

## CHAPTER 4

### The Applicative Construction Derived From Pseudo-Transitive Verbs and Cognate-Object Transitive Verbs

#### 4.1 Introduction

The properties of Innu-aimun TI-derived applicative constructions have now been outlined. In section 4.2 of this chapter the properties of TI<sup>2</sup>-derived applicatives are discussed. It will be shown that TI<sup>2</sup> verbs display the same properties as TI verbs and form applicative constructions in the same way as the verbs seen in Chapter Three. Piggott's (1989) analysis of Ojibwa TI<sup>2</sup> verbs as true transitive verbs will be outlined and applied to Innu-aimun.<sup>i</sup> TI<sup>2</sup> verbs are important to the discussion of both applicative and causative formation.

In section 4.3 a small subset of morphologically intransitive verbs from which applicatives can be derived are discussed. I have called these 'Cognate-object Transitive' (COT) verbs because, although syntactically intransitive, logically a cognate object is implied; for example, 'I eat (food)', 'I sing (a song)', 'I dance (a dance)'.<sup>ii</sup>

#### 4.2. The TI<sup>2</sup>-derived Applicative Construction

Innu-aimun TI<sup>2</sup> verbs were discussed in Chapter Two where it was shown that, in spite of their intransitive (AI) morphology, they are syntactically transitive; their object must be inanimate. In addition, the fact that TI<sup>2</sup> verbs form applicatives adds support to the hypothesis that they are transitive; it is possible that objects of TI<sup>2</sup> verbs get Case in the same way as TI objects get Case. Wolfart (1973, 75) states the following for Plains Cree TI<sup>2</sup>-derived applicatives.

The final *-au-* also derives transitive animate stems from syntactically transitive AI stems. ... Thus, *nahashtaa-* 'place it right, put it away': TA *nahashtaaueeu* 'he places it right for him'... This is obviously an area of extreme productivity...

The data collected for this thesis indicates that this is also a productive area in Innu-aimun. Not only do Innu-aimun TI<sup>2</sup> verbs form applicative constructions freely, the underlying object and the applied object of the derived construction show exactly the same characteristics as TI-derived applicatives. Example (54) is a TI<sup>2</sup> verb.

- (54) **Niuaashkamiitaan miitshuaap.**  
ni-uaashkam-**iit**-aa-n-∅ miitshuaap-∅  
1-clean-**CAUS**-Aifin-SUBnon3-SUBsg:AI building-  
PROX\_SG(inan)  
'I clean the building.'

An applicative construction is derived by adding -au and an applied NP.

- (55) **Niuaashkamiituaau ishkujeu miitshuaapinu.**  
ni-uaashkam-**iit-au**-aa-u-∅  
1-clean-**CAUS-APP**-TAth-SUBsg/OBJ3-OBJsg:TA
- ishkujeu-∅                    miitshuaap-inu  
woman-PROX\_SG(an)    building-OBV\_INAN\_SG
- 'I clean the building for the woman.'

(55) differs from Wolfart's example (above) only in that it also contains the causative morpheme -iit. As in a TI-derived applicative, the inflectional morphology is TA, the underlying object miitshuaap 'house' becomes obviative, and the applied object ishkujeu 'woman' is proximate and bears the oblique theta role, benefactor.<sup>iii</sup> Number and animacy agreement are with the applied object ishkujeu, indicating that miitshuaapinu has lost its object status.

- (56) **Niuaashkamiituaaut ishkujeut miitshuaapinu.**  
ni-uaashkam-**iit-au**-aa-u-at  
1-clean-**CAUS-APP**-TAth-SUBsg/OBJ3-OBJpl:TA
- ishkujeu-at                    miitshuaap-inu  
woman-PROX\_AN\_PL    building-OBV\_INAN\_SG
- 'I clean the building for the women.'

The examples in (57) show the same behaviour. (57a) is a TI<sup>2</sup> verb, and in (57b) the applicative morpheme -au appears

together with the plural benefactive applied object,  
triggering plural agreement on the verb.

