Latvian reflexive and non-reflexive verbs and action nouns with *paš-* 'self-'[1]

Latviešu valodas atgriezeniskie un neatgriezeniskie darbības vārdi un darbības lietvārdi ar paš-

Daiki Horiguchi

Kyoto University
606-8501 Kyoto-fu, Kyoto-shi, Sakyo-ku, Yoshida-Honmachi
E-mail: *horiguchi.daiki.6x@kyoto-u.ac.jp*

The author continues to address issues of Latvian reflexive and non-reflexive verbs compounded with *paš-* 'self-' and their action nouns. A mass media database search yielded 210 reflexive verbs and 39 non-reflexive verbs compounded with *paš-*, as well as 290 reflexive and 160 non-reflexive action nouns compounded with *paš-*. The functionality of *paš-*compounded reflexive verbs and nouns is facilitated through the interaction of the reflexive and emphatic semantics delivered by both the reflexive marker and *paš-*. For the non-reflexive verbs and action nouns, it may convey the causative semantics "subject someone/something to the autonomous action named by the verbal base" or the exclusive semantics "by oneself". Although verbal derivation with *paš-* is a peripheral phenomenon in Latvian, reflexive verbs and nouns compounded with *paš-* provide insights into the intersection of verbal and nominal derivations. *Paš-* does not function fully in verbal derivation because of the sparse distribution of compound verbs. Instead, it demonstrates activity in the nominal domain as an action noun. For 53.4 % of the reflexive action nouns and 74.3 % of the non-reflexive action nouns, corresponding reflexive and non-reflexive verbs are not attested in the mass media database, which suggests the backformation of some *paš-*verbs due to the paradigmatic nature of the derivation *verb – action noun*. *Paš-* demonstrates its derivational potential from the nominal domain to the verbal domain, and action nouns with *-šan-* can be regarded as derived via this route.

Keywords: word-formation; compound verb; reflexive verb; action noun.

1. *Paš-* 'self-'

In the current paper, the author continues to describe Latvian reflexive verbs and action nouns compounded with *paš-* 'self-' (Horiguchi 2023), analysing not only the reflexive but also non-reflexive verbs and their corresponding action nouns with *paš-*. *Paš-*,

originally the stem of the emphatic pronoun *pats*, is the first component of compound verbs (Ahero et al. 1959, 372; Soida 2009, 263; Vulāne 2013, 293) or compound words, in general. In contrast to prefixation, suffixation, confixation, and circumfixation, compounding is not widely represented in verbal derivation and, therefore, has fallen outside the scope of much previous research.

Compared to verbs, *paš*-compounded adjectivized participles and nouns are productively derived. In the adjectival derivation, *paš*- is mostly added to passive past participles to indicate 'by oneself', as in *paštaisīts* 'self-made', assigning a genitive meaning to the subject (Ahero et al. 1959, 310). *Paš*- is also added to present active participles (*pašregulējošs* 'self-adjusting') and, to a lesser extent, present passive participles (*pašregulējams* 'self-adjustable'). These examples represent conversion, comprising adjectivization and nominalization. The morphological paradigm of the greater part of compound verbs has been considered defective because it lacks both infinitive and finite forms. Nonetheless, they should be considered products of derivations that do not refer to verbal inflections as such (Vulāne 2002, 66; 2013, 271–272, 292–293).

In the nominal derivation, *paš*- denotes either the subject or subject-object relation through the second component (Ahero et al. 1959, 218–219; Vulāne 2013, 251), such as *pašcieņa* 'self-respect'. An increase in reflexive compound nouns like *self-help* is robustly attested across a variety of languages (König 2011, 122), and Latvian is no exception. It has been often mentioned that *paš*-, as the first component of compound nouns, was initially used under the influence of German and Russian compound nouns with *selbst-/eigen-* and *samo-* (Ahero et al. 1959, 218; Ahero 1967, 15–16; Frīdenberga 2016, 89), though many derivatives may have already been derived according to the Latvian derivational system (Ahero 1967, 19). Nevertheless, it goes without saying that nowadays, one cannot underestimate the influence of English, which has witnessed an increasing use of *self*-prefixed verbs since around 1970 (Mackenzie 2018, 68). For some derivatives, the influence of English can be seen regardless of the word class when the original English word is used in parentheses or in an explicatory way alongside the Latvian translations with *paš*-, or *vice versa*. *Self-fulfilling prophecies* in (1) is a term coined in psychology and sociology.

