Patient Nominalization > Passive in Panare and Ye'kwana (Cariban)

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In the Cariban language family, there is a clear cognate passive construction in Panare (T. Payne 1990; Payne & Payne 2013: 321-5) and Ye'kwana: it has a patient subject, a verb bearing the suffix *-sa'/-ajö*, an optional auxiliary that agrees with the patient subject, and (only in Panare) a marked oblique agent phrase (5-6). This construction is cognate to an active ergative main clause expressing completive aspect in Kapóng, Pemón and Makushi, and to a predicate nominal construction in Waiwai and Hixkaryana, in which the predicate noun is an absolutive nominalization. This presentation will focus on three questions of fact regarding this family of cognate constructions: (i) a reconstruction of the specific nominalization to Proto-Cariban, including more careful argumentation regarding the participant semantics, (ii) a reconstruction of the passive clause as a predicate nominal construction with the nucleus of the predicate consisting of this nominalization, (iii) a description of the textual distribution of all identifiable cognates in Hixkaryana, Ye'kwana, and Akawaio (Kapóng), in search of a pattern that might motivate the reanalysis of the nominal predicate as a passive, and then on to the active ergative.
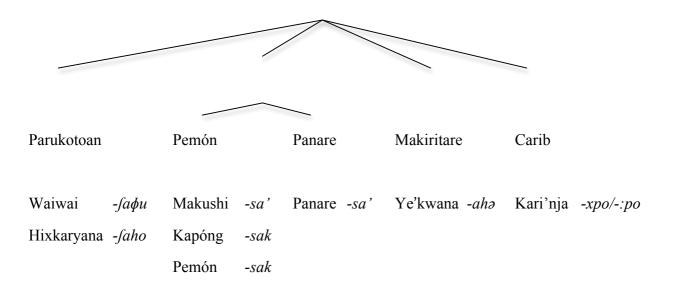
In order to demonstrate the cognate status of these constructions, we first compare the verb form: across the seven languages, either a transitive or an intransitive verb may bear the cognate suffix, which varies in form in a way consistent with a reconstruction of *-tjapô*. In all eight languages where a modern reflex is attested, one of the functions is to derive a noun referring to the notional absolutive (S/P) of the verb bearing the suffix (1). Interestingly, this noun cannot be possessed in Hixkaryana and Waiwai (1a-b), whereas in the other six languages it is obligatorily possessed by its referent, the absolutive (1c-f). We reconstruct the suffix to Proto-Cariban as an unpossessed absolutive nominalization; the possession of an absolutive nominalization by the notional absolutive itself is somewhat semantically anomalous (? *I am my*$_i$ *escapee*$_i$, ? *I am my*$_i$ *employee*$_i$), and so we assume it is an innovation, perhaps by anology to the pattern followed by the majority of other nominalizations in each language (cf. Gildea 1998, ch. 7).

Second, as a noun, the deverbal noun *V-tjapô* can occur in any construction where other nouns occur. Thus, it may serve as the head of an NP (2), it may modify other nouns (3), or it may occur as the nucleus of a nonverbal predicate (4). This latter construction is the one that we reconstruct as the source of the Ye'kwana and Panare passive, from which it was subsequently reanalyzed as an active (ergative) clause in the completive aspect in the entire Pemón Group.

Third, we explore the modern distribution of this form: in Ye'kwana, it clearly functions as a passive, but without an agent phrase (5); in elicitation, some speakers are willing to add a third person agent phrase, but none occurs in the text material. In Panare, it can occur with no agent phrase (cf. 4 as a possible passive), but almost every example in Payne & Payne (2013) has an agent phrase, which can readily be any person at all (e.g., the first person in 6). We will investigate what component of the passive function this construction might serve, especially in Ye'kwana, where it shares that function with three other constructions. For this talk, we will analyze our corpus databases of: Hixkaryana, representing the most conservative version of the construction, where we expect only to document the potential source construction; Ye'kwana, representing the clear passive stage, where we will seek to understand how the construction functions relative to the other three

passive-like constructions; and Akawaio (Kapóng), representing the culminating ergative stage, where perhaps there are residual passive-like uses of the completive construction.

Table 1: Clear reflexes of *-sapô*:

Parukotoan	Pemón	Panare	Makiritare	Carib
Waiwai -ʃaɸu	Makushi -sa'	Panare -sa'	Ye'kwana -ahə	Kari'nja -xpo/-:po
Hixkaryana -ʃaho	Kapóng -sak			
	Pemón -sak			

(1) The modern morphological forms

    a. *ɨ-manso-**saho***   'the one who danced'   HIXKARYANA

        Ø-ekaryma-**xaho**   'thing that was told'   HIXKARYANA

        Ø-a-**xemo**   'ones who were taken'   HIXKARYANA

    b. *emaraka-**xapu***   'that which has dropped'   WAIWAI

       *eyeh-xapu-**nhîrî***   'this one who had bathed'   WAIWAI

       *aryma-xapu-**tho***   'one that has been thrown away'   WAIWAI

    c. *i-zenuba-**zak***   'one that has learned'   KAPÓNG

       *Ø-abö'kabï-**zak***   'one that has been tired out'   KAPÓNG

    d. *yɨ-pertyú'ma-**sa'***   'one that has been punished'   PANARE

    e. ***i-menna-ajö***   ***'one that has been written'***   YE'KWANA

    f. *Ø-atoka-**apo***   'one that has been dug'   KARI'NJA

       *i-tjoroty-**ypo***   'one that has burnt'   KARI'NJA

(2) *Ø-e'kei-'po*   *aru'ka-po:-sa*   KARI'NJA

   3-bake-PERF.NZR   put.in-ITER-PRES

'He puts <u>the baked one</u> in.' (R. Yamada pc)

(3) *e'tane   tigingnannö   <u>e'so'namï-zak</u>   eji-'pï*   AKAWAIO
but   one   hide-PERF   be-PAST
'But there was one of them <u>who was hiding</u>' (lit. 'a <u>hidden</u> one') (Caesar-Fox 2003: 323)

(4) <u>*y-ïkïtï-sa'*</u>   *mën*   PANARE

3-cut-PERF.NZR IN.INVIS

'It's been <u>cut</u>' (It's <u>a cut thing</u>.) (Payne & Payne 2013: 109)

(5) *yaawö   kanna   kün-edantö-i=to   öichönnawö   Ø-edantö-ajö   ka   mödö*   YE'KWANA
then   probably3/3.DIS-find-PRP=COLL   when   3O-find-PTCP   QP   DEM2in
'They probably found it then, when was it found?' (ConvChurB.064)

(6) <u>*y-an-sa'*</u>   *y-úya*   *mankowa   Kanelária-po*   *pake   cinquenta-pe   tïnse*   PANARE

3-carry-PART.PST 1SG-DAT curare   Candelária-LOC   before 50-AD   price

'The curare poison <u>was bought by me</u> in Candelaria for 50 Bolívares.'

Payne & Payne 2013: 322

Reconstructing the history of the Soninke voice system

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Soninke (*sooninkanqanne*), spoken mainly in Mali, Mauritania, Senegal, and The Gambia, belongs to the Soninke-Bozo sub-branch of the western branch of the Mande language family. Building on the analysis of Soninke voice in Kaedi Soninke by Creissels (1991) and in Bakel Soninke by Creissels and Diagne (2013), and on comparative data, this presentation examines possible hypotheses about the grammaticalization processes that have resulted in the emergence of the valency-changing morphology found in present-day Soninke.

Soninke has two morphological devices encoding a valency-decreasing operation, and one encoding a valency-increasing operation. The detransitivizing marker *-i* may express a variety of valency-decreasing operations, depending on the verbs it combines with, whereas antipassive *-ndi* unambiguously expresses patient demotion. The only valency-increasing operation that can be encoded morphologically is causativization, expressed by the causative suffix *-ndi*. According to Creissels (1991), in Kaedi Soninke, antipassive *-ndi* and causative *-ndi* are tonally different, but Creissels & Diagne (2013) do not confirm this analysis for Bakel Soninke, because of the doubts about the possibility of identifying tone contrasts between verb stems in this Soninke variety.

Depending on the individual verbs with which it combines, *-i* may express various detransitivizing operations. Agent demotion is by far its most productive use, with two semantic subtypes, anticausative and passive. With a few verbs among those that have the ability to combine with the detransitivizing marker *-i* in deagentive function, the same form also has a reflexive or autocausative use. The detransitivizing marker *-i* may also have a depatientive function, for which it is in competition with the dedicated antipassive suffix *-ndi*, but all the intransitive stems derived by means of *-i* that can be used in depatientive function also have a deagentive (anticausative or passive) use. This range of functions is typical of an 'old' middle marker, and detransitivizing suffixes with a similar form and a similar variety of functions, sometimes with a very limited productivity, are found in other West Mande languages (Bozo, Bobo), which suggests reconstructing a midvoice marker *-i* at least at Proto-West-Mande level. Moreover, the coincidence with a reflexive pronoun *i* found in several West Mande languages is striking. However, given the rigid SOVX constituent order found in all Mande languages and reconstructable at Proto-Mande level, the grammaticalization of a midvoice suffix *-i* from a reflexive pronoun i can only have occurred in Pre-Proto-Mande, at a stage when the constituent order in verbal predication was SVOX, since a midvoice marker resulting from the grammaticalization of a reflexive pronoun in a rigid SOVX language should be prefixed to the verb rather than suffixed. Unfortunately, there seems to be no other concrete evidence of a shift from SVOX to SOVX in Pre-Proto-Mande, so that the question must remain open.

