameters in contrasting passives vs. reflexives.

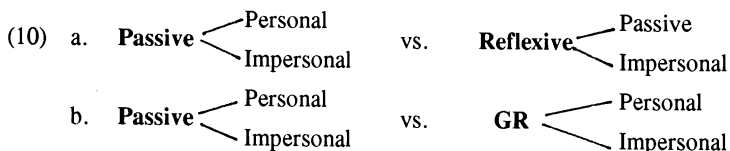
The question of what are the crucial processes involved in passivization crosslinguistically has been very insightfully investigated by Comrie in his attempt to provide a unified account of personal and impersonal passives (1977). His general line of argument is very appealing, particularly so for classifying sentences of the kind illustrated in (9), which stand half way between a promotional passive (the Object is promoted to Subject) and an impersonal construction (the verb does not agree with the Subject but retains its impersonal form 3sg, Neuter):

(9) Zebralo sa smetana. (dial.)²
 skim-3SG-PAST-N RM cream-NOM-SG-F
 'One skimmed the cream.'

To overcome this problem, Comrie proposes "Subject Removal" as the link between both kinds of passive rather than contrasting them around the property of "Object Promotion". Among the languages he examines is also Polish, which does not require Object promotion as part of passivization, allowing the configuration exemplified by (9) above in both the reflexive and the periphrastic passive sentences (p. 49). However, by treating both forms as morphosyntactic variants of the semantic category passive, Comrie ignores some significant differences associated with each form. First of all, one-place predicates do not undergo passivization (cf. Czech **bylo jděno* 'it was walked'), but they can freely occur in the reflexive construction (2). Secondly, there is the question to what extent the so-called passive reflexives (1, 7, 8) are really passive

semantically and pragmatically. And finally, periphrastic passive has more of a stative flavor, whereas the reflexive construction clearly expresses an action or a process; this difference is manifested by the patterns in the distribution of aspect (perfective/imperfective). The latter two issues will be taken up shortly in more detail.

In light of these facts, I propose that these reflexive constructions could and should be classified in contrast to periphrastic passive rather than as partly coinciding with it and that both passive and GR constructions should be viewed as falling into two categories: personal and impersonal. The distinction between personal and impersonal form lies with the valence properties of a given predicator, not with the category passive vs. reflexive. The traditional grouping of these forms (10a) pits the category passive against impersonal; my proposal (10b) recognizes two distinct levels: on the formal level, the personal form contrasts with impersonal, while on the "constructional" level the passive construction contrasts with the GR construction:



As noted above, Comrie's proposal that Object promotion be only secondary to Subject demotion in determining what does or does not qualify as "passive" ignores the difference between periphrastic passive and reflexive constructions. Nevertheless, if we separate the two forms on the grounds that they manifest different semantic and pragmatic behavior, his solution can still be successfully applied to handle both the true passives (periphrastic) on the one hand and Generic-Actor reflexives on the other.

We can summarize, then, that both the "passive reflexive" and the "impersonal reflexive" obligatorily suppress the Actor argument and whether or not there is an overt Subject is determined by the predicator rather than by the construction, according to the following language-specific principle (here stated for standard MC):

- (11) If the predicator requires a Direct Object, it is realized as Subject, which in turn determines the agreement on the verb.

This analysis offers a further advantage in that it can also eliminate the exceptional status of the marginally occurring reflexive sentences exemplified in (12), where the Subjects are instantiated by a non-3rd person:

- (12) a. Počítám se mezi jeho stoupence. - ambiguous
 count-1SG-PRES RM among his supporter-ACC-PL
 'People consider me to be one of his supporters.'
 'I consider myself one of his supporters.'
- b. Vyzýváte se, abyste (dlužnou částku splatil do tří dnů.)
 request-2PL-PRES RM CONJ-PURPOSE
 'It is requested of you that (you pay your debt within three days.)'

Kopečný treats these forms as non-systemic (p. 229), but under the present analysis, their unexpected verb forms may be just natural consequences of the above-mentioned principle governing the realization of Subject in this construction: if the Direct Object is instantiated by the first or second person pronoun, the verb form has to change accordingly. There is no need to make separate statements (or rules) to account for these seemingly anomalous sentences.

