

SOME CHARACTERISTICS  
OF THE ACTIVE TYPE  
With special reference to  
Tagalog and Dakota

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RESUMEN

Este artículo insiste en la peculiaridad *tipológica* irreducible de las lenguas llamadas "activas" (Klimov). Se muestra que el rasgo más notable de estas lenguas (que las opone a las "ergativas" y a las "nominativas") es que en ellas la *transitividad* no existe como propiedad *inherente* de los verbos, sino que debe ser *establecida* por medios morfosintácticos. Partiendo de las propiedades fundamentales de codificación, se describe en general la compleja interrelación de *valencia*, *orientación* y *transitivación*, y luego se analizan los detalles finos en el tagalog (Filipinas) y el dakota (sioux, Estados Unidos). Estos estudios desechan de paso la idea de *tipo puros*, siendo el tagalog la lengua que más se aproxima al tipo "activo"; la tipología comparte así las propiedades de escalaridad y continuidad propias de todos los fenómenos lingüísticos.

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### 1. Introduction

Despite some recent publications<sup>1</sup> the amount of work dedicated to the active type and active typology is still small compared to papers and books on ergative and nominative languages. One reason for this is that there seems to be a widespread conspiracy among linguists that active coding and active traits can be managed by treating all these phenomena as shades of ergativity in general. Denying active typology a status of its own, however, has to our mind the negative consequence that one is prone to overlook important features and properties which are not typical of ergative nor nominative languages at all.

Among these properties, to be specified in detail in chapter 2, is the status of transitivity and connected with it the status of passivization and related phenomena: while one can regard transitivity as a given property of verbs in ergative and nominative languages, transitivity as a property of verbal valency cannot be captured as an inherent feature of active or stative verbs in general. On the contrary, transitivity has to be "generated" by TRANSITIVIZATION or related techniques of establishing an agent-patient frame. This implies that one of our main intentions is to substantiate Klimov's claims that there is no transitivity and no change of orientation in active

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Klimov 1972, Harris 1982, Durie 1985 (esp. ch. 4.4ff.), Merlan 1985, DeLancey 1985, Hewitt 1987, Holisky 1987.

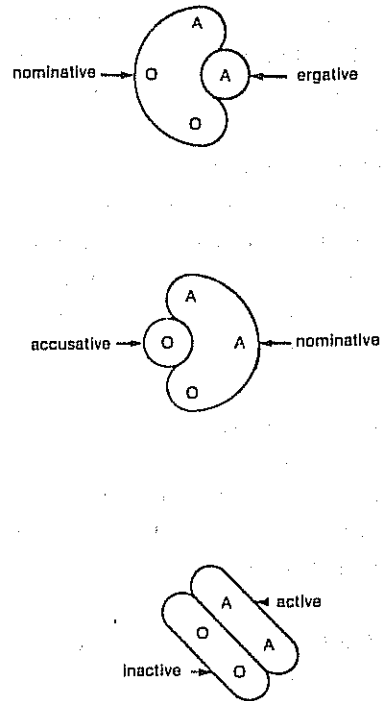


FIGURE 1

Ergative, nominative, and active coding types  
(after Fillmore 1968)

languages.<sup>2</sup> In addition to that, we will try to show how coding properties in general determine the way the language in question works; that is, how and to which extent subject properties are relevant, how and in which way orientation is laid out, how transitivity is developed (or not), how valency is structured.

This means, that one can tell from the beginning, i.e. from the coding itself, how some interrelated domains of language are pre-programmed. It is just within the active type and active coding that one can show how these domains of language, i.e. domains of PARTICIPATION within the framework of Hansjakob Seiler (see Seiler 1984) are connected with each other.

## 2. Coding properties of fundamental relations within the active type and their correlates

In analogy to our previous papers on active typology (Drossard 1984, 1986, and Simons 1988) we refer back to Fillmore's well-known graphic design proposed in his famous paper "The case for case" (Fillmore 1968:74). With regard to the active, ergative and nominative coding types we obtain Figure 1.

Based on this simple survey we can get an all-encompassing interpretation exhibiting dependencies between coding properties and 1. some subject properties and basic

<sup>2</sup> Esp. 1972:3ff. (= Engl. 1974:11ff.), 1977:84ff.

values of orientation; 2. basic assumptions about transitivity and connected changes of valency and orientation, again.

### *2.1 Coding and subject properties*

As we have shown in Drossard 1986:2ff., comparing the active, nominative and ergative types, the active type is characterized by a rigid separation of roles. The involved AGENTS and PATIENTS are strictly kept apart from each other. Within the nominative type one can make out an amalgamation of the intransitive AGENT, the transitive AGENT and the intransitive PATIENT. This is the "birth" of a subject, coded in the nominative case, which can also be the aim of promoting the transitive PATIENT originally coded in the accusative. Finally, all involved participants can be featured in the nominative case. This nominative gets the status of a subject case just because of the fact that opposite roles, i.e. AGENT and PATIENT roles, are subsumed within one surface case. Since we observe a preponderance of 2:1 in favour of the AGENTS within the "coding kidney" of the nominative type we can infer, just facing these simple facts, a basic AGENT-orientation for the nominative type. Within the ergative type there is a significant preponderance of 2:1 in favour of the PATIENTS judged from the "coding kidney", which means that the absolutive case, subsuming the intransitive AGENT, the intransitive PATIENT and the transitive PATIENT,

is a candidate for subjecthood despite well-known difficulties to prove this assumption (see Van Valin 1977).

Parallel to passive constructions, antipassive constructions of some ergative languages have the effect to accommodate the transitive AGENT, originally not included in the "kidney", to the coding of the members inside: that is, in the absolutive case thus exposing the same strategy fulfilled by the passive in nominative languages.

Processes described up to now with regard to nominative languages, subsumptions of opposite cases and levelling out all four participants involved in the coding scenery of various language types, are totally unknown and excluded from active languages. Within this type roles are separated strictly from one another. AGENTS are coded separately for themselves and so are the PATIENTS.

This separation is continued consistently. While one can code different INITIATOR (actor) roles in the nominative languages, e.g. FORCE or INSTRUMENTS, and one can promote different UNDERGOER roles to an absolutive case of an ergative language (e.g. directional and locative roles), active languages have a lot of morphology at their disposal to keep different roles apart. Tagalog, for instance, has focus affixes to discern AGENT, INSTRUMENT and FORCE roles or different linking and prepositional elements to distinguish nonfocussed undergoer roles, such as BENEFACTIVES, LOCATIVES and the like.

Finally, this leads to the assumption that semantically empty surface cases, such as the nominative and absolutive in nominative and ergative languages respectively, bring to

light a great degree of tolerance by permitting a whole range of case roles and thereby exposing one (of 30) decisive subject property out of Keenan's list (Keenan 1976).

Being a kind of basin, collecting several roles, nominative and absolutive cases therefore get the status of central participants or central categories within their respective types. In active type languages, on the other hand, we can exclude semantically empty case categories thereby excluding a subject category in general, as also indicated by Klimov 1972 and 1974. In addition to that, we are also in the position to conclude that passives and antipassives, as strategies that have subject categories as their targets, are not to be observed in active languages.

