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Antipassive

Typology, diachrony, and related constructions

edited by Katarzyna Janic and Alena Witzlack-Makarevich

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Antipassive

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Volume 130

Antipassive. Typology, diachrony, and related constructions
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Typology, diachrony, and related constructions

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Table of contents

CHAPTER 1
The multifaceted nature of the antipassive construction 1
Katarzyna Janic and Alena Witzlack-Makarevich

Part 1. Lexical semantics and event representation of antipassive constructions

CHAPTER 2
Antipassive propensities and alignment 43
Marianne Mithun

CHAPTER 3
Antipassive in the Cariban family 65
Racquel-María Sapién, Natalia Cáceres Arandia, Spike Gildea and Sérgio Meira

CHAPTER 4
Aspect and modality in Pama-Nyungan antipassives 97
Jessica Denniss

CHAPTER 5
Antipassive constructions in Oceanic languages 149
Claire Moyse-Faurie

CHAPTER 6
Antipassive and the lexical meaning of verbs 177
Sergey Say

CHAPTER 7
Unspecified participant: A case of antipassive in Ainu 213
Anna Bugaeva

Part 2. Antipassive marking

CHAPTER 8
Variation in the verbal marking of antipassive constructions **249**
Katarzyna Janic

CHAPTER 9
Antipassive derivation in Soninke (West Mande) **293**
Denis Creissels

CHAPTER 10
Explaining the antipassive-causative syncretism in Mocoví (Guaycuruan) **315**
Cristian Juárez and Albert Alvarez Gonzalez

CHAPTER 11
Polyfunctional *vanka-* in Nivaĉle and the antipassive category **349**
Alejandra Vidal and Doris L. Payne

Part 3. Diachrony of antipassive constructions

CHAPTER 12
The antipassive and its relationship to person markers **385**
Sandra Auderset

CHAPTER 13
Antipassive derivations in Sino-Tibetan/Trans-Himalayan and their sources **427**
Guillaume Jacques

CHAPTER 14
The profile and development of the Maa (Eastern Nilotic) antipassive **447**
Doris L. Payne

Part 4. Fuzzy boundaries

CHAPTER 15
Indirect antipassive in Circassian **483**
Peter Arkadiev and Alexander Letuchiy

CHAPTER 16
Antipassives in Nakh-Daghestanian languages: Exploring the margins of a construction **515**
Bernard Comrie, Diana Forker, Zaira Khalilova and Helma van den Berg

CHAPTER 17
Antipassive and antipassive-like constructions in Mayan languages 549
Raina Heaton

CHAPTER 18
When an antipassive isn't an antipassive anymore:
The Actor Voice construction in Kelabit 579
Charlotte Hemmings

CHAPTER 19
Antipassivization in Basque revisited 621
Fernando Zúñiga and Beatriz Fernández

Index 641

CHAPTER 1

The multifaceted nature of the antipassive construction

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The present chapter opens the volume by proving an overview of the antipassive construction from the typological perspective. After setting the scene by introducing the major theoretical concepts used in this volume, we consider various aspects of the formal and functional variation of the antipassive construction. First, we show how the antipassive construction varies among languages with respect to the realization of the P argument. We then discuss various aspects of the antipassive marker, including its dedicatedness and obligatoriness, as well as its syncretism with other functions. This chapter also zooms in on various functions performed by the antipassive. In addition to semantic, discourse-pragmatic and syntactic functions commonly recognized in the literature, we also address a less typical stylistic function. Another parameter of variation discussed is the productivity of the antipassive. Finally, this chapter addresses the question of various constructions which formally or functionally overlap with antipassive constructions.

Keywords: antipassive construction, P argument, antipassive marker, antipassive functions, productivity

1. Introduction

The present volume[1,2] is a selection of papers presented at the workshop 'The cross-linguistic diversity of antipassives: function, meaning and structure' jointly organized by the editors at the 49th Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica

1. We are grateful to our colleagues: Isabelle Bril, Patric Caudal, Alain Fabre, Iren Hartmann, Rachel Nordlinger, Sonja Riesberg, Marie-Eve Ritz, Françoise Rose, Andrea Sansò, Wolfgang Schulze, Eva Schultze-Berndt, Valentina Vapnarsky, Alexander Vovin, and to many anonymous reviewers for their valuable input on the individual chapters of this volume. We are grateful to Spike Gildea for many useful comments on this chapter. Our heartfelt thanks go to Denis Creissels, who accompanied us in the initial phase of the editorial enterprise.

2. Both authors participated equally in the analysis and typological interpretation of the data in this chapter. The division of the labor is as follows: Katarzyna Janic is responsible for Sections 1, 3,

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Europaea at the University of Naples Federico II (31 August–3 September 2016) in Naples. The aim of the workshop was to enlarge the body of detailed studies of the antipassive construction in languages of the world to gain a better understanding of its cross-linguistic variation, as well as to explore the margins of this phenomenon.

This volume is dedicated to a specific grammatical construction called *antipassive*. Even if the term itself first appeared in 1972 in Silverstein's description of Chinook, where the author compared the similarity displayed by the antipassive construction with passives of accusative languages, the phenomenon itself has been discussed much earlier under a number of other labels (see Kuryłowicz 1946; Jacobson's conference paper of 1969 published in 1985; Dixon 1972: 149–151). The term antipassive was installed for good in the literature in 1976 together with Silverstein's famous publication 'Hierarchy of Features and Ergativity' and was subsequently very quickly taken up and used by many authors working on languages with ergative traits (e.g. in Heath 1976; Bricker 1978; Dixon 1979; Van Valin 1980).

For the purposes of the present volume the antipassive is defined as an intransitive construction meeting the following conditions: (i) the same verb with the same lexical meaning (i.e. implying the same number of participants and the same participant roles) can be also found in a transitive construction; (ii) the agent-like (A) argument in the transitive construction is encoded as the sole argument (S) of the intransitive construction in the corresponding antipassive construction; (iii) the patient-like (P) argument in the transitive construction is either encoded as an oblique or left unexpressed in the corresponding antipassive construction.

The example in (1) illustrates the difference between an active and an antipassive construction: (1a) is an example of a transitive construction with the bivalent verb *kunik* 'kiss'. The agent argument is in the ergative case, the patient argument is in the unmarked absolutive case, and the verb agrees with both arguments. The verb form is in the unmarked active voice. The verb *kunik* 'kiss' with the same lexical meaning is also used in the intransitive construction in (1b). In this case, the agent argument *anguti* 'man' is coded as the sole argument in an intransitive construction (it is in the unmarked absolutive case), whereas the patient argument *arna* 'woman' is in the oblique case. The verb agrees only with the absolutive argument. Furthermore, it has the antipassive suffix *-si*.

(1) Baffin Island (Eskimo-Aleut, Inuktitut; Spreng 2005: 216)
a. *Anguti-up arnaq kunik-taa.*
man-ERG woman kiss-3SG.3SG
'The man kissed the woman.'

---

and 4, Alena Witzlack-Makarevich is responsible for Sections 2 and 5. All the remaining sections were written jointly.

b. *Anguti kunik-si-vuq arna-mik.*
man.ABS kiss-ANTIP-3SG woman-OBL
'The man is kissing a woman.'

In the definition provided above, the antipassive construction is defined via such notions as transitivity and argument roles. We discuss the way these terms are understood here and in other sources in Section 2.

Even though antipassive constructions display some common formal and functional characteristics, they also show a whole range of cross-linguistic and intralinguistic variation. Below we address some parameters of variation. One parameter of variation concerns the realization of the patient argument, as discussed in Section 3. Another formal variation displayed by the antipassive construction concerns an antipassive marker, understood here as a special form associated with a verbal predicate. However, not all antipassive constructions reported in the literature under this label have a morphologically overt antipassive marker. Furthermore, cross-linguistically, antipassive constructions may vary as to whether the antipassive marker is a dedicated one or not, and in case of syncretic markers there are differences among languages as to what other functions are performed by the same marker (or a marker diachronically related to the antipassive marker). Finally, languages differ in terms of the number of attested antipassive markers. Section 4 zooms in on these particular aspects of the antipassive marker.

In addition to the formal cross-linguistic variation, antipassive constructions also vary in terms of the functions they perform. In general, demotion of the patient argument in the antipassive construction leads to the increase of the relative topicality of the agent argument and consequently to the decrease of the relative topicality of the patient argument. As a result, antipassive constructions tend to express habitual, incomplete or non-punctual events rather than referring to specific events, and the patient argument is interpreted as non-referential, indefinite or generic in nature. In other words, the decrease of syntactic transitivity in antipassive constructions goes hand in hand with the decrease of their semantic transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980), the latter reflected by the low degree of individuation or affectedness of the patient argument and by a change of the aspectual properties of the predicate. Thus, in a fashion similar to passive constructions, the use of antipassives can be driven by semantic and/or discourse pragmatic factors. These and related issues are discussed in Section 5.1.

In some languages, the use of an antipassive construction can be viewed as a strategy to bypass various restrictions imposed on a transitive construction, in particular on the realization of the P argument. For instance, some languages e.g. Soninke (Mande), do not allow omission of the P. To get around this constraint, speakers make use of the antipassive, which does allow dropping this argument.

An example of a different kind of constraint on the realization of P comes from Puma (Sino-Tibetan): the first person in the P function is dispreferred for politeness reasons. To bypass this constraint, speakers employ a construction with the antipassive marker *kha-*, if the P argument is first person (Bickel & Gaenszle 2015). See also Fleck (2006: 569) on the similar constraint in Matses (Panoan). Such cultural constrains seems to be typologically rare and we know only of these two examples. Importantly, in languages which display so-called 'deep ergativity' (e.g. Dyirbal, Pama-Nyungan), the use of the antipassive can be syntactically driven. In such languages, the A argument is not accessible to various syntactic operations like coordination, focalization, relativization, etc. The employment of an antipassive in such languages can be thus viewed as a possible strategy to make the A argument accessible to these operations (Section 5.2). Finally, antipassive constructions may serve stylistic purposes (Section 5.3).

The investigation of an antipassive construction also raises an important question of productivity. Languages vary as to the number of verbs which can participate in the antipassive construction. This and related topics are discussed in Section 6.

Finally, some languages have constructions, whose analysis as antipassives is questionable. This refers in particular to constructions lacking an overt antipassive marker on the predicate. They can be approached either as morphologically unmarked antipassives, or as differential object constructions, partitive constructions, object incorporation constructions, object omission constructions, to mention a few. They pose a particular challenge for cross-linguistic investigations because even though they lack an antipassive marker, they often manifest a strong functional overlap with antipassives. In this context, the analytical decision of whether or not such constructions should be subsumed under the umbrella term of antipassive strongly depends on the precise formulation of the adopted definition. We discuss some of the antipassive-like constructions in Section 7, highlighting their formal and functional resemblance with 'standard' antipassives.

2. Some terminological prerequisites

Several related concepts are used throughout the volume to discuss various aspects of the antipassive construction. These are concepts such as valency, transitivity, argument and adjunct, as well as diathesis and grammatical voice. These terms, as well as some differences in the way they are understood, are outlined below.

The term *valency* was originally introduced to refer to the number of arguments (in contrast to adjuncts, see below) a verb or some other lexical items occur with (i.e. "nombre d'actants" as defined by Tesnière 1959: 670). In modern usage,

valency refers more generally to the subcategorization requirements of any lexical item, i.e. to the number and nature of arguments. Fundamentally, the notion of valency is a way of capturing the observation that despite differences in the meanings of individual verbs within a given language, many verbs show similar morpho-syntactic behavior. This similarity is observed in the same number of arguments and/or in coding of their arguments in the same fashion. Thus, we make a distinction between avalent (e.g. English *rain*), monovalent (e.g. *fall*), bivalent (e.g. *kill*), or trivalent (e.g. *give*) predicates. When the specific coding of arguments is considered, terms such as *valency pattern* or *valency frame* are typically used. On the basis of their valency frames, verbs of a language can often be grouped into a limited – though sometimes rather high – number of *valency classes* (cf. Comrie et al. 2015a: 3).

Another major notion used to describe the way arguments of a predicate are used is *transitivity*. As the term has been used to refer to a number of related but essentially different concepts (see e.g. Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019: 3), below we provide a short overview of the usage. In one reading of the term, *semantic transitivity* refers to the type of interaction between the two essential participants in two-participant events (this understanding of transitivity relies heavily on Hopper & Thompson 1980). As a semantic notion, it is gradient rather than categorical: two-participant events are not characterized as either transitive or non-transitive, but rather as more or less transitive. Prototypical transitive events (or events characterized by the highest possible degree of transitivity) involve a change of state or position undergone by one of the two participants (the patient) and triggered by the action of the other participant (the agent). Moreover, prototypical transitivity implies that the action of the agent is conscious and voluntary, as well as aims at changing the state of the patient or controlling its position. For example, the lexical meaning of *break* is compatible with the highest possible degree of semantic transitivity, but this is not the case for *hit*; hitting events are not prototypically transitive events, because the affected (or non-agentive) participant in a hitting event does not undergo a change of state or position, and consequently is not a typical patient.

The idea of semantic transitivity is also behind the notion *core transitive verbs*, defined as bivalent verbs that can head clauses encoding events characterized by a maximum degree of semantic transitivity (Creissels 2016: 19). These are bivalent verbs that refer to two-participant events with two well-individuated participants, viz. a typical agent (i.e. a human participant consciously and willingly controlling an activity oriented towards the other participant), and a typical patient (i.e. a participant undergoing a change of state or position triggered by the activity of an agent). Thus, *break* is a good example of a core transitive verb, but *hit* is not a core transitive verb.

In turn, *(morpho-)syntactical transitivity*[3] refers not to the number of essential participants in the events denoted by verbs. Instead, the term applies to a semantically heterogeneous class of verbs which all select a coding frame and syntactically behave identically to verbs describing events with the high degree of semantic transitivity, such as e.g. the verb *break* mentioned in the preceding paragraph (cf. Creissels 2016: 19). The delimitation of the set of syntactically transitive verbs is language-specific and relies on morpho-syntactic criteria, such as e.g. case marking or ability to form a passive. The sets of syntactically transitive verbs in the individual languages universally include (by definition) the core transitive verbs as outlined above.

In all languages, many verbs that are not core transitive verbs according to the definition above have a type of argument coding identical to the one observed with core transitive verbs. The term *transitive verb* without further specification refers to verbs whose constructions includes two terms coded or behaving like the two arguments of core transitive verbs, whatever their semantic roles. For example, English *see*, as in *I see them*, is not a core transitive verb semantically, but its coding and behavior identifies it as syntactically transitive verb, since core transitive verbs, such as *break*, as in *I break them*, assign the same coding to their arguments and behave identically in the relevant syntactic constructions, such as passivization. Transitive verbs – regardless of their semantics – can be contrasted with intransitive verbs. For instance, the English verb *to look*, as in *I look at them*, is intransitive, as only one of its semantic arguments, viz. *I* is coded in the same way as one of the arguments of the core transitive verbs, whereas the other one, viz. *at them* is coded differently.

In addition to the terms outlined above, we also need labels to refer to the various participants of events. The major semantic distinction already mentioned above is between semantic *arguments* and *adjuncts* (see e.g. Farrell 2005: 29–31 and Haspelmath 2014 for some recent overviews). A dependent expression is an argument of a predicate if its role in the situation is assigned by this predicate, this is not the case for adjuncts (see also e.g. Haspelmath & Hartmann 2015; Schikowski et al. 2015). In theory, the distinction is straightforward, however, it is not always easy in practice and a number of tests have been suggested in the literature (for an overview, see Comrie 1993).

To refer to the individual arguments and to describe their morpho-syntactic features and how they are affected by the antipassive construction, further distinctions need to be made. In the text above we used the terms *semantic agent* and *patient*. As

3. In the rest of this chapter we will use the shorter term *syntactic transitivity*, however, as indicated in the rest of the section, the term covers both coding properties, such as case marking (or flagging) and agreement (or indexing), as well as syntactic constructions, such as e.g. the ability of an argument of a transitive verb to be promoted by passivization (see also Witzlack-Makarevich 2019 for an overview of morpho-syntactic constructions relevant to syntactic transitivity).

old as the term *antipassive* are the labels S, A and O introduced in Dixon (1972: 128) to describe ergatively aligned syntactic structures in Yidiny. Since then, the labels S, A and O/P have become some of the most basic notions in linguistic typology and language descriptions. However, as summarized in Haspelmath (2011), these notions have been used in at least three different ways by different authors. They are understood either (i) as universal syntactic-semantic primitives in Dixon (1979, 1994) and studies following his approach (e.g. Næss 2007) or (ii) as arguments of a verb referring to a prototypical action or "major biactant construction", as in Comrie (1981: 105), as well as in Lazard (2002: 153) and Creissels (2006: 283), or (iii) as generalized semantic roles in Bickel (2011) and Witzlack-Makarevich (2011, 2019).

The differences between these three approaches are easily overlooked when considering arguments of core transitive verbs in active constructions. However, they become apparent when considering non-core transitive verbs, as well as non-active constructions (see Haspelmath 2011: 549, 555–556). In the first two approaches S, A, and P can only be applied to some verbs, namely, core transitive and intransitive verbs. Arguments of verbs that deviate from this default pattern are either not considered (approach (ii)) or receive further labels (e.g. E for 'extension to core' in Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000: 3). In contrast, in approach (iii) any bivalent verb has an A and a P argument. Another major distinction pertains to the labels used to refer to arguments of passive and antipassive constructions. In case of antipassive, A becomes S in the first two approaches but remains A in the third approach, which underlines the semantic nature of the way these labels are used (see also footnote 13 in Haspelmath 2011). Accordingly, P disappears in the antipassive construction in the first two approaches but remains P in the Bickelian approach. In this chapter we adopt the Bickelian approach (Bickel 2011; Witzlack-Makarevich 2011, 2019), we also explicitly address the coding properties of arguments and distinguish them from semantic argument roles.

As the different ways of understanding S, A, and P outlined above have their own merits and rationales, all these usages can be found in the studies of the antipassive construction (see e.g. Vigus 2018 with an explicit reference to the different options and the implications thereof). The individual contributions to the present volume also vary as to which approach they adopt. On the other hand, we in our role of editors encouraged the authors to be explicit about the choices they made. Thus, for instance, Arkadiev & Letuchiy use Dixon's approach and operate with the notion of extended arguments, whereas Say seems to adopt the Comrian approach with some adjustments.

In addition to the terms introduced above, the term *diathesis* is used to refer to any specific mapping of semantic argument roles onto traditional grammatical relations, such as subject or direct object (Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019: 4). This mapping can be modified via various *diathetical operations*, that is, strategies which modify

the basic diathesis of a predicate (see e.g. Mel'čuk 2006: 182–191). Operations that modify valency in the sense of the number of arguments in the semantic argument structure are referred to as *argument installment* or *removal*; operations that change the morpho-syntactic properties of the arguments are argument *promotion* and *demotion* (including *suppression*) (Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019: 4). In addition to the term *diathesis*, we use the term *(grammatical) voice* to refer to the grammatical category whose values correspond to the particular diathesis marked in the form of predicates (Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019: 4). In the case of the antipassive, only a productive formally-marked construction can be considered a case of grammatical voice, whereas the unmarked antipassive is not a grammatical voice, but is still a diathetical operation. To summarize, we thus distinguish between the antipassive diathesis, which includes all antipassive operations, and the antipassive grammatical voice, which is a subset of the antipassive diathesis operations characterized by formal marking. In the light of the distinction outlined above, the term *antipassive construction* as used in this chapter refers to the antipassive diathesis.

3. Realization of the P argument

The first parameter along which antipassive constructions vary concerns the realization of the P argument. Three types of morpho-syntactic configurations can be distinguished: (i) antipassive constructions in which the P argument cannot be overtly expressed because it is syntactically suppressed (or 'blocked'), as in (2b), (ii) antipassive constructions in which the P argument is optionally expressed as an oblique, as in (3b),[4] and finally (iii) antipassive constructions in which the P argument is obligatorily realized, as in (4b).[5] (See Vigus 2018: Sections 5.1–5.5 on the different realization of the P argument in the antipassive.)

(2) Polish (Indo-European, Slavic; Janic 2016a: 148)
a. *Wasz syn bije dzieci.*
2PL.POSS son.NOM beat.3SG.PRS children.ACC
'Your son is beating up the children.'

4. There are interesting differences between languages as to which kind of marking is recruited to encode the P argument in the antipassive construction. Furthermore, different coding strategies can be used to code this argument within the same language and a number of further questions arise: Are there languages that have a conventionalized single oblique marking for coding the P argument of the antipassive? Are there languages that allow more than one oblique marker to indicate the P argument of the antipassive and what determines their distribution, as e.g. Polish (Janic 2016: 174–177)? All these questions deserve further dedicated studies.

5. In some language, a subset of verbs allows one option, whereas another subset of verbs prefers a different option, see Janic (2016: 148–155, 163–180) as well as Sapién et al. (this volume).

b. *Wasz syn bije się.*
2PL.POSS son.NOM beat.3SG.PRS ANTIP
'Your son is beating up [children].'

(3) Kuku-Yalanji (Pama-Nyungan; Patz 2002: 152)
a. *nyulu dingkar-angka minya nuka-ny*
3SG.NOM man-ERG meat.ABS eat-PST
'The man ate meat.'
b. *nyulu dingkar minya-nga nuka-ji-ny*
3SG.NOM man.ABS meat-LOC eat-ANTIP-PST
'The man had a good feed of meat (he wasted nothing).'

(4) French (Indo-European, Romance; Janic 2016a: 205)
a. *Les étudiants attaquent les révisions dès le*
DEF.PL student.PL start.PRS.3PL DEF.PL revision.PL PREP DEF.SG.M
mois de mars.
month PREP March
'The students start the revision from March.'
b. *Les étudiants s' attaquent aux révisions dès*
DEF.PL student.PL ANTIP start.PRS.3PL PREP.DEF.PL revision.PL PREP
le mois de mars.
DEF.SG.M PREP March
'The students start the revision from March.'
c. **Les étudiants s'attaquent dès le mois de mars.*

Antipassive constructions with a suppressed P argument are often encountered in Slavic and Baltic languages, particularly in the context where the verbal predicate expresses antagonistic actions, as in (2b). The so-called patientless or suppressing antipassives (Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019: 105) figure in the literature under different labels, such as 'deobjective' (Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey 2004), 'absolute transitive', 'object suppressing' (Kulikov 2011), and 'absolute antipassive' (Janic 2016a).

4. The antipassive marker

The present section provides an overview of the nature of antipassive markers. Section 4.1. maps out the variation displayed by these markers across languages. Sections 4.2 and 4.3 discuss, respectively, the dedicated vs. synchretic dichotomy associated with antipassive markers. Finally, Section 4.4 raises the question of (non)-obligatoriness of the antipassive marker in the definition of the antipassive.

4.1 Variation of the antipassive marker

Antipassive constructions derived by an antipassive marker display cross-linguistic variation according to the degree such a marker is specialized. The established, though, not commonly applied distinction involves the 'dedicated' vs. 'syncretic' opposition (Polinsky 2005; Creissels 2016: 61; Janic 2016a, this volume: Section 2.1). While dedicated antipassive markers refer to forms which are synchronically limited to the antipassive construction, syncretic antipassive markers are co-expressive and perform other functions.

In addition to the purely synchronic description, a large number of studies investigate the antipassive marker from the diachronic perspective (see Janic 2016a,b; Sansò 2017; Heaton 2017: Section 2.2.1; Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019: Section 8.1.4). Also a number of studies in this volume address this issue, in particular Auderset, Bugaeva, Creissels, Jacques, Juárez & Álvarez González, Payne, as well as Vidal & Payne. The diachronic analyses of the antipassive marker point to a wide spectrum of its origins. Reflexive and reciprocal forms are often mentioned to be the most commonly recognized sources of an antipassive marker. See, for instance, Janic (2013) on the development of the reflexive/middle marker into the antipassive function in Slavonic languages. This would explain a particularly frequent occurrence of reflexive-antipassive and reciprocal-antipassive syncretism across languages (Janic 2016a,b). Other possible sources of an antipassive marker are grammaticalized hyperonymous nouns in the P role (e.g. Ixcatec in Adamou 2014), agent nominalization (e.g. Misantla Totonac in Sansò 2017), action nominalization (e.g. Japhug Rgyalrong, Jacques 2014), person marker (e.g. Puma in Bickel & Gaenszle 2015: 6, see also Auderset, this volume, for a comparative study), grammaticalized light verb meaning 'do, make' encountered in antipassive periphrases (French in Creissels 2016), benefactive/malefactive marker (e.g. Eskaleut in Mithun 2000) and finally non-telic TAM marker (e.g. Godoberi in Tatevosov 2004 and Mocoví in Juárez & Álvarez 2017). See Janic (this volume: Section 5) for a possible explanation of different diachronic sources of the antipassive marker.

Finally, cross-linguistic studies show that even if the majority of languages have only one antipassive marker, there is a handful of languages with two antipassive markers. Such languages tend to be sensitive to the semantic properties of the P argument and thus distinguish e.g. between human vs. non-human antipassive markers. Importantly, this divide is not rare cross-linguistically. Section 3 provided an example from Comanche. Another example comes from Tshobdun, a Rgyalrong language, in which the antipassive markers, *rɒ-* and *sɒ-*, are used with non-human and human P-argument respectively (Sun 2006: 8). See also Jacques (2012: 215) on a similar distinction between *rɤ-* and *sɤ-* in Japhug.

Furthermore, there are languages like Eskimo-Aleut, which are well-known for having multiple antipassive markers, e.g. Malimiut Upper Kobuk from the Inupiaq subgroup distinguishes four antipassive suffixes: *-si, -i, -tnik* and *-kłiq* (Nagai 2006: 129). The total number of antipassive morphemes in the East Inuktitut subgroup may vary from five to eight. For instance, following Beaudoin-Lietz (1982), Johns (2001: 212) lists six antipassive forms *-tsi*, *-si*, *-i*, *-ji*, *-nni* and *-tłi* in Labrador Inuttut. In West Greenlandic, antipassive markers may occur in free variation. For instance, the verbal stem *tusar-* 'hear' does not impose any constraints on the possible combinations with antipassive suffixes: *-si, -llir, -*(*ss*)*i, -nnig* (Bittner 1987: 10). It should be noted that the inventory of numerous antipassive markers in a language presents rather an atypical situation from a cross-linguistic perspective.

4.2 Dedicatedness of the antipassive marker

While detailed descriptions of syncretic antipassive markers have been offered for individual languages, there is still little discussion on dedicatedness of such markers. This presumably results from the observation that not many languages have developed dedicated antipassive markers. This observation can be traced back to Polinsky (2017a: 14), who notes that in her sample she has 'not observed languages which have a non-syncretic antipassive marker'. Say (this volume) makes a slightly different observation, that languages with a dedicated antipassive marker remain in the minority: "dedicated antipassive markers which do not have other functions are attested in the languages of the world (…)." Heaton (2017) offers a more advanced study on dedicatedness of antipassive markers, arguing that specialized, i.e. non-syncretic antipassive markers in the languages of the world, are in fact not so infrequent. Approximately 32% of the investigated languages in Heaton's sample have a dedicated antipassive marker (Heaton 2017: 202). See also Janic (this volume: Section 2.1) for further discussion of this topic.

Soninke (Mande) can serve as an illustration of this point. Creissels (this volume) mentions that in addition to the syncretic antipassive marker *-i*, this language has also a specialized antipassive suffix *-ndì* ~ *-ndí*, the presence of which systematically eliminates the P argument. Resulting from the grammaticalization process of the verb 'do', this morpheme is argued to be synchronically fully productive. Furthermore, Mandinka (Mande) is reported to have a dedicated antipassive marker (Creissels, to appear).

Some languages have more than one dedicated marker, where the split in the distribution is determined by the animacy of the P argument. Drawing on the previous work by Pustet & Rood (2008: 342–345), Say (this volume) mentions this distinction in Lakota (Siouan). In fact, the language distinguishes three antipassive markers: the prefix *wichá-*, which is exclusively responsible for the elimination of

the animate P argument from the construction, another prefix *takú-*, which removes inanimate P, and finally the suffix *wa-*, which is responsible for the omission of predominantly inanimate P arguments (see also Mithun, this volume). The existence of dedicated antipassive markers where the variation in use is conditioned by animacy of the P argument is also encountered in Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan; Nouguier Voisin 2005; Say, this volume), Japhug (Sino-Tibetan; Jacques 2014). This list can be further extended by Comanche (Uto-Aztecan), where Sansò (2017), building on the previous accounts (i.e. Charney 1993: 128–129), describes two antipassive prefixes *ma-* and *tɨ-* specialized for demotion of the human and non-human P argument respectively. In (5a), the antipassive marker *ma-* occurs in the antipassive construction in which the implied P argument is human, whereas in (5b), the prefix *tɨ-* is employed when the implied the P argument is non-human.

(5) Comanche (Uto-Aztecan; Charney 1993: 128)
   a. *ma-tsaH-soʔi*
      ANTIP-by.hand-scratch
      'to scratch (someone)'
   b. *Ke nɨɨ tɨ-tsahani-wai-tɨ=*
      NEG 1SG ANTIP-drive-ASP-ASP
      'I'm not going to drive.'

The following sections continue the discussion of the various aspect of the antipassive markers.

4.3 Syncretism of the antipassive marker

Antipassive markers are very often syncretic with affixes which perform a range of different diathetical operations, including reflexive, reciprocal, middle, passive and impersonal. In many instances, this morphological overlap is diachronically motivated. Example (6) illustrates a reflexive-antipassive syncretism commonly encountered in Pama-Nyungan languages. Examples (7a) and (7b) present the middle (autocausative) and antipassive use of the reflexive suffix *-n* in Tuvan. Examples (8a) and (8b) illustrate the antipassive and passive employment of the reflexive suffix *-sja* in Russian respectively, whilst the one from Polish, (9), exemplifies the impersonal employment of the reflexive form *się*.

(6) Warrungu (Pama-Nyungan; Tsunoda 2006: 305, 309)
   a. *gaya-Ø giba-gali-Ø.*
      father-NOM shave-*gali*-NFUT
      'Father shaved himself.'

b. *bama-Ø jurba-nggu bangga-gali-n.*
man-NOM white.ochre-ERG paint-*gali*-NFUT
'The man is painting [someone else] with white ochre.'

(7) Tuvan (Turkic; Geniušienė 1987: 314; Kuular 2007: 1173)
a. *Ol iji xol-u-bile it-tin-di.*
he two hand-his-with push-*tin*-3.PST
'He pushed himself off with both hands.'
b. *Ava-m am daara-n-ap tur.*
mother-my now sew-*n*-CONV AUX.3
'My mother is sewing now.'

(8) Russian (Indo-European, Slavic; Malchukov 2017: 7–8)
a. *Sobaka kusaet-sja.*
dog.SG.NOM bite.PRS.3SG-*sja*
'The dog bites.'
b. *Dom stroit-sja robochimi.*
house.SG.NOM build.PRS.3SG-*sja* worker.PL.INS
'The house is (being) built by the workers.'

(9) Polish (Indo-European, Slavic; p.k.)
Kawę się gotuje.
coffee.SG.ACC *się* boil.PRS.3SG
'The coffee is being boiled.'

In some languages, the antipassive marker is syncretic with affixes which can increase rather than decrease the verbal valency. Hence, two types of syncretism can be distinguished: antipassive-applicative, as in (10), and antipassive-causative as in (11); the latter is discussed in detail by Juárez & Álvarez González (this volume).

(10) Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan; Dunn 1999: 215, 201)
a. *t-**ena**-pela-ɣʔa-n ŋew-miryən coqar-a*
1SG-*ena*-leave-TH-3SG F-grandparent.3SG.ABS bread-INS
'I left granny some bread.'
b. *cawcəwa-t **ena**-pela-ɣʔat qaa-ta*
herder-3PL.ABS *ena*-leave-3PL.S reindeer-INS
'The (nomadic) herders left the deer.'

(11) Mocoví (Guaicuruan; Juárez & Álvarez González, this volume)
a. *so pyoq ɾ-ta-**aɢan***
DET dog 3INTR-sniff-*aɢan*
'The dog sniffs.'
b. *ka n-ateʔe i-lip-**aɢan** ka l-ya:le-k*
DET IND.POSS.I-mother 3-suck-*aɢan* DET 3POSS.I-descent-MASC
'The mother suckles her son.'

The applicative-antipassive syncretism is not unexpected. Malchukov (2015) argues that this pattern results from restrictions imposed by a language on the number of available argument slots. Following Malchukov (2015) and Polinsky (2017a), Janic (this volume) identifies the following inventory of languages with this type of syncretism: Central Alaskan Yupik (Eskimo-Aleut; Miyaoka 2015), Halkomelem (Salishan; Gerdts 1988), Sliammon Salish (Salishan; Watanabe 2015), Nuxalk (Salishan; Beck 2000), as well as Shiwilu (Cahuapanan; Valenzuela 2016). Mithun (2000: 97–98) provides a slightly different account of the same syncretic pattern in Central Alaskan Yupik. The author argues that in this language this development can be explained with regard to the transitivity classes. Specifically, the applicative construction can derive agentive ambitransitives. When the agentive ambitransitives carry the intransitive inflection, they occur only with one core argument, which assumes the semantic role of the agent and occurs in the absolutive form. Hence, the emerging construction satisfies the formal conditions of the antipassive. Juárez and Álvarez González (this volume) offer a similar explanation on the causative-antipassive syncretism of the suffix *-agan* in Mocoví (Guaicuruan).

4.4 (Non)-obligatoriness of the antipassive marker

There is a long-standing debate as to whether the antipassive marker should be viewed as an obligatory criterion for identifying a language-specific construction as an instance of the antipassive (see Seržant et al. 2021: Section 2 for an overview). Some linguists adopt a definition of the antipassive construction in which the verbal predicate obligatorily carries an antipassive marker (Silverstein 1972: 395, 1976: 140; Palmer 1994: 178; Dixon 1994: 146; Polinsky 2005: 438; Croft 2012: 333–334; Heaton 2017: 36). Others adopt a broader definition, which recognizes the antipassive construction on the basis of other formal characteristics, such as the modification of argument coding and/or agreement, rather than in terms of the presence of an antipassive marker (e.g. Kuryłowicz 1949: 87; Heath 1976: 202; Cooreman 1994: 50; Kulikov 2011: 380; Shibatani 2006: 237; Mroczyńska 2018). For instance, the antipassive marker is not required in morphologically ergative languages of the Eskimo-Aleut family. Given, however, that the so-called zero-marked antipassive constructions meet other formal criteria related to antipassives, in the Eskimologist tradition, these constructions are subsumed together with morphologically marked antipassives under the 'antipassive' label, as in (13) and (14).

(13) Kivalliq (Eskimo-Aleut, West Inuktitut; Johns 1987: 34)
a. *anguti-up arnaq kunik-paa*
man-ERG woman.ABS kiss-IND.3SG.A.3SG.P
'The man kissed the woman.'

b. *anguit arna-mik kunik-si-vuq*
man.ABS woman-INS kiss-ANTIP-IND.3SG.S
'The man kissed a woman.'

(14) Qairnirmiutut (Eskimo-Aleut, West Inuktitut; Johns 2001: 207–208)
a. *anguti-up arnaq taku-ja-a*
man-ERG woman.ABS see-TR.PART-3SG.SBJ.3SG.OBJ
'The man sees the woman.'
b. *angut nanur-mik taku-juq*
man.ABS polar.bear-INS see-INTR.PART.3SG.SBJ
'The man sees a polar bear.'

In contrast to morphologically ergative languages, in predominantly accusative languages the lack of an antipassive marker in the antipassive construction poses challenges for the descriptive analysis because the antipassive construction is formally less visible. This creates a higher risk to conflate this construction with other antipassive lookalikes, such as P argument omission constructions, differentiated object-marking constructions, including the partitive construction (cf. Section 6 and Janic, this volume: Section 4). Considering zero-marked constructions with an unexpressed P argument as an instance of the antipassive can be called into question. According to an alternative analysis, such constructions can be interpreted as constructions with omitted anaphoric or non-specific P argument, building on language specific rules. For instance, in the English example *Speed kills*, the omission of the P argument with the non-specific reference is fully acceptable.

In principle, whether or not the antipassive construction should be coded on the predicate by an antipassive marker is a definitional rather than empirical issue, driven by the research questions and adopted theoretical framework.

5. Functions of the antipassive construction

Languages of the world also differ with respect to the functions which the antipassive construction is reported to fulfill. Traditionally, two function types are distinguished, viz. semantic and discourse-pragmatic functions (Section 5.1), as well as syntactic functions (Section 5.2). In addition, in some languages the use of the antipassive construction is reported to be stylistically motivated (Section 5.3).

5.1 Semantic and discourse-pragmatic functions

In many languages, the use of the antipassive is determined by the degree to which the hearer can identify the P argument as a unique referent in the discourse (Cooreman 1994: 52). Specifically, the antipassive is employed in a number of languages when the P argument has a low degree of identifiability (see also Heath 1976 on the so-called *indefinite antipassive*). Cooreman (1994) reports this situation in Mam: when the P is unknown, implied or non-specific, the verb has to be in the antipassive, as in (15b).

(15) Mam (Mayan; England 1988: 533)
   a. *ma Ø-w-aq'na-7n-a.*
      ASP 3SG.ABS-1SG.ERG-work-DS-1SG
      'I worked it.' (something)
   b. *ma chin aq'naa-n-a.*
      ASP 1SG.ABS work-AP-1SG
      'I worked.' (no implication of what was worked)

A similar observation holds for Chamorro where the antipassive construction is used when the P argument has an indefinite or generic interpretation, as in (16b).

(16) Chamorro (Austronesian; Cooreman 1988: 571; Cooreman 1994: 54)
   a. *Ha-konne' i peskadot i guihan.*
      ERG.3SG-catch the fisherman the fish
      'The fisherman caught the fish.'
   b. *Mangonne' (guihan) i peskadot.*
      ANTIP.catch (fish) the fisherman
      'The fisherman caught fish/a fish (something).'

The antipassive construction where the P argument has low degree of identifiability is common cross-linguistically, however, there are exceptions. For instance, Lanz (2010: 222) mentions that in the Malimiut Coastal dialect of Iñupiaq, the demoted P argument does not systematically offer an indefinite interpretation. Numerous examples from the Eastern Canadian Inuktitut dialect group of Eskimo-Aleut further support this observation. Johns (1999, 2006) mentions specifically Labrador Inuttut and Rigolet Inuttut, which allow antipassive constructions even when the P argument is a proper noun. Beach (2011) makes a similar observation for Tarramiut.

In some languages, the antipassive construction is employed to signal that the P argument is not entirely affected by the action performed by the A argument (see Vigus 2018 for a discussion and further examples). The example illustrating this point comes from Chukchi, as in (17).

(17) Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan; Kozinsky et al. 1988: 652)
a. *ətləg-e keyŋ-ən penrə-nen.*
father-ERG bear-ABS attack-3SG:3SG.AOR
'Father attacked the bear.'
b. *ətləg-ən penrə-tko-gʔe kayŋ-etə.*
father-ABS attack-ANTIP-3SG.AOR bear-DAT
'Father rushed at the bear.'

The antipassive in (17b) denotes an event where it is very plausible that the P argument *kayŋ* 'bear' is still alive whereas one cannot say the same about the transitive construction (17a). In the latter, the P argument is understood as being completely affected. According to Cooreman (1994), the antipassive construction serves the same purpose in many other languages, including Caucasian languages and Chamorro. In morphologically accusative languages, there are also other constructions which produce the same interpretative effects. They are known as 'conative alternations'. A text-book example comes from English, as in (18).

(18) English (Indo-European, Germanic; Levin 1993: 6)
a. *Carla hit the door.*
b. *Carla hit at the door.*

In some languages, the antipassive may perform a completely opposite function, namely instead of signaling that the P argument is less affected than in the corresponding transitive construction, it is employed to indicate that this argument is actually specifically and exclusively affected. Moyse-Faurie (this volume) reports this unusual function in East Uvean (Austronesian). This semantic restriction, which seems to be rather atypical from a cross-linguistic perspective, is expressed in East Uvean by an oblique patient construction. The latter does not, however, involve any explicit antipassive marker. Nevertheless, the resulting construction displays morpho-syntactic characteristics of an antipassive: there is a change in syntactic transitivity of a construction signaled by the modification of the coding of the A argument, where the peripheral status of the P argument is indicated by the oblique *ki* marker, as in (19).

(19) East Uvean (Austronesian; Moyse-Faurie, this volume)
a. *Vaka'i ia te pāsina faka'osí!*
examine ABS SPC page last
'Examine the last page!'
b. *Vaka'i ki te pāsina faka'osí!*
examine OBL SPC page last
'Only look attentively at the last page.' / 'Examine specifically the last page.'

Finally, in many languages the use of the antipassive construction goes hand in hand with an aspectual shift, yielding durative, imperfective, iterative or even progressive interpretations (Tchekhoff 1987; Bittner 1987; Cooreman 1994; Spreng 2010; Polinsky 2017a; see also Denniss, this volume). For instance, in Chamorro in contrast to punctual activities, as in (20a), non-punctual activities often induce the use of the antipassive construction, as in (20).[6]

(20) Chamorro (Austronesian; Cooreman 1988: 584)
a. *Hu-mantieni i banku.*
1SG.A-grasp the chair
'I grasped the chair.'
b. *Man-mantieni yo' ni banku.*
ANTIP-hold.onto 1SG.BS OBL chair
'I held onto the chair.'

Another example comes from West Greenlandic. In this language, according to Fortescue (1984), the antipassive suffix *-si* not only affects the syntactic transitivity of the construction. It also has an impact on the aspectual properties of the verb. In contrast to the transitive construction in (21a), which has the punctual interpretation, the action expressed by the antipassive in (21b) has the semantic nuance of habituality or repetitiveness.

(21) West Greenlandic (Eskimo-Aleut; Fortescue 1984: 86)
a. *Inuit tuqup-pai.*
people.ABS kill-IND.3SG.A.3PL.P
'He killed the people.'
b. *Inun-nik tuqut-**si**-vuq.*
people-INS kill-ANTIP-IND.3SG.S
'He killed people.'

Cooreman (1994: 57) reports that in her sample of 19 languages, 14 languages show aspectual change when the antipassive construction is employed. Also Polinsky (2017a: 315) predicts that if a language has an antipassive marker, this marker will also serve as a general detransitivizing/aspectual affix. Furthermore, Polinsky (2017a: 316) formulates the following implicational universal: 'If an antipassive construction can have a perfective (telic) interpretation, it must also have an imperfective (non-telic) interpretation'.

In some languages, the antipassive marker modifies the aspectual properties of a verb without any impact on its syntactic transitivity. Comrie et al. (2015, this

6. In this case, the meaning of the verb also slightly changes, see Section 6 for a discussion of this aspect of the antipassive construction.

volume) report this situation for Bezhta (Nakh-Daghestanian). The authors observe that a lexically intransitive verb can be marked by the antipassive marker and that the presence of this marker leads to an aspectual shift in the direction of durative interpretation, without modifying the syntactic transitivity of the verb. Example (23) illustrates this point. Like the regular antipassive construction in (22b), the construction in (23b) also carries the antipassive suffix *-dā̄*, which in this specific context has the durative interpretation.

(22) Bezhta (Nakh-Daghestanian; Comrie et al., this volume)
a. *öž-di xo y-ü^{n}q-čä*
boy-OBL.ERG meat(IV) IV-eat-PRS
'The boy eats the meat.'
b. *öžö xo-lo-d Ø-ü^{n}q-dä-š*
boy(I).ABS meat-OBL-INS I-eat-ANTIP-PRS
'The boy is busy eating the meat.'

(23) Bezhta (Nakh-Daghestanian; Comrie et al., this volume)
a. *öž-di öhƛ̂ö-yö*
boy-OBL.ERG cough-PST
'The boy coughed (once).'
b. *öžö öh-dā̄-yö*
boy cough-ANTIP-PST
'The boy was coughing.'

In some languages, the antipassive construction may also perform discourse-pragmatic functions, for instance, highlighting that the agent is more topical than the patient and the patient is extremely non-topic (see Givón 1994: 9, 2001: 94, 168). Building on Givón's (1983) quantitative measurements (referential distance and topic persistence), Cooreman (1988) analyzes the relative discourse topicality of arguments in a transitive construction in Chamorro (Austronesian). She shows that the antipassive serves to introduce new, non-referential and non-topical P arguments into narrative discourse. See also Rude (1988), which contains a similar study of Nez Perce (Sahaptian).

Cooreman et al. (1984) address another Austronesian language, Tagalog. They measure discourse topicality of the arguments in Actor Voice and Undergoer Voice constructions, showing that the Actor Voice displays topicality properties of an antipassive clause. This is because the construction is typically employed when the Undergoer (i.e. P argument) demonstrates low topic continuity. Similar observations hold for other languages with a Philippine-type voice system, such as Cebuano (Payne 1994), Kapampangan (Mithun 1994), and Karao (Brainard 1994).

Importantly, the investigation of the discourse properties of the antipassive construction may in some languages provide evidence in favor of alignment change

at least at the discourse level. Kelabit (Austronesian) is one of them (Hemmings, this volume). Unlike in Tagalog, where the Actor Voice construction displays discourse properties of an antipassive, in Kelabit the same construction deviates from a standard antipassive construction at the discourse level. This is because the Actor Voice construction does not have a topicality pattern expected of the antipassive construction. Additionally, it shows higher discourse frequency than any other types of transitive clauses. This discourse variation is taken to support the general claim of a shift of alignment from treating the Undergoer Voice construction as basic (ergative alignment) to treating the Actor Voice construction as basic (accusative alignment).

5.2 Syntactic functions

The antipassive with syntactic functions is encountered only in languages displaying features of deep ergativity, i.e. in languages where the A argument of the transitive construction differs from the S of the intransitive construction by its inaccessibility to certain syntactic operations, such as topicalization, interrogation, focalization, coordination, relativization, among many others. The antipassive construction thus allows to overcome the restrictions imposed by the system of a language according to which only the absolutive argument may function as a pivot of certain syntactic operations. The textbook example of a language with deep ergativity comes from Dyirbal.

In Dyirbal, the S and P arguments function as the syntactic pivot (Dixon 1972, 1979). The language imposes the restriction according to which the referentially identical arguments occurring in linked two simple clauses, i.e. across either coordinated or subordinate clause boundaries must be in the absolutive case. This means that, for instance, to coordinate an intransitive and a transitive clause in Dyirbal, where the respective S and A arguments of these two clauses co-refer, the clause has to pass through what Polinsky (2017a) calls 'way-station', i.e. the process of antipassivization, as in (24). Otherwise, the resulting construction is ungrammatical.

(24) Dyirbal (Pama Nyungan; Dixon 1972: 130)

a. *Bayi yara bani-nyu.*
there.ABS man.ABS come-NFUT
'Man came.'

b. *Balan dyugumbil banggul yara-nggu balga-n.*
there.ABS woman.ABS there.ERG man-ERG hit-NFUT
'Man hit woman.'

c. *Yara bagun dyugumbilgu balgalnga-nyu*
man.ABS there.DAT woman.DAT hit.ANTIP-NFUT
'Man hit the woman.'

d. *bayi yara bani-nyu bagun dyugumbilgu balgal-nga-nyu.*
there.ABS man.ABS come-NFUT there.DAT woman.DAT hit-ANTIP-NFUT
'Man came and hit woman.'

Examples (24a) and (24b) illustrate the intransitive and transitive construction accordingly, where the S and A are referentially identical. In order to coordinate these two clauses with the possibility to omit the A argument, the latter has to be in the absolutive case. This can be achieved through antipassivization, as in (24c). Hence, the antipassivization serves as a 'way-station' (Polinsky 2017a: 323–324): it detransitivizes a transitive construction, which is subsequently used as a syntactic input for the coordination, as in (24d). A similar situation is observed in Katukina-Kanamari (Queixalós 2010: 258) and to some extent in Yidiny (with third person arguments, see Dixon 1994: 175). However, this motivation for the use of antipassive constructions is cross-linguistically rare (see also Polinsky 2017b: Note 6) and we are aware of only these three examples.

Another context in which the syntactic antipassive construction is obligatory in some languages is relativization. For instance, in Chukchi only the absolutive arguments can be relativized upon, i.e. the S of the intransitive construction, as in (25), and the P argument of the transitive one, as in (26).

(25) Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan; Polinsky 2017a: 323)

a. *ŋinqey pəkir-gʔi*
boy.ABS arrive-AOR.3SG
'The boy arrived.'

b. *[t_i pəkərə-lʔ-ən] ŋinqey$_i$*
arrive-PTCP-ABS boy.ABS
'the boy that arrived'

(26) Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan; Polinsky 2017a: 323)

a. *Tumg-e ŋinqey rəyegtetew-nin.*
friend-ERG boy.ABS save-AOR.3SG.3SG
'The friend saved the boy.'

b. *[tumg-e [t_i rəyagtala-lʔ-ən] ŋinqey$_i$*
friend-ERG save-PTCP-ABS boy.ABS
'the boy that the friend saved'

To relativize the A argument, Chukchi uses the antipassive construction, as in (27a). The A argument is now in the absolutive case, hence it meets the conditions necessary for relativization, as in (27b).

(27) Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan; Polinsky 2017a: 323–324)
a. *Tumgətum ŋinqey-ək ine-nyegtele-gʔi.*
friend.ABS boy-LOC ANTIP-save-AOR.3SG
'The friend saved the boy.'
b. *[t_i ŋinqey-ək ine-nyegtelewə-lʔ-ən] tumgətum$_i$.*
boy-LOC ANTIP-save-PTCP-ABS friend.ABS
'the friend that saved the boy.'

Similar restrictions hold in a number of other languages, including West Greenlandic (Eskimo-Aleut; Fortescue 1984) and Ki'che' (Mayan; Campbell 2000: 256).

5.3 Stylistic functions

In at least one language, the antipassive reportedly has a stylistic function. Dixon (1977: 116–118) observes this situation in Yidiny (Pama-Nyungan), in which the regular conversation style is built on a pattern where the response to a question or reaction to a statement must be formulated as a complete clause, exactly as full and informative as the original statement or question. However, it cannot be the exact repetition of all the lexical and grammatical elements of the original utterance. It must contain some lexical or grammatical variation achieved, for instance, by using a different grammatical construction and/or a different, synonymous verb. For instance, the alternation between the three comitative suffixes fulfills primarily this purpose (Dixon 1977: 117). If one member of a verb pair is used in a statement or question, then the second member is typically employed in the answer. Dixon (1977) suggests that even though the use of the Yidiny antipassive construction with the suffix *-ɖiŋ* is primarily semantically and syntactically motivated, in some cases, it is used due to considerations of discourse felicity. An example involving two synonymous verbs and the antipassive vs. active construction is given in (28).

(28) Yidiny (Pama-Nyungan; Dixon 1977: 114–115)
a. *ŋanda bama wamba:ɖiŋ*
1SG.DAT person.ABS wait.ɖi.PRS
'The person is waiting for me.'
b. *ɲuniŋ bama:l birmibirmiŋ*
2SG.ACC person.ERG wait.REDUP.PRS
'[Oh,] the person's waiting for you.'

The contrast between *wamba* 'wait' in (28a) and *birmi* 'wait' in (28b) can be explained in the following way: if an interlocutor uses the antipassive (28a), then in response an active transitive construction is used, which can contain a synonymous verb (if one is available). These and other devices are claimed to be used exclusively for the purposes of felicitous discourse.

5.4 General remarks on antipassive functions

The antipassive constructions fulfilling syntactic, semantic and discourse-pragmatic functions may differ in terms of the behavioral properties of the P argument. For instance, Cooreman (1994: 94) reports that the antipassive performing syntactic functions does not allow for the omission of the P argument. Other differences involve the use of the antipassive marker. In Tzutujil (Mayan), the antipassive with semantic and discourse-pragmatic functions can be derived by the *-uun*/*-oon* antipassive suffix, whereas the syntactically-driven antipassive construction uses the antipassive suffix *-uw*/*-ow* (Dayley 1985). A similar observation holds for K'iche': while the suffix *-(o)n* is used to derive the syntactically-driven antipassive, the *-ow* suffix derives the semantically and discourse-pragmatically motivated antipassive (Campbell 2000).

Moreover, syntactically, semantically and discourse-pragmatically motivated antipassive constructions differ with respect to the coding of the P argument. The syntactically driven antipassive construction appears to be more restricted in the choice of case, whereas semantically and discourse-pragmatically motivated antipassives are more flexible in this respect, showing greater variability. We have already seen this situation in Dyirbal. In the context of coreferentiality, where the syntactically motivated antipassive is in use, the demoted P argument can only occur in the dative case. However, when the antipassive construction is semantically or pragmatically conditioned, then the same argument may either occur in the dative or in the instrumental case (Cooreman 1994: 75).

Finally, while the semantically and discourse-pragmatically motivated antipassive constructions focus on the properties if the P argument (e.g. individuation or affectedness), the syntactically motivated antipassive is more oriented towards the A argument, for instance, by allowing it to function as a syntactic pivot.

Importantly, some of the functions performed by the antipassive construction tend to correlate with a particular type of syntactic alignment. Two generalizations can be formulated. First, if a language has the syntactically motivated antipassive construction, it seems also to use the antipassive construction for semantic and/or discourse-pragmatic functions. This situation is observed *inter alia* in K'iche' (Campbell 2000). The reverse situation is not necessarily true: the presence of a semantically and discourse pragmatically motivated antipassive construction does not imply that a language will also have the antipassive construction used for the syntactic reasons. Based on a very small sample of languages, the second generalization can be formulated in the following way: if a language does not display deep ergativity, it will not have syntactic antipassives. However, it may have the one which fulfills semantic or discourse-pragmatic functions.

6. Productivity

A recurrent theme in the discussion of the antipassive construction in individual languages is its productivity. Productivity stands for the applicability of a morphological rule or pattern (e.g. the antipassive formation) to new bases (see e.g. Haspelmath & Sims 2010: 115, see also Bauer 2001: Chapter 3 on practical and theoretical challenges of determining productivity of individual rules and patterns). Productivity is not an all-or-nothing matter, such that one can differentiate between more and less productive processes. There are many suggestions as to how to operationalize the concept of morphological productivity (textbook examples include e.g. Lieber 2009: 61–65 or Haspelmath & Sims 2010: 129–131). Among the frequently mentioned characteristics are transparency of form and transparency of meaning (transparent vs. lexicalized). Transparent forms are the ones where the segmentation into individual morphemes is straightforward and the phonological forms of all the involved morphemes do not change (see Bauer 2001: 51–54; Lieber 2009: 62). One speaks of transparent (or compositional) meaning of a complex form when the meaning of the whole is made up of the sum of its parts, whereas lexicalization involves opaqueness (or a loss of compositionality) of meaning (Bauer 2001: 43–47). Frequency of base type – i.e. the number of different bases to which a specific morphological rule or pattern applies – is also occasionally listed as contributing to productivity (Lieber 2009: 61–63), but it has its challenges (Bauer 2001: 48–49; Haspelmath & Sims 2010: 129–130).

The issue of productivity is related to the analysis of the antipassive as either a derivational process or an inflectional category. Whereas linguists are in consensus about what constitutes the core verbal inflectional categories (see e.g. Booji 2007: 133–138), the status of various diathetical operations varies. Haspelmath & Sims (2010: 234–245) consider passives and antipassive to be function-changing morphological operations and thus inflectional in nature. They contrast these function-changing operations with event-changing ones, such as the causative, which are derivational categories. However, the authors admit that in concrete languages the distinction might be problematic.

The issue of productivity is related to how the antipassive is treated by various theoretical approaches, specifically, to the dichotomy between lexicalist (or lexical) approaches vs. syntactic approaches. Lexicalist approaches regard the antipassive as a rule that modifies the argument structure of the input lexeme (see e.g. Grimshaw & Mester 1985; Woodbury & Sadock 1986; Farrell 1992; Gerdts & Hukari 2005, 2006). Syntactic approaches regard the antipassive as a result of a syntactic derivation, though the details vary as to what kind of syntactic derivation this is. For instance, Baker (1988) treats the antipassive as a special kind of noun

incorporation. For a succinct overview of the debate, see Polinsky (2017a: 316–322), who emphasizes the importance of language-internal evidence in adopting one of the approaches.

A major large-scale study of the productivity of the antipassive construction is Polinsky (2005) based on a sample of 186 languages. She distinguishes between productive antipassive (24 languages), partially productive antipassive (14 languages), and not productive antipassive (two languages); however, the exact criteria of distinguishing between the various types are not discussed. The remaining languages of the sample do not have the antipassive construction. The distribution of the various productivity types is geographically and genealogically skewed: the productive antipassive occurs in some Mayan, Salishan, Nakh-Daghestanian, Austronesian, and Australian languages.

Although the issue of productivity of the antipassive construction is mentioned in many accounts of individual languages (e.g. Chung 1998: 39 on Chamorro (Austronesian); Nouguier Voisin 2002: 311 on Wolof; Creissels & Biaye 2016: 211 on Balanta, Renaudier 2012: 311–316 on Sereer (all three are North-Central Atlantic of Atlantic-Congo)), dedicated language-specific studies of productivity are not numerous, they include Say (2005) on Russian and Arkadiev & Letuchiy (2008) on Adyghe. Several contributions to the present volume address the issue of productivity of the antipassive construction and the transparency of the meaning of the resulting verb (form). Sapién's et al. (this volume) chapter discusses the properties of an underspecified construction in several Cariban languages with the morpheme labeled detransitivizer. In addition to the reflexive/reciprocal, anticausative, and (medio-)passive functions, the construction was previously analyzed as also having other idiosyncratic readings or functions, including the antipassive reading limited to just a few verbs per language (Meira 2000: 219). On the basis of a corpus study of six Cariban languages (ranging from 8,892 words for Hixkaryana up to 23,624 words in Ye'kwana), the authors show that many more verbs per language allow the antipassive reading and that this reading is much more frequent in naturalistic discourse than previously assumed. The contribution emphasizes the difficulty of obtaining the necessary data via elicitation and the necessity of working with naturalistic corpora to assess the productivity of the antipassive construction. Also Mithun's contribution (this volume) provides a detailed account of productivity for four genealogically and areally unrelated languages, viz. Lakota, a Siouan language of the North American Plains, Haida, an isolate of the Northern Northwest Coast, Central Pomo, a Pomoan language of California, and Mohawk, an Iroquoian language of the Northeast. Zúñiga and Fernández's (this volume) contribution describes the heavily lexically restricted and idiosyncratic antipassive construction in Basque. Finally, the contribution by Say (this volume) discusses

cross-linguistically recurrent patterns in the interaction between antipassive and a verb's lexical meaning, as well as language-specific semantic factors which favor or hinder the ability of individual verbs to participate in the antipassive alternation.

7. Related constructions

A range of constructions typically shares functional and formal properties with the antipassive construction and several contributions to the present volume addressed this issue of fuzzy boundaries. In this section we briefly outline some of them and highlight how they differ from and are similar to the antipassive construction as defined in this introduction.

P incorporation is one of the constructions which is similar to the antipassive (see e.g. Croft 2012: 333–334; Vigus 2018: Section 5.3), and some theoretical approaches even treat all antipassive constructions as cases of incorporation (e.g. Baker 1988). Some papers in the present volume discuss the similarities and differences between these two constructions, see Moyse-Faurie on P incorporation constructions in Oceanic languages and Creissels on Soninke. The incorporation of P results in a construction in which the incorporated element displays a reduced mobility, is incompatible with determiners, and has a non-specific (generic) interpretation. The P incorporation construction is similar to the antipassive because it is also a detransitivization mechanism in which the P argument loses the properties of a core argument. In (29), the P argument *qora* 'reindeer' is incorporated into the verb, however, the semantic role it is assigned to cannot be mapped on any NP.

(29) Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan; Dunn 1999: 222)
Taŋ-amənan Cəkwaŋaqaj ɣa-qora-nm-at-len
INTS-alone Cəkwaŋqaj.3SG.ABS PRF-reindeer-kill-VB-3SG
qora-ŋə təm-nen ŋelɣ-ə-n jən-nen
reindeer-3SG.ABS kill-3SG.A.3SG.P hide-E-3SG.ABS take.off-3SG.A.3SG.P
'Cəkwaŋqaj all by himself slaughtered reindeer. He killed a deer, took off its hide.'

In Chukchi, but also in other languages, the P incorporation construction can serve to express events which are conceived to be socially salient, stereotyped, or ritualized. In (29), the predicate highlights the ritual activity of reindeer-killing, which in the cultural context of Chukchi means "killing of a domestic meat reindeer with a knife in the prescribed manner with all attendant ritual" (Dunn 1999: 223). (See also Classical Nahuatl by Launey 1980 on the employment the P incorporation in the context of ritually performed celebration.) Importantly, in some languages, antipassives can serve a similar purpose. In Tzotzil (Mayan), marked antipassive

verbs are used in a ritual context to denote events with highly specific semantics. For instance, the verb form *-ʔuch'-van*, 'drink-ANTIP' means 'to promise to give out one's daughter for marriage by accepting a (specific) drink' (Haviland 1981: 275).

In Mam (Mayan), the marked antipassive construction can serve to incorporate the P argument (England 1983: 110). This situation is, however, atypical from a cross-linguistic perspective, in that P incorporation constructions in most cases do not carry an antipassive marker. A lack of the antipassive marker in the P incorporation construction is sometimes taken as a formal indication distinguishing this construction from the antipassive. This position is, for instance, adopted by Foley (2007: 435) in the discussion of Chukchi.

Another construction similar to the antipassive construction is the P omission construction often discussed in the literature under the term 'A-(preserving-) lability' or 'ambitransitivity' and is considered by some authors as an instance of an unspecified object alternation (Heath 1976: 203). The verb in this alternation preserves its semantic argument structure in that when it is used intransitively, it semantically implies the same number of arguments as in the transitive construction, just with the P argument left unexpressed. Moyse-Faurie (this volume) reports the existence of P omission constructions in East Uvean, as in (30).

(30) East Uvean (Austronesian, Oceanic; Moyse-Faurie, this volume)

a. *'E huo e Soane tana gāue'aga 'ufi.*
NPST weed ERG Soane 3SG.POSS.A field yam
'Soane is weeding his yam field.'

b. *'E huo ia Soane.*
NPST weed ABS Soane
'Soane is weeding.'

In (30), the P omission construction entails a change in the coding of the A argument. Flagged as ergative argument in (30a), *Soane* occurs in the absolutive form in (30b). This alternation, however, does not entail any formal change on the verbal predicate. The modification in the flagging of the A argument is thus the only formal indication that we are dealing with a syntactically intransitive construction. On the other hand, like the antipassive, the P omission construction preserves the argument structure of the transitive verb. In (30b), the verb *huo* 'weed' assigns the same semantic roles as in the transitive construction in (30a): the core argument *Soane* assumes the role of the agent, whilst the P argument is syntactically omitted though semantically implied.

Differential object marking (or DOM) is another construction which is formally and functionally similar to the antipassive. DOM refers to a situation where the P argument is coded in different ways, depending primarily on its referential properties (see Bossong 1982, 1985 for the first uses of the term or the recent

publication by Witzlack-Makarevich & Seržant 2018, among many others). The Spanish example in (31) illustrates this pattern: the inanimate P argument *la nueva iglesia* 'the new church' in (31a) is unmarked, on the other hand, in (31b), the animate P argument *un bailarín* 'a ballet dancer' is marked with the preposition *a*.

(31) Spanish (Indo-European, Romance; Hopper & Thompson 1980: 256; de Swart 2006: 250)

a. *Esta mañana he visto la nueva iglesia.*
this morning have.1SG seen DEF new church
'This morning I saw the new church.'

b. *Celia quiere mirar a un bailarín.*
Celia wants watch.INF OBJ INDEF ballet.dancer
'Celia wants to watch a ballet dancer.'

The formal similarity of DOM to the antipassive construction lies in the modification of the marking of the P argument. The semantic/pragmatic similarity lies in the referential properties of this argument that determine the choice of the construction (e.g. the degree of identifiability, cf. Section 5.1). However, in contrast to the antipassive construction, DOM does not involve any changes of syntactic properties of the P argument (Witzlack-Makarevich & Seržant 2018: 25–26), nor is there ever an overt marker on the verb.

One subtype of DOM, the total vs. partitive alternation, deserves a separate mention here. In this alternation, the distribution of various P markers is determined primarily by event semantics, such as affectedness of the P argument and resultativity. The phenomenon is well-known in the description of certain areas and families, most prominently in the Finnic (see e.g. Larsson 1983)[7] and some neighboring Indo-European languages. Moyse-Faurie (this volume) discusses antipassive-like constructions with the partitive reading in some Oceanic languages (see also Budd 2014), whereas Hopper & Thompson (1980: 263) mention the availability of the partitive reading of the antipassive construction for a number of other languages. As is the case with DOM (see the preceding paragraph), the partitive constructions formally involve modification of the marking of the P argument and is thus similar to the antipassive construction, however it does not involve any overt marker on the verb.

The biabsolutive construction in Nakh-Daghestanian languages is also in some formal and functional ways similar to the antipassive construction (see Forker 2012; Gagliardi et al. 2014; Comrie et al., this volume). Examples from Avar illustrate

7. The use of the partitive case marking is not limited to P arguments in Finnish, see e.g. Huumo (2018) on the partitive A arguments and their status.

the contrast between the ergative construction in (32a) and the biabsolutive construction in (32b). In (32a) the A argument is in the ergative and neither the main verb nor the auxiliary agrees with it. In (32b) the A argument is in the absolutive and triggers agreement with both the suffix *-l* on the verb and the prefix *r-* on the auxiliary.

(32) Avar (Nakh-Daghestanian; Bokarev 1949: 113)

a. *hez nux ha-b-ule-b b-ugo.*
they.ERG way(III) make-III-PTCP.PRS-III III-be.PRS
'They are building the road.'

b. *hel nux ha-b-ule-l r-ugo.*
they.ABS way(III) make-III-PTCP.PRS-PL PL-be.PRS
'They are in the state of building a road. They build a road.'

Though the details differ between the individual Nakh-Daghestanian languages, this construction is used with transitive verbs and is restricted to the imperfective aspect. It is characterized by the absolutive marking of both A and P arguments. According to one analysis, the biabsolutive construction can be treated as an aspect-based alignment split: in the perfective aspect case marking and agreement follow the ergative pattern, whereas in the imperfective aspect case-marking is neutral and both arguments trigger agreement (see the discussion in Forker 2012). On the one hand, both formal and functional properties of the biabsolutive construction are in some ways similar to the antipassive construction. Formally, the A argument is in the absolutive and now controls some verb and auxiliary agreement. Semantically, the biabsolutive construction has a habitual/iterative meaning and is preferentially used with P arguments that have a low degree of individuation (cf. Section 5.1). On the other hand, in contrast to the antipassive construction, the biabsolutive construction is not formally marked via verb morphology and the P argument is not demoted.

In addition to the aforementioned constructions, there are also less-known constructions which deviate from the consensus examples of the antipassive construction in terms of formal or function properties. Arkadiev & Letuchiy (this volume) discuss one of them in Circassian languages. These languages have two kinds of the antipassive construction: one is called ' canonical antipassive construction' and the other one they call ' indirect antipassive'. The latter deviates from the common antipassive construction in that it is derived from bivalent intransitive verbs rather than from transitive verbs. The example (33a) illustrates the active construction with a bivalent intransitive verb and (33b) shows the antipassive construction, which is also syntactically intransitive. The indirect antipassive exhibits several formal properties of the antipassive: the verb is overtly marked (the antipassive

marking is indicated by the alternation of the final vowel in a verbal stem, e.g. *ə ~ e*), the non-agentive core argument is omitted, and the semantic role of the subject argument is unaffected. The indirect antipassive also parallels the functional characteristics of the standard antipassive. Like the latter, it eliminates the less agentive participant, which is considered to be irrelevant, unknown or non-specific in the discourse context.

(33) Kuban Kabardian
(Abkhaz-Adyghe, Circassian; Arkadiev & Letuchiy, this volume)
a. *se ṣ̂ale-m s-**je**-ʔʷ**ənṣ̂ə**-ne.*
1SG boy-OBL 1SG.ABS-DAT-push-FUT
'I will shove that guy.'
b. *sabəj-xe-r me-**ʔʷənṣ̂e**.*
child-PL-ABS DYN-push.ANTIP
'The children are jostling.'

For the sake of space, we do not discuss other related constructions. They include actor voice constructions (Gerdts 1988; Aldridge 2011, 2012; Hemmings, this volume) and agent focus constructions in Mayan languages (Stiebels 2006; Heaton 2017: Section 11.3.3, this volume). See also Zúñiga & Kittilä (2019: 104–110) on other antipassive lookalikes.

8. Conclusion

Since the very early days of research on antipassive constructions, the range of themes outlined above continue to be revisited. They also appear in the individual contributions to the present volume. These contributions are organized along four main topics: The title of the first part, *Lexical semantics and event representation of antipassive constructions*, is self-explanatory. The second part, *Antipassive marking*, focuses on the formal means by which antipassive constructions are encoded. The papers collected in the third part, *Diachrony of antipassive constructions*, bring together scholars working on historical facets of the antipassive construction. Finally, the contributions to the fourth part, *Fuzzy boundaries*, explore the overlaps and distinctions between standard antipassives and constructions that are similar, but deviate from them in terms of formal or functional properties.

Abbreviations

The glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, additional abbreviations are as follows:

E	epenthetic schwa	REDUP	reduplicated
INTS	intensifier	SPC	specific article
PART	participial mood	TH	thematic suffix
PREP	preposition	VB	verb derivational suffix

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PART 1

Lexical semantics and event representation of antipassive constructions

CHAPTER 2

Antipassive propensities and alignment

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Antipassive constructions were once thought to be unique to languages with ergative/absolutive alignment. Subsequent work demonstrated their existence in languages with nominative/accusative alignment as well. Here antipassives are described in languages with a third kind of system, agent/patient patterning. The languages come from four genealogically and areally unrelated families indigenous to North America: Siouan, Haida, Pomoan, and Iroquoian. Antipassives in all three types of systems, ergative, accusative, and agent/patient, serve similar semantic and discourse functions, eliminating less topicworthy participants from the core. But the perception of a special link to ergativity is not unmotivated. Two explanations are given. One is the formal salience of the shift in argument marking resulting from detransitivization in ergative systems. The other is a by-product of syntactic constructions which require absolutive status of one of the arguments. In many cases antipassivization is exploited to meet this requirement. These two factors are illustrated with material from Hiligaynon, a language of the Philippines.

Keywords: agent/patient patterning, definiteness, ergativity, generics, nominalization, question formation, relativization; Central Pomo, Haida, Hiligaynon, Lakota, Mohawk, Austronesian family, Pomoan family, Siouan family

The term 'antipassive' was famously coined by Silverstein in his discussion of ergative/absolutive systems (1972), as a counterpart to the passive in nominative/accusative systems. Antipassives were in fact once thought to be unique to languages with ergative alignment (Silverstein 1976; Dixon 1979; Spencer 1991: 24). More recent work, however, has described them in various nominative/accusative systems, among them Nahuatl (Nouguier-Voisin 2005), Soninke (Creissels 2012), Sereer (Renaudier 2012), Mandinka (Creissels 2015), and some Bantu languages (Bostoen et al. 2015). More general discussion is in Janic (2013). Nevertheless, it is still often remarked that antipassives seem more common in ergative systems. The definition of Antipassive in the SIL Glossary of Linguistic Terms opens with the

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statement 'Antipassive voice is a voice in an ergative/absolutive language' <www.glossary.sil.org/term/antipassive-voice>. The Wikipedia entry for Antipassive states that 'The antipassive voice is found in ergative languages where the deletion of an object "demotes" the subject from ergative case to absolutive case' <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antipassive_voice>. This entry does continue with a comment that antipassives occur in certain languages with accusative patterning, but are rare in languages with active/stative patterning.

Here it is first shown that in addition to their occurrence in languages with ergative and accusative patterning, antipassives also appear in languages with agent/patient patterning. Such constructions are described and compared in four genealogically and areally unrelated languages: Lakota, a Siouan language of the North American Plains, Haida, an isolate of the Northern Northwest Coast, Central Pomo, a Pomoan language of California, and Mohawk, an Iroquoian language of the Northeast. The constructions vary in their pervasiveness and productivity, in some cases due to their diachronic sources. But all serve semantic and discourse functions similar to those in ergative and accusative systems: they eliminate mention of generic, non-specific, or insignificant patients/themes/goals, participants that tend to be less topicworthy.

The perception that there is a special relationship between antipassives and ergativity is not unfounded, however. Two kinds of factors contributing to this perception, noted by Polinsky (2013), are next explored. One is the fact that in ergative systems, antipassives cause a major shift in argument marking. The participant coded as ergative in a transitive clause is coded as absolutive in its antipassive counterpart. In nominative/accusative systems, however, participants coded as subjects are still subjects of antipassives, and in agent/patient systems, those coded as grammatical agents are still agents. The second factor is that in languages with syntactic constructions requiring absolutive status of a particular argument, antipassivization may be exploited to ensure this status. These two factors are illustrated with examples from Hiligaynon, an Austronesian language of the Philippines. Hiligaynon shows pervasive ergative patterning not only in the coding of core arguments, but also in a number of fundamental syntactic constructions. The Hiligaynon constructions serve discourse/semantic functions similar to those of the languages with nominative/accusative and agent/patient systems, but they also do more, playing significant roles in syntactic constructions that are deeply embedded in the grammar.

1. Siouan languages

Languages of the Siouan family are indigenous to a wide area covering much of the center of North America, from Canada to the Gulf, and from the Rockies in the West to the Southeast. Examples cited here are drawn from Lakota (Lakhota). Case is not marked on lexical nominals, but core arguments and their roles are identified by pronominal prefixes on verbs. Third persons are unmarked. (Acute accents here and throughout mark stressed syllables.)

(1) Lakota core arguments (Stan Redbird, speaker p.c.)

*phi-**wá**-ye*	'**I** cured (him/her)'	*phi-**má**-ye*	'(s/he) cured **me**'
*phi-**yá**-ye*	'**you** cured (him/her)'	*phi-**ní**-ye*	'(s/he) cured **you**'
		*phi-**wá-ni**-ye*	'**I** cured **you**'

This is an agent/patient system (Mithun 1991). The forms of the prefixes do not distinguish subjects and objects, but rather grammatical agents (those who voluntarily instigate events and are in control) and grammatical patients (those not in control but significantly affected).

(2) Lakota agent/patient system (Stan Redbird, speaker p.c.)

AGENTS		PATIENTS	
***wa**-psíče*	'**I** jump(ed)'	*í-**ma**-puze*	'**I**'m thirsty'
***ya**-psíče*	'**you** jump(ed)'	*í-**ni**-puze*	'**you**'re thirsty'
psíče	'(s/he) jump(ed)'	*í-puze*	'(s/he)'s thirsty'

Agent/patient systems are similar in some ways to active/stative systems, but the distinctions on which they are based are different. Semantic agents are often involved in actions like jumping, and patients in states like being thirsty, as in (2), so such systems have sometimes been identified as active/stative. The choice of pronominal paradigm is not determined by aspect or a distinction between actions and states however. It encodes the roles of participants. Living somewhere, being patient, being prudent, being hidden, being jealous, and lying are states, but those in such states are generally volitional instigators in control, and they are identified in Lakota with grammatical agent prefixes. Falling, giving out, fainting or dying, staggering, growing up, and getting well are events, but those involved are generally not in control. Verbs describing such events appear with grammatical patient prefixes.

(3) Lakota agent/patient system (Stan Redbird, speaker p.c.)

AGENTS in states		PATIENTS in events	
wa-*tʰí*	'I live, dwell'	***ma***-*híxpaye*	'I fell'
tą-***wá***-*la*	'I'm patient'	*tʰe*-***má***-*mni*	'I give out'
wa-*ksápa*	'I'm prudent'	***ma***-*t'é*	'I fainted, died'
iná-***wa***-*xme*	'I'm hiding'	***ma***-*čʰéka*	'I stagger'
iná-***wa***-*wizi*	'I'm jealous'	*i*-***má***-*čʰaɣe*	'I grew up'
wa-*xpáye*	'I'm lying'	*a*-***má***-*kisni*	'I got well'

True active/stative systems do occur, but they are quite rare. Because actions so often involve semantic agents, and states so often involve semantic patients, the two kinds of systems have not always been carefully distinguished in grammatical descriptions.

This is also not a "split intransitive", "split S", or "split ergative" system. The same agent and patient distinctions are made in intransitive and transitive clauses, based on semantic role. The clauses in (4), for example, are transitive, but each contains two grammatical patient prefixes, because none of the participants is considered a volitional instigator in control.

(4) Lakota transitives (Stan Redbird, speaker p.c.)

í-***ni***-***ma***-*ta*	'I (PAT) am proud of you (PAT)'
iyó-***ni***-***ma***-*kiphi*	'I (PAT) find you (PAT) congenial'

The system is semantically based but crystallized in the lexicon. Speakers do not make online decisions about pronominal paradigm choice: this is lexicalized with each verb stem.

Like other Siouan languages, Lakota contains a prefix *wa-*, which serves to detransitivize the verb. The demoted participant cannot be mentioned in the clause. Some examples are in (5).

(5) Lakota antipassive (Stan Redbird, speaker p.c.)

a.	*phíyA*	'cure (him/her)'	TRANSITIVE
	wá-*phiyA*	'cure (people)'	INTRANSITIVE
b.	*čhékiyA*	'pray to (him/her)'	TRANSITIVE
	wa-*čhékiyA*	'pray'	INTRANSITIVE

The prefix functions as an antipassive, eliminating an unknown, unimportant, non-specific, or generic participant from the core. An example of its use in spontaneous speech is in (6).

(6) Lakota antipassive (Stan Redbird, speaker p.c.)

***Wá**-phi-ye*	*wičháša=waŋ*	*ú-kta=škha …*
ANTIP-well-CAUS	man=a	come-IRR=HRSY
makes (people) well	a man	would come they say

'A medicine man was going to come [but his wife got sick].'

Hohé	*čhaŋnúŋpa*	*yuhá*	***wa**-čhé-ki-ya.*
that	pipe	have	**ANTIP**-weep-DAT
that	pipe	have	pray (to people)

'He's the one that prays with the pipe.'

The prefix *wa-* is derivational but pervasive, occurring in large numbers of vocabulary items. Like other derivational morphology, it creates new lexemes whose meanings are not necessarily completely predictable. Some samples from the Lakota dictionary by Ulrich (2011) are in (7). As can be seen, the implied patient may be animate, as in bewitch (people)' = 'do witchcraft', or inanimate as in 'buy (things)' = 'shop'.

(7) Lakhota antipassives (Ullrich 2011)

a.	*yužáža*	'wash (it)'	TRANSITIVE
	***wa**-yúžaža*	'do the laundry'	INTRANSITIVE
b.	*gmúŋkA*	'trap (him/her/it)'	TRANSITIVE
	***wa**-gmúŋkA*	'go trapping, be a trapper'	INTRANSITIVE
c.	*ablézA*	'realize, notice, observe (it)'	TRANSITIVE
	***wa**-áblezA*	'be observant'	INTRANSITIVE
d.	*ážiži*	'whisper about (him/her)'	TRANSITIVE
	***wa**-ážiži*	'gossip'	INTRANSITIVE
e.	*chéť'uŋgla*	'doubt, disbelieve (him/her/it)'	TRANSITIVE
	***wa**-čhéť'uŋgla*	'be skeptical'	INTRANSITIVE
f.	*ophéthuŋ*	'buy (it)'	TRANSITIVE
	***w**-ópȟethȟuŋ*	'shop'	INTRANSITIVE
g.	*yatkÁŋ*	'drink (it)'	TRANSITIVE
	***wa**-yátkAŋ*	'be an alcoholic'	INTRANSITIVE
h.	*gnáyAŋ*	'deceive, cheat, trick (him/her)'	TRANSITIVE
	***wa**-gnáyAŋ*	'be an imposter'	INTRANSITIVE
i.	*ȟmúŋǧA*	'bewitch (him/her)'	TRANSITIVE
	***wa**-ȟmúŋǧA*	'do witchcraft'	INTRANSITIVE
j.	*ičháȟyA*	'raise, bring up (him/her/it)'	TRANSITIVE
	***wa**-íčhaȟyA*	'garden'	INTRANSITIVE
k.	*khuwá*	'chase, pursue (him/her/it)'	TRANSITIVE
	***wa**-khúwa*	'hunt'	INTRANSITIVE
l.	*kté*	'kill (him/her/it)'	TRANSITIVE
	***wa**-kté*	'be victorious in battle'	INTRANSITIVE

Cognate antipassive prefixes can be seen throughout the Siouan family and reconstructed for Proto-Siouan (Mithun 1993). The diachronic source of the marker can no longer be discerned with any certainty, however.

2. Haida

Another language with an agent/patient pattern is Haida, a language isolate spoken in Northern British Columbia and Southern Alaska. Here core arguments are distinguished by pronominal clitics. The first person singular agent *hl* can be seen in the intransitive clause '**I** came in' and the transitive clauses '**I** see you', '**I** see him/her', and '**I** see (it)'. The first person singular patient *dii* can be seen in the intransitive '**I** sweated' and the transitive 'he sees **me**'. Grammatical patients normally precede grammatical agents in the clause.

(8) Haida agent/patient clitics (Leer 1977)

	Hl	*k̲ats'gan*	'**I** (AGT) came in.'
Dáng	***hl***	*k̲ínggang.*	'**I** (AGT) see you.'
'Láa	***hl***	*k̲ínggang.*	'**I** (AGT) see him/her.'
	Hl	*k̲ínggang.*	'**I** (AGT) see (it).'
Díi		*dangahltgán.*	'**I** (PAT) sweated.'
Díi		*hal k̲ínggang.*	'He sees **me** (PAT).'

Like their Lakota counterparts, these pronominal clitics do not represent subjects and objects. The agent clitic *hl* represents participants who are volitional and in control, while the patient clitic *dii* represents participants who are affected but not in control.

(9) Haida volition

	Hl	*k'ajúugan.*	'**I** (AGT) sang.'	(Leer 1977: 252)
	Hl	*súugan.*	'**I** (AGT) spoke up.'	(Leer 1977: 346)
	Hl	*k̲'áwgan.*	'**I** (AGT) was sitting.'	(Leer 1977: 364)
Án[1]	***hl***	*sáanjuudaang.*	'**I** (AGT) am resting.'	(Leer 1977: 316)
	Díi	*dlawíigan.*	'**I** (PAT) fell.'	(Leer 1977: 180)
	Díi	*gudangáay st'igáng.*	'**I** (PAT) am sad'	(Leer 1977: 192)
	Díi	*gaagaagan.*	'**I** (PAT) was weak.'	(Leer 1977: 212)
	Díi	*hlkwiidáang.*	'**I** (PAT) am in a hurry.'	(Leer 1977: 230)
	Díi	*k̲agangáydan.*	'**I** (PAT) choked.'	(Leer 1977: 271)

Also like that in Lakota, this is not an active/stative system. Some of the agent clitics appear with actions and other events, like 'sing' and 'speak up', but others appear

1. The particle *án* is a reflexive.

with states, like 'be sitting' and 'be resting'. Some of the patient clitics appear with events, like 'fall' and 'choke', while others appear with states, like 'be sad' and 'be weak'. Pronominal choice distinguishes volitionality and control. Also as in Lakota, this system is not "split intransitive", "split S", or "split ergative". The same principles determine pronoun choice in intransitive and transitive clauses. The transitive clause in (10) has two patient pronouns, because neither of the participants is considered in control.

(10) Haida transitive (Leer 1977: 147)
Dáng ***díi*** *guláa-gang.*
2SG.PAT **1SG.PAT** like-PRS
'**I** (**PAT**) like you (PAT).'

Haida also has antipassive constructions, marked with a verbal prefix *ta-* or *ga-*.

(11) Haida *tl'íi* 'sew' (Leer 1977: 75)
a. *Aadáay hal tl'íi-gan.*
net 3SG sew-PST
'He sewed the net.' TRANSITIVE
b. *Hal tl'íi-gan.*
3SG sew-PST
'He sewed (it).' TRANSITIVE
c. *Hal* ***ta****-tl'íi-gan.*
3SG **ANTIP**-sew-PST
'He sewed.' INTRANSITIVE

(12) Haida *táa* 'eat' (Lawrence 1977: 352, 184)
a. *K'áaw uu hl táa-gang.*
fish egg FOC 1SG.AGT eat-PRS
'I'm eating fish eggs.' TRANSITIVE
b. *Hl* ***ga****-táa-gang.*
1SG.AGT **ANTIP**-eat-PRS
'I'm eating.' INTRANSITIVE

A demoted participant cannot be mentioned in the clause, though its existence is inferred.

Like the Lakota *wa-*, the Haida antipassives are pervasive.

(13) Haida antipassives
a. *t'ánsgat* 'launder (it)' TRANSITIVE
ta*-t'ánsgat* 'do the laundry' INTRANSITIVE
b. *hlk'yáawdaal* 'sweep it (i.e. the house)' TRANSITIVE
ta*-hlk'yáawdaal* 'do the sweeping' INTRANSITIVE

c.	***x̲áy***	'knit/crochet'	TRANSITIVE
	***ta*-x̲ay**	'knit'	INTRANSITIVE
d.	*wahdáa*	'bark at'	TRANSITIVE
	ta*-*wahdáa	'bark'	INTRANSITIVE
e.	*hldanúu*	'eat (it)'	TRANSITIVE
	ta*-*hldanúu	'eat'	INTRANSITIVE
f.	*k̲'iinaan*	'iron (it/them)'	TRANSITIVE
	***ta*-k̲'iinaan**	'iron clothes'	INTRANSITIVE

Also like the Lakota *wa-*, the Haida antipassives are derivational, creating new lexical items. In some cases, the resulting lexicalized verbs, reanalyzed as chunks, have even taken on new transitive uses. (Interlinear glosses have been added.)

(14) Haida transitive (Lawrence 1977: 251, 348)
kíngkwdang 'instruct, receive a message, get word'
ta*-*kíngkwgang 'order, send for'
a. *Hl k̲áayd-aay kunáast díi hal kingkwdang-gan.*
1SG.AGT leave-INF before 1SG.PAT 3 instruct-PST
'She instructed me before I left.' TRANSITIVE
b. *Táawk hl* ***ta*-*kíngkwgang-gan.***
food 1SG.AGT **ANTIP**-instruct-PST
'I ordered some food.' TRANSITIVE

In (14b), the person instructed, the one from whom the food was ordered, is no longer an argument. The food is considered a core argument because it is not followed by a postposition.

No differences in meaning between the two antipassive prefixes are described in the sources, though Leer (1977: 74) notes that *ga-* is less common than *ta-*.

A likely diachronic source of the *ga-* antipassive prefix is an indefinite plural pronoun *ga(a)/gyaa*. This pronoun cannot be specific or referential.

(15) Haida indefinite pronoun (Skidegate dialect; Enrico 2003: 449)
A. 'Did she buy buttons for it?'
B. *Gam xan-ʔaa. Hawxan* ***ga/gyaa*-*gi*** *'ll sdahll-ga.*
not.yet still **INDF**-PP 3 need-PRS
'Not yet. She still needs **some**.'

As a pronoun, *ga* is a separate word and can be focused.

(16) Haida focused indefinite pronoun (Masset dialect; Enrico 2003: 452)
'I gave her some cookies.'
Ga*-*.uu *'la taa-gan.*
INDF-FOC 3 eat-PST
'She ate **some of them.**'

Enrico (2003: 1263–1267) has proposed a source for the other antipassive prefix *ta-*, though this is much more speculative. He cites the noun *ta(a)* 'salmon'. A trajectory of development might be imagined along the following lines, beginning with the incorporated nouns in (17).

(17) Haida incorporated noun (Enrico 2003: 1263–1264)

a.	*t'ats'gang*	'pack in'	TRANSITIVE
	ta*t'ats'gang*	'pack dry fish in boxes for storage; pack fish in cans for canning'	INTRANSITIVE
b.	*k'yaada*	'hang multiple objects'	TRANSITIVE
	ta *k'yaada*	'hang fish in smokehouse'	INTRANSITIVE
c.	*taanra*	'go for on vehicle'	TRANSITIVE
	ta *taanra*	'go for dogsalmon on boat'	INTRANSITIVE
d.	*'waa.alang*	'barbecue'	TRANSITIVE
	ta *'waa.alang*	'barbecue fish'	INTRANSITIVE
e.	*ts'uwaang*	'fillet so that fillets remain attached on edges'	TRANSITIVE
	ta *ts'uwaang*	'fillet salmon, leaving fillet attached'	INTRANSITIVE

Extension to more uses could have resulted in more general, abstract meaning, as in (18).

(18) Haida semantic extension (Enrico 2003: 1266)

a.	*yaadgaang*	'rock in arms'	TRANSITIVE
	ta *yaadgaang*	'rock a baby in arms'	INTRANSITIVE
b.	*skuntl'a*	'kiss'	TRANSITIVE
	ta *skuntl'a*	'kiss people'	INTRANSITIVE
c.	*k'anhluu*	'throw rocks at'	TRANSITIV
	ta *k'anhluu*	'throw rocks'	INTRANSITIVE

The functions of the Haida antipassives are in any case similar to the Lakota antipassive. They indicate the involvement of a generic or peripheral participant, non-referential but implied. This participant may be animate or inanimate.

3. Pomoan

The Pomoan language family is indigenous to Northern California. Examples cited here are from speakers of Central Pomo, spoken approximately 100 miles north of San Francisco, from the Pacific Coast to about 40 miles inland. Here pronouns are free, but they, too, show agent/patient patterning.

(19) Central Pomo pronouns (Frances Jack, speaker p.c.)
ʾa: ***mt̪o*** *hq'úm=ʾkʰe.*
1SG.AGT **2SG.PAT** kill=IRR
'**I**'m going to kill **you**.'

The distinction is based on control and affectedness: grammatical agents are in control, while grammatical patients are not in control but are significantly affected. (Referents for whom affectedness is not specified are referred to with the semantically unmarked agent forms.)

(20) Central Pomo agents and patients (Frances Jack, speaker p.c.)

AGENTS		PATIENTS	
ʾa: *sbíčʾ*	'**I** got up.'	***t̪o:*** *q'álaw'kʰe*	'**I**'ll die.'
ʾa: *pʰadé:n*	'**I** swam.'	***t̪o:*** *qʰá: snam'kʰe*	'**I**'ll drown.'
ʾa: *swe:lan*	'**I**'m playing.'	***t̪o:*** *ʾiʾt̪ʾé:čya*	'**I** choked.'
ʾa: *čáčʾ*	'**I** escaped.'	***t̪o:*** *ʾná:ya*	'**I** forgot.'
ʾa: *ma: báhčʾin*	'**I**'m conceited.'	***t̪o:*** *smá pʰta:*	'**I**'m sleepy.'
ʾa: *ʾná:čʾ*	'**I**'m hiding.'	***t̪o:*** *ʾtʰál*	'**I**'m in pain.'

Like those in Lakota and Haida, this is not an active/stative system. The examples in (20) with grammatical agents describe both actions ('swim', 'escape') and states ('being conceited', 'hiding'). Those with grammatical patients similarly describe both events ('choke', 'forget') and states ('be sleepy', 'be in pain'). The fundamental distinction is one of control.

Also, as in the Lakota and Haida systems, the categorization has nothing to do with transitivity. Transitive clauses can contain an agent and a patient pronoun, two agents, or two patients, as in (21), depending on control and affectedness.

(21) Central Pomo transitive (Frances Jack, speaker p.c.)
T̪o:*=wa* ***mt̪o*** *ʾyá:qan?*
1SG.PAT=Q 2SG.PAT remember
'Do **you** (PAT) remember **me** (PAT)?'

Central Pomo also contains an antipassive construction, marked with the proclitic *ba*=.

(22) Central Pomo antipassive (Florence Paoli, speaker p.c.)
ʾdú- '(man) to marry' TRANSITIVE
bá:*=ʾdu-* '(man) to marry' INTRANSITIVE

Mú:l ***bá:****=ʾdu-w* *kay*,
3SG.AGT **ANTIP**=marry-PFV too
'He married too, INTRANSITIVE
Oklahoma=ʾkʰe našóy *ʾdú-w.*
=from woman marry-PFV
married a woman from Oklahoma.' TRANSITIVE

(23) Central Pomo antipassive (Frances Jack, speaker p.c.)
maqó- 'bark at' TRANSITIVE
***bá**=maqó-* 'bark (at people)' INTRANSITIVE

Háyu min do: ʾa:,
dog like QUOT 1SG.AGT
***bá**=maqó-:ʾdu-w=ʾkʰe.*
ANTIP=bark-IPFV-PFV=IRR
'I'd be **barking** (at people) like a dog.' INTRANSITIVE

(24) Central Pomo antipassive (Frances Jack, speaker p.c.)
lówmuč' 'talk with' TRANSITIVE
***bá**=lowmuč'* 'converse' INTRANSITIVE

a. *Masá:n ʾmi: čáwyow **lówmuč'**,*
whiteman there go.in talk.with
'He went into the Whiteman's store and **talked with**
masá:n ʾmú:ṭu.
whiteman 3SG.PAT
him, that Whiteman.' TRANSITIVE

b. ***Bá**=lowmuč' šk'e dá:ʾduw ṭʰín.*
ANTIP=talk.with only want not
'She doesn't even want to **converse**.' INTRANSITIVE

(25) Central Pomo antipassive (Florence Paoli, speaker p.c.)
ʾélši- 'sell' TRANSITIVE
ba=ʾélši- 'sell (to people)' INTRANSITIVE

a. ***ʾélši**-w=ʾkʰe dá:ʾdu-w ʾmu:l.*
sell-PFV=IRR want-PFV 3SG.AGT
'She wants to sell it.' TRANSITIVE

b. *Meṭ' **bá**=ʾélši-w hlá-:ʾw-ač'.*
such **ANTIP**=sell-PFV go.PL-around-IPFV.PL
'They were going around **selling** that kind.' INTRANSITIVE

The diachronic source of the Central Pomo antipassive marker is clear: it is the indefinite human pronoun *bá:*, which still occurs as an independent word. The restriction of the antipassive construction to eliminating human participants from the clause continues the scope of the source.

(26) Central Pomo indefinite pronoun source (Eileen Oropeza, speaker p.c.)
***Bá:**=wa=ka mu:l ṭo: ṭéṭe-:n=ya?*
who=Q=INFERENTIAL that 1SG.PAT tell-IPFV=PERSONAL.EXP
'**Who** was it that was telling me now?'

The function of the antipassive in Central Pomo, like those in Lakota and Haida, is semantic. It eliminates an indefinite, generic, or unimportant participant from the set of core arguments of the clause. The demoted participant is implied, but it cannot be overtly mentioned.

4. Iroquoian

Languages of the Iroquoian family, indigenous to eastern North America, distinguish the functions of core arguments on pronominal prefixes in verbs. These, too, follow an agent/patient pattern, though the morphology is more complex. There is no nominal case. Examples here are drawn from speakers of Mohawk, spoken primarily in Quebec, New York State, and Ontario.

(27) Mohawk pronominal prefixes

AGENTS		PATIENTS	
k-*ató:rats*	'**I** hunt'	***wak***-*ahkátste'*	'**I** endure pain'
k-*ashé:tahs*	'**I** count'	***wák***-*hteron's*	'**I** am scared'
k-*atè:kwahs*	'**I** escape'	***wak***-*átie's*	'**I** lose it'
k-*entórha'*	'**I** am lazy'	***wak***-*í:ta's*	'**I** sleep'
k-*hseró:hen'*	'**I** am quick-tempered'	*te*-***wak***-*henráhtha'*	'**I** yell'

As can be seen here, grammatical agent pronouns like *k-* occur with both actions (hunting, counting, escaping) and states (being lazy, quick-tempered). Grammatical patient pronouns like *wak-* also occur with both states (enduring pain, being scared) and events (losing something, sleeping, yelling). Both also occur in transitive clauses. (Transitive AGENT>PATIENT combinations are in many cases now fused phonologically, so that the components are sometimes less transparent.)

(28) Mohawk transitives

í-***k***-*hsere's*	'**I** am chasing it/her'	***wák***-*hsere's*	'it is chasing **me**'
k-*éhsaks*	'**I** am looking for it/her'	***wak***-*éhsaks*	'it/she is looking for **me**'

Mohawk, like other Iroquoian languages, has a prefix with the basic form *-at-* which can have an antipassive effect, as in (29).

(29) Mohawk *-at-* (Kaia'titáhkhe' Jacobs, speaker p.c.)

a. *Rinòn:we's.*
ri-nonhwe'-s
1SG>M.SG-like-HAB
'I'm attracted to him' TRANSITIVE

b. *Wak**ate**nonhwè:tskon*.
wak-**ate**-nonhwe'-tsk-on
1SG.PAT-**MID**-like-FACIL-STATIVE
'I fall in love easily' INTRANSITIVE

(30) Mohawk *-at-* (Watshenní:ne Sawyer, speaker p.c.)

a. *onkwehón:we tehshakotíhsnie'*
onkwe=honwe te-hshakoti-shnie'
person=real DV-3PL>3PL-heal
'they heal Native people' TRANSITIVE

b. *teth**ónt**hsnie'*
te-t-hon-**at**-shnie'
DV-CISLOC-M.PL.AGT-**MID**-heal
'they heal there' INTRANSITIVE

c. *tew**áth**snie'*
te-w-**át**-shnie'
DV-NZ.AGT-**MID**-heal
'she heals' = 'nurse' INTRANSITIVE

Examples of these forms in spontaneous speech are in (31).

(31) Mohawk antipassive *-at-* (Watshenní:ne Sawyer, speaker p.c.)
Ó:nen ia'kwatkáhtho'
onen ia'-akw-at-kahtho-'
then TRLOC-1EXCL.PL.AGT-MID-look-PFV
then we looked there
'Then we saw
*thí:ken tsi nón: tew**áth**snie'*,
thiken tsi nonwe te-w-**at**-shnie'
that place where DV-NZ.AGT-**MID**-heal
that place where one heals (people)
the Healing Center, INTRANSITIVE
*teth**ónt**hsnie'*,
te-t-hon-**at**-shnie'
DV-CISLOC-M.PL.AGT-ANTIPASSIVE-heal
they heal (people)
where they do the healing, INTRANSITIVE
ne onkwehón:we tehshakotíhsnie'.
ne onkwe=honwe te-hshakoti-shnie'
the person=real DV-3PL>3PL-heal
the real people they heal them
they heal Native people.' TRANSITIVE

An anonymous reviewer cites one occasional semantic effect of antipassive constructions.

(32) Czech antipassive (Medová 2009: 30)

a. *Píšu tu disertaci už dva roky,*
write.1SG.PRES this dissertation.SG.ACC already two years
'I have already been writing this dissertation for two years,'
a kde nic tu nic.
and where nothing there nothing
'and nothing is coming out of it.'

b. *Píšu* ***se*** *s tou disertací*
write.1SG.PRES REFL WITH this dissertation.SG.INS
'I have been working my tail off with this dissertation
už dva roky,
already two years
for two years
a kde nic tu nic.
and where nothing there nothing
and nothing is coming out of it.'

A similar effect is cited for a Mohawk verb by Bonvillain.

(33) Mohawk (Bonvillain 1994: 96)

a. *Te-hs-ohtáhro-hs ken?*
DV-2SG.AGT-clean-HAB Q
'Are you tidying up?

b. *Te-hs-****at****-ohtahro-hs ken?*
DV-2SG.AGT-**MID**-clean-HAB Q
'Are you cleaning up?' (implying a big job)

The source of the Mohawk prefix *-at-* is still clear: it is a middle voice marker, descended from a reflexive. The development REFLEXIVE > MIDDLE > ANTIPASSIVE is not uncommon crosslinguistlcally (Genušienė 1987; Cennamo 1993; Kemmer 1993; Fici 2004; Giacalone Ramat 2008, among others). As a reflexive, Mohawk *-at-* indicates that there are two participants, most often a semantic agent and patient, but the referents are the same. In Iroquoian languages, these morphological reflexive verbs are grammatically intransitive: Mohawk *k-****at****-konhs-óhares* (1SG.AGT-**REFL**-face-wash-HAB) 'I face-wash **myself**' = 'I wash my face'. As a middle, the prefix indicates that the distinction between the two roles has become blurred, and again the result is an intransitive: *k-****at****-ít-a'-s* (1SG.AGT-**MID**-be.in-INCH-HAB) 'I get in' (as into a car), *k-****at****-á:wen-hs* (1SG.AGT-MID-bathe-HAB) 'I bathe'. The next step in the development is the backgrounding of one of the roles. For these constructions

with an antipassive effect, it is the patient that is backgrounded. Since the time of Proto-Iroquoian, the original Iroquoian reflexive prefix has been renewed with reduplication, so that it is now usually *-atat-*. The middle function of *-at-* is robust across the daughter languages. The antipassive function is less pervasive.

As these examples from Lakota, Haida, Central Pomo, and Mohawk show, antipassive constructions are certainly not limited to ergative systems, or even to ergative and accusative systems, but occur in agent/patient systems as well. In languages with all of these patterns they have similar semantic effects which can be exploited for discourse purposes, backgrounding a generic or a less topical patient/theme/goal, and eliminating it from the set of core arguments.

5. Why the ergative-antipassive association?

As noted by Polinsky (2013), though some researchers have insisted on a link between antipassives and ergative alignment, a survey of the languages in the WALS sample 'shows no principled correlation between ergativity and the antipassive'. Yet as seen at the outset, the perception persists that antipassives favor ergative/absolutive systems. Two main factors can be seen to underlie this perception. One involves the ergative coding of arguments. The other involves ergatively-based syntactic constructions. Each is illustrated here with material from Hiligaynon, an Austronesian language of the Philippines, also known as Ilonggo. A member of the Visayan subgroup, it is spoken primarily in the provinces of Iloilo, Negros Occidental, Guimaras, Capiz, and in South Cotabato, Sultan Kudarat, and neighboring areas. It should be noted that not all Philippine languages pattern in exactly the same ways.

In Hiligaynon, the roles of core arguments are distinguished on pronominal clitics, on determiners before lexical nominals, and within the verb morphology. All show clear ergative/absolutive patterning, as can be seen in (34).

(34) Hiligaynon argument structure (Joshua De Leon, speaker p.c.)

a. *Nag-lúmpat* ***silá***.
PFV.INTR-jump **3PL.ABS**
'**They** (ABS) jumped.' INTRANSITIVE

b. *Ma-sákit* ***silá***.
IPFV.INTR-be.sick **3PL.ABS**
'**They** (ABS) are sick.' INTRANSITIVE

c. *Naga-hámpang* ***silá*** *sa pamulákan.*
IPFV.INTR-play **3PL.ABS** OBL garden
'**They** (ABS) were playing in the garden.' INTRANSITIVE

d. *Kihád-a* ***silá*** *nga kwadrádo.*
slice-TR.IMPER **3PL.ABS** LK cube
'Slice **them** (ABS) into cubes.' TRANSITIVE

e. *Kadlaw-án ka gid* ***nilá****.*
laugh.at-IRR.TR 2SG.ABS surely **3PL.ERG**
'**They** (**ERG**) will surely laugh at you.' TRANSITIVE

The full pronominal clitic paradigms are in (35).

(35) Hiligaynon pronominal clitics

	ABSOLUTIVE	ERGATIVE	OBLIQUE
1SG	*akó*	*ko*	*ákon*
2SG	*ka, ikáw*	*mo*	*ímo*
3SG	*síya, sya*	*níya, nyá*	*íya, yá*
1PL.INCL	*kitá*	*náton*	*áton*
1PL.EXCL	*kamí*	*námon*	*ámon*
2PL	*kamó*	*nyo*	*ínyo*
3PL	*silá*	*nilá*	*íla*

The determiner paradigms are in (36). Proper names referring to specific persons, here termed PERSONAL, are distinguished from other nominals, here termed COMMON.

(36) Hiligaynon determiners

	ABSOLUTIVE	ERGATIVE	OBLIQUE	LOCATIVE
COMMON	*ang*	*sang*	*sang*	*sa*
PERSONAL	*si*	*ni*	*kay*	*(sa) kay*

As in other Philippine languages, verb morphology also indicates argument structure, distinguishing intransitives from transitives among other things, including realis/irrealis mode and perfective/imperfective aspect. Differences in transitivity can be seen in (37) and (38).

(37) Hiligaynon transitivity (Joshua De Leon, speaker p.c.)

a. ***Gin****-pangasawa* ***sang*** *tátay ko ang nánay ko.*
PFV.TR-marry **ERG** father 1SG.POSS ABS mother 1SG.POSS
'My father (**ERG**) married my mother (ABS).' TRANSITIVE

b. *Tapos* ***ang*** *tátay ko* ***nag****-asáwa liwát.*
the **ABS** father 1SG.POSS **PFV.INTR**-marry again
'Then my father (**ABS**) married again.' INTRANSITIVE

(38) Hiligaynon transitivity (Joshua De Leon, speaker p.c.)

a. ***Gin****-'áni* ***ko*** *ang mansánas.*
PFV.TR-harvest **1SG.ERG** ABS apples
'**I** (**ERG**) harvested the apples.' TRANSITIVE

b. ***Nag-'áni*** ***akó***.
PFV.INTR-harvest **1SG.ABS**
'**I** (**ABS**) harvested.' INTRANSITIVE

The change in transitivity has a salient effect on the form of core arguments. In the transitive 'My father married my mother', 'my father' is ergative, marked with the determiner *sang*. In its intransitive counterpart 'Then my father married again', 'my father' is absolutive, marked with the determiner *ang*. Similarly, in the transitive 'I harvested the apples', the pronoun 'I' is the ergative *ko*. In the intransitive counterpart 'I harvested', the pronoun 'I' is the absolutive *akó*. The shifts are more noticeable than in their nominative/accusative English counterparts, where *my father* is the subject of both ***My father*** *married my mother* and *Then* ***my father*** *married*. Similarly, the pronoun *I* is the subject of both ***I*** *harvested the apples* and ***I*** *harvested*, again with no change in form. In agent/patient systems all would be grammatical agents.

The Hiligaynon constructions differ slightly from prototypical antipassives in that transitives are not necessarily more basic than intransitives. Neither is more marked morphologically than the other, nor necessarily more pervasive in use. For this reason, some might prefer to characterize them as antipassive-like. Otherwise, however, they are generally similar to antipassives in other languages.

Hiligaynon antipassive constructions serve the same kinds of semantic functions as their counterparts in Lakota, Haida, Central Pomo, and Mohawk: they are used when a semantic patient/theme/goal is nonspecific or generic: 'someone, something', as above in 'I married (someone)' and I harvested (something)'. But they are much more frequent in speech, for two reasons.

One is that indefinite referents cannot be cast as absolutives of Hiligaynon transitive clauses. If I want to say something like 'I harvested apples', the apples cannot be absolutive, and so the clause cannot be transitive. In (39) they are not arguments, not preceded by a determiner.

(39) Hiligaynon indefinite patient (Joshua De Leon, speaker p.c.)
Nag-'áni *akó* *mansánas*.
PFV.INTR-harvest 1SG.ABS apples
'I harvested apples.' INTRANSITIVE

There is a general tendency cross-linguistically for discourse topics to be definite: speakers generally choose as their point of departure for a sentence a referent that is identifiable to the listener (Chafe 1976, among many others). This tendency has become crystallized in the grammar of Hiligaynon, a categorical requirement.

A second reason for the pervasiveness of detransitivized constructions in Hiligaynon is even more deeply embedded in the grammar. It is rooted in the form of participant nominalizations, nominalized clauses which refer to one of the

participants. In Hiligaynon, the referent must be the grammatical absolutive of the nominalized clause. Sometimes this requirement presents no problem, since the referent would be absolutive in any case.

(40) *the one **who** came* [**who-ABS** came]
*the one **that** I saw* [I saw **that-ABS**]

Other times it does.

(41) *the one **who** saw me* [**who-ERG** saw me]

To form a nominalization referring to what would otherwise be the ergative of a transitive clause, the clause must be detransitivized, eliminating the semantic patient/theme/goal from the set of core arguments. The semantic agent is then left as the sole argument of the resulting intransitive, an absolutive. The sentence in (42a) is a basic transitive. The verb can be nominalized by preceding it with the determiner *ang*, as in (42b). The resulting nominalization refers to the absolutive argument, the one killed. To form a nominalization referring to the killer, the verb must be detransitivized as in (42c), so that the agent is the only argument, again, the absolutive.

(42) Hiligaynon nominalization (Joshua De Leon, speaker p.c.)
a. Transitive
***Gin**-patay ko syá.*
PFV.TR-kill 1SG.ERG 3SG.ABS
'I killed him.'
b. Nominalized transitive
*ang **gin**-patáy*
ABS **PFV.TR**-kill
'the victim'
c. Nominalized intransitive
*ang **nag**-patáy*
ABS **PFV.INTR**-kill
'the killer'

When an otherwise transitive clause is detransitivized for nominalization, the semantic patient/goal/theme may still be mentioned in the clause, either unmarked like the apples in (39) above, or as an oblique, like 'my bag' in (43) below.

(43) Hiligaynon nominalization (Joshua De Leon, speaker p.c.)
*Ikáw [ang nag-kíta' **sang** bág ko].*
2SG ABS PFV.INTR-find **OBL** bag 1SG.POSS
'You're [the one who found my bag].'

The requirement that the referent be the absolutive of nominalized clauses has further repercussions in the grammar. This construction is the foundation of question constructions.

(44) Hiligaynon content question (Joshua De Leon, speaker p.c.)
*Sín' [**ang** nag-patáy sa íya]?*
who **ABS** PFV.INTR-kill OBL 3SG
'[The one who is the killer of him] is who?' = 'Who killed him?'

The nominalized clause '**X** killed him' must be grammatically intransitive, so that its referent **X**, the killer, is absolutive.

Nominalized clauses also function as relative clauses. The coreferential argument within the nominalized clause must be absolutive. In (43) the coreferential arguments in both of the relative clauses would be absolutive in any case. In the first, 'the basket [**which** was filled with the pears]', the basket is the sole argument of a nominalized intransitive clause '**X** (**ABS**) was filled'. In the second, 'the pears [**which** he had harvested]', the pears are the absolutive of a nominalized transitive clause 'he had harvested **X** (**ABS**)'.

(45) Hiligaynon relative constructions (Joshua De Leon, speaker p.c.)
Nagtingála sya, nga'a kuláng isá ka básket,
'He wondered why one basket was missing
[*nga punó' sang péras*],
LINKER full OBL pears
[**which** (**ABS**) was filled with the pears (OBL)],
[*sang íya nga gin-'áni*].
ERG 3SG LINKER PFV.TR-harvest
[**which** (**ABS**) he (ERG) had harvested]'

Often, however, the coreferential argument would not otherwise be the absolutive of a nominalized clause, as in (46) '**He** was harvesting the pears'. The harvester would be ergative. To serve as a relative clause, it must be detransitivized so that **X** is absolutive. The pears are cast as oblique.

(46) Hiligaynon relativization strategy (Joshua De Leon, speaker p.c.)
Sang nanáog ang táwo,
OBL **PFV.INTR**-descend ABS man
'When the man came down
*[nga **naga**-'áni sang péras]…*
LINKER **IPFV**.INTR-harvest OBL pears
[**who** (**ABS**) was harvesting the pears (OBL)]…'

Detailed descriptions of grammatical relations and alternative argument structures are in Mithun (2019).

The Hiligaynon antipassive-like construction thus has the same semantic function as its counterparts in Lakota, Haida, and Central Pomo, eliminating non-specific patients/goals/themes from the set of core arguments, though implying their involvement. It does much more, however. Antipassivization also plays a major role in syntactic constructions based on clause nominalization: participant nominalizations, some content questions, and relativization. All of these require absolutive status of a particular participant. Detransitivization of what would otherwise be transitive clauses ensures this.

6. Conclusion

It has become abundantly clear that antipassive constructions are not restricted to languages with ergative/absolutive alignment. They are also widespread not only among languages with nominative/accusative patterning, but also those with agent/patient patterning. Antipassives typically serve discourse/semantic purposes, eliminating less topicworthy participants from the core, especially indefinite, non-specific, and/or generic ones (or in some languages incompletely affected ones.) In the nominative/accusative systems described in the literature this function is easy to see in running discourse. In the agent/patient systems described here in Lakota, Haida, Central Pomo, and Mohawk, the same discourse patterns can be seen. In all of these languages antipassives are derivational and, accordingly, differ in their productivity and pervasiveness. Their diachronic sources can also affect their contexts of use. While many antipassives can function to background any kind of non-topical referent, as in Lakota and Haida seen here, those in Central Pomo, descended from the indefinite human pronoun *baa* 'who', background only humans. In Hiligaynon the backgrounding of certain participants has become crystallized in the grammar: indefinite referents (those considered unidentifiable to the listener) cannot be cast as absolutives of transitives.

Despite the fact that antipassives with similar discourse functions are well documented not only in ergative/absolutive systems, but also in nominative/accusative and agent/patient systems, there remains a perception of a special association between ergativity and antipassives. There are two reasons for this.

The first is simple noticeability. In nominative/accusative and agent/patient systems, antipassivization has less salient effects on argument coding. Subjects remain subjects, and grammatical agents remain agents. In ergative systems, however, the ergatives of transitive clauses correspond to absolutives of their intransitive antipassive counterparts.

The second involves the extent to which syntactic constructions show ergative/absolutive patterning. Such patterning is most commonly a requirement of absolutive status for a particular participant, illustrated here with Hiligaynon participant nominalization, question formation, and relativization. The pervasiveness of these constructions in Hiligaynon speech ensures that antipassivization is pervasive as well; it provides speakers with a device for coding semantic agents of what would otherwise be understood as transitive events as absolutives of intransitives.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations generally follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. Additional abbreviations are:

AGT	grammatical agent	HRSY	hearsay
CISLOC	cislocative	MID	middle
DV	duplicative	NZ	neuter-zoic gender
FACIL	facilitative	PAT	grammatical patient
HAB	habitual	TRLOC	translocative

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CHAPTER 3

Antipassive in the Cariban family

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To date, no published reference grammar of a Cariban language has described an antipassive construction. However, all languages of the family have a cognate verbal morpheme, termed DETRANSITIVIZER, which prefixes to a transitive verb to derive an intransitive verb. While monovalent, the detransitivized verb bears inflectional person morphology that is distinct from that of non-derived intransitive verbs. We collected all available text examples of detransitivized verbs from five Cariban languages (Akawaio, Hixkaryana, Kari'nja, Tiriyó, and Ye'kwana) and categorized them into formal and functional subtypes. Alongside the well-described functions of reflexive/reciprocal/middle, anticausative, and passive, we encountered a substantial number of examples that can only be characterized as antipassive: the S of the detransitivized verb corresponds to the A of the transitive verb from which it is derived and the P of the transitive verb is either absent or expressed in an oblique (locative) PP.

This paper has four goals: first, we present the detransitivized construction and explain the methodology by which we identify tokens of the construction functioning as an antipassive. Second, we present the results of our text counts – a significant number of the categorizable detransitivized tokens have the antipassive function – and we discuss why this phenomenon has been overlooked until now. Third, given that the detransitivized construction is semantically polysemous, we explore the conditions under which it has an antipassive reading, identifying one pragmatic and two semantic subtypes: Nontopical P, Semantically Absent P, and Locative P. Finally, we discuss the implications of these patterns for a diachronic typology of antipassive.

Keywords: Cariban family, antipassive, detransitivizer, valence

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1. Introduction

This paper is part of a larger project, in which we four co-authors are working together to understand voice in five languages of the Cariban family: Akawaio, Hixkaryana, Kari'nja, Tiriyó, and Ye'kwana.[1] Each of us has conducted primary fieldwork with one or more of these languages and constructed (or participated in the construction of) a database of glossed texts for at least one. Two of us have written reference grammars (Meira 1999; Cáceres 2011) and grammars exist for the other languages we treat here (Hoff 1968 for Kari'nja; Derbyshire 1985 for Hixkaryana; Fox 2003 for Akawaio). Although no reference grammar of any Cariban language has ever identified an antipassive construction, in going through our texts, we each encountered multiple examples like the Akawaio utterances in (1a)–(1b). In (1a), the transitive verb *a'chi* 'grab/catch/hold' indexes its P via the absolute prefix *Ø-* '3' and its A via the ergative enclitic *=i-ya* '3-ERG'. In (1b), the detransitivized verb *d-a'chi* 'DETR-grab/catch/hold' indexes its 'catcher' S via the absolute prefix *i-* '3' and the 'caught' participant is realized in a locative PP, *yöi pök* 'stick on'.

(1) Akawaio (Fox 2003: 352, 368)

a. **Active (transitive)**

P-V=A

tööp Ø-a'chi-'pï=i-ya ji mörö

grab! 3-hold-PST=3-ERG EMPH A.I.

'Tööp! He caught/held him then'

b. **Antipassive (detransitivized)**

[OBL] S-V

yöi pök i-d-a'chi-Ø mörö

stick on 3-DETR-hold-PRS A.I.

'He caught/held onto a branch'

The difference between (1a) and (1b) is readily described as a typical case of an antipassive derivation, as defined by Dixon (1979), Polinsky (2013), or Janic & Witzlack-Makarevich (this volume): the A of the transitive clause corresponds to the S of the antipassive clause and the P of the transitive clause is either coded as an oblique or is not expressed. Note that both Dixon and Polinsky add an additional criterion, which is that the antipassive verb is marked as being derived from the more basic transitive verb; while this final criterion is not definitional for Janic and

1. All four authors share responsibility for the interpretation and analysis of data. Each author gathered primary data for at least one language (as outlined in Table 1), and all four worked together to develop a protocol for determining valence categories and categorizing particular tokens. Most of the analysis was done during an extended series of working sessions conducted while rooming together in Lyon, France. The order of authors was decided collectively.

Witzlack-Makarevich (this volume), this difference is not crucial for us, since the morpheme *d-* 'DETR' meets the additional criterion. Based on these examples, we might construct a *prima facie* case that all five languages contain an antipassive construction; with a little investigation of texts, we predict that such examples will be readily encountered in every Cariban language.

Given that (1a) and (1b) seem to illustrate a typical antipassive alternation, one might ask how it is that every author of a Cariban grammar to date seems to have overlooked its presence. On the one hand, the grammar of the detransitivized construction has not been overlooked – it is described in some detail in every modern Cariban grammar, and it has even been the topic of a detailed comparative treatment (Meira 2000). In these descriptions, the canonical reading of the detransitivized construction is taken to be reflexive/reciprocal, with "pseudo-passive" and "idiosyncratic" readings also frequently mentioned. The antipassive function has been treated as a minor lexical idiosyncrasy associated with two-three verbs per language. A reasonable interpretation would be that the descriptions have analyzed the detransitivized construction as a single structural entity with multiple functions, among which the antipassive function is too minor to merit its own subsection.

In Section 2, we provide a brief survey of functions served by the detransitivized construction in our five languages, using each distinction as an opportunity to demonstrate our method for categorizing the construction into four different "voices" – reflexive/reciprocal/middle, anticausative, passive, and antipassive – and one residue category that we label "idiosyncratic". Following the presentation of our categorization method, we present the numerical results of using this method to identify every single token of a detransitivized verb and sort each into one of our five categories. In Section 3 we explore the lexical categories of transitive verbs that are attested with an antipassive reading when detransitivized, based on their occurrence in one pragmatic and two semantic subtypes of antipassive readings: Nontopical P, Semantically Absent P, and Locative P. An additional, idiosyncratic, category is reserved for cases where the relationship between the transitive and detransitivized verbs is unclear. In Section 4 we offer historical, methodological, and theoretical conclusions.

The Cariban family is comprised of some 25 languages spoken in South America in Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, Guyana, Suriname, and French Guiana. Most Cariban languages are small, with fewer than 4000 speakers; the exceptions are Makushi, Pemón, Kapóng, and Kari'nja, all of which have between 10,000 and 20,000 speakers. Existing classifications of the family are inconclusive, with about 15 relatively secure lower-level groups and a couple of reasonably well-supported branches linking these groups, but there is no consensus on higher level connections between these accepted genetic units.

In addition to examples and analyses available in the published literature, the four authors of this chapter have access to examples from primary descriptive and documentary work with speakers of one or more Cariban languages. In particular, as a part of our work, we have collaborated with speakers and other academic linguists to transcribe, translate, and annotate multiple corpora of spontaneous oral text. These corpora contain a mix of speech genres, primarily narrative (e.g. traditional stories, procedural descriptions, oral histories, online narrations of video stimuli, and personal narratives), with varying amounts of other genres (e.g. conversations, formal meetings, songs, curing chants, written material, etc.). See Table 1 for a summary of the text corpora that we draw on for functional characterizations of the constructions in question. Most examples come from our corpora, but those that are from published sources are cited as such.[2]

Table 1. Summary of text corpora

Language	Words	Source; Parser (where different)
Akawaio	11,888	Fox (2003); Gildea
Hixkaryana	8,892	Derbyshire (1965); Meira
Kari'nja	22,414	
a. Carib	11,017	Hoff (1968); Meira
b. Kari'nja	11,397	Sapién
Tiriyó	28,489	Meira
Ye'kwana	23,624	Cáceres Arandia

The five languages in Table 1 belong to five distinct low-level Groups: Akawaio to the Pemóng Group, Hixkaryana to the Parukuotoan Group, Kari'nja to the Kari'nja Group, Tiriyó to the Taranoan Group, and Ye'kwana to the Makiritare Group. Recent classifications differ as to the relationships between these five groups, but all agree that no more than three of them belong to any one major branch of the family. Meira (2005) combines Kari'nja, Taranoan, and Parukotoan into Guianan Branch, with Pemóngan and De'kwana in the Venezuelan Branch. Gildea (2012: 445) combines Kari'nja, Makiritare and Taranoan into the Guianan Branch, with Pemóng in the Venezuelan Branch and Parukotoan in its own branch. In preliminary phylogenetic work, Meira and Birchall (p.c.) do not link any of the five into a single

2. In the interest of transparent and consistent citation of primary material (Gawne et al. 2017), we reference examples from our unpublished corpora with the unique identifiers that we have assigned to each textual record in the Toolbox databases that contain our data. For each example, we indicate the name of the compiler of the database and present the identifier inside curly brackets. The form of these identifiers is idiosyncratic to each compiler.

branch at a level of .80 certainty until Proto-Cariban. As such, even though we are working with only five languages of the family, we feel safe in concluding that our findings are not representative of a genetic subgroup of the family but are likely to be replicable throughout the family.

2. The Cariban detransitivized construction

Three Cariban verb stem types are relevant to the present study: (basic) intransitive, (basic) transitive, and detransitivized. Basic intransitives require a single argument, S, indexed by means of a personal prefix and whose reference may be optionally specified with a noun phrase (2). Basic transitives require two arguments, A and P, indexed by, depending on the language, either a unique set of prefixes that indicate the person of both arguments (3) or a verbal prefix for one argument and an enclitic for the other (1a). Both are optionally specified with separate noun phrases (3). Detransitivized stems are morphologically derived by means of a detransitivizing prefix that occurs between a personal prefix (indexing the resulting S argument) and the verb root (4). We use A, P, and S in a strictly structural/syntactic sense to identify the three possible arguments: A and P are the two arguments in a transitive construction and S is the single argument of an intransitive (the "Comrian" approach as defined in Haspelmath 2011). Although these terms are structurally defined, it is nonetheless the case that A and P are distinguished as the structural arguments that represent the agent and the patient, respectively, in a basic transitive construction with prototypical agent-patient verbs, like 'kill' or 'break'.

(2) Tiriyó (Meira 1999: 548)
Intransitive
[[NP] P]PP s-V
wïkapau=ja *wï-tën*
deer=ALL $1S_A$-go:TAM
'I went to Deer's (village).'

(3) Kari'nja (Hoff 1995: 352)
Transitive
A [P] A>P-V
a:wu *mohko* *a-yu:mï* *s-uku:tï-i*
I he 2-father I.him-know-TAM
'I have known your father.'

(4) Kari'nja (Yamada's Toolbox database: {Cassava Demo 2006 JeNj 0039})
Detransitivized
s-V
eropo ky-n-os-e'kei-ja-ng
here 3.RM-3-DETR-bake-PRS-DBT
'Here she bakes.'

All Cariban languages documented to date have a single modern reflex of the proto-Cariban detransitivizing prefixes, **[w]e-* 'Reflexive' and **[w]ôte-* 'Reciprocal' (Meira et al. 2010: 505–512). Each language has several conditioned allomorphs (though some are not phonologically predictable) as illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2. Modern reflexes of Cariban detransitivizing prefixes

	**[w]e-*	**[w]ôte-*
Akawaio	*e-*	*et-, es-, e'- s-, t-*
Carib/Kari'nja	*we-*	*wot-, wos-, wo:-, wo-*
Hixkaryana	*e-*	*ote-, ot-, os-, o'-, at-, as-, a'-*
Tiriyó	*e-*	*ët-, ëës-, ëi-, ë-, et-*
Ye'kwana	*e-*	*ët-, ë-, at-, a-, ë'-*

The detransitivizing prefix in Cariban occurs only on transitive roots. We consider the resulting detransitivized stems to belong to a distinct verb class from inherently intransitive verbs due to their unique morphosyntactic characteristics, including a distinct set of personal prefixes in several TAM inflections, lack of a personal prefix in the imperative, and appearance of a modern reflex of the Proto-Cariban verb class marker **w-* 'S_A' in certain nominalized and adverbialized forms (see Meira 2000: 202–208 for a full description, with illustrative examples, of distinguishing characteristics).

In terms of functions, the Cariban prefix is appropriately labeled "detransitivizer" in that its primary function is structural: it simply removes one grammatical argument (Meira 2000: 218–221). The resulting detransitivized construction allows a range of possible readings of the remaining S argument. We identify meanings based on the interaction between arguments in the transitive source and the derived intransitive construction. Although our primary focus for this chapter is on the antipassive, as a part of our study we examined the variety of voice functions fulfilled by the detransitive construction. To explore these functions, we conducted an exhaustive inventory of detransitive stems found in our text corpora for these languages: Akawaio, Hixkaryana, Kari'nja (both Hoff's 1968 and Sapién's modern corpora), Tiriyó, and Ye'kwana. To better understand how the detransitivized verbs serve these functions, we examined all individual tokens of detransitive stems and

divided them into separate subcategories by comparing the two arguments of the transitive root (A and P) and the single argument (S) of the detransitivized stem. What we discovered is that the argument structure of the detransitive stem cannot be predicted from the argument structure of the transitive root: the role of the S of the detransitivized stem may be a unification of the roles of the transitive stem, combining both A and P of the transitive verb (interpreted as reflexive, reciprocal, or middle); it may assume only the P role (interpreted as passive or anticausative), or it may assume only the A role (interpreted as antipassive).

- S = A & P (the reflexive-reciprocal-middle type)
- S = P (the anticausative-passive type)
- S = A (the antipassive type)

Simple examples of S = {A + P} would be stems like Tiriyó *ë-ene* 'DETR-see – see self / each other', Akawaio *d-a'tu'ma* 'DETR-push.P – push self', or Ye'kwana *e-nnejenka* 'DETR-raise.P – grow up'. Simple examples of S = P would be Akawaio *e-goi'ma* 'DETR-cause.fever – get a fever', Hixkaryana *at-akaha* 'DETR-burst.P – burst (spontaneously)', or Kari'nja *o-onapy* 'DETR-eat (P = fruit) – be eaten'. Simple examples of S = A would be Akawaio *e'-nongga* 'DETR-leave.P – leave, depart' or Kari'nja *o-ky* 'DETR-grate.P (manioc) – grate' (as activity – the manioc is not specified, nor even grammatically specifiable).

The argument structure correspondences of S to A and P (unifying A and P, assuming the A role, assuming the P role) may be further refined based on different semantic/pragmatic/voice functions that are described in different ways in the literature, depending on additional criteria such as topicality, volitionality, morphological marking, and the presence or absence of syntactic structures such as oblique phrases. We subdivide each of the three clear structural categories into different functional categories as illustrated in Table 3.

Finally, we include a category we have termed *idiosyncratic*. This is not a "garbage can" category meant to hold the flotsam we were unsure how to categorize. Rather, in this category the meanings of the detransitivized verbs are not transparently related to their transitive counterparts, generally because the detransitivized verb has changed meaning sufficiently that we could not convince each other that the S argument clearly represents either A or P of the corresponding transitive verb. This could be due to the conventionalization of their use in a novel way, which leads to semantic shift over time.

The following examples from Akawaio and Kari'nja illustrate the range of functions a single detransitivized stem can be used for. In Akawaio, the transitive verb, *nongga* 'leave P (behind)' (5a) has a corresponding detransitivized stem *e'-nongga* that may be used for middle (5b) and antipassive (5c) as well as idiosyncratically

Table 3. Functions of detransitivized constructions

Correspondences	Event type	Example
S = {A + P} reflexive-reciprocal-middle	events that are equally likely to have distinct A and P	'A see P' → 'S see self'
	events where doing the action to yourself is physically quite different from doing the action to an independent P	'A take P out' → 'S take self out / exit' 'A teach P st.' → 'S teach self st. / learn'
S = P anticausative-passive	events with no semantic A	'A burn P' → 'S get burnt' (e.g. in sun) 'A lose P' → 'S get lost' (accidentally)
	events with a semantic A that is simply not expressible	'A sting P' → 'S get stung' 'A leave P behind' → 'S get left behind'
S = A antipassive	events with an unimportant or nonspecific P	'A grate P (manioc)' → 'S grate (activity)' 'A plant P (farm)' → 'S plant (activity)'
	events with no semantic P	'A leave P behind' → 'S leave/depart' 'A mock P' → 'S laugh'
	events with locative P	'A grab/hold P' → 'S grab/hold (onto P)' 'A step.on P' → 'S step (onto P)'

(5d), depending on the discourse context. In Kari'nja, the detransitivized form *wot-apoi* from the transitive verb *apoi*, 'take; hold; catch' (6a) may have reciprocal (6b), passive (6c), antipassive (6d), and idiosyncratic (6e) readings depending on context.

(5) Akawaio

a. **Transitive** (the baseline for identifying roles of A and P)
[P] V = A
koroba po-ng warawok nongga-'pï-i-ya
Koroba LOC-NMLZ boy leave-PST-3-ERG
'She left this man from Koroba.' (Fox 2003: 493)

b. **Middle** (S = {A + P})
ege-be rö ji tok e'-nongga-bödï-'pï
big-ATTR EMPH EMPH 3PL DETR-leave-PLAC-PST
'Then they remained (lit. 'left themselves') in great numbers.'
(Fox 2003: 507)

c. **Antipassive** (S = A)
y-e'-nongga-zak mang
3-DETR-leave-PRF 3.be.PRS
'She has left (i.e. quit her job).' (Fox 2003: 517)

d. **Idiosyncratic** (S ≠ A or P)
tok n-e'-nongga-i
3PL 3S-DETR-leave-RPST
'They stopped (metaphorically "left off" working).' (Fox 2003: 340)

(6) Kari'nja (Yamada's Toolbox database: {Fishing Film}, {Intv WiTo})

a. **Transitive** (the baseline for identifying roles of A and P)
sapitjapy woto t-apoi-se i-'ja
a.lot fish PTCP-catch-PTCP 3-AGT
'He has caught/taken a lot of fish!'

b. **Reciprocal** (S = {A + P})
ky-n-wot-apoi-seng ma moro
3.RM-3S-DETR-take-PST5.COL but 3IN.MD
'They took each other.' (i.e., they married each other)

c. **Passive** (S = P {A not expressible})
i-wot-apoi-seng
3-DETR-take-PST5.COL
'She was taken.' (i.e., kidnapped) (Hoff 1968)

d. **Antipassive** (S = A)
kyn-wot-apoi-ja-ng
3-DETR-grip-PST-DBT
'He grips.' (Hoff 1968: 290)

e. **Idiosyncratic** ('catch' in the sense of 'catch on fire')
wa'to wot-apoi-to'me 'ne ky-ni-po'manka-non moro
fire DETR-take-PURP really 3.RM-3AP-light-PRS.UNCTN 3IN.MD
arinjatu pinjo
cassava.pan under
'So that the fire can take (lit. 'catch itself'), she lights it under the pan.'
(Yamada's Toolbox database: {Cassava Demo 2006, HeAl})

Although this study is not a traditional discourse analysis (we do not look at discourse markers, turn-taking, or speech acts, for example), it is important to note that the discourse *context* is what initially led us to examine the varied functions of the detransitivized construction. Across the family, there are generally not dedicated constructions for functions such as passive or antipassive, so Cariban speakers rely on the grammar of the detransitive construction to foreground or demote particular arguments. It is context that allows speakers to disambiguate these functions.

2.1 Categorizing detransitivized verbs

The examples that follow illustrate the various meanings associated with the Cariban detransitivized construction, showing that such meanings are attested in all five of the languages. In the reflexive/reciprocal construction, the A and P are either the same entity (reflexive), or the two entities are both performing the action of the verb on each other (reciprocal) (7). We use middle here in the sense of Kemmer (1993) to refer to situations in which the S of the intransitive corresponds to the P (plus volition) of the transitive (8). Since it can be difficult to tease apart whether a particular construction is reflexive/reciprocal or middle, and since our primary focus is on the antipassive, we have collapsed the reflexive, reciprocal, and middle meanings in our discussion of frequency. However, see Section 2.2 for additional discussion of methodological questions that arose in identifying these functions.

(7) **Reflexive/reciprocal S = {A + P}**

a.	*ene*	'see P'	*s-ene*	'see self/each other'	Akawaio
b.	*oska*	'bite P'	*os-oska*	'bite self/each other'	Hixkaryana
c.	*enguuna*	'comb P'	*os-enguuna*	'comb self/each other'	Kari'nja
d.	*eta*	'hear P'	*ë-eta*	'hear self/each other'	Tiriyó
e.	*eicha*	'comb P'	*öt-öicha*	'comb self/each other'	Ye'kwana

(8) **Middle** (in the sense of Kemmer 1993) S = {A (volition) + P}

a.	*enuba*	'teach P'	*z-enuba*	'learn (teach self)'	Akawaio
b.	*kmoka*	'clean P'	*e-kmoka*	'clean up (self)'	Hixkaryana
c.	*antï'mo*	'seat P'	*ot-antï'mo*	'sit'	Kari'nja
d.	*:sika*	'remove P'	*ee-sika*	'come out'	Tiriyó
e.	*nnejenka*	'raise P'	*e-nnejenka*	'grow up'	Ye'kwana

In the anticausative (which Givón 2001 labels the middle), the S of the detransitivized verb corresponds to the P of the transitive (9). In the anticausative, the A of the transitive actually is not present semantically in the derived construction, giving the reading of a spontaneous event, i.e., one that has no causer. This differs from the passive, which we identify in the sense of Givón (2001), wherein the A of the transitive is semantically necessary, and may even be known or recoverable in the discourse, but it is not expressed (10).

(9) **Anticausative** S = P {no A}

a.	*nonnga*	'leave P'	*e'-nongga*	'remain'	Akawaio
b.	*akaha*	'burst P'	*at-akaha*	'burst'	Hixkaryana
c.	*empataka*	'flatten P'	*o-ompataka*	'spread out'	Kari'nja
d.	*jaima*	'scatter P'	*ëës-aima*	'scatter'	Tiriyó
e.	*e'tö*	'name P'	*öt-ö'tö*	'have name'	Ye'kwana

(10) **Passive** (in the sense of Givón 2001) S = P {A exists, but is not expressible}

a.	*ennajiga*	'throw P'	*z-ennajiga*	'be thrown'	Akawaio
b.	*onyhorye*	'repair P'	*os-onyhorye*	'be repaired'	Hixkaryana
c.	*enapy*	'eat P'	*o-onapy*	'be eaten'	Kari'nja
d.	*apuru*	'imprison P'	*ët-apuru*	'be imprisoned'	Tiriyó
e.	*wö*	'shoot P'	*e-wö*	'be shot'	Ye'kwana

The antipassive is defined as those situations wherein the S of the detransitivized clause corresponds to the A of the source transitive clause. In these cases, the transitive P may have different semantic, pragmatic, and syntactic statuses in the derived construction: sometimes the P is not present semantically (as in (11a)–(11b); sometimes the P is present semantically, but cannot be expressed and may or may not be identifiable in the discourse (11c)–(11e); and sometimes the P may be expressed in an oblique locative phrase. These possibilities are explored further in Section 3.

(11) **Antipassive** S = A {no P, P not expressible, or P in oblique phrase}

a.	*nonnga*	'leave P'	*e'-nonnga*	'leave'	Akawaio
b.	*ownohï*	'laugh at P'	*os-ownohï*	'laugh'	Hixkaryana
c.	*pomy*	'plant P'	*ot-pomy*	'plant'	Kari'nja
d.	*:rëtë*	'cross P'	*ee-rëtë*	'cross (over)'	Tiriyó
e.	*'dötö*	'cross P'	*e-'dötö*	'cross (over)'	Ye'kwana

Finally, we identify one category that we term idiosyncratic in that the S of the derived intransitive is not transparently the A or the P of the transitive construction on which it is based. In many of these cases, although the construction is clearly a derived intransitive structurally, their meanings appear to have been lexicalized in a way that make it difficult to interpret S as either A or P of the transitive stem without some creative analytical gymnastics (which, although fun to engage in, did not prove to be replicable amongst our group). For example, Akawaio *a'kwarga* 'force P' has two arguments, the A 'forcer' and the P 'forced one'; the detransitivized counterpart *d-a'kwarga* 'get upset' has a single argument, the S 'one who gets upset' (12a). It is not obvious whether 'getting upset' should be counted as an instance of 'forcing', and if it were, whether the 'one who gets upset' would correspond to the 'forcer' or the 'forced one'. Our practice has been to consider such examples as a team and, even though one or more of us might be able to tell a story that makes a plausible connection between the meanings of the transitive and the detransitivized verb, we take the conservative position that when any one of us retains a reasonable doubt, the example is put into the idiosyncratic category. This is the least frequent meaning type, representing only 0–10% of tokens in our corpora. We explore this category in more detail in Section 3.4.

(12) **Idiosyncratic** S of VDETR not obviously either A or P of VTR

a.	*a'kwarga*	'force P'	*d-a'kwarga*	'get upset'	Akawaio
b.	*owaxehto*	'confront P'	*os-owaxehto*	'stand'	Hixkaryana
c.	*apoi*	'hold P'	*ot-apoi*	'stay alive'	Kari'nja
d.	*ekï(kï)*	'trap P'	*ë-ekï(kï)*	'get married'	Tiriyó
e.	*ame*	'eat P (fruit)'	*at-ame*	'finish, run out'	Ye'kwana

Of particular interest, from both typological and descriptive perspectives, is the frequency with which the detransitivized construction results in an antipassive reading. Although the descriptive grammars and earlier comparative work on Cariban languages suggest as few as 2–3 verbs per language, our combined corpora illustrate that the antipassive function is much more robust than was previously described. Rather than a lexical idiosyncrasy of a few verbs per language as described by Meira (2000: 219), an antipassive reading was attested with 11–45% of the detransitivized verb stems and in 15–66% of actual uses of specific detransitivized stems. Table 4 provides raw numbers as well as percentages of verb stems (V) and tokens (T) found in each function. Reflexive, reciprocal, and middle are collapsed as a single category, followed by anticausative, passive, and those we term idiosyncratic, with the bottom row being the antipassive.

As expected, the idiosyncratic function is used in the lowest percentage of cases, representing from 0–18% of verbs and 0–10% of individual tokens. The Cariban detransitivized construction has been described as primarily a reflexive/reciprocal/middle construction, and this is reflected in the 24–51% of verbs and 21–59% of individual tokens for which it fulfills those functions. It appears as an anticausative with 6–29% of verbs and 2–27% of individual tokens, and as a passive with 18–41% of verbs and 8–30% of tokens. Like the reflexive/reciprocal and middle functions, the anticausative and passive functions are sometimes difficult to tease apart. However, a careful examination of these functions is beyond the scope of this chapter.

Most surprising is the percentage of verbs and tokens that occur with an antipassive reading, 11–45% and 15–66% respectively. Even in the corpora with the fewest examples of the antipassive, it is attested with many more verbs than the 2–3 detransitive verbs previously identified as lexically antipassive, and even in the corpus where this function is the least productive, it is attested with 15% of tokens. This result is unexpected, a case in which examining a text corpus of natural and naturalistic speech yields quite a different body of data result from that obtained solely through lexical elicitation.

Before examining the antipassive examples in more detail, in Section 2.2 we briefly address some questions that have arisen about the details of our method for categorizing detransitive stems into these five functions, in particular regarding some examples that led to extensive discussion in our group.

Table 4. Number of DETRANSITIVIZED verbs (V) and tokens (T) in each function

	Akawaio				Hixkaryana				Kari'nja				Carib				Tiriyó				Ye'kwana			
	V		T		V		T		V		T		V		T		V		T		V		T	
Refl/Rec/Mid	19	42%	45	35%	27	50%	68	35%	16	33%	36	21%	13	33%	30	28%	47	51%	256	59%	10	24%	119	34%
Anticaus	9	20%	35	27%	12	22%	34	17%	3	6%	4	2%	4	10%	7	6%	19	20%	37	9%	12	29%	85	24%
Passive	8	18%	10	8%	17	31%	59	30%	12	24%	17	10%	16	41%	30	28%	24	26%	45	10%	10	24%	27	8%
Idiosyncratic	8	18%	13	10%	1	2%	1	1%	1	2%	1	1%	0	0%	0	0%	5	5%	29	7%	7	17%	26	7%
Antipassive	**8**	**18%**	**25**	**20%**	**6**	**11%**	**34**	**17%**	**22**	**45%**	**114**	**66%**	**11**	**28%**	**41**	**38%**	**14**	**15%**	**67**	**15%**	**19**	**45%**	**90**	**26%**
Totals	**45**		**128**		**54**		**196**		**49**		**172**		**39**		**108**		**93**		**434**		**42**		**347**	

2.2 Methodological questions

Since we separate syntactic from semantic roles, we are better able to code argument structure relationships between stems in which A is not a prototype agent (e.g. experiencer verbs like 'fear' or perception verbs like 'see') or P is not a prototype patient (e.g. contact-object verbs like 'grab', verbs of cognition like 'teach', or verbs of emotional reaction like 'frighten', 'make happy'). This means that we must know both the intransitive verb and the transitive verb in order to determine the relationship of the S to the A and P – we cannot simply identify the detransitive S as an agent or patient or experiencer and thereby conclude S = A or S = P without actually checking the transitive verb to verify the mapping.

As we each coded examples in our own databases, identifying how the S of the detransitivized verb mapped to the corresponding A and P of the transitive, the process initially seemed relatively straightforward to each of us. However, we were surprised to discover that we did not always agree on which valence-decreasing function was evidenced in specific examples. In most such cases, our discussions helped us to tease apart different ways in which A, P, and S interact structurally and functionally, which in turn allowed us to develop a more fine-grained and replicable analysis.

We found that the methodological distinction between syntactic and semantic roles is particularly useful in analysis of detransitive stems formed from transitive verbs of the "contact object" type. In this type, the A is usually an agent, but rather than being an affected patient, P is a location where contact takes place; this location may, but need not, be affected by the contact. For example, in the transitive verb 'hit', the 'hittee' P is the location where the 'hit' makes contact – when the 'hittee' P is something sentient or breakable, one might well expect it to be affected by the contact, whereas when it is something large and durable, like a tree or a boulder, the act of hitting is accomplished when there is contact and, of the two core arguments in the clause, the 'hitter' A is more likely to be the affected one.

An illustrative example of this type from our corpora would be Ye'kwana *ajöi* 'grab, seize' (with cognates in all four of our other languages), for which the P is the location with which the 'grabber' A makes contact, fastening his/her grip. In this case, the S of the detransitive stem *a-ajöi* is attested with all three argument structure interpretations: the reflexive/reciprocal S = {A + P} 'grab self/each other', the passive S = P 'be grabbed', and the antipassive S = A 'grab [onto LOC]$_{PP}$', with the participant that is analogous to P able to occur in an explicit locative phrase. The first two cases are transparent, but in the latter case, there is often an autobenefactive reading to the detransitivized stem, e.g. 'As he was floating downriver, he grabbed (himself) <u>*onto*</u> the tree' (and thereby saved himself). This might lead one to consider the detransitive stem a subtype of reflexive (he did it for his own benefit). However, in the transitive verb, we identify A as the 'grabber' and P as the

location where A grabs; in relating these two participants to the detransitive verb, S is only the 'grabber' and explicitly not the grabbed location. Since the verb itself does not specify a beneficiary to the event (in the appropriate pragmatic context, benefit could accrue to either A or P, or to some specifiable non-core participant), we consider the autobenefactive reading to be a pragmatic implicature rather than a part of the argument structure. Since S (the 'grabber') ≠ P (the 'grabbee'), this is not a case of reflexive, but rather a case of S = A, with the locative phrase available as another way to express the "demoted" P.

In another example that we discussed at length, the transitive verb *enpa* 'A teach P', the teacher A is both agent and source of information, the learner P is recipient of information, and the information being transferred is expressed in an oblique phrase (object of the postposition **pəkə* 'ABOUT'). The corresponding detransitivized stem *ë-enpa* 'learn' creates a problem for our methodology in that the S may retain one, but not both, of the semantic components of the A role: in the detransitive event, S may be both the agentive teacher A and recipient P of learning (e.g. 'I taught myself'), so S = {A + P}, but in none of the tokens in our corpora is S also clearly the source of the information learned, so S retains only half of the role of A. In order for this analysis to work, the A of the transitive verb must be understood in terms of two distinct semantic roles: (i) the entity who instigates the transfer of information (our traditional notion of the 'teacher'), and (ii) the source of information (the 'library' or some experience that one can learn from, whether structured or not). The reflexive interpretation would then say that the source of information can be separated from A, leaving the 'teacher' A identical to the 'learner' P.

Interestingly, a detransitive construction is attested in which the 'source of information' role of A can be expressed in a separate ablative phrase, as in 'I learned a lot [from your father]', but there is no comparable way to express the agent in a separate oblique agent phrase. This suggests that the core role of A is the agentive 'teacher' and the role 'source of information' is not inherently specified by the verb as being the A, but merely is assumed to coincide with the agentive teacher unless otherwise specified. As such, the example 'I DETR-taught a lot [from your father]' is clearly a case of S = P ('I learned', with no specification of agentive teaching). Our method for identifying the reflexive reading requires identity between the roles of the transitive versus intransitive stems, so to treat this reflexive analysis with the highest degree of rigor, we would need to see a similar separability of the 'teacher' versus 'information source' roles with the transitive stem, something like '[He (teacher)] taught me [from your father / the textbook (or other source of information)],' a structure that is certainly plausible but is not attested in our texts.[3] There are also clear tokens of this step in which S = P, e.g. where the detransitive

3. Of course, such absence of evidence, especially in corpora so small as ours, cannot be taken as evidence of absence – in future interactions with speakers, we will try to elicit such examples.

stem becomes a participle that characterizes only degree of learning: "I am not well-educated / learned." In this case, the S of the detransitive stem is clearly the participant who receives (or not) the information, and cannot be characterized as either providing the information or engaging in the agentive activities of a 'teacher'.

Here, we make explicit that, when we subdivide the S = P category based on the inferrability of the semantic participation of a covert A, the A we seek is defined by seeing the range of entities that can assume the A role *in the source transitive stem*. As such, we do not concern ourselves *a priori* with the semantic features usually invoked to characterize an agent in general (e.g. a volitional, intentional instigator); rather, we ask what kind of an A the transitive verb subcategorizes for. This method can lead to some interesting classifications of roots. For example, the Ye'kwana root *nñeka* 'make P pregnant' construes an event as one in which a male A acts on a female P. Using our method, we would be forced to characterize as idiosyncratic a reflexive interpretation of the detransitive stem *e-nneka* 'have sex with self' – since A and P of the transitive stem must be of different genders, and since a reflexive S would have only one of these genders (and could not, in fact, impregnate him or herself), the S could not represent both A and P (note that this reading was not attested in our corpora). In contrast, it is straightforward to identify the reciprocal interpretation (which is attested), given that S would be plural, and thus could represent both genders.

Having described both the formal and functional characteristics of the Cariban detransitivized construction, we now turn specifically to its use in the antipassive function. In Section 3, we describe the three subtypes of Cariban antipassive, and expand on our description of the idiosyncratic uses in our corpus.

3. Attested types of antipassive with the DETRANSITIVIZER

We have subcategorized the examples classified as having antipassive functions into four different groups according to the treatment of the "demoted" P in the detransitivized construction. In the first group, we include constructions with a P that is not individuated or otherwise important (Section 3.1), in the second group, constructions in which there is no semantic P at all (Section 3.2), in the third group, constructions in which the P is semantically a location that is expressible as a locative oblique (Section 3.3) and, in the last group, we include constructions in which the S of the detransitivized verb does not transparently correspond to either the A or the P of the transitive verb, but retains some semantic connection to the A (Section 3.4). These different functional subtypes of antipassive readings – and for the third group, the possible occurrence of the "demoted" P in a locative phrase – correlate with semantic subclasses of transitive verbs. Although Givón (1994, 2001)

claims that the function of the antipassive clause in general is to demote or suppress a non-topical patient (the first of our three subtypes), we are not aware of any typological treatment that describes antipassive as a device to express a transitive situation that has lost its semantic patient, nor as one to express situations in which the transitive P is semantically more of a location than an affected patient.[4]

3.1 Antipassives with a nontopical P

The first group of antipassive constructions that we identify include examples that are consistent with Givón's (2001: 94) functional definition of antipassive as a transitive event with a patient that is "extremely non-topical". We have found no examples in this group with an oblique patient phrase. Verbs included in this group refer to three different kinds of event types: (i) everyday processes in which the A engages in an activity that has a predictable (and individually unimportant) P as the outcome, (ii) cognitive events in which the A is experiencer and the P stimulus, and (iii) speech events in which the A produces speech and the P represents what is said.

By everyday processes we mean activities such as those carried out with food ('cook', 'grate', 'plant', 'spread', 'drink') or those which produce a category of entity ('paddle', 'braid'), in which the product of these activities is not individually noteworthy, but is necessary to everyday life. These recall labile verbs in, for example, English. The presence of this type is especially salient in the Kari'nja corpus, which contains data collected with video stimuli that include many scenes from traditional life with highly predictable tasks involving often nonspecific objects: plowing, cooking, weaving, etc.

(13) **Kari'nja unimportant P antipassives**

a.	*ky*	'grate P'	→	*o-ky*	'grate'
b.	*pika*	'peel P'	→	*o-pika*	'peel'
c.	*po(my)*	'plant P'	→	*o-po(my)*	'plant'
d.	*arymo*	'squeeze P'	→	*ot-arymo*	'squeeze'
f.	*e'kei*	'bake P'	→	*os-e'kei*	'bake'
g.	*apika*	'spread P'	→	*oo-pika*	'spread'

4. Janic (2013: 163–165) offers examples of the Polish morphologically related locative object verbs *(u)chwycić* 'grip' and *chwycić* 'grab', both of which become antipassive with demoted patients in Polish, with semantic shifts quite parallel to those observed in our Cariban examples. Whereas Janic focuses on explaining the ways in which generalizations about antipassive do and do not hold for these specific examples, our point here is that these examples represent a coherent semantic class of predicates, whose behavior in the antipassive is predictable from the semantic role of the P.

h.	*ena(py)*	'eat P (fruit)'	→	*oo-na(py)*	'eat'
i.	*koto*	'cut P'	→	*o-koto*	'cut'
j.	*aimja*	'paddle P'	→	*ot-aimja*	'paddle'
k.	*tumamoka*	'cook P'	→	*e-tumamoka*	'cook'
l.	*pu(ru)*	'roast P'	→	*e-pu(ru)*	'roast'
m.	*e'me*	'braid P'	→	*o-'me*	'braid'
n.	*eny(ry)*	'drink P'	→	*os-eny(ry)*	'drink'
o.	*koroka*	'pour out P'	→	*o-tjoroka*	'pour out (activity)'
p.	*etawa*	'visit P'	→	*ot-etawa*	'visit'
q.	*sapima*	'play P'	→	*e-sapima*	'play'
t.	*wo*	'fight P'	→	*wo-wo*	'fight'
u.	*pata:yahto*	'make shelter for P'	→	*e-pata:yahto*	'make shelter'
v.	*amonka*	'raise spirits of P'	→	*o-omonka*	'perform a rite'
				ot-amonka	'raise spirits'

In nearly all these cases, the missing P is a clear patient, and in texts it can be both specific and identifiable, as in the Kari'nja examples where speakers are describing activities such as grating and baking in which the P is clearly visible in the stimulus video, but simply does not get coded in the verbal description. Note however, that in Kari'nja, there is at least one instance of *otamo* 'cry' being used without any possible patient (cf. Section 3.2).

We find similar examples in the other four languages, Tiriyó (14), Ye'kwana (15), Akawaio (16), and Hixkaryana (17).

(14) **Tiriyó unimportant P antipassives**

a.	*htarënma*	'prepare P (plan)'	→	*e-htarënma*	'prepare, get ready'
b.	*puka*	'pierce P'	→	*e-puka*	'go through, impale'
c.	*puuka*	'blow/bewitch P'	→	*e-puuka*	'do witchcraft'
d.	*epanïpï*	'avenge P'	→	*ë-epanïpï*	'take revenge'
e.	*joorë*	'verbally offend P'	→	*ëës-oorë*	'curse, say bad words'
f.	*eku*	'sex P'	→	*ë-eku*	'have sex'

(15) **Ye'kwana unimportant P antipassives**

a.	*önö*	'meat-eat P'	→	*öt-önö*	'meat-eat'
b.	*e'tö*	'name P'	→	*öt-ö'tö*	'give name'
c.	*enema*	'respect prohibitions with respect to P'	→	*ö-önema*	'respect prohibitions'
d.	*wö*	'shoot P'	→	*e-wö*	'pierce'
e.	*ajöntö*	'begin P'	→	*a-ajöntö*	'begin'

(16) **Akawaio unimportant P antipassives**

a.	*pömï*	'plant P'	→	*e'-pömï*	'plant (farm)'
b.	*wönö*	'kill P'	→	*e'wö*	'killing'

(17) Hixkaryana unimportant P antipassives

a. *ewruku* 'gather P (manioc)' → *os-ewruku* 'gather'

Note that several of these detransitivized stems are like Akawaio *e'-nongga* 'DETR-leave.P' in (5) and Kari'nja *wot-apoi* 'DETR-grab' in (6), in that the same detransitivized stem has been found with either an antipassive or an anticausative / passive reading. In these examples, it appears that speakers have a choice in how to construe the event in the detransitive, with the anticausative and passive readings profiling the P as the outcome of the process and the antipassive reading profiling the A as engaging in the activity that produces P.

The second and third event types are those involving cognitive events in which the A is experiencer and the P stimulus ('understand', 'know', 'hear', 'pity', 'cry for'), or those involving speech acts in which the A is speaker and the P speech ('command', 'ask', 'tell'). In contrast to the first event type, detransitive verbs for these two types have not been attested with either anticausative or passive readings. For the verbs of speech, the antipassive reading is quite parallel to the that of the first type of antipassive verbs, focusing on the activity of the A. For the experiencer A verbs, the detransitive appears to profile activity by A that facilitates the experience described in the transitive verb, e.g. 'listening' facilitates 'hearing' and 'thinking' facilitates 'knowing'.

