Ditransitives in Mian

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0. Overview

- argument marking and alignment patterns
- behavioral properties
- polysemy patterns in the applicative

**Mian**: Papuan language, Ok family, TNG (Pawley, 2005; Wurm, 1982), spoken in Telefomin district, Sandaun province, Papua New Guinea; Eastern dialect (Fedden, 2007) has about 1,500 speakers

All data presented in this talk were obtained by me during a total of nine months in the field.

1. Argument marking

1.1 Intransitive and transitives

Argument marking follows an accusative pattern: A=S P

(1)  on-s-\textit{lo}=\textit{be}  
\textit{go}.PFV-RPST-2/3PL.AN.SBJ=DECL  
V -S  
'They went.' [Asuneng A., Pig story]

(2)  yole  \textit{ẽl}=\textit{e}  \textit{a-na-s-ib}=\textit{c}  
\textit{well}  \textit{pig} = SG.M  \textit{3SG.M.O}=\textit{kill}.PFV-RPST-2/3PL.AN.SBJ = CQ  
P P V -S  
'Well, did they kill the pig?' [Ibalim, Mianmin and Telefomin history]

- Mian is mildly polysynthetic, head-marking at clause level
- Subjects are obligatorily indexed on the verb by a pronominal suffix
- Objects are marked by pronominal or classificatory prefixes for some verbs and not at all for other verbs
- No morphological case or adpositional marking
- Cross-referencing markers on the verb are pronominal in nature (cf. Corbett, 2006; Evans, 2002)
- But show agreement in the service of construal (Baker, 2002).
Morphological classes of transitive verbs:

(i) Transitives with a verbal classificatory prefix
(ii) Transitives with a pronominal prefix
(iii) Transitives without object indexing

(i) Transitives with a verbal classificatory prefix

(3) \( n\text{ē} \ mem\text{ā}lo \ fūt = e \) \( to\text{b}-\partial-\text{n}-i = a \)
    I now tobacco = SG.1
    S T T- V -S
    'Now I pick up the tobacco leaf, and then I ...' [Kasening M., Rolling smokes]

- Roughly 50 items
- mainly verbs of handling, object manipulation or object movement, such as 'give', 'send', 'take', 'put', 'lift', 'throw'.
- Function of the classificatory prefix: indexing the object, signalling number and classification according to certain salient characteristics of referent, viz. sex, shape, and function.
- Classificatory prefixes function on an absolutive basis (Keenan, 1984), also for 'fall'

(ii) Transitives with a pronominal prefix

(4) \( a\text{-fū-\text{n}-\text{i}b} = ta \)
    3SG.M.O-grab.PFV-SEQ-2/3PL.AN.SBJ = MED
    P- V -S
    'They grabbed him, and then ...' [Asuneng A., Sobining story]

- Five items: -tem/-teme 'see sb/sth', -tama/- 'bite sb/sth', -\( na/- \) 'hit, kill', -\( lo/- \) 'hit, kill', and -\( fu/- \) 'grab'
- High in transitivity (Hopper and Thompson, 1980).
- Function of pronominal prefixes: indexing the (primary) object, indicate its person and number and in the third person its gender

(iii) Transitives without object indexing

- Roughly 50 items:

(5) \( tīl = i \) \( no = i \) \( bu\text{-bī-\text{n}-\text{i}b} = a \)
    dog = PL.AN marsupial = PL.AN
    S P V -S
    'The dogs were hunting rodents, and then ...' [Asuneng A., The flood]
1.2 Flagging and indexing in ditransitives

- Ditransitive verbs always formed with applicative
- Applicative also used productively with intransitive verbs
- Has a wide range of roles (e.g. recipient, benefactive, possessor)

Zero-morph 'give' (cf. also Newman, 1996):

(8) \( nē \ naka=e \ ōil=o \ om-O-u-b-\=a-n-i=be \)

\( i \ \text{man} = \text{SG.M} \ \text{pig} = \text{SG.F} \ SG.FEM.O-give-EP\text{-APPL.PFV}\text{-3SG.M.O.PFV}\text{-PST}\text{-1SG.SBJ} = \text{DECL} \)

\( S \ R \ T \ V \ -R \ -S \)