## 2.2 Verbal oppositions, orientation and transitivity

Taking in view the above-mentioned coding systems one will furthermore notice that - besides a lot of possible distinctions - the nominative and ergative types differ from the active type in a decisive way: while there are two similar AGENTS in the active type and two similar PATIENTS, we observe in the nominative type besides two similar AGENTS, **two different PATIENTS**, and, in the ergative type, we have besides two similar PATIENTS, **two different AGENTS**. In the nominative type there is a distinction between an effected PATIENT and a non-effected PATIENT. In the ergative type we have a clear distinction

between an effecting AGENT (effecting a PATIENT) and a non-effecting AGENT.

This implies that, contrasting the AGENTS and PATIENTS, nominative and ergative languages display a mechanism which by itself brings forth what Tsunoda calls **effectiveness**, that means, discerning effected and non-effected PATIENTS and effecting and non-effecting AGENTS, languages obtain one basic feature of transitivity opposing an AGENT (neutralized with respect to effecting properties) to an effected PATIENT (nominative), and opposing a special effecting AGENT (ergative) to a PATIENT (neutralized with respect to effectedness). In both cases we get what physicists call vectorial components ("**Gerichtetheit**" der Handlung).

Within the active type we don't notice any indication of the effectedness of a PATIENT (separated from a "neutral" PATIENT) or the effect(ivity) of an AGENT (separated from a "neutral" AGENT). There are no marks of effectiveness. Taking this for granted we are on the "heels" of Kimov's statement that there is no transitivity in active languages. To put it more precisely, there is no transitivity at first hand, no inherent transitivity.

Thus the second column of the coding kidney of the active type is misplaced since we have no genuine AGENT-PATIENT configuration in an ideal active language. Writing out an AGENT-PATIENT scheme for active languages as put forward by Filmore and others, can only be justified by systematic reasons, trying to represent three different types on the basis of one coherent diagramme including

three basic sentence types (one with intransitive AGENT, one with intransitive PATIENT and one with an A-P configuration). While nominative languages exhibit a lot of A-P schemes (i.e. transitive verbs) and ergative languages work alike, there are no simple (underived, noncompound) verbs in active languages that contract A-P configurations. This leads us to the assumption that verbs in active languages have no inherent effectiveness. Transitivity and effectiveness have to be established, put together by morphological processes, as there are TRANSITIVIZATION and related processes including CAUSATIVIZATION.

As we will see in chapters 3 and 4, the Dakota language manages this by using e.g. instrumental affixes. Tagalog accomplishes TRANSITIVIZATION by special FOCUS affixes.

Active languages, as Klimov predicted, distinguish between action (activity) and state. They do not distinguish between actions and object-related actions as nominative languages do. Nor do they distinguish between states and effected states as ergative languages do.

Even if there are ergative languages exhibiting optional AGENTS in the ergative case for A-P schemes this is nevertheless no counterargument against transitivity in ergative languages since there are verbs that permit "expansion AGENTS" and others that do not. Those combining with an optional AGENT are effect-verbs. Those that lack this possibility are simple intransitive action verbs.

As Serzisko 1981 has shown, verbs in active languages are fixed with regard to orientation. Active verbs are

AGENT oriented, stative verbs are PATIENT oriented. Since there are no verbs with inherent effectiveness or, more precisely, no transitive verbs with two participants, an AGENT and a PATIENT, there is no basis for a change in orientation.

In nominative languages we have a basic AGENT orientation, in ergative languages we have PATIENT orientation. Yet, in both language types we have transitive constructions; nominative languages display AGENT oriented transitive verbs in unmarked contexts. Changes in orientation imply that in marked contexts we obtain by passivization a PATIENT oriented version for transitive verbs in nominative languages, and by antipassivization an AGENT oriented version for (some) ergative languages.

Gathering all afore-mentioned components and features of active, nominative and ergative languages we get the survey in Figure 2.

### *2.3 Variable S-marking*

By introducing a terminological expression like "variable S-marking" we allude to two phenomena discussed in recent typological literature (esp. Dixon 1979 and 1987), known as "split S-marking" and "fluid S-marking". While the first notion is normally used to describe a rigid distribution of active and stative verbs, marked by active vs. stative pronominal paradigms, the latter refers to cases where within the domain of intransitive verbs coding alternations

	Accusative	Ergative	Active
Coding and orientation	AGENT orientation	PATIENT orientation	AGENT vs. PATIENT orientation
Coding and effectiveness	effected vs. non-effected PATIENT	effective vs. non-effective AGENT	AGENT vs. PATIENT no effectiveness
Transitivity and bivalency	simple transitive verbs		no simple transitive verbs: <i>monovalency</i>
Changes of orientation	within transitive verbs		none
Subject properties	for nominative	for absolutive (restricted)	no unification of semantic and pragmatic properties

FIGURE 2

Features of nominative, ergative,  
and active languages

for certain (or all) verbs are allowed, so that speakers of the languages in question can shift orientation from normally unmarked AGENT orientation to marked PATIENT orientation by replacing active marking by stative marking. These cases are known from Batsbi (Holisky 1987:103ff.) and Acehnese (Durie 1985:66ff.). In most cases these coding alternations are correlated to a shift in control. Active versions of verbs denote control and volitionality. Stative versions express limited control and involuntary actions.

As the notions suggest, "split S-marking" denotes a rather rigid opposition of verbs, a fixed order, whereas "fluid S-marking" permits a whole range of semantic choices. As we will show, Dakota does not have this kind of "fluid S-marking", namely replacing the active pronominal paradigm by the stative one, but there are mechanisms in this language to capture distinctions between control and limited control. Tagalog on the other hand behaves like Bats or Acehnese, allowing stative marking for active verbs.

### 3. Active traits in Tagalog

As we have dealt with Tagalog in previous papers (Drossard 1984 and 1986), we refer back to these publications proceeding in detail according to the above-mentioned line of discussion. Slightly different from our own claims put forward in Drossard 1984 we just assume that there are

"active traits" in Tagalog without trying to show again that this language is an ideal representative of the active type. Furthermore we accept that there are no pure types in general, i.e. that there is neither a pure ergative type nor a pure nominative type (cf. Moravcsik 1980). This implies that there may be nominative and ergative traits in Tagalog, too, as Shibatani (forthcoming) demonstrates.

Despite marginal and ergative traits we nevertheless claim that Tagalog is active in its core, especially with regard to the above listed properties, as there are coding properties, verbal oppositions, transitivity features and the behaviour within the domain of orientation.

### 3.1 Coding properties, verbal oppositions and transitivity in Tagalog

In Drossard 1986 we proposed the following scheme for Tagalog verbs:

	Active	Stative/Inactive
Action	<i>mag-luto</i> 'cook'	<i>ma-tulog</i> 'sleep'
Process	<i>mag-dugu</i> 'bleed'	<i>ma-galit</i> 'get angry'
Action	<i>um-alis</i> 'go away'	
Process	<i>d-um-illim</i> 'get dark'	

Syntactically and semantically all these verbs are one-place verbs. It has to be emphasized that action verbs like *magluto* 'cook' and *magbisita* 'visit' allow optional object phrases but nevertheless make up acceptable grammatical sentences without any object. Or, to put it the other way round, *magbisita* and *magluto* are one-place verbs from a syntactical point of view. That is, a phrase like

- (1) *nag-bisita niya*  
 AF.PERF-visit 3SG.FOC  
 'He made a visit'

is grammatical, whereas an English phrase like 'he visited' is not.