(1) *[..] var   materializētie-s   arī   visai   spēcīgs*
       can.PRS.3   materialize.INF-REFL   also   quite   powerful.NOM.SG

    pašpiepildošo   pareģojumu
    self-fulfilling.PTCP.GEN.PL   prophecy.GEN.PL

    efekts.
    effect.NOM.SG

    "[..] a quite powerful effect of self-fulfilling prophecies also can materialize."
    (Bibliotēka: Dienas Bizness, original orthography)

A parallel between Latvian action nouns and English forms with *-ing* can be observed, as both forms may function as gerunds and gerundives. In (2), *pašapgaismošanās* 'self-illuminating' seems to be a translation from the original English derivative.

(2)   *[..] plazmas   ekrāns   ievērojams   ar*
     plasma.GEN.SG   screen.NOM.SG   notable.NOM.SG   with

     nevainojamo   attēlu   un   krāsu   atveidi,
     impeccable.NOM.SG   image.GEN.PL   and   color.GEN.PL   rendering.INS.SG

     kas   sasniegta   pateicoties Panasonic   plazmas
     which   achieve.PTCP.NOM.SG   thanks_to   Panasonic   plasma.GEN.SG

     pašapgaismošanā-s   tehnoloģijām.
     self-illuminating.GEN.SG-REFL   technology.DAT.PL

     "[..] the plasma screen is notable with its impeccable image and color rendering, which is achieved thanks to Panasonic's plasma self-illuminating technology." (Bibliotēka: Baltic News Service)

Since *paš*-compounded verbs are peripheral products of Latvian verbal derivation (Horiguchi 2023, 50), in this study, empirical data were acquired from a Latvian mass media database (www.news.lv) to ensure maximal coverage, including hapaxes, were embraced. This database was chosen due to its substantial volume: as of the end of November 2023, it contained approximately 7.32 million texts, compared to the Balanced Corpus of Modern Latvian (LVK2022), which comprises 362 093 texts. All the examples are taken from mass media texts published between 1998 and 2022. The Balanced Corpus of Modern Latvian (LVK2018), utilized in the research project "Database of Latvian Morphemes and Derivational Models", also provided certain quantitative data.

2.   *Paš*-compounded verbs

In the mass media database, 210 reflexive verbs and 39 non-reflexive verbs compounded with *paš*- and used as verbs (infinitive, finite, and participle forms, except adjectivized ones) are attested. There was a significant difference in the number of uses between groups. While verbs like *pašnoteikties* 'self-determine' and *pašorganizēties* 'self-organize' are used relatively frequently (the infinitive forms were found in 104 and 285 texts respectively), some verbs appear only in several texts or even only in a single text.

2.1.   *Paš*-compounded reflexive verbs

Paš- in connection with reflexive verbs, conveying an emphatic meaning, in most cases, refers to the co-reference of the agent and patient. (3) and (4) have a similar context, in which the assumed agent does not have to be engaged in the process denoted by the compound verbs and carried out, in fact, by the real agent. The passivized actions in (5) and (6) are regarded as actions executed by the agent itself at the same time.

