

Valency increasing strategies (mostly in Oceanic languages)

Oceanic languages are well-known (Evans 2003, Margetts 1999, Naess 2003, Pawley 1986, Pawley & Reid 1979, inter alia) for having mainly intransitive verbs as underived verbs and for deriving most transitive verbs (if not all) through transitivizing derivations.

They are also well-known for allowing direct objects of bivalent verbs referring not only to patient, but also to location, goal, or cause, as long as they have been derived by one of the transitive or applicative suffixes.

"Direct objects divide into two types according to the transitive suffix which they select. The suffix *-i marks a cluster of roles of the sort typically associated with direct objects - patients and products of agentive verbs, stimuli/targets of psychological verbs - and it also marks location/goal of verbs of motion and posture. The suffix *aki(ni), on the other hand, marks a cluster of roles which are of the 'accessory' or 'indirect' sort: instruments (with agentive verbs), concomitant circumstances (with posture and motion verbs), cause or concomitant circumstances (e.g. with psychological verbs), etc. The opposition might be labeled 'close' vs. 'remote'" (Pawley & Reid 1980:105-106).

This is the main reason, as far as Oceanic languages are concerned, for the differentiation between transitive ("close" objects) and applicative suffixes ("remote" objects):

Evans (2003), include, in particular, the following affixes:

- a) the Proto Oceanic *-i suffix (occurring only with consonant-final and *-a final verb stems; otherwise: object enclitics attach directly):
 - with Actor subject verbs: applicative (P: role of location, goal, addressee or stimulus)
 - with Undergoer subject verbs: causative
- b) the POc *-akin[i] suffix:
 - applicative use, with P in role of concomitant, cause/stimulus, content, product, instrument, beneficiary;
 - causative use: first with motion verbs and further extended to non- motion verbs.
- c) the POc *pa[ka]- prefix:
 - *pa- and *paka- causative prefixes: S = P, A = causer participant;
 - in a few languages: *pa- causative, *paka- multiplicative use with numerals.

In quite a few Oceanic languages, however, there is only one suffix left, which introduces objects of either type of role, close and remote.

Saliba (Papua New Guinea) (Margetts 1999:153-154)

- patients of agentive verbs and verbs denoting 'transfer' of some kind:

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|-----|-----------------|-----|-----------------------|
| 1a. | <i>Se-lulu.</i> | 1b. | <i>Se-lulu-i-gau.</i> |
| | 3PL-fight | | 3PL-FIGHT-APPL-1SG.O |
| | "They fought." | | "They attacked me." |

- stimuli with psychological verbs and verbs of perception:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|-----|---------------------------|
| 2a. | <i>Ye-koipili.</i> | 2b. | <i>Ye-koipili-ei-gau.</i> |
| | 3SG-angry | | 3SG-angry-APPL-1SG.O |
| | "She is angry." | | "She is angry with me." |

- addressees with verbs of communication:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-----|-------------------------|
| 3a. | <i>Ye-yoga.</i> | 3b. | <i>Ye-yoga-nei-gau.</i> |
| | 3SG-call | | 3SG-call-APPL-1SG.O |
| | "He called." | | "He called me." |

4. Iaaï (Loyalty islands)

intransitive verb	transitivized verb + object
<i>cekön</i> "faire des plantations"	<i>cekön-â u</i> "planter l'igname" (<i>patient</i>)
<i>sehnyin</i> "be happy"	<i>sehnyin-â maca</i> "rejoice of the news" (<i>stimulus, source</i>)
<i>walak</i> "play"	<i>walak-â wathâ</i> "play with a ball" (<i>accessory</i>)
<i>laba</i> "sit, stay"	<i>laba-a hu</i> "be in a boat" (<i>location</i>)

Bethwyn Evans (2003) convincingly argues that there is a correlation between the semantic types of verbs and their morphosyntactic characteristics. Intransitive verbs are divided into Actor-subject verbs (English *eat, read, learn, weave*) and Undergoer-subject verbs (English *break, burn, wake up, roll*). When an intransitive verb has one or more transitive, derivationally related counterparts, the relation may be of an applicative type or of a causative type. In the applicative type, the S argument of the intransitive verb corresponds to the A argument of the transitive verb; and in the causative type, the S argument of the intransitive verb corresponds to the O argument of the transitive verb. This is what Evans proposes for POc: Undergoer-subject verbs participated in causative relations, while Actor-subject verbs participate in applicative relations. Derivational relations between intransitive and transitive verbs could operate in either direction:

- a transitive verb could be based on an intransitive verb: transitivization with the causative prefix *pa[ka]- and the suffixes *-i and *-akini
- and an intransitive verb could be based on a transitive verb: detransitivization with the prefixes *ma- and *ta-, and reduplication.