Therefore we have to make certain that verbs like *magbisita* don't have an inherent object. On the basis of case-marking in general and case-marking of active and stative verbs in Tagalog, supposing that FOCUS affixes on verbs are a type of role (deep case) marking, we obtain:

	Active	Stative
AGENT-FOCUS	<i>mag-</i> / <i>-um-</i> (including dynamic verbs with inanimate participants)	PATIENT-FOCUS <i>ma-</i>

Relating to Fillmore's graphical setting we get:

<i>mag-</i> / <i>-um-</i>	AGENT
<i>ma-</i>	PATIENT



leaving out A-P constructions for good reasons. As we said earlier, active type languages have no basic A-P configurations. Tagalog indeed fits in this assumption insofar as one has to regard the well-known *-in-* FOCUS form as a secondary device. *-in-* FOCUS forms denote PATIENTS effected/affected by deliberately acting AGENTS thus being distinguishable from non-effected *ma-* PATIENTS.

Although *-in-* forms do not differ in morphological complexity from *mag-* or *-um-* forms, *-in-* FOCUS forms produce greater semantic complexity, since these forms bring about an increase of valency. *-in-* focussed verbs are bivalent verbs, even if the non-focussed AGENT phrases are optional. Semantically we obtain A-P frames, but syntactically monovalency is retained. One can deduce from *-in-* focussed sentences without AGENTS that nevertheless the focussed PATIENT phrase is effected by an unmentioned controlling AGENT, wherefrom one can deduce that in *ma-* sentences contracting two participants the PATIENT is not affected by a volitional INITIATOR.

Thus, by shifting an AGENT-focussed sentence to a PATIENT-focussed one, we perform a kind of transitivity. Compare:

- (2) a. *b-um-asa ng libro ang lalaki*  
AF.PERF-read LK book DEF man

'The man read (a book)'

- b. *b-in-asa ng lalaki ang libro*  
PF.PERF-read LK man DEF book

'(The man) read the book'

From a semantic point of view the version in (2a) can be imagined without any object.

The sentence in (2b) is in any case, despite the optional status of the AGENT phrase *ng lalaki* a semantically transitive structure, just because *-in-* forms generally denote a transition or bring in the component of effectiveness. The version in (2b) therefore is semantically more complex adding a PATIENT to the case frame of verbs in general. In analogy to the nominative type, Tagalog distinguishes between a non-effected PATIENT (*ma-*) and an effected PATIENT (*-in-*).

But it is surely not this distinction which makes us think of Tagalog as an active language. It is primarily the fact that intransitives are separated into AGENT- vs. PATIENT-oriented verbs, that is *mag-/-um-* verbs vs. *ma-* verbs, whereas *-in-* verbs (verbal forms) are derived.

As we have pointed out in chapter 2, languages of the active type refuse to accommodate AGENT-like roles (e.g. FORCE) and PATIENT-like roles (ADDRESSEE, INSTRUMENT) to AGENT and PATIENT coding proper, according to the general principle of role separation. We discussed this phenomenon at length in Drossard 1984. One of the most important issues is that Tagalog has about five different actor roles and about seven different undergoer roles. Although all these roles can get *ang-* phrases, there are nevertheless different case-role marking affixes on the verb, which mean

that role separation is carried out completely. If we compare German examples of the type

- (3) a. Der Mann setzte das Haus in Brand  
 b. Der Blitz setzte das Haus in Brand  
 'The man/lightning set the house on fire'

with Tagalog examples, we notice that the levelling out of roles (AGENT and FORCE are expressed in the nominative in German) is excluded in Tagalog.

- (4) a. nag-sira ng bahay ang lalaki  
 AF.PERF-destroy LK house DEF man  
 'The man destroyed a/the house'  
 b. i-k-in-a-sira ng bahay ang kidlat  
 FORCE.PERF-destroy LK house DEF lightning  
 'Lightning destroyed the house'

Both examples feature the object of the action in non-focussed phrases (**ng bahay**) and demonstrate that different ACTOR roles, AGENT and FORCE, are morphologically kept apart.

Switching FOCUS to PATIENTS in active sentences has, in addition to that, no passive-like ingredients from a morphological point of view. Whereas one can choose passive morphology in German on the verb and a nominative for the PATIENT, one surely cannot do that in Tagalog. **-in-** exclusively signals focussed PATIENTS, **mag-** exclusively signals AGENTS. There is no **mag-** for PATIENTS.

Considering **-in-** FOCUS as a kind of TRANSITIVIZATION at the same time we reject the common opinion that all non-AGENT focus forms (containing **-in-** as morphological element in imperfective and perfective aspect) are kinds of PASSIVES, starting from the fact that both sentences of example (2) are versions of active sentences, even if a PATIENT role is focussed in (2b).

Shibatani (forthcoming) sketches the following picture: Philippine languages in general and Tagalog in detail exhibit complex "voice systems" (i.e. focus systems), linked to one main prominent category. Focus forms as different voice forms feature different roles as subjects as prominent categories. If one now decides to regard **-in-** FOCUS as one of several PASSIVE forms, one has to prove that this kind of PASSIVE has created a new subject fulfilling Keenan's criteria. But soon there will be a lot of problems. Shibatani himself concedes:

The problem arises, however, when we come to the goal-topic construction and other constructions in which constituents other than the actor constituent is chosen as a topic. In the prototypical passive clauses in English and other languages, the majority of the subject properties shift to the patient nominal, thereby making this constituent the subject (or derived S) of the passive clause. A peculiarity of the Philippine goal-topic construction - and it is precisely this peculiarity that distinguishes this construction from the passive - is that the actor-nominal retains a number of subject properties, while a large number are transferred to the goal-topic, displaying a situation in which a single clause seems to have two subjects or in which one cannot determine the subject constituent.

