

## CHAPTER 6: VALENCE CHANGES

In the clause realm, an A-predicate (chapter 4: BASIC CLAUSES 1) has the capacity to respond to specific semantic and / or pragmatic motivations by adjusting the number of arguments inherited from its F-predicate counterpart. Whereby it notably refashions its argument-related morphology and, concomitantly, the structure of the clause. We will inspect increasing then decreasing such changes, *i.e.* causatives and applicatives on the one hand, reflexive, reciprocal, deponent, antidative and noun incorporation on the other hand. Once that done, I will probe the notion of voice — more than a mere subtype of valence decreasing — and its materialisation in the language.

### 1 INCREASING

Causative and applicative are alike in that a new participant enrolls in the semantic core of the manner-of-existing. And symmetrical in that the new participant emerges as a nominative in the causative and an accusative in the applicative.

#### 1.1 CAUSATIVE

Causatives are of the morphological kind: the verb **exana**, 'make, create, give birth, manufacture, transform', auxiliarizes the lexical monovalent or *divalent* verb (chapter 2: THE VERB 2.1.9; according to Baker 2016, morphological causation of <sup>II</sup>verbs would be something counter-expected in an agglutinative language). The auxiliary retains its own nominative argument, now that of the whole causative complex, (1b). It is in principle sentient, but some entities involved in shamanistic practices can be treated as causers, (2c). Regarding the causee, no restriction related to animacy hierarchies obtains. The redistribution of arguments abides by what I call a *push-chain* strategy: the participant ousted off the lexical-verb nominative position mandatorily re-surfaces as the accusative of the causative complex. Thus: 1. a <sup>I</sup>verb opens a new accusative position for it, **ne-** in (1b); but 2. it preempts the already existing accusative position of the <sup>II</sup>verb, **ka-**, 'you', in (3b); the <sup>II</sup>verb then opens a new patientive-argument position where the participant ousted off the lexical-verb accusative position lands, **awiri**, 'dog', (b). (Mood segmentation obviated when not locally relevant.) As

a result, the two most animacy-prominent participants in a causative clause, the causer as increment and the causee as demoted, keep / get access to argument-indexation.

The push-chain technique merely consists in having a demoted participant fill the next argument position after the nominative down some "case hierarchy" — here [nominative > accusative > third-argument] —, no matter whether this position is already filled or not. Other languages use an also common alternative technique, dubbed *leapfrog* in Queixalós (2002b), whereby the demoted participant hops to the first *free* position down the scale (see Comrie 1976 for cross-linguistic instances of such strategy).

- (1) (a) **kuhinaehina-hü<sub>1</sub>**  
HurryUp-1NOMINATIVE  
'I<sub>1</sub> hurried up.'
- (b) **ne<sub>1</sub>-kuhinaehina-exana-me<sub>2</sub>**  
1ACCUSATIVE-HurryUp-MAKE-2NOMINATIVE  
'You<sub>2</sub> made me<sub>1</sub> hurry up.'
- (2) (a) **\*iboto<sub>1</sub> ka<sub>2</sub>-phirapa-exana-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
stone 2ACCUSATIVE-TripAndFall-MAKE-3NOMINATIVE  
'Intended: The stone<sub>1</sub> made you<sub>2</sub> trip and fall down.'
- ↓
- (b) **iboto<sub>1</sub>-tha phirapa-me<sub>2</sub>**  
stone-SOCIATIVE TripAndFall -2NOMINATIVE  
'You<sub>2</sub> tripped over the stone<sub>1</sub> and fell down.'
- (c) **xuipa<sub>1</sub> ne<sub>2</sub>-asaü-exana-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
*BanisteriopsisCaapi* 1ACCUSATIVE-BeStrong-MAKE-3NOMINATIVE  
'Capi<sub>1</sub> makes me<sub>2</sub> strong.'
- (3) (a) **awiri<sub>1</sub> Ø<sub>1</sub>-konita-me<sub>2</sub>**  
dog 3ACCUSATIVE-whip-2NOMINATIVE  
'You<sub>2</sub> whipped the dog<sub>1</sub>.'
- (b) **taena<sub>3</sub> ka<sub>2</sub>-konitsia-exana-Ø<sub>3</sub> awiri<sub>1</sub>**  
MyMother 2ACCUSATIVE-whip-3NOMINATIVE  
'My mother<sub>3</sub> made you<sub>2</sub> whip the dog<sub>1</sub>.'

In causativised <sup>II</sup>verbs, the mapping of semantic roles onto arguments strictly parallels that of primary <sup>III</sup>verbs: the agent, now the causer increment, **taena**, 'my mother' in (3b), stands as nominative; the recipient of the agent's action — now the causee, **ka-**, 'you' — stands as accusative, both of them indexed on the verb; and the patient of the whole — here **awiri**, 'dog' — stands as third argument, nonindexed on the verb.

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In a causativised <sup>I</sup>verb the syntagmatic order of noun phrases remains the same as in basic <sup>II</sup>clauses [NOMINATIVE + ACCUSATIVE + VERB], (4b). With a causativised <sup>II</sup>verb the order

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varies somewhat. While the most frequent word order in basic <sup>III</sup> clauses has the accusative noun phrase post-verbally, [NOMINATIVE + THIRDA argument<sub>TRANSFERRED</sub> + VERB + ACCUSATIVE<sub>RECIPIENT</sub>], in causatives the accusative seems to favor the preverbal-position proper of <sup>II</sup> clauses, [NOMINATIVE + ACCUSATIVE<sub>CAUSEE</sub> + VERB + THIRDA argument], (5b).

- (4) (a) **penakueto<sub>1</sub> kuhinaehina-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 child HurryUp-3NOMINATIVE  
 'The child hurried up.'
- (b) **pena<sub>1</sub> penakueto<sub>2</sub> Ø<sub>2</sub>-kuhinaehina-exana-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 HisMother child 3ACCUSATIVE-HurryUp-MAKE-3NOMINATIVE  
 'The mother<sub>1</sub> made the child<sub>2</sub> hurry up.'
- (5) (a) **penakueto<sub>1</sub> awiri<sub>2</sub> Ø<sub>2</sub>-konita-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 child dog 3ACCUSATIVE-whip-3NOMINATIVE  
 'The child<sub>1</sub> whipped the dog<sub>2</sub>.'
- (b) **pena<sub>1</sub> penakueto<sub>2</sub> Ø<sub>2</sub>-konitsia-exana-Ø<sub>1</sub> awiri<sub>3</sub>**  
 HisMother child 3ACCUSATIVE-whip-MAKE -3NOM dog  
 'The mother<sub>1</sub> made the child<sub>2</sub> whip the dog<sub>3</sub>.'

The middle prefix **na-** on the causative complex, literally the semantically dubious 'make oneself do something', allows for idiosyncratic meanings. For instance

- (6) **na<sub>1</sub>-tüpae-exana-Ø<sub>1</sub> oro<sub>2</sub> na<sub>1</sub>-wünükae-exana-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 MIDDLE-die-MAKE-3NOMINATIVE worm MIDDLE-FillWith-MAKE-3NOMINATIVE  
 'He played dead [lit. he made himself die], he feigned to be covered with worms.'

(Demiurge's magic tricks to catch his ennemy.)

Spontaneous productions of causativised <sup>III</sup> verbs are utterly scanty and only attested with the verb 'give'. The push-chain effect has the expression of the <sup>III</sup> verb patient-participant — with the lowest exponence in the argument hierarchy above — leave the argument sphere and get incorporated.

- (7) **tsikirinewüthüyo<sub>1</sub> Ø<sub>2</sub>-mi<sub>3</sub>-rahuta-exana-biaba-Ø<sub>4</sub>**  
 SmallJaguar 3ACCUSATIVE-breast-give-MAKE-ITERATIVE-3NOMINATIVE  
 'He<sub>4</sub> (Trickster-Rabbit) made her<sub>2</sub> (Mother-Jaguar) lactate [lit. breast<sub>3</sub>-give]  
 the baby-jaguar<sub>1</sub> repeatedly.'

The speaker can occasionally use a leapfrog-like strategy, with no detectable functional correlate. The availability of both techniques in a single language is something relatively unexpected. In the following example the causativised <sup>II</sup> verb keeps its accusative argument semantically unaltered while the causee is expelled to an adjunct position.

- (8) **baharaponü<sub>1</sub> pihawa<sub>2</sub>-tha<sub>3</sub> Ø<sub>3</sub>-setsia-exana-Ø<sub>1</sub> katsanihira<sub>3</sub>**  
 ThatOne HisWife-SOC 3ACC-cook-MAKE-3NOM PoisonJuiceOfManioc  
 'That one<sub>1</sub> had the poison-juice of manioc<sub>3</sub> cooked by his wife<sub>2</sub>.'

Given the F-predicate nature of nouns, causativising a noun is tantamount to have a causer participant allot a set-of-properties to a causee participant or, more causative-wise, 'make a participant be a set-of-properties' (in the following, subscript indexes on the set-of-properties constituent are provided for ease in parsing the examples, not for identifying a referent):

- (9) (a) **pebi<sub>1</sub>      pewonotoxi<sub>2</sub>      tulukisi<sub>3</sub>      Ø<sub>2</sub>-exana-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
           man      LittleTeeth      collar      3ACCUSATIVE-MAKE-3NOMINATIVE  
           'The man<sub>1</sub> made a collar<sub>3</sub> out of the little teeth<sub>2</sub> [lit. ...made the teeth<sub>2</sub> be a collar<sub>3</sub>].'

(Cannibalistic practices.)

- (b) [**tamatapihinüyo-mü**]      **ka<sub>1</sub>-exana-tsi<sub>2</sub>**  
           MyOlderBrother-2NOMINATIVE      2ACCUSATIVE-MAKE-4NOMINATIVE  
           'I<sub>2</sub> consider you<sub>1</sub> as my older brother [lit. I make you be my older brother].'

Something which turns **exana**, when causative "auxiliary" on nouns, into a <sup>III</sup>verb whose semantic structure is

- (10) [an agent<sub>CAUSER/NOMINATIVE</sub>]  
       bestows  
       [a recipient<sub>CAUSEE/ACCUSATIVE</sub>]  
       with  
       [a set-of-properties<sub>THIRDARGUMENT</sub>]

The parallelism between a causativised noun and a causativised verb thus relies in the equivalence, in terms of F-predicates, between *be-a-set-of-properties* on the noun side, and *partake-in-a-manner-of-existing* on the verb side. In (9b) above we have an overt nominative suffix on the set-of-properties (*i.e.* entity-type) noun phrase, 'my older brother', a telltale sign that the output of the recasting is a predicate. Now, this causative use of **exana** as 'transform a causee into a set-of-properties' would stand in stark contrast to its lexical uses as 'make / give birth to / create / manufacture', (11a), unless one assumes that in the latter use of **exana** the bestowed set-of-properties — third argument — is the phonologically-silent existence itself. Example (b), in which the middle prefix saturates the accusative position, provides indirect supportive evidence to the trivalent nature of causative **exana** on nouns.

- (11) (a) **ponüyo<sub>1</sub>      pa-tomara<sub>2</sub>      Ø<sub>2</sub>-exana-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
           ThatLittleOne      DEMONSTRATIVE-village      3ACCUSATIVE-make-3NOMINATIVE  
           'That little one<sub>1</sub> created that village<sub>2</sub> [lit. ...conferred existence to that village].'
- (b) **pakuenetha      Sikuan<sub>1</sub>      Wowai<sub>2</sub>      na<sub>1</sub>-exana-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
           thus      S.      W.      MIDDLE-make-3NOMINATIVE  
           'This is how (a parcel of) the Sikuan<sub>1</sub> turned into Whites<sub>2</sub> [lit. ...made<sub>1</sub> themselves<sub>1</sub> be Whites<sub>2</sub>].'

(Lake full of venomous biting / stinging creatures where humans are invited to bathe so as to have their skin turn white. Some decline, others dare.)

We are now in a position to get back to example (98b) in chapter 2: THE VERB 2.1.9, renumbered here as (12b). An idiosyncrasy of **exana** as auxiliary is to lack the **tsa-** converb form required when the auxiliarised verb is a defective. It then seems to oscillate between

occurring as a bound finite auxiliary, as in (2c) above renumbered here as (12a), or as a free-standing verbal word, (b). It was there assumed that such pattern is a consequence of the hybrid nature — verb / noun — of defectives. We can complement here by saying that first, **exana** is an argument-restructuring tool — a causative; second, it has the capacity to causativise verbs as well as nouns — compare two perfectly parallel (elicited) examples (c) and (d); and third, it can naturally occur in either one pattern with defective verbs, compare (c) and (d).

- (12) (a) **xuipa<sub>1</sub>**                      **ne<sub>2</sub>-asaü-exana-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
*BanisteriopsisCaapi*    1ACCUSATIVE-BeStrong-MAKE-3NOMINATIVE  
 'Capi<sub>1</sub> makes me<sub>2</sub> strong.'
- (b) **behiobi**                      **ne<sub>1</sub>-exana-me<sub>2</sub>**  
 BeMiserable    1ACCUSATIVE-MAKE-2NOMINATIVE  
 'You<sub>2</sub> made me<sub>1</sub> miserable.'
- (c) **Namo<sub>1</sub>**    **powayo<sub>2</sub>**    **behiobi**                      **Ø<sub>2</sub>-exana-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 fox              girl              BeMiserable    3ACCUSATIVE-MAKE-3NOMINATIVE  
 'Fox<sub>1</sub> made this girl<sub>2</sub> miserable.'
- (d) **Namo<sub>1</sub>**    **powayo<sub>2</sub>**    **pihawa<sub>3</sub>**                      **Ø<sub>2</sub>-exana-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 fox              girl              HisWife    3ACCUSATIVE-MAKE-3NOMINATIVE  
 'Fox<sub>1</sub> made this girl<sub>2</sub> his wife<sub>3</sub>.'

