

Is there a VP in Pendau?

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1. INTRODUCTION

- Transitive constructions have:
 - A ‘rigid’ postverbal position
 - A ‘flex’ position that is preverbal or postverbal
- The flex position is identified as a grammatical subject
- The rigid position is identified as a grammatical object
- Subjects and second objects never occur between the V and O
- VP occurs with two orders:
 - S[VO]_{VP}
 - [VO]_{VP}S
- Pendau has a symmetrical voice system
 - Active voice
 - Inverse voice

2. BASIC GRAMMAR NOTES

(1) Active Voice

<i>Siama'u</i>	<i>nonuju</i>	<i>siina'u.</i>
<i>si=ama='u</i>	<i>N-pong-tuju</i>	<i>si=ina='u</i>
PN/AB=father=1SG/GE	RE-SF/PT-send	PN/AB=mother=1SG/GE
Pivot=A		non-pivot=P

‘MY FATHER sent my mother.’

(2) Inverse Voice

<i>Siama'u</i>	<i>nituju</i>	<i>niina'u.</i>
<i>si=ama='u</i>	<i>ni-tuju</i>	<i>ni=ina='u</i>
PN/AB=father=1SG/GE	IV/RE-send	PN/GE=mother=1SG/GE
Pivot=P		non-pivot=A

‘My mother sent MY FATHER.’

(3) Dynamic Intransitive Construction

<i>SiYusup</i>	<i>neriing.</i>
<i>si=Yusup</i>	<i>N-pe-riing</i>
PN/AB=Joseph	RE-SF/DY-bathe
Pivot= S_A	

‘Joseph bathed.’

(4) Stative Intransitive

<i>SiYusup</i>	<i>nanabu.</i>
<i>si=Yusup</i>	<i>no-nabu</i>
PN/AB=Joseph	ST/RE-fall
Pivot= S_P	

‘Joseph fell (down).’

Figure 1. Pronouns and Noun Phrase Markers in Pendau

	Absolute	Genitive	Instrument	IV Pronominal Prefixes
SG. 1	a'u	=u		'u-, no'u- (irrealis, realis)
2	oo	=mu		mu-
3	io	=nyo		--
PL. 1 INC	ito	=to		--
1 EXC	ami	mami		--
2	emu	miu		--
3	jimo	nijimo		--
Proper Nouns	si=	ni=	--	
Common Nouns	Ø	nu=	nu=	

- (5) *Nongkomung* *asu jimo* *ono* *mbengimo* *ri'uo*.
N-pong-'omung *asu jimo* *ono* *mbengi=mo* *ri='uo*
 RE-SF/PT-take dog 3PL/AB when night=COMP LOC=yonder
 'They took dogs over there when it was already night.'
- (6) *Tarus* *nilolo* *niinanyo* *unga uo*.
tarus *ni-lolo* *ni=ina=nyo* *unga 'uo*
 continue IV/RE-search PN/GE=mother=3SG/GE child yonder
 'Her mother continued looking for her daughter (lit. child).'
- (7) *Paey* *rasaur* *miu* *ami*.
paey *ro-saur* *miu* *'ami*
 and.then IV/IR-defeat 2PL/GE 1PL.EXC/AB
 'And then we will defeat you all.'

Pendau transitive clause types can be summarized as below:

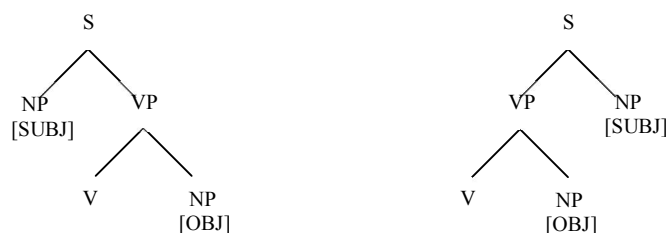
- Pendau has two transitive verb forms distinguished by *nong-* and *ni-* prefixes. These verb constructions both have A and P arguments.
 - nong-* AVP or VPA word order
 Absolute is used in A and P positions
 Genitive rarely occurs in the P position
 - ni-* PVA or VAP word order
 Absolute is used in the P position
 Genitive is used in the A position
- The *ni-* verb construction indicates that A is in the non-pivot position, and the P is in the pivot position. The *nong-* verb construction indicates that A is in the pivot position, and the P is in the non-pivot position.
- The choice between *ni-* and *nong-* verb constructions seems to be dependent on the degree of topic continuity. The *ni-* verb construction seems to be the favoured verb construction when the A argument has a low referential distance (nearly a 3:1 ratio; for discussion and evidence of voice selection criteria see Quick 2002, 2003, in press b).