(18) **Antipassives of verbs of cognition and speech**

a.	*puunëpï*	'think (about)/understand P'	→	*ëh-puunë(pï)*	'think, ponder'	Tiriyó
b.	*meneka*	'examine P'	→	*ëi-meneka*	'examine'	Tiriyó
c.	*aita*	'cry for P'	→	*wot-aita*	'cry'	Kari'nja
d.	*amo*	'cry for P'	→	*ot-amo*	'cry'	Kari'nja
e.	*enumenga*	'think P'	→	*o-nyumenga*	'think'	Kari'nja
f.	*hutwa*	'know, think of P'	→	*e-hutwa*	'think'	Hixkaryana
g.	*eta*	'hear P'	→	*ö-öta*	'listen'	Ye'kwana
h.	*ekanöjü*	'believe P'	→	*ö-ökanöjü*	'believe'	Ye'kwana
i.	*anontö*	'command P'	→	*a-anontö*	'command'	Ye'kwana
j.	*ekamma'jo*	'ask P'	→	*ö-ökamma'jo*	'ask'	Ye'kwana
k.	*ekamma*	'tell P, inform about P'	→	*ö-ökamma*	'tell', 'inform'	Ye'kwana
l.	*endu'ma*	'pity P'	→	*s-endu'ma*	'have pity'	Akawaio

There are a few transitive verbs of speech in which the P is the addressee rather than the thing said: we analyze this case as a possible subtype of locative P (cf. Section 3.3).

(19) **Antipassives of verbs of speech with addressee P**

a.	*wanma*	'advise, give wisdom to P'	→	*e-wanma*	'advise, give wisdom'	Tiriyó
b.	*joorë*	'speak badly to, offend P'	→	*ëës-oorë*	'curse, say bad words'	Tiriyó
c.	*pana-ma*	'advise P' (lit. 'give ear to P')	→	*e-banama*	'give advice'	Akawaio

Interestingly, in Kari'nja, *paːnama/e-paːnama*, cognate to Akawaio *pana-ma/e-banama* (19c) (and probably also to Tiriyó *wanma/e-wanma* (19a)) has an unrelated meaning, 'listen to P'/'listen'. This is a good illustration of why we base our analyses on synchronic usage-based data rather than comparative guesses at the meanings and assumed uniformity of behavior for cognates.

3.2 A radical type of antipassive: The apatientive

We distinguish a minor group of antipassive verbs, for which the patient of the transitive verb is semantically absent in the detransitivized construction. This category is perhaps typologically interesting as a mirror-image of the anticausative (which has no A, even semantically).

In Tiriyó, transitive verb *ainka* 'run (away) with P'/'grab P and run' (20a) describes an event with two different motion components, one of spontaneous motion 'run' and one of caused motion 'grab' whereas the detransitivized verb *ët-ainka* (20b) only preserves the spontaneous motion, with no semantic P of caused motion (i.e., nothing grabbed and carried). Similarly, Akawaio transitive verb *nongga* 'leave P' describes a complex event in which P is an item placed in a location, after which the A departs (21a), whereas the detransitivized verb *e'-nongga* 'leave' simply refers to an S that departs, with no semantic P remaining behind (21b).

(20) a. Tiriyó (Koelewijn 1984: v1: 278)
Pai=ja i-htai ainka-hpë=ke.
tapir=AGT 3-shoe 3:run.off.with.P-PST=INS
'The tapir ran off with (= stole) his shoes.'

b. Tiriyó (Meira's Toolbox database: {ACT Storybook–05.019})
Ma kanawa aruh-ka-hpë=pëe
ATTN canoe 3:get.stuck-TRZR-P.PST=from
t-ët-ainka-ne oi=pona.
$1S_A$-DETR-run.off.with.P-D.PST mixture=DIR
'Well after the canoe got stuck, I ran to the grass (to see the snake entering).'

(21) a. Akawaio (Fox 2003: 307)
murang pona t-nongga-zeng ok pung
charm onto ADV-leave-ABS.NMLZ game meat
'The meat is to be left on top of the charm [after a hunt].'

b. Akawaio (Fox 2003: 513)
y-e'-nongga-zak mang
3-DETR-leave-PRF 3.be.PRS
'She has left.'

Another pair of apparent apatientive examples come from two detransitivized verbs that express emotion. In Hixkaryana, the transitive verb *ownohï/os-ownohï* 'mock, laugh at P' involves a human P as the target of mockery (22a) whereas in the detransitivized example (22b), laughing occurs in the absence of a mocked patient. Kari'nja provides a similar example of a transitive verb *amo* 'mourn, cry for P' with a human P that stimulates the crying, whereas in the detransitivized example, *ot-amo* 'cry' (23), the 'crying' does not happen to mourn a person, but is an emotional reaction to hard times (a stimulus that is never coded as the P of the transitive verb).

(22) a. Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1965: 111)
ha ha n-ewnoh-yakonï hatï
laugh laugh 3AO-laugh-D.PST2 HRSY
'"Ha ha", he was laughing at him.'

b. Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1965: 50)
ahahahaa kawo harha n-os-ownoh-yatxkonï
laughter high back.again $3S_A$-DETR-laugh-D.PST2:COL
'"Ha ha ha ha," up high again, they were laughing.'

(23) Kari'nja (Yamada's Toolbox database: {FM-MA 00506:FeMa})
Moro ero-kong jako da kyt-ot-amo-ja-tong.
3IN:MD 3IN:PX-COL at.time then $1+2S_A$-DETR-cry.for-PRS-COL
'These days, then, we cry.'

Given that this particular root *amo* for 'cry for', has cognates in three other languages of this study, it would be interesting to find if apatientive detransitivized examples such as (23) are possible in those languages, as well. On the other hand, in looking for other possible pairs of transitive verbs with the meaning 'mock, laugh' and a detransitivized verb meaning 'laugh', the three other languages use unrelated stems for each. In any case, a more extended textual survey that includes other languages of the family should be of help in determining the robustness of this category.

As a final note to this section, we observe that one might argue that these apatientive detransitivized verbs represent distinct events from their corresponding transitive verbs. More specifically, the transitive verbs are more complex, e.g. containing one event of caused motion of P followed by spontaneous motion of A, whereas the corresponding detransitivized verbs only contain the spontaneous motion of S; similarly, the two emotive transitive verbs contain a human stimulus P that causes A to produce an emotive sound, whereas the detransitivized verbs contain only the production of emotive sound by S. We have decided that these meanings are similar enough to count as instances of the antipassive, but it would also be reasonable to treat them as different enough to go into our "idiosyncratic" category, in which case they would join the other antipassive-flavored examples discussed in Section 3.4.

3.3 The "locative" P

We identify a third subcategory of antipassive tokens in which the "demoted" P is attested as being able to occur in a locative phrase. In all of the corresponding transitive clauses, the P shares a semantic feature: it is not an affected patient of the action, but is a location where contact happens, or a recipient, or a stimulus that A experiences.

The most concrete type of locative P is one in which the A makes contact with P. This is represented in our corpora via verbs like Ye'kwana *etaja* 'step (on) P', detransitivized as *ö-ötaja* 'step' with the notional P in the PP *toju'ko de'wo* 'on the stone' (24) and Tiriyó *htapiimo* 'hit P with the sole of the foot', detransitivized as *e-htapiimo* 'hit sole of foot' with the notional P in the PP *tï-tëhpa-rï juuwë* 'on his dancing log' (25). One verb, reconstructed to Proto-Carib as **apëti* 'grab, catch, hold', is attested in all five languages as an antipassive detransitivized with an oblique notional P, encoding notions like 'catch.hold/stick [onto P]'. Example (26) is used when the S is falling and saves himself by catching onto a branch and examples (27) and (28) join (26) in being cases where the S is substantially smaller in size than the location being grabbed onto.[5]

(24) Ye'kwana (Cáceres Arandia's Toolbox database: {CtoFrogPna.045})
Müde'kö-'kö [*toju-'kö* *de'wö*] *y-ö̲-ötaj-ajö*
youngster-DIM stone-DIM on 3S:INTR-DETR-step.on-PTCP
'[The] kid had put his foot (lit. stepped himself) [on the stone].'

5. This particular verb recalls Janic's (2013: 163–165) examples of Polish *(u)chwycić* 'grip' and *chwycić* 'grab'.

(25) Tiriyó (Meira's Toolbox database: {Ohkïnpëkenton iwehto iponohto (Nasau) 087 (Akuri)})
n-e-hta-piimo-Ø-n maarë, akuri, [tï-tëhpa-rï juuwë]
$3S_A$-DETR-sole-hit-PRS-DBT too agouti 3R-log-PSSD on
'He hits his sole (against it), the agouti, [on (top of) his 'dancing-log']'

(26) Akawaio (Fox 2003: 367)
yöi pök i-d-a'chi-Ø mörö
stick on 3-DETR-hold-PRS A.I.
'He held [onto a branch]'

(27) Tiriyó (Meira's Toolbox database: {TEXTOS.04-Tïpitë_rïto-(p. 149)-159})
kanamitëkë n-ët-apëë-ja-n [i-pë]
tick $3S_A$-DETR-catch-PRS-DBT 3-about
'…the tick sticks [to him]'

(28) Ye'kwana (Cáceres Arandia's Toolbox database: {IvwCti.132})
Se'namo, a-ajöi-jai kün-tü'ta-i tü-jökkö.
sickness DETR-grab-ABIL 3.PST-realize-PRP 3.REFL-on
'[He] realized [the] se'namo sickness could get (lit. grab itself) onto him'

A second type of locative P is the ground relative to which is located the path of an A in motion. Our only two confirmed examples of this verb type are the Ye'kwana verbs *ja'dötö* 'pass P', which can be used in its detransitivized form *e-ja'dötö* 'pass' with the notional P in the oblique phrase *iye ajo'jonño dü'tökkö* 'beside the tree' (29a) and *'dötö* 'cross P', which can be used in its detransitivized form *e-'dötö* 'cross' with the notional P in the oblique phrase *ööma tai* 'PERL the path' (29b).[6] Other verbs that are good candidates for this semantic type are Ye'kwana *a-akïdï* 'DETR-fly over' and multiple cognates of *e-'dötö* 'cross' in the other languages.

(29) Ye'kwana (Cáceres Arandia's Toolbox database)
a. *yanwa n-e-jadötö-i iye ajo'jo-nño dü'tökkö*
man 3S-DETR-PASS-PRP tree large-AUG beside
'The man passed [beside a really big tree]'
b. *sotto n-ejö, n-e-'dötö-i ööma tai*
person 3S-COME:PRP 3S-DETR-CROSS-PRP path PERL
'A person came and crossed the path (lit. PERL the path)'

Alongside the more-or-less unified category of locative P, we have identified two verbs in this subcategory for which the A is an experiencer and the P a stimulus. In the antipassive versions of these verbs, the experiencer A becomes the

6. The semantics of this postposition are not always consistent with those expected for a gloss of 'PERLATIVE' (i.e., English 'through, by') – cf. Cáceres (to appear) for more detail.

detransitivized S and the stimulus P becomes an optional oblique. As examples, consider Hixkaryana *os-enyeht* 'DETR-dream', whose notional P occurs in the oblique *honyko hoko* 'about white-collared peccaries' (30) and Akawaio *s-endu'ma* 'DETR-pity', whose notional P occurs in the oblique *tok pök* 'for them' (31).

(30) Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1965: 187)
honyko hoko n-os-enyeht-yakonï heno
wh.peccary about 3-DETR-dream-D.PST.CNT LATE
'He used to dream [about bush hogs].'

(31) Akawaio (Fox 2003: 499)
tok pök chi airö Ø-s-endu'ma-Ø mörö
3PL for EMPH SYMPATHY 1-DETR-pity-PRS A.I.
'I have pity [for them].'

Note that some of the antipassive detransitivized verbs we currently list as behavior verbs in Section 3.1 also have a P with goal or locative semantics (i.e., P is an addressee/experiencer rather than an affected patient): e.g. Tiriyó *wanma* 'advise P' → *e-wanma* 'advise, give wisdom' and *joorë* 'speak badly to, offend P' → *ëës-oorë* 'curse, say bad words'. Given the semantic role of their P, such verbs are good candidates to allow an oblique P when used as antipassives; they are not listed in this section simply because they are not attested with an oblique P in our corpora. Absence of textual evidence is not evidence of unacceptability, so we would not be surprised to see this subcategory expand as our future databases expand.

We return to this semantic subcategory of antipassive verbs in the conclusion, where we suggest that these are the ones that create the source for an oblique P phrase, which could then extend to predicates with a P that is an actual patient.

3.4 Idiosyncratic antipassives

We end our description of the Cariban detransitivized antipassives by pointing out that a number of our "idiosyncratic" category of detransitivized verbs are likely of antipassive origin. Recall that we use the label "idiosyncratic" to capture verbs for which we can identify a transitive verb with the correct form to be the source of a corresponding detransitivized verb, but for which the meaning of the detransitivized verb is different enough from the meaning of the transitive verb that the S of the detransitivized verb does not uncontroversially correspond to either the A or the P of the transitive verb. Even though we cannot automatically derive the semantic value of the detransitivized form from the meaning of the transitive verb, it is nevertheless the case that, at least sometimes, the S of the detransitivized verb seems to be clearly related historically to the A argument of the transitive verb. Consider the list of verbs and glosses in (32).

(32) **Antipassive-like idiosyncratic detransitivized verbs**

a.	*nñeka*	'A (M) impregnate P (F)'	→	*e-nneka*	'F give birth'; 'M have kids'	Yek
b.	*numï*	'A leave P'	→	*e'-numï*	'S die'	Aka
c.	*iwa*	'A look for P, go to get P'	→	*ëi-wa*	'S hunt'	Tir
d.	*jonpa*	'A address P, speak to P'	→	*ëës-onpa*	'S pray'	Tir
e.	*padama*	'A cultivate P'	→	*e'padama*	'S settle down'	Aka
f.	*owaxehto*	'A confront P'	→	*os-owaxehto*	'S stand'	Hix
g.	*ame*	'A eat P (fruit)'	→	*at-ame*	'S run out, finish'	Yek

The gender of A and P is fixed in Ye'kwana *nñeka* 'A (M) get P (F) pregnant', and although a man impregnating a woman has a clear semantic connection (it is a precondition) for a women to 'give birth' or a man to 'have children', clearly the event denoted by the transitive verb is not the same as either denotation of the corresponding detransitivized stem. That said, to the extent that the connection is clear, the detransitivized form with a masculine S is antipassive-like. Similarly, the relation between Akawaio *numï* 'A leave P' and *e'numï* 'S die' is a clear antipassive euphemism, in which S 'leaves', with the unexpressed P being something like 'this world/life'. Two more cases from Tiriyó are relatively clear: *iwa* 'A look for, go to get P' has the detransitivized form *ëi-wa* 'hunt', which retains a participant that goes to look for a more restricted goal, game, and *jonpa* 'A address, speak to P' has the detransitivized form *ëës-onpa* 'pray', in which the S addresses a more restricted interlocutor, a spiritual entity (with unknown additional religious significance). Note that, if interpreted as an antipassive, this example joins the class whose notional P can occur in an oblique phrase, as seen in (33).

(33) Tiriyó

(Meira's Toolbox database: {TEXTOS.05-Conversation.03-(p. 055)-209})

i-:rïpï ja tï-w-ëës-onpa-e

3-evil.spirit DAT PST-S_A-DETR-address-PST

'He prayed to the devil.'

Turning to the less clear-cut cases, Akawaio *padama* means 'A cultivate P', where P could be either a field or a specific cultivar, whereas the detransitivized *e'padama* means 'S settles down'. Here, the simplest cultural interpretation is that one settles wherever one cultivates, making this an antipassive; however, it is also possible to imagine the settler as the cultivar, who "puts down roots" in a new settlement. Similarly, Hixkaryana *owaxehto* 'confront P' could be translated into idiomatic English as 'stand up to or against P', in which case the detransitivized *os-owaxehto* 'stand up, remain standing' would be a clear antipassive, one which appears to

join our small category of antipassive verbs that lose the transitive P argument altogether. However, we leave this verb in the "idiosyncratic" category because it seems empirically irresponsible to base our analysis of Hixkaryana semantics on the existence of an English metaphor that "makes sense of the connection." Finally, Ye'kwana *ame* means 'A eat P', in which P must be a type of fruit (34a), whereas *at-ame* means 'finish, run out', with S either the substance that runs out/is finished (34b) or the agentive participant who finishes the substance (34c). The only connection we can make between the meanings of the transitive and detransitivized verbs is the possibility of telicity in the transitive verb becoming the entire meaning of the detransitivized verb, in which case (34b) would be more like an anticausative and (34c) would be more like an antipassive.

(34) Ye'kwana (Cáceres Arandia's Toolbox database: {TrajBlk.062}, {CtoTigMor.062}, {ConvChurB.210})

a. *mö'dö jadudu n-ame-a*
3AN:PX banana 3-eat.fruit-NPST
's/he is eating a banana'

b. *kün-atame-i=cho sotto, chö-öyaamo*
3.DIS-finish-PST=PL people 3-owner-PL
'The people were no more, the [turtle] owners.'

c. *möötö nña n-atame-a ooje*
there 1+3 3-finish-NPST lots
'At that moment we spent a lot.' (lit. 'finished')

This concludes our exposition of the detransitivized verbs that function as an antipassive in these five Cariban languages. We turn now to our conclusion, in which we consider how well this construction can be accommodated in a typological definition of "antipassive", and also how it might give insight into the historical processes that create antipassive constructions in which the occurrence of a demoted P in an oblique phrase is conventionalized for a wider array of verbs.

4. Conclusion: Is this an 'antipassive' and how could it become (a better) one?

We begin this section with a strong statement that arises from the descriptive facts: The detransitivized verb in Cariban is clearly not conventionalized as a dedicated antipassive. This is manifest in that it retains a full range of reflexive/reciprocal/middle meanings, even with the same verbs that appear in our texts with the antipassive reading. From our perspective, even though at least a couple of detransitivized stems in each language are conventionally associated with an antipassive

reading (e.g. Ye'kwana *aanöntö* 'to command' from *anöntö* 'to command P'), there is no question that we have a single grammatical construction, whose function is to reduce the number of core arguments of a transitive verb from two to one without specifying the semantic value of the remaining argument. Speakers and listeners can use this underspecified construction for any interpretation that makes sense in a given communicative context. While it is the case that a number of detransitivized verbs (our "idiosyncratic" category) have developed more restricted and lexicalized changes of meaning, it remains consistent that the detransitivized verb has only one core argument. In sum, the construction is grammatically homogeneous, but is too semantically polysemous (with the different functions too lexically and contextually bound) for us to be comfortable giving separate construction labels to each function (contra Givón 1994/2001). That said, we note that both Polinsky (2013) and Janic and Witzlack-Makarevich (this volume) define antipassive such that dedicated vs. syncretic marking is merely another parameter along which antipassive constructions may vary; from this perspective, the Cariban antipassive would be of the type with syncretic marking, in which the antipassive marker is shared with other types of valency alternation (as documented in Section 2).

Recent work on the diachronic typology of antipassive (cf. Janic 2013: Section 7) has found that it is a crosslinguistically common pattern for antipassives to arise from reflexive and/or reciprocal constructions, especially (and perhaps necessarily) in languages where the construction that codes these specific functions has expanded in the way characteristically labeled "middle voice" (cf. Kemmer 1993). The detransitivized construction in the Cariban family could be seen as just one more example in which an etymological reflexive/reciprocal construction has expanded its functions through a range of meanings typical of middle voice to an antipassive reading, which – while not fully productive – is sufficiently robust to serve as a potential jumping-off point for further specialization. The Cariban case could be of particular interest in this regard, given that we see examples that could motivate the future genesis of a generalized locative P phrase, like the ones attested in antipassive constructions elsewhere in the world.

What would we like to see in order to confidently identify the detransitivized (or any subset of the detransitivized) as an unambiguous "antipassive construction"? One obvious way would be to have innovative constructions arise that encode the reflexive-reciprocal, middle, anticausative, and passive meanings, leaving this particular construction with only the antipassive reading. While Janic (2013)[7] has collected many examples of reflexive or reciprocal constructions that develop an antipassive reading, in most of these cases, a range of "middle" meanings continues

7. Echoed in Sansó (2017).

as well. However, it is possible for an old "middle" construction to become a nearly dedicated antipassive, as seen by the clear case of the Coast Salish languages of North America (Zahir 2018).

A second way to distinguish an antipassive construction would be for unique grammar to develop only when the detransitivized construction is used with its antipassive reading, and to thereby create a formal distinction alongside the semantic one. A typical structural characteristic cited in the list of properties of antipassives is that they may allow expression of the notional P in a locative phrase. The Cariban detransitivizer has made an initial step in this direction, by allowing notional P arguments with non-patientive semantics to occur as locative oblique phrases in the antipassive (Section 3.3). This construction could become more conventionalized, which could then lead us to see it as a distinct "antipassive" construction, if the current variety of locative postpositions that mark the "demoted" P were to become less semantically motivated. We see two ways this could happen. One is to relax the current semantic restrictions on which P arguments occur in adpositional phrases with detransitive verbs, especially expanding the category to include patients that have undergone a clear change of state as a result of the event. The second is that a single adposition could generalize to all demoted P arguments, which would shift the role of the adposition from marking a semantic relation to marking a grammatical role (viz. demoted P). Modern reflexes of Proto-Cariban **pëkë* 'on (attached to) a vertical surface, about' are the most widely attested serving this role in the examples available to us now, so they seem like the most plausible candidates to generalize in this way. If this corner of the verbal lexicon is the cross-linguistic source of the more generalized use of an adposition to mark demoted patient P arguments, then one would expect such a generalized adposition in a more conventionalized antipassive construction to be locative, as opposed to, for example, instrumental or genitive.

Now that we have identified the antipassive as a pervasive function of the detransitivizer, the next step is to carry out elicitation actively looking for the four semantic categories. None of the authors has yet gone back to the field to work with speakers of the languages presented in the paper. However, one of us took an informed approach to elicitation of the detransitivized verbs in a sixth language (Yawarana), exploring different strategies to obtain different detransitivized meanings. For 42 transitive verb stems, Cáceres started by confirming the transitive meaning and then provided the corresponding detransitivized form in its citation form (the imperfective), asking first for an acceptability judgement and then for the meaning. To look for other meanings or if the speaker had a hard time uttering a translation, she (i) added an adverbial phrase to the verb (*tare* 'on its own'/'by itself', *nope* 'nicely'/'easily', *tarine* 'rapidly'), (ii) suggested a specific person of subject, such as plural first person (inclusive or exclusive) to facilitate reciprocal readings or singular first person to facilitate the reading of activities involving an unimportant

P, i.e., antipassive. In some cases, it was also necessary to provide different TAM suffixes (e.g. for some verbs it was easier to think of what something does not do). In two cases the first meaning the speaker thought of was antipassive, once for a verb with an inanimate patient 'read' and once for an agent that cannot be inanimate ("the fishhook does not fish by itself, it needs a person"). However, even though such examples are not difficult to encounter in the texts, Cáceres' main Yawarana collaborator was not eager to find meanings in which a transitive verb with an original inanimate P would be interpreted, in its corresponding detransitive form, as describing an activity of the S (= A). So, while our first exploration of enriched elicitation did provide some more examples of antipassive detransitives, it also confirms that the full story about voice functions of the detransitive cannot come solely from elicited data.

We conclude with a note about how current academic realities interact with our desire to collect enough data to give us a more complete picture of the possible functions for each detransitive form. This note is stimulated by a reasonable question asked by an anonymous reviewer: in Section 2, we categorized verbs as 'idiosyncratic' when the detransitivized stem lacked a transparent relationship to a known transitive root, to which the reviewer (reasonably) asked whether speakers could not identify a transitive root in elicitation.

In an ideal world, before publishing this paper, we would all have gone back to the relevant communities and collected the data to answer that question. However, long before these questions arose in our work, most of us no longer had ready access to speakers. It is in the nature of research with languages that are spoken in very remote areas that elicitation after-the-fact is rarely possible without a sustained trip to the field, which is, in turn, not possible without a funding source. This sort of question arises with some regularity when research funding agencies do not prioritize ongoing work with a given language once researchers have created some level of documentation, with a limited collection of texts and some grammatical description. Although a varied documentary corpus can provide a lot of interesting hypotheses, the relatively small corpora that can be created in a 3-year or 4-year project by a single linguist, even in collaboration with an associated community team, cannot also provide answers to the detailed questions that follow from these hypotheses – there is no substitute for continued interaction with speakers. In fact, given the 'publish or perish' nature of the academic job market and the low academic value placed on documentary corpora as independent research products, it is not difficult to see why some linguists might rely almost exclusively on elicitation, as a way to get the most targeted data in the least time. When conducting fieldwork in locations that are difficult and expensive to visit, most of us must make a choice as to whether we focus on creating a broad documentary corpus that is useful to both speech community members and outsider academics, or whether we answer

a few fine-grained analytical questions of primary interest to the smaller subset of academics who want the more specific data that allow testing of hypotheses. As an ethical point, we make no claims about whose interests should be foregrounded – it is the case that academics must publish and the details are often crucial to creating publishable work. As this case study shows, however, elicitation cannot substitute entirely for a corpus of speech used as a tool of communication; we suggest that, despite our academic focus on the minutiae of language, academic linguists need to stop undervaluing the academic importance of well-planned documentation and its products.

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Abbreviations

The glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, additional abbreviations are as follows:

A.I.	Addressee Interest	HRSY	hearsay
ABIL	abilitative	IN	inanimate
AGT	agent	MD	medial
AN	animate	PLAC	pluractional
ATTN	attention marker	PP	postposition
ATTR	attributive	PRP	recent past perfective
AUG	augmentative	PSSD	possessed
COL	collective	PURP	purpose
D.PST	distant past	PX	proximate
D.PST.CNT	distant past continuous	R	coreferential
DBT	doubt, detrdetransitivizer	RM	remote
DIM	diminutive	RPST	recent past
DIR	directional	TRZR	transitivizer
DIS	distant	UNCTN	uncertain
EMPH	emphatic		

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CHAPTER 4

Aspect and modality in Pama-Nyungan antipassives

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I present data from Pama-Nyungan languages that display aspectual and modal readings in the antipassive construction, and propose that antipassives contain a predicate-internal aspectual morpheme that derives an atelic predicate. Taking a modal approach to aspect unifies the aspectual and modal readings. I detail the striking resemblance between the set of interpretations attested in antipassives and imperfectives more generally, and show how the compositional analysis I propose is able to provide insight into unexpected volitional and "total effect" readings.

Keywords: antipassives, imperfectives, telicity, modality, Australian Aboriginal languages

1. Introduction

In addition to performing a general detransitivising function which affects the grammatical role and interpretation of objects, antipassives are frequently associated with imperfective aspect. This observation is one of the generalisations about the meaning of antipassives that is made in cross-linguistic surveys of the construction. An example is Polinsky (2017: 315–316), who writes, "antipassives often have special ASPECTUAL meaning: inchoative, inceptive, durative, progressive, imperfective, or even iterative…in each case the antipassive may be associated with atelicity (the antipassive ~ imperfective correlation)." This aspectual meaning tends to be viewed, following Hopper & Thompson (1980), as a feature of reduced semantic transitivity, along with other features such as the reduced affectedness or individuation of the object participant. While the source of object-related features is understood to be closely tied to syntactic intransitivity, it is less clear how the aspectual features are introduced. It is also difficult to pin down exactly what aspectual semantics are present, since, as evident in Polinsky's generalisation, there is a range of attested interpretations. This tends to be true within a particular language

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as well. For example, Anderson (1976: 22) reports that the antipassive in Bzhedukh (West Circassian) "indicates that the action is carried out less completely, less successfully, less conclusively, etc. or that the object is less completely, less directly, less permanently etc. affected by the action."

In this chapter I address questions concerning the source and range of aspectual semantics by focusing on data from select languages of the Pama-Nyungan family of Australia. Several Pama-Nyungan languages display aspectual readings in the antipassive, which, in keeping with the observations above, can be quite varied. Terrill (1997: 82) writes that Pama-Nyungan antipassives often indicate "the unboundedness of the action; a continuous action, progressive action, habitual action or irreality; and they often indicate a focus on the process rather than result." I take a comparative approach, considering data from seven languages, in order to highlight repeated patterns and regularities that may be difficult to detect and account for when considering individual languages. The following generalisations arise. Firstly, there is a repeated correlation between continuative and habitual readings in the antipassive, although aspectual distinctions may be masked in the present tense. Secondly, several languages display modal semantics in the antipassive. Thirdly, with certain verbs, antipassives appear to create a lexical shift in the interpretation of the verb; for example, the verb meaning 'find' in a transitive clause is interpreted as 'look for' in an antipassive. In addition, data from Pama-Nyungan languages presents two puzzles for the view of antipassives as primarily performing a detransitivising function, namely the availability of "total effect" readings in two languages, and the introduction of higher volitionality with modal and lexical shift readings, both considered by Hopper & Thompson (1980) to be features of high transitivity (AFFECTEDNESS and AGENCY).

Specific questions that arise from these generalisations are as follows. How are these meanings introduced? What accounts for this particular set of meanings? Is there a common core semantics present in the antipassive, or are these meanings best accounted for by lexical specifications? I argue that the data under consideration points to the presence of a common core semantics in the antipassive construction of these languages. Specifically, I propose that the antipassive construction contains a predicate-internal aspectual morpheme which derives an atelic predicate that gives rise to continuative and habitual readings. As has been proposed for imperfective grammatical aspect, such as the English progressive, this morpheme contains modal semantics, which speakers take into account in judging the truth of an imperfective clause. This modality provides the source for the more clearly modal interpretations available with the antipassive construction in some languages. I show that these two properties, atelicity and modality, can account for apparent lexical shifts with certain verbs, and that they provide an explanation for the unexpected volitional and total effect readings. Following work advocating for a parameterised approach to imperfectivity cross-linguistically (Altshuler 2014; Ferreira 2016), I identify points

of variation in this analysis which could be exploited in extending it to other languages. I argue that this compositional approach, which builds on Wharram (2003) and Deal (2008), is superior to a lexical approach (as summarised in Polinsky 2017 and Sansò 2018), which is not able to capture the generalisations, and under which the volitional and total effect readings remain mysterious.

This chapter is arranged as follows: Section 2 gives an overview of the morphosyntactic properties of antipassive constructions in Pama-Nyungan languages; Section 3 presents antipassive data from seven Pama-Nyungan languages; Section 4 proposes a compositional account of this data; Section 5 outlines the technical implementation of the proposal; and Section 6 considers an alternative lexical analysis.

2. Morphosyntactic properties of Pama-Nyungan antipassives

This paper focuses on select Pama-Nyungan languages that display aspectual or modal characteristics in the antipassive construction. It takes a comparative approach, with the objective of highlighting repeated or related patterns of interpretation that may not be noticeable when considering an individual language. Data comes from published sources, as indicated in Table 1. All languages discussed are at varying levels of endangerment. Sub-grouping within the Pama-Nyungan family follows Bowern & Atkinson (2012).

Table 1. Pama-Nyungan languages discussed in this paper

Language	Sub-group	Data sources
Dyirbal	Paman	Dixon (1972)
Guugu Yimidhirr	Paman	Haviland (1979)
Mabuiag dialect of Kala Lagaw Ya	Western Torres Strait (Paman?)*	Bani & Klokeid (1976)
Kalkatungu	Kalkatungic	Blake (1976, 1977, 1978, 1979a, 1982)
Kuku Yalanji	Paman	Patz (2002)
Pitta Pitta	Karnic	Blake (1979b, 1987)
Warrongo	Paman	Tsunoda (1988, 2011)

* Bowern & Atkinson (2012) note that the grouping of Western Torres Strait with Paman is tentative.

2.1 Case

I follow Polinsky (2017) in defining the antipassive as a construction which contains a transitive predicate, but which contrasts with the transitive construction by demoting the argument corresponding to the transitive object and thereby deriving an intransitive clause. "Demotion" in this sense refers to the hierarchy of grammatical roles in (1).

(1) *subject > object > non-core argument > non-argument*

In the antipassive, the object is either unexpressed, or expressed as a non-core argument or non-argument.[1] Morphological realisation of the construction varies considerably across languages. An example from Kalkatungu is (2).[2]

(2) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 7, 27)
a. *Martu-yu maa thuyi.*
mother-ERG food cook
'Mother cooks the food.' (TR)
b. *Martu maa-ji thuyi.*
mother food-DAT cook
'Mother cooks food/Mother is cooking (food).' (ANTIP)

The case marking in (2) is typical of a morphologically ergative language: the subject is ergative in the transitive and absolutive in the antipassive, while the object is absolutive in the transitive and dative in the antipassive. However, there is variation in case marking across languages. In Pama-Nyungan languages the antipassive object frequently occurs in the dative case, as in (2), but it can also occur in a variety of other oblique cases including goal or purposive (3), locative (4) and instrumental (39).[3] Alternation between oblique cases within a language may be associated with semantic features such as animacy or affectedness.

Like other Pama-Nyungan languages, Kalkatungu has split-ergative case marking based on nominal type (Silverstein 1976; Legate 2014), such that common nouns and free pronouns have an ergative-absolutive pattern while bound pronouns have a nominative-accusative pattern. Other languages cited in this paper have different splits. In Guugu Yimidhirr, common nouns are ergative-absolutive, while free pronouns are nominative-accusative. This means that free pronoun subjects are formally identical in transitive and antipassive clauses (3).

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1. I continue to use the term "object" to refer to the demoted argument in an antipassive clause; this corresponds to what Polinsky (2017) calls the "antipassive object" and signifies the "logical object" of a predicate. Blake (1979a) refers to this argument in Kalkatungu as "P" in both transitive and antipassive clauses.

2. I have modified case glosses throughout to reflect surface morphological case patterns (not abstract/structural case, Legate 2008) as follows: ergative-absolutive pattern (syncretism between intransitive subject and transitive object), nominative-accusative pattern (syncretism between transitive subject and intransitive subject), tripartite ergative-nominative-accusative pattern (no syncretisms).

3. Instrumental case is normally homophonous with ergative case in Australian languages. There are language-specific diagnostics for distinguishing it from ergative case. For example, in Kalkatungu instrumental noun phrases are not cross-referenced by bound pronouns, and are unaffected by intransitivisation (Blake 1982: 80).

(3) Guugu Yimidhirr (Haviland 1979: 130)

a. ***Ngayu*** *ngalgal* *dubi.*
1SG.NOM smoke.ABS leave.PST
'I left my cigarettes/tobacco [lit. smoke] (i.e. I didn't bring them).' (TR)

b. ***Ngayu*** *ngalgaal-ga (/-ngu)* *dubi-idhi.*
1SG.NOM smoke-GOAL(-PURP) leave-REFL.PST
'I left off smoking; I've given up smoking.' (ANTIP)

The key generalisation is that in all systems the antipassive subject will receive the case that normally occurs on a simple intransitive subject of the same nominal type. This is particularly clear in examples such as (4) from Kuku Yalanji, which has a complex subject noun phrase containing different nominal types.

(4) Kuku Yalanji (Patz 2002: 152)

a. ***Nyulu*** ***dingkar-angka*** *minya* *nuka-ny.*
3SG.NOM man-ERG meat.ABS eat-PST
'The man ate meat.' (TR)

b. ***Nyulu*** ***dingkar*** *minya-nga nuka-ji-ny.*
3SG.NOM man.ABS meat-LOC eat-INTR-PST
'The man had a good feed of meat (he wasted nothing).' (ANTIP)

In Kuku Yalanji free pronouns are nominative-accusative while common nouns are ergative-absolutive. Accordingly, the pronoun *nyulu* is formally identical in (4a) and (4b), since all pronoun subjects are nominative, whereas the common noun *dingkar* appears in ergative case in (4a) but absolutive case in (4b). See Polinksy (2017) for an overview of syntactic analyses that have been proposed to capture case marking patterns in antipassives.

2.2 Verb marking

The above examples also display variation in verbal morphology in the antipassive construction: in Kalkatungu (2) the verb form is identical in both antipassive and transitive matrix clauses;[4] in Guugu Yimidhirr (3) the verb is marked with a portmanteau that also indicates tense (3); and in Kuku Yalanji (4) the verb is marked with a distinct suffix. In Mabuiag (63), the verb surfaces in the intransitive conjugation

4. In fact, verb marking in Kalkatungu is more complex. Regular matrix verbs in the past/present tense contain the *-yi* stem as in (2). In this syntactic context *-yi* is non-contrastive, so Blake (1979a) treats it as an unanalysable stem. However in subordinate clauses and with some morphology (e.g. FUT in (16)) the *-yi* stem only occurs in antipassives, and is therefore analysed by Blake as an antipassive morpheme. With irregular verbs the antipassive morpheme is *-li*, and appears to be contrastive in all syntactic contexts.

instead of the transitive conjugation. I follow Polinsky (2017) in taking explicit verb marking to be an optional morphological expression of the antipassive; this is also the view taken in Heath (1976), Hopper & Thompson (1980), Foley & Van Valin (1985), Cooreman (1994), and Givón (1994, 2001). For an alternative view in which explicit verb marking is taken as a necessary feature of antipassives, see Silverstein (1976), Jacobsen (1985), and Dixon (1994). Where verb marking is non-overt I assume that a phonologically null but semantically contentful morpheme (or operator) is present, with syntactic and semantic effects.

Most of the languages that have an overt verbal suffix in antipassive clauses contain a phonologically identical suffix in reflexive clauses, and often other types of detransitive (and intransitive) constructions as well; these are summarised in Table 2 (building on Terrill 1997: 78).

Table 2. Detransitive constructions

Language	Suffix	Constructions
Dyirbal	*-rriy*	antipassive, reflexive, reciprocal
Guugu Yimidhirr	*-dhi*	antipassive, reflexive, reciprocal, passive (accident, unintended result, inanimate agent)
Kalkatungu	*-(y)i*, *-li*	antipassive
Kuku Yalanji	*-ji*	antipassive, reflexive, passive (chance, lower animate agent)
Pitta Pitta	*-li*	antipassive, reflexive, habitual*
Warrongo	*-gali*, *-li*	antipassive, reflexive, middle, anticausative

* *-mali* is also used as a reflexive/reciprocal suffix; Blake (1979b) notes that this could be analysed as *-ma-li*. With the habitual (or capacity) reading, *-li* can occur on transitive or intransitive stems; with transitives it does not affect the case marking of arguments (that is, it does not demote the object, and subject case is ergative or nominative depending on time reference).

Terrill (1997) proposes that the appearance of this suffix in antipassive clauses arose from functional extension of the reflexive suffix. While interesting in its own right, comparison of the antipassive construction with other constructions is outside the scope of this paper; here I simply treat such appearances of the same suffix as instances of homophony.[5]

5. More precisely, I assume a Distributed Morphology approach (Halle & Marantz 1993; Marantz 1997) in which a given syntactic structure provides the input to separate processes of semantic computation and phonological exponence. Phonological exponents (morphemes) spell out syntactic objects but may be underspecified, allowing them to spell out several distinct underlying structures so long as their features match a subset of the features present in the syntax. This allows an exponent such as /-ji/ in Guugu Yimidhirr to occur in the distinct antipassive, reflexive, reciprocal and passive constructions (presumably matching some minimal "detransitive" feature or structural specification). Alternatively, in a lexicalist approach, these different meanings of /-ji/ would be listed in the lexicon as separate lexemes. In any case, the objective of this chapter is to provide the semantics for the operator/lexeme present in the antipassive construction.

2.3 The antipassive object

Cross-linguistically, antipassives are commonly found when the object is non-specific, indefinite or suppressed altogether (Heath 1976; Hopper & Thompson 1980; Foley & Van Valin 1985; Cooreman 1994; Terrill 1997). Givón (1994) treats these features as indicating the low topicality of the object; similarly Polinsky (2017: 316) views the oblique case on the object as signalling that "the referent will not be maintained in subsequent discourse" which "facilitates a low-individuation interpretation". Cooreman (1994: 51) links low object individuation with the general function of the antipassive to indicate "a certain degree of difficulty with which an effect stemming from an activity by A on an identifiable O can be recognised", a view that supports the Transitivity Hypothesis of Hopper & Thompson (1980).

These generalisations are broadly applicable in Pama-Nyungan languages. In some languages, object individuation is cited as one of the conditioning factors of the antipassive. For example, Blake (1979a: 28) describes the antipassive in Kalkatungu as being "commonly used where reference is to an indefinite P or to indulgence rather than completion of an activity" (see Section 3 for discussion on the link between non-individuation and atelicity). However, it is not clear that non-individuation is either a necessary or sufficient condition of the antipassive. For example, antipassives in Kalkatungu are attested with objects that appear to be definite or highly individuated, such as first person pronouns (26) and possessed kin terms (24b), (34c). And, transitive clauses may appear with an indefinite object, for example, (30) and (38). Similarly, Patz (2002: 155) concludes that a "non-individuated object…is not a characteristic feature of antipassive in Kuku Yalanji since it may apply just as well in transitive sentences."

The interpretation of null objects differs between antipassive and transitive clauses. Polinsky (2017) notes that when the object is not expressed in an antipassive it is still presupposed, making it a case of an implicit object rather than a null pronoun (or *pro*-drop; Rizzi 1986); antipassives remain semantically transitive (in the sense of implying an object). This pattern can be observed in (5).

(5) Kalkatungu (Blake 1982: 87)
   a. *Thuku-yu ijayi.*
      dog-ERG bite
      'The dog bit him/her/it.' (TR)
   b. *Thuku ijayi.*
      dog bite
      'The dog bites.' (ANTIP)

In Kalkatungu, both transitives and antipassives allow for the omission of the object, however the transitive (5a) receives a default third person singular interpretation (as in cases of *pro*-drop), while the antipassive (5b) is interpreted generically like

'things'. A generic interpretation is sometimes reflected in translations involving existential quantifiers, such as 'something' (6) and 'someone' (7).

(6) Djabugay (Patz 1991: 298)
Ngawu buga-yi-ng, ngawu-nggu buga-ng minya.
1SG.NOM eat-INTR-PRS 1SG-ERG eat-PRS fish.ABS
'I am eating (something), I am eating fish.' (ANTIP first clause)

(7) Dyirbal (Dixon 1972: 70)
Bayi yara balga-l-nga-nyu.
there.ABS.I man.ABS hit-*l*-*ngay*-NFUT
'Man is hitting [someone].' (-*ngay* ANTIP)

In some languages, such as Dyirbal, Wargamay and Yidiny, antipassives allow for the free omission of the object, whereas in transitives the object is normally expected to be overt (Dixon 1972, 1977, 1981).

One approach to these patterns is the property-type analysis of the antipassive object, as proposed by Wharram (2003). This type of analysis has also been proposed for other constructions that exhibit similar patterns, such as noun incorporation (Van Geenhoven 1998; Chung & Ladusaw 2004; Van Geenhoven & McNally 2005) and Russian genitive of negation/intensionality (Partee et al. 2012). Under this approach the antipassive object denotes a property, or predicate of individuals (type <*e,t*>), whereas the regular transitive object denotes an individual (type *e*). Rather than directly composing with the verb and saturating an argument position (as in the transitive), the composition of the antipassive object and the verb is mediated by an antipassive operator, as schematised in (8).

(8) [[eat AP] food]

As well as allowing the verb to compose with a property-denoting object, the antipassive operator asserts that something with that particular property exists (that is, it introduces existential quantification).[6] For a common noun, such as *maa* 'food' in (2), this subtle difference is often reflected by definiteness: in the transitive there

6. Note that if this existential quantifier occurs in a non-veridical environment such as with negation, modals or intensional verbs it no longer entails the existence of an individual in the actual world. If embedded under another quantifier or scope-bearing operator, it produces an obligatory narrow-scope reading, as reported for Inuktitut (Wharram 2003) and West Greenlandic (Deal 2008). To my knowledge there has not been careful work on scope relations in antipassives in Pama-Nyungan languages. However there are some examples that suggest this is on the right track, such as (3) from Guugu Yimidhirr. A possible paraphrase of (3a) with wide-scope is 'there are cigarettes such that I left them'. A possible paraphrase of (3b) with narrow-scope is 'I have left things that have the property of being cigarettes'.

may be particular food that is being cooked, while in the antipassive there is cooking going on involving something that has food properties. In fact, Blake (1979a: 28) says that (2b) really means "mother is 'food-cooking'" (note the similarity of this interpretation to noun incorporation).

For proper names, overt pronouns and kin terms there is usually only one salient individual with that particular property, so the antipassive produces no meaningful difference in interpretation.[7] An informal paraphrase of an example like (34c) is "the child is looking very hard for something that has the property of being his mother"; such a property description only applies to the individual that is in fact his mother.

For unexpressed objects, the antipassive asserts that something exists, but does not specify anything about the particular property of that thing. This leads to the interpretations in (5b) and (6) that there is something the dog bites, or there is something that I am eating. For the latter, common sense tells us this is probably something edible, that is, food. In contrast, the unexpressed object of a transitive continues to denote an individual, receiving a default third singular interpretation. Given that the property-type analysis is well-suited to handle the object interpretation patterns observed in Pama-Nyungan I adopt it in this paper.

2.4 Exclusions

Although I take what Sansò (2018) calls a "broad" definition of the antipassive, for perspicuity I am setting aside in this present work several constructions which arguably fit under the antipassive rubric, including noun incorporation, pseudo noun incorporation, the (obligatory) unexpressed object alternation and the conative alternation; see Polinsky (2017) for discussion of these constructions. I am also setting aside alternations involving transitive verbs that can occur in either an ergative-absolutive or an ergative-dative case frame. Warlpiri is one such language that features this alternation; an example is (9).

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7. In fact, there may be subtle interpretive differences. Deal (2008: 93) reports that in Nez Perce, proper names are interpreted in the antipassive as 'somebody called X' instead of referentially. And, in West Greenlandic, as in (i) the name refers to 'the concept of Jesus' (Michael Fortescue, p.c. to Manning 1996). Similarly, Partee et al. (2012) report that in Russian, definite noun phrases receive a qualitative interpretation in genitive of negation/intensionality constructions.

(i) *Jesusi-mik taku-si-vu-q*. (Bittner 1987: 196)
Jesus-OBL see-ANTIP-INTR.IND-3SG.A
'He saw Jesus.' (ANTIP)

(9) Warlpiri (Hale 1982b, ex. 48a cited in Simpson 1991: 330)

a. *Ngarrka-ngku ka marlu luwa-rni.*
man-ERG PRS kangaroo.ABS shoot-NPST
'The man is shooting the kangaroo.' (TR)

b. *Ngarrka-ngku ka-rla-jinta marlu-ku luwa-rni.*
man-ERG PRS-3DAT-3DAT kangaroo-DAT shoot-NPST
'The man is shooting at the kangaroo.' (TR)

Polinsky (2017) treats such examples as antipassives, however she notes that other researchers treat them as a case of Differential Object Marking, which does not entail detransitivisation. Simpson (1991) treats such examples as instances of the conative alternation, and shows that, along with retaining ergative case on the subject, the dative nominal in such examples has the grammatical role of direct object (it can control *-kurra* clauses, is always cross-referenced in the auxiliary, and receives a default third person interpretation if there is no overt nominal). Since the status is unclear, I am setting aside alternations involving ergative-dative case frames, but note that the semantics are similar in many ways to those of antipassives, and that insight may be gained from approaches that seek to unify the antipassive and conative alternation (e.g. Blight 2004).[8]

Given that the objective of this paper is to provide a unified semantics for aspectual and modal interpretations of the antipassive, I am also setting aside syntactic uses of the antipassive. This includes complex clauses in which a direct object (P or O) or intransitive subject (S) would be coreferential with a transitive subject (A); in these contexts the antipassive is used to derive an intransitive subject. This has been called an "S/O pivot", and is considered a feature of syntactic ergativity (Dixon 2002). In the current sample, syntactic antipassives are found in Dyirbal, Warrongo and Kalkatungu. The pattern is illustrated in (10) from Kalkatungu. In (10a) the antipassive occurs in the subordinate clause since the subject is coreferential with the matrix S; in (10b) it occurs because the subordinate subject is coreferential with the matrix P.

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8. Note that the retention of ergative case in the conative alternation is a distinct pattern from antipassives with nominative subjects, as in the Guugu Yimidhirr example in (3). The identical case forms in this example arises from a syncretism between transitive and intransitive subjects that are pronouns. The antipassive subject is an intransitive subject, as evidenced by the appearance of absolutive case on common noun subjects. Observe that in (i), the complex antipassive subject comprises a pronoun (NOM) and common noun (ABS).

(i) Guugu Yimidhirr (Haviland 1979: 129)
Wudhurr galbay ***dhana yarrga-ngay*** *buurraay=gaga-wi buda-adhi.*
night.ABS long.ABS 3PL.NOM boy-PL.ABS water=poison-DAT eat-REFL.PST
'The boys drank booze all night long.' (ANTIP)

(10) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 38, 64)

a. *Ingka-nha ngata ngarrkun-ku a-ti lha-yi.*
go-PST 1PL.ABS wallaroo-DAT COMP-1PL kill-ANTIP
'We went to kill wallaroos.' (ANTIP)

b. *Nga-thu nyini pathi-nha tharnrtu-u a-ni wathukati-yi.*
1SG-ERG 2SG.ABS tell-PST hole-DAT COMP-2SG dig-ANTIP
'I told you to dig a hole.' (ANTIP)

It is standard in cross-linguistic work on antipassives for authors to clearly distinguish the syntactic and semantic uses of the antipassive.[9] In this paper I will be focusing exclusively on the semantic antipassive, and will therefore exclude data that involves syntactic antipassives.

3. Data from Pama-Nyungan languages

In this section I present an overview of data from Pama-Nyungan languages that display aspectual or modal characteristics in the antipassive. As stated in the introduction, one of the generalisations that arises from Pama-Nyungan data is the repeated occurrence of continuative and habitual interpretations in the antipassive.[10] I understand these interpretations to arise from the atelicity of the event described by the predicate of an antipassive clause. In some grammars this feature of atelicity is clear from the descriptions, such as "uncompleted" (Blake 1978), or "continuative" (Tsunoda 2011). These terms describe an event that does not reach a telos; in other words, it does not satisfy the culmination condition (in the sense of Parsons 1990; Kratzer 2004) expressed by the non-antipassive counterpart.

Atelicity can also be described in terms of focus, with the antipassive focusing on an activity rather than on the result of that activity or the affectedness of the object. For example, Blake (1979a: 28) describes the antipassive in Kalkatungu as being "used to express indulgence in an activity rather than to express what happened to the PATIENT." This contrast may be further reflected in a shift in thematic roles, from agent to actor/participant, and patient to goal/accessory. Again, in Kalkatungu, the antipassive is "favoured if reference is to an action that is being directed towards a goal, rather than one that has been successfully completed"

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9. Some examples are backgrounding vs. foregrounding (Foley & Van Valin 1985), semantic/pragmatic vs. structural (Cooreman 1994), semantic/discourse vs. structural (Polinsky 2013), interpretative differences vs. way-station effects (including control) (Polinsky 2017).

10. I am using "continuative" as a cover-term for a single, atelic event. I reserve "imperfective" and "progressive" for referring to viewpoint/grammatical aspect.

(Blake 1976: 286). In Guugu Yimidhirr, the antipassive serves to "demote specific O NPs to the status of peripheral accessories to a generalized sort of action, in which the underlying A NPs are now participants, in S function" (Haviland 1979: 133). In Kuku Yalanji, it indicates that "the underlying patient is not solely and directly affected by the action but is demoted to an ancillary role" (Patz 2002: 154).

These features of activity focus and thematic role shift are closely tied to atelicity. Following Dowty (1991: 572), a prototypical patient is one which is "causally affected by another participant" and "undergoes a change of state". In other words, a patient is fully affected by the event, and at the culmination of the event holds the result state caused by that event. In seminal work on telicity (Dowty 1979; Krifka 1986, 1989, 1992, 1998; Kratzer 2004; Rothstein 2004, among others) the culmination of an event is defined by the affectedness of the patient. Kratzer (2004: 393) puts it this way: "events culminate when the activity described by the verb has affected all relevant parts of the direct object referent." Non-culminating events, including those expressed by the antipassive, therefore do not have a fully affected direct object referent, which consequently does not satisfy the properties of a prototypical patient. This leads to the observed thematic role shift associated with the antipassive.

Atelicity is also tied to the activity focus associated with antipassives. In a classic Vendler (1957) style classification of predicates, accomplishments and activities pattern together in denoting dynamic events, but accomplishments are distinguished from activities by being telic. Drawing on work by Dowty and Krifka, Rothstein (2004) considers accomplishments to denote complex events which, broadly speaking, consist of an activity portion followed by a telos. She discusses a classic example *eat the sandwich*. This event consists of a series of incrementally larger eating events that have increasingly larger portions of sandwich as their argument. The event culminates when the entire sandwich is the argument of the event, at which point the sandwich changes state from "not eaten" to "eaten". An atelic event by definition excludes this culmination point, leaving only the prior activity stages in the extension of the predicate. Such an event therefore cannot focus on "what happened to the PATIENT", but rather expresses "indulgence in an activity".

The aspectual and modal readings associated with the antipassive frequently favour a non-specific interpretation of the object; for example, non-culminating or activity readings often occur with plural or mass nouns; habitual readings occur with generic objects; intensional predicates and modals allow for a *de dicto* or opaque (in the sense of Zimmerman 1993; Moltmann 1997) interpretation of the object. In addition, object properties influence the telicity of a predicate. If there is no clearly defined referent, then there is no sense in which an event could be seen to culminate once every relevant part of a referent has been affected.

This is particularly evident with non-overt objects, for example (11)–(12) from Pitta Pitta.

(11) Pitta Pitta (Roth 1987, cited in Blake 1987: 59)
Thaji-li-ya nganyja.
eat-*li*-PRS 1SG.NOM
'I'm eating.' (ANTIP)

(12) Pitta Pitta (Roth 1987, cited in Blake 1987: 59)
Pipa-li-ya nganyja.
see-*li*-PRS 1SG.NOM
'I'm on the look out.' (ANTIP)

As observed by Polinsky (2017: 329), "when a clause lacks overt mention of a participant affected by the event (incremental theme), the event is likely to be interpreted as incomplete." Non-individuation, a hallmark of antipassives, can therefore be understood to be closely linked with atelicity. In Sections 4 and 5 I present a proposal for how the antipassive comes to derive an atelic predicate; in the remainder of this section I present the data to be accounted for by such a proposal.

3.1 Kalkatungu

In Kalkatungu, the antipassive construction is associated with continuative and habitual readings. Blake (1978: 164) describes it as being "used when the verb indicates uncompleted or habitual activity". It is frequently found with the verbs *thu-* 'cook' (13) and *ari* 'eat, drink' (14) and "is commonly used where reference is to an indefinite P or to indulgence rather than completion of an activity" (Blake 1979a: 28). In the following examples transitive clauses are presented in the (a) and (b) sentences, and antipassive in the (c) and (d) sentences.

(13) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 45, 163, 27, 103)
a. *Nga-thu thuyi-nha nyun-ku wakari.*
1SG-ERG cook-PST 2SG-DAT fish
'I cooked your fish.' (TR)
b. *Nyin-ti nga-ji maa thuyi-mpa-n?*
2SG-ERG 1SG-DAT food cook-PRF-2SG
'Have you cooked my food?' (TR)
c. *Martu maa-ji thuyi.*
mother food-DAT cook
'Mother is cooking (food).' (ANTIP)

d. *Nhaka nyin-ti jaa pirlapirla uthantiyi maa-ji ngunha*
why 2SG-ERG here child keep food-DAT REL.ACC
thu-yi-mi-thi.[11]
cook-ANTIP-FUT-LOC
'Why do you have your kid with you while you are cooking the tucker?'
(ANTIP)

(14) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 58, 98, 95, 60)

a. *Maa jaa nhutu-yu ala kutu*.
food here 2PL-ERG eat.IMP 2PL
'You mob eat up this food.' (TR)

b. *Thungumpirri nhaa-ka maa-ka wartaji-ka, nyin-ti lhamu ari-mi*.[12]
bad here-Ø food-Ø fruit-Ø 2SG-ERG might eat-FUT
'This fruit's not too good, you might eat it.' (TR)

c. *Ngata ari-li-nyin maa-ji-ka ati-nyji-yana-ka*.
1PL.ABS eat-ANTIP-PTCP food-DAT-Ø meat-DAT-CONJ-Ø
'We are eating food and meat.' (ANTIP)

d. *Maa-ji ngai ari-li-nyin-ta unungkarti-ka yaun thuna*.
food-DAT 1SG.ABS eat-ANTIP-PTCP-LOC wind-Ø big blow
'While I was eating, a strong wind was blowing.' (ANTIP)

In these examples the antipassive has a continuative, non-resultative reading that focuses on the activity described by the verb.[13] With punctual verbs such as *ija* 'bite' (15) and *lha* 'hit' (16) the antipassive has an iterative reading, whereas the transitive is interpreted as a single instance of the event described by the verb.

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11. *ngunha* is unglossed in this example; elsewhere it is glossed REL.ACC, which is how I have glossed it here. Also, Blake does not segment *thuyi* in this example, but this verb is both future tense marked and in a subordinate clause, both contexts in which *-yi* indicates the antipassive, so I have glossed it as such here.

12. The symbol 'Ø' in glosses is used by Blake (1979a) for a morpheme without referential content.

13. Blake (1979a: 28) reports that there is a small vestige of antipassives that are used without a clear semantic function, and which are said to mean the same as the transitive. One such example is (i).

(i) *Nga-thu maa-jua mani-nti rnrtia-ka urtimayi-mpa. Ngai urtimayi-nha*
1SG-ERG food-DAT.Ø get-with money-Ø consume-PRF 1SG.ABS consume-PST
rnrtia-a nga-ji-wa-ku.
money-DAT 1SG-DAT-LIG-DAT
'I spent it on food (and) used it all up. I have spent all my money.' (ANTIP final clause)
(Blake 1979a: 160)

(15) Kalkatungu (Blake 1977: 17, 49, 86, 17)

a. *Thuku-yu yurru ijai-nha.*[14]
dog-ERG man bite-PST
'The dog bit the man.' (TR)

b. *Kupangurru-u-ya-thu ngai ijayi.*
old.man-DAT-LIG-ERG 1SG.ABS bite
'The old man's (dog) bit me.' (TR)

c. *Thuku thuarr-ku ijayi.*
dog snake-DAT bite
'The dog is biting the snake.' (ANTIP)

d. *Thuku nguli ijai ruupu-wu ai ingka.*
dog CONT bite rope-DAT COMP.3SG go
'The dog keeps chewing at the rope to get away.' (ANTIP)

(16) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 54)

a. *Kuntu nga-thu lha-mi.*
not 1SG-ERG hit-FUT
'I'm not going to hit him.' (TR)

b. *Kuntu ngai lha-yi-mi kurlukurlu.*
not 1SG.ABS hit-ANTIP-FUT again
'I'm not going to hit him again.' (ANTIP)

Discussing the examples in (16), Blake (1979a: 54) says that the antipassive with future tense marking refers to "continuing present activity into the future". As is common in Pama-Nyungan languages, *lha* 'hit' can be used to mean 'kill' (see, for example, (69) from Kuku Yalanji). However, it is interesting to note that while this meaning is frequently attested in transitive clauses, such as (17)–(18), there are no examples of the antipassive meaning 'kill' (with the exception of syntactically motivated antipassives). This pattern further underlines the non-resultative interpretation of the antipassive.

(17) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 59)
Yarikayan-ati-nyin-tu jaa nga-thu lhayi.
hungry-INTR-PTCP-ERG here 1SG-ERG kill
'Being hungry I killed it.' (TR)

(18) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 41)
Marapai-thu kupu lhayi-nha.
woman-ERG spider kill-PST
'The woman killed the spider.' (TR)

14. Blake (1977) does not always include 'y' between sequences of 'a' and 'i', thus *ijai* and *ijayi* are equivalent.

Antipassives are also used to refer to habitual activity. This is illustrated with *ngkaa* 'spear' (19) and *ari* 'eat' (20). The example in (5b) with *ija* 'bite' may also be associated with habitual activity.

(19) Kalkatungu (Blake 1982: 79–80)

a. *Nga-thu wakari ngkaayi-nha yuku-ngku.*
1SG-ERG fish spear-PST spear-INS
'I speared a fish with a spear.' (TR)

b. *Ngai wakari-i ngkaa-li yuku-ngku.*
1SG.ABS fish-DAT spear-ANTIP spear-INS
'I spear fish with a spear.' (ANTIP)

(20) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 95)
Malhthana jaa ari-li jipa-a ngarrkun-ku, anhthamurru-thati
in.mobs here eat-ANTIP this-DAT wallaroo-DAT flock-INTR
wakarla-yana kajapi-yana.
crow-CONJ hawk-CONJ
'In great numbers they eat the wallaroo, they flock together, both crows and hawks.' (ANTIP first clause)

In addition, the antipassive construction is obligatory with the imperfective morpheme *-minha* (21)–(22). Blake found no instances of a transitive clause with *-minha* in his corpus.

(21) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 37)
*Nhaka-a nyini ari-li-**minha**-n?*
what-DAT 2SG.ABS eat-ANTIP-IPFV-2SG
'What are you eating?' (ANTIP)
*Ari-li-**minha**-Ø maa-ji.*
eat-ANTIP-IPFV-1SG food-DAT
'I'm eating tucker.' (ANTIP)

(22) Kalkatungu (Blake 1976: 286)

a. *Kupangurru-thu jaa kalpin lhai-nha.*
old.man-ERG here young.man hit-PST
'The old man hit the young man.' (TR)

b. *Kupangurru jaa kalpin-ku lhai-**minha**.*
old.man here young.man-DAT hit-IPFV
'The old man is hitting the young man.' (ANTIP)

Note that in (21) the antipassive morpheme and imperfective co-occur, and that the antipassive is linearly closer to the verbal stem. I return to this point in Section 4.2. The antipassive is also near-obligatory with the habitual morpheme *-nyjangu* (23)–(26).[15]

(23) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 91, 108)
a. *Nga-ji ngalhu-yu kunti karri nga-ji.*
1SG-DAT daughter-ERG house clean 1SG-DAT
'My daughter cleaned the house for me.' (TR)
b. *Nga-ji papipi minhangarramayi-**nyjangu** karriyi-**nyjangu** murru-u*
1SG-DAT father's.mother whatchamacallit-HAB clean-HAB camp-DAT
'My granny whatchamacallits…eh…cleans the camp.' (ANTIP)

(24) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 58, 56)
a. *Jirtaanmi-ya kina nhaurr.*
look.after-IMP 3PL kid
'Look after them kids.' (TR)
b. *Ngai jirtaanmayi-**ngjangu** nga-ji-wa-ku nhaurr-ku-wa, putanyiti-**nyjangu**.*
1SG.ABS look.after-HAB 1SG-DAT-LIG-DAT kid-DAT-Ø feed.up-HAB
'I look after my kid and feed him up.' (ANTIP)

(25) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 99)
*Ngai kuntu ari-li-**nyjangu**, ati-ka thail miarr-ka.*
1SG.ABS not eat-ANTIP-HAB meat-Ø hard EMPH-Ø
'I don't eat (sc. galah), the meat's too tough.' (ANTIP)

(26) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 152)
*Kuntu nhthiyi-**jangu** nga-ji.*
not scold-HAB 1SG-DAT
'She doesn't rouse at me.' (ANTIP)

Note that in Kalkatungu, ongoing and iterative interpretations are also possible with the transitive construction in the present tense, as in (27) and (28).

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15. In fact the only exception I found in the grammar is (i), in which *lha* 'hit' is used to mean 'kill', further underscoring the avoidance of the antipassive to describe strongly telic, resultative events.

(i) *Kalpin-minngu nga-thu thuarr lhayi-nyjangu malhtha.* (Blake 1979a: 93)
young.man-as 1SG-ERG snake kill-HAB mob
'As a young man, I used to kill a lot of snakes.' (TR)

(27) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 28)
Martu-yu thuyi wakari nga-ji-wa-thangu.
mother-ERG cook fish 1SG-DAT-LIG-ABL
'Mother is cooking the fish from my [sc. wife].' (TR)

(28) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 104)
Nhakayakuwa nyin-ti lhayi jaa yurru-ngarra-ka? Lhi-ya!
why 2SG-ERG hit here man-other-Ø leave-IMP
'Why are you hitting this other man? Leave him alone.' (TR)

Note also that present tense verbs can have a past interpretation. This is a fairly frequent pattern with transitive clauses, as in (29)–(30), see also (15b). However, it appears to be much more marginal in the antipassive; the only examples I found in the grammar were with *thu-* 'cook' and had an implicit object and a habitual flavour, as in (31).

(29) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 104)
Nhaka-yan nyin-ti jaa yurru-ka lhayi? Puthurra ngartathati-nyin.
what-CON 2SG-ERG here man-Ø hit good sit-PTCP
'Why did you hit this man?' 'He bin good.' (TR)

(30) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 156)
Tharnrtu nyin-ti wathukatiyi?
hole 2SG-ERG dig
'Did you dig a hole?' (TR)

(31) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 158–159)
'Cooking by the creek'
a. *Kua-lha ngalhi thuyi.*
creek-LOC 1DU.ABS cook
'We cooked by the creek.' (ANTIP) (line 7)
b. *Kua-lha ngalhi thuyi.*
creek-LOC 1DU.ABS cook
'We would cook by the creek.' (ANTIP) (line 17)

I suggest that the avoidance of the antipassive to describe culminated events drives this pattern, since clauses with past time reference tend to be interpreted as perfective by default, especially with punctual verbs. This may also explain the relative infrequency of past tense morphology in the antipassive, though this is possible with an imperfective interpretation such as in (32), with *uthanti* 'look after'.[16]

16. This pattern has also been reported for the pseudo-progressive construction in Jaminjung, which very rarely occurs in the past tense, and which has a functional overlap with present tense in expressing ongoing events (Schultze-Berndt 2012).

(32) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 101)
Ngai uthantiyi-nha pa-u nhaurr-ku nyin-ti ngunha lhayi.
1SG.ABS look.after-PST that-DAT child-DAT 2SG-ERG REL.ACC hit
'I've been looking after that kid you belted.' (ANTIP matrix clause)

Finally, two verbs in Kalkatungu exhibit a lexical shift in the antipassive. The first is *yakapi* 'hear', which means 'understand' or 'be able to hear' in the antipassive. There are no examples that I could find in the grammar. It is possible that this lexical shift is linked to the general habitual function, which may take on an ability reading with some verbs (similar to the 'nature' or 'propensity' meaning reported by Tsunoda 2011 for Warrongo). For example, *thu* 'cook' has a similar ability reading in the antipassive in (33). Note also the presence of *-nyjangu* 'HAB' in this example.

(33) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 56)
Nyini thuyi-nyjangu maa-ji, kuntu ngai thuyi-mia.
2SG.ABS cook-HAB food-DAT not 1SG.ABS cook-POS
'You (can) cook, but I can't.' (ANTIP)

The second lexical shift is *nganthama* 'find' in (34a) and (34b), which means 'look for' in the antipassive in (34c)–(34e).

(34) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 96, 101, 109, 54, 17)
a. *Jaa-ka lhuu nganhthamayi jaa juruyan-ka kuntu ngarrpa-thu-ka jaa*
here-Ø INT find here echidna-Ø not other-ERG-Ø here
lhuu jipa-yi.
INT this-ERG
'He found the echidna, no one else did. He found it himself.' (TR)
b. *Nga-thu jaa yurru nganhthamayi nga-ji-wa-ku thuku-u nguu*
1SG-ERG here man find 1SG-DAT-LIG-DAT dog-DAT REL
lha-yi-nha.
hit-ANTIP-PST
'I found the man who hit my dog.' (TR)
c. *Pirlapirla mathu-unyji-ya-ku nganhthamayi-nha panyjayi-nha.*[17]
child mother-his-LIG-DAT look.for-PST very-PST
'The child searched very hard for his mother.' (ANTIP)
d. *Kuntu ngai ngkara-a nganhthama-yi-mi.*
not 1SG.ABS yam-DAT look.for-ANTIP-NFUT
'I'm not going to keep on looking for yams.' (ANTIP)

17. Blake (1979a: 109) uses this sentence as an example of a verb phrase that consists of two structurally parallel verbs which share the same inflection.

e. *Jaa nhaurr thikinthikin nguli arrkun-ku nganhthamai.*
that child bad always fight-DAT look.for
'That boy's bad, always looking for trouble.' (ANTIP)

These two interpretations of *nganthama* are intuitively related, since the goal of looking for an entity is to find it. In other words, a search is successful if the entity is found, at which point the activity ceases. The antipassive appears to be describing an activity that occurs prior to a finding event, but which is not completed. If this is on the right track, then the function of the antipassive with this verb can be subsumed under the general function of expressing incomplete events. Of course, in English, *find* is an achievement verb which does not entail a prior activity of searching; in fact, a finding event can be accidental. It appears this is also true in Kalkatungu, as in (35)–(36).

(35) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 32)
Lhi-yi kuu-ngku ngai nganhthamayi thlinta.
3SG-ERG rain-ERG 1SG.ABS find in.the.middle
'The rain caught me in the open.' (TR)

(36) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 74)
Iti-yi puyu nganhthama ku-kin, iti-ya marlampirra.
man-ERG if find lest-2SG return-IMP quickly
'If someone comes across you, come back quickly.' (TR)

Therefore, the antipassive appears to be coercing a prior activity reading with this verb, as well as introducing an element of intentionality on the part of the subject.[18] As Tsunoda (1988) points out, the latter property is a puzzle, since high intentionality or volitionality is considered to be a feature of high transitivity, which is predicted not to correlate with the antipassive (Hopper & Thompson 1980). I will address these points in Section 4.

One might object that this shift is really to do with the status of the object, rather than a true aspectual shift, since finding an entity necessarily entails that it exists, whereas searching for something does not, allowing for an opaque or *de dicto* interpretation of the object with the antipassive, as in classical analyses of intensional verbs, including *look for* in English (Zimmermann 1993; Moltmann

18. A reviewer suggests that a plausible gloss for *nganthama* may in fact be 'track', in which case it could be reasonably classified as an accomplishment. If this is the case then *nganhthama* patterns like other accomplishment verbs in denoting a culminating event in the transitive ('He tracked (=found) the echidna') and a non-culminating event in the antipassive ('He was tracking (=looking for) the echidna'). In this case, the lexical entry for *nganthama* would denote an activity ('search') and a telos ('find') like other accomplishment verbs. However, examples such as (35)–(36)would seem to suggest that the searching activity is not encoded in the lexical entry, allowing for these accidental readings.

1997; see also footnote 30). However, this does not account for the choice of the antipassive in (34c), which contains a possessed kin term, and seems to favour a *de re* interpretation. Neither does it account for fact that a clause with a non-existent object can be expressed by either an antipassive (37) or transitive (38) construction (note that the first clause in (37) is antipassive due to syntactic reasons).

(37) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 113)
Mpaya kuntu nganhthamai-nha ngurrkunha iti-nha-mpa-nhu.
2DU.ABS not find-PST empty.handed return-PST-PFV-2DU
'You two didn't find any and you came back empty-handed.' (ANTIP first clause)

(38) Kalkatungu (Blake 1977: 17)
Kuntu nhautu kuu nganhthamai-nha.
not child.ERG water find-PST
'The child didn't find any water.' (TR)

3.2 Warrongo

Like Kalkatungu, Warrongo's antipassive is also correlated with aspectual distinctions, though, as Tsunoda (1988, 2011) is careful to note, the distinction can be difficult to detect and accurately characterise. He reports that the translations of his consultant, Alf Palmer, "often, though not always, indicated that antipassives emphasize a continuative or progressive meaning in the non-future" (Tsunoda 2011: 498). This is the case in (39).

(39) Warrongo (Tsunoda 2011: 475)
Ngaya gona-nggo galga-gali-n.[19]
1SG.NOM faeces-ERG put.down-ANTIP-NFUT
Lit. 'I am releasing faeces', i.e. 'I am defecating.' (ANTIP)
Consultant's translation: 'Now I am in the toilet and defecating.'

As can be observed in this example, the antipassive clause contains the verbal suffix *-gali*. This may occur on verb roots or stem-forming morphology (for example (51)), but not on inflectional morphology. Along with the case marking consistent with an intransitive clause, Tsunoda shows that antipassives may only be modified by intransitive verbs, as in (40).

(40) Warrongo (Tsunoda 2011: 431)
Bama nyorrngo~nyorrngo-bi-n jojam-bo balga-gali-n.
man.ABS busy~busy-INTR-NFUT locust-ERG hit-ANTIP-NFUT
'The man is busy hitting the locust.' (ANTIP)

19. Tsunoda glosses both ergative and instrumental case as ERG.

Additional examples from consultant Alec Collins are (41)–(42); in these examples the form of the verbal suffix is *-li* (translations are by Peter Sutton).

(41) Warrongo (Tsunoda 2011: 430)
Ngaygo warrngo wajo-li-Ø manyja-nggo.
1SG.GEN woman.ABS cook-ANTIP-NFUT food-ERG
'My wife is cooking food.' (ANTIP)

(42) Warrongo (Tsunoda 2011: 430)
Ngaya miranga-li-Ø wangal-do.
1SG.ABS make-ANTIP-NFUT boomerang-ERG
'I'm making a boomerang.' (ANTIP)

Although matrix antipassive clauses may emphasise a continuative reading, this aspectual distinction is lost in subordinate antipassives that occur for syntactic reasons. It is also possible for transitive clauses in the non-future to have a continuative meaning, and even for a sequence of an antipassive and transitive clause to refer to the same situation, as is the case in (43). In both of these properties Warrongo mirrors Kalkatungu.

(43) Warrongo (Tsunoda 2011: 499)
(Alf Palmer asked me about a man who was working nearby.)
a. *Ngani-nggo baba-gali-n?*
what-ERG dig-ANTIP-NFUT
'What is [he] digging?' (ANTIP)
b. *Galba? Galba baba-n?*
sand.ABS sand.ABS dig-NFUT
'Sand? Is [he] digging sand?' (TR)

Antipassives are also associated with habitual interpretations, as in (44). This includes descriptions of jobs (45), and inclination, nature or propensity, as in (46)–(47).

(44) Warrongo (Tsunoda 2011: 499)
(Alf Palmer described a certain drunkard as follows.)
Gamogamo-nggo nyola bija-gali-n.
grog-ERG 3SG.NOM drink-ANTIP-NFUT
'He drinks grog all the time.' (ANTIP)

(45) Warrongo (Tsunoda 2011: 500)
Nyola manyja-wo wajo-gali-yal.
3SG.NOM food-DAT cook-ANTIP-PURP
Lit. 'She cooks food.'
Alf Palmer's translation: 'She's a cook.' (ANTIP)

(46) Warrongo (Tsunoda 2011: 240)
Mori~mori nyawa goyba-gali-n.
greedy~greedy.ABS NEG give-ANTIP-NFUT
'That greedy man doesn't give anything'. (ANTIP)

(47) Warrongo (Tsunoda 2011: 500)
(In a text, a man says to another person, who is afraid of Gandaro, the imaginary hairy being, 'Don't be afraid'.)
[gandaro (TT)*] nyawa balga-gali-n.*[20]
[Gandaro.ABS NEG kill-ANTIP-NFUT
'[Gandaro] does not kill [human beings].' (ANTIP)

Tsunoda (2011) considers these interpretations, along with the continuative/progressive interpretations illustrated above, to be subsumed under a general imperfective meaning, and thus to exhibit lowered transitivity with respect to Hopper & Thompson's (1980) parameter of aspect. As with the continuative readings, habitual readings are lost in subordinate clauses.

Certain perception verbs display lexical asymmetries in the antipassive. These are summarised in Table 3 (simplified from Tsunoda 2011: 477).

Table 3. Lexical asymmetries in Warrongo perception verbs

Verb	Transitive	Antipassive
jaymba	find	find, search for
nyaga	see, look at, watch, meet, find	see, look at, watch, meet, search for, look after (mind, take care of someone), watch out
nyaga-nyaga	look at, watch out, look after	look at, watch out
ngawa	hear, listen to, understand [language]	listen to, understand [language]

Tsunoda considers these interpretive shifts to be specific instances of the general imperfective meaning of the antipassive that also characterises the continuative/progressive and habitual interpretations discussed above:

> Specifically, *nyaga-gali-ZERO* 'search for'…and *jaymba-gali-ZERO* 'search for'… are imperfective (to be precise, continuative and progressive – and also uncompleted) as against *nyaga-L* 'see, look at' and *jaymba-L* 'find'. (The meaning of 'search for' is not attested with the transitive *nyaga-L* or the transitive *jaymba-L*). Also

20. Material in square brackets with the code 'TT' was supplied by the author and approved by the consultant.

> *nyaga-gali-ZERO* 'look after, mind, take care of [someone]' is imperfective (to be precise, habitual), as against actual seeing/looking denoted by *nyaga-L* 'see, look at'. (The meaning of 'look after, take care of, mind' is not attested with the transitive *nyaga-L* 'see, look at'.) (Tsunoda 2011: 500–501)

In contrast to the continuative and habitual readings, these interpretive shifts are retained in subordinate clauses, which Tsunoda takes to be evidence of lexicalisation (see Section 6).

Additionally, Tsunoda (2011) reports that certain perception verbs with purposive inflection can express careful attention in the antipassive construction. He provides the example in (48b), noting his consultant's use of the term 'properly' in the translation. He also states that the 'look after, mind' interpretations of *nyaga* could be considered an instance of this reading. Like the continuative/progressive and habitual readings, the careful attention reading disappears in syntactically-motivated antipassives in subordinate clauses, pointing to their non-lexicalised status.

(48) Warrongo (Tsunoda 2011: 501)

a. *Gogo ngawa-yal.*
language/talk.ABS hear-PURP
Alf Palmer's translation: '[I] sit and listen [to the language/talk].' (TR)

b. *Gogo-wo ngawa-gali-yal.*
language/talk-DAT hear-ANTIP-PURP
Alf Palmer's translation: '[I] want to listen [to the language/talk] properly.' (ANTIP)

Tsunoda (1988: 634) also notes the use of 'want' in (48b), expressing volition. There are several other examples with similar semantics, expressing desire and intention, such as (49)–(51). The apprehensional morpheme, found in (49), usually indicates that an event might occur and often that it is unpleasant, but in some cases such as in this example it appears to imply intention (Tsunoda 2011: 287, 429).

(49) Warrongo (Tsunoda 2011: 429)
Ngaya yarro-n-da ngawa-gali-ngga.
1SG.NOM here-LINK-LOC hear/listen.to-ANTIP-APPR
Alf Palmer's translation: 'I gonna listen [here]' (ANTIP)

(50) Warrongo (Tsunoda 2011: 485)
Win.gar-go nyaga-gali-yal. (TT)[21]
fish-DAT see-ANTIP-PURP
'[I] want to see a fish.' (ANTIP)

21. This example was suggested by the author, and approved by the consultant.

(51) Warrongo (Tsunoda 1988: 643)
Nguni jana yaku-ngku paja-kali-n [jana (TT)*]*
there 3PL.NOM grass-INS bite-ANTIP-NFUT [3PL.NOM]
ngarra-mpa-kali-n kamu-wu.
in.vain-TR-ANTIP-NFUT water-DAT
'They are chewing grass, trying in vain to get moist (lit. water) [from it].'
(ANTIP)

In addition, Tsunoda (1988) points out that the use of *nyaga* and *jaymba* in the antipassive to mean 'search for' is also more volitional than transitive 'see' and 'find'. These patterns in which the antipassive expresses a higher degree of intentionality are contrary to the predictions of Hopper & Thompson (1980) who treat volitionality as a feature of high transitivity, and who associate the antipassive with low transitivity.

3.3 Guugu Yimidhirr

In Guugu Yimidhirr the antipassive construction is not productive, being attested with only a handful of verbs. It is not used for syntactic purposes, but rather is associated with what Haviland (1979) calls "generalised action". This term refers to a characterisation of events in which the subject is viewed as a participant in an activity rather than an agent which is acting on and affecting an object. Terrill (1997: 82) takes it to "refer to actions which are less discrete and less bounded than those expressed by their active transitive counterparts" and to apply to "sentences which focus on the process rather than the outcome of an event". In (52) and (53), containing *budal* 'eat', the antipassive "depicts generalized eating (stuffing oneself, in fact), in which the participants are not specifically acting on some object but rather just participating in an eating event." (Haviland 1979: 133). This shift is reflected in the translation 'have a good feed' in the antipassive in (52b).

(52) Guugu Yimidhirr (Haviland 1979: 129–130)
a. *Nyulu yarrga gada-y mayi buda-y.*
3SG.NOM boy.ABS come-PST food.ABS eat-PST
'The boy came and ate the food.' (TR)
b. *Nyulu yarrga gada-y mayi-wi buda-adhi.*
3SG.NOM boy.ABS come-PST food-DAT eat-REFL.PST
'The boy came and had a good feed of food.' (ANTIP)

(53) Guugu Yimidhirr (Haviland 1979: 62, 129)
a. *Nyulu dindaal-gu mayi buda-y.*
3SG.NOM quickly-*gu* food.ABS eat-PST
'He ate quickly.' (i.e. He finished everything quickly.) (TR)

b. *Wudhurr galbay dhana yarrga-ngay buurraay=gaga-wi*
night.ABS long.ABS 3PL.NOM boy-PL.ABS water=poison-DAT
buda-adhi.[22]
eat-REFL.PST
'The boys drank booze all night long.' (ANTIP)

Another example is (54), in which the antipassive "denotes a particular kind of verbal behaviour, and the target of verbal abuse is not particularly relevant to the activity" (Haviland 1979: 133). Note that verbal reduplication, found in both the transitive and antipassive in (54), is a general marker of imperfectivity (action which is continuous, in progress, repeated or done to excess). Verbal reduplication is the main way to express habitual or repeated action; repetition of the verb can also express repeated action (as in 'eat and eat and eat').

(54) Guugu Yimidhirr (Haviland 1979: 130)
a. *Nyulu ngamu-ugu gaymbaalmba-y*.
3SG.NOM mother.ABS-EMPH curse.RDP-PST
'He was cursing his mother.' (TR)
b. *Nyulu ngamu-ugal gaymbaalmba-dhi*.
3SG.NOM mother-ADES curse.RDP-REFL.PST
'He was cursing against his mother.' (ANTIP)

Additional examples of generalised action are (55b), involving an implicit object, and (3) above.

(55) Guugu Yimidhirr (Haviland 1979: 57, 133)
a. *Yarrga-aga-mu-n gudaa gunda-y biiba-ngun*.
boy-GEN-*mu*-ERG dog.ABS hit-PST father-ERG
'The boy's father hit the dog.' (TR)
b. *Nyulu gunda-adhi*
3SG.NOM hit-REFL.PST
'He had a fight; he was in a fight.' (ANTIP)

3.4 Dyirbal

Dyirbal has two productive antipassive constructions, containing the verbal morphemes *-ngay* and *-rriy* respectively. The *-ngay* antipassive is used for syntactic purposes and has the "same cognitive meaning" as the corresponding transitive

22. The equals symbol is used by Haviland to indicate a morpheme break in a compound which does not cause vowel lengthening.

construction (Dixon 1972: 66). The *-rriy* antipassive is syntactically identical to the *-ngay* antipassive but differs from it in expressing what Dixon characterises as potential as opposed to actual action (1972: 91).[23] Consider the minimal pair in (56a) and (56b); a similar transitive example is included in (56c) for morphosyntactic comparison.

(56) Dyirbal (Dixon 1972: 90–91)

a. *Bayi yara jaban-du waga-na-nyu.*
there.ABS.I man.ABS eel-INS spear-*ngay*-NFUT
'Man is spearing eels.' (*-ngay* ANTIP)

b. *Bayi yara jaban-du waga-y-marri-nyu.*
there.ABS.I man.ABS eel-INS spear-*y-rriy*-NFUT
'Man is spearing eels.' (*-rriy* ANTIP)

c. *Ngaja bayi guya waga-nyu*
1SG.NOM there.ABS.I fish.ABS spear-NFUT
'I am spearing fish.' (TR)

The *-ngay* antipassive in (56a) means the man "has just found some eels, and is at present spearing them"; in contrast the *-rriy* antipassive in (56b) "refers to a man who has gone out on an eel-spearing expedition but is not actually spearing any at the moment. He may have already found some eels, and have speared them all, and now be looking for more; or he may not yet have found any at all" (Dixon 1972: 91). Dixon points out that certain verbs such as *wagay* 'spear' are heard more frequently in the *-rriy* form as opposed to the *-ngay* form given the kind of event they normally describe: on an eel spearing expedition the majority of time is spent searching for eels, and in fact success is not guaranteed; in contrast an event of cutting a tree down mostly involves actual cutting, thus *nudil* 'cut' more frequently occurs in the *-ngay* form.

Another example in which the *-rriy* antipassive expresses potential action (and intention) is (57a); compare with the transitive construction (57b).

(57) Dyirbal (Dixon 1972: 93–94)

a. *Bayi yara bagul jaban-gu banggul jirrga-nggu*
there.ABS.I man.ABS there.DAT.I eel-DAT there.INS.I spear-INS
jurrga-y-marri-nyu.
spear-*y-rriy*-NFUT
'Man is (trying to) spear eels with a multi-prong spear.' (*-rriy* ANTIP)

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23. Dixon (1972: 90) calls the *-rriy* antipassive a "false reflexive" since the same morpheme *-rriy* is found in reflexive clauses.

b. *Bayi* *jaban* *banggul* *yara-nggu banggul*
there.ABS.I eel.ABS there.ERG.I man-ERG there.INS.I
jirrga-nggu *jurrga-nyu.*
spear-INS spear-NFUT
'Man is spearing eel with multi-prong spear.' (TR)

A spontaneously produced example involving both *-rriy* and *-ngay* forms is (58); in this example only the *-ngay* antipassive clause expresses that eating was in fact occurring at the time the man was seen, as reflected in both the consultant's translation and the literal translation.

(58) Dyirbal (Dixon 1972: 92)
Ngaja *bayi* *bura-n* *jangga-y-marri-ngu guya-gu*
1SG.NOM there.ABS.I see-NFUT eat-*y*-*rriy*-REL.ABS fish-DAT
jangga-na-ngu.
eat-*ngay*-REL.ABS
'He is having a feed of fish, when I saw him he was still eating it.'
(consultant's translation)
Lit. 'I saw him, who is potentially eating fish, who is [in fact] actually eating it.'

Commenting on this example, Dixon (1972: 92) writes, "*janggaymarringu* implies that the man referred to has caught or acquired some fish and that he is either about to eat it or has eaten it; *jangganangu* is then more specific, and states that the man was actually eating fish at the time I saw him."

Consider also (59). Dixon reports that in (59a), the *-rriy* antipassive has a habitual reading exactly like 'gives' in the English translation, whereas the *-ngay* antipassive in (59b) indicates that the action is in fact currently occurring. A similar transitive example is provided in (59c) for comparison.

(59) Dyirbal (Dixon 1972: 91, 94)
a. *Bayi* *wuga-yirri-nyu bagum* *jiga-gu.*
there.ABS.I give-*rriy*-NFUT there.DAT.III cigarette-DAT
'He gives out cigarettes.' (*-rriy* ANTIP)
b. *Bayi* *wuga-l-nga-nyu* *bagum* *jiga-gu.*
there.ABS.I give-*l*-*ngay*-NFUT there.DAT.III cigarette-DAT
'He is (now) giving out cigarettes.' (*-ngay* ANTIP)
c. *Bayi* *yara* *banggun* *jugumbi-ru* *banggum*
there.ABS.I man.ABS there.ERG.II woman-ERG there.INS.III
mirrany-ju *wuga-n.*
bean-INS give-NFUT
'Woman is giving man beans.' (TR)

In some respects the meaning contribution of the *-rriy* antipassive is similar to that of Kalkatungu's antipassive, especially with respect to the habitual reading discussed above. The actual/potential action dichotomy that is signalled by the choice of *-rriy* or *-ngay* antipassive is sometimes understood in terms of affectedness: for example elsewhere in the Dyirbal grammar, Dixon explains the actual/potential distinction with some verbs as relating to the potentiality of result or impact (Dixon 1972: 41). And, the explanations of the *-rriy* antipassives make it clear that they do not carry a culmination entailment. However there appears to be additional modal semantics involved, relating to notions of possibility and intention, which comprise the salient interpretive contrast for Dyirbal speakers. Intention can be observed in the spear examples, in which the subject is seeking and trying to spear eels. In addition, the verb *ngambal* 'hear, listen' means 'listen intently' in the *-rriy* antipassive construction, as in Warrongo (Dixon 1972: 92). Given that intention is tied to the subject's goals, we can understand these examples as involving teleological modality. For a discussion of teleological modality in West Greenlandic antipassives see Deal (2008).

3.5 Pitta Pitta

Modal notions are also associated with the antipassive construction in Pitta Pitta. The semantics are slightly different from Dyirbal, in that the construction expresses "volition as opposed to actual activity" (Blake 1979b: 207). Examples are in (60)–(62).[24]

(60) Pitta Pitta (Blake 1979b: 207)
a. *Pithi-ya nga-thu ina.*
hit-PRS 1SG-ERG 2SG.ACC
'I am hitting you.' (TR)
b. *Pithi-li-ya nganyja in-ku.*
hit-*li*-PRS 1SG.NOM 2SG-DAT
'I feel like to hit you.' (ANTIP)

(61) Pitta Pitta (Blake 1979b: 207)
a. *Ingka-ka ina nga-thu.*
kiss-PST 2SG.ACC 1SG-ERG
'I kissed you.' (TR)
b. *Ingka-li-ya nganyja in-ku.*
kiss-*li*-PRS 1SG.NOM 2SG-DAT
'I desire you.' (ANTIP)

24. Although Blake (1979b) considers these examples to be antipassives he leaves the suffix *-li* unglossed since it occurs in several different constructions; see Table 2.

(62) Pitta Pitta (Blake 1979b: 207)

a. *Nga-thu thaji-ka i-nha-ka kathi-nha.*
1SG-ERG eat-PST 3SG-ACC-here meat-ACC
'I ate the meat.' (TR)

b. *Nganyja thaji-li-ya kathi-ku.*
1SG.NOM eat-*li*-PRS meat-DAT
'I want to have a feed of meat. (ANTIP)

In these examples the antipassive expresses the attitude of the subject towards the described event, whereas the transitive counterpart expresses an instantiation of the event in the actual world. Since these examples express desire, I consider them to be examples of bouletic modality.

3.6 Mabuiag

The interpretations of antipassives in the languages considered so far have fallen generally within the rubric of less effective or targeted activity. However, two languages display a reading that is puzzling for this generalisation, which I will call "total effect". The first language is the Mabuiag dialect of Kala Lagaw Ya. Consider (63).

(63) Mabuiag (Bani & Klokeid 1976: 278)

a. *Ngath thusi tebola gima wanan.*
1SG.ERG book table.LOC on leave.NFUT
'I left the book on the table.' (TR)

b. *Ngath thusil tebola gima wanamin.*
1SG.ERG book.PL table.LOC on leave.PL.NFUT
'I left the books on the table.' (TR)

c. *Ngai thusin tebola gima wani.*[25]
1SG.NOM book.ERG table.LOC on leave.NFUT
'I left the books on the table.' (ANTIP)

The transitive clause in (63a) has a singular object; plurality can be formally marked on the object NP as in (63b). In the antipassive (63c), the object is interpreted as plural despite the lack of overt marking. In addition, Bani & Klokeid (1976: 278) report that it carries an implication that "all the books that could possibly be left on the table were left there. That is, there is the idea that the action was carried to completion, in terms of the possible referential scope of the direct object." This implication is absent with the overtly plural object in the transitive construction in (63b). The same pattern can be observed in (64).

25. Bani & Klokeid (1976) gloss both ergative and instrumental noun phrases as ERG.

(64) Mabuiag (Bani & Klokeid 1976: 278)

a. *Ngath nguangu inab koei puui pathadhin.*
1SG.ERG myself this big tree cut.PST
'I cut down this big tree by myself.' (TR)

b. *Ngath ngaungu ithab koei puil pathamadhin.*
1SG.ERG myself these big tree.PL cut.PL.PST
'I cut down these big trees.' (TR)

c. *Ngai ngaungu ithab koei puin pathaidhin.*
1SG.NOM myself these big tree.ERG cut.PST
'I cut down (all) these big trees by myself.' (ANTIP)

Comrie (1981: 18) summarises the facts reported by Bani & Klokeid (1976) by writing that the antipassive indicates the "total affectedness of the objects referred to by the Instrumental noun phrase."

3.7 Kuku Yalanji

Similar language is used by Patz (2002), who reports that, in Kuku Yalanji, antipassives with an unreduplicated verb express "total effect on the patient" (Patz 2002: 153). The three examples cited by Patz are (65), (66), and (67a); I was only able to find a corresponding transitive construction for *nuka* 'eat' (67b).

(65) Kuku Yalanji (Patz 2002: 154)
Ngamu mayi-nga wambi-ji-ny.
mother.ABS food-LOC share.out-INTR-PST
'Mother shared out all the food.' (ANTIP)

(66) Kuku Yalanji (Patz 2002: 154)
Nyulu jalbu ngayku-wun-bu bayan-ba ngunja-ji-ny.
3SG.NOM woman.ABS 1SG.POSS-LOC house-LOC take.over-INTR-PST
'The woman took over my house lock stock and barrel.' (ANTIP)

(67) Kuku Yalanji (Patz 2002: 152)

a. *Nyulu dingkar minya-nga nuka-ji-ny.*
3SG.NOM man.ABS meat-LOC eat-INTR-PST
'The man had a good feed of meat (he wasted nothing).' (ANTIP)

b. *Nyulu dingkar-angka minya nuka-ny.*
3SG.NOM man-ERG meat.ABS eat-PST
'The man ate meat.' (TR)

These examples carry the implication that all parts of an entity are affected by the event. With reduplicated verbs, Patz reports that antipassives express Haviland's notion of generalised action, indicating that "the described action is not discrete

and is performed on some general or 'non-individuated' object" (Patz 2002: 152). Examples are (68)–(70); the (b) examples are transitive constructions involving the same reduplicated verb. Reduplication in Kuku Yalanji indicates an "ongoing, repeated, or habitual action and/or a certain intensity in action" (Patz 2002: 106).

(68) Kuku Yalanji (Patz 2002: 153, 165)
a. *Jalbu bayan-ba yindu-yinduy-mbu nuri-nuri-ji-y.*
woman.ABS house-LOC other-RDP-LOC peep-RDP-INTR-NPST
'The woman is having a sticky-beak in all the other houses.' (ANTIP)[26]
b. *Nyulu bayan-ba jirakal-ba dunga-y, nuri-l-nuri-nka.*
3SG.NOM house-LOC new-LOC go-NPST peep-*l*-RDP-PURP
'He goes to the new house to have a peep [at it].' (TR)

(69) Kuku Yalanji (Patz 2002: 153, 214)
a. *Yinya karrkay kaya-nda kuni-n-kuni-ji-y.*
that.ABS child.ABS dog-LOC:POT hit-*n*-RDP-INTR-NPST
'That little one is hitting all the dogs (around here).' (ANTIP)
b. *Waybala-ngka, jana bama wubul kuni-l-kuni-ny.*
white.man-ERG:POT 3PL.NOM Aborigine.ABS many.ABS kill-*l*-RDP-PST
'White men, they killed many Aborigines.' (TR)

(70) Kuku Yalanji (Patz 2002: 243, 223)
a. *Nganjin mayi-nga nuku-nuka-ji-ny.*
1PL.EXCL.NOM food-LOC eat-RDP-INTR-PST
'We were having a good feed.' (ANTIP)
b. *Daka-ny, juku-muny mani-l-mani-ny mayi nuka-l-nuka-ny.*
climb-PST tree-ABS get-*l*-RDP-PST fruit.ABS eat-*l*-RDP-PST
'[They] climbed up, kept taking fruit from the tree [ate] eating it.' (TR)

Discussing these different semantic effects, Patz concludes, "the antipassive in Kuku Yalanji has the unusual dichotomy that it implies higher transitivity (total effect) or lower transitivity (generalised action) than a corresponding transitive sentence" (2002: 155). In fact, it is somewhat difficult to clearly distinguish these two different readings, since both kinds of antipassives receive similar translations (for example, 'all of the food'/'all of the dogs', 'have a good feed'). This difficulty is illustrated by (71), which Patz cites as an example of generalised action, but which, as far as I can tell, contains an unreduplicated verb and is therefore expected to express total effect.

(71) Kuku Yalanji (Patz 2002: 153)
a. *Bama dunga-ny bunjurri-ny.*
Aborigine.ABS go-PST throw.spit/curse-PST
'The Aborigine went and threw a curse.' (TR)

26. 'Sticky-beak' means 'snoop' or 'pry'.

b. *Bama* *dungan-ny* *bunjurri-ji-ny*.
Aborigine.ABS go-PST throw.spit/curse-INTR-PST
'The Aborigine went and threw curses everywhere.' (ANTIP)

As well as being used productively to indicate generalised action, with verbs of communication the antipassive has additional idiosyncratic semantics (72).

(72) Kuku Yalanji (Patz 2002: 154)

kunja-l	'call, summon'	*kunjaji-y*	'ask someone for something'
walngkurri-l	'bark at (TR)'	*walngkurriji-y*	'pester someone for something'
baba-l	'try, taste'	*babaji-y*	'ask someone about something'

Despite these idiosyncrasies, Patz points out that the semantic distinction with these verbs is similar to the productive antipassive in that the patient is "demoted to an ancillary role" rather than being "solely and directed affected by the action" (2002: 154). She suggests that these verb forms may have originated as antipassive derivations which subsequently became fixed expressions.

3.8 Summary

The data presented in this section gives rise to the following generalisations that must be accounted for in an analysis of the meaning of the antipassive in Pama-Nyungan languages. Firstly, several languages display both continuative and habitual readings in the antipassive, though this effect may be difficult to detect in the present tense. These readings are associated with various low transitivity properties such as generalised action and non-affectedness. Secondly, a subset of languages appears to display the opposite property of total effect with antipassives, traditionally considered a feature of high transitivity. Thirdly, antipassives frequently introduce modal semantics; this may be the primary function of the antipassive in a particular language, or certain modal effects may be detected with antipassives that perform a primarily aspectual function. In each case the antipassive is associated with volitionality or intentionality, a feature again associated with high transitivity. Finally, certain verbs display lexical asymmetries in the antipassive, featuring a preparatory-stage shift. I show in the next section that each of these generalisations follows from treating the antipassive as containing a predicate-internal aspectual morpheme that introduces modality and derives an atelic predicate.

4. Aspectual analysis

In this section I propose that the patterns outlined above are best accounted for by treating the antipassive as an aspectual morpheme. I show that precisely the same set of interpretations attested in the antipassive across the Pama-Nyungan languages surveyed is also attested with imperfective aspect cross-linguistically. Differences between antipassives and imperfective aspect are due to the antipassive being located predicate-internally, aligning it more closely with derivational rather than inflectional processes. Following the line of research that pursues a modal account of aspect correctly predicts the availability of modal readings in the antipassive.

4.1 Parallels with imperfective aspect

Like the antipassive, imperfective aspect is associated with incomplete activity. For example, the progressive in English cancels the culmination entailment of accomplishment verbs, known as the Imperfective Paradox. This is illustrated below with examples from Landman (1992: 2). For activity predicates, the inference from past progressive to simple past is valid: (73a) entails (73b). However for accomplishments it is not: (74a) does not entail (74b), because Mary could have been interrupted before the circle was complete.

(73) a. *Mary was pushing a cart.*
b. *Mary pushed a cart.*

(74) a. *Mary was drawing a circle.*
b. *Mary drew a circle.*

Also like the antipassive, imperfective aspect is associated with both progressive and habitual interpretations. Ferreira (2016) discusses a well-known cross-linguistic syncretism between progressive and habitual readings in the imperfective, such as in Greek (75) and Italian (76).

(75) Greek (Ferreira 2016: 354)
Eperne to farmako.
take.PST.IPFV the medicine
'He was taking the medicine/He used to take the medicine.'

(76) Italian (Ferreira 2016: 362)
Gianni fuma.
Gianni smokes
'Gianni smokes/Gianni is smoking.'

This syncretism has motivated several researchers, including Ferreira, to identify the common elements of both readings and attribute them to the lexical entry of an imperfective operator. For Ferreira, one of the common elements is temporal inclusion (the other is modality, which will be discussed in Section 4.3). Following Kratzer (1998), he takes the imperfective operator to assert that a salient time interval is included in the run time of an event; that is, the event is going on at a salient interval. He argues that this inclusion relation holds for both progressive and habitual readings, and that the difference between the two is mereological: progressive refers to a singular event whereas the habitual refers to a plurality of events. Thus 'Gianni is smoking' holds of a singular event of smoking which includes the salient interval; in the present tense this means that the event is ongoing at the time of utterance, and that the run time of the event extends into the future (77).

(77) $—[_{i1}—[_{i2}–]—]—>\quad i_2 \subseteq i_1$

'Gianni smokes', on the other hand, holds of a plurality of events of smoking, such that the sum of these events includes the salient interval (78).

(78) $—[_{i1}—]–[_{i3}–]–[_{i2}—]–>\quad i_3 \subseteq i_1 \oplus i_2$

This results in the correct interpretation of the habitual sentence, which asserts that an event of smoking has happened in the past and will happen in the future, but not necessarily that an event of smoking is currently occurring. Identifying the difference between progressive and habitual readings as one of event plurality allows us to treat them both as instantiations of imperfective aspect.

Event plurality can also be observed in iterative readings. Again, iterative readings are attested in both the antipassive and imperfective aspect. For example, the English progressive produces an iterative activity reading with semelfactive verbs, as in (79)–(82). These examples recall those found with similar verbs in the antipassive construction in Kalkatungu.

(79) *He's hitting the dog.*

(80) *The dog is biting a man.*

(81) *She's bouncing the ball.*

(82) *He's kicking a wall.*

I suggest that event plurality is in fact what gives rise to the "total effect" readings with antipassives in Mabuiag and Kuku Yalanji.[27] Each of the examples cited involve non-individuated objects, which are translated as something like "all entities

27. My thanks to an anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.

of a certain kind". Viewing these examples as instances of pluractionality yields paraphrases such as 'I cut down trees again and again/all over the place' (64c) and 'Mother shared out the food again and again/to everyone' (65). These interpretations recall the intensity or excess readings of the kind that have been reported for reduplication.

This analysis unifies the function of the antipassive with reduplicated and unreduplicated verbs in Kuku Yalanji, since examples with reduplicated verbs can receive similar paraphrases such as 'the child is hitting the dogs again and again/all over the place' in (69a).[28] Even some lexicalised examples like *walngkurriji-y* 'pester someone for something' suggest a pluractional interpretation. If this is on the right track then the "total effect" readings result from atelicity in much the same way as the generalised activity readings.

A final parallel with imperfective aspect are instances of lexical shift. Recall that with certain verbs, the antipassive appears to shift the lexical semantics of the verb to express an activity that occurs prior to the event denoted by the transitive verb. This shift is also attested with imperfective aspect. For example, Rothstein (2004) shows that, in English, while the progressive is impossible with most achievement verbs (a fact which is considered to be a diagnostic of this verb class), it can in fact occur with some. Contrast (83)–(85) with (86)–(88). In each of these cases, the progressive achievements "focus on 'detachable' preliminary stages of the achievement" (Rothstein 2004: 37).

(83) *#Mary is noticing that it is raining.* (Rothstein 2004: 5)

(84) *#Mary is recognising John.* (Rothstein 2004: 11)

(85) *#John is spotting his friend.* (Rothstein 2004: 5)

(86) *The tram is arriving at the tram stop.* (Rothstein 2004: 5)

(87) *Dafna is finding her shoes.* (Rothstein 2004: 32)

(88) *The old man is dying.* (Rothstein 2004: 32)

Rothstein argues that in these cases the progressive triggers a type-shifting operation that derives an accomplishment verb, and that just as with lexical accomplishments, the progressive introduces the imperfective paradox that is diagnostic of a non-telic interpretation. Therefore, while this effect is restricted to certain verbs,

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28. Interestingly, Dyirbal has an aspectual suffix *-jay* which indicates pluractionality either by implying that the action is repeated within a short time span or that the action involves many objects. Sentences involving this suffix can be similarly translated with 'all', as in (i); compare with (65).

(i) *Banggul balam wuju wuga-l-ja-nyu.* (Dixon 1972: 250)
there.ERG.I there.ABS.III food.ABS give-*l*-*jay*-NFUT
'He gave all the food away.'

and is more marked than with regular accomplishment verbs, it is nevertheless a regular semantic process that produces the same type of non-culminating event interpretation. Once again, we can observe that the set of interpretations that arise in the antipassive are precisely those that are also attested in the imperfective.

4.2 Predicate-internal aspect

Having established that antipassives display aspectual properties, I argue in this section that aspectual semantics are located predicate-internally, aligning the antipassive with Aktionsart rather than grammatical/viewpoint aspect. Several properties follow from locating the antipassive derivation at the VP level. Firstly, it predicts interaction with inflectional categories such as tense and aspect. A widespread property of simple present tense is that it is preferentially interpreted as imperfective. If antipassives also introduce imperfective semantics then the availability of two separate sources of imperfectivity explains the observed overlap between antipassives and transitive clauses in the present tense and the difficulty in distinguishing their meaning. It also predicts the possibility of selectional restrictions between clause-level and VP-level imperfectivity. As shown in Section 3.1, this kind of selectional restriction is evident in Kalkatungu antipassives which are (near) obligatory with particular imperfective and habitual morphology. The location of the antipassive morpheme as linearly closer to the verbal stem than the imperfective as in (21) supports this analysis. Positing a shared semantics makes sense of the collocation between the antipassive and imperfective morphology, and also suggests a source for the syncretism that occurs in many languages between an antipassive morpheme and some kind of aspectual morpheme (Polinsky 2017).

Secondly, the local compositional relation between the antipassive morpheme and the verb and object creates an environment that allows for the less regular features of the antipassive to arise. This includes its reduced productivity, lexical shifts, and the possibility of lexicalisation. It also includes the fact that properties of the object are able to interact with verb semantics and affect the interpretation of the eventuality expressed by the VP. Partee et. al. (2012) refer to this property as a verb's "meaning shift potential" in discussing similar facts with Russian genitive of negation patterns.

Thirdly, the effect of the antipassive on the case marking and interpretation of the verb's internal argument points to a VP-internal analysis. On standard assumptions, antipassives are intransitive constructions which do not have a direct object argument. An analysis such as that proposed by Wharram (2003) in which the antipassive operator composes directly with the verb is able to handle these patterns, since the object does not directly saturate an argument position of the verb as it would in a transitive construction.

Finally, the particular kinds of modality that are attested in the antipassive support the proposal that the antipassive operator is low in the clause hierarchy, within the VP constituent. According to Kratzer (2012), teleological and bouletic modality are considered to be types of root modality, as opposed to epistemic modality. Hacquard (2006, 2010) locates root modality in the verbal domain, which means that it can affect events, event arguments and event locations. She locates epistemic modality, on the other hand, in the higher functional structure of the clause, which interacts with the speaker of the utterance. The association of the antipassive with root modality, then, points to the operator being located low in the clause.

4.3 Modal approach to imperfectivity

The final task in accounting for the range of antipassive readings attested in Pama-Nyungan languages is to establish the link between aspect and modality. Semantic analyses of the English progressive in the tradition of Dowty (1979) pursue a modal approach to account for its meaning, and particularly how native speakers judge a progressive sentence to be true. Although the progressive cancels the culmination entailment of accomplishment verbs, as shown in Section 4.1, speakers nevertheless judge some progressive sentences to be false. Consider the following examples from Landman (1992):

(89) *Mary was crossing the street.*

(90) *Mary was crossing the Atlantic.*

If I saw Mary in the middle of the street I can truthfully utter (89). However, if I saw Mary 30 minutes into a swim in the Atlantic ocean and utter (90), it will be judged false. This is because under normal circumstances it is not possible for Mary to successfully cross the Atlantic, whereas under normal circumstances she will successfully cross the street. Indeed, (90) is saved by changing the subject to *Wonder Woman* as in (91) (adapted from Ferreira 2016).

(91) *Wonder Woman was crossing the Atlantic.*

It is not the case, however, that the event must be completed in the actual world in order for a progressive sentence to be judged true. If Mary is interrupted before she finishes crossing the street the progressive is still judged true, as in (92).

(92) *Mary was crossing the street, when a truck hit her.*

What is relevant is that Mary was engaged in an activity that would reasonably develop into the complete event *cross the street* assuming that events proceed normally and she is not interrupted.

One way of conceptualising these observations within model-theoretic semantics is with the concept of possible worlds. The idea is that an event in progress at a particular point in time could develop in a number of different ways; each way the event could develop is considered to be a possible world. Some of these worlds are more likely than others, and therefore they can be ranked in order of likelihood. When we judge a sentence like (89) to be true, we are saying that in the most likely worlds *Mary cross the street* successfully occurs; in other words, the event denoted by the non-progressive predicate is completed. When we judge (90) as false we are saying that the worlds in which *Mary cross the Atlantic* occur are ranked very low in terms of likelihood.

Landman (1992) implements this idea through a "stage-of" relation. The progressive, he proposes, requires that the event in the extension of the VP be a stage of an event that culminates in some accessible world, defined as those worlds which are a "reasonable option" for the event. In other words, a progressive sentence asserts that a stage of an event occurs in the actual world. Crucially, it does not assert that this event culminates in the actual world, only that it culminates in worlds that are reasonable options. This distinction is what is responsible for cancelling the culmination entailment of progressive accomplishment VPs, and as I will propose in Section 5, antipassive predicates.

There is also evidence that habituals contain the same modality as progressives, pointed out by Ferreira (2016). As noted above, progressive sentences are judged to be true if the eventuality denoted by the VP is complete in all of the worlds in which the event proceeds normally and there are no external interruptions. Ferreira demonstrates that this fact also holds for habituals. Consider the sentence in (93).

(93) *John plays soccer (regularly).*

This sentence is judged to be true if there are previous events of John playing soccer, and there is an expectation that he will play soccer again in the future. However, uttering (93) does not guarantee that there will in fact be a future event of playing soccer, since various factors could prevent this eventuality, such as John suddenly dying tomorrow. The fact that (93) can be felicitously uttered despite this possibility shows that speakers disregard the possibility of external interruptions in determining the truth of a habitual sentence. This allows even for sentences like (94) to be acceptable.

(94) *John used to play soccer, when he died.*

However, as with progressives, if the event has no likelihood of continuation it will be judged false. This would be the case for (93) if John has retired from soccer. If I know this fact, I cannot truthfully utter (93), since the possible worlds in which

he plays soccer again are unlikely. In other words, there are few worlds that are a "reasonable option" that include events of John playing soccer again.

If we accept that imperfectivity is an inherently modal notion, the final question that remains is exactly how the particular modal semantics associated with antipassives are introduced. As noted in Section 3, in several languages the antipassive construction may express the intentions or efforts of the subject to achieve their goal, that is, the completed event denoted by the non-antipassive predicate. This is a puzzle for the generalisation that antipassives indicate low transitivity, since volitionality is considered to be a marker of high transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980). I show in the remainder of this section that a modal approach to the aspectual semantics of the antipassive is able to handle this pattern, and in fact predicts it. In addition, I show how antipassives with more obvious modality support the modal approach taken in this paper. Modality is related to notions of possibility and necessity. There are various different types (epistemic, deontic, bouletic, teleological etc.). If a modal analysis is appropriate for antipassives we might expect to see the construction being used more generally to express some of these modalities, since the analysis predicts this is possible. I argue that this is indeed the case in Pitta Pitta and Dyirbal, and explain how these modal concepts are introduced by the antipassive under the analysis I have been pursuing.

A modal approach to antipassives has been proposed by Deal (2008) for West Greenlandic, following observations by Bittner (1987: 225) that antipassives express a set of possible worlds in which things are as the agent "perceives them or intends them to be". Deal proposes that this fact can be accounted for by the particular ordering source that is present in modal expressions. I adopt this approach to explain the bouletic and teleological modality found in Pitta Pitta, Warrongo and Dyirbal, and, I argue, the element of intention in the *find ~ look for* examples in Kalkatungu and other languages. To see how this works, recall that under Landman's view of the progressive, the set of relevant worlds that are related to the event instantiated in the actual world are those in which the event proceeds without interruption. This consideration is what orders or ranks the set of possible worlds. Other ordering sources are possible, however. For example, consider the modal auxiliary verb *must* in English. This verb can have a deontic (95) or epistemic (96) interpretation.

(95) *You must come home immediately*.

(96) *She must be out*. (context: the door is locked and the light is out)

The difference can be explained in terms of which ordering source is used to evaluate the relevant set of possible worlds. In the deontic interpretation, the ordering source ranks worlds according to how things should be according to a set of laws. (95) could be paraphrased, "in all worlds that proceed according to how things

should be, you come home". In the epistemic interpretation, the ordering source ranks worlds according to the speaker's knowledge of how the things work. Thus (96) could be paraphrased, "in all worlds that proceed according to my knowledge of how things work, she is out". In Pitta Pitta, the relevant ordering source is bouletic, which ranks worlds in terms of the desire of the agent. A paraphrase for (62b) 'I want to have a feed of meat' is 'in all worlds that proceed according to my desires, I eat meat.' In other words, the worlds in which the event culminates are just those worlds in which things are as the agent desires them to be. Since the 'stage-of' relation excludes the event's culmination (which occurs in desired worlds), the antipassive ends up describing a desired event instead of an actualised event.

The explanation for Dyirbal is much the same, except that the ordering source is teleological, or related to the goals and intentions of the agent (what Deal labels as INTENT). A paraphrase for (56b) is "in all worlds that proceed according to the agent's intentions, he spears eels". Again, the successful outcome of the event is not entailed by the antipassive, since it is relativised to the set of possible worlds in which the agent's goals are realised. This is reflected in translations such as 'try' in (57a). I show in Section 5 how the same ordering source is at play in the *find* ~ *look for* examples.

The advantage of the modal analysis is that it is compositional in nature, allowing for the use of different ordering sources. As such, it neatly captures the cross-linguistic variation between the basic non-culminating, intent and desire functions of the antipassive. It also provides an explanation for the introduction of volitionality, which is otherwise unexpected.[29]

5. Technical implementation

In this section I briefly outline a model-theoretic semantic approach to formally implementing the ideas presented in the previous section. This approach makes use of Altshuler's (2014) analysis of imperfective aspect, combined with Wharram's (2003) property-type analysis for antipassives and Deal's (2008) layer of modal embedding (for further details see Denniss 2017).

As noted in Section 4.3, Landman (1992) proposes that the progressive introduces a "stage-of" relation which is responsible for introducing modality and cancelling the culmination entailment of accomplishment predicates. Altshuler (2014) formalises Landman's proposal by building a STAGE requirement into the denotation of the progressive aspectual operator (97).

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29. The modal approach may also be able to capture antipassives that express counterfactuals, as in non-Pama-Nyungan language Gangalidda (Yukulta) (Keen 1983; Denniss 2007).

(97) a. $[\![\text{PROG}]\!] = \lambda P \lambda e' \exists e \exists w[\text{STAGE}(e', e, w^*, w, P)]$
b. STAGE(e′, e, w*, w, P)M, g ⇔
i. the history of g(w) is the same as the history of g(w*) up to and including τ(g(e′))
ii. g(w) is a reasonable option for g(e′) in g(w*)
iii. [[P]]M,g (e,w) = 1
iv. g(e′) ⊂ g(e)

In (97), PROG combines with the VP which denotes a set of events *e*, and requires that an event *e′* is instantiated in the actual world, and that this event *e′* is a proper part of a larger event *e* which has the property of culminating in an accessible world, in this case a world that is a "reasonable option" for the event denoted in the actual world.

The derivation for antipassives proceeds much the same way, except that, following Wharram (2003), AP composes first with the verb and then the internal argument. Different modal flavours can be introduced by altering the set of worlds that count as a reasonable option given a particular ordering source, as discussed in the previous section. For accomplishment verbs, STAGE selects a proper part of a structured, incremental event, such as in Figure 1 from Rothstein (2004: 108).

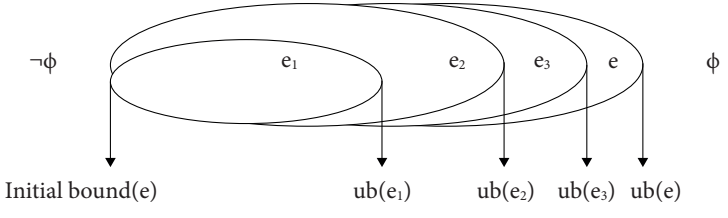


Figure 1. Incremental event

Returning to the example *eat the sandwich*, each of *e1, e2*, and *e3* consist of incrementally larger eating events that have increasingly larger portions of sandwich as their argument; *e* is the maximal event in which the entire sandwich is the argument. Since STAGE selects a proper part of the maximal event, the antipassive entails only that one of these subevents is instantiated, leading to a non-culminating or continuative reading. By excluding reference to the maximal event, which includes the telos, antipassives take on a non-resultative, activity focus.

For achievement verbs, the effect of STAGE is more pronounced. As a class, these verbs are not considered to be durative, or to consist of stages. For example, Rothstein (2004) defines them as near instantaneous changes of state from ¬*P* to *P*. Altshuler (2014) views achievement verbs as comprising an atomic stage which is identical to the entire event. He accounts for the typical ungrammaticality

of progressive achievements in English through a failure of the requirements of STAGE, which selects for a proper part of the event, thus by definition excluding atoms. However, as we saw above, the progressive is grammatical with some achievement verbs, in which case it receives a prior activity reading. Altshuler proposes that in these cases, the requirements of STAGE trigger a coercive shift which derives an accomplishment verb by identifying the lexically specified change of state instant as the event's culmination, and adding a prior activity stage which leads up to this change of state. Now that the event has parts, STAGE can be satisfied by selecting one of these parts, thus yielding the prior activity, or preparatory stage, reading.

This coercive shift is also evident with predicates that exhibit lexical shift in the antipassive, including the *find~look for* examples. To see how this works, consider the verb *nganthama* 'find' in Kalkatungu, as in (34c), repeated as (98).

(98) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 109)
Pirlapirla mathu-unyji-ya-ku nganthamayi-nha panyjayi-nha.
child mother-his-LIG-DAT look.for-PST very-PST
'The child searched very hard for his mother.' (ANTIP)

Let us suppose that the lexical entry for *nganthama* is an atomic eventuality that denotes a near-instantaneous change of state from 'not found' to 'found'. In the transitive construction the verb simply denotes an event of finding. In the antipassive, the verb composes with the antipassive operator, which selects a proper part of the eventuality denoted by the verb. However, since the eventuality is an atom it has no proper parts, and therefore cannot satisfy the requirements of STAGE. To resolve this mismatch the shift function is triggered, in which the change of state denoted by the verb is conceptualised as the telos of a complex event which does comprise proper parts; that is, the activity that occurs prior to the instant of finding, namely 'searching'. STAGE can now be satisfied by selecting a proper part of the complex event, which, given that it must exclude the telos, is the part that consists of the activity of searching.

Of course, an act of searching does not entail that the object can be found at all, or that it even exists. In other words, there may be no likely world in which the object is found, and yet this does not interfere with the truth of a sentence such as (99).

(99) The child searched very hard for his mother, not knowing that she had left town/died.

This suggests that a different set of worlds is relevant in evaluating the truth of such utterances, namely those in which the intentions of the subject are realised. In an example such as (98), we can observe that the goal of the child is to find his mother, and that he was engaged in his activity with that goal in mind. To paraphrase using the teleological ordering source (ignoring tense): "in all worlds that proceed

according to the child's intentions, he finds his mother". Combining this with the STAGE requirement results in an antipassive that asserts that a stage of an event is instantiated in the actual world which, if it proceeds according to the subject's intentions, culminates at the point of finding the object.[30] The appropriateness of the modal analysis of such sentences is confirmed by the use of the antipassive construction to express hunting activities such as (56b), in which the successful location of prey is not entailed.

Finally, STAGE interacts with plural eventualities. I will illustrate here with the habitual readings. STAGE requires that a proper part of the event denoted by the VP be instantiated in the actual world. We saw that with singular accomplishment-type events the proper parts were incremental events that shared an initial boundary but which differed in their upper boundary. However, with a plurality of events, the proper parts consist of the individual non-overlapping instances of the event (Kratzer 2002, 2008). Therefore when STAGE applies to a plurality of events it asserts that at least one individual instance of the event is instantiated in the actual world. For illustration, consider (100), a simplified version of (23b).

(100) Kalkatungu (Blake 1979a: 108)
Nga-ji papipi karriyi-nyjangu murru-u.
1SG-DAT father's.mother clean-HAB camp-DAT
'My granny cleans the camp.' (ANTIP)

By uttering this sentence, the speaker is asserting that there have been instances of their granny cleaning the camp in the past, and that they expect there to be future instances. Let us assume that the verb denotes a plurality of non-overlapping events of cleaning. When it composes with the antipassive operator, one of these events is identified as a proper part of the plurality of events, which is asserted to exist in all worlds that are reasonable options. The result of this is that the antipassive expresses that (at least) an individual event of cleaning the camp is instantiated in the actual world, and that the likely continuation of this event is further events of cleaning the camp. Note that because each individual event is identified as a proper part, the antipassive actually denotes individual instances of telic events; it is only the plurality of such events that is continuative. This property accounts for the affectedness of objects that is possible in iterative and pluractional readings.

30. Interestingly, the behaviour of *look for* in English supports this analysis framed in terms of possible worlds. Under one reading, this verb may take an internal argument that is not entailed to exist, known as the "opaque" or *de dicto* reading, such as in *The boss is looking for an assistant* (Zimmermann 1993; Moltmann 1997). A modal analysis makes sense of this, since the referent of *an assistant* can be conceived of as existing in the set of accessible possible worlds in which the search is successful, but not necessarily in the actual world.

6. Alternative analyses

One of the central goals of this paper is to determine to what extent it is possible to provide a unified core semantics for the antipassive which is able to account for the set of attested interpretations. For example, as noted above, in some languages the primary interpretation of the antipassive is modal. Why should this be the case? In my proposal I take a modal view of aspect, which is able to be parameterised in order to express more obviously modal situations. As such, I treat the range of meanings expressed by the antipassive, including apparently lexical shifts, to follow systematically from the denotation of the antipassive operator. This approach mirrors the research agenda that seeks to explain the particular typological properties of imperfective operators in terms of a common, parameterised, semantics (Deo 2009; del Prete 2013; Altshuler 2014; Ferreira 2016, among others).

An alternative approach would be to treat the different readings of the antipassive as involving homophonous operators each with a distinct denotation listed in the lexicon, or alternatively as an instance of polysemy with several distinct senses. Or, to move even further away from a compositional analysis, one could argue that the semantic effect of the antipassive arises via lexical rules as a result of collocation, and that these lexical rules are motivated by the existence of lexical shifts and the lack of productivity in some languages (see Polinsky 2017: 317 and Sansò 2018: 14 for a summary of such approaches). I believe that such approaches, while certainly possible, miss important generalisations, such as the repeated pattern of the antipassive expressing both continuative and habitual aspect within a language (a property which, as I detail in Section 4.1, is also shared by the imperfective), and the fact that the correlation between antipassives and aspect is found in several other unrelated language families. They are also unable to provide insight into why we observe the particular set of readings with the antipassive that we do; under a homophonous analysis there is no principled reason for both aspectual and modal readings to be associated with the antipassive, nor for the unexpected introduction of volitionality. With regard to lexical shifts such as 'find' → 'look for', a lexical rule (for example, *find* = 'find', *find* + ANTIP = 'look for') disregards the clear relation between events of searching and events of finding, as well as the parallel event structure between events of searching and other antipassive expressions of atelic events. It also ignores the fact that this is actually a regular semantic shift that is attested with the progressive.[31]

31. This semantic shift is also attested in differential object constructions with perception verbs in Warlpiri (Simpson 1991: 328).

Note that a compositional approach that seeks to assign a meaning to a particular morpheme does not rule out a process of lexicalisation or idiom-formation (for example, in Distributed Morphology, whole chunks of structure are considered to be possible sources of idioms, as in Marantz 1997). In fact, it is possible for antipassives in a language to display both lexicalised/idiomatic behaviour with one set of verbs and transparent/productive behaviour with another set of verbs, as has been reported for Warrongo and Kuku Yalanji. This type of situation is often mirrored in other derivational morphology. An example is the reciprocal suffix *-wa* in Warrongo, discussed by Tsunoda (2011). This suffix is productive with transitive roots of the L-class, and normally has a reciprocal meaning in which there is full or partial coreference between participants. This is illustrated in (101).

(101) Warrongo (Tsunoda 2011: 537–538)
a. *Gando-nggo bama baja-n.*
dog-ERG man.ABS bit-NFUT
'The dog bit a man.'
b. *Gando baja-wa-n.*
dog.ABS bite-RECP-NFUT
'The dogs bit each other.'

In addition, Tsunoda reports that there are a small number of verbs which have idiom-like meanings with the reciprocal morpheme. One example is (102), containing the transitive verb *binda-L* 'stand up [something, e.g. a fence]'; with *-wa* it means 'travel together'. Another example is *jaymba* 'find (accidently or intentionally)', which is interpreted as 'meet (by arrangement?)' with *-wa* (103).[32]

(102) Warrongo (Tsunoda 2011: 554)
Ngalnga yinda ngali binda-wa-yal.
PROH 2SG.NOM 1DU.NOM stand.up-RECP-PURP
Lit. 'We-two, including you, should not stand up each other.'
i.e. 'We should not go separately/we should travel together.'

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32. Examples such as this are suggestive of a fixed or idiomatic semantics that arose from the regular semantics of the morpheme in question; thus the meaning 'find each other' seems a reasonable source for 'meet', as suggested by the translations in (i).

(i) (Alf Palmer acted as a consultant for R. M. W. Dixon's study of Wargamay. He had a job during the day, and he did the language work after work. He described the language work as follows.) (Tsunoda 2011: 269)
Ngali jaybma-wa-n nyara-ngga.
1DU.NOM find-RECP-NFUT light-LOC
Lit. 'We (i.e. R. M. W. Dixon and I) used to find each other in the light.'
i.e. 'We used to meet in the light [at night].'

(103) Warrongo (Tsunoda 2011: 549)
('He and I decided to have a fight.')
Ngona-ngomay ngali boron-da jaymba-wa-n.
that-after 1DU.NOM fighting.ground-LOC find-RECP-NFUT
'After that [i.e. and then] we met at the fighting ground.'

The reciprocal morpheme *-wa* clearly has a regular and identifiable semantics, and is treated as a compositional morpheme despite its appearance in idiomatic expressions.[33]

It is also not the case that a compositional analysis of the antipassive entails that it is productive in a given language. There is considerable debate regarding the relation between compositionality and productivity (see, for example, Aronoff 1976; Plag 2006) and growing evidence that these features are best viewed as a cline (O'Donnell 2015). It is also possible that a once productive morpheme is no longer widely used by current speakers. This has been suggested for antipassives in Nyawaygi (Dixon 1983) and Djabugay (Patz 1991).

A final point to note about the compositional analysis that I have proposed for the antipassive construction is that it should be understood to operate within the complex set of grammatical configurations of a particular language. This means that in some cases a reading associated with the antipassive in one language might be expressed by a separate construction in another language, as is the case for habituals in Pitta Pitta and iteratives in Warrongo. In such cases the existence of specialised morphology could be understood to be blocking the use of the antipassive in that environment. What is important in the compositional approach is just that each attested reading can be shown to be accounted for by the proposed semantics.

7. Conclusion

I have proposed in this paper that the antipassive construction in Pama-Nyungan languages contains a predicate-internal aspectual operator that composes with a transitive verb to create a derived atelic predicate. This aspectual approach provides an account for the striking similarities between the set of readings attested with the antipassive and imperfective aspect more generally, including continuative, habitual and pluractional. It allows for a unified analysis of apparently lexical shifts with certain verbs by demonstrating that these shifts are consistent with the compositional analysis of the antipassive. Taking a modal view of aspect allows us to understand

33. Tsunoda (2011: 555–556) discusses additional non-productive uses of this morpheme, including sociative and group action.

the otherwise puzzling appearance of intentional and desiderative properties that occur in antipassives in some languages.

This analysis incorporates several points of variation that can be exploited in extending it to other languages which display some sort of aspectual or modal meaning in the antipassive. As we saw in Section 5, with incremental events the STAGE requirement selects a proper event part which includes the initial bound of the event. This would allow for an inceptive reading, which is attested with the antipassive (Polinsky 2017). In addition, Altshuler (2014) shows that in some languages the STAGE requirement involves a part relation instead of a proper part relation. This may also be the case for some antipassives, allowing for different types of contrast and overlap between telic and atelic predicates in transitive and antipassive constructions. Languages that allow modification by a plural operator will display a habitual reading, while those that do not will lack this reading. The availability of different ordering sources will allow for different types of modality. Finally, we can expect language-specific patterns of grammaticalisation, and interaction with other aspectual morphemes such as the iterative.

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Abbreviations

Glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, additional abbreviations are as follows:

I–IV	noun class markers	HAB	habitual
ADES	adessive	INT	intensifier
APPR	apprehensional	LIG	ligative
CON	concomitant	LINK	linking interfix
CONJ	conjunction	POS	possibility
CONT	continuing	POT	potent
EMPH	emphasis	RDP	reduplication

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CHAPTER 5

Antipassive constructions in Oceanic languages

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This article will discuss the different constructions which could be relevant for identifying antipassives in Oceanic languages, in spite of the fact that there is no dedicated antipassive marker. Some of these constructions involve the backgrounding of the object, but are associated with different syntactic devices, discursive strategies and semantic functions, giving rise to either incompleteness of the action, low individuation of the patient, or restrictions on its uses.

Looking at their semantic and pragmatic specificities, I will investigate what these types of construction have in common and to which extent they can be labelled 'antipassive', as has been done inter alia by Cooreman (1994), Dixon (1992) and Janic (2013, 2016).

Keywords: depatientive, middle derivation, Oceanic languages, object incorporation, object omission, object peripherization

1. Introduction

This article aims to identify and describe different constructions in Oceanic languages which may be instances of what is known as 'antipassive constructions'.

There are more than 450 languages belonging to the Oceanic subgroup, which is about half of the Austronesian languages family. Common innovations – lexical, phonological and syntactic – which distinguish Oceanic languages from the other Austronesian languages are numerous and several of them are well described (Pawley 1972). In spite of their common origin, however, Oceanic languages exhibit a large variety of linguistic structures, such as variation in constituent order (SVO for a majority of the languages, but also, VOS or VSO as in most Polynesian and New Caledonian languages, and SOV in the Papuan Tip Linkage (Western Oceania). Morphosyntactic alignment is primarily of the accusative type, but quite a lot of languages exhibit different types of ergativity. Linguistic structures also differ in the syntactic expression of possession, reciprocity and reflexivity,

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spatial orientation, or in the delimitation of the different lexical categories. The languages taken into consideration in this article belong to different Oceanic subgroups: Southeast Solomonic (Toqabaqita), Papuan Tip (Saliba), Meso-Melanesian (Kokota), New Caledonian Mainland (Nêlêmwa, Xârâcùù), Loyalty islands (Drehu, Iaai), Fijian (Boumaa Fijian), Nuclear Polynesian (East Futunan, East Uvean, Samoan, Fagauvea), Tongic (Niuean).

The article is organized as follows. I will first discuss the terminology used in descriptions of Oceanic languages which could be relevant to the antipassive domain. I am personally unconvinced in this matter, since I do not consider a construction as relevant to antipassive if only a few characteristics of the construction are similar to the prototypical antipassive.

The definition of antipassive taking into account by the editors of this volume is similar to the one developed by Polinsky (2013): "An antipassive construction is a derived detransitivized construction with a two-place predicate, related to a corresponding transitive construction whose predicate is the same lexical item. In the basic transitive construction, the patient-like argument is realized as a direct object; in the antipassive construction, that argument is either suppressed (left implicit) or realized as an oblique complement".

Apart from this definition, the 'demotion' or the 'low individuation' of the patient has been proposed as defining characteristics. Can different marking, an omission, an inclusion in the verb phrase of the patient be described as a 'demotion'? I will discuss this point in each of the following sections, devoted to the different constructions I found in Oceanic languages in which the patient expressed as the object of a transitive verb can be omitted, or expressed in different ways.

In Section 2, I present the constructions in which the object of a transitive verb is omitted, without any marking on the predicate and modification of the verbal valency. In some cases, there is no demotion of the patient, since the former patient can become the subject, if the verb is labile. In other cases, the subject does not change and the object is simply not expressed, but not strictly speaking demoted, since it is semantically implicitly given.

In Section 3, I will examine different types of object incorporation found in Oceanic languages. Here, the patient is not obligatorily demoted: either it is integrated in the verb phrase, modifying its meaning, or it is only partly incorporated, and keeps some object argument properties.

In Section 4, two cases of object peripherization will be investigated, one in Nêlêmwa (New Caledonia, North of the Mainland), the other one in several Polynesian languages. In both cases, the argument marking system is modified, but the verb remains bivalent. I will discuss the valency of these verbs, which can occur with different types of argument. In the so-called ergative construction, only the absolutive argument is compulsory, referring, when occurring by itself, either to a patient or to an agent. When two arguments are expressed, the absolutive

argument refers to the patient, the ergative to the agent. In the other construction, the verb takes the same alignment as the so-called middle verbs (verbs of emotion, sensation, etc.), with two compulsory arguments, one in the absolutive (the experiencer), the other one in the oblique case (the partially affected patient). The choice of ergative *vs*. oblique construction with the same underived verb is only available for a few verbs, and the patient is not less, but more specifically affected, which makes it difficult to interpret it as a case of antipassive.

In Section 5, what is often called 'middle voice constructions' will be presented, in the way they typically occur in Oceanic languages (cf. Moyse-Faurie 2008). The middle domain, as Kemmer (1993) defines it, includes grooming actions, movements and change in body positions, spontaneous events and 'naturally reciprocal' situations, along with a certain indistinguishability of participants. In Oceanic languages, constructions relevant to the middle domain have tight links with the reciprocal domain, but very rarely with the reflexive domain. A middle/reciprocal prefix (**paRi-*) has been reconstructed for Proto-Oceanic (POc). Lichtenberk (2000: 31) lists several different functions for this POc prefix, which fall within the semantic domain described by Pawley (1973: 152) as "combined or repeated actions by a plurality of actors". Indistinguishability between the agent and the patient does not mean demotion of the patient, and I will not consider middle voice constructions as belonging to the antipassive domain; besides, the middle/reciprocal prefix is not an antipassive marker, it has wider uses, semantically well defined.

It is worth mentioning that in general the term 'antipassive' is not found in the available descriptions of Oceanic languages.[1] This is mainly due to the following reasons: (i) there is no dedicated antipassive marker in these languages; (ii) other terms have been used in the descriptions, covering constructions that are only partly relevant to what is cross-linguistically now labelled 'antipassive' (cf. Janic 2013 and 2016 for a discussion of the antipassive in Oceanic languages). Some of the original terms found in Oceanic grammars are the following:

– 'transitivity discord' and 'pseudo incorporation': Margetts (2008) discusses a very interesting Saliba structure, half way between object incorporation and direct object, implying the occurrence of a reflex of the POc prefix **paRi-* (cf. Section 3.3), while Massam (2001) presents cases of pseudo-incorporation in Niuean (cf. Section 3.2).

1. A few descriptions on Austronesian languages belonging to the higher Malayo-Polynesian subgroup do mention the existence of widespread antipassive constructions. For example, it is the case for Tagalog, or for Ilokano (Gerdts 1988), and Polinsky (2013) lists Chamorro as having antipassive constructions. This article, however, will only consider the languages belonging to the Oceanic subgroup.

- 'recessive voice': In Nêlêmwa (North of New Caledonia), Bril (1997) describes a construction in which the object is peripheralized and indirectly marked as a case of 'recessive voice' (cf. Section 4.2).
- 'depatientive': There is no mention of antipassives (nor passives) in Lichtenberk's Toqabaqita Grammar (2008). He prefers the term 'depatientive' instead for a construction that has several functions linked to the expression of middle situations. Typically, the depatientive construction is used when the identity of the patient, etc. is not relevant. It expresses a type of situation rather than a specific occurrence of that type of situation" (Lichtenberk 2007: 1560).
- 'unergative derivation' are the terms used by Palmer (1999) to describe a type of derivation conveying a middle meaning (cf. Section 5.3).

It is, however, problematic to subsume all these different constructions under the label 'antipassive', in the absence of a specific marker, especially since these constructions often overlap with or deviate from typical antipassives. Noticeable is the fact that 'depatientive' and 'unergative derivation' are both linked to the expression of middle situations. I will examine this conflation in details in Section 5.1.

In most Polynesian language grammars, the authors even state that there is no antipassive (nor passive, as in Samoan or Tuvaluan) constructions. In Tuvaluan, according to Besnier (2000: 438), "Nothing in the morphosyntactic structure of the language can be identified as a voice contrast in the usual sense of the term. Verb morphology is not marked for a passive or antipassive category, and there is no evidence of passive or antipassive processes". There is no mention of antipassives either in Māori (Bauer 1993) (but passive, yes), with the exception of Gibson and Starosta's analysis (1990), as summarized in Harlow (1997: 171–172): "This very high frequency of passives in comparison to actives was among the considerations which led Gibson and Starosta to claim that the passive form is in fact the basic transitive construction, the 'active' is thus an antipassive, and Māori is an ergative language". Discussing this last statement, i.e. the fact that Māori has sometimes been described as an ergative language, would lead us to examine a long and controversial discussion about the syntactic structure of Proto-Oceanic and Proto-Austronesian, which would take us too far away from antipassive considerations. Besides, we now know that antipassive is not exclusively linked to ergativity (Lazard 1989; Nougier-Voisin 2005; Janic 2013), as it mostly used to be, with 'antipassive' found in constructions in which the agent, ergative in the original construction, is put into the absolutive and the object, previously in the absolutive, becomes an optional oblique term or is dropped altogether. The 'antipassive' was thus presented as the counterpart of ergative languages to passive in accusative languages (cf. Silverstein 1976).[2]

2. In Lazard (1994: 180), only Añun (Venezuela) was described as an exception.

I will now successively examine several different constructions allowing the omission of the patient, or its inclusion in the verb phrase, or a differential marking of the patient. Each involves different syntactic devices, discursive strategies and semantic functions, giving rise to either incompleteness of the action, restrictions on its type, low individuation of the patient or, by contrast, higher specificity. As I will show, none of these constructions are relevant to be labelled true 'antipassive' construction, and this for the following reasons:

1. There is no specific antipassive marker
   i. 'object peripherization' or obliquely marked object, does not involve any marking on the predicate, and does not intransitivize the verb.
   ii. object incorporation may imply a modification of the verb, at least in some languages, but mainly reduces the scope of the verb by incorporating the meaning of the object into the verb or, in the case of pseudo-incorporation or 'transitivity discord', reduces the scope of the object.
   iii. object omission is not obligatorily linked to patient demotion, since the former patient can become the unique expressed argument.
   iv. middle derivation, in most cases, involves a marker on the predicate, which has several other motivations than the backgrounding of the object, and for this reason cannot be assimilated to an antipassive marker.
2. The detransitivization process is partly attested in the (ii), (iii) and (iv) constructions, but does not obligatorily imply a demotion of the patient.

In conclusion, I will summarize the arguments against the inclusion of all the different constructions investigated in this paper in the antipassive domain. These constructions do share some semantic or syntactic characteristics generally assigned to the antipassive domain. I will, however, choose to point out the possible links between each of them and the antipassive prototypic construction, rather than choose to label all of them in the same way.[3]

3. I would like to thank the two reviewers, who pointed out the contradiction between the data I was commenting, and my desire to include them against all odds under the antipassive label, in spite of the obvious inadequacy of this label. I then decided to stick to my former convictions, and analyze the different constructions showing a reduction on the transitivity scale in their own specific terms.

2. Object omission

Transitive verbs may occur without any object. In Oceanic accusative languages, there is generally no morphological impact on the verb. The transitive verb, however, either keeps its semantic orientation, since in both cases, the subject refers to the agent, as in (1) and (2), or as in the case of labile verbs, changes it, as in example (3).

(1) Xârâcùù (South of the Mainland, New Caledonia; Moyse-Faurie 2015: 1022)[4]
   a. *Dapé chii chaa mèröö.*
      Dapé angle one parrot_fish
      'Dapé is catching a parrot fish (with a rod).'
   b. *Dapé chii.*
      Dapé angle
      'Dapé is fishing.'

(2) a. *Nâ xii è.*
      1SG shave 3SG
      'I am shaving him.'
   b. *Nâ xii nû.*
      1SG shave coco
      'I am grating coconut flesh.'
   c. *Nâ xii.*
      1SG shave
      'I am shaving.'

(3) a. *Kâmîâ kê nùi a.*
      sun burn island DEIC
      'The sun is burning the island.' (causative meaning)
   b. *Ku kê.*
      yam burn
      'The yam is burnt.' (resultative meaning)

Western Nuclear Polynesian languages have two different transitive verb classes:

- the so-called middle verbs – essentially verbs of sensation, perception, emotion and communication – occur with two compulsory arguments, one in the absolutive case, referring to the experiencer, the other in the oblique case, referring to the patient;
- the ergative verbs – essentially more active verbs – may occur either with two or with one argument. When two arguments are expressed, one argument occurs

4. Data not identified for source is taken from my own fieldnotes.

in the absolutive case, referring to the patient, and one argument occurs in the ergative case, referring to the agent. When only one argument is expressed, it is always marked in the absolutive case, but can refer either to a patient or to an agent.

East Uvean (Western Nuclear Polynesian) will exemplify the ergative verbs occurring in different constructions. In (4a), two arguments are expressed; the agent (*Soane*) is marked in the ergative case and the patient (*tana gāue'aga 'ufi*) is in the absolutive case.[5] In (4b) and (4c), only one argument is expressed, always in the absolutive case. In (4b), it is the patient which is expressed (the agent is omitted), whereas in (4c), only the agent is expressed, also in the absolutive case.

(4) East Uvean (Wallis, Western Nuclear Polynesian; Moyse-Faurie 2016: 137)

a. *'E huo e Soane tana gāue'aga 'ufi.*
NPST weed ERG Soane 3SGPOSS.A field yam
'Soane is weeding his yam field.'

b. *'E huo tana gāue'aga 'ufi.*
NPST weed 3SGPOSS.A field yam
'(Someone/he) is weeding his yam field.'

c. *'E huo ia Soane.*
NPST weed ABS Soane
'Soane is weeding.'

In all these examples, there is no formal change on the verb, which remains potentially transitive, whatever the degree of animacy of the arguments. Since either the agent or the patient can remain unexpressed, it makes no sense to analyze these one argument constructions as antipassive.

3. Different types of object incorporation

I will now consider the different object incorporation strategies, particularly those resulting in the formation of a complex verb phrase. In general, incorporation implies that the patient loses its status as core argument, cannot be separated from the predicate, can no longer be definite or specific, and the construction, which was transitive, changes to intransitive. In Oceanic languages, however, different types of object incorporation exist, depending on the degree of incorporation it

5. In East Uvean as well as in East Futunan, the absolutive case can remain unmarked if the argument is a noun phrase preceded by a determiner; otherwise, it is obligatorily marked by the absolutive preposition, *ia* in East Uvean, *a* in East Futunan.

involves, and on the grammatical category to which the object argument belongs. In what follows, I will first present a few examples of complete object incorporation (Section 3.1). Then, I will pass on to two cases of partial incorporations, which might share some characteristics with antipassive: pseudo-incorporation (Section 3.2) and transitivity discord (Section 3.3), as labelled by the authors, Massam (2001) for the former, and Margetts (2008) for the latter. These constructions, however, remain partly transitive, and cannot be considered as a case of antipassive.

3.1 Complete object incorporation

Complete incorporation has often been considered as a case of antipassive (Foley & Van Valin 1984: 343, inter alia); Foley (2007: 436–437), however, claims that 'Noun incorporation, while related in its effects on the [-A] argument, must be distinguished from antipassivization', adding that in the case of noun incorporation 'there is no lexical derivation on the verb, and no overt antipassive suffix'. Such constructions are not relevant to the antipassive domain, since the participant referring to the patient in the transitive construction is neither a peripherized nor a non-expressed object. Object incorporation is found in accusative as well as in ergative Oceanic languages. In an accusative language such as Xârâcùù, the incorporated object illustrated in (5b) loses its determiner, is immediately postposed to the predicate, and triggers a generic reading, while the form of the subject does not change.

(5) Xârâcùù (South of the Mainland, New Caledonia; Moyse-Faurie 2015: 1048)
a. *Chaa kamûrû nä tuu rè chaa kwâ.*
one man IPFV step.on IPFV one boat
'The man steps on the boat.'
b. *Chaa kamûrû nä tuu kwâ.*
one man IPFV step.on boat
'The man goes on board.'

Besides, complete incorporation tends to modify the meaning of the predicate, forming with it a verbal compound or a complex verb. This is the case in the Loyalty island languages, as in the Iaai example (6) in which the verbal compound *xuc-bwee* can even be transitivized with the transitive suffix *-ö*.

(6) Iaai (Ouvéa, Loyalty islands; Ozanne-Rivierre 1976: 232)
A-me xuc-bwee-ö ke komok.
3SG-NPST beat-leaf-TR ART patient
'He is nursing a patient by spitting leaves on him.' (Lit. 'He is beating leaves the patient.')

In Drehu, there are two different types of object incorporation (Moyse-Faurie 1985). When the object is a pronoun or a proper noun, the incorporation is purely morphological, i.e. the object keeps its status as a core argument even if it cannot be separated from the verb, which often takes a personal suffix, as in (7b). When the incorporated object is a nominal, by contrast, incorporation is syntactic; the transitive verb *humuth* [humuθ] 'kill' loses its final consonant, as in (7c), the reading becomes generic, leading to lexical compounding.

(7) Drehu (Lifou, Loyalty islands)
   a. *Troa humuth hnyawa la puaka.*
      OBLIG kill.TR well ART pig
      'You must kill the pig properly.'
   b. *Troa humuthi angeic.*
      OBLIG kill.TR.PERS 3SG
      'You must kill him/it.'
   c. *Troa humu puaka hnyawa.*
      OBLIG kill pig well
      'You must kill pigs properly.'

Note that the adverb *hnyawa* 'well' in (7c) has to be postposed to the incorporated object *puaka*, which is no longer considered as an argument.

In ergative Polynesian languages, the object incorporation has similar implications, in the way that nothing can separate the verb and its incorporated object. In addition, the former ergative argument *le tama* in (8a) switches to the absolutive case, marked with the preposition *a*, as in (8b), the compound verb is then intransitive and its meaning becomes generic or habitual.

(8) East Futunan (Western Nuclear Polynesian)
   a. *E inu le fā piele e le tama.*
      NPST drink SPC CLS beer ERG SPC boy
      'The boy is drinking a beer.'
   b. *E inu piele a le tama.*
      NPST drink beer ABS SPC boy
      'The boy is a beer drinker.'

Similarly in Samoan, the patient *le tusi* occurs in a transitive construction as an absolutive (unmarked) argument along with an ergative argument *e le taine* referring to the agent (9a); in object incorporation construction (9b), it is the agent which occurs as the absolutive (unmarked) argument, and the former patient becomes a part of the verb phrase, constituting a verb-noun compound.

(9) Samoan (Western Nuclear Polynesian; Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992: 393)
a. *Sā faitau ('uma) e le taine le tusi.*
PST read (all) ERG SPC girl SPC letter/book
'The girl read the [whole] letter/book.'
b. *Sā faitau tusi le teine.*
PST read letter/book SPC girl
'The girl was reading [and not counting].'

Complete incorporation changes the status of the patient, which is no longer an argument, and modifies the meaning of the verb, forming with it a verbal compound.

3.2 Pseudo noun incorporation

In another Polynesian language, Niuean, Massam (2001) describes a construction she calls pseudo noun incorporation. This construction is different from complete noun incorporation "wherein a nominal head is incorporated into a verbal head". In the pseudo noun incorporation, there is only a partial detransitivization process, and nominal objects can occur with modifiers or grammatical morphemes. In example (10a), the agent occurs as a subject marked in the absolutive case; the object is unmarked, but consists in a complex nominal phrase; the first noun occurs by itself without any preceding morpheme, but is followed by a nominal phrase introduced by the comitative *mo*; the noun *ika* 'fish' is then determined by the specific article *e* and a modifier, *mitaki* 'good'. In (10b) by contrast, the agent is in the ergative case, the patient in the absolutive case, and the verb is fully transitive:

(10) Niuean (Polynesian, Tongic subgroup)
a. *Ne kai sipi mo e ika mitaki a Sione.*
PST eat chip and/with SPC fish good ABS Sione
'Sione ate good fish and chips.' (Massam 2001: 160)
b. *Ne hapo he tama e polo.*
PST catch ERG child SPC ball
'The child caught the ball.' (Sperlich 1997: 111)

Pseudo noun incorporation shares with the total noun incorporation the fact that the construction has only one marked argument (the agent) in both cases, but instead of leading to lexical compounding, it allows the patient to keep some modifiers.

3.3 Transitivity discord

Another case of partial incorporation is described by Margetts (2008) under the terms 'transitivity discord', which she found in several Oceanic languages such as Saliba, a Western Oceanic language belonging to the Papuan Tip Linkage (Margetts 1999), with verbs prefixed by *kai-*, a reflex of POc **paRi-*. The objects are limited in their choice of modifiers, for example they can never be modified by numerals or modifiers that promote the individuation of the object noun (Margetts 1999: 186). On the other hand they can occur with possessive modifiers, contrasting in this respect with complete object incorporation.

(11) Saliba (Papuan Tip; Margetts 1999: 186)
Ya-lao yo-gu lulu ya-kai-deuli.
1SG-go CLS1-1SG.POS shirt 1SG-KAI-wash
'I go and wash my shirts.'

The numeral restriction is explained by the fact that in transitivity discord constructions, "The objects must allow a plural interpretation which can be attributed to their non-individuated status" (Margetts 1999: 186). One of the functions of the prefix *kai-* is said to be similar to that of antipassive markers in ergative languages, in the way that it backgrounds the object argument (Margetts 2008: 37).

Saliba, like a few other Oceanic languages, display at least four different morphosyntactic constructions on the semantic transitivity cline, summarized by Margetts (2008: 43) and reproduced below in Figure 1:

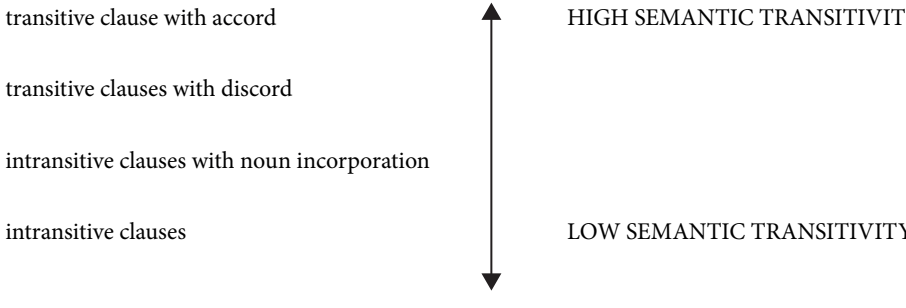


Figure 1. Semantic transitivity cline

Not all the transitive verbs can occur in the discord construction, but in Saliba, at least 35 verbs of high frequency are attested in this construction, even if they do not belong to a semantically coherent class (Margetts 2008: 42), whereas according to Lichtenberk (1983), in Manam, an Oceanic language spoken on the North coast of New Guinea, this discord construction concerns verbs of mental disposition along with verbs of excretion and secretion.

I now have to consider whether this discord transitivity construction belongs to the antipassive domain, or whether it is just a specific case of noun incorporation, or whether it is relevant to the middle voice domain (further discussed in Section 5). The fact that "Discord clauses often describe habitual activities, and the objects denote the kind of entities that are typically involved" (Margetts 2008: 39) would lead us to consider it as a marginal case of the middle voice, even though the discord construction remains transitive, contrasting in this point with the middle voice. I will return to this discussion and comparison in Section 5, when I will examine the depatientive construction belonging to the middle domain.

I will go now to Section 4 where I will present three instances of peripherization of the object without any verbal derivation.

4. Peripherization of the object

This section will examine different cases of peripherization of the object, which do not have the effect of demoting the object as argument, but change its syntactic expression, from absolutive or unmarked case to oblique case. In Section 4.1, I will discuss the Samoan case of the already well-known peripherization of the absolutive argument referring to the patient, comparing it in detail to other Polynesian languages in which quite different semantic issues are attested. Section 4.2 will present a case of peripherization of the object in Nêlêmwa, a Kanak language spoken in New Caledonia, leading to the loss of the indirect object specificity. Section 4.3 deals with a recent argument marking evolution observed in another Kanak language, the Polynesian Outlier spoken in the Loyalty islands: both arguments used to be introduced by the same marker and, recently, the argument referring to the patient came to be expressed in the oblique case.

4.1 Object peripherization in Polynesian languages

In Section 2, I already mentioned the two different transitive verb classes attested in Western Nuclear Polynesian languages: the ergative verb class, and the middle verb class. The ergative verb class may have two arguments, the agent in the ergative case, and the patient in the absolutive case. The middle verb class has two compulsory arguments: the experiencer in the absolutive case, the patient in the oblique case.

Ergative Polynesian languages have, at least for some of their ergative verbs, a choice between the two constructions. Object peripherization occurs when the absolutive argument, referring to the patient, is marked as oblique, while the ergative argument is marked as absolutive. Here again, no specific verbal marker is attested. The oblique marking of the patient has different semantic effects, depending

on the language. In some cases, the patient is less affected when expressed in the oblique case, and this is indeed close to the antipassive core meaning. For instance, in Samoan, the demoted argument *le i'a* involves the partitive reading (12c). The choice between the two constructions (ergative or oblique transitive) is described by Mosel & Hovdhaugen (1992: 108) as an inherent characteristic of the 'labile verbs'. The examples in (12) illustrate three uses of the verb *'ai* 'eat'. Occurring in an intransitive construction (12a), the meaning of the verb is ambiguous, non-oriented, and can signify 'eat' as well as 'be eaten'. In the two transitive constructions, (12b) and (12c), the meaning of the verb *'ai* is 'eat', but the degree of affectedness of the patient and the implication of the agent differ. In (12b), the ergative argument is a full agent that completely affects the absolutive argument, the patient. By contrast in (12c), the patient is an oblique argument, only partially affected, and the agent is now expressed in the absolutive case.

(12) Samoan (Western Nuclear Polynesian)

a. *Sā 'ai le i'a.*
PST eat SPC fish
'The fish ate' or 'the fish was eaten.' (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992: 718)

b. *Sā 'ai e le teine le i'a.*
PST eat ERG SPC girl SPC fish
'The girl ate the fish.' (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992: 108)

c. *Sā 'ai le teine i le i'a.*
PST eat SPC girl OBL SPC fish
'The girl ate some fish.' (Lit. 'The girl ate from the fish.')
(Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992: 108)

Cooreman (1994: 61) analyses the use of the oblique construction, contrasting with the ergative construction, as a case of antipassive. Building on the definition given by Dixon (1992: 136), Cooreman then notes: "The antipassive derivation: deep A becomes surface S, deep O is marked by an oblique case (dative, locative, or instrumental, in different languages), and the verb bears an antipassive derivational suffix". Dixon, however, does not include in his definition the occurrence of an obligatorily derivational suffix. Shibatani (2006: 238), in turn, comments on the Samoan examples, saying that "the antipassive voice presents a situation as NOT affecting the patient in totality".

