Valency-decreasing derivations

1. Incorporation

Marianne Mithun (1984): "A large number of unrelated languages scattered throughout the world share an intriguing morphological construction. In this construction, generally referred to as noun incorporation (NI), a N stem is compounded with a V stem to yield a larger, derived V stem, as in Siberian Koryak: *qoya* 'reindeer' + *-nm-* 'to kill' > *qoyanm-* 'to reindeer-slaughter'

1. Composition by juxtaposition. 2. The manipulation of case. 3. The manipulation of discourse structure. Type 4. Classificatory noun incorporation

[í] The term 'incorporation' is generally used to refer to a particular type of compounding in which a V and N combine to form a new V. The N bears a specific semantic relationship to its host - as patient, location, instrument.

Type 1: "A number of languages contain a construction in which a V and its direct object are simply juxtaposed to form an especially tight bond. The V and N remain separate words phonologically; but as in all compounding, the N loses its syntactic status as an argument of the sentence, and the VN unit functions as an intransitive predicate." (id.:849)

D. Creissels (2016) distinguishes different types of incorporation: as a morphological operation; argument incorporation; possessive incorporation; modifying incorporation; classificatory incorporation.

Incorporation of the object (accusative languages) or of the absolutive argument (ergative languages) of bivalent verbs is frequent in Oceanic languages.

Drehu (Lifu, Loyalty islands)

1a.   *Angeic   a   atë   la   peleitr.*
      3SG   IPFV put.down.DET DEF dish
      "S/he is putting down the dish."

1b.   *Ati   peleitr jë!*
      put.down. NDET   dish   DIR
      "Set the table!"

2a.   *Eni   a   öj   la   itre   ono.*
      1SG   IPFV squeeze.DET DEF PL   coconut
      "I am squeezing the coconuts."

2b.   *Eni   a   öji   ono.*
      1SG   IPFV squeeze.NDET coconut
      "I am coconut-squeezing."

2c.   *Eni   a   öji-ono-**on**   la   saladr.*
      1SG   IPFV press.NDET-coconut-TR DEF salad
      "I am coconut-squeezing the salad." (French: j'imprègne la salade de coco)

3a.   *Nenë   a   xötre   falawa.*
      Mummy IPFV cut   bread
      "Mummy is cutting bread".

3b.   *Nenë   a   xötre-falawa-**n**   la   hele   ka   tru.*
      Mummy IPFV cut-bread-TR   DEF knife STAT tall
      "Mummy is cutting bread with a big knife".

Xârâcùù (Mainland of New Caledonia): no syntactic derivation

4a. *Chaa kamûrû nä tuu rè chaa kwâ.*
one man IPFV climb.on NPST one boat
"A man is climbing on the boat."

4b. *Chaa kamûrû nä tuu kwâ.*
one man IPFV climb.on boat
"A man is embarking/getting on board."

East Futunan: A$_{erg}$ > S$_{abs}$

5a. *E taki e le fafine le motok kula.*
NPST drive ERG SPC woman SPC car red
"The woman is driving the red car."

5b. *E taki motok le fafine.*
NPST drive car SPC woman
"The woman is driving. / The woman has a driving license."

East Uvean: A$_{erg}$ > S$_{abs}$

6a. *Ɛ fahi te fafie e Mateo.*
NPST split SPC wood ERG Mateo
"Mateo is splitting the firewood."

6b. *Ɛ fahi fafie ia Mateo.*
NPST fendre bois ABS Mateo
"Mateo is splitting firewood."

Similar choices between Verb + definite direct object vs Verb + indefinite object are found in many languages. Mithun (1984:872) gives Hungarian examples, from Bese et al. (1970):
- Direct objects that are both referential and definite follow the V, and are indexed within it by a definite transitivity marker (-*sa*):

7a. *Péter olvas-sa az újságot.*
Peter read-OBJ the newspaper
"Peter is reading the newspaper."

