

Categories of the verb in natural languages include tense, aspect, modality (mood) and voice. Among these, voice, in its rich and diverse manifestations, is perhaps the most complex. But most prior research concentrates on only certain types, predominantly passives.

Voice expresses relations between a predicate and a set of nominal positions – or their referents – in a clause or other structure. *Grammatical voice* is the first typological study of voice systems based on a multilanguage survey. It introduces a threefold classification of voice types, in the first place distinguishing passivization phenomena (derived voice) from active—middle systems (basic voice); and further, distinguishing each of these from pragmatically grounded voice behaviors, such as focus and inverse systems.

As the first comprehensive study of voice systems and voice typology, this book makes a significant contribution to current research in linguistics and grammatical theory.



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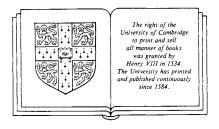
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GRAMMATICAL VOICE

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CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge

New York Port Chester

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> Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP 40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA 10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

© Cambridge University Press 1991

First published 1991

British Library cataloguing in publication data

Klaiman, M. H.

Grammatical voice.

1. Verbs

I. Title

415

Library of Congress cataloguing in publication data

Klaiman, M. H.

Grammatical voice/M. H. Klaiman.

p. c.m. - (Cambridge studies in linguistics: 59) ISBN 0 521 36001 3

II. Series.

P281.K537 1991

415-dc20 91-6383 CIP

ISBN 0 521 36001 3 hardback

Transferred to digital printing 2004

wv



To Madan

न प्रेम । न प्यार । न काम । न रित । न आदर । न स्नेह । यह कार्य है मदन के लिये ॥



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Preface

Throughout my career as a linguist, I have been interested in categories of meaning in natural languages and their expression through cross-linguistically recurrent structural patterns and behaviors. Over the past several years my research interests have come to focus on certain behaviors that, at the outset, seemed difficult to classify under any well-defined grammatical category. In fact, when I embarked on their study, all that these behaviors seemed to have in common was that somewhere and at some time, some grammarian has referred to them under the rubric of grammatical voice. Now, on two grounds, the time seems ripe for bringing to light my research on these behaviors in the form of a monograph on voice as a grammatical category. And so, by way of accounting to the reader for the lengthy text below, I risk overburdening it with this preface explaining how it has come to be.

In the first place, a comprehensive work on this subject seems desirable in light of the current diversity of views on voice. In fact, grammarians presently use the term voice in reference to no fewer than three distinct classes of grammatical behaviors. The term is invoked, firstly, in reference to systems where regular alternations in verbal morphology signal alternate allocations of nominals among positions in structural configurations. This class of voice systems is termed derived voice* in the present study. It encompasses behaviors prominent in current grammatical theories, usually treated under the general rubric of passivization*. Included are ordinary transitive (personal) passives plus such other varieties as impersonal passives, oblique passives, antipassives and so on.

However, there is a second, much older tradition of identifying voice with verbal oppositions which, in certain languages, signal alternations in the participant roles of subjects. Generally, they express the coincidence or noncoincidence of a clause's subject with the locus of the principal effects of the action or situation denoted by the verb. Systems



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of this type are best known from active/middle* alternations in classical languages, such as Latin, Greek and Sanskrit. Nonetheless, they are also found in languages neither Indo-European nor ancient. They are discussed in the main text below under the rubric of basic* (as contrasted with derived*) voice.

Thirdly and finally, some writers invoke the term voice in reference to systems in which alternations of verbal morphology signal the alternating assignment among a clause's nominals of some pragmatic status or salience, such as informational or ontological salience. Systems of this type, below termed pragmatic voice* systems, are perhaps best known from recent treatments of Philippine language such as Tagalog. However, such systems are not confined to a single genetic group or family, but are also manifested elsewhere, such as in Mayan languages, which are among the pragmatic voice systems discussed in the main text. Also, pragmatic voice encompasses Algonquian and other systems of the inverse* type, which the main text likewise surveys.

The present work aims to clarify the idea of voice by adopting a typological approach to voice phenomena. In the course of the presentation, it has been necessary to invoke some technical terms. Where they are introduced, such terms are marked with an asterisk (*).

Aside from the need for greater clarity in the conceptualization of voice, an additional impetus for the present work has been the success of recent titles on other major verbal categories. In recent years, Cambridge University Press has produced Bernard Comrie's Aspect (1976) and Tense (1985) and F. R. Palmer's Mood and modality (1986). Voice has lately been the only major verbal category for which there has been no up-to-date comprehensive treatment, making the present seem a propitious time for such a work. I never seriously considered submitting my project proposal to any publisher other than Cambridge University Press. I am indebted to the Cambridge University Press Syndicate for its acceptance of this work, which made that effort unnecessary.

And so to the pleasant task of thanksgiving. I wish to acknowledge my friends on the Cambridge University Press staff who have assisted in this project, headed initially by Penny Carter and subsequently by Marion Smith and Judith Ayling, for their expeditious and painstaking handling of the work, by which they have made me feel as supported and valued as any author could desire. I am grateful for the generosity of the anonymous reviewers who furnished a favorable evaluation of my proposal to the Cambridge University Press Syndicate, as well as to two



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reviewers who subsequently broke anonymity to discuss the proposal with me in person, Arnold Zwicky and Bernard Comrie.

