APPLICATIVES AND DOUBLE OBJECTS IN PENDAU

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Applicatives typically increase the valency of a clause by licensing or 'applying' a new non-actor argument to the clause. In a ditransitive clause this new argument becomes the 'second object', thus resulting in a double object construction. This paper describes four applicative constructions signaled either with -i or -a' and with or without a prefix stem former pV(C)- : directional goal (-i), benefactive (-a'), directional locative (pV(C)-/-i), and instrument (pV(C)-/-a'). The first two applicatives are found on two contrasting transitive constructions: active voice and inverse voice. The latter two applicatives, those which require the stem former prefix, only occur in the inverse voice construction. This is a second kind of applicativization which could be called 'second object applicativization', or promotion to primary object position which in the inverse construction is the grammatical subject. Other topics examined are idiosyncratic applicatives, semantically increased transitivity, various word orders that are possible with double object constructions, and combinations of causative and applicative affixes.

1   INTRODUCTION

Causatives and applicatives both typically increase the transitivity of a verb by adding one argument to its valency creating transitive verbs from an intransitive verb root, and ditransitive verbs from a monotransitive verb root (Katamba 1993:270-272, Payne 1997:186-191). The difference between causatives and applicatives is the fact that the causative introduces a new Actor argument and the applicative licenses or 'applies' a new non-Actor argument. Pendau[1] has two applicative suffixes which can be added to intransitives and transitives, increasing their valency. Figure 1 summarizes the applicatives and their functions. These are the transitivizer -a' (TZ) and the directional-i (DIR).

	Suffix	Semantic Roles of Applied Argument
Directional (DIR)	-i	Goal Locative
Transitivizer (TZ)	-a'	Benefactive Instrument

Figure 1. Applicatives and Their Basic Functions

Important background on the Pendau grammar is presented in Section 2. After this necessary preliminary discussion I deal with the purely syntactic valencyaffecting uses first (Section 3-4), then other uses (Section 5). Like other transitives and ditransitives in Pendau, most applicative forms occur in both active and inverse constructions (Section 3). However, a few applicative forms only occur in the inverse construction (Section 4). Word order variations are discussed in Section 6, and Section 7 concludes the paper with a short discussion of causative and applicative combinations.

2. GRAMMATICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Active Voice and Inverse Voice

Transitive verbs can be inflected in either active voice or inverse voice without a change in transitivity.[2] Examples (1) and (2) contrast the *nong-* and the *ni-* transitive verb forms. The verbs in these sentences can be interpreted as *primary transitive verbs* (Andrews 1985), and they represent active voiceand inverse voice clause constructions respectively. Transitive clauses which have an agent (A) and a patient (P) argument such as these can be considered to be prototypical transitive constructions (i.e. *primary transitive verbs*).[3] In the free translation the capitalized NP indicates the pivot or subject in Pendau. The two differences in (1)-(2) are the difference in the verbal prefix and the different case marker on the post-verbal arguments (see Quick 1997, in prep. for the full discussion of these as active voice and inverse voice respectively). Compare examples (1)-(2) with Figure 2 which clearly shows inverse voice results from the realignment of the macro roles. (capital letters in the English translation indicate the grammatical subject or pivot in Pendau).[4]

Active Voice	Subject *actor role*	V	Object *Undergoer role*
Inverse Voice	Subject *undergoer role*	V	Object *Actor role*

Figure 2. Macro Role Realignment

(1) Siama'u   nonuju   siina'u.
    si=ama='u   n-pong-tuju   si=ina='u
    PN/AB=father=1SG/GE   RE-SF/PT-send   PN/AB=mother=1SG/GE
    Pivot=A   **non-pivot=P**
    'MY FATHER sent my mother.'

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[2]Note that there is not a corollary 'benefactive focus' in Pendau, since benefactives can appear in either active voice or inverse voice, and the recipient becomes the pivot in inverse voice just as would any other monotransitive P argument.

[3]However, note that some verbs have a stem former which already fills the prefix prerequisite, cf. e.g. *'gabu, pogabu'* 'cook', and therefore it is only the benefactive suffix that is added which turns the verb construction into instrument focus in combination with the appropriate word order. Contrast this with the factive *nipogutua'* 'make, create (IV/RE), in (18), which has the same affix combination but is a benefactive construction . Technically the verb form in example (18) is ambiguous between a benefactive formed verb and an instrument formed verb clause. However, even though the pivot argument is omitted, context and elicitation showed that this example is in fact a benefactive clause.

[4]The identification of subject is based on a methodological procedure which requires identifying the pivot first in two clauses of the same sentence (for the mechanics of this procedure see Quick in prep.). The pivot is introduced in Section 2.2. The use of the term 'pivot' in this paper reflects this preliminary procedure when it is used before identifying the grammatical subject in Pendau. For purposes of understanding this paper the terms 'pivot' and 'grammatical subject' may be understood to mean the same thing. This however does not mean they are the same thing, since the pivot could be understood to reflect the etic reality and the grammatical subject to reflect the emic reality.

(2)   *Siama'u*   *nituju*   *niina'u.*
       si=ama='u   *ni-tuju*   *ni=ina='u*
       PN/AB=father=1SG/GE   IV/RE-send   PN/GE=mother=1SG/GE
       Pivot=P   **Non-pivot=A**
       'My mother sent MY FATHER.'

The transitive clauses are contrasted with intransitive clauses in examples (3) and (4).

(3)   *SiYusup*   *neriing.*
       si=Yusup   *n-pe-riing*
       PN/AB=Joseph   RE-SF/DY-bathe
       Pivot= S_A
       'Joseph bathed.'

(4)   *SiYusup*   *nanabu.*
       si=Yusup   *no-nabu*
       PN/AB=Joseph   ST/RE-fall
       Pivot= S_P
       'Joseph fell (down).'

2.2 Pivot, Core Arguments, and Case

This section introduces the basic concepts of 'pivot, 'core arguments' and 'case' in Pendau. All clauses in Pendau single out one nominal phrase as the pivot, see Figure 3.[5] Intransitive clauses have a single argument which is identified symbolically as S (single argument), and is always the pivot. In transitive clauses there are always at least two core arguments. At least two core arguments in a transitive clause can always be correlated with a prototypical agent (A) and a prototypical patient (P). Only one core argument can be selected or marked by the syntax as the pivot, although it can be either the A or the P argument (or a third core argument such as Recipient, Instrument, or Locative).

	Basic	**Clause**		
	Core			**Non-Core**
	Pivot		**Non-pivot**	
Transitive	NP	V	NP	Oblique NP
Intransitive	NP	V		

Figure 3. Typical Verbal Clause Structures in Pendau[6]

The pivotin Pendau can be linked to the *focused argument* in Philippine-type languages (Dixon and Aikhenvald 1997, Foley and Van Valin 1985:305, Himmelmann in prep.a and in prep.b, Ross 1995)[7], although the pivot concept has been applied more broadly than *focus* and allows a language description to be applied to a wide variety of structural relations.

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[5] Foley and Van Valin (1985:305) define pivot as, "A *pivot* is any NP type to which a particular grammatical process is sensitive, either as controller or as target." In Pendau the same arguments for identifying the grammatical subject relation are used to identify the pivot in clauses such as relative clauses (see Quick in prep.). I assume in this section for sake of simplicity that once the pivot has been identified in clauses such as relative clauses, I can therefore use the notion pivot for all other verbal clauses which pattern in the same way as for example the relative clause (except that the relative marker is not there, etc.). Additional word order evidence for citing these as the pivots is presented in Quick in prep.

[6] This only demonstrates SVO and SV word orders. VOS and VS word orders also occurs, see Quick forthcoming, in prep. for more details.

[7] Also see Barr 1988a, 1988b, 1995 for a description of Da'a (Kailisub-group) as a two-focus language of Central Sulawesi.

The occurrence of two or more transitive clause types in Pendau presents the same kind of problem that has been encountered in Philippine-type languages[8] (and Western Austronesian languages in general). The Philippine type systems have provided an ongoing debate concerning competing analyses (e.g. actor focus, goal focus, instrument focus, locative focus, versus active as opposed to various passive types versus ergativity, etc.).[9] The pivot is assumed to be equivalent to the subject in this paper, although the terms each reflect a different stage of procedural analysis (see Quick in prep.). What is clear in Pendau is that the pivot is indicated by the word order and that the verbal prefix designates which argument (or macro role) is linked to the pivot (see Quick in prep.).

