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On the Sequence of the Techniques on the
Dimension of PARTICIPATION

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Vorbemerkungen zur sprachlichen Dimension der PARTIZIPATION

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Den "Beiträgen zur sprachlichen Dimension der PARTIZIPATION" liegt als Hypothese ein Modell zugrunde, das zur Zeit noch weiter ausgearbeitet wird und hier nur soweit in seinen Grundzügen vorgestellt werden soll, als zum Verständnis der vorliegenden Beiträge erforderlich ist.

Unter PARTIZIPATION verstehen wir die Relation eines PARTIZIPATUM zu seinen PARTIZIPANTEN. Diese Termini und Begriffe sind funktionell zu verstehen, d.h. sie umfassen und transzendieren herkömmliche Termini, die teils semantisch, teils morphosyntaktisch verstanden werden. So umfaßt PARTIZIPATION Kasusgrammatik, Aktantenstruktur, Valenz, Diathese, Kasus; PARTIZIPATUM ("das, woran teilgenommen wird") umfaßt Handlung, Vorgang, Zustand, Prädikat, Verb; PARTIZIPANTEN umfaßt Kasusrollen, Mitspieler, Argumente, Aktanten, Zirkumstanten. Die funktionellen Termini sollen also nicht die herkömmlichen ersetzen sondern zum Ausdruck bringen, daß es jeweils etwas Übergeordnetes gibt, das sie in ihrer Disparatheit zusammenhält.

Wir gehen davon aus, daß ein Gedanke, ein "Sachverhalt", zunächst etwas Ganzheitliches ist, das konzipiert wird als Relation zwischen PARTIZIPATUM und PARTIZIPANTEN. Das Problem, das wir uns stellten - und das sich zugleich in jedem Sprachprozeß immer wieder von neuem stellt - lautet: Wie wird diese Relation sprachlich dargestellt?

Unsere Hypothese lautet, daß es sowohl innerhalb einer Einzelsprache als auch in der Sicht des Sprachvergleichs eine ganze Reihe von Optionen gibt, die zwar semantisch und morpho-syntaktisch voneinander verschieden sind aber alle die Funktion haben, die genannte Relation sprachlich darzustellen. Des weiteren gehört zu unserer Hypothese, daß es bei dieser sprachlichen Darstellung zwei gegenläufige dynamische Zugkräfte gibt, die wir Indikativität und Prädikativität nennen. Indikativität bedeutet Verweis, Hinweis; Prädikativität bedeutet Aussage (ist also als Terminus weiter gefaßt als das syntaktische Prädikat). Die Relation der PARTIZIPATION wird also sprachlich erfaßt, indem sie entweder als gegeben dargestellt wird, so, daß darauf verwiesen werden kann; oder indem sie nicht als gegeben dargestellt sondern vielmehr aufgebaut,

etabliert wird. Den sprachlichen Daten entnehmen wir, daß es Strukturen gibt, in denen das Prinzip der Indikativität und andere Strukturen, in denen das Prinzip der Prädikativität dominiert. Wenn Indikativität dominiert, wird auf die Relation verwiesen als auf eine im PARTIZIPATUM selbst angelegte, welches dann eindeutig das Zentrum der Relation ist; deshalb in unserem Schema (S. 4) die erläuternden Termini "Inhärenz, zentralisierend". Wenn Prädikativität dominiert, wird durch sukzessives Einführen von mehr Ausdrucksmitteln die Relation etabliert, und diese Mittel verlagern sich sukzessive vom PARTIZIPATUM hin zu den PARTIZI-PANTEN: "dezentralisierend". Bei dominierender Inhärenz ist die Beziehung zwischen PARTIZIPATUM und PARTIZIPANTEN besonders eng und kann hier mit der Rektion verglichen werden; bei dominierender Etablierung ist sie loser, vergleichbar der Modifikation. Wir sprechen deshalb auch von der (geringeren oder größeren) Distanz der PARTIZIPANTEN zum PAR-TIZIPATUM.
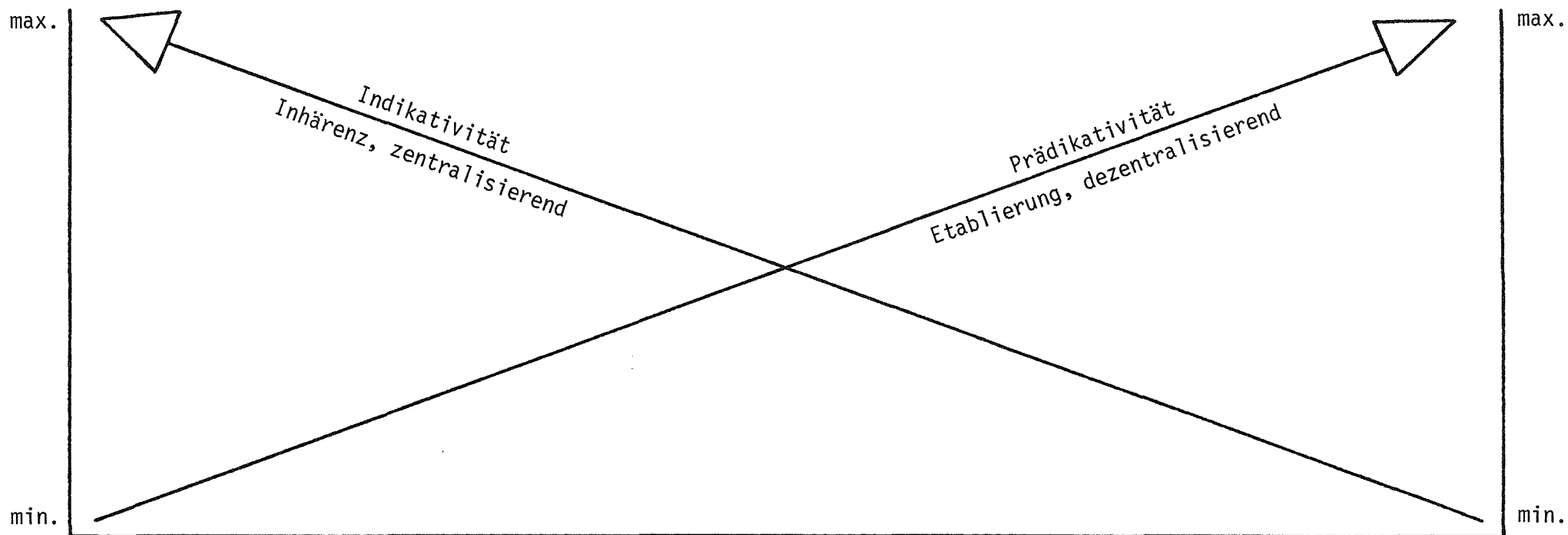
Zu unserer Hypothese gehört schließlich, daß alle in diesem Zusammenhang gehörigen Strukturen an beiden Prinzipien teilhaben, aber mit wechselnden Proportionen; und daß sich der gesamte Bereich in eine Ordnung bringen läßt durch zwei gegenläufige Gradienten: Abnahme von Indikativität korreliert mit Zunahme von Prädikativität und umgekehrt. Diese Vorstellung ist in dem zweidimensionalen Schema (S. 4) "geometrisiert". Wir nennen dies die Dimension der PARTIZIPATION. Es ist, wenn man so will, ein Programm, das einsehbar machen soll, wie "man" (der Linguist, der Sprecher) von einer Position zur nächst-benachbarten gelangt. Diese Positionen ihrerseits sind nicht als "Dinge" oder "Aggregate" zu denken sondern als Vollzüge, als Programme, also Unterprogramme, die wiederum eine Reihe von Optionen umfassen. Techniken haben wir sie bisher genannt; vielleicht wird der Terminus entbehrlich und kann durch Sub-Dimensionen ersetzt werden. Die Abfolge der Techniken von links nach rechts ist grosso modo so zu verstehen, daß zunehmende Prädikativität zunehmende Komplexität (semantisch und/oder morphosyntaktisch) beinhaltet und dadurch, daß die vorangehende Technik durch die folgende impliziert wird, eine graduelle "Exfoliation" der Relation erfolgt. Zunahme der Indikativität hingegen beinhaltet zunehmende Abhängigkeit von bzw. Zusammenhänge mit pragmatischen Faktoren.

Dieses hypothetische Modell, das nun laufend der Überprüfung unterworfen wird - durch Untersuchungen über die Techniken und ihre Abfolge in Einzelsprachen und im Sprachvergleich - wurde von H. Seiler in der UNITYP-Projektsitzung vom 22.4.1983 erstmals vorgestellt. Im Wintersemester 1983/84 hielt er an der Universität Köln eine Vorlesung über "Valenz, Diathese, Transitivität, Kasus", von der ein Skript ausgearbeitet wurde. In dessen drittem Kapitel wurde die Dimension als Ganzes und der Zusammenhang der Techniken erstmals in einer gewissen Ausführlichkeit dargelegt. Ein auf der Jahrestagung der Schweizerischen Sprachwissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Bern am 5.5.1984 gehaltener Vortrag brachte einige Weiterentwicklungen, insbesondere das hier reproduzierte Schema. In den hier vorliegenden Beiträgen wird auf diese Stadien der Explizit-machung Bezug genommen.

Die Dimension der PARTIZIPATION

Hansjakob Seiler. SSG, Bern, 5.5.1984

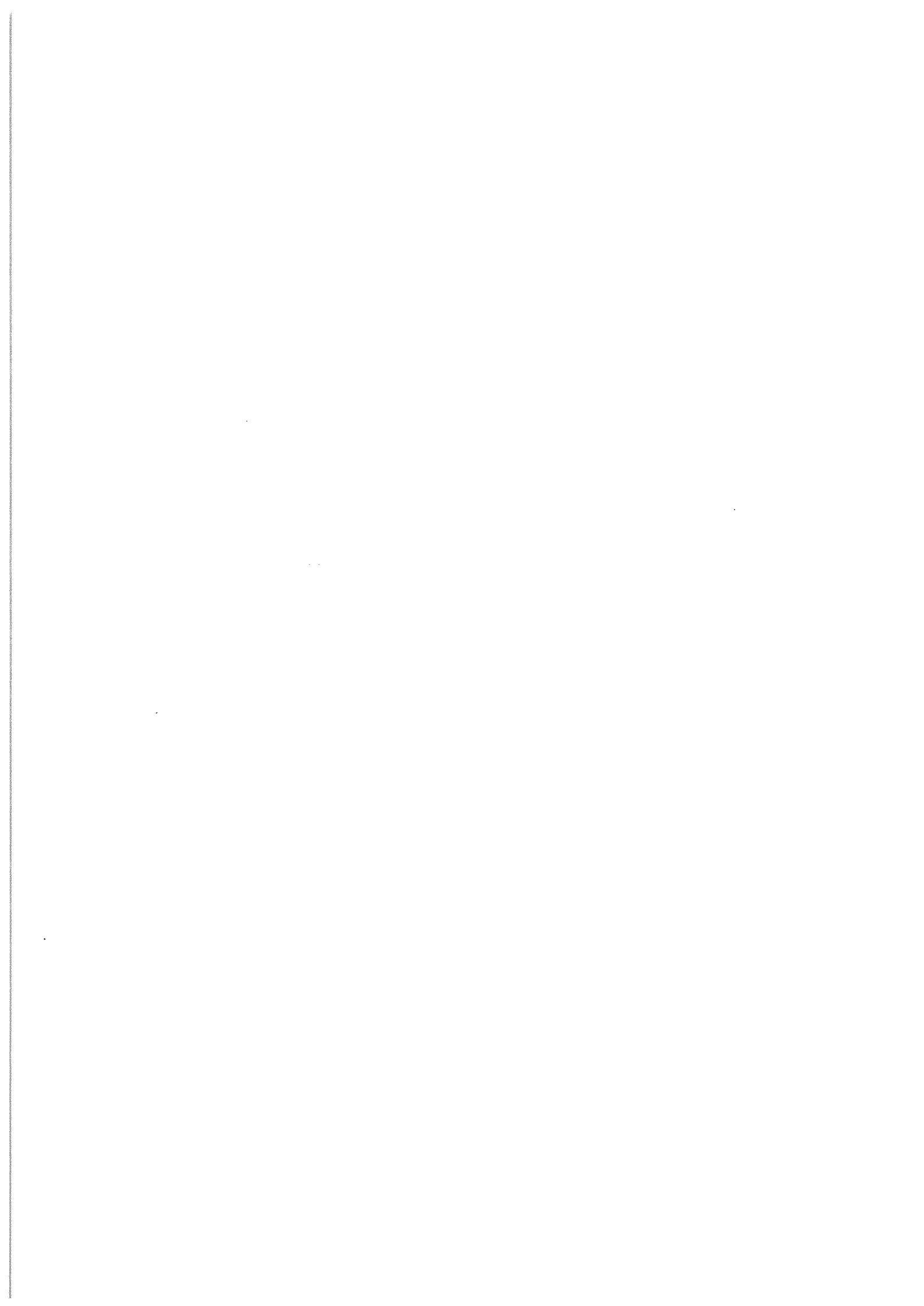| LOG. PRÄDIKATE | N/V UNTER- SCHEIDUNG | VERB KLASSEN | VALENZ | ORIEN- TIERUNG | TRANSI- TIVIERUNG | KASUS- MARKIERUNG | VERB- SERIALIS. | KAUSATI- VIERUNG | KOMPLEXE SÄTZE |

Indikativität
Inhärenz, zentralisierend

Prädikativität
Etablierung, dezentralisierend

CONTENTS:

ON THE SEQUENCE OF THE TECHNIQUES

ON THE DIMENSION OF PARTICIPATION

•

On the sequence of the techniques on the dimension of PARTICIPATION

0. Introduction

This is a survey of the development of the model of PARTICIPATION
(P'ATION) with reference to the postulated sequence of the techniques
on the dimension of P'ATION.

