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Towards a typology of passive lability with special reference to Abaza

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Roadmap

- Introducing passive lability
- Basics of the Abaza verbal system
- Unmarked resultative in Abaza
- Definition and sample
- Parameters of variation
- Summary and outlook

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Introducing passive lability

- Most of the literature on the typology of valency alternations has focused on diathesis changes that are explicitly morphologically encoded in the verb.
- The phenomenon of so-called “lability” aka “ambitransitivity”, i.e. uncoded diathesis alternations, has been recognized but remained largely limited to discussions of causative/anticausative alternations.

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Introducing passive lability

- German and English:

(1) a. *Der Junge zerbrach die Vase*.
'The boy broke the vase.'

b. *Die Vase zerbrach*.
'The vase broke.'

Introducing passive lability

- Godoberi (Andic < Nakh-Daghestanian; Kibrik ed. 1996: 112)

(2) a. *il-u-di* *makʼi* *išqa* *w-aʔa*
mother-OBL-ERG child home M-deliver.PST
‘Mother brought the boy home.’

b. *makʼi* *išqa* *w-aʔa*
child home M-come.PST
‘The boy came home.’

ERG – ergative, M – masculine, OBL – oblique stem, PST – past tense

Introducing passive lability

- English, German and Godoberi exemplify the so-called P-lability whereby the participant shared between the transitive and intransitive uses of a labile verb is the patientive (P) argument.
- P-lability as found in English, German and Godoberi is traditionally subsumed under the notion of anticausative lability, which is believed to involve complete suppression of the agentive participant from the argument structure of the verb.

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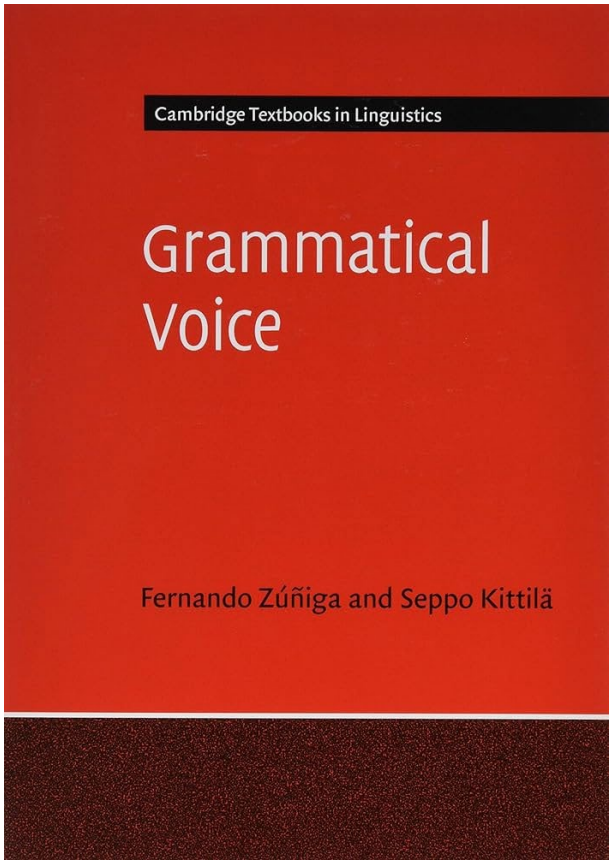
- As a remarkable exception to this general trend, Zúñiga & Kittilä (2019) devote a whole chapter 6 (p. 178-199) to uncoded alternations.
- They show that among morphologically uncoded diathesis alternations one can find equivalents of every type of morphologically coded "voice" found in the languages of the world, including the passive (p. 188-189).



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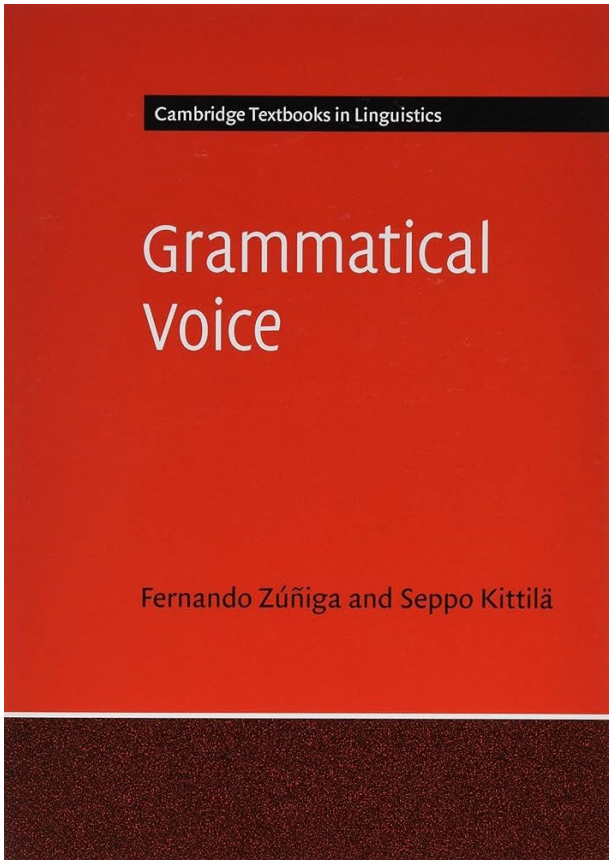

Introducing passive lability

- Bambara (Mande, Mali; Creissels 2014: 920):

(3) a. *wùlu* *má* *sògo* *dún*
dog.DEF PFV.NEG meat.DEF eat
'The dog has not eaten the meat.'

DEF – definite, NEG – negation,
PFV – perfective

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dog.DEF PFV.NEG meat.DEF eat
'The dog has not eaten the meat.'

b. *sògo* *má* *dún* *wùlu* *fɛ̀*
meat.DEF PFV.NEG eat dog.DEF by
'The meat has not been eaten by the dog.'

DEF – definite, NEG – negation,
PFV – perfective

Introducing passive lability

- Abaza (Northwest Caucasian, Russia; Arkadiev 2023)

(4) a. *a-phʷə́spa* *a-ŝ* *ʕa-l-ṭə́-d*
DEF-girl DEF-door CSL-3SG.F.ERG-open/AOR-DCL
'The girl opened the door.' (elicited)

AOR – aorist, CSL – cislocative,
DCL – declarative, ERG – ergative,
F – feminine

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'The girl opened the door.' (elicited)

b. *sə-ŝ-kʷa* *w-zə-ṭ-ṗ*
1SG.PR-door-PL 2SG.M.IO-BEN-open/RES-NPST.DCL
'My doors are open for you.' (textual)

AOR – aorist, BEN – benefactive, CSL – cislocative, DCL – declarative, ERG – ergative, F – feminine, IO – indirect object, M – masculine, NPST – non-past, PR – possessor, RES – resultative

Introducing passive lability

- Morphologically uncoded passives have been known to specialists on individual languages and whole language families (in particular, Mande in Western Africa) for quite some time:
  - Mande: Cobbinah 2008, Vydrina 2011, Cobbinah & Lüpke 2012, Creissels 2014, 2015 etc.
  - Gur: Reineke & Miehe 2005
  - Jamaican Creole: LaCharité & Wellington 1999
  - Austronesian: Arka & Kosmas 2005, Donohue 2005

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Introducing passive lability

- Still, only scarcely mentioned in typological and theoretical work (beside Z&K 2019, see also Cabredo Hofherr 2023).
- Morphological marking is built into most definitions of passives in the typological literature, cf. Dixon & Aikhenvald (2000: 7), Keenan & Dryer (2007: 327–328), Siewierska (2013), Haspelmath (2021).

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Introducing passive lability

- Cobbinah & Lüpke (2012: 154):

  “Yet we believe that in the case of zero-coded passives, the functional parallels between them and the main-stream morphologically marked ones are too important and systematic to be swept aside as being exclusively of terminological relevance or as presenting a limited number of exotic cases.”

Introducing passive lability

- No understanding of where uncoded passives are found and how widespread they are in the languages of the world.
- Little awareness of the cross-linguistic variation of uncoded passives and of how they fit within the typology of voice.
- A few exceptions:
  - Letuchiy (2009: 136-145) within a broader typology of labile verbs;
  - Arkadiev (2023), with a focus on Abaza and the resultative/stative subtype of uncoded passives.

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  - Creissels (2014) with the aim at refining the conceptual domain related to the study of labile verbs;
  - Arkadiev (2023), with a focus on Abaza and the resultative/stative subtype of uncoded passives.