3. IDENTIFICATION OF THE VP

Figure 2. A and P argument positions in Pendau transitive clauses

1. (A) nong-V P
 2. nong-V P (A)
-
3. (P) ni-V A
 4. ni-V A (P)

Figure 3. The VP and SVO/VOS Word Orders



- (8) *Unga miu tonialap nutoo ape nipiara nutoo.*
unga miu to=ni-alap nu=too ape ni-piara nu=too
 child 2PL/GE RM=IV/RE-get CN/GE=people or IV/RE-care CN/GE=people
 ‘Someone got your child or someone took care of (your child).’

4. THE VP AND DOUBLE OBJECTS

- (9) *A'u mongolia' io vea.*
a'u M-pong-oli-a' io vea
 1SG/AB IR-SF-buy-TZ 3SG/AB raw-rice
A=Pivot P 3rd argument
Agent Recipient Theme
SUBJECT OBJECT 2nd OBJECT
 ‘I will buy him/her rice.’

- (10) *Io niolia'o'u vea.*
io ni-oli-a'='u vea
 3SG/AB IV/RE-buy-TZ=1SG/GE raw-rice
P=Pivot A 3rd argument
Recipient Agent Theme
SUBJECT OBJECT 2nd OBJECT
 ‘I bought him/her rice.’

- (11) S V O O2 default order
 V O S O2 subject occurs between two objects, O2 in default position
 O2 V O S second object is fronted preverbally
 V O O2 S second object is fronted postverbally

Active Voice with Double Objects

- (12) *Nongolia'* *io* *a'u* **vea.**
N-pong-oli-a' *io* *a'u* *vea*
 RE-SF/PT-buy-TZ 3SG/AB 1SG/AB raw-rice
 'I bought him rice.'
- (13) *Nongolia'* *io* **vea** *a'u.*
N-pong-oli-a' *io* *vea* *a'u*
 RE-SF/PT-buy-TZ 3SG/AB raw-rice 1SG/AB
 'I bought him rice'
- (14) **Nongolia'* **vea** *io* *a'u.*
N-pong-oli-a' *vea* *io* *a'u*
 RE-SF/PT-buy-TZ raw-rice 3SG/AB 1SG/AB
 *'I bought him rice.'
- (15) *Nongolia'* *a'u* *io* *vea.*
N-pong-oli-a' *a'u* *io* *vea*
 RE-SF/PT-buy-TZ 1SG/AB 3SG/AB raw-rice
 'He bought me rice.'

Inverse Voice with Double Objects

- (16) *Nisambalea'omo* *niCeku* *jimo* *manu'* *niYusup.*
ni-sambale-a'=mo *ni=C.* *jimo* *manu'* *ni=Y.*
 IV/RE-butcher-TZ=COMP PN/GE=C. 3PL/AB chicken PN/GE=Y.
 'Ceku butchered Joseph's chicken for them.'
- (17) *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 that deer for them at Malawa.'
- (18) *Niatora'onoyo* *teule* *ma'o junjungonyo* *unga uo.*
ni-ator-a'=nyo *teule* *ma'o junjung=nyo* *unga 'uo*
 IV/RE-deliver-TZ=3SG/GE return go house=3SG/GE child yonder
 'He took (lit. delivered) that child home to his house.'

