Bonggi Motion Activity Verbs

Michael Boutin

RRG2021

4-6 August 2021

DALLAS
INTERNATIONAL
UNIVERSITY
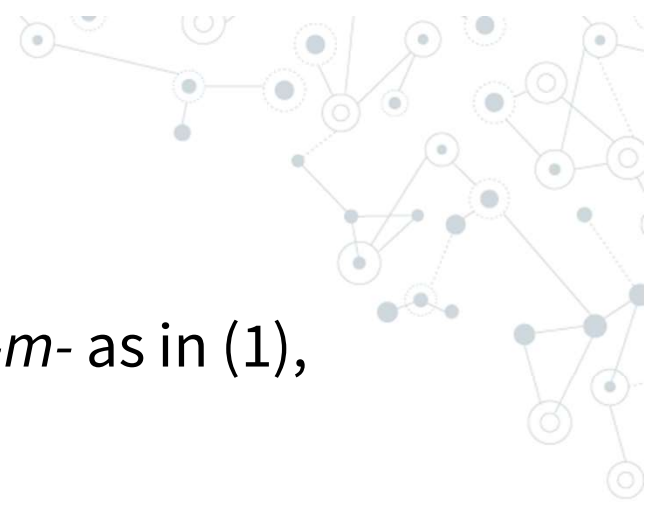
Some motion activity verbs are marked by *-m-* as in (1), while others are marked by *g-* as in (2).

1	*Sayad*	*l<i><**m**>ompud*	*kirab*
	Sayad	<PST><MO.ACY>run	yesterday

'Sayad ran yesterday.'

2	*Ng-**gi**-liput*	*ou*	*Bonggi*	*suub.*
	NPST-MO.ACY-circle	1SG.NOM	Bonggi	tomorrow.

'I (am) circling Banggi (Island) tomorrow.'

DALLAS INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

2

Research Question

Given the morphological difference between those two classes of motion activity verbs, what are the semantic and syntactic differences?

1	*Sayad*	*l\<i\>\<**m**\>ompud*	*kirab*
	Sayad	\<PST\>\<MO.ACY\>run	yesterday

'Sayad ran yesterday.'

2	*Ng-**gi**-liput*	*ou*	*Bonggi*	*suub.*
	NPST-MO.ACY-circle	1SG.NOM	Bonggi	tomorrow.

'I (am) circling Banggi (Island) tomorrow.'

DALLAS INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Two Hypotheses
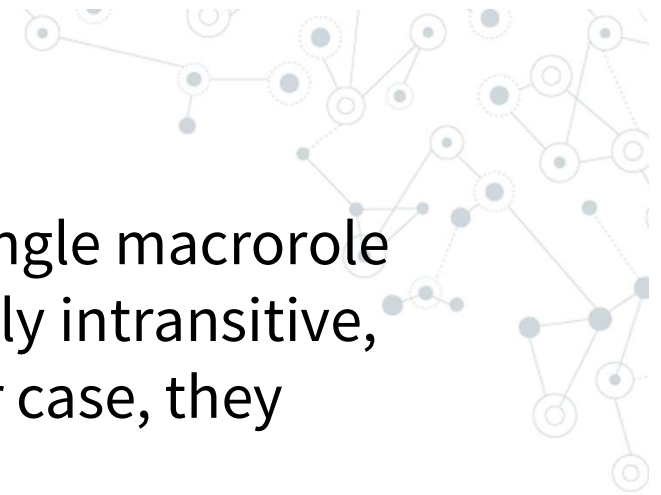
Motion activity verbs marked by *-m-* have a single macrorole (an actor). These verbs are usually syntactically intransitive, but some are syntactically transitive. In either case, they have only one macrorole (an actor).

Most motion activity verbs marked by *g-* are syntactically transitive. Some have two macroroles, others have only one macrorole (an actor).

1	*Sayad*	*l<i><**m**>ompud*	*kirab*
	Sayad	<PST><MO.ACY>run	yesterday

'Sayad ran yesterday.'

2	*Ng-**gi**-liput*	*ou*	*Bonggi*	*suub.*
	NPST-MO.ACY-circle	1SG.NOM	Bonggi	tomorrow.

'I (am) circling Banggi (Island) tomorrow.'

Two Problems with My Hypotheses

Many non-motion activity verbs marked by *-m-* have two macroroles and are syntactically transitive. Some motion activity verbs marked by *g-* have one macrorole and are intransitive.

1	*Sayad*	*l<i><m>ompud*	*kirab*
	Sayad	<PST><MO.ACY>run	yesterday

'Sayad ran yesterday.'

2	*Ng-**gi**-liput*	*ou*	*Bonggi*	*suub.*
	NPST-MO.ACY-circle	1SG.NOM	Bonggi	tomorrow.

'I (am) circling Banggi (Island) tomorrow.'

DALLAS INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Overview of Aspectual Classes

States
  Condition states
  Attributive states
  Locative states
Achievements (with underlying condition state in
  their logical structure)
Accomplishments (with underlying attributive state
  in their logical structure)

DALLAS
INTERNATIONAL
UNIVERSITY

6

Overview of Aspectual Classes

<u>Motion activity clauses</u> with motion activity verbs marked by *-m-*.

<u>Motion active accomplishment clauses</u> with motion activity verbs marked by *-m-*.

<u>Non-motion activity clauses</u> with activity verbs marked by *-m-*.

<u>Motion activity clauses</u> with motion activity verbs marked by *g-*.

<u>Motion active accomplishment clauses</u> with motion active verbs marked by *g-*.

<u>Motion activity clauses</u> with one-argument motion activity verbs marked by *g-*.

Condition stative clauses

3	*Tedak*	=*na*	*busul*	=*ku.*
	ruptured	=FOC	boil	=1SG.POSS

'My boil (is) ruptured.'

Generic logical structure for all condition stative predicates:

$$\textbf{predicate'}\ (x)$$

Logical structure (LS) for *tedak* 'ruptured':

$$\textbf{ruptured'}\ (x)$$

Semantic representation (SR) for (3):

$$\textbf{ruptured'}\ (\textit{busul}\ 1\text{SG})$$

$$\textbf{ruptured'}\ (\textbf{have'}\ [1\text{SG},\ \underline{\textit{busul}}])$$

DALLAS
INTERNATIONAL
UNIVERSITY

Attributive stative clauses

7	*Pisau*	*=ku*	***ng****-korikng.*
	Coconut	=1SG.POSS	ATTR.ST-dry

'My coconut (is) dry.'

