Semantic and syntactic functions of western Indonesian applicative morphology

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Goals

1. To survey neglected functions of applicative suffixes in western Indonesian languages.
2. To demonstrate common cross-linguistic patterns among these neglected functions
3. To describe common relationships between prototypical and neglected functions

Western Indonesian languages

*"Western Indonesian languages" include languages with applicative morphology that is separate from voice. They are primarily located in Indonesia (Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Bali, Lombok) but also Malaysia and Brunei.

Languages represented

1. Karo Batak
2. Besemah
3. Indonesian
4. Sundanese
5. Sasak
6. Pendau
7. Balantak
8. Tukang Besi

(Symmetrical) voice and applicative

1. It is important to note that western Indonesian languages have symmetrical voice systems:
   - Multiple transitive voices
   - None of which is clearly the "basic"
2. Generally speaking, voice combines with applicative morphology (invariably suffixes).
3. Affects some terminology, i.e., "applied argument"

"Prototypical" Applicatives

Our working definition for "prototypical" applicative construction:

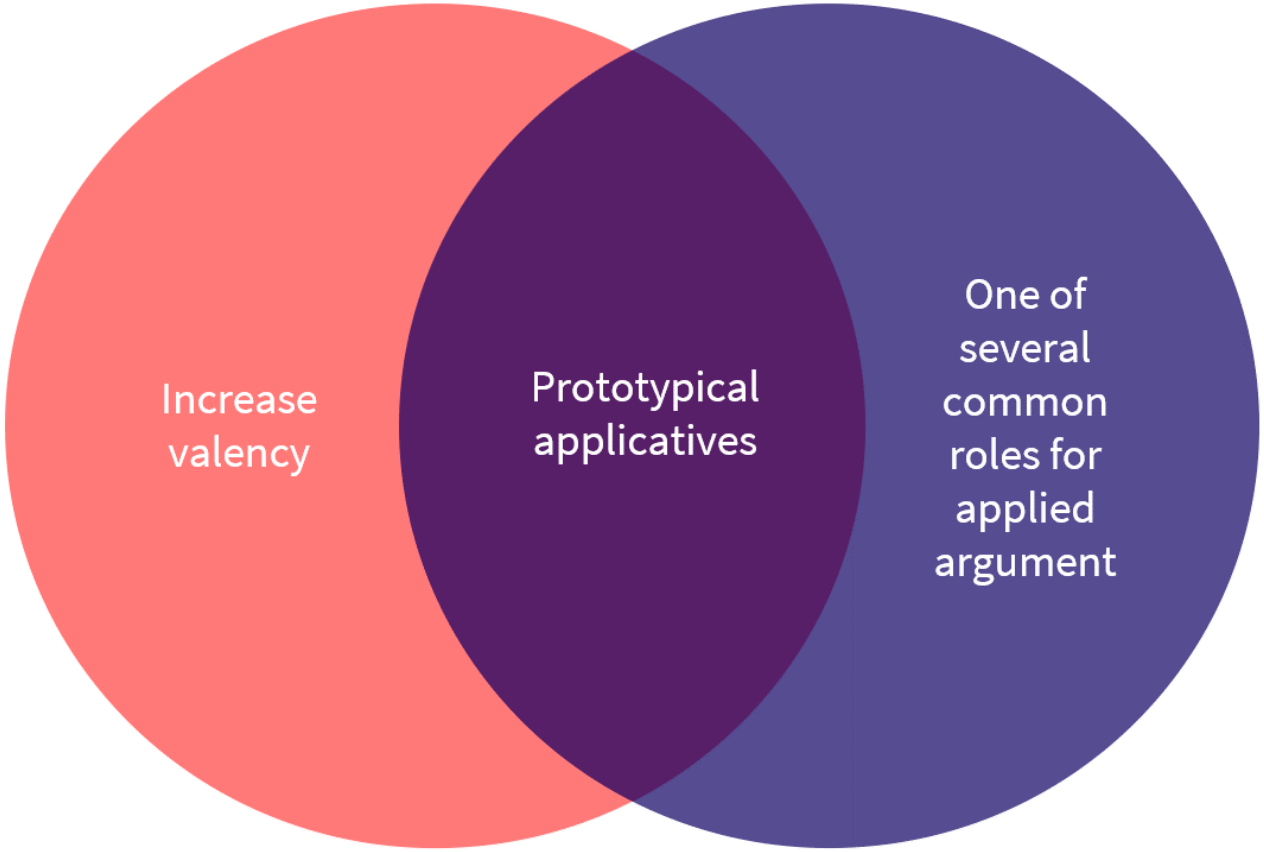
1. Increases valency over a base construction by one.
2. Selects one of several oft-discussed (or "common") roles for its applied argument.
   - goal
   - location
   - beneficiary
   - instrument
   - ...

The former is syntactic, the latter is both semantic and syntactic.

(e.g., Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000, Peterson 2007, Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019)

"Prototypical" Applicatives

"Prototypical" applicatives can be visualized as the overlapping segment of a Venn Diagram connecting these two functions.