Tracing back Shibatani's conception one cannot help supposing that there might be some contradictions. His point of

departure is that Philippine languages have rich voice systems. If these several voice types create subject-like categories, *-in-* forms, as one of several other forms, indicate a new PATIENT-subject. But Keenan's criteria don't match the facts: PATIENT-topics are no ideal subjects, as they lack some important features. This comes to light if we coordinate a two-role construction with a one-role construction, on the condition that both participants in the first sentence are human and thereby leaving open two possible interpretations. Shibatani (forthcoming, p. 17) himself gives two Cebuano examples:

- (5) a. *ni-bunal si Juan ni Pedro ug ni-lakaw.*  
 AF-hit TOP.AG Juan DIR Pedro and AF-leave  
 'John hit Peter and left (i.e. John)'
- b. *gi-bunal-an ni Juan si Pedro ug ni-lakaw.*  
 DIR-hit AG Juan TOP.DIR Pedro and AF-leave  
 'John hit Peter and left (i.e. John)'

In both cases it is John who leaves, in spite of the fact that *ni Juan* in (5b) is not in focus. Comparing these structures with genuine passives of nominative languages, as for instance German

- (6) a. *Hans schlug Peter und lief weg.*  
 'John hit Peter and ran away (i.e. John)'
- b. *Peter wurde von Hans geschlagen und lief weg.*  
 'Peter was hit by John and ran away (i.e. Peter)'

one can clearly see that passives bring about a real change of subject, but PATIENT-focus constructions do not, as one can see from the Tagalog parallel to (5a) and (5b):

- (7) a. *nang-bugbog si Juan ni Pedro at*  
 AF.PERF-hit TOP.AG Juan PAT Pedro and  
  
*um-alis siya*  
 AF.PERF-run away 3SG.FOC  
 'John hit Peter and ran away (i.e. John)'
- (8) a. *b-in-ugbog ni Juan si Pedro at*  
 PF.PERF-hit AG Juan TOP.PAT Pedro and  
  
*um-alis siya*  
 AG.PERF-run away 3SG  
 'John hit Pedro and ran away (i.e. John)'

This important test shows that PATIENT-focus forms do not create new subjects (as PASSIVES really do), but they rather shift "pragmatic peaks" from AGENTS to PATIENTS (as Van Valin & Foley would call it), to be precise, the versions in (7b) retain the active character of the (7a) sentences and merely bring about a change of DEFINITENESS and pragmatic saliency.

Thus Philippine voice systems are not subject-creating or subject-changing systems, but grammaticalized TOPIC-creating and TOPIC-changing devices and have to do with TRANSITIVIZATION and increases in valency. The versions in (7b) do not reduce valency as Indoeuropean passives do. They rather expand valency by adding a PATIENT relation. This implies that one could construct a Tagalog sentence like

(8) b. nang-bugbog si Juan

which simply signifies that Juan was involved in an act of hitting.

Another way of demonstrating that active verbs with *-um-*/*mag-* as affixes are monovalent and at the same time fixed on an AGENT-oriented reading, can be seen from the behaviour and semantic interpretations of *ng-* phrases adjoining nominalized bases. As we have shown (in Drossard 1984:115ff.) a genitive-like construction as

(9) ang tanong ng lalaki  
DEF question LK man

can only be interpreted actively as 'the asking put forward by the man', that is, as a *genitivus subjectivus*. A *genitivus obiectivus* interpretation is excluded, which implies that there is no inherent object relation in the verb *tanong* and active verbs in general.

If there is anything comparable to a change of orientation within active verbs, one can merely argue that shifts of focus from AGENT to PATIENT (from *mag-* or *-um-* to *-in-* affixes) bring about alternations from active AGENTS to active PATIENTS, i.e. PATIENTS affected by active and controlling AGENTS.

Since Tagalog verbs are primarily monovalent, changes of perspectives in verbs are excluded first of all. Oscillations and changes of perspectives in verbs can only take place if there are at least two inherently given poles,

e.g. an AGENT-oriented vs. a PATIENT-oriented pole. This is not the case in Tagalog.

Replacing *-in-* forms by *ma-* forms, finally, does not imply a change of orientation parallel to Indoeuropean-type passives neither. If we transform (4a) into a PATIENT-oriented reading, we get at first:

(10) s-in-ira ng lalaki ang bahay  
PF.PERF-destroy LK man DEF house  
'A/the man destroyed the house'

Shifting *-in-* to *ma-* FOCUS yields:

(11) na-sira ng lalaki ang bahay  
PAT.STAT.PERF-destroy LK man DEF house  
'A/the man unintentionally destroyed the house'

This *ma-* type construction also cannot be paralleled to a German or English passive featuring the house in focus, since *ma-* type constructions lower the "effectiveness" obtaining between and AGENT and a PATIENT by altering the control parameter. If we leave out the agent in (11) we still can infer from *nasira ang bahay* that, if there was an AGENT at all, the AGENT acted involuntarily or, at least, with limited control. If one wants to put the AGENT in focus here one gets:

(12) naka-sira ng bahay ang lalaki  
INVAG-destroy LK house DEF man

which is another example of role separation. INVOLUNTARY AGENTS are kept apart from voluntary ones.

Putting a construction like (11) on a par with an English passive like the house was destroyed (by the man) would be quite mistaken, since the English-type passives express actions seen from the PATIENT's point of view, but *ma-* constructions describe states or de-effectivized actions with INVOLUNTARY AGENTS or AGENTS trying to get "their action" done with pains.

### 3.2 Variable S-marking in Tagalog

As pointed out in 3.1, Tagalog has "split S-marking", i.e. split intransitives (cf. Merlan 1985). But, whereas stative verbs are fixed and allow no alternations, active verbs, i.e. verbs normally combining with active focus affixes, also can attract stative morphology. In 3.1 we had pairs of active and stative versions of *sira* 'destroy'. We repeat these examples arranged again according to ACTOR and UNDERGOER versions:

	ACTOR FOCUS	UNDERGOER FOCUS
[+volitional]	<i>nagsira ng bahay ang lalaki</i> (4a)	<i>sinira ng lalaki ang bahay</i> (10)
[-volitional]	<i>nakasira ng bahay ang lalaki</i> (12)	<i>nasira ng lalaki ang bahay</i> (11)

Transforming (4a) to (12) and (10) to (11) is substantially "fluid S-marking".

In detail this implies that (11) as instance of shifted UNDERGOER FOCUS exhibits the same morphological element as fixed stative verbs, as e.g. *matulog* 'sleep' (perfective: *natulog*). In addition to that shifted ACTOR-FOCUS forms containing *maka-* (perfective: *naka-*) are identical to/with EXPERIENCER-FOCUS forms as *maka-kita* 'see', which seems logical: INVOLUNTARY AGENTS are a kind of EXPERIENCERS who do not exert direct control on objects. So (12) describes in one reading a misfortune; it just happened that the man destroyed the house inadvertently.

The French linguist F. Dell 1984 dedicated a paper to this domain of Tagalog speaking of an aspectual distinction (neutral from *mag-/-in* vs. INVOLUNTARY ACTION/ABILITY for *maka-ma-*).

We prefer to call the afore-mentioned distinction modal, just because the second component of *maka-* and *ma-*, ability, points to that direction. Thus, a sentence like

(13) *hindi naka-akyat siya ng puno*  
NEG EXP-climb 3SG.FOC LK tree

'He/she could not climb the tree'

expresses somebody's inability to climb a tree.

A comparison of *-in-* and *ma-* sentences (i.e. the UNDERGOER versions of [+vol]/[-vol]) also shows an important opposition between what Dell calls 'maneuver' and 'result'.

Results within this frame are to be interpreted as successes or failures of actions. **Maneuvers** just indicate that a person is performing an action without taking in view whether the action is successful or not, whereas result versions of sentences, using stative morphology, present the issues of a person's striving hard for success. This implies that a person can or cannot attain the goal of the action. Finally, this captures the affinity of the ability and result readings of **ma-/maka-** constructions. Compare for instance Dell's example:

- (14) a. it-in-ulak ni Ben ang bato pero hindi niya  
PF.PERF-push LK Ben DEF rock but NEG 3SG.NONF

na-itulak  
STAT.PF.PERF-push

'Ben pushed the rock (tried to push it away), but he did not manage to push it'

The **-in-** version simply expresses the action of pushing the rock, whereas the second part of the sentence containing the **ma-** verb indicates the negative result.