'I have given the sow to the man.' [Kasening M., elicited]

- Neutral alignment wrt. flagging: T=P=R, NPs are not marked
- Indirective alignment wrt. indexing: T=P R

NP elision possible and common:

(9) \( om-O-u-b-\=a-n-i=be \)

\( SG.FEM.O-give-EP\text{-APPL.PFV}\text{-3SG.M.O.PFV}\text{-PST}\text{-1SG.SBJ} = \text{DECL} \)

\( T- \ V \ -R \ -S \)

'I have given it (of the FEM class) to him.' [Kasening M., elicited]

Same marking pattern for 'send':

(10) \( ê \ baa-n-e=a \)

he.PFV-SS.SEQ\text{-3SG.M.SBJ} = \text{MED} \)

\( futāan=o \ om-fu-b-kē-n-amab-i=bo \)

\( \text{letter} = \text{N2} \ SG.FEM.O-send.PFV\text{-APPL.PFV}\text{-2SG.O.PFV}\text{-AUX.PFV-FUT.NANPL.SBJ}\text{-1SG.SBJ} = \text{QUOT} \)

\( T \ T- \ V \ -R \ -S \)
To summarize:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Encoding (flagging)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P, T, R</td>
<td>No marking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1: Neutral alignment in flagging

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Encoding (indexing)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P and T</td>
<td>Marked with prefix or not marked (depending on verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Marked with applicative + suffix</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2: Indirective alignment in indexing

1.3 Aspect dependence of the applicative

Form of applicative dependent on aspect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>-b (or in some phonological environments -t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>zero morph</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(11) \( \text{moni} = o \quad \text{dol-}O-\text{u-b-}n-o = be \)

money = N2 \[ \text{PL.FEM.O-give-APPL.IPFV-PL.AN.O.IPFV-PST-3SG.M.SBJ} = \text{DECL} \]

T \quad T- \quad V \quad -R \quad -S

'He has given them (some) money' [Kasening M., elicited]

(12) \( i \quad \text{blatik} = o \quad \text{dol-}O-k\text{-ye-bina-b-}io = be \)

they \quad \text{plastic (bag)} = N2 \[ \text{PL.FEM.O-give-IPFV-APPL.IPFV-PL.AN.O.IPFV-} \text{AUX.HAB-IPFV-2/3PL.AN.SBJ} = \text{DECL} \]

S \quad T \quad T- \quad V \quad -R \quad -S

'They (habitually) give vomit bags to us (on the missionary plane).'

[Kasening M., conversation]

Imperfective marker -\( ka \) and the zero applicative are not in the same slot:

(13) \( \text{bi\text{'em}} = o \quad \text{imen} = o \quad \text{fu-b-}n-o = be \)

mum = SG.F \quad \text{taro} = PL.N1  \quad \text{cook-APPL.PFV-PL.AN.O.PFV-PST-3SG.F.SBJ} = \text{DECL}  

S \quad T \quad V \quad -\text{BEN} \quad -S

'Mum cooked taro for us.' [Raymond D., elicited]
1.4 The ditransitives 'show' and 'tell'

- Two ditransitive verbs of mental transfer 'show' and 'say to, tell' do not index T
- R marked by the applicative:

(15) \( \text{kasak} = e \quad \text{ale-b-\,O-\,ib-bio} = ta \)

\( \text{kasak} \, \text{ritual} = \text{SG.N1} \) show-\text{APPL.PFV-PL.AN.PFV-DS.\,SEQ-2/3PL.AN.SBJ-\,GPST} = \text{MED} \\
T \quad V \quad -R \quad -S \\
'they had shown us (the) Kasak (ritual), and then someone else...'