Introducing passive lability

In this talk:

- A closer look at the unmarked resultative construction in Abaza and why it can be considered an instance of passive lability of the statal type (entirely based on Arkadiev 2023).
- A preliminary typology of passive lability on the basis of a small cross-linguistic sample (considerably expanding the pilot study in Arkadiev 2023).

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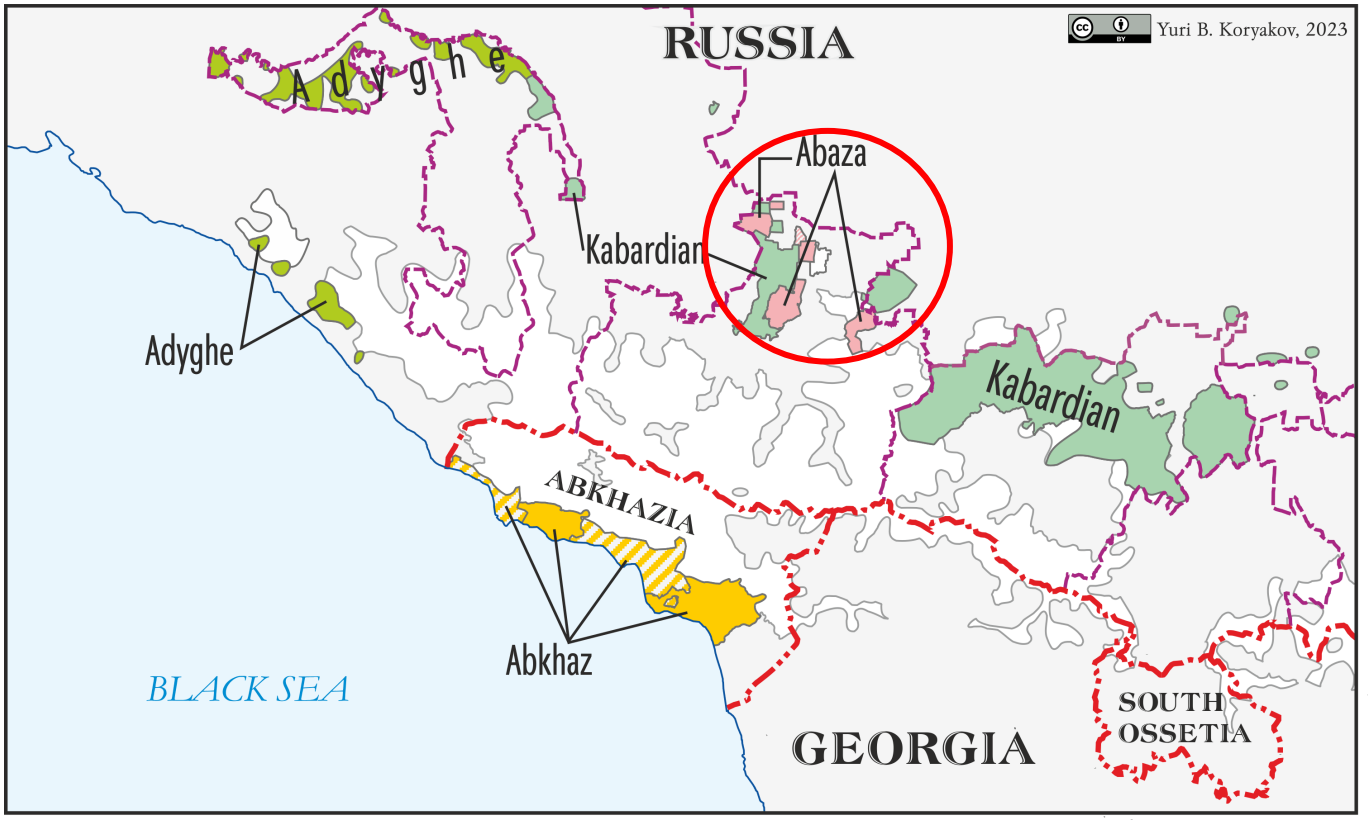
Basics of the Abaza verbal system

- Abaza < Abkhaz-Abaza < Northwest Caucasian



Basics of the Abaza verbal system

- Sources of data:
  - fieldwork in Karachaevo-Cherkessia on the Tapanta dialect of Abaza (2017-2019, 2021).
  - Elicited as well as corpus examples.

Basics of the Abaza verbal system

The Abaza verbal template:

		“preverbs” (Π)								“stem” (Σ)					“endings”				
–12	–11	–10	–9	–8	–7	–6	–5	–4	–3	–2	–1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6	+7
absolutive	subordinators, negation	repetitive	potential, involuntative	applicatives	directional preverbs	locative preverbs	indirect object	ergative	negation	causative	sociative	root	directional suffixes	event operators	plural	aspect, tense	negation	past tense, modality	subordinators, force, emphasis

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The absolutive S/P prefix

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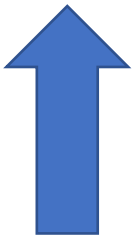

The ergative A prefix

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TAM suffixes

Basics of the Abaza verbal system

	Absolutive	**Oblique**
1Sg	*s(ə)-*	*s(ə)-/z-*
2SgM	*w(ə)-*	*w(ə)-*
2SgF	*b(ə)-*	*b(ə)-/p-*
3SgM	*d(ə)-*	*j(ə)-*
3SgF		*l(ə)-*
3SgN	*j(ə)- ~ Ø*	*ɑ-/nɑ-*
1Pl	*h(ə)-*	*h(ə)-/ʕ-*
2Pl	*ŝ(ə)-*	*ŝ(ə)-/ẑ-*
3Pl	*j(ə)- ~ Ø*	*r(ə)-/d(ə)-*

Basics of the Abaza verbal system

- Ergativity in head-marking (textual examples)

(5) a. *d-ĉə́w-əj-d*
3SG.H.ABS-cry-PRS-DCL
'[The child] is crying.'

b. *d-ʕa-r-g-χ-d*
3SG.H.ABS-CSL-3PL.ERG-carry/AOR-RE-DCL
'They brought [the child] back.'

AOR – aorist, CSL – cislocative 'hither', DCL – declarative
H – human, PRS – present, RE – refactive

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Basics of the Abaza verbal system

- Omission of the 3Sg non-human and 3Pl absolutive prefix *j-* if immediately preceded by its conominal (textual examples):

(6) a. *a-saɓáj-kʷa-g'əj* *bzəj* *jə-ʕ-b-áj-ṭ*
DEF-child-PL-ADD good 3PL.ABS-1PL.ERG-see-PRS-DCL
'We love (lit. see well) the children, too.'

b. *piróg-g'əj* [*j-*]*s-č'p-əj-ṭ*
pie-ADD [3SG.N.ABS-]1SG.ERG-do-PRS-DCL
'I also make pies.'

Basics of the Abaza verbal system

- Transitive verbs constitute a distinct formal class in Abaza:
  - only transitive verbs index their agentive argument in the ergative slot –4;
  - only transitive verbs omit the singular ergative prefix in the imperative.

Basics of the Abaza verbal system

- Lexically restricted P-lability (see e.g. Gagiev 179-187) (elicited):

(7) a. *a-sabə́j-kʷa* *a-qə́ŝ* *pə-r-čə́-ṭ*
DEF-child-PL DEF-window LOC-3PL.ERG-break/AOR-DCL
'The children broke the window.'

b. *a-qə́ŝ* *p-čə-ṭ*
DEF-window LOC-break/AOR-DCL
'The window broke.'

LOC – locative preverb (here lexicalised)

Basics of the Abaza verbal system

- Static vs. dynamic verbs:
  - a division attested in all NWC languages;
  - lexical as well as morphological;
  - static: posture, location, possession, modality + nominals when used predicatively;
  - dynamic: all other verbs, notably all transitives;
  - distinct TAM paradigms and morphology;
  - stativising vs. dynamicising derivations.