One can sum up these phenomena as follows. There is a three-way spectrum of presenting actions.

mag- versions	-in- versions	ma- versions
denote the action without having objects in view; or, if there are objects, these are indefinite or mass-like	denote object-related actions, maneuvers	denote positive or negative results of actions (second reading of ma-/maka-
	active	stative

The affinity of the two **ma-** readings, involuntariness and ability/result, comes to light when we realize that both versions lack what Tsunoda calls "effectiveness": INVOLUNTARY AGENTS do not effect their PATIENTS directly, as well as "endeavouring" AGENTS reach their ends indirectly, so that limited control is the common feature of both nuances.<sup>3</sup>

As we have pointed out above, it seems to be obvious that **ma-** versions, as PATIENT-oriented expressions, can be compared to passives. As we have shown, **ma-** versions do not resemble processual passives of the German or English type, but are much alike stative passives or are stative passives if one can make out any kind of SOURCE behind the result indicated. Thus, the shorter version of the second part of (14a), viz.

- (14) b. na-itulak ang bato

<sup>3</sup> A similar observation holds for the Salish languages where involuntariness and attempts of actions are marked alike. Thus we can apply Thompson's statements made on Salish for Tagalog also: 'both notions - doing something accidentally and accomplishing it with difficulty - share the feature of limited control. Someone acting by mistake lacks full control; likewise someone who has to struggle to do the same thing' (Thompson 1985:393).

can be glossed in German by a stative passive: 'Der Felsen ist verschoben' ('The rock is moved'). Whereas the German version does not allow a specification of the AGENT, Tagalog does, but naming an AGENT implies here that the AGENT involved is one that acts involuntarily or strives hard to get things done.

#### 4. Active traits in Dakota

Since Sapir 1917 Dakota is looked upon as the archetype of an active language. In his review Sapir discussed C. C. Uhlenbeck's opinion "that in many American languages ... the transitive verb or verb of action is not fundamentally active in voice, but rather passive" (Sapir 1917:82).

This idea might be astonishing as Siouanists have become used to (i) the predominance of the active-stative distinction and (ii) the lack of a passive construction. If there is something passive in character it should be the stative form and not the active form of the verb.

Though Sapir actually rejected Uhlenbeck's idea of the passiveness of the active verb, which was based more on psychological than on linguistic reasons, Uhlenbeck's point, as we want to demonstrate, was not as far-fetched as it still may look like.

In our following analysis we want to concentrate on active transitive verbs. We want to present evidence that transitivity in Dakota 1. does not consist in the obliga-

tory presence of two syntactic arguments; 2. has to be established by morphological means and is normally not given, as e.g. in a nominative-type language like German; 3. is not just one concept of transitivity, but is split in several kinds of relations between the first and the second argument. The essence of our analysis will be, that Dakota possesses an extensive role-marking system instead of a case-marking system.

#### 4.1 Coding of AGENT and PATIENT

On the whole, Dakota does not possess a nominal case-marking device: neither the AGENT nor the PATIENT are differentiated by morphological means, nor is effectedness of the PATIENT opposed to its non-effectedness on this level. Differentiation of AGENT and PATIENT is achieved by several formal means, which will be discussed in detail.

#### 4.11 Word order

Normally, the first potential AGENT-NP in a sentence is the AGENT (see Van Valin 1977 and 1986). This fact doesn't present any problem, when AGENT and PATIENT are not both animate or both human.

(15) wičašta matxo wāyaka  
man bear see.3SG

S 54

'The man sees (saw) the bear'

(16) matxo wičašta wāyaka  
bear man see.3SG

'The bear sees (saw) the man'

The ordering of these two NPs is fixed; it is not possible to change their relative position without changing their semantic roles. A topicalization of a PATIENT, as it is possible for instance in German, is unacceptable in Dakota.

(17) a. der mann sieht den bär-en  
DEF.NOM man see.3SG DEF.ACC bear-ACC

'The man sees the bear'

b. den bär-en sieht den mann  
DEF.ACC bear-ACC see.3SG DEF.NOM man

'The man sees the bear'

In sentences with animate AGENT and inanimate PATIENT a word order change is possible, if and because the PATIENT is no potential AGENT of the sentence.

(18) a. hokšida iyečīyopte yužaža  
boy car wash.3SG

S 72

b. iyečīyopte hokšida yužaža  
car boy wash.3SG

'The boy washed the car'

By this permutation the PATIENT is stylistically stressed. The omission of the article is not relevant to the problem here.

In sentences with three nominal arguments the rule is that the order of AGENT and PATIENT must not be reversed. The following examples show the unmarked word order in (19a) and other possibilities in (19b) through (19d):

(19) a. wičašta kī he hokšina wowapi k'u  
man DEF DD boy book give.3SG

S 114

'The man gave the boy a book'

b. wičašta kī he wowapi hokšina k'u

c. wowapi kī he wičašta hokšina k'u

d. \*wowapi wičašta kī he hokšina k'u

The articles in Dakota signify different degrees of definiteness; they can appear in all syntactic positions. (19d) is unacceptable because two NPs are stressed here: the inanimate noun **wowapi** by its being in the first position of the sentence, and **wičašta** by the demonstrative article **kī he**.

In complex sentences with more than one verb this actor-first rule works analogously, but here no word order changes are acceptable.

(20) hokšida he wičašta niwā wāyak  
boy DD man swim.3SG see.3SG

S 73

'The boy saw the man swimming'





-wiča- is more attached to the objective relation than to the category of person (cf. Williamson 1979:355).

Dakota personal affixes clearly are not a rich system; on the contrary, the most frequent person, the 3rd, is not overtly realized. Is it therefore plausible to assume that semantic roles are left open for interpretation? No, because other marking devices are used to fill the gap left by the 3rd person zero, markings which are impersonal in character. So, the concept of cross-reference is very limited in its usefulness in Dakota.

The AGENT-PATIENT distinction seems to collapse in the 3rd person singular, where always zero-marking is used. But this is not the case; several strategies are used to avoid possible ambiguities.

(i) **ACTOR-FIRST strategy:** In the 3rd person singular AGENT and PATIENT are strictly distinguished by word order; the first potential AGENT actually is the AGENT of the sentence. This strategy applies to constructions where both NPs are [+human] or one is a NATURAL FORCE.

(ii) **Animate NP strategy:** In sentences with one animate NP, whether [+human] or [-human], and one non-animate NP, the first animate NP is interpreted as the AGENT.

(iii) **Hidden pronoun strategy:** The strongest ambiguities arise when one NP is realized syntactically and the other is hidden in a zero pronoun of the 3rd person singular, that means, this argument is not represented at all.

(21) wičiāna he wašte-dake  
girl DD good-like.3SG

S 77

- a. 'The girl loves him/her'  
b. 'He/she loves the girl'

In sentences such as this the ACTOR-first strategy outweighs the hidden pronoun strategy, when the native speaker has to interpret such a sentence out of any context (21a). Only in a text, where a NP, e.g. *man*, has already been introduced as the AGENT or topic of the preceding sentence(s), the hidden pronoun strategy is predominant.