In addressing the question of the passive meaning of GR, we of course can first note that the verb has active, not passive morphology. But more importantly, we can establish their relationship to other generic-agent constructions in the language that certainly are not passive. Kopečný notes (p. 227) that other Slavic languages offer good evidence of the "active" character of GR because the passive reflexive constructions in Czech often have non-reflexive active equivalents in other Slavic languages - compare the following examples from Czech (13a) and Russian (13b):

- (13) 'Coal is mined here.'
- | | | | | | |
|----|--------|---------------|---------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| a. | zde | se | dobývá | uhlí | = reflexive passive |
| | here | RM | mine-3SG-PRES | coal-NOM-SG | |
| b. | zd'es' | dobivayut | ugol' | = non-reflexive active | |
| | here | mine-3PL-PRES | coal-ACC-SG | | |

But in fact, MC itself exhibits similar alternations where the reflexive passive is more naturally paraphrased by a non-reflexive active sentence than by periphrastic passive. Czech grammarians usually describe the class of (13b) sentences as "generic-subject sentences", very commonly used in contexts where the Actor is not individually identifiable (Panevová (1973) refers to them more appropriately as "generic-agent" (p. 133)). In these non-reflexive sentences, the generic nature of the Actor is marked by the third person plural form of the verb with the surface Subject NP obligatorily absent. Czech usually reserves this construction for verbs of announcing and *verba dicendi* in general such as *říkat*, *povídat* 'say', *hlásit* 'announce', *ukazovat* (*v televizi*) 'show (on TV)', *telefonovat*, *volat* 'telephone, call', etc., although it is not limited to them exclusively. They also have some special properties of their own which distinguish them from GR, such as the exclusion of the speaker from the collective Actor (Panevová:139), but their pragmatic closeness to the GR construction is obvious. In either class, the absence of a surface Actor does not in itself constitute passive meaning; it only signals an extreme indefiniteness of the Actor.

Another characteristic associated with GR that sets it apart from the passive is the well-known fact that GR sentences often have a modal interpretation, especially in the present tense. They are used as general statements of advice, orders, reprimands, etc., and even the personal variety (14a) cannot be interpreted as passive:

- (14) a. Jedí se jen ta zrníčka.
eat-3PL-PRES RM only that-NOM-PL seed-NOM-PL
'You (generic) can only eat the seeds.' (in a pomegranate, for example)
- b. U nás se klepe na dveře, než se vejde.
with us RM knock-3SG-PRES on door before RM enter-3SG-PRES
'You (generic) first have/are supposed to knock on the door before you enter.'

It seems, then, that the active-passive distinction does not offer a very reliable dividing line between the "reflexive passive" and "impersonal reflexive", not only for formal reasons (both share active morphology on the verb), but especially because they fit the same pragmatic/semantic description distinctly different from the periphrastic passive.

Another possible argument for rejecting the grouping of the reflexive passive with the periphrastic passive (rather than with the impersonal reflexive) is the category of aspect. It is generally the case that the periphrastic passive has a resultative flavor and shows preference for the perfective aspect (15a) while the reflexive passive strongly favors imperfectives (15b):

(15) 'The castle was founded in 1348.'

- a. Hrad byl *zakládán/založen v roce 1348.
 castle-NOM-SG be-AUX-3SG-PAST found-PASS-IPF/PF in year
- b. Hrad se zakládal/*založil v roce 1348.
 castle-NOM-SG RM found-3SG-PAST-IPF/PF in year

Let us now briefly address the question of the Actor argument in these constructions. It is an accepted fact that the GR construction presupposes a human Actor, which is interpreted as generic or anonymous³. Given this "default" quality of the Actor we might expect an Agent as the most likely semantic role filling the Actor argument slot. The following data will show whether this prediction is correct:

- (16) a. *Slyšel se hluk.
 hear-3SG-PAST RM noise-NOM-SG
 'Some noise was heard.'
- b. Poslouchala se hudba.
 listen-3SG-PAST RM music-NOM-SG
 'One listened to music.'
- c. Žilo se velmi skromně.
 live-3SG-PAST-N RM very modestly
 'One lived very modestly.'

