COMPARING TRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN BALINESE AND PENDAU

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1 Introduction

This paper will begin by examining the prototypical transitive patterns of two distinct transitive clause types that can be contrasted in both Balinese and Pendau (Tomini-Tolitoli group in Central Sulawesi; both distantly related Western Austronesian languages).[1] These will be referred to as Active Voice and Inverse Voice constructions (see examples 1 and 2—note that the pivot[2] is marked in the English translation by capital letters). Since it is difficult if not impossible to determine one transitive clause type as basic (as well as other morpho-syntactic evidence and quantitative evidence from topic continuity), we will refer to this voice contrast as a symmetrical voice system in both languages (see Himmelmann 2002, Ross 2002a, 2002b). For example, both Balinese and Pendau can form ditransitive constructions via applicative and causative morphology in either active or inverse voice constructions. The fact that ditransitives in these languages are syntactic constructions with three core arguments, necessitates *a priori* that there exists a transitive construction in each of these voice constructions with two core arguments.

We will begin by following Andrews (1985) definition of prototypical transitive constructions, or "primary transitive verbs" and present a brief background of these struc-

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[1] Pendau is a Western Austronesian language group of about 4500 speakers found in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia. See Himmelmann 2001 for discussion of the Tomini-Tolitoli languages, and for Pendau in particular see Quick 1999 and 2003. For Balinese see Arka 1998, Artawa 1994, Beratha 1992, Clynes 1995, and Pastika 1999. Interlinear abbreviations used in this paper are: 1SG first singular person, 3P third person, 3PL third plural person, AB absolute case, AGNZ agentive nominalizer, APPL applicative, AV active voice, CN common noun, CONT continuative aspect, DEF definite, DY dynamic verb class, GE genitive case, LOC locative, IM intransitive marker, IR irrealis, IV inverse voice, NEG negative, NT nasal marked transitive verb class, PN proper noun, PT primary transitive verb class, RE realis modality, RED reduplicated, SF augmented stem former, ST stative verb class, and ZT zero marked transitive verb class.

[2] 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 2003). 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.

tures for Balinese and Pendau.[3]   Then for Balinese we will proceed to compare constructions which have a low transitivity, based on four of the ten parameters in Hopper and Thompson (1980), which we will refer to as 'false transitives.'   These are constructions with an incorporated object in Balinese, or for Pendau an incorporated-like object. We will then compare these 'false transitives' with the primary transitive constructions. We will then discuss middle voice and reflexive constructions and how they compare to the primary transitive verb constructions as relevant to Balinese and Pendau. For Balinese, the middle voice has verbs that commonly occur with 'grooming' or 'body' actions (e.g. as described in Kemmer 1993). Pendau has a different type of productive middle voice which is based primarily on the stative verb construction and adds an effector adjunct; however, transitive roots can be 'detransitivized' with this same construction. Balinese reflexive constructions can be derived from middle verbs, but they must become a transitive verb inflected in either active or inverse voice. Pendau has a marginal reflexive construction, but it does have productive reflexive intensifiers.

2 Active Voice and Inverse Voice
Transitive verbs can be inflected in either active voice or inverse voice without a change in transitivity.[4]   Examples (1) and (2) contrast the Active Voice and the Inverse Voice constructions respectively in Balinese and Pendau. Figure 1 contrasts the affixation used for Balinese and Pendau. 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).

(1)   ACTIVE VOICE
a.   BALINESE

Nglaut ia	*ngojog*	*dagang*	*bebek.*
nglaut ta	*N-ojog*	*dagang*	*bebek*
then 3P	NT-approach	seller	duck
Pivot=A		**non-pivot=P**	

'Then HE (=Belog) approaches a duck seller.'

b.   PENDAU

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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[3]   See Ross (2002:26-30) for a good discussion of 'semantic transitivity' and 'morpho-syntactic transitivity' in the context of Austronesian linguistics.
[4]   See Quick 1997, 1999, and 2003 for the background and basis for the pragmatic inverse voice construction and the analysis for which the Pendau data is based upon. We assume that similar evidence used for Pendau is also applicable to Balinese.

