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A Grammar of Kambera

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Abbreviations and conventions

A	Accusative
APP	Applicative
ART	Article (*na* = singular, *da* = plural)
CAU	Causative
CLF	Classifier
CNJ	Conjunction
COND	Conditional adverb (*budi, bàdi*)
CONT	Continuative aspect
CTR	Marker of controlled complement clause
D	Dative
DEI	Deictic element (space/time)
DEM	Demonstrative
DER	Derogatory marker (*bi/bai*)
DIM	Diminutive marker (*ana*)
DIR	Directional preposition
EMP	Emphasis marker (EMP.2s: 2nd person sg. emphatic pronoun, EMP.3s: 3rd person sg. emphatic pronoun, etc.)
EXC	Exclamation
EXIST	Existential marker (*jia*)
G	Genitive
GEN	Generic
HORT	Hortative
IMP	Imperative marker
IMPF	Imperfective aspect marker (*-pa*)
ITER	Iterative aspect marker (*-i*)
LOC	Locative preposition
MOD	Mood marker
N	Nominative
NEG	Negator (NEG.irr: irrealis negator, NEG.emp: emphatic negator)
PRF	Perfective aspect marker (*-ka*)
RMS	Subject relative clause marker
RMO	Object relative clause marker
RDP	Reduplication
UNCERT	Adverb of uncertainty (*ihi, ihu*)
x=x	Phonological/prosodic attachment of *x* to *x*
'x	Primary stress on *x*
,x	Secondary stress on *x*
x | x	Syllable boundary between *x* and *x*
x.x	Morpheme boundary between *x* and *x*
x-x	Clitic boundary between *x* and *x*

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.0. Introduction

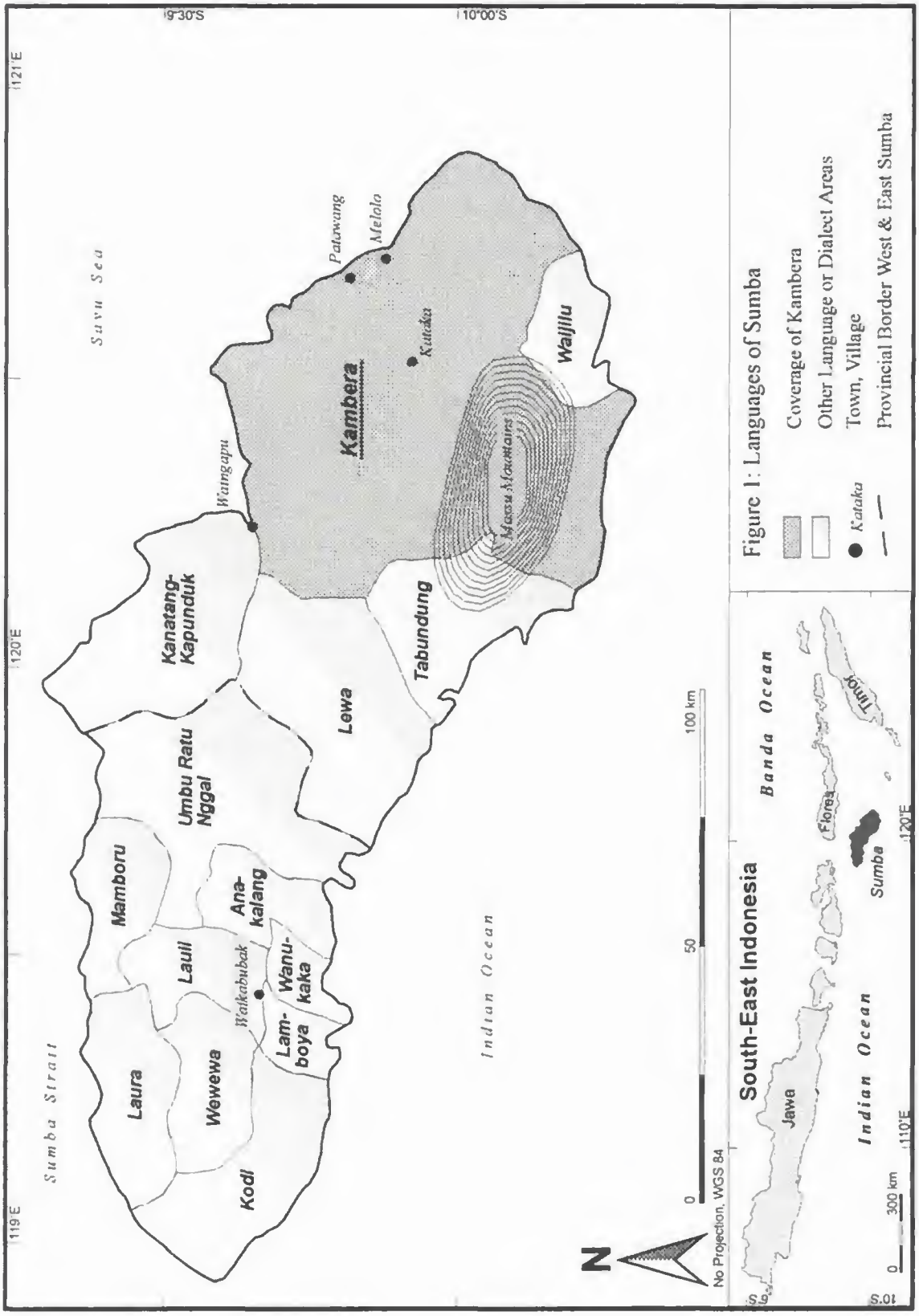
This study presents some major aspects of Kambera grammar for the general public of linguists. It focusses on Kambera phonology, morphology, and morpho-syntax. In this introductory chapter I first provide some background information on the language and its speakers in section 1.1, and of previous linguistic studies of Kambera in section 1.2. Section 1.3 discusses the fieldwork and the informants who provided the data gathered for this grammar, the methodology that was used in the research, and the database on which this monograph is based. Finally, in section 1.4 I will briefly mention the theoretical background of this study and summarise its goals.

1.1. The language and its speakers

Kambera is a Malayo-Polynesian language with approximately 150,000 speakers[1] in the eastern region of the island of Sumba (province Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT)) in Eastern Indonesia (see figure 1). Kambera is classified as belonging to the Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) subgroup (Blust 1978, 1979, 1981, 1993).[2] Several other indigenous 'languages' (Indonesian Department of Education, cf. note 1) or 'dialects' (Onvlee 1984) are spoken on Sumba, including Weyewa (75,000), Kodi (40,000), Lamboya (15,000), Wanukaka (10,000), Anakalang (14,000) and Mamboru (16,000) (Wurm 1994) (see figure 1, which is based on the map in Onvlee 1984). Of those languages, Weyewa and Kodi in particular are reported to be unintelligible to speakers of Kambera.

The island of Sumba covers an area of 12,297 sq. km. (Forth 1981:3), of which the eastern region constitutes about three quarters. Kambera is the name of the traditional domain close to the town of Waingapu. Forth (1981:17) claims that, due mainly to the export trade in horses centred in Waingapu during the last century, the language of the Kambera region has become the 'lingua franca' in eastern Sumba. The language that is described in this grammar is spoken in the whole eastern region of Sumba with different degrees of dialectal variation. There is no 'standard' dialect, and the variant described in this grammar is the one spoken in Kataka, a traditional village some 20 km. inland from the coast in the direction of the Masu Mountains (see figure 1). In this village, Kambera is still the language used in everyday life. Along the coast of Sumba and in towns like Waingapu or Melolo, Indonesian is the major language because people from many different origins (Savu, Roti, Timor, Sumbawa, Lombok, Flores, Bali, etc.) populate these parts, as well as the native Sumbanese.

Kambera speakers refer to their language as *hilu Humba* 'Sumbanese language' (*hilu* 'language/exchange', *Humba* 'Sumba').[3] In the Dutch literature on the language, it has been referred to as *Sumbaneesch* (e.g. Wielenga 1909), *Sumba(a)sch* (e.g. Onvlee


9°30'S
10°00'S
119°E
120°E
121°E
Sumba Strait
Savu Sea
Indian Ocean
Kodi
Laura
Wewewa
Lamboya
Wanukaka
Lauli
Walkabubak
Mamboru
Anakalang
Umbu Ratu Nggai
Kanatang-Kapunduk
Wangapu
Lewa
Tabundung
Kambera
Patawang
Melolo
Kataka
Wanukaka
Waijilu
0
50
100 km
N
No Projection, WGS 84
South-East Indonesia
Banda Ocean
Jawa
Flores
Timor
Sumba
Indian Ocean
0
300 km
110°E
120°E
S.9°
S.0°
Figure 1: Languages of Sumba
Coverage of Kambera
Other Language or Dialect Areas
Kataka
Town, Village
Provincial Border West & East Sumba

1925), *Oost-Sumbaas* and *Kamberaas* (Onvlee 1984). In the Indonesian literature it is known as *Bahasa Sumba/Kambera* (Kapita 1982) or *Bahasa Sumba Timur dalam dialek Kambera* ('Eastern Sumbanese in the Kambera dialect') (Kapita 1983). From its scientific tradition it is thus unclear whether this language should be called *Sumbanese* or *Kambera*. I refer to it as *Kambera* to distinguish it from the other 'Sumbanese' languages/dialects spoken on the island.

Sumba is a rural island; there is no industry and perhaps 90% of the Sumbanese population are farmers. The remaining 10% of the population are civil servants (government officials (mostly non-Sumbanese), policemen, teachers), truckdrivers, and Chinese merchants. The staple diet is corn; other crops include rice, garlic, peanuts and pumpkins. Livestock comprises horses, cattle, buffaloes, pigs, chickens and goats. Educational possibilities on the island are limited: although almost every village has a primary school, secondary educational institutions are restricted to some of the larger towns. The nearest university is in Kupang, the provincial capital on Timor. I refer readers interested in the historical and cultural aspects of life on Sumba to Onvlee (1973), Kapita (1976) and to the excellent ethnographic study of Forth (1981). Further references can also be found in the exhaustive Sumba bibliography compiled by the late Taroh Goh (1991).

1.2. Previous linguistic studies of Kambera

There has been a substantial[4] amount of work on the Kambera language since the mid 19th century. The oldest publication in which the language of Sumba is mentioned is Heymering (1846), which deals mainly with the Leti language, but also contains a brief word list of a Sumbanese dialect (Mangili). The Dutch government official Roos (1872) gives some general information on Sumba, and a 30 page Kambera — Dutch word list. De Roo van Alderwerelt (1891) provides 48 pages of a Kambera — Dutch word list and grammatical notes. The Dutch veterinarian Vermast (1895) published a 20 page list of Kambera words. Van der Velden (1900) wrote a short grammar of the language of the Laura district (western Sumba).

The missionary Pos (1901) compiled a 100 page Kambera word list and one of his successors, Wielenga, published a grammar of the language (Wielenga 1909), containing 63 pages with grammatical notes, 73 pages of text material and a word list of 187 pages. Wielenga also published a selection of Sumbanese stories with their Dutch translations (Wielenga 1913), and a comparative wordlist of Sumbanese dialects (Wielenga 1917). Haaksma (1933) discusses Kambera pronominals (2,5 pages), using data from Wielenga (1909) and Onvlee (1925).

The work of the missionary-linguist Onvlee includes a grammar, which contains 76 pages of grammatical notes and 131 pages of Kambera texts (Onvlee 1925), and some short publications on Kambera (Onvlee 1927, 1936a—d, 1950). Onvlee is also the author of two pedagogical grammars, one about Kambera (Onvlee n.d.,a) and one about Wewewa (or Weyewa) (Onvlee n.d.,b). Just before Onvlee died, he published a Kambera — Dutch dictionary (Onvlee 1984, 628 pp.).

Onvlee's Sumbanese assistant, Oe. Hina Kapita, published a Kambera — Indonesian dictionary (Kapita 1982, 296 pp.), and a short grammar of Kambera in Indonesian (Kapita 1983, 90 pp.). He also published several books with Kambera traditional ritual speech, songs, stories and sayings (Kapita 1977, 1979, 1985, 1987).[5] These four books, together with the Kambera New Testament (1961) and a Kambera Hymn book make up the Kambera written literature.

Kambera ritual speech is very unlike the everyday language that is the topic of interest in this grammar. Fox 1988 contains some ethnographic essays on forms of parrallelism in ritual speech on the languages of Sumba (Kodi, Wanukaka, Wewewa, Kambera). More references are given in Goh 1991.

This brief overview shows that the languages of Sumba, and Kambera in particular, have attracted the attention of government officials, missionaries and anthropologists for over a century, but that the written account of the structure of those languages is limited mainly to word lists and short grammars. Wielenga, Onvlee and Kapita have gathered a wealth of information and published a respectable number of text materials (e.g. Wielenga 1909, 1917, Onvlee 1925, Kapita 1985, 1987). In these publications, the translations are separated from the Kambera texts, and no interlinear glosses are given. Thus, these texts can only be analysed with the help of an informant or by someone who has studied the language first; i.e. they are virtually inaccessible for morphological or syntactic research outside Sumba. As a detailed and systematic description of Kambera grammar had not yet been written, the present study was set up to fill (part of) this gap.

I explicitly acknowledge here the benifit I had from Onvlee's (1984) Kambera – Dutch dictionary. This comprehensive dictionary proved to be an extremely useful tool in the initial stages of learning the language, and it also relieved me of the time-consuming burden of building a dictionary. Thus it speeded up my research considerably.[6]

1.3. Fieldwork, informants, methodology and database

I undertook my first fieldwork on Sumba as an undergraduate during a family visit in Melolo (Eastern Sumba) from January to April 1988, which resulted in an MA Thesis on Kambera Phonology (Klamer 1989). At the time, Umbu David Y. Maundima, born in 1969, was the main informant.

The research for the present study was set up in May 1990.[7] Three fieldwork sessions, of seven, three and two months, were conducted between January 1991 and April 1994. All the fieldwork took place in the village Kataka (see figure 1). Kataka has approximately 150 inhabitants who — with a few exceptions — are all from the same *kabihu* 'clan' referred to as *Dai Ndipi*. Most of them, in any case those under the age of 35, are bilingual to some extent. Besides Kambera, they speak and understand Indonesian, which they have learned in primary school. Indonesian is only used when necessary, i.e. in talking to non-Sumbanese, and in writing. Because Kambera is not taught in school, most find it hard to read and impossible to write it, so Indonesian is

used for the occasional written message. More than half of the Kataka population is Christian (protestant), the others adhere to the traditional religion (cf. Forth 1981).

In Kataka I was invited to live with an elderly couple, the *Ama Pandita* 'father Reverend' and his wife. I stayed with them — and the various relatives with whom they shared their house at various points — during my time in Kataka and was thus surrounded by a purely Kambera linguistic environment.

The twelve months of fieldwork for this research were carried out in several stages. Initially (January 1991 to August 1991, January 1992 to April 1992), I learned the language while building up a corpus of texts. Kambera was spoken around me and I jotted down what people said to me or to each other as often as possible. These utterances form a separate file in my corpus ('Spontaneous utterances' in (1) below).

Twenty texts were recorded with the kind help of the people listed in (1 below. These people are all adults, ranging in age from about 20 to 70. Except for one (Umbu Ndena Laki Banju, who is from Mangili), they are all Kataka people that speak the same dialect. In the conversations both men and women participated, but I could only get one woman to tell a story.

I have recorded a total amount of approx. 12 hours of spoken texts. These texts were transcribed and translated with the help of an informant. On average, the transcription and translation of one hour of tape took 50-60 hours. On returning to the Netherlands, the texts were morphologically coded and fed into the computer database that served as the corpus on which the present study is based. In (1) the type of text is indicated, then the year of recording, the Kambera title plus its translation and the speaker(s) recorded, with their age group in brackets (y = younger (20-30), m = middle age (30-50), o = older (50-70).

(1) **Corpus of recorded texts**
(*U.* stands for *Umbu* 'Mr' and *R.* for *Rambu* 'Ms'; other titles are *Ina* 'mother', *Ama* 'father' and *Apu* 'grandmother').

Conversation A, 1991
Speakers: Ama Pandita (o), U. Tai (m), R. Danga (m), R. Hudang (m), U. Moha (m), R. Utu (o), U. Ndàmang (m), U. Okto (m)

Speech, 1991, held by Ama Pandita (o)

Prayer, 1991, said by U. Tai (m)

Conversation B, 1991
Speakers: Apu Pindi Wàni (o), Ina (o), Ama Pandita (o), R. Utu (o), R. Ana Jawa (y)

Conversation C, 1992
Speakers: R. Yana (y), R. Ana Hàmu (y), Ina, Ama (o)

Meeting/conversation D, 1992
Speakers: U. Hapu (m), U. Yiwa (m), U. Raji (o), U. Pindu Jawa (m), U. Ndàmang (m), R. Tamar (m), Ina (o), U. Tai (m)

Sermon, 1992, held by U. Pindu Jawa (m)

Process descriptions:
Na ngara ngia uhu 'How to grow rice', 1991
Na ngara ngia watar 'How to grow corn', 1991
Told by U. Musa Maramba Hau (y)

Joke:
Kalomuh dangu wài ria 'A musquito with a lot of blood', 1991
Told by U. Yiwa Màru Mata (m)

Sponteneous utterances, 1991-1994, various sources

Historical narratives:
La Rehi Nipong 'In the Japanese Era', 1991
Life under Japanese occupation in World War II
Told by R. Ngana Niku Watu Pedi (o)

Folk stories:
Umalulu, 1988
History of Melolo and the people there, by U. Makaborang Watuwaya (m)
Wai Marang, 1988
History of Wai Marang, by U. L. Watuwaya (o)

Mythology stories:
Li Ndai 'A Tale of Time Past', 1991
Myth about ancient Sumba and the Sumbanese, by U. Parai Malinya (o)
Palita Ndai 'The Ancient Lamp', 1991, by U. Yiwa Màru Mata (m)
R. Kàhi dangu i U. Mbàra 'Ms Kàhi and Mr Dove', 1991, by U. Raji Paru Wàngga (o)
Njara Hawurung 'A Flying Horse', 1992, by U. Tai Landu Paraing (m)
Tawuru Mbiha 'Magic Ring', 1992, by U. Ndena Laki Banju (y)

New stories:
Apu Ka 'Granny Ka', 1991, by U. Yiwa Màru Mata (m)
Sampuraga (name main character), 1992, by U. M. Maramba Hau (y)
Landu Niki (name main character), 1992, by U. M. Maramba Hau (y)

An inductive approach was followed. I would first consider all the examples of a construction type in the texts, and try to formulate appropriate rules. I usually tested these rules by making my own Kambera sentences and asking the informant to improve

them. For instance, to find out which matrix arguments are available for relativisation, I would first look for relative structures in my database, and find subject, direct object, indirect object and possessor relativisation. I would formulate a rule, make my own relative sentences and check those with an informant. Because my database did not contain relativisations of instrumental and comitative objects (chapter 7), I would make relativisations analogous to the ones used for subject and object and let an informant comment on them.

Data gathered through direct elicitation in the first three months of the fieldwork later turned out to be totally unreliable. I found direct elicitation to be a tricky and cumbersome method in a culture where politeness is one of the highest virtues. In such a culture, people tend to answer your questions in the way that they think will please you — and asking too many questions is in any case *not done*. It took a considerable amount of time, persuasion and trust before people openly acknowledged the fact that they would not insult me by being my teachers. I did, however, do some fruitful direct elicitation at later stages — especially when the inductive approach proved unsuitable. Direct elication was used, for instance, to test the effect of constituent order changes; to get specific paradigms or idioms; to discover whether certain morphologically complex forms still have an independently used root or base, etc.

From February 1994 to April 1994 I double-checked the data of the prefinal version of the manuscript of this grammar.

All the fieldwork in the years 1991 till 1994 was done in close cooperation with Umbu Musa Maramba Hau, born in 1967. He had had three years of secondary school education, showed a keen interest in discovering the structure of Kambera and was patient and accurate, especially during the long boring days of transcription and double checking. Usually, we spent about 10 to 15 hours a week working together — during the final fieldwork in 1994 this ran up to 20 to 25 hours a week. Indonesian was used as the intermediary language.

1.4. Theoretical background, goals

For a monograph like this, it is important that it should not become 'dated' too soon. Therefore, I have chosen to write this grammar in more or less theory-neutral terms. Often this means that I use traditional terms and concepts. With this, however, I do not imply that the traditional (structuralist) terms are unequivocal. Bloomfield's (1933) definition of a 'word' as the 'minimal free form' is evidence to the contrary. In this definition the fact that phonological words may not be isomorphic to syntactic words and/or semantic units is not taken into account. In other words, the 'minimal free forms' in each of these domains may be different 'words' (how this applies to Kambera is discussed in section 3.1.5). Another illustration is the use of the traditional notions 'subject', 'direct object' and 'indirect object'. In this book I use these notions as names for grammatical relations, i.e. as *relational* concepts, while others would consider them *structural* positions, or the arguments bearing respectively the AGENT, PATIENT and BENEFICIARY semantic role (how the Kambera grammatical relations are defined is discussed in section 3.4).

This book is not meant to prove or test any specific grammatical theory. On the other hand, different grammatical theories have provided various kinds of tools and insights (both major and minor) that enabled me to discover more about the structure of Kambera than I would have done without them. Kambera phonology is analysed using a non-linear framework and applying the ideas of Prosodic Morphology (McCarthy & Prince 1986, 1993). In writing the morpho-syntactic part of this grammar, my thoughts have been shaped partly by Government and Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981, 1986), but also by the work and ideas of people with other theoretical backgrounds, such as Role and Reference Grammar (Foley—Van Valin 1984, Van Valin 1993), Functional Grammar (Dik 1989) and Lexical Functional Grammar (Kaplan and Bresnan 1982). And, last but not least, I owe much to the work of distinguished descriptive linguists such as Uhlenbeck (1949, 1978), Anceaux (1965), Dixon (1972, 1977, 1988) and Foley (1991).

This grammar offers a description of the structural properties of Kambera, with a particular focus on its morphology. It includes an account of the phonology and morpho-syntax of this language as well as a discussion of its major syntactic properties, but a thorough study of Kambera syntax was outside the scope of the research.

In the next chapter, chapter 2, a detailed account is given of Kambera phonology. Chapter 3 is an introduction to Kambera morphology, morpho-syntax and sentence structure. In this chapter I introduce the morphological and syntactic notions that are used in this study and I also discuss the (non-)distinction between inflection and derivation in Kambera. Inflectional morphology straddles the syntax-morphology interface, and Kambera inflectional morphology is basically the cliticisation of pronominal, aspectual and mood elements to a syntactic phrase. I have chosen to concentrate on a detailed account of pronominal cliticisation and to leave the analysis of the mood and aspect clitics for the future. In chapter 4, the Kambera major 'parts of speech' or 'word classes' of verb, noun and adverb are established on the basis of both structural and functional evidence. I argue that Kambera does not have a separate category of adjectives. It is also demonstrated that often there is a considerable overlap in the use of verbs and nouns. Prepositions and other minor categories, such as nominals, classifiers, numerals, articles, conjunctions, negations and exclamations are discussed at the end of this chapter.

Chapter 5 first discusses the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs and then focuses on the various morpho-syntactic markings of the argument of intransitive predicates.

In chapter 6, all Kambera affixation processes that are known to me are discussed rather straightforwardly. The most productive ones are causative and applicative verb formation, both deriving transitive verbs. In this chapter, therefore, particular attention is given to the marking of objects: specifically, I have included a discussion of the distinctions and similarities of the two object clitics that Kambera has.

In chapter 7 several types of complex verbs are introduced, including serial verbs and comitative and instrumental verbs with their respective object(s).

Finally, chapter 8 gives an account of the most salient properties of syntactic subordination in Kambera by describing the properties of relative and controlled clauses.

An Appendix provides a number of glossed and translated Kambera texts.

Chapter 2
Phonology

2.0. Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the most important phonological aspects of Kambera.[8] Section 2.1 deals with the segmental stucture of Kambera. Besides providing an inventory of consonants and vowels, it also deals with the phonology of loan words and a consonant shift that must have occurred at the end of the previous century. In section 2.2 I give an account of the phonotactic properties of the Kambera root and discuss stress. I show that the structure of the roots can be prosodically characterised.[9] I use a prosodic template, the foot, to give a specification of the canonical Kambera root and to define the minimal word of the language. In Kambera, the *morphological* unit 'root' coincides with the *prosodic* unit 'foot' — the prosodic template of a root is a trochaic foot. Some phonotactic constraints that apply within the root is also be discussed in this section. Section 2.3 deals with the phonotactic structure of affixes, clitics and 'small' function words. In section 2.4 I summarise the vowel distribution in the Kambera prosodic word. Section 2.5 discussses how different levels in the prosodic hierarchy of Kambera, in particular the foot and the prosodic word, may be distinguished. The evidence presented will mainly be based on some word games. In section 2.6 I discuss the different types of Kambera reduplication and how they can be stated using prosodic templates. Section 2.7 provides a summary and conclusions.

2.1. Segmental inventory

2.1.1. Consonants

The Kambera consonants are given in Table 2.1 below. We can see that the language has a number of 'complex' consonants — three implosive consonants, one affricate and five prenasalised segments (stops, affricate, semivowel). The table also shows that the language has no plain voiced stops and that it has only one continuant, [h]. The orthographic notation of the segments is given in brackets in Table 2.1. This notation is based on Indonesian and follows Kapita (1982, 1983) and Onvlee (1984). The velar nasal [ŋ] is represented as *ng*, the prenasalised segments [ŋg] as *ngg* and [nj] as *ny*, the affricate as *j* and the high approximant as *y*.