Basics of the Abaza verbal system

basic			**retrospectivised**		
	finite	non-finite		finite	non-finite
Static verbs					
Present	*-ṗ/b*	*-əw*	Past	*-n*	*-z*

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Dynamic verbs					
Present	*-əj-ṭ/d*	*-wa*	Imperfect	*-wa-n*	*-wa-z*
Aorist	*-ṭ/d*	*Ø*	R-Aorist	*-n*	*-z*
Future I	*-wa-š-ṭ*	*-wa-š*	Subj-ve I	*-wa-šə-n*	*-wa-šə-z*
Future II	*-ṗ/b*	*-ra*	Subj-ve II	*-rə-n*	*-rə-z*

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Basics of the Abaza verbal system

- Present tense of static verbs = Future II of dynamic verbs

(8) a. *d-ҫ̂a-ṗ*
3SG.H.ABS-sit-NPST.DCL
'He is sitting.' (Tabulova 1976: 179)

b. *hə-j-ҫʕá-ṗ*
1PL.ABS-3SG.M.IO-ask-NPST.DCL
'We shall ask him.' (textual example)

IO – indirect object, M – masculine

Basics of the Abaza verbal system

- Dynamic and static verbs have different suffixes for the Permissive mood:

(9)a. *arəj* *ṭaḳʷ* *ŝ-pnə* *d-aʔa-zṭ*
PROX a_little 2PL.IO-at 3SG.H.ABS-be-PRM.ST
'Let her stay at your place for a while.' (Tabulova 1976: 157)

b. *jawašṭ* *d-ʕa-jə-rʕaṭ*
PTCL 3SG.H.ABS-CSL-come-PRM.DYN
'OK, let him come.' (Tabulova 1976: 158)

CSL – cislocative, DYN – dynamic, PRM – permissive, PROX – proximative, PTCL – particle, ST – static

Basics of the Abaza verbal system

- The forms of static verbs that cannot be built directly are formed by means of the dynamicising suffix *-zl(a)*:

(10) *ársa* *h-šʼṭá-zl-əw-š-ma?*
PROX.ADV 1PL.ABS-be_down-DYN-IPF-FUT-Q
'Are we going to lie down in this way?'
(textual example)

ADV – adverbial, DYN – dynamicising suffix, IPF – imperfective,
PROX – proximate demonstrative, Q – interrogative suffix

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Unmarked resultative in Abaza

Nedjalkov & Yaxontov (1988: 20):

- Non-directed opposition between the non-resultative and resultative forms, in which “it is not obvious which member is the base form and which the derived form”.

Unmarked resultative in Abaza

Nedjalkov & Yaxontov (1988: 20):

- Paradigmatic opposition whose members "have differing paradigms, for instance, the number of person markers may change in the alternation of the subject and subject-object agreement".
- "Similar oppositions, but with a different way of marking tense-forms, are attested in Abaza".
- "These types are not treated in the monograph as they do not quite satisfy the definition of resultative used here."

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'The girl opened the door.' (elicited)

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'My doors are open for you.' (textual)

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IO – ind

No special marking

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Intransitivisation through elimination of the ergative prefix

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DEF-girl DEF-door CSL-3SG.F.ERG-open/AOR-DCL
'The girl opened the door.' (elicited)

b. *sə-ŝ-kʷa* *w-zə-ṭ-ṗ*
1SG.PR-door-PL 2SG.M.IO-BEN-open/RES-NPST.DCL
'My doors are open for you.' (textual)

AOR – a eclarative,
IO – ind

Conversion from the "dynamic" to the "static" inflectional class

Unmarked resultative in Abaza

- Evidence for stativisation:
  - interpretation of the *-ṗ/b* form (present, not future) (11b);
  - lack of any dynamic TAM forms;
  - past tense in *-n* (12);
  - static allomorph of the permissive (13);
  - dynamicisation by *-zl(a)* (15), (16).

Unmarked resultative in Abaza

- past tense in *-n* with a durative reading:

(12) *sará* *s-an-ʕá.j* *a-ŝ* *ṭə-n*
1SG 1SG.ABS-REL.TMP-come DEF-door open/RES-PST
'When I came, the door was open.' (elicited)

- with dynamic verbs, the form in *-n* is mainly used as a kind of "medial verb" in narrative chains, and when used independently has a discontinuous past meaning (Klyagina 2024).

REL.TMP – temporal relativisation

Unmarked resultative in Abaza

- static vs. dynamic allomorphs of the permissive:

(13) *a-ŝ* *ṭə-zd*
DEF-door open/RES-PRM.ST
'Let the door be open.' (elicited)

(14) *awə́j* *a-ŝ* *sə-z-ʕə́-l-ṭə-rʕad*
DIST.SG DEF-door 1SG.IO-BEN-CSL-3SG.F.ERG-open-PRM.DYN
'Let her open the door for me.' (elicited)

BEN – benefactive, DIST – distal demonstrative, PRM – permissive

Unmarked resultative in Abaza

- dynamicisation with future and masdar:

(15) *s-an-ʕá.j-ra* *a-ŝ*
1SG.ABS-REL.TMP-come-FUT.NFIN DEF-door
ṭá-zl-əw-š-d
open/RES-DYN-IPF-FUT-DCL
'When I come, the door will be open.' (elicited)

(16) *waqə́n-la* *a-ŝ* *j-a.r.ḳə́-zla-ra*
night-INS DEF-door 3SG.N.ABS-close/RES-DYN-MSD
j-a-taqə́-b
3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-need-NPST.DCL
'At night the door must be closed.' (elicited)

Unmarked resultative in Abaza

- The Abaza construction is an objective resultative in terms of Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988: 9, 15-17):
  - denotes a state brought about by the event encoded by the base verb;
  - its subject corresponds to the patient (direct object) of the base verb;
  - is only attested with transitive change-of-state verbs;
  - only combines with adverbials and operators that modify states.

Unmarked resultative in Abaza

adverbials of temporal localisation	simultaneity	(17)
adverbials of temporal duration	yes	(19a)
adverbials of temporal extent	no	(19b)
continuative suffix	yes	(20)
‘quickly’	no	(22)
purpose clauses	no	(23)
agent expression in the instrumental	marginal	(24)

Unmarked resultative in Abaza

- temporal adverbial clause:

(17) *s-an-ʕá.j* *a-ŝ* *ṭə-n*
1SG.ABS-REL.TMP-come DEF-door open/RES-PST
'When I came, the door was open.' (elicited)

(18) *osmán* *d-an-ps-g'áj*
Osman 3SG.H.ABS-REL.TMP-die-ADD
jará *awáʔa* *dá-ça-r-ça-χ-ṭ*
3SG.M DIST.LOC 3SG.H.ABS-LOC-3PL.ERG-put/AOR-RE-DCL
'When Osman died, they buried him there, too.'
(textual)

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Simultaneous reading with the resultative

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(textual)

Sequential reading with the aorist of a dynamic verb

Unmarked resultative in Abaza

- duration vs. extent adverbials (elicited):

(19) a. *a-qə́ŝ* *sahat–bžə́-ḳ* *j-ṭə-n*
DEF-window hour–half-NUM 3SG.N.ABS-open/RES-PST
'The window was open for half an hour.'

b. **a-qə́ŝ* *sahat–bžə́-ḳ-la* *j-ṭə-n*
DEF-window hour–half-NUM-INS 3SG.N.ABS-open/RES-PST
intended 'The window got open in half an hour.'

INS – instrumental, NUM – numeral marker

Unmarked resultative in Abaza

- continuative suffix *-rḳʷ(a)*:

(20) *a-qə́ŝ* *p-čə-rḳʷə́-ṗ*
DEF-window LOC-break/RES-CNT-NPST.DCL
'The window is still broken.' (elicited)

- with dynamic verbs, only with imperfective forms:

(21) *a-čʼmazaʕʷtara* *də-n.χa-wa-rḳʷ-əw-n*
DEF-hospital 3SG.H.ABS-work-IPF-CNT-IPF-PST
'S/he was still working in a hospital.' (Panova 2021: 49)

Klyagina & Panova (2019, 2021), Panova (2021: 48–52)

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Unmarked resultative in Abaza

- “quickly” (elicited):

(22) a. *saɮʒámŝʔa* *lasə́-ta* *jə-z-ʕʷə́-d*
letter quick-ADV 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-write/AOR-DCL
‘I wrote the letter quickly.’

b. **saɮʒámŝʔa* *lasə́-ta* *j-ʕʷə-b*
letter quick-ADV 3SG.N.ABS-write/RES-NPST.DCL
intended ‘The letter has been written quickly.’

Unmarked resultative in Abaza

- purpose clauses (elicited):

(23) *a-tʒə́* *r-blə-ṭ*
DEF-house 3PL.ERG-burn/AOR-DCL
a-straχófʲka *ʕa-rə́-r-t-ra* *á.qaz.la*
DEF-insurance CSL-3PL.IO-3PL.ERG-give-MSD for
'They burnt the house in order to collect insurance.'

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DEF-house burn/RES-NPST.DCL
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DEF-insurance CSL-3PL.IO-3PL.ERG-give-MSD for
intended: ‘The house is burnt in order (for them) to collect insurance.’