Different linguistic theories agree that there are two important contrasting zones (or layers) in a clause (Figure 3).[10] One is the core zone where core argumentsof the clausal predicate appear and are necessary.[11] The second zone is the non-core zone which is usually an optional feature of clause constructions. Non-core arguments that occur in this zone are often referred to as oblique nominal phrases, and are usually optional or supplementary to the clausal predicate (although even in Pendau there are some exceptions).[12]

Turning now to noun phrases, Pendau has two pronoun sets and a noun phrase marking system as seen in Figure 4. Noun phrases are either common nouns or proper nouns. There are two sets of pronouns and noun phrase markers, which I will refer to as absolute and genitive. The distribution of the absolute and genitive NPs in Pendau is different from the expected traditional usage. Genitive NPs are used in two distinct syntactic positions (Figure 4): 1) genitive noun phrases, and 2) the A argument of inverse voice.[13] *Absolute* NPs (note that this is *not* absolutive) are used in all other core argument positions (i.e. "elsewhere"), including second objects of ditransitive clauses (except instrumental NPs), the objects of prepositional phrases, and in both argument positions of equative clauses and copula clauses.

		Absolute	Genitive[14]	Instrument
SG.	1	a'u	='u ('u-, no'u-)	--
	2	oo	=mu (mu-)	--
	3	io	=mu (mu-)	--
PL.	1 INC	ito	=to	--
	1 EXC	ami	mami	--
	2	emu	miu	--
	3	jimo	nijimo	--
Proper Nouns		si=	ni=	
Common Nouns		Ø / (u=)nu=	nu=	nu=

Figure 4. The Core Case System in Pendau: Pronouns and Noun Phrase Markers

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[8]Dixon (1994:179) states in a footnote that "Tagalog and other languages of the Philippines subgroup of Austronesian are not easily characterizable in terms of the accusative/parameter." In fact later Dixon and Aikhenvald (1997) call Philippine-type languages *argument focusing*, and clearly cites them as languages with two basic transitive clauses (which cannot therefore be analyzable as accusative or ergative types).

[9]For reviews see Kroeger (1993), Matsuda (1988) and Shibatani, ed. (1988).

[10]For example see Tagmemics (Pike and Pike 1982), Lexical Functional Grammar (Manning 1996:4), Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997, Foley and Van Valin 1984), and the core versus non-core layers are presented as a general principle in Andrews (1985:80ff.).

[11]Core arguments may be 'covert' or omitted when they are recoverable from the context.

[12]Directional verbs sometimes subcategorize a prepositional phrase as if it were a core argument. In these exceptions then there is functionally no difference between core and non-core arguments. However the difference between core and non-core is based on prototypical patterns not the exceptions.

[13]See the discussion on grammatical object in Quick in prep. for the linguistic rationale for marking the genitive and A of inverse with the same set.

[14]The genitive pronoun set also includes the fronted pronouns *'u-* and *mu-* for 1st and 2nd person respectively, effectively becoming verbal prefixes. The genitive pronoun set is a mixed set, some are enclitics, and some are free words (distinguishable by phonological criteria).

The manner of grouping S, A, and P is often used to determine the grammatical subject in many languages. The S/A grouping is generally known as nominative-accusative, and the S/P grouping is generally known as absolutive-ergative type languages (Dixon 1994 and Payne 1997). However, this presents a dilemma in analyzing Pendau since there are two basic transitive clauses in Pendau and both S/A and S/P groupings occur.

Although nominative has often been used for the cognate case forms in other Western Austronesian languages (e.g. Tagalog in Kroeger 1993, Tombonuo in Clayre 1996 and Chamorro in Cooreman 1983:432) it would be misleading to use the same terminology for the situation in Pendau. This is because a) one NP marking set, here called 'absolute', carries very little information about case (since word order handles this in Pendau without ambiguity), and b) the distinction within each set could be looked at as working functionally more as an article opposition, i.e. it is between common nouns and proper nouns. Therefore the term *absolute* has been adopted (following a suggestion from Avery Andrews, personal communication) for identifying the noun phrase marking case (or article) that appears in every other possible position except for the genitive case and its corresponding use to mark agent of the inverse voice. In fact there is a precedent for the use of *absolute* in Turkish.[15]

The simplest form of a noun, with no suffixes, is termed the absolute case; it is used not only for the nominative and vocative but also for the indefinite accusative. (Lewis 1967:28)

Finally, also shown in Figure 4 is the instrument case marker *nu*. Instruments are marked by *nu* when they are not the pivot of the clause. Although *nu* appears on one hand to be preposition-like, it behaves more like a core argument (second object marker) than an oblique argument marker. Andrews (1985:128-130) discusses the ambiguous status of instrument and second objects in general.

The grounds for interpreting the instrumental marker *nu* as a core argument are threefold (see Quick in prep. for further details): 1) causativization requires a third argument to be a core argument, and there are cases in which this third argument is the instrument marked by *nu*, 2) the semantics of some verbs such as *sambale* 'slaughter, butcher' imply that there is a third argument although it does not seem to be required, and 3) the use of *nu* as a core argument marker for inverse agents shows by analogy that it is reasonable to assume it can also be used to mark the core argument of another role.

2.3 Introduction to Ditransitives in the Inverse Voice

Ditransitives may also occur in the inverse voice construction, as shown in (5)-(8). The first thing one should notice is that the non-A arguments take the same case marking as they would take in active voice, whether absolute (e.g. (5)- (7)) or instrumental as in (8). Example (5), shows a 'give' clause (*bagi* 'give' always requires one of the two applicative suffixes, as in (5) and (10)),[16] (6) shows the applicative *-a'* as a benefactive construction (compare to(5)), (7) shows a causative construction, and finally (8) shows an instrument clause with the NP marked with *nu*.

(5)	A'u	sura	nibagii	nuodo	ulinyo.	
	a'u	sura	ni-bagi-i	nu=odo	uli=nyo	
	1SG/AB	only	IV/RE-give-DIR	CN/GE=monkey	skin=3sg/ge	
	P=Pivot			A	2nd Object	
	Recipient			Agent	Theme	

'The monkey only gave ME its skin (banana peeling)'   [EN97-003.13]

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[15]Garvin (1958) describes the two pronoun sets in Kutenai as Absolute and Obviative; in later literature on Kutenai (e.g. Dryer 1994) the terms Proximate and Obviative are used respectively.
[16]Although there are a few exceptions, these appear to be cases where the directional suffix *–i* has been absorbed into the homorganic final vowel *–i* of the stem *bagi* 'give.'

(6) Io   niolia'o'u   vea.
    io   ni-oli-a'='u   vea
    3SG/AB   IV/RE-buy-TZ=1SG/GE   rice
    P=Pivot   A   2nd **Object**
    Object **Agent**   **Theme**
    'I bought HIM/HER rice.'   [EN97-003.58]

(7) Tagu='u   ni-pa-inang   ni=rapi='u   loka   uo.
    tagu='u   ni-pa-inang   ni=rapi='u   loka   'uo
    friend=1sg/ge   IV/RE-CAUS-eat PN/GE=spouse=1SG/GE   banana   yonder
    P=Pivot   A   2nd **Object**
    Causee   **Causer**   **Causand**
    'My spouse fed MY FRIEND that banana.'   [EN97-003.30]

(8) Japing   uo   nisambale   niYusup   nupiso
    japing   'uo   ni-sambale   ni=Yusup   nu=piso
    cow   yonder   IV/RE-butcher   PN/GE=Joseph   INSTR=machete
    P=Pivot   A   2nd **Object**
    Recipient   **Agent**   **Instrument**
    'Joseph butchered THAT COW with the machete.'   [EN97-002.35]

Secondly, note that when the constructions in (5)-(8) are compared to the examples in Section 3.1.1 the second object remains the final core argument in both active and inverse voice constructions, but in contrast to those examples which are in the active voice the 1st object has become the pivot. Since this first object can be considered to be the P argument (or undergoer, it is no different than monotransitive inverse voice constructions in which the P argument is the pivot. So all of these types of ditransitives (including the -a' applicativefunction in the same way in either the active voice or the inverse voice constructions.[17]

3 APPLICATIVES THAT OCCUR IN BOTH ACTIVE AND INVERSE CONSTRUCTIONS

This section discusses applicatives which may occur in both active and inverse clause constructions. Section 3.1 presents the benefactive applicative and Section 3.2 the directional goal applicative.

