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メタデータ	言語: English 出版者: 公開日: 2012-05-22 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: 月田, 尚美 メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	https://doi.org/10.15021/00002530

Goal Voice and Conveyance Voice of Seediq

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This paper provides an overview of the use of the Goal Voice and the Conveyance Voice in Seediq, one of the Formosan languages. Seediq has three voices: Agent Voice, Goal Voice, and Conveyance Voice. The basic voice-subject alignment is roughly sketched as follows.

AV	Agent
GV	Goal, Patient, Locative, Recipient
CV	Instrument, Beneficiary, Conveyed theme

The voice-subject alignment above has some variation according to verbs and the aspect of the verb. For some verbs, Patient can become the subject in a CV clause if the verb is perfective. Verbs of separation, especially, show an interesting pattern. When that which is separated becomes the subject, CV is employed if the verb is perfective, while GV is employed when the Source becomes the subject. When the verb is non-perfective, such a contrast is irrelevant and is thus not observed. After providing basic information on Seediq in section 1, I will describe the general use of GV and CV in non-perfectives in section 2, and the somewhat special use of them in perfectives in section 3.

Key words: Seediq, Formosan language, voice, aspect

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1. Basic information on Seediq

The Seediq language is spoken by the Seediq tribe, an indigenous people of Taiwan. The population of this tribe is about thirty thousand, not all of whom can speak the language. Since more than twenty years ago, many parents stopped speaking Seediq to their children with the result that young people and children cannot speak Seediq. There are three dialects of this language: Teruku, Tekedaya, and Te'uda. This paper is on the Teruku dialect. About two thirds of Seediq speakers speak this dialect.

Seediq verb morphology is agglutinating in most cases, employing prefixes, infixes, and suffixes. There exists reduplication of one or two word initial syllables. In addition to zero-derivation, affixation and reduplication are employed both to inflect and derive words.

The vowels of the syllables before penultimate position are usually weakened to *e* (schwa). When the stem is suffixed, the stem vowel that becomes penultimate on affixation gets weakened also. Most stems consist of two syllables, but some are trisyllabic. Vowels in prefixes are usually *e*.

We will discuss Seediq word order, voice and case system in turn.

1.1. Word order

The basic word order of Seediq is strictly predicate initial and subject final, as exemplified in (1).¹⁾

- (1) *malu ka hiyi=su?*
 AV.good NOM body=2SG.GEN
 'Is your body good?'

In example (1), *malu* is the predicate. When adjectives function as predicates, they are encoded in the same way as verbs are. The subject in (1) *ka hiyi=su* is marked by the nominative marker *ka*. This marks Nominative throughout, regardless of whether the subject is pronominal, a common noun or a proper name (see section 1.2). *=su* after *hiyi* is a genitive enclitic pronoun. A genitive enclitic form is used when the possessor is expressed by a pronoun.

In a noun phrase, modifiers follow the head noun except for quantity expressions (ex. 2).

- (2) *deha huliN kumu gaga.*
 two dog Kumu that
 'Those two dogs of Kumu's'

The head noun is *huliN* 'dog', *Kumu* is the possessor, *deha* is the quantity, *gaga* is the demonstrative. The demonstrative appears juxtaposed in the last position in an NP. They are just juxtaposed. Neither a genitive marker nor a ligature is observed. Adjectives usually appear after the modified noun.

Seediq has prepositions, but no postpositions, as may be expected in a generally head-initial language.

1.2. Voice

Philippine languages have a characteristic voice system which is usually called the ‘Focus system’. Formosan languages also share this characteristic and Seediq is no exception.

In this type of voice system, NPs of wider semantic range than in English or Japanese can become subjects. Besides Agents (example (3a)) and Patients (example (3b)), Locations (example (3c)), Beneficiaries (example (3d)), and Instruments (example (3e)) can also become subjects. The verb form signals to some extent which semantic role the subject bears. Sentences in (3) are Seediq examples. The subjects are underlined.

- (3) a. *k-em-erut babuy ka masaw.*
 AV-cut pig.OBL NOM Masaw
 ‘Masaw slaughters a/the pig.’ (Agent)
- b. *keret-an masaw ka babuy.*
 cut-GV2 Masaw.GEN NOM pig
 ‘Masaw slaughters the pig.’ (Patient)
- c. *keret-an laqi sagas ka keti'inuh ni'i.*
 cut-GV2 child.GEN water.melon.OBL NOM board this
 ‘The child cuts water-melon on this board.’ (Location)
- d. *se-kerut babuy masaw ka baki.*
 CV-cut pig.OBL Masaw.GEN NOM old:man
 ‘Masaw slaughters a/the pig for the old man.’ (Beneficiary)
- e. *se-kerut babuy masaw ka putiN.*
 CV-cut pig.OBL Masaw.GEN NOM knife
 ‘Masaw slaughters a/the pig with the knife.’ (Instrument)

