The Adverbial Function of Seediq Conveyance Voice Future Form*

Naomi Tsukida
Aichi Prefectural University

Seediq has a Philippine type voice system, often called focus system. There are three voices in Seediq: Agent Voice, Goal Voice, and Conveyance Voice. While all Seediq verb forms except Hortative forms are used as both the head of a predicate phrase and as the head of a referential phrase without any morphological change, a verb phrase with Conveyance Voice Future form as its head can function as an adverbial phrase as well, in addition to the two functions noted above. When a CV Future phrase is used adverbially, it expresses purpose or irrealis.

In this paper CV Future phrases that function adverbially are labeled “Irrealis phrases”. This paper reports the behavior of Irrealis phrases. The internal structure of Irrealis phrases is just the same as any other verb phrases that function as a referential phrase. Although it expresses an event, it is a phrase, since it contains no subject. It functions as the predicate, the subject, or the oblique element of a main clause. A comparison of Irrealis phrases and similar constructions allows understanding the meaning of the Irrealis phrase: it expresses a future event that is unrealized, and will happen at an unknown time. That only the CV future phrase has such an adverbial usage is explained, at least partially, from its high clause-ness. Though it lacks an important property of a clause, i.e., it contains no subject inside, both Agent and Patient can appear simultaneously in a CV clause.

Key words: Seediq, voice, adverbial, purpose

1. Introduction

Seediq is a Formosan languages and belongs to the Austronesian language family. It is spoken in the northeastern part of Taiwan. Together with neighboring Atayal, it forms the Atayalic group. The Seediq population is about 30,000 but many, especially among the younger generation, cannot speak the language, which is endangered. Seediq consists of three dialects: Teruku, Te’uda, and Tekeruya. This study is based on the Teruku dialect, spoken in Hualian prefecture.

* Since I started doing field work in Taiwan, Prof. Paul Li has given me advice and assistance. I am very grateful to him and dedicate this paper to him.
Seediq has a Philippine type voice system, which is traditionally called focus system. There are three voices in Seediq: Agent Voice, Goal Voice, and Conveyance Voice (henceforth AV, GV, and CV respectively, see Tsukida 2005). Each Voice exhibits tense/aspect/mood inflection. The Conveyance Voice future form has adverbial usage, which is exclusive to this form, expressing purpose or Irrealis event. This paper reports this adverbial usage.

Below, I provide an outline of basic facts of the Teruku Seediq grammar. The basic word order is predicate initial, and subject final. Example:

(1) malu ka hiyi=su
   AV.good NOM body=2s.GEN
   Is your body good?

In noun phrases, modifiers follow the head noun except for quantity expressions.
Example:

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

There are prepositions, but no postpositions.
The person and the number of the subject is shown on the first predicate by a nominative clitic (1s: =ku; 1pi: =nami; 1pe: =ta; 2s: =su; 2p: =namu, and zero for 3rd person.)

(3) ’adi=ku mawsa ka yaku.
    NEG=1s.NOM AV.FUT.go NOM 1s
    I will not go.

---

1 Orthographic symbols: e = schwa, g = voiced velar fricative, l = voiced lateral fricative, N = velar nasal, r = approximant or flap.
2 Abbreviations: AV agent voice, CAUS causative, CV conveyance voice, GEN genitive, GV goal voice, FUT future, NEG negative, NEU neutral, NFIN non-finite, NOM nominative, OBL oblique, PRF perfect. (Neutral forms are marked by NEU in some of the examples in order to make it easier to understand. When a verb is not indicated as either FUT, NEU, NFIN or PRF, it is a neutral form.)
2. Focus system of Seediq

   As noted above, Seediq exhibits a Philippine type voice system and distinguishes three voices: AV, GV and CV. Each voice consists of a Neutral form, a Perfect form, a Future form, a Non-finite form, and a Hortative form. In a verbal clause one of the arguments of the predicate verb is chosen as the Subject (also called ‘Topic’ or ‘Focus’). It marked by the Nominative case and is co-referred on the verb through a nominative clitic pronoun. What is chosen as the subject in each voice is rather predictable, as shown in section 2.1. Section 2.2 discusses the case marking of non-subject arguments. Section 2.3 deals with the nominal usage of verb forms.