Table 2.1. Kambera consonants (in IPA and Latin alphabet)

	lab	alv	vel	glot
Voiceless plain stops	p	t	k	
Voiced implosive stops	ɓ (b)	ɗ (d)		
Voiced affricate		dʒ (j)		
Nasals	m	n	ŋ(ng)	
Prenasalised stops	mb	nd	ŋg(ngg)	
Prenasalised affricate		ndʒ (nj)		
Laryngeal fricative				h
Rhotic liquid		r		
Lateral liquid		l		
Approximants	w	j (y)		
Prenasalised approximant		nj (ny)		

The following are some reasons to analyse the prenasalised consonants as one phonological unit rather than two. They appear as onsets both in prevocalic and in intervocalic position (i.e. word-initially and word-medially), as the (near) minimal pairs in (1) show. (Contrasive short/lax vowel [i/ɪ] and [a/ɑ] are represented with a grave accent (*ì*, *à*), plain *i* and *a* represent either a long/tense vowel or a vowel unspecified for length. See section 2.1.2).

(1)

ma | *ta*	'eye, face'	*ʔu* | *ma*	'house'
mba | *ta*	'be broken'	*ru* | *mba*	'grass'
na | *pa*	'wait, later'	*bà* | *di*	'in fact (cond.)'
ndà | *pa*	'fathom (meas.)'	*ba* | *nda*	'cattle'
ji | *la*	'glimmer, flash	*mà* | *du*	'be dry'
nji | *li*	'be tired'	*mà* | *ndu* | *ng(u)*	'be firm'
nga | *ra*	'name'	*ja* | *nga*	'branch(ing)'
nggà | *ra*	'what (quest.)'	*ja* | *ngga*	'be high'
yà | *pa*	'grab, take'	*ʔa* | *ya*	'older sibling'
nya | *wa*	'strength'	*da* | *nya*	'they (CONT.)'

In these examples, the syllable boundaries fall before the complex segments (e.g. *ru* | *mba*, *ja* | *ngga*).[10,11] Apart from the phonetic properties of the forms indicating this, there are three other arguments that support this view. Firstly, an [n] or an [m]

can never be a coda. In fact, Kambera does not seem to have codas at all (see section 2.2 below). Nor does the language have unambiguously complex onsets such as /tr/, /pl/ or /st/. If a loan word has a complex onset this is (eventually) reparsed into two open syllables. For example, Indonesian *pro | yek* 'project' has become *pa | ro | ye | k(u)* in Kambera.[12] Furthermore, in loan substitutions, /b, d, g, ʤ / are always prenasalised, as illustrated in (2) below.[13] (The fourth column states the origin of the loans: Indonesian (I) or Dutch (D).)

(2)	**Indonesian**	**Kambera**		
	bangku	***mb**angku*	'bench'	D/I
	bolsak	***mb**olsak(u)*	'mattress'	D/I
	banding	***mb**anding*	'compare'	I
	baca	***mb**aca/**mb**aha*	'read'	I
	bebas	***mb**embah(u)*	'free'	I
	bagi	***mb**anggi*	'divide'	I
	duit	***nd**ui*	'money'	D/I
	sepeda	*hape**nd**a*	'bicycle'	I
	sedia	*han**d**iha*	'ready'	I
	hadir	*han**d**ir(u)*	'show up'	I
	guru	***ngg**uru*	'teacher'	I
	gula	***ngg**ula*	'sugar'	I
	rugi	*run**gg**i*	'suffer a loss'	I
	meja	*me**nj**a*	'table'	I

As Kambera lacks plain voiced stops, the structural place that these segments occupy in most other languages is in Kambera taken by either the implosive or the prenasalised stops. There are indications that in fact the prenasalised stops are the Kambera counterparts of plain stops in other languages. Firstly, in Table 2.1 above there is a gap in the structural relations between the voiceless, implosive and prenasalised stops — while [p] and [t] have both an implosive and a prenasalised counterpart, [k] only has a prenasalised ([ŋg]) and not an implosive counterpart.

Secondly, a morphological process of 'mutation' (or 'prefixing [*nas*].') derives intransitive achievement verbs from transitive verbs by changing a plain stop in a prenasalised stop (e.g. *pata* 'break X' → *mbata* 'be broken', cf. section 6.9). Finally, as mentioned above, in loan words plain voiced stops are always substituted by prenasalised segments, never by implosive ones.

The Kambera glottal stop is interpreted as the default realisation of an empty onset of root-initial syllables[14] and is thus not considered to be phonemic (hence its absence in Table 2.1). Illustrations are given in (3).

(3)

[ʔaŋu]	'friend'	[ʔumbu]	'sir'
[ʔàŋu]	'with, and'	[ʔeti]	'liver'
[ʔilu]	'saliva'	[ʔepi]	'fire'
[ʔìlu]	'watch'	[ʔomaŋ(u)]	'woods'
[ʔula]	'do'	[ʔoka]	'corral (for cattle)'

Other structural properties of the Kambera glottal stop are discussed in section 2.2.5 and section 2.3.

Observe that Kambera does not have an /s/, which is quite remarkable cross-linguistically. According to Maddieson (1984:52), of the 37 languages with only one fricative,[15] 31 have some kind of /s/. That is, of the languages with only one fricative, the percentage of languages where that fricative is an /s/ is 83.8%. At the end of the 19th century, Kambera underwent a rapid consonant shift that changed all /s/ segments into /h/'s. Many words that still contain an /s/ in Roos (1872) contain an /h/ instead in De Roo van Alderwerelt (1891), while in Wielenga (1909) all /s/'s have disappeared:[16]

(4)	**Roos 1872**	**De Roo van A. 1891**	**Wielenga 1909**	
	sai	*sai*	*hai*	'comb'
	kassa	*kaha*	*kaha*	'glass'
	soerat	*soerat*	*hoerat*	'letter'
	kesidi	*kahidi*	*kahidi*	'knife'
	mési\mèssi	*mesi*	*mehi*	'salt'
	pasa	*paha*	*pàha*	'(to) hammer/weld'
	kesak	*kaha*	*kàha*	'(be) narrow'
	sidoe	*sidoe*	*hidoe*	'(be) ill'
	samoe	*hamoe*	*hamoe*	'(be) good'
	hi	*hi*	*hí*	'cry'
	sadang	*hadang*	*hadang*	'get/stand up'
	paoesi	*paoesi*	*pa'oehi*	'gather'
	pesala	*pahala*	*pahàla*	'let go'
	boenggas		*boenggah*	'to open X'

We can see that the [s] has become an [h] everywhere (i.e. in word-initial, word-medial and word-final position), and that the shift applied to words from different categories. The shift was apparently completed before 1909, because Wielenga (1909) does not mention the consonant [s], neither in his grammar nor in his wordlist.

At present, the only words that may (still) contain an [s] are (recent) loan words, although the [s] and the voiceless affricate in most loans have been changed into [h]. The words *kassa/kaha* and *soerat/hoerat* in (4) are illustrations of adapted loans from Indonesian *kaca* 'glass' and *surat* 'letter'. In (5) some examples are given that show how some loans have completely adapted to Kambera phonology, others only partly. (I=loan from Indonesian, D=loan from Dutch.)

(5)

urus	*uruh(u)*	'organise'	I
sekolah	*hakola*	'school'	D/I
kuasa	*kuaha*	'power'	I
malas	*malah(u)*	'be lazy'	I
balas	*mbalah(u)*	'do X in return'	I
rusak	*ruha*	'be broken/be in pieces'	I
percaya	*parahaya*	'believe'	I
sedia	*handiha*	'be ready'	I
permisi	*permihi/ paramihi*	'permission'/'excuse me'	I
sanggup	*sanggup(u)/ hanggup(u)*	'manage, be able'	I
skop	*sekop/sakop*	'shovel, spade'	D/I
stel	*setel/satel*	'stand to attention (army)'	D
kans	*kansu*	'chance'	D/I

A subset of the consonants, namely the consonants /l, r, h, t, k, ŋ/ can occur in root-final position (cf. section 2.2.1). In terms of feature composition, these consonants appear not to form an arbitrary set, but it depends on the feature theory that is adopted how this set can be (positively or negatively) characterised. Except for this I have not observed special distributional properties of consonants in roots. A morphological process that phonologically affects consonants is the process of 'mutation' (mentioned above and discussed in section 6.9.) that changes a plain stop into a prenasalised stop.

2.1.2. Vowels

The Kambera vowels are given in Table 2.2.[17] Note the long vowels and the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ that occur in this table, to which I will return below.

Table 2.2. Kambera vowels

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
high	i/i:		u/u:
low	e/ai	a/a:	o/au

The contrast between /a/ and /a:/ may also be analysed as involving a lax/tense distinction. That is, /a/ may be realised as [a] or [ɑ], /a:/ as [a:] or [a].

A contrastive short/lax vowel /a/ is represented with a grave accent, i.e. as *à*. A plain *a* represents either a long/tense vowel or a vowel unspecified for lenght/tenseness (i.e.

the /a/ in unstressed syllables, prefixes and clitics, see section 2.4).[18] Minimal pairs distinguishing [a]/[ɑ] from [a:]/[a] are given in (6).

(6)

mbaha	'be wet'	*dangu*	'(be) many'
mbàha	'read X'	*dàngu*	'with, and'
papu	'cheek'	*padang(u)*	'field'
pàpu	'pluck X'	*pàdang(u)*	'experience X'
maka	'top (toy)'	*nyara*	'chase X'
màka	'be able to'	*nyàra*	'look for X'

The distinction between the high front vowels /i/ and /i:/ is also either short/long or lax/tense. That is, the short vowel /i/ may be realised as (short) [i] or as [ɪ]. A contrastive short/lax vowel [i] is also represented with a grave accent, i.e. as *ì*. The long/tense vowel is realised as [i:] or [i]. A plain *i* represents either a long/tense vowel or a vowel underspecified for lenght/tenseness (i.e. the /i/ in unstressed syllables and clitics, see section 2.4).

The distinction /u/ vs. /u:/ is phonetically realised as a distinction in length only. However, in contrast to the long vowels /i:/ and /a:/, the contrastive long vowel [u:] is only used very rarely — mostly an /u/ is unspecified for lenght. Therefore I mark only the long/tense [u:] with an acute accent, i.e. as *ú*, and leave its short/unmarked counterpart diacritically unmarked. Some pairs showing the contrast between /i, i:/ and /u, u:/ are given in (7).

(7)

hili	'again'	*wútu*	'be fat'
hìli	'tuberous plant'	*wutu*	'louse'
ha.riti	'have chicken skin'	*húnju*	'grumble'
rìti.k(u)	'drip, drizzle'	*hunju*	'slaughter X'

I propose that the appropriate representation of the vowel length contrast involves syllable quantity. A word is considered to be a unit with two distinct layers, namely a 'quantity' plane and a 'quality' plane. Long segments, for instance, occupy two positions ('timing slots', Levin 1985:20) on the 'quantity' tier, but only one on the 'quality' tier. The two planes are distinct phonological levels and the various possibilities to link the bundle of features on the melodic (quality) tier with the positions on the skeletal (quantity) tier may, among other things, be used to account for phonotactic restrictions in a particular language.[19] I consider short vowels to involve a single quality unit (i.e. a bundle of features) associated to one quantity unit, as in (8a), while long vowels are bipositional, as in (8b).

As shown in Table 2.2 above, the paradigm of long vowels contains the two diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ as well. There are three arguments for viewing /ai/ and /au/ as the long counterparts of the (mid) vowels /e, o/. First, from a structural point of view, it should not be surprising that, if the cardinal vowels /a, u, i/ have long counterparts, the mid vowels have them too. Secondly, these diphthongs share the phonotactic

property of long/tensed vowels in being able to occur in a heavy syllable. Thirdly, their feature composition resembles that of the short mid vowels /e/ and /o/. And finally, there is evidence that some of the words now containing a diphthong are diachronically related to forms with a plain vowel. For example, Onvlee (1984:86) listst *hela* as an alternative form of *haila* 'saddle'.[20]

Adopting a unary feature approach in which the three vowel features [low], [front] and [round] represent the cardinal vowels, and combinations of these features represent the Kambera low vowels, we can characterise the short Kambera vowels as in (8a) and the long vowels/diphthongs as in (8b,c).[21] The X's represent positions on the skeletal tier, i.e. in the syllable. For ease of reference, I have indicated which vowel is meant by the given feature specification.

(8) a.

X	X	X	X	X
low	front	round	low, front	low, round
/a/	/i/	/u/	/e/	/o/

b.

X X	X X	X X[22]
low	front	round
/a:/	/i:/	/u:/

c.

X	X	X	X
low	front	low	round
/ai/		/au/	

The short vowels /e/ and /o/ combine the features /low, front/ and /low, round/. The representation in (8) makes it clear why /ai/ and /au/ can be viewed as the long counterparts of /e/ and /o/.

In addition to the vowels represented in Table 2.2 above, Kambera has three vowels that only occur in very specific lexical items with special structural and semantic properties. These are the low vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ (represented as *è* and *ò*, respectively) and the short vowel *ù*. The roots in which they occur are ideophonic meaning 'make, emit or have sound, noise or visible property X'. Kambera ideophones only appear in specific derived constructions — their morpho-syntactic properties are discussed in section 6.4. Some examples are given in (9). The [ù] in *mbùku* 'clatter' is phonetically shorter that the 'normal' short [u] of *mbuku* 'book'. The /a/ used in such words is always the low [ɑ] (represented as *à*). The generalisation is that vowels in ideophones are pharyngalised (Retracted Tongue Root (RTR)). The exceptional vowel in these words is /i/, which is not lowered to [ɪ], but remains [i]. Being the most strongly anti-pharyngeal vowel, [i] is expected to be unaffected by pharyngealisation, which explains why it is not lowered here.

(9)

hèri	'tearing sound'	*pàdi*	'silent (stare)'
bèri	'roar'	*pàka*	'smack'
tòru	'rattle'	*tiku*	'creak, click'
tòri	'click'	*jila*	'flicker'
ngùru	'murmur'		
ndùru	'roll (thunder)'		

Because the use of the vowels [ɛ], [ɔ] and [ù] is restricted to this very specific domain of lexical items, I have not represented them in Table 2.2 above.

Low vowels may also occur as a result of umlaut. The low vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ] and their broken variants [jɛ] or [wɔ] are alternates to /e/ and /o/ in a context where they are followed by a syllable containing a low vowel, /a/. This environment triggers a phonological process that has the effect of lowering or breaking the /e/ and /o/. This will be further discussed in section 2.2.6 below.

The distribution of Kambera vowels shows some asymmetries. The cardinal vowels /a, i, u/ may occur in both stressed and unstressed syllables of the root, while /e, o/ may only occur in the first, stressed, syllable of the root. The cardinal vowels also occur outside the root, i.e. in (unstressed) prefixes and clitics, while the mid vowels are restricted to their (stressed) position in the root. A structural asymmetry between the vowels is that the cardinal vowels have plain long counterparts, while the mid vowels have diphthongs.

2.2. Phonotactics

2.2.1. The structure of the root template

As mentioned above, morphological categories may be seen as templates that are defined in terms of prosodic categories, such as morae, syllables, feet, or prosodic words. In this section I will use such templates to give a specification of the canonical Kambera root. The term *root* is used for a mono-morphemic, non-bound form (i.e. not an affix or a clitic). A root is an element from a lexical category that may be the base of morphological derivations. In Kambera, the *morphological* unit 'root' coincides with the *prosodic* unit 'foot' — the prosodic template of a root is a foot that can be characterised in terms of its minimal and maximal size. This will be further explained below.

Kambera has (C)V (light) and (C)VV (heavy) syllables. These syllables may occur both with and without an onset. (C)VV syllables can only occur under main stress, where they contrast with (C)V syllables. In positions other than those receiving main stress only (C)V syllables occur. This is illustrated by the examples in (10a-d),[23] in which stressed syllables are indicated by bold type. The consonantless root-initial syllable of a word is regularly realised with a glottal stop, which is not indicated.

(10) a. (C)V CV

no | *mu*	'six'
hi | *lu*	'language'
à | *pa*	'grab/take X'

b. (C)VV CV

pai | *ta*	'bitter'
ka. ***lau*** | *ki*	'k.o. fowl'

c. (C)V CVV

* ***ki*** \| *tai*
* ***tu*** \| *ba:*
* ***a*** \| *mia*

d. (C)VC CV

* ***pak*** \| *ta*
* ***mun*** \| *ki*
* ***um*** \| *lu*

Note that (C)VC syllables never occur in positions receiving main stress, except when their coda is the result of a gliding process: /pai|ta/ 'bitter' → [paj|ta]. This process is discussed below, where I also explain why *paita* should not be analysed as trisyllabic underlyingly, i.e. /pa|i|ta/.

There are no (C)V roots, which suggests that Kambera has a minimal word constraint. This constraint determines the shape of lexical roots and states that a root should minimally be a bimoraic foot which means that the smallest lexical roots still have two vowel positions. This is illustrated in (11). In (11a) the two positions are filled by different vowels, in (11b) they are filled by one, long vowel. The phonetic representations give a monosyllabic form for two of the words in (11a) because a process of gliding changes final high vowels into glides (cf. below.)

(11) a. $CV_j\ V_k$

ta u	[taw]	'person'
ri a	['ri|ja]	'blood'
i u	[ʔiw]	'shark'
a u	[ʔaw]	'bamboo'
à i	[ʔɑj]	'wood'

b. CV_jV_j / CV:

rí	[ri:]	'vegetable(s)'
wá	[wa:]	'down (direction)'
yú	[yu:]	'tongue'

The minimal word constraint also applies to some function words. This is discussed in section 2.3 below.

Note that, as stressed CVC syllables are ungrammatical in Kambera, the language does not have CVC lexical items either. To CVC loan words like *tep* 'tape' (Eng/Ind), *cet* 'paint' or *cap* 'stamp' (Ind) a paragogic vowel [u] is added in order to form a canonical foot, resulting in *tepu*, *cetu* and *capu*. A 'regular' paragogic [u] is not part of the foot, and is preceded by a restricted set of consonants. In *tepu*, *cetu* and *capu* the [u] is, however, part of the foot and in this respect it has the same phonotactic properties as the 'lexical' /u/ in a root like *nomu* 'six' (see section 2.1.2 and the discussion below).

Trisyllabic roots do not occur in Kambera. If *paita* 'bitter' in (10b) above were interpreted as trisyllabic, forms like the ones given in (12) would be expected to occur, contrary to fact:

(12) a. CV CV CV
ri | *mu* | *na*

b. * V CV CV
o | *ba* | *li*

c. * CV V CV
pu | *i* | *ta*

Other roots that could be considered 'trisyllabic' are the ones with a diphthong or a long vowel taking up their first two vowel positions. Some illustrations are given in (13):

(13) a. CV V CV

hai la	'saddle'
rai ra	'to chat'
pai ta	'bitter'
tai ri	'k.o. fish'
lai ri	'back out (from relation)'
yau lu	'chase X'
ka. lau ki	'k.o. fowl'

b. (C)V : CV

dangu	[da: ŋu]	'(be) many'
hili	[hi:li]	'again'
wútu	[wu:tu]	'be fat'
búti	[bu:ti]	'monkey'

(The high vowel in the vowel sequences in (13a) always becomes a glide, see below). The generalisation that can be made on the basis of the data in (13) is the following: if a root contains three vowels (or vowel positions), there cannot be a consonant between the first and second vowel (position) (unless the third vowel is the paragogic [u]). Furthermore, the first two vowel positions must either involve the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ or a long vowel. Given the fact that simple trisyllabic roots (as in (12) above) are not attested, these two vowel sequences can be assumed to form a single unit in the foot.

Now consider the data in (14) (roots are in bold type, *ha., ka., pa.* are prefixes).

(14) (C)V : V C(V)

/**pa: u l**/	['pa:w | lu]	'convince X'
	['pa: | u | lu]	
/ha **ra: u t**/	[ha | 'ra:w | tu]	'be disorganised'
	[ha | 'ra | u | tu]	
/**ra: i ŋ**/	['ra:jŋu]	'be industrious'
	['ra | i | ŋu]	
/**kanja: i.k**/	[ka | 'ndʒa:j | ku]	'cry screaming'
	[ka | 'ndʒa: | i | ku]	
/**paa: u .ŋ**/	[pa | 'a:w | ŋu]	'be dusty'
	[pa | 'a: | u | ŋu]	
(cf. **paàu.ŋ**)	[pa | àw | ŋu]	'call X')

These are words containing both a long vowel and a high vowel. The long vowel is /a:/ and the high vowel may either become a glide (the 'derived' coda of the stressed syllable) or make up a separate syllable (the weak syllable of the foot). The words all have a final vowel [u] in their phonetic form. That is, maximally they may have four vowel positions. However, these four vowel positions can only be filled by a restricted set of vowels and vowel combinations: if position one and two are filled by a long vowel, the third position must have a high vowel (i/u) (i.e. a vowel sequence in a stressed syllable can be /ai/, /au/, /a:i/ or /a:u/. The fourth vowel position can only be filled with [u]. This vowel is the non-lexical, paragogic vowel [u].[24]

Recall from (12) that Kambera does not have simple trisyllabic roots. The roots in (13) that look trisyllabic contain either a diphthong or a long vowel. The only unambiguously trisyllabic (i.e. (C)V CV CV) roots are roots with a final paragogic vowel [u]. In (1)—(2) and (3)—(7) above, we have already seen some examples of such roots; in (15) some additional illustrations are given.

(15) (C)V CV C(V)

a | ka | t(u)	'be bad'	*mbu | ngga | h(u)*	'open X'
bà | nja | l(u)	'put X'	*ki | ki | r(u)*	'shave'
bà | ku | l(u)	'be big'	*ki | ku | ng(u)*	'follow'
mbu | ha | ng(u)	'want X'	*ko | ta | k(u)*	'village'
da | ngga | ng(u)	'sell X'	*mo | nu | ng(u)*	'hope X'
de | ni | ng(u)	'be true'	*o | pa | ng(u)*	'protect X'
do | ti | r(u)	'doctor'	*te | hi | k(u)*	'sea'
ndo | la | k(u)	'be standing'	*um | bu | k(u)*	'grandchild'
pa | da | ng(u)	'field'	*u | ra | ng(u)*	'rain'
pà | da | ng(u)	'experience X'		

As mentioned in section 2.1.1, the consonants /l, r, h, t, k, ŋ/ are the only ones to occur in the root-final position, preceding the [u] in brackets. This vowel is a 'weak' vowel that may disappear in rapid speech. It is a non-lexical, epenthetic or paragogic vowel and I will now discuss the properties of words with such a vowel.

The paragogic [u] is added to the consonants /l, r, h, t, k, ŋ / by a phonetic rule, so that the final syllable with the consonant (CVC) automatically changes into two open (CV) ones. This is why Kambera is considered to have no codas, although optional codas occur when the paragogic vowel disappears in rapid speech (e.g. in reduplications, section 2.6).

The data in (15) show that the segments of these roots have the same distribution as they have in canonical CV CV roots — while the second syllable only contains the cardinal vowels, in the stressed syllable all vowels may occur, including the long vowels. The final syllable may only contain an [u]. In (16) the vowel sequences that are possible in such words are illustrated.

(16) (C)V V CV C(V)

wai | ndal	['waj | nda | lu]	'sway arm; throw X away'
wai | lang	['waj | la | ŋu]	'be clear'
ta.nai | mbah	[ta | 'naj | mba | hu]	'to turn (intr)'
au | lung	['ʔaw | lu | ŋu]	'snatch X'
ka.lau | njak	[ka | 'law | na | ku]	'hop, skip'
iu | lung	['ʔiw | lu | ŋu]	'hand movement in dance'
ka.ndiu | lung	[ka | 'ndiw | lu | ŋu]	'be suspended from X'

The paragogic vowel [u] that makes up the final syllable in the phonetic realisation of these words does not seem to play any role in prosodic structure. Its presence does not

alter the stress pattern — main stress remains on the first syllable of the foot/root (section 2.2.4). The extra syllable that it forms does not count as a syllable in wordgames (section 2.5). Finally, a paragogic vowel may be added iteratively, to create well-formed syllables when necessary. This is illustrated in (17), where the paragogic vowel is printed in boldface. When the applicative suffix -ŋ is added to the root, two paragogic vowels occur:

(17) /u | huk/ → ['u | hu | ku] 'sit' → ['u | hu | ku | ŋu] 'sit on Y'

In Austronesian languages such paragogic vowels seem to be a common strategy to create two open syllables (CV.CV) to avoid a closed (CVC) syllable. Sneddon (1993), discussing the treatment of Proto-Austronesian final consonants in Sulawesi languages, mentions four strategies that 'Western Malayo and Polynesian languages' have used to avoid the (Proto-Austronesian) consonants in word final position. The following strategies are mentioned: (1) loss of the final consonant, (2) reduction of some consonants to glottal stop, (3) velarisation of nasals and (4) the creation of a support or paragogic syllable. The strategies (2) and (3) are neutralisation processes that may eventually result in the loss of the final consonant (1), i.e. an open syllable, which is also the result of the addition of a paragogic vowel (4). Sneddon (1993:1) remarks that "the addition of a [..] paragogic syllable became the most favoured method in this respect, replacing other processes in a number of linguistic groups." Kambera is one of the many Austronesian languages that actively avoid a closed syllable by adding a default vowel.

2.2.2. Summary of root types

In the previous sections we have seen that Kambera has the types of roots as they are summarised in (18a-g). (18a-c) are roots with two vowel positions, while the types in (18d-h) have three vowel positions. The types in (18i-l) are not attested.