In Seediq, not all semantic roles are marked by distinct voice morphology. The sentences in (3b) and (3c) have the same verb form *keret-an*, for example, even though the semantic role of the subject differs: it is Patient in (3b) and it is Location in (3c). Also, (3d) and (3e) have the same verb form *se-kerut*, even though the semantic role of the subject differs: it is Beneficiary in (3d) but Instrument in (3e). Semantic roles are thus grouped into three according to which of the three voices the verb requires when the noun phrase which bears that semantic role becomes the subject. Patient and Location are grouped together because they both employ the Goal Voice when they become the subject. Beneficiary and Instrument are grouped together because they both require the Conveyance Voice when they become the subject. The verb form *k-em-erut* in (3a) is AV form, the verb form *keret-an* in (3b) and (3c) is GV form, and *se-kerut* in (3d) and (3e) is CV form. As can be seen, the morphological complexities of AV form, GV form, and CV form are the same. They are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1 Voice-subject alignment of the verb *kerut* 'cut'

Verb form	Voice	Semantic role of the subject
<i>k-em-erut</i>	AV	Agent (example (3a))
<i>keret-an</i>	GV	Patient (example (3b)), Locative (example (3c))
<i>se-kerut</i>	CV	Beneficiary (example (3d)), Instrument (example (3e))

1.3. Case system

The Seediq case system is shown in Table 2.

Genitive forms for personal pronouns are clitics and those for other NPs are the same form as the citation form. An Independent Nominative is formed by adding the preposition *ka* before the citation form. 1st and 2nd person pronouns have clitic nominative forms also. Oblique case forms take the suffix *-'an*, except in the case of common nouns.

The subject appears in the Independent Nominative form, that is, preceded by *ka*. An Independent Nominative form is often omitted, since in many cases the subject is known from the context. When the subject is 1st or 2nd person, it must be indicated by a nominative clitic pronoun and this cannot be omitted. Nominative clitic pronouns appear after the first element of the predicate.

Table 2 Seediq case

	1 st and 2 nd Pronoun ex. <i>yaku</i> 1SG	3 rd Pronoun ex. <i>hiya</i> 3SG	Personal names and some human nouns ex. <i>laqi</i> 'child'	Common nouns that express animals and inanimate things ex. <i>babuy</i> 'pig'
GEN	<i>=mu</i>	<i>=na</i>	<i>laqi</i>	<i>babuy</i>
Independent NOM	<i>ka yaku</i>	<i>ka hiya</i>	<i>ka laqi</i>	<i>ka babuy</i>
Clitic NOM	<i>=ku</i>	–	–	–
OBL	<i>kenan</i>	<i>hiya-'an</i>	<i>laqi-'an</i>	<i>babuy</i>

- (4) *gisu=ku m-ahu lukus (ka yaku).*
 PRG=1SG.NOM AV-wash clothes.OBL (NOM 1SG)
 'I am washing clothes.'

An NP that is not chosen as the subject appears between the predicate and the subject, and in the forms as shown in Table 3.

Table 3 Case marking on non-subject NPs

Semantic role	Form
Agent, Theme (of an Intransitive verb), Conveyed theme, Instrument	Genitive
Patient, Goal, Recipient, Locative, Beneficiary	Oblique
Source	Prepositional Phrase

2. The general use of GV and CV when the verb is non-perfective

The use of GV and CV varies according to verbs and the aspect of the verb. As for the aspect, whether the verb is perfective or not is crucial. Non-perfective categories include Neutral, Future, Infinite and Hortative. For these categories, the use of GV and CV is rather uniform. We examine the use of GV and CV with non-perfective verbs in section 2, and with perfective verbs in section 3. Verbs are roughly classified into 1-place verbs, 2-place verbs and 3-place verbs.

2.1. 1-place verbs

As for 1-place verbs, the Agent becomes the subject in AV sentences, the Goal or Locative becomes the subject in GV sentences, and the Beneficiary becomes the subject in CV sentences. Instruments can be the CV subject with most 2-place verbs (as we saw in example (3e)), but with 1-place verbs they cannot. This is summarized in Table 4.

Table 4 Voice-subject alignment (1): 1-place verbs

Voice	Semantic role of the subject
AV	Agent (example (5a))
GV	Goal (example (5b)), Locative
CV	Beneficiary (example (5c))

Below are examples of the verb *'usa* 'to go'.

- (5) a. *m-usa kariNku ka laqi.*
 AV-go Hualien.OBL NOM child
 'The child goes to Hualien.'
- b. *sa-'an laqi ka kariNku.*
 go-gv2 child.GEN NOM Hualien
 'A/The child goes to Hualien.'
- c. *se-'usa laqi kariNku ka payi.*
 CV-go child.GEN Hualien.OBL NOM old.woman
 'A/The child goes to Hualien for the old woman.'

2.2. 2-place verbs

As for 2-place verbs, the Agent becomes the subject in AV sentences, the Patient or Locative becomes the subject in GV sentences, and the Beneficiary or Instrument becomes the subject in CV sentences (sentences in (3)). This is summarized in Table 5.

Generally speaking, the lower a verb occurs in the transitivity scale proposed by Tsunoda (1985), the less natural it is for Instruments to become a CV subject.

