

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR A DIACHRONIC TYPOLOGICAL STUDY OF VALENCY-CHANGING CATEGORIES

Leonid Kulikov
Leiden University

- D – diachronic part of the question (how does the phenomenon / feature under study change within the attested history?)
- R – questions related to the reconstruction of the corresponding proto-language
- L₀ – the oldest attested stage of a language; L₁, L₂, ... etc.; L_{1.1}, L_{1.2}, ...; L_{2.1}, L_{2.2}, ... etc. – daughter languages (= later stages) of L₀
- X – cover term for individual valency-changing categories (causative, passive, reflexive, reciprocal, etc.)

0. Preliminaries

Typological Questionnaires are widely used for a synchronic study of valency-changing categories, such as causative, passive, reflexive, reciprocal etc. (see, for instance, Nedjalkov 1988; 2007; Kulikov & Nedjalkov 1989; Xrakovskij 1996; 2001; 2005). Such questionnaires usually include both questions proper and illustrative material.

The present questionnaire is, by contrast, diachronically-oriented. At first glance, transposing a synchronic questionnaire into its diachronic version may appear an almost trivial operation: we simply have to reformulate each synchronic question in the form: What happens to the given synchronic feature in the history? It is true, every synchronic phenomenon has some history, some past and future. Yet, a mechanical transposition would probably result in a mere conglomeration of facts extracted from historical grammars. It makes sense to concentrate on some features and to disregard some others. Apparently, we have to focus on the most important features which determine the basic trends in the evolution of the linguistic system.

Most questions include (i) a synchronic part, which addresses the feature under study in the attested languages (usually, in the most ancient language L₀ which opens the documented history of a genetic group) and (ii) a diachronic part (which I mark with “D”). In some cases, it is appropriate (iii) to put questions about the hypothetical origin of the linguistic phenomenon under study (e.g. etymology of a marker); this part of the question is marked with “R”. Most questions are supplied with illustrative material taken from historical linguistic studies. For understandable reasons, the bulk of the material is taken from Indo-Aryan – above all, from Old Indo-Aryan / Vedic (which is the main area of the research of the author of this questionnaire), as well as from other branches of Indo-European (IE) and Proto-Indo-European (PIE) reconstruction.

Of course, the suggested questionnaire by no means claims to be exhaustive and can easily be supplemented with both new questions and illustrative material. All kinds of remarks, comments and corrections to this questionnaire will be greatly appreciated.

1. The system of markers of the valency-changing categories (Xs)

1.1. How the main valency-changing categories are expressed?

1) voices properly speaking (*sensu stricto*)

- passive
- antipassive

2) voices *sensu latiore*

- reflexive
 - reciprocal
 - causative
 - anticausative (decausative)
 - applicative
 - benefactive (object version)
- 3) voice-related categories
- affective (subject version)

Competing markers of X and their relationships, synchronically and diachronically.

- ◆ functional and chronological relationships between formal types of passives in the history of Scandinavian languages (Old Norse, Old Swedish, Swedish, etc.) (Haugen 1982: 134, 159-161; Holm 1952; etc.):
 - morphological (medio-)passive in *-s* (← *-st* ← **-sk*)
 - periphrastic (analytic) *vera*-passive (until early modern Scandinavian)
 - periphrastic (analytic) *verða*-passive (mainly between 10th and 13th cent.)
 - periphrastic (analytic) *bliva*-passive (since c. 13th cent.)
- ◆ two competing forms of periphrastic passive in Old - Middle - Modern High German (Kotin 1995; cf. also the relationships between morphological and periphrastic passives in Gothic, see van der Wal 1981)

	dynamic passive	statal passive	
		durative	resultative
early OHG (until 12th cent.)	<i>uuerdan</i> -pass.	<i>uuesan</i> -pass.	
late OHG – MHG (12/13th – 16/17th cent.)	<i>werden</i> -pass.	<i>werden</i> -pass., <i>wesen/sîn</i> -pass.	<i>wesen/sîn</i> -pass.
Mod. High German	<i>werden</i> -pass.		<i>sein</i> -pass. (resultative stative)

1.1D. How does the set of markers change diachronically? The rise of new markers.

- ◆ the emergence of the syntactic causative construction in Middle Korean and the increase of its productivity in Late Middle Korean (i.e. from the late 15th century onwards) (see)

1.2. The status of the markers: free or bound morpheme; grammaticalized / non-grammaticalized / not completely grammaticalized; ...

1.2D. How does this status change in the history? Is the transition “free morpheme → bound morpheme” attested? Details of this transition (chronology; in which constructions / with which verbs this binding is first attested? etc.). Grammaticalization phenomena and their details.