Along with a brief explanation of the techniques this article con-
tains a discussion of the major claims with regard to the sequence
of the techniques and the possibilities of subjecting the claims to
empirical verification.

Undoubtedly, not all of the views presented here will be shared by
everyone in the UNITYP project, but nevertheless I consider it use-
ful to provide the reader of this volume* with a comprehensive
framework. Though most of the theoretical ideas are based on Seiler
1984, relatively little work has been dedicated, so far, to the
verification of the postulates concerning the sequence of the
techniques. In this area, the present contribution is largely
original. My results, though, generally confirm the hypotheses con-
tained in Seiler 1984, in spite of certain minor modifications.

The earliest version of the model of P'ATION, which - as a conse-
quence - is the one most frequently referred to in the UNITYP pub-
lications, is illustrated in figure (1). What is up in the diagram,
is usually referred to as the "left" of the dimension, and what is
down is normally called "right":

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*This article is intended for publication in Seiler (ed) (to app),
containing a collection of articles on PARTICIPATION

(1) <u>The dimension of PARTICIPATION</u> (cf. Seiler 5.5.1984)

```
min.                                    max.        "LEFT"
    \                              /\ g
     \              v      /      n          logische Prädikate            P
      \          i  /          i             (logical predicates)
       \        a /       z                  Nomen/Verb-Distinktion        A
        \     c / e   i                       (noun/verb-distinction)
         \   i / c  l                                                      R
          \ d / n  a                          Verbklassen
           \n/ e  r                            (verb classes)              T
          I / r t
           /e  n                              Valenz                       I
          /h  e                                (valency)
         /n  c                                                             C
        I                                     Orientierung
       / E                                     (orientation)               I
      /   s
     / P\  t d                                Transitivierung              P
    /  r \ a e                                 (transitivization)
   /    e \b c                                                             A
  /      d \l e                               Kasusmarkierung
 /        i \ i n                              (case marking)              T
/          c \s t
             a \h r                           Verbserialisierung           I
              t \i a                            (serial verb construct.)
               i \n l                                                      O
                v. \g i                        Kausativierung
                    z. \                        (causativization)          N
                        \/
min                      max                  Komplexe Sätze
                                               (complex sentences)

                              "RIGHT"
```

This version, though, suffers from a lack of terminological rigour, as the names of the techniques oscillate between some which suggest a conceptual-linguistic function (such as ORIENTATION) and others which rather suggest a specific way of linguistic expression (such as CASE MARKING). What is meant, however, is that all techniques communicate between a conceptually determined function and potentially a variety of options on the side of linguistic expression.

As a consequence, a more sophisticated version of P'ATION which recognizes the two-sided character of each technique looks like the one depicted in figure (2). (The arrow diagram has been left out here for lack of space; it is the same as in (1)). The second name of each technique usually represents but one possible way of fulfilling the general function represented by the first name of each

technique;

(2)   SETZUNG VON P'ATION   : logische Prädikate
       (POSITING P'ATION   : logical predicates)

       P'ANT VS P'ATUM   : Nomen/Verb-Distinktion
       (P'ANT VS P'ATUM   : noun/verb-distinction)

       GENERELL IMPLIZIERTE P'ANTEN : Verbklassen
       (GENERALLY IMPLIED P'ANTS   : verb classes)

       SPEZIELL IMPLIZIERTE P'ANTEN : Valenz
       (SPECIFICALLY IMPLIED P'ANTS : valency)

       ORIENTIERUNG   : Diathese, inverse Flexion etc
       (ORIENTATION   : diathesis, inverse inflection etc)

       TRANSITION   : (In)transitivierung
       (TRANSITION   : (in)transitivization)

       ROLLENZUWEISUNG   : Kasusmarkierung
       (ROLE ASSIGNMENT   : case marking)

       P'ANTENEINFÜHRUNG   : serielle Verbkonstruktionen
       (INTRODUCTION OF P'ANTS)   : serial verb constructions)

       URSACHE UND WIRKUNG   : Kausativkonstruktionen
       (CAUSE AND EFFECT   : causative constructions)

       KOMPLEXE P'ATA   : komplexe Sätze
       (COMPLEX P'ATA   : complex sentences)

We shall in short time render an account of what these techniques are supposed to represent. First, however, it may be useful to specify the major claims which led to the order in question:

All the techniques are part of the dimension of P'ATION. P'ATION extends across all constructions representing a "sachverhalt" or situation, which is conceived of as a relation between a PARTICIPA-TUM (P'ATUM) and a PARTICIPANT (P'ANT). P'ANTs are involved in a "sachverhalt" as the ones a P'ATUM is manifested in, and the P'ATUM implies a certain number of P'ANTs.

As linguistic constructions but represent a "sachverhalt", the degree by which a relationship between P'ANTs and a P'ATUM is given formal expression is open to choice. On the "left" of the dimension we encounter techniques where there is hardly any formal reflex of a relation between a P'ANT and a P'ATUM, and the very fact that we can

still talk of P'ATION even in this part of the dimension is due to certain lexical properties of the words employed along with the variation of these constructions with more explicit ones.

Actually, the ordered variation with more explicit structures is the only way to prove that there is a common denominator behind all these constructions. Otherwise, the assumption that this common denominator is a "sachverhalt" constituted by a relation between a P'ANT and a P'ATUM is in principle axiomatic, and it cannot be proven by the presence of a clear structural division between a P'ANT-expression and a P'ATUM-expression in all possible constructions, because there are constructions where it is difficult, if not impossible, to find a straightforward structural correlate of a relation between a P'ANT and a P'ATUM (see POSITING P'ATION).

At this extreme P'ATION is not made explicit by categorical means of the grammar. We refer to implicit (lexical) knowledge rather than to explicit (structural/grammatical) information; this act of "pointing" at what is given as tacit knowledge embodies the principle of "indicativity". The converse principle, i.e. the act of giving full categorical expression to what is to be represented, is called the principle of "predicativity". The latter principle figures predominantly on the "right" of the dimension, but more accurately, the two principles converge. Note that although the principles have to do with deixis vs predication they mean far more than what is associated with demonstratives or predicates, respectively. "Predicativity" means making things semantically and structurally explicit: we hereby es-tablish, for instance, the relation of P'ATION. "Indicativity" means reference to what is implicitly given, without making a relation explicit. Indicativity is always unmarked with respect to predicativity, and what is marked encodes pragmatic (discourse-related) information rather than semantic information proper.

From these main principles we can deduce a number of others:

As a result of the marked status of predicativity with respect to in-
dicativity, establishing a relation always implies a maximum of
formal machinery and a maximum of semanticity. Being less explicit,
i.e. "indicative", requires only a minimum of formal machinery. At
the same time. the less explicit rendering of a "sachverhalt" is more
grammaticalized than the more explicit strategy. Thus, for instance,
the specification of three P'ANTs is always less grammaticalized than
the specification of two or only one.

The property of being grammaticalized is recognizable not only by
a minimum of explicitness and semanticity, it is also accompanied
by an increase in obligatoriness. The non-grammaticalized strategies,
therefore, can be recognized by being less obligatory.

In addition, an increase in predicativity along with an increase
of formal means makes the interpretation of a construction less
dependent on what is contained in the semantic centre (usually a
P'ATUM-expression or verb, respectively). Rather, information is
added in the periphery (e.g.by case marking on the NPs), and the
relation becomes "decentralized".

The principles. which are said to hold not only across the dimen-
sion but also within each technique, can be summarized as follows:

```
(3)              indicativity    —  predicativity
                 grammaticalized —  non-grammaticalized
   "LEFT"        obligatory      —  non-obligatory         "RIGHT"
                 desemanticized  —  semanticized
                 centralized     —  decentralized

     "Reference to what is        "Establishing a relation
      given (as tacit know-        (by explicit means)"
      ledge)"

   (unmarked pole: gives only     (marked pole: gives detailed
    pragmatic information)         semantic information)
```

At any point on the dimension there is variation between the prin-

ciples in question, but generally speaking the "left" principles
dominate on the "left" of the dimension, while the "right" ones
dominate on the "right".

Furthermore, it is claimed that the techniques constitute a

     continuum

from "left" to "right", with the ones on the "right" implying
and adding up to the ones on the "left".

How can we set about proving the relevance of the above principles
for the dimension, and how can we justify the relative order of
the techniques?

1. We must seek for implicational statements:
   If it is true that the techniques on the "right" add up to the
   the ones on the "left" in terms of exfoliating the relation of
   P'ATION, every technique on the "right" must somehow imply and
   transcend the set of oppositions possible on the "left". It
   would be ideal to find formal evidence to the effect that the
   marking of technique A reoccurs in technique B which adds
   further specifications on top of A.

2. We must look at synchronically and diachronically related data
   and see whether and how the respective variants differ in their
   function whenever some cognates lose in semanticity/predicativity,
   when they become grammaticalized/obligatory, and when they occur
   as part of the centre of the construction (usually the P'ATUM-
   expression) as opposed to their occurence outside the P'ATUM or
   P'ATUM phrase. Apart from accounting for continuity on the di-
   mension of P'ATION, the shift of function accompanying the
   gradual change in the usage of certain cognates may support
   the postulated sequence of the techniques and their functions.

Let us now turn to the discussion of the techniques, and the relationship that holds among them:

1. The techniques

1.1. POSITING P'ATION : Logical Predicates

POSITING P'ATION means that the construction is minimally explicit about P'ATION. Whatever relates to a notion of a P'ATUM (a term implying someone involved as a participant in a "sachverhalt") and a P'ANT (the one in whom a P'ATUM manifests itself, and whose relation with the P'ATUM constitutes a "sachverhalt"/situation/event) may be totally a matter of lexical features without any overt grammatical categorization of the words employed as a P'ANT or a P'ATUM.

At the very borderline of the dimension of P'ATION we thus may find utterances of the following kind:

(4)   Feuer![1]   (fire!)
GERM

These constructions can only be subsumed under P'ATION if we refer to their being in variation with more explicit structures such as

(5)   es brennt! (lit. it burns)
GERM

and, of course, by reference to the inherent lexical features of Feuer (fire). We know by tacit conventions that the situation referred to by Feuer must involve something which is burning, but as far as the form of the utterance Feuer! is concerned, there is

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[1] Seiler's example in 1984:85 is Nacht! ("night!").

evidently no way of determining a word representing a P'ANT or a P'ATUM².

Similarly, there are expressions such as

(6)   homo homini lupus (est)
LAT

where lupus (as the semantic predicate) belongs to the same word class as the referent-noun homo. Again, it is dominantly the lexical features of lupus which connect this construction with more explicit (N/V-)constructions such as

(7) one man "eats" another

where the nominal P'ANT-expression is opposed to a verbal P'ATUM-expression.

