Antipassive

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Antipassive[1]

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Abstract

This chapter presents typical properties of the antipassive, addresses its cross-linguistic distribution, and discusses main existing analyses. "Antipassives" are constructions in which the logical object of a transitive (two-place) predicate is not realized as a direct object, but instead appears as a non-core argument or left unexpressed (but presupposed). The morphological realization of the antipassive is more varied than is usually assumed; in particular, pseudo noun incorporation, true noun incorporation, and bi-absolutive constructions can instantiate the antipassive. The antipassive and the passive are not mutually exclusive; a number of examples in this chapter provide empirical evidence in support of antipassive/passive compatibility. The antipassive is not limited to ergative languages, although it may be more noticeable under ergative configuration.

Lexicalist approaches contend that antipassive predicates are specified independently of transitive predicates and enter syntax with case-licensing properties. Existing syntactic analyses of the antipassive converge on the notion that the object is licensed differently in the antipassive than it is in transitive clauses, but diverge with respect to the details of the licensing. Under one family of analyses, the internal argument of a two-place verb is saturated by a nominal element, preventing the verb from assigning structural case to its logical object. Under a second family of analyses, the logical object in the antipassive is licensed inside the verb phrase, and the object of regular transitive verbs is licensed in a higher position in the structure. Recurrent properties of the antipassive include the imperfective interpretation and the backgrounding of the logical object. However common, these properties are not universally associated with the antipassive and cannot be used to define it.

Keywords: antipassive, passive, detransitivization, incorporation, pseudo-noun incorporation, conative alternation

X.1   Introduction

Valency alternations follow from the mapping of logical arguments into different clausal constituents. In morphologically accusative languages, active-voice clauses typically have a nominative subject and accusative object (1). Morphologically ergative languages, by contrast, have ergative subjects and absolutive objects; this alignment can be expressed by case marking and agreement (2) or by agreement alone (3):

(1)   Did   sxopyv   ripk-u.   *Ukrainian*
    grandfather.NOM.MASC   grab.PST.MASC   turnip-ACC
    'Grandfather grabbed the turnip.'

(2)   Anguti-up annak   taku-janga.   *Labrador Inuit*
    man-ERG   woman.ABS see-3SG.SUBJ.3SG.OBJ.PRS
    'The man sees the woman.' (Smith 1982: 164)

(3)   Max-o   s-tx'aj   ix   ix   an   pichilej.   *Q'anjob'al*
    COMPL-ABS3   ERG3-wash   CLF   woman   CLF   clothes
    'The woman washed the clothes.'

In passive-voice clauses, the logical subject remains unexpressed or appears as a *by*-phrase; the subject position is filled by either the logical object ((4a), (5), and (6)) or by an expletive subject (4b):

(4)   a.   Repk-a   bu-l-a   sxople-n-a   (did-om).   *Ukrainian*
       turnip.NOM.FEM be-PST-FEM   grab-PST.PTCP-FEM   grandfather-INS
       'The turnip was grabbed (by the grandfather).'

    b.   *expl* repk-u   bu-l-o   sxople-n-o   (did-om).   *Ukrainian*
        turnip-ACC   be-PST-NEUTER   grab-PST.PTCP-NEUTER   grandfather-INS
       'The turnip was grabbed (by the grandfather).'

(5)   Annak   (anguti-mut) taku-jau-juk.   *Labrador Inuit*
    woman.ABS man-DAT   see-PASS-3SUBJ.PRS
    'The woman is seen (by the man).' (Smith 1982: 165)

(6)   Max-o   tx'aj-lay   an   pichilej (y-uj   ix   ix).   *Q'anjob'al*
    COMPL-ABS3   wash-PASS   CLF   clothes   GEN3-REL.NOUN CLF   woman
    'The clothes were washed (by the woman).'

Broadly speaking, the defining property of the passive is the "suppression" or "demotion" of the highest-ranking argument to a *by*-phrase or a null existential argument without altering the truth conditions of the sentence (Goodall 1993, 1999). The logical object *may* appear as the syntactic subject of the resulting construction, but, as (4b) shows, it need not. In the foundational work on voice structures in Relational Grammar, "demotion" was a theoretical primitive (see Perlmutter 1980; Blake 1990 for overviews). In this chapter, I use this term pre-theoretically to indicate that an expression has been lowered vis-à-vis the hierarchy of grammatical roles:

(7)   subject > object > non-core argument > non-argument

While subject demotion is the unifying factor among passive constructions cross-linguistically, motivation for this demotion varies across languages or structures; differences among passives are often attributed to distinct features of the passive morpheme or voice head.

In the *antipassive* construction, the logical object of a transitive verb is demoted: either suppressed or represented by an expression lower on the grammatical hierarchy (7). In (8), the verb appears in the intransitive (reflexive) form, and the logical object receives accusative case from the preposition *za*. This prepositional object fails various direct-object diagnostics; for example, it cannot bind depictives or float quantifiers.

(8) Did   sxopyv-sja   za ripk-u.   *Ukrainian*
     grandfather.NOM.MASC   grab.PST.MASC-REFL   at   turnip-ACC
     'Grandfather grabbed at the turnip.'

In (9), the intransitive counterpart of (2), the logical object appears in an oblique form. The case of the subject changes from ergative to absolutive, and the verb shows only subject agreement.

(9)   Angutik anna-mik   taku-juk.   *Labrador Inuit*
        man.ABS woman-INS   see-3SG.SUBJ.PRS
        'The man sees a woman.' (Smith 1982: 164)

Likewise, in (10), the counterpart of (3), the verb loses its object agreement.[2]

(10) Max-o   tx'aj-w-i   (an) pichilej ix   ix.   *Q'anjob'al*
     COMPL-ABS3   wash-AP-ITR   CLF   clothes CLF woman
     'The woman washed (the) clothes.'

The term ANTIPASSIVE was coined by Michael Silverstein in his description of Chinook:

> "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).

At the time of Silverstein's writing, it was widely believed that the absolutive DP of a transitive clause was the grammatical subject ("nonergator" in the quote above) in ergative languages. This analysis has since been rejected (cf. Anderson 1976, and much subsequent work), but the term 'antipassive' has remained. Many papers have lamented the term at length; in what follows, I set aside terminological debate and focus on analysis. Note that the term 'antipassive' has two related uses in the linguistics literature; throughout this chapter, 'antipassive' will be understood as in (11a).

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[2] Also note that, unlike (3), the classifier on the object in (10), is optional, further signaling a change in its grammatical status.

(11) a. ANTIPASSIVE: a clause with a transitive predicate whose logical object is demoted to a non-core argument or non-argument
b. ANTIPASSIVE: the form of a two-place predicate that appears in the antipassive clause

The antipassive is morphosyntactically intransitive; its predicate is semantically transitive, but does not project a direct object.[3] The logical object appears as a non-core argument (12a) or is suppressed (12b); even when omitted, this argument remains presupposed. Thus, our understanding of the antipassive must take into account its semantic transitivity.

