Is there a VP in Pendau?[*]

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Abstract

In this paper I will address whether or not Pendau (a Tomini-Tolitotoli language in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia) has in fact a VP constituent. Himmelmann (2005:142-143) suggests that in another Tomini-Tolitoli language, the Totoli language, there is a VP constituent similar to a number of other western Austronesian languages. Pendau has a symmetrical voice system that contrasts active voice and inverse voice (see Quick 1997, 2002, 2003). Subjects and second objects may never be placed between the verb and the grammatical object.   Both voices can be described as having the same pragmatic flexible word order: 1) S[VO]$_{VP}$ and 2) [VO]$_{VP}$S. The main part of the paper will present data and discuss the evidence for analyzing the Pendau data as having a VP. Although core arguments can never be placed between the verb and the object, exceptions to this will include data with fronted oblique arguments and the optional 'floating' adverb *moje* 'also, too'. A brief description on the floating adverb will be given , but as this parallels other exceptions found in languages with VPs, this will not be a problem to the VP analysis. The research demonstrates that the data for the fronted obliques inside the VP has only been found in elicited material. I briefly discuss why this data does not negate the viability of a VP constituent in Pendau. Finally, there is a brief discussion on viewing the VP as part of a topic-comment construction. This will include a brief discussion on the discourse possibilities for fronting the VP and future research.

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper I will address whether or not Pendau (a Tomini-Tolitotoli language in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia) has in fact a VP constituent. Himmelmann (2005:142-143) suggests that in another Tomini-Tolitoli language, the Totoli language, there is a VP constituent similar to a number of other western Austronesian languages. Some Sulawesi languages that have been discussed as having a VP or at least an obvious VO include Tukang Besi (Donohue 1995, 1999), Kaili-Ledo (Evans 2003), and Bambam (Campbell 1989). Other non-Sulawesi Indonesian languages with a VP are represented by Balinese (Arka 2003, Manning 1996) and Toba Batak (Manning 1996).

Pendau has a symmetrical voice system that contrasts active voice and inverse voice (see Quick 1997, 2002, 2003, Himmelmann 2002, 2005, and Ross 2002a, 2002b). Transitive word order constructions have a 'rigid' position following the verb. The simplest and most elegant solution is to consider that this constituent is the grammatical object. Pendau also has variable word order in which the 'flex' word order position appears before the verb or after the 'rigid' argument, and can be called the grammatical subject. Subjects and second objects may never be placed between the verb and the grammatical object.   In summary then both voices can be described as having a variable word order with these two possibilities in which I will assume tentatively that there is a VP constituent: 1) S[VO]$_{VP}$ and 2) [VO]$_{VP}$S. The main part of the paper will present data and discuss the evidence for analyzing the Pendau data as having a VP.

Although core arguments can never be placed between the verb and the object, some elicited examples show that oblique arguments can be placed in between the verb and object when an oblique is fronted for prominence purposes. The only other known exceptions are an optional 'floating' adverb

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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 transitve verb class, RE realis, SF augmented stem former, ST stative verb class, SUBJ subject, TZ transitivizer, V verb, VP verb phrase

moje 'also, too' and the floating quantifier *jojoo* 'all' (see Quick 2003 for examples of this). A brief description will be given of the floating adverb *moje*, but as this parallels other exceptions found in languages with VPs, this will not be a problem to the VP analysis (see Kroeger 2004 for example).

The remaining syntactic discussion will show that fronted obliques do not negate the viability of a VP constituent in Pendau. Following this section there will be a brief discussion on viewing the flexible word order as VP fronting and the probable correlation with topic-comment structure.

2. BASIC GRAMMAR NOTES

This section presents basic grammar notes that are necessary for this paper. Examples (1)-(4) give typical transitive and intransitive constructions in their default word order. Examples (1)-(2) contrasts the symmetrical transitive voices. Example (3) gives an intransitive example of the dynamic verb class which is a mixed verb class of transitive and intransitive verbs. Example (4) gives an example of the stative verb class. There are seven canonical verb classes in Pendau, all of which can be identified either by the particular stem former associated with its verb or in the case of statives with no stem former (Quick 1999, 2003, 2005). In this paper most of the examples will use verbs from the primary transitive verb class. These can be inflected in either active voice[1] or in inverse voice.[2] In order to expedite the discussion I will sometimes refer to active voice verb constructions as *nong-* verbs, and refer to the inverse voice verb as the *ni-* verb (using the realis form for both voices).

