The analysis of Subject-to-Subject and Subject-to-Object Raising differs only in specifics. Slightly different senses are thus attributed to likely in (19)(a) and (b): a process serves as the overall trajector of LIKELY in (19)(a); the trajector of this process is specified instead as the overall trajector of LIKELY' in (19)(b), but the process remains in the base and functions as the active zone for the interaction of the overall trajector with the probability scale. The to-clause in (19)(b) elaborates the active zone periphrastically, but on occasion it can be omitted, as seen in (20).

(19)(a) For the dog to escape is likely.
(b) The dog is likely to escape.
(20)(a) A war is likely.
(b) Do you think anyone will come to the party?
Well, Tom is likely.
(21)(a) I would expect for the Clippers to lose again.
(b) I would expect the Clippers to lose again.
(c) When do you expect Tom?

In similar fashion, slightly different predications are associated with expect in (21)(a) and (b). A process functions as the overall landmark of EXPECT in (21)(a), but the trajector of this process is so designated by EXPECT' in (21)(b). The landmark process of (21)(a) is nevertheless an active zone in (21)(b), where it is elaborated periphrastically by the to-clause. While such elaboration is generally obligatory, sentences like (21)(c) show that it is optional with expect when the process is understood to involve nothing more than arrival on the scene.

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Case Marking and Subjecthood in Kipeá Kirirí

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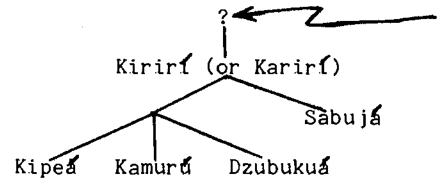
Kipeá Kirirí is a dialect (or language) of the now extinct Kirirí language (or language family), shown in (1), formerly spoken in the state of Paraíba in northeastern Brazil (IBGE 1981).

(1) Kirirí relationships (cf. Mason 1950:287)



Equatorial (Greenberg 1959:22)
Macro-Carib (Swadesh 1959:20)
Macro-Gê (Rodrigues 1975:4035)
"isolate" (Rivet and Loukotka 1952:1128)

Kipeá is attested only in a grammar (Mamiani 1699) and a catechism (Mamiani 1698) written in the late seventeenth century by the Italian Jesuit priest Luiz Vincencio Mamiani (Lodovico Vincenzo Mamiani della Rovere). The other forms of Kirirí (Kamurú, Dzubukuá, and Sabujá) are even less well attested than Kipeá, as can be seen from the annotated references (section B) at the end of this paper.

Though Mamiani's grammar is generally quite thorough and insightful for a grammar of its antiquity, he was forced by his traditional Latin-based model of grammar to present a seemingly bizarre analysis of the verbs according to which some verbs were considered to be inherently "passive" with no corresponding active form, and all other verbs were said to belong to a class of "neutral" (or "non-passive") verbs.[1] For example, in (2)[2]

(2) Ø-pa-kri Paulo no ñiho
3-BE.KILLED-past PAULO(nom) ablative INDIAN
'Paulo was killed by the Indian'

the verb pa was classed as a "passive" verb because it supposedly had "passive meaning" ('be killed' rather than 'kill'), its nominative subject was a patient, and the agent appeared not as the subject but rather as the object of the preposition no which was said to indicate the "ablative of agent". Mamiani was careful to point out, however, that such "passive" verbs had no corresponding active form. Neutral verbs included ones like uipabo 'confess' seen in

(3) s-uipabo do di-buãge-te
3-CONFESS acc 3reflexive-BAD-participle
's/he confesses his/her (own) sins'

where the meaning of the verb is active ('confess' rather than 'be confessed'), the nominative subject is often an agent (as in 3), and the "direct object", if there is one, is indicated by the "accusative" preposition do. Mamiani resisted calling verbs such as the one in (3) "active" verbs because he felt that this would imply that they had a corresponding passive form, which they do not.[3]

Subsequent investigators have not been content with Mamiani's analysis and have attempted to recast his data in more modern linguistic terms. For example, Baptista Gaetana d'A. Nageira in his introduction to the second edition of Mamiani's grammar argued that in a sentence like