(12) a. Aid   opa-n   matses   pe-e-k.   *Matses*
          that.one   dog-ERG   people.ABS   bite-nPST-INDICATIVE
          'That dog bites people.'
b. Aid   opa   pe-an-e-k.
          that.one   dog.ABS   bite-AP-nPST-INDICATIVE
          'That dog bites (me/us).'   (Fleck 2006: 559)

To understand an antipassive analysis, we must first determine the operational criteria by which that analysis defines the antipassive. Often, the existence of the antipassive is established on the basis of: (i) oblique marking on the object and absolutive (not ergative) marking on the subject; (ii) structural/discourse "foregrounding" of the agent (see section X.3; cf. Foley and Van Valin 1984 on foregrounding and backgrounding antipassives; Cooreman 1988 on discourse-based and structural antipassives). Morphological and discourse effects alone cannot alone define the antipassive construction; however, the hierarchical demotion of the logical object *is* definitional.

While detailed descriptions of antipassives have been offered for individual languages (I reference some below; without such resources, this chapter could not have been written), the data are often insufficient to draw far-reaching conclusions. In such instances, I simply offer observations and make suggestions for further study. Consequentially, this chapter may be read as both overview and promissory note; it is my hope that future analytical work on antipassives will follow.

Section X.2 describes typical morphological hallmarks of the antipassive; section X.3 addresses its main interpretive characteristics. Section X.4 summarizes the main analyses of the construction. Section X.5 discusses syntactic side effects observed under antipassivization. Section X.6 contrasts the true antipassive with certain lookalike constructions. Finally, section X.7 addresses the question of whether the antipassive is unique to ergative languages.

X.2 Morphological indicators of the antipassive

Morphological signs of antipassivization vary widely both within and across languages (see below on Diyari). No single morphological diagnostic exists, and morphology alone may not be sufficient to identify the antipassive. However, a number of noteworthy patterns exist.

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[3] Antipassives are intransitive unless later transitivized by the addition of an applicative head, as documented for Chukchi in Nedjalkov 1980; Kozinsky et al. 1988; hence, they are unable to host a direct object. Use of the term "antipassive object" below signifies *logical object*.

Let us begin with CASE-MARKING. An oblique case often signals the non-core status of the antipassive object, as in (8) and (9). In ergative languages, a change in object encoding (absolutive > oblique) typically corresponds to a change in subject encoding (ergative > absolutive). However, at least Warlpiri (Hale 1973: 366), Djaru (Tsunoda 1981b: 149), and Goonyandi (Tsunoda 1988: 627) preserve ergative marking in the antipassive:

(13) a.   Njuntulu-lu   npa-tju   pantu-nu   ŋatju.   *Warlpiri*
            2SG-ERG   2SG-1SG   spear-PST   1SG.ABS
            'You speared me.'
      b.   Njuntulu-lu   npa-tju-la   pantu-nu   ŋatju-ku.
            2SG-ERG   2SG-1SG-AP spear-PST   1SG-DAT
            'You speared at me.'

Some researchers argue that the structure in (13b) is in fact an instance of D(ifferential) O(bject) M(arking), which does not entail detransitivization (Campana 1992; Malchukov 2006: 347). I will return to DOM in section X.6.1.

      Oblique object marking is neither necessary nor sufficient to identify an antipassive. The logical object may appear under PSEUDO-NOUN INCORPORATION (PNI), a syntactic process that generates a <u>caseless</u> object NP (not a DP) adjacent to the verb (Massam 2001). Unlike regular incorporation, PNI incorporates expressions larger than N°. PNI is more easily detectable in languages with overt absolutive marking. In the following examples, the PNI object includes an adnominal PP; in the Tongan example, a modifier (*lelei*) scopes over the entire NP. Overt case-marking of this expression is impossible.[4] In both cases, the logical object (internal argument) is case-marked differently than in the corresponding transitive clause:

(14) a.   'Oku   puke   'e   he   pepe   [DP'a   e   me'a va'inga   *Tongan*
            PRS   hold   ERG   DET   baby   ABS DET   thing playing
            [PP mo e   pulu]   lelei].
              COM DET   ball   good
            'The baby is holding a/the nice toy and ball.' (transitive)
      b.   'Oku   puke   (*'a) [NP e   me'a va'inga   [PP mo e   pulu] lelei]
            PRS   hold   ABS   DET thing playing   COM DET   ball   good
            'a   e   pepe.
            ABS   DET   baby
            'The baby is holding a nice toy and ball.' (PNI antipassive)
(15) a.   Ka   hoko   te   matua [DP ī   ngā   tīkiti   *Māori*
            AOR   buy   DET   parent   ACC DET.PL ticket
            [PP mo ngā   tamariki]].
            for   DET.PL child
            'The parent buys (the) tickets for the children.'
      b.   Ka   hoko   [NP tīkiti   [PP mo ngā   tamariki]]   te   matua.
            AOR   buy   ticket   for DET.PL child   DET   parent
            'The parent buys tickets for the children.'

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[4] Additionally, the PNI expression cannot be separated from the verb. Due to space constraints, I do not show the ungrammatical data here.

PNI is not limited to objects, and the analysis of PNI is a complex issue (Massam 2001; Ball 2008; Clemens 2014). For our purposes, the relevant point is that object PNI is a particular instance of antipassivization: the object does not receive structural case, and the resulting construction is intransitive.

In languages without overt object marking (e.g. Diyari, an ergative language with unmarked absolutives), additional diagnostics are required to distinguish direct objects from NPs under PNI. Diyari has a general detransitivizing suffix *-ṯadi* that forms reflexives and antipassives (Austin 1981: 71-72). In a subclass of verbs (Austin's class 2C), both the logical subject and the logical object of the antipassive seem to be in the absolutive form, with SOV word order:[5]

(16) a. ṉulu   kaṉa-li   ṉina   ŋanṯi   ṯayi-yi.   *Diyari*
          DEM.ERG   person-ERG DEM.ABS   meat.ABS   eat-PRS
          'The man is eating this meat.' (transitive)

    b. ṉawu   kaṉa   ṉina   ŋanṯi   ṯayi-ṯadi-yi.
          DEM.ABS   person.ABS DEM.ABS   meat.ABS   eat-AP-PRS
          'The man is having a feed of this meat.' (antipassive) (Austin 1981: 154)

However, significant differences exist between the (apparent) absolutive objects in (16a,b). While the object in (16a) can be separated from the verb and scrambled, the object position in (16b) is fixed. (16a) answers the question, "Who ate the meat?", whereas (16b) answers, "What is the man doing?" (Austin 1981: 154). The nominal demonstrative may be adjectival; the NP+verb unit seems syntactically inseparable, yet does not form a lexical item. This suggests that in (16b), the object *ṉina ŋanṯi* is not absolutive, but a caseless PNI object — which explains its non-mobility.[6]

Finally, under regular NOUN INCORPORATION (NI), the logical object is inaccessible to case-licensors because it has been absorbed into the predicate; several researchers have suggested that NI is a morphological realization of antipassivization (Baker 1988; Kozinsky et al. 1988).