(1) **Active Voice**
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.'

(2) **Inverse Voice**
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.'

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

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

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[1] Active voice is not marked in the interlinear representations as it is a composite result of the fusion of several formatives. For informal purposes the active voice may be referred to as the *nong-* formative.

[2] This is a pragmatic inverse voice, *not* a semantic inverse voice system (see Givón 1994, 2001) . The analysis of inverse voice coincides with the 'focus system' school of thought, and does not in principle clash with this view.

Figure 1 gives the basic case paradigm. Note that in example (1) that both NPs mark their core arguments with the same case. I call this the 'absolute case', as it turns out that this is the same 'case' marking set used for all other positions of grammatical constructions except for the actor/agent of the inverse voice and in genitive constructions, in which case it is called the 'genitive case', and except for the instrument case. See Quick 2003 for a full discussion of the voice system including the reasons why the Pendau language does not have an ergative system.

Figure 1. Pronouns and noun phrase markers in Pendau

		Absolute[3]	Genitive[4]	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=	

Examples (5)-(7) show the marked word order places the 'pivot' after the verb and another core argument. Example (5) illustrates the *nong-* verb construction and examples (6)-(7) illustrate the *ni-* verb construction.

(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:

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[3] The absolute case set should not be confused with the ergative 'absolutive' case set, it is only a coincidence that the terms appear to be similar.

[4] 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).

Pendau has two transitive verb forms distinguished by *nong-* and *ni-* prefixes.[5] 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[6]
        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 compares the etic word orders for basic transitive clauses and their associated transitive verb affixes in Pendau. Each verb type has a *rigid* argument position that is postverbal,[7] and each verb type has a *flex* argument position that is in either (a) a pre-verbal position or (b) in a post-verbal position which must follow the *rigid* argument position. The *flex* positions are marked in figure 2 by circles around the arguments which have more than one word order position. However, what is relevant is that this pattern suggests that both the *nong-* verb clause and the *ni-* verb clause have one single underlying word order (the emic word order). The *flex* position is identified as that of the *pivot* since preverbally this is the same position the *pivot* occurs in in relative clauses, and the *rigid* position as that of the *non-pivot*. The emic word order variation is a pragmatic discourse function that is discussed in §7.

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)

The four etic transitive word orders AVP/VPA and PVA/VAP can be conflated into two emic word orders if we assume that the similarity of pivot and non-pivot positions (or flex and rigid positions) captures an emic word order pattern (figure 3). The best candidates for these emic word patterns are the

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[5] There are other AV and IV prefixes, however these are the two most commonly encountered and represent the full range of possibilities. Also note that *nong-* is a short hand of the fused form of *N-* and it's underlying stem former *pong-*. In this section I also only refer to the realis form of affixes for convenience, and the reader should note that these all also may appear in the irrealis.

[6] I am not including the inverse constructions in which the pronominal prefix functions also as inverse voice. These can be annotated as: PA-V and A-VP. The A represents the pronominal prefix in an inverse voice construction.

[7] Floating adverbs and serial verbs may occur between the verb and the rigid argument in either voice. Serial verbs are by definition part of the verb event and therefore do not invalidate this analysis. Although the floating adverb *moje* 'also, too' and the floating quantifier *jojoo* 'all' may also occur between the verb and the rigid argument they are a special exception and do not invalidate this analysis.

grammatical relations subject and object. This would mean that there are two basic transitive patterns we can initially posit as SVO and VOS. These two word orders in fact correlate with the single argument positions of intransitive clauses which occurs as SV and VS word order positions.

The subject can be defined as the syntactic clause's pivot. The initial evidence is provided by the conflation of the etic word order into the emic word order (Quick 2003). This is based on identifying the pivot as a flex position versus the rigid post-verbal non-pivot position. This conclusion is reached via the fact that the verb prefix assigns a semantic role to the NP which has variable or a flexible word order position together with the fact that the etic word order difference between active and inverse voice clauses can be captured or conflated as one emic word order (see Quick 2003 for complete discussion). This evidence indicates that if there is a VP in Pendau, then the VP must be the verb and its dependent argument in the rigid position. This also points to the flex position as being the pivot/subject. This notion of subject is supported by what Manning (1996) calls 'grammatical subject' in contrast to the 'a-structure subject.' Figure 3 gives the tree diagrams for the two word orders.

