Levels of Grammatical Relations and Russian Reflexive Controllers
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Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society (1986), pp. 235-245

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1. Introduction

In Russian, a variety of different surface cases can antecede reflexives. This is indicated in the examples in (1)-(6) below.[1,2]

1 Anna otpravila Borisa$_i$ k svoim roditeljam
A-NOM sent B-ACC to SELF's parents
'Anna sent Boris$_i$ to her$_i$/*his$_j$ parents'

2 Boris$_i$ byl otpravlen k svoim roditeljam
B-NOM was sent to SELF'S parents
'Boris$_i$ was sent to his$_i$ parents'

3 éta kniga byla kuplena Borisom dlja Ivana/sebja
this book-NOM was sent B-INST for I-GEN/SELF-GEN
'this book was bought by Boris for Ivan/himself'

4 ja emu skazal vse o *sebe (Timberlake 1979)
I-NOM he-DAT told all about SELF
≠'I told him all about himself'

5 emu bylo skazano o *sebe
he-DAT was told about SELF
≠'he was told about himself'

6 ej žal' Borisa/sebja
she-DAT sorry B-ACC/SELF-ACC
'she feels sorry for Boris/herself'

A reflexive can be anteceded by the nominative NP of an active or passive sentence as in (1) and (2) respectively, by the instrumental case NP of a passive sentence as in (3), and by the dative case Experiencer with an experiential predicate as in (6). It cannot be anteceded by the accusative case NP of an active sentence as in (1) or by the dative case Receiver NP of an active or passive ditransitive as in (4) and (5) respectively.

2. A Multistratal Account

Perlmutter (1980, 1982, 1984) uses these facts to argue for the superiority of a multistratal model of grammatical relations such as Relational Grammar over monostratal models which allow only a single stratum of grammatical relations corresponding to surface grammatical relations.[3] Perlmutter gives the condition in (7) for reflexive control in Russian.

7 Necessary Condition on Reflexive Controllers in Russian (Perlmutter 1984:10)
Only a nominal heading[4] a 1-arc can serve as an antecedent of a reflexive.

In a multistratal account of grammatical relations, the reflexive can be anteceded by the nominative NP in (1) because that

NP is an initial and final subject of the relational network of (1). The nominative can also antecede the reflexive in (2) because that NP is final subject of the relational network of (2). In (3) the instrumental case NP is initial subject of the relational network, and in (6) the dative is also an initial subject, this time of an 'inversion' construction, so both can antecede a reflexive. On the other hand, the accusative NP in (1) is not a subject at any stratum in its relational network, nor are the dative NPs in (4) and (5), and they are thus all ineligible to antecede reflexives.

Further evidence consistent with this analysis comes from a subset of 'inversion' constructions where the Theme appears in nominative case and controls verb agreement, as in (8).

8 Boris nužen svoim detjam
B-NOM needs SELF'S children
'Boris is needed by his children'

In this type of construction, the multistratal analysis includes advancement of direct object to subject as well as retreat of initial subject to indirect object. Therefore, in these constructions, the final subject (nominative) should be able to antecede a reflexive, which is correct, as (8) shows. The initial subject should also be expected to antecede a reflexive in this construction, as shown in (9).[5]

9 Borisu nužna svoia masina
B-DAT need-FSG SELF'S car-FNOM
'Boris needs his own car'

An additional stipulation is needed to account for the apparent precedence of the final subject as antecedent in sentences like (10), where both initial and final subject are present and both could be potential antecedents.

10 Boris byl otpravlen Annoj k svoim roditeljam
B-NOM was sent A-INST to SELF'S parents
'Boris$_i$ was sent by Anna$_j$ to his$_i$/?*her$_j$ parents'

It is reported that for many speakers, the initial subject cannot control reflexivization if the final subject is also semantically/pragmatically compatible with the reflexive. Final subject precedence is also seen in the absence of a sentence like (11) with a reflexive nominative form and a dative antecedent.