I should acknowledge, however, that the proposal was not the project's true beginning; it was about three years before the proposal stage that the work began. Since that time, numerous scholars have lent their assistance, many by commenting on my published and unpublished research related to voice or by furnishing copies of their own. While most of these individuals are acknowledged at some point in the main text, I should like to take this opportunity to particularly name and thank the following: B. J. Allen, P. K. Anderson, D. W. Arnott, Glenn Ayres, Joan Bresnan, William Cowan, Bill Croft, Amy Dahlstrom, Bill Davies, Donald Frantz, Emma Geniušienė, Ives Goddard, John Haiman, Heather Hardy, George Hewitt, Jane Hill, Eloise Jelinek, M. Dale Kinkade, Paul Kroskrity, Sir John Lyons, Steve Marlett, Anthony Mattina, Carol Mock, Doris Payne, David Perlmutter, Paul Riesman, Carol Rosen, Jerrold Sadock, Janine Scancarelli, William Schmalstieg, George Sheets, Masayoshi Shibatani, Thom Smith-Stark, Bob Sprott, Yero Sylla, Laurence and Terry Thompson, and Bob Van Valin. I apologize for any omissions in this list; the number of individuals I have found willing to lend lesser or greater degrees of assistance has been gratifyingly large. Of course, when it comes to the results, I alone am responsible for any shortcomings.

During the last three years of this project, after it came under contract, logistical obstacles arose owing to constraints on time and resources. For instance, enrollments at the last two institutions where I have been employed have put limits on the time and energy available for research (I have been teaching over two hundred students per year). Also, the project has received sparse financial assistance, proposals for same having been turned down by, *inter alia*, the National Science Foundation. However, the work has benefited from research grants in the amounts of \$500 and \$1000 awarded respectively by California State University-Fullerton and Oakland University in 1989 and 1990. Both institutions also assisted by making personal computers available for use in my office, for which I wish to express thanks. In addition, I wish to acknowledge Susan Kroon, former Oakland University student, for proof-reading assistance.

Another and much valued source of support has been the Department of Linguistics at the University of Minnesota. Under the capable chairmanship of Dr Michael Kac, the department has routinely offered me



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the status of Honorary Fellow since 1986, thereby permitting me to access the collections of the University of Minnesota Libraries. The librarians and staff have also contributed to the completion of this work. Among them, I especially wish to thank Jane Riedel and her colleagues in the Interlibrary Loan Office at the University of Minnesota's Wilson Library for their incalculable assistance in locating requested materials, however arcane the source or sloppily scrawled the request.

I have embarked on this, the largest research project thus far of my career, with the objective of making a worthwhile contribution to my discipline. Time will tell if I have succeeded, but should I fail, it will not have been for want of cooperation from speakers of the languages represented in the present work, speakers who have contributed their time and assistance to make possible the numerous references cited in the main text below. Yet I have an ever higher regard for the languages themselves. One thing of which my experience as a linguist has absolutely convinced me is that language is more than a natural object.

Language is organic. As a linguist who works routinely with languages, I cannot imagine thinking about them in any other way. A language has structure, function and design. It arises, it has a lifespan, and ultimately – possibly leaving heirs – it disappears. Language has nothing if not patterning and logic, yet every language I have ever taken the trouble to become acquainted with has confirmed my conviction that a language also has personality, a way of going about its purposes. No longer can I begin to investigate a new language without expecting to find within it a wonderful and companionable spirit. I have met language speakers I did not like, but never a language.

At a time when many so-called departments of linguistics have more or less gone out of the business of teaching about languages, it becomes a cherished pleasure to encounter others who share an enthusiasm for them and a serious fondness for their study. Among such colleagues is one, Bernard Comrie, to whom I owe an obligation difficult to state in words. Professor Comrie has supported this project with his counsel and encouragement since its beginnings, serving as a content advisor to this work on behalf of Cambridge University Press. I can't imagine having carried out the project without the sustaining interest of Professor Comrie. His timely and well-stated comments and suggestions have steered the text out of cul-de-sacs and blind alleys again and again. Even before this work was conceived, he has for years been an esteemed friend and advisor to me.



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Nevertheless, Professor Comrie's contributions go beyond his assistance to individuals or individual projects, since he works actively with publishers and institutions on behalf of linguistics at large, benefiting directly or indirectly all who labor in our field. Of all the linguists of my acquaintance, I admire Bernard Comrie most. But it is for the service you perform on behalf of our discipline, Bernard, that I thank you most of all.

And for providing a nucleus of sanity, it goes without saying – last but foremost – I couldn't have managed without Madan Madhav Sathe.



Abbreviations

A transitive subject

A voice actor voice
ABL ablative
ABS absolutive
ACC accusative

AI animate intransitive

ANTI antipassive
AT Arizona Tewa
AUX auxiliary
CAUSE causative

D voice directional voice

DAT dative DU dual emphatic **EMPH ERG** ergative F focus **FEM** feminine G voice goal voice **GEN** genitive

I voice instrumental voice II inanimate intransitive

INF infinitive **INST** instrumental ITR intransitive LOC locative **MASC** masculine **NEUT** neuter NOM nominative **OBJ** object **OBL** oblique



List of abbreviations xix

OBV obviative OC out-of-control OPT optative

P transitive object

PL plural PROX proximate PTCPL participle

R Reflexive (or Reflexive-retaliative) extension

RN relational noun
S intransitive subject

SAP speech act participant; first or second person

SG singular

ST Southern Tiwa

SUBJ subject T topic

TA transitive animate TI transitive inanimate

TR transitive VP verb phrase