Apparently, verbs with the Experiencer-Stimulus (rather than Agent-Patient) frame do not fit in this construction (16a). As a result, verbs of perception in general are excluded (*slyšet* 'hear', *vidět* 'see', *cítit* 'feel', etc.) when used in their literal sense. This restriction does not apply, predictably, to the metaphorical uses of these verbs:

- (17) a. To se hned tak nevidí.
 it RM immediately so NEG-see-3SG-PRES
 'You (generic) don't run into something like this very often.'
- b. To se ještě uvidí!
 it RM still see-3SG-PRES
 'We'll see about that!'

We should note, however, that both of these examples also have to be regarded as fixed expressions with the structure of GR rather than fully productive instances of GR (they only occur in the present tense indicative assertions and, in general, their use is highly idiomatic).

(16c) might seem slightly more problematic if we maintain that verbs like *žít* 'live' have a Patient as their single argument (Fillmore 1988b:68). To allow that the Actor in GR can be either an Agent or a Patient would mean that we then have to stipulate what kind of a Patient it must be in order to capture the fact that this Patient corresponds to a very different position in the semantic role hierarchy from the one associated with the Patient of a typical transitive event. In other words, we would need some special mechanism for distinguishing this Patient from the typical Patients that regularly occupy the Subject position in this construction. However, Fillmore admits that at least some of these Patient-Subject predicators do exhibit somewhat different behavior from truly Patient-Subject verbs such as 'break', 'open', etc. (ibid.:81). It seems that this semantic role would be best described as an Undergoer of the action. For the lack of a better term I am borrowing this label from the Czech linguistic tradition as a loose translation of the term "nositel děje". This term is used to describe an entity that can appear in the Subject argument slot of one-place predicates but that is neither a typical Agent (i.e., an initiator) nor a typical Patient of a transitive event. For example, the single argument of such predicators as *umřít* 'die', *žít* 'live', *spát* 'sleep', etc., is regarded as "the undergoer of an inherent action (*'nositel inherentního děje'*) which is characteristic of or fundamentally connected with the existence or functioning of a given entity" (MČ III:46). We can then generalize that the Actor in GR is either an Agent or an Undergoer in the sense just described. Needless to say, the semantic constraint on the Actor is of course a characteristic property of GR and does not apply to the periphrastic passive - yet another property that sets the two constructions apart.

By appealing to this constraint we can also explain the different acceptability judgements in sentences (18-19) below, which look structurally very similar to each other:

(18) *Hrad se zakládal Karlem IV.
 castle-NOM-SG RM found-3SG-PAST Charles-INS
 'The castle was founded by Charles IV.'

(19) Prach se pohlcuje filtrem.
 dust-NOM-SG RM absorb-3SG-PRES filter-INS-SG
 'Dust is absorbed by a filter.'

(18) is unacceptable because it violates the requirement that Actor be generic; (19), on the other hand, is grammatical because the Instrumental NP marks an Instrument, not a volitional Agent or a human Undergoer.

The sentence in (19) invites comparison to similar-looking sentences such as in (20), and it has been suggested that (19) and (20) are instances of the same phenomenon (Štícha:190):

- (20) Dveře se zavřely (průvanem).
 door-NOM-PL RM close-3PL-PAST wind-INS-SG
 'The door closed (in the wind).' (lit. 'by the wind')

Morphosyntactically, both (19) and (20) show the same pattern: NP_{NOM} - *se* - Vfin. - NP_{INS}. Also, *se* is clearly not anaphoric in either instance. However, while in (19) INS encodes an Instrument, which requires the presence of an Agent, in (20) it encodes a physical force, which precludes another agentive participant. This claim can be tested by the following sentences:

- (19') Prach pohlcujeme filtrem.
 dust-ACC-SG absorb-1PL-PRES filter-INS-SG
 'You (generic) can absorb the dust by a filter.'
- (20') *Dveře zavíráme průvanem.
 door-ACC-PL close-1PL-PRES wind-INS-SG
 'You (generic) can close the door by wind.'