(57a) **Ninekaatshipaniitaan utaapaan.**  
ni-nekaatshipani-**it**-aa-n-∅  
1-slow\_down-**CAUS**-Aifin-SUBnon3-SUBsg:AI  
  
utaapaan-∅  
car-PROX\_SG(inan)  
  
'I slow the car down.'

(57b) **Ninekaatshipaniituaaut utaapaaninu naapeut.**  
ni-nekaatshipani-**it**-**au**-aa-u-at  
1-slow\_down-**CAUS**-**APP**-Tath-SUBsg/OBJ3-OBJpl:TA  
  
utaapaan-inu      naapeu-at  
car-OBV\_INAN\_SG    man-PROX\_AN\_PL  
  
'I slow the car down for the men.'

Two main points have been made about TI<sup>2</sup> verbs.  
Firstly, TI<sup>2</sup> verbs behave like transitive verbs in that they  
entail an object. Secondly, the underlying and applied  
objects in the TI<sup>2</sup>-derived applicative constructions in (56)  
and (57b) show the same properties as the TI derived  
applicative NPs. It is proposed that TI<sup>2</sup> verbs are  
transitive and that their 'intransitive' morphology should  
be reconsidered.



the morpheme -it introduces an animate actor, in this case the first person represented by ni-. Although there is no morpheme in the (58b) verb complex which can be identified as the object, it must be assumed to be present.

Another problem which remains with regard to TI<sup>2</sup> verbs, but which may have a solution, is why the addition of an argument to an II verb does not result in a TI verb. The addition of ni- 'I' and the causative morpheme to the AI verb above in (58a), 'The toy swings.', results in (58b), 'I swing the toy' which has an animate subject and an inanimate object - and yet the expected TI morphology does not appear.

It could be that what is traditionally referred to as AI morphology does not actually indicate intransitivity.

#### 4.2.1.2 Piggott's (1989) Analysis of Ojibwa Inflectional Morphology

If (58b) above is a transitive structure, it is necessary to consider why it has the same morphology as an AI verb. Using Ojibwa data, Piggott (1989, 181) argues that the inflectional morphology of an Algonquian verb reflects whether or not an animate object is required - not whether it is transitive or intransitive. This places TA verbs apart from II, AI and TI, and TI<sup>2</sup> verbs; TA verbs are unique

in that they have an animate object. This uniqueness is reflected in their morphology; only TA stems have object agreement. In examples (59) - (63) a subject is referred to as an 'x argument' and an object is referred to as a 'y-argument'.

(59) <u>Transitive Animate Verb</u>	Animate	Animate
	x-argument	y-argument

**Niuaapamaau naapeu.**

ni-uaap-am-aa-u-∅	naapeu-∅
1-see-TAfin-TAth-SUBsg/OBJ3-OBJsg:TA	man-PROX_SG(an)

'I see the man.'

II verbs have no animate arguments at all.

(60) <u>Inanimate Intransitive Verb</u>	No animate	No animate
	x-argument	y-argument

**Uaapaau.**

uaap-aa-u-∅
white-IIifin-SUB3-SUBsg:II

'It is white.'

TI, AI and TI<sup>2</sup> verbs all have in common an animate x-argument, and they all lack an animate y-argument. If it is the animacy of the y-argument rather than transitivity that determines the inflectional morphology, then TI, AI and TI<sup>2</sup> verbs should all have the same inflectional ending. The

hypothesis developed by Piggott (1989) accounts for TI<sup>2</sup> verbs having the same morphology as AI verbs. In order to account for TI verbs not sharing AI morphology however, Piggott proposes that the y-argument of a TI verb lacks animacy in a different way than AI and TI<sup>2</sup> verbs lack an animate y-argument, and that this is reflected in their morphology - he proposes that TI verbs are derived from TA verbs and that the object of a TI verb is an NP which has been animate, and which has had its animacy 'neutralized'.<sup>vi</sup>

(61) <u>Transitive Inanimate Verb</u>	Animate	No animate
	x-argument	y-argument

**Niuaapaaten mashinaiken.**

ni-uaap-ah-t- <b>e-n</b> -ø	mashinaiken-ø
1-see-TI <sub>fin</sub> -T <sub>morph</sub> -T <sub>ith</sub> -SUB <sub>non3</sub> -SUB <sub>sg:TI</sub>	book-
PROX_SG(inan) 'I see the book.'	