In morphologically ergative languages, NI is accompanied by a shift in subject marking from ergative to absolutive. Consider the following triplet from Chukchi: the transitive construction in (17a) corresponds to a regular antipassive in (17b) and to an antipassive with NI in (17c). Assuming that the Diyari example in (16b) is a genuine case of PNI, we also note an important difference between PNI and NI: PNI (as in Diyari) is compatible with an antipassive

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[5] Another predicate type (Austin's verb class 2B) undergoes alternation: ergative-absolutive marking with SOV word order in the transitive;absolutive-oblique marking with SVO order in the antipassive (Austin 1981: 153-154).

[6] Example (16b) may be a bi-absolutive (bi-nominative) construction. Forker (2012) analyzes such constructions across Nakh-Dagestanian languages uniformly as PNI, while Gagliardi et al. (2014) and Coon (2013) show that the syntax of bi-absolutives varies cross-linguistically. Some bi-absolutives may be antipassives.

suffix on the verb, but NI (as in Chukchi) is in complementary distribution with the antipassive prefix.

(17) a. Ɂətt-e   melotalɣ-ən   piri-nin.   *Chukchi*
          dog-ERG   hare-ABS   catch-AOR.3SG:3SG
          'The dog caught a/the hare.'
      b. Ɂətt-ən   ine-piri-ɣɁi   (melotalɣ-tə).
          dog-ABS   AP-catch-AOR.3SG   hare-DAT
          'The dog caught a/the hare.'
      c. Ɂətt-ən   milute-piri-ɣɁi.
          dog-ABS   hare-catch-AOR.3SG
          'The dog caught a/the hare.'
      d. *Ɂətt-ən   ine-milute-piri-ɣɁi.
          dog-ABS   AP-hare-catch-AOR.3SG

Since the logical object of the antipassive is a non-core argument, it can always be omitted without significant change in meaning, as indicated in (17b). This optionality is yet another morphosyntactic sign of antipassivization. In terms of the grammatical role hierarchy, the antipassive object is always lower than the syntactic object in (7); object marking and (P)NI make this asymmetry visible.

The antipassive can also be signaled by VERBAL AFFIXATION. In (17b), the Chukchi verb has the antipassive prefix *ine-* (note also the difference in word order between (17a) and (17b)). In the majority of languages that mark the antipassive verbally, the affix indexes other categories as well. Two typical patterns of syncretism are attested:

(18) a. antipassive is syncretic with detransitivizing affixes such as anticausative, reflexive/reciprocal, middle, or passive markers, e.g., in Chukchi (Kozinsky et al. 1988), Diyari (Austin 1981), Halkomelemem –V*m* ('middle', per Gerdts and Hukari 2005, 2006), some Pama-Nyungan languages (Dixon 1972; 1977; Terrill 1997), Kiowa (Watkins 1984)

      b. antipassive is syncretic with aspectual markers, most commonly inchoative, inceptive, or iterative e.g., in Bezhta (Comrie et al. 2015) or Eskimo/Inuit[7] (Spreng 2012; Basilico 2012)

I have not observed languages which have a non-syncretic antipassive marker. In principle, such a language could exist; however, the patterns in (18) are common enough to justify the prediction that given antipassive marker will also serve as a general detransitivizing/aspectual affix. The syncretic patterns in (18) correlate with two main syntactic analyses of the antipassive, discussed in section X.4.2 below.

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[7] I am using "Inuit" as a cover term for several languages/dialects in the North American Arctic and Labrador for which similar data have been reported by different researchers.

More than one antipassive verbal marker can exist in a single language. These markers can be stacked (doubled), although the effects of such doubling are poorly understood. In Chukchi, the productive antipassive prefix *ine-* and the semi-productive antipassive suffix *–tko-* can co-occur (Kozinsky et al. 1988: 661); likewise, in Halkomelem, the antipassive suffixes *–m-* ("middle," per Gerdts and Hukari 2006) and *–els-* ("activity") stack:

(19) Niʔ   kʷ'ɬ-eʔəm-els ʔə   kʷ'   ti   t^θə   John.   *Halkomelem*
     AUX   pour-AP-AP   OBL   DET   tea   DET   John
     'John served some tea.' (Gerdts and Hukari 2005, ex. (26))

The stacking of antipassive markers has no syntactic consequences. By itself, the suffix *-m* serves to detransitivize the verb; the contrast in meaning between the stacked and single antipassives is unclear and warrants further investigation.

Next, the antipassive is morphologically visible through AGREEMENT. Antipassives typically show intransitive agreement, since the object, as a syntactically non-core argument, cannot agree — compare (3) and (10) for Q'anjob'al; (17a) and (17b) for Chukchi. Changes in agreement are typically accompanied by changes in case-marking and/or the addition of a verbal marker; all three morphological cues appear in (17b). However, in some languages, the change in agreement is the only sign of antipassivization.

Finally, antipassives sometimes differ from corresponding transitive constructions in WORD ORDER (compare (17a,b)); however, this is a very weak diagnostic, especially because the oblique object in the antipassive is generally dispensable. Word order differences may be a side effect of the adjacency requirement imposed by PNI (see examples above).

X.3   Interpretive properties of antipassives

Several interpretive properties are commonly associated with the antipassive; none of these properties is essential, and none applies to all languages with purported antipassives. Thus, these properties are best viewed as concomitant, rather than as defining, characteristics of the antipassive, much as thematic discourse prominence is a concomitant but not defining property of the passive.

Antipassives often have special ASPECTUAL meaning: inchoative, inceptive, durative, progressive, imperfective, or even iterative (Tchekoff 1987; Cooreman 1994; Dixon 1994; Dowty 1991; Tsunoda 1981a; Spreng 2010). In some languages, the antipassive is re-analyzed as durative and loses its syntactic detransitivizing properties (Comrie et al. 2015: 14). In each case, the antipassive may be associated with atelicity (the antipassive ~ imperfective correlation).[8] This association, however, is not present in all languages; for example, it is not found in Chukchi, Chamorro, or Polynesian languages.

The typicality of the antipassive ~ imperfective correlation predicts the following:

(20)   If an antipassive construction can have a perfective (telic) interpretation, it must also have an imperfective (non-telic) interpretation

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[8] The correlation antipassive ~ imperfective on the one hand and passive ~ perfective on the other is yet another sign of the mirror-image correspondence between antipassive and passive.