- When the object is referential but indefinite, no marker appears in the V:

7b. *Péter olvas egy újságot.*
Peter read a newspaper
"Peter is reading a [specific] newspaper."

- When the object is non-referential, it precedes the V, which shows no object agreement:

7c. *Péter újságot olvas*
Peter newspaper reads
"Peter is reading a newspaper."

Incorporation with no impact on the verb valency, it only concerns a rearrangement of the absolutive argument: the *Isu mamafa* lit. "stuck nose" constructions (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992).

East Futunan

8a. *E kula le lanu o loku kofu*
npst red SPC colour POSS my dress
"The color of my dress is red."

8b. *E lanu kula loku kofu*
NPST color red my dress
"My dress is red-colored."

9a. *Na   veli   loku   manava i   le   sou   o   le   tai.*
     PST bad   POSS.1SG belly OBL SPC rolling POSS SPC sea
     ÷I am sea sick because of the rolling of the waves.ø(lit. my belly is bad í   )

9b. *Na   kau   manava veli   i   le   sou   o   le   tai.*
     PST 1SG   belly bad   OBL SPC rolling POSS ART sea
     ÷I am sea sick because of the rolling of the sea.ø(lit. I have bad bellyí   )

2. Passive and antipassive

Lazard (*Actances* 2:7657): Passive and antipassive constructions are produced by transformations of the basic construction (the major biactant construction), and have functions of several kinds:

* syntactic functions: they are compulsory or preferred in certain complex sentences
* discourse functions: they are used to change the discourse orientation (choice of theme and rheme) of the sentence
* semantic functions: antipassive may convey a conative action; it may indicate less direct effect by the agent on the patient than the major biactant construction it is semantically correlated with: incompletive aspect, a partitive object; passive with the agent losing something of its typical properties, or it may have honorific value, as in Japanese, etc.

$$\text{Passif}$$
$$\text{Y óV (óX)}$$

Actif   Uniactanciel
XóYóV   ZóV

$$\text{XóV(óY)}$$
$$\text{Antipassif}$$

2.1. Passive voice

The prototypical passive is characterized in two ways morphosyntactically and in terms of its pragmatic function (Shibatani 1985, Keenan 1985, Givón 1990, Payne 1997):

- Morphosyntactically: semantically transitive clause containing an agent, a patient and a telic verb, further specified for the following features:
· The **patient** is placed and case marked as the **subject** of a basic active clause (and hence available to subject oriented processes such as Equi-NP-Deletion).
· The **agent** is either omitted or demoted to an **oblique** role (e.g. instrumental, locative or genitive).
· The **verb** (or verb phrase) shows special marking (often an affix or an auxiliary verb) and is intransitive.
- pragmatic function: the prototypical passive is used primarily for agent suppression or de-topicalisation because it is unknown, irrelevant, superfluous or predictable (Givón 1990: 568).

In WALS:

A construction has been classified as passive if it displays the following five properties:
(i) it contrasts with another construction, the active;
(ii) the subject of the active corresponds to a non-obligatory oblique phrase of the passive or is not overly expressed;
(iii) the subject of the passive, if there is one, corresponds to the direct object of the active;
(iv) the construction is pragmatically restricted relative to the passive;
(v) the construction displays some special morphological marking of the verb.

Difference between
- A *synthetic passive*: the verb exhibits some form of marking, as the suffix *-w*:
Swahili

1a.   *Hamisi   a-li-pik-a   chakula.*
      Hamisi   3SG-PST-cook-IND   food
      "Hamisi cooked the/some food."

1b.   *Chakula   ki-li-pik-**w**-a   (na   Hamisi).*
      food   3SG-PST-cook-PASS-IND   by   Hamisi
      "The food was cooked (by Hamisi)."

- A *periphrastic or analytical passive*
Polish

2a.   Intensywne   descze   zniszczyły   niwa.
      intensive   rain   destroyed   harvest
      "Intensive rain destroyed the harvest."