(4) si-di no Tupã ku-doho
    3-BE.GIVEN abl GOD 1pl.inclusive-dative
    'it was given to us by God'

the so-called passive verb di is really active and that no should be considered an object clitic on the verb similar in function to the object clitics in Portuguese. Then Tupã would be the (unmarked) direct object of the active verb (also as in Portuguese). Note, however, that while such an analysis might work for an example like (4), it will not work in (2) where an overt subject NP intervenes between the verb and the supposed clitic. Rodrigues (1942) argued that the do in sentences like (3) is actually not a prepostion but the definite article preceding the direct object NP, which is unmarked for case (again as in Portuguese). Note, however, that this analysis would mean that "neutral verbs" could only have definite direct objects and that no other NPs could be marked for definiteness.[4] Corrêa de Azevedo (1965) considers no and do to be prepositions, as did Mamiani. However, she considers the NPs marked by either of these prepositions to be "objects" of transitive clauses ("sentences with obligatory objects"), and seems to let pass without comment the fact that some of these "objects" are semantic patients (as might be expected) while others are semantic agents. She also sets up two verb classes comparable to Mamiani's "passive" and "neutral" classes; however, these classes are distinguished purely by morphological criteria rather than by their semantics: one class includes those verbs which can take the prefix u- while the other class consists of those verbs which cannot take this prefix (see the discussion of relative clauses below). Mamiani had also noticed this fact but apparently did not consider it to be the defining characteristic of his verb classes.

In the end it can be seen that these later treatments of the verb classes and case-marking are no more satisfying than Mamiani's, largely because of the failure of all of these investigators to recognize Kipeá as an ergative language. My own reanalysis of the case-marking is summarized in Table 1.

Examples (5-7) illustrate case-marking pattern A (cf. 5 and 7 with 2 and 4).

Case-marking pattern	I	II	III
A	ergative	nominative	(dative)
B	nominative	(dative)*	(dative/allative)

I = agent, experiencer, source; II = patient; III = goal

*with a few verbs this argument is marked with some other case, usually a locative one, rather than with the dative

Table 1: Kipeá Case-marking

(5) Ø-pa-kri Paulo no ñiho
    3-KILL-perfective PAULO(nom) erg INDIAN
    'the Indian killed Paulo'
(6) bɨsapri-kri ewacã e-na-ho
    WHIP-perf YOU 2-erg-intensive
    'you whipped yourself'
(7) si-di no Tupã ku-do-ho
    3-GIVE erg GOD 1pl.incl-dat-intens
    'God gave it to us'

A nominative NP is unmarked for case and often appears as either a full noun phrase, as in (5), or an independent pronoun, as in (6), in the first argument position after the verb. Most often, however, a pronominalized nominative does not appear as an independent pronoun but rather is indicated only by a agreement prefix on the verb, as in (7). The verb also generally shows agreement with a full nominative NP, but it never shows agreement with an independent pronoun. All non-nominative arguments are marked for case by an inflectable preposition like the ones shown in Table 2, as can be seen in the examples above. Examples (8-13) illustrate case-marking pattern B (cf. 3 with 13).

(8) ma proh ewacã mo su-su ñewo
    BURN THEN YOU loc 3-FIRE DEVIL
    'then you would burn in the devil's fire'
(9) Ø-unu-iʒã bæ hi-si bo hi-se
    3-SUFFER-TRULY AND 1-HEART vocative 1-LORD
    'and my heart truly suffers, my lord'
(10) e-koto kune do su-tayu a
    2-STEAL BY.CHANCE dat 3-MONEY plural
    'did you steal his money?'
(11) s-uka Tupã ku-do-ho
    3-WANT GOD 1pl.incl-dat-intens
    'God loves us'

(12) so de a-keiko do e-buđge-te do ware
WHY 2-HIDE dat 2-BAD-nominal dat PRIEST
'why did you hide your sins from the priest?'
(13) s-uipabo do di-buđge-te so ware
3-CONFESS dat 3refl-BAD-nominal allat PRIEST
's/he confesses his/her sins to the priest'

	uninflected form (used with full NP)	inflected form
ergative:	no	-ña/ $\left\{\begin{matrix} \text{hi-} \\ \text{i-} \end{matrix}\right\}$ ___ -na/elsewhere
dative (& instrumental):	do	-dio(-ho)/ $\left\{\begin{matrix} \text{hi-} \\ \text{i-} \end{matrix}\right\}$ ___ -do(-ho)/elsewhere
allative:	so	-ai
ablative:	bo	-bo
locative ('in, on'):	mo	-diomo/ $\left\{\begin{matrix} \text{hi-} \\ \text{i-} \end{matrix}\right\}$ ___ -domo/elsewhere

Note: there are several other prepositions, but none of the others have an "uninflected form" like those above; that is, they must always be inflected.