## 1.2 APPLICATIVE

The applied verb allows for a peripheral participant enter the argument sphere at the accusative position. Something which increases the valence in one unit. Semantically the increment is directly affected by, or indirectly involved in, the manner-of-existing. It is frequently high-ranked in some animacy / salience scale. In the basic type of clause, this participant would be expressed by an adjunct, compare (13a)-(b). It can, however, originate from somewhere syntactically even more peripheral, (c) and (d), or directly from the situation, (e)-(f). Compared to (f), (g) sounds most unnatural.

- (13) (a) **warapa-Ø<sub>1</sub>**                      **pexi<sub>2</sub>**                      **pina**                      **yahawa**  
 SetOff-3NOMINATIVE    HerChildren    REPORTATIVE    COMITATIVE  
 'She<sub>1</sub> set off with her children<sub>2</sub>, they<sub>0</sub> say.'
- (b) **pehanawa<sub>1</sub>**    **apo-Ø<sub>1</sub>-yahawa-rukae-mü<sub>2</sub>?**  
 NubileGirl    NEGATION-3ACCUSATIVE-COMITATIVE-<sup>I</sup>hang-2NOMINATIVE  
 'Weren't you lying in the hammock with the nubile girl?'
- (c) **duhai<sub>1</sub>**    **Ø<sub>1</sub>-seta-Ø<sub>2</sub>**                      **ta<sub>3</sub>-nabani-nexa**  
 fish              3ACCUSATIVE-cook-3NOM    1INTRINSICLINKEE-feed-FINALITY  
 'She<sub>2</sub> cooked fish<sub>1</sub> to feed me<sub>3</sub> [lit. for my feeding].'
- (d) **duhai<sub>1</sub>**    **ne<sub>3</sub>-mitsa-seta-Ø<sub>2</sub>**  
 fish              1ACCUSATIVE-INORDERTOFEED-cook-3NOMINATIVE  
 'She<sub>2</sub> cooked fish<sub>1</sub> to feed me<sub>3</sub>.'

- (e) **awiri<sub>1</sub>    Ø<sub>1</sub>-beyaxuaba-me<sub>2</sub>**  
 dog        3ACCUSATIVE-kill-2NOMINATIVE  
 'You<sub>2</sub> killed the dog<sub>1</sub>.'
- (f) **awiri<sub>1</sub>    ne<sub>2</sub>-to-beyaxuaba-me<sub>3</sub>**  
 dog        3ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-kill-2NOMINATIVE  
 'You<sub>3</sub> killed my<sub>2</sub> dog<sub>1</sub> [lit. you<sub>3</sub> killed me<sub>2</sub> the dog<sub>1</sub>].'
- (g) **?[taha<sub>1</sub>-awiri]<sub>2</sub>    Ø<sub>2</sub>-beyaxuaba-me<sub>3</sub>**  
 1POSSESSOR-dog    3ACCUSATIVE-kill-2NOMINATIVE  
 'You<sub>3</sub> killed my<sub>1</sub> dog<sub>2</sub>.'

Applicative morphology makes use of the more than two dozen relational preverbs recorded in chapter 2: THE VERB 2.1.4, such as **yahawa-** in (b) above, **mitsa-** in (d), and **to-** in (f). As we know, several preverbs appear to be mere incorporated postpositions, for instance that of (b).

In terms of valence change, the applicative construction turns a <sup>I</sup>verb into a <sup>II</sup>verb, as in (a)-(b). And, expectedly, it yields a <sup>III</sup>verb when operating on a <sup>II</sup>verb, as in (c)-(d) and (e)-(f). A push-chain strategy is also at work here, now starting at the accusative position. The increment lands in that position and expels the former participant to a syntactically lower-ranked position, (14) partially resuming (c)-(d). The similarity of (14b) with primary <sup>III</sup>verbs consists in having the pragmatically- / semantically-prominent participant — recipient in <sup>III</sup>verbs and increment in applicatives — allocated to the accusative position, and concomitantly having the nonprominent participant, **duhai**, in the third argument position: formally absent from verb morphology but lacking overt oblique-marking on its noun phrase. (I will henceforth use *prominent* for "pragmatically- / semantically-prominent" or "high-ranked in animacy / salience hierarchies".)

- (14) (a) **duhai<sub>1</sub>    Ø<sub>1</sub>-seta-Ø<sub>2</sub>**  
 fish        3ACCUSATIVE-cook-3NOMINATIVE  
 'She<sub>2</sub> cooked fish<sub>1</sub>.'
- (b) **duhai<sub>1</sub>    ne<sub>3</sub>-mitsa-seta-Ø<sub>2</sub>**  
 fish        1ACCUSATIVE-INORDERTOFEED-cook-3NOMINATIVE  
 'She<sub>2</sub> cooked fish<sub>1</sub> to feed me<sub>3</sub>.'

In clauses with all-third persons — lack of *overt* indexing on the verb — the only material evidence to a participant's promotion is the loss of oblique marking on its noun phrase, **axuanü** in (15a), **pihawa** in (b) renumbered from chapter 2: THE VERB 2.1.4. Evidence for a third-person increment accessing accusative position under prominence conditions is found in the following two circumstances: 1. a speech act participant occurring as increment mandatorily surfaces as accusative in the applied verb, (14b); extrapolating this constraint to the third-person accusative leads to the **Ø-** in (13b) above as being coindexed with 'nubile girl'; 2. if, anticipating the section 2.4, we take into account that the kind of passive generated by the nonreferential nominative **-tsi<sub>0</sub>** selects a human or human-like participant for the accusative position, then **kulupabo**, 'hook', in (15c) (renumbered from example (37) chapter 2: THE VERB 2.1.4) is not in the accusative position; instead, the human participant 'him<sub>2</sub>' is.

What such inferences have to say on examples like (15d)-(f) — two nonanimate participants surfacing as noun phrases unmarked as obliques, plus zero accusative index on

the verb for only one of them — remains to be seen. One could argue that an instrument, (f), supersedes a nonanimate patient in terms of cognitive prominence — *cf.* its cross-linguistic affinities with the marking of agents (Palancar 2002) —, or, as tentatively suggested in (f) free translation, that some discourse-driven salience factor — perhaps definiteness —, is at stake. (c) displays an exception to the collocation constraint between an accusative-generating preverb and its argument (chapter 2: THE VERB 2.1.4.2).

- (15) (a) **ena<sub>1</sub>**      **taxuanü<sub>2</sub>**    **ø<sub>2</sub>-ka-tüpa-ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 MyMother   MyUncle   3ACCUSATIVE-HOLDING-die-3NOMINATIVE  
 'My mother<sub>1</sub> died while holding my uncle<sub>2</sub>.'
- (b) **baharapakuenia**    **Kuwainü<sub>1</sub>**    **ø<sub>2</sub>-ka-nawiata-ø<sub>1</sub>**      **pihawa<sub>2</sub>**  
 ThatWay                      K.                      3ACC-TRANS-return-3NOM    HisWife  
 'That is how Kuwainü<sub>1</sub> took his wife<sub>2</sub> back home.'
- (c) **kulupabo<sub>1</sub>**    **ø<sub>2</sub>-tsixu-tsi-ruta-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 hook                      3ACCUSATIVE-WITHFOOD-AIMINGAT-<sup>II</sup>hang-4NOMINATIVE  
 'A hook<sub>1</sub> with a bait was set for him<sub>2</sub> [more lit. he<sub>2</sub> was aimed at with a  
 "baited" hook<sub>1</sub>].'
- (d) **naehawa<sub>1</sub>**    **ø<sub>1</sub>-nikata-hü<sub>2</sub>**                      **sipali<sub>3</sub>-tha**  
 tree                      3ACCUSATIVE-cut-1NOMINATIVE    ax-SOCIATIVE  
 'I<sub>2</sub> cut the tree<sub>1</sub> with an ax<sub>3</sub>.'
- (f) **naehawa<sub>1</sub>**    **ø<sub>3</sub>-ka-nikata-hü<sub>2</sub>**                      **sipali<sub>3</sub>**  
 tree                      3ACCUSATIVE-HOLDING-cut-1NOMINATIVE    ax  
 'I<sub>2</sub> cut the tree<sub>1</sub> with the ax<sub>3</sub>.'

Incidentally, let me supply here an example in which **ka-** — a relational preverb *par excellence* — acts as a mere modifier, clearly leaving out the valence-increasing capacity since the would-be increment is maintained as adjunct.

- (16) **petüpaewi<sub>1</sub>**      **ne<sub>2</sub>-koto-ka-toroba-kuata-ø<sub>1</sub>**      **naehawa<sub>3</sub>-tha**  
 TheDeadOnes    1ACCUSATIVE-belly-HOLDING-push-strike-3NOM    stick-SOCIATIVE  
 'The dead ones<sub>1</sub> pushed me<sub>2</sub> and stroke me<sub>2</sub> in the belly with a stick<sub>3</sub>.'

Notwithstanding Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey (1991), valence-increasing can take the arity of the resulting verb beyond that allowed in the lexicon of verbs. In (17a) we see the <sup>III</sup>verb 'give' allow for a fourth participant as increment. The push-chain has the first person 'me (the grand-son)' preempt the accusative position while evicting from it the recipient 'grand-mother'. The latter joins 'fish' as another argument neither indexed on the verb nor obliquely-marked as a noun phrase, in sum an extra third-argument. A potential syntactic hierarchy between both arguments — accessibility issues, word order — could be involved. Such supposition will have to remain as an open concern. Exceeding the upper limits imposed by the lexicon as to the number of arguments an applied verb can take is a natural offshoot when it comes to pile up more than one increment upon the primary <sup>II</sup>verb, which of course entails putting to work more than one *relational* preverb, (b) and (c), the latter from chapter 2: THE VERB 2.1.4.

- (17) (a) **akuewayo<sub>1</sub>**                      **duhai<sub>2</sub>**    **ne<sub>3</sub>-to-rahuta-Ø<sub>4</sub>**  
 MyLittleGrandMother    fish            2ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-give-3NOMINATIVE  
 'They<sub>4</sub> gave fish<sub>2</sub> to my<sub>3</sub> little grand-mother<sub>1</sub>.'

(Some kinship terms omit the intrinsic-linker prefix for first person.)

- (b) **pewi<sub>1</sub>**    **pina,**            **pexahawa<sub>2</sub>**    **Ø<sub>3</sub>-to-yahawa-heyaxuareka-Ø<sub>4</sub>**  
 meat    REPORT    food                      3ACC-INVOLVING-COMIT-PutDown-3NOM  
 'She<sub>4</sub> put food<sub>1</sub> with meat<sub>1</sub> in a pot for him<sub>3</sub>.'

(Old woman feeding her caiman lover.)

- (c) **axa<sub>1</sub>**                      **pa-ka<sub>2</sub>-to-tsi-ya-bunuta-tsi<sub>3</sub>**  
 YourFather    PLUR-2ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-AIMINGAT-CONTAIN-smoke-4NOM  
 'We<sub>3</sub> smoked your<sub>2</sub> father<sub>1</sub> out.'

(On stage: humans telling a monster's children how they humans took revenge on their father by smoking him off the hollow tree where he had sought refuge.)

Disentangling the morphology:

- first person nominative suffix **-hü** facing second person accusative **ka-** goes to honorific fourth person **-tsi**;
- fourth person **-tsi** cannot be pluralized by plural **pa-** except in its suppletive-honorific occurrences (chapter 2: THE VERB 2.1.), which is the case here; the scope of the prefix **pa-**'s is hence formally ambiguous as to nominative (humans) / accusative (children).

As to increments:

- **to-** concerns the indirect victims of the action, the monster's little children whom humans are talking to and indexed by the accusative **ka-**;
- **tsi-** aims at the father, not indexed, who tore off the eyes of a number of folks;
- **ya-**, container / content, is about the father hiding in the hollow tree; now, **ya-** may be used as modifier — something inside something — or as relational, targetting the father as increment; in this latter case it would represent another instance of an overdetermined increment, that is, more than one preverb converging on one promoted participant (chapter 2: THE VERB 2.1.4.2).

The two valence-increasing devices seen so far, causative and accusative, are combinable in a single verb. This circumstance is illustrative of how animacy / salience scales heavily impinge on the argument structure of predicates. In (18b) **ka-** promotes a nonprominent participant. In the causativised applicative (c) the causee, prominent, abides by the push-chain on a regular basis: it preempts the accusative position, dislodging from it the former participant, *i.e.* the carried thing (argument indexes kept constant throughout the examples).

- (18) (a) **reka-me<sub>1</sub>**  
 GoDown-2NOMINATIVE  
 'You<sub>1</sub> went downward.'
- (b) **Ø<sub>2</sub>-ka-reka-me<sub>1</sub>**  
 3ACCUSATIVE-HOLDING-GoDown-2NOMINATIVE  
 'You<sub>1</sub> carried it<sub>2</sub> downward.'



- (c) **ka<sub>1</sub>-ka-reka-exana-tsi<sub>3</sub>**  
 2ACCUSATIVE-HOLDING-GoDown-MAKE-4NOMINATIVE  
 'I<sub>3</sub> directed you<sub>3,1</sub> t carry it<sub>2</sub> downward.'