2.1 What is chosen as the subject

   In Agent Voice, it is the A of transitive verbs (laqi ‘child’ in (4a) and bubu ‘mother’ in (5a) for example) and the S of intransitive verbs that becomes the subject. In Goal Voice, it is Patient (sagas ‘watermelon’ in (4b), for example), Goal, Location (kêti’imuh ni’i ‘this board’ in (4c), for example), or Recipient (laqi ‘child’ in (5b), for example) that becomes the subject. In Conveyance Voice, Instrument (yayu ni’i ‘this knife’ in (4d), for example), Beneficiary (baki=na ‘his/her grandfather’ in (4e), for example), and Conveyed theme of ditransitive verbs (buNa ‘sweet potato’ in (5a), for example) can become the subject. Non-core arguments can also become subject. It is summarized in Table 1. The label Intransitive, Monotransitive, and Ditransitive mean semantically intransitive verbs, semantically monotransitive verbs, and semantically ditransitive verbs, respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Monotransitive</th>
<th>Ditransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV Agent, Experiencer, Theme</td>
<td>Agent, Experiencer</td>
<td>Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GV Goal, Location</td>
<td>Patient, Location</td>
<td>Recipient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV Beneficiary</td>
<td>Instrument, Beneficiary</td>
<td>Conveyed theme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   In other words, the verb form indicates the semantic role of the subject; if the verb form is a GV form, it indicates that the subject is Goal, Patient, Location or Recipient. As is observed from the Table 1, Seediq has A=S≠P and R=P≠T (R: Recipient; P: Patient; T: Theme) alignment.
(4) Monotransitive
   a. k-em-erut sagas ka laqi.
      AV-cut watermelon NOM child
      The child cuts watermelon.
   b. keret-un laqi ka sagas.
      cut-GV1 child NOM watermelon
      The/A child cuts the watermelon.
   c. keret-an=na sagas ka qeti‘inuh ni’i.
      cut-GV2=3s.GEN watermelon NOM board this
      S/He cuts watermelon on this board.
   d. se-kerut=na sagas ka yayu ni’i.
      CV-cut=3s.GEN watermelon NOM knife this
      S/He cuts watermelon with this knife.
   e. se-kerut=na sagas ka baki=na.
      CV-cut=3s.GEN watermelon NOM old:man=3s.GEN
      S/He cuts watermelon for his grandfather.

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

2.2 NPs which are not chosen as the subject

Those NPs which are not chosen as the subject appear in Genitive case if it is an A/S argument (*tama* in (6), for example), and Oblique case, direct case or as prepositional phrases if it is a non-A/S argument (*rebiq-an* in (6), for example).

   (6) se-sipaq tama rebiq-an ka qehuni ni’i.
      CV-hit father.GEN Rubiq-OBL NOM wood this
      Father hits Rubiq with this wooden stick.

It is summarized in Table 2.
The Adverbial Function of Seediq Conveyance Voice Future Form

Table 2: How NPs which are not chosen as the subject appear (in Seediq):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Role</th>
<th>NP Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agent, S (The ‘sole’ core argument of an Intransitive verb)</td>
<td>Genitive case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patient, Goal, Recipient, Locative, Beneficiary</td>
<td>Oblique case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conveyed theme, Instrument</td>
<td>Direct case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Prepositional Phrase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 Verbs as the head of referential phrases

Verb forms in Seediq (except Hortative forms) function as the head of referential phrases, besides being used as predicate phrases without any morphological change or addition of any particle. Similar phenomenon has been observed in other Formosan languages and Philippine languages as well.

Let us see some examples. berig-an, GV 2\textsuperscript{nd} Neutral form of the verb ‘to buy’, is used as the head of predicate phrase in sentence (7), but berig-an, or rather the phrase which has berig-an as its head, is functioning as a referential expression in sentence (8), meaning ‘(thread) shop’. Such phrases which exhibit GV 2nd Neutral form as their head will be referred to as GV 2nd Neutral phrase in this paper; berig-an waray is an example of GV 2nd Neutral phrase. In sentence (9) also, a GV 2nd Neutral phrase functions as a referential expression, as the subject in this case.

(7) berig-an=deha waray ka hini.
    buy-GV2=3p.GEN thread NOM here
    They buy yarns here.
(8) m-usa [berig-an waray] ka rubiq.
    AV-go buy-GV2 thread NOM Rubiq
    Rubiq goes to thread shop.
(9) hiya ka [berig-an waray].
    there NOM buy-GV2 thread
    The thread shop is there.

ke-karik=na waray, a CV Future phrase which has ke-karik CV Future form of the verb to cut as its head, is the predicate phrase in sentence (10), but a similar CV Future phrase is functioning as a referential phrase in sentence (11), meaning ‘an instrument to cut thread’. Similar CV Future phrase is functioning as a referential phrase in sentence (12) also.
(10) ke-karik=na       waray    ka    karik    ni’i.
       RDP-CV.FUT.cut=3s.GEN thread    NOM    scissors    this
S/He will cut thread using these scissors.

(11) m-usa m-arig [ke-karik    waray] ka    rubiq.
       AV-go AV-buy RDP-CV.FUT.cut thread    NOM    Rubiq
Rubiq went to buy an instrument to cut thread.