Concerning the antipassive marker and the causative marker, I would like to propose a grammaticalization scenario accounting for their homonymy (or quasi-homonymy). The idea is to find a lexical item reconstructable at Proto-West-Mande level with a form that might have evolved into *-ndi* and with a meaning making it a possible source of both causative and antipassive markers.

Verbs with the meaning 'do, make' commonly occur in causative periphrases, and constitute a well-known source of causative markers. But such verbs are also very commonly involved in antipassive periphrases (i.e., periphrases that make it possible to avoid expressing the object of transitive verbs) such as English *do the cooking*, in which they combine with action nouns in object function. For example, French has a causative construction in which *faire* 'do, make' combines with the infinitive of the verb expressing the caused event, but the use of *faire* with an action noun in object role is also a very common strategy not to specify the object of transitive verbs with which the mere omission of the object does not constitute the normal way to simply omit specifying the object. Compare for example *faire acheter* (causative) / *faire des achats* (depatientive).

Verbs with the meaning 'do, make' can therefore grammaticalize, not only as causative markers, but also as antipassive markers, although this possibility does not seem to have been discussed in the grammaticalization literature so far.

In most Mande languages, the verbs expressing 'do, make' are reflexes of Proto-Mande roots reconstructable as *ma* or *kɛ*, which quite obviously cannot be the source of the Soninke antipassive and causative suffixes. But *ma* and *kɛ* are not the only roots reconstructable at least at Proto-West-Mande level with the meaning 'do, make'. In Mandinka, 'do' is commonly expressed as *ké*, but Mandinka also has a verb *tíŋ ~ tínnà ~ túnnà* 'cause', and this verb is probably cognate with Bozo Jenaama *tîn* (compl.) *tîná*(incompl.) 'do'. Moreover, Soso and Jalonke have a light verb *tii* 'do' used in an antipassive periphrasis in which it combines with verbal lexemes used as action nouns. Given the position of Mandinka, Bozo, and Soso-Jalonke in the genealogical tree of Mande languages, a Proto-West-Mande root *tin* 'do' can be reconstructed, and the hypothesis I propose is that the Soninke antipassive and causative suffixes *-ndi* result from the grammaticalization of the same lexeme *tin* 'do' in two different constructions: a causative periphrasis and an antipassive periphrasis. These grammaticalization processes may have occurred at different periods, and we will probably never be able to reconstruct the details of the constructions in which they occurred and of the phonological processes responsible for the precise forms taken by the suffixes in question, but this hypothesis provides at least a plausible explanation for a formal similarity between antipassive and causative markers that otherwise would remain unexplained.

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Lexical verbs as voice markers: comparing paths of development

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The fact that deictic motion verbs 'come' and 'go' are able to evolve into passive auxiliaries, as well as the fact that in a significant number of cases the constructions containing them co-encode passive and aspect/modality raises two basic questions concerning the diachronic pathways by which these verbs become passive auxiliaries:

(i)   to what extent is the original deictic motion meaning responsible for the aspectual/modal meanings of the target constructions?

(ii)   can any regularities in the diachronic pathways leading to the emergence of these constructions be singled out?

As for the pathway through which 'come' verbs develop into passive auxiliaries, Giacalone Ramat and Sansò (2014) have shown that in most languages in which 'come'-passives are attested, the original meaning of 'come' (motion towards the speaker) plays no direct role in the development of the passive construction. It is rather the change-of-state meaning of 'come' verbs (=become), well-attested in most of these languages, that is ultimately responsible for the development of *come + participle* into a passive construction, and the process in question resembles the emergence of *become*-passives in German and other languages.

The few languages in which 'go' verbs are used as passive auxiliaries have not yet been investigated in a comparative dimension. Sansò and Giacalone Ramat (2013) have provided an in-depth study of the emergence of the Italian passive(s) with *andare* ('go') + past participle. The diachronic corpus analysis has shown that both the deontic passive and the "loss" passive are clearly documented not earlier than the 16th or 17th century, while in Old Italian various uses of 'go' as a semi-copula (Hengeveld 1992: 34ff.) in connection with adjectives and past participles are attested. Such uses appear to constitute the first stage of the grammaticalization process leading to the emergence of *andare* as an auxiliary. The whole process can be thought of as an instance of copula auxiliarization (in the sense of Dik 1987).

Based on the above-mentioned results, this paper aims to explore the cross-linguistic implications of the proposed analyses. While the developments of the ventive verb 'come' to change-of-state meaning appears to be quite common (Nordhoff 2011), the further development to a passive construction is less common, but still attested in a number of European languages (Bourdin 2014) and in some Indo-Aryan languages like Kashmiri (Wali & Koul 1997:208,) and Marathi (Pardeshi 2000). As for the itive 'go', the Italian passive has an affinity to passive constructions in Indo-Aryan languages. In various languages of this area: Hindi, Marathi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, Maithili, a periphrastic passive encoded by the auxiliary 'go' preceded by the perfective form of the main verb is currently used along with the older synthetic passive. Although the range of meanings of the analytic passive may vary to some extent from language to language, three kind of passives sentences may be recognized (Montaut 1991, 2004, Pandharipande 1997, Davison 1982, Kachru 2006, Dhongde & Wali 2009):

→"neutral" passive or pure passive sentences, usually without agent (expressed agents are used in formal registers):

Hindi (Kachru 2006: 204)

*pustak kī do hazar   pratiyã   chap*ī   *gay*ī_.

book of-F two thousand copy-PL.F   print-PERF.F   go-PERF. PL. F

'Two thousand copies of the book were printed'.

→ability or capacity passive with agent in the oblique case with postposition *se*; it expresses the ability of the agent engaged in a state of affairs (cf. the notion of participant-internal modality: van der Auwera and Plungian 1998) :

Hindi (Koul 2008: 121)

umā   se   patr   na   likh-ā   gayā

Uma   by   letter   NEG   write-PERF.M.SG   go-PERF.M.S

'Uma couldn't write a letter.' (lit.: 'By Uma a letter didn't go written')

→a necessity reading occurs in negative sentences without expressed subject, oft with intransitive verbs (but also transitive verbs and positive sentences are possible); the *go* auxiliary is in the present or the subjunctive:

Hindi (Montaut 2004:132):

aise royā   nahĩ jātā

so cry-PERF.M.SG   NEG   go-PRES.M.S

'one should not cry like that'

Hindi (Montaut 2004:132)

ām   aise khāe   jāte   haĩ

mango- PL.M so   eat- PERF.PL.M   go- PRES.PL.M   be-PRES.3PL.M

'one should eat mangoes like that' (lit. mangoes are eaten like that')

The polysemy of *go*-passive in Indo-Aryan languages is linked to specific morphosyntactic features such as agent defocusing (Shibatani 1985) which may trigger contextual inferences. From a typological point of view it is interesting to point out that a similar range of modal and aspectual constraints seems to hold for Italian and Indo-Aryan languages. In Italian, 'go'-passives exhibit a pure passive reading (limited to a specific group of lexical verbs) and a deontic reading, both with agent suppression. The role of aspect is shown by contrasting the perfective past in *la casa andò distrutta* 'the house was destroyed' which coerces a pure passive interpretation, and the imperfective past *la casa andava distrutta* 'the house had to be destroyed' or the imperfective present *la casa va distrutta* 'the house has to be destroyed', both implying a deontic reading.

These parallel developments of the motion verb 'go' are in need of further analysis and the claim of functional equivalence for the constructions involved should be verified. Khokhlova (2003) and Bourdin (2014) claim that the particular semantics of the passive voice rather than the deictic value of the motion verbs has played a major role in their developments in Indo-Aryan languages. There must be, however, more than one single motivation or one single scenario to account for the polysemy of passive constructions. While there are good grounds to assume that the context of negation may have played a role in the rise of modal ability meanings (Narrog 2010: 112), on the

basis of the diachronic Italian data habitual aspect and generic propositions seem to be at play in the rise of deontic inferences. The relationships between modality and voice, and between modality and negation deserve further investigation. Moreover, a diachronic ordering between the Hindi passives could shed light on the synchronic polysemy. These connections have not yet been systematically investigated; and this will be attempted here.

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Diachronic Typology of Passive in the Cariban Family

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Despite the relatively rich descriptive literature in the Cariban family, there is no canonical passive construction that is widely attested in the various sister languages. In descriptions available thus far, modern Cariban languages utilize four distinct constructions to code a passive function: the reflexive and three structurally more canonical passives, with patient subjects and optional oblique agent phrases. Of these four, only the reflexive-as-passive is reconstructible to Proto-Cariban with this function; the other three constructions are young enough to be readily reconstructible to their distinct sources. This paper will summarize the reconstructions of each different passive, then discuss how the four distinct constructions interact over time to share the encoding of the passive function.