In most instances, there is agreement among the Oceanic languages with respect to verbs of the same semantic type. For example, Undergoer-subject verbs with the meaning 'be closed, shut' uniformly participate in causative derivations ('cause to be closed'), and Actor-subject "corporeal" verbs (verbs of excretion and secretion, and verbs of consumption) regularly participate in applicative relations ('drink (intr.)' and 'drink sth.').

Some difficulties though, as for example reflexes of POc *mate 'die'. In some languages, the derivations are of the causative type: "cause to die", "kill". In other, it is the applicative derivation (transitive suffix) which occurs ("die of"). And in some languages, both derivations are attested.

East Futunan

- 5a. *mate* "be dead", "a dead person", "death", "die out": Undergoer-subject type;
- 5b. *fakamate* "commit suicide", "be anesthetized": Undergoer-subject type
but also "hypnotize (snake)": Actor-subject type
- 5c. *mate'i* "extinguish, put out (fire)": Actor-subject type
- 5d. *tamate* "kill (sg)", *tamatamate* "kill (pl)": Actor-subject type...
but *ta-* is a prefix which usually intransitivizes the verb.

Also some more "classical" derivation in East Futunan:

- 6. *nofo* "stay", *fakanofa* "enthrown", *nofo'i* "stay somewhere".

1. Transitivization

The roles denoted by reflexes of Proto Oceanic *-i are multiple (Evans 2003:101):

- location or goal with motion and posture verbs (sit > sit on; run > run for)
- location with bodily process verbs (spit > spit on)
- addressee with verbs of speaking (cry > cry for s.o.; call > call s.o.)
- stimulus with emotion and psychological verbs (be angry > be angry with, angry at s.o.; dream > dream (a dream))
- patient with process-action verbs (pull > pull sth.)

Boumaa Fijian: "The great majority of verbs in Fijian can be used without any suffix - and are then intransitive, taking subject but not object; or with a suffix, and are then transitive, taking subject and object." (Dixon 1988:201)

In Boumaa Fijian, the suffixes *-va* and *-a* are allomorphs of a multipurpose transitivizing suffix used to create transitive verbs regardless of the precise semantic relationship between the base verb and the derived verb. There are two different ways in which the intransitive form of a verb may relate to the transitive form, according to the semantic basis of the division of verbs into A and O classes:

Boumaa Fijian (Dixon 1988:45)

- A = S

7a. *E la'o a marama.*

3SG go DEF woman

"The woman is going."

7b. *E la'o-va a suka a marama.*

3SG go-TR DEF sugar DEF woman

"The woman is going for sugar."

8a. *E tadra a gone.*

3SG dream DEF child

"The child is dreaming."

8b. *E tadra-a a'aa'ana a gone.*

3SG dream-TR food DEF child

"The child is dreaming of food."

- O = S

9a. *E-lo'i a kaukamea yai.*

3SG-get.twisted DEF metal this

"This (piece of) metal is bent."

9b. *E-lo'i-a a kaukamea yai a cauravou.*

3SG-get.twisted-TR DEF metal this DEF youth

"The youth is bending this (piece of) metal."

10a. *E tawa a 'oro yai.*

3SG be.inhabited DEF village this

"This village is inhabited."

10b. *E tawa-na a 'oro yai a vuulagi.*

3SG be.inhabited-TR DEF village this DEF strangers

"Strangers live in this village."

2. Applicative

D. Creissels (2016): In the typological literature, the applicative is generally defined in terms of promotion of an oblique to P. However, a considerable proportion of the valency alternations designated as applicatives, in descriptions of individual languages as well as in the typological literature, do not meet this definition, which consequently must be revised, as follows: applicative voices are morphologically coded valency alternations in which the argument structure of the morphologically more complex form differs from that of the less complex one by the addition of an *applied argument* encoded as the P term of a transitive construction, whereas the A/U argument in the construction of the base verb is maintained as the A term of the applicative construction. This definition leaves open the question of the

treatment of the initial P, which shows cross-linguistic variation. It also leaves open the question of a possible alternative coding of the applied argument. In this respect, a distinction must be drawn between *optional applicatives* and *obligatory applicatives*.

