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APPLICATIVE VERBS AND APPLICATIVE CONSTRUCTION IN THE BANTIK LANGUAGE*

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Abstract
This paper aims to describe applicative verbs and applicative constructions in Bantik, a West Malayo-Polynesian language spoken in North Sulawesi, Indonesia. The applicative prefix *paN-* is attached to 'double-voiced' verb bases, that is, verbs which have two voice forms. Double-voiced verbs in Bantik take two arguments, and when the prefix *paN-* is attached they take one more argument, a nominal denoting either location or instrument.
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ISO 639-3 language codes: bnq

1. The Bantik Language

The Bantik language is one of the Western Malayo-Polynesian languages that is categorized in the Sangiric micro-group (cf. Sneddon 1993) within the Philippine group (cf. Noorduyn (1991), Sneddon (1984) among others). It is spoken by around 10,000 people in nine villages in the vicinity of Manado, a provincial city of the North Sulawesi, and two more villages around 100 kilometers away from Manado (cf. Noorduyn (1991)). Every speaker of Bantik also speaks the Manado dialect of Indonesian. As people born after 1970 mostly use Manado Indonesian and people born after 1980 generally do not use Bantik at all, it is clearly in danger of extinction. It is extensively studied in Bawole (1993) and Utsumi (2005).

There are five vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ and fourteen consonants /p, b, t, d, k, g, s, h, ʔ, m, n, ŋ, ɾ, j/ in Bantik. It has phonemic pitch accent[1]. The syllable structure is (C)V(C), where only nasals and glottal stop are allowed as coda. All consonant clusters consist of a nasal (one of /m, n, ŋ/) and a homo-organic stop (one of /p, b, t, d, k, g/) or an alveolar fricative (/s/). They are mostly found word-medially, but there are some twenty bases which begin with a consonant cluster[2]. A glottal stop occurs only base-finally except for *kiʔaŋ* 'to lift' and *eʔe* 'there (distal)'.

As is often the case with Philippine languages, Bantik has a rich morphology, which is relatively transparent (cf. Himmelmann 2005 among others). A base may take various affixes to form a word. Nouns can be base-only or derivational, i.e., one or two affixes may be attached. Base-only adjectives are found, but in most cases adjectival bases take the prefix *ma-* to form an adjective. There are also some derivational affixes which form adjectives. Verbal bases take one or more affixes in order to appear in a sentence with a few exceptions[3]. Adjectives and verbs are distinguished in that verbs have past versus non-past tense opposition while adjectives do not.

There are three grammatical voices in Bantik: one Actor Voice and two Undergoer Voices. In this paper, the two Undergoer Voices are called Goal Voice and Conveyance Voice. As in many Philippine type languages, the choice of voice form is often affected by semantic characteristics of the subject of the clause. Actor Voice is abbreviated as AV, Goal Voice as GV and Conveyance Voice as CV in the below examples and tables .

The basic word order is SVO, but frequently VOS word order occurs, especially when a verb is in an Undergoer Voice. Grammatical relations are expressed partly by word order, but also by noun-marking devices, which will be called 'noun marker' in the following discussion. The noun-markers are *i-*, *si-/su-*, and *ni-/nu-*. The noun-marker *i-* is attached to the Subject, while *si-/su-* is attached to arguments which

[1] For example, *pa ´ higi* 'well' and *pahi ´ gi* 'knife' consist a minimal pair. (Pitch accent nucleus is shown by an apostrophe at the beginning of the syllable.)
[2] For example, *nsao* 'over there' (more or less the samey level).
[3] First, some imperatives do not take affixes. Second, as will be described later in this paper, a very few Undergoer Voice non-past verbs are without affixes.

indicate GOAL or LOCATION among others, and *ni-/nu-* is attached to arguments which denote INSTRUMEENT, CONVEYED THEME or CAUSEE in Actor Voice sentences and ACTOR in Undergoer Voice sentences. Noun-markers also show human/non-human distinctions and number in a fused way. The forms *i-, si-, ni-*, are attached to nominals indicating human singular. While *i-* appears when the Subject denotes human singular, no markers appear when the Subject denotes human plural or non-human entity. The other forms (*su-*, *nu-*) are attached to nominals indicating human plural and non-human[4]. Objects in a sentence with a basic verb do not require any noun-marker[5].

Nominals which occur in a sentence are divided into two categories: arguments and complements. In Bantik, it is possible to define arguments as 'nominals which can be the subject of one of the voices'.

The subject of a clause, normally placed sentence-initially, is marked by the noun marker *i-* if it is human singular, and it is the only grammatical element which can be relativized. The subject nominal of Actor Voice sentences have the semantic roles of ACTOR, EXPERIENCER or CAUSER. Those nominals are marked by *ni-/nu-* in Undergoer Voice sentences and they are placed immediately after the verb. In example (1), the ACTOR, who gives money, is *terok* (Terok, a personal name), and marked by *i-* in (1)a. This is marked by *ni-* in corresponding Undergoer Voice sentences (1)b and c.

The arguments which follow the verb in Actor Voice sentences are called objects, and marked by either *si-/su-* or *ni-/nu-*. First, the arguments which are marked by *si-/su-* in Actor Voice sentences are called Object 1 in this paper. These nominals usually express either GOAL or LOCATION. Object 1 in example (1)a is *iaŋkuŋ* 'spouse', and it gets the subject position in the Goal Voice sentence (shown in (1)b). Its semantic role is GOAL in this example.

Second, the arguments which are marked by *ni-/nu-* in Actor Voice sentences mostly express INSTRUMENT and sometimes CAUSEE and THEME, and will be called Object 2 in this paper. In most of the cases they get the subject position of Conveyance Voice sentences. In example (1)a, *doiti?* 'money', with the semantic role CONVEYED THEME, is zero-marked. This fills Object 2 slot in the Actor Voice sentence, and it can be placed as the subject in example (1)c, the Conveyance Voice sentence.

(1) a. *i-terok* *ma-mihei* *doiti?* *si-iaŋkuŋ=ne* (Actor Voice)
I-Terok MAN-give money SI-spouse=NI.3sg
'Terok gives money to his wife'

b. *i-aŋkuŋ=ne* *biha-n* *doiti?* *ni-terok* (Goal Voice)
I-spouse=NI.3sg give-AN money NI-Terok
'His wife is given money by Terok'.

c. *doiti?* *bihei* *ni-terok* *si-iaŋkuŋ=ne* (Conveyance Voice)
money give NI-Terok SI-spouse=NI.3sg
'The money is given to his wife by Terok'

On the other hand, complements are nominals which occur in a sentence but cannot occupy subject position of any of the voices. In example (2)a, *kaes* is the subject and marked by *i-*. Although *patatikian* 'bedroom' is marked by *su-* in the same way as the Object 1 (*iaŋkuŋ*) in (1)a, it cannot occupy subject position of any of the voices since the Actor Voice verb, *ma-tiki* 'sleep', does not have a Goal Voice counterpart. As a result, example (2)b is unacceptable.

(2) a. *i-kaes* *ma-tiki* *te* *su-patatikian* (Actor Voice)
I-Kaes MA-sleep COMP SU-bedroom
'Kaes is going to sleep in the bedroom'

b. **patatikian* **tiki-an* *ni-kaes*
bed.room sleep-AN NI-Kaes

2. Verbs in Bantik

2.1. Morphology of Bantik Verbs

Bantik verbs take at least one affix in order to appear in a sentence. There are two types of affixes which attach to verbs. The first type will be called 'voice-indicating affixes' and the second 'derivational affixes'.

[4] Interestingly, *ana?* 'child' and *gagudaŋ* 'parent, elderly person' are treated as plural nouns even if it is obvious that only one person is referred by either of them.

[5] As will be illustrated below, basic verbs are verbs without any derivational affixes.

The verbs are also categorized into two types: basic verbs and derivational verbs. Basic verbs take only voice-indicating affixes while derivational verbs take **both** voice-indicating and derivational affixes.

It is in most cases obligatory to attach a voice-indicating affix to a base in order to be used in a sentence. There are two exceptions to this rule. First, imperative verbs can take base-only forms such as *abiʔ* 'climb' in (3). Affixed imperatives, such as *soha-i* 'run + *-AI*' and *pa-namboi* '*paN-* + sow' are used in Bantik, but base-only imperatives are also common.