A different pattern emerges with the most ubiquitous of all applicatives in discourse, **to-**, inherently linked to prominent increments. This characteristic directly bears upon the redistribution of participants in the causativised verb. The following set of examples is built upon the verb <sup>II</sup>**matamota**, 'pay', prefixed by the middle **na-**, hence <sup>I</sup>**namatamota**, 'be valuable', (19a). On the one hand, by means of causativising **namatamota** we get (b), 'prize'. On the other hand, using **to-** on **namatamota** in order to introduce a prominent increment we get (c), 'cost (someone)'. Now, causativising the applicative 'cost (someone)' produces 'have someone pay for, charge' as in (d). But since the accusative position is already filled with a prominent participant, 'me', the causation push-chain gives way to the alternative leapfrog strategy, thus having the causee 'hammock' skip the accusative position and get into the third-argument position — no oblique marking on the noun phrase, no indexing on the verb.

- (19) (a) **patahakuene<sub>1</sub> namatamota-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 OurCustoms BeValuable-3NOMINATIVE  
 'Our traditions<sub>1</sub> are valuable.'
- (b) **patahakuene<sub>1</sub> pa-Ø<sub>1</sub>-namatamotsia-exana-hü<sub>2</sub>**  
 OurCustoms PLURAL-3ACCUSATIVE-BeValuable-MAKE-1NOMINATIVE  
 'We<sub>2</sub> (willfully) prize our customs<sub>1</sub> [lit. we<sub>2</sub> make our customs<sub>1</sub> be valuable].'
- (c) **pabu<sub>1</sub> bitso ne<sub>2</sub>-to-namatamota-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 ThisHammock much 1ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-BeValuable-3NOMINATIVE  
 'This hammock<sub>1</sub> has cost me a lot [lit. this hammock<sub>1</sub> is very valuable to me<sub>2</sub>].'
- (d) **xamü<sub>1</sub> pabu<sub>2</sub> bitso ne<sub>3</sub>-to-namatamotsia-exana-me<sub>1</sub>**  
 2 ThisHammock much 1ACC-INVOLVING-BeValuable-MAKE-2NOM  
 'You<sub>1</sub> had me<sub>3</sub> pay a high cost for this hammock<sub>2</sub> [lit. you<sub>1</sub> made this hammock<sub>2</sub> be very valuable for me<sub>3</sub>].'

Since chapter 4: BASIC CLAUSES we know that nouns in predicate position can also host a relational preverb so as to increase their valence (examples (2a) and (2b) in chapter 4: 1). The accusative slot thus created is, again, filled by a prominent increment. In (20a) we see an inclusion predicate, followed by an existential predicate (b). A third-person accusative argument of an applied nominal predicate encompasses all the syntactic properties of a verb's accusative, notably the capacity to stand as the unique argument of a passive clause, (c) resuming (2b) from 4: 1 (see more in 2.4 below).

- (20) (a) **ne-to-pebi-Ø**  
 1ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-HumanMale-3NOMINATIVE  
 'He has been a man to me.'

(Widow speaking of her late unhealthy husband, who nevertheless remained sexually active.)

- (b) **ne-ya-kaniwiyo-Ø<sub>0</sub>**  
 1ACCUSATIVE-CONTAINERCONTENT-crepuscule-3NOMINATIVE  
 'I was caught by the crepuscule [more lit. there was the crepuscule all around me].'

- (c) **pepunaewi<sub>1</sub>**      **ø<sub>1</sub>-to-matapihinüyo-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 FlyingOnes      3ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-LittleOlderBrother-4NOMINATIVE  
 'The flying-ones<sub>1</sub> are exceeded in age (by the smallest one).'

(Glossing a healing litany.)

As a concluding remark, let me mention a fictive applicative to be reviewed in chapter 9: **THE ECONOMY OF INFORMATION AND DISCOURSE 4.3** whereby a nonparticipant in the manner-of-existing — namely: the addressee — surfaces as the accusative prefix in the absence of any applicative morphology.

## 2 DECREASING

Reduction of valence ensues from depriving a participant of its status as an argument. Three devices contribute the loss of an argument in the clause: the absorption of an argument by the middle prefix, the relegation of a participant to adjunct realisation, and the absorption of a participant by the verb through incorporation. Let us examine each process separately.

### 2.1 MIDDLES

The middle prefix **na-** preserves the verb arity in deponent verbs, see it with a <sup>III</sup>verb in (21) resumed from chapter 2: **THE VERB 2.1.2**: the three arguments are retained, either as verb indexes and/or as nonobliquely-marked noun phrases. As said, **na-** fills an extra morphological position. When used as reflexive / reciprocal in <sup>II</sup>verbs, **na-** blocks any person-prefix from access to the accusative slot (2: 2.1.2). Hence, the nominative turns into the only extant argument. Yet, in <sup>III</sup>verbs — precisely: saying / thinking verbs — it duly absorbs the recipient participant, which primarily surfaces as accusative, while preserving as third argument the patient-transferred participant. It therefore makes the verb divalent, compare (22a) and (b), the latter resumed from chapter 4: **BASIC CLAUSES 3**. The third argument, inherently deprived of verb indexation, keeps its capacity to occur overtly as a clause-level constituent, [...]<sub>2</sub> in (b).

- (21) **nakuayo<sub>1</sub>**      **pa-ka<sub>2</sub>-na-wahükae-hitsia-tsi<sub>3</sub>**  
 SmallPatchOfLand      PLURAL-2ACCUSATIVE-MIDDLE-AskFor-IMMINENT-4NOMINATIVE  
 'We<sub>3</sub> are going to ask you<sub>2</sub> for a small patch of land<sub>1</sub> for ourselves.'

- (22) (a) **Pharansiku<sub>1</sub>**      **ne<sub>2</sub>-yanihoba-ø<sub>1</sub>...**  
 Ph.      1ACCUSATIVE-ask-3NOMINATIVE  
 'Pharansiku<sub>1</sub> asked me<sub>2</sub>: ...'

...[**Daxitahumexi**      **netokoikoihamüre!**]<sub>3</sub>  
 AllTheLittleWords      SpeakToMe  
 ...[Speak all the words to me!]<sub>3</sub>'

- (b) **Wowai<sub>1</sub>**      **na<sub>1</sub>-yanihoba-ø<sub>1</sub>...**  
 Whites      MIDDLE-ask-3NOMINATIVE  
 'Whites<sub>1</sub> wonder [lit. ask themselves<sub>1</sub>]...'

...**paliwaisi**    **baitsi**    **yabara=he:**    [...]<sub>2</sub>  
 story                  FOCUS    FOCUSsingON=MIRATIVE  
 '...concerning this story specifically: [...]<sub>2</sub>.'

The accusative position brought in by relational preverbs is likewise fillable by the middle prefix, (23a). But, here again, on <sup>II</sup>verbs the scale of animacy / salience has the push-chain allocate the accusative position to the prominent participant, thus relegating the nonprominent increment to third argument of <sup>III</sup>verbs, **kusiupa**, 'knife', in (b).

- (23) (a) **na<sub>1</sub>-mitsa-nakueneba-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 MIDDLE-INORDERToFEED-work-3NOMINATIVE  
 'They<sub>1</sub> work to supply themselves<sub>1</sub> with food.'
- (b) **itsamonae<sub>1</sub>    kusiupa<sub>2</sub>    na<sub>1</sub>-ka-kuatsi-ena-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 SomePeople    knife    MIDDLE-HOLDING-spear-FUTURE-3NOMINATIVE  
 'Some people<sub>1</sub> will stab one another with knives<sub>2</sub>.'

## 2.2 ANTIDATIVE

An animacy bias launches what Dryer (1986) calls *antidative*: in a language where the <sup>III</sup>verb recipient occurs as the "primary object" — my accusative — an "advancement rule" promotes the patient-transferred participant to "primary object". Transposing this to Sikuani, we observe that having a speech-act participant as the transferred-participant — odd as it may seem, yet conceivable for speakers — prompts the push-chain so as to, while promoting this participant to accusative argument, relegate the recipient to an obliquely-marked adjunct, compare (24a) and (b). Such saliency-driven circumstance, turning a trivalent verb to divalent, should not be readily available for the 'say'-type <sup>III</sup>verbs since the transferred participant is by necessity third person and nonanimate. Notwithstanding, naturalistic data substantiate the relegation of the recipient to adjunct status in these verbs too, (25). Assumedly, the transferred participant — the discourse fragment — would be advanced to accusative. Foreseeable pragmatic-discourse factors will be suggested in chapter 9: THE ECONOMY OF INFORMATION AND DISCOURSE 2.1.

- (24) (a) **axa<sub>1</sub>    tsema<sub>2</sub>    ka<sub>3</sub>-rahuta-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 father    tobacco    2ACCUSATIVE-give-3NOMINATIVE  
 'Father<sub>1</sub> gave you<sub>3</sub> tobacco<sub>2</sub>.'
- (b) **axa<sub>1</sub>    ne<sub>2</sub>-rahuta-Ø<sub>1</sub>...**  
 father    1ACCUSATIVE-give-3NOMINATIVE
- ...**xamü<sub>3</sub>-hawa**                      **be-ria**  
 2-SURROUNDINGLOCATIVE              ALLATIVE-LEVELANDATIVE  
 'Father<sub>1</sub> gave me<sub>2</sub> to you<sub>3</sub> [lit. ...gave me<sub>2</sub> toward you<sub>3</sub>].'

- (25) **Kuwai<sub>1</sub>    Tsamani<sub>2</sub>-hawa                      be-ria...**  
 K.              Ts.-SURROUNDINGLOCATIVE              ALLATIVE-LEVELANDATIVE
- ...Ø<sub>3</sub>-HUMAITSI-Ø<sub>1</sub>:                      [...]<sub>3</sub>  
 3ACCUSATIVE-say-3NOMINATIVE  
 'Kuwai<sub>1</sub> said to Tsamani<sub>2</sub>: [...]<sub>3</sub>.'

## 2.3 NOUN INCORPORATION

Noun incorporation is a multifaceted process, mainly: 1. only some of its aspects bear on valence issues; and 2. only some among these valence-related aspects bear on arity decreasing. The topic of noun incorporation will however be discussed in the present section for expository convenience. Its functions include pragmatic-discursive components such as, among others, foregrounding / backgrounding a participant, as well as semantic dimensions like building a complex yet unitary notion that coalesces a manner-of-existing and (one of) its participant(s).

- (26) **penahorobiwi<sub>1</sub> dopa-tuba-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 shamans yopo-inhale-3NOMINATIVE  
 'As a rule, shamans inhale yopo.'

More specific features will come out as we proceed. Regarding valence, noun incorporation can either remove a participant off the argument sphere, or leave the number of arguments untouched, or even increase it. The most common pattern picks for incorporation a noun stem denoting a participant realised as an argument in the basic clause. Though, the noun can also be one that typically occurs in adjuncts. In the following I will review different aspects featured by incorporation, particularly the subtypes involved in valence manipulation. As we will see, these are not mutually disjoint, and overlappings recur. The process of noun incorporation is formally productive and semantically predictable, which does not entail that the incorporated noun remains fully active on syntactic grounds, as Baker claims for Mohawk and Mapundungun (1996 287-288; 2005, respectively). The grammatical mechanisms thus implemented deliver products that are, to some extent and thanks to the incorporated noun being recasted as syntactically inert, also recyclable as lexical items.

## 2.3.1 MORPHOLOGY

The incorporated noun precedes the verb stem. It precedes the preverb if any, and follows the accusative prefix. As a rule it loses all its inflectional morphology, but unexplained exceptions occur: the inessive case **-ya** in (27a), to compare with (b), or the singulative **-to**, present in (31) below but missing in (27d). This latter example, resumed and abridged from (16) above, shows three of the hitherto mentioned features: 1. location at the immediate left of [(preverb)-verb]; 2. lack of inflectional noun morphology; and 3. a peripheral participant — locative — embodied in the incorporated noun. In (c) I reconstruct the nonincorporating clause to allow for comparison. The distribution of the **ya-** preverb for ContainerContent seems to run counter the canonical linear order just described, (b). In (a) — but not in (b) — this could be related to morphology-parsing issues, <sup>?</sup>**ya-ya**, comparable to what was suggested in chapter 5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES 3 regarding first-person peemption.

- (27) (a) **Munuanü ya-thaübürü-ya-nahetaruka-Ø**  
 M. CONTAINERCONTENT-raft-INESSIVE-move-3NOMINATIVE  
 'Munuanü moved along in a raft.'
- (b) **ya-hera-nahaetaruka-Ø**  
 CONTAINERCONTENT-canoe -move-3NOMINATIVE  
 'He moved along in a canoe.'

- (c) ?petüpaewi<sub>1</sub> **ta-koto-to<sub>2</sub>-tha** **ne<sub>3</sub>-ka-toroba-kuata-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 TheDead 1INTRINLINK-belly-SING-SOC 1ACC-HOLDING-push-strike-3NOM  
 'The dead pushed and stroke me in the belly.'
- (d) petüpaewi<sub>1</sub> **ne<sub>2</sub>-koto-ka-toroba-kuata-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 TheDead 1ACCUSATIVE-belly-HOLDING-push-strike-3NOMINATIVE  
*id.*

An interesting additional point about morphology — middle prefix — will be mentioned as we reach examples (29) and (31c).

### 2.3.2 VALENCE

The first distinction to be made concerning the incorporation subtypes is between *direct* / *oblique*. In direct incorporation the noun involved denotes a participant realised as an argument in the basic clause. This argument may be a <sup>I</sup>verb nominative, (28a), a <sup>II</sup>verb accusative, (b), or a <sup>III</sup>verb third-argument, (c). As is common cross-linguistically, the noun for the participant in <sup>II</sup>verb-nominative position — prototypically agent — does not incorporate. In oblique incorporation a nonargument noun incorporates, (27b) above.