When I first encountered such object peripherization in East Uvean and East Futunan, I considered it to be a marginal construction since I was familiar with the instances in which it only occurred with a few ingestion verbs, such as *kai* 'eat' and *inu* 'drink', as it is the case in Samoan. In East Uvean and East Futunan however, verbs with other meanings can enter this construction. Besides, the peripherized patient is not less affected, but specifically and exclusively affected, as shown in

(13b), as in the other examples below (14b), (15b), and (16b). Such a semantic restrictive function of the antipassive construction seems to be quite unusual from a cross-linguistic perspective, and this is one of the reasons I hesitate to use the label 'antipassive' for such a patient-oblique alternation:

(13) East Uvean
(Wallis Island, Western Nuclear Polynesian; Moyse-Faurie 2010: 473)
a. *Vaka'i ia te pāsina faka'osí!*
examine ABS SPC page last
'Examine the last page!'
b. *Vaka'i ki te pāsina faka'osí!*
examine OBL SPC page last
'Only look attentively at the last page.' / 'Examine specifically the last page.'

In another example, however, with the verb *inu* 'drink', two translations were given for (14b), the second one corresponding to the Samoan meaning described earlier:

(14) East Uvean (Wallis Island)
a. *'E inu te fo'i niu e Paulo.*
NPST drink SPC CLS coco ERG Paulo
'Paulo is drinking coconut juice.'
b. *'E inu ia Paulo ki te fo'i niu o Soane.*
NPST drink ABS Paulo OBL SPC CLS coco POSS Soane
i. 'Paulo only drinks the juice from Soane's coconut.'
ii. 'Paulo drinks some of the juice of Soane's coconut.'

The first translation is the most spontaneous one. The second translation, introducing a less affected patient related to the partitive meaning, as it was the case in the Samoan examples, was only obtained when I suggested it. Again, this example mainly illustrates the exclusive specification of the patient (the coconut juice is drunk, and the coconut flesh is left over).

In the following examples, still in East Uvean, the translations given in (15b) and (16b) are of the type (i) (as in the above example (14b)) focusing on the specificity of the oblique object but also on the intentionality of the agent. Thus, they contrast with the translation given for the corresponding ergative construction in (15a) and (16a) respectively.

(15) East Uvean
a. *Ne'e fai e Soane ia te me'a ne'e au fakatotonu.*
PST make ERG Soane ABS SPC thing NPST 1SG order
'Soane did what I had ordered him to do.'

b. *Ne'e fai pē ia Soane ki te me'a ne'e au fakatotonu.*
PST make RESTR ABS Soane OBL SPC chose NPST 1SG order
'Soane did exactly what I had ordered him to do.'

(16) a. *'E au kai pē ia te me'a lelei 'ātea.*
NPST 1SG eat RESTR ABS SPC thing good only
'I am only eating good food'.

b. *'E au kai pē ki te me'a lelei 'ātea.*
NPST 1SG eat RESTR OBL SPC thing good only
'I am specifically only eating good food.'

The oblique construction does involve a semantic reduction, which is, however, not related to the affectedness of the patient. It reduces the choice on the patient, focusing on the patient or part of it, making it exclusive. This exclusiveness given to the patient is sometimes associated with the aspectual meaning of immediateness, as shown in (17b).

(17) East Uvean

a. *'E pāui e Pētelō ia te motokā mahakí ke ha'u ki henī.*
NPST call ERG Petelo ABS SPC car sick that come OBL here
'Petelo is calling an ambulance so that it comes here.'

b. *'E pāui ia Pētelō ki te motokā mahakí ke ha'u lā ki henī.*
NPST call ABS Petelo OBL SPC car sick that come EMPH OBL here
'Petelo is calling an ambulance so that it comes here immediately.'

Further investigation of East Futunan showed indeed that ergative verbs occurring in the oblique object construction were not as semantically restricted as initially assumed (cf. Moyse-Faurie 2010) but could concern quite a few other verbs, as mentioned earlier. More surprisingly, the choice between the ergative and the oblique constructions among the youngest speakers was first said to be deprived of any motivation, but after a deeper analysis of some speakers, the conclusion was that there was no diminution of the affectedness of the patient, but, again, a more specific scope: "le *ki*, c'est précis" ("with *ki*, it is precise").

I can now compare the basic transitive/ergative construction in examples (a), followed by the peripherized patient in examples (b), and its incorporation in the verb phrase in examples (c), again with ingestion verbs (18) but also with verbs such as 'wear' (19) and *tākai* 'smear' (20), both verbs expressing body care. In (18c) and (19c) are given the corresponding constructions with the incorporated object.

(18) East Futunan (Futuna, Western Nuclear Polynesian)

a. *Na momi a le fā lole e le ta'ine.*
PST suck ABS SPC CLS sweet ERG SPC girl
'The girl sucked a sweet (exclusively).'

b. *Na momi a le ta'ine ki lana fā lole.*
PST suck ABS SPC girl OBL 3SGPOSS.A CLS sweet
'The girl sucked her sweet (specifically given to her).'

c. *Na momi lole a le ta'ine.*
PST suck sweet ABS SPC girl
'The girl is a sweet sucker.'

(19) a. *Kua sulu a le kie e le toe.*
PFV wear ABS SPC loincloth ERG SPC boy
'The boy (now) wears a loincloth.'

b. *Kua sulu a le toe ki le kie.*
PFV wear ABS SPC boy OBL SPC loincloth
'The boy (now) wears a loincloth (and not trousers).'

c. *Kua sulu kie a le toe.*
PFV wear loincloth ABS SPC boy
'The boy has become a loincloth wearer.'

(20) a. *E kau tākai loku fā'ulu.*
NPST 1SG smear 1SGPOSS.O hair
'I am oiling my hair (and eventually elsewhere on the body).'

b. *E kau tākai ki loku fā'ulu.*
NPST 1SG smear OBL 1SGPOSS.O hair
'I am only oiling my hair.'

Thus in East Futunan, the following verbs enter both types of construction, ergative and oblique transitive: *inu* 'drink', *kai* 'eat', *momi* 'suck sweet', *sue* 'nose for food (pig)', *tau* 'wear (watch, necklace)', *tui* 'wear (cloth)', *sole* 'carry with a piece of wood', *to'o* 'take' and *tākai* 'smear (with oil)'. The shared meaning for these verbs is that they are mostly concerned with different kinds of body care (ingestion, wearing or body care) on the one hand, or 'carry/put' events, on the other.

In the oblique construction, the patient is specifically, and exclusively affected, but strictly speaking, not less than in the corresponding ergative construction. Two of the main characteristics of 'antipassives' – less affectedness of the patient and markers on the verb – are not manifested in East Futunan and East Uvean. Concerning the syntactic constraints, the ergative construction and the peripherized object construction are both available with any tense-aspect marker, perfective as well as imperfective. In East Futunan as in East Uvean, the specific article occurs freely in front of the oblique object.

Tsunoda (1988: 633), following Lazard (1986: 206), mentions a correlation between imperfective/continuative/progressive and antipassive in which the latter often expresses an imperfective event, or a common activity. This is not obligatorily the case in East Futunan and East Uvean. On the pragmatic level, Lazard (1994: 211) mentions that "Most often, passive voice focuses on the agent, while antipassive focuses on the object".[6]

Another important characteristic linked to the oblique object construction is that it renders the expression of the agent compulsory, since it is expressed in the absolutive case, whereas in the ergative construction, the agent is not compulsory, and is even often avoided for pragmatic reasons (cf. Duranti & Ochs 1990; Duranti 1994; Moyse-Faurie 2000). The main difference between an oblique marking of the object and complete object incorporation (Section 3.1 above) relies on either the partially affected object or the specifically affected object. However, the remaining argument is still definite in the oblique object construction, whereas in the incorporated object construction, the former object loses its argument status, being no more definite or specific in itself, it only qualifies the event, reducing its scope. If incorporation generally results in the backgrounding of the incorporated noun (cf. Heath 1976; Givón 1990), its fusion within the verb phrase often makes it indistinguishable as a constituent (except in the constructions discussed in Section 3.2 and Section 3.3, concerned with partial incorporation). The patient in the oblique object construction, by contrast, is semantically selected by the verb and therefore remains a core argument. The non-referential, indefiniteness criterion then concerns object incorporation, and not the construction with an oblique object. Even if antipassive is often said to be linked with the generic, indefinite, non-referential features, what we have seen are constructions that should not be called antipassives in the first place. They do not show the semantic, syntactic or pragmatic specificities usually associated with the prototypical antipassive.

Comparable semantic effects between ergative and peripherization of the object constructions are available if we consider another verb category, the so-called Polynesian middle verbs. These verbs all belong to the same semantic fields: emotion, sensation, perception or communication and enter specific constructions, with an argument – the experiencer – in the absolutive case and another argument – the patient or stimulus – in the oblique case. They can only occur in the ergative construction after derivation involving the transitive suffix *-'i*, as shown in (21b). The experiencer *Paulo* is then in the ergative case, having more control over the patient, *tona 'ohoaná* 'his wife', now marked in the absolutive case.

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6. "Thématisation de l'objet et rhématisation de l'agent font partie des fonctions du passif en français et sans doute dans beaucoup d'autres langues accusatives." (Lazard 1994: 209).

(21) East Uvean

a. *I tana hifo mai te vaká ne'e sio ia Paulo ki*
OBL 3SGPOSS.A go_down from SPC boat PST see ABS Paulo OBL
tona 'ohoaná.
3SGPOSS.O wife
'When he went off the boat, Paulo saw his wife.'
(Lit. 'In his going down from the boat Paulo look at his wife.')

b. *I tana hifo mai te vaká ne'e sio-'i e Paulo ia*
OBL 3SGPOSS.A go_down from SPC boat PST see-TR ERG Paulo ABS
tona 'ohoaná.
3SGPOSS.O wife
'When he went off the boat, Paulo observed his wife.'
(Lit. 'In his going down from the boat Paulo observed his wife.')

4.2 Recessive voice

In Nêlêmwa (North of New Caledonia), Bril (2010) describes a construction (called 'diathèse récessive' in French), in which the object is peripherized and marked with the morpheme *wo* introducing a non-human/non-specific object argument with transitive verbs, followed by the preposition *o* which introduces indirect objects. The agent marker *a*, required with a direct object (22a), does not occur when the object is peripherized (22b). The construction is then transitive with an oblique object, and the constituent order is strictly $V_{wo}O$ S:

(22) Nêlêmwa (New Caledonia, North of the Mainland; Bril 2002: 165; p.c.)

a. *Hla hobwaxe vaayi a agu Poum.*
3PL keep cattle AGT people Poum
'Poum people raise these cattle.'

b. *Hla hobwaxe wo o vaayi agu Poum.*
3PL keep OBJ PREP cattle people Poum
'Poum people raise cattle.'

In an earlier article, Bril (1997: 380) described what she further on called 'recessive voice' construction as a case of valence reduction, an "antipassive-like construction marked by *wo* and an oblique object". Still, this Nêlêmwa construction is not a good candidate for an antipassive analysis: it includes an indefinite object, but this object is not less affected, and keeps its argument status.

4.3 Marking of the object to avoid ambiguity

A different evolution occurred in a Polynesian Outlier, Fagauvea/West Uvean, spoken on Ouvéa (Loyalty islands), showing the apparition of an oblique marking on the patient, starting from a two-unmarked argument construction. Fagauvea completely lost the ergative/agent marker: Proto-Polynesian (PPn) **e*, but uses a reflex of the PPn personal article **a*, reinterpreted in some cases as an agent marker and resulting in a V O*a* S word order as illustrated in examples (23) and (24).

(23) Fagauvea (Ouvéa, Loyalty islands; Nuclear Polynesian)
Goa oti kai-na de ulu-ika a de kovi.
PFV finish eat-TR SPC head-fish PERS SPC human.being
'The man has finished eating the fish head.'

(24) *Goa tuku-a ie ia a de ika, odi goa mānu nā de*
PFV swallow-TR ABS 3SG PERS SPC fish then PFV float there SPC
fafine i loto o de ika.
woman OBL inside POSS ART fish
'The fish swallowed her (the woman), and the woman started to float in its belly.'

The marker *a*, however, is still used as the personal article, occurring in front of proper nouns whatever their functions; consequently, with two proper noun arguments, there is potential ambiguity:

(25) Fagauvea (Ouvéa, Loyalty islands; A. Djoupa p.c.)
E sola-kina a Soane a Paulo.
NPST flee-TR PERS Soane PERS Paulo
i. 'Paulo is running away from Soane.'
ii. 'Soane is running away from Paulo.'

Both translations are acceptable. However, more spontaneously and outside of context, speakers consider the immediately postverbal argument as preferentially the patient, hence privileging translation (i) along with the VOS word order.

According to Dixon, the same situation is found in Boumaa Fijian, even if, again, the preferable word-order is VOS.[7]

7. Similarly, according to Ochs (1982: 660), Samoan "young children tend to reserve the location immediately following the verb for absolutive constituents (transitive patients and intransitive major arguments)".

(26) Boumaa Fijian (Dixon 1988: 35, 243)
E rai-ca a gone a qase.
NPST see-TR ART child ART old.person
i. The old person saw the child.
ii. The child saw the old person.

Such a 'neutral alignment' is of course not unusual in the world's languages: it is found in more or less half of the languages taken into account in Comrie (2013). The absence of morphosyntactic marking on the arguments is usually not a real problem, since the contextual situation is often non-ambiguous. Besides, clauses in which both arguments are realized as noun phrases are rare in discourse.

According to Djoupa, however, disambiguation can be achieved through morphological means. One of these means is the use of an oblique construction, with the patient introduced by an oblique marker, either *gi* (*gia* + proper noun) or *i (ia* + proper noun) as in (27); the verb no longer bears the transitive/applicative suffix; the two word-orders are semantically equivalent, but the more basic one, here again, is with object first, even if it is expressed as an indirect argument (V OBLO S):

(27) Fagauvea (Ouvéa, Loyalty islands; A. Djoupa p.c.)
E sola ia Paulo a Soane. (≅ *E sola a Soane ia Paulo.*)
NPST flee OBL.PERS Paulo PERS Soane
'Soane is running away from Paulo.'

The intransitive form of the verb followed by an oblique argument does resemble an 'antipassive' construction, even though the main function of this construction is said to disambiguate the role of the arguments.

5. Middle derivation

In Oceanic languages, it is well known that there is an affinity between reciprocity and middle, on the one hand, and between reflexive and intensifier, on the other (Lichtenberk 1991; Moyse-Faurie 2008). Such middle derivation is attested in quite a few Oceanic languages, as for example in Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk 2008: 864–866) or in Saliba (Margetts 1999: 191–192), in which the middle/reciprocal prefixes (respectively *kwai-* and *kai-*), also express habitual situations with some verbs. This type of construction, however, only applies to a small number of verbs, and is preferentially labelled 'depatientive' rather than 'antipassive' by these authors, since it cannot be considered as a voice alternation. In what follows, I will examine in details such middle derivations in two other Oceanic languages in order to point out their similar values.

5.1 With reflexes of the POc **paRi-* prefix

'Depatientive' is the term used by most Oceanist linguists to refer to one of the meanings of a construction built with reflexes of the POc prefix **paRi-*. This derivation has several functions, including the followings, as stated by Lichtenberk (1999: 55): "reciprocal, chaining, collective, converse, distributed, repetitive, depatientive, middle, kinship relations, and collective plurals" and "two basic notions that underlie the polysemy: plurality of relations and a low degree of elaboration of situations". Lichtenberk (1991: 181) presents arguments of a later development for the depatientive function, even if it implies independent development in different first-order subgroups of Oceanic. However, the author also agrees that the extension reciprocal > depatientive could have happened the other way round.

I also find in Lichtenberk (2007: 1560) a quotation that could have a link with the 'antipassive': "With depatientive verbs, the patient […] is backgrounded, not expressed. Typically, the depatientive construction is used when the identity of the *patient is not relevant*. It expresses a type of situation rather than a specific occurrence of that type of situation". In the depatientive construction, the focus is then on the subject participant.

This definition also recalls what happens when the object is incorporated in the verbal phrase, expressing a type of situation in which only an agent is implied. The main difference between the depatientive and object incorporation constructions is that with object incorporation, the focus is on the type of event while in the depatientive construction the focus is on the Initiator (self-directed body action, or individual characteristics,). Both constructions, however, are intransitive, and usually encode habitual, general situations. Either the patient is backgrounded, but not necessarily demoted, or, in the case of grooming actions, agent and patient are undistinguishable.

In Drehu (Lifou, Loyalty islands) the *i-* prefix, a reflex of POc **paRi-*, exhibits several middle values:

- grooming actions: *sej* 'comb', *i-sej* 'comb one's hair'; *cin* 'shave', *i-ciny* 'shave oneself';
- spontaneous actions: *dreuth* 'burn something', *i-dreuth* 'burn (fire)';
- depatientive function (the event only concerns the initiatior, giving him a generic or habitual characteristic): *xumuth* 'pinch', *i-xumuth* 'to be a pincher'; *drei* 'obey', *i-drei* 'to be obedient';
- collective: *jun* 'bone', *i-jun* 'skeleton'; *koko* 'yam', *i-koko* 'heap of yams';
- reciprocal limited to two participants: *aba* 'kiss', *i-aba* 'kiss each other'.

In Drehu, the construction in example (28a) is transitive, while in (28b), the derived verb enters an intransitive construction, in which no syntactic object is allowed, and the clause expresses a general, habitual situation or a non-completed action. The event then only concerns the initiator, giving it a generic or habitual quality.

(28) Drehu (Lifou, Loyalty Islands; Moyse-Faurie 1983)
a. *Eni a drei nënë.*
1SG IPFV obey mother
'I obey my mother.'
b. *Haa nekönatr a i-drei e koilo hnaini.*
PL child IPFV MID-obey LOC there school
'Children are obedient at school.'

It is also the case in East Futunan, with the prefix *fe-*, also a reflex of POc **paRi-*. In (29a) *vaku* 'to scratch' takes two arguments, while the derivative with the prefix takes only one in (29b) and conveys a middle meaning.

(29) East Futunan (Western Nuclear Polynesian)
a. *E ke vaku le tu'a o lou toe.*
NPST 2SG scratch SPC back POSS 2SGPOSS.O child
'You are scratching your child's back.'
b. *E ke fe-vaku i le kai e namu.*
IPFV 2SG MID-scratch OBL SPC eat ERG mosquito
'You are scratching because of mosquito bites.'

In (29b), the body part affected by the scratching is not specified, but it necessarily belongs to the subject's body.

Two more marginal constructions, auto-causative construction (Section 5.2) and unergative derivation construction (Section 5.3), will be mentioned below, also relevant to the middle and the antipassive domains, as the 'neighboring' relationship between the spontaneous, the middle, and the antipassive are well-known (cf. inter alia Shibatani 2006: 225).

5.2 "Auto-causative" constructions with POc prefix **paka-*

The Samoan verb *fa'apa'ū* 'cause sth to fall down, fell, cut down, throw oneself down' (causative prefix *fa'a* + intransitive verb *pa'ū* 'fall, drop, fall on') is described by Mosel & Hovdhaugen (1992: 726–727) as a 'causative labile verb'. In (30a), the construction includes an ergative argument (*Seu*, the agent) and an absolutive argument (*le niu*, the patient); in (30b), without the expression of the patient, the meaning is auto-reflexive and the remaining argument (*Miliama*) is in the (unmarked) absolutive.

(30) Samoan (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992: 110)

a. *Na fa'a-pa'ū e Seu le niu.*
PST CAUS-fall ERG Seu SPC coconut tree
'Seu fell the coconut tree.'

b. *Na fa'a-pa'ū Miliama i luga o le moega.*
PST CAUS-fall Miliama OBL top POSS SPC bed
'Miliama threw herself down on the bed.'

The omission of the object confers an auto-causative meaning to the construction. Here again, although the patient is not syntactically expressed, it is clear that it is the same human being as the one occurring as the subject. The semantic role distinction is neutralized in S, and the construction in (30a) just expresses a 'higher degree of transitivity' (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992: 109) than the one in (30b).

5.3 'Unergative derivation', a type of derivation with a middle meaning

Palmer (1999: 193) calls 'unergative derivation' a type of reduplication found in Kokota (Santa Isabel, Solomon islands). The reduplicated verb in (31b) is intransitive, and its meaning focuses on the activity, not on the participants.

(31) Kokota (Meso Melanesian; Palmer 1999: 193)

a. *Manei neke dupa=nau ara.*
he REALIS.3SG.PFV punch=1SG.O I
'He punched me.'

b. *Manei ne du-dupa bla.*
he REALIS.3SG RED-punch LMT
'He was just punching.'

This type of derivation is also found in Boumaa Fijian, conferring a habitual meaning, a sense of multiplicity of action, or action done over a long period. The reduplicated form in (32b) is intransitive: "Reduplication is most useful and most used with O verbs since it is the only way of deriving an intransitive form that has the underlying A noun phrase in S function" (Dixon 1988: 48).

(32) Boumaa Fijian (Dixon 1988: 48)

a. *E cula-a ai sulu yai o Maria.*
3SG sew-TR ART garment DEIC PERS.ART Maria
'Maria is sewing this garment.'

b. *E cula-cula o Maria.*
3SG RED-sew PERS.ART Maria
'Maria is sewing away.'

6. Conclusion

Throughout the presentation of all the different constructions I found as having some aspects in common with the prototypical antipassive constructions, some semantic, pragmatic or syntactic features have appeared to be more recurrent than others:

- these constructions are all either intransitive or less transitive on the semantic transitivity scale than the prototypical transitive construction, which includes two core semantic arguments, even if these arguments are not always expressed (optional direct object argument in accusative languages, optional ergative argument in ergative languages, as shown in Section 2.
- the habitual meaning is found in most of these constructions. In Proto-Oceanic, according to Lynch et al. (2002: 84), the habitual meaning was obtained just with the incorporation of the object, meaning taken over with the middle derivation in most nowadays languages, even if there are exceptions as we have seen in Kokota or Boumaa Fijian in which it is the reduplication that confers an habitual meaning.
- the lower degree of individuation concerning the patient usually found in the antipassive construction, along with the fact that "the antipassive is preferred or required if the object is: a plural, indefinite, non-specific, generic, implicit argument" (Polinsky 2013) is a less prominent feature, and does not correspond at all to the peripherized object construction found in East Futunan and East Uvean, which on the contrary appears in a way more specific than the direct object construction, and is also more rhematic.

In the languages I investigated, even if "the semantic and discourse functions of antipassives can and do differ across languages" (Polinsky 2013), I can wonder if there no limit to labelling 'antipassive' any construction that changes the type or the function of the patient. Can all the different constructions I presented here – object omission (Section 2), object incorporation (Section 3), object peripherization (Section 4), middle constructions (Section 5) – be relevant to what is called 'antipassive', even though there is no dedicated antipassive marker in these languages? But then, what is the need for bringing together under the same label such different constructions, even if they overlap with some of the meanings of antipassive constructions described in other languages? I would rather stick to Creissels's (2006) notion of ambitransitivity for the constructions implying labile verbs discussed in Section 2, and to the 'depatientive' label for the middle derivation explored in Section 5. Besides, I would go on speaking of ergative construction instead of

passive, although, in some cases the derivation of middle verbs does resemble the meaning usually carried on by the passive voice.

The remaining construction – the peripherization of the object described in Section 4 – is not a good candidate to be subsumed under the antipassive label, since the object keeps its argument status, and it does not imply a greater affectedness of the patient.

Abbreviations

(other than found in the Leipzig glossing rules):

LMT	limiter	POSS.A	alienable possessive marker
MID	middle prefix	POSS.O	inalienable possessive marker
NSPC	non-specific article	PPn	Proto-Polynesian
OBLIG	obligative	RED	reduplication
PERS	personal article	SPC	specific article
POc	Proto-Oceanic		

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CHAPTER 6

Antipassive and the lexical meaning of verbs

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Descriptions of antipassive constructions in individual languages show that these constructions are often compatible with only a subset of transitive verbs. There are significant typological similarities between the sets of verbs that allow antipassivization. The following properties are typical of these verbs: (1) agentive A, (2) specification of the manner component in the verb meaning, (3) lack of inherent telicity (the transitive use can be compositionally transitive, but this is cancelled under antipassivization), (4) narrow class of potential Ps, and (5) affectedness of A. Verbs with all of the properties in (1)–(5), such as 'eat', constitute the core of "natural antipassives", whereas verbs with only some of these properties are at the periphery of this class. Apart from being especially prone to enter antipassive constructions, the fuzzy class of natural antipassives is relevant for a number of phenomena. First, polyfunctional valency-related markers or constructions tend to yield antipassive reading when applied to natural antipassives. Second, natural antipassives tend to choose the less marked construction in languages with two antipassive constructions. Third, lexicalization of antipassives is more likely for verbs that lack natural antipassive properties, and a typical scenario of lexicalization involves coercion of some of these properties. Ultimately, I conjecture that it is the relevance of the P-argument for the meaning of the verb which accounts for the rarity of lexically unrestricted and semantically uniform antipassive constructions in the world's languages.

Keywords: affectedness, agentivity, antipassive, lexical meaning, lexicalization, manner and result verbs, productivity

1. Introduction

In principle, antipassive can be lexically unrestricted and regular: applied to any transitive verb in a given language such a valency-changing operation will yield parallel syntactic and semantic outcomes. In particular, according to the definition adopted in this volume, the participant encoded as P in the transitive construction will be deleted or demoted to an oblique position, the participant encoded

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as A in the transitive construction will be encoded as the unique core argument of the intransitive clause and the lexical meaning of the verb will not be affected.[1] This situation is reported, for example, for the famous antipassive marked with *-ŋay* in Dyirbal (Pama-Nyungan), as discussed by Dixon (1972: 65).[2] However, more often than not, language-specific constructions which meet the typological definition of antipassive significantly interact with individual transitive verbs. An obvious pattern of interaction is observed if antipassive can only be applied to a subset of transitive verbs.[3] Lexical restrictions on antipassivization have been acknowledged since the early classical literature on antipassives (Heath 1976: 211; Cooreman 1994: 60); they are probably especially typical of accusative languages (Janic 2013: 27). In some languages, lexical restrictions are severe. The most radical scenario is when antipassive is only possible for one verb, as in Hoocąk (Siouan), where the "detransitive / slot filler (*wa-*)" is used regularly only with the verb 'eat':

(1) Hoocąk (Siouan; example No. 430 in Hartmann 2013)
wa-haac=gįnį
OBJ.3PL-eat\1EXCL.A=already[4]
'I ate already.'

Lexical restrictions and idiosyncrasies are typically described for individual languages in the form of lists of verbs that exceptionally allow or disallow antipassivization or have semantically non-transparent antipassive counterparts. However,

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1. Here and below, the notions of A and P are defined based on prototypical transitive clauses involving an agent and a patient, such as e.g. *Peter* (A) *killed a bear* (P). These notions are extended to non-prototypical transitive clauses based on identity of encoding, so that e.g. in English it is *Peter* (A) *likes this shirt* (P), but *this shirt* (A) *pleases Peter* (P). Participants which are encoded as As and Ps in underived constructions can have different syntactic functions in derived constructions.

2. Note, however, that the *ŋay*-antipassive in Dyirbal is exceptional in many respects. Indeed, Dyirbal is one of very few languages that have been reported to have robust syntactic ergativity. The main function of the *ŋay*-antipassive, at least according to Dixon's original analysis, is to feed the "S/O pivot" in Dyirbal and not to modify the semantic or pragmatic content of the clause.

3. In the sample used in Polinsky (2013), there are 24 languages with a "productive" antipassive, 14 languages with "partially productive antipassive" and 2 languages with antipassives which are "not productive". Unfortunately, Polinsky does not explicitly discuss the criteria that she used when operationalizing productivity. This distribution can be somewhat biased towards productiveness because (i) as far as I can judge, languages are allotted to types based on the most productive antipassive construction that they have and (ii) "productive antipassives" are not meant to be necessarily applicable to any transitive verb.

4. When citing examples from other sources, I have unified the use of abbreviations and punctuation marks in order to conform to the Leipzig Glossing Rules <https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>. I have retained segmentation and identification as found in the sources I used.

typological generalizations that underlie these lexical patterns are understudied. This exploratory paper is aimed at filling this gap.

The data used in this study are secondary: they are taken from available descriptions of individual languages with antipassives. Based on these secondary data, in Section 2.1, I identify the class of verbs that can be referred to as "natural antipassives"; for example, 'eat', as in (1), clearly belongs to the core of this class, cf. Malchukov (2015: 105). The next step to take is to identify those semantic properties of 'eat' and other natural antipassives which are responsible for the specific behavior of natural antipassives. In Section 2.2, I put forward a list of properties which contribute to the special behavior of natural antipassive verbs with respect to antipassivization: (1) agentivity of A, (2) specification of manner, (3) lack of inherent telicity (even if the transitive clause is compositionally telic, telicity is not inherent to the verb and is cancelled under antipassivization), (4) narrow class of potential objects, and (5) affectedness of A. In Section 2.3, I show that although animacy distinctions of P are highly relevant for the functioning of antipassives in individual languages, neither value of this feature is a natural antipassive property.

The most obvious manifestation of natural antipassives is that if an antipassive construction in a certain language is lexically restricted, then it will first of all accommodate natural antipassives; I discuss this issue in Section 3. In Sections 4–6, I explore three other manifestations of the special status of natural antipassives *vis-à-vis* antipassivization. First, in languages with polyfunctional mechanisms that are lexically distributed between antipassivization and other functions (e.g. reflexive, anticausative or reciprocal), natural antipassives tend to yield antipassive interpretation (Section 4). Second, in languages with multiple antipassive constructions, natural antipassives tend to choose the less marked construction (Section 5). Third, when antipassive derivation is applied to verbs that are far from the natural antipassive prototype, idiosyncratic lexical effects are often observed, including lexicalization and coercion of natural antipassive properties (Section 6). In Section 7, I summarize my findings and speculate on possible reasons for the omnipresent lexical sensitivity in antipassives.

2. The limits of natural antipassives

2.1 Lexical lists

It is by no means a new idea that two-place predicates can be hierarchized based on the relative ease with which they enter valency-affecting operations. In an early but influential proposal, Tsunoda (1985: 391) claimed that antipassive, as well as other transitivity-related processes (passive, reflexive and reciprocal), are more likely for

predicates that are higher on the "transitivity scale", where transitivity scale is the scale which reflects the likelihood with which a predicate selects the transitive coding frame. Tsunoda's transitivity scale is shown in (2).

(2) Direct Effect > Perception > Pursuit > Knowledge > Feeling > Relationship > Ability

Tsunoda's generalization was based on a survey of nine languages with ergative flagging. Subsequent research based on more extensive data brought modifications to the original scale (Malchukov 2005; Haspelmath 2015). Even more importantly, it is now clear that individual valency-changing operations differ in terms of sets of verbs to which they are most easily applicable. For example, Kemmer (1993) identified "naturally reciprocal verbs", such as 'kiss', 'meet', 'agree' or 'fight', and showed that these verbs often involve zero-marked reciprocals (as in *they met at noon*) or light reciprocal markers in languages where other verbs require explicit or heavier reciprocal markers. Verbs like 'kiss' or 'agree' are relatively low on the transitivity scale; they undergo reciprocalization with great ease simply because they denote actions which are typically mutual forms of social behaviour. Likewise, actions that are often performed by agents on themselves, such as shaving, washing or (un)dressing, correspond to "natural reflexive verbs"; this notion was also introduced by Kemmer (1993). These verbs tend to select the least marked pattern of reflexivization. Following this line of research, I suggest to use the label *natural antipassives* for those predicates which are cross-linguistically most easily compatible with antipassivization.

Lists of verbs that show the least marked pattern of antipassivization have been reported for some individual languages. For example, Fillmore (1986: 95) notes that verbs like *eat, read, sing, cook, sew* and *bake* easily allow indefinite object deletion in English (Germanic, Indo-European), which is not equally available for many other transitive verbs. Næss (2007: 124–141) compares lists of verbs that allow indefinite object deletion in an extensive convenience sample and concludes that there are two main types of such verbs: *affected-agent verbs* and *effected-object verbs*. Affected-agent verbs are centered around verbs of ingestion – 'eat' and 'drink' – but also include verbs such as 'read' or 'learn'. Effected objects are objects that come into being as the result of the verbal action; typical effected-object verbs are 'sew', 'cook' and 'write', but they also encompass sound-emission verbs such as 'sing', 'shout' or 'whistle'.

A major achievement in the cross-linguistic study on the lexical basis of valency-changing operations is the Leipzig Valency classes project (ValPal), see Hartmann et al. (eds, 2013). This project was based on a sample of 80 verbs (verb meanings), which were tested for coding frames and compatibility with valency-changing operations in a world-wide sample of 36 languages. To date,

ValPal is undoubtedly the most systematic and extensive source of information about lexical profiles of antipassives in the world's languages. Unfortunately, ValPal does not make it possible to compare the 80 pre-selected verbs with other verbs. However, this database does make it possible to *rank* the 80 verbs according to their ability to enter "object-demoting/deleting" (= antipassive) derivations.[5] In (3), I reproduce a variant of such hierarchy which was arrived at by Malchukov (2015: 105–106).[6]

(3) 'eat', 'shave', 'give', 'think', 'steal' > 'wash', 'cut', 'take', 'cover', 'wipe', 'see', 'search for', 'hit', 'throw', 'hear' > 'cook', 'know', 'ask for', 'tell' > 'beat', 'tear' > 'pour' > 'fill', 'climb', 'hug', 'look at', 'help', 'name' > 'break', 'kill', 'touch', 'load', 'teach', 'smell' > 'fear', 'dress' > 'show', 'send', 'carry', 'tie', 'put' > 'sing', 'grind', 'dig' > 'follow', 'say', 'build', 'peel' > 'jump', 'like', 'shout at', 'leave', 'live', 'play', 'meet', 'talk', 'hide' > 'blink', 'laugh', 'roll', 'burn', 'frighten', 'run', 'be dry', 'push', 'bring' > 'cough', 'sit', 'go', 'scream', 'feel pain', 'sink', 'be a hunter', 'boil', 'sit down', 'die', 'be sad', 'feel cold', 'be hungry', 'rain'.

According to the definition adopted above, verbs in the upper part of this hierarchy constitute the core of natural antipassives – inasmuch as one believes those language-specific alternations that served as the empirical basis for the hierarchy in (3) to be representative of antipassives in the world's languages. Other verbs that are recurrently mentioned as allowing object deletion or demotion in individual languages are 'read', 'swallow', 'sew', 'draw', 'plough', 'chew', 'bite', 'sweep', 'smoke'. Monovalent verbs, such as 'laugh', 'run', 'cough' or 'die', are expectedly found at the bottom of that hierarchy. However, there are also typically bivalent verbs which are far from the top of the hierarchy in (3), e.g. 'kill', 'break', 'touch' and 'hide'. As stressed by Malchukov (2015: 105), this class encompasses 'kill' and 'break', the two verbs that are often thought to represent the lexical prototype of transitivity; this finding can be consonant with Dixon and Aikhenvald's observation that antipassives are typical of verbs which occupy "the middle section of the transitivity scale" (2000: 19–20), see also Bugaeva's analysis of Ainu (2015: 838 and this volume).

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5. The rankings discussed here do not discriminate between object-demoting and object-deleting antipassives. In fact, these two subtypes of antipassive can have different lexical ranges; for example, an anonymous reviewer mentions that in Adyghe, object-deleting is productive, but object-demoting is only possible for 'read' and 'drink'. Arguably, sets of verbs that are most easily compatible with these two types of constructions are not identical. Besides, it is likely that object-deleting is more homogenous across languages than object-demoting. However, this hypothesis and related issues are not discussed in the remainder of this paper and should be pursued elsewhere.

6. Similar hierarchies based on different subsets of data from the same ValPal database are presented in Wichmann (2015: 166–167, 2016).

Beyond the verb meanings from the ValPal database, verbs such as 'hold', 'love', 'want', 'stir' or 'surprise' are not easily compatible with antipassivization even if they are morphosyntactically transitive in individual languages.

A generalization that suggests itself is that object omission or demotion is especially likely with those verbs "which relate to an action which may be described just in general terms or, alternatively, with respect to some particular patient" (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000: 20–21). It is thus tempting to discern those more atomic and more palpable features that account for the somewhat abstract lexical property identified by Dixon and Aikhenvald. This is the objective of the next section.

2.2 Properties

The following semantic properties are typical of natural antipassives:

1. agentivity of the A-argument;
2. specification of the A's manner;
3. inherent atelicity (with the possibility of compositional telicity in the verb's transitive use);
4. narrow class of potential P-arguments;
5. affectedness of the A-argument.

The links between some of these properties, most notably the one in 2, and A-preserving alternations, including antipassivization, were noticed in previous typological studies (Kazenin 1994; Levin 2015; Malchukov 2015; Wichmann 2015; Polinsky 2017, and see other references below). Besides, language-specific observations consonant with some entries in my list are scattered across studies of individual languages. However, to the best of my knowledge, no attempt has been made so far to identify natural antipassives as a semantic class which results from a set of atomic semantic properties working in ensemble. The five properties should be briefly discussed one after another.

Agentivity is a shortcut term which reflects A's animacy, volitionality and control. Since agentivity of the A-argument is an important component part of transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980), it is a typical feature of most transitive verbs, so this first property is not very restrictive. However, in many languages there are morphosyntactically transitive verbs, which select inanimate A-arguments or are necessarily or frequently used with A-arguments that lack control: 'drop', 'forget', 'frighten', 'surprise', 'fear', 'encompass', 'cost', etc. Such verbs are not among natural antipassives.

It has been repeatedly pointed out that A-preserving transitivity alternations are more typical of those verbs which "convey information on the A's state, purposes or mode of activity" (Kazenin 1994: 151). Probably the most common way to capture this delimitation within the class of transitive verbs is to make a distinction between

manner verbs, which "lexically specify … the manner in which the action denoted by the verb is carried out", and *result verbs*, "which lexicalize the result of the action denoted by the verb", as discussed in (Rappaport Hovav & Levin 1998: 100) and many subsequent studies. Natural antipassives are typically *manner verbs*. Malchukov (2015: 106) asserts that manner verbs such as 'wash', 'wipe', 'hit' and 'cook' are higher on his hierarchy for Object-demoting/deleting alternations than result verbs such as 'fill', 'break', 'kill' or 'build', see (3) above. Similar generalizations, whether in exactly these or in different terms, have been made both for individual languages, from observations on object omission in English, see Rappaport Hovav & Levin (1998: 102), to antipassive in Adyghe (Abkhaz-Adyghe), see Arkadiev & Letuchiy (2008), and in cross-linguistic studies (Levin 2015; Polinsky 2017: 317). A possible complication with this well-established idea is that some verbs that have a result component in their meaning easily enter antipassive constructions, most notably the verb 'eat' (Malchukov 2015: 106). A likely explanation is that verbs like 'eat' can be used to lexicalize both the manner and result components, but antipassive variants of these verbs highlight the former components. By contrast, causative verbs like 'break' or 'kill' specify a result in the state of the P-argument without conveying any information on A's manner of carrying out the action; they are not so easily compatible with antipassives.[7] Under this refinement, the second natural antipassive property is the presence of the manner component in the verb's meaning, even if this does not rule out the possibility that there are result components as well.

It has been pointed out that *atelic verbs* are "more permissive" to the antipassive alternations than telic verbs, see Wichmann (2015: 167) and further references. At the same time, in many languages antipassive constructions are atelic, but transitive constructions with the same verbs are telic, see Tatevosov (2011: 135–137) for an overview. In fact, there is no contradiction here. The verbs that enter antipassive derivation most easily are those verbs whose telicity in the transitive use is compositional: it is determined by the fact that their incremental P-argument is quantized, as in *eat an apple*. In the antipassive construction, telicity can be cancelled and the construction is interpreted as an actitivity, as in *eat apples*. This lexical property is consonant with the generalization that "[i]f an antipassive construction can have a perfective (telic) interpretation, it must also have an imperfective (non-telic) interpretation" (Polinsky 2017: 316). By contrast, verbs that are inherently telic (achievements such as 'kill') and stative verbs are not among natural antipassives.

The three natural antipassive properties discussed so far are interrelated. The fourth property is orthogonal to them: other things being equal, antipassive

7. This idea is central to Basilico's account of antipassives in Inuit (Eskimo-Aleut), where consumption verbs can be used in antipassive constructions without morphological marker, whereas result verbs need the antipassive suffix *-si* (Basilico 2012: 87–91).

alternations are more readily available for those verbs that semantically select objects from a relatively *narrow class*, i.e. verbs like 'eat', 'drink', 'hunt', 'fish', 'smoke', 'read' or 'bake'. The fullest realization of this property is found in cognate object verbs. Potential objects of 'eat' belong to the class of entities which can be described as food; likewise, hunting and fishing necessarily involves animals and fish as objects, etc. Although it is possible to point out the particular type of food being eaten, or animals being hunted, the nature of the object involved is often sufficiently predictable from the very verb to make its explicit mentioning unnecessary. These verbs contrast with those transitive verbs that can combine with many different types of objects, such as 'see', 'like' or 'break'. At the extreme pole of this continuum are transitive verbs with fairly abstract lexical meaning, such as 'make': these verbs do not easily enter (absolutive) antipassive construction as in Adyghe, where many transitive effected-object verbs have stem ending in *-ə* but alternate with antipassive verbs with stems ending in *-e*, cf. *txə-n / txe-n* 'write', *də-n / de-n* 'sew' (Arkadiev & Letuchiy 2008). However, the antipassive counterpart is not possible for the transitive structure in (4):

(4) Adyghe (Abkhaz-Adyghe; Arkadiev & Letuchiy 2008)
se wəne se-ʂə
I house [3SG.P]1SG.A-make
'I am building a house'.

Arkadiev & Letuchiy explain that although *ʂə-n* is interpreted as 'build' in (4), this verb actually has a fairly abstract meaning 'do, make'; without an overt P the nature of the object cannot be inferred from the verb, which makes the whole sentence hardly interpretable.

The final natural antipassive property is *affected A-argument*. The most common type of A's affectedness is attested with verbs like 'eat' and 'drink', which are sometimes referred to as *ingestive verbs*. With these verbs, the A-argument is not only a causer but also the endpoint whose state significantly changes as a result of the action. This is one of several semantic properties of ingestive verbs which account for their exceptional transitivity-related behaviour.[8] Similarly, the A-argument is affected in those mental verbs where it can be conceptualized as an endpoint, cf. 'hear', 'understand', 'learn', 'read', 'see', etc. Verbs with affected A-argument were identified as a class by Masica, who also concluded that this "group might be regarded as occupying a halfway station between intransitives and transitives, since the object in question can frequently be dispensed with in favor of

8. Other unusual transitivity-related features of ingestive verbs include the following: in many languages, there are distinct transitive and intransitive lexemes with the meaning 'eat'; in some languages, transitive ingestive verbs allow causativization, which is not possible for canonical transitives in the same languages; in still other languages, ingestive verbs have unusual case frames, see Næss (2009) for a survey of such properties.

concentration on the activity as such" (1976: 48). Affectedness of the A-argument is also a semantic property of antipassives which accounts for the well-known pattern of reflexive-antipassive syncretism, briefly discussed in Section 4.

Natural antipassives are understood as a fuzzy category; the five properties above are not necessary or sufficient conditions, but rather they are thought of as contributing factors that determine the degree to which an individual verb is likely to behave as a natural antipassive. Besides, the role of individual natural antipassive properties can be different for two reasons. First, individual languages can be sensitive to different subsets of these properties. Second, these properties evidently differ in their lexical extent. For example, agentivity of the A-argument is a very typical property of transitive verbs; affectedness of the A-argument is only typical of a tiny fraction of transitive verbs. The *logical* basis for the inclusion of both of these properties into the list is identical: if there is a difference between the ease with which agentive vs. non-agentive verbs can be antipassivized, then agentive verbs must be more easily antipassivizable (this property can be irrelevant for some individual languages, but the reverse relation cannot be observed); similarly, if there is a difference between verbs with narrow vs. wide class of potential objects in a particular language, then verbs of the former type should be more easily antipassivizable than verbs of the latter type. The *empirical* basis for these two properties has of course discrepant scopes. Agentivity of A is very common among transitive verbs, and the evidence here is mostly negative: non-agentive transitive verbs are sometimes among verbs that do not allow antipassivization. Affectedness of A is, by contrast, a rare property, so the fact that the lexically restricted antipassive zone sometimes includes some of verbs with affected A can be taken as an indication that affectedness of A is natural for antipassives.

The rationale behind the five natural antipassive properties identified in this section is identical: the presence of each property contributes to the likelihood of a situation in which it is possible or desirable to downgrade the P-argument and to highlight A's activity – and this is exactly the main semantic / pragmatic function of antipassives. For example, all other things being equal, predictable P's can be backgrounded with greater ease than those P's whose nature cannot be inferred from the meaning of the verb (cf. the fourth property above).

The fuzzy class of natural antipassives as delimited in this section finds empirical support in various morphosyntactic phenomena discussed in Sections 3–6; importantly, these phenomena are not limited to differences in lexical extent of antipassives. However, before proceeding to those phenomena, it is germane to discuss, and ultimately discard, one more potential natural antipassive property, viz. inanimacy of the P-argument.

2.3 Inanimacy of the P-argument

It is sometimes assumed that demoted or deleted P's in antipassive constructions are typically inanimate, cf. remarks by Fleck (2006: 566) and Heaton (2017: 15). This assumption seems plausible, given that the main function of antipassives cross-linguistically is to background the P-argument and that inanimate NPs are often syntactically less salient than animate NPs, see de Swart et al. (2008) for an overview. And indeed, there are some languages where P-arguments in antipassive constructions are obligatorily inanimate, as is the case with some types of antipassive uses in Russian (Say 2005; Janic 2013: 150–156), or at least non-human, as in the case of the unspecified object prefix *ta-* in Pipil (Uto-Aztecan), see Campbell (1985: 77). Such patterns create lexical restrictions: those transitive verbs whose meanings entail animate P-arguments ('punish', 'kill', 'teach', 'dress') are not available for antipassivization in these constructions.

However, from a broad typological perspective there seems to be no justification for the claim that verbs implying inanimate / non-human objects are closer to the core of natural antipassives than other transitive verbs. Rather, in many languages antipassive constructions are sensitive, in one way or another, to whether the demoted / deleted P-argument is [±human] and [±animate]. Antipassives which are only possible with inanimate objects constitute just one of several scenarios which reflect this sensitivity.

Another possible scenario is attested in languages where the only antipassive construction requires the demoted or deleted P-argument to be animate; this is the situation in e.g. Central Pomo (Pomoan), see Mithun (this volume), Puma (Sino-Tibetan), see Jacques (this volume), and Matsés (Pano-Tacanan), see Fleck (2006) and also Section 5.

However, a more widespread scenario is the one in which a language possesses various types of antipassive constructions and they are distributed depending on the [±animacy] of the deleted or demoted P-argument. Pustet & Rood (2008: 342–345) report such a situation for Lakota (Siouan). Lakota has three markers that signal suppression of the P-argument: *wichá-* suppresses exclusively animate objects, *takú-* suppresses exclusively inanimate objects, and *wa-* suppresses predominantly inanimate objects (the latter derivation is discussed in Mithun, this volume). The status of these markers is controversial: one possibility is to analyze them as verbal antipassive markers; an alternative interpretation is that these markers actually fill the object slot, rather than eliminate it (Pustet & Rood 2008: 342). The same dilemma arises in many other head-marking languages, e.g. Slave (Athabaskan, see a brief discussion in Bugaeva, this volume, and the original account in Rice 1989) or Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan) (cf. the discussion in Janic 2013: 26–27; Heaton

2017: 186–187; Malchukov 2015: 98–99 and the references therein). An interesting distribution is observed in Paraguayan Guaraní (Tupian). Here, the marker *mba'e-*, which is used in contexts with implied inanimate objects, actually means 'thing'. Constructions like the one in (5) can thus be interpreted as either constructions with noun incorporation or as antipassive constructions in which the verbal marker resulted from the grammaticalization of a nominal stem. However, the prefix *poro-*, which is used in contexts with intended human interpretation, as in (6), is not synchronically a nominal root and should be analyzed as a dedicated antipassive marker.

(5) Paraguayan Guaraní (Tupian; Estigarribia 2017: 50)
a-mba'e-jogua
1SG.ACT-ANTIP2-buy
'I am shopping'.

(6) Paraguayan Guaraní (Tupian; Estigarribia 2017: 49)
mbo'e-hára *o-poro-mbo'e*
teach-NMLZ.AG 3.ACT-ANTIP-teach
'The teacher teaches people'.

In her discussion of languages with multiple antipassives, Heaton (2017: 265–285) shows that animacy is among the most frequently attested factors determining the distribution of competing antipassives. Judging from her map on page 282, this possibility is particularly widespread in the Americas, which can be related to the head-marking and grammaticalization of incorporated nouns such as 'thing' or 'person' into antipassive markers (Janic & Witzlack-Makarevich, this volume).

Finally, in some languages, the choice of the antipassive marker does not depend on the [±animacy] of the P-argument, but the case-marking of the demoted P does depend on its position on the animacy scale. This situation is observed in some Pama-Nyungan languages, e.g. Yidiny (Dixon 1977: 27) or Warungu (Tsunoda 2011: 464).

All these data indicate that animacy of the demoted / deleted P is an important factor which can determine the properties of the antipassive construction or even its availability. However, there is no robust cross-linguistic preference for antipassives to be possible with inanimate P's only (and, accordingly, with only the verbs that are normally used with inanimate objects). More specifically, inanimacy of the P-argument cannot be included in the list of natural antipassive properties because some antipassive constructions actually require the demoted / deleted P-argument to be animate.

3. Natural antipassives and the lexical extent of antipassives

The most evident manifestation of the special status of natural antipassives with respect to antipassivization is the scenario in which an antipassive construction is only possible for a subset of transitive verbs. This is exactly the scenario which was generalized in the form of Malchukov's (2015: 105–106) "hierarchy of Object-demoting/deleting alternations", see (3) and the discussion in Section 2.1 above.

The hypothesis advocated here predicts that verbs with more natural antipassive properties identified in Section 2.2 are more likely to enter this subset than other transitive verbs. In other words, the properties of natural antipassives are expected to be recurrent across languages, although the subsets of relevant properties and the cut-off points that determine the lexical extent of antipassives in individual languages can be different.

The extreme scenario predicted from the hierarchy was mentioned above for Hoocąk, see (1): here, just one verb can be used in the antipassive construction and this is 'eat', i.e. one of the few verbs that simultaneously has all the five natural antipassive properties from Section 2.2. A somewhat different but similar situation is observed in Icari Dargwa (Nakh-Daghestanian). Here, the antipassive construction does not involve any special verbal marker,[9] but the contrast between transitive and antipassive constructions is reflected by both flagging (demoted P is marked with the ergative case) and indexing (in both constructions agreement prefix signals the gender of the absolutive argument; agreement suffixes display hierarchical alignment and are irrelevant here). With most verbs, antipassive is limited to several TAM forms with resultative/stative meaning (Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003: 157). There seem to be only two verbs which allow antipassivization in all their TAM forms, viz. *b=erk-/b=uk-* 'eat' and *b=erč̌/b=uč̌-* 'drink', the two verbs which are in the core of natural antipassives.[10] The relevant examples for the transitive and antipassive uses of 'eat' in the (present) progressive form are in (7a) and (7b).[11]

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9. The definition of antipassive adopted in this volume explicitly mentions that morphological marker of the verb is not a necessary condition. Instead, this criterion makes it possible to distinguish between "morphologically marked" and "zero-marked" antipassive constructions, and the latter subtype can also be analyzed in terms of A-lability. This decision is terminological: for some authors, antipassivization should involve verbal marker by definition, and then intransitive uses of A-labile verbs cannot be viewed as antipassives.

10. Similar pattern is attested in Akusha Dargwa; for a survey of antipassives in several Dargwa varieties, see (Comrie et al., this volume).

11. A similar situation is observed in Mandinka (Mande). Here, the antipassive function is signalled by the verbal suffix *-ri*. However, "*ri*-forms cannot be used as the verbal predicate of finite clauses", and the only exception from this restriction is the verb *dómó* 'eat' (Creissels 2015: 241).

(7) Icari Dargwa (Nakh-Daghestanian; Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003: 157)
a. *du-l t'ult'* *b=uk-a-t̄a*
I-ERG bread(N) N=eat:IPFV-PROG-1
'I am eating bread'.
b. *du t'ult'-il* *uk-a-t̄a*
I(M) bread-ERG [M]eat:IPFV-PROG-1
'I am eating bread'.

Other languages may allow antipassivization for a much wider set of verbs, but still have some limitations. For example, Campbell cites 25 verbs that are used with the "unspecified object" prefix *ta-* in Pipil; in more than half of these verbs, the lexical meaning presupposes an object from a relatively narrow class and denotes a particular manner of acting upon that object: *ta-chichina* 'smoke', *ta-chihcha* 'spit', *ta-hkwilua* 'write', *ta-hseki* 'toast', *ta-htsuma* 'sew', *ta-ihxihxi:ma* 'scrape', *ta-istawia* 'salt', *ta-ixka* 'roast', *ta-kwa* 'eat', *ta-mana* 'cook', *ta-me:wa* 'weed', *ta-patka:wia* 'replant', *ta-paya:na* 'grind corn', *ta-wiya* 'shell (corn)', *ta-pixka* 'pick, harvest' (Campbell 1985: 77–78). For example, *chichina* 'smoke' denotes a specific way of inhaling and acting with one's lips (actually the verb *chichina* also means 'suck', Campbell 1985: 188); similarly, 'spit' denotes ejecting saliva as a result of a specific pattern of muscular activation, etc.

Among the five natural antipassive properties identified in Section 2.2, the one which has received most attention in the literature is specification of manner, as opposed to specification of result. A convincing example which shows the relevance of this property for antipassivization comes from Godoberi (Nakh-Daghestanian), as analyzed by Tatevosov (2011), see also a discussion in Comrie et al. (this volume). In Godoberi, antipassivization is morphologically realized with a special converb ("A-converb") in combination with the cliticized present tense auxiliary (periphrastic constructions constitute a recurrent source of antipassive in Nakh-Daghestanian languages and elsewhere). Tatevosov argues that antipassivization in Godoberi is tightly interrelated with aspectual modification, namely detelicization. This analysis rests, among other things, upon lexical extent of A-converbs. These converbs are only possible for some 60 verbs; among transitive verbs, these are mainly manner verbs which get a telic interpretation if their direct object is a quantized incremental theme: *b-eɬ'i* 'plow', *b-eli* 'thresh', *č'anč'adi* 'chew', *harqi* 'mill', *īhi* 'make', *kanni* 'plane (wood)', *lami* 'lick', *q'ʷardi* 'gnaw', *quqabi* 'saw', *susuk'i* 'sift', *šunni* 'sniff', *š:ami* 'whistle', *š:uš:uki/š:uš:udi* 'whisper', *χ:anni* 'mow', *χ:udi* 'drink', *χʷardi* 'dig'. With these transitive verbs, derivation of the A-converb does a double job: it detelicizes the verb and eliminates the P-argument, as shown by the contrast between the transitive use in (8a) and the antipassive construction involving an A-converb in (8b):

(8) Godoberi (Nakh-Daghestanian; Tatevosov 2011: 139)
a. *ʕali-di q'iru b-el-ata-da*
Ali-ERG wheat N-thresh-IPFV.CVB-AUX
'Ali is threshing wheat.'
b. *ʕali w-ol-a-da*
Ali M-thresh-A.CVB-AUX
'Ali is threshing.'

Importantly, A-converbs in Godoberi are not possible for typical result verbs, such as 'open', 'break' or 'tear'. Thus, among the five properties identified in Section 2.2, Godoberi seems to rely on the aspectual property and specification of manner.

Lexical extent of antipassivization and its dependence upon the meaning of verbs involved has received more attention in available literature than other manifestations of what I refer to as natural antipassives. As a consequence, the data discussed in this section simply corroborate some of the previous claims, especially the idea that verbs of manner are more easily antipassivizable than verbs of result; however, the facts briefly discussed here also highlight other phenomena, such as the very special behaviour of ingestive verbs, the role of aspectual properties and predictability of the P-argument.

Lexically limited antipassivization is the most straightforward but ultimately just one of the several possible scenarios in which natural antipassives can manifest themselves. Slightly more complicated scenarios are discussed in Sections 4–6.

4. Natural antipassives and syncretic antipassive markers

Although dedicated antipassive markers which do not have other functions are attested in the languages of the world, it is a more frequent situation when the same affix or construction has other functions as well (Polinsky 2017: 314). Very often, these other functions are also related to valency[12] and two (or more) functions are patterned across the verbal lexicon, cf. the notion of "verb sensitivity". The hypothesis advocated here predicts that, all other things being equal, verbs with more natural antipassive properties are more likely to get the antipassive interpretation with syncretic markers and constructions than verbs with fewer such properties.

Kazenin (1994) claims that lexical distributions of "A-preserving" transitivity alternations, including antipassive, and "O-preserving" transitivity alternations

12. Markers that have the antipassive value in some contexts can also have functions which are not related to valency, either in these same contexts or elsewhere. For example, antipassive markers can also have an aspectual value, see e.g. Comrie et al. (this volume) for some patterns of this kind in Nakh-Daghestanian languages.

are cross-linguistically motivated by similar lexical semantic factors. He stresses that these distributions work similarly regardless of the direction of derivation: valency-decreasing (e.g. antipassive vs. anticausative), valency-increasing (e.g. causative vs. applicative) or non-directed (two types of lability: A-lability, in which the sole core argument of the intransitive verb corresponds to the A-argument of the transitive verb, and P-lability, in which the sole core argument of the intransitive verb corresponds to the P-argument of the transitive verb). The factor to which Kazenin attributes the observed distribution is the contrast between "agent-oriented" vs. "patient-oriented" verbs. However, Kazenin's study was only based on comparing three unrelated languages: Asiatic Eskimo (Eskimo-Aleut), Boumaa Fijian (Austronesian) and Bambara (Mande). More recent studies corroborate Kazenin's generalization, but they also make it clear that the determining factor is not a strict dichotomy, but rather a hierarchy which determines the likelihood of getting an interpretation of a particular kind (Malchukov 2015).

A common type of syncretism involving antipassive-like constructions is the situation when some – but not all – transitive verbs allow objectless uses, that is, are A-labile, whereas other transitive verbs manifest other types of lability, including P-lability, reflexive and reciprocal lability, etc. English is arguably the best-studied language of this kind. English transitive verbs yield different interpretations when used in a monovalent structure, viz. anticausative (*the stick broke*), the so-called "middle" (*stale bread slices easily*), reflexive (*she dressed*), reciprocal (*they kissed*) etc. Some verbs allow morphologically unmarked alternations in which the subject of the intransitive use corresponds to the subject of the transitive use while the object remains unspecified, as in *she is drawing*. These are instances of what Creissels (2014) terms "weak lability": a situation where the constructions with two vs. one core arguments do not show any formal difference except for the presence vs. absence of the second NP. Whether objectless uses of weak A-labile verbs in English (and elsewhere) should be interpreted as antipassive constructions is a matter of terminological and substantial debate, which has important consequences for comparative study of antipassives. An alternative (non-antipassive) interpretation is that these uses are transitive constructions where the object slot is filled with a null NP (see also fn. 9). Whatever the theoretical interpretation is, the lexical distribution of labile constructions in English is largely predictable from the lexical meaning of the verbs involved. Levin's (1993) in-depth study remains a groundbreaking classic in this domain, and more recent references are countless. The unspecified object alternation is mainly possible for agentive verbs which lexicalize the manner of activity and have a typical object which is implied by default: *bake, cook, draw, drink, eat, paint, read, sew, sweep, teach, type*, etc. (Levin 1993: 33), which fits the hypothesis advocated here.

A situation that can be more justifiably described as a syncretism between an antipassive construction and another valency-changing construction is observed in languages with "strong lability"[13] in which A-lability coexists with other types of lability. This is the situation in some varieties of Asiatic Eskimo, which will be discussed in Section 5.

The remainder of this section is devoted to languages where antipassives are signalled by an overt marker which can elsewhere express a different valency-related alternation. Reflexive is the function which is typologically especially prone to show syncretism with the antipassive (see Say 2008: 135–138; Janic 2013: 238–250; Sansò 2017: 193–197 for overviews). Other patterns of syncretism include the passive/anticausative-antipassive pattern (this scenario often involves markers which simultaneously have other functions in the "middle" domain, but this is not obligatory) and the reciprocal-antipassive pattern, attested in e.g. some Turkic (Janic 2013: 110–129) and Austronesian languages, see a detailed analysis of the facts from To'abaita in Lichtenberk (2008: 864) and a wider Austronesian perspective in Lichtenberk (1999: 42–44) and Janic (2013: 56–65). In addition to valency reducing, in some languages syncretic antipassive markers may also increase numerical valency, see for instance Malchukov (2016) and Janic & Witzlack-Makarevich (this volume) on antipassive-applicative polysemy.

Languages with syncretic markers differ with respect to the lexical extent of those verbs that get the antipassive interpretation with these markers. At one pole of the continuum are languages where antipassivization is a relatively marginal function of a syncretic marker. This situation is typical of "reflexive verbs" in many European languages, e.g. Slavic and Romance. However, similar phenomena are observed in other unrelated languages, e.g. in Turkic (Janic 2013: 104–110) or in Australia, where antipassive suffixes are often identical or cognate with reflexive suffixes, see Terrill (1997: 78) for an overview.[14] A good example of verb sensitivity in Australia comes from Diyari (Pama-Nyungan). Here, verbal affix *-tharri*, which is in many respects a typical Pama-Nyungan syncretic reflexive marker, covers no less than five different functions: (i) reflexive, (ii) antipassive (with a demoted object), (iii) a function which is labelled "antipassive" by Austin, but does not meet the definition of antipassive adopted in this volume: the A-argument from the transitive verb is converted to the S-position, but the original P retains its absolutive

13. "Strong A-lability" – again, in Creissels' (2014) terms – is a pattern in which the A-argument of the full-fledged transitive construction can also be used as the sole core argument with the same verb but the two constructions have some formal differences apart from the mere presence vs. absence of the P-argument (e.g. the ergative vs. absolutive flagging of the preserved argument).

14. Thanks to Dixon's pathbreaking description of Dyirbal (Dixon 1972: 90), non-reflexive functions of markers that can also signal reflexivity proper are often referred to as "false reflexives".

encoding instead of being demoted or deleted, (iv) passive, (v) durative (Austin 2013: 157–163). The second function is illustrated in (9b), which is contrasted with the synonymous transitive construction (9a).

(9) Diyari (Pama-Nyungan; Austin 2013: 159)
a. *ngathu nhanha wilha karlka-yi*
1SG.ERG 3SG.F.ACC woman.ACC wait.for-PRS
b. *nganhi karlka-tharri-yi nhangkangu wilha-nhi*
1SG.NOM wait.for-ANTIP-PRS 3SG.F.LOC woman-LOC
'I wait for the woman'

Diyari transitive verbs can be divided into five mutually exclusive groups based on the function of *-tharri* (Austin 2013: 77). The object-demoting antipassive is available for just eight transitive verbs (out of a total of 114 verbs analyzed by Austin). These eight verbs constitute a semantically compact group which covers meanings such as 'find/discover' (*darnka-*, *marnka-*), 'await' (*karlka-*), 'follow, chase' (*kari-*), 'take away from' (*mama-*), 'search for' (*wanthi-*) (Austin 2013: 81); unlike most other transitive verbs, these verbs entail an affected A-argument and specify A's manner of action rather than any direct result in the state of the P-argument, which echoes the natural antipassive properties identified in Section 2.2.[15]

A more balanced pattern of syncretism is found in Koyraboro Senni (Songhay). Heath (1999: 166–167) identifies two homophonous suffixes *-a* in Koyraboro Senni, which have the "mediopassive" and depatientive (= antipassive) values correspondingly. Even though these markers are analyzed as homophonous, they clearly tend to be distributed lexically, which makes it possible to reinterpret *-a* as a syncretic suffix with two distinct functions. Heath does not provide full lists of verbs yielding the two interpretations, but the examples he cites are suggestive. The mediopassive function is illustrated with verbs like *dumbu* 'cut' (*dumb-a* 'be cut'), *duubu* 'shut', *haw* 'tie, bind', *hanji* 'hang', *keyri* 'break'; the depatientive function is illustrated with verbs *feferi* 'peel' (*fefer-a* 'do some peeling'), *neeši* 'measure', *kar* 'hit', *haabu* 'sweep' (Heath 1999: 166–167). These lists imply that the presence of the manner component in the verb's meaning is a prerequisite for yielding the antipassive interpretation under *a*-derivation, but having a result component is not an obstacle to

15. Another cluster of verbs with salient natural antipassive properties is formed by verbs with meanings such as 'eat', 'drink', 'cook', 'try, test', 'sing'. The effect of *-tharri* on these five verbs is also described as antipassive in Austin (2013), but fails to meet the definition of the antipassive adopted here, because the encoding of the P-argument in these constructions is not affected by the derivation (only the encoding of the A-argument is). Whatever the appropriate label, verbs with the most natural antipassive properties stand apart from the majority of transitive verbs, which yield either a reflexive or a passive interpretation when marked with *-tharri*.

having this interpretation. As a result, some *a*-derivatives have both a mediopassive and an unspecified-object interpretation (an example given is *čin-a* 'be built' or 'do some building').

Finally, there are many languages where the pattern of syncretism is biased towards the antipassive function. In these languages, antipassive construction is possible for most transitive verbs, but with a minority of transitive verbs it is inapplicable or yields a different interpretation. The hypothesis advocated here predicts that this minority shouldn't contain verbs with many natural antipassive properties; deviant behavior is expected for highly transitive result verbs, as well as for natural reflexives and natural reciprocals.

Exactly this scenario is observed in a number of languages. In Bezhta (Nakh-Daghestanian), object-demoting antipassivization marked with the suffix *-dah/-lah/-rah* is possible for some 60–70% of transitive verbs (Kibrik & Testelec 2004: 284).[16] However, there are several verbs that yield a reflexive interpretation when marked with the same suffix. Examples cited by Kibrik & Testelec (2004: 285) include three natural reflexive verbs, viz. *niza-lah-* 'wash (oneself)',[17] *ƛaχ-dah-* 'comb (one's hair)', *kusuʔ-dah-* 'shave (oneself)' and two verbs that specify result rather than manner, viz. *ũco-lah* 'hide (oneself)' and *ekʼel-däh-* 'warm oneself'.

An even more biased pattern of syncretism is observed in Tz'utujil (Mayan). Similarly to what is reported for many other Mayan languages, Dayley (1985) identifies two "antipassive" constructions in Tz'utujil. One of these is the "absolutive antipassive" marked with *-oon*, which fully meets the definition of the antipassive adopted here. The absolutive antipassive is reported to be productive; however, several verbs deviate from the regular pattern. These deviations include (a) the verb *chʼajooj* 'wash' (a natural reflexive), which yields a reflexive interpretation when marked with *-oon* (*chʼajooneem* 'to wash oneself'; this pattern echoes the one in Bezhta, see the previous paragraph); (b) a few verbs that can't be used with this suffix at all; this potentiality is illustrated with *elasaxik* 'take out' – clearly a result verb; and (c) a few verbs with the suffix *-oon* (or its allomorphs) that can be used both as antipassives and as anticausatives; e.g. transitive *paxixik* 'break' is the basis for *paxiineem* which can mean either 'break (intr.)' or 'for some agent to be breaking something'; this third group is illustrated with typical result verbs, such as *raquxik* 'burst', *chijkaloʔxik* 'spill/splash', *pulixik* 'knock over, spill over' (Dayley 1985: 116, 347).

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16. Comrie et al. (this volume) mention that out of 77 verbs tested, 45 form the antipassive, which is slightly below 60%.

17. The same effect is also observed for 'wash' in other Tsezic languages with antipassives and in Avar, see Comrie et al. (this volume).

All of the examples surveyed corroborate the idea that in cases when syncretic affixes are verb-sensitive different valency-related alternations have their "centres of gravity": semantic zones which attract specific valency-related interpretations. Natural antipassives occupy their niche in such systems, alongside with result verbs, which are most easily susceptible to the anticausative derivation (Haspelmath 1993), natural reflexives and natural reciprocals. In other words, Kazenin's (1994) finding that syncretic A-preserving and P-preserving alternations can be lexically distributed depending on whether the verb lexicalizes A- or P-oriented components of meaning is part of a larger picture which also includes other types of alternations and other possible cut-off points, as evidenced by both languages with lexically very limited and lexically almost unlimited antipassives.

5. Languages with multiple antipassive constructions

Many languages have more than one construction which meets the definition of the antipassive construction. In Heaton's world-wide sample of 126 languages with antipassives, some 30 languages – almost every fourth language in the sample – have multiple antipassives (Heaton 2017: 266). This quantitative estimate is to some extent subjective, because it depends on the sample used as well as on definitional assumptions, but it clearly shows that having multiple antipassives is not a rare phenomenon. Some languages mentioned in Sections 1–4 do have multiple antipassives, but up to this point the competition between different constructions was not in the focus.

Languages with multiple antipassives vary in terms of the main factor which determines their distribution. In particular, Heaton identifies three major types: lexical differences, aspectual/modal differences, and patient-related differences (Heaton 2017: 270). The third possibility was mentioned in Section 2.3, where I briefly discussed languages where the choice of the antipassive marker depends on the animacy of the P-argument. Here, I will concentrate on languages where the distribution is primarily lexical. Especially relevant for the discussion of natural antipassive properties are languages where the two antipassive constructions differ in terms of *markedness*.[18] A clearer scenario of this kind is observed in languages where a syncretic marker, which yields the antipassive interpretation with a subset

18. The overarching notion of *markedness* is meant to encompass both semantic markedness (the more marked construction is the one which is semantically more specific) and formal markedness (the more marked construction is the one which involves more overt coding). For the data analyzed here, the two facets of markedness are consonant or, at least, do not contradict each other, even though problematic cases are reported elsewhere; see Haspelmath (2006) for a detailed discussion of the many understandings of "markedness" and the relationships between them.

of transitive verbs, co-exists with a dedicated antipassive marker, which typically has a larger lexical extent, or can even be attached to any transitive verb at all. I will discuss this pattern using data from Soninke (Mande). A slightly different scenario is found in languages where an antipassive construction with a dedicated marker coexists with a morphologically unmarked antipassive construction, which can thus be analyzed in terms of A-lability. This pattern will be discussed for some Eskimo varieties and for Matsés. In both scenarios, the construction which involves a dedicated marker is more marked than the construction with the more bleached marker or no marker at all.

The hypothesis which I put forward in this study predicts that if the two lexically distributed antipassive constructions differ in terms of markedness then the less marked construction will be available for verbs which have more natural antipassive properties, whereas the more marked construction will be used with verbs that have fewer natural antipassive properties.

Soninke is a language where a syncretic antipassive marker coexists with a dedicated antipassive marker. The most frequent function of the former marker, detransitivizing suffix *-i*, is agent demotion, but it also has some other uses related to the middle domain. With a few verbs, it functions as an antipassive marker, cf. the transitive construction in (10a) and its antipassive counterpart in (10b):

(10) Soninke (Mande; Creissels 2012)

a. *Yàxàré-n dà máarò-n còró*
woman-DEF TR rice-DEF cook
'The woman cooked the rice.'

b. *Yàxàré-n còré*[19]
woman-DEF cook.DETR
'The woman did the cooking.'

Creissels (1992 and this volume) analyzes lexical distributions of the various functions of *-i* in Soninke. Out of those 35 *i*-marked verbs which are analyzed in Creissels (1992), there are four verbs which can be used in objectless (antipassive) constructions. Creissels (this volume) presents a fuller list of Soninke verbs which have an antipassive form marked with this syncretic marker; it consists of 13 verbs: *bàtú* 'follow', *hàámù* 'understand', *híicà* 'vomit', *jànbá* 'betray', *jónŋà* 'do something first', *kárá* 'cross', *nàhá* 'be useful to someone', *ñáagà* 'ask someone for help', *sàará* 'give birth', *ságárá* 'pick up', *sòró* 'cook', *sùgú* 'suck', *yígá* 'eat' (some of the corresponding *i*-derivatives can also have non-antipassive interpretations). Even if this list is not exhaustive, it follows from Creissels' discussion that the antipassive derivation is lexically very limited and that it is possible with those transitive verbs

19. The form *còré* results from the fusion of the suffix *-i* with the root *còró* 'cook (tr.)', as in (10a).

which can be interpreted as activities (1992: 13–20), that is, closely correspond to the core of natural antipassives as identified in Section 2.2.[20] Besides, it can be noticed that most of these verbs denote events with affected A-participants ('follow', 'understand', 'vomit', 'cross', 'ask someone for help', 'give birth', 'suck', 'eat'). The unavailability of the antipassive interpretation for *i*-derivatives from other transitive verbs, including verbs that are far from the natural antipassive prototype, is in many cases compensated for by the dedicated antipassive suffix *-ndì*, which is "fully productive" (Creissels, this volume).[21]

In Section 4, I mentioned that many languages allow several types of lability, which are distributed across the transitive section of the verbal lexicon, so that the objectless use is only available for a subset of transitive verbs. The Chaplino variety of Yupik, one of the Central Siberian Yupik idioms (Eskimo-Aleut), has a system of this kind. The data on this idiom were taken from Yemel'yanova (1982) and Vakhtin (1981); their discussion is inspired by the analysis in Kazenin (1994: 145–147).[22]

In Chaplino Yupik, some transitive verbs can be used in a monovalent construction and get the antipassive interpretation. There is no special marker in either construction, but the alternation manifests itself through the change in both flagging and indexing of arguments; this is thus a case of "strong A-lability" in Creissels' (2014) terms. The alternation can be illustrated by the transitive construction in (11a) and its intransitive counterpart with the demoted or deleted object in (11b).

(11) Chaplino Yupik Eskimo (Eskimo-Aleut; Kazenin 1994: 146)

a. *agna-m* *ukini-ķa* *atkuja-ķ*
woman-ERG sew-3SG.A.SG.P dress-ABS
'The woman is sewing the dress.'

b. *agna-ķ* *ukini-ķuķ* (*atkujagmyn*)
woman-ABS sew-3SG dress.INS
'The woman is sewing (a dress).'

Most verbs that can be used transitively participate in the alternation which is structurally identical to the one illustrated in (11a)–(11b). However, some of these labile

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20. Some verbs in Soninke are simply A-labile verbs, that is, allow object deletion without any overt morphological marker (Creissels 2012: 6). This possibility will not be analyzed here any further.

21. Judging from a cursory discussion in Quesada (2007: 174–176), a similar distribution is observed in Guatuso (Chibchan). Unfortunately, there is only one sentential example cited in this source in which a syncretic (reflexive, reciprocal etc.) marker fulfills the antipassive function; however, this example involves the verb 'to eat', which echoes the pattern attested elsewhere.

22. Distributions which are similar to those discussed here for the Chaplino Yupik are also observed in other Eskimo languages, see Say (2008: 236–237) for some references.

verbs get a reflexive or an anticausative interpretation in the intransitive construction (Vakhtin 1981). Simplifying somewhat, these possibilities yield a three-way classification: A-labile, P-labile and reflexive-labile verbs.[23] Apart from this, many verbs which get a reflexive or an anticausative interpretation in their intransitive use participate in an alternation which is signalled by the vowel change (*a* → *i*), in which the verb ending in *-i* is obligatorily interpreted as the antipassive counterpart of the transitive verb in *-a* (Yemel'yanova 1982: 23–24). In other words, this system simultaneously has (i) a syncretic construction which covers the antipassive function along with other detransitivizing functions, the pattern discussed in Section 4, and (ii) shows a competition between two antipassive constructions, which is the focus of this section. Lexical distributions underlying the processes in (i) and (ii) are largely consonant and clearly have the familiar semantic rationale: antipassive alternation is morphologically unmarked for verbs that accumulate more natural antipassive properties, whereas the marked alternation is mostly found with verbs that have fewer natural antipassive properties. Some examples of A-labile verbs are shown in (12).[24]

(12) a. verbs of ingestion: *nyga* 'eat', *myga* 'drink', *tūfta* 'swallow';
b. verbs of acting with one's (usually specified) body-part: *āmkʂuta* 'bite (e.g. one's tongue)', *kagaraga* 'butt', *tamaga* 'chew', *kytŋiga* 'kick', *aluŋa* 'lick', *pakigrāga* 'pick (e.g. one's teeth)', *pumsuga* 'pinch', *kʂagyxʂkʂuga* 'press upon something', *saflyga* 'touch', *flugwāga* 'touch, feel', *tukmag*a 'trample';
c. verbs of professional activity and/or activity with a (specified) instrument: *īxa* 'dig', *igarutaga* 'drill', *ipyxsaga* 'hone', *akuta* 'knead', *kylīga* 'scrape', *ukinī* 'sew', *gūta* 'shoot', *malīga* 'sweep', *nagułxa* 'throw a spear at somebody', *kʂiłyxʂta* 'knit, bond', *igaga* 'write';
d. verbs with a mentally involved or potentially affected A: *tuŋsīga* 'ask', *avuga* 'choose, handle', *pujgā* 'forget', *sxapaga* 'look at', *atixtuga* 'read', *ivāga* 'search for', *tyglyga* 'steal', *nafuga* 'take pity on somebody', *igamsikʂa* 'thank';

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23. I disregard verbs whose intransitive uses allow multiple interpretations as well as those verbs that can only be used in the transitive construction.

24. This and further lexical lists from Chaplino Eskimo are mostly based on data from Yemel'yanova (1982). In some instances, I added examples from Vakhtin (1981) and Kazenin (1994) (this latter source is itself secondary). The only modification I made was transliterating those verbs I took from Yemel'yanova (1982) or Vakhtin (1981), because these sources use Cyrillic-based transcription. In case of discrepancies between the sources, I mostly used the form cited in Yemel'yanova (1982). No attempt was made at the unification of the format. I acknowledge my responsibility for potential inconsistencies. The reader is advised to resort to original sources if details are needed.

e. speech act verbs: *avutka* 'accuse', *līlixtuga* 'advise', *akfāga* 'call, invite', *apyxtuga* 'explain', *mūta* '(make an) order', *lipyxsaga* 'order, command', *iliagaga* 'sing', *araga* 'shout';
f. other verbs: *aŋatuxķa* 'do something in a hurry', *amjugwaga* 'play a joke upon somebody', *akiga* 'support', *apyxtuga* 'teach'.

The verbs in (12) are classified into several conventional groups for the sake of readability. It can be seen that most verbs in (12) have A-oriented semantic components in the sense of Haspelmath (1993), that is, specify A's purposes, manner of activity, affectedness by the action, etc. Apart from that, verbs from groups (a), (b) and (c) semantically select objects from relatively narrow classes. Thus, as a group, these verbs show several natural antipassive properties identified in Section 2.2, except for probably the aspectual characteristics: these are hard to judge from the lexical lists in Yemel'yanova (1982) and other sources.

Although verbs in (12) are heterogeneous, they contrast with the set of Chaplino Yupik verbs which yield anticausative interpretation in the intransitive use.[25] Some examples are shown in (13).

(13) *akulaŋīta* 'bring sb. in the middle', *myłā* 'close', *simīga* 'change', *ysykinaxta* 'cool down', *avaŋīta* 'finish', *avylgaga* 'leave', *uglygīxta* 'make sb. tired', *ūskaxta* 'make sth. higher / grow (tr.)', *kavixta* 'make sth. red', *mykyłi* 'make sth. smaller', *alīga* 'make sth. visible', *imagāga* 'make sth. wet', *tunuvaga* 'move sth. aside', *uvylyxtaga* 'make tremble', *tākuxta* 'prolong', *ķūlvaga* 'take sth. up', *mumixta* 'turn', *kajalī* 'weaken'.

The verbs in (13) are mostly causative change-of-state verbs; they do not specify A's manner in any tangible way and only weakly specify the nature of the object involved. The contrast between A-labile and P-labile verbs is most clearly seen if one compares pairs or small sets of verbs which are thematically close to each other. In such contrastive groups A-labile verbs invariably have more A-oriented components or imply A's involvement to a higher extent than P-labile verbs, cf. the following contrasts: *ifkaga* 'drop' (P-labile) vs. *aŋaxķuga* 'drag (and drop)' (A-labile); *sigiķa* 'break' (P-labile) vs. *rypakwa* 'crack (with a hammer)', *ķasaxta* 'hit (with the palm)' (A-labile); *jakugŋīķa* 'frighten' (P-labile) vs. *akyksaxta* 'threaten', *akiŋ̣īga* 'object', *agivā* 'tease' (A-labile). It is important to remind that most P-labile verbs also have an intransitive counterpart marked by a vowel alternation, which functions as an antipassive verb. In other words, the lexical contrast between the

25. For the sake of simplicity, I do not discuss verbs that get the reflexive interpretation in the monovalent constructions; many of these verbs belong to the class of natural reflexives.

two types of lability in Chaplino Eskimo is similar to the contrast between the less marked ("strong labile") and the more marked pattern of antipassivization.

An essentially similar contrast between two patterns of P-demotion is observed in Matsés (Pano-Tacanan), even though at first sight this language deviates from the typological expectations. In his analysis of antipassives in Matsés, Fleck (2006) stresses that the sets of transitive verbs that can and cannot be antipassivized with the dedicated suffix *-an* are typologically unusual. In particular, antipassives with the indefinite object reading are available exclusively for the verbs which specify human P's and, more unexpectedly, "entail that Patient be significantly affected by the action, either physically or emotionally" (Fleck 2006: 565). Examples include verbs such as 'kill', 'topple (wrestling)', 'pierce, sting, strike', whereas verbs with less affected P's, which typically convey more information about A's purposes or manner of activity, do not enter the antipassive alternation.

However, Fleck proposes an elegant explanation for this seemingly paradoxical lexical distribution. He notes that transitive verbs whose P-arguments are typically unimportant can simply be used with an empty object slot without any verbal marker and yield the indefinite-P interpretation. Such uses can be interpreted in terms of weak A-lability. However, verbs such as 'kill' normally take salient P's and highlight P's change of state. With these verbs, the situation in which the speaker concentrates on A's activity is unusual and requires explicit antipassive marker, as in (14).

(14) Matsés (Pano-Tacanan; Fleck 2006: 565)
kuessunne-an-onda-bi
kill-ANTIP-DISTANT.PST-1SG
'I used to kill.'

Thus, although the set of verbs that can be marked with the antipassive suffix and yield an indefinite-object interpretation in Matsés is very different from the class of natural antipassive verbs as identified in Section 2.2, the rationale behind this set actually corroborates the hypothesis advocated here. In a nutshell, Matsés provides two options which can be used to delete an indefinite object, and marking the verb with a dedicated suffix is the more marked option of the two; hence, it is chosen by verbs that are further away from the natural antipassive prototype.

The data surveyed in this section corroborate the idea that the distribution between less marked (semantically and formally) and more marked antipassive constructions can be governed by lexical semantic factors, with verbs which aggregate more natural antipassive properties – not necessarily limited to specification of manner – favoring the less marked antipassive construction. These findings are relevant in view of the fact that multiple antipassives are attested in many languages with antipassives.

6. Lexicalization of antipassives

6.1 Lexical effects of antipassivization

The definition of the antipassive adopted in this volume stipulates that verb's lexical meaning should be identical in the transitive construction and its antipassive counterpart (other criteria are demotion or deletion of the P-participant and realization of the A-participant as the sole core argument). However, an alternation that meets all the definitional criteria of the antipassive with some verbs can affect the lexical meaning of some other verbs. Typically, such semantic shifts are idiosyncratic, i.e. they are not fully predictable and are observed in some individual verbs. These verbs, which do not fully meet the definition of the antipassive adopted here, are often referred to as "lexicalized antipassives", see Janic's discussion of lexicalized antipassives in French (2013: 201–210), such as *se mêler* 'meddle with / in' (as opposed to transitive *mêler* 'mix') or *s'apercevoir* 'realize, conceive' (as opposed to transitive *apercevoir* 'notice, catch sight of'), which denote abstract vs. concrete events respectively. Even though lexicalized antipassives are irregular within their language systems, they show some cross-linguistically recurrent patterns. Lexicalization patterns of antipassives make it possible to put forward two generalizations that make recourse to natural antipassive properties.

First, lexicalization is more likely with verbs that lack some of the natural antipassive properties. In other words, lexicalized antipassives are often found at the periphery of the set of verbs that can combine with antipassive markers in individual languages.

Second, a typical lexicalization effect involves *coercion* of natural properties; this is observed if a certain transitive verb does not have, and its lexicalized antipassive counterpart does have, a certain natural antipassive property.

Coercion is very common in the domain of aspect: it is a well-known fact that antipassivization often has aspectual effects. In particular, antipassivization often correlates with non-punctual, incomplete, habitual, iterative, conative and other atelic interpretations (Cooreman 1994: 57–58; Polinsky 2017: 315–316). In some cases, antipassivization clearly affects the lexical meaning of the verb involved; for example, in many unrelated languages antipassive counterparts of verbs like 'hit', 'beat' have meanings like 'fight', 'struggle', 'compete' etc. (Cooreman 1994: 58). In these cases, the transitive verb and its counterpart are two different lexical entries. However, there are less straightforward cases, where it is not entirely clear whether the aspectual contrast should be interpreted as lexical (transitive verbs and its lexicalized antipassive counterpart are two distinct verbs) or grammatical. The latter possibility cannot be ruled out on *a priori* grounds, because different forms of a verb often differ in terms of their aspectual properties. This dilemma can only be

solved based on detailed analysis of lexical and grammatical aspect in individual languages, which is often missing in available descriptions of antipassives. As a consequence, coercion of lexical aspectual properties in antipassive alternations, although potentially a recurrent pattern, will not be discussed in the remainder of this section. Instead, I will address coercion of two other properties: agentivity (Section 6.2) and narrow class of P-arguments (Section 6.3).

6.2 Coerced agentivity

Typically, antipassives are used to foreground the activity of an A-argument which is a full-fledged agent. In this respect, it is somewhat surprising that two experiential predicates, namely 'see' and 'hear', are found rather high in Malchukov's (2015: 105–106) antipassivizability hierarchy, see (3) above. A possible explanation is that Malchukov's hierarchy, based on data from ValPal, reflects the verb's ability to enter object-demoting alternations and does not take into account idiosyncratic shifts in meanings. In fact, the verbs 'see' and 'hear' are often coerced to have a slightly different lexical meaning when used in a construction that elsewhere functions as a regular antipassive construction. Apart from affecting aspectual properties, such shifts sometimes entail an increase in the agentivity of the experiencer. The two meanings that are particularly likely for antipassive counterparts of 'see' and 'hear' are 'look (at)' and 'listen' correspondingly.[26] Ainu (isolate), which is one of about ten ValPal languages that have antipassives, has both of these lexicalized antipassives: *inkar* 'look at' "can be traced back to the antipassive **i-nukar*" (Bugaeva 2015: 814; see also Bugaeva, this volume), where *nukar* is 'see', and *i-* is the antipassive prefix; *i-nu* is glossed as both 'hear' and 'listen' as opposed to the basic *nu*, which means 'hear' (Bugaeva 2015: 831); for further discussion see also Bugaeva (2013 and this volume).

Similar effects are observed in antipassivized perception verbs in languages outside the ValPal database. A good example is provided by Warungu (Pama-Nyungan), where antipassive is signalled by the suffix *-gali*. In his detailed analysis, Tsunoda (2011: 476–483) shows that meanings of antipassive counterparts to six transitive perception verbs in Warungu intricately depend on a number of factors, but each pair involves some degree of lexicalization. In most cases, idiosyncrasies involve an increase in the experiencer's ability to control the situation, as can be seen from the following examples of transitive (15a) and corresponding antipassive (15b) constructions.

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26. Other attested meanings are 'be sighted' and 'meet' for lexicalized antipassives of 'see' and 'understand', and 'think' for lexicalized antipassives of 'hear'.

(15) Warungu (Pama-Nyungan; Tsunoda 2011: 478)
a. *nyola nyaga-n worriba-Ø*
3SG.ERG see-NFUT bee-ACC
'He saw (or found) bees.'
b. *ngaya nyaga-gali-n waybala-wo*
1SG.NOM see-ANTIP-NFUT white.man-DAT
'I looked at/watched the white man.'

The lexical shift from 'see' to 'look at' constitutes a recurrent scenario of lexicalization of antipassives, but it is part of a general pattern in which antipassivization coerces more agentive interpretation when applied to verbs of perception or cognition.

6.3 Semantic incorporation of the P-argument

As was discussed above, inherent specification of the nature of the P-argument in the verb's lexical meaning is one of the properties that facilitate the verb's ability to participate in antipassive alternations. However, in some cases the relevant semantic property is coerced in the antipassive, whereas in the transitive verb it is absent or weak. In other words, antipassivized verbs can entail specific properties of their unexpressed objects which are not obligatory for the P-arguments of the corresponding transitive verbs.

This kind of coercion is well-documented for both morphologically marked antipassives and intransitive uses of A-labile verbs. An inchoate pattern of this kind has been identified for unspecified object alternation in English and elsewhere, i.e. for intransitive uses of verbs like *bake, clean, draw* etc. With most such alternating verbs, "[d]espite the lack of overt direct object in the intransitive variant, the verb in this variant is understood to have as object something that qualifies as a *typical* object of the verb" (Levin 1993: 33; italics mine – S.S.). Thus, even here, intransitivization slightly affects the lexical meaning of the verb – to the extent that non-typical objects are excluded. With some other verbs this effect of narrowing down the range of possible objects is more drastic. For example, it has been observed that "[i]ntransitive *eat* is typically taken to mean 'eat a meal' (*I've eaten already*), while objectless *drink* has as almost its only possible reading 'drink alcohol' (*John drinks*)" (Næss 2009: 35). This means that syntactic deletion of the object has a rather strong effect for the lexical meaning of *drink* in English and many other languages with a similar idiosyncrasy. This effect can be interpreted as semantic incorporation of an object which belongs to a very narrow ontological class.

Similar semantic effects, both weak (a typical object of the verb is implied) and strong (an object from a narrow class is implied), are often observed in languages

with morphologically marked antipassives. For example, the very same coercion of 'alcohol' as the understood object of 'drink' is observed in the marked antipassive construction in Lakota (Siouan, see Mithun, this volume), Sanzhi Dargwa (Nakh-Daghestanian, see Comrie et al., this volume) or in Kaqchikel (Mayan), see (16).

(16) Kaqchikel (Mayan; Heaton 2017: 327)
N-Ø-qum-un *ri* *achin*
INCOMPL-3SG.ABS-drink-ANTIP DET man
'The man drinks (alcohol).'

Coercion of a specific kind of implied object is systematically found in one of the antipassive-like constructions in Russian (Slavic, Indo-European). This construction is analyzed in Say (2005) under the label of "lexical *sja*-antipassives" (*sja-* is etymologically a reflexive affix, which covers a wide range of functions in the middle domain); apart from lexicalization, it meets the definitional criteria of the antipassive adopted here. Many transitive verbs that allow derivation of lexical *sja*-antipassives inherently (that is, even in their transitive use) require objects belonging to very narrow classes, e.g. specific body-parts, cf. *naxmurit'* 'to knit (one's brow)', *vysmorkat'* 'to blow (one's nose)'. In such cases, *sja*-affixation has the syntactic effect of intransitivization, but the lexical meaning of the verb is not significantly affected. However, other transitive verbs that participate in the same alternation can be combined with a wide class of overt objects; and yet, their *sja*-counterparts imply objects from a particular class: "One may *stroit'* ('build' – S.S.) houses, bridges, clubs, roads etc., *stroit'sja* means 'to build a living place, a house, an edifice for living'; (…) one may *tratit'* ('spend' – S.S.) one's money, salary, stipend, paper as well as (metaphorically) one's time, forces etc., but *tratit'sja* means 'to spend one's money, (financial) means'; (…) one may *propit'* ('drink away' – S.S.) anything (without any lexical restriction), but *propit'sja* means 'to drink away everything one possesses' (Yanko-Trinickaya 1962: 175).

The Russian pattern just discussed is a lexical phenomenon: it is restricted in terms of lexical extent and semantically incorporated objects generally cannot be predicted from the verb's meanings. Despite this, the semantic relationships between the transitive verb and its *sja*-counterpart are fully transparent. A further possibility along the pathway of lexicalization is observed in fossilized derivatives that employ antipassive morphology but are no longer transparently related to transitive uses. For example, in Tatar (Turkic) there is a reflexive/middle affix *-n* that functions as an antipassive (object-deleting) affix with some verbs. Apart from fully transparent alternations, it is also used in pairs such as e.g. *čiš-en-* 'undress' from *čiš-* 'untie, unbutton' or *uqɤ-n-* 'mumble, read a prayer' from *uqɤ-* 'read, teach' (Zinnatullina 1969: 176–181). Postulating a specific type of semantically

incorporated object ('one's clothes' and 'prayer' in examples just cited) is useful for reconstructing the path of semantic development of these verbs, but clearly there is no synchronically transparent syntactic correspondence in such pairs. Similarly, in her discussion of the antipassive marker *-e* in Wolof (North Atlantic, Atlantic-Congo), Nouguier-Voisin mentions the transitive verb *bëgg* 'love, want' and its lexicalized derivative *bëgg-e* 'be greedy' and hypothesizes that this derivation is based on the meaning 'to want money' (2002: 311). Again, synchronically the relationship between these two verbs is not transparent.

The processes discussed in Section 6.3 imply that if there is a contrast between a transitive verb and its antipassive counterpart with respect to object-specialization, then it is the antipassive counterpart which is more restrictive. This effect is most clearly seen in transitive verbs that can combine with a wide range of possible objects: their antipassive counterparts often coerce understood objects of certain kinds, which leads to lexicalization and eventually fossilization of erstwhile antipassives; an example of such scenario is found in Tolowa Athabaskan (Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit), see Givón & Bommelyn (2000: 53) for details. However, narrowing down the range of possible objects under antipassivization can be attested even with those transitive verbs which themselves can only be combined with a relatively narrow class of objects. In fact, even the verb 'eat', which is found at the top of the antipassivizability hierarchy and selects objects from a compact semantic domain (FOOD), can have lexicalized antipassive counterparts of this kind. For example, in Quiché Maya (Mayan) the "absolutive voice" (an objectless antipassive construction) counterpart of *tix* 'eat' has the specific reading 'eat people, be carnivorous' (Næss 2009: 36, with further reference to Mondloch 1981: 189).

7. Discussion

Certainly, there are significant cross-linguistic differences in the ways lexical semantic features interact with antipassives. Moreover, the very hierarchy of verb meanings which reflects their likelihood to participate in the antipassive alternation, which partially served as the point of departure in this study (see Section 2.1), evidently is not a strict implicational hierarchy. In fact, in terms of its lexical profile, the antipassive as a cross-linguistic phenomenon "behaves somewhat multidimensionally but is just on the right side of Guttman's threshold for unidimensionality" (Wichmann 2016: 437). This multidimensionality reflects language-specific semantic factors which favor or hinder individual verb's ability to participate in the antipassive alternation. To give an example, there is an antipassive pattern in Slavic languages which is only possible with verbs that denote aggressive forms of

behavior, see Janic (2013: 139–142) for a discussion, – a correlation which does not seem to be particularly common cross-linguistically. Although language-specific phenomena of this kind disturb the unidimensional hierarchy and other implicational generalizations, there still are recurrent patterns in the interaction between antipassive and verb's lexical meaning. In this contribution, I was trying to find these cross-linguistic similarities and disregarded differences.

The main empirical claim of this study is identification of natural antipassive properties: those components in the lexical meaning of the verb, which facilitate the verb's ability to participate in the antipassive alternation. Natural antipassive properties include (1) agentivity of the A-argument; (2) specification of the A's manner; (3) inherent atelicity; (4) narrow class of potential P-arguments; (5) affectedness of the A-argument. These five properties recurrently manifest themselves in four types of phenomena in the domain of antipassivization. First, verbs that have more natural antipassive properties are more susceptible to antipassivization in languages where antipassives are lexically restricted. Second, these verbs are more likely to yield the antipassive interpretation when combined with syncretic markers that also cover other valency-related functions. Third, in languages with lexically conditioned distribution between two antipassive constructions, verbs with more natural antipassive properties tend to choose the construction which is formally less marked (sometimes, morphologically unmarked), whereas other verbs participate in the more marked antipassive alternation. And fourth, if there is a difference in the lexical meaning of a transitive verb and its lexicalized antipassive counterpart, then the antipassivized alternant has natural antipassive properties to the same or larger extent than its transitive counterpart. In other words, antipassivization can result in coercion of natural antipassive properties.

All of the generalizations above are relative rather than absolute. For example, there are languages where antipassives are lexically unrestricted and semantically transparent. Such languages do not show lexical effects discussed here; however, they are irrelevant for the findings above rather than discard them.

Similarities in the lexical machinery of antipassivization were often observed in languages that drastically differ in many other respects, including the formal marking of antipassive construction and alignment phenomena.

Now that the empirical findings of the study are summed up, we are in a position to (somewhat speculatively) situate these findings in a wider theoretical context.

Antipassives are commonly believed to be similar to passives in that they do not change numerical valency; moreover, according to many definitions, including the one adopted in this volume, the lexical meaning of the verb should not be affected by antipassivization. Thus, in principle antipassives – as well as passives – are expected to be inflectional. In this respect both antipassives and passives contrast

with e.g. causatives and anticausatives, which, by definition, do change the verb's numerical valency – the cornerstone of the verb's lexical meaning – and hence are expected to be derivational, see e.g. Haspelmath (2002: 218).

However, in reality there seems to be a problem. Antipassive constructions, that is, constructions in which the P-argument is either demoted or left unexpressed, are typically motivated by semantic or pragmatic factors, which reflect "a certain degree of difficulty with which an effect stemming from an activity by A on an identifiable O can be recognized" (Cooreman 1994: 51). However, P-arguments are very tightly integrated into the meaning of transitive verbs; typically, they are more relevant for the verb's meaning than A-arguments. This is the likeliest reason why antipassive alternations tend to strongly interact with the lexical meaning of the verb. Many of the phenomena discussed above are explained by the tight integration of the P's semantic properties into the verb's meaning: the difficulty of forming antipassives from causative change-of-state verbs like 'open' or 'break'; antipassive's selectivity with respect to the P's animacy / inanimacy; the tendency to infer an object of a particular kind in constructions without overtly expressed P-argument. In short, antipassivization can easily lead to semantic developments which ultimately affect the verb's meaning. Antipassives which are used to rearrange the arguments syntactically without affecting the lexical meaning of the verb are not typologically common. It may be further hypothesized that antipassives of this kind are diachronically unstable: limitations on lexical extent, aspectual shifts, semantic absorption of specific types of implied objects and other lexicalization patterns can contribute to the erosion of productive and semantically regular antipassive alternations; potentially this leads to fossilization of erstwhile antipassives. These developments are then likely to foster grammaticalization of newer antipassive constructions, which results in grammatical systems with multiple antipassive constructions – typological occurrence of such systems is remarkably high (Heaton 2017: 265–285).

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Abbreviations

The interlinear glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, additional abbreviations are as follows:

A	agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb
ACT	actor
AG	agent
DETR	detransitivizer
DISTANT	distant
INCOMPL	incompletive
P	patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb

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CHAPTER 7

Unspecified participant

A case of antipassive in Ainu

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This paper shows that there are two synchronically distinct *i-* markers in Ainu, viz. the derivational antipassive *i-* and inflectional 'fourth' person object *i-* with the functions of first person plural inclusive, second person honorific, and logophoric. The derivational antipassive marker *i-* 'person/thing' can be regarded as an antipassive marker *per se* based on its syntactic (eliminating a patient/theme/recipient argument), semantic (denoting an unspecified generic participant or lexicalizing it to a single or subset of objects) and discourse (patient-defocusing) properties. Contrary to the accepted view, I adduce the 'antipassive to 1PL.INCL.O' scenario based on extensive cross-linguistic and Ainu-internal evidence. The antipassive *i-*, in its turn, originated in the incorporation of a generic noun **i* 'thing/place/time', which is not unusual in languages without overt expression of the demoted O participant in the antipassive. The extended use of the antipassive *i-* is attested on obligatorily possessed nouns to enable their use without possessive affixes. Finally, my corpus-based study of semantic classes of verbs with a predilection for antipassive derivation revealed that the antipassive in Ainu is most likely to apply to a 'middle section' of the semantic transitivity hierarchy since it belongs to the lower individuation of patients (LIP) type, which is assumed to be more typical of antipassives in non-ergative languages.

Keywords: antipassive, Ainu, non-ergative languages, 'fourth' person, diachrony

1. Introduction

Ainu is a nearly extinct language, which used to be spoken in Northern Japan (Hokkaido, Northern Honshu) and the Far East of Russia (Southern Sakhalin, Kuril Islands, and presumably Southern Kamchatka). The Ainu, traditionally hunter-gatherers, are believed to be one of the first inhabitants of the Japanese archipelago being gradually pushed out to the north by wet-rice agriculturalists who started arriving to Japan from the Korean Peninsula around 900 BCE.

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Ainu shares few areal features with Northeast Asian languages, i.e. Japanese, Korean, and the so-called "Altaic" languages. It is a polysynthetic, incorporating and predominantly head-marking language with quite complex verbal morphology comprising a wealth of voices, verbal number and other features which are rather reminiscent of North American languages.

In this paper, I am arguing that what has traditionally been regarded as the indefinite person marker *i-* in Ainu is an antipassive. The data mostly come from southern Hokkaido Ainu dialects of Saru and Chitose, i.e. the author's own field-work materials (Bugaeva 2004) etc. and previous language documentation such as Tamura (1984–2000) and *A Glossed Audio Corpus of Ainu Folklore* (Nakagawa, Bugaeva, Kobayashi eds 2016–2018), which is an online resource consisting of roughly 50,000 words <http://ainucorpus.ninjal.ac.jp/en/>.

After a brief introduction (Section 1) and typological background (Section 2), I will demonstrate that *i-* is indeed an antipassive, distinct from other *i-* uses (Section 3) and discuss in detail its synchronic properties (Section 4). Then I will present a corpus based study of antipassive verbs (Section 5), discuss diachronic pathways and cross-linguistic evidence for the development of the *i-* antipassive in Ainu (Section 6) and summarize my major findings (Section 7).

2. Typological background

As mentioned in Section 1, Ainu stands out among its Northeast Asian neighbors as atypical in being predominantly head-marking with other unusual traits that stem from this single feature. Ainu has the SOV word order (1b). All modifiers are prepositive. Arguments in Ainu (either nouns or pronouns) are not marked for case, see (1a) and (1b). Adjuncts are followed by postpositions (27b). Grammatical relations are distinguished by (i) the relative position of the transitive subject (A) and object (O)[1] in the clause, and also (ii) obligatory indexing, which employs mainly prefixes (1c), with the exception of two suffixes. The third person affix is zero.

(1) a. *(káni)* ***ku****-mina*
1SG 1SG.S-laugh
'I laughed.' (OI)

b. *toan hekaci (káni)* ***Ø-en****-koyki*
that boy 1SG 3A-1SG.O-bully
'That boy bullied me.' (T1 30)

1. The labels S, A, O are used to describe syntactic roles as they were first introduced in Dixon (1972: 128). To refer to semantic roles I occasionally use P (for patient), R (for recipient) etc.

c. ***eci-en****-hotuyekar yak pirka*
2SG.A-1SG.O-call if be.good
'You (PL) may have called out to me.' (T1 36)

Ainu has mixed alignment. Pronouns and nouns, though usually omitted (1a–b), show neutral alignment: A=S=O. In contrast, there are distinct indexing markers for A, S and O in '1PL.EXCL' and fourth person (see Table 1). 'Fourth' person is a label employed for a number of synchronically distinct but diachronically related functions with partially overlapping encoding: (a) first person plural inclusive; (b) second (SG/PL) person honorific, and (c) logophoric (SG/PL), i.e. the person of the protagonist in folktales, which commonly have the structure of reported discourse (conventionally translated as 'I'), and (d) indefinite proper, which is used to refer to the indefinite (generic or unknown) speaker or addressee.

Table 1. Person marking in the Saru dialect of Ainu (Southern Hokkaido, Southwestern group)

Person-number	S/A/O pronouns	S markers	A markers	O markers
1SG	*káni* 'I'	*ku-*	*ku-*	*en-*
1PL.EXCL	*cóka* 'we (I & he/she)'	*-as*	*ci-*	*un-*
2SG	*eani* 'you.SG'	*e-*	*e-*	*e-*
2PL	*ecioká* 'you.PL'	*eci-*	*eci-*	*eci-*
3SG	*sinuma* 'he/she'	Ø	Ø	Ø
3PL	*oka* 'they'	Ø	Ø	Ø
4th person has the functions of:				
a. 1PL.INCL	*aoka*	*-an*	*a-*	*i-*
b. 2SG/PL honorific	*aoka*	*-an*	*a-*	*i-*
c. logophoric	*asinuma*(SG)/*aoka*(PL)	*-an*	*a-*	*i-*
d. indefinite	---	*-an*	*a-*	*(i-)**

* (*i-*): there is no inflectional indefinite object prefix but there is a derivational antipassive ***i-***instead (Section 3).

Ainu is well-known for its polysynthetic character (Bugaeva 2017). A single complex verb in Ainu can express what takes a whole sentence in most other languages. It can include up to two incorporated objects and various voice markers, i.e. up to two applicative prefixes (out of three), two causative suffixes (out of three), reciprocal, reflexive, and antipassive prefixes. Ainu verb has a mixed templatic/scopal organization as in (2): the suffixed part is templatic and the prefixed part is scopal.

(2) **PERS**-APPL-ANTIP/RECP/REFL-APPL-**base**-INTR/TR.SG/PL-DIR.CAUS-INDR.CAUS-**PERS**
(based on Bugaeva (2017), a revision of Fukuda (Tamura) (2001(1955): 55))

As suggested in Bugaeva (2017), the order of valency-increasing and valency-decreasing slots to the left is not fixed, but each type of slot and noun incorporation can occur no more than twice. If the verbal stem is transitive, the expansion to the left is more likely to begin with a valency-decreasing process, as in (3), which is then succeeded by a valency-increasing (applicative) process, and then each or both process(es) can take place one more time, while in the case of intransitive stems it is the other way around, as in (4). There is a clear-cut distinction between inflectional (person) and derivational markers, the former (transitive subject marker A, intransitive subject marker S, and object marker O are the last ones to attach to the verbal stem.

(3) *Ø-**un**-u-ko-i-**ruska**-re*
3A-1PL.EXCL.O-REC-toward.APPL-ANTIP-be.angry.because.of-CAUS
'He made us angry with each other because of something.' (OI)

(4) *iteki yay-ipe-e-ko-**sunke** pa*
PROH REFL-food-about.APPL-to.APPL-lie PL
'Don't eat meager meals!' lit. 'Don't lie to oneself about food.'
(K8010291UP.183)

In Ainu, nouns show an alienability opposition. As in other Pacific Rim languages (Bugaeva et al., submitted), inalienables are obligatorily possessed. Only inalienables – typically body parts (6), kinship terms, and relational nouns (7) – can be used in a proper possessive construction schematized in (5), in which the possessee takes the "possessed" suffix (POSSD) *-hV* or *-V(hV)* that registers a possessor plus a person-marking prefix that indexes a possessor and is identical with the transitive subject marker (6b) or the object marker of relational nouns (7b).

(5) [[possessor: noun/(pronoun)]$_{N1}$ [possessee: **PERS**-noun-**POSSD**]$_{N2}$]$_{NP}$

(6) a. *toan nispa Ø-sik-**i***
that rich.man 3SG-eye-POSSD
'the eyes of that rich man' (Satō 2008: 156)
b. *(cókay) **ci**-sik-**i***
1PL.EXCL.S/A/O 1PL.EXCL.A-eye-POSSD
'our (his and mine) eyes' (Satō 2008: 156)

(7) a. *toan cikuni Ø-sam-**a***
that tree 3SG-near-POSSD
'near that tree' (Satō 1997: 156)
b. *(cókay) **un**-sam*[2]
1PL.EXCL.S/A/O 1PL.EXCL.O-near
'near us (him and me)'

2. 'POSSD' is not required on relational nouns with 1st/2nd person possessors.

Alienable nouns – animals, fish, plants, utensils, and some kinship terms – are non-possessible: they cannot take the regular Ainu possessive morphology but instead use a verb *kor* 'have' which functions as the predicate of a (gapped) pre-head relative clause (8) having the possessor as the subject and possessee as the head noun. Much theoretical work on NP structure views inalienable possessors as arguments of the head noun but alienable possessors as modifiers (Seiler 1983; Lehmann 1985; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001: 964).

(8) [__ *ku-**kor***] *seta*
1SG.A-have dog
'my dog', lit. 'the dog (that) I have/had'

While the existence of non-possessibles and their phrasal possessive treatment is an old Pacific Rim feature entirely in line with Ainu's typological profile, its verbal realization in Ainu is rare though it too would seem to be motivated by head marking (Bugaeva et al., submitted).

3. Featuring *i-* as an antipassive, distinct from personal *i-*

There are two synchronically distinct *i-* markers in Ainu, viz. the derivational antipassive *i-* and inflectional 'fourth' person object *i-*. Section 3.1 argues that the derivational antipassive *i-* is distinct syntactically, semantically and phonologically and that both prefixes can co-occur on the same verb. Section 3.2 demonstrates an extended (absolutive) use of the antipassive *i-* on obligatorily possessed nouns when there is no specified possessor, which resembles many Uto-Aztecan languages, and occasionally on adverbs, demonstratives, question words and interjections, which shows some similarity to the Athabaskan languages.

3.1 Standard use on verbs

In Ainu studies, the *i-* marker is traditionally referred to as the indefinite object marker '(indefinite) person/thing' (e.g. Kindaichi 1993 (1931): 252; Chiri 1974 (1936): 67, 1973 (1942): 509; Tamura 1988: 67) but, in Bugaeva (2004), based on the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic characteristics of the construction in question I suggested the label 'antipassive'.

In fact, unlike other affixes of the indefinite series, i.e. the personal affixes *a-* for A and *-an* for S (to be discussed in Section 6.1), the object prefix *i-* in its proper indefinite function is not used as an inflectional marker of the object, although it is used as such in its other functions, i.e. 1PL.INCL, 2HON, and LOG, see Table 1. This is clearly stated in Tamura (2001 (1970a): 220):

> There is no objective personal affix in the indefinite person. Instead, its function is performed by a derivational prefix ***'i-*** which has the same shape /'i-/ as those personal prefixes…This prefix ***'i-*** differs from a personal prefix in that it does not result in a closed form to which no further affixation is possible.

The same stance is repeated in Ikegami (1983) who is additionally trying to compare the function of derivational *i-* in Ainu with *ine-* in Chukchi, the latter is commonly regarded as the antipassive marker.

In her later work, Tamura (2000 (1988)) is more reserved:

> Different from other personal forms, the form with the accusative ***i-*** is frequently a fixed derivative. (p. 77)

> Originally, ***i-*** is the indefinite person accusative prefix, but transitive verbs with ***i-*** prefixed have frequently become fixed intransitive verbs. (p. 204)

This paper demonstrates that *i-* is indeed a derivational marker for an antipassive construction, distinct from other (personal) *i-* uses. Further, unlike Tamura (2000 (1988)), it is argued that the derivational antipassive *i-* is older and that it gave rise to the personal *i-* (Section 6).

The antipassive prefix *i-* decreases verbal valency; the original object is obligatorily omitted. Thus antipassives from bivalent transitives result in intransitives, which is additionally evidenced by the change of the transitive subject indexing *ci-* in (9a) to the intransitive subject indexing *-as* in (9b). Antipassives from trivalent transitives with two objects result in monotransitives as in (44b). Generally, the antipassive construction (9b) is preferred when the focus is on A and the action itself rather than on the patient (P).

(9) a. *menoko yukar* ***ci****-nu* *kor* *oka-as*
woman epics 1PL.EXCL.A-hear and exist.PL-1PL.EXCL.S
'We are listening to female epics (=songs of gods).' (T3 79)

b. *orwa* ***i****-nu-****as*** *hike*
then ANTIP-hear-1PL.EXCL.S according
'(We saw the flocks of birds.) Then from (what) we heard…'
(Kubodera 1977: 424)

The Ainu antipassive construction with *i-* requires P to be construed as generic, indefinite, unspecified, and non-referential. In many cases, the antipassive is lexicalized to a single or subset of objects, which is fairly common cross-linguistically, e.g. ***i****-y-omap* 'to love children' (not 'to love people in general') and ***i****-ku* 'to drink an alcoholic beverage' (not 'to drink something') as in (10b), cf. (10a).

(10) a. *re-n* *ci-ne* *wa* *wakka ci-ku*
three-people.CLF 1PL.EXCL.A-COP and water 1PL.EXCL.A-drink
'The three of us drank water.' (Tamura 1993 (1979): 6)

b. *tu-n* *ci-ne* *wa* ***i****-ku-as*
two-people.CLF 1PL.EXCL.A-COP and ANTIP-drink-1PL.EXCL.S
'The two of us drank alcohol.' (Tamura 1993 (1979): 6)

The actual interpretation of the antipassive construction is often culturally determined as in examples in (11).

(11) *ca* 'cut off sth' > ***i****-ca* 'pick millet ears'
carpa 'scatter sth' > ***i****-carpa* 'give offerings, ritually scatter food'
oman-te 'make sth/sb go' > ***i****-y-oman-te* 'send off the spirit of a ritually killed bear'
oske 'weave sth' > ***i****-y-oske* 'to weave a net'
uta 'pound sth' (Chiri 1974 (1936): 67) > ***i****-y-uta* 'pound grain (to make dumplings)'
kar-kar 'decorate sth' > ***i****-kar-kar* 'embroider'
nuye 'carve/tatoo/write sth' > ***i****-nuye* i.'carve'; ii.'make a tatoo'
(Kindaichi 1993 (1931): 253)

The fact that many *i-* derivations are quite idiomatic and not fully compositional with the base constructions is also manifested in phonology by the glide insertion phenomenon as noted in Tamura (2001 (1970a): 219): "this *'i-* differs slightly from the personal prefix *'i-* in the alternation rules: when this *'i-* is affixed to a stem beginning with /'a/, /'e/, /'o/, or /'u/, the stem-initial /'/ [the glottal stop][3] always becomes /y/ [the glide /j/]: e.g. 'i- + /'omáp/ → /'iyómap/", see more examples in (11).

Moreover, some forms have undergone more phonemic and/or semantic changes, as in (12).

(12) *nukar* 'see sth/sb' (vt) > ***i****-nkar* 'look' (vi)
e 'eat sth' (vt) > ***i****-p-e* 'take meals/eat' (vi) (Refsing 1986: 181)

And finally, there are a few fossilized intransitive verbs with *i-*, which is indicative of the old origin of this prefix, e.g. ***i****kka* 'steal', ***i****tak* 'speak', ***i****soytak* 'tell stories' etc.

As mentioned, the antipassive marker *i-* is formally identical to the 'fourth' person marker (Table 1), which has a number of synchronically distinct but diachronically related functions: (a) first person plural inclusive (13a); (b) second (SG/PL) person honorific (13b), and (c) logophoric (SG/PL), i.e. person of the protagonist in folktales that commonly have the structure of reported discourse (conventionally translated as 'I/me') (13c). Of course, unlike the antipassive *i-*, the 'fourth' person *i-* does not decrease the verbal valency and as a rule does not trigger the above-described glide insertion, see (13a) and (13b).

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3. The glottal stop before vowels is conventionally omitted in writing.

(13) a. *húci tópen pe **i**-e-re*
grandmother be.sweet thing 4O-eat-CAUS
'Grandmother let us (you and me (and him/her/them), 1PL.INCL) eat sweets.' (Tamura 1984: 75)

b. *ku-**i**-e-pakasnu*
1SG.A-4O-about.APPL-teach.to
'I'll teach (it) to you (HON).' (Tamura 1984: 33)

c. *"somo **i**-rura yak-ka pirka pirka" sekor hawean*
NEG 4O-carry if-even be.good be.good QUOT say.SG
'(She) said, "It is really OK not to see me (LOG) off."' (T5 18)

Tamura (2001 (1970a)) notes that the pronominal *i-* can optionally trigger the glide insertion,[4] as in (14), but "no alternation occurs in clear pronunciation" (Tamura 2001 (1970a): 218), cf. (13a–b).

(14) *húci i-(y)-erampokiwen*
grandmother 4O-EP-feel.sorry
'Grandmother felt sorry for us (you and me (and him/her/them)).'
(Tamura 1984: 75)

Importantly, the antipassive *i-* occurs in the valency-decreasing slot being in paradigmatic relation with the reciprocal and reflexive markers, while the fourth person *i-* is in the object slot, see (2). Furthermore, both markers can perfectly co-occur on the same verbal stem so they are indeed synchronically distinct.

(15) *a-kor ekasi **i-i**-ku-re*
4A-have grandfather 4O-ANTIP-drink-CAUS
'Our grandfather made/let us (you and me) drink alcohol.' (Tamura 1979: 16)

3.2 Extended (absolutive) use of *i-* on nouns and other parts of speech

The pronominal object prefix *i-* falls into the same set of fourth person affixes as the transitive subject prefix *a-* and intransitive subject suffix *-an*, performing the same functions (Table 1). Thus, as in the case of other personal affixes, the above functions of fourth person can be encoded on nouns referring to the person of the possessor, i.e. the transitive subject prefix *a-* is used on common nouns (16a) and the object prefix *i-* on relational nouns (16b).

4. In the K corpus, the glide insertion cases as in (14) prevail over ones without it as in (13a–b). So I suppose that in fast speech the glide is almost automatically inserted regardless of the nature of ***i-***.

(16) a. ***a**-tek-ehe*
4A-hand-POSSD
(a) 'our (incl.) hands', (b) 'your (hon.) hand(s)', (c) 'my (protogonist) hand(s)', (d) 'someone's hand(s), hand(s) of people in general'

b. ***i**-corpok*
4O-under
(a) 'under us (incl.)', (b) 'under you (hon.)', (c) 'under me (protagonist)'

On the contrary, the antipassive *i-* occurs when there is no specified possessor. It is attested on obligatorily possessed nouns such as body parts, kinship terms and relational nouns when they are incorporated as objects of transitive verbs. In accordance with a general restriction on O-incorporation in Ainu, obligatorily possessed nouns cannot be incorporated in their possessive forms, which they normally require, so the antipassive prefix *i-* enables them to be used without possessive affixes (see 'free or self-standing nouns' in Bickel & Nichols 2013), which makes them accessible to O-incorporation, e.g. ***i**-sapa-* 'someone's head' (i.e. 'head in general, unspecified head') (17a), ***i**-ona-* 'someone's father' (i.e. 'father in general, unspecified father') (18a), and ***i**-sermak-* 'behind someone' (i.e. 'generally behind', 'unspecified behind') (19a).

(17) a. ***i**-sapa-kik*[5] *ni*
ANTIP-head-hit stick
'a willow stick used for killing salmon after they have been captured'
lit. 'a stick (that) hits its (=salmon's) head' (Batchelor 1938: 204)

b. ***i**-tek-e-kar* *pe*
ANTIP-hand-by.APPL-make thing
'hand-made thing' lit. 'a thing made by someone's hands'
(K7807152KY.039)

c. ***i**-rekut-numpa*
ANTIP-throat-squeeze
'choke' lit. 'squeeze someone's throat' (Yoshida 1989: 80)

(18) a. ***i**-y-ona-ne*[6]
ANTIP-EP-father-COP
'be a father' lit. 'be someone's father' (K8303243UP.054)

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5. There is no alternative to analyze ***i**-sapa-kik* as the incorporation of *sapa* 'head' and addition of the antipassive *i-* because both O-incorporation and antipassivization are valency-decreasing and the base verb *kik* 'hit sth/sb' is a one-place transitive verb.

6. The copula ***ne*** 'be, become something/somebody' is regarded as a special kind of transitive verb in Ainu since it takes A-series personal affixes but does not take O series affixes (see Table 1).

b. ***i**-yup-ne*
ANTIP-older.brother-COP
'be an older brother' lit. 'be someone's older brother' (K8106233UP.186)

c. ***i**-po-ne*
ANTIP-son-COP
'be a son' lit. 'be someone's son' (K8106233UP.086)

d. ***i**-y-ak-ne*
ANTIP-EP-young.brother-COP
'be a younger brother' lit. 'be someone's younger brother' (K8010281UP.103)

(19) a. ***i**-sermak-us*
ANTIP-behind-attach.to
'(for a god) to protect someone from behind' lit. '…someone's behind' (K8010291UP.521)

b. ***i**-tom-un* *puyar*
ANTIP-middle-belong.to window
'transom window, a window on the southern side of a house' lit. 'attach to the middle of something' (K7803233UP.068)

c. ***i**-y-or-un* *kur*
ANTIP-EP-place-live.at/belong.to person
'lodger' lit. 'a person (who) lives at someone's place' (K8109171UP.040)

This resembles many Uto-Aztecan (e.g. Cupeño, Hill 2005: 164), Arawak, Carib and Tupi-Guarani languages (Aikhenvald 2012: 171), which have a specialized set of absolutive suffixes that occur on nouns that do not have possessive morphology or other suffixal morphology or compounded elements. In Ainu, this absolutive function has been taken over by the antipassive verbal marker because, as mentioned in Section 2, inalienable possessors can be viewed as arguments of the head noun, which makes them similar to objects of transitive verbs.

In addition, some of the languages, for example Navajo (Young & Morgan 1987: 3, cited from Bickel & Nichols 2013), Slave (Rice 1989: 209) and other Athabaskan languages, have an unspecified possessor affix as part of their person-number possessive paradigm. They end up doing semantically similar things, but the absolutive suffix allows us to use the noun without possessive morphology while the unspecified possessor one allows us to use it with possessive morphology but without being specific about the possessor (Nichols p.c.). In fact Ainu has both, cf. ***a**-tek-ehe* (4A-hand-POSSD) (d) 'someone's hand(s), hand(s) of people in general' with the inflectional fourth person marker *a-* in its indefinite function in (16a) and ***i**-tek-e-kar pe* (ANTIP-hand-by.APPL-make thing) 'hand-made thing' lit. 'a thing made by someone's hands' with the antipassive/absolutive *i-* in (17b), the latter is reserved for O-incorporation of obligatorily possessed nouns.

The antipassive/absolutive prefix *i-* is also residually retained on adverbs (20), demonstratives (21), question words with varying degrees of morphological transparency (22), and interjections (23) with quite obscure verb-based morphology, all triggering the glide insertion, which suggests that this prefix is indeed much older than its pronominal counterpart (to be discussed in Section 6.4).

(20) a. ***i**-mak*
ANTIP-behind
'behind that, beyond, on the opposite side' lit. 'behind something, opposite of something' (K8010281UP.207)

b. ***i**-y-os-(no)*
ANTIP-EP-behind-ADV
'after that, later' lit. 'behind something' (K8010301UP.150)

(21) ***i**-y-oya* *pa*
ANTIP-EP-next year
'next year' lit. 'next to something' (K7908032UP.128)

(22) ***i**-ne*
ANTIP-COP
'what', 'which' lit. 'being something' (Nakagawa 1995: 41; Tamura 1996: 242)

(23) a. ***i**-y-osserke-re*
ANTIP-EP-?-CAUS
'well well' (surprised)

b. ***i**-yay-**i**-ray-ke-re*
ANTIP-REFL-ANTIP-die-CAUS-CAUS
'thank you'

c. ***i**-rankarap-te*
ANTIP-?-CAUS
'hello'

d. ***i**-ram-sitne-re*
ANTIP-heart-suffer-CAUS
'quit!' lit. 'make someone's heart suffer' (Chiri 1974 (1936): 135–136)

e. ***i**-**i**-y-omap-ka*
ANTIP-ANTIP-EP-show.affection.to-CAUS
'cute!' lit. 'make people show affection to thing/person' (K7803231UP.165)

This shows some similarity to the Athabaskan languages. Though not derivational like the antipassive/absolutive *i-* in Ainu, the unspecified non-human object prefix *ʔe-* in Slave (Rice 1989: 1020–1021) can appear attached to verbs "in direct object position where it indicates an object that need not be specified because its referent is culturally understood" (p. 629), to nouns as possessors (p. 209), adverbs (p. 345, 354), and demonstratives (p. 400). While unspecified person affixes (as in Slave)

are part of the same paradigm with the other person categories, absolutive markers (encoded by the prefix *i-* in Ainu) are more like part of the stem. However, it is often the case that derivational affixes can be reanalyzed as inflectional and become part of inflectional marking; this will be discussed in more detail in Section 6.4.

4. Synchronic properties of the antipassive *i-*

Section 4.1. discusses different syntactic types of antipassives, i.e. derivations from monovalent and bivalent transitive verbs, as well as different semantic types of antipassivized objects, i.e. not only such typical ones as themes/patients but also cross-linguistically rare recipients. Section 4.2. shows that Ainu possesses numerous means for decreasing and increasing valency and that the antipassive *i-*, whose slot is not strictly fixed (i.e. prefix order indicates order of derivation), plays a major role in verbal derivation.

4.1 Deriving antipassives

Antipassives can be derived from both inherent, as (9a) and (10a), and derived monovalent transitives, the latter comprise causative (24) and applicative (25) verbs derived from intransitives.

(24) *oramsak* 'be a fool' (vi) > *oramsak-**ka*** 'look down on sb' (lit. 'make sb be a fool') (vt) > ***i**-y-oramsak-ka* 'look down on people' (vi)

(25) *poyke* 'mix' (vi) > ***ko**-poyke* 'mix with sth/sb' (vt) > ***i**-ko-poyke* 'mix with people' (vi)

Such antipassivization involving causative (26b) and (27b) applicative objects is relatively rare in Ainu, see more examples in Bugaeva (2015: 451, 457), and I suspect that it is rather uncommon cross-linguistically because causative and applicative objects tend to be referential and topical, which contrasts with the backgrounding function of antipassivization.

(26) a. *ene a-mac-ihi oramsak-**ka** rok pa p ki pa*
like.this 4A-wife-POSSD be.a.fool-CAUS PRF.PL PL NMLZ do PL
'Those who had looked down on my wife, did that.' (K8010281.UP.221)

b. ***i**-y-oramsak-**ka***
ANTIP-EP-be.a.fool-CAUS
'He looked down on people.' (Tamura 1996: 263)

(27) a. *kamuy e-**ko**-poyke e-aykap na*
god 2SG.A-to/with.APPL-mix about.APPL-be.unable FIN
'(If you behave like this) you won't be able to mix with gods.' (OI)

b. *Tokapci un okkayo topattumi or ta*
Tokapci belong.to man night.raid(er) place LOC
***i-ko**-poyke wa ek a korka*,
ANTIP-to/with.APPL-mix and come.SG PRF but
'A man from Tokapchi has come having mixed with people at the place of night-raiders (=mixed with night raiders) but (then married into a family in Muka).' (T2 70)

Semantically, antipassivized base objects are usually themes/patients (see (26b), (27b), and (29b)) and it seems that when an antipassive verb does allow a truly unspecified patient, it is an animate patient "people" as in (26b) and (27b), not "thing".

Occasionally, depending on the semantic properties of the base, recipient-like objects are also attested (28b), cf. an added applicative theme object in (28c); see also a more typical recipient verb 'teach' with the antipassive in (43a). According to Malchukov et al. (2010: 31), it is usually the theme argument that can be antipassivized, while antipassivization of the recipient argument is extremely rare cross-linguistically.

(28) a. *a-mac-ihi kasuy wa toy-ta hike ka oka*
4A-wife-POSSD help and earth-dig those even/also exist.PL
'(I had many daughters so) there were even those who helped my wife and engaged in farming.' (Nakagawa 2002: 141)

b. *ukuran wa-no arpa wa **i**-kasuy kor an*
evening ABL-ADV go.SG and ANTIP-help when exist.SG
'Since evening, (grandmother) has been gone helping people (to organize a funeral).' (Tamura 1996: 221)

c. *a-yup-utar-i ekimne kor sike rura*
4A-elder.brother-PL-POSSD go.to.the.mountains when luggage carry
*neya **e-i**-kasuy*
for.example with.APPL-ANTIP-help
'When my older brothers went hunting, (the young man) helped people with carrying luggage.' (Satō 1998: 16)

The antipassive construction in Ainu, which entails the omission of object NP, is functionally close to noun incorporation. Both are backgrounding processes[7] and indeed there are examples in the corpus where they are interchangeable, cf. ***i**-hoppa*

7. Kozinsky et al. (1988), Croft (2012: 333), and Polinsky (2017) also note that the antipassive and O-incorporation are similar.

'leave the **world**, go to the afterworld' (K8109193UP.147) and ***mosir-hoppa*** 'leave the **world**, go to the afterworld' (K8109193UP.160). As argued in Vigus (2018), both P omission and P incorporation strategies indicate a less individuated[8] patient. Based on this functional affinity, Vigus (2018: 356) proposes two separate construction types, i.e. 'less individuated P' (LIP) and 'less affected patient' (LAP) construction types; the latter typically includes the antipassive construction with the oblique P and the conative alternation, neither is attested in Ainu.

4.2 Combinability of the antipassive *i-* with other voice markers

The intransitivized antipassive form can further combine with valency-increasing markers such as the instrumental/thematic applicative in *e-* (28c), dative/benefactive/comitative applicative in *ko-* (29c), (32c) and causatives in *-re/-e/-te* (33c), (35c). For example, the applicative marker *ko-* in (29c) adds a new benefactive object (recipient) to the antipassivized verb whose original object (theme) is blocked syntactically but present semantically being lexicalized to a single object ('child') (29b). And then this newly introduced benefactive object can be blocked syntactically by another antipassive *i-* and lexicalized to 'other people'. Note that prefix order indicates order of derivation (scopal organization of prefixation), cf. the meanings of the applicativized antipassive with *ko-i-* in (29c) and antipassivized applicative with *i-ko-* (29d) and (25).

(29) a. *a-e-omap pe ne*
4A-2SG.O-cherish NMLZ COP
'We adored you' (K7908032UP.269)

b. *sine-n ne*, ***i-y-omap-an*** *humi*
one-person.CLF as ANTIP-EP-cherish-4S NONVIS.EV
'(My wife wanted so much to love the baby, but here) I am cherishing the child all alone.' (K7803232UP.120)

c. *a-tures-i* ***a-ko-i-y-omap*** *pe ne*
4A-younger.sister-POSSD 4A-TO.APPL-ANTIP-EP-cherish NMLZ COP
'We will keep on cherish our younger sister's child.' lit. '…cherish (child) for our little sister' (K7908032UP.380)

d. ***i-ko-i-y-omap-an*** *na*
ANTIP-TO.APPL-ANTIP-EP-cherish-4S FIN
'I will cherish a child who is not my own.' (i.e. 'an old wife is saying she will cherish a child of her husband and his new young wife.') lit. 'cherish (child) for (other people)' (Tamura 1996: 225)

8. Individuation is defined as "the extent to which an object is conceptualized as an individual" (Timberlake 1977: 160).

The instrumental/thematic applicative *e-* extensions from antipassives as in (28c) are rare because the *e-* applicative typically adds a theme, which is, for a few exceptions (28b), the type of role that is most commonly blocked by the antipassive so it would hardly make sense functionally to reintroduce it again. However, the *e-* applicative is attested on fossilized antipassives for which corresponding base transitives no longer exist (30b).

(30) a. *tan wen kamuy te ta ka **i**kka a p*
this bad/poor god/spirit now LOC even steal PRF.SG but
'Now this Bad Kamui stole something!' (K8106231UP.013)

b. *wen-kur suy a-kor mampuri **e-i**kka siri*
poor-person again 4A-have amulet about.APPL-steal VIS.EV
ene an.
like.this exist.SG
'An ill-natured poor man has come to steal my amulet again.'
(K7708241UP.111–112)

Another target of *e-* applicativization are few lexicalized antipassives which trigger the change of meaning in the resultant applicative forms compared to the base transitives, e.g. *hok* 'buy sth' (base vt) > ***i-hok*** i. 'to shop', ii. 'do business' (antipassive vi) > ***e-y-yok*** 'sell sth', presumably via the following semantic shift in the applicative form: 'do business with sth' > 'sell sth' (instead of 'buy sth' – 'buy' – 'buy sth' as we would expect in the case of standard semantic relations). Note that even phonologically the *e-* applicative form in (31c) is not compatible with the base forms.

(31) a. *ne …a-kar cep utar toy-ta sisam utar hok wa*
that 4A-make fish PL earth-dig the.Japanese PL buy and
'The Japanese peasants bought the fish I had caught.'
(Nakagawa 1995: 354)

b. *hampe acapo utar **i-hok** kusu paye okake ta*
father uncle PL ANTIP-buy for go.PL after LOC
'After father and uncles went shopping…' (Sunazawa 1983: 35)

c. *aynu **e-y-yok** pa wa atay-e uyna wa okay pa*
Ainu by.APPL-ANTIP-buy PL and price-POSSD take.PL and exist.PL PL
p ne
NMLZ COP
'It appeared that they were selling Ainu to make money.'
(K8108011UP.043)

Next, applicativized or causativized antipassives can decrease in valency again through reflexivization with *yay-* or reciprocalization with *u-*.

(32) a. *ruska* 'be angry with sth' (vt) >
b. ***i**-ruska* (ANTIP-be.angry.with) 'be angry' (vi) >
c. ***ko**-i-ruska* (APPL-ANTIP-be.angry.with) 'be angry with sb' (vt) >
d. ***u**-ko-i-ruska* (RECP-APPL-ANTIP-be.angry.with) 'be angry with e.o.' (vi) >
e. *u-ko-i-ruska-**re*** (RECP-APPL-ANTIP-be.angry.with-CAUS) 'make sb angry with e.o'(vt) (OI)

(33) a. *mi* 'wear sth' (base vt) >
b. ***i**-mi* (ANTIP-dress) 'dress' (vi) >
c. *i-mi-**re*** (ANTIP-dress-CAUS) 'dress sb (=make dress)' (vt) >
d. ***yay**-i-mi-re* (REFL-ANTIP-dress-CAUS) 'dress oneself' (vi).

(34) ***yay**-ipe-re* ***yay**-i-mi-re* *e-askay* *pak-no*
REFL-eat-CAUS REFL-ANTIP-wear-CAUS about.APPL-be.able till-ADV
oka-an *nispa* *ne*
exist.PL-4S rich.man COP
'We are rich men (who) can provide for ourselves food and things to wear.'
(K7803233UP.349)

Another alternative for decreasing valency is to incorporate the object introduced by the applicative *ko-*, consider the following derivational chains:

(35) a. *nun-nun*[9] 'suck sth' (vt) >
b. ***i**-nun-nun* (ANTIP-suck-suck) 'suck' (antipassivized vi) >
c. *i-nun-nun-**te*** (ANTIP-suck-suck-CAUS) 'make sb suck' (causativized antipassive vt) >
d. ***ko**-i-nun-nun-te* (to/from.APPL-ANTIP-suck-suck-CAUS) 'make sb suck towards/from sth/sb' (applicativized antipassive causative vd) >
e. ***par**-ko-i-nun-nun-te* (mouth-to/from.APPL-ANTIP-suck-suck-CAUS) 'make sb suck from mouth' (applicativized antipassive causative with O-incorporation; vt).

(36) a. *hat* *punkar* *a-kuy-kuy* *wa* *a-**e**-nun-nun-**te***
grape vine 4A-chew-chew and 4A-2SG.O-suck-suck-CAUS
'I (picked) grapevine and chewing that up made you suck it.'
(K7803233UP.117)
b. *a-supa* *wa* *a-**par**-ko-**i**-nun-nun-te* *ayne*
4A-cook.PL and 4A-mouth-to/from.APPL-ANTIP-suck-suck-CAUS finally
'I cooked the food and fed it to you by mouth.' (K7807151UP.030)

9. The verb *nun-nun* 'suck sth' involves full reduplication, which denotes multiplicative aspect (Tamura 2001 (1972): 359).

As demonstrated in this section, Ainu possesses numerous means for decreasing and increasing valency and the antipassive *i-* plays a major role in verbal derivation. Antipassives can be derived from inherent and derived monotransitive verbs and involve the omission of inherent or occasionally derived (causative and applicative as in (24) and (25)) objects. The antipassive slot is not strictly fixed so prefix order indicates order of derivation (scopal organization of prefixation), cf. the meanings of verbs with *ko-i-* (29c) and *i-ko-* (25), (29d). It seems that in the case of inherent base transitives, the antipassive *i-* tends to occupy a position that is the closest to the root (see (32b), (33b) and (35b)) because it is more likely to introduce the theme/patient object, which is the major target of antipassivization. Furthermore, the antipassive can occur on the same verbal stem twice syntactically blocking different objects and triggering different lexicalizations (29d).

The antipassive prefix *i-* triggers phonological alternations with vowel-initial roots (glide insertion), which is probably indicative of the degree to which many of these antipassives involve lexicalization. Further, the antipassive stem can be extended with valency increasing means such as applicatives and/or causatives and decreased again with reflexives, reciprocals or noun incorporation. It appears that in the antipassive derivation, the maximum number of times the verbal valency can be changed is four as in (32) and (35). A similar phenomenon is attested in Gaam (Gaahmg), in which the multiple voice markers (in particular the combination of ANTIP, PASS and CAUS) is encountered on the same verbal predicate (cf. Stirtz 2012: 222). This provides a wide range of possibilities for backgrounding and foregrounding arguments via verbal morphology.

5. Semantic profile of antipassive verbs

The material presented in this section is partially based on my contribution to the Leipzig Valency Classes Project (ValPal) (2009–2013) with the resulting publications Bugaeva (2013) and (2015), where the former is an online valency database. In a list of 87 pre-defined verb meanings (indicated in capitals below) from the ValPal database, 18 verbs showed antipassive alternations. I have shown that antipassives in Ainu are much less frequent than applicatives or causatives and they are commonly derived from verbs of the following semantic sub-classes:

(37) a. bivalent transitives denoting Perception/Cognition/Ingesting/Interaction/Communication:
nu HEAR sth > ***i-nu*** 'hear/listen'
ramu THINK of> ***i-ramu*** 'think'
e EAT sth> ***i-p-e*** 'eat'
kasuy HELP sb> ***i-kasuy*** 'help people'

b. bivalent transitives denoting Grooming/Traditional Activities:
memke SHAVE sth/sb> ***i-memke*** 'have a haircut'
uta GRIND sth> ***i-y-uta*** 'grind'

All of my earlier findings have been confirmed by a new corpus (K) based study of the semantic classes of verbs which are prone to the antipassive derivation. In a 50,000 word corpus, there were 367 antipassive tokens in total. The highest token frequency is registered for the verb ***i-ki*** 'do' (187 tokens). The total type frequency (number of different antipassive lexemes) is 63, which includes not only 48 verbs, i.e. 34 intransitives (vi) as in (38e) and 14 transitives (vt) as in (38f), and interjections originating in verbs (1 item) (38b), but also the absolutive use of the prefix ***i-*** on such parts of speech as adverbs (1 item) (38a), incorporated body part and kinship nouns (6 items) (38c), and free or incorporated relational nouns (7 items) (38d) (recall Section 3.2); see a full list with conventional meanings in capitals below. Note that some verbs are part of larger nominal compounds; precise meanings can be found with the search function in the online corpus.

(38) a. adverb_BEHIND: ***i-y-os-(no)*** (ANTIP-EP-after-(ADV))
b. interjection_CUTE (originates in a verb): ***i-i-omap-ka***
(ANTIP-ANTIP-cherish-CAUS)
c. noun_DRINK_(COME.TO FEAST.TO): *ko-**i**-ku-tas-pa*
(to.APPL-ANTIP-drink-exchange-TR.PL)
noun_FATHER_(BE.FATHER): ***i-y-ona-ne*** (ANTIP-EP-father-COP)
noun_HAND_(HAND.MADE.THING): ***i-tek-e-kar-pe*** (ANTIP-hand-by.APPL-make-thing)
noun_OLDER.BROTHER_(BE.OLDER.BROTHER): ***i-yup-ne*** (ANTIP-older.brother-COP)
noun_SON_(BE.SON): ***i-po-ne*** (ANTIP-son-COP)
noun_YOUNG.BROTHER_(BE.YOUNGER.BROTHER):
i-y-ak-ne-kur (ANTIP-EP-younger.brother-COP-person)
d. relational noun_ANOTHER.(YEAR): ***i-y-oya-pa-ke***
(ANTIP-EP-another-year-place)
relational noun_BEHIND: ***i-mak*** (ANTIP-behind)
relational noun_BEHIND_(PROTECT.FROM.BEHIND): ***i-sermak-us***
(ANTIP-behind-attach.to)
relational noun_MIDDLE: ***i-tom-un-puyar*** (ANTIP-middle-belong.to-window)
relational noun_PLACE_(LODGER): ***i-y-or-un-kur*** (ANTIP-EP-place-live.at/belong.to-person)
relational noun_TOP_(HELP): ***i-ka-o-pas*** (ANTIP-top-to.APPL-run) – phrasal verb

e. vi_ATTACH.LIQUOR_(BE.A.GUEST.OF.HONOR): *sake-**i**-us*
(liquor-ANTIP-attach.to)
vi_BE.AFRAID: ***i**-sitoma* (ANTIP-be.afraid.of)
vi_BE.SURPRISED: ***i**-okunnure* (ANTIP-be.surprised.at.sth)
vi_BOIL: ***i**-sakanke* (ANTIP-boil)
vi_CARRY: ***i**-rura* (ANTIP-carry)
vi_CHERISH: ***i**-**y**-omap* (ANTIP-EP-cherish)
vi_CHERISH_(WANT.A.CUTE.CHILD): ***i**-y-omap-e-yay-ko-tuyas-pa*
(ANTIP-EP-show.affection.to-about.APPL-REFL-to.APPL-count.on-TR.PL)
vi_DO: ***i**-ki* (ANTIP-do)
vi_DO_DO.NEEDLEWORK: *kem-e-**i**-ki* (needle-with.APPL-ANTIP-do)
vi_DO_PREPARE: *etok-o-**i**-ki* (before-at.APPL-ANTIP-do)
vi_DO_TAKE.CARE: *si-ka-o-**i**-ki-re* (REFL-top-APPL.at-ANTIP-do-CAUS)
vi_DRESS.ONESELF: *yay-**i**-mi-re* (REFL-ANTIP-wear-CAUS)
vi_DRESS: ***i**-mi* (ANTIP-wear)
vi_DRINK: ***i**-ku* (ANTIP-drink)
vi_DRY.WASHING: ***i**-sat-ke* (ANTIP-dry-TR)
vi_FRIGHTENING: ***i**-yay-sitoma-re* (ANTIP-REFL-fear-CAUS)
vi_GET.ANGRY: ***i**-ruska* (ANTIP-be.angry.with.sth)
vi_GIVE.OFFERINGS: ***i**-car-pa* (ANTIP-sprinkle-TR.PL)
vi_GO.ALONG: ***i**-tura* (ANTIP-go.together.with)
vi_HUNT: ***i**-ramante* (ANTIP-hunt)
vi_LEAVE: ***i**-hop-pa* (ANTIP-leave-TR.PL)
vi_LISTEN.RAPTLY: ***i**-kokanu* (ANTIP-listen.raptly.to)
vi_LISTEN: ***i**-nu* (ANTIP-hear)
vi_LOOK.THROUGH_WINDOW: ***i**-puyar-o-pos-o-re*
(ANTIP-window-bottom.PF.POSS-pass-TR.SG-CAUS)
vi_PASS.THING (nominal compound 'pillar'): ***i**-kus-pe* (ANTIP-pass-thing)
vi_POUND: ***i**-**y**-uta* (ANTIP-EP-pound)
vi_REBUKE: ***i**-pakkar* (ANTIP-rebuke)
vi_REJOICE: ***i**-kopuntek* (ANTIP-be.pleased.with)
vi_ROAST.FOOD (nominal compound 'roasted/grilled food'): ***i**-ma-ipe*
(ANTIP-roast-food)
vi_ROAST.STICK (nominal compound 'skewer'): ***i**-ma-nit*
(ANTIP-roast-stick)
vi_SERVE.ONESELF: *yay-ko-**i**-pun-i* (REFL-to.APPL-ANTIP-raise-TR.SG)
vi_SKIN: ***i**-ri* (ANTIP-skin)
vi_SUCK.TONGUE: *par-ko-**i**-nun-nun* (mouth-to.APPL-ANTIP-suck-suck)
vi_TAKE.REVENGE: *yay-e-**i**-mon-tas-a/pa*
(REFL-about.APPL-ANTIP-hand-change-TR.SG/PL)

f. vt_BUY: *e-**i**-hok* (by.APPL-ANTIP-buy)
vt_CHERISH.FOR: *ko-**i**-omap* (to.APPL-ANTIP-show.affection.to)
vt_DO_FEED.WITH (do): *e-yay-par-o-**i**-ki*
(with.APPL-REFL-mouth-at.APPL-ANTIP-do)
vt_DO_TAKE.CARE.OF (do): *o-**i**-ki* (at.APPL-ANTIP-do)
vt_FEED.BY.MOUTH: *par-ko-**i**-nun-nun-te*
(mouth-to.APPL-ANTIP-suck-suck-CAUS)
vt_GET.ANGRY.WITH: *ko-**i**-ruska* (towards.APPL-ANTIP-be.angry.with.sth)
vt_GIVE.OFFERINGS.TO: *ko-**i**-car-pa* (to.APPL-ANTIP-sprinkle-TR.PL)
vt_GIVE.PRESENTS.TO: ***i**-kor-pa-re* (ANTIP-have-PL-CAUS)
vt_HELP.WITH: *e-**i**-kasuy* (about.APPL-ANTIP-help.sb)
vt_MAKE.DRESS: ***i**-mi-re* (ANTIP-wear-CAUS)
vt_MAKE.DRINK: ***i**-ku-re* (ANTIP-drink-CAUS)
vt_SERVE.FOOD.TO: *ko-**i**-pun-i* (to.APPL-ANTIP-raise-TR.SG)
vt_SERVE.TO: *ko-**i**-an-i* (to.APPL-ANTIP-hold-TR.SG)
vt_TEASE: ***i**-rammokka* (ANTIP-tease)

Antipassives from bivalent transitives (38e) are intransitive verbs but they can undergo further applicativization and become transitive again (recall Section 4).

Most bases that allow antipassivization also allow at least one applicative derivation (instrumental *e-*, dative *ko-*, locative *o-*), see examples in (38f) (Bugaeva 2015: 834). But not all applicative stems allow antipassivization; for instance, applicatives can also attach to various intransitive and also to highly transitive verbs of Creation/Transformation/Contact by Impact.

Neither antipassives nor applicatives can be derived from highly transitive Effective Action verbs which typically enter inchoative-causative alternations, e.g. *yas-**ke*** 'be torn' – *yas-**a*** 'tear sth.SG' – *yas-**pa*** 'tear sth.PL'. In conclusion, antipassives in Ainu apply to a 'middle section' of the semantic transitivity hierarchy and are not derived from canonical transitives such as Effective action, Caused Motion/ Removal & Creation/ Transformation/ Contact by Impact verbs, see also a typological overview in Say (this volume). In fact, this was an unexpected result for the ValPal MPI project (Bugaeva 2015), cf. the following characterization of antipassives from WALS: "The use of a prototypical transitive verb entails that the event denoted by that verb causes a change of state in the object participant… The semantic function of the antipassive is to cancel such an entailment." (Polinsky 2005: 438)

I suspect that this definition is based on the initial research on antipassives in ergative languages where they often serve the syntactic function making the sole argument of the detransitivized verb accessible to relevant grammatical processes so they are much more pervasive and less selective of verb classes. Consider the following example from Yup'ik (Eskimo-Aleut), an ergative language, which perfectly allows antipassives from canonical transitives.

(39) a. *Angun kuvya-minek allg-**i**-uq.*
man.ABS.SG net-ABM.3RSG.SG tear-**ANTIP**-IND.3SG
'The man tore his (own) net.' (Miyaoka 2015: 1195)

b. *tuqu-c-**i**-uq*
die-A-**ANTIP**-IND.3SG
'he killed (s.o./sth.)' (Miyaoka 2015: 1188)

The situation in Yup'ik seems to be similar to that in Sliammon (Salish), another ergative language, which has the so-called "active intransitives", i.e. antipassives from canonical transitives, see BUILD, BURN, CUT, TEAR, THROW, TOUCH, DIG, KILL, TEAR, THROW in the ValPal online database (Watanabe 2013).

The antipassive verb-selection discrepancy in ergative and non-ergative languages may also be grounded in functional distinctions. As suggested in Vigus (2018), "constructions indicating the lower individuation of patients [LIP type] and constructions indicating the lower affectedness of patients [LAP type], previously grouped together as 'antipassive', should be considered two separate construction types." This recent proposal is based on their separate functions, the distinct morphosyntactic strategies used to encode them across languages, and differences in productivity with regard to semantic classes of verbs. As mentioned in Section 4.2, Ainu exhibits the LIP type antipassive involving P omission, while I suspect those ergative languages which show a very different from Ainu antipassive verb-selection exhibit the LAT type antipassive involving the oblique P. It might be the case that ergative languages in general have a higher predilection for the LAP type antipassive while non-ergative languages for the LIP type antipassive; this issue requires further research.

6. Diachronic pathways and cross-linguistic evidence for the development of the *i-* antipassive

Section 6.1 shows that there isn't a true parallelism in the multifunctionality of the 'fourth' person markers *a(n)-* and *-an* in the same way as for *i-*. Section 6.2 suggests that the discrepancy between the inflectional 'impersonal passive' function of *a(n)-* (A) and derivational antipassive *i-* (O) is rooted in different origins of the respective markers; the *i-* marker is traced back to the O-incorporation of a generic noun **i* 'thing, place, time'. Section 6.3 argues that it is the indefinite (=impersonal) that should be regarded as the key function of the 'fourth' person and Section 6.4 adduces the 'antipassive to 1PL object' diachronic scenario for Ainu.

6.1 'Fourth' person markers: No parallelism between *a(n)-* (A)/*-an* (S) and *i-* (O)

As was shown in Section 3, synchronically there are two distinct ***i-*** markers in Ainu: one is the derivational antipassive marker, another is the inflectional 'fourth' person object marker, which is a convenience label for a number of functions, viz. (a) first person plural inclusive; (b) second (SG/PL) person honorific, and (c) logophoric (SG/PL). The object marker is entered in the same set of personal markers as the transitive subject *a(n)-*[10] and intransitive subject *-an*.

In addition to the referential personal functions (a)–(c), the 'fourth' person marker *-an* (S) indicates the non-referential 'impersonal' (40) and *a(n)-* (A) the 'impersonal passive' (41). Although both are typical voice functions, it appears that they are not indicating voice in the same way as the derivational antipassive *i-* does, cf. (9b). The 'impersonal passive' function of *a-* is grammatically transitive and encodes a subjectless construction (the original object is not promoted to the subject because the subject slot is at least formally occupied by the prefix *a-*) in which an actor may optionally be expressed by an oblique phrase *or-o wa* 'from the place of' as in (41b) (Bugaeva 2011). Therefore, there isn't a true parallelism in the multifunctionality of *a(n)-* and *-an* in the same way as for *i-*. Moreover, *a(n)-* and *-an* markers do not show the same types of phonological differences (never trigger the glide insertion) as *i-* when they are voice vs. person markers, cf. Section 3.1.

(40) *rok-**an** yak-ka pirka ya?*
sit.PL-4S if-even be.good Q
'May one sit down?' lit. 'Is it good, if there is sitting down?' (C)

(41) a. *neno e-iki yak **a**-e-koyki na*
like.this 2SG.A-do if 4A-2SG.O-scold FIN
'If you do that, you will be scolded.' lit. '…someone will scold you.'
(Tamura 2000: 71)

b. *hapo **or-o** **wa** **a**-en-koyki*
mother place-POSSD ABL 4A-1SG.O-scold
'I was scolded by mother.' lit. 'Someone scolded me by mother.'
(Tamura 2000: 72)

Both the impersonal *-an* (S) and impersonal passive *an-* (A) originate in the existential verb *an* 'exist.SG' (Tamura 2001 (1970a): 217). As argued in Bugaeva (2011), the impersonal passive construction in Ainu developed from the impersonal construction and the latter from a nominalized verb phrase construction, which is

10. The prefix *an-* is used in the Northeastern (including Central) Hokkaido and Sakhalin dialect groups, while *a-* in a smaller group of Southern and Southwestern Hokkaido dialects so I suggest that the latter form can be traced to the former (Bugaeva 2011).

structurally similar to "the VP-nominalization passive" in Ute (Givón 1990: 610). The development of nominalization into impersonal construction in Ainu involved the existential construction with a zero-nominalized verb in S function and the existential verb *an* (vi), which is the source of the impersonal *-an* (S), see Figure 2 in Section 7.

6.2 The diachronic source of the *i-* antipassive

The discrepancy between the inflectional 'impersonal passive' function of *a(n)-* (A) and derivational antipassive *i-* (O) (Section 6.1) is probably rooted in different origins of the respective markers. As mentioned, *a(n)-* (A) can be traced back to *an* 'exist.SG'. As to the origin of the prefix *i-*, I suggest tracing it back to the O-incorporation of a generic noun **i* 'thing, place, time', which no longer exists as an independent noun but is retained as a nominalizer *i/hi*[11] 'place, time, thing, person' (Tamura 2000: 125) used to form both lexical (42a–c) and clausal (42d) nominalizations. Consider the following examples.

(42) a. *san-**i***
descend-NMLZ
'descendant'

b. *sine-an-**i***
one-exist.SG-NMLZ
'(at) one place'

c. *kar-**i***
make/do-NMLZ
'doing, achievement' (Chiri 1974 (1936): 48)

d. *rek a rek a kor an **i** ta patek*
sing ITR sing ITR and exist.SG NMLZ LOC only
'(My husband did not eat) only **when** (the cuckoo) kept singing.'
lit. 'Only at the **time** (when) it kept singing…' (Bugaeva 2004: 140)

My adduced scenario 'generic element → antipassive marker' finds additional support in the fact that antipassives in Ainu do not allow any overt expression of the object: the erstwhile object is incorporated so its expression with an NP is completely blocked. According to Sansò (2017), blocking of the overt expression of the object

11. Most authors, including Tamura (2000: 125), suggest that *hi* is a main variant which turns into *i* after consonants: "after consonants, the *h* is frequently dropped', but I prefer the original interpretation of Chiri (1974 (1936): 48) who postulated ***i*** as the main variant and *hi* as an allomorph appearing after vowels. The latter interpretation is much more in accordance with general rules of the Ainu phonology.

seems to be a universal tendency in languages where antipassive constructions are derived from the incorporation of generic/indefinite elements filling the object position as, for example, the *kha*-antipassive in Puma (Kiranti, Tibeto-Burman), which originated in the incorporation of *kha* 'all' (Bickel & Gaenszle 2015: 70). It might be not accidental that functionally the antipassive construction in Ainu is so close to noun incorporation (recall Section 4.2).

Next, the derivational generic object marker, which is the antipassive *per se*, developed an extended absolutive function on obligatorily possessed nouns to enable their use without possessive affixes when there is no specified possessor (Section 3.2). This is explained by the fact that inalienable possessors can be regarded as arguments of the head noun being similar to objects. As mentioned in Section 3.2, certain similarity is observed in some Athabaskan languages, in which the unspecified object (personal) prefix can also occur on nouns as an unspecified possessor.

6.3 'Fourth' person markers: What is the key function?

