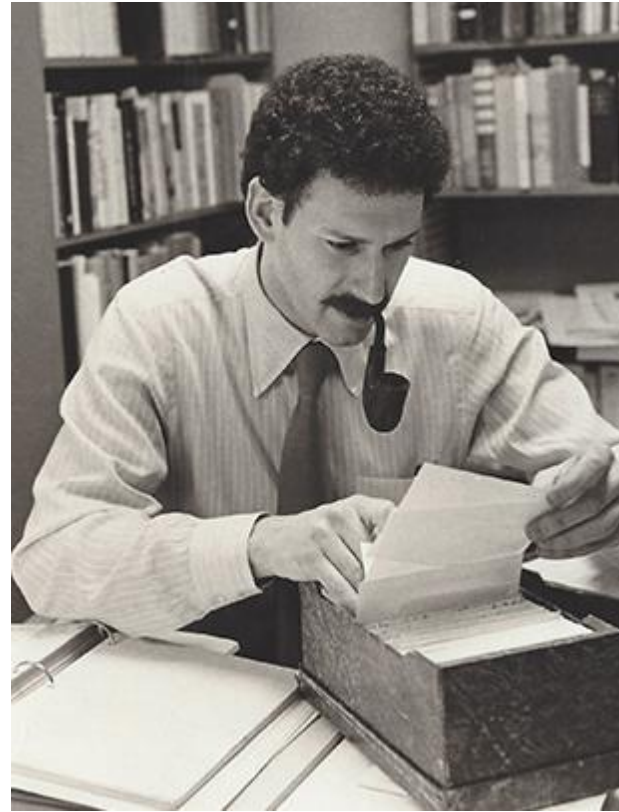


The Total Linguistic Fact
Harvard, March 31, 2023

Antipassive: The golden jubilee

Maria Polinsky
polinsky@umd.edu

Where it all started



Where it all started

Silverstein, Michael. 1972. Chinook Jargon: Language contact and the problem of multi-level generative systems, part I. *Language* 48(2):378-406.

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Transitivity alternations in Chinook Jargon

CHINOOK JARGON, I

395

(page references to Boas 1894):

- (16) *a-λk-λ-ú-kšt-x* *λ-k'asks k-a-λá-k'auk'au*⁴³ (256)
he-looks-at-it-habitually child murderer (one-who-'shot'-people)
- (17) *a-λ²ki-kšt* *λ-λxat* *λ-k²aλilxm**k* (218)
he-looked one person

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In 16 the ergator is *k-a-λá-k'auk'au* and the non-ergator is *λ-k'asks*; each has an inflectional pronominal in apposition in the verb—a transitive stem of course. However, when the *-u-* directional morpheme is replaced by *-ki-*, as in 17, the structure becomes intransitive in form, but 'active intransitive',⁴⁷ i.e. implying an object. 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,

Goals for today

- Present and analyze main properties of antipassives
- Revisit Silverstein's original “inverse analogy” with respect to passives

basic facts

Antipassive, informally

- In the antipassive construction, the logical object of a transitive verb is “demoted”: either suppressed or represented by an expression lower than the core argument on the grammatical hierarchy

subject > object > non-core argument > non-argument

CORE ARGUMENTS [INDIRECT OBJECT] PP/OBLIQUE

Antipassive, informally

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subject > object > non-core argument > non-argument
CORE ARGUMENTS INDIRECT ARG OBLIQUES

- English analogy: conative alternation

The gymnast grabbed [_{DP} *the bar*]/*sipped* [_{DP} *the beer*]

logical object & syntactic object

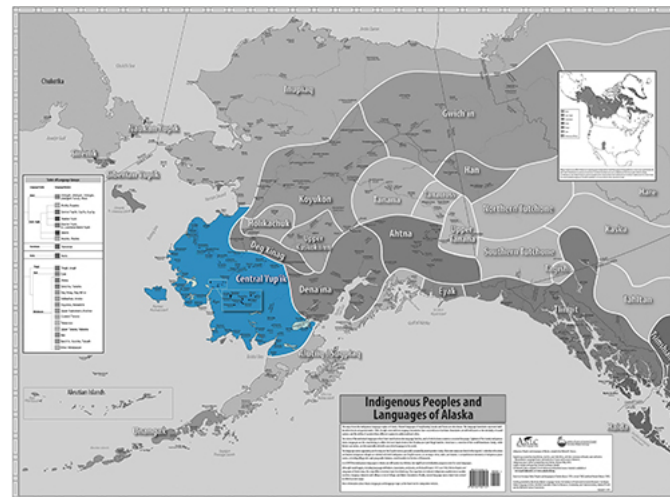
The gymnast grabbed [_{PP} *at the bar*]/*sipped* [_{PP} *at the beer*]

logical object & syntactic adjunct

Visible properties of antipassives

- Marking of object and subject different from the marking in a transitive construction:
 - Special (non-object) marking of the underlying object
 - Different encoding of the subject (in ergative languages)
- Verb marking indicative of valency decrease