(18)

a. (C)V CV *nomu*	b. (C)V_jV_k *wài*	c. CV_jV_j *yú* [yu:]	
d. (C)V V CV *paita*	e. (C)V_j V_j CV *hili* [hi:li]		
f. (C)V CV C(V) *akat(u)*	g. (C)V_j V_k CV C(V) *wàindal(u)*	h. (C)V_j V_j V_k C(V) *raing(u)* [ra:jŋu]	
i. * (C)V * *pi* * *u*	j. * (C)V CV V * *litau* * *ima:*	k. * (C)V CV CV * *la ko ba*	

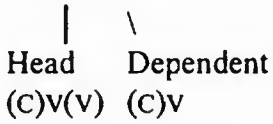
l. * (C)VC CV
   * *pak ta*

To estimate the relative frequency of the attested patterns, I considered the roots of approx. 1000 words (i.e. both root and derived forms). 50% of the roots was covered by the patterns of (18a) and (18e), 15% by (18b-c), and 30% by (18f), while the patterns of (18d), (18g) and (18h) together covered 5% of the roots. The percentages are approximates.

2.2.3. Uneven trochaic foot template

Above it was proposed that long vowels and sequences of /ai/ and /au/ should be considered to form a single syllable (see the examples in (13)). If this is correct, the canonical foot structure in Kambera is maximally the uneven, quantity sensitive, trochee, as represented in (19a). This template allows the expansions (in heavy and light syllables) as given in (19b). The disallowed expansions are given in (19c):

(19) a.



b. Trochaic foot: Heavy Light
   Light Light
   Heavy

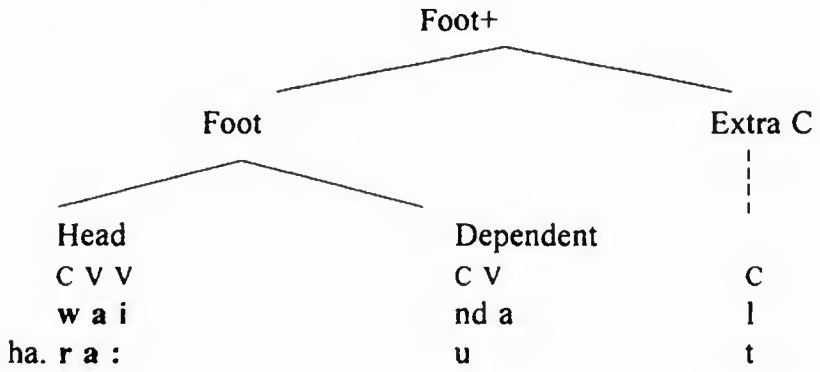
c. Foot: * Light
   * Light Light Light
   * Light Heavy

Let us consider the disallowed templates in (19c). A single light syllable, the first one of the templates, is generally considered an illformed potential foot. A root that consists of three light syllables, the second template, does not occur in Kambera, as shown in (12) and (18j-k).[25] The third template is a foot consisting of two syllables, the second of which cannot be heavy while the first one is light, because stress is assigned to the first syllable, i.e. the foot is left-headed. Generally, heads show the maximum complexity allowed by a grammar. If there is an asymmetry between heads and dependents, it will always be the head that is more complex (cf. Dresher—van der Hulst 1995). In Kambera, the head of the foot can be heavy, the dependent cannot. This accounts for the non-occurrence of [Light Heavy] roots. (More head-dependent asymmetries are discussed in section 2.4 below.)

Forms like (18f,g,h) are analysed as roots with an extra consonant. The extra consonant is added to the basic root template (a Foot). With the paragogic vowel such additional consonants may form an extra syllable. The maximal expansion of a root is

a Foot+, which is represented in (20). Illustrative words are *waindal* 'sway arm, throw X away' (cf. (16)) and *ha.raut* 'be disorganised' (cf.(14)).

(20) The Kambera root template



Evidence to consider the extra consonant as an extension of the foot rather than a part of a higher prosodic category, e.g. the prosodic word, is discussed in section 2.5.

2.2.4. Stress

Main stress is without exception on the initial syllable of the root. It is trochaic and completely regular. Prefixes, suffixes and most[26] clitics are unstressed. This pattern is in accordance with the root template in (20) which, then, expresses not only both the minimal and maximal root size but also its stress pattern.

2.2.5. Vowel combinations

The possible vowel combinations that are allowed without an intervening consonant are given in table 2.3.

Table 2.3. Possible vowel combinations without an intervening consonant

v1 \ v2	i	u	a
i	+	+	+
u	+	+	+
a	+	+	+
o	+	+	—
e	+	+	—

We can see from table 2.3 that the vowel sequences /ea/ and /oa/ do not occur. I will explain this gap in section 2.2.6, where the process of umlaut is discussed.

Whereas root-initial onsetless syllables are usually[27] realised with a glottal stop, a root-internal sequence of two (different) vowels triggers a process of gliding at the phonetic level. In (21) the vowel of the second syllable is /i/ or /u/ and becomes a glide (cf. also the more complex examples in (14) and (16) above). Roots are in bold type.

(21)

i u	[ha.'**riw**]	'one thousand'
u i	[ha.'**ruj**]	'trouble'
e i	['**kej**]	'buy X'
e u	['**hew**]	'beast'
o i	[pa.'**ndoj**]	'make X'
o u	['**dow**] ('dou Miri')	'oh' (in: 'oh Lord')
à u	['**pàw**]	'mango'
a u	['**pa:w**]	'be moved (emotion)'
à u	['**hàw**]	'one (CLF)'
a u	['**Ha:w**]	'Savu (name island)'
à i	['**àj**]	'wood'
a i	['**a:j**]	'to care/forgive'
à i	['**tàj**]	'dirt, crap'
a i	['**ta:j**]	'later'

Words like *pau* [pa:w], *ai* [a:j] and *tai* [ta:j] show that the gliding process also applies when the high vowel is preceded by a long vowel.

If in a vowel sequence the first syllable contains an /i/ or /u/ and the second an /a/, the hiatus is filled with an homorganic glide, which becomes the onset of the consonantless syllable, as in (22):

(22)

u a	['**mbu**| **wa**]	'fruit (CLF)'
u a	['**du**| **wa**]	'two'
i a	['**ri**| **ja**]	'blood'
i a	['**ndi** | **ja**]	'no' (emphatic negative)

In conclusion, a high vowel that is directly preceded by another vowel will become a glide. The same phonetic process of gliding is attested between clitics. The aspectual clitic *-i* 'ITER' becomes a glide when it is preceded by a vowel. The preceding syllable is usually another modal or aspectual CV clitic, such as *-ma* 'EMP' or *-ka* 'PRF', so that for example the sequence *-ka-i* becomes [kaj] (cf. section 2.3.2).

2.2.6. Phonotactic constraints

In this section I will discuss two phonotactic constraints that entail restrictions on VV sequences: one concerns the process of umlaut, the other long vowels.

Umlaut takes place in canonical CV.CV(C) roots, and only there. When the first, stressed, syllable of a root contains a mid vowel /e/ or /o/, and is followed by a second syllable with the low vowel /a/, the /e/ or /o/ in the first syllable becomes a broken or low vowel. The process is stated informally in (23).

(23) /e/ → [jɛ], [ɛ] } __ C a
/o/ → [ɔa], [wɔ], [ɔ] }

Words with a broken or low vowel /e/ are given in (24) and words with a broken or low vowel /o/ in (25).[28] In the left hand column the underlying representation is given, the second column presents the phonetic form.

(24)

re | ngga	['rjɛ | ga]	'hurry, be quick'
he | ma	['hjɛ | ma]	'answer'
mbe | ra	['mbjɛ | ra]	'be broken'
me | ma	['mjɛ | ma]	'immediately'
ka.be | la	[ka | 'ɓjɛ | la]	'sword'
pa.pe | ka.ng	[pa | 'pjɛ | ka | ŋu]	'teach, preach'
me | nyal	['mɛ | nja | lu]	'overripe, mushy'
pe | na	['pɛ | na]	'pencil'
e | nga	['ɛ | ŋa]	'to moo (buffalo)'

(25)

ko | ja	['kwɔ | dʒa]	'slaughter (pig)'
mbo | la	['mbwɔ | la]	'basket'
ma.ro | mbang	[ma | 'rɔa | mba | ŋu]	'forget X'
ka.to | da	[ka | 'tɔa | ɗa]	'place for sacrifices'
bo | rang	['bɔ | ra | ŋu]	'be brave'
po | dah	['pɔ | ɗa | hu]	'wipe X (clean)'
o | ka	['ʔɔka]	'corral (for cattle)'

The presence or absence of prefixes and suffixes does not influence the umlaut process. This means that the domain of the process is indeed the root (or the foot) and, related to that, that the /a/ in prefixes is not the same /a/ as the /a/ in roots, because only the latter one triggers umlaut. I will return to this in section 2.5 below. The vowels /e, o/ do not break or lower when they are followed by /i, u/. In (26) below, illustrations are given of words with /e/ or /o/ in the first syllable of their root, followed by /i/ or /u/ in the second syllable. The phonetic forms show that /e/ and /o/ are neither lowered nor broken in such roots.

(26)

mbe | ni	['mbe | ni]	'be fierce/angry'
me | mu	['me | mu]	'to show off'
po | ki	['po | ki]	'be blind'
ho | ndu	['ho | ndu]	'to bind/tie X'
ka.bi | la.k	[ka | 'ɓi | la | ku]	'flash, lightning'
bu | nggah	['ɓu | ŋga | hu]	'to open X'

Broken vowels must be distinguished from vowel sequences, because the syllabification of words with a sequence of V_j V_k is different from words with a broken vowel. This is illustrated in (27). In vowel sequences with a high vowel in the first position, each vowel forms a separate syllable and a homorganic glide is used in the hiatus.

(27)

/lu a/	['lu | wa]	'go'
/mbu a/	['mbu | wa]	'fruit (CLF)'
/ri a/	['ri | ja]	'blood'
/ma. ki a/	[ma | 'ki | ja]	'be embarrassed'

In contrast to a vowel sequence, a broken vowel is interpreted as *one* vowel. Evidence for this comes from reduplication. Kambera has a reduplicative process that copies the first CV of a root. For instance, *ma.kia* 'be embarrassed' will be reduplicated as *ma.ki-kia* 'very embarrassed'. When the first CV of a root that is subject to umlaut is reduplicated, the CV reduplicative 'prefix' contains the complete broken vowel. That is, the broken vowel occurs twice: both in the root and in the reduplication, as in *pe-pena* [pjɛ-'pjɛna] 'various pencils'. *Pena* cannot be reduplicated as *[pe- 'pjɛna], *[pɛ-'pjɛna] or *[pi- 'pjɛna] (section 2.6).

The process of umlaut can be accounted for as follows. Recall the unary feature specifications of the Kambera vowels given in (8) above, where the cardinal vowel /a/ is represented by the feature [low] and the vowels /e/ and /o/ by a combination of the features [low], [front] and [low], [round], respectively. Van der Hulst — Klamer (1997) propose to view Kambera umlaut as a process of 'low-attraction' where the feature [low] of the /a/ in the second syllable (V2) attracts the feature [low] of the vowel in the first syllable (V1). However, because in items like the ones in (24), (25) there is an intervening consonant between the two vowels, the feature [low] of V1 cannot fuse with the feature low of V2 ('disappear'). The result is that V1 becomes a broken vowel which is optionally realised as low. Thus, the effect of umlaut triggered by V2 is the fission of V1. In (28) this is illustrated with an /e/ in the first syllable:

(28)

V1	C	V2	→	V1		C	V2
|		|		|	\		|
front, low		low		front	low		low
/e/		/a/		[i	a]		[a]
				[ɛ]			

We assume that umlaut by 'low-attraction' also applies in the disyllabic vowel sequences /ea/ and /oa/ in (29). In these forms there is no intervening consonant to stop the [low] feature of V1 fusing with V2. When this feature thus fuses with V2, V1 only retains the feature [front]:

(29)

V1	V2	→	V1	V2
front, low	low		front	low
/e/	/a/		[i	a]

In other words, an underlying vowel sequence /ea/ surfaces as [ia] and, likewise, /eo/ occurs as [ua] because of 'low-attraction'. This explains the absence of the vowel sequences /ea/ and /oa/ in Kambera (section 2.2.5). Thus, the process of low-attraction that is responsible for umlaut is also responsible for the two gaps in vowel sequences.

A second restriction on Kambera vowel sequences is the following. In Klamer (1989) and van der Hulst—Klamer (1997) it is noted that the following vowel sequences are unattested:

(30)

a.	b.
* [ri:ja]	* [ri:i]
* [ki:wa]	* [ki:u]
* [tu:wa]	* [tu:i]
* [tu:ja]	* [tu:u]
	* [ra:a]

On the basis of these facts, the generalisation can be made that 'a vowel may not be followed by a vowel/consonant of equal height'. However, this generalisation is incorrect in light of the facts in (31) below:

(31)

ha.	*ri.u*	'a thousand'
ha.	*ru.i*	'have trouble'

The restriction is therefore that a *long* vowel cannot be followed by a vowel or consonant of equal height.

2.3. Non-root phonotactics

2.3.1. Affixes

Kambera has seven prefixes. Their grammatical features are discussed in Chapter 6. Prefixes have specific phonotactic properties that indicate their status as bound morphemes. Six prefixes have the form CV, namely *ha.*, *ka.*, *la.*, *ma.*, *pa.*, and *ta.*, and one is a phonological feature [nas].[29] In prefixes there is no vocalic contrast, because if a prefix contains a vowel, that vowel is always /a/. Prefixes do not bear stress. The maximum number of prefixes found in sequence is two.

There is one morpheme that could be considered a 'suffix', namely the 'suffix' *.k* which is part of the circumfix *ka..k.* (cf. section 6.4). As its occurrence depends on the presence of the prefix *ka.*, it is not an independent suffix. There is another suffixing morpheme: the morpheme *.ng.* Its status as either suffix or clitic is unclear. Arguments in favour of its clitic status are that it does not seem to be very selective with respect to the category of its base and that it may also attach to larger constituents such as complex NPs (cf. section 6.2.6, 6.3.4). Arguments for its suffix status are that it also functions as an applicative suffix increasing the valency of verbal stems. Phonologically, both 'suffixes' are treated like the 'additional' ($Foot^+$) consonants (section 2.2.3) — they are always followed by a paragogic vowel. If the root to which a suffix attaches already has an extra consonant (like the roots in (15) above), the paragogic vowel occurs twice (as in (17)).

2.3.2. Clitics

Kambera has enclitics marking aspect and mood, proclitics marking coordination and subordination, and pronominal pro- and enclitics. I will separate the discussion of pronominal pro- and enclitics from other pro- and enclitics (section 3.1.4, 3.3). The various types of proclitics are given in (32). I consider some Kambera functions words, such as conjunctions, prepositions, articles, and the negation *nda*, to be (phonological) clitics as well, because (i) these items do not conform to the minimal word requirement discussed above and (ii) they may only occur with a phonological/syntactic host. However, following common practice, they will be orthographically represented as independent words.

(32) Proclitics marking embedded clauses, locatives, articles, negation: Ca, Ci, Cu.

hi, ka, ba	Conjunctions
pa	Marker object relative clause
ma	Marker subject relative clause
pa	Marker controlled clause
hu	Locative (directional)
la	Locative (locational)
na	Article (sg.)
da	Article (pl.)
i	Article (proper)
nda	Negation

The Kambera enclitics are pronominal, modal or aspectual. The language has one set of pronominal proclitics (the nominative) but has no modal/aspectual *pro*clitics. The mood and aspect clitics are given in (33):

(33) Enclitics marking mood and aspect: Ca, Cu, a, i

-ma	Emphasis	*-mbu*	'also'
-pa	Imperfective	*-du*	Emphasis
-ka	Perfective	*-i*	Iterative
-wa	Hortative	*-a*	'just, only'

The clitic *-du* is a special case. It is one of the stressed clitics (see below). If it is followed by another clitic its vowel is not tensed/lengthened [du], but if it occurs at the end of a clitic cluster, it does have a tensed/lengthened vowel [du:]. In (34a) the clitic occurs as the final clitic of the cluster and is tensed/lengthened, in (34b) it is not.

(34) a. *Nda na=mài =ma =dú na sopir*
NEG 3SN=come =MOD =EMP ART driver
'The driver did not turn up'
a'. [ˌnda na'mài ma'ɗu: na 'sopiru]

b. *Hama =du =na na mbuku =nggu nyungga*
same =EMP =3SG ART book =1SG I
'My book is (really) similar'
b'. ['hama 'ɗuna na 'mbukuŋgu 'njuŋga]

In (34a) the vowel of *-du* is lenghtened because of the minimal word constraint (section 2.2.1). The clitic sequence *duna* in (34b) can be analysed as an emphatic pronoun (section 3.1.5.2, 4.6.1). It is an independent (prosodic) word which conforms to the minimal word constraint without having to lengthen the vowel *u*. Thus, a foot that is formed post-lexically also conforms to the basic root template.

There are bisyllabic markers for mood that have stress: *bia* 'just; rather; etc.' and *àru* HORTATIVE (polite). I have classified them as clitics because their distribution and functional properties.

The pronominal pro- and enclitics are rather like the aspect and mood enclitics in having simple phonotactic properties and no stress. They only contain the vowels /a, i, u/ and most of them have the shape CV, as illustrated in (35):

(35)

	NOM	ACC	DAT	GEN
1s	*ku-*	*-ka*	*-ngga*	*-nggu*
2s	*(m)u-*	*-kau*	*-nggau*	*-mu*
3s	*na-*	*-ya*	*-nya*	*-na*
1p(inc)	*ta-*	*-ta*	*-nda*	*-nda*
1p(exc)	*ma-*	*-kama*	*-nggama*	*-ma*
2p	*(m)i-*	*-ka(m)i*	*-ngga(m)i*	*-mi*
3p	*da-*	*-ha*	*-nja*	*-da*

The pronominal clitics *-kama/-nggama* 'we (inclusive) accusative/dative' are bisyllabic, but do not have stress. The clitics *-ka(m)i/-ngga(m)i* 'you (plural) accusative/dative' have a bisyllabic and a monosyllabic variant. Usually, the shorter form is used (*-kai/-*

nggai). From the above we can conclude that Kambera clitics (with the exception of a few pronominal and modal forms) occur in the shapes given in (36):

(36) CV — where V is /i, u, a/
V — where V is /a, i/

The onsetless clitics are realised as shown by the phonetic transcriptions of the sentences in (37) below. In (37a') gliding occurs in a sequence of /a/ plus /i/. In (37b'-c') it is illustrated that a hiatus of /u, i/ and /a/ is filled with a homorganic glide. An onsetless clitic is realised with a glottal stop if it is preceded by a word or clitic that ends in an identical vowel. This is illustrated in (37d') for a sequence of two /a/ segments, but it also applies to a sequence of /i/'s and /u/'s.

(37) a. *Njàpu -ma -du -nanya -i*
finished -MOD -EMP -3SG.CONT -MOD
'It's finished already'
a'. ['ndʒàpu ma'ɗuna,njaj]

b. *Duruh -nggu pa- katuda -ma - du -a*
continue -3SG CTR -sleep -MOD- EMP -MOD
'I've been sleeping all the time'
b'. ['ɗuruhuŋgu paka'tuɗa ma'ɗuwa]

c. *Duruh -nggu pa- katuda -ma -'ki -a*
continue -1SG CTR -sleep -MOD- MOD -MOD
'I have only been sleeping (i.e. done nothing but sleep)'
c'. ['ɗuruhuŋgu paka'tuɗa ma'kija]

d. *Duruh -nggu pa- katuda -ma -a*
continue -1SG CTR- sleep -MOD- MOD
'I have just been sleeping (i.e. done nothing wrong)'
d'. ['ɗuruhuŋgu paka'tuɗa ma,ʔa]

2.3.3. 'Small' function words

'Small' words have the shape CV when occurring with a clitic and CV: when they occur alone, where V contains /i, u, a/ (just like *-du* in (33)). Examples of 'small words' are given in (38):

(38) *nggi* 'where'
ngga 'what/who'[30]
ni Deictic: at location of speaker
nu Deictic: at location remote from speaker & addressee
na Deictic: at location of adressee

The alternation between long and short vowels in *ni* is illustrated in (39):

(39) a. *ni* Deictic: at location of speaker

b. *ni* *-na* ['nina] 'this one' (demonstrative pronoun, 3.1.5.2)
DEI -3SG

c. *ni .ngu* ['niŋu] 'be (here)' (deictic verb, 5.2)
DEI.suffix

d. *lai* *ní* [laj 'ni:] 'over here' (PP, 4.5)
LOC DEI

From the deictic element in (39a), a demonstrative pronoun is formed by combining it with a pronominal enclitic in (39b). In (39c) the same element is the base for the derivation of a deictic verb with the morpheme *.ng* (and additional default vowel [u]). In these two cases, the deictic element has the shape CV. In (39d), however, the vowel in the deictic element is lengthened when it is used in a Prepositional Phrase. 'Small words' have a long vowel when they occur on their own because they must conform to the minimal word constraint.

2.3.4. Conclusions

The Kambera minimal word requirement is met by content words (lexical roots), but not by affixes and clitics. Clitics are (prosodically) dependent, and only occur in combination with a (prosodic) head. A 'small' function word may only occur independently when it meets the minimal word requirement. The generalization we can make is that all affixes, almost all clitics and a number of function words are phonologically less complex than content words.

2.4. Vowel distribution in the prosodic word

Assuming that prefixes and suffixes are part of the prosodic word (section 2.5) the data presented in the previous sections show an interesting distributional pattern for vowels in the prosodic word which is summarised in (40) and (41):

(40) a. pre-tonic: default vowel /a/
b. tonic: all vowels
c. post-tonic1: cardinal vowels unmarked for length/tenseness: /i/, /a/, /u/
d. post-tonic2: default vowel [u]

(41)

C	V -	C	V -	[C	V (V)	C	V]$_{ROOT}$	- C	V	- C	V
	a		a		i/i:		i		u		u
					u/u:		u				
					e/ai		a				
					o/au						
					a/a:						

That is, in the first, stressed syllable of the root all eight vowels plus the two diphthongs may occur, while in the second, unstressed syllable of the root only the short cardinal vowels are allowed. The default vowel of the prefixes is /a/ and the default vowel at the final edge of the root/prosodic word is [u]. In other words, the stressed syllable - the prosodic head - has more structural possibilities than its dependents.

Clitics and 'small words' have the same structure as the weak root syllable (cf. section 2.3.2 - 2.3.4, 2.4).

Kambera prefixes and suffixes only need to be lexically specified for their initial consonant because they lack vowel contrast. On the assumption that they all have the syllabic shape CV, we can say that the empty V-position in affixes is spelled out as /a/ in pre-tonic position (i.e. for prefixes) and as [u] in post- tonic position (for suffixes).

2.5. Word games and names

In this section I will discuss evidence for the distinction between the foot and the prosodic word. The evidence comes from Kambera word games and name clippings.

The structure of the root was qualified in section 2.2.3 above as a trochaic foot. Thus, the first syllable of the root has stress. The number of prefixes may range from zero to two. Each of them may form an extra syllable with the pretonic default vowel /a/. Prefix syllables are light and have no stress. I assume that they form a prosodic word, together with the trochaic foot, as represented in (45) below.

The word game illustrated in (42) below may be used by children as a secret language.[31]

(42) Word game: the non-head part of the Foot is moved to the beginning of the Prosodic Word

iu ['iw]	'shark'	→ ['ʔuwi]
yú ['yu:]	'tongue'	→ ['wuyu]
rí ['ri:]	'vegetables'	→ ['yiri]
ndui ['nduj]	'money'	→ ['ʔindu]
haila ['hajla]	'saddle'	→ [la'haj]
túki ['tu:ki]	'be round/spherical'	→ [ki'tu:]
àulung(u) ['awluŋu]	'snatch away'	→ [,luŋu'aw]
ka.làuki [ka'lawki]	'k.o. chicken'	→ [,kika.'law]
ka.ngau [ka'ŋa:w]	'miaow'	→ [,uka.'ŋa:]
ma.lài [ma'laj]	'be long'	→ [,yima.'la:]; [,ʔima'la:]
pa.ndoi [pa'ndoj]	'make X'	→ [,ipa.'ndo:]
ka.paindah(u) [ka'pajndahu]	'reflect, bounce'	→ [,huka.'pajnda] → [,ndahu ka.'paj]
pa.ka.'maitar(u).ng(u)	'grouch, sulk'	→ [,taruŋ pa.ka.'maj]
,wihi 'menja	'leg of table'	→ [,hiwi 'njami]
ka.'modu	'yesterday'	→ [,ɗuka.'mo:]

The data in (42) are evidence for various aspects of the Kambera phonotactic structure. First, a long vowel or diphthong is interpreted as bipositional if occurring alone (*yu:* → *wuyu*). Second, a VV sequence is regarded the prosodic head (only) if another syllable follows, but in a word just containing VV (i.e. without another syllable following), only the first V position is considered the head, while the second V position is considered the non-head (*haila* → *la'hai* [* *yilaha*], *tu:ki* → *ki'tu:* [* *wukitu*], *yu:* → *wuyu*). Third, an empty onset may be filled by a homorganic glide (*yu:* → *wuyu*), but may also be filled by a glottal stop (*iu* → *ʔuwi*). Fourth, an /e/ is disallowed in post-tonic position; it becomes /i/ instead, as shown by the second item of the compound *wihi menja*: *'menja* → *'njami*. Fifth, if the foot that results from applying the game has only one CV syllable, this foot must contain a tense/long vowel under stress, as illustrated by *ma.lai* → *yima'la:* and *ka.modu* → *duka.'mo:*.