- (28) (a) **Kudaïdo** **nakua-tha** **mene-boka-Ø<sub>0</sub>**  
 K. region-SOCIATIVE river-lie-3NOMINATIVE  
 'In the region of Kudaïdo rivers are stationary [lit. ...there is river-lying].'

(After a flood.)

- (b) **pa-mera-hitsipa-hü<sub>1</sub>-behe**  
 PLURAL-water-want-1NOMINATIVE-DUAL  
 'We<sub>1</sub> both are thirsty.'
- (c) **ne<sub>1</sub>-yahawünü-rahu-re<sub>2</sub>!**  
 1ACCUSATIVE-fragment-give-IMPERATIVE  
 'Give<sub>2</sub> me<sub>1</sub> a chunk!'

Direct incorporation can lower the verb valence, as in the three previous examples, something that oblique incorporation never does, as in (29) resumed from chapter 4: BASIC CLAUSES 3. However, direct incorporation can also leave the valence untouched so as to advance a nonargument noun into the position vacated by the incorporated noun, (30). This is the *reallocating* subtype, occurring with <sup>I/II</sup>verbs.

- (29) **pa-ka<sub>1</sub>-na<sub>2</sub>-wütakara-taika-ponae-ena-tsi<sub>2</sub>**  
 PLURAL-2ACCUSATIVE-MIDDLE-shoulder-take-GO-FUTURE-4NOMINATIVE  
 'I<sub>1</sub> will take you-all<sub>2</sub> on my shoulders and carry you<sub>2</sub>. '
- (30) (a) **Warawanaewa<sub>1</sub> koto-nasaüna-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 W. belly-BeBlue-3NOMINATIVE  
 'Warawanaewa's belly was blue [lit. Warawanaewa<sub>1</sub> was belly-blue].'
- (b) **ne<sub>1</sub>-taxu-tahuita-me<sub>2</sub>**  
 1ACCUSATIVE-foot-burn-2NOMINATIVE  
 'You burned my foot / feet [lit. you<sub>1</sub> foot-burned me<sub>2</sub>].'

Incorporating body-part nouns in direct incorporation results in an ergative-like alignment: their intrinsic linkee refers to the participant expressed as a <sup>II</sup>verb accusative and a <sup>I</sup>verb nominative, as one can appreciate in (30). With regard to <sup>II</sup>verbs the same mapping obtains in oblique incorporation, (31a). (See Queixalós 2013 11 for the notion of *ubiquitous ergativity*.) When it comes to incorporate the noun for a body-part belonging to the participant in a <sup>II</sup>verb *nominative* position, the middle prefix **na-** is used to saturate the accusative position, as in (b) with a <sup>II</sup>verb. But it can also fill an extra prefix-position so as to maintain a prominent participant in its accusative position, (29) above with a <sup>II</sup>verb, and (c) here with a <sup>III</sup>verb. (This capacity of the middle to generate an accusative in an extra prefix-position we already meet with deponent verbs in chapter 2: THE VERB 2.1.2). Obliquely incorporating the body-part-like <sup>II</sup>noun **humatabü**, 'thought', serves modality purposes, the case in (d).

- (31) (a) **Ø<sub>1</sub>-itaxu-to-othotaharaba-Ø<sub>2</sub>** **atsamatabü<sub>3</sub>**  
 3ACCUSATIVE-SINGULATIVE-eye-throw-3NOMINATIVE HandfulOfDirt  
 'He<sub>2</sub> threw him<sub>1</sub> a handful of dirt<sub>3</sub> in the eye.'
- (b) **katsahiniratha** **na<sub>1</sub>-taxu-tahuita-hü<sub>1</sub>**  
 WithTheManiocSoup MIDDLE-foot-burn-1NOMINATIVE  
 'I burnt my foot with the manioc soup '
- (c) **apo-Ø<sub>1</sub>-na<sub>2</sub>-tu-rahu-tsi-Ø<sub>2</sub>**  
 NEGATION-3ACCUSATIVE-MIDDLE-vagina-give-IRREALIS-3NOMINATIVE  
 'She<sub>2</sub> didn't give herself<sub>2</sub> to him<sub>1</sub>.'
- (d) **Liwinai, wamo<sub>1</sub>** **apo-naka<sub>2</sub>-humatabü-rahutsi-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 L. OurGrand-father NEG-4ACCUSATIVE-thought-give-3NOMINATIVE  
 'Liwinai, our grand-father<sub>1</sub> is not inclined to give it<sub>3</sub> to us<sub>2</sub>.'

(A deputation of men meets the Master-of-Metal.)

As said, oblique incorporation does not reduce the verb valence. What is more, and far from that, oblique incorporation involving a body-part noun as locative participant can have the opposite effect. (31a) above and (32b) below are instances of such *applicative incorporation*, whereby one single formal device conflates two functions: 1. it provides a spatial location for the manner-of-existing — 'in the eye', 'in the head' —, and 2. likewise the reallocating incorporation, it triggers a prominent-participant advancement — 'him' and 'you' respectively. Compare (32a), applicative, to (b), incorporation. In the same way that an applicative preverb stemming from a postposition takes along the latter's argument, the incorporated <sup>II</sup>noun raises its own intrinsic-linker participant. As we now are familiar with (*e.g.* chapter 2: THE VERB 2.1.4.1), the noun phrase originated in the <sup>II</sup>verb accusative position is lowered to the new-<sup>III</sup>verb third argument position.

- (32) (a) **ka<sub>1</sub>-to-haita-tsi<sub>2</sub>** **tarütoxi<sub>3</sub>**  
 2ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-search-4NOMINATIVE lice  
 'I<sub>2</sub> loused you<sub>1</sub> [lit. I<sub>2</sub> inspected you<sub>2</sub> (for) lice<sub>3</sub>].'
- (b) **ka<sub>1</sub>-mata-haita-tsi<sub>2</sub>** **tarütoxi<sub>3</sub>**  
 2ACCUSATIVE-head-search-4NOMINATIVE lice  
 'I<sub>2</sub> loused you<sub>1</sub> in the head.'

In *anaphoric incorporation* (Hopper & Thompson 1984) the incorporated noun resumes the head of an aforementioned noun phrase so as to keep a participant active while backgrounded. This contributes to maintain the protagonist characters as discourse-prominent participants, (33a). A natural drift of the incorporated noun is turning generic, (b). The incorporated noun head can even be retrieved from a context that is heterogenous in terms of the narrative line: in (c) a direct-speech segment then the resumed descriptive section.

- (33) (a) **Baharapa-hiwisi-kobesi-to-yo**<sub>1</sub>...  
 that-skeleton-finger-SINGULATIVE-DIMINUTIVE  
 'That skeleton's little finger<sub>1</sub>...  
 ... $\emptyset$ <sub>1</sub>-**xuabaria**- $\emptyset$ <sub>2</sub> **kobesi-xuabaria**- $\emptyset$ <sub>2</sub>  
 3ACCUSATIVE-ThrowAway-3NOMINATIVE finger-ThrowAway-3NOMINATIVE  
 ...he<sub>2</sub> threw away. He<sub>2</sub> threw (it) away.'
- (b) **Wahamatapihinü**<sub>1</sub> **dopa**<sub>2</sub> **hane**  **$\emptyset$ <sub>2</sub>-tuba**- $\emptyset$ <sub>1</sub>...  
 OurOlderBrother yopo SPEAKER AFFECTED 3ACC-inhale-3NOM  
 'Sad to say, our older brother<sub>1</sub> inhaled the yopo<sub>2</sub>. ...  
 ...**dopa**-**tuba**- $\emptyset$ <sub>1</sub> **aitahibi**- $\emptyset$ <sub>1</sub> **baha**  
 yopo-inhale-3NOMINATIVE BeDrunk-3NOMINATIVE BOUNDARYCROSSING  
 ...In doing<sub>1</sub> so (yopo-inhaling), he<sub>1</sub> got inebriated.'
- (c) **pe-wi**<sub>1</sub>  **$\emptyset$ <sub>1</sub>-hotsi-ena**- $\emptyset$ <sub>2</sub>...  
 INTRINSIC LINKEE-wood 3ACCUSATIVE carry-FUTURE-3NOMINATIVE  
 'They<sub>2</sub> will carry the wood<sub>1</sub> away. ...'

(...someone says, then...)

- ...**wi**-**hota**- $\emptyset$ <sub>2</sub> **pina** **merawi-hebi** **pübü**<sub>2</sub>  
 wood carry REPORTATIVE night-TEMPORAL COEXTENSIVE manioc ants  
 '...They<sub>2</sub> carried wood all night long, the manioc ants<sub>2</sub>, they<sub>0</sub> say.'

*Classifying incorporation* (Hagège 1980; Mithun 1984) is somehow similar but: 1. the linear order between the noun phrase and the incorporated noun is irrelevant, and 2. the incorporated noun typifies a kind. The referent betokened by the noun phrase is categorized according to the noun inside the verb.

- (34) (a) **padamukutha**  **$\emptyset$ <sub>1</sub>-to-wi-heba**- $\emptyset$ <sub>2</sub> **duhai-wi**<sub>3</sub>  
 InThatPot 3ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-meat-place-3NOM fish-meat  
 'In that pot she<sub>2</sub> placed the fish meat<sub>3</sub> for him<sub>1</sub> [lit. ...she<sub>2</sub> meat-placed him<sub>1</sub> the fish meat<sub>3</sub>].'
- (b) **Witsara-mene**<sub>1</sub> **mene-boka**- $\emptyset$ <sub>1</sub>  
 Vichada-river water-lie-3NOMINATIVE  
 'The river Vichada<sub>1</sub> is stationary (... is stream-lying).'

(After a flood; **mene** literally means 'water not in a container'.)

## 2.3.3 INCORPORATING VERBS

The bulk of incorporations involves <sup>II</sup>verbs and unaccusatives. This should come as no surprise since their accusative and nominative arguments, respectively, correspond to nonactive participants, (30) above. As for <sup>III</sup>verbs, if one chief motivation for incorporating is to advance a prominent new participant to the position vacated by the incorporated noun, it follows that their accusative — itself taken up by the recipient — affords no available landing position for such promotion.

Incorporation is expected in defective <sup>I</sup>verbs since their semantic-role structure uniformly maps that of unaccusatives, (30a) above and (35a). As pointed out in chapter 2: THE VERB 1.1, tmesis defective verbs seem to be preordained to incorporate nouns, (b)-(c).

- (35) (a) **petiriwayo<sub>1</sub> tabu-yukuhai-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 LittleWoman buttocks-quiver-3NOMINATIVE  
 'The little woman quivered from her buttocks'
- (b) **a-namuto-behe-Ø<sub>0</sub>**  
 a-trail-BeBad-3NOMINATIVE  
 'The trail is bad [lit. there is bad trail].'
- (c) **a-wi-hibi-nü<sub>1</sub>**  
 a-flesh-NotExist-1NOMINATIVE  
 'I am skinny [more lit. I am fleshless; even more lit. I am flesh-unexistent].'

<sup>I</sup>Verbs subcategorizing a nonanimate nominative as well as <sup>II</sup>verbs subcategorizing a nonanimate accusative can incorporate body-part-like — *i.e.* part of a whole — nouns, (36a) and (b) respectively. Note that in (b) the promoted nonanimate 'house' is cognitively-prominent in its quality of whole. Personal <sup>II</sup>verbs denote actions, (30b) above, or strongly volitional attitudes, (28b) above. Impersonal <sup>II</sup>verbs (chapter 2: THE VERB 1.3.4) tend to obliquely incorporate body-part locative nouns, (c).

- (36) (a) **bitsabi<sub>1</sub> tumaü-ukuukuka-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 bow string-break-3NOMINATIVE  
 'The bow string broke.'
- (b) **Ø<sub>1</sub>-ira-huetsi-ena-hü<sub>2</sub> taha-bo<sub>2</sub>**  
 3ACCUSATIVE-floor-broom-FUTURE-1NOMINATIVE 1POSSESSOR-house  
 'I will broom the floor of my house.'
- (c) **ne<sub>1</sub>-itaxu-sahawa-Ø<sub>0</sub>**  
 1ACCUSATIVE-eye-FeelABurningSensation-3NOMINATIVE  
 'I<sub>1</sub> feel a burning sensation in the eye [lit. it<sub>0</sub> makes me<sub>1</sub> feel...].'

A fact of note is, in passing, that verbs take along their incorporated noun as they nominalize.

- (37) (a) **tabu-<sup>I</sup>nasita-Ø<sub>1</sub>** (b) **pe<sub>1</sub>-tabu-nasitsi-wa<sub>1</sub>**  
 buttock-BeFat-3NOMINATIVE 3INTRINSICLINKEE-buttock-BeFat-FEMENINE  
 'She<sub>1</sub> has fat buttocks.' 'fat-buttock woman<sub>1</sub>'



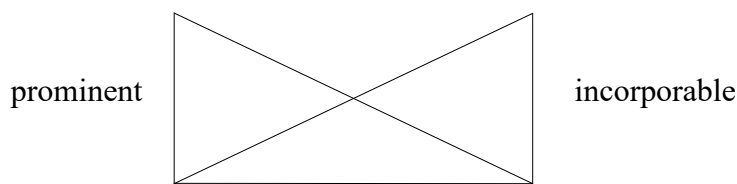
- (c) **nonohi**<sub>1</sub>     $\emptyset_1$ -<sup>II</sup>**xane**- $\emptyset_2$     (d) **ikuli**<sub>2</sub>    **nonohi**-**xae-nü**- $\emptyset_2$   
 chili                    3ACC-eat-3NOM    Turtle*Sp.*    chili-eat-MASC-3NOMINATIVE  
 'It<sub>2</sub> eats chili<sub>1</sub>.'                    'Turtle*Sp.*<sub>2</sub> is a chili eater<sub>2</sub>.'