5. THE VP AND THE FLOATING ADVERB MOJE 'ALSO, TOO'

Floating Adverbs Positions in Inverse Voice

- (19) *Ami* *rimoo* **moje** *nidua'* *nubali.*
'ami *ri=moo* **moje** *ni-dua'* *nu=bali*
 1PL.EXC/AB LOC=this also IV/RE-arrive CN/GE=enemy
 'The enemy again arrived here beside us.'
- (20) *Ami* *rimoo* *nidua'* **moje** *nubali.*
'ami *ri=moo* *ni-dua'* **moje** *nu=bali*
 1PL.EXC/AB LOC=this IV/RE-arrive also CN/GE=enemy
 'The enemy again arrived here beside us.'
- (21) *Ami* *rimoo* *nidua'* *nubali* **moje.**
'ami *ri=moo* *ni-dua'* *nu=bali* **moje**
 1PL.EXC/AB LOC=this IV/RE-arrive CN/GE=enemy also
 'The enemy again arrived here beside us.'

Floating Adverbs Positions in Active Voice

- (22) *SiYusup* **moje** *monyambale* *japing* *uo* *nupiso.*
si=Yusup **moje** *M-pong-sambale* *japing* *'uo* *nu=piso*
 PN/AB=Joseph also IR-SF/PT-butcher cow yonder INSTR=machete
 ‘Joseph also butchered the cow with the machete.’
- (23) *SiYusup* *monyambale* **moje** *japing* *uo* *nupiso.*
si=Yusup *M-pong-sambale* **moje** *japing* *'uo* *nu=piso*
 PN/AB=Joseph IR-SF/PT-butcher also cow yonder INSTR=machete
 ‘Joseph also butchered the cow with the machete.’
- (24) *SiYusup* *monyambale* *japing* *uo* **moje** *nupiso.*
si=Yusup *M-pong-sambale* *japing* *'uo* **moje** *nu=piso*
 PN/AB=Joseph IR-SF/PT-butcher cow yonder also INSTR=machete
 ‘Joseph also butchered the cow with the machete.’
- (25) *SiYusup* *monyambale* *japing* *uo* *nupiso* **moje.**
si=Yusup *M-pong-sambale* *japing* *'uo* *nu=piso* **moje**
 PN/AB=Joseph IR-SF/PT-butcher cow yonder INSTR=machete also
 ‘Joseph also butchered the cow with the machete.’

The ‘Restricted’ Floating Adverb *sura* ‘only’

- (26) *SiYusup* **sura** *monyambale* *japing* *uo* *nupiso.*
si=Yusup **sura** *M-pong-sambale* *japing* *'uo* *nu=piso*
 PN/AB=Joseph only IR-SF/PT-butcher cow yonder INSTR=machete
 ‘Joseph will only butcher the cow with a machete.’
- (27) **SiYusup monyambale sura japing uo nupiso.*
- (28) *SiYusup* *monyambale* *japing* *uo* **sura** *nupiso.*
si=Yusup *M-pong-sambale* *japing* *'uo* **sura** *nu=piso*
 PN/AB=Joseph IR-SF/PT-butcher cow yonder only INSTR=machete
 ‘Joseph will only butcher the cow with a machete.’
- (29) *SiYusup* *monyambale* *japing* *uo* **sura** *sono piso.*
si=Yusup *M-pong-sambale* *japing* *'uo* **sura** *sono piso*
 PN/AB=Joseph IR-SF/PT-butcher cow yonder only with machete
 ‘Joseph will only butcher the cow with a machete’
- (30) **SiYusup monyambale japing uo nupiso sura.*

6. THE VP AND OBLIQUES

- (31) *A'u* *mongkomung* *bau* *rijunjung.*
a'u *M-pong-'omung* *bau* *ri=jungjung*
 1SG/AB IR-SF/PT-carry fish LOC=house
 ‘I will carry the fish to my house.’
- (32) *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 that deer for them at Malawa.’
- (33) *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.’

- (34) *Paey ratabola'oto io uo rirano.*
paey ro-tabol-a'=oto io 'uo ri=rano
 and.then IV/IR-throw-TZ=1PL.INC/GE 2SG/AB yonder LOC=lake
 'And then we'll throw him into the lake.' (monkeys talking about the turtle)

- (35) V NP PP normal
 V PP NP postverbal fronting
 PP V NP preverbal fronting

- (36) *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 that deer for them at Malawa.'

- (37) *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 that deer for them at Malawa.'