Nevertheless, homo homini lupus (est) is already somewhat more explicit than Feuer! inasmuch as there are certain formal indications that lupus functions as the semantic predicate of the sentence, and that homo functions as a referent noun: at least in unmarked word order lupus ought to be the semantic predicate, potentially

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²Especially the description of natural phenomena appears to be notoriously difficult as far as the expression of a P'ANT and a P'ATUM are concerned, even in fairly explicit constructions. Consider the following examples:

(5a)   Ame   ga   hut- te -i -ru
JAP   rain   NOM   fall-CON-DUR-PRES.IMPFV
         lit. 'rain is falling'/'it is raining'

(5b)   Ame   da
JAP   rain NOMIN.PREDICATOR
         lit.'there-is rain'/'it is raining'

(5c)   es regnet
GERM   it rains
         'it is raining'

(5d)   kuo 'uha
TONG   RESULT rain-
         lit. '(it) has resulted in rain'/'it is raining'

Judging by the "ordinary" way of representing P'ANTs and P'ATA it appears that Japanese treats the word for 'rain' as a P'ANT opposed

assisted by a copula <u>est</u> as a "logical predicate". Since a semantic predicate denotes a property or characteristic implying someone carrying this property or characteristic, we can call a semantic predicate a P'ATUM-expression in the widest sense of the word, regardless of whether it is a verbal or a nominal predicate; the referent noun then becomes a P'ANT-expression in the widest sense of the word. Yet this does not necessarily imply that P'ANT and P'ATUM are differentiated by the words employed (nouns remain nouns in both contexts). This has to wait for the next technique.

————————————————————————

cont.

to the P'ATUM <u>hutteiru</u> 'is falling' in (5a), while German uses <u>regnen</u> (to rain) as a P'ATUM opposed to a dummy <u>es</u> ('it') in (5c). (5b) and (5d) are both presentative constructions: Japanese presents a word bearing nominal traces, the Tongan word is syntactically a verb, but in both cases it is highly difficult to determine a P'ANT- or a P'ATUM-expression. This does not mean, in my view, that raining is not a "sachverhalt" implying a P'ANT and a P'ATUM: it is simply notoriously hard to pinpoint a P'ANT and a P'ATUM even on a conceptual level. This is the reason why languages choose different ways of representing meteorological situations. The very fact that these expressions are in variation with each other (cross- and intralinguistically) makes it clear that there still is a common denominator, but at the same time the problem consists in deciding what should be treated as a P'ANT, and what should be treated as a P'ATUM, or whether we should refer right away to the "sachverhalt" as a whole without committing ourselves to either choice . (5b) and (5d) are approximations of a "monolithic" way of referring to a situation, though the noun/verb-distinction cannot be totally avoided. It is above all the stem <u>rain-</u> which serves as a linguistic constant across the constructions. Conceptually, the unifying principle resides in the notion of a "rain"-event. Such a "rain"-event consists of P'ANTs and P'ATA in the same way as any other event (e.g. water, clouds, drops, falling, wetness, etc), but unlike other events it is a situation where individual P'ANTs and P'ATA are fairly uninteresting, or can hardly be isolated. As a consequence, reference to a rain-event contains hardly more than the stem <u>rain-</u>, which, however, is usually forced in the general framework of N/V-constructions. (5a), by the way, approximates a construction of the type <u>the rain is raining</u> (the verb is subclassified for water or ice from the sky), which shows that the unity of the concept <u>rain-</u> overrides the analytical force of the construction.

This is merely to say that the absence of a straightforward differentiation between a P'ANT-expression and a P'ATUM-expression does not invalidate the assumption that every event is conceptualized as a relation between P'ANTs and P'ATA. It may simply be that the determination of what is a P'ANT and what is a P'ATUM is difficult, or that it is problematic to single out central P'ANTs. This may lead to a more unifying, non-analytic strategy, where the core of the information resides in the lexical features of the central word employed.

We could say, thus, that POSITING P'ATION ranges from a non-explicit rendering
of a relation of P'ATION to the explicit task of identifying a semantic pre-
dicate (as a P'ATUM-expression in the widest sense of the word), which still
falls short of identifying a verbal predicate-P'ATUM vs a nominal referent-
P'ANT (see next technique).

The task of identifying a semantic predicate can be fulfilled in
a number of ways: one of them — and in fact the most explicit one —
is the use of a so-called "logical predicate" such as the copula
est in (6). Alternatively, however, we find strategies of juxta-
position or predicate inflection, etc.[*]

It is true that within POSITING P'ATION we are primarily interested
in "nominal" predications (or predications which do not exhibit a
noun/verb-distinction), because here we observe the least formally
explicit rendering of a relation between a P'ANT and a P'ATUM, but
the function described, i.e. the task of identifying a semantic
predicate, is a function which pertains to verbal predicates just
as well, and therefore it is of relevance for the whole of the
dimension as a starting point. Verbs, of course, also carry other
marking than the one which makes them merely predicates (e.g. they
carry signs relating to the meaning "action" such as tense etc),
but there is no verb which is not a predicate at the same time.
This agrees with our assumption that the techniques on the "right"
(e.g. the P'ANT/P'ATUM:Noun/Verb-Distinction with respect to
POSITING P'ATION:logical predicates) imply the techniques on the
"left" and give more explicitness to the relation at the same time.

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[*]See Lehmann 1987:9, esp. footnote 4. who draws a connection be-
tween the role of a copula and inflection in making words predica-
tive. See also Himmelmann 1986 for the general requirements of
morphosyntactic predication.

We said above that the principles of indicativity (>tacit knowledge) and predicativity (>explicitness) are valid not only across the dimension, but also within each technique.

The number of options available for the identification of a semantic predicate (i.e. the most explicit task within POSITING P'ATION) provides proof for this assumption. Compare the following data:

One possibility of identifying the semantic predicate consists in predicate inflection, irrespective of the fact that in many languages this is at the same time a distinctive property of the verb vs the noun:

```
(8a) ama-t                'he loves'
LAT
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(Latin does not allow predicate inflection on its nouns, but cf Turkish:)

```
(8b1) sev-di              'he loved'
TUR   love-PAST(3SG)

(8b2) asker-di            'he was (a) soldier'  (Swift 1963:146)
TUR   soldier-PAST(3.SG)
```

The inflection may contain a former copulative element:

```
(8c1)      č -   n  ˘λ'i'q    lit. 'I am come'/'I come'
SQUAM  COP.PREF 1.SG ˘come                (Kuipers 1967:89)
      <*ča(?) 'do'/'act', Kuipers 1967:156

(8c2)      č -   n ˘ sui'?qa    'I am (a) man' (Kuipers 1967:89)
SQUAM  COP.PREF 1.SG ^man
```

The semantic predicates may alternatively be juxtaposed to referential/deictic elements:

```
(9a)    saya    jalan              'I go for a walk'
INDO    I         go (for a walk)

(9b)    on      mal'čik            'he (is a) boy'
RUSS    he      boy(NOM.SG.M)

(9c1)  'oku    mohe    ('a Sione)   lit.'(Sione) sleeps'
TONG   PRES    sleep     ABS Sione  'Sione is sleeping'
       IMPFV

(9c2)  'oku    tu'i    ('a Sione)   lit.'(Sione) kings'
TONG   PRES    king-   ABS Sione    'Sione is king'
       IMPFV
```

(9c3) *ko*   e   tu'i   ('a Sione)   'Sione is a king'
TONG PRESENTATIVE SPEC. king-
      CASE   ART

('oku as well as ko can be considered adverbial or adpredicative
deictic elements (such as now or here) which introduce verbal or
nominal predicates, respectively. ko is somewhat special inasmuch
as it figures in the same slot as prepositions, and therefore it
is called a case element. The prime participant need not be men-
tioned in order to obtain a sentence).

Finally, the identification of a semantic predicate may be achieved

with the help of a verbal copula, a so-called "logical predicate",

which gave the technique in question its second name:

(10a) I am a boy

(10b) I am walking

A verbal copula is the most explicit and truly "predicative" strate-

gy within POSITING P'ATION, while the examples (8) through (9) exem-

plify more deictic strategies; deixis is a least informative and at

the same time pragmatic information strategy: as such the deictic

strategies are truly "indicative". But on the whole the entire task

of identifying a semantic predicate is pretty much on the indicative

side. Even copulae are semantically very vague, and their main func-

tion consists in relating a semantic predicate to a point of re-

ference, that is to the speech act. As such, a copula fulfils a

dominantly pragmatic function, which is typical of indicative stra-

tegies. But still there can be no doubt that a copula is more

predicative than person or tense deictics. So there is variation

between predicativity and indicativity even in a technique which

is dominantly indicative.

It is interesting to note that certain words tend towards the indica-

tive/deictic pole, while others tend to prefer the predicative/ex-

plicit strategy. In fact, this is in many cases the foundation

for a noun/verb-distinction: verbs are most frequently inflected,

or juxtaposed to a deictic element, while nouns tend to require

copulae. There are three insights to be gained from this: first, the

present technique is truly the foundation of the next one on the

'right', since it correlates with verb-hood vs noun-hood, and second, words which are more inherently associated with the function "predicate" (notably verbs) need less explicit marking than words which are not (notably nouns). Generally speaking, inherence of a function will typically lead to a less explicit/predicative/marked strategy than non-inherence. Third, inherence of a function will often lead to a "centralized" marking on the word itself (by inflection), while non-inherence of a function will often lead to a "decentral" marking in the syntactic environment of the word in question.

To summarize, we can say that POSITING P'ATION ranges from practically no formal reflex of a P'ANT-P'ATUM-relation to the explicit identification of a semantic predicate. The latter can be conceived of as an expression of a property carried by a P'ANT, and hence it may be considered a P'ATUM-expression in the widest sense of the word. The referent noun then becomes a P'ANT-expression in the widest sense of the word. Though this is immediately on the borderline of the next technique (P'ANT VS P'ATUM : Noun/Verb-Distinction), the relation between a P'ANT and a P'ATUM is still essentially posited, because there is not necessarily a grammaticalized reflex of the a word class distinction between P'ANT- and P'ATUM-expressions. Therefore constructions with nominal predications (as well as constructions without a clear noun/verb-distinction) are explicitly allowed within this technique, while they are exempted from all the other techniques on the "right". As a consequence, we could even say that nominal predications are most typical for this technique, because this is the only technique they occur in. However, the task of identifying a semantic predicate applies to verbal predicates just as well. The fact that verbal predicates tend to choose a different strategy for being identified as predicates than nominal predicates (the former tend to be inflected while the latter often need copulae) shows that the present technique may serve as

the foundation of the next technique, which requires an explicit
identification of a verbal predicate (and not of a predicate in
general) as opposed to a nominal referent expression.

1.2. P'ANT VS P'ATUM : Noun/Verb-Distinction

This technique requires a formal differentiation of the words figur-
ing in an expression of a P'ANT and of a P'ATUM. As a consequence,
this technique does not allow constructions such as homo homini lupus
containing a nominal predicate lupus, which belongs to the same
word class as the referent expression homo. The typical case of
a clear distinction between a P'ATUM-term and a P'ANT-term results
from a categorical distinction between nouns and verbs.

Hence, the notion of a P'ATUM is typically associated with an acti-
vity or at least a state, as opposed to the "thing"-like notion of a
P'ANT, and this particular difference of meaning results most fre-
quently in a distinct formal treatment of the categories of verbs
and nouns, though the degree of the distinction is gradual (see
Broschart 1987).

While POSITING P'ATION could achieve no more than the formal iden-
tification of a (semantic) predicate (as opposed to the expression
of a referent), P'ANT vs P'ATUM identifies a verbal predicate-
P'ATUM (as opposed to a nominal referent-P'ANT).

It is quite clear that the present technique is more explicit/
predicative than the former, because a "verb(al predicate)" is a
subdivision of the category of "predicates" in general. A subdivision
or a new opposition is represented by a split in the symbolization
of the techniques on the right of the following diagrams:

(11)

Name of technique	most explicit task	symbolization
POSITING P'ATION : logical predicates	identification of semantic predicate (vs referent)	predicate (vs ref. identif. identif.)
	means: predicate inflection, juxtaposition, copulae ("logical predicates")	
P'ANT VS P'ATUM : Noun/Verb-Dist.	identification of verb(al predicate/P'ATUM) (vs nominal referent/P'ANT)	verb identif.(vs. noun) ident.)
	means: Noun/verb-differentiat- ing criteria; e.g. tense-inflection, tense juxtaposition, copulae, etc	

split=new opposition

As was true of the previous technique, there may be different de-
grees of inherence of the function to be fulfilled. In some lan-
guages there are lexical units which are naturally predisposed for
the function "verb", while others qualify as "nouns". In other
languages, though, the lexical units may not be predestined for a
particular function. Usually an inherent N/V-D is characterized
by an automatic morphological identification of the word classes,
while a non-inherent N/V-D is characterized by the contextual
identification of the categories in a sentence. In the latter case
we depend on the non-automatic, and quite often syntactic environ-
ment of the lexical units in question (see Broschart 1987:88-92).

Again there is a correlation between inherence of a function and
a more centralized identification (here inflection) and non-
inherence and a rather decentralized identification (identification
by the syntactic environment). The latter type is at the same time
more explicit and usually less grammaticalized (inflection is more
obligatory than a corresponding syntactic marking).

1.3. GENERALLY IMPLIED P'ANTS : Verb Classes ___ and ___
1.4. SPECIFICALLY IMPLIED P'ANTS : Valency

These techniques can be considered together, because they are
closely related. They are concerned with different TYPES OF P'ATA,
with particular emphasis on the involvement of P'ANTs. The full
name for (1.3) could actually be TYPES OF P'ATA/GENERALLY IMPLIED
P'ANTS, as parameters such as the dynamicity of the P'ATUM are
of concern, too, beside P'ANTs (s. Drossard 1986b, Lehmann 1988).

Speakers have a certain knowledge about different kinds of situa-
tions. Thus, if a speaker encounters a situation which, for in-
stance, could be called an "eating"-situation, he will expect a
certain number of participants according to his knowledge about
"eating-situations" he has encountered previously. This general
knowledge about kinds of situations leads to a linguistic cate-
gorization that we can term "verb classes" (for simplicity's sake
we will merely concern ourselves with the P'ANTstructure here, and
not discuss other parameters of verb class distinctions such as "dy-
namic"/stative", etc). Yet knowing that there is a particular number
and a particular kind of P'ANTs involved in a situation under dis-
cussion is not the same as saying that they are considered equally
relevant in every such situation encountered. Rather, the highest
degree of relevance is attributed to a P'ANT when it is fully speci-
fied as a noun phrase in the syntactic environment of the verb.

Since the mentioning of P'ANT-NPs in the syntactic environment of
the verb is a typical indicator of verbal "valency", we could say
that "valency"-related phenomena are more explicit than "verb
class"-phenomena in general, which do not necessarily require the
mentioning of P'ANTs in the syntax. It is an open question whether

it is possible to subsume valency under verb classes or verb classes under a more generalized concept of valency (Mosel 1984 suggests a fairly general concept of valency), but what is important is that there is a steady increase of specificness with regard to P'ANTs across the techniques under discussion. Consider the following examples which exhibit an increase of formally overt information with respect to the patient-role in the "sachverhalt":