(3) *tansiŋ su-sie i-kau*
jump SU-here I-2sg
'You jump toward here'

Second, the non-past Conveyance Voice form of basic verbs do not take any affixes, such as *posoʔ* in example (4).[6]

(4) *tibiʔ* ***posoʔ*** *ni-titin su-botoro*
rice put NI-Titin SU-bottle
'Rice will be put by Titin in the bottle' (Conveyance Voice, non-past)

Except for the two cases described above, every verb takes a voice-indicating affix.

Actor Voice verbs take one of the following three affix sets: the infix *-um-/-im-*, the prefix *ma-/na-*, and the prefix *maN-/naN-*[7] (non-past/past forms respectively). It is quite common that the same base takes more than one set of affixes, but there are also bases which can take only one of the sets. For example, *tutuŋ* 'burn' takes *ma-/na-* to form *ma-tutuŋ/ na-tutuŋ* 'burn by itself (intransitive meaning)' and *maN-/naN-* to form *ma-nutuŋ/ na-nutuŋ* 'burn something (transitive meaning)', and *duhaŋ* takes *--um-/-im-* to form *d-um-uhaŋ/ d-im-uhaŋ* 'increase (intransitive meaning)' and *maN-/naN-* to form *man-duhaŋ/ nan-duhaŋ* 'add (transitive meaning)'. However, *kahaʔ* 'cry' only take *-um-/-im-*, and *bere* 'work' takes only *maN-/naN-*. It is not easy to predict which base takes which Actor Voice affix set.

Goal Voice forms take the suffix *-AN*. Examples of resulting forms are: *tutuŋ-an* from *tutuŋ* 'burn', *teŋed-an* from *teŋedeʔ* 'stand up'[8]. On the other hand, Conveyance Voice forms are zero-marked. For example *bihei* 'give' is a base which can be used as Conveyance Voice form without any affixes. When these Undergoer Voices are in the past form, the prefix *ni-* is attached. Thus, past Goal Voice verbs are in the form *ni-*+BASE+*-AN* and past Conveyance Voice verbs in the form *ni-*BASE.

Almost all the derivational affixes are prefixes. Actor Voice derivational verbs need the prefix *ma-/na-* to indicate voice. When they are in Goal Voice, they need to take -AN, but when they are in Conveyance Voice, no affix is needed. For example, the base *serei* 'see' forms a causative verb with the prefix *paki-*. Its Actor Voice form is *ma-paki-serei / na-paki-serei* 'show', Goal Voice is *paki-sere-an / ni-paki-sere-an*, and Conveyance Voice form is *paki-serei / ni-paki-serei*.

There is only one derivational suffix: *-AI*. This suffix derives imperative forms, but it will not be mentioned further in this paper.

2.2. The Categorization of Bantik Verbs and the Voice System

Philippine type languages usually have voice systems which have more than one Undergoer Voice, and their Undergoer Voice forms are derivational rather than inflectional because it is not totally predictable which form a verb can take. Bantik shares the former feature in that it has two Undergoer Voices, which are Goal Voice and Conveyance Voice, but it does not share the latter feature, as it is predictable which verb takes which voice form(s) most of the times.

Bantik verbs are categorized in two ways: morphologically and morpho-syntactically. Morphologically speaking, Bantik verbs are divided into two groups as mentioned above. To repeat, the first

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[6] So far, only eight basic verbs are attested to have Conveyance Voice forms. They are: *bihei* 'give', *buni* 'hide', *posoʔ* 'put', *diŋan* 'bring', *tondo* 'push', *turau* 'leave something', *suŋiʔ* 'feed', *oŋkohoʔ* 'hand something'.

[7] /N/ in the prefix maN-/naN- realizes in one of the following patterns. First, it may realize as an 'inserted' nasal which is homorganic with the first consonant of the base. For example, the base *tuhuʔ* becomes *man-tuhuʔ* 'to follow' when it is prefixed by *maN-/naN-*. When the base begins with a vowel, then /ŋ/, a velar nasal, is inserted as illustrated by *maŋ-undaŋ* 'to medicate', which is formed from the base *undaŋ*. Second, it may realize as nasal substitution of the first consonant of the base. For example, *ma-muni* 'to hide' is formed from the base *buni*, and *ma-nosoʔ* 'to smoke' is formed from the base *sosoʔ*.

[8] The suffix *-AN* has three allomorphs: *-an*, *-en*, and *-n*. The *-n* form occurs when the base ends with non-close vowels, and *-en* appears when the base has the vowel /a/ in its last syllable. The form *-an* occurs elsewhere and has the widest distribution. Sometimes the last vowel of the base drops when *-AN* is attached as in *serei* 'see' → *sere-an*, and *teŋedeʔ* 'stand' → *teŋed-an*.

verb group - 'basic verbs' - takes only voice-indicating affixes, while the second group - 'derivational verbs' - consists of verbs which take derivational affixes in addition to voice-indicating affixes.

The morpho-syntactic categorization is done according to the number of voice(s) they take. From this point of view, verbs are categorized into three types. The members of the first type are 'single-voiced verbs' which take Actor Voice only. Those belonging to the second type are 'double-voiced verbs', and may take Actor Voice and one of the Undergoer Voices (that is, either Goal Voice or Conveyance Voice). The last group consists of 'triple-voiced verbs' which take Actor Voice, Goal Voice, and Conveyance Voice. They are illustrated below by taking basic verb sentences as examples.

Single-voiced verbs select one argument NP (*i-aŋga* in example (5) below), which acts as subject of the Actor Voice. As mentioned earlier, sentences with a single-voiced verb can have more than one NP, but except for the subject NP, they are complements which cannot occupy the subject position of any voice forms.

Double-voiced verbs take two argument NPs. They are the subject (*i-pasko* in (6)a) and the object (*si-stefi* in (6)a) in the Actor Voice sentence. The latter NP behaves as subject in the Undergoer Voice sentence as in *i-stefi* in (6)b.

Lastly, triple-voiced verbs take three arguments which behave as Subject, Object 1 (*si-linda* in (7)a), and Object 2 (*doiti?* in (7)a) in an Actor Voice sentence. An Object 1 in Actor Voice sentence becomes subject in Goal Voice sentence (i-linda in (7)b), and an Object 2 in Conveyance Voice sentence (*doiti?* in (7)c)

In basic verb sentences, only human NPs are marked by noun markers. The noun-markers *si-* and *ni-* are for a singular human NP, and the noun-markers *su-* and *nu-* are for a plural human NP. Non-human NPs do not take noun-markers.

(5) *i-aŋga* *ma-tiki* [single-voiced verb; Actor Voice]
I-Angga MA-sleep
'Angga Sleeps'

(6) a. [double-voiced verb; Actor Voice]
i-pasko *ma-moaga?* *si-stefi*
I-Vasco MAN-beat SI-Stevy
'Vasco will beat Stevy'

b. [double-voiced verb; Goal Voice]
i-stefi *boag-en* *ni-pasko*
I-Stevy beat-AN NI-Vasco
'Stevy will be beaten by Vasco'

(7) a. [triple-voiced verb; Actor Voice]
i-stefi *na-mihei* *doiti?* *si-linda*
I-Stevy NAN-give money SI-Linda

b. [triple-voiced verb; Goal Voice]
i-linda *ni-biha-n* *ni-stefi* *doiti?*
I-Linda NI-give-AN NI-Stevy money
'Linda was given money by Stevy'

c. [triple-voiced verb; Conveyance Voice]
doiti? *ni-bihei* *ni-stefi* *si-linda*
money NI-give NI-Stevy SI-Linda
'Money was given to Linda by Stevy'

The paradigm of basic verbs in Bantik is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: The paradigm of Bantik Verbs

	Actor Voice	Goal Voice	Conveyance Voice
Infixed Verb (doble-voiced): ex. *Sakei* 'ride'			
Non-past form	*UM*-Base *s-um-akei*	Base-*AN* *sake-an*	*
Past form	*IM*- Base *s-im-akei*	*NI-IM*-Base-*AN* *ni-sake-an*	*
Prefixed Verb (ma-/na- verb, single-voiced): ex. *tiki* 'sleep'			
Non-past form	*MA*-Base *ma-tiki*	*	*
Past-form	*NA*-Base *na-tiki*	*	*
Prefixed-Verb (maN-/naN- verb, double-voiced): ex. *buno* 'kill'			
Non-past form	*MAN*-Base *ma-muno*	Base-*AN* *buno-n*	*
Past-form	*NAN*-Base *na-muno*	*	*NI*-Base *ni-buno-n*
Prefixed-Verb (maN-/naN- verb, triple-voiced): ex. *bihei* 'give			
Non-past form	*MAN*-Base *ma-mihei*	Base-*AN* *bih-an*	Base *bihei*
Past-form	*NAN*-Base *na-mihei*	NI-Base-*AN* *ni-bih-an*	NI-Base *ni-bihei*

2.3 Derivational Verbs

2.3.1. Morphology of derivational verbs

A derivational verb in Bantik is normally formed by a basic verb with a derivational prefix. One of them, the prefix *ka-* which expresses 'ability' and/or 'volitionality', does not change the valency and the number of grammatical voice forms when compared with its basic verb counterpart.

