

Individuation and Topicality as Indices of Transitivity: Degrees of
Passive in Kara

1. Introduction and Indices of Transitivity

The functions of passive encoding verbal suffixes -an and -ai in Kara¹ cannot be explained without incorporating notions of "degree of transitivity" and "Patient-centrality" in the grammar. Use of -ai with an action/process verb gives a 'marked passive' by reducing individuation of a focused non-agent referent in an already agentless sentence encoded as a bona fide passive. Use of -an reduces the individuation of the actor even to the point of deletion in what is termed 'passive'. Concern to encode the extent of individuation of actors and patients permeates deponent and passive clause structures. This appears to be related to a world view preoccupied with specifying the degree of responsibility of actors for an action, and the extent of the freedom of patients to react. It is not until appeal is made to all areas of context, textual, circumstantial and cultural, that the complete range of effects of passive-related features can be assessed,

¹This paper was written during a two-month grammar workshop held in 1983 by the Papua New Guinea Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Kara is an Austronesian language in the Northern New Ireland sub-group of the Patpatar-Tolai family. There are approximately 2500 Kara speakers living in about ten villages, primarily on the east coast of New Ireland about 65 KM south of the provincial capital, Kavieng.

Since 1978 my husband and I have spent numerous stretches of time living in Lemakot village. We are deeply grateful for the friendship and help of our neighbors Raymond Turia and his wife Katrina and Jacob Mapir and his wife Melmel. We are especially indebted to Ferdinan Labarai who has patiently answered our multitude of questions. Actually our debt is to all the people of Lemakot who have taken us into their lives and families.

Another debt is owed to our colleagues in SIL who have encouraged, listened and guided us during this time, especially Ray Johnston. Let it be known though, that while they listened and guided we did not always follow and so the mistakes found herein are ours alone, not theirs.

and the exact degree of intransitivity in a passive clause can be ascertained.

"Transitivity" is a term indicating degrees of activity, and as such it denotes the sum of forces in an entire clause. It cannot be determined solely by whether or not there is an object or patient involved in the situation indicated by the verb. Hopper and Thompson (1980) list ten grammatical features associated with transitivity. Each of these helps to place a particular verb, in a given environment, on the spectrum of transitivity. In terms of typology or in terms of our understanding of grammatical universals, it is simply not an adequate description to say a particular verb is transitive or intransitive.

Givón (1981) outlines three functional domains of passives; clausal topic assignment, impersonalization and detransitivization. In this paper Kara clauses are assessed in the light of these three functional domains, the effects of which in a clause are consistent with Hopper and Thompson's grammatical indicators of decrement in transitivity. Thus support is found for Givón's claim that passivity is related to intransitivity.

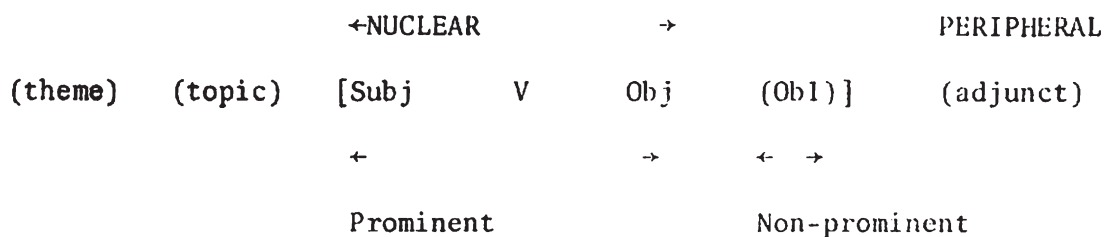
Two of Hopper and Thompson's features indicating lesser transitivity, specifically individuation of the object and the affectedness of the object are considered with reference to the degree of transitivity encoded by these features in Kara. In doing this we consider the individuation of the patient as the semantic expression of what Givón has called degree of intransitivity, since it would appear to be circular to assess the semantics of transitivity by the meaning of features marked transitive. (see Sect. 2.4 below)

The other two of Givón's three functional domains, viz. clausal topic assignment and impersonalization of the actor (cf. Haiman 1976) can be assessed directly in Kara clauses by relating context to grammatical marking.