Unmarked resultative in Abaza

- agent phrases in the instrumental (elicited):

(24) *%a-ɕapχa-kʷá* *čʼḳʷə́n-ḳ-la* *j-ʕá-w-ṗ*
DEF-key-PL boy-INDF-INS 3PL.ABS-CSL-find/RES-NPST.DCL
'The keys have been found by some boy.'

- Examples like (24) are accepted by some speakers, but so far have not been attested in texts.

Unmarked resultative in Abaza

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Unmarked resultative in Abaza

- Agentive activity implied (textual examples):

(25) *a-ĉ-kʷa* *a-ça-hʷa-ta* *h-ĉaʁʷa-ṭ*
DEF-ox-PL 3SG.N.IO-LOC-yoke/RES-ADV 1PL.ABS-plough/AOR-DCL
'We ploughed with the oxen yoked in.'

(26) *awəj* *a-garod*
DIST.SG DEF-orchard
g'-ḳʷə-r-ša-mə-z-ṭ
NEG.EMP-LOC-CAUS-surround/RES-NEG-PST.NFIN-DCL
'The orchard was not fenced.'

CAUS – causative, EMP – emphatic, NEG – negation

Unmarked resultative in Abaza

Canonical passives	Abaza resultative construction
agent demotion	yes
patient foregrounding	yes
applies to all transitive verbs	no (lexically restricted)
describes the same situation	no (resultant state)
special morphological marking	no

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- The Abaza resultative construction can be considered a statal passive (Zustandspassiv), cf. Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988: 45).

(27) *a-qə́ŝ* *p-čə-ṗ*
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'Das Fenster ist/*wird zerbrochen.'

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DEF-window LOC-break/RES-NPST.DCL
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See Nedjalkov 1988, Litvinov & Nedjalkov 1988 on the relations between resultative and passive in German.

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- The Abaza resultative construction can be considered an instance of passive lability of the statal subtype, which has been singled out by Letuchiy (2013: 139-141).

Roadmap

- Introducing passive lability
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- Summary and outlook

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Definition and sample

Zúñiga & Kittilä (2019: 83): Characteristics of the prototypical passive voice:

a. Syntactic valency is one less than in the active diathesis.
b. Its subject corresponds to the nonsubject P of the active voice.
c. Its peripheral, and optional, argument (typically marked by a non-core case or adposition) corresponds to the subject A of the active voice.
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Definition and sample

Non-promotional passives: excluded

- I only consider constructions clearly involving syntactic promotion of the P of the active construction to the privileged syntactic position in the intransitive construction, as evidenced by word order, flagging or indexing.
- Reason: in the absence of formal marking it is hardly possible to distinguish putative uncoded non-promotional passives from cases of simple agent omission.

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- “in strong lability, either the only core argument of the intransitive construction is encoded differently form the argument with a similar or identical role in the transitive construction (as the vase in English *The vase broke* / The *child broke the vase*), or the two constructions differ formally in other respects than the mere absence of a nominal term”.

Definition and sample

Creissels (2014: 913) proposes to distinguish between strong and weak types of lability:

- “in weak lability, the only core argument of the intransitive construction is encoded exactly like the argument with a similar or identical role in the transitive construction, and superficially, the two constructions show no other formal distinction than the presence vs. absence of a noun phrase (as in English *John drinks tea* / *John drinks*)”.

Definition and sample

Godoberi (Andic < Nakh-Daghestanian; Kibrik ed. 1996: 112): weak P-lability

(28) a. *il-u-di* *makʼi* *išqa* *w-aʔa*
mother-OBL-ERG child home M-deliver.PST
‘Mother brought the boy home.’

b. *makʼi* *išqa* *w-aʔa*
child home M-come.PST
‘The boy came home.’

Definition and sample

Godoberi (Andic < Nakh-Daghestanian; Kibrik ed. 1996: 110): weak P-lability or agent omission?

(29) a. *im-u-di* *hamaXi* *č'inni*
father-OBL-ERG donkey beat.PST
'Father beat the donkey.'

b. Ø *hamaXi* *č'inni*
donkey beat.PST
'The donkey got beaten, they beat the donkey.'

Definition and sample

Creissels (2014: 916) on languages with “radical P-alignment” like Godoberi:

- “the predicative constructions of so-called ergative languages are frequently organized in such a way that weak lability of the passive type is in those languages trivial, and anticausative readings of transitive verbs used intransitively, if they exist, are always ambiguous with passive readings. The point is that weak lability of the passive type may be the mere consequence of P-alignment (alias ergative alignment) combined with a certain set of other typological features” (highlighting mine, P.A.)

Definition and sample

- I take into consideration only cases of strong P-lability, thus excluding cases like Godoberi, Akhwakh or Andi, discussed by Creissels (2014) and Rochant (2019).
- Likewise, even though the distinction between passive and anticausative lability is often not as clear-cut as has been assumed in the literature (see e.g. Vydrina 2011: 198-202; Creissels 2014; Rochant 2019; Daniel 2022), I am reluctant to treat as passive lability cases of P-lability where spontaneous readings clearly predominate (as e.g. the English *break*-type verbs).

Definition and sample

Agentless passives: included

- Reason: many languages with morphologically coded passives do not allow the agent to be expressed or treat agented passives as marginal or pragmatically “marked” (e.g. Keenan & Dryer 2007, but see Siewierska & Bakker 2013).

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- Reason given by Z&K (2019: 98):

"in the view espoused in the present book, voices are not defined via primary vs. secondary functions, which can be difficult to determine unambiguously, but simply as morphological[ly] expressed diatheses, which can then be parameterized according to lexical restrictions, aspectual values, etc."

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Definition and sample

Abaza vs. German:

(30) *a-qə́ŝ* *p.čə-ṗ*
DEF-window break/RES-NPST.DCL
'Das Fenster ist zerbrochen.'

- If the German translation of (4) is included into the passive domain as an instance of *Zustandspassiv*, the same logic should apply to the Abaza original, too.

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Definition and sample

- A methodological caveat:
  - Periphrastic or inflectional markers of TAM, person or (in)transitivity differentiating between the transitive and the passive members of an uncoded alternation should not be confused with markers of the passive.
  - Cf. the distinction between direct and indirect encoding (Lehmann 2014) and the notion of conversion (Valera 2015).

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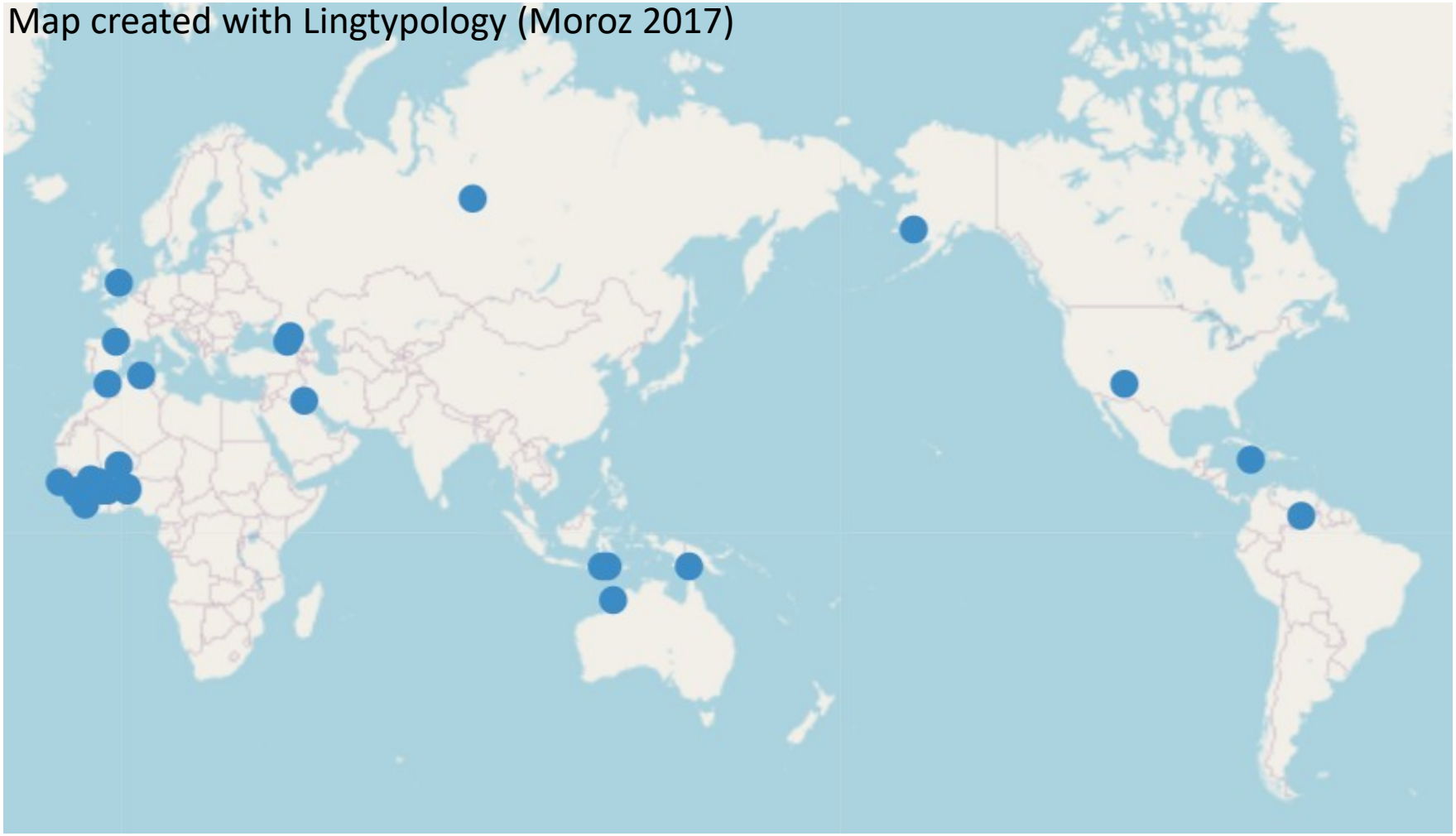
Definition and sample