- ◆ Slavic: development of reflexive pronoun (→ clitic → bound morpheme); cf. Common Slavic *sę* (→ Polish clitic *się*) → Russ. suffix *-sja*
- ◆ Germanic: development of reflexive pronoun (→ clitic → bound morpheme); cf. Proto-Germ. **sik* → Old Norse *-sk* (→ Swed. *-s*)
- ◆ early Vedic → middle Vedic → late (post-Vedic) Sanskrit: grammaticalization of the reciprocal pronoun *anyó ... anyá-* (*anyò'nyá-*) ‘another ... another’ (see *sub 9D*)

Degrammaticalization of valency markers.

- ◆ loss of the intransitivizing functions of the middle inflexion (middle diathesis) in Vedic (Kulikov 2006)

1.3. Productivity of (morphological) markers of X (Which verbs can take the marker in question: nearly all verbs? verbs of several major classes? only a few classes? ...)

1.3D. How does the productivity change in the history? (increases? decreases? remains constant?)

- ◆ increase of productivity of the *aya*-causatives in Sanskrit/Old Indo-Aryan (Thieme 1929; Jamison 1983)
- ◆ decrease of productivity of the *i*-causatives in Slavic (Gołąb 1968)
- ◆ decrease of productivity of the *jan*-causatives in Germanic (García García 2005: 48ff.)
- ◆ the loss of several intransitive (reflexive with prefixed or infixes *-t-*, etc.)

formations in Classical Hebrew (Gzella, forthc.)

Are there any correlations between the increase / decrease in productivity of different markers?

- ◆ parallel expansion of causatives and passives in Old Indo-Aryan; see *sub 9D*

2. Functions and polysemy of the marker(s) of X.

2.1D/R. How does the basic meaning of marker(s) change in the history?

- ◆ passive-to-inverse voice development reconstructed for Cariban languages (see Gildea 1998: 218ff.);
- ◆ the reanalysis of the Old Egyptian passive morpheme *-tw* in Late Egyptian (only in First Present and Conjunctive conjugation (Reintges, forthc.))
- ◆ the separation of the passive proper, impersonal passive, and subject impersonal usages of the *no/to*-participle in Polish (see Wiemer, forthc.)

2.2D. Documented examples of lexicalizations and their chronology.
The main types of lexicalizations.

Examples of lexicalization:

- ◆ Russ. reciprocal *-sja* :
drat ‘tear’ + *-sja* = *drat-sja* ‘tear each other’ → ‘hit each other, fight’
- ◆ Ved. middle diathesis (middle inflexion):
śap ‘curse’ + middle = *śápate* ‘curses oneself’ → ‘swears’
- ◆ Nogai (Turkic) causative:
ojna- ‘to play’: *ojna-t-* ‘make play’ → ‘amuse (a child)’;
second caus.: *ojna-t-tyr-* ‘to let/allow to play’ (permissive) (Kulikov 1993: 134; 1999a)

2.3R. The rise and etymology of the markers of X.

- ◆ passive and middle morphemes often go back to reflexive pronouns (see Haspelmath 1990; Heine & Kuteva 2002: 252f.), as in many Indo-European languages (cf. Russian *-sja*, Swedish *-s* etc. ← forms of the Proto-Indo-European pronominal lexeme **s(u)e-* ‘own, -self’)
- ◆ the development of the passive function of the reflexive morpheme may go through

the stage of the causative reflexive usages (see Janke 1960: 24 for the possibility of such a scenario of the semantic evolution of *-sja* in Russian)

- ◆ passive morphemes may go back to the verbs ‘be’ (cf. in Mapudungun: passive suffix *-nge* ← copula verb *ngen* ‘be’; see Zúñiga, forthc.), ‘get’ (see Haspelmath 1990: 41; Heine & Kuteva 2002: 145ff.) and some others
- ◆ Dutch reflexive pronoun *zich* (instead of the expected ***zik / zij*; cf. Middle Dutch *sik*) is borrowed from German (*sich*)
- ◆ typical sources of causative morphemes include verbs meaning ‘make’, ‘let’, ‘give’, as well as directional and benefactive affixes (Song 1990; 1996: 80-106; Heine & Kuteva 2002: 117f., 152)
- ◆ reciprocal markers may go back to reflexive morphemes (see Nedjalkov 2007; Heine & Kuteva 2002: 254; cf. Russian *-sja*)
- ◆ Vedic reciprocal prefix *ví* (cf. *dviṣ* ‘hate’ - *vi-dviṣ-áte* ‘(they) hate each other’) and Ancient Greek prefix *δια-* (cf. *διά-λογος* ‘dialogue, conversation’, *δια-ειπεῖν* ‘talk to each other’, *δια-κυνέω* ‘kiss each other’) ← PIE adverb **dvis* ‘in two’ (**dvi-* in compounds), derived from the numeral ‘two’ (see Lubotsky 1994: 202ff.; Kulikov 2002)
- ◆ Turkish reciprocal suffix *-ş-* may be etymologically related to the Proto-Turkic marker of plurality *-š/-l* (Juldašev 1980)

2.2. Which other meanings/functions (not related to valency-changing) are expressed by the marker(s) of X? (e.g.: causative / iterative; causative / intensive; anticausative / inchoative; reflexive / emphatic). Is there any historical evidence for the secondary character of some of these functions?

