Valency decreasing constructions

antipassives, object incorporation
Object “downplay”

Antipassives – “A mirror image of the passive”
◆ Demotes the object from argument to oblique
◆ Has verb morphology

Object incorporation
◆ The object becomes part of the verb
Antipassives defined

Like passives, antipassives are valency decreasing constructions.

Passives demote the agent

West Greenlandic

(1) Inuit nanuq taku-aat
    people.erg bear.abs see-3pl.3sg.indic
    ‘The people saw the polar bear.’

(2) Nanuq (inun-nit) taku-niqar-puq.
    bear.abs (people-abl) see-pass-3sg.indic
    ‘The polar bear was seen (by the people).’
Antipassives defined

Like passives, antipassives are valency decreasing constructions.

- Passives demote the agent
- Antipassives demote the patient

West Greenlandic

(3) arna-p niqi-Ø niri-vaa.
    woman-erg meat-abs eat-indic.3sg.3sg
    ‘The woman ate the meat.’

(4) arnaq-Ø (niqi-mik) niri-NNig-puq.
    woman-abs meat-instr eat-antipass-indic.3sg
    ‘The woman ate meat.’
Antipassives

Antipassives are commonly (but not exclusively) found in ergative languages.

Table 1. The antipassive construction and case marking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Ergative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acoma, Cahuilla, Canela-Krahô, Chamorro, Choctaw, Comanche, Cree, Kiowa, Koyraboro Senni, Krongo, Lango, Lavukaleve, Nez Perce, Ojibwa, Paiwan, Sanuma, Thompson</td>
<td>Archi, Basque, Bezhta, Cakchiquel, Chechen, Chukchi, Diyari, Djaru, Dyirbal, Embaloh, Godoberi, Gooniyandi, Halkomelem, Hunzib, Jakaltek, Kabardian, Kapampangan, Lai, Lak, Mam, Mangarrayi, Päri, Tsez, Tzutujil, Wardaman, Warrungu, West Greenlandic, Yidiny, Yukulta, Yup’ik (Central), Zoque (Copainalá)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Antipassives

Some languages show a change in the agreement patterns (and it may be the only indication that a sentence is an antipassive).

Chukchi (Kozinsky et al. 1988: 652)

(5) ?aaček-a kimit?-ən ne-nl?etet-ən.
   youth-erg load-abs 3pl.subj-carry-aor.3sg.obj
   ‘The young men carried away the/a load.’

(6) ?aaček-ət ine-nl?etet-g?e-t kimit?-e
   youth-abs antip-carry-aor.3sg.subj-pl load-instr
   ‘The young men carried away the/a load.’
Classification of antipassives

Some languages do not allow the patient to be expressed. In others it is optional.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Antipassive with patient-like argument left implicit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Antipassive with patient-like argument expressed as oblique complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>No antipassive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>194</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Productivity

Antipassives often apply only to a certain subset of transitive predicates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>productive</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>partially productive</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not productive</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no antipassive</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 186
"In a number of languages, only a particular grammatical role or case form can serve as the syntactic pivot for certain grammatical processes. Antipassivization makes the sole argument of the detransitivized verb accessible to relevant grammatical processes; in many ergative languages, where the absolutive is the pivot for all or most grammatical processes, antipassivization allows the subject to occur in the absolutive case. examples." (Polinsky, 2013)
“In Chukchi, relativization is possible only for absolutive arguments (Polinsky 1994); thus, the subject of intransitives and the direct object can relativize directly... (7) for the subject absolutive.”

(7) a. ŋinqey  pəkir-g?i.
    boy.abs  arrive-aor.3sg
    ‘The boy arrived.’

b. pəkərə-ɬ?-ən  ŋinqey.
    arrive-ərctc-abs  boy
    ‘the boy that arrived’
“In order to relativize the subject of a transitive (8), it first needs to be converted into an absolutive, via antipassivization (5a); the subject of the antipassive is then relativized, (5b).”

(8) a. tumg-e ñinqey røyegtetew-nin.
   friend-erg boy.abs save-aor.3sg.3sg
   ‘The friend saved the boy.’

   b. *[ñinqey røyagtala-l?-ən] tumgətum.
   boy.abs save-ptcp-abs friend
   (‘the friend that saved the boy’)

(9) a. tumgətum ñinqey-ək ine-nyegtele-g?i.
   friend.abs boy-loc anti-save-aor.3sg
   ‘The friend saved the boy.’

   boy-loc anti-save-ptcp-abs friend
   ‘the friend that saved the boy’
Review

Identify the following valency decreasing constructions:

(1) Quecha
Punku kiča-ka-rqa-n (*by John).
door open-ʔ-PAST-3
‘The door opened.’

(2) West Greenlandic
arnaq-Ø niqi-mik niri-NNig-puq.
woman-abs meat-instr eat-ʔ-indic.3sg
‘The woman ate meat.’

(3) Sre
Mpon ge-pa? (mə cal).
door ʔ-open by wind
‘The door was opened (by the wind).’
Object incorporation

The object incorporates into (becomes part of) the verb

- Has the stress characteristics of a word rather than a phrase
- Can have unusual word order

Ponapean (Austroneisan: Federated States of Micronesia)

(12) I kang-la wini-o.
   1sg eat.tr-adv medicine-that
   'I have taken (all) that medicine.'

(13) I keng-winih-la.
   1sg eat.intr-medicine-adv
   'I have completed my medicine-taking.'

Kosraean (Austroneisan: Federated States of Micronesia)

(14) Nga twem-lah mitmit sac.
   I sharpen.tr-adv knife the
   'I have sharpened the knife to completion.'

(15) Nga twetwe mitmit-lac.
   I sharpen.INTR knife-ADv
   'I have completed knife-sharpening.'
Object incorporation

The object incorporates into (becomes part of) the verb

- Morphophonemic patterns of words rather than phrases
- Can have special morphology

Chukchee (Chukotko-Kamchatkan: Siberia)

(16) Tumg-e na-ntəwat-ən kupre-n.
   friends-erg 3sg-set-trans net-abs
   ‘The friends set the net.’

(17) Tumg-ət kupra-ntəwat-g’at.
   friends-nom net-set-intrans
   ‘The friends set nets.’