Applicatives vs. symmetrical voice

The case of Äiwoo =Cä

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The Äiwoo language

- Spoken in the Reef Islands, Temotu Province, Solomon Islands
- Ross and Næss (2007):
  - ‘Temotu’ first-order subgroup of Oceanic consists of Reefs-Santa Cruz, Utupua and Vanikoro
Symmetrical voice in Äiwoo

• ‘A-verbs’ (actor voice) vs ‘O-verbs’ (undergoer voice)

1a. Pe-sime=engå li-epave=to sii=kâ.
    BN.COLL-person=DEM.DIST 3AUG-cook.A=CS fish=DIST
    ‘The people cooked fish.’

    b. Sii là ki-epavi-i=to=wâ.
        fish DIST IPFV-cook.O-3AUG=CS=DIST
        ‘They cooked the fish.’

• Person marking:
  – prefixes for S of intransitives and A of A-verbs
  – suffixes for A of O-verbs reflect POc possessive pronouns, cf. WAn marking of actor in nonactor voices with genitives

• No clear syntactic pivot
Symmetrical voice in Äiwoo

2a. Ngaa ...ilâ ki-lää-kä tepekoulâ eââ
   CONJ DIST IPFV-give.A-DIR:3 thing DEM:DIST
   ilâ pe-Nganaa=kâ.
   DIST BN:COLL-Nganaa=DIST
   ‘So the ones who gave him those things were the people (= spirits) of Nganaa.’

b. Ngamaa numonu eângâ ki-la-mä=kâ
   if money DEM:DIST IPFV-give.O-DIR:1=DIST
   ki-tokoli mo nyowää?
   IPFV-sit with what
   ‘If he gives us the money, what will we do with it?’
The clitic =Cä

3a. Li-e-ko-oli, là ki-li-mei=to=wâ.
   3AUG-VPL-lie-go.down DIST IPFV-3AUG-sleep=CS=DIST
   ‘They lay down and slept.’

b. Ilâ lu-pwaselee-le opo nugono,
   DIST 3AUG-make.A-UA house betel.leaf
   là i-mei-i-le=to=wä=nâ.
   DIST PFV-sleep-3AUG-UA=CS.CV=DIST
   ‘Then they built a shelter of betel leaves to sleep in.’
The clitic =Cä

4a. Gisi, ji-nâ-eâ-lâ bwää brother.1MIN 1+2MIN-IRR-paddle-go.out ocean ji-nä-tei sii.
   1+2MIN-IRR-fish.A fish ‘Brother, let us paddle out to sea to catch fish.’

b. Ko-kä=nä ku-tu-mu mo say-DIR:3=CV IPFV-take-2MIN and ki-tei-mu=wä sii=kâ.
   IPFV-fish.A-2MIN=CV fish=DIST ‘(The snake) said: Take it (= a fishing net) and catch fish with it.’
The clitic =Cä

5. Mo nyidebo nä-te-kä-gu-i-le=nä
   and magic IRR-see.O-DIR:3-3MIN-3AUG-UA=CV
   i-vaave-epu-i-kä-i-le.

   PFV-show.O-also-UV-DIR:3-3AUG-UA

‘And a magic leaf to make him able to see the two of
them (‘...that he would see them with’), they showed to
him also.’
Circumstantial voice or applicative?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symmetrical voice</th>
<th>Applicative</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>primary function: marks semantic role of privileged argument</td>
<td>primary function: allows a participant in a peripheral undergoer role to appear in a core syntactic position (typically but not necessarily object)</td>
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<td>does not necessarily change (semantic) transitivity or argument structure</td>
<td>always changes argument structure and (semantic) transitivity</td>
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<td>voice marker remains constant for semantic role (as per lexical base); occurs only when argument is in privileged position</td>
<td>applicative marking remains constant when other alternations apply (e.g. voice, causative)</td>
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<tr>
<td>symmetrical voice systems always include options for prototypical undergoer roles patient and theme</td>
<td>applicative systems usually do not target prototypical UG roles patient and theme but are restricted to more peripheral roles, in particular instrument, beneficiary, and location</td>
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(Himmelmann and Riesberg 2013)
Applicative-like properties of $=Câ$

- Promotes a peripheral participant to core status (but so do circumstantial voice markers)
- Combines with both basic voices
- Typically targets instruments, locations, beneficiaries
  - but patient/theme covered by O-verbs, so the **system** ‘includes options for prototypical undergoer roles’
Voice-like properties of =Cä

• Changes person marking on the verb
• Promoted argument is typically preverbal, like the A of A-verbs and the O of O-verbs
• Patterns like a voice in relative clauses
Relative clauses

6a. me-ki-lää-lâ    lu
    person-IPFV-give.A-go.out    life
    ‘the one who gives life’

b. de-la-kä    tumwä
    thing-give.O-DIR:3    father-3MIN
    ‘the things his father gave him’

c. nye-ku-mo=nä
    CIRC-IPFV-stay=CV
    ‘the place where s/he lives’
Voice and applicatives

- Indonesian-type languages with applicatives show a distinction between actor-voice applicatives and undergoer-voice applicatives
- Totoli (Himmelmann and Riesberg 2013)

7a. I Rinto manaipan aku taipan
i Rinto moN-taip-an aku taipang
HON Rinto AV-peel-APPL1 1S mango
‘Rinto is peeling a mango for me.’ (actor voice)

b. Taipang itu kodoong taipanna i aku
taipang itu ko-doong taip-an=na i aku
mango DIST POT-want peel-APPL1=3s.GEN HON 1S
‘He will peel the mango for me.’ (patient voice)

c. Aku kodoong panaipan Rinto taipan
aku ko-doong poN-taip-an Rinto taipang
1S POT-want SF-peel-APPL1 Rinto mango
‘Rinto will peel a mango for me.’ (INST/BEN voice)
Voice and applicatives

• Äiwoo shows no such distinction; =Cä largely neutralises the formal differences between A-verb and O-verb clauses.
• The use of =Cä always makes the circumstantial participant the voice-selected argument
• Indeed, syntactic promotion is only possible in Äiwoo to voice-selected status
  – suffixes –i and –ive add a patient-like argument to intransitive verbs to form an O-verb; no parallel derivations form A-verbs
Where does $=Cä$ come from?

- Function and distribution is suggestive of a preposition.
- Another function of $=Cä$ is deriving ordinal from cardinal numbers:
  
  8. \textit{gite mi-eve=nä} \\
  \quad \text{brother.3MINBN-three=CV} \\
  \quad \text{‘the third brother’}

- Parallels the distribution of reflexes of *akən/*akin[i] in both Oc and non-Oc AN languages.
The Āiwoo voice(ish) system

• Syntactically like a Philippine-type language in that it only permits the syntactic promotion of arguments to ‘subject’ function
• Morphologically like an Indonesian-type language in that the circumstantial voice marker can combine with both the actor voice and the undergoer voice, and plausibly reflects *akən/*akin[i]
Implications

• A clitic functioning as a voice marker seems typologically unusual

• If the hypothesis that =Čä reflects *akən/*akin[i] is correct, it adds to the unclear picture of the history of this morpheme

• How does Āiwoo fit with established hypotheses about the history of Oceanic?