(12) b-en-arig masaw    ka    [ke-karik=mu      waray    ni’i].
       PRF-buy Masaw NOM    RDP-CV.FUT.cut=1s.GEN thread    this
Masaw bought this instrument that I use in cutting thread.

be-begay bubu leqi-’an, a CV Future phrase with the be-begay CV Future form of
the verb to give as the head, is the predicate phrase in sentence (13) but a CV Future
phrase which has be-begay as its head is functioning as a referential phrase in sentence
(14), meaning ‘what to give to him/her’. The same CV Future phrase is functioning as a
referential phrase in sentence (15) also.

(13) be-begay         bubu    leqi-’an    ka    buNa.
       RDP-CV.FUT.give mother child-OBL NOM    sweet:potato
Mother will give sweet potato to the/a child.
(14) ni’i=ku          t-em-inun [be-begay=mu       hiya’an].
       PRX.PRG=1s.NOM AV-weave RDP-CV.FUT.give=1s.GEN    3s.OBL
I am weaving what I will give to him/her.
(15) t-en-inun=mu     ka    [be-begay=na       hiya’an].
       PRF-weave=1s.GEN NOM    RDP-CV.FUT.give=3s.GEN    3s.OBL
I wove what s/he will give to him/her.

When a verb is functioning as the head of a referential phrase, its arguments that
appear in the phrase appear in the way shown in Table 2. None of the arguments are
subject in the phrase. Thus Agent appears in Genitive case (=mu in (14) and =na in (15),
for example), and Recipient appears in Oblique case (hiya’an in (14) and (15), for
example), and so on.

3. Adverbial function of CV Future phrase

Besides functioning as a predicate phrase and as a referential phrase, CV Future
phrase exhibits another function. It is an adverbial function, which other forms do not
have. It expresses purpose or irrealis, and refers to an event which one is not sure to
happen. It can sometimes be translated into English ‘... so that’, ‘in order to ...’ or ‘...
llest...’ For example, it is used with a verb d-em-uruN ‘to pray’ and express ‘(someone) prayed (for ...) to ...’. Example:

(16) d-em-uruN=ku [qe-qebela’iq=na].
    AV-pray=1s.NOM RDP-CV.FUT.happy=3s.GEN
    I pray for him to be happy.

I will call those CV Future phrases that function adverbially like above, Irrealis phrase in this paper.

Formally, one cannot distinguish an Irrealis phrase from a CV Future phrase which is used as a predicate phrase or as a referential phrase. A CV Future phrase that functions as a referential phrase appears after a verb, and an Irrealis phrase as well. be-begay=na hiya’an in (15) appears after the verb t-em-inun ‘to weave’, and qe-qebela’iq=na in (16) appears after the verb d-em-uruN ‘to pray’, for example. One has to consider the meaning of the main clause predicate together with the meaning of the CV Future phrase to know what meaning it expresses in a particular context.

In section 3.1 we will see what an Irrealis phrase consists of. Section 3.2 will deal the function of the Irrealis phrase in a clause. In section 3.3 we will examine the co-reference relation between main clause arguments and Irrealis phrase arguments. In section 3.4 we will deal with the voice alternation of clauses that contain an Irrealis phrase.

### 3.1 Inside an Irrealis phrase

An Irrealis phrase contains a CV Future form of a verb at least, and may contain an A/S argument and non-A/S arguments, but not a subject. None of them are in the nominative case and are not co-referred by a nominative clitic on the verb (see the example (17)). Since it does not contain a subject, it cannot be treated as a clause.

(17) s-em-edehug ’epay-an [pe-peririh=na pila mesag-an]
    AV-promise Ipay-OBL RDP-CV.FUT.repay=3s.GEN money.DIR Masaw-OBL
    ka rubiq.
    NOM Rubiq
    Rubiq promised Ipay that [she would repay the money to Masaw].

The internal structure of the Irrealis phrase is identical to verb phrases that function as referential phrases. It does not contain a subject; hence no NP appears in Nominative case, although there are some exceptions (see §3.1.1). A/S argument appears in the
Genitive case, and non-A/S arguments appear in the Oblique or Direct case or as a prepositional phrase. CV Future phrase, when it is a predicate phrase or a referential phrase, can be preceded by a Negative adverb 'adi, and it is the same in Irrealis phrase as well.

I will discuss the appearance of an A/S argument in the Irrealis phrase in §3.1.1, and then that of a non-A/S argument in §3.1.2. Then we will see the appearance of some adverbs in §3.1.3. Infinitive construction exists in Seediq and it can appear in an Irrealis phrase as well. We will see it in §3.1.4.

### 3.1.1 A/S argument

An A/S argument which is not a subject generally appears in the Genitive case, regardless of whether it is a clause, or a referential phrase; the same is true with an Irrealis phrase as well (see examples (16), (17)). It cannot appear in Direct case (example (18a)) or Nominative case (example (18b)).