In (42), a section of the foot is moved to the beginning of the prosodic word. When a word is morphologically simple (*yu:* → *wuyu*, *haila* → *lahai*) the section moves to the beginning of the foot. When it is morphologically complex (with one or more prefixes) it moves to the position preceding the prefix(es), (*ka.lauki* → *kika.lau*, *pa.ndoi* → *ipa.ndo*) and not to the beginning of the foot [**ka.kilau*, **pa.indo*]. Thus, prefixes are included in the wordgame, which is an indication that not the foot but the next higher prosodic domain, the prosodic word (cf. Nespor and Vogel 1986), is the domain of this game. The section of the foot that is moved in this game cannot be characterised as 'the final syllable' because that does not over all the cases in (42). Rather, what is moved is 'the non-head part of the foot'. A foot with an additional consonant, such as *aulung(u)*, moves the complete non-head part of the foot, which consists of two syllables here (→ *lungu'au*), (**ngu'aulu*). When a foot has three syllables, one heavy and one with a paragogic vowel (e.g. *ka.'paindah(u)*), confusion

arises. There are two options. Either the final syllable is put at the beginning (*ka.'paindah(u)* → *huka.'painda*), or the non-head part of the foot is put at the beginning (*ka.'paindah(u)* →*,ndahu ka.'pai*) and the resulting word is stressed like a compound (cf. the compound *,tau ka.'wini* 'woman'). Of these two possibilities, the second is expected to be preferred, which turns out to be correct.[32]

Another Kambera word game distinguishes a foot from a prosodic word. In this game the onsetless prosodic template of the Foot (and Foot$^+$) is employed. This template is attached to some standard 'prefixes', namely *ikan-*, *it-*, *paw-* and *haramb-*. These 'prefixes' also provide a new onset for the copy. The game is illustrated in (43):

(43) Word game using an onsetless Foot/Foot$^+$ template

a. *ài* 'wood' — ika'n*ài* — i't*ài* — pa'w*ài* — hara'mb*ài*
ahu 'dog' — ika'n*ahu* — i't*ahu* — pa'w*ahu* — hara'mb*ahu*
b*aha* 'wash' — ika'n*aha* — i't*aha* — pa'w*aha* — hara'mb*aha*
y*aulu* 'chase' — ika'n*aulu* — i't*aulu* — pa'w*aulu* — hara'mb*aulu*
l*airi* 'back out (from relation)' — ika'n*airi* — i't*airi* — pa'w*airi* — haramb*airi*

b. *àdung(u)* 'continue'
— ika'n*àdung(u)* — i't*àdung(u)* — pa'w*àdung(u)* — hara'mb*àdung(u)*

b*anjal(u)* 'leave X, put X'
— ika'n*anjal(u)* — i't*anjal(u)* — pa'w*anjal(u)* — hara'mb*anjal(u)*

w*aihak(u)* 'turn around'
— ika'n*aihak(u)* —i't*aihak(u)* — pa'w*aihak(u)* — hara'mb*aihak(u)*

c. ka.l*aunjak(u)* 'jump, skip'
— ika'n*aunjak(u)* — i't*aunjak(u)* — pa'w*aunjak(u)*— hara'mb*aunjak(u)*

ta.n*aimbah(u)* 'turn (around)'
— ika'n*aimbah(u)* — i't*aimbah(u)* — pa'w*aimbah(u)* — hara'mb*aimbah(u)*

d. pa.ka.m*aitar(u).ng(u)* 'grouch, sulk'
— i'kan*aitar(u)* — i't*aitar(u)* — pa'w*aitar(u)* — hara'mb*aitar(u)*

e. ai l*ulu* 'very'
— i'kan*ulu* — i't*ulu* — pa'w*ulu* — hara'mb*ulu*

In (43a) the template is a foot. In (43b) the template is a Foot$^+$. In (43c) the bases are morphologically complex, but only the Foot template is used in the game. In (43d) it is shown that a suffix is not part of the root template that is used in this game. In (43e) the second constituent of a (lexicalised) compound provides the template used in the game.

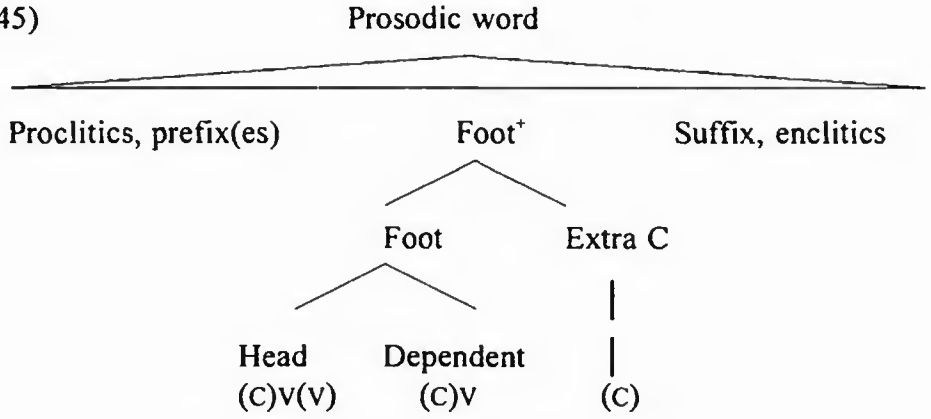
This word game is thus evidence that the Foot/Foot$^+$ is a domain that is distinct from the prosodic word, because neither suffixes, nor prefixes take part in the game, while the dependent syllables in the foot (cf. (20) above) do.

Finally, names which are based on morphologically complex words are preferably a Foot/Foot$^+$. In most cases they 'lose' their prefix, but not their final consonant. In (44) some examples are given of Kambera personal names:

(44)	*ka.lipar(u)*	'be lame'	→ *Lipar(u)*
	ka.ndunu	'star'	→ *Ndunu*
	ka.borang(u)	'be brave'	→ *Borang(u)* or *Ka.borang(u)*
	ka.tiku	'head'	→ *Tiku*
	la.hona	'red onion'	→ *Hona*

Much about the organisation of prosodic words (and higher prosodic constituents such as the phonological phrase) is still unclear for Kambera. In section 3.1.5. I discuss how prosodic words relate to morpho-syntactically defined words. In conclusion, I tentatively propose a Kambera prosodic template up to the prosodic word as in (45):

(45)



2.6. Reduplication

2.6.1. Introduction

Reduplication is a word formation rule that attaches a shape-invariant unit to a base. This 'unit' is a prosodic constituent which may vary (e.g. be a syllable, foot or prosodic word). It is segmentally empty and receives its phonemic content from its base (McCarthy 1981, Marantz 1982). Thus a morphological process like reduplication has important phonological aspects, and therefore it is discussed in this chapter on Kambera phonology.

In the sections below I will provide information on the conditions on the domain of the reduplication rule (i.e. the reduplicative base); secondly, the nature of the item attached; and thirdly, the position where the item is attached.

In Kambera, words from different categories can be the base of a reduplicative process. Bases may be nouns, verbs, adverbs, question words, and measure words.

Several types of reduplication can be distinguished, such as CV-(syllable) reduplication, foot reduplication, reduplication of one (prosodic) word and reduplication of more than one word. The formal properties of CV-, foot and word reduplication will be discussed in section 2.6.2 These various forms do not seem to require different syntactic or functional environments — in most cases they are used as interchangeable forms. In section 2.6.3 I will discuss the reduplication of more than one word, which includes the reduplication of certain quantified NPs, compounds and a special kind of reduplication. None of the illustrations is elicited (except for, of course, the ungrammatical forms).

2.6.2. Major types of reduplication

2.6.2.1. CV reduplication

Syllable reduplication is the attachment of a syllable template to the root. This segmentally empty morpheme receives its phonemic content from its base, the root. Basically, Kambera has one type of syllable reduplication: the reduplication of a simple CV syllable.[33] Main stress remains on the first syllable of the root, as illustrated in (46). Observe that 'CV-reduplication' is not always identical to 'syllable reduplication', cf. *ha-haila* vs. * *hai-haila*.[34] For the semantics of reduplicated forms, cf. 2.6.4.

(46) CV reduplication

watu	'stone'	*wa-'watu*
ài	'wood'	*a-'ài*
wei	'pig'	*we-'wei*
pena	'pencil'	*pe-'pena* [pjɛ-'pjɛna]
meu	'cat'	*me-'meu*
ria	'blood'	*ri-'ria*
nggamu	'who'	*ngga-'nggamu*
nggàra	'what'	*ngga-'nggàra*
hí	'cry'	*hi-hí* [hi-'hi:]
reu	'talk, chat'	*re-'reu*
tangar(u)	'watch X'	*ta.'tangar(u)*
hei	'go up'	*he-'hei*
lua	'go'	*lu-'lua*
ita	'see (X)'	*i-'ita*
wainggah(u).ng(u)	'throw X away'	*wa-'wainggah(u).ng(u)*
haila	'saddle'	*ha-'haila*
ndau	'shiver'	*nda-'ndau*
tata	'shake'	*ta-'tata*
dangu [da:ŋu]	'(be) a lot'	*da-dangu* [da'da:ŋu]
wútu	'be fat'	*wu-wútu* [wu-'wu:tu]

rihi	'be more'	*ri-'rihi*
bàkul(u)	'be big'	*ba-'bàkul(u)*
akat(u)	'be evil'	*a-'akat(u)*
ànga	'useless'	*a-'ànga*
jua.ng(u)	'just'	*ju-'jua.ng(u)*
ha.ngàngi	'be ready'	*ha.nga-'ngàngi*
ma.ràmba	'king'	*ma.ra-'ràmba*
ma.ndài	'be long (time)'	*ma.nda-'ndài*
pa.ita.ng(u)	'show (X) to Y'	*pa.i-'ita.ng(u)*
pa.ka.ngoja	'trample X'	*pa.ka.ngo-ngoja* [pakaŋwò-'ŋwòdʒa]
pa.banjar(u).ng(u)	talk (continuously)	*pa.ba-'banjar(u).ng(u)*

We see that both simple and morphologically complex bases undergo CV-reduplication. The base of this reduplication is always the root. Words of various categories may undergo this reduplication, including question words *ngga-nggamu* 'whoever/anybody', *ngga-nggàra* 'whatever/all kinds of things/anything'.[35]

CV-reduplication copies the first consonant and vowel of the root. In case the vowel has undergone umlaut (i.e. is a low/broken vowel, as in *ka.ngoja* 'trample X' and *pena* 'pencil'), this low/broken vowel is copied, with the result that it looks as if the process of umlaut has 'overapplied'. In (46) we also observe that in CV-reduplication the vowel sequences /ai/, /ei/, /eu/, /au/, /ua/ and /ia/ are all treated alike in being considered bivocalic structures. We also observe that a consonantless reduplicated syllable (as *a* in *ài* 'wood' and *akat(u)* 'be evil') is realised with a glottal stop, while another glottal stop separates the root from the reduplicated syllable. Finally, the length of the vowel in *wu:tu* and *da:ngu* is not transferred to the reduplicative prefix.

However, under certain circumstances the vowel in the reduplicated syllable may be tensed or long (CV:). Tensing/lengthening a reduplicated vowel expresses a greater degree of emphasis than the ordinary CV-reduplication in (46). Both the reduplicative prefix with the long/tense vowel and the base form have equal stress. Prosodically, the reduplicative prefix is an independent foot. Illustrations are given in (47).

(47) CV: reduplication

hi	'cry'	[hi:-'hi:]
tata	'shake'	[ta:-'tata]
tangar(u)	'watch X'	['ta:-'tangar(u)]
ma.ramba	'king'	[ma.'ra:-'ramba]

The usual reduplicative form of hi: 'cry' is *hi-hi:* 'continue to cry' (cf. (46) above). If the reduplicated vowel is lengthened the reduplication has the more emphatic meaning 'continue to cry all the time'. Simple *ta-'tata*, as in (46), means 'shaking a lot', while *'ta:-'tata*, as in (47) means something like 'keep on shaking heavily all the time'. *Ta-tangar(u)* means 'watch X for a bit', but *'ta:-'tangar(u)* has a more emphatic meaning like 'watch X very intensively, study X'. *Ma.ra-'ramba* means 'various kings' while

ma.'ra:-'ramba means 'all (of those) various kings'. I suggest that the tenseness/length of the vowel is again the result of a tensing rule triggered by 'high prominence' (like the vowel *u* in the clitic *du* discussed in section 2.3 above).

We can summarise the facts above as follows. The nature of the reduplicative item attached is a CV template and the base it is attached to is a foot. The reduplicative morpheme is a prefix. CV reduplication is unlike syllable reduplication because CV reduplication does not depend on the prosodic structure of the base. That is, in reduplication, a string of the first two CV segments of the foot are blindly copied, even when they are *part* of a syllable.

A reduplicative CV prefix and a 'normal' prefix in Kambera differ in some important respects. Reduplicated prefixes have other phonotactic restrictions than 'normal' prefixes. Section 2.4 concluded that the only vowel that appears in normal prefixes is /a/. In contrast to this, in reduplicative prefixes all vowels are allowed to occur, including the low and broken vowels, provided they are a copy of the base. A reduplicated syllable can have stress, in which case it even may have long vowels. Thus there are major differences between 'ordinary' prefixes and reduplicative prefixes.

2.6.2.2. Foot reduplication

The second type of reduplication is the affixation of a Foot template. The prefixed foot has main stress, which may be realised as secondary stress (probably for rhythmic purposes). The meaning of reduplications is discussed in section 2.6.4.

(48) Foot reduplication

ài	'wood'	*'ài-'ài*
tau	'person'	*'tau-'tau*
reu	'talk, chat'	*'reu-'reu*
rama	'work'	*'rama-'rama*
laku	'walk, go'	*'laku-'laku*
ndau	'shiver'	*'ndau-'ndau*
kaunda	'stalk away'	*'kaunda-'kaunda*
wunang(u)	'priest'	*'wuna-'wunang(u)*
tangar(u)	'watch X'	*'tanga-'tangar(u)*
uruh(u)	'organise (X)'	*'uru-'uruh(u)*
ka.hau.ng(u)	'separate X'	*ka.'hau-'hau.ng(u)*
ma.njàdang(u)	'stop/become silent'	*ma.'njàda-'njàda.ng(u)*
ma.ndài	'be long (time)'	*ma.'ndài-'ndài*
ma.tua	'be old'	*ma.'tua-'tua*
pa.banjarung(u)	'talk'	*pa.'banja-'banjarung(u)*
pa.mbau.ng(u)	'pelt Y (with X)'	*pa.'mbau-'mbau.ng(u)*

The data in (48) show that it is indeed the foot that is reduplicated, and not a number of segments, syllables or the minimal word (cf. section 2.2.1) (*kaunda* 'stalk away' → *kaunda-kaunda* vs. **kau-kaunda*). Roots with a final consonant like *wunang(u)* 'priest'

or *tangar(u)* 'watch' copy the foot, not the foot^{+} (i.e. the entire root): **wunang(u)-wunang(u)* and **tangar(u)-tangar(u)*.

However, in some reduplications the foot^{+} is reduplicated. There seems to be no difference in meaning or use of these two types of foot reduplication. Some illustrations are given in (49).

(49) Foot^{+} reduplication

wihung(u)	'swing, sway'	*'wihung(u)-'wihung(u)*
linjung(u)	'jump'	*'linjung(u)-'linjung(u)*
mongal(u)	'stumble away'	*'mongal(u)-'mongal(u)*
ma.njàdang(u)	'stop/become silent'	*'ma.njàdang(u)-'njàdang(u)*
langgap(u)	'crowl'	*'langgap(u)-'langgap(u)*
wainjar(u)	'walk briskly'	*'wainjar(u)-'wainjar(u)*

If a foot^{+} is reduplicated, the paragogic vowel [u] remains optional in the base foot as well as in the reduplicated foot. (Optionality is indicated by brackets.) That is, the vowel does not count in the reduplication of the foot.

2.6.2.3. Reduplication of a prosodic word

Full reduplication is the reduplication of a prosodic word, i.e. a foot plus possible affixes (section 2.5). Full reduplication is illustrated in (50). In the translation of the reduplication the meaning of the base word is underlined.

(50) Full (prosodic word) reduplication

ha.'pungu - ha.'pungu	'various poles'
ha.'atu - ha.'atu	'each and every one' (people)
ha.'ndàka - ha.'ndàka	'once in a while'
...ha.'ngia - ha.'ngia	'all kinds of ...' (ngia= place, location)[36]
ka.'lembi - ka.'lembi	'various family members'
ma.'ramba - ma.'ramba	'various (kinds of) kings'
pa.'peka.ng(u) - pa.'peka.ng(u)	'all kinds of stories'
ta.'mbumba - ta.'mbumba	'pounding, clatter of hoofs'
pa.'mula - pa.'mula	'keep on planting (rice)'

The first four words are derived with the quantifying prefix *ha.* (cf. section 6.5.2). In the next section it will be discussed how another type of quantified NP is reduplicated.

2.6.3 Reduplication of two prosodic words

In addition to the major types of reduplication discussed in the previous subsections, Kambera has some other reduplicative forms, which will be briefly discussed in this section. The formal and semantic properties of these forms differ, but they all involve the reduplication of two prosodic words.

The first type reduplicates a quantified NP with a numeral phrase which involves a classifier *hau* 'one(CLF)'.[37] Other numeral phrases, such as *tailu mbua* 'three CLF', cannot be reduplicated in the same way. The reduplicated form with *hau* has a distributive meaning. This is illustrated in (51), where the reduplicated words are feet (F). It is also illustrated in (52). Note that in (52a) *ma.ramba* is a prosodic word that is reduplicated, not a foot.

(51) *La* $(hau)_F$ $(pa.(ngia)_F)_{PrWd}$ - *hau* *pa.ngia*
LOC one.CLF place one.CLF place
'In each and every place'

(52) a. $(Hau)_F$ $(ma.(ramba)_F)_{PrWd}$ - *hau* *ma.ramba*
one.CLF king one.CLF king
'(Each and) every king'

b. *Hau* *mbaru* - *hau* *mbaru*
one.CLF morning one.CLF morning
'Each and every morning'

c. *Hau* *lodu* - *hau* *lodu*
one.CLF day one.CLF day
'(Each and) every day'

Apart from the full reduplication of both words, constructions like these may undergo CV-reduplication of either part. This is illustrated in (53). In (53a) both are reduplicated, in (53b) only the first item (the numeral), and in (53c) only the second item (the deverbal noun). According to the informant, reduplication of the second foot in (53d) is illformed in this construction.

(53) a. *,Hau* *ma.'ndapu* - *,hau* *ma.'ndapu*
one.CLF sit one.CLF sit
'Each and every settlement'

b. *Ha* - *'hau* *ma.'ndapu*
RED- one.CLF sit
'Every settlement'

c. *'Hau* *ma.nda-* *'ndapu*
one.CLF RED- sit
'Every settlement'

d. * *'Hau* *ma.'ndapu -* *'ndapu*
one.CLF RED- sit

The second type of reduplication which involves two words is the reduplication of NPs and compounds. Kambera NPs/compounds are morpho-syntactically left-headed, but prosodically right-headed — the modifier is the prosodic head because it has main stress. There is no formal distinction between a compound and an NP containing a modified noun; the semantic difference is that compounds have a lexicalised interpretation. When an NP undergoes emphatic reduplication, usually the part that is emphasised is reduplicated. This is illustrated in (54). In (54a) the modifier is used emphatically and is reduplicated, in (54b) the morpho-syntactic head is reduplicated, suggesting distribution (i.e. a group of various kings).

(54) a. *Ma.ramba* *bo -* *bokul*
king RED- be big
'A very important king/ several very important kings'

b. *Ma.ramba -* *ma.ramba bokul*
king- king be big
'Various important kings'

Now, in (55) below some reduplications of the compound *ama bokul(u)* 'elder, respected older man' (lit. 'big father') are given. Lexicalised compounds are usually reduplicated as a whole, as in (55a). Although other possibilities exist, as shown in (55b-d), reduplication of the whole NP is the most favoured form.

(55) a. *Da* *ama* *bokul(u) -* *ama* *bokul(u)*
ART father be big father be big
'The various elders'

b. *Da* *ama* *bo -* *bokul(u)* *-ka*
ART father RED- be big -PRF
'The (various) elders'

c. *Da* *ama* *boku -* *bokul(u)* *-ka*
ART father RED- be big -PRF
'The (various) elders'

d. *Ama -* *ama* *bokul*
RED- father be big
'Various elders'

e. * *Da* *a -* *ama* *bokul(u)*
ART RED- father be big

The illformedness of (55e) may have to do with the (semantic) properties of the compound as a whole: the reduplicated form does not involve various fathers but rather various elders, thus the reduplication of *ama bokul* 'elder' is preferred to the reduplication of *ama* 'father'. However, this leaves unexplained why (55d) is wellformed.

In (56) the quantified compound *hau kuru uma* 'a/one household' is reduplicated. Reduplication of this construction is restricted to either the complete NP, or the first CV of the quantifier. The former is the preferred form. The fact that logically possible reduplications of this compound are illformed are probably also due to the fact that *kuru uma* 'household; wife' is a lexicalised compound. Its two parts are semantically only vaguely related to the concept they denote together.

(56) a. [*Hau* [*kuru* *uma*]$_N$]$_{NP}$ - [*hau* [*kuru* *uma*]$_N$]$_{NP}$
one.CLF room house one.CLF room house
'Each and every household (many)'

b. *Ha -* *hau* *kuru* *uma*
RED- one.CLF room house
'Each household'

c. * *Hau kuru u - uma*
d. * *Hau kuru uma - uma*
e. * *Hau ku - kuru uma*
f. * *Hau kuru - kuru uma*

Finally, I will briefly discuss some special reduplications. Special reduplication involves copying the foot with a variation in the vowel pattern. The consonants remain the same:

(57) a. *da* *ana* *,muda-'mudi* 'the young people'
ART child be young
b. *,kiu-'kau* 'unordered, chaotically'
c. *,nggidu-'nggauda* 'shaky, unstable'
d. *ka.,yidi-'yada.k(u)* 'stir, move slightly'

Occurring in isolation, *muda* in (57a) means 'be young'. *Muda-mudi* also means 'be young', but has a distributive connotation: it can only be used for a group of people. The forms in (57b,c) can only be used in combination, i.e. *kiu, kau, nggidu* and *nggauda* are not independent words. In (57d) the two items share the same circumfix *ka..k(u)* (cf. section 6.4).

2.6.4. Semantics of reduplication

The meaning of reduplication is conventionally characterised as 'large/limited quantity', 'collectivity', 'distribution', 'iteration', 'intensity', 'continuity'
etc. (cf. Moravcsik 1978). In Kambera, reduplication of nouns expresses specific types of plurality.[38] A reduplicated noun may have a collective meaning ('an (unspecified) group of N') or a distributive meaning ('various N's').

The reduplication of ideophones (section 6.4) always indicates an excessive degree, while the semantics of the reduplication of the other non-nominal elements can be distinguished into two types — the 'intensive' and the 'non-intensive' meanings. The group of 'intensive' meanings includes 'iteration', 'excessive degree', 'continuity' and 'emphasis'. The non-intensive meanings are 'diminutive', 'indifference' and 'for fun/pleasure'.

In the regular case, the same word may undergo syllable, foot or word reduplication. I have found no robust contrast in the semantics of these various reduplications.

2.7. Summary and conclusions

The phonotactic structure of Kambera can be characterised using the prosodic categories syllable, foot and prosodic word. All occurring lexical roots can be characterised as feet. More specifically, the Kambera root template is maximally an uneven trochee. A minimal word constraint determines the shape of the lexical roots versus the functional items. We have seen that the foot is the category referred to in stress placement, a word game, names, reduplication and some phonotactic constraints. The prosodic word is the domain for a word game and reduplication. Clitics and affixes are similar in both being part of the prosodic word.

Kambera has some very clear instances of phonological head-dependent asymmetries (Dresher—van der Hulst 1995). The vowel distribution in the prosodic word reflects the idea that a head is much less restricted than a dependent: all vowels may occur in the stressed syllable, only a subset occurs in the weak syllable of the root, while only default vowels occur in the other syllables. The stressed syllable can be heavy, a non-head syllable cannot. In connection to this, lexical roots are phonotactically more complex than function words.

There are three major types of Kambera reduplication: reduplication of a CV syllable, the foot and the prosodic word. These reduplicative processes differ in their base-dependency: the CV reduplicative prefix does not depend on the prosodic structure of the base, while the prosodic shape of foot and prosodic word reduplication are base-dependent. The various reduplicative forms do not seem to have distinct semantic properties. We have also seen that prosodic words may be reduplicated. Finally, we saw that two prosodic words may be reduplicated if they are part of specific (quantified) NPs and compounds.

Chapter 3
Morphological and syntactic units

3.0. Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the units that play a role in Kambera morphological processes, such as 'root', 'affix', 'base', 'clitic' and 'word'. While the previous chapter focused on the prosodic and phonotactic properties of the morphological and syntactic units, the present chapter will discuss their morpho-syntactic properties. In section 3.1 I begin this explication, and also consider the (mis-) matches that occur between prosodic and morpho-syntactic units. Section 3.2 describes how derivational and inflectional morphology in Kambera can be characterised, and which Kambera morphemes are considered inflectional or derivational. Section 3.3 provides a general discussion of the morpho-syntactic properties and status of the pronominal clitics and the grammatical relations that they express. In Kambera, the morphological case of the pronominal clitics relates the syntactic function of a verbal argument to its thematic function. However, this relation between form and meaning is by no means one-to-one (cf. section 3.3.1 — 3.3.4). In section 3.4 I present evidence for the grammatical relations of subject and object in Kambera, and describe the various types of objects in the language. Section 3.5 contains an overview of the structure of the Kambera clause, and section 3.6 provides a summary and conclusions.