(2)   INVERSE VOICE
a.   BALINESE

Nglaut dagang	*bebek*	*ojog-a*
nglaut dagang	bebek	Ø-ojog-a
then seller	duck	ZT-approach-3SG

Pivot=A   non-pivot=P

'Then he (=Belog) approaches A DUCK SELLER.'

b.   PENDAU

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.'

Active Voice		Inverse Voice	
Balinese	Pendau	Balinese	Pendau
N-	mong-	Ø-	ro-
	nong-		ni-

Figure 1: *Comparison of Active Voice and Inverse Voice Prefixes in Balinese and Pendau*

Active Voice	Subject/pivot *actor role*	V	Object/non-pivot *undergoer role*
Inverse Voice	Subject/pivot *undergoer role*	V	Object/non-pivot *actor role*

Figure 2: *Macro Role Realignment in Balinese and Pendau*

3 False Transitive (Incorporated Object)

In this section we discuss constructions which appear to be syntactically transitive, but that we will call 'false transitives' (following Donohue 2001). We assume that the syntactic pattern follows the prototypical primary transitive clause due to internal language pressure as suggested by Andrews (1985:68-69). This pressure appears to produce skewing between morpho-syntactic transitivity and semantic transitivity, and can therefore be analyzed as a 'false transitive'.

3.1   Balinese False Transitive

The 'false transitive" has a very low degree of transitivity in terms of Hopper and Thompson's parameters (1980). There are four (out of ten) parameters that can show the degree of transitivity: (i) punctuality, (ii) aspectuality, (iii) agency, (iv) affectedness of Object and

(v) individuated Object. With the punctuality and aspectuality and agency parameters, the false transitivity exhibits the nuance of habitual activity, while with the parameter of agency the Agent seems to be low in potency and the activity is not completed. If we look at the parameter of affected Object, then the Object is not fully affected by the action since there is incomplete transfering of action from the Agent to the Patient. In terms of the individuated Object, the false transitive construction can only have an indefinite object; it is not possible with a definite Object. In the data below, we select some verbs that are formed by *ma-*. This prefix is originally an intransitive marker (IM). Only small numbers of the *ma-* verbs can occur with an incorporated Object.

(3) a. *I   meme   medaar   nasi.*
　　 i   meme   ma-daar   nasi
　　 PN   mother   IM-eats   rice
　　 'Mother eats rice.'
　*b. *I meme medaar nasi-ne.*

(4) a. *Timpale   mekena   bubu   di   carik.*
　　 timpale   ma-kena   bubu   di   carik
　　 friend   IM-sets   fish.trap   LOC   ricefield
　　 'The friend sets a fish trap in the ricefield.'
　*b. *Timpale mekena bubu-ne di carik.*

(5) a. *Imbok   me<u>dagang   kucit</u> di   peken.*
　　 imbok   ma-dagang   kucit di   peken
　　 younger.sibling   IM-sell   piglet LOC   market
　　 'Younger sibling sells piglets in the market.'
　*b. *Imbok me<u>dagang kucit-e</u> di peken.*

The real transitives are presented below. The plus value of the five parameters that show the high degree of transitivity can be applied to the real transitive construction. For this degree, the verb must be turned into the Nasal Transitive (NT). The use of the Nasal Prefix[5] makes the action volitionally transferred by the Agent to the Patient. In this real transitive construction, the Agent is the initiator or the controller of the action. The Object of the Nasal Transitive can be definite or indefinite, while in the False Transitive, the definite noun phrase Object is not allowed.

(6) a. *I   meme   naar   nasi.*
　　 i   meme   N-daar   nasi
　　 PN   mother   NT-eat   rice
　　 'Mother eats rice.'

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[5] The phonological form of the Nasal Prefix is /N- /. This nasal then assimilates the initial consonant of the verb.