Another common interpretive effect of the antipassive is semantic or pragmatic SUBJECT PROMINENCE, a phenomenon referred to as "agent foregrounding," "agent focus(ing),"[9] or "agent maintenance." Agent foregrounding likely follows from the activity interpretation of the antipassive and the absence/BACKGROUNDING of the logical object. If the object is omitted, then the subject (agent) naturally becomes the only salient participant. When the object is expressed, its oblique encoding has subtle interpretive consequences. In the antipassive's transitive counterpart, new discourse referents are typically introduced as internal (accusative, absolutive) arguments, especially in presentational constructions (Birner and Ward 1996, 1998; Prince 1992; DuBois 1987, a.o.), indicating that the new referent will likely be featured in the upcoming discourse (Givón 1983). If a new referent appears as an oblique (or incorporated nominal), it signals that the referent will not be maintained in subsequent discourse (Polinskaja and Nedjalkov 1987). Thus, the antipassive construction facilitates a low-individuation interpretation (indefinite, non-specific) of the object participant (Foley and Van Valin 1984; Cooreman 1994): in other words, the object is presented as a prototypical 'anti-topic' — see Kalmár (1979), Berge (2011) for Inuit.

The foregrounding of the agent and concomitant backgrounding of the object is nevertheless far from a universal characteristic of the antipassive. While in some languages, the antipassive is impossible with highly individuated (first or second person) objects (see Gerdts 1988: 157 for Halkomelem), some languages *require* the antipassive construction specifically with these roles (see section X.5.3). Semantic and discourse functions of antipassives differ both within and across languages (Comrie 1978; Heath 1976; Cooreman 1988; 1994).

X.4   Analysis of the antipassive

Several analyses of the antipassive have been advanced within a number of theories. What follows is a brief survey; the reader is advised to consult the respective papers for more details. Although terminology and theoretical tools vary across approaches, analyses of the antipassive construction can be broadly divided into lexicalist and syntactic camps.

X.4.1 Lexical(ist) approaches

Even in languages with a robust antipassive, use of the construction is lexically specified. Typically, the antipassive occurs with "manner verbs", i.e., verbs that denote actions performed in a particular manner with no entailed result-state (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2010 and references therein). Manner objects can be readily "suppressed" or left implicit, producing an agent emphasis that parallels the focus effect reported for the antipassive. Arkadiev and Letuchiy (2008) systematically test and confirm the restriction of the antipassive to manner verbs in Adyghe, but supporting work in other languages remains to be done.

In some languages, only a handful of verbs are incompatible with the antipassive construction. In Chamorro, Chung (1998: 39) reports three verbs that do not form antipassive predicates (without noting how many verbs there are in total). Such scenarios raise the question: what is the minimally sufficient number of exceptions necessary to motivate a lexical

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[9] Agent focusing should not be confused with the special agent focus construction, documented in Mayan languages (see section X.6).

generalization?[10] Given the availability of lexical rules, productivity of a construction does not necessitate a syntactic analysis; conversely, confinement of a construction to a particular semantic class does not *rule out* a syntactic analysis — such restrictions can be built into the features or meanings of the heads involved.

Lexical(ist) approaches to the antipassive postulate a lexical rule that affects clausal argument structure, demoting the object/theme to an oblique nominal. The antipassive morpheme is then added to the verbal base as a concomitant to the lexical rule. See Grimshaw and Mester (1985) for the application of this approach to Inuit languages and Woodbury and Sadock (1986) for refinements and modifications. A clear discussion can be found in Farrell's (1992) lexical account of the Halkomelem antipassive. Working in the framework of Relational Grammar, Farrell argues that antipassivization cannot be derived syntactically; significantly, he observed that non-eventive nominalizations can be formed from antipassive verbs but not from passive verbs:[11]

(21) a. niʔ   cən   t'il-əm   ʔə   tə   st'iʔwiʔəł.   *Halkomelem*
          AUX   1SUBJ sing-AP   OBL   DET   hymn
          'I sang the hymn.' (Farrell 1992, ex. (16a))
      b. s-t'il-əm
          NMLZ-sing-AP
          'song' (Farrell 1992, ex. (17a))
      c. xʷs-t'il-əm
          AGT.NMLZ-sing-AP
          'singer' (Farrell 1992, ex. (17b))
      d. *s-t'il-ət-əm
          NMLZ-sing-TR-PASS

If both passive and antipassive were formed syntactically, this contrast would be mysterious. If, however, antipassivization is a rule that modifies the argument structure of an input word, these facts follow straightforwardly.

Gerdts and Hukari (2005; 2006) advance a lexicalist approach that associates the antipassive with "agent maintenance" (see section X.3, above); they propose a mapping rule that specifies antipassive verbs as two-place predicates selecting only an agent argument.

(22) Do not link object to an argument and cancel the inflectional position for object if there is one

Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar characterizes the antipassive as a complex argument structure of the type shown in (23). The outer a(rgument)-subject, i.e., the leftmost argument on

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[10] For some languages, the data vary dialectically. For instance, the variety of Chukchi described by Skorik (1948; 1961; 1977) and the one I have observed have a fully productive antipassive; meanwhile, according to Dunn (1999: 200-201, 70), the Telqep dialect has a low-productivity antipassive.

[11] The same detransitivizing suffix is used to derive the passive and the antipassive (see (18a)), but in the passive, that suffix must follow the transitive suffix –V*t*.

the (local) argument list, maps to the syntactic subject; optionally, a distinct inner argument maps to an oblique object:

(23)   Antipassive ARG-STR <a$_i$, < a$_i$, b>>

These are just some examples of lexical analyses; other devices are also possible. The crucial consideration in each case concerns the language-internal evidence for treating the antipassive as lexically specified. In those languages where the construction is (at least partially) productive, syntactic alternatives warrant attention.
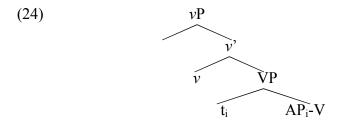
X.4.2 Syntactic approaches to the antipassive

The absence of a single, unifying syntactic analysis of the antipassive should not be surprising, given the significant cross-linguistic variation we saw above. (Disagreements among researchers over the definition of "antipassive" also don't improve matters; see section X.1). Analyses converge on the understanding that the difference between the transitive and the antipassive is in the status of the logical object. According to one family of analyses, accusative/absolutive case is absorbed in the vP; other analyses contend that the antipassive does allows object licensing, but that the structural locus of that licensing differs from the transitive.