Table 2: Kipeá Prepositions

This pattern is used not only with one place intransitive verbs like those in (8) and (9), but also with two- and three-place intransitives like those in (10-13), which generally translate as transitives.

It can be seen, then, that Kipeá appears to have an ergative case-marking system. This in itself is perhaps not particularly noteworthy. However, after noting some of the superficial similarities between Kipeá and certain other ergative languages, I will attempt to demonstrate that Kipeá is in fact quite unusual in that the notion of subjecthood in this language is very different from the notion of subjecthood in other better known languages. In particular I intend to show that in Kipeá, subjecthood is to a large extent determined by a notion of "affectedness" inherent in the lexical semantics of the verbs.

The case-marking system illustrated in Table 1 is very much like that found in some other better-known ergative languages. For example, Georgian, according to Harris (1981:1), has the case-marking patterns shown in Table 3, examples of which are

shown in (14).

Case-marking pattern	Subject	Direct Object	Indirect Object
A	ergative	nominative	(dative)
B	nominative	(dative)	(dative)
C	dative	nominative	("tvis-nominal")

Table 3: Georgian (South Caucasian or Kartvelian) Case-marking

(14) Georgian (Harris 1981:1)
(Note: I, II, III = tense/aspect/mood categories;
1, 2, 3, 4 = verb classes)

(a) glexma datesa simindi
PEASANT-erg HE-SOWED-IT-II-1 CORN-nom
'the peasant sowed the corn'
(b) glexi tesavs siminds
PEASANT-nom HE-SOWS-IT-I-1 CORN-dat
'the peasant is sowing the corn'
(c) glexs dautesavs simindi
PEASANT-dat HE-SOWED-IT-III-1 CORN-nom
'the peasant has sowed corn'

Similarly, the North Central Caucasian languages Chechen and Ingush show the patterns in Table 4, as reported in Nichols (1984). Ingush examples of these patterns are given in (15).

Case-marking pattern	Subject	First Object	Second Object
A (transitive)	ergative	nominative	(oblique)*
B (intransitive)	nominative	(oblique)*	
C (inverse)	dative	nominative	

*oblique = dative, allative, or locative

Table 4: Chechen-Ingush (North Central Caucasian or Nakh) Case-marking

(15) Ingush (Nichols 1984)

```
(a) na:nas        biera:      kuoč̌      t'a-ju:x
    MOTHER-erg CHILD-dat SHIRT-nom ON-DRESSES
    'the mother puts a shirt on the child'
(b) swo     cunna     bʕar-ħež̌
    I-nom HIM-dat EYE-LOOK
    'I'm looking at him'
(c) suona   yz    kiniška   d-iez
    ME-dat THIS BOOK-nom class-LIKE
    'I like this book'
```

It can be seen by comparing Tables 1, 3, and 4 that the case-marking patterns of Kipeá are very much like the A and B patterns of Georgian and Chechen-Ingush. There are also a very few verbs in Kipeá which look superficially like "inverse" verbs requiring a pattern similar to the pattern C in Georgian and Chechen-Ingush, but with the allative case used instead of the dative. Examples of the three such verbs that I have found are seen in (16).

```
(16) (a) ...do  di-ne           so    di-kãgi-kie-ri
             dat 3refl-LOOK.AT allat 3refl-WELL-neg-nominal
             '...to take care of the sick'
             (lit. 'to look to s/he-who-is-not-well')
     (b) ...bo  di-ñikiẽgi              ey-ai
             abl 3refl-CAUSE.COMPASSION 2-allat
             '...that you take pity on him'
             (lit. 'that he cause compassion to you')
     (c) i-tu    Jesu   Christo do          bihe i-ñuræ
         3-TALK JESUS CHRIST   apposition ONE  3-SON
         Tupã do     ku-se          a  hi-ai
         GOD  appos 1pl.incl-LORD pl 1-allat
         'I believe in Jesus Christ, the only son of God,
          our lord' (lit. 'Jesus Christ, the one son of
          God, our lord, talks to me')
```

On closer examination, however, it would appear, especially when considering their literal meaning, that the examples in (16) are best analyzed as examples of pattern B with allative goal and no patient expressed.