The rest of the derivational prefixes change the valency and the number of voice forms. The prefixes *tiŋka-* which adds 'volitional' meaning, *i-* which adds 'non-volitional' meaning, *kipa-* which adds 'assisting' meaning, and *hiN-* which forms 'reciprocal' verbs, are those which form single-voiced derivational verbs regardless of the category of the basic verbs .

On the other hand, the prefixes *paN-* which form applicative verbs, *pa-* which forms 'causative' verbs, and *paki-* which is another 'causative' prefix, add one more argument to the basic verbs. As a result, they change the number of the voice forms when compared with their basic verb counterparts. When they attach to a single-voiced basic verb, the resulting derivational verb is double-voiced. When they attach to a double-voiced basic verb, a triple-voiced derivational verb is formed. However, when they attach to a triple-voiced basic verb, the resulting derivational verb is also triple-voiced, since verbs in Bantik can take only up to three arguments and three voice forms. In this process, an NP with a newly introduced semantic role becomes a new argument of the derivational verb, and one of the arguments of the basic verb is demoted to a complement of the derivational verb, which usually do not appear.

In Bantik, all the basic verbs and derivational verbs which I have given above have Actor Voice, but not all of them have one or two Undergoer Voices. From this fact, I assume the most basic verb form in Bantik is Actor Voice. However, there are four types of verbs which seem to have Undergoer Voice forms but do not have corresponding Actor Voice. They take either the prefix *paN-* or the prefix *ka-*, and they do not have the form with the prefix *ma-/na-*. They are called Instrumental Verbs, Locative Verbs, Benefactive Verbs, and Afflictive Verbs. I will explain them in detail in section 3.

The prefix *paN-* has wide distribution. It is used to form applicative verbs but it also appears in Instrumental Verbs and Locative Verbs. This prefix and applicative verbs will be discussed in section 4.

2.3.2. Morpho-syntax of derivational verbs

There are several differences between basic verb sentences and derivational verb sentences. The first point is that most double-voiced derivational verbs often have only Conveyance Voice form as an undergoer voice. (As for double-voiced basic verbs, they have Goal Voice form at least for non-past tense.) Only one kind of derivational verb takes Goal Voice form for an Undergoer Voice. These are abilitative/ potentive verbs with the prefix *ka-*, for example, *ma-ka-pidisi?* 'can make something spicy' for Actor Voice and *ka-pidis-an* for Goal Voice. See also example (9).

Object 1 in an Actor Voice sentence becomes the subject of either Conveyance Voice or Goal Voice depending on the paradigm of each derivational verb. If a verb has only Conveyance Voice form (but no Goal Voice form), then the Object 1 NP in an Actor Voice sentence becomes the subject NP of the corresponding Conveyance Voice sentence such as *ake* 'water' in (8), while if a verb has Goal Voice form, it becomes the subject NP of the corresponding Goal Voice such as *Desi* in (9).

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(8) a *i-heis* *ma-pa-ihaʔ* *nu-ake* *ie* (AV, derivational verb, double-voiced, causative)
I-Heis MA-PA-hot NU-water this
'Heis will heat up this water'

b. *ake* *ie* *pa-pa-ihaʔ* *ni-heis* (GV)
water this pa-pa-hot NI-Heis
'This water will be heated up by Heis'

(9) a *isie* *na-ka-serei* *si-desi* (AV, derivational verb, double-voiced, potential)
I-3sg NA-KA-see SI-Desi
'S/he could see Desi'

b. *i-desi* *ni-ka-sere-an=ne* (GV)
I-Desi NI-KA-see-AN=NI-3sg
'Desi was seen by her/him'

Sentences with derivational triple-voiced verbs show regular voice alternation. An NP which is marked by *si-/su-/Ø* in an AV sentence becomes the subject of the corresponding GV sentence such *timbou nu-meja* in example (10)b. If an NP is marked by *ni-/nu-/Ø*, it becomes a subject of the corresponding CV sentence as exemplified by *anaʔ=ne* 'his/her child' in example (10)c. As for triple-voiced verbs, basic verbs and derivational verbs share the same rule of correlation between NP marking and voice selection.

(10) a. *i-yopi* *ma-pa-sakei* *nu-anaʔ=ne* *su-timbou* *nu-meja*
(AV, derivational verb, potential)
I-Yopi MA-PA-ride NU-child=NI.3sg SU-top NU-table
'Yopi puts his child on the table'

b. *timbou* *nu-meja* *pa-pa-sake-an* *ni-yopi* *nu-anaʔ ne* (GV)
top NU-table PA-PA-ride-AN NI-Yopi NU-child NI.3sg
'On the table, Yopi puts his child'

c. *anaʔ=ne* *pa-pa-sakei* *ni-yopi* *su-timbou* *nu-meja* (CV)
child=NI.3sg PA-PA-ride NI-Yopi SU-top NU-table
'His child is put on the table by Yopi'

Derivational verbs, in contrast to basic verbs, require their object 1 and object 2 to be marked even they are non-human NPs. In the case of double-voiced verbs which have Conveyance Voice forms, object 1 NP in an Actor Voice sentence is marked by either *ni-* (human singular) or *nu-* (human plural) as illustrated in example (8) above. If they have Goal Voice forms, the object 1 NP of an Actor Voice sentence is marked either by *si-* (human singular) or s*u-* (human plural) as in example (9) above.
As for triple-voiced verbs, object 1 NPs are always marked by *si-* (human singular) or *su-* (human plural and non-human), and object 2 NPs are always marked by *ni-* (human singular) or *nu-* (human plural and non-human) in Actor Voice sentences.

2.4. Correlation between Semantic Roles of the Subject NP and Voice Forms

There are correlations between the semantic features of the subject NP and the voice forms. Subject NPs of Actor Voice verbs are mainly ACTOR as in example (11) or EXPERIENCER as in example (12), and in the case of causative construction, they have the semantic role of CAUSER as in example (13). Subject NPs in examples (11) to (18) are boldfaced.

(11) ***i-kaes*** *ɾ-um-ampaŋ* *su-daɾen* (Subject = ACTOR)
I-Kaes UM-walk(AV) SU-road
'Kaes walks on the road'

(12) ***i-stefi*** *g-um-iridi?* (Subject = EXPERIENCER)
I-Stevy UM-be.pleased(AV)
‘ Stevy is pleased’

(13) ***i-yopi*** *na-paki-togasa?* *pahigi* *ene* *si-stenli* (Subject = CAUSER)
I-Yopi NA-CAUS-sharp(AV) knife that SI-Stenly
‘Yopi ordered Stenly to sharpen that knife

Most Subject NPs of Goal Voice verbs are PATIENT as in example (14), or LOCATION as in example (15), and in the case of causative constructions, CAUSEE as in example (16).

(14) ***babi ene*** *buno-n* *ni-deki* (Subject = PATIENT)
pig that kill-AN(GV) NI-Deki
‘That pig will be killed by Deki’

(15) ***daɾen ene*** *ɾampaŋ-en* *ni-kaes* (Sujbect = LOCATION)
road that walk-AN(GV) NI-Kaes
‘That road will be walked on by Kaes’

(16) ***i-stenli*** *paki-togas-en* *ni-yopi* *pahigi* *ene* (Subject = CAUSEE)
I-Stenly CAUS-shapr-AN(GV) NI-Yopi knife that
‘Stenly will be made to sharp that knife by Yopi’

Most Subject NPs of Conveyance Voice verbs are CONVEYED THEME as in example (17). In the case of applicative verbs, as we will see later, INSTRUMENT will appear as a subject as in example (18). In addition, there are cases in which PATIENT appears as Subject NP of Conveyance Voice sentences, typically in causative sentences, as in example (19).