3.1. Morphological units

3.1.1. Roots

We have seen in section 2.2 that the Kambera root is prosodically characterised as a trochaic foot. Morphologically, it is the minimal non-dependent morphological unit. 'Minimal' means 'mono-morphemic' (in this respect roots contrasts with bases, cf. section 3.1.2 below), while 'non-dependent' means that it is a free morpheme (in contrast to clitics and affixes). Morphologically complex words can be divided into affixes and roots. This is illustrated in (1), where the derivation *pa.bokul.ng* 'enlarge (X) for Y' can be divided into the root *bokul* 'be big', the causative prefix *pa.* and the applicative suffix *.ng*.

(1) *Pa.* *bokul* *.ng*
CAU. be big .APP
'Enlargen (X) for Y'

Kambera roots belong to different word classes, such as the 'open' classes of nouns, verbs and adverbs, and the 'closed' classes of for instance numerals and interrogative pronouns. Roots from 'open' and 'closed' classes may or may not undergo derivational

processes or have inflectional affixes attached to them. Although the majority of morphological derivations are based on nominal and verbal roots, exclamations and numerals can be the base of a (verbal) derivation too. On the other hand, interrogatives and adverbs cannot be the base of any morphological derivation (cf. chapters 4 and 6).

3.1.2. Affixes

Affixes are a closed class of bound morphemes. They cannot occur as independent words, and are attached to a root (or base, see below) by a morphological process. Kambera has seven prefixes (2.3.1, chapter 6). Six of those, namely *ha.*, *ka.*, *la.*, *ma.*, *ta.* and [*nas*].[39] are more or less unproductive. They are illustrated in (2):

(2)

ngahu	'hundred'	***ha.ngahu***	'one hundred'
hunju	'slaughter pig'	***ka.hunju***	'be slaughtering a pig'
bunggah	'open X'	***ta.bunggah***	'open (by itself)'
papa	'counterpart'	***m.bapa***	'husband'
buta	'pick/pluck X'	***m.buta***	'be finished'
—	—	***ta.mbuta***	'fall out/come loose'
* *nipa*	—	***ma.nipa***	'be thin'
* *hona*	—	***la.hona***	'red onion'

Kambera has one productive prefix *pa.* (section 6.1). The maximum number of prefixes found in sequence is two, the outer one being the productive causative prefix *pa.*, which may causativise bases with the less productive prefixes. There are two morphemes that could be considered 'suffixes', namely *.ng* (section 6.2) and *.k* (section 6.4). It is unclear whether the morpheme *.ng* should be considered a suffix or a clitic (section 2.3.2). The 'suffix' *.k* is part of the productive circumfix *ka.—.k.* that derives verbs from roots of motions, sounds or sights.[40] Illustrations of the productive derivations with *pa.*, *.ng* and *ka.—.k* are given in (3).

(3)

hàmu	'be good'	***pa.hàmu***	'cause X to be good'
lunggi	'hair'	***pa.lunggi***	'to 'get/have hair'
hí	'cry'	***hí.ng***	'cry about Y'
palu	'hit X'	***palu.ng***	'hit (X) for Y'
mbùtu	'thud (sound)'	***ka.mbùtu.k***	'make thudding sound'
linji	'jump (motion)'	***ka.linji.k***	'to jump'

A reduplicated element is considered a special type of prefix (section 2.6). The other affixes are further discussed in chapter 6.

3.1.3. Bases

The base of a derivation is a root or a derived form. Derived forms are either productively derived or are 'formally derived' words. The root of a 'formally derived' word may or may not be used as an independent word. If there is no independently used root, the affixes of the formally derived word are fossilised (i.e. no longer actively and regularly used in the creation of new words) and the derivation has become semantically opaque. Illustration are the roots **nipa* and **hona* and their derivations *ma.nipa* 'thin' and *la.hona* 'red onion' in (2).

3.1.4. Clitics[41]

In chapter 2 we saw that phonologically clitics are like affixes and unlike lexical roots, in that they do not conform to the minimal word constraint which determines the shape of lexical roots and requires that a root should be minimally a bimoraic foot (section 2.2.1, 2.3). Clitics have simple phonotactic properties and most of them[42] do not bear stress. They can only occur with a host. That is, prosodically, they have the properties of a non-head and are dependent.

Kambera has several types of clitics. Conjunctions, prepositions, articles and the negation *nda* are considered (pro-)clitics because of their simple phonotactics. In addition, Kambera has clitics marking subordination, mood and aspect, and pronominal clitics. In this chapter I will concentrate on the morpho-syntactic status of the pronominal, aspectual and mood clitics because these clitics form a separate unit, a cluster that is part of the 'nuclear clause' (section 3.4). In addition, I will consider the clitic properties of the relative clause markers (section 8.1) and the proper article *i* (section 4.6.4). I will discuss how, on the one hand, these clitics are unlike affixes and, on the other hand, how they differ from syntactic words.[43] In doing so, I will present some additional evidence for their clitic status.[44]

Let us first consider the clitic versus affix status of pronominal clitics. (For an account of the referential function of pronominal clitics and their position in the clause see section 3.3-3.5 and the the overview in the tables 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 in section 3.3.4 below.) Affixes generally show a high degree of selection with respect to their stems, whereas the pronominal markers in Kambera do not show this kind of restriction. Syntactically, they attach to the borders of a syntactic phrase, prosodically they attach to the element that happens to linearly precede (enclitics) or follow (proclitics) them. This can be a verb, an adverb, a mood clitic, a noun etc. Thus their host is a constituent that is dominated by a specific phrasal node, not a specific type of stem.[45] The examples in (4)—(6) illustrate some of the possibilities. In (4) the clitics attach to verbal projections, in (5) to nominal projections and in (6) to prepositional phrases. In (4a) the clitic marking the transitive subject (A, section 3.4.1) is a nominative proclitic to the verb itself, and in (4b) it is a proclitic to the adverb *hili* 'again' that precedes the verb. In (4c) it is a genitive enclitic to the verb, while in (4d) the same genitive enclitic attaches to the mood clitic *-bia*. In (4e), where the verb is transitive, the nominative proclitic that marks A attaches to the preverbal adverb *hili* 'again', while the object

clitic attaches to the postverbal adverb *pàku* 'just, first'. (The coreferent NP is *na umbuk-nggu*, as is indicated by the subscripts.) A way to account for the variable pattern of attachment in (4) is to say that pronominal clitics are attached to a projection of the verb.[46]

(4) a. *Na-* *'mài* *na* *'sopir*
3SN- come ART driver
'The driver comes'

b. ***Ku-*** *,hili* *'mài*
1SN- again come
'I come again/I'll come again'

c. *,Bidi* *'mài* ***-nggu***
new come -1SG
'I have just come'

d. *Ka* *'daingu* *ana* *'laku* *-bia* ***-nggu*** *'duku*
CNJ sure DIM go -MOD -1SG EMP.1S
'Because I really am going/will be going (lit.: '...go a bit)'

e. *'Napa* ***ku-*** *,hili* *'beli* *'pàku* ***-nya***$_j$ [*na* *'umbuk-nggu*]$_j$
later 1SN- again return first -3SD ART grandson-1SG
'I'll first have to go back to my grandson again'

Kambera word order facts suggest that the verb, together with its pronominal, mood and aspectual clitics and with the adverb(s) (e.g. *hili* 'again' in sentence (4b,e), *bidi* in (4c), *ana* in (4d) etc.) forms one syntactic constituent. I will use the term 'nuclear clause' to refer to this constituent (section 3.5).

The predicate of a nuclear clause may be verbal or non-verbal. Non-verbal predicates include predicates consisting of a nominal or prepositional constituent.[47] The subject of an intransitive predicates will be referred to as S (section 3.4). The S of a non-verbal predicate is mostly marked with an accusative clitic and sometimes with a dative (cf. (5c,d) and (6a,b)).[48]

Consider the sentences in (5) and (6). They illustrate that pronominal clitics do not categorially select their host but attach to a syntactic phrase, which is nominal in (5) and prepositional in (6). (5a) is a possessed NP and the genitive enclitic attaches to a noun. (5b) is a possessed and modified NP, and the genitive clitic attaches to the modifier of the noun. In (5c,d) nominal predicates are illustrated; the S is marked with an accusative clitic (cf. section 4.2.2., 5.5.1). Observe that in (5c,d) the S-marking clitic attaches to the element at the edge of the predicate, which is an adverb in (5c) and a mood clitic in (5d).

(5) a. *Na* *'uma* ***-nggu***
ART house -1SG
'My house'

b. *Na* *,uma* *'bàkul* ***-nggu***
ART house be big -1SG
'My big house'

c. *,Uma* *'bàkul* *ai 'lulu* ***-ya***
house be big very -3SA
'It ('s) a very big house'

d. *,Tau* *ma'yila* *,mbu* ***-kai*** *,nyimi* *'ná*
person poor also -2PA you (pl) there
'...(moreover) you (are) also poor people'

In (6) the pronominal arguments have a locative predicate, i.e. the clitics are attached to a PP. In (6a,b) the predicate is locative and the S is marked with *-ya/-nya*. In (6a), the clitic attaches to the noun, in (6b) to the possessive clitic *-na* 'his' of the NP which is part of the PP *la lima-na* 'in his hands'. *-Nya* is the clitic that marks the S and *mbu ndàba-na* 'everything' is the NP which is coreferent with the clitic *-nya*.

(6) a. [*La* *'uma*]$_{PP}$ ***-ya***$_j$
LOC house -3SA
'He$_j$ (is) at home'

b. [*Mbu 'ndàba-na*]$_j$ [*la* *'lima* *-na*]$_{PP}$ ***-nya***$_j$
everything-3SG LOC hand -3SG -3SD
'Everything is in his hand' (i.e., he has all the power)
(lit.: '[Everything of it]$_j$, it$_j$ (is) in his hand')

The relevance of the examples in (4), (5) and (6) in the context of this section is that they show that pronominal clitics, unlike affixes, do not select specific lexical items to attach to. Instead, they attach to the item at the right or left edge of a syntactic constituent, irrespective of the phonological host that they happen to get. In other words, the item they attach to prosodically is unimportant, as long as it is the element at the edge of the relevant syntactic phrasal constituent. If they were analysed as affixes, as previous scholars did, it would be impossible to give a structural description of the element to which they are attached. However, once they are viewed as clitics that attach to syntactic phrases we can formulate a generalisation about the domain of their attachment, namely that they attach to a phrasal constituent with a verbal, nominal or prepositional head, which functions as the predicate of the a clause. I call this constituent the predicate XP (see also section 3.5).[49]

For some pronominal clitics, their phonological host differs from the syntactic unit they attach to — some are phonologically attached to the preceding word while

syntactically they attach to the following phrase. The pronominal clitics affected by this process are the nominative second person clitics *mu-* 'second person singular' and *mi-* 'second person plural', with their phonologically reduced allomorphs *u-* and *i-*. Some results of this liaison are illustrated in (7)—(10). In these sentences the nominative clitics are prosodically part of the element (linearly) preceding them. The high vowel becomes a glide as a result of gliding at the phonetic level (section 2.2.5). In (7) *ba u-* becomes [baw], in (8) *nda u-* becomes [ndaw], in (9) *hi u-* becomes [hiw] and in (10) *jàka i-* becomes [dʒakaj].[50]

(7) *...ba* ***=u-*** *'lua* *la* *ha,kola*
CNJ 2sN- go LOC school
'...when you were going to school'

(8) *Ka* *'nggiki* *hi* *nda* ***=u-*** *'ita* *-ka?*
CNJ why CNJ NEG 2pN- see -1sA
'Why didn't you see me?'

(9) *'Nggiki* *hi* ***=u-*** *'tàru* *-ka?*
why CNJ 2pN- watch -1sA
'Why are you watching me?'

(10) *'Jàka* *=i-* *'laku...*
if 2pN- go
'If you (pl) go...'

The fact that the elements in liaison with the clitic in (7)—(10) are only conjunctions and negations is not because the clitics have selectional restrictions with respect to their host, but because in this type of utterances (i.e. directly adressing someone else) the initial clausal elements are usually conjunctions and/or negations.[51]

While the clitics in (7)—(10) form a prosodic unit with the element preceding them, their morpho-syntactic host is the predicate which follows. This is evident in clauses where the nominative clitics are not preceded by a negation/conjunction. In such sentences, the clitics stay attached to the verb (or verbal projection). Sentences (11) and (12) illustrate this for the allomorphs of the clitic *(m)u-*, sentence (13) and (14) for the clitic *(m)i-*. In (11), the clitic is preceded by the dislocated element *màla* 'well' in the 'topicalised' or dislocated postion (section 3.5). The reduced allomorph does not cliticise to this element, which suggests that the domain of the cliticisation is the clause.

(11) *'Màla,* ***u-*** *'lua* *pa-'ihu?*
well 2sN- go CTR-bathe?
'Well, are you going to have a bath?'

(12) ***Mu-*** *'lua* *-,bia* *'nyumu,* *'umbuku-nggu*
2sN- go -MOD you grandson-1sG
'You just go, my grandson'

(13) *I-* *manja'ria* *-wa* *'nyimi*
2pN- repent -HORT you
'You (pl) should repent'

(14) *Mi-* *manja'ria* *'bùdi*
2pN- repent COND
'You'll have to repent (conditional)'

In this grammar the clitics will be written according to their morphosyntactic attachment.

In conclusion, apart from the phonotactic argument of vowel distribution that was mentioned in section 2.3, we have seen two additional arguments to consider the Kambera pronominal markers to be clitics instead of affixes. First of all, they do not attach to categorically selected stems, as affixes do. Instead, their morpho-syntactic host is a phrase. And secondly, some clitics (the second person clitics *u* and *i*) show the dual phonological-syntactic behaviour which is typical for clitics — their prosodic host differs form their syntactic host.

Another clitic undergoing a similar process is the proper article *i* (4.6.4). It attaches to a name or pronoun that follows it, unless it is preceded by an item like the preposition *la* or the genitive clitic *-na*. This is illustrated in (15). The high vowel *i* also becomes a glide as a result of gliding at the phonetic level. In (15a) it is one prosodic word with *Ndilu* [i'ndilu], whereas in (15b) it attaches to the preceding syllable, the preposition *la*, resulting in two prosodic words, [,laj 'ndilu]. In (15c) it attaches to the genitive *-na*, resulting in ['ananaj 'ndilu].

(15) a. [*I=* *'Ndilu*]$_{NP}$
ART= Ndilu
'Ndilu' (man's name)

b. *'Laku* [*,la* =[*i* *'Ndilu*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
go LOC =ART Ndilu
'Go to Ndilu'

c. [*'Ana* *-na* =[*i* *'Ndilu*]$_{NP}$]$_{NP}$
child -3sG =ART Ndilu
'A child of Ndilu's/Ndilu's child'

These sentences illustrate that the article, which syntactically belongs to the NP *i Ndilu*, may become one prosodic word with an element to which it is not syntactically related. Like pronominal clitics, *mood* and *aspect* clitics also attach to syntactic phrases, not to specific stems. In (16) the mood clitics *-ma*, *-du* and *-a* are attached to a complex predicate. The predicate consists of more than one verb (section 7.1) and is followed by the pronominal clitics and the aspectual clitic *-ka*. The indicated stress is rhythmic stress. In (17) the mood clitic *-bia*, followed by the aspectual clitic *-ka*, is attached to

the adverb *ànga* 'aimlessly', which modifies *urang* '(to) rain'. Observe that apart from the verbs, the clitics *du* and *bia* bear stress as well (cf. the discussion below).

(16) *Ka'wita ha'nàta pa.ka- 'kabu -ma-'du -a -,na -nya -ka*
cut chop up CAU.RDP-dust -EMP -EMP-MOD -3sG -3sD -PRF
'He cut it up completely' (lit.: 'He cut (it), chopped (it) up, made it into dust')

(17) *Ba 'urang 'ànga -,bia -ka*
CNJ (to) rain aimlessly -MOD -PRF
'Because it just started to rain unexpectedly'

Aspectual and mood clitics do not impose categorial restrictions the way bound affixes do, but they partly resemble affixes in having a fixed order in the clitic cluster. None of the clitics can occur as an independent word, they all need a host. Thus, like pronominal clitics, aspectual and mood elements are considered to be clitics because their morpho-syntactic status is somewhere between words and affixes.

With respect to their stress pattern the clitics fall into three types. Some clitics cannot bear independent stress, such as the monosyllabic pronominal clitics, the aspectual clitic *-i* 'again, also' and the mood clitic *-a* 'not more than, just'.[52] A second group of clitics is assigned stress in certain typical environments. This is the case, for instance, for the mood clitic *-ma* 'emphasis' and the aspectual clitic *-ka* 'perfective'. In the first part of the following sentence the clitic *-ka* is assigned stress if it occurs together with the clitic *-i*, whereas it does not bear stress in construction with *-bia* in the second part of the sentence.

(18) *La ,pingi 'kokur*[53] *-'ka -i,*
LOC stem coconut -PRF -again

la ,pingi a- 'ài -,bia -ka 'una
LOC stem RED- wood -MOD -PRF EMP.3s
'Either in a coconutpalm, or in any other tree' (Context: explaining the corn crop should be suspended in a tree to prevent mice from eating it)

The combination of stressed *-ka* plus *-i* is used in sentences that are translated into English as 'either X or Y'. The stress on *-ka* may be an instance of rhythmic stress, but as the relevant clitics can not occur in isolation it is impossible to check this statement. In any case, the data suggest that whether or not a clitic is *able* to bear stress should not be considered the only or main indication for wordhood vs. clitichood. This observation is corroborated by facts from a third group of clitics that *do* bear stress, such as the mood clitics *-du* 'strong positive emphasis' and *-ki* 'just, first'.[54] Consider (19), where the cluster *-ma-ki-a-ya-ka* is one prosodic word. The stress-bearing clitic *-ki* is the prosodic host for other clitics and is thus the head of a separate prosodic word while morpho-syntactically the clitic cluster is still attached to *jiapa* 'still be'. (Observe that *-ma* is a proclitic in (19)).

(19) *'Jàka 'jiapa ma ='ki =a =ya =ka 'làti, 'e...!*
if still be EMP -MOD -MOD -3SA -PRF in fact EXC
'If she'd still been there, oh no...!'

Some fixed combinations of mood clitics have developed a specific meaning, which is not the sum total of their parts, as, for instance, *-ka-i* in (18) above. Some of these combinations of clitics may be developing into new syntactic words. This may be the case for *ma-ki-a* in (19), although the semantics of this new mood word is not very clear yet. Another illustration may be *u-ma-ka* in (20). As this utterance does not contain a lexical item that can project a phrase, the clitics *-ma* and *-ka* do not have a proper syntactic host in this construction so they use the exclamation *u* as their phonological host. The utterance expresses agreement with what has been said previously. (*Una* is an emphatic pronoun referring to what has been said.)

(20) *'U =ma=ka 'una*
yes -EMP-PRF EMP.3S
'Yes indeed/That's right'

The third group of clitics are the markers of subordinate clauses. Kambera has two relative clause markers: *ma-* for the relative clauses with a subject or possessor head and *pa-* for relative clauses with an object head (section 8.1).[55] A relative clause has nominal status and can be made definite with an article. The clitic that marks the relative clause is attached to any element that happens to occupy the first position of the clause. For example, in (21) it is attached to the negation *nda* in the relative clause *na ma-nda hàmu*, in (22) to *rihi* 'be more'.

(21) *Hina hi na- ràka -ya$_j$ [na [**ma-** nda hàmu]$_{Srel}$]$_j$*
newly CNJ 3SN- touch -3SA ART RMS- NEG be good
'Only then he touched the bad one' (lit.: '...the (one) that isn't good')

(22) *Na [**ma-** rihi bàkul]$_{Srel}$*
ART RMS- be more be big
'The bigger one' (lit.: 'The (one) that is more big')

The relative marker *pa-* has similar characteristics. In (23a) *pa-* is attached to the verb *kei* 'buy', in (23b) to the adverb *hina* 'newly'.

(23) a. *Na njara [**pa-** kei -na]$_{Srel}$*
ART horse RMO- buy -3SG
'The horse that was bought by him/the horse (that) he bought'

b. *Na njara [**pa-** hina kei -na]$_{Srel}$*
ART horse RMO- newly buy -3SG
'The horse that was just bought by him/the horse that he just bought'

So it appears that relative markers are unlike affixes in that they do not impose categorial restrictions on the element they attach to.

In this section we have looked more closely at the properties of the pronominal, aspect, mood and subordinating markers in Kambera.[56] We have seen some additional evidence that they are clitics and not affixes or words. Apart from the fact that they are not prosodic words because they do not meet the minimal word constraint, they are also unlike syntactic words because they need a syntactic host and have particular distributional properties — the items in a clitic cluster have a rigid order, and in Kambera there is no evidence that clitics ever move at all (section 3.5.1.1) whereas words may have stylistically or syntactically motivated alternative orders.[57] Clitics need a prosodic host and clitic(s) plus host then become one prosodic word (section 2.3 and 3.1.5.2).

The clitics resemble words in the following respects. Like words, they combine with syntactic phrases and are not selected by the particular word they happen to attach to linearly (their prosodic host). The pronominal clitics also resemble words in that they express the verbal arguments, i.e. they have a thematic relation to the verb, they have morphological case, and have an independent meaning. Some clitics (i.e. the proper article *i* and the pronominal clitics *(m)u* '2SN' and *(m)i* '2PN') show dual phonological-syntactic behaviour — syntactically they attach to one constituent, phonologically to another. By definition, affixes never do this.

In short, clitics in Kambera have special properties that make them unlike (syntactic) words on one hand, and unlike affixes on the other hand. They have their own phonological/ syntactic properties and distribution. In particular, the pronominal, aspectual and modal clitics are subject to restrictions that state the well-formedness of a *clitic cluster*. One of these is the restriction that the general order of clitics must be Mood — Pronominal — Aspect. Further properties of the clitics and the cluster they appear in are discussed in section 3.3 and 3.5.1.1. The distribution of the clitic cluster as a whole can be characterised as attaching to a the edge of a predicate XP.

3.1.5. The word

3.1.5.1. Introduction

Various scholars have developed various criteria for wordhood. These criteria may differ from language to language and usually depend on how one answers the question 'where is morphology in the grammar?'. In other words, if we know how morphological rules and principles interact with the rest of the grammar, we know what a word is. Unfortunately, however, among linguists there is little consensus about where morphology should be located in the derivational process. Let me just mention three contrasting positions. According to some, morphology is part of the lexicon, and morphology and syntax are strictly separate domains (e.g. Di Sciullo and Williams 1987). Others (e.g. Fabb 1984, Marantz 1984, Baker 1988) pursue the hypothesis that morphological process are governed by syntactic principles, i.e. that in the ideal case there should not be a distinction between the theory of morphology and the theory of syntax. Still others (e.g. Borer 1988, 1991, Spencer 1991) suggest that morphology is

an autonomous module that is not a stage in the derivation of words and/or sentences but a 'a set of rules and principles which together go to define the well-formedness of words' (Spencer 1991:454). This morphology module is autonomous but interacts with all other levels of representation.[58] In this description I will remain neutral as to which particular model should be used to analyse and present the Kambera data.

Commonly accepted diagnostic criteria to identify a 'word' include prosodic/phonotactic,(morpho-)syntactic and semantic/psychological criteria. In chapter 2 we have seen what a prosodic word is in Kambera. Traditionally, syntactic words are seen as indivisible and opaque with respect to syntactic rules (i.e. syntactic rules do not operate on parts of words). Thus, in the ideal case a syntactic word is the smallest unit that is manipulated by syntactic rules. Additional indications for 'wordhood' are the following. A word is a semantic unit in the sense that a word can be said to 'have a meaning', in contrast to for example an affix or a clitic.[59] In utterances, words are treated as units for potential pauses, whereas affixes are not. In the following subsections I will consider how prosodic words relate to syntactic words. The ideal cases, where a 'prosodic word' coincides with a 'syntactic word', are discussed in section 3.1.5.2. However, often these two types of 'words' do not match (Booij & Rubach 1984), which is discussed in section 3.1.5.3.

3.1.5.2. Prosodic word is syntactic word

The first group of syntactic words that are also prosodic words are the lexical root forms such as *uma* 'house' and *patu* 'four'. The second group are the post-lexical feet. These are morphologically complex forms (i.e. they consist of a function word plus a clitic) that are prosodically simple, i.e. a foot (see also the discussion in section 2.3). Examples are the demonstrative and emphatic pronouns (section 4.6.1). Demonstrative pronouns combine deictic elements[60] and the pronominal clitics *na* '3rd person singular' and *da* '3rd person plural', as illustrated in (24). The derived forms are trochaic feet.

(24) Demonstrative pronouns

a. *ni* 'DEICTIC: near/at speaker'
   ['nina] 'this one (here)'
   ['niɗa] 'these (here)'

b. *na* 'DEICTIC: near/at addressee'
   ['nana] 'that one (near you)'
   ['naɗa] 'those (near you)'

c. *nu* 'DEICTIC: far from speaker and addressee'
   ['nuna] 'that one (overthere)'
   ['nuɗa] 'those (overthere)'

d. *nai* 'DEICTIC: near speaker (but further away than *ni*)
['najna] 'that one (near me)'
['najɗa] 'those (near me)'

In (25) we can see that emphatic pronouns are a combination of the emphatic clitic *du/di* and pronominal markers with the same form as the nominative proclitics (cf. (37) below).[61] These morphologically derived emphatic pronouns are also post-lexical trochaic feet. As is shown, three of the emphatic pronouns have an alternative form with an initial glottal stop.