- **Reflexive > Middle > Passive**

Every attested Cariban language has a modern reflex of the DETRANSITIVIZING prefix, which goes on transitive verbs and derives an intransitive verb whose single argument is either simultaneously agent and patient (i.e., reflexive) or a patient (middle/passive). In this construction, it is not possible to explicitly indicate an agent via an oblique phrase, nor does an absent agent appear to control any grammatical properties at all, a significant difference from the Romance reflexives documented in Cennamo (1993). Crucially for the definition of passive in Givón (2001) and Heine (2002), the detransitive verbs sometime appear in clauses where there is an (unexpressable) semantic agent distinct from the patient (1-2). In these cases, the construction is arguably an agentless passive with a patient subject.

- **Causative-Reflexive > Agentive Passive**

In Ye'kwana and Bakairi, there is a construction in which the patient is the subject, the agent an optional PP, and the passive verb bears both the reflexive and causative morphemes (3-4). This development has been reported only recently, in work in progress by Cáceres (for Ye'kwana) and Meira (for Bakairi). Although newly reported in the Cariban family, the causative-reflexive source of passive has been documented for other languages (Haspelmath 1990).

- **Adjectival-Stative Participle > Passive**

In Carib of Surinam and Apalaí, there is a construction in which the patient is subject of an optional copular auxiliary, agent is optionally expressed via an oblique PP, and the verb bears participial morphology (5-6). This has been reconstructed (Gildea 1997) to the cognate construction found in most modern Cariban languages: like an adjective, the participle codes a state (often the result of an event), which can be a stative predicate (cf. 'the window was already broken'), but with no grammatical means to express the agent; to form the passive, the predicate participle gains eventive semantics and an innovative agent phrase is added. In a further development, the cognate construction serves as an ergative main clause in Tiriyó, Wayana, and Katxúyana.

- **Patient Nominalization > Passive**

In Panare, there is a construction in which the patient is subject of an optional copular auxiliary, agent is optionally expressed in an oblique PP, and the verb bears the suffix *-sa'* 'PAST PARTICIPLE' (7). This form has been reconstructed to a patient (actually absolutive) nominalization (Gildea

1998: 120), a function that is still attested in modern Panare (Payne & Payne 2013). In a further development, the cognate construction in the Pemón Group (Akawaio, Makushi, Pemón) is an ergative perfect clause.

(1) *mëlë   umpoje   lëken   ëmelë-h   të-w-**e**-pulu-he*   WAYANA
    that   cause   only   all-AvINTENS   PAST-S_A-**DET**-sting-PAST
    'Only because of that, all (people) got themselves stung [by wasps].'   Tavares 2005: 254
    (lit. '[they] all stung <u>themselves</u>')

(2) *"n-ot-ake-no   xako   ha"   n-ka-yatxkonï   hatï*   HIXKARYANA

    3SA-DETR-burn-I.PST MISFRTN INTENS 3SA-say-D.PST2:COL HRSY
    ' "He is burnt up now," they said.' (the ones who burned him)   Derbyshire 1965: 38

(3) *aituo   məkə   egɨ   əd-ə-ho-lɨ*   BAKAIRI

    then   that.AN   3.pet   DETR-bite-CAUS-IMPF   Meira pc

    'Then the dog <u>got (himself) bitten</u>.'

    (lit. 'The the dog let/made (someone) bite him.')

(4) *Sedeyemü=jano   n-ame-'jüdü   wötunnö=je   i-w-ö'-üdü-jo-ajö*   YE'KWANA
    Sedeyemü=DEAD   SHR-eat_fruit-PST.NZR   story=ATRB   3S-INTR-<u>DTR</u>-make-<u>CAUS</u>-PTCP
    'THE STORY OF the late Sedeyemü's food was changed into a traditional story.'
      [lit. 'caused itself to be made ']   (CtoCania.002)   Cáceres pc

(5) *y-eemïi-rï   <u>tïï-ka-Ø</u>   <u>t-aaro-Ø</u>   man   maae*   KARI'NJA

    1-daughter-PSD PRTCP-say-PRTCP PRTCP-carry.off-PRTCP 3.COP INTERJ

    'My daughter — she said — <u>has been carried off</u>, alas!'   Hoff 1995.360

(6) *t-anỹ-se   kymoro   ey-a*   APALAÍ

    NF-lift-COMPLETIVE   we(1+2)   3-by

    'We are lifted up by him.'   Koehn & Keohn 1986: 47

(7) *<u>y-an-sa'</u>   y-úya   mankowa Kanelária-po   pake cinquenta-pe tïnse*PANARE

    3-carry-PART.PST 1SG-DAT curare   Candelária-LOC before 50-AD   price

    'The curare poison <u>was bought by me</u> in Candelaria for 50 Bolívares.'

                      Payne & Payne 2013: 322

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The Development of Causative-Inchoative Alternation in Aramaic

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Causative-inchoative alternation has been studied in a variety of languages. However, as Kulikov (2010) has pointed out, diachronic approaches to voice and valency-changing categories have been neglected; since languages with a sufficiently long attestation are more difficult to find, more attention has been given to researching voice from a synchronic point of view. Therefore, the Aramaic language presents an ideal opportunity to study causative-inchoative alternation from a diachronic perspective. Aramaic, a Semitic language closely related to Hebrew and still spoken today, has been attested continuously for about 3000 years. During this long period of time, the changes in the expression of causative-inchoative alternation can be made most apparent by comparing two main groups of Aramaic varieties: Classical Aramaic and North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic.

Classical Aramaic (CA) denotes a number of older Aramaic varieties whose written attestation ranges from almost 1000 B.C.E. to around 1000 C.E. In CA causative-incho-ative alternation was expressed mainly by means of two of the three main expression types suggested by Haspelmath (1993): causative and anticausative alternation.[1] North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) consists of a large number of extremely diverse Christian and Jewish dialects. While some of them have unfortunately already died out, a large number are still spoken today in most parts of the world (due to relatively recent migration), and the body of works documenting these dialects is growing. In NENA, causative-inchoative alternation is expressed by causative alternation and labile alternation.

Therefore, whereas both CA and NENA have causative alternation, the anticausative alternation type of CA disappeared and was at least partly replaced by labile alternation in NENA:

Anticausative alternation: CA (Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, Sokoloff 2002: 946)
Unmarked   G-stem   *ptx*   'open   (tr.)'
ptx   *y'qb*   *'yny-h*   *w-'xyk*
open.PST[3MS]Jacob   eyes-his   and-laugh.PST[3MS]
Jacob opened his eyes and laughed.

Marked   Gt-stem   *'tptx*   'open   (intr.),   be   opened'
***ytptx*wn**   *ly*   *š'ry*   *ḥkmh*   *w-'hgy*   *bhwn*
open.ANTICAUS.FUT.3PL   for.1S   gates   wisdom   and-meditate.PST.1S   in.3PL
The   gates   of   wisdom   will   open   for   me   and   I   shall   meditate   in   them.

Labile   alternation: NENA   (Assyrian   Kirkuk)
Unmarked   stem   I   *ptaxa*   'open   (tr.   and   intr.)'
hawa   ***ptix*-a-le**   *pənjara*
wind(M)   open.PST-ABS.3FS- ERG.3MS   window(F)
The wind opened the window.

pənjara   ***ptəx*-la**
window(F)   open.PST-ERG.3FS
The window opened.

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[1] A few instances of labile alternation may already have existed at that time, but they do not seem to be significant.

The reason for this shift from anticausative alternation to labile alternation can be attributed to the profound impact that the disappearance of the so-called *t-stems* had on the expression of causative-inchoative alternation in Aramaic. They played a fundamental but highly complex role in the CA verbal system: they were used to express not only inchoatives[2] – thereby forming anticausative counterparts to unmarked causative verbs – but also reflexives, reciprocals, and, in the later varieties of CA, passives. In other words, at their peak the *t-stems* covered the whole spectrum of Kemmer's (1993) middle voice, including the closely related reflexive, reciprocal and passive domains.

Finally, following the shift from anticausative to labile alternation, a new change will be discussed that seems to be ongoing in NENA at this moment: labile alternation verbs appear to be in the process of turning into causative alternation verbs.

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[2] In Haspelmath's (1993) sense.

A diachronic typology of valency-changing categories:

Guidelines and typological parameters

(Evidence from Indo-European and beyond)

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The present paper concentrates on the diachronic aspects of the typology of transitivity oppositions and valency-changing categories. It also aims to draw attention to the regrettable imbalance of the synchronic and diachronic typological studies. Due to impressive achievements in the domain of synchronic typology of several linguistic categories, such as, in particular, voice, valency-changing categories (such as causative, reciprocal, reflexive) or transitivity oppositions and labile verbs, we have at our disposal full catalogues of possible systems of valency-changing derivations attested in the languages of the world, their morphological, syntactic and semantic **synchronic** features and properties. By contrast, a systematic treatment of these categories in a **diachronic** perspective is lacking. Their rise, development and decline remain on the periphery of the typological interests.