3.1 The Benefactive Applicative -a'

Benefactive clauses by definition require three arguments, so the applicative –a' does not form transitive benefactive clauses from intransitive clauses (although the –a' can function as a causative to form transitives from some intransitive verbs, see Quick forthcoming).

3.1.1 Benefactive Applicative in the Active Voice

Ditransitive clauses have three core arguments. The normal word order for ditransitive clauses is for the third argument to follow the linear sequence of the A and P arguments (last position of all core arguments), as in (9)-(11). The third argument is usually a theme, causand, or instrument. Exceptions to this word order will be discussed later, but elicitation shows that the third argument can be in several

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[17]The fact that -a' is a causative on inherent intransitives and an applicative on inherent monotransitives demonstrates that active voice and inverse verbal constructions are both transitive because both increase valency in the same way. Active voice with the -a' creates a benefactive construction which is ditransitive. If the inverse voiceconstruction was inherently intransitive then the affixation of the -a' should produce a causative construction that is monotransitive, but in fact it parallels the active voice construction and produces a benefactive ditransitive construction.

other positions (not all are normally found in texts though) as long as the relative ordering of the A and P is not violated (Section 6). (See Quick 1999b, in prep., and forthcoming.)

Examples (9)-(11) illustrate the transitivizer *-a'* as a benefactive applicative, and shows that the primary object and secondary object of all ditransitives (except for non-subject instrument noun phrases) are marked by the absolute case (zero marking for common nouns).[18]

(9) *A'u*   *mongolia'*   *io*   *vea.*
     a'u   m-pong-oli-a'   io   vea
     1SG/AB   IR-SF/PT-buy-TZ   3SG/AB   rice
     A=Pivot   **P**   **2nd Object**
     Agent   **Recipient** **Theme**
     'I will buy him/her rice.'   [EN97-003.58]

(10) *A'u*   *mombagia'*   *oo*   *bulaan*
     a'u   m-pong-bagi-a'   'oo   bulaan
     1SG/AB   IR-SF/PT-give-TZ   2SG/AB   Gold
     'I will give you gold.'   [mdtext20.txt 245]

(11) *Jimo*   *meloloa'*   *ami*   *bau*   *nudagat.*
     jimo   m-pe-lolo-a'   'ami   bau   nu=dagat
     3PL/AB   IR-SF/DY-look-TZ   1PL.EXC/AB Ish   CN/GE=ocean

'THEY are looking for ocean fish for us (exc.).'

3.1.2 Benefactive Applicative In The Inverse Construction

Example (12)-(14) demonstrate the three arguments in benefactive applicatives in the inverse construction. These examples annotate the arguments for recipient, agent and theme.

(12) *Io*   *niolia'o'u*   *vea.*
     io   ni-oli-a'='u   vea
     3SG/AB   IV/RE-buy-TZ=1SG/GE   rice
     P=Pivot **A**   **2nd Object**
     Recipient **Agent**   **Theme**
     'I bought HIM/HER rice.'   [EN97-003.58]

(13) *Maala*   *a'u*   *roolia'*   *miu*   *kaeng*   *salana?*
     ma-ala   a'u   ro-oli-a'   miu   kaeng   salana
     UD/IR-may   1SG/AB   IV/IR-buy-TZ   1PL.EXC/GE   cloth   pants
                  P=Pivot   **A**   **2nd Object**
                  Recipient   **Agent**   **Theme**
     'May I buy you (hon. pl. for sg.) cloth pants?'   [king.pin 135]

(14) *Tarus*   *siKatira*   *nipogutua'*   *nijimo*   *bongkarang.*
     tarus   si=K   ni-po₁-gutu-a'   nijimo   bongkarang
     continue   PN/AB=K.   IV/RE-SF/FA-make-TZ   3PL/GE   garden.hut
                  P=Pivot   **A**   **2nd Object**
                  Recipient   **Agent**   **Theme**
     'Then they made a garden hut for Katira.'   [katira.int 010]

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[18] See Andrews 1985 and Dryer 1986 for a discussion of 1st and 2nd objects (or as primary and secondary objects in the latter article).

Examples (15)-(16) illustrate that the recipient may be covert.

(15) *Nibagia'*   *nigiban*   *pepitu*   *karung*   *moje.*
      ni-bagi-a'   *ni=gibang*   *pepitu*   *karun*   *moje*
      IV/RE-give-TZ   PN/GE=water.monitor seven   sack   more

      'The water monitor gave (him) seven more sacks.'

(16) *Paey*   *nialapa'*   *nuponungaonyo*   *ogo.*
      paey   *ni-alap-a'*   *nu=ponungao=nyo*   *ogo*
      and.then IV/RE-get-TZ   CN/GE=nephew/niece=3SG/GE water

      'And then the nephew got water (for the horse).'   [horse.pin 950]

Example (17) illustrates that the agent may be covert.

(17) *Jimo*   *uo*   *nisambalea'omo*   *manu'*   *sensiama.*
      jimo   *'uo*   *ni-sambale-a'=mo*   *manu'*   *sensiama*
      3PL/AB   yonder   IV/RE-butcher-TZ=COMP   chicken   Male

'(They) butchered a rooster for them.' or: '(They) butchered them a rooster.'

Example (18) illustrates the use of the factive verb *gutu* 'make, create' which requires the stem former *po$_1$-* in the inverse voiceconstruction (see Quick 1999b, in prep. on verb classes and their stem formers). In (18) we see the use of the benefactive *-a'* on a factive verb in inverse voice. The argument *piso* 'machete' can be omitted since it is clear in the context that the topic is the machete.

(18) *Nipogutua'onyo*   *luntong.*
      ni-po$_1$-gutu-a'=nyo   *luntong*
      IV/RE-SF/FA-make-TZ=3SG/GE   wood.handle

      'He created a wood handle (for the machete).'   [asu2.pin 130]

3.1.3 enefactives and Causatives with Oblique *sono* 'with' as a Core Argument

This section shows some data in which an apparent core argument is marked by the oblique comitative *sono* 'with, to, together'. This is contrary to what is expected in clauses with applicatives and causatives.

Examples (19)-(20) show that the comitative sono 'with, to, together' can occur in one of two word order positions that the secondary object would normally occur in. Also notice that the semantic role of the sono phrase here is the recipient. The recipient is normally understood to be the first object in benefactive constructions which do not use sono.

(19) *Ula*   *uo*   *nombagia'*   *doi'*   *sono*   *langkai*   *uo.*
      ula   *'uo*   *n-pong-bagi-a'*   *doi'*   *sono*   *langkai*   *'uo*
      snake   yonder   RE-SF/PT-give-TZ   money   COM   male   yonder

      'That snake gave the money to that man.'   [mdtext21.txt 022]

(20) *Nibagia'onyo*   *sono*   *juragang*   *loka*   *uo.*
      ni-bagi-a'=onyo   *sono*   *juragang*   *loka*   *'uo*
      IV/RE-give-TZ=3SG/GE   COM   captain   banana   yonder
      'He gave the captain the bananas.'

      'He gave the captain the bananas.'
      or: 'He gave the bananas to the captain'   [mdtext15.txt 018]

Examples (21)-(22) also show the causee in the expected second object position (normally the causand position) marked with the oblique comitative *sono* 'with, together, to'. Example (23) shows that the same verb construction as in (22) does not require the comitative *sono*.

(21) *Tarus*   *nipoitoa'*   *nuodo*   *uo*
      tarus   *ni-po₁-ito-a'*   *nu=odo*   *'uo*
      continue   IV/RE-CAUS-look-TZ   CN/GE=monkey   yonder

      urang   *Uo*   *sono*   *bakaka.*
      urang   *Uo*   *sono*   *bakaka*
      shrimp   yonder   COM   kingfisher
      'And continuing on the monkey showed the shrimp to the kingfisher.'   [EN97-004.38]

(22) *Odo*   *uo*   *mompoitoa'*   *urang*   *sono*   *bakaka*   *(uo).*
      odo   *uo*   *m-pong-po₃-ito-a'*   *urang*   *sono*   *bakaka*   *'uo*
      monkey   yonder   IR-SF/PT-CAUS-look-TZ   shrimp   with   kingfisher   yonder
      'That monkey will show the shrimp to the kingfisher.'   [EN97-004.38]

(23) *Tarus*   *nipoitoa'*   *niYusup*
      tarus   *ni-po₃-ito-a'*   *ni=Yusup*
      continue   IV/RE-CAUS-look-TZ   PN/GE=Joseph

      siama   *ni=Lori*   *gambar*   *uo.*
      siama   *ni=Lori*   *gambar*   *'uo*
      father   PN/GE=Lori   picture   yonder
      'Continuing on Joseph showed Lori's father that picture.'   [EN97-004.39]

More data and research will be necessary in order to determine if the *sono* is really a core argument. It can be tentatively concluded that the *sono* marks a dative-like grammatical relation in certain applicative and causative constructions. In these cases it may be the semantic goal of the second object (Andrews 1985).