(25) Emphatic pronouns

1s	*duku*	['ɗuku]
2s	*dumu*	['ɗumu]
3s	*duna/una*	['ɗuna]/['ʔuna]
1p (incl)	*duta/uta*	['ɗuta]/['ʔuta]
1p (excl)	*duma*	['ɗuma]
2p	*dimi*	['ɗimi]
3p	*duda/uda*	['ɗuɗa]/['ʔuda]

In (26) the demonstrative pronouns *nuna* and *nina* are used pronominally, in (27) *nuna* modifies a noun, in (28) the emphatic pronoun *duku* 'I' modifies the pronoun *nyungga*.

(26) ***'Nuna*** *atau* ***'nina*** *?*
DEI.3s or DEI.3s
'That one or this one?'

(27) *Ngandi*[62] *-ya na mbola* ***'nuna***
take -3SA ART basket DEI.3s
'Take that basket'

(28) *'Nyungga -ma* ***'duku*** *ma- 'ngàndi -ha*
I -EMP EMP.1s RMS- take -3PA
'(It was) me who took them'

Thus, emphatic and demonstrative pronouns are morphologically complex forms that are prosodically simple. They are instances of a prosodic unit coinciding with a syntactic word.

Finally, the third case in which a prosodic word matches a syntactic word are morphologically derived syntactic words, such as the derived verbal form *pa.ngàndi.ng* 'send (X) to Y'.

3.1.5.3. Cases in which syntactic and prosodic units do not match

The first case where a syntactic unit does not match a prosodic unit is the constituent which contains the predicate and the clitic cluster — the nuclear clause (3.5.1). Although it is not a morphologically derived syntactic 'word', the nuclear clause seems to be some kind of syntactic unit. Mood, pronominal and aspect clitics have a fixed relative order — their type 'slots' are fixed (3.1.4, 3.5.1.1). This makes them resemble affixes more than free words. Also, the nuclear clause as a whole behaves as a unit with respect to word order phenomena. In (29) and (30) the nuclear clause is *na-palu-ka*, and in (29) the NP in A function[63] *i Windi* occurs in its usual sentence initial position. In (30) the NP in O function *nyungga* is focused and *i Windi* now occurs sentence-finally. Note that the nuclear clause (in bold) is identical in both sentences.

(29) *Ba* [*i* *'Windi*]$_j$ ***na-***$_j$ ***'palu*** ***-ka***$_k$ *'nyungga*$_k$
CNJ ART Windi 3SN- hit -1SA I
'Because Windi hit me'

(30) *Ba* *'nyungga*$_k$ ***na-***$_j$ ***'palu*** ***-ka***$_k$ [*i* *'Windi*]$_j$
CNJ I 3SN- hit -1SA ART Windi
'Because Windi hit *me*/Because *I* was hit by Windi'

With just one stress (on the verb), a nuclear clause can be one prosodic word, as illustrated in (31):

(31) ***'Laku*** ***-nanya*** ***-ka***
go -3SG.CONT -PRF
'He went/he was/is going'

However, when it contains one or more adverbs (each separate prosodic words) the nuclear clause is larger. An illustration is (4e), repeated as (32), where *ku-hili beli pàku-nya* is a nuclear clause containing three separate syntactic words (*hili, beli, pàku*) and consists of three prosodic words.

(32) *'Napa* [***ku-'hili***]$_{PrWd}$ [***'beli***]$_{PrWd}$ [***'pàku-nya***]$_{PrWd}$ *na* *'umbuku-nggu*
later 1SN-again return firstly-3SD ART grandson-1SG
'I'll first have to go back to my grandson again'

Thus, the syntactic unit which is the nuclear clause sometimes matches one prosodic unit, and sometimes more than one.

Another instance where a phonological and a syntactic word do not match is the case of compounds. A compound is usually derived from two root forms. The first element is the morpho-syntactic head, the second element is the prosodic head and has primary word stress. This is illustrated in (33).

(33)

,wài	*'mata*	'tears'
water	eye	
,mata	*'wài*	'well'
eye	water	

Some compounds have developed their own meaning, which is not always the sum total of their parts. This is illustrated in (34), where it is also shown that some lexicalised compounds have become semantically (more or less) opaque (e.g. *turumbeni*, *langatàka*). All of the examples are prosodic compounds in the sense that they consist of two prosodic words, but not all of them are morphological compounds as well, c.f. the opaque forms *ariyá* and the phonotactically adapted loans (*parakara*, *hurundandu*).

(34)

,tàda	*'ngaru*	'lip'
skin/bark	mouth	
,tàda	*'ài*	'medicine' (trad. made from the bark of trees)
skin/bark	wood	
,ngara	*'ngia*	'possibility/way (out)/manner'
way	place	
,ana'mongu		'gong'
,ari'yá		'guest'
,pala'kara		'issue, matter' (cf. Ind. *perkara*)
,kari'mbua		'waterbuffalo' (cf. Ind. *kerbau*)
,huru'ndandu		'soldier' (cf. Ind. *serdadu*, Dutch *soldaat*)
,turu'mbeni		'dare' (cf. *mbeni* 'be angry; be brave'
,hari'jawang		'sit cross-legged'
,lànga'tàka		'be true' (cf. *tàka* 'arrive')
,mbu'ndàba		'all' (Quantifier)
,ai'lulu		'very much, a lot, too much' (Adverb)
,kana'dú		'because' (Conjunction, cf. section 4.6.6)
,na'nyuna		'but, nevertheless' (Conjunction, section 4.6.6)

Summarizing, the compounds in (34) are one syntactic word consisting of two prosodic words.

3.2. Inflection and derivation

Most linguists distinguish between inflectional and derivational affixes, although it is also commonly admitted that the intuitive understanding of this distinction has not (or not yet) resulted in objective criteria for a discrete division between derivational and inflectional morphemes in all languages. Nonetheless, there are differences between non-root morphemes that have a certain pattern, some of which I will mention here.

Inflectional affixes (such as agreement affixes) seem to be more general and obligatory than derivational affixes, because at least some of them are required by the

syntax of the sentence. Inflectional morphology is a way to express relations between syntactic constituents. If in a language the expression of grammatical relations is morphological, then it is inflectional. Inflectional morphology often involves paradigms, sets of words with regular patterns.

Derivational rules, on the other hand, are often considered morphological operations that do not (necessarily) interact with the syntax. In the lexicon all morphemes are listed, together with information about their pronunciation, meaning, morphological properties and syntactic properties (such as their category). Derivational rules interact with the lexicon when they refer to information present in the lexical entry, e.g. to the thematic relations or to the category of a word. Derivational affixes may change the valency of a word (as in causativisation), or its category. Derivational processes are more likely than inflectional processes to have lexically restricted applicability, and they usually cause greater meaning changes. Other observations that have been made with respect to the difference between inflectional and derivational morphemes concern their relative position — derivational affixes occur closer to the root than inflectional affixes (cf. Bybee 1985) — and the relative type frequency of derivational affixes: a language usually has more derivational morphemes than inflectional ones.

It is probably true that it is impossible to make a derivation-inflection distinction that fits the affixes of all languages. Nevertheless, it is also true that many languages — if not all — show similar morphological patterns: affixes of one group have more syntactic relevance than those of another group, while the affixes of the latter group characteristically induce greater meaning changes. The specific characteristics of the first group may then be described as 'inflectional', and those of the second group as 'derivational'. Here the terms are used as descriptive terms.

3.2.1. Kambera derivational morphology

Most of the characteristics that were mentioned above as typical of derivational morphological processes also apply to Kambera. An example is valency change, which is the result of the derivation of causative and applicative verbs (cf. (3) above). More than inflectional processes, derivational processes may have lexical restrictions on their applicability. Applicative and causative morphemes also occur closer to the root and cause greater meaning changes than inflectional morphemes. Productive and unproductive derivational processes will be discussed in chapter 6.

Unlike many other languages, in Kambera category change is not a typical property of morphological derivational processes. On the contrary, change of category is often the result of a syntactic process. One example are nominal clauses (section 4.1.2.), another example are relative clauses (section 8.1). Some relativisations have lexicalised as nouns, as illustrated in (35) and (36):

(35) *Na* ***pa-*** *palewa*
ART RM send (with message)
'The angel' (lit.: 'The (one) sent')

(36) *Na* ***ma-*** *rara*
ART RMS- be red
'The gold (lit.: 'The (one which is) red')

Though the external (distributional) properties of productively formed nominal clauses and relativisations are nominal, their internal properties are clausal: they may contain aspect markers, adverbials, modifiers, negations etc.

3.2.2. Kambera inflectional morphology

Following the description of 'inflectional morphology' given above, I consider there to be three types of inflectional morphemes in Kambera. The first are the markers of embedded clauses (*pa-* or *ma-* for relative clauses, *pa-* for controlled clauses). As mentioned above, the relativizing elements are nominalizing morphemes, and thus category changing. But because the syntactic rule of relativisation determines the attachment of this morpheme it is considered an inflectional morpheme, more specifically, an inflectional clitic (section 3.1.4). The mood and aspect clitics are part of the nuclear clause. They are like periphrastic expressions in that they are not really bound to lexical items. On the other hand, they make up contrastive sets, interact more with the syntax than with the lexicon and are quite generally required by the syntax of the clause. These clitics are therefore also considered inflectional morphemes.

The pronominal clitics are the third group of inflectional morphemes. They are a morphological means of expressing the relation between syntactic constituents, such as a predicate and its arguments and a noun and its possessor. In the next section the syntactic and semantic properties of pronominal clitics are discussed in more detail.

3.3. Pronominal clitics

3.3.1. Agreement versus crossreference

Kambera is an 'NP-drop language'[64] in the sense that the clitics are the predicate arguments and the NPs are optional. However, the clitics should not be equated with NP arguments in languages like English. The rigid structure of the Kambera clitic cluster as a whole, and the fixed positions of the pronominal clitics in particular are evidence that Kambera clitics are less 'free' than NPs and pronominal clitics in well-studied languages like English or the Romance languages.

Following Nichols (1986) I therefore distinguish 'agreement' and 'crossreference' as two different grammatical processes, although they have some properties in common.[65] Both agreement and crossreference are processes that mark certain grammatical properties of a NP (such as number and person) on an element bearing some specific relation to that NP. Building on the notion of 'headedness', according to which the predicate is the head of a clause while the arguments and adjuncts are its dependents,

Nichols argues that there are two ways to mark grammatical relations on the verbal head. *Agreement* is the indexing of one or two clause actants on the head in a generally dependent-marking language. So-called 'head-marking' languages have rich pronominal marking on the head of the clause, the verb, and poor case marking on the NPs. In such languages *crossreference* is used to mark the arguments on the verb, where the verb (plus its pronominal markers) itself normally constitutes a complete sentence and the full NPs are included only for emphasis, focus, disambiguation, etc.

In a language like Dutch the verb plus its agreement marker(s) cannot occur without the agreeing NP(s), and the NP cannot occur without being in agreement with the verb. In such a language the relation between head (verb) and dependent (NP) may therefore be called bilateral. In languages that have crossreference, such as Kambera, the NP(s) are in apposition to the pronominal markers on the verb. They are in essence optional, the verb plus the pronominal markers already constituting a complete clause. In crossreference languages the relation between the head and its dependent is normally unilateral: the dependent NP requires the pronominal marker on the head, whereas the head plus the pronominal marker can occur without the dependent NP. In Kambera crossreference is used as the means to mark verbal arguments on the verb. The pronominal clitics are markers of crossreference and not of agreement.

This analysis is not new, nor does it only apply to Kambera. In fact, most of the world's languages allow the agreement markers (bound pronominal forms or clitics) to occur in the absence of free (NP) arguments and according to Anna Siewierska (p.c.), agreement of the English—Dutch type is confined to a handful of European languages — all Germanic. That is, English and Dutch show the exceptional pattern, while Kambera is 'normal' in this sense. The 'head-marking' pattern has been assumed for a number of Amerindian languages[66] and according to Van Valin (1987:392-393) head marking is the dominant pattern in the languages of North and South America and sub-Saharan Africa, and is also found in languages of Europe, Australia, and New Guinea.

3.3.2. Paradigms, cases and general functions

Being a head-marking language, Kambera has rich morpho-syntactic marking on the (verbal, nominal, locational) predicator; the pronominal, aspectual and/or mood clitics together with the predicate constitute the nuclear clause. Definite verbal arguments are crossreferenced on the predicate for person, number and case (Nominative (N), Genitive (G), Dative (D), Accusative (A)). The four main paradigms of pronominal clitics are given in (37), a fifth one in (51) below:

(37)

	NOM	GEN	ACC	DAT
1s	*ku-*	*-nggu*	*-ka*	*-ngga*
2s	*(m)u-*	*-mu*	*-kau*	*-nggau*
3s	*na-*	*-na*	*-ya*	*-nya*
1p (inc)	*ta-*	*-nda*	*-ta*	*-nda*
1p (exc)	*ma-*	*-ma*	*-kama*	*-nggama*
2p	*(m)i-*	*-mi*	*-ka(m)i*	*-ngga(m)i*
3p	*da-*	*-da*	*-ha*	*-nja*

Note the formal similarities between the nominative and genitive and the accusative and dative. The genitive is a prenasalised form of the nominative — except for *-da*. The formal opposition between accusative and dative is similar: the dative is the prenasalised variant of the accusative. One is therefore tempted to try to reduce these four paradigms to two and derive the other two by a regular phonological or morphological process. However, synchronically they are different paradigms because they cannot be regularly derived from each other. Firstly, the nominative and genitive have different distributions: the nominative is a proclitic and attaches directly to the edge of the syntactic host, while the genitive is an enclitic which may be separated form its host by a modal clitic (section 3.5.1.1). Thus, syntactically they are not similar elements at all. Secondly, if a phonological process of prenasalisation would productively derive the genitive and the dative from their non-nasalised counterparts, how would we analyse the status of the nasal feature involved? The prenasalisation cannot be the result of a regular phonological process because the 3p genitive clitic is exempt from it (*/nda/) and the 3p dative clitic is not regularly derived from the 3p accusative clitic (/n/ + /ha/ → ?? /ndʒa/).[67] Suppose the nasal is a morphological entity instead, i.e. a prefix that be involved int the derivation of both the genitive and the dative paradigm to the exclusion of the 3rd person plurals. How would we analyse the function of such a prefix? (For further discussion about the status of the nasal morpheme see section 6.2.4; for discussion of the dative clitic, see section 6.2.5). Because the genitive and accusative paradigms cannot be regularly derived form the nominative and the accusative, I assume that they are four distinct paradigms synchronically.[68]

The names used for the various paradigms of pronominal clitics in (37) are traditional case labels. These are names for morphological case, which is the traditional use of the notion 'case'. Information that is expressed in English in terms of phrase structure configurations is expressed in Kambera by means of crossreference by pronominal morphemes marked for person, number and case.

In addition to pronominal cliticisation, arguments can be expressed by NPs which are then used for disambiguation or emphasis, discourse saliency or contrastivity. If they are definite and crossreferenced on the verb they are optional adjuncts to the (nuclear) clause.

Optional NPs can consist of nouns or pronouns (personal, deictic, emphatic, see section 4.6.1) and do not show case marking. Though the basic word order is SVO —

i.e. the NP in A function precedes the nuclear clause while the NP in O function follows it — the NPs have pragmatically determined word order. The positional properties of Kambera NPs are further discussed in section 3.5.2.

The agent argument (A, section 3.4.1) of a simple transitive, declarative sentence is marked with a nominative proclitic. This is shown in (38) where the verb *palu* 'hit' is transitive, the A *na tau wútu* 'the fat man' is marked on the verb with the nominative proclitic *na-*. This sentence also illustrates that a canonical object (O) is marked with an accusative enclitic (here: *-ka*). The brackets indicate the optionality of the crossreferencing NPs.

(38)	(*Na*	*tau*	*wútu*)	***na-***	*palu*	***-ka***	(*nyungga*)
	ART	person	be fat	3SN-	hit	-1SA	I
	'The big man hit me'						

The single argument of an intransitive predicate (S) can be marked with a nominative, as shown in (39). In this respect S patterns like A.

(39)	(*Na*	*ài*)	***na-***	*ta.mbuta*	*dàngu*	*amung*
	ART	wood	3SN-	drop.out	with	root
	'That tree is uprooted'					

In (40) and (41) the double object ('applicative') verb *kei.ng* 'buy something for someone' has two object arguments: a PATIENT ('direct object') and a RECIPIENT/ BENEFICIARY ('indirect object') (see section 3.4.2). The *dative* canonically marks an indirect object; semantically a RECIPIENT, BENEFICIARY, MALEFICIARY, GOAL or SOURCE. In (40) the clitic *-nja* 'them' marks the BENEFICIARY while the PATIENT NP *ri* 'vegetable' is not cliticised on the verb. This is because *rí* has an indefinite referent.[69] However, if both have definite referents, both RECIPIENT and PATIENT can be cliticised, as illustrated in (41).

(40)	(*I*	*Ama*)	*na-*	*kei*	***-nja***	*rí*
	ART	father	3SN-	buy	-3pD	vegetable
	'Father buys them vegetables'					

(41)	(*I*	*Ama*)	*na-*	*kei*	***-ngga***	***-nya***
	ART	father	3SN-	buy	-1SD	-3SD
	'Father buys it for me'					

The fact that in (41) a dative clitic refers to a PATIENT, which is canonically marked with an accusative as in (38) above, was mentioned above as one of the restrictions on pronominal clitic sequences in Kambera. Another restriction is that the order of the object clitics is always RECIPIENT etc. (indirect object) followed by PATIENT (direct object). Furthermore, there are restrictions on the 'person' of the object clitics when they form a cluster. Consider the sentences in (42):

(42) a. * *I Ama* *na-* *wua* *-nja*$_k$ ***-nya***$_j$ *[na heu* *na* *njara]*$_j$
ART father 3sN- give -3pD *-3sD ART one.CLF ART horse
Intended reading: 'Father gives them one horse'

b. *I* *Ama* *na-* *wua* *-nja*$_k$ *[na* *heu* *na* *njara]*$_j$
ART father 3sN- give -3pD ART one.CLF ART horse
'Father gives them one horse'

The restriction imposed on a cluster of two object clitics (indirect object — direct object) is that a sequence of two third person clitics (number is irrelevant) is disallowed. Even a definite direct object is not allowed to cliticise in such a sequence, as illustrated by the grammaticality contrast in (42). Two object clitics can only occur in sequence if the first clitic (indirect object) is first or second person and the second object clitic (direct object) is third person. In case the 'person' marking of the sentence does not fit this pattern, only the indirect object is cliticised. The direct object, unless it is implicit, is then expressed with a (definite/indefinite) NP. A summary of the (dis)allowed object clitic sequences is given (43a); the numbers indicate the grammatical number of the clitics. (43b) summarises the combination possibilities of object clitics and NPs. See also section 3.5.1.1.

(43) a. * 3 - 3
* 3 - {1 or 2}
* {1 or 2} - {1 or 2}

b. 3_{IO} NP_{DO}
{1 or 2_{IO}} NP_{DO}
{1 or 2_{IO}} — 3_{DO}

In (44) the basic function of the genitive clitic is illustrated — marking nominal possession. Observe that a possessed NP is not necessarily definite.

(44) *Ningu* *uma* ***-nggu***
be here house -1sG
'I have a house' (lit.: '(Here) is a house of mine')

In addition to marking a possessor, genitive enclitics are often used to mark A and S. This is illustrated in (45) and (46), where the possessive enclitics mark the AGENT of *palu* 'hit' and the single argument of *laku* 'go'.

(45) *Palu* ***-nggu*** *-nya*
hit -1sG -3sD
'I hit him'

(46) *Mbàda laku* ***-na*** *-ka*
already go -3SG -PRF
'He's already gone'

Clauses where a genitive clitic is used to morphologically express A or S are called nominal clauses (section 4.2.1). Nominal clauses refer to a circumstantial state of affairs rather than an action, event or process. In (47a) the clitic *-mu* 'you' marks the A of the transitive (causative) verb *pameti* 'kill' identical to the POSSESSOR in (44). In (47a) *-mu* is the S (semantic AGENT) of an active intransitive verb, while in (47c) the clitic *-na* marks the S (semantic THEME/EXPERIENCER; i.e. a non-AGENT) of the stative intransitive verb *mbeni* 'be angry':

(47) a. *Pa. meti -bia* ***-mu*** *-ngga, nda nggàra ehi*
CAU.die -just -2SG -1SD NEG what content
'(You) just kill me, it doesn't matter'
(lit.: 'Your killing me has no content')

b. *Nda peku hili kareuk -a* ***-mu*** *-pa*
NEG can again talk -MOD -2SG -IMPF
'You will not be able to speak again'
(lit.: 'Not your being able to speak again')

c. *Hina-ka hi na-pàda-ya ba lalu mbeni-****na*** *na ama-na*
recently-PRF CNJ 3SN-experience-3SA CNJ too fierce-3SG ART father-3SG
'Only now does he realise that his father is very, very angry'

Because nominal clauses by definition mark their subject with a genitive enclitic, the only slot available for the object clitic is the second post-predicate slot, which, as mentioned above, must be dative whether it marks a PATIENT or a BENEFICIARY/RECIPIENT. Sentence (45) and (47a) illustrate object marking in nominal clauses.[70]

Because the details of pronominal clitic marking are rather intricate they will be discussed in their relevant contexts in later chapters of this book. Tables 3.2—3.4 in section 3.3.4 give an overview of the sections containing further details of pronominal clitic marking.

There is, however, one construction that I will mention here. It concerns the clitic cluster genitive-dative. Apart from the more or less straightforward function this cluster has in a sentence like (47a) above, where the genitive marks the A and the dative the O, the dative may also be used in contexts where it no longer has a referential function. A diachronic process of reanalysis of certain embedded structures into monoclausal ones has resulted in the synchronic fact that the dative clitic is now considered part of a disyllabic pronoun marking the S of an intransitive verb in the continuative aspect. Illustrations are given in (48)—(50), where *-nggunya* is glossed as '1sg.CONT' and *-nanya* '3s.CONT'. The examples show that this construction is used for both activity (*laku* 'go') and state (*manjú* 'be hungry', *poki* 'be blind') verbs. In such constructions,

the genitive clitic marks person and number of the S, while the dative clitic is always third person singular (*-nya*) and has no referent.

(48) *"Laku* ***-nggunya*** *ina",* *wà-na*
go -1sG.CONT mother, say-3sG
'"I am going mother", he said'

(49) *"Manjú* ***-nggunya*** *ina",* *wà-na*
be hungry -1sG.CONT mother say-3sG
'"I am hungry mother", he said'

(50) *"Poki* ***-nanya?"*** *"Mm,* *poki* ***-nanya"***
be blind -3sG.CONT Yes be blind -3sG.CONT
'"Is he blind?" "Yes, he is blind"'

Section 5.3 contains a discussion of the diachronic and synchronic status of this construction. For now, I simply assume that the items in (51) mark person and number of S when the clause has continuative aspect:

(51) Pronouns for S in continuative aspect

1s	*-nggunya*
2s	*-munya*
3s	*-nanya*
1p(inc)	*-ndanya*
1p(exc)	*-manya*
2p	*-minya*
3p	*-danya*

3.3.3. Pronominal clitics are dependent pronouns

In this section I present evidence why Kambera pronominal clitics should be considered dependent pronouns rather than inflectional clitics whose occurrence is triggered by the presence of a full NP. In other words, they share properties with pronouns but, unlike pronouns, clitics cannot occur as independent words. The first reason for this is that clitics do not meet the (phonological) minimal word requirement (section 2.2), while pronouns do. Obviously, the different syntactic properties of pronouns and clitics are related to their phonological differences. Some are illustrated in (52)—(54). In (52) it is shown that pronouns can be conjoined like NPs, while clitics cannot. (53) illustrates that pronouns can be modified like NPs and clitics cannot. Furthermore, it is illustrated in (54) that, like NPs, pronouns can be nominal predicates. Clitics can never be nominal predicates.

(52) a. [*I* *Ama*]$_{NP}$ *dàngu*[71] [*i* *Windi*]$_{NP}$
ART father with ART Windi
'Father and Windi'

b. *Nyumu* *dàngu* *nyungga*
you with I
'You and I'

c. * *Mu-* *dàngu* *-ngga*
2s- with -1s

(53) a. *Tau* *ma-bàkul,* *tau* *nuna,* *tau* *nuna* *una*
person RMS-be big person DEI.3s person DEI.3s EMP.3s
'A person who is big, that person, that person'

b. *Nyuma* *tau* *ma-dua,* *nyungga* *duku*
we person RMS-two I EMP.1s
'The two of us (lit.: 'We (are) people (that are) two'); I myself/Me myself'

c.* *Na-* *ma-* *bàkul,* * *ku-* *duku*
3s RMS- be big 1s- DEI.1s

(54) [*Nyuda*]$_{Pred}$ *-ha*$_j$ *-ka* *nàhu* [*da* *ana-nda*]$_j$
they -3pA -PRF now ART child-1pG
1. 'They are our children now'
2. 'For/with them are our children now'

Yet, despite their differences, some properties are shared by both clitics and pronouns. Pronominal clitics have typically nominal features. They express the case, person and number of predicate arguments. They are inherently definite, like Kambera pronouns. (Kambera does not have indefinite pronouns; but the 3s accusative clitic may be used with an impersonal referent, section 5.5.2.3). Pronominal clitics are not in complementary distribution with the NPs they refer to; both can usually co-occur.[72] Definite NPs (i.e. NPs with an article) are optional, while clitics are obligatory. Definite NPs are used for emphasis and/or disambiguation or to express entities that are non-topical in discourse.