A powerful tool for such diachronic typological research is a diachronic typological questionnaire. Questionnaires are widely used in typology (particularly in the framework of the Leningrad/St.Petersburg Typological Group) for a synchronic study of valency-changing categories, such as causative, passive, reflexive, reciprocal etc. (see e.g. Nedjalkov 1988; Geniušienė 1987). By contrast, my questionnaire (a preliminary version of which is offered in this paper) is diachronically-oriented, focusing on the most important features which determine the basic trends in the evolution of the system of valency-changing categories.

It seems advisable to start a diachronic typological research with collecting evidence from languages (or language groups) with a history well-documented in texts for a sufficiently long period of time (around 1000 years or more). On the basis of this evidence, it might be useful to outline a diachronic typological **portrait** of the category under study in the given language **group** or **family**, tracing it from the earliest attested texts in an ancient language (L_0) onwards up to its reflexes in the daughter languages (L_1, L_2 etc.). Of particular interest would also be – if available – evidence from the sister languages of L_0 (L', L'' etc.), which can serve as basis for a tentative reconstruction of the hypothetical history and possible sources of C in proto-language *L.

Such methodology can be applied, above all, to the study of valency-changing categories (passive, causative, etc.) in languages (language groups) with a history well-documented in texts for a sufficiently long period of time (around 1000 years or more), such as Indo-Aryan, Latin/Romance, or Greek. For instance, in the case of Indo-Aryan, the rich evidence collected by the Indo-European comparative linguistics creates a good basis for hypotheses about the origin and possible sources of the morphological categories (for instance, causative) attested in Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic Sanskrit)

and thus provides material for a <u>retrospective</u> diachronic typological research. On the other hand, evidence from late Vedic and Middle Indo-Aryan texts, as well as from New Indo-Aryan languages, allows for a <u>prospective</u> diachronic study: how the Old Indo-Aryan categories develop into their reflexes in Middle and New Indo-Aryan).

A diachronic typological analysis of the reflexes of the transitivity markers and oppositions reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European uncovers a few basic types of development attested in daughter languages. On the one hand, several groups (in particular, Germanic, Romance and Slavic), replace the old syncretic marker of the valency-reducing categories, the middle type of inflexion, with a new one, mostly going back to the Proto-Indo-European reflexive pronoun *s(u)e-. Furthermore, a number of Romance and Germanic languages attest the emergence and expansion of the labile patterning, i.e. the rise of verbs which allow for valency change (transitive/intransitive) with no change in verbal morphology (cf. English *open*, *change*, *break*); the expansion of labile verbs is also attested in Greek. The Proto-Indo-European morphological causatives (first of all, with the suffix morpheme *-eie-) left only few traces in modern Germanic and Slavonic languages. This type of evolution, attested foremost in the **Western** part of the Indo-European area, might be called '**syncretic**'.

By contrast, languages belonging to some **Eastern** branches of Indo-European radically abandon the syncretic strategy and develop special markers for voice and valency-changing derivations. These include, in particular, Indo-Aryan, Iranian and Armenian markers of the morphological (medio-)passive going back to Proto-Indo-European suffix *-ie/o-; Old Indo-Aryan reflexive pronouns *tanū-* (originally meaning 'body') and *ātmán-* ('breath'). Another such process, well-documented in Indic (Vedic) and Iranian (Avestan) is the grammaticalization of the reciprocal pronoun, Vedic *anyó ... anyá-* (*anyonya-*) and Avestan *ańiiō ainīm* 'another ... another'. Furthermore, morphological causatives become quite productive in some Eastern branches, in Indo-Iranian, Tocharian and Armenian (causative marker -*uc'anem* based on the nasal present derived from a sigmatic aorist). One might call this type '**antisyncretic**'.

Typologically, the Eastern type, as attested in Indo-Aryan, shares more features with some non-Indo-European families, such as Turkic or Altaic in general, rather than with the Western Indo-European type, as attested in Germanic or Greek.

REFLEXIVE > MIDDLE > PASSIVE > AGENTIVE PASSIVE in the Cariban family

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In the Cariban family (30-40 languages spoken in Northern South America, from Colombia to French Guiana and from Venezuela to Central Brazil), detransitivization is a lexical derivation in which transitive predicates become intransitive by adding a specific prefix, *(w)ôte-/*e-. The resulting semantics vary depending on the transitive verb, including the whole range of possibilities described in Kemmer (1993) for middle voice: from simple reflexives/reciprocals (1a), to events with no semantic agent (Kemmer's 1993 SPONTANEOUS; Haspelmath's 1990 and Cennamo's 1993 ANTICAUSATIVE; Givón's 2001 MIDDLE; Heine's 2002 PASSIVE — 1b), to events with a semantic agent that is not expressed (PASSIVE, as agent exists, but controls no grammar — 1c) and (for specified verbs) to idiosyncratic lexicalized intransitives (1d) and events with a semantic patient that is not expressed (ANTIPASSIVE — 1e). Sometimes the same form has more than one meaning (e.g., Tiriyó ë-ene 'see self / be seen' in (1a-b), Kari'nja o-oma 'be thrown / fall down' in (1c-d)), and Ye'kwana öt-ajöi 'be placed / infect' in (1c-d)).

The first contribution of this paper will be to map the semantic extension of the detransitive prefix across the family, showing that it has this same range of meanings in all attested languages. We will focus on languages where the authors have done primary data collection: Bakairi, Kari'nja, Tiriyó and Ye'kwana. On this basis, we argue that these extended functions must reconstruct to Proto-Cariban, making the detransitive construction the only kind of passive that is reconstructible to Proto-Cariban. However, a clearly "passive" reading is not semantically generalized to all transitive verbs, but appears to be available only for a lexically specified set of verbs, those that require a semantic agent.

The second contribution of this paper will be to document an innovation. In most Cariban languages, the detransitive can be combined with a morphological causative (DETR-V-CAUS), with the combination meaning the causer and the patient are coreferential. However, in Tiriyó, two distinct passive readings are also allowed (2b); despite the possibility of a passive interpretation, DETR-V-CAUS is not the most frequent passive construction in Tiriyó. In both Bakairí (3a-b) and Ye'kwana (3c),: 3a-b are two consecutive sentences in a text (a Frog Story narrative), in which the subject -- a little boy -- is surprised by the actions in which he was involved; 3c is a sentence produced in response to the Fish Film stimulus, which is designed to elicit alternations between active and agentive passive. We believe these examples aqre uncontroversially passives. e resulting construction approaches a typical passive in that an intermediate participant (CAUSEE → AGENT) can be introduced in an oblique phrase.

We will examine the evolution of this innovative passive in both Bakairi and Ye'kwana, seeking to understand what specific semantic or pragmatic factors condition its occurrence. For example, in Ye'kwana it is quite infrequent, occurring only 14 times (with five roots) in the entire corpus of natural discourse. In elicitation, it occurs more freely, but still appears to be restricted to passives with animate patient-subjects. In contrast, in Bakairi it seems to be the simplest, unmarked passive construction. The synchronic question that remains to be explored is how this particular agentive passive construction interacts with the other three possible passive constructions, namely the simple detransitive verb, the participle predicate, and the absolutive nominalization predicate. When we know this, we may be able to pinpoint the functional domain where this construction enters, and the domains where it has expanded in Bakairi.

(1a) REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL (A = O → S)

onamï	'hide O'	→ ët-onamï	'hide oneself'		TIRIYÓ
ene	'see O'	→ ë-ene	'see oneself'		TIRIYÓ

(1b) SPONTANEOUS/ANTICAUSATIVE/MIDDLE/PASSIVE/RESULTATIVE (O → S)

pahka	'to break O'	→ e-pahka	'to break'		TIRIYÓ
ene	'to see O'	→ ë-ene	'to be seen/visible'		TIRIYÓ
üdü	*'to make O'*	→ *ö'-dü*	*'to become'*		YE'KWANA

(1c) PASSIVE (O → S, AGENT exists semantically but cannot occur explicitly)

arymo	'put in O'	→ *ot-arymo*	'be put in'		KARI'NYA
ema	'throw O'	→ oo-ma	'be thrown'		KARI'NYA
pulu	'sting O'	→ *e-pulu*	'be stung'		WAYANA
ajöi	'grab/place O'	→ *a-ajöi*	'be grabbed/placed'		YE'KWANA
e'tö	'name O'	→ *ö-ö'tö*	'be named'		YE'KWANA

(1d) Idiosyncratic lexicalized forms

oneja	'measure O'	→ *o-oneja*	'fight'		YE'KWANA
ajöi	'grab O'	→ *a-ajöi*	'infect (as a disease)'		YE'KWANA
ema	'throw O'	→ *o-oma*	'fall down'		KARI'NYA