- Africa:
  - Mande: Bambara, Mandinka, Kakabe, Mano, Jalonke
  - Senufo: Minyanka, Supyire, Syer
  - Gur: Kaansa, Ditammari, Byali
  - Songhay: Koyraboro Senni
  - Berber: Kabyle, Tarifiyt
- Eurasia:
  - Indo-European: English
  - Northwest Caucasian: Abaza, Abkhaz
  - Yeniseian: Ket
  - isolates: Basque, Sumerian
- Oceania:
  - Austronesian: Manggarai, Palu'e
  - Yam: Nama
  - Nyulnyulan: Nyulnyul
- Americas:
  - Yanomamic: Sanumá
  - Eskimo-Aleut: Central Alaskan Yupik
  - Zuni
  - Creoles: Jamaican Creole

Definition and sample



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Parameters of variation

- Basically the same as those of morphologically coded passives:
  - expression of the agent: possible vs. impossible;
  - semantics: dynamic vs. resultative/static vs. modal;
  - lexical restrictions on passive formation;
  - presence and type of extra morphology associated with transitive resp. passive constructions.

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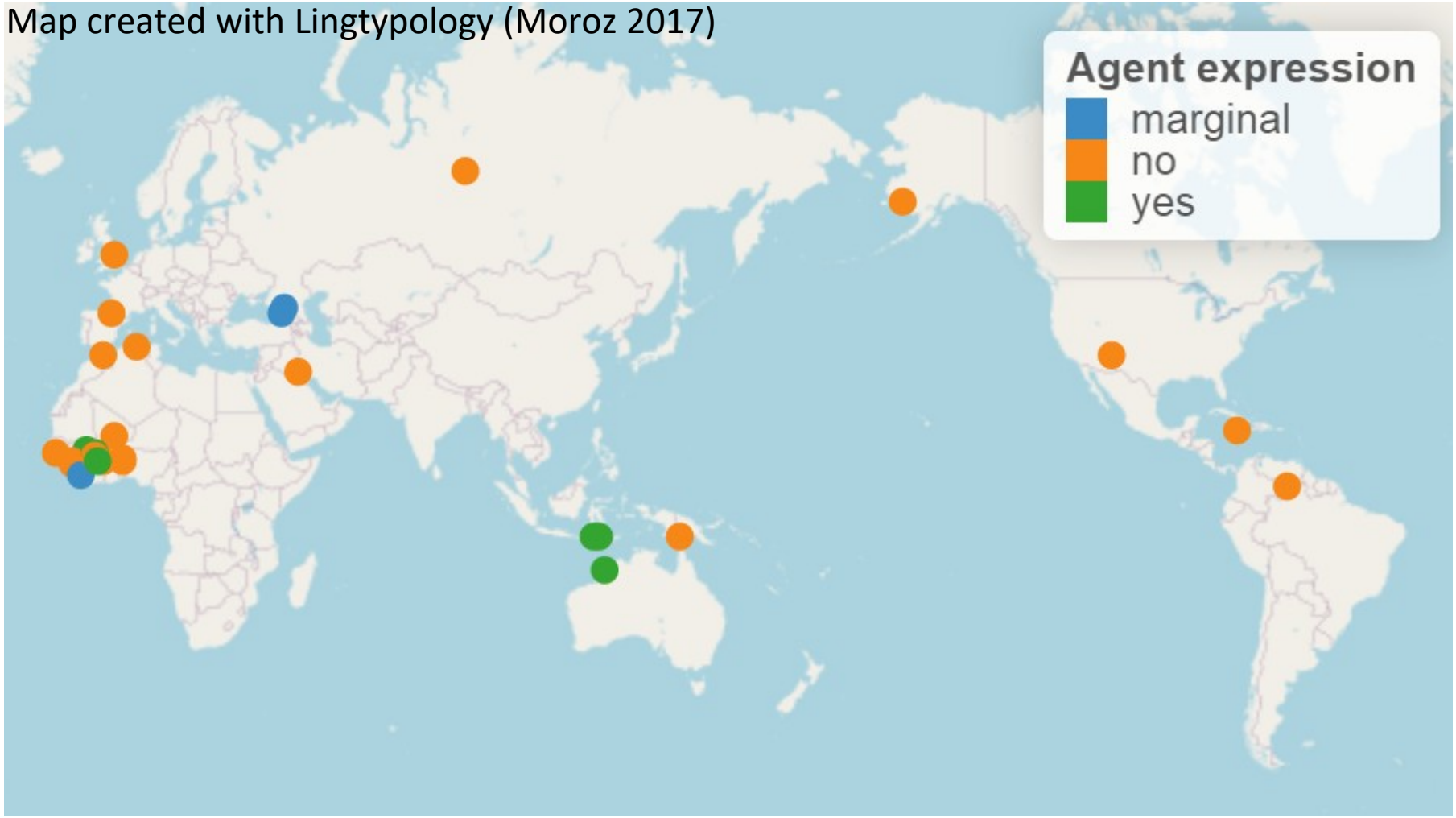
Parameters of variation

- Expression of the agent

possible, even if marginal (9)	impossible (19)
Abaza, Abkhaz, Bambara, Mano, Minyanka, Syer, Palu'e, Manggarai, Nyulnyul	English, Basque, Sumerian, Ket, Mandinka, Kakabe, Jalonke, Supyire, Kaansa, Ditammari, Byali, Zuni, Nama, Koyraboro Senni, Kabyle, Taifiyt, Sanumá, CAY, Jamaican Creole

Parameters of variation

Map created with Lingtypology (Moroz 2017)



Parameters of variation

- Expression of the agent
- Family-internal variation:
  - Mande: Bambara, Mano vs. Mandinka, Kakabe, Jalonke
  - Senufo: Minyanka, Syer vs. Supyire

Parameters of variation

- Expression of the agent
- An exceptional situation in the two Austronesian languages Manggarai and Palu’e (both from the Flores Barat subgroup), where the expression of the agent is claimed to be obligatory (Arka & Kosmas 2005: 100-102; Donohue 2005).

Parameters of variation

- Manggarai (Austronesian, Indonesia; Arka & Kosmas 2005: 95):

(31) a. *aku* *cero* *latung=k*
1SG fry corn=1SG
'I fry / am frying corn.'

b. *latung* *hitu* *cero* *l=aku=i*
corn that fry OBL=1SG=3SG
'The corn is (being) fried by me.'

OBL – oblique case

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The agent phrase can be omitted if the identity of the agent is either inferrable from the context or unimportant

Parameters of variation

- Palu'e (Austronesian, Indonesia; Donohue 2005: 60):

(32) a. *ia* *cube* *vavi* *vaʔa*
3SG shoot pig that
'He shot that pig.'

b. *vavi* *vaʔa* *ia* *cube*
pig that 3SG shoot
'That pig was shot by him.'