11 Boris nužen samomu sebe
B-NOM needs EMPH SELF-DAT
'Boris needs himself'

Final subject precedence is effected by introducing the notion 'working subject' which gives precedence to surface subject where

the multistratal analysis would otherwise identify both initial and final subjects as reflexive controllers.

Since monostratal models of grammatical relations refer only to a single stratum of grammatical relations, Perlmutter argues that there is no straightforward way to state the generalization about Russian reflexive control in such a model in terms either of thematic relations or of surface grammatical relations. These facts, and the apparent elegance with which reflexive controllers can be identified in a multistratal model of grammatical relations present a challenge to researchers exploring the capacities of monostratal models for expressing generalizations about the syntax of natural languages. This paper will explore an alternative account of the characterization of reflexive control in Russian, compatible with a monostratal model.

3. Thematic Relations and Morphosyntactic Manifestation

In exploring a monostratal account of Russian reflexive control, I will assume that there are conventions for linking a level of thematic relations associated with a given predicate to surface morphosyntactic structure, and that these linking devices for Russian, specify, among other things, case marking. On this basis, I will introduce the notion 'morphological subject' given in (12). As stated in (13), the morphological subject controls verb agreement.[6]

12 Morphological Subject = nominatively inflected argument of a predicate.

13 Verb Agreement Control: only a morphological subject can control verb agreement.

I will further assume that there is a statement or statements which specify the default linking of thematic relations to surface case manifestations. A version of such a statement is given in (14).

14 Default Morphological Subject Selection Hierarchy

ACTOR > UNDERGOER

'ACTOR' and 'UNDERGOER' are macroroles taken from Foley and Van Valin (1984); they refer to the most extreme thematic relations on a continuum like that given in (15).[7]

15 ACTOR/UNDERGOER Hierarchy (Foley and Van Valin 1984:59)

Agent	Effector	Locative	Theme	Patient
ACTOR	⟵	———	———	⟶ UNDERGOER

'Animate Location' as used in this paper will be assumed to be a type of Locative, and will include the perceiver of perception verbs, the experiencer of verbs of emotion and cognition, and some others to be discussed as well. The statement in (14) will identify the Agent as morphological subject in a sentence like (1),

since otpravil will be assumed to have a thematic structure like that given in (16).

16 _____ Agent/Source, Theme, Receiver/Goal

In a sentence like (17), the Experiencer (as Animate Location) will be selected as morphological subject; the thematic structure for bidyela is given in (18)

17 oná bidyela syestrá/sebja
She-NOM saw sister-ACC/SELF-ACC
'she saw her sister/herself'

18 _____ Experiencer, Patient

In addition, when no higher ranking relation is present, Theme will be selected as morphological subject, as illustrated in (19) and (20) for motion and state predicates respectively.

19 etot parohód idyot v Yevrópu
this train-NOM is going to Europe
'this train is going to Europe'

20 ryeká zamyorzla
river-NOM has frozen
'the river has frozen'

In addition to this default pairing of thematic relations to morphological subject, a grammar of Russian will contain some other statements for acceptable linking of thematic relations to morphosyntactic structure. One of these will be a statement of the correspondence between active and passive morphosyntax. Following Kiparsky (1985), I will assume that passive morphology has the effect of delinking the highest ranking thematic relation associated with a given predicate, identified here as ACTOR. The default principles of linking thematic relations to morphological subject will consequently select the remaining eligible relation as identified in (14), i.e., the UNDERGOER. If no other eligible thematic relation is present, there will be no morphological subject; that is, the construction will be impersonal. This is the case in (5), where the sentence has no overt Agent or Theme, but where the thematic structure of the verb contains these relations and where the hierarchy in (15) would identify Agent as ACTOR and Theme as UNDERGOER. Thus, the fact that Russian doesn't have dative passives (where the Receiver of a ditransitive verb can be morphological subject) follows from the subject selection hierarchy in (15), since Receiver/Goal (as Locative) ranks below Theme for UNDERGOER status and cannot be selected as UNDERGOER in a thematic structure containing a Theme.[8,9]

In the case of 'inversion' constructions, two types need to be distinguished: those where the Theme becomes morphological subject, as in (8), and those in which it does not, as in (6). In both types, the Animate Location will be lexically linked to a

dative NP. In the impersonal type like (6), the Theme will also be lexically linked -- to accusative case --as in the partial lexical entry in (21). Since both arguments are lexically linked, neither is a candidate for default morphological subject linking, and the construction will be impersonal. The type with a morphological subject as in (6), will have a partial lexical entry like (22), where only the Animate Location will be lexically linked to a case, and the default morphological subject linking will sanction a linking of the Theme to nominative case.