   AV-wait RDP-CV.FUT.come 1s.DIR NOM mother
   AV-wait RDP-CV.FUT.come NOM 1s NOM mother

In an Irrealis phrase, an A/S argument can appear in the Nominative case, however, if several conditions are met: (i) it must be a definite full NP and (ii) the subject of the main clause must be omitted. Note that main clause subjects are often omitted in this language.

(19) a. bubu 'u, t-em-aga ['e-'iyah sapah ka laqi].
    mother CNJ AV-wait RDP-CV.FUT.come house NOM child
    Mother waits for the child to come home.
b. bubu 'u, t-em-aga ['e-'iyah sapah laqi].
    mother CNJ AV-wait RDP-CV.FUT.come house child.GEN
    Mother waits for the child to come home.

If it is a pronoun, it cannot appear in independent Nominative form (example (20b)). Nor it causes enclitic Nominative pronoun (example (20c)). It appears in Genitive case (example (20a)).
(20) a. bubu 'u, t-em-aga ['e-'iyah=mu].  
   mother CNJ AV-wait RDP-CV.FUT.come=1s.GEN  
   As for Mother, she is waiting for me to come.

   b. *bubu 'u, t-em-aga ['e-'iyah ka yaku].  
      mother CNJ AV-wait RDP-CV.FUT.come NOM 1s

   c. *bubu 'u, t-em-aga ['e-'iyah=ku].  
      mother CNJ AV-wait RDP-CV.FUT.come=1s.NOM

   If the A/S argument is not definite, it cannot appear in Nominative case either, 
   even if the subject of the main clause is omitted. In the example below, A/S argument, 
   benu 'turtle' is not definite and thus it cannot appear in the Nominative case. In such a 
   context, ka behaves somewhat like a definite article.

   (21) *tega-'un ['e-'iyah ka benu].  
       wait-GV1 RDP-CV.FUT.come NOM turtle

   Although an A/S argument may appear in the Nominative case, it lacks an important 
   subject property. As we saw in example (20c), it cannot be co-referred by a Nominative 
   clitic.

3.1.2 Non-A/S argument

   Non-A/S arguments in Irrealis phrases appear in the same way as in the matrix 
   clause, illustrated previously (see §2.2, especially in Table 2). They appear in Oblique 
   case, in Direct case or as prepositional phrases. In (22) the non-A/S argument of daNa 
   'to feed' appear as piyi-'an, an Oblique case NP.

   (22) [de-daNa=mu piyi-'an] ka se-'usa=mu kedediyax.  
       RDP-CV.FUT.feed=1s.GEN old.woman-OBL NOM CV-go=1s.GEN everyday 
       lit. The reason why I go everyday is to feed old woman.  
       I go everyday to feed old woman.

3.1.3 Preverbal adverbs

   There are set of adverbs that appear preverbally. The CV Future form can be 
   preceded by a negative adverb 'adi in a predicate phrase and in a referential phrase. It is 
   the same in an Irrealis phrase as well.
It was for them not to propagate Christianism.

3.1.4 Infinitive construction

An infinitive construction is a construction where verbs appear after one finite verb, expressing simultaneous or sequential events. Verbs except the finite verb are always in the Neutral form. This construction is observed in Irrealis phrases as well. In example (24) infinitives *s-em-ehenuk* ‘to make soft’ and *r-em-eNaw* ‘to speak’ appear in the Irrealis construction.

(24) *sekegul-an=na ka tiwaN*
    dispatch-GV2=3s.GEN NOM Chiwang
    [*e-’uda=na s-em-ehenuk r-em-eNaw tereku-’un*].
    RDP-CV.FUT.pass AV-make:soft AV-speak Teruku-OBL
    [Japan] send Chiwang to conciliate Teruku people.

3.1.5 No definite expression of time

Irrealis phrases cannot contain any definite expression of time. See the discussion in §4.2.

3.2 Outside the phrase

Within the matrix clause, the Irrealis phrase can be used as a predicate (see §3.2.1), as a subject (see §3.2.2), as a complement (see §3.2.3), and as pre-clausal topic (see §3.2.4).

3.2.1 Predicate

An Irrealis phrase can appear as the predicate of main clause and expresses ‘... is in order to do ...’.

It differs from an ordinary predicate phrase, which expresses a simple event. It usually consists of a CV Neutral phrase, expressing ‘the reason to do …,’ as the subject (examples (22), (25), (26)), or as the pre-clausal topic (example (27)), while an ordinary predicate has a simple NP as the subject.
(25) [(ke-)ke-deNu lukus] ka [se-pehalig=na NaNut].
RDP-CV.FUT-be:dry clothes.GEN NOM CV-hang=3s.GEN outside
The reason (s)he hang [it] outside is for them to get dry.

(26) [‘e-’iyah senaw=na] ka [se-taga rubiq hiya].
RDP-CV.FUT.come man=3s.GEN NOM CV-wait Rubiq there
The reason Rubiq is waiting there is because her husband will come.