It is interesting, though perhaps coincidental, that Harris (1981) also argues for collapsing patterns B and C in Georgian, accounting for the observed differences between the two patterns by means of the syntactic rules of Inversion and Unaccusative. This, however, brings up some important differences between Georgian on the one hand and Chechen, Ingush, and Kipeá on the other. For one thing, the three case-marking patterns of Georgian are traditionally considered to depend on the morphological class of the verb and the particular tense/aspect/mood category that it is used in. For example, the class 1 verb shown in (14) can appear

with all three patterns depending on its tense, aspect, and mood. This is not the case, however, in Chechen, Ingush, and Kipeá, where the case-marking patterns are lexically determined by the verb; that is, each verb may be used with one and only one of the possible case marking patterns. For Kipeá this means that verbs may be grouped into two classes: those which require pattern A, which are Mamiani's "passive" verbs, and those which require pattern B, which are Mamiani's neutral verbs.[5] The three case-marking patterns of Chechen-Ingush are apparently determined by the valence of the verb and the semantic roles of the arguments that the verb is subcategorized for. According to Nichols (1984:185) there is a fairly close correlation between surface case and semantic role with agents usually showing up as ergative, experiencers as dative, goals as either dative or allative, and patients as nominative. It can be seen from Table 1, however, that the relationship between surface case and semantic role is not that straightforward in Kipeá.

Another important difference between Georgian and the other languages discussed here is that in Georgian, as argued by Harris (1981), there are syntactic rules like Passive, Inversion, etc. which change grammatical relations; and that by studying these and their interactions, one can identify subjects, direct objects, and indirect objects in Georgian. Thus, despite the differences in surface case-marking, Harris argues that those arguments represented by the left-hand column in Table 3 are final subjects, those in the middle column are final direct objects, and those in the right-hand column are final indirect objects. In Chechen-Ingush, however, there are no such rules. Thus, it is impossible to determine whether those arguments identified as "first object" and "second object" in Table 4 are terms or non-terms in the Relational Grammar sense. Even the identification of subjects in Chechen-Ingush is not quite as straightforward as it might seem since, according to Nichols (1984:194), reflexivization and chained clauses are controlled by discourse theme, not subject. Nevertheless, Nichols (1984:195) identifies those arguments represented by the left-hand column of Table 4 as subjects on the basis of, among other things, the fairly rigid word order, a hierarchy of semantic roles, and on the basis of which argument is the preferred theme. Thus, the argument that Nichols identifies as subject in Chechen and Ingush corresponds to that argument that Harris identifies as final subject in Georgian.

In Kipeá too there are no syntactic rules, like those in Georgian, that would allow one to argue for non-subject termhood. There are a number of syntactic tests which will identify subjects; however, these tests show that the subject in Kipeá is not the argument in column I of Table 1, which would correspond to the subjects in Georgian and Chechen-Ingush; rather, these tests consistently show that the subject in Kipeá is always the nominative NP in both case-marking patterns.

To see this, let us first consider how reflexives are formed. We have already seen a non-third person relfexive in (6), which was formed merely by having two second person arguments in the clause. With third person reflexives the situation is different. In Kipeá there are two sets of third person agreement prefixes. One set indicates the ordinary third person as seen for example in (17) on the verb and on the word meaning 'house'.

(17) Ø-pa-kri Paulo no ñiho mo s-era
3-KILL-perf PAULO erg INDIAN loc 3-HOUSE
'the Indian$_i$ killed Paulo$_j$ in his$_i$ house'

There is, however, another set of reflexive third person prefixes. On nouns these are used whenever the possessor of the noun is coreferential with the nominative NP of the clause. Thus, (18) is the same as (17) except here the house is possessed by Paulo rather than the Indian, so 'house' has the reflexive prefix.