21 Impersonal 'inversion' predicates

_____	Animate Location	,	Theme
	NP-DAT		NP-ACC

22 'Inversion' predicates with morphological subject

_____	Animate Location	,	Theme
	NP-DAT		

4. Reflexive Control

In any analysis of reflexive control, a potential antecedent of a reflexive must be semantically and pragmatically compatible with the reflexive. In the analysis given here, it must either bear the highest thematic relation on the ACTOR hierarchy or be morphological subject. The ACTOR will not be morphological subject when it is (i) lexically linked to another case or (ii) delinked by passive morphology. When morphological subject and ACTOR do not coincide, the morphological subject takes precedence for reflexive control. The precedence statement is given in (23).

23 Reflexive Control Precedence
Morphological Subject > ACTOR

In sentences like (1), the morphological subject corresponds to the ACTOR. In (2), ACTOR is unspecified, so no conflict occurs and the morphological subject antecedes the reflexive. In a sentence like (3), there is potential conflict between the morphological subject and ACTOR, but kniga is ineligible/less likely as antecedent because of its pragmatic incompatibility/less plausible compatibility with the reflexive, and Boris thus antecedes the reflexive. In (10), however, both Boris and Anna are plausible antecedents for the reflexive, and Boris, as morphological subject, is identified by Reflexive Control Precedence as the antecedent.

In sentences like (4) and (5), the dative NP bears the Receiver/Goal thematic relation which is neither ACTOR nor morphological subject. Since neither of the controller conditions is met, it cannot antecede a reflexive.

In 'inversion' constructions like (6), the dative NP bears the highest thematic relation on the ACTOR hierarchy, Animate Location, but is not morphological subject. It can antecede a re-

flexive in impersonal constructions because, in these, there is no competing morphological subject. On the other hand, in 'inversion' constructions like (8), the Theme is morphological subject via default linking, and thus it is the Theme rather than the Animate Location which can antecede a reflexive.

Some speakers apparently allow an interpretation where either ACTOR or morphological subject can control reflexivization in a sentence like (10), though the preferred interpretation is that the morphological subject is controller. This can presumeably be accommodated in either of the analyses examined here by relaxing the final subject or morphological subject precedence from an absolute condition to a preference.

4. Comparison

The account of reflexive controllers in Russian in a monostratal model of grammatical relations is in fact quite similar to the account within a multistratal model. The monostratal account includes a level with a thematic relation hierarchy which is used for the default linking between thematic relations and morphosyntactic structure. Relational Grammar also includes such a level to link thematic relations to the initial stratum of grammatical relations in a relational network.[10] Thus, while both analyses include two levels -- a level of thematic relations and a level of grammatical relations -- Relational Grammar also includes multiple strata within the level of grammatical relations. Both analyses include a two-part condition on the controller of reflexives in Russian. In the analysis consistent with a monostratal model of grammatical relations, the appeal is to a thematic relation hierarchy and to the notion 'morphological subject', while in the analysis presented within a multistratal model of grammatical relations the two parts of the condition refer to two strata of grammatical relations. Thus, the account presented here states the same condition as the multistratal account, without the extra asumption of multiple strata within the level of grammatical relations, but with the assumption that morphological form and thematic structure are simultaneously available for reference in stating such generalizations.