(3)   *Sabiedrība   paš-attīstā-s,   valstij   nav*
     society.NOM.SG   self-develop.PRS.3-REFL   state.DAT.SG   AUX.PRS.NEG.3

     jājauca-s.
     DEB.interfere-REFL

     "Society develops itself; the state does not need to interfere." (Bibliotēka: Latvijas Avīze)

(4) *[..] veselīga,*   *jo*   *kraupja*   *imūna,*
      healthy.NOM.SG   because   apple_scab.GEN.SG   immune.NOM.SG

      nav   *jāretina,* *jo*   *augļi*   *paš-retinā-s.*
      AUX.PRS.NEG.3 DEB.thin because fruit.NOM.PL self-thin.PRS.3-REFL

      "[..] It (the apple cultivar) is healthy because it is immune to apple scab; one does not have to thin it out because the fruit self-thins." (Bibliotēka: Latvijas Avīze)

(5) *Jā,*   *šie*   *cilvēki*   *ir*   *diskreditēti*   *un*
      yes   those   man.NOM.PL   AUX.PRS.3   discredit.PTCP.NOM.PL   and

      paš-diskreditējušie-s,   *marginalizēti*   *un*
      self-discredit.PTCP.NOM.PL-REFL   marginalize.PTCP.NOM.PL   and

      paš-marginalizējušie-s [..].
      marginalize.PTCP.NOM.PL-REFL

      "Yes, those people are discredited and self-discredited, marginalized and self-marginalized [..]" (Bibliotēka: Neatkarīgā Rīta Avīze Latvijai)

(6) *[..] gan*   *sievietes,*   *gan*   *vīrieši*   *tiek*
      and   woman.NOM.PL   and   man.NOM.PL   get.AUX.PRS.3

      diskriminēti   *(paš-diskriminēja-s)*   *attiecībā*
      discriminate.PTCP.NOM.PL   self-discriminate.PRS.3-REFL   relation.LOC.SG

      uz   *profesiju*   *izvēli [..].*
      to   profession.GEN.PL   choice.ACC.SG

      "[..] both women and men are discriminated against (self-discriminated) in terms of their choice of profession [..]." (Bibliotēka: Baltic News Service)

The sparse distribution of *paš-*compounded reflexive verbs may be related not only to constraints of Latvian verbal compounding but also to the fact that the semantics of *paš-*prefixed reflexive verbs can be paraphrased with other reflexive and emphatic markers (Horiguchi 2023, 46–47):

    (a) Emphatic pronoun *pats* + reflexive verb;
    (b) Non-reflexive verb + cluster of emphatic and reflexive pronouns *pats sevi* (NOM ACC) or *pašu sevi* (ACC ACC);
    (c) *Paš-*non-reflexive verb + reflexive pronoun *sevi* (ACC).

In (a), the sense of the agent's autonomy is expressed by an emphatic pronoun in connection with the reflexive verb. This reinforces reflexive meaning and draws attention to the fact that the action is oriented toward the subject's sphere. The use of such emphatic pronouns when expressing reflexivity is not imperative (Kalnača, Lokmane 2021, 214). The pronoun clusters mentioned in (b) are called "super-heavy reflexive markers" (Kalnača, Lokmane 2016, 234–255). However, expressing emphatic semantics is not grammatically motivated but rather communicatively. Finally, (c) is analysed in detail in Subsection 2.2.

In terms of the direction of derivation, the verb's reflexivization usually precedes the addition of *paš-*. While some reflexive verbs attested in this study are full-fledged lexical items registered in lexicographical sources before compounding with *paš-*, other reflexive verbs are not coined frequently without *paš-*, either in their infinitive

or finite forms. For example, *pašiznīcināties* 'self-destroy oneself' and *pašslavināties* 'self-praise oneself' are among the most frequently used *paš*-compounded reflexive verbs. The corresponding reflexive verbs without *paš*- importantly yield to those compounded with *paš*- in terms of the frequency of several forms:

(a) infinitive and present second person plural;
(b) past third person;
(c) future third person;
(d) indeclinable participle and oblique mood form.

	iznīcināties	*pašiznīcināties*	*slavināties*	*pašslavināties*
(a)	*iznīcināties* (8)	*pašiznīcināties* (72)	*slavināties* (2)	*pašslavināties* (22)
(b)	*iznīcinājās* (0)	*pašiznīcinājās* (22)	*slavinājās* (1)	*pašslavinājās* (4)
(c)	*iznīcināsies* (1)	*pašiznīcināsies* (10)	*slavināsies* (0)	*pašslavināsies* (0)
(d)	*iznīcinoties* (0)	*pašiznīcinoties* (7)	*slavinoties* (0)	*pašslavinoties* (4)