- (38) *Ila uo nitalaunyo rijunjung unga uo.*
ila 'uo ni-talau=nyo ri=junjung unga 'uo
 from yonder IV/RE-leave=3SG/GE LOC=house child yonder
 'From there he left that child at the house.'

- (39) *Bai uo ni'ityonyo abato uo, tarus nialaponyo*
bai 'uo ni-'ito=nyo abato 'uo tarus ni-alap=nyo
 like yonder IV/RE-see=3SG/GE grub yonder continue IV/RE-get=3SG/GE
abato uo, paey nintamaa'onyo riengenyoy
abato 'uo paey ni-ntama-a'='nyo ri=enge=nyo
 grub yonder and.then IV/RE-enter-TZ=3SG/GE LOC=nose=3SG/GE
abato uo.
abato 'uo
 grub yonder

'After that he saw that grub, and then he took the grub, and then he put into his nose the grub.'

Only elicited examples with obliques between V and O

- (40) *A'u monyoput riMalava rusa uo.*
a'u M-pong-soput ri=Malava rusa 'uo
 1SG IR-SF/PT-shoot LOC=Malava deer yonder
 'I will shoot the deer in Malava.'

- (41) *Japing uo nisambale riMalava niYusup nupiso.*
japing 'uo ni-sambale ri=Malava ni=Yusup nu=piso
 cow yonder IV/RE-butcher LOC=Malava PN/GE=Joseph INSTR=machete
 'Joseph used a machete to butcher that cow in Malava.'

- (42) *Japing uo nisambale sono piso niYusup riMalava.*
japing 'uo ni-sambale sono piso ni=Yusup ri=Malava.
 cow yonder IV/RE-butcher COM machete PN/GE=Joseph LOC=Malava
 'Joseph butchered that cow with a machete in Malava.'

Only elicited examples with instrument NPs between V and O

- (43) *SiYusup monyambale nupiso japing uo.*
si=Yusup M-pong-sambale nu=piso japing 'uo
 PN/AB=Joseph IR-SF/PT-butcher INSTR cow yonder
 'JOSEPH will slaughter the cow with a knife.'

- (44) ...*paey unga nirembasi nuuram niYusup.*
paey unga ni-rembas-i nu=uram ni=Yusup
 and.then child IV/RE-hit-DIR INSTR=medicine PN/GE=Joseph
 ‘...and then Joseph hit the CHILD with the medicine.’

Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) for example allows discontinuous VPs (Bresnan 2001:126):

“The noncompositionality of LFG thus implies that VPs can be discontinuous phrases whose heads may appear external to the rest of the phrase.”

7. WORD ORDER CHOICE, TOPIC-COMMENT AND THE VP

Van Valin and LaPolla suggest that (1997:218):

“It is reasonable to suppose, then, that the universal basis for the language-specific phrasal category VP is focus structure.”

Possibilities for VP fronting:

- Thematic continuity and/or action continuity (see Dooley and Levinsohn 2001, Levinsohn 2003)
- Pivotal storyline or primary event (see Longacre 1989, Dooley and Levinsohn 2001)
- Heavy NPs preferred in a postverbal S position

8. CONCLUSION

- The O cannot move, it is a ‘rigid’ argument and must occur immediately following the V. It must be [VO]_{VP}
- The S (or ‘flex’ argument) may not appear between the V and O, although it may appear in almost any other word order position
- The O₂ (second argument) may not intervene between the V and the O
- Obliques do not naturally occur between the V and the O
- Nuclear directional serial verbs follow the V₁ and occur immediately before the O
- Core directional serial verbs do not occur inside the VP and must follow the O somewhere outside the VP

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Abbreviations: 1PL, first plural, 1SG first singular, 2PL second plural, 3SG third singular, 3PL third plural, A actor/agent, AB absolute, CN common noun, COM comitative, COMP completive aspect, DIR directional, DY dynamic verb class, EXC exclusive, GE genitive case, INC inclusive, IR irrealis, INSTR instrument case, IV inverse voice, LOC locative case, NP noun phrase, OBJ object, P undergoer/patient, PN proper noun, PP prepositional phrase, PT primary transitive verb class, RE realis, SF augmented stem former, ST stative verb class, SUBJ subject, TZ transitivizer, V verb, VP verb phrase