2b.   niwa   **zostały**   zniszczone   (przez   intensywne   descze)
      harvest   remained   destroyed   by   intensive   rain
      "The harvest was destroyed by intensive rain."

D. Creissels, *classical passives*, also including an oblique agent phrase.
Tswana (Creissels 2016.)

3a.   *Kítsô   -tɬáà-kwál-á   lô-kwâlô.*
      (CL1)Kitso   A.CL1-FUT-write-FV   CL11-letter
      "Kitso will write the letter."

3b.   *Lô-kwálô   lô-tɬáà-kwál-**w**-à   (kê   Kîtsô)*
      CL11-letter   A.CL11-FUT-write-PASS-FV   by   (CL1)Kitso
      "The letter will be written (by Kitso)."

   ó in (3b), the writer is not one of the two core terms (A) of a transitive predication, as in
     (1a); it may be left unexpressed, or encoded as an oblique;
   ó in (3b), the thing written is not the P term of a transitive predication, but the U term of an
     intransitive predication.
⇒ demotion of A and promotion of P.
⇒ reversal of the topicality hierarchy: A>P (transitive construction), P>A (passive).

Agentless passives
In languages with agentless passives, biclausal constructions of the type illustrated in Classical
Nahuatl constitute a common equivalent of passive constructions including an agent phrase.
Classical Nahuatl (Launey 1980)

4.   *Ni-tlazòtla-lo   nêch-tlazòtla   in   no-tàtzin.*
      A.1SG-love-PASS   P.1SG-love   DEF   1SG-father
      "I am loved by my father."(lit. I am loved, my father loves me)

Obligatory passive
A particularly clear case is that of languages in which inherently non-topical phrases such as
interrogative or negative pronouns cannot fulfill the role of A in the basic transitive
construction, and the use of a passive construction is obligatory whenever such a phrase refers
to a participant normally encoded as the A term of a transitive construction:

Tswana (Creissels 2016)

5a. *Má   -táà-kwál-á   l -kwâ l ?
     who   A.CL1-FUT-write-FV   CL11-letter
     *"Who will write the letter?"

5b. L -kwál   l -t áà-kwál-w-à   k   mâ ?
     CL11-letter A.CL11-FUT-write-PASS-FV   by   who
     "The letter will be written by whom?"

M ori (Polynesian, New Zealand)

- intransitive construction : S unmarked :

6a. Ka   moe   te   tamaiti.
     AOR sleep DEF   child
     =The child sleeps.ø

- construction I: A unmarked, O marked by *i*

6b. Ka   patu   te   tangata   i   te   tuna
     AOR kill   DEF   man   OBL   DEF   eel
     =The man killed the eel.ø

- construction II: suffixed-verb, A marked by *e*, O unmarked:

6c. Ka   patu-a   e   te   tangata   te   tuna.
     AOR kill-PASS AGT   DEF   man   DEF   eel
     =The eel has been killed by the man.ø

The passive suffix is compulsory:

- when A is not expressed : *V iO, only V-PASS O

6d. Kitemea   ka   hari-a   te   kai.
     when   AOR   bring-PASS DEF   food
     =When the food was brought...ø

- when the object introduces a relative:

6e. Ka   puta   ki   waho   ngaa   tamariki i   horo-mia   nei
     AOR arrive LOC   outside DEF.PL son   PST   swallow-PASS DUR
     =Then came out the sons she had swallowed.ø

- in imperative clauses with transitive verbs:

6f. Huti-a   te   punga
     pull out-PASS DEF   anchor
     =Pull out the anchor!ø

An active construction is required when the object is not expressed (*V-suf eS) or is incorporated, when the subject introduces a relative and in reflexive constructions.
When the choice between active and passive is available, the passive occurs more than twice as frequently as the active.

Constraints on the use of passive constructions
In Nahuatl, the active-passive alternation is only possible with animate Pøs.
Classical Nahuatl (Launey 1980)

7a. Ø-Itta-l -c   in   cihu tl.
     A.3-see-PASS-CPL   DEF   woman
     "The woman was seen."