Table 1. Comparison of the reflexive verbs without and with *paš*-

Here, the present third-person form of reflexive verbs with and without *paš*- was not considered since this form is identical to the future third-person form of non-reflexive verbs. A quick look at the examples allows us to state that the vast majority of the examples are the latter. For instance, the form *iznīcinās* is identified as the future third-person form of the non-reflexive verb *iznīcināt* 'destroy' but not as the present third-person form of the reflexive verb *iznīcināties*. It is noteworthy that in most cases, reflexive verbs without *paš*- serve to convey not the reflexive *per se* but reciprocal semantics, especially in connection with the adverb *savstarpēji* 'mutually' (*savstarpēji iznīcināties* 'mutually destroy each other'). This suggests that the reflexive marker may not be a sufficient indicator of reflexive semantics and the emphatic semantics of *paš*- compensates to fulfil it. Although *paš*- is not classified as a prefix, it may be assumed that *paš*- and the reflexive marker are added to the underlying verbs simultaneously, making this process similar to circumfixation.

Attested reflexive verbs with *paš*- are either subject (auto-causative verbs) or object reflexive verbs (decausative verbs). The semantics of *paš*- orients the subject and increases the agent's volition and personification, thus allowing most reflexive verbs with *paš*- to be interpreted as subject reflexive verbs (Horiguchi 2023, 45–46). Without *paš*-, reflexive verbs can be interpreted as the middle voice, although this is not characteristic of standard Latvian (Kalnača 2013, 515).

2.2. *Paš*-compounded non-reflexive verbs

Compared to *paš*-compounded reflexive verbs, non-reflexive verbs with *paš*- are encountered less frequently. In the attested examples, they are often used with the reflexive pronoun *sevi* as object, as in (7); thus, co-reference of the subject and object is observed.

(7) *Inga   ir   mērķtiecīga   un   lielā   mērā*
Inga.NOM.SG   COP.PRS.3   determined.NOM.SG   and   big.LOC.SG   extent.LOC.SG

paš-disciplinē   sevi.
self-discipline.PRS.3   oneself.ACC

"Inga is determined and self-disciplined to a large extent." (Bibliotēka: Neatkarīgā Rīta Avīze Latvijai)

When the other nominals take the object's position, *paš-* clearly conveys exclusive semantics 'by itself, on its own, independently'. In (8), the screen automatically regulates its brightness. In (9), the subject is unspecified and generalized, but a plausible interpretation is that those who are engaged in culture are meant to finance their activities by themselves.

(8) *Ekrāns   paš-regulē   spilgtumu.*
screen.NOM.SG   self-adjust.PRS.3   brightness.ACC.SG

"The screen self-adjusts the brightness." (Bibliotēka: Diena)

(9) *Taču   problēma   ir   stabils   līdzfinansējums,*
but   problem.NOM.SG   COP.PRS.3   stable.NOM.SG   co-finansing.NOM.SG

jo   kultūru   ir   praktiski   neiespējami
because   culture.ACC.SG   COP.PRS.3   practically   impossible

paš-finansēt [..].
self-finance.INF

"However, stable co-financing is a problem because it is practically impossible to self-finance culture [..]." (Bibliotēka: Neatkarīgā Rīta Avīze Latvijai)

In (10), (11) as well, non-reflexive verbs with *paš-* take other objects without subject-object co-reference. Here the verbs express the causative semantics 'subject someone/something to the autonomous action named by the verbal base'.