(For the lack of the intrinsic-linker prefix in (b), see chapter 5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES 4.3.)

#### 2.3.4 INCORPORABLE NOUNS

Animacy / salience scales are all involved in the propensity of a noun to incorporate, under an averse ratio as one would expect.

Figure 3. Animacy-salience in noun incorporation



The most conspicuous feature for a noun's capacity to incorporate is denoting the part of a whole. Hence the frequency of body-part nouns in incorporation, as a number of examples above have witnessed. Of course part nouns are but a subspecies of divalent nouns, and the latter's form-based affinity with incorporation outreaches the meaning-based affinity of the former: incorporated 'grave' in (38a) is divalent yet not a part noun. Low animacy also contributes heavily. Animate nouns are avoided, and human nouns thoroughly averse. Exceptions exist, for instance 'children' is rather common as incorporated, (b). Specificity, under the dimensions of referentiality and definiteness, is a less visible factor. Regarding referentiality, the relevance to incorporation is not so much that of some sort of coercion to incorporate nonreferential nouns (Hopper & Thompson 1984) than one of strong incompatibility between thoroughly referential expressions and incorporation. Accordingly, proper nouns and free pronouns never incorporate, and nonreferential / indefinite / generic nouns — human included — readily incorporate, (c) and (d).

- (38) (a) **pa-müthü-kua-hü-behe**  
 PLURAL-grave-dig-1NOMINATIVE-DUAL  
 'The both of us dug his grave.'
- (b) **ne-koxi-werene-me**                    **baha**  
 1ACCUSATIVE-children-finish-2NOMINATIVE    BOUNDARYCROSSING  
 'You exterminated my children.'

(Mournful father to his cannibal-moon sister.)

- (c) **Kawirimona** **hiwi-xane-ø**  
 Kawiri People    humans-eat-3NOMINATIVE  
 'The Kawiri people are anthropophagous.'
- (d) **piayainü**    **Daladala**    **ne-yahawünü-xane-ø**  
 monster    D.    1ACCUSATIVE-fragment/relative-eat-3NOMINATIVE  
 'The monster Daladala devoured a relative of mine.'

It is assumed that incorporating a noun ensues from the speaker computing a complex set of interwoven semantic and pragmatic ingredients: 1. the aforementioned properties of the noun itself mutually compete; for instance, in (39) 'hand(s)' is incorporated in spite of being straightforwardly referential, as Mithun (1984) points out for similar cases; 2. the participant candidate to incorporation further competes, on the same grounds, with the participant to be promoted; thus in (36b) above, the nonanimate 'floor' incorporates in favor of another nonanimate, 'house', based on the part-whole hierarchy; likewise, in (38b) and (d) 'children' and 'relative', both human, incorporate in favor of a first-person participant; all in all, the semantic / pragmatic attributes of the promoted and the incorporated are inversely ranked as regards animacy / salience scales.

- (39) **na-kobe-tahuita-hü**  
 MIDDLE-hand-burn-1NOMINATIVE  
 'I burnt my hand(s).'

The pivotal motivation for incorporating seems to boil down to expelling a <sup>II</sup>noun out of the argument sphere so as to free up an argument position for its intrinsic linkee (a sub-species of so-called "possessor-raising").

### 2.3.5 LEXICALISATION

Likewise nominalisation, noun incorporation is so highly fruitful — not to say prolific — in natural productions that it would be surprising not to find it at work in generating new lexical compounds. One clue to the lexicalisation of a one-word sequence [NOUN+VERB] is the loss of semantic compositionality, (40). Tmesis defectives supply the most interesting examples of lexicalisation, (41). Symptomatically, cases of phonological attrition — an additional clue to lexicalisation — are attested. With **a-...-hibi**, 'not exist', a semantic contrast is achieved through reducing it to **a-...-bi**: the long, primary, form denotes an "ordinary" manner-of existing, *i.e.* a contingent state, while the short form rather denotes an inherent / permanent property, something remindful of the stage-level / individual stage distinction (Kratzer 1995).

- (40) **na-ita-xuta** 'show up, be born'  
 MIDDLE-vision-excorticate
- yamaxü-itohoroba** 'deceive'  
 lightning-send
- ita-hunawa** 'be dizzy'  
 vision-BeAfraid
- kuha-ruba** 'teach'  
 RightHand-<sup>II</sup>hang

(**Kuha-** is also a verb-stem for 'be proficient'.)

- (41) (a) **a-bürü-hibi** 'be blunt (blade)' > **a-bürü-bi** 'not be sharp (of  
 a-EdgeOfABlade-NotExist an implement  
 not supposed to  
 cut)'

- (b) **a-hume-hibi** 'stay silent' > **a-hume-bi** 'be dumb, sound-less'  
a-speech/sound-NotExist
- (c) **a-hani-hibi** 'not be hungry' > **a-hani-bi** 'be anorexic (desease)'  
a-hunger-NotExist
- (d) **a-kuene-hibi** 'be lazy' > **a-kuene-bi** 'be difficult, be impossible'  
a-facts/acts-NotExist
- (e) **a-wono-hibi** 'be toothless' > **a-wono-bi** 'be toothless (of old people or the anteater)'  
a-tooth-NotExist (by accident)'

## 2.4 VOICE

In an attempt at clarifying my use of the notion of *voice*, I will here outline what makes the specificity of this intransitivising strategy compared with other valence-decreasing devices. A verb as an F-predicate — *i.e.* the lexical semantic structure of a verb — is primarily oriented toward one (of its) argument(s). (Remind my use of *argument* as something different from *grammatical relation*, chapter 4: BASIC CLAUSES 2.) This F-predicate verb when realised in the position of a clause A-predicate in a language like Sikuaní — *i.e.* featuring nominative-accusative alignment in syntax —, makes such argument its nominative (see one exception below 2.4: impersonal passive verbs). "Oriented" thus means that in basic clauses the nominative will appear as privileged regarding rules that involve behaviour-and-control (in Keenan 1976's wording) properties of arguments. Such prerogatives make this argument something different from the mere set of coding properties that characterise it as argument: a grammatical relation, more precisely, a *subject*. One should not, therefore, expect to observe a one-one mapping between the nominative and the subject (in the spirit, if not the letter, of *cf.* Givón's 2001 173 dissociation test between semantic roles and the formal properties of arguments).

At this point three provisos are in order. First, much the same can be said of A-predicate nouns, with a few limitations due to their F-predicate argument structure (chapter 4: BASIC CLAUSES 1). Second and differently from Mithun (2008), I do not rely on information and discourse factors for characterising voice, but rather on how a *synchronically*-derived form of the clause-pattern arises through the mobilisation of morphological and syntactic resources that manipulate the basic relation existing between the predicate and its nominative (semantic role, referentiality, exponence). All this undeniably *motivated* for the most part by information and discourse needs. Third, Sikuaní is not a language where the category *subject* is formally robust. Hence, subject will be no cornerstone upon which to build the notion of voice. Rather, voice will turn out to be one of the few *syntactic* basis on which the notion of subject can rely.

Three types of voice-like patterns are found: personal passive, existential, and medio-passive. We review them in that order. All three are synchronically-secondary verbal forms whose identifying common feature consists in having their nominative argument deprived of

denotation and reference through the total bleaching, semantic and pragmatic, of the nominative person suffix. The latter two involve both valence-changing devices noun incorporation and middle (2.3 and 2.1 respectively).

#### 2.4.1 PERSONAL PASSIVE

To begin with, let us look back at the verb class dubbed *impersonal passive* in chapter 2: THE VERB 1.3.4. As any <sup>II</sup>verb, the verb proper **yalipuba**, 'have one's menses', displays two argument indexes. It however takes but one participant, that surfacing as accusative, (42a), whereby it reduces its semantic arity. A third-person participant in such position mandatorily triggers the occurrence of the fourth person nominative suffix, albeit in its nonreferential capacity (chapter 2: THE VERB 2.1.1), (b). This participant can be coreferenced by a noun phrase, (c).

- (42) (a) 
$$\left. \begin{array}{ll} 1 & \text{ne-} \\ 2 & \text{ka-} \\ 4 & \text{naka-} \end{array} \right\} \text{yalipuba-}\emptyset_0 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{'I have my menses.'} \\ \text{'You have your menses.'} \\ \text{'We (incl.) have our menses.'} \end{array} \right.$$
- (b) 
$$*\emptyset\text{-yalipuba-}\emptyset \rightarrow \emptyset_1\text{-yalipuba-tsi}_0 \text{ 'She has her menses.'}$$
- (c) 
$$\text{Hialai}_1 \quad \emptyset_1\text{-yalipuba-tsi}_0$$
  
H. 3ACCUSATIVE-HaveOne'sMenses-4NOMINATIVE  
'Hialai has her menses.'

As a restriction to one generalisation put forward at the outset of the section 2.4 on voice, the F-predicate **yalipuba** is oriented toward the argument to be cast not as the nominative but as the accusative of the A-predicate **yalipuba**. Such argument will thus be entitled to the rank of syntactically privileged argument. But, crucially, *this is not* voice: no change of any sort is superimposed upon the primary, lexical, argument structure of the verb. (The lexical orientation of a verb is called diathesis in Queixalós 2022, following previous authors such as Haudricourt 1979, Lazard 1997, Kulikov 2010.) That class of verbs is better seen as a lexicalization process whereby the personal passive to be hereafter-discussed freezes when the involved manner-of-existing entails a cause maximally unidentifiable and maximally nonreferential like pathogens or deficiencies. An event deprived of its agent is easy to be construed as taking place spontaneously (Shibatani 1985).

The personal passive *is* voice. With all-third persons the basic pattern of argument-indexing of <sup>II/III</sup>verbs allows for two participants being realised as nominative and accusative series of affixes. The third-person nominative routinely covers the whole array of referents on the definiteness and referentiality scales, (43a). Now, the nonprimary pattern, the passive, is used to obliterate the agent's identity by means of the nominative slot being preempted by the fourth-person suffix **-tsi** in its nonreferential capacity, (b). Concomitantly the patient participant is left unpromoted morphologically.

Such pattern looks like a replica of both Ainu **a-** (Shibatani 1985), and Tupinamba **ya-** (Rodrigues 1990), respectively acknowledged and overlooked as passive types, both featuring unparalleled ways — in terms of formal economy — for reaching the passivation purpose by means of the mere first-person inclusive affix (see Givón 1994 for a similar use of third person in Kimbundu). The nonreferential reading of **-tsi** as a morphological place-keeper relies on a universe of discourse strong enough to dismiss the first-person inclusive reading. An important feature of personal passive is that the participant retained in accusative position

## 6: Valence Changes

is high-ranked in some animacy / salience scale, (c)-(d). We will see that this proviso is hampered by a handful of qualifications, chiefly pragmatics-based, *e.g. circa* (47) below.

- (43) (a) **ne<sub>1</sub>-itoya-ø<sub>2</sub>** 'He<sub>2</sub> / people<sub>2</sub> hate(s) me<sub>1</sub>.'
- ka<sub>1</sub>-itoya-ø<sub>2</sub>** '\_\_\_\_\_ you<sub>1</sub>.'
- ø<sub>1</sub>-itoya-ø<sub>2</sub>** '\_\_\_\_\_ him<sub>1</sub>.'
- (b) **ø<sub>1</sub>-itoya-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 3ACCUSATIVE-hate-4NOMINATIVE  
 'He<sub>1</sub> is hated.'
- (c) **baharapowa<sub>1</sub> ø<sub>1</sub>-koxita-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 ThatWoman 3ACCUSATIVE-MakePregnant-4NOMINATIVE  
 'That woman<sub>1</sub> was made pregnant.'
- (d) **\*peri<sub>1</sub> ø<sub>1</sub>-tsünüka-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 CassaveTortilla 3ACCUSATIVE-TearIntoPieces-4NOMINATIVE  
 Intended: 'The cassave tortilla<sub>1</sub> was torn into pieces.'

In all senses but one, the personal passive in (43b) and the impersonal passive in (42b) above are alike. The crucial difference consists in that notwithstanding the nonreferentiality of the **-tsi** suffix of (43b), the participant it banishes remains semantically present for the simple reason that the meaning of the basic verb — the lexical structure of the F-predicate — encompasses two participants. (For a sample of the formal indicia of this implicit participant see Bolinger 1979; Chomsky 1981 143 note 60; Shibatani 1985; and Zubizarreta 1985). As is well known cross-linguistically, adverbial-like expressions may target the agent participant of an agentless passive, see (44) as a plausible instance of that. (45) shows the set of common *vs.* contrasting properties between the impersonal and the personal passives.

- (44) **baharapa-kuhiru<sub>2</sub>-tha**    **ø<sub>3</sub>-yakahürüta-tsi<sub>0</sub>**    **isoto<sub>4</sub>**  
 that-act-SOCIATIVE    3ACCUSATIVE-steal-4NOMINATIVE    fire  
 'Thanks to (someone<sub>1</sub>'s) tricks<sub>2</sub>, they<sub>3</sub> were stolen the fire<sub>4</sub>.'

(45)	impersonal passive	personal passive
domain	lexicon	syntax
voice alternance	no	yes
patient	all persons	third person
	+ prominent	+ prominent
	+ NP exponence	+ NP exponence
agent	nonreferential	nonreferential
	- prominent	± prominent
	- NP exponence	± NP exponence

A hint to the grammaticalisation of **-tsi<sub>0</sub>** as a dummy for voice purposes — *vs.* the genuine suffix for fourth person / honorific suppletive — is its distinctive distribution in verb morphology and clause syntax. First, and due to the passive having scope on the whole verbal word, the *suffix* **-tsi<sub>0</sub>** occurs after the additive *clitic* **=atha**. Compare (46a) with the canonical

position of the referential **-tsi** in (b), resumed from chapter 2: **THE VERB 2.1.4**. In the same vein, it occurs on the converb form of auxiliaries, (c).