```
(12a)   er     speiste   (*es)
GERM    he     dined     *it

(12b)   er     aß        (es)
GERM    he     ate       it

(12c)   it is other people who decide (that)

(12d)   ko            e      kakai    kehe        ia   'oku   nau
TONG  PRESENTATIVE  SPEC.  people-  different-  EMPH  PRES.  3.PL.AG
        CASE         ART                                     IMPFV

        fakakaukau-'i                [superfluous: ia (3.SG.ABSOLUTE)]
          think - TRANS:DEF.ACCENT               that

                                                  (Pesi Fonua, La'ā
                                                   mo 'uha, p.25)

        "it is other people who decide (that)"

(12e)   sie überdachten die Angelegenheit/es
GERM       they think-about the matter(ACC.SG.F)/it
        "the considered the matter/it"

(12f)   *sie überdachten
GERM
```

Though the verb <u>speisen</u> in German implies a patient role, the implication is exclusively lexical. It contains the same stem <u>speis-</u> as the word for food (<u>Speise</u>), but we cannot make out any individual reference to a P'ANT, and what is more, we are not even allowed to put an object next to <u>speisen</u>. The verb <u>essen</u> may take an object, but if it is irrelevant, it can be left out. The same goes for the verb <u>decide</u> in English. but the example from Tongan is different: though the patient is not necessarily specified in the syntax (in the absolute case) the verb contains a transitive affix, which clearly indicates the presence of a patient-role. The <u>-'i</u> is a formal indication of the fact that the situation under discussion <u>gene-</u>

<u>rally</u> implies a patient role, but the patient need not be mentioned if he is not of specific interest. The second <u>ia</u> ("that") in (12e) is thus quite superfluous.

<u>Überdenken</u>, then, is yet another matter: this word <u>must occur</u> with an object, regardless of whether the information contained in the object NP is of specific interest or not; however, the tendency is that a mere morphological index on the verb relating to a P'ANT <u>ge-nerally</u> implies a P'ANT, while the specific mentioning of a P'ANT as required by the verb usually means that the P'ANT is not only im-plied, but of <u>specific</u> interest as well. This is true, above all, when the reference is made by a non-proform.
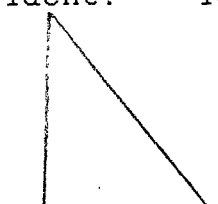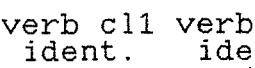
Generally speaking, in order to render the specifically implied P'ANTS of a relation one typically needs more formal machinery then would be the case with generally implied, but momentarily uninter-esting P'ANTs. Leaving aside the lexical information contained in <u>speisen</u>, which is the least explicit way of implying a P'ANT, the typical way of indicating the presence of a generally implied P'ANT consists in the morphological verb class affixation of a verb, while the typical way of rendering a specifically implied P'ANT consists in mentioning the P'ANT in question by means of a fully specified NP in the syntactic environment of a verb. The morphological marking, incidentally, may either be inflectional or derivational, or both:

(13a)   dǝ-l-bè-yt'
ABKH   him-she-see-FIN
           "she saw him"   (Hewitt 1979:81)

(13b)   olgeta kantris ol i laik-im man na meri citisens
T.PISIN   TR<(historically from Engl. <u>him</u>,
                                 but synchronically a derivation)

           "all countries appreciate both their male and female
           citizens" (Mühlhäusler 1986:242)

(13c)   u.l-ǝn-c   -ìn
KAL   burn-TR-2.PAT-1.AG
           'I burn you'   (Vogt 1940:36)

The present techniques figure on the "right" of POSITING P'ATION and P'ANT VS P'ATUM because they subdivide the category of verbs and predicates, respectively, as indicated by the split lines:

(14)   . (cont. from (11))

name of technique	most explicit task	symbolization
P'ANT VS P'ATUM (Noun/Verb-Distinction) 0	identification of verb(al predicate-P'ATUM) (vs nominal referent-P'ANT) means: <u>Noun/verb</u>-differ- entiating criteria: e.g. tense-inflection, tense- juxtaposition, copulae,etc	verb (vs noun) ident. ident.
GENERALLY IMPLIED P'ANTS (Verb class (marking))	establishing a reference to generally implied P'ANTs. means: <u>verb class</u>-marking: e.g. person inflection, verb class derivation	verb cl1 verbcl2 ident. ident.
SPECIFICALLY IMPL. P'ANTs (Valency)	establishing a reference to specifically implied P'ANTs means: <u>valency</u>-marking syntactically required NPs	valency valency pattern1 pattern2

split = new opposi-
tion

GENERAL FUNCTION OF THE TECHNIQUES ABOVE: ESTABLISHING THE MOST BASIC CATEGORIES (to be operated on later), UNLESS ALREADY INHERENTLY GIVEN.

Up to the technique of SPECIFICALLY IMPLIED P'ANTS : Valency the functions were either inherent in the centre of the construction, or they had to be established as fairly basic categories needed in P'ATION. The next techniques will add the possibility of <u>changing</u> of what was given or established as basic on the "left".

1.5. ORIENTATION : Diathesis, Inverse Inflection

Serzisko's notion of ORIENTATION can be defined as the directed-

ness of a P'ATUM-expression with respect to a P'ANT-expression it treats as most central, with emphasis on the processes involved in achieving and, above all, changing a particular directedness (cf. Serziko 1984:1-3).

This notion of 'directedness' may in some aspects overlap with transition? in order to keep the notions of ORIENTATION and TRANSITION apart as best as possible, I shall concentrate in my discussion on the aspect of the pragmatic orientation of a verb, involving formal strategies such as passive marking, inverse inflection, etc. According to this latter point of view it is the task of ORIENTATION to make a particular choice of perspective between a number of P'ANTs. There are some languages where a particular orientation is inherent in the verb (e.g. in the active, unmarked form of a German verb (s. (15a)), in others even a prime orientation is the result of an overt marking (e.g. in the Salish examples (16) an overt marking of transitivity leads at the same time to a prime orientation, which may be changed in Squamish by adding -m to the transitivized form (-m is at the same time an intransitive affix, which may occur right next to an unmarked stem (see Kuipers 1967:68))). The second option is the one we are dominantly interested in, i.e the possibility to change the least marked orientation of a verb (see esp.(15b) and 16c2)). The main domain of ORIENTATION, thus, is the change of orientation, and this is usually the most marked/explicit strategy within this technique. Compare the following examples:

(15a)   unmarked/AG-oriented   (15b)   marked/PAT-oriented
GERM

        X schlägt Y   vs   Y wird von X geschlagen
    AG   beats   (PATIENT)   PAT
    (=Subj)   (=Pass.subj)
      "X beats Y"   "Y is beaten by X"

(16)   unmarked, no orientation,
KAL   as witnessed by the following controversial examples):
          (the aspect i- in (16a2) is of no concern)

(16a1)   čin-ƛexúp
           1.SG.ITR-beat/win
           "I am beat" (Vogt 1940:151)   (prime P'ANT interpr. as PAT)

(16a2)   i-ƛexup   sančəlé
           ASPECT- beat/win(3)   coyote
           (suddenly,
        unexpectedly)
        "... coyote had won" (Vogt 1940:109/29) (prime P'ANT interpr.
                                                       as AG)

marked, (markedly transitive), leads to basic or. (AG-oriented)

(16b1a) ƛexúp-ən   (<* nt-ən)
        beat- 1.SG.AG.:TR   TR-1SG
        "I beat/win him/it" (Vogt 1940:151: 91:2)

(16b1b) cúis   t-sančəlé x̌ʷa.x̌ʷaá "coyote said to/[told] fox"
         say:TR:3.AG CASE-coyote fox   (Vogt 1940:68/199)

doubly marked (marked transitivity plus markedly non-basic orient.)
                                                     (PAT-orient.)

(16b2) cúntəm   sančəlé   "coyote was told.."
        say:TR:OR   coyote   (l.c.)

cf. Vogt 1940:68/199: "By this stylistic procedure coyote is con-
sistently pointed to as the "hero" of the tale". [Note that we can-
not simply refer to the case structure. Even the sentence translated
actively exhibits ergative traits, which makes the patient in (16b2)
the unmarked NP]. In the next examples also the case structure
changes:

marked, (markedly transitive), leads to basic orientation (AG-or.)

(16c1)   na č'ə'mʔ-t-as   ta sqʷma'iʔ   "he bit the dog"
SQUAM   TNS bite-TR-3.AG ART   dog   (Kuipers 1967:172)

doubly marked, (marked transitivity plus markedly non-basic or.)
                                                    (PAT-orient.)

(16c2)   na č'ə'mʔ-t-m   t-ta sqʷma'iʔ   "he was bitten by the
SQUAM   TNS bite-TR-OR   CASE-ART dog   dog" (l.c.)

Since one and the same verb of a particular verb/valency class may

allow different orientations, ORIENTATION can be said to add a
new subdivision to the verbal forms on the dimension of P'ATION.
Therefore, ORIENTATION figures on the "right" of the previous
techniques, as illustrated by the split in figure (17) under verb
class/valency pattern2 (symbolizing an unmarked transitive verb).
(17)

.(cont. from 14)

name of technique	most explicit task	symbolization
GENERALLY IMPLIED P'ANTS (Verb class (marking))	establishing a reference to generally implied P'ANTs.	
	means: <u>verb class-marking</u>: e.g. person inflection, verb class derivation	verb cl1 verbcl2 identif. ident.
SPECIFICALLY IMPL. P'ANTs (Valency)	establishing a reference to specifically implied P'ANTs	
	means: <u>valency-marking</u> syntactically required NPs	valency valency pattern1 pattern2

GENERAL FUNCTION OF THE TECHNIQUES ABOVE: ESTABLISHING
THE MOST BASIC CATEGORIES (to be operated on later),
UNLESS ALREADY INHERENTLY GIVEN.

ORIENTATION (Diathesis, Inverse Inflection, etc)	establishing and changing the verbal relation to a central P'ANT-NP	
	means: <u>orientational</u> marking; e.g. inverse inflection, (in)transitivization, auxiliaries	basic secondary orienta- orienta- tion tion

split = new opposition

The mechanisms employed in ORIENTATION as shown in the diagram are
numerous. Apart from inverse inflection (e.g. Algonquian) we also
find   particular types of derivation (e.g. Indonesian) or the
use of auxiliaries (cf even English with <u>I am beaten</u> vs <u>I have</u>
<u>beaten</u>). Very frequently, ORIENTATION employs means that reoccur
in the context of intransitivization and transitivization, and this
takes us right to the adjacent technique, TRANSITION (see below).

1.6. TRANSITION : (In)transitivization

The task of TRANSITION is to mark (in)transitivity. As long as
it merely marks basic (in)transitivity as in (36a) it is equiva-
lent to overt verb class marking (i.e. it coincides with GENERALLY
IMPLIED P'ANTs), but what we are mainly interested in is the possibi-
lity to <u>change</u> an unmarked transitive verb to a marked intransitive
and vice versa. Consider the following examples:

(18a)   er stieg auf den Berg   lit."he climbed on the mountain"
GERM   he climbed on the mountain(ACC.SG.M)

(18b)   er schlug auf den Tisch   "he hit on the table"
GERM   he beat   on the table(ACC.SG.M)

(18c)   *er stieg den Berg
GERM

(18d)   er schlug den Mann   "he beat/hit the man"
GERM   he   beat the man(ACC.SG.M)

(18e)   er be-stieg den Berg   "he climbed the moun-
GERM·   he TR-climb the mountain(ACC.SG.M)   tain"

In (18a,b) the verbs <u>steigen</u> (climb) and <u>schlagen</u> (beat) are
constructed with a prepositional object, i.e. they function basical-
ly intransitive. <u>Schlagen</u> may (and usually does) figure as a transi-
tive verb (s.(18d)), while <u>steigen</u> cannot. We need a <u>be-</u>deriva-
tion to make <u>steigen</u> transitive.

From the difference between (18a,d) and (18e) we can deduce that
TRANSITION is on the whole more predicative, i.e. more explicit,
than verb class techniques: within TRANSITION we do not only estab-
lish a transitive or intransitive verb class, but we may <u>change</u>
what is inherently given or more basic. Every change of what is
relatively basic requires comparatively greater effort. Thus
(18e) is more marked than (18d) in the same syntactic context.

TRANSITION can also be said to be more predicative than ORIENTATION,
if by "predicative" we do not only mean "more explicit", but also

"having effect on semantics":

Although (in)transitivization strategies are frequently employed
for ORIENTATION as well, there are certain orientational techniques
which hardly effect the semantics of the verb (e.g. inverse inflec-
tion). (In)transitivization, on the other hand, will always more
or less effect the meaning of the verb. This correlates, of course,
with the fact that inverse inflection is an <u>inflectional</u> device,
and (in)transitivization is (dominantly) a <u>derivational</u> device.
We shall see later that the morphological marking employed by the
techniques of P'ATION tends to be dominantly inflectional on the
"left" and derivational on the "right". The meaning is affected on
the "right", while on the "left" it is the categories which are
identified by morphological (inflectional) marking.

Another difference between ORIENTATION and TRANSITION is the fact
that ORIENTATION hardly introduces a distant P'ANT to the relation;
usually it works the other way round: a central P'ANT is made more
distant by centralizing another. Within TRANSITION, by way of con-
trast, the transitivization of a relation may introduce fairly dis-
tant P'ANTs. In fact, transitivization may be employed instead of an
explicitly causative derivation, which always introduces the most
distant P'ANT to a relation, namely the causator (see (19a.b)):