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Parameters of variation

- Palu'e (Austronesian, Indonesia; Donohue 2005: 60):

(32) a. *ia* *cube* *vavi* *vaʔa*
3SG shoot pig that
'He shot that pig.'

b. *vavi* *vaʔa* *ia* *cube*
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The passive agent is marked only by word order

No mention of the possibility to omit the agent in the source

Parameters of variation

So-called “medioactive” constructions in Nyulnyulan languages (McGregor 1999; cf. “quasi-passive” in Hosokawa 1995):

- agent retains its ergative marking and is not omissible;
- however, it no longer triggers verbal cross-reference, the verb indexing only the absolutive patient;
- the agent is low in animacy and agency, usually being a natural force or a cause of an (adverse) physical or emotional state;
- for most languages of the family it remains unclear whether it is legitimate to treat the “medioactive” as an instance of passive.

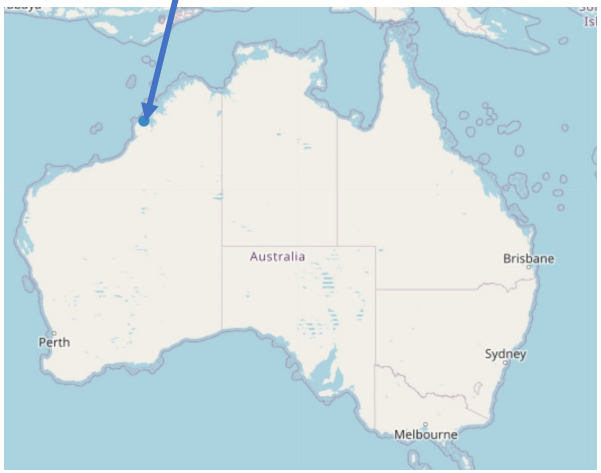
Parameters of variation

- Nyulnyul (Nyulnyulan, McGregor 2011: 580-581)

(33) a. *jungk-in* *i-na-marr-in-ngay*
fire-ERG 3.SBJ-PREF-burn-PRS-1SG.OBJ
'The fire burns me.' (transitive)

b. *nga-la-marr-karr* *jungk-in*
1SG.SBJ-IRR-burn-TEMP fire-ERG
'I might get burnt by the fire.' ("medio-active")

IRR – irrealis, OBJ – object indexing, PREF – prefix, PRS – present tense, SBJ – subject indexing, TEMP – temporal marker



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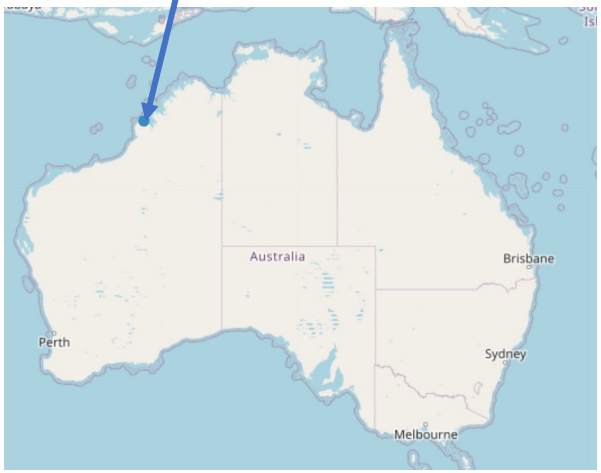

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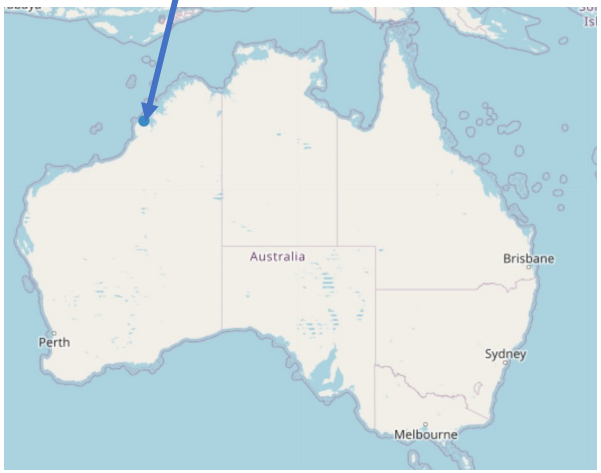
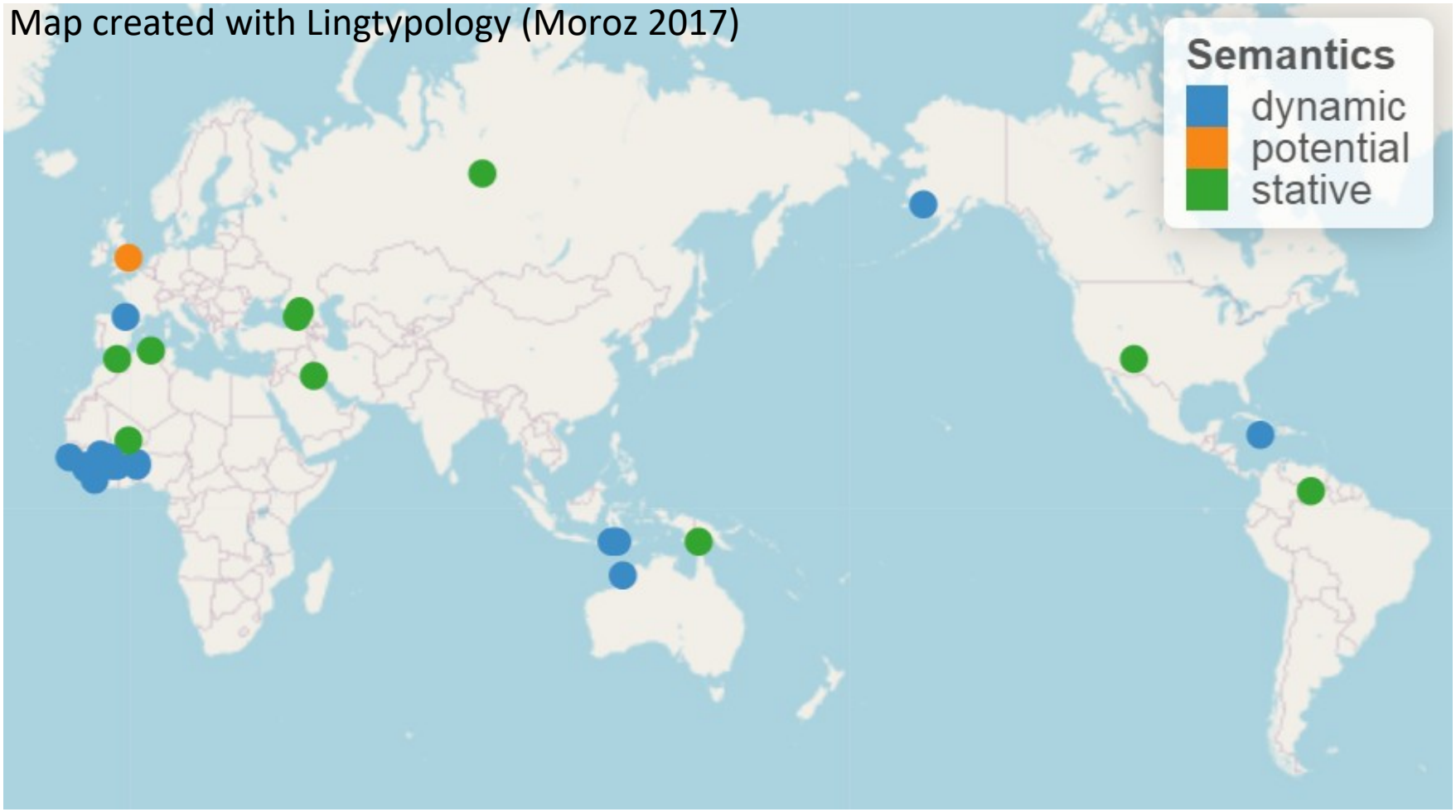


Parameters of variation

- Semantics

Dynamic (16)	**Stative (10)**	**Modal (1)**
Basque, Bambara, Mandinka, Kakabe, Mano, Jalonke, Minyanka, Supyire, Syer, Kaansa, Byali, Ditammari, Palu'e, Manggarai, CAY	Abaza, Abkhaz, Ket, Sumerian, Zuni, Nama, Koyraboro Senni, Kabyle, Tarifiyt, Sanumá	English

Parameters of variation



Parameters of variation

- Kakabe (Mande, Guinea; Vydrina 2011: 190): dynamic

(34) a. *Fánta* *bi* *Sɛ́ɛku* *kéle-la*
Fanta IPFV Seeku call-IPFV
'Fanta is calling Seeku.'

b. *Sɛ́ɛku* *bi* *kéle-la*
Seeku IPFV call-IPFV
'Seeku is being called.'