Naturally, further information in the use of these strategies is drawn from the semantics of the verb:

(22) wakiyā tōwāpi wā wičašta kī ktepi  
lightning IF man DEF kill

S 74

'A lightning kills the man'

Here the animate NP strategy is overridden in favour of the ACTOR-first strategy; permutation is not possible for semantic reasons; *wakiyā tōwāpi* is no potential PATIENT of *kte*.

Out of context the hidden pronoun strategy applies only when the other overtly realized NP is non-animate as in the following example.

(23) čanōpa k'u  
pipe give.3SG

S 39

'He gives him the pipe'

These three strategies can be arranged hierarchically according to their relative weight:

ACTOR-first > Animate NP > Hidden pronoun

What we have tried to show is that Dakota keeps AGENTS and PATIENTS strictly apart. In the 3rd person this distinction is morphologically neutralized but maintained by the strategies discussed above.

#### 4.2 Effectiveness and transitivity

There are no simple verbs in Dakota demanding an overt AGENT-PATIENT configuration, that means, only one of the arguments needs to be expressed by any one of the morphosyntactic means, whether full NP or zero. So the Dakota verb is fundamentally mnonovalent in its syntactic behaviour. Transitivity has to be established by morphological means. How does this come about?

When you have a look at the Dakota verbs you may notice that many of the active verbs have an inherent PATIENT. Compare the following examples chosen from Boas & Deloria 1941 at random:

- (24)
- |       |                                      |
|-------|--------------------------------------|
| woŋa  | 'to husk, namely corn'               |
| woha  | 'to carry, namely things'            |
| ŭpa   | 'to lay down, namely animate things' |
| gmŭka | 'to set, namely traps'               |
| glowī | 'to wear, namely a shawl'            |

These verbs form a subgroup of Dakota active verbs, as far as they all refer to an observable action which is performed by an AGENT upon or with a specific object that inheres the verb. These verbs exhibit strong selectional restrictions in the possible verb-object combinations; e.g. *glowī* can be said for a shawl or a blanket or anything else that can be worn like a shawl.

- (25)
- |    |                                 |     |
|----|---------------------------------|-----|
| a. | wīyā glowī                      | S35 |
|    | woman shawl=wear.3SG            |     |
|    | 'The woman wears a shawl'       |     |
| b. | *wīyā šina glowī                |     |
|    | woman shawl shawl=wear.3SG      |     |
|    | 'The woman shawl-wears a shawl' |     |
| c. | wīyā šina ī                     |     |
|    | woman shawl wear.3SG            |     |
|    | 'The woman wears a shawl'       |     |

As (25b) shows, the sentence is unacceptable when the inherent object is realized as a full NP. This demands a construction as in (25c).

Many neutral verbs have the same property, namely one inherent participant.

- (26)
- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| špā | 'it is burnt by heat or cold (cooked meat, frozen limbs)'      |
| špu | 'flat parts are coming off from a surface'                     |
| šli | 'water or a thin liquid is in the state of being squeezed out' |
|     | (BD 41)  |

Further examples could be added to these. The inherent or implicit argument is always the PATIENT, which is marked

with the pronominal affix of the stative column. The verb in Dakota is characterized by an inherent orientation (see Serzisko 1984). The central participant of the neutral verbs is the so-called subject, of the active verbs the so-called object.

It is remarkable that active verbs can be derived from stative verbs, but only in a few cases the other way round. This latter case is limited to one of the instrumental prefixes.

The Dakota vocabulary is based on a large amount of neutral stems signifying something like 'x being in a state of STEM'. Boas & Deloria's preference of the term "neutral" instead of "stative" is traceable to two aspects: these stems are neutral with respect to their potential nominality or verbality; and they are neutral with respect to their being active or stative verbs. The 'x' mentioned above is an implicit argument which provides the necessary basis for a predication. At first we have this neutral stem signifying a state; a state is always a state of some referent. So a minimal predication is possible by just using the stem. In this case the basis doesn't need to be established but is inherent.

(27) ksa 'it is separated'

Naturally, 'to be separated' has to be said of something. Different affixes shape the semantic content of the stem, e.g. the instrumental prefixes.

(28) ka-ksa  
INST-separated

'to separate by striking with an ax; split'

What has changed here? ka- is an instrumental prefix, meaning 'by a sudden impact' (Boas & Deloria 1941:45). What is new here is that **ka-ksa** is an active verb, derived from a neutral stem. A slot for an AGENT has been introduced, which can be filled by HUMAN and NATURAL FORCE arguments. 'Something is in the state of being separated' has changed into 'somebody splits something'.

The new dimension here is the perspective of effectiveness. Whereas the former specifies a state, the latter implies this state as the effect of an action directed by an AGENT towards a PATIENT. Note a form like

(29) a-ka-ksa  
LOC-INST-separated

'to cut off from'

'Somebody cuts something off from something'. The locative prefix a- introduces an oblique argument. It is noteworthy that these prefixes do not obligatorily demand an overt argument. The argument doesn't need to be realized syntactically, but the prefixes signify the potential presence of the arguments.

Dakota has a differentiated system of establishing effectiveness, which we want to present here in some of its aspects.

Morphemes establishing effectiveness	
-ya	causative effect
INSTRUMENT	mediated effect
-wa-	unspecified object
-ki-	benefactive

Traditionally **-ya** is labeled as the causative suffix. Foley & Van Valin 1984 discuss the concerns of this suffix at length; it signifies change-of-state verbs.

(30) hokšida tiyopa ečed-ya  
 boy door closed-CAUS

'The boy closed the door'

In this example **-ya** serves several functions: (i) it turns the stative verb **ečed** 'being shut' into an active verb; (ii) it increases the valency of the stative verb, introducing an AGENT, here **hokšida**; (iii) it changes the subject of the sentence **tiyopa ečed** into the effected PATIENT of the causative construction; (iv) it signifies volitionality of an AGENT.

In Dakota causatives the parameter of control doesn't have the importance assumed by some, since control is a matter which is not in itself marked overtly but is a by-product of a stem becoming an active verb. All these change-of-state verbs with **-ya** are stems turning their subject into an effected PATIENT.

Causative **-ya** alone is not acceptable with non-human AGENTS:

(31) \*tate tiyopa ečed-ya S 40  
 wind door closed-CAUS

'The wind closed the door'

The correct version is:

(32) tate ũpha tiyopa ečed-ya S 40  
 wind blow door closed-CAUS

'The blowing wind closed the door'

The example shows that non-human AGENTS, here NATURAL FORCE, need further specification concerning the actual means of their effectiveness, as a natural force cannot "act" on its own, but only by its observable phenomena, i.e. the wind's blowing, etc.