(27) [se-’usa=mu kedediyax]’u, [de-daNa=mu piyi-’an].
CV-go=1s.GEN everyday CNJ RDP-CV.FUT.feed=1s.GEN old.woman-OBL
As for the reason I go everyday, it is to feed old woman.

3.2.2 Subject

An Irrealis phrase can appear as the subject of the main clause.

One can change the sentence that contains an Irrealis phrase as the predicate (example (28a)) into an imperative sentence. In that case, the verb of the CV neutral form which functions as the subject in the non-imperative clause changes into a CV non-finite form and this becomes the subject. The Irrealis phrase which is the predicate in the non-imperative clause now becomes the subject (example (28b)). The sentence means ‘Do … in order to ….’

(28) a. [pe-patas=na] ka [se-hegeliq=na lebelak ni’i].
RDP-CV.FUT.write=3s.GEN NOM CV-tear=3s.GEN paper this
The reason s/he tore paper is for her/him to write.

b. hegeleq-ani lebelak ni’i ka [pe-patas=su].
CV.NFIN tear paper this NOM RDP-CV.FUT.write=2s.GEN
Tear this paper for you to write.

See the argument in §3.4 also.

3.2.3 Complement element

An Irrealis phrase can appear as a complement element of the main clause. It occurs after verbs like the following, expressing such meanings as shown in the right side.

t-em-aga ‘to wait’ ‘to wait (for s.o.) to ….’
d-em-uruN ‘to pray, ask’ ‘to pray that …, to ask … to …’
me-dakar ‘to prohibit’ ‘to prohibit (s.o.) to do …’
s-em-erahaN ‘to take precautions against’ ‘to take precautions against …ing’
s-em-edebug ‘to promise’ ‘to promise to do …’
Examples follow (see also (16)).

(29) a. \text{t-em-aga} \ ['e-iyah=mu sapah] ka \ bubu.
\text{AV-wait} \ RDP-CV.FUT.come=1s.GEN \ house \ \text{NOM} \ mother
Mother waits for me to come home.

b. \text{t-em-aga} \ ['e-iyah sapah laqi] \ ka \ bubu.
\text{AV-wait} \ RDP-CV.FUT.come \ \text{house} \ \text{child} \ \text{NOM} \ mother
Mother waits for a/the child to come home.

3.2.4 Pre-clausal topic

An Irrealis phrase can appear in the pre-clausal topic position. It is used as an expression of purpose.

(30) \text{[de-daNa=na piyi-’an]} \ ‘u,
\text{RDP-CV.FUT.feed=3s.GEN} \ \text{old:woman-OBL} \ \text{CNJ}
\text{m-usa sapah=na kedediyax}.
\text{AV-go} \ \text{house=3s.GEN} \ \text{everyday}
In order to feed a/the old woman, s/he goes to her house everyday.

3.3 Coreferent NPs

The A/S argument is expressed by a Genitive NP within the Irrealis phrase as we saw in §3.1.1. When it is a pronoun, it may be, but need not be, co-referent with one of the arguments of the main clause. It may be co-referent with the A/S of the main clause (as in (17), (31)) or the non-A/S of the main clause (as in (24)). It may be the subject of the main clause (as in (17), (24), (31)) and non-subject of the main clause (as in (32), (33)).

3.3.1 A/S argument of the main clause predicate

The A/S argument of the Irrealis phrase is sometimes co-referent with the A/S argument of the main clause predicate; it is not at all obligatory. In (31) the A/S argument within the Irrealis phrase =na 3rd person singular is coreferent with the main clause A/S \text{rubiq} Rubiq.

(31) \text{s-em-edehug kenan [pe-peririh=na pila]} \ ka \ rubiq.
\text{AV-promise 1s.OBL} \ RDP-CV.FUT.repay=3s.GEN \ \text{money} \ \text{NOM} \ Rubiq
Rubiq promised me that she would repay the money.
In (30) also, the A/S argument of the Irrealis clause =na is coreferent with the main clause A/S, which is omitted in this case.

In (29), on the other hand, A/S argument of the Irrealis phrase =mu 1st person singular or laqi ‘child’ is not co-referent with the main clause A/S bubu ‘mother’. When an Irrealis phrase appears as the oblique element of predicates such as ‘to wait’, ‘to pray’, ‘to prohibit’, ‘to take precautions against’ and the like, it is natural that such predicates take different A/S from that of the Irrealis phrase.

3.3.2 non-A/S argument of the main clause predicate

An NP which is co-referent with the A/S argument of the Irrealis phrase is sometimes present in the main clause. In such cases, A/S argument within the Irrealis phrase may either be expressed by a pronoun or be absent. For example, (32) expresses almost the same meaning as (29b). In (32) the A/S argument may be covert within the Irrealis phrase, but is co-referent with the Oblique NP leqi-’an ‘child-OBL’ in the main clause.