2. Encoding of Functional Domains of Passive in Kara

2.1 Overview

In Kara there is a clearly-definable syntactic clause nucleus identifiable in terms of the prominence of entities expressing the nuclear relationships. These relationships are S V O and S V Obl. The pragmatic description of Kara sentences is as follows:



Theme is defined as "a domain or universe of discourse with respect to which it is relevant to pronounce the following Predication" (Dik 1978). Topic is defined as "the Entity 'about' which the Predication predicates something in the given setting." (Dik 1978). Subject, object oblique and adjunct are defined syntactically language-specifically. (cf. P. Schlie 1983)

2.2. Clausal Topic Assignment

Clausal topic assignment refers to whether the subject of the clause is the expected actor who performs the action of the verb or whether some other participant has been marked in some way as the subject of the clause. In Kara clauses, if there is an actor referent it must occur as subject. Both animate and inanimate entities are seen as actors in Kara.

Actor as Agent

S/T:A/A V O:Pat 2

(1) ña Yon punuk a vio
art John kill art pig

'John killed a/the pig'

T S:A/A V O:Pat

(2) a yamu a patal a wai
art axe 3s.p cut art tree

'The axe cut the tree'

Actor as Experiencer

T S:A/E V O:Pat

(3) a mataa a mising a purpur
art man 3s.p smell art flower

'The man smelled the flower;

The subject of an action clause refers to an entity which is at once the undergoer and initiator of the action.

Intradirective Actor

T S:A/Intra V Adj:T

(4) a xaleu a savat lanef
art canoe 3s.p arrive yesterday

'The canoe arrived yesterday'

²Concerning third person subject pronouns:

	T*	S/T**
irrealis	i taa	∅ taa
perfective	a ∅	∅ ∅
completive	(nane) fo	∅ fo

* Topicality and subjecthood are divided.

** Topicality has devolved upon the subject constituent.

T S:A/Intra V Obl:Mns

- (5) a lak a mati xuluna tebol
 art child 3s.p lay on.top.of table

'The child lay on the table'

Now let us consider departures from the expected range of clause topic assignments. When a verb is marked by -an the patient in (6) and the head noun of the means phrase in (7) and (8) are unexpectedly found in the subject position. All three function as patients in the subject position forming a passive clause.

T S:Pat V

- (6) a vio a punux -an
 art pig 3s.p kill -AN

'The pig was killed' (cf. (1))

T S:Pat V Obl:Mns 3

- (7) a tebol ∅ fo mati- an xuluna
 art table 3s comp lay - AN on.top.of

'The table was laid on' (cf. (5))

T S:Pat V Obl:Mns

- (8) a naip ∅ fo faisog- an pana
 art knife 3s comp work - AN inst

'The knife was worked with'

³Because of the need to be able to recover any NP promoted to subject we find that cause, locus and internal position cannot be promoted because they are not recoverable. Givón (1981) says, "In 'promotional' passives, the new non-agent topic must lose its semantic case-marking via such promotion and assume the pragmatic marking of subject/topic. If only the direct-object/accusative is accessible to passivization in such a typology, its semantic role is still 'recoverable'. But if other non-agent case-roles were similarly 'accessible' the semantic role of all non-agents becoming subject/topic of the passive would become non-recoverable, unless special provisions are made."

it appears that this concept is also valuable in relation to the suppression of the actor in Kara. In English, the identity of an agent can be suppressed by using an 'editorial' we or 'everybody is doing it' or 'they say...'. Alternatively the passive can be used. Passives have been analysed as agentless sentences by Haiman (1976). Hopper and Thompson, citing Timberlake (1975,1977), list the following properties of an individuated noun: proper, human, animate, concrete, singular, count, referential and definite. For example, the actor in example (1) is highly individuated, the actor of (2) less individuated and the actor in (10) even lower in individuation.

S/T:A/A V

(10) a mu vio vu- punuk pura
 art pl pig HAB- kill chicken

'Pigs kill chickens'

These properties are only some of the factors used to determine individuation of the actor. A primary concern, 'freedom to act', will be discussed later (see Sect 3.2 below). In a Kara 'passive' the agent is nearly always totally suppressed (cf. (6) (7) (8))

T S:Pat V

(11) a mu vio ri punux- an
 art pl pig 3pl kill- AN

'The pigs were killed'

However, a trace may be left to indicate the presence of an actor as in:

T S:Pat

(12) a tefin ∅ fo [fe- xusan] -an
 art woman 3s comp REC- say- about-AN

'The woman, (they have) reported (her)'

