

## ***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-ERG	P-ABS	V-tr
Antipassive:	A > S-ABS	P > OBL-OBL	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>lal* 'to put', *y-iλ'al* 'to throw', *y-iλ'al* 'to kill', *y-aq'al* 'to bring', *y-ežal* 'to carry', *y-e"yal* 'to send', *nīλal* 'to give', *y-u"cal* 'to steal', *y-u"cal* 'to hide', *y-äxelal* 'to tear', *y-a"colal* 'to wipe', *y-üč'äl* 'to cut', *y-e"xelal* 'to touch', *y-äλ'elal* 'to hit/beat', *xabar m-eyal* 'to tell', *y-ü"qäl* 'to eat', *keč' iλal* 'to sing', *y-ökčäl* 'to take', *kusu?al* 'to shave', *cā"g<u>lal* 'to name', *ha?al* 'to grind', *ḥičelal* 'to dress', *y-äxäl* 'to dig', *ało y-oc'al* 'to hug', *zis-t<o>qlal* 'to push', *č'an y-ayal* 'to run', *nizāl* 'to wash', *y-owal* 'to make';

9 intransitives: *y-ogic'al* 'to jump', *γayλal* 'to boil', *y-ek'al* 'to burn', *k'äyλäl* 'to roll', *y-e"λ'äl* 'to go', *y-e"λ'äl* 'to leave', *k'ok'al* 'feel pain', *pacpaλal* 'to blink', *ło"wäl* 'to laugh';

2 unergatives: *lalaλal* 'to shout/scream', *öhλäl* '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'-iyo*

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<sub>A</sub> in Ergative shows up as S in Absolutive

(2) 'to cough'

- a.      öždi                      öhʎö-yö  
         boy.OBL(ERG)   cough-PST  
         'The boy coughed (once).'
- b.      öžö      öhdǟ-yö  
         boy      cough.ANTIP-PST  
         'The boy was coughing.'

(3) 'to shout'

- a.      öždi                      lalaʎo-s  
         boy.OBL(ERG)   shout-PRS  
         'The boy shouts.'
- b.      öžö      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                      bābä              m-üq-čä  
         boy.OBL(ERG)   bread(III)   III-eat-PRS  
         'The boy eats the bread.'
- b.      öžö              bābä-lä-d              Ø-ü<sup>n</sup>q-dä-š  
         boy(I)   bread-OBL-INS   I-eat-ANTIP-PRS  
         'The boy is busy eating the bread.'

The same applies to the Absolutive T of a source ditransitive verb

(5) 'to give'

- a.    öždi                    t'ek   kib-ba-l            niŕ-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                niŕ-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-ŕ-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-ŕ-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-ŕ'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            bābā            b-oo-s

girl-OBL(ERG) bread(III) III-do-PRS

'The girl makes the bread.'

b) kid            bābā-lā-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-ŋi-la-?            bābā-lā-d            y-oh-da-s

girl(II) teacher-ABSTR-OBL-INNESS 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 *nizāl* '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            ħic’o    nizā-yo  
girl-OBL(ERG) clothes wash-PST  
‘The girl washed the clothes.’
- b. kid    ħic’o-li-d            niza-lā-yo  
girl clothes-OBL-INS wash-ANTIP-PST  
‘The girl was busy washing the clothes.’
- c. kid    (sap’uni-ya-d)    niza-lā-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            čaq’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    čaq’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    čaq’i-la-d    ist’oli-ya-ŕ’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.’

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<sup>n</sup>q-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<sup>n</sup>q-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            ä<sup>n</sup>ki-d            b-äx-čä.  
boy.ERG   ground(III)   shovel.OBL-INS   III-dig-PRS  
‘The boy digs the ground with the shovel.’
- b) öžö            mica-ɬ            ä<sup>n</sup>ki-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            ä<sup>n</sup>ki-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.’