

Syntax of the World's Languages
Leipzig, August 2004

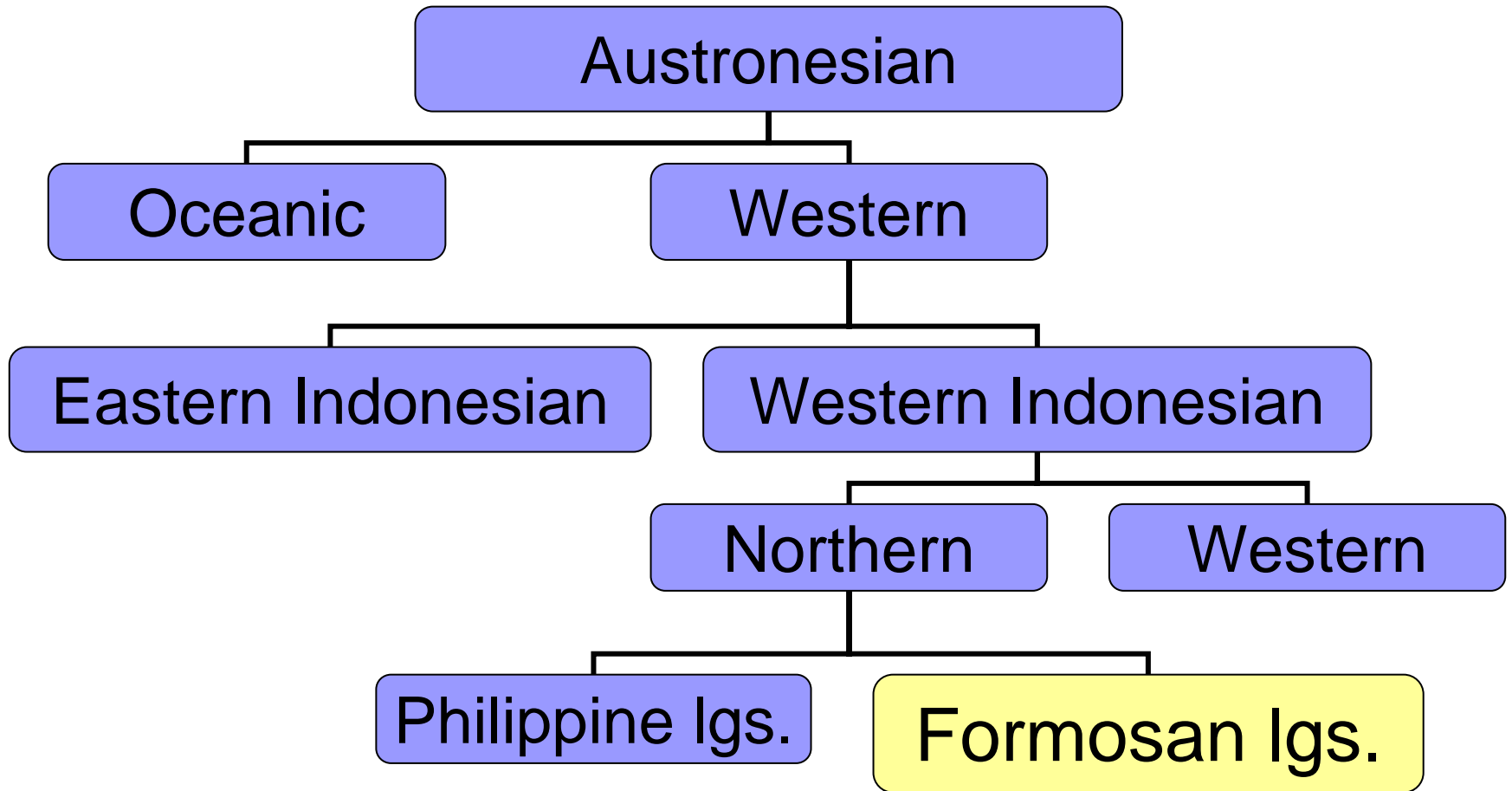
Seediq subject-voice
assignment
in transitive clauses and
causative clauses

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Seediq Language

- One of the Formosan Aboriginal languages.
- Belongs to Austronesian.
- Population of Seediq tribe: About 30,000.
- Not all of them can speak.
- Three dialects: Teruku, Tekedaya, Te'uda.