(1e) ANTIPASSIVE (A → S)

uru	'advise O'	→ *ët-uru*	'talk'		TIRIYÓ
ainka	'run w/ O'	→ *ët-ainka*	'run (away)'		TIRIYÓ
etaja	'step.on O'	→ ö-ötaja	'step'		YE'KWANA
ajöntö	'begin O'	→ *a-ajöntö*	'start'		YE'KWANA

(2) *s-e-pï-ne*   *manko=ja*   TIRIYÓ

 1S-DETR-bathe-PST   1.mother=CAUSEE/AGT

 a. 'I made my mother bathe me' (by asking her to)

b. 'I got myself bathed by my mother (= I did something to deserve this)

c. 'I was bathed by my mother' (simple statement of fact)

(3) a. *sok   tërë=lë   Ø-ad-anë-ho-lï   xuã-rã*   BAKAIRI

   SOK there=EMPH 3-DETR-carry-CAUS-TAM deer-TAM

   'SOK! he (= boy) was carried by the deer'

b. *i-pïgeduo olë mëkë Ø-ad-ame-o-lï   e-ïã*   BAKAIRI

   3-after   but 3ANPx 3-DETR-throw-CAUSE-TAM 3-AGT

   'but after that, he (= boy) was thrown by him (= deer) (into the lake)'

c. *n-öt-önö-jo-i=che'a   seene-ato, tü-weichakono=uwö.*   YE'KWANA
   3S-DTR-eat-CAUS-PRP=REIT   blue-NZR   3.REFL-friend=AGT
   'The blue one got/was eaten, by his friend.' [lit. 'caused himself to be eaten']

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Nominalizations as a possible source of passive lability:
The case of Mande languages

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In spite of a general lack of specialized markers of transitivity alternations or voice, certain phenomena in Mande languages closely resemble the functioning of causative-anticausative alternations and voice in languages with rich systems of verbal morphology. In particular, some Mande languages make extensive use of labile (ambitransitive) verbs, which fall into two classes according to the type of relation between the transitive and the intransitive use. One class is based on the causative-anticausative ambivalence: the intransitive use of the verb implies an absence of a volitional agent or instigator directly causing the event (1b).

(1) a. *Dèlɔ̀tɔ́*   *séŋgè* ***klā***   *tābālí é   tā*
          D.   knife   put:PAST   table   DEF   on
          'Deloto put a knife on the table.'   (causative interpretation)

   b. *yrɛ* ***klā***   *à   tā*
          tree   put:PAST   3SG   on
          'A tree fell on him.'   (anticausative interpretation)

The other class features a different type of ambivalence: even though no active participant is made explicit in the intransitive construction (2b), it is presupposed that a specific agent was involved, and the food did not disappear by itself. Such intransitive uses correspond to the use of passive voice in languages with rich morphology.

(2)   a.   *Dèlɔ̀tɔ́ lɔ́ŋpɔ̄ é   lɔ̄*
             D.   food   DEF   eat:PAST
             'Deloto ate the food.' (active interpretation)

       b.   *lɔ́ŋpɔ̄*   *é   lɔ̄*
             nourriture   DEF   manger:PAST
             'The food has been eaten.'   (passive interpretation)

The two types of ambitransitive use differ in their distribution across the Mande family. In some languages (such as those of the Central Mande branch), the passive use is productive, and any transitive verb can appear in intransitive constructions with a passive interpretation (Creissels 2010). In others (such as Mwan from the Southeastern branch), the passive use is not attested.

In languages that feature both the causative-anticausative and the active-passive ambivalence, the two types of interpretation are typically found with different verbs, and are subject to different restrictions. In Wan (Southeastern Mande), the passive – but not the anticausative use – is sensitive to the construction's temporal-aspectual properties: it is only compatible with a resultative/stative reading. While the causative-anticausative lability can be accounted for in terms of lexical ambiguity, the active-passive one does not submit easily to such an account, since the availability of the passive use often depends on constructional properties, such as tense-aspect or information structure (cf. Nedjalkov et al. 1974 on the exceptional passive use of active verb forms in the perfect resultative aspect). The differences suggest that the two types of ambitransitivity should be treated differently, and that different mechanisms were involved in their development. This paper suggests a possible path of development that could explain the wide-spread passive use of transitive verbs in some Mande languages.

While the causative-anticausative ambivalence is widely attested across languages (cf., e.g., English verbs like *to burn*), the active-passive ambivalence is a typological rarum (Letuchiy 2009). Yet in Mande languages, it corresponds to a number of other exotic properties that appear to be

diachronically related; most significantly, there is no distinction between possessor and object pronouns, and the verb phrase can accommodate no more than one complement. It has been suggested (Heine & Reh 1984; Claudi 1988; Nikitina 2011) that in Proto-Mande, the verb phrase was remodeled based on analogy with nominal constructions, due to a massive reanalysis of constructions with nominalizations as finite clauses (such as *I am fishing-at > I am fishing-PROGRESSIVE). Such reanalysis explains how objects became indistinguishable from possessors, and how the verb became similar to nominalizations in forming constituents with no more than one complement (nouns can only take one complement in Mande).

I suggest that the same account explains the productive passive use of transitive verbs. Crucially, while verbs rarely fail to distinguish between active and passive uses, this ambiguity is commonly attested with nominalizations (Koptjevskaya-Tamm 1993), cf. *The barbarians' destruction of Rome* vs. *Rome's destruction by the barbarians*. If indeed Proto-Mande experienced a stage of massive reanalysis of nominalizations as verbs, it should be expected to lose any passive morphology it might have had, and to develop instead the active-passive ambivalence typical of nominalizations. A survey of verbal morphology of Mande languages supports this scenario: the existing passive markers do not go back to a common proto-form, but seem to have been innovated by individual languages. Languages that have not developed such markers retain to various degrees the typologically unusual active-passive lability.

More generally, this case study shows that even in the absence of overt morphological markers, it may be necessary to draw a boundary between active-passive and causative-anticausative uses, suggesting a fundamental distinction between the phenomena of transitivity alternation and voice.

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Toward a Diachronic Typology of Valence-Increasing Morphology in Zapotec

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Zapotec is a major sub-branch of the Zapotecan language family, whose members are spoken mainly in the southern Mexican state of Oaxaca. Zapotec languages are head-marking, prefixing, agglutinative, have the VSO basic word order, and are characterized by a rich diversity of valence-changing devices. The latter display different degrees of grammaticalization ranging from periphrastic causatives to causative auxiliaries, to easily segmentable valence-altering prefixes on verbs, to opaque portmanteau valence-altering prefixes, and to complex valence-changing morpho-phonological alternations involving segmental and/or prosodic features. The full complexity of valence-changing alternations in this family has only recently begun to be explored (Operstein and Sonnenschein 2013); the purpose of the present paper is to outline aspects of the diachronic typology of valence-changing devices as they relate to the expression of valence increase.

The focus of the paper are two valence-related patterns widely attested across the family. The first consists in the material identity between the expression of certain causatives and forms of the potential mood, e.g.:

(1) Zaniza Zapotec *ady* 'suckle' → 1. *g-ady* 'breastfeed' (causative to *ady* 'suckle')

                                 2. *g-ady* (potential mood form of *ady* 'suckle')

The second pattern consists of two sub-patterns. The first involves equipollent valence-related derivation in which the more valent and the less valent verb are both derived from a common vowel-initial root by means of a consonantal prefix:

(2) Tlacolula Valley Zapotec   *d-ieb* 'get sewn'   *g-ieb* 'sew'

    Coatec Zapotec   *t-i'b* 'winnow, strain'   *b-i'b* 'shake'

The second sub-pattern involves suppletive verb paradigms in which the stems of the completive and the non-completive aspect are both derived from a common vowel-initial root by means of a consonantal prefix:

(3) Tlacolula Valley Zapotec 'sow' *d-ieb* (completive)   *g-ieb* (non-completive)

    Coatec Zapotec 'shake'   *t-ib* (completive)   *b-ib* (non-completive)

Operstein (2014) argues that the pattern in (1) suggests that the relevant causative prefix, reconstructed by Kaufman (1994-2007) as *k-, has developed in Zapotec out of the marker of the potential mood following de-subordination of the subordinate clauses of purpose, in which the potential mood form is often used. The present paper will argue that the markers *g-* and *b-* seen in (2) and (3) have followed a similar developmental path, having developed from the marker of the potential mood following the same pragmatic inferencing that has led to the development in (1). The developments illustrated in (1) and (2) argue for a cyclical diachronic connection in Zapotec between the expression of the irrealis modality (Song 1996) and that of valence increase. The development illustrated in (3) confirms the connection, widely attested cross-linguistically, between the completive (perfective) aspect and valence decrease.

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Passives and Impersonals: How was the clause structure constructed in earlier English?

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In this paper, I argue that the reason why impersonal and passive constructions are said to have a functional similarity (cf. Givón 1981, Siewierska 1984) is because they are originally constructed based on a similar principle. My proposal is different from the previous ones in that there are neither functional nor grammatical changes involved in the derivation of these constructions in earlier English and in some current languages (for example Japanese). Over time, Old English passives developed into a different construction; as a result English has developed new constructions like prepositional passives and indirect passives which were not attested in Old English. Instead, English lost impersonal constructions. These changes suggest how the clause structure was constructed in earlier English and how this strategy has changed radically in English.

