The Antipassive Alternation in Bezhta
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Antipassive from a typological perspective

1. Formally, the antipassive is related to the basic voice as follows:
   a) the verb is intransitive (detransitivized)
   b) the A of the basic voice is S of the antipassive
   c) the P of the basic voice is OBL of the antipassive or omitted
   (In a language with ergative-absolutive flagging, this means:
   Basic voice: \( A \text{-ERG} \quad \text{P-ABS} \quad \text{V-tr} \)
   Antipassive: \( A > \text{S-ABS} \quad \text{P} > \text{OBL-OBL} \quad \text{V-intr} \)

2. Cross-linguistically, there seem to be two main functions of antipassive:
   a) Advancement of A to S in languages with syntactic ergativity
      seems not to be relevant in Nakh-Daghestanian languages
   b) Reduction of “transitivity” (in Hopper/Thompson sense) with respect to
      aspectual values (> atelic, imperfective, durative, iterative)
      this function is widespread in Nakh-Daghestanian languages

Antipassive in Bezhta: General properties

3. Bezhta antipassive:
   a) marked alternation
      antipassive suffixes/infixes -la/ā, -da/ā, -ya/ā
      added directly to the verbal stem
      choice of allomorph seems to be largely lexical
      no necessary change in number of arguments
      though P of transitive verb can be omitted
   b) can be formed from intransitive, unergative, transitive, affective verbs
      see 4.-7.
   c) valency change with unergative, transitive verbs
      but not with intransitive, affective verbs
d) general meaning durative/iterative
   perhaps basically durative, with iterative interpretation
   from interaction with semelfactive lexical meaning

e) cannot be formed from derived potential verbs
   unlike e.g. Hinuq

e) cannot serve as input to further valency-changing suffixes
   e.g. synthetic causative
   though can form analytic causative

4. The 45 verbs in the database include
   32 transitives: y-oq’olal ‘to cover’, y-o’sal ‘to load’, y-i’cal ‘to tie’, git’al ‘to
pour’, g<u> <u> lal ‘to put’, y-ū’al ‘to throw’, y-ū’al ‘to kill’, y-aq’al ‘to bring’, y-ežal ‘to
   carry’, y-e”yal ‘to send’, nūkal ‘to give’, y-u’cal ‘to steal’, y-u’cal ‘to hide’, y-āxelal ‘to
tear’, y-a”colal ‘to wipe’, y-ūč’al ‘to cut’, y-e”xelal ‘to touch’, y-ū’elal ‘to hit/beat’,
xabar m-eyal ‘to tell’, y-ii”qal ‘to eat’, keč’ ūkal ‘to sing’, y-ōkčal ‘to take’, kusu’al ‘to
shave’, cā’g<u> lal ‘to name’, ha?al ‘to grind’, tičelal ‘to dress’, y-āxal ‘to dig’, aļo y-
oc’al ‘to hug’, zis-t < o > qal ‘to push’, č’an y-ayal ‘to run’, nizāl ‘to wash’, y-owal ‘to
make’;
   9 intransitives: y-ogic’al ‘to jump’, γayäl ‘to boil’, y-ek’al ‘to burn’, k’ayλāl ‘to
roll’, y-e”λ’al ‘to go’, y-e”λ’al ‘to leave’, k’ok’al ‘feel pain’, pacpāl ‘to blink’, ło”wāl
‘to laugh’;
   2 unergatives: lalaλal ‘to shout/scream’, ōhλāl ‘to cough’;
   2 affective verbs: y-egāl ‘to see’, y-iq’al ‘to know’.

5. Antipassive of intransitive: no change in valency

(1) ‘to jump’
a. öždä  b-ogi < ba > c’-iyu
   boy.PL  HPL-jump < PL > -PST
   ‘The boys jumped once.’
b. öždä  b-ogi < ya-ba > c-ca
   boy.PL  HPL-jump < ANTIP-PL > -PRS
   ‘The boys jump many times.’
6. Antipassive of unergative verb: $S_A$ in Ergative shows up as $S$ in Absolutive

(2) ‘to cough’

a. öždi öhλō-yō
   boy.OBL(ERG) cough-PST
   ‘The boy coughed (once).’

b. öžō öhdā-yō
   boy cough.ANTIP-PST
   ‘The boy was coughing.’

(3) ‘to shout’

a. öždi lalaλo-s
   boy.OBL(ERG) shout-PRS
   ‘The boy shouts.’

b. öžō lala-da-s
   boy shout.ANTIP-PRS
   ‘The boy is shouting.’

7. Antipassive of transitive verb:
   Ergative $A$ of source verb marked with Absolutive
   Absolutive $P$ of source verb marked with Instrumental
   or, less frequently, Interessive

(4) ‘to eat’

a. öždi bäbä m-üq-čä
   boy.OBL(ERG) bread(III) III-eat-PRS
   ‘The boy eats the bread.’

b. öžō bäbä-lä-d Ø-ü”q-dä-š
   boy(I) bread-OBL-INS I-eat-A NTIP-PRS
   ‘The boy is busy eating the bread.’

The same applies to the Absolutive $T$ of a source ditransitive verb
‘to give’

a. öždi 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 giving books to the girl.’

Lexical idiosyncrasies

8. Antipassive cannot be formed from inchoative verbs
   in inchoative-causative verb pairs

(6) ‘to become/make red’

a) kibba-s mot’o c’udo-l-ca
   girl-GEN1 face red-INCH-PRS
   ‘The girl’s face becomes red.’

b) kib-ba čaq’i-la-d ist’oli c’udo-k’-ca
   girl-OBL(ERG) ink-OBL-INS table red-CAUS-PRS
   ‘The girl makes the table red (with ink).’