- ◆ causative / intensive polysemy in Arabic (cf. *darasa* ‘learn’ - *darrasa* ‘teach’ (causative); *qatala* ‘kill’ - *qattala* ‘massacre’ (intensive)), Boumaa Fijian (cf. *mate* ‘die’ - *va’a-mate-a* ‘kill’ (causative); *taro-ga* ‘ask’ - *va’a-taro-ga* ‘ask many times’ (intensive)) and some other languages (see Li 1991; Kulikov 1999b; 2001a: 894)

2D. Is this polysemy preserved in L₁, L₂ ...?
Which new types of polysemy appear in L₁, L₂ ...?

2.3. Are there examples of the loss of the original (valency-changing) function(s) of the marker of X? examples of the replacement of the original function(s) by other functions, not related to valency-changing?

Examples of the ‘passive-to-ergative’ development:

- ◆ Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic) → Middle Indo-Aryan → New Indo-Aryan: the Old Indo-Aryan construction with passive perfect participles in *-ta-/-na-* gives rise to the New Indo-Aryan ergative construction (see Bubenik 1993; 1998; Butt 2001; Peterson 1998)
- ◆ development of ergativity (from passive constructions) in Cariban languages (see Gildea 1998: 218ff.)
- ◆ development

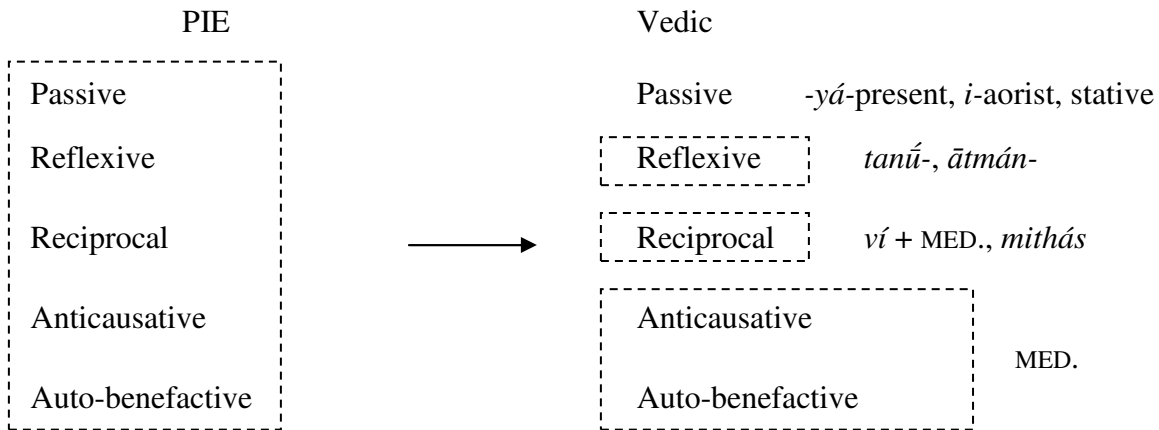
3. Which types of syncretism are attested for valency markers?

- ◆ “Middle voice” (as reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European; see e.g. Neu 1968a, 1968b; Jankuhn 1969; Flobert 1975; Gonda 1979)

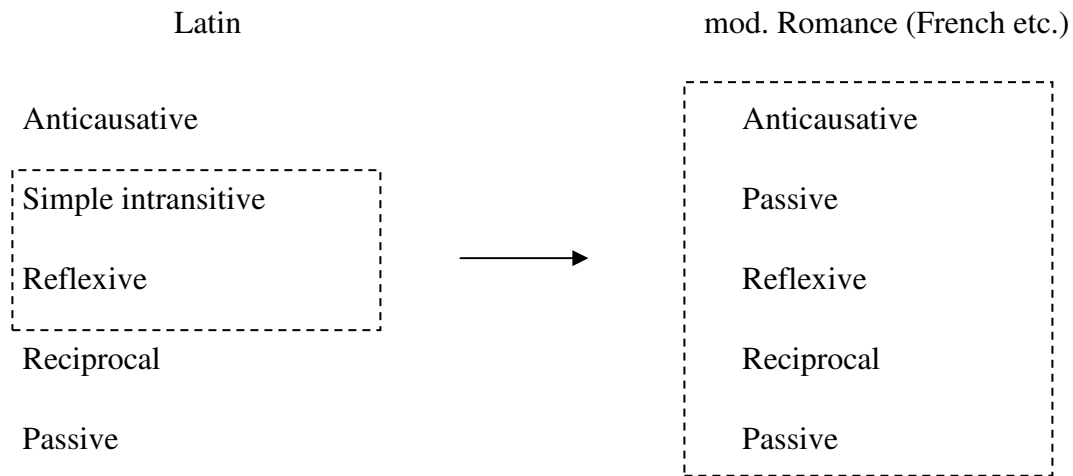
- Passive
- Anticausative
- Reflexive
- Reciprocal
- Auto-benefactive (subject version)

3D. How do these types of syncretism change diachronically?