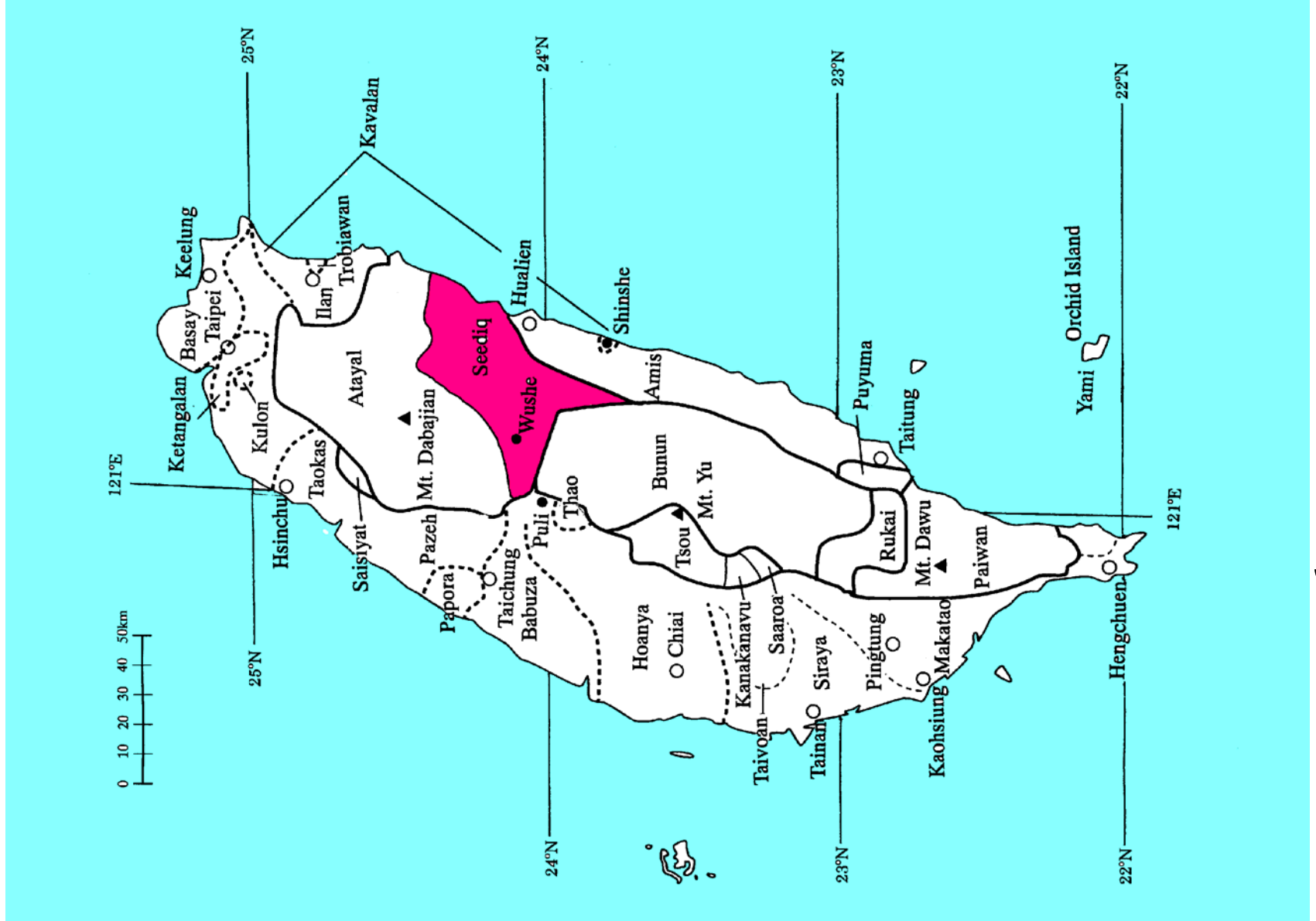
Classification of Austronesian Languages (Tsuchida, 1988: 1044)