Figure 3. The VP and SVO/VOS word orders
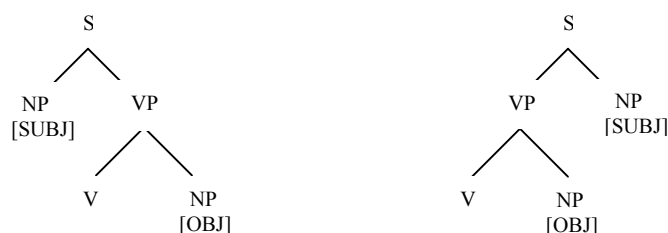
The basic SVO word order is based on several facts. This order is the only order which occurs in relative clauses, and it is also the more frequent word order. Quick (2003, in press b) shows that for one story SV/SVO occurs 64% of the time and the VS/VOS order occurs 36% (for both transitives and intransitives).

Additional evidence for the VP is found with conjoined clauses as in (8).

(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

In this section we will examine double object constructions and the evidence they provide for a VP in Pendau. Examples (9)-(10) illustrate double object constructions in both the *nong-* verb construction and the *ni-* verb construction. The examples show the default word order.

(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.'   [EN97-003.59]

(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.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[EN97-003.59]

The evidence that double object constructions gives for a VP is the fact that the second object can never occur between the grammatical object and the verb, although it can occur in nearly any other position. When the grammatical subject occurs post-verbally the second object may also occur between the grammatical object and the subject. The second object can also be fronted preverbally, but it cannot occur between the grammatical subject and the verb. The more common positions are diagrammed in (11), where O2 refers to the second object and the comma indicates an intonation pause. These orders may occur in either active voice or inverse voice constructions. The addition of prepositional phrases is not included, but it increases the number of possible variations without changing anything of significance in relation to the discussion on VPs. Regardless of the pivot in a ditransitive clause the A and P arguments must always maintain their relative linear position

(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

The examples in (12)-(14) shows that the second object *vea* 'raw-rice' can vary in all postverbal positions except between the verb and the grammatical object which is marked as 'ill-formed.' Example (15) demonstrates that the meaning changes when an attempt is made to swap the order of the pronouns.

(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.'

Examples (16)-(18) illustrate similar word order possiblities for the inverse voice construction.

(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'onyo   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'

    Adverbs such as *moje* 'again, also' are floating adverbs. The term 'floating' is not used in a technical sense, but in the looser sense of word order variability.[8] Examples (19)-(25) illustrate the possible positions that floating adverbs may occur in (in these examples the adverb *moje* 'again, also' is used). Floating adverbs must normally occur in a post-subject constituent position (when it precedes the subject it is distinctively topicalization and requires an intonation pause, see Quick 2003). When the floating adverb occurs in these positions there is no semantic change, and the scope is over the predication itself and not the entire proposition. The adverb *moje* is in bold font and floats or moves in the positions of the otherwise same clauses from right to left. Examples (19)-(21) illustrate the three positions that an adverb may occur in with an inverse voice transitive clause.[9]

(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.'

    Examples (22)-(25) illustrate the four positions that adverbs in ditransitive active voice instrument clauses may occur in.

(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.'

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[8] See Donohue 1995:173-175 for an example of floating adverbs in *Tukang Besi* and 'launching' that occurs according to criteria "that is relevant to a non-nominative-argument."   At this point in time there has been no observable reason that distinguishes the 'floating' in Pendau, but like *Tukang Besi* it is possible to nominate a canonical position which in Pendau is preverbal (but postverbal in *Tukang Besi*).

[9] Non-floating adverbs most commonly occur in the preverbal position, see Quick 2003.

(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.'

Some adverbs such as *sura* 'only' are restricted to where they can float to as examples (26)-(30) illustrate. In these examples *sura* 'only' can occur only in two positions, either before the verb or before the instrument phrase (examples (28) and (29) contrast the instrument phrase with the prepositional phrase with the instrument).

(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**.*

Since other languages such as English also have adverbs similar to *moje* 'also, too' in the VP this will not be considered to be evidence against a VP (see Kroeger 2004). On the other hand, the restrictions on other adverbs from occurring in this same position, such as *sura* 'only', indicates that there is a constituent boundary.