3.2 The Directional Goal Applicative *–i* on Inverse Voice Ditransitives

When the directional suffix *-i* is productive it has the A move towards the P, or do something within or approaching the spatial confines of the P (also see Section 4.3). A verb with the suffix *-i* allows the agent to participate in a locative or otherwise deictic sense of the verb with the P which would not otherwise be allowable except with an oblique argument. Evans (in prep.) states about the cognate *-Ci* in Ledo (Kaili): "Syntactically it increases the valency by raising an oblique object to direct object. Semantically it means to apply that activity to a certain place." See Section 5.1 for discussion and examples in which the *–i* increases semantic transitivity but there is no increase in valency.

Example (24) shows that the verb *bagi* 'give' requires three arguments. The semantic roles are annotated below each argument.

(24) *A'u*   *sura*   *nibagi*   *nuodo*   *ulinyo.*
      a'u   *sura*   *ni-bagi-i*   *nu=odo*   *uli=nyo*
      1SG/AB   only   IV/RE-give-DIR   CN/GE=monkey   skin=3SG/GE
      P=Pivot   **A**   **2ⁿᵈ Object**
      Recipient   **Agent**   **Theme**
      'The monkey only gave ME its skin (banana peeling)'   [EN97-003.13]

Example (25) illustrates the verb *nabu* 'drop' used here with only one overt argument (recipient). The addressee/agent is implied by the imperative construction (but referred to with the vocative *tagu* 'friend')

and the banana (second object/theme) that is requested to be dropped from the tree is obvious from the story's context.

(25) *Tagu,*   *a'u*   *nabui*   *nyau*   *mai!*
      tagu   *a'u*   *nabu-i*   *nyau*   *mai*
      friend/VOC   1SG/AB   drop-DIR   go.down   come
      'Friend, drop it (=banana) down here to ME!'
      (the turtle speaking to the monkey in the banana tree)   [ceku01.jdb 031]

4 APPLICATIVES THAT OCCUR ONLY IN INVERSE CONSTRUCTIONS

4.1 Introduction

This section describes a second kind of applicativization which could be called 'second object applicativization', or promotion to primary object position which in the inverse construction is the grammatical subject.[19]. The nature of this applicative is different to the previous applicatives since the latter only occur in the inverse voice construction.

To form this second type of applicative, the same two suffix applicatives *-i* and *-a'* are used in combination with the stem former *pV(C)-*. Figure 5 illustrates how the word formation works. When the *–a'* suffix is used an instrument is the pivot as in (26), and with the use of the *–i* suffix a locative noun phrase is the pivot as in (27).

(26) *Piso*   *uo*   *niponyambalea'*   *niYusup*   *japing*   *uo.*
      piso   *'uo*   *ni-pong-sambale-a'*   *ni=Yusup*   *japing*   *'uo*
      machete   yonder   IV/RE-SF-butcher-TZ   PN/GE=Joseph   cow   yonder
      INSTR=Pivot   **A**   **P**
      Instrument   **Provider**   **Recipient**
      'Joseph used THE MACHETE to butcher the cow.'

(27) *Junjung*   *uo*   *niponyambale*   *nikai*   *japing*   *uo.*
      junjung   *'uo*   *ni-pong-sambale-i*   *ni=kai*   *japing*   *'uo*
      house   yonder   IV/RE-SF-butcher-DIR   PN/GE=grandfather   cow   yonder
      LOC=Pivot   **A**   **P**
      Locative   **Provider**   **Recipient**
      'The grandfather butchered the cow AT/BY THE YONDER HOUSE.'

Structurally Pendau is quite similar to Indonesian in many aspects of its grammar. However, the constructions which raise instrument and locative noun phrases to subject position are an important exception to this similarity. These constructions have more in common with the 'instrument focus' and 'locative focus' constructions found in Philippine-type languages.[20]

Subject	RE/IR	Stem Former	BASE	Applicative
Locative	ni-/ro-	pV(C)-	BASE	-i
Instrumental				-a'

Figure 5. Instrumental and Locative Applicative Formation

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[19]The primary object is not identical to the grammatical relation object. The primary object in ditransitives can be either a grammatical subject or a grammatical object in Pendau (see Quick in prep.). It is unfortunate that the term 'object' has so many uses in linguistics.

[20]Note that there is not a corollary 'benefactive focus' in Pendau, since benefactives can appear in either active voice or inverse voice, and the recipient becomes the pivot in inverse voice just as would any other monotransitive P argument.

4.2 The Instrumental Applicative –*a'*

This section demonstrates that the instrument noun phrase can become the subjectof the clause via applicativization.

When the instrument noun phrase becomes pivot through applicativization it is not normally indicated by any case marker. When the instrument noun phrase is not the pivot it obligatorily takes the case marker *nu=*. The pivot status of the instrument is indicated by word order (i.e. occurrence in the preverbal argument position), and is morphologically marked on the verb by the combination of a prefix and the benefactive -*a'*. The prefix can vary depending on which root is taking instrument focus. The prefix is normally a stem former from one of the verb classes, abbreviated here as *pV(C)-.*[21] Example (28) is from a folktale about a man who is looking for a blacksmith. He finds the blacksmith and asks him to make a machete from his axe (i.e. by forging it).

(28)   *Baliungo'u*   *mupogutua'omo*   *piso.*
        baliung='u   *mu-po$_1$-gutu-a'=mo*   *piso*
        axe=1SG/GE   2SG.IV/IR-SF/FA/INSTR-make-TZ=COMP   machete
        'You make machetes for me by using my AXE .'

Example (29) shows that the pivot instrument noun phrase can be implied from the context. The noun *doi'* 'money' is in parentheses because elicitation shows that this is what could fit here in the story's context.

(29)   *(Doi')*   *upongongkosa'*   *unga'u*
        doi'   *'u-pong-ongkos-a'*   *unga='u*
        money   1SG.IV/IR-SF/PT/INSTR-cost-TZ   child=1SG/GE
        'I will use (the MONEY) to pay for my child.'

Examples (30)-(32) illustrate the instrument in the preverbal position with the A and the P arguments in postverbal positions with three different verbs.

(30)   *paey*   *uram*   *uo*   *nirembasa'onyo*   *unga.*
        paey   *uram*   *'uo*   *ni-rembas-a'=nyo*   *unga*
        and.then   medicine   yonder   IV/RE-hit-TZ=3SG/GE   child
        '...and then he applied the MEDICINE on the child.'

(31)   *Batu*   *niporampaa'o'u*   *io.*
        batu   *ni-pong-rampa-a'='u*   *io*
        rock   IV/RE-   3SG/AB
                 SF/PT/INSTR-
                 throw-TZ=1SG/GE
        'He threw a ROCK at me.'

(32)   *Piso*   *uo*   *niponyambalea'*   *niYusup*   *japing*   *uo.*
        piso   *'uo*   *ni-pong-sambale-a'*   *ni=Yusup*   *japing*   *'uo*
        machete   yonder   IV/RE-SF/PT/INSTR-butcher-TZ   PN/GE=Joseph   cow   yonder
        'Joseph used the MACHETE to butcher the cow.'

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[21] However, note that some verbs have a stem former which already fills the prefix prerequisite, cf. e.g. *'gabu, pogabu'* 'cook', and therefore it is only the benefactive suffix that is added which turns the verb construction into instrument focus in combination with the appropriate word order. Contrast this with the factive *nipogutua'* 'make, create (IV/RE), in (18), which has the same affix combination but is a benefactive construction . Technically the verb form in example (18) is ambiguous between a benefactive formed verb and an instrument formed verb clause. However, even though the pivot argument is omitted, context and elicitation showed that this example is in fact a benefactive clause.