There have been a number of attempts to provide a unified diachronic analysis for the synchronically separate referential and non-referential functions of 'fourth' person in Ainu. The issue was probably first raised in Kindaichi (1993 (1931): 238–242) who suggested that it is the 'first person inclusive' that should be regarded as the key function and all other uses, including the indefinite (=impersonal passive) of *a(n)-* (A), can be derived from it as extensions. K. Kindaichi's disciple M. Chiri, a scholar of Ainu origin, is just a bit more cautious about this 'first person inclusive' or *ippanshō* 'general person' analysis, as it is referred to in Chiri (1973 (1942): 507) and Kirikae (1983), but does not fully reject it, so for a long time this has been an accepted view in Ainu studies.

The 'first person inclusive' analysis has not been seriously questioned until the work of Refsing (1986: 94, 218–219) who suggested that it is the 'indefinite' that should be regarded as the key function from which all other functions can be semantically derived.[12] After that the 'indefinite' analysis was accepted in Tamura (1988) (with certain reservations), Nakagawa (1997: 220), and Bugaeva (2004: 25–28). However, the 'first person inclusive' analysis persisted in Shibatani (1990); Satō (2004); Satō (2008: 27, 203, 261), and was taken up in Bugaeva (2008). Thus Satō (2004) argues against the 'indefinite' analysis because the indefinite semantics would require a lot of reanalysis to acquire all the referential usages, which is, in his opinion, typologically unusual, but this will be shown to be wrong here.

12. Refsing (1986: 94, 218–219) does not discuss the diachrony of the respective markers.

According to Mithun (1993: 344), "it is not unusual for indefinite pronouns to be used for specific reference". For example, in the Apachean languages of the Southwest (Mithun 1993: 337), the unspecified human subject marker, which is cognate of *ts'e-* in Slave, Section 3.2, "is used as a polite form for addressing indirectly those one should respect, in particular, siblings, or in-laws of the opposite sex", i.e. as third person honorific, cf. (b) second person honorific use of 'fourth' person in Ainu, Table 1. In Tanaina and Slave, the unspecified subject marker is used for first person plural, cf. (a) first person plural inclusive use of 'fourth' person in Ainu, Table 1. Furthermore, in the Apachean languages, it is used to distinguish multiple third persons in discourse, representing "the central character, presumably the person whose identification would be redundant so long as a single point of view is maintained", cf. (c) logophoric function of 'fourth' person, i.e. person of the protagonist in Ainu folktales, Table 1.[13] And finally, in some languages, for example Navajo, it is used in place of passives, cf. the 'impersonal passive' function of 'fourth' person transitive prefix *a-* in Ainu.

In some Apachean languages, a personal marker of the unspecified human object, which is the cognate of *go-* in Slave (Rice 1989: 1012), just like its subject counterpart, is used "to refer indirectly to persons one respects and to the deictic center of a discourse involving multiple persons" and "has developed into a full-fledged basic third person specific pronoun" (Mithun 1993: 338).

All these cross-linguistic data show that unspecified markers do in fact develop pragmatically motivated referential uses (Mithun 1993: 339).

6.4 Matching the antipassive *i-* and 'fourth' person *i-*: Cross-linguistic evidence

The remaining issue is to decide how the so-called 'fourth' person marker ***i-*** with its three different functions can be fitted into the 'generic element → antipassive marker' scenario. It is usually the 'antipassive to 1PL object' diachronic scenario that is amply attested in the world's languages, see Fleck (2006) on Matses (Panoan; western Amazonia), Bickel & Gaenszle (2015) on southern Kiranti languages (Tibeto-Burman; Nepal); Adamou (2014) on Ixcatec (Otomanguean; Mexico), Margetts (1999) on Saliba (Austronesian, Oceanic; PNG), Fortescue (2003, 2005) on Chukotko-Kamchatkan, and Auderset (2015, this volume), Sansò (2017) for typological generalizations. This scenario has been convincingly explained by invoking common pragmatic developments of argument-defocusing constructions

13. In Ainu, 'fourth' person markers are used with reference to the protagonist because the narrator (reporter) wants to dissociate him/herself from the protagonist whose story they are telling.

that end up being used more or less systematically when the speaker wants to avoid mentioning a speech act participant, which is basically a plausible explanation for Ainu too.

I suggest that the derivational antipassive marker *i-* was reanalyzed as a 'fourth' person marker with functions of 1PL.INCL, 2HON and LOG to fit into a new inflectional set of person markers together with affixes *a(n)-* (A) and *-an* (S), and not the other way around. A general patient defocusing function of the antipassive might have played a role in the development of particular uses of 'fourth' person. For example, according to Satō (2008: 212), in Chitose (Southern Hokkaido Ainu), the antipassive verb (43a) can also be used out of politeness to the addressee (43b). Such usage (43b) could have been spread more widely in the past as an intermediate stage, which was further replaced by the second person honorific use of the inflectional 'fourth' person, (44b), which is the standard way to express this function in modern Ainu.

(43) a. *e-**i**-pakasnu* (vt)
about.APPL-**ANTIP**-teach.to
'teach **people** about sth' (Tamura 1996: 166)

b. *k-eramuan pe anak-ne k-e-**i**-pakasnu kusu*
1SG.A-know NMLZ TOP-COP 1SG.A-about.APPL-**ANTIP**-teach going.to
ne wa
COP FIN
'As to what I know, I am going to teach it to **you**.' (2nd person honorific)
lit. '…I am going to teach about it to **people**.' (instead of saying 'to you')
(Satō 2008: 212)

(44) a. *e-pakasnu* (vd)
about.APPL-teach.to
'teach sb. (R) about sth. (T)' (Tamura 1996: 106)

b. *ku-**i**-e-pakasnu*
1SG.A-**4O**-APPL.about-teach
'I will teach it to **you**.' (2nd person honorific)

Importantly, the antipassive marker *i-* has retained its original status and function without becoming an inflectional marker, even though *a(n)-* (A) and *-an* (S) did also have the 'impersonal passive' and 'impersonal' voice-like functions compatible with the antipassive function. This can probably be explained by the fact that by the time of formation of the new 'fourth' person inflectional set, the antipassive *i-* had already integrated into the verbal stem both phonologically (the glide insertion as in (11)) and semantically (lexicalizing antipassive to a single or subset of objects as in (29b–d)), so apparently abolishing the derivational status and turning the antipassive *i-* into an inflectional marker just for the sake of filling the gap in the personal paradigm (see *(i-)* in Table 1) was no longer an option.

Generally, derivational markers can easily become part of inflectional marking, which is evidenced by Chukotko-Kamchatkan, where an antipassive marker **inæ-* has been drawn into a number of verbal paradigms as an inverse subject marker (Fortescue 2003: 60), and less obviously, Eskimo-Aleut (Fortescue 1996).

As is well known, incorporation, layering of morphemes, and their morphophonological integration leads to linear entanglement of derivational and inflectional morphemes, which is fairly typical of polysynthetic languages (Fortescue 2013). In Ainu there is enough dialectal evidence to hypothesize that at least some object prefixes (including *i-*) originated in noun incorporation; for details see Tamura (2001 (1970b)), Bugaeva (2011: 523, 531). The verbal structure of Proto-Ainu,[14] i.e. the position of morphemes and their derivational/inflectional status, could have been very different from what we have now. This allows us to assume that the fourth person object prefix belongs to a newer layer of the formation of person inflections.

7. Summary

This paper clearly shows that there are two synchronically distinct *i-* markers, viz. the derivational antipassive *i-* and inflectional 'fourth' person object *i-* with the functions of 1PL.INCL, 2HON, and LOG (Section 3). What has traditionally been referred to as an indefinite object marker *i-* '(indefinite) person/thing' in Ainu studies can be regarded as an antipassive marker *per se* based on its syntactic (eliminating a patient/theme/recipient argument), semantic (denoting an unspecified generic participant or lexicalizing it to a single or subset of objects) and discourse (patient-defocusing) properties (Section 4).

After describing functions of the antipassive *i-* and its impressive combinability with other voice markers, which is due to the scopal organization of prefixation in Ainu (Section 4), I presented a 50,000-word corpus based study of the semantic classes of verbs which are prone to the antipassive derivation (Section 5). I was able to reconfirm my earlier findings (Bugaeva 2013, 2015) that antipassives in Ainu (totally 48 verbal lexemes in the corpus) are much less frequent than applicatives or causatives. They are derived from verbs of Perception/ Cognition/ Ingesting/ Interaction/ Communication and Grooming/ Traditional Activities and never from highly transitive verbs of Creation/ Transformation/ Contact by Impact and Effective Action, which are preferred in the ergative languages, e.g. Yup'ik (Eskimo-Aleut) and Sliammon (Salish).

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14. Proto-Ainu is a language spoken in the last centuries of the first millennium A.D. The first attempt to reconstruct it is undertaken in Vovin (1993) and a later attempt in Alonso de la Fuente (2012).

According to Vigus (2018), the erstwhile antipassive can be divided into two constructions, i.e. one indicating the lower individuation of patients [LIP type] and another indicating the lower affectedness of patients [LAP type]. Ainu exhibits the LIP type antipassive involving P omission, while it might be the case that many ergative languages have a higher predilection for the LAP type, which is reflected in the different antipassive verb selection preferences; this issue requires further research.

As to the diachrony of *i-* (Section 6), based on extensive cross-linguistic (Auderset 2015) and Ainu-internal evidence (the glide insertion in the antipassive *i-* (11), ANTIP as 2HON (43)), I argued that it is the derivational antipassive *i-* (Figure 1) that was reanalyzed to the inflectional 'fourth' person *i-* with the functions of 1PL.INCL, 2HON, and LOG (Figure 2), and not the other way around as suggested in traditional Ainu studies (Kindaichi 1993 (1931)). As a matter of fact, the reanalysis of the antipassive, which has an O-defocusing function, probably started when there was a need to avoid mentioning a speech act participant directly, out of politeness or for other pragmatic reasons. Generally, unspecified markers, e.g. personal markers as in Athabaskan (Rice 1989; Mithun 1993) or derivational as *i-* in Ainu, are quite likely to acquire referential uses over time.

The antipassive *i-*, in its turn, originated in the incorporation of a generic noun ***i*** 'thing/place/time', which no longer exists as an independent noun but is retained as a nominalizer *i/hi* 'place, time, thing, person' (Figure 1). Generic nouns as a source of antipassive are not unusual, especially in languages without overt expression of the demoted O participant such as Puma (Kiranti, Tibeto-Burman) (Bickel & Gaenszle 2015). It might be not accidental that functionally the Ainu antipassive is so close to noun incorporation (Section 4.2).

The extended use of the antipassive *i-* is attested on obligatorily possessed nouns (and a few other word classes) to enable their use without possessive affixes and make them accessible to O-incorporation (Section 3.2). Similar 'absolutive' derivational markers are attested in Uto-Aztecan (Cupeño (Hill 2005: 164)), while in Navajo (Bickel & Nichols 2013), Slave (Rice 1989: 209) and other Athabaskan languages the same function is performed by the unspecified possessor affix, which is part of inflectional paradigm.

It has been argued that there is not a true parallelism in the multifunctionality of *a(n)-* and *-an* in the same way as for *i-*, which is additionally manifested in phonology (the glide insertion issue). This is probably partially due to different origins of the respective markers (Section 6.1). Unlike *i-*, the impersonal *-an* (S) and impersonal passive *a(n)-* (A) originated in the existential verb *an* (Figure 2), and do not exhibit derivational status (Figure 3).

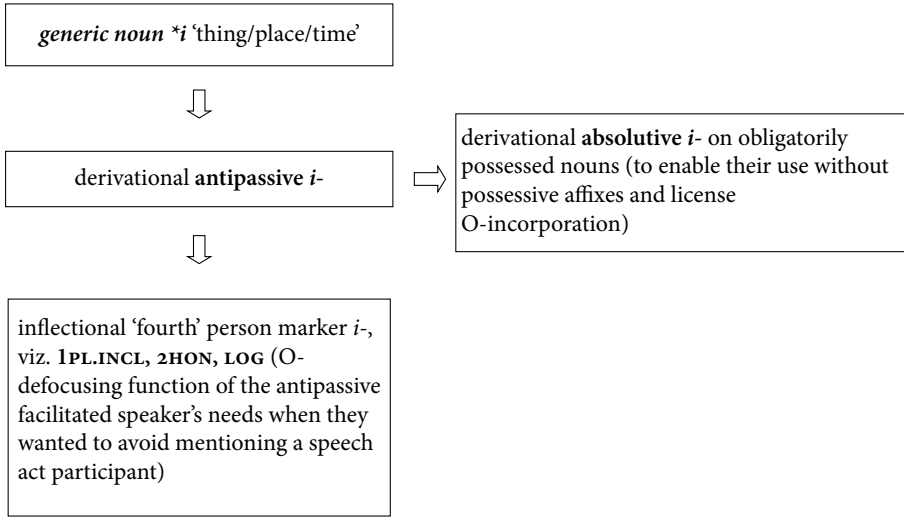


Figure 1. Diachronic scenario for the development the *i-* antipassive

an 'exist.sg' (vi) → ***an*** (indefinite pronoun) → ***-an*** (indefinite S: impersonal construction) → ***a(n)-*** (indefinite A: impersonal passive construction)

Figure 2. Origins of 'fourth' (=indefinite) person markers *a-* (A) and *-an* (S) (Bugaeva 2011: 524)

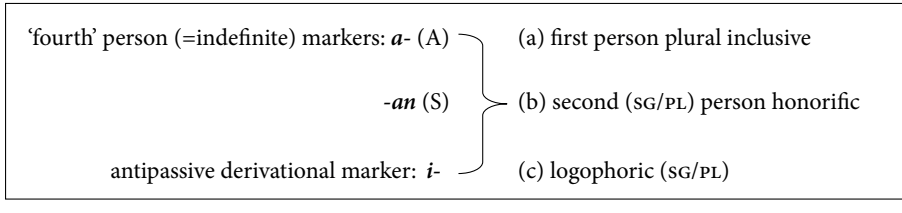


Figure 3. Reanalysis of 'fourth' (=indefinite) person markers in Ainu

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Abbreviations

The glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, additional abbreviations are as follows:

3R	reflexive third	POSSD	possessed
4	fourth person	R	recipient
A	transitive subject	S	intransitive subject
ABM	ablative-modalis	SB	somebody
EP	epenthetic consonant	STH	something
FIN	final particle	T	theme
HON	honorific	TOP	topic
(IN)(DIR).CAUS	(in)(direct)causative	UP	*uwepeker* 'prosaic folktales'
ITR	iterative	V	vowel
LOG	logophoric	VIS.EV	visual evidential
N	noun	VD	verb ditransitive (three-argument)
NONVIS.EV	non-visual evidential		
O	object	VI	verb intransitive
P	patient	VT	verb transitive
PF	prefix		

Source

C Bugaeva, Anna, Endō, Shiho & Akasegawa, Shirō. 2015. *A Topical Dictionary of Conversational Ainu*. (English HP). NINJAL. Available online at <http://ainutopic.ninjal.ac.jp/en/>

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OI Oda, Ito. (1908–2000), consultant of the Chitose dialect of Ainu (fieldnotes)

T1 Tamura, Suzuko. 1984. Ainugo onseishiryō 1 [Ainu Audio Materials 1]. Tokyo: Waseda daigaku gogaku kyōiku kenkyūjo.
T2 Tamura, Suzuko. 1985. Ainugo onseishiryō 2 [Ainu Audio Materials 2]. Tokyo: Waseda daigaku gogaku kyōiku kenkyūjo.
T3 Tamura, Suzuko. 1986. Ainugo onseishiryō 3 [Ainu Audio Materials 3]. Tokyo: Waseda daigaku gogaku kyōiku kenkyūjo.
T5 Tamura, Suzuko. 1988. Ainugo onseishiryō 5 [Ainu Audio Materials 5]. Tokyo: Waseda daigaku gogaku kyōiku kenkyūjo.

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PART 2

Antipassive marking

CHAPTER 8

Variation in the verbal marking of antipassive constructions

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The coding of antipassive constructions displays crosslinguistically irregular though noteworthy patterns. It commonly involves a phonologically overt form, labeled here *antipassivizer*. However, this segmental coding is not the only way to signal an antipassive meaning. In some languages, antipassive constructions can also involve a change in a verbal stem. This non-linear morphological type of coding has not, however, attracted much attention among linguists so far. It is the aim of this study to fill this gap. Given also that an antipassivizer may have different origins, another goal is to bridge the synchronic investigation of these markers with their diachronic description in order to provide a survey of the most common forms, which developed into an antipassive function.

Keywords: segmental coding, non-linear morphological coding, zero coding, antipassivizer, diachronic sources

1. Introduction

The coding of antipassive constructions shows a multifaceted character and operates at different levels of grammar. I distinguish three types of antipassive coding in this study. The first *segmental coding* type involves an overt verbal form called *antipassivizer*, which is composed of a definite number of phonological segments. Another type rarely discussed in the literature is *non-linear morphological coding*, based on a change in the verbal stem. The last type, *zero antipassive coding*, refers to antipassive clauses, which can be identified solely based on flagging and indexation, but whose predicate contains neither an antipassivizer nor a change in the stem. Another interesting aspect is that antipassivizers can be different in nature, depending on their degree of specialization in the antipassive domain. This leads to a binary distinction between dedicated vs. syncretic antipassivizers. Finally, a crosslinguistic investigation reveals that antipassivizers display interesting paths of

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development because they originated in a range of different sources. For instance, they are often identical in form to other markers such as reflexives and/or reciprocals, action nominalizers, agent nominalizers, causatives, etc. Hence, in addition to synchronic descriptions, antipassivizers also constitute a peculiar research topic for historical linguistics.

The aim of this study[1] is to investigate verbal antipassive coding both from the synchronic and diachronic perspectives to show its crosslinguistic diversity. To this end, I first explore the more commonly discussed antipassive coding based on antipassivizers (Section 2). In Section 3, I focus on lesser-known coding patterns signaled by a change in the verbal stem. Given that in some morphologically ergative languages, antipassive constructions do not require an overt verbal marker, in Section 4, I examine this type of construction to show why they pose a challenge for crosslinguistic comparison. Finally, in Section 5, I discuss diachronic sources which gave birth to antipassivizers. A summary and concluding remarks are offered in Section 6.

2. Segmental antipassive coding

Segmental antipassive coding involves the presence of an antipassivizer on the verb. Given that synchronically antipassivizers may be either syncretic or dedicated, in what follows, I will approach these two types of an antipassive marker respectively. Then, in the remainder of the present section, I will discuss how the syncretic vs. dedicated distinction of antipassivizers has potentially influenced the discussion on antipassive constructions in languages of the world.

2.1 Syncretic and dedicated antipassivizers

A syncretic antipassivizer refers to a form which at the synchronic level, is not limited to the antipassive function alone. The linguistic area in which the polyfunctionality of such a form is particularly visible is valency. A text-book example comes from Indo-European, in particular from Russian, in which the same verbal marker *-sj(a)* is involved in a range of valency-reducing operations, including anticausative (1a), reflexive (1b), reciprocal (1c), antipassive, (1d) passive (1e), and impersonal (1f).

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(1) Russian (Indo-European, Slavic; Malchukov 2017: 7–8; Geniušienė 1987: 285)
   a. *Palka slomala-**sj**.*
      stick.SG.NOM break.PST.3SG-SJA[2]
      'The stick broke.'
   b. *On moet-**sja**.*
      he wash.PRS.3SG-SJA
      'He washes.'
   c. *Oni vstretili-**sj**.*
      they meet.PST.3PL-SJA
      'They met.'
   d. *Sobaka kusaet-**sja**.*
      dog.SG.NOM bite.PRS.3SG-SJA
      'The dog bites.'
   e. *Dom stroit-**sja** rabochimi.*
      house.SG.NOM build.PRS.3SG-SJA worker.PL.INS
      'The house is (being) built by the workers.'
   f. *Ob et-om soobščajet-**sja** v gaʐet-ax.*
      about this-PREP reports-SJA in newspaper-LOC.PL
      'This is reported in newspapers.'

Contrary to what might be expected, the use of antipassivizers is not necessarily limited to the reduction of valency. Quite a few languages attest a situation where these markers can also increase the initial value of valency, resulting in applicative constructions. The antipassive-applicative syncretism typically is manifested in languages which impose a restriction on the number of arguments accommodated by a verb (Song 1996). Malchukov (2015, 2017) reports that this ambivalent voice pattern is attested in Chukchi (Chukotka-Kamchatkan; Polinsky & Nedjalkov 1987), Central Alaskan Yupik (Eskimo-Aleut; Miyaoka 2015), Halkomelem (Salishan; Gerdts 2010), Sliammon Salish (Salishan; Watanabe 2015), and Nuxalk (Salishan; Beck 2000). This list can be further extended with Shiwilu (Cahuapanan) and Shiwilu's sister Shawi (Valenzuela 2018). Example (2) illustrates the antipassive-applicative syncretism of the form *ʔəm* in Sliammon Salish.

(2) Sliammon Salish (Salishan; Watanabe 2015: 1319)
   a. *θiq-**ʔəm**=t$^{\theta}$əm ʔə=tə=qawθ.*
      dig-ʔəM=1SG.IND.SBJ+FUT OBL=DET=potato
      'I am going to dig some potatoes.'
   b. *həy-**ʔəm**-θi=t$^{\theta}$əm ʔə=k^{w}=k'^{w}ax^{w}a.*
      make-ʔəM-CTR+2SG.OBJ=1SG.IND.SBJ+FUT OBL=DET=box
      'I will make a box for you.'

2. Unless otherwise stated, all the syncretic antipassive forms discussed in this paper will be left unglossed.

Discussed by Watanabe (2015) under the 'active-intransitive' label, the construction illustrated in (2a) can be recognized as an illustration of an antipassive derivation. It contains the *-ʔəm* suffix as a result of which the P argument *-qawθ* 'potato' is syntactically demoted to an oblique position. The peripheral status of this argument is indicated by the oblique clitic *ʔə*. In (2b), the same suffix *-ʔəm* encodes a benefactive applicative construction.

The syncretism of an antipassivizer can extend beyond the valency domain. For instance, in some languages, it can modify the aspectual properties of a verb. This situation is observed in Nakh-Daghestanian languages. Comrie et al. (2015) report that in Bezhta, the antipassive suffix *-dä* can combine with intransitive verbs, shifting the meaning of the verb in the direction of durativity, compare (3) and (4).

(3) Bezhta (Nakh-Daghestanian; Comrie et al. 2015: 553)
   a. *öždi* *bäbä* *m-üq-čä*
      boy.OBL.ERG bread(III) III-eat-PRS
      'The boy eats the bread.'
   b. *öžö* *bäbälä-d* *Ø-üⁿq-**dä**-š*
      boy(I) bread.OBL-INS I-eat-DÄ-PRS
      'The boy is busy eating the bread.'

(4) Bezhta (Nakh-Daghestanian; Comrie et al. 2015: 552)
   a. *öždi* *öhƛö-yö*
      boy.OBL.ERG cough-PST
      'The boy coughed (once).'
   b. *öžö* *öh-**dā**-yö*
      boy cough-DÄ-PST
      'The boy was coughing.'

In (3b), the antipassive construction carries the antipassive suffix *-dä*, which in addition to syntactic transitivity also modifies the aspectual value of a verb in the direction of durativity. In (4b), the same suffix only modifies the aspectual category of the verb. In both instances, (4a) and (4b), the antipassivizer *-dä* couples with an intransitive verbal stem, *öh* 'cough'. However, in contrast to (4a), the construction in (4b) now yields an atelic and non-punctual interpretation.

Among other languages in which the antipassivizer may modify the aspectual properties of a verb the Eskimo-Aleut family occupies a prominent position. Bittner (1987) mentions in reference to West Greenlandic that the antipassive suffix *-lirr*, illustrated in (5b), may additionally function as the aspectual marker, roughly meaning 'be just beginning to', as in (6b).

(5) West Greenlandic (Eskimo-Aleut; Bittner 1987: 4)
a. *Jaaku-p puuq aa-va-a*
P.N.-ERG bag.ABS go.to.get-TR.IND-3SG.ERG/3SG.ABS
'Jacob went to get bag.'
b. *Jaaku puuq-mik aa-**llir**-pu-q*
P.N.ABS bag-INS go.to.get-LLIR-INTR.IND-3SG.ABS
'Jacob went to get bag.'

(6) West Greenlandic (Eskimo-Aleut; Bittner 1987: 13–14)
a. *atuagaq taa-nna atur-pa-a*
book.ABS this-SG.ABS use-TR.IND-3SG.ERG/3SG.ABS
'He used / is using this book.'
b. *atuagaq-mik taa-ssuminnga atur-**llir**-pu-q*
book-INS this-SG.INS use-LLIR-INTR.IND.3SG.ABS
'He's just now asking whether he can use this book.'

Unlike in Bezhta, in which the antipassivizer simultaneously affects the aspect of the verb as well as its valency (3b), in West Greenlandic, this marker does not necessarily display this property. In (5b), the suffix *-llir* derives an antipassive construction without affecting the aspectual value of the verb. In both (5a) and (5b), the predicate receives a telic interpretation. In (6b), the same suffix *-llir* is attached to a verbal stem *atur-* 'use' to derive an antipassive, intransitive construction. The presence of an intransitive indicative *-pu* suffix on the verb and the P argument in the oblique, instrumental form underline the intransitive character of the construction. Importantly, in (6b), the role of the affix *-llir* boils down not only to detransitivize a transitive constructions but also to mark some kind of inceptive aspect, which suggests the beginning of the action. Bittner (1987) speculates that the antipassive suffix *-llir* is presumably related to the inceptive suffix *-lir* in West Greenlandic illustrated in (7).

(7) West Greenlandic (Eskimo-Aleut; Bittner 1987: 13)
Jaaku malig-lir-pa-a
P.N.ABS follow-begin-TR.IND-3SG.ERG/3SG.ABS
'He began to follow Jacob.'

A crosslinguistic investigation reveals a few languages whose antipassive markers are limited to coding antipassive constructions alone.[3] Soninke is one of them. This language has three verbal suffixes encoding the antipassive construction, where one of them displays dedicated characteristics (cf. Creissels 2014). In (8b), the dedicated antipassive marker *-ndì ~ ndí* occurs together with a transitive verb *qíñí* 'bite', deriving an intransitive construction in which the P argument is semantically implied though removed from the surface structure.

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3. This observation stands in opposition to Polinsky's (2017: 14) results, who admits that she has not observed any languages which have a non-syncretic antipassive marker.

(8) Soninke (Mande; Creissels 2014: 9)
a. *Sámáqqè-n dà lémínè-n qíñí.*
snake-D TR child-D bite
'The snake bit the child.'
b. *Sámáqqè-n qíñí-**ndì**.*
snake-D bite-ANTIP
'The snake bit (someone).'

In some languages, dedicated antipassive markers are sensitive to the semantic features of the P argument. This situation is reported in Nahuatl, where the prefixes *tla-* and *tē-* encode indeterminate non-human and human P arguments, as seen in (9) and (10) respectively.

(9) Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan; Tuggy 2010: 314)
a. *ō-ni-**tla**-kowa-to*
PST-I-ANTIP-buy-went
'I bought something / I went shopping.'
b. *ti-**tla**-kuā-h*
WE-ANTIP-eat-PL
'We eat (food / something).'

(10) Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan; Tuggy 2010: 320–321)
a. *ni-**tē**-avisarowa*
I-ANTIP-warn/announce.to
'I announce (to people, to someone).'
b. *ni-**tē**-mik-tia*
I-ANTIP-die-CAUS
'I kill (someone, people).'

The status of antipassivizers might be subject of controversy. Language-specific tests are frequently required to verify whether these forms underwent the complete grammaticalization process and function as valency-changing operators eliminating the P argument, and not as generic arguments filling up an object slot in a verb.

2.2 On the nature of antipassivizers

The term antipassive was introduced by Silverstein (1972) with reference to the morphologically ergative Chinook Jargon language and subsequently extended to other languages with similar alignment patterns. Silverstein used this label to define an overt form on a verb whose presence yields a special type of construction called *antipassive*:

> I have termed this *-ki-* form the ANTIPASSIVE construction, playing upon its inverse equivalence to a passive of accusative languages, because the sense is clearly equivalent to a transitive, though the form is intransitive, with the grammatical function of the remaining NP reversed (ergator becomes nonergator).
>
> (Silverstein 1972: 395)

Even if the term antipassive appeared in the literature in 1972, it gained recognition only four years later, when Silverstein published his seminal work on the 'Hierarchy of Features and Ergativity' in Dixon (1976). This is how the author defines the antipassive term there:

> Ergative systems have an analogous construction; here termed the antipassive […]. The 'unique' case here is the ergative, coding the unique function of direct transitive agent (A), and in antipassive forms the transitive agent is expressed by a surface absolutive (or nominative) case-marking, the verb has a change of voice, with a special mark, the transitive object (normally coded by surface absolutive case) appearing at most facultatively in some oblique, adverbial case-marking.
>
> (Silverstein 1976: 140–142)

Silverstein's (1976: 140–142) definition of an antipassivizer as a 'special mark' caused considerable confusion in the literature. While some authors interpreted it on par with the term 'specialized' (or 'dedicated'), others understood it in a more simplistic way, as an 'overt' verbal marker. The former interpretation is particularly visible in a typological study by Cooreman (1994). She focuses on antipassive constructions in morphologically ergative languages from a functionally oriented perspective and does not mention the term 'dedicated' even once in reference to antipassive markers. One can speculate that this might be because the binary dedicated vs. syncretic distinction is not relevant for the discussion of antipassive constructions in this type of languages. Another possible explanation is that there are not many morphologically ergative languages in which a verbal marker specialized in the coding of antipassive constructions alone. This would presumably explain why a 'dedicated' value of an antipassivizer did not attract much linguistic attention in the literature.

On general examination, the impression arises that much of the existing literature on antipassive constructions in morphologically ergative languages lacks a discussion of the binary nature of antipassivizers. Indeed, recognition of these two values has hardly ever been acknowledged, apart from a few exceptions (e.g. Polinsky 2005: 438). In principle, linguistic descriptions of morphologically ergative languages satisfy themselves with a short mention of whether antipassive constructions have an antipassivizer or not (cf. Bittner 1987; Cooreman 1994; Lanz 2010; Beach 2011; Spreng 2012) and whether this morpheme happens to be syncretic with other properties e.g. aspect.

On this occasion, it is worth mentioning that Silverstein's (1976) unclear definition of an antipassivizer influenced the line of research of many linguists. Those who approached the antipassivizer as an overt verbal marker implicitly posited the existence of the implicational relationship between language alignment and some syntactic operations, where passive was said to be a particularity of accusative languages, while antipassive was the emblem of ergative alignment (Keenan & Dryer 2007: 359). Some linguists advanced this discussion, insisting on an exclusive correlation between antipassive and morphologically ergative languages. This position was adopted by Palmer (1994: 197), who states that "if a basic requirement is that antipassive is explicitly marked (usually in the V), it seems unlikely that there are, in fact, any languages with accusative systems […] that have antipassive." However, some linguists approached the antipassivizer in the sense of a dedicated marker. As a result, it somehow became text-book knowledge that antipassive constructions arise through a dedicated marker alone. This can be seen in Jacques (this volume), who reacts to LaPolla's (2000: 287) comment: "[t]here are a number of constructions for increasing or reducing the valency of verbs in Rawang [Sino-Tibetan], but there is no passive or antipassive construction", in the following way:

> Rawang shows a few examples of the use of the reflexive/middle *-shì* as an antipassive marker, when applied to transitive experiencer verbs (LaPolla 2000: 287 states that there are no antipassive constructions in Rawang, by which he probably means the absence of dedicated antipassive markers). (Jacques, this volume)

Given that Silverstein (1976) defines antipassives in relation to morphologically ergative languages, his ambiguous definition of the antipassivizer as a 'special marker' led many people to another false belief, namely that only the aforementioned languages have dedicated antipassivizers. Polinsky (2005: 438) challenges this opinion by recognizing the existence of dedicated antipassivizers also in morphologically accusative languages. Thus, in addition to (morphologically) ergative languages (e.g. Chukchi, Diyari, Dyirbal, Godoberi, Gooniyandi, West Greenland, Halkomelem, Hunzib, Jacaltec, Mam, Tz'utujil, Warrungu and Zoque), she also lists accusative languages with a dedicated antipassivizer (e.g. Acoma, Comanche, Kiowa, Koyraboro Senni, Krongo, Lango, and Ojibwa). In Janic (2016a), I extended the inventory of accusative languages with a dedicated antipassivizer by providing particularly clear examples from Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan; Launey 1994: 48; Nájera 2009: 14; Tuggy 2010: 314) and Sereer (Atlantic; Renaudier 2012), in addition to two Mande languages: Soninke (Creissels 2014: 8) and Mandinka (Creissels & Sambou 2013).

3. Non-linear morphological antipassive coding

The morphological process of reduplication can exemplify the non-linear morphological type of antipassive coding. Depending on the language, reduplication may result either in a total or partial repetition of a verbal root or stem. In some languages, reduplication has the effects on a verb comparable to those of an antipassivizer, i.e. it reduces the initial value of the verbal valency through the elimination of the P argument from the surface structure without affecting the semantic roles assigned to the core arguments. Palmer (2009) discusses reduplication in Kokota (Austronesian) under the label of 'valency-changing alternation', as seen in (11). A similar observation holds for Cavineña (Tacanan), illustrated in (12).

(11) Kokota (Austronesian; Palmer 2009: 193)

a. *manei n-e-ke* ***dupa****=nau ara*
he RL-3SBJ-PFV punch=1SG.OBJ I
'He punched me.'

b. *manei n-e* ***du~dupa*** *bla*
he RL-3SBJ RD~punch LMT
'He was just punching.'

(12) Cavineña (Pano-Tacanan; Guillaume 2008: 279)

a. *Era takure* ***ara****-ya.*
1SG.ERG chicken eat-IPFV
'I'm eating chicken.'

b. ***Ara~ara****-ya ike.*
RD~eat-IPFV 1SG.ABS
'I'm eating (i.e. I am having a meal).'

While in Kokota reduplication is partial, in Cavineña this process duplicates the verbal stem completely. In both instances, the reduplication leads to the detransitivization of a transitive verb without modifying the event structure of the verb. In (11b) and (12b), the predicate denotes a two-participant event involving an agent and a patient, the latter being semantically implied. Reduplicated constructions can thus be viewed as morphosyntactic variants of the corresponding transitive clauses. In Cavineña, the intransitive status of the derived construction is additionally signalled by a change in the coding pattern of the A from ergative to absolutive.

Note that reduplication may function as an independent semantic process, without necessarily modifying the morphosyntactic properties of construction. This situation is observed in Maa (Nilotic) in which reduplication adds a semantic nuance of repetitiveness or intensification to a predicate, regardless of whether it is accompanied by an antipassivizer *-ɪshɔ(r)* or not. Consider examples (13) and (14).

(13) Maa (Nilotic; Payne, this volume)
*Á-gíra a-**tur**-u-**tur**-**ishó** t-ené peê a-ɪŋur-áá*
1SG-PROG INF.SG-dig-EP-dig-ANTIP OBL-here purpose TEMP.1SG-look-ITIVE
tanaa k=á-túm ɪna=dúóó tɔná.
if CN_2=1SG-get that.F=relevant roots.PL
'I am digging here listlessly to look around (with hope) that I will get the roots [for treating a disease].'

(14) Maa (Nilotic; Payne, this volume)
*Máapé aké ní-ki-puo áa-**duŋ**-u-**duŋ** ɪ=lényɔ́k l=ɔ́*
let's.go just CN_1-1PL-go.PL INF.PL-cut-EP-cut M.PL=hairs M.PL=PL.PSD
ɪl=kɪdɔŋɔ́ l=ɔ́ i=sirkôn.
M.PL=tails M.PL=PL.PSR M.PL=donkeys
'Let's just go and cut into pieces hair from the donkeys' tails.'

In the above examples, the verbal stems, *-tur-* 'dig' and *-duŋ-* 'cut', are fully reduplicated and additionally separated from their reduplicated forms by means of the epenthetic vowel *-u*. In (13), the predicate also carries the antipassive marker *-ishó*. While the function of the latter is syntax-based and serves to detransitivize a transitive construction via the elimination of the P argument from the syntactic structure, the reduplication itself plays only a semantic role. It shifts the meaning of the verb, yielding an apathetic reading of the digging action. Similarly, in (14), reduplication expresses the repetitiveness of the cutting action.

The non-linear morphological type of antipassive coding can also be observed in Circassian languages. Letuchiy & Arkadiev (2012) report that in Besleney, antipassive predicates are derived from transitive verbs, whose stem ends in /ə/. An antipassive verb involves a substitution of the final vowel /ə/ with the vowel /e/. This leads to the elimination of the P argument without modifying the semantic role of the A argument, as seen in (15).

(15) Besleney (Northwest Caucasian; Letuchiy & Arkadiev 2012: 4)
a. *Pśaŝe-m ǯane jə-**də**-n x^{w}je.*
girl-OBL dress 3SG.A-sew-pot must
'The girl must sew a dress.'
b. *Nataše deʁ^{w}-wə jəč'jə dax-wə ma-**de**.*
Natasha good-ADV and beautiful-ADV DYN-sew.ANTIP
'Natasha sews well and nicely.'

A similar pattern occurs in Nakh-Daghestanian languages. Comrie et al. (this volume) refer to Avar in which, in addition to antipassive verbs derived by one of the following antipassivizers: *-ar-*, *-d-*, *-d-ar-*, *-ad-*, *-anq-*, *-aqd-*, *-anxd-*, there are also antipassive verbs derived by ablaut. If the vowel variation is of the primary type, then this change involves only one vowel: *qwaʔize* 'to swing' vs. *qwaʔeze* 'to

swing often'. If, however, the vowel variation is of the secondary type, then the stem modification encompasses two vowels, as in *k'**u**t'**i**ze* 'to knock' vs. *k'**e**t'**e**ze* 'to knock often'. On this occasion, it is worth noting that similarly to the segmental antipassive coding discussed in Nakh-Daghestanian in Section 2.1, in these languages, non-linear morphological coding also converges with an aspectual shift. Indeed, in Avar, the vowel variation adds a semantic nuance of repetitiveness to the action.

In Sino-Tibetan languages, antipassive constructions do not necessarily result from a stem alternation or the presence of an antipassivizer but from an alternation of the syntactic classes of verbs. Building on Kathol & VanBik (2001), Peterson (2003) discusses this situation in Hakha Lai, as seen in (16).

(16) Hakha Lai (Sino-Tibetan; Peterson 2003: 413)

a. *paalaw=ni? thil (khaa?) ʔa-**ba?***
P.N.=ERG clothes DEIC 3SG.SBJ-hang.up:2
'Paalaw hung up the clothes.'

b. *paalaw (khaa?) thil ʔa-**bat***
P.N. DEIC clothes 3SG.SBJ-hang.up:1
'Paalaw hangs up/hung up the clothes.'

In Hakha Lai, a change in the syntactic transitivity of a verb correlates with a specific class to which it belongs. In affirmative indicative main clauses, verbal stems belonging to class II are transitive. This is illustrated in (16a), where the verb *-ba?* 'hang up' couples with the ergative A argument. In contrast, in (16b), the verb *-bat* belongs to the syntactically intransitive class I. As a result, it selects an absolutive form of the A argument. Thus, the alternation of the verb class 'hang up' goes hand in hand with a change of the syntactic transitivity of a verb, without, however, affecting the semantic roles this verb assigns to its arguments. Consequently, the resulting construction (16b) can be viewed as an example of an antipassive.

4. Zero antipassive coding

There is no consensus among linguists on whether the presence of an antipassivizer should be taken as a solid criterion in recognition of an antipassive construction or not (cf. Heath 1976: 202; Cooreman 1994: 50; Dixon 1994: 146; Palmer 1994: 178; Polinsky 2005: 438; Shibatani 2006: 237; Kulikov 2011: 380; Heaton 2017: 63). Depending on the definition, constructions without an antipassivizer are either excluded or included in the antipassive domain. For instance, Dixon's (1994: 145) canonical definition obligatorily involves "some explicit formal marking of an antipassive construction". Yet, Polinsky (2005: 438), who admits that antipassives are often derived "with the help of overt morphology", concludes that the presence of

an antipassivizer is not an obligatory feature of antipassive constructions because "the antipassive verb can take on other formal characteristics of intransitive verbs". To illustrate this point, the author refers to Mayan languages, in which a change of both indexation and flagging pattern of the core arguments may serve as sole indications of antipassive constructions (England 1983, 1988). The Eskimo-Aleut family[4] illustrates a similar situation. As shown in (17b), in the antipassive construction, the A and P arguments occur in the absolutive and oblique forms respectively, and the verbal stem *sana* takes an intransitive marker *-vu* and indexes only the core argument.

(17) West Greenlandic (Eskimo-Aleut; Bittner 1987: 195)
a. *Jaaku-p illu sana-va-a*
P.N.-ERG house.ABS be.building-TR.IND-3SG.ERG/3SG.ABS
'Jacob is/was building house.'
b. *Jaaku illu-mik sana-Ø-vu-q*
P.N.ABS house-INS be.building-ANTIP-INTR.IND-3SG.ABS
'Jacob is/was building house.'

Yet, in some other languages, the only formal indication of an antipassive construction is a shift of the core arguments in the flagging pattern. Kalkatungu illustrates this point. In (18), a change of the ergative into absolutive case of the A and the presence of the P argument in the oblique, dative form are the only formal signals of an antipassive construction.

(18) Kalkatungu (Pama-Nyungan; Blake 1982: 86)
a. *Ṯuka-yu tuar itʸayi.*
dog-ERG snake.ABS bite
'The dog bites/bit the snake.'
b. *Ṯuku tuar-ku itʸayi.*
dog.ABS snake-DAT bite
'The dog is biting the snake.'

As shown above, languages with the morphologically ergative type of alignment can signal antipassive constructions either by flagging and/or indexation. This observation stands in line with Polinsky (2017), who argues that there is no single

4. Eskimo-Aleut languages and an Eskimo branch, in particular, are well-known for having numerous antipassive markers. Some authors (e.g. Nagai 2006; Spreng 2006) also include a zero form Ø in the inventory of antipassivizers. In principle, the distribution of antipassive affixes is subject to phonological conditioning in these languages. However, the details vary from language to language. For instance, Bittner (1987), who recognizes the set of five antipassivizers in West Greenlandic: *-si, -llir, -*(*ss*)*i, -nnig*, and Ø, explains that according to her informants, many verbs do not impose any constraints on the possible combinations with antipassive suffixes.

morphological diagnostic, allowing to identify antipassives. As a result, it seems legitimate not to consider an antipassive marker to be a necessary criterion in the recognition of an intransitive construction as a case of an antipassive. However, the question is whether this methodological line holds for a larger crosslinguistic perspective, including morphologically accusative languages, in which a transition from a transitive to intransitive construction leaves fewer morphosyntactic traces, i.e. it neither modifies the flagging of an A argument nor the indexation pattern on a verb. Hence, the only formal indication which signals that we are dealing with an antipassive construction in these languages is the presence of an antipassivizer. Consider the English examples in (19), which are commonly recognized as cases of object omission.

(19) English (Indo-European, Germanic; p.k.)
   a. *Speed kills.*
   b. *He often reads.*
   c. *She eats late.*

In English, object omission constructions are distinguished from other types by the fact that they frequently select activity verbs and that their omitted argument is understood as 'typical' (cf. Levin 1993). Therefore, it is easily deduced when left unexpressed. In (19a), it is clear that *speed kills people* and that in (19b), *a person often reads books*, etc. The question is whether these constructions, in which the omission of an object (or 'P argument') is not brought about by any verbal marker or stem alternation and where this elimination does not leave any morphosyntactic traces in a construction, exemplify an antipassive or whether they should count as a different linguistic phenomenon.

Consider now example (20) from French. In (20b), the verb *goûter à* 'to taste' does not contain any overt antipassivizer. Nevertheless, if one builds on the morphosyntactic make-up of the whole construction, it is possible to recognize it as a case of an antipassive.

(20) French (Indo-European, Romance; Janic, p.k.)
   a. *Il a goûté la sauce.*
      'He tasted the sauce.'
   b. *Il a goûté à la sauce.*
      'He tasted the sauce.'

The alternation in (20) resembles the antipassive alternation in Kalkatungu, (18), because in both languages, a change of syntactic transitivity of the verb is signaled at the level of flagging of the core arguments. In (20b), the construction is syntactically intransitive with the P argument *la sauce* 'the sauce' demoted to an oblique position. The preposition *à* indicates a peripheral status of this argument and is the

only formal manifestation of an intransitive, antipassive clause. Another similarity to the antipassive is semantics, i.e. in both instances, (20a)–(20b), the verb *goûter (à)* expresses the same event structure involving two participants. Polinsky (2017) discusses a comparable case, viz. the conative alternation in English:

(21) English (Indo-European, Germanic; Polinsky 2017: 34)
a. *He shot the lion.*
b. *He shot at the lion.*

However, the conative alternation in (21) is not entirely equivalent to the French example (20), as it implies 'an attempted action without specifying whether the action was actually carried out' (Levin 1993: 42). Unlike in (20b), in (21b), the P argument is interpreted as not being entirely affected by the action performed by the A participant. The resulting construction thus displays typical semantic effects of antipassives which are related to the affectedness of the P.

Disregarding an antipassivizer as a necessary criterion of an antipassive construction raises questions for crosslinguistic comparison. If one wants to draw a clear-cut line delimiting the antipassive phenomenon from related constructions, then a decision needs to be made at the level of antipassive coding and be based on the presence of an antipassivizer (Section 2) or stem alternation (Section 3). This will lead to the situation where an antipassive construction will be viewed as a particular type of a larger linguistic phenomenon presumably labeled 'constructions, where the P argument loses the properties of a core argument.' However, this will exclude zero antipassive coding constructions in languages like Eskimo-Aleut, which are well-known for having this type of antipassives. If, however, one builds on a broad definition, where an antipassivizer is not obligatory, then one will have to subsume under the same label a whole range of constructions with overlapping though still different functional and formal characteristics (Janic & Witzlack-Makarevich, this volume: Section 6). This may include object omission constructions (cf. (19)), object incorporation (Creissels, this volume), bi-absolutive constructions (Forker 2012; Gagliardi et al. 2014; Comrie et al., this volume), partitive constructions (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 263), differential object marking constructions (the collection of papers in Seržant & Witzlack-Makarevich 2018), etc.. The disadvantage resulting from the application of a broad definition is that it blurs the borders between various types of constructions, each displaying its unique characteristics and peculiarities.

5. Diachronic sources of antipassivizers

The present section discusses different diachronic sources of antipassivizers such as reflexive and/or reciprocal markers (Section 5.1), hypernym argument (Section 5.2), agent nominalization (Section 5.3), action nominalization (Section 5.4), person marker (Section 5.5), and causative marker (Section 5.6). It will also suggest potential accounts of their historical development in the direction of antipassive.

5.1 Reflexive and/or reciprocal markers

A crosslinguistic investigation shows that in many languages, reflexive and reciprocal markers actively participate in antipassive derivations. Reflexive markers are probably the most well-known and well-discussed diachronic sources of an antipassivizer (cf. Foley & Van Valin 1984; Lidz 1996; Terrill 1997; Dixon 2002; Polinsky 2005; Janic 2013, 2016a,b; Sansò 2015, 2017). This, however, does not necessarily mean that reflexive forms are the most frequent source of antipassivizers. On closer examination, it appears that reciprocal markers systematically lead to the ambiguous, reciprocal/antipassive interpretation in many languages. In the remainder of Section 5.1, I will first investigate the morphological overlap between reflexive and/or reciprocal markers and antipassivizers, then I will proceed to account for the discussed syncretism.

5.1.1 *The syncretism between antipassive and reflexive/reciprocal markers*

The reflexive-antipassive syncretism suggests three possible scenarios: (i) either the reflexive form extended its use in the direction of antipassive; (ii) or it underwent an opposite extension, where it is a reflexive marker which developed from an antipassive, (iii) or different yet, these two forms originated from another source (cf. Janic 2016a). The first path seems to be the most plausible because it is the only one that is historically attested (Kemmer 1993). Another argument supporting this observation results from the crosslinguistic distribution of reflexive forms and antipassivizers. The former seem to occur more frequently in the world's languages than the latter (Terrill 1997). Thus, the probability that new functions, such as antipassive, develop from a reflexive form, in particular where the latter is well-known for its rich and diverse grammaticalization patterns (Faltz 1985: Chapter IV; Kemmer 1993: 151–200; Kazenin 2001: 920–923), is higher than the opposite scenario (but see Comrie et al. 2015: 553 for the extension of an antipassive marker into a reflexive function in Bezhta).

Various authors discuss the syncretism of reflexive-antipassive forms across different languages, see Lidz (1996), Polinsky (2005), Creissels (2006: 34), and Janic (2013, 2016a,b) for an overview. Terrill (1997) investigates this relation in the Pama-Nyungan language family, taking the reflexive form (or 'reflexivizer') as a point of reference:

> It is logically possible that the reflexive developed out of chronologically and functionally prior antipassive. This is a less plausible hypothesis, because it fails to account for the fact that the reflexive construction is extremely widespread in Australia while the antipassive is not. Furthermore, there are no languages with an antipassive marked by verbal morphology which do not also have a reflexive marked by verbal morphology. (Terrill 1997: 84)

The Pama-Nyungan family is particularly well-known for the morphological overlap between antipassivizer and reflexivizer (Dixon 1977; Foley & Van Valin 1984; Terrill 1997; Dixon 2002; Tsunoda 2006, 2011). Table 1 shows these forms in selected languages.

Table 1. Antipassivizer and reflexivizer in Pama-Nyungan (cf. Terrill 1997: 78; Dixon 2002: 535)

Language	Antipassivizer	Reflexivizer
Guugu Yimidhirr	*-:dhi ~ -:yi ~ -:ya*	*-:dhi ~ -:yi ~ -:ya*
Kuku-yalanji	*-dji*	*-dji*
Djabugay	*-yi*	*-yi*
Yidiny	*-:dji*	*- :dji*
Dyirbal	*-ŋay, -rii, ~ -yirri, ~ -(m)barri ~ -marri*	*-rii, ~ -yirri, ~ -(m)barri ~ -marri*
Nyawaygi	*-gi, ~ -ygi*	*-gi, ~ -ygi*
Warrungu	*-li, -gali*	*-li, -gali*
Kalkatungu	*-yi*	*-ti*
Diyari	*-thadi*	*-thadi*
Banjdjalang	*-li*	*-li*
Ngandi	*-(y)i-*	*-(y)i-*
Nunggubuyu	*-i*	*-i*
Warndarrang	*-i*	*-i*
Ngalakan	*-tji-*	*-tji-*
Wangkumara	*-(i)yi-*	*-(i)yi-*

Examples (22) and (23) illustrate the reflexive and antipassive constructions in Warrungu respectively. In both instances, the reduction of valency is triggered by the same *-gali* suffix.

(22) Warrungu (Pama-Nyungan; Tsunoda 2006: 305)
a. *Gaya-nggu bama-Ø giba-n.*
father-ERG man-ACC shave-NFUT
'Father shaved a man.'
b. *Gaya-Ø giba-**gali**-Ø.*
father-NOM shave-GALI-NFUT
'Father shaved himself.'

(23) Warrungu (Pama-Nyungan; Tsunoda 2006: 309)
*Bama-Ø jurba-nggu bangga-**gali**-n.*
man-NOM white.ochre-ERG paint-GALI-NFUT
'The man is painting [someone else] with white paint.'

The inventory of languages attesting the reflexive-antipassive syncretism can be further extended to the Takana language family from South America. Specifically, in Ese Ejja, the circumfix *xa- … -ki* is responsible for both antipassive and reflexive derivations (cf. Guillaume 2008). The same observation holds for Cavineña (Takana), where this morphological overlap is reflected by the circumfix *ka-…-ti* (Guillaume 2008: 269). In their contribution to this volume, Sapién et al. approach the polyfunctionality of the detransitivizing marker in Cariban. It appears that in addition to the reflexive/reciprocal overlap, this form also derives antipassive constructions, along with passive and middle-type derivations.

Kartvelian languages also attest a formal overlap between antipassive and reflexive. In Laz, the functions of the prefix *i-* are strikingly similar to the one performed by the detransitivizing prefix in Cariban (Lacroix 2009). This affix expresses an array of grammatical meanings subsumed by Kemmer (1993) under the umbrella term of middle (e.g. reflexive, reciprocal, anticausative, autocausative, and facilitative) with the extension to the more structural, antipassive function. A similar observation also holds for Slavic and selected Turkic languages, including Tuvan, Chuvash, Tatar, and Bashkir (Janic 2016a).

The list of languages with the reflexive-antipassive syncretism can be further extended by Sino-Tibetan examples. Jacques (this volume) investigates various groups from this family, in particular Kiranti, Dulong-Rawang, Kuki-Chin, and West Himalayish. The author notes that they share a common reflexive suffix plausible to be reconstructed at the Proto-Sino-Tibetan level. Apparently, in some cases, this suffix shifted its use in the antipassive direction. This is observed in particular in Khaling (Kiranti), where the affix *-si* along with the reflexive and reciprocal derivations also triggers middle formations such as auto-benefactive or generic subject. Occasionally, derivations in *-si* offer as well an antipassive interpretation. A similar correlation holds for other Kiranti languages e.g. Khaling, Thulung, and Limbu.

The reflexive-antipassive morphological overlap is also reported in North-America. Sansò (2017) discusses it in particular in Chilliwack Halkomelem (Salishan) and Tlingit (Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit). Tlingit has the middle voice formative reconstructed at the proto-level as **d-*. Synchronically, this form codes reciprocals and reflexives, the latter shown in (24). However, it can also perform an antipassive function, where it demotes generic P arguments, as shown in (25b).

(24) Tlingit (Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit; Thompson 1996: 356; Sansò 2017: 194)
*sh woo-**dzi**-tèen*
REFL PFV-DZI-see
'S/he saw her/himself.'

(25) Tlingit (Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit; Thompson 1996: 363; Sansò 2017: 194)
a. *naa.át xa-ḵéis'*
clothes 1-sew.
'I'm sewing clothes.'
b. *xa-**da**-ḵéis'*
1-DA-sew
'I'm sewing.'

In many languages, a reflexivizer which encodes antipassive constructions also signals a reciprocal function. This observation is relevant for the reflexive-antipassive syncretism because for some authors (e.g. Knjazev 2007b) this raises the question of whether in a context of a reflexive/reciprocal marker, it is indeed a reflexive, and not a reciprocal notion which gives rise to the antipassive extension. This is because in languages like Russian, the shift of a singular subject of antipassive constructions into a plural form leads to an ambiguous interpretation, situated at the interface of reciprocal and antipassive reading, (26). Knjazev (2007b: 681) further reports that in Russian, almost all reflexive reciprocals also allow the antipassive use. Note, however, that this is not necessarily true for reflexive derivations.

(26) Russian (Indo-European, Slavic; Knjazev 2007b: 681)
*Korov-y boda-jut-**sja**.*
COW-NOM.PL butt-3PL.PRS-SJA
i. 'Cows are butting each other.'
ii. 'Cows butt.'

A similar observation holds for Lithuanian. Geniušienė (1987) mentions the antipassive-reciprocal morphological overlap triggered by the reflexive form *-si*, as shown in (27).

(27) Lithuanian (Indo-European, Baltic; Geniušienė 1987: 138)
*Av-ys bado-**si**.*
sheep-NOM.PL butt-SI
a. 'Sheep are butting one another.'
b. 'Sheep butt.'

The fact that the antipassive remains in a semantic affinity with reciprocity seems to be a common crosslinguistic pattern, which goes beyond Indo-European. This is particularly visible in Turkic languages, which display a formal split between reflexive and reciprocal functions. While the suffix *-n* or *-l* expresses the coreference between agent and patient, the suffix *-s* ~ *-š* codes reciprocal and reciprocal-like meanings. Interestingly, both verbal markers can be engaged in coding antipassive constructions. While Bachir (Zinnatullina 1969: 92; Geniušienė 1987: 315), Tatar (Zinnatullina 1969: 92; Geniušienė 1987: 315), Tuvan (Kuular 2007: 1173), and Chuvash (Geniušienė 1987: 314) have the reflexive-antipassive syncretism, Tuvan (Kuular 2007: 1214), Tatar (Zinnatullina 1969; Nedjalkov 2006: 19), and Yakut (Nedjalkov & Nedjalkov 2007: 1143) illustrate the reciprocal-antipassive syncretism. The examples below illustrate this point respectively. In Chuvash, the form *-ăn* derives reflexive (28b) and antipassive (29b) constructions, whilst in Yakut, it is the suffix *-s* ~ *is* ~ *süs* which produces reciprocal (30a–c) and antipassive (31b) derivations.

(28) Chuvash (Turkic; Geniušienė 1987: 309)
a. *Văl yvăl-ne s'av-ăt'.*
she.ABS son-DAT/ACC wash-PRS.3SG
'She washes her son.'
b. *Văl s'ăv-**ăn**-at'.*
she.ABS wash-ĂN-PRS.3SG
'She washes herself.'

(29) Chuvash (Turkic; Geniušienė 1987: 314)
a. *Văl pur-ne te vărd-at'.*
he.ABS all-ACC INDF abuse-PRS.3SG
'He swears at everybody.'
b. *Văl (alanax) vărd-**ăn**-at'.*
he.ABS (always) abuse-ĂN-PRS.3SG
'He (always) swears.'

(30) Yakut (Turkic; Stachowski & Menz 2006: 425)
a. *ülelē-* 'work' → *ülele-**s**-* 'work together'
b. *bil-* 'know' → *bil-**is**-* 'know each other'
c. *kör-* 'see' → *kör-**süs**-* 'see each other'

(31) Yakut (Turkic; Nedjalkov & Nedjalkov 2007: 1143)
a. *Miigin meneek üögü-me-Ø!*
I.ACC. for.nothing scold-NEG-IMP-2SG
'Don't scold me for nothing!'
b. *Meneek üöx-**sü**-me-Ø!*
for.nothing scold-SÜ-NEG-IMP-2SG
'Don't swear without reason!'

The Oceanic group can serve as another example of languages which select a reciprocal marker (or 'reciprocalizer') to express an antipassive meaning (Janic 2018). Nevertheless, these languages differ from Turkic because their reflexive and reciprocal forms are of different linguistic nature. While a lexical item represents a reflexivizer, a reciprocalizer is expressed by means of the grammaticalized valency-changing marker. The reciprocal-antipassive syncretism is attested in a range of Oceanic languages, in particular in Fijian, Toqabaqita, Drehu, Iaai, and Hoava (cf. Janic 2016b; but see also Moyse-Faurie, this volume). Consider example (32), illustrating the reciprocal-antipassive syncretism of the affix *kwai-…(-i)* in Toqabaqita.

(32) Toqabaqita (Austronesian; Lichtenberk 2007: 1552, 1560)
a. *Kini bia wane kera **kwai**-'oli-**i**.*
woman and man 3PL.FACT KWAI-embrace-I
'The woman and the man embraced.'
b. *Oomea 'eri 'e **kwai**-fa'a-ma'u-**i** 'asia na'a.*
enemy that 3SG.FACT KWAI-CAUS-be.afraid-I very
'The enemy is very frightening.' ~ 'The enemy frighten(s) [people] greatly.'

The crosslinguistic observation on the relation between reflexive and/or reciprocal forms and the antipassive can be further supported by various examples from Africa. Data from Bantu languages provide a particularly interesting piece of evidence. They show that in a context of the formal split between grammaticalized reflexive and reciprocal verbal markers, the preference is given to a reciprocalizer rather than to a reflexivizer to encode antipassive constructions. This situation is reported for Kirundi, where the reciprocal and reflexive verbs are signaled through the suffix *-an*, as in (33b) and the prefix *i-*, as in (33c) respectively.

(33) Kirundi (Atlantic Congo; Ndayiragije 2006: 273)
a. *Abagabo ba-a-kúbit-ye abâna.*
men 3PL-PST-hit-ASP children
'The men hit children.'
b. *Abagabo ba-a-kúbit-**an**-ye.*
men 3PL-PST-hit-RECP-ASP
'The men hit each other.'

c. *Abagabo ba-a-**i**-kúbit-ye.*
men 3PL-PST-REFL-hit-ASP
'The men hit themselves.'

The Kirundi derivations with *-an* which are accompanied by a plural subject are frequently ambiguous. In a similar fashion to Russian (26) and Lithuanian (27), they give rise to reciprocal and antipassive interpretations, as shown by the two translations in (34b) respectively.

(34) Kirundi (Atlantic Congo; Ndayiragije 2006: 275)
a. *Abanyéeshuúle ba-a-tuk-ye umwarimu.*
students 3PL-PST-insult-ASP teacher
'Students insulted the teacher.'
b. *Abanyéeshuúle ba-a-tuk-**an**-ye.*
students 3PL-PST-insult-AN-ASP
i. 'Students insulted each other.'
ii. 'Students insulted [people$_{arb}$].'

The interpretative ambiguity of the *-an* construction with the plural S argument is motivated by the animate features of the P argument and is subject to similar conditions, namely the involved participants should assume two different semantic roles i.e. agent and patient, however, they should not present any animate differences, i.e. both should be [+human].

The inventory of Bantu languages attesting two distinct reflexive and reciprocal verbal markers can be extended to Tswana. Like Kirundi, in Tswana, it is the reciprocal suffix *-an* and not the reflexive prefix *i-* which encodes antipassive constructions (Creissels & Nouguier-Voisin 2008). For further discussion on the antipassive-reciprocal syncretism in Bantu see also Janic & Segerer (2011), Bostoen et al. (2015), and Dom et al. (2017).

5.1.2 *The explanation for a reflexive-antipassive syncretism*

In the previous section, I discussed various syncretic patterns displayed by a reflexive and/or reciprocal marker and the antipassive. A reflexive/reciprocal-antipassive syncretism was reported for Slavic, Pama-Nyungan, Takana, Cariban, Kartvelian, Sino-Tibetan, Salishan, and Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit. In these languages, a reflexivizer is also in a position to encode reciprocal and middle constructions. The extension of a reflexivizer in the direction of the reciprocal function presumably results from the fact that the reciprocal meaning can be considered a special case of the reflexive function applied to a plural subject participant, where the latter assumes two semantic roles, viz. agent and patient. For convenience, these forms are often labeled as reflexive/reciprocal markers (Knjazev 2007: 681; Nedjalkov

2007: 242). Due to grammaticalization, they subsequently extended their use first to middle and then to antipassive functions (Kemmer 1993: 149–151; Givón 2001: Chapter 13; Kazenin 2001: 992; Basilico 2004; Creissels 2006: 40; Dixon 2012: 156; Polinsky 2017: 12). Recall that the reflexive/reciprocal syncretism is by no means absolute since verbal reflexivizers in Turkic and some Bantu languages do not perform a reciprocal function (cf. Section 5.1).

To explain a semantic extension from the reflexive domain into middles, one needs to define the middle term first. I define it building on Kemmer (1993), according to whom 'middle' refers to a specific type of events denoted by a verb. While in the reflexive event type, the subject participant assumes two semantic roles (agent and patient) the referents of which are conceptually distinguishable, in the middle event type, this distinction is blurred. As a result, the subject may be conceived as the agent-like participant if it assumes some of the features associated with the agent participant of the corresponding transitive construction. This leads to agentive interpretations observed for autocausatives. The middle subject participant may also share some features with a transitive patient. As a result, it is interpreted as a patient-like participant and the resulting construction is typically recognized as expressing anticausative events. Kemmer (1993) characterizes the extension from the reflexive into a middle domain in the following way: "From a marker with a relatively concrete, referential/nominal function (…), it acquired a semantic function which was verbal, i.e. event-centered rather than object-centered, i.e. middle rather than reflexive" (Kemmer 1993: 161). Finally, the extension from the middle into antipassive involves desemantization of a middle marker, which partially or totally loses its semantic content. This process results from a shift into a more structural direction, where this form no longer manipulates the semantic valency of a verb but rather operates on its syntactic level, leading to passive, antipassive and/or impersonal derivations.

Given the above, the reflexive-antipassive syncretism originates either in the reflexive /reciprocal form (Pama-Nyungan, Slavic, Takana, Cariban, Kartvelian, Sino-Tibetan, Salishan, and Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit) or in the reflexivizer alone (Turkic). In each case, though, this development involves an intermediary stage of middle. This path is schematized in Figure 1.

The functional motivation for the reflexive-to-antipassive extension is to be searched in the notion of relative elaboration of events, i.e. "the degree to which the participants and component subevents in a particular verbal event are distinguished" (Kemmer 1993: 121). Unlike reflexivizers, middle forms encode events, whose participants are not easily distinguishable at the conceptual level. Hence, the resulting events are relatively elaborated. A shift from a middle domain in the direction of an antipassive involves a loss of the semantic content associated with a reflexive/middle marker. Due to grammaticalization, it now performs a structural

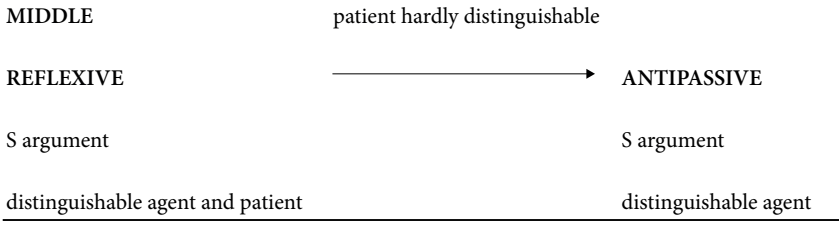


Figure 1. Development of a reflexivizer in the direction of antipassive

function of detransitivization. When such a marker occurs on a verb, it modifies the syntactic status of the P, without, however, affecting the semantic role of the subject argument, which is still conceived as the agent. The resulting construction is syntactically intransitive and maintains the event structure of the corresponding transitive construction. Like middle events with an agent-like participant, the characteristics of the events denoted by antipassive verbs also show relative elaboration. Indeed, one of the semantic features displayed by antipassive constructions is the generic interpretation of P. This reading often results from the elimination of the P argument from the syntactic structure. Consequently, the P argument displays a low degree of identifiability.

5.1.3 *The explanation of a reciprocal-antipassive syncretism*

As mentioned in Section 5.1.1, the antipassivizer may also display a morphological overlap with a reciprocalizer. While in some languages (e.g. Oceanic), the reciprocal-antipassive syncretism results from the availability of the linguistic devices a language has at its disposal, in others (e.g. Bantu) the preference given to a reciprocalizer rather than to a reflexivizer to encode antipassive constructions is less evident. As a result, three types of languages can be recognized accordingly. The 'Oceanic-type', where the split between reflexive and reciprocal forms corresponds to lexical vs. grammatical distinction. Given that antipassives are detransitivized constructions derived by an antipassive verbal marker, the reciprocal-antipassive relation in the Oceanic-type of languages is thus straightforward and self-evident. The second type is represented by Turkic languages. Recall that these languages have a distinct reflexivizer and reciprocalizer, where both forms are in principle equally available to encode antipassive constructions. Lastly, the 'Bantu-type' presents the most intriguing situation. Having at their disposal two grammaticalized verbal markers: reflexivizer and reciprocalizer, these languages tend to favor the latter to encode antipassives. This preference may result from the fact that the cognitive connection between reciprocals and antipassives is closer than the one between

reflexives and antipassives (cf. Kemmer 1993: 200). This could also explain why in languages with reflexive/reciprocal forms, reciprocal constructions with a plural subject are often ambiguous with an antipassive reading, whilst nothing similar can be said about reflexive constructions. Evidence supporting this assumption comes from Indo-European, in particular from Russian, for which it has been argued that almost all reflexive reciprocals allow the antipassive use as well (Knjazev 2007: 681). In contrast, reflexive constructions which are ambiguous offering also an antipassive interpretation are less frequent and subject to specific conditions. They typically involve verbs denoting events, which can be equally applicable to the agent and patient arguments, such as 'to cover oneself' vs. 'to cover somebody', 'to hide oneself' vs. 'to hide somebody', 'to splash oneself' vs. 'to splash somebody', as in (35). If the action expressed by a verb is antagonistic, hence detrimental to the A argument, the reflexive reading is automatically ruled out for pragmatic reasons, as in (36) (cf. Janic 2016a: 154–155).

(35) Polish (Indo-European, Slavic; p.k.)
Nie chlap się!
NEG splash.2SG.IMP SIĘ
i. 'Stop splashing yourself (with water).'
ii. 'Stop splashing me (with water).'

(36) Polish (Indo-European, Slavic; p.k.)
Marek się pcha.
P.N.NOM SIĘ push.3SG.PRS
i. 'Mark pushes [others].'
ii. *'Marek pushes himself.'

In their discussions of reciprocal-antipassive polysemy, Janic & Segerer (2011) and Janic (2016a,b) argue that the functional motivation for the reciprocal-to-antipassive shift is driven by the semantic property shared by reciprocal and antipassive meanings, namely plurality of relations. This semantic characteristic was initially suggested by Lichtenberk (1991) in reference to the reciprocal-antipassive (or 'depatientive') formal overlap in Oceanic languages. Related to the conceptual domain of the event structure of a verb, the notion of plurality of relations refers to different types of relations holding among the participants engaged in the development of the event denoted by a predicate. It defines how and to what extent the involved participants interact with each other. Concerning the prototypical reciprocal event, the plurality of relation results from the very nature of the performed action. It contains two participants A and B who stand in symmetrical relation to each other: A acts on B, and B acts on A. As a result, each of them assumes a double semantic role, viz. agent and patient, and the event itself consists of two sub-events, viz. A→B and B→A. Hence, it involves a plurality of relations. The latter is also captured in

antipassive events, where it is related to aspectual properties of a verb. Antipassive verbs denote semantically transitive events in which A and B participants stand in an asymmetrical relation to each other. The transfer of the action is thus unidirectional from A to B, where A and B assume the role of agent and patient accordingly. From a crosslinguistic perspective, antipassive constructions often entail an aspectual shift in the direction of habitual, iterative, and/or generic interpretations. By definition, such actions involve a repetition of successive events A→B, thereby implying the plurality of the A→B relation.

To explain a reciprocal-to-antipassive shift, Janic & Segerer (2011) focus on Bantu languages, which are well-known for having this type of syncretism. The authors put forward a path of development consisting of six stages, each corresponding to one specific construction, as in (37).

(37) Janic & Segerer (2011)

Pattern 1: SBJ[PL] – V-*RECP* – Ø	reciprocal, plural subject
Pattern 2: SBJ.A_{sg} & SBJ.B_{sg} – V-*RECP* – Ø	reciprocal, conjoint subject
Pattern 3: SBJ.A_{sg} – V-*RECP* – with y_{sg}	reciprocal, disjoint subject
Pattern 4: SBJ[SG] – V-*RECP* – Ø	antipassive reading with SG subject
Pattern 5: SBJ[PL]- V-*RECP* – Ø	reciprocal or antipassive reading
Pattern 6: SBJ[SG/PL] – V-*RECP* – Ø	antipassive only, RECP requires a new marker

The main assumption behind this development is that if a given pattern is attested in a language, then the preceding pattern is most probably attested as well. Thus, the initial function of the reciprocalizer *-an* in Bantu is to encode reciprocal events taken in a broad sense, in which the involved participants are encoded as subject argument in a plural form (Pattern 1). In the literature, this event is recognized under different labels such as collective, associative, sociative, cooperative, etc. (Lichtenberk 1985: 28; Kemmer 1993: 98–102, 123–127; Nedjalkov 2007: 33). The resulting construction conveys the meaning 'to do something together [to each other]'. Then, the reciprocalizer *-an* specialized to encode a more specific event, involving prototypical reciprocal events with two, A and B, participants. The resulting construction still contains a plural subject, but the involved participants are individuated through a conjoint strategy (Pattern 2). Due to pragmatic reasons, one of the co-participants is backgrounded. This results in a comitative construction in which the defocused argument is shifted to an oblique position, indicated by the comitative marker 'with'. Both constructions (Pattern 2 and Pattern 3) alternate, expressing the same type of event. While in the comitative construction, the subject participant is in focus, the comitative participant is backgrounded to the extent that it begins to be occasionally dropped from the surface structure. This leads to Pattern 4 exemplified by an antipassive construction. This change involves a shift

in a conceptualization of the event, i.e. instead of denoting 'A acts with B', the verb begins to express 'A acts on B', where the presence of the latter is left implicit. Once the resulting construction is entrenched in the system of a language, it begins to accept a plural subject, leading to ambiguous antipassive and reciprocal reading (Pattern 5). To disambiguate the clause, some languages start to require a different reciprocalizer (Pattern 6). Examples (38)–(42) illustrate constructions corresponding to the respective patterns illustrated in (37).

(38) Swahili (Atlantic-Congo; Seidl & Dimitriadis 2003: 262)
*wa-li-on-**an**-a*
SM-PST-see-AN-FV
'They saw each other.' (Pattern 1)

(39) Chingoni (Atlantic-Congo; Ngonyani 2003: 67)
*Nyoni na Komba v-i-lig-**an**-a.*
P.N. and P.N. SM-PRS-insult-AN-FV
'Nyoni and Komba are insulting each other.' (Pattern 2)

(40) Kivunjo-Chaga (Atlantic-Congo; Moshi 2000: 142)
*Mana n-a-le-kap-**an**-a na mburu.*
1.child FOC-1SM-PST-fight-AN-FV with 9.goat
'The child fought with the goat.' (Pattern 3)

(41) Chichewa (Atlantic-Congo; Mchombo 1999: 192)
*Chatsalírá a-ku-mény-**an**-a.*
P.N. 1SM-PRS-hit-AN-FV
'Chatsalira is fighting others.' (Pattern 4)

(42) Kitharaka (Atlantic-Congo; Harford Perez 1991: 102)
*Èékúrú! í-bá-rá-túm-**án**-íír-è.*
2.women FOC-2SM-PST-SEW-AN-PST/APPL-FV
i. 'The women sew clothes for each other.'
ii. 'The women sew clothes for other people.' (Pattern 5)

Pattern (6) is attested in Lunda. Unlike in most Bantu languages, in Lunda, the reciprocal *-añan* is no more productively used in a reciprocal function. It has been gradually replaced by the reflexive verbal prefix *di-*, whose role boils down to signaling reflexive and reciprocal functions (Kawasha 2002: 52). With regard to the antipassive use of the form *-an*, Kawasha (2003) further notes that a relatively small number of transitive verbal roots accept this morpheme. The resulting constructions with *-an* are intransitive, where the verb couples with an agentive subject and disallows the expression of the P. The main function of this construction is to express "what the agent can possibly do or what it does frequently" (Kawasha 2003: 176).

Interestingly, Pattern 3 with the comitative structure may occasionally trigger an antipassive interpretation. Creissels and Nouguier-Voisin (2008) report this situation in Tswana, in which, in most cases, the suffix *-an* unquestionably codes reciprocal constructions. However, constructions with *-an* may also lend themselves to the antipassive interpretation, as shown in (43b).

(43) Tswana (Atlantic-Congo; Creissels & Nouguier-Voisin 2008: 294)
a. *lepodisi le batla legodu*
5.policeman SM3:5 look.for 5.thief
'The policeman is looking for the thief.'
b. *lepodisi le batlana le legodu*
5.policeman SM3:5 look.for.AN with 5.thief
'The policeman is looking for the thief.'

In (43b), the verb expresses a unidirectional action, in which the agent, *lepodisi* 'policeman', is looking for a distinct participant, *legodu* 'thief'. The construction is derived by the reciprocal suffix *-an*. However, the default reciprocal reading is ruled out on pragmatic grounds. Creissels & Nouguier-Voisin (2008: 294) explain that this leads to the activation of the more abstract meaning of coparticipation, which is consistent with the factors responsible for the cancellation of the default meaning.

5.2 Incorporation of the hypernym argument

I use the term 'hypernym' as an umbrella term covering a large spectrum of meanings which share a semantic component of indefinite, non-specific, non-referential or generic interpretation (Feldman 1995; Carter et al. 2001: 89). This term can either have a human or non-human referent, meaning 'people', 'all', 'thing', 'person', 'someone', and displays (pro)nominal properties. When the P argument is a hypernym, it may serve as a point of departure for further development. The possible outcome of such an evolution is the incorporation of this element into a verb, where it begins to function as an antipassivizer. This situation is reported in Ixacatec (Otomanguean), as shown in (44), where the suffix *-mi²* synchronically serves to eliminate the P argument.

(44) Ixcatec (Otomanguean; Adamou 2014: 10)
a. *ɸi²ka²hu²-**mi²** di²-ni²sjo²-ri²*
bring-ANTIP CLF.M-P.N.-HON
'Mr. Dionisio brought (us).'
b. *kʷ-i¹ka¹-**mi²** ʔu²-ndʒĩ²sẽ³*
PFV-catch-ANTIP CLF.AN-fly
'The fly stung.'

The suffix *-mi²* originates in the nominal hypernym **hmi*, meaning 'person, something' (Adamou 2014). However, due to the grammaticalization process of incorporation, this form has lost its syntactic autonomy and developed into an antipassive suffix. This scenario is further strengthened by the reflexes of the root **hmi*, occurring nowadays in various contexts with human referents: *mi²-nda²wa²* 'man', *mi²-tʃʔa²* 'woman', and *tʃa²h-mi²* 'people' (cf. Sansò 2017).

Central Pomo (Pomoan) shows a similar path of development. The language has an antipassive marker *bá:*, as in (45a), whose morphological form overlaps with the one displayed by the indefinite human pronoun 'who' *bá:*, as in (45b). As shown in (45), *bá:* still operates as an unbound form.

(45) Central Pomo (Pomoan; Mithun, this volume)
a. *Mú:l* ***bá:****=ʾdu-w* *kay*,
3SG.AGT BÁ:=marry-PFV too
'He married too, …'
b. ***Bá:****=wa=ka* *mu:l* *t̪o:* *t̪ét̪e-:n=ya?*
BÁ:=Q=IFR that 1SG.PAT tell-IPFV=PERSONAL.EXP
'Who was it that was telling me now?'

Given that grammaticalization is gradient rather than categorical, it may happen that in some languages, incorporated forms are still in a transitional phase. Defining their synchronic status thus poses a challenge. This is the case with the form *mba'e-* in Paraguayan Guaraní (Tupian). Bound to a verb, *mba'e-* refers to an inanimate object, meaning 'thing', as in (46). It remains, however, unclear whether synchronically this form has already developed into a prefix and functions as a fully-fledged valency operator or whether it still functions as a person index filling up the object slot. In many languages, a distinction between voice operators and argument indexes is not straightforward and is subject to language-specific characteristics.

(46) Paraguayan Guaraní (Tupian; Estigarribia 2017: 49–50; Say, this volume)
*a-****mba'e****-jogua*
1SG.ACT-ANTIP2-buy
'I am shopping.'

The likelihood of grammaticalization of hypernyms into antipassivizers is high and relates to the functions performed by antipassives. The latter typically shift our attention from the P to the A and to the way the A argument is involved in the development of the action. As a result, the P argument is conceptually backgrounded, receiving indefinite, non-referential, generic, or nonspecific interpretations. Since hypernyms come already equipped with a low degree of referential content, they are good candidates to develop into antipassivizers.

5.3 Agent nominalization

Agent nominalizers, which derive agent nouns from verbs (e.g. *kill* > *kill-er*), are another attested source of antipassivizers. Sansò (2017) reports this situation for Mayan and Totonacan. Misantla Totonac (Totonacan) has the form *-nan*. Glossed by MacKay (1999) as an indefinite object, this suffix can be identified as an antipassivizer because it reduces the syntactic transitivity of a verb without affecting the semantic role of the A argument. Interestingly, this affix has a close morphological similarity to the agent nominalization suffix *-nV'*. Consider (47).

(47) Misantla Totonac (Totonacan; MacKay 1999: 321, 382)
a. *ut šqaa*
3SG harvest
'S/he harvests X.'
b. *ut šqaa-**nan***
3SG harvest-ANTIP
'S/he harvests (something) / does the harvesting.'
c. *hun-qa̱wa̱-**ná̱'***
DET-talk-A.NMLZ
'speaker'

In (47b), the antipassivizer *-nan* is attached to a transitive verb *šqáa*, meaning 'to harvest'. It detransitivizes this verb, shaping its meaning in the direction of a habitual interpretation. The resulting construction thus aligns with the main characteristics of antipassive clauses. Additionally, the language has the form *-nV'*, which is formally very similar to the antipassive form *-nan* available for agent nominals only, as shown in (47c). Given that a similar formal resemblance between antipassivizer and agent nominalizer exists in other Totonacan languages, e.g. Huehuetla Tepehua, Sansò (2017) suggests that the forms *-nan* and *-nV'* must be diachronically related. He argues that the agent marker was reinterpreted as an antipassivizer, where the development, viz. agent nominalizer → antipassivizer, was motivated by conventionalization of pragmatic implicature schematized as: *he is a killer* > *he [habitually] kills (people)* > *he kills (people)*, and finally > *he kills*, where the property of being the agent becomes a permanent feature. As a result, this participant is interpreted as having a habit, inclination, or tendency to perform the action denoted by a verb. The outcome of such evolution is the conventionalization of the respective implicature with the construction structured as *X is a V-er*, functionally corresponding to the antipassive. Frequently, the resulting constructions maintain the features of the source construction, namely habitual interpretation.

5.4 Action nominalization

The antipassivizer may also originate in action nominalization (cf. Sansò 2015, 2017). The morphological overlap between action nominalization affixes and antipassivizers is attested in a wide array of languages, for instance, in Nisga'a (Tsimshian). This language has the definite antipassive suffix *-ʔsT*, which can also perform a nominalizing function when attached to some verbal roots. Examples (48a)–(48b) illustrate the antipassive function of the suffix *-ʔsT*, while those in (48c)–(48d) show the action nominalization derivation triggered by the same suffix.

(48) Nisga'a (Tsimshian; Tarpent 1987: 689)
- a. *yùkʷ=ɬ lípʔi**sT**-t*
  PFV=NC sew-3
  'S/he is sewing.'
- b. *ɬìskʷ=ɬ péńi**sT**-t*
  PFV=NC paint-3
  'S/he has finished painting.'
- c. *lílkʔwi**sT***
  'shoelaces'
- d. *ḳímńi**sT***
  'soft shredded bark, formerly used as kindling'

Sansò (2017) reports a similar situation in Mayan languages. It appears that in Mam, the antipassive suffix *-n* can also function as a denominal suffix, yielding denominal verbs.[5] Consider the following examples, where the suffix *-n* derives the antipassive verb *aq'naa-n*, as in (49b), along the nominalized verbal form *makaaxa-n*, as in (50). In the latter case, the suffix attaches to the noun *makaax* 'a type of edible grub' to produce the verb 'to grub/to look for grubs'.

(49) Mam (Mayan; England 1988: 533; Cooreman 1994: 53)
- a. *ma Ø-w-aq'na-7n-a.*
  ASP ABS.3SG-ERG.1SG-work-DS-1SG
  'I worked it.' (something)
- b. *ma chin aq'naa-**n**-a.*
  ASP ABS.1SG work-N-1SG
  'I worked.' (no implication of what was worked)

5. England (1988) discusses this situation under the lexical functions performed by the antipassivizer *-n*.

(50) Mam (Mayan; England 1988: 534)
*ma qo makaaxa-**n** t-uj t-tx'otx' Toono.*
REC 1PL.ABS look.for.grubs-N 3SG-in 3SG-land P.N.
'We grubbed on Antonio's land.'

Japhug Rgyalrong (Sino-Tibetan) can serve as another example of a language with a possible diachronic link between antipassivizer and action nominalizer. The language has two antipassive prefixes, *sɤ-* and *rɤ-*, demoting human and non-human P arguments respectively. The demoted argument is syntactically suppressed without the possibility of being realized as an oblique. Example (51b) illustrates the antipassive function performed by the prefix *rɤ-*.

(51) Japhug Rgyalrong (Sino-Tibetan; Jacques, this volume)
a. *rgɤnmɯ nɯ kɯ li iɕqʰa yuwang nɯ*
old.woman DEM ERG again the.aforementioned fish.net DEM
pjɤ-k-ɤsɯ-tʂɯβ-ci
IFR:IPFV-EVD-PROG-SEW-EVD
'The old woman was sewing the fish nets.'
b. *iɕqʰa kɯ-**rɤ**-tʂɯβ nɯ pɤjkʰu pjɤ-**rɤ**-tʂɯβ*
the.aforementioned NMLZ:S/A-Rɤ-SEW DEM already IFR:IPFV-Rɤ-SEW
ɕti.
be:AFFIRMATIVE:FACT
'(Very early in the morning), the tailor was already sewing.'

Both forms *sɤ-* and *rɤ-* can also function as denominal verbal prefixes, as shown in (52).

(52) Japhug Rgyalrong (Sino-Tibetan; Jacques 2014: 15–16)
a. *(tɤ)-rɟit* 'child' (noun) > ***rɤ**-rɟit* 'to have a child' (intr.)
b. *-ŋgɯm* 'egg' (noun) > ***rɤ**-ŋgɯm* 'to lay an egg' (intr.)
c. *tɯ-krɤz* 'discussion' (noun) > ***rɤ**-krɤz* 'to discuss' (intr.)
d. *-rmi* 'name' (noun) > ***sɤ**-rmi* 'to give a name' (tr.)

Jacques (2014) postulates the denominal origin of the antipassivizers in Japhug Rgyalrong, suggesting that they developed from the denominal prefixes via a two-fold reanalysis. In the first stage, transitive verbs were nominalized into action nouns. Such nominals were either accompanied by the nominalization prefix *tɯ-* or by the possessive prefix *tɤ-*/*ta-*. In the second stage, the action nominals turned into verbs through the denominal prefix *rɤ-*/*sɤ-*. These prefixes derived syntactically intransitive verbs, corresponding to the English paraphrase *to do the V-ing*. After they were reanalysed as antipassivizers, they began functioning as distinct affixes to the extent that they do not fill up the same slot in the verbal template any more (Jacques 2014).

Jacques (2014) presents this development, building on the example containing the antipassive form *rɤ-ɕpʰɤt*, where the transitive verb *ɕpʰɤt* 'to patch' was first derived into an action noun *tɤ-ɕpʰɤt* 'a patch' by the possessive prefix *tɤ*. Subsequently, this noun was converted into an intransitive antipassive form *rɤ-ɕpʰɤt* 'to patch, do patching' by the replacement of the possessive prefix *tɤ-* with the denominal verbalizing prefix *rɤ-*. At the synchronic level, the resulting form is ambiguous between denominal derivation (derived from the noun 'a patch') and verbal antipassive derivation (resulting from the transitive base verb 'to patch').

The extension from an action nominalizer into an antipassivizer builds on the observation that such nominals offer a possibility to modify the argument structure of verbs in a way which allows for the non-specification of P (e.g. *do the reading*). Since the resulting construction does not require to pinpoint P, it can be viewed as a strategy to avoid expressing this argument in particular in languages in which constructions with a null object are dispreferred or disallowed.

5.5 Person markers

It is well-known that voice and person markers can be diachronically related. Textbook examples are discussed in Heine & Reh (1984), Haspelmath (1990), Siewierska (2010), Givón (2018), who mention that passive constructions frequently originate in third person plural constructions in which the third person plural form denotes a generalized human subject participant. This diachronic link results from the fact that voice markers modify verbal valency. Hence, they have an impact on the core arguments, which in many languages are indexed on a verb by means of person markers. Bickel & Gaenszle (2015) and Auderset (this volume) mention that it is also possible to argue for a diachronic link between antipassive and person markers. Specifically, Auderset (this volume) puts forward a scenario according to which a third person marker evolved in the direction of antipassivizer. The author reports this situation for Comanche (Uto-Aztecan) and Krongo (Kadugli-Krongo). Comanche has an antipassivizer *ma-*, coding unspecified human objects. In Timbisha, a related language, the same prefix functions exclusively as a third person pronoun and as a demonstrative base. Importantly, in Comanche, the use of the prefix *ma-* is not limited to antipassive coding as it can freely couple with intransitive verbs as well. It is argued that the meaning of this prefix originates in the indefinite referent meaning 'one'. This follows from the fact that this prefix is similar to the form reconstructed at the proto-level as **ma*, which was part of the demonstrative system (Langacker 1977: 99). One can thus assume that in a course of time, this form acquired a general third person interpretation in Timbisha and Comanche, which in Comanche subsequently developed into the antipassive

function. This hypothesis is further supported by the existence of a remarkably similar well-attested pattern where a passive form developed from the third person through impersonal interpretation (cf. Siewierska 2010).

On this occasion, it is worth mentioning that a person-to-antipassivizer development is not unidirectional. Auderset (this volume) considers that among various paths, the antipassive-to-person extension is the most recurrent. Evidence comes from Eurasia, where many languages with a first person P argument marker tend to share the antipassive-to-first-person extension. Puma (Sino-Tibetan) is one of them. In addition to zero antipassive coding constructions, this language also has antipassive clauses derived through the prefix *kha-*. This form functions as an antipassivizer demoting human patients, as in (53a). Importantly, the same prefix can also trigger the interpretation of a first person plural P argument, as shown in (53b).

(53) Puma (Sino-Tibetan; Bickel & Gaenszle 2015: 6)

a. *(kho-ci)* *som-**kha**-mʌ-tuk*.
3-NSG[NOM] love-KHA-3PL.S-love.NPST
'They love people.'

b. *(kho-ci-a)* *som-**kha**-mʌ-tuk*.
3-NSG-ERG love-KHA-3PL.A-love.NPST
'They love us.'

In example (53), in the absence of any NPs, the construction composed of the predicate *som-kha-mʌ-tuk* is ambiguous, leading to both the antipassive and first person plural P-argument interpretation. Bickel & Gaenszle (2015) opt for antipassive-to-person development. The possible explanation is to be searched in the notion of generosity and politeness. For a very long time, Puma was in contact with the prestigious varieties of Maithili (a socially dominating Indo-Aryan language spoken to the South of Kiranti), where referring directly to the first person was avoided for politeness reasons. Bickel & Gaenszle (2015) assume that in Puma, the extension of antipassive to the first person P-argument marker was influenced by this restriction. This language extended the use of the antipassivizer *kha-* to the first person P-argument marker to pass by the restriction in question. Like in Section 5.4, this type of development can be as well viewed as a possible strategy which allows referring to the first person in object function in particular in languages in which this possibility is dispreferred or strongly disallowed.

Historical data from Proto-Kiranti further support this scenario. Building on the formal and semantic closeness between the human antipassive marker *kha-* and the lexical item **khəl* meaning 'all', it is legitimate to assume that the prefix *kha-* is a reflex of this proto-form. Following Bickel & Gaenszle (2015), Auderset (this volume) considers the generic interpretation of **khəl* to be a determining factor,

which facilitated the frequent occurrence of *kha-* in the role of the patient in zero coded antipassive constructions. Moreover, the residues of an earlier object status can be traced back to the possibility to relativize the P argument in zero antipassive constructions but not in those which accept the overt antipassive marker.

5.6 Causative markers

In some languages, antipassivizers and causative markers (or 'causativizers') show a remarkable, morphological similarity. This is observed in Soninke, in which the dedicated antipassivizer and causativizer have the forms *-ndì ~ -ndí* and *-ndí* respectively (Creissels 2014). Additionally, the Soninke causative marker *-ndí* shows a strong resemblance to causative markers in two closely related languages viz. Mandinka (*-ndi*) and Bozo (*-ni*). Given the above, it is legitimate to ask whether the morphological overlap in Soninke results from a pure coincidence or a common etymological background. To support the latter hypothesis, Creissels (2014, this volume) refers to a reconstructed Proto-West-Mande lexical item **tin* 'do', which is similar in form and meaning and can be argued to be a diachronic source of the antipassivizer and causativizer in Soninke. The author suggests that the root **tin* underwent grammaticalization, leading to causative and antipassive periphrases. This hypothesis is strengthened by a crosslinguistic observation that verbs meaning 'do, make' often occur in causative periphrases (Creissels 2016: 83). Hence, they are a common source of causative markers. Importantly, 'do, make' verbs are also found in antipassive periphrases where, by analogy, they can be viewed as a source of antipassivizers. This parallelism is observed in French, illustrated in (54).

(54) French (Indo-European, Romance; Creissels 2016: 83)
a. *La femme a fait acheter le pain par son fils.*
the woman has made buy the bread by her son
'The woman made her son buy the bread.'
b. *La femme a fait des achats.*
the woman has made some buying
'The woman did some shopping.'

The verb *faire* 'do, make' occurs in a periphrastic causative construction, as in (54a). Joint with the infinitive *acheter* 'to buy', they form a complex predicate expressing a caused event. In (54b), the verb 'faire' occurs in the periphrastic antipassive construction, where it couples with the deverbal action noun *achats* occurring in object function, as in (54b). In principle, periphrastic antipassive constructions can be viewed as a possible language strategy employed by speakers when they do not intend to overtly specify the P argument (cf. Creissels 2016, this volume).

6. Summary and conclusions

Recent years have witnessed a surge of interest in antipassive constructions (e.g. Say 2008; Medová 2009; Janic 2016a; Heaton 2017; Polinsky 2017; Mroczyńska 2018, etc.), not to mention an impressive number of presentations on this topic delivered during the SLE conference in 2016. This study can be seen as another contribution, aiming to systematize the question of antipassive verbal coding in the world's languages. For this purpose, I surveyed a range of antipassive constructions and distinguished segmental and non-linear morphological coding. While the former, which involves the presence of an overt form on a verb, was widely discussed in the literature, this was not the case for the latter. This may result from the fact that languages having this type of antipassive coding are not frequent in the world. Hence, they did not attract much attention, apart from a few exceptions (Palmer 1994; Petersen 2003; Guillaume 2008; Letuchiy & Arkadiev 2012). The discussion on antipassive verbal coding raised an important question on how to approach constructions in which a change of syntactic transitivity of a verb is signaled neither by an antipassivizer such as affix or clitic nor by a change in the verbal stem. These constructions display noteworthy patterns which make them comparable to those associated with 'standard' antipassive constructions. For instance, they are systematically intransitive and in morphologically ergative languages show a change in the flagging of the A, which occurs in absolutive. Additionally, the verb indexes only the S argument. Zero antipassive coding constructions are also consistent with the functional similarity exhibited by antipassive constructions. Nevertheless, they pose a challenge to any crosslinguistic comparison because if one builds on a broad definition, in which a verbal predicate does not involve overt marking, then one will have to subsume a whole range of antipassive and antipassive-like constructions under the umbrella term of antipassive, losing thereby the unique characteristics of these constructions.

Taking into account that much of the existing literature has a synchronic perspective, in my study, I also explored the diachronic dimension of antipassivizers. Building on Lidz (1996), Terrill (1997), Jacques (2014), Janic (2016a), Sansò (2017), as well as on numerous contributions to this volume, I investigated a range of different sources which have the potential to evolve into antipassivizers, such as reflexive and/or reciprocal forms, agent nominalizer, action nominalizer, person marker, and causative marker. Interestingly, some of these developments are not unidirectional. For instance, both person-to-antipassivizer and antipassivizer-to-person paths are equally attested in the world's languages, although the latter seems to be more common than the former (cf. Auderset, this volume). Another interesting observation was that the development of an antipassive function was frequently motivated by restrictions imposed by a language on the P argument. For instance, the extension

of an action nominalization marker or a causative marker in the antipassive direction can be viewed as a possible strategy allowing to avoid the expression of the P argument, in particular in those languages in which constructions with a null object are dispreferred or disallowed.

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Abbreviations

The glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, additional abbreviations are as follows:

ACT	actor
AGT	grammatical agent
AN	animal
ASP	aspect
CN	discourse connective
CTR	control transitive
D	default determiner
DS	directional suffix
DYN	dynamic
EP	epenthetic
EVD	evidential
FACT	factitive
FV	final vowel
HON	honorific
IFR	inferential
ITIVE	'away' from reference point
LMT	limiter
NC	non-determinate connective
PAT	grammatical patient
PERSONAL.EXP	personal experience
PN	proper noun
PREP	preposition
PSD	possessed
PSR	possessor
RD	reduplication
REC	recent past
RL	realis
SM	subject marker
TEMP	simultaneous temporal or conditional (marked by low tone)

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CHAPTER 9

Antipassive derivation in Soninke (West Mande)

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Soninke, a West Mande language spoken in Mali, Mauritania, Gambia, and Senegal, provides crucial support to the view that accusative languages may have fully productive antipassive derivations. In Soninke, the distinction between transitive and intransitive predication is particularly clearcut. The alignment between transitive and intransitive predication is neutral in indexation, but accusative in flagging, and accusative alignment is found in constituent order too. Soninke has two verbal suffixes that can be involved in antipassivization defined as a morphologically marked alternation by which transitive verbs are converted into intransitive verbs whose sole core argument fulfills the same semantic role as the A argument of the transitive verbs from which they derive. One of these two suffixes is a dedicated antipassive suffix, whereas the other is a multifunction detransitivizing suffix acting as an antipassive marker with a limited number of verbs. In Soninke, there is no interaction between antipassive and aspect, and there is no constraint restricting the use of the antipassive form of transitive verbs to the encoding of habitual events or stereotyped activities either. Antipassive constructions can refer to specific events, provided no specific patient is mentioned. In Soninke, null objects are not allowed, only a tiny minority of transitive verbs can be used intransitively with a subject representing their agentive argument, and the high productivity of antipassive derivation follows from the use of derived intransitive verbs as the preferred strategy for not specifying the patientive argument of transitive verbs. Diachronically, there is evidence that the multipurpose detransitivizing suffix acting as an antipassive marker with a limited number of verbs was originally a reflexive marker, whereas the dedicated antipassive suffix results from the grammaticalization of a verb 'do' in a cross-linguistically common type of antipassive periphrasis.

Keywords: Mande, Soninke, antipassive, detransitivization

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1. Introduction

Soninke, spoken in Mali, Mauritania, Gambia, and Senegal, by approximately 2 million speakers, belongs to the western branch of the Mande language family. The only relatively well-documented Soninke variety is that spoken in Kaedi (Mauritania), for which two comprehensive grammars are available (Diagana O. M. (1984, 1995) and Diagana Y. (1990, 1994)), as well as a dictionary (Diagana O. M. 2011). However, none of the available grammars acknowledges the specificity of antipassive verb forms and of antipassive constructions in the morphosyntax of Soninke. The existence of a productive mechanism of antipassive derivation was first acknowledged in Creissels' (1992) article on the voice system of Kaedi Soninke. (1) reproduces one of the examples quoted in Creissels (1992) to support the recognition or an antipassive voice in Soninke.

(1) a. *Sámáqqè-n dà lémínè-n qíñí.*
snake-D CPL.TR child-D bite
'The snake bit the child.'
b. *Sámáqqè-n qíñí-ndì.*
snake-D bite-ANTIP
'The snake bit (someone).'

Given the topic of the present article and the origin of the data, the following two references are particularly relevant: Creissels & Diagne (2013) on transitivity in Bakel Soninke, and Creissels (2016) on the phonology of Kingi Soninke. Some of the data analyzed here are also discussed in Creissels (2017, to appear) and Creissels & Dramé (2018), not to mention conference presentations whose content has been integrated in subsequent publications, but the present article is the first publication specifically devoted to a detailed description of Soninke antipassive.

In the long-standing debate about the relationship between antipassive and accusativity / ergativity, Soninke provides crucial support to the view already suggested by Heath (1976) and discussed in detail by Janic (2016), according to which accusative languages may have fully productive antipassive derivations converting the A argument of transitive clauses into the sole core argument of intransitive clauses, the only differences with antipassive derivations in ergative languages being that:

a. they are less visible, since in an accusative language, the coding properties of an A noun phrase converted into the sole core argument of an intransitive predication do not change,
b. one of the functions fulfilled by antipassive derivations in ergative languages (making the A argument of transitive verbs accessible to operations to which the A term of transitive clauses does not have access) has no equivalent in accusative languages.

In this article, building on the works mentioned above and recent fieldwork on Kingi Soninke, I discuss the most salient typological characteristics of Soninke antipassive.

The Soninke examples illustrating the analysis are all from the Soninke variety spoken in Kingi (*Kíngí*), a traditional Soninke province in North West Mali whose main urban center is Nioro (*Ñóoró*), but I am aware of no dialectal variation that would affect the aspects of Soninke morphosyntax discussed in this article.

The paper is organized as follow. Section 2 presents the most basic aspects of Soninke clause structure. Section 3 provides additional details on the expression of core arguments and the intransitive use of transitive verbs. Section 4 describes the use of the two verbal suffixes involved in antipassivization. Section 5 discusses the functions and semantics of antipassive constructions. Section 6 discusses the commonalities and differences between antipassivization and object incorporation. Section 7 describes the restrictions to the combination of antipassivization and causativization. Section 8 puts forward hypotheses about the origin of the two suffixes involved in antipassivization. Section 9 summarizes the main conclusions.

2. Some basic aspects of Soninke clause structure

2.1 Transitive and intransitive verbal predication

In Soninke, as in the other Mande languages, verbal predication is characterized by a rigid constituent order that can be schematized as S pm (O) V (X).[1] The subject (S), a grammatical relation that conflates the A term of the basic transitive construction and the unique core argument of intransitive predication, is the only nominal term of the construction whose presence is an absolute requirement in independent assertive or interrogative clauses. Predicative markers (pm) are grammatical words occupying a fixed position immediately after the subject. They express grammaticalized TAM distinctions and polarity (positive vs. negative), and also participate in transitivity marking.

Examples (2) and (3) illustrate intransitive and transitive verbal predication with the following two predicative markers: *má* 'completive, negative', and the locative copula *wá* (negative *ntá*) fulfilling the function of incompletive auxiliary.[2] With

1. Soninke is among the languages in which the recognition of a grammatical relation 'subject' conflating transitive agents and sole arguments of monovalent verbs is not problematic, and in this paper, S must be understood as an abbreviation for 'subject' (rather than 'sole argument of semantically monovalent verbs').

2. Although cognate with the locational copula *wá / ntá*, the incompletive predicative marker *wá / ntá* has several properties that require treating it as a distinct unit in a synchronic description of Soninke.

the locative copula used as an incompletive auxiliary, the verb is in the form I call gerundive, otherwise it occurs in its bare lexical form. In the glosses, superscript L indicates a tonal modification of the verb (replacement of the lexical contour by an all-low contour) triggered by some predicative markers.

(2) a. *Ké yúgó* ***má*** *qàrà.*
DEM man CPL.NEG study^{L}
S pm V
'This man did not study.'

b. *À* ***wá*** *táaxú-nú dàagó-n kànmá.*
3SG ICPL sit-GER mat-D on
S pm V X
'He is sitting on the mat.'

(3) a. *Lémúnù-n* ***má*** *qálìsí kìtà.*
child.PL-D CPL.NEG money get^{L}
S pm O V
'The children haven't got money.'

b. *À* ***wá*** *dòròkê-n qóbó-nó yàxàré-n dà.*
3SG ICPL dress-D buy-GER woman-D for
S pm O V X
'He will buy a dress for the woman.'

The full list of the predicative markers is given in Tables 1 and 2 below.

Table 1. The predicative markers combining with the bare form of the verb

	Intransitive	**Transitive**
completive positive	*Ø*	*dà*
completive negative	*má*	
instructive positive	*ná*	
instructive negative	*ntá*	
subjunctive positive	*nàn*	*nà*
subjunctive negative	*nàn máxà*	
imperative positive	*Ø*	*Ø/dà*[3]
imperative negative	*máxà*	

3. In the imperative singular, the positions of the subject and of the predicative marker are left empty. In the imperative plural, the 2nd person plural pronoun occupies the subject slot; the predicative marker slot is left empty in intransitive constructions, whereas in transitive constructions, it is occupied by a predicative marker *dà* homonymous with that used in the completive positive – cf. example (8) below.

Table 2. The predicative markers combining with the gerundive

	Intransitive	Transitive
incompletive positive	*wá*	
incompletive positive in focalization context	Ø	*nà*
incompletive negative	*ntá*	
past incompletive positive	*`ñí*	
past incompletive negative	*má ñì*	
ostensive	*háyí*	

2.2 Indexation and flagging of core syntactic terms

In Soninke, there is no indexation of the core syntactic terms S and O. As regards flagging, as illustrated in (4), Soninke has a differential subject marking mechanism involving an enclitic *-n* (glossed SBJF for 'subject flag') which occurs exclusively in two contexts: with interrogative phrases in subject function, and with subject noun phrases marked as focalized by the focus marker *yà/yá*.[4] Note that, when the subject or the object is focalized, the verb undergoes the same tonal modification (indicated in the gloss by superscript L) as in combination with the predicative markers *má* (completive negative) and *ntá* (incompletive negative).

(4) a. *Kó-n lì?*
who-SBJF come^{L}
'Who came?
Múusá yà-n lì.
Moussa FOC-SBJF come^{L}
MOUSSA came.

b. *Kó-n dà Hàatú yàxì?*
who-SBJF CPL.TR Fatou marry^{L}
'Who married Fatou?'
Múusá yà-n dà Hàatú yàxì.
Moussa FOC-SBJF CPL.TR Fatou marry^{L}
'MOUSSA married Fatou.'

c. *Án dà kó qìrì?*
2SG CPL.TR who call^{L}
'Who did you call?'

4. This subject marker, glossed SBJF ('subject flag') must not be confused with the definiteness marker (or rather default determiner) *-`n*, which has the same segmental form but different tonal properties (and a very different distribution).

Ń dà Múusá yà qìrì.
1SG CPL.TR Moussa FOC call^{L}
'I called MOUSSA.'

d. *Án góllí kó dànŋá?*
2SG work who for
'For whom did you work?'
Ń góllí Múusá yà dànŋá.
1SG work Moussa FOC for
'I worked for MOUSSA.'

2.3 Alignment

In Soninke, the alignment between transitive and intransitive predication is neutral in indexation, but accusative in flagging. Moreover, accusative alignment is found in constituent order too, since as can be seen from (2) and (3) above, the subject (be it the unique core argument in intransitive predication or the A term in transitive predication) invariably precedes the predicative markers, whereas the object invariably occurs between the predicative markers and the verb.

2.4 Oblique arguments

Predicative constructions with two or more terms encoded in the same way as the patient of typical monotransitive verbs (so-called 'multiple object constructions') are not possible in Soninke, and in the construction of semantically trivalent verbs like *kínì* 'give' in (5), one of the arguments (here, the recipient) is an 'oblique argument' that nothing distinguishes from adjuncts: like adjuncts, oblique arguments are encoded as postpositional phrases that follow the verb.

(5) *Múusá dà qálìsî-n kínì Dénbà yí.*
Moussa CPL.TR money-D give Demba POSTP
S pm O V X
'Moussa gave the money to Demba.'

Oblique arguments are found with some semantically bivalent verbs too. In Soninke, not all bivalent verbs can be constructed transitively: some of them, like *mùngú* 'forget' in (6), select an 'extended intransitive' coding frame with one of the two arguments encoded as the subject, and the other one encoded as an oblique.

(6) a. *Ń Ø mùngú dò ké lémíné tòxó-n ŋà.*
1SG forget with DEM child name-D^{LH} POSTP
S pm V X
'I have forgotten the name of this child.'

b. *Ń dà ké lémíné tòxó-n mùngú.
1SG CPL.TR DEM child name-D^{LH} forget
S pm O V

2.5 Transitivity marking

A salient feature of Soninke is the particularly clearcut distinction between transitive and intransitive predication, due to the interaction between TAM-polarity marking and transitivity:

- in the completive positive and in the imperative plural, the slot for predicative markers is left empty in intransitive constructions, but is occupied by a morpheme *dà* in transitive constructions – examples (7) and (8);[5]
- the subjunctive positive is marked by *nà* in transitive constructions and *nàn* in intransitive constructions – example (9);[6]
- in clauses including a focalized term, the incompletive marker has two variants depending on the transitivity of the construction: *Ø* in intransitive constructions, and *nà* (homonymous with the subjunctive positive marker) in transitive constructions – example (10).

(7) a. Ń gìdá Ø dàgá Hàráncì.
1SG elder_brother^{LH} CPL.INTR go France
'My elder brother went to France.'

b. Yàxàré-n dà tíyè-n qóbó sáxà-n ŋá.
woman-D CPL.TR meat-D buy market-D POSTP
'The woman bought meat at the market.'

(8) a. Qà Ø táaxú!
2PL.IMP IMP.INTR go
'Sit$_{pl}$ down!'

b. Qà dà lémínè-n dèemá!
2PL.IMP IMP.TR child-D help
'Help$_{pl}$ the child!'

(9) a. Lémúnù-n nàn táaxú yíttè-n ŋùré.
child.PL-D SBJV.INTR sit tree-D under
'The children should sit under the tree.'

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5. In some Soninke varieties, this predicative marker occurs as *dè* or *dì*.

6. The form labeled here 'subjunctive' combines with noun phrases in subject function in uses broadly similar to those fulfilled by forms traditionally labeled 'subjunctives' in grammars of European languages, but it is also found without an overt subject in uses broadly similar to those of European infinitives.

b. *Lémúnù-n nà tíyè-n ñígá.*[7]
child.PL-D SBJV.TR meat-D eat
'The children should eat meat.'

(10) a. *À wá sállì-ní.*
3SG ICPL pray-GER
'He is praying.'

b. *À Ø sállì-ní yà.*
3SG ICPL.FOC.INTR pray-GER FOC
'He is PRAYING.'

c. *À wá hàrê-n gáagà-ná.*
3SG ICPL donkey-D sell-GER
'He is selling the donkey.'

d. *À nà hàrê-n gáagà-ná yà.*
3SG ICPL.FOC.TR donkey-D sell-GER FOC
'He is SELLING the donkey.'

3. Constraints on the expression of subjects and objects, and on the intransitive use of transitive verbs

In independent assertive or interrogative clauses, null subjects or objects are not allowed: the subject position to the left of predicative markers cannot be left empty, and an overt object phrase must obligatorily be present between the predicative markers that unambiguously belong to the transitive paradigm and the verb. This means that, whenever a potentially transitive verb is found in a construction with just one NP to its left, the construction cannot be analyzed as a transitive construction with a null subject or object, and must be analyzed as an intransitive construction with the sole NP to the left of the verb in subject function.

A crucial point in the analysis of the predicative constructions of Soninke is that the position occupied by the predicative markers rules out an analysis according to which clauses such as (11b), with a bivalent verb preceded by a single noun phrase representing the patient-like participant, might have a transitive construction with a null subject. In such clauses, the predicative markers occur after the unique noun phrase preceding the verb, not before it, as it should be the case if this noun phrase occupied the object position in a transitive construction with a null subject. Moreover, the analysis of clauses such as (11b) as intransitive clauses with the patient in subject function is confirmed by the absence of *dà* in the

7. *Yígá* 'eat' occurs here as *ñígá* because of an alternation that automatically modifies the initial of Soninke words in contact with a nasal belonging to the preceding word. In this context, *r* → *l*, *w* → *ŋ*, *y* → *ñ*, *s* → *c*, *h* → *p*, and an initial *ŋ* is added to the words that have no initial consonant.

corresponding completive positive clause (11e), and more generally by the choice of the intransitive variant of the predicative markers that have distinct forms in transitive and intransitive clauses.

(11) a. *Múusá wá ké dáagó bàyì-ní.*
Moussa ICPL DEM mat lay_out-GER
'Moussa will lay out this mat.'
b. *Ké dáagó wá bàyì-ní.*
DEM mat ICPL lay_out-GER
'This mat will be laid out.'
c. **Ø Wá ké dáagó bàyì-ní.*
ICPL DEM mat lay_out-GER
d. *Múusá dà ké dáagó bàyí.*
Moussa CPL.TR DEM mat lay_out
'Moussa laid out this mat.'
e. *Ké dáagó Ø bàyí.*
DEM mat CPL.INTR lay_out
'This mat was laid out.'

In other words, *bàyí* must be analyzed as a P-labile verb whose intransitive construction has a passive reading.

Similarly, in (12), the absence of the transitivity marker *dà* in the completive positive (12d) shows that (12b) is not a transitive construction with a null object, but rather an intransitive construction. In other words, *sòxó* is an A-labile verb whose intransitive construction has an unspecified object reading.

(12) a. *Múusá wá ké té sòxò-nó.*
Moussa ICPL DEM field cultivate-GER
'Moussa will cultivate this field.'
b. *Múusá wá sòxò-nó.*
Moussa ICPL cultivate-GER
'Moussa will cultivate.'
c. *Múusá dà ké té sòxó.*
Moussa CPL.TR DEM field cultivate
'Moussa has cultivated this field.'
d. *Múusá Ø sòxó.*
Moussa CPL.INTR cultivate
'Moussa has cultivated.'

To summarize, in Soninke, the absence of an object NP in a clause whose nucleus is a potentially transitive verb implies that the verb in question is labile, and that the TAM-polarity markers sensitive to the transitive vs. intransitive distinction have the form characteristic of intransitive predication.

In the lexicon, the distinction between strictly transitive verbs, A-labile verbs, P-labile verbs, and A/P-labile verbs (which have the ability to be used intransitively in their underived form with a subject representing either of their two core arguments), is quite rigid. A-labile and A/P labile verbs are very few in the verbal lexicon of Soninke,[8] which means that almost all the verbs that have the ability to be used transitively are either strictly transitive verbs or P-labile verbs. In both cases, they are incapable of expressing non-specificity of their patientive argument by being simply used intransitively with their agentive argument in subject function, and this is where antipassive derivation comes in.

4. The derivational suffixes involved in antipassive constructions

Soninke has three verbal suffixes encoding operations on the valency of the verb. One of them is a causative suffix, the other two are valency-decreasing suffixes. Both valency-decreasing suffixes can be involved in antipassivization, but one of them is a dedicated antipassive suffix, whereas the other is a multipurpose detransitivizing suffix acting as an antipassive marker with a limited number of verbs. There is no semantic distinction between the antipassive constructions involving these two suffixes, and the choice is just a lexical property of the individual verbal lexemes.

4.1 The detransitivizing suffix *-i*

Most verbs that have a transitive stem ending with *a, o*, or *u* also have an intransitive stem that can be analyzed as derived from the transitive stem by the addition of a tonally neutral detransitivizing marker whose underlying form is /i/. However, this detransitivizing marker surfaces as a distinct segment (*-yi*) with monosyllabic stems only (for example *tù-yí* 'be known' < *`tú* 'know'). With non-monosyllabic stems, its presence is manifested by the following changes in the last vowel of the stem (and sometimes also in the preceding vowel):

a + *i* → *e* as in *káré* 'break (intr.)' < *kárá* 'break (tr.)'
o + *i* → *e* as in *sòxé* 'be cultivated' < *sòxó* 'cultivate'
u + *i* → *i* as in *kátí* 'be hit' < *kátú* 'hit'

8. The full list of the A-labile or A/P-labile verbs I am aware of in Kingi Soninke is as follows: *dàntáxì* 'explain', *gòró* 'pound', *hàyí* 'steal', *kíitì* 'judge', *másálà* 'talk', *mìní* 'drink', *mùllí* 'be careful (about something)', *mùñí* 'endure', *ñònŋó* 'draw (water)', *qàrá* 'learn', *sègé* 'climb', *sòxó* 'cultivate', *tángí* 'fish', *tógí* 'hunt', *wú* 'cry'.

One can therefore argue that the impossibility of forming distinct detransitivized forms of non-monosyllabic verbs ending with *e* or *i* by means of this suffix follows from the fact that the phonological process manifesting its presence would apply vacuously to such stems. This explanation is consistent with the fact that all the potentially transitive verbs ending with *e* or *i* are P-labile.

Functionally, *-i* may express various detransitivizing operations, but is not equally productive in all its possible uses. Agent demotion is by far its most productive use. Two semantic subtypes can be recognized. In the anticausative subtype, the agent is suppressed from argument structure, and the event is presented as occurring spontaneously, or at least without the involvement of an agent, as in (13b). In the passive subtype, the agent is semantically maintained, but it is not expressed, as in (14b).

(13) a. *Lémínè-n dà qóllè-n kárá.*
child-D CPL.TR calabash-D break
'The child broke the calabash.'
b. *Qóllè-n káré.*
calabash-D break.DETR
'The calabash broke.'

(14) a. *Yàxàré-n dà yìllé-n gòró.*
woman-D CPL.TR millet-D pound
'The woman pounded the millet.'
b. *Yìllé-n gòré.*
millet-D pound.DETR
'The millet was pounded.'

This distinction between agent-backgrounding and agent-suppressing deagentive derivation is not rigid. With many verbs, both readings are equally available, depending on the context. What seems to be crucial is the semantic distinction between processes likely to occur for a variety of reasons that are not always easy to identify (such as 'break'), and processes that require the intervention of an agent (such as 'become pounded').

With a few verbs among those that can combine with the detransitivizing marker *-i* in deagentive function, the same form also has a reflexive or autocausative use, as illustrated by *bóorè* 'undress oneself' < *bóorà* 'undress (tr.)' in (15).[9]

9. Soninke has two pronouns used productively to express reflexivity: *í* is a long-distance reflexive used in logophoric contexts, and as a reflexive possessive (as in (15a)), whereas *dú* is a local reflexive used for object or oblique reflexivization.

(15) a. *Yúgò-n dà í rèmmê-n bóorà.*
man-D CPLTR REFL son-D^{LH} undress
'The man undressed his son.'
b. *Yúgò-n bóorè.*
man-D undress.DETR
'The man undressed.'

The detransitivizing marker *-i* may also have an antipassive (depatientive) function, but in comparison with the intransitive verbs derived by means of *-i* used in anticausative or passive function, those used in antipassive function are not very numerous. Table 3 gives the list of the transitive verbs whose form derived by means of the detransitivizing suffix *-i* is attested in my data with an antipassive function.[10]

Table 3. The transitive verbs verb whose form derived by means of the detransitivizing suffix *-i* may have an antipassive function

Transitive	**Antipassive**	
bàtú	*bàtí*	'follow'
jànbá	*jànbé*	'betray'
hàámù	*hàámì*	'understand'
híccà	*híccè*	'vomit'
jónŋà	*jónŋè*	'begin'
kárá	*káré*	'cross'
nàhá	*nàhé*	'provide service', 'be useful'
ñáagà	*ñáagè*	'beg'
sàará	*sàaré*	'give birth'
ságárá	*ságáré*	'pick'
sòró	*sòré*	'cook'
sùgú	*sùgí*	'suck'
yígá	*yígé*	'eat'

As illustrated by *yígé* < *yígá* 'eat' in (16), most of the intransitive verbs derived by means of *-i* that can be used in antipassive function also have an anticausative or passive use.[11]

10. In addition to this list, there are also some intransitive verbs that can be analyzed etymologically as resulting from the lexicalization of the antipassive use of the detransitivized form of a transitive verb, such as *kìté* 'make a fortune' (cf. *kìtá* 'get').

11. On the *y* ~ *ñ* alternation affecting the initial consonant of this verb, see footnote 7.

(16) a. *Lémúnù-n dà tíyè-n ñígá.*
child.PL-D CPL.TR meat-D eat
'The children ate the meat.'
b. *Lémúnù-n ñígé.*
child.PL-D eat.DETR
'The children ate.'
c. *Tíyè-n ñígé.*
meat-D eat.DETR
'The meat was eaten.'

Diachronically, a plausible scenario is that this suffix started as a reflexive marker (possibly resulting from the grammaticalization of a reflexive pronoun in object function) whose uses extended to the coding of other semantic types of detransitivization (including antipassivization), a scenario widely attested or reconstructed in the languages of the world (e.g. Indo-European). Cf. Creissels (to appear) for a discussion of this hypothesis.

4.2 The antipassive suffix *-ndì ~ -ndí*

This suffix has dissyllabic allomorphs with monosyllabic stems (for example *kà-yìndí* < *ˋká* 'insult'). With non-monosyllabic stems, it may surface as *-ndì* or *-ndí* (depending on the tone pattern of the stem), and triggers no segmental modification of the stem. Its two allomorphs are conditioned as follows: *-ndì* if the tone pattern of the stem includes no LH sequence, *-ndí* if the tone pattern of the stem includes a LH sequence.

This suffix is exclusively used in antipassive function, as in (1), reproduced here as (17), and it is very productive. The transitive verbs that can be used intransitively in their underived form with a subject representing the agent are very few, the transitive verbs with which the detransitivizing marker *-i* can be used in antipassive function are not very numerous either (cf. Section 4.1, Table 3), and all the transitive verbs that do not belong to one of these two subsets are compatible with the antipassive marker *-ndì ~ -ndí*.

(17) a. *Sámáqqè-n dà lémínè-n qíñí.*
snake-D CPL.TR child-D bite
'The snake bit the child.'
b. *Sámáqqè-n qíñí-ndì.*
snake-D bite-ANTIP
'The snake bit (someone).'

5. The function and semantics of antipassive derivation

In Soninke, transitive verbs whose patientive argument is a discursively salient entity (either speech act participant or previously introduced participant) cannot occur in an antipassive construction. In such conditions, the only available option is a transitive construction in which the patientive argument is minimally represented by a personal pronoun in object function. By contrast, patientive arguments that do not fulfill this condition are commonly omitted whenever the speaker estimates that specifying them is not relevant in the given context.

The frequency of antipassive constructions in Soninke is entirely due to their use as a strategy making it possible to use transitive verbs without specifying their patientive argument. It must be remembered that, in addition to a morphologically marked distinction between transitive and intransitive predication, Soninke has a strict ban on null objects in transitive constructions, and except for a small minority of A-labile verbs, transitive verbs cannot feature in an intransitive construction with their agentive argument in subject function.

Interestingly, such constraints are quite common in Mande languages, but the strategies commonly used in the other Mande languages to get around them are the use of maximally vague nouns ('thing', 'people') in object function, or periphrases in which the nominalized transitive verb is the object of a verb 'do'. Antipassive uses of detransitivizing derivations also found in other functions are attested in some Mande languages (in particular in Bozo, the closest relative of Soninke), but they are always limited to a subset of transitive verbs. To the best of my knowledge, Soninke is the only Mande language that has developed a fully productive antipassive derivation. A historical explanation will be put forward in Section 8.

Accessibility to some syntactic operations is not a possible motivation of antipassive constructions in Soninke, since there is no restriction to the accessibility of transitive subjects to any kind of syntactic operation, which is of course not surprising in a morphologically accusative language.

Soninke has no interaction between antipassive and aspect either. This may seem more surprising, but in fact, this lack of interaction between antipassive and aspect is consistent with the use of antipassive constructions as the preferred strategy for not specifying the patientive argument of transitive verbs in a language that has strict requirements on the expression of core arguments and very few A-labile verbs: if the use of antipassive constructions were bound to conditions on aspect, other strategies should have been developed in complementarity with antipassive constructions, which is not the case.

This means in particular that Soninke has no tendency to restrict the use of the antipassive form of transitive verbs to the encoding of habitual events or stereotyped

activities. In Soninke, antipassive constructions are quite common in reference to specific events that are occurring at utterance time or have just occurred, and involve patientive participants whose identity is known to the speech act participants. As already mentioned above, with transitive verbs whose patientive argument is a discursively salient entity, antipassive constructions are impossible, and the use of object pronouns is obligatory, but I am aware of no other restriction on the use of antipassive constructions, apart from the obvious fact that the choice of an antipassive construction implies that the speaker estimates that, for any reason, the identity of the patientive participant need not be made explicit.

Example (18b–c) further illustrates the ability of antipassive constructions to refer to specific events, provided the speaker decides for any reason that any precision about the patientive participant would be superfluous. This example also shows that antipassive constructions in which the patientive argument is expressed as an oblique are possible, at least with some verbs.

(18) a. *Hàatú dà yúgó sàará dáàrú.*
Fatou CPL.TR male give_birth yesterday
'Fatou gave birth to a boy yesterday.'
(transitive construction)

b. *Hàatú sàaré dáàrú.*
Fatou give_birth.DETR yesterday
'Fatou had a baby yesterday.'
(antipassive construction with unexpressed P argument)

c. *Hàatú sàaré tì lénñúgó yì.*
Fatou give_birth.DETR with son POSTP
'Fatou gave birth to a son.'
(antipassive construction with demoted P argument)

There is no obvious semantic difference between antipassive constructions such as (18c) and transitive constructions, apart from the fact that backgrounding the patientive participant automatically highlights the involvement of the agentive participant in the event. Antipassive constructions with the patientive argument expressed as an oblique are however rare in spontaneous discourse and do not seem to be possible with all verbs. This question would require further investigation, but within the limits of the data I have been able to gather, antipassive constructions with the P argument expressed as an oblique are only attested with antipassive forms derived by means of the detransitivizing suffix *-i*, never with antipassive forms derived by means of the dedicated antipassive suffix.

6. Antipassive and object incorporation

In Soninke, incorporation can be defined as a morphological operation that creates compound verbal lexemes by attaching the non-autonomous form of a nominal lexeme to the left of a verbal lexeme. Incorporated nouns precede the verbal lexeme with which they form a compound, and the distinction between incorporated nouns and nouns occupying a syntactic position immediately to the left of the verb is ensured by the following two particularities of nominal and verbal morphology in Soninke:

a. most nouns have a non-autonomous form distinct from their free form, and this non-autonomous form is used whenever nouns occur as non-final formatives within compound or derived lexemes. For example, the non-autonomous form of *sélìnŋé* 'chicken' (plural *sélìnŋú*) is *sélín-*;
b. in some conditions (for example, in combination with some negative markers) the inherent tonal melody of the verb is replaced by an entirely low melody, and this tonal change affects incorporated nouns as part of a compound verb stem, but not nouns occupying a syntactic position immediately to the left of the verb, as in (19).

(19) a. *Ì wá sélìnŋû-n gáagà-ná*.
3PL ICPL chicken.PL-D sell-GER
'They are selling the chickens.'
b. *Ì ntá sélìnŋú-n **gàagà-nà***.
3PL ICPL.NEG chicken.PL-D sell-GER^{L}
'They are not selling the chickens.'
c. *Ì wá sélín-gáagè-né*.
3PL ICPL chicken-sell.DETR-GER
'They sell chickens.'
d. *Ì ntá **sèlìn-gàagè-nè***.
3PL ICPL.NEG chicken-sell.DETR-GER^{L}
'They don't sell chickens.'

In addition to the neutralization of the singular vs. plural distinction (in the sense that, contrary to what the translation might suggest, clauses such as (19c–d) carry no implication about the singularity / plurality of objects), a general characteristic of incorporation is that it excludes the presence of the various types of adnominals that may modify non-incorporated nouns.

Three functional subtypes of incorporation can be distinguished in Soninke: possessive incorporation, object incorporation, and oblique incorporation:

– in possessive incorporation, the construction with an incorporated noun can be paraphrased by a construction in which this noun is the nucleus of a noun

phrase in subject function, with a genitival modifier corresponding to the subject of the compound verb, as in (20);
– in object incorporation, the construction with an incorporated noun can be paraphrased by a construction in which this noun is the nucleus of a noun phrase in object function, as in (21);
– in oblique incorporation, the construction with an incorporated noun can be paraphrased by a construction in which this noun is the nucleus of a noun phrase in oblique function, as in (22).

(20) a. *Múusá bùttê-n bí.*
Moussa liver-D[LH] burn
Moussa got furious.'
lit. 'Moussa's liver burnt.'
b. *Múusá búttí-n-bí.*
Moussa liver-EP-burn[12]
'Moussa got furious.'
lit. 'Moussa liver-burnt.'

(21) a. *Yàxàrú-n dà kónpè-n céllà.*
woman.PL-D CPL.TR room-D sweep
'The women swept the room.'
b. *Yàxàrû-n kónpó-séllè.*
woman.PL-D room-sweep.DETR
'The women did room sweeping.'

(22) a. *À yàxí qóò qùsô.*
3SG get_married like girl.D
'He got married like a girl (i.e. very early).'
b. *À qùsù-n-ñàxí.*
3SG girl-EP-get_married[13]
'He got married like a girl (i.e. very early).'
lit. 'He got girl-married.'

Possessive incorporation and oblique incorporation do not modify the transitivity properties of verbs. By contrast, object incorporation detransitivizes transitive

12. In possessive incorporation and oblique incorporation, an epenthetic *-n-* is inserted between the incorporated noun and the verb. This epenthetic *-n-* also occurs in some types of nominal compounds, but as discussed by Diagana (1995), its occurrence cannot be predicted by a general rule. It must be emphasized that it is probably not cognate with the determination marker *-n* suffixed to nouns, since the determination marker includes a floating L tone, whereas the epenthetic *-n-* is tonally inert.

13. See Footnote 11.

verbs. Syntactically, all the mechanisms sensitive to transitivity unambiguously show that object incorporation yields intransitive compound verbs, and this is consistent with the fact that, as can be observed in (19c–d) and (21b) above, object incorporation triggers detransitivization marking.

There is an obvious functional similarity between object incorporation and antipassive derivation, since both operations create intransitive verbs without modifying the semantic role assigned to the subject. The only difference is that antipassivization does not affect the denotation of the verb (for example *gáagándì* 'sell (antip.)', exactly like *gáagà* 'sell', can be used to encode any event categorizable as a selling event), whereas incorporation restricts the denotation of the verb (for example, *sélíngáagè* 'do chicken selling' can only refer to selling events involving patientive participants categorizable as chickens). In both cases, the resulting intransitive verb can be used with reference to real events involving identifiable patientive participants, depending only on the speaker's judgment about the relevance of providing more or less precisions about the patientive participant.

The detransitivization marking observed in object incorporation is consistent with the functional similarity between object incorporation and antipassive derivation. There is however an important difference which justifies maintaining the distinction: detransitivization triggered by object incorporation is always marked by the multipurpose detransitivization marker *-i*, never by the dedicated antipassive marker *-ndì ~ ndí*. For example, the antipassive form of *séllà* 'sweep' is *séllá-ndì*, as in (23c), but the incorporation of the object triggers the use of the detransitivized form *séllè*, as in (23b). In the absence of an incorporated noun, *séllè* can only have a passive reading, as in (23d).

(23) a. *Yàxàrú-n dà kónpè-n céllà.*
woman.PL-D CPL.TR room-D sweep
'The women swept the room.'

b. *Yàxàrû-n kónpó-séllè.*
woman.PL-D room-sweep.DETR
'The women did room sweeping.'

c. *Yàxàrû-n céllá-ndì.*
woman.PL-D sweep-ANTIP
'The women did the sweeping.'

d. *Kónpè-n céllè.*
room-D sweep.DETR
'The room was swept.'

A consequence of this rule is that detransitivization marking in object incorporation is not apparent with verbs ending with *i* or *e*.

7. Causativization of antipassive verbs and antipassivization of causative verbs

Although the causativization of derived antipassive forms encoding patient demotion is perfectly conceivable semantically ('a causer makes a causee act on an unspecified patient'), it does not seem to be possible in Soninke.

By contrast, derived verbs with an ending decomposable as 'causative suffix' + 'antipassive suffix' are possible, and the antipassive marker operates on causative verbs in the same way as on non-derived transitive verbs: the meaning of such forms is that a causer manipulates an unspecified causee, as in (24).

(24) a. *Té-n bònó.*
field-D become_spoilt
'The field was spoilt.'

b. *Nàa-nú-n dà té-n bònò-ndí.*
cow-PL-D CPL.TR field-D become_spoilt-CAUS
'The cows caused damage to the field.'

c. *Nàa-nú-n bònò-ndì-ndí.*
cow-PL-D become_spoilt-CAUS-ANTIP
'The cows caused damage.'

It is however striking that antipassivization of causative constructions is not frequent in spontaneous discourse, and not always easily accepted in elicitation. My discussions with consultants suggest that this may be due to the fact that speakers find it difficult to process forms including two successive suffixes that have the same segmental form and express distinct operations on valency.

8. The origin of the suffixes involved in antipassivization

Comparative evidence suggests that the multifunction detransitivizing suffix *-i* was originally a reflexive marker (possibly cognate with a reflexive pronoun **i*) that developed anticausative, passive, and antipassive uses. For a detailed account of the evidence supporting this hypothesis, see Creissels (to appear).

As regards the dedicated antipassive suffix *-ndì ~ ndí*, the crucial question is whether the formal similarity with a causative marker found as *-ndí* in Soninke, *-ndi* in Mandinka, and *-ni* in Bozo (the closest relative of Soninke) is due to chance, or must rather be analyzed as evidence for a common etymology.

Of course, a purely accidental similarity cannot be excluded. But if we could find also a formally similar lexical item reconstructable at Proto-West-Mande level with a meaning that would make it a possible source of both causative and antipassive

markers, the hypothesis that precisely the lexical item in question constitutes the common source of all these suffixes would become highly plausible.

Verbs with the meaning 'do, make' commonly occur in causative periphrases, and constitute a well-known source of causative markers. But such verbs are also very commonly involved in constructions that can be viewed as antipassive periphrases, although they are not commonly referred to as such, and the possibility that verbs with the meaning 'do, make' involved in such constructions grammaticalize as antipassive markers must be considered.

For example, French has a causative construction in which *faire* 'do, make' combines with the infinitive of the verb expressing the caused event, as in (23a), but the use of *faire* with a deverbal event noun in object role is also a very common strategy to avoid specifying the object of transitive verbs with which the mere omission of the object phrase does not constitute the normal way to simply omit specifying the object, as in (23b), and similar antipassive periphrases can be observed more or less systematically in other European languages.

(23) French
  a. *La femme a fait acheter le pain par son fils.*
     the woman has made buy the bread by her son
     'The woman made her son buy the bread.'
  b. *La femme a fait des achats.*
     the woman has made some buying
     'The woman did some shopping.'

In most Mande languages, the verbs expressing 'do, make' are reflexes of two Proto-Mande roots reconstructable as **ma* and **kɛ*, which quite obviously cannot be the source of the suffixes we are dealing with. But **ma* and **kɛ* are not the only roots reconstructable at least at Proto-West-Mande level with the meaning 'do, make'. In Mandinka, 'do' is commonly expressed as *ké*, but Mandinka also has a verb *tîŋ ~ tínnà ~ túnnà* 'cause', and this verb is probably cognate with Bozo Jenaama *tîn* (compl.) *tînâ* (incompl.) 'do'. Given the position of Mandinka and Bozo in the genealogical tree of Mande languages, a Proto-West-Mande root **tin* 'do' can be reconstructed, and the hypothesis I propose is that all the suffixes mentioned above result from the grammaticalization of **tin* 'do', either in causative periphrases or in antipassive periphrases.

The grammaticalization processes in question may have occurred at different periods, and we will probably never be able to reconstruct the details of the source constructions, and of the phonological processes responsible for the precise forms taken by the suffixes in question, but this hypothesis provides at least a plausible explanation for a formal similarity between antipassive and causative markers that otherwise would remain unexplained.

Moreover, the hypothesis that the dedicated antipassive marker of Soninke is the reflex of a 'do' verb which originally acted as a light verb in combination with the nominalized form of transitive verbs is supported by the fact that, across Mande languages, antipassive periphrases in which a nominalized form of transitive verbs is the object of a light verb ('do' or other) are common. For example, in Sooso (West Mande), transitive predication is characterized by the same ban on null objects as in Soninke, but contrary to Soninke, the verbal lexemes of Sooso can be used freely as event nouns without any formal modification, and in their use as event nouns, they are not subject to any constraint on the expression of the patientive argument. Consequently, in Sooso, transitive verbal lexemes can be used as event nouns in light verb constructions including no mention of the patientive argument, and this is a common strategy to avoid expressing the object argument of transitive verbs. For example, when Sooso *xèɛbú* 'greet' is used by itself as the predicative nucleus of a clause, it is impossible not to mention its patientive argument, but this is possible with the light verb construction *xèɛbú tĭi* lit. 'raise greeting', where *xèɛbú* used nominally occupies the O slot in the construction of *tĭi* 'raise' in light verb function. My proposal is that the dedicated antipassive marker of Soninke results from the grammaticalization of a light verb 'do' in an antipassive periphrasis of this type.

9. Conclusion

In this article, I have tried to put forward a description of Soninke antipassive emphasizing aspects particularly relevant for a general typological discussion of antipassive constructions. Synchronically, the crucial point is that the productivity of antipassive derivation in Soninke follows from the use of antipassive constructions as the preferred strategy for not specifying the patientive argument of transitive verbs in a language in which null objects are not allowed, and only a tiny minority of transitive verbs can be used intransitively with a subject representing their agentive argument. Diachronically, one of the two verbal suffixes used to mark antipassive derivation is a multipurpose detransitivizing suffix whose probable origin is the well-known grammaticalization path from reflexive to other semantic varieties of detransitivization (including antipassive). The other one is a dedicated antipassive suffix whose probable origin is the grammaticalization of a verb 'do' in a cross-linguistically common type of antipassive periphrasis in which a transitive verbal lexeme in nominalized form is treated syntactically as the object of 'do'.

Abbreviations

The glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, additional abbreviations are as follows:

CPL	completive
D	default determiner
DETR	detransitivization marker
EP	epenthetic *n*
GER	gerundive
H (superscript)	high morphotoneme
ICPL	incompletive
L (superscript)	low morphotoneme
LH (superscript)	low-high morphotoneme
pm	predicative marker
POSTP	multifunction postposition
PROH	prohibitive
SBD	subordination marker
SBJF	subject flag
V	verb
X	oblique

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CHAPTER 10

Explaining the antipassive-causative syncretism in Mocoví (Guaycuruan)

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Among the polyfunctional valency markers, an antipassive-causative marker is a rather typologically unusual grammatical feature. This paper tries to explain the antipassive-causative syncretism in Mocoví, a Guaycuruan language spoken in northeastern Argentina, by examining the synchronic functions and the diachronic formation of the valency modifier *-aɢan*. We propose that both *-aɢan* antipassive and causative concentrate on the subject activity and involve the backgrounding of a core argument. These two functions, which are traceable to the formation of *-aɢan* from the state/change-of-state nominalizer *-aɢa* and the transitive verbalizer *-n*, work in tandem with the syntactic constraint of having only two core arguments per derived and non-derived transitive clauses, which crucially allows for the *-aɢan* reanalysis from causative to antipassive.

Keywords: syncretism, antipassive, causative, origin, evolution, Mocoví

1. Introduction

Mocoví, a Guaycuruan language spoken in northeastern Argentina, exhibits a theoretically and typologically relevant antipassive-causative syncretism encoded by the valency modifier *-aɢan*. This functionally and typologically oriented paper aims to explain such a cross-linguistically unusual syncretism by examining the synchronic functions and the diachronic formation of this valency modifier.[1,2]

1. The division of labour between the authors was as follows. The data from Mocoví were collected by Cristian Juárez in 2011–2018. Both authors equally participated in the analysis and typological interpretation of the data and writing of the text. This division of labour explains why the order of authors is non-alphabetical.

2. We are grateful to several Mocoví native speakers from Colonia Aborigen, specially Ramón Tomás, Daniel Ventura, Héctor José, Nieves José, Nanci and Lidia Olivas. A special thanks goes to Zarina Estrada Fernández, Spike Gildea and Denis Creissels for their comments on preliminary versions of this paper. We would also like to thank two anonymous reviewers and the editors of

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We first argue that the antipassive and causative functions of *-aɢan* are connected by the shared semantic properties and the syntactic constraint on the number of core arguments per derived and non-derived transitive clauses, i.e. the NP density control (Song 1991, 1996). The valency modifier highlights the predicate activity by focusing on the subject argument that performs this activity and implies a backgrounding process with regards to the base construction. The NP density control constraint does not allow morphological causatives to be formed from a transitive base construction; thus transitive predicates first need to be intransitivized by *-aɢan* in order to be *-aɢan* causativized.

We propose then that the two opposite valency-changing functions of *-aɢan* actually reflect the function and origin of its components. In this paper, we show that *-aɢan* results from the combination of the state/change-of-state nominalizer *-aɢa* and the verbalizer *-n*. The categorical change from verb to noun removes the verb argument structure, and *-n* verbalization gives the previously nominalized predicate a transitive argument structure. The function of *-n* as a transitive verbalizer is due to its verbal origin in an activity verb like 'make'; this reconstruction is strongly supported by Guaycuruan comparative data and reconstruction works on Proto-Guaycurú. Once the sequence *-aɢa* 'NMLZ' + *-n* 'VBLZ' was reanalyzed as a single unit, it began to function as a causative marker for derived and non-derived intransitive predicates. Then, *-aɢan* was reanalyzed as an antipassive marker for derived and non-derived transitive predicates. This syncretism was favored by the semantic motivations that causative and antipassive share and by the structural constraint on creating morphological causatives from transitive verbs. This explanation of the formation and evolution of Mocoví *-aɢan* is consistent with that of valency-changing markers in other unrelated languages and expands our knowledge on the possible sources of antipassive and causative markers.

The structure of the paper is as follows: Section 2 provides background information on Mocoví and the Guaycuruan language family, as well as on the main morphosyntactic properties of nominal and verbal phrases, and transitivity issues. Section 3 examines the synchronic functions of *-aɢan* as an antipassive and a causative marker. The formation of the valency marker and the possible evolution that gave rise to the antipassive-causative syncretism are discussed in Section 4. Section 5 presents some cross-linguistic data from languages in which antipassive and causative markers are argued to have originated from a similar derivational process to what is proposed for Mocoví. The main outcomes of this study and further research questions are provided in Section 6.

this volume for their valuable comments. We would lastly like to thank the Universidad de Sonora (UNISON) and The University of Texas at Austin for having sponsored the research leading to this paper. Any remaining errors are our own responsibility.

2. Linguistic family and typological profile of Mocoví

2.1 Guaycuruan family and Mocoví data

Mocoví belongs to the Guaycuruan language family. In addition to Mocoví, this family includes five other languages: †Mbayá, Kadiwéu, †Abipón, Toba and Pilagá. According to Fabre (2006), Guaycuruan languages are grouped into two different branches, i.e. Northern and Southern Guaycurú. The Northern Guaycurú branch includes Kadiwéu and the extinct language †Mbayá, which are from the Southern Brasil area. The Southern Guaycurú branch includes Mocoví, Toba, Pilagá and the extinct language †Abipón, from the northeastern Argentina area. Mocoví is spoken in the Argentinian provinces of Santa Fe and Chaco. Most of the Mocoví data in this paper come from Colonia Aborigen Mocoví, spoken in the northernmost Mocoví community of Chaco.

Mocoví data in this paper include both elicited and naturally occurring sentences, which were collected during fieldwork in Colonia Aborigen from 2011 to 2018. This material is complemented, as needed, with data from previous descriptions of the language (e.g. Buckwalter 1995; Grondona 1998; Gualdieri 1998; Carrió 2009, 2015a,b). We also consider data from other Guaycuruan languages, drawing on the published and unpublished work currently available. References are given as necessary.

2.2 Nominal and verbal phrases

The following subsections set out the morphosyntactic properties that will be relevant for understanding the nominal and verbal phrases in Mocoví. We first deal with the encoding of nominal phrases. We then address the encoding of core arguments, as well as the morphological properties associated with predicate transitivity.

2.2.1 *Nouns and nominal phrases*

In Mocoví, as well as in the other Guaycuruan languages, nouns and nominal phrases are commonly defined by two complementary morphosyntactic properties. First, nouns are preceded by determiners,[3] and second, bound person forms encode the possessor of the possessed noun, as in (1).

(1) a. *so* *l-qeʔla* *so* *pyoq*
DET 3POSS.I-ear DET dog
'the dog's ear'

3. Determiners are *ka* 'absent, non-visible', *na* 'present, coming', *so* 'present, going', *ɾa* 'present, standing (vertically extended), *ñi* 'present, sitting (non-extended), *ji* 'present, lying (horizontally extended)' (see Grondona 1998 and Gualdieri 1998 for further details).

The presence of a determiner before a noun is not an obligatory property to define a nominal phrase since determiners are omitted under certain circumstances. In elicitation, for instance, nouns can be uttered without any determiner, which does not lead to ungrammaticality. Also, referential properties of nouns seem to trigger determiner omission. For instance, the omission of determiners in antipassive clauses implies nominal indefiniteness (see Section 3.1).

As mentioned above, another distinctive morphological property of Mocoví nominals and nominal-like units is the possessor marking. There are two different bound form paradigms, Set I and Set II, which encode the possessor's person and number in the possessed noun (see Table 1). According to Gualdieri (1998: 132) and Grondona (1998: 65–66), these two sets roughly divide inalienable and alienable possession, based primarily on the obligatory vs. optional possession expression. In obligatorily possessed nouns, the possessor is expressed with a Set I form, while in optionally possessed nouns a Set II form is used. The semantic distinction between obligatorily and optionally possessed nouns also serves to differentiate types of possessive relationships, but not in a discrete way. For example, body parts, kinship, and some man-made object nouns mostly occur with Set I, but a reduced number of the same class of nouns also occurs with Set II. The Set II forms, moreover, apply to nouns that are undoubtedly part of the alienable domain, for example, nature elements (e.g. 'stick'), which can be both possessed or unpossessed.

Table 1. Mocoví possessor bound forms[4]

	Set I		Set II
1SG	*i-*		*ñ-*
2SG	*qad-…-iɾ*	*ɾ-…-iɾ*	*n-…-iɾ*
3SG	*l-*		*n-*
1PL	*qod-*	*qaɾ-*	*qan-*
2PL	*qad-…-i ~i:*	*ɾ-…-i*	*n-…-i*
3PL	*l-…-ɾ*		*n- …-ɾ*
INDEFINITE	*n-*		

4. The motivation for the split in possession marking of Set I is not yet clear and deserves further exploration; however this topic is beyond the scope of this paper. The reader is referred to Gualdieri (1998: 144) where she briefly states a working hypothesis on this issue.

Examples of the possession marking for each set of bound forms are given below in (2) and (3).

(2) Set I ('Inalienable')
a. ***i****-taʔa*
1POSS.I-father
'my father'
b. ***l****-taʔa*
3POSS.I-father
'his/her father'

(3) Set II ('Alienable')
a. *qopaɢ*
tree/stick
'stick, tree'
b. ***ñ****-qopaɢ*
1POSS.II-tree/stick
'my wood'

A relevant distinction to this work in the possessor marking is the contrast between *l-* and *n-* within Set I for 3rd person referents. The use of each of these possessor markers impacts on the referentiality of the possessor, as shown in (4). A referential 3rd person singular possessor is encoded with *l-*, as in (4a, 4c, 4e), but a non-referential, less definite possessor is encoded by the prefix *n-*, as in (4b, 4d, 4f).

(4) Definite vs. non-definite possessor expression from Set I
a. ***l****-woɾ*
3POSS.I-family
'his/her family'
b. ***n****-woɾ*
IND.POSS.I-family
'someone's family'/ 'relative'
c. ***l****-ya:le-Ø*
3POSS.I-descendant-F
'his/her daughter'
d. ***n****-ya:le-Ø*
IND.POSS.I-descendant-F
'someone's daughter'
e. ***l****-pelad*
3POSS.I-shoe
'his/her shoe'
f. ***n****-pelad*
IND.POSS.I-shoe
'someone's shoe' / 'shoe' (adapted from Gualdieri 1998: 138–139)

The possessor marking distinctions presented above will be relevant later when we show in Section 4.1 the extent to which nominalization affects the subject expression of intransitive predicates.

2.2.2 *Transitivity and core arguments*

This sub-section introduces the main evidence to recognize core arguments and predicates according to their transitivity. These points will be relevant to assess to what extent valency changes are reflected morphosyntactically.

Transitivity is understood here as a scalar and multifactorial notion related to semantic (i.e. semantic valency, the number of participants involved in the situation denoted by the verb) and morphosyntactic (i.e. syntactic valency, the number of arguments of the verb) properties of clauses. Of these two properties, scholars often argue that the semantic valency is the most basic and relevant property for individual language description and comparative purposes (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Kittïla 2002; Næss 2007). Semantically, a highly transitive predicate requires two different participants in an asymmetric relation, commonly an agent and a patient. Such participants are argued to be inherent to the verb's semantics, which means that they cannot be omitted without any change to the grammaticality of the verb's use (see Song 2015). Based on this definition, we can differentiate between core participants – those inherently required by the situation denoted by the verb, e.g. agent and patient – and peripheral participants, those that can be optionally included in the event, providing some background information, e.g. location, instrument, time. Semantic transitivity may have a direct correlation with the syntactic transitivity, but not necessarily. That is, it might be that all core semantic participants are also syntactically obligatory. Building on this syntactic correlation, core and oblique arguments can be further distinguished.

As Thompson (1997: 61) points out, languages differ in the extent to which they distinguish core arguments. In Mocoví, this distinction is made by the combination of verbal semantics and morphosyntax. For example, a single argument predicate (S), like in (5), obligatorily indexes that argument in the verb by a bound person form, e.g. *ɾ-*.[5] Nominal phrases and independent pronouns are optional and help determine the referentiality and other language-specific features of the argument (e.g. presence, absence, movement and position). The independent pronoun *ɾamaɢare* in (5), for instance, indicates that the third person argument is standing (see Gualdieri 1998: 174–191 and Grondona 1998: 79–86 for a detailed explanation of the independent pronoun formation).

5. The notion of 'bound person form' is taken from Haspelmath (2013).

(5) Intransitive clause[6]
ɾa-maɢaɾe *ɾ-tʃiqo-tak*
DET-maɢaɾe[6] 3INTR.I-get/be.sad-PROG
'He is getting sad.'

A two-argument predicate with one agent-like (A) and one patient-like (P) argument can be identified in Mocoví by the combination of bound person forms and independent pronouns.[7] For example, in (6) the A argument is indexed in the verb by *s-* and the P argument *qamiɾ* is obligatorily placed before the verb.

(6) Transitive clause
qamiɾ *s-tʃaɢ*
2SG 1.II-cut
'I cut you.'

The general pattern then is that only one core argument is indexed by a bound person form in the verb, mainly the S and A arguments, i.e. the subject, (but there are some exceptions, see Juárez 2013). Like many head-marking languages (see Mithun 2003, 2005; Haspelmath 2013), bound person forms are the main expression of those core arguments in Mocoví. Their associated co-referential independent nominal or pronominal phrases are optionally used for referentiality purposes other than person, number and grammatical function. The P argument of a transitive predicate, on the other hand, is encoded by an independent pronoun or a nominal phrase. Its syntactic position depends on the grammatical person: P arguments of 1st or 2nd person precede the verb, and P arguments of 3rd person usually follow the verb as the unmarked word order. In natural speech, though, the 3rd person P argument can be left unexpressed, which does not lead to ambiguity on the grammatical person of that argument. The different positions occupied by P arguments of speech-act participants vs. non-speech-act participants resolve any potential ambiguity.

2.2.3 *Bound person forms and transitivity*

As mentioned in the previous section, in Mocoví, subject is indexed by bound person forms on the verb. The language has three bound person form paradigms, Set I, Set II and Set III, which express the grammatical person and number of subjects. These bound person forms are lexically and grammatically selected, which creates a complex system in which the selection of each bound person form is built on a

6. The combination of both elements denotes a third person participant. *-maɢaɾe* does not occur by itself but combines with different determiners.

7. We follow Comrie (1981: 111) in taking S, A and P as "syntactic terms, whose prototypes are defined in semantic terms".

case-by-case basis. An illustration of both properties playing a role in the subject encoding is given by the selection of *ɾ-* and *i-* for 3rd person subject referents (see Sections 3.1 and 3.2). Importantly, bound person forms are also formal means to differentiate the valency of predicates. Here we will only describe Set I and II because they are the most relevant for the discussion in this paper. The Set I bound person form paradigm is illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2. Set I bound person form paradigm

	Set I (Intransitive)
1SG	*dʒ-*
2SG	*ɾ-…-iɾ*
1PL	*qaɾ-*
2PL	*ɾ-…-iɾ*
3rd	*n-*
	i-
	Ø-
	ɾ-

Set I occurs mostly with intransitive predicates, and its distribution is restricted to a small semantic class involving a physically or cognitively affected subject argument. Examples of predicates following the Set I paradigm are illustrated in (9). Note that predicates are similar in encoding the 1st person subject but differ in encoding the 3rd person subject, i.e. *n-* (9b), *i-* (9d), *Ø-* (9f) and *ɾ-* (9h).

(9) a. ***dʒ-****esal*
1SG.I-vomit
'I vomit.'

b. ***n-****esal*
3.I-vomit
'He/She vomits.'

c. ***dʒ-****iʔlogol*
1SG.I-tremble
'I tremble.'

d. ***i-****ʔlogol*
3.I-tremble
'He/She trembles.'

e. ***dʒ-****qopat*
1SG.I-be.hungry
'I'm hungry.'

f. *Ø-qopat*
3.I-be.hungry
'He/She is hungry.'
g. *ʤ-pil*
1SG.I-come.back
'I'm back (here).'
h. *ɾ-pil*
3INTR.I-come.back
'He/She is back (here).'

The selection of the third person bound person form is lexically determined; this is also true for Set II illustrated below (see Juárez 2013, Chapter 4, for a more detailed analysis of the bound person forms in Mocoví). We will see that some of these intransitive bound person forms (*i-*, *Ø-* and *ɾ-)* are formally the same as those that occur in the Set II paradigm, which shows that the distinction between the paradigms is blurred in the 3rd person.

The bound person forms of Set II are illustrated in Table 3. Unlike Set I, the Set II paradigm encodes intransitive, transitive and ditransitive subjects. The semantic range of predicates associated with Set II is much larger and more diverse than those associated with Set I.

Table 3. Set II bound person form paradigm

	Set II (Intransitive/Transitive/Ditransitive)		
1SG	*s-*		
2SG		*-iɾ*	
1PL	*s-*	*-ɢ*	
2PL		*-i*	
3	*i-*		*(mostly transitives)*
	Ø-		*(intransitive & transitive)*
	t-		*(only intransitives)*
	ɾ-		*(only intransitives)*

The paradigm in Table 3 shows that predicates of different valency take the same bound person form to code the 1st and 2nd person subject. Consequently, the predicate valency is not indicated by the subject morphology but instead by the argument structure of the predicate.

(10) Intransitive, Transitive and Ditransitive predicates
a. ***s**-ya-we*
1.II-go-DIR:out
'I go/went to (there).'
b. ***s**-tʃaG*
1.II-cut
'I cut it/him/her.'
c. *qamiɾ* ***s**-a:n-em* *a-so* *i-am*
2SG 1.II-give-BEN F-DET 1POSS.I-money
'I gave you my money.'

In contrast, the predicate valency in the 3rd person can be indicated by the subject morphology, since the distribution of subject bound pronouns depends partly on the predicate valency. This fact suggests then that subject bound person forms are also transitivity indicators, which is not an unusual phenomenon across languages (see Kibrik 1993). There are two prefixes that exclusively occur with intransitive predicates, *t-* and *ɾ-*, as shown in (11). These prefixes indicate that the predicates are intrinsically intransitive. The prefix *t-* is restricted to a handful of movement verbs while *ɾ-* occurs with a much semantically heterogenous verb class. Furthermore, the prefix *ɾ-* is the only intransitive prefix used to indicate that a predicate has been intransitivized (see Section 3.1 below).

(11) Intransitive predicates
a. ***t**-ya-we*
3INTR.II-go-DIR:out
'He/She goes to (there).'
b. ***ɾ**-alola*
3INTR.II-get/be.sick
'He/She is sick.'

The prefix *i-*, on the other hand, is not so transparent as a transitivity indicator. This prefix occurs with a very small number of intransitive predicates, as in (9d) above and (12) below, but it occurs much more frequently with transitive predicates. Juárez (2013) has observed that *i-* occurs with the largest number of transitive predicates in the language, as in (13), and it is required by predicates that undergo a transitivization process (see Section 3.2 below).

(12) Intransitive
***i**-lew*
3.I-die
'He/She died.'