Although details are different, non-generative approaches (cf. Perlmutter and Postal 1977, Perlmutter 1978, Langacker and Munro 1975, Givón 1979, 1981, Shibatani 1985) are divided into two groups; either imposing more emphasis on the object promotion, or imposing more emphasis on the agent defocusing/deletion/demotion.

Within the generative analysis, there is no derived relation between active and passive sentences any more (Chomsky 1995, 2005). They are generated independently of each other. However, there is some assumption that active sentences are more 'basic' than passives. The presence of passives assumes the empty subject position (Burzio 1986). Passive constructions have been regarded as a deviation from the syntactic norm. Impersonals are also supposed to lack a nominative NP, i.e. 'subjectless constructions'.

The principle concerning my proposal is lexical-thematicity (cf. Radford 1990); this means that only arguments which are required by the meaning of the predicate have to be syntactically realized. In lexical-thematic languages only lexical categories like N, V, and A, i.e. content words are deployed and the functional categories which are not thematic inherently (Abney 1987) are not present or limitedly developed in these languages. Old English and Japanese are among those lexical-thematic languages. See Fukui (1995) for Japanese and Gelderen (1993, 2004) for Old English. Without a functional category TP, there is no EPP (Extended Projection Principle), i.e., the subject requirement in the clause. If an argument which should carry the agentive theta role is not required by the predicate, the subject which should appear in the nominative case need not be realized. The impersonal construction is one instance of this situation, because the impersonal construction expresses the situation in which a human being is unvolitionally involved (cf. McCawley 1976). It has no argument which should have an agentive theta-role. The most typical example is provided by a weather verb like *snow* or *rain*.

(1) norþan   sniwde

    From the north   snowed   'it snowed from the north'   (*Seafarer* 31)

Passives are constructed based on the similar principle. If the speaker wants to express Agent, he/she should use active construction, not passive ones. Then, passive sentences in earlier English lacked an Agent-argument from the beginning. If this argument is on the right track, it follows that the origin of passive constructions has little to do with transitivity.

Indirect passives like *He was given a book* were not attested in Old English; instead, so-called impersonal passives were used:

(2) ac   him   næs   getiðod   ðære lytlan lisse

     but   him-Dative   not-was   granted   that   small favour -Genitive

'But he was not granted that small favour.'

(ÆCHom. I.23.330.29, Denison 1993: 108)

Indirect passives appeared in Middle English and the impersonal passives went out of use. This construction is easily accounted for based on the above lexical-thematic explanation.

Both constructions are formalized normally, based on the meaning of the predicate only. They are not deviant from the norm at all. Later, thanks to the emergent TP (cf. Gelderen 1993, 2004) syntactic passives like prepositional passives and indirect passives which depend on the presence of TP have appeared, while earlier passives like impersonal passives disappeared. Impersonal constructions, which lack nominative subjects, disappeared because the emergent TP requires the subject positions to be overtly filled (the [EPP] feature). Hence, expletive-impersonal constructions have appeared.

Finally, I propose that the discussion in this paper may give some suggestion to the question of unaccusative constructions in earlier English. Unaccusative constructions also have some similarity with impersonals. The Unaccusative Hypothesis which presupposes the suppression of an external argument (subject) should be reexamined.

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Inverse voice constructions of nominal origin?

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In some languages in which an inverse voice is attested, there are synchronic clues that make it plausible to posit a nominal origin as the source of the inverse. In Tupí-Guaraní languages, for instance, the set of subject prefixes called Set II by Payne (1994: 314) is used to mark P on the verb whenever there is a reversal in the normal ranking of actants (e.g. when 2nd person acts on 1st person; 3rd person on 2nd, etc., following the "inherent topicality hierarchy" 1 > 2 > 3, cf. Payne 1994: 316; see Table 1; an example of a clause in a modern Tupí-Guaraní language in which Set II prefixes are used is given in (1)). Most of the prefixes of Set II involve an *r*-formative of unclear origin, which has been interpreted by Payne (1994: 335) as a Proto-Tupí-Guaraní genitive marker, as Set II prefixes also happen to mark possessors on possessed nouns (as in *e-r-uwy*, 'my blood', in example (1)).

The Tupí-Guaraní case does not seem to be an isolated one. In Itonama independent clauses, the inverse system is used whenever a 3rd person A acts on a 1st or 2nd person P. The person markers that index the $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ person object in inverse configurations "coincide with the possessive markers that appear on the possessum and the S/A markers in dependent clauses" (Crevels 2011: 590; cf. (2)). It is also tempting to assume a nominal origin for the inverse subset of a set of personal prefixes reconstructed to Proto-Carib, described by Gildea (1998). The set in question is the one labelled Set I (inverse/split-S) by Gildea (1998: 15), and is possibly the oldest (or the most conservative) system. The paradigmatic structure of Set I personal prefixes is illustrated in Table 2, with exemplification coming from Carib of Surinam. Set I contains an inverse subsystem (corresponding to the dark grey area in Table 2) that is used when a 3rd person A acts on a speech act participant. Gildea (1998: 47-52) points out that the inverse prefixes have nonverbal cognates in a set of possessive clitics, and argues that they "were introduced into the Set I system as clitics, either by extension from the set of possessive clitics […] or by reanalysis of some as yet unknown source construction" (Gildea 1998: 50).

These data conspire towards the conclusion that at least some inverse paradigms/constructions may have a nominal origin, and leave the question open as to what is their possible source. Based on the available evidence (mostly consisting in reconstructive work within a few language families and in the synchronic resemblance between inverse markers and other markers), and on the comparison with similar cases of voice-from-nominalization developments (Starosta *et al.* 2009[1981]), in this paper I propose that nominalizations are the most likely source of this kind of inverse constructions. More specifically, the fact that P is indexed as possessor excludes that a patient nominalization is involved in this process. Two possibilities then remain: an action nominalization or an agent nominalization. It is indeed in these two types of nominalizations that the possessor, at least in principle, may refer to P. If the source construction was an agent nominalizer, however, we would expect the agent to surface as subject (or as main pivot) in the resulting construction, and the construction itself to function as a sort of antipassive or to be infused with habitual/generic semantics, very much like the so-called actor focus (or actor voice) construction in Philippine languages (Starosta et al. 2009[1981]: 453). Since inverse constructions have functions radically different from the antipassive and do not seem to be infused with habitual/generic nuances, and since A in these constructions is not syntactically prominent, the most likely possibility is that the source of the inverse constructions discussed is an action nominalization.

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Data

Person	Prefix
1SG	**če(r-)*
1PL.EXCL	**ore(r-)*
1PL.INCL	**jane(r-)*
2SG	**ne(r-)*
2PL	**pe(n-)*
3	**i-, *c-*

Table 1. *Proto-Tupí-Guaraní Set II person prefixes*.

(1)   Wayampi (Tupian, Tupí-Guaraní; Northeastern Brazil, French Guiana and Suriname; Payne 1994: 315)

e-r-aty-pa		*e-ke*	*pe*	*e-r-uwy*
1SG$_{II}$-LK-cover-COMPLE		1SG$_{II}$-sleep	in	1SG$_{II}$-LK-blood

'My blood completely covered me in my dream.'

(2)   Itonama (isolate; Bolivia; Crevels 2011: 583, 586)

a.   *dih-k'i-tes-cha'ke   ya-dïlï*   *ubuwa*
        2PL-INV-call-MULT   DEM:MED-CLF:STANDING.PL   person
        'Those men called you all'.

b.   *dih-ni-ku*
        2PL-REL-house
        'your house'

	Patient →				(Direct subsystem)	
		1O	2O	1+2O	3O	Sa
	Agent ↓					
	1A		k-		s-	∅-
	2A	k-			m-	m-
	1+2A				kïs-	kït-
(Inverse subsystem)	3A	y-	ay-	k-	n-	n-
	So	y-	ay-	k-	n-	

Table 2. *The Carib of Surinam Set I personal prefixes (adapted from Gildea 1998: 16).*

Abbreviations

1, 2 = 1st, 2nd person; II = set II (personal pronouns); CLF = classifier; COMPLE = completive; DEM = demonstrative; INV = inverse; LK = linker; MED = medial; MULT = multiple (aspect); PL = plural; REL = relative.

Grammaticalization pathways of passives:

the comparative perspective of English and German

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It is a well-known fact that English and German have grammaticalized different verbs as central passive auxiliaries, i.e. E *be* 'be' and G *werden* 'become', although both languages start out from a very similar set of constructional sources. This paper investigates how this happened and this concerns especially the loss of ME *wurðen* as element in passive constructions. It is proposed that the way constructions are restricted in their combinatorics with respect to temporal and aktionsart parameters is pivotal in understanding the diverging developments. German and English differ in the way the combinatorics of these passive constructions change and this paves how the grammaticalization of the passive proceeds.