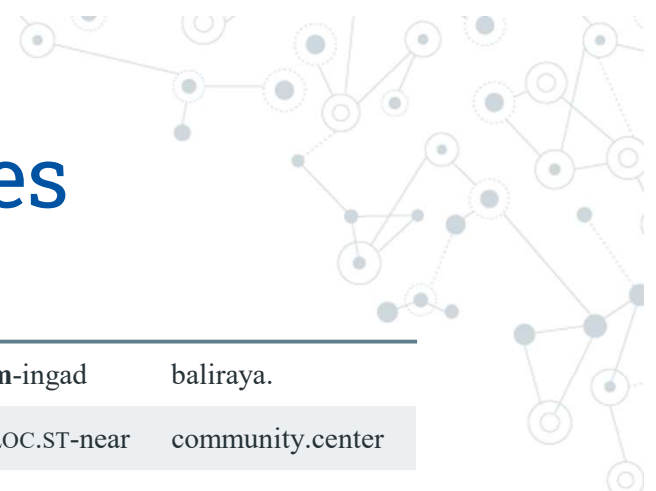Generic logical structure for all attributive stative predicates:

> **be'** (x, [**pred'**])

Logical structure (LS) for *ng-korikng* 'ATTR.ST-dry':

> **be'** (x, [**dry'**])

Semantic representation (SR) for (7):

> **be'** (**have'** (1SG, *piasu*)**, [dry'**])

Locative stative clauses

11	*Si=*	*Rey*	di	Kerahid.
	PN.NOM=	Rey	at	Karakit

'Rey (is) in Karakit.'

12	*Barabm*	*Lama*	dii	kerebi
	many	people	over.there	last.night

'Many people (were) over there last night.'

13	*Bali*	*=ku*	**m**-ingad	baliraya.
	house	=1SG.POSS	LOC.ST-near	community.center

'My house (is) near (the) community center.'

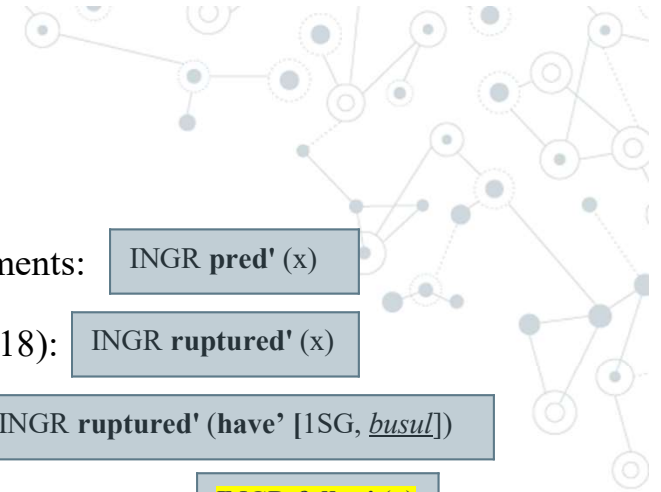LS for locative stative predicates: **be-LOC'** (x, y)

SR for (11):   **be-at'** (*Kerahid*, *Rey*)

SR for (12):   **last.night'** [**be-at'** (*dii*, *barabm lama*)]

SR for (13):   **be-near'** (*baliraya*, [**have'** (1SG, *bali*)])

DALLAS INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

10

Achievements

18	**N**-tedak	=na	*busul*	=*ku.*
	PST.ACH-rupture	=FOC	boil	=1SG.POSS

'My boil ruptured.'

22	*Sia*	**n**-dabuh.
	3SG.NOM	PST.ACH-fall

'He fell.'

23	*Sia*	**n**-dabuh	ti-di	gimbatadn.
	3SG.NOM	PST.ACH-fall	AWAY.FROM-at	dock

'He fell from (the) dock.'

LS for achievements: INGR **pred'** (x)

LS for verb in (18): INGR **ruptured'** (x)

SR for (18): INGR **ruptured'** (**have'** [1SG, *busul*])

LS for verb in (22) & (23): INGR **fallen'** (x)

INGR NOT **be-at'** (Ø, 3SG)

SR for (22): INGR **fallen'** (3SG)

SR for (23):

INGR **fallen'** (3SG) ^ INGR **NOT be-on'** (*gimbatadn*, 3SG)

Achievement Verbs

Table 3: Sample achievement verbs which involve a change of state

Condition stative		Achievement verbs	
Root	Gloss	'NON-PAST'	'PAST'
bubus	'split	m-bubus	i-bubus
dadi	'happened	me-dadi	n-dadi
guab	'split.open'	mu-guab	i-guab
abis	'finished'	m-abis	n-abis
sipit	'pinched'	mi-sipit	n-sipit
togob	'capsized'	me-togob	n-togob

Table 4: Sample achievement verbs which involve a change of location

Condition stative		Achievement verbs	
Root	Gloss	'NON-PAST'	'PAST'
		me-dabuh	n-dabuh
lepas	'escaped'	me-lepas	i-lepas
palis	'blown.away'	m-palis	i-palis
kusut	'fallen.through hole'	mu-kusut	i-kusut
tabukng	'fallen.into'	me-tabukng	n-tabukng

DALLAS INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY
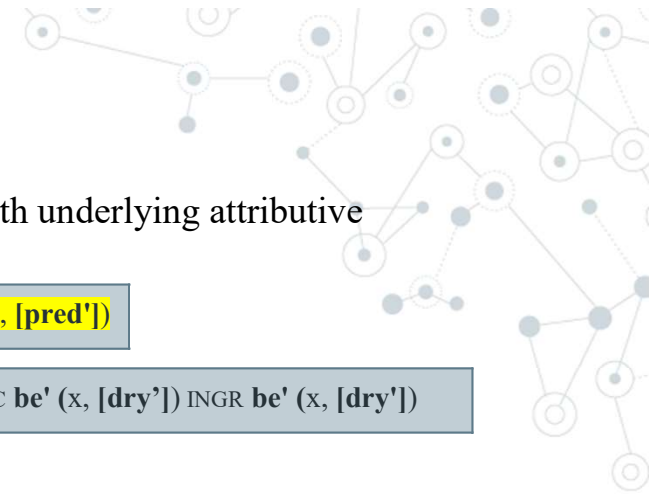
Accomplishments

25	*Pisau*	*=ku*	*k\<i\>\<**m**\>orikng.*
	Coconut	=1SG.POSS	\<PST\>\<ACL\>dry

'My coconut dried.'

LS for accomplishments with underlying attributive state in LS: (VV 2018, 84)

PROC **be'** (x, [pred']) INGR **be'** (x, [pred'])

LS for *k\<em\>orikng*: PROC **be'** (x, [dry']) INGR **be'** (x, [dry'])

SR for (25): PROC **be'** (**have'** (1SG, *piasu*), [dry']) & INGR **be'** (**have'** (1SG, *piasu*), [dry'])

30	Ndah	k-aap	[**kim**-ingad	banggi]	pasal	mata	nd-ara.
	Not	ABIL-get	ACL-near	corpse	because	eyes	not-have

'(Pregnant women are) not permitted to get close to (a) corpse because (it does) not have eyes.'
[The absence of eyes might follow over to the child.]