T S:Pat

(13) a vio Ø fo [fe- punuxan] an
art pig 3s comp REC- kill - about AN

'The pig, (they have) killed (it)'

T S:P/E

(14) a lak a [fa- singas] - an
art child 3s.p CAUS- walk - AN

'The child was caused to walk (by someone)'

The morpheme fe⁵ in (12) and (13) above would not apply to the subject of the clause because these subjects are singular and the patients of the

⁵In Kara there are homophonous morphemes fe. One coming from POC *paRi 'reciprocal' as seen in examples (12) and (13). The other possibly derived from feng 'send' which translates in two ways:

LDR 4 Inchoative

state verb + fe → process verb

laguuf 'coward' → fe laguuf 'becomes cowardly'

a mattaa fe laguuf
art man inch coward

'The man became cowardly'

LDR 5 Go in-order-to

action/action-process verb + fe _____

go in-order-to V

siak 'get' + fe → fe siak 'go in-order-to get'

nane fe siak a mu yavis
T.3s go.in.order.to get art pl taro

'She went to get the taro'

Occurrences of feng - fe are seen by native speakers as free morphemes, whereas fe- reciprocal is a prefix.

co-responding 'active' clauses. The brackets mark the derived reciprocal or action-process verb.

LDR #1

[A/A _____ PAT] + (fe-) _____ + (-an) [A/E _____ PAT]
 punuk → fepunuxa
 kill (co-responding) kill

This in turn affixes the same as (11): the object of the derived form can be promoted to subject and -an suffixed to the derived form giving the appearance of double affixation as in (13). When the verb is an action verb the action-process verb is derived first then the reciprocal is added.

LDR #2

[A/P _____] + (-an) [A/A _____ +an P/E] + (fe-) [A/E _____ PAT]
 kus → kusan → fexusan⁶
 'say' report (co-responding) report

When the object is promoted to subject 'the second' -an is attached.

fexusan '(co-responding) report'----- fexusan-an

(co-responding) report by them'

The morpheme fa- 'causitive' implies an agent or initiator and derives an action-process verb from an action verb.

⁶LDR 6

V/ A/P _____ / #K _____

A/A _____ P/E / #x _____

kus 'say'

xus + object 'tell (him, her, etc.)'

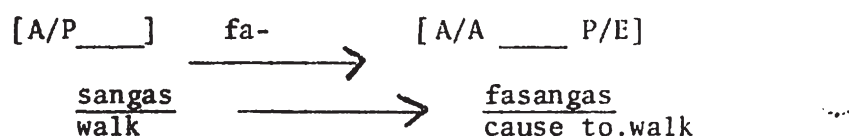
P Rule

#K__/_K# x / affixation with vowel juxtaposed to K

vuak a wai 'break the stick (in two) _____

vuax-e 'break+it (in two)'

LDR #3



'The child' in (14) is the patient promoted to subject from the derived 'action-process' clause with fasangas.

2.4 De-transitivization

Givón (1981) expanding on the semantic domain of de-transitivization, states that "The passive clause becomes semantically less-active, less-transitive and more stative." Givón's Correlation 7 states:

"...if the topic of the 'passive' doesn't have markings of the active clause agent then the 'passive' clause is likely to have markings of activity/transitivity. If the transitivity is marked by case-markings then the case-marking of agent plays a less important role in coding of transitivity than the case marking of non-agent arguments."

This would seem to indicate that the coding of patient and experiencer roles in the clause is primary in determining transitivity. This observation is consistent with the semantic analysis of subject of intransitive active clauses as intradirective Actors rather than Agents (cf. Starosta 1982; P. Schlie 1983). Rather than attempt to estimate 'detransitivization' as a functional domain in terms of the syntactic encoding of transitivity, this domain is assessed in terms of individuation of the patient in Kara.

3. Determining Degrees of Passive in Kara

In determining the degree of passiveness in Kara clauses I have set up the three language-specific applications of Givón's functional domains as being the pragmatic features determining the degree of passivity (and concomitant intransitivity) in Kara. Each factor is scored out of 3, ratings ranging from 0 for absence of the factors, through 1, 2 and on to 3 for the maximum manifestation of the factors.