Visible properties of antipassives: Central Alaskan Yup'ik



Angute-m *sass'aq* *navg-aa.*
man-ERG watch.ABS break-IND.3SG.SBJ.3SG.OBJ

Angun *sass'a-mek* *navg-i-uq.*
man.ABS watch-INS break-ANTI-IND.3SG.SBJ

‘The man broke a/the watch.’ (Miyaoka 2012)

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man.ABS watch-INS break-ANTI-IND.3SG.SBJ

‘The man broke a/the watch.’ (Miyaoka 2012)

What can be antipassivized?

	Antipassive OK
Regular transitive verbs	Yes
Regular unaccusatives	No
Dyadic unaccusatives	No
Unergatives	Some (varies across languages and within language)

How is the logical object expressed?

- Not expressed at all: *This dog bites*
- Expressed as a PP: *This dog bites at the bone*
- Compounded with the verb: *This dog bone-bites*
- Never a DP or a CP

Why do we know so little?

- Fixation on ergative languages (but see Postal's early paper "Antipassive in French")
- Fixation on side effects, not the core syntax, hence, unclear criteria of what counts as an antipassive
- Less common distribution than that of passives

There is something about antipassive...

- Silverstein 1972/1976: active intransitive construction implying an object, with the interpretation equivalent to that of a transitive
- Truth conditional equivalence?—Not quite

Transitives and antipassives

- *Kim ate something/a sandwich/a tiny amount of dirt—Kim ate.*

No equivalence

- *Kim ate some apples—Kim ate some of apples.*

No equivalence or entailment

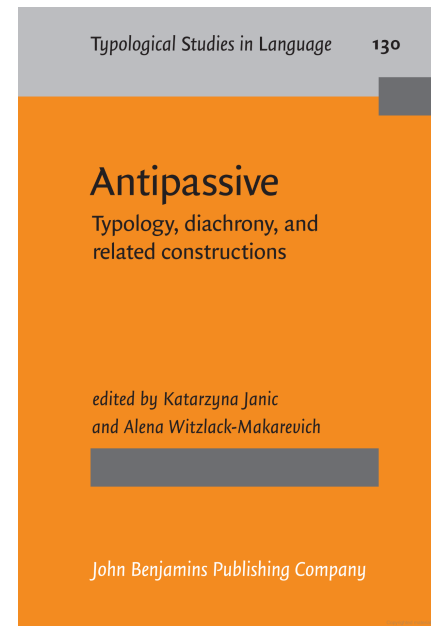
Passives and antipassives

	Passive	Antipassive
Truth conditional equivalence with active	(Yes)	No
Prevents the realization of X as a syntactic <i>argument</i>	External argument	Internal argument
Prevents the realization of X in syntactic structure	No	?

Explaining antipassive
through a cluster of
properties

Approaches to antipassive

- Silverstein 1972/1976: active intransitive construction implying an object, with the interpretation equivalent to that of a transitive
- Zeitgeist in the 1970-1980s: scales of transitivity, scales of antipassivity; lexicalism
- Later work: looking at symptoms of antipassive (visible properties, scalar comparisons with transitive), not directly at structure



Transitivity continuum

- Basic idea: transitive and antipassive constructions differ along several dimensions and should be placed on the transitivity continuum

(Hopper & Thompson 1980; Tsunoda 1985; Heaton 2019)

- Transitivity continuum

maximally
transitive

.....

maximally
intransitive

Antipassive on a scale

Prototypical antipassives have a number of characteristics:

- the agent is realized as derived intransitive subject
- the patient is “implied”: realized as the OBL, or is not realized at all
- the patient is backgrounded
- the clause shows a lower degree of transitivity than the corresponding transitive verb in terms of affectedness

(Tsunoda 1985; 1988; Heaton 2017, 2020; Janic & Witzlack-Makarevich 2021)