LS for accomplishments with underlying locative state in LS: PROC **be-LOC'** (x, y) & INGR NOT **be-LOC'** (x, y)

SR for (25): PROC NOT **be-near'** (*banggi*, Ø_i) & INGR **be-near'** (*banggi*, Ø_i)

Accomplishment Verbs

Table 5: Sample attributive stative predicates and accomplishment verbs

Adjective root	Attributive stative predicate		Accomplishment verb	
ayad	*m-ayad*	'ATTR.ST-pretty'	*kem-ayad*	'ACL-pretty'
ingad	*m-ingad*	'ATTR.ST-near'	*kim-ingad*	'ACL-near'
dalabm	*n-dalabm*	'ATTR.ST-deep'	*d<em>alabm*	'ACL-deep'
lompukng	*me-lompukng*	'ATTR.ST-fat'	*l<em>ompukng*	'ACL-fat'
tuug	*n-tuug*	'ATTR.ST-dry'	*t<um>uug*	'ACL-dry'

Motion activity verbs marked by *-m-.*

Semantics components of motion events (Talmy 2007, Choi 2009, Van Valin 2018, Kailuweit 2018)

- **Motion** (the presence of motion or locatedness in the event)
- **Figure** (the moving or located object)
- **Ground** (the reference object)
- **Path** (the course followed by the figure with respect to the ground)
- **Manner** (the manner the figure moves)
- **Cause** (the presence of an agent causing the figure to move)
- **Deixis** (motion toward or away from the speaker)
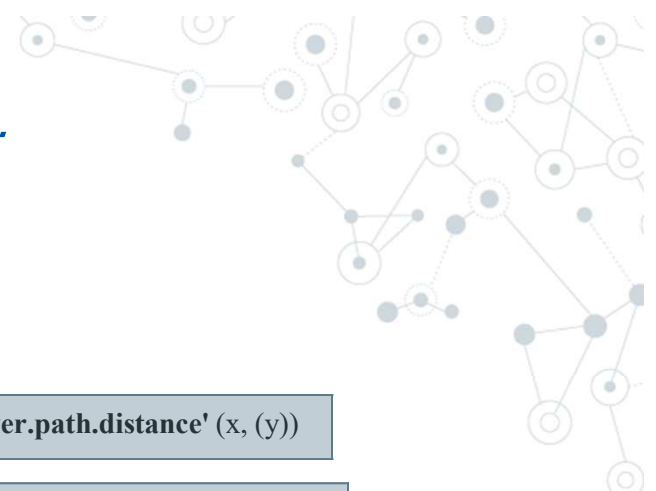- **Distance** (the path length covered by the figure)

DALLAS INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Motion activity verbs marked by *-m-*.

Table 6: Sample motion activity verbs which lexicalize motion and manner

Root	Non-past tense	Gloss	Past tense
panu	*m-panu*	'MO.ACY-walk'	*i-panu*
duhuh	*d<um>uhuh*	'<MO.ACY>bend.down'	*d<i><m>uhuh*
loli	*l<em>oli*	'<MO.ACY>creep'	*l<i><m>oli*
lompud	*l<em>ompud*	'<MO.ACY>run'	*l<i><m>ompud*
longi	*l<em>ongi*	'<MO.ACY>swim'	*l<i><m>ongi*
rahap	*r<em>ahap*	'<MO.ACY>spread.out'	*r<i><m>ahap*
riru	*r<im>iru*	'<MO.ACY>swarm'	*r<i><m>iru*
tulubad	*t<um>ulubad*	'<MO.ACY>rotate'	*t<i><m>ulubad*

DALLAS
INTERNATIONAL
UNIVERSITY

Motion activity verbs marked by *-m-*.

33	*Sayad*	l\<i>\<**m**>ompud	kirab.
	Sayad	\<PST>\<MO.ACY>run	yesterday

'Sayad ran yesterday.'

LS for one-argument motion activity verbs: **do'** (x, [**predicate'** (x)]) ^ PROC **cover.path.distance'** (x, (y))

LS for *l\<em>ompud* '\<MO.ACY>run':   **do'** (x, [**run'** (x)]) ^ PROC **cover.path.distance'** (x, (y))

SR for (33): $<_{IF}$DEC $<_{TNS}$PST **\<yesterday' [do'** (*Sayad$_i$*, [**run'** (*Sayad$_i$*)]) ^ *PROC **cover.path.distance'** (Ø$_i$, Ø)]>>>

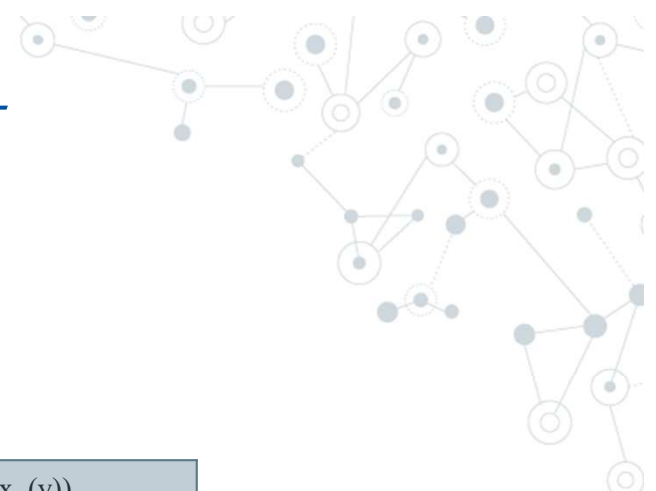**Motion**: *l\<em>ompud* '\<MO.ACY>run', lexicalizes motion + manner
Figure: *Sayad* 'Sayad'
Ground: not expressed
Path: not expressed

Motion activity verbs marked by *-m-* with the figure being inanimate.

40	*Oid*	=ku	**m**-oud.
	boat	=1SG.POSS	MO.ACY-drift

'My boat (is) drifting.'

LS for *m-oud* 'MO.ACY-drift': $\text{do' } (x, [\textbf{drift' } (x)]) \wedge \text{PROC } \textbf{\textit{cover.path.distance'}} (x, (y))$

SR for (40): $<_{IF}\text{DEC } <_{TNS}\text{NPST } <\textbf{do' } (\textbf{have' } (1SG, \underline{oid}), [\textbf{drift' } (\textbf{have' } (1SG, \underline{oid}))]) \wedge \textit{PROC } \textbf{\textit{cover.path.distance'}} (\emptyset, \emptyset)>>>$

Motion: *m-oud* 'MO.ACY-walk', lexicalizes motion + manner
Figure: *oid =ku* 'my boat'
Ground: not expressed
Path: not expressed

DALLAS
INTERNATIONAL
UNIVERSITY

Motion activity verbs marked by *-m-* in motion active accomplishment clauses.