3.1 Non-agent Subject Assignment

A participant other than the agent⁷ is assigned the surface clausal subject position. The actor-as-agent, as associated with 'kill', and patient-as-actor (intra-directive) as for the verb 'walk' would score 0. They are both active clauses in the unmarked state. The actor-as-experiencer⁸ scores 1, patient-as-experiencer scores 2 and patient scores 3. Perry Schlie (1983) has elaborated a "transitivity hierarchy" for subject position in Kara upon which basis this scoring system depends.

3.2 Lack of Individuation of Actor

The next factor to be considered is lack of individuation of the actor. This specifies the impersonalization domain for Kara, and includes such features as proper noun, pronoun, singular or plural, human, animate or inanimate.⁹ Therefore "John" would be more individuated than "he" and

⁷Starosta (1982) defines agent as the "perceived external instigator, initiator, experiencer or controller of an event of state." Schlie in his paper disputes this.

⁸Experiencer is a mark of lack of volition on the part of the patient or actor, particularly in the subject position. See P. Schlie 1983.

⁹Hopper and Thompson's (1980) list of characteristics of individuated patient.

Table 1: The scoring of functional domains of Passive in Kara clauses exhibiting increasing degrees of intransitive status

						Non-agent Subject Assignment	Lack of Individuation of Actor	Individuation of Patient	Total				
A.	<u>na</u> art	<u>Yon</u> John	<u>punuk</u> kill	<u>a</u> art	<u>vio</u> pig	'John killed a/the pig'	0	0	0	0			
	T/S:A/A												
B.	<u>na</u> art	<u>Yon</u> John	<u>vu-</u> HAB-	<u>punuk</u> kill	<u>vio</u> pig	'John kills pigs'	0	0	1	1			
C.	<u>a</u> art	<u>ro</u> dl	<u>saleng</u> hunt.part	<u>re</u> 3dl	<u>fepunux-an</u> (cooperating).killed-AN	<u>a</u> art	<u>mu</u> pl	<u>vio</u> pig	'The two hunting parties killed the pigs'	1	2	1	4
	T S:A/E												
D.	<u>a</u> art	<u>ro</u> dl	<u>lak</u> child	<u>re</u> 3dl	<u>fesip-an</u> hit.(co-referential)-AN	<u>na-re</u> 3dl			'The two children hit each other'	1	2	1	4
	T S:A/P O:PAT												
E.	<u>a</u> art	<u>mataa</u> man	<u>a</u> 3s.p	<u>kusan</u> report	<u>a</u> art	<u>tefin</u> woman			'The man reported the woman'	1	2	1	4
	T S:A/E O:PAT												
F.	<u>ri</u> 3pl	<u>fetigin-ai</u> coop.stand-AN	<u>la</u> loc	<u>matana</u> eye	<u>mu</u> pl	<u>magistrate</u> magistrate			'They (were) stood before the magistrates'	1	1	2	4
	T/S:A/E ADJ:LOC												
G.	<u>a</u> art	<u>lak</u> child	<u>a</u> 3s.p	<u>fa-sangas-an</u> cause.to.walk-AN					'The child was caused to walk'	2	2	1	5
	T S:P/E												
H.	<u>a</u> art	<u>mu</u> pl	<u>pato</u> duck	<u>ri</u> 3pl	<u>fe-num-ai</u> coop.drink-AI	<u>la</u> loc	<u>lavung</u> evening		'The ducks (flocked to) drink in the evening'	1	1	3	5
	T S:A/E ADJ:LOC												

	T/S: PAT								
I.	<u>a</u>	<u>tefin</u>	<u>fo</u>	<u>kusan-an</u>					
	art	woman	comp.	reported-AN					
	'The woman was reported'					3	3	0	6
	T S: PAT								
J.	<u>a</u>	<u>vio</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>punux-an</u>					
	art	pig	3s.p	kill-AN	'The pig was killed'	3	3	0	6
	T/S: P/E								
K.	<u>a</u>	<u>lang</u>	<u>manu</u>	<u>fo</u>	<u>failif-ai</u>	<u>lanef</u>			
	art	L	M	comp.	cause.to.fly-AI	yesterday			
	'The lang manu was caused (required to be performed) to fly yesterday'					3	2	2	7
	T/S: P/E								
	ADJ: LOC								
L.	<u>ri</u>	<u>fepunax-ai</u>	<u>la</u>	<u>yaan</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>ro</u>	<u>kar</u>	<u>re</u>	<u>bung</u>
	3pl	co-op kill-AI	loc	time	art	d1	car	3d1	crashed
	'They (together) were killed when the two cars crashed'					3	3	2	8

The higher the total in the right hand column, the more 'passive' and the less transitive the clause.