```
(19a)              bik-im
T.PISIN            big-TRANS(here interpreted as causative)
                   "(to) make big" (Mühlhäusler 1986:186)

(19b)        Y         i     bik-im      X
T.PISIN   CAUSATOR  PRED.MRK big-TR/CAUS CAUSEE
             "Y makes X big"
```

To summarize, TRANSITION explicitly marks (in)transitivity, and ulti-
mately it may turn basic (in)transitives into their respective coun-
terparts. Apart from <u>changing</u> basic categories, it may introduce re-
latively distant P'ANTs, and thereby <u>expand</u> the relation. Here it

shows overlap with the next techniques, which are all con-
cerned with more distant P'ANTs.

TRANSITION may be marked in a number of ways, though the marking is
most typically morphological (see (18e)). Sometimes, however,
it may suffice to simply use a transitive paradigm or put a syn-
tactic object next to a verb which does not accept an object when it
has an "intransitive" meaning.
In such cases it is often difficult to decide whether we are
dealing with the same verb or not. Compare:

(20a1) I suffered   (20b1) I suffered it

(20a2) ich litt   (20b2) ich er-litt es
GERM   I suffered   I   TR-suff. it

This shows that in TRANSITION, too, we find more or less predicative
strategies. The German er-leiden is more explicitly derived from
the intransitive leiden than the English suffer (tr) from suffer
(itr).

Diagram (21) illustrates the relationship of ORIENTATION and
TRANSITION: a verb of basic orientation (e.g. a verb of verb class/
valency pattern2 oriented towards the AGENT) may be a basic
transitive (e.g. GERM. schlagen (to beat)) or derived (e.g. be-
steigen (to climb)) [hence the split beneath basic orientation].
Secondary (non-basic) orientation may correspond to secondary
(in)transitivization [hence the connecting line between secondary
orientation and secondary (in)transitivity]:

(21)	. cont. from (17)	
name of technique	explicit task	symbolization

ORIENTATION :
Diathesis, Inverse
Inflection, etc)

establishing and changing
the verbal relation to
a central P'ANT-NP

	means: <u>orientational</u> marking; e.g. inverse inflection, (in)transitivization, auxiliaries	basic orienta- tion	secondary orienta- tion

TRANSITION:
(In)transitivization

establishing and changing
(in)transitivity, suppres-
sion or introduction of
a patient or agent

basic
(in)transi-
tivity

secondary
(intransi-
tivity)

means: typically deriva-
tional (in)transitivizers;
sometimes merely change to
(in)transitive paradigm or
addition of syntactic object

GENERAL FUNCTION OF THE ABOVE TWO TECHNIQUES: ALLOW-
ING THE CHANGE OF THE BASIC CATEGORIES. TRANSITION   split=new opposition
ALSO BEGINS TO EXPAND THE RELATION

1.7. ROLE ASSIGNMENT : Case Marking   and

1.8. INTRODUCTION OF P'ANTS : Serial Verb Constructions

ROLE ASSIGNMENT may - just like the functions of the techniques on

the "left" - be an inherent property of the verb. This is especially

true in connection with the prime participant. The subject in Eng-

lish, for instance, obtains its semantic role almost exclusively

from the verb, and not from case marking or word order (word order

is far more concerned with the pragmatic role of the subject than

with its semantic role). In fact, the first NP is almost unrestric-

ted in terms of semantic roles. Compare

(22a) the man hit a dog   (22b) the man suffered a blow
      AGENT   PATIENT   PAT/   FORCE
                                          EXPERIENCER

The object in English is pretty free of restrictions, too.

But more distant P'ANTs, such as instruments, may require addi-

tional specification, and here ROLE ASSIGNMENT becomes overt and

explicit:

(23) the man hit the dog <u>with</u> a stick
     AGENT   PATIENT   INSTRUMENT

<u>With</u> represents a prepositional case marking strategy, which helps
to identify the role of the stick in (23), and which, on the
other hand, introduces a relatively distant P'ANT to the relation.
The introduction of relatively distant P'ANTs is actually very
typical of adpositional case marking. More central P'ANTs receive
either no case marking at all (then word order may take over some
of the identification) or they may take highly grammaticalized case
affixes which convey relatively little information, but which are
usually governed by the verbs.

As with the other techniques we have discussed so far, the second
name of the technique (here "case marking") mentions only one
of the options available for a particular function. A quite
interesting counterpart to case marking within ROLE ASSIGNMENT is
represented by "indirect marking" on verbs. It appears that the
main difference between case marking (which is not part of the verb)
and indirect marking (which does occur in the centre of the relation)
is the fact that the latter strategy tends to give more pragmatic
prominence to the P'ANT in question, and thereyby raises the P'ANT
to the centre of attention.

We could say that a centralized marking represents a conceptual cen-
tralization, and it also has some similarity with orientational and
transitivizing processes. Compare Tagalog, which uses "indirect mar-
king" or "focus marking" on the verb to assign a role to the unmarked
<u>ang</u>-phrase, which is the most central and most grammaticalized
P'ANT-phrase. The predicate can be partially likened to participial
constructions in our languages; I owe the examples to W. Drossard
(pers.comm.):

(24a)   b-um-ili   ang   lalaki ng saging
  TAG   -AG.FOC-buy   man   CASE banana
          lit."(a) buying (one) (is) the man of (a) banana"
              "the man bought a banana" ("focus" on the man)

```
(25b)      b-in-ili          ng    lalaki    ang      saging
TAG        -PAT.FOC-buy  CASE  man               banana
           lit."(a) bought (one) of the man (is) the banana"
           (approximately: "the banana was bought by the man"
           ("focus" on the banana)

(25c)      i-b-in-ili        ng lalaki  ang   bata   ng saging
TAG                          CASE man          child  CASE banana
           BEN.FOC-buy
           lit. "at-bought of the man (is) the child of (a) banana"
           (approximately: "the child was bought a banana by the man"
     ,     ("focus" on the child).
```

It must be emphasized, therefore, that "indirect marking" (i.e.
ROLE ASSIGNMENT by means of verbal affixation) is a more centraliz-
ing technique than actual case marking (i.e. marking on the P'ANT).
Generally speaking, a more centralized marking (especially mor-
phological marking on the verbal centre) apparently corresponds to
a more centralized conceptualization of the relation, while distant
marking in the syntactic environment of the centre denotes what is
conceived of as being in a rather distant relationship.
But both extremes can be employed within the same technique, i.e.
ROLE ASSIGNMENT, and languages may differ in the degree they give
prominence to either strategy. Therefore the conceptualizations
cannot be totally distinct, but every time we find variation within
the same language (as is the case in Tagalog) it is the centralized
marking which represents the most central relation.

The following data from Tongan show the close interaction of the
options of indirect marking and case marking, and they also contain
proof for the similarity of the present technique with the former
one, i.e. TRANSITION. Note the 'i-, which is a transitive affix,
a patient-role "focus", and homonymous with the locative case
occuring in similar relations:

```
(26a)    'oku        'ofa   ('a) e  siana.            'i    he         fefine
TONG    PRES.IMPFV love- ABS ART man:DEF.ACCT  LOC   ART(obl) woman:
                                                                    D.ACCT
         "the man loves the woman"