- ◆ “Middle voice”: the development of the functions of the middle voice from PIE to (early) Vedic:



- ◆ The development of the middle function of *se*: from Latin to Romance / French (Kemmer 1993: 151-182; Cennamo 1993, 1998; Heidinger, forthc.)



- ◆ Causative/passive polysemy in some modern Turkic (e.g. Tuvan; exceptional in Old Turkic), Tungusic and Mongolic languages and its emergence (e.g. from permissive causatives: ‘the boy let the dog bite’ → ‘the boy let himself be bitten by the dog’ → ‘the boy was bitten by the dog’ (see Nedyalkov 1991)

4. Are there labile (ambitransitive) verbs / verbal forms, i.e. verbs / forms that show a valence alternation with no formal change in the verb (as in *John opened the door* (transitive-causative) / *The door opened* (intransitive))?

4D. How does this feature change in the history of language? In the case of the expansion of the labile type (cf. the history of Germanic languages and especially English): what are the sources of the labile patterning?

- ◆ some mechanisms of the rise of the labile patterning in English:

(i) due to some phonological developments (cf. the merger of Old English intransitive *meltan* and transitive-causative *mieltan*, *myltan* in modern English *melt*) (Visser 1970: 131ff.);

(ii) due to some syntactic processes; e.g. a number of basically transitive verbs can be employed intransitively both with and without a reflexive pronoun (cf. *hide* / *hide himself*) in Old English, but in later periods the tendency to suppress the reflexive marker becomes stronger (Hermodsson 1952: 65f.; Visser 1970: 145ff.)

- ◆ the rise of lability in Germanic languages as a result of the emergence of intransitive usages of some *-i-* (*-jan-*) causatives (cf. Old English *iernan* ‘run’, Old High German *rinnan* ‘flow, run’ [< Proto-Germ. **renna-* ‘run’] ~ Old English *ærnan* ‘run’ (intr.), ‘arrange running’ (tr.), Old High German *rennen* ‘run together, run around’ (intr.), ‘coagulate’ (tr.) [< Proto-Germ. **rannija-* ‘make run’] as opposed to the Gothic pair *rinnan* ‘run’, also

ur-rinnan ‘rise’ ~ *ur-ranjan* ‘make rise (of the sun)’, where the *-jan-*causative cannot yet be employed intransitively; see García García 2005: 49f., 80f.)

- ◆ some mechanisms of the rise of the labile patterning in Greek (Lavidas, forthc.):

‘causative extension’ = the rise of the causative-transitive usages of the originally intransitive verbs; cf. *leukaino*: ‘whiten; make white’: intransitive active and intransitive non-active in Classical Greek → intransitive non-active and labile active in Hellenistic-Roman; *pleo*: ‘float, sail; make sail’: intransitive active in Homeric Greek → labile active in Classical Greek.

- ◆ some mechanisms of the rise of the labile patterning in East Lezgian (Ganenkov, forthc.):

a transitive verb denoting deformation starts to express spontaneous deformation not instigated by an agent, cf. Tabasaran *at’ub* ‘hit, strike’ (tr.) ~ Lezgian *at’un* ‘cut, be cut’.

Which verbal classes participate in labile patterning? Which verb classes show labile patterning earlier/later? How do closely related languages (L₁, L₂, ... etc.) differ as far as the system of verbal classes involved into labile patterning is concerned?

- 4R.** Which language(s) is/are closer to the original system reconstructed for the proto-language (L₀)?

- ◆ differences between classes of labile verbs in Germanic languages (see Abraham 1997)
- ◆ the (semantic) classes of labile verbs in the history of English (see Kitazume 1996)

Possible scenarios of the decay of the labile type.

- ◆ early Vedic → middle Vedic (the loss of labile perfects in Vedic by the end of the early Vedic period); see Kulikov 2003

- 5.** Which combinations of valency-changing categories are possible? (e.g.: Are passives of causatives possible/attested? Are reflexives of causatives possible/attested? Are passives of reciprocals possible/attested?)

- 5D.** Is the emergence of such combined categories documented within the historical period?