X.4.2.1 Case absorption

 "Demotion" of the logical object can be achieved by base-generating a nominal element inside the VP. This abstract nominal constituent (AP) undergoes head movement and absorbs the accusative/absolutive case. Since the VP-internal argument position is saturated, the verb cannot assign case to its object. If an antipassive object appears, it is analyzed as an adjunct.
        Schematically, the derivation proceeds as follows; the functional head v can assign only one case, and that case is assigned to the external argument.

(24)

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              vP
             /  \
                v'
              /   \
             v     VP
                  /  \
                t_i   AP_i-V
```

Baker (1988) first observed the parallels between genuine NI and antipassivization, describing the antipassive morpheme as a type of incorporated object. Under Baker's analysis, the internal argument of the verb is filled by a non-maximal nominal expression (most likely N, although some researchers identify it as D; cf. Bittner and Hale 1996a, b). Several morphological realizations are possible: an abstract "antipassive" nominal (expressed through the antipassive morpheme), an incorporated internal argument, or an implicit argument. This nominal antipassive marker undergoes c-selection-triggered head movement into the lexical verb (Matushansky 2006); some phrasal movement may be implicated as well. The incorporated nominal expression does not receive case, and the V+AP complex is syntactically intransitive. External case assignment (by the inflectional head or the functional head v that dominates the

V+AP complex) proceeds according to language-specific requirements. When the logical object is realized as an oblique expression, it is a genuine adjunct, never an argument; compare to the adjunct analysis of the *by*-phrase in passives (but see Goodall 1993, 1999 for a different view of passives).
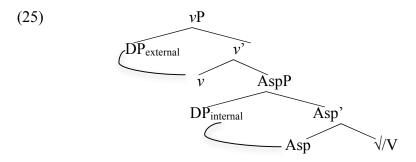
The nominal analysis is particularly appealing for antipassives whose marker is syncretic with reflexive or middle morphology (see (18a) above), as reflexive and middle morphemes saturate the internal argument position of a two-place predicate (Basilico 2004). Additionally, this approach predicts that NI and antipassivization are two sides of the same coin. Recall that the two operations are mutually exclusive in Chukchi: in fact, the Telqep dialect of Chukchi (Dunn 1999) uses NI in most instances where northern dialects employ a genuine antipassive.

A challenge for the nominal antipassive analysis is the obligatory implicit argument – a covert element whose syntactic representation is far from clear. It is generally assumed, following Rizzi (1986), that there is a difference between syntactically projected objects, which can be realized as *pro* (as in Italian), and another, less-well-defined category of lexically saturated implicit objects (IMP), which need not be syntactically projected (as in English). Lexical saturation may proceed from different sources, including verbal semantics. Rizzi correlates the availability of IMP with the absence of productive pro-drop. Several diagnostics distinguish omitted (*pro*) objects from IMP: only *pro*-objects can participate in control, bind reflexives and be modified by adjunct small clauses. In addition, the use of implicit objects is often more lexically constrained than the use of *pro*. Since antipassives are often associated with lexical exceptions, this latter property suggests that objectless antipassives may include implicit objects. A systematic study of the *pro/*implicit-object contrast in antipassives is needed.

X.4.2.2 Different object-licensing positions

Although the case-absorption analysis has been popular, some researchers, in particular those working on Inuit, reject the connection between the antipassive and nominal head movement (Schmidt 2003; Spreng 2006; 2012). In the absence of a nominal AP head, the transitive/ antipassive distinction is understood to follow from object licensing: the transitive object is licensed outside the *v*P, while the antipassive object is licensed within *v*P, either as a PP (as in the case-absorption analysis) or an accusative. This licensing distinction is directly connected to the correlation between the antipassive and manner verbs, whose objects are low in the structure (Basilico 2012).

Some object-licensing analyses postulate the presence of an extra functional projection in the antipassive verbal complex (Spreng 2012; Alexiadou 1999; but see Aldridge 2008, 2011 for an analysis without the extra head). The extra projection licenses the internal argument and is aspectual in nature. Details of interpretation differ, but most scholars hold that this abstract antipassive functional head is aspectually specified as [-telic] or [+imperfective] (cf. (18b) above). Its aspectual value is responsible for the persistent aspectual characteristics of the antipassive (section X.3). This functional head *v/Asp* selects the verbal root and licenses either inherent case or accusative case on the internal object. The accusative analysis of the antipassive object has been particularly prominent in work on Inuit (Bok-Bennema 1991; Bittner 1994; Spreng 2012). Finally, the external argument of the antipassive receives case from the *v/Asp* head or from a higher head:

(25)

While details of implementation may differ, this approach relies on the contrast between absolute licensing (high in the structure) and accusative licensing (low). The antipassive object is always "deeper" in the structure than the ergative object — but if a case-licensing system allows for both accusative and absolutive licensing, both objects receive structural case (cf. Aldridge 2008; 2011; Legate 2008; Woolford 1997). However, this analysis does not explain why antipassive objects often appear in an oblique case. It is also unclear what motivates object drop in the antipassive; even if the two objects are licensed in different places in the verb phrase, the regular omission of one object but not the other remains unmotivated. The object-omission problem does not arise on the case absorption analysis, which treats the antipassive object as an adjunct.

The parallel between the object case assigned to the antipassive object and the more traditional accusative case is important in light of historical processes. It is often assumed that ergative languages can become nominative-accusative if the ergative construction is lost and the antipassive is reanalyzed as a transitive (Anderson 1977; 1988; Comrie 1978; Harris and Campbell 1995: Ch. 9; Aldridge 2011; Spreng 2010). The structural similarity between the antipassive object case and the true accusative could facilitate such a reanalysis.

X.4.2.3 Subject case and antipassives

In addition to the demotion of the logical object, in morphologically ergative languages, the case of the subject also changes in the antipassive construction, from ergative to absolutive. Most researchers agree that the subject of a transitive verb and its antipassive/intransitive counterpart are in the same position.[12] Two main approaches have been explored. Some authors contend that the choice of subject case is a side-effect of transitivity (Woolford 2006) and propose a special *transitivity requirement* which states that the ergative is incompatible with basic or derived intransitives. Bruening (2007) offers a detailed critique of this approach, protesting that "an additional transitivity requirement simply restates the definition of ergative case, making the explanation for its distribution include a statement of its distribution; it is inconsistent in its treatment of accusative case…"