7b. *Ø-Mo-tta-c   in   cihu tl.*
     A.3-MID-see-CPL   DEF   woman
     "The woman saw herself (e.g. in a mirror)."

7c. **Ø-Itta-l -c   in   calli.*
     A.3-see-PASS-CPL   DEF   house
     *"The house was seen."

7d. *Ø-Mo-tta-c   in   calli.*
     A.3-MID-see-CPL   DEF   house
     "The house was seen." (lit. saw itself)

Oblique passives

Oblique passives are constructions in which an intransitive verb undergoes a morphological operation identical to that marking A demotion and P promotion with transitive verbs. The unique core argument U of the intransitive verb is demoted exactly like the A argument of a transitive verb, and a term encoded as an oblique in the construction of the underived form of the intransitive verb is promoted to U.

(8) *This bed has been slept in.*

Impersonal passives from transitive verbs

The A-argument is demoted exactly as in a canonical passive construction, but the P-argument is encoded as in the basic transitive construction, as in French:

- active

9a. *Le   président   a   pris   une   décision.*
     the   president   has   taken   a   decision
     "The president took a decision."

- canonical passive

9b. *Une   décision   a   été   prise   (par   le   président).*
     a   decision   has   been   taken   by   the   president
     "A decision was taken (by the president)

- impersonal passive

9c. *Il   a   été   pris   une   décision.*
     it   has   been   taken   a   decision
     "A decision was taken."

German (impersonal passive construction including an agent phrase)

10. *In   der   Küche   wurde   von   vielen   Leuten   geraucht.*
     in   the   kitchen   was   by   many   people   smoked
     "There was smoking by many people in the kitchen."

2.2. P-demotion: the Antipassive voice

Antipassive derivations have long been observed by linguists describing individual languages, but no cross-linguistic generalization had been proposed. The systematic cross-linguistic investigation of the antipassive started 40-50 years ago in connection with the cross-linguistic study of ergativity, and a correlation was immediately proposed between the alignment properties of languages and the presence of passive or antipassive voices. According to this hypothesis, obligatory A coding (=nominative-accusative=) languages would have an passive voice, whereas obligatory P coding (=absolutive-ergative=) languages would have an antipassive voice. However, this hypothesis does not stand up nowadays:

- ó antipassive voices, either syncretic or dedicated, are quite common in obligatory A coding languages,
- ó passive voices are not rare in obligatory P coding languages either,
- ó many languages have both a passive and an antipassive voice (Kíicheeø, Yupøik, Soninke)

In fact, as regards the antipassive voice, the only differences between obligatory A coding and obligatory P coding languages are the following:

- ó the antipassive voice is more visible in obligatory P coding languages, since the conversion of A into U changes its coding characteristics, whereas in obligatory A coding languages, the conversion of A into U triggers no change in its coding characteristics;
- ó making the A argument accessible to operations to which it does not have access as the A term of a transitive construction is a possible function of the antipassive voice in some –ergativeø languages which has no equivalent in –accusativeø languages.

Janic (2013) provides a general survey of antipassive constructions in accusative languages, and a general discussion of this question.

Definition

In canonical antipassive constructions, a transitive verb undergoes a morphological operation encoding P demotion: the P argument of the transitive verb is either left unexpressed or encoded as an oblique, whereas the A argument of the transitive verb is treated as the U term of an intransitive predication.

Typology of antipassive derivations

Cross-linguistically, antipassive derivations vary along the following parameters:

- ó the demoted P argument may be optionally expressed as an oblique, but in some antipassive constructions, it is obligatorily left unexpressed;
- ó the verb forms found in antipassive constructions may be dedicated antipassive forms, or forms also found in constructions expressing other types of valency operations, or even in constructions involving no change in the valency;
- ó there is also some cross-linguistic variation in the functions of the constructions meeting the definition formulated above.

The functions of antipassive derivations

- increase of the relative topicality of the A argument, and in a decrease in the relative topicality of the P argument.