- ◆ from early to middle Vedic: passives of causatives
In early Vedic, **-yá-passives** are only derived from simple transitives; middle Vedic texts (late mantras) attest first examples of **-yá-passives** derived from causatives:

ā-pyāyyāmāna- ‘being made swell’ (*pyā* ‘swell’) VS+, *pra-vartyāmāna-* ‘being rolled forward’ (*vṛt* ‘turn’) MS^m, *sādyāte* ‘is (being) seated, set’ (*sad* ‘sit’) YV^m+; other formations of this type are attested from Vedic prose onwards and become more common in the Brāhmaṇas (Kulikov 2006)

6. Double categories (double causatives, passives, etc.)

6.1. Are double Xs possible? (X = causative, passive, reflexive, etc.)
How are they employed / what is their meaning?

6.1D. How do double Xs arise? How does their usage change in the history?

- ◆ the emergence of double causatives in Middle Indo-Aryan from hypercharacterized Old Indo-Aryan *-(ā)paya-* causatives

6.2. Pseudo-double, or sesqui-, categories: two morphemes = one meaning

- ◆ pseudo-double causatives (‘sesqui-causatives’) in Turkic
cf. Turkish *kon-* ‘settle’ - *kon-dur-* / *kon-dur-t-* ‘make settle’;
Azerbaijani *iç-* ‘drink’ - (*iç-ir-*) / *iç-ir-t-* ‘give to drink’;
Karaim *ak-* ‘flow’ - *aγ-iž-* / *aγ-iž-dir-* ‘cause to flow’.

Double causatives may often oust (more archaic / unproductive) simple causatives (see Kulikov 1993: 126-127; 1999a: 55-56)

- ◆ the rise of ‘sesqui-causatives’ in Hittite (the types *harnink^{-mi}* and redupl. *ašēš^{-bhi}*); see Daves, forthc.
- ◆ double passives in Balkar (Turkic) can render volitional (deliberate) activity, as opposed to accidental events (expressed by simple passives): *bil-in-il-gen-di* ‘[the truth] was discovered [as a result of somebody’s inquiry]’ ~ *bil-in-Nen-di* ‘[the truth] was discovered [accidentally]’ (Lyutikova & Bonch-Osmolovskaya 2006)

7. Paradigmatic features of morphological Xs

7.1. Do Xs form complete paradigms?

7.1D. How do the paradigmatic features of X change within the documented history?

- ◆ Vedic present passives with the suffix *-yá-*: from early to middle Vedic (Kulikov 2001b; 2006)

Early Vedic passives: almost exclusively 3sg., 3pl. and participles. Cf. the inventory of the present passive forms attested in the Rgveda: next to present forms proper, participles and rare imperatives, only exceptional attestations of other tense-moods are found (one occurrence of imperfect, one occurrence of injunctive, one occurrence of subjunctive, and no attestations of optative). The complete paradigm develops within the middle Vedic period.

7.2. Which non-finite formations are possible for Xs (converbs, infinitives, participles, nominalizations)?

7.2D. Which non-finite formations based on Xs emerge within the documented history?

- ◆ Old Indo-Aryan: causatives of converbs only appear from late Sanskrit onwards.
- ◆ Slavic: reflexive verbs (with the suffix / clitic *se*, *-sja* etc.) typically do not form nominalizations, but Polish has developed *się*-nominalizations.

8. Does the marker of X combine with non-verbal bases? (nouns, adjectives, etc.)

8D. How do such derivatives emerge?

- ◆ Vedic: the reciprocal marker (RM) *anyonyam* (lit. ‘another-another’) is completely grammaticalized as a pronoun within the middle Vedic period, but it is applied to nouns (as a first member of compounds = reciprocal prefix) only from the post-Vedic period onwards (see *sub* 9.1.D)

9. Syntax: the main features of X constructions.

- 9.1.**
- syntax of passive constructions (Can the passive agent be expressed? How is it encoded? Which objects can be promoted to the passive subject? ...)
 - syntax of causative constructions (Can the causee [= object of causation] be expressed? How is it encoded? How the initial object(s) is/are encoded? ...)
 - syntax of reflexive constructions (Agreement of the reflexive pronoun with its antecedent; etc.)
 - syntax of reciprocal constructions (Agreement of the reciprocal pronoun with the antecedent; How are the participants of the reciprocal situation encoded? E.g.: Nom. + Nom.; Nom. + Comit.)

9.1D How do these syntactic features change in the history?

Syntax of passives:

◆ Turkish passives: agentless passive → passive with overtly expressed agent nouns, cf. mod. Turkish passive agent with the postposition *tarafından* (probably introduced under the influence of European languages)

◆ encoding of the passive agent in (South) Slavic:

Old Slovene, Old Serbo-Croatian: Instrumental case → modern Slovene, Serbo-Croatian: prepositional phrase with the ablative preposition *od* (probably due to case syncretisms, esp. in the plural; see Gvozdanović 1996)

◆ encoding of the passive agent in (Old) Russian:

The instrumental case-marking of the passive agent has probably been borrowed by the Old Russian literary language from Old Church Slavonic and co-existed in Old Russian with the two other types of encoding of the passive agent (*отъ* + Genitive and *у* + Genitive), later ousting them entirely; see Janke 1960: 63ff.)