Table 5 Voice-subject alignment (2): 2-place verbs

Voice	Semantic role of the subject
AV	Agent (example (3a))
GV	Patient (example (3b)), Locative (example (3c))
CV	Beneficiary (example (3d)), Instrument (example (3e))

2.3. 3-place verbs

As for 3-place verbs, the Agent becomes the subject in AV sentences, the Recipient or Inner locative becomes the subject in GV sentences, and the Conveyed theme becomes the subject in CV sentences. This is summarized in Table 6.

Some studies do not distinguish the Theme of intransitive verbs and the Theme of verbs of transitive conveyance, but in describing Seediq, I distinguish them and refer to the latter as Conveyed themes.

Table 6 Voice-subject alignment (3): 3-place verbs

Voice	Semantic role of the subject
AV	Agent (examples (6a), (7a))
GV	Recipient (example (6b)), Inner locative (example (7b))
CV	Conveyed theme (examples (6c), (7c), (8a), (8b), (8c), (8d), (8e), (8f))

Examples with the 3-place verb *begay* ‘to give’ are given in (6).

- (6) a. *m-egay buNa leqi-'an ka bubu.* (AV)
 AV-give sweet.potato.GEN child-OBL NOM mother
 ‘The mother gave sweet potato to the/a child.’
- b. *biq-an buNa bubu ka laqi.* (GV)
 give-GV2 sweet.potato.GEN mother.GEN NOM child
 ‘The/A Mother gives sweet potato to the child.’
- c. *se-begay bubu leqi-'an ka buNa.* (CV)
 CV-give mother.GEN child-OBL NOM sweet.potato
 ‘Mother gave sweet potato to the/a child.’

Examples with the verb *risuh* ‘to paint’ are given in (7).

- (7) a. *ga r-em-isuh piNki qenabil ka tama.* (AV)
 PRG AV-paint paint.GEN wall.OBL NOM father
 ‘Father is painting paint on the wall.’
- b. *resuh-un=na piNki ni'i ka qenabil hini.* (GV)
 paint-GV1=3SG.GEN paint.GEN this NOM wall here
 ‘He will paint this paint on this wall.’

- c. *re-risuh=na qenabil ka piNki. (CV)*
 RED-paint=3SG.GEN wall.OBL NOM paint
 ‘He will paint the paint on the wall.’

Table 7 Examples of GV subject and CV subject of 3-place verbs

	Example of GV subject	Example of CV subject
<i>begay</i> ‘give’	child	book, sweet potato
<i>peqita</i> ‘show’	child	book, picture
<i>reNaw</i> ‘tell, speak’	child	old story, Taroko custom
<i>garaN</i> ‘inform’	villagers	good news
<i>risuh</i> ‘paint’	wall	oil paint
<i>bubuN</i> ‘cover’	child	blanket
<i>baytaq</i> ‘spear’	boar	spear
<i>qapaN</i> ‘apply (ointment)’	knee, waist	ointment
<i>’ugul</i> ‘bind’	post, stake	cow
<i>patas</i> ‘write’	notebook, letter (paper)	alphabet, story
<i>gemuk</i> ‘put a lid on sth.’	pot	lid
<i>sepuy</i> ‘put a cap on sth.’	bottle	cap, cork
<i>gimax</i> ‘mix’	coffee	sugar

Verbs with the same pattern are listed in Table 7, with examples of GV subjects and CV subjects.

Examples of CV sentences are given in (8).

- (8) a. *se-reNaw baki leqi-’an kedediyax ka kari ni’i.*
 CV-talk old.man.GEN child-OBL everyday NOM story this
 ‘The old man tells this story to children every day.’
- b. *se-garaN=deha kana ’alaN hi ka kari ni’i.*
 CV-report=3PL.GEN all village.OBL there NOM story this
 ‘They reported this story all over the village there.’
- c. *re-reNaw=mu sediqun ka kari ni’i.*
 CV.FUT-talk=1SG.GEN person.OBL NOM story this
 ‘I will tell this story to people.’
- d. *re-risuh=na qenabil ka piNki ni’i.*
 CV.FUT-paint=3SG.GEN wall.OBL NOM paint this
 ‘This paint is what he will paint the/a wall with.’
- e. *heleg-ani laqi ka qabaN ni’i.*
 put.on-CV.INF child.OBL NOM blanket this
 ‘Cover a/the child with this blanket.’
- f. *petes-ani patas ka kari ni’i.*
 write-CV.INF letter.OBL NOM story this
 ‘Write this story in the letter.’

2.4. Discussion

In Japanese, as in example (9), or in English, as in example (10) the Conveyed theme of 3-place verbs behaves the same way as the Patient of 2-place verbs. The Recipient of 3-place verbs, on the other hand, behaves differently. This is summarized in Table 8.

Table 8 Comparison of case frames of 2-place and 3-place verbs: Japanese and English

Japanese	ACC	DAT
English	ACC	DAT
2-place verb	Patient	–
3-place verb	Conveyed theme	Recipient

- (9) a. *Taro-wa shasin-o moyasu.*
 Taro-NOM photograph-ACC burn
 ‘Taro burns (the) photograph.’
 b. *Taro-wa Hanako-ni shasin-o ageru.*
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT photograph-ACC give
 ‘Taro gives a photograph to Hanako.’
- (10) a. *John hit him.*
 b. *John introduced him to them.*

Thus, with 3-place verbs, the Conveyed theme is treated as a Direct object, and the Recipient is treated as an Indirect object. I will call such a system DO/IO alignment, following Dryer (1986).