(10) *[..] viņš   katru   dienu   degustē   un   pārbauda*
3SG.NOM   every.ACC.SG   day.ACC.SG   taste.PRS.3   and   inspect.PRS.3

mūsu   produkciju,   un   tas   arī
1PL.GEN   set_of_products.ACC.SG   and   that.SG.NOM   also

paš-disciplinē   citus   darbiniekus,   jo   viņi
self-discipline.PRS.3   other.ACC.PL   worker.ACC.PL   because   3PL.NOM

zina   –   nāks   meistars   un   pārbaudīs.
know.PRS.3   come.FUT.3   master.NOM.SG   and   inspect.FUT.3

"[..] he tastes and inspects our products every day, and it also self-disciplines the other employees because they know that the master will come and check." (Bibliotēka: Neatkarīgā Rīta Avīze Latvijai)

(11) *[..] es   trīs   gadus   strādāšu,   veikšu*
1SG.NOM   three   year.ACC.PL   work.FUT.1SG   execute.FUT.1SG

reformas   un   to   struktūru   paš-likvidēšu.
reform.ACC.PL   and   that.ACC.SG   structure.ACC.SG   self-liquidate.FUT.1SG

'[..] I will work for three years, implement reforms, and self-liquidate that structure.' (Bibliotēka: Diena)

Other examples include *pašatlaist 9. Saeimu* 'self-dissolve the ninth *Saeima*', or 'make the nineth *Saeima* dissolve itself' and *pašierobežot cilvēkus* 'self-limit people' or 'make people limit themselves'. The extended context may be needed to interpret the causative semantics in these examples. It should be noted that the causative use of the verbs in (10)–(11) can be considered as occasional compared to other types of verb usage, such as subject-object coreference in (7) and exclusive semantics in (8)–(9).

3. *Paš*-compounded action nouns with *-šan-*

The derivation of action nouns with the help of the suffix *-šan-* is regular and productive: the suffix can be added to the infinitive stem of any verb and derives action nouns denoting the process of action named by the verb (Ahero et al. 1959, 150; Vulāne 2013, 240; Kalnača, Lokmane 2021, 135). Some nouns are lexicalized with additional meanings or the semantics of the action nouns are desemanticized, and thus they do not represent "pure transposition" (Nau 2016, 471). Our database contains 290 reflexive and 160 non-reflexive action nouns.

3.1. *Paš*-compounded reflexive action nouns

Reflexive action nouns contain the suffix *-šan-* and the reflexive marker *-ās*. *Paš*-compounded reflexive action nouns are attested both with and without their co-referential arguments, as illustrated in (12) and (13), respectively.

(12) *Līdz   ar   starptautiskās   autoritātes   izaugsmi*
      along   with   international.GEN.SG   authority.GEN.SG growth.INS.SG

      aug   Indijas   pašcentrēšanā-s.
      grow.PRS.3 India.GEN.SG   self-centering.NOM.SG-REFL

      "Along with its rising international authority, India's self-centeredness grows."
      (Bibliotēka: Diena)

(13) *Ja   ir   normālas   organisma   aizsargspējas,*
      If   be.PRS.3 normal.NOM.PL   organism.GEN.SG defense_ability.NOM.PL

      notiek   paš-izārstēšanā-s.
      occur.PRS.3   self-healing.NOM.SG-REFL

      "If there are normal body defenses, self-healing occurs." (Bibliotēka: Rīgas Balss)

From a prescriptive standpoint, *paš-* is deemed redundant in certain derivatives such as reflexive action noun *pašlikvidēšanās* 'self-liquidating' (Freimane 1993, 364), since emphatic *paš-* already conveys the reflexive semantics carried by the reflexive marker. However, as demonstrated in 2.1., the functionality of *paš*-compounded reflexive verbs and nouns is facilitated through the interaction of the reflexive and emphatic semantics delivered by both the reflexive marker and *paš-*.

3.2. *Paš*-compounded non-reflexive action nouns

As seen in 2.2, *paš*-compounded noun-reflexive action nouns have the reflexive pro-
noun in the genitive case, *sevis*, as its most frequent argument, as in (14). In this case,
it may be paraphrased as *sevis + V-*šana without *paš-*. In (15), the river self-purifies
the wastewater and *paš-* allows the exclusive interpretation 'on its own'.