(17) ***oto? ene*** *tondo* *nu-toumata* (Subject = CONVEYED THEME)
car that push NU-people
‘That car was pushed by people’

(18) ***batu ie*** *pa-maɾeŋ* *ni-heis* *su-uai* *ene* (Subject = INSTRUMENT)
stone this PAN-take NI-Heis SU-mango that
‘This stone will be used by Heis to take that mango’

(19 ***i-titin*** *papa-regei* *ni-ama?=ne* (Subject = PATIENT)
I-titin CAUS-laugh NI-father=NI.3sg
‘Titin was made to laugh by her father’

2.5. Summary: Morphology and Voice alternation in Bantik

Voice alternation in Bantik is quite regular as was previously mentioned. Core argument NPs are marked by noun-markers, and these markers suggest which voice form the NPs select when they become a subject NP. Single-voiced verbs have only Actor Voice forms as in example (5) above. These verbs select only one core argument.

Double-voiced verbs have two core arguments as in example (6) a and b above. The core arguments are subject and object 1 in an Actor Voice sentence. The latter is marked by the noun-marker *si-/su-*/Ø, and it becomes the subject NP in Undergoer Voice. In the case of *-um-/-im-* verbs, the Undergoer Voice is always in the Goal Voice form (‘Base-*An*’ for non-past, ‘*Ni*-Base-*AN*’ for past), but in the case of *maN-/naN-* verbs, it takes Goal Voice form in non-past tense (‘Base-*An*’) but Conveyance Voice form in past tense (‘*Ni*-Base).

Triple-voiced verbs have three core arguments, which are subject, object 1, and object 2, as found in example (7)a. Object 1 (*si-linda* in (7)a) gets the subject position of the Goal Voice (*i-linda* in (7)b) while object 2 (*doiti?* in (7)a) gets that of Conveyance Voice (*doiti?* in (7)c). Object 1 is *si-/su-*/Ø marked, and object 2 is *ni-/nu-*/Ø marked.

To summarize, the voice system in the Bantik language is quite regular and predictable. Semantic roles as well as noun-markers attached to NPs correlate with the choice of Undergoer Voice. The regular correlation pattern between the noun-markers and the voice forms of the verbs is worth noticing.

3. Derivational Verbs without an Actor Voice

As mentioned in section 2.3, four types of verbs, which are called Afflictive verbs, Benefactive verbs, Instrumental verbs and Locative verbs respectively, lack corresponding Actor Voice. Subject NPs of these verbs have specific semantic features. Afflictive verbs take the form '*ka-* + *base* + *-AN*'. They require their subject NPs to be 'negatively affected' by something. The bold faced NPs in examples (20) to (21) are the subject NPs which denote the negatively affected entity.

(20) ***i-rempis*** *ni-ka-daɾai?-an* *nu-ɾoda=ne* *ka na-ɾudaŋ* *batu* *ŋasa* *e*
I-Rempis NI-KA-bad-AN NU-cart=NI.-3sg because NA-load stone much E
'Rempis made his cart bad because he loaded too much stone'

(21) ***side*** *su-poposaden* *e?e* *ka-hutum-an* *te* *ada* *aya* *diŋan-en* *kan* (Afflictive Verb)
I-3pl SU-group that KA-hungry-AN TE if not bring-AN food
'Those people in that group (=working unit) will suffer from hunger if food is not brought'

The other types take the prefix *paN-* or *pa-*, and may have the same form as one of the Undergoer Voice forms of applicative verbs which will be explained in detail in section 4.
I will illustrate their syntactic behavior, and compare them with those of applicative verbs in the next section.

3.1. Instrumental Verbs

Instrumental verbs have the form '*pa-*＋base', and select NPs whose semantic role is INSTRUMENT. This form is the same as Conveyance Voice of applicative verbs which will be illustrated in section 4. In example (22), *patupatu* 'hoe' is INSTRUMENT, and functions as the subject of an Instrumental verb *pa-ŋi?aŋ* 'to lift'. Similarly, *batu ie* 'this stone' in example (23) is the subject of an Instrumental verb *pa-masa?* 'to crush'.

Instrumental verbs are quite productive. Most of the bases which form double-voiced verbs with the prefix *maN-/naN-* can derive Instrumental verbs, so many semantically transitive verbs take this verb form.

(22) ***patupatu*** *ene* *pa-ŋi?a= ku* *tana* (Instrumental verb)
hoe that PAN-lift=NI.1sg soil
'That hoe is used by me to lift soil'

(23) ***batu*** ***ie*** *pa-masa?* *ni-pasko* *hihi* *su-meja* *ie* (Instrumental verb)
stone this PAN-crush NI-Vasco almond SU-table this
'This stone will be used by Vasco to crush almond on this table'

3.2. Locative verbs

Locative verbs have the form '*pa-* + base + *-AN'*, and select NPs with the semantic role LOCATION as their subject NPs. They have the same form as the Goal Voice form of applicative verbs. Two examples are shown below for illustration.

Kadu in example (24) is the subject NP of the Locative verb *pa-ŋi?aŋ-en* 'to lift'. *Su-meja ene* is marked by *su-* although it functions as the subject of *ni-pa-ŋeɾo?-an* in example (25) (in this sentence, *su-* is necessary). Locative verbs, like Instrumental verbs, can be derived quite productively. Most of the bases which form double-voiced verbs with the prefix *maN-*/*naN-* can derive Locative verbs.

(24) ***kadu*** ***ie*** *pa-ŋi?aŋ-en=ku* *ɾabanen*
sack this PAN-lift-AN=NI.1sg sand
'This sack is the place where the sand is put by me in order to lift it'

(25) ***su-meja*** ***ene*** *ni-pa-ŋeɾo?-AN=ku* *ɾaku?*
SU-table that NI-PAN-iron-AN=NI.1sg clothes
'That table is where I ironed the clothes'

3.3. Benefactive verbs

Benefactive verbs select beneficiary NPs as their subjects, but they share the same morphology as Locative verbs. They take the form '*pa-/paN-* + base + *-AN'*.[9] A subject of a Benefactive verb should be human and

[9] The choice of prefixes between *pa-* and *paN-* when forming a Benefactive verb is determined by the category of bases. If the base take the infix *-um-/-im-* or the prefix *ma-/na-* when they form a basic verb, then it takes '*pa-* +

it is quite often the case that a subject indicates the owner of the things which undergo a beneficial change. Titin in sentence (26) is the owner of *barei* 'house' which will be built. Similarly, Heis in (27) is the owner of *busaʔ* 'banana' which was sold by Yopi and brought benefit to Heis. In example (28), the subject Santi may or may not own *patoroʔ* 'sugar cane', but in either case he benefitted from the splitting action of Yopi; he became able to eat the sugar cane.

(26) *i-titin* *pa-teŋed-an* *ni-stefi* *barei*
I-Titin PA-stand-AN NI-Stevy house
'Stevy will build a house for Titin (Lit.Titin will get a house which is built by Stevy)'

(27) *i-heis* *ni-pa-baru-an* *ni-yopi* *busaʔ*
I-Heis NI-PA-sell-AN NI-Yopi banana
'Yopi sold bananas for Heis (Lit. Heis had bananas sold by Yopi)'

(28) *i-santi* *ni-pa-made-n* *ni-yopi* *patoroʔ*
I-Santy NI-PAN-split-AN NI-Yopi sugar.cane
'Santy had a sugar cane split by Yopi'

Benefactive verbs are not so productive largely because of semantic restrictions. Verbs with the meaning of 'breaking' or 'destroying' are difficult to find situations where Benefactive forms are adequate. It is true that someone can demolish a house for someone else, but such situation is hardly occur.

In the next section, applicative verbs with the prefix *paN-* will be described and later compared with Instrumental, Locative, and Benefactive verbs exemplified above.