(26b)    'oku       'ofa-'i     'e   he        siana   ('a)  e   fefine
TONG PRES.IMPFV love-TR/    ERG ART(obl) man:DEF.  ABS  ART woman:D.
               PAT.FOC                          ACCT                ACCT
         "the man loves the woman very much"
```

In the second example _fefine_ has been promoted from its distant
position to the most grammaticalized case relation, the absolute
case. At the same time the relation is semantically more transitive
than in (26a).

When we move on from ROLE ASSIGNMENT : Case Marking to INTRO-
DUCTION OF P'ANTS : Serial Verb Constructions we definitely give
more prominence to the introduction of distant P'ANTs which are
to _stay_ distant, than to P'ANTs which are to be centralized.
Paul (1982) demonstrates the gradual transition from serial verbs to
case marking, while in (26) we were able to observe a close rela-
tionship between case marking as an index on the noun and indirect
marking as part of the verb. This illustrates the interdependence
of the techniques in question, though the functions are different.

Serial verbs are, of course, more predicative than adpositional
cases. Not only do serial verbs often allow more oppositions than
cases, but they are also more "predicative" in the sense that they
can often function as free predicates, which represents the
highest degree of "predicativity", and this means that they add
a maximum of semantic content to the relation.

To resume, we can say that from ROLE ASSIGNMENT onward there is a
large increase of decentralizing options for the fulfilment of
the techniques in question, though certain centralizing options
such as indirect marking are not excluded. ROLE ASSIGNMENT ex-
plicitly marks the role relationship between a P'ATUM and a P'ANT,
and INTRODUCTION OF P'ANTS introduces P'ANTs that are not normally
inherent in the P'ATUM. These techniques, which formally involve
a continuum from indirect marking via case marking on the noun to
serial verbs, dominantly _expand_ the relation, while ORIENTATION
and TRANSITION dominantly _change_ a basic relation which was the
output of the techniques on the far "left".

Our diagram, so far, looks as follows:

(27)
                           : cont. from (21)

GENERAL FUNCTION OF THE TECHNIQUES BELOW: EXPANSION
OF THE RELATION

name of technique	most explicit function	symbolization
ROLE ASSIGNMENT : Case Marking	assigning roles to P'ANTS: joining of distant P'ANTS to the relation	
	means: indirect marking, morphological case (on noun), adpositional case marking	basic P'ANTs distant P'ANTs
INTRODUCT. OF P'ANTS : Serial Verb Constr.	introduction of P'ANTS not inherent in verb- relation	little inherent not inh. P'ANTs P'ANTs
	means: adpositional case mrk, serial verbs	split = new opposition

1.9. CAUSE AND EFFECT : Causatives

This technique introduces the most peripheral participant to an
event, namely the CAUSATOR, and begins to mark the overall event as
a complex one. Yet the degree by which all these criteria are made
explicit varies a good deal: Premper (1988) has shown that there is
a continuum between lexical causation (e.g. kill), where causation
is a matter of the lexicon only, via derivations such as töten on a
basic word tot ('dead') up to complex constructions such as cause so.
to die. We could also mention intermediate constructions such as

(28)   he died of malaria

with the causator being introduced by case marking, and a good many
constructions which are overtly transitive, but which are interpre-
ted as causatives:

```
(29)          Y          i      bik-im        X
T.PISIN    CAUSATOR  PRED.MRK big-TR/CAUS CAUSEE
            "Y makes X big"
```

This shows that causation stands in connection with everything that went before. What we are interested in, however, are the constructions which go beyond everything on the "left":

The following data reveal the relative complexity of causation in comparison with the techniques on the left:

```
(29a1) tot                (29b1) muli              (29c1)  boil; pas
GERM   dead               TONG   strange          T.PISIN boil; fixed
       "dead"                    "strange"

(29a2) schlagen           (29b2) ta/taa-'i         (29c2)  hol-im   *hol-
GERM    beat              TONG    beat-TR          T.PISIN hold-TR
       "beat"                    "beat"
                                                   (29c3a) boil-im
                                                   T.PISIN boil-TR/CAUS
                                                           "bring to the boil"

(29a3) t-ö-ten            (29b3) faka-muli-'i      (29c3b) mek-pas
GERM   -CAUS(Umlaut)-dead TONG   CAUS-strange-TR T.PISIN  CAUS-fixed
       "kill"                    "alienate"               "fasten"

                                                   (29c3c) yu mek-im sam wara
                                                   SAM.PL.you make-TR some wa-
                                                   PIDGIN                    ter

                                                         i       boil
                                                   PRED.MRK boli
                                                   "bring some water to the
                                                   boil" (Mühlhäusler
                                                   1986:184)
```

In contrast to the unmarked transitive verb <u>schlagen</u> ('beat',(29a1)) <u>töten</u> ((29a3), 'kill') is derived on the basis of an intransitive verb. <u>Faka-muli-'i</u> (29b3) contains a causative prefix in addition to a transitive suffix <u>-'i</u> also present in the transitive <u>taa-'i</u> ((29b2),'beat') and always lacking in the intransitive <u>muli</u> 'strange' (29b1).

From this follows that causatives may add a particularly causative form on top of a transitive affix (see (29b)), or to an unmarked transitive verb (cf. (29a)). Intransitive verbs are usually unmarked (unless explicitly derived from a transitive verb). Causatives,

therefore, are never less marked than transitives and intransitives, respectively. At best they may be marked identically, but even then the marking for causative relations is least grammaticalized, which means that it has a maximum effect on the semantics of the basic. unmarked verb form, which exists alongside the derived verb. (The causative derivation is therefore not obligatory). Consider the following:

Mek-pas (29c3b) is the first morphological causative in Tok Pisin, originating from a complex construction mek sam wara i boil (29c3c) in Samoan Plantageon Pidgin English (Mühlhäusler 1986:184). Mek-pas is opposed to an intransitive pas. Later the dominant strategy of coding causative situations became the suffixing of -im <him, which does not differ from the transitive affix in hol-im (29c2), except that there is no intransitive *hol. Thus, boil-im (29c3a) ('bring to the boil') is not overtly causative, it is merely overtly transitivized; the rest is a matter of interpretation, which is no doubt based on the fact that there is an intransitive form boil (29c1), which makes boil-im at least a transitivized, and not merely transitive verb. (i.e. it is primarily subject to TRANSITION, and only secondarily to GENERALLY IMPLIED P'ANTS). Hol-im, on the other hand, represents an overtly marked transitive verb lacking an intransitive counterpart, and as such it is dominantly subject to the technique of GENERALLY IMPLIED P'ANTS:verb classes, and only secondarily to TRANSITION. The above shows that transitivization is less obligatory than marking of transitivity. The less obligatory a particular marking is with respect to the grammar as a whole, the less it is grammaticalized, and there is a tendency that the constructions on the "right", if they are morphological, often become ideosyncratic. This is precisely what happened to mekpas: This form of a causative simply did not catch on, while the -im-strategy took over its function, without being as explicitly causative, of course, as the mek-derivation. It is also interesting that the deverbal mek-

form is more clearly derivational than the -im-form originating from
English him. Being derivational, the techniques on the "right" are
the ones which affect the verbal semantics far more strongly than
the ones on the left.

Outside of verbal morphology the dominance of the semanticity/predi-
cativity principle is visible in the growing complexity of the con-
structions, making use of more and more verbal elements, which are
maximally "predicative" and "semanticized". The following example

```
(29c3c)          yu mek-im sam   wara  i         boil
SAM.PL.PIDGIN    you make-TR some water PRED.MRK  boil
                 "bring some water to the boil"
```

for instance, contains two verbal elements. As was true of the other
techniques, it does make a difference whether the speaker chooses
to render a particular situation by using an affigated verb or by
a construction where the relation is less centralized:

I may mean the same.thing when I say

```
(30a)   er hat ihn ge-t-ö-t-et                   /er t-ö-tete      ihn
GERM    he has him PART-CAUS(Uml)-dead-PART/ he -CAUS(Uml)-dead  him
                    "he killed him"
```

or (using a construction bordering on complex sentences)

```
(30b)        er hat ihn sterben lassen/er ließ ihn sterben,
GERM         he has him die      let  /he  let him    die
                  "he let him die"
```

but more typically the first one is a stronger accusation than the
second: in (30b) the CAUSATOR is more remotely involved.than in
(30a). Centralized marking corresponds to cognitive centralization,
decentralized marking corresponds to cognitive decentralization, me-
diated, of course, by a margin of free variation.

Our diagram now looks as follows:

      (31)

                           . cont. from (27)

GENERAL FUNCTION OF THE TECHNIQUES BELOW: EXPANSION
OF THE RELATION

name of technique	most explicit function	symbolization
ROLE ASSIGNMENT : Case Marking	assigning roles to P'ANTS; joining of distant P'ANTS to the relation	
	means: indirect marking, morphological case (on noun), prepositional case marking	basic P'ANTs distant P'ANTs
INTRODUCT. OF P'ANTS : Serial Verb Constr.	introduction of P'ANTS not inherent in verb- relation	
	means: especially adpo- sitional case marking and serial verbs	little inherent non-inh. P'ANTs P'ANTs
CAUSE AND EFFECT : Causatives	introduction of causator to caused event	
	means: morphological causatives, oblique case marking, complex sentences	non-inh. P'ANT= CAUSATOR
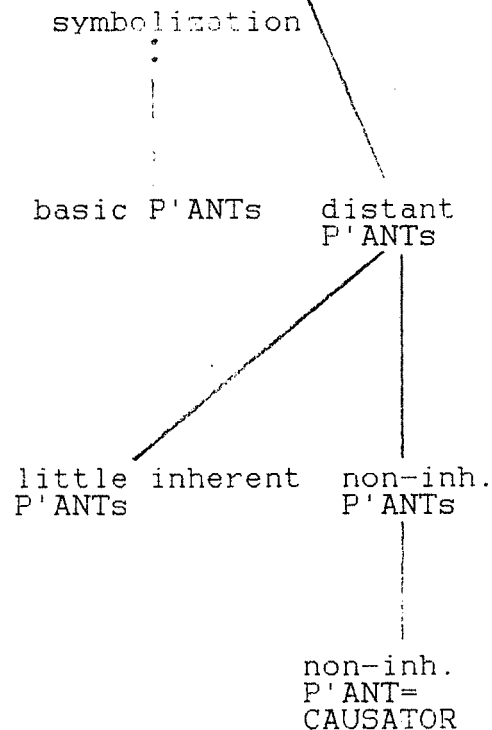
                               split=new opposition

1.10. COMPLEX P'ATA : Complex Sentences

The function of this technique is to give formal expression

to the complexity of an event, and this is best achieved by

complex sentences. It is true that already some causatives such as

töten show some degree of complexity with regard to a basic event

contained in the stem tot, but the very fact that the construction

is a morphological one emphasizes the sense of unity holding across
the event. It is a complex sentence that is a decentralized, syn-
tactic concatenation, which clearly expresses the concept of complex-
ity. At the same time it represents the highest degree of explicit-
ness possible on the dimension of P'ATION. When we look again at the
common borderline between complex sentences and causatives with
examples such as

(32a)   he caused her to die

and compare this with

(32b)   er tötete   sie
GERM   he -CAUS(Uml)-dead her
         "he killed her"

and

(32c)   he killed her

we can see how an increase of formal complexity goes hand in hand
with an increase of the conceptual complexity:

(32a)   he caused her to die

will always be understood as a complex event, and, what is more, the
relation of causation is a far weaker one than what we would nor-
mally associate with the other examples. Yet note that the opposite
claim is not correct: it would be wrong to say that people will ne-
ver conceive of kill as a complex event and that kill will always
represent a stronger causative situation than the complex sentence;
it is simply unmarked with respect to complexity and strength, and
this is the reason why it is sometimes possible to use the complex
construction as a paraphrase of kill, as is often done in linguistic
descriptions. But of course the unmarked category can also mean the
opposite of the complex one - in our case that kill is intended to
represent an event which is dominantly felt as merely transitive,
with a strong involvement of both participants, and then the para-
phrase by an explicitly causative, complex and non-direct con-
struction is inadequate. The unmarked status of kill represents the

principle of "indicativity", i.e. reference to tacit knowledge (<u>kill</u> is a <u>lexical</u> causative only), while the marked status of <u>cause so.</u> <u>to die</u> represents the principle of "predicativity", i.e. formal explicitness (the construction is grammatically complex). Of course, indicativity is not altogether absent, though. We still have to refer to our tacit lexical knowledge (here of the verb <u>to cause</u>), but our interpretation is guided by the explicit construction, too.
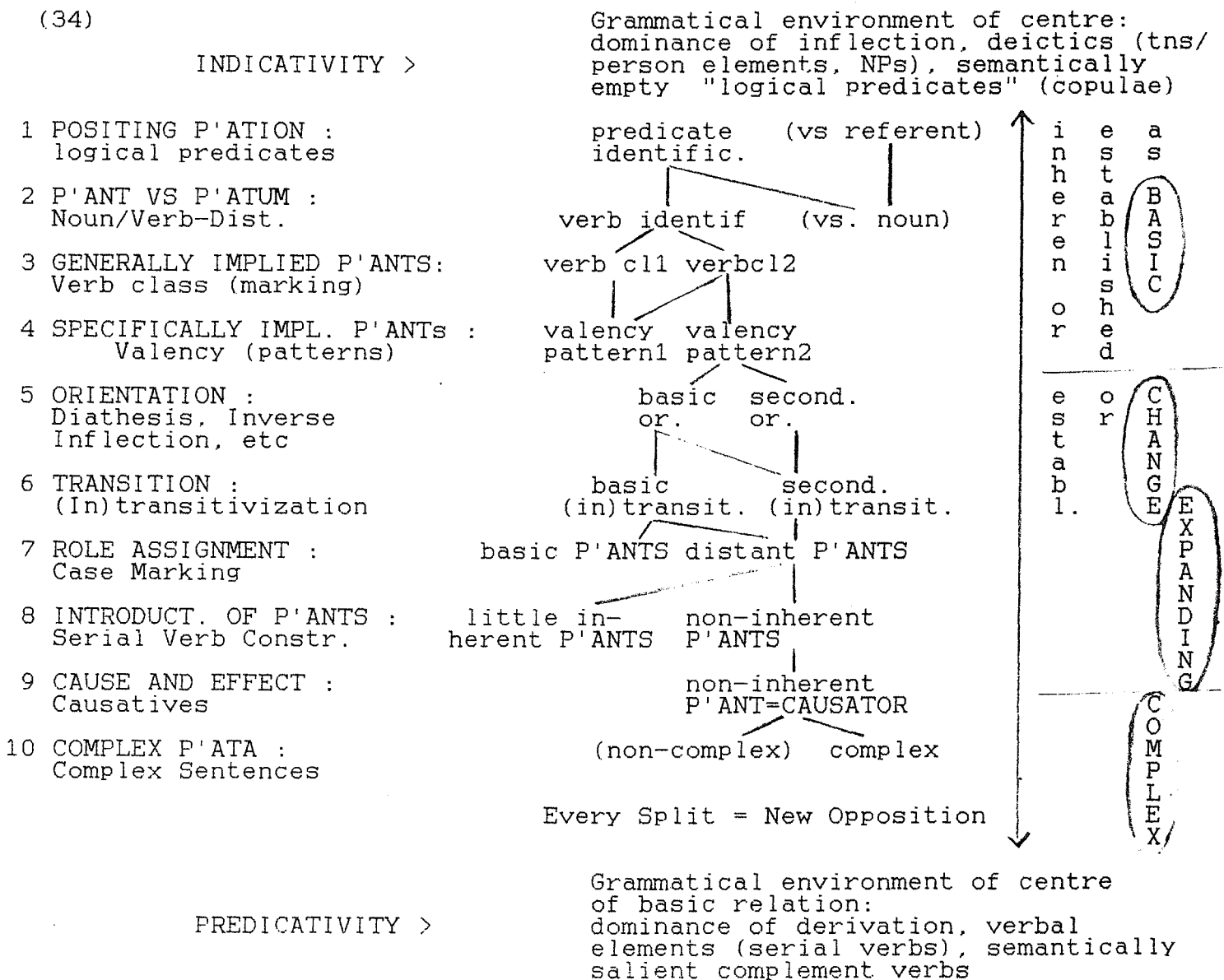
We conclude our diagram as follows:

(33)   .   (cont. from 31)
                                         .

name of technique	most explicit task	symbolization
CAUSE AND EFFECT : Causatives	introduction of causator to caused event	
	means: morphological <u>causatives</u>, oblique case marking, complex sentences	non-inh. P'ANT= CAUSATOR
COMPLEX P'ATA : Complex Sentences	creating a complex relation	
	means: <u>complex sentences</u>	(non-complex vs) complex

GENERAL FUNCTION OF THE LAST TECHNIQUE: MARKING
OF COMPLEXITY   split=new opposition

At this point we are able to summarize our discussion of the principles operating on the dimension of P'ATION.

2. The validity of the principles

2.1. A summary of the techniques

An overall diagram of the functions of the techniques is illustrated in (34) (for details see (11,14,17,21,27,31,33)):

(34)

INDICATIVITY >

Grammatical environment of centre:
dominance of inflection, deictics (tns/
person elements, NPs), semantically
empty "logical predicates" (copulae)