IPRF – imperfective

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Parameters of variation

- Koyraboro Senni (Songhay, Mali; Heath 1999: 163): stative

(35) a. *ay* *na* *kus-oo* *too* *hari*
1SG.SBJ TR jar-DEF.SG fill water
'I filled the jar with water.'

b. *bidoŋ-oo* *ga* *too* *hari*
jug-DEF.SG IPFV fill water
'The jug is full of water.'

SBJ – subject, TR – transitivity marker

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Parameters of variation

- English (Indo-European > Germanic; Keyser & Roeper 1984: 381): modal

(36) a. *Someone bribed the bureaucrats*.

b. *Bureaucrats bribe ??(easily)*.

Cf. Holvoet & Daugavet 2020, Inglese 2022 on facilitative middles and their relations to passives.

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Parameters of variation

- Modal meanings arise with imperfective/habitual passives

Basque (Fernández & Berro 2022: 1040, 1050):

(37) a. *Liburu-a-k erraz idaz-ten dira.*
book-DET-PL easily write-IPFV 3PL.ABS.be.PRS
'Books are easily written.'

b. *Pakete-a-k bidal-i dira*.
package-DET-PL send-PFV 3PL.ABS.be.PRS
'The packages have been sent.'

Parameters of variation

An interesting situation in Sumerian (isolate, Ancient Mesopotamia; Jagersma 2010: 304-307):

- the reconstructed oldest passive construction was unmarked and had both static and dynamic uses;
- in the extant texts it occurs only in some subordinate and modal contexts

(38) *balaʔ=ane ŋa=ʔi-ku$_5$.ř-Ø*
reign=his MOD-TAM-cut-3N.ABS
'May his reign be cut off!' (Jagersma 2010: 306)

ABS – absolutive, MOD – modal, N – non-human,
TAM – tense-aspect marker

Parameters of variation

- The unmarked passive productive in (Southern) Sumerian texts is only used statively (39a) and is opposed to the dynamic passive formed with the middle prefix (39b), Jagersma (2010: 304)

(39) a. *kišib ur.ba.ú ses=ane=ak ʔi-b-ra-Ø*
seal Ur-Bau brother=his=GEN TAM-3N.OBL-hit-3N.ABS
'The seal of his brother Ur-Bau is rolled over this.'

b. *kišib UŠ.ĝu$_{10}$=ak Ø-ba-b-ra-Ø*
seal Ushgu-GEN TAM-MID-3N.OBL-hit-3N.ABS
'The seal of Ushgu was rolled over it.'

MID – middle voice, OBL – oblique object

Parameters of variation

- Lexical restrictions
  - often hard to assess since few authors discuss them explicitly;
  - still, some works provide lists of verbs admitting passive lability;
  - it is not always possible to determine whether these lists are exhaustive or even representative.

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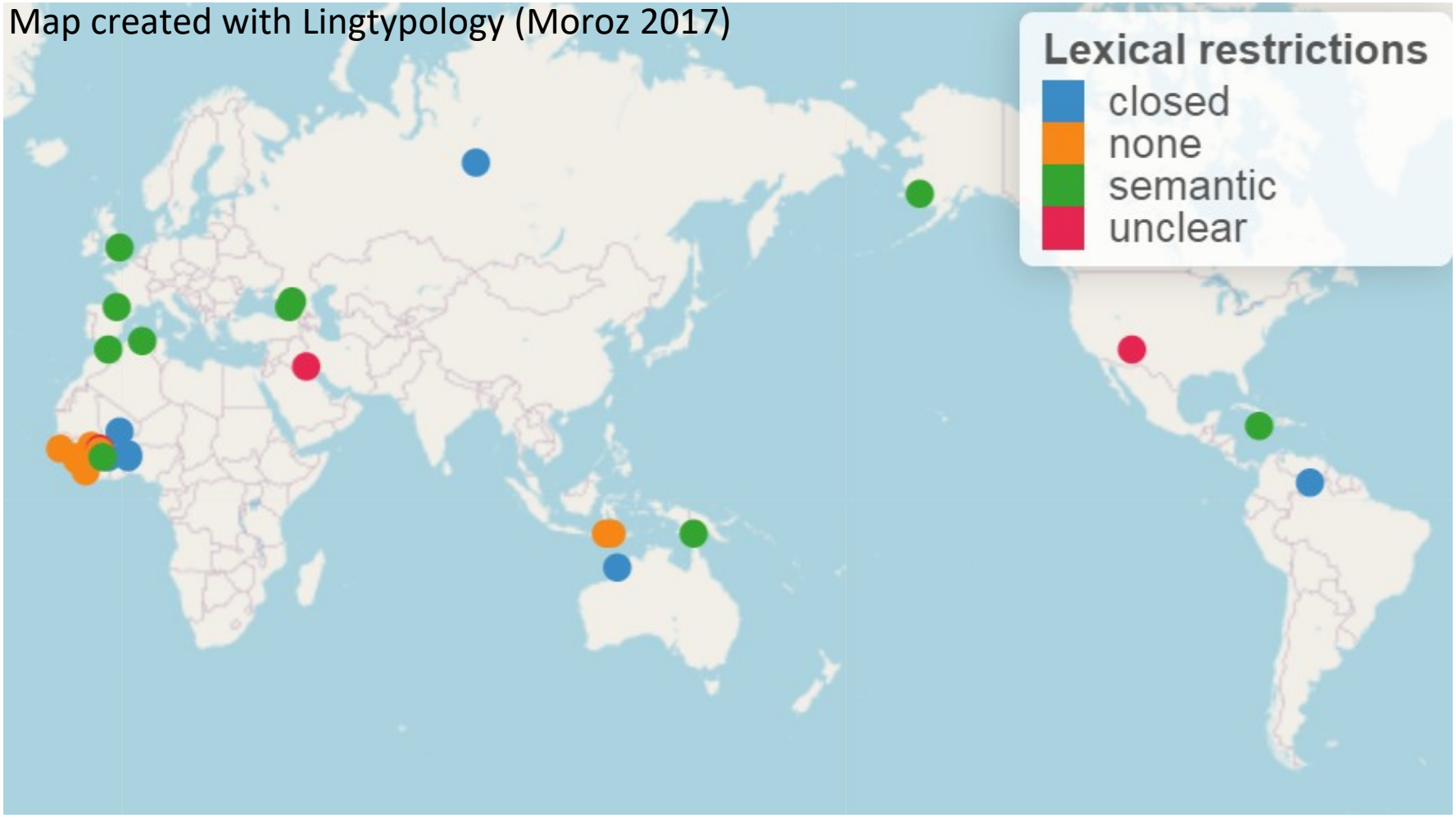
Parameters of variation

- Lexical restrictions

(Almost) no restictions (8)	Bambara, Mandinka, Kakabe, Mano, Jalonke, Supyire, Palu'e, Manggarai
Semantic restrictions (10)	Abaza, Abkhaz, Basque, English, Syer, Nama, Kabyle, Tarifiyt, CAY, Jamaican Creole
Closed class (7)	Ket, Kaansa, Ditammari, Byali, Koyraboro Senni, Nyulnyul, Sanumá
No data or unclear (3)	Minyanka, Zuni, Sumerian

Parameters of variation



Parameters of variation

- Lexical restrictions
  - English: only agentive verbs (Keyser & Roeper 1984);
  - Abaza, Abkhaz, CAY, Berber: most telic transitive verbs denoting a change of state of the patient;
  - Syer (Dombrowsky-Hahn 2015: 545): “speakers avoid using the passive with verbs that denote activities which never occur spontaneously (e.g. *gbu* ‘kill’)”;
  - Ditammari (Reineke & Miehe 2005: 343-4): passivisation possible only with some verbs taking inanimate patients;
  - Sanumá (Borgman 1990: 201-202): only “certain verbs”, e.g. those denoting caused change of position (e.g. ‘lay’);
  - Koyraboro Senni (Heath 1999: 164): a small list of verbs;
  - Ket (Kreynovich 1968: 244-260): uncoded statal passive is attested with particular conjugational types of verbs.