Example (33) shows that the instrument case marker *nu=* may appear optionally (at least in an elicitation session). However my language assistant suggested that this sentence would be better without the *nu* particle.[22]

(33) Nipongkologa'   niDesmon   ayu   uo   (nu)sensar   uo

ni-pong-'olog-a'	ni=Desmon	'ayu	uo	nu=sensar	'uo
IV/RE-SF-cut-TZ	PN/GE=Desmon	wood	yonder	(INSTR)=chainsaw	yonder

'Desmon used a CHAINSAW to cut that wood.'

Examples (34)-(35) contrast pivot and non-pivot instrument noun phrases and the use and non-use of the po_1- prefix.

(34) Paee   rosunung   nijimo   nuuram.

paee	ro-sunung	nijimo	nu=uram
rice	IV/IR-burn	3PL/GE	INSTR=medicine

'They burned (or smoked) the RICE with medicine.'

(35) Uram   roposununa'   nijimo   paee.

uram	ro-po_1-sunung-a'	nijimo	paee
medicine	IV/IR-INSTR-burn-TZ	3PL/GE	rice

'They burned (or smoked) the rice with MEDICINE.'

Example (36) illustrates an instrument noun phrase pivot which uses the active voice stem former *pong-* prefix.

(36) Doi'   molua   ropongolia'   nijimo gulang o pita nilon.

doi'	mo-luar	ro-pong-oli-a'	nijimo	gulang	o	pita	nilon
money	UD/IR-want	IV/IR-SF/PT-buy-TZ	3PL/GE	rope	and	ribbon	nylon

'They wanted to buy rope and fishing line with (their) MONEY.'

Example (37) demonstrates that reciprocal and instrumental affixes can combine in the same verb.

(37) Ogo   uo   niposiponuana   nijimo api uo.

ogo	'uo	ni-posi-pong-tuang-a'	nijimo	api	'uo
water	yonder	IV/RE-MUT-SF/PT-pour-TZ	3PL/GE	fire	Yonder

'Together they poured WATER on the fire.'
(It is implied that water is taken from one place or container)

4.2.1 The 'what' Test in Applicative Instrument Clauses

Previous sections have described several Pendau applicative constructions including benefactive (Section 3.1), directional (Section 3.2), and instrument (Section 4.2). The last applicative construction resembles the Philippine instrument focus. This section will briefly look at how using the content question *sapa* 'what' in elicitation highlights the word order position of instrument NPs in instrumental applicativization (I will look only at the canonical SVO word order; see Quick in prep. for discussion of interrogatives). There are two reasons for using the 'what' test:

Using *sapa* 'what' in the instrument position reveals that it is a semantic rather than a grammatical prohibition on the use of atypical objects as an instrument

It demonstrates that the NP in the preverbal word order position is assigned instrument status from the verb's applicative construction.

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[22]This suggests that when the non-pivot instrument noun phrase marker is used it is a core argument.

In applicativized instrument clauses the instrument NP is placed in the subject position. This is illustrated in example (38).

(38) | *Sensar* | *uo* | *nipongkologa* | *niDesmon* | *ay* | *uo.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sensar | 'uo | ni-pong-'olog-a' | ni=Desmon | 'ayu | 'uo |
| chainsaw | yonder | IV/RE-SF/PT-cut-TZ | PN/GE-Desmon | wood | yonder |

'Desmon used a CHAINSAW to cut that wood.'

Example (39) shows that the instrument and the P argument cannot simply reverse word positions (although the instrument can be in the word final position if it is also marked with the instrument case marker *nu=*; also note that *ayu* 'wood' can be the subject in a simple two argument inverse voice construction).

(39) | **Ayu* | *uo* | *nipongkologa'* | *niDesmon* | *sensa* | *uo.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 'ayu | 'uo | ni-pong-'olog-a' | ni=Desmon | sensar | 'uo |
| wood | yonder | IV/RE-SF/PT-cut-TZ | PN/GE=Desmon | sensar | 'uo |

'*Desmon used WOOD to cut that chainsaw.'

In example (40) (a modification of example (38)) *sensar* 'chainsaw' is substituted by the question word *sapa* 'what'. This results in a well formed sentence. However if the same construction as (39) is used, substituting *ayu* 'wood' with *sapa* 'what', as in (41) then the sentence is accepted with some reticence. If (39) is again used substituting *sensar* 'chainsaw' with *sapa* 'what', as in (42), this again is accepted with some reservation. Although the use of the question word *what* transforms these into grammatically acceptable clauses, they are semantically strange because it is not normal to cut a chainsaw, nor is it normally possible to cut something with wood. These examples further demonstrate that the NP in the preverbal position is both the instrument and the pivot (or "instrument focus").

(40) | *Sapa* | *nipongkologa* | *niDesmo* | *ayu* | *uo?* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| sapa | ni-pong-'olog-a' | ni=Desmon | 'ayu | 'uo |
| 'uo | IV/RE-SF/PT-cut-TZ | PN/GE=Desmon | wood | yonder |

'WHAT did Desmon use to cut that wood with?'   [EN97-004.45]

(41) | *!Sapa* | *nipongkologa'* | *niDesmon* | *sensar* | *uo?* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| sapa | ni-pong-'olog-a' | ni=Desmon | sensar | 'uo |
| what | IV/RE-SF/PT-cut-TZ | PN/GE-Desmon | chainsaw | yonder |

'WHAT did Desmon use to cut the chainsaw?'

(42) | *!Ayu* | *uo* | *nispongkologa'* | *niDesmon* | *sapa?* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 'ayu | 'uo | ni-pong-'olog-a' | ni=Desmon | sapa |
| wood | yonder | IV/RE-SF/PT-cut-TZ | PN/GE-Desmon | what |

'What did Desmon cut with the WOOD?' (That is by using the wood)

4.2.2 Instrument Applicative with Stem Stacking on Causative Prefix

Examples (43)-(44) differ only in word order, specifically in which NP is in pivot position. The causative prefix serves a double function when the instrument noun phrase is the pivot. First it is used to mark the derivational lexeme 'feed' derived from 'eat', as in (43), and secondly to mark instrument in combination with the benefactive suffix-*a'* (44).

(43) | *Bau* | *uo* | *uipainangoto* | *nuupang.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| bau | 'uo | ni-pa-inang=to | nu=upang |
| fish | Yonder | IV/RE-CAUS-eat=1PL/GE | INSTR=bait |

'We used the bait to feed the FISH.'

(44) | Upang | uo | nipainana'oto | | bau | uo. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| upang | 'uo | ni-pa-inang-a'=to | | bau | 'uo |
| bait | yonder | IV/RE-CAUS/SF-eat-TZ=1PL/GE | | fish | yonder |

'We used the BAIT to feed the fish.'

4.3 The Locative Applicative –*i*

An oblique locative NP can become the pivot of the clause via applicativization, as in (45). When this happens it would seem that there are three core arguments in the clause construction regardless of the normal oblique function.

(45) | Ribongkarongo'u | niponyoputi'u. |
|---|---|
| ri=bongkarong='u | ni-pong-soput-i='u |
| LOC=hut=1SG/GE | IV/RE-SF/PT-shoot-DIR=1SG/GE |

'I shot (it) AT/BESIDE MY HUT.'

Examples (46)-(47) show the contrast between the applicative used in (46) and the promotional use of the locative noun phrase used as the pivot/subject in (47). In (46) the directional -*i* forms a lexical derivational meaning, while in (47) the suffix combines with the stem former to promote a former prepositional phrase to subject.

(46) | Tavala | ni'omuni | nikai | ribuut. |
|---|---|---|---|
| tavala | ni-'omung-i | ni=kai | ri=buut |
| spear | IV/RE-carry-DIR | PN/GE=grandfather | LOC=mountain |

'The grandfather held THE SPEAR on the mountain.'

(47) | Buut | nipongkomun | nika | tavala. |
|---|---|---|---|
| buut | ni-pong-'omung-i | ni=kai | tavala |
| mountain | IV/RE-SF/PT-carry-DIR | PN/GE=grandfather | spear |

'The grandfather carried the spear TO THE MOUNTAIN.'

Example (48) contrasts the verb *guntung* 'light' in a basic inverse construction with the applicativized locative noun phrase in (49). Example (50) contrasts the verb *alap* 'get, take' in a basic inverse construction with the applicativized locative noun phrase in (51).

(48) | Palan | niguntuni | nikai | rijunjung. |
|---|---|---|---|
| palan | ni-guntung-i | ni=kai | ri=junjung |
| lantern | IV/RE-light-DIR | PN/GE=grandfather | LOC=house |

'The grandfather lit THE LANTERN at/in the house.'