In languages that do not have double-transitive constructions, the introduction of the applied argument triggers the demotion of the initial P. In the applicative construction illustrated in Yup'ik, the beneficiary is coded as the P term of a transitive construction, whereas the patient can only be expressed as an oblique in the Ablative case.

Yup'ik (Mithun, 2000)

- 11a. *Taqukaq tuqut-aa angute-m.*
 bear kill-DECL.A.3SG.P.3SG man-ERG
 "The man is killing the bear."
- 11b. *Arnaq tuquy-ut-aa angute-m taquka-mek.*
 woman kill-APPL-DECL.A.3SG.P.3SG man-ERG bear-ABL
 "The man is killing the bear for the woman."

Applicative in Oceanic languages

Pawley (1973): semantic roles associated with Proto Oceanic *-aki(ni) [*akini + pronominal object suffixes, *aki elsewhere]: concomitant, cause, instrument, beneficiary); verbal preposition *kini- 'by, with (instrument)'.
Grammatical functions of *akin[i] reflexes:

a) transitivising: both causative (S = O) and applicative functions (S = A; O mostly instrument and concomitant, also content of speech, location);

Manam (North New Guinea) (Lichtenberk 1983:218

- applicative function (with verbs such as *like, want, know, eat, wait, tell a story, mumble*)

- 12a. *U_s-nanári SV*
 1SG.REALIS-tell.story
 "I told a story."
- 12b. *Yábu u-nanarí-t-a -i. OAVtr*
 Yabu 1SG.REALIS-tell.story-THC-TR-3SG.OBJ
 "I told the story about Yabu."

- causative function (with verbs such as *be finished, be strong, be straight, roll, walk, shake*)

- 13a. *até a i-ádo. SV*
 ground 3SG.realis-be.straight
 "The ground is level."
- 13b. *ate a ta-dó-r-a -i OAVtr*
 ground INCL.REALIS-be.straight-THC-TR-3SG.OBJ
 "Let's level the ground."

b). Detransitivising (undergoer subject verbs; object incorporation)

In several Oceanic languages reflexes of *akin(i) seem to have the converse of the transitivising function and actually derive intransitive verbs. For example, reflexes of Proto Micronesian *-aki derive verbs with a resultant state or 'agentless' passive interpretation. Idem with Wayan Fijian *-Caki*, which has both a transitivizing and a detransitivising function.

c) Reciprocal, sociative, dispersive, reciprocative/iterative (movement to and fro hither and thither). In association with the POC *paRi- prefix

East Uvean

- 'ita* "be angry" *fe-'ita-'aki* "be angry with one another"
'alu "to go" *fe-'alu-'aki* "to go hither and thither"
nofo "stay" *fe-nofo-'aki* "stay/live in several places"

d) Prepositional: instrumental

East Uvean

14a. 'E au tulei te fu'u 'akaú 'aki te tokí.
 NPST 1SG cut SPC CLS tree with SPC axe

"I am cutting a tree with an axe."

14b. 'E tu'usi 'aki e Soane te fu'u niu te tokí.
 NPST cut with ERG Soane SPC CLS coconut SPC axe

"Soane is cutting a coconut tree with an axe."

3. Causative

Creissels: "In their typical use, causative voices are morphologically coded valency alternations in which the argument structure of the morphologically more complex form differs from that of the less complex one by the addition of *causer* showing the following two characteristics: formally, it is encoded as the A term of a transitive construction, and semantically, it exerts its control on a *causee* corresponding semantically to the A/U argument of the base verb."

Classical Nahuatl (Launey 1980)

15a. Ni-tzàtzi.

A.1SG-scream.PRS

"I am screaming."

15b. Ti-n ch-tzàtz tia.

A.2SG-P.1SG-scream.CAUS.PRS

"You are making me scream."

15c. Ti-c-cua in nacatl.

A.2SG-P.3SG-eat.PRS DEF meat

"You are eating the meat."

15d. Ni-mitz-cualtia in nacatl

A.1SG-P.2SG-eat.CAUS.PRS DEF meat

"I am making you eat the meat."

Two main semantic types of causatives can be distinguished:

- *direct causative*: the causer actively participates in the caused event, acting on the causee in order to get the content of the base verb realized, which will imply some kind of coercion in case the causee is animate.

- *indirect causative* ('have someone do something'), the causer is conceived of as a mere instigator or distant cause of the realization of the verb content. Depending on the individual languages, direct and indirect causatives may be formally distinct.