- (46) (a) [...] **apo-Ø<sub>1</sub>-wixaenotsi=atha-tsi<sub>0</sub>** **pina**  
 NEGATION-3ACC-CausePain=ADDITIVE-4NOMINATIVE REPORTATIVE  
 '[...] and yet she<sub>1</sub> didn't suffer [lit. she was not affected (by pain<sub>0</sub>)], they<sub>0</sub> say.'
- (b) [...] **apo-ka<sub>2</sub>-isa-rurukae-tsi<sub>1</sub>=atha** **bo!**  
 NEG-2ACCUSATIVE-EMBRACING-StayHanging-4NOM=ADDITIVE EXCL  
 '[...] I<sub>1</sub> didn't even hold you<sub>2</sub> against my body in the hammock!'

(Giving birth under She-Hummingbird's guidance.)

- (c) **itsanewahüsi<sub>1</sub>** **Ø<sub>2</sub>-humaitsi** **tsa-biaba-tsi<sub>0</sub>:** [...] **[...]**  
 OtherManiocPlants 3CC-say CONVERB- DOITERATIVELY-4NOM  
 'It<sub>2</sub> (manioc plant) was repeatedly told by the other manioc plants<sub>1</sub>: [...].'

('...Why don't you shut up!' For the overt occurrence of an agent participant see below *circa* (55).)

As said, personal passive constructions select prominent participants in accusative position. Again, animacy / salience is better seen as a multifactor dimension with a heavy bearing upon the realisation of participants in the realm of the clause. Passive accusatives most of the time involve human participants, but nonhuman animates are eligible to passivation provided they are personified in some way, as in (47a). Even nonanimates can do so as long as they are bestowed a highly-valued status in some discursive environment, (b). An uncommon passive accusative occurs in (c) — anticipating the issue of an overt passive agent —: nonanimate *and* abstract. Although not commonly, the nonrealised agent participant can be low-ranked in animacy / salience, as suggested by the mention *± prominent* in (45) above. The ability to stand as the nominative of a given verb may suffice, (d).

- (47) (a) **Newüthü<sub>1</sub>** **Ø<sub>1</sub>-kütanuta-tsi<sub>0</sub>** **baha**  
 Jaguar 3ACCUSATIVE-FastenStanding-4NOMINATIVE BOUNDARYCROSSING  
 'Jaguar<sub>1</sub> was fastened (to a tree).'

(Mythical narration. Animals as humans.)

- (b) **naehawa<sub>1</sub>** **Ø<sub>1</sub>-nikata-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 tree 3ACCUSATIVE-fell-4NOMINATIVE  
 'The tree<sub>1</sub> was felled.'

(Mythical narration. The All-Crop Tree as global discourse-topic.)

- (c) **Itsiatha** **Palupaluma-kuene<sub>1</sub>** **apo-Ø<sub>1</sub>-yapütae-tsi<sub>0</sub>** **Newüthü<sub>2</sub>**  
 however Rabbit-ways NEGATION-3ACC-know-4NOM Jaguar  
 'However, Rabbit's ways<sub>1</sub> were unknown to Jaguar.'
- (d) **Owebisito** **pexünatiyo<sub>1</sub>** **Ø<sub>1</sub>-matabaka-eseta-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 O. daughter 3ACCUSATIVE-knee-prick-4NOMINATIVE  
 'Owebisito's daughter<sub>1</sub> was pricked in the knee (by a thorn).'

## 6: Valence Changes

A passive construction may describe an event-like manner-of-existing, (47a) above, or have a static, perfect or resultative meaning as in (48), immediately subsequent in the original narrative.

- (48) **bahayahebi**                      **pina**      **Ø<sub>1</sub>-kütanuta-tsi<sub>0</sub>**                      **Newüthü<sub>1</sub>**  
 LongPeriodOfTime    REPORT    3ACCUSATIVE-FastenStanding-4NOM      Jaguar  
 'He remained tied up for a long time, Jaguar, they<sub>0</sub> say.'

Any primary or derived <sup>II/III</sup>verb can be passivised, including — as in (47d) above — those subcategorising an atypical agent participant. As expected, in <sup>III</sup>verbs the passive accusative stands for the recipient / partner in transaction, (49). With respect to grammatically-derived <sup>II/III</sup>verbs, no restriction obtains regarding the specific device used for valence-change, as (50) shows for <sup>II</sup>verb outputs, and (51) for <sup>III</sup>verb outputs. (Not all possibilities displayed here.)

- (49) **tulikisi<sub>1</sub>**    **Ø<sub>2</sub>-komuaka-tsi<sub>0</sub>**                      **xua-tha**  
 collar      3ACCUSATIVE-buy-4NOMINATIVE    3NONANIMATE-SOCIATIVE  
 'He<sub>2</sub> (seller) was bought collars<sub>1</sub> with that.'

(50)

- applicative preverb

- (a) Ø<sub>1</sub>-**siwa**-**pata-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 3ACCUSATIVE-SEARCHING-come-4NOMINATIVE  
 'She<sub>1</sub> was visited.'

(...by evil spirits.)

- applicative incorporation

- (b) Ø<sub>1</sub>-**koibo**-**kaika-tsi<sub>0</sub>**                      **Newüthü<sub>1</sub>**  
 3ACCUSATIVE-defecate-4NOMINATIVE    Jaguar  
 'Jaguar<sub>1</sub> was defecated in the mouth.'

- redistributive incorporation

- (c) Ø<sub>1</sub>-**kobe**-**kakuata-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 3ACCUSATIVE-hand-bite-4NOMINATIVE  
 'She<sub>1</sub> was bitten in the hand.'

- causative

- (d) Ø<sub>1</sub>-**huna**-**exana**-**tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 3ACCUSATIVE-climb-bite-MAKE-4NOMINATIVE  
 'She<sub>1</sub> was forced to climb.'

(51)

- applicative preverb

- (a) **kopai<sub>1</sub>**     $\emptyset_2$ -**to**-**yakaba-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 metal    3ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-vomit-4NOMINATIVE  
 'They<sub>2</sub> were slabbered with metal<sub>1</sub>.'

(The Master-of-Metal vomited pieces of metal upon them.)

- applicative incorporation

- (b)  **$\emptyset_1$ -yahawünü-beyaxuaba-tsi<sub>0</sub>**    **Keleto<sub>1</sub>**  
 3ACCUSATIVE-relative-kill-4NOMINATIVE    K.  
 'He<sub>1</sub> had his relative killed, Keleto<sub>1</sub>.'

- causative

- (c) **iso<sub>1</sub>**     **$\emptyset_2$ -hotsi-ya-exana-tsi<sub>0</sub>-behe<sub>2</sub>**  
 firewood    3ACCUSATIVE-carry-CONVERB-4NOMINATIVE  
 'Both of them<sub>2</sub> were forced to carry firewood<sub>1</sub>.'

As we know, relational preverbs allow for a peripheral prominent participant to be fostered into accusative position (1.2). Once there, such participant can be passivised, as in (50a) and (51a) above. On a <sup>II</sup>verb, the participant primarily located in accusative position is "pushed down" to the third-argument position of a now <sup>III</sup>verb, 'children' in (52a). However, when a <sup>II</sup>verb speech-act participant is thus advanced, the relegated prominent participant — human in (b) and now *third argument* — turns suitable to passivation. This also applies to causative 'make' once passivised, (c).

- (52) (a) **pakuenetha**    **pehewaxi<sub>1</sub>**     **$\emptyset_2$ -to-exana-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 SUCCONS    children    3ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-make-4NOMINATIVE  
 'In this way she<sub>2</sub> was coerced into making children<sub>1</sub>.'

(Pumeniruwa<sub>2</sub> is a male-born transgender person. Celestial creatures come down to voluntarily farm for her. One of these visitors flicks his finger on her abdomen, thus causing pregnancy. (French or Japanese causative passives might provide more elegant renderings.)

- (b) **niha<sub>1</sub>-monae<sub>2</sub>**    **ka<sub>1</sub>-to-xane-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 2POSSESSOR-family    2ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-eat-4NOMINATIVE  
 'Your<sub>1</sub> folks<sub>2</sub> were eaten on you<sub>1</sub>.'
- (c) **behio<sub>1</sub>**    **pa-ne<sub>1</sub>-to-exana-tsi<sub>0</sub>**    **pa-ta<sub>1</sub>-hasalinai<sub>2</sub>**  
 BeMiserable    PLUR-1ACC-INVOL-MAKE-4NOM    PLUR-1INTRINLINK-ancestors  
 'Our<sub>1</sub> ancestors<sub>2</sub> were distressed on us<sub>1</sub>.'

We now turn to discuss the function(s) of passive. The lack of reference to the agent participant in impersonal passive <sup>II</sup>verbs (chapter 2: THE VERB 1.3.4) is a mere corollary of their F-predicate selectional constraints. Instead, it is the formal effect of pragmatic demands with <sup>II/III</sup>A-predicates, mainly linked to the structure of discourse.



I here bring forth the notion of *theme*, of course unrelated to the generative use of the term. A theme — Praguian terminology — is the referent targetted by the rhematic information an A-predicate carries into the clause (*cf. clausal topic* in Givón 2001 pp. 198, 277, 423). It may have as linguistic exponents noun phrases, pronominal free forms, morphological indexes, as well as zeros. At the clause-level, a theme can be *primary / secondary* (Givón 1984 p. 138; 2001 p. 196). In the context of a nominative-accusative syntax like Sikuani, the primary and secondary themes of a <sup>II</sup>verb surface as nominative and accusative arguments, respectively. Something, of course, clearly linked to the differential "topicality" — attention worthiness, cognitive prominence — of the semantic roles agent and patient. A *resident theme* is a referent that once introduced — typically by a noun phrase — remains active through a stretch of subsequent discourse (*cf. leitmotif topic* in Givón 1979 p. 299; *previously mentioned topic argument* p. 300; *recurrent referent* in Givón 1990 p. 749; *continuing topic* in Givón 2001 p. 344; also *active topic* p. 464; also *continued topic* in Erteschik-Shir 2007 pp. 24, 54). The theme is part and parcel of the manner-of-existing brought about by the clause, in other words, a central participant endowed with formal exponents, contrary to the *topic* as it will be characterised in chapter 9: THE ECONOMY OF INFORMATION AND DISCOURSE 2.1. The theme hierarchy primary / secondary can be preserved along a sequence of clauses.

An important function of the passive consists in monitoring the interplay between discourse themes, semantic roles, and argument positions. It thus allows a resident primary theme to surface as accusative — hence standing for the patient — while retaining its informationally-prominent status. In (53) the stage is Jaguar-moron being fooled by Rabbit-trickster (in the source text, these examples immediately precede (47a) above). Jaguar is introduced in (a) as the unique participant of the <sup>I</sup>verb 'stand'. In (b) it turns into the patient participant of a <sup>II</sup>verb 'tie' while staying the central character of the narrative. Hence its occurrence as accusative of a passivised verb.

- (53) (a) **Newüthü<sub>1</sub> nuka-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
           Jaguar           stand-3NOMINATIVE  
           'Jaguar was standing (there).'
- (b) **Ø<sub>1</sub>-kütanuta-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
           3ACCUSATIVE-FastenStanding-4NOMINATIVE  
           'He<sub>1</sub> was fastened (to a tree).'

As a reversed mirror-image of that, passive can also switch the theme hierarchy while keeping the referents in their original semantic role. In (54) Jaguar and Anteater — the sole animal feared by Jaguar — engage in a contest in which both cheat. In (a) Anteater is introduced as the unique participant of the <sup>I</sup>verb 'disagree'. It is a resident theme in (b). Then in (c) Jaguar is introduced as a secondary theme in the patient-victim role, thus preserving Anteater-agent's primary-theme status. But attention now switches to Jaguar's fate. The redundant (d) responds to such move, with Jaguar as the sole argument of the passivised verb.

- (54) (a) **apohehai-Ø<sub>1</sub>                   Tsonü<sub>1</sub>**  
           disagree-3NOMINATIVE   Anteater  
           'Anteater<sub>1</sub> disagreed.'
- (b) **anaepana-Ø<sub>1</sub>                   baha**  
           BeAngry-3NOMINATIVE   BOUNDARYCROSSING  
           'He<sub>1</sub> was angry.'

- (c) **nexatha** **Newüthü<sub>2</sub>** **Ø<sub>2</sub>-beyaxuaba-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 Then Jaguar 3ACCUSATIVE-kill-3NOMINATIVE  
 'He<sub>1</sub> then killed Jaguar<sub>2</sub>.'
- (d) **Newüthü<sub>2</sub>** **Ø<sub>2</sub>-beyaxuaba-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 Jaguar 3ACCUSATIVE-kill-4NOMINATIVE  
 'Jaguar<sub>2</sub> was killed.'

On the patient participant side and as a number of examples above show (42b, 43c, 47a, c, d, 48, 50b, 51b, 54d), the accusative noun phrase, unmarked for case and co-indexed with the zero accusative prefix, occurs freely. On the agent side, the pragmatic need to retrieve a participant present semantically, though not in the argumenthood sphere, prompts the occurrence of an also *case-unmarked*, nevertheless adjunct, noun phrase. (Kimbundu, Givón 1994, featuring an identical pattern for passive — excepted for person —, has gone a step further toward the syntactic integration of the agent noun phrase: **they<sub>0</sub>-saw-me** **by John**; there are clues to a parallel integrating drift on the part of Sikuani, as we will see.) But by and large, retrieving the passive agent seems a statistically minor concern for speakers in natural speech: 85% agentless passives in a 35-page text count, a figure comparable to the approximately 80% in Givón (1994) and Shibatani (1985) for English and Japanese respectively.