Piggott derives TI verbs from TA verbs by the addition of the morpheme -d (and in cases where -d is not present, he proposes a -ø morpheme) which neutralizes the animacy of the TA y-argument. In Innu-aimun some TI verbs have a -t suffix in the same position as Piggott's -d morpheme (see example (61)). Further investigation is required, but, it seems possible that in Innu-aimun some TI verbs may be derived from TA verbs by the same means, by adding the morpheme -t.





'swing'. That is to say, 'The toy swings' (see (58a) above) is a semantically well-formed utterance in Innu-aimun. However, it is possible that 'toy' could not be object of an II construction where the verb is 'wash'. 'The toy washes' may not be semantically well-formed because the verb requires an animate subject. In fact, it seems that the only II form of 'wash' refers to being washed in a machine.

(66) **Metuaakan uaapekaitshepanu.**  
 metuaakan-∅ uaapekaitshepan-u-∅  
 toy-PROX\_SG(an) wash\_in\_washer-SUB3-SUBsg:II  
 '[The machine] washes the toy.'

In a sense, the machine becomes the agent, not the toy. Thus, it is possible that an applicative construction which has 'swing' as its root will contain -i(i)t because it is originally derived from an II verb, whereas the 'wash' applicative contains -am because it is derived from a TI verb.

It may be that TI<sup>2</sup> verbs are formed from a subset of II verbs, those which participate in 'anticausative' alternation.<sup>vii</sup> The 'anticausative' in (67a) corresponds to an II verb and (67b) is its transitive alternant, corresponding to a TI<sup>2</sup> verb .

(67a) The boat sank. (x,S)  
 (67b) Tom sank the boat. (y CAUSE x, S)

(67b) is derived from (67a) by the addition of a causee. In Innu-aimun this would be done by adding -i(i)t. This idea requires further investigation with more data.

So far, I have shown that applicative constructions can be derived from TI verbs and TI<sup>2</sup> verbs, both of which I am arguing are transitive verbs. In the next section I want to look at one more type of verb from which applicatives can be formed: COT verbs.

#### 4.3 'Cognate-object' Transitive Verbs

In this section I show that there are also COT-derived applicative constructions. This term was defined in the introduction to this chapter. Unfortunately, only one Innu-aimun example is available.<sup>viii</sup> However, data from Plains Cree (Wolfart 1973) supplements the Innu-aimun example and the discussion of COT-derived applicatives is included here because it is relevant to the issue of the link between transitivity and applicative formation.

I have argued in this thesis that AI inflectional morphology is not always indicative of a syntactically

intransitive verb. The AI verb niimu 'dance', is, however, clearly intransitive in that an object is not permitted.

(68) **Niniimin.**  
ni-nim-i-n-∅  
1-dance-AI<sub>fin</sub>-SUB<sub>non3</sub>-SUB<sub>sg</sub>:AI  
'I am dancing.'

(69) was elicited as the closest translation for the English 'I am dancing an Innu dance.'

(69) **Nitinnuniimin.**  
ni-t-innu-nim-i-n-∅  
1-EP-Innu-dance-AI<sub>fin</sub>-SUB<sub>non3</sub>-SUB<sub>sg</sub>:AI  
'I am Innu-dancing.'

The addition of an independent word, in this case innu, would create a problem of case-assignment because the verb has no structural case available to license an additional NP. The problem is solved if the noun is incorporated into the verb complex. It is, however, possible to derive an applicative from this verb, but notice that there is a piece of unidentified morphology -sht-, glossed -?- in (70) for that reason.<sup>ix</sup>

(70) **Niniimiishtamuaau utshimaa.**  
ni-niim-ii-**sht-am-au**-aa-u-∅  
1-dance-AI<sub>fin</sub>-?-**Tith-APP**-T<sub>ath</sub>-SUB<sub>sg</sub>/OBJ<sub>3</sub>-OBJ<sub>sg</sub>:TA  
  
chief-PROX\_SG(an)  
utshimaa-∅  
  
'I am dancing in honour of the chief.'