(18) Ø-pa-kri Paulo no ñiho mo d-era
3refl-HOUSE
'the Indian$_i$ killed Paulo$_j$ in his$_j$ house'

A similar example with a pattern B verb is shown in (19).

(19) Ø-ẽke uinu i-woboho di-de
3-CRY CHILD 3-FOR 3refl-MOTHER
'the child$_i$ cries for his$_i$ mother'

Third person reflexive clauses are then formed by using the reflexive prefix with the ergative preposition when the verb is a pattern A verb as in (20), or with the dative preposition when the verb is a pattern B verb as in (21).

(20) Ø-pa-kri d-na-ho
3-KILL-perf 3refl-erg-intens
's/he killed him/herself'

(21) s-uka di-do-ho
3-WANT 3refl-dat-intens
's/he loves him/herself'

Thus it can be seen that in both pattern A and pattern B it is the nominative NP, never the ergative NP, which dictates the use of the reflexive prefix on nouns and prepositions. This then indicates that the nominative NP is the subject in both pattern A and pattern B. Further evidence for this can be seen in the use of the reflexive prefix on verbs. The reflexive prefix will appear on a verb in certain types of complement clauses just in case its subject, i. e. the nominative NP, is coreferential with the subject of the main clause. Thus in (22) the purpose clause contains a pattern B verb meaning 'steal' whose third person subject is coreferential with, or controlled by, the subject of the main clause. Therefore, the verb meaning 'steal' has the reflexive agreement prefix.

(22) Ø-te-kri do di-koto
3-COME-perf dat 3refl-STEAL
's/he came to steal'

Similarly, in (23) there are two conjoined purpose clauses containing pattern A verbs.

(23) Ø-kro-yo ucᵛe s-ai Ø-pi-kri mo rada
3-BE-MANY SUN 3-allat 3-BE-perf loc EARTH

bo di-neco no di-de do Santa Maria
abl 3refl-SEE erg 3refl-MOTHER appos SAINT MARY

no di-ñuñu do apostro a ,
erg 3refl-SON appos APOSTLE pl

no dehẽ, bo i-krocãbɨ a i-ña
ALSO abl 3-CONSOLE pl 3-erg

'he stayed many days on earth to be seen by his mother, Saint Mary, (and) by his sons, the apostles, and to console them'

In the first such clause, meaning 'so that his mother, Saint Mary, and his sons, the apostles, could see him', the nominative subject of the pattern A verb neco (namely, the 'him' of the translation) is coreferential with the matrix clause subject (i. e., the subject of pikri). Therefore, neco has the reflexive prefix. In the second purpose clause, meaning 'to console them', the third person subject of the pattern A verb krocãbɨ is not coreferential with the matrix clause subject, but rather with the ergative NP of the first purpose clause ('his mother, Saint Mary, and his sons, the apostles'). Therefore, krocãbɨ has the ordinary third person prefix. Note that the ergative NP in the second purpose clause (iña) is coreferential with the main clause subject, but it also does not take the reflexive prefix because it is not itself a subject.

Finally we can consider relative clauses. One way to form relative clauses can be seen in (24).

(24) (a) Pero, di-pa-kri-ri hi-ña
PEDRO 3refl-KILL-perf-nominal 1-erg
'...Pedro, who I killed'

(b) Tupã, d-uka-ri hi-dio-ho
GOD 3refl-WANT-nominal 1-dat-intens
'...God, who loves me'

The verb in the relative clause appears in a special nominalized form which requires the third person reflexive prefix. As can be seen, nominative subjects can be relativized this way regardless of whether the verb is a pattern A verb as in (24a) or a pattern B verb as in (24b). The ergative argument of a pattern A verb may also be relativized as seen in (25).