6. THE VP AND OBLIQUES

Prepositional phrases normally occur in clause final position as in (31)-(33). When the VP is in the initial position the normal position for a prepositional phrase is also in final position as in (34).

(31) *A'u*   *mongkomung*   *bau*   *rijunjung.*
     a'u   *M-pong-'omung*   *bau*   *ri=junjung*
     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)

     Prepositional phrases can be fronted to highlight or put some prominence on the prepositional phrase, as shown schematically in (35). There are two basic fronting positions: 1) postverbal, and 2) preverbal.

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

     Examples (36)-(37) show the prepositional phrase fronted in two different preverbal positions.

(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.'

     Example (38) illustrates fronting of the prepositional phrase to the immediately postverbal position.

(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.'

     Example (39) shows a complex sentence with three clauses. Each of the clauses is transitive and has *abato* 'grub' as its subject. In the third and final clause of the sentence the prepositional phrase is fronted before the P argument to highlight the location in which the grub is deliberately put, i.e. *engenyo* 'his nose'.

(39) *Bai*   *uo*   *ni'itonyo*   *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*   *riengenyo*
     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.'

    The previous examples are all based on natural texts. After an extensive review of my data, I was only able to find a few elicited examples in which obliques and instrument NPs[10] could appear in the VP, i.e. between the V and the O. Examples (40)-(41) illustrate accepted elicited examples of the locative oblique phrase occurring in the VP of an active voice and inverse voice construction respectively. Example (42) illustrates the comitative *sono* 'with' inside the VP of another elicited example.

(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.'

    Examples (43)-(44), also elicited, show that it is possible to place the instrument noun phrase between the A argument and the verb.

(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.'

    The evidence for fronted obliques to occur within the VP is weak as the only examples so far have come from elicited clauses. Further research is necessary, but at this stage it looks like obliques are not found in natural texts within the VP because it would break up this VP constituent. On the other hand, if further research shows that obliques are found inside the VP in natural texts, this in itself is not enough evidence to counter the other evidence for a VP. 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

    In this section I want to consider briefly what the basis for selecting between the two pragmatic word orders may be. At this point it seems likely that when the VP occurs before the S that we can consider this to be VP fronting rather than saying the S moves. In the previous section I examined briefly oblique fronting which places obliques into a position of pragmatic prominence (see Quick 2003 for second object fronting). There is reason to believe that the VP is part of a topic-comment framework which may explain this variable word order. Van Valin and LaPolla suggest (1997:218),

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[10] In Quick 2003 I analyze instrument NPs as second objects, although the evidence is ambiguous whether they should be treated as obliques or as core arguments.

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

In Quick (in press b) I checked for topic continuity of the S in both positions, and found that in one text there was no significant difference that was based on the topic continuity (i.e. for referential continuity). The only distinction found demonstrated that the full noun phrase is favored in about a 3:1 ratio when the subject is in the post-verbal position. For future research I suggest that based on those statistics and the evidence presented in this paper for a VP in Pendau that VP fronting occurs for one or more of these reasons:

- 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

Since fronting of other constituents, such as the obliques and second objects can occur in the same construction as a fronted VP, the two types of discourse functions cannot obviously be for the same purposes when they appear in a clause at the same time.

8. CONCLUSION

In conclusion the data shows that there is a VP in Pendau. This is obtained from basic word order and other constituents that either can't occur within the VP or seem to be unnatural inside the VP. This major finding points to the probablity that the variation in word order is due to fronting of the VP, which is itself a pragmatic discourse function. Future research addressing the VP as part of a topic-comment construction should provide productive results which can provide practical solutions such as helping to translate material naturally.

Identifying that the AV and IV constructions each have a constituent which behaves the same way is striking evidence that this constituent is a VP. What is especially striking is the fact that the NP argument inside this constituent can be either an actor or a non-actor argument. The following list summarizes the restrictions which are identical for both voice constructions:[11]

- 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

Exceptions to the rigid word order in the VP also show the same behaviour and pattern for both voices. These exceptions were discussed and not considered to bear weight against the evidence for a VP.

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[11] Serial verbs were not discussed here. For a general discussion on serial verbs in Pendau see Quick 2003.

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