An alternative analysis (Marantz 1991; Bittner and Hale 1996b; Levin and Preminger 2015, a.o.) contends that case is determined by the presence of a case competitor. In this type of theory, nominative/absolutive case is unmarked, and ergative and accusative are only assigned in opposition to a nominative. If a predicate has only one argument, that argument will receive the unmarked nominative/absolutive. If it has two arguments, one will receive the marked case –

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[12] See Bobaljik (1993) for a different view, according to which transitive subjects move to a higher A-position than transitive or antipassive subjects.

ergative or accusative – and the other will receive nominative/absolutive. Ergative is assigned to the higher of two co-arguments; accusative is assigned to the lower. An advantage of this approach is that it treats passive and antipassive consistently: in both structures, one argument is demoted (subject in the passive, object in the antipassive), leaving the other to receive default nominative/absolutive.

X.5 Syntactic side effects of antipassivization

This section discusses syntactic phenomena associated with the use of the antipassive. Although many of these effects are still poorly understood, some may motivate antipassive use in particular languages.

X.5.1 Way-station effects

In a number of languages, only (intransitive) subject or absolutive DPs can undergo A-bar movement, participate in control/raising chains, and bind anaphors. Antipassivization can serve as a "way-station", allowing the sole argument of a detransitivized verb to access such grammatical processes. In Chukchi, for example, relativization in participial clauses is possible only for absolutive arguments (Polinsky 1994): intransitive subjects and transitive direct objects can relativize directly with a gap, as shown in (26b) and (27b). For a transitive subject to relativize, it must first become an absolutive via antipassivization (28a); the subject of the antipassive is then relativized as in (28b).[13]

(26) a. ŋinqey   pəkir-gʔi.   *Chukchi*
          boy.ABS   arrive-AOR.3SG
          'The boy arrived.'
      b. [t$_i$ pəkərə-lʔ-ən]   ŋinqey$_i$
               arrive-PARTICIPLE-ABS   boy.ABS
          'the boy that arrived'
(27) a. Tumg-e   ŋinqey   rəyegtetew-nin.
          friend-ERG   boy.ABS   save-AOR.3SG:3SG
          'The friend saved the boy.' (transitive)
      b. [tumg-e   t$_i$ rəyagtala-lʔ-ən]   ŋinqey$_i$
          friend-ERG   save-PARTICIPLE-ABS boy.ABS
          'the boy that the friend saved'
      c. *[t$_i$ ŋinqey   rəyagtala-lʔ-ən]   tumgətum
               boy.ABS   save-PARTICIPLE-ABS friend.ABS
          ('the friend that saved the boy')
(28) a. Tumgətum   ŋinqey-ək   ine-nyegtele-gʔi.
          friend.ABS   boy-LOC   AP-save-AOR.3SG
          'The friend saved the boy.' (antipassive)

---

[13] Chukchi is often used in illustration, but it is by no means unique in its relativization behavior. For example, Lower Grand Valley Dani (Bromley 1981) and Inuit (Bittner 1994; Manning 1996) also require antipassivization as a way-station for subject extraction with a gap.

b. [ŋinqey-ək   ine-nyegtelewə-lʔ-ən]   tumgətum
    boy-LOC   ANTI-save-PARTICIPLE-ABS   friend.ABS
    'the friend that saved the boy'

Relatedly, in a number of languages (not all of them ergative), non-finite control can only target the intransitive subject position. Again, the antipassive "way-station" can license control. In the following two examples from Jakaltec, control complement clauses must be intransitive (Craig 1977: 311-327). The embedded clause in (29a) is antipassive; transitive non-finite clauses with overt absolutives, as in (29b), are ungrammatical.

(29) a. Ch-ach   to [PRO col-wa-l   y-iñ   naj].   *Jakaltec*
         ASP-ABS   go   help-AP-NOM GEN-to him
         'You are going (there) to help him.'
     b. *Ch-ach   to [PRO ha-col-al   y-iñ   naj].
         ASP-ABS go   ERG-help-NOM   GEN-to him
                                                    (Craig 1977: 318)

A similar restriction appears in control complements in Chukchi (Skorik 1977; Nedjalkov 1976) and in some languages of Australia (Dixon 1979; 1994). Aldridge (2008; 2011) extends this restriction to a number of Austronesian languages (Seediq, Tagalog, a.o.) and suggests that it may be tied to ergativity; however, the ergative status of these languages is debatable.

X.5.2 Scope effects

Antipassives and transitives reportedly differ in scope readings in Inuit. Inuit antipassive objects are restricted to narrow scope, while transitive absolutive objects can take wide or narrow scope (Bittner 1987, 1994; Benua 1995). In (30a), the absolutive object takes wide scope, and in (30b), the antipassive object must take a narrow scope:

(30) a. Atuartu-t   ila-at   ikiur-tariaqar-p-a-ra.   *West*
         student-PL.ERG   part-3PL.SG   help-must-IND-[+TR]-1SG.3SG   *Greenlandic*
         'There is one of the students that I must help.'
     b. Atuartu-t   ila-an-nik   ikiu-i-sariaqar-p-u-nga.
         student-PL.ERG   part-3PL.SG-INS   help-AP-must-IND-[-TR]-1SG
         'I must help one of the students (any one will do).' (Bittner 1994: 138)

Such scope differences, however, are not consistently associated with the antipassive cross-linguistically. For example, in Adyghe, both transitive and antipassive clauses with an oblique object are ambiguous between surface and inverse scope:[14]

(31) a. pŝaŝe-m   zeč'e-r-jə   pjəsme-(xe-)r ∅−ə-txə-ʁ.   *Adyghe*
         girl-ERG   all-ABS-ADD   letter-PL-ABS 3ABS-3SG.ERG-write-PST
         'A/The girl wrote all the letters.' (ONE > ALL; ALL > ONE)

---

[14] The ergative and the oblique in Adyghe have the suffix -(V)*m*. Arkadiev and Letuchiy (2008) treat all instances of -(V)*m* as oblique; here and in Caponigro and Polinsky (2011), I gloss -(V)*m* differently depending on its function.

  b. pŝaŝe-r   zeč'e-m-jə pjəsme-(xe-)m   Ø−txa-ʁe.
      girl-ABS   all-OBL-ADD letter-PL-OBL   3ABS-write.AP-PST
      'A/The girl wrote all the letters.' (ONE > ALL; ALL > ONE)

Likewise, in the English conative alternation (see section X.7 below), both forms display scope ambiguities:

(32) a.   An athlete grabbed every curl-bar (A > EVERY, EVERY > A)
   b.   An athlete grabbed at every curl-bar (A > EVERY, EVERY > A)

Why is Inuit different from other languages? I offer some considerations below. First, the crucial test case for inverse scope is in doubly-quantified sentences where 'one/a' scopes over 'every' at the surface string. This configuration is present in (31) and (32) but not in (30); arriving at a robust comparison is difficult without additional Greenlandic data. It is possible that fixed scope results from some interaction between quantification and modality (which is known to be quite complex; cf. Hacquard 2006: 118ff. and references therein), between quantification and negation, or between quantification and the defined aspectual properties noted for the Inuit antipassive (recall (25)). The bottom line is that differences in Greenlandic scope readings may well be orthogonal to the transitive/antipassive contrast.

   Assuming a structure such as (25), there is no reason to expect antipassive scope relations to differ from transitive scope relations. Our empirical knowledge of these phenomena must be considerably enriched before analysis can move beyond speculation.