"he" more individuated than "they". "They" is also lower in individuation because of a factor called "freedom to act". When there is a multiplicity of people or actors each is bound in his actions by the presence of the others or by his responsibility to the others. When they are working together as in the co-responding reciprocal there is even more restraint put on them. Social pressure and ritual also bind the freedom of the actor to act. Another feature which is considered in the rating of individuation of the actor is when a non-actor occurs in the subject position, but a trace of the actor is left on the surface with verbal markings such as fe- 'reciprocal' or fa- 'causitive' (cf. (12) (13) (14)).

3.3 Lack of Individuation of Patient

The final factor is lack of individuation of the patient which includes a conceptualization of the ability of a patient to react and decide for himself. This domain, like the previous one, is difficult to determine because of the complexity of features involved.

To determine the score a patient receives on this factor we need some objective features to use as a guide. Three features are used: The first is the amount of control that the patient has over the situation. The patient of the Kara 'passive', having been promoted to the subject position, is highly individuated. It is definite-specific and focal. Because of this high degree of individuation, promotion, the patient scores 0 in lack of individuation even though it is lacking control. (cf. (I,J)) The woman (cf. (E) on chart I) whom the man reported had a measure of control for she volitionally did the act which led to her being reported and she is still sentient and in control of her own defense. Therefore she scored 2 rather

than 3 on lack of control. But averaged out to a score of one in the third column. The intradirective patient-actor of an action clause should be scored only 1 (i.e. a low degree of lack of individuation) because as an intradirective actor he is volitional in the situation, although he does act upon himself thus reducing his own individuation. (cf. (5)) The second feature has to do with whether the patient is singular, plural, animate or inanimate. These features split into four grades:

- 0 - singular animate
- 1 - plural animate
- 2 - singular inanimate
- 3 - plural inanimate

The third feature has to do with whether the patient is definite-specific or generic. These three features can be graded according to a score of 0 or 3. The rating is decided by averaging the scores of these three features. It should be noted, however, that these features are inter-connected - high control implies both animacy and definiteness.¹⁰

10	<u>a</u>	mu	vio	
	art	pl	pig	'the pigs' ex (C)
			lack of control	2
			animacy & number	1
			specific-def	<u>0</u>
				3 ÷ 3 = 1 score in column 3

	<u>a</u>	vio		
	art	pig	'the pig' ex (J)	
			lack of control	3
			animacy & number	0
			specific-def	<u>0</u>
				3 ÷ 3 = 1 score in column 3

These modes of rating should make it possible to arrive at an objective estimate of the degree of passivity in a Kara clause. Without a clear semantic guide we are tempted to resort to an Indo-European-bound estimate of 'passivity' (cf. Milner 1982). Individuation and affectedness of objects are two of the features of Hopper and Thompson's transitivity factors and can be expected to perform as a reliable cross-linguistic gauge as to the lessening of activity and consequent higher degree of passivity in the clause.

A full score of 3 in any two columns is enough to qualify as 'passive'. However, a total of 6 in any combination reaches the 'passive' threshold. It is not possible to get a full score in both columns 2 and 3 since this would eliminate the two nuclear arguments. A score of at least 2 in the second factor requires the use of -an which shows an increase in the lack of individuation of the actor. A score of 2 or 3 in the third column requires the use of -ai and demonstrates an increase in lack of individuation of patient. This scoring outranks that of the second column.

4. Analysis of Kara Clauses

Turning now to the chart and examples, we look first at the 'Base-line' active clause where 'John' is the actor-agent doing the-killing. Therefore this semantico-syntactic configuration is scored 0 for topic assignment. Because 'John' is a proper noun, single and free to act, its referent is highly individuated so 0 is scored in column two as it would be for any other comparable definite-specific agent referent. Since 'the pig' is single-animate and definite it scores 0 even though it lacks control. In the 'generic' clause the patient receives a 1 because, lacking the article a, it is not definite-specific but generic. In both of these examples 'John' fills the subject/topic position at the sentence level. This situation is typical of unmarked action-process clauses. Next on the chart are the 'deponent' or 'middle' clauses. In the first clause the topic position is filled by the NP 'The two hunting parties'. This clause scores 1 on the subject assignment domain because the subject is the actor-experiencer. (cf. P. Schlie 1983) It scores 2 on lack of individuation of the actor because with two hunting parties the responsibility is spread over a number of people.¹¹ If no pig is caught it might be the fault of the other party in the hunt. Also the actors are not free to act according to desire because a hunting expedition observes strict taboos which restrict the actors'