Firstly, an afterthought-like attitude making explicit the circumstances involved in the preceding clause prompts an entire passive clause with an overt agent, (55a). This same purpose may uniquely concern the identity of the agent in a previous passive clause. We then have either an overt-agent paraphrastic clause, (b), or the mere agent noun phrase in post-core position, (c).

- (55) (a) **baha** **pina** **tüpa-Ø<sub>1</sub>...**  
 BOUNDARYCROSSING REPORTATIVE die-3NOMINATIVE  
 'They<sub>1</sub> die, they<sub>0</sub> say, ...'
- ...baitsi** **ainawi<sub>2</sub>** **Ø<sub>1</sub>-pita-tsi<sub>0</sub>.**  
 FOCUS EvilSpirit 3ACCUSATIVE-take-4NOMINATIVE  
 '...indeed, they are caught by the evil spirits<sub>2</sub>.'

(Commenting the fate of whoever does not comply with ritual prophylaxy.)

- (b) **baharapowayo<sub>1</sub>** **Ø<sub>1</sub>-koxita-tsi<sub>0</sub>...**  
 ThatLittleWoman 3ACCUSATIVE-MakePregnant-4NOMINATIVE  
 'That little woman<sub>1</sub> was made pregnant, ...'
- Namo<sub>2</sub>** **baha** **Ø<sub>1</sub>-koxita-tsi<sub>0</sub>...**  
 Fox BOUNDARYCROSSING 3ACCUSATIVE-MakePregnant-4NOMINATIVE  
 '...she<sub>1</sub> was made pregnant by Fox<sub>2</sub>.'
- (c) **baha** **Ø<sub>1</sub>-werenexuaba-tsi** **kowara**  
 BOUNDARYCROSSING 3ACC-EatINSTANTANEOUSLY-4NOM piranha  
 'She<sub>1</sub> was instantaneously devoured, that is, by the piranhas<sub>2</sub>.'

Nothing seems to link the occurrence of the agent noun phrase to aspect or animacy / salience domains. For instance the three previous examples feature gnomic, resultative and dynamic perfective aspects — in that order —, and (56) shows an agent clearly generic, indefinite and low-ranked in the animacy scale.

- (56) **tsuhui<sub>1</sub>**    **ø<sub>2</sub>-nahaba-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 chiggers    3ACCUSATIVE-stretch/outreach-4NOMINATIVE  
 'He<sub>2</sub> was covered with chiggers<sub>1</sub>.'

Noun phrases related to agent / patient can simultaneously occur, (57a). No restriction applies as to <sup>III</sup>verb participants' noun phrases, (b).

- (57) (a) **Tsawaliwalinü<sub>1</sub>**    **athübüa**    **betsia...**  
 Ts.    ElevatedPlace    ALLATIVEUPANDATIVE  
  
 ...**ø<sub>1</sub>-kapuna-tsi<sub>0</sub>**    **Kotsala<sub>2</sub>**  
 3ACCUSATIVE-FlyCarrying-4NOMINATIVE    K.  
 'Tsawaliwalinü<sub>1</sub> was taken up high in the air by Kotsala<sub>2</sub>.'

(Giant eagle taking revenge for having had its little brother eaten by giant anaconda.)

- (b) **wahamonae<sub>1</sub>**    **Wowai<sub>2</sub>**    **ø<sub>1</sub>-tsipaeba-tsi<sub>0</sub>**    **liwaisixi<sub>3</sub>**  
 OurFamily    Whites    3ACCUSATIVE-TellTo-4NOMINATIVE    LittleStories  
 'Our folks<sub>1</sub> were told little stories<sub>3</sub> by the Whites<sub>2</sub>.'

Further, if compared to (55c), in (57a) the agent noun phrase **Kotsala** lacks the typical prosody of an afterthought, something like the intonation contour and / or the possibility of a pause disclosing a constituent extraneous to the clause core.

I will now carry this observation somewhat further in order to tackle a potential diachronic issue. The globalizing prosody in (57a) might suggest that the agent noun phrase is currently engaged in a drift toward enlisting back in the clause core. Functionally, the pragmatic pressure for radically demoting the agent participant would be nascently giving way to the semantic pressure for having the agent role in the syntactic foreground (in Queixalós 2013 I propound a similar account for the diachrony of ergativity). As a result, a passive voice would yield an innovative divalent clause-pattern, namely an inverse voice (Gildea 1994; Givón 1994), with the agent phrase formally joining the third argument of <sup>III</sup>verbs as simultaneously featuring a noun phrase unmarked for case yet lacking indexation on the verb.

- (58) **Kawiri<sub>1</sub>**    **ø<sub>1</sub>-bihiana-tsi<sub>0</sub>,**    **Adai<sub>2</sub>**  
 TheKawiri    3ACCUSATIVE-damage-4NOMINATIVE    A.  
 'The Kawiri<sub>1</sub> were metamorphosed, by Adai<sub>2</sub>.'

(Wars against cannibals.)

The linear order of constituents provides additional supportive evidence for the evolutive process so far canvassed. In a number of occasions the agent noun phrase leaves the typical position of an afterthought and lands somewhere pre-verbally, as already seen in (55a-b), (56) above. What is more, (59) displays — along with (57b) above — an agent(-like) noun phrase between the accusative phrase and the verb, which, if compared to the active (c) immediately

following (b) in the original, amounts to a reversed linear order between the accusative and the "agent" phrases.

- (59) (a) **paneamonahiwi<sub>1</sub>** **piayainü<sub>2</sub>** **ø<sub>1</sub>-itaxutokahuka-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 OurHusbands monster 3ACCUSATIVE-PullOutTheEyes-4NOMINATIVE  
 'Our husbands<sub>1</sub> had their eyes pulled out by a monster<sub>2</sub>.'
- (b) **tsonü<sub>1</sub>** **newüthü<sub>2</sub>** **ø<sub>1</sub>-kuhunawa-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 anteater jaguar 3ACCUSATIVE-fear-4NOMINATIVE  
 'The anteater<sub>1</sub> is feared by the jaguar<sub>2</sub>.'

(Aphoristic assertion.)

- (c) **baharaxuatha** **newüthü-monae<sub>1</sub>** **tsonü<sub>2</sub>** **apo-ø<sub>2</sub>-xae-ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 ThisIsWhy jaguar-family anteater NEGATION-3ACC-eat-3NOM  
 'This is why jaguars<sub>1</sub> do not eat anteaters<sub>2</sub>.'

Via this route, and hinging on the diachronic fortune of the dereferentialised nominative suffix, an inverse voice based on word order (Givón 1994) might emerge from such unstability of the agent-participant overt instantiation. The following excerpt provides a synchronic epitome for the foregoing conjecture. (Coreference indexation kept constant.)

(60)

- i. **tahuyapihiwa<sub>1</sub>** **ne<sub>2</sub>-to-xane-tsi<sub>0</sub>** **piayainü<sub>3</sub>...**  
 MyOlderSister 1ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-eat-4NOMINATIVE monster  
 'I<sub>2</sub> had my older sister<sub>1</sub> eaten, that is, by a monster<sub>3</sub>.'
- ii. **...piayainü<sub>3</sub>** **raha** **ne<sub>2</sub>-to-xane-tsi<sub>0</sub>...**  
 monster ASSERTIVE 1ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-eat-4NOMINATIVE  
 '...I<sub>2</sub> had her<sub>1</sub> eaten by a monster<sub>3</sub>...'
- iii. **...ne<sub>2</sub>-yahawünü-xane-ø<sub>3</sub>**  
 1ACCUSATIVE-relative-eat-3NOMINATIVE  
 '...he<sub>3</sub> ate my relative<sub>1</sub> [lit. he<sub>3</sub> relative-ate me<sub>2</sub>].'

The narrative is about what happened to the narrator's heedless sister.

- i. **Tahuyapihiwa** is the theme, and also a patient, two combined ingredients of passive voice. A higher participant in animacy, the affected first person, preempts the accusative position *via* the applicative **-to-**. 'Sister' is therefore demoted to third argument of a <sup>III</sup>verb. Now, the agent — a monster — needs to be introduced as the other protagonist of the story. To that end it surfaces as an afterthought, **piayainü**.
- ii. Gaining pragmatic status as a secondary theme, the agent has its noun phrase **piayainü** migrate from the post-core location to the pre-verbal one, canonical for argument noun phrases. The verb keeps its passive orientation toward 'me'.
- iii. 'Sister' loses its argument position by incorporating into the verb, which allows the latter revert to active voice and the extant participants appear as agent / primary theme / <sup>II</sup>verb

nominative, the monster, and affected first person / secondary theme / accusative, the narrator.

We are in a position to wrap up the topic of passive nominalisations alluded to in chapter 5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES 4.2. Compare the examples with all third-person participants adduced in (61): in the active (a) the person prefix **pe-** is coindexed with the gender suffix **-wa** and refers to the agent participant, a woman, while the accusative prefix **Ø-** refers to the patient participant (say, a man); in the passive (b) the person prefix **pe-** espouses the nonreferentiality of the passive suffix **-tsi<sub>0</sub>**, and the gender suffix **-wa** corefers by default with the accusative prefix **Ø-**.

- (61) (a) **pe<sub>1</sub>-Ø<sub>2</sub>-konitsi-wa<sub>1</sub>**  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-whip-FEMENINE  
 'the woman<sub>1</sub> who whipped him<sub>2</sub> [lit. his<sub>2</sub> female whipper<sub>1</sub>].'
- (b) **pe<sub>0</sub>-Ø<sub>1</sub>-konitsi-wa<sub>1</sub>-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-whip-FEMENINE-4NOMINATIVE  
 'the whipped woman<sub>1</sub>'

A nonoriented nominalisation also qualifies for voice alternation. Recall that this type of nominalisation uses as gender suffix the nonanimate **-hawa** in its nonreferential capacity, which is tantamount to barring any coreference with a participant. In the active, (62a), the intrinsic linkee prefix **pe-** refers to the agent and the accusative prefix to the patient. In the passive, (b), the accusative prefix still refers to the patient, but again the intrinsic linkee prefix is, as to reference, bound by the passive suffix **-tsi<sub>0</sub>**.

- (62) (a) **pe<sub>1</sub>-Ø<sub>2</sub>-konitsi-hawa**  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-whip-NONANIMATE  
 'his<sub>1</sub> whipping him<sub>2</sub>'
- (b) **pe<sub>0</sub>-Ø<sub>1</sub>-konitsi-hawa-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 3INTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-whip-NONANIMATE-4NOMINATIVE  
 'his<sub>1</sub> being whipped'

Participial constructions (chapter 5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES 3) behave likewise with respect to voice, provided the participant surfacing as the lexical noun is, in terms of reference, compatible with the <sup>II</sup>verb-participle arguments. I resume the phrasing above (61) for ease of comparison. In the active, (63a), the person prefix **pe-** corefers with the noun **petiriwa** and stands for the agent participant, a woman, while the accusative prefix **Ø-** refers to the patient participant (say, a man); in the passive (b) the person prefix **pe-** takes up the nonreferentiality of the passive suffix **-tsi<sub>0</sub>**, and the noun corefers by default with the accusative prefix **Ø-**. See a natural example of a passive participle phrase in (c) [...]<sub>2</sub>.

- (63) (a) **pe<sub>1</sub>-Ø<sub>2</sub>-hitsipae-petiriwa<sub>1</sub>**  
 3EXTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-want-woman  
 'woman<sub>1</sub> loving him<sub>2</sub>'
- (b) **pe<sub>0</sub>-Ø<sub>1</sub>-hitsipae-petiriwa<sub>1</sub>-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 3EXTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-want-woman-4NOMINATIVE  
 'woman<sub>1</sub> loved (by someone)'

- (c) [pe<sub>0</sub>-Ø<sub>1</sub>-rahutsi-tenapa-tsi<sub>0</sub>]<sub>2</sub>...  
 3EXTRINSICLINKEE-3ACCUSATIVE-give-paddle-4NOMINATIVE  
 ...Ø<sub>1</sub>-to-pona-tsi<sub>0</sub>  
 3ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-go-4NOMINATIVE  
 Lit. 'He<sub>1</sub> was left behind by the paddle he had been supplied with<sub>2</sub>.'

(On a canoe in the middle of rapids.)

Passive deverbal constructions are compatible with adjunct positions: (64a) shows a case-marked noun, and (b) a postposition phrase. The passive suffix takes the whole adjunct under its scope. (This topic will be comprehensively addressed in chapter 7: CLAUSE COMBINING 2.2.1.). Thus, on account of their verbal component, nominalisations and participial constructions undergo voice alternation in spite of occurring as nonpredicate clause-level constituents.

- (64) (a) **pematawajibiwi<sub>1</sub> bajarapowa<sub>2</sub> Ø<sub>2</sub>-yawünüpita-pona-Ø<sub>1</sub>...**  
 PrayerPerformers ThatWoman 3ACCUSATIVE-mentionITERATIVELY-3NOM  
 'Prayer performers<sub>1</sub> repeatedly invoke that woman<sub>2</sub>...'  
 ...ainawi<sub>3</sub> [pe<sub>0</sub>-nakobetoxotsi-wa<sub>2</sub>-xae-tsi<sub>0</sub>]  
 EvilSpirits 3INTRINSICLINKEE-kidnap-FEMENINE-CAUSE-4NOMINATIVE  
 '...because she<sub>2</sub> had been kidnapped by the evil spirits<sub>3</sub>.'  
 (b) **kapatabaruta-Ø<sub>1</sub> [pe<sub>0</sub>-epaukubi [kuhinae-tsi<sub>0</sub>]**  
 revive-3NOMINATIVE 3INTRINSICLINKEE-CutInTwo ADESSIVE-4NOMINATIVE  
 'They<sub>1</sub> came back to life after having been cut in two.'