This paper follows a line of argument proposed in recent work (e.g. Toyota 2008, Jones 2009, Petré 2010, Mailhammer & Smirnova 2013) in discovering language-specific factors which influenced these developmental paths. We follow passive constructions from Old to Middle English and from Old to Middle High German, investigating the interplay between the aktionsart of the verb supplying the past participle and the aktionsart and tense of the copula in a corpus study.

Old English and Old High German both possess constructions with copula verbs and past participles. They are compositional structures with primarily aspectual meaning; passive readings arise from the interplay of the aspectual and transitivity values of their composite parts (Mailhammer & Smirnova 2013). However, already in Late Old English and Early Middle High German there are indications of an incipient process of divergent grammaticalization. In particular, slight changes in frequency of individual constructional variants of copula plus past participle can be observed, which then become more pronounced in subsequent stages of development. These changes concern the preferences of certain copula verbs to combine with participles of particular aktionsart verbs. In German, this change concerns increasing combinations of present tense 'become' (OHG *werdan*/MHG *werden*) with participles of activity verbs. In English, by contrast, there is a decrease in frequency of all other combinations of 'become' (OE *weorðan*/ME *wurðen*) with the exception of past tense copula with participles of achievement and accomplishment verbs. These changes align with the patterns of grammaticalization found in both languages, and in particularly it accounts for the loss of ME *wurðen* as part of passive construction, as it results in functional overlap with passive constructions with ME *be*(*n*).

Within a broader usage based and constructional framework, it is generally accepted that most diachronic developments start out from more lexically specified constructions that develop towards more frequent exemplars and sometimes even acquire constructional independence, leading to new grammatical structures. This implies that the way linguistic elements are combined with each other as well as minimal deviances from this way in a particular synchronic state can have a powerful influence on possible diachronic pathways of linguistic structures. The wider conclusion will be that lexical and contextual restrictions placed on the combinability of linguistic elements, e.g. due to semantic or pragmatic incompatibilities, can pre-structure the pathways of change to some degree, which in turn has pivotal ramifications for our understanding of language change as well as of synchronic language structure.

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Deponents in Greek: Losing and creating active voice counterparts

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The Modern Greek (MG) verbal system exhibits two different voice forms: (a) the active form (ACT) and (b) the non-active form (NACT). Typically transitive (causative) verbs alternate between ACT and NACT and thereby form passives (1a), reflexives/reciprocals (1b), and anticausatives (1c) with the latter. The alternation of ACT/NACT gives semantically an [+undergoer subject] and syntactically [–transitive] verbs (e.g. Tsimpli 1989). Some verbs, however, always bear NACT and, as a result, they lack ACT-counterparts; these verbs are called *deponents*. Deponents are claimed to be different from other NACT-intransitive predicates in both semantic and syntactic terms: (a) they have an active meaning, and (b) some of them are even transitive (2). To this end, deponents are taken not to represent the typical function associated with NACT morphology, and thus are considered idiosyncratic verbs, whose semantics and syntax are unpredictable (e.g. Embick & Marantz 2008).

Recently, Zombolou & Alexiadou (2013) showed that deponents in MG do not represent a mismatch between form and semantics/syntax. Based on the analysis of a corpus of MG deponents, they propose that NACT has indeed a canonical function in (most of) these verbs. The statistical analysis of the deponents' corpus (approx. 1350 MG deponents) reveals that the majority of MG deponents are intransitive verbs with a reflexive/reciprocal or passive or anticausative meaning (3). From this point of view, NACT performs exactly what it does in the contexts in (1). Thus, Zombolou & Alexiadou (2013) concluded that (most of) deponents do not represent an idiosyncrasy synchronically.

In the present paper, we support Zombolou & Alexiadou (2013)'s findings, by arguing that deponents do not represent an idiosyncrasy diachronically either. We will show that the so-called deponents are the result of an ongoing process of losing and creating active form counterparts throughout the history of Greek due to semantic and usage reasons. We claim that deponents have been systematically produced both diachronically and synchronically. Concretely, ten different etymological dictionaries as well as corpora of Classical, Medieval and Modern Greek were examined in order to document the first appearance date of deponents. This comparative study revealed that novel deponents have repeatedly appeared in all three main periods of the Greek language history: (a) Classical Greek (600 BC - 300 BC), (b) Medieval Greek (300 BC - 1700 AC) and (c) Modern Greek (1700 AC - today), as exemplified in table 1. This goes against the assumption that deponents lost their ACT at some unknown time point in time (e.g. Matthews 2007), since their productivity throughout the history of Greek suggests a systematic production. Furthermore, the examination of the dictionaries/corpora showed that many verbs that are reported as deponents in MG (e.g. *amunome* 'defend oneself') are reported to have ACT-counterparts in earlier stages of the language, either CG or MedG, parallel to their NACT-counterparts (4) (e.g. Beekes 2010: 93). And vice versa, novel ACT-counterparts are created in MG for many verbs that are reported as deponents in CG or MedG, as illustrated in (5) (e.g. Liddell & Scott 1996).

In both cases, the meaning associated with the ACT-counterpart is different from the one associated with NACT. Data such as the ones in (4)-(5) contradict earlier views that deponents changed to non-deponents and vice versa with no meaning change (e.g. Papangeli & Lavidas 2009). On the contrary, (4)-(5) suggest that deponents did not lay aside and/or received ACT-counterparts only; they also laid aside or received the meaning associated with the ACT-form, qualifying thereby as members of a productive transitivity alternation with predictable semantics, similar to (1) (cf. Kulikov 2011).

Examples

(1)   a. skotono-ACT "kill" vs. skotonome-NACT "be killed"
       b. pleno-ACT "wash" vs. plenome-NACT "wash oneself/each other"
       c. keo-ACT "burn" vs. kegome-NACT "burn (intr.)"

(2)   I Anna   hiristike   sosta   to provlima
       the anna.SG.NOM handle.NACT.PAST.3SG well.ADV the problem.SG.ACC
       'Anna handled the problem well.'

(3)   a. Anticausatives: e.g. *ekrignime* 'explode'
       b. Passives: e.g. *itome* 'be beaten/defeated'
       c. Reflexives: e.g. *kustumarizome* 'lit. dress myself in a suit' 'dress myself in a fancy way'
       d. Reciprocals: e.g. *maliotravieme* 'lit. pull each other's hair'

(4)   a. Trōas   amune   neōn
          Trojan-PL-ACC   ward/keep off-ACT-PAST-3SG   ship-PL-GEN
          'He kept the Trojans off the ships.' (Homer, *Iliad*, 15.731)
       b. ēn   sullambanomenos   amunētai
          if-CONJ   arrest-PRES.PART-SG-NOM   defend-NACT-PRES-SUBJ-3SG
          'Even if he should defend himself against capture.' (Herodotus, *The Histories*, 180)

(5)   a. apothrasinome 'be very courageous, dare all things'   (CG)
       b. *apothrasino   (CG)
       c. apothrasino 'make somebody bold/insolent'   (MG)
       d. apothrasinome 'get bold/insolent'

Tables

Table 1: Appearance date of deponents

Deponents	CG	MedG	MG
1. efhome 'wish'	+	+	+
2. katapianome 'undertake, put one's hand on'	–	–	+
3. tsigunevome 'be stingy'	–	–	+

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STATIVE PARTICIPLE > AGENTLESS PASSIVE > AGENTIVE PASSIVE **in the Cariban family:**

The Semantic and Pragmatic Path

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This paper is about a deverbal form that is recruited for an innovative passive in the Cariban family, 30-40 languages spoken in Northern South America, from Colombia to French Guiana and from Venezuela to Central Brazil. This deverbal form is clearly marked in all the languages of the family by the co-occurrence of a prefix *t-* and a suffix *-se* or *-so*, usually with various conditioned allomorphs in each language (cf. Meira, Gildea & Hoff 2010). Meira (2000) suggests distinct etymologies for the two forms: *t-* 'third-person subject-coreferential' and *-se*/*-so* 'supine' (purpose-of-motion). We refer to it here as a participle, as its basic and most conservative meaning is that of an adjective/adverb indicating modality or potentiality (1), a meaning usually preserved in the nominalized form of the participle, even when the participle itself no longer has it. More often than not it evolves towards result or ongoing state (2, 3). As a deverbal adverb, the participle can modify other verbs, but it can also occur as a complement of a copula (4), in which case it initially predicates a property (whether potential or resultative) of the subject (the notional P of a transitive verb, notional S of intransitive). Gildea (1997) posits that, in the function of nonverbal predicate, this participle gains an eventive reading, which makes it for the first time a true PASSIVE; then it gains an optional agent phrase. As this passive becomes more frequent, it matches the functional profile of Givón's (1994) Pragmatic Inverse, with the agent phrase gaining in topicality, and even taking subject properties away from the erstwhile patient subject (5). Later on, in some languages, it becomes a main clause (verbal) predicate (6) usually ergative (as in Tiriyó) but in one case also nominative (Bakairi).