(13) Transitives
a. ***i****-tʃaG*
3.II-cut
'He/She cut it/him/her.'
b. ***i****-lawat*
3.II-kill
'He/She killed it/him/her.'

3. The synchrony of *-aɢan*

The valency modifier *-aɢan* can either decrease or increase the verb valency, as originally reported by Gualdieri (1998). The valency decreasing is functionally associated with antipassive clauses. Antipassive clauses refer to intransitivized clauses in which the A argument of the transitive construction becomes the S argument, whereas the P argument is either encoded as an oblique or omitted (see Janic & Witzlack-Makarevich, this volume). The valency increasing is functionally associated with causative clauses. Causative clauses are understood to be derived constructions in which a new argument (the causer) is added to the base construction as an A argument and the base construction subject (the causee) is commonly reassigned as P or R argument (Dixon 2000: 31).

Although the antipassive-causative syncretism is scarcely attested across languages, such a syncretism performed by *-aɢan* is not new for scholars working on other Guaycuruan languages and their varieties. For example, the same antipassive-causative syncretism is found in other varieties of Toba and Mocoví (e.g. Censabella 2005, 2008; Carpio 2012; Carrió 2015a,b; González 2015). Moreover, *-aɢan* cognate forms performing similar functions to causative and antipassive have been reported for Guaycuruan languages such as Pilagá and Kadiwéu (Sandalo 1995; Vidal 2001).[8] However, the analysis for the valency modifier *-aɢan* and its cognate forms differ from work to work, and generalizations on its evolution are still pending.

8. Vidal (2001: 166) analyzes the cognate form *-aʃan* as a 'transitivizer' in Pilagá. She states that such suffix "increase[s] the number of participants for a handful of verbs which otherwise are used intransitively". Sandalo (1995: 115) recognizes that the cognate forms *-ɢan:* ~ *-ɢen* and *-qen* derive bivalent verbs from intransitive unergative verbs in Kadiwéu.

3.1 The *-aɢan* antipassive

In this section we briefly introduce the basic facts on antipassives in Mocoví. In order to not repeat information from a previous publication, the reader is referred to Juárez and Álvarez González (2017), where a more detailed examination of antipassives is given.

An instance of the antipassive function of *-aɢan* is illustrated in (14). The detransitivization process involves P deletion accompanied by a change in the subject bound person form from transitive to intransitive subject indexing, which resembles antipassives in ergative indexation languages (see Cooreman 1987, 1994; Givón 2001). The subject indexing change reflects that the verb valency has been reduced from bivalent to monovalent. Commonly, antipassivized predicates call for the 3rd person prefix *ɾ-*, which is strongly associated with monovalent verb roots (see Section 2.2.3 above).

(14) a. Transitive
so pyoq ***i****-ta-tak* *so yale*
DET dog 3.II-sniff-PROG DET man
'The dog is sniffing the man.'

b. Antipassive
so pyoq ***ɾ****-ta-aɢan*
DET dog 3INTR.II-sniff-ANTIP
'The dog sniffs.'

There are other instances of antipassives in which the P nominal expression is accepted but its coding differs from P nominals in typical transitive clauses (compare (14a) and (15a) with (15b)). Also, note that there is an aspectual change in the predicate that leads to a less transitive event conceptualization, e.g. the inception of the cutting event.

(15) a. Transitive
so yale ***i****-tʃaɢ-tak* ***so*** *qopaɢ*
DET man 3.II-cut-PROG DET firewood
'The man is cutting the firewood.'

b. Antipassive
so yale ***ɾ****-tʃaɢ-****aɢan*** *qopaɢ (ke-ǰi l-aʔa)*
DET man 3INTR.II-cut-ANTIP firewood OBL-DET 3POSS.I-home
'The man goes to cut firewood (for his house).'

Note that in (15b) the determiner is omitted before the P nominal, which triggers a less definite reading of the NP. Mocoví antipassive clauses do not involve action completion and entail low patient affectedness. Furthermore, they commonly denote habits or customs, functions that have also been attested for antipassive in other languages as well (e.g. Zavala 1997).

3.2 The *-aɢan* causative

As mentioned above, the valency modifier *-aɢan* is also used to create causative clauses from intransitive predicates. These predicates correspond to activities in which a semantically agentive or non-agentive S argument is the subject. Although the semantic role of the intransitive subject does change, it is not a relevant variable for *-aɢan* causatives and certainly there is no formal motivation to argue for different types of causatives (e.g. indirect vs. direct causatives (Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002)). The generalization then is that *-aɢan* causatives correspond to caused intransitive activities.

An example of a causative clause derived from an intransitive clause with an agentive subject is given in (16b). The causative clause includes two agentive participants as A and P and an overlapped temporal distance between the causing and caused events.

(16) a. *nogot-okiʔ Ø-lip-tak*
boy-DIM.M 3-suck-PROG
'The baby is sucking.' (Gualdieri 1998: 265)

b. *ka n-ateʔe* ***i-lip-aɢan*** *ka l-ya:le-k*
DET IND.POSS.I-mother 3.II-suck-CAUS DET 3POSS.I-descendant-MASC
'The mother suckles her son.'

In (16b) the causativized predicate increases its valency from one to two arguments. A new causer participant is added as the A argument, which triggers the former S argument (the causee) to be expressed as the P of the derived causative clause. Changes in transitivity are also reflected in the subject encoding; the intransitive predicate takes Ø- and the causativized predicate calls for *i-*, the most typical transitive subject prefix for the 3rd person in Mocoví, as mentioned in Section 2.2.3.

The valency marker *-aɢan* also causativizes non-agentive intransitive predicates, as shown in (17). As in (16b), the causativization increases the valency from one to two arguments. Changes in the grammatical functions of the core arguments are the same as in the causatives of agentive intransitive predicates described above. Notice that the argument increase is also reflected in the subject prefix. The intransitive predicate encodes the third person subject with the prefix *ɾ-*, but the causativized predicate requires the prefix *i-*.

(17) a. *so qopaɢ* ***ɾ-da-tak*** *sawaɢat so nonot*
DET tree 3INTR.II-move-PROG because DET wind
'The tree is moving because of the wind.'

b. *so nonot* ***i-da-aɢan-tak*** *so qopaɢ*
DET wind 3.II-move-CAUS-PROG DET tree
'The wind is moving the tree.'

To sum up, the increase of valency in causative clauses is structurally marked by the addition of a new causer argument and a change in the subject encoding. Barring a few exceptions, the common indexing pattern is that causativized predicates require the transitive bound person form *i-* for the third person subject.

3.3 The *-aɢan-aɢan* combination: *Antipassive + causative*

So far, we have shown that the valency marker *-aɢan* can create either antipassive or causative clauses, depending on the transitivity of the verb root. In this section, we show that *-aɢan* can apply twice to transitive roots in order to create antipassive and causative clauses. The order in which these meanings apply, i.e. first antipassive and then causative, indicates that the language imposes a syntactic restriction on the number of core argument per clause. This implies the existence of the NP density control constraint (Song 1991, 1996), a key morphosyntactic constraint for understanding the syncretism between antipassive and causative in Mocoví.

Consider the examples in (18), where antipassive and causative derivations are formed from the transitive verb *-alat* 'leave'.

(18) a. Transitive
so yale i-alat a-so l-wa
DET man 3.II-leave F-DET 3POSS.I-partner
'The man left/abandoned his wife.'

b. Antipassive
*so yale ɾ-alat-**aɢan***
DET man 3INTR.II-leave-ANTIP
'The man divorced.'

c. Antipassive + P noun phrase
**so yale ɾ-alat-aɢan a-so l-wa*
DET man 3INTR.II-leave-ANTIP F-DET 3POSS.I-partner
'The man divorced his wife.' / 'The man left/abandoned his wife.'

d. Causative
*so l-taʔa i-alat-**aɢan-aɢan** l-yaːle-Ø*
DET 3POSS.I-father 3.II-leave-ANTIP-CAUS 3POSS.I-descendant-F
'His father made his daughter divorce.'

In (18b) we see that *-aɢan* applies to the transitive root and creates an antipassive clause which does not accept the former transitive P argument, as shown in (18c). Once the antipassive clause is formed, the stem *-alataɢan* is a new agentive intransitive verb base. As such, it is now available to build a causative clause, like any other non-derived intransitive activity predicates in the language. Building on the examples in (18), one may also predict then those transitive predicates that are *aɢan*-antipassivized will tolerate *-aɢan* causativization as well.

One may wonder though why transitive predicates cannot be directly *aɢan*-causativized without being first *aɢan*-antipassivized. We propose that Mocoví imposes a systemic restriction on the number of core arguments allowed per clause. This structural restriction is known as NP density control and has been argued for other languages across the world. This term was coined by Song (1991, 1996) and refers to a structural restriction that keeps the number of core NP arguments in the morphological causative sentence from exceeding the maximum number of core arguments allowed by any typical non-causative (transitive) sentence. In Mocoví, NP density appears to be restricted to no more than two core arguments per transitive (or causative) clause. Building on this structural restriction, it is logically evident why the morphological causativization of transitive predicates is not available. The morphological causativization of transitive predicates would result in ditransitive clauses with two core non-subject arguments, which would exceed the allowed number of core arguments.

The NP density control constraint in combination with the two functions of *-aɢan*, antipassive and causative, lets us understand cases like (19). We can correctly predict that an *-aɢan* causative clause cannot be created from a transitive predicate, as in (19b). In order to use *-aɢan* as a causative marker with transitive roots, the roots must be first intransitivized via *-aɢan* antipassivization, as in (19c). As we proposed above, this antipassivization process creates a new stem that is interpreted as any non-derived intransitive root ready to be *-aɢan* causativized.

The restriction on the number of arguments per clause and the P demotion from the previous *-aɢan* antipassivization prevent from the creation of a transitive clause with more than two core arguments, e.g. subject and object. This also explains why the object of the formerly transitive root cannot be expressed as a core argument anymore. If we want to express it, two morphosyntactic strategies are available. One strategy is to express the patient NP as part of a new transitive predicate, which creates a complex sentence with two predicates, as shown in (19d). Another option is to express the former P argument as an oblique, as illustrated in (19e).

(19) a. Transitive
so yale Ø-lapon-tak na lete
DET man 3.II-pile-PROG DET trash
'The man is piling up the trash.'

b. Ungrammatical Causative
**so yale Ø-lapon-aɢan-tak na lete so qar-qaya*
DET man 3.II-pile-CAUS-PROG DET trash DET 1PL.POSS.I-brother
'The man made our brother pile up the trash.'

c. Antipassive
*so yale Ø-lapon-**aɢan**-tak **ke**-na lete*
DET man 3.II-pile-ANTIP-PROG OBL-DET trash
'The man is piling up the trash.'

d. Causative from intransitive (antipassive)
*so yale Ø-lapon-**aɢan-aɢan** so qar-qaya Ø-lapon*
DET man 3.II-pile-ANTIP-CAUS DET 1PL.POSS.I-brother 3-pile
na lete
DET trash
'The man made our brother pile up, he piles up the trash.'

e. Causative from intransitive (antipassive)
*so ñaʔko yim Ø-lapon-**aɢan-aɢan** **ke**-na lete*
DET 1POSS.boss 1SG 3.II-pile-ANTIP-CAUS OBL-DET trash
'My boss made me pile up the trash.'

A reviewer pointed out that the NP density control constraint and whether a language can form causatives from transitive predicates are not directly related issues. The reviewer argued that one can imagine a language where causatives could be created on a transitive base, but still result in the transitive form by just leaving out the original patient in the causative. We agree with this comment, and the reviewer's point could have been valid if we did not have evidence to support the assertion that transitive predicates cannot be directly causativized by *-aɢan* no matter what criteria are considered. The only options available in the language are those presented above in (19). Thus, transitive predicates cannot be directly *-aɢan* causativized. Furthermore, the Mocoví valency modification, where transitive predicates must first be intransitivized (e.g. by antipassive) before causativization applies to them, is not unique to this language, and has been attested elsewhere. The exact same system is also found in Mandinka, a Mande language from the Western branch (see Creissels 2015). Other examples are provided by Song (1996: 184–191), who illustrated the same phenomenon in Blackfoot (Algonquian), Halkomelem (Salishan) and Bandjalang (Australian).

Table 4 summarizes the valency modifications that have just been described for the suffix *-aɢan*. Three generalizations can be drawn from Table 4. First, the two different interpretations, i.e. antipassive or causative, associated with the suffix *-aɢan*, depend on the base construction (which also confirms Gualdieri's 1998 findings). Antipassivization derives an intransitive activity predicate from a transitive one. Causativization, on the other hand, derives transitive predicates from both *-aɢan* derived and non-derived intransitive predicates which also belong to the semantic class of activities. Second, the antipassive-causative syncretism can be explained by structural and semantic motivations. Structurally, the NP density control constraint rules out the causative formation on transitive predicates since it would create transitive sentences that would exceed the two core arguments allowed per

Table 4. Valency-changing operations associated with *-aɢan* suffixation

Base construction	Derived construction	Valency modifying
Transitive	**Antipassive**	**De-transitivization** (valency -1)
A P	S	P demotion (deleted or oblique-marked)
		A → S
Intransitive (non-derived and *-aɢan* derived)	**Causative**	**Transitivization** (valency +1)
		A introduction
S	A P	S → P

transitive and transitive-like clauses. Semantically, the valency modifier *-aɢan* can be viewed as a general activity marker that highlights both the activity expressed by the base verb and the subject argument that is responsible for it. Such functions imply that the derived constructions are also associated with a backgrounding process with regards to the base construction. The P argument is demoted (deleted or oblique-marked) in the antipassive, and the S argument changes to P in the causative. Patient demotion in antipassives and causer subject introduction in causatives represent two different ways of highlighting the activity performed by the subject participant. Lastly, the antipassive-causative syncretism of *-aɢan* illustrates another case of "ambivalent voice", i.e. the use of the same marker for two seemingly opposite valency functions (Malchukov, 2016, 2017). In his recent papers, Malchukov presents cases in which polysemic markers are associated with two opposite valency modifications, but the causative-antipassive polysemy is not mentioned. Mocoví thus represents a new type of polysemy, showing that the same marker can derive antipassive and causative constructions.

3.4 Other intransitive causativizers: *-aɢat* and *-aɢat-it*

As argued in Sections 3.1–3.3, the valency modifier *-aɢan* is largely associated with predicates or stems that denote activities. This is one of the properties that *aɢan*-modified predicates have in common. This section provides more evidence in favor of the semantic type constraint that the *-aɢan* valency modifier has. We show that non-activity predicates are causativized by two other different causative constructions, *-aɢat* and *-aɢat-it*, rather than *-aɢan*.[9] We also show that those

9. The sequence /-aɢat-it/ is the underlying form. Such sequence surfaces as [qatʃit] which results from a morphological and phonological conditioning. The morphological conditioning establishes that the suffix *-aɢat* appears as [-qat] when another derivational-like morpheme follows it, e.g. *-it* 'CAUSEE' or *-aɢan* 'ANTIP'. The phonological change [t] → [tʃ] is due to the palatalization process of alveolar consonants before the high vowel [i] in Mocoví.

causativized predicates acquire an activity aspectual reading when they are *-aɢan* antipassivized.

Besides *-aɢan* causatives, two other morphological causative constructions exist in Mocoví. One type of causative clause involves the causativizer *-aɢat* and is built on semantically diverse intransitive roots, as shown in (20). Juárez (2017) has recently showed that *-aɢat* causativized roots denote age, value, color terms, speed, physical properties, human propensity, and entity-specific change-of-state and breaking verbs (Beavers et al. 2017; Beavers & Koontz-Garboden 2020). Furthermore, *-aɢat* causatives involve a causee argument that may or may not be animate, which largely depends on the context of use. The caused event denotes a non-reversible state, which correlates with high affectedness of the causee argument.

(20) Causative: *-aɢat*

a. Intransitive

a-ñi n-qaɢanaɢki ***i-ter***

F-DET 3POSS.II-chair 3.I-get/be.old[10]

'His/her chair is old.'

b. Causative

ra?a:sa l-awaɢ *i-ter-**aɢat*** *a-ñi n-qaɢanaɢki*

sun 3POSS-brightness 3.II-get/be.old-CAUS F-DET 3POSS.II-chair

'The sun's brightness ruined his/her chair.'

Another type of causative clause is encoded by the obligatory combination *-aɢat-it*, where *-aɢat* encodes the causing event and *-it* encodes the causee argument. The *-aɢat-it* causatives are constrained by the type of intransitive predicate on which they are built and by the semantic properties of the subject. This type of causative calls for intransitive stative/change-of-state predicates involving an animate subject whose semantic role is experiencer-like, as in (21). Furthermore, this type of causative clause requires that the caused event is a reversible or momentary state.

(21) Causative: *-aɢat-it*

a. Intransitive

so i-aqaya r-alola

DET 1POSS.I-brother 3INTR.II-get/be.sick

'My brother is sick.'

b. Causative

*so waɢayaɢ i-alola-**aɢat-it*** *so yale*

DET water 3.II-get/be.sick-CAUS-CAUSEE DET man

'The water made the man sick.'

10. In Mocoví, the aspectual difference between state and change-of-state is not marked morphologically and thus the same root supports both stative and change-of-state interpretations. We provide these two interpretations separated by a slash '/' symbol for each verb.

Having shown the two other types of morphological causativization in Mocoví, we turn now to evidence showing that each type of these causative clauses can be antipassivized by *-aɢan*. The morphological and semantic changes that *-aɢan* triggers on those causativized predicates are the same as those presented earlier in Section 3.1. The antipassivization of *-aɢat* causativized predicates deletes the causee argument from the argument structure, and the causer corresponds to the intransitive subject of the antipassivized predicate. The subject is then encoded by the intransitive bound person form *ɾ-*, and the antipassivized predicate is interpreted as an activity, i.e. a durative, unbounded and dynamic event. Compare the examples in (22).

(22) a. *i-awig*
3.I-get.burn
'He/she/it gets burn.'
b. *i-awig-**aɢat***
3.II-get.burn-CAUS
'He/she/it burns him/her/it.'
c. *ɾ-awig-**aɢat-aɢan***
3INTR.II-get.burn-CAUS-ANTIP
'He/she burns.'

Likewise, *-aɢat-it* causativized predicates can also be antipassivized by *-aɢan*. Antipassivization triggers changes in the morphological encoding of the causer and causee. The causee marking *-it* is deleted by the *-aɢan* antipassivizer, which is an additional proof of the valency reduction, and the causer subject is encoded by the 3rd person intransitive bound person form *ɾ-*, as in (23c).

(23) a. *i-sot*
3.I-get/be.tired
'He/she is tired.'
b. *i-sot-**aɢat-it***
3.II-get/be.tired-CAUS-CAUSEE
'He/she tired him/her.'
c. *ɾ-sot-**aɢat-aɢan***
3INTR.II-get/be.tired-CAUS-ANTIP
'He/she/it causes tiredness.' (from Buckwalter 1995: 173)

As seen above, antipassivization and causativization can be combined in two different ways in Mocoví. Non-active intransitive verbs must first be causativized via *-aɢat* in order to be antipassivized via *-aɢan*. Active transitive verbs, on the other hand, are first antipassivized by *-aɢan* in order to be causativized by *-aɢan*. The former voice combination results in an antipassive construction from the antipassivization of an *-aɢat* derived causative. The latter voice combination results in a causative construction from the causativization of an *-aɢan* derived antipassive.

4. The *-aɢan* formation and its evolution

In this section, we deal with the formation of the valency modifier *-aɢan*, which explains the synchronic functions that have been described above in Section 3. We propose that *-aɢan* comes from a double derivation in which the nominalizer suffix *-aɢa* is combined with the verbalizer suffix *-n*, as shown in (24).

(24) Mocoví *-aɢan* valency modifier formation
NOMINALIZATION ***-aɢa*** + VERBALIZATION ***-n*** > ANTIPASSIVE ***-aɢan***
> CAUSATIVE ***-aɢan***

This analysis of *-aɢan* formation is supported by Mocoví internal data as well as comparative data from other Guaycuruan languages. In Sections 4.1. and 4.2 we first present the individual functions of *-aɢa* and *-n*. We then turn to the morphosyntactic scenario that might have given rise to such a verbal marker and its plausible evolution in Section 4.3. Lastly, Section 5 complements our analysis by looking at studies that have also argued for the creation of antipassive voice markers via double derivation, namely nominalization + verbalization, from other unrelated languages across the world (Fortescue 1996; Fortescue Jacobson & Kaplan 2010; Creissels 2012; Jacques 2014).

4.1 The nominalizer *-aɢa*

Let us first start with the function of the suffix *-aɢa* in Mocoví. This suffix turns an intransitive verb into a noun. The intransitive base verb is commonly a state/change-of-state verb, as in (25a) and (26a). The *-aɢa* nominalizations in (25b) and (26b) thus correspond to a state/change-of-state nominalization.

(25) a. *ayim s-alola*
1SG 1.II-get/be.sick
'I'm sick.'
b. *ayim we ɾa i-alola-**aɢa***
1SG EXIST DET 1POSS.I-get/be.sick-NMLZ
'I'm sick.' (Lit. 'I have/exist my sickness.')

(26) a. *i-aneg-se-k ɾ-oya:pi*
1POSS.I-plant-NOML.CL-M 3INTR.II-wilt
'My sowing wilted.'
b. *waloɢ l-oya:pi-**aɢa***
cotton 3POSS.I-wilt-NMLZ
'the wilting of cotton'

The examples in (25) and (26) show that the *-aɢa* nominalization changes the encoding of the participant involved in the state/change-of-state denoted by the base verb. For example, in (25a) the 1st person participant is encoded by the verbal bound person form *s-*, while in (25b) it is encoded by the nominal bound person form *i-*. This change in the encoding of the single participant of the intransitive base verb from subject to possessor is another indication that the base verb has been nominalized. The nominal status of the derived unit is also supported in (25b) by the presence of the nominal determiner *ɾa* before the *-aɢa* nominalization. Furthermore, the nominalized predicate acquires the typical nominal function as the possessed argument in possessive constructions with the existential *ʔwe*. Lastly, note that *-aɢa* nominals can also occur as the head of a nominal phrase, as in (26b).

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, *-aɢa* nominalizes only intransitive predicates. This property of *-aɢa* has also been noticed in previous work on the language. Gualdieri (1998: 150–152), for example, provided a short list of *aɢa*-nominalized roots in which all verbs are intransitives. Some examples are listed in (27)–(29).[11]

(27) a. *ayim s-saʎi*
1SG 1.II-get/be.heavy/slow
'I'm heavy, slow.'
b. *i-saʎi-**aɢa***
1POSS.I-get/be.heavy/slow-NMLZ
'my weight' (adapted from Gualdieri 1998: 151)

(28) a. *ɾ-qopi*
3INTR.II-get/be hurt
'He/she hurts himself/herself.'
b. *l-qopi-**aɢa***
3POSS.I-get/be.hurt-NMLZ
'his/her wound.' (adapted from Gualdieri 1998: 151)

(29) a. *so lawa ɾ-aʃiwi*
DET soil 3INTR.II-get/be.dry
'The soil is dry.'
b. *n-aʃiwi-**aɢa***
IND.POSS.I-get/be.dry-NMLZ
'the drought.' (adapted from Gualdieri 1998: 151)

11. The verbal examples come from Juárez's fieldwork and nominalization examples come from Gualdieri (1998).

These examples reinforce the pattern observed before with regards to the semantic type of *-aga* nominalized predicates. The nominalized intransitive base verbs are part of the state/change-of-state class. Furthermore, we see that *-aga* nominalization requires the original participant of the intransitive base verb to be encoded as the possessor not as the intransitive subject. This modified encoding of the possessor is obligatory and thus must be expressed even when the possessor is unknown or less referential. In the latter case, the possessor is encoded by the indefinite possessor marker *n-*, as in (29b).

The general pattern then is that *-aga* nominalization is constrained by the transitivity (i.e intransitive) and the semantic class (i.e. state/change-of-state) of the predicates with which it occurs. Another important point is that *-aga* nominalizations obligatorily entail a single participant, which changes from subject to possessor in the nominal creation process.

4.2 The verbalizer *-n* and its verbal source

Let us turn now to the analysis of the suffix *-n*. Synchronic data suggest that *-n* might be traced back to a verbal source associated with the meaning 'make', which over the time has been reanalyzed as a denominal verbalizer in Mocoví. Evidence from Mocoví and other Guaycuruan languages (specifically Chaco Toba, Western Formosa Toba and Pilagá) points in this direction. We first introduce the function of *-n* in Mocoví and then discuss its use in other Guaycuruan languages.

In Mocoví, the suffix *-n* is used as a verbalizer that creates transitive verbs from nouns or noun-like roots. In all the following examples, the (b) example shows the presence of two arguments, confirming that the denominal verb created via *-n* suffixation is transitive. These transitive verbs can be created from prototypical nouns, as in (30)–(31), as well as from roots that convey nominal and adverbial meanings, as in (32).

(30) a. *l-otawa*
3POSS.I-helper
'his/her helper'

b. *so i-taʔa i-otawa-**n** so i-aqaya*
DET 1POSS.I-father 3.II-helper-VBLZ DET 1POSS.I-brother
'My father helped my brother.'

(31) a. *n-ataɾ*
IND.POSS.I-medicine
'someone's medicine' or 'medicine'

b. *yim n-atar-**n***
1SG 3.III-medicine-VBLZ
'He/she cured me.'

(32) a. *lapo*
pile
'pile/a lot of' (Buckwalter 1995: 37)

b. *so yale Ø-lapo-**n**-tak na lete*
DET man 3.II-pile-VBLZ-PROG DET trash
'The man is piling up the trash.'

To our knowledge, Mocoví does not currently have a formally related independent verb meaning 'make' or 'do', which might lead us to believe that the verbalizer actually comes from a verb. The current Mocoví verb for 'make' is *-oʔwet*, as in *i-oʔwet l-oler* (3.II-make 3POSS.I-fire) 'He/she makes fire', which corresponds to the entry *yo'uet* 'He/she makes it' in Buckwalter's (1995: 228) Mocoví vocabulary. However, data from other Guaycuruan languages support the development of *-n* in Mocoví from an independent verb of action, e.g. 'make' or 'do', which have become a verbalizer suffix in this language but not in all other Guaycuruan languages.

In Chaco Toba, the closest Guaycuruan language to Mocoví spoken in Chaco, we find the suffix *-n* functioning as a verbalizer but also as a causativizer. The use of the suffix *-n* as a verbalizer that creates transitive verbs from nominal bases in Chaco Toba is illustrated in (33) from Censabella (2008). The verbalizer use of *-n* in Chaco Toba is identical to its use in Mocoví, as shown in (30)–(32) above.

(33) Chaco Toba (Censabella 2008: 108)

a. *na-pishi*
IND.POSS-cloth.strainer
'somebody's strainer'

b. *na-pishi-**n***
3MID-cloth.strainer-VBLZ
'He filters it.'

However, unlike in Mocoví, the suffix *-n* is also used in Chaco Toba with verbal bases as a causativizer. Censabella (2008: 107) has reported the suffix *-n* as a direct causation marker that occurs with what she calls active and inactive intransitive roots, as in (34) and (35).

(34) Chaco Toba (adapted from Censabella 2008: 107)
a. *ɾ-alemata*
3IA-angry
'He is angry.'
b. *y-alemata-**n***
3IA-angry-CAUS
'He angers (him/her).'

(35) Chaco Toba (adapted from Censabella 2008: 107)
a. *ɾ-koʔo*
3IA-give.birth
'She gives birth.'
b. *i-koʔo-**n***
3T-give.birth-CAUS
'He/she rears (him/her).'

Clearly, the difference between the use of *-n* as a verbalizer (33) or as a causativizer (34)–(35) depends on the base to which the suffix is attached. If *-n* is attached to a noun, it creates a transitive verb having a causative meaning 'cause/make X', i.e. an action causing to be/do X, where X is the base noun. But if *-n* is attached to a verb, it functions as a causativizer increasing the valency of the intransitive base verb by adding a new causer participant as the subject. Unlike Chaco Toba, the suffix *-n* does not function as a causativizer in Mocoví as it does not attach directly to verbal bases in this language. Despite their differences, all uses of the suffix *-n* in Mocoví and in Chaco Toba clearly share a causative meaning, and this meaning may be due to the morpheme's origin as an independent verb of action 'make' or 'do'. Stronger evidence to this point comes from the northernmost Guaycuruan languages in Argentina.

In Western Formosa Toba, for example, we find the verb *-en* 'make', which is formally similar to the suffix *-n* in Mocoví and Chaco Toba. Carpio (2012) has reported that *-en* functions as the main verb of periphrastic causative constructions, as illustrated in (36) and (37). The verb *-en* 'make' introduces the causing event, which can be followed by either an intransitive (36) or transitive (37) predicate, denoting the caused event.

(36) Western Formosa Toba (Carpio 2012: 141)
a. *'niyaq qa'qata*
fish dry
'The fish dries.'
b. *'daʔ-me **Ø-en** qa'qata 'niyaq*
DSTN-ENDOP 3.I-make dry fish
'He makes the fish dry.' / 'He dried the fish.'

(37) Western Formosa Toba (Carpio 2012: 141)

a. *ñi nogoto'le-k y-awana haʔ 'awto*
DSIT girl-M 3I-find DGNG.F car
'The boy found the car.'

b. *ha-ñiʔ-me l-atʔe* ***Ø-en*** *y-awa'na haʔ 'awto*
F-DSIT-ENDOP 3POSS.INAL-mother 3I-make 3-find DGNG.F car
'The mother made (him/her?) find the car.'[12]

Like Western Formosa Toba, Pilagá, another Guaycuruan language spoken in Formosa, also has the verb *-'en* 'make', which can be part of periphrastic causative constructions as well. According to Vidal (2001: 362–364), the causative verb *-en* in Pilagá creates causative clauses from intransitive and transitive predicates, i.e. the caused event can be either intransitive or transitive as in (38)–(39).

(38) Pilagá (adapted from Vidal 2001: 362)

a. *p'e na' nogop*
hot CLF.PROX water
'The water is hot.'

b. *María Ø-**'en** p'e na' nogop*
María setA.3-make hot CLF.PROX water
'María made the water hot.' (= María boiled the water)

(39) Pilagá (adapted from Vidal 2001: 363–364)

a. *awa-lema-tay-a so' ad-wa*
setA.2-get.angry-ASP-OBJ.SG CLF POSS.2-fellow/spouse
'You got angry at your fellow (or spouse).'

b. *s-'en awa-lema-tay-a so' ad-wa*
setA.1-make setA.2-get.angry-ASP-OBJ.SG CLF POSS.2-fellow/spouse
'I made you get angry at your fellow (or spouse).'

Based on the data presented above, we can confidently argue that the Mocoví verbalizer *-n* comes from an independent verb with the meaning of 'make'. Besides the synchronic data we just described, our claim also finds support from reconstruction works on Proto-Guaycurú. Some previous works have proposed proto-forms for the verb 'make', which show similarities to the synchronic use in some Guaycuruan languages like Western Toba and Pilagá. For example, Ceria and Sandalo (1995) have reconstructed the form in (40) for Proto-Guaycurú.

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12. The parenthesis for the translation of this example was added. Carpio does not include the subject of the caused event (that is, the causee) in her translation and did not mention if it is possible to have it with causativized transitive events. This might suggest the presence of the NP density control in this Toba variety as well.

(40) Proto-form of 'make' (Ceria & Sandalo 1995: 185)
**u(e)n* 'make'

Another reconstruction for the verb 'make' was recently given by Viegas Barros (2013), who proposed (41).

(41) Proto-form of 'make' (Viegas Barros 2013: 213)
**ʔoen* 'make'

Building on these comparative and reconstructive data, the evolution of *-n* from a lexical verb 'make' is highly plausible. These data further show different evolutionary steps from the old verb of action 'make' in the Guaycuruan family. On the one hand, Western Formosa Toba and Pilagá have retained the independent verb related to the proto-form of 'make'. Chaco Toba and Mocoví, on the other hand, have gone through the grammaticalization of this independent verb, involving its phonetic erosion to *-n* and the acquisition of additional grammatical meanings. Moreover, those languages that kept the independent verb use it as a causative verb in periphrastic causative constructions, while in languages with the suffix *-n*, this suffix can only be used as a causative verbalizer from nominal bases (Mocoví) or also as a causativizer from intransitive verb bases (Chaco Toba). These different evolutions are all instances of the well-known DO/MAKE > CAUSATIVE grammaticalization (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 117–118).

4.3 The *-aɢan* evolutionary scenario

So far, we have focused on identifying the independent functions that each component of the valency modifier *-aɢan* has, and we have proposed the lexical source for the suffix *-n*. We have argued that *-aɢa* corresponds to a nominalizer of intransitive verbs and that *-n* corresponds to a transitive denominal verbalizer, which comes from an old independent verb 'make'. The next issue we would like to address is how the *-aɢan* antipassive/causative syncretism has risen in Mocoví. Here we provide a plausible evolutionary scenario.

Through investigation of the meanings that *-aɢa* and *-n* have in Mocoví, we have seen that uses of the valency modifier *-aɢan* can be interpreted as *-n* verbalizations of *aɢa*-nominalized intransitive verbs. Ideally, the input for the whole construction was an intransitive predicate with an active participant, as in (42).

(42) S V
ka l-ya:le-k Ø-ʎip
DET 3POSS.I-descendant-MASC 3.I-suck
'His/her son sucks.'

The *-aɢa* + *-n* double derivation works as follows. The *-aɢa* nominalizer changes the intransitive base verb into a deverbal noun. The *-n* verbalizing process then changes this deverbal noun into an active transitive verb, as in (43). This use of *-aɢa* + *-n* makes sense since *-aɢa* is restricted to intransitive verbs and the *-n* verbalization creates transitive verbs, as argued in the previous sections.

(43) A A-[intransitive verb-NMLZ]-VBLZ P
ka n-ateʔe ***i-[ʎip-aɢa]-n*** *ka l-ya:le-k*
DET IND.POSS.I-mother 3.II-suck-NMLZ-VBLZ DET 3POSS.I-descendant-MASC
'The mother suckles her son.'
'The mother makes her son suck.' (Lit. 'The mother sucking-makes her son.')

The combination *-aɢa* + *-n* is then reanalyzed as a single marker *-aɢan*, functioning as a causativizer of intransitive verbs. That is, a valency-increasing suffix which adds a causer as the new subject of the derived transitive predicate. Such a reanalysis is presented in (44).

(44) A A-[intransitive verb]-CAUS P
ka n-ateʔe ***i-[ʎip]-aɢan*** *ka l-ya:le-k*
DET IND.POSS-mother 3.II-suck-CAUS DET 3POSS.I-descendant-MASC
'The mother suckles her son.'/'The mother makes her son suck.'

After this reanalysis, the new suffix *-aɢan* extends its use to transitive verbs. In the context of transitive verbs, the NP density control constraint rules out the addition of a new argument as subject and the possibility of forming a causative from transitive roots. The derived construction is thus reanalyzed as an antipassive with a deleted P argument, as suggested in (45). Remember that the P demotion in cases like (45) can be achieved through two morphosyntactic strategies, argument deletion or oblique marking.

(45) S s-transitive verb-ANTIP
so pyoq ***ɾ-ta-aɢan***
DET dog 3INTR.II-sniff-ANTIP
'The dog sniffs.' (Lit. 'The dog makes sniffing.')

The reanalysis from causative to antipassive in Mocoví is thus a side effect of the NP density control constraint and it is triggered by the semantic properties shared between antipassives and causatives. Semantically, both valency constructions are associated with the activity of the subject and involve an argument backgrounding process with regards to the base construction. Indeed, in the causative, the original S changes to P, whereas in the antipassive the original P is deleted or expressed as oblique.

Once the two functions of *-aɢan* are part of Mocoví grammar, the distinction between antipassive and causative is made based on the base verb: if the base verb is intransitive, the derived *-aɢan* construction is causative; if the base verb is transitive, the derived *-aɢan* construction is antipassive. The syncretism between causative and antipassive is now established.

5. The origin of causative and antipassive markers beyond Mocoví

Our proposal for the development of the valency modifier *-aɢan* in Mocoví is also supported by studies that have addressed the origin of causative and antipassive markers in other languages. This section summarizes the main arguments from some of these studies.

First of all, it is well known, mainly from studies on grammaticalization, that the activity verb 'make, do' is a common origin of causative markers (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 117–118, Section 4.2). Although cross-linguistically less common, 'make' or 'do' verbs have also been attested as sources of antipassive markers.

Scholars have reported that antipassive markers can come from the grammaticalization of antipassive periphrases having the verb 'make' or 'get' (Fortescue 1996; Fortescue et al. 2010; Creissels 2012). Creissels (2012), for instance, argues that the antipassive suffix *-ndì* in Soninke (West Mande) comes etymologically from the verb **tin* 'do'. He proposed that the context of grammaticalization was an antipassive construction comparable to French periphrasis *faire des achats* ('do shopping', lit. 'do some buying') where the verb *faire* 'do' is combined with an action nominalization from the transitive verb *acheter* ('buy'). West Greenlandic antipassive markers originated from the same type of construction as in Soninke but their formation was relatively more elaborate. Fortescue et al. (2010) have shown that West Greenlandic has three antipassive affixes (*-(s)i-, -nnig-* and *-ller-*) that are derived by combining nominalizing or participial suffixes with three different verbal bound stems meaning 'make, become' (Fortescue et al. 2010: 438, 447), 'get' (Fortescue et al. 2010: 457, 459) and 'provide with' (Fortescue et al. 2010: 442, 451, 459), respectively.

More recently, Jacques (2014) has argued for a related pathway of grammaticalization for the antipassive markers in Japhug Rgyalrong (Sino-Tibetan, China). He has shown that the combination of an action nominalizer and a verbalizing marker can be the mechanism for creating not only antipassive but also causative and applicative markers. This previously unreported origin of voice markers shows that voice markers can be formed through double derivation, as illustrated in (46). Specifically, this double derivation includes the nominalization of a verb and then a denominal derivation, which changes the nominalized stem into a verb.

(46) NOMINALIZATION + DENOMINAL DERIVATION > VOICE DERIVATION

The two derivational processes that have created the antipassive marker and the applicative/causative marker in Japhug are as in (47) and (48).

(47) ACTION NOMINALIZATION of transitive verb + INTRANSITIVE DENOMINAL DERIVATION > ANTIPASSIVE

(48) ACTION NOMINALIZATION of intransitive verb + TRANSITIVE DENOMINAL DERIVATION > APPLICATIVE/CAUSATIVE

In the combination in (47), a transitive verb is first nominalized into an action nominal, and this action nominal is then turned into a verb by a denominal construction deriving intransitive verbs. The resulting marker (historically, nominalizer + verbalizer) functions then as an antipassive marker. In the combination in (48), an intransitive verb is first nominalized into an action nominal, and the action nominal is then turned into a verb by a denominal construction deriving transitive verbs. The resulting marker functions as a causative or applicative marker. As Jacques (2014: 22) pointed out, "the reason for this derivation in two steps is that action nominalization first neutralizes the original transitivity of the verb root, and a new transitivity value is allocated by a specific denominal derivation." So, what has been proposed by Jacques (2014: 21) is that "languages with rich denominal derivation systems have the possibility of creating new voice markers by combining the appropriate nominalized form with a denominal marker".

The formation of the Mocoví valency modifier *-aɢan* fits well into this background of voice marker development. The salient property of Mocoví *-aɢan* is that the same marker serves as both a causative and antipassive marker, and that a single origin can be argued for it. This evolution is logical when the semantic and structural properties in which *-aɢan* is used are considered. The valency marker began as a composite suffix that was first reanalyzed as a single unit and then used as a causative marker of intransitive verbs. The syntactic restriction on the number of core arguments per clause ruled out the possibility of having a morphological causative derived from a transitive base verb. Consequently, the extension from causative to antipassive was allowed and favored by the two shared semantic features, i.e. the activity of the subject and the argument backgrounding process with regards to the base construction.

6. Conclusions

In this article, we have proposed an explanation for the antipassive-causative syncretism morphologically marked by the valency modifier *-aɢan* in Mocoví. Both *-aɢan* synchronic functions were explained by looking at the *-aɢan* formation and its plausible evolution that gave rise to such a syncretism.

We have claimed that both *-aɢan* antipassive and causative concentrate on the subject activity and involve the backgrounding of an argument. Antipassives are built on non-derived and derived transitive (i.e. derived by the *-aɢat* causative) predicates and involve a P argument that is either deleted or oblique-marked. As a consequence of antipassivization, *-aɢan* derived predicates denote events that are seen as unbounded, durative and dynamic (i.e. activities). Causatives, on the other hand, are built on non-derived and *aɢan*-derived intransitive clauses and involve the addition of a new A argument with the consequent backgrounding of the original S argument to P. Like antipassives, *-aɢan* causatives denote caused activities. The shared components between antipassives and causatives work in tandem with the syntactic constraint of having only two core arguments per derived and non-derived transitive clauses.

The semantics associated with *-aɢan* and its double functionality can be logically explained by considering the elements that are part of it, i.e. *-aɢa* and *-n*. Like other valency changing markers across languages (e.g. passives, causatives and applicatives), the Mocoví *-aɢan* originated from a double derivation involving the *-aɢa* state/change-of-state nominalization and the *-n* transitive verbalization afterwards. The *-aɢa* nominalization, exclusively related to intransitive predicates, creates a nominal constituent entailing a single participant. The *-n* verbalizer, which comes from an activity verb 'make' or 'do', provides a transitive argument structure to the previously nominalized predicate. It introduces a new A argument and causes the nominalization participant to be interpreted as the causee of a causative construction. Because the language imposes a constraint on the number of core arguments per transitive clause, the antipassive reanalysis is possible based on the features shared by the antipassive and the causative.

This study has interesting implications regarding Mocoví description and the typology of syncretic valency markers. In future work on Mocoví, it is worth exploring whether the causative marker *-aɢat* also comes from a double derivation, i.e. *-aɢa* + *-t*, as has been argued for *-aɢan*, and if the unit *-t* also has a verbal origin. With regards to typology, the antipassive-causative syncretism of *-aɢan* expands our understanding of "ambivalent voice markers" recently proposed by Malchukov (2016, 2017), by showing that the same marker can perform antipassive and causative functions, as *-aɢan* does.

Abbreviations and symbols

The glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, additional abbreviations are as follows:

I	Set I bound person form
AGT	agentive
ALN	alienable
CAUSEE	causee argument
CL	class
DIM	diminutive
DPA	demonstrative 'standing'
ENDOP	endophoric
EXST	existential
GNG	going
HORIZ	horizontal
IA	agentive intransitive event
IPOSS	indeterminate possessor
LEX	lexical
MID	middle
NOML	nominal
POSS	possessor
RG	restricted group
SIT	sitting
VBLZ	verbalizer
VM	valency modifier

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CHAPTER 11

Polyfunctional *vanka-* in Nivaĉle and the antipassive category

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Nivaĉle (Mataguayan) is a non-ergative language of Argentina and Paraguay. It has a voice/valency mechanism that resembles an antipassive. Stell (1989: 310) refers to *vanka-* as an intransitive marker. Fabre (2015, 2016) glosses *vanka-* as 'antipassive' but does not provide an in-depth analysis. We examine *vanka-* as an antipassive marker, but also its connection to other functional domains and its use with certain intransitive stems. On intransitive stems, its semantic effects range from strongly agentive to middle meaning. It implies that there is an extra but unexpressible 'non-specific participant' in the context. The extra participant implication suggests that *vanka-* may originate in a third-person marker *va-* plus a 'cislocative' or 'middle' *n-*, plus a *ka-* which may correspond to an 'indirect possessive' formative.

Keywords: middle, impersonal, non-ergative, split-S, Mataguayan

1. Introduction[1]

Nivaĉle (Mataguayan) is a polysynthetic, non-ergative language spoken in northeastern Argentina and central Paraguay (Chaco region). Our data come from speakers living in the vicinity of the Argentinian/Paraguayan border.[2] The goal of this

1. Alejandra Vidal conducted the primary fieldwork for this paper in conjunction with Eulogio Corvalán. Alejandra Vidal and Doris Payne are equally responsible for data analysis and writing the paper.

2. There are about 16,350 speakers of Nivaĉle in Paraguay (DGEEC 2012) and 553 speakers in Argentina (INDEC 2004–2005). Nivaĉle and Maká form one Mataguayan subfamily, while Wichí and Chorote form a distinct branch (Fabre 2005: 2–3, using evidence from Tovar 1964). Seelwische (1975) and Stell (1987) mention five varieties of Nivaĉle, and Campbell & Grondona (2010) mention three. In fact, there has been significant movement and intermarriage of Nivaĉle people from different places (and with non-Nivaĉle), so that even in a single modern location

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paper is to present an analysis of a voice/valency mechanism that resembles antipassives in the sense that it suppresses the participant encoded as the P of a transitive stem. This antipassive construction occurs with most activity and cognition verbs. It is characterized by the insertion of *vanka-* between the subject prefix and the root, as illustrated by the pairs in (1) versus (2), and (3) versus (4).

(1) *xa-klôn ka nivakle*
1-kill DET$_3$ person
'I killed a man.'

(2) *xa-vanka-klôn*
1-ANTIP-kill
'I kill/killed (someone).'

(3) *xa-klôvaɬ xa-pi t-klôi-shane*
1-observe DET$_2$-PL.HUM 3-dance-LOC:down
'I watch those that dance.'

(4) *xa-vanka-klôvaɬ*
1-ANTIP-observe
'I watch (something).'

The literature on Nivaĉle syntax so far minimally addresses issues of transitivity (cf. Stell 1987; Fabre 2012, 2015, 2016). Stell (1987: 310) refers to *vanka-* as an intransitive marker but gives no justification for this gloss. Fabre (2015, 2016) glosses *vanka-* as an 'antipassive' marker but does not provide an in-depth analysis. In this presentation we examine the syntax and semantics of *vanka-* as an antipassive marker, but also its connection to other functional domains and its use with intransitive stems. In certain contexts, it may allow the entailment of middle meanings and to our knowledge generally has the implication of an unspecified and unexpressable "extra" participant. This last feature might initially suggest it is connected to a causative function, but we argue that *vanka-* is not a bona fide causative and this implication sometimes simply surfaces with intransitive stems due to the 'unspecified participant' meaning it has. The 'extra' participant implication suggests that the *vanka-* antipassive strategy has its origins at least partly in a third-person marker *va-*, plus a 'cislocative' or 'middle' form *n-*, and *ka-* which may correspond to either an 'indirect possessive' or a formative that Fabre (2016) refers to as 'mediative.'

Nivaĉle people may not always speak the same. Our text material comes from speakers of the *Shichaam lhavos* (*abajeño* 'downriver') and *Chishamne' lhavos* (*arribeño* 'upriver') varieties (though there is variation in both of these). We are grateful to all these speakers, and particularly to Eulogio Corvalán of the *arribeño* variety.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 introduces relevant aspects of Nivaĉle morphosyntax. Section 3 presents the *vanka-* antipassive construction. Section 4 addresses the occurrence of *vanka-* with some intransitive stems. Section 5 considers possible diachronic elements composing the antipassive (though we do not carry out a syntactic reconstruction). Section 6 briefly concludes the paper.

2. Basic facts of Nivaĉle grammar

Before discussing the Nivaĉle antipassive *vanka-* construction, it will be helpful to present some basic facts of the grammar including person reference forms, verb composition, and syntax.[3]

Nivaĉle has a rich set of demonstrative (DET) proclitics (written in this paper as separate words), that precede both nominal phrases and dependent clauses. The determiners vary semantically for visual/existential features, and inflect for number and gender. In the unmarked case they indicate 'masculine singular'. The visual/existential contrasts are glossed as follows (cf. Payne et al. 2018):

- DET_1= seen at time of utterance
- DET_2= seen prior to and not present at time of utterance; still in existence
- DET_3= seen prior to and not present at time of utterance; *not* still in existence (e.g. dead or destroyed); also used for non-visual perception and abstract concepts
- DET_4= never seen

Nivaĉle has features of both split-S and hierarchical argument marking. Arguments are indexed on the verb in matrix and subordinate clauses. According to prior literature (Stell 1987; Fabre 2016: 166), argument prefixes are selected from one of five conjugations classes. This means that each lexical or derived verb stem is associated with one conjugation; this is not always semantically or morphosyntactically

3. In this paper we write the data primarily using IPA conventions except that *ô* represents the back phoneme /ɑ/, and when referring to language names, where we keep the conventional practical spelling, e.g. Nivaĉle instead of [nivakʧe]. Throughout, we use *ts, tʃ*, and *kl* for complex phonemes. Ejective consonants and glottals are written with an apostrophe. Note that *j* indicates a palatal glide. Phonetic length is a feature of glottalized vowels in the analyses of Stell (1987: 84) and Gutiérrez (2015: 31). Some morphemes alternate between glottalized and non-glottalized forms (and hence, short versus long forms). In this paper we write length instead of glottalization to better conform to the practical orthography and published dictionary and grammar sources (e.g. Seelwische 1975; Fabre 2016).

predictable.[4] The prefixes exhibit further variation based on realis and irrealis distinctions. Table 1 gives a simplified presentation of the realis prefixes.[5]

Table 1. S/A/P prefixes (realis mood; simplified)[6]

P → A↓	1SG	1PL.EXCL	1PL.INCL	2	3	UNSPECIFIED	S
1SG				*k'-* *k'an-*	*x-* *xan-* *k'-*	*x-*	*j-, x-* *xaj-* *xan-, k'-* *ts(i)-*
1PL.EXCL				*k'-*	*x-*	*x-*	*x-* *ts(i)-*
1PL.INCL				*k'-*	*ʃt-*	*ʃt-*	*ʃt-, ʃtn- ʃin-, kas-*
2	*ɬ-tsi-* *ɬ-s-*	*ɬa-s-*	*ɬa-s-*		*ɬ-, ɬt-*	*ɬ-*	*a-* *ɬ-, ɬt-, ɬan-* *n-* *Ø-*
3	*ts(i)-*	*ts(i)-*	*ʃin-*	*n-*	*j-, t-* *n-, Ø-*	*j-*	*j-* *n(i)-, nt-* *t-* *va-* *Ø-*
UNSPECIFIED	*ts-*	*ts-*	*ʃtn-*	*n-*	*j-, Ø-*	*tʃi-*	*tʃi-*

4. The five putative paradigms show overlap of forms. For instance, in Fabre's analysis, *j-* is said to mark 3rd person subject in Class 3 and Class 4, but 3subject>3object in Class 5. An alternative analysis might be to posit a smaller number of person prefixes from which verbs make a selection for marking the transitive subject, the intransitive subject, and also possessor (e.g. akin to the way noun class prefixes for singular and plural show cris-crossed pairings in many Niger-Congo languages; cf. Smith 2007); see Payne et al. (2016). In some combinations, object is also marked by the prefixes; see Table 1.

5. Some of the person prefix forms might be multi-morphemic, especially some that involve /n/ which may sometimes correspond to what Fabre calls a 'cislocative'. The relevant forms with /n/ sometimes (but not always) have middle semantics. It can be challenging to know when something should be considered a single portmantau morpheme, versus a multi-morphemic sequence.

6. "Simplified" means that Table 1 includes basic morphemes without all the allomorphs, that are in most cases phonologically triggered. Table 1 also only includes realis mood prefixes, though some irrealis forms (glossed IRR) occur in examples. Depending on how a verb stem begins, vowels and/or glottal elements may be added to various pronominal prefixes. The forms in Table 1 are partly adapted from from Fabre's (2016) tables of prefixes, supplemented by our work.

Intransitive verbs generally follow a semantic split in which the role of an intransitive subject (S) is marked differently depending on whether it is conceived of as a semantic agent, a patient (that undergoes a change of state), a theme (that physically or metaphorically moves from one location to another), or an experiencer. Compare the person prefixes on the verbs in (5) through (8). In (5) *tsi-* marks an intransitive S, and in (6) a transitive P – both with theme semantics. In (7) *xa-* marks an intransitive S, and in (8) a (di)transitive A – both with agentive semantics.

(5) *tsi-kôô-ʃane*
1-earth/soil-downward
'I fell down.'

(6) *xa jiklôt tsi-kôt-xat-ʃane*
DET_3 tree 1-earth/soil-CAUS-downward
'The tree made me fall down.'

(7) *xa-nojin*
1-go.first
'I leave first (from here).'

(8) *xa-kufan-eʃ*[7] *ɬa jukuve xa-pi nivakle*
1-share-INS F.DET_1 bread DET_2-PL person
'I share/distribute bread with the people.'

Nevertheless, intransitive verbs of apparently similar semantic types may take distinct prefix sets (and there is profuse allomorphy). Compare the person prefixes on the intransitive constructions in (9) through (11) with the person prefixes in (5) and (7) just above. Examples (9), (10) and (11) all have non-agentive semantics, but three different 1st person prefixes occur, including *xa-*, which in (7) and (8) marks an agent but in (9) correlates with something more like an experiencer.

(9) *xa-k'iim*
1-have.hiccups/get.surprised
'I have hiccups.' / 'I get surprised.'

(10) *tsi-vaaj*
1-be.wet
'I'm wet.'

(11) *ja-sui*
1-bad
'I'm bad (angry).'

7. Like many grammatical morphemes with abstract meanings, the function of *-eʃ* goes beyond indicating an 'instrumental' object; but in this paper we gloss it as INS (reminiscent of 'instrument').

With transitive verbs, the marking of A and P on the verb generally depends on their relative ranking on a person hierarchy 1/2>3 (Fabre 2016: 166, 190–192).[8] When a third person plus a speech act participant is involved, only the higher person on the hierarchy (i.e. the speech act participant) is marked by a prefix, as shown in (12) through (16). This is true for any speech act participant P, as shown for the 1SG causee in (13) and the applied 1SG P in (14). Comparison of (15a) and (15b) shows that (15a) is marking 2SG P.

(12) *xa-vaj-it*
1-be.wet-CAUS
'I get him/her wet.'

(13) *tsi-vaj-it*
1-be.wet-CAUS
'He/she gets me wet.' (Compare with (10) above.)

(14) *Ts-otsiy-'e* *ca* *yinoot*
1-throw.liquid-LOC DET_3 water
'He threw water at me.'

(15) a. *na-vaj-it*
2-be.wet-CAUS
'He/she gets you wet.'
b. *na-vaaj*[9]
2-be.wet
'You (sg.) are wet.'

(16) *ła-vaj-it*
2-be.wet-CAUS
'You get him/her wet.'

When there are two third persons, only the A participant is marked. This is shown by comparison of (17a) and (17b).

(17) a. *ji-vaj-it*
3-be.wet-CAUS
'He/she gets him/her wet.'

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8. Diachronically, two prefix slots might be proposed for some forms, but modernly there is considerable phonological reduction into monosyllabic morphemes. In other Mataguayan languages, argument prefixes have been analyzed as portmanteaux morphemes (cf. Gerzenstein 1994 for Maká).

9. The difference in the root between (15a) and (15b) involves a prosodically-based process of deglottalization; in this paper glottalization is represented by writing a doubled vowel. According to Gutiérrez (2016a,b), glottalized vowels can only appear in accented positions. In (15a), the accent is on the causative suffix but in (15b) it is on the root.

b. *Ø-vaaj*
3-be.wet
'He/she is wet.'

When 1st person acts upon 2nd person, *k'(a)-*[10] occurs, as shown in (18). When 2nd person acts upon 1st person, both participants are marked, as in (19). (In general, 1PL.EXCL patterns together with 1SG.)

(18) *k'a-vaj-it*
1SG>2-be.wet-CAUS
'I get you wet.' (*'I get him/her wet.')

(19) *ɬa-s-vaj-it*
2–1-be.wet-CAUS
'You get me wet.'

In addition to argument prefixes, verbs may have a reflexive/reciprocal prefix, as comparison of (20a–b) shows; several transitivizing and/or causative suffixes, as in (21) and (22); applicatives which include the so-called 'instrumental' (INS), as in (21) and (8) above; pluractional and aspect-related morphemes, as in (23); directionals/locatives, as in (20b) and (22); and plural morphemes, as in (20a). They also may include what would appear to be verbalizers of highly time-stable roots, as in (24).

(20) a. *xa-vat-pe'j-eeɬ*
1-REFL-hear-PL
'We hear/listen to each other.'
b. *xa-pe'j-e'-ei xa-pi nivaktʃe-i*
1-hear-3-LOC_2 DET_2-PL person.F-PL
'I hear the women (from far away).'

(21) *xa-pe'-xajan-eʃ xa nivakle xa vat-jaax.*
1-hear-CAUS-INS DET_2 person.M DET_2 IMPERS.POSS-news
'I gave the information to the man.' / 'I made the man hear the news.'

(22) *tsi-kôôt-xat-ʃane*
1-fall-CAUS-downward
'He/she/it makes me fall down.' / 'He/she/it knocks me down.'

(23) *xa-fos-'in xa-va ji-kôklikitoi*
1-move/throw.out-PLU DET_2-PL 1-stuff
'I moved my things (to another place).'

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10. The prefix *k'-* also occurs with at least certain verbs in the 1>3 situation (cf. Fabre 2016: 192), but with other roots it specifically indicates 1>2. Compare *k'a -t'u* 'I push you' and *xa-t'u* 'I push him/her'; versus the transitive applicative derivation *k'-u-eʃ-a* (1-believe-APPL-3) 'I believe him/her' and *k'-u-eʃ-'a* (1-believe-APPL-2) 'I believe you (sg.)'.

(24) *ji-jukuve-jan*
3-bread-VBLZ
'He/she makes bread.' (cf. *jukuve* 'bread')

With certain (historical) roots, some suffixes are highly lexicalized, including morphemes with transitivizing or causativizing meaning such as *-xat, -xan, -xajan, -jan*, and others. The formative *-xan* deserves a special note in the context of this paper, since Fabre (2016) sometimes glosses it as 'antipassive' (p. 175), but other times as 'causative' (p. 186). Throughout this paper we gloss *-xan* as 'do, perform' (DO) since it correlates with agentive semantics. In many examples it clearly does not have a detransitivizing effect. For instance, compare the effect of (lexicalized) *-xan* and *-ła* in (25)–(26) with the root *xoi* 'put behind'. Both examples have two non-oblique syntactic participants. In (25) *-xan* correlates with more dynamic action or intensity, relative to *-ła* in (26). Synchronically, meaning differences among lexicalized suffixes are not always transparent.

(25) *xa nivakle tsi-xoi-xan*
DET$_2$ person 1-put.behind-DO
'The man pursues me.'

(26) *ni-xooi-ła xa taôklax*
3-put.behind-separative DET$_2$ boy
'The boy put himself after/behind (e.g. at the end of a queue).'

The transitivizing effect of *-xan* is shown by comparing the examples in (27) with those in (28)–(30) with *xovai* 'startle'. The clauses in (27) have one participant and are experiential in meaning (they might be described as having 'anticausative' or 'middle' semantics). In (28)–(30), *-xan* adds a causer and the number of allowable non-oblique participants increases: observe that (28) has two determined phrases (DPs), and (29)–(30) mark two participants either in the verb or in the verb plus a DP. Also note that in these examples, a nasal /n/ (however it might be parsed) consistently indicates that there is an experiencer. In (28) *ni-* refers to *łxa nivaktʃe* 'the woman' and not to *xa nivakle* 'the man.'

(27) a. *ni-xovai*
3-startle
'He/she gets startled.'
b. *tsi-xovai*
1-startle
'I get startled.'
c. *łan-xovai*
2-startle
'You get startled.'

(28) *xa nivakle (Ø-)ni-xovats-xan ɬ-xa nivaktʃe*
DET$_2$ man (3-)3-startle-DO F-DET$_2$ woman
'The man startled the woman.'

(29) *k'an-xovats-xan*
1SG>2-startle-DO
'I startle you.'

(30) *xan-xovats-xan xa nivakle*
1>3-startle-DO DET$_2$ man
'I startled the man.'

Since the syntactic effect of *-xan* in (28) through (30) is to increase valence – and not to decrease it as would be characteristic of an antipassive – we do not view it as an 'antipassive' marker. Further, it appears to be a frozen element of some transitive stems, such as *eixatsxan* 'learn, teach' in (31) and (32), and other stems including *kunxan* 'feed' in (33) and (34), *fitsxan* 'nurse', etc.

(31) *ɬa=ɬetʃ ts'-eixatsxan-eʃ nôke va-t'aklaatʃ*
F=same 1-teach-INS this 3-sing/song
'She taught me this song.'

(32) *na=juan Ø-vank'-eixatsxan*
DET$_1$=Juan 3-ANTIP-teach
'Juan is a teacher.' (cuestion 189.1)

(33) *xa-kunxan xa taôklax*
1-feed DET$_2$ child
'I feed the child.'

(34) *xa-kunxan-eʃ xa taôklax xa vatôk*
1-feed-INS DET$_2$ child DET$_2$ food
'I feed the child with food.'

At the same time, it is true that *-xan* does not always result in a transitive clause, unlike what might be expected of a prototypical causative morpheme. In fact, there are some examples in which *-xan* might at first seem to have a semantic antipassive effect. Consider the root *tsepxaɬ* 'weave, sew'. First, the simple root can take two arguments, demonstrated by (35) and (36). Example (37) suffixes *-xan*, yielding the sense of ongoing activity without any particular P. In fact, with the root 'weave', the stem *tsepxaɬ-xan* is lexicalized as intransitive and it cannot take a DP in the P role. That is, with this root *-xan* does not seem to be particularly 'causative' in sense nor does it add an extra participant.[11] However, the stem *tsepxaɬ-xan* can further

11. We find this somewhat reminiscent of the range of uses of the historical **-ɪd* applicative suffix across Bantu languages discussed by Pacchiarotti (2017). In most modern Bantu languages, a dominant function of the reflex of **-ɪd* is to increase valence, but some idiosyncratic stems with **-ɪd* are (now) lexicalized as intransitives.

take *vanka-*, with the result that a participant is left unspecified and it implies that weaving is one's profession (i.e. 'I weave (things) habitually' as in (38)). Overall, we find the sense of *tsepxaɬ-xan* in (37) consonant with a 'do activity' meaning, but it is not clear that *-xan* is therefore necessarily an antipassive in and of itself (as the stem with *-xan* can still take *vanka-*, a detransitivization process that we discuss in detail in Section 3).

(35) *xa-tsepxaɬ xa jikfij*
1-weave DET$_2$ shoe
'I weave/sew my shoe.'

(36) *xa-tsepxaɬ-tʃe na fetajanił*
1-weave-LOC:encircled DET$_1$ blanket
'I weave a blanket.'

(37) *xa-tsepxaɬ-xan*
1-weave-DO
'I weave/do knitting.'

(38) *xa-vanka-tsepxaɬ-xan (*xa nivakle / *na fetajanił)*
1-ANTIP-weave-DO DET$_2$ person DET$_1$ blanket
'I weave (things).' (It entails that weaving is my profession.)

We now briefly comment on other features of Nivaĉle relevant to the study. Constituent order is typically AVP/VS, but it is also possible to have SV order in intransitives and VAP order in transitives (the potential influence of Spanish bilingualism on order possibilities should not be ignored). Nivaĉle lacks nominal case-markers or adpositions for oblique arguments. Aside from temporal adjuncts, there may be no true oblique phrases. If a semantic locative or instrument, for example, is to be added to the clause, an applicative or locative suffix must occur on the verb. Syntactic pivots operate on a nominative (A/S) basis, illustrated in (39) and (40): in the dependent *pa*-marked clause in (40), it can only be 'the woman' who laughed. However, a switch in the interpretation of the A/S participant is possible if clauses are clearly marked for different subjects. In (41), for instance, the preverbal phrase *łxa nivaktʃe* 'woman' must be interpreted as the A of 'ask', while in the dependent *pa*-marked clause *tsi-* clearly marks the S of *kasuiʔ* 'laugh' as 1st person.

(39) *ł-xa nivaktʃe / xa nivakle ni-kasui-ʔin*
F-DET$_2$ woman DET$_2$ man 3-laugh-PLU
'The woman / the man laughed.'

(40) *ł-xa nivaktʃe n-iʔôs xa nivakle pa ni-kasui-ʔin*
F-DET$_2$ woman 3-ask DET$_2$ man DET$_4$ 3-laugh-PLU
'The woman$_i$ asked the man (sth.) and she$_i$ laughed.'

(41) *ɬ-xa nivaktʃe ts-iʔɔs pa tsi-kasui-'in*
F-DET$_2$ woman 1-ask DET$_4$ 1-laugh-PLU
'The woman asked me (sth.) and I laughed.'

3. The antipassive construction

As defined for this volume, an ANTIPASSIVE is a derived intransitive construction in which the A (whether agent, actor, experiencer, etc.) of a transitive base becomes the single core argument (S) of a derived detransitivized construction. In some languages, the base P (whether patient, theme or some other non-agentive role) is expressed either as a peripheral oblique or is completely omitted in the derived intransitive construction (see Silverstein 1972a, 1972b; Dixon 1994, among others, for antecedents). In general, antipassives show lower semantic, as well as decreased syntactic transitivity (Cooreman 1994). We take semantic transitivity to concern the degree to which two (or more) participants are understood as centrally involved in the action and the degree to which action is carried over from one participant to another (Hopper & Thompson 1980). Syntactic transitivity concerns the existence of two (or more) overt non-oblique core DPs and/or pronominally-marked participants in the clause (which may be marked just on the verb in Nivaĉle). The Nivaĉle *vanka-* construction is of the type that omits the base P. If the base stem on which *vanka-* operates is semantically highly-transitive, the resulting intransitive retains the agent. If it is semantically less highly-transitive, the retained argument may be a semantic experiencer, but it is never the most patient-like argument of the two-argument base.

3.1 *vanka-* with transitive bases

In this section we discuss the syntax and semantics of the *vanka-* construction with transitive bases.[12] Example (42) first shows a transitive clause without *vanka-*. In (43a), the same root 'burn' is prefixed with *vanka-*. The agent retains properties of a subject. But now the understood patient is semantically non-specific and is syntactically suppressed. Example (43b) shows that the simple *vanka-* construction does not allow the erstwhile P to occur overtly in the clause; nor can it occur in an oblique phrase (but this is to be expected as the language does not have syntactically oblique non-temporal phrases). Given these properties, we refer to *vanka-* as an antipassive morpheme.

12. Though some examples in this section carry suffixes that may govern a third participant, Section 3.2 and Section 3.3 explicitly discuss *vanka-* with ditransitive bases.

(42) *xa-p'aɬ kanʔut ka xpôjitʃ*
1-burn yesterday DET$_3$ house
'I burned the house yesterday.'

(43) a. *xa-vanka-p'aɬ*
1-ANTIP-burn
'I burn (something/things = unspecified patient).'
b. **xa-vanka-p'aɬ ka xpôjitʃ*

In (42)–(43), the 1st person A/S is consistently marked with *xa-*. But if the A/S participant were 3rd person, the *vanka-* derivation may involve a change in the argument prefix form even though the derived S remains agentive. For instance, in the transitive clause in (44) without *vanka-*, the 3rd person subject is indexed on the verb by *ji-*; but in the intransitive *vanka-* clauses in (45) and (46), there is a zero-form participant prefix. The DP to the left of the verb 'cover' in (43) expresses the transitive A, and in (44)–(45) the preverbal DP expresses the intransitive S. The transitive construction in (44) allows two DPs; but this is not possible in (45). The phrase following the lexical verb 'cover' in (45) is a temporal adjunct preceded by *ti*, glossed here as SUB(ordinator). In sum, despite a change in 3rd person participant indexation between (44) and (45)–(46), the detransitivization effect of *vanka-* is the same as in (42)–(43) where the participant indexation remains the same.

(44) *xa-pi nivakle ji-p'o-apee ka nuu Ø-vaf*
DET$_2$-PL person 3-cover-LOC DET$_3$ dog 3-die
'The people covered (buried) the dog that died.'

(45) *xa-pi nivakle Ø-vanka-p'o ti nitʃ'a naɬu*
DET$_2$-PL person 3-ANTIP-cover SUB new day
'The people covered (buried) (something/things) today.'

(46) *xa-pi nivakle Ø-vanka-p'o*
DET$_2$-PL person 3-ANTIP-cover
'The people covered (buried) (something/things).'

When a P argument is removed from the clause in the *vanka-* construction, applicative-like locative or instrumental suffixes are sometimes also lost (though causative-like suffixes are retained in *vanka-* constructions). This is seen in the contrast between (44) with the locative suffix *-apee*, versus (45)–(46).

Transitive bases that can take *vanka-* primarily conjugate with *j-* in the 3rd person, as with the transitive use of 'cover' in (44); but there are some exceptions. Consider (47) where the transitive stem *tux* conjugates with Ø- for its 3rd person A; this Ø- is found quite regularly in the *vanka-* construction, as in (45) and (46), and also in (48).

(47) *Ø-tux xa vatôk*
3-eat DET$_2$ food
'He/she eats the food.'

(48) *Ø-vanka-tux*
3-ANTIP-eat
'He/she eats (people) (i.e. he/she is a cannibal).'

Similarly to indexation of 3rd person by a Ø- on *tux* 'eat', in (28) the 3rd person A of the transitive stem *xovats-xan* 'startle (someone)' is marked by Ø-; and the 3rd person S in the *vanka-* counterpart derivation is also marked by Ø-, as in (49). This is identical to the behavior of the A/S participant with *tux* 'eat' in (47) and (48), though the P of *tux* 'eat' is semantically a patient and the P of *xovats-xan* 'startle (someone)' is an experiencer. Note that in (27a) and (28) a non-first person experiencer (the startled participant) is referenced by *n(i)-*; but in (49) *n(i)-* no longer occurs because the antipassive construction retains the actor as its S, and not the experiencer.

(49) *Ø-vanka-xovats-xan*
3-ANTIP-startle-DO
'He/she startles (people).'

The transitive stems for 'ask' presented in (50) and (51) belong to a conjugation which takes *t-* in the 3rd person, and are quite agentive semantically.[13] With *vanka-*, the third person S is again marked by Ø-. In (52) it is understood that the omitted participant is a theme (i.e. the item being asked for), and in (53) the omitted participant is a person being asked for.

(50) a. *ta-jots-xan-xop xa vatôk*
3-ask-DO-APPL:motive DET$_2$ food
'He/she asks about the food.'
b. *ta-jots-xan-xop xa Eulogio*
3-ask-DO-APPL:motive DET$_2$ Eulogio
'He/she asks Eulogio (about something).'

(51) *ta-jots-xan-eʃ xa Eulogio*
3-ask-DO-INS DET$_2$ Eulogio
'He/she asks for/about Eulogio.'

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13. It is not possible to have two objects with the stem *jots-xan-xop*, but either the item asked about or the addressee can occur as the second argument. A different root *nios* 'ask' is necessary if a speaker wants to overtly put both the addressee and the item asked about into a clause.

(52) *Ø-vanka-jots-xan-xop*
3-ANTIP-ask-DO-APPL:motive
'He/she asks (about something).'

(53) *Ø-vanka-jots-xan-eʃ*
3-ANTIP-ask-DO-INS
'He/she asks (about someone).'

3.2 *vanka-* with ditransitive bases

With ditransitive bases involving a human recipient, goal, or causee, *vanka-* suppresses that human participant.[14] Overt expression of the theme is sometimes reacted to as ungrammatical, but other times is easily accepted. To see this, consider the data in (54) through (57). Example (54) shows that the root *kufan* appears to be a syntactically intransitive predicate. Adding *-eʃ* allows addition of a theme as in (55), a recipient/goal as in (56), or both as in (57).

(54) *xa-kufan (*ɬa jukuve / *xa-pi nivakle)*
1-share F.DET$_1$ bread DET$_2$-PL person
'I share (with other people).'

(55) *xa-kufan-eʃ ɬa jukuve*
1-share-INS F.DET$_1$ bread
'I share bread (with people).'

(56) *xa-kufan-eʃ xa-pi nivakle*
1-share-INS DET$_2$-PL person
'I share with the people.'

(57) *xa-kufan-eʃ ɬa jukuve xa-pi nivakle*
1-share-INS F.DET$_1$ bread DET$_2$-PL person
'I share the bread with the people.'

In (58), *vanka-* is added to the derived stem *kufan-eʃ*. This form allows retention of the theme, but not of the recipient/goal. If *vanka-* (at least historically) implied a non-specific human participant, this might explain why an overt human participant cannot be added to the clause.

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14. Nouguier-Voisin (2002) observes that in Wolof, the derivational morpheme *-e* productively triggers omission of the recipient with ditransitives; but it triggers omission of the object only with some transitives. In Nivaĉle, *vanka-* is quite productive with both transitive and ditransitive bases, but obligatorily targets (at least) the human recipient in a ditransitive.

(58) *xa-vanka-kufan-eʃ ła jukuve (*xa-pi nivakle)*
1-ANTIP-share-INS F.DET$_1$ bread DET$_2$-PL person
'I share the bread (with people).'

In certain other ditransitives with a causee or a causative sense, Eulogio Corvalán, our main consultant, prefers to include neither theme nor causee. For instance, the two-argument root *fos* 'throw out' by itself normally takes an agent and the theme that is thrown. In (59), the suffix *-xajan* creates a ditransitive from the root *fos* with an agent, a theme, and a causee. In (60), *vanka-* is added and now overt expression of both theme and causee is disallowed.

(59) *xa-fos-xajan xa nivakle xa-va łai*
1-throw.out-CAUS DET$_2$ person DET$_2$-PL fruit
'I made the man throw the fruit out.'

(60) *xa-vanka-fos-xajan kan'ut (*xa nivakle) / (*xa-va łai)*
1-ANTIP-throw.out-CAUS yesterday DET$_2$ person DET$_2$-PL fruit
'I caused (people) to throw out (things) yesterday.'
(*'I caused the man to throw sth. out yesterday.' / *'I caused sbdy. to throw the fruit out yesterday.')

Similarly, (61) shows a transitive root *oxeetʃ* 'skin', while the derived causative-antipassive in (62) disallows expression of both an overt theme and a causee.

(61) *k'-oxeetʃ ka jakkiset*
1-skin DET$_3$ animal
'I skin the (dead) animal.'

(62) *xa-vank'-oxetʃ-xajan (*xa nivakle) (*ka jakkiset)*
1-ANTIP-skin-CAUS DET$_2$ person DET$_3$ animal
'I make (people) skin (animals).'

Having introduced the basic antipassive derivation, in the next section we discuss functions of *vanka-*, including some that differ from prototypical antipassive behavior.

3.3 The semantics of *vanka-* constructions

In this section we turn more explicitly to the semantic effects of *vanka-*. The *vanka-*construction can first emphasize typical characteristics or habitual activities, very commonly displayed by the antipassive derivation in other languages. For instance, (63) talks about a clever enemy who is skillful at throwing arrows. In (63c), *vanka-* emphasizes that the enemy had the trait of being "a chaser" who persecuted Nivaĉle people.

(63) a. *ni-n-jôj-eʃ ɬôn ka n-tʃaax ka=tem ka pitex*
NEG-3-like-INS REPORT DET_3 3IRR-take DET_3=CONJ.COP DET_3 be.long
'He did not like to take spears,'

b. *na ʃeeʃ ɬôn ka tik'i-k-ʃane vat-kx̂oxe-k*
for.last.time REPORT DET_3 be.small-PL-PL IMPERS.POSS-arrow-PL
'just small things like arrows'

c. *ɬajaaʃ ti ji-tôj-iʃ ti Ø-vanka-xôi-xan-eʃ*
CONJ.CAUS SUB 3-know-INS SUB 3-ANTIP-follow-DO-INS
'because he knew, he chased (people/enemies),' (i.e. 'because he knows how to chase people')[15]

d. *ti C-tɬij-xôn-eʃ ni-n-jôj-eʃ ɬôn ɬ-ka Ø-pitex*
SUB 3-shoot-DO-INS NEG-3-like-INS REPORT F-DET_3 3-be.long
'when he shot, he did not like – they say – long things,'

e. *ka n-tʃaax vôôj ɬôn ka kluts-es-eʃ*
DET_3 3-take CONJ REPOR DET_3 arrow-PL-INS
'thus he took arrows'

f. *ji-t'eʃ-ʔin ni-n-jôj-eʃ*
3-say-PLU NEG-3-like-INS
'they say – he did not like them (=spears).'

The propensity of the *vanka-* construction to express typical characteristics and habitual activities makes it common in action and some locative nominalizations, as these often refer to generalized actions or situations without specific patients.[16] For instance, (64) introduces a non-fictional character, *Kalaliin*, in the first line and he is then referred to in the fourth line by a de-verbal noun translated as 'a persistent person'. The nominalization is based on the root *faikut* 'insist'.[17]

(64) a. *ɬan'e pa ɬetʃ tʃi-j-t'eʃa Kalaliin p'aɬa ti*
but DET_4 ANAPH 3.IMPERS-3-say Calaliin in.past SUB
Ø-t-ôx-k'e
3-TRANSL-leave-DIR
'But it is said that Calaliin had left (them)behind'

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15. We have attempted to translate *ti vankaxôixaneʃ* with the flavor of a finite subordinate clause, as the *ti*-clause structure contrasts with *ka* and *pa* nominalized subordinate clauses (Payne et al. 2016).

16. Elsewhere it has been argued that antipassives can develop from nominal sources (cf. Jacques 2014). We are not suggesting that *vanka-* was a nominalizer, as the nominalization types where it often occurs do not depend on the presence of *vanka-*, but only note that it is common in such nominalizations.

17. As shown earlier, *vanka-* verbs with third person subjects normally take a Ø- person prefix; but as a nominalization we do not analyze *vanka-faikut-xanax* as carrying a Ø- argument prefix.

b. *ta-łei pô-ke pa Kalaliin p'ała ti Ø-t-ôx-k'e*
3POSS-name DET_4-DEM DET_4 Calaliin in.past SUB 3-TRANSL-leave-DIR
pa Kalaliin
DET_4 Calaliin
'that (person) whose name was Calaliin had left them behind'

c. *łayaaʃ ti ji-tôj-a pa-ła faniʃ-łavatʃ*
CONJ.CAUS SUB 3-know-LOC DET_4-F.DET_1 hurry-REFL.3
'because Calaliin knew how to hurry up'

d. *vanka-faikut-xanax ateʃa*
ANTIP-insist-NMLZ.AGENT in.vain
'and was a persistent person, unfortunately.'

A few nominalizations lexicalized with *vanka-* are in (65) through (68).

(65) *ła-vanka-kleʃ-xat-ʃij*
3POSS-ANTIP-wash-CAUS-NMLZ:PLACE
'his/her sink' (lit. 'his/her make it clean place')

(66) *ji-vanka-kleʃ-xaʔvat*
1POSS-ANTIP-wash-NMLZ
'my washing room'

(67) *vanka-klôjits-xajaʃ*
ANTIP-mistreat-NMLZ
'punishment'

(68) *vat-vanka-tsepxał-xan-xavo*
IMPERS.POSS-ANTIP-SEW-DO-NMLZ
'(sbdy's) needle' (from Fabre 2016: 135, our glossing)

A second important semantic feature of *vanka-* constructions concerns an implication of an extra participant. We have seen in Section 3.1 that *vanka-* constructions formed on transitive bases do not allow overt expression of the P. However, Eulogio Corvalán expresses that *vanka-* verbs have the sense that another participant (which we understand to implicitly correspond to a P) is somehow included in the meaning of *vanka-*, and that this very implication is why an overt DP expressing a P participant is not possible in the clause.

In some cases, the *vanka-* construction has a sense of nonspecific people as the implied but unexpressable P of the transitive base. This is clearly the case in (48) with *vanka-tux* 'eat (people), be a cannibal'. But in some instances, the non-expressable P is understood as something other than people. For example, the root *fos* 'throw' is only used with inanimate objects (e.g. trash), as in (69). Thus, the *vanka-* construction in (70) cannot be understood as involving nonspecific (living) 'people', though in the right context it could implicate throwing out cadavers. (A different root *tʃen* could be used for 'throwing out' a living person from a place.)

(69) *xa-fos* *xa-va* *ɬai*
1-throw.out DET$_2$-PL fruits
'I threw the fruits out.'

(70) *xa-vanka-fos*
1-ANTIP-throw.out
'I threw (things) out.' / 'I buried the dead person.'

Similarly, the root *fɬit*, seen in (71), is not used for knocking down people. Thus, the *vanka-* construction in (72) with this root is understood to mean that an agent knocks down something other than people – e.g. trees.

(71) *xa-fɬit*
1-knock.down
'I knock it (e.g. a tree) down.'

(72) *Ø-vanka-fɬit*
3-ANTIP-knock.down
'He/she knocks (things, e.g. trees) down.'

To summarize, the sense of 'people' in the antipassives in (48) and (63c), versus the non-people sense of any understood P in (70) and (72) is apparently due to strength of selectional restrictions. If a root or stem selectionally restricts for a particular type of P, this implication remains in the *vanka-* construction. If a transitive base has no strong selectional restrictions on its P, the default tendency may be to interpret the derived *vanka-* antipassive as involving 'people' as the unspecified P. But this is not a requirement and other semantic and pragmatic considerations can take precedence.

To the extent that *vanka-* may implicate an unspecified participant, in some instances it may almost appear to impart causative meaning. Consider, for instance, (73) and (74). There is no causative sense in (73), but the implication of an unspecified human participant with *vanka-* in (74) imparts the idea that 'growing big' is somehow made relevant to that unspecified human participant, e.g. by teaching or showing.

(73) *xa-nunat*
1-grow.big
'I grow big.' / 'I boast (about myself).'

(74) *xa-vanka-nunat*
1-ANTIP-grow.big
'I "teach"/ "show" (people, how to) aggrandize.'

However, we do not think that this means that *vanka-* is a causative morpheme. First, it does not appear to correspond to any independent causative root such as

'make, force, do'. Second, it occurs with derived causatives, as in (60) and (62) above, and also in (77) with the active intransitive root *tʃijoof* 'arise early'. The examples in (75) first show that *tʃijoof* is intransitive, and (76) shows causative counterparts. When *vanka-* is added to a causativized stem as in in (77), the causative meaning remains; but (78) shows that an overt theme or causee cannot occur in the construction. Note that *xa nivakle* in (77) can only refer to the agent, not to the theme or causee – despite its post-verbal position and despite the fact that *nivakle* is the generic term for 'person' (as well as 'man').

(75) a. *xa-tʃijoof*
1-arise.early
'I rise early.'
b. *ɬ-tʃijoof*
2-arise.early
'You rise early.'
c. *va-tʃijof*
3-arise.early
'He/she rises early.'

(76) a. *tsi-tʃijof-xat*
1-arise.early-CAUS
'He makes me rise early.'
b. *na-tʃijof-xat*
2-arise.early-CAUS
'He makes you rise early.'
c. *ji-tʃijof-xat* *xa* *nivakle*
3-arise.early-CAUS DET_2 person
'He makes the man rise early.'

(77) *Ø-vanka-tʃijof-xat* *xa* *nivakle*
3-ANTIP-arise.early-CAUS DET_2 man/person
'The man makes (people/someone) rise early.'

(78) **xa-vanka-tʃijof-xat* *xa* *nivakle*
1-ANTIP-arise.early-CAUS DET_2 man/person
(for 'I made the/a man rise early.')

The degree of causative overtone that may surface or be retained with *vanka-* derivations depends on the lexical verb or stem. For instance, (79) illustrates intransitive 'bathe, wash'; this root cannot directly take *vanka-*, demonstrated in (80). (It thus differs from *nunat* 'grow big' in (73)–(74) above.) However, *vanka-* is possible if the stem is first causativized, shown by (81) and (82), accordingly. In (82) a non-specific patient or causee is understood, but the sentence does not communicate that the action was performed on any particular individual.

(79) *xa-naj*
1-bathe
'I have a bath.'

(80) **xavankanaj*

(81) *xa-na-xajan*
1-bathe-CAUS
'I wash/baptize him/her.' (specifically: I apply the water to him/her)

(82) *yałetʃ xa-vanka-na-xajan*
1.PRO 1-ANTIP-bathe-CAUS
'I baptized (people).' (lit. 'I make [people] bathe.')

In summary, the causative meaning in (77) and (82) appears to result from the suffixes *-xat* and *-xajan*, not from *vanka-*; whereas in (74) any implication of (an indirect) causee must arise from the 'nonspecific extra participant' implication of *vanka-*.

4. Beyond the antipassive function: *vanka-* on intransitive stems

Across the world's languages, there is a great deal of variation in the polyfunctionality exhibited by antipassive markers (Jacques 2014; Janic & Witzlack-Makarevich 2015). In some languages antipassive derivations are diachronically associated with such functional domains as middle voice, reflexives, and nominalization, among others. By middle, we understand a (generally) intransitive construction in which the single participant experiences the effect of the action (cf. Lyons 1969: 373). This includes semantic anticausatives in which only a patient is present, reflexive or reciprocal situations in which A and P are not distinct referents, spontaneous actions like 'rot', 'split', 'explode', translational movements in which a participant may simultaneously act agentively and undergo movement like 'flee', 'leave', 'roll', etc.

In what follows, we suggest that the middle domain is relevant to understanding *vanka-*. First, Nivaĉle is a language in which *vanka-* is not limited to reducing syntactic transitivity of a stem. It may also occur on certain seemingly intransitive stems, with semantic effects ranging from strongly agentive to more middle meanings. Its semantic effect with some intransitives underscores that it has an 'impersonal/non-specific participant' meaning, which is important for understanding its historical origins (Section 5).[18] In what follows we illustrate *vanka-* with three intransitive bases which show varying properties.

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18. Arkadiev & Letuchiy (this volume) discuss the formation of antipassives on applicative stems derived from intransitive roots. In Nivaĉle there is no reason to distinguish applied arguments from other P arguments relative to antipassivization. Comrie et al. (this volume) show that in Nakh-Daghestanian languages, the antipassive yields an aspectual contrast with intransitive

Examples (83) and (84) have the stem *pesojan*, which contains the nominal root *peso* (from Spanish 'unit of money'), derived into a verb by the suffix *-jan*. As a predicate, *pesojan* can take different person prefix sets, reflecting different degrees of agentivity of the intransitive S argument, shown in (83).[19]

(83) a. *tsi-peso-jan*
1-money-VBLZ
'I obtain money.' (e.g. for a job; less agentive)
b. *xa-peso-jan*
1-money-VBLZ
'I make money.' (e.g. by doing a job; more agentive)

The agentive form in (83b) can take a second participant as an indirect causee, as in (84a). *Vanka-* can be added to the agentive form, correlating with the idea of an "extra" participant, as in (84b). However, this extra participant cannot be expressed.

(84) a. *xa-peso-jan xa nivakle*
1-money-VLBZ DET_2 man
'I made the man to have money.' (indirect causative)
b. *xa-vanka-peso-jan*
1-ANTIP-money-VBLZ
'I make (somebody) to have money.' / 'I give money (to sbdy.) (for something).'

In sum, this reading again suggests that *vanka-* can correlate with, if not implicate, agentive semantics and indirect causation.

However, the agentive reading in (84b) is only one possibility for *vanka-peso-jan*. The last line of the text excerpt in (85) has the same third person active intransitive stem (shown by the 1st and 2nd person agentive counterparts, *xa-vankapesojan* and *ła-vankapesojan*, respectively).

(85) a. *Ø-kaax ti tʃij-ôjin-ʃane*
3-exist SUB 3.IMPERS-prepare-PLU
'Sometimes they prepared handcrafts,'
b. *pa vôôj ti tʃij-vaklit-ʃam ka vôke-'ana*
DET_4 CONJ SUB 3.IMPERS-finish-PL DET_3 PL.NHUM-DEM
'then, those are finished,'

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stems. It is not clear that the Nivaĉle antipassive has a particularly aspectual effect with intransitive stems, but rather affects the semantic interpretation of the existence of an unspecified participant and hence potentially the role of the single participant.

19. Recall from Section 2 that there is some semantic unpredictability as to what stems occur in which conjugation set.

c. *pa tʃi-t'akum-'e pa=ti ninaʔ tʃi-nô-ke-ʃi-'in*
DET$_4$ 3.INDET-work-LOC$_1$ DET$_4$=SUB NEG 3.IMPERS-DET$_1$-DEM-LOC$_3$-PLU
'when somebody works here (handcrafting), (this person) remains there (in a place).'

d. *ni-tʃin-ôv-eʃ-'e pa=ka Ø-kus-a-'e ʃta*
NEG-3.INDET-be-INS-LOC$_1$ DET$_4$=DET$_3$ 3-be.hot-DIR-LOC$_1$ too
'(the handcrafts) are not (placed) where it is very hot.'

e. *kô-ke vat-kum-xat jałeeʃ ti*
DET$_3$-DEM IMPERS.POSS-work-NMLZ suddenly SUB
Ø-vanka-peso-jan
3-ANTIP-money-VBLZ
'that work (=handcrafting) suddenly brings about (makes) money.'

There is no discourse-topical agent in line (85e).[20] The lack of a topical agent is partly shown throughout (85) by the recurring impersonal and indeterminate 3rd person prefix *tʃi(j)-*. The only participant in (85e) is something like 'work' or 'money' itself, which does not qualify as a prototypical agent; hence, *vanka-peso-jan* arguably conveys a more 'middle' interpretation here.

Somewhat similarly to *pesojan* 'make money', *jukuvenxan* 'make bread' contains the root for 'bread.'[21] This stem allows the 1st person prefix *xa-*, shown in (86). The stem is intransitive, shown by the fact that it cannot take an object DP regardless of semantics (whether patient, benefactive, causee, or composing material); (86) could not, for instance, mean 'I make him/her make bread' nor 'I make bread for him/her'. A benefactive can be added only if the benefactive applicative *-em* occurs, as in (87).

(86) *xa-jukuve-n-xan (*xa nuksitʃ)*
1-bread-VBLZ-DO DET$_2$ manioc
'I make bread.' (*'I make manioc bread.')

(87) *xa-jukuve-n-xan-em xa nivakle*
1-bread-VBLZ-DO-BEN DET$_2$ person
'I make bread for the man.'

Though it is syntactically intransitive, *jukuvenxan* can take *vanka-*. This allows the implication of 'cause/manipulate someone unknown or nonspecific to make bread', seen in (88). The derived form in (88) disallows addition of a DP expressing a causee.

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20. Contrast this with the antipassive construction in (63c) above, which reports the activity of a discourse-topical participant.

21. We note that the suffixes differ between these stems.

(88) *xa-vanka-jukuve-n-xan*
1-ANTIP-bread-VBLZ-DO
'I demand that (someone) makes bread.' / 'I demand bread-making.'

The stems in (85e) and (88) involve roots for 'money' and 'bread' which typically refer to time-stable participants. But *vanka-* on intransitives is not limited to stems derived from such lexemes. For instance, it occurs on *nunat* 'grow big', as demonstrated in (89) through (91), and in (73) and (74) above accordingly. *Nunat* is an intransitive lexical reflexive, or experiential verb, i.e. with 'middle' semantics, evident in (89). When it occurs with *vanka-* in (91) and (74), there is an implication that the S participant does something about 'growing big' or 'aggrandizing self' relative to some unspecified participant, and thus allows an implication of potential indirect causation.

(89) *va-nunat*
3-grow.big
'He/she/it grows big.' or 'He/she boasts/aggrandizes (self).'

(90) **tsi-nunat*
1-grow.big
(intended: 'I grow big' but with patientive form of 1SG prefix)

(91) *Ø-vanka-nunat*
3-ANTIP-grow.big
'He/she demonstrates (to non-specific people how to) grow big/aggrandize.'

We have parsed the first /n/ in *nunat* as part of the root in (74) and (89) due to the fact that it occurs after the two-slot prefix sequence *xa-vanka-* in (74). But *nunat* derives from a transitive base *unat*, demonstrated by (92) through (94). This suggests an alternative (at least historical) analysis of *nunat* as containing what Fabre calls a 'cislocative' or 'middle' morpheme. For instance, (74) might be parsed as *xa-n-unat* (1-CISLOCATIVE-make.big') 'I aggrandize myself'/'I experience aggrandizement' with middle-like meaning.

(92) *x-unat*
1-make.big
'I aggrandize him/her.'

(93) *ɬ-ts-unat*
2–1-make.big
'You aggrandize me.'

(94) *k'-unat*
1>2-make.big
'I aggrandize you.'

To summarize, unlike the cases discussed in Section 3 where *vanka-* syntactically eliminates a participant and may imply some type of unspecified non-agent, with intransitive stems like *nunat* 'grow big, aggrandize self', *pesojan* 'give/make/do money', and *jukuvenxan* 'make/do bread', *vanka-* may just add the implication of an unspecified participant – though implication of an extra participant is not so evident in (85e). Altogether, we conclude that *vanka-* shows a range of functions from antipassive, to middle, to allowing the implication (but not overt expression) of an additional unspecified participant. The particular function or sense depends on the base it is combined with and the discourse context.

5. Source of the *vanka-* antipassive construction

Given the preceding discussion of the synchronic syntactic and semantic effects of *vanka-*, we now turn to its possible source. Our hypothesis is that this antipassive form might originate in a pronominal construction, namely a 3rd person form involving *va-* or *van-*, plus a formative *ka-*.

5.1 The *ka* portion

At least three *ka* forms exist in modern Nivaĉle, which may or may not be historically related. One *ka-* is the highly productive 'indirect possessive' (perhaps part of a former genitive classifier system). This *ka-* indicates that a normally possessed item (in the terms of Fabre 2016: 48, 121, an item "apt to be possessed") has an atypical possessor.[22] This is shown by the contrasts in (95)–(96), (97)–(98), and (99)–(100). When *ka-* is added, the normal "direct" or inalienable possessor may be contextually or semantically non-specific.

(95) *ɬ-ôf*
3POSS-wing
'its wing (of a bird)'

(96) *ɬ-k-ôf*
3POSS-INDIRECT.POSS-wing
'his/her fan' (e.g. for fanning the fire or one's self, made of a bird wing)

(97) *ji-nu'*
1POSS-bone
'my bone (of my body)'

22. The semantic difference between POSS-*ka*-ROOT and POSS-ROOT constructions sometimes corresponds to alienable vs. inalienable possession in other languages.

(98) *ji-ka-nu'*
1POSS-INDIRECT.POSS-bone
'my bone' (e.g. that I caught as prey, from an animal)

(99) *na ɬ-aʃi-nuk*
DET_1 3POSS-mouth-tie
'its bit (of a horse)'

(100) *na ɬ-ka-aʃi-nuk*
DET_1 3POSS-INDIRECT.POSS-mouth-tie
'his/her (the person's) bit' (from a horse)

Nivaĉle has a somewhat weak noun-verb distinction at the root level (Payne et al. 2016) and the marking of an indirect relationship may be not restricted to a specifically nominal part of speech. Thus, the 'indirect possessive' *ka-* may be related to a *ka-* (allomorphs *k'a-, k'i-*) found on what Fabre treats as a verb, illustrated in (101) with the allomorph *k'i-*. A contrasting form without *ka-* is in (102). In fact, Fabre glosses both the *ka-* that he calls an 'indirect possession marker' on nouns (2016: 121), and the *ka-* he calls 'mediative' (MED) on verbs (2016: 264) simply as 'MED'.[23] Observe that the *k'i-* in (101) indicates an indirect relationship to the condition of being pregnant; and in this way it is semantically similar to the 'indirect possessive' *ka-* on referring forms.

(101) *ji-k'i-tuma*
3-MED-be.pregnant
'His (wife) is pregnant.' (from the perspective of the father)
(Eulogio Corvalán, personal communication; see also Fabre 2016: 264)

(102) *ji-tuma (ɬ-pa nivaktʃe)*
3-be.pregnant F-DET_4 woman
'She (the woman) is pregnant.'

The verbal 'mediative' *ka-* is also illustrated by the pairs in (103)–(104) and (105)–(106) accordingly. In our analysis, an 'indirect' relationship may be what is going on with the use of *ka-* in (104) and (106). In (103), *vat'ax* takes as its argument the participant undergoing 'being born'. In the counterpart sentence in (104), *ka-* indicates that the argument is indirectly related to the experience of 'being born'. In (105) *jipukun* takes as its argument a 'hungering' participant; adding *ka-* (*k'a-*) in (106) may cast the marked argument as someone in a permanent or long-lasting situation. (The subtle meaning difference between (105) and (106) is not very clear to us, despite checking with a native speaker.)

23. Fabre states that 'mediative' *ka/k'a-* is used with nouns and verbs. The mediative marker between the possessor and the possessee indicates indirect possession (Fabre 2017).

(103) *tsi-vat'ax*
1-be.born
'I was born.' (Fabre 2016: 264; our glosses)

(104) *tsi-ka-vat'ax*
1-MED-be.born
'I gave birth.' (Fabre 2016: 264; our glosses, aside from MED taken from Fabre)

(105) *ni-ʃin-jipku-n*
NEG-1INCL-hunger-VBLZ
'We are not hungry.' (Fabre 2016: 264; our glosses)
(Implies a current experience; Eulogio Corvalán, personal communication)

(106) *ni-ʃta-k'a-jipku-i*
NEG-1INCL-MED-hunger-VBLZ
'We don't experience hunger.' (Fabre 2016: 264; our glosses, aside from 'MED' taken from Fabre) (The clause implies that we have never experienced hunger, i.e. we always have enough food; Eulogio Corvalán, personal communication)

In both (104) and (106), the participant marked on the verb is affected by and experiences a situation. In (101), the marked participant translated as 'his' is presumably also (indirectly) affected by the event. A permanent or long-term situation, such as that implied by (106), may arguably involve greater affectedness than a transitory situation, illustrated by (104). In sum, the semantics of *ka-* in these predicative uses may be akin to an 'affected middle' reading.

A third *ka* is the demonstrative DET_3, used with a range of items including those 'formerly seen but not still in existence; dead, destroyed', illustrated in (107).[24] It extends to items that are 'not visually perceived', and hence is the determiner for abstract concepts, as illustrated in (108). DET_3 also introduces certain finite subordinate clauses, illustrated in (109) and (110).

(107) *ɬ-ka ɬa-mimi*
F-DET_3 3POSS-mother
'his deceased mother' (Stell 1987: 364; our glossing)

(108) *xa-tôijit-eʃ ka matemática*
1-teach-INS DET_3 math
'I teach mathematics.' (Fabre 2016: 91; our glossing)

(109) *nôkeeʃ Ø-vôm-ei ka kas-kaklekla tôvôk*
now 3-stop-LOC_2 DET_3 1PL.INCL-be.provider river
'Now the river that is our provider has stopped.' (La pesca 5.1)

24. Recall from Section 2 that the contrasting determiner *pa* marks 'never seen' and *xa* marks 'seen prior, not present but still in existence.'

(110) *jitʃa ɬ-xa mimi ka num kaxuk'e am=pa*
also F-DET$_2$ mother DET$_3$ time long.time NEG.EXIST=DET$_4$
ɬa nivakle-ʔa
3.POSS person-IRR
'(My) mother, for a long time she didn't have a husband.' (lit. 'My mother that a long time her man didn't exist.') (Fischat 14.1)

Though the semantic overlaps between DET$_3$ 'not (still) in existence' and the non-specified participant semantics of *vanka-* are intriguing, our intuition is that DET$_3$ *ka* is a less likely source of the /ka/ in *vanka-*, at least because the determiner does not occur immediately before a verb root but before a person-inflected verb (though note that 3rd person inflection for some verbs is Ø-).

5.2 The *van* portion

Turning now to the /van/ component of *vanka-*, we suggest that this may come from a complex pronominal form, *va-* '3SG' + *n-*. We first note that *va-* can index a referential identifiable 3rd person argument of certain intransitive verbs, as in (75c) above (see also Table 1). But *va-* is not limited to referential identifiable participants and can occur with indefinite or nonspecific participants, as with *va-kôtsôn-ei* in (111b) and *va-tʃa-'e* in (112).

(111) a. *ɬôn ɬ-xunaʃ-tʃe ɬapeʃ pa pi=vat-navôt*
REPORT 3.POSS-seem-PL in.that.era DET$_4$ PL.HUM=IMPERS.POSS-parents
'(like that it was) in the time of people's ancestors,
b. *va-kôtsôn-ei ts'ivee pa-va ɬa-vtset-s-eʃ*
3-divided-LOC$_2$ 3PL DET$_4$-PL.NHUM 3POSS-territory-PL-INS
'they (nonspecific people) separated among their communities'
(Aldeas 24)

(112) *ji-snat-eʃ ɬôn ɬa-pa ɬkaʃij pa tsui-ʃam pa*
3-make-INS REPORT F-DET$_4$ corral DET$_4$ be.narrow-through.PL DET$_4$
va-tʃa-ʔe pa saxetʃ
3-leave-LOC$_1$ DET$_4$ fish
'(It is said) they made the cages that were narrow for the (nonspecific) fish to pass through….' (Comida antiguo 34)

The /n/ element in /van/ may correspond to the /n/ found in a number of pronominal forms (cf. *ɬan-*, *ʃtn-*, and others in Table 1). It is sometimes glossed in the literature as 'cislocative' (Fabre 2016: 261), and in some uses it indicates an affected or experiential participant, much as a dative might. In some instances, it is used with a

participant that undergoes motion. Altogether, it generally fits well with middle or affected meaning.[25] In subsequent examples, we thus gloss *van-* as '3middle' (3MID).

The examples in (113) through (116) originated during analysis of a narrative text (a segment of which we will discuss shortly). Examples (113) and (114) give transitive forms of *iis* 'mark'. The middle effect of /n/ is seen in (115) and (116). There is an anticausative sense in both (115) and (116). Note that (116) is not reflexive in meaning, which would be expressed as in (117).

(113) *ts-iis*
1-mark
'He/she marked me.'

(114) *j-iis-ʃam na nôjiʃ*
3-mark-LOC$_4$ DET$_1$ road
'He/she marks the road.'

(115) *van-iis-'e-ʃam na nôjiʃ*
3MID-mark-3-LOC$_1$-LOC$_4$ DET$_1$ road
'where the road is marked'

(116) *xan-iis*
1-mark
'I am marked.' (e.g. with a tattoo)

(117) *tsi-ts'-iis*
1-1-mark
'I mark myself.' (i.e. 'I make a mark on myself.')

The text segment which spurred elicitation of (113) through (116) is in (118). The tick and the ostrich had gambled about who would win a race, but the tick tricks the ostrich and wins. The referent marked with *van-* in lines b and c is the place where the race ends, i.e. the goal or target of the race. In line b, the place 'marked' is referential and well identified, but it is the patient of an anticausative situation. Conceivably one could analyze *van-* in *van-is-'e-ʃam* as consisting of *va-* 3AGENT plus *n-* 3PATIENT/AFFECTED, where only *n-* references the identifiable mark on the road and *va-* references some unspecified party who did the marking. But this analysis does not seem very suitable for the use of *van-* in line c with *ôjin* 'arrive first'.[26]

(118) a. *Pa j-uxeʔ-ei łôn pa j-ie-j*
DET$_4$ 3-arrive-LOC$_2$ REPORT DET$_4$ 3-be-LOC$_1$
'They were about to arrive'

25. Fabre (2016: 262) glosses it as 'medio-passive.'

26. *Van-ôjin* without specification of a location is also possible.

b. *pa van-is-ʔe-ʃam Ø-t'eklet-ei łôn tatʃa*
DET$_4$ 3MID-mark-3-LOC$_1$-LOC$_4$ 3-jump-LOC$_2$ REPORT soon
'where it was marked,'

c. *ł-pa fetʃ'atax van-ôjin-ei łôn vôôj pa vônxałôx*
F-DET$_4$ tick 3MID-arrive.first-LOC$_2$ REPORT CONJ DET$_4$ ostrich
pa ni-xoi-ła
DET$_4$ 3IRR-arrive.last-separate
'it is said that the tick arrived first[27] and the ostrich arrived late.'

Similarly, to the use of *van-* in (118c), in (119) the intransitive S that falls downward is indexed by *van-*.

(119) *xa-va van-k'umaj-ʃitʃam pa ji-t'eʃ tsukôk*
DET$_2$-PL.NHUM 3MID-fell-downward DET$_4$ 3-say "tsukôk"
(speaking about a game): 'They (the sticks) fall down, they (the gamers) say "tsukôk."'

In (120), an apparently agentive reciprocal participant is indexed by *van-*. The item shared is some type of food, which could have been syntactically included given the presence of *-eʃ* on *kufan-eʃ*, but it is omitted in this particular example. That is, *van-kufan-eʃ* is not clearly intransitive.

(120) *van-kufan-eʃ ji-tʃax-ei ts'ivee xanôxôôx*
3MID-share-INS 3-bring-LOC$_2$ PL.HUM be.much
'They themselves shared (among themselves), they brought a lot of things.'

If the impersonal or nonspecific use of the 3rd person *va-* and/or a 'middle' *van-* is the source of /van/ in *vanka-*, it helps account for the 'middle'-like meanings found with some uses of *vanka-*. It is also likely that *va-/van-* is partially cognate with the reflexive *van-* and reciprocal *vat-*; reflexive morphemes have been documented as a source of antipassives in various languages (Jacques 2014; Janic 2016).

How *van-* '3MID' came to be combined with *ka-* remains to be addressed. If the relevant *ka-* is related to an '(indirectly) affected' or 'middle' sense, then presumably the combination simply involved a case of semantic reinforcement or redundancy, from something like *va-n-ka-* '3-cislocative/middle-(indirectly)affected.middle'. If the *ka-* comes from the 'indirect possession' marker, we have noted that Nivaĉle has a weak noun-verb distinction at the root level, and the 'indirect relationship' > affected-middle' connection demonstrated in examples like (101)–(102) may be an extension of this.

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27. *Ôjin* 'arrive first' may be used for arrival either at the reference point or at a location away from the reference point.

In sum, the synchronic morpheme *vanka-* may have been generated by *van-* '3MID' in combination with *ka-* 'INDIRECT POSSESSION'. This morpheme complex left the possible implication that an 'unspecified participant' was involved, perhaps akin to the unspecified inalienable possessor of a normally-possessed noun. But in so doing, it removed the possibility of expressing such a participant any more overtly. That is, it resulted in a construction that now meets the typological definition of a syntactic antipassive.

6. Conclusions

This paper has argued that in Nivaĉle, a language with a complex split-S and hierarchical indexation system, the prefix *vanka-* functions as an antipassive. On transitive stems, it syntactically removes the P participant. It may typically implicate that the suppressed P is unspecified people; but with stems that selectionally restrict for other participant types and in appropriate discourse contexts, this may be overridden and the suppressed argument might be understood as inanimate 'trees', 'trash', or something else. The default implication of a suppressed human participant might explain the fact that when *vanka-* occurs on ditransitive stems, it necessarily removes the recipient. However, it often suppresses both the theme and recipient/causee of a ditransitive, leaving just the most agentive participant.

Semantically, the *vanka-* construction can communicate habitual or characteristic actions or propensities. This semantic feature likely accounts for its common occurrence in action and some locational nominalizations, including lexicalization in some nominalizations.

The suffix can also occur on some intransitive stems, where it allows a range of meanings depending on context and the stem involved, varying from agentive, to middle, to the implication of an extra indirect causee.

The study has also addressed the historical source of the *vanka-* prefix, suggesting it may have arisen from a complex of *va-n-ka-* '3-CISLOCATIVE/MIDDLE-INDIRECT. RELATION/MIDDLE'. Clearly, the origins of the Nivaĉle *vanka-* construction need to be grounded in further diachronic Mataguayan studies of the pieces involved. Indeed, antipassives throughout the Chaco region are worthy of study, especially as some Guaykuruan languages have an *n-* verb prefix with meaning reminiscent of a 'cislocative' (Vidal 2001), and also show evidence of being complex and (at least partially) semantically-based split-S languages with nominative-accusative alignment features – a language type in which antipassives have been less well studied.

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Abbreviations

The glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, additional abbreviations are as follows:

ANAPH	anaphoric	MED	mediative
BEN	benefactive applicative	PLU	pluractional, intensive
CIS	cislocative	PRO	pronoun
CONJ	conjunction	REPORT	reportative
DIR	directional	SUB	subordinator
IMPERS	impersonal	TRANSL	translocative
INDET	indeterminate	VBLZ	verbalizer.
MID	middle		

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PART 3

Diachrony of antipassive constructions

CHAPTER 12

The antipassive and its relationship to person markers

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This paper presents a cross-linguistic study of morphological overlaps between antipassive and person markers and their historical relationships, addressing the question of how frequent developments from antipassive to person marker or vice versa are and whether there are recurrent patterns of change. The results show that historical connections between antipassive and person markers are not confined to a specific macro-area or language family. The development from antipassive to first person plural patient marker is the most frequent pathway in the languages investigated. However, this diachronic pathway does not account for all cases, i.e. other pathways are also possible. While many uncertainties concerning the detailed history of such diachronic connections remain, this study shows that there are tendencies that contribute to the understanding of the history and subsequent development of antipassives.

Keywords: antipassive, person marking, language change, diachronic typology

1. Introduction

There has been a recent rise of interest in antipassives including diachronic aspects, but compared to passives relatively little is known about the sources and further developments of antipassives. This paper concerns the diachrony of antipassive markers with respect to person markers. It presents a crosslinguistic comparison of morphological overlap of antipassives and person markers and their historical connections – both with person markers as the source of antipassives and with antipassives as the source of person markers.

That there is a connection between person and voice in a broader sense is not a new idea, of course: grammatical voice is an operation that affects arguments of predicates, and these arguments are often expressed by person markers. In addition to this synchronic relation, there is also a well known diachronic process in which

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third person markers take on an impersonal meaning and then are reanalyzed as passive markers (cf. Siewierska 2010). Historical processes that concern antipassive markers, however, are not usually linked to person markers in the same way. But passives and antipassives can develop out of the same elements (see Section 2) and both fall into the category of detransitivizing operations, which suggests that this relation warrants a closer look.

Reports about antipassives with a diachronic relation to person markers show close parallelisms, even though the languages involved are from entirely different continents and language families. Fleck (2006) describes two ways of interpreting the demoted patient of an antipassive in Matses (Panoan; Peru): it refers either to an indefinite human (e.g. 'people in general') or to a first person patient. In the Southern Kirant languages (Tibeto-Burman; Nepal), Bickel & Gaenszle (2015) find that the antipassive has developed a first person plural patient interpretation in some languages, while it coexists with the antipassive reading in others. This suggests a historical connection between antipassive markers and first person patients, in which the voice marker develops into a person marker via notions of genericity and politeness. This leads to the question whether this pathway could be taken by antipassive markers in other languages, whether or not it can proceed in the reverse direction, and how wide-spread this phenomenon is.

The results of this study show that antipassive markers are often diachronically related to first person markers, and this connection is not limited to a specific macro-area or language family. The relationship between first persons and antipassives, however, is not an exclusive one. Other person forms, such as third person markers, can take on an antipassive function as well. Even though explanations based on processes of language change have recently gained traction in typology, they often focus on the sources of the construction or marker in question. A holistic understanding of diachrony, however, ideally includes sources and further developments, as both directions can reveal recurrent patterns. In this case, antipassives and person markers are shown to be connected both ways; each can be the source of the other, although the steps and intermediate stages differ. Even though the lack of descriptions and reconstruction work for many languages and language families often makes it difficult to unravel the precise history of a change from one category to the other, much insight can be gained from cross-linguistic diachronic comparisons.

In Section 2, I present a brief overview of previous research on the diachrony of antipassives and how these findings relate to the current question. The data collection and analysis are outlined in Section 3. The results are discussed by macro-area in Section 4 and common pathways are summarized and set into a broader context in Section 5. Finally, Section 6 provides concluding remarks and suggestions for further research in this area.

2. On the diachrony of antipassives

As mentioned above, the diachrony of antipassives is largely uncharted territory, mostly due to lack of historical documentation. However, some common themes have been identified and I will briefly summarize them. Note that most of these pathways concern the source of antipassive constructions in general, and not necessarily of antipassive markers. Concerning the further development of antipassives, it has been noted that they can act as an intermediary in alignment changes from an accusative to an ergative system (cf. Schulze 2010; Aldridge 2012). One of the first studies approaching the diachrony of antipassives from a typological point of view is Sansò (2017c), who identifies the following as main sources of antipassive constructions: (a) agent nominalizations, (b) action/result nominalizations, (c) reflexives and/or reciprocals, and (d) generic nouns. For all of these, there is no detailed account of exactly how languages get from one to the other, but there are often functional overlaps that serve as the basis for the connection.

a. Agent nominalizations

In this scenario, a marker (usually an affix) that forms agent nominalizations such as *sing-er* is reinterpreted as an antipassive. This probably happens by "conventionalization of pragmatic implicature" (Sansò 2017c), such as: *he is a singer* > *he habitually sings (songs)* > *he sings (songs)*. Often, such antipassives retain features of the source construction, having a habitual meaning as well and oblique marking of the patient. An example of this development can be found in Yecuatla Totonac, where the antipassive suffix *-nán* in (1a) can be traced back to the agent nominalizer *-nV*^{ʔ} (illustrated in 1b).

(1) Yecuatla Totonac (Totonacan; Mexico; MacKay 1999: 321–322)
   a. *ʔút šqáa-nán*
      3SG harvest-ANTIP
      's/he harvests (something) / does the harvesting'
   b. *hɔ́ɴ-qa̱wa̱-ná̱ʔ*
      DET-talk-NMLZ
      'speaker'

b. Action/result nominalization

Such nominalizations can be accompanied by a light verb 'do' and are recruited as antipassives because they offer the possibility of omitting the patient. The source constructions are quite varied, which means that the outcomes do not always look alike – although it has been observed that there are often habitual overtones. In

Japhug Rgyalrong, for example, there are prefixes that derive verbs from nouns. They can combine with bare action nominals derived from transitive verbs, which results in an intransitive verb. Two of these prefixes have acquired an antipassive function, with one being used for human patients and the other for non-human patients (Jacques 2014). (2) illustrates the use of *rɤ-* as antipassive for non-human patients. The same prefix also derives action/result nouns from verbs, such as *rɤ-zga* [VBLZ-sauce] 'to make honey'.

(2) Japhug Rgyalrong (Sino-Tibetan; China; Jacques 2014: 17)
tɤ-rʑaβ nɯ pjɤ-rɤ-ɕphɤt
INDF.POSS-wife TOP EVD-ANTIP.NHUM-mend
'The wife mended (clothes).'

c. Reflexives and/or reciprocals

The best known sources of antipassives are reflexives, middles, and/or reciprocals e.g. in Australian languages (Terrill 1997) and many accusative languages (Janic 2016b). Usually, the reflexive and/or reciprocal meaning exists alongside the antipassive function, as in (3).

(3) Polish (Indo-European; Poland; Janic 2016b: 250)
Nie chlap się!
NEG splash.2SG.IMP REFL
'Stop splashing yourself.' *or* 'Stop splashing.'

The link between these categories and the antipassive is seen in the low degree of elaboration (cf. Kemmer 1993): in both cases, there is low distinguishability of participants and/or low degree of agentivity. The pathway from reflexives/reciprocals to antipassive seems less clear. Janic (2016b) proposes that reflexives can develop into antipassives via functional extension (see also Janic 2016a) in those languages in which the notion of reflexivity and reciprocity are coded by two different markers. Sansò (2017c), however, argues that reflexives only develop into antipassives via an intermediate reciprocal stage. The crucial link is pluractionality, but not as a source. Rather, pluractionals serve as bridging constructions in the development of reciprocals and reflexives to antipassives.

d. Generic nouns

The last source is generic nouns in object position that are recruited to mark antipassives, possibly via incorporation. This is the case in Koasati, where the noun *a:ti* 'person' has developed into an indefinite human object prefix, cf. (4). Such

antipassives are often limited to specific kinds of patients (e.g. humans). The limitation to certain kinds of patients is diachronically related to the source noun of the antipassive.

(4) Koasati (Muskogean; USA; Kimball 1985: 137)
hiná:p at-ci-mal-átl-ok ká:ha-toho-:li-mpa-k
now! ANTIP-2SG-be.afraid[SG]-SS.FOC say-REAL-DEDUC-hearsay-PST
'Now, you are afraid of people, he said, so it is reported.'

None of the sources described above explicitly mention person markers, but the last two options, reflexive/reciprocals and generic nouns, are connected to this pathway as will be shown in the following sections. As mentioned in Section 1, the relationship of voice markers to person markers also receives support from the more common passive. Note that some of the sources mentioned above have also been identified as sources of passive constructions. Reflexive nouns and pronouns that develop into passives via an intermediate anticausative stage are among the most widely cited sources of passive markers (Haspelmath 1990: 44). Givón (2006: 339) has suggested that nominalizations can also acquire a passive function, but a broader study by Sansò (2017a) indicates that this might only pertain to a few cases and is not a general pathway of change. The best known connection between person and voice is that between impersonal and passive constructions (Haspelmath 1990). Impersonal constructions typically involve a non-referential pronominal subject, most often a third person plural (Siewierska 2010: 74). This is illustrated in (5), in which a third person plural is used as an impersonal.

(5) Modern Greek (Indo-European; Greece; Haspelmath 1990: 49)
Su tilefoni-s-an.
2SG.DAT phone-AOR-3PL
'Someone called you.'

Like passives, impersonals are associated with the defocusing of the agent and non-canonical subjects. Over time, the impersonal subject marker may lose its participant status and develop a passive meaning. According to Siewierska (2010: 103), this only happens if there is a specific third person plural impersonal construction. When such a construction is used with a patient-centered verb, a passive interpretation follows quite naturally, cf. (6).

(6) Ewe (Atlantic-Congo; Ghana; Siewierska 2010: 103)
Wo-dzi Kofi.
3PL-bear Kofi
'They bore Kofi/Kofi was born.'

Such developments are also attested with first person plural markers: in Ainu the first person inclusive affixes (*-an* and *a-*) have been extended to mark impersonals and passives (Haspelmath 1990: 50).

Given that one of the antipassive's main functions is the defocusing of the patient (and not the agent), impersonals are an unlikely source. Patients, however, can be unspecified, too. Some languages have specific markers for this (cf. 7), while others such as English use generic nouns like 'people', e.g. *my dog never bites people*.

(7) Eyak (Athapaskan; USA; Thompson 1996: 363)
k'u-x-kus
INDF.OBJ-1SG-wash
'I'm washing something'

Unlike impersonals, unspecified objects have not been studied in a systematic way. This might have to do with the fact that in many European languages, objects – unlike subjects – can be left out without changing anything else, because many verbs are ambitransitive. In languages where ambitransitives are not so ubiquitous, it can be expected that third person unspecified object markers are associated with antipassives in a similar way, such that morphemes like Eyak *k'u-* acquire an antipassive function over time.

Based on the discussion presented above, the expected connections of antipassives and person markers can be summarized as follows: (a) third person patient markers can develop into antipassives via an intermediate stage in which they function as unspecified object markers, and (b) antipassives can develop into first person patient markers.

3. Collection and analysis of the data

The definition of antipassive employed here closely follows that of this volume, with one addition: the verb must carry segmental morphological marking that is absent in a corresponding active clause, i.e. the antipassive has to be marked morphologically. This is a purely practical addition and not meant to imply that antipassives always have to have morphological marking. But as this study aims at comparing antipassive markers and person markers, it is a necessary restriction in the present case.

Otherwise, the definition is deliberately kept broad to cast a wide net and thus excludes other criteria, such as semantic and pragmatic restrictions of antipassives, the function of the antipassive, and the marking of the arguments. These properties are difficult to identify and delineate, and it is often not possible to say anything

about them confidently based on available descriptions. In some languages, for example, it might not be obvious how to determine what the function of a given antipassive is. In others, there might be a semantic restriction, but it is not mentioned in the sketch grammar. Note that polyfunctional markers were also included: a marker that is used both as a passive and antipassive will be referred to as a detransitivizer. To keep glossing throughout the paper consistent, all the markers that fit the criteria outlined above will be labeled as antipassives or detransitivizers. The original gloss given by the author will be indicated in a footnote, if it deviates from this.

This study is based on a genealogically and geographically diverse convenience sample including 45 languages with one or more antipassive marker(s). This might seem like a small number at first, but it is comparable in size to the corresponding chapter in WALS, which covers 48 languages (Polinsky 2013). Sansò (2017c) has twice as many, but he also includes constructions without morphological markers. The languages in the sample cover all macro-areas (as defined by Hammarström & Donohue 2014) with approximately seven languages per macro-area.[1] Wherever possible, I selected languages from different families in each macro-area, but tried to have two languages per family for better internal comparison. The sample is inevitably constrained by the availability of descriptions. A further complication involves terminology: while the term 'antipassive' has recently been applied more consistently to comparable phenomena, earlier works use a multitude of labels which often renders it difficult to determine whether or not a language has an antipassive in the sense used here. This difficulty is even more pronounced when the source does not offer examples of full clauses. I have tried to work with these limitations and be as clear as possible on why I decide to include or exclude a given construction in a language. In total, there are 56 antipassive markers that will be analyzed in the subsequent chapters. Africa contributes the highest number of markers and Australia the least, cf. Table 1. That Africa is somewhat overrepresented could be due to the recent surge in studies on antipassives in this macro-area (cf. Creissels 2012; Bostoen et al. 2015; Dom et al. 2015, among others). In Australia, all the languages included are from Pama-Nyungan because non-Pama-Nyungan languages apparently do not have antipassives – and there are fewer descriptions as well. The full sample of languages can be found in Table 18 in the Appendix.

1. Hammarström & Donohue (2014) propose a six-way division into Africa, Eurasia, the Pacific, Australia, North America (including Mesoamerica), and South America.

Table 1. Number of languages and antipassive markers per macro-area

Area	Languages	Families	Antipassive markers
Africa	10	7	17
North America	9	5	11
Eurasia	7	3	10
Pacific	7	3	7
South America	7	5	6
Australia	5	1	5
Total	**45**	**24**	**56**

I collected antipassive and person markers (including personal pronouns and verbal person indexes) for each language and then compared the forms as to whether there is a formal overlap between the two or not. An example of an overlap is provided in (8a) and (8b): the personal pronoun in the former is formally identical to the antipassive prefix in the latter.

(8) Saliba (Austronesian, Oceanic; PNG; Mosel 1994: 6; Margetts 1999: 182)
a. ***kai**-wa* *ka-matausi* *palapa*.
1PL.EXCL-DET 1PL.EXCL-be.frightened really
'We were really frightened.'
b. *ya-lao* *ya-**kai**-deuli*.
1SG.NOM-go 1SG.NOM-ANTIP-wash
'I go and wash the laundry/the dishes.'

I then analyzed each of the overlaps to determine whether there is a possible historical connection. This evaluation is based on two main sources: materials on the reconstruction of the markers in question or the language family more generally and the comparison with closely related languages. The data is deposited on Zenodo (DOI 10.5281/zenodo.1323376) in the form of spreadsheets.

Of the 56 antipassive markers 25 formally overlap with a person marker – and it seems surprising that almost half of the markers exhibit such an overlap. There is, however, a simple explanation for this: person markers and voice markers are commonly monosyllabic or at most disyllabic, which translates into a high likelihood of overlapping forms in general. Indeed, many antipassives in this sample are monosyllabic and consists of only a vowel and a consonant or either of those, which makes overlaps with any other affix inherently likely. Therefore, formal overlap between antipassive and person markers should not necessarily lead to the conclusion that there is a historical connection between these categories. It can also be coincidental. Based on the evaluation described above, eleven of the 25 overlaps have a probable historical relation, cf. Table 2.

Table 2. Number of overlaps and possible historical connections per macroarea

Area	Antipassive markers	Overlaps	Poss. Connections
Africa	17	5	3
North America	11	4	2
Eurasia	10	3	3
Pacific	7	7	2
South America	6	3	1
Australia	5	3	0
Total	**56**	**25**	**11 (20%)**

When analyzing overlapping markers, there are four possibilities concerning historical connections: the markers can be unrelated, they can be derived from a common source, the antipassive marker can be the source of the person marker, or the person marker can be the source of the antipassive marker. Due to the limitations laid out above, it is often impossible to say with certainty in which category an overlap belongs. In many cases, however, it is possible to exclude some of the options as rather unlikely. To better capture such degrees of likelihood, I assigned each overlap one of the following assessments: likely, probable, possible, unlikely. The last assessement means that is 'unlikely' that the two forms in question are historically connected in any way; this might be because there are conflicting sound laws, or the sources of one of the forms is known to be something else, or there is no credible diachronic scenario that could relate the two. In this case, the overlap can be characterized as homonymy, i.e. the two forms have identical sounds but unrelated meanings. In some cases, there is no clear evidence for or against a historical connection along these lines; such connections are labeled as 'possible'. Many of these can be taken as starting points for further research, which makes them an important category. Other times, there is a plausible diachronic link between the two forms and no opposing sound laws or other sources, in which case a historical connection is 'probable'. Finally, a few cases of overlap have a documented history strongly suggesting that the forms are historically related to each other or the synchronic clues are so well lined up that I deem the connection 'likely'. Since we cannot be certain about anything that happened in language history, I avoid labeling any connection as certain.

4. Antipassives and person markers across macro-areas

Before summarizing the findings along the lines of common pathways (cf. Section 5), I will provide an overview of the assessment of each overlap grouped by macro-area. Antipassive markers that do not overlap with a person marker are not discussed in detail, but the data can be found in the online supplementing materials together with that of the markers presented below.

4.1 Africa

Of the 17 antipassive markers found in the sample of languages from Africa, only five show an overlap with a person marker – but in Mandinka and Krongo this is with two person markers each. Based on available reconstructions and comparisons with related languages, only one of the overlaps turns out to have a probable historical connection, namely the antipassive suffix *-tì* in Krongo. In addition, there are two possible connections in the Mande languages Mandinka and Soninke, cf. Table 3.

Table 3. Antipassive-person overlaps in Africa

Language	Family	Voice marker		Person marker		Prob.
		Gloss	Form	Gloss	Form	
Soninke	Mande	DETR	*-i*	3PL	*i=*	possible
Mandinka	Mande	ANTIP, REFL	*í*	3PL	*i=*	possible
Mandinka	Mande	ANTIP, REFL	*í*	2SG	*í=*	unlikely
Krongo	Kadugli-Krongo	ANTIP	*-tì*	3.INAN.OBL	*-tí*	probable
Krongo	Kadugli-Krongo	ANTIP	*-tì*	1SG.NOM	*-tí*	unlikely
Krongo	Kadugli-Krongo	ANTIP	*-Àkú*	3SG.F	*àakù*	unlikely
Koyraboro Senni	Songhay	ANTIP	*-a*	3SG	*a*	unlikely

Below, I will discuss each of the overlaps in turn. None of the possible or probable connections concern a first person but rather third person forms, either plural or unmarked for number. Whether this is coincidence or part of a general tendency in this macro-area is difficult to say due to lack of descriptions and reconstructions for many languages and language families. This also means that not much is known about the processes and constructions involved in the formation of antipassives or their connection to other parts of the grammar in this macro-area at this time.

Some West Mande languages (Soninke, Bozo, and Bobo) have a detransitivizing suffix *-i* that can function as an antipassive, analyzed by Creissels (2012) as the reflex of a reflexive suffix **-i* possibly related to the reflexive pronoun *í*, which is

reconstructable at a proto-Mande level. As mentioned in Section 2, reflexives often serve as a basis for passive and antipassive markers. There is, however, a problem with this hypothesis: Mande languages are strictly SOV – and there is little to no evidence suggesting that it has changed from SVO – so a reflexive pronoun would be expected to grammaticalize into a prefix and not a suffix (Creissels 2012), cf. (9a) which illustrates the reflexive appearing before the verb. For now, this question has to be left open. In Mandinka, the reflexive pronoun has acquired an antipassive function with a very limited number of verbs. In such cases, the marker appears before the verb and demotes the patient to an oblique, cf. (9b) and (9c).

(9) Mandinka (Mande; Senegal; Creissels & Sambou 2013: 221, 335)
a. *A ye í muu túl-óo la.*
3SG PFV REFL smear oil-DET OBL
'She rubbed herself with oil.'
b. *Kew-ó ye jíy-o miŋ.*
man-DET PFV water-DET drink
'The man drank water '
c. *Kew-ó ye í miŋ (jíy-o la).*
man-DET PFV ANTIP[2] drink water-DET OBL
'The man drank (of the water).'

The detransitivizing suffix *-i* in Soninke combines with the verb and fuses with the final vowel, cf. the active clause in (10a) and the antipassive clause in (10b). Depending on the verb, this suffix can have a passive, anticausative, reflexive or antipassive meaning.

(10) Soninke (Mande; Senegal; Creissels 2012)
a. *Yàxàrê-n dà máarò-n còró.*
woman-DEF TR rice-DEF cook
'The woman cooked the rice.'
b. *Yàxàrê-n còré.*
woman-DEF cook.DETR
'The woman did the cooking.'

Soninke also has a dedicated and productive antipassive suffix *-ndí*, which goes back to a periphrastic construction with the verb 'do' and has a cognate in Mandinka (Creissels 2012). A connection with the second person singular pronoun *í=* in Mandinka seems rather unlikely. Although there is no reconstruction of proto-Mande pronouns, there are indications that this form is old: in the closely

2. Glossed as reflexive in the grammar.

related language Bambara, the second person singular is *í* (Maiga 2001: 38) and the reconstructed form for proto-South-West Mande, a group of related languages, is **í/é* (Babaev 2010: 44). The situation is less clear for the third person plural. Related languages show different forms that might or might not be related to those in Mandinka and Soninke. It is possible that the two forms are connected via the generic use of the third person plural. In absence of conclusive evidence either way, 'possible' seems the most appropriate assignment.

Krongo has a multitude of antipassive suffixes (there are no fewer than seven), some of which are restricted to certain tense-aspect domains and others are derived from each other (Reh 1985: 214). Two of the suffixes overlap with a person marker, although the tones do not line up in either case. The suffix *-Àkú* is often used with transitive verbs that have oblique marked objects. There is not much work on the reconstruction of this language family, but a comparative wordlist suggests that the third person singular feminine pronoun *àakù* is old (Schadeberg 1994). This renders a historical connection rather unlikely – especially considering that the vowel length and tone patterns do not match. More interesting is the antipassive *-tì* which according to Reh (1985: 219) is derived from the inanimate oblique pronoun *tì*. Inanimates can only be anaphorically referred to by this pronoun, which covers all functions except those of subject and direct object. Inanimates cannot be taken up anaphorically as subjects, and as direct objects they are referred to by zero anaphora. In all other functions, *-tí* is used together with the appropriate case prefix (Reh 1985: 164). The *-tì* antipassive is restricted to a few verbs, such as *ànúu-tì* 'to avoid' and *àdìlàa-tì* 'to mend'.[3] The semantic link between an inanimate indirect object and an antipassive, the source construction for a reanalysis of the pronoun to the antipassive is less clear, which is why I assigned this connection a probability slightly above chance level.

The overlap in Koyraboro Senni is best seen as a case of homonymy without any connection. The antipassive suffix *-a* also exists in the closely related Humburi Senni, where it has a tone dropping effect. This effect is not present with the third person singular pronoun, so a historical relationship is unlikely. Koyraboro Senni has lost its tone system, which is why this difference can no longer be observed. In addition, the third person singular pronoun *a* is (probably) historically related to nominal definiteness markers, which renders a connection to the antipassive even more implausible (Jeffrey Heath, p.c.).

While in Mandinka and Soninke the antipassive might go back to a reflexive, a well known source of antipassives, Krongo is interesting in that its antipassive probably comes from a generic person marker. In Section 2, I mentioned that

3. No examples of full clauses are provided in the grammar.

generic nouns can develop into antipassives, which suggests that this indefinite object marker may have come from a generic noun originally. Even though the antipassives can in both cases be traced back to already known sources, there is not much material to support this, so that other sources remain a possibility. Based on the discussion in Section 2, third person markers are expected to develop into antipassives, and not vice versa. While this direction is compatible with what we know about Krongo, the reverse is more likely in both Mande languages. In addition, all three languages have neutral alignment in both nouns and pronouns and no verbal agreement, which shows that such connections are not restricted to ergative languages or affixal person markers.

4.2 Eurasia

In Eurasia, I analyzed ten voice markers and three of them overlap morphologically with a person marker, cf. Table 4. Even though the three overlaps come from only two languages, the person markers involved are similar and all of them have a high probability of historical connection. Moreover, they all concern first person patient markers and exhibit similar developments, namely from antipassive to first person.

Table 4. Antipassive-person overlaps in Eurasia

Language	Family	Voice marker		Person marker		Prob.
		Gloss	Form	Gloss	Form	
Chukchi	Chukotko-Kamchatkan	ANTIP	*ine-*	2/3SG>1SG	*ine-*	very likely
Chukchi	Chukotko-Kamchatkan	ANTIP	*-tku*	2>1PL	*-tku*	very likely
Puma	Sino-Tibetan	ANTIP	*kha-*	1PL.P	*kha-*	very likely

Puma has two antipassives, one that is unmarked and one marked by the prefix *kha-*, which is restricted to human patients that are obligatorily omitted. Clauses marked with *kha-* are ambiguous between a first person patient and an antipassive interpretation, unless there is another overt noun phrase in the clause, cf. (11a) and (11b).

(11) Puma (Sino-Tibetan; Nepal; Bickel & Gaenszle 2015: 69)

a. *(kho-ci)* *som-kha-mʌ-tuk.*
3-NSG[.NOM] love-ANTIP-3PL.S-love.NPST[4]
'They love people.'

b. *(kho-ci-a)* *som-kha-mʌ-tuk.*
3-NSG-ERG love-1NSG.INCL-3PL.S-love.NPST
'They love us.'

4. The verb root is discontinuous, which is why it appears in the glosses twice.

Like many other Kiranti languages of the region, Puma has been in close contact with Maithili, an Indo-Aryan language. In Maithili, reference to first persons is avoided for politeness reasons, especially in high prestige varieties. There is evidence that Southern Kirant languages were in contact with exactly these high-prestige varieties and the exposure to the Maithili avoidance strategy can be seen as a trigger for the development from antipassive to first person (Bickel & Gaenszle 2015: 80–81). Indeed, the prefix *kha-* derives from proto-Kiranti **khəl* meaning 'all'.[5] Given that 'all' has a relatively generic reference, one can assume that it was frequently used as a patient in zero-marked antipassive constructions. Remnants of an earlier object status can still be found in the grammar: relativization of the patient is possible with zero-antipassives, but not with *kha*-antipassives (Bickel & Gaenszle 2015: 71). As a result, the prefix *kha-* has replaced all person markers involving a first person non-singular inclusive, and exclusive when combined with a second person agent, cf. Table 5.

Table 5. Verbal agreement (non-past) with first person patients in Puma (Sharma 2014: 175)[6]

	1SG	1NSG.INCL	1DU.EXCL	1PL.EXCL
2SG	*tʌ-Σ-ŋa*	reflexive	***kha**-tʌ-Σ*	
2DU	*tʌ-Σ-ŋa-cʌŋ*		***kha**-tʌ-Σ-ci*	
2PL	*tʌ-Σ-ŋa-nʌŋ*		***kha**-tʌ-Σ-i*	
3SG	*pʌ-Σ-ŋa*	***kha**-Σ*	*ni-pʌ-Σ-ci-ka*	*ni-pʌ-Σ-i-ka*
3DU	*pʌ-Σ-ŋa-cʌŋ*	***kha**-pʌ-Σ-ci*	*ni-pʌ-Σ-i-ka*	
3PL	*ni-pʌ-Σ-ŋa*	***kha**-mʌ-Σ*		

That the *kha*-forms were not originally used as person markers can also be seen in comparing the same person configurations in Bantawa, a closely related language, see Table 6.

Table 6. Verbal agreement (non-past) with first person patients in Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009: 148)

	1SG	1DU.INCL	1PL.INCL	1DU.EXCL	1PL.EXCL
2SG	*ti-Σ-ŋa*	reflexive		*ti-Σ-ni(in)*	
2DU	*ti-Σ-ŋaŋciŋ*				
2PL	*ti-Σ-ŋaŋniŋ*				
3SG	*i-Σ-ŋa*	*ni-Σ-ci*	*mi-Σ*	*(n)i-Σ-aciʔa*	*(n)i-Σ-inka*
3DU	*i-Σ-ŋaŋciŋ*			*ni-Σ-aciʔa*	*ni-Σ-inka*
3PL	*ni-Σ-ŋa*				

5. In present-day Puma, this lexeme has been replaced by the Indo-Aryan loan *jhara* 'all', which means that the diachronic link is not evident anymore (Bickel & Gaenszle 2015: 70).

6. Σ represents the verb stem.

Similar developments are attested in many neighboring Kiranti languages, more precisely, in the sociolinguistic area of the Southern Kirant. In several languages, the starting point is a lexeme meaning 'people', for example in Belhare where the intermediate stage between antipassive and first person interpretation is attested. There is language internal evidence that *maʔiniyu* in (12b) constitutes a single word: no element can appear between *maʔi* and *niyu* while this is possible in (12a) (Bickel & Gaenszle 2015: 64).

(12) Belhare (Sino-Tibetan; Nepal; Bickel & Gaenszle 2015: 68)
a. *un maʔi ni-yu.*
3SG.NOM person[SG.NOM] [3SG.S]see-NPST
'S/he sees people.'
b. *un-na maʔi-ni-yu.*
3SG-ERG 1EXCL.P-see-NPST
'S/he sees us (excl.).'

In Yakkha, detransitivizing is not marked by an affix, rather a transitive verb is just inflected intransitively. Both passives and antipassive constructions can have a first person plural interpretation for the demoted argument.[7] With antipassives, the development has gone so far that the intransitive forms have completely replaced the first person plural patient forms. The languages in question belong to different subgroups, so the developments are parallel innovations rather than shared inheritance. They form a contiguous geographical area, though, and the developments can be attributed to contact with Maithili and the political history of the region (Bickel & Gaenszle 2015: 79).

Chukchi has two antipassives, both of which also have other functions. The prefix *ine-*, also used as an applicative, demotes the patient to an oblique and the agent is marked as single argument, compare the active and antipassive clauses in (13a) and (13b). Note that both antipassives are frequently used in non-finite forms, but not as much in finite forms (Dunn 1999: 217).

(13) Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan; Russia; Kurebito 2012: 183; Nedjalkov 2007: 1680)
a. *tumɣ-e rəlwen-nin nelɣ-ən*
friend-ERG burn-3SG>3SG.PST skin-ABS
'The friend burned the skin.'

7. A reviewer points out that there are many ways by which a paradigm can end up with zero-marked slots and asks whether alternative explanations can be ruled out. Given the prevalence of antipassive forms taking on first person meanings in neighboring related languages, it seems unlikely that the zero-marking of passives and antipassives coincides with that of first person plural forms merely by accident.

b. *tumyətum ine-nlwen-ɣʔi nelɣ-e*
friend.ABS ANTIP-attack-3SG.PST skin-INS
'The friend burned a skin.'

This prefix has a cognate *in-* in Itelmen, a related language, that also functions as an antipassive and is reconstructed to proto-Chukotko-Kamchatkan in the same function as **inæ-* (Fortescue 2003: 60). The suffix *-tku* has cognates in other Chukotko-Kamchatkan languages, such as the iterative *-tku* in Koryak. Historically, the morpheme can be reconstructed as an iterative marker for proto-Chukotko-Kamchatkan (Caminsky 2017). Antipassives are often used for habitual actions, so the development from an iterative marker is well supported. In addition, the suffix still has that function in Chukchi with intransitive verbs. In its antipassive use, it has the same effects as *ine-*, cf. (14).

(14) Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan; Russia; Nedjalkov 2007: 1680)
eqelʔ-ən ətlɔy-etə penrə-tko-ɣʔe
enemy-ABS father-DAT attack-ANTIP-3SG.AOR
'The enemy attacked (at) the father'

Both of these affixes are employed as inverse markers in the verbal agreement system of Chukchi, cf. Table 7. The prefix *ine-* marks configurations with a first person singular patient and a second or third singular agent, while *-tku* is restricted to first person plural patients and second person agents.

Table 7. Inverse marking in Chukchi (Dunn 1999: 177)

	1SG	**1PL**	**2**	**3**
1	(reflexive)		direct	direct
2SG	*ine-*	*-tku*	(reflexive)	direct
2PL				
3SG	*ine-*	*ne-*	*-ne*	direct
3PL	*-ne*			*-ne*

There are hints that *-tku* only recently developed into an inverse marker: in the southernmost regions where Chukchi is spoken, *ne-* is used in its place, and the same distribution is found in the related language Koryak. Its introduction to the paradigm can be seen as an effort to distinguish number in SAP > SAP configurations (Dunn 1999: 183–184). This means that in both cases, the person marking function developed out of the antipassive, just like in the Kiranti languages mentioned above. Moreover, they also concern first person patient arguments (although they also include information about the agent).

While overall few languages in Eurasia show an antipassive-person overlap, the pathways involved seem to be very parallel. Both Kiranti and Chukotko-Kamtchatkan

languages have highly complex verbal agreement systems with numerous forms that have undergone or are currently undergoing shifts and changes. This might contribute to the chances of an antipassive developing into a first person patient marker. Note that the sources of the antipassive markers are not the same in the two families: in Kiranti, it is a generic noun, while in Chukotko-Kamtchatkan the origin is an iterative marker for the suffix (and unknown for the prefix). This indicates that the origin of an antipassive marker is not the determining factor for it to change into a person marker. Rather, once the marker has acquired an antipassive function, the constructions it appears in undergo similar developments no matter what their source is.

4.3 North America

North America has four overlaps (out of ten markers) in four different languages, but only two of them have a possible historical connection, cf. Table 8. They both involve third persons that are either accusative or unmarked for case. This situation is reminiscent of what was found in Africa.

Table 8. Antipassive-person overlaps in North America

Language	Family	Voice marker		Person marker		Prob.
		Gloss	Form	Gloss	Form	
Comanche	Uto-Aztecan	ANTIP.HUM	*ma-*	3SG.ACC	*ma-*	likely
Halkomelem	Salishan	DETR, REFL	*-(ə)m*	3PL	*ƛ̓á-l-əm*	possible
Kiowa	Kiowa-Tanoan	DETR	*-kyá/-gyá*	various 3.P	*-gyá*	unlikely
Tz'utujil	Mayan	ANTIP	*-oon/-uun/-(V)n*	1SG	*in-*	very unlikely

For all the languages listed except Kiowa, I also looked at related languages (cf. Table 18), but the overlaps are not recurrent within families. As seen before, alignment seems not to play a role, as the languages in Table 8 display a range of different systems: Both Kiowa and the Salish languages have neutral alignment in nouns and pronouns and mixed systems for verbal agreement, while the Mayan languages have neutral alignment in nouns and pronouns, but ergative verbal agreement. The Uto-Aztecan languages included here exhibit accusative alignment for nouns and pronouns and no verbal agreement.

Comanche possibly exhibits a pathway that starts with a familiar source, namely from a generic expression to person marker to antipassive. Unfortunately, available descriptions are brief and there are few examples of full clauses. There are two constructions to express an unspecified object, one with the prefix *ma-* and one with the prefix *ti-*. According to Charney (1993: 128), the main difference between the two is

that *ma-* is generally used with human objects and *ti-* with non-human objects. It is also mentioned that the latter is less definite than the former, but this statement is not elaborated any further. As far as the prefix *ti-* is concerned, its detransitivizing effect is uncontroversial (Charney 1993: 129; McDaniels 2014: 75). Furthermore, the closely related language Timbisha has an antipassive marker *tü-*, which is most probably etymologically the same as *ti-* in Comanche. The status of *ma-* is much less clear. In Timbisha, the form *ma* also exists, but only as third person pronoun and demonstrative base. It appears that in Comanche the prefix attaches to both transitive and intransitive verbs, but from all the examples provided in the grammars it cannot be seen whether it really reduces transitivity or not (Wistrand-Robinson & Armagost 1990: 272; Charney 1993: 128):

ma-kwinuma	[no gloss provided]	'make one dizzy/drunk'
ma-kwitsoʔai	[no gloss provided]	'save someone'
ma-tsʉbaki	[no gloss provided]	'glue/stick something to'
ma-kuyaʔa	[MA-be.frightened]	'to scare someone'
ma-tsaH-soʔi	[MA-INS(hand)-scratch]	'to scratch a pan/someone'

The original meaning of *ma-* was 'one' (as indefinite reference, not the numeral). In the Numic branch of Uto-Aztecan, **ma* was integrated into a demonstrative system with elaborate contrasts beyond proximal and distal (Langacker 1977: 99). From there, it acquired a general third person reference in both Timbisha and Comanche, apart from referring to unspecified objects.

If it turns out that it indeed acquired an antipassive function in Comanche, this would constitute a case of a third person to antipassive development. Not only does that development go in the other direction as the well documented cases in Eurasia, it also seems parallel to the third person > impersonal > passive pathway mentioned in Section 1 and would thus add a further common origin of these voice markers. However, the intermediate stage of referring to a third person is not necessary[8] – it is also possible that the antipassive function developed directly from the indefinite/generic meaning, which is a well-attested pathway of change. Due to lack of diachronic data, it cannot be decided either way.

The suffix *-əm* in Halkomelem has such a wide array of functions that it evades traditional labels. Apart from its verbalizing function, it also attaches to transitive verbs in reflexive, antipassive and main clause passive constructions (Gerdts & Hukari 1998: 167). Note that all of these are inflectionally intransitive. The reflexive and passive functions are productive, but the antipassive is not. The demoted patient can still be expressed as an oblique, cf. (15).

8. Many thanks to the attentive anonymous reviewer who pointed this out to me.

(15) Halkomelem (Salishan; Canada; Gerdts & Hukari 1998: 179)
niʔ q̓ʷəl-əm ʔə tᶿə sceʔɬtən.
AUX bake-DETR OBL DET salmon
'He cooked/barbecued the salmon. '

Gerdts & Hukari (2006: 67) conclude that "there is no single property that definitively unites all the constructions discussed (…), although there is a general sense that each construction deviates from a fully transitive counterpart." The authors take the reflexive as the starting point and derive all other functions of the suffix from there. The development from reflexive to middle is well attested and can be understood in terms of shared properties, like lower degree of transitivity (Kemmer 1994).

The third person plural of the free pronouns is *ƛ̓á-l-əm*, which is made up of three parts: *ƛ̓á-*, the third singular pronoun, the plural marker *-l* and an element *-əm* that is formally identical to the detransitive suffix and according to Suttles (2004: 331) quite possibly connected to it. Given that there are also verbal agreement markers, it might not be apparent why a verbal affix should appear on a personal pronoun. The grammar mentions that the pronouns can also be used as predicates in equative clauses such as 'it is me' etc. Furthermore, there is no stem that can be reconstructed for the third person plural pronoun in proto-Salish and the forms in the daughter languages suggest that they are all recent developments (Newman 1977: 304–305). It it thus possible that the element *-əm* of the third person plural is historically connected to the detransitivizing suffix.

The other two overlaps in this macro-area, in Kiowa and Tz'utujil, most probably have no historical connection. In Kiowa, the third person forms and the antipassive are traced back to different proto-Kiowa-Tanoan forms (cf. Sutton 2014: 764–784). Even though further research is needed in this domain, there is nothing that points to a historical connection. Tz'utujil presents an even clearer case. The antipassive suffix appears in a similar form in many Mayan languages and can be reconstructed to proto-Mayan as **-Vn* (Craig 1979), likewise the first person singular form in proto-Mayan was **in* and the Tz'utujil form is a direct continuation of this (Robertson 1992). This means a diachronic connection between these two forms is highly unlikely. Overall historical connections between antipassive and person markers appear to be rare in North America.

4.4 South America

In South America, there are four overlaps of person markers with antipassives, three of which come from the Cariban family, cf. Table 9.

This impression is biased, though, by the lack of available descriptions, unclear family memberships and few reconstructions for this macro-area. It is thus possible

Table 9. Antipassive-person overlaps in South America

Language	Family	Family	Voice marker		Person marker		Prob.
		Gloss	Form	Gloss	Form		
Matses	Panoan	Mayoruna	ANTIP	*-an*	1PL.P	*-an*	very likely
Panare	Cariban	Venezuelan	ANTIP	*n(ï)-*	1PL.NOM	*n-*	very unlikely
Panare	Cariban	Venezuelan	ANTIP	*n(ï)-*	3.NOM	*n-*	very unlikely
Trió	Cariban	Guianan	DETR, REFL, RECP	*ë-/ët-/ëi(s)-*	2.S, 3>2	*ë-*	very unlikely

that such connections are not as rare as they appear and more cases could be identified in the future. As will be explained below, the case of Matses is striking, because it shows a very parallel situation to that in Puma and Chukchi (cf. Section 4.2). Panare has a first person plural and third person overlap, but like the second person one in Trió, a connection to the antipassive is unlikely. This leaves South America with only one confirmed connection.

Matsés has an antipassive marked by the suffix *-an*, which derives intransitive verbs from transitive ones. In the antipassive, the agent is in the absolutive and the demoted patient is obligatorily omitted. There are two possibilities regarding the interpretation of the demoted patient, either as an indefinite or as a first person, cf. (16b) and its corresponding active clause in (16a).

(16) Matsés (Panoan; Peru; Fleck 2006: 559)

a. *aid* *opa-n* *matses* *pe-e-k.*
that.one dog-ERG people.ABS bite-NPST-IND
'That dog bites people.'

b. *aid* *opa* *pe-an-e-k.*
that.one dog.ABS bite-NPST-IND
'That dog bites.' *or* 'That dog always bites/is always biting me/us.'

The first person reading is more frequent and grammatically unrestricted, while the indefinite patient reading occurs only in generic statements, present habitual and to a lesser extent in the past habitual (Fleck 2006: 559–560). Antipassives in *-an* are not very frequent in Matses, which is attributable to competition with other detransitivizing operations in the language and semantic restrictions on the antipassive. Only verbs with human patients can have a first person reading and only verbs denoting an action that significantly affects the patient can have an indefinite reading, which means that verbs that do not fall in either of these two categories cannot form an antipassive.

The suffix *-an* thus functions both an as antipassive and a first person plural patient marker. In the latter function, it is not yet fully integrated into the agreement system, which cross-references S and A arguments, although in the non-past tense there is no distinction between the persons, cf. Table 10, and even in the past there is only a SAP vs. third person distinction. The system is very reduced, so the addition of a new person marker can be seen as a way of counter-balancing this reduction.

Table 10. Person marking in Matses (Fleck 2006: 548)

S/A.IND agreement		**first person clitics**	
1/2/3NPST	*-k*	1S/1P (with 2A)	*=bi*
3PST	*-ṣh*	1A	*=mbi*
		1p (with 3A)	*=i*

Fleck (2006: 565–566) shows that synchronically, the first person function is the basic one for speakers, but suggests that diachronically the antipassive was the source. This argument is based on the observation that with nominalized antipassives the first person reading is not possible. Given that non-finite clauses are often more conservative than finite ones, the generic patient interpretation can be seen as the original meaning and the first person patient reading as a reinterpretation of this. The reinterpretation of the *-an* antipassive into a first person plural patient was possibly based on the similar usage of first person plural as an unmarked antipassive in Peruvian Spanish, as illustrated in (17).

(17) Peruvian Spanish (Indo-European; Peru; Fleck 2006: 566)
El alacrán nos pica.
ART.DEF scorpion 1PL.OBJ sting.3SG
'Scorpions sting.'

This diachronic scenario is strikingly similar to that proposed for the Southern Kirant languages in Nepal (cf. Section 4.2). In both cases an antipassive develops a first person plural interpretation under the influence of a major contact language. Unlike in Kiranti, the source of the antipassive in Matses is unknown, as is the time scale of the development. Given that the antipassive suffix directly attaches to the verb stem and before other inflectional suffixes such as tense markers, it cannot be a recent change. Further research on Panoan languages will hopefully clarify this in the future.

In Panare, there is an antipassive construction marked by the prefix *n-/nï-*.[9] It only appears with inferential past participle ending *-jpë* and is often, but not exclusively used in questions. It renders the clause intransitive and probably has a focus function (Payne & Payne 2013: 325). The demoted patient can be expressed if it is indefinite or unspecified, but it can also be omitted, cf. (18).

(18) Panare (Cariban; Venezuela; Payne & Payne 2013: 329)
Puka n-ámë-jpë.
Puka ANTIP-plant-PTCP.PST.INFR
'Puka planted something.'

The authors note that the prefix *n-* cannot be the set I 3 & 1PL.INCL prefix, because with inferential past set II prefixes have to be used, cf. Table 11. This means that the antipassive construction does not have verb agreement.

Table 11. Verbal agreement in Panare (Payne & Payne 2013: 196, 234)

SET I: PAST-PERFECTIVE				SET II: NON-PAST-PERFECTIVE	
	S	A (direct)	P (inverse)		S/P
1SG	*w-/ø-*	*t-/k-*	stress shift	1	*ø- ~ y-*
2	*m-*	*m-*	*a-*	2	*a- ~ ay-*
3 & 1PL.INCL	*n-*	*n-*	–	3	*yV- ~ y-/ty-*
1PL.EXCL	*ana n-*	*ana n-*	*ana-*	1PL.EXCL	*ana-*

The prefix *n-* goes back to a proto-Carib object nominalizer **nɨ-*, which was added on top of action nominalizations to derive a noun referring to the patient of the action. The possessor of this nominalization is the notional A, while P is left unexpressed. In Panare, *n-* does not occur in this function anymore, but in other Cariban languages such as Makushi it still does. An example is provided in (19).

(19) Makushi (Cariban; Brazil; Gildea 2000: 87)
u-n-era'ma-'pɨ pemokon
1-NMLZ-see-PST person
'the person I saw (lit. the person, my seen one)'

The detransitivizing function of *n-* is also attested in Kuikúro, while it still functions only as a nominalizer in other Cariban languages. The person prefix *n-* of set I goes back to the proto-Cariban prefix **n(ɨ)-*, which was used to mark configurations of

9. The prefix is referred to as 'de-ergative' in the grammar, but the construction fits the definition used here and the authors point out that it corresponds to an antipassive in many ways.

a third person acting on a third person (3.A<3.P), i.e. for so-called non-local scenarios. The third person prefix *n-* in Panare is a direct continuation of this; the use as a first person inclusive marker is an extension that has also taken place in other parts of the person marking system (Gildea 1998: 82). This means that all of the markers in question can be traced back to proto-Cariban. A historical connection between the antipassive and the person prefixes is unlikely, also because the forms involved mark S and A arguments – and antipassives are expected to have effects on P arguments. While there could still be a common source for the two morphemes, I cannot see any semantic or functional shared properties, so it is best to assume that they are separate from each other.

The situation in Trió (Cariban; Brazil) is very different, although it is also a Cariban language. This language has a middle marker *ë-/ët-/ëi(s)-* that is used in reflexive, reciprocal, passive and antipassive constructions (Meira 1999). One of its allomorphs formally overlaps with the second person acting on third person prefix *ë-*. The latter is most probably a direct continuation of the proto-Carib second on third prefix **ay-* (Gildea 1994). The reconstruction of the middle prefix is not entirely clear, but the allomorphy suggest that it goes back to a form including a *-t* (Meira 2000). It has cognates in other Cariban languages, in which its functional range is also broad. Gildea (2015) proposes that the original function of this prefix was reflexive/reciprocal and the middle function developed from there. Given that this is a common pathway, and that both prefixes are reconstructable to different forms, it is best to assume that the morphological overlap is coincidental in this case. As in other regions, many of the diachronic pathways are unclear as of now due to lack of language descriptions and reconstruction.

4.5 Pacific

Compared to the other macro-areas there are more overlaps in the Pacific region. Oceania in particular is known to have smaller phoneme inventory sizes than other regions of the world (cf. for example Atkinson 2011) and simple syllable structure, which together raise the baseline probability for a morphological overlap. The most certain historical connection is in Muna, a language of Indonesia, which exhibits a development parallel to that in Matses and Kiranti. The majority of the other overlaps turn out to be coincidental based on what is known about them so far, cf. Table 12.