¹¹Responsibility is a key issue in the Kara world view. In talking with native speakers about the idea of 'hear' and 'listen', both translated with the same Kara word langai I found it very difficult to get an example using langai as 'listen'. It was always reworded so that instead of 'I will listen for the bell and then come' I was given sentences such as 'You hit the bell so I hear and I will come'. For more on the idea of responsibility in Kara see P. Schlie 1983.

behavior. Also, since members of the other party are likely to be in-laws, kin-relationships and responsibilities would bind the freedom of the actors. For these reasons this clause scores 2 in lack of individuation of the actor. Lack of individuation of patient scores 1 because of its plurality and lack of ability to react. In the second clause the actor and the patient roles are merged as both pronouns, subject and object, refer to the topic, the two boys. It appears, however, that the emphasis is on the boys as patient since the topic pronoun na-re 'Top.- 3pl' is in the object position. This sentence, like the previous one, scores a total of 4. The difference between these two clauses is the difference between co-responding reciprocal and co-referential reciprocal. In (C) we have the co-responding type where the actors work together to accomplish a goal and in (D) we have the co-referential type where the actors work against each other or towards each other rather than together. Example (E) scores a total of 4 like the others but for different reasons. The verb kusan is derived from the intransitive form of the verb 'say'.

(15) a mataa a kus sena tefin
 art man 3s.p say mns woman

'The man spoke about the woman'

(16) a mataa a kus-an a tefin
 art man 3s.p say-about art woman

'The man reported the woman'

(17) a tefin ∅ fo kusan -an
 art woman 3s comp reported-AN

'The woman was reported'

The verb 'reported' implies something that the patient did previously which put the man in a position requiring him to report the woman. He is singled-out because he is doing the reporting, but his individuality or ability to act freely is restricted because he no longer has as much choice in his actions. He is compelled by her actions to report her. This is the reason why, even though he is a singular subject, he still receives the 2 score under lack of individuation of the actor. In (F) we find 'they' standing together before the magistrate. Here again the subject is not completely volitional. They did something volitionally, in the past, to require they stand there. But they are not standing there by choice. The verb 'stand' tigina is an action verb.

S:P/A

(18) no tigin-a pave
2s stand-reflexive there

'You stand (yourself) there'

S:A/A

(19) no fa- tigin a wai pave
2s CAUS- stand art tree there

'You stand the wood there'

S:A/E

(20) ri fe- tigin- ai la matana mu magistrate
3pl REC- stand- AI loc eye pl magistrate

'They (together) (were) stood before the magistrate'

They have very little control over the situation as it now stands. They are doing the standing but they are also experiencing the 'standing before the magistrate'. So they have changed from an intradirective actor as they would be in (19) to an actor/experiencer. They score a 1 on column

two, lack of individuation of actor¹² and they score a 2 on column three because they have lost the 'patient' status they originally had. Next examine (G) where fa, the causative is involved. The transitive verb 'cause to walk' fasangas is derived from the intransitive verb 'walk' sangas.

T S:A/A

(21) a lak a sangas
art child 3s.p walk

'The child walked'

T S:A/A O:P/E

(22) a mataa a fa- sangas a lak
art man 3s.p CAUS- walk art child

'The man caused the child to walk'

T S:P/E

(23) a lak a fasangas - an
art child 3s.p cause.to walk- AN

'The child was caused to walk.'