(14) *Taču   Latvijas   ierēdņi   ir   aizņemti   ar*
      But   Latvia.GEN.SG   official.NOM.PL   AUX.PRS.3   busy.NOM.PL   with

      sevis   pašcildināšanu[..].
      oneself.GEN   self-aggrandizing.INS.SG

      "However, Latvian officials are busy with self-aggrandizement [..]." (Bibliotēka:
      Dienas Bizness)

(15) *[..] ar   šo   notekūdeņu   pašattīrīšanu*
           with   this.ACC.SG   wastewater.GEN.PL   self-purifying.INS.SG

      Lielupe   pašlaik   varētu   tikt galā.
      Lielupe.NOM.SG   now   can.COND   manage.INF

      "[..] Lielupe could now manage the self-purification of this wastewater."
      (Bibliotēka: Zemgales Ziņas)

In general, reflexiveness does not keep its semantics and grammatical properties in
the nominal domain (Kalnača, Lokmane 2010, 56) and the forms of non-reflexive nouns
can be used to compensate for the missing forms of reflexive action nouns (Kalnača
2014, 39–44). (16) and (17) are almost identical sentences from different sources and
show that although the accusative form of the reflexive action noun is not missing,
reflexive and non-reflexive action nouns with *paš-* are mutually replaceable. Compared
to the verbal derivatives with *paš-*, the addition of *paš-* to reflexive and non-reflexive
action nouns neutralizes reflexivity and synonymizes them.

(16) *Autors   norāda,   ka "ar   šāda   veida*
      author.NOM.SG   point_out.PRS.3   that with such.GEN.SG   kind.GEN.SG

      paš-iespaidošanu   patiesībā   cenšamie-s
      self-impressing.INS.SG actually   make_effort.PRS.1PL-REFL

      kompensēt   Igaunijas   tīro   zaudējumu   Latvijai
      compensate.INF   Estonia.GEN.SG   net.ACC.SG   loss.ACC.SG   Latvija.DAT.SG

      tā   sauktajā   reņģu   karā".
      so   called.LOC.SG   herring.GEN.PL   war.LOC.SG

      "The author points out that "with this kind of self-impression, we are, in fact,
      trying to compensate for Estonia's net loss to Latvia in the so-called herring
      war"." (Bibliotēka: Neatkarīgā Rīta Avīze Latvijai)

(17) *Autors   norāda,   ka "ar   šāda   veida*
      author.NOM.SG   point_out.PRS.3   that with such.GEN.SG   kind.GEN.SG

      paš-iespaidošano-s   patiesībā   cenšamie-s
      self-impressing.INS.SG-REFL actually   make_effort.PRS.1PL-REFL

      kompensēt   Igaunijas   tīro   zaudējumu   Latvijai
      compensate.INF   Estonia.GEN.SG   net.ACC.SG   loss.ACC.SG   Latvija.DAT.SG

> *tā   sauktajā   reņģu   karā".*
> so   called.LOC.SG   herring.GEN.PL war.LOC.SG

"With this kind of self-impression, we are, in fact, trying to compensate for Estonia's net loss to Latvia in the so-called herring war." (Bibliotēka: Diena)

A few action nouns, derived from both transitive and intransitive verbs, allow the exclusive meaning:

(18)   *Vasarā   iespējama   augļu   un   ogu*
      summer.LOC.SG   possible.NOM.SG fruit.GEN.PL   and   berry.GEN.PL

> *pašlasīšana   pie   audzētājiem.*
> self-picking.NOM.SG   at   grower.DAT.PL

"In summer, self-picking of fruits and berries at the growers is possible." (Bibliotēka: Liesma)

The exclusive meaning is also exemplified by *pašizvešana* 'self-pickup (of something)', *pašnovērtēšana* 'self-evaluation (of something)', *pašmazgāšana* 'self-washing (of something, for example, a car)' related to transitive verbs *izvest* 'pick up', *novērtēt* 'evaluate', *mazgāt* 'wash', and *pašsabrukšana* 'self-collapsing', *pašsasilšana* 'self-warming' referred to intransitive verbs *sabrukt* 'collapse', *sasilt* 'warm'.