42	Kirab	*sia*	l<i><**m**>ompud	**kin**-di	Kerahid.
	Yesterday	3SG.NOM	<PST><MO.ACY>ran	AACL.TOWARD-at	Karakit

'Yesterday, she/he ran to Karakit.'

LS for one-argument motion active accomplishment verbs:

$$[\textbf{do'} (x, [\textbf{predicate'} (x)]) \char`\^ \text{PROC } \textbf{cover.path.distance'} (x, (y))] \& \text{INGR } \textbf{be-at'} (z, x)$$

SR for (42):

$$<_{\text{IF}}\text{DEC} <_{\text{TNS}}\text{PST} <\textbf{yesterday'} ([\textbf{do'} (3\text{SG}, [\textbf{run'} (3\text{SG})]) \char`\^ \textit{PROC } \textbf{cover.path.distance'} (\text{Ø}, \text{Ø})] \& \text{INGR } \textbf{be-at'} (\textit{Kerahid}, 3\text{SG})) >>>$$

Motion: *l<em>ompud* '<MO.ACY>walk', lexicalizes motion + manner; *kin-di* 'AACL.TOWARD-at', lexicalizes motion + direction
Figure: *sia* '3SG'
Ground (goal): *Kerahid* 'Karakit'
Path: not expressed

Motion activity verbs marked by *-m-* in motion active accomplishment clauses.

43	Kirab	*sia*	l<i><**m**>ompud	**ti**-di	Kerahid.
	Yesterday	3SG.NOM	<PST><MO.ACY>ran	AACL.AWAY.FROM-at	Karakit

'Yesterday, he ran from Karakit.'

LS for one-argument motion active accomplishment verbs:

$$[\textbf{do'} (x, [\textbf{predicate'} (x)]) \wedge \text{PROC } \textbf{cover.path.distance'} (x, (y))] \text{ \& INGR } \textbf{be-at'} (z, x)$$

SR for (43):

$$<_{\text{IF}}\text{DEC} <_{\text{TNS}}\text{PST} <\textbf{yesterday'} ([\textbf{do'} (3\text{SG}, [\textbf{run'} (3\text{SG})]) \wedge \textit{PROC } \textbf{\textit{cover.path.distance'} (Ø, Ø)}] \text{ \& INGR NOT } \textbf{be-at'} (\textit{Kerahid}, 3\text{SG})) >>>$$

Motion: *l<em>ompud* '<MO.ACY>walk', lexicalizes motion + manner; *ti-di* 'AACL.AWAY.FROM-at', lexicalizes motion + direction
Figure: *sia* '3SG'
Ground (source): *Kerahid* 'Karakit'
Path: not expressed

DALLAS INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Motion active accomplishment verbs in motion active accomplishment clause.

47	*Sia*	**kin**-di	Kerahid.
	3SG.NOM	AACL.TOWARD-at	Karakit

'She (went) to Karakit.'

LS for one-argument motion active accomplishment verbs:

$$[\textbf{do'} (x, [\textbf{predicate'} (x)]) \wedge \text{PROC } \textbf{cover.path.distance'} (x, (y))] \& \text{INGR } \textbf{be-at'} (z, x)$$

SR for (47): $[\textbf{do'} (3\text{SG}, [\textbf{move.toward.reference.point'} (3\text{SG})]) \wedge \textit{PROC } \textit{\textbf{cover.path.distance'} } (Ø, Ø)] \& \text{INGR } \textbf{be-at'} (\textit{Kerahid}, 3\text{SG})$

Motion: *kin-di* 'AACL.TOWARD-at', lexicalizes motion + direction
Figure: *sia* '3SG'
Ground (goal): *Kerahid* 'Karakit'
Path: not expressed

Motion active accomplishment verbs in motion active accomplishment clause.

48	*Sia*	**ti**-di	Kerahid.
	3SG.NOM	AACL.AWAY.FROM-at	Karakit

'She/he (went) from Karakit.'

LS for one-argument, motion active accomplishment verbs:

[**do'** (x, [**predicate'** (x)]) ^ PROC **cover.path.distance'** (x, (y))] & INGR **be-at'** (z, x)

SR for (48):

[**do'** (3SG, [**move.away.from.reference.point'** (3SG)]) ^ PROC **cover.path.distance'** *(Ø, Ø)*] & INGR NOT **be-at'** (*Kerahid*, 3SG)

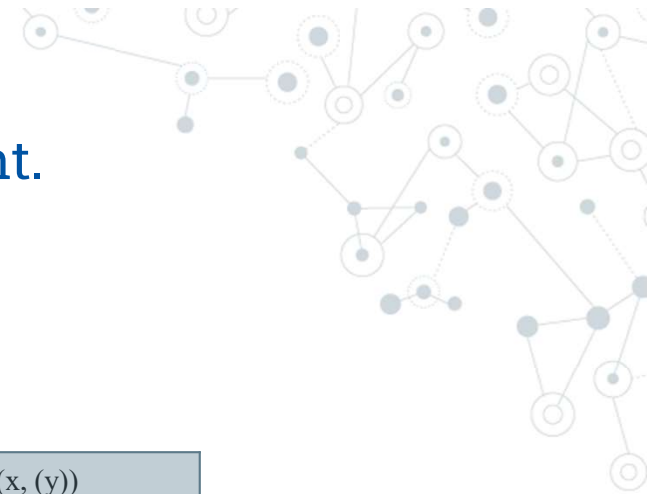**Motion:** *ti-di* 'AACL.AWAY.FROM-at', lexicalizes motion + direction
Figure: *sia* '3SG'
Ground (source): *Kerahid* 'Karakit'
Path: not expressed

DALLAS
INTERNATIONAL
UNIVERSITY

Motion activity verbs marked by *-m-* with distance as a direct core argument.

37	*Sayad*	**i**-panu		waluh	batu.
	Sayad	PST.MO.ACY-walk		eight	mile

'Sayad walked eight miles.'