Dimensions of transitivity as signs of antipassives

- Change in verbal marking/verbal agreement
- Change in case marking
- Change in subject properties
- Change in aspectual value
- Change in object “affectedness”
- Change in object backgrounding/subject focusing

Change in verbal marking

- “Masked antipassive” (Postal’s term):
 - In some languages, only a subset of verbs are overtly marked for antipassive

Central Alaskan Yupik (Basilico 2018; Miyaoka 2012)

Iñupiaq (Basilico 2018, Nagai 2006)

Circassian (Arkadiev & Letuchyi 2021)

Variation in marking: Kabardian

marked

- a. *s-jə-q^weš'ə-m* *s-jə-txəλə-r* *jə-ž'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-q^weš'ə-r* *s-jə-txəλə-m* *j-ew-ž'e.*
1SG.PR-POSS-brother-ABS 1SG.PR-POSS-book-OBL DAT-DYN-read.ANTIP
'My brother is reading my book.'

unmarked

- a. *λə-xe-m* *Ɂ^wefə-r* *ja-ve-n* *x^wej.*
man-PL-OBL field-ABS 3PL.ERG-plough-POT must
'The men must plough the field.'
- b. *λə-xe-r* *ma-ve-xe.*
man-PL-ABS DYN-plough(ANTIP)-PL.ABS
'The men are busy ploughing.'

	Marked AP	Unmarked AP
Kabardian (Arkadiev & Letuchiy 2021)	‘ask (a favor; a question)’, ‘curse’, ‘ <u>cut</u> ’, ‘dig’, ‘ <u>drink</u> ’, ‘ <u>eat</u> ’, ‘give’, ‘ <u>hear</u> ’, ‘ <u>kiss</u> ’, ‘ <u>knead</u> ’, ‘knit’, ‘ <u>lick</u> ’, ‘look’, ‘measure weight’, ‘mow’, ‘pinch’, ‘push’, ‘ <u>read</u> ’, ‘scold’, ‘ <u>scratch</u> ’, ‘sew’, ‘ <u>smell</u> ’, ‘sow’, ‘steal’, ‘sweep’, ‘think’, ‘ <u>touch</u> ’, ‘wash (clothes, hands, dishes)’, ‘ <u>wipe</u> ’, ‘write’	‘bite’, ‘call’, ‘ <u>close</u> ’, ‘ <u>open</u> ’, ‘plough’, ‘reap’, ‘ <u>sell</u> ’, ‘speak’
Iñupiaq (Nagai 2006; Basilico 2018)	‘bend’, ‘break’, ‘bust’ ‘chop’, ‘ <u>close</u> , <u>put board on (window/door)</u> ’, ‘ <u>close</u> , <u>lock</u> ’, ‘cool’, ‘crack (glass)’, ‘cut (food) in two’, ‘dirty’, ‘finish making sth’, ‘fold’, ‘forbid’, ‘inflate’, ‘lengthen’, ‘let loose’, ‘open’, ‘praise’, ‘ <u>sell</u> ’, ‘spill’, ‘stain’, ‘straighten’, ‘stretch’, ‘talk back to’, ‘thaw out’, ‘thicken’, ‘tie’, ‘twist (rope)’, ‘tear’, ‘unfold’	‘bathe’, ‘beat (drum)’, ‘boil half dry’, ‘catch (fish) with a net’, ‘chew’, ‘comb hair’, ‘ <u>cut hair</u> ’, ‘ <u>drink</u> ’, ‘ <u>eat</u> ’, ‘forget’, ‘fry’, ‘gnaw’, ‘hammer’, ‘ <u>hear</u> ’, ‘ <u>smell</u> ’, ‘hunt’, ‘ <u>kiss</u> ’, ‘ <u>knead</u> ’, ‘ <u>lick</u> ’, ‘paint’, ‘pat (dog)’, ‘ <u>read</u> ’, ‘remember’, ‘ring (bell)’, ‘roast’, ‘ <u>scratch</u> ’, ‘see’, ‘shave’, ‘shout’, ‘smoke’, ‘suck’, ‘talk’, ‘ <u>touch</u> ’, ‘understand’, ‘whisper’, ‘ <u>wipe</u> ’

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No consistency in the distribution of marked and unmarked antipassives across languages

Change in verbal marking

- “Masked antipassive”: In some languages, only a subset of verbs are overtly marked for antipassive, without clear semantic indications toward marking
- Syncretism: In quite a few languages, the antipassive marker is syncretic with other valency-altering markers, including passive, causative, and anticausative (Polinsky 2017)
- Subtractive marking: antipassive may appear less marked than transitive (as in Tongan: stay tuned)

Change in verbal agreement

- Change from multiple-argument agreement to subject agreement only
- What if there is subject agreement only to begin with? Or no agreement? We end up with "masked antipassive" again
- Syncretism between antipassive marking and agreement marking ("spurious antipassive" in Chukchi)

Change in case marking

- Some ergative languages do not switch ERG to ABS (Polinsky 2017)
- In non-ergative languages, no surface change in the subject case happens, e.g., Soninke (Mande):

Sámaqquè-n dà lémínè-n qíñí.
snake-D CMPL.TR DET child-D bite
'The snake bit the child.'