◆ Polish impersonal passive constructions: disappearance of the overtly expressed passive agent (which could be used in Old Polish) (see Wiemer, forthc.)

Syntax of causatives:

◆ encoding of the pronominal causee (3sg.) in Spanish:

Old Spanish: Dat. (*le/les*) → modern Spanish: Acc. (*lo/la/los/las*) (Davies 1995)

◆ the encoding of the causee in Old Korean and Early Middle Korean (most often in the accusative) is not semantically motivated, and the rise of the semantic motivation of the encoding of the cause (dative/accusative) in Contemporary Korean ()

Syntax of reciprocal constructions:

◆ early Vedic → middle Vedic → late (post-Vedic) Sanskrit: changes in constructions with the reciprocal pronoun (RP) *anyá-* ... *anyá-* / *anyonyá-* ‘other-other’ (see Kulikov 2007)

• *Stage I* (early Vedic):

RM1:NOM S:GEN.non-SG RM2:ACC V:SG

The two components (RM1, RM2) of the (future) reciprocal pronoun *anyá-* *anyá-* behave as autonomous lexical units (separable by other word(s), with independent accents), agreeing in number and gender with the antecedent noun; the verbal form can agree in number with the first (singular) constituent of the reciprocal phrase and thus normally is singular.

• *Stage II* (end of the early Vedic period):

S:NOM.non-SG RM1:NOM.SG/PL.M/F-RM2:ACC.SG/PL.M/F V:non-SG

The components of the RP are still rather autonomous, but the verbal form agrees with the whole reciprocal complex (denoting the set of participants which are in reciprocal relations to each other) and thus is non-singular.

- *Stage III* (middle - late Vedic):
S:NOM.non-SG RM1:NOM.SG.M/(F)-RM2:ACC.SG.M/F V:non-SG

The components of the RP cannot be separated; the singular form is generalized; RP does not always agree with the antecedent noun in gender (masculine/neuter/feminine).

IIIa (Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa): both parts of the RP agree in gender with the antecedent noun (*anya*-[M/N/F] *anya*-[M/N/F])

IIIb (most other middle and late Vedic texts): only the second part of the RP agrees in gender with the antecedent noun (*anyó*-(M) *anyá*-[M/N/F])

- *Stage IV* (late Vedic - post-Vedic Sanskrit):
S:NOM.PL RM1:NOM.SG.M-RM2:ACC.SG.M

anyonya- is fossilized as a single lexical unit and does not agree with the antecedent noun; it can also appear as the first member of a compound (cf. *anyonya-sakta*- ‘connected with each other’)

9.2. Which types of constructions (resp. syntactic types of verbs) can serve as base constructions (base verbs) for X? i.e. which types of constructions/verbs can be passivized, causativized, reciprocalized, etc.?

9.2D. How does the scope of application of the X derivation change in the history?

- ◆ scope of application of causatives and passives in early/middle Vedic:

In early Vedic, **-āya-causatives** are only made from intransitives, as well as a few verbs of perception and consumption (*drś* ‘see’, *vid* ‘know’, *pā* ‘drink’), which can be constructed either with the accusative or with some other oblique cases (locative, genitive, etc.) – ‘intransitive/transitives’, in Jamison’s (1983) terminology (see also Nedjalkov/Sil’nickij 1969/1973 for typological generalizations). Causatives of transitives first appear in middle Vedic (Brāhmaṇas): *kr* ‘make’ – *kāráyati* ‘cause to make’, *vac* ‘speak’ – *vācáyati* ‘make speak’, *hr* ‘take, carry’ – *hāráyati* ‘make take, make carry’ (see Thieme 1929; Jamison 1983: 186f.; Hock 1981: 15ff.).