Yupøik (Mithun 2000)

11a. *Arna-m   tangrr-aa   taqukaq.*
woman-ERG   see-DECL.A.3SG.P.3SG   bear
"The woman sees the bear."

11b. *Arnaq   tanger-tuq   taquka-mek.*
woman   see-DECL.U.3SG   bear-ABL
"The woman sees a bear."

11c. *Arna-m   allg-aa   –łumarraq.*
woman-ERG   tear-DECL.A.3SG.P.3SG   shirt
"The woman tears the shirt."

11d. *–Łumarraq   alleg-tuq.*
shirt   tear-DECL.U.3SG
"The shirt gets torn." or "The shirt is being torn."

11e. *Arnaq   allg-i-uq   –łumarra-mek.*
wwoman   tear-ANTIPASS-DECL.U.3SG   shirt-ABL
"The woman tears a shirt."

Antipassive in Oceanic languages?

No dedicated antipassive marker. But object peripherization:
Samoan

12a. *Sā 'ai le i'a.*
PST eat SPC fish
'The fish ate' or 'the fish was eaten' (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992:718)

12b. *Sā 'ai e le teine le i'a*
PST eat ERG SPC girl SPC fish
'The girl ate the fish.' (id.108)

12c. *Sā 'ai le teine i le i'a.*
PST eat SPC girl OBL SPC fish
'The girl ate some fish.' (Lit. the girl ate from the fish) (idem)

East Uvean (Wallis Island) (Moyse-Faurie 2010:473)

13a. *Vaka'i ia te pāsina faka'osí!*
examine ABS SPC page last
'Examine the last page!'

13b. *Vaka'i ki te pāsina faka'osí!*
examine OBL SPC page last
'Only look attentively at the last page.' / 'Examine specifically the last page.'

14a. *'E inu te fo'i niu e Paulo.*
NPST drink SPC CLS coco ERG Paulo
'Paulo is drinking coconut juice.'

14b. *'E inu ia Paulo ki te fo'i niu o Soane.*
NPST drink ABS Paulo OBL SPC CLS coco POSS Soane
(i) 'Paulo only drinks the juice from Soane's coconut.' (Paulo boit juste du jus de la noix de coco de Soane) or:
(ii) 'Paulo drinks some of the juice of Soane's coconut.'

The (i) translation is the more spontaneous one. The (ii) translation, inducing a less affected patient as it was the case in the Samoan examples, was only obtained when I suggested it…

Middle, Reciprocity and Reflexivity

1. The reflexive, reciprocal, and middle domains

1.1. The Middle domain

Kemmer: õa semantic area comprising events in which the Initiator is also an Endpoint or affected entityö; agent and patient roles are not clearly distinguishable. It includes grooming actions, movements and change in body positions, spontaneous events and ÷naturally reciprocalø situations.

German: *Der Junge erhob **sich**; Die Tür öffnete **sich***

French: *Le garçon **s'est** levé; La porte **s'**ouvre*.

Creissels uses the term *quasi-reflexivity* for the following type of relationship between one- and two-participant events:

- ó the action performed by the unique participant in the one-participant event can be assimilated to the process undergone by the patient in the two-participant event;
- ó this action is performed consciously and voluntarily, but in a way that cannot be assimilated to the action performed by the agent in the two-participant event.

According to Creissels, the notion of quasi-reflexive event is necessary to account for the cross-linguistically widespread use of reflexive forms or constructions to encode one-participant events that cannot be viewed as reflexive events *stricto sensu*, although they have an affinity with reflexive events that explains the tendency to use the same coding:

French: *se lever* ÷stand upø and *lever* ÷raiseø same encoding as *se blesser* ÷injure oneselfø and *blesser* ÷injureø

In Oceanic languages, however, "quasi-reflexives" have nothing to do with "reflexives *stricto sensu*", and for this reason, I maintain the distinction between the three domain: middle, reflexives and reciprocals. In these languages, detransitivization markers with functions including the expression of middle and anticausativity developed with no connection with reflexivity. Middle markers, by contrast, have affinity with the reciprocal markers.