Different languages have a different system, namely, PO/SO alignment (Dryer 1986). In such a system, the Recipient of 3-place verbs behaves the same way as the Patient of 2-place verbs. The Conveyed theme of 3-place verbs, on the other hand, behaves differently. Thus the Recipient is treated as a Primary object, and the Conveyed theme is treated as a Secondary object. Seediq is one of the languages with such a system, as seen from Table 9.

Table 9 Comparison of the voice-subject relationship of 2-place and 3-place verbs: Seediq

Seediq	GV	CV
2-place verb	Patient	(Instrument, Beneficiary)
3-place verb	Recipient	Conveyed theme

Seediq differs from those languages with PO/SO alignment shown in Dryer (1986) in the following three points.

1. In Seediq, it is not exactly the primary ‘object’ or secondary ‘object’. A grammatical category ‘object’ cannot be set up for Seediq. In Seediq, the voice system groups together Patient and Recipient as opposed to Conveyed theme. In other languages, the relationship is shown in the case system, dependent marking, and the like.

2. The Beneficiary behaves the same way as the Conveyed theme in Seediq. In other

languages such as Swahili or Nahuatl, the Beneficiary behaves the same as the Recipient, that is, as PO. Example (11) is a Swahili example cited from Dryer (1986).

- (11) *Msichana a-li-m-fungu-lia mwalimu mlango.*
 girl she-PST-him/her-open-APPL teacher door
 ‘The girl opened the door for the teacher.’

In Seediq, however, the Beneficiary behaves differently from the Recipient, but the same as the Conveyed theme, as shown in (3d).

3. Primary objects in Dryer (1986) are mostly animate. Inner locatives, which are usually inanimate, are not treated as Primary objects in the languages cited in Dryer (1986). In Seediq, Inner locatives behave the same way as Recipients (see example (7b)). We can see that in Seediq, Inner locatives are also treated the same way as Patients of 2-place verbs.

3. The use of GV and CV when the verb is perfective

In section 3, we examine the use of GV and CV in perfective aspect. It is in some ways different from the use of GV and CV in non-perfective aspect. We will first discuss 1-place verbs, secondly 3-place verbs, and finally 2-place verbs, because the use of GV and CV of 2-place verbs is rather complex, whereas the use of the two voices of 1-place and 3-place verbs is rather simple.

3.1. 1-place verbs

As for 1-place verbs, the voice-subject alignment in perfective aspect is almost the same as that in non-perfective aspect: the Agent becomes the subject in AV sentences, and the Goal or Locative becomes the subject in GV sentences. CV perfective forms of 1-place verbs, however, are not typically used, and thus are left blank in Table 10.

Table 10 Voice-subject alignment of 1-place verbs (perfective)

Voice	Semantic role of the subject
AV	Agent (example (12a))
GV	Goal (example (12b)), Location
CV	–

Below are examples of the verb *'usa* ‘to go’.

- (12) a. *m-en-usa kariNku ka laqi.*
 AV-PRF-go Hualien.OBL NOM child
 ‘The child went to Hualien.’
- b. *n-sa-'an laqi ka kariNku.*
 PRF-go-GV2 child.GEN NOM Hualien
 ‘A/The child went to Hualien.’

- c. **n-usa* *laqi* *kariNku* *ka* *payi*.
 CV.PRF-go child.GEN Hualien.OBL NOM old.woman
 ‘A/The child went to Hualien for the old woman.’

3.2. 3-place verbs

As for 3-place verbs, the voice-subject alignment is the same for perfective as it is for non-perfective. The Agent becomes the subject in AV, the Recipient or Inner locative becomes the subject in GV, and the Conveyed theme becomes the subject in CV. This is summarized in Table 11.

Table 11 Voice-subject alignment of 3-place verbs (perfective)

Voice	Semantic role of the subject
AV	Agent (Example (13a))
GV	Recipient (Example (13b)), Inner locative
CV	Conveyed theme (Example (13c))

Examples are as follows.

- (13) a. *m-en-uway* *buNa* *kenan* *ka* *baki*.
 AV-PRF-give sweet.potato.GEN 1SG.OBL NOM old.man
 ‘The old man gave a sweet potato to a/the child.’
- b. *b-eniq-an=ku=na* *buNa*.
 PRF-give-GV=1SG.NOM=3SG.GEN sweet.potato.GEN
 ‘S/He gave/will give me a sweet potato.’
- c. *b-en-egay=na* *kenan* *ka* *buNa*.
 PRF-CV.FUT.give=3SG.GEN 1SG.OBL NOM sweet.potato
 ‘S/He will give the sweet potato to me.’