We find that due to certain circumstances the child was caused to walk. The child, the patient-experiencer, scores 2 in column one because he is no longer an intradirective actor as in (21), but is now coming from the derived verb fasangas where he is P/E. He scores a 2 in the second column like most others in this group since he has a little volition in the situation, and is not totally bound. While it was intended that he walk

¹²The subject of (F) scores 1 in column two because it has gone from an A/P subject to an A/E subject. The subject in (C) scores 2 in this column because they have gone from agent to A/E, a larger drop down the hierarchy than the subjects of (F).

restricted; they acted on 'instinct' as ducks will do and so can be called Act/Exp although they would normally be the Act/Agt. Returning to the scoring of the clause, the ducks score 1 in non-agent subject assignment. They score 1 in lack of individuation of actor because of the flocking nature of ducks, who would appear by this estimate to be impelled to drink. The clause scores 3 in lack of individuation of the patient. Because of the circumstances around this clause the speaker wanted to emphasize the fact that the ducks flocked to drink and so the patient which has been deleted is marked by -ai. In (I)¹³ and (J) we come to the two most basic, unmarked 'passive' clauses. Both clauses score 3 in non-actor subject assignment and 3 in lack of individuation of the actor. They also score 0 for lack of individuation of patient. Now we come to the final two examples. In (K) we find a patient-experiencer in the subject position. The Lang Manu¹⁴ exists in the mind of the people so in that sense it could be an 'effected' patient, coming into being by its performance. But we know that the men who do this dance have a mouthpiece in the shape of a bird's head. When the dance is done the men 'become' the birds and these mouthpieces the birds' beaks. In other dances where this mouthpiece is used, if the men are not properly prepared, both physically by fasting and spiritually by the use of special herbs and ceremonies, then the spirit of

¹³It is interesting to note that the addition of the reciprocal fe- moves this from the 'passive' scoring of 6 to a score of 5 which is not 'quite passive'. This shift occurs because the scoring of column 2 is changed to 2 due to the presence of a 'trace' of actor in the reciprocal.

¹⁴The Lang Manu is a special dance performed at a memorial feast or 'malagan'. It is one of three things that must be done to fulfill the requirements of the memorial and it may only be performed by certain men of the clan.

the bird is capable of choking them. Because of this ability to control, not the performing of the dance, but the quality of the performance it is quite possible that the Lang Manu is seen as more than just a patient but as a patient-experiencer. The actors are represented by the fa-, but they are not true agents themselves because of the pressure from the society and culture and because they become the birds in doing the dance. So we can say that the men who performed the Lang Manu dance were required to do so just as the ducks are required to drink. The final example (L) looks in form like (F+H). However, the subject of (L) is a patient-experiencer, not an actor-experiencer. 'They' were the original patients of the action-process verb 'kill'. They score 3 in each of the first two features and they score 2 in lack of individuation of patient.

5. Kara verbal affixes in use.

It appears from the previous discussion that fe-, fa-, -an and -ai are 'fine tuning' mechanisms used by the Kara to de-individuate arguments in a predication, thereby affecting focus and transitivity in the clause.

5.1 Uses of -an

The morpheme -an, without fe or fa, is a signal of de-individuation of the actor. Since we assume the idea of patient centrality (P. Schlie 1983) the -an is serving to emphasize the affectedness of the patient.

(31) nane pit a bol faagut¹⁵
T.3s hit art ball strongly 'He hit the ball hard'

(32) nane pit faagut- an a bol
T.3s hit strongly - AN art ball 'He hit hard the ball'

In the following example, -an is used to derive nouns from verbs:

(33) lamon - 'think'
a lamon-an 'thinking'

These derived verbs are usually possessed, i.e.

(34) a lamonan siak a malaan nabe 'My thinking is like this'

Below, -an marks passives in Kara where the actor is deleted or suppressed.

a vio a punuxan
art pig 3s.p kill-AN 'The pig was killed' (cf. 6)

Finally, -an is used to promote an argument from nuclear non-prominent roles to nuclear prominent positions.

(35) nane pit a vafa pana wai
T.3s hit art fence inst stick
'He hit the fence with a stick'

¹⁵90% of the time (32) would be the form used.

(36) nane pit-an a wai (xulun a vafa)
 T.3s hit-AN art stick (on.top.of the fence)

'He hit the stick on the fence'

5.2 Uses of fa-

The causative fa-¹⁶ is used to derive ACT-PRO verbs from action verbs. (see Sect. 2.3). The A/P of the first clause becomes the P/E of the second. When a third participant is introduced in an action-process verb (cf. 27), the following rule applies:

L.D.R. #7:

1.	2.
[A/A ₁ +_____Pat]→	[A/A ₂ _____P/E +(MNS)]
num <u>fa</u> →	fa-num

The A/A₁ of clause 1 becomes P/E of clause 2 and PAT of clause 1 is demoted to 'means' of clause 2. The morpheme fa- is independent of the verbal suffixes. It occurs with them only when it is part of the derived verb form taking the suffix. It does, however, increase the transitivity of the clause, either by introducing an actor-agent or a third nuclear participant.