Map of Taiwan

E

(from Tsuchida & Miyaoka 2001)



Word Order

- Predicate initial, subject final.

ex. malu ka hiyi=su?
 AV.good NOM body=2s.GEN

Is your body good?

- Modifiers follow the head noun except quantity expression.

ex. deha huliN kumu gaga
 two dog Kumu that

Those two dogs of Kumu's

- Prepositions, but no postpositions.

Focus system

- One of the arguments is chosen as Subject (also called 'Topic' or 'Focus', PrP in the sense of Foley and Van Valin (1984)).
- The subject appears in Nominative case.
- The verb form indicates the semantic role of the Subject.
- Seediq verb forms are categorized into three voices, and semantic roles are grouped into three according to in clause of which voice it becomes the subject.
- Non-core arguments can also become subject.

How NPs which were not chosen as the subject appear (in Seediq):

Semantic role	NP Form
Agent, S (The 'sole' core argument of an Intransitive verb)	Genitive case
Patient, Goal, Recipient, Locative, Beneficiary	Oblique case
Theme, Instrument	Direct case
Source	Prepositional Phrase

Case syncretism

	1s	masaw "Masaw"	babuy "pig"
GEN	=mu	masaw	babuy
DIR	yaku	masaw	babuy
NOM	ka yaku	ka masaw	ka babuy
OBL	kenan	mesag-an	babuy

Example of Focus (Seediq)

Intransitive verb '*usa* 'to go'

m-usa kariNku ka laqi.
AV-go Hualien NOM child
The child goes to Hualien.

sa-'an laqi ka kariNku.
go-GV2 child NOM Hualien
A/The child goes to Hualien.

se-'usa laqi kariNku ka payi.
CV-go child Hualien NOM old:woman
A/The child goes to Hualien for the old woman.

The voice of 'usa 'to go' and the semantic role of the subject

Voice	Verb Form	Semantic role of the subject
AV	m-usa	Agent
GV	sa-'an	Goal
CV	se-'usa	Beneficiary

DO/IO and PO/SO (1)

- Proposed by Dryer (1986).
 - Shibatani (2001: 17) summarizes as follows:
 - i O=P ≠ R (DO/IO)
 - ii O=R ≠ P (PO/SO)
- (O= 'object' of monotransitive clause;
P= patient of ditransitive clause;
R= recipient of ditransitive clause)

DO/IO and PO/SO (2)

Onishi (2001: 2) schematizes as follows:

'give'	Gift	Recipient
'show'	Things shown	Person to whom shown
'tell'	Message	Addressee
(a)	O	non-O
	DO	IO
(b)	non-O	O
	SO	PO

How is the distinction realized in Focus type languages?

- Dryer (1986) concerns on objects.
 - (i) the case assignment
 - (ii) word order
 - (iii) cross-reference on the verb
- But in Focus type languages it is not about Object type. Focus type languages do not have distinct Object status.

PO/SO and 'Focus' type languages

- What is relevant in focus type languages is not grouping of objects, but grouping of semantic roles according to the subject/voice assignment.
- The semantic roles are classified into three macro roles and the verb voice morphology indicates which macro role is the subject.

Example of Focus (Seediq)

Monotransitive verb *kerut* 'to cut'

k-**em**-erut babuy ka masaw.
AV-cut pig.OBL NOM Masaw
Masaw slaughters a/the pig.

keret-**an** masaw ka babuy.
cut-GV2 Masaw.GEN NOM pig
Masaw slaughters the pig.

kerut 'to cut'

kerut-**an**=na babuy ka keti'inuh ni'i.
cut-GV2=3s.GEN pig NOM board this
S/He cuts pig on this board.

se-kerut babuy masaw ka baki.
CV-cut pig.OBL Masaw.GEN NOM old:man
Masaw slaughter a/the pig for the old man.

se-kerut babuy masaw ka putiN.
CV-cut pig.OBL Masaw.GEN NOM knife
Masaw slaughters a/the pig with the knife.