3.3.   Action nouns and other verb-related nouns

Besides action nouns, there are verb-related derivatives both with certain suffixes like *-um-*, *-ien-*, *-īb-* and without them (*apmāns* 'deception', *apgāde* 'supply', *cieņa* 'respect' related with the verbs *apmānīt* 'deceive', *apgādāt* 'supply', *cienīt* 'respect'). Nouns with *paš-* comprise the majority of lexical items registered in dictionaries. Historically, *-šan-* served to derive both process and result nouns, but has been specialized to derive process nouns (Baltiņa 1975, 133–134). Compared with other suffixes, *-šan-* stands out for its regularity and semantic predictability.

Some verb-related nouns with *paš-* function both as process and result nouns and may be synonyms with the action nouns with *paš-*: *pašizklaide* 'self-entertainment' / *pašizklaidēšanās* 'self-entertaining', *pašapliecinājums* 'self-affirmation' / *pašapliecināšanās* 'self-affirming', *pašizglītība* 'self-education' / *pašizglītošanās* 'self-educating', *pašreklāma* 'self-promotion' / *pašreklamēšanās* 'self-promoting'.

4.   Derivational model *verb − action noun*

Our quantitative data from the mass media database demonstrate, firstly, overall prevalence of reflexive derivatives both in the verbal and nominal domains and secondly, prevalence of the nominal domain over the verbal domain. This data is grounded by the data from The Balanced Corpus of Modern Latvian (LVK2018), though absolute number of derivatives identified there is smaller.

	Reflexive	**Non-reflexive**
Verbs with *paš-*	210//20	39//5
Action nouns with *paš-*	290//42	160//30

Table 2. Distribution of reflexive and non-reflexive verbs and action nouns with *paš-* attested in the mass media database and the Balanced Corpus of Modern Latvian (LVK2018)

In both verbal and nominal derivations, *paš-* demonstrates its derivational potential in connection with the reflexive marker. The nominal derivation with *paš-* is more widespread than the verbal derivation. Meanwhile, for 53.4 % of the reflexive action nouns (155 out of 290) and 74.3 % of the non-reflexive action nouns (119 out of 160), corresponding reflexive and non-reflexive verbs were not attested. It is generally assumed that a reflexive verb is derived from a non-reflexive verb, as discussed in Section 2.2, and action nouns are derived from verbs. Thus, the non-occurrence of reflexive verbs with *paš-* for a great number of action nouns with *paš-* calls this assumption into question, leading us to consider this a backformation.

Backformation is generally understood as a process in which a morpheme or pseudomorpheme is deleted or subtracted (Štekauer 2015, 340). Classic examples are English *burglar > burgle*, *baby-sitter > baby-sit*, Russian *zontik* 'umbrella' reanalysed as diminutive > 'dediminutivized' *zont* 'umbrella'. Backformation is relevant not only diachronically, but also synchronically (Bauer 1983, 65; Becker 1993, 4–6), which means that it allows derivation of new lexical units. For example, in English, verbs can be backformed from nouns, especially those with *-ing* and *-tion*: *snowboarding > snowboard*, *ovation > ovate* (Stašková 2013, 37). Although the English verb *self-isolate* is not clearly defined as a backformed word in the literature, it would be recognized as such since it was newly coined during the COVID-19 pandemic, and the speaker is referring to the already existing noun *self-isolation* (Mackenzie 2021, 10–11).

Action nouns with *paš-* would be also examples of backformation, given the generally assumed derivational direction *verb > action noun*. Considering the paradigmatic nature of the derivation of action nouns, we suggest that prototypical *paš-*-derivatives are nouns regardless of the suffix they contain, and the use of *paš-* is extended to action nouns with *-šan-*. On the basis of regularity, action nouns with *paš-* can be derived "anticipatedly" without reference to the verb with *paš-*. In the future, then, existing nouns with *paš-* like *pašinvestīcija* 'self-investment' (though attested only in two texts in our database) could trigger the reflexive action noun *pašinvestēšanās* 'self-investing' and the reflexive verb *pašinvestēties* 'self-invest' (both not currently attested).