"Prototypical" Applicatives

(1) **Standard Indonesian**

a. *Saya mem-(p)anggang roti untuk Eric.*
1SG AV-bake bread for E.

'I cooked bread for Eric.'

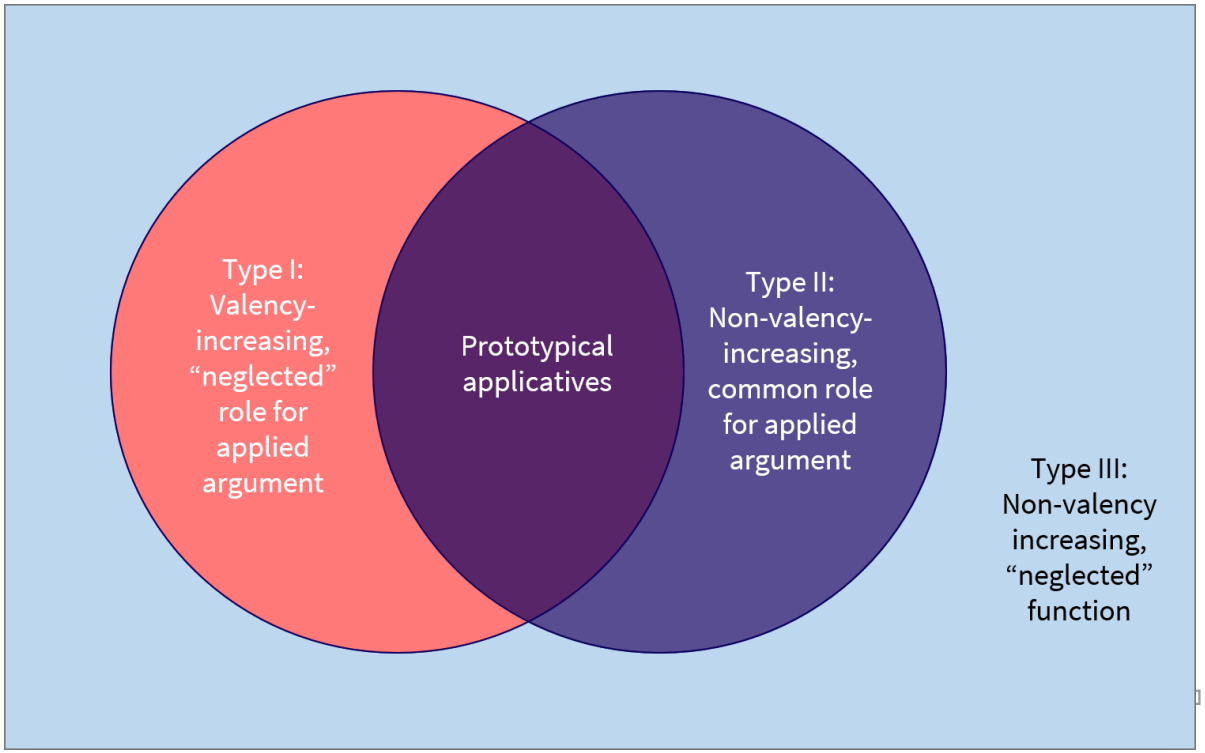
b. *Saya mem-(p)anggang-kan Eric roti.*
1SG AV-bake-KAN E. bread

'I cooked Eric bread.'
(NOT: 'I made Eric make bread.') (Cole & Son 2004: 341)

Neglected functions of applicatives

Non-prototypical applicative functions thus could take various types:

- Type I: Increase valency, do not select "common" role for applied argument
- Type II: Do not increase valency, but select "common" role for applied argument
- Type III: Do not increase valency, nor select "common" role for applied argument



Type I: Valency-increasing, "neglected" role for applied argument

- Type I non-prototypical applicative functions in western Indonesia
  - Causative function
  - Selects stimulus, theme role for applied argument

These can be even more common than the prototypical applicatives.

Causative

(2) **Sasak**

a. *Pesawat nó kèlèp.*
plane DET fly

'The plane flew.'

b. *Pilòt nó kèlèp-an pesawat.*
pilot DET fly-CAUS/APPL plane

'The pilot flew the plane.'

(Khairunnisa & McDonnell in prep.)

Theme

(3) **Besemah**

a. *Bapang=(ny)e tu injik nga anak=(ny)e.*
father=3 DEM.DIST love with child=3

'The father loves his child.'

b. *Bapang=(ny)e tu ng-injik-ka anak=(ny)e.*
father=3 DEM.DIST AV-love-APPL child=3

'The father loves his child.' (McDonnell in prep.)

Type II: Non-Valency-increasing, common role for Applied Argument

- Type II non-prototypical applicative functions in western Indonesia.
  - "Remapping" applicatives (Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019)

"Remapping" applicatives

(4) **Balantak**

a. *Pulisi malia' mom-bobok rangkum-na mian men*
police often AV.IRR-hit finger-3s person REL
ma-mangan.
INTR.IRR-steal

'Police often strike the fingers of thieves.'

b. *Ia mom-bobok-kon lima-na na meja.*
3s AV.IRR-hit-APPL hand-3s LOC table

'He hit (with) his hand on the table.'