[Beitab F., Kasak ritual]

'say to, tell' possible with an object NP:

(16) \( \text{awém} = o \quad \text{yē} \quad \text{baa-b-\,n-ib} = a \)

\( \text{taboo} = \text{N2} \) there say-\text{PFV-APPL.PFV-PL.AN.PFV-SS.\,SEQ-2/3PL.AN.SBJ} = \text{MED} \\
T \quad V \quad -R \quad -S \\
'they told them the taboos, and then ...' [Beitab F., Kasak ritual]

Difference in derivation status: \text{ale-b} 'show to' undrived in contemporary Mian (no verb root \text{*ale} without applicative), \text{baa-b} 'say to sb., tell sb.' derived from \text{baa} 'say':

(17) \( \text{wengsâng} \quad \text{ōlo} \quad \text{baa-n-amab-1} = \text{be} \)

\( \text{story} \quad \text{this.N2} \) say-\text{PFV-AUX.PFV-FUT.NANPL.SBJ-1SG.SBJ} = \text{DECL} \\
T \quad V \quad -S \\
'I want to tell this story.' [Asuneng A., elicited]

1.5 Constituent order

General:
- Unmarked/preferred constituent order: SOV
- Verb always has to occur in a fixed position, i.e. has to be clause-final
- NP-ordering more variable
- Ordering within phrases, e.g. NPs, much more restricted.

For ditransitives:
- Unmarked/preferred constituent order: S \( \text{O}_R \text{\,O}_T \text{\,V} \)
- Both \( \text{R} \) and \( \text{T} \) occur on the same side of the verb and always next to each other
- \( \text{R} \) precedes \( \text{T} \)
(18) né kóbó moni = o  
I you money = N2  
S R T

om-∅-u-b-kê-n-amab-t = be  
SG.FEM.O-give-EP-APPL.PFV-2SG.O.PFV-PFV-AUX.PFV-FUT.NANPL.SBJ-3SG.M.SBJ = DECL  
T- V -R -S

'I will give you the coin/bill (of money).’ [Kasening M., elicited]

Generalization that R tends to precede T if there is no flagging, seems to hold in Mian

- Bound R and T forms: T-V-R (against the tendencies V-T-R or R-T-V (cf. Siewierska and Bakker, 2007))  
- Different pathways of grammaticalization into person markers:
  T-prefix: free form immediately in front of the verb which became incorporated into the verb  
  R-suffix: presumably formerly part of a serialization with 'give'

Subject NP can either precede the two objects or follow them: S O R O T V or O R O T S V:

(19) nakamín = e inen = o éil = e wen-∅-ha-b-e = a  
man = SG.M taro = PL.N1 pig = SG.M eat.PFV-APPL.PFV-3SG.M.O.PFV-DS.SIMI-3SG.M.SBJ = MED  
POSS/MAL T S V -POSS/MAL -S  

‘While a pig was eating a man’s taro/eating taro from a man (, the man ...)’  
[Asuneng A., Pig story]

2. Behavioral properties

- Passivization, antipassivization, and incorporation are not applicable to Mian  
- Further systematic field work on constituent questions, reflexivization, nominalization and quantifier float needed and will be done early next year

2.1 Relativization

- Two relativizing constructions: (a) a prenominal relative clause and (b) a head-internal relative clause both possible for relativization of the object (T/P) of a transitive verb  
- Prenominal relative clauses: unmarked finite clauses in a prenominal modifier position within the NP  
- In trivalent verbs: S and the non-P/T argument can be relativized, whereas relativization of T is so far unattested
Relativization of the applicativized argument with a prenominal relative clause:

(20) ēil = o  inen = o  wen-Ø-ha-b-o\textsubscript{relCl}
pig = SG.F  taro = PL.N1  eat.\text{IPFV-APPL/IPFV-3SG.M.O.IPFW-IPFV-3SG.F.SBJ}
S  T  V  -POSS/MAL  -S

naka = e
man = SG.M
POSS/MAL
‘the man whose taro (tubers) a sow is eating’ [Kasening M., elicited]

- Head-internal relative clauses: nominalized finite clauses which function as referring expressions
- Like NPs followed by an article or a determiner
- Common for relative clauses in Papuan languages to behave morphologically like definite NPs (see Foley, 1986).