Parameters of variation

- Concomitant morphology

Person (+ TAM/transitivity) (6)	Abaza, Abkhaz, Ket, Sumerian, Nama, CAY, Zuni
TAM (2)	Bambara, Mandinka
Transitivity marking (1)	Koyraboro Senni
None or unclear (16)	English, Kakabe, Mano, Jalonke, Minyanka, Supyire, Syer, Kaansa, Ditammari, Byali, Manggarai, Palu'e, Kabyle, Tarifiyt, Sanumá, Jamaican Creole

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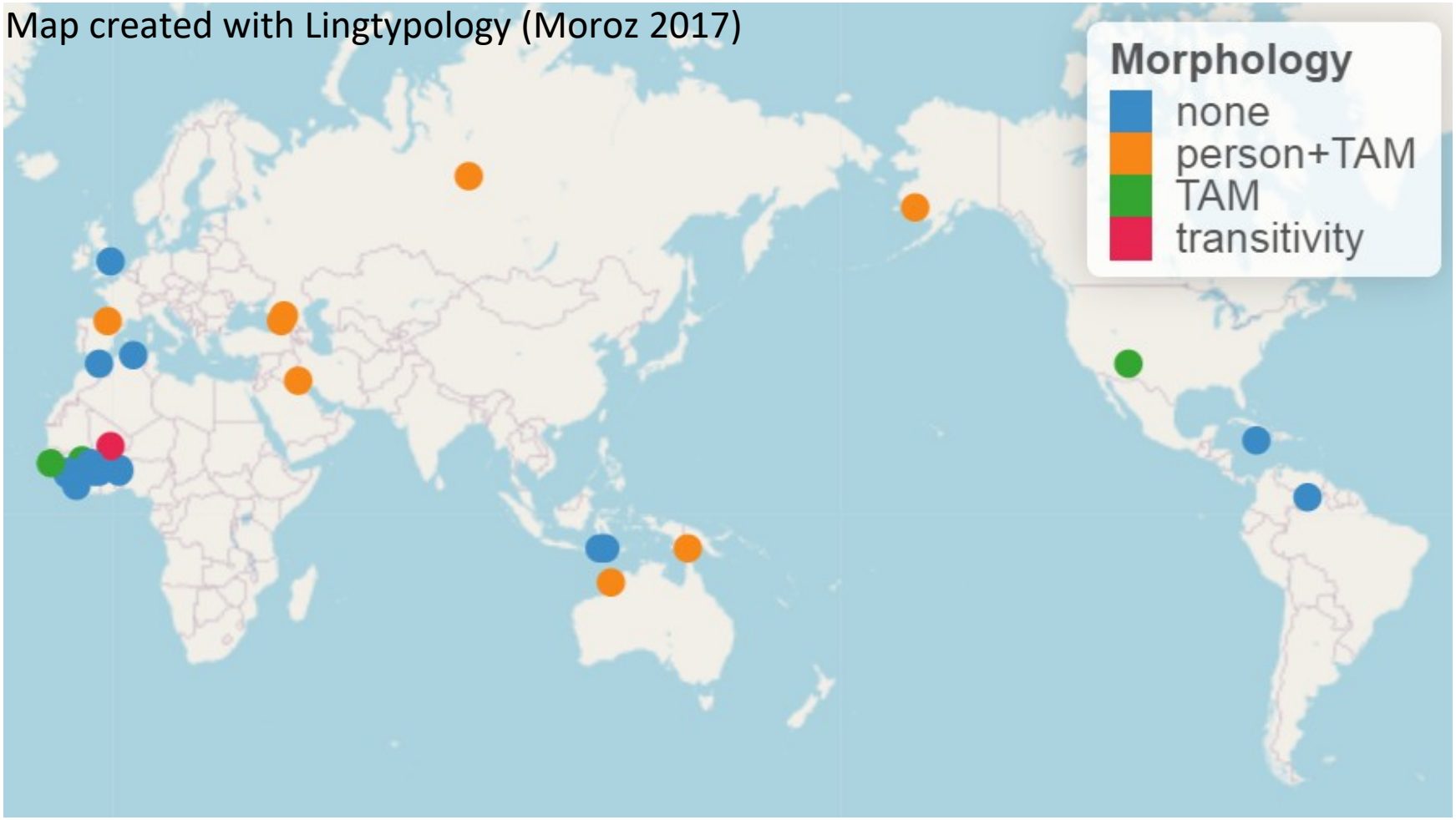

Parameters of variation

- Central Alaskan Yupik (Eskimo-Aleut, USA; Miyaoka 2015: 1177, 1184): transitivity and person marking

(40) a. *angute-m* *neqa* *ner-a-a*
man-ERG.SG fish.ABS.SG eat-TR-IND.3SG>3SG
'The man is eating the fish.'

b. *neqa* *ner'-u-q* *ak'a*
fish.ABS.SG eat-INTR-IND.3SG IAM
'The fish is/has been eaten.'

ABS – absolutive, ERG – ergative, IAM – iamitive 'already', IND – indicative, INTR – intransitive, TR – transitive

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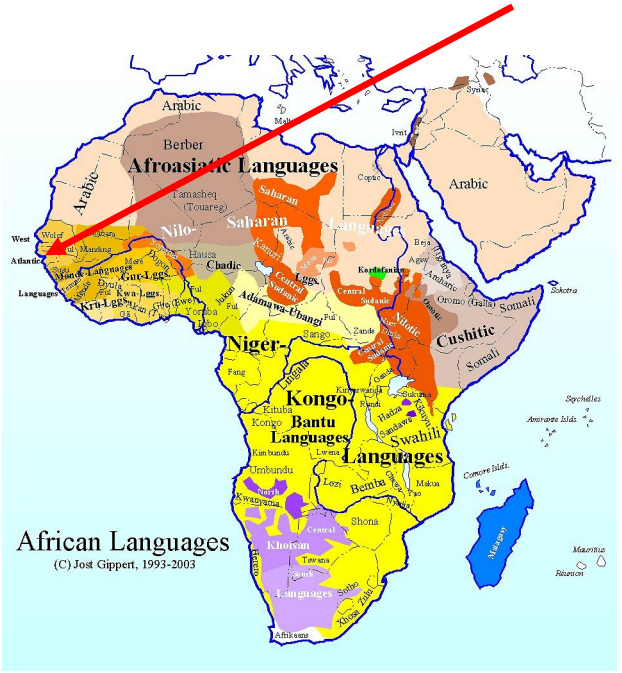
Parameters of variation

- Mandinka (Mande, Senegal; Creissels 2015: 227): TAM

(41) a. *kew-ó* *te* *kúlúŋ-o* *dádáa-la*
man-DEF INCMP.NEG.TR boat-DEF repair-INF
'The man will not repair the boat.'



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b. *kúlúŋ-o* *tê* *dádáa-la*
boat-DEF INCMP.NEG.INTR repair.INF
'The boat will not be repaired.'

INCMP – incompletive, INF – infinitive, INTR – intransitive,
NEG – negation, TR – transitive

Parameters of variation

- Basque (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003: 579-581; Fernández & Berro 2022): person marking and auxiliary selection

Basque (Fernández & Berro 2022: 1050):

(42) a. *Unai-k pakete-a-k bidal-i di-tu*.
Unai-ERG package-DET-PL send-PFV 3PL.ABS-have.PRS[3.ERG]
'Unai has sent the packages.'

b. *Pakete-a-k bidal-i dira*.
package-DET-PL send-PFV 3PL.ABS.be.PRS
'The packages have been sent.'

Parameters of variation

- *Pace* Cobbinah & Lüpke (2012: 154), who link the preference for uncoded passivisation in the languages of West Africa to “their general lack of verbal morphology”, it is clear that uncoded passives also occur in languages with rich and even polysynthetic verbal morphology.

Parameters of variation

- Possible correlations between parameters:
  - as expected, statal uncoded passives (almost) never allow the expression of agent and are always lexically restricted (either in terms of telicity/change of state, or idiosyncratically);
  - still, most dynamic uncoded passives do not allow agent expression, either, and many of them are lexically restricted in various ways.

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- Basics of the Abaza verbal system
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- Morphologically uncoded passives
  - are attested in quite diverse languages, especially in West Africa, but also elsewhere;
  - are sufficiently similar to morphologically coded passives and vary along basically the same dimensions;
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Summary and outlook

- Methodological implications:
  - comparative concepts of typology should be designed in such a way as to neither exclude “deviating” and rare phenomena, nor disguise their specific properties;
  - “prototype-based” or “canonical” approaches, even if apparently “fuzzy”, are perhaps not so bad in the end.

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