3.3. 2-place verbs

The Agent becomes the subject in AV; this is the same as other AV forms. There are two special points about CV perfective. The Beneficiary does not become subject if the verb is CV perfective; this is one of the characteristics of the CV perfective form, compared to other CV forms. The other is that the Patient of most 2-place verbs can become the subject when the verb is GV perfect form, but that the Patient of some 2-place verbs can become the subject also when the verb is CV perfect form. With some verbs, what is treated as the Patient of 2-place verbs in most other languages does not become the subject when the verb is in GV form, but becomes the subject when the verb is in CV form.

Thus, one can classify 2-place verbs by whether the Patient can become the subject when the verb is in GV perfective form, and by whether the same is possible when the verb is in CV perfective form, as in Table 12.

As for I verbs, the situation is the same as for non-perfective forms, except that Beneficiaries cannot become the subject in CV sentences. Patients become the subject when the predicate is in GV form, and Instruments become the subject when the predicate is in CV

Table 12 Whether Patient can become subject in GV and CV (perfective)

		GV perfective	
		Patient can become the subject	Patient cannot become the subject
CV Perfective	Patient can become the subject	II	III
	Patient cannot become the subject	I	Intransitive verbs

form. We will see such cases in 3.3.1.

As for II verbs, Patients can become the subject both in a GV perfective sentence and in a CV perfective sentence. In some cases, the difference in meaning is rather clear (see section 3.3.2), but in other cases, it is unclear (see section 3.3.3).

As for III verbs, Patients become the subject when the predicate is in the CV perfective form, not when it is in the GV perfect form. Sources or Inner Locatives, depending on the verb, become the subject when the predicate is in the GV perfective form. We will see the Source type in 3.3.4, and the Inner locative type in 3.3.5. It is an odd feature of this group of verbs that Patients cannot become subjects in GV sentences. It may not be so odd, however, taking into consideration that it is the Recipient or Inner locative, but not the Conveyed theme that becomes the subject in GV sentences for 3-place verbs. 3-place verbs, however, do not change their voice-subject alignment according to whether they are perfective or not, so the aspect-voice connection is still odd for this group.

Those verbs that do not take Patients as GV subjects nor CV subjects are 1-place verbs.

3.3.1. I: Patient cannot become CV subject when perfective

As for the following group of verbs, the Patient can become subject in GV sentences but not in CV sentences. This situation is common with non-perfectives and is summarized in Table 13.

- (1) cutting: *karik* ‘cut’, *salak* ‘cut off’, *tatak* ‘cut down the forest’
- (2) hitting, kicking, and treading: *qeqax* ‘step on, tread on’, *peseru* ‘hit with fist’, *tabun* ‘plough’
- (3) washing: *bahu* ‘wash (clothes)’, *sinaw* ‘wash (dishes)’
- (4) shaving and plucking: *keges* ‘shave’, *sekesik* ‘sweep’, *karaw* ‘clean’, *kuyuh* ‘pluck (feather)’, *qilit* ‘peel’
- (5) drying: *deNu* ‘dry’, *pehidaw* ‘expose sth. to the sun’, *gayig* ‘dry sth. at fire’

Table 13 Voice-subject alignment of group I verbs

Voice	Perfective	Non-perfectives
AV	Agent	Agent
GV	Patient (examples (14a), (15a)), Outer Locative	Patient, Outer Locative
CV	Instrument	Instrument, Beneficiary

- (6) opening and closing: *berehug* ‘lock’, *’eduk* ‘close’, *rawah* ‘open’
 (7) eating and drinking: *’ekan* ‘eat’, *’imah* ‘drink’
 (8) others: *deNa* ‘bring up, feed’, *seluhay* ‘learn’, *sapaN* ‘sew’

Examples are as follows:

- (14) a. *q-en-eq-an laqi ka helama ni’i.*
 PRF-eat-GV child.GEN NOM rice.cake this
 ‘A/The child ate this rice cake.’
 b. **n-ekan laqi ka helama ni’i.*
 PRF-CV.eat child.GEN NOM rice.cake this
 ‘A/The child ate this rice cake.’
- (15) a. *n-emah-an laqi ka ’unuh katin ni’i.*
 PRF-drink-GV child.GEN NOM milk cow this
 ‘A/The child drank this milk.’
 b. *n-imah laqi ka ’unuh katin ni’i.*
 PRF-CV.drink child.GEN NOM milk cow this
 ‘A/The child drank this milk.’

3.3.2. II-a: Patient can become GV subject and CV subject: with a clear semantic difference

Group II verbs can have its Patient either as GV subject or as CV subject, as is shown in Table 14. For subgroup a, the semantic difference is rather clear.

Table 14 Voice-subject alignment of group II-a verbs

Voice	Perfective	Non-perfective
AV	Agent	Agent
GV	Patient (part)(example (16a))	Patient
CV	Patient (whole)(example (16b))	Instrument, Beneficiary

When the Patient becomes the GV subject, the speaker pays attention to some particular part of the Patient. When the Patient becomes the CV subject, on the other hand, the speaker pays attention to the Patient as a whole. Thus, the expression of Patient slightly differs when the verb is GV or CV. An entity that is part of a patient, for example a *handle*, is a good candidate for the GV subject.