We do not want to discuss the causative suffix **-kiya**, which means, according to Van Valin 1977:85, 'to do something forcefully and intentionally'. That means, **-kiya** is supposed to imply control by the AGENT, whereas **-ya** does not. We have the strong impression that this simply is not the point. **-kiya** seems to be a compound morpheme whose function differs slightly in the Dakota dialects. But until now we cannot tell where the **-ki** does come from. Is it **-kiya**, **-k'iya**, **-khiya**, **-kh'iya** or what else? A systematic opposition consisting in the feature [+control] vs. [-control] is excluded by the numerous counterexamples, where in constructions with **-ya** control by the AGENT is involved - compare example (30) - and by the simple fact that **-kiya** is very rarely used (when one considers Deloria 1932) and control is not the reason for its use.

So we want to omit this suffix here, leaving the question for further analysis.

According to Boas & Deloria (1941:45ff.), Dakota has nine instrumental prefixes. Their instrumental meaning is in some cases highly reduced. *wo-* 'action from a distance' (l.c.) still shows instrumental uses, namely causation by a gun shot, a thrown object or something like that. *yu-* 'by pulling' (l.c.) is more productive in its causative than in its instrumental components. As an instrumental it refers to a non-visible force, which is ascribed to an animate AGENT, which is then realized syntactically as the causator. *wo-* and *ka-* 'by a sudden impact' (l.c.) both permit NATURAL FORCES as AGENTS.

The instrumental prefixes signify causation which is mediated by an instrument or force. This medium is grammaticalized, or "gramatically frozen", in these prefixes. As Boas & Deloria 1941:47 wrote: "Verbs with instrumental prefixes are often used in such a way that an indefinite actor is understood". The instrumentals introduce an AGENT which oscillates between the semantic classes HUMAN, NATURAL FORCE, INANIMATE. Compare the following example:

(33) *čápagmiya ma-ka-xwa*  
waggon 1SG.P-INST-sleepy

'The shaking of the waggon makes me sleepy'  
(Buechel 1979:276)

Contrary as to what Foster 1979 wrote, that *ka-* signifies some lesser degree of control, *ka-* here permits a

non-animate AGENT, which by definition never exerts control, but where the human participant is coded by a prefix of the stative column, marking is as effected by a property of the inanimate AGENT. As Boas & Deloria have put it, such verbs are *impersonal* in character. This has to be understood literally, as the AGENT is not always a person. What is relevant here, recurring to our above-mentioned definition of the instrumentals as mediated effect prefixes, is the marking of the degree of mediation.

A tentative scale of strongly mediated effect to lesser mediated effect looks like this:

STRONGLY MEDIATED EFFECT			LESSER MEDIATED EFFECT
<i>na</i>		<i>ka</i>	<i>wo</i>
			<i>yu</i>

This scale corresponds to the ongoing desemanticization of the prefixes, i.e. *na-* is weakly desemanticized, *yu-* is strongly desemanticized.

For illustration compare the following examples for the instrumental prefixes. The instrumentals not mentioned here are more instrumental in character and have to be put behind for further analysis.

(34) *na-popa* 'to burst with explosive force from within'  
*popa* 'to burst' (active verb with stative inflection)

(Boas & Deloria 1941:46)

**na-** implies an INNER FORCE as initiator of the action.  
**ka-** sometimes refers to actions "by the wind, current or other natural forces" (l.c.) but also permits human AGENTS.

- (35) **kablesya** 'to clear off, as the wind does fog'  
 (active verb)  
**kableza** 'to become clear, as the fog clears away'  
 (neutral verb)

(Buechel 1970:270)

These two examples show the element of dynamism not control in the active verb. **wo-** signifies actions from a distance performed by human AGENTS and actions of NATURAL FORCES, like wind, current (Boas & Deloria 1941:46), rain, snow and dust (Buechel 1970:594-595).

- (36) **blu** 'powdered' (neutral verb)  
**wo-blu** 'to blow in fine particles, drift, as does snow' (neutral verb)  
**wo-blu-ya** 'blowing up, as the wind blows dust or snow' (active verb)

(Buechel 1970:595)

**yu-** is the only instrumental prefix which may be used "as a general instrumental when no specific manner of action is prominently implied" (Boas & Deloria 1941:46). That is why it possesses great affinities to a general causative. From its original instrumental meaning, 'by hand' (l.c.), which is attributable only to humans, or to animates as humans, it is usually restricted to human AGENTS. As we have pointed out above, this prefix, which is the most desemant-

ticized of the four discussed here, in some cases implies unmediated action, or, to put it clearly, direct effect.

- (37) **naži** 'to stand' (neutral verb)  
**yu-naži** 'to lift' (active verb)  
  
**čeya** 'cry' (active verb)  
**yu-čeya** 'to make cry'  
  
**šā** 'open' (neutral verb)  
**yu-šā** 'to open, e.g. a door' (active verb)

(Buechel 1970:633,635)

One can say that these instrumental prefixes occur in pairs. One of them with its instrumental meaning, then usually used with human AGENTS, and one of them with no clear instrumental meaning but with a NATURAL FORCE as the AGENT or the initiator. This latter component may be transposed to human AGENTS and only then a lesser degree of control may be signified (see Foster 1979).

As Van Valin 1977:15 has pointed out, "the use of **-ki-** is extremely complicated". It does not simply mark an indirect object or a third argument. It is important to note that it doesn't introduce an argument by its own force but modifies an object pronoun, which may include the 3rd person zero.

- (38) **tep- ma- ya- ki- yī- kte**  
 eat=up-1SG.P-2SG.A-BENE-CAUS-POT.3SG.A

(Deloria 1932:22)

Without **-ki-** the sentence would mean 'you will eat me up'. So **-ki-** functions as a role-modifying suffix; its contex-

tual interpretation being dependent on the possible verbal arguments, i.e. whether SOURCE, BENEFACTIVE or GOAL (see Van Valin 1977).

According to Boas & Deloria 1941:52, the prefix *-wa-* "designates an indefinite object and is used with transitive verbs". In the light of our opinion, presented in this paper, it is unclear why, for instance, Van Valin 1977:14 regards *-wa-* as a detransitivizing prefix, because it explicitly indicates that a PATIENT is established, though no further specified. In transitive verbs with two *-wa-* prefixes the one denotes an animate PATIENT (usually 'people'), the other an inanimate PATIENT (usually 'things') (Boas & Deloria 1941:52).

As we have pointed out, the syntactic arguments in Dakota need not obligatorily be realized in the sentence or clause, so *-wa-* functions as an affixal substitute of the arguments, which are left open to further specification. But effectiveness is established. *-wa-* indicates that a PATIENT is effected by an AGENT. So its function is to signify, as it were, pure transition. Here some examples:

- (39) *ečō* 'to do'  
*wa-ečō* 'to do something'  
  
*kute* 'to shoot'  
*wa-kute* 'to shoot things'

The difference to the other affixes discussed so far is that in the case of *-wa-* the syntactic arguments must then not be realized overtly. This in fact, as Buechel 1970:509 remarks, has some affinities to an absolute state.

Stems with *-wa-* or even a double *-wa-* are turned non-relational. Just because of this it is understandable that it also serves for the derivations of nouns from verbs.

#### 4.3 A note on verbs of motion and verbs of comparison

The Dakota verbs of motion present an interesting feature. As Boas & Deloria 1941:77 write, they "are treated as transitive verbs but require a locative adverb". That means they are compatible with the AGENT and PATIENT personal inflection but do not possess or establish a slot for a direct object but instead for a locative object.