The voice of *kerut* 'to cut' and the semantic role of the subject

	Verb Form	Semantic role of the subject
AV	k-em-erut	Agent
GV	keret-an	Patient, Location
CV	se-kerut	Instrument, Beneficiary

Example of Focus (Seediq)

Ditransitive verb *begay* 'to give'

m-egay *buNa* *leqi-'an* *ka* *bubu.*

AV-give sweet:potato child-OBL NOM mother

The mother gave sweet potato to the/a child.

biq-an *buNa* *bubu* *ka* *laqi.*

give-GV2 sweet:potato mother NOM child

The/A Mother gives sweet potato to the child.

se-begay *bubu* *leqi-'an* *ka* *buNa.*

CV-give mother child-OBL NOM sweet:potato

Mother gave the sweet potato to the/a child.

The voice of *begay* 'to give' and the semantic role of the subject

Voice	Verb Form	Semantic role of the subject
AV	<i>m-egay</i>	Agent
GV	<i>biq-an</i>	Recipient
CV	<i>se-begay</i>	Theme

Subject/Voice assignment of Seediq Monotransitive and Ditransitive clauses

Patient = Recipient ≠ Theme ▶ PO/SO

	Monotransitive	Ditransitive
AV	Agent	Agent
GV	Patient , Location	Recipient
CV	Instrument , Beneficiary	Theme



Peculiarities concerning PO/SO type languages with Focus system

(1) No syntactic operations to
make IO into DO, or SO into PO
(applicative or antipassive).

(2) Treatment of Beneficiary

- Beneficiary becomes PO in some languages.

- Ex. Swahili (Bantu) (Mallinson & Blake 1981:32)

Msichana a-li-m-fungu-lia

girl she-PST-him/her-open-applic

mwalimu mlango.

teacher door

The girl opened the door for the teacher.

- In Seediq, Beneficiary is never treated as GV subject but as CV subject.
(See the example of the verb *kerut* 'to cut'.)

(3) Treatment of Inner Locative of Placement verbs

Ditransitive:

Actor, Recipient, Theme

Recipient ← normally animate

Placement verbs:

Actor, Inner Locative (=Goal?), Theme

Inner Locative ← normally inanimate

'give'	Gift	Recipient
'show'	Things shown	Person to whom shown
'tell'	Message	Addressee
	CV subject	GV subject
'paint'	Paint	Inner Locative
'cover'	ex. Blanket	ex. Body
'apply'	Ointment	Body part
'tie'	Thing tied	Place to be tied to
'write'	Things written	Papers to be written on
'stuff'	Things stuffed	Place to where stuffed

Example of Focus (Seediq)

Placement verb *risuh* 'to paint'

ga r-em-isuh piNki qenabil ka tama.
PROGAV-paint paint wall NOM father

Father is painting paint on the wall.

resuh-un=na piNki ni'i ka qenabil hini.
paint-GV1=3s.GEN paint this NOM wall here

He will paint this paint on this wall.

re-risuh=na qenabil ka piNki.
RED-paint=3s.GEN wall NOM paint

He will paint the paint on the wall.

The voice of *risuh* 'to paint' and the semantic role of the subject

	semantic role of the subject
AV	Agent
GV	Inner Locative
CV	Theme

Dryer's (1986) account for primary objectivity

- ... the PO/SO distinction, in contrast, is more closely related to discourse/pragmatic function (p.841).
- Recipient: generally human and more topical.
 → PO
 Theme: generally non-human and less topical.
 → SO
- Seediq has non-human recipient, that is, Inner Locative.
- Seediq treats Beneficiary, which is animate, in the same way as Theme.