4. Applicative Verbs in Bantik

4.1. Morphology of applicative verbs

There are a small set of derivational verbs which can be called 'applicative verbs' in Bantik[10]. They are formed by the prefix *paN-* and verb-forming bases. There are many prefixes in reconstructed Proto-Austronesian which have /p/ sound (Ross 1995 and 2002 among others). Among them are prefixes with causative, Instrumental and locational meanings. Prefixes similar or identical to *paN-* are found in other Sangiric micro-group languages to which Bantik belongs. Sangir has *pa-* and *paN-*, which are described by Mariott (1977) as 'indicating indirectness'. He showed that *pa-/paN-* attached verbs show indirect events such as causative action in which the CAUSER does not do the action him/herself but makes the CAUSEE do it instead. In Talaud, I found only *pa-*, which is attached to verb bases to derive causative verbs. However, applicative verbs are not found in either of the languages. The function of *pa-/paN-* in Ratahan (Toratán) language is described in Himmelmann & Wolff 1999. Pa- is described as a verb stem former and a causative verb former and paN- is described as a verb stem former. Neither of them are described as applicative prefix. It seems that Bantik is unique in having *paN-* attached applicative verbs.

Derivation with *paN-* to form Locative and Instrumental verbs are productive whereas that to form Applicative verbs is not. So far, only around thirty verb-forming bases have been found which undergo applicative derivation. The exhaustive list of applicative verbs attested is shown in Table 2. Table 3 shows only a part of verb-forming bases which do not undergo applicative derivation, but have similar semantic features as the ones listed in Table 2. Applicative verbs take the prefix *paN-*[11]. Typical applicative verbs in Bantik have three voice forms, so they are 'triple-voiced'.

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base + -AN' to form a Benefactive verb. In contrast, a base which takes *maN-/naN-* when it is a basic verb takes the form '*paN-* + base + -AN' to form a Benefactive verb.

[10] Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000 explains a typical applicative derivation as follows. A transitive verb, which originally had patient NP as an object, takes another NP as a new object, and the original patient NP becomes oblique. However, there are atypical applicative derivations as well. Applicative derivation in Bantik is not typical since an original object NP which denote patient does not become oblique but stays 'object' of the applicative verb. I would still like to call this derivation 'applicative', partly for the ease of understanding but partly because the new object NPs in the applicative construction has typical semantic roles such as LOCATION and INSTRUMENT which appear in applicative construction in many other languages.

[11] /N/ in the prefix *paN-* is realized as either insertion of a nasal which is homorganic with the base or nasal substitution of the first consonant of the base. In Bantik phonemic structure, only stops, /b, p, d, t, g, k/, and /s/ have nasal counterpart /m, n, ŋ/. As a result, the bases which begin with /h/ and /ɾ / are never get nasalized. In this discussion, bases with transitive meaning and begin with /h/ or /ɾ /, such as *ɾ utaŋ* 'shoot' and *hata* 'behead', are regarded to undergo applicative derivation to form *ma-pa-ɾ utaŋ* and *ma-pa-hata*, even though no

The prefix *paN-* is used in the following four types of applicative derivations.

(A) Deriving applicative verbs
(B) Deriving Benefactive verbs
(C) Deriving Locative verbs
(D) Deriving Instrumental verbs

Only 3 and 4 are said to be a productive derivation. Most verb-forming bases can be derived to become Locative verbs and Instrumental verbs. On the other hand, only limited derivation is observed as for 1 and 2. The bases which derive applicative verbs count up to only 16 %, or 27 bases out of 165 semantically double-voiced verb-forming bases attested for this study. Applicative derivation is by no means productive, and does not play a crucial role in Bantik structure. It is a limited means of producing new words.

Most of the bases which form applicative verbs are semantically double-voiced, and form double-voiced verbs when the prefix *maN-/naN-* is attached. When *paN-* is attached to these bases, triple-voiced applicative verbs with three core arguments (Subject, Object 1, Obect 2) are formed. For example, from a double-voiced verb *ma-mareŋ*, whose base is *pareŋ*, an applicative verb *ma-pa-mareŋ* is formed. Valency changes when a base undergoes applicative derivation. Applicative verbs are typically 'triple-voiced' in that they have three voice forms and three core arguments.

There are two types of exceptions though. First, two bases which form double-voiced verbs with the infix *-um-/-im-*, specifically *kan* 'eat' and *inuŋ* 'drink', do take *paN-* to form applicative verbs but these applicative verbs take only two core arguments. The valency does not change for these two exceptions.
Second, some bases do not seem to realize /N/ in *paN-*, and do not have a nasal after /pa/. For example, *ma-kiso* 'rub' → *ma-pa-kiso* 'rub something on somewhere' and *ma-kari* 'bury' → *ma-pa-kari* 'bury something at somewhere'. I regard these verbs with *pa-* to be applicative verbs since there is a change in valency.
Bases which form basic triple-voiced verbs do not undergo applicative derivation. Bantik voice system has three voices at most, so it is impossible to add one more core argument and a voice form. However, there is one idiosyncratic exception to this statement, which will be commented on later.

Table 2: A list of double-voiced verbs and *paN-* attached applicative verbs ('st' in the list stands for 'something', so 'someone', and 'sw' somewhere. Type 1 applicative verbs take INSTRUMENT as a new core argument, and type 2 applicative verbs take LOCATION as a new core argument.)

Applicative verbs derived from *maN-/ naN-* attached double-voiced verbs: Type 1			
Base	**Meaning**	**Appllicative verb**	**Meaning**
pareŋ	take (by throwing st)	*pareŋ*	T1: take st by throwing st
turi	touch	*ma-pa-nuri*	T1: touch with st
baehe?	pay for st	*ma-pa-maehe?*	T1: pay with st to so
popoi	cradle	*ma-pa-mopoi*	T1: cradle with st
barukin	carry st on back	*ma-pa-marukin*	T1: carry st on sw
bohe?	write	*ma-pa-mohe?*	T1: write st with st
buŋaŋ	flower, decorate	*ma-pa-muŋaŋ*	T1: decorate st with st
turubu	close	*ma-pa-nurubu*	T1: cover st with st
susu?	pierce	*ma-pa-nusu?*	T1: pierce st with st
sogere	drop	*ma-pa-nogere*	T1: drop st with st
saŋkoi	cultivate	*ma-pa-naŋkoi*	T1: cultivate sw with st
kudu?	pinch	*ma-pa-ŋudu?*	T1: pinch st with st
hirau	mix	*ma-pa-hirau*	T1: mix st with st
bantui	tease	*ma-pa-mantui*	T1: tease so with st
toliŋkuan	exchange	*ma-pa-hi-toliŋkuan*	T1: exchange st with st

nasals appear after /pa/. This is because these derivational verbs show the same semantic and syntactic features as other applicative verbs with nasals.

Applicative verbs derived from single-voiced verbs: Type 1			
Base	**Meaning**	**Appllicative verb**	**Meaning**
poto?	cross	*ma-pa-moto?*	make so cross sw
Applicative verbs formed from double-voiced verbs: Type 2			
Base	**Meaning**	**Appllicative verb**	**Meaning**
mada	dry	*ma-pa-mada*	T2: dry on st
pandaŋ	test	*ma-pa-mandaŋ*	T2: test st on st
sohobo?	flame	*ma-pa-nohobo?*	T2: flame st at sw
dahuŋ	sew	*ma-paN-dahuŋ*	T2: sew st on st
barukin	carry.on.shoulder	*ma-pa-marukin*	T2: carry st on sw
suhe	wear	*ma-pa-nuhe*	T2: wear st on sw(so)
seba	borrow	*ma-pa-neba*	T2: lend st to so
bau	smell	*ma-pa-bau*	T2: make so smell st
kiso	rub	*ma-pa-kiso*	T2: rub st on sw
kari	bury	*ma-pa-kari*	T2: bury st at sw
Applicative verbs formed from *-um-/-im-* attached double-voiced verbs			
kan	eat	*ma-pa-ŋan*	eat st (with rice)
inuŋ	drink	*ma-paŋ-inuŋ*	eat st (with tea or coffee)

