

**Title:** Grammaticalization in the Functional Domain: Evidence from Polish  
**Author:** James E. Lavine, Bucknell University

The standard view of grammaticalization holds that the process “turns lexemes into grammatical formatives” (Kuryłowicz 1975); it creates purely grammatical material out of formerly autonomous words (Meillet 1912). This paper explores the idea that grammaticalization also involves reanalysis of purely functional material, i.e., reanalysis from one functional position to another (Roberts and Roussou 2003; Bailyn 1998). This claim is based on a novel account of the rise of the Polish impersonal passivelike construction in (1). Accusative on the object of the impersonal construction initially appeared after (i) the loss of the nominal declension of adjectives and participles in the language, leaving neuter singular /o/ morphologically anomalous; and (ii) the loss of tense-marking auxiliaries precisely in this passive (cf. Old Polish 2–3). It is argued that the complementarity of accusative marking and tense distinctions indicates that the erstwhile neuter singular passive marker /no/to/ now itself came to mark Tense, thereby preventing the appearance of auxiliaries in the same position. On this analysis, the impersonal passive marker moves (over time) from its initial VOICE position to a higher Tense head. This analysis explains the fact that /no/to/, as a Tense marker (akin to an auxiliary), is no longer voice, altering the interpretation of (1) as active and agentive. Further, this analysis predicts no ban on the cooccurrence of etymologically passive /no/to/ with accusative objects; in fact, it predicts just such a cooccurrence.

(1) *Znaleziono niemowlę.*

‘They found:PASS a baby:ACC.’

(2) *Nie obleciesz się w rucho, jeżto z wełny a ze lnu tkano jest.*

‘You will not wear a garment which:NOM/ACC?.NEUT.SG is woven:PASS of both wool and linen.’

(3) *...a popędzono serce ludskie k działaniu.*

‘...for the people’s hearts:ACC [were] driven:PASS to work.’

jlavine@bucknell.edu