(49) | Junjung | nipeguntuni | nikai | palan. |
|---|---|---|---|
| junjung | ni-pe-guntung-i | ni=kai | palan |
| house | IV/RE-SF/DY-light-DIR | PN/GE=grandfather | lantern |

'The grandfather lit the lantern AT/IN THE HOUSE.'

(50) | Bau | uo | nialap | nikai | ripayangan. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| bau | 'uo | ni-alap | ni=kai | ri=payangan |
| Fish | Yonder | IV/RE-take | PN/GE=grandfather | LOC=boat |

'The grandfather took THE FISH in the boat.'

(51) | Payangan | nipangalapi | nikai | bau | uo. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| payangan | ni-pong-alap-i | ni=kai | bau | 'uo |
| boat | IV/RE-SF/PT-take-DIR | PN/GE=grandfather | fish | yonder |

'The grandfather took the fish IN THE BOAT.'

Example (52) illustrates the verb *sambale* 'butcher, slaughter' with the locative applicative construction. Example (53) contains a locative marked by the oblique *ri* that has been applicativized as subject.

(52) | *Junjung* | *uo* | *ni-ponyambale-i* | *nikai* | *japing* | *uo.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *junjung* | *'uo* | *ni-pong-sambael-i* | *ni=kai* | *japing* | *'uo* |
| house | Yonder | IV/E-SF/PT-butcher-LOC | PN/GE=grandfather | cow | yonder |

'The grandfather butchered the cow AT/BY THE YONDER HOUSE.'

(53) | *Risabata* | *oanong* | *roong* | *loka* | *nipodulininyo* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *ri=so-bata* | *oanong* | *roong* | *loka* | $ni\text{-}po_1\text{-}duling\text{-}i\text{=}nyo$ |
| LOC=ONE-side | right | leaf | banana | IV/RE-SF/POS-LOC=3SG/GE |

ndau	*diang*	*seide*	*nesia.*
ndau	*diang*	*so-ide*	*n-pe-sia*
NEG	EXIS	ONE-small	RE-SF/DY-tear

'THE BANANA LEAF ON THE RIGHT SIDE of where she had slept was not torn at all.'

[fktale01.txt 023]

5 OTHER FUNCTIONS OF THE DIRECTIONAL APPLICATIVE *-i*

The suffix *-i* has at least four known functions in Pendau. Some of these are clearly applicativesome seem marginally applicative and others appear to be idiosyncratic occurrences.[23] These functions are: 1) directional-goal applicative (creating monotransitives and ditransitives), 2) directional-locative applicative (only in inverse voice3) a directional that increases semantic transitivity, and 4) always associated with some verbs in the inverse voice clause construction (which may or may not be applicative). The first two were discussed in Section 3.2 and Section 4.3, and the latter two are discussed in Section 5.1-2 below.

5.1 Semantic Transitivity Increasing Function of the Directional Suffix *-i*

This section treats the use of *-i* as a means to increasing semantic transitivity (see Section 3.2 and Section 4.3 for the use of *-i* for semantic and valency increase). Examples (54)-(57) illustrate minimal pairs ontrasting active voice and inverse voice. It is important to understand that the *-i* suffix consistently changes the lexeme from *'omung* 'carry, take' to *'omun-i* 'touch, hold' in either voice.[24]

(54) | *A'u* | *mongkomung* | *bau* | *rijunjung.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a'u* | *m-pong-'omung* | *bau* | *ri=junjung* |
| 1SG/AB | IR-SF/PT-carry | ish | LOC=house |

'I will carry the fish to my house.'

(55) | *A'u* | *mongkomuni* | *bau* | *ri=junjung* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *a'u* | *m-pong-'omung-i* | *bau* | *ri=junjung* |
| 1SG/AB | IR-SF/PT-carry-DIR | fish | LOC=house |

'I will hold the fish at my house.'

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[23]In Indonesian grammars, the cognate suffix *-i* is called the locative suffix. As in Indonesian, Pendau *-i* has a low degree of productivity (when it does not co-occur with the stem former *pV(C)-*). Many of the various occurrences on verbs are idiosyncratic and do not have a directional (or 'locative') applicative function at all.

[24]There is some support for the notion that there is a semantic increase in transitivity in examples such as (55) and (57). Mosel and Reinig (2000) suggest a similar notion for Teop. When the applicative *ni* is added to a verb it creates transitive verbs from intransitive verbs, but for transitive verbs it increases the semantic transitivity. For example, the Samoan word *ato* 'touch something' *ato ni* becomes 'hold onto something', and the Teop word *rahi* 'pull (a string, fishing line, haul (a canoe) becomes *rahi ni* 'catch (fish with a fishing line)'.

(56) *Bau* *uo* *ni'omungo'u* *rijunjung.*
     bau *'uo* *ni-'omung='u* *ri=junjung*
     fish Yonder IV/RE-carry=1SG/GE at=house
     'I carried THAT FISH to my house.'

(57) *Bau* *uo* *ni'omuni'u* *rijunjung.*
     bau *'uo* *ni-'omung-i='u* *ri=junjung*
     fish Yonder IV/R-carry-DIR=1SG/GE LOC=house
     'I held THAT FISH at my house.'

Example (58) shows that the use -*i* with the verb *'olog* 'cut' appears to actually mean 'cut into' (the –*i* does not require the instrument noun phrase—see Quick in prep. for discussion on instrument noun phrases).

(58) *SiDesmon* *nongkologi* *ayu* *uo* *nusensar.*
     si=Desmon *n-pong-'olog-i* *'ayu* *'uo* *nu=sensar*
     PN/AB-Desmon RE-SF/PT-cut-DIR wood yonder INSTR=chainsaw
     'DESMON cut into the wood with the chainsaw.'

The word *pate* 'kill' takes the directional suffix -*i* as shown in (59) and in (60) (although it is not inherently required as with some verbs such as *rembas* 'hit' in the inverse voice form, see below, Section 5.2). Example (60) also contrasts the first word *raga* 'chase' with the later two verbs which both take the suffix -*i*, but it is difficult to understand why the first verb does not also take this directional suffix.

(59) *Sirapinyo* *langka* *moo* *nipate* *nutoo* *naate.*
     si=rapi=nyo *langka* *moo* *ni-pate-i* *nu=too* *no-ate*
     PN/AB=spouse=3SG/GE male this IV/R-kill-DIR CN/GE=person ST/RE-die
     'A person killed THIS MAN'S WIFE dead.'

(60) *Oo* *uraga,* *ulavai* *paey* *upatei.*
     'oo *'u-raga* *'u-lava-i* *paey* *'u-pate-i*
     2SG/AB 1SG.IV/IR-chase 1SG.IV/IR-obstruct-DIR and.then 1SG.IV/IR-kill-DIR
     'I will chase YOU, corner YOU, and then I will kill YOU.'

Example (61) illustrates the directional verb *mene'* 'go up'.[25] Directional verbs are marginal transitive verbs since they may subcategorize a prepositional phrase (see Quick in prep.) or have a syntactic object. So if the directional verb *pene'* were considered to be derived from an intransitive verb then this example could be considered to be a real applicative derivation. This example demonstrates the thin line between semantic transitivity and syntactic transitivity with the use of -*i*.

(61) *Nipene'inyo* *taipang* *uo.*
     ni-pene'-i=nyo *taipang* *'uo*
     IV/RE-go.up-DIR=3SG/GE mango.tree yonder
     'He climbed up the YONDER MANGO TREE.'

5.2 Appearance of -*i* Required in Inverse Voice but not Allowed in Active Voice

Examples (62)-(64) show that the directional -*i* suffix is only used in the inverse voice form with *rembas* 'hit', and that the lexical meaning of *rembas* 'hit' is unchanged in the different voices.

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[25]Here the *p* substitutes for the *m* like it would with the floating autosegments, possibly a special stem formation in which case this could be considered to be a locative applicativesee Quick in prep.

(62) A'u   morembas   tagu'u.
     a'u   m-pong-rembas   tagu='u
     1SG/AB   IR-SF/PT-hit   friend=1SG/GE
     'I will hit my friend.'   [EN97-003.55]

(63) *A'u mo-rembas-i tagu='u.

(64) Tagu'u   nirembasi'u.
     tagu='u   ni-rembas-i='u
     friend=1SG/GE   IV/RE-hit-DIR=1SG/GE
     'I hit MY FRIEND.'   [EN97-003.55]

(65) *Tagu='u ni-rembas=o'u.