Middle situations are:

a) either unmarked (that is, lexically marked), as in English: *The boy stood up*, *The door opens*. French: *Le lait bout*. "Milk is boiling."

EAST FUTUNAN (Nuclear Polynesian):

1.   *E   ma'anu   a   Malia.*
            NPST   bathe   ABS   Malia
            ÷Malia is washing (up).ø

b) or marked by reduplication

2.   *selu* ÷to combø *> seluselu* ÷to comb oneøs hairø
        tilo ÷to look through glassesø *> tilotilo* ÷to look at oneself in a mirrorø
        *l * ÷to swing s.o.ø *> l l * ÷to go on a swingø

c) or expressed by a reflex of the Proto Oceanic prefix *paRi-, in an intransitive construction

3a.   *E   ke   vaku   le   tu'a   o   lou   toe.*
            NPST   2SG   scratch   SPC   back   POSS   your   child
            ÷You are scratching your child's back.ø

3b. | *E* | *ke* | ***fe**-vaku* | *i* | *le* | *kai* | *e* | *namu.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NPST | 2SG | PREF-scratch | OBL | SPC | eat | ERG | mosquito |

'You are scratching (your back) because of mosquito bites.'

'Depatientive' is the term used by most Oceanist linguists to refer to one of the meanings of a construction built with reflexes of the Proto Oceanic prefix *paRi-: 'reciprocal, chaining, collective, converse, distributed, repetitive, depatientive, middle, kinship relations, and collective plurals' and 'two basic notions that underlie the polysemies: plurality of relations and a low degree of elaboration of situations' (Lichtenberk 1999:55).

1.2. The reciprocal domain

According to König and Kokutani (2006), reciprocity presupposes at least two participants in a symmetric relation or event, in which both play two different roles: *Die Studierenden begrüßten **sich**. Les étudiants **se** sont salués. The students greeted **each other***.

They distinguish two basic types of reciprocals, viz. 'nominal reciprocals' ('pronominal' and 'quantificational' strategies) and 'verbal reciprocals' ('synthetic' and 'compound reciprocals') In Oceanic languages, prototypical reciprocal situations are expressed with a reflex of the POc prefix, combined with a suffix as in (4), or a coreferent pronominal object as in (5):

East Futunan: POc *paRi- > *fe-* + PPn *-(C)aki suffix

4. | *Ofolele* | *kua* | ***fe**-tio-øaki* | *le* | *sä* | *tagata o* | *l* | ***fe**-iloa-øaki.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| suddenly | PFV | PREF-see-SUF | SPC | CLS | man and | 3DU | PREF-know-SUF |

'Suddenly the two men looked at each other and recognized each other.'

Xârâgurè (South of the Mainland, New Caledonia): POc *paRi- > *pu-* + coreferent pronominal object

5. | *Pa-Mwâjoaru* | ***pu**-tia* | ***nyärä*** | *nëëra.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| COLL-Mwâjoaru | PREF-separate | 3PL | today |

'The Mwâjoaru are splitting up today.'

1.3. The reflexive domain

The prototypical reflexive domain mostly concerns actions performed on oneself that one usually does to others, and it involves an agent and a patient which happen to refer to the same person. Reflexivity also typically involves intentionality and often draws attention to the unexpected nature of the event described.

German: *Er verzieh es **sich** nie.*
French: *Il ne s'est jamais pardonné.*
English: *He has never forgiven him**self***.

In most Oceanic languages, reflexivity is marked by specific morphemes, called "intensifiers" (König 1991), whose presence and interpretation as identity function excludes the transitive other-directed interpretation of the event, in favour of a reflexive one.

a) Emphatic particles

East Futunan

6. | *E* | *'ita* | *a* | *Petelo* | *kiate* | *ia* | ***fa'i**.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NPST | be angry | ABS | Petelo | OBL | 3SG | INT |

'Petelo is angry at himself.'