LS for *i-panu* 'PST.MO.ACY-walk': **do'** (x, [**walk'** (x)]) ^ PROC **cover.path.distance'** (x, (y))

SR for (37): **do'** *(Sayad,* [**walk'** *(Sayad)])* ^ PROC **cover.path.distance'** *(Sayad, waluh batu)*

Motion: *i-panu* '<PST.MO.ACY>walk', lexicalizes motion + manner
Figure: *Sayad* 'Sayad'
Ground: not expressed
Path: not expressed
Distance: *waluh batu* '8 miles'

DALLAS INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Motion activity verbs marked by *-m-* with path as a direct core argument.
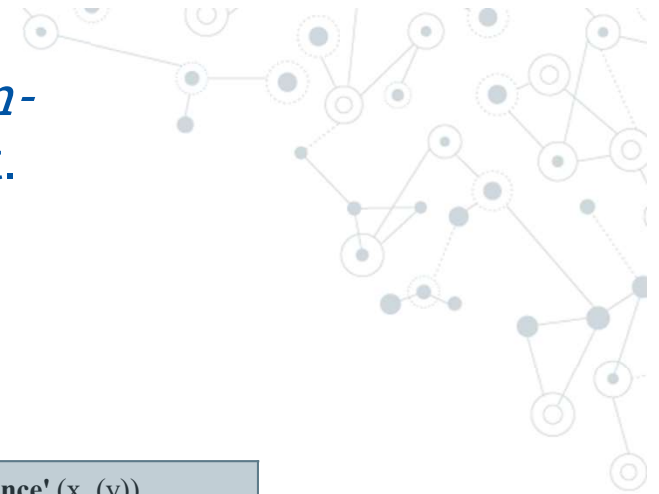
61	*Sia*	l<i><**m**>-obot	Sungi	Mudik.
	3SG.NOM	<PST><MO.ACY>cross	River	Pengkalan

'She crossed (the) Pengkalan River.'

LS for *l<em>-obot* '<MO.ACY>-cross':   do' (x, [**cross'** (x)]) ^ PROC **cover.path.distance'** (x, (y))

SR for (61):   do' *(*3SG, [**cross'** *(*3SG)]) ^ PROC **cover.path.distance'** *(*3SG, *Sungi Mudik*)

Motion: *l<em>obot* '<MO.ACY>cross', lexicalizes motion + manner
Figure: *sia* '3SG.NOM'
Ground: not expressed
Path: *Sungi Mudik* 'Pengkalan River'

DALLAS INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Motion activity verbs marked by *-m-* with path as a direct core argument.
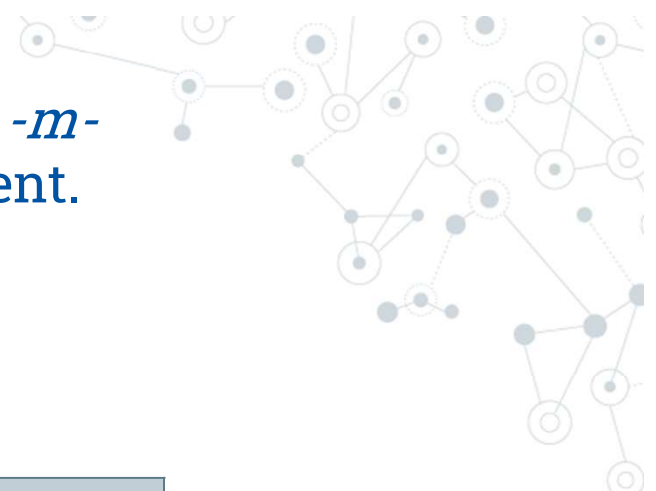
62	*Nggien*	=nya	l<i><**m**>obot?
	where	=3SG.GEN	<PST><MO.ACY>cross

'Where (did) he cross?'

SR for (62): | **do'** *(3SG,* [**cross'** *(3SG)]) ^* PROC **cover.path.distance'** *(3SG, nggien)* |

63	Sungi	Mudik	[nggien	*nya*	l<i><**m**>obot	*Ø].*
	River	Pengkalan	where	3SG.GEN	<PST><MO.ACY>cross	

'(It is the) Pengkalan River where he crossed.'

Motion activity verbs marked by *-m-* with an adjunct location added to clause.

52	Kirab	*sia*	l\<i\>\<m\>ompud	di	Kerahid.
	yesterday	3SG.NOM	\<PST\>\<MO.ACY\>ran	in	Karakit

'Yesterday, she/he ran in Karakit.'

SR for (52): $<_{IF}$DEC$<_{TNS}$PST**<yesterday' [be-in'** (*Kerahid*, [**do'** (3SG, [**run'** (3SG)]) ^ *PROC **cover.path.distance'** (Ø, Ø)])]>>>

Motion: *l\<em\>ompud* 'MO.ACY-run', lexicalizes motion + manner
Figure: *sia* '3SG'
Ground (location): *di Kerahid* 'in Karakit'
Path: not expressed

DALLAS
INTERNATIONAL
UNIVERSITY

Tagalog locative voice

In the Tagalog example below, the locative adjunct *aŋ klasrum na ito* 'this classroom' receives nominative case and the verb has a locative voice suffix -*an* 'LV'.

18	P<in>ag-sagut-**an**	naŋ	maŋa	estudyante	naŋ	eksam	**aŋ**	klasrum	na	ito.
	<PFV>STEM-answer-**LV**	GEN	GL	student	GEN	exam	**NOM**	classroom	LK	PROX

'The students took the exam in this classroom' (Klimenko et al. 2016, 289)

Bonggi does not have locative voice marking on the verb. Locative adjuncts can be clefted and occur in focus position.

53	Di	Kerahid.	nggien	=nya	l<**em**>ompud.
	in	Karakit	where	=3SG.GEN	<MO.ACY>run

'(It is) in Karakit where he runs.'

DALLAS
INTERNATIONAL
UNIVERSITY

Motion activity verbs marked by *-m-* in clauses with imperative mood.

54	Dei	**longi**	di	sungi!	Kiara	biaa.
	NEG.IMP	swim	in	river	Exist	crocodile

'Don't swim in the river!'   'There (is a) crocodile (in the river).

SR for (54a): $<_{IF}IMP <_{NEG}NEG$ **<be-in'** (*sungi*, [**do'** (2SG, [**swim'** (2SG)]) ^ *PROC* ***cover.path.distance'** (Ø, Ø)*])>>>$
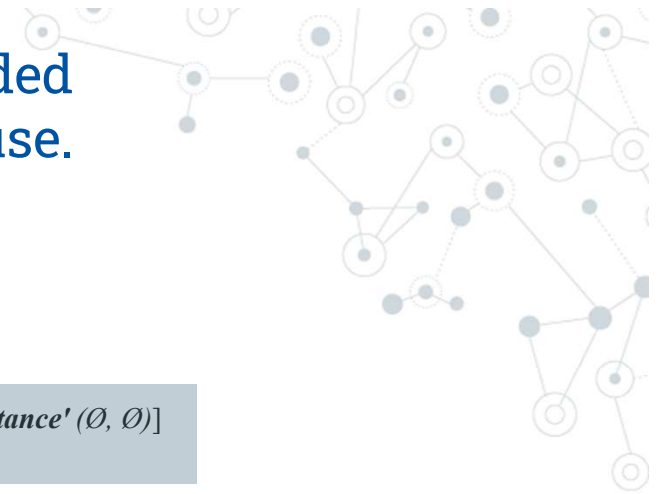
Motion: *longi* 'MO.ACY-swim', lexicalizes motion + manner
Figure: Ø '2SG'
Ground (location): *di sungi* 'in (the) river'
Path: not expressed

DALLAS
INTERNATIONAL
UNIVERSITY

Direct causative ($\mathrm{CAUSE_1}$) argument added to motion active accomplishment clause.