- (40) *e-kta či-ya* Boas & Deloria 1941:77  
 LOC-DIR 1SG.A=2SG.P-go

'I go to you'

What happens here? Two participants, an AGENT and a PATIENT are related to each other in a more concrete way, they are put into a locative relation. The positional verbs share this feature. A special case is *xpayə* 'fall'. It requires the locative prefix *a-* to establish the slot, instead of a locative adverb.

- (41) *a- či- hixpayə* Boas & Deloria 1941:77  
 LOC-1SG.A=2SG.P-fall

'I fall on you'



In the case of the role-modifying *-ki-* we have already found an element functioning as a modifier of the inflectional affixes. Here the locative *a-* performs a similar function, transforming the direct object relation into a locative one. In short, these originally intransitive verbs have to be looked upon as transitive. Locative *a-* can introduce a locative argument or can transpose a PATIENT inflectional affix into a locative argument. In this latter case it doesn't introduce a new argument but modifies an existing one.

The Dakota verbs of comparison take two neutral personal affixes, one functioning as a subject, the other as the PATIENT of the construction. Naturally, no effectiveness is involved here, but the case is interesting insofar as both functions of the PATIENT affix are combined in one verbal form, namely that of the subject of the stative verb and that of the object of an active verb.

#### 4.4 Outline of the Dakota role-marking system

Affix	Semantic role introduced	Function
<i>-ya</i>	CAUSATOR	causative effect
<i>yu-</i>	INITIATOR	direct effect
<i>wo-</i>	NATURAL FORCE	mediated effect
<i>ka-</i>	NATURAL FORCE	mediated effect
<i>na-</i>	INNER FORCE	mediated effect
<i>-ki</i>	BENEFACTIVE GOAL	role-modifying
<i>a-</i>	LOCATIVE	role-modifying
<i>wa-</i>	UNSPECIFIED OBJECT	non-relational effect

This attempt to systematize the elements in question is by no means complete. Many questions still have to be left unanswered. As Dakota belongs to the active type it exhibits several characteristic features. The lack of a nominal case-marking system is compensated by an extensive apparatus of semantic-role marking in the verbal complex. Note that this system crosses the border of the verb being a word as far as the introduction of oblique arguments, namely LOCATIVE, is involved.

The EXPERIENCER verbs which have not been discussed here, like *wāyaka* 'see', *nax'ō* 'hear', etc., have an inherent AGENT-PATIENT orientation, but they range low on the transitivity scale. Nevertheless it is necessary to point out that the EXPERIENCER is coded just as the AGENT. We can substantiate an example of role-amalgamation even in the basic system of the active pronominal affixes. Though the EXPERIENCER verbs are bivalent in this sense, the

presence of both arguments is optional as always in Dakota. The above-mentioned verbs of comparison also imply two participants. But contrary to what Williamson 1979:359 said, these verbs with two PATIENT affixes are not transitive.

What has been left open here is the question for the other instrumental prefixes, which are genuine instrumentals in meaning, and the other locative prefixes. One can expect further differentiation of the roles INSTRUMENT and LOCATIVE. The task here is to substantiate the complete role-marking system of the Dakota language.

#### 4.5 Coordinate conjunction

As we have shown in the previous chapters, the lack of a nominal case-marking system causes a certain degree of ambiguity. Similar problems in interpreting the syntactic relations arise in complex sentences, namely in conjoined clauses.

(42) wičašta kī he matho wā wāyaka k'a kte S 113  
man DEF DD bear IF see.3SG and kill.3SG

'The man<sub>i</sub> saw the bear<sub>j</sub> and he<sub>i</sub> killed him<sub>j</sub>'

It is not possible to interpret the AGENT-PATIENT relation the other way round in this sentence, i.e. 'the bear killed the man'. For this case one has to use the following explicit construction:

(43) wičašta kī he matho wā ataye ūkā matho kī  
man DEF DD bear IF come=upon.3SG and bear DEF

wičašta kī he kte  
man DEF DD kill.3SG

'A man came upon a bear, and the bear killed the man'  
(S 113)

Two facts are relevant here: (i) the use of the conjunction ūkā, and (ii) the AGENT of the second conjunct is realized as a full NP (see Simons 1988).

Ūkā does not signify switch-reference; but it actually indicates a new event, which often correlates with a change of the AGENT or the subject. The rule which has been applied in (42) is conjunction reduction. In Dakota, the second conjunct can only be reduced if the syntactic relations remain unchanged. Since this is not the case in (43) and ūkā does not indicate switch-reference, a reduction of the second conjunct is not acceptable.

Describing the situation in the Teton dialect of Dakota, Van Valin (1985:380) writes:

In conjoined constructions with nā 'and', if the verbs have identical person-number-animacy specifications and if there is no explicit subject-NP in the second conjunct, then the two subjects must be interpreted as coreferential.

Especially the first criterion is rather dubious, since the verbs in the 3rd person have only a zero marking and do not show any overt specifications of person and animacy, and number only in the plural, provided one doesn't want to posit these specifications as underlying. Cross-reference, as we have shown above, is no reliable criterion. We want

to put it the other way round: only if the AGENTS of both conjuncts are coreferential, the second conjunct can be reduced.

Van Valin (1985:382) argues that in Teton the conjunction *cha* "changes the actor of the first clause" into "the undergoer of the second". He implies that *cha* would indicate a change in the semantic roles of actor and undergoer.

We cannot substantiate this with evidence from the other Dakota dialects. In Santee such an interpretation is only possible if the main verb of the second conjunct excludes the actor of the first clause as actor of the second conjunct by its selectional restrictions.

(44) *matho kī wičašta kī wāyaka ča kte*  
bear DEF man DEF see.3SG and kill.3SG

'The bear<sub>i</sub> saw the man<sub>j</sub> and he<sub>i</sub> killed him<sub>j</sub>' (S 36)

(45) *matho kī wičašta kī wāyaka ča kute*  
bear DEF man DEF see.3SG and shoot.3SG

'The bear saw the man, and so he (the man) shot him (the bear)'

As *matho* is not a potential AGENT for *kute* 'shoot' this switch is brought about by the verb and not by the conjunction.

(46) *matho kī wičašta kī wāyaka nā kute*

'The bear saw the man, and he (the man) shot him (the bear)'

As simple rule can be deduced from these examples: Active participants coordinate with active participants only.

Role-changing processes have to be motivated independently, that means by the interpreting strategies discussed above.

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#### Abbreviations

A	AGENT	LOC	LOCATIVE
ACC	accusative	NOM	nominative
AF	AGENT-Focus	NEG	Negation
BENE	BENEFACTIVE	P	PATIENT
CAUS	causative	PERF	perfective
DD	distal demonstrative	PF	PATIENT-Focus
DEF	definite	POT	potential
DIR	directional	PL	Plural
EXP	EXPERIENCER	S	subject
FOC	Focus	SG	Singular
IF	indefinite	TOP	Topic
INST	INSTRUMENTAL		

*S (in examples) from the author's field-notes*