The antipassive -šк- in Udmurt
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Aims and claims: The polyfunctional nature of the suffix -šк- in Udmurt is widely known from the literature (e.g. GSUja 1962, Alatyrev 1970, Geniušienė 1987, Kozmács 2008), however the antipassive function of the suffix has received little attention.
In this paper I examine the morphosyntactic properties of the Udmurt antipassive (AP) constructions and also propose a syntactic analysis in which the suffix - šк- is the head of Voice NON-ACTIV-P.

Reflexive-Antipassives: APs are known as a phenomenon in ergative languages; however recent studies (cf. Polinsky 2017) have shown that APs are not restricted to ergatives, they can be found in nom-acc languages, too. Reflexive APs (in which the reflexive marker functions as an AP marker) are best-documented across languages with AP, they can be found e.g. in Slavic (Janic 2013, 2016), in Na-Dene (Thompson 1996) or in Australian languages (Dixon 1977, Terill 1997) and even in French (Postal 1977).

Data: In Udmurt, APs are marked with the suffix -šк- (traditionally considered reflexive). Regarding their argument structure, they follow the cross-linguistically attested patterns: i) Deobjective – the internal argument is omitted or incorporated (1) and ii) Deaccusative – the internal argument is encoded with a case/PP (2).

(1) a. Piosmurt (*pispu)/(*pispu-leš) kora-šк-e
man treeABL cut-AP-PRES.3SG man tree cut.PRES.3SG
‘The man cuts trees.’
(2) a. Dyšetski udmurt kyl-ly dyšet-šк-e urokyn.
student Udmurt language-DAT learn-AP-PRES.3SG classINESS
‘The student learns the Udmurt language in the class.’
b. Soin ik, badžym už bordy kut-šк-ku, kenešyny kule, todosčiosyn.
detINESS PRT big work next_to start-AP-CNV consult.INF have_to researcher.PL.INST
‘For this reason, when a big job begins, one has to consult with the researchers.’

Licensing conditions: APs are widely thought to occur in irrealis, generic, progressive or habitual sentences (e.g Geniušienė 1987, Haspelmath & Müller-Bradly (2004), Kalukov (2010), Polinsky 2017). In Udmurt, habitual (3a) and progressive (3c) readings are available with APs and they also can be used to express ability (3b).

(3) a. Valerijamy mǔlľam Emilliاماš adžem karysa tože tros sureda-šк-e.
Valeria.1PL our Emilia.ABL see.PRTC do.CVN also lot draw-AP-PRES.3SG
‘Our Valeria imitating our Emilia also draws a lot.’
b. Valeriija sureda-šк-e.
Valeria draw-AP-PRES.3SG
‘Valeria can draw.’
c. Tunne mon pyži-šк-i. Siľyn kubistaen perepeč pöraj -
today 1SG cook-AP-PAST.1SG meat.INTR cabbage.INST perepech bake.PAST.1SG
‘Today I was cooking. With meat and cabbage, I baked perepeč.’

APs and DOM: It is attested in ergative languages that APs are frequently used when the event is unbounded and the internal argument is non-specific or generic (Spreng 2010), and the licensing conditions of APs in accusative languages suggest that APs are used when the event is atelic or imperfective (Polinsky 2017). I will argue that in Udmurt (which is a Differential Object Marking language) DOM and AP are morphological markers of different degrees of boundedness/perfectivity in the event structure.
Analysis: In my analysis I follow the recent theoretical literature that different verb-formations belonging to different voices syntactically correspond to different Voice projections (Voice in the sense of Kratzer (2003)), and adopt the theory of Alexiadou & Doron (2012) that there are two separate non-active Voice heads: a middle Voice head and a passive Voice head. I will propose that in Udmurt the suffix -śk- is the phonological realization of the Middle-Voice NON-ACTIVE head (since it also marks reflexives, ŠK-passives, anticausatives, middles and impersonals) and the different interpretations of the śk-verbs are based on the semantic properties of the roots.

(4) \[
[\text{Voice NON-ACTIVE P} [\text{Voice} -śk- [\text{vP} [\text{NP}]]]]
\]

In this model the Voice head introduces the external argument (following Kratzer 1996) if the root semantically requires this. The projection directly merged to the root is the vP, which can be of different types (e.g VACT, VCAUS). Since APs are built on the transitive variant of the verb, I suggest that the root is first merged with a vTRANS P, which turns the root into a verbal category and classifies it as a transitive verb. The Voice NON-ACTIVE P layer, whose head is spelled out by the -śk- suffix, is then merged with vTRANS P. I assume that in the case of APs the suffix -śk- existentially binds the theme argument, which is a free variable and is phonologically not realized.

(5) \[
\text{Voice}_{\text{NON-ACT}} \text{P} \\
\text{Voice'} \\
\text{vTRANS} \text{P} \quad \text{Voice}_{\text{NON-ACT}} \\
\text{-śk-} \\
\text{v'} \\
*\text{NP/∃x/pro} \quad \text{vTRANS}
\]

Diachronic outlook: When the morphological marking of APs is affixation, on the verb two patterns of syncretism are attested cross-linguistically (see Polinsky 2005):

(6) a. the same affix is used to mark anticausatives, reflexives/reciprocals, middles, passives
    b. the same affix functions as an aspectual marker (inchoative, inceptive or iterative)

Recent studies working on the APs from a diachronic point of view suggest that the AP function appears in languages due to reciprocals marked with the same suffix (e.g. Terill 1997, Janic 2013, Sansó 2017). Since the original function of the suffix -śk- in Udmurt was to mark frequentative-iterative aspect I suggest that there is a possible connection between (6a) and (6b). Therefore the Udmurt scenario can help us to take a step further to understand the interaction between aspect (AspP) and voice (VoiceP).