Proto Oceanic causative prefix *pa[ka]- (*pa- and *paka- causative: S = O, A = causer participant); the reflexes are found in a variety of functions, such as causative, multiplicative, deriving ordinal numerals and verbal modifiers, associative ('like X') and delocutive ('say X').

East Uvean

- causative derivation

With intransitive verbs VS > faka-VOA (S > O)

'ago "be empty" faka'ago "empty"

moe "be asleep" fakamoe "put to sleep"

16a. 'E moe te tamasi'i.

NPST asleep SPC child

"The child is sleeping."

- 16b. 'E *faka-moe* te *tamasi'i* e *tana fa'* .
 NPST CAUS-assleep SPC child ERG her mother
 "The mother puts to sleep her child."

With middle verbs VSkIO > faka-VAO (S > A; kiO > O)

- 17a. 'E *logo ia* *Soane ki* te *l ti* .
 NPST hear ABS Soane OBL SPC radio
 "Soane is hearing the radio."

- 17b. 'E *faka-logo* e *Soane te* *l ti* .
 NPST CAUS-hear ERG Soane SPC radio
 "Soane is listening to the radio."

With transitive verbs: VOA > faka-VAOR (O > O, A > A; kiR)

- 18a. 'E *hiva te* *k tik* e *Soane*.
 NPST sing SPC canticle ERG Soane
 "Soane is singing a canticle."

- 18b. 'E *faka-hiva* e *Soane te* *k tik ki* te *kau toe*.
 NPST CAUS-sing ERG Soane SPC canticle OBL SPC CLS child
 "Soane makes the children sing a canticle."

Faka- derivation can also have an auto-causative function, as long as the construction remains intransitive, and the single argument refers to an animate:

mate 'die' > *fakamate* 'commit suicide'
t 'fall' > *fakat* 'make oneself fall'

- 19a. *Ne'e faka-t* te *tama s lia mai* te *vakalele*.
 PST CAUS -fall SPC young.man soldier from SPC plane
 "The young soldier let himself fall from the plane."

In a transitive construction, the derived verb has the causative meaning:

- 19b. 'E *faka-t* e *te tamasi'i* te ' *tohi*.
 NPST CAUS-fall ERG SPC child SPC PL book
 "The child lets fall the books."

In Samoan, the same causative prefix *fa'a-* has additional functions:

- - multiplicative: *fa'a-lua* 'do twice'
- associative/adverbial: *fa'a-pua'a* 'like a pig'
- delocutive: *fa'a-t f* 'say goodbye (from *t f* 'goodbye')

By contrast, English has many labile verbs which convey a semantical causative just by adding an argument; S in intransitive use corresponds to O in transitive use

- 20a. *The bridge **blew up**.*
 20b. *The men **blew up** the bridge.*

- 21a. *Tomatoes **grow** in this valley.*
 21b. *The farmers **grow** tomatoes in this valley.*

In French, a causative verb is needed:

- 22a. *Des tomates **poussent** dans cette vallée.*
 22b. *Les fermiers **font pousser** des tomates dans cette vallée.*

4. Transitivity vs. causativization

Iaai (Loyalty islands)

- transitivity only

23a. *Ame walak wanakat*
3SG.PRS play child
"The child is playing."

23b. *Ame walak-â wathâ wanakat.*
3SG.PRS play-TR ball child
"The child is playing with a ball."

- transitivity + causativization

hnmëk "wake up." *oo-hmëk-â* "wake up someone"
gaan "big" *oo-gaan-â* "make bigger, honor someone"

24. *Areme oo-gaan-â nya terâ.*
3PL.PRS CAUS-big_TR ART field
"They are enlarging the field."

- choice between transitivity and + causativization

25. *mokutr* "lying down, sleep" *mokul-ec* "lie on sth., to sit on (eggs)"
oo-mokul-ec wanakat "to put a child to sleep"

5. Direct vs. indirect causatives

A general particularity of indirect causatives is that they tend to imply some backgrounding of the causer. Wolof has two distinct suffixes for indirect causation, one of them compatible with the expression of the causer, the other blocking the expression of the causer, which must be interpreted as unspecified.

Wolof (Nouguier-Voisin 2002)

26a. *ñaw-loo naa ko roob*
sew-CAUS PRF.1SG 3SG dress
'I made him sew a dress.'

26b. *ñaw-lu naa roob*
sew-CAUS PRF.1SG dress
'I had a dress sewn.'