Sámaqquè-n qíñí-ndí.
snake-D bite-AP
'The snake bit (did the biting).' (Creissels 2021: 305)

Change in subject properties

- Syntactic ergativity (ergative extraction effect, Aissen 2017): In some languages, transitive subjects cannot undergo displacement or serve as syntactic controllers, while intransitive subjects are accessible to such operations
- Antipassive creates an intransitive subject, thus serving as a way-station for subject displacement or subject control

Tongan relativization

e fefine_i [na'e alu _____i ki Tonga] **intr S**
 DET woman PST go to Tonga

'the woman who went to Tonga'

e fefine_i ['oku 'ofa'i 'e Sione _____i] **DO**
 DET woman PRS love ERG S

'the woman whom Sione loves'

*e fefine_i ['oku 'ofa'i _____i 'a Sione] **trans S**
 DET woman PRS love ABS S

('the woman who loves Sione')

e fefine_i ['oku 'ofa _____i ki Sione] **antipass S**
 DET woman PRS love.AP to S

'the woman who loves Sione'

Change in subject properties

- Not all languages with antipassive have syntactic ergativity
- Antipassive is not the only way to circumvent restrictions on transitive subject
 - Other means include anti-agreement, agent focus, nominalization, resumption (as used in Tongan, alongside with antipassive)

Change in aspectual value/telicity

- Antipassive predicates are often construed as atelic/imperfective (as compared to the base predicate), see Cooreman (1994), Heaton (2017), Krämer & Wunderlich (1999), Polinsky (2017), a.o.

- Kabardian:

- a. *s-jə-q^weš'ə-m* *s-jə-txəλə-r* *jə-ž'ə-ne.*
1SG.PR-POSS-brother-OBL 1SG.PR-POSS-book-ABS 3SG.ERG-read-FUT
'My brother will read my book through.'
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1SG.PR-POSS-brother-ABS 1SG.PR-POSS-book-OBL DAT-DYN-read.ANTIP
'My brother is reading my book.'

Change in aspectual value

- Although common, this property is not found with antipassives across all languages
- In fact, the original Chinook example had the opposite aspectual characteristics:
 - Active transitive: "The murderer habitually looked at the child"
 - Antipassive: "He took a look"

Change in aspectual value/telicity

- Although common, this property is not found with antipassives across all languages
- If antipassive were to de-telicize the verb, intended-result predicates should be expected to resist antipassivization since their meaning includes the entailment of end state
 - Recall Kabardian and Iñupiaq examples of intended-result antipassives
 - Will return to de-telicization later today (examples from NE Caucasian)

Change in object affectedness

- Object of the antipassive is less “affected” than the corresponding object of the transitive

Chamorro

Ha-panek	si	Juan	este	i	lalahi
3SG.ERG -beat	UNM	J	DEM	DET	men

‘Juan beat up these men.’

Mam-anek	si	Juan	nu	este	i	lalahi
AP-beat	UNM	J	OBL	DEM	DET	men

‘Juan pounded at these men.’

(Cooreman 1988)

Object affectedness

- No change in "affectedness" in Mayan
- What exactly is affectedness?

Tongan

na'e hiva'i 'e he fānau 'a e fo'i hiva
PST sing.**TR** ERG DET children ABS DET song

na'e hiva-**Ø** 'a e fānau ki he fo'i hiva
PST sing.**AP** ABS DET children to DET song
'The children sang a/the song.'

Backgrounding/placing something in focus

- Change in object backgrounding/subject focusing
- As with affectedness, it is difficult to operationalize backgrounding or the status “in focus”, and especially to make sure cross-linguistic comparisons are reasonable

What do we learn from these observations?

