

Zum Passiv reflexiver Verben und den Theorien der Reflexivierung

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Reflexive verbs typically do not passivize. However, German (1) and Icelandic (2) allow Passives of Reflexive verbs (PoRs). (1-2) are impersonal passives lacking a nominative DP. Other languages do not form PoRs although they have impersonal passives (e.g. Dutch, Norwegian).

(1) weil hier sich täglich gewaschen wird
because here REFL.ACC daily washed is

(2) Það var baðað sig á laugardögum
expl. was bathed REFL.ACC on saturdays

Icelandic PoRs are discussed in the context of the ‘new passive’ (Maling&Siggurjónsdóttir 2003). But the Icelandic PoR is not a genuine ‘new passive’ as it is accepted by many speakers who reject the latter (Eythórsson 2008). For German PoRs, see e.g. Plank (1993) (see also Geniušienė (1987) on Lithuanian).

The following generalization emerges for both languages: PoRs are possible only with *inherent reflexive* (3a) and *naturally reflexive* verbs (3b); PoRs of *naturally disjoint* verbs (3c) are typically rejected.

- (3) a. Hans wundert sich/*Maria
John wonders REFL/Mary
b. Hans wäscht sich/Maria
John washes REFL.ACC/Mary
c. Hans tötet/liebt/bewundert Maria/sich
John kills/loves/admires Mary/REFL

PoRs raise questions which are problematic for all current theories of reflexivity:

Q1: How can the reflexive pronoun get **accusative case**?

Q2: What is the **antecedent** of the reflexive in PoRs?

Q3: Why are PoRs acceptable only with **inherent** or **naturally reflexive** verbs?

Q4: Why don't **other languages** with SE-anaphor allow PoRs?

One could suggest that PoRs are hidden transitives (Maling&Siggurjónsdóttir 2003) or that the implicit argument of passives antecedes the reflexive. Both hypotheses cannot answer Q3, the second cannot answer Q4.

An unaccusative analysis of reflexive verbs (e.g. McGinnis 1998) is untenable for German and Icelandic.

Reinhard&Siloni (2005) derive all types of reflexive verbs by a Reflexivization process bundling the internal with the external θ -role. Their theory cannot account for Q3 and Q4 (and for Q1).

Doron&Rappaport Hovav (2007) assume that only inherent and naturally reflexive verbs are derived by lexical Reflexivization; other reflexive verbs involve syntactic anaphoric binding. While Q1 and Q4 remain open, their theory might answer Q2 and Q3: PoRs involve a marker of Reflexivization, not an anaphor subject to Principle A.

However, the domain of inherent/natural reflexivity exceeds the verbal co-argument domain, as for example shown by (4a,b) involving possessive reflexives. Only (4a) is acceptable, arguably because only (4a) involves a naturally reflexive relation. But an NP-possessor cannot enter a lexical process with a verb.

- (4) a. Það var haldið með sínu liði
it was held with SELF's team
'People supported their own team'
b. *Það var oft kaffært sinn bróður í sundlauginni
it was often dunked SELF's brother in the.pool

My analysis of PoRs seeks to answer Q1-Q4. All SE-reflexive verbs involve an anaphor; inherent/natural reflexivity is a post-syntactic/conceptual phenomenon. Formally, PoRs build on a process already necessary for ordinary impersonal passives: PoRs are licensed in a language if this makes **Default Agreement** available not only for unvalued T but also for unbound SE-anaphors with unvalued ϕ -features. To interpret the unbound anaphor, conceptual backup (inherent/natural reflexivity) is essential. ACC is derived at PF.

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