(32) t-em-aga leqi-’an ['e-iyah (=na) sapah] ka bubu.
    AV-wait child-OBL RDP-CV.FUT.come=3s.GEN home NOM mother
    Mother waits for the/a child to come home.

Following is another example of the same kind. In (33), A/S argument is expressed by =deha, 3rd person plural pronoun, within the Irrealis phrase, and it is co-referent with one of the matrix clause argument se’diq ‘alaN ‘villagers’.

(33) s-em-erahaN [se’diq ‘alaN], [se-senehiyi =dehai kirisuto]
    AV-take:precautions people village RDP-CV.FUT.believe=3p.GEN Christ
    ka kensat nihuN.
    NOM police Japan
    Japanese police took precautions against villagers in their believing in Christ.

In these examples, main clause NPs which are co-referent with the A/S of the Irrealis phrase are arguments of the main clause predicate. leqi-’an ‘child’ is the Patient of t-em-aga ‘to wait’ in (32) and se’diq ‘alaN ‘villagers’ is the Patient of taking precautions against. Japanese police is taking precautions against villagers’ taking specific action specified by the Irrealis phrase, and it goes without saying that they are cautious about the villagers also in doing so.

This claim that leqi-’an ‘child-OBL’ in (32) or se’diq ‘alaN ‘villagers’ in (33) is the argument of the main clause predicate is supported by the following facts: they can become
subject when the main clause voice is altered. In (34b) 'ipay Ipay, which is the oblique case NP in (34a) and is co-referent with the A/S argument of the Indefinite-future phrase in both (34a) and (34b), is the subject of the verb *deruN-un ‘pray-GV1’.

(34) a. wada=ku d-em-eruN ‘ipay-an [te-tinun=na_i] pala].
PST=1s.NOM AV-ask Ipay-OBL RDP-CV.FUT.weave=3s.GEN skirt I asked Ipay to weave a skirt.
b. wada=mu deruN-un ka ‘ipay_i [te-tinun=na_i] pala].
PST=1s.GEN ask-GV1 NOM Ipay RDP-CV.FUT.weave=3s.GEN skirt I asked Ipay to weave a skirt.

It is not always the case that the main clause Oblique case NP is coreferent with the A/S of the Irrealis phrase. Oblique NPs, *kenan* 1st person singular pronoun in (31), or 'epay-an Ipay-OBL in (35), for example, are never co-referent with the A/S of the Irrealis phrase. The A/S of the Irrealis phrase is co-referent with the subject of the main clause.

(35) s-em-edehug ‘ipay-an_i [pe-periri=na_ij pila] ka rubiq.
AV-promise Ipay-OBL RDP-CV.FUT.repay=3s.GEN money NOM Rubiq Rubiq promised Ipay that she would repay the money.

### 3.4 The voice alternation of the main clause that contains Irrealis phrase

The voice of the main clause that contains the Irrealis phrase as a complement element can be AV, GV or CV. We saw an example of CV sentence in §3.2.2. One can also change the voice into GV (example (36), cf (29b)). Then the Irrealis phrase itself becomes the subject.

(36) bubu ‘u, tega-un=na ka ['e-’iyah laqi].
mother CNJ wait-GV1=3s.GEN NOM RDP-CV.FUT.come child Mother waits for her child to come home.

Nominative marker before the Irrealis clause may be omitted, as in (37).

(37) bubu ‘u, tega-un=na ['e-’iyah laqi].
mother CNJ wait-GV1=3s.GEN RDP-CV.FUT.come child Mother waits for her child to come.
We saw in §3.1.1 that the A/S argument of the Irrealis phrase can appear in the Nominative case if there is no main clause subject appearing overtly. When the Irrealis phrase itself is the subject and preceded by *ka*, A/S argument within it cannot be marked by *ka*.

(38) *bubu 'u, tega-'un=na  ka  ['e-'iyah  ka  laqi].
    mother CNJ wait-GV1=3s.GEN NOM RDP-CV.FUT.come NOM child

If the Irrealis phrase is not marked by a nominative marker, then the A/S argument of the Irrealis phrase may be marked by *ka* (=Nominative).

(39) bubu 'u, tega-'un=na  ['e-'iyah  ka laqi].
    mother CNJ wait-GV1=3s.GEN RDP-CV.FUT.come NOM child
Mother waits for her child to come.

If the A/S argument is a pronoun, it cannot be marked Nominative (examples in (40)), as we already saw in §3.1.1 (examples in (20)).

(40) a. bubu 'u, tega-'un=na  ['e-'iyah=mu].
    mother CNJ wait-GV1=3s.GEN RDP-CV.FUT.come=1s.GEN
Mother waits for me to come.
    b. *bubu 'u, tega-'un=na  ['e-'iyah  ka yaku].
    mother CNJ wait-GV1=3s.GEN RDP-CV.FUT.come NOM 1s

Nor it causes nominative clitic either in the Irrealis phrase (example (41a)) or in the main clause (example (41b)). We can say that the A/S argument that is marked Nominative is not the real subject.