Table 3: Examples of verbs which do not undergo applicative derivation

Base	**Basic verb**	**Meaning**
pokei	*ma-mokei*	call
buno	*ma-muno*	kill
pire	*ma-mire*	select
pudu?	*ma-mudu?*	pick.up
bini?	*ma-mini?*	peel
bika	*ma-mika*	open
pasa?	*ma-masa?*	crush
buŋkaha?	*ma-muŋkaha?*	break (big things)
baŋon	*ma-maŋon*	build, wake.up so
baka	*ma-maka*	split
bokou	*ma-mokou*	wash (clothes)
paidi?	*ma-maidi?*	wipe
boaga?	*ma-moaga?*	beat
tukusu?	*ma-nukusu?*	wrap
tekoso?	*ma-nekoso?*	steal
tabasa?	*ma-nabasa?*	slaughter
sambaga?	*ma-nambaga?*	help mutually
ki?aŋ	*ma-ŋi?aŋ*	lift
karimu?	*ma-ŋarimu?*	make
darai?	*man-darai?*	break
tu'hu?	*man-tuhu?*	arrange
dayou	*man-dayou*	praise
dadiha	*man-dadiha*	torture

4.2. An overview of applicative verb constructions

An applicative verb normally requires one more core argument when compared to its basic verb counterpart. Example (29) show Actor Voice and Goal Voice sentence of a basic verb *ma-mareŋ*. Semantic roles of core arguments are ACTOR and PATIENT. When *paN-* is attached to this verb, an applicative verb is formed and it requires three core arguments, subject, object 1, and object 2 as in example (30). The basic verb takes only two voices, but in the applicative construction, three voice forms are possible (Actor Voice (30)a, Goal Voice (30)b, and Conveyance Voice (30)c). As mentioned in section 2.3.2, a *si-/su-*marked NP in an Actor Voice sentence becomes the subject of a Goal Voice sentence, and the *ni-/nu-* marked NP becomes the subject of a Conveyance Voice sentence. Please note that every object is marked by a noun-marker in an

applicative construction, in contrast with basic verb constructions where object NPs denoting non-human entities are not marked by a noun-marker). The newly introduced argument is INSTRUMENT, that is, *batu ie* 'this stone'. It is marked by *nu-* and functions as object 2.

(29) a *i-heis* *ma-maɾeŋ* *uai* *ene* (basic verb, double-voiced, AV)
I-Heis MAN-take.by.throwing mango that
'Heis takes that mango by throwing'

b *uai* *ene* *pareŋ-an* *ni-heis* (basic verb, double-voiced, GV)
mango that take-AN NI-Heis
'That mango will be taken by Heis'

(30) a *i-heis* *ma-pa-maɾeŋ* *nu-batu* *ie* *su-uai* *ene* (applicative, triple-voiced, AV)
I-Heis MA-PAN-take NU-stone this SU-mango that
'Heis will take mango by (throwing) this stone'

b *uai* *pa-maɾeŋ-an* *ni-heis* *nu-batu* *ie* (applicative, triple-voiced, GV)
mango PAN-take-AN NI-Heis NU-stone this
'That mango will be taken by Heis by (throwing) this stone'

c *batu* *ie* *pa-maɾeŋ* *ni-heis* *su-uai* *ene* (applicative, triple-voiced, CV)
stone this PAN-take NI-Heis SU-mango that
'This stone will be used by Heis to take that mango'

In the following section, I will illustrate two types of newly introduced argument, INSTRUMENT and LOCATION, and show the difference between double-voiced basic verb constructions and triple-voiced applicative constructions.

4.3. Applicative constructions with INSTRUMENT as a new core argument

In one type of applicative construction, there are three core arguments which indicate ACTOR, PATIENT, and INSTRUMENT. An NP which denotes ACTOR is the subject of an Actor Voice sentence, and an NP which denotes PATIENT is object 1, and an NP which denotes INSTRUMENT is object 2. PATIENT NP gets subject position in the Goal Voice sentence, and INSTRUMENT NP becomes the subject of the Conveyance Voice sentence.

If we compare a basic verb construction (31) and an applicative construction (32), we notice that *si-/su-* marked object 1 (PATIENT) in the basic verb construction (31)a remains as object 1 in the applicative construction (32)a. The newly added argument INSTRUMENT (*tikin* 'stick') gets the position of object 2 as in (32)a, and it becomes the subject of Conveyance Voice sentence as in (32)c. The same phenomenon is observed in example (29) and (30) in the last section.

(31) a *i-heis* *ma-nuɾi* *su-kapuna* *ene* (basic verb, double-voiced, AV)
I-Heis MAN-touch SU-dog that
'Heis touches that dog'

b *kapuna* *tuɾi-an* *ni-heis* (basic verb, double-voiced, GV)
dog touch-AN NI-Heis
'That dog is touched by Heis'

(32) a *i-heis* *ma-pa-nuɾi* *nu-tikin* *su-kapuna* *ene* (applicative, triple-voiced, AV)
I-Heis MA-PAN-touch NU-stick SU-dog that
'Heis touches that dog with the stick'

b *kapuna* *ene* *pa-nuɾi-an* *ni-heis* *nu-tikin* (applicative, triple-voiced, GV)
dog that PAN-touch-AN NI-Heis NU-stick
'That dog is touched by Heis with the stick'

c *tikin* *pa-nuɾi* *ni-heis* *su-kapuna* *ene* (applicative, triple-voiced, CV)
stick PAN-touch NI-Heis SU-dog that
'The stick is used by Heis to touch that dog'

The correlation between core arguments of a basic verb construction and an applicative verb construction is illustrated in table 4.

Table 4: Applicative construction with newly added INSTRUMENTAL argument

Double-voiced basic verb construction				
AV	**Subject**	**Verb**		**Object 1**
Semantic role	ACTOR			PATIENT
Non-past	*i-*/Ø + NP	*maN*-Base		*si-/su-*/Ø +NP
Past	*i-*/Ø + NP	*naN*-Base		*si-/su-*/Ø +NP
Triple-voiced applicative verb construction				
AV	**Subject**	**Verb**	**Object 2**	**Object 1**
Semantic role	ACTOR		INSTRUMENT	PATIENT
Non-past	*i-*/Ø + NP	*ma-paN*-Base	*ni-/nu-* NP	*si-/su-* +NP
Past	*i-*/Ø + NP	*na-paN*-Base	*ni-/nu-* NP	*si-/su-* +NP
GV	**Subject**	**Verb**	**Actor**	**Object 2**
Semantic role	PATIENT		ACTOR	INSTRUMENT
Non-past	*i-*/Ø + NP	*paN*-Base-*AN*	*ni-/nu-* NP	*ni-/nu-* NP
Past	*i-*/Ø + NP	*ni-paN*-Base-*AN*	*ni-/nu-* NP	*ni-/nu-* NP
CV	**Subject**	**Verb**	**Actor**	**Object 1**
Semantic role	INSTRUMENT		ACTOR	PATIENT
Non-past	*i-*/Ø + NP	*paN*-Base	*ni-/nu-* NP	*si-/su-* +NP
Past	*i-*/Ø + NP	*ni-paN*-Base	*ni-/nu-* NP	*si-/su-* +NP

Sometimes semantic roles of object 1 differ between a basic verb construction and an applicative verb construction. In example (33)a, a basic verb construction, object 1 is PATIENT (*bohe?*, 'letter'), but in example (33)b, an applicative construction, object 1 is LOCATION (*kahatasa?* 'paper). A newly added argument, *potlot* 'pen' in applicative construction (33)b is INSTRUMENT as in example (32) given above.

(33) a *i-stenli* *ma-mohe?* *bohe?* *(su-kahatasa?)* (basic verb, double-voiced, AV)
I-Stenly MAN-write letter (SU-paper)
'Stenly writes a letter (on the paper)'

b *i-stenli* *ma-pa-mohe?* *nu-potlot* *su-kahatasa?* (applicative, triple-voiced, AV)
I-Stenly MA-PAN-write NU-pen SU-paper
'Stenly writes with a pen on the paper'

The meaning of the noun-marker *ni-/nu-* seems to play a role in deciding the meaning of the newly added argument. The noun-marker *ni-/nu-* always marks an NP which appears after *age?* 'with' as in (34)a[12]. It is often the case that *age?* is omitted but the noun-marker still marks the instrument NP, which is not a core argument as observed in example (34)b.