PO as Secondary topic

- "... the PO/SO distinction can be viewed as a grammaticization of secondary topic vs. non-topic. " (Dryer 1986: 841)
- In Seediq, Patient, Recipient, Inner Locative, and Theme can all become the subject, which is the most topical entity of the clause.
- Grouping must be purely on semantic basis.

Causative

- IC and TC
- IC: Causatives derived from intransitive clauses
- TC: Causatives derived from transitive clauses

Case assignment pattern widely observed among world's languages

	In IC clauses	In TC Clauses
NOM	Causer	Causer
ACC	Causee	Affectee
DAT		Causee

Causatives in PO/SO languages

- The pattern:
IC Causee = TC Causee ≠ TC Patient
is often observed in PO/SO languages
(Shibatani 2001).

	IC	TC
NOM	Causer	Causer
ACC?	Causee	Causee
		Affectee

Seediq example of IC clauses pe-talaN 'to make s.o. run'

pe-talaN leqi-'an ka bubu.
AV.CAUS-run child-OBL NOM mother
The mother makes the/a child run.

pe-telaN-un bubu ka laqi.
CAUS-run-GV1 mother NOM child
The mother will make the child run.

Subject/voice assignment in IC clauses

	IC clauses
AV	Causer
GV	Causee
CV	

Seediq example of TC clauses pe-sahug 'to make s.o. serve sth.'

m-pe-sahug=ku 'idaw leqi-'an.
AV.FUT-CAUS-serve=1s.NOM rice child-OBL
I will make a/the child/children serve rice.

pe-sehug-un=mu 'idaw ka laqi.
CAUS-serve-GV1=1s.GEN rice NOM child
I will make the child serve rice.

pe-sahug=mu leqi-'an ka 'idaw.
CV.FUT.CAUS-serve=1s.GEN child-OBL NOM rice
I will make a/the child/children eat the rice.

Subject/voice assignment in TC clauses

	TC clauses
AV	Causer
GV	Causee
CV	Affectee

Seediq Subject/Voice assignment in IC clauses and in TC clauses

	IC	TC
AV	Causer	Causer
GV	Causee	Causee
CV		Affectee

Kemmer and Verhagen (1994)

- They assume as follows:
- ICs "take the simple transitive clause as a structural and conceptual model." (p.125)
- "... the TC structure is modeled on the structure of a ditransitive clause." (p.125)

Correspondence between simple and causative clauses (Kemmer and Verhagen 1994:126)

Simple transitive clauses	Agent	Patient
IC clauses	Causer	Causee

Simple 3-Participant clauses	Agent	Dative/Instrumental	Patient
TC clauses	Causer	Causee	Affectee

DO/IO Languages

■ Patient = Theme ≠ Recipient

	Monotransitive	Ditransitive
ACC	Patient	Theme ("Patient" in K & V)
DAT		Recipient ("Dative" in K & V)

■ IC Causee = TC Affectee ≠ TC Causee

	IC	TC
ACC	Causee	Affectee
DAT		Causee

PO/SO languages

■ Patient = Recipient ≠ Theme

	Monotransitive	Ditransitive
ACC?	Patient	Recipient
		Theme

■ IC Causee = TC Causee ≠ TC Affectee

	IC	TC
ACC?	Causee	Causee
		Affectee

Seediq

■ Patient = Recipient ≠ Theme

	Monotransitive	Ditransitive
GV	Patient	Recipient
CV		Theme

■ IC Causee = TC Causee ≠ TC Affectee

	IC	TC
GV	Causee	Causee
CV		Affectee

Abbreviations

ACC: Accusative, applic: Applicative,
AV: Agent Voice, CAUS: Causative,
CV: Conveyance Voice, DAT: Dative,
FUT: Future, GEN: Genitive,
GV: Goal Voice, NOM: Nominative,
OBL: Oblique, PROG: Progressive,
PST: Past, RED: Reduplication.

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