- Overt signs of antipassivization may vary across languages and within a single language

Problems with scalar representation of structures

- Specific to antipassive:
 - Some properties (e.g. affectedness, being in focus) are hard to define and may vary
 - Some properties are on and off; now you see them, now you don't
 - Significant cross-linguistic variation in interpretive signs of antipassive
- General issues with a continuum model
 - The model captures symptoms, not the underlying structure

Continuum vs discrete representations

- Even when people are faced with categories that have strict definitions, they treat them in a similar way to categories whose membership seems more based on similarity
 see Armstrong, Gleitman & Gleitman (1983),
 Lupyan (2003) on even vs odd numbers
- Gradience in behavioral measures/individual instances does not translate into gradience in grammatical representations

What we have achieved

- Antipassives are characterized by a number of properties, all of them scalar
- Scalar properties are not exhaustive and all-inclusive

Antipassive as a morphosyntactic operation

Back to Silverstein's concept

- Passive:
morphosyntactic
operation that
prevents the
realization of the
external argument as
an argument
- Antipassive:
morphosyntactic
operation that
prevents the
realization of the
internal argument as
an argument

Both operations target thematic positions that would otherwise be occupied by noun phrases (DPs) or dependent clauses (CPs)

What happens to the “unrealized” argument?

Passive:

- the external argument is missing, and is interpreted as an existential (*he was misled*)
- the external argument can be realized as an adjunct (*he was misled by the senator's aide*)
- the external argument is syntactically realized even when not present

The ship was sunk [PRO to collect the insurance]

The reporter was misled on purpose

Diagnosing unrealized arguments

- General assumption: unrealized arguments should have the same distribution and co-occurrence properties as those of expressed arguments in that same position

Italian and English

This leads (people) to the following conclusion.

Eng

Questo conduce (la gente) alla seguente conclusione. It

this leads the people to the following conclusion

‘This leads (people) to the following conclusion.’

Missing (null) objects in Italian can control, bind, and be modified by adjuncts; missing (null) objects in English lack these properties (Rizzi 1986)

English and Italian missing objects

This leads (people) to the following conclusion.

Eng

Questo conduce (la gente) alla seguente conclusione.

It

this leads the people to the following conclusion

‘This leads (people) to the following conclusion.’

Missing (null) objects in **Italian** can control, bind, and be modified by adjuncts; missing (null) objects in **English** lack these properties (Rizzi 1986)

**This leads [PRO to conclude]*

**Avedon photographed [dressed glamorously]*
[the sitters were glamorous]

Existential unrealized object

#John steals and it is very expensive

#John steals and they are very expensive

Transitives and antipassives: Depictive modification

Q'anjob'al (Mayan)

Transitive

Q'axan Ø-s-**loh**-on heb' (s-pat).
warm A3S-E3S-eat-SS they E3S-tortilla
'They eat (their tortillas) warm.'

Antipassive

*Q'axan Ø-**lo**-waj heb'
warm A3S-eat-AP they
(‘They eat something warm.’)

Transitives and antipassives: Adjunct control

Tongan (Polynesian)

Transitive

‘Oku faitaa’i	‘e Sione (‘a e kakai)
PRS photograph.TR	ERG S ABS DET people
’i he ’enau tu’uta mai	
at DET POSS go DIR	

‘Sione photographs (people) **upon arrival.**’

Antipassive

‘Oku faitaa	‘a Sione	(ke he kakai)
PRS photograph.AP	ABS S	to DET people
*’i he ’enau tu’uta mai		
at DET POSS go DIR		

‘Sione photographs (people) ***upon arrival.**’

Transitives and antipassives: Object control

- Chukchi

Transitive

t-ə-re-winret-yat=ʔəm əŋel-ək
1SG-EP-FUT-help-2SG-EMPH collect.firewood-INF
'I will help you collect firewood.'

Antipassive

ənqen ine-winret-gʔe (*əŋel-ək)
DEM.ABS AP-help-AOR.3SG collect.firewood-INF
(‘This thing helped collect firewood.’)

Transitives and antipassives:

Discourse reference

Q'anjob'al

[context: The old man bought a bag at the market.]

Transitive

Max-ø s-man naqach'ej b'ay txomb'al junelxa.
COMPL-ABS3 ERG3-buy CLF youth PRP market again
'The young man bought it at the market again.'

Antipassive

Max-ø man-waj naq ach'ej b'ay txomb'al junelxa.
COMPL-ABS3 buy-AP CLF youth PRP market again
'The young man bought something at the market again.'
NOT: 'The young man bought it at the market again.'