6 WORD ORDER VARIATIONS IN APPLICATIVE DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

6.1 Postverbal Word Order Variations in Active Voice Constructions

This section demonstrates postverbal word order possibilities in active voice constructions. Word order is free in the sense that the secondary object can float anywhere after the verb, but the P and A arguments must always have the sequence PA postverbally (see Quick in prep. for discussion of grammatical relations including the secondary object). Examples (66)-(68) show that the secondary object *vea* 'rice' can vary its position. It moves from right to left in these examples and appears in bold font. Example (69) illustrates that if the other two words change their relative position then the meaning of the clause must change.

(66) Nongolia'   io   a'u   **vea.**
     n-pong-oli-a'   io   a'u   vea
     RE-SF/PT-buy-TZ 3SG/AB   1SG/AB   Rice
     'I bought him rice.'   [EN97-002.32]

(67) Nongolia'   io   **vea**   a'u.
     n-pong-oli-a'   io   vea   a'u
     RE-SF/PT-buy-TZ 3SG/AB   rice   1SG/AB
     'I bought him rice'   [EN97-002.31]

(68) Nongolia'   **vea**   io   a'u.
     n-pong-oli-a'   vea   io   a'u
     RE-SF/PT-buy-TZ rice   3SG/AB   1SG/AB
     'I bought him rice.'   [EN97-002.31]

(69) Nongolia'   a'u   io   vea.
     n-pong-oli-a'   a'u   io   vea
     RE-SF/PT-buy-TZ 1SG/AB   3SG/AB   Rice
     'HE bought me rice.'   [EN97-002.31]

6.2 Word Order Possibilities in Inverse Voice Constructions

This section illustrates the word order possibilities for the locative noun phrase, instrument noun phrase, and 2nd object Since the locative noun phrase can also occur as the pivot, this gives the locative the highest number of word order possibilities of the three.

   Regardless of the pivot in a ditransitive clause the A and P arguments must always maintain their relative linear position. The annotated list of word orders in Figures 6-7 demonstrates that the P and the locative NP (LOC) can be in any order relative to each other, but the ordering of the A and P must never

change. These examples represent the A as an enclitic to the V in the inverse voice constructions. A P argument could never occur between an A and the verb.[26] Figure 6 sums up the word positions that occur when the subject occurs postverbally, and Figure 7 sums up the word order positions that occur when the subject occurs preverbally. To sum up both of these Figures, any oblique or second object can appear in virtually any word order position whether it is a pivot or not.[27] Abbreviations used in Figures 6-7: SF=stem former *pV(C)-*, DIR=directional applicative suffix *-i*, TZ=transitivizer as applicative suffix *-a'*, O2=Secondary Object (theme in these examples). Note also that the subscripted abbreviations indicate affixes.

Postverbal Subject in Inverse Voice				
Verb	Object		Subject	
SFV_{DIR}	A		LOC	
SFV_{DIR}	A	P	LOC	
SFV_{DIR}	A		LOC	P
V_{TZ}	O2 A		P	
V_{TZ}	A	O2	P	
V_{TZ}	A		P	O2
P SFV_{DIR}	A		(nu=)INSTR	

Figure 6. Word Order Possibilities in Inverse Voice
Constructions with Postverbal Subject

The word order possibilities for locative NPs as sketched in Figures 6-7 are given in examples (70)-(83) below.

In example (70) the locative noun phrase is in the first word order position, (i.e. it is topicalized) but it is clearly not the selected argument (i.e. the pivot/subject) since it is in an active voice construction clause. In (71) the locative noun phrase is again in the first word order position but it is clearly the selected argument although it still has the locative proclitic *ri* (this will be demonstrated in a series of examples below after these two examples).

(70) *RiMalawa,*   *a'u*   *monyoput*   *odo*   *moo.*
     ri=Malawa   *a'u*   *m-pong-soput* *odo*   *moo*
     LOC=Malawa   1SG/AB   IR-SF/PT-shoot   monkey   this
     'At Malawa, I will shoot a monkey.'

(71) *RiMalawa*   *roponyoput'u*   *odo*   *moo.*
     ri=Malawa   *ro-pong-soput='u*   *odo*   *moo*
     LOC=Malawa   IV/IR-SF/PT-shoot=1SG/GE   monkey   this
     'I will shoot a monkey AT/IN MALAWA.'

Preverbal Subject in Inverse Voice				
	Subject	Verb	Object	
	LOC	$_{SF}V_{DIR}$	A	P
	LOC P	$_{SF}V_{DIR}$		
	*P	$_{SF}V_{DIR}$	A	
	*P	$_{SF}V_{DIR}$	A	LOC
	P	V_{DIR}	A	LOC
	P	V_{DIR}	A	INSTR
	LOC	V_{DIR}	A	
	*INSTR	V	A	P
	P	V_{TZ}	A	O2
LOC	P	V_{TZ}	A	O2s

Preverbal Subject in Active Voice					
	A	V	P	INSTR	
	A	V_{TZ}	P	O2	INSTR
	A	V INSTR	P		
LOC	A	V	P		

Figure 7. Word Order Possibilities in Inverse Voice Constructions with Preverbal Subject Contrasted with Some Active Voice Constructions with Preverbal Subject (the asterisk * and shading means that grammatical construction is not possible; a comma means that entry is topicalized)

The series of examples in (72)-(80) shows a number of contrasts and varying word order positions in which the locative noun phrase can and cannot occur. Example (74) highlights the option of putting in the P argument directly preceding the verb. However, since the combination of the stem former*pv(C)*- and the directional-*i* require the 'oblique' NP to be the pivot this word order position does not identify it as the pivot (although the word order given in this elicited example probably does not occur in any text).

(72) *Ribongkarango'u*   *rusa*   *uo*   *niponyoputi'u.*
      ri=bongkarang='u   *rusa*   *'uo*   *ni-pong-soput-i='u*
      LOC=hut=1SG/GE   deer   yonder   IV/RE-SF-shoot-DIR=1SG/GE
      'I shot the deer AT/BESIDE MY HUT.'

The ungrammatical examples in (73)-(74) conclusively show that when the combination of the *pV(C)*-prefix (SF) and the *-i* directionalsuffix raise the oblique argument to core argumentstatus, as in (72), the P argument is NOT the selected argument. Example (74) illustrates that when the P argument is the only core argument preceding the *pV(C)*- stem former and the directional *-i* it cannot be the pivotExample (75) illustrates conversely that the P argument must be the pivot when the *pV(C)*- stem is not used and there is a directional suffix *-i*. Note that in (75) the suffix *-i* does not appear to have any necessary function. See Section 5.2 for the discussion on the range of uses and idiosyncrasies of *-i*.

(73) *Rusa*   *uo*   *niponyoputi'u.*
      rusa   *'uo*   *ni-pong-soput-i='u*
      deer   yonder   IV/RE-SF-shoot-DIR-1SG/GE

(74) *Rusa*   *uo*   *niponyoputi'u*   *ribongkarang.*
      rusa   *uo*   *ni-pong-soput-i='u*   *ri=bongkarang*
      deer   yonder   IV/RE-SF-shoot-DIR=1SG/GE   LOC=hut

(75) *Rusa*   *uo*   *nisoputi'u*   *riMalawa.*
      rusa   'uo   ni-soput-i='u   ri=Malawa
      deer   yonder   IV/RE-shoot-DIR=1SG/GE   LOC=Malawa
      'I shot THE DEER at Malawa.'

Examples (76) and (77) illustrate that the P argument does not need to be overt, and that the locative noun phrase can occur preverbally or postverbally. Examples (78) and (79) add the P argument after the verb and show the same preverbal and postverbal positions of the locative argument. Example (80) illustrates the use of the same locative phrase in the active voice construction.

(76) *Ribongkarango'u*   *niponyoputi'u.*
      ri=bongkarang='u
      LOC=hut=1SG/GE   IV/RE-SF-shoot-DIR=1SG/GE
      'I shot (it) AT/BESIDE MY HUT.'

(77) *Niponyoputi'u*   *ribongkarango'u.*
      ni-pong-soput-i='u   ri=bongkarang='u
      AV/RE-SF-shoot-DIR=1SG/GE   LOC=hut=1SG/GE
      'I shot (it) AT/BESIDE MY HUT.'