While Gildea (1997) described the overall evolutionary path of this form, he was focused on the changes from passive to inverse to active ergative and did not look closely at the initial changes, from stative participle to eventive passive. In this paper, we focus on the range of uses for this participle in the copular predicate in six languages, using corpora that we have gathered from published texts (Kari'nja, Hixkaryana, Wayana) and from our own fieldwork (Yamada on Kari'nja, Meira on Tiriyó and Bakairi, Cáceres on Ye'kwana). These languages represent distinct stages on Gildea's evolutionary pathway: Hixkaryana (no eventive uses at all), Ye'kwana (agentive passive), Kari'nja (passive / inverse?), Wayana and Tiriyó (ergative main clause), and Bakairi (nominative-accusative main clause, previously not attested in the family and so not included in previous comparative discussions).

Our hypothesis, consistent with all the examples we have seen so far but not yet tested across our corpora, is that the passive function will be present in this cognate construction across all these languages except for Hixkaryana (where it remains only incipient), but that the frequency of its use as a passive will be quite different between the languages, reflecting the time depth of its reanalysis and the other passive-like constructions available in each language. For the predicate participle in each language, we will specifically measure (1) the range of meanings (potential, stative, eventive) and the frequency of each, (2) the pragmatic context of the eventive uses (i.e., status of the agent and patient as old vs. new information, relative topicality, etc.), and (3) additional meanings associated with the construction (e.g., 'non-visible source of information' in Tiriyó). In the languages with active clauses based on this participle, we expect to find examples of what has been described as "passive by agent deletion", which we interpret as the previous function

continuing rather than a modern derivation. We will also correlate innovative morphosyntactic properties of t-V-se with the distribution of innovative semantic and pragmatic uses.

(1) POTENTIAL (ADJECTIVAL STATE)

ono	'eat O'	→ *t-ono-so*	'eatable, that can be eaten'	HIXKARYANA
aɨma	'throw O'	→ *t-aɨma-ʃe*	'(one) to be thrown out'	HIXKARYANA
ama	'fell O'	→ *t-ama-ʃe*	'(one) to be felled, cut down'	HIXKARYANA

(2) RESULT (ADJECTIVAL STATE)

mata	'go bad'	→ *t-mata-ʃe*	'rotten'	HIXKARYANA
wajehɨ	'die'	→ *t-wajeh-so*	'dead'	HIXKARYANA
eɾewta	'sit'	→ *t-eɾewta-ʃe*	'seated', 'sitting'	HIXKARYANA

(3) ONGOING (ADVERBIAL MODIFIER)

manho	'dance'	→ *t-manho-so*	'(while) dancing'	HIXKARYANA
omokɨ	'come'	→ *t-omoh-so*	'(while) coming'	HIXKARYANA
ewaʧaɾka	'play'	→ *t-ewaʧaɾka-ʃe*	'(while) playing; playful'	HIXKARYANA
oseɾehɨ	'be scared'	→ *t-oseɾeh-so*	'scared; in fear'	HIXKARYANA

(4) NONVERBAL PREDICATE (POTENTIAL; MODAL; STATIVE) HIXKARYANA

a. ***t-ono-so*** *naha   kjokjo*

  T-eat-SE 3.COP parrot

  'parrot can be eaten.'

b. ***t-aɨma-ʃe*** *naha ɨro tho*

  T-throw-SE 3.COP DEM DEVAL

  'that old stuff is to be thrown out'

c. ***t-ekahtɨm-so*** *w-eh-ʃaha*

  T-run.away-SE 1-COP-PRES

  'I am on the run.'

d. ***t-ewaʧaɾka-ʃe***   *naha mokɾo*

  T-play-SE 3.COP DEM

  'That fellow is playful'

(5) PASSIVE / INVERSE (PATIENT SUBJECT, AGENT ADDED AS OPTIONAL OBLIQUE)

a. ***Tötta'jö'e***   *iyö*   *iye,*   ***tüdakajö'e***,   YE'KWANA

    t-ettaka-jötü-e   iyö   iye   t-yaaka-jötü-e

    T-hollow.out-ITER-SE   DEMin   stick   T-chop.wood-ITER-SE

    töttaka   *wüwüke*.

    t-ettaka-e   wüwü-ke

    T-hollow.out-SE   ax-INSTR

    'The tree is hollowed repeatedly, chopped repeateadly, hollowed out with the ax.'

                                                      (DescCaz.104)

b. *da*   *ero-po*   ***t-apo'i-se***   *i-'ja*   *mang*   KARI'NJA

    then   3.INAN.PROX-LOC   AZR-catch/find   -AZR   3-A   3.COP

    'Then here he finds them (they are found by him).'   (BDF CeAr 0022)

(6) MAIN VERB (RESULTATIVE/AGTLESS PASSIVE; AGENTIVE PASSIVE; ERGATIVE; NOMINATIVE)

a. ***tɨɨ-tə-e***=*pa*   *pahko*   b. *ji-pawana* ***t-əəka-e***   *əkəi=ja*   TIRIYÓ

    T-go-SE=REIT   1.father   1-friend   T-bite-SE   snake=ERG

    'My father left / went away.'   'The snake bit my friend.'

c. ***t-əsenomedə-ʐe*** *ani*   *uɾə*   d. *kaʃoɾo* ***t-apioɡu-ʐe*** *ani*   *uɾə*   BAKAIRI

    T-know-SE   PST   1   dog   T-hit-SE   PST   1

    'I used to study.'   'I used to hit the dog.'

The Denominal Origin of Voice Derivation in Rgyalrongic: Passive and Causative

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Rgyalrongic is a group of Sino-Tibetan languages spoken in Western Sichuan, China (Sun 2000). These languages are well known for their conservative characteristics of morphology and phonology, their importance to Sino-Tibetan historical linguistics and linguistic typology is therefore not to be underestimated.

The Rgyalrongic group is classified into three subgroups: Rgyalrong, Khroskyabs (formerly Lavrung) and Rta'u. The present study is based on first-hand data from all of the three subgroups: Japhug Rgyalrong, Wobzi Khroskyabs and Khang-gsar Rta'u.

It exists a curious parallelism between denominal prefixes and other derivational prefixes in Rgyalrongic. The following table shows the case of Japhug Rgyalrong (Jacques 2012):

Denominal	Property	Derivational	Description
nɯ-/nɤ-	itr. and tr. verbs	*nɯ-/nɤ-*	autobenefactive
rɯ-/rɤ-	itr. and tr. verbs	*rɯ-/rɤ-*	antipassive (non-human)
ɣɯ-/ɣɤ-	itr. and tr. verbs	*ɣɯ-/ɣɤ-*	causative (stative verbs)
sɯ-/sɤ-/sɯɣ	tr. verb with instrument, itr. verb of position	*sɯ-/sɤ-/sɯɣ*	causative
mɤ-	tr. verb with body part, itr. verb of position		
sɤ-	itr. (property)	*sɤ-*	antipassive (human)
aɣɯ-	itr. (property)		

Table 1 Prefixal parallelism in Japhug

Lai (2013) notices the same phenomenon in Khroskyabs. Moreover, he states that the passive prefix ʁ- in Wobzi Khroskyabs has also a corresponding homophonous denominal prefix, deriving stative verbs from nouns, even though some of the base nouns are not attested:

Base noun	Meaning	Derived verb	Meaning
cʰu	bottom	**ʁ-cʰu > χ-cʰu*	exist (in liquid)
vdʑə	mate	*ʁ-vdʑə*	exist (person)

*pe	being low	*ʁ-pe > χ-pe	be low
*təm	lump?	*ʁ-təm > χ-təm	be round
*ro	?	ʁ-ro	be narrow

Table 2 Denominal ʁ- in Wobzi

This denominal prefix can be confirmed with its Rgyalrong cognate *ŋa- (Japhug a-/ɤ- and Situ ŋa-, also having a passive counterpart) which derives a number of stative verbs for geometric forms:

Japhug	Situ	Meaning
kɤ-ɤ-jɤr	kə-ŋa-zór-zor	be askew
kɤ-ɤ-jʁu	kə-ŋa-rgó-rgo	be curved
kɤ-ɤ-βʑirdu	kə-ŋa-bʑírdo	be oblong

Table 3 Denominal *ŋa- in Rgyalrong (Lai 2013, Jacques 2007)

That the two types of prefixes are homophonous should not be considered a coincidence. We tend to think that the two groups are genetically related, and developed from one to the other.

Jacques (2014) provides us with a new hypothesis on the origin of Japhug antipassive prefixes, suggesting that these prefixes come from their corresponding homophonous denominal prefixes. In this presentation, we propose a similar pathway for causative and passive prefixes in Rgyalrongic languages, hypothesizing a denominal origin of these derivations. We will study the functions of the denominal prefixes in question and discuss the morphological processes towards the transformation into voice-changing morphemes:

(1)　　[VERB] → [ACTION NOUN] → [DENOM]-[ACTION NOUN STEM] →

REANALYSIS → [PASSIVE/CAUSATIVE]-[VERB STEM]

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