Transitives and antipassives: Existential objects & discourse reference

Kaqchikel (Ranero 2021: 70)

Transitive

x-Ø-in-löq'=pe pa k'ayib'äl. Ta-wla achike!
 COMP-3SG.ABS-1SG.ERG-buy=DIR at market IMP-guess what
 'I bought (something) at the market. Guess what!'

Antipassive

x-i-loq'-on=pe pa k'ayib'äl. *Ta-wla achike!
 COMP-1 SG.ABS-buy-AP=DIR at market IMP-guess what
 “‘I bought at the market.’ #Guess what!’

Transitives and antipassives:

Picking up a discourse referent

Inuktitut (Branigan & Warren 2019)

Transitive

Darryli-up itluujak iga-ppauk, Alice
D.-ERG seaweed(ABS) cook-COND.[+ TR].3SG.ERG.3SG.ABS A.(ABS)
nigi-qatta-ngit-tanga.
eat-HAB-NEG-PART.[+ TR].3SG.ERG.3SG.ABS
i. #‘When Darryl cooks seaweed, Alice doesn’t eat (anything).’
ii. ‘When Darryl cooks seaweed, Alice doesn’t eat it.’

Antipassive

Darryli-up itluujak iga-ppauk, Alice
D.-ERG seaweed(ABS) cook-COND.[+ TR].3SG.ERG.3SG.ABS A.(ABS)
nigi-Ø-qatta-ngit-tuk.
eat-AP-HAB-NEG-PART.[–TR].3SG.ABS
i. ‘When Darryl cooks seaweed, Alice doesn’t eat (anything).’
ii. #‘When Darryl cooks seaweed, Alice doesn’t eat it.’

Transitives and antipassives

	Transitive	Antipassive
Adjunct modification of implicit object	yes	no
Object control clauses	yes	no
Discourse reference	yes	no
Binding	yes	no
Paycheck pronouns (not shown here)	yes	no

Antipassive implicit object

- The existential unrealized argument is simply an entailment of the verb
- It does not correspond to a silent element in the syntax

Passive/antipassive asymmetry

- Personal and impersonal passives:

External argument is projected, but not in the subject position;

internal argument moves to the subject position or stays in situ, with an expletive in the subject position

- No personal/impersonal analogy with antipassives:

Internal argument is never projected, no room for variation

Silverstein was (almost) right

	Passive	Antipassive
Prevents the realization of an argument	External	Internal
The subject argument is different from the subject of the base construction	Yes	No
Missing argument syntactically projected	Yes	No
Resulting predicate	Transitive	Intransitive

Properties that follow

- Change in verbal agreement: no object, no multiple agreement
- Change in case licensing:
 - no case competition between subject and object, subject is assigned default case (ABS, NOM)
 - If a given functional head can still assign quirky case, it will be preserved
- Change in subject properties: this is visible only if a language has morphosyntactic differences between intransitive and transitive subjects
- Change in aspectual value: a non-syntactic effect (object helps “measuring out” some events)
- Change in object “affectedness”: associated with semantic entailments of a given verb

Antipassives and de-telicizing operations

Bezhta (Comrie et al. 2021)

kib-ba	ɬic'o	nizā-yo
girl-ERG	clothes.ABS	wash-PST
'The girl washed the clothes.'		

kid	ɬic'o-li-d	niza-lā-yo
girl.ABS	clothes-OBL-INS	wash-"AP"-PST
'The girl was busy washing the clothes.'		

(similar data in Godoberi, Hinuq)

Antipassives and de-telicizing operations

	Modifying adjunct clauses	Binding	Scope ambiguity
missing object, transitive telic	yes	yes	yes
missing object, de-telicized construction	yes	yes	yes

(data from Godoberi and Bezhta)

De-telicizing operation and lexical restrictions

- Predicates whose lexical specification includes the end state (intended result) should be compatible with antipassive but not with de-telicizing marking ('break', 'open', 'give birth', 'fall asleep')
- Godoberi, Hinuq, Bezhta (NE Caucasian) do not have productive antipassives, but have de-telicizing morphology (Tatevosov 2010), erroneously identified as antipassive (Comrie et al. 2021); this morphology is incompatible with intended-result predicates

Taking stock

- Antipassive: A construction that prevents the syntactic realization of the internal argument; the predicate of the antipassive construction is syntactically intransitive

- Silverstein was (almost) right in the characterization of the operation
- We were wrong in that it took us so many years to model it—instead of looking at its structure, we have been fascinated by its side effects

Thank you!

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