7. | *Na* | *ako'i* | *le* | *tagata* | *e* | *ia* | ***fa'i**.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PST | teach | SPC | man | ERG | 3SG | INT |

'The man taught himself.'

b) The "Alone" strategy
Māori (benefactive reflexive use)

9. | *Ka* | *hoko* | *a* | *Hone* | *i* | *te* | *motokā* | *māna* | ***anake***. |
    |------|--------|-----|--------|-----|------|----------|--------|----------------|
    | TAM | buy | PERS | Hone | OBJ | ART | car | for him | ALONE |

    = 'Hone will buy a car for himself.' (Bauer 1997:639)

c) The "True, exact" strategy
East Uvean

10. | *E* | *leleiʔia* | *ʔaupito* | *e* | *Soane* | *ia* | *ia* | ***totonu***. |
    |-----|-----------|----------|-----|---------|------|------|-----------------|
    | NPST | admire | very | ERG | Soane | ABS | 3SG | true |

    = 'Soane admires himself a lot.'

d) The Bound nouns strategy
Lolovoli (North Central Vanuatu)

11. | *Ra-ni* | *wehe-ra* | ***sibo*-ra**. |
    |---------|-----------|------------------|
    | 3NSGS-IRREAL | kill-3NSGO | SELF-3NSGPOSS |

    = 'They will kill themselves.' (Hyslop, 2001:266)

e) The "again/return" strategy
Xârâgurè (South of the Mainland, New Caledonia)

12. | *Nyärä* | *sa* | *nyärä* | ***mûgé*** |
    |---------|------|--------|------------|
    | 3PL | hit | 3PL | AGAIN |

    = 'They are hitting themselves.'

f) The Deictic strategy
Rapanui (Du Feu 1996: 97-98)

13. | *E* | *hapaʔo* | *koe* | *ia* | *koe* | ***ʔa***. |
    |-----|---------|-------|------|-------|----------|
    | IPFV | care for | 2SG | OBJ | 2SG | DEIC |

    = 'Look after yourself!'

1.4. Constructions and semantic domains

CONSTRUCTIONS	SEMANTIC DOMAINS
unmarked V, intransitive	**middle situations** such as grooming actions or natural reciprocity
unmarked V, transitive, with pronominal O obligatorily coreferent with S	**middle situations** such as meteorological events or change in body position
prefixed V	**middle situations**, generic, habitual events; shared activity; spontaneous events; grooming actions, inherent and dual reciprocity
prefixed V + pronominal O coreferent with S	**prototypical reciprocal situations** (extended to reflexive situations in a few Kanak languages)
circumfixed V	**prototypical reciprocal situations**
unmarked V, transitive, with coreference between S and pronominal O marked by a morpheme	**prototypical reflexive situations** (extended to reciprocal situations in a few Kanak and Polynesian languages)

2. Middle marking without reduction of the number of arguments

According to Creissels (2016), starting from the expression of agent-beneficiary reflexivization (or *auto-benefactive*), as in (14b), middle voices may develop uses marking no change in the number of arguments, their syntactic status, or the denotative meaning, in which middle marking just highlights the affectedness of the agent, as in (14d). Note that, in French, middle marking automatically triggers the use of ‑be‑ (instead of ‑have‑) in completive auxiliary function.

French

14a. *Il   a   acheté   des   chaussures.*
      he   has   bought   some   shoes
      "He bought shoes."

14b. *Il   s'est   acheté   des   chaussures.*
      he   MID=is   bought   some   shoes
      "He bought shoes for himself."

14c. *Il   a   mangé   un   gâteau   entier.*
      he   has   eaten   a   cake   whole
      "He ate a whole cake."

14d. *Il   s'est   mangé   un   gâteau   entier.*
      he   MID=is   eaten   a   cake   whole
      "He ate a whole cake (and enjoyed it).