(78) *Niponyoputi'u*   *rusa*   *uo*   *ribongkarango'u.*
      ni-pong-soput=i='u   rusa   'uo   ri=bongkarang='u
      IV/RE-SF-shoot-DIR=1SG/GE   deer   yonder   LOC=hut=1SG/GE
'I shot (the) yonder deer AT/BESIDE THE HUT.'

(79) *Niponyoputi'u*   *ribongkarango'u*   *rusa*   *uo.*
      ni-pong-soput-i='u   ri=bongkarang='u   rusa   'uo
      IV/RE-ST-shoot-DIR=1SG/GE   LOC=hut=1SG/GE   deer   yonder
      'I shot (the) yonder deer AT/BESIDE THE HUT.'

(80) *A'u*   *monyoputi*   *riMalawa.*
      a'u   mong-soput-i   ri=Malawa
      1SG/AB   AV/IR-shoot-DIR   LOC=Malawa
      'I will shoot (it) at Malawa.'

Examples (81)-(83) below show the locative noun phrase occupying various positions in a benefactive construction. These examples contrast the use of the P argument as a pivot with the locative noun phrase as a pivot in the previous series of examples.

(81) *Rusa*   *uo*   *nisoputa'o'u*   *jimo*   *riMalawa.*
      rusa   'uo   ni-soput-a'='u   jimo   ri=Malawa
      deer   yonder   IV/RE-shoot-TZ=1SG/GE   3PL/AB   LOC=Malawa
      'I shot THE YONDER DEER for them at Malawa.'

(82) *RiMalawa*   *rusa*   *uo*   *Nisoputa'o'u*   *jimo.*
      ri=Malawa   rusa   'uo   Ni-soput-a'='u   jimo
      LOC=Malawa   deer   yonder   IV/RE-shoot-TZ=1SG/GE   3PL/AB
      'I shot THE YONDER DEER for them at Malawa.'

(83) *Rusa*   *uo*   *riMalawa*   *Nisoputa'o'u*   *jimo.*
      rusa   'uo   ri=Malawa   ni-soput-a'='u   jimo
      deer   yonder   LOC=Malawa   IV/RE-shoot-TZ=1SG/GE   3PL/AB
      'I shot THE YONDER DEER for them at Malawa.'

7   COMBINATIONS OF APPLICATIVES AND CAUSATIVES

This section briefly discusses the combination of the applicative *-a'* in the same word with a morphological *po₃-*. Example (84) illustrates the transitivizer *-a'* functioning in an active voice clause as a benefactive applicative. Example (85) shows that the same sentence structure minus the applicative and using the causative *po₃-* is ungrammatical. However, in examples such as (86)-(87), a combination of both of these affixes appears in the same morphological verb. Example (88) contrasts with (85), and demonstrates that it is possible to have the causative in other contexts.

(84) *A'u*   *Mongkomuna*   *Jimo*   *pu'ot*   *uo.*
      a'u   *m-pong-'omung-a'* *Jimo*   *pu'ot*   *'uo*
      1SG/AB   IR-SF/PT-carry-TZ   3PL/AB   seine.net   yonder

      'I will carry that seine net to/for them.'   [EN97-003.37]

(85) **A'u mom-po-'omung jimo pu'ot uo.*

(86) *Nipo'itoa'*   *nijimo*   *moje*   *sakarung*   *pu'ot.*
      ni-po₃-'oto-a'   *nijimo*   *moj*   *so-karung*   *pu'ot*
      IV/RE-CAUS-look-TZ   3PL/GE   again   ONE-sack   seine.net
      'They again showed (someone) one bag filled with a seine net.'   [jptext4.doc]

(87) *Jimo*   *Nompoinuna'omo*   *am*   *ogo*   *moonda'.*
      jimo   *n-pong-po₃-inung-a'=mo*   *'ami*   *ogo*   *mo-onda'*
      3PL/AB   RE-SF/PT-CAUS-drink-TZ=COMP   1PL.EXC/AB   water   ST/IR-hot
      'THEY gave us hot water.'   [EN97-003.29]

(88) *Jimo*   *nompoinungomo*   *ami*   *ogo*   *moonda'.*
      jimo   *n-pong-po₃-inung=mo*   *'ami*   *ogo*   *mo-onda*
      3PL/AB   RE-SF/PT-CAUS-drink=COMP   1PL.EXC/AB   water   ST/IR-hot
      'THEY gave us hot water.'   [EN97-003.29]

Examples such as (86)-(87) present a possible problem. These verb constructions have both a causative prefix and an applicative suffix, either one of which is sufficient to create a ditransitive from a monotransitive clause. This dual affixation of valency changing affixes poses several questions: Do these affixes somehow combine to create something new? Does one of the affixes become neutralized? Or do the semantics of causative and benefactive blur and become merged Donohue (in prep.) provides a solution to this morphology mismatch by demonstrating that the causative arguments are higher up the semantic/thematic hierarchy than applicatives[28], and that causatives may extend into the normal morphological territory of applicatives. Compare for example the discussion on causatives in Quick (in prep.) in which the *-a'* functions as a causative and in Section 3-4 in which the *-a'* functions as an applicative. This hierarchy explains the double function of *-a'* as occurring in part of the Pendau grammar as a causative and in another part of the grammar as an applicative. Donohue's work would also suggest that data which has both morphologically marked causative and applicative marking simultaneously may be interpreted as neutralizing or overriding the function of the non-causative applicative.

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[28]Donohue (forthcoming 3) quotes Bresnan and Kanerva (1989) with one version of a thematic hierarchy as:
agent>beneficiary>goal/experiencer>instrument>theme/patient>locative.

APPENDIX: ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

1PL.EXC	first person plural exclusive	INC	Inclusive
1PL.INC	first person plural inclusive	INSTR	Instrument
1SG.IV	first person singular inverse voice	IR	Irrealis
1SG	first person singular	LCM	Locomotion (Verb Class V)
2SG.IV	second person singular inverse voice	LOC	Locative preposition
2SG	second person singular	MUT	Mutual Activity
3SG	third person singular	NEG	Negative
2PL	second person plural	NV	Non-volitional aspect
3PL	third person plural	ONE	numeral one prefix
A	Agent-like Argument	P	Patient-like Argument
AB	Absolute Case	PN	Proper Noun Marker
APPL	Applicative	POS	Positional (Verb Class VI)
AVP, PVA	various constituent order sequences	PT	Primary Transitive (Verb Class I)
CAUS	Causative	PV(C)-	Augmented stem former (SF) prefix type
CLSF	Classifier	RE	Realis
CN	Common Noun Marker	RED	Reduplication
CAUS	Causative	REL	Relic form, e.g. *–in-*
CONT	Continuative Aspect	REQ	Requestive
COM	Comitative	RM	Relative Clause Marker
COMP	Completive Aspect	S_A	Intransitive subject = Transitive A
DE	Denominal (Verb Class IV)	S_P	Intransitive subject = Transitive P
DIR	Directional	SF	Stem Prefix Former
DUR	Durative aspect	SG	Singular
DY	Dynamic Verb (Verb Class III)	ST	Stative Verb (Verb Class VII)
EXCL	Exclusive	TZ	Transitivizer
EXIS	Existential	UD	UnDetermined Prefix
FA	Factive (Verb Class II)	V	Verb
GE	Genitive Case	VOC, V	Vocative
HPS	Harmonic Prefix Set	=	clitic boundary

Interlinear Conventions

Interlinear glossing uses three lines followed by a free translation. The first line uses the language orthography. Proclitics and enclitics are written together with their host word. Word initial glottal stops are not written, however word initial glottal stops will be written when a clitic or affix moves the glottal to a medial position. The second line shows formative boundaries and gives the underlying forms. The third line gives the English gloss or technical abbreviation for grammatical categories. As usual the gloss is often a shorthand for a variety of other possible glosses, so that in the free translation there may be a difference in meaning either due to the context, the change due to a derived meaning from other affixes, or because it cannot be conveyed in a sensible way in English. My general rule of thumb for the free translation is normally oriented towards meaning based translation theory, however, because of the special nature of interlinearizing constraints, sometimes a more literal translation is given to help understand the Pendau structure. Another important note is that in some of the examples capital letters in

Aplicative and Double Objects in Pendu

the English translation are used to indicate what the grammatical subject in Pendau actually is. This follows the practice used by some linguists for Philippine languages. Also note that it is necessary to distinguish three homophonous *po-* formatives: *po₁-*, Stem Former, *po₂-* Stative Causative (HPS), *po₃-* Generic Causative.

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117

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