- (16) a. *s-en-i’is-an=mu ka hini.*
 PRF-sew-GV=1SG.GEN NOM here
 ‘This part is where I sewed.’ (Pointing to some particular part of the clothes.)
 b. *s-en-a’is=mu ka lukus ni’i.*
 PRF-CV.sew=1SG.GEN NOM clothes this
 ‘These clothes are what I made.’ (Pointing to all of the clothes.)

Such verbs and examples of GV subjects and CV subjects are given in Table 15.

Table 15 Examples of GV subject and CV subject of II-a verbs

	Examples of GV subjects	Examples of CV subjects
<i>sa'is</i> 'sew'	the part one sewed (ex. seam) (Example (16a))	the whole clothes (ex. (16b))
<i>du'uy</i> 'hold'	where one held (ex. handle of an umbrella)	what one held (ex. umbrella)
<i>besequr</i> 'throttle a person'	the part on which one throttled a person (ex. bruise caused by bring throttled)	the one who was throttled
<i>teluN</i> 'touch'	the part where one touched	what one touched

3.3.3. II-b: Patient can become either GV subject or CV subject: with unclear semantic differences

For subgroup b, the semantic difference is unclear. In addition, the CV perfective form can also have an Instrument as the subject.

This group consists of the following verbs.

(1) Changing state: *pesetalux* 'make hot', *geruN* 'destroy', *pehuqil* 'kill', *geheriq* 'make wet', *getegut* 'grind', *gedara* 'bleed', *saruk* 'burn body hair (pig or boar) over a fire', *peseqama* 'burn', 'uduh' 'burn'

(2) Hitting: *sipaq* 'slap', *peteluk* 'hit with fist', *tatuk* 'knock'

(3) Moving: *didil* 'carry in one's hand', *basaw* 'move a pot from cooking stove to the table'

(4) Pulling, pushing, holding: 'epix' 'hold sth. to avoid being blown off', *perut* 'press down', *rederud* 'rub', *sikul* 'push', *berbil* 'pull'

(5) Other: *halig* 'hang on a pole', *te'tu* 'chop off (wood or bones)'

Examples are as follows.

- (17) a. *p-en-setelex-an=na* *ka* *damat*.
 PRF-warm-GV=3SG.GEN NOM vegetable
 'S/He warmed the food.'
- b. *p-en-setalux=na* *ka* *damat*.
 PRF-CV.warm=3SG.GEN NOM vegetable
 = (17a)

Table 16 Voice-subject alignment of group II-b verbs

Voice	Perfective	Non-perfective
AV	Agent	Agent
GV	Patient (examples (17a), (18a))	Patient
CV	Patient (examples (17b), (18b)), (Instrument)	Instrument, Beneficiary

- (18) a. *p-en-seqema-'an baki ka patas=mu da.*
 PRF-burn-GV old.man.GEN NOM book=1SG.GEN NS
 'The old man burned my books.'
- b. *p-en-seqama baki ka patas=mu da.*
 PRF-CV.burn old.man.GEN NOM book=1SG.GEN NS
 'The old man burned my books.'

3.3.4. III-a: Source-type

Verbs of group III are comprised of verbs whose Patients become the subject when the predicate is the CV perfective form, but not when it is GV perfect form. As for the subgroup III-a, Source becomes the subject when the predicate is GV perfective form. Such verbs include those verbs that express separation. The Patient that becomes the subject in CV sentence is the patient that has been separated from some entity. This is summarized in Table 17.

Table 17 Voice-subject alignment of III-a perfective verbs in comparison with non-perfectives

Voice	Perfective	Non-perfective
AV	Agent (example (19a))	Agent
GV	Inner locative (example (19b)), Outer locative	Patient
CV	Patient (what has been separated) (example (19c))	Beneficiary, Instrument

Examples are as follows.

- (19) a. *g-em-en-abal sepih qempahan=na ka rubiq.*
 AV-PRF-weed weed.OBL field.OBL=3SG.GEN NOM Rubiq
 'Rubiq weeded weeds in her field.'
- b. *g-en-ebal-an rubiq ka qempahan=na.*
 PRF-weed-GV Rubiq.GEN NOM field=3SG.GEN
 'Rubiq weeded her field.'
- c. *g-en-abal rubiq ka sepih ni'i.*
 CV-PRF-weed Rubiq.GEN NOM weed this
 'Rubiq weeded these weeds.'

Non-perfectives express the situation before the separation, where the whole thing is united. That whole thing becomes the GV subject. Perfectives, on the other hand, describe the situation after the separation, where some entity has already been separated from the source entity. The entity that has already been separated becomes the CV subject and the source becomes the GV subject. The expression that becomes the subject in the GV sentence and the CV sentence may be the same, but the meaning differs. The GV perfective form and the CV perfective form of the verb *kerut* 'cut', for instance, may have the same expression *hiyi* 'meat' as the subject. The expression *hiyi* 'meat' in the GV sentence means a big loaf of meat from which some of the meat was cut. The expression *hiyi* 'meat' in the CV sentence means a piece of meat that was cut off from somewhere.