In early Vedic, **-yá-passives** are only derived from simple transitives; middle Vedic texts attest first examples of *-yá*-passives made from derived transitives, viz. causatives (see **sub 5D**). Both developments are chronologically parallel (see Kulikov 2006)

References

- Abraham, W. 1997. Kausativierung und Dekausativierung: Zu Fragen der verbparadigmatischen Markierung in der Germania. In: Th. Birkmann et al. (eds), *Vergleichende germanische Philologie und Skandinavistik: Festschrift für Otmar Werner*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 13-28.
- Bubenik, V. 1993. Passives and ergatives in Middle Indo-Aryan. In: H. Andersen (ed.), *Historical linguistics 1993*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 49-57.
- Bubenik, V. 1998. *A historical syntax of late middle Indo-Aryan (Apabhraṃśa)*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Butt, M. 2001. A reexamination of the Accusative to Ergative shift in Indo-Aryan. In: M. Butt & T.H. King (eds), *Time over matter*. Stanford: CSLI, 63-99.
- Cennamo, M. 1998. The loss of the voice dimension between late Latin and early Romance. In: M. Schmid et al. (eds), *Historical Linguistics 1997*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 77-100.
- Daes, forthc. Expressing causativity in Hittite: A diachronic approach. In: Kittilä & Kulikov (eds).
- Davies, M.E. 1995. The evolution of the Spanish causative construction. *Hispanic Review* 63/1: 57-77.
- Flobert, P. 1975. *Les verbes déponents latins des origines à Charlemagne*. Paris: Les belles lettres.
- Ganenkov, D. forthc. Lability over time: comparative evidence from East Lezgif. In: Kittilä & Kulikov (eds).
- García García, L. 2005. *Germanische Kausativbildung: Die deverbalen jan-Verben im Gotischen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. (*Historische Sprachforschung*. Erg.-heft; 45)
- Gołab, Z. 1968. The grammar of Slavic causatives. In: H. Kučera (ed.), *American Contributions to the 6th International Congress of Slavists*. Vol. I: *Linguistic Contributions*. The Hague: Mouton, 71-95.
- Geniušienė, E. 1987. *The typology of reflexives*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gildea, S. 1998. *On Reconstructing Grammar: Comparative Cariban Morphosyntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gonda, J. 1979. *The medium in the Rgveda*. Leiden: Brill.
- Gvozdanovič, J. 1996. Tracing the origin of a change. In: J. Gvozdanovič (ed.), *Language change and functional explanations*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 71-88.
- Gzella, H. forthc. Voice in Classical Hebrew against its Semitic Background. In: Kittilä & Kulikov (eds).
- Haugen, E. 1982. *Scandinavian language structures: a comparative historical survey*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Heidinger, S. forthc. Anticausatives in French and other Romance languages: a diachronic perspective. In: Kittilä & Kulikov (eds).
- Heine, B. & Kuteva, T. 2002. *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge

- University Press.
- Hermodsson, L. 1952. *Reflexive und intransitive Verba im älteren Westgermanischen*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells.
- Hock, H.H. 1981. Sanskrit causative syntax: a diachronic study. *Studies in linguistic sciences* 11: 9-33.
- Holm, G. 1952. *Om s-passivum i svenskan*. Lund: Gleerup.
- Jamison, S. W. 1983. *Function and form in the -āya-formations of the Rig Veda and Atharva Veda*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. ([Kuhns] *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen*; Ergänzungsheft 31).
- Janke, G. 1960. *Der Ausdruck des Passivs im Altrussischen*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. (*Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Slawistik*; 22).
- Jankuhn, H. 1969. *Die passive Bedeutung medialer Formen untersucht an der Sprache Homers*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Juldašev, A.A. 1980. Istoričeskoe razvitie vzaimnogo zaloga tjurkskogo glagola. *Sovetskaja Tjurkologija* 4: 7-21.
- Kemmer, S. 1993. *The middle voice*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. (*Typological Studies in Language* 23).
- Kitazume, S. 1996. Middles in English. *Word* 47/2: 161-83.
- Kittilä, S. & Kulikov, L. (eds). Forthcoming. *Diachronic typology of voice and valency-changing categories*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Kulikov, L.I. 1993. The “second causative”: A typological sketch. In: B. Comrie & M. Polinsky (eds), *Causatives and transitivity*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 121-154.
- . 1999a. Remarks on double causatives in Tuvan and other Turkic languages. *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 88: 49-58.
- . 1999b. Split causativity: remarks on correlations between transitivity, aspect, and tense. In: W. Abraham & L. Kulikov (eds), *Tense-aspect, transitivity and causativity. Essays in honour of Vladimir Nedjalkov*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 21-42.
- . 2001a. Causatives. In: M. Haspelmath et al. (eds), *Language typology and language universals. An international handbook*. Vol. 2. Berlin etc.: de Gruyter, 886-898.
- . 2001b. *The Vedic -ya-presents*. PhD diss. Leiden University.
- . 2002. Tipologičeskie zametki o morfoložičeskom reciproke v vedijskom sanskrite [Typological remarks on the reciprocal verbs in Vedic Sanskrit]. In: V.A. Plungian & A.Ju. Urmančieva (eds), *Jazyki mira. Tipologija. Uralistika. Pamjati T. Ždanovoj. Stat'i i vospominanija*. Moscow: Indrik, 276-299.
- . 2003. The labile syntactic type in a diachronic perspective: The case of Vedic. *SKY Journal of Linguistics* 16: 93-112.
- . 2006. Passive and middle in Indo-European: Reconstructing the early Vedic passive paradigm. In: W. Abraham & L. Leisiö (eds), *Passivization and typology: form and function (Typological Studies in Language 68)*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 62-81.
- . 2007. Grammaticalization of a reciprocal pronoun in a diachronic typological perspective: Evidence from Vedic and Indo-European. In: J. Härmä et al. (eds), *Actes du*