(34) a *ia?* *ma-mokou* *ɾaku?* *age?* *nu-sabun* (basic verb, double-voiced, AV)
I-1sg MAN-wash clothes with NU-soap
'I wash clothes with soap'

b *ia?* *ma-mokou* *ɾaku?* *nu-sabun* (basic verb, double-voiced, AV)
I-1sg MAN-wash clothes NU-soap
'I wash clothes with soap'

4.4. Applicative constructions with LOCATION

In the second type of applicative construction, LOCATION is newly added as an object 1. The original object 1 in basic verb construction, which denotes PATIENT, becomes object 2 in an applicative construction. For example, *pisou=ne* 'his/her knife' in example (35) is object 1 and denotes PATIENT.

[12] The noun-marker *ni-/nu-* always appears between any preposition and an NP which is its object. For example, after *bua* 'from' and *timbou* 'over', *ni-/nu-* will appear. It should be noted that its distribution is not limited to after *age?*.

This gets marked with *nu-* in an applicative construction (36)a, and becomes the subject of Conveyance Voice as illustrated in (36)c. The same situation is observed in examples (37) and (38). Object 1 in a basic verb construction, *kandaha?* 'copra', denotes PATIENT. When this NP appears in an applicative construction, it gets the object 2 position, and the newly introduced argument *ɾikudu?=ne* 'his back', which denotes LOCATION, gets object 1 position in an Actor Voice sentence.

(35) a *i-remi* *ma-mandaŋ* *pisou=ne* (basic verb, double-voiced, AV)
I-Remi MA-test knife=NI.3sg
'Remi tries his knife'

b *pisou=ne* *padam-en* *ni-remi* (basic verb, double-voiced, GV)
knife=NI.3sg test-AN NI-Remi
'His knife is tried by Remi'

(36) a *i-remi* *ma-pa-mandaŋ* *nu-pisou=ne* *su-pun* *nu-teriŋ* (applicative, triple-voiced, AV)
I-Remi MA-PAN-test NU-knife=NI.3sg SU-tree NU-bamboo
'Remi tries his knife on the bamboo'

b *pun* *nu-teriŋ* *pa-mandam-en* *ni-remi* *nu-piso=ne* (applicative, triple-voiced, GV)
tree NU-bamboo PAN-test-AN NI-Remi NU-knife=NI.3sg
'On the bamboo Remi tries his knife'

c *pisou=ne* *pa-mandaŋ* *ni-remi* *su-pun* *nu-teriŋ* (applicative, triple-voiced, CV)
knife=NI-3sg PAN-test NI-Remi SU-tree NU-bamboo
'His knife is tried by Remi on the bamboo'

(37) a *i-pasko* *ma-maɾukin* *kandaha?* (basic verb, double-voiced, AV)
I-Vasco MAN-carry.on.back copra
'Vasco will carry the copra on his back'

b *kandaha?* *baɾukin-an* *ni-pasko* (basic verb, double-voiced, AV)
copra carry-AN NI-Vasco
'The copra will be carried by Vasco'

(38) a *i-heis* *ma-pa-maɾukin* *nu-kandaha?* *su-ɾikudu?* *ni-pasko* (applicative, triple-voiced, AV)
I-Heis MA-PAN-carry NU-copra SU-back NI-Vasco
'Heis puts copra on Vasco's back to be carried'

b *ɾikudu?* *ni-pasko* *pa-maɾukin-an* *ni-heis* *nu-kandaha?* (applicative, triple-voiced, GV)
back NI-Vasco PAN-carry NI-Heis NU-copra
'It is on Vasco's back that Heis puts copra to be carried'

c *kandaha?* *pa-maɾukin* *ni-heis* *su-ɾikudu?* *ni-pasko* (applicative, triple-voiced, CV)
copra PAN-carry NI-Heis SU-back NI-Vasco
'The copra is put by Heis on Vasco's back'

Table 5 shows the above correlation between basic verb constructions and the applicative counterparts.

Table 5: Applicative construction with newly added LOCATION argument

Double-voiced basic verb construction				
AV	**Subject**	**Verb**		**Object 1**
Semantic role	ACTOR			PATIENT
Non-past	*i-*/Ø + NP	*maN*-Base		*si-/su-*/Ø +NP
Past	*i-*/Ø + NP	naN-Base		*si-/su-*/Ø +NP
Triple-voiced applicative verb construction				
AV	**Subject**	**Verb**	**Object 1**	**Object 2**
Semantic role	ACTOR		PATIENT	LOCATION
Non-past	*i-*/Ø + NP	*ma-paN*-Base	*ni-/nu-* +NP	*si-/su-* +NP
Past	*i-*/Ø + NP	*na-paN*-Base	*ni-/nu-* +NP	*si-/su-* +NP
GV	**Subject**	**Verb**	**Actor**	**Object 2**
Semantic role	LOCATION		ACTOR	PATIENT
Non-past	Ø + NP	*paN*-Base-*AN*	*ni-/nu-* NP	*ni-/nu-* NP
Past	Ø + NP	*ni-paN*-Base-*AN*	*ni-/nu-* NP	*ni-/nu-* NP
CV	**Subject**	**Verb**	**Actor**	**Object 1**
Semantic role	PATIENT		ACTOR	LOCATION
Non-past	*i-*/Ø + NP	*paN*-Base	*ni-/nu-* NP	*si-/su-* +NP
Past	*i-*/Ø + NP	*ni-paN*-Base	*ni-/nu-* NP	*si-/su-* +NP

4.5. Causative-like Applicative Verbs

The examples below show the third type of applicative derivation. Few applicative verbs show a semantic feature similar to causative verbs. Example (39) shows the usage of *ma-nuhe* 'to wear', with core argument NPs ACTOR and PATIENT. When the prefix *paN-* is attached, an applicative verb is formed. In these sentences, core argument NPs denote CAUSER, CAUSEE, and PATIENT, as shown in example (40)a.

(40) a *i-aŋga* *ma-nuhe* *ɾaku?* (basic verb, double-voiced, AV)
I-Angga MAN-wear clothes
'Anga wears clothes'

b *ɾaku?* *suhe-n* *ni-aŋga* (basic verb, double-voiced, GV)
clothes wear-AN NI-Angga
'Clothes are worn by Angga'

(41) a *i-pasko* *ma-pa-nuhe* *nu-ɾaku?* *si-aŋga* (applicative, triple-voiced, AV)
I-Vasco MA-PAN-wear NU-clothes SI-Angga
'Vasco dresses Angga'

b *i-aŋga* *pa-nuhe-n* *ni-pasko* *nu-ɾaku?* (applicative, triple-voiced, GV)
I-Angga PAN-wear-AN NI-Vasco NU-clothes
'Angga is dressed by Vasco'

c *ɾaku?* *pa-nuhe* *ni-pasko* *si-aŋga* (applicative, triple-voiced, CV)
clothes PAN-wear NI-Vasco SI-Angga
'Vasco dresses Angga'

Similarly, from *ma-neba* 'rent (from someone)' in example (42)a, whose core arguments are ACTOR (the person who pays the rent) and PATIENT (the thing s/he pays rent for), *ma-pa-neba* 'rent to someone' is derived as shown in (43)b. In this case, the subject of the Actor Voice sentence changes its semantic role from ACTOR in a basic verb construction to CAUSER in an applicative construction. So the semantic roles in a derived construction are CAUSER, CAUSEE and PATIENT, just like example (41).

(42) a *ia?* *ma-neba* *barei* (basic verb, double-voiced, AV)
I-1sg MAN-rent house
'I rent house (from someone)'

b *ia?* *ma-pa-neba* *nu-barei* *si-pasko* (applicative, triple-voiced, AV)
I-1sg MA-PA-rent NU-house SI-Vasco
'I rent house to Vasco (Lit. I made Vasco to pay the rent).'

4.6. Irregular Applicative Derivation

Exceptionally, a couple of verb-forming bases which take the infix *-um-/-im-* undergo applicative derivation. These applicative verbs exhibit irregular derivation in that they do not show a change in valency when compared with basic verbs. Only the semantics of the verbs and core NPs are different. In both the original basic verb construction shown in (43) and the applicative construction in (44), ACTOR and PATIENT are the core arguments. But the meaning of the verb is different. The original basic verb, *k-um-an*, means 'to eat', but the derived applicative verb, *ma-pa-ŋan*, means 'to eat (rice) with something'.