A subject-marking clitic[73] usually crossreferences a definite NP that is 'given' or 'topical', therefore it is not necessary to use the full NP every time; the clitic is sufficient. Thus, NPs coindexed with subject clitics are often absent; more often so than object NPs.[74]

Definite subject NPs are generally cliticised on the verb, in which case the coreferent NP is optionally present. Indefinite subjects are also expressed by a crossreferencing clitic with an additional (optional) NP. But indefinite subjects *may* also be expressed

by an NP only, i.e. without a crossreferencing clitic. The latter option is not available for definite subject NPs.

Definite object NPs are crossreferenced on the verb, indefinite object NPs are not. Subject NPs therefore contrast to objects NPs in that both definite and indefinite subject NPs *may* be crossreferenced. This is illustrated in (55) and (56):

(55) *Na- ngàndi -ha iwa*
3SN- take -3PA flood
'A flood took them', or: 'They were taken away by a flood'

(56) *Lapi -na -nya tau*
cheat -3SG -3SD person
'People cheated on him' or: 'He was cheated on (by people)'

Constructions such as (55) and (56) are functionally similar to passive constructions in other languages. Kambera has no morphological passive. (Section 8.1.5, Klamer 1996). The A in (55)-(56) is explicitly 'defocused' or 'demoted', parallel to oblique logical subjects in passive constructions in other languages.[75]

As was mentioned above, direct object clitics only crossreference definite NPs which are optional. If the object has an indefinite referent, it is expressed by an indefinite NP to the expense of the clitic. This is illustrated in (57) and (58). In (57a) the object is indefinite, whereas in (57b) it is definite and crossreferenced on the verb. In (57c) it is illustrated that it is impossible to have a definite object that is not crossreferenced on the verb. The object marked on the verb with the clitic *-nya* in (57d) can only refer to the BENEFICIARY, (not to the indefinite direct object *uhu* 'rice'), as indicated by the translation of this sentence.

(57) a. *Mbàda manahu -da -ka uhu*
already cook -3PG -PRF rice
'They have already cooked (some) rice'

b. *Mbàda manahu -da -nya$_j$ -ka [na uhu]$_j$*
already cook -3PG -3SD -PRF ART rice
'They have already cooked the rice'

c.* *Mbàda manahu -da na uhu*
already cook -3PG ART rice

d. *Mbàda manahu -da* ***-nya***$_{k/*j}$ *-ka* uhu$_j$
already cook -3PG -3SD -PRF rice
'They have already cooked him (some) rice'
Illicit reading: 'They have already cooked (some) rice'

Object marking in embedded sentences is also determined by definiteness. In (58), the first embedded clause has a definite object, the second an indefinite one. The object NP

na ana-nggu 'my child' in (58a) is definite (it has an article). It is crossreferenced on the verb with the object clitic *-ya*. In (58b) the object NP is indefinite (it has no article) and cannot be crossreferenced on the verb.

(58) a. *Ningu* [*ma-* *piti -ya*$_j$ [*na* *ana* *-nggu*]$_j$]$_{Srel}$?
be RMS- take -3SA ART child -1SG
'Is there someone who married my child?' (lit.: 'Is (there) [the one that took my child]?')

b. *Jàka* *ningu* [*ma-* *piti* (* *-ya*) [*ana* *-nggu*]]$_{Srel}$...
be be RMS- take (-3SA) child -1SG
'If someone marries a child of mine...' (lit.: 'If (there) is [the one that takes a child of mine]...')

Indirect objects (semantic RECIPIENTS etc.) are usually definite and marked on the verb with a clitic. The NP that they refer to is, however, always optional. Details of the differences between the marking of direct and indirect objects are discussed in section 6.2.5 and 8.1.2).

In sum, there is a distinction between the optionality of subject and object NPs. Subject NPs are always optional, while object NPs are only optional when they are definite and thus crossreferenced on the predicate. There is also a difference between the possibilities of crossreferencing indefinite subjects and objects: indefinite subjects *may* be marked on the verb, indefinite objects may not. In general, however, Kambera pronominal clitics have definite referents. That is, it is a feature [definite] which triggers Kambera pronominal marking more than nominal features such as [person] and [number].

Table 3.1 summarises for the various grammatical functions how their (in)definiteness relates to the use of clitics and coreferent NPs.

Table 3.1. The use of clitics and NPs marking grammatical relations

	Clitic	NP
Definite subject	+	optional
Indefinite subject	+/—	optional
Definite direct object	+	optional
Indefinite direct object	—	optional
Definite indirect object	+	optional
Indefinite indirect object	—	optional

Emphatic and demonstrative pronouns (see section 3.1.5.2 above) may also act as 'doubling' NPs, as illustrated in (59) and (60):[76]

(59) *Ba ku- ngalang mànu ndui,*
CNJ 1SN- receive always money

nanyuna nda ku- kei -ma ***duku*** *katàri-nggu*
however NEG 1SN- buy -EMP EMP.1S clothes-1SG
'If I had a regular income, *I* would not be spending it on clothes (rather than on food)'

(60) *Ba na- ha.bola tuna -ka nú,*
CNJ 3SN- give birth thus -PRF DEI

meti -ma -a -nanya nyuna ***yena***
die -EMP -MOD -3SG.CONT she this.one
'When she thus gave birth, she (the one we talk about) died'

Personal pronouns are used for emphasis/disambiguation (cf. the pronoun *nyuna* in (60)) and the syntactic relation between full pronouns and clitics is similar to that between NPs and clitics. NPs and pronouns can be dropped if they are crossreferenced on the verb. Neither NPs nor pronouns have (morphological) case. The paradigm for personal pronouns is given in (61).

(61) Personal pronouns

nyungga	1 singular
nyumu	2 singular
nyuna	3 singular
nyuta	1 plural (inclusive)
nyuma	1 plural (exclusive)
nyimi	2 plural
nyuda	3 plural

Like pronouns, NPs are not inflected for case. When they are used to 'double' the clitic for pragmatic reasons, they can be viewed as being in apposition to the pronominal markers on the verb and are in essence optional. The verb plus the pronominal markers already constitutes a complete clause.

However, the 'clitic-doubling' NPs should not be equated with left-dislocated or topicalised adjunct NPs in languages like English. A sentence containing 'doubling' NPs in Kambera does not have the special semantic and pragmatic properties that dislocations usually have.[77] Kambera adjunct NPs occur *within* the scope of the conjunction and are not separated from the rest of the clause structurally or intonationally while the pronominal clitics do not have the function of resumptive pronouns. Kambera does have a position for dislocated or topicalised constituents which differs from the position of adjunct NPs because it is outside the scope of the conjunction and/or separated from the clause by an intonational break (cf. e.g. (106)

and (107)). The sentential position of adjoined and their mutual order is discussed in section 3.5.2.

3.3.4. Pronominal clitics: overview

We have seen that pronominal clitics mark verbal arguments for person, number and morphological case. In general, the clitics have definite referents. They are marked on the phrasal constituent that contains the predicate of the sentence. Together with this constituent and the mood and aspect clitics they form the nuclear clause (see section 3.5.1).

Morphological case relates the syntactic functions subject and object (section 3.4) to the thematic functions (AGENT, PATIENT, BENEFICIARY, etc.) of the verbal arguments. In section 3.3.2 I gave a general indication of this correspondence as a useful rule of thumb. However, later chapters will discuss instances where the morphological case of the pronominal clitic is neither a direct reflection of sentence structure, nor of semantic facts. That is, the grammatical relations do not exactly match the morphological oppositions which do not always make a clear distinction between subjects and objects. The tables 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 show that there is no one-to-one relation between an arguments thematic role, its syntactic function and its morphological case. These tables also provide reference to the relevant sections. In section 3.4 I discuss evidence that S, A and O relations in Kambera are indeed distinct grammatical relations. Though in some cases S may pattern like O, in general it patterns with A.

Table 3.2. Arguments of intransitive verbs

Thematic role	Syntactic relation	Morphological case	Section
AGENT/THEME	S	nominative	3.3.2
		genitive	3.3.2; 4.2.1
		dative	3.3.2; 4.1.2; 5.2
		accusative	3.3.2; 5.5
		genitive + dative	3.3.2; 5.3
		nominative + accusative	5.4

Table 3.3. Arguments of transitive verbs

Thematic roles	Syntactic relation	Morphol. case	Section
AGENT	A	nominative	3.3.2; 4.1.2
		genitive	4.2.1; 5.3; 8.1
PATIENT/THEME[78]	O (direct object)	accusative	3.3.2; 8.1
		dative	6.2; 8.1
BENEFICIARY/GOAL/ RECIPIENT etc.	O (indirect object)	dative	3.3.2; 6.2; 8.1

Table 3.4. Arguments of non-verbal predicates

Thematic role	Syntactic relation	Morphol. case	Section
THEME	S	accusative	3.1.4; 4.1.2; 5.5.1
		dative	3.1.4; 3.3.2; 4.1.2, 5.3.3

The morphological case of the pronominal clitics may be used to express features of the clause as a whole. This is the case when the continuative aspect construction (section 5.3) and the absolutive construction (section 5.5) are used, and in nominal clauses (section 4.2.1).

3.4. Grammatical relations

3.4.1. The grammatical relations subject (S/A) and object (O)

In this section I will discuss the syntactic structures in which S patterns with A, in contrast to O, thus justifying the distinction between the grammatical relation 'subject' and 'object'. In addition, I will mention some morphological processes where S patterns like O.[79]

The assignment of the A and O relation has a semantic basis which relates to the prototypical meaning of the verb used. The semantic role mapped onto the A syntactic relation is the one which is 'most likely to be relevant to the success of the activity' (Dixon 1994:8). Most often, the role mapped onto A will be human and then this equates with Dixon's (1994:52) criterion that it 'could initiate or control the activity'. In transitive clauses where a verb has only two arguments, the argument which is not

mapped onto A will be connected to the syntactic relation O. As described in section 5.1, underived verbs have maximally two arguments in Kambera.

The single argument of intransitives (S), will always be mapped onto the S-relation; whether or not the verb involves volition (i.e. both *jump* and *grow*). In Kambera there is no evidence for two structurally distinct classes of intransitive verbs ('unaccusative' vs. 'unergative'); hence Kambera S does not need to be divided into S_A and S_O (see chapter 5).

The information summarised in tables 3.2-3.4 above indicates that the case markings of A and O are entirely distinct: the case for A-marking clitics is either nominative (in simple declarative clauses) or genitive (in nominal and relative clauses) while O can be marked with either an accusative or a dative clitic. S is sometimes marked identical to A (nominative, genitive); other times like O (accusative, dative). In addition, S also has two unique case-marking patterns in which two clitics are used simultaneously: the combination of genitive+dative ('continuative aspect') and of nominative+accusative. The fact that S has these unique case markings is morphological evidence to distinguish S from both A and O.

The following syntactic evidence suggests a grammatical relation of 'subject' in Kambera which comprises S and A, in contrast to the object relation.

In controlled embedded clauses (section 8.2), the S or A rather than the O is controlled. (62) and (63a) illustrate S and A control. In the controlled clauses, the S/A marking clitic is absent. In (63a) the O marking clitic (*-nggau*) is obligatorily present, as shown by the illformedness of (63b), while the subject marking is obligatorily absent (63c).

(62) *Nda ku- mbuhang pa-hidu / pa-ràma*
NEG 1SN- want CTR-be ill / CTR-work
'I don't want to be ill / to work'

(63) a. *Nda ku- mbuha -a -nggau pa-palei* ***-nggau***
NEG 1SN- want -MOD -2SD CTR-marry a man -2SD
'I don't want to marry you' (said by woman to man)

b.* *Nda ku- mbuha -a -nggau pa-palei* ___
NEG 1SN- want -MOD -2SD CTR-marry a man ___
Intended reading: 'I don't want to marry you'

c.* *Nda ku- mbuha -a -nggau pa- **ku-** palei* ___
NEG 1SN- want -MOD -2SD CTR- 1SN- marry a man___

The morphological case of the matrix subject is irrelevant in control structures. This is illustrated below, where the matrix S-relation is marked with a nominative (64), (65), genitive (66) and accusative (67), while the controlled grammatical relation remains the same (S/A) (cf. the discussion in section 8.2).

(64) *Nda* ***ku-*** *màka* *-a* *pa-kaliti* *njara*
NEG 1sN- be able -MOD CTR-ride horse
'I cannot ride a horse' (lit.: 'I am not able to ride a horse')

(65) *Nda* ***ku-*** *mbuhang* *pa-hidu*
NEG 1sN- like CTR-be ill
'I don't like to be ill'

(66) *Ba* *nda* *lalu* *pingu* *hàmu-a-**na*** *pa-kareuk*
CNJ NEG too know be good-MOD-3sG CTR-talk
'Because she doesn't know too well how to speak (i.e. the language)'

(67) *Laku-**ya*** *pa-rama...*
go-3sA CTR-work
'One goes to work...'

These examples also demonstrate that the morphological case of pronominal clitics does not always match the grammatical relations of the argument that they index, i.e. that a grammatical relation is not always case-marked in the same way.

Another piece of evidence for the grammatical relation of 'subject' comprising S and A comes from structures with 'raised'[80] arguments. The S/A of a complement nominal clause can be raised to object in the matrix clause, whereas the O of a nominal clause cannot be raised (section 4.2.1, 8.0).
In (68a) the object clitic in the matrix clause refers to the nominal complement clause. In (68b) the object clitic *-nggau* in the matrix clause marks the raised S of the nominal clause.

(68) a. *Nda* *ku-* *mbuti* ***-nya***$_j$ [*na* *tàka* *-mu*]$_{Sj}$
NEG 1sN- expect -3sD ART arrive -2sG
'I did not expect you to come' (lit.: 'I did not expect your coming')

b. *Nda* *ku-* *mbuti* ***-nggau***$_j$ [*na* *tàka* *-mu*$_j$]$_S$
NEG 1sN- expect -2sD ART arrive -2sG
'I did not expect you to come'

In (69a) the matrix object clitic refers to the whole complement clause, in (69b) the A of the complement clause is raised, and in (69c) it is illustrated that the O *rú kuta* 'sirih' cannot be raised (i.e. cannot be crossreferenced by the matrix object clitic).

(69) a. *Nda* *ku-* *pí* *-a* ***-nya***$_j$ [*na* *ngàndi* *-mu* *rú* *kuta*]$_j$, ...
NEG 1sN- know -MOD -2sD ART bring -2sG leaf pepper plant[81]
'I didn't know that you had brought *kuta*'

b. *Nda ku- pí -a -**nggau**$_j$ [na ngàndi -mu$_j$ rú kuta], ...*
NEG 1SN- know -MOD-2SD ART bring -2SG leaf pepper plant
'I didn't know you to have brought *kuta*'

c.* *Nda ku- pí -a -**nya**$_j$ [na ngàndi -mu [rú kuta]$_j$], ...*[82]
NEG 1SN-know-MOD-3SD ART bring -2SG leaf pepper plant

In relative clauses A and S pattern together, distinct from the O relation, as follows. An A head noun is relativised with a relative clause that is introduced with the marker *ma-*, an O noun is relativised with a clause marked with *pa-*.[83] In the former case the embedded object is marked with an accusative clitic on the verb, in the latter case, the embedded subject is marked with a genitive clitic.

(70) a. *Na$_i$- meti -ka*
3SN- die -PRF

*[na tau [na **ma-** piti -ya$_j$ [na ka.bela -nggu]$_j$]]$_i$*
ART person ART REL- take -3SA ART machete -1SG
'[The person that took my machete$_j$]$_i$ (has) died already'

b. *[Na ka.bela [na **pa-** piti-na$_i$ [na tau nuna]$_i$]]$_j$, na$_j$-ruhak*
ART machete ART REL- take-3SG ART person DEI.3S 3SN-be broken
'[The machete that was taken by that man$_i$]$_j$ (it$_j$) is broken'

S head nouns are relativised with *ma-* relative clauses, i.e. pattern with A:

(71) *Na-$_j$ meti -ka [na tau [na **ma-** hidu]]$_j$*
3SN- die -PRF ART person ART REL- be sick
'The person who was sick (has) died already'

(72) *[Na tau [na **ma-** hei la oka àu]]*
ART person ART REL- climb LOC fence bamboo
'The person who climbed on the bamboo fence'

In coordination, S, A or O may be reduced, S/A patterning in the same way (73), (74); contrasting with O (75):

(73) *[Nda ta- hili beli]$_S$ [__ mai [pa- rongu -ya yohu]$_S$]$_S$*
NEG 1PN- again return come CTR- hear -3SA here
'We won't return again (and) ___ come to listen to it here'

(74) *[Nda ta- hili beli]$_S$ [__ dengi-ya yohu]$_S$*
NEG 1PN- again return dry -3SA here
'We won't return again (and) ___ dry it here'

(75) [*Ku- pa.mbinu* __]$_S$, [*ku- pa.màtu -nggau*]$_S$
1SN- CAU.be full 1SN- CAU.be complete -2SD
'I'll satisfy ___, I'll provide you with everything'

In conclusion, syntactic constructions distinguish the subject from the object relation, and show that the subject relation comprises S and A.

However, Kambera does have constructions where S patterns with O. This is the case when S is marked with dative or accusative case (4.1.2, 5.2, 5.5) and also in two verbal derivations: the anticausative derivation (section 6.9) and the derivation of agentless intransitive achievement verbs with the prefix *ta-* (section 6.10).

Anticausativisation derives non-controlled intransitive verbs from transitives by assimilating a feature [nasal] to the initial stop of the transitive base verb, resulting in a prenasalised initial stop. At present, the derivation is no longer productive but pairs like the ones in (76) suggest that it must have been in the past:

(76)

kodang	'move X'	***ng.godang***	'be loose (e:g. tooth)'
buta	'pluck/weed X'	***m.buta***	'be plucked/weeded'
pàda	'extinguish X'	***m.bàda***	'be extinguished/put out'

In the derivation of agentless intransitive achievement verbs with the prefix *ta-* S (both active and non-active) and O are also treated similarly. *Ta-* derivations express unintentional, involuntary or unexpected achievement:

(77)

bunggah	'open X'	***ta.bunggah***	'be open (unexpectedly etc.)'
lunggur	'scrape X'	***ta.lunggur***	'be sore'
mbutuh	'slipp off (unexp.)'	***ta.mbutuh***	'slip off (unexpectedly)'
lukur	'(be) huddled'	***ta.lukur***	'be huddled' (involuntarily etc.)'
nggàjir	'shake'	***ta.nggàjir***	'shake (involuntarily etc.)'
leling	'move to another place (intr.)'	***ta.leling***	'be tilted/inclined to'
nggihir	'start moving; leave one's position'	***ta.nggihir***	'move (intr.) (involuntarily etc.)'

In general, Kambera syntax follows a nominative-accusative pattern, but parts of its morphology show traces of an absolutive-ergative pattern (see also section 5.4, 5.5, Klamer 1998a).

3.4.2. The various types of objects

Kambera has various types of objects. A PATIENT/THEME argument of a transitive verb will be referred to as 'direct object' or O. This object can be cliticised. The second object is the 'indirect object' (also referred to as 'applicative object'), which is introduced through applicative derivation (section 6.2.2). The semantic roles that it marks include BENEFICIARY, MALEFICIARY, RECIPIENT, SOURCE and GOAL. An indirect object can also be cliticised on the verb.

Other objects are the 'instrumental object' and the 'comitative object'. The instrumental object is introduced through the derivation of an instrumental compound verb. An instrumental verb is derived by combining a verb with the prepositional verb *wàngu* 'use' (section 7.2.1). The thematic roles of the instrumental object are partly unique and partly overlap with those of the indirect object: apart from marking INSTRUMENT, REASON, CAUSE, or PURPOSE, the canonical roles of an instrumental object, it sometimes marks MALEFICIARY and BENEFICIARY as well (7.2.1.2). The comitative object is introduced through combining a verb with the preposition *dàngu* 'with/and' (section 7.2.2). It expresses a circumstantial argument, i.e. an argument that is involved in the event denoted by the verb by participating in it.

3.5. Structure of the clause

3.5.1. Structure of the nuclear clause

In section 3.1.5 I suggested, on the basis of word order facts (cf. (29) and (30)) that the nuclear clause behaves as a syntactic unit. In this section I will further discuss the structural properties of this unit.[84] The purpose of this section is to introduce the reader to the basic structure of a Kambera clause rather than presenting a thorough theoretical analysis of it, which is beyond the scope of this study.

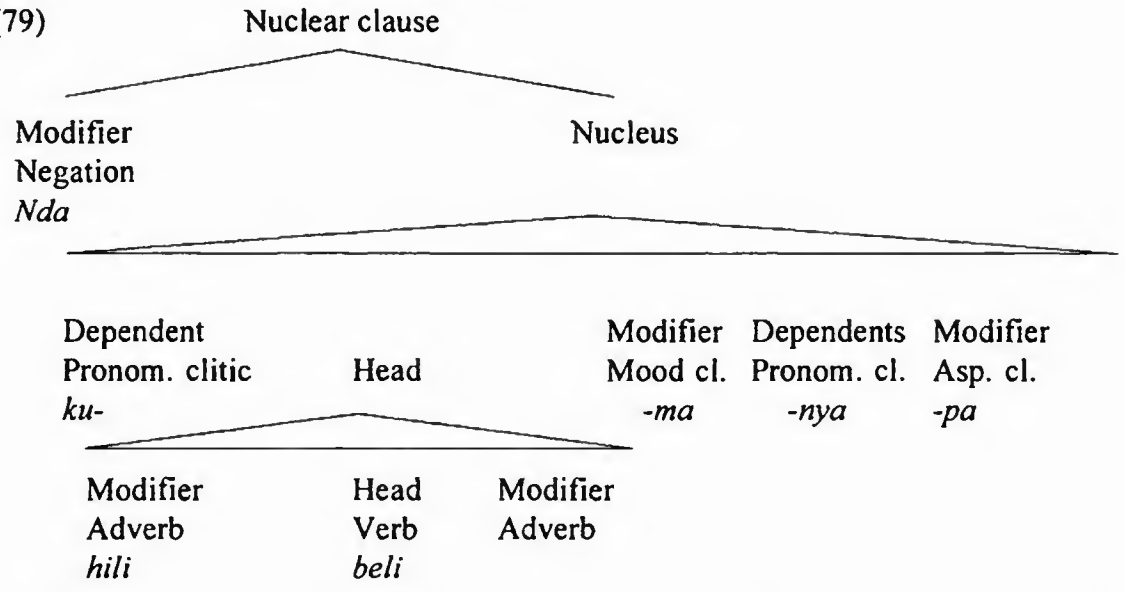
Building on Nichols'(1986) notion of headedness, the head of a Kambera nuclear clause is the predicate. A predicate may consist of a verbal, a nominal or a prepositional phrase (see section 3.1.4 for illustrations). The arguments of the predicate are its dependents, and we have seen in section 3.3 that these (definite) dependents are marked by pronominal clitics on the phrase that contains the lexical head of the clause.

Sentence (78), represented in (79), illustrates a possible nuclear clause. A clause may be complete if it consists of just a verb plus a pronominal clitic, i.e. modifiers in a nuclear clause such as *hili* 'again', *-ma* 'EMP', *-pa* 'IMPF' are optional. The modifier *nda* marks negation.

(78)	*Nda*	*ku-*	*hili*	*beli*	*-ma*	*-nya*	*-pa*
	NEG	1SN-	again	return	-EMP	-3SD	-IMPF

'I am not going back to him again'

(79)



The verb may be modified by maximally one pre- and one post-verbal adverb (section 4.4). In section 3.5.1.2 the verbal projection is discussed in more detail. Attached to the head (projection) are the clitics, discussed in the next section.

3.5.1.1. Properties of the clitic cluster[85]

Nominative clitics always mark the subject[86] and precede the predicate. The other clitics are all enclitics and form a cluster which follows the predicate. The enclitics can be divided into three classes: clitics expressing mood[87], clitics expressing clausal aspect and pronominal clitics marking subject, direct and indirect objects, as in (80). (The mood clitics in the A group (*bia*, *mbu*, *wa* and *àru*) are in complementary distribution with the mood clitics in the B group.)

(80) a. Mood: A. *bia* 'just', *mbu* 'also/too', *wa* 'hortative', *àru* 'hortative' (polite).[88]

B. *ma* 'emphasis', *du/di* 'emphasis', *ki* 'diminutive (just a bit/while)', *a* 'just/no more than'

b. Clausal aspect: *ka* 'perfective', *pa* 'imperfective', *i* 'iterative (again/also)'.

c. Pronominal:	NOM	GEN	ACC	DAT
1s	*ku-*	*-nggu*	*-ka*	*-ngga*
2s	*(m)u-*	*-mu*	*-kau*	*-nggau*
3s	*na-*	*-na*	*-ya*	*-nya*
1p (inc)	*ta-*	*-nda*	*-ta*	*-nda*
1p (exc)	*ma-*	*-ma*	*-kama*	*-nggama*
2p	*(m)i-*	*-mi*	*-ka(m)i*	*-ngga(m)i*
3p	*da-*	*-da*	*-ha*	*-nja*

Within the cluster, the clitics occur in two possible specified orders and combinations as given in (81). Table 3.5 summarises the information in (80) and (81).