(25) Pero, d-u-pa-kri-ri kraʒo
PEDRO 3refl-prefix-KILL-perf-nominal COW
'...Pedro, who killed the cow'

However, when this happens, the verb must have a special prefix u- after the reflexive prefix. Thus, once again it can be seen that nominative NPs are treated the same way in both case-marking patterns while ergative NPs are treated in a different and more marked way. All of these facts indicate that the nominative NP is the subject in both case-marking patterns. It has often been pointed out that languages like Georgian, Chechen, and Ingush are morphologically ergative but syntactically non-ergative. The facts presented here, however, show that Kipeá displays not only morphological but also syntactic ergativity.[6]

Having shown that the subject in Kipeá is always the nominative NP, never the ergative NP, I now want to consider the motivation for the two classes of verbs. Hopper and Thompson (1980) note that in other languages with multiple case-marking patterns such as those we have been looking at, the type A pattern is associated with high Transitivity and the B type with low Transitivity. They cite Samoan as an example of a language where the class of more active verbs like 'hit' require an ergative case-marking pattern like the Kipeá pattern A, while less active verbs like 'see' require a non-ergative pattern like the Kipeá pattern B. An example is seen in (26).

(26) Samoan (Hopper and Thompson 1980:270)
(a) ergative
na fasi e le tama le teine
tense HIT erg THE BOY THE GIRL
'the boy hit the girl'
(b) non-ergative
na va'ai le tama i le teine
tense SEE THE BOY oblique THE GIRL
'the boy saw the girl'

Intuitively it would seem that the situation is similar in Kipeá. Pattern A verbs include ones like 'kill', which should be of high transitivity; and pattern B verbs include ones like 'love', which should be of lower transitivity. In order to test this hypothesis, I took the 26 pattern A verbs shown in Table 5 and the 35 two- and three-place pattern B verbs shown in Table 6 from Mamiani's grammar and catechism and tried to rate them according to the Transitivity parameters shown in Table 7. Since all of the verbs in Tables 5 and 6 have two or more participants, I did not include parameter A of Table 7 in the calculations. Nor did I include F and G since these depend entirely on other elements of the sentence in which the verb is used and not on lexical

	TRANSITIVITY	CONSEQUENTIALITY
1. bãbi 'order, command'	4	?
2. beñe 'explain, declare, announce, show'	4.5	+
3. bɨsapri 'whip'	6.5	?
4. di 'give'	6	+
5. do 'receive'	6	+
6. he 'anoint'	4.5	?
7. kru 'drink'	4	+
8. mɨ 'take (away), carry (off), receive'	6	+
9. mɨibæ 'lift, raise'	4	+
10. mɨpere 'make leave, take (away, off, out)'	6	+
11. mɨte 'make come, bring'	5	+
12. moro 'do thus, perform an act'	4	+
13. neco 'see'	2	+
'know'	1	−
14. nio 'make'	6	+
15. nuñe 'guard, protect, keep safe, save'	4	− (?)
16. pa 'kill'	7	+
17. pedi 'find'	5	+
18. po 'spank, strike, beat'	6.5	+
19. podedo 'crucify'	6	+
20. ti 'throw down'	6	+
21. tikro 'cast, throw, hurl, fling'	6	+
22. to 'institute, make, cause, prepare'	5	+
23. uriwo 'help'	4.5	+
24. waikucu 'baptize'	6	+
25. wowõge 'deceive'	4.5	+
26. ya(h)i 'conceive'	5	?

Table 5: Pattern A Verbs

properties of the verb itself. Some of the other parameters such as the potency of the agent and the individuation of the patient also depend on other elements in the clause, but by trying to imagine prototypical scenes that might be described by the verb, I attempted to include these parameters too. This of course makes the whole enterprise a little slippery; but by giving a verb one point for each high Transitivity parameter that it seemed to have, and a half point in questionable cases, I came up with the Transitivity figures in Tables 5 and 6. Here it can be seen that in general the pattern A verbs exhibit higher transitivity than the pattern B verbs. There seems to be a serious glitch in the pattern, though, with verb number 13 in Table 5. However, Hopper and Thompson (1980:270) note that in the Northwest Caucasian language Adyghe an ergative case-marking pattern is used with 'see' while a non-ergative pattern is used with 'to look at'. They note that with these verbs "the completeness and totality of the action provide the deciding criterion: 'seeing' means taking in the whole of something, while 'looking at' suggests partial and indirect effect." We seem to have a similar situation, then, with Kipeá