64	*Bali*	*=nya*	r<i><**m**>unsur	ti-di	buig.
	house	=3SG.POSS	<PST><MO.ACY>slide.down	AACL.AWAY.FROM-at	hill

'His house slid down the hill.'

SR for (64): [**do'** (**have'** [3SG, *bali*], [**slide.down'** (**have'** [3SG, *bali*])]) ^ *PROC* ***cover.path.distance'*** *(Ø, Ø)*] & INGR NOT **be-at'** (*buig*, [**have'** (3SG, *bali*)])

Motion: r<*um*>unsur 'MO.ACY-slide.down', lexicalizes motion + manner; *ti-di* 'AACL.AWAY.FROM-at', lexicalizes motion + direction; **Figure**: *bali =nya* 'his house'; **Ground** (source): *buig* 'hill'; **Path**: not expressed

65	*Sia*	i-**ngu**-runsur	papadn	ti-di	ruri.
	3SG.NOM	PST-CAUS.AV-slide	wood	AACY.AWAY.FROM-at	lorry

'He slid (the) wood off (the) lorry.'

NOTE: AV = actor voice; 1st example with voice option; UV = undergoer voice
runsu-urdn 'slide-UV.NPST'
r<in>unsur '<UV.PST>slide'

SR for (65): [**do'** (3SG, Ø)] $\mathrm{CAUSE_1}$ [**do'** (*papadn*, [**slide.down'** (*papadn*)]) ^ *PROC* ***cover.path.distance'*** *(Ø, Ø)*] & INGR NOT **be-at'** (*ruri*, *papadn*)

Motion: *ngu-runsur* 'CAUS.AV-slide', lexicalizes motion + manner + direct intentional cause;
ti-di 'AACL.AWAY.FROM-at', lexicalizes motion + direction;
Figure: *papadn* 'wood'; **Ground** (source): *ruri* 'lorry'; **Path**: not expressed
Causer (direct & intentional): *sia* '3SG.NOM'

Non-intentional causative (CAUSE₁) argument added to motion activity verb.

70	*Onu*	**k**-oud	oig	=nu?	**I**-loput	tali.
	what	NINT.CAUS-drift	boat	=2SG.POSS	PST.ACH-snap	rope

'What made your boat drift?'   'The rope snapped.'

SR for (70a):

$<_{IF}$INT $<_{TNS}$NPST $<_{MOD}$NINT $<$[**do'** (*onu*, Ø)] CAUSE₁ [**do'** (**have'** [2SG, *oid*], [**drift'** (**have'** [2SG, *oig*])]) $^\wedge$ *PROC* ***cover.path.distance'** (Ø$_i$, Ø)]$>>>>$

Motion: *k-oud* 'NINT.CAUSE-drift', lexicalizes motion + manner + direct, non-intentional cause
Figure: *oig =nu* 'your boat'; **Ground**: not expressed; **Path**: not expressed
Causer (direct & non-intentional): *onu* 'what'

DALLAS INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Indirect causative (CAUSE₂) argument added to motion activity verb.

72	Sia	**pe**-longi	anak	=nya.
	3SG.NOM	IND.CAUS-swim	child	=3SG.POSS

'She makes her child swim'

SR for (72):

$<_{IF}DEC <_{TNS}NPST <$ [**do'** (3SG, Ø)] CAUSE₂ [**do'** (**have'** [2SG, _anak_], [**swim'** (**have'** [2SG, _anak_])]) ^ _PROC_ **_cover.path.distance'_** _(Ø, Ø)_]$>>>$

Motion: _pe-longi_ 'IND.CAUS.AV-swim', lexicalizes motion + manner + indirect, intentional cause;
Figure: _anak =nya_ 'her child'; **Ground**: not expressed; **Path**: not expressed;
Causer (indirect & intentional): _sia_ '3SG.NOM'
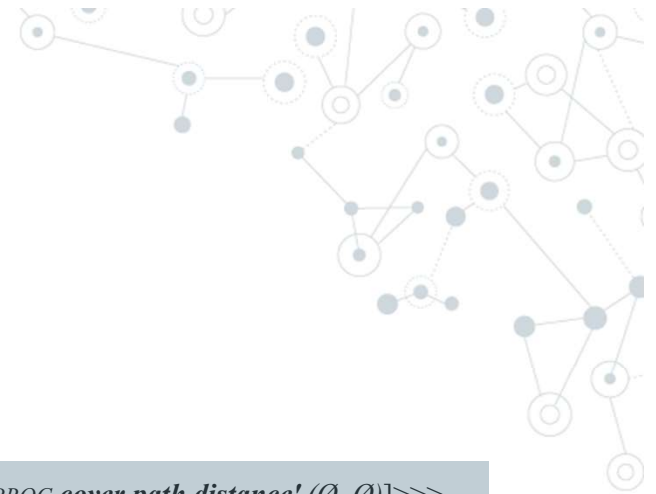
Non-motion activity verbs marked by *-m-*.

81	*Sia*	**m**-ohodn	babi.
	3SG.NOM	NMO.ACY.AV-eat	pork

'He eats pork.'

87	Nti,	dei	**ohodn**!
	This	NEG.IMP	eat

'As for this, don't eat (it)!'

LS for non-motion activity verb *mohodn* 'eat':   **do'** (x, [**eat'** (x, (y))]) ^ PROC **consume'** (y)

SR for (81):   **do'** (3SG, [**eat'** (3SG, *babi*)]) ^ PROC **consume'** (*babi*)

Non-motion activity verbs marked by *-m-* in an active accomplishment clauses.

84	*Sia*	m-<i>ohodn	sedah	=nu
	3SG.NOM	NMO.ACY.AV<PST>eat	fish	=2SG.POSS

'He ate your fish.'

LS for non-motion activity verb *mohodn* 'eat':   **do'** (x, [**eat'** (x, (y))]) ^ PROC **consume'** (y)

LS for non-motion activity verb *mohodn* 'eat' in a motion active accomplishment clause:

[**do'** (x, [**eat'** (x, y)]) ^ PROC **consume'** (y)] & INGR **consumed'** (y)

SR for (84):

_{IF}DEC _{TNS}PST <[**do'** (3SG, [**eat'** (3SG, [**have'** (2SG, *sedah*)])]) ^ PROC **consume'** (**have'** [2SG, *sedah*])] & INGR **consumed'** (**have'** [2SG, *sedah*])>>>

Non-motion activity verbs marked by *-m-* in an active accomplishment clauses.