5. Possessive Predicates and Other Obliques

The monostratal account may in fact have an advantage over a multistratal account when some additional data are considered. The data are discussed in detail in Timberlake (1980). There, Timberlake examines the classes of oblique controllers of reflexives in Russian. In addition to the 'inversion' constructions with dative controllers, other non-nominative NPs can control reflexives. For example, the genitive Possessor NP of a possessive predication can control reflexives, as shown in (24) and (25).

24 u Ivanu byli den'gi s soboj (Chvany 1975:99)
at I-GEN was money-NOM with SELF
'Ivan had money with/on him'

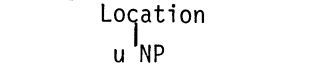
25 u sem'i Goranskij byl v Zarubinkax svoj dom
at family G-GEN was in Z SELF's house-NOM
'the G. family had their house in Z. (Timberlake 1980)

In these structures, the Theme is morphological subject; it appears in nominative case and controls verb agreement.

Timberlake argues that a multistratal analysis of such sentences cannot plausibly include an inversion of initial subject to genitive, because this would violate the Oblique Law, which states that "a nominal that bears an oblique relation in a clause ... bears that relation in the initial stratum"(Perlmutter and Postal 1984:88). It would also be implausible to assume that the genitive NP is final subject with exceptional case marking, because the Theme has the morphological characteristics of a subject: nominative case and verb agreement control. These arguments are based on the strong assumption that case inflection defines final grammatical relations and that different inflections must encode different relations. Timberlake thus assumes that the Possessor prepositional phrase must be an oblique in a Relational Grammar analysis. However, it is not clear that it is a necessary assumption of that framework. Until there is something more explicit in Relational Grammar about the correlation of final grammatical relations and morphological coding, the extent to which these data are problematic remains unclear.

On the other hand, a monostratal account of these possessive constructions within the analysis presented here is straightforward. The Possessor of a possessive predicate is assummed to be an instance of Animate Location. It will be lexically linked, as it is in the dative 'inversion' constructions. In this case, it is linked to the locative prepositional phrase expressing 'location at'. A partial lexical entry for a possessive predicate is given in (26).

26 Lexical entry for possessive predicate



Nothing more need be stipulated about the case of the linked Possessor NP, since the preposition u will be specified to govern genitive case. Nothing more need be stipulated about the case of the Theme, either, since the default linking will be to nominative case. In a sentence like (25), the reflexive is a possessive adjective in the morphological subject, so that the only candidate for antecedent is the genitive NP. Since it is ACTOR, it can antecede the reflexive. In (24), the genitive NP is still the only candidate for antecedent, because it is ACTOR and because the morphological subject den'gi is pragmatically ineligible.[11]

Timberlake also gives a set of examples to show that a still wider range of oblique NPs can antecede reflexives, as shown in (27).

27 u nego / emu /dlja nego ne ostavalos' vremeni na sebja
at he-GEN/he-DAT/for he-GEN NEG remain time for SELF
'he had no time left for himself'

In sentences of this type, the Animate Location may be expressed with the preposition u and a genitive NP, with a dative NP, or with the preposition dlya and a genitive NP. Timberlake argues that a multistratal analysis of these as inversions would be forced to add a new inversion rule to correspond to each distinct morphosyntactic manifestation of the Animate Location, under the assumption that each represents a distinct oblique grammatical relation. In addition, some predicates, such as that in (27), would have to permit more than one type of inversion. (Again, the force of this argument depends on the correspondence between morphological form and grammatical relations which is assumed.) In the monostratal analysis presented here, the linking would simply specify alternate morphosyntactic realizations of the Animate Location in such a case, as in (28), so that for predicates which allow alternate morphology, the lexical linking will give the alternate forms.

(28) ____ ... Animate Location ...
{NP-DAT, u NP, dlja NP}

5. Concluding Remarks

If one views the surface morphology of reflexive controllers in Russian, the range is very wide. The analysis suggested here, however, specifies a small range of controllers -- ACTOR and morphological subject -- which in fact often coincide. The surface variation is attributed to the linking of thematic relations with the morphosyntax. Where Russian seems to differ from other languages in allowing a surprising variety of controllers, the variability is here attributed to the range of cases which can be linked to ACTOR, and the small range of roles than can be linked to morphological subject. The controllers both have a kind of salience: inherent salience, or natural viewpoint, as represented by the thematic relations hierarchy, and grammatical salience, or grammatical viewpoint, as represented by the morphological subject. It seems reasonable that if one type of viewpoint should take precedence over the other, it should be the grammatical one, since this represents an actual choice made by a speaker in discourse.