As to the gap between reflexive and non-reflexive action nouns 'lacking' corresponding verbs (53.4 % vs. 74.3 %), this might be explained by a relatively small number of *paš-*compounded non-reflexive verbs and a large number of non-reflexive action nouns often functioning as synonyms of their reflexive counterparts.

Conclusions

Although verbal derivation with *paš-* is a peripheral phenomenon in Latvian, reflexive verbs compounded with *paš-* provide insights into the intersection of verbal and nominal derivations. *Paš-* does not function fully in verbal derivation because of the sparse distribution of compound verbs. Instead, it demonstrates activity in the nominal domain as an action noun. *Paš-* demonstrates the possibility of such a process starting from the nominal domain to the verbal domain. Action nouns with *-šan-* can be regarded as derived via this route.

There are a couple of issues for further research.

1. Numerous borrowed verbs and action nouns with *paš-* found in the database correlate most often with nouns with the native suffixes *-um-* and *-īb-* as well as the international suffix *-(āc)ij-*. The semantics and function of deverbal nouns or more globally verb-correlated nouns with and without various suffixes need to be investigated in more detail.

2. Apart from the influence of English as the global language, other social factors may be noted to actualize the role of *paš-* for the derivation of verbs, nouns, and adjectivized participles, indicating a preference for the automatization of many processes thanks to technology and the autonomization of human activities ("Do it yourself", "Do it your way").

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative
AUX	auxiliary
COND	conditional mood
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEB	debitive
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
LOC	locative
LVK	Līdzsvarotais mūsdienu latviešu valodas tekstu korpuss
NEG	negation
NOM	nominative
PL	plural
PRS	present
PST	past
PTCP	participle
REFL	reflexive
SG	singular

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Kopsavilkums

Rakstā turpināts analizēt ar *paš-* saliktos atgriezeniskos un neatgriezeniskos darbības vārdus un darbības lietvārdus. Plašsaziņas līdzekļu datubāzē atrasti 210 atgriezeniskie un 39 neatgriezeniskie darbības vārdi ar *paš-*, kā arī 290 atgriezeniskie un 160 neatgriezeniskie darbības lietvārdi ar *paš-*. Ar *paš-* salikto atgriezenisko darbības vārdu un darbības lietvārdu funkcionēšanu veicina refleksīvās un emfātiskās semantikas mijiedarbība, kas tiek izteikta ar refleksīvo galotni un *paš-*. Ar *paš-* saliktajiem neatgriezeniskajiem darbības vārdiem un darbības lietvārdiem var piemist kauzatīva semantika 'pakļaut kādu/ko pamatverba nosauktai autonomai darbībai' vai ekskluzīva semantika 'patstāvīgi, bez kāda palīdzības'. Kaut gan darināšana ar *paš-* palīdzību ir periferiska parādība verbu darināšanā, ar *paš-* saliktie atgriezeniskie darbības vārdi sniedz ieskatu verbu un nomenu darināšanas krustcelēs. Verbu darināšanā *paš-* nefunkcionē pilnvērtīgi zemas salikto verbu izplatības dēļ. Toties tas demonstrē aktivitāti nomenu, proti, darbības lietvārdu, darināšanā. 53,4 % atgriezenisko un 74,3 % neatgriezenisko darbības lietvārdu netika konstatēti attiecīgie darbības vārdi, kas rosina domāt par dažu verbu reverso derivāciju vārddarināšanas *darbības vārds – darbības lietvārds* paradigmātiskās dabas dēļ. *Paš-* demonstrē vārddarināšanas potenciālu, sākot no nomena darināšanas līdz verba darināšanai, un var uzskatīt, ka darbības lietvārdi tiek darināti tieši šādā veidā.

Atslēgvārdi: vārddarināšana; saliktais verbs; refleksīvais verbs; darbības lietvārds.