- (20) a. *k-en-eret-an rubiq ka hiyi ni'i.*
 PRF-cut-GV Rubiq.GEN NOM meat this
 'Rubiq cut from this (loaf of) meat.'
- b. *k-en-erut rubiq ka hiyi ni'i.*
 CV.PRF-cut Rubiq.GEN NOM meat this
 'Rubiq cut this (piece of) meat.'

The GV perfective form and the CV perfective form of the verb *sahut* 'serve', for instance, may have the same expression *begu* 'soup' as the subject. The expression *begu* 'soup' in the GV sentence refers to soup in a pot from which some of the soup was served, whereas in the CV sentence the subject refers to a bowl of soup that was served from a pot. The GV perfective form may also have an expression for pot as the subject.

This group of verbs includes the following: *kerut* 'cut', *seqit* 'cut', *lamu* 'pick', *qaguk* 'sweep (dust) into a dustpan', *sahug* 'serve (rice or soup) from a pot', *'aNal* 'take', *hegeluq* 'pull out', *gabai* 'pull up (weed)', *ge'guy* 'steal', *hegeliq* 'tear', *paysa* 'pester s.o. for sth.', *barig* 'buy'.

Entities that become the subject in GV perfective sentences and CV perfective sentences are shown in Table 18.

The verb *paysa* 'pester s.o. for sth.' and the verb *barig* 'buy' seem to have little relation-

Table 18 Examples of GV and CV subjects of III-a perfective verbs

	Examples of GV subject	Examples of CV subject
<i>kerut</i> 'cut'	Outer locative (ex. kitchen, cutting board). The entity that was cut (ex. big loaf of meat on the table)	What was cut off (ex. a piece of meat on a dish)
<i>seqit</i> 'cut'	Outer locative. What was cut	What was cut off
<i>lamu</i> 'pick'	The place one picked something (ex. head). The thing one picked up (ex. louse)	The thing one picked up
<i>qaguk</i> 'sweep (dust) into a dustpan'	The floor or room which was swept off and is clean now	The dust swept into a dustpan
<i>sahug</i> 'serve'	The pot from which someone served something	Something served (ex. rice or soup)
<i>'aNal</i> 'take'	What was left after sth. is taken off	What was taken off
<i>hegeluq</i> 'pull out'	A bunch/sheath of something that remains after part is pulled out	Something that was pulled off
<i>gabai</i> 'pull up (weed)'	Field from which weed was pulled up	The weed which was pulled up
<i>ge'guy</i> 'steal'	The house from which something was stolen	Something which was stolen
<i>hegeliq</i> 'tear'	A book from which pages were torn off	Pieces of paper which were torn off
<i>paysa</i> 'pester s.o. for sth.'	Someone who pesters for sth. (ex. (21a)). Something which s.o. pesters for (ex. (22))	Something which s.o. pesters for (ex. (21b))
<i>barig</i> 'buy'	The place one bought sth. The person one bought sth. from. Something one bought (ex.(23))	Something one bought

ship to separation. Considering voice-subject alignment, however, these two also belong to this group.

paysa ‘pester s.o. for sth.’:

s.o. whom one pesters > Source > GV subject (example (21a))

sth. which one pesters for > Conveyed theme that is separated > CV subject (example (21b))

barig ‘buy’:

one who sells > Source > GV subject thing which one buys > Conveyed theme that is separated from the Source > CV subject

Sentential examples are given below.

- (21) a. *p-en-egesa-'an=na pila ka tama=na.*
 PRF-ask-GV=3SG.GEN money.GEN NOM father=3SG.GEN
 ‘S/He asked her/his father for money.’
 b. *p-en-aysa=na tema-'an=na ka pila ni'i.*
 PRF-CV.ask=3SG.GEN father-OBL=3SG.GEN NOM money this
 = (21a)

These two verbs show an intermediate phase, differing from other verbs of this group, since the GV perfective forms of these two verbs can also have a Conveyed theme or Patient as the subject (example (22), (23)).

- (22) *p-en-gesa-'an=na tama=na ka pila ni'i.*
 PRF-ask-GV=3SG.GEN father.OBL=3SG.GEN NOM money this
 ‘S/He asked her/his father for this money.’
 (23) *b-en-erig-an rubiq ka 'emu ni'i.*
 PRF-buy-GV Rubiq.GEN NOM snack this
 ‘Rubiq bought this snack.’

Semantically, ‘borrow’ seems to have much in common with *paysa* ‘pester’. Considering voice-subject alignment, however, it does not. The main characteristic of this group is that the Conveyed theme becomes the subject in the CV perfective, but ‘borrow’ does not follow this pattern. The thing which was borrowed becomes the subject in GV, but not in CV. Example:

- (24) a. *k-en-siyuk-an=na ka sapah.*
 PRF-borrow-GV=3SG.GEN NOM house
 ‘S/He rented the house.’
 b. **k-en-siyuk=na ka sapah.*
 PRF-CV.borrow=3SG.GEN NOM house

Verbs of shaving and plucking, for example *keges* ‘shave’, *sekesik* ‘sweep’, *karaw*

‘clean’, *kuyuh* ‘pluck (feather)’, *qilit* ‘peel’, are not included in this group. These verbs are included in group I, whose Patient does not become the subject in CV perfective sentences. This means that what has been separated cannot become the subject. Thus what is separated by shaving or plucking appears not attention-worthy enough to warrant promotion to subject.