(41) a. *bubu 'u, tega-'un=na  ['e-'iyah=ku  ka yaku].
    mother CNJ wait-GV1=3s.GEN RDP-CV.FUT.come=1s.NOM NOM 1s
    b. *bubu 'u, tega-'un=ku=na  ['e-'iyah  ka yaku].
    mother CNJ wait-GV1=1s.NOM=3s.GEN RDP-CV.FUT.come NOM 1s

There is a general tendency in Seediq that something other than the subject appears as a Nominative NP when there is no overt subject. The appearance of *ka* before A/S argument of the Irrealis phrase is probably one of such cases.
4. Meaning of Irrealis phrase

There are constructions similar to that contains Irrealis phrase. I will clarify the meaning of Irrealis phrase by comparing Irrealis phrase and such similar constructions. It will become clear that Irrealis phrase expresses future event that is unrealized, and that is unknown when it will happen.

4.1 Infinitive construction

’S-em-edehug + Irrealis phrase’ expresses ‘to promise to do …’ (example (42a)). There is a similar construction using the Infinitive, ‘s-em-edehug + Infinitive.’ These two have distinct meanings. The latter expresses ‘one promised to do … and did so’ (example (42b)).

   AV-PRF-promise Ipay-OBL AV-come again NOM Rubiq
   Rubiq promised Ipay and came again.

   AV-PRF-promise Ipay-OBL RDP-CV.FUT.come again NOM Rubiq
   Rubiq promised Ipay to come again.

It is clear from this comparison that the Irrealis phrase expresses an event that is unrealized at the time of event denoted by the main clause predicate is realized.

4.2 Nominal clause

The meaning ‘to wait for someone to do something’ can be expressed by using a nominal clause (example (43b)), as well as using an Irrealis phrase (example (43a)). There are some speakers who do not use nominal clause to express this meaning. Those speakers who use both say that there is a difference in meaning.

(43) a. t-em-aga [‘e-’iyah sapah laqi].
   AV-wait RDP-CV.FUT.come house child
   S/He waits for her/his child to come home.

b. t-em-aga [m-iyah sapah (ka) laqi].
   AV-wait AV-come house NOM child
   S/He waits for her/his child to come home.
Those who use both say that nominal clause is used if it is clear when the event happens. If it is not clear when the event happens, Irrealis phrase is used (example (44a)), and nominal clause cannot be used (example (44b)).

(44) a. t-em-aga=ku [ke-deNu lukus].
   AV-wait=1s.NOM CV.FUT-be:dry clothes
   I am waiting for (the) clothes to get dry.

b. *t-em-aga=ku [me-deNu (ka) lukus].
   AV-wait=1s.NOM AV-be:dry NOM clothes
   One cannot know when the clothes get dry (unless one uses a clothes dryer with a timer, but that is not common in the Seediq community).

A typical use of nominal clauses is to express ‘to know that … (some present/past/future situation)’. One cannot use Irrealis phrase to express such a meaning.

5. Discussion

Several questions arise concerning the adverbial function of CV future form. Why does the CV Future phrase express purpose? What is the relationship between the meaning of predicate/referential phrase and that of adverbial phrase? Why does only the CV Future phrase have an adverbial function, originally?

That it is a future form that expresses purpose meaning is easier to explain. Purpose meaning entails future meaning. So it is natural that a future form is used to express purpose meaning.

Then why does it have to be a CV Future form, not AV or GV Future form? Is the purpose meaning related to the semantic roles such as Conveyed theme, Instrument, and Beneficiary, which a CV form expresses when it is used as a referential phrase? Is it possible to reinterpret these to express purpose in some way or another? Or is there no relationship at all? This is rather a difficult question, so let us begin by elimination.

An AV Future phrase, as a referential phrase, expresses ‘a person who will do ... in future/does ... constantly’. A GV Future phrase expresses ‘an object for someone to do the action to’, ‘the one who will give something to’, ‘the place where one will do the action’, and so on. The meaning of the AV future form seems hard to be reinterpreted to mean purpose. How about the GV future phrase? Among the meanings of the GV future form, ‘the place where one will do the action’ seems rather far from the purpose meaning. ‘The object for one to do the action to’ and ‘the one who one will give something to’ seems to be possible to be reinterpreted to express purpose. If a CV Future phrase be-begay=na hiya’an ‘the thing for him/her to give to him/her,’ (example (15)) is
reinterpreted to mean ‘so that s/he will give [one] to him/her’, then a GV Future phrase keret-un=na kiya ‘the thing for him/her to cut later’ may be reinterpreted to mean ‘so that s/he will cut later’.