(7)

a) *kibbas mot’o c’udo-l-da-s
   girl-GEN1 face red-INCH-ANTIP-PRS
   ‘The girl’s face is becoming red.’

b) kid čaq’i-la-d ist’oli-ya-ƛ’a c’udo-k’-da-s
   girl ink-OBL-INS table-OBL-SUP red-CAUS-ANTIP-PRS
   ‘The girl is busy making red on the table with ink.’

9. The verb y-owal ‘do’ has both a regular antipassive
   and an idiosyncratic use in the sense ‘work’
(8) ‘to make/work’
a) kib-ba bäbä b-oo-s
   girl-OBL(ERG) bread(III) III-do-PRS
   ‘The girl makes the bread.’
b) kid bäbä-lä-d y-oh-da-s
   girl(II) bread-OBL-INS II-do-ANTIP-PRS
   ‘The girl is busy making the bread.’
   ‘The girl works for bread.’
c) kid uštel-li-la-ʔ bäbä-lä-d y-oh-da-s
   girl(II) teacher-ABSTR-OBL-INESS bread-OBL-INS II-do-ANTIP-PRS
   ‘The girl works as a teacher for bread.’

10. Some verbs show formal idiosyncrasies:
    Antipassive of intransitive BURN is formally derived from causative
    but is semantically antipassive of intransitive (9)

(9) ‘to burn’
a) hudo b-ek’e-š.
   firewood(III) III-burn-PRS
   ‘The firewood is burning.’
b) hudo b-ek’e-l-da-s.
   firewood(III) III-burn-CAUS-ANTIP-PRS
   ‘The firewood is burning.’

11. Antipassive/reflexive syncretism
    in Bezhta only with nizäl ‘to wash’
    antipassive form can have regular antipassive interpretation
    but also reflexive interpretation
    only change in valency
    reflexive, i.e. A and P combine as S
    no durative/iterative semantics
    no separate overt expression of P of source verb
    likewise in Tsez, Hinuq, Hunzib
    (Khwarshi has labile ‘wash (something)’/‘wash (oneself)’)
(10) ‘to wash’

a. kib-ba ʨ’o nizâ-yo
girl-OBL(ERG) clothes wash-PST
‘The girl washed the clothes.’

b. kid ʨ’o-li-d niza-lâ-yo
girl clothes-OBL-INS wash-ANTIP-PST
‘The girl was busy washing the clothes.’

c. kid (sap’uni-ya-d) niza-lâ-yo
girl soap-OBL-INS wash-ANTIP-PST
‘The girl washed herself (with the soap).’

Some morphosyntactic properties of the patient

12. Antipassive omits or demotes patient
which may appear as Instrumental or Interessive

(11) ‘to make red’

a) kib-ba ʧaq’i-la-d ist’oli c’udo-k’-ca
girl-OBL(ERG) ink-OBL-INS table red-CAUS-PRS
‘The girl is making the table red with ink.’

b) kid ʧaq’i-la-d c’udo-k’-da-s
girl ink-OBL-INS red-CAUS-ANTIP-PRS
‘The girl is busy making [things] red with ink.’

c) kid ʧaq’i-la-d ist’oli-ya-ʔa c’udo-k’-da-s
girl ink-OBL-INS table-OBL-SUP red-CAUS-ANTIP-PRS
‘The girl is busy making red on the table with ink.’

13. Instrument argument of an extended transitive verb
is preserved in the antipassive construction
thus leading to two Instrumentals
though this combination is judged marginal
and sometimes impossible (e.g. (14))
(12) ‘to cut’
   a) kib-ba c'it'-a-d bäbä b-üč'-iyo.
       girl-OBL(ERG) knife-OBL-INS bread(III).ABS III-cut-PST
       ‘The girl cut the bread with the knife.’
   b) kid c'it'-a-d bäbä-lä-d y-üč'-dä-s.
       girl(II) knife-OBL-INS bread-OBL-INS II-cut-CAUS-ANTIP-PRS
       ‘The girl is busy cutting the bread with the knife.’

(13) ‘to eat’
   a) öždi xo sino-li-d y-ü^nq-čä.
       boy.ERG meat(IV) fork-OBL-INS IV-eat-PRS
       ‘The boy eats the meat with the fork.’
   b) öžö xo-lo-d /xo-lo-ɬ sino-li-d Ø-ü^nq-dä-š.
       boy(I) meat-OBL-INS meat-OBL-INTER fork-OBL-INS I-eat-ANTIP-PRS
       ‘The boy is busy eating the meat with the fork.’

(14) ‘to dig’
   a) öždi mäče äⁿki-d b-äxčä.
       boy.ERG ground(III) shovel.OBL-INS III-dig-PRS
       ‘The boy digs the ground with the shovel.’
   b) öžö mica-ɬ äⁿki-d Ø-äx-dä-š.
       boy(I) ground.OBL-INTER shovel.OBL-INS I-dig-ANTIP-PRS
       ‘The boy is busy digging (in) the ground with the shovel.’
   c) *öžö mica-d äⁿki-d Ø-äx-dä-š.
       boy(I) ground.OBL-INS shovel.OBL-INS I-dig-ANTIP-PRS
       ‘The boy is busy digging (in) the ground with the shovel.’