

Resultative Complex Predicates in Kimaragang Dusun

Paul Kroeger

Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics

This paper discusses an unusual resultative construction in Kimaragang Dusun, a Philippine-type language spoken in northeastern Borneo. In most resultatives, the main verb names the event while a dependent word or phrase names the result; but in this construction the structure is reversed. The initial verb (V_1), which names the result, is the independent form (note that Kimaragang is a strongly head-initial language). V_1 may be inflected for tense, aspect, imperative mood, etc., and typically appears in a non-active voice. The second verb (V_2), which names the action, appears in an invariant non-past, active voice form. Some examples are given in (1).

- (1) a. N-o-tuus do=karabau mongotop(m-poN-kotop) i=paray
 PST-NONVOL-bare GEN=buffalo AV-TRANS-graze NOM=rice

 kuh.
 1sg.GEN

 'My rice field was grazed bare by buffaloes.'
- b. N-a-awi di=Jaiwan mangakan(m-poN-akan)
 i=rinapa'.
 PST-NONVOL-finish GEN=Jaiwan AV-TRANS-eat NOM=cooked.food

 'Jaiwan finished the food eating (i.e., ate up all the
 food).'
- c. Adan-o' yalo mamasut!
 faint-OV.IMPER 3sg.NOM AV-whip

 'Whip him unconscious!'

The construction is best described as a kind of complex predicate, similar in certain ways to the complex predicates found in Hindi/Urdu. The two verbs always share one or more arguments, and must not have distinct Actors or Undergoers. Evidence for monoclausality comes from the pattern of case assignment (determined by V_1) and the distribution of 2P clitics, which are sensitive to clause boundaries; note the position of the pronoun in (1c). There is strong evidence, based on word order patterns, inflectional possibilities, etc., for distinguishing the resultative construction from the Aux + main verb construction, and from normal adjunct clauses with deleted (or understood) arguments. A possible alternative analysis would be to treat V_2 as a kind of nominalized infinitive functioning as a manner adverbial; but no parallels for this usage have been found in other environments.