There is one difference between a CV phrase and a GV phrase; a CV phrase is higher in clausehood than a GV phrase. As we saw in §3.1, a CV Future phrase can take A/S argument and Patient argument simultaneously, whereas a GV phrase cannot contain Patient or Recipient inside3 since it expresses Patient or Recipient itself. It is more natural and frequent for a CV phrase to take both arguments. So it is more natural for a CV phrase to express clause-like notion, such as purpose.

We can find some common features between the predicate/referential meanings Beneficiary and Instrument and the adverbial meaning purpose. Beneficiary and Instrument are rather peripheral to the main verb meaning, and this may lead to subjunctive meaning. Purpose is also subjunctive in meaning.

Crosslinguistically also, semantics of Beneficiary, one of the meanings a CV form expresses, and purpose is related. English preposition ‘for’, for example, is used to mark both beneficiary and purpose. Kinyarwanda also uses the same applicative suffix -ir/-er to take benefactive argument and purpose clause (Thompson and Longacre 1985: 186-187). Imbabura Quechua also, uses beneficiary case form of Irrealis noun to express beneficiary, and purpose (Ebina, personal communication). There may be a similar analogy in Seediq also. For example, ke-karik=na sagas may mean ‘a person/an instrument for whom someone will cut the watermelon’, and it may be reinterpreted to mean ‘so that someone will cut the watermelon’.

Why does only CV future phrase, and not other future phrases, have such an extra function? Its meaning and its clause-like nature are important factors, as I noted above.

CV forms seem to be a mélange of unrelated forms, morphologically and syntactically, as I will show below. So it is not so queer to think that CV future form happened to have this function.

Morphologically, the formation of CV forms from the stem is quite inconsistent. CV neutral form is made of a prefix and the stem, CV future form of reduplication and the stem, CV perfect form of an infix and the stem, and CV non-finite form and hortative form of the stem and a suffix.

Syntactically, their behavior with monotransitive verbs is not so coherent, although their behavior when they are used with ditransitive verbs is quite uniform, as I showed in section 2, and this is the reason I classified these forms into CV. CV perfect form of some monotransitive verbs, for example, can take Patient as the subject, and cannot take Beneficiary as the subject.

---

3 GV phrase also can take both when it expresses location (for somebody to do something), but the meaning of location is rather unrelated here.
Related to the incoherency of CV forms syntax, it is interesting to note that a CV neutral phrase can express ‘reason to do the action denoted by the verb’ (see (25), (26), (27); Tsukida 2005:327), in addition to the meanings already mentioned in section 2.1. When one says ‘reason to do ...’ in Seediq, tense is neutralized, whereas tense is distinguished by using either CV neutral form or CV future form, when a CV form expresses Conveyed theme, Instrument or Beneficiary. All the tenses are expressed by CV neutral form (example (45)) when one say ‘reason to do ....’

(45) manu ka [se-’iyah=na hini]? what NOM CV-come=3s.GEN here
What is the reason s/he came/comes/will come here?
(=Why does/did/will s/he come here?)

Instead, it is the purpose or irrealis meaning that is expressed by CV future form. It is summarized in Table 3.

Table 3: CV neutral form, CV future form and their meaning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CV neutral form</th>
<th>Conveyed theme, Instrument4</th>
<th>Beneficiary</th>
<th>Reason/Irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV future form</td>
<td>What will be conveyed in doing the action (referential phrase)</td>
<td>One for whom one will do the action (referential phrase)</td>
<td>Purpose, irrealis (adverbial phrase)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Summary

This paper introduced the adverbial function of CV Future phrases, expressing purpose or an irrealis event. Besides being used as a predicate phrase and as a referential phrase, CV Future phrase is used as an adverbial phrase as well. Inside the phrase is just

---

4 Instrument can be explained as an extended Conveyed theme. Only such instruments that are moved to a kind of goal or a target are expressed by CV forms. Knife, for example, is moved to the target of cutting during the action. Spear, for example, is moved to the target of thrusting during the action. Instrument which are perceived as a kind of Inner Locative, such as a pan used in cooking, a washing machine used in laundry, or a whetstone used in sharpening a knife, are expressed not by CV forms, but rather by a GV neutral form.
the same as any verb phrase that functions as a referential phrase. Although it expresses event, it is a phrase, since no subject appears inside it (§3.1). It functions as predicate, subject, or oblique element in a clause (§3.2). Arguments within the Irrealis phrase may be co-referent with an NP outside, but need not be (§3.3). One can change the voice of the main clause that contains an Irrealis phrase. Then the Irrealis phrase becomes the subject (§3.4). In section 4, we clarified the meaning of the Irrealis phrase by comparing similar constructions. In section 5, we discussed the relationship between purpose meaning and other meanings of CV future form.

**References**