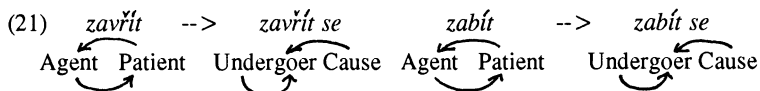
(19) and (20) obviously express two different kinds of events: we can interpret the door in (20) as capable of acting upon itself under certain conditions, but we certainly cannot ascribe this quality to dust absorbing. Nevertheless, some relationship between the two uses undeniably exists and should be dealt with.

Part of the problem with Štícha's treatment (which is in many ways very inspirational) stems from his commitment to handle the non-anaphoric functions of RM in terms of voice. He proposes a three-way distinction of voice: active, passive, and reflexive ("intransitive" in his terminology). The function of the latter is said to report an "autonomous process implying two semantic roles" (p. 189). While this strategy works well in accounting for the behavior of (20), it forces him to treat both (20) and (19) indiscriminately as "intransitive" voice although they display a different degree of conventionalization (in (19) *se* is not integrated into the meaning of the verb the way it is in (20)), and there is nothing spontaneous about absorbing dust in (19) the way door-closing can be.

I suggest that the two sentences represent two different processes involving the weakening of the anaphoric *se*: lexicalization and grammaticalization, respectively. In both cases the cause of the action (Agent) is placed outside the syntactically most prominent position of Subject, which in turn weakens the syntactic status of *se* because the requirement of the reflexive pronoun to have an antecedent is no longer fulfilled. It follows that both cases also exclude predicators with the Experiencer-Stimulus frame (there are no reflexive verbs **vidět se*, **slyšet se*, etc.). But it seems to be the nature of the cause that separates the two processes: if the cause can be some independent medium (i.e., the entity expressed by the Subject NP is understood as capable of acting upon itself, possibly through some catalyst force), the Endpoint argument in the Subject position "absorbs" the role of the Agent. Since the only participant left is an inanimate object, the implicit self-affecting of the Subject, brought about by the reflexive form, is interpreted as accidental (or spontaneous) and as such is incorporated into the meaning of the verb as a marker of an unanalyzed, one-participant "autonomous process". This kind of weakening then results in the derivational function of *se*, giving rise to one-place reflexive predicators such as *zavřít se* 'close', *rozbit se* 'break',

naplnit se 'fill', etc.) with the argument structure Undergoer - (Cause); the parentheses indicate optionality.

This analysis can also be extended to the reflexive verbs whose only participant is an animate entity, but its self-affecting *is/can* be construed as unintentional (*zabít se* 'kill oneself', *vzbudit se* 'wake up', *utopit se* 'drown accidentally', etc.). In these cases, the distinction between Actor and Endpoint is significantly blurred, the cause of the action is placed outside of the Subject's volitional control, and the semantic role associated with this argument can thus be again described as an Undergoer. In other words, by collapsing the Agent and Patient arguments into one semantic role which does not imply volition (Undergoer), the same process can apply to verbs with both inanimate and animate Subjects, converging them around the property of "unintentional action". Diagrammatically, the shifts can be represented as follows:



If, on the other hand, the Subject NP cannot be interpreted as capable of bringing an action onto itself, a human Agent/Undergoer is presupposed as the default immediate cause of the action, and the sentence is still interpreted as a two-participant event (1, 7', 8a, etc.) with *se* becoming a grammatical marker of the Actor's subordinate role. The grammaticalization obviously had to start with two-place predicators of the Agent-Patient variety, but once the pattern is established there is nothing in the GR construction *per se* that would prevent inherently one-place predicators from entering this construction as well (possibly with some added support from the verbs allowing an Indefinite Null Complement for their Direct Object), as long as their frame contains a human Actor.

To some extent, this division may also reflect the difference in the semantic requirements a predicator imposes on its Actor argument. The lexicalization tends to go with verbs that can have a physical force as the Actor (*zavřít*, *otevřít*, *rozbit*, *zabít*, *vzbudit*, etc. although *naplnit* and *utopit* do not quite fit this description), whereas the grammaticalization process takes place exclusively with verbs that require an animate Agent/Undergoer as their Actors.