It is noteworthy, though, that the other possible connection – that in Saliba – also involves a first person plural form, while those that are unconnected show a variety of different persons and numbers. This adds to the impression that the antipassive has a close relationship to first person plural forms.

Table 12. Antipassive-person overlaps in the Pacific

Language	Family	Voice marker		Person marker		Prob.
		Gloss	Form	Gloss	Form	
Muna	AN, M-P, Celebic	ANTIP	*fo-*	1PL.INCL	*fo-*	very likely
To'abaita	AN, M-P, Oceanic	ANTIP, RECP	*kwai-*	1SG.NOM	*kwai*	very unlikely
(Chamorro	AN, M-P	ANTIP (A-or.)	*man-*	PL	*man-*	likely)
Saliba	AN, M-P, Oceanic	ANTIP	*kai-*	1PL.EXCL	*kai*	possible
Lavukaleve	Isolate	DETR	*-a*	1SG.NOM	*a-*	unlikely
Lavukaleve	Isolate	DETR	*-a*	3SG.ACC.M	*a-*	unlikely
(Lavukaleve	Isolate	DETR	*-a*	SG.F	*-a*	unlikely)
Savosavo	Isolate	DETR	*-za*	3PL.ACC	*za*	very unlikely

Muna has an antipassive marked by the prefix *fo-* which is formally identical to the causative *fo-*, but the former takes different person prefixes and remains unchanged in the irrealis suggesting that they are separate markers (van den Berg 1989).[10] The antipassive is mainly used for generic statements and the demoted patient cannot be expressed overtly, but is understood to refer to humans (cf. 20a).

(20) Muna (Austronesian, M-P, Celebic; Indonesia; van den Berg 1989: 204)
a. *do-tanda-mo deki do-fo-kadiu.*
3PL.NOM.REAL-begin-PFV first 3PL.NOM.REAL-ANTIP-bath
'They started by giving a bath.'
b. *ingka na-fo-sampu-niki tora o gurudha.*
you.know 3SG.IRR-ANTIP-come.down-TR again ART garuda
'Don't you know the garuda will come down upon us again. '

This is reminiscent of the situation in Matses and the Southern Kirant, and indeed, van den Berg (1989: 204) states that the demoted patient of antipassives often refers to first person inclusive (see 20b) – and this is exactly where there is a gap in the verbal agreement paradigm, cf. Table 13.

No source is mentioned for the antipassive prefix *fo-*, but according to the sound laws that occurred between proto-Malayo-Polynesian and Muna, it can go back to either **pe-* or **paw-* (van den Berg 1991). These are also the the possible proto-forms of the reciprocal prefix *po-*, which has a detransitivizing effect as well. Van den Berg (1991) notes that **p* usually develops into *f* in unstressed position and remains *p* in stressed position, but there are irregularities that cannot be explained

10. The overlap is still interesting as it is usually the passive that is formally identical to the causative (Haspelmath 1990). Also, there is another case of an antipassive overlapping with a causative, namely in Soninke (see Section 4.1). In this language, the common source is probably a verb 'do, make' (Creissels 2012). The two unconnected cases suggest that this topic is worthy of further investigation.

Table 13. Verbal agreement (realis) in Muna (van den Berg 1989: 53, 68)

	NOM æ-class	ACC
1SG	*æ-*	*-kanau*
1DU.INCL	*de-*	
1PL.INCL	*de-∑-Vmu*	
1PL.EXCL	*tæ-*	*-kasami*
2SG	*ome-*	*-ko*
2PL	*ome-∑-Vmu*	*-ko-omu*
3SG	*ne-*	*-e*
3PL	*de-*	*-da*

by this rule. As mentioned in Section 2, many antipassives develop from a reflexive or reciprocal or have a common source with these markers. The most likely scenario for Muna is thus that the antipassive either developed from the reciprocal, or that both have a common source. In the future, the prefix *fo-* might be extended to mark first person inclusive patients in non-antipassive contexts as well, given the absence of a dedicated verbal agreement marker. Again, this case closely resembles those in Southern Kirant, Chukchi and Matses.

Saliba, an Oceanic language spoken in Papua New Guinea, has a detransitivizing prefix *kai-* that attaches to transitives verbs and renders them intransitive. The object is either suppressed or occurs as an oblique (Margetts 1999: 181), cf. (21).

(21) Saliba (Austronesian, Oceanic; PNG; Margetts 1999: 182)
Ya-lao *ya-kai-deuli.*
1SG.NOM-go 1SG.NOM-ANTIP-wash
'I go and wash the laundry / the dishes.'

The prefix is not used frequently and, as is typical for antipassives, it usually describes habitual activities, in this particular case often linked to fishing techniques (Margetts 1999: 183). Note that Margetts (1999) does not refer to this prefix as an antipassive – in fact, she does not assign a gloss to it all. The author does point out, though, that it is very similar to an antipassive, but that she will not use this label primarily because "(…) a voice alternation ideally applies to a larger part of the lexicon, where as the *kai*-prefix is restricted to a relatively small number of verb roots" (Margetts 1999: 191). In addition, the prefix also has another detransitivizing function, namely deriving intransitive verbs with a meaning 'VERB around'/'play at VERBING', and thus the antipassive label would obscure its multi-functionality. Since my definition of an antipassive is deliberately broad and does not include reference to either productivity or restrictions to only one function, I chose to gloss *kai-* as antipassive to keep consistency within this study. This should not be

taken to indicate that I disagree with Margetts's (1999) reasoning – it is merely a practical decision.

The prefix overlaps with the first person plural exclusive pronoun *kai*. Free pronouns are used with non-verbal predicates but can also co-occur with agreement markers with verbal predicates. It most probably comes from the proto-Oceanic first person non-singular exclusive pronoun **ka(m)i* (Anna Margetts, p.c.). As of now, there is no literature about the history of Saliba or the Papuan Tip languages as a subgroup. Contrary to the To'abaita antipassive *kwai-* (see below), which looks very similar, the Saliba form cannot be a reflex of proto-Oceanic **paRi-* which had a collective and/or reciprocal meaning. This would have rendered something like *†ha(l)i* or *†pa(l)i* in Saliba. Another option is that *kai-* arose via a metathesis from proto-Oceanic **-akini*, which derives intransitive resultatives from transitives (Evans 2003), but the probability for this is very low (Jonathan Schlossberg, p.c.). Thus, there is a possibility that the antipassive *kai-* developed out of the first plural exclusive form *kai-*, which is well reconstructable. There is no evidence to support this, but also nothing that speaks against it. However, there is a homophonous classificatory prefix *kai-* that attaches to verb stems and adds the information that body or body weight of the agent is involved in the activity denoted by the verb. It is considered a separate prefix, because it does not affect the transitivity of the verb stem (Margetts 1999: 193–194). It is possible that these prefixes are historically related to each other, although it is unclear what kind of pathway this would involve, as there is no functional overlap between them.

To'abaita, is also spoken in the Solomon Islands, but is part of the Oceanic (Austronesian) family. In To'abaita, the antipassive and reciprocal prefix *kwai-*[11] is formally identical to the first person singular nominative pronoun *kwai*, cf. (22a), the reciprocal in (22b), and the antipassive in (22c).

(22) To'abaita (Austronesian, M-P, Oceanic; Solomon Islands; Lichtenberk 2008: 173, 861, 865)

a. *Kwai qolo-si-a fasi suli-ku.*
1SG.FUT straighten-TR-3.OBJ PREC back-1SG.POSS
'I'll stretch my back first.'

b. *Roo wela kera kwai-nalu-fi.*
two child 3PL.NOM.NFUT RECP-splash-TR
'The two children splashing each other (with water).'

c. *Nau ku kwai-suʔu-si fasi-a alata.*
1SG 1SG.NOM.NFUT ANTIP-prevent-TR ABL-3SG.ACC fishing.area
'I banned people from (entering, fishing in) my fishing area.'

11. The prefix is referred to as 'depatientive' in the grammar.

However, the two forms can be traced back to different proto-Oceanic sources. The antipassive prefix continues the proto-Oceanic prefix **paRi-*, which probably had a collective and/or reciprocal meaning (Blust 2013: 380). The antipassive function is a later development of To'abaita (Moyse-Faurie 2008: 161; see also Lichtenberk 1991, 2000, and 2007 on this topic); this is another case of the common development from reciprocal to antipassive. The first person pronoun probably goes back to the proto-Oceanic first singular **ku* plus an element *(k)i* that appears as a first person marker in other person marker sets in the language. A historical connection thus seems unlikely.

Even though the overlap in Chamorro does not strictly speaking concern a person marker, it is still worth mentioning here because of interesting parallels to other cases. In this language, the antipassive prefix is formally identical to the plural verb agreement marker; both are *man-*. This plural agreement marker is used with S arguments, which – unlike A arguments – do not index person, cf. Table 14.

Table 14. Chamorro S, A and P agreement (realis) of third person (Cooreman 1987: 36)

S		A		P
SG	*-um*	3SG	*ha-*	no
PL	*man-*	3PL	*ma-*	agreement

Reid (2002) proposes a common source for both: the nominal plural marker **ma* combined with the linker **na*, which later lost its final vowel. Synchronically, these prefixes occupy different slots on the verb stem as in (23).

(23) Chamorro (Austronesian; Guam; Donohue & Machlachlan 1999: 122)
Man-man-li'e' i famalao'an nu i lahi.
PL.S-ANTIP-see ART woman.PL OBL ART man
'The women saw the man.'

While the transfer of the plural marker from nouns to verbal agreement can be seen as a case of extension, the pathway to an antipassive marker is less obvious. It might be a later development of the plural agreement marker, arising via the notion of genericity as in the Southern Kirant languages, in which the antipassive is based on generic notions such as 'people' and 'all'. What is noteworthy here is that the plural and antipassive prefix are now so clearly distinct that they can appear alongside each other. In other languages we have seen the co-existence of both functions, but never separated into distinct morphemes.

Lavukaleve, an isolate spoken on the Solomon Islands, shows multiple overlaps of the detransitivizer with person markers, but this should be taken with caution: The morpheme in question consists only of a vowel, namely *a-*, and, because the

languages is an isolate there is no reconstruction at hand. The detransitivizer *-a*[12] occurs on a handful of verbs and it is unclear how productive it is. It is used as a passive and antipassive (cf. 24), but never has both functions with one verb (Terrill 2003: 362).

(24) Lavukaleve (Isolate; Solomon Islands; Terrill 2003: 368)
ngai koroi-a uia o-na.
1SG cut-DETR knife(F) 3SG.F.P-in
'I cut [myself] on a knife.'

The suffix also marks iterativity on intransitive verbs and expresses reflexivity. It overlaps with two verbal agreement markers, namely the first person singular S and A prefix and the third person masculine P prefix, which are both *a-*, cf. (25a) and (25b).

(25) Lavukaleve (Isolate; Solomon Islands; Terrill 2003: 37, 245, 257)
a. *Leta vela-nun vela-nun ta mina o-a-vea.*
but go-DUR go-DUR but thing(F) 3SG.F.P-1SG.A-know
'But things went on, and now I know something.'
b. *a-lai-la-v fiv*
3SG.M.P-tell-NEG-PL 3PL.FOC
'They didn't tell him.'
c. … *vo-nam kini lavea-la-a feo*
… 3PL.P-to ACT appear-NEG-SG.F 3SG.F.FOC
'… she didn't show herself to them'

In addition, the singular feminine gender agreement suffix is also *-a*, and, as shown in (25c), it also occurs on verbs. As mentioned above, nothing is known about the prehistory of these forms – an assessment of how probable a historical connection is must thus be based on what we know from other languages. Given that the position of the affixes in question differ and that there is no obvious semantic link or any other indication of a diachronic relationship, a historical connection is unlikely.

Another isolate of the Solomon Islands, Savosavo, also exhibits an overlap of a detransitivizing affix with person markers. The suffix *-za* derives intransitive from transitive verbs, and functions as passive or antipassive – the choice is lexically determined (Wegener 2012). It overlaps with one of the variants of the accusative third person plural clitics, cf. Table 15.

Like Lavukaleve, Savosavo is an isolate, so there is no literature on its reconstruction so far. As the alternation in the third person is regular, i.e. all the forms

12. Labeled as 'intransitivizer' in the grammar.

Table 15. Third person clitics in Savosavo (Wegener 2012: 78, 80)

	NOM	ACC
3SG.M	*lo=na ~ la=na*	*lo ~ la*
3SG.F	*ko=na ~ ka=na*	*ko ~ ka*
3DU	*to=na ~ ta=na*	*to ~ ta*
3PL	*ze=na ~ zepo=na ~ za=na*	*ze ~ zepo ~ za*

have a proximal alternative with the vowel *a*, I believe it is rather improbable that the detransitivizer *-za* is the source of the person marker *za* or vice versa.

The Pacific macro-area has added one more case to the antipassive to first person patient pathway, with another one being at least a possibility. Otherwise, historical connections between antipassives and person markers are not prevalent.

4.6 Australia

Voice marking in Australian languages is rare, especially in the non-Pama-Nyungan ones – and even in Pama-Nyungan languages antipassives are only found infrequently (Terrill 1997). While voice oppositions as such are not reconstructable, there is a suffix that develops into a voice marker in many languages. The reflexes of the suffix **-dharri* are used to express reflexives or reciprocals, sometimes along with passive and/or antipassive functions in many modern languages. In most cases, it detransitivizes the verb it attaches to (Dixon 2002: 530–536). Terrill (1997) suggests that the antipassive function developed out of the reflexive, which is a common pathway (see Section 2), but Dixon (2002: 535) takes the position that **-dharri* originally only had a semantic effect, and that both the reflexive and antipassive function developed out of this. Note that the reflexive and antipassive functions still coexist in many Australian languages, with one suffix used for both. All the antipassives that exhibit an overlap with a person marker, cf. Table 16, go back to **-dharri*.

Table 16. Antipassive-person overlaps in Australia

Language	Family	Voice marker		Person marker		Prob.
		Gloss	Form	Gloss	Form	
Yidiny	P-N, Y-Y-Y	ANTIP, REFL	*-:dji*	1PL	*ŋaɲdji*	unlikely
Warungu	P-N, Greater Maric	DETR, REFL	*-(ga)li*	1DU	*ngali*	very unlikely
Bandjalang	P-N, South-West P-N	ANTIP, REFL, RECP	*-li*	1PL.EXCL	*ngali*	very unlikely

The first person plural form in Yidiny cannot go back to the proto-Pama-Nyungan form, rather it might be a combination of the proto-Pama-Nyungan first singular root **ngay* and the comitative suffix *-dji* (Dixon 1977: 179–180). There is no evidence for this scenario, but it seems plausible. It still leaves the possibility open that the second part is not the comitative but the reflexive/antipassive suffix. One would then have to explain how a verbal suffix ended up on a pronoun, but given that there is no copula and pronouns can be used as predicates there are possibilities of finding bridge constructions. Since there is another proposal, which seems just as plausible, I deem a historical connection unlikely. In Warungu and Bandjalang, the dual form *ngali* directly continues the proto-Pama-Nyungan first person dual pronoun **ngali* and thus make a historical connection to the antipassive unlikely.

Australia emerges as the only macro-area without any probable historical connection between antipassives and person markers. This can be attributed to the common origin of antipassives in Pama-Nyungan. In many other languages discussed so far, the antipassive markers and/or overlaps did not recur in related languages, suggesting either relatively recent or independent developments. Australian languages seem to be far more conservative in this respect.

5. Pathways

The previous sections have shown that historical connections between antipassives and person markers occur in various languages across the world, suggesting recurrent patterns. Looking at the connections that are possible, probable, or likely in Table 17, two aspects of the person markers involved become evident: they are exclusively first and third person, mostly plural, and either a patient form or not case marked at all.

The latter is expected, given that antipassives turn the agent into a sole argument, which means that it is always overt in such clauses and thus can hardly be replaced by a voice marker or turn into a voice marker.

Based on the developments for which there is more detailed information, i.e. Matses and the Kiranti languages, it seems that the antipassives which serve as the basis of person markers are often linked to generic expressions. The prevalence of plural forms can thus be seen as an artifact of the earlier generic meaning. In the majority of cases, the antipassive develops into a person marker – or is in the process of doing so – and not vice versa. This should, however, be taken with a grain of salt because unless the pathway and exact constructions involved are known there is always some uncertainty involved. In addition, a common source for both markers remains a possibility in many cases in which we lack more detailed knowledge about the language's history.

Table 17. Connections of antipassives and person markers with chance level or above probabilities

Language	Family	Macro-area	Voice marker		Person marker		Prob.	Dir.
			Gloss	Form	Gloss	Form		
Chukchi	Chukotko-Kamchatkan	Eurasia	ANTIP	*ine-*	2/3SG>1SG	*ine-*	very likely	VM > PM
Puma	Sino-Tibetan	Eurasia	ANTIP	*kha-*	1PL.P	*kha-*	very likely	VM > PM
(Yakkha	Sino-Tibetan	Eurasia	DETR	*ø-*	1PL.P	*ø-*	very likely	VM > PM)
Muna	Austronesian	Pacific	ANTIP	*fo-*	1PL.INCL	*fo-*	very likely	VM > PM
Comanche	Uto-Aztecan	North Am.	ANTIP.HUM	*ma-*	3SG.ACC	*ma-*	very likely	PM > VM
Chukchi	Chukotko-Kamchatkan	Eurasia	ANTIP	*-tku*	2>1PL	*-tku*	very likely	VM > PM
Matses	Panoan	South Am.	ANTIP	*-an*	1PL.P	*-an*	very likely	VM > PM
(Chamorro	Austronesian	Pacific	ANTIP	*man-*	PL	*man-*	likely	com. source)
Krongo	Kadugli-Krongo	Africa	ANTIP	*-tì*	3.INAN.OBL	*tí*	likely	PM > VM
Mandinka	Mande	Africa	ANTIP, REFL	*í*	3PL	*i=*	possible	VM > PM
Soninke	Mande	Africa	DETR	*-i*	3PL	*i=*	possible	VM > PM
Halkomelem	Salishan	North Am.	DETR, REFL	*-m*	3PL	*ƛ̓á-l-əm*	possible	VM > PM
Saliba	Austronesian	Pacific	ANTIP	*kai-*	1PL.EXCL	*kai*	possible	PM > VM

Given that such connections occur in all macro-areas except Australia and often do not recur within language families, neither large-scale macroareal nor genealogical factors are the main triggers for this development. Rather it seems to be a localized phenomenon that requires very specific linguistic and social circumstances – and is thus not easily transferrable vertically or horizontally. This also explains why such connections are not frequent but cannot be considered *rara* either – although more cases might emerge with further research as our knowledge of language histories expands. There might also be more cases of similar pathways, but the person and voice marker do not share the same form anymore because of later changes. Indeed, the scenarios documented here exhibit a relatively shallow time-depth for the development.

If neither genealogy nor geography are the principal influences, this raises the question of what factors facilitate developments from antipassive to person marker. This is not to imply that they are necessarily the same in all cases, but some common features can be identified. The most striking finding of this study is that antipassives have a close relationship to first person plural patient forms and often take on the latter meaning over time. In at least two cases this is facilitated by contact with a prestige language (i.e. Maithili in Nepal and Spanish in Peru). In other cases, like that of Muna, gaps in the person marking system can be seen as promoting a first person interpretation – or in the case of Chukchi, a complex person marking system that has undergone shifts and changes. While neither of these factors alone is necessary – otherwise a lot more languages would exhibit a historical relation between antipassives and person markers – they each contribute to such developments. Sansò (2017b) states that constructions and markers that come from different sources can end up looking quite similar to each other – and refers to the sources of antipassives as an example of this. The development of antipassives into first person patient markers is a further example, as the voice markers involved have different sources, but the outcomes are comparable. When studying the diachrony of an element, this is often restricted to where this element comes from and does not consider its subsequent development. As shown above, this can be just as informative.

It should be added here that argument-defocusing constructions such as impersonals and detransitivization are often used as replacements of person forms for pragmatic reasons; in most cases this concerns first persons. A well-known example is informal spoken French, where the impersonal pronoun *on* is widely used as a first person plural pronoun instead of *nous* (cf. Coveney 2000 for a detailed account). Furthermore, passives are not only associated with impersonals (as mentioned in Section 1), but also with honorifics. This is best explained by the agent-defocusing function of passives – it provides the link between the two

categories, since honorifics are often used to avoid direct reference to an agent (Shibatani 1985: 837–838). Similar processes seem to be at work in the cases in which an antipassive is taking on a first person patient interpretation.

A possible other pathway concerns third person forms as sources of antipassives, as in Comanche and Krongo, although both cases lack the materials to say anything with certainty. The first step is that the person marker takes on an indefinite object function (if it has not been already used as such); then it can be reinterpreted as a antipassive marker. This development is reminiscent of the impersonal to passive pathway that usually starts out with a third person plural agent form. In addition to the common origins of passives and antipassives such as nominalizations and reflexives, this shows that they also have common pathways of change. In some languages, the same construction is used for all detransitivizing operations and such general constructions and markers can be taken as a starting point for parallel developments.

Another interesting observation is that second person forms are conspicuously absent from Table 17. At this point, it is difficult to tell whether this is an artifact of the sample or an actual property of person markers connected to antipassives. Based on the proposed semantic links, namely genericity and politeness, second person forms could take part in such developments: generic forms based on second person plurals are widely attested (cf. for example the usage of 'you' in English generic statements such as *you never know what you get*) and politeness strategies involving second persons are common as well. The absence of second person forms could be a consequence of discourse patterns, though. The links proposed here always affect patient arguments, and not all persons occur equally often in this slot. This has been demonstrated for arguments in active and passive clauses in English, where Bresnan et al. (2001) found that SAP are more likely as S arguments in passive clauses than third persons. There is no comparable study on antipassives, but there might be a tendency for S arguments in antipassive clauses to be first or third person. This corresponds to the actor argument in active clauses, which is often first person, given our predilection for talking about ourselves. When we do talk about other people's actions, we use predominantly third person forms. In such a context, second person can be seen as dispreferred, because it is uncommon or maybe even impolite to make statements about a person that is present. Further research will show whether this actually holds across languages, and if it does, whether this is an adequate explanation for the absence of second person forms.

6. Conclusion

The previous sections have shown that some pathways of language change relate antipassive markers to first and third person patient markers. Even though many details remain unknown, the appearance of such developments across macro-areas and language families indicates that a mixture of language internal and external factors, such as societal organization and contact, contributes to the emergence of this pattern. To shed more light on such relationships, a cross-linguistic survey of the diachrony of antipassives and voice markers in general would be desirable, especially combined with detailed language and family-internal studies. Understanding processes of language change in single languages and language families is indispensable for finding and explaining patterns like the present one, which are not very frequent and thus easy to overlook.

Much work remains to be undertaken on the diachrony of antipassives and their cross-linguistic distribution. This will not only improve our understanding of this phenomenon in particular, but also of the factors impacting language change more generally.

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Glosses

1	first person	INFR	inferential evidentiality
2	second person	INS	instrumental
3	third person	IRR	irrealis
A	agent	M	masculine
ABL	ablative	NEG	negative
ABS	absolutive	NFUT	non-future
ACC	accusative	NHUM	non-human
ACT	action particle	NMLZ	nominalizer
ANTIP	antipassive	NOM	nominative
AOR	aorist	NPST	non-past
ART	article	NSG	non-singular

AUX	auxiliary	OBJ	object
DAT	dative	OBL	oblique
DEDUC	deductive suffix	P	patient
DEF	definite	PFV	perfective
DET	determiner	PL	plural
DETR	detransitive	PM	person marker
DU	dual	POSS	possessive
DUR	durative	PREC	precedentive
ERG	ergative	PST	past
EVD	evidential	PTCP	participle
EXCL	exclusive	REAL	realis
F	feminine	RECP	reciprocal
FOC	focus	REFL	reflexive
FUT	future	S	argument of intransitive verb
HUM	human	SG	singular
IMP	imperative	SS	same subject
INAN	inanimate	TOP	topic
INCL	inclusive	TR	transitive
IND	indicative	VBLZ	verbalizer
INDF	indefinite	VM	voice marker

Abbreviations

AN	Austronesian	P-N	Pama-Nyungan
M-P	Malayo-Polynesian	Y-Y-Y	Yimidhirr-Yalani-Yidinic

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Appendix

Table 18. Language sample[13]

Language	Glottocode	Macro-area	Family	Branch
Mandinka	mand1436	Africa	Mande	Western Mande
Soninke	soni1259	Africa	Mande	Western Mande
Koyraboro Senni	koyr1242	Africa	Songhay	Eastern Songhay
Krongo	kron2141	Africa	Kadugli-Krongo	Central-Western Kadugli-Kro
Gaam	gaam1241	Africa	Eastern Jebel	
Luba-Lulua	luba1249	Africa	Atlantic-Congo	Narrow Bantu
Bantoid	bant1234	Africa	Atlantic-Congo	
Maasai	masa1300	Africa	Nilotic	Eastern Nilotic
Nandi	nand1266	Africa	Nilotic	Southern Nilotic
Tugen	tuge1241	Africa	Nilotic	Southern Nilotic
Chukchi	chuk1273	Eurasia	Chukotko-Kamchatkan	Chukotian
Itelmen	itel1242	Eurasia	Chukotko-Kamchatkan	
Puma	puma1239	Eurasia	Sino-Tibetan	Kiranti
Yakkha	yakk1236	Eurasia	Sino-Tibetan	Kiranti
Godoberi	ghod1238	Eurasia	Nakh-Dagestanian	Daghestanian
Hinuq	hinu1240	Eurasia	Nakh-Dagestanian	Daghestanian
Hunzib	hunz1247	Eurasia	Nakh-Dagestanian	Daghestanian
Chamorro	cham1312	Pacific	Austronesian	Malayo-Polynesian
Muna	muna1247	Pacific	Austronesian	Malayo-Polynesian, Celebic
Bungku-Tolaki	bung1268	Pacific	Austronesian	Malayo-Polynesian, Celebic
Saliba	sali1295	Pacific	Austronesian	Malayo-Polynesian, Oceanic
To'abaita	toab1237	Pacific	Austronesian	Malayo-Polynesian, Oceanic
Savosavo	savo1255	Pacific	Isolate	
Lavukaleve	lavu1241	Pacific	Isolate	
Warungu	waru1264	Australia	Pama-Nyungan	Greater Maric
Dieri	dier1241	Australia	Pama-Nyungan	Karnic
Bandjalang	band1339	Australia	Pama-Nyungan	South-West Pama-Nyungan
Djabugay	dyaa1242	Australia	Pama-Nyungan	Yimidhirr-Yalani-Yidinic
Yidiny	yidi1250	Australia	Pama-Nyungan	Yimidhirr-Yalani-Yidinic
Kiowa	kiow1266	North America	Kiowa-Tanoan	Kiowa
Kaqchikel	kaqc1270	North America	Mayan	Quichean-Mamean
Mam	mamm1241	North America	Mayan	Quichean-Mamean
Tz'utujil	tzut1248	North America	Mayan	Quichean-Mamean
Halkomelem	halk1245	North America	Salishan	Central Salish
Shuswap	shus1248	North America	Salishan	Interior Salish
Comanche	coma1245	North America	Uto-Aztecan	Numic
Timbisha	pana1305	North America	Uto-Aztecan	Numic
Ixcatec	ixca1245	North America	Otomanguean	Popolocan-Zapotecan

13. Genealogical classification according to Hammarström et al. (2020). Geographic grouping according to Hammarström & Donohue (2014).

Language	Glottocode	Macro-area	Family	Branch
Matses	mats1244	South America	Panoan	Mayoruna
Cavineña	cavi1250	South America	Tacanan	
Nanti	nant1250	South America	Arawakan	Southern Maipuran
Apinayé	apin1244	South America	Nuclear-Macro-Je	Je
Panare	enap1235	South America	Cariban	Venezuelan
Trió	trio1238	South America	Cariban	Guianan
Galibi Carib	gali1262	South America	Cariban	Guianan

CHAPTER 13

Antipassive derivations in Sino-Tibetan/Trans-Himalayan and their sources

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This paper presents an overview of antipassive constructions in the Sino-Tibetan/Trans-Himalayan family. It shows that all of these constructions are relatively recent developments, and originate from three distinct historical sources, including the incorporation of generic nouns, the verbalization of action nominalizations and reflexive/middle markers. All productive antipassive constructions in the family are found in languages with polypersonal indexation and ergative case marking.

Keywords: antipassive, denominal verbs, nominalization, grammaticalization, middle voice, incorporation, Gyalrongic, Kiranti, West-Himalayish, Old Chinese, Dulong-Rawang

Introduction

Although the existence of antipassive constructions has been mentioned in several Sino-Tibetan languages (Doornenbal 2009: 225–227; Jacques 2014; Bickel & Gaenszle 2015), this topic has not yet received as much attention as other voice constructions such as passive or causative.

This paper is a survey of antipassive constructions in the Sino-Tibetan family (henceforth ST). Since all of these constructions are historically transparent, they are classified by their diachronic source. Recent work on diachronic typology (Janic 2013: 235; Jacques 2014; Sansò 2017) has shown that antipassive constructions have four major sources in the world's languages:

– Agent nominalizations ('he is the hitter' → 'he hits (intr)')
– Generic nouns/Indefinite pronouns in object position ('he hits things/stuff' → 'he hits (intr)')

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– Action nominalization + light verb (Creissels 2012) / denominal verbalizer (Jacques 2014) ('he does hitting' → 'he hits (intr)')
– Reciprocal (or reflexive with an intermediate stage as 'coparticipation', in the case of languages using the same marker for reciprocal and reflexive, Creissels & Nouguier-Voisin 2008) ('they hit themselves/each other' → 'they partake in hitting actions' → 'they hit (intr)')

In this paper, I first present a definition of antipassive and discuss related antipassive-like constructions in several languages of the ST family. Then, I provide evidence of antipassive derivations originating from three out of the four main attested sources: action nominalization, generic nouns and reflexives. These derivations are all of recent origin, but some are argued to be reconstructible to lower branches of the family. Finally, I present an overview of the distribution of antipassive construction throughout ST.

1. Antipassive and indefinite objects

Since transitivity is overtly (and often redundantly) marked in the morphology-rich languages of the ST family, I propose for this paper the following definition of antipassive (closely based on Dixon 1994: 146):

(1) An antipassive construction is an overtly-marked inflexion, derivation or periphrastic construction which (possibly among other functions) turns a transitive verb into an intransitive one. The agent-like argument of the base verb becomes the sole core argument of the intransitive verb, and has the same morphosyntactic properties as the sole arguments of underived intransitive verbs, while the patient-like argument is either deleted or demoted to non-core argument function.

This definition excludes (i) agent-preserving lability (since even if one could argue that the intransitive use of the verb is derived from the transitive one, it would be a zero derivation),[1] (ii) constructions where the verb remains morphologically transitive, or maintaining an obligatory ergative marker on the A and (iii) other detransitivizing constructions such as passive, anticausative, reciprocal or reflexive. It can be applied to languages without morphological marking of transitivity if explicit criteria to distinguish transitive from intransitive construction are provided.

Although this definition is independent of the alignment of the case marking, antipassive constructions are more easily detectable in languages with ergatively-

1. The reason for excluding lability, in the case of the Sino-Tibetan family, is that it is very common in languages with reduced morphology like modern Sinitic. Including all cases of agent-preserving lability in this survey would not be practically feasible, and would dilute the focus of this work.

aligned case marking, as the agent-like argument of the transitive base verb and the sole argument of the intransitive derived verb receive different case marking in antipassive constructions. In languages with accusative alignment in case marking, case marking cannot be used as a criterion to define antipassivization.

While some ST languages do have ergative syntactic pivots (for instance Belhare, see Bickel 2004), no language in the family has syntactic ergativity of the Dyirbal type, requiring the use of the antipassive to convert the A of a transitive verb to S status to allow for instance relativization (Dixon 1994: 170). Antipassive constructions in the Sino-Tibetan family are mainly used to express indefiniteness of the object.

In most languages with polypersonal indexation and/or obligatory marking of transitivity, non-overt arguments are understood as definite. For instance, a Japhug sentence like (2), with the transitive verb *χtɯ* 'buy' (note the unambiguous past transitive *-t-* suffix), can only be interpreted as meaning 'I bought it' with a definite (and previously mentioned) object.[2]

(2) Japhug
tɤ-χtɯ-t-a
PFV-buy-TR:PST-1SG
'I bought it.'

In order to express an indefinite object, it is therefore not an option to simply leave the object position empty. Antipassive, as in (3; note the absence of transitive *-t-* suffix), is one way to express indefiniteness.

(3) Japhug
tɤ-ra-χtɯ-a
PFV-ANTIP-buy-1SG
'I bought things.'

Other strategies are however possible; in this section, I present four competing constructions used to to express indefinite objects in ST, which should not be confused with antipassive: lability, indefinite objects, light verbs and incorporation.

1.1 Agent-preserving lability

ST languages with polypersonal indexation all present some degree of lability, i.e. constructions where the same verb root can be conjugated either transitively or intransitively, with effect on case marking on the arguments. The intransitive use of the verb can be patient-preserving (the sole argument of the construction corresponding to the patient-like argument of the transitive construction), or

2. Japhug has strict verb final word-order, and overt objects appear before the verb, as in (12) below.

agent-preserving (when it corresponds to the agent-like argument). Limbu can be used to illustrate these constructions, which are attested with a few verbs such as *kʰutt* 'steal' (van Driem 1991: 527), which can be conjugated transitively (4) or intransitively with preservation of the patient (5) or the agent (6).

(4) Limbu
A-ndzum-ille *sapla khutt-aŋ*
1SG.POSS-friend-ERG book steal-1SG.P.PST
'My friend robbed me of my book.'

(5) Limbu
Sapla khutt-ɛ
book steal-PST:INTR
'The book was stolen.'

(6) Limbu
A-ndzum-in *khutt-ɛ*
1SG.POSS-friend-DEF steal-PST:INTR
'My friend committed a theft.'

In addition to effects on verbal morphology and person indexation, lability also affects case marking: thus, in the case of agent-preserving lability, the agent-like argument receives ergative case in the transitive construction (4), and absolutive case in the intransitive one (6). Not all ST languages allow both types of lability; in Japhug, only agent-preserving lability is attested (Jacques 2012a: 218).

While some scholars such as Schackow (2015: 359) use the term 'antipassive' to refer to agent-preserving lability, in the more restricted definition proposed in (1), a detransitivizing construction without overt marking cannot be referred to as antipassive.

Agent-preserving lability is a marginal phenomenon in languages such as Limbu or Japhug (where it concerns a restricted set of verbs, see Jacques 2012a: 218), but it is quite productive and prominent in some Kiranti languages, such as Puma (the Ø-detransitive construction described in Bickel et al. 2007: 9; see Bickel 2011 for an examination of the various potential analyses of this construction).

In Hakha Lai, a Kuki-Chin language, Kathol & VanBik (2001) have proposed to analyze as antipassive the alternation between stem I and stem II with transitive verbs. Hakha Lai verbs have two stems (I and II); stem I is obligatory with negative and interrogative markers, stem II obligatorily occurs in some subordinate clause, but in affirmative indicative main clauses, stem alternation is determined by transitivity: intransitive verbs have stem I, while transitive verbs have stem II when the A takes the ergative marker *=niʔ*, as in example (7) (Peterson 2003: 413).

(7) Hakha Lai
paalaw=niʔ thil khaaʔ ʔa-baʔ
p.n.=ERG clothes DEM 3SG-hang.up:II
'Paalaw hung up the clothes.'

Transitive verbs can also be used in affirmative independent clauses in Stem I, as in example (8). In this case, the A does not take ergative case. This is the construction which Kathol & VanBik (2001) analyze as antipassive.

(8) Hakha Lai
paalaw khaaʔ thil ʔa-bat
p.n. DEM clothes 3SG-hang.up:I
'Paalaw hangs up/hung up the clothes.'

In this construction, stem alternation is not by itself a mark of voice derivation. Since intransitive verbs occur with stem I in affirmative independent clauses, stem alternation between examples (7) and (8) rather reflects the same verb stem conjugated transitively and intransitively respectively, i.e. agent-preserving lability, and thus not antipassive proper according to the definition proposed in this paper.[3]

1.2 Indefinite/generic objects

Indefinite patient-like arguments can be expressed by indefinite pronouns in object position (such as *tʰɯci* 'something' in 9), or in some languages by an indefinite/generic marker on the verb (as the generic *kɯ-* in 10).

(9) Japhug
ɯ-jaʁ nɯtɕu tʰɯci ɲɤ-kʰo tɕe
3SG.POSS-hand DEM:LOC something IFR-give LNK
'(Smanmi) gave him something in his hand.'

(10) Japhug
nɯnɯ ku tɯrme wuma zo ɲɯ-kɯ-nɯɣ-mu.
DEM ERG people really EMPH IPFV-GENR:S/P-APPL-be.afraid
'That (bird) is very afraid of people.'

In both of these examples, the verb remains transitive, the patient-like argument is still overt (in the case of the generic construction in 10, only the noun *tɯrme*

3. Note also that the object of the transitive construction is not demoted to oblique status in the detransitive construction in (8), an observation that Peterson (2003: 413) uses as argument against the antipassive analysis. Peterson (2007: 37) explicitly states that 'Hakha Lai has no valence-affecting constructions which target objects, such as passive or antipassive.'

'people' or the generic pronoun *tɯʑo* 'oneself' can be used with a verb taking the *kɯ-* prefix) and the agent-like argument takes the ergative marker.

However, some languages present constructions intermediate between fully transitive constructions as in (9) and (10) and canonical antipassives.

In Bantawa, Doornenbal (2009: 226, 335) refers to the construction illustrated by example (11) as an 'explicit antipassive'. In this construction, the verb conjugated intransitively (*hɨtt* 'burn'), the agent-like argument is marked with the ergative and indexed one the verb with the same marking as an intransitive subject, and the indefinite *kʰa* 'something' is obligatorily present in object position.

(11) Bantawa
nam-ʔa *kʰa* *hɨt-yaŋ*
sun-ERG something scorch-3SG:INTR:PROG
'The sun is scorching.'

While this construction is certainly the source for the antipassive constructions found in Puma (see Section 2), the presence of the ergative on the agent-like argument precludes from treating it as a canonical antipassive in the sense given in (1) above.

1.3 Light verb construction

An alternative construction used by some languages to avoid an explicit patient-like argument is to replace the transitive verb by a construction combining a nominal form derived from the transitive verb and a light verb. This construction is illustrated by Japhug (13), with the nominal *tɯtsɣe* related to the verb *ntsɣe* 'sell' of the simple transitive construction in (12).[4]

(12) Japhug
ɯ-me *nɯ* *kɯ* *andi* *paχɛa* *ɲɯ-ntsɣe* *ŋu*
3SG.POSS-daughter DEM ERG west pork IPFV-sell be:FACT
'Her daughter sells pork there.'

(13) Japhug
<ali> *kɯ-rmi* *nɯnɯ* *kɯ*, *tɯtsɣe* *tu-βze* *tɕe* *nɯ*
Ali NMLZ:S/A-be.called DEM ERG commerce IPFV-do[III] LNK DEM
kɯ-fse *ku-rɤzi* *pjɤ-ŋu*.
NMLZ:S/A-be.like IPFV-stay IFR.IPFV-be
'The person who was called Ali did commerce and lived like that.'

4. The irregular correspondence between *tɯtsɣe* 'commerce' and *ntsɣe* 'sell' is explained in Jacques (2014). In Japhug examples, loanwords from Chinese are transcribed using pinyin between chevrons <>.

Although the construction in (13) removes the patient-like argument, it cannot be considered to be an analytic antipassive, as the main verb of the construction *βzu* is still transitive, and the agent-like argument takes the ergative *kɯ*.

1.4 Noun incorporation

Noun incorporation can affect verbal transitivity. We commonly find examples of incorporation in which a transitive verb becomes intransitive, and the incorporated noun corresponds to the patient-like argument of the base verb and saturates its place in the argument structure.

In Japhug for instance, the intransitive incorporating verb *ɣɯ-cʰʁ-tsʰi* 'drink alcohol' derives from the transitive verb *tsʰi* 'drink' and the noun *cʰa* 'alcohol' (incorporated in *status constructus* form *cʰʁ-* with the denominal prefix *ɣɯ-*, see Jacques 2012b). Example (14) shows the transitive construction, with the subject taking the ergative *kɯ*, while (15) shows the corresponding incorporating construction, without ergative marking on the subject.

(14) Japhug
tʁ-tɕɯ ra kɯ cʰa ko-tsʰi-nɯ
3SG.POSS-son PL ERG alcohol IFR-drink-PL
'The guys drank (the) alcohol.'

(15) Japhug
tʁ-tɕɯ ra ko-ɣɯ-cʰʁ-tsʰi-nɯ
3SG.POSS-son PL IFR-DENOM-alcohol-drink-PL
'The guys drank alcohol.'

Constructions of the type illustrated by example (15) have been referred to as antipassive (Say 2008: 47–48) and indeed fulfil the definition proposed in (1).[5] Note the parallelism between (15) and the antipassive (19) below.

However, a full examination of antipassive-like incorporation in ST is not possible until a survey of incorporation in the family has been undertaken, and has therefore to be deferred to future research. In particular, the presence of noun incorporation in Kiranti languages such as Puma or Chintang crucially depends on one's analysis of the zero detransitive construction (Bickel 2011).

5. In (15), (i) the construction is overtly marked, in particular by the denominal prefix *ɣɯ-*, (ii) the A of the base verb becomes an S, the (iii) the P of the base verb is demoted and does not have object status.

2. Incorporation of generic noun / indefinite element

Puma has an antipassive *kʰa-* prefix whose function can be illustrated by examples (16) and (17) taken from Bickel et al. (2007: 7–9). The base verb *enn-* 'hear' in (16) is transitive; it indexes both subject and object, and the subject takes the ergative suffix *-a*.

(16) Puma
ŋa-a *kho-lai* *enn-u-ŋ*
1SG-ERG 3SG-DAT hear.N.PST-3SG:P-1SG:A
'I hear him/her.'

The corresponding form with prefixed *kʰa-* in (17) is morphologically intransitive, only indexes one argument, and the only argument (1SG) is in the absolutive.

(17) Puma
ŋa *kʰa-en-ŋa*
1SG ANTIP-hear-1SG:S/P
'I hear someone/people.' (not 'I hear something')

The demoted object argument cannot be relativized (Bickel et al. 2007: 10), while the subject presents all the properties of a intransitive subject; this construction unambiguously fulfils all criteria of a canonical antipassive (1).

A particularity of the Puma antipassive is that the demoted object can only refer to humans; to refer to indefinite non-human, a labile construction (the Ø-detransitive) is used instead.

The Puma antipassive prefix *kʰa-* is obviously related to the 'antipassive' construction (Doornenbal 2009: 226, 335) with the indefinite *kʰa* 'something' mentioned in Section 1.2. The Bantawa and the Puma constructions differ in several regards:

- In Bantawa the agent-like argument is marked with the ergative (resulting in a mismatch between case marking and indexation, since the subject is indexed as the sole argument of an intransitive verb), while in Puma it is in the absolutive.
- In Puma, the demoted object is necessarily interpreted as human, while no such constraint exists in Bantawa.
- The element *kʰa* is phonologically less integrated into the verbal word in Bantawa than in Puma.

The etymology of the indefinite element *kʰa* still deserves additional discussion (Bickel & Gaenszle 2015: 67 argue that the Puma antipassive is related to the etymon reflected as Khaling *kʰɵle* 'all', proto-Kiranti **kʰale* in Jacques' 2017a system).

In any case, within South Kiranti (the branch to which Bantawa and Puma belong), the following stages can be postulated:

1. X-ERG INDEFINITE:ABS V:X→3SG (fully transitive construction)
2. X-ERG INDEFINITE:ABS=V:X:INTR (Bantawa)
3. X:ABS ANTIP-V:XINTR (Puma)

While a canonical antipassive in *kʰa-* is only attested in Puma, Bickel & Gaenszle (2015) point out that the first inclusive object marker *kʰa-* in Chamling and Western Chintang is historically related, and that an intermediate stage as an antipassive could be postulated. The Western Chintang 2/3→1N.SG forms are in particular exactly identical to the corresponding second or third person intransitive forms with the addition of the *kʰa-* prefix. Since however no mention is made of a constraint against ergative marking on the subject with these verb forms, its is likely that a Bantawa-like construction (stage 2) rather than a full-grown antipassive as in Puma (without ergative marking) has to be postulated as the ancestor of the inclusive *kʰa-* marker.

3. Action nominalization + denominal verbalization

The Northern Gyalrong languages, Tshobdun (Sun 2006, 2014), Japhug (Jacques 2012a, 2014) and Zbu, have a pair of antipassive prefixes *rɐ-* and *sɐ-* (in Tshobdun) and *rɤ-/ra-* and *sɤ-/sa-* (in Japhug), respectively used to indicate non-human and human indefinite patient. No cognate antipassive prefixes have been reported in the closely related languages Situ (Zhang 2016: 98), Khroskyabs (Lai 2013) and Stau (Jacques et al. 2017), and they could be a northern Gyalrong innovation.

The following examples illustrate the use of the antipassive prefix *rɤ-* in Japhug; the base verb *tʂɯβ* 'sew' requires the subject to take the ergative *kɯ*, and has to take the transitive progressive prefix *asɯ-/ɤsɯ-* to be used in inferential imperfective form (18) (see Jacques 2017b on this restriction), while the derived intransitive verb *rɤ-tʂɯβ* 'sew things; do sewing' cannot take an overt patient, does not select the ergative on the subject and cannot take the progressive prefix *asɯ-/ɤsɯ-*.[6]

6. Note that in the text corpus at my disposal, antipassive verb forms are mainly attested in either imperfective finite forms or nominalized forms. Although perfective forms of these verbs can be elicited (see example 3 above), they are not commonly employed (on the interaction of antipassivization and aspect, see in particular Cooreman 1994).

(18) Japhug
rgɤnmɯ nɯ kɯ li iɕqʰa <yuwang> *nɯ*
old.woman DEM ERG again the.aforementioned fish.net DEM
pjɤ-k-ɤsɯ-tʂɯβ-ci
IFR.IPFV-EVD-PROG-SEW-EVD
'The old woman was sewing the fish nets.'

(19) Japhug
iɕqʰa kɯ-rɤ-tʂɯβ nɯ pɤjkʰu
the.aforementioned NMLZ:S/A-ANTIP-SEW DEM already
pjɤ-rɤ-tʂɯβ ɕti.
IFR:IPFV-ANTIP-SEW be:AFFIRMATIVE:FACT
'(Very early in the morning), the tailor was already sewing.'

Jacques (2014) accounts for the *rɤ-* prefix as originating from the reanalysis of the intransitive denominal *rɤ-/rɯ-* prefix. This reanalysis took place in two steps.

Table 1. The denominal prefix *rɤ-* in Japhug

Base noun	Denominal verb
ta-ma 'work (noun)'	*rɤ-ma* 'work (intransitive)'
tɯ-krɤz 'discussion'	*rɤ-krɤz* 'discuss (intransitive)'

First, an action or patient nominal is derived from the transitive verb (for instance, *ɕpʰɤt* 'patch (transitive)' → *tɤ-ɕpʰɤt* 'a patch (noun)'). Such nominals take either a nominalization *tɯ-* prefix or combine the bare verb root with a possessive prefix (which can be either a definite possessive such as *ɯ-* 'his/her/its' or an indefinite possessor *tɤ-/ta-* as in the example 'patch' above). This nominalization neutralizes the valency of the base verb.

Second, this nominal undergoes denominal verbalizing derivation by means of the prefix *rɤ-*. The possessive or nominalization prefixes are removed during this derivation, as is the case with nouns that are not derived from verbs, as in Table 1.[7]

The second stage of the derivation *tɤ-ɕpʰɤt* 'a patch (noun)' → *rɤ-ɕpʰɤt* 'patch, do patching (intransitive)') is thus still transparent; *rɤ-ɕpʰɤt* is synchronically ambiguous between a denominal derivation from the noun 'patch' and an antipassive derivation of the base verb patch 'transitive'. The intermediate noun is however

7. The prefix *ta-* in *ta-ma* 'work (noun)' is the indefinite possessor prefix, required because *ta-ma* is an inalienably possessed noun. The prefixal element *tɯ-* in *tɯ-krɤz* 'discussion' is synchronically unanalyzable, but could be a fossilized indefinite possessor. The root *-krɤz* is borrowed from the Tibetan noun *gros* 'discussion'.

not clearly attested for all verbs, and the antipassive *rɤ-* is synchronically a distinct morpheme from the denominal *rɤ-*.

Note that the antipassive is not isolated among voice derivations in Gyalrong languages to originate from a denominal prefix; the same source has been proposed for causative, applicative and passive prefixes (see Jacques 2015; Lai, to appear).

The antipassive in *rɤ-* is semantically very close to the light verb construction mentioned in Section 1.3, with the verb *ntsɣe* 'sell' and the nominal *tɯ-tsɣe* 'commerce'. Note that the antipassive *rɤ-tsɣe* 'do commerce, sell things' is irregular in that its root *tsɣe* slightly differs from that of the base verb *ntsɣe* 'sell', an irregularity shared with the action nominal *tɯ-tsɣe* 'commerce'. This common irregularity is a further clue that the antipassive in *rɤ-* diachronically comes through a action nominal stage.

4. Reflexive/Middle

One of the most common sources of antipassive constructions, in particular in languages with accusatively aligned case marking, are reflexive/middle markers (Janic 2016).

Most of the morphology-rich branches of the family, including Kiranti, Thangmi, Dulong-Rawang, Kham and West-Himalayish (but not Gyalrongic), share a reflexive suffix with a dental fricative followed by a high fronted vowel (Limbu *-siŋ*, Khaling *-si*, Kham *-si*, Rawang *-shì,* etc.), which is likely to be reconstructible to proto-ST (Bauman 1975: 94; van Driem 1993b: 320; Jacques 2016).

There is some diffuse evidence for antipassive-like uses of these suffixes in some ST languages, as presented below. In Kham and Thangmi, despite the existence of detailed descriptions of the function of the reflexive/detransitive *-si* suffix, no evidence of antipassive use are found in Watters (2002: 105, 240–247) and Turin (2012: 372–376).

4.1 Kiranti

In Kiranti, we find a few lexicalized examples of antipassive-like use of the reflexive in Khaling, Thulung and Limbu.

In Khaling (Jacques et al. 2016), the *-si* derivation, alongside reflexive, reciprocal, autobenefactive and generic subject, also has an antipassive value when applied to transitive verbs expressing a feeling (whose A and P are experiencers and stimuli respectively). As shown by examples (20) and (21), the *-si* derivation removes the P (the stimulus) and changes the A of the base verb into an S. The stimulus is still recoverable, but must be assigned oblique case (the ablative *-kʌ*).

(20) Khaling
lokpei ghrɛmd-u.
leech be.disgusted.by-1SG→3
I am disgusted by leeches.

(21) Khaling
gʰrɛm-si-ŋʌ
be.disgusted.by-REFL-1SG:S/P
I feel disgust.

Another example of antipassive in Khaling is the verb |*mim-si*| 'think', derived from |*mimt*| 'think about'.

The same examples are also found in Thulung, where the cognate reflexive verbs *gʰram-si-* 'be disgusted' and *mim-si-* 'think' also have an antipassive reading (Lahaussois 2016: 56).

In Limbu, the transitive *khɛtt-* 'chase' has a reflexive form *khɛt-chiŋ-* whose meaning is 'run'; van Driem (1987: 87) points out that the relationship between the reflexive verb and its base verb is not felt by native speakers.

Here the patient of the base verb is semantically completely deleted in the reflexive form, unlike what is observed in Khaling.

In Kiranti languages other than Khaling, Thulung and Limbu, no clear example of antipassive use of the reflexive/middle suffix have been found, for instance in Wambule (Opgenort 2004: 305–306), Kulung (Tolsma 2006: 61–62), Yakkha (Schackow 2015: 307–309) and Chintang (Schikowski et al. 2015). Dumi has one example that could be interpreted as a frozen antipassive: *waːt-nsi* 'put on jewellery' (van Driem 1993a: 125–129), which derives from the verb *waːt* 'bear (children)' (which probably formerly also meant 'put on (clothes)', as its Limbu cognate *waːt-* 'wear').

4.2 Dulong-Rawang

Dulong and Rawang have cognate reflexive suffixes (respectively *-ɕŭ* and *-shì*, see LaPolla & Yang 2004). Rawang shows a few examples of the use of the reflexive/middle *-shì* as an antipassive marker, when applied to transitive experiencer verbs (LaPolla 2000: 287 states that there are no antipassive constructions in Rawang, by which he probably means the absence of *dedicated* antipassive markers). The transitive construction in (22) has agentive marking on the subject, and third person object *-ò* on the verb, while the reflexive/middle construction in (23) has the subject in the absolutive and complete deletion of the stimulus, without reflexive, reciprocal or autobenefactive meaning.

(22) Rawang (LaPolla 2000: 294)
à:ng-i àng-svǹg shvngō-ò-ē
3SG-AGT 3SG-LOC hate-3:TR.N.PST-N.PST
'He hates him.'

(23) Rawang (LaPolla 2000: 294)
àng nø̄ shvngō-shì-ē
3SG TOP hate-REFL-N.PST
'He's hateful.'

4.3 Kuki-Chin

While Kuki-Chin languages do not appear to preserve cognates of the Reflexive/middle *-si* suffix, most languages of this group have a detransitive *ŋə-* prefix with passive, reciprocal and reflexive functions (see for instance So-Hartmann 2009: 203–209 on Daai Chin). This prefix is related to the *a-* (← **ŋa-*) passive/reciprocal prefix in Japhug, the *ʁ-* passive prefix in Khroskyabs and the *ŋə-* reciprocal prefix in Tangkhul (Jacques & Chen 2007: 904–905) and is possibly ultimately of denominal origin (see Lai, to appear).

In K'cho, Mang (2006: 57) describes, in addition to the passive, reflexive and reciprocal functions, an antipassive use of the *ŋ-* prefix (orthographic *ng-*) in examples such as (25) (compare with the transitive construction in 24).

(24) K'cho
Páihtiim noh a pó pyéin-ci.
Paihtiim ERG 3SG.POSS friend tell.I-NFUT
'Paihtiim gossiped about her friend.'

(25) K'cho
Páithiim ng-pyéin-ci
Paithiim DETRANSITIVE-tell.I-NFUT
'Paithiim gossips.'

Given the fact that in this language the same prefix also has a productive reflexive and reciprocal functions (Mang 2006: 55–56), it is likely that the antipassive use also derives from them; one could conceive an intermediate reciprocal stage *'gossip about each other', then reinterpreted as meaning 'gossip' when used with a singular subject.

4.4 West Himalayish

In West Himalayish, antipassive uses of the reflexive/middle suffix are found in a few examples in Darma and Bunan.

In Darma, the form of the reflexive/middle suffix is *-çi/-ɟi* (Willis 2007: 367). In addition to reflexive, reciprocal and autobenefactive functions, this suffix derives in one case an unambiguous antipassive verb: *jɛb-* 'wait for someone (vt)' → *jɛp-çi-* 'wait (vi)'.

In Bunan, we find one example in Widmer (2014: 452, 466) of the reflexive/middle *-s* suffix: *broŋ-* 'to make fun of' → *broŋ-s-* 'to prance' (one of two verbs with *-s* and simple intransitive, rather than reflexive conjugation).

Finally, in another West-Himalayish language, Shumcho, we find an *-s* suffix marking first or second person object, which can also be used in some case to express impersonal objects (Huber 2013: 240). It is thus possible that this suffix originates from the antipassive use of the reflexive suffix, further grammaticalized as an impersonal and SAP object marking.

4.5 Old Chinese

Old Chinese has several examples of the departing tone derivation which can be interpreted as antipassive, as indicated in Table 2 (data from Downer 1959: 287–288).

It is one of the many functions of the departing tone derivation, which include causative, applicative, nominalization, denominal verbalization, adverbialization, passive and antipassive (Downer 1959), most of which are attested as early as the Oracle Bone Inscriptions (Takashima 2013).

Table 2. Antipassive derivation in Old Chinese

Base verb	Meaning	Derived verb	Meaning
覺 kæwk	'be conscious of'	覺 kæwH	'awake'
知 ʈje	'know'	知智 ʈjeH	'be wise'
射 ʑek	'shoot at'	射 ʑæH	'practise archery'
勝 ɕiŋ	'overcome'	勝 ɕiŋH	'be victorious'

Antipassive derivations in Old Chinese, as shown by the examples in Table 2, are highly lexicalized. Antipassive forms are in some cases dynamic verbs, but there are also stative ones like 'be wise' (from 'know things, be knowledgeable').

Unlike the other languages discussed in this paper, Old Chinese lacks person indexation morphology and transitivity marking (see DeLancey 2013; at least no observable trace of it subsists in the material at hand). The transitivity of a verb can only be determined by its ability to take an overt object (since Old Chinese has SVO basic word order except in very specific constructions, the object follows the verb).

As examples of antipassive verbs in Old Chinese, compare for instance the transitive verbs 射 *zek* 'shoot at' and 知 *ʧe* 'know' (examples 26 and 27) with their intransitive equivalents 射 *zæH* 'practice archery' and 知 *ʧeH* 'be wise' (examples 28 and 29) in the departing tone.[8]

(26) Old Chinese (Zuozhuan, Huan 5)
祝聃射王中肩，王亦能軍
祝 聃 射 王 中 肩 王 亦 能 軍
ʦuk tʰam zek hjwaŋ ʧuŋH ken hjwaŋ jek noŋ kjun
p.n. p.n. shoot king hit shoulder king also can army
'Zhu Dan shot at the king and hit his shoulder, but the king was still able to lead his army.'

(27) Old Chinese (Zuozhuan, Xi 30)
秦晉圍鄭，鄭既知亡矣
秦 晉 圍 鄭 鄭 既 知 亡 矣
dzin tsinH hjwij ʤeŋH ʤeŋH kɨjH ʧe mjaŋ hiX
Qin Jin encircle Zheng Zheng already know disappear PARTICLE
'The country of Zheng is besieged by Qin and Jin, and already knows that it will perish.'

(28) Old Chinese (Liji, translation by Legge)
君使士射，不能，則辭以疾；言曰：「某有負薪之憂。」
君 使 士 射 不 能 則 辭 以 疾
kjun ʂiX dʑiX zæH pjuw noŋ tsok zi jiX dzit
ruler cause officer practice.archery NEG can then decline because ill
言 曰 某 有 負 薪 之 憂
ŋjon hjwot muwX hjuwX bjuwX sin ʦi ʔjuw
word say some have carry firewood GEN worry
'When a ruler wishes an officer to take a place at an archery meeting, and he is unable to do so, he should decline on the ground of being ill, and say, 'I am suffering from carrying firewood.'

(29) Old Chinese (Zuozhuan, Xi 30)
失其所與，不知
失 其 所 與 不 知
ɕit gi ʂjoX joX pjuw ʧeH
lose 3:POSS NMLZ:OBL be.allied NEG be.wise
'Loosing an ally is not wise.'

8. The readings of the examples are given in Middle Chinese (in an IPA-based version of Baxter's 1992 transcription) rather than Old Chinese, since Middle Chinese is the earliest stage of Chinese whose phonological system is completely understood.

The departing tone derivation (which has many other functions, see Downer 1959) is known to originate from an **-s* suffix (Haudricourt 1954). For instance, the pair of verbs 射 *ʑek* 'shoot at' → 射 *ʑæH* 'practise archery' is reconstructed as **Cə-lAk* → **Cə-lAk-s* by Baxter & Sagart 2014)).

Jacques (2016) proposes that the diverse functions of the departing tone derivation can be accounted for by assuming that it originates from several unrelated suffixes, and hypothesizes that the antipassive and passive functions of this derivation are remnants of the reflexive/middle *-si* (described in the previous sections on Kiranti and Dulong-Rawang) in Old Chinese. Even if this historical interpretation is not accepted, the direction of derivation and its meaning are not in doubt.

5. Conclusion

This survey has only found evidence for antipassive constructions in a few subgroups of Sino-Tibetan, indicated in Table 3; languages with productive antipassive constructions are indicated in bold.

However, few grammars (see Tournadre 1996: 83, Genetti 2007: 108 for instance) explicitly indicate the *absence* of detransitivizing constructions. It is possible that constructions analyzable as antipassive in other languages of the ST family have been overlooked by the present work.

Antipassive constructions in ST are all of relatively recent origin. The *rɤ-* antipassive in Gyalrongic is restricted to the three northern Gyalrong languages (Tshobdun, Japhug, and Zbu), and probably is a local innovation. The *kʰa-* antipassive in Puma is a language-specific innovation, not even shared with its closest relatives Bantawa and Chamling (within the South Kiranti group). The antipassive uses of the *-si* reflexive suffixes are always limited and restricted to a few lexicalized examples, and never became productive antipassive constructions. It is also clear that this antipassive use of *-si* results from parallel development in all the languages that have it, since no cognate antipassive verbs are found between even closely related languages.

Apart from Old Chinese, all languages with antipassive derivations in Sino-Tibetan also have ergative or agentive case marking.

Despite their rarity, antipassive constructions in ST are highly diverse, and exemplify three out of the four main sources of antipassives (Sansò 2017). The fact the language groups studied in this paper (Rgyalrong, Kiranti, Nungish, West-Himalayish, Kuki-Chin, Old Chinese) are located in non-contiguous areas indicates that the existence of antipassive constructions results from parallel developments: contact can only have played a role in the developments of antipassive markers within Kiranti or Rgyalrong.

Table 3. Antipassive constructions in ST

Branch	Language	Type	Section
Kiranti	**Puma**	Indefinite	2
	Limbu	Reflexive/Middle	4.1
	Khaling	Reflexive/Middle	4.1
	Thulung	Reflexive/Middle	4.1
Gyalrongic	**Tshobdun**	Nominalization + verbalization	3
	Japhug	Nominalization + verbalization	3
	Zbu	Nominalization + verbalization	3
Nungish	Rawang	Reflexive/Middle	4.2
West Himalayish	Bunan	Reflexive/Middle	4.4
	Darma	Reflexive/Middle	4.4
Kuki-Chin	K'cho	Reflexive/Reciprocal	4.3
Sinitic	Old Chinese	Reflexive/Middle?	4.5

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Abbreviations

EVD	evidential	IFR	inferential
GENR	generic	LNK	linker

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CHAPTER 14

The profile and development of the Maa (Eastern Nilotic) antipassive

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Maa (Eastern Nilotic) language varieties have nominative/accusative syntactic patterns, but also an antipassive construction marked by the verb suffix *-ɪshɔ(r)*. This suffix turns an otherwise transitive construction into an intransitive one that can no longer express the P. Semantically the *-ɪshɔ(r)* construction focuses on the action of the verb or profiles long-term characteristics or ability of the agent. It is not required in imperfective situations, but most commonly does correlate with them. Interestingly, *-ɪshɔ(r)* may occur on some intransitive roots where it appears to highlight imperfectivity. The *-ɪshɔ(r)* antipassive construction does not appear to reconstruct to proto-Eastern Nilotic, though a verb root cognate with Maa *ɪshɔ(r)* 'give' does go back to a Proto-Maa-Lotuko-Lopit genetic node (though non-Maa languages within this group may lack the antipassive function). Given similarities between *ɪshɔ(r)* 'give' and the suffix *-ɪshɔ(r)*, the possibility of an antipassive developing from 'give' is explored. Potential "drift" or borrowing under Kalenjin (Southern Nilotic) influence is also noted.

Keywords: valence, aspect, nominative alignment, diachrony, contact

1. Introduction

Maa is an Eastern Nilotic linguistic complex including Maasai, Samburu, Arusa, Parakuyo and other language varieties, with over a million speakers in Kenya and Tanzania.[1] This paper argues on functional and structural grounds that Maa,

1. This work could not have been done without the help of many Maa speakers, notably including Leonard Ole-Kotikash, A. Keswe Mapena and Stephen Muntet. I am grateful for logistical assistance from the University of Nairobi, Africa International University, the University of Dar es Salaam, Mkwawa University College of Education, and SIL-Africa Area. The study is based on a corpus of some 125 texts plus original fieldwork with several speakers of southern Kenyan and northern Tanzanian Maa. Examples from texts are indicated by a code and line number in parentheses after the free translation. Unless otherwise indicated, elicited examples are from southern Kenyan Maa (Purko and/or Ilkeekonyokie regions).

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a nominative/accusative language, has a bona-fide antipassive construction marked by the suffix *-ɪshɔ(r)*.[2] The syntactically detransitivized nature of the *-ɪshɔ(r)* construction is clear. But why it should be viewed as an antipassive (and not as a reflexive, middle, or "object omission" construction) depends heavily on its semantic and functional profile. Thus, semantic and functional issues are elaborated. These, as much as structural issues, are also relevant to exploring the potential historical source of the *-ɪshɔ(r)* construction.

Growing out of the seminal observations of Silverstein (1972a, 1972b) and other discussions of valence-reducing constructions, this volume defines an ANTIPASSIVE as an intransitive construction in which: (a) the base predicate, with the same lexical meaning, can also occur in a transitive construction implying the same number of semantic participants with the same roles; but (b) the participant coded as the transitive P is expressed as an oblique or is absent, and (c) the participant coded as the transitive A is coded as the single argument of the intransitive. Soon after Silverstein introduced the term "antipassive" with reference to a morphologically ergative language, Heath (1976) discussed the possible existence of antipassives in both so-called ergative and accusative languages.[3] Other linguists described antipassives as characteristic of just ergative languages. In particular, an antipassive was viewed as feeding syntactic processes that require an absolutive (S/P) pivot (Dixon 1979, 1994: 148). A link between a language having an antipassive construction and the language having ergative-absolutive properties thus became the dominant view for quite some time (see Janic 2013).

Heath (1976) classified English sentences like *She eats all the time* and *He has eaten* as antipassives. But linguists who give pre-eminence to certain structural criteria over functional criteria have dismissed this English-style construction as "antipassive" since there is no explicit valence-decreasing morphology on the verb (cf. Palmer 1994: 197), there is no rearrangement in the structural coding of the AGENT which retains nominative morphosyntax, and the PATIENT (or THEME) is simply omitted instead of being in an oblique phrase. One may instead view English *eat* as being A-labile, i.e. it can occur in either a transitive clause frame with an A and a P, or it may occur in an intransitive frame that has just an AGENT (cf. Janic & Witzlack-Makarevich, this volume). But even if one excludes the English-style object-omission construction or intransitive use of an A-labile verb from counting as antipassives, increasing data from many languages suggests it is misguided

2. Forms of the antipassive vary across Maa varieties: *-ɪshɔ(r)* in Maasai, usually *-ɪchɔ(r)* in Samburu, and often *-ɪhɔ(r)* in Tanzanian dialects. Throughout the paper I refer to it as "*-ɪshɔ(r)*", except in examples where it may vary.

3. I use the modifier "so-called" with reference to whole languages because different subsystems within a single language may operate according to different alignment patterns.

to limit antipassives to occurring only in "ergative"-type languages (Janic 2013; Polinsky 2013, among others).

In what follows, Section 2 introduces aspects of Maa morphosyntax relevant to the discussion. Section 3 addresses the first goal of this study, which is to show that *-ɪshɔ(r)* creates a quite classic antipassive construction. Section 4 shows extension of *-ɪshɔ(r)* to some intransitive roots. Section 5 explores possible origins of the Maa antipassive, in particular: (a) whether it is an innovation from the verb root *ɪshɔ(r)* 'give', (b) whether it descendended from a Proto-Eastern Nilotic antipassive source, or (c) whether it could have been borrowed from Southern Nilotic or developed under contact influence from Southern Nilotic. Ultimately, the study leaves its origins unresolved pending further studies of other Nilotic languages, but the data suggest that the development was innovative within Maa (if not within Maa-Lopit-Lotuko), potentially under some Southern Nilotic influence.

2. Basic Maa morphosyntax

The vast majority of Maa verb roots are lexicalized as intransitive, transitive or ditransitive. Few roots are labile. Derivational morphology is almost always required in order to change valence (Payne 2001).

Maa displays nominative/accusative alignment in essentially all grammatical subsystems. Finite verbs have a hierarchical (or inverse-like) system of participant indexation (Payne et al. 1994). The same prefixes mark subject (S/A) on intransitive verbs and on transitive verbs when the A participant is higher than the P on the hierarchy 1SG/1PL>2>3.[4] A unique portmanteau prefix marks 1SG>2SG, and an 'Inverse' form marks a lower-ranked A acting on a higher-ranked P.

In continuous discourse, ordinary or main event line propositions display verb-initial syntax (ignoring conjunctions, temporal adverbs, etc.). Post-verbal arguments have a marked-nominative case system (Tucker & Mpaayei 1955; König 2006). Case is indicated by contrasting tone melodies. In postverbal position, both transitive (A) and intransitive (S) subject forms of any given noun carry the same tone melody, while the object form of that noun has a different melody, which is the same as its citation melody. The citation/object melody is used on nouns that precede their verb (including subjects except sometimes after the conjunction *óre*), and for possessors. To see the nominatively-aligned pattern on post-verbal nouns, compare the forms of 'child' and 'man' in (1)–(2). 'Child' has the tone pattern *ɛn=kɛ́ráí* in the P role (1a), but a different tone pattern *ɛn=kɛráí* in both A (1b)

4. 1PL is split in behavior. As an A, 1PL outranks 2SG P. But as a P, 1PL ranks lower than 2SG A. The reader is referred to Payne et al. (1994) for intracacies of the system.

and S (2a) roles. Similarly, 'man' has the tone pattern *ɔl=payián* when in the P role (1b), but a different tone pattern *ɔl=páyian* in A (1a) and S (2b) roles. Adjectival, demonstrative, relative clause, and other nominal modifiers also carry tonally marked case inflection. This paper glosses what Tucker and Mpaayei (1955) call "nominative" (S/A) as NOM, and leaves without a case gloss those forms that Tucker and Mpaayei call "accusative" (P).[5] Comparison of (1a) and (1b) shows that both VPA (V Accusative Nominative) and VAP (V Nominative Accusative) orders are possible, with no change in propositional meaning.

(1) a. *K=é-niŋ ɛn=kɛ́ráí ɔl=páyian.*
CN$_2$=3-hear FSG=child MSG=man.NOM
'The man (A) hears the child (P).'
b. *K=é-niŋ ɛn=kɛráí ɔl=payián.*
CN$_2$=3-hear FSG=child.NOM MSG=man
'The child (A) hears the man (P).'

(2) a. *Ɛ-kúɛ́t ɛn=kɛráí.*
3-run FSG=child.NOM
'The child (S) runs.'
b. *Ɛ-kúɛ́t ɔl=páyian.*
3-run MSG=man.NOM
'The man (S) runs.'

Certain clause-combining properties are sensitive to nominative alignment. In so-called infinitival constructions, the infinitive verb takes a prefix that agrees in number with the A/S of a preceding fully finite verb, and not with the P (Tucker & Mpaayei 1955; Hamaya 1993). The prefix thus reflects a nominative pivot. Compare (3) and (4) which show singular *a-* versus plural *áa-* infinitive prefixes on the verb 'rob' in accord with subject number of the initial intransitive verb (an S/A pivot); and (5) and (6) which show the same prefix variation on the verb 'be naughty' in accord with the subject of the preceding transitive verb (an A/S pivot).

(3) *É-éú-o a-púrr iyíóó.*
3-come.PF-PF INF.SG-rob 1PL
'He/she has come to rob us.' (sl49.080, North Samburu dialect)

(4) *E-étu-o áa-purr iyíóó(k).*
3-come.PL.PF-PF INF.PL-rob 1PL
'They came to rob us.'

5. Some Eastern Niloticists use the term "absolute/absolutive" (Dimmendaal 1983b, 2006; Barasa 2016). The term "absolute" for the citation/object form is preferable, as Maa and other Eastern Nilotic languages do not align S and P as an "absolutive" grammatical category.

(5) *E-púrr iyíóó(k) ɛn=kɛráí a-ŋoró. (*áa-ŋoro)*
3-rob 1PL FSG=child.NOM INF.SG-be.naughty INF.PL-be.naughty
'The child robs us/will rob us to be naughty.' (*'for us to be naughty'/*'and we are naughty')

(6) *E-púrr iyíóó(k) in=kérâ áa-ŋoro.*
3-rob 1PL FPL=children.NOM INF.PL-be.naughty
'The children rob us/will rob us to be naughty.'

Maa has three types of detransitivizing constructions: middle, impersonal "passive", and antipassive. To provide some context for what the Maa *-ɪshɔ(r)* detransitivized construction does *not* code, I briefly introduce the middle and impersonal constructions. The middles distinguish perfect(ive) aspect, as in (7) and (9), from nonperfect(ive) aspect, as in (8) and (10) through (12).[6] Only one core DP, in the nominative case, is possible. In Maa, the middle constructions profile the conceptual ENDPOINT of an otherwise transitive root and the absence of any sense of any AGENT or INITIATOR, as in (7) and (8);[7] or it profiles an affected participant, as in (9). They may signal spontaneous action as in (10); and reflexive/reciprocal situations where A and P are non-distinct, as in (11) and (12). Some stems are lexicalized with frozen middle endings, such as 'fail' in (9), 'be happy', 'be quiet', among many others.

(7) *Óre adé aké peê ɛ-akô ɛ-ɪdíp-ɛ*
DSCN later just when TEMP.3-become 3-finish-MID.PF
pɔ́ʻɔ́kí tókî…
every.NOM thing.NOM
'When everything [preparation for a ceremony] has finished …' (eishoi.008a)

(8) *Óre ɛnâ áŋ k=é-ból-o in=kíshomín.*
DSCN this.F home CN_2=3-open-MID.NPF FPL=gates.NOM
'Now (as for) this home the gates are open.' (Camus4.249)

(9) *Ɛ-rɔ́k ómom Pita amô ɛ-tá-láíkín-e a-yám-a*
3-be.black face.NOM Pita because 3-PF-fail-MID.PF INF.SG-marry-PF
ínâ tít'ó.
that.F girl
'Pita is unfortunate (lit. Pita's face is black) because he was not able to woo that girl.' (Wuasinkishu dialect)

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6. The *-ɛ ~ -e* and *-a ~ -o* alternations in the middles are due to ATR harmony.

7. The ENDPOINT and INITIATOR terminology is used by Kemmer (1993: 37, 50). Her primary characterization of a "middle" is that it communicates non-distinctness of an INITIATOR and ENDPOINT, as in a reflexive or reciprocal. However, the Maa middle forms also are used when an INITIATOR is just not conceptualized as part of the event.

(10) *N-é-dˈány-á* *ɪl=adúóó* *môrrân* *áa-ɪshɪr.*
CN$_1$-3-burst-MID.NPF MPL=prior.mention warriors.NOM INF.PL-weep
'And the warriors burst out crying.' (adapted from emutata.019b)

(11) *Á-bárn-á.*
1SG-shave-MID.NPF
'I will shave myself.' (Wuasinkishu dialect)

(12) *Ɛ́kí-barn-á.*
1PL-shave-MID.NPF
'We will shave each other./We will shave ourselves.'

The impersonal passive construction retains syntactic expression of the ENDPOINT but disallows the syntactic expression of any AGENT or INITIATOR, which is invariably understood as generic unspecified "people". Any lexical DP in the impersonal passive construction must occur in the accusative case (Greenberg 1959; Payne 2011), as seen with 'ground' and 'beans' in (13).

(13) *Ɛ-gírá-ˈí* *áa-tur* *ɛn=kɔ́p* *peê* *e-un-í*
3-PROG-IMP.PASS INF.PL-dig FSG=ground PURPOSE TEMP.3-plant-IMP.PAS
ɪm=pɔɔshɔ́.
FPL=beans
'The ground is being dug so that beans can be planted.'

With this brief background on Maa morphosyntax, the next section demonstrates that Maa has a construction which fits what, in other languages, are called antipassives.

3. The Maa antipassive

The verb suffix *-ɪshɔ(r)* can be added to nearly any (di)transitive root[8] or derived (di)transitive stem that has a causative, dative applicative, or instrumental applicative affix. The resulting construction has reduced valence compared to the stem without *-ɪshɔ(r)*. I first discuss the syntax and propositional semantics of this construction (Section 3.1), and then address other semantic and functional features that commonly occur with it (Section 3.2). We will see that no one factor necessarily triggers use of *-ɪshɔ(r)*, but its overall functional profile corresponds to descriptions of antipassives in other languages.

Before proceeding, Figures 2 through 4 sketch predicate decomposition event models, which will be relevant to the discussion. Figure 2 represents the most

8. A few transitive roots like *ata* 'have' are semantically incompatible with *-ɪshɔ(r)*.

general meaning or state of affairs expressed by a highly transitive construction: an AGENT (the transitive A) acts to cause a change of STATE in a THEME (the transitive P), which as a result is then in a new STATE. The curved arrow in Figure 2 represents the transfer of action from the A to the caused event/situation. The abstract predicates may be co-lexicalized with manner or other meaning features into a single phonological verb. For instance, in *The wrecking company demolished the building*, the verb *demolished* co-lexicalizes or expresses all the following: an AGENT DOES something, the concept of CAUSE, the inchoative concept of BECOME, the lexical action of 'take completely apart in a destructive manner', and the resultant state of 'being completely taken apart/destroyed'.[9]



Figure 2. Highly transitive event

The ovals in Figures 3 and 4 demarcate portions of the otherwise transitive event that are conceptually or cognitively profiled by an antipassive. An antipassive may profile both action and A-centric properties (Figure 3); or it could profile primarily one or the other. Where the antipassive is primarily A-centric (Figure 4), it may become almost stative in that it highlights or profiles characteristics of the A participant. The crossed-out portions of the otherwise transitive event in Figures 3 and 4 reflect de-profiled or absent characteristics.



Figure 3. Agent+Action-centric antipassive



Figure 4. Agent-centric antipassive

An additional approach to exploring the function of antipassive constructions compares the discourse topicality of semantic and/or overtly expressed Ps across basic transitive and detransitivized constructions (Thompson 1989). In Thompson's view, one expects the overall discourse topicality (operationalized by Givón's 1983

9. Full caps are used here to represent abstract predicates, which may be lexicalized into roots or may be expressed morphologically or analytically. Small caps represent semantic roles.

methodology) of semantic (understood) Ps to be markedly lower in antipassive constructions than in transitive constructions, while the overall discourse topicality of the A may or may not be higher in the antipassive than in the transitive construction.

3.1 Syntax and propositional semantics of the *-ɪshɔ(r)* construction with (di)transitive roots

We now turn to the syntax and propositional semantics of the *-ɪshɔ(r)* construction. In (14) through (17), the (a) examples have transitive verbs with simple stems (just roots), while the (b) examples have derived *-ɪshɔ(r)* stems. An accusative DP cannot be added to the (b) examples, showing they are strictly intransitive.[10] Clauses with *-ɪshɔ(r)* lack the implication of a clearly identifiable ENDPOINT.

(14) a. *É-éú-o a-púrr iyíóó.*
3-come.PF-PF INF.SG-steal.from 1PL
'He/she has come to rob us.' (sl49.080, North Samburu dialect)

b. *Óre siî apá ɪl=Máásâî né-m-é-púrr-isho,*
DSCN just before MPL=Maasai CN_1-NEG-3-steal.from-ANTIP
ɛn=kʊrróna ɔl=tóŋání ɔ́-purr-isho.
FSG=shame MSG=person.NOM M.REL-steal.from-ANTIP
'A long time ago Maasais did not steal, (it is) a shame (for) a person who steals.' (malk01.0036–0037)

(15) a. *N-é-tií apá ɔl=páyian ɔ́-yam-á e=siankíki …*
CN_1-3-be.at before MSG=man.NOM MREL-marry-PF FSG=bride
'A long time ago, there was a man who married a young woman…'
(divorce.001)

b. [Preceding context: Normally when a person finishes warriorhood, he begins to contemplate the things of elderhood.]
N-é-baʊ dúóó ɛ=rɪsh-atá ná-yieu n-é-yam-íshɔ.
CN_1-3-arrive indeed FSG=divide-NMLZ FREL-want CN_1-3-marry-ANTIP
'And a point comes when he wants to marry.' (payianisho.186)

(16) a. *Á-níŋ-íto ɔl=ŋátúny e-ipúrr.*
1SG-hear-PROG MSG=lion 3-roar
'I am hearing a lion roar.'

10. External possession constructions with *-ɪshɔ(r)* stems are exceptions to this claim, as the external possession construction allows an extra accusative argument, beyond what the verb stem otherwise allows, expressing the POSSESSOR (Payne 1997).

b. *K=é-áta n=kíy'íáá n-é-m-é-níŋ-'íshó.*
CN_2=3-have F=ears.NOM CN_1-EP-NEG-3-hear-ANTIP
'It has ears but doesn't hear.' (A riddle, with the answer *motí* 'pot'.)
(Samburu dialect)

(17) a. *K=é-ar doí iyíóók ɛlɛ́ tóŋání.*
CN_2=3-harm indeed 1PL this.M.NOM person.NOM
'This person is indeed going to harm us.'

b. *K=é-r-ícho rrárrat é l=tupá.*
CN_2=3-harm-ANTIP shards.NOM POS M=bottle
'Shards of a (broken) bottle do hurt.' (Samburu dialect, SN 50.029)

For transitive roots with <AGENT THEME> argument structure, the THEME cannot be expressed in the *-ɪshɔ(r)* construction. However, verbs like *purr* 'rob, steal from' in (14) above have an <AGENT SOURCE> argument structure, and with such verbs the SOURCE from which something is removed is suppressed in the *-ɪshɔ(r)* construction, as in (14b).

If the base stem is ditransitive with <AGENT THEME GOAL/LOCATIVE> argument structure, the GOAL/LOCATIVE object is necessarily suppressed.[11] With some ditransitives, *-ɪshɔ(r)* suppresses any non-subject argument. Compare *pɪk* 'put' in (18a), which allows two objects, with *pɪk-ɪshɔ* in (18b), which disallows both the THEME and the GOAL/LOCATIVE. This prohibition holds true even in imperfective contexts or situations which involve unsuccessful attempts.

(18) a. *N-é-pɪk ɔl=áyíóní ɪl=ashɔ́ ɔl=álɛ́.*
CN_1-3-put MSG=boy.NOM MPL=calves MSG=calf.pen
'The boy put the calves into the pen.'

b. *N-é-pɪk-ɪshɔ́ ɔl=áyíóní. (*ɪl=ashɔ́)/ (*ɔl=álɛ́)*
CN_1-3-put-ANTIP MSG=boy.NOM MPL=calves MSG=calf.pen
'The boy put (things, somewhere).'

If *-ɪshɔ(r)* is added to a morphologically causative ditransitive stem, expression of a transferred THEME is sometimes allowed, but not the GOAL. Compare the examples in (19) involving the root *juŋ* 'inherit/inherit from'. This verb is similar to English *inherit* in taking the semantic GOAL ('inheritor') as its subject. Unlike English, it allows either the semantic THEME ('item inherited') seen in (19a), or the semantic SOURCE ('bequeather') seen in (19b) as the object. To have all three semantic participants as distinct arguments in the clause, a causative derivation is required; the 'bequeather' is then the subject and the base GOAL and THEME are objects, as in (19c). An *-ɪshɔ(r)* stem created on the causative stem optionally allows the THEME object, but the GOAL-object is necessarily suppressed, as seen in (19d–e).

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11. The ditransitive root *ɪshɔ(r)* 'give' does not appear to allow addition of the suffix *-ɪshɔ(r)*.

(19) a. *N-é-juŋ ɔl=mʊrraní in=kíshú ɔ́ l=payián.*
CN$_1$-3-inherit MSG=warrior.NOM FPL=cattle M.PSR M=man
'The warrior will inherit the man's cattle.'

b. *N-é-juŋ ɔl=tásat.*
CN$_1$-3-inherit MSG=old(person)
'He inherits from the old man.' (embul.209)

c. *N-é-ítu-jûŋ ɔl=páyian in=kéra in=kíshú ɛnyénak.*
CN$_1$-3-CAUS-inherit MSG=man.NOM FPL=children FPL=cattle 3.PL.PSD
'The man will make the children inherit his cattle.'/'The man is bequeathing his cattle to the children.'

d. *N-é-ítu-juŋ-ísho ɔl=páyian (*in=kéra)*
CN$_1$-3-CAUSE-inherit-ANTIP MSG=man.NOM FPL=children
in=kíshú ɛnyénak.
FPL=cattle 3.PL.PSD
'The man is bequeathing his cattle.'
(dividing the cattle for unspecified recipients)

e. *N-é-ítu-juŋ-ísho ɔl=páyian.*
CN$_1$-3-CAUS-inherit-ANTIP MSG=man.NOM
'The man is bequeathing (things).' (e.g. he knows he is going to die)

To summarize, this section has shown that, syntactically, *-ɪshɔ(r)* is a valence-reducing operation that triggers omission of the P argument of an otherwise transitive stem, and deletion of either the GOAL/LOCATIVE object or both that and the THEME argument of an otherwise ditransitive stem. The following section more fully examines the aspectual, semantic, and discourse profile of the *-ɪshɔ(r)* construction in order to solidly establish that this construction fits within the antipassive "family" typologically, regardless of the fact that Maa is a nominative/accusative language.

3.2 Functional profile of the *-ɪshɔ(r)* construction

The *-ɪshɔ(r)* construction functionally corresponds to antipassives as described for many other languages, though there does not appear to be any one triggering semantic factor which all instances of it necessarily share. Some typological characterizations of antipassives focus on features related to the P (Section 3.2.1). However, some uses of the *-ɪshɔ(r)* construction may be triggered more by a choice to profile the AGENT or AGENT+SITUATION (Sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.5), and others by imperfectivity of the action (Section 3.2.3). A notable use is to profile the 'ability' or 'characteristic activity' of the AGENT (Section 3.2.4).

3.2.1 *Properties of the P*

Polinsky (2013) asserts that the primary semantic characteristics of an antipassive concern non-affectedness and non-individuation of the PATIENT (P of a transitive root) (see also Cooreman 1994). When a semantically highly transitive verb root is used in a transitive clause, it entails that the event causes a change of state in the P, i.e. the P is affected. Against the profile of a classic highly-transitive clause, Polinsky states that the function of an antipassive is to cancel the change-of-state entailment. Lack of a change of state could be because the P is incompletely affected, or there is no lasting effect on the P, or the activity is not successfully carried out. In Cooreman's (1994) study of antipassives in 19 languages with ergative morphosyntax, these semantic functions were common. Regarding individuation, an antipassive may be required in some languages when the P is indefinite, unknown, non-specific, non-referential, generic, diffuse, or plural (Coorman 1994; Polinsky 2017, inter alia). From the hearer's perspective, an antipassive may signal that the P has such semantic features.

In Maa, neither partial affectedness of a singular P nor affecting part of a plural or collective P necessarily correlates with *-ɪshɔ(r)*. First, root reduplication may convey repeated and sometimes more intense action, whether or not the P is completely affected. In (20), the reduplication implies repeated 'cutting'.

(20) *Máapé aké ní-ki-puo áa-duŋ-u-duŋ ɪ=lɛ́nyɔ́k l=ɔ́*
let's.go just CN_1-1PL-go.PL INF.PL-cut-EP-cut MPL=hairs MPL=PL.PSD
ɪl=kɪdɔŋɔ́ l=ɔ́ i=sirkôn.
MPL=tails MPL=PL.PSR MPL=donkeys
'Let's just go and cut into pieces hair from the donkeys' tails.' (Arinkoi 010)

The reduplication construction can be combined with *-ɪshɔ(r)*, as in (21) which expresses a listless and rather ineffectual action of 'digging'.

(21) *Á-gíra a-tur-u-tur-ishó t-ené peê a-ɪŋur-áá*
1SG-PROG INF.SG-dig-EP-dig-ANTIP OBL-here purpose TEMP.1SG-look-ITIVE
tanaa k=á-túm ɪma=dúóó tɔná.
if CN_2=1SG-get that.F=relevant roots.PL
'I am digging here listlessly to look around (with hope) that I will get the roots [for treating a disease].'

A partitive can be expressed by the phrase [*ɛmbátá* POSSESSIVE.PARTICLE DP] 'DP's side', as in 'side of meats' (i.e. 'meats' side') in (22). The phrase is a syntactic object in (22), and hence in this instance the very strategy does not permit *-ɪshɔ(r)* despite the partitive sense.

(22) *Ɛ-tɛ-yíár-a en=kítʿók ɛm=bátá oó n=kírí.*
3-PF-cook-PF FSG=woman.NOM FSG=side PL.PSR FPL=meats
'The woman cooked some of the meat.'

Partially affected Ps can be indicated by periphrastic expressions involving the negative perfec(ive) verb *éítô* 'not yet', as in (23). Again, the clause formally has a syntactic object, so despite the semantics of incomplete affectedness, *-ɪshɔ(r)* cannot occur.

(23) *Éítô e-sɪp-ó́ en=kítʿók*
NEG.PF 3-strip.clean-VENT FSG=woman.NOM
en=k-ítúkú-óto e=motí.
FSG=EP-wash-NMLZ.ACTION FSG=pot
'The woman partially washed the pot.' (more literally: 'The woman has not stripped it clean washing the pot.'

In sum, ineffective action is compatible with *-ɪshɔ(r)*, but partial or incomplete affectedness of an understood P does not require it.

3.2.2 *Focus on the action or static situation*

Typological descriptions of antipassive functions are often stated in negative terms: the antipassive *does not* profile change of state in the P, it may communicate *non*-individuation of a P, or it may reflect a highly *non*-topical P (cf. Section 3.2.5). One may go so far as to suggest that, in at least some languages, an antipassive is simply *not concerned with* the existence of any possible P. By opposition, then, it must be concerned with something else. With reference to Maa, Tucker and Mpaayei (1955: 121) say that *-ɪshɔ(r)* is used when emphasis is "on the action of the verb, with no regard to the object." For instance, the Maa examples in (24)–(26) profile the action or even a rather static situation, such as 'being scorching' as in (25). In (27), the verb is negated, profiling "non-action."

(24) *K=é-lép-ʿíshó ink=a-lep-ók.*
CN_2=3-milk(v)-ANTIP FPL=NMLZ-milk-AGENT.NMLZ.PL.NOM
'The milkers will milk.'

(25) *K=ɛ́-dál-ʿíshɔ́ táatá ɛnk=ɔ́lɔŋ.*
CN_2=3-scorch-ANTIP now FSG=sun.NOM
'The sun is too hot today.' (lit. 'The sun is scorching today.')

(26) *Ol=kékún l=âŋ táatá peê e-ok-ishó*
MSG=alternate.day M=our now purpose TEMP.3-drink-ANTIP
in=kíshu ol=inyî táisére.
FPL=cattle.NOM MSG=your tomorrow
'It is our turn today for the cattle to drink and tomorrow is yours.'

(27) *M-ɛ-ár-ˈíshɔ́ ol=páyian amô k=é-íshor-ún-ˈó*
NEG-3-beat-ANTIP MSG=man.NOM because CN_2=3-allow-VENT-MID.NPF
dúóó táatá.
indeed now
'The man will not fight because he is in a good mood today.'

In (28), *-ɪshɔ(r)* is in a relative construction 'who inherit'. The *-ɪshɔ(r)* stem conveys an action without regard to any THEME (recall that for *juŋ* 'inherit', the GOAL of 'inherit' is the subject, which in this case is also the head of the relative clause).

(28) *Ḿme kɷldɔ̂ dúóó aké ó-rúk-o ɛ́ n=kɛ́rai*
NEG those.M previous just MREL-flow-MID.NPF F.PSR F=child
ó-júŋ-íshó.
MREL-inherit-ANTIP
'Not all those males that are given birth to by the daughter are who inherit.'
(lit. 'Not all those that flow of the child (are) who inherit.') (embul.182)

In sum, the Maa *-ɪshɔ(r)* construction can be used to profile sheer action or a static situation. Though it does not create a syntactic nominal, it is worth pointing out that this is what 'action' or 'state/condition' nominalizations often do semantically.

3.2.3 *Imperfective aspect situations*

Consonant with, but perhaps distinct from profiling or drawing attention to the activity named by the verb, is the finding that antipassive constructions often correlate with imperfective aspect. The event may be interpreted as incomplete or sometimes more precisely habitual, durative, non-punctual, iterative, repetitive, imperfective, or without perceptual onset or conclusion (Coorman 1994; Polinsky 2013). Antipassives are sometimes described as "activity naming" constructions (Lango; Noonan 1992), as they may be used to name characteristic jobs that the understood A participant excels at or does.

Maa *-ɪshɔ(r)* examples frequently have such semantic characteristics. In a survey of about 100 Maa texts, there were 51 instances of *-ɪshɔ(r)*, nearly all of which expressed customary or habitual action, inclination, or the job-like nature of an activity relative to some participant. Examples (29) through (31) provide simple clauses with such semantics.

(29) *M-ɛ-bárn-ˈíshɔ́ ɔl=á-bárn-óní kɛwaríé.*
NEG-3-shave-ANTIP MSG=NMLZ-shave-NMLZ:AGENT night
'A barber does not shave at night.'

(30) *Tɔrrɔ́nɔ̂ taá ɔl=kúáâk ó-purr-ishó ɪn=kɛ́râ.*
bad be MSG=behavior.NOM M.REL-rob-ANTIP FPL=children.NOM
'The habit of children stealing is bad.' (lit. 'The behavior that children steal is bad.')

(31) *É-púrr-ʹíshó ɔl=páyian.*
3-rob-ANTIP MSG=man.NOM
'The man is a thief.'

Elicited examples with *-ɪshɔ(r)* frequently express "in-process" incompletive semantics, as in (32).

(32) *N-é-duŋ-ishó ɔl=áyíóní tɛ n=tîm.*
CN_1-3-cut-ANTIP MSG=boy.NOM OBL F=forest.NOM
'The boy is/was cutting in the forest.'

However, observe that the stem *many-ɪshɔ(r)* 'dwell' in (33) expresses a non-habitual, non-customary event about a particular individual, though the event 'dwell' is lexically imperfective.

(33) *Ɛ-shɔmɔ ɛnk=ayíóní e=n-e-tíʹí mɛnyɛ́ a-many-ɪshɔ́*
3-go.PF FSG=boy.NOM FSG=FREL-3-be.at father INF.SG-dwell-ANTIP
peê e-juŋ-ishó.
purpose TEMP.3-inherit-ANTIP
'The boy has gone to live where his father is so that he can inherit.'
(Wuasinkishu dialect)

Similarly, (15b) above does not have habitual or other clear imperfective semantics. The text as a whole is concerned with what a nonreferential but typical man experiences through life. As the explanation proceeds, this "topical" individual almost comes to have referentiality. New stages and events are narrated that move the time-line of individual's life along. Example (15b) narrates the advent of a new stage in life, which is the point at which the man desires to get married, but without any particular woman yet in mind.

In sum, imperfective semantics are a frequent concomitant of the *-ɪshɔ(r)* construction, but in some instances a non-existent or unspecified P appears to be the more relevant factor for triggering the construction.

3.2.4 *Long-term characteristics: 'Ability to x'*

We have already noted that in some languages, antipassives express characteristic activities and jobs that an AGENT does or excells at (Brecht & Levine 1985; Noonan 1992; Levin 1993). Expressing a characteristic job or ability of a participant is not conceptually far from expressing a state. In fact, in Japhug Rgyalrong (Tibeto-Burman), if the conceptual P of an antipassive is understood to be human, then the construction is ambiguous between an "action verb" reading and a "propensity stative verb" reading that describes a characteristic of the erstwhile A (cf. Janic 2013; Jacques 2014).

The Maa *-ɪshɔ(r)* construction is notable for expressing long-term characteristics of participants. This is seen in proverbs and in examples (34)–(39), among others. Note that items which cannot by themselves initiate actions can occur as subjects of the *-ɪshɔ(r)* construction due to the "characteristic property" function of this construction. The use of antipassives with inanimate items, which cannot themselves initiate actions, has also been noted for other languages (see, for instance, Israeli 1997: 116 and Janic 2013: 145 on Russian).

(34) *K-é-íbóŋ-ʹíshɔ́ ɛn=aishó ɔ́ lotórok.*
CN2-3-catch-ANTIP FSG=intoxicant.NOM PL.PSR bees
'(The) honey is sticky.' (i.e., 'Honey is capable of catching [things].')

(35) *E-itúré-íshó ɛná mísimísi.*
3-startle-ANTIP this.F.NOM darkness.NOM
'This darkness is frightening.' (i.e., 'This darkness is capable of startling [people].') (Wuasinkishu dialect)

(36) *E-dúŋ-isho ɪnk=áléma.*
3-cut-ANTIP FPL=knives.NOM
'The knives are sharp.' (i.e., 'The knives are capable of cutting [things].')

(37) *M-í-nɔs aké néna kírí naa-pîr amô é-ítá-sápúk-isho.*
NEG-2-eat just those.F meats F.REL.PL-be.fat because 3-CAUS-big-ANTIP
'Don't eat those fat meats because they are fattening (lit. 'They cause [people] to be big.').'

(38) *Ɛ-íd-ʹíshɔ́ ɛná áyíóní.*
3-jump-ANTIP this.F.NOM boy.NOM
'This boy can/is able to jump over things.'

(39) *Ɛ-gíra ɔl=tóŋání ɔ́-íbá-íshʻɔ́ a-kɛparí.*
3-PROG MSG=person.NOM MREL-hate-ANTIP INF.SG-be.aloof
'The person full of hatred is staying alone.' (lit. 'The person who hates is aloof.')

Example (40) ends a story in which various animals boast about who is the best. In this portion, the local topic is the (generic) 'dog.'

(40) *Óre ɔ-ɪsʊl-á in=tikitín pɔɔkín ol=dîâ ɔ́-ísʊl*
DSCN MREL-excel-MID.NPF FPL=things all MSG=dog MREL-excel
amô nɪnyɛ́ ná-íta-jêû ɪl=túŋáná áma amô
because 3 FREL-CAUSE-be.saved MPL=person well because
k=é-rríp-isho.
CN_2=3-guard-ANTIP
'But of all things the dog is the best because she is the one who saves people because she (is good at/effectively) guards.' (inkusi.021)

In summary, though the roots of the *-ɪshɔ(r)* verbs in (34) through (40) may have an AGENT in their core argument frame, the derived *-ɪshɔ(r)* stems arguably do not have good AGENTS as they are reporting participants' rather permanent or stative abilities, qualities, or characteristics.

3.2.5 *AGENT orientation*

Thompson's (1989) discourse topicality approach characterizes antipassives as correlating with lowered topicality of an (understood) P, but also allows that an antipassive construction might correlate with higher topicality of the (erstwhile) A. This leads us to explore whether strong AGENT-orientation could be a correlate of an antipassive construction. For instance, one might predict that antipassives could be more frequent if a section of discourse is particularly about a given agentive participant. An example of such distribution of *-ɪshɔ(r)* is in (41), taken from a text about how Maasai life is changing, and the resulting challenges the Maasai face. Throughout the text, the topic is "the Maasai." Lines (41b) and (41c) contain *-ɪshɔ(r)*.

(41) [Preceding context: Nowadays Maasais are experiencing many problems because they cannot apply methods of schooling, agriculture, etc., which they are told is the only way they can become rich.]
a. *Pɔɔkí aké peê ɛ-ɪdím ɔl=máásaní*
all just purpose 3-be.able MSG=Maasai.SG.NOM
a-tu-túr-isho
INF.SG-SBJV-dig-ANTIP
'For a Maasai person to be able to cultivate'
b. *náā tɛ n-é-ígér ɪl=tóŋáná lé́ siai, peê*
and.is OBL CN_1-3-inscribe MPL=people of work purpose
ɛ-as-akí,
3.TEMP-work-DAT
'is when he employs people [e.g. Kikuyu] in order to work for him,'

c. *kákē ínchɔ̄ɔ̄ aké peê e-laú n-é-m-é-túr-isho*
but allow.SBJV just if 3.TEMP-lack-VENT CN_1-EP-NEG-3-dig-ANTIP
'but if he fails, he won't cultivate'
[Following context: because he cannot be able. The only work (job) Maasais were able to do is herding.]

Other AGENT oriented examples with *-ɪshɔ(r)* involve a high degree of intention and control. Imperatives, as in (42), are AGENT-oriented based on the supposition that the addressee can carry out or control the action.

(42) *Í-nkɛn-ɪshɔ siî íy'íé té-jo "nabô, aré, uní"*
IMP.SG-count-ANTIP indeed 2SG.NOM SBJV-say one two three
oo-nta-ba-i îp.
until-CAUS-reach-SBJV hundred
'Count saying "one, two, three" up to one hundred.'

Example (43) describes intentional 'thinking' as the child anticipates an exam:

(43) *É-gírá ɛn=kɛráí a-dam-ɪshɔ́ amô k=é-ló-íto*
3-PROG FSG=child.NOM INF.SG-turn-ANTIP because CN_2=3-go-PROG
a-ás ɛn=tɛ́m-átá.
INF.SG-do FSG=try-NMLZ
'The child is thinking (lit. turning) because she is going to do an exam.'[12]

Nevertheless, we have seen in Section 3.2.4 that (a high degree of) intention or volitionality is not a necessary feature of the *-ɪshɔ(r)* construction. But separately from intention and volition, degree of control is an important component of high agency and to the extent that *-ɪshɔ(r)* codes 'capability,' it might be argued that it equally concerns 'ability to control.' However, this also is not a requirement for using the construction. Consider (44), as well (36) above regarding the sharpness of knives.

(44) *K=á-íkɔ́n-íta m-ɛ-tɔ́-lɔp-ɪshɔ táatá.*
CN_2=1SG-do-PROG SBJV-3-SBJV-vomit-ANTIP now
'I am causing him to vomit.' (either direct or indirect causation)

In sum, though the Maa *-ɪshɔ(r)* construction can co-occur with high agentivity where the understood A is volitional, in control of the action, highly involved, or discourse topical, it is not required in such contexts, nor is it a reliable signal of strong agentivity. This accords with Cooreman's (1994) cross-linguistic study which did not find that strong agentivity necessarily required the antipassive.

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12. The root *dam* 'turn' expresses mental activity; 'remember' is *dam-ɔ́* 'turn-VENTIVE'.

Altogether, the semantic and functional features that typically accompany the *-ɪshɔ(r)* construction, as well as its syntactic features, clearly put it into the typological domain of antipassives.

4. *-ɪshɔ(r)* with intransitive roots

Creissels (2012: 5) comments that in some languages, antipassive markers have valence-reducing and aspectual functions on transitive stems, but those same markers have only an aspectual function on intransitive stems. Something like the latter may be a minor function of the Maa antipassive form.[13] In elicitation, *-ɪshɔ(r)* is disallowed with intransitives such as *sɪŋ* 'sneeze', *shɛr* 'grunt with pride or aggression, burp, belch', *pʊsh* 'be in an excitable state, shake, propagate', *kuɛt* 'run'. But in a concordance of some 100 texts with 51 instances of *-ɪshɔ(r)*, one or two instances were with intransitive roots. The root *bik* 'last, remain, reside' is intransitive, as seen in (45) through (47).

(45) *K-é-b'ík εná kílâ.*
CN$_2$-3-remain this.F.NOM cloth.NOM
'This cloth will last.'

(46) *K=é-b'ík siî táatá.*
CN$_2$=3-remain indeed now
'He will stay today.'

(47) *K-é-b'ík tɛná áji.*
CN$_2$-3-remain OBL.this.NOM house.NOM
'He will reside in this house.'

If the aspect of the clause is explicitly incompletive, *bík* may take *-ɪshɔ(r)*. Compare the preceding examples with (48), where *-ɪshɔ(r)* combines with a periphrastic progressive construction.

(48) *Ɛ-gíra nínyɛ a-bik-ishó tɛ ína kɔ̂p.*
3-PROG 3SG.NOM INF.SG-stay-ANTIP OBL that.NOM land.NOM
'He is remaining in that land.'

Similarly, *rany* 'sing/dance' is not canonically transitive according to language-internal tests: it cannot take a middle suffix (**εránya*) or the 1SG>2SG, 3>1SG, or Inverse prefixes. It may occur with a highly limited range of accusative DPs such as *osínkólio*

13. Similar observations are also noted by Comrie et al. (this volume) for Nakh-Daghestanian languages.

'song' or *ilomón* 'words'. When there is an idea of diffuseness, plurality, or incompletive aspect, *-ɪshɔ(r)* optionally occurs. Compare (49) and (50).

(49) *Ɛ-rány ɪl=móran tɛ manyatá.*
3-sing MPL=warriors.NOM OBL kraal.NOM
'Warriors sing inside the kraal.'

(50) *N-é-ponun-û-î áa-rany-ɪshɔ tɛ́nâ dúóó áji.*
CN_1-3-go.PL-VENT-PL INF.PL-sing-ANTIP OBL.place indeed house.NOM
'People come to sing in the relevant house.' (eishoi.006c)

Such examples with arguably intransitive roots underscore the salience of imperfective aspect readings with the *-ɪshɔ(r)* construction.

5. Origin of the Maa antipassive

We now turn to possible origins of the antipassive *-ɪshɔ(r)* suffix. Full exploration demands reconstruction of Eastern Nilotic as well as Southern and Western Nilotic morphology and cannot be undertaken here. Nevertheless, the following observations and hypotheses are offered to help bring Eastern Nilotic data to bear on possible origins of antipassive constructions.

In the broader literature, antipassive morphology has been hypothesized to develop from already-grammatical forms including middles (possibly from earlier reflexive, reciprocal, or benefactive/malefactive morphemes), indefinite/generic argument markers, agent and action nominalizers (cf. references in Nedjalkov 2007; Jacques 2014; Janic 2016; Sansò 2017); or non-telic aspect morphemes (Tatevosov 2011). Additionally, some antipassives have arisen from matrix verbs or "postbases" with meanings of 'make/become', 'do', 'get', 'provide with', with or without nominalization of a lexically transitive root, as in West Greenlandic/Eskaleut (Fortescue 1996; Fortescue et al. 2010), West Mande (Creissels 2012; Creissels & Diagne 2013), Japhug Rgyalrong (Jacques 2014), and other languages (Sansò 2017). In motivating the role of matrix verbs in antipassive development, Creissels (2012) and Creissels and Daigne (2013) point out parallels between the Western Mande reanalysis of 'do, make' and French *faire* 'do, make' combined with the infinitive of another verb expressing a caused event, as in (51a). Note that (51a) retains the object of *acheter* 'buy', namely *le pain* 'the bread'. But the authors observe that "the use of *faire* with an action noun in object role is … a very common strategy not to specify the object of transitive verbs …", as in (51b) with *achats* (see also Jacques 2014 on omission of arguments of nominalizations). The English translation in (51b) with *do* plus the action nominalization *shopping* similarly results in omission of any conceptual THEME of *shop*.

(51) French
a. *La femme a fait acheter le pain par son fils.*
the woman has made to.buy the bread by her son
'The woman made her son buy the bread.'
b. *La femme a fait des achats.*
the woman has made some buying
'The woman did some shopping.'

In what follows, I entertain whether the Maa antipassive suffix might be cognate with a homophonous verb root 'give' *ɪshɔ(r)* (Section 5.1),[14] or whether it might have descended from a possible Proto-Nilotic antipassive morpheme (Section 5.2.1), or perhaps might have developed under Southern Nilotic influence (Section 5.2.2).

5.1 Parallels with the Maa verb root *ɪshɔ(r)* 'give'

It is striking to observe that the Maa Antipassive suffix is phonologically parallel to the synchronic Class II ditransitive root *ɪshɔ(r)* 'give', illustrated in (52).

(52) *Ɛ-ɪshɔ́ ɔl=páyian ɔl=mórráni in=kíshú.*
3-give MSG=elder.NOM MSG=warrior FSG=cattle
'The old man will give the warrior cows.' (Wuasinkishu dialect)

There are at least four shared features between the root 'give' and the Antipassive suffix. First, both are two syllables long. This is striking as many verb roots are one syllable in length,[15] and all other verb suffixes are one-syllable long except *-akɪ(n)* 'Dative' (which may originate from collapse of two affixes; Dimmendaal 2009).

Second, both 'give' and the Antipassive are underlyingly –ATR, changing to +ATR next to +ATR morphemes (cf. Baković 2001). Compare the –ATR and +ATR forms in (53) and (54).[16]

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14. Maa has a +ATR nominalizer *-isho*, which occurs on noun/adjective roots to yield new nouns (e.g. *ɛn=chɔrúɛ́t* 'friend' > *shórúét-isho* 'friendship'). Such nominalizations seem roughly analogous to the "property nominals" that Jacques (2014) argues are involved in development of the Rgyalrong antipassive. However, I have not observed that *-isho* by itself can nominalize a verb and it is a +ATR suffix, while both 'give' and the antipassive suffix are underlyingly –ATR. I thus do not consider *-isho* further in this paper.

15. Most synchronic Class II roots have an /ɪCVC/ shape, due to addition of an old *ɪ- prefix (cf. Dimmendaal 1983a, 2011: 63–64).

16. Throughout the remainder of this section, the (a) examples illustrate the antipassive and (b) and (c) examples illustrate 'give'.

(53) a. *N-é-pon-u-nû-î* *áa-rany-ɪshɔ.*
CN$_1$-3-go.PL-vent-DUP-PL INF.PL-sing-ANTIP
'They come to sing.' (eishoi.006c)

b. *K=é-ísh'ɔ́* *ɔlík'áí* *ɛ=néírr'ág.*
CN$_2$=3-give other.NOM FSG=sleeping.place
'The other gives him a place to sleep.' (elengon2.052b)

(54) a. *ɪl=tóŋ́ná* *oó-íturé-ísho*
MPL=people MPL.REL-frighten-ANTIP
'people who frighten'

b. *Á-íshó-óyie* *ɛn=kítɛ́ŋ.*
1SG-give-PF.ITIVE FSG=COW
'I gave away a cow.' (Wuasinkishu dialect)

Third, both have allomorphs with final /r/ before certain suffixes, as in (55).

(55) a. *N-í-as-íshor-é.*
CN$_1$-2-do-ANTIP-INS
'And you use them.' (Camus2.186b)

b. *Én-chor-ie* *iyíóók* *il=oríkan.*
PL.SBJV-give-INS.SBJV us MPL=seats
'Give us it using chairs.' (i.e. to eat food on) (enkang-enkai.008b)

c. *Náa in=kíshú* *ɛ-ɪshɔr-í.*
and FPL=cattle 3-give-PASS
'And they are given cows.' (aisinani003b)

Fourth, both appear to have an underlying HL tone melody, surfacing in (56) and various other examples. A HL melody is characteristic of Class II stems like 'give' in, for example, first and second person finite conjugations. In (56a–b), the L of the HL melody corresponds to the last syllable of the verb.

(56) a. *peê* *e-ibon-ísho*
when TEMP.3-fortell-ANTIP
'when he foretells (as his work)' (kore056)

b. *K=é-íshɔ́r-ʊ* *apá* *nínchɛ.*
CN$_2$=3-give-VENT before they.NOM
'They used to give it.' (aibarisho.025c)

For clarity, it should be pointed out that the HL underlying melody is often obscured by morphological combinations. For instance, in (53a) above, the entire infinitive antipassive verb *áaranyɪshɔ* has the replacive HL melody of the infinitive plural form. In (53b), the verb *kɛ́ísh'ɔ́* carries a *k=* proclitic which has a H that docks onto the first syllable of the verb, causing subsequent downstep behavior

(Rasmussen 2002). In (53c), the surface tone of *ɛɪshɔrí* is affected by a L from the third person prefix *è-* and a H from the Impersonal Passive suffix *-í*.

It might at first seem unlikely that a detransitivizing morpheme would develop from a transitive or ditransitive root like 'give' (but no less strange than one involving a 'make' verb). Mithun (2000: 97) raises a similar question regarding the development of an antipassive from benefactive/malefactive morphemes in Yup'ik, but speculates that the benefactive/malefactive has the effect of creating an ambitransitive verb. Benefactive-applicative/antipassive polysemy is also found in Sliammon Salish (Sansò 2017: 201), and goal-applicative/antipassive polysemy in Chukchi (Malchukov 2017: 14–17). Malchukov (2017: 16–17) speculates that since applicatives can demote a base argument, the demotion function has become generalized in some languages, thus yielding intransitives. 'Give' is a common source for benefactive/recipient/goal morphemes, suggesting a functional parallel between the Yup'ik, Salish, Chukchi and Maa cases, if indeed the Maa antipassive comes from 'give'.[17]

Two additional features might initially seem to present challenges to Maa 'give' as an antipassive source. Synchronically Maa is largely verb initial, placing matrix verbs to the left of complement verbs. Thus, something akin to a matrix-complement "give-cut" for 'give a cut/make a cut/do cutting' would not directly lead to the root-*ɪshɔ(r)* order found in the Antipassive. Secondly, there are no clear traces of historical nominalization in the Maa Antipassive construction that might correspond to a formally subordinate or nominalized complement of 'give'. However, the antipassive might have developed from a compounding or serializing type of construction, and if some pre-Maa stage allowed a bare-form complement, bare serialization, or verb compounding, lack of nominalization morphology does not seem sufficient reason to discard the hypothesis of a potential 'give' source. Not insignificantly, most other Maa derivational verb morphology is suffixing, including ventive and itive directionals, dative and instrument applicatives, the Class II causative, middles, and impersonal suffix.[18]

Despite the various cautions, roots like 'make, do' and 'give' have given rise to intransitive constructions in some languages. For instance, 'give' verbs sometimes function as light verbs, similarly to 'do', 'make', and 'take', usually when accompanied

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17. Sansò (2017: 201) observes that one of the Yup'ik forms also has reciprocal functions, and reciprocal > antipassive is a well-attested development. Yap and Iwasaki (2003, 2007) discuss detransitivizing passives developing from 'give' and 'causative' in various languages, arguing that the reanalysis involves a reflexive step.

18. Dimmendaal (2006) suggests that Proto-Eastern/Southern Nilotic had verb-initial clause order. Regardless of what might have been the primary order at that stage, Southern Nilotic languages also dominantly have suffixing verb structures, just like Maa.

by a noun. Consider, for example, English *She gave a lecture*;[19] Spanish *dar una ojeada a* 'glance at, look at' (literally 'give a look to');[20] and Tajik Persian *niʃon dodan* (literally 'sign show') which is intransitive; note that 'you' in the following example is in a prepositional phrase:

(57) Tajik Persian (Bird 2006: 6)
Man ba tu niʃon me-dih-am.
I to you sign PRS-give.PRS-1SG
'I'll show you.'

Additionally, 'give' verbs in various languages are sometimes used monotransitively, if not intransitively, cf. English *They gave generously to our food-drive last year*; *What gives?* idiomatic meaning 'Why did that happen?/What is the explanation?'; *I don't give a damn* for 'I don't care', where *a damn* is not a prototypical object, shown by such facts that it cannot be made definite (**I don't give the damn*), and it cannot be made the subject of a passive (**A damn was given by the soldier*). And finally, we noted above that 'give' roots have been argued to yield intransitive antipassives in Yup'ik, Salish, and Chuckchee.

One possible scenario for the development of the Maa antipassive from 'give' is as follows. First, corpus study and Mol (1996: 128) show that the lexical root *ɪshɔ(r)* has senses beyond just 'give', including 'make, perform, do', as in (58) where *ɪshɔ(r)* follows its object 'small deviations' and is transitive instead of ditransitive; 'invite, permit, allow', as in (59)–(62); and perhaps (rarely) 'be able to', as in (63)–(64) below. It has also developed into a discourse conjunction 'so then/next' in Tanzanian Maa, where its ditransitive argument structure is quite obscured, if it exists at all.

(58) *N-ɛ́-ʻákɔ́ ɪn=kʊtî ŋɛl-ɪ-ŋɛl-át a-ɪshɔ́*
CN$_1$-3-become FPL=small divert-EP-divert-NMLZ.ACTIVE.PL INF.SG-give
I=lukumáí.
MPL=Lukumai.NOM
'And so the Ilukumai [a subgroup of Maasai] make small deviations [in cultural customs].' (enkashe.004)

(59) *N-ɛ́-ɪ́shɔ aké peê e-lo.*
CN$_1$-3-give just PURPOSE TEMP.3-go.SG
'And he let him go.'

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19. Compare *she took a shower and she made a face* which name semantically intransitive actions which really involve just one participant – the person bathing or exhibiting a marked facial gesture.

20. I thank the volume editors for suggesting the similarity to ostensibly transitive light verbs used either monotransitively or intransitively, and for this Spanish example.

(60) *Nɛ́-m-áa-ɪshɔ̂ taá toí á-ítáho.*
CN_1-NEG-3>1SG-give FOCUS.EXCL indeed 1SG-stand.SBJV
'It did not allow/let me to stand right.' (Arusha dialect)

In (60) the 1SG argument of 'stand' is also treated as an object of *ɪshɔ(r)* 'allow', coded in the prefix *áa-* '3>1SG'. In this example one may argue that the sense 'allow/let' remains ditransitive, with a 3SG subject, the ALLOWEE as one object, and the ALLOWED EVENT as a third propositional argument. In (61) 'milks' is the semantic argument of intransitive 'ripen' but occurs in the accusative case form before 'allow/let', which might similarly be argued to have three arguments: the 2SG subject, 'milks, and the proposition 'it ripens'. (The stem form *nchɔ* occurs after all prefixes ending in /ɪ/.)

(61) *Óre nɛ́nâ lɛ́ n-í-nchɔ e-kú.*
DSCN that.PL milks CN_1-2-give 3-ripen
'That milk, you let it coagulate.' (Kisonko dialect)

However, (62) differs in argument structure from the preceding examples. A hyena is the anaphoric third person subject of 'allow/let', and nominative *ɔlŋatúny* 'lion' is the subject of 'go'. 'Lion' is not treated as a syntactic object of 'allow/let'. Thus, *ɪshɔ(r)* 'allow/let' in (62) has a reduced argument structure compared to when *ɪshɔ(r)* means 'give'.

(62) *N-ɛ́-ɪshɔ aké peê e-lo ɔl=ŋatúny, n-ɛ́-d'ɔ́mɔ́*
CN_1-3-give just when TEMP.3-go.SG MSG=lion.NOM CN_1-3-pick.up
il=óîk n-ɛ́-nya…
MPL=bones CN_1-3-eat
'When he (hyena) allows/lets the lion go, he (hyena) picks up bones and eats …' (kitejine.033a)

As noted earlier, the Maa antipassive may co-occur with the connotation or sense of 'be able', as in (63). This semantic development likely stems from the fact that 'giving' or 'allowing' someone (to do) something then *enables* the recipient to do something relative to what is given or allowed, e.g. *I'll give you the wash(ing)* enables you to wash.

(63) *N-é-niŋ-ishóy-u l=páyian.*
CN_1-3-hear-ANTIP-INCHO MPL=elder.NOM
'And the man became hearing/became able to hear.' (i.e. he woke up)
(enkang-enkai 46)

Some caution is in order regarding whether the 'be able' meaning in (63) is entirely due to the antipassive, since the inchoative suffix together with a stative verb like 'hear' may equally yield a 'be able' meaning. A more compelling example is perhaps

(64), where neither the meaning 'give' nor 'allow/let' contextually makes sense for the root *ɪshɔ(r)*, but 'be able' does. Here it is notable that *ɪshɔ(r)* follows 'see' and at most its semantic arguments are 'Konyek' as subject and the same-subject proposition 'see towards the woman'. This is the only such example in the text corpus.

(64) *N-é-jo taá Kɔ́nyɛk á-íkɔ́ njí*
CN$_1$-3-try FOCUS.EXCL Konyek.NOM INF.SG.SBJV-do.like in.this.way
a-ɪmarɪrí páa k=e-du-áya a-ɪshɔ́ en=kitók.
INF.SG-look.up.at PURPOSE CN$_2$=3-see-ITIVE INF.SG-give FSG=woman
'Konyek tried to look up at [the tree] in order to be able to see the woman.'
(girls.088)

Given the range of meaning of the modern root *ɪshɔ(r)*, the following is a hypothesized scenario for its grammaticalization as the antipassive:

Step 1: complement-matrix, serial, or compound structure (e.g. 'cut-give', 'cut-make')
Step 2: meaning extension of *ɪshɔ(r)* from 'give/make', to 'allow/let', to 'be able' (e.g. 'able to cut'), along with reduction in argument structure
Step 3: strengthening the profiling of (erstwhile) A's ability, with concomitant reanalysis of *ɪshɔ(r)* as an antipassive (e.g. 'cut-ANTIPASSIVE')

5.2 Possible cognacy with other Nilotic antipassive(-like) morphology

While the historical scenario in Section 5.1 seems plausible, it is admittedly speculative and we may ask whether the Maa antipassive might be genetically inherited or even borrowed. To even briefly discuss this, it will be helpful to have Figure 5 in mind. (Ongamo is likely extinct.)

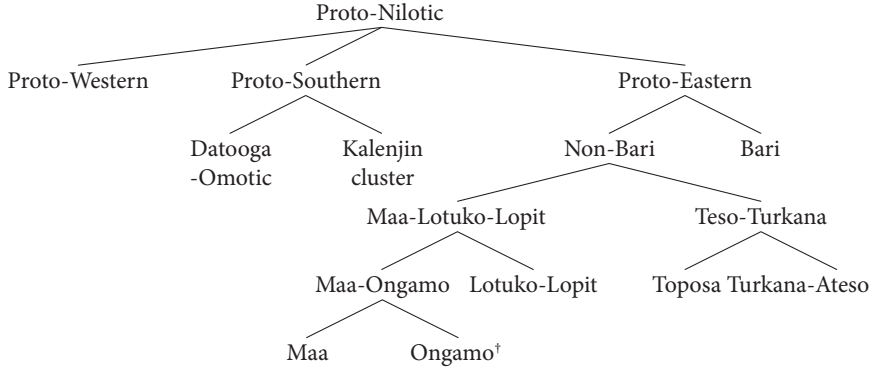


Figure 5. Nilotic languages, with particular attention to Eastern and Southern branches

5.2.1 *Potential cognates in Eastern Nilotic languages*

The best evidence to-date suggests that antipassive *-ɪshɔ(r)* does not occur in other Eastern Nilotic languages, though a detransitivized form involving a palatal sound occurs in Bari.

A cognate verb root to Maa *ɪshɔ(r)* 'give' does occur in the Lotuko-Lopit languages, but apparently not in Eastern Nilotic branches outside of Maa-Lotuko-Lopit. Example (65) is from Lopit, where *ɪsɔ́* 'give' is almost certainly cognate with Maa *ɪshɔ(r)*. In closely-related Lotuko, *isio* 'give' has allomorphs ending in /r/ (Muratori 1948; Allam & Hughell n.d.). But nothing like an antipassive is reported for these languages (Jonathan Moodie, personal communication).

(65) *Á-ɪsɔ́ náŋ iyie buk.*
1SG-give 1SG.NOM 2SG book
'I give you a book.' (Lopit, data from Jonathan Moodie)

The next most-closely related subgroup includes Toposa, Turkana and Ateso. This subgroup does not appear to have a root cognate with *ɪshɔ(r)* 'give' nor antipassive constructions. Toposa has *pot* 'give away', *nyak* 'give back' (Schroeder 1999), and *aniyakiní áyɔŋ* 'he gives it to me' (Helga Schroeder, personal communication). There is no suffix similar to *-ɪshɔ(r)* with antipassive function. The Turkana form for 'give' is *ɪnak(ɪ)*, from an old root *-ɪn* plus co-lexicalization of the dative suffix *-akɪ* (Dimmendaal 2009). Turkana does has a 'habituative' form which can focus on the 'skillfulness' of the A (Dimmendaal 1983b: 163–168). The 'habituative' involves the suffix *-aa/-oo*, which does not appear cognate with Maa *-ɪshɔ(r)*. The 'habituative' construction may occur with or without an object, but if present the object cannot take modifiers. For Teso, Barasa (2016: 126) has *ɪn* for 'give', and his list of verbal derivations does not include an antipassive (p. 178).

Bari is a more distantly related Eastern Nilotic language. Spagnolo (1933: 51) gives *tin* or *ti* for 'give, put'. A form with /r/, which probably contains the itive suffix, is *tiara* 'put far away' (p. 179). As an auxiliary, *tin/ti* also has meanings of 'let' (p. 179). Bari does have what may be an antipassive construction, termed the "emphatic" form by Spagnolo (1933: 137), who writes "… the Simple form of the verb always needs an object, whether definitely expressed or whether merely understood. The Emphatic verb, on the other hand, is largely used when there is no object discussed". Spagnolo goes on to say that the "emphatic" form is preferred when the object is "general rather than particular, or where an action is habitual rather than exclusive." The following forms and translations are Spagnolo's (1933: 134–137).

(66) a. *Nan adɛr.* 'I cooked it.' (i.e. something already referred to) SIMPLE
Nan adɛrja. 'I cooked.' (i.e. I did some cooking) EMPHATIC
b. *ga'* 'to search' SIMPLE
ga'yu 'to search' EMPHATIC

(67) a. *Dɔ ’bɔ’bɔk kɪdɪ?* *E, nan ’bɔ’bɔk.* SIMPLE
‘Are you digging the well?’ ‘Yes I am digging it.’
b. *Dɔ ’bɔ’bɔgga kɪdɪ?* *E, nan ’bɔ’bɔgga.* EMPHATIC
‘Are you digging a well?’ ‘Yes, I am digging one.’

The Bari “emphatic” form shows complex morphophonemics. Spagnolo (1993: 133–135) describes it as consisting of a consonant+vowel. In many situations the consonant of the “emphatic” form involves a “j” or glide “y”, as in (66), and in some contexts is just “doubled” with voicing, as in (67). The quality of the vowel varies depending on the preceding vowel. While the palatal “j” and “y” elements in the “emphatic” are intriguing given the alveopalatal [ʃ] in the Maa *-ɪshɔ(r)* form and the “si” form in Lotuko, Vossen’s phonological (1982) reconstruction of Eastern Nilotic does not suggest a connection.

Altogether, it appears that *ɪshɔ(r)* as a root for ‘give’ is innovative in the Maa-Lopit-Lotuko sub-branch of Eastern Nilotic, and that *-ɪshɔ(r)* as an antipassive suffix is innovative in Maa.

5.2.2 *Borrowing or drift influenced by Southern Nilotic?*

Though *-ɪshɔ(r)* as an antipassive appears to be innovative in Maa, there might have been some influence from Southern Nilotic languages. Ehret (1971: 36–37, 53, 74–75) argues for intense contact prior to the 1600s, particularly suggesting South Kalenjin dominance over the Maasai, accompanied by heavy Maasai borrowing of Southern Nilotic material.[21]

At first glance, the Southern Nilotic languages appear not to have a verb root cognate with Maa *ɪshɔ(r)* ‘give’. In the Kalenjin language Nandi et al. (1989: 93, 124) identify *ka:c(i)* as ‘give, make’ (“c” represents a palatal stop). In Tugen, also a Kalenjin variety, we find [kɔɔtʃɪ] ‘she gave him it’, [ágɔɔnín] ‘I am giving you something’, and [kɪ’ígɔ́ɔ́tʃí] ‘you gave it to him’ (Prisca Jerono, personal communication). The ending [-tʃɪ] is identified as the ‘benefactive’ (and is ultimately cognate with Maa *-akɪ(n)* ‘dative’; Dimmendaal 2009: 14). Regarding potential cognancy between Kalenjin *kɔɔ/gɔɔ, ka:* and Maa-Lotuko-Lopit *ɪshɔ(r), isɔ, isio* roots for ‘give’, available reconstruction proposals (Dimmendaal 1988; see also Ehret 2001: 17–18) do not suggest that Southern Nilotic /k, g/ and Maa /ʃ, tʃ/ or Lotuko-Lopit /s(i)/ are corresponding reflexes of a single proto-phoneme before a back vowel.

Nevertheless, the Maa antipassive suffix *-ɪshɔ(r)* is similar to a Southern Nilotic detransitivizing suffix that leaves just the AGENT in the clause. For Nandi et al. (1989: 91–92) give *-i:s* and *-sa* as intransitivizers that refer “to the performance of

21. However, Dimmendaal (2009) suggests that Southern Nilotic influence was more intensive on the Teso-Turkana Eastern Nilotic subgroup than on either Maa-Lotuko-Lopit or Bari subgroups.

an activity without any particular object." For Tugen, Prisca Jerono (personal communication; and Jerono 2016) gives [-ʃ(ɪ), -tʃ, -s(j)ɪ] as antipassive forms; compare the forms in (68) (Prisca Jerono, personal communication; my transcription).

(68) a. [kɪátʻɪl]
'I cut it (distant past).'
b. [átilísjéí]
'I am cutting'

Interestingly, the Tugen antipassive ending cannot be combined with the verb 'give', cf. *[ágɔɔtʃíʃié] (Prisca Jerono, personal communication), analogously to the Maa disallowed combination. A detransitivizer similar to the Tugen form is reported for some Datooga varieties (Rottland 1982), though it does not occur in Asimjeeg Datooga (Richard Griscom, personal communication).

Given the similarities between Southern Nilotic and Maa detransitivizers that remove the AGENT, the possibility of borrowing or contact influence (in one direction or the other) cannot be too quickly dismissed. The fact that the South Kalenjin and Maasai apparently had intense contact, and that other Eastern Nilotic languages do not have the *-ɪshɔ(r)* Antipassive, suggests the hypothesis that something about South Kalenjin-Maasai contact may have precipitated innovation of the *-ɪshɔ(r)* antipassive just in Maa, whether or not there was direct grammatical borrowing; this would be consonant with Dimmendaal's 1987 and 2006 discussions of "drift" in Eastern Nilotic grammatical systems occasioned by bilingualism and areal contact, even in the absence of direct borrowing.

6. Conclusions

This paper has argued that Maa, a nominative/accusative language, has an antipassive construction marked by the suffix *-ɪshɔ(r)*. Though semantic or functional factors such as imperfectivity, partial affectedness of P, and topicality of A do not require *-ɪshɔ(r)*, the general factors that correlate with its use put it squarely within the cross-linguistic family of antipassive constructions. In general, the suffix profiles the action or characteristics of the erstwhile A of the corresponding (di)transitive stem, or highlights long-term characteristics and ability of the erstwhile A. The *-ɪshɔ(r)* construction often occurs in imperfective situations, and in this function it is extendable to a few intransitive roots.

Phonologically, the suffix *-ɪshɔ(r)* parallels the verb root *ɪshɔ(r)* 'give', which has additional senses of 'make, do, allow, let' and even 'able to'. In some cases with these extended senses, the argument structure of *ɪshɔ(r)* is no longer ditransitive.

A general historical scenario suggesting how the antipassive might have arisen from 'give', perhaps via an 'ability' meaning, has been sketched. The most closely related Eastern Nilotic languages have a cognate root for 'give', but apparently lack an antipassive. More distantly related Eastern Nilotic languages appear to have non-cognate roots for 'give'. All this suggests that the Maa antipassive construction is probably innovative within at least the Maa-Ongamo sub-branch.

Given the similarities in antipassive suffix forms between the Maa and some Southern Nilotic languages, and Ehret's (1971) claims about significant contact and borrowing of vocabulary from South Kalenjin into Maa, we should not rule out the possibility that Maa might have borrowed the suffix or at least had some structural influence from Southern Nilotic. The incompatibility of the root for 'give' with the antipassive in both Tugen and for at least some Maa speakers is especially intriguing, as using an antipassive with 'give' would otherwise not seem to have any semantic or valence-related explanation.

Abbreviations

The glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, additional abbreviations are as follows:

A	most agent-like argument of a transitive clause
AOR	aorist
CN	discourse connective
DSCN	discontinuity (temporal or other)
DUP	reduplication
EP	epenthetic
ITIVE	itive ('away') from reference point
MID	middle
NPF	non-perfect(ive)
OBJ/O	bject
P	most PATIENT- or THEME-like argument of a transitive clause
PF	perfect/perfective
PSD	possessed
PSR	possessor
S	single argument of an intransitive clause
TEMP	simultaneous temporal or conditional (marked by low tone)
VENT	ventive

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PART 4

Fuzzy boundaries

CHAPTER 15

Indirect antipassive in Circassian

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The article focuses on antipassive formation in Adyghe and Kabardian (Circassian < West Caucasian), polysynthetic languages with ergative alignment of basic morphosyntax. The Circassian antipassive is typologically unusual in several respects. First, it is derived not only from transitive, but also from intransitive verbs: in these cases, it eliminates the indirect object. Thus, antipassive in Circassian targets an object argument, but not necessarily the direct object, contradicting the general ergative patterning. Second, the Circassian antipassive is expressed by the change of the root-final vowel, which complicates the determination of the direction of the valency change. Third, although the Circassian antipassive mainly fulfils the semantic functions typologically associated with antipassives, sometimes the syntactic type of the argument (i.e. nominal vs. clause) is relevant for the choice of the valency frame as well.

Keywords: Circassian languages, polysynthesis, intransitive verbs, lability, applicatives

1. Introduction

While the range of syntactic functions of valency-changing operations has been given attention in many linguistic works, the issue of the possible relations between valency change and transitivity seems to be underrepresented in the current linguistic theory and typology. In many typological studies of valency-changing operations (cf. e.g. such overview works as Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000; Kittilä 2010; Kulikov 2010; Janic & Nau (eds) 2016) it is assumed without much discussion that (at least prototypically) valency change correlates with change in morphosyntactic transitivity, cf. e.g. Dixon & Aikhenvald (2000: 6): "Passive and antipassive prototypically apply to transitive verbs and derive intransitives …. Causative and applicative prototypically apply to intransitive verbs and derive transitives". This leads to a neglect of the properties characteristic of non-monovalent intransitive verbs

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(the so-called "extended intransitives", Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000: 3), which are attested in many languages of the world and are not exempt from valency-changing operations, both as their input and as their output.

For instance, the typology of applicatives is addressed using a large sample of languages in Peterson (2007). However, the syntactic status of the new argument introduced by the applicative derivation is only mentioned in passing. It seems that the question of "direct object applicatives" as opposed to "indirect object applicatives" (those which introduce a new indirect object, not a direct one, as, for instance, the category of "version" in Caucasian languages, such as Kartvelian and Northwest West Caucasian) has never been subject of systematic typological research, moreover, the latter type of applicatives is often not recognized at all (as e.g. in Polinsky 2005a).

Polinsky (2005a) and Peterson (2007) claim that applicativization is more characteristic of transitive than of intransitive verbs and give examples of languages (e.g. Tzotzil) where applicativization of intransitive verbs is not possible. Besides that, Peterson (2007: 64–66) lists some languages (e.g. Hualapai) where a polysemous causative-applicative marker expresses applicative when applied to transitive verbs and causative when applied to intransitive verbs. However, in many languages (e.g. Hakha Lai), applicative markers are compatible with both types of basic verbs.

On the other hand, applicatives can either change transitivity of the base verb or leave it intact. Peterson (2007) analyzes thoroughly the status of the new argument in some particular applicative constructions and concludes that the applicative argument can either have or lack direct object properties. However, he misses examples where the new argument is definitely an indirect object, as is the case in the already mentioned Kartvelian and West Caucasian languages. In the following examples from Laz, the applicative prefix *u-* introduces an indirect object marked by the dative case, distinctly from the direct object in the nominative. This applicative is compatible with transitive (1a) as well as intransitive (1b) verbs.

(1) Laz (Kartvelian, Lacroix 2009: 484, 486)[1]

a. *hemu-k Xasani-s oxoi **u**-ḳod-um-s*
DEM-ERG Hasan-DAT house(NOM) APPL.3.IO-build-TH-PRS.3SG.SBJ
'He is building a house for Hasan.'

b. *žuma-čkimi bee-pe-s **u**-ṭḳob-u-n*
brother-1SG.PR(NOM) child-PL-DAT APPL.3.IO-hide-TH-PRS.3SG.SBJ
'My brother is hiding from the children.'

From some studies (Shibatani (ed.) 1976, 2001), we can judge that transitivity is not strictly correlated with valency change. The causative always increases the

1. Transcription and glossing adapted.

number of verbal arguments (in particular, it adds a causer to the subject position). Causativization of intransitive verbs usually makes them transitive, but it is not always the case. For instance, in Hungarian, with causatives derived from intransitive verbs the base subject (causee) can be marked either by the accusative or by the instrumental case, the difference being in the type of causation:

(2) Hungarian (Uralic > Ugric; Comrie 1989: 174)
a. *Én köhög-tet-t-em a **gyerek-et**.*
1SG.NOM cough-CAUS-PST-1SG.DEF.OBJ DEF boy-ACC
'I made the boy cough (by slapping him on the back).'
b. *Én köhög-tet-t-em a **gyerek-kel**.*
1SG.NOM cough-CAUS-PST-1SG.DEF.OBJ DEF boy-INS
'I had the boy cough (by asking him to do so).'

Likewise, although prototypically passives apply to transitive verbs and render the construction intransitive, there exists a large literature on passives based on intransitive verbs (see e.g. Shibatani 1998) as well as on instances of passivization that do not result in unambiguously intransitive constructions, e.g. the "impersonal passive" in Ute described by Givón (1988).

Thus, we find no universally valid restrictions on the transitivity of the base and derived verbs in valency changing operations. The real restrictions on the use of valency change markers seem to be related to the number and properties of arguments, rather than to transitivity.

One of the few exceptions to this conclusion seems to be the antipassive, which we understand as an operation demoting the non-agentive argument of a bi- or polyvalent verb. In the literature on antipassives in the world's languages (including such cross-linguistic studies as Polinsky 2005b, 2017; Say 2008; and Heaton 2017), we find no examples of antipassivization without a transitivity change, and antipassives seem to be always restricted to transitive base verbs affecting their P-argument (direct object).[2] However, in our paper, we will show that the antipassive derivation found in Adyghe (West Circassian) and Kabardian (the two Circassian languages belonging to the Northwest Caucasian family; see Hewitt 1981 for an overview of the antipassive constructions in the languages of the North Caucasus) is applied to transitive and bivalent intransitive verbs alike, thus being sensitive to numerical valency and semantic properties of verbs and their arguments rather than to morphosyntactic transitivity. Another exception to the general pattern is found in Atlantic languages, mentioned below in Section 6 (see a typological account in Janic 2013: 96).

2. Sometimes this is certainly due to the fact that transitivity of the base verb is built into the definition of "antipassive" as a comparative concept used by a particular scholar, cf. Polinsky (2005b: 438) or Heaton (2017: 63).

This paper is based on the fieldwork data collected by both authors for three Circassian varieties spoken in the Republic of Adygheya (Russian Federation) in 2004–2016, i.e. Temirgoy dialect of Adyghe, which is very close to standard Adyghe, and Besleney and Kuban dialects of Kabardian, which are both quite distinct from standard Kabardian. The three varieties discussed, however, do not show any significant differences in the features under investigation, i.e. verbal valency and antipassive constructions. Both elicited and textual examples are used; some of the latter come from published texts in Standard Adyghe.

The paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, we briefly introduce the major relevant morphological and syntactic features of Circassian languages. In Sections 3–5 we discuss various features of the Circassian antipassive, i.e. its morphology, types of verbs allowing it, its syntactic and semantic properties, and pragmatic conditions that favor the use of antipassive constructions. Section 6 offers a typologically oriented discussion and conclusions.

2. Typologically relevant features of Circassian languages

In this section, we briefly present the features of Circassian languages relevant for the discussion of antipassives, namely, polysynthesis, ergativity, valency classes and general properties of the system of valency changing operations.

The most notable and pervasive property of the grammar of Circassian, and, more broadly, Northwest Caucasian languages, is polysynthesis, which we understand broadly as the tendency to express most syntactic and semantic information by means of productively formed morphologically complex words, primarily verbs (see Lander & Testelets 2017; Arkadiev & Lander 2021). Examples (3) from Temirgoy Adyghe and (4) from Besleney Kabardian show that the verb form includes the expression of as much as four participants by means of pronominal prefixes, as well as affixes marking valency-change, spatial meanings, negation, modality, tense-aspect and subordination (see Smeets 1992; Korotkova & Lander 2010; Lander & Letuchiy 2010; Arkadiev & Letuchiy 2011).

(3) Temirgoy Adyghe (textual example)
zə-qə-Ø-r-a-r-jə-ʁe-xə-ʁ-ep
REFL.ABS-DIR-3SG.IO-LOC-3PL.IO-DAT-3SG.ERG-CAUS-carry-PST-NEG
'He did not ask them to carry him (lit. himself) from there.'

(4) Besleney Kabardian (elicited)
sə-q̇ə-zer-a-xʷə-č'erə-mə-ṭetə-č'ə-ž'-a-r
1SG.ABS-DIR-REL.FCT-3PL.IO-BEN-LOC-NEG-tie-ELAT-RE-PST-ABS
'that they could not untie me'

Figure 1 presents the schematic template of the Circassian verbal complex, glossing over some minor points of cross-dialectal variation.

prefixes										root	suffixes			
argument structure zone						pre-stem elements			stem				endings	
−10	−9	−8	−7	−6	−5	−4	−3	−2	−1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
absolutive	directional	subordinators	applicatives	dative	ergative	jussive	dynamicity	negation	causative	root	directionals, transitivity	propositional operators	absolutive plural	subordinators, force

Figure 1. The Circassian verbal complex

Not surprisingly, given that all participants of the event, including locationals, are indicated in the predicate by means of overt pronominal prefixes (only third person absolutive and third person singular indirect object prefixes are zero), the corresponding noun phrases are optional and can be omitted if sufficiently activated in the previous discourse. In clauses with overt noun phrases, word order is generally flexible with a preference for SOV.

Circassian languages exhibit ergativity in both head- and dependent marking (see Smeets 1992; Kumakhov & Vamling 2009; Letuchiy 2012). In head marking, ergativity is manifested in the difference between the absolutive (slot −10) and ergative (slot −5) series of verbal pronominal prefixes; notably, the ergative series contains the only overt marker of 3rd person singular, viz. *(j)ə-*. In dependent marking, Circassian languages possess a "poor" case system comprising just two grammatical case markers, i.e. the absolutive (*-r*), marking the intransitive S (5a) and the transitive P (5b), and the oblique (several allomorphs, the most common of which is *-m*, attested across all dialects), which, besides marking the transitive A (5b), also flags various indirect objects, e.g. the recipient in (5b), as well as nominal possessors (5c) and even certain adjuncts not cross-referenced in the predicate. It has to be noted that personal pronouns, possessed nominals and proper names, as well as non-referential common nouns normally do not admit case marking (see Arkadiev & Testelets 2019).

(5) Temirgoy Adyghe (elicited)

a. *č'ale-r Ø[3]-me-čaje.*
boy-ABS 3SG.ABS-DYN-sleep
'The boy is sleeping.'

b. *č'ale-m pŝaŝe-m txələ-r Ø-Ø-r-j-e-tə.*
boy-OBL girl-OBL book-ABS 3SG.ABS-3SG.IO-DAT-3SG.ERG-DYN-give
'The boy is giving the book to the girl.'

c. *çəfə-m Ø-jə-wəne*
man-OBL 3SG.PR-POSS-house
'the man's house'

Circassian languages possess a rich system of valency increasing operations, including causative and a large set of applicatives comprising benefactive, malefactive, comitative and many locatives (Paris 1995; Letuchiy 2009a,b), some of which are shown in examples (3) and (4). In the context of this study, the most important applicative is the one we call "dative"; it does not have a specialized meaning and is used to formally introduce indirect objects selected by the verbal stem, as e.g. the recipient argument of the verb 'give' in (5b) above. The dative applicative has several contextually distributed allomorphs: *je-/jə-*, *e-* and *r-*. See Letuchiy (2009a,b, 2012) for detailed descriptions of the system.

In our paper, valency is understood as the number of arguments a verb requires and expresses by means of pronominal and/or applicative prefixes. All participants which are not cross-referenced in the verb form are regarded as adjuncts, which are not related to valency. Thus, in (6a) the locative phrase in the oblique case is marked in the verb by means of a locative prefix and hence is an argument; by contrast, in (6b) the same locative phrase does not have any corresponding affix in the verb and hence is treated as an adjunct.

(6) Besleney Kabardian (elicited)

a. *wəne-m s-Ø-**jə**-h-a*
house-OBL 1SG.ABS-3SG.IO-LOC-go.in-PST
'I entered the house.'

b. *wəne-m sə-ḳ^{w}-a*
house-OBL 1SG.ABS-go-PST
'I went towards the house.'

Transitivity is a formal morphosyntactic feature of verbs in Circassian languages reflected in the kind of cross-referencing prefixes they take and is as such independent

3. In the subsequent sections we will not mark and gloss zero morphemes.

of valency: while monovalent verbs are all intransitive, polyvalent verbs can be both transitive and intransitive, and, as we will show, both can form antipassives. It is also necessary to keep in mind that, apart from a few lexicalized exceptions, all Circassian verbs have an obligatory absolutive argument cross-referenced in the leftmost slot (−10). With monovalent verbs the absolutive is the only argument, i.e. the S, see (5a) and (6b) above.

Bivalent verbs fall into two large classes: transitive and (extended) intransitive. Transitive verbs have an A(gent) and a P(atient) arguments. The A is case-marked by the oblique case and is cross-referenced with a special class of prefixes occupying the slot (−5) close to the verbal stem; no other pronominal prefixes can occur to the right of the A. The P is encoded as the absolutive and is cross-referenced in the leftmost position of the verb form (if the absolutive is the third person, no overt prefix occurs), see (5b) above and (7).

(7) Besleney Kabardian (elicited)

a. ***wə-s***-*λeʁʷ-a*
2SG.ABS-1SG.ERG-see-PST
'I saw you.'

b. ***w-jə***-*λeʁʷ-a*
2SG.ABS-3SG.ERG-see-PST
'S/he saw you.'

c. *pŝaŝe-**m*** *ç'ale-**r*** *Ø-**jə***-*λeʁʷ-a*
girl-OBL boy-ABS 3SG.ABS-3SG.ERG-see-PST
'The girl saw the boy.'

The class of transitive verbs in Circassian includes predicates corresponding to the cross-linguistic prototype of transitivity, i.e. verbs denoting telic events leading to a significant change of state in the patient and performed by a controlling animate agent (see Hopper & Thompson 1980; Tsunoda 1981; Næss 2007), such as 'kill', 'write', 'tear', 'build', as well as certain verbs from other semantic domains, notably 'eat', 'see' and 'know'.

Extended intransitive verbs have an absolutive S which is cross-referenced in the leftmost position of the verb with the set of prefixes identical to the set cross-referencing the P of transitive verbs, and an oblique indirect object (IO). The IO is introduced either by one of the numerous specific applicative prefixes or by the semantically underspecified "dative" applicative prefix *(j)e-*. All applicative prefixes together with the pronominal prefixes immediately preceding them occur in slots intermediate between those of the absolutive and the ergative arguments, see examples in (8).

(8) Temirgoy Adyghe (elicited)
a. ***sə-qə-w-e-ža-ʁ***
1SG.ABS-DIR-2SG.IO-DAT-wait-PST
'I waited for you.'
b. *ç'ale-**r*** *pŝaŝe-**m*** ***Ø-Ø-je-ža-ʁ***
boy-ABS girl-OBL 3SG.ABS-3SG.IO-DAT-wait-PST
'The boy waited for the girl.'

Circassian languages possess a large and heterogeneous class of two-argument intransitive verbs. These can denote both physical activity ('hit', 'bite', 'drink', 'kiss', etc.) and mental activity, speech, or perception ('read/learn', 'look at', 'scold', 'talk to', 'smell', 'think about', etc.). Many of these predicates are translated by transitive verbs into European languages. With most indirect intransitive verbs, the absolutive S argument is more agentive than the oblique IO.

There is also a class of trivalent transitive (ditransitive) verbs which have an A and an IO marked with the oblique case and an absolutive P, as in (5b) above. All ditransitive and bivalent intransitive verbs contain applicative prefixes, usually the dative applicative mentioned above, and thus technically are "derived", although in the next section we will show that things are not so simple as they look on the surface.

3. The morphology of the Circassian antipassive

We distinguish between two formal types of the antipassive in Circassian languages, which we call "marked" and "unmarked". The lexical groups which are compatible with antipassivization will be described in Section 4; here, we will only say that both marked and unmarked antipassives have restricted productivity mostly applying to verbs denoting specific activities with a strong manner component, e.g. verbs of professional activity ('weed', 'plough', and so on).

3.1 Marked antipassive

The marked antipassive is formed from verbs whose stem ends in /ə/ (in some positions this vowel is elided) by substituting it with /e/ (in some positions /e/ changes to /a/), see e.g. Dzuganova (2005) and Gishev (2008: 231–234) for overviews of this phenomenon. The antipassive verbs are predominantly monovalent. When the base verb is transitive, its P argument is eliminated and its A becomes the S of the antipassive verb, as shown in Figure 2 and in examples (9) and (10), where the a-examples show the transitive, and the b-examples the antipassive variants of the

encoding mechanism	transitive		→	antipassive	
	I	II		I	(II)
	A	P		S	(IO)
cross-reference	ergative	absolutive		absolutive	(IO)
case-marking	oblique	absolutive		absolutive	(oblique)

Figure 2. The canonical antipassive

same verb. We call the marked antipassive based on transitive verbs "canonical", with no particular theoretical implications.

(9) Standard Adyghe (textual examples)
a. *njewəš' š'jeʁež'aʁew cʷəmpe-r qə-ç̣'-a-č'ə-ze*
tomorrow beginning.with strawberry-ABS DIR-LOC-3PL.ERG-pick-CVB
*a-**šxə**-š't…*
3PL.ERG-eat-FUT
'From tomorrow on they'll eat strawberries right after having picked them…'
b. *ǯə-dede-m ŝʷə-z-ʁe-**šxe**-š't.*
NOW-INTF-OBL 2PL.ABS-1SG.ERG-CAUS-eat.ANTIP-FUT
'And now I'll give you something to eat.', lit. 'I will make you eat.'

(10) Kuban Kabardian (elicited)
a. *se ǯ'ane-r z-**də**-ne*
1SG dress-ABS 1SG.ERG-sew-FUT
'I will sew a dress.'
b. *zə-z-ʁe-psexʷ-me jə-ṭane sə-**de**-ne*
REFL.ABS-1SG.ERG-CAUS-relax-COND POSS-then 1SG.ABS-sew.ANTIP-FUT
'I will take a rest and then will do my sewing.'

However, there is also a small group of bivalent antipassive verbs like Adyghe/Kabardian *je**ǯ'e*** 'read' and Adyghe *je**ŝʷe***, Kabardian *je**fe*** 'drink', which retain the original patient argument of the transitive base verb and encode it as an indirect object, as in (11).

(11) Kuban Kabardian (elicited)
a. *s-jə-q̇ʷeš'ə-m s-jə-txələ-r jə-**ǯ'ə**-ne.*
1SG.PR-POSS-brother-OBL 1SG.PR-POSS-book-ABS 3SG.ERG-read-FUT
'My brother will read my book through.'
b. *s-jə-q̇ʷeš'ə-r s-jə-txələ-m j-ew-**ǯ'e**.*
1SG.PR-POSS-brother-ABS 1SG.PR-POSS-book-OBL DAT-DYN-read.ANTIP
'My brother is reading my book.'

The semantic differences between transitive and antipassive verbs of the type shown in (11) will be discussed in more detail in Section 5.

The antipassive derivation just outlined can be applied not only to transitive, but to bivalent intransitive verbs as well. In this case, the base indirect object marked with the oblique case is eliminated together with the dative applicative, while the base absolutive subject remains intact, cf. Figure 3 and examples in (12)–(14). We call this type of the antipassive "indirect".

encoding mechanism	bivalent intransitive		→	antipassive	
	I	II		I	(II)
	S	IO		S	–
cross-reference	absolutive	IO		absolutive	–
case-marking	absolutive	oblique		absolutive	–

Figure 3. The indirect antipassive

(12) Temirgoy Adyghe (elicited)
a. *pŝaŝe-r ç'ale-m **je-bewə-**ʁ.*
girl-ABS boy-OBL DAT-kiss-PST
'The girl kissed the boy.'
b. ***bewe-**nə-r jə-ç'as.*
kiss.ANTIP-MSD-ABS POSS-love
'S/he loves kissing.' (lit. 'To kiss is his/her love.')

(13) Besleney Kabardian (textual example)
*ʁʷeg^{ʷ}ə-m **je-pλ-**te-q̇əm a-r jə-ŝha mədç'e **pλe-**w*
road-OBL DAT-look-IPF-NEG DEM-ABS POSS-head there look.ANTIP-ADV
*mədç'e **pλe-**w že-t g^{ʷ}əš'əʔe-r-əw.*
there look.ANTIP-ADV run-IPF talk-CVB-ADV
'He didn't look at the road, he would drive talking and looking here and there.'

(14) Kuban Kabardian (elicited)
a. *se ŝale-m s-**je-ʔʷənŝə-**ne.*
1SG boy-OBL 1SG.ABS-DAT-push-FUT
'I will shove that guy.'
b. *sabəj-xe-r me-**ʔʷənŝe.***
child-PL-ABS DYN-push.ANTIP
'The children are jostling.'

As can be seen, the "indirect" antipassive based on extended intransitive verbs behaves in exactly parallel way to the antipassive formed from transitive verbs: it employs the same formal marking (vowel alternation) and affects the argument structure in the same way, i.e. eliminates the less agentive participant. Formal

differences between the two versions of the Circassian antipassive result from the morphosyntactic differences between transitive and intransitive bivalent verbs in terms of case marking and cross-referencing.

3.2 Unmarked antipassive

Now we turn to the unmarked antipassive. While with the verbal stems ending in /ə/, the opposition of bivalent vs. antipassive patterns is marked by the change of the stem-final vowel to /e/, those verbs whose stems already end in /e/ do not make any formal difference between the bivalent and the antipassive diatheses. Examples (15)–(16) show the unmarked antipassive based on a transitive verb (the change of /e/ to /a/ in (15b) is purely morphophonological).

(15) Temirgoy Adyghe (elicited)
a. *ʁʷənеʁʷə-m xate-r j-e-**pčʼe**.*
neighbour-OBL garden-ABS 3SG.ERG-DYN-weed
'The neighbour is weeding the garden.'
b. *a-r mafe rjenə-m **pčʼa**-ʁe.*
DEM-ABS day whole-OBL weed(ANTIP)-PST
'He was busy weeding all day long.'

(16) Besleney Kabardian (elicited)
a. *ɬ̣ə-xe-m ʁʷefə-r ja-**ve**-n xʷej.*
man-PL-OBL field-ABS 3PL.ERG-plough-POT must
'The men must plough the field.'
b. *ɬ̣ə-xe-r ma-**ve**-xe.*
man-PL-ABS DYN-plough(ANTIP)-PL.ABS
'The men are busy ploughing.'

The same situation is observed with bivalent intransitive verbs. In (17) and (18), the verbs 'think' and 'bite' can be used with or without an indirect object, and this difference is left unmarked.

(17) Standard Adyghe (newspaper "Adyge maq" ('Adyghe Voice')[4])
a. *čʼele-jeǯʼaḳʷe-r… sportə-m nemәčʼ-xe-m-jə*
boy-pupil-ABS sports-OBL other-PL-OBL-ADD
*ja-**gʷəpšəse**-šʼt.*
3PL.IO+DAT-think-FUT
'The pupil … won't think about anything but sports.'