Relativization of the applicativized argument with a head-internal relative clause:

(21) [nakamín = e  inen = o  ēil = o
man = SG.M  taro = PL.N1  pig = SG.F
POSS/MAL  T  S

wen-Ø-ha-b-o\textsubscript{relCl} = e
eat.\text{IPFV-APPL/IPFV-3SG.M.O.IPFW-IPFV-3SG.F.SBJ} = SG.M
V  -POSS/MAL  -S  = POSS/MAL
‘the man whose taro (tubers) a sow is eating’ [Kasening M., elicited]

Relativization of T/P for a trivalent verb is unattested. Both strategies possible for T/P’s of transitive verbs:

(22) nē a-tem-Ø-i
I  SG.M.O-see.IPFW-PST-1SG.SBJ
S  T-  V  -S  T
‘the man I have seen’ [Kasening M., elicited]

(23) futâan = o  ki-b-eb
letter=N2  read-IPFW-2SG.SBJ
only_that.N2
T  V  -S  T
‘only that letter you're reading’ [Kasening M., elicited]
2.2 Reciprocalization

- Typical secundative alignment pattern, i.e. R stands in a reciprocal relationship with the subject and not T
- S and T reciprocants unattested
- No reciprocal pronoun/anaphor
- Dedicated reciprocal marker -sese.

The reciprocal construction with -sese probably originated in a clause chaining construction of the template (Fedden, in prep.):

(24)   he-sees-her-DS || she-sees-him-DS || they are (there) => 'they see each other'

- Unified "zigzag" reciprocal (Evans, 2004)
- cf. also Amele (Roberts, 1987) and Hua (Haiman, 1980)

(25)   °inaminamin=°
they   all_sorts_of_things=PL.N1

o1-Ø-ub-Ø-sese-bl-Ø-Ø=be
'They give all sorts of things to each other'
[Kasening M., elicited]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Encoding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P and R</td>
<td>Reciprocal relation between S and P/R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>No reciprocal relation to S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4: Secundative alignment for reciprocalization

3. Polysemy patterns in the applicative

- Recipients
- Benefactives/malefactives
- Malefactive source
- Possessors
- Goals
- Experiencers
3.1 Benefactive/malefactive
Applicative can be used productively to derive trivalent verbs from bivalent ones and divalent verbs from monovalent ones:

(26) éil=e?? mak=e??
pig=SG.M other=SG.M

\[a-na-u-b-e-\ddot{o}-ib=a\]
\[3SG.M.O-kill.PFV-EP-APPL.PFV-PL.AN.O.PFV-DS.SEO-2/3PL.AN.SBJ = MED\]
'they killed another pig for them, and then they ...'
[Ibalim, Mianmin and Telefomin history]

(27) naka=i?? gwi-\ddot{\ddot{O}}-ya-biaana-b-\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{o}}}}}-be
man=PL.AN use_magic-APPL.PFV-PL.AN.O.PFV-AUX.PST.HAB-IPFV-2/3PL.AN.SBJ = DECL
'they used to use magic against people.' [Asuneng A., Origin of the Dafinau vine]

(28) nē banimo un-u-b-kē-n-amab-i = be
I PN go.PFV-EP-APPL.PFV-2SG.O.PFV-AUX.PFV-FUT.NANPL.SBJ-1SG.SBJ = DECL
'I will go to Vanimo for you' [Raymond D., elicited]

3.2 Malefactive source

(29) i ayók o\ddot{i}-\ddot{\ddot{i}}-t-ne un-\ddot{\ddot{O}}-jo = be
they secretly PL.RESID.O-take.PFV-APPL.PFV-1SG.O.PFV go.PFV-PFV-2/3PL.AN.SBJ = DECL
'they have stolen things from me' (Lit. 'they have secretly taken things from me and gone'
[Kasening M., elicited]

3.3 Possessor
Possessor and benefactive/malefactive roles are often mixed:

(30) u\ddot{e}ta kwéit
who.SG.M sugarcane

\[hal(o)-u-t-nē-n-e-bio = e?\] [halutnenebue]
break_off.SG.O.PFV-EP-APPL.PFV-1SG.O.PFV-PST-3SG.M.SBJ-GPST = CQ
‘Who broke off (some of) my sugarcane?’ [Asuneng A., Unangkliten story]

Possession can be indicated with an applicative, a possessive pronoun, or both:

(31) (nē) wēng = o went-u-t-nē-n-al = e!
(my) talk = N2 hear.PFV-EP-APPL.PFV-1SG.O.PVF-AUX.PFV-2SG.SBJ.HORT = HORT
'(You should) mark my words!' [Asuneng A., elicited]
Recipient and benefactives obligatorily marked on the verb, possessor is indicated optionally:

(32) \textit{nē} \ wēng = o \ \textit{wente-n-\textit{gl}=e!} \quad \text{my talk = N2 hear.PFV-AUX.PFV-2SG.SBJ.HORT = HORT} \quad '\text{(You should) mark my words!}' \quad [\text{Asuneng A., elicited}]

3.4 Goal
Goal attested for the verb of ballistic motion 'throw':

(33) \textit{memālo} \ naka = e \ \textit{aful = e} \ \textit{ob-\textit{d}-n-e = a} \quad \text{now man = SG.M ball = SG.N1 SG.RESID.O-pick_up.PFV-SS.SEQ-3SG.M.SBJ = MED}

\quad \textit{unāng = o} \ \textit{ob-bi\textit{ð}-b-o-n-e = a} \quad \text{woman=SG.F SG.RESID.O-throw.PFV-APPL.PFV-3SG.F.O.PFV-SS.SEQ-3SG.M.SBJ = MED}

'Now the man picks up the ball and throws it to the woman, and then...'
[\text{Liden M., Dahl's T/A questionnaire, B8}]

But not for goals of general motion verbs:

(34) \textit{un-u-b-kē-n-amab-i = be} \quad \text{go.PFV-EP-APPL.PFV-2SG.O.PFV-PFV + AUX.PFV-FUT.NANPL.SBJ-1SG.SBJ = DECL}

'I will go for you' [Raymond D., elicited]
BUT *'I'll go to you'

3.5 Experiencer
• Experiencers mostly encoded with an applicative
• Few exceptions, e.g. 'rejoice, be happy' and 'grieve, be sad' are intransitive, monovalent verbs.

(35) \textit{al = o \ yē \ tli + a-u-b-ē-n-o = ta} \quad \text{intestines = N2 there chew + ?-EP-APPL.PFV-PL.AN.O.PFV-SS.SEQ-N2.SBJ = MED}

'they were angry (there)' (Lit. 'intestines were chewing on them)
[Ibalim, Mianmin and Telefomin history]

(36) \textit{gabaamōn = e} \ \textit{en-\textit{d}-ke-b-e = a?} \quad \text{head = SG.N1 hurt.PFV-APPL.PFV-2SG.O.IPFW-IPFW-2SG.IPFW-SG.N1.SBJ = PQ}

'Is your head hurting?' (Lit. 'Does the head hurt on you?') [Kasening M., elicited]

\footnote{So far unidentified verb root \textit{a} compounded with \textit{tli} 'chew'.}
3.6 A semantic map for the applicative

![Semantic map for the applicative construction](image)

Figure 5: Semantic map for the applicative construction (adapted for Mian from Malchukov, Haspelmath and Comrie (2007))

- Solid line — Obligatory encoding of role with applicative
- Dashed line — Encoding of role with applicative obligatory for some verbs, impossible for others
- Dotted line — Encoding of Possessors with applicative is optional

4. Summary

- Ditransitives are always formed with the applicative
- All ditransitive show indirective alignment wrt. indexing and neutral alignment wrt. flagging
- Syntactic behavior tests show secundative alignment for relativization and reciprocalization
- Applicative has a wide semantic range and is used for recipients, benefactives/malefactives, experiencers, possessors, and (marginally) for goals of ballistic motion
Glosses and word tone notation

1 - 1st person, 2 - 2nd person, 3 - 3rd person, AN - Animate, APPL - Applicative, AUX - Auxiliary, BEN - Benefactive, CQ - Content question, DECL - Declarative, DS - Different subject, EP - Epenthetic vowel, F - Female, FEM - Feminine, FUT - Future, GPST - General past, HORT - Hortative, IPFV - Imperfective, PL - Plural, LONG - Long class, M - Male, MAL - Malefactive, MED - Medial, N1 - Neuter 1, N2 - Neuter 2, NANPL - Non-animate plural, O - Object, PFV - Perfective, POS - Possessor, PQ - Polar question, PST - Past, RESID - Residue class, RPST - Remote past - SBJ - Subject, SEQ - Sequential, SIM - Simultaneous, SS - Same subject

L - Unmarked, H - á, LH - à, HL - à, LHL - à

References


—. in prep. Mian reciprocal constructions. Linguistic Discovery.