Since it is our understanding of the world (the experience we have with door-closing or window-breaking as compared to the experience of building houses, eating dinners, or absorbing dust) that plays a crucial role in distinguishing between these two functions of *se*, it is obvious that a strictly formal analysis cannot adequately deal with them. The surface similarities in fact give rise to homophonous uses (illustrated in (22); the data is partially quoted from MČ II:176) that can be differentiated only through the pragmatics. The above analysis seems to offer a principled way of applying the pragmatic criterion:

- (22) a. Zabil se z nešťastné lásky. - anaphoric *se*
 kill-3SG-PAST-M RM from unhappy-GEN love-GEN
 'He killed himself because of unhappy love.'
- b. Zabil se pádem ze střechy. - derivational *se*
 kill-3SG-PAST-M RM fall-INS from roof-GEN
 'He got killed by falling from a roof.'

- c. Na svátky se zabila husa. - grammatical *se*
 for holiday-ACC-PL RM kill-3SG-PAST-F goose-NOM-SG
 'One killed a goose for the holiday.'

The preceding discussion should now provide ample justification for collapsing (4) and (5) into one Generic-Actor Reflexive construction (the abbreviation 'gn' stands for 'generic-null' and refers to the null realization of the NP on the surface):

- (23) (NP_{NOM,Pat}) - Vfin_{ACT} - *se* - NP_{gn,Actor}

with the following properties:

- (24) - *se* is a grammatical morpheme indicating that Subject, if present, does not mark the Actor;
 - GR is indifferent to transitivity, i.e., allows both transitive and intransitive predicates;
 - the verb has active morphology; the Subject-verb agreement is determined by the valence requirements of the verb;
 - preference for the imperfective aspect;
 - Actor is an Agent or human Undergoer;
 - Actor is presupposed as either generic or anonymous;
 - GR relates an action/process.

Now that we have identified the fundamental characteristics of GR, we can attempt to summarize its relationship to the Anaphoric Reflexive construction, as well as to the periphrastic passive. The GR construction is linked to AR through three properties: (i) it maintains active verb morphology (unlike passive), (ii) it shows a marked hierarchy of constituents (like passive), and (iii) it relates an action. With respect to the latter, GR then appears as a non-stative counterpart to the passive in that it is also an Agent-demoting construction. Unlike passive, however, the center of attention is on the action itself, not on the object or result of the action.

The analysis presented in this study demonstrates that it is possible to treat functionally distinct reflexive forms as mutually related (with a smaller or greater degree of transparency, of course) if we take into consideration more than just their surface representation. If our analysis includes semantic and pragmatic properties of individual forms as equal partners in building up a construction in Fillmore's sense, relationships that are syntactically quite diverse may converge along the other two parameters. This treatment carries several advantages: in addition to allowing clear distinction between functionally and formally diverse forms (reflexive vs. periphrastic passive), it also offers a principled way of separating homonymous uses (e.g., Anaphoric vs. Generic-Actor vs. lexicalized reflexives); it avoids the necessity of forcing a binary choice between a syntactic analysis and full lexicalization in those instances where neither would be appropriate, thus allowing more natural inclusion of idiomatic expressions; and finally, it might bring some more insight into the complex lexicalization patterns associated with the Czech (and Slavic) reflexives.

Notes:

1. Since the arguments underlying the Subject and Object positions can be associated with a variety of semantic roles, I refer to them by the superordinate categories Actor and Endpoint, respectively.
2. The data is quoted from the field work on East-Moravian dialects (Chloupek & Šlosar:236).
3. The Czech syntacticians usually label these constructions "deagentive" to indicate the extreme indefiniteness of the Actor (Bauer & Grepl, MC, *inter alia*), and the term "agentless passive" has been proposed for French (Grimshaw). I find both terms misleading because they suggest that there is no Actor (or Agent) to consider. I also believe that it cannot be dismissed as just a terminological issue. Only if we make the presence of the Actor (albeit not manifested on the surface) a cornerstone of our analysis can we fully predict which verbs can be accommodated by this construction.

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