(van den Berg & Busenitz 2012: 102)

Type III: Non-valency increasing, "neglected" function

- Type III in western Indonesia: The primary function of these is not to increase valency nor to assign a role to an applied argument.
  - "Optional" applicatives
  - Comparative degree
  - Intensity
  - Affectedness of applied argument
  - Habitual and/or iterative aspect
  - Lexicalized changes in scope, meaning

"Optional" applicatives

(5) **Standard Indonesian**

a. *Paman meng-(k)irim(-kan) uang kepada saya tiap bulan.*
uncle AV-send(-KAN) money to 1s every month

'Uncle sends some money to me every month'

b. *Dia men-(t)anam(-kan) padi itu di sawah=nya.*
3s AV-plant(-KAN) rice that in rice.field=3s

'He planted the rice in his field.' (Kroeger 2007: 245)

Comparative Degree

(6) **Sundanese**

Sedih-an abi batan alo=na.

sad-COMP 1s than nephew=3.POSS

"'I am more sad than his/her niece/nephew."

(Truong fieldnotes)

Intensity

(7) **Pendau**

a. *A'u* *mom-(p)ate* *manu'*
1s.ABS IRR:AV-kill chicken

'I will kill a chicken.' (Quick 2007: 232)

b. *Oo* *u-raga,* *u-lava-i* *paey* *u-pate-i.*
2s.ABS 1s.INV-chase 1s.INV-obstruct-DIR and.then 1s.INV-kill-DIR

'I will chase you, corner you, and then I will kill you.'
(Quick 2007: 304)

Intensity

(8) **Tukang Besi**

a.	*pepe*	'slap'
	pepe-ki	'slap forcefully '
b.	*busu*	'punch'
	busu-ki	'punch with forward fist'

(Donohue 1999: 77)

Affectedness of applied argument

(9) **Besemah**

a. *Aku tadi la=udim ng-alih kawe di tengalaman.*
1SG earlier PFV=finish AV-move coffee LOC yard

'I moved the coffee beans around in the yard (with a rake).'

b. *Aku tadi ng-alih-ka kawe sandi ghumah ke*
1SG earlier AV-move-APPL coffee from house to
tengelaman.
yard.

'I moved the coffee beans from the house to the yard.'
(McDonnell in prep.)

Iterative, habitual, or pluractional

(10) **Karo Batak (Batak, Sumatra)**

a.	*pekpek*	'hit'
	pekpek-i	'to hit repeatedly'
b.	*pelawes*	'to send away'
	pelawes-i	'to send (many) away'
c.	*nangko*	'to steal'
	nangko-i	'to steal all the time'

(Woollams 1996: 50-51)

(11) **Karo Batak**

Nge-rana-i kam lalap, la bo ku-begi-ken pe.
AV-talk-ITER you always not EMPH 1s=hear-APPL EMPH

'You're always chattering away, I never listen to what you say.'

(Woollams 1996: 51)

Lexicalized changes in scope, meaning

(12) **Balantak**

a.	*mang-ator*	'to accompany'
	mang-ator-i	'to discard'
b.	*mom-bolos*	'to borrow'
	mom-bolos-i	'to replace'
c.	*mim-bibit*	'to carry in the hand'
	mim-bibit-i	'to attach/make a carrying strap/rope on s.t.'

(van den Berg & Busenitz 2012: 105)

Cross-linguistic patterns (Valency)

- Benefactive applicative constructions are strongly associated with increase in valency ("Prototypical").
- Instrumental applicative constructions are associated with 'remapping' constructions (Type II).
- Locative/goal applicative constructions also show association with 'remapping' constructions (Type II).

Cross-linguistic patterns (Functions)

- Almost all applicative morphemes in western Indonesian languages serve causative functions (Type I).
- If a language has two applicative forms, one is associated with locative/goal, and the other with benefactive/instrumental.
  - "Neglected" function (Type III) map in the following way:

Locative, Goal

- Intensity
- Iterative
- Habitual

Benefactive, Instrumental

- Affectedness
- "Optional"

Cross-linguistic patterns (Functions)

Locative, Goal

- Intensity
- Iterative
- Habitual

Benefactive, Instrumental

- Affectedness
- "Optional"*

- Comparative function is found rarely, is puzzling.

*Optionality is often mentioned in descriptions of benefactive and instrumental applicative morphemes, but few explain semantic or pragmatic differences (see McDonnell in prep).

Conclusion

- The neglected functions of western Indonesian applicative morphology are actually central functions.
  - Prevalent in individual languages.
  - Widely distributed across languages of the region.
  - Necessary to understand the usage of these morphemes.
- Show similar semantic effects that manifest slightly differently in each language.
- Much more to study about their use and historical development.

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