- XXIX^{ème} Colloque International de Linguistique Fonctionnelle, Helsinki 2005. Helsinki: Département des langues romanes de l'Université de Helsinki, 119-124.
- Kulikov, L.I. & Nedjalkov, V.P. 1989. Questionnaire zur Kausativierung. *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* 45/2: 137-149.
- Lavidas, N. forthc. The diachrony of labile verbs: evidence from the history of English and Greek. In: Kittilä & Kulikov (eds).
- Leumann, M.; Hofmann, J.B.; and Szantyr, A. 1977. *Lateinische Grammatik. Bd. 1. Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*. München: Beck [Neuausgabe der 1926-1928 erschienenen 5. Aufl. der Lateinischen Grammatik von J. B. Hofmann and A. Szantyr].
- Li, F. 1991. An examination of causative morphology from a cross-linguistic and diachronic perspective. In: L.M. Dobrin et al. (eds), *Papers from the 27th regional meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*. Pt. 1: The General Session. Chicago: CLS, 344-359.
- Lubotsky, A.M. 1994. RV *ávidhat*. In: G. Dunkel et al. (eds), *Früh-, Mittel-, Spätindogermanisch. Akten der IX. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 201-206.
- Lyutikova, E. & Bonch-Osmolovskaya, A. 2006. A very active passive: functional similarities between passive and causative in Balkar. In: L. Kulikov, A. Malchukov & P. de Swart (eds), *Case, valency and transitivity*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 393-416.
- Nedjalkov, V.P. (ed.) 1988. *The typology of resultative constructions*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. (TSL 12).
- . 2000. Tipologija sredstv vyraženiya reciprokal'nogo značeniya. In: L. Kuz'min (ed.), *Jazyk. Glagol. Predloženie. K 70-letiju G.G. Sil'nickogo*. Smolensk, 14-37.
- . (ed.) 2007. *Reciprocal constructions*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. (*Typological Studies in Language* 71).
- Nedjalkov, V.P. & Sil'nickij, G.G. 1969. Tipologija morfoložičeskogo i i leksičeskogo kauzativov. In: A.A. Xolodovič (ed.), *Tipologija kauzativnyx konstrukcij: Morfoložičeskij kauzativ*. Leningrad: Nauka, 20-50. (Engl. transl. in: F. Kiefer (ed.), 1973. *Trends in Soviet theoretical linguistics*. Dordrecht: Reidel, 1-32).
- Nedjalkov, I.V. 1991. Recessive-accessive polysemy of verbal affixes. *Languages of the world* 1: 4-31.
- Neu, E. 1968a. *Das hethitische Mediopassiv und seine indogermanischen Grundlagen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Neu, E. 1968b. *Interpretation der hethitischen mediopassiven Verbalformen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Peterson, J.M. 1998. *Grammatical relations in Pāli and the emergence of ergativity in Indo-Aryan*. München: LINCOM.
- Reintges, Ch. forthc. The diachronic typology of the Ancient Egyptian passive. In: Kittilä & Kulikov (eds).
- Song, J.J. 1990. On the rise of causative affixes: a universal-typological perspective. *Lingua* 82: 151-200.
- . 1996. *Causatives and causation: A universal typological perspective*. London etc.:

- Longman.
- Song, J.J. & Kwon, J.-I. forthc. Causative derivation in Old Korean and Early Middle Korean: Korean voices embodied in Chinese-medium texts. In: Kittilä & Kulikov (eds).
- Thieme, P. 1929. *Das Plusquamperfektum im Veda*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Visser, F.Th. 1970. *An historical syntax of the English language*. Part I. *Syntactical units with one verb*. Leiden: Brill.
- Wiemer, B. forthc. On the rise, establishment and continued development of subject impersonals in Polish, East Slavic and Baltic. In: Kittilä & Kulikov (eds).
- Xrakovskij, V.S. 1996. Anketa dlja opisanija uslovnyx konstrukcij [A questionnaire for a description of conditional constructions]. *Voprosy jazykoznanija* 6: 49-71.
- . (ed.) 2001. *Typology of imperative constructions*. München: LINCOM Europa.
- . (ed.) 2005. *Typology of conditional constructions*. München: LINCOM Europa.
- Zúñiga, F. forthc. An exploration of the diachrony of Mapudungun valency-changing operations. In: Kittilä & Kulikov (eds).