5.3 Uses of -ai

Since 'Patient-focus' is the norm there are occasions when it is desirable to shift the focus away from the patient. The -ai suffix answers that need. The morpheme -ai without fe- or fa- marks or signals lack of individuation of the patient by shifting the focus either to the actor or to an oblique. The patient may be deleted, demoted, or promoted.

¹⁶The causative fa is derived from POC *paKa 'causative'. POC *p frequently goes to /f/ in Kara.

Pat deleted

T/S:A/A O:PAT OBL:mns OBL:LCS

(37) nenia fo fi nare pana sugar pe la stoa
 T.1s comp ask T.3dl inst sugar w.in loc store

'I asked them for sugar in the store'

O:∅

(38) nenia fo fi- ai pana sugar pe la stoa
 T.1s comp ask- AI inst sugar w.in loc store

'I asked for sugar in the store'

Normally 'ask' requires a person asked. Here -ai marks the patient as missing and shifts the focus to the 'means' sugar.

Pat demoted

T S:A/A O:PAT

(39) a malu a fit a wai
 art wind 3s.p blow art tree

'The wind blew the tree'

OBL:cause

(40) a malu a fit- ai sena wai
 art wind 3s.p blow- AI caus. tree

'The wind blew against the tree'

The verb fit 'blow' would normally take an object. But 'the tree', which is ordinarily the patient, is demoted to the oblique. The -ai marks the de-individuation of the patient by shifting the focus to 'the wind'.

Pat promoted

T S:PAT V OBL:LCS

(41) a kar a ves -ai ti Amerika
 art car 3s.p made-AI source America

'The car was made in America'

In this example 'the car' has been promoted to subject. The focus of -ai is on the oblique 'in America'. This would be in contrast to the following form:

O:PAT OBL:source

(42) Active ri ves- an a kar ti Amerika
 3pl made-AN art car source America

'They made the car in America'

T S:PAT OBL:source

Passive a kar a vesan-¹⁷an ti Amerika
 art car 3s.p made-AN source America

'The car was made in America'

In the passive above (42) 'the car' is in focus and the people who made it are de-individuated. In the -ai passive (41) 'the car' is no longer in focus, the place of its origin is in focus; therefore, 'the car', the patient, is de-individuated. This de-individuation of patient is indicated by a score of 2 or 3 in a corresponding column on the chart.

¹⁷There are some verbs that do not occur without either -an or -ai
 subj. make. obj

ves-an make + obj ves-ai Subj make

tox-an 'have' tox-ai

lis-an 'bring' lis-ai

5.4 Uses of fe- with -an and -ai

Reciprocity plays an important role in the grammar of Kara both in joint efforts (co-responding) and in activities directed toward one another (co-referential). Verbs in a reciprocal situation require a combination marking, prefix fe- and a suffix -an or -ai (similar to Motu's vei- an).

In marking with the reciprocity function the responsibility of any individual actor is spread over the group. Any given response is limited by the other participants and is therefore less volitional. The fe- plus an -an suffix de-individuates the actor, resulting in a score of at least 2 on the chart.

When fe occurs with -ai there is a lack of individuation of the patient and a focus on the actor or oblique. In (F) 'they' were experiencing 'standing in front of the magistrates' and that is what is in focus. The -ai signals the missing patient (cf. (18)). Since the patients and actors are the same entity, de-individuating the patients moves the subject down on the hierarchy to actor-experiencer thereby increasing the lack of individuation of the actors. In (H) -ai signals the missing object, what they were drinking, and focuses on when they were drinking. In (K) the patient-experiencer is promoted to subject and would normally take the -an passive marker, but because the fe- now refers to the 'together-ness' of the patients the -ai is used to mark this factor and to shift focus to the time locative adjunct.

A language-specific application for Kara of Givón's functional domains of passive, combined with a study of patient-centrality, proved valuable

for understanding the 'fine tuning' effected by the verbal affixes, and for revealing aspects of the Kara world view, especially with regard to actor-volitionality.

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