4. <http://www.adygvoice.ru>

b. *č̣'ale-r mə-dej-ew adəya-bze-č̣'e me-gʷəšʔəʔe*,
boy-ABS NEG-bad-ADV Adyghe-tongue-INS DYN-speak
*me-**gʷəpšəse***, *wered q-j-e-ʔʷe*.
DYN-think(ANTIP) song DIR-3SG.ERG-DYN-say
'The boy speaks, thinks and sings in Adyghe fairly well.'

(18) Besleney Kabardian (elicited)
a. *ha-r ġə-š'ə-w-e-**ʒaġe**-č̣'e vračə-m=dej ḳʷe*.
dog-ABS DIR-TEMP-2SG.IO-DAT-bite-INS doctor-OBL=to go(IMP)
'If a dog bites you, go to the doctor.'
b. *ha-r me-**ʒaġe***.
dog-ABS DYN-bite(ANTIP)
'The dog bites.'

This type of correspondence between a bivalent and a monovalent verb is called Agent-preserving lability or A-lability by Haspelmath (1993), Dixon (1994), Kazenin (1994a) and others: the agent is the same in both uses, and the more patientive argument, which can also be a stimulus or goal, is expressed only in the bivalent (transitive or intransitive) use. This type of lability is contrasted to the Patient-preserving lability (cf. English *The cup broke / I broke the cup*), where it is the P-argument that is retained in both uses, while the A is only expressed in the transitive use (P-lability is also amply attested in the Circassian languages, see Kumakhov 1971: 201, 206–207; Smeets 1992; Letuchiy 2009b, 2013).

In many languages, labile verbs constitute a special class, and lability is strongly motivated by the verbal meaning (see e.g. Letuchiy 2009c, 2013). However, distribution of A-labile verbs vs. antipassives is rarely considered in detail. For instance, Kazenin (1994a) argues that agent-preserving operations (both A-lability and antipassives) are compatible with situations where the agent is focused and the patient is non-specific (e.g. verbs of professional activity, such as 'plough', 'weed', 'cook', 'drive', etc.), but gives no hints as to how formally marked and unmarked correlations between the diatheses can be distributed across lexemes.

In Circassian languages, the distribution of A-labile verbs versus marked antipassives is purely formal for both transitive and extended intransitive verbs: in the bivalent use, all A-labile verbs have /e/ as the final vowel of the stem, which means that changing it into /e/ in the antipassive would result in a phonologically vacuous operation. This form-based analysis is supported by the fact that no A-labile verbs with a stem ending in /ə/ have been found.

Thus, the general rule says that all antipassives in Circassian have stems ending in /e/. Note that this rule cannot be generalized to cover all intransitive verbs. For instance, there are P-labile verbs, such as Adyghe *teqʷə* 'spill' or *wəŝʲʷejə* 'soil' that end in /ə/ in both uses, as well as monovalent *ə*-final verbs like Adyghe/Kabardian *bəbə* 'fly'. Thus the rule relating valency and stem-final vowels is only valid for verbs involved into antipassive alternations.

3.3 The issue of directionality and formal marking

As said above, the distribution of marked antipassives and A-labile verbs in Circassian languages is formal and linked to the final vowel of the stem. We consider this fact to be a strong argument for regarding the objectless pattern (both in the canonical and in the indirect antipassive) as derived, and the bivalent pattern as basic. If the objectless pattern were basic, we would expect the verbal stems ending with /e/ to substitute this /e/ by /ə/ in the bivalent version. In fact, the issue of directionality of derivation is particularly complicated for Circassian (see Kumakhov 1974, 1981: 229–256 on the historical-comparative interpretation of the "ablaut" in Circassian languages). In many languages, the antipassive verb is obviously derived from the transitive one, e.g. by means of a clearly segmentable affix added to the verbal stem. This is not the case in Circassian: since antipassive is marked with the vowel change, and only for a subset of verbs participating in this valency change, it is theoretically possible that transitive verbs like *də* 'sew smth.' are derived from intransitive ones like *de* 'sew' by an "extraversive" derivation (Lehmann & Verhoeven 2006), rather than vice versa.

Moreover, if untenable on formal grounds for canonical antipassives, an analysis in terms of transitivization seems well founded for motion verbs like *ḳʷe* 'go', which also show a distinction between an intransitive monovalent stem in /e/ and a transitive bivalent stem in /ə/. In the intransitive variant, such verbs appear in a pattern typical for motion verbs, taking only an absolutive S, as in example (6b) above and (19a). By contrast, in the transitive variant the verb of motion denotes the situation of covering a certain distance and takes the expression of such distance as its absolutive P argument, with the agent of motion expressed as the transitive A, as in (19b).

(19) Standard Adyghe (textual examples)

a. *χʷəlfəʁe-xe-r zanč'-ew qexale-m* ***ḳʷa***-*ʁe-x.*
male-PL-ABS direct-ADV cemetery-OBL go-PST-PL.ABS
'The men went directly to the cemetery.'

b. *kilomjetre tʷeč'-jə-tʷ fed-jə-z-jə* *ə-****ḳʷə***-*ʁ.*
kilometer twenty-LNK-two like-LNK-one-ADD 3SG.ERG-go.TR-PST
'He walked approximately forty kilometers.'[5]

For indirect antipassives, the bivalent and the monovalent variants correspond to each other in a complicated way. On the one hand, the bivalent variant contains an antipassive marker. On the other hand, as mentioned before, all IO arguments in Circassian must be introduced by an overt applicative prefix, in this case by the default dative applicative *(j)e-*, as in (20):

5. <http://book.cherkesincil.net/AD/StanleyTrudnosti%20adyg.pdf> (29 June 2017).

(20) Temirgoy Adyghe (elicited)
a. ***je**-bewə*
DAT-kiss
'kiss someone'
b. *bewe*
kiss.ANTIP
'kiss'

In other words, both variants are formally marked in indirect antipassive pairs: the monovalent verb contains the antipassive vowel grade /e/, while its bivalent counterpart bears the applicative marker *je-*. To account for this situation, we propose to distinguish between **markers** of a particular argument structure change and **indicators** of argument structure.

While the antipassive vowel alternation marks the change from the bivalent to the monovalent diathesis, the default applicative prefix is automatically used to introduce an indirect object and to mark its presence in the argument structure – basically in the same way as the ergative set of pronominal prefixes is obligatorily employed to express the A with transitive verbs. The difference between the antipassive marker and the dative applicative is apparent from the fact that the indirect antipassive cannot be used if the base verb lacks the applicative, but not vice versa. The default applicative is used in many verbs which do not have an antipassive correlate and are only used with an indirect object (e.g. *je-že* 'wait'). Therefore, we consider the monovalent antipassive verbs derived with respect to their bivalent intransitive counterparts.

A special case is represented by Adyghe/Kabardian *šʼə-gʷəʁə* 'hope, trust (in smb./smth.)' vs. *gʷəʁe* 'hope (monovalent)'. The vowel alternation /ə/ ~ /e/ is correlated here with the presence resp. absence of the locative applicative marker *šʼə-*, which is sometimes used to mark the stimulus of emotional states, see (21).

(21) Standard Adyghe (textual examples)
a. *nə-r pa-pλe, nə-r me-**gʷəʁe**.*
mother-ABS LOC-watch.ANTIP mother-ABS DYN-hope.ANTIP
'Mother waits, mother hopes.'
b. *w-jate we qə-**p-šʼə-gʷəʁə**-šʼtə-ʁe*
2SG.PR-POSS-father 2SG DIR-2SG.IO-LOC-hope-IPF-PST
'Your father trusted in you.'

However, contrary to the default applicative *je-*, the locative *šʼə-* cannot be regarded as a default 'indicator' of the indirect object. Normally, this locative marker is added to verbal stems without inducing any change in the latter. For example, when *šʼəne* 'be afraid' attaches the same locative prefix introducing the cause of fear, no change of the stem occurs, see (22).

(22) Standard Adyghe (textual examples)

a. *š'**əna**-ʁe-t-jə, xase-m q-a-fe-ḳʷa-ʁ-ep*
fear-PST-CS-ADD meeting-OBL DIR-3PL.IO-BEN-go-PST-NEG
'He got afraid, that's why he didn't come to the meeting.'

b. *pšesenə-m ʔaj-ew sə-š'-e-**š'əne***
nettle-OBL terrible-ADV 1SG.ABS-LOC-DYN-fear[6]
'I am terribly afraid of nettle.'

The case of 'hope' is formally and semantically similar to the indirect antipassive but for the use of the locative applicative *š'ə-* instead of the dative applicative *(j)e-* in the bivalent verb. However, the question remains whether this difference is purely formal or has consequences for the analysis of this verbal pair. Previously we argued that the default dative applicative prefix *(j)e-* can be regarded as a pure indicator of the presence of an IO argument, hence the fact that the verb contains the dative applicative does not prevent us from considering the *e*-variant as derived and the *ə*-variant as basic. For 'hope' this kind of analysis is less plausible, since there is not much evidence across the verbal lexicon of Circassian languages that the locative *š'ə-* can serve to express an indirect object required by the semantics of the root. On the other hand, neither do we know of any other case when the vowel alternation /e/~/ə/ would co-occur with the addition of an applicative. Hence, the exact status of the bivalent and monovalent versions of 'hope' in Circassian remains undecided and serves as a good illustration of analytical challenges presented by the kind of marking employed by the antipassive in these languages.

4. Antipassive and the verbal lexicon

The range of transitive verbs to which the antipassive applies in Circassian mostly includes verbs denoting specific activities with a strong manner component ("manner verbs" in terms of Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1998; see also Say this volume), e.g. 'eat', 'wash', 'sew', 'knit', 'dig', 'sow', 'cut', 'wipe', 'write', 'steal', etc., and is used when no particular P argument is implied and the speaker's focus is on the activity itself. Verbs of non-physical activity such as 'read' or 'condemn' are clearly a minority. The semantic classes of bivalent intransitive verbs admitting the antipassive derivation is more heterogeneous and include verbs denoting physical contact such as 'touch' and 'kiss', directed perception such as 'watch' and 'listen', addressee-directed verbal behavior such as 'scold' or 'ask' and mental activities such as 'think'. In Table 1 we list all the verbs for which antipassive correlates were found in Kuban Kabardian; for all

6. *š'-* is a morphophonemic variant of the locative prefix *š'ə-* derived by regular hiatus resolution.

Table 1. Antipassive-forming verbs in Kuban Kabardian

	Transitive	**Intransitive**
marked antipassive	*ṭə* 'dig'	*ṗestχə* 'scratch'
	pχə 'sow'	*ʔʷənṣ̂ə* 'push'
	xə 'mow'	*bewə* 'kiss'
	χə 'knit'	*benə* 'wrestle'
	də 'sew'	*ṗesḳʷə* 'pinch'
	š'eč'ə 'measure weight'	*ʔebə* 'touch'
	pŝə 'knead'	*gʷəš'əpsə* 'think'
	pχenṣ̂ə 'sweep'	*deʔʷə* 'hear'
	λeṣ̂ə 'wipe'	*pλə* 'look'
	gəṣ̂ə 'wash (clothes)'	*pemə* 'smell'
	theṣ̂ə 'wash (hands, dishes)'	*λeʔʷə* 'ask (of a favour)'
	txə 'write'	*wəpṣ̂ə* 'ask (a question)'
	bzə 'cut'	*gəjə* 'scold'
	jəfə 'drink'	*χʷenə* 'curse'
	šxə 'eat'	
	bzejə 'lick'	
	tə 'give'	
	dəʁʷə 'steal'	
	ǯ'ə 'read'	
	wəbə 'condemn'	
unmarked antipassive	*ve* 'plough'	*ʒaq̇e* 'bite'
	ʔʷe 'reap'	*psaλe* 'speak'
	ŝe 'sell'	
	ǯ'e 'call'	

what we know, the other two dialects surveyed here present largely the same set of verbs with antipassives, sometimes with minor variation (e.g. in Temirgoy Adyghe, as example (17) above suggests, the verb 'think' forms an unmarked antipassive).

Even inside the manner verb class, one can observe a formal restriction on antipassive formation: morphologically causative verbs cannot be antipassivized to become intransitive (cf. a discussion of this issue in Letuchiy 2009b and Arkadiev & Letuchiy 2011). Thus, the Adyghe verb *ʁe-ŝe* 'bake, roast', a morphological causative of the intransitive *ŝe* 'undergo baking', is a manner verb semantically very close to 'plough', 'sew', etc. However, it is impossible to use this verb in an intransitive argument frame, see (23).[7] It seems that the restriction is purely formal and is related to the fact that causatives in Circassian languages are necessarily morphosyntactically transitive.

7. Note that only the antipassivization of a morphological causative is impossible. The inverse ordering of derivations (causativization of the antipassive) is possible and represented in (9b), where the antipassive version of the verb 'eat' is causativized.

(23) Temirgoy Adyghe (elicited)

a. *haləʁʷəʁaʑe-m njepe rjen-ew haləʁʷə* ***j-e-ʁa-ʑe***.
baker-OBL day whole-ADV bread 3SG.ERG-DYN-CAUS-be.baked
'The baker bakes bread the whole day.'

b. **haləʁʷəʁaʑe-r njepe rjen-ew* ***me-ʁa-ʑe***.
baker-ABS day whole-ADV DYN-CAUS-be.baked(AP)
Intended: 'The baker bakes the whole day.'

The problem with this explanation is that other detransitivizing operations are compatible with causatives in Circassian. For instance, causatives can take the benefactive prefix Adyghe *fe-* / Kabardian *xʷe-* in the meaning of dynamic possibility, which eliminates the A prefix from its ergative position thus rendering the verb apparently intransitive (see Letuchiy 2015 for discussion), cf. (24).

(24) Temirgoy Adyghe (elicited)

a. *pŝaŝe-m čəgə-r ə-ʁe-stə-š'ɨ-ep*
girl-OBL tree-ABS 3SG.ERG-CAUS-burn-FUT-NEG
'The girl won't burn the tree.'

b. *čəgə-r pŝaŝe-m* ***fe-ʁe-stə-š'ɨ-ep***.
tree-ABS girl-OBL BEN-CAUS-burn-FUT-NEG
'The girl won't be able to burn the tree.

There is, however, a crucial difference between the antipassive and the intransitivizing benefactive-potential shown in (24b): the latter does not affect the absolutive argument of the verb, while the former, when applied to transitive verbs, does precisely this, i.e. removes the original absolutive and assigns this morphosyntactic function to the original Agent. In fact, the antipassive is the only valency changing operation in Circassian languages that affects the absolutive argument, and it is perhaps this exceptionality of the antipassive that requires it to only apply before all other valency changing derivations.

5. Syntax, semantics and pragmatics of antipassivization in Circassian

As we have seen, the antipassive in Circassian languages applies to both transitive and intransitive verbs and eliminates (or, rarely, demotes) the P argument of the former and the IO argument of the latter, reassigning the A argument of the former to the grammatical function of the absolutive S and leaving the S of the latter intact. This behavior is clearly at odds with the overall ergative morphosyntax of Circassian languages and gives *prima facie* evidence that not only antipassive derivations are attested in non-ergative languages (an observation going back at least to Heath 1976, but not really paid attention to until recently), but also that they can have nominative-accusative features even in predominantly ergative languages.

This behavior of the Circassian antipassive can perhaps be also accounted for in semantic terms (cf. Letuchiy 2012). What is eliminated in the antipassive is the least agentive argument of a polyvalent verb. This is supported by the fact that the vowel change in the ditransitive verb *tə* 'give' is associated with the elimination of the absolutive theme (P), rather than of the recipient (IO), see (25b) with the unmarked omission of the recipient vs. (25c) with the marked omission of the theme and concomitant change in transitivity.

(25) Besleney Kabardian
a. *jə-de-q̇əm* *mašine-r* *q̇ə-r-jə-**tə**-n-əw.*
3SG.ERG-agree-NEG car-ABS DIR-DAT-3SG.ERG-give-MSD-ADV
'[He] does not agree to give him the car.' (textual example)
b. *sedaq̇e* *p-**tə**-nə-r* *deʁʷe.*
alms 2SG.ERG-give-MSD-ABS good
'It is good to give alms.' (elicited)
c. *a* *l̥ə-r* *ma-**te**=zepət.*
DEM man-ABS DYN-give.ANTIP=always
'That man is always charitable', lit. "always gives". (elicited)

An important question concerns the referential status of the omitted argument and the function of the Circassian antipassive in general. Cross-linguistically, several possibilities are available (cf. Heath 1976 and subsequent work, most notably Cooreman 1994 and, more recently, Vigus 2018): first, the antipassive may be used when the P-argument is unknown, indefinite or non-specific; second, the antipassive may be used when the P is specific, but the speaker does not want to mention it due to its irrelevance or other reasons; third, antipassivization may be triggered syntactically, i.e. by the need to assign the A argument to the function of the pivot (e.g. the language does not have A relativization and therefore the A must become S by antipassivization in order to be relativized).

In Circassian, the antipassive with an omitted object (P or IO) is almost exclusively used when the object is non-specific. For instance, in (26) the use of the antipassive is impossible because the object is specific, even though it has not been overtly mentioned.

(26) Kuban Kabardian (elicited)
a. *mədej* *f̣əje-dəde-t-jə* *s-jə-q̇ʷe-m* ***jə-leṣ̂-a.***
here dirty-INTF-IPF-ADD 1SG.PR-POSS-SON-OBL 3SG.ERG-wipe-PST
'It was very dirty here, but my son wiped it.'
b. **mədej* *f̣əje-dəde-t-jə* *s-jə-q̇ʷe-r* ***leṣ̂-a.***
here dirty-INTF-IPF-ADD 1SG.PR-POSS-SON-ABS wipe.ANTIP-PST
Intended: 'It was very dirty here, but my son wiped.'

By contrast, example (27) is a good context for the antipassive, because the focus is on the activities customarily not performed on a specific day, while the exact objects of these activities are unknown and irrelevant.

(27) Besleney Kabardian (textual example)
ja-nəse-xe-r *mejrem-max^{w}e-m*
3PL.PR+POSS-daughter.in.law-PL-ABS Friday-day-OBL
pχanč'e-xe-q̇əm, ***de-xe-q̇əm***
wipe.ANTIP-PL-NEG sew.ANTIP-PL-NEG
'Their daughters-in-law don't wipe and don't sew on Fridays.'

Likewise, with the verbs of asking, the bivalent pattern is used only when the addressee is expressed, as in (28a). If only the sentential complement is present as in (28b), it is not eligible for morphosyntactic argumenthood and hence the monovalent antipassive verb is used (see more on these verbs below).

(28) Kuban Kabardian (elicited)
a. *pŝaŝe-r* *ṣ̂ale-m* ***je-λeʔ^{w}ə-ne*** *məʔerəse*
girl-ABS boy-OBL DAT-ask-FUT apple
q̇ə-x^{w}-jə-hə-n-əw
DIR-BEN-3PL.ERG-bring-MSD-ADV
'The girl will ask the boy to bring her an apple.'
b. *pŝaŝe-r* ***me-λaʔ^{w}e*** *kencertə-m* *də-q̇e-k̟^{w}e-n-əw*
girl-ABS DYN-ask.ANTIP concert-OBL 1PL.ABS-DIR-go-MSD-ADV
'The girl is asking that we go to the concert.'

However, there are some exceptions to this, where the antipassive form does not require the second argument of the base verb to be irrelevant, unknown or non-specific, moreover, when this second argument is overtly expressed. This can happen when the object is not a canonical argument, i.e. not a noun phrase. Thus, in (29a), the second participant, i.e. the goal of 'look', is expressed with an adjunct locative phrase. Although this expression can be regarded as filling the semantic valency of the verb, it has no chance to be morphosyntactically encoded as the second argument,[8] because phrases marked with the adverbial suffix *-ew* never trigger verbal agreement, in contrast to NPs marked by the absolutive or oblique cases or unmarked personal pronouns, as in (29b) with a pronominal goal.

8. As an anonymous reviewer notes, there is another way of analyzing the structure in (29a), i.e. as involving a manner adverb. However, this point of view does not seem to be plausible, since the very possibility to have a directional adverbial is directly connected with the semantics of the situation 'look'.

(29) Temirgoy Adyghe (elicited)
a. *ç'ale-r č'əž'-ew* ***ma-pλe***.
boy-ABS far-ADV DYN-look.ANTIP
'The boy is looking far away.'
b. *ç'ale-r se* ***s-e-pλə***.
boy-ABS 1SG 1SG.IO-DAT-look
'The boy is looking at me.'

The antipassive may be used with perception or speech verbs when their second argument is a clause rather than an NP. Thus, in (30) the bivalent structure is used with the verb *deʔʷə* 'listen' because its second argument is the noun *wered* 'song', while in (31) the second argument is a complement clause and the monovalent structure with the antipassive *deʔʷe* is used (in both examples, the final vowel is elided before the vowel of the suffix, however, the argument structure is clearly visible from the cross-referencing prefixes).

(30) Besleney Kabardian (textual example)
zeč'e-r-jə weredə-m ***je-deʔʷ-əw*** *… šʼə-s-a-xe*.
all-ABS-ADD song-OBL DAT-listen-ADV LOC-sit-PST-PL.ABS
'All the people were sitting listening to songs.'

(31) Kuban Kabardian (elicited)
nebgər-jə-ṭə-r z-e-χʷen-t-jə
person-LNK-two-ABS RECP.IO-DAT-quarrel-IPF-ADD
s-ḟe-ʁeṣeʁʷen-əw ***sə-deʔʷ-a***
1SG.IO-BEN-interesting-ADV 1SG.ABS-listen.ANTIP-PST
'I listened with interest how the two men were quarreling.' (lit. 'The two men were quarreling, and I listened with interest.')

While in (29a) 'far away' can be said to be indefinite, this is not the case in (31), where the subordinate clause encodes a definite specific situation.

Thus we see that while with activity-denoting verbs the main function of the antipassive is to background the object when it is non-specific or irrelevant, with verbs of speech and perception the use of the bivalent vs. the antipassive variant is sensitive to the syntactic status of the object participant.

In fact, there are several other cases in Circassian when the second argument of the base verb is retained in the antipassive construction. Notably, all such cases are lexically restricted. The first case concerns the genuine bivalent antipassives, i.e. antipassive verbs that encode the original P as their own indirect object argument. We have found only three such verbs: 'read', 'drink' and 'lick'; for all of them, the opposition between the transitive and the antipassive variants is related to telicity: the transitive version emphasizes the completion of the event, while the antipassive

focuses on the activity phase. The verb 'read' has been already exemplified above; the verb 'drink' is special in that its transitive variant contains an obligatory locative prefix *jə-*/*r-* 'inside a container', which does not seem to have a transparent synchronic function (although it could be argued that it refers to the vessel with liquid, such an interpretation is by no means possible for all examples) and is absent from the antipassive variant, as in (32).

(32) Standard Adyghe (textual examples)
a. *mwe č'ale-m sena-bže-r ə-št-jə … sane-r*
that boy-OBL wine-horn-ABS 3SG.ERG-take-ADD wine-ABS
r-jə-ŝʷə-ʁ
LOC-3SG.ERG-drink-PST
'That guy took the horn and … drank the wine.'
b. *sane-m* ***w-je-ŝʷe-ze***,
wine-OBL 2SG.ABS-DAT-drink.ANTIP-CVB.SIM
qə-zə-w-a-we-xe-č'e…
DIR-REL.TEMP-2SG.IO-DAT-hit-PL.ABS-INS
'When they [the snakes] bit you while you were drinking wine…'

It is worth noting that the bivalent antipassives can be also used without an indirect object, if the latter is unknown to the speaker or irrelevant. However, even in such cases the dative applicative prefix cannot be omitted, as in (33).

(33) Temirgoy Adyghe (textual example)
č'ele-ʔʷəšə-ʁ, aw thaməč'e-t-jə, ****(je-)ǯ'e-ŝʷə-ʁ-ep***.
boy-clever-PST but poor-CS-ADD *(DAT-)read-HBL-PST-NEG
'He was a clever boy, but poor and hence illiterate (lit. could not read).'

This can be regarded as the indication of the ban on the recursive application of the antipassive: the transitive verb *ǯə* 'read smth. (through)' corresponds to the antipassive *jeǯe* 'read smth.', and the antipassive of the latter cannot be formed.

With a number of antipassive verbs the second argument can be expressed as a locative object introduced by a locative applicative; this is possible only if the P itself is a location, as in (34).

(34) Kuban Kabardian (elicited)
a. *w-jə-wəne-r* ***pχenč'!***
2SG.PR-POSS-room-ABS sweep(IMP)
'Sweep your room!'
b. *w-jə-wəne-m* ***ŝə-pχanč'e!***
2SG.PR-POSS-room-OBL LOC-sweep.ANTIP(IMP)
'Sweep in your room!'

Obviously, the semantic relations between the object and the verb in (34a) and (34b) are not identical: while (34a) suggests that the whole room has to be cleaned and the event is construed as a telic accomplishment, in (34b) no such implication is necessary, and the sentence rather denotes an atelic activity. Other verbs whose antipassives can take locative arguments of this type are 'wash', 'plough', 'dig' and 'sow'.

The antipassives with locative indirect objects can be contrasted with the case of the intransitive verb 'ask (a question)', which in its bivalent use with the dative applicative takes as its object the person to whom the question is addressed, see (35a). Its antipassive can occur in a monovalent frame not implying any particular addressee (35b), but more frequently it occurs with a locative applicative Adyghe *ç̌'e-* / Kabardian *ŝe-* 'under', which in this case introduces the topic of the question, as in (35c).

(35) Temirgoy Adyghe (textual examples)

a. *jəλes-jə-x zə-nəbž' ŝewêžəje-m* ***je-wəpç̌ə-ʁ***
year-LNK-six REL.PR-age male.child-OBL DAT-ask-PST
'He asked a boy of the age of six.'

b. *ade səd s-ŝe-n faje-r?* ***qe-wəpç̌a-ʁ*** *sawəsərəqʷe*
PTC what 1SG.ERG-do-POT must-ABS DIR-ask.ANTIP-PST Sosruko
'Sosruko asked: What should I do?'

c. *jə-ç̌'eležʼaḳʷe-xe-r pesere λeχanə-m adəge-xe-m*
POSS-pupil-PL-ABS ancient epoch-OBL Adyghe-PL-OBL
qʷešən-xe-r zer-a-ŝə-šʼtə-ʁe-xe-m
vessel-PL-ABS REL.MNR-3PL.ERG-do-IPF-PST-PL.ABS-OBL
ç̌'e-wəpç̌a-ʁe-x
LOC-ask.ANTIP-PST-PL.ABS
'The pupils asked about the way Adygheans made pottery in ancient times.'

Another possibility to express the original P of the transitive verb in the antipassive is by means of an adjunct in the instrumental case (suffix *-ç̌'e*). This case marker is extremely polyfunctional (see e.g. Serdobolskaya 2011), and besides instrument and means also express certain spatial and more abstract meanings. In the antipassive construction, the instrumental may encode the original P of the base verb if its semantic relation to the verb can be construed as falling within one of the functions of the instrumental, e.g. means with such verbs as 'sow' and 'eat', as in (36), or direction or goal with verbs of perception, as in (37). Note that in (36) the transitive pattern is used with the definite object and the event is telic, while the antipassive is employed when the object is non-specific and the whole sentence is generic. This is not the case in (37), where both the object of the transitive use and the instrumental-marked noun in the antipassive construction are definite. Here, factors other than telicity and definiteness seem to be relevant for the distribution

of variants. Perhaps, the key factor is the class of object: in (37a), the indirect object position is filled by the stimulus of perception 'song', while in (37b), the peripheral argument 'radio' has a role close to an instrument. However, other parameters can also be relevant.

(36) Kuban Kabardian (elicited)

a. *lə-r* ***jə-š'x-a***
meat-ABS 3SG.ERG-eat-PST
'S/he ate the meat.'

b. *ɕəxʷ-xe-r* *lə-č'e* ***ma-š'xe***
man-PL-ABS meat-INS DYN-eat.ANTIP
'Humans eat meat.'

(37) Kuban Kabardian (elicited)

a. *fatime wered=daxe-m* ***je-deʔʷə-ne***
Fatima song=beautiful-OBL DAT-listen-FUT
'Fatima will listen to a beautiful song.'

b. *zerine haləve j-e-ʂ* *jəč'ja* *radio-m-č'e*
Zarine pancake 3SG.ERG-DYN-do and radio-OBL-INS
me-daʔʷe
DYN-listen.ANTIP
'Zarina is making pancakes and listening to the radio.'

Finally, at least one antipassive can attach the dative applicative, which, however, corresponds not to the P of the transitive base verb, but to a different participant. This is the case of the verb 'steal', which in its transitive version takes the stolen object as the absolutive P and usually denotes a specific act of stealing (38a), whereas its monovalent antipassive is rather used to describe a habit of stealing with no specific object (38b).[9]

(38) Kuban Kabardian (elicited)

a. *ʂale-m* *aχše-r* ***jə-dəʁʷə-ne***
boy-OBL money-ABS 3SG.ERG-steal-FUT
'The guy will steal the money.'

b. *mew ʂale-r* *ʔej-we* ***me-dəʁʷe-rjə*** *xʷe-saq̇*
that boy-ABS bad-ADV DYN-steal.ANTIP-ADD BEN-careful(IMP)
'Take care, that guy often steals.'

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9. Recall that the habitual reading (as well as other readings related to plurality of situations) is widely attested in antipassive constructions and their analogues, e.g. in Slavic and Oceanic languages. For instance, the Russian verb *kusat'sja* 'bite (antipassive)' can only be used in the imperfective aspect and usually has a habitual or iterative reading.

However, the antipassive variant of 'steal' can also be used with the dative applicative, which in this case introduces the source or maleficiary of the act of stealing; this bivalent antipassive can be used in episodic contexts like (39).

(39) Kuban Kabardian (elicited)
jəλes jəčʼa-m de ***q̇ə-d-e-dəʁʷ-a-xe***
year past-PST 1PL DIR-1PL.IO-DAT-steal.ANTIP-PST-PL.ABS
'We were robbed last year.' (lit. they stole on us)

The maleficiary of an act of stealing can be expressed with the transitive verb as well, but only as an indirect object introduced by the dedicated malefactive applicative, as in (40).

(40) Kuban Kabardian (elicited)
ʂ̣ale-m aχše-r ***s-f̈-jə-dəʁʷə-ne***
boy-OBL money-ABS 1SG.IO-MAL-3SG.ERG-steal-FUT
'The guy will steal money from me.'

If we take arguments introduced by the dative applicative to be more core-like than those added by the dedicated applicatives, the verb 'steal' seems to behave similarly to 'drink' and 'read'. Both verbs have a transitive pattern with two core arguments (if we assume that in examples like (40), the maleficiary is not a core argument) and an intransitive pattern, also with two core arguments. While the semantic difference between the two patterns is greater in the case of 'steal' (there the objects of the transitive and the intransitive variants have different roles: Theme with the transitive variant and Maleficiary in the intransitive one) than in the case of 'drink' or 'read', syntactically, the situation is much the same.

6. Typological outlook and conclusions

The types of antipassive attested in the Circassian languages are listed in Table 2. As follows from the table, some theoretically possible types are not found: unmarked antipassives never express their objects (with marked antipassives, the initial object can sometimes be retained), likewise, with indirect antipassives, the object is never overtly expressed.

As we have shown in this paper, Circassian languages possess an unusual type of antipassive we call indirect antipassive. This operation is similar to the canonical antipassive in that it eliminates the object (= non-agent) argument of the verb. However, the difference is that the indirect antipassive eliminates an indirect object of a bivalent intransitive verb in the same way as the canonical antipassive removes or demotes the direct object (P) of a transitive verb. The indirect antipassive does

Table 2. Types of antipassive in Circassian

Morphology	Transitivity of the base verb	Object expression	Adyghe example
marked	transitive	unexpressed	*txe* 'write'
marked	transitive	expressed (bivalent antipassive)	*jeŝʷe* 'drink'
unmarked	transitive	unexpressed	*ŝe* 'sell'
unmarked	transitive	expressed (bivalent antipassive)	not found
marked	intransitive (indirect antipassive)	unexpressed	*bewe* 'kiss'
marked	intransitive (indirect antipassive)	expressed (bivalent antipassive)	not found
unmarked	intransitive (indirect antipassive)	unexpressed	*ceqe* 'bite'
unmarked	intransitive (indirect antipassive)	expressed	not found

not affect the transitivity of the verb, which remains intransitive, and its subject retains its absolutive marking.

The Circassian antipassive is especially interesting, provided that Adyghe and Kabardian are uncontroversially ergative in their morphology and to a certain extent in their syntax as well (see e.g. Lander 2012; Letuchiy 2012). In a language displaying ergative features in its morphosyntax, we would expect the antipassive to pattern ergatively, i.e. to affect only transitive verbs, target their P argument and advance the A argument to the S position. However, as it turns out, the Circassian antipassive is insensitive to transitivity and affects the P of transitive verbs and the IO of intransitive verbs alike, and thus can be considered as organized accusatively, rather than ergatively. Indeed, in the Circassian antipassive construction any object argument (but that introduced by a dedicated applicative) is eliminated, and any subject argument (be it S of intransitive verbs or A of transitive ones) is retained.

Antipassive is primarily taken to be characteristic of ergative languages, and even though it has been argued (Heath 1976; Polinsky 2005b; Say 2008; Janic 2013) that purely nominative-accusative languages may well have antipassive derivations, Heaton (2017: 116–117) has convincingly shown on the basis of a huge cross-linguistic sample that for ergative languages to have an antipassive is much more common than for languages without (morphological) ergativity. This link between antipassives and alignment usually gets a functional explanation. Since antipassivization affects the P argument of a transitive verb, which in morphologically and especially in syntactically ergative languages shows some degree of grammatical prominence, the antipassive is a means to manipulate the mapping between semantic participants and core syntactic functions. In ergative languages, when the absolutive argument is eliminated or demoted to an oblique, the base A of the transitive verb is assigned the status of S of an intransitive verb and absolutive encoding, thus becoming eligible for certain syntactic operations, e.g. relativization or infinitival control (see e.g. Kazenin 1994b for an overview).

The existence of indirect antipassives in Circassian shows that the traditional analysis of antipassive as an operation demoting the P argument of transitive verbs is inappropriate for these languages and that even in morphologically clearly ergative languages antipassive may behave in a nominative-accusative way. If antipassive can be used to eliminate the indirect objects of bivalent intransitive verbs, then its function can be neither the suppression of the privileged absolutive (since the indirect antipassive does not target the absolutive) nor the promotion of the original A to the privileged absolutive function (since, again, with intransitive verbs the S is absolutive to begin with and remains intact under antipassivization).

However, the "indirect antipassive" found in the Circassian languages is a cross-linguistically very infrequent phenomenon, in fact, a clear case of typological *rarum* in terms of Plank (no date) and Cysouw & Wohlgemuth (2010). To date, we are not aware of any other language where the antipassive derivation would affect both transitive and extended intransitive verbs in a similar fashion. Nevertheless, we suspect that this may be at least partly due to the *a priori* restriction to transitive verbs built into the definitions of antipassives, rather than only to extreme rarity of Circassian-like structures in the real empirical data. The only comparable phenomenon we know of is the antipassive in the Atlantic languages Wolof and Sereer, that preferably targets the recipient of ditransitive verbs like 'give' (see Nouguier-Voisin 2002: 308–315; Creissels & Nouguier-Voisin 2008: 297–298 on Wolof and Renaudier 2011 on Sereer); however, no data is available on the application of this derivation to bivalent intransitive verbs, and neither is it clear whether the recipient argument in the Atlantic languages is syntactically an indirect object (and not a primary object).

In general, in the domain of object-affecting operations an asymmetry seems to exist between valency increase and valency decrease in their relations to transitivity. Two features: "valency increase" vs. "valency decrease" and "change in transitivity" vs. "no change of transitivity" yield four possible values shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Valency change and transitivity

	+transitivity change	−transitivity change
valency increase	applicative adding a DO	applicative adding an IO
valency decrease	antipassive	??

According to the received view in typology, one of the four cells, i.e. valency decrease without a change in transitivity, remains empty. Indeed, while applicatives can add either a direct object (admittedly the cross-linguistically most common case, see Peterson 2007) or an indirect object (at least Kartvelian and North-West Caucasian languages), antipassives only eliminate a direct object, not an indirect

object. Most languages, when they need to remove an indirect object from the valency frame of the verb, do not employ any special marking (such option, as we have seen, exists in Circassian as well, but is a minor pattern). As we have shown, Circassian languages fill this empty cell with their indirect antipassive.

The aforementioned asymmetry between the demotion or elimination of a direct object and that of an indirect object can be explained semantically: languages usually do not employ any special marking for the elimination of indirect objects because these are low in prominence to begin with and are not always clearly distinguishable from optional adjuncts. By contrast, the addition of an IO is nevertheless often specially marked, because the exact semantic role of the new IO (recipient, benefactive, malefactive, instrument, etc.) is not always obvious, especially in languages, which, like Circassian, do not distinguish between these semantic roles by means of flagging, and because its addition can change the semantics of the whole predicate. What makes the Circassian case special and can probably serve as a hypothetical explanation of the cross-linguistically exceptional behavior of its antipassive is the existence of a large class of extended intransitive verbs encoding many basic two-participant situations, a number of which are expressed by morphosyntactically transitive verbs in other languages. The second argument of these verbs (e.g. the person who is kissed or asked or the stimulus of looking or listening) is an integral participant of the situation that can be assigned no less discourse prominence than the P of genuinely transitive verbs, and hence its removal from the argument structure requires special morphological marking.

The antipassive in Circassian languages can be regarded as a "lexical" or "derivational" rather than an "inflectional" or "syntactic" operation (we use scare quotes since the divide between inflection and derivation, or lexicon and morphosyntax, in Circassian languages, as in polysynthetic languages in general, is fairly problematic, see e.g. Lander 2016; Lander & Testelets 2017). Although antipassive applies to many verbs of the relevant semantically defined classes (e.g. transitive verbs denoting specialized types of activities with a strong manner component), it can hardly be called really productive. Moreover, there are restrictions on the formation of the antipassive, e.g. the ban on the antipassivization of morphologically causative verbs.

Generally speaking, the Circassian antipassive falls into the class of antipassives primarily sensitive to the discourse-pragmatic properties of the object, such as relevance or specificity. However, interestingly, the Circassian antipassive, especially when it applies to extended intransitive verbs of speech and perception, is also sensitive to the syntactic type of the object argument: the antipassive can be used when the object is expressed syntactically not as an NP but as an adverbial or a complement clause and, thus, cannot trigger verbal agreement and be formally encoded as an argument. Therefore, the antipassive in Circassian languages has

both functional semantic and formal motivation, the latter being related to the general way argument structure is encoded in the polysynthetic morphology of these languages. The same reasoning applies to the often non-trivial interactions between the antipassive and the applicative system in these languages. Thus, on the one hand, verbs with the "dative" applicative can serve as both a valid input to, and a possible output of, the antipassive, albeit in different cases. On the other hand, the dedicated applicatives, being in general unaffected by antipassivization (with a possible peculiar exception of 'hope'), can attach to the antipassive adding to it an extra argument, sometimes related to the demoted object of the original verb.

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Abbreviations

Interlinear glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, additional abbreviations are as follows:

ADD	additive	LOC	locative preverb
CS	causal	MAL	malefactive
DAT	dative applicative	MNR	manner
DIR	directional preverb	MSD	masdar
DYN	dynamic	POT	potential
ELAT	elative	PR	possessor

FCT	factive
HBL	habilitive
INTF	intensifier
IO	indirect object
IPF	imperfect
LNK	linking morpheme
PTC	particle
RE	refactive
SIM	simultaneous
TEMP	temporal
TH	thematic suffix

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CHAPTER 16

Antipassives in Nakh-Daghestanian languages

Exploring the margins of a construction

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Several Nakh-Daghestanian languages present constructions that are candidate antipassives, in that the construction is intransitive and is (at least sometimes) related to a corresponding transitive construction, with A of the transitive construction appearing as S of the intransitive, and P of the transitive either corresponding to an oblique in the intransitive or being omitted. All Nakh-Daghestanian antipassives are lexically restricted, and their function is typically to shift aspectual value in the direction of durativity, atelicity, iterativity, etc. However, only Dargwa restricts the construction to transitive verbs, while other languages also allow it with intransitive verbs, in which case there is no change in argument structure. We explore the implications of this for the definition of "antipassive" from the perspective of canonical typology.

Keywords: antipassive, Nakh-Daghestanian languages, transitivity, aktionsart, canonical typology

1. Introduction

Our aim in this article is to explore constructions that have been called antipassive in the analysis of selected Nakh-Daghestanian languages against the general background of the typology of antipassive constructions, since certain unusual properties of these constructions (in particular extension to verbs other than transitive verbs) allow one to probe the boundaries of the notion "antipassive".

Recent work on antipassive constructions has reached a large degree of consensus on what morphosyntactic features should characterize a canonical antipassive

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construction (e.g. Dixon 1994: 146), with (1) being a distillation in our own terminology.[1]

(1) Characteristics of the antipassive construction:
1. The antipassive is intransitive and is related to a corresponding transitive construction.
2. The A of the related transitive corresponds to the S of the antipassive.[2]
3. The P of the related transitive corresponds to an oblique in the antipassive, or is omitted, though there is always the possibility of inclusion. (But cf. Janic 2013: 19–20, who questions whether the possibility of inclusion is necessary.)
4. There is explicit formal marking of the antipassive. (But cf. Janic 2013: 19–20, who argues that this criterion is unnecessary, at least for ergative languages – all the languages we discuss in the body of this paper are ergative.)

To these one might add:

5. The antipassive construction is productive. (Polinsky (2013) finds that in her sample of languages with antipassives, 24 have a productive, 14 a partially productive, and 2 a non-productive antipassive. Overall, incidentally, there is no clear correlation with accusative versus ergative case marking.)

Points (1)–(3) (without the stipulation that the P must be expressible in the antipassive) correspond to the definition as given in Janic & Witzlack-Makarevich (this volume). Points (4) and (5) have been added since they are frequently included in

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1. The late Helma van den Berg left behind a rich collection of material with analysis on antipassive constructions in Nakh-Daghestanian languages, in particular van den Berg (2003). We have incorporated her contribution into this article in a way and to an extent that clearly merits the role of a co-author, although she is of course not responsible for the errors and misinterpretations of the other authors. Although all three of the other authors bear overall responsibility for the article as a whole and specifically for Section 6, Comrie is responsible primarily for Sections 1, 3, and the Tsez material (incl. in Section 2.2), Forker for Sections 4, 5, and the Dargwa, Godoberi, and Hinuq material (incl. in Section 2), and Khalilova for the Avar and Bezhta material (incl. in Sections 2.2 and 2.3). Except where otherwise specified, all data are from our own fieldwork. Earlier versions of some of this material were presented at the conference Diversity Linguistics: Retrospect and Prospect (Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig, 1–3 May 2015) and at the workshop Correlations of Valency-Changing Operations Within and Across Languages (46th Poznań Linguistic Meeting, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, 15–17 September 2016). We are grateful to all who have commented on earlier versions of our work, in particular the volume editors and the internal and external reviewers for our article.

2. The meaning of the abbreviations is as follows: S = single core argument of intransitive clauses; A = more agent-like argument of transitive clauses; P = more patient-like argument of transitive clauses.

discussions of the antipassive. We return below to a preliminary assessment of these five features in Nakh-Daghestanian, with more detailed discussion of individual languages in the body of the article.

In terms of function, two main functions of antipassive constructions have been identified:

a. The antipassive serves to make the A of the corresponding transitive accessible to syntactic processes that are not directly accessible to A in the transitive construction. This is well-known, for instance, from Dixon's description of the Australian Aboriginal language Dyirbal (Dixon 1972). In Nakh-Daghestanian languages, major syntactic processes are not in general sensitive to differences in grammatical relations, so one would not expect to find constructions that increase the accessibility of noun phrases, and indeed this function of the antipassive is not found in Nakh-Daghestanian languages.
b. The antipassive serves to make the construction less transitive in the extended sense of transitivity, not restricted to argument structure, introduced by Hopper & Thompson (1980), most typically by shifting the aspectual value in the direction of durativity, atelicity, iterativity, etc. As will be seen in the body of the article, this is the major function of the antipassive across Nakh-Daghestanian languages. Possibly all the Nakh-Daghestanian formations can be subsumed semantically under the general heading of 'durative', with particular interpretations (e.g. iterative) then following from the interaction of durativity with the lexical semantics of the given verb.[3]

The Nakh-Daghestanian (also called East Caucasian) language family is indigenous to the North Caucasus, primarily the republics of Dagestan, Chechnya, and Ingushetia in the Russian Federation, with some spill-over into Azerbaijan and Georgia. Figure 1 shows one current conception of the relations among the major sub-groups of languages in the family, although not all aspects of this sub-grouping are uncontroversial. The terminal nodes of Figure 1 are all well-defined genealogical units (with Avar, Lak, and Khinalugh consisting each of one language).

The Nakh-Daghestanian languages provide evidence that probes the boundary of what counts as an antipassive construction, although different languages do so in different ways. Candidate antipassive constructions are attested in the following Nakh-Daghestanian languages: Avar, some Andic languages (e.g. Godoberi), all Tsezic languages except Khwarshi, and Dargwa languages. They are absent, at least on the basis of existing descriptions, from the Nakh languages, from some

3. For the derivation and interpretation of durative/iterative verbs in the Tsezic languages, including formations that do not involve the antipassive, see Comrie & Khalilov (2007).



Figure 1. Major sub-groups of Nakh-Daghestanian languages

Andic languages (e.g. Bagvalal), from Lak, from several Lezgic languages (including Lezgian), and from Khinalugh. The antipassive of Dargwa is in many respects quite different from that of the other Nakh-Daghestanian languages that have an antipassive, and this binary distinction between Dargwa and the rest – in the present state of our knowledge, these are all from the Avar-Andic-Tsezic branch – is an important feature structuring the detailed discussion below.

Nakh-Daghestanian languages have ergative case marking. In most Nakh-Daghestanian languages at least some verbs show gender/number agreement with the argument in the absolutive case (S and P). Person marking is rather rare, but is found, for instance, in Batsbi (Nakh branch), Dargwa languages, Lak, Tabasaran, and Udi (the last two from the Lezgic branch). In terms of the typology proposed by Nichols et al. (2004), Nakh-Daghestanian languages are transitivizing languages, i.e. verb roots have a strong tendency to be basically intransitive and to require overt derivation to make them transitive, with a productive causative derivation being typical of the family. One might therefore expect to find fewer or more restricted detransitivizing processes, such as the antipassive, and this is indeed the case, as indicated above, with candidate antipassive constructions only in a subset of the languages; and as will be shown in the detailed discussion in the body of the article, even those languages that have an antipassive subject it to numerous restrictions.

Before providing an overview of the major clause types and their argument structure properties it is useful to clarify a few terminological issues. By "argument structure" we mean the number of arguments that are governed by a predicate and their morphosyntactic properties. By "argument" we refer to a noun phrase (or adpositional phrase, though we are not aware of any occurring as arguments in Daghestanian languages) that is governed by the predicate, i.e. that either is

obligatory or whose form (in Daghestanian languages this is by means of case) is determined by the predicate. By "oblique argument" we mean arguments other than core arguments, and by "adjunct" we refer to any noun phrase or adpositional phrase that is a constituent of a clause (and not of another noun phrase) and that is not an argument, i.e. that is not governed by the predicate. The term "oblique" covers both oblique arguments and adjuncts.

In discussing the argument structure properties of verbs and clauses in Nakh-Daghestanian languages, it is conventional to identify a set of constructions with the labels as presented below, with illustrative examples from Hunzib (van den Berg 1995: 122–124).

Intransitive clauses have a single core argument. This stands in the absolutive case, and gender-number agreement, if any, will be with this single argument, as in (2).

(2) Hunzib
kid *y-ut'-ur*
girl(II).ABS II-sleep-PST
'The girl slept.'

In (2), the single core argument is in the absolutive case; in all Nakh-Daghestanian languages this is identical to the citation form, and in the body of the article we do not usually explicitly gloss this case. The noun *kid* 'girl' belongs to gender II, and the verb takes the gender II singular prefix.

Transitive clauses have two core arguments, A and P. A stands in the ergative case, P in the absolutive. Gender-number agreement, if any, will be with the P, as in (3).

(3) Hunzib
iyu-l *hαrα* *b-oho-r*
mother(II)-ERG cow(IV).ABS IV-feed-PST
'Mother fed the cow.'

In (3) the verb agrees with the P *hαrα* 'cow', which is of gender IV, and not with the A 'mother' (gender II), which stands in the ergative case.

Affective clauses, whose predicates correspond semantically to expressions of perception, emotion, etc., also have two core arguments, an experiencer in an oblique case – the choice of case varies from language to language – and a stimulus in the absolutive case. If the verb allows gender-number agreement, this will be with the stimulus, as in (4).

(4) Hunzib
ožd-i *kid* *y-ãc'ə-r*
boy(I)-DAT girl(II).ABS II-see-PST
'The boy saw the girl.'

In (4), the verb prefix indexes the gender-number of the stimulus *kid* 'girl', which belongs to gender II, not that of the experiencer.

Some other argument structure patterns are found in at least some Nakh-Daghestanian languages, and if relevant to our discussion will be explained as they occur. At this point we do however, mention one further pattern that is found in Hunzib (and also in Bezhta), namely the unergative construction, in which the verb has a single argument that appears in the ergative rather than the absolutive case, as in (5). The set of verbs with this argument structure is highly restricted, consisting basically of onomatopoetic items, and none of them shows gender-number agreement.

(5) Hunzib
hɑrɑ-l *heƛe-r*
COW-ERG MOO-PST
'The cow mooed.'

The order of major constituents in the clause is syntactically free, correlating with differences in information structure.

With these preliminaries, we can now start a provisional examination, to be continued in more detail in the body of the article, of how Nakh-Daghestanian languages match up against the criteria in (1). We will start with a pair of examples (6) from Bezhta (Tsezic branch).

(6) Bezhta
a. *öž-di* *xo* *y-ü^{n}q-čä*
boy-OBL.ERG meat(IV) IV-eat-PRS
'The boy eats the meat.'
b. *öžö* *xo-lo-d* *Ø-ü^{n}q-dä-š*
boy(I).ABS meat-OBL-INS I-eat-ANTIP-PRS
'The boy is busy eating the meat.'

Sentence (6a) is a typical transitive clause. The A, 'boy', is in the ergative case and does not trigger agreement in the verb. Bezhta *öžö* 'boy' belongs to gender I, while the verb has an agreement prefix of class IV, thus agreeing with the P 'meat' in the absolutive case (identical to the citation form). In the corresponding antipassive construction (6b), the correspondent of the A of (6a) is an S and therefore in the absolutive case, and also the trigger for verb agreement, whence the gender I prefix on the verb. Although this prefix is zero, it contrasts paradigmatically with all other possible gender-number prefixes and is therefore clearly an indication of gender I. In (6b), the correspondent of the P of (6a) is an oblique in the instrumental case; it could be omitted, to give the meaning 'the boy is busy eating', but it can be included. The pair (6a–b) thus illustrates the first three criteria from (1). It also illustrates the

fourth criterion, since the verb in (6b) requires an overt antipassive suffix. The pair in (6a–b) might therefore seem to be a canonical exemplar of an antipassive and its corresponding transitive.

However, both internally to Bezhta and even more so if we look across other Nakh-Daghestanian languages with pairs like (6a–b), some problems arise with regard to the fit between the full range of examples and the criteria set out in (1). It will be useful to consider the criteria individually.

Criterion 1 says that the antipassive construction is in relation to a corresponding transitive, with a particular relation between S, A, and P of the two constructions. Almost without exception in our Nakh-Daghestanian material, if the verb in the antipassive construction is lexically transitive (i.e. the base verb from which the antipassive is derived is transitive), then we have the transitivity relation as in (6a–b). However, the Dargwa languages are the only Nakh-Daghestanian languages with a candidate antipassive construction that restrict the occurrence of (b) sentences to corresponding transitive (a) sentences. In the other languages, the same verb formation can also be used with intransitive verbs, with the same meaning shift, but without any change of argument structure, as in (7), where 'boys' is the S of both (7a) and (7b), and the verb in both sentences agrees in gender-number with that S.

(7) Bezhta
  a. *öž-dä* *b-ogi<ba>c'-iyo*
  boy-PL.ABS HPL-jump<PL>-PST
  'The boys jumped once.'
  b. *öž-dä* *b-ogi<ya-ba>c-ca*
  boy-PL.ABS HPL-jump<ANTIP-PL>-PRS
  'The boys jump many times.'

This would mean that sentences including this verb formation are antipassives when the verb is lexically transitive, but not if it is lexically intransitive. Given that the meaning difference between (7a) and (7b) parallels that between (6a) and (6b), one might therefore argue that the construction illustrated in (6b) and (7b) is actually an aktionsart, rather than being an antipassive in (6b), but not in (7b). But things are not so simple. First, this is not really a forced choice, since the characterization of (6b) as an antipassive relates to its syntactic form, while its characterization as an aktionsart relates to its semantics. The choice is thus as strange as being forced to decide whether the *-ed* of English *walked* is "really" a past tense suffix or an alveolar plosive; clearly, it is both, but at different levels of analysis. Second, simply classifying (6b) as an aktionsart variant of (6a) ignores the fact that there is an argument structure difference between the two, a difference that is moreover obligatory in the case of lexically transitive verbs.

In Bezhta, expression of the P of the transitive construction as an oblique with the antipassive is possible. This is also true of the otherwise somewhat different construction in the Dargwa languages. Otherwise, the languages investigated do not allow expression of the P in the antipassive. Such languages would thus be consistent with Janic's version of criterion (3), but not Dixon's.

With regard to overt marking of the antipassive, there is no overt marking in the Dargwa languages (other than changes in marking that follow automatically from the shift from transitive to intransitive clause structure), while in the other languages there is always a suffix marking the antipassive. All the languages would thus be consistent with Janic's version of the fourth criterion, while the Dargwa languages would not be consistent with Dixon's.

The fifth criterion, that of productivity, will be examined in detail for the individual languages in the body of the article, but for now we can say that all Nakh-Daghestanian languages with antipassive constructions have lexical restrictions on the formation. Not every verb, not even every transitive verb, can form a corresponding antipassive. Except in Dargwa, where there is no antipassive marker, each language has a number of antipassive markers, and there is no foolproof way of predicting which marker will be used with which verb, i.e. there is at least a high degree of lexicalization of formations even within those that do permit the antipassive.[4] Godoberi also differs from the other languages in that its antipassive marker is a converbal suffix, rather than obviously derivational. An interesting question is whether the restrictions on which verbs can form an antipassive follow from their lexical semantics. As the detailed discussion in the body of the article will show, there are indeed similarities across the languages that seem related to greater or lesser likelihood of it making sense to form a durative from a particular verb or verb class, but there are nonetheless differences across the languages, which suggests that the possibility of the formation is not simply predictable from the interaction of durativity and lexical semantics: different languages have different principles, at least in detail.

2. Avar-Andic-Tsezic languages

Section 2 examines the antipassive in Avar-Andi-Tsezic languages, with Section 2.1 devoted to Godoberi (the only Andic language for which so far the antipassive is attested), Section 2.2 to the Tsezic languages, and Section 2.3 to Avar. For each language (group), both formal (morphological, syntactic) and semantic-pragmatic factors are discussed.

4. In the present state of our knowledge, anything we might say about the etymology of antipassive markers would be speculative, and we prefer to refrain from this.

2.1 Godoberi

The antipassive does not seem to be a common construction across Andic languages. So far Godoberi is the only language from this branch for which an antipassive is attested. The antipassive is formed by means of the suffix *-a*, which is called "antipassive converb" in Kibrik (1996). For many verbs additional marking is required in the form of reduplication (e.g. *k'ardi* 'vomit', *t'urdi* 'drop', *k'anc'i* 'jump', (9d)). Some verbs need the addition of other suffixes such as *-(a)luq*, and a few verbs combine reduplication and suffixation. Whether additional marking is required and if so, which additional marking, is lexicalized and not predictable from the stem of the verb, so that the formation of the antipassive is irregular. The formation is morphologically restricted because it can be derived only from verbs with the thematic vowel *-i*. By contrast, verbs with thematic vowels *-a* and *-ã* do not form an antipassive, because the resulting form would be identical to the perfect converb (called "past converb" by Kibrik 1996) and can only be interpreted as a perfect converb. Due to the fact that the antipassive form of a verb is, in fact, a converb and therefore a nonfinite form of the respective verb, only those TAM forms can be formed that make use of converbs in combination with the copula as finite auxiliary, and synthetic TAM forms are excluded. In addition, the verbs inflected for the antipassive form the infinitive by means of the suffix *-ƛ̃i*, which is identical to the genitive and the INTER-essive suffix, and not by adding the otherwise standard infinitive suffixes. The formation of the antipassive is not fully productive and only attested for around 60 verbs, of which less than half are transitive (Kibrik 1996: 137, 139–140). Around half of the verbs given in the grammar are ideophones denoting ways of producing sounds, and the other verbs almost exclusively denote what are called 'work activities' in the grammar (e.g. 'thresh') and 'self-propelled/spontaneous movement' (e.g. 'shake, tremble' and 'fly').

The antipassive can be formed from intransitive and transitive as well as some S=A labile verbs. Semantically, the majority of the base verbs can be characterized as follows: they tend to be activities, i.e. they do not imply a natural limit. They usually have animate As and inanimate Ps (if transitive) as their core arguments. The Godoberi antipassive construction fulfills criteria 1–4 as stated in Section 1. There is an argument structure change from transitive to intransitive if the base verb is transitive. The ergative A of the source verb is marked with absolutive; the P of the source verb must be omitted (8a, b).

(8) Godoberi (Tatevosov 2011: 138)
a. *ʕali-di q'iru b-el-at-a-da*
Ali-ERG wheat N-thresh-PRS-CVB-COP
'Ali is threshing wheat.'

b. *ʕali w-ol-a-da*
Ali M-thresh-ANTIP.CVB-COP
'Ali is threshing.'

Intransitive verbs remain intransitive and preserve their single argument (9a–d).

(9) Godoberi (Kibrik 1996: 138; Tatevosov 2011: 141)
a. *matʼu girgis-at-a-da*
glass shake-PRS-CVB-COP
'The glass shakes.'
b. *matʼu girgis-a-da*
glass shake-ANTIP.CVB-COP
'The glass shakes.'
c. *maħamadi ʁumi*
Mohammed fall_asleep.PST
'Mohammed fell asleep.'
d. *maħamadi ʁumʁud-a-da* /
Mohammed fall_asleep.RED-ANTIP.CVB-COP /
**ʁum-a-da*.
fall_asleep-ANTIP.CVB-COP
'Mohammed is sleepy (sleeping and waking up all the time).'

In terms of function, the general meaning is durative and can be translated with 'be busy, be engaged'. It is relatively close to the meaning of biabsolutive constructions (see Section 4) because the A is highlighted. Speakers consistently comment that antipassive clauses are readily interpretable as answers to questions of the type "What is A doing? Where is A?" (8b). In a detailed analysis, Tatevosov (2011) argues that antipassive verbs in Godoberi are always atelic and that antipassivization should better be regarded as a detelicization operation that modifies the aktionsart of the predicate such that a telic interpretation is suppressed and only atelic interpretations remain. A verb such as 'thresh' can have an incremental theme as P argument (8a) and yield a telic interpretation. However, if the antipassive converb is used, a telic interpretation is blocked and thus the use of a temporal frame adverbial that implies an endpoint is ungrammatical (10a). Only the use of a durative adverbial is possible because of the atelicity of the predicate (10b).

(10) Godoberi (Tatevosov 2011: 143)
a. **ʕali kʼeda saʔati-χi w-ol-a w-ukʼa*
Ali two hour-INTER M-thresh-ANTIP.CVB M-be.PST
'Ali threshed (something) in two hours.'
b. *ʕali kʼeda saʔati-di w-ol-a w-ukʼa*
Ali two hour-ERG M-thresh-ANTIP.CVB M-be.PST
'Ali threshed/was threshing for two hours.'

Similarly, quantized paths such as the directional phrase 'to X' lead to telicity, but since antipassivization has only an atelic interpretation the resulting sentence is ungrammatical (11).

(11) Godoberi (Tatevosov 2011: 157)
*samalot burd-a b-uk'a (*maskwa-jalda)*
plane fly-ANTIP.CVB M-be.PST Moscow-LOC
'The plane flew/was flying (*to Moscow).'

Antipassive verbs sometimes acquire an additional semi-lexicalized meaning. For instance, *girgisada* (antipassive of 'shake') frequently means 'be feverish'.

2.2 Tsezic

All Tsezic languages except Khwarshi have an antipassive. Antipassive in Tsezic is a marked alternation and it is formed with the help of suffixes which are added directly to the stem: *-no/-(a)na* in Tsez, *-lī*, *-dō* in Hinuq, *-lā*, *-dā*, *-rā* in Hunzib, and *-la/ā*, *-da/ā*, *-ya/ā*, *-wa/ā* in Bezhta (see van den Berg 2003 for the distribution). The choice of allomorphs seems to be largely lexical. Detailed studies on productivity across the languages remain to be carried out, although in Bezhta of 77 verbs tested, 45 form the antipassive (Comrie et al. 2015: 552).

In the Tsezic languages, bearing in mind that Khwarshi lacks the antipassive and that we have insufficient data on Hunzib, all of Tsez,[5] Hinuq, and Bezhta can form antipassives from intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verbs. Bezhta can also form them from unergative verbs, but this class of verbs is lacking from the other two languages, which have straightforward intransitives as cognates or other translation equivalents. Tsez and Hinuq can also form an antipassive from some affective verbs, while this is not possible in Bezhta.

In Bezhta, the antipassive has restrictions on combination with other derivations that change argument structure: it cannot be formed from derived potential verbs, though it can be used with derived causatives of some affective verbs as well as all analytic causatives. In Hinuq, antipassive suffixes can co-occur with the (detransitivizing) potential suffix, e.g. *hize-ɬ-* 'separate (intr.)' and *hoze-ɬ-dō-* 'separate repeatedly'. In both Hinuq and Bezhta, antipassive suffixes can also be added to derived causatives and derived intransitives. In this case, the antipassive suffix follows the causative suffixes, e.g. Hinuq *-eq'i-* 'know' > *-eq'i-r-* 'learn, get to know' > *-eq'i-r-do-* 'rummage (in)', *haci-k'-* 'search' and *haci-k'-lī-* 'search repeatedly, a lot', etc. (for the Bezhta examples see Section 2.2.1 below). By contrast, in Hunzib

5. With regard to Tsez, our main data source is the entries labeled "frequentative" in Khalilov (1999).

(as well as in Avar, Section 2.3), the antipassive suffix comes first, followed by the causative, e.g. *m-ucu-laa-k'e-* (I-hide-ANTIP-CAUS-) (van den Berg 1995: 236). For some further discussion of Bezhta in particular, see Comrie et al. (2015); the general issue of suffix compatibility and ordering, however, requires further research.

2.2.1 *Tsezic: Syntactic properties*

There is no argument structure change in antipassives of intransitives (12a, b).

(12) Bezhta 'jump' (= (7))
a. *öž-dä b-ogi<ba>c'-iyo*
boy-PL.ABS HPL-jump<PL>-PST
'The boys jumped once.'
b. *öž-dä b-ogi<ya-ba>c-ca*
boy-PL.ABS HPL-jump<ANTIP-PL>-PRS
'The boys jump many times.'

In the antipassive construction of unergative verbs in Bezhta, S_A in the ergative shows up as S in the absolutive (13a, b). We do not have information about unergative verbs in Hunzib, and the other Tsezic languages lack them.

(13) Bezhta 'cough'
a. *öž-di öhƛö-yö*
boy-OBL.ERG cough-PST
'The boy coughed (once).'
b. *öžö öh-dā̄-yö*
boy cough-ANTIP-PST
'The boy was coughing.'

In the antipassive construction of transitive verbs, the ergative A of the source verb is marked with the absolutive. The absolutive P of the source verb is omitted (all Tsezic languages) or marked with instrumental (only in Bezhta). According to van den Berg (2003), the majority of the verbs preserve the P argument (but demote it to an oblique). The remaining verbs delete P, and only a handful of verbs allow for both demotion to oblique and deletion (14b, c). The demoted P argument can be morphologically singular or plural and semantically refer to a definite, specific referent (14d), but it can also be indefinite and non-specific. With those verbs that allow for demotion to oblique or omission of P we can often observe semantic differences in the meaning of the verb (14c) (see also Section 2.2.2).

(14) Bezhta 'eat'
a. *öž-di xo y-ü^{n}q-čä*
boy-OBL.ERG meat(IV) IV-eat-PRS
'The boy eats the meat.'

b. *öžö xo-lo-d Ø-ü^{n}q-dä-š*
boy(I) meat-OBL-INS I-eat-ANTIP-PRS
'The boy is busy eating the meat.'
c. *is Ø-ü^{n}q-dā̆-yö*
brother(I) I-eat-ANTIP-PST
'(My) brother lived a dishonest life.' (van den Berg, 2003)
d. Bezhta 'sing'
kid iyo-l b-ac-cala keč'-li-d iƛe-la-s
girl mother-LAT III-like-PTCP.PRS song(III)-OBL-INS sing-ANTIP-PRS
'The girl is busy singing the song that mother likes.'

Van den Berg (2003) found one instance of a derived causative verb which, when forming the antipassive, can in addition to the normal antipassive (15b) also preserve the patient in the absolutive (15c) (with a very specific anticausative reading, which is given in parentheses). This is highly unexpected for an antipassive construction.[6] With respect to argument structure, example (15c) is intransitive just like the base verb (15d).

(15) Bezhta
a. *is-t'i yäše b-öɣ<b>ök'ö-l-lö*
brother-OBL.ERG skin(IV) IV-be.crumpled<IV>-CAUS-PST
'(My) brother crumpled the skin.'
b. *is Ø-öɣ.ök'ö-l-dā̆-yö*
brother(I) I-be.crumpled.I-CAUS-ANTIP-PST
'(My) brother was crumpling (something).'
c. *yäše (biqo-d) b-öɣ<b>ök'ö-l-dā̆-yö*
skin(IV) (sun.OBL-INS) IV-be.crumpled<IV>-CAUS-ANTIP-PST
'The skin regularly/repeatedly crumpled (under the influence of the sun.)'
d. *(biqo-qa) yäše b-öɣ<b>ök'ö-yö*
(sun.OBL-AT) skin(IV) IV-be.crumpled<IV>-PST
'(Because of the sun) the skin crumpled.'

Tsez stands somewhat apart from the other Tsezic languages with regard to the interaction of transitive and antipassive. Usually, the derived verb, as in the other Tsezic languages, is intransitive, with omission of the P, as in (16).[7]

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6. She cites (15b) as ungrammatical although it is grammatical according to our consultant, and she cites a second example, which, however, is at most marginally acceptable (M. Khalilov, p.c.).

7. Examples (16) and (17) were originally provided by Ramazan Radzhabov, and have been rechecked with Arsen Abdulaev; the basic point was made in passing by Comrie (2000: 366).

(16) Tsez
xex-bi *kur-noy-xo*
child-PL.ABS throw-ANTIP-PRS
'The children are engaged in throwing.'

However, it is also possible to use the same verb form, with the same semantics, in an ordinary transitive construction, as in (17).

(17) Tsez
xex-z-ā *gamač'* *kur-noy-xo*
child-PL.OBL-ERG stone throw-ANTIP-PRS
'The children are engaged in throwing stones.'

Given the retention of transitive clause structure in (17), this example does not satisfy our definition of antipassive.

In the antipassive construction of ditransitive verbs, the ergative A of the ditransitive is marked with the absolutive. The absolutive P is omitted (all Tsezic languages) or appears in the instrumental (Bezhta).

(18) Bezhta 'give'
a. *öž-di* *t'ek* *kib-ba-l* *niƛ-iyo*
boy-OBL.ERG book girl-OBL-LAT give-PST
'The boy gave the book to the girl.'
b. *öžö* *kib-ba-l* *t'ek-lā-d* *niƛ-da-s*
boy girl-OBL-LAT book-PL.OBL-INS give-ANTIP-PRS
'The boy is busy giving books to the girl.'

The antipassive of affective verbs is only attested in Hinuq and Tsez, though we have detailed information only for Hinuq. When the antipassive is derived from affective verbs, there is either a change of the argument structure from two-place to one-place as with transitive verbs (19b) or no change of the argument structure (19c). In (19b) the antipassive construction of the affective verb requires only one argument in the absolutive case (as opposed to the two-place affective verb in (19a), which requires an experiencer in the dative and a stimulus in the absolutive). However, we cannot speak of patient demotion to oblique in (19b) since the oblique in the INTER-essive can hardly serve as a stimulus argument of the base verb 'hear', and there are no other instances of Hinuq antipassive constructions that employ an oblique in the INTER-essive case.

(19) Hinuq 'hear', 'forget' (Forker 2013a: 521)
a. *hayło-z* *keč'* *toq-o*
he.OBL-DAT song hear-PRS
'He hears a song.'

b. *hago t'ek-mo-za-ɬ toq-lī-ho*
he book-OBL-OBL.PL-INTER hear-ANTIP-PRS
'He often rummages in the books.'
c. *dіž debe rožі šuƛ'-o / šuƛ'e-dō-ho*
1SG.DAT 2SG.GEN word forget-PRS / forget-ANTIP-PRS
'I forget/often forget your words.'

In Bezhta, the antipassive construction of affective verbs is at best highly marginal. Antipassive formation is only possible from the derived causative of some affective verbs (which are transitive verbs), deriving an intransitive verb, e.g. *-at'-* 'to love, to want', and *-at'-il-da-* 'to cuddle repeatedly', *-iⁿqo-* 'to get' > *-iⁿqo-l-da-* 'to search for repeatedly', *čoq-* 'to inform' > *čoq-il-da-* 'to inform repeatedly'.

2.2.2 *Tsezic: Semantics and pragmatics*

The semantic and pragmatic functions of Tsezic antipassives are to a large extent similar to the ones discussed for the other Nakh-Daghestanian languages. The general meaning is durative, habitual and iterative. It is perhaps possible to say that the iterative interpretation derives from interaction with semelfactive lexical meaning. However, there are always verbs with which the antipassive meaning is unpredictable and rather idiosyncratic. For instance, with some derived causatives in Bezhta, the antipassive has an idiosyncratic meaning, e.g. *-iq'e-* 'to know' and *-iq'e-l-da-* 'to be busy learning', 'to think small, act on a small scale'. Van den Berg (2003) notes that with six verbs in Bezhta that allow for P deletion or demotion to oblique, the presence vs. absence of the demoted P has significant repercussions on the meaning of the construction (20b, c), (14c).

(20) Bezhta (van den Berg 2003)
a. *öž-di müšö püƛö-yö*
boy-OBL.ERG air blow-PST
'The boy blew air.'
b. *öžö müš-ä-d pü-wā̄-yö*
boy air-OBL-INS blow-ANTIP-PST
'The boy was blowing air.'
c. *öžö pü-wā̄-yö*
boy blow-ANTIP-PST
'The boy was boasting.'

Furthermore, van den Berg (2003) also observes that Bezhta antipassive constructions with singular definite non-collective P arguments express an additional semantic nuance of 'misachievement'. The construction implies that the agent does

not seem to be capable of achieving the effect of the activity (22a).[8] She concludes that in these cases affectedness of the patient, or rather the lack thereof, seems to play a major role. By contrast, in those instances in which the patient is, for instance, denoted by a mass noun or otherwise indefinite (and predominantly in the plural), individuation is at stake. The patient is not a definite, specific object whose properties are altered by means of the activity carried out by the agent. It is rather a kind of placeholder and the agent alone remains at the center of the described activity. This is illustrated in (21).

(21) Bezhta
öžö wedra-la-ʔ łii-d giť'-da-s
boy bucket-OBL-IN water.OBL-INS pour-ANTIP-PRS
'The boy is busy pouring water into the bucket.'

In both cases (i.e. singular definite non-collective P arguments with the 'misachievement' interpretation and mass/indefinite P arguments) we are dealing with a semantic demotion of the patient that goes hand in hand with a change in the aspectual value of the verb. Van den Berg (2003) adds that the Bezhta and Avar antipassive constructions have been dealt with as a matter of aspect instead of voice by Daghestanian scholars. The event indicated by the verb is interpreted as incomplete, iterative, and/or habitual.

As in Godoberi, we can combine the Bezhta antipassive construction with a durative *for*-adverbial (22a), but not with a frame adverbial (*in*-adverbial), which implies a temporal endpoint of the activity (22b). But in contrast to Godoberi, the Bezhta antipassive admits for quantized paths that denote the spatial endpoint of the activity (22c).

(22) Bezhta
a. *öžö müqʾö-d haʔo-la-yo qʾon saʔat-ba-ʔ*
boy barley-INS thresh-ANTIP-PST two hour-PL-IN
'The boy was busy threshing the barley for two hours.'
b. **öžö müqʾö-d haʔo-la-yo qʾon saʔat-ba-s*
boy barley-INS thresh-ANTIP-PST two hour-PL-ABL
'The boy was busy threshing the barley in two hours.'
c. *samolet b-ogi<ya>c-iyo masko-la-ʔ*
plane(III) III-jump<ANTIP>-PST Moscow-OBL-IN
'The plane used to fly to Moscow/repeatedly flew to Moscow.'

8. We can suppose that the misachievement interpretation in Bezhta is absent from the other Tsezic languages since the latter do not allow for demoted patients in oblique cases. The Hinuq sentence in (19b) cannot count as a counterexample since the oblique does not correspond to a core argument.

In all Tsezic languages that have an antipassive, the antipassive of the verb 'wash' simply deletes the overt patient argument and leads to a purely reflexive interpretation, in which the A is understood to be co-referential with an unexpressed P, without durative or iterative semantics, i.e. 'wash (oneself)' (23b). In Bezhta, in addition the verbs *kusuʔ-dā-* 'shave', *ƛax-dā-* 'comb' and *-uⁿco-lā-* 'hide' behave in the same way. There is some correlation of these reflexive meanings with the semantic class of verbs of bodily grooming, with 'wash' included in all languages, though not all verbs of this semantic class are included, and 'hide' does not belong to this semantic class; see also Section 2.3.2 on the parallel phenomenon in Avar. Furthermore, the Bezhta verb *qʾoƛo-* 'push' leads to a reciprocal interpretation when the agent noun denotes a plurality (24).

(23) Tsez (Radzhabov 1999: 60–61)
a. *kid-b-ā ged esay-xo*
girl-OBL-ERG dress wash-PRS
'The girl washes the dress.'
b. *kid esa-nay-xo*
girl wash-ANTIP-PST
'The girl washes herself.' NOT: 'The girl engages in washing (something/someone)'

(24) Bezhta
qʾowa qʾoƛo-la-bā-yo
children push-ANTIP-PL-PST
'The children were pushing and pulling each other.'

2.3 Avar

Antipassive in Avar is a marked alternation coded with the following suffixes *-ar-*, *-d-*, *-d-ar-*, *-ad-*, *-anq-*, *-aqd-*, *-anxd-*, which are added directly to the verbal stem (e.g. Mallaeva 2007: 140–168; Alekseev et al. 2014: 205–207). The antipassive is also formed through ablaut, primary (one vowel is changed, e.g. *qwaʔize* 'swing' and *qwaʔeze* 'to swing often', *kʾancʾize* 'jump' and *kʾancʾeze* 'trample') and secondary (two vowels are changed, e.g. *suntʾize* 'to sniff' and *sentʾeze* 'to sniff often', *kʾutʾize* 'to knock' and *kʾetʾeze* 'to knock often'). The distribution of these allomorphs depends on syllable structure as well as on verbal semantics. Antipassive suffixes can be added to intransitives and transitives. The antipassive cannot be derived from affective verbs like 'to like' 'to love', 'to know', 'to listen', etc., and all labile verbs. Antipassive and causative suffixes can be combined, in which case the antipassive comes first, e.g. *heqʾeze* 'drink' > *heqʾ-old-ize* 'drink regularly, be a drinker' (antipassive) > *heqʾ-old-iza-b-ize* 'make drink regularly'. The reason is that the Avar

causative transparently derives from a periphrastic construction with the verb *ha-b-ize* 'do, make' that follows the lexical verb. Synchronically, both periphrastic construction and the causative suffix, which is a shortened form of the verb, exist side by side in the language.

In contrast to all other Nakh-Daghestanian languages, the antipassive suffixes can also attach to various parts of speech other than verbs, e.g. nouns *berzuq-aqd-ize* 'fall/occur on the eye' < *ber-zu-q* 'on the eye' (eye-OBL-APUD), *zigar-d-ize* 'to groan' < *zigar* 'complaint', and adverbs *req'-d-ize* 'to limp' < *req'* 'with a limp' (Khalilov & Khalilova 2016: 3642).

2.3.1 *Avar: Syntactic properties*

When antipassive is added to a transitive verb, the ergative A of the source verb is marked with absolutive, and there is an obligatory omission of the P of the source verb.

(25) Avar (Bokarev 1949: 54)
b-ec-ize 'to mow' > *b-ec-ar-ize* 'to mow'
a. *dos b-ec-ule-b b-ugo xxer*
he.ERG N-mow-PTCP-N N-COP hay
'He mows hay.'
b. *dow w-ec-ar-ule-w w-ugo*
he M-mow-ANTIP-PTCP-M M-COP
'He is busy mowing.'

(26) Avar (Bokarev 1949: 54)
b-exx-ize 'to throw' > *b-exx-ar-ize* 'to throw'
a. *dos r-exx-ule-b b-ugo gamač'*
he.ERG N-throw-PTCP-N N-COP stone
'He throws a stone.'
b. *dow w-ugo w-exx-ard-ule-w*
he M-COP M-throw-ANTIP-PTCP-M
'He is busy throwing.'

When antipassive is added to an intransitive, there is no change in argument structure, as in (27) and (28).

(27) Avar *ɬutize* 'to run' > *ɬut-anq-ize* 'to run, to be busy running'
a. *was ebel-aldasa ɬut-ule-w w-ugo*
boy mother-ABL run-PTCP-M M-COP
'The boy runs from his mother.'
b. *ɬimer ebel-aldasa ɬut-anq-ule-b b-ugo*
child mother-ABL run-ANTIP-PTCP-N N-COP
'The child often runs from his mother.'

(28) Avar *b-oržine* 'to fly' > *b-orž-anq-ize, b-orž-ar-ize* 'to fly'
  a. *c'um b-orž-une-b b-ugo borxałuda*
  eagle N-fly-PTCP-N N-COP high
  'The eagle flies high.'
  b. *c'um b-orž-anq-ula borxałuda*
  eagle N-fly-ANTIP-PRS high
  'The eagle repeatedly flies high.'

2.3.2 *Avar: Semantics*

The general meaning of the antipassive construction is durative 'to be busy' (25b), (26b), but it can also have iterative (27b) or habitual meaning, e.g. *heq'eze* 'drink' > *heq'-old-ize* 'drink regularly, be a drinker'. Occasionally, however, the meaning of the antipassive with intransitives is idiosyncratic, e.g. *bortize* 'to fall' > *bort-anq-ize* 'to quarrel', *gebegize* 'to roll' > *gebeg-anxd-ize* 'to ride', *veɬize* 'to smile' > *veɬ-anq-ize* 'to laugh', etc.

The two verbs *čur-da-* (wash-ANTIP-) 'wash oneself' and *k'k'wa-dar-* (shave-ANTIP-) 'shave oneself' have a reflexive rather than the usual durative/iterative/habitual meaning (29b), whereas other grooming verbs such as 'comb' and 'dress' do not form an antipassive.

(29) Avar
  a. *wasas megež k'k'wa-na*
  boy.ERG beard shave-PST
  'The boy shaved his beard.'
  b. *niž k'k'wa-dar-ana*
  we shave-ANTIP-PST
  'We were busy shaving.'

In terms of telicity the Avar antipassive patterns exactly like the Bezhta antipassive and therefore behaves differently from the Godoberi antipassive. Durative *for*-adverbials are allowed (30b), but not *in*-adverbials (frame adverbials) because of the implied endpoint (30c). Quantized paths that denote a spatial endpoint are allowed (like Bezhta, but unlike Godoberi) (30d).

(30) Avar
  a. *yas-aɬ xaliča b-es-ana k'igo q'o-yaɬ*
  girl-ERG rug N-weave-PST two day-INTER
  'The girl wove the rug for two days.'
  b. *yas y-es-ar-ana k'igo q'o-yaɬ*
  girl F-weave-ANTIP-PST two day-INTER
  'The girl wove for two days.'

c. **yas y-es-ar-ana k'igo q'o-yalda*
girl F-weave-ANTIP-PST two day-LOC
'The girl wove in two days.'

d. *samalet borž-anq-ule-b b-ugo Masko-yalda*
plane fly-ANTIP-PTCP-N N-COP Moscow-LOC
'The plane often flies to Moscow.'

3. Dargwa languages

In terms of formal marking the antipassive in Dargwa languages differs considerably from the other Nakh-Daghestanian languages because it does not make use of derivational morphology or other formal marking on the verb. In Section 3.1 and Section 3.2, data from Akusha Dargwa, which is the north Dargwa variety on which Standard Literary Dargwa is based, and from the southern variety Sanzhi Dargwa will be examined. Section 3.3 provides a short overview of other Dargwa varieties.

3.1 Akusha and Sanzhi Dargwa: Syntactic properties

In Dargwa languages, the antipassive is only available from transitive verbs because it is formed by reversing the case marking of the A and the P arguments. This means that in the antipassive construction there is an argument structure change from transitive to intransitive: the ergative A of the source verb is marked with the absolutive and the absolutive P of the source verb is marked with the ergative and, in Akusha Dargwa, occasionally with a spatial case. In general, the ergative case not only marks the A in the ergative construction (and the P in the antipassive construction), but also instruments, temporal adverbials, and a few other adjuncts (van den Berg 2001: 20; Forker 2020).

The antipassive is not fully productive. For instance, in Akusha Dargwa 234 verbs have been tested by van den Berg (2003), out of which 93 form the antipassive and 17 are ambiguous between genuine antipassive and what van den Berg calls 'antipassive look-alike'. With this term van den Berg refers to constructions which look morphologically similar to antipassive clauses, but which are syntactically transitive clauses with a topicalized object (39). Furthermore, compound verbs containing the light verb *b-ar-* (PFV) / *b-ir-* (IPFV) 'do, make' never form antipassives. The same is true for affective verbs with experiencer arguments, a number of telic verbs and some other verbs.

Within their verbal morphology, Dargwa languages distinguish between imperfective and perfective stems, and most verbal lexemes have two stems. Furthermore, often the tense formation is restricted to one or the other aspectual stem. This

has repercussions on the availability of the antipassive construction. In contrast to all other Nakh-Daghestanian languages, the Dargwa antipassive is largely (if not fully) restricted to imperfective verb stems and consequently to those tenses that are available for verbs with imperfective stems (e.g. progressives, habituals, futures). It is normally not formed in tenses such as the aorist or the resultative that are predominantly if not exclusively used with perfective stems, but for the aorist exceptions have been noted.[9]

The following examples from Akusha Dargwa illustrate the ergative (31a) and the antipassive construction (31b) with a verb inflected for the present progressive. The P argument in the antipassive bears the ergative suffix or in a few cases the marker of the illative case, which otherwise denotes the locational meaning 'in(to)', addressees of verbs of speech and causees of causative verbs.

(31) Akusha Dargwa (van den Berg 2003)

a. *dudeš-li džuz b-uč'-ul sa-y*
father-ERG book N-read.IPFV-CVB be-M
'Father is reading a book.' [transitive]

b. *dudeš džuz-li / džuz-li-zi-w / dzuz-a / Ø*
father book-ERG / book-OBL-ILL-M / book-PL.ERG / Ø
uč'-ul sa-y
M.read.IPFV-CVB be-M
'Father is engaged in reading (a book/in a book/books).' [antipassive]

Due to the absence of formal marking on the verb it is not always easy to identify the antipassive. One possibility is to test for TAM forms that make use of distinct suffixes for intransitive and transitive verbs, such as future, imperative, and prohibitive. For example, in Akusha Dargwa the future tense has different suffixes for intransitive and transitive verbs, and with the antipassive construction the suffix for intransitive verbs is used. Similarly, imperative and prohibitive suffixes in Dargwa usually differ according to transitivity, and in the antipassive construction the forms that are used with intransitive verbs occur. Thus, in Sanzhi Dargwa *-ut* is used with intransitive verbs, whereas *-it* is used for transitive verbs (32a, b).

(32) Sanzhi Dargwa

a. *dig ma-b-uk-it!*
meat PROH-N-eat.IPFV-PROH.SG
'Do not eat the meat!' [transitive]

9. For Akusha Dargwa the verbs 'eat' and 'drink' seem to be exceptions in the sense that they are generally much more flexible in their morphosyntactic behavior than other verbs and allow for antipassive constructions with more tenses than other verbs, including the aorist (van den Berg 2001: 59–60).

b. *dig-li* *ma-w-k-ut!*
meat-ERG PROH-M-eat.IPFV-PROH.SG
'Do not eat (always) meat!' [antipassive]

Furthermore, the antipassive construction can undergo causativization in which the absolutive and ergative retain their case marking and a further agent in the ergative is added to the construction, just as happens with causativized intransitive verbs and their obliques. In (33) from Akusha Dargwa the absolutive argument from the adverbial clause has been omitted because it is coreferential with the absolutive in the main clause; the brackets indicate the boundaries of the embedded clause.

(33) Akusha Dargwa (van den Berg 2001: 240)
nu-ni *biʔalli* *ħu* *ħerk'-li-či* *b-uk-ili* *[ši-ni*
1SG-ERG however 2SG river-OBL-SPR N-lead-CVB water-ERG
ħe-b-udž-aq-ili] *čar-b-ir-u-ri*
NEG-N-drink.IPFV-CAUS-CVB return-N-do.IPFV-FUT-2
'I, however, can lead you (=devil) to the river, and let you return without letting you drink water.' [causativized antipassive]

In addition to the tense/aspect restriction there are constraints with respect to number, person and animacy of P arguments. Thus, in Akusha Dargwa the occurrence of singular nouns as P arguments is rather uncommon and only possible with around one third of the verbs that can be used in the antipassive construction. The P arguments are either overtly marked for plural or they are collective/mass nouns that control plural agreement but lack a morphological plural. Van den Berg (2003) provides examples that show that in Akusha Dargwa antipassives the P argument can be omitted.

There are animacy restrictions. In the Akusha Dargwa antipassive, P normally needs to be inanimate (but there are exceptions, see (38b) below). In Sanzhi Dargwa and in Tanti Dargwa, the antipassive is not available with first or second person P arguments (Sumbatova & Lander 2014). Van den Berg (2003) also does not provide any antipassive clauses with first or second person P arguments.

Dargwa languages have person agreement, and the agreement rules show a great deal of variation (Sumbatova 2011). Person agreement in Akusha is governed by the absolutive argument. For the third person there are no agreement enclitics in the TAM forms given in (31), but rather copulas. In Sanzhi, by contrast, ergative and dative core arguments can control person agreement in the same vein as absolutive core arguments. In example (34a), the ergative A controls person agreement on the verb, whereas in (34b) it is the absolutive P that controls the agreement. Because the agreement controllers are identical in both sentences, the person enclitics are also identical. For examples with dative agreement controllers see Forker (2020).

(34) Sanzhi Dargwa
a. *du-l t'ulṭ' b-uk-unne=da*
1SG-ERG bread N-eat.IPFV-ICVB=1
'I am eating bread.' [transitive]
b. *aždaha-l du uk:-unne=da*
monster-ERG 1SG eat.IPFV.M-ICVB=1
'The monster is eating me (M).' [transitive]

In the antipassive construction agreement is controlled by the agent in the absolutive (35). The ergative P is not a core argument, but an oblique which, like other obliques in the ergative case (e.g. instruments, temporal adverbials), cannot control agreement.

(35) Sanzhi Dargwa
du t'ulṭ'-li uk-unne=da
1SG bread-ERG eat.IPFV.M-CVB=1
'I am eating bread.' [antipassive]

Therefore, the ergative constituent in (36) that controls agreement can only be interpreted as agent, not as demoted P in an antipassive construction. Van den Berg (2003) treats similar sentences separately and calls them 'antipassive look-alikes' (39).

(36) Sanzhi Dargwa
aždaha du-l b-uk:-unne=da
monster 1SG-ERG N-eat.IPFV-ICVB=1
'I am eating the monster.' NOT: 'The monster is eating me.'
[transitive, antipassive look-alike]

If we change the agreement to third person by replacing the enclitic with the copula the sentence becomes ungrammatical because the agreement points to an antipassive construction but animate Ps are not allowed in such a construction (37).

(37) Sanzhi Dargwa
**aždaha du-l b-uk:-unne ca-b*
monster 1SG-ERG N-eat.IPFV-ICVB be-N
(Intended meaning: 'The monster is eating me.')

There is considerable variation across different Dargwa varieties and different verbs concerning the antipassive and it is not easy to detect which verbs under which circumstances allow for the antipassive or prohibit it. In Akusha Dargwa, there are around 17 verbs that only with some speakers allow for antipassives and even take animate P arguments (38b).

(38) Akusha Dargwa (van den Berg 2003)
a. *udzi-ni arc / unc-i d-ilʕ-ul sa-y*
brother-ERG money / ox-PL NPL-steal.IPFV-ICVB be-M
'(My) brother is stealing money/oxen.' [transitive]
b. *udzi arc-li / Ø / unc-a w-ilʕ-ul sa-y*
brother money-ERG / Ø / ox-PL.ERG M-steal.IPFV-ICVB be-M
'(My) brother is engaged in stealing (money/oxen).' [antipassive]

However, with most speakers example (39) with the animate P is not interpreted as an antipassive construction but as a normal transitive construction in which the argument bearing the ergative functions as the agent and the absolutive argument functions as the patient, the so-called antipassive look-alike.

(39) Akusha Dargwa (van den Berg 2003)
udzi unc-li / rurs-b-a w-ilʕ-ul sa-y
brother ox-ERG / girl-PL-ERG M-steal.IPFV-ICVB be-M
'My brother is being stolen by the ox/girls.' [transitive antipassive look-alike]

Such a reading is also available for many other verbs that do not allow for an antipassive construction and can yield awkward interpretations (40b).

(40) Akusha Dargwa (van den Berg 2003)
a. *dudeš-li ʕinc-bi d-urʁ-ul sa-y*
father-ERG apple-PL NPL-looking.for.IPFV-ICVB be-M
'Father is looking for apples.'
b. *dudeš ʕinc-b-a urʁ-ul sa-y*
father apple-PL-ERG looking.for.IPFV.M-ICVB be-M
'The apples are looking for father.' NOT: 'Father is looking for apples.'
[transitive antipassive look-alike]

Nakh-Daghestanian languages generally have a number of S=A labile verbs that can be used intransitively and transitively, thereby preserving the agent argument but having or lacking a P argument. These verbs do not undergo detransitivization by means of any morphosyntactic operation, but come with two argument structure frames. In Dargwa languages, which lack a morphological marker on the verb in the antipassive construction, it is sometimes hard to distinguish S=A labile verbs from antipassive constructions. For instance, the imperfective stem of the verb *b-elčʼ-* (PFV) / *b-učʼ-* (IPFV) 'read, learn, study, sing' can be used in an intransitive construction without or with an adjunct in the ergative (41a, b).

(41) Sanzhi Dargwa
a. *it r-učʼ-unne ca-r*
DEM F-read.IPFV-ICVB be-F
'She reads/studies.'

b. *it* *student-li* *r-uč'-unne* *ca-r*
DEM student-ERG F-read.IPFV-ICVB be-F
'She is a student.' (lit. 'She studies as a student.')

The same verb can be used in a transitive construction with an ergative agent and an absolutive patient (42).

(42) Sanzhi Dargwa
it-i-l *turk-me* *d-uč'-unne* *ca-d*
DEM-OBL-ERG nasheed-PL NPL-read.IPFV-ICVB be-NPL
'S/he reads (i.e. sings) nasheeds'

In the antipassive construction, to the intransitive clause in (41a) a P argument in the plural marked with the ergative case is added in (43). The presence of the P argument is the only difference between (41a) and (43). It is only the absence of the P in (41a) that indicates that we are not dealing with an antipassive construction, and the presence of P in (43) that proves that this example is an antipassive construction.

(43) Sanzhi Dargwa
it *turk-m-a-l* *r-uč'-unne* *ca-r*
DEM nasheed-PL-OBL-ERG F-read.IPFV-ICVB be-F
'She reads (i.e. sings) nasheeds'

3.2 Akusha and Sanzhi Dargwa: Semantics and pragmatics

The use of antipassives in Dargwa is semantically rather than syntactically motivated, as in the other Nakh-Daghestanian languages. It is the aspectual semantics of the verb (aspect/aktionsart) as well as the semantics of the patient that play a role. With regard to the semantics of the verb it is difficult to assess what semantic contribution comes from the antipassive construction itself and what from the fact that it is restricted to imperfective stems and TAM forms with appropriate meanings. In contrast to Avar-Andic-Tsezic, the imperfective aspect is a precondition of use for the antipassive construction rather than a meaning that is achieved by making use of the antipassive. This might explain why no verbal derivational morpheme with a concomitant aspectual/aktionsart semantics is used: the meaning is provided by the aspectual stem of the verb, possibly in combination with the semantics of the TAM forms themselves.

Antipassives may describe an event as incomplete, non-punctual or habitual, and as either not leading to any observable results at all or ignoring possible results. Therefore, verbs for which the antipassive is not available are generally those verbs for which it is unclear what the result of the action that they denote would be (e.g. affective verbs). The activity referred to by an antipassive construction is

understood as occurring habitually/frequently, e.g. the antipassive of 'drink' may be interpreted as 'drink alcohol' (44), 'read' as 'study (of pupils or students)', 'steal' as 'thieve, live dishonestly', etc.

(44) Sanzhi Dargwa
heχ-tːi piwa-l b-učː-ul ca-b
this.DOWN-PL beer-ERG HPL-drink.IPFV-CVB be-HPL
'They are (regularly) engaged in drinking beer.'

With respect to the semantics of the patient, we find a reduction of the effect of the verbal activity onto the patient, which does not necessarily undergo a change of state. The (demoted) patient in the ergative case has a low degree of identifiability in the proposition, as it is indefinite and/or non-referential (usually plural or omitted). For example, in all antipassive examples from the Sanzhi corpus (around 50,000 tokens in total) the P argument is indefinite and usually in the plural or it has the meaning of a mass noun. In contrast to Bezhta, morphologically singular P arguments are only allowed if they can have mass noun readings. The patient does not refer to a particular, specified object, but is semantically demoted. The sentences refer to repeatedly or habitually occurring actions. For instance, in (45) the speaker was talking about the life of her grandfather and how he used to be, which types of work he used to do.

(45) Sanzhi Dargwa
χatːaj ʔaˤči-l w-irqʼ-i, …
grandfather work-ERG M-do.IPFV-HAB.PST
'Grandfather used to work, …' [as a builder, as …]

By contrast, the P argument in the ergative construction can have a definite interpretation, referring to a specific object. Thus, compare (46a), in which the subject referent is telling a specific story, to (46b), which refers to the action of storytelling without specifying the stories further, but could rather be a characterization of the person as a story-teller.

(46) Sanzhi Dargwa
a. *hež-i-l χabar b-urs-ul ca-b*
this-OBL-ERG story N-tell-ICVB be-N
'He tells the story.'
b. *hež χabur-t-a-l ux-ul ca-w*
this story-PL-OBL-ERG tell.M.IPFV-ICVB be-M
'He tells many stories.'

Van den Berg (2003) proposes a preference hierarchy for referents occurring as patients demoted to oblique (47), on which inanimate plural P arguments are the most preferred type. The hierarchy lacks singular animate since this kind of P argument cannot be demoted to oblique, perhaps due to the fact that they are often definite and referential.

(47) plural (inanimate > animate) > inanimate singular

3.3 Antipassives in other Dargwa languages

There is considerable variation between the individual Dargwa varieties that still needs to be studied. There is an overview of the published literature on several Dargwa varieties until 2014 in Sumbatova & Lander (2014: 271–275). We will now briefly review the most important findings concerning Dargwa varieties other than those discussed in detail here.

In Mehweb Dargwa, only two verbs allow for the antipassive construction, namely the two caused motion verbs *k(ib) ~ -uk(ib) ~ -ik(ib)* 'bring (animate object)' and *χ(ib) ~ -uχ(ib) ~ -iχ(ib)* 'bring (inanimate object).' The imperfective stem of these verbs is used exclusively (or at least preferably) in the antipassive construction (Daniel 2019).

In Chirag, there is no true antipassive construction (Ganenkov in preparation). Although there are sentences that formally and semantically look exactly like what is analyzed as antipassive in this paper (48), the author proposes a different approach based on the following arguments: 1. The construction is lexically very severely restricted, far more than in other Dargwa varieties. 2. It is available for all TAM forms, including the aorist, a verb form that is usually not available for imperfective stems. 3. There are genuine intransitive verbs that allow for patient-like arguments in the ergative. He concludes that the verbs that occur in these apparent antipassive constructions are, in fact, not derived intransitives, and therefore we cannot speak of an antipassive construction since no detransitivization takes place.

(48) Chirag Dargwa
du r-učʼ-ub=da
1SG F-sing.IPFV-AOR=1
'I sang.'

The antipassive in Tanti has almost the same properties as the antipassive in Sanzhi Dargwa. As Sumbatova & Lander (2014: 268–297) show, the demoted patient can be omitted. The resulting sentence is ambiguous between a transitive reading in

which the absolutive argument serves as the patient and an antipassive reading in which it functions as the agent (49).

(49) Tanti (Sumbatova & Lander 2014: 292)
ʔaʿli w-ilʔ-uʿn
Ali M-steal.IPFV-AOR
'Ali was stolen.' OR 'Ali stole (repeatedly).'

Demoted patients that refer to singular items are prohibited (i.e. referents that occur on the right side of the hierarchy in (47)).

(50) Tanti (Sumbatova & Lander 2014: 280–281)
dila ruc:i har zamana dila kʷalx-n-a-li /
1SG.GEN sister every time 1SG.GEN kerchief-PL-OBL.PL-ERG /
**kʷalxi-li r-iq:-u-le sa-r*
kerchief-ERG F-wear.IPFV-PRS-CVB be-F
'My sister always wears my kerchiefs/*kerchief.'

The authors discuss in detail the question of whether it is possible to distinguish antipassive constructions from S=A labile verbs in Tanti Dargwa and come to the conclusion that the language does not have S=A labile verbs and all constructions which might look like S=A lability (41a) are, in fact, antipassive constructions. The reason for this conclusion is that in Tanti all examples of apparent S=A lability occur only with the imperfective aspect and show the same restrictions as the antipassive shows. If we were really dealing with S=A lability, we would expect lexical restrictions on the number of verbs that allow it, but no grammatical restrictions on possible TAM forms.

They further suggest that the ergative and the antipassive constructions have developed from the same source. In Dargwa languages the ergative expresses a range of different semantic roles: agent, instrument, cause/reason, means, etc. Sumbatova & Lander (2014: 284–286) propose the instrumental meaning as the original one from which the agent-function in the transitive construction evolved. They claim that the demoted patient of antipassive constructions fits into this chain of semantic roles and propose the following development: instrument > means > patient in antipassive.

4. Antipassives and other detransitivizing operations in Nakh-Daghestanian languages

Nakh-Daghestanian languages are overall transitivizing (Nichols et al. 2004), but a number of detransitivizing processes are attested, among which antipassivization is only one option. Others are biabsolutive constructions, anticausatives, and various types of non-canonical agent constructions (e.g. potential and/or involuntary agent constructions, the exterior force construction, and the undesirable action construction, Ganenkov et al. 2007; Forker 2013b). Most of these other constructions are morphosyntactically and semantically rather different from antipassives, and in some instances even increase the number of arguments.

By contrast, biabsolutive constructions are formally and functionally similar to antipassives in Nakh-Daghestanian. Chechen, Ingush, all Tsezic languages, Avar, Lak, a few Dargwa varieties (Icari Dargwa, Mehweb Dargwa, but not Sanzhi, Tanti, Akusha), Andic languages such as Godoberi, Bagvalal, and Akhvakh, and the Lezgic languages Archi and Tsakhur have biabsolutive constructions (Forker 2012; Gagliardi et al. 2014). These constructions are available with transitive verbs in the imperfective aspect and are characterized by absolutive marking of both A and P. The prefixes and infixes of the lexical verb show gender/number agreement with P, whereas the suffixes and the auxiliary agree with A (51b).

(51) Avar (Bokarev 1949: 113)

a. *hez nux ha-b-ule-b b-ugo*
they.ERG way make-N-PTPC-N N-be.PRS
'They are building the road.' [transitive construction]

b. *hel nux ha-b-ule-l r-ugo*
they way make-N-PTPC-PL PL-be.PRS
'They are in the state of building a road.' OR 'They build a road.'
[biabsolutive construction]

In biabsolutive constructions A is generally topicalized whereas P is pragmatically demoted. They can be interpreted as an alignment split based on aspect: in the perfective aspect case marking and agreement follow the ergative pattern, whereas in the imperfective aspect a neutral pattern is possible.

Properties, both formal and functional, shared between the biabsolutive and the antipassive constructions are:

- absolutive case marking of A
- exclusion of affective verbs (though some languages allow affective verbs in biabsolutive constructions, see Forker 2012)
- preference for imperfective aspect
- semantic similarity (habitual/iterative meaning, preference for patients with a low degree of individuation)

However, the biabsolutive construction contains a P argument in the absolutive and is not formally marked in the verb morphology. The biabsolutive construction is available for all transitive verbs, not just a subclass as is the case with the antipassive. In most Nakh-Daghestanian languages that have biabsolutive constructions they cannot be formed from affective verbs (with the exception of Chechen, where this is possible); intransitive verbs are always excluded. In texts its frequency varies, but for those languages that have both constructions (Tsezic, Avar, Icari Dargwa, Godoberi) the antipassive is clearly far more common despite the restrictions on its formation. The two constructions can obviously not be combined because the addition of the antipassive suffix leads to a deletion of the P or a change in its case marking that is incompatible with the structural requirements of the biabsolutive construction.

Kazenin (1998) investigates the biabsolutive construction in Lak, which has no antipassive. Based on the Lak data alone he concludes that in "semantically ergative" languages such as Lak the antipassive is not available and that therefore Lak resorts to the biabsolutive construction. According to Kazenin (1998: 14), "semantically ergative" means "that any of the core cases in these languages corresponds to a fixed semantic role; in transitive clauses, ergative case uniformly corresponds to the semantic role of agent, and absolutive case uniformly corresponds to the semantic role of patient". In his opinion, an antipassive that switches around the case marking of agent and patient is therefore not available. However, his conclusion has to be rejected since other Nakh-Daghestanian languages have antipassives. And in languages that have both constructions the functional distributions of the two constructions do not show a complete overlap despite many semantic parallels.

5. The main tenets of the antipassive constructions in Nakh-Daghestanian

Nakh-Daghestanian languages fulfill criteria 1–5 as stated in Section 1 to various degrees. In none of the investigated languages does the antipassive seem to be fully productive, and Dargwa languages lack morphological marking of the antipassive on the verb. Formally, the languages show rather sharp differences in their antipassive constructions (suffixes in Avar and Tsezic, ablaut in Avar, reduplication in Godoberi, no verbal derivation in most Dargwa varieties; omission or demotion to an oblique of the P argument), with the only common property being the absolutive marking of the agentive argument. Thus, it seems impossible to reconstruct an antipassive construction for Proto-Nakh-Daghestanian that could serve as the source for the individual constructions.

In terms of function, the Nakh-Daghestanian constructions display more similarities. They consistently illustrate function b of Section 1, i.e. the resulting construction is less transitive in the extended sense of transitivity introduced by

Hopper & Thompson (1980), which is not restricted to argument structure, most typically by shifting the aspectual value in the direction of durativity, atelicity, etc. This relates to the fact that Nakh-Daghestanian languages typically do not restrict the accessibility of major syntactic rules to particular grammatical relations, so the "promotion" function of voice alternations would be redundant. The Nakh-Daghestanian antipassive constructions condition the nominal semantics of the patient as well as the semantics of the verb in terms of aspect and aktionsart: patients with a low degree of individuation and a low degree of affectedness correlate with various types of imperfective aspect (iterative/habitual/durative) and/or atelicity within the syntactic frame of a detransitivizing antipassive construction. But the correlation exists also outside the antipassive construction since the same verbal morphemes can be used with intransitive verbs and lead to the same aspectual/aktionsart semantics.

Cross-linguistically, correlations between antipassive constructions and imperfective aspect (more specifically, iterative/habitual/durative/etc.) as well as atelicity in terms of aktionsart have been frequently observed (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Cooreman 1994; Dixon 1994; Polinsky 2017). Thus, Nakh-Daghestanian languages present a further case study of how a construction suppressing or backgrounding the patient gives rise to atelicity.

6. Conclusion

It now remains only to summarize the nature of Nakh-Daghestanian (candidate) antipassive constructions in terms of the five criteria set out in (1).

1. In all relevant languages the candidate antipassive is intransitive, and in all the corresponding non-antipassive is transitive in the case of lexically transitive verbs. However, only the Dargwa languages restrict the candidate construction to lexically transitive verbs, as would be required by the strictest interpretation of the first criterion, while the other languages extend it to intransitives, in which case there is no argument structure change (and therefore no antipassive). On this criterion, the languages other than Dargwa do not have canonical antipassive constructions, but nonetheless they do require the argument structure changes that characterize the canonical antipassive with lexically transitive verbs.
2. The A=S correspondence is found in all relevant languages with lexically transitive verbs. This criterion is therefore met with precisely the same exceptions as the first criterion.
3. If we restrict ourselves to lexically transitive verbs, to avoid repeating material from the first two criteria, then there are two versions of this criterion relating

to the expression of P: Dixon's, according to which expression of P as an oblique must be possible; Janic's, according to which it may or may not be possible. Dixon's criterion is stronger and therefore, ceteris paribus, a better candidate for a canonical definition, while empirically Bezhta and Dargwa satisfy Dixon's criterion while most of the other languages fit only Janic's weaker version.

4. All relevant Nakh-Daghestanian languages with the exception of Dargwa languages have an explicit antipassive marker, so are canonical in this respect. Dargwa languages lack an antipassive marker, thus violating Dixon's characterization of the antipassive but not Janic's. As with the third criterion, we take Dixon's stricter criterion as identifying the canonical type.
5. In none of the relevant Nakh-Daghestanian languages is the antipassive fully productive, in the sense of being formed from all transitive verbs, though it remains for further investigation to what extent the constraints can be predicted once verb semantics is taken into account. Cross-linguistic variation suggests that such predictability will not be absolute. This is a departure from a canonical voice construction in the direction of lexicalization.

Clearly, Nakh-Daghestanian candidate antipassive constructions, whether in their Dargwa or non-Dargwa manifestation, display some departures from the canonical antipassive construction, most notably in the fact that apart from in Dargwa the formation is also extended to intransitive verbs, with no change in argument structure. Nonetheless, with lexically transitive verbs the construction comes very close to canonical with regard to the crucial first three criteria dealing with argument structure changes. If one insists on drawing a clear dividing line between antipassive and non-antipassive, then a decision will have to be taken as to where this dividing line should be drawn – and we see no way of doing this in a non-arbitrary fashion. We prefer to note the ways in which the Nakh-Daghestanian constructions (like many other constructions that have been called antipassives) depart from the canonical type, while equally noting the striking ways in which they conform to that type.

Abbreviations

The glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, additional abbreviations are as follows:

I-V	genders I-V	ILL	illative (movement into a mass)
APUD	location near	IN	location 'in, inside'
AOR	aorist	INTER	INTER-essive
AT	location at, by	LAT	lative
HAB	habitual	RED	reduplication
HPL	human plural	SPR	location 'on, above'
ICVB	imperfective converb		

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CHAPTER 17

Antipassive and antipassive-like constructions in Mayan languages

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This chapter details the characteristics of the various constructions found in Mayan languages that exhibit some number of antipassive features (absolutive, incorporating, agent focus, reflexives/reciprocals). Although the label 'antipassive' has been applied to many of these structures historically, based on the features presented in this volume as diagnostics for antipassives cross-linguistically, only certain instantiations of the 'absolutive' antipassive qualify as antipassives.

Keywords: Mayan, ergativity, agent focus, incorporation, absolutive antipassive

1. Introduction

Mayan languages have been an important part of the discussion of antipassivization and the role of antipassives in ergative languages. This chapter provides an overview of some of the basic characteristics of the various antipassive and antipassive-like constructions across the Mayan family, highlighting both their similarities and differences. It then discusses how these constructions comply or fail to comply with the guidelines for antipassive constructions established by the editors of this volume, which are as follows:

1. The same verb with the same lexical meaning can be found in a transitive construction implying the same number of participants and the same participant roles;
2. The participant encoded as A in the transitive construction is encoded as the unique core argument in the antipassive construction;
3. In the antipassive construction, the participant encoded as P in the transitive construction is either encoded as an oblique, or left unexpressed.

While all of the constructions described here are 'antipassive-like' in that they have at least some characteristics typical of antipassives, the current consensus among

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Mayanists is that not all of these constructions are cross-linguistically comparable instantiations of 'antipassive'. Additionally, comparison of these constructions in different Mayan languages has been complicated by the application of similar terminology to non-equivalent structures in the descriptions of individual languages, and as well differences between older and newer labeling conventions. As such, this chapter provides a description of Mayan antipassive-like constructions for non-Mayanists in a way which unites our understanding of antipassives in Mayan languages with our understanding of antipassives in typological perspective. This typology is based primarily on structural features, and not necessarily on the labeling conventions found in the literature on Mayan.

Section 2 provides relevant background on typological features of Mayan languages related to verb alignment, transitivity and word order. The basic characteristics of the various antipassive-like constructions in Mayan languages are given in Section 3, which include absolutive constructions, agent focus (AF) constructions, incorporating constructions, and detransitivized reflexives/reciprocals. A discussion of the cross-linguistic applicability of the term 'antipassive' to each of these structures based on the definition used in this volume follows each subsection. Section 4 concludes.

2. Background on Mayan

Mayan languages are spoken primarily in Mexico and Guatemala, although also in Honduras and Belize and in diaspora communities in the US and Canada. The Mayan language family consists of approximately 30 languages[1] which, according to Kaufman (1990), belong to 4 primary branches: Huastecan, Yucatecan, Western Mayan (Q'anjob'alan and Ch'olan-Tseltalan) and Eastern Mayan (Mamean and K'ichean). Although a range of dates have been proposed for the time depth for the family, Kaufman's (1976) figure of approximately 4,200 years is the most-cited. A recent classification of Mayan languages (Campbell 2016: 44), where the degree of indentation corresponds to degree of relatedness, is given in Figure 1.

Discussions of Mayan languages also often distinguish "highland" and "lowland" languages, which is a geographical and cultural designation rather than a genetic one. "Highland" refers to those languages spoken in the more mountainous regions of Guatemala to the south ("cold country"). "Lowland" refers to those languages spoken in the lowland areas ("hot country") in northern Guatemala and in Mexico (also related to the complex of pre-colonial Maya archaeological sites and

1. The exact number of languages in the family depends on the language/dialect status of several varieties, which for sociopolitical reasons are registered either as languages or as dialects. See, for example, England (2003: 739) and references therein on Achi.

- Huastecan
  - Huastec,[2] Chicomuseltec
- Core Mayan (Central Mayan)
  - Yucatecan
    - Maya (Yucatec Maya), Lacandón
    - Itzaj (Itzá, Itza'), Mopan
  - Western Mayan
    - Cholan-Tseltalan
      - Cholan
        - Ch'ol, Chontal (Yokot'an)
        - Cholti (dormant), Ch'orti'
      - Tseltalan
        - Tseltal, Tsotsil
    - Greater Q'anjob'alan (Q'anjob'alan-Chujean)
      - Q'anjob'alan
        - Q'anjob'al, Akatek, Jakaltek (Popti')
        - Mocho' (Motozintlec) (with Tuzantec)
      - Chuj-Tojolabal
        - Chuj, Tojolabal (Tojol-ab'al)
  - K'ichean-Mamean (Eastern Mayan)
    - K'ichean
      - Q'eqchi'
      - Uspantek
      - Poqom
        - Poqomam, Poqomchi'
      - Central K'ichean (K'ichean Proper)
        - K'iche'
        - Kaqchikel, Tz'utujil
        - Sakapultek
        - Sipakapense
    - Mamean
      - Mam, Tektitek (Teko)
      - Awakatek, Ixil

Figure 1. The Mayan language family (Campbell 2016: 44)

the glyphic texts). The lowlands are also a diffusion area (linguistic area) involving the Mayan languages of the lowlands where contact led to considerable borrowing and structural influence among languages (Justeson et al. 1985; Law 2014).

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2. Spellings for the names of Mayan languages in Guatemala follow the recommendations of the *Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala* (ALMG) <http://www.almg.org.gt/>, while the spellings for those languages spoken in Mexico follow the spellings of INALI (2009). The names as they appear here are used throughout the chapter.

2.1 Verb structure and alignment

Although there are significant differences among Mayan languages, they all share a number of typological characteristics. Verbs in Mayan languages are morphologically complex such that verb roots are rarely bare. All Mayan languages are also head-marking in the sense of Nichols (1986), meaning that they cross-reference the roles of verbal arguments via verbal affixes/clitics and they lack nominal case. A basic version of the template for transitive verbs in Mayan languages (after Coon 2016: 515) is as follows: TAM – (ABS) – ERG – ROOT – VOICE – STATUS – (ABS). The various elements in this template are discussed in the following sections. Absolutive markers are in parentheses here to indicate that some languages have absolutive markers which are prefixes(/proclitics) while others have absolutive markers which are suffixes.

Ergativity is a very consistent feature of the Mayan family, and reconstructions of Proto-Mayan grammar also reconstruct Proto-Mayan with ergative alignment (cf. Robertson 1980; Kaufman 1986). All Mayan languages (or nearly all, as some have claimed a few Mayan languages have active alignment, e.g. Danziger 1996 on Mopan) are morphologically ergative. Since Mayan languages are head-marking as opposed to dependent-marking, ergativity is manifested in verbal cross-reference. Ergative markers cross-reference transitive subjects (called "Set A" in the earlier Mayanist literature, which are also mostly homophonous with the markers of pronominal possession), while absolutive markers cross-reference both transitive objects and intransitive subjects ("Set B"). This ergative head-marking pattern is demonstrated in the examples in (1) from Uspantek, where the ergative arguments are underlined and absolutive arguments are bolded (bolding, underlining and translation are mine). Overt pronouns and NPs are optional.

(1) Uspantek (Can Pixabaj 2007: 147–148)

a. *Ø-**at**-in-chap*[3]
INCOMPL-**2SG.ABS**-1SG.ERG-grab
'I grab you'

b. *Ø-**at**-wár-ik*
INCOMPL-**2SG.ABS**-sleep-INTR
'You sleep'

Many Mayan languages are discussed as exhibiting split ergativity, where (some) non-completive aspects and subordinate clauses exhibit nominative-accusative alignment, as opposed to ergative-absolutive alignment in completive aspects

3. The orthographical representation for each example is given as it appears in the cited source. As such, orthographic conventions vary across examples.

and main clauses (Larsen & Norman 1979). While all Mayan languages have been said to have some element of the grammar which exhibits nominative-accusative alignment, they differ with respect to how many contexts that includes (cf. Law et al. 2006). However, all of the nominative-accusative patterns in Mayan involve (synchronically or diachronically) an aspectual predicate which can imbed a non-verbal predicate, which has been demonstrated in an increasing body of work on split-ergativity in Mayan (e.g. Larsen & Norman 1979; Bricker 1981; Mateo Toledo 2003; Coon 2010; Imanishi 2014: 100–102). This is exemplified in (2) from Ch'ol, where intransitive verbs in the perfective are traditional predicates and take absolutive marking, as in (2a), whereas the progressive word *choñkol* embeds a nominalized predicate, which then takes ergative/genitive marking, as in (2b).

(2) Ch'ol (Coon 2010: 239)

a. *Tyi wäy-i-Ø ñeñe'*
PFV sleep-INTR-**3.ABS** baby
'The baby slept'

b. *Choñkol **i**-wäy-el ñeñe'*
PROG **3.GEN/ERG**-sleep-NMLZ baby
'The baby is sleeping'

If nominative-accusative patterns in Mayan are the result of aspectual, adverbial, and other verbal predicates taking nominalized complements, it is perhaps better to analyze these apparent 'splits' in alignment as ergative main verbs which imbed nominalizations. The ergative marking on imbedded clause arises from ergative/genitive syncretism, where the nominalized predicates take genitive marking. In this view, main verbs in Mayan languages are uniformly ergative in alignment. See Coon (2010) for an articulation of this analysis.

2.2 Transitivity

All Mayan languages are characterized by verb classes which are strongly differentiated based on transitivity. Mayan languages have transitive and intransitive verb classes, as well as a positional class. Positionals are a separate class of roots which describe physical configurations of objects, but which can be used as transitives or intransitives if given additional derivational morphology. Very few verbs (if any) in a given Mayan language are ambitransitive/labile. For Tojolabal, Furbee-Losee (1976: 55) claims that a few roots of the form CVC may be inflected either transitively or intransitively. Vázquez Álvarez (2011: 110–113) also identifies a handful of verbs in Ch'ol which can be used transitively or intransitively, as demonstrated by *-pul* 'burn' in (3a–b) below, which requires only a change in 'status' (see below). However, examples of ambitransitives are few and far between in the family.

(3) Ch'ol (Vázquez Álvarez 2011: 111)

a. *Tyi pul-**i**-Ø*
PFV burn-INTR-3.ABS
'It burned'

b. *Tyi i-pul-**u**-y-Ø-ob*
PFV 3.ERG-burn-TR-EP-3.ABS-3PL
'They burned it'

Mayan languages are pro-drop, and few clauses have both an overt agent and an overt patient, so the identification of transitive versus intransitive verbs lies largely in the verbal morphology. In transitive constructions, both the agent and the patient are cross-referenced on the verb, either through agreement affixes or clitics (although the third person singular absolutive is very often null). Intransitive verbs, on the other hand, only involve verbal indexing for one argument (the subject), which is of the absolutive pronominal series. In those languages which have them, 'status' suffixes (cf. Kaufman 1990) also indicate transitivity, where transitivity or intransitivity is indexed by a suffix (or its absence) which concomitantly indicates aspect and clause type. The morphological differences between transitive and intransitive verbs are demonstrated in (4) from K'iche'. The transitive verb in (4a) has both ergative and absolutive cross-referencing prefixes, as well as a transitive status suffix. The intransitive verb in (4b) has only an absolutive prefix and an intransitive 'status' suffix.

(4) K'iche' (Mondloch 1981: 88, 96)

Transitive:

a. *Š-Ø-qa-k'ut-**uh***
COMPL-3SG.ABS-1PL.ERG-show-TR
'We showed it'

Intransitive:

b. *Š-in-b'e:-**k***
COMPL-1SG.ABS-go-INTR
'I went'

Within these two transitivity categories, Mayan languages also make a morphological distinction between verbs that inherently belong to a particular class ('root' transitives or intransitives), and verbs that belong to that class as the result of derivation ('derived' transitives or intransitives). Verb roots are predominantly of the form CVC, and verbs with other forms tend to belong natively to other word classes. Whether a particular form is built upon a verb root or a derived form has consequences in other areas of the morphology, particularly voice marking and TAM (tense/aspect/mood) marking. The root vs. derived contrast is also sometimes referred to as a 'polysyllabic' versus 'monosyllabic' contrast, since the presence of derivational/voice affixes results in a polysyllabic base.

This distinction between root and derived verbs is most relevant to the current discussion with respect to transitive verbs and voice morphology. In many Mayan languages, voice morphology has a different form with root transitive verbs than it does with derived transitive verbs. This distinction can be seen in several of the antipassive-like constructions in Mayan languages. For example, while the agent focus (AF) construction (discussed in more detail in Section 3.2) in Tz'utujil is indicated morphologically by *-o(w)* when the verb is a root transitive *(-ch'ey*, CVC, as in 5a), it is indicated by *-n* when the verb is a derived transitive (*-chajiij*, polysyllabic, as in 5b).

(5) Tz'utujil (Dayley 1985: 332, 350)
AF with a root transitive:
a. *Jar iixoq x-Ø-ch'ey-**ow**-i*
DET woman COMPL-3SG.ABS-hit-**AF**-INTR
'The woman [was the one who] hit him'
AF with a derived transitive:
b. *Naq n-ee-chajii-**n**-i jar aak'aal-aa7?*[4]
WH INCOMPL-3PL.ABS-care.for-**AF**-INTR DET child-PL
'Who is going to care for the children?'

Whether 'derived' transitive suffixes are treated as status (and thus status suffixes show the root vs. derived contrast) or voice (where derived transitives then lack status suffixes) in a given language differs among scholars.

2.3 Word order and syntax

Mayan languages have relatively free word order. In a given Mayan language, a wide variety of different word orders are possible, but convey different pragmatic, semantic, or discourse-related meanings (cf. England 1991). Additionally, word order in Mayan languages can be affected by the respective animacy and definiteness of the participants. With that said, basic word order in Mayan languages is generally verb-initial, and verb-initiality is central to arguments surrounding the workings of Mayan syntax. The idea that arguments appear in the preverbal position when they are topical or focused is a long-standing observation in Mayan linguistics, an understanding notably formalized in Aissen (1992). Aissen proposed that Mayan languages have two preverbal topic positions which precede a preverbal focus position. In this view, any preverbal argument is either a topic or it is focused. Topics are, broadly, what the sentence is about, and in Mayan topics are generally definite and sometimes accompanied by topic particles/morphemes. Focus, on the other hand,

4. '7' in older Mayan orthographical conventions represents a glottal stop.

highlights a particular argument, and can be read like a cleft in English ('It was X that…'). While the topicalization of an argument does not require any additional morphosyntactic marking (other than topic particles/enclitics in those languages which have them), focusing arguments can trigger the use of antipassive and/or antipassive-like constructions. For example, focusing the agent of a transitive verb in Popti' (Jakaltek) involves the use of AF, as in (6a), while topicalizing the agent of a transitive verb does not (6b).

(6) Popti' (Craig 1977: 11–12, cited in Aissen 1992: 62–63)

a. *Ha' naj x-Ø-maq-**ni** ix*
FOC he COMP[5]-3SG.ABS-hit-**AF** she
'It's he that hit her'

b. *Naj Pel Ø-s-maq naj ix*
CLF Peter 3SG.ABS-3SG.ERG-hit he she
'Peter, he hit her'

This use of antipassive-like constructions under focus has been discussed as syntactic ergativity in Mayan (Dayley 1981; Pye 1992; Campbell 2000; Stiebels 2006, inter alia). Syntactic ergativity can be defined broadly as the differential treatment of subjects of transitive verbs from other arguments, determined by aspects of the syntax. In Mayan, syntactic ergativity refers specifically to the use of antipassive-like constructions to focus the agents of transitive verbs in relative clauses, *wh* questions, focus/clefts, and certain indefinite constructions (also referred to as the "ergative extraction constraint (EEC)", following Aissen 2017). However, the conditions under which various antipassive-like constructions are used varies by language (see e.g. Stiebels 2006; Heaton et al. 2016). Mayan languages do not exhibit syntactic ergativity in the coordination of arguments or clauses, as in some Australian languages.

As a result, in a number of Mayan languages, ergative arguments either cannot or often are not directly questioned, relativized or focused using a transitive verb. However, absolutive arguments (objects of transitive verbs and intransitive subjects) are free to be directly questioned, relativized, or focused without affecting the form of the verb. This pattern is illustrated by the focus constructions in Tz'utujil in (7) below, where focusing the subject of an intransitive verb (7a) or the object of a transitive verb (7b) is acceptable, but focusing the subject of a transitive verb involves a different construction (7c).

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5. Aspect markers in Mayan often have different forms based on the transitivity of the predicate, which can be seen in examples throughout this chapter. However, in (6b) from Popti', /š/ is null (or assimilates) when before /s/ (Craig 1977: 415–416). The aspect marker is not reflected in the glossing because that is not how it appears in the source. Also note that 'x' in modern Mayan orthographies represents /š/, although both representations appear in examples throughout this chapter.

(7) Tz'utujil (Dayley 1985: 385–386)

Focused intransitive subject:

a. *Je7ee7 k'aawari7 b'an-ol b'eey x-**e7**-uul-i*
FOC these make-AGT road COMPL-**3PL.ABS**-arrive-INTR
'It's these road-builders that arrived'

Focused transitive object:

b. *Jaa k'aawa7 n-tzyaq x-**Ø**-in-loq' ri7 (inin)*
FOC this 1SG.POSS-clothes COMPL-**3SG.ABS**-1SG.ERG-buy this 1SG
'It's these clothes that I bought'

Focused transitive subject:

c. *Ja ch'ooy x-Ø-tij-**ow**-i ja kéeso*
FOC rat COMPL-3SG.ABS-eat-**AF**-INTR DET cheese
'It was the rat that ate the cheese'

When focusing the agent of a transitive verb, any voice-type operation which preserves the agent as the (non-ergative) subject can be used. In Tz'utujil this includes an absolutive antipassive, an antipassive plus oblique patient construction, or AF. AF is the most common construction used to focus agents of transitive verbs in Tz'utujil (and in other Mayan languages which have it, cf. Stiebels 2006: 513), as in (7c).

AF cannot be used when the object of a transitive verb or the subject of an intransitive verb is focused. While almost all Mayan languages are morphologically ergative, not all Mayan languages are syntactically ergative; the ergative extraction constraint is found in Mamean, K'ichean, Greater Q'anjob'alan, Yucatecan and in Tsotsil.

3. Antipassive-like structures

Reference works on Mayan languages generally include descriptions of up to three primary types of antipassive-like constructions, often termed something like "absolutive", "focus" or "agentive", and "incorporating" antipassives (cf. Smith-Stark 1978; Dayley 1981).[6] Not all Mayan languages have all three of these constructions,

6. The diachronic history of the various antipassive-like constructions in Mayan is too large a topic to address here. The markers for these constructions have switched functions in some branches of the family, and there is not consensus on what structures the markers were used for in Proto-Mayan (but see Smith-Stark 1978 for an early discussion). This chapter outlines the synchronic features of the different antipassive-type constructions, which are by and large distinct based on their structural characteristics, despite overlap in morphological marking. Those diachronic developments which are discussed are fairly transparent and generally accepted.

nor do the terms as they are used in one description necessarily describe precisely the same phenomenon as that same term describes in another language. While all of these constructions are antipassive-like in that they are based on transitive predicates and only bear a single agreement morpheme which in some cases references the agent, they are otherwise structurally distinct, and their characteristics vary between languages. This section provides an overview of some of the basic characteristics of these three constructions, as well as a few related constructions, across the Mayan family. Each subsection is followed by a discussion of how each set of structures compares to the antipassive definition for this volume.

3.1 Absolutive constructions

First, many Mayan languages have what is called in the Mayan literature an 'absolutive antipassive' construction.[7] In general, absolutive constructions in Mayan correspond to transitive verbs and are formed via the addition of an absolutive voice suffix to the verb. Absolutive constructions are intransitive in that the verb only cross-references the agent. When no patient is present, absolutive constructions often have a habitual or durative interpretation common to antipassive constructions in other languages, and do not imply a specific patient.[8]

In some of the Yucatecan languages, absolutive constructions are patientless, where there is no option to express the patient in an oblique phrase (e.g. Hofling 2000: 57, 393–395 on Itzaj). Patientless absolutive constructions also exist in Kaqchikel, and likely also in a few other K'ichean languages (see Section 3.1.1 below). Aissen (1987) describes the absolutive construction marked by *-van* in Tsotsil as having an implied patient, although when the absolutive construction is formed from ditransitive verbs (as opposed to regular transitive verbs), the patient may appear in an oblique phrase. An example of a patientless absolutive construction in Itzaj is illustrated in (8b), marked by *-n* and a shift from [ä] (phonetically a mid-high central vowel) to [a].

(8) Itzaj (Hofling 2000: 55, 57)

a. *K-u-sätz'-ik-Ø*
INCOMPL-3.ERG-stretch-INCOMPL.TR-3SG.ABS
'S/he stretches it'

7. Note that some authors use the term 'absolutive' to refer only to those instances where the patient in an antipassive construction cannot be overtly expressed (e.g. Nedjalkov 2007). In Mayan, the term 'absolutive' is generally not restricted in this way, as shown in this section.

8. There are small exceptions to this statement in the form of absolutive constructions that have become conventionalized. For example, the absolutive form of *-qüm* 'drink' in Kaqchikel means 'drink (alcohol)', very much akin to a statement like 'he drinks' in English.

b. *Satz'-**n**-aj-ij*
stretch-**ANTIP**-COMPL.INTR-3SG.ABS
'S/he stretched (something)'

However, in most of the other Mayan languages (e.g. Mamean, Q'anjob'alan, Huastec, K'iche'), the patient in the absolutive construction can optionally be expressed in an oblique phrase. An example of this kind of absolutive construction in Ixil is given in (9b) below, which contrasts with a transitive construction in (9a).[9]

(9) Ixil (Ayres 1983: 27)
a. *Kat a-q'os in*
COMPL 2SG.ERG-hit 1SG.ABS
'You hit me'
b. *Kat q'os-**on** axh (s wi7)*
COMPL hit-**ANTIP** 2SG.ABS OBL 1SG
'You hit (me)'

Although most Mayan languages have a single voice marker for the absolutive construction, Huastec has three (*-Vl*, *-Vm*, *-Vsh*), whose distribution is predictable from the transitive stem class marker (Kondic 2016). Polian (2013: 283–288) reports that Tseltal has three absolutive suffixes: *-wan*, which is the most productive and implies a human patient, and *-maj* and *-baj*, which are both unproductive and imply an inanimate patient. The distribution of *-maj* and *-baj* is lexically determined. For most Mayan languages with an absolutive construction, the absolutive construction is quite productive, the patient may be of any type (animate, definite, modified, etc.) and it can appear in most syntactic contexts (both focus and non-focus). However, in Q'anjob'al, the absolutive construction is limited in productivity, appearing with only about two dozen verbs (Mateo Toledo 2008: 73–74).

While the subjects of absolutive constructions in Mayan languages are almost exclusively agentive, there are a small number of examples where some Mayan languages allow an anticausative or 'pseudopassive' (Mondloch 1981: 196) interpretation (see also Mocho' below). The clearest contemporary examples come from K'iche', where the absolutive form of a few verbs can be interpreted as having a patientive subject, and may even permit the agent to appear in an oblique phrase.

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9. England (1983: 212–213) notes that in Mam, the oblique marker in the absolutive construction may be omitted when there is no confusion as to which argument is the agent vs. the patient, based on real-world knowledge. I am unaware of any other cases of the oblique marker being omissible in absolutive constructions elsewhere in Mayan.

(a) Mam (England 1983: 213)
*Ma Ø-tzyuu-**n** Cheep (t-i7j) ch'it*
REC 3SG.ABS-grab-**ANTIP** José 3SG-OBL bird
'Jose grabbed the bird'

(10) K'iche' (Mondloch 1981: 185, 196)

a. *Š-Ø-wuli-**n*** *le:* *xah*
COMPL-3SG.ABS-dismantle-**ANTIP** DET house
'The house fell down'

b. *Š-Ø-wuli-**n*** *le:* *čoma:l* *aw-**uma:l***
COMPL-3SG.ABS-dismantle-**ANTIP** DET meeting 2SG-**OBL**
'The meeting was wrecked by you/You wrecked the meeting'

There is very little evidence for this use of the absolutive construction in Mayan, although for limited similar examples in other K'ichean languages see Heaton (2017: 327–329).

Finally, although England (1983: 219–220) discusses a 'lexical' function for the absolutive antipassive in Mam where an absolutive verb is derived from a noun and there is no corresponding transitive, this is not a common property of absolutive constructions in Mayan languages. While the absolutive form of the verb may be more frequent than the transitive version and both may be derived from a noun (e.g. Kaqchikel *-b'ixan* 'sing' vs. *-b'ixaj* 'sing X', both from *b'ix* 'song'), in the vast majority of cases there is a corresponding transitive verb for all of the antipassive-like constructions discussed in this chapter.

3.1.1 *An important note on K'ichean languages*

K'ichean languages are somewhat exceptional in that they have two different absolutive constructions, one marked with the suffix *-on* and one marked with *-o(w)*.[10] The primary difference is that *-o(w)* absolutive constructions only appear when the agent is focused,[11] while *-on* absolutive constructions may be used regardless of whether the agent is focused. In K'iche', both patterns allow the patient to be expressed optionally in an oblique phrase, although they take different oblique markers: the *-o(w)* absolutive construction uses the genitive *-ee(h)*, while the *-on*

10. *-on* and *-o(w)* have allomorphs *-un* and *-u(w)* which appear when the root vowel is /u/. Also, the morphological distinction between *-on* and *-o(w)* is neutralized with derived transitives, where both constructions are marked simply by *-n*.

11. In the K'ichean literature, it is common for these oblique constructions to be discussed as 'focus antipassives' along with AF, cf. Dayley (1985: 347–351) on Tz'utujil, Du Bois (1981: 246–248) on Sakapultek, and Mondloch (1981: 224–225) on K'iche'. Aissen (2017) similarly discusses these constructions as a type of AF construction ("AF_{obl}" vs. "AF_{dir}") rather than as an absolutive antipassive. The only language this seems potentially appropriate for is Sakapultek, where both the verb and the oblique phrase apparently can simultaneously reference the patient (see Du Bois 1981: 248). In all the other languages, there are compelling reasons why this construction should be distinguished from AF. See Heaton (2017: 342–347) for a full explication.

absolutive construction uses a preposition plus oblique marker *ch-e*.[12] The *-o(w)* pattern in K'iche' is given in (11a), while the *-on* pattern is given in (11b). (11c) illustrates that the *-on* pattern need not involve a focused agent.

(11) K'iche' (Davies & Sam-Colop 1990: 539; Mondloch 1981: 76, 225)

a. *Iš š-iš-yoq'-**ow** (r-e: le: ačih)*
2PL COMPL-2PL.ABS-mock-**ANTIP** 3SG-GEN DET man
'You are the ones who mocked the man'

b. *Xačin š-Ø-yoq'-**on** (č-e: ri: išoq)?*
WH COMPL-3SG.ABS-mock-**ANTIP** PREP-(3SG)OBL DET woman
'Who mocked the woman?'

c. *K-e:-yoq'-**on** ri: winaq (č-q-eh)*
INCOMPL-3PL.ABS-mock-**ANTIP** DET person PREP-1PL-OBL
'The people are mocking us'

However, the facts are somewhat different in the closely related language Kaqchikel in that while Kaqchikel has a comparable *-o(w)* construction (12a) to that of K'iche' (11a), the *-on* absolutive construction does not allow the patient to be expressed in an oblique phrase (12b). See Heaton (2017: 323–326, 342–347) for more details on these constructions in Kaqchikel.

(12) Kaqchikel (Heaton 2017: 345–346)

a. *Ri ixöq x-Ø-kem-**o** (r-ichin ri po't)*
DET woman COMPL-3SG.ABS-weave-**ANTIP** 3SG-OBL DET blouse
'The woman wove the blouse'

b. *N-Ø-mich'-**on** ri xtän *(r-ichin ri äk')*
INCOMPL-3SG.ABS-pluck-**ANTIP** DET girl 3SG-OBL DET chicken
'The girl is plucking (*the chicken)'

From their descriptions, it appears that Tz'utujil (cf. Dayley 1985) and Uspantek (cf. Can Pixabaj 2007) likewise only have patientless *-on* absolutive constructions. Q'eqchi' appears to lack an *-on* absolutive construction altogether (cf. Berinstein 1985), and, unlike in other K'ichean languages, the oblique patient in the *-o(w)* construction is mandatory and cannot be omitted. The examples in (13) demonstrate that the oblique patient phrase is not omissible, even though the verb is morphologically intransitive.

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12. For reference, Davies & Sam Colop (1990) discuss what I am calling here the *-on* absolutive construction as a "retreat clause" (although they use the term "absolutive antipassive" to refer to the patientless version of this construction), while they refer to the *-ow* absolutive construction as the "Antipassive/2–3 retreat" construction.

(13) Q'eqchi' (Berinstein 1985: 183)

a. *Laˍin x-in-sac'-**o**-c r-e*
1SG COMPL-1SG.ABS-hit-**ANTIP**-INTR 3SG-OBL
'I hit her/him/it'

b. **Laˍin x-in-sac'-**o**-c*
1SG COMPL-1SG.ABS-hit-**ANTIP**-INTR
intended: 'I hit'

Although it is not a K'ichean language, Popti' likewise appears to have an absolutive construction where the oblique patient is not omissible. Craig (1979: 143) states that the oblique patient in the absolutive construction in Popti' "is characterized by (a) its obligatory presence, (b) its animacy, and (c) its non-dative relational noun." As such, the patient in the cognate absolutive construction is required in both Popti' and in Q'eqchi' in ways it is not in other Mayan languages.

3.1.2 *Other major variations in absolutive constructions*

There are several Mayan languages which have antipassive-like morphemes or constructions cognate with the absolutive construction in other Mayan languages but which have changed over time such that they differ significantly from the description of absolutive constructions given above. First, Ch'ol has an absolutive morpheme *-oñ* which is cognate with the **(V)n* detransitivizing morphemes in other Mayan languages. However, predicates with the *-oñ* marker in Ch'ol are nominalizations, and do not appear independently as finite verbs (cf. Coon 2013).

(14) Ch'ol (Coon 2013: 68)
*Tyi k-cha'l-e wuts'-**oñ**-el*
PFV 1.ERG-do-TR wash-**ANTIP**-NMLZ
'I washed'

Second, Mopan is closely related to Yucatec, which marks absolutive constructions with an *-n* suffix and/or tone and vowel length (cf. Bricker et al. 1998: 349). However, Danziger (1996) discusses the fact that the loss of tone in Mopan, as well as the shift to an active alignment system, caused constructions which are antipassives in Yucatec either to be ambitransitive in Mopan or be realized only by a change in the root-internal vowel. For example, in (15a) the transitive form has a root vowel /ä/ (phonetically a mid-central vowel), while in (15b) the intransitive has a root vowel /a/, which Danziger (1996: 399) claims is cognate with the Yucatec falling tone on the antipassive stem.

(15) Mopan (Danziger 1996: 398)
a. *Tan in-päk'-ik-Ø in aros*
DUR 1.ACT-plant.**TR**-INCOMPL.TR-3.PAT 1.POSS rice
'I'm planting my rice'

b. *Tan in-**pak**'*
DUR 1.ACT[12]-plant.**INTR**
'I'm planting'

As such, in Mopan, internal changes alone signal transitive versus intransitive versions of stems, rather than the addition of a voice suffix, since a morpheme cognate with the Yucatec *-n* never appears with these forms. Similar transitive/intransitive alternations marked by a vowel and/or tone changes have been called antipassives in Circassian languages (see Arkadiev and Letuchiy, this volume) and some Nilotic languages (see Schröder 2006). However, as Danziger (1996: 399) notably remarks, "Although a detransitive stem cognate with the Antipassive stem of the other Yucatecan languages can be identified in Mopan, Mopan does not make use of an Antipassive voice on the general Yucatecan or, indeed, the pan-Mayan model (Dayley 1981)."

Additionally, Palosaari (2011: 190–207) argues for Mocho' that the absolutive construction which exists in other Mayan languages developed into a middle voice construction marked by *-o:n*. Mocho' differs from the other Mayan languages with absolutive constructions in that it lacks the use of relational nouns as oblique markers in antipassive-like constructions. As such, the *-o:n* marker in Mocho' covers the usual patient-omitting (16a) and incorporating (16b, see Section 3.3) functions that antipassive-like constructions have in the other Mayan languages, but there are a few examples where the patient may be overt, definite and specific, as in (16c), but does not appear in an oblique phrase.

(16) Mocho' (Palosaari 2011: 194, 196, 201)
a. *We winaq ch-Ø-'e:lq'a-**:n**-i*
DET man INCOMPL-3SG.ABS-steal-**MID**-INTR
'The man is robbing (as a lifestyle)'
b. *K-Ø-lo'-**o:n**-qe ixɨ̀:m*
POT-3SG.ABS-eat-**MID**-PL corn
'They eat corn' ('they are raised on corn'/'they corn-eat')
c. *Chk-i:-me:s-**u:n** i:-nhaj*
INCOMPL.PROG-1SG.ABS-sweep-**MID** 1SG.POSS-house
'I'm sweeping my house'

13. The agreement marker glossed as ACT in (15) is cognate with the ergative marker in other Mayan languages. If it is considered ergative, then the presence of the ergative in (15b) would raise questions about whether this construction is intransitive. However, if one accepts Danziger's (1996) active alignment analysis, then the ergative/agentive is expected, since the interpretation of (15b) indicates that 'plant' is an agentive intransitive. As such, person marking would not be an obstacle to considering this an antipassive.

While these *-o:n* constructions could qualify as 'middle' under some definitions, almost all Palosaari's examples do not exhibit a "low elaboration of events" (Kemmer 1993: 213); there is often a high degree of distinguishability between both participants, as in (16b) and (16c), and most of the verbs do not fit the profile for prototypical middle events (see Kemmer 1993: 267–270). Additionally, these *-o:n* constructions are transparently related to Mayan antipassives, and produce the same habitual/durative aspectual associations, and emphasize the predicate (cf. Palosaari 2011: 200) in the same way that the absolutive construction does in other Mayan languages. As such, the core function of this construction probably has more in common with the antipassive than with the middle (cf. also the K'iche' examples in 10 above where the absolutive may occasionally have a middle or passive-type use). However, while the *-o:n* construction in Mocho' exhibits many of the same structural and semantic characteristics as the absolutive construction in other Mayan languages, the fact that the patient, when present, simply follows the verb and never appears in an oblique phrase constitutes a significant difference between the Mocho' construction and the other examples in this section.

3.1.3 *Is the absolutive construction an antipassive?*

Absolutive constructions in many Mayan languages qualify as antipassives by the criteria put forth for this volume: they regularly correspond to transitive constructions with the same general meaning, and the subject of the transitive construction is encoded as the only core argument of the antipassive construction. Some Mayan languages (e.g. Yucatecan and Tseltalan languages) do not allow the patient to appear as an oblique argument, while most others do. Several K'ichean languages appear to have both of these options encoded as separate constructions, although this is also related to focus. However, note that in Q'eqchi' and Popti' the patient is not omissible, despite being marked as an oblique (non-core) argument. All of these constructions are also marked morphologically by a suffix, save in Yucatecan languages (and Mopan in particular) where the transitivity of the stem can be indicated by tone and/or vowel quality. The most common function of the absolutive antipassive is to remove the patient from the discourse and focus on the action of the verb.

Constructions in Ch'ol with the cognate antipassive suffix would not qualify as antipassives since they do not appear independently as finite verbs. Additionally, although the cognate construction for the absolutive in Mocho' is in many ways the same as the absolutive antipassive in other Mayan languages, the fact that specific patients, when present, are not encoded as obliques (given that we expect overt oblique marking in these languages) would preclude it from inclusion here as an antipassive. One could certainly argue that the lack of a relational noun in this construction does not mean the patient is a core argument (it is not cross-referenced on the verb), and that the other characteristics of this construction match absolutive

antipassives in other languages argue for its inclusion. However, note that the fact that patients likewise do not appear in an oblique phrase in AF constructions is one factor that has historically led Mayanists to characterize it as syntactically transitive (see Section 3.2). Also, since overt patients in the 'middle' in Mocho' tend to be nonspecific, indefinite or undifferentiated, the construction also bears a strong resemblance to the incorporating construction (see Section 3.3).[14]

3.2 Agent focus (AF)

The Mayan agent focus construction, formerly called the 'focus' or 'agentive' antipassive, now consistently called 'agent focus' or AF, has received a lot of attention in the literature because it displays an unusual set of characteristics. While not all Mayan languages have an AF construction, examples of AF can be found in languages in most branches of the family. AF, like the other constructions discussed in this section, involves a verb which only cross-references one of its semantic arguments, and in most cases is indicated by one of the same two suffixes that appear with absolutive antipassives (a reflex of either **-(V)n* or **-(V)w* (Smith-Stark 1978)). However, AF differs from the other constructions in several ways: first, unlike in the absolutive antipassive, the patient does not appear in an oblique phrase, and unlike in the incorporating construction (see Section 3.3), the patient is frequently definite, modified, proper, etc. This has led several scholars to describe AF as syntactically transitive, despite having intransitive verbal morphology. While the patient NP in an AF construction may be omitted, it is always understood (a known, specific third person; see e.g. Heaton 2017: 222). An example of an AF construction in Sipakapense is given in (17b). The verb bears a single absolutive agreement morpheme, as well as a suffix *-(o)w* that marks the construction. A transitive sentence is given for comparison in (17a).

(17) Sipakapense (Barrett 1999: 48, 114)

a. *May k-(i)-r-b'an jun jaay*
May INCOMPL-3SG.ABS-3SG.ERG-make one house
'May is making a house'

b. *Qi' Liiy x-Ø-b'an-**(o)w** q-woy*
DIM Liiy COMPL-3SG.ABS-make-**AF** 1PL.POSS-food
'It was little Liiy [that] made our food'

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14. Perhaps the fact that oblique marking for the patient is optional in some antipassive examples in Mam (see fn. 9) provides evidence for gradience between mandatory and absent oblique marking.

Second, AF in most languages follows a different agreement pattern than typical intransitive verbs. For example, in K'ichean languages, the single verbal cross-referencing morpheme indexes the argument (either the agent or the patient) which is more prominent/salient, i.e. first and second persons over third persons, and plurals over singulars. In instances where both arguments are third persons of equal number, as in (17b) from Sipakapense above, indexing is ambiguous between the agent or the patient, but the focused NP is always interpreted as the agent. This hierarchical agreement pattern is illustrated in the examples below from Tz'utujil, where the verb indexes the first person argument regardless of whether it is the agent or the patient.

(18) Tz'utujil (Dayley 1985: 349)

a. *Inin x-in-ch'ey-**ow**-i jar aachi*
1SG COMPL-1SG.ABS-hit-**AF**-INTR DET man
'I was the one who hit the man'

b. *Jar aachi x-in-ch'ey-**ow**-i*
DET man COMPL-1SG.ABS-hit-**AF**-INTR
'The man was the one who hit me'

Although K'ichean languages allow either the agent or the patient to be first or second persons in AF, they do not permit AF when neither argument is a third person (i.e. in 1>2 or 2>1 person combinations). This is demonstrated by the following Kaqchikel examples, where (19a) shows the ungrammaticality of an AF construction to express a 1>2 proposition. Alternately, an absolutive antipassive (19b) could be used in this context.

(19) Kaqchikel (Heaton 2017: 335)

AF:

a. **Ja rïn x-i-ch'ay-**o** rat*
FOC 1SG COMPL-1SG.ABS-hit-**AF** 2SG
Target: 'I hit you'

-o(w) absolutive antipassive:

b. *Ja rïn x-i-ch'ay-**o** aw-**ichin***
FOC 1SG COMPL-1SG.ABS-hit-**ANTIP** 2SG-**OBL**
'I hit you'

In non-K'ichean languages with AF (Q'anjob'alan, Tsotsil, Ixil), the AF verb agrees exclusively with the patient, regardless of the respective salience/prominence of the agent and the patient. This agreement pattern is illustrated in (20) from Akatek, where the agent is first person but the verb indexes the third person patient.

(20) Akatek (Zavala 1997: 452)
*Ja'-in Ø-ij-**on**-toj naj unin*
FOC-1SG 3.ABS-back.carry-**AF**-DIR CLF boy
'It is I [who] carried the boy'

Unlike in Akatek, in several of the other Q'anjob'alan languages AF can only be used when the agent is third person. Patient agreement in these languages makes sense from a salience point of view, since the patient will generally be more or equally as salient as a third person agent. An AF clause in Chuj is given in (21a), while (21b) demonstrates that AF does not appear when the agent is not a third person.

(21) Chuj (Hou 2013: 11)
a. *Ha ix ix-in-il-**an**-i*
FOC CLF/woman COMPL-1SG.ABS-see-**AF**-INTR
'It was she/the woman [who] saw me'
b. *Ha in ix-Ø-w-il ix*
FOC 1SG.ABS COMPL-3SG.ABS-1SG.ERG-see CLF/woman
'It was I who saw her/the woman'

While AF constructions in most Mayan languages are marked morphologically by a verbal suffix, Yucatec has a similar, unmarked construction which is sometimes discussed as AF. In addition to lacking a verbal marker, AF in Yucatec (and Lacandón) also differs in that it retains transitive 'status' marking, whereas AF clauses receive intransitive status marking in most other Mayan languages (cf. the Chuj example in 21a). (22b) illustrates what has been called an AF clause in Yucatec, which contrasts with the transitive construction in (22b).

(22) Yucatec (Tonhauser 2007: 545)
a. *Maax t-uy-il **ah**-Ø María?*
WH PFV-3SG.ERG-see **COMPL.TR**-3SG.ABS María
'María, who did she see?'
b. *Maax il-(**eh**)-Ø María?*
WH see-**SBJV.TR**-3SG.ABS María
'María, who saw her?'

In addition to differences between AF and other antipassive-like constructions with respect to status, oblique marking, and argument indexing, AF mainly appears in syntactic contexts where the agent of a transitive verb is focused.[15] As discussed in Section 2.4, the primary contexts where AF commonly appears across Mayan languages include *wh* questions, relative clauses, some indefinite constructions,

15. There are a handful of exceptions to this generalization; see Heaton (2017: 334–341) and Aissen (2017) for details.

and other contexts where a (non-topic) argument appears in front of the verb. AF lacks any other aspectual or functional correlates beyond being restricted to these contexts.

AF is the primary way to focus agents of transitive verbs in those Mayan languages which have AF. In those languages which lack AF and have an ergative extraction constraint, the absolutive antipassive assumes that function (e.g. in Mam). However, many Mayan languages have both absolutive antipassives and AF. In languages with both, antipassives "seem to be disfavored as a means of disambiguation in most Mayan languages that exhibit agent focus" (Stiebels 2006: 513). This is corroborated by my data on Kaqchikel, where AF is four times more frequent in focus contexts than antipassives (although both forms are grammatical). For a discussion of the functional differences between *-o* absolutive antipassives with oblique patients and AF in focus contexts in Kaqchikel, see Heaton (2017: 403–413).

3.2.1 *Other major variations in AF constructions*

In Q'anjob'alan proper, AF also appears in non-finite embedded transitive clauses (dubbed the 'crazy' antipassive in Kaufman 1990). The appearance of AF in clauses in Q'anjob'al where the agent is focused is demonstrated in (23b). (23c) gives an AF verb in Q'anjob'al in a non-finite embedded clause, which contrasts with the corresponding transitive construction in (23a). See Coon et al. (2014) for a proposed formal explanation of what unifies these two contexts.

(23) Q'anjob'al (Coon et al. 2014: 180, 187)

a. *Max-ach y-il-a'*
COMPL-2.ABS 3.ERG-see-TR
'She saw you'

b. *Maktxel max-ach il-**on**-i?*
WH COMPL-2.ABS see-**AF**-INTR
'Who saw you?'

c. *Chi uj [hach y-il-**on**-i]*
INCOMPL be.able.to 2.ABS 3.ERG-see-**AF**-INTR
'She can see you'

Additionally, while the function of AF is primarily to focus the agents of transitive verbs, Aissen (1999) has suggested that AF in Tsotsil also serves an inverse function. In Tsotsil, AF is used when the agent is focused and the patient is more animate, definite, or individuated than the agent. When that is not the case, transitive verbs tend to be used. Transitive verbs in most other Mayan languages show differences in the respective animacy/definiteness/individuation of their arguments in other ways, e.g. with respect to word order (see Section 2.4).

There are many smaller ways that AF differs even among closely related languages, primarily in its distribution with respect the finer points of the syntax of focus.[16] As these points are largely irrelevant to the characterization of this construction as an antipassive (or not), they will not be addressed here.

3.2.2 *Is the AF construction an antipassive?*

While AF constructions do have some antipassive characteristics, they do not qualify as antipassives by the criteria here. While AF is a morphologically intransitive construction with an agentive subject which corresponds to a transitive construction with the same meaning, the patient is not encoded as an oblique argument, and may be cross-referenced on the verb. Also, although it is quite productive in languages which have it, AF can only correspond to a transitive construction in certain, limited syntactic contexts, namely when the agent of a transitive clause is focused. Unlike the antipassive, AF primarily serves a syntactic function, and it lacks any particular semantic function other than to focus the agent. However, like an antipassive, only one of the two core arguments of the verb is cross-referenced on the AF verb, and in most languages AF is indicated by a verbal voice marker, which in some languages is shared with the absolutive antipassive.

3.3 Incorporating constructions

The 'incorporating' or 'incorporative' construction differs from the absolutive antipassive primarily in that the patient either immediately follows the verb or appears within the verbal complex, and does not appear in an oblique phrase. Additionally, the patient argument must be unmodified by adjectives, classifiers, etc., have a non-specific referent, and in some languages be non-human. Some of the best-known examples of the incorporating construction in Mayan come from Yucatec, where the patient argument can appear between the verb root and the absolutive antipassive marker, as in (24b). The verb takes the same suffix (*-n*) as the absolutive antipassive in Yucatec, and only the agent is cross-referenced via an absolutive pronominal suffix (*-en*). Mithun (1984) considers this to be an example of Type I compounding, where the noun in the compound is non-referential, unmodified, and has no independent syntactic status.

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16. Some such parameters of variation include whether AF is required when the agent is focused but the patient is indefinite, whether a co-referential reading is available with an AF verb in extended reflexives, and the relationship of intervening adverbials to the presence of AF (on this last point, see Erlewine 2016 and Henderson & Coon 2018).

(24) Yucatec (cf. Mithun 1984: 857, based on Bricker 1978)
a. *T-in-č'ak-ah-Ø* *če'*
COMPL-1SG.ERG-chop-COMPL.TR-3SG.ABS tree
'I chopped a tree'
b. *Č'ak-**če'**-**n**-ah-en*
chop-**tree**-**ANTIP**-COMPL.TR-1SG.ABS
'I wood-chopped'

This particular type of compounding is found in Yucatecan, and is not found in other Mayan languages.

In the other Mayan languages which have an incorporating construction, the patient simply follows immediately after the verb, and cannot appear within the verb complex, as in (25b) below from Q'anjob'al. The patient appears in its canonical, post-verbal syntactic position, only the agent is cross-referenced on the verb, and the verb gains a suffix *-wi* (a reflex of **-(V)w*, although in other languages the incorporating construction is marked by a reflex of **-(V)n)*. There is no requirement that the agent be focused.

(25) Q'anjob'al (Mateo Toledo 2008: 72)
a. *Ch-Ø-in-waj* *Ø-sakate* *no* *chej*
INCOMPL-3SG.ABS-1SG.ERG-gather 3SG.POSS-fodder CLF horse
'I was gathering the horse's fodder'
b. *B'ab'el-al* *max-in* *waj-**wi*** *sakate*
first-ABSTN COMPL-1SG.ABS gather-**INC** fodder
'First I gathered fodder'

While the incorporating construction is quite productive in Q'anjob'al (cf. Mateo-Toledo 2008: 72), in other Mayan languages a limited set of verbs and patients appear in this construction (e.g. England 1983: 218–219 on Mam), primarily those referring to regular daily activities.