3.3.5. III-b: Inner locative type

The GV subjects of some verbs are not Source but Inner locative: a whet stone for whetting, or pots for cooking, for example (example (25a), (26a)). That which was whet, or cooked becomes CV subject with verbs of this type (example (25b), (26b)). This is summarized in Table 19.

Table 19 Voice-subject alignment of III-b verbs

Voice	Perfective	Non-perfective
AV	Agent	Agent
GV	Inner locative (examples (25a), (26a)), Outer locative	Patient, Inner locative, Outer Locative
CV	Patient (examples (25b), (26b))	Instrument, Beneficiary

- (25) a. *l-en-epax-an* *yayu* *ka* *betunux* *ni'i*.
 PRF-sharpen-GV knife.OBL NOM stone this
 ‘This stone was used to whet a/the knife.’
- b. *l-en-epax* *ka* *yayu* *ni'i* *da*.
 PRF-CV.sharpen NOM knife this NS
 ‘This knife was sharpened.’
- (26) a. *p-en-uy-an* *qesurux* *ka* *nabi* *ni'i*.
 PRF-COOK-GV fish.OBL NOM pot this
 ‘One has cooked fish in this pot.’
- b. *n-ehapuy* *'ina* *ka* *qesurux*.
 PRF-CV.cook daughter.in.law.GEN NOM fish
 ‘Daughter-in-law cooked the fish.’

3.4. Discussion

Two types of semantic difference are observed so far.

Type A: Recipient, Inner locative, Source, or Goal become the subject in GV, and Conveyed theme, or some part which was separated becomes the subject in CV.

Type B: When one uses GV, it is some particular part of the Patient which is focused on, whereas when one uses CV it is the whole Patient.

The type A difference was observed in the case of non-perfectives also. The direction of movement varies more in the case of perfectives than in the case of non-perfectives. The Source vs. Conveyed theme distinction is not observed in non-perfectives. In case of verbs of separation, the perfective describes the situation after the separation, so the Source and the

Table 20 Part-Whole relationship in perfective and non-perfective

	Part	Whole
Non-Perfective	GV2 (CX-an)	GV1 (CX-un)
Perfective	GV (C-en-X-an)	CV (C-en-X)

Conveyed theme are separate, whereas the non-perfective describes a situation where separation is not yet accomplished. Thus different voice forms are not necessary. CV is used to make the Beneficiary or Instrument into the subject. In case of verbs of giving or placement, the Conveyed theme and the Recipient/Goal exist separately even before the giving or placement event and thus different voices are necessary even in the case of non-perfectives.

The type B difference, that is, the whole-part relationship of 2-place verbs, is observed also in the use of GV1 and GV2 forms (see Tsukida 2000). For some verbs, both the GV1 and GV2 forms can have Patients of 2-place verbs as the subject, but a semantic difference is observed. The GV1 form focuses on the whole Patient and the GV2 forms focuses on a particular part of the Patient.

- (27) a. *wada duh-un payi ka hiyi rudux.*
 PST roast-GV1 old.woman.GEN NOM meat chicken
 ‘The old woman roasted (whole) the chicken meat.’
- b. *wada duh-an payi ka hiyi rudux.*
 PST roast-GV2 old.woman.GEN NOM meat chicken
 ‘The old woman roasted (some of) the chicken meat.’

The correspondence is summarized in Table 20.

4. Summary

This paper introduced the use of Goal Voice and Conveyance Voice in Seediq. In the case of verbs of giving/placing and 2-place verbs, a PO/SO pattern was observed, that is, the Recipient/Goal of 3-place verbs behaves the same as the Patients of 2-place verbs in becoming GV subjects. The Conveyed theme, on the other hand, becomes CV subject.

The Patients of 2-place verbs typically become GV subjects, but in the case of perfectives, Patients of some verbs can become CV subject also. A semantic difference in the use of different voices is sometimes clear and other times not so clear. One type of difference is a part vs. whole distinction and the other type is a Source/Inner locative/Recipient/Goal vs. Conveyed theme distinction. The former is observed also with the use of GV1 and GV2, and the latter is observed also in case of non-perfectives.

Abbreviations

APPL	Applicative	AV	Agent Voice	CV	Conveyance Voice
DO	Direct Object	GEN	Genitive	GV1	Goal Voice 1

GV2	Goal Voice 2	FUT	Future	IO	Indirect Object
NEG	Negative	NS	New Situation	NFIN	Non-Finite
NOM	Nominative	OBL	Oblique	PO	Primary Object
PRF	Perfect	PRG	Progressive	PST	Past
SO	Secondary Object	SG	singular	PL	plural
IN	inclusive	EX	exclusive	1	1 st person
2	2 nd person	3	3 rd person.		

Notes

- 1) The phoneme inventory of Teruku Seediq is as follows: p, t, k, q, ' (glottal stop), b, d, s, x, h, g (velar fricative), c, l (voiced lateral fricative), r, m, n, N (velar nasal), w, y, a, i, u, and e (schwa).

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