(81) a. Predicate XP
> Mood A *or* {MoodB1 > Mood B2 > Mood B3 > Mood B4}
> Genitive > Dative 1 > Dative 2 >
Aspect > Aspect

b. Nominative >
Predicate XP > Mood A *or*
{Mood B1 > Mood B2 > Mood B3 > Mood B4}
> Dative 1 *or*
Accusative > Dative 2 >
Aspect > Aspect

Table 3.5. Positional properties of all enclitics

Predicate XP	MOOD	PRONOMINAL	CLAUSAL ASPECT
	B:*-ma-ki-du-a*	—gen —dat *or* —acc —dat	— *pa/ka/i* — *i/ka*
	A:*-bia*		
	-mbu		
	-wa		
	-àru		

Table 3.6 gives an overview of the positional properties of the group of pronominal enclitics. The grammatical function of the clitics is also indicated. (The nominative does not feature here because it is a proclitic.)

Table 3.6. Pronominal enclitics in postverbal position and their syntactic function

	1	2	3
Intransitive verb	genitive S		
	dative S		
	accusative S		
	genitive plus	dative: together S	
Transitive verb	accusative O		
	dative O		
	genitive A	dative O	
Ditransitive verb	dative IO		
	dative IO (1st/2nd)	dative DO (3rd)	
	genitive A	dative DO	
	genitive A	dative IO (1st/2nd)	dative DO (3rd)

The restrictions on the cluster are summarised in (82):

(82) Restrictions on the Kambera clitic cluster

a. There are minimally zero and maximally nine post-predicate clitic positions. These positions can be filled by members of the three ordered subgroups mood, pronominal (Dative, Accusative) and sentential aspect clitics.

b. Within the subgroups of mood and pronominal clitics there is a strict ordering. In the aspectual group at least two (of the three) clitics can take each other's position.

c. The two subgroups of mood clitics (Mood A and B) are mutually exclusive.

d. The following restrictions on sequences of clitics apply:

(i) A genitive subject clitic occurs closer to the verb than an object clitic (section 3.3.2, 4.2.1, 5.3, 8.1)

(ii) If there is a pronominal clitic following a genitive, it must be dative (section 3.3.2., 3.3.4, 4.2.1, 5.3, 8.1).

(iii) The two objects of ditransitive verbs can be marked in sequence. In such a sequence the inner clitic always marks the BENEFICIARY/RECIPIENT (etc.), the outer clitic the PATIENT/THEME (section 3.3.2, 3.3.4).[89]

(iv) A double object sequence like this is subject to the restriction that they can occur in a sequence only if the first clitic is *not* third person while the second clitic *is* third person (section 3.3.2). Stated alternatively:
- A sequence of two object clitics marking third person (regardless of number) is always disallowed.
- Two object clitics can only occur in sequence if the inner clitic is first or second person and the outer clitic is third person. Illustrations are given in (83), (84):

(83) a. *Na- wua -nya*
3sN- give -3sD
'He gives (it) to him/He gives it (to s.one)'

b. *Na- wua -ngga*
3sN- give -1sD
'He gives (it) to me/He gives me (to s.one)'

c. *Na- wua -ngga -nya*
3sN- give -1sD -3sD
'He gives it to me'

d. *Na- wua -nggau -nja*
3sN- give -2sD -3pD
'He gives them to you (e.g. apples)'

(84) a.* *Na- wua -nja -nya*
3sN- give -3pD -3sD

b.* *Na- wua -nya -ngga*
3sN- give -3sD -1sD

c.* *Na- wua -ngga -nggau*
3sN- give -1sD -2sD

There are a number of reasons why we cannot analyse the Kambera clitic cluster as the result of morphological word formation. Firstly, the placement of Kambera special clitics is not 'regular' word formation: because the lexical category and the morphological shape of the host to which the clitics attach may vary the host cannot be characterised in morphological terms but should be characterised syntactically instead. Secondly, in a lexical account each clitic would have to have a specification

of its (potential) sister (i.e. the element it attaches to). But in this way some of the facts would not be captured, such as the free linear order of the aspectual clitics versus the fixed linear order of the other clitics, and the fact that all the clitics are optional. Alternatively, we could assume that every clitic does not select one specific neighbour to attach to, but is lexically specified for the exhaustive set of clitics that it attaches to (i.e. the preceding clitic because we are concerned with *en*clitics here). How this distributional information would look for one of the Kambera clitics, the imperfective marker *pa*, is sketched in (85) (the pronominal clitics, here represented with the name of their paradigms, should actually be individualised too):

(85) *pa*:
[XP - [{ *ma ki du a*} *Gen Dat Dat*] ___]]
[{*bia/mbu/wa/àru*}

The lexical-specification approach of (85) has three major drawbacks.

First of all, the lexical information in (85) would not be enough to derive the correct clitic combinations at the surface structure because the actual marking of e.g. subjects depends on properties of the whole clause (section 5.2) and/or on specific co-occurrence restrictions in the clitic cluster. Because this type of information is only available after the syntactic derivation has been completed, a word-formation rule in the lexicon cannot specify which clitic in a particular context should be chosen. The same applies, of course, for the mood and sentential aspect clitics. Secondly, the optionality of the clitics still needs to be encoded in some way. Furthermore, if clitic-cluster information of this sort is specified in the lexicon, we must specify *all* the possible derived forms. We have seen that what attaches to the nuclear clause is a choice from a set of nine mood clitics, four paradigms of pronominal clitics (i.e. 4x7=28 pronominal clitics) and three aspectual clitics. A full specification of all possible combinations of these clitics would be enormously redundant.

Finally, the lexical-specification approach does not recognise the fact that there are aspects of Kambera clitic order that are not arbitrary language-specific facts, i.e. do not belong in the lexicon. For instance, the fact that mood markers occur closer to the predicate than pronominal markers occurs crosslinguistically (Bybee 1985:35). Another observation that has been made for many languages is that the encoding of verbal arguments interacts with their animacy. For Kambera we can say that the more animate an argument is, the more it is likely to be expressed by a pronominal clitic rather than an NP. As is the case in many languages, the Kambera pronominal marker for the beneficiary/recipient occurs closer to the verb than the marker for patients/themes. This pattern can be explained by the fact that Beneficiaries / Recipients are more often animate than Patients / Themes (i.e. giving/handing over some*thing* to some*one* is the standard case, giving/handing over some*one* to someone else is a relatively exceptional situation). The more animate an argument is, the more relevant it is for the semantics of the predicate and the closer to the predicate it occurs (Bybee 1985). In the animacy hierarchy, 1st/2nd person pronominals are ranked at the 'top' of the hierarchy: they are the canonically animate pronominals and are followed by 3rd person pronominals. The

animacy hierarchy thus provides an explanation of the restrictions (82d) (iii) and (iv), an explanation that would be lacking in a lexical derivational approach.

More generally, a lexical derivational approach treats the organisation of the Kambera clitic cluster as an arbitrary and coincidental property of the lexicon only[90] and hence ignores crosslinguistically re-occurring patterns such as these.

If the nuclear cannot be derived by lexical derivation, could it be syntactically derived instead? No, because, first of all, the rigid form and order restrictions among the members of a nuclear clause, especially the clitics (cf. (82)), resemble the conditions that apply to sequences of morphemes rather than syntactic phrases.[91] Secondly, it is unclear how a purely syntactic approach would account for the different restrictions on person and case in certain clitic combinations and the fixed ordering of some (mood, pronominal) clitics versus the free ordering of others (aspect) without becoming stipulative. Thirdly, a syntactic approach has to take into account that the subject of a verb is either a proclitic or an enclitic; that these two clitic forms cannot be (syntactically) derived from each other and that a genitive subject separates a verb from its object complement.

3.5.1.2. The structure of the verbal phrase

A verb forms a constituent with its modifiers, the verbal adverbs;[92] we may compare this constituent to a VP (or V'). Maximally two adverbs may occur directly adjacent to the verb (section 4.4) and these adverbs cannot occur anywhere else in the nuclear clause or sentence.[93]

Attached to the verbal projection are the clitics of the clitic cluster, and together they form the nuclear clause.

Object NPs are positioned outside the nuclear clause: they either follow or precede it, so there are always many fixed structural positions intervening between the verb and the object NP. A Kambera object NP cannot form one constituent with the verb that operates as a syntactic unit in, for example, topicalisation, focussing or in incorporation structures. Hence we do not have evidence that Kambera has a canonical VP (verb plus complement NP). (86) illustrates that the adverb *nàhu* intervenes both when the object NP is indefinite (and not crossreferenced), (a), and when it is definite and crossreferenced (b). (87) illustrates how clitics intervene between the verb and the object NP.

(86) a. *Na-* *tàru* ***nàhu*** [*angu* *kotak-na*]$_{NP}$
3sN watch now companion village-3sPoss
'He watches his fellow villager(s)'

b. *Na-* *tàru* *-ya* ***nàhu*** [*na* *angu* *kotak-na*]$_{NP}$
3sN- watch -3sA now ART companion village-3sG
'He watches his fellow villager'

(87) a. *Mu- himbu -bia [ana pangangu]*$_{NP}$
2sN- search just DIM food
'You just go find some food'

b. *Ngàndi* ***-na*** ***-nya*** *[ana pangangu]*$_{NP}$
take -3sG -3sD DIM food
'He brought her some food'

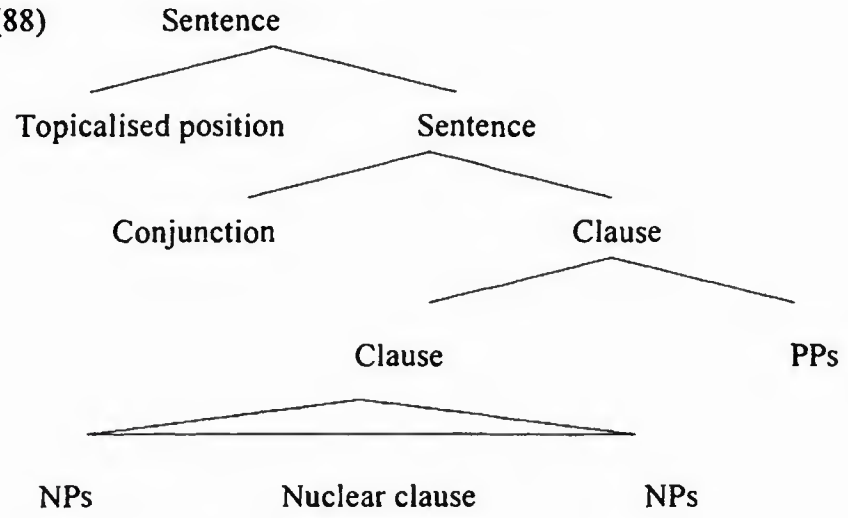
In section 3.3 various reasons were discussed to analyse the Kambera pronominal clitics as the expression of verbal arguments while the coreferent NPs are optional adjuncts. If we assume that the object marking clitic (rather than the object NP) is the verbal complement, we observe that a verb plus object clitic cannot move as a unit to the expense of the rest of the nuclear clause, i.e. there is no evidence that the object clitic ever forms a constituent with the verb alone. In addition, there are fixed structural positions intervening between the verb and the object clitic (i.e. adverbs and mood clitics). Furthermore, in transitive nominal clauses, the genitive subject marking occurs between the verb and the object clitic.

In conclusion, in Kambera the object of a verb is not directly dominated by V' or VP. There is no structural evidence for a verbal projection containing the verb and its complement to the exclusion of other elements, hence the language does not have a V' or VP in the standard sense.[94] Instead, the verbal projection contains a verb plus maximally two modifying adverbs. The clitics are attached to this constituent and thus a nuclear clause is formed. (See also section 7.3).

3.5.2. Structure of the sentence

The structure of a Kambera sentence is layered. The predicate is the core of the nuclear clause, which is the core of the sentence. Around the nuclear clause the phrasal consituents are configurated: subject and object NPs and sentential adverbs, followed by locational and directional PPs as sketched in (88):[95]

(88)



Subject and object NPs that are crossreferenced on the verb may occur on both sides of the nuclear clause, so in this respect Kambera has free word order. Rather than marking changes in grammatical relations, word order is pragmatically determined; it is used to mark changes in focus. This is illustrated in (89) and further discussed below. In (89a) the subject NP *nyuna* 'she' is not in focus, it has no emphasis and it occurs before the nuclear clause. In (89b), on the other hand, it is in focus and the NP occurs after the nuclear clause.

(89) a. *Nyuna$_j$ na-$_j$ tinu -nya$_k$ [na lau]$_k$*
she 3SN- weave -3SD ART sarong
'She weaves the sarong'

b. *Na-$_j$ tinu -nya$_k$ nyuna$_j$ [na lau]$_k$*
3SN- weave -3SD she ART sarong
'*She* weaves the sarong'

The unmarked word order of Kambera transitive clauses is (A)VO (where V is used as short-hand for 'nuclear clause'). The subject NP in this configuration is often not expressed (i.e. there is a subject clitic but no additional NP). However, subject and object NPs in other configurations are possible too, in particular VOA and VAO are used rather frequently; VOA especially in case the object NP is indefinite (see (95) below). The basic word order for intransitive clauses is VS, as in (90), but the subject may also occur before the nuclear clause, as in the second conjunct of (91).

(90) *Laku -nggunya nyungga*
go -1SG.CONT I
'I'm going'

(91) *Nda ningu-a uhu, watar nda ningu -a*
NEG be -MOD rice, corn NEG be -MOD
'There was no rice, nor was there any corn'
Or: 'We didn't have rice nor did we have corn'

Limited counts in my database indicate that the position after the nuclear clause is the position favoured by NPs in general. Of the sentences with intransitive verbs and transitive verbs I counted the ones with a 3rd person singular nominative subject clitic[96] and at least one coreferent NP.[97] Table 3.7 shows that all types of NPs prefer to occur after the nuclear clause.

Table 3.7. Attested positions of NPs with respect to the nuclear clause

	A NP	S NP	DO NP	IO NP
Before nuclear clause	17	0	2	1
After nuclear clause	112	15	52	7

However, the fact that the majority of subject (A/S) NPs favour this position does *not* imply that in Kambera the subject canonically follows the verb but rather that the use of NPs is pragmatically determined in Kambera. Because NPs are generally used for disambiguation or emphasis, they are 'dropped' as soon as possible. Subject NPs usually have a referent that is known from the context (the topic). In most cases they are therefore not needed for disambiguation: a subject NP in its unmarked position is more or less superfluous (see section 3.3.3). But when it is emphasised, 'in focus', it occupies the 'focused' position *following* the nuclear clause.

Similarly, transitive clauses do not often have a full subject NP, because usually its referent is the topic that is known from the context. They have a full object NP more often, because that is new information. But in case they do have a subject NP, the object is often the topic and the indefinite subject the new information. Such constructions have a similar function as passive constructions in other languages. Examples are (55), (56), (92) and (93).

(92) *Na-$_j$* *hoba* *-ya$_k$* *ìu$_j$* *nú*
3sN- swallow -3sA shark DEI
'He was swallowed by a shark there'

(93) *[Na hamayang]$_k$* *na-$_j$* *kataku* *-ya$_k$* *[i Miri]$_j$*
ART prayer 3sN- accept -3sA ART Lord
'The prayer was accepted by the Lord'

In sentence (93) the definite object NP appears in the focused position — before the nuclear clause. Unlike definite objects, indefinite object NPs cannot be focused:

(94) * *[Hamayang]* *na-$_j$* *kataku* *[i Miri]$_j$*
prayer 3sN- accept ART Lord

In unmarked position the object NP follows the nuclear clause, both when it is indefinite and when it is definite (95), (96):

(95) *Rongu -nanya -ka* *[ana ngilu]$_{NPobj}$* *[yena na ina-na]$_{NPsubj}$*
hear -3sG.CONT -PRF DIM wind DEI.3s ART mother-3sG
'His mother heard a breeze (approaching)'

(96) *Ba ndedi -pa na- puha -ya [na mangela]*
CNJ not yet -IMPF 3sN- cast -3sA ART fishing line
'While he had not yet casted the fishing line...'

The base position of an indirect object NP is also following the nuclear clause, usually preceded by the direct object NP (if there is one):

(97) *Rupu* *-nggunya -ka* *[ana manu]$_{NPd\ obj}$* *nyuna$_{NPi\ obj}$*
kill.chicken -1sG.CONT- PRF DIM chicken he

'I killed a chicken for him' (i.e. I prepared a chicken for him to eat)

The focused position of an indirect object NP is before the nuclear clause.

Before the nuclear clause maximally two NPs can appear, as illustrated in (98).

(98) *Nyuda$_j$* *i* *Yohani* *na-* *peka* *-nja$_j$* *hukung*
they ART John 3sN- preach -3pD law
'John preached them the law'

These two NPs can only be the indirect object and the subject, and they must also appear in that order. All other combinations are out. *Nyuda* is not topicalised because (i) it is not followed by an intonational break (compare (107) where it is), and (ii) *nyuda* is not outside the scope of a conjunction:

(99) * *Nyuda$_j$* *ka* *i* *Yohani* *na-* *peka* *-nja$_j$* *hukung*
they CNJ ART John 3sN- preach -3pD law

The maximum number of NPs following the nuclear clause is also two. Here the direct object precedes both the A and the indirect object: DO — A, DO — IO. Note that the order of the pronominal enclitics in the clitic cluster is exactly the opposite.

The position of PPs in the sentence is still rather unclear. Definite object NPs may precede or follow them, as shown in (100), (101):

(100) *Hi* *na-* *hei* *ngàndi* *-ha$_j$* *dita* [*da banda*]$_{NPj}$ [*la awang*]$_{PP}$
CNJ 3sN- climb take -3sA up ART cattle LOC heaven
'So he went up to heaven taking along the goods'

(101) *Ba na-tú* *mànu -ya$_j$-ka* [*la lima-na nú*]$_{PP}$ [*na tawuru nuna*]$_{NPj}$
CNJ 3sN-put always-3sA-PRF LOC hand-3sG DEI ART ring DEI.3s
'Because was always wearing that ring'
(lit.: 'Because he always put that ring on his vinger')

Indefinite object NPs, on the other hand, precede PPs:

(102) a. *Tú* ***uhu*** [*la mbola*]$_{PP}$
put rice LOC basket
'Put rice in the basket'

b.* *Tu* [*la mbola*]$_{PP}$ ***uhu***
put LOC basket rice

(103) a. *Na* *tau* *na* *ma-* *nda tú* ***wua-na*** [*la pa-manjaria*]$_{PP}$
ART person ART RMS- NEG put fruit-3sG LOC CTR-repent
'The one who does not show that he repents'
(lit.: 'The person who does not bear his fruit in repenting')

b.* *Na*	*tau*	*na*	*ma-*	*nda tú*	[*la pamanjaria*]$_{PP}$	***wua-na***
ART	person	ART	RMS-	NEG put	LOC repent	fruit-3sG

The indefinite object NP in (102) and (103) appears to be adjacent to the verb; a PP cannot intervene between the verb and its complement. This does not mean, however, that the verb and its complement NP are structurally adjacent (see also section 7.3). Adverbs (*mànu*) and other clitics (*-nya*) have their (fixed) positions in between the verb and the complement NP (see the discussion in section 3.5.1.2):

(104)	*Tú*	***mànu***	***-ma -dú -nya***	*tàda*	*ài*	*la*	*hakola*
	put	always	-MOD-EMP-3sD	skin	wood[98]	LOC	school
	'Always give him medicine at school!'						

Topicalisation is illustrated in (105)-(107). The items topicalised are a pronominal subject (*nyuna*), a direct object NP (*yena tawuru mbiha*) and a Prepositional Phrase containing an indirect (applicative) object (*lai nyuda*). The topicalised position may also be occupied by dislocated elements like *màla* 'well' in (11) and sentential adverbs like *hina* 'newly/recently' in (21), (47c) and *napa* 'later' in (32). A topicalised constituent is usually separated from the main clause by an intonational break and/or a (coordinating)[99] conjunction and can form a cleft construction (section 4.6.5). Indefinite object NPs are not topicalised: (108, (35).

(105)	*Nyuna$_j$*	*-ka*	*na*	*ma-*	*mayilu*	*-nya$_k$*
	he	-PRF	ART	RMS-	be first	-3sD
	'It (was) he$_j$ who came before him$_k$'					

(106)	[*Yena*	*tawuru*	*mbiha*]$_{NPj}$,	*ka*	*u-*	*ngàndi*	*-ya$_j$*	*nú...*
	this one	ring	be magic	CNJ	2sN	take	-3sA	DEI
	'(About) this magic ring, you take it (with you)...'							

(107)	[*Lai*	*nyuda$_j$*]$_{PP}$,	*i Yohani*	*na- peka*	*-nja$_j$*	*hukung*
	LOC	they	ART John	3sN-preach	-3pD	law
	'To them, John preached the law'					

(108) *	[*Tawuru*	*mbiha*]$_{NPj}$,	*ka*	*u-*	*ngàndi*	*-ya$_j$*	*nú...*
	ring	be magic	CNJ	2sN	take	-3sA	DEI

I have distinguished 'focused' and 'topicalised' constituents in the following way (Marantz 1993). In Kambera, a conjunction is the first element of a clause. NPs are positioned within the scope of the conjunction and can be focused there. NPs that are crossreferenced on the predicate are optional and their alternative orders do not signal a difference in grammatical function. In this respect Kambera NPs resemble adjuncts. However, in contrast to adjuncts such as e.g. left dislocations, Kambera NPs cannot precede the conjunction, whereas a left-dislocated constituent in Kambera is always

followed by a conjunction and/or an intonation break. Additional information on the structure of the clause is given in section 7.1.1, 8.1.2 and 8.2.1.

3.6. Summary and conclusions

In this chapter the units that play a role in the morphology and morpho-syntax of Kambera have been discussed. These units are the root, the affix, the base, the clitic, the word and the nuclear clause. With respect to the clitics, it was shown that they are unlike words on the one hand, and unlike affixes on the other hand. It has also become clear that prosodically defined units do not always match syntactically defined units.

The larger part of this chapter was devoted to the various structural and functional properties of the clitics, in particular the pronominal clitics and their coreferent NPs. Kambera has four paradigms of pronominal clitics, the nominative, genitive, accusative and dative. These clitics mark person, number and (morphological) case. They are considered 'dependent pronouns' because they have syntactic properties that are similar to those of the pronouns. On the other hand, they are unlike pronouns in several other respects, e.g. the fact that clitics and their referent NPs can co-occur, while pronouns and NPs cannot. The labels of the four clitic paradigms are traditional morphological case labels. Clitics attach to the predicate and mark the relation between the thematic role of an argument and its syntactic role, which is not always one-to-one (cf. the tables 3.2—3.4). The cliticisation of an object argument is determined by its grammatical definiteness. The coreferent NPs is optional has pragmatically determined word order. The position of the NPs is outside the nuclear clause, but within the scope of the conjunction; in this respect they contrast with topicalised constituents.

I also presented syntactic evidence for the grammatical relations subject and object in Kambera and gave an overview of the structure of both the nuclear clause and the sentence.

Chapter 4
Word classes

4.0. Introduction

In this chapter I present formal evidence for the Kambera word classes or lexical categories.

The phonotactic pattern of Kambera roots is simple: all lexical roots can be characterised in terms of the trochee (section 2.2).[100] There is no phonological distinction that could be used to establish different lexical categories. Neither are there morphologically defining characteristics. That is, the categorial status of a lexical item is not related to its morphological form (section 4.2.4). A lexical item has four possible syntactic functions: it may be a predicate, the argument of a predicate, the modifier of such an argument or the modifier of a predicate. The first function canonically corresponds to verbs, the second to nouns, the third to adjectives and the fourth to adverbs.

However, this correspondence between function and word class is far from exact. First of all, there is a considerable structural and functional overlap between Kambera nouns and verbs (e.g. in transcategorial structures such as nominal clauses, section 4.2.1). Secondly, Kambera has quite a few multifunctional words that can be used both as nouns and as verbs (section 4.2.3). And thirdly, the language has no separate lexical class of adjectives (section 4.3).

Based on the evidence presented in this chapter I will distinguish three major lexical categories in Kambera: nouns, verbs and adverbs. In section 4.1 I will discuss how this distinction is made for verbs and nouns, i.e. what is typically nominal versus typically verbal in Kambera. In section 4.2 I will discuss the similarities between verbs and nouns, as well as the multifunctional items in Kambera. In section 4.3 I will present evidence why Kambera does not have a separate category of adjectives. Section 4.4 discusses the evidence for a separate category of adverbs, and in section 4.5 I will briefly discuss prepositions. In section 4.6 an overview of the minor (closed class) categories of Kambera is given. Finally, section 4.7 provides a summary of the chapter and general conclusions.

4.1. Distinctions between nouns and verbs

Verbs and nouns are syntactically distinct in a number of respects. First I will discuss the structural properties that are typically nominal (section 4.1.1), followed by those that are typically verbal (section 4.1.2). An explicit list as given here is particularly useful in the analysis of certain constructions where the distinction noun—verb is less obvious. Such constructions will be discussed in section 4.2.

4.1.1. Nominal properties

A unique property of nouns as compared to verbs is that nouns may occur with articles. There are three different articles, one marking definiteness and singularity (*na*), one marking definiteness and plurality (*da*) and one for proper names (*i*) (section 4.6.3). A noun, not a verb, may be preceded by a marker *bai/bi*, which emphasises (properties of) the noun in an appreciative or a derogatory sense. As an (not entirely appropriate) gloss of this marker I will use 'real' or 'DER' (for 'derogatory').[101] In (1) it emphasises the noun *bandil* 'rifle':

(1)	*Ndedi*	*ningu*	*-a*