(43) a *i-remi* *k-um-an* *kinasaʔ* (basic verb, double-voiced, AV)
I-Remi UM-eat fish
'Remi eats fish'

b *kinasaʔ* *kan-en* *ni-remi* (basic verb, double-voiced, GV)
fish eat-AN NI-Remi
'The fish is eaten by Remi'

(44) a *i-remi* *ma-pa-ŋan* *nu-kinasaʔ* (applicative, double-voiced, AV)
I-Remi MA-PAN-kan NU-fish
'Remi eats fish as part of a meal (Lit. Remi eats fish to go with rice)'

b *kinasaʔ* *pa-ŋan* *ni-remi* (applicative, double-voiced, GV)
fish PAN-kan NI-Remi
'The fish is eaten by Remi as part of a meal (Lit. fish is eaten by Remi to go with rice)'

Similarly, form the basic verb *ma-ŋinuŋ* 'to drink' in example (45), an applicative verb *ma-pa-ŋinuŋ* 'to drink (tea or coffee) with something' in example (46) is derived.

(45) a *i-aŋga* *ma-ŋinuŋ* *kopi* (basic verb, double-voiced, AV)
I-Angga MA-drink coffee
'Angga drinks coffee'

b *kopi inum-an ni-aŋga* (basic verb, double-voiced, GV)
coffee drink-AN NI-Angga
'The coffee is drunk by Angga'

(46) a *i-aŋga* *ma-pa-ŋinuŋ* *nu-kukisiʔ* (applicative verb, double-voiced, AV)
I-Angga MA-drink NU-cake
'Angga drinks (coffee or tea) to go with cake'

b *kukisiʔ* *pa-ŋinuŋ* *ni-aŋga* (applicative, double-voiced, GV)
cake PAN-drink NI-Angga
'The cake is eaten by Angga to go with coffee/tea'

5. Applicative Verbs and Other Verbs

5.1. Instrumental verbs and Locative verbs

As mentioned in previous sections, Goal Voice forms of applicative verbs have the same form as Locative verbs (*paN-* + base + -AN) and Conveyance Voice forms have the same form as Instrumental verbs (*paN-* + base). There are two reasons for making this distinction.

First, Instrumental verbs and Locative verbs do not have corresponding Actor Voice constructions, as shown in example (47)a and (48)a, in contrast with example (49)a in which an applicative verb takes Actor Voice. Second, the syntactic features of applicative constructions are subtly different from those of Instrumental verb constructions and Locative verb constructions. Every object NP in an applicative construction is marked by either *si-/su-* or n*i-*/nu as *potlot* and *kahatasaʔ* in examples (49)a, b and c. However, as clearly shown in examples (47)b and (48)b, in Instrumental verb constructions there is no object NP, and even when a complement appears in a sentence, the complement NP, such as *tana* in example (47)b and *hihi* in example (48)b, does not get marked by a noun-marker.

(47) **ma-pa-ŋiʔaŋ*
MA-PAN-lift
b *patupatu ene pa-ŋiʔaŋ=ku tana* (Instrumental verb construction)
hoe that PAN-lift=NI.1sg soil
'That hoe is used by me to lift soil'

(48) a **ma-pa-masaʔ*
MA-PAN-crush
b. *batu ie pa-masaʔ ni-pasko hihi* (Instrumental verb construction)
stone this PAN-crush NI-Vasco almond
'This stone will be used by Vasco to crush almonds'

(49) a *i-stenli ma-pa-mohеʔ nu-potlot su-kahatasaʔ* (applicative, triple-voiced, AV)
I-Stenly MA-PA-write NU-pen SU-paper
'Stenly writes with a pen on the paper'

b *kahatasaʔ pa-mohеʔ-an ni-stenli nu-potlot* (applicative, triple-voiced, GV)
paper PA-write-AN NI-Stenly NU-pen

c *potlot pa-mohеʔ ni-stenli su-kahatasaʔ* (applicative, triple-voiced, CV)
pen PA-write NI-Stenly SU-paper

The same difference can be observed between Locative verbs and Goal Voice forms of applicative constructions. The complements in examples (50) (*hihi* 'almond') and (51)a (*baŋo* 'coconut') are not marked by a noun-marker, and there is no Actor Voice counterpart for Locative verbs *pa-masaʔ-en* and *pa-muduʔ-an*. As shown in (50), it is often the case that *nu*, the grammatical element which behaves as a complementizer and relativizer, is situated right after the subject NP in a Locative construction.

(50) a *su-meja ie nu pa-masaʔ-en ni-pasko hihi* (Locative verb construction)
SU-table this NU PAN-crush-AN NI-Vasco almond
'On that table, Vasco will crush almonds'

b **ma-pa-masaʔ*
MA-PAN-crush

(51) a *sankoi ni-linda pa-muduʔ-an=ne baŋo* (Locative verb construction)
yard NI-Linda PAN-pick=NI.3sg coconut
'Linda's yard is where she will pick up coconuts'

b **ma-pa-muduʔ*
MA-PA-pick

To conclude, Instrumental verbs and Locative verbs have morphology that is identical with the Undergoer Voice forms of applicative verbs, but syntactically they show different behavior. In addition, they do not have *ma-*/*na-* marked Actor Voice forms. From this syntactic evidence, I categorize applicative verbs differently from these verbs that lack Actor Voice forms.

5.2. Benefactives and Applicatives in Bantik

It is often pointed out that, typologically speaking, it is an NP with the semantic role of BENEFICIARY that is the most likely newly introduced core argument in an applicative construction (Polinsky 2011, Shibatani 2006, among others). Cross-linguistic tendency suggests that INSTRUMENT and LOCATION are also very likely to be the newly introduced core argument, but BENERICIARY NPs are preferred more often (Polinsky *ibid*.). In Bantik applicative constructions, however, we cannot find a beneficiary core argument, but mostly instrument and location. Because it shows a typologically infrequent pattern, I am obliged to refer to the Benefactive construction once again.

There are two constructions in which beneficiary NPs appear. First, as already mentioned in section 3.3, a Benefactive verb may be employed when a BENEFICIARY NP is posited in the subject position. Some more Benefactive sentences are shown in example (52) and (53). The boldfaced NPs in these sentences are the subject NP with a BENEFICIARY semantic role.

(52) ***i-pasko*** *ni-pa-ŋero?-an=ku* *ɾaku?* (Benefactive construction)
I-Vasco NI-PAN-iron-AN=NI.1sg clothes
'Vasco had his clothes ironed by me'

(53) ***i-ama?=ku*** *pa-hiŋa?-en=ku* *kinasa?* (Benefactive construction)
I-father=NI.1sg PA-cook-AN=NI.1sg fish
'My father will have me cook fish for him (=My father will be given fish that is cooked by me'

Second, beneficiary NPs can appear with the suffix *si-/su-* in a certain set of verbs. *Ana?=ku* 'my child' in (54) and *pasko* in (55) denote someone who benefited from the action expressed by the verbs.

(54) *ia?* *ma-maca* *buk* *su-ana?=ku* (basic verb with a beneficiary NP)
I.1sg MAN-read book SU-child=NI.1sg
'I will read a book for my child'

(55) i*sie* *ma-ɾuan* *salana* *si-pasko* (basic verb with a beneficiary NP)
I.3sg MAN-buy trousers SI-Vasco
'He will buy trousers for Vasco'

Since there are two ways in which a BENEFICIARY NP can appear, there might be little motivation for expressing a BENEFICIARY entity by an applicative construction. I assume this is the reason why Bantik applicative construction fails to make BENEFICIARY NPs core arguments.

6. Summary

In this paper, I have discussed applicative verbs and applicative constructions in Bantik. Firstly, applicative verbs are mostly triple-voiced, and take one more core argument and one more voice form compared to sentences with corresponding basic verbs. The newly-added argument is typically instrument or location. There are also several cases of idiosyncratic derivations, such as causative.

Second, applicative derivation in Bantik is not productive and does not play an important role in the structure of the language. It is best to see applicative verbs as a limited way of word-formation.

Third, Undergoer Voice forms of applicative verbs have the same forms as Instrumental verbs and Locative verbs, however they show morpho-syntactic differences which make it safe to divide them into distinct categories.

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