In a few Mayan languages (namely Huastec and Q'eqchi'), the incorporative construction may be required in some contexts based on characteristics of the patient. In Q'eqchi', the incorporative construction is mandatory when the patient is non-referential. (26a) shows that a transitive construction in Q'eqchi' with an indefinite, non-referential patient is ungrammatical, and (26b) gives the corresponding grammatical incorporating construction.

(26) Q'eqchi' (Berinstein 1985: 230)
a. **X-Ø-ka-tz'iba* *hu*
COMPL-3SG.ABS-1PL.ERG-write letters
intended: 'We wrote letters'

b. *X-o-tz'iba-**n*** *hu*
COMPL-1PL.ABS-write-**INC** letters
'We wrote letters'

However, Q'eqchi' is unusual in that the patient in the incorporating construction can be accompanied adjectives and quantity words (27), which is not possible in most other languages.

(27) Q'eqchi' (Berinstein 1985: 226)
*L-in co ta-Ø-lok'-**o**-k kanal tul*
ART-1SG.POSS daughter FUT-3SG.ABS-buy-**INC**-INTR ripe bananas
'My daughter will buy ripe bananas'

While several Mayan languages allow the patient to be plural (e.g. Mam in (28)), it must otherwise be unmodified.

(28) Mam (England 1983: 219)
*Ma Ø-b'iincha-**n** qa-jaa*
REC 3SG.ABS-make-**INC** PL-house
'He constructed houses'

Additionally, while in most Mayan languages the verb in the incorporating construction agrees exclusively with the agent, in K'iche' the verb can agree with the patient if the patient is plural (see 29 below). This suggests that the incorporating construction in K'iche' has more in common with AF than it does in other Mayan languages, since agreement is governed by a salience hierarchy. Because 'incorporated' patients cannot be first or second persons, the only instance where the verb would agree with the patient instead of the agent would be if the patient were plural. In K'iche' when the patient is plural and the agent is singular, as in (29), the verb cross-references the plural patient and not the singular agent.

(29) K'iche' (Mondloch 1981: 250)
*Nax k-e:-pil-**ow** ak' le: išoq*
long.time INCOMPL-**3PL.ABS**-butcher-**INC** chicken DET woman
'It takes a long time for the woman to chicken-gut'

The incorporating construction in K'iche' is also unusual in that it is almost always introduced by an adverbial (in (29): *nax* 'long time'). This is not the case in other Mayan languages.

3.3.1 *Are incorporating constructions antipassives?*

Although incorporating constructions in most Mayan languages are not typical examples of noun incorporation, they likewise would not qualify here as antipassives (and noun incorporation has been excluded from the core of what is an antipassive

for this volume; see the introduction). Unlike an antipassive, the patient neither appears in an oblique phrase nor is it generally omissible. This is of course expected if the patient is 'incorporated', but recall that in most Mayan languages with this construction, the patient follows the verb, and in some cases may be separated from it by modifiers (namely in Q'eqchi'). However, the incorporating construction is antipassive-like in the same ways as AF, where only one of the two core arguments is cross-referenced on the verb and the construction is signaled in many cases by the same suffix which marks the absolutive antipassive and/or AF.

In terms of function, like noun incorporation (and antipassives) in other languages, the incorporating construction serves to background unimportant, indefinite patients that are not the focus of the discourse, and it is even required when the patient is non-specific and non-referential in Huastec and Q'eqchi' (in which case it does not correspond to a transitive construction with precisely the same meaning). While in most languages the verb in the incorporating construction agrees exclusively with the agent, this is not the case in K'iche' which allows agreement with the patient.

3.3.2 *Reflexive/reciprocal constructions*

While most Mayan languages have transitive reflexives/reciprocal constructions, some also have the option of using an antipassive-like construction to express the same meaning. Such constructions have been discussed as a subtype of the incorporating construction (e.g. Mondloch 1981: 253 on K'iche', where such reflexives/reciprocals are considered to be an exception to the rule that incorporated patients cannot be possessed). Alternately, such reflexive/reciprocals and the incorporating construction both have been considered subtypes of AF (e.g. Ajsivinac & Henderson 2011: 17; Coon 2016), arguably produced by the same underlying mechanisms. While the antipassive-like reflexive/reciprocal construction indeed shares characteristics with both AF and the incorporative construction, there are several notable differences which merit discussion.

In Mayan languages, reflexives/reciprocals typically are regular transitive constructions. The reflexive/reciprocal morpheme is a bound element (akin to English *-self*) which acts as the object of a transitive verb. The transitive verb invariably cross-references a third person singular object, while the person and number features of the agent(s) are expressed via the possessive marker on the bound reflexive/reciprocal element. If there is a singular agent/patient argument in this construction, it is interpreted as a reflexive, while constructions with plural referents can be interpreted as either reciprocal or reflexive, given the appropriate semantic context (e.g. in (30), people are more likely to be hitting each other than themselves). An example of this type of transitive reflexive/reciprocal construction in Tseltal is given below (my translation).

(30) Tseltal (Polian 2013: 303)
*Och k-uts'in-Ø=ix j-**ba**-tik, ya j-maj-Ø*
enter 1.ERG-bother-3.ABS=already 1-**REFL**-1PL INCOMPL 1.ERG-hit-3.ABS
*j-**ba**-tik*
1-**REFL**-1PL
'We started to bother each other, and to hit each other'

In contrast, information on detransitivized or antipassive-like reflexive/reciprocal constructions is not readily available for most Mayan languages, if indeed one exists in them at all. In those languages which are known to have it, its properties vary. In general, it shares the core characteristics of antipassive-like constructions discussed in this chapter, namely that the verb only cross-references one of its semantic arguments (or in this case its only semantic argument), it involves one of the two voice suffixes associated with antipassive-like phenomena in Mayan languages, and it corresponds to a transitive construction. The reflexive element appears as it does in the transitive reflexive (see (30) above), and not in an oblique phrase. This construction is illustrated twice in (31) from Kaqchikel.

(31) Kaqchikel (Heaton 2017: 362)
*Achi'el y-e-xari-**n** k-i',*
like INCOMPL-3PL.ABS-court-**DETR** 3PL-REFL
*y-e-k'ama-**n** k-i'*
INCOMPL-3PL.ABS-date-**DETR** 3PL-REFL
'Like they were courting or dating each other'

If this is a subtype of the incorporating construction, it is unusual in that the patient is typically human, and is always specific/referential and possessed (none of which are possible as incorporated patients in Kaqchikel). Additionally, at least in Kaqchikel, the reflexive element need not be adjacent to the verb stem.

Unlike AF, the agent in this type of reflexive clause need not be focused or even overtly present (as shown in 30). While some languages allow the detransitivized reflexive/reciprocal construction to be used when the agent is focused (Kaqchikel, Chuj), this is not possible in K'iche' (Mondloch 1981: 232), where the transitive reflexive/reciprocal construction is used. In Mayan languages in general, restrictions on focusing ergative arguments do not extend to the reflexive context (cf. Coon 2016: 537).

While most Mayan languages which have this type of detransitivized reflexive/reciprocal construction also have a corresponding transitive reflexive/reciprocal construction, as in (30), in Mam the reflexive/reciprocal is always expressed using a detransitivized construction. However, the reflexive/reciprocal construction in Mam differs in that the verb bears ergative instead of absolutive agreement marking,

and England discusses it as involving a mixture of transitive and intransitive features (England 1983: 188).

(32) Mam (England 1983: 74)
*Ma kub' **t**-b'iyoo-**n** t-iib' xiinaq*
REC DIR **3SG.ERG**-kill-**DETR** 3SG-REFL man
'The man killed himself'

In the related language Ixil, Ayres (1990: 25) reports that while transitive verbs are prevalent in reflexive constructions, antipassive-like reflexive constructions (with absolutive agreement) are acceptable in at least some idiomatic contexts.

3.3.3 *Are detransitivized reflexives/reciprocals antipassives?*

This same rationale that applies to the incorporating construction and AF likewise applies detransitivized reflexive/reciprocal constructions; while they do correspond to a transitive construction of equivalent meaning (except in Mam) and only one of the two core arguments is cross-referenced on the verb, the reflexive element (formally the patient) never appears in an oblique phrase and cannot be omitted. However, it is unlike the incorporating construction in that the patient is typically human, and is always specific/referential and possessed. Additionally, it is unlike AF in that the agent need not (or cannot) be focused. Like the other antipassive-like constructions described here, the construction is signaled by a verbal suffix which may overlap with marking for the absolutive antipassive, the incorporating construction and/or AF. However, by the criteria outlined for this volume, this detransitivized reflexive/reciprocal construction does not qualify as an antipassive. Although this construction is generally not well-described in Mayan and its properties appear to vary widely, at least in K'ichean languages a semantic difference between the detransitivized reflexive/reciprocal and the transitive reflexive/reciprocal has not been identified (see Heaton 2017: 365 and Mondloch 1981: 339).

4. Conclusion

It is clear from the discussion in Section 3 that whether a given construction can be considered an antipassive by the criteria here depends on its characteristics in a given language, since the features of the various antipassive-like constructions in Mayan languages are not uniform across the family. While the 'absolutive', 'incorporating', and 'focus'/'agentive' constructions have been called antipassives by various authors in the history of Mayan linguistics, not all of these constructions satisfy the criteria used here for antipassives, nor are they widely considered to be antipassives by Mayanists currently. Most notably, many scholars (Ayres 1983; Stiebels

2006; Tonhauser 2007; Coon et al. 2014, inter alia) have contested the idea that AF constructions constitute antipassives, and consequently most scholars writing on topics related to Mayan syntax have switched from terminology which suggests this construction is an antipassive to the non-suggestive term 'agent focus' (AF). The only type of construction found in Mayan languages which is clearly an example of an antipassive is the type of absolutive antipassive where the verb exclusively indexes the agent, there is a verbal marker for the construction (either as a vowel shift/tone or a suffix), and, depending on the language, the patient either appears in an oblique phrase or cannot be overtly expressed. The other constructions discussed here fall somewhere between transitive and intransitive, neither entirely one nor the other, and as such may be better labeled something like 'semi-transitive' or 'transitivity discord' constructions (see e.g. Dryer 2007; Zúñiga 2018), although this is not how they are generally referred to in Mayan linguistics. Additionally, labels often obscure the amount of variation that exists even among closely related Mayan languages, so it is important when doing typological research to look carefully at the characteristics of these constructions in each individual description.

Abbreviations

The glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, additional abbreviations are as follows:

ABSTN	abstract noun
AF	agent focus
ACT	active (in active-stative alignment)
AGT	agentive
DETR	detransitivized reflexive/ reciprocal construction
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional
EP	Epenthetic segment
INC	incorporative construction
INCOMPL	incompletive
MID	middle
PAT	patient
POT	potential
PREP	preposition
REC	recent past
WH	*wh*-word

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CHAPTER 18

When an antipassive isn't an antipassive anymore

The Actor Voice construction in Kelabit

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This paper presents the Actor Voice (AV) construction in Kelabit, a Western Austronesian language spoken in Northern Sarawak, Malaysia. It compares Kelabit AV with prototypical antipassives and related constructions in the more conservative Western Austronesian languages, using case studies of West Greenlandic and Tagalog. On the basis of morphosyntactic, semantic and discourse diagnostics, the paper demonstrates that Tagalog AV constructions have the semantic and discourse characteristics of antipassives but are syntactically transitive. In contrast, Kelabit AV, which is also syntactically transitive, has a mixture of semantic and discourse properties: some antipassive-like but many active-like. This has important implications for Western Austronesian and the theory of alignment shift, as well as the ways in which antipassives vary and change over time.

Keywords: antipassive, alignment shift, Austronesian, West Greenlandic, Tagalog, Kelabit

1. Introduction

This paper discusses a construction in Western Austronesian languages that has been subject to a wide variety of analyses in the literature (Aldridge 2004b; Himmelmann 2005a; Rackowski & Richards 2005; Kaufman 2009; Adelaar 2013). It is referred to in this paper as Actor Voice (AV) and forms part of a system of alternations in verbal morphology that are typical of Western Austronesian languages (see Section 3). In the more conservative languages in the Philippines, Actor Voice constructions have sometimes been analysed as antipassives on the basis of discourse and semantic similarities (Gerdts 1988; Gault 1999; Mithun 1994, this volume; Liao 2004; Aldridge 2012). However, equivalent constructions in the more innovative languages in Indonesia appear to mark active voice (Aldridge 2008; Cole

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& Hermon 2008). Consequently, it has been proposed that Western Austronesian languages have undergone a shift in alignment in which AV is reanalysed from antipassive to active voice (Aldridge 2011; Kikusawa 2017).

In this paper, I present the AV construction in the Kelabit language of Northern Sarawak, which is genetically and geographically in-between the languages of the Philippines and Indonesia (Hudson 1978). I explore the idea that Kelabit AV may have been reanalysed from an antipassive by comparing the morphosyntactic, semantic and discourse properties of the construction with those of typical antipassives and related AV constructions in more conservative Western Austronesian languages, using the examples of West Greenlandic and Tagalog. The Kelabit data was collected during fieldwork and comprises examples from naturalistic texts as well as elicited sentences and judgements. These are compared with case studies of West Greenlandic and Tagalog from the extensive literature, with sources for examples and analyses provided. On the basis of this comparison, I argue that it is possible to find AV constructions that are functionally and semantically equivalent to antipassives without being syntactically intransitive, and that Kelabit AV represents a possible midpoint in the development from antipassive to active clause, but one that can be seen at the levels of discourse and semantics rather than in the morphosyntax. This has important implications for our understanding of Western Austronesian voice and also the synchronic and diachronic treatment of antipassives.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 defines the antipassive in terms of its typical morphosyntactic, semantic and discourse properties, illustrating with examples from West Greenlandic. Section 3 introduces the AV construction in Tagalog and presents some evidence for why this is functionally equivalent to an antipassive though morphosyntactically transitive. Section 4 presents the AV construction in Kelabit and demonstrates that it has a mixture of properties, some of which are antipassive-like and some of which are active-like. Section 5 considers the implications for our understanding of antipassives cross-linguistically and how they may change over time and Section 6 concludes.

2. Antipassives

In order to compare the AV construction with antipassives, it is necessary to identify the typical properties of the antipassive cross-linguistically. In keeping with the definition adopted throughout this volume, antipassives are understood as an alternative means of expressing an event involving two participants that is lower in transitivity than the equivalent transitive construction. However, in this paper, transitivity is understood not just in syntactic but also semantic and discourse terms (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Givón 1983) and antipassives will be shown to

have characteristics of lower transitivity at each of these levels. Hence, antipassives are identifiable not only by their morphosyntactic properties, but also by their semantic and discourse characteristics (see also Mithun, this volume). To illustrate the different dimensions of lower transitivity and provide tests that can be used to analyse the AV construction, examples are given from West Greenlandic, where the various features of the antipassive are well-described and can be shown in a single language. However, though the examples are from West Greenlandic, the characteristics are widely reported in the literature on antipassives (e.g. Cooreman 1994; Polinsky 2005, 2017), as well as the studies in this volume, and can be understood as cross-linguistically valid.

In terms of morphosyntax, a basic transitive clause is one in which both the agent-like argument (henceforth *actor*) and the patient-like argument (henceforth *undergoer*) are realised as core arguments of the predicate. In contrast, the antipassive is an intransitive construction in which the actor remains a core argument, whilst the undergoer is demoted to a syntactic oblique or left unexpressed (Polinsky 2017).[1] Like the passive, it represents an alternation in the mapping of arguments to grammatical functions that is morphosyntactically *asymmetrical* since it is accompanied by detransitivisation and (in many cases) increased morphological marking when compared with basic transitive clauses. This differs from the so-called *symmetrical* alternations in Western Austronesian that will be described in Section 3.

The difference in morphosyntactic transitivity can be illustrated from West Greenlandic, where the antipassive is characterised by instrumental marking on the undergoer and one of the following antipassive affixes on the verb: *-ller-, -nnig-, -i-/-si-*or *-Ø-* (Bittner 1987; Schmidt 2003).[2] Consider the example in (1).

(1) West Greenlandic (Eskimo-Aleut; Keenan & Dryer 2007: 359)

a. **Ergative**

arna-p niqi niri-vaa

woman-ERG meat.ABS eat-TR.IND.3SG.ERG>3SG.ABS

'The woman ate the meat.'

---

1. Antipassives often occur in languages with syntactic ergativity where they also play a role in case and pivot assignment (see Polinsky 2017). However, pragmatic/semantic antipassives are not restricted to any alignment type (see Janic 2013; Mithun, this volume).

2. The distribution of the antipassive morphemes in West Greenlandic is beyond the scope of this paper. As discussed in Schmidt (2003), the choice depends partly on the verbal stem to which the affix attaches. However, there are different opinions as to whether the affixes are allomorphs, selected by the verb (Woodbury 1975; Fortescue 1984), or whether they are different morphemes, encoding information about aspect in addition to voice (Bittner 1987). In any case, they share a similar function and similar morphosyntactic, semantic and discourse characteristics. Hence, the antipassive is discussed as a single construction. Glosses have been unified for expository purposes.

b. **Antipassive**
arnaq *niqi-mik* *niri-nnig-puq*
woman.ABS meat-INS eat-ANTIP-INTR.IND.3SG.ABS
'The woman ate meat.'

In (1a), the transitive verb is unmarked for voice and agrees with both the ergative actor and the absolutive undergoer. The antipassive verb in (1b), however, takes additional morphological marking *(-nnig-)* and is syntactically intransitive, agreeing only with the actor, which takes absolutive case. The undergoer is demoted to an oblique and expressed using the oblique instrumental case suffix (*-mik*). Hence, the undergoer does not function as a core argument of the verb. Consequently, the morphosyntax of the antipassive alternation involves additional morphological marking and the demotion of the undergoer to a syntactic oblique.

In terms of semantics, Hopper and Thompson (1980: 252) propose a range of parameters that determine the semantic transitivity of a predicate. These are summarised in Table 1 and relate to the nature of the event as well as to the main semantic participants:

Table 1. Transitivity Parameters (Hopper & Thompson 1980)

	High	**Low**
a. No. of arguments	two or more participants	one participant
b. Kinesis	action	state
c. Aspect	telic	atelic
d. Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
e. Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional
f. Affirmation	affirmative	negative
g. Mode	realis	irrealis
h. Agency	A high in agency	A low in agency
i. Affectedness of U	U totally affected	U not affected
j. Individuation of U	U highly individuated	U non-individuated

The prototypical transitive clause is associated with the high transitivity parameters in Table 1. It typically involves a volitional and agentive actor who instigates a punctual and complete transfer of action onto an individuated and affected undergoer (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Næss 2007). In contrast, antipassives are associated with low semantic transitivity parameters, particularly in regards to the individuation and affectedness of the undergoer (Cooreman 1994). Hence, three of the most common semantic functions of antipassives cross-linguistically are: (1) to indicate that the undergoer is indefinite, non-specific or otherwise lower in individuation; (2) to indicate that the undergoer is only partially affected by the event or that the event was not successfully completed; and (3) to indicate atelic or imperfective

aspects, such as the progressive, durative, inceptive, inchoative and iterative (see Cooreman 1994; Dixon 1994; Spreng 2010; Polinsky 2017, among others).

This is true of West Greenlandic, where antipassive constructions are not only morphosyntactically intransitive, but also associated with low semantic transitivity in a number of ways. Firstly, the undergoer of an antipassive is typically indefinite, non-specific or lower in individuation. According to Bittner (1987, 1994), the ergative construction typically indicates that the speaker has a specific undergoer in mind, whilst the antipassive indicates that the speaker either does not have a particular referent in mind or prefers not to reveal this information, as illustrated in (2):[3]

(2) West Greenlandic (Eskimo-Aleut; Bittner 1987: 211)

a. **Ergative**
qajak *atur-unnaar-paa*
kayak.ABS use-no.longer-TR.IND.3SG.ERG>3SG.ABS
'He no longer uses (a particular) kayak.'

b. **Antipassive**
qaannamik *atur-Ø-unnaar-puq*
kayak.INS use-ANTIP-no.longer-INTR.IND.3SG.ABS
'He no longer uses kayaks (=either a particular one or not).'

In (2a), the absolutive undergoer can only refer to a specific kayak. In contrast, the instrumental undergoer in (2b) does not necessarily specify a particular kayak and instead focuses on the activity of using kayaks in general. Hence, the antipassive undergoer is lower in individuation than its counterpart in the ergative/transitive construction.

Secondly, the antipassive is often associated with habitual or repeated events rather than punctual and telic action:

(3) West Greenlandic (Eskimo-Aleut; Fortescue 1984: 86)

a. **Ergative**
inuit *tuqup-pai*
people.ABS kill-TR.IND.3SG.ERG>3PL.ABS
'He killed the people.'

b. **Antipassive**
inun-nik *tuqut-si-vuq*
people-INS kill-ANTIP-INTR.IND.3SG.ABS
'He killed people.'

3. She relates this to a difference in semantic scope: in the ergative construction, the undergoer scopes over the actor, whilst in the antipassive the undergoer scopes under the actor (Bittner 1987, 1994).

Whilst the ergative clause has a punctual and necessarily telic interpretation, the antipassive clause indicates repeated action on the part of the actor.

Thirdly, ergative clauses are compatible with both activity and accomplishment readings, whilst antipassive clauses are only compatible with atelic activity readings and may indicate that the undergoer is not completely affected by the action of the verb:

(4) West Greenlandic (Eskimo-Aleut; Bittner 1987: 202)

a. **Ergative**
Jaaku-p illu taa-nna sana-paa
Jacob-ERG house.ABS this-SG.ABS build-TR.IND.3SG.ERG>3SG.ABS
'Jacob built/was/is building this house.' (he may or may not have finished)

b. **Antipassive**
Jaaku illu-mik taa-ssuminnga sana-Ø-puq
Jacob.ABS house-INS this-SG.INS build-ANTIP-INTR.IND.3SG.ABS
'Jacob was/is building this house.' (he hasn't finished it yet)

In (4a), the house may have been completely built, indicating telic action and an affected undergoer which are both high transitivity parameters (see Table 1). In (4b), however, the house cannot be understood to have been completely built. Thus, the West Greenlandic antipassive can also indicate that the undergoer is lower in affectedness and that the event is to be construed as an activity rather than an accomplishment. Consequently, the semantic function of antipassives is to indicate low semantic transitivity, particularly in regards to the individuation and/or affectedness of the undergoer.

Finally, in terms of discourse, transitive and antipassive clauses also have particular characteristics. Firstly, basic transitive clauses tend to be the most frequent means of expressing two-participant events, whilst marked constructions like the passive and antipassive are less frequent, as shown in numerous studies (Cooreman 1987; Comrie 1988; Rude 1988; Tsunoda 1988; Kroeger 2004; Givón 2017). Secondly, the different clause types are associated with alternations in the relative discourse topicality of actor and undergoer. In a transitive (active/ergative) clause, both actor and undergoer are topical, though the actor tends to be more discourse topical than the undergoer (Givón 1983, 1994; Foley & Van Valin 1984). In contrast, antipassives are typically used in contexts where the undergoer is backgrounded and detopicalised (Foley & Van Valin 1984; Givón 2017; Polinsky 2017). This is summarised in Table 2, following Cooreman (1987) and Givón (1994), whereby > or < indicates relative topicality, and >> or << indicates that one argument is significantly more topical than the other:

Table 2. Topicality of arguments (Cooreman 1987)

	Topicality of arguments		
Active/Ergative	Actor	>	Undergoer
Inverse	Actor	<	Undergoer
Passive	Actor	<<	Undergoer
Antipassive	Actor	>>	Undergoer

The use of the antipassive to signal a highly non-topical undergoer has been shown in a number of quantitative studies, using the metrics that are outlined in Section 3 and 4. This includes Chamorro (Cooreman 1988: 572) and Nez Perce (Rude 1988: 555–556). Thus, omitting the undergoer, or expressing the undergoer as an oblique, in antipassive constructions appears to reflect the fact that the undergoer is obvious, generic or unimportant in discourse and will not remain under discussion in subsequent conversation (Polinsky 2017). Perhaps as a result, antipassives are more frequently used to introduce backgrounded information in the storyline, whilst transitive clauses tend to be foregrounded (Cooreman 1994).

Low discourse transitivity is also a property of West Greenlandic antipassives. Berge (2011: 115) suggests that antipassives are much less frequent in discourse and serve to indicate that the undergoer is not important or topical in the text, whilst ergative clauses indicate that the undergoer is topical (see also Kalmar 1979). Hence, the final characteristic of antipassives is that they are associated with lower discourse transitivity and detopicalised undergoers. In fact, according to Givón (2017), this is the main function of antipassives from which the semantic and syntactic properties follow.

To summarise, the key properties that are taken to define the antipassive in this paper are as follows:[4]

(5) Properties of the antipassive
   a. The antipassive is morphosyntactically intransitive with an undergoer that is expressed as an oblique or left unexpressed.
   b. The antipassive is associated with low semantic transitivity, i.e. indefinite, non-individuated and non-affected undergoers.
   c. The antipassive is associated with low discourse transitivity, i.e. non-topical and non-prominent undergoers.

These morphosyntactic (a), semantic (b) and discourse (c) properties will now be compared with the AV construction in Western Austronesian.

4. This is in keeping with the antipassive prototype proposed by Tsunoda (1988: 629).

3. The AV construction in Tagalog and the Philippines

Before introducing the AV construction, it is worth briefly introducing the Austronesian language family and considering how the languages in this paper are related to each other. Austronesian languages are spoken across a wide geographical area from Taiwan to New Zealand, and Madagascar to Easter Island (Adelaar 2005; Blust 2013). They are generally thought to have originated in Taiwan, with Austronesian-speaking peoples later moving southwards into the Philippines, settling Borneo and then moving into Indonesia and onwards to the east (Bellwood 2013; Blust 2013).

In keeping with the accounts of Austronesian pre-history, the family is traditionally classified into ten primary subgroups, of which nine branches are found exclusively on Taiwan and referred to collectively as Formosan languages (Blust 2013: 30).[5] All of the languages outside of Taiwan belong to the Malayo-Polynesian subgroup, which is further subdivided into Western Malayo-Polynesian and Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian. The Western Malayo-Polynesian group includes the languages of the Philippines, Borneo, Sulawesi, Madagascar, Malaysia and parts of Western Indonesia.

Though higher-level subgrouping within Western Malayo-Polynesian has proved more difficult, several lower-level subgroups are widely accepted.[6] Among others, there is a Philippine-group, which includes Tagalog and most of the languages of the Philippines, and a North-Sarawak Group, which includes Kelabit (see Figure 1). The languages of the Philippines are generally more conservative and preserve features reconstructed back to Proto-Austronesian (Starosta et al. 1982), whilst the languages of Indonesia and Malaysia are more innovative (Arka & Ross 2005). The languages of Northern Sarawak, especially Kelabit, can be thought of as transitional between the two (Clayre 2005; Hemmings 2016). A rough illustration of subgrouping according to Blust (2013) is given in Figure 1.

The Formosan and Western-Malayo-Polynesian languages, though they do not form a genetic subgroup, share typological characteristics and are often referred to collectively as Western Austronesian languages (Himmelmann 2005a). In particular, Western Austronesian languages are characterised by their unusual systems of verbal morphology which have been subject to considerable debate (Adelaar

5. See also Ross (2009) and Zeitoun & Teng (2016) for an alternative proposal that posits four primary subgroups: Puyuma, Rukai, Tsou and Nuclear Austronesian, which includes the remaining Formosan groups and Malayo-Polynesian. Ross (2009) argues that symmetrical voice systems like (6) were an innovation of Nuclear Austronesian.

6. See also Smith (2017) for recent discussion of higher-order subgrouping relating to the languages of Borneo.

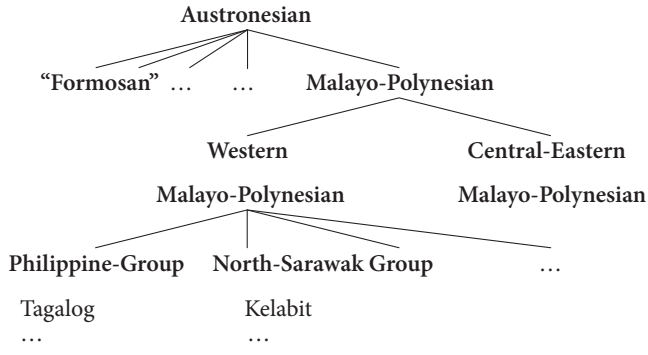


Figure 1. Austronesian Subgrouping according to Blust (2013)

2013). They are now typically analysed as 'voice' systems but appear to differ from the ergative/antipassive alternation in (1) in terms of the number of alternations and their *symmetrical* nature (Arka & Ross 2005; Himmelmann 2005a). This can be illustrated from Tagalog in (6) with subjects in bold, other core arguments in italics and obliques underlined:[7]

(6) Tagalog (Foley 2008: 23)

a. **Actor Voice (AV)**
b<um>ili *ng=isda* sa=tindahan **ang=lalake**
<AV>buy GEN=fish OBL=store NOM=man
'The man bought *fish* in the store.'

b. **Undergoer Voice (UV)**
bi~bilh-in *ng=lalake* sa=tindahan **ang=isda**
IRR~buy-UV GEN=man OBL=store NOM=fish
'The man will buy *the fish* in the store.'

c. **Locative Voice (LV)**
bi~bilh-an *ng=lalake ng=isda* **ang=tindahan**
IRR~buy-LV GEN=man GEN=fish NOM=store
'The man will buy fish in the store.'

d. **Instrumental Voice (IV)**
ipam-bi~bili *ng=lalake ng=isda* **ang=salapi**
IV-IRR~buy GEN=man GEN=fish NOM=money
'The man will buy fish with the money.'

7. Free translations indicate the difference in interpretation of the undergoer between AV and UV. All Tagalog examples are taken from secondary sources, where a wide variety of labels are used for both verbal and nominal morphology. In this paper, the glosses have been unified for the ease of the reader and comparability with Kelabit (see abbreviations at the end of the paper).

e. **Benefactive Voice (BV)**
i-bi~bili *ng=lalake* *ng=isda* **ang=bata**
BV-IRR~buy GEN=man GEN=fish NOM=child
'The man will buy fish for the child.'

In each of the clauses in (6), the root *bili* 'buy' takes a different affix to indicate that a different semantic role is syntactically privileged.[8] In AV, the infix *-um-* indicates that the actor is privileged in the sense that it can be relativized on, questioned and clefted etc. (Kroeger 1993b). In UV, the suffix *-in* indicates that the privileged argument is the undergoer. In locative voice, the suffix *-an* indicates that the locative is privileged and so on.[9] Hence, all verb forms are equally morphologically marked and the AV form is not morphologically derived from the UV form. Moreover, each of the clauses in (6) appears to be syntactically transitive with (at least) two core arguments, marked with *ang* (for privileged arguments) and *ng* (for non-privileged arguments). Hence, the alternations are morphosyntactically *symmetrical* and constitute an alternation in the mapping of arguments to functions without demotion or detransitivisation (Himmelmann 2005a; Foley 2008).

Given that the AV construction is apparently neither more marked than the other voices, nor syntactically intransitive, it would seem to be quite different from the antipassive presented in Section 2. Nonetheless, there is a semantic distinction between AV and UV in (6a) and (6b), namely that the AV undergoer is indefinite and non-specific, whilst the UV undergoer is definite and highly individuated. In fact, this pattern is found across a large number of languages in the Philippines and Taiwan that preserve more conservative Austronesian features (Payne 1994; Arka & Ross 2005; Himmelmann 2005a; Nolasco 2005; Starosta 2009 [1997]; Kaufman 2017). Consequently, it has been suggested that AV is an antipassive in these languages on the basis of the semantic and discourse properties of the construction (Aldridge 2012).

In the following section, the paper assesses the extent to which this analysis is plausible for Tagalog by comparing the morphosyntactic, semantic and discourse properties of the AV construction with those of typical antipassives in Section 2. In other words, the following questions are addressed:

---

8. The nature of grammatical functions in Western Austronesian is controversial. See Schachter (1976), Kroeger (1993a) for discussion.

9. Tagalog voice morphology is somewhat more complicated than presented here, as voice morphemes also encode information about mood/aspect and there is more than one AV affix (including *-um-*, *-mag-* etc.). See Himmelmann (2005b) and Schachter & Reid (2008) for more detailed discussion.

Table 3. Analysing AV in Western Austronesian

Level	Question
Morphosyntax	Is the AV undergoer an oblique?
Semantics	Is AV correlated with low semantic transitivity parameters, such as low individuation/affectedness of the undergoer and atelicity?
Discourse	Is AV correlated with low discourse frequency and/or with undergoers that have low topic continuity?

Tagalog is chosen as a point of comparison since it is well-described in the literature and case studies of the morphosyntax, semantics and discourse exist, which can be compared directly with both the West Greenlandic antipassive and Kelabit AV. However, similar conclusions have also been reached for other languages in the Philippines, as indicated at the relevant junctures, and hence this can again be understood as applicable more widely among the more conservative Western Austronesian languages.[10]

3.1 Morphosyntax

As discussed above, the coding of arguments in (6) suggests that AV is morphosyntactically transitive rather than intransitive in Tagalog. Kroeger (1993b) and Foley (2008) present additional morphosyntactic arguments which demonstrate that the AV undergoer is a core argument rather than an oblique. Firstly, obliques can undergo adjunct-fronting but the AV undergoer (just like the UV actor) cannot:

(7) Tagalog Adjunct Fronting (Foley 2008: 34)

a. **Fronted UV oblique**
[sa=tindahan] bi~bilh-in *ng=lalake* **ang=isda**
OBL=store IRR~buy-UV GEN=man NOM=fish
'In the store, the man will buy the fish'

b. **Fronted UV actor**
*[*ng=lalake*] bi~bilh-in sa=tindahan **ang=isda**
GEN=man IRR~buy-UV OBL=store NOM=fish

10. This is not to say that all languages in the Philippines are the same. Of course, there is also variation in the morphosyntactic, semantic and discourse characteristics of AV across the Philippines as shown, for example, in Katagiri (2005), Payne (1994) and discussed in Hemmings (2016), Mithun (this volume). This is to be expected if we think of Western Austronesian languages as undergoing a shift, or indeed many shifts, in alignment. A more detailed cross-linguistic study of Western Austronesian voice systems that includes morphosyntactic, semantic and discourse analysis could provide further insight into the extent of variation and the stages of transition.

c. **Fronted AV undergoer**
*[*ng=isda*] b<um>ili sa=tindahan **ang=lalake**
GEN=fish <AV>buy OBL=store NOM=man

In (7a), the oblique *sa tindahan* 'in the store' can be fronted in a topicalisation construction. In contrast, the AV undergoer in (7c) cannot be fronted and neither can the UV actor in (7b), which is demonstrably a core argument based on properties like its ability to control reflexive binding and co-reference in conjunct clauses (Drossard 1984; Kroeger 1993b; Foley 2008; Latrouite 2014). Hence, the AV undergoer behaves like a (non-subject) core argument and unlike an oblique.

Secondly, the AV undergoer (like other core arguments) can control the gap in a participial *nang* clause, whereas obliques cannot:

(8) Tagalog Participial *nang* Clauses (Kroeger 1993b: 58)
a. **AV undergoer as controller**
nanghuli *ng=magnanakaw* **ang=polis** [nang pumapasok
AV.PFV.catch GEN=thief NOM=police ADV AV.IPFV.enter
sa=bangko]
OBL=bank
'The police caught a/the thief when entering the bank'
Interpretation 1: the police entered the bank
Interpretation 2: the thief entered the bank
b. **AV oblique as controller**
bumista **si=Juan** sa=hari [nang nagiisa]
AV.PFV.visit NOM=Juan OBL=king ADV AV.IPFV.one
'Juan visited the king alone'
Only possible interpretation: Juan was alone
Ungrammatical: the king was alone

Consequently, the AV undergoer behaves differently from an oblique and appears to be a core argument. This supports the conclusion that AV is a morphosyntactically transitive construction and therefore quite different in this respect from antipassives, such as the West Greenlandic antipassive in (1).[11]

3.2 Semantics

Although they differ in their morphosyntax, there are many semantic similarities between AV in Tagalog and antipassives cross-linguistically (Aldridge 2004b, 2012; Nagaya 2009). Firstly, it is well documented that the undergoer in an AV clause

11. Similar distinctions between AV undergoers and obliques are also reported for Subanon (O'Brien 2016).

is typically interpreted as indefinite, nonspecific and non-presuppositional (see Bloomfield 1917; Kroeger 1993b; Aldridge 2004b; Kaufman 2017 among others).[12] In contrast, the UV undergoer is typically definite, which has prompted many to describe the Philippine languages as *patient prominent* (Foley & Van Valin 1984):

(9) Tagalog (Katagiri 2005: 167)

a. **Actor Voice**
Nagluto **ang=babae** *ng/*sa=manok*.
AV.PFV.cook NOM=woman GEN/*OBL=chicken
'The woman cooked a/*the chicken.'

b. **Undergoer Voice**
Niluto *ng=babae* **ang=manok**.
UV.PFV.cook GEN=woman NOM=chicken
'The woman cooked the chicken.'

As shown in (9a), it is ungrammatical to force a definite reading for nominal undergoers in AV clauses. In contrast, the undergoer of the UV clause is necessarily definite and individuated. This suggests that the Tagalog AV construction is associated with non-individuated undergoers, just like antipassives.

The grammaticality judgements in (9) are also reflected in corpus studies. For example, Aldridge (2004a) analysed the use of AV clauses in 93 pages of text. Of the 65 clauses that occurred, 50 had indefinite undergoers – that is over 75%. Moreover, of the 15 clauses with definite undergoers, such as (10), these typically occurred in contexts where the undergoer could be assumed to be part of the speech participants' general knowledge rather than being given in the discourse context:[13]

(10) Tagalog (Aldridge 2004a: 3)
Actor Voice
Mag-bu~buslo *ng=bola* **si=Gilbert**
AV-IRR~shoot GEN=ball NOM=Gilbert
'Gilbert will shoot the ball.'

Aldridge (2004a) argues that the ball in (10) is understood as definite, since all games can be assumed to have balls. However, it does not necessarily refer to a specific ball. Hence, even the definite undergoers in Tagalog AV constructions could be considered to be lower in individuation, which is in keeping with an antipassive analysis.

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12. Though there are some situations in which definite undergoers do occur in AV. See Himmelmann (1991) and Latrouite & Van Valin (2014) for discussion. The restriction also differs in other languages, e.g. Cebuano (Katagiri 2005).

13. Reduplication in Tagalog indicates imperfective aspect (Latrouite & Van Valin 2014).

Secondly, the AV undergoer is typically interpreted as low in affectedness and AV is often ungrammatical in contexts where the undergoer is inherently affected, as shown in Katagiri (2005):

(11) Tagalog (Katagiri 2005: 169)

a. **Actor Voice**
*Pumatay **si=Juan** *ng=aso*
AV.PFV.kill NOM=Juan GEN=dog
For: 'Juan killed a dog.'

b. **Undergoer Voice**
Pinatay *ni=Juan* **ang=aso**
UV.PFV.kill GEN=Juan NOM=dog
'Juan killed the/a dog.'

With a predicate like 'kill', the undergoer is necessarily affected and hence the AV construction is ungrammatical. Similarly, in contexts where both AV and UV are possible, like (12), the AV construction may serve to indicate that the undergoer is only partially affected, or that the event was not successfully completed:

(12) Tagalog (Saclot 2006: 10, cited in Latrouite 2011: 187)

a. **Actor Voice**
S<um>untok **si=Pedro** kay=Jose
<AV>hit NOM=Pedro OBL=Jose
'Pedro hit *at* Jose.' (translation adapted)

b. **Undergoer Voice**
S<in>untok *ni=Pedro* **si=Jose**
<UV>hit GEN=Pedro NOM=Jose
'Pedro hit Jose.'

According to Latrouite (2011), (12a) can either be interpreted as Pedro attempting to hit Jose but not actually touching him, or hitting Jose but not causing much damage. Either way, the AV undergoer can be seen as lower in affectedness, just like the West Greenlandic antipassive.

Finally, Tagalog AV is often associated with event parameters of low semantic transitivity, such as non-telic action, in contrast to UV. Indeed, AV and UV are shown to differ in telicity in a number of studies (Dell 1983; Nolasco 2005; Saclot 2011; Latrouite 2011; Latrouite & Van Valin 2014). For example, at least for some verb classes, AV is associated with atelic activity readings, whilst UV clauses are interpreted as telic accomplishments:

(13) Tagalog (Latrouite 2011: 190)

a. **Actor Voice**
S<um>ulat **si=Pedro** *ng=liham*
<AV.PFV>write NOM=Pedro GEN=letter
'Pedro wrote a letter/part of a letter/letters'

b. **Undergoer Voice**
S<in>ulat *ni=Pedro* **ang=liham**
<UV.PFV>write GEN=Pedro NOM=letter
'Pedro wrote the letter/the letters'

The AV clause in (13a) focusses on the activity of letter writing. In contrast, the UV clause in (13b) implies that the letter has been written as a result of the event, which has now reached its desired endpoint.

Moreover, Nagaya (2009) demonstrates that certain UV predicates can be used as the complement of a *tinapos* 'finished' clause, whilst their AV counterparts are ungrammatical:

(14) Tagalog (Nagaya 2009: 167)

a. **Actor Voice**
*Tinapos=ko=ng kumain *ng=mansanas*
UV.PFV.finish=1SG.GEN=LNK AV.eat GEN=apple
For: 'I finished eating an apple/apples.'

b. **Undergoer Voice**
Tinapos=ko=ng kain-in **ang=mansanas**
UV.PFV.finish=1SG.GEN=LNK eat-UV NOM=apple
'I finished eating the apple.'

Hence, much like the West Greenlandic antipassive, the AV clause is non-telic in contrast to UV and therefore lower in semantic transitivity.[14] Consequently, although AV in Tagalog is syntactically transitive, it has all of the semantic correlates expected of antipassives (Cooreman 1994, see Section 2). This appears to be typical of AV in Philippine languages, for which similar semantic functions are widely reported (Brainard 1994; Mithun 1994, this volume; Payne 1994; Nolasco 2005).

14. Nolasco (2005) lists several other semantic properties of AV that are associated with lower semantic transitivity, such as non-punctual or repeated action, but Latrouite (2011) argues that these semantic aspects are less clear cut and may reflect an interaction of voice and mood morphology. See Latrouite (2011) for discussion.

3.3 Discourse

Moreover, AV constructions in Tagalog and many of the languages of the Philippines have the discourse properties of antipassives – both in terms of lower frequency and non-topical undergoers. Numerous studies have identified that UV constructions are more discourse-frequent than AV across a range of languages. For example, Cooreman et al. (1984) found that 59% of the transitive clauses in their sample of Tagalog (166 of 281 clauses) used UV, as opposed to 24% AV. Similar results are found for other languages in the Philippines, such as Sama Bangingi (Gault 1999) and Cebuano (Walters 1994). Hence, AV is less frequent in discourse than UV, which is in line with it being a marked construction, like the antipassive.

In addition, AV in Tagalog also has the topicality metrics expected of an antipassive clause. Cooreman et al. (1984) found that AV was typically used where the undergoer had very low topic continuity, whilst UV had the patterns expected of a transitive clause. The topic continuity of arguments was measured using Givón's (1983) quantitative metrics of referential distance (RD) and topical persistence (TP). RD involves counting backwards to the previous mention of an argument and is given an arbitrary maximum of 20 for newly introduced and inactive referents. TP involves counting forwards the number of clauses in which the argument remains topical. Consequently, RD can be seen as a measurement of discourse activation and TP as a measurement of discourse importance. The results are given in Table 4 and Table 5 as averages:[15]

Table 4. Referential distance in Tagalog (Cooreman et al. 1984: 19)

	Actor RD	Total	Undergoer RD	Total
AV	1.62	37	19.02	37
UV	2.88	140	10.01	166

Table 5. Topical persistence in Tagalog (Cooreman et al. 1984: 21)

	Actor TP	Total	Undergoer TP	Total
AV	1.68	37	0.06	37
UV	1.22	140	0.56	166

15. Since Givón (1994), the methodology for measuring and presenting RD and TP has changed slightly as indicated in Section 4.3 to limit potential distortions to the results. Nonetheless, the results of Cooreman et al. (1984) are reported as they relate specifically to Tagalog.

As shown in Tables 4 and 5, not only are the UV clauses considerably more frequent than AV, they are also used when both actor and undergoer have a degree of topic continuity, as indicated by lower referential distance and higher topical persistence. The AV actor is also high in topic continuity, with lower RD and higher TP than even the UV actor. However, the AV undergoer has very low topic continuity. It has, on average, barely any topical persistence and almost the highest possible value for RD. This suggests that AV is used when the actor is foregrounded and the undergoer backgrounded and very low in topicality – which is exactly the discourse function of the antipassive (see Section 2). Again, similar conclusions have been reached for other related languages in the Philippines, e.g. Cebuano (Payne 1994: 340–344), Kapampangan (Mithun 1994) and Karao (Brainard 1994: 388). Hence, the AV construction in Tagalog and other Philippine languages also has the discourse characteristics of an antipassive.

3.4 Summary

In summary, the AV construction in Tagalog is syntactically transitive and does not appear to be derived from a morphologically more basic UV construction, as is the case in West Greenlandic. However, it does appear to have the semantic and discourse correlates expected of an antipassive, much like other Western Austronesian languages in the Philippines, Taiwan and Northern Borneo:

(15) Antipassive vs. Tagalog AV

Characteristics	**Antipassive**	**Tagalog AV**
Morphologically marked	✓	✗
Syntactically intransitive	✓	✗
Low semantic transitivity	✓	✓
Low discourse transitivity	✓	✓

Consequently, it is reasonable to analyse the AV construction in such cases as a functional antipassive and this paper will now explore whether the same can be said for a language like Kelabit, which has similar verbal alternations but is spoken in a typologically transitional area.

4. The AV construction in Kelabit

Kelabit is a Western Austronesian language spoken mainly in the Fourth and Fifth divisions of Northern Sarawak, East Malaysia (Martin 1996). It is part of the Apad Uat subgroup of the languages of Northern Sarawak, which also includes Lun Bawang/Lundayeh, Sa'ban and Tring, and is considered transitional between the more conservative languages in the Philippines and the more innovative languages in Indonesia (Clayre 2005, 2014; Blust 2006; Hemmings 2016). The data in this section was collected during fieldwork in Bario between 2013–2014 and constitutes both elicited data and data from a naturalistic text corpus.[16]

Kelabit has many properties that are typical of the languages of Northern Sarawak, including flexible word order and a case-marking system that is restricted to pronouns. It also has a system of alternations in verbal morphology which, although reduced from the Tagalog alternations in (6), resembles other Western Austronesian languages in that the alternations are morphologically and syntactically *symmetrical*:[17]

(16) Kelabit (elicitation, fieldnotes)

a. **Actor Voice**
La'ih sineh ne-nekul *nuba' nedih* ngen seduk
man DEM PFV-AV.spoon.up rice 3SG.POSS with spoon
'That man spooned up his rice with a spoon'

b. **Undergoer Voice**
Sikul *la'ih sineh* **nuba' nedih** ngen seduk
UV.PFV.spoon.up man DEM rice 3SG.POSS with spoon
'That man ate his rice with a spoon'

c. **Instrumental Voice**
Seduk pe-nekul *la'ih sineh nuba' nedih*
spoon IV-spoon.up man DEM rice 3SG.POSS
'That man used a spoon to spoon up his rice'

In all three constructions, the root *tekul* 'spoon' takes dedicated morphology to indicate which semantic argument is syntactically privileged or mapped to subject: the actor in AV; the undergoer in UV and the instrument in IV. Similarly, each

16. For each example, a reference is given that specifies whether the example was elicited or taken from a naturalistic text (i.e. a story, conversation or other discourse genre). Examples that are taken from recordings are indicated by the file name. Examples that were written down in notebooks are given the label 'fieldnotes'.

17. The different word orders in (16) reflect differences in basic word order across the voice constructions. However, in each voice both verb-initial and SVO orders are possible.

construction appears syntactically transitive, with (at least) two core arguments expressed as NPs. Hence, the alternations appear symmetrical, just like in Tagalog.

Since the alternations in Tagalog were morphosyntactically symmetrical and nonetheless had semantic and discourse asymmetries, we can reasonably ask whether the Kelabit AV construction also has any properties of antipassives and what this would mean for the proposal of alignment shift in Western Austronesian introduced in Section 1. Again, this question is addressed by comparing the morphosyntactic, semantic and discourse properties of Kelabit with those of typical antipassives and related AV constructions in the more conservative languages in the Philippines.

4.1 Morphosyntax

As discussed in Section 2, typical antipassives are intransitive. However, as seen above, AV undergoers in Kelabit have the coding properties of core arguments rather than adjuncts or obliques. Much like Tagalog, this analysis is also supported by the behavioural properties of the AV undergoer. Firstly, the AV undergoer typically appears in the immediately post-verbal position, just like the UV actor:[18]

(17) Kelabit Oblique vs. Core

a. **Actor Voice** (text, BAR17082014CH_07)
Neh **n=ieh** merey *edteh ngebulu' luang* ngen Palug Rayeh
DEM PT=3SG.NOM AV.give one bamboo fish to PN PN
'So he gave a bamboo container full of fish to Palug Rayeh'

b. **Actor Voice** (elicitation, BAR30072014CH_04)
Merey *nuba'* **uih** nge=neh
AV.give rice 1SG.NOM to=3SG.GEN
'I give him rice'

c. **Actor Voice** (elicitation, fieldnotes)
Ne-merey *cokleyt* ngen Charlotte **ideh**
PFV-AV.give chocolate to PN 3PL.NOM
'They gave chocolate to Charlotte'

d. **Undergoer Voice** (text, BAR21082014CH_05)
Kadi' **pulu'** birey *deh* ngen sekolah ih
so ten UV.PFV.give 3PL.GEN to school PT
'So they gave ten [computers] to the school'

---

18. The core status of the UV actor is further supported by the fact that it can bind a reflexive (see Hemmings 2016: 201). Following Manning & Sag (1998) this is taken to be a property of core actors (or the highest core role at argument structure) rather than a property of subjects.

e. **Undergoer Voice** (text, BAR21082014CH_06)
Kadi' birey *deh* **edteh award** ngen lun Kelabit
so UV.PFV.give 3PL.GEN one award to people Kelabit
'So they gave an award to the Kelabit people'

f. **Undergoer Voice** (elicitation, fieldnotes)
Oh birey *kuh* ngen Charlotte **cokleyt**
EXCLM UV.PFV.give 1SG.GEN to PN chocolate
'Oh I gave the chocolate to Charlotte'

As can be seen in (17), the position of the subject – i.e. the actor in AV and the undergoer in UV – is flexible. In both AV and UV, the subject can appear either pre-verbally, as in (17a) and (17d), or it can follow the non-privileged AV undergoer and UV actor, as in (17b) and (17e). Finally, it can occur after the oblique recipient, as in (17c) and (17f). In contrast, the position of the AV undergoer is fixed in post-verbal position where the core UV actor is also found.[19] In both AV and UV, the oblique recipient is encoded as a PP, headed by the preposition *ngen* 'to' and follows core non-subject arguments. There are no known examples in the corpus of sentences in which the oblique recipient precedes the AV undergoer, which would seem to suggest that the AV undergoer is more closely connected to the verbal head than the oblique recipient and hence a core argument or at least more core in the sense of Arka (2017).

Moreover, it is ungrammatical for the recipient to be encoded as an NP rather than a PP in either AV or UV:

(18) Kelabit Recipients as Oblique PPs

a. **Actor Voice** (elicitation, BAR30072014CH_04)
*__Uih__ merey anak *nuba'*
1SG.NOM AV.give child rice
For: 'I gave the child rice'

---

19. It is also possible for the actor subject in an AV clause to be placed between the verb and the non-subject undergoer, as seen in example (23). However, it is much more common for the undergoer to immediately follow the verb (Hemmings 2016). In ditransitive constructions with the verb *merey* 'AV.give', the order V actor undergoer oblique is judged to be strange:

(i) **Actor Voice** (elicitation, BAR30072014CH_04)
#Merey uih nuba' nge=neh
AV.give 1SG.NOM rice to=3SG.GEN
For: 'I gave rice to him'

The orders given above are not all equally neutral. (17a) is the most neutral reading in AV, and (17e) is the most neutral reading in UV. The other orders most likely indicate particular information structural roles for the subject and oblique. This remains to be further explored.

b. **Undergoer Voice** (elicitation, BAR30072014CH_04)
*bilih *kuh* ieh **nuba'**
UV.PFV.buy 1SG.GEN 3SG.NOM rice
For: 'I bought him rice'

Consequently, the fact that AV undergoers can appear in the immediately post-verbal position and be realised as an NP distinguishes them from other semantic roles that are typically expressed as obliques.

The connection between the AV verb and its undergoer argument can also be seen from the fact that adjuncts of time, such as *ngimalem* 'yesterday', cannot intervene between the verb and AV undergoer:

(19) Kelabit Adjuncts of Time
a. **Actor Voice** (elicitation, fieldnotes)
La'ih sineh ne-kuman *bua' kaber* [ngimalem]
man DEM PFV-AV.eat pineapple yesterday
'The man ate pineapple yesterday'
b. ***La'ih sineh** ne-kuman [ngimalem] *bua' kaber*
man DEM PFV-AV.eat yesterday pineapple
For: 'The man ate pineapple yesterday'

This again suggests that the AV undergoer forms a constituent with the verb and is consequently a core argument. The same patterns are found with UV actors, as shown in (20):

(20) Kelabit Adjuncts of Time
a. **Undergoer Voice** (elicitation, fieldnotes)
Kinan *la'ih sineh* [ngimalem] **neh bua' kaber ih**
UV.PFV.eat man DEM yesterday PT pineapple PT
'The man ate the pineapple yesterday'
b. *Kinan [ngimalem] *la'ih sineh* **neh bua' kaber**
UV.PFV.eat yesterday man DEM PT pineapple
For: 'The man ate the pineapple yesterday'

In contrast, it is perfectly possible for *ngimalem* 'yesterday' to intervene between the verb and the subject, and to intervene between the verb and PPs, as shown in (21):

(21) Kelabit Adjuncts of Time
a. **Subject** (elicitation, BAR30072014CH_01)
Tenganak [ngimalem] **keduih**
INTR.birth yesterday 1SG.EMP
'I was born yesterday (= yesterday was my birthday)'

b. **Oblique** (elicitation, BAR28102013CH_02)
Nitun *kuh* **t=ieh** [ngimalem] ngen idih meto'
UV.PFV.question 1SG.GEN PT=3SG.NOM yesterday to DEM PT
'I asked her about that yesterday as well'

c. **Oblique** (elicitation, fieldnotes)
La'ih sineh nenekul *nuba'* [ngimalem] ngen tekul
man DEM AV.PFV.spoon.up rice yesterday with spoon
'The man spooned up rice yesterday with a spoon'

Consequently, both AV undergoers and UV actors seem to form a constituent with the verb, in contrast to subjects and obliques, which further supports the conclusion that the AV undergoer is core.

Finally, in contrast to both subjects and obliques and in common with the UV actor, the AV undergoer cannot appear pre-verbally:

(22) Kelabit Object Fronting

a. **AV undergoer** (elicitation, BAR18082014CH_02)
Bua' kaber* ne-kuman **uih
pineapple PFV-AV.eat 1SG.NOM
For: 'I ate pineapple'

b. **UV actor** (elicitation, BAR18082014CH_02)
Uih* kinan **bua' kaber
1SG.NOM UV.PFV.eat pineapple
For: 'I ate pineapple'

Much like for Tagalog in (7), the AV undergoer in (22a) cannot be fronted. This contrasts with the AV actor, which can appear pre-verbally, as seen in (17a) and (19a). It also, importantly, contrasts with PP adjuncts and obliques which can be fronted:[20]

(23) Kelabit Oblique/Adjunct Fronting

a. **Actor Voice Adjunct** (text, PDA06112013CH_06)
[Ngi bawang lun beken] kuman **lemulun** *deley* kinih
at place people other AV.eat people corn now
'In other countries, people eat corn today'

---

20. Some obliques cannot be fronted, as in (i). This appears to depend on the type of PP and may reflect a distinction between adjuncts and derived arguments in the sense of Needham & Toivonen (2011). The exact pattern remains to be explored in more detail. In any case, AV undergoers and AV obliques also differ in their position:

(i) **Oblique Fronting** (elicitation, BAR18082014CH_01)
**[Luun asu']* tudo uih.
on stool sit 1SG.NOM
For: 'I sit on the stool.'

b. **Actor Voice Oblique** (elicitation, fieldnotes)
[Ngen edteh anak], **la'ih sineh** nemerey *nuba' dih*.
to a child man DEM AV.PFV.give rice DEM
'To a child, the man gave the rice.'

The patterns in (22) and (23) reinforce an analysis in which the AV undergoer is treated as a core argument rather than as an oblique. Consequently, the AV construction in Kelabit, much like the AV construction in Tagalog and many other Western Austronesian languages, is not a typical antipassive since both actor and undergoer are core arguments. However, a more complicated story emerges when semantic and discourse properties are taken into account.

4.2 Semantics

As discussed in Section 3.2, in Tagalog and many languages of the Philippines, there is a restriction against definite undergoers (or at least an overwhelming tendency towards indefinite, non-specific and non-presuppositional undergoers) in AV constructions. In contrast, the UV undergoer is necessarily definite. Moreover, UV in general corresponds to the high transitivity parameters in Hopper & Thompson (1980). In order to explore whether this is also true of Kelabit, I analysed the semantics of AV and UV in five traditional Kelabit folk stories (see Appendix) and complemented this with further examples from the wider corpus collected during fieldwork. In total, there were 128 AV clauses in the stories, though 23 of these contained predicates like *mala* 'AV.say' and *ngelinuh* 'AV.think' that took clausal objects and were subsequently not included in the count.[21] Undergoers were analysed to see if they had semantic properties associated with antipassives (i.e. low individuation) or transitive clauses (i.e. high individuation). The results are summarised in Table 6.[22]

21. As in many Western Austronesian languages, the AV N-morphology is also used to form certain unergative intransitive predicates. Among others, the following occurred in the texts: *nalan* 'walk' from N- + *dalan* 'road'; *ngeluit* 'fish' from N- + *keluit* 'fish hook'; *nangey* 'cry' from N- + *tangey* 'cry' and *ngiep* 'fish' from N- + *iep* 'fishing net'. These are not included in any of the counts reported in this paper though Aldridge (2012) considers similar patterns in Tagalog to support the identification of AV as antipassive. Others have suggested that it is cross-linguistically unusual for antipassives to be expressed using the same morphology as basic intransitive clauses (Himmelmann 2005a; Foley 2008; Kaufman 2017). The predicates *na'it* 'wait' and *menad* 'climb' were counted since they occur elsewhere in the corpus with a direct object.

22. The results differ somewhat from those presented in Hemmings (2015) on the basis of one story. This partly reflects the fact that intransitive uses of AV morphology are not counted here and that ambiguous cases have been presented separately. As discussed below, ambiguous cases are those where the undergoer appears to be definite, but the construction arguably highlights the activity of the event over the effect.

Table 6. Kelabit Actor Voice semantics

	Semantics of undergoer	Count	Percentage
Antipassive-like	zero, unidentifiable	25	23.8%
	non-specific/generic NP	12	11.4%
	indefinite NP	8	7.6%
	new, identifiable NP	5	4.8%
	Total	**50**	**47.6%**
Ambiguous	definite, but possibly unimportant	9	8.6%
	zero, identifiable but possibly unimportant	6	5.7%
	Total	**15**	**14.3%**
Active-like	definite NP	17	16.2%
	proper names	2	1.9%
	pronouns	18	17.1%
	zero, definite	3	2.9%
	Total	**40**	**38.1%**

As shown in Table 6, AV is often used with indefinite, non-specific and non-individuated undergoers, which are all consistent with the semantics of antipassives. Indeed, nearly a quarter of instances of AV were clauses in which no undergoer was expressed at all. Much like in Tagalog, this contrasts with UV where undergoers are only omitted when highly identifiable, and most clauses (52 out of 53 transitive UV predicates with nominal objects) also contain a definite actor.[23] A chi-square test of independence showed the difference to be statistically significant: χ^2 (2, N = 158) = 11.12, $p < 0.01$. Some examples are given in (24):

(24) Kelabit AV Undergoers

a. **Unexpressed** (text, PDA10112013CH_01)
Neh **n=ieh** kuman medto
DEM PT=3SG.NOM AV.eat midday
'So she ate lunch'

b. **Non-specific** (text, BAR27102013CH_03)
Mo, mey **kiteh** ngenep *telu'a'*
yes go 1DU.INCL AV.catch crow
'Yes, let's go and catch crows'

c. **Indefinite** (text, PDA10112013CH_01)
Doo' **t=uih** naru' *edteh ebpung.*
good PT=1SG.NOM AV.do one trap
'I'd better make a trap.'

23. Out of 53 UV clauses, there were 22 cases of undergoers that had antipassive-like semantics (i.e. indefinite, non-specific or new but identifiable) and 31 cases of undergoers with active-like semantics (definite, proper names, pronouns and zero, definite).

d. **New, identifiable** (text, PDA10112013CH_01)
Neh men **Dayang Beladan** mey ngalap *iyep nedih*
PT PT PN go AV.fetch net 3SG.POSS
'Then Dayang Beladan went to get her fishing net.'

In (24a), the AV undergoer is unexpressed and unimportant. In (24b), the undergoer *telu'a'* 'crow' represents a generic type rather than a specific token and, much like (24a), indicates an activity rather than an accomplishment. In (24c), the undergoer is newly introduced into the discourse and expressed using the indefinite numeral *edteh* 'one'.[24] Finally, in (24d), the undergoer *iyep nedih* 'her fishing net' is possessed by a topical participant and consequently anchored and identifiable in the sense of Lambrecht (1994). However, it is new to the discourse and does not subsequently play an important role. Consequently, all of these examples have undergoers that are low in individuation, just like antipassives.

In the ambiguous examples, the undergoer appears to be definite and individuated. However, the focus of the clause is more on the action than on the effect on the undergoer. Hence, these are possibly also consistent with the semantics of antipassives. Consider the extract in (25):

(25) Kelabit AV Undergoers (text, BAR17082014CH_08)
a. Ngeluit Palug Rayeh
INTR.fish PN
'Palug Rayeh went fishing'
b. **Edteh luang** apen *neh*
one fish UV.IRR.catch 3SG.GEN
'When he caught a fish'
c. Nipa lem bulu'
AV.pack in bamboo
'he put it in a bamboo'
d. Tapi bulu' sineh, kiteb *neh* **pa'up bukuh ih**
but bamboo DEM UV.PFV.cut 3SG.GEN end edge PT
'but that bamboo, he had cut both ends off'

In the AV construction in (25c), the undergoer, *luang* 'fish', is unexpressed. However, it is highly identifiable and was activated in the immediately preceding discourse, which would suggest that it has the semantic property of definiteness associated with transitive rather than antipassive clauses. Nonetheless, this example is classed as ambiguous because the choice of AV may also reflect the fact that the activity of packing is highlighted over the (successfully completed) result. In fact, as becomes

24. Note that *edteh* 'one' can also have a specific interpretation, as in (30), as well as introducing discourse new/indefinite noun phrases.

clear in the following clause, although Palug Rayeh attempts to pack away his catch inside the bamboo, he fails to do so as he had cut both ends off of the bamboo container. Hence, the use of AV could signal that the undergoer is not fully affected and that the event is not successfully completed, which is another common semantic property of both antipassives (see Section 2) and Tagalog AV (see Section 3.2).

Moreover, Kelabit AV and UV appear to differ in the aspectual properties that are most often associated with them. AV predicates are frequently reduplicated to give atelic, activity readings, or appear following the verb *mey* 'go' with a similar effect. In contrast, UV predicates often express telic and punctual events and imply that the undergoer is fully affected. The contrast is illustrated with two clauses taken from an additional narrative elicited using the pear story video stimulus (Chafe 1980):[25]

(26) Kelabit Telicity

a. **Actor Voice** (pear story, BAR31072014CH_06)
neh **n=ieh** nipa~nipa lem takub
then PT=3SG.NOM REDUP~AV.pack in pocket
'Then he puts [pears] into a pocket (action ongoing).'

b. **Undergoer Voice** (pear story, BAR31072014CH_06)
Senipa *neh* **neh bua' nuk ineh**.
UV.PFV.pack 3SG.GEN PT fruit REL DEM
'And put that fruit away (action completed).'

In (26a), the undergoer is unexpressed and the action is understood as ongoing/repeated. In (26b), in contrast, the action has reached its endpoint. Therefore, the AV clause in (26a) could be said to have properties of low semantic transitivity, which is in keeping with an antipassive analysis.

Nonetheless, although Kelabit AV is compatible with semantic properties that are typical of antipassives, it differs from Tagalog AV in that there are also a high number of AV clauses that do not have the semantic correlates expected of an antipassive (between 38–52% depending on how the ambiguous cases are treated). This includes clauses where the undergoer is expressed using definite, given NPs, NPs modified with demonstratives and possessors; personal names; pronouns and demonstratives functioning as pronouns; and zero anaphora – all of which indicate definiteness and hence high semantic transitivity. Consider an example like (27). The undergoer is expressed as a pronoun and consequently unambiguously definite. Moreover, the undergoer is necessarily highly affected by the action of the event:

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25. The link between voice-markers, reduplication and aspectual properties remains to be further explored. Impressionistically, it appears that AV reduplication is much more frequent but a quantitative comparison has yet to be carried out and UV reduplication is apparently also grammatical.

(27) Kelabit Semantics

a. **Definite** (text, PDA10112013CH_01)
neh **n=ieh** muwer *ieh*
DEM PT=3SG.NOM AV.butcher 3SG.NOM
'Then she butchered it [the yellow-throated marten]'

The event expressed in (27) involves punctual and telic action, two individuated and distinct participants, a volitional and agentive actor and an affected and highly individuated undergoer, who until that point in the narrative had been a secondary topic in the narrative in the sense of Dalrymple & Nikolaeva (2011). In other words, (27) has properties of the high transitivity parameters in Table 1 rather than the low transitivity parameters expected of an antipassive. Thus, although Kelabit may use AV clauses in contexts that have the semantics of antipassives, there is no outright constraint against definite undergoers, as is often claimed of languages in the Philippines (Section 3.2).

Moreover, whilst UV clauses are often used to express events that are foregrounded in the narratives with high transitivity semantics, like telic action and highly individuated undergoers, as in (26b), they may also contain non-individuated, indefinite and generic undergoers. This is illustrated in the consecutive clauses in (28):

(28) Kelabit UV in foreground

a. **Undergoer Voice** (text, PDA10112013CH_01)
Nalap *neh* **pupu'**.
UV.PFV.fetch 3SG.GEN hitting.implement
'She fetched something to hit with.'

b. Nukab *neh* **bubpu' daan**.
UV.PFV.open 3SG.GEN door hut
'Opened the door to the hut.'

c. Nalap *neh* **edteh kayuh**.
UV.PFV.fetch 3SG.GEN one stick
'Picked up a piece of wood.'

d. Nulin *neh* **kuyad sineh**.
UV.PFV.throw 3SG.GEN monkey DEM
'And threw it at the monkey.'

Though the clauses in (28) present telic and punctual action, the undergoers can be inactive in the discourse, as in *bubpu' daan* 'door to the hut', or indefinite, as in *edteh kayuh* 'a stick'. In fact, of the 53 examples of UV clauses in the texts, at least 18 of the undergoers (or 34%) are generic, indefinite or newly introduced into the discourse. This suggests that the individuation of the undergoer does not strictly determine the choice of AV or UV as it appeared to do in Tagalog (see Section 3.2). Consequently, although we might conclude that Kelabit AV has properties of lower

semantic transitivity when compared to UV, it is not exclusively associated with the semantic functions of antipassives but rather has a mixture of properties – some of which are antipassive-like and some of which are active-like.

4.3 Discourse

At a discourse level, the Kelabit AV construction is even less antipassive-like. For one thing, it is far more discourse-frequent that any of the other voice constructions, across a range of different genres. In the stories that were analysed above, for example, of 191 clauses containing voice-marked predicates, 128 or 67% were AV clauses, 55 or 29% were UV clauses and 8 or 4% were IV clauses. A chi-square test shows this difference in frequency to be statistically significant, comparing all three voice constructions ($\chi^2 = 114.9$, $df = 2$, $N = 191$, $p < 0.001$) and comparing AV vs. UV ($\chi^2 = 29.1$, $df = 1$, $N = 183$, $p < 0.001$). The breakdown of clause types per story is shown in Table 7:

Table 7. Frequency of voices in Kelabit folk stories

Story	AV	UV	IV	Total
A	49 (72%)	17 (25%)	2 (3%)	68
B	23 (74%)	6 (19%)	2 (6%)	31
C	24 (86%)	4 (14%)	0 (0%)	28
D	12 (46%)	14 (54%)	0 (0%)	26
E	20 (53%)	14 (37%)	4 (11%)	38
Total	**128 (67%)**	**55 (29%)**	**8 (4%)**	**191**

AV clauses are considerably more frequent than UV clauses in four of the five stories. There is only one story in which UV clauses are more frequent than AV, namely D. This may reflect a change in the frequency of UV as the storyteller was older than those of the other stories.[26] Nonetheless, even in this story, AV is more frequent than would be expected of an antipassive.

Similar results can be reproduced in other genres. For example, in six narratives/descriptions collected using the pear story video stimulus (Chafe 1980), of the 280 instances of transitive voice-marked predicates, 233 or 83% were AV, 46 or 16.5% were UV and 1 or 0.5% were IV:[27]

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26. Which in turn might support the idea of a change in the discourse transitivity of AV.

27. If the counts are limited to transitive clauses with two overt arguments then the results are as follows: total clauses = 108, AV clauses = 85 (79%), UV clauses = 22 (20%), and IV clauses = 1 (>1%). The percentage of AV is higher in these texts than the others in Table 6 and Table 8.

Table 8. Frequency of voices in Kelabit pear story elicited data

Story	AV	UV	IV	Total
A	53 (81.5%)	11 (17%)	1 (1.5%)	65
B	34 (87%)	5 (13%)		39
C	19 (90%)	2 (10%)		21
D	13 (65%)	7 (35%)		20
E	88 (84%)	17 (16%)		105
F	26 (87%)	4 (13%)		30
Total	**233 (83%)**	**46 (16.5%)**	**1 (0.5%)**	**280**

Again, a chi-square test shows that the difference between the frequency of AV and UV is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 125.3$, $df = 1$, $N = 279$, $p < 0.001$).

Finally, the percentage of AV clauses is also higher in a corpus of news reports that represent descriptive rather than narrative discourse. These were prepared in advance of being broadcast via Radio Bario and may therefore reflect a more formal variety of Kelabit. Of the 273 transitive voice-marked clauses, 187 or 68.5% were AV, 82 or 30% were UV and only 4 or 1.5% were IV:[28]

Table 9. Frequency of voices in Kelabit news reports

News report	AV	UV	IV	Total
A	90 (63%)	52 (37%)		142
B	36 (77%)	10 (21%)	1 (2%)	47
C	61 (72.5%)	20 (24%)	3 (3.5%)	84
Total	**187 (68.5%)**	**82 (30%)**	**4 (1.5%)**	**273**

This could reflect genre or the fact that they are elicited. There were also additional clauses with periphrastic UV constructions, where the undergoer is the pivot and the construction involves *en*, a shortened/grammaticalised version of the UV irrealis form of 'to do'. Periphrastic constructions are not analysed in this paper:

(i) **Periphrastic UV** (pear story, BAR01082014CH_01)
en deh mada' buluh deh ngen anak sineh
UV 3PL.GEN AV.show love 3PL.GEN with child DEM
'They showed that they cared for that child'

28. Examples of IV forms, such as (ii), that function as nominalisations rather than predicates in a clause were not included:

(ii) **Nominalisation** (text, BAR21082014CH_02)
ineh neh karuh nuk pedingeren
DEM PT word REL IV.hear
'That was the news.'

Again, chi-square shows the difference in frequency between AV and UV to be statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 41$, $df = 1$, $N = 269$, $p < 0.001$). If all of the genres are counted together, out of a total of 744 voice-marked clauses, 548 or nearly 74% are AV, 183 or nearly 25% are UV and 13 or nearly 2% are IV. Conducting a chi-square test on the frequency of AV vs. UV shows the difference to be statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 181.5$, $df = 1$, $N = 730$, $p < 0.001$).[29] Consequently, AV is much more frequent than UV in discourse, which would fit better with an analysis of AV as the basic transitive clause rather than as a marked construction, like the antipassive.

This is further supported by the fact that AV and UV both have the topicality patterns expected of a transitive structure in the discourse. Following Givón (1994), the topic continuity of actor and undergoer are measured in the five folk stories using referential distance (RD) and topical persistence (TP). However, these are calculated and represented in a slightly different way to Tagalog in Section 3.3. Referential distance or *anaphoric gap* is calculated by counting the number of clauses backwards until the previous mention of a referent. Where a co-referential antecedent is mentioned in the immediately preceding clause a value of 1 is assigned. This is taken to indicate high topicality. Where the co-referent is mentioned two to three clauses back, a value of 2–3 is assigned. This is taken to indicate medium topicality. Finally, if a co-referent is not found within the three preceding clauses a value of >3 is assigned. This is taken to indicate low topicality and applies equally for inactive and newly introduced referents (Givón 1994).

Topical persistence or *cataphoric continuity* is calculated by counting the number of times that the same referent appears in the immediately following ten clauses, not necessarily sequentially. Again, results are expressed as a percentage of the population that have high and low values. Following Givón (1994), three or more re-mentions is taken to indicate high topicality and given a value of >2. Two or fewer mentions, including no further mentions at all, is taken to indicate low topicality and given a value of 0–2. According to Givón (1994), topical persistence provides a more indicative measure of discourse topicality for the purposes of identifying voice phenomena than referential distance.

In both cases, several important coding decisions have to be made. Firstly, it is necessary to determine clause boundaries and to decide whether subordinate and relative clauses are to be included or not (see Givón 1983 and discussion therein). In this study, main predicates were generally taken to indicate separate clauses. Phrases that were added as an afterthought without an additional predicate were counted

29. Interestingly, a chi-square test of independence also reveals the difference between genres in terms of the relative frequency of AV and UV to be statistically significant: χ^2 (2, $N = 730$) = 17.7, $p < 0.001$.

as part of the preceding clause. Though clauses containing the predicate *mala* 'AV. say' or *ngitun* 'AV.ask' were counted as separate clauses, the speech particles *keneh* 'he/she said', *kedeh* 'they said' etc. were treated as a part of the speech clause that they introduced. Direct speech containing a full clause and subordinate/relative clauses were included in counts as separate clauses. The only thing that was not counted was speech that did not contain a full clause, such as a nonsense rhyme that is repeated as the sound of the jaw harp in one of the stories. In cases where the following ten clauses included speech by both the narrator and an addressee, the speech of the addressee was also counted. In any case, this does not appear to have made any significant difference to whether high or low values for topical persistence were assigned. An example of clause boundaries is given in (29) with predicates double underlined:

(29) Kelabit (text, BAR17082014CH_03)

a. Mey n=ieh ngen Palug I'it
go PT=3SG.NOM to PN
'He went to Palug I'it'

b. "Miney ngeluit ngapeh **ko** leyh? keneh ngeneh
PFV.go INTR.fish where 2SG.NOM PT.M he.said to.him
'Where did you go fishing?" he said to him.

c. "Oh, dih **uih** miney ngi Reberuh Bunut ngengi
EXCLM DEM 1SG.NOM PFV.go at place name over.there
ngi," keneh
DEM he.said
"Oh I went to Reberuh Bunut, over there" he said.

d. "Eyh, mula' luang ngineh leyh," ken Palug I'it ngen Palug Rayeh
EXCLM many fish there PT.M say PN to PN
"There are loads of fish there," said Palug I'it to Palug Rayeh.

e. "**Enun** pengeluit *muh*?" ken Palug Rayeh
what IV.fish 2SG.GEN say PN
"What did you fish with?" said Palug Rayeh

f. ngitun Palug I'it keyh
AV.ask PN PT
'asking Palug I'it.'

The second important decision is deciding on what counts as the same referent and what does not. Following Givón (1983, 1994), discourse referents are independent of their coding. Hence, the same referent can be introduced as a full NP or personal name and be subsequently referred to using a pronoun or zero anaphora. In most cases, this can be tracked in a straight-forward manner. However, there are a few cases which are not so transparent. Firstly, it is frequently the case that folk stories

have two main protagonists and that reference shifts between the dual pronoun and singular pronouns that identify one of the protagonists individually. The decision was made to count dual and singular referents as different for the purposes of topical persistence but to count back to the last instance of a referent that made the dual possible for referential distance (cf. Brown 1983). Secondly, there are occasionally new references to body parts of animals or parts of a plant where the superordinate term had been previously introduced in the narrative. The decision was taken here to count hyponyms as distinct referents. Finally, it is necessary to decide whether generic reference to types constitutes the same referent as a reference to a specific token of that type. Consider the example in (30).

(30) Kelabit (text, BAR27102013CH_03)

a. "Mey **kiteh** ngenep *telu'a*'," ken Palug I'it
go 1DU.INCL AV.catch crow say PN
'"Let's go and catch crows," said Palug I'it"

b. na'ur *Palug Rayeh*
AV.answer PN
'answering Palug Rayeh.'

c. Mey neh **diweh** keleyh
go PT 3DU PT.M
'So off they went.'

d. Mey **diweh** mey ngabang *telu'a*'
go 3DU go AV.watch.for crows
'They went to watch for crows.'

e. Mio-mio teh **diweh** na'it
long.time PT 3DU AV.wait
'They waited a long time.'

f. Na'am teh **telu'a'** nalap *diweh*
NEG PT crow UV.PFV.fetch 3DU
'They didn't catch any crows.'

g. Mey mudtih keleyh, **edteh** nalap *ena' kedieh*,
and last PT.M one UV.PFV.fetch PRO 3SG.EMP
nalap *Palug I'it*
UV.PFV.fetch PN
'And then finally, Palug I'it caught one.'

Many of the examples of crows in (30) are generic and refer to crows as a type rather than any given token. In contrast, the numeral *edteh* 'one' in (30g) refers to a specific token. Nonetheless, these are counted as a topic chain and, hence, the same referent for the purposes of topical persistence.

Applying the measurements to transitive AV and UV clauses with identifiable nominal actors and undergoers – i.e. excluding the 25 AV clauses with zero,

unidentifiable undergoers and the 1 UV clause with a zero, unidentifiable actor – the results for referential distance and topical persistence are given in Tables 10 and 11:[30]

Table 10. Referential distance (RD) in Kelabit folk stories

		1 (High)	2–3 (Medium)	>3 (Low)	Total
AV	Actor	57 (71%)	14 (18%)	9 (11%)	80
	Undergoer	32 (40%)	19 (24%)	29 (36%)	80
UV	Actor	40 (77%)	9 (17%)	3 (6%)	52
	Undergoer	25 (48%)	10 (19%)	17 (33%)	52

Table 11. Topical persistence (TP) in Kelabit folk stories

		>2 (High)	0–2 (Low)	Total
AV	Actor	59 (74%)	21 (26%)	80
	Undergoer	43 (54%)	37 (46%)	80
UV	Actor	41 (79%)	11 (21%)	52
	Undergoer	23 (44%)	29 (56%)	52

As can be seen in Tables 10 and 11, both AV and UV have very similar patterns of topicality in their actors and undergoers. Actors tend to have high topicality values for both referential distance and topical persistence in both AV and UV. Undergoers have high topicality values 40–54% of the time. This suggests that in both AV and UV actors are highly topical and undergoers can also be topical but less so than actors. Importantly, there is no significant difference between AV and UV in terms of RD of the undergoer ($\chi^2 = 0.88$, $df = 2$, $N = 132$, $p > 0.05$) or TP of the undergoer ($\chi^2 = 1.14$, $df = 1$, $N = 132$, $p > 0.05$). In other words, AV and UV do not differ in terms of how topical the undergoer is and both have the topicality metrics expected of transitive clauses (see Table 2).

This finding is further supported if we consider the relative topicality (in terms of topical persistence) of actor and undergoer in the different voice constructions using the raw figures rather than the two-way classification into low (0–2) and high (>2):[31]

30. Excluding clauses with unexpressed undergoers makes the results more comparable to the Tagalog results in Section 3.4. If they were to be included, it is not clear whether the unexpressed undergoers should count as referents with low topicality or not be counted at all. In any case, results would still differ from Tagalog, where the AV undergoer on average had very high RD and very low TP, both of which indicate low topicality.

31. If actor and undergoer are compared in terms of a binary high (>2) to low (0–2) distinction a similar pattern is found in that a higher percentage of UV clauses have actors that are more topical than undergoers than AV. However, the overall percentages of 'actor>undergoer' are decreased and percentages of 'same' increased.

Table 12. Relative Topical Persistence in AV and UV

	Actor > undergoer	Same	Undergoer > actor	Total
AV	44 (55%)	16 (20%)	20 (25%)	80
UV	37 (71%)	3 (6%)	12 (23%)	52

Both AV and UV are predominantly used in situations where the actor has higher or the same topicality as the undergoer. Yet, in roughly 25% of cases, the undergoer is more topical than the actor, which would not be expected if AV were an antipassive. The main difference between the voices appears to be that UV is more likely than AV to be used in a context where the actor is clearly the most topical participant in the event (Fisher's Exact Test, $p < 0.05$). If anything, this might suggest that UV is functionally similar to an antipassive (see also Payne 1994 on Cebuano). In any case, Kelabit AV does not have the topicality patterns expected of an antipassive clause, unlike Tagalog AV (see Section 3.3), and is also more frequent in discourse than any other transitive clause type. Hence, Kelabit AV also differs from a typical antipassive at a discourse level.

4.4 Summary

In summary, the Kelabit AV construction is syntactically transitive and does not appear to be derived in any meaningful sense from the UV construction. Thus, it is not a typical antipassive and differs fundamentally from the West Greenlandic construction in Section 2. Importantly, it also differs from the non-typical antipassive in Tagalog discussed in Section 3. Whilst it preserves some semantic similarities with antipassives in the tendency towards indefinite, non-specific and non-individuated undergoers and atelic readings, this is simply a tendency rather than a restriction. Thus, it is possible and indeed not infrequent that an AV construction is associated with high semantic transitivity and highly individuated and affected undergoers. Moreover, the AV construction not only has the topicality patterns expected of a proto-typical transitive clause but is also more frequent in discourse than any other construction expressing a transitive event. Consequently, the Kelabit AV construction can be seen to have a mixture of properties, some of which are antipassive-like but many of which are active-like.

(31) Antipassive vs. AV in Tagalog vs. AV in Kelabit

Characteristics	Antipassive	Tagalog AV	Kelabit AV
Morphologically marked	✓	✗	✗
Syntactically intransitive	✓	✗	✗
Low semantic transitivity	✓	✓	✓/✗
Low discourse transitivity	✓	✓	✗

The final section of this paper considers the implications of these findings for our understanding of diachronic changes in antipassives and the proposed shift from antipassive to active in Western Austronesian.

5. Discussion

The data in Sections 2, 3 and 4 have several important implications for the study of Western Austronesian and the multifaceted nature of antipassives. Firstly, they support the proposal that the AV construction in Western Austronesian has been reanalysed from an antipassive in the languages of the Philippines to an active clause in more innovative languages to the south east (Aldridge 2011). This follows from that fact that Tagalog AV had all of the semantic and discourse correlates expected of an antipassive, whilst Kelabit had a mixture of properties, many of which were associated with high transitivity and hence an active analysis.

However, this transition is not one that takes place at a formal, morpho-syntactic level, as per the typical understanding of antipassive and alignment change, but rather a change that seems to be happening functionally at the levels of semantics and discourse. After all, both the AV constructions in Tagalog and Kelabit were shown to be transitive with two core arguments: actor and undergoer. Where they differ is in their semantic and discourse properties. Whilst the AV construction in Tagalog has the semantic and discourse correlates expected of an antipassive, Kelabit has a mixture of properties. The tendency to have indefinite and non-specific undergoers in AV is reminiscent of antipassive-like characteristics in the more conservative Western Austronesian languages. However, it is merely a tendency rather than a constraint and many examples of AV in Kelabit are clearly semantically transitive, with highly individuated and definite undergoers. Moreover, Kelabit AV – in contrast to Tagalog – is more frequent than UV and does not necessarily correlate with backgrounded and non-topical undergoers. Hence, Kelabit AV appears to have been largely reanalysed as an active/transitive construction, like equivalent constructions in the languages of Indonesia, but retains antipassive-like functions in certain contexts. Thus, it can be understood as a midpoint in a transition from antipassive to active that takes place in the semantics and discourse interfaces rather than the morphosyntax.

This, in turn, has important implications for our understanding of antipassives both synchronically and diachronically. Firstly, it suggests that it is possible to find constructions with the functional, semantic and discourse characteristics of an antipassive without being syntactically intransitive and morphologically derived, as appears to be the case for Tagalog AV. This implies that the functional characteristics – i.e. indicating a non-topical, less individuated or less affected undergoer – are

logically independent of the morphosyntactic functions of detransitivisation/demotion and pivot realignment. Secondly, it suggests that a possible path of diachronic change is from antipassive to active voice construction. However, this change need not necessarily take place in the morphosyntax but may begin with changes in the discourse function and frequency of a construction and, perhaps concomitantly, with changes in the semantic properties that can and are typically associated with it. Whether the Kelabit system, in which AV and UV appear to be largely symmetrical not only in their morphosyntax but also to some extent at discourse and semantic levels, represents a stable alternative to both typical antipassive alternations and the Tagalog voice system, or an instance of change in progress, remains to be further explored.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper set out to discuss the Actor Voice construction in the Kelabit language of Northern Sarawak. It compared the morphosyntactic, semantic and discourse properties of the construction with related constructions in Tagalog and the more conservative languages of the Philippines, and typical antipassives in languages like West Greenlandic. In doing so, it addressed two claims that have been made in the literature: firstly, that AV constructions in the Philippines are antipassives and, secondly, that Western Austronesian languages have undergone a shift in alignment via the reanalysis of the antipassive as an active construction (Aldridge 2011).

A comparison of the key features of the constructions revealed that Tagalog AV does have many semantic and discourse similarities with typical antipassives, including the fact that undergoers are typically low in individuation and topic continuity. However, it is syntactically transitive. In contrast, the Kelabit AV construction was not only syntactically transitive but also highly discourse frequent and allowed topical undergoers and undergoers with high levels of individuation and affectedness. However, it shared with both typical antipassives and functional antipassives in the languages of the Philippines a tendency towards interpretations associated with lower semantic transitivity in naturalistic discourse. This has important implications for the study of Western Austronesian in that it demonstrates that morphosyntactically similar voice systems can differ in the semantic and discourse properties associated with each voice. It is also important for our understanding of the multifaceted nature of antipassives in that suggests that constructions can have the typical semantic and discourse properties of antipassives without being syntactically intransitive and may also undergo changes in these properties without any major morphosyntactic reanalysis.

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Abbreviations

It is well-known that the Austronesian literature is rife with a great variety of glosses, reflecting different analyses of the verbal and nominal morphology. In this paper, I have unified the glosses in order to ease comparability of the examples. The labels should be understood in the (relatively) pre-theoretical sense. They follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, additional abbreviations are as follows:

AV	actor voice (actor is privileged)
BV	benefactive voice (benefactive is privileged)
EMP	emphatic
EXCLM	exclamative
IV	instrumental voice (instrument is privileged)
LNK	linker
LV	locative voice (locative is privileged)
PN	personal name
POSS	possessor
PRO	pronoun
PT	particle
RD	referential distance
REDUP	reduplication
REL	relativiser
TP	topical persistence
UV	undergoer voice (undergoer is privileged)

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Appendix

The following is a list of the texts analysed in this paper according to the recording ID used in the ELAR deposit for Kelabit (Hemmings 2017).

Folk Stories
A = PDA10112013CH_01
B = BAR27102013CH_03
C = BAR08092014CH_07
D = BAR17082014CH_08
E = BAR17082014CH_03

Pear Stories
A = BAR02082014CH_01
B = BAR01082014CH_02
C = BAR01082014CH_01
D = BAR02092014CH_01
E = BAR31072014CH_06
F = BAR03082014CH_01

News Reports
A = BAR21082014CH_01
B = BAR21082014CH_02
C = BAR02092014CH_03

CHAPTER 19

Antipassivization in Basque revisited

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In this paper, we explore three phenomena that have been considered to be antipassives in Basque linguistics. First, we briefly review "ergative displacement" (Laka 1988), related to antipassives as mentioned by Heath (1976). This is not a bona fide instance of the antipassive, since the ergative displacement affects only the agreement pattern (the A argument appears indexed as S in finite verb forms) while the case frame and syntactic status of A and P are as in the default transitive construction; besides, there is no demotion or suppression of the P argument. Second, we review two biclausal constructions, namely the *ari*-progressive (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 1987; Laka 2006) and participial clauses (Ortiz de Urbina & Uribe-Etxebarria 1991). Although regarded as antipassives by Postal (1977) and Coyos (2002), respectively, their biclausality, long argued by some Basque linguists, is incompatible with the antipassive, which is monoclausal by definition. Finally, de Rijk (2003) labels as antipassives some intransitive constructions that alternate with transitive ones. This is the closest to true antipassives that can be found in Basque, but these constructions are lexically constrained and idiosyncratic, and unlike canonical antipassives attested in other languages of the world.

Keywords: Basque, antipassive, ergative displacement, *ari*-progressives, participial clauses, lexically constrained antipassive, voice

1. Introduction

More than four decades ago, Heath (1976) acknowledged that "the applicability of the terms passive and antipassive to Basque constructions [had] been extensively debated" and ended upon a tentative but unmistakably skeptical note. According to the account currently espoused by most scholars working on the morphosyntax of Basque (e.g. Ortiz de Urbina 1989), while the language has translational equivalents of passives and antipassives, the relevant structures must not be considered straightforward examples of such voices – certainly not prototypical ones.

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Nevertheless, an alternative view can occasionally be found both within Basque studies and in the typological literature. Rebuschi's (1997) article on Basque grammatical voice unambiguously states that the language shows passive and antipassive constructions. Surveying relevant data from an eastern variety of Basque, Coyos (2002) maintains that Zuberoan Basque – but the data do not crucially differ from those from other varieties – does have an antipassive. Apparently based upon Mejías-Bikandi's (1999) very brief treatment of selected Spanish and Basque constructions, Polinsky's (2013) typological article classifies Basque as having a "partially productive" antipassive. Lastly, de Rijk (2003) explores an alternation between an intransitive and a transitive construction in terms of antipassivization as well.

In this light, a revision of the evidence in favor and against treating particular Basque constructions as antipassives is not entirely superfluous. After a brief introduction to the Basque language and its grammar (Section 2), the present article addresses three phenomena that can be, and have been, linked to antipassivization: ergative displacement (Section 3), biclausal progressive and participial constructions (Section 4), and the lexically restricted and rather idiosyncratic alternation between a default transitive clause and an intransitive construction (Section 5). We will argue, much as other mainstream studies have done, that only the lexically restricted alternation can be seen as an instance of antipassivization. Neither ergative displacement nor the biclausal constructions are antipassives; the former shows only a superficial and limited morphological resemblance, but no syntactic similarity, to antipassive constructions; biclausal constructions are excluded because canonical valency alternations involve equally monoclausal constructions. Section 5 discusses the findings' relevance in a broader context and concludes the paper.

2. Basque

The Basque language has no known surviving relatives and is spoken by some 700,000 people in the Basque Country (Araba, Biscay, Gipuzkoa and Navarre in northeastern Spain, and Labourd, Low Navarre and Soule in southeastern France), in addition to some small Basque-speaking communities found in the Americas. It is used by bilingual speakers of all ages, but the highest percentages and/or numbers of speakers are found in non-metropolitan areas of Biscay, Gipuzkoa, and Navarre. There are several regional varieties and a standardized form (*euskara batua*), which is the one addressed in this study.

Basque morphology is largely agglutinative, i.e. it is predominantly concatenative and of separative exponence (except in the person-number inflection of verbs),

with some flexivity in both the verbal and nominal domains (i.e. the allomorphy found in inflectional phenomena is not purely phonological). The default constituent order is SOV, but pragmatically conditioned alternative patterns are frequent.

On the NP level, Basque shows a dependent-marking pattern: possessors appear in the genitive and possessums are unmarked. On the clausal level, Basque shows double-marking patterns and ergative-indirective alignment: subjects of intransitive verbs and direct objects appear in the unmarked absolutive, subjects of transitive verbs take the ergative, and indirect objects take the dative;[1] all these syntactic arguments are indexed on verbs as well, via an intricate system of affixation (see Zúñiga & Fernández 2019, for more details). Most verbs have only a limited inflectional potential in the present-day language; except in the case of about a dozen high-frequency verbs, finite predicates are composed of a participle that marks only grammatical aspect (e.g. *etortzen* 'come.IPFV' vs. *etorri* 'come.PFV'; the latter is also the citation form of the verb) plus an auxiliary that marks tense and modality, as well as person and number of the arguments. Roughly, there are two auxiliaries, namely intransitive *izan* 'be$_1$' and transitive **edun* 'have' (the latter only appearing in finite forms); in some constructions, the former further contrasts with *egon* 'be$_2$' (an opposition comparable to the one between *ser* and *estar* for individual-level and stage-level predication in Ibero-Romance).

Finally, a note on our terminological and analytical handling of semantics and clausal syntax is in order. We distinguish between monovalent, bivalent and trivalent predicates/verbs according to their semantic argument structure; the arguments such predicates take are an S (single argument), an A and a P (agent-like and patient-like arguments), or an A, a G, and a T (agent-like, goal-like, and theme-like arguments, respectively). Intransitive clauses have only one argument and are headed by either simplex monovalent verbs or periphrastic predicates with the intransitive auxiliary. Unaccusatives are the default option; their subject appears in the absolutive and triggers S-indexing on the intransitive auxiliary *izan* 'be$_1$'. Most unergatives are compound predicates of the [noun + *egin* 'do'] type; their subject appears in the ergative and triggers A-like agreement on the transitive auxiliary **edun* 'have'. Both unaccusatives and unergatives can take an additional argument in the dative, thus giving rise to absolutive+dative and ergative+dative case frames. Transitive clauses have two or three arguments and are headed by either simplex bivalent/trivalent verbs or periphrastic predicates with the transitive auxiliary.

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1. We are aware of the split intransitivity phenomenon / unergative-unaccusative distinction in Basque, which naturally renders the S category too broad for a detailed analysis. This does not invalidate, however, any point we later make in this paper.

3. Ergative displacement

Heath (1976) mentions a phenomenon found with all default bivalent and trivalent verbs – in what we will henceforth call *transitive clauses* –, in which some indexes arguably show an antipassive-like behavior ("this does seem to be a kind of anti-passive," p. 440). Present-tensed auxiliaries show the expected ergative agreement pattern illustrated in (1), with prefixes indexing S/P arguments and suffixes indexing A arguments. In (1), the 1SG prefix *n-* indexes the S (1a) and the P (1b), while the 1SG suffix *-t* indexes the A (1c):

(1) a. *Ni* *etorri* *n-aiz.*
1SG[ABS] come.PFV 1SGS-be$_1$.PRS
'I have come.'
b. *Ni* *aurkitu* *n-au-Ø.*
1SG[ABS] find.PFV 1SGP-have.PRS-3A
'S/he has found me.'
c. *Ni-k* *aurkitu* *d-u-t.*
1SG-ERG find.PFV PRS-have-1SGA
'I have found him/her.'

Bivalent and trivalent past-tensed auxiliaries behave differently with 1st- and 2nd-person agentive arguments (2) and 3rd-person patientive arguments. In such cases, the prefix *n-* still indexes the 1SG argument in S (2a) and P (2b) function, but instead of a suffix *-t* expressing '1SGA', an arguably intransitive version of the auxiliary is found, again with the prefix *n-* (viz. *nuen* 'I had him/her' in (2c)):

(2) a. *Ni* *etorri* *n-intz-en.*
1SG[ABS] come.PFV 1SGS-be$_1$-PST
'I came.'
b. *Ni* *aurkitu* *n-indu-Ø-en.*
1SG[ABS] find.PFV 1SGP-have.PST-3A-PST
'S/he found me.'
c. *Ni-k* *aurkitu* *n-u-en.*
1SG-ERG find.PFV 1SGA-have-PST
'I found him/her.'

Such unexpected patterns are usually called "ergative displacement" in Basque studies (see e.g. Laka 1988) and are apparently related to Hale's (2001) notion of "eccentric agreement."

Heath does not consider this an instance of antipassivization, for two reasons. First, the relevant patterning is present in verbal indexing only; the case frames of NPs of any kind does not change according to TAM or person configurations

and is invariably ergative-cum-absolutive with default transitive clauses. Second, the auxiliary never changes to *izan* 'be$_1$', which is used in monovalent clauses; it is invariably **edun* 'have'. In addition, even though the 3rd-person index is zero, once plural 3rd persons are considered (3), the non-zero plural marker *-it*, corresponding to the absolutive argument, appears on the auxiliary irrespective of TAM:

(3) a. *Ni-k aurkitu d-it-u-t.*
1SG-ERG find.PFV PRS-PLP-have-1SGA
'I have found them.'
b. *Ni-k aurkitu n-it-u-en.*
1SG-ERG find.PFV 1SGA-PLP-have-PST
'I found them.'

As already argued in Zúñiga & Fernández (2019), interesting though this phenomenon is, it cannot possibly be regarded as an instance of the antipassive. Besides, leaving aside the unexpected indexing of the A argument via a prefix, its syntactic behavior is exactly the same as any other A argument. Thus, no detransitivized pattern (and therefore no antipassivization) can be observed in this particular phenomenon.

4. Biclausal constructions

The present section addresses two constructions (one the so-called *ari*-progressive, the other with a participle and a copula) that have been called antipassives in the literature at some point. (See Forker 2012 for a discussion of the similar phenomenon found in Northeast Caucasian languages.) We follow other studies in not considering them bona fide instances of canonical antipassive constructions, which are monoclausal, like active/non-antipassive constructions.

4.1 *Ari*-progressives

Contrary to what some scholars have claimed (Postal 1977; Alonso-Cortés 2002), others have convincingly argued in favor of a biclausal analysis of *ari*-progressives (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 1987; Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 285–287; and Laka 2006). Ortiz de Urbina (2003: 285) considers *ari* 'engage(d)' to be a verb taking complements of different sorts (mostly taking locative or inessive case); it is attested in all Basque varieties except Bizkaian. (Alternatively, other verbs such as *egon* 'be$_2$', *ibili* 'walk' or *jardun* 'be engage(d) in' can also be found in progressive periphrases.) In the view we espouse here, these *ari*-constructions

are not antipassives but precisely instances of this predicate plus a nominalized complement in the locative, as illustrated in (4).[2] Thus, rather than mirroring the monoclausal structure of the non-progressive clause (a), in which the participle appears in the imperfective aspect in a analytic verb form *ja-ten ditu* 's/he eats them', the progressive (b) is a biclausal structure with the nominalized verb in the locative (*ja-te-n* 'in eating') and the analytic form *ari da* 's/he is engaged' (the data are from Laka 2006: 177):[3]

(4) a. *Emakume-a-k ogi-a-k ja-ten ditu.*
woman-DET-ERG bread-DET[ABS]-PL eat-IPFV have.3SGA.3PLP
'The woman eats (the) breads.'
b. *Emakume-a [ogi-a-k ja-te-n] ari da.*
woman-DET[ABS] bread-DET[ABS]-PL eat-NMLZ-LOC engaged be$_1$.3SGS
'The woman is (engaged in) eating (the) breads.'

Ogiak 'the breads', the P argument of *jan* 'eat', is in the absolutive but does not trigger agreement on any predicate in (b); *emakumea* 'the woman', the A argument of *jan* 'eat', is simply the S argument of *ari izan* 'be engaged' in the matrix clause and therefore also appears in the absolutive. In fact, the *ari*-progressive is but a special case of clauses with a nominal(-ized) element and *ari* 'engaged'; other such clauses, where the complement of *ari* is not a clause but simply a noun, are the following (the examples are from Laka 2006: 174,179):

(5) a. *Emakume-a dantza-n ari da.*
woman-DET[ABS] dance-INESS engaged be$_1$.3SGS
'The woman is dancing.' (Lit. 'The woman is engaged in a/the dance.')
b. *Emakume-a lan-ean ari da.*
woman-DET[ABS] work-INESS engaged be$_1$.3SGS
'The woman is working.' (Lit. 'The woman is engaged in work.')

2. Heath (1976: 440) first introduces *ari*-progressives as constructions "resembling true syntactic antipassives" but then analyzes them as "syntactic complex [structures] with main and subordinated clauses."

3. Laka (2006: 175) notes that, in some eastern varieties of the language, the *ari*-construction has become monoclausal, but not an antipassive. In these monoclausal progressives, the case frame and the indexing on the auxiliary are the same as in the default transitive clause in non-progressive aspects (i.e., ergative-cum-absolutive case and bipersonal indexing).

4.2 Participial clauses

Let us start off by considering the following pair:

(6) a. *Haurr-ek liburu-a irakurri dute.*
child-ERG.PL book-DET[ABS] read.PFV have.3PLA.3SGP
b. *Haurr-a-k liburu-a irakurri-a-k dira.*
child-DET[ABS]-PL book-DET[ABS] read.PFV-DET[ABS]-PL be$_1$.3PLS
Both: 'The children have read the book.'

The sentence in (a) is an instance of the default bivalent clause, with the A argument (*haurrek* 'the children') appearing in the ergative and the P argument (*liburua* 'the book') appearing in the unmarked absolutive; the auxiliary indexes both participants according to the expected pattern, and it forms an analytic verb form together with the participle (*irakurri* 'read' → *irakurri dute* 'they have read it'). The sentence in (b), by contrast, has been called "antipassive" (Euskaltzaindia 2002: 18; see also Zabala 2003: 431) because (i) the A argument appears in the unmarked absolutive and (ii) the construction features the form of the auxiliary used with (most) monovalent predicates; note that, compared with (a), (b) also has a more marked version of the lexical verb (*irakurriak* vs. *irakurri*).

Regarding (6b) above as an antipassive poses two problems, however. First, while it is true that the A argument appears in the absolutive, the P argument does not take an oblique case but appears in the absolutive as well. Second, and more fundamentally, the construction is actually biclausal (Ortiz de Urbina & Uribe-Etxebarria 1991), and therefore not structurally equivalent to an antipassive at all. Before addressing the issue of mono- and biclausality, however, some contextualizing remarks on Basque participles are in order.

There are two kinds of participles in contemporary Basque, namely (i) the citation form or "adjectival participle" of the verb and its imperfective counterpart (e.g. PFV *ikus-i* 'see' and IPFV *ikus-ten* 'see') and (ii) the "adverbial participle," a form suffixing *-ta* ~ *-(r)ik* to the citation form (e.g. *ikusi-ta* ~ *ikusi-rik* 'seing, having seen').[4]

The citation form can occur attributively in postnominal position, like adjectives do (e.g. in 7a), but it cannot occur with further arguments or adjuncts in the

4. The suffixes *-ta* and *-(r)ik* alternate along rough dialectal lines, with the former being common in the west and the latter in the east (Trask 2003: 146). Coyos (2002) provides some examples of the *rik*-participles in antipassive-like sentences from the Zuberoan eastern variety. See also further down in the main body of text for some additional details about their distribution.

standard and western varieties;[5] it is the *ta/(r)ik*-form with the attributivizer *-ko* that is used there instead, in prenominal position (e.g. in 7b):

(7) a. *etxe ikusi-a*
house see.PFV-DET[ABS]
'the seen house'
b. *atzo nik ikusi-ta-ko etxe-a*
yesterday 1SG.ERG see.PFV-PTCP-ATTR house-DET[ABS]
'the house that I saw yesterday'

Both forms can also occur predicatively, for instance in resultative constructions, but the adverbial participle is more widely used than the citation form.[6] Predicative *ta/(r)ik*-forms can occur either in matrix clauses (8) or in adverbial subordinate clauses (9):

(8) a. *Etxe-a saldu-ta dago*. (Western)
house-DET[ABS] sell.PFV-PTCP be$_2$.3SGS
b. *Etxe-a saldu-rik dago*. (Central and Eastern Basque)
house-DET[ABS] sell.PFV-PTCP be$_2$.3SGS
Both: 'The house is sold.'

(9) *Gauza-k nola daude-n ikusi-ta~ ikusi-rik, ba-n-oa*.
thing[ABS]-PL how be$_2$.3PLS-REL see.PFV-PTCP see.PFV-PTCP TAM-1SG-go
'Having seen how all things are, I am leaving.' (Hualde 2003: 204)

Contrary to what Example (8a) suggests, the predicative use of the citation form can be found not only with *izan* 'be$_1$' but also with **edun* 'have', which function as main verbs (rather than as auxiliaries) with embedded participial clause (headed by a tenseless participial construction predicated about and agreeing with the absolutive nominal in the main clause). All three examples in (10) stand in opposition to the default transitive clause *Jonek liburua irakurri du* 'Jon has read the book,' where *du* 's/he has it' is an auxiliary within the analytic verb form *irakurri du* 's/he has read it':

(10) a. *Jon [liburu-a irakurri-a] da*.
J.[ABS] book-DET[ABS] read.PFV-DET[ABS] be$_1$.3SGS
'Jon has read the book.'

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5. Trask (2003: 142) mentions the possibility of complex NPs like *haur ongi ikasiak* 'well-educated children' and *bere seme gudan hilei* 'to his sons killed in the war' (with the attributive participles *ikasi-a-k* 'educated-DET[ABS]-PL' and *hil-ei* 'killed-DAT.PL', respectively) in eastern varieties of Basque.

6. See Haase (1992) for comments about the predicative use of the citation form, as well as the use of *izan* rather than *egon*, in eastern varieties (cf. Mounole 2011 for the diachronic evolution of the predicative use of the citation form).

b. *Liburu-a [Jon-ek irakurri-a] da.*
book-DET[ABS] J.-ERG read.PFV-DET[ABS] be$_1$.3SGS
'Jon has read the book.' / 'The book has been read by Jon.'
c. *Jon-ek [liburu-a irakurri-a] du.*
J.-ERG book-DET[ABS] read.PFV-DET[ABS] have.3SGA.3SGP
'Jon has read the book.' (cf. Spanish *Juan tiene leído el libro*)

Sentence (10a) is parallel to (6b) above and has been called antipassive; sentence (10b), as its alternative translation suggests, has been called passive. Sentence (10c) with **edun* 'have' (instead of *izan* 'be$_1$', like in (10a,b)) resembles the Spanish resultative construction with *tener* 'have', which includes a past participle agreeing in both gender and number with the P in Spanish (and only in number in Basque, which does not have gender). (See Zúñiga & Fernández 2019 for a survey of the most significant voice-(like) constructions in Basque.)

Ortiz de Urbina and Uribe-Etxebarria (1991) convincingly argue in favor of a biclausal analysis of such constructions, and the interested reader is referred to that source for more details. Suffice it to add here that such examples (including those like *ni irakasle-a naiz* 'I am a teacher' and *Miren eta Mikel lagun-a-k ditut* 'I have Miren and Mikel as friends', with nominal predicates and copulative *naiz* 'I am' and semicopulative *ditut* 'I have them') are actually related to a much broader phenomenon, namely secondary predication. It is therefore unsurprising to find that the valency of the matrix verb is independent of the valency of the embedded one (e.g. in (11a), where semicopulative **edun* is bivalent but *joan* 'go' is monovalent), and that the main verb can be lexical instead of (semi-)copulative, for instance *ekarri* 'bring' (b) (the examples are from Ortiz de Urbina & Uribe-Etxebarria 1991: 997, 1001):

(11) a. *(Haiek) seme-a Amerik-etara joan-a dute.*
3PL.ERG son-DET[ABS] A.-ALL.PL go.PFV-DET[ABS] have.3PLA.3SGP
'Their son has gone to the Americas.'
b. *Jon-ek paper-a sinatu-a ekarri-ko du.*
J.-ERG paper-DET[ABS] sign.PFV-DET[ABS] bring.PFV-FUT have.3SGA.3SGP
'Jon will bring the paper signed.'

5. The lexically constrained antipassive

The last Basque construction to be reviewed here is discussed in some detail by de Rijk (2003) under the label antipassive. We follow Ortiz de Urbina (1989: 203) here, however, in acknowledging that there is no productive and regular antipassive in the language. The antipassive alternation is highly restricted lexically (not unlike what happens with fully lexicalized versions of *se* with some verbs in Spanish; see Janic 2016: 176–177). Actually, de Rijk himself admits that "the alternations

resembling antipassives are nothing but lexical relationships" (2003: 390; our translation), although he speculates about the possibility of an erstwhile prototypical antipassive. Thus, we will refer to the antipassive-like construction discussed by de Rijk (2003) as *lexically constrained antipassive* (henceforth LCA).

The hallmarks of the lexically constrained antipassive are the following. First, the same lexical verb is employed both in the transitive clause and in its counterpart, and the two participants involved bear the same semantic roles. Second, while its transitive counterpart is a bivalent clause, the LCA is monovalent. Third, the P argument occurs as a direct object in the transitive clause but is demoted to an oblique in the LCA, which appears in the instrumental or, alternatively, in the comitative. Lastly, the A argument in the transitive clause is encoded as the S in the LCA. Example (12) illustrates this with a transitive clause (a) and its LCA counterpart (b) based on the verb *gogoratu* 'remember':

(12) a. *Ni-k* *hura* *gogoratu* *dut*.
1SG-ERG 3SG.ABS remember.PFV have.1SGA.3SGP
b. *Ni* *gogoratu* *naiz* *hartaz*.
1SG[ABS] remember.PFV be.1SGS 3SG.INS
Both: 'I remember him/her/it.'

Note that the LCA does not show a dedicated or syncretic antipassive morpheme like Dyirbal *-ŋa* or Romance *se/si*, respectively. The fact that the clause is monovalent is seen from the auxiliary choice instead. The transitive clause (12a) shows *dut* 'I have it', which has both a 1SGA index *-t* and a zero 3SGP index, whereas the LCA (12b) shows *naiz* 'I am', which has only a 1SGS index *n-*.

Crucially, the voice alternation in (12) is only attested with verbs from a small class. De Rijk (2003) identifies the following thirteen verbs in historical texts: *gogoratu* 'remember', *oroitu* 'remember', *ahaztu* 'forget', *burlatu* 'mock', *trufatu* 'mock', *eskarniatu* 'mock, make fun of', *errukitu* 'feel sorry for', *gozatu* 'enjoy', *baliatu* 'use', *erditu* 'give birth', *hautatu* 'choose', *nagusitu* 'prevail', and *mintzatu* 'speak, talk'.

All of these verbs are also attested in both written and spoken Contemporary Basque, although at least some of them tend to appear in either the transitive clause or the LCA, but not in both. For instance, *burlatu* 'mock' is invariably attested with the LCA, as in (13) (from Sarasola et al. 2016):

(13) *Ondoko zazpi asteetan* *Lili Marlen* *nitaz* *burlatu*
next seven weeks.INESS L.M.[ABS] 1SG.INS mock.PFV
zen, *arrazoiekin*
be.3SGS reasons.COM
'During the following seven weeks Lili Marlen mocked me, rightly so.'
(Borda 2001)

Hautatu 'choose', by contrast, occurs only in the transitive clause (as attested in both Sarasola 2008 and Sarasola et al. 2016). In this respect, the LCA is not only restricted on a lexical basis but also idiosyncratic and unproductive – even more so than the Spanish comparable antipassive with *se*-verbs, as observed by Masullo (1992: 183) and illustrated in (14) with monovalent *acordarse* 'remember'. Here, the transitive bivalent clause is excluded.[7]

(14) a. *Juan se acuerda del tema.*
J. SE remember.3SGS/A of.the topic
'John remembers the topic.'
b. **Juan acuerda el tema.*
J. remember.3SGS/A the topic
(Intended: 'John remembers the topic.')

Interestingly enough, the Basque verb *akordatu* 'remember' – neither attested in written Contemporary Basque nor mentioned by de Rijk – behaves analogously; only the LCA is grammatical:

(15) a. *Jon akordatzen da gaia-z / gaia-rekin.*
J.[ABS] remember.IPFV be.3SGS topic-INS topic-COM
'John remembers the topic.'
b. **Jon-ek gaia akordatzen du.*
J.-ERG topic[ABS] remember.IPFV have.3SGP.3SGA
(Intended: 'John remembers the topic.')

Thus, the restrictions of the LCA are the following. First, the construction is lexically conditioned and unproductive; most verbs do not allow it. Second, some of the verbs historically attested in the antipassive alternation are now only found in one of the two constructions (either the transitive clause or the LCA). Lastly, the verbs that can occur in the LCA are semantically heterogeneous but not absolutely random. Four of the verbs involved in the valency alternation in (12) above do not seem to belong to a coherent semantic class (viz. *baliatu* 'use', *erditu* 'give birth', *hautatu* 'choose', and *nagusitu* 'prevail'), but others do, as we will see in what follows. Some are psych-verbs (Section 5.1) and others are unergatives *verba dicendi* (Section 5.2).

7. It is in order to note that *Juan recuerda el tema* 'John remembers the topic', with bivalent *recordar* 'remember', is fine. This verb does not alternate in Standard Spanish, and prescriptivists advise against constructions parallel to those with acordarse (i.e. *Juan se recuerda del tema* 'John remembers the topic'), but it is not uncommon to find them, both in Peninsular and in Latin American spoken varieties.

5.1 The LCA with psych-verbs

Eight out of the thirteen verbs mentioned by de Rijk belong to what Belletti & Rizzi's (1988) identified as the *temere* 'fear' class of psych-verbs for Italian: *gogoratu* 'remember', *oroitu* 'remember', *ahaztu* 'forget', *burlatu* 'mock', *trufatu* 'mock', *eskarniatu* 'mock, make fun of', *errukitu* 'feel sorry for', and *gozatu* 'enjoy'. In the transitive clause with such verbs, the A subject is an experiencer and the P object a stimulus (a Theme in Belletti & Rizzi's parlance); in the LCA, the S is the experiencer and the oblique is the stimulus, as already seen in (12) above.

Some verbs belonging to Belletti & Rizzi's (1988) *preoccupare* 'worry' class participate in an alternation as well, as seen with *kezkatu* 'worry' in (16).

(16) a. *Azken berria-k Jon kezkatzen du.*
latest news-ERG J.[ABS] worry.IPFV have.3SGA.3SGP
b. *Jon kezkatzen da azken berria-z.*
J.[ABS] worry.IPFV be$_1$.3SGS latest news-INS
Both: 'The latest news worries John.'

Nevertheless, this alternation differs from the one in (12) in that the transitive clause in (16) has the experiencer as P object and the stimulus as A subject, rather than the other way round (see Masullo 1992: 183–187 for Spanish counterparts). We thus follow de Rijk (2003) in treating these two alternations differently; (12) is an example of the LCA while (16) is a passive-like alternation.

Other psych-verbs also show an alternation reminiscent of, but different from, the transitive- antipassive voice pair under discussion. Consider the following example with *laketu* 'like, please':

(17) a. *Gure eskuara ere laket dugu.*
our Basque[ABS] too pleasure have.1PLA.3SGP
'We like our Basque too.' (HU Aurp 205)
b. *Laster laketu zen bere herri berrian.*
soon delight.PFV be.PST.3SGS 3SG.PSR country new.INESS
'Soon, s/he delighted in her/his new country.' (LF ELit 270)
(both cited in Fernández & Ortiz de Urbina 2010: 97, 93)

The clause in (17a) is a transitive construction including the predicate *laket izan* 'like, please' with a P object in the absolutive and the A subject in the ergative (implicit in the example). Its intransitive counterpart in (17b) includes an oblique, but in the inessive rather than in the instrumental or the comitative. Such an inessive-marked stimulus can also appear with this verb in an unergative construction with the S subject in the ergative, the transitive auxiliary **edun*, and the A-agreement for the S argument, as in (13).

(18) *Ez du gure eskualdean laketzen arrano-a-k.*
NEG have.3SGA.3SGP our region.INESS please.IPFV eagle-DET-ERG
'The eagle does not delight in our region.' (Zerb Azk 85)
(cited in Fernández & Ortiz de Urbina 2010: 98)

Lastly, note that *laketu* 'like, please' can further appear not only with an experiencer in the dative and a stimulus in the nominative, like in (19a) below (as verbs belonging to Belletti & Rizzi's *piacere* 'like, please' class canonically do), but also with the stimulus in the inessive (19b):

(19) a. *Laketu zaio.*
please.PFV it.is.to.him
'S/he has liked it.'
b. *Ez othe zaitzu lakhetu zure desterruan.*
NEG MP it.is.to.you[8] delight.PFV your exile.INESS
'Haven't you delighted in your exile?' (Brtc 88)
(cited in Fernández & Ortiz de Urbina 2010: 92)

Clearly, a comprehensive description and analysis of the particular case frames and agreement patterns found with different psych-verbs exceed the limits of the discussion on the transitive- antipassive voice alternation. The reader is referred to Fernández et al. (2020) for further details and discussion.

5.2 The LCA with mintzatu and other *verba dicendi*

In addition to *mintzatu* 'speak', which is mentioned by de Rijk (2003), there are at least two other verbs of saying that apparently participate in the transitive-antipassive alternation, namely *solastatu* 'talk, chat' and *hizkatu* 'quarrel, argue'. The peculiarities of some *verba dicendi* 'verbs of speaking' are particularly interesting in the present context; we will focus on *mintzatu* 'speak' to explore some of them.

Mintzatu 'speak' can occur in monovalent clauses (20) both as unaccusative, as in (20a), and as unergative, as in (20b) (i.e. its analytic forms use the transitive auxiliary **edun*, with A-agreement for its S subject and dummy 3SGP- or 3SGT-agreement; see Zúñiga & Fernández 2019, for a description):

8. The auxiliary form in (19) is of the bivalent unaccusative type (Etxepare 2003), i.e. it is intransitive *izan* 'be' and agrees with two arguments, viz. one in the absolutive (here: the 3rd person singular in both (19a) and (19b)) and one in the dative (here: the 3rd person singular in (19a) and the 2nd person singular in (19b)). See Zúñiga & Fernández (2019) for more details.

(20) a. *Honela mintzatu zen Zaratustra.*
thus speak.PFV be.PST.3SGS Z.[ABS]
'Thus spoke Zarathustra.'
b. *Euskaldun laborari-ek abileziarekin mintzatzen dute.*
Basque farmer-ERG.PL skill.COM speak.IPFV have.3PLA.3SGP
'Basque farmers speak with skills.'

Nevertheless, it is also possible for this verb to occur in a transitive clause with the manner of speech as P argument instead, or alternatively in a LCA with the manner of speech as oblique in the instrumental:

(21) a. *Jon-ek euskara mintzatzen du.*
John-ERG Basque[ABS] speak.IPFV have.3SGA.3SGP
b. *Jon euskara-z mintzatzen da.*
John[ABS] Basque-INS speak.IPFV be$_1$.3SGS
Both: 'John speaks Basque.'

Further examples of the alternation with these specific semantic roles can be seen in (22) from Sarasola et al. (2016):

(22) a. *Erran duzu frantsesa mintzatzen duzu-la.*
say.PFV have.2SGA.3SGP French[ABS] speak.IPFV have.2SGA.3SGP-COMP
'You have said that you speak French.'
(M. Oxandabaratz, *Ez da musik*, 2006: 72)
b. *Mintza zaitez euskara-z!*
speak be$_1$.IMP.2SGS Basque-INS
'Speak in Basque!'

In order to express the interlocutor as an argument of the *mintzatu* 'speak' in the clause (23), the corresponding NP appears either in the absolutive in the transitive construction (23a) or in the comitative in the LCA (23b):

(23) a. *Aldi huntan, Jakes Pitaud mintzatu dugu.*
time this.INESS J.P.[ABS] speak.PFV have.1PLA.3SGP
'This time, we have spoken to Jakes Pitaud.'
(Herria, 2005-07-14; cited in Berro 2010: 14)
b. *Jakes Pitaud-ekin mintzatu gara.*
J. P.-COM speak.PFV be$_1$.1PLS
Intended: 'We have spoken with Jakes Pitaud.'

The clause with the interlocutor as P argument (23a) seems to be a case of telicization, by means of the object, of an otherwise atelic clause (see Berro 2010). Similar transitive constructions involving objects that delimit the target of the event are attested with unergatives belonging to quite different semantic fields, such as *borrokatu* 'fight' (see Etxepare 2003: 394–397 for details):

(24) a. *Urtain borrokatu du Jon-ek.*
U.[ABS] fight.PFV have.3SGA.3SGP J.-ERG
'Jon has fought Urtain.' (Etxepare 2003: 397)

b. *Urtain-ekin borrokatu du Jon-ek.*
U.-COM fight.PFV have.3SGA.3SGP J.-ERG
'Jon has fought with Urtain.'

Although *mintzatu* 'speak', *solastatu* 'talk, chat' and *hizkatu* 'quarrel, argue' show similar transitive-intransitive alternations, it has to be borne in mind that the transitive clause with an object NP (corresponding to either the language spoken or the interlocutor) should not be regarded as the unmarked option with these verbs; rather, unergatives like *mintzatu* 'speak' usually alternate between an unergative construction (without an explicit object) and an unaccusative construction. Under certain circumstances, however, an object can be included and, as a consequence, a transitive construction arises, giving rise to the apparent transitive-LCA alternation under discussion.

6. Discussion and concluding remarks

On the one end of the spectrum, Basque has a systematic indexing pattern in all default transitive clauses, under specific TAM- and person-related conditions, that bears a superficial similarity to antipassive indexing but cannot be really regarded as antipassivization of any kind (Section 3). On the other end, the alternation between an ergative-cum-absolutive case frame and transitive verbs/auxiliaries on the one hand and an absolutive-cum-instrumental/comitative case frame and intransitive verbs/auxiliaries on the other can be regarded as an instance of P-demoting antipassivization, but it is lexically restricted and idiosyncratic (Section 5). Neither the productive progressive construction nor the somewhat marked participial construction is an instance of antipassive – the case frame is wrong, and they are actually biclausal structures (Section 4). These facts are relevant not only for the description of Basque grammar and lexicon but also for the typology of antipassive constructions, and we will address them in turn.

From the perspective of Basque studies, it is perhaps surprising that all scholars working on Basque and all typologists do not hold the mainstream view. Even though the biclausal analysis of *ari*-progressives and participial constructions is not actually controversial, the idea that some of these can be identified as bona fide passives or antipassives has not been completely abandoned by all scholars yet. By a different token, the question of how best to treat the lexically restricted antipassive is related to theoretical and typological views of voice in general and antipassivization in particular.

From a functional-theoretical perspective and approaching the grammar and lexicon of Basque in terms of *lability* (Dixon 1994; Creissels 2014), it is clear that some kinds of this phenomenon are present while others are absent.[9] P-preserving lability (e.g. English *the boy broke the vase* vs. *the vase broke*), for instance, is pervasive, particularly so the argument-structure modifying and strong subtype. Unsurprisingly, this kind of lability is related both to the change-of-state predicate class and to the aspectual distinction state vs. beginning of state (see e.g. Etxepare 2003: 403–410). A-preserving lability (e.g. English *the master drinks tea* vs. *the master drinks*) is frequent as well, particularly so the argument-structure preserving and strong subtype. A special case of A-lability, then, consists in something like a dozen verbs being able to occur in the default transitive construction (ERG+ABS, with **edun* 'have' when analytic) as well as in an intransitive construction (ABS+INS/COM, with *izan* 'be' when analytic).

It is important to note that none of Polinsky's functions of the antipassive apply to the Basque construction. Syntactically, the A argument does not crucially change its syntactic status (other than from S subject to A subject), so there is no need to feed a particular and restricted pivot via antipassivization. Semantically, neither low individuation nor low affectedness of P seem to appropriately describe what triggers the Basque alternation; generic or non-specific P arguments are routinely expressed via omission from the clause, and remembering, mocking, or enjoying something that is marked in the absolutive versus the instrumental/comitative does not appear to be related to either low-transitivity value in the sense of Hopper & Thompson (1980). (Recall in this context similar Spanish alternations like *disfrutar (de)* 'enjoy' and *olvidar(-se de)* 'forget', whose semantic motivation is anything but straightforward as well.)

The next (unanswered) question is, just how many verbs, and/or which ones, must allow the alternation for antipassivization to become unproblematic? To judge from Polinsky's (2013), fully productive antipassives – assuming Polinsky's sources and her treatment thereof are adequate depictions of the phenomena – are important (two thirds of her sum total) but not the only possibility. Polinsky's 14 languages with partially productive antipassives include, in addition to Basque,

9. Two kinds of lability that have not been discussed extensively in the typological literature yet – we could call them G-preserving and T-preserving lability, respectively, based on the [A T G] argument structure of trivalent predicates vis-à-vis the [A P] structure of bivalent ones – are basically not found in Basque. The question of G-preserving lability is rather complicated, related as it is to Differential Object Marking and to "dative displacement"; for details, see Odria (2014) and Fernández & Rezac (2016) on the one hand and Rezac (2008) and Rezac & Fernández (2013) on the other, as well as the references therein. The question of T-preserving lability is rather straightforward: indirect objects are always licensed by verb morphology (i.e. the "dative flag"), a sort of indirect applicative of opaque history but simple morphosyntax.

languages from Australia, the Caucasus, and the Americas, as well as Polynesia and Africa. Her two languages with not-productive antipassives are Lavukaleve (Central Solomon, Solomon Islands) and Choctaw (Muskogean, USA).

The constructions identified by Polinsky as antipassives in her sample differ significantly not only regarding their language-specific morphosyntactic characteristics but also regarding their general status and, crucially, their productivity and the semantics of the verbs involved. For instance, there are three deobjective constructions in Choctaw, according to Davies (1984): an "antipassive" – an instance of verb indexing both subjects and objects via affixes from one and the same patientive set –, a "2/3 retreat" construction, and an operation that combines both. Davies identified only four predicates that occur in the active and the antipassive, and they are all psych-verbs (viz. *anoktoklo* 'doubt' *anokfohka* 'understand', *banna* 'want', and *yimmi* 'believe'); the combined construction occurs with at least 15 predicates (Davies' examples include the psych-verbs *nokilli* 'hate' and *nokhāklo* 'pity'), and the 2/3 retreat construction is said to apply to a larger class. Most importantly, Davies acknowledges Jacobsen's treatment of the same phenomenon ("an antipassive that is lexically governed") in Washo (isolate or Hokan, USA). By a different token, the implicit-patient construction is found with a "fairly large class" of verbs in Kiowa (one of Polinsky's North American languages); two dozen verbs are listed in Watkins (1984: 137), some of which are psych-predicates like *hágyá* 'learn, know', *ó·bép* 'develop a desire for', or *tʰéndɔ̀·* 'want', and some of which are related to the difficulty of accomplishing something, e.g. *ɔ́ttép* 'fail to find' and *mɔ́·gɔ́* 'be proficient at'. Nevertheless, this implicit-patient construction (where the subject is indexed with patientive affixes on the verb) cannot be the antipassive construction, since the verbs involved are syntactically monovalent only, i.e., they do not participate in alternations between two constructions. The use of plural-object affixes with syntactically bivalent verbs to denote unspecified objects ('things') does not qualify as partially productive antipassive, either, since it seems to be available to all bivalent verbs (Watkins 1984: 138). Subjects indexed via patientive affixes are found with non-psych-verbs to convey the 'deliberately' vs. 'accidentally' distinction, and the neutral vs. 'manage to' distinction seems to be much more widely available, if it is lexically constrained at all (Watkins 1984: 142–144). In short: none of these phenomena bears a close resemblance to the Basque LCA.

Basque seems to be but one case among several others, but the details of how such lexically restricted antipassives are distributed and work are not well known. Much more research is needed on this phenomenon in order to arrive at a better understanding of such alternations.

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Abbreviations

The glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, additional abbreviations are as follows:

A	agent-like argument of bivalent or trivalent verbs
ATTR	attributivizer
G	goal-like argument of trivalent verbs
IMP	imperative
INESS	inessive
P	patient-like argument of bivalent verbs
MP	modal particle
PSR	possessor
S	single argument of monovalent verbs
T	theme-like argument of trivalent verbs

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Index

A
absolutive 2, 14, 20–21, 27, 29, 43–44, 57–62, 66, 100–101, 105–106, 150–152, 154–155, 157–158, 160–161, 165, 167, 170, 184, 188, 192, 194, 205, 217, 220, 222–224, 230, 236, 240, 255, 257, 259–260, 262, 283, 404, 418, 430, 434, 438, 448–450, 487, 489–492, 495, 499–501, 505, 507–508, 518–520, 523, 526–528, 532, 534, 536–539, 542–544, 549–550, 552–554, 556–566, 568–569, 572–575, 582–583, 623, 625–628, 632–636
accusative 2, 15, 17, 20, 35–37, 43–44, 57, 59, 62, 100–101, 149, 152, 154, 156, 165, 172, 178, 210, 218, 255–256, 261, 293–294, 298, 306, 378, 387–388, 401, 412, 418, 429, 447–450, 452, 454, 456, 464, 470, 474, 485, 499, 507–508, 516, 552–553
active alignment 44–46, 48, 52, 552, 562–563
active/stative system *see* active alignment
adjunct 4, 6, 34, 214, 298, 358, 360, 487–488, 501, 504, 509, 519, 534, 538, 589, 597, 599–600, 627
affectedness 3, 23, 28, 52, 97–98, 100, 107–108, 125, 127, 129, 140, 161, 163–164, 173, 177, 179, 182, 184–185, 199, 206, 233, 240, 262, 326, 332, 374, 457–458, 474, 530, 545, 582, 584, 589, 592, 614, 636
agency 98, 174, 463, 582
agent 2–3, 5–6, 10, 14, 19, 27, 30, 43–46, 48, 51–52, 54, 56–57, 59–60, 62, 69, 78–80, 93–94, 102, 107, 121, 136–137, 150–152, 154–155, 157–158, 160–162, 165–167, 169–170, 178, 180, 191, 194, 196, 202, 208, 210, 250, 255, 257, 263, 267, 269–275, 277, 295, 303, 305, 320–321, 353, 359, 363, 365–367, 370, 372, 387, 389–390, 398–400, 404, 410, 414, 416–418, 427–434, 447–448, 451–453, 455–456, 458–459, 461–463, 465, 473–475, 489, 494–495, 499, 506, 516, 529–531, 536–539, 542–544, 549–550, 554–561, 565–575, 581, 623
agent focus 30, 549–550, 555, 565, 568, 575
agentive 5, 14, 30, 79–80, 90, 177, 185, 191, 203, 270, 274, 293, 302, 306–307, 313, 327–328, 345, 349, 353, 356, 359–361, 368–369, 377–378, 438, 442, 462, 485, 490, 492, 500, 544, 557, 559, 563, 565, 569, 574, 582, 605, 624
agentivity 177, 179, 182, 185, 202, 206, 369, 388, 463
agreement 6, 14, 29, 188, 397–398, 400–401, 403, 405–406, 408–412, 501, 509, 518–520, 536–537, 543, 554, 558, 563, 565–567, 571–574, 621, 623–624, 626, 632–633 *see* also indexing
alignment 19–20, 23, 29, 43, 57, 62, 95, 149, 151, 168, 188, 206, 209–211, 215, 254, 256, 260, 293, 298, 378, 387, 397, 401, 428–429, 447–450, 483, 507, 543, 550, 552–553, 562–563, 575, 579–581, 589, 597, 613–614, 623 *see* also active alignment, ergative(-absolutive) alignment, hierarchical alignment, neutral alignment, nominative(-accusative) alignment, semantic alignment, split alignment
alternation 22, 26–28, 30, 67, 91, 100, 105–106, 162, 168, 191–192, 197–201, 203–206, 210, 219–220, 226, 257, 259, 261–262, 293, 300, 304, 409, 412, 430–431, 492, 496–497, 525, 531, 581–582, 587–588, 622, 629–636
anaphora 209, 396, 604, 609
anaphoric 15, 379, 470, 608 *see* also anaphora
animacy 11–12, 100, 155, 179, 182, 186–187, 195, 207, 209, 536, 555, 562, 568
animate 12, 28, 47, 51, 94, 102, 186–187, 225, 269, 332, 489, 523, 537–538, 541, 559, 568 *see* also animacy
antipassive 1–4, 6–30, 43–44, 46–57, 59, 62, 65–67, 70–78, 80–84, 86–93, 97–144, 149–153, 155–156, 159–162, 164–166, 168–170, 172, 177–211, 213–215, 217–230, 232–241, 249–283, 293–295, 302, 304–308, 310–313, 315–316, 318, 325–326, 328–331, 333–334, 340–344, 349–351, 356–359, 361, 363–364, 366, 368, 370, 372, 377–378, 385–418, 427–442, 447–449, 451–454, 456–459,

461–475, 483, 485–486, 489–518, 520–550, 555–558, 560–569, 571–585, 587–595, 597, 601–606, 608, 612–614, 622, 624–627, 629–633, 635–637
antipassive construction *see* antipassive
antipassive marker 1, 3–4, 9–15, 17–19, 23, 27, 29–30, 53, 91, 149, 151, 153, 172, 187, 195–196, 200, 205, 213, 218–219, 234–235, 237–239, 249–250, 252–253, 255–264, 271, 275–283, 293, 302, 305, 310–311, 313, 316, 333, 343, 349–350, 391, 393, 401–402, 411, 417, 438, 495–496, 522, 546, 569
antipassive marking *see* antipassive marker
antipassivization 20–21, 43–44, 62, 156, 177–180, 182, 185–186, 188–190, 192, 194, 200–201, 203, 205–207, 209, 221, 224–225, 229, 232, 287, 293, 295, 302, 305, 310–311, 329–330, 333, 344, 368, 429, 435, 485, 490, 498–500, 507–510, 524–525, 543, 549, 621–622, 624–625, 635–636
antipassivizer *see* antipassive marker
argument 1–12, 14–17, 19–21, 23–24, 26–30, 43–45, 48, 50, 54, 57–62, 69–71, 73, 75, 78–79, 88, 90–92, 99–100, 102, 104, 108, 133–134, 138, 140, 150–151, 153–161, 165–170, 172, 177–178, 182–193, 195, 197, 200–203, 206–209, 211, 213–214, 217, 222, 225, 229, 232, 236–237, 239, 251–254, 257–263, 266, 269, 271–273, 275–277, 279–283, 293–295, 298, 302–303, 306–307, 313, 315–317, 320–323, 325, 327–333, 335–336, 341–345, 351, 354–355, 357–361, 363–364, 368–369, 373, 375, 378, 385, 390, 399–400, 405, 407, 411, 414, 416–417, 419, 428–434, 448–449, 454–456, 462, 465, 468–471, 474–475, 483–485, 488–492, 494–510, 515–521, 523–532, 534–549, 552, 554–556, 559, 564–569, 572–574, 581–582, 584–585, 587–590, 594, 596–601, 606, 613, 621, 623–627, 630, 632–634, 636
argument structure 8, 24, 27, 57–58, 71, 78–79, 208–209, 280, 303, 316, 323, 333, 344, 433, 455, 469–471, 474, 492, 496, 502, 509–510, 515, 517–521, 523, 525–528, 532, 534, 538, 545–546, 597, 623, 636
aspect 1, 3–4, 12, 18, 29, 45, 58, 94, 97–98, 107, 119, 130–134, 137, 141, 143, 164, 172, 201–202, 228, 249, 253, 255, 293, 295, 306, 313, 351, 355, 385, 396, 414, 435, 447, 449, 451, 459, 464–465, 486, 505, 517, 530, 536, 539, 542–543, 545, 552, 554, 556, 581–583, 588, 591, 593, 623, 626
aspectual shift 18–19, 116, 259, 273 *see* also aspect
atelic 97–98, 107–109, 129, 141, 143–144, 183, 201, 252, 504, 524–525, 582, 584, 592, 604, 612, 634

B
backgrounding 56–57, 62, 107, 149, 153, 165, 224–225, 229, 303, 307, 315–316, 331, 341, 343–344, 545
bivalent (verb, predicate or clause) 2, 5, 7, 29, 150, 181, 218, 224, 229–230, 232, 298, 300, 325–326, 485, 489–497, 501–504, 506–508, 623–624, 627, 629–631, 633, 636–637
blocking 143, 229, 235

C
causative 13–14, 24, 154, 170–171, 183, 191, 199, 207, 209, 215, 224, 226, 228–229, 232, 239, 250, 263, 282–283, 302, 311–312, 315–316, 325, 327–334, 338–344, 350, 354–357, 360, 363, 366–369, 408, 427, 437, 440, 452, 455, 468, 483–485, 488, 498–499, 509, 518, 525–527, 529, 531–532, 535, 617
change-of-state 199, 207, 315–316, 332, 334–336, 344, 457, 636
constituent order *see* word order
control 45–46, 48–49, 52, 106–107, 165, 182, 202, 316, 328–330, 339, 341, 463, 507, 536–537, 590
coordination 4, 20–21, 556

D
dative (case, marking) 23, 100, 105–106, 161, 226, 232, 260, 375, 419, 452, 466, 468, 472–473, 484, 488–490, 492, 495–497, 503–506, 510, 528, 536, 562, 623, 633, 636
deep ergativity 4, 20, 23
definite 59, 103, 105, 155, 165, 249, 278, 319, 326, 402, 419, 429, 436, 469, 502, 504, 526, 529–530, 540–541, 555, 559, 563, 565, 568, 588, 591, 601–605, 613 *see* also definiteness
definiteness 43, 104, 297, 396, 504, 555, 568, 603–604
deletion 44, 180–181, 197, 201, 203, 326, 341, 438, 456, 526, 529, 544
demotion 3, 8, 12, 99, 150–151, 153, 181–182, 196, 200–201, 303, 311, 329, 331, 341, 468, 509, 526, 528–530, 544, 582, 588, 621
detransitive 70–71, 73, 76, 78–80, 83, 92–93, 102, 178, 403, 419, 430–431, 433–434, 437, 439, 563
detransitive construction *see* detransitivization
detransitivization 26, 43, 62, 70, 73, 79, 153, 158, 257, 271, 293, 305, 310, 313–314, 326, 358, 360, 416, 430–431, 433, 538, 541
diathesis 4, 7–8, 496
differential object marking 27–28, 106, 153, 262, 636

direct object 7, 106, 108, 126, 133, 150–151, 166, 172, 189, 203, 223, 396, 483–485, 506, 508–509, 601, 623, 630
ditransitive verb 500, 508, 525, 528, 558
durative 18–19, 97, 138, 193, 252, 333, 344, 419, 459, 515, 517, 522, 524, 529–531, 533, 545, 558, 564, 583
durativity *see* durative

E
ergative 2, 14–15, 20, 27, 29, 43–44, 46, 49, 57–62, 66, 100–102, 105–106, 117, 126, 150–152, 154–165, 167, 170, 172, 180, 188, 192, 213, 232–233, 239–240, 250, 254–257, 259–260, 294, 326, 349, 387, 397, 401, 406, 419, 427–435, 442, 448–449, 457, 483, 487, 489, 491, 496, 499, 507–508, 516, 518–520, 523, 526, 528, 532, 534–544, 549, 552–554, 556–557, 563, 568, 573, 581–585, 587, 621–627, 632, 635
ergative argument 27, 157, 160–161, 170, 172, 489, 552, 556, 573
ergative(-absolutive) alignment 20, 43, 57, 62–63, 256, 483, 552

F
flagging 6, 27, 180, 188, 192, 197, 249, 260–261, 293, 297–298, 509
focalization 4, 20, 297
focus 23, 30, 70, 74, 93–94, 98, 107–108, 121, 132, 138, 169, 195, 198, 218, 250, 273, 297, 386, 406, 419, 428, 456, 458, 470–472, 497, 501, 549–550, 555–557, 559–560, 564–565, 568–569, 572, 574, 603, 633

G
generic 3, 16, 26, 44, 46, 51, 54, 57, 59, 62, 104, 108, 156–157, 165, 169–170, 172, 213, 215, 218, 233, 235–237, 239–240, 254, 265–266, 271, 273, 275–276, 281, 367, 387–390, 396–398, 401–402, 404–405, 408, 411, 414, 417, 427–428, 431–432, 434, 437, 452, 457, 462, 465, 504, 585, 602–603, 605, 610, 636
genitive 92, 104–105, 133, 147, 372, 523, 553, 560, 623
grammaticalization 11, 64, 96, 187, 207, 254, 263, 270, 276, 282, 293, 305, 312–313, 340, 342, 346, 427, 471, 514

H
habitual 3, 29, 98, 102, 107–109, 112–115, 118–120, 122, 124–125, 128–131, 133, 135, 140–141, 143–144, 157, 160, 168–172, 201, 273, 277, 293, 306, 363–364, 378, 387, 400, 404, 409, 459–460, 472, 505, 529–530, 533, 539, 543, 545–546, 558, 564, 583

I
imperfective 18, 29, 58, 92, 97–98, 107, 112–114, 119–120, 130–133, 137, 141, 143, 164–165, 183, 435, 447, 455, 459–460, 465, 474, 505, 534–535, 538–539, 541–543, 545–546, 582, 591, 626–627
inanimate 12, 28, 47, 51, 93–94, 102, 182, 186–187, 276, 365, 378, 396, 419, 461, 523, 536, 541, 559
incompletive 208, 295–297, 299, 460, 464–465, 575
incorporation 4, 25–27, 104–105, 149–151, 153, 155–160, 163, 165, 169, 172, 187, 203, 213, 216, 221–222, 225–226, 228–229, 233, 235–236, 239–240, 262, 275–276, 295, 308–310, 388, 427, 429, 433–434, 549, 571–572
indefinite 3, 16, 50, 53–54, 59, 62, 103, 109, 165–166, 172, 180, 200, 214–215, 217–218, 222, 233, 236–237, 239, 241, 275–277, 336, 375, 386, 388, 397, 402, 404, 406, 417, 419, 427–429, 431–432, 434–436, 457, 465, 500, 502, 526, 530, 540, 556, 565, 567, 569–570, 572, 582–583, 585, 588, 591, 601–603, 605, 612–613
indexing 6, 69, 188, 197, 214–215, 218, 326, 328, 554, 566–567, 623–626, 635, 637
indirect object 160, 166, 396, 483–484, 487–489, 491–493, 496–497, 502–506, 508–509, 623, 636
individuation 3, 23, 29, 97, 103, 109, 149–150, 153, 159, 172, 213, 233, 240, 457–458, 530, 543, 545, 568, 582–584, 589, 591, 601, 603, 605, 614, 636
instrumental 23, 92, 100, 117, 126–127, 161, 226–227, 232, 253, 353, 355, 360, 418, 452, 485, 504, 520, 526, 528, 542, 581–583, 587, 596, 630, 632, 634–636
intransitive 2, 6–7, 14, 19–21, 27, 29, 46–53, 55–63, 65, 69–70, 74–75, 78–79, 99–102, 106, 117, 133, 155, 157, 161, 167–172, 178, 184, 188, 191, 197–199, 203, 216, 218–220, 224, 230, 232–234, 252–253, 255, 257, 259–262, 271, 274, 279–280, 293–302, 304, 306, 310, 316, 320–345, 349–353, 357–360, 362, 367–372, 375, 377–378, 388, 399–400, 402, 404, 406, 409–410, 412, 419, 428–436, 440–441, 447–450, 454, 464–465, 468–470, 474–475, 483–485, 487, 489–490, 492–499, 504, 506–509, 515–516, 518–519, 521–527, 529, 531–536, 538–539, 541, 544–546, 552–554, 556–558, 561–563, 565–567, 569, 574–575, 580–583, 585, 588–589, 595, 597, 601, 612–614, 621–624, 632–633, 635–636
irrealis 58, 352, 408, 418, 582, 606

L
labile verb 81, 154, 161, 170, 172, 188, 191, 197–199, 203, 301–302, 306, 448, 494–495, 523, 531, 538, 542
lability 27, 188, 191–192, 196–197, 200, 209, 428–431, 483, 494, 542, 636
lexicalization 24, 177, 179, 201–205, 207, 229, 304, 378, 472, 522, 546
light verb 10, 313, 387, 428–429, 432, 437, 468–469, 534

M
middle 10, 12, 56–57, 65, 67, 71–72, 74, 76, 90–92, 102, 116, 134, 149, 151–154, 160, 165, 168–173, 181, 191–192, 196, 199, 204, 210, 213, 222, 230, 232, 256, 265–266, 269–271, 345, 349–350, 352, 356, 368, 370–372, 374, 376–379, 403, 407, 427, 437–442, 448, 451, 464, 475, 563–565
monovalent (verb, predicate or clause) 5, 65, 181, 191, 197, 199, 224, 295, 326, 483, 489–490, 494–497, 501–502, 504–505, 623, 625, 627, 629–631, 633, 637

N
neutral alignment 168, 215, 397, 401
nominalization 10, 43, 60, 62–63, 235, 263, 277–279, 320, 334–336, 342–344, 364, 368, 387, 406, 427–428, 435–436, 440, 465, 468
nominative 43–44, 59, 62, 100–102, 106, 255, 358, 378, 410, 418, 447–451, 456, 470, 474, 484, 499, 507–508, 552–553, 633
nominative(-accusative) alignment 378, 447, 450, 552–553

O
object 4, 7, 9, 15, 27, 44–45, 48, 51, 78–79, 81, 97–100, 102–109, 114, 116–117, 121–122, 126–128, 131–133, 139–141, 149–173, 179–189, 191–194, 197, 199–200, 202–205, 207, 210, 213–218, 220–226, 228–229, 232–239, 254–255, 261–262, 270, 276–277, 280–282, 293, 295, 297–298, 300–301, 303, 305–310, 312–313, 318, 329, 352–353, 361–362, 365, 370, 388, 390, 396–398, 401–402, 406, 409, 417, 419, 427–429, 431–435, 438, 440, 448–450, 455–458, 465, 469–470, 472, 483–485, 487–489, 491–493, 496–497, 500–519, 530, 534, 540–541, 552–553, 556–557, 572, 600–602, 623, 630, 632, 634–637
oblique 2, 8, 17, 58, 60–61, 65–66, 71, 75, 79–81, 86–90, 92, 100, 103, 150–152, 154, 160–168, 177, 226, 233–234, 252–253, 255, 260–261, 273, 279, 298, 303, 307–309, 320, 325, 329, 331, 341, 344, 356, 358–359, 387, 395–396, 399, 402, 409, 419, 431, 437, 448, 487–492, 501, 507, 515–516, 519–520, 522, 526, 528–530, 537, 541, 544, 546, 549, 557–565, 567–569, 572–575, 581–582, 585, 589–590, 597–598, 600–601, 627, 630, 632, 634
omission 3–4, 12, 15, 23, 27, 103–104, 149–150, 153–154, 171–172, 182–183, 225–226, 229, 233, 240, 261–262, 312, 318, 362, 448, 456, 465, 500, 526–527, 532, 544, 636

P
partitive 4, 15, 28, 145, 161–162, 262, 457
passive 2–3, 6–7, 12, 24–25, 43, 65, 67, 71–78, 83, 91, 102, 152, 165, 173, 175, 179, 192–193, 206, 233–238, 240–241, 250, 255–256, 265, 270, 280–281, 301, 303–304, 310–311, 344, 376, 385–386, 389–391, 395, 399, 402, 407–408, 412–413, 416–417, 427–428, 431, 437, 439–440, 442, 451–452, 468–469, 483, 485, 564, 581, 584–585, 621–622, 629, 632, 635
patient 2–3, 5–6, 17, 19, 43–49, 51–52, 54, 56–57, 59–60, 62, 69, 78, 81–82, 84–86, 88, 92–93, 107–108, 127, 129, 149–158, 160–165, 167–173, 178, 182, 191, 195, 200, 208, 213–214, 218, 224–226, 229, 233, 238–240, 257, 267, 269–270, 272–273, 281–282, 293, 298, 300, 311, 320–321, 326, 329–331, 353, 359–361, 364, 367–368, 370, 376, 385–390, 395, 397–402, 404–406, 408–409, 413–414, 416–419, 428–433, 435–436, 438, 448, 457, 475, 489, 491, 494, 516, 527–528, 530–531, 538–545, 554, 557–575, 581, 591, 623, 637
perfective 18, 29, 58, 94, 114, 164, 183, 406, 419, 435, 475, 534–535, 543, 553
possessive construction 216, 335
pragmatic 1, 3, 15–16, 19, 23, 28, 65, 67, 71, 75, 79, 107, 149, 165, 172, 178, 185, 207, 217, 237, 240, 272–273, 275, 277, 366, 387, 390, 416, 486, 509, 522, 529, 555, 581
promotion 8, 508, 545

R
realis 58, 171, 352, 409, 411, 419, 582
recipient 79, 86, 213–214, 224–226, 239, 242, 298, 362, 378, 456, 468, 470, 487–488, 500, 508–509, 598
reciprocal 10, 12, 25, 65, 67, 70–74, 76, 78, 80, 90–92, 102, 142–143, 151, 168–169, 179–180, 191–192, 194–195, 197, 210, 215, 220, 229, 250, 263, 265–275, 283, 355, 368, 377, 387–389, 407–411, 413, 419 428, 437–440, 451, 465, 468, 531, 549–550, 572–575

reflexive 10, 12, 25, 48, 56–57, 65, 67, 70–72, 74, 76, 78–80, 90–91, 102, 123, 151, 168, 170, 179–180, 185, 191–195, 197–199, 204, 210, 215, 220, 229, 250, 256, 263–272, 274, 283, 293, 303, 305, 311, 313, 355, 368, 371, 376–377, 387–389, 394–396, 398, 400, 402–403, 407, 409, 413–414, 417, 419, 427–428, 437–440, 442, 448, 451, 465, 468, 531, 533, 549–550, 569, 572–574, 590, 597
relative clause 61, 217, 450, 459 *see* also relativization
relativization 4, 20–21, 43, 61–63, 287, 398, 429, 500, 507
role (semantic role, argument role) 6–7, 10, 14, 26–27, 30, 46, 62, 71, 79–81, 88, 92, 97, 106, 108, 129, 168, 171, 185, 190, 224, 227, 229, 238, 253, 258, 271–274, 277, 293, 310, 312, 322, 327, 332, 353, 357, 359, 368, 401, 442, 449–450, 465, 505, 509, 516, 530, 539, 544, 549, 581, 588, 597, 603

S

semantic role *see* role
split-S 349, 351, 378
stem 11, 30, 46, 69–71, 75–76, 78–80, 83, 85, 89–90, 92–93, 101–102, 113, 117, 133, 184, 187, 214, 216, 219–220, 224, 229, 232, 238, 249–250, 252–253, 257–262, 302–303, 305, 308, 328–329, 331, 342, 349–352, 357–362, 366–372, 378, 398, 403, 405, 410–411, 430–431, 451–452, 454–456, 459–460, 462, 464, 467, 470, 474, 488–490, 493–496, 523, 525, 531, 534–535, 538–539, 541, 559, 562–564, 573, 581
subject 7, 30, 44–45, 48, 59, 62, 92, 100–102, 106, 116, 121, 125–126, 134, 136, 139–140, 150, 154, 156, 158, 169–171, 191, 214, 216–218, 220, 234, 237, 239, 254, 260, 265–266, 269–274, 276, 280, 293, 295–300, 302, 305–306, 309–310, 313, 315–316, 320–329, 331–333, 335–336, 338–339, 341, 343–344, 350, 352–353, 358–360, 364, 389–390, 396, 419, 432–435, 437–439, 449–450, 455, 459, 461, 469–471, 484–485, 492, 507, 518, 540, 552, 554, 556–557, 559, 564, 569, 579, 586–587, 590, 596–600, 623, 632–633, 636–637
suppression 8, 186, 211, 508, 621
syncretic marker 3, 10–13, 91, 190, 192–193, 195–197, 206, 249–251, 255, 344, 630

T

telic 10, 18, 108, 113, 132, 140, 179, 183, 189, 253, 465, 489, 504, 524, 534, 582–584, 592–593, 604–605 *see* also telicity
telicity 90, 97, 108, 177, 179, 182–183, 502, 504, 525, 533, 592, 604
topic 11, 19, 67, 250, 294, 318, 408, 411, 418–419, 427, 462, 504, 555–557, 568, 589, 594–595, 605, 608, 610, 614, 631
topicalization 20, 556
topicworthy 43–44, 62
transitive 2–3, 5–7, 9, 17–22, 27, 29, 44, 46–55, 58–62, 65–67, 69–75, 78–81, 83–86, 88–93, 98–106, 109–114, 116–124, 126–128, 132–133, 139, 142–144, 150, 152, 154–161, 163–168, 170, 172, 177–180, 182–186, 188–189, 191–194, 196–198, 200–209, 211, 214, 216, 218, 220–222, 224, 227, 229–230, 232–234, 237, 239, 253, 255–259, 261, 270–271, 273–274, 277, 279–280, 293–307, 309, 311–313, 315–316, 320–321, 323–331, 333, 336–344, 350, 352–355, 357–363, 365–366, 371, 376, 378, 388, 396, 399, 402–404, 409–410, 412, 419, 428–439, 441, 447–457, 464–465, 468–469, 474–475, 483–485, 487, 489–499, 502–509, 515–523, 525–529, 531–532, 534–535, 537–539, 541–546, 549, 552–560, 562–565, 567–570, 572–575, 579–585, 588–590, 593–595, 597, 601–603, 606–608, 610–614, 621–626, 628, 630–636
transitivity 3–6, 14, 17–19, 52, 58–59, 97–98, 103, 116, 119, 121, 128–129, 136, 151, 153, 156, 159–160, 171–172, 179–182, 184, 190, 209–211, 213, 232, 252, 259, 261, 277, 283, 294–295, 299, 301, 309–310, 316–317, 320–321, 324, 327–328, 336, 343, 350, 359, 368, 402–403, 410, 428–430, 433, 440, 483–485, 488–489, 500, 507–508, 515, 517, 521, 535, 544, 550, 553–554, 556, 564, 575, 580–585, 589, 592–593, 595, 601, 604–606, 612–614, 636
trivalent (verb, predicate or clause) 5, 218, 298, 490, 623–624, 636

U

unaccusative 623, 633, 635
unergative 152, 170–171, 325, 520, 525–526, 601, 623, 632–633, 635

V

valence *see* valency
valency 4–5, 8, 13, 66, 78, 91, 150, 166, 177, 179–180, 190–192, 195, 206–211, 216, 218–221, 224, 226–229, 250–254, 256–257, 264, 268, 270, 276, 280, 302, 311, 315–316, 320, 322–328, 330–331, 333–334, 338, 340–345, 349–350, 357, 431, 436, 448–449, 452, 456, 464, 475, 483–486, 488–489, 494–495, 499, 501, 508–509, 516, 622, 629, 631

W

word order 149, 166–167, 214, 293, 295, 298, 321, 358, 440, 487, 550, 555, 568, 596, 623

This book provides a comprehensive treatment of the morpho-syntactic and semantic aspects of the antipassive construction from synchronic, diachronic, and typological perspectives. The nineteen contributions assembled in this volume address a wide range of aspects pertinent to the antipassive construction, such as lexical semantics, the properties of the antipassive markers, as well as the issue of fuzzy boundaries between the antipassive construction and a range of other formally and functionally similar constructions in genealogically and areally diverse languages. Purely synchronically oriented case studies are supplemented by contributions that shed light on the diachronic development of the antipassive construction and the antipassive markers. The book should be of central interest to many scholars, in particular to those working in the field of language typology, semantics, syntax, and historical linguists, as well as to specialists of the language families discussed in the individual contributions.

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