88	Onu	in-ohodn		=nu?
	what	PST.NMO.ACY.UV-eat		=2SG.GEN

'What did you eat?'

89	Onu	nuan	=nu	m-ohodn?
	what	that	=2SG.GEN	NMO.ACY.AV-eat

'What (is it) that you are eating?'

Motion activity verbs marked by *g-*.

Table 14: Sample motion activity verbs marked by *g-*

Root	Gloss	Past tense in- +g- + Root	Reduced form g- +Root	Full form ng- + g- + Root	Imperative p- + g- + Root
ahut	'shuttle'	*i-g-ahut*	*g-ahut*	*ng-g-ahut*	*pe-g-ahut*
isik	'shake'	*i-g-isik*	*g-isik*	*ng-g-isik*	*pi-g-isik*
iit	'bring'	*i-g-iit*	*g-iit*	*ng-g-iit*	*pi-g-iit*
liput	'circle'	*i-gi-liput*	*gi-liput*	*ng-gi-liput*	*pi-gi-liput*
timung	'gather together'	*n-ig-timung*	*ig-timung*	*n-timung*	*pe-g-timung*

DALLAS INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Motion activity verbs marked by *g-*.

90 I-g-ahut   *ou*   karukng.

   PST-MO.ACY-shuttle   1SG.NOM   gunnysack

   'I shuttled gunnysacks (of coconut).'

LS for two-argument motion activity verbs: **do'** (x, [**predicate'** (x, (y))]) ^ PROC **cover.path.distance'** (x, (z))

SR for (90): **do'** (1SG, [**shuttle'** (1SG$_i$, *karukng*)]) ^ PROC ***cover.path.distance'*** *(Ø$_i$, Ø)*

Motion: *g-ahut* 'MO.ACY-shuttle', lexicalizes motion + path
Figure: *ou* '1SG'
Ground: not expressed
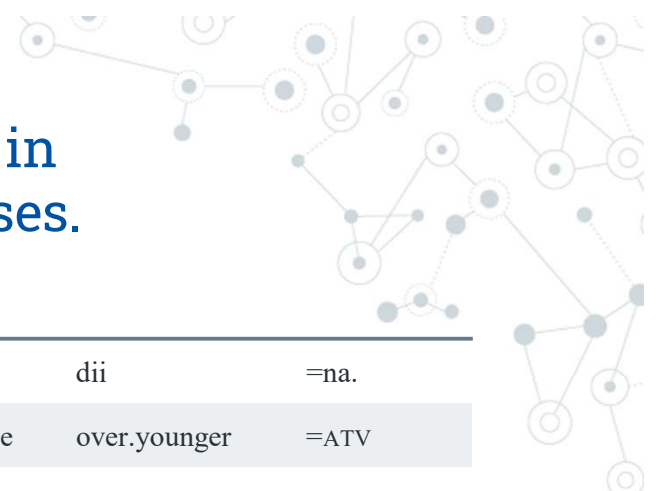
91 Uhut-ah   gulu!

   shuttle-UV.IMP   first

   'Shuttle (them) first!'

Motion activity verbs marked by *g-* in motion active accomplishment clauses.

93	Kepatadn	kilimaan	nubuh	**ng-g-ahut**	kin-di	tuan	dii	=na.
	4.days	5.days	then	NPST.MO.ACY-shuttle	AACL-to	anchorage	over.younger	=ATV

'(After) four (or) five days, then (we) carried (the gunnysacks) to the anchorage over there.'

LS for two-argument, motion active accomplishments:

[**do'** (x, [**predicate'** (x, (y))]) ^ PROC **cover.path.distance'** (x, (z))] & INGR **be-at'** (w, y)

SR for (93b): [**do'** (x, [**shuttle'** ($\emptyset_i$, $\emptyset_j$)]) ^ *PROC* ***cover.path.distance'*** *($\emptyset_i$, $\emptyset$)*] & INGR **be-at'** (*tuan dii =na*, $\emptyset_j$)

Motion: *g-ahut* 'MO.ACY-shuttle', lexicalizes motion + path; *kin-di* 'AACL.TOWARD-at', lexicalizes motion + direction
Figure: not expressed due to zero anaphora
Ground (goal): *tuan dii* 'anchorage over yonder'
Path: not expressed apart from verb root

Motion activity verbs marked by *g-* in clauses with imperative mood.

98	Dei	pe-g-ahut!
	NEG.IMP	IMP-MO.ACY-shuttle

'Don't shuttle (them)!'

SR for (98):　**do'** (2SG, [**shuttle'** (2SG$_i$, Ø)]) ^ *PROC* ***cover.path.distance' (Ø$_i$, Ø)***

Motion activity verbs marked by *g-* with only one argument: Self-contained motion verbs.

99	I-g-isik	onsi	=nya
	PST-MO.ACY-shake	flesh	=3SG.POSS

'He (was) shaking.'

SR for (99):   do' (**have'** (3SG, *onsi*), [**shake'** (**have'** (3SG, *onsi*))]) ^ *PROC* ***cover.path.distance'** (Ø, Ø)*

Motion: *g-isik* 'MO.ACY-shake', lexicalizes motion + manner
Figure: *onsi =nya* 'his body'
Ground: not expressed
Path: not expressed

DALLAS INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Motion activity verbs marked by *g-* with only one argument: Posture verbs.

104	Tuud	bakng	kahal	g-usag.
	stump	if	still	POSTURE-stand

'(It is a) stump if (it is) still standing'

Indirect causative (CAUSE$_2$) argument added to one-argument posture verb.
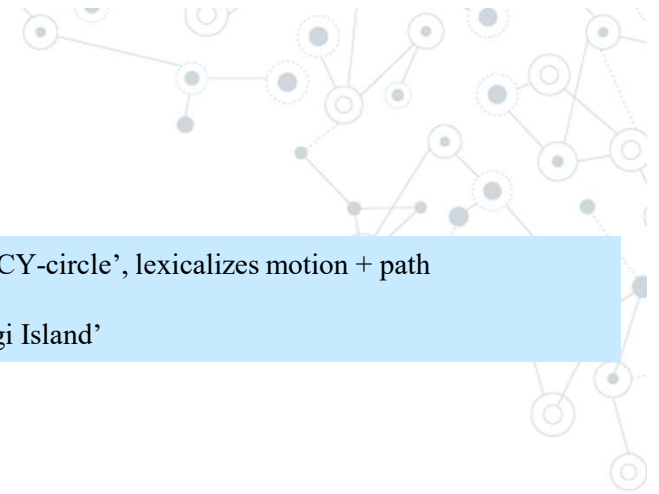
105	Sia	i-p-usag	anak	=nya.
	3SG.NOM	IND.CAUS-stand	child	=3SG.POSS

'She made her child stand.'