In (70) -shtamau is associated with what looks like a benefactive derived from an intransitive verb. This raises two questions: Firstly, how many morphemes are contained in -shtamau and what is their function? Secondly, do these verbs contradict the claim that only transitive verbs can participate in applicative constructions?

-shtamau is analyzed as three morphemes, as shown in the gloss for (70): the unidentified -sht-, the TI theme sign -am- and the applicative -au-. The morpheme -am- is crucial here, because, consistent with the discussion so far, its presence indicates that (70) is derived from a TI verb rather than an AI verb. In other words, there must be an intermediary TI stage between AI and the applicative TA stem. I suggest that -sht- functions as a transitivizer, after which -am-, the inanimate object, appears.

The following Plains Cree examples are provided by Wolfart (1973, 75)<sup>x</sup>. The gloss is not Wolfart's, but follows his analysis of these examples.

- (71a) **Teepweeshtamaueeu.**  
 ∅-teepwee-**shtamau**-ee-u-∅  
 3-call-**APP**-Tath-SUBsg/OBJ3'-OBJsg  
 'He announces for him.

- (71b) **Piikiskweeshtamaueeu.**  
 piikiskwee-**shtamau**-ee-u-∅  
 ∅-speak-**APP**-TAth-SUBsg/OBJ3'-OBJsg  
 'He speaks for him.'

Wolfart (1973, 75) states that TI stems can be derived from AI stems by means of a suffix -sht, [-st]. However, he doesn't consider this to be the same morpheme that appears in -shtamau in the examples in (71).<sup>xi</sup> In spite of proposing that -amau should be analyzed as two morphemes, -am and -au, he considers -shtamau to be a single morpheme. In order to be consistent with what has been argued so far in this thesis, a hypothetical intermediary TI stem is proposed.<sup>xii</sup> It is reasonable to propose that a COT TI verb need never surface because the object is implied. Thus, (70) does not contradict the claim that only transitive verbs can form applicative constructions.

Baker (1988, 257ff) states for Chichewa that 'dance' and 'sing' are examples of a class of intransitive verbs which are unusual in that they can form applicatives. Baker accounts for this by suggesting that, having an implied cognate object, the Chichewa language learner regards them as transitive. The evidence from Algonquian suggests more concretely that an intermediary transitive verb should be

proposed. This idea seems to be a logical progression of Baker's suggestion; certainly, it does not contradict it.

As stated at the beginning of this section, further examples of COT verbs in Innu-aimun are required. The verb nakamu 's/he sings', for example, does not behave like niimu 's/he dances'; nakamu is an AI verb, but there is also a TI verb nakamutam<sup>u</sup> 's/he sings for it' and a TA verb nakamutueu 's/he sings for someone.'<sup>xiii</sup> In this case the preposition 'for' seems to be implicit in the TI and TA verb stem, so an applicative morpheme is not required. Most likely, 'dance' is not an isolated case. It is anticipated that more examples exist in Innu-aimun.

### Summary

I propose that there is only one type of applicative construction in Innu-aimun.<sup>xiv</sup> The different morphemes contained in each of the three 'types' of applicative construction (TI-derived, TI<sup>2</sup>-derived, and COT-derived) reflect only different derivational sources of the transitive verb from which the applicative has been derived.

I have argued that only transitive verbs can participate in applicative constructions because Case is required to license the applied NP. I have shown that the underlying

object loses its object properties to the applied object. I assume that object properties result when a verb assigns accusative Case to its object. Presumably, the underlying object loses its object properties when it is no longer assigned accusative (i.e. structural) Case by the verb. In order to consider how this might come about, it is necessary to consider some theoretical issues.