	TRANSITIVITY	CONSEQUENTIALITY
26. biʒə̃krada 'be disgusted, be nauseated, loathe'	1.5	-
27. bɨto 'fornicate'	4.5	-
28. ede 'dislike'	1	+
29. erekidi 'ask (about)'	4	+
30. keiko 'cover (up), conceal, hide'	3.5	+
31. kẽde 'order, command, advise'	4	?
32. koto 'steal'	3.5	+
33. krikie 'ask (for)'	4	+
34. marã 'fight'	4.5	-
35. me 'speak'	3	+
36. mepedi 'slander, defame'	3.5	-
37. ne 'to look at watch, guard'	3	-
38. neyẽta 'desire'	1	-
39. ñikiẽgi 'pity'	2	-
40. ñikoro 'not want to, not feel like, not be in the mood for'	1	?
41. ñikræ 'want to, feel like, be in the mood for'	1	?
42. re 'become irritated, upset'	2	-
43. tu 'talk'	3	-
44. ubi 'see'	2	+
45. ucocoho 'tease'	4.5	-
46. uibo 'vomit'	2	+
47. uipabo 'confess'	4	+
48. uka 'want, love'	2	+
49. ubete 'recognize'	4	-
50. ukẽbi 'make a mistake about, be wrong about'	1	+
51. una 'distribute'	4	+
52. une 'know how to make'	1	?
53. upre 'lie'	3	+
54. use 'become happy'	2.5	+
55. uwañi 'to need'	1	?
56. wi 'become'	2.5	?
57. winu 'dare'	2	?
58. worone 'tell'	4	+
59. woroyẽta 'admire what is seen, look with admiration'	1.5	?
60. yako 'grow tired of, bored with'	2	+

Table 6: Pattern B Verbs

verbs 13 (Table 5) and 37 (Table 6) (though we may still have a problem with verb no. 44 in Table 7). There is also a problem in the observed overlap between the Transitivity scores of the two sets of verbs in the 4 - 4.5 range. It would be nice if this could be attributed to faulty calculation, but it is not certain that that is the case.

	HIGH	LOW
A. Participants	2 or more	1
B. Kinesis	action	non-action
C. Aspect	telic	atelic
D. Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
E. Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional
F. Affirmation	affirmative	negative
G. Mode	realis	irrealis
H. Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. Affectedness of O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. Individuation of O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

Table 7: Transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980:252)

To get another perspective on this, I also considered Chafe's (1980) notion of "consequentiality". According to Chafe there is an aspect suffix in Seneca which he calls the "stative aspect" suffix. On some verbs this suffix seems to indicate perfect while with some other verbs it seems to indicate progressive. There is also a very small number of ambiguous verbs where the meaning of the stative suffix depends on the context. Chafe feels that those verbs for which the stative suffix means perfect describe events which have perceptible consequences while those for which the meaning is progressive do not have such consequences. He also notes that there is a similar phenomenon in Japanese, except that in Japanese the class of ambiguous verbs is much larger than in Seneca. In comparing non-ambiguous verbs in these two languages, Chafe discovered that there is a very high degree of agreement as to which verbs are consequential and which are not. While English does not have anything like the Seneca stative suffix, Chafe conducted an experiment which showed that English speakers also seem to be sensitive to the notion of consequentiality and again showed a high degree of correlation between the different languages as to which verbs are judged to be consequential.

The notion of consequentiality seems to be related to some of the Transitivity parameters, especially parameter I since those verbs whose patients are totally affected should be consequential. For each of the verbs in Tables 5 and 6 I tried to find a Seneca equivalent and determine its consequentiality.[7] It can be seen in Table 5 that all of the pattern A verbs for which I found Seneca equivalents were consequential except for 13 in one, but not both, of its senses, and for 15. I have no explanation for 15 other than to say that the Seneca verb may not have actually been equivalent. The pattern B verbs in Table 6, however, are really a mixed bag: some are consequential and some non-consequential.[8] However, it should be noted that for all of the pattern A verbs, between the agent or experiencer and the patient, the participant that is most affected by, or which most suffers or benefits from the consequences of, the event described by the verb is the patient; and the patient is the subject for all of these verbs. The claim I want to make is this: for those pattern B verbs which are consequential, it is not the patient that is most affected (as it is with the pattern A verbs) but rather the agent or experiencer. Thus, for example, in verb no. 28 'dislike', it is the "disliker", not the "disliked", which is typically most affected by the disliking; and it is the "disliker", not the "disliked", which appears as the subject. In Larsen (1982) I argued that in the Mayan language Aguacatec there were certain situations in which the notion of affectedness entered into the determination of which participant would be be expressed as the subject. In Kipeá, however, it seems that affectedness is probably the most important feature of subjecthood. For many languages people have attempted to relate in some way the notion of subject to discourse notions like theme, topic, or viewpoint (see, e. g., DeLancey 1981) or to notions of semantic role (see e. g., Fillmore 1968) or both (see, e. g., Bates and MacWhinney 1982). In Kipeá, however, it would appear that the notion of subject has little directly to do with such things. In general is seems that the subject in Kipeá is that participant which is typically most highly affected by the event or situation described by the verb.