X.5.3 Antipassive and agreement

Antipassives may appear when the subject and object are "inverse" ─ i.e., when the subject is lower than the object on one or more hierarchies: person (1>2>3); number (sg > pl); animacy (human > animate > inanimate). Languages vary in the combinations they consider "inverse," and careful examination of a given agreement system is always needed; in general, however, detransitivizing morphology — passive or antipassive — can be used to mark inverse configurations. Inverse marking through antipassive is common in Australian languages. In Yukulta, a third person can act transitively upon another third person, but the antipassive is used when a third person acts upon a first person:

(33) a.   Kungul-i=ka-nt-a   paa-tya.   *Yukulta*
      mosquito-ERG=TR-nPRS-REALIS   bite-IND
      'A mosquito bit him.' (Keen 1983, ex. (146))
   b.   Kungul-ta=thu=yingk-a   paa-tya.
      mosquito-ABS=1SG.DAT-nPRS.INTR-REALIS bite-IND
      'A mosquito bit me.' (Keen 1983, ex. (147))

Some instances of inverse ~ antipassive correlation may reveal a diachronic connection but be synchronically distinct. I will discuss one such case in section X.6.2.

X.6 Related constructions

X.6.1 Antipassive lookalikes

Above, I mentioned certain linguistic phenomena that border on or subsume antipassives: some instances of PNI, object NI constructions, and some bi-absolutive (bi-nominative) constructions. Here, I discuss two other constructions that resemble the antipassive but should be differentiated from it. The first is the agent focus (AF) construction, reported for a number of Mayan languages (see Stiebels 2006 for an overview). Although AF has some hallmarks of the antipassive, it is considered a transitive, not an intransitive, construction (Aissen 2011); it is variously analyzed as a separate voice (Tonhauser 2003), an inverse form (Aissen 1999), or a specialized agreement form for A-bar subject extraction (Stiebels 2006). Some Mayan languages, e.g. Q'anjob'al, have both genuine antipassives and AF — see (10) above for the antipassive and Coon et al. (2015) for a discussion of AF. However, some early work, particularly Larsen and Norman (1979), identifies AF as an antipassive construction; it would be prudent to assess the AF~antipassive relationship in each language separately.

      Differential object marking (DOM) resembles the antipassive in that objects of transitive verbs receive different encoding depending on animacy, specificity, etc. However, in DOM, the logical object remains a syntactic direct object, regardless of overt marking (Aissen 2003). Furthermore, semantic factors associated with DOM differ from those that condition antipassives. A similar superficial parallel arises between antipassives and differential subject marking (DSM) constructions; although in both constructions the case of the subject shifts, only in the antipassive does this change in subject case-marking crucially depend on the status of the object.

X.6.2 Spurious antipassive

As noted above, antipassives may be used to indicate an atypical/inverse hierarchical relationship between agent and theme. Noting several unusual properties of this phenomenon, researchers have labeled it "crazy antipassive", "eccentric agreement" (Hale 2002) or "spurious antipassive" (Halle and Hale 1997).

      Spurious antipassives in Chukotko-Kamchatkan languages represent a well-documented case of such "inverse" agreement (Comrie 1979, 1980; Nedjalkov 1979a; Bobaljik and Branigan 2006). Simplifying somewhat, these antipassives occur in contexts where a second- or third-person participant acts upon a first-person participant. Compare (34a) and (34b); see Dunn (1999: 181-184) and Bobaljik (2007) for complete paradigms. In (34b, c), the verb carries an antipassive prefix; agreement is intransitive, but pronominal case marking remains transitive. Both antipassive affixes, *ine-* and *–tku-*, participate in inverse alignment:

(34) a.   ɣəm-nan   ɣət   tə-ɬʔu-ɣət.   *Chukchi*
             1SG-ERG   2SG.ABS   1SG.SUBJ-see-AOR.2SG.OBJ
             'I saw you.'
      b.   ə-nan   ɣəm   ine-ɬʔu-ɣʔi.
             3SG-ERG   1SG.ABS   AP-see-AOR.3SG
             'S/he saw me.'
      c.   ɣət-nan   muri   ɬʔu-tku-ø
             2SG-ERG   1PL.ABS   see-AP-AOR.2SG
             'You (sg.) saw us.'

Bobaljik and Branigan (2006) and Bobaljik (2007) argue that (34b, c) are regular transitive clauses, with both subject and object licensed in a typical manner by the inflectional head T. The "spuriousness" pertains to the morphological interpretation of these clauses. Since these authors understand agreement to be post-syntactic, they locate antipassive insertion within the mapping of narrow syntax to the morphological component; the features of the lower argument (object) are deleted at T, rendering T apparently intransitive. This analysis eliminates "spuriousness" by maintaining the uniformity of the antipassive affix; however, it crucially depends on Bobaljik's (2008) conception of agreement as a post-syntactic operation.

If object features play no role in derivation, then it is surprising that spurious antipassives distinguish between singular and plural objects. *ine-* is used only for singular first-person objects, and *–tku-* for plural (cf. (34b, c); see Dunn 1999: 184). In addition, an inverse form marked with the prefix *ne-* is used to encode a plural third-person participant acting upon a (singular or plural) third-person participant. Most importantly, regular antipassive markers are preserved in action nominalizations, but the "spurious" ones are lost, just like all other agreement markers in nominalizations.[15] This suggests that spurious antipassives are categorically different from true antipassives.

(35)   a.   gəm   ʔituʔit-ək   ine-ɬʔu-ɣʔek.   *Chukchi*
             1SG.ABS   goose-LOC   AP-see-AOR.1SG
             'I saw a/the goose.'
       b.   gəm-in   ʔituʔit-ək/*ʔituʔit-in   ine-ɬʔu-wərg-ən
             1SG.POSS   goose-LOC/goose-POSS   AP-see-NMLZ-ABS
             'my seeing of a/the goose'
(36)   a.   ətɬʔəg-e   ɣəm   ine-ɬʔu-ɣʔi.
             father-ERG   1SG.ABS   AP-see-AOR.3SG
             'Father saw me.'
       b.   ətɬʔən-in   (ɣəm-in/*ɣəm)   ɬʔu-wərg-ən/*ine-ɬʔu-wərg-ən
             father-POSS   1SG-POSS/1SG.ABS see-NMLZ-ABS/AP-see-NMLZ-ABS
             'Father's seeing me'

Bobaljik and Branigan's generalization – that clauses such as (34b, c) are transitive – holds. However, *ine-* and *–tku-* here are not antipassive morphemes, but person/number agreement markers fused with the category [+inverse]. In other words, spurious antipassives behave as genuine agreement markers, not as pieces of valency-changing morphology. The modeling details for such agreement must be worked out, and it is likely that the two functions of *ine-/–tku-* are related historically. On the synchronic level, however, it appears that the Chukchi "spurious" antipassive is not antipassive at all but is a type of agreement.

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[15] Chukchi event (action) nominalizations typically allow just one possessive form, which can correspond to either the external or internal argument, making them ambiguous. The inclusion of both possessives within a nominalization is permitted but not preferable.

X.7   Antipassive is not unique to ergative languages