FOOTNOTES

i.. Piggott (1989, 194) also briefly mentions applicative formation. He argues that valency change takes place within the lexicon, and that applicative formation is the result of what he calls the TA final (-au-) subcategorizing a TI verb stem. The TA final, by means of feature percolation, provides the extra argument. Piggott's analysis is complex, involving a completely different interpretation of many of the morphemes discussed in this thesis; finals, personal prefixes (dealt with here as proclitics) and 'theme signs' work together to modify argument structure within the lexicon. Thus, while it would be useful to explore Innu-aimun valency-increase following Piggott (1989), many of the assumptions which provide the theoretical framework for this thesis would have to be revised, and there is not space for such a discussion.

ii.. I have not come across any name for these constructions in the Algonquian literature I have referred to. However, Baker (1988, 257ff) discusses this class of intransitive verbs because they stand out as being the exception to the rule that only transitive verbs form applicatives. He does not name them, but I have chosen the name 'Cognate-object Transitives' as a result of reading Baker's work. The term 'cognate-object' means that even when an object does not appear, it must be implied from the verb. For example, the apparently intransitive clause 'I eat' has the implied object 'something edible'.

iii.. All the TI<sup>2</sup>-derived applicative examples used in this thesis were provided by an elderly language consultant. A younger consultant provided examples of TI<sup>2</sup>-derived applicatives which retained AI morphology. It was decided to use the older speaker's examples (where the applicative construction has TA morphology) because TA morphology is regarded as standard for this type of structure. This is mentioned to note that it may be an area of the language which is changing.

iv.. Note that the -am being referred to here is not the TA final 'by mouth', which only appears in a few TA verbs. It is the TI theme sign which appears in applicative constructions and in 3rd person/obviative TI constructions.

v.. This proposal remains to be investigated more thoroughly.

vi.. Note, however, that there are instances in which TA stems represent TI stems to which an additional morpheme (often -u-) is added (Clarke 1986, 61-2). Extending Piggott's hypothesis to Innu-aimun requires additional data and research.

vii.. These are discussed in some detail in Keyser and Roeper (1984) where they are referred to as 'ergatives'

viii.. At the time of doing field work for this thesis, it did not seem relevant to look for further examples.

ix.. One out of the three language consultants asked preferred the following example to (70), but still found (70) acceptable.

**Niniimin tshetshi miinuentimik.**

ni-niim-i-n-ø	tshetshi miinuent-am-ik
lp-dance-Aifin-SAnon3-SAsg:AI	so that please-Tith-
	SA1/OA3:TI(conj)

'I am dancing so that he is pleased by it.'

x.. There are two possible readings of the English gloss of these examples: in (71b), for example, the speaking could be done (i) 'for his benefit' (a true benefactive), or (ii) 'in his place'. Since applicative constructions in Innu-aimun never have the second reading, it is likely that the same is true for Cree. This point remains to be clarified however.

xi.. Wolfart rejects the option of analyzing -sht- as a morpheme which derives TI verbs from AI verbs. He states the following:

This suffix [-amau-] may also be added to TI stems which are derived from AI stems by [-sht-]... Thus, from maaskii- [maashkii-] 'come forth' there is a derived TI stem msht- 'come forth toward it, attack it'; TA maaskiistamaw'w [maashkii-sht-am-au-e-u], 'attacks it for him.' However, many verbs which appear to be formed in this way have a different meaning; that is, the goal of the hypothetical TI stem which would form the intermediate AI stem and the eventual TA stem, does not seem to appear in the meaning of the TA stem. A different analysis seems indicated: that there is also a complex final -stamaw- which derives TI stems from AI stems by addition on a general goal with a transitive animate beneficiary from AI stems. (Wolfart 1987: 100)

xii.. I have no evidence that these forms exist as I was not looking for them when I did the field work for this thesis.

xiii.. Presumably nikamutam<sup>u</sup> 's/he sings for it' means 'he sings in order to get to'.

xiv.. By proposing that there is only one type of applicative construction in Innu-aimun I do not mean to imply that several types of applicative constructions have been proposed for Innu-aimun (or any other Algonquian language). In fact, there is no literature which focuses Algonquian applicatives.