Direct causative (CAUSE₁) argument added to motion activity verbs.

106	Ng-gi-liput	ou	Bonggi	suub.
	NPST-MO.ACY-circle	1SG.NOM	Banggi	tomorrow

'I (am) circling Banggi (Island) tomorrow.

Motion: *gi-liput* 'MO.ACY-circle', lexicalizes motion + path
Figure: *ou* 'I'
Ground: Bonggi 'Banggi Island'

SR for (106): **tomorrow'** [**do'** (1SG, Ø) ^ PROC **cover.path.distance'** (1SG, *Bonggi*)]

107	Sia	i-ngi-liput	bali	=nya	mah	pagar.
	3SG.NOM	PST-CAUS.AV-circle	house	=3SG.POSS	with	fence

'He encircled his house with (a) fence.'

SR for (107): [**do'** (3SG, Ø)] CAUSE₁ [PROC NOT **be-at'** (**have'** (3SG, *bali*), *pagar*)) & INGR **be-at'** (**have'** (3SG, *bali*), *pagar*)) ^ PROC **cover.path.distance'** (*pagar, Ø*)]

Motion: *ngi-liput* 'CAUS.AV-circle', lexicalizes motion + path + direct intentional cause;
Figure: *pagar* 'fence'; **Ground** (location): *bali =nya* 'his house';
Causer (direct & intentional): *sia* '3SG.NOM'

DALLAS INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

41

Comparison of motion activity verbs marked by -*m*- and *g*-.

Semantic and Syntactic Similarities

◎ Both classes of motion activity verbs are a subset of a larger set of activity verbs.

◎ Both classes of motion activity verbs occur in motion activity clauses and motion active accomplishment clauses. (Neither class of motion activity verbs makes a morphological distinction between motion activity and motion active accomplishment clauses.)

◎ Both classes of motion activity verbs use asymmetrical serial verb constructions to form motion active accomplishment clauses.

◎ Both classes of motion activity verbs lexicalize direct causative (CAUSE$_1$) via the prefix *ng*- for actor voice and the suffix -*on* for undergoer voice' in non-past tense.

◎ Both classes of motion activity verbs lexicalize indirect causative (CAUSE$_2$) via the prefix *p*-.

DALLAS INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Comparison of motion activity verbs marked by *-m-* and *g-.*

Semantic and Syntactic Differences

◎ Motion activity verbs marked by *-m-* are usually intransitive. Motion activity verbs marked by *g-* are usually transitive.

◎ In syntactically transitive clauses, if the motion activity verb is marked by *-m-*, the non-PSA direct core argument refers to the distance or path travelled, whereas if the motion activity verb is marked by *g-*, the non-PSA direct core argument is a theme.

◎ The figure is moving in motion activity verbs marked by *-m-,* whereas the figure is moving with the theme in motion activity verbs marked by *g-.*

◎ Motion activity verbs marked by *-m-* have a single macrorole, an actor. Motion activity verbs marked by *g-* usually have both actor and undergoer macroroles.

◎ Self-contained motion activity verbs and posture verbs are exceptions in that they are marked by *g-* but have only one direct core argument and one macrorole.

Conclusions

Several *Aktionsart* or aspectual classes are morphologically marked on the verb in Bonggi. The primary function of the verb morphology is to signal the *Aktionsart* class, not the semantic role of the PSA. However, given an *Aktionsart* class, one can predict the semantic role of the PSA for states, achievements, accomplishments, and intransitive activity verbs.

Condition states, attributive states, locative states, achievements, and accomplishments have a single macrorole which is an undergoer. Intransitive activity verbs have a single macrorole which is an actor.

Motion activity verbs occur in both activity clauses and motion active accomplishment clauses. The distinction between motion activities and motion active accomplishments is syntactic, not morphological. Serial verb constructions are used to add a definite goal or source to motion activities resulting in motion active accomplishments.

Distance and path are direct core arguments in syntactically transitive clauses. However, they are not undergoers, so they cannot function as a PSA. Only macroroles can function as PSAs.

Conclusions

The infix *-m-* is a reflex of Proto-Austronesian (PA) *-um-*. According to Blust (2009, 370), daughter language reflexes of *-um-* are almost always intransitive. Many linguistics working on Philippine-type languages simply classify *-um-* marked verbs as intransitive. Failure to distinguish accomplishments from motion activities in Bonggi might lead a linguist to conclude that *-m-* marks intransitive verbs since it occurs in both verb classes. However, roots that begin with a bilabial stop or vowel provide clear evidence that *-m-* 'accomplishment' and *-m-* 'motion activity' are different morphemes.

Root	Accomplishment verbs	
dalabm	*d<em>alabm*	'ACL-deep'
lompukng	*l<em>ompukng*	'ACL-fat'
romuk	*r<em>omuk*	'ACL-rotten'
tuug	*t<um>uug*	'ACL-dry'
putih	*kum-putih*	'ACL-white'
ayad	*kem-ayad*	'ACL-good'

Root	Motion Activity verbs	
duhuh	*d<um>uhuh*	'<MO.ACY>bend.down'
longi	*l<em>ongi*	'<MO.ACY>swim'
riru	*r<im>iru*	'<MO.ACY>swarm'
tulubad	*t<um>ulubad*	'<MO.ACY>rotate'
panu	*m-panu*	'MO.ACY-walk'
ulih	*m-ulih*	'MO.ACY-return'

DALLAS
INTERNATIONAL
UNIVERSITY

Key References

Blust, Robert. 2009. *The Austronesian Languages*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.

Choi, Soonja. 2009. "Typological Differences in Syntactic Expressions of Path and Causation." In *Routes to Language: Studies in Honor of Melissa Bowerman*, edited by V.M. Gathercole, 169-94. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Kailuweit, Rolf. 2018. "Activity Hierarchy and Argument Realization in (R)RRG." In *Applying and Expanding Role and Reference Grammar*, edited by Rolf Kailuweit, Lisann Künkel, and Eva Staudinger, 185-207. Freiburg, Germany: Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität.

Talmy, Leonard. 2007. "Lexical Typologies." In *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Vol. 3: Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon*, edited by Timothy Shopen, 2nd edition., 66-168. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Van Valin, Robert D., Jr. 2018. "Some Issues Regarding (Active) Accomplishments." In *Applying and Expanding Role and Reference Grammar*, edited by Rolf Kailuweit, Lisann Künkel, and Eva Staudinger, 71-93. Freiburg, Germany: Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität.

DALLAS INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Thanks!

Any questions?

You can find me at:
Michael_Boutin@DIU.EDU

DALLAS
INTERNATIONAL
UNIVERSITY