```
1 POSITING P'ATION :           predicate    (vs referent)  ↑  i    e    a
  logical predicates           identific.                     n    s    s
                                      |             |          h    t   ⎛B⎞
2 P'ANT VS P'ATUM :                   |             |          e    a   ⎜A⎟
  Noun/Verb-Dist.              verb identif    (vs. noun)      r    b   ⎜S⎟
                                     / \                       e    l   ⎜I⎟
3 GENERALLY IMPLIED P'ANTS:     verb cl1 verbcl2               n    i   ⎝C⎠
  Verb class (marking)              |    /                          s
                                    |   /                      o    h
4 SPECIFICALLY IMPL. P'ANTs :   valency  valency              r    e
      Valency (patterns)        pattern1 pattern2                  d
                                        / \
5 ORIENTATION :                    basic  second.             e    o  ⎛C⎞
  Diathesis, Inverse               or.    or.                 s    r  ⎜H⎟
  Inflection, etc                   |    /                     t       ⎜A⎟
                                    |   /                      a       ⎜N⎟
6 TRANSITION :                   basic    second.              b       ⎜G⎟
  (In)transitivization        (in)transit. (in)transit.       l.     ⎝E⎠⎛E⎞
                                        |                                 ⎜X⎟
7 ROLE ASSIGNMENT :          basic P'ANTS distant P'ANTS                  ⎜P⎟
  Case Marking                      /        |                            ⎜A⎟
                                    /         |                           ⎜N⎟
8 INTRODUCT. OF P'ANTS :     little in-    non-inherent                   ⎜D⎟
  Serial Verb Constr.        herent P'ANTS P'ANTS                         ⎜I⎟
                                            |                             ⎜N⎟
9 CAUSE AND EFFECT :                    non-inherent                     ⎝G⎠
  Causatives                            P'ANT=CAUSATOR                    ⎛C⎞
                                            / \                           ⎜O⎟
10 COMPLEX P'ATA :             (non-complex)  complex                     ⎜M⎟
   Complex Sentences                                                      ⎜P⎟
                                                                          ⎜L⎟
                             Every Split = New Opposition  ↓              ⎝E⎠
                                                                          ⎝X⎠
```

Grammatical environment of centre
of basic relation:

PREDICATIVITY >

dominance of derivation, verbal
elements (serial verbs), semantically
salient complement verbs

This diagram represents the following observations:

1) The most explicit function of POSITING P'ATION is the identification of a semantic predicate, regardless of whether it is a nominal predicate or a verbal one. [More accurately, an expression for a property carried by someone is identified; this is usually called a (semantic) predicate]. The ways to do so range from inflection via juxtaposition to copulae; as a representative of these options we have chosen the name "logical predicates". For morphosyntactic predication see Himmelmann 1986.

2) In P'ANT VS P'ATUM the nominal predicates are excluded, and what remains are verbal predicates which contrast with nouns in referential/P'ANT position. Any subdivision is a step towards more explicitness. [More accurately, action-P'ATA-expressions are distinguished from P'ANT-expressions, and typically this corresponds to a differentiation between verbs (as P'ATUM-expressions) and nouns (as P'ANT--expressions). The second name of the technique ("Noun/Verb-Distinction") refers to this most typical linguistic strategy. The ways to differentiate between a noun/P'ANT and a verb/P'ATUM are discussed extensively in Broschart 1987.

3) In GENERALLY IMPLIED P'ANTs and
4) SPECIFICALLY IMPLIED P'ANTs

the verbal predicates are subclassified according to TYPES OF P'ATA with particular emphasis on the P'ANT-structure of the events as conceived by the speaker. (Alongside of the P'ANT-structure we are also interested in the dynamicity of the event, etc). SPECIFICALLY IMPLIED P'ANTS must be mentioned in the sentence by explicit NPs (as a result of valency), while GENERALLY IMPLIED P'ANTS need only be referred to by verb class affixes. Thus SIP is more explicit than GIP. The sub-

classification is dominantly morphological on the verb for GIP (verb class marking) and dominantly syntactic with respect to the verb for SIP (valency patterns). Verb classes are discussed in Lehmann 1988 and Drossard 1986, Mosel (1984) proposes a very general concept of valency which in my framework would incorporate GIP and SIP.

The above techniques provide comparatively basic (unmarked) ways of describing events. The following techniques change these basic categories.

5) ORIENTATION is the "directedness" of a verb-P'ATUM with regard to a P'ANT-expression it treats as most central. Usually this relates to choices of perspective. In most cases an unmarked basic orienta- tion is opposed to a marked orientation for one and the same verb of a particular verb class. This additional option, which involves a change of what is given, introduces a new opposition, which is a further step towards predicativity. The ways to achieve ORIENTATION are numerous: they range from inverse inflection via derivation to an interplay of auxiliaries and case marking, but in the latter case the actual P'ATUM is hardly affected. For ORIENTATION see Serzisko 1984. and for passives see Ono 1988.

6) TRANSITION involves an unmarked notion of (in)transitivity beside a marked one. Quite frequently, verbs which are basically transitive can be converted into marked intransitives, and vice versa. These techniques are, therefore. ways to change basic verb classes. TRANSI- TION goes beyond ORIENTATION inasmuch as it affects the semantics of the relation more strongly than ORIENTATION. and also because TRANSI- TION may introduce a distant P'ANT to the relation; i.e. the relation is not only changed, but expanded. too.
The ways to achieve TRANSITION are frequently derivative, but some- times it may suffice to change the inflectional paradigm or the syn-

tactic environment by adding an object NP, for instance.
For (in)transitivization see Drossard 1987.

7) ROLE ASSIGNMENT and
8) P'ANT INTRODUCTION

are typical for the introduction of relatively distant P'ANTs, thus the relation is further <u>expanded</u>. Thus it adds information to anything that went before, and consequently, the relation of P'ATION is made even more explicit than with TRANSITION. The latter, it is true, <u>may</u> also introduce a distant P'ANT, but usually it simply centralizes a P'ANT which was there before. If ROLE ASSIGNMENT is achieved by morphological "indirect marking" on the verb, the otherwise distant P'ANT is usually treated as somewhat more central than if ROLE AS-SIGNMENT is achieved by case marking on the noun or serial verb constructions. The options of indirect marking are usually fewer than the case marking options, and the possibilities open to serial verbs are potentially greater than for case marking. Thus there is an increase of predicativity in the direction of serial verbs. (Of course there may be languages which hardly possess any serial verbs or case marking, and where a considerable number of relations are expressed by means of indirect marking; my statement applies to cross-linguistic comparisons of the kind that languages with many serial verbs have potentially more serial verbs than languages with many cases have cases). For case marking see Drossard 1986a/1988.

9) CAUSE/EFFECT introduces the most distant P'ANT, a CAUSATOR. This is, so to speak, the ultimate <u>expansion</u> of the relation, and as such it marks the end of what began with transitivization and was continued by ROLE ASSIGNMENT and P'ANT INTRODUCTION. For this purpose, causative derivations as well as concrete case constructions and complex sentences may be employed. For causatives see Premper 1987 and 1988.

10) COMPLEX P'ATA explicitly refer to an event as <u>complex</u>. The typical
    strategy are complex sentences, which by their very nature are more
    complex and explicit than any non-complex structure. For complex
    sentences see Brettschneider 1984.

Even more generally speaking,

[1] differs from [2] by subdividing the general class of predicates
into verbal predicates (as opposed to nominal predicates and nominal
referents).

[3 and 4] divide the general word class of verbs into separate clas-
ses of verbs. [4] differs from [3] inasmuch as it requires the men-
tioning of P'ANTS in the syntactic environment of the verbs, while
in [3] the verbs only have to be compatible with such expressions.

[5] gives a member of a particular verb/valency class the choice of
orientation, so that instead of having just a transitive verb (see
verb/valency pattern2) we could have a transitive A-oriented verbform
vs a transitive P-oriented verbform (unless orientation leads to in-
transitivization). [5] cannot figure on the "left" of [3 and 4] be-
cause there is no language which allows orientation before the lan-
guage does not at least allow a basic transitive construction.
[1,2,3,4] can be regarded as fairly basic categories, which from [5]
onward can be changed or expanded.

With [6], especially with transitivization, we begin to expand a
basic relation, apart from changing verb classes.

[7 and 8] continue to expand the relation ([8] more so than [7]), and
increasingly allow the syntactic environment of the P'ATUM-expression
to provide information about the relation.

[9] introduces the most distant P'ANT, whose role is relatively rare-
ly determined by the verb, and leads over to

[10] which breaks with unity and creates a complex relation.

As far as the kind of marking is concerned, we observe that mor-
phological marking in [1,2] is dominantly inflectional (predicate
and verb inflection), while it is clearly derivational in [9]
(causative derivation). In between there is variation (cf inverse
inflection vs orientation-related intransitivization).

As far as free words in the environment of the central term are
concerned, they may be deictic (tense, person) in [1,2], but have to
be verbal in [8,9,10] (serial verbs, complement verbs etc).
If [1] employs a verbal word as a supporter of the main word (e.g.
a copula), the copula etc is still vaguer in terms of semantics than
the verbs employed in [8,9,10].

In addition, the marking in [1,2,3] tends to be part of the
verb- or predicate phrase, while e.g. case marking and serial verbs
etc are more independent and more on the periphery of the centre.

Furthermore, the more basic patterns of the constructions reoccur
more frequently than the derived or complex ones.

From the above it is easy to draw the relevant conclusions with
regard to the validity of the postulated principles:

a) Indicativity vs Predicativity

Indicativity, so far, was characterized mainly by the absence of predicativity or explicitness, respectively. But there is a positive way of defining indicativity, too. We have noted above that deictic markings (inflectional or syntactic) are frequent on the left. The markings (such as tense or person etc) are above all of a pragmatic nature, i.e. they refer to the speech act.

Deixis is always typical of an "indicative" principle of merely pointing at what is there without describing it in detail. This is why "indicativity" is a well chosen term for the left of the dimension: there is a dominance of the deictic principle in the formal categories. Note, by contrast, that the causative derivation mek- in Tok Pisin, figuring on the "right" of the dimension, lacks this ingredient of deixis: rather, it stems from the English verb make, i.e. a word which used to be employed as a regular predicate: hence, "predicativity" is a good word to catch the increasing "verbalness" of the affixes and function words employed.

Another reading of "indicativity" vs "predicativity" corresponds to what we have termed earlier as "reference to tacit knowledge" vs "explicitness": This applies to the domains of the usage of the constructions in question. In this metalinguistic sense, both poles of the dimension are subject to pragmatic considerations:

It is by no means accidental that POSITING P'ATION, i.e. the most indicative technique, is typically associated with nominal predica- tions, which are frequently employed in the context of eternal truths or proverbs:

(6)   homo homini lupus,
as a nominal predication, has the advantage of serving as a shortcut

for lenghthy predications, and therefore it works well as a pro-
verb. The drawback of proverbs, of course, i.e. the reference to
common knowledge as an act of "indicativity", is that the content
is far too general to be precise enough in a specific situation,
and this is why we consider people using proverbs all the time such
terrible bores. What we need most of the time are more explicit
statements adequate for a particular situation.

Conversely, it is hardly accidental that complex sentences are prac-
tically never employed as proverbs. We do find them, rather, in
scientific literature. If one wishes to find such odd constructions
as
(32a)   he caused her to die
one has to look at linguistic or philosophical textbooks, where
analysis is more important than elsewhere. Complexity arises from
a specific interest in the details, while proverbial expressions
only give the most general information. That "general" is opposed
to "specific" can also be observed in the neighbouring techniques
of "generally implied P'ANTs" vs "specifically implied P'ANTs.

We may add that within each technique, too, the options for each
function in question can be more or less explicit: if a semantic
predicate is identified as such by means of inflection, this is
far less explicit than by means of a logical predicate such as a co-
pula. Again the inflection is "indicative" with a deictic value and
a minimum of semanticity, while the copula is "predicative" with a
maximum of verbhood and a relative maximum of semanticity (though
a copula is yet less semanticized than, for instance, a complement
verb in [10], etc).

b)   grammaticalized — non-grammaticalized

Grammaticalization is characterized, on the one hand, by an increase
in obligatority, and, on the other hand, by a decrease in semantici-
ty. Therefore we can move on to c) and d):

c) obligatory — non-obligatory

First of all, inflection is more obligatory than derivation, and as
such we can predict that the "left" is more obligatory than the
"right". But there is also empirical evidence:

```
(36a)      hol-im         vs   *hol
T.PISIN    hold-TR
           "hold (sth)"

(36b)      bik-im         vs   bik
T.PISIN    big-TR/CAUS         big
           "enlarge (sth)"     "big"

(37a)      saya   men-yesal      akan    hal itu
INDO       I      PREF-/sesal/   DIR     matter that
                        regret
           "I am sorry about that affair"

(37b)      saya   men-yesal-kan             hal   itu
INDO                         TR(<*akan)
           "I regret that affair"

(37c)      saya   mem-bersih-kan                rumah   ini
INDO       I      PREF-(PREF)clean-TR/CAUS      house   this
           "I clean this house"

(37d)      bersih  /     *mem-bersih akan
INDO       clean
```

There is no doubt that -im is more obligatory in the context of
the inherently transitive hol- than in the context of bik-. In
(36a) we are dealing with an overt verb class marker (i.e. [3]),
in (36b) the verb class is changed from intransitive to transitive
([6]).

Similarly, the case marking akan [7] is far less frequently employed
in Indonesian than the related transitivizer -kan in (37b,c) (i.e.
[6]).

d) desemanticized – semanticized

We note that in (37c) -kan can be used in a meaning which is not possible for akan (see (37d)). Similarly, the -im-form in Tok Pisin may be used for purely transitive as well as causative relations, that is the meaning is pretty vague.

e) centralized – non-centralized

Though we find variance between centralizing and decentralizing structures throughout the dimension (e.g. indirect marking vs case marking, morphological vs periphrastic causatives, etc), the number of non-central, especially syntactic options seems to increase on the right of the dimension. The least centralized construction is accordingly a complex sentence. The difference between morphological marking on the P'ATUM-expression and marking in the syntactic environment of the P'ATUM-expression seems to be more important than is generally acknowledged:

Whether a noun/verb-distinction is syntactic or morphological may have serious consequences for the notion of word classes. If a N/V-D is dominantly a matter of the syntactic environment of the words in question, the language possesses a weaker idea of word classes. Then nounhood and verbhood are not given in the lexemes (at least not at the highest level of analysis) but only as the result of a specific choice. Inflecting languages, on the other hand, tend to carry the notion of nouns and verbs in the lexicon: here it is a general property of the words, not a specific one. These observations are not absolute (for instance, despite morphological marking, American Indian languages have generally very weak N/V-distinctions), but it is probably true, that strict N/V-D are more frequent among languages

with grammatical morphology than among languages without grammatical
morphology. From this follows that morphology is not the "same" as
syntax, even if certain functions are comparable.

The same is true of predicates: when a word <u>must</u> take a predicate
inflection (and inflection is usually more obligatory than syntax),
then the idea of predicateness resides far more in the centre
of the word than if a particular function is open to choice. It is
no accident that nouns are less able to take predicate inflections
than verbs: an inflection tends to emphasize the close association
of a word with a particular function. Whenever a marking is part
of the word, it tends to carry a <u>general</u> property rather than an
accidental or <u>specific</u> one.

Apart from that, I have already formulated the difference between
GENERALLY IMPLIED P'ANTS and SPECIFICALLY IMPLIED P'ANTS ([3,4]) in
terms of morphological reference to P'ANTs vs syntactic specifica-
tion of P'ANTs.

f) Continuity:

The very fact that certain units occur in different, but adjacent
techniques, and that during the course of historical development the
words may wander across the dimension is proof enough for this claim.
(for examples see (37)).

Consequently, all the claims proposed for the dimension are corro-
borated by empirical evidence.

To conclude, let me emphasize again that the linguistic rendering of a "sachverhalt"/situation is a matter of choice. UNITYP assumes that the common core of every "sachverhalt" (literally a "relation of things") is a relation of a P'ATUM and P'ANTs, but that the linguistic treatment of a sachverhalt need not always be fully explicit about this relation. Sometimes it may be easier to merely hint at certain ingredients of a situation by means of lexical knowledge: for instance, Feuer! ("fire!") evokes the idea of something burning, but there is no structural evidence for a relation between a P'ANT and a P'ATUM as in das Haus brennt (lit. "the house burns/is burning"). The common core remains the same (due to the lexical features of Feuer and brennen), but the structural treatment of the situation varies. The systematic variation is ultimately the only way of proving the relatedness of the constructions under one common denominator.

This means that as far as the individual techniques or options are concerned, we are not dominantly interested in what the "real" situation is like, but rather the way the speaker treats the situation in question: this treatment is an active idea, i.e. an operation, and the treatment depends on the pragmatic context. The options that a speaker has at his disposal are the result of the need to be able to express situations differently in different contexts. Whatever is highly grammaticalized is also highly obligatory: this means that what is expressed in this way must contain the most general core of a "sachverhalt". The specific details of a "sachverhalt", though, may require more explicitness.

Therefore the metalinguistic basis of the entire dimension of P'ATION consists in the conceptualization of what is generally understood vs what is specifically important. These principles can be subsumed under the even more general principles of indicativity vs predicativi-

ty. which can be characterized by the difference between reference
to what is known (ind) and establishing of what must be explicitly
explained (pred), usually accompanied by a dominance of deictic means
(ind) vs more "verbal" or "semantic" means (pred), as, for instance,
in relation to person/tense inflection (ind) vs causative derivation
and case prepositions and serial verbs (pred), respectively. At the
same time. the information at the indicative pole rests dominantly
in the lexical properties of the content word, while the predicative
pole is characterized by an increase in structural information.

In the latter case the relationship of P'ATION becomes formally as
well as conceptually more and more expanded and complex (decentral-
ized). The structurally unmarked "indicative" pole is conceptually
unmarked in terms of centralness: a comparatively complex causative
relationship, for instance. may still be treated as non-complex
(e.g. kill), and a comparatively proposition-external reference to
time may still become part of the P'ATUM-expression as tense inflec-
tion. But what is generally considered a conceptually central rela-
tion will typically be represented by the unmarked strategy, and even
in the case of kill and tense inflection the centralized/indicative
strategy employed here leads to a more centralized concept of causa-
tion and of time-reference than in the case of cause s.o to die
and e.g. in the winter of 1923, respectively. Thus, kill implies
a very direct relationship between causator and causee, while
cause s.o to die does not. Similarly, tense inflection primarily
refers to the application of a verbal predicate, and thus fulfils
the function of identifying a semantic predicate apart from helping
to define the notion of "sentence". Thus its role affects the centre
of a sentence more strongly than a typically peripheral time re-
ference such as in the winter of 1923, which is dominantly propo-
sition external.

3. Abbreviations

ABKH – Abkhaz
ABS – Absolute Case
ACC – Accusative
ACCT – Accent
AG – Agent
ART – Article
BEN – Beneficient
CAUS – Causative Affix
CON – Conjunctive Affix
COP – Copula(tive)
D(EF) – Definite
DIR – Directional Case
DUR – Durative Affix
EMPH – Emphatic
ERG – Ergative
F – Feminine
FIN – Finite
FOC – Focus (here: indirect marking)
GERM – German
IDENT. – identification
IMPFV – Imperfective
IND – Indicativity
INDO – Indonesian
ITR – Intransitive
JAP – Japanese
KAL – Kalispel
LAT – Latin
M – Masculine
MRK – Marker
NOM – Nominative
NOMIN – Nominal
NP – Noun Phrase
OR(IENT) – Oriented or Orientational Affix
PASS – PASSIVE
PAT – PATIENT
P'ANT – PARTICIPANT (Def. p.3)
P'ATION – PARTICIPATION (Def. p.3)
P'ATUM – PARTICIPATUM (Def. p.3)
PL – Plural
PRED – Predicate or Predicativity
PREF – Prefix
PRES – Present
REF – Referent
RESULT – Resultative
RUSS – Russian
SAM.PL.PIDGIN – Samoan Plantageon Pidgin English
SG – Singular
SPEC – Specific
SQUAM – Squamish
SUBJ – Subject
TAG – Tagalog
TNS – Tense
TONG – Tongan
T.PISIN – Tok Pisin
TR(ANS) – Transitive Affix or Transitivizer
TUR – Turkish

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