It seems, then, that an account along the lines presented here, compatible with a monostratal model of grammatical relations, can make a generalization about reflexive control similar in effect to that of a multistratal account but without appeal to strata of grammatical relations, and that the monostratal account can accommodate quite readily a fuller range of data concerning reflexive controllers which may be problematic to the multistratal account. While I think that the monostratal account

given here does meet the challenge set by proponents of the multistratal account, this is only one of several examples in the Relational Grammar literature that has been claimed to provide evidence for a multistratal model of grammatical relations, so that this account cannot in itself invalidate the Relational Grammar hypothesis that more than one level of grammatical relations is necessary to account for the morphosyntactic patterns of natural language. It is important to emphasize that both models include multiple levels, and it is the fact that a monostratal model of grammatical relations can still assume more than one level -- a thematic level and a grammatical level -- which allows it to capture multilevel generalizations without the further assumption of strata within levels, if it is further assumed that to make such generalizations, information of various types is simultaneously available, specifically, information regarding both natural viewpoint and grammatical viewpoint.

Notes

* I am very grateful to Steven Lapointe and Gerald Sanders for their comments on an earlier presentation of this paper, to Robert Van Valin, Jr. for his comments on thematic relation hierarchies, to Vladimir Attekar for sharing his intuitions on Russian data with me, and to Cindy Mercer for her help with points of grammar and transliteration.

1 Controllers are not required to precede reflexives in Russian, as shown in Perlmutter (1982), so that order is not relevant to identifying controllers.

2 All examples not directly verified by a native speaker of Russian are given with their sources in the literature.

3 I will distinguish 'levels' which contain different types of information/entities (e.g. thematic relations vs. grammatical relations) from strata, which contain the same type of information/entities (initial subject vs. final subject). This terminology has been adopted to conform with the usage of these terms in Ladusaw (1985).

4 Stoney (1985) points out that this characterization is still very restricted, as there is no evidence that more than two strata of grammatical relations are needed to account for all of the facts. This follows in Relational Grammar from the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law, which prohibits more than one promotion to subject.

5 I am grateful to Zygmunt Frajzyngier and Johanna Nichols for raising questions leading to this example.

6 This is a necessary but not sufficient condition on verb agreement control, which involves other variables such as linear order and animacy (Corbett (1983)).

7 This precedence is the universal precedence given in Foley and Van Valin (1984) for 'pivot'. Whether morphological subject as used here should be equated with their use of 'pivot' is unclear.

8 This does not mean that Receiver/Goal can never be morphological subject in Russian. It can be, in cases where it is the highest relation for ACTOR selection, as with goal-oriented verbs like receive.

9 For a more complete account of subject selection in Russian, the animacy of ACTOR and UNDERGOER would have to be considered. This is because an animate UNDERGOER takes precedence over an inanimate ACTOR (e.g. Instrument or Force) (Borras and Christian (1959)).

10 Even if it is accepted that the linking between thematic relations and initial grammatical relations is not totally predictable (Rosen (1984)), they are sufficiently so to justify a default principle of the type given in (14) and a hierarchy of the type given in (15).

11 This analysis makes a clear prediction for a sentence like (24) in a case where an animate is Theme. In such a case, the Theme, as morphological subject, should control the reflexive. I have yet to test a satisfactory example of this type. I am grateful to Jeff Harlig for pointing this implication out to me.

12 Timberlake (1980) also suggests a monostratal analysis of Russian reflexive control and claims that 'prominence' on one of a number of 'axes' identifies controllers. Here, two axes are assumed, thematic and grammatical, and the thematic relations hierarchy incorporates a number of the axes that Timberlake considers.

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