NOTES

1. Although this is, in fact, what Mamiani says on pp. 25-6 of the second edition of his grammar, he claims later (p. 64) that there are actually three classes: "passive", "neutral", and "substantive". "Substantive verbs" are in fact just nouns and adjectives used as predicates. Mamiani was forced into this kind of classification by his Latin-based model of grammar: Kipeá has no verb corresponding to the Latin sum. In Corrêa de Azevado's (1965) treatment of Kipeá grammar, all adjectives are considered to be "stative verbs". In both treatments it appears that Mamiani's "substantive verbs" and Corrêa de Azevedo's "stative verbs" function just like "neutral verbs" when used as predicates.
2. Though I have some reservations about it, all Kipeá forms will be cited according to the phonemic analysis presented in Corrêa de Azevedo (1965). The phonemic symbols which differ from those of Mamiani's original orthography are: /k/ = <k>/__i,e , = <c>/elsewhere; /g/ = <gh>/__i,e , = <g>/elsewhere; /c/ = <ts, tç>; /č/ ([š, č]) = <ch, tch>; /ʒ/ = <dz>; /ǯ/ = <dj>; /ñ/ = <nh>; /ŋ/ = some <ngh>/__i; /ɨ/ = <ŷ>; /ã/ = <ân, âm>; other /V̄/ = <V̄, Vn, Vm>.
3. Mamiani notes in his grammar (2nd ed., pp. 67-8) that "substantive verbs", and some "neutral verbs" (i. e., apparently some, but not all, of those one-place intransitives which can have patient subjects), can be turned into "passives" by the addition to the clause of an agent NP, marked by the preposition no. He is careful to note, however, that this should not be considered "passivization". He says that in a true passive the "nominative" becomes "ablative", but in Kipeá the "nominative" stays "nominative", and the "ablative of cause" is just added to indicate the agent.
4. Judging from his presentation of Kipeá material in class (UC Berkeley, 1983), I gather that Rodrigues has abandoned this analysis.
5. Except, of course, for those one-place intransitive pattern B verbs mentioned in footnote 3, which can take an added ergative argument, thus being able to appear in both pattern A and pattern B clauses. An example is

   (i) Ø-kuñi
       3-COLD
       'it is cold'
   (ii) Ø-kuñi e-na
       3-COLD 2-erg
       'you made it cold'

   All such verbs are basically pattern B verbs which can be turned into causatives by the addition of the ergative argument.
6. If Dixon's (1979) claims about the universality of notions like A, S, and O and the universality of the notion of Subject = {A, S} are correct, then it can be said that Kipeá displays syntactic ergativity in that subordination seems to operate on an S/O pivot (see Dixon 1979:120-5). However, it is not clear to me that the notion of Subject = {A, S} has any relevance at all to Kipeá grammar. Discussion of this is beyond the scope of this paper, however, I might mention that it is not clear that A and S are treated the same way, and differently from O, in Kipeá imperatives. In Marantz's (1981) theory, it would appear that Kipeá would be a true "ergative language", as opposed to a "nominative/accusative type B" language (i. e., one that displayed only morphological ergativity). I believe Marantz's notion of a true "ergative language" constitutes a kind of "syntactic ergativity", though not necessarily the same kind of syntactic ergativity that Dixon discusses.
7. Most of this information came from Chafe (1967). Some of these items were kindly elicited from or checked with native speakers by Chafe.
8. It is interesting, and I think also significant, that all of the pattern B verbs which received a Transitivity score of 4.5 are non-consequential, unlike those pattern A verbs with the same Transitivity score.

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