Some researchers have suggested that antipassives are unique to ergative languages (Silverstein 1976; Dixon 1979; Spencer 1991: 24) or, even more narrowly, to syntactically ergative languages (Otsuka 2000, a.o.). However, there is nothing in the basic definition of the antipassive that predicts this restriction. Choctaw (Davies 1984), Chamorro (Cooreman 1988, 1994), Kiowa (Watkins 1984), Māori (Bauer 1983), German (Müller 2011), Romance (Masullo 1992; Mejias-Bikandi 1999; Postal 1977; Medová 2010), and Slavic (Medová 2010; Say 2005) are good examples of accusative languages with antipassives (for more examples from a survey of grammars, see Polinsky 2013). Within the framework of Relational Grammar, Postal (1977) specifically argues against the unique association of the antipassive with ergativity; see also Heath (1976), Givón (1984); Polinsky (2013). What is truly at issue here is visibility: in ergative languages, presence of the antipassive correlates with an obvious change of subject encoding from ergative to absolutive; thus, this construction is more *noticeable* in ergative languages than it is in accusative languages, but it is not *limited* to ergative languages.

Conversely, passives are not impossible in ergative languages, contra Laka (1993: 168), Dixon (1994: 152), van de Visser (2006). Quite a few languages exhibit both passive and antipassive constructions. Just within morphologically ergative languages, we can find both passive and antipassive in Halkomelem, Inuit, Georgian, several Mayan languages (Vapnarsky et al. 2012), and possibly in Basque. It is true, however, that passives are generally less common in ergative languages (Kazenin 2001: 926), leading Nichols (1992: 158) to propose the following universal: if a language has an antipassive but no passive, that language is ergative.

In English, the closest parallels to the transitive ~ antipassive alternation are the *conative alternation* and the *unexpressed object alternation*, for which multiple lexical restrictions apply; Blight (2004) analyzes these alternations, as well as the preposition-drop alternation, as English antipassives.

The conative alternation contrasts two instances of the same verb: one that takes a direct object, and another that takes a prepositional complement. Only the direct object is construed as affected by the verbal event (Levin 1993: 5-11, 41-42; Beavers 2011; Vincent 2013). For example, (37a) entails that the hunter hit the target, rendering the continuation infelicitous; in (37b), this entailment is absent:

(37)   a.   The hunter shot the bear #but he missed.
        b.   The hunter shot at the bear but he missed.

Levin associates the conative alternation with verbs that describe change of state achieved through motion and contact (as opposed to verbs that denote pure change of state, such as *break*, verbs that denote contact only, and verbs that denote motion only). It may be possible to extend this generalization to antipassives with an explicit oblique complement, but more cross-linguistic work on change-of-state verbs and implicit-argument verbs is needed to determine the relevant lexical restrictions. It is true that, whereas use of a prototypical transitive verb entails a change of state in the object participant, the corresponding antipassive cancels such an entailment, and this cancellation correlates with the oblique marking of the object (Tsunoda 1981a; Hopper and Thomspon 1980; Van Valin 1991; Dowty 1991, among others). Omission of the affected object participant can have two consequences. First, when a clause lacks overt mention of a participant affected by the event (incremental theme), the event is likely to be interpreted as incomplete

(Dowty 1991; Basilico 2012; Spreng 2010). This consequence echoes the established correlation between the antipassive construction and the imperfective interpretation. Second, in the absence of an affected patient, it becomes possible to interpret the *agent* as an affected participant of the event. The reflexive construction similarly permits a verbal event to cause change in the agent; as discussed earlier, antipassive and reflexive mechanisms do overlap in some languages.

The unexpressed object alternation in English brings together the following types of sentences (Levin 1993: 33-38):

(38) a. I have ironed the clothes.
   b. I have ironed.

Levin (1993: 33) observes that this alternation occurs with a wide range of activity verbs where the missing object is understood as the "typical object" of a given verb; of course, the notion of "typical object" is vague, but it seems that a similar observation can be made for the unexpressed object of the antipassive construction.

All things considered, it is probably better to account for the English conative alternation and unexpressed object verbs via lexical rules (section 4.1); however, a syntactic approach like the one illustrated in X.4.2.1 is also possible.

X.8 Conclusions

Antipassives have long been considered "exotic" — found in exotic languages and associated with exotic syntax. One of my goals in this chapter has been to illustrate that the antipassive is in fact well behaved, observable wherever the logical object of a transitive predicate appears as a non-core argument or an adjunct. Too often, we seek antipassives in places where they do not exist while ignoring obvious instances in our own "Standard Average European" backyard. Once we agree on a more manageable landscape for navigation, the task of identifying antipassives becomes much simpler. On the one hand, a number of constructions that resemble the antipassive are truly distinct; even if two constructions have similar discourse functions or similar morphological hallmarks, they need not be syntactically equivalent. On the other hand, certain neglected constructions, such as (P)NI objects, meet the structural definition of the antipassive and should be duly considered under that rubric.

Based on the criteria discussed here, we must reject the notion that antipassives occur only in ergative languages. Likewise, it is unreasonable to maintain that antipassives and passives are mutually exclusive; nothing in the definition of the antipassive makes such a prediction, and a number of languages provide empirical evidence in support of anti/passive compatibility. The antipassive bears analysis either as a case frame of individual lexically specified verbs that alternate with regular transitives, or as the output of a syntactic operation. Only in the latter case can one assume, following Silverstein (1972), that "the sense [of the antipassive—MP] is clearly equivalent to a transitive." Lexical analysis is plausible when only a subset of a language's verbal lexicon participates in the alternation and when independent evidence supports such an analysis, as in Halkomelem nominalizations.

Within syntax, two main approaches are taken, which differ along two related dimensions: the character of the antipassive affix (nominal/verbal), and object licensing. Under the first approach, a nominal element saturates the internal argument of a two-place verb, and as a result, the verb cannot assign case to its object. Under the second approach, the difference

between the transitive and the antipassive is reduced to a licensing distinction between absolutives (high objects) and accusatives (low objects). Often, such differential licensing is associated with an extra functional head with aspectual connotations. These two approaches attempt to account for the semantic and pragmatic effects of the antipassive without defining the construction by these properties.

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