Inherently-nominal constituents in predicate position are also subject to voice alternation provided an applicative preverb bestows them an accusative slot (1.2) as in (20c) above and here:

- (65) Ø<sub>1</sub>-[tsita]-pexania-nakua-tsi<sub>0</sub>  
 3ACCUSATIVE-OPINION-pretty-country-4NOMINATIVE  
 'It seemed to them<sub>1</sub> an attractive country [more lit. they<sub>1</sub> were AttractiveCountry-opinion-cued].'

#### 2.4.2 EXISTENTIAL VOICE

One kind of noun incorporation complies with the definition of *voice* as a formal intransitivising strategy whereby an A-predicate changes its basic relation to the nominative argument (semantic role, referentiality, exponence): when the unaccusative verb incorporates the expression of its unique participant (a case of direct incorporation) without promoting any other participant to the argument sphere. The ensuing valence is reduced to zero and the nominative loses its capacity to refer. As expected, no argument noun phrase can co-occur. Resuming (28a) renumbered (66a), and also (b)-(c):

- (66) (a) **Kudaido nakua-tha [mene-boka-Ø<sub>0</sub>]**  
 K. region-SOCIATIVE river-lie-3NOMINATIVE  
 'In the region of Kudaido rivers are stationary [lit. ...there is river-lying].'

- (b) **we-wahi-ruka-rena-Ø<sub>0</sub>**  
 ABLATIVE-song-<sup>I</sup>hang-COMELEVEL-3NOMINATIVE  
 'There was music closing-in up above.'

(Parents in search of their children kidnapped by celestial creatures.)

- (c) **mapanakua wetsia pehunaekuhinae...**  
 ThisWorld ABLATIVEUPANDATIVE AfterTheirClimbing  
 'After they climbed up (to the sky) from this world...'

**...apo-yahawünü-tüpa-Ø<sub>0</sub>**  
 NEGATION-relative-die-3NOMINATIVE  
 '...there were no more deaths of relatives.'

### 2.4.3 MEDIO-PASSIVE

As we know, the **-tsi<sub>0</sub>** passive bears on <sup>II</sup>verbs with a prominent participant as accusative, thus leaving a gap in case of a nonprominent participant, admittedly a much less pressing need in pragmatic terms but nevertheless far from inexistent. The medio-passive fills that gap. Given two third-person participants of a <sup>II</sup>verb that selects as nominative a participant high in animacy and, symmetrically, as accusative a participant low in animacy, the middle prefix **na-** (chapter 2: THE VERB 2.1.2, and 2.1 here) saturates the accusative position while evicting the agent participant from the nominative position. As a rule, the medio-passive results from the functional contradiction emerging between the semantic role of the <sup>II</sup>verb nominative — typically agentive — and the inherent semantics of the extant participant, unable by itself to perform the described manner-of-existing. Indefiniteness and genericity can take part in the prominence scale involved, thus allowing for a few instances of animate / human participants in the basic verb accusative position. (An instance of that can be seen in (71c) below.) Compare:

- (67) (a) **Ketsuli<sub>1</sub> kuererebo<sub>2</sub> Ø<sub>2</sub>-xuaba-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 K. arrow 3ACCUSATIVE-dump/lose-3NOMINATIVE  
 'Ketsuli<sub>1</sub> dumped/lost the arrow<sub>2</sub>.'
- (b) **kuererebo<sub>1</sub> na-xuaba-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 arrow MIDDLE-lose-3NOMINATIVE  
 'The arrow<sub>1</sub> was lost [lit. the arrow dumped/lost itself].'

The co-indexing in the last example intends to suggest that, contrary to the passive, the medio-passive is morphologically promotional. That is, the nonprominent participant is presumed to migrate up to the extant nominative position, lest living the manner-of-existing with no participant at all. Hence, the only available noun phrase — 'arrow' in (67b) — is nominative. (As we know — 2.4.2 —, the lack of any participant befits the existential voice, built upon unaccusative verbs *and vetoing out any argument noun phrase*.) Such construal of the medio-passive resonates with Romance **se vend-en<sub>1</sub> libros<sub>1</sub>, ces livres<sub>1</sub> se vend-ent<sub>1</sub> bien**, and allows to account for its capacity to accommodate the passive, as we will now see.

A <sup>II</sup>verb having its accusative position filled by the middle along the lines of the medio-passive can further take an applicative preverb and thus generate a new accusative position available for a prominent participant, (68a). With a third person as accusative, (b), the verb is

likely to turn into a passive, having the nonreferential fourth person prefix preempt the nominative morphological slot, (c).

- (68) (a) **kuererebo<sub>1</sub> ne<sub>2</sub>-to-na-xuaba-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 arrow 1ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-MIDDLE-lose-3NOMINATIVE  
 'My<sub>2</sub> arrow<sub>1</sub> got lost [more lit. the arrow<sub>1</sub> got lost to me<sub>2</sub>].'
- (b) **kuererebo<sub>1</sub> Ø<sub>2</sub>-to-na-xuaba-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 arrow 3ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-MIDDLE-lose-3NOMINATIVE  
 'His<sub>2</sub> arrow<sub>1</sub> got lost [more lit. the arrow<sub>1</sub> got lost to him<sub>2</sub>].'
- (c) **kuererebo<sub>1</sub> Ø<sub>2</sub>-to-na-xuaba-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 arrow 3ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-MIDDLE-lose-4NOMINATIVE  
 'He<sub>2</sub> had his arrow<sub>1</sub> lost [more lit. he<sub>2</sub> experienced the loss of his arrow<sub>1</sub>].'

Regarding noun phrases, we observe that **kuererebo**, 'arrow' — the original patient of **xuaba**, 'lose' — stands in the following positions: 1. in the basic divalent pattern of (67a), accusative; 2. in the monovalent medio-passive of (67b), nominative; 3. in the divalent applicative medio-passives of (68a) and (b), nominative; and 4. in the monovalent personal passive of (c), "agent" phrase (of course not properly *agent* semantically). Both noun phrases can co-occur in a single clause, reproducing the linear order we met above with simple passives (2.4.1, examples (55)-(56)), *i.e.* accusative noun-phrase first.

Turning to **Ketsuli** — the original "agent" of **xuaba**, 'lose' in (67a) — we have it: 1. in the basic divalent pattern of (67a), nominative; 2. in the divalent applicative medio-passive of (69a), nominative; and 3. in the monovalent personal passive of (b), accusative.

- (69) (a) **Ketsuli<sub>1</sub> Ø<sub>1</sub>-to-na-xuaba-Ø<sub>2</sub>**  
 K. 3ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-MIDDLE-lose-3NOMINATIVE  
 'It<sub>2</sub> got lost to Ketsuli<sub>1</sub>.'
- (b) **Ketsuli<sub>1</sub> Ø<sub>1</sub>-to-na-xuaba-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 K. 3ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-MIDDLE-lose-4NOMINATIVE  
 Ketsuli<sub>1</sub> had it<sub>2</sub> / something<sub>2</sub> lost [more lit. Nusalia<sub>1</sub> experienced the loss of it<sub>2</sub> / something<sub>2</sub>].'

Both noun phrases can co-occur in a single clause, reproducing the linear order we met above with simple passives (2.4.1, examples (55)-(56)), *i.e.* accusative noun-phrase first.

- (70) **baharaponü<sub>1</sub> pihakuererebo<sub>2</sub> Ø<sub>1</sub>-to-na-xuaba-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 ThatMan HisArrow 3ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-MIDDLE-lose-4NOM  
 'That man<sub>1</sub> had his arrow<sub>2</sub> lost [more lit. That man<sub>1</sub> experienced the loss of his arrow<sub>2</sub>].'

(I owe the two preceding examples to David Ginebra who, at my request, kindly collected them from the Sikuni speaker Agustín Rodríguez during fieldwork in Casanare among the Yamalero, March 2023.)

Medio-passive voice implements several functions, some pragmatic and one semantic: 1. the equivalent of simple passives with a nonprominent accusative participant, (71a); 2. statements of general scope, (b); 3. moral precepts, (c); 4. in the future (courteous imperative), practical recommendations, (d), and recipes, (e); finally, causeless change or turn of events,



(f). In the second clause in this latter example the speaker displays a applicative medio-passive undergoing passivation.

- (71) (a) **pabaxuto<sub>1</sub> na-yakina-Ø<sub>1</sub> kaniwi**  
 ThisSheet MIDDLE-write-3NOMINATIVE yesterday  
 'This page<sub>1</sub> was written yesterday.'
- (b) **itsiatha [baharaponü kaetaxukuene]<sub>1</sub> na-yapütane-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 however ThatOne OneFootCharacter MIDDLE-know-3NOMINATIVE  
 'However, [the one-foot character of that one]<sub>1</sub> is something known.'

(Enumerating jungle monsters.)

- (c) **nakaemonae<sub>1</sub> na-asiwa-Ø<sub>1</sub> tsane**  
 One'sOwnFamily MIDDLE-CareFor-3NOMINATIVE FUTURE  
 'One shall care for one's own family<sub>1</sub>.'
- (d) **[hiwi pakuenia koikoihai]<sub>1</sub> na-yaiyatae-ena-Ø<sub>1</sub>**  
 people ThisWay speak MIDDLE-respect-FUTURE-3NOMINATIVE  
 '[The people's way of speaking]<sub>1</sub> must be respected.'

(Scheduling a meeting on literacy matters.)

- (e) **baharapakuenia raha apo-na-ubi-Ø<sub>1</sub>!**  
 ThatWay ASSERTIVE NEGATION-MIDDLE-plant-3NOMINATIVE  
 'It<sub>1</sub> is not to be sown that way.'

(How to plant manioc.)

- (f) **pihakuatha na-iriba-Ø<sub>1</sub> newahü<sub>1</sub>...**  
 ByOneself MIDDLE-scrape-3NOMINATIVE manioc  
 'The manioc<sub>1</sub> scraped by itself.'
- ...pihakuatha mera<sub>1</sub> Ø<sub>2</sub>-to-na-puana-tsi<sub>0</sub>**  
 ByOneself water 3ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-FetchWater-4NOMINATIVE  
 'Water fetched by itself for her<sub>2</sub>. [lit. She experienced the water fetching by itself].'

(Wonder woman's feats.)

### 3 SUBJECT AND OBJECT

By all means the notion of argument is disjoined from that of participant role: we have seen that, roughly speaking, the nominative encompasses altogether agents of unergative / divalent / trivalent verbs along with experiencers of unaccusative and deponent verbs, plus patients of medio-passive verbs, while the accusative stands for experiencers / patients / recipients of divalent / trivalent verbs as well as agents — the causee — in the causatives formed out of unergative / divalent / trivalent verbs.

But there is more to the dissociation between levels of structure than the just mentioned — and foreseen — relative mismatch between arguments and semantic roles. Getting back to the pragmatic notion of *theme* announced at the onset of chapter 4: BASIC CLAUSES and

introduced here in 2.4.1, let us resume the idea that talking of an F-predicate as oriented toward one argument is tantamount to saying that its direct A-predicate correlate distinguishes a given argument as unmarked at the coding level — as regards this language: nominative — and as prominent at the pragmatic level — primary theme (for expository convenience, *primary* subsumes *primary* as opposed to secondary and *single*). As per such direct mapping, in what I have been calling *basic clause* the primary theme is embodied in the nominative of <sup>I/II/III</sup>verbs, whereas passive voice has the primary theme correspond, by default, to the accusative — the single argument in such pattern. The amply acknowledged correlation between *subject* and *topic(ality)* (Keenan 1976; Mithun 1991; Shibatani 1991; Givón 2001 198) — chiefly due to the heavy bearing of pragmatics on the syntactic architecture of the clause — should lead us to predict that the conjunction of the nominative and the passive accusative calls for a third level of structure beyond semantic roles and argument coding, that which the notion of *subject* belongs in: so-called grammatical relations. The subsequent chapters will attempt at disclosing some evidence for the *syntactic* promotion of the passive accusative and, hence, for the existence of a subject.

For the sake of completion and terminology congruence, we can accommodate 1) the accusative into the notion of *object* — albeit the lack of any new generalisation coming out from such move — as the argument advanced to subject in the personal passive if prominent, and in the medio-passive if nonprominent. This allows us to return to argumenthood in <sup>III</sup>verbs (agent as nominative, recipient as accusative) so as to further map onto *indirect object* what I dubbed third argument in chapter 2: **THE VERB 1.3.3** (no index on the verb and noun phrase unmarked for case), now extended to the argument expressing the demoted patient participant in causativized and applicative <sup>II</sup>VRBs.

#### 4 SUMMARY

In this chapter I have addressed the mechanisms whereby a verb either gains an argument or looses one, with the addition of the opportunistic setting which merely recasts semantic roles among the existing argument positions. Voice typically reduces the verb basic arity — *i.e.* that directly inherited from the lexicon. Compared to the other valence reducing alternations, it is seen as *sui generis* since the manipulation of arguments prompts the emergence, on formal grounds, of a syntactically privileged (set of) argument(s). Such privilege is articulated through generalisations that abstract away from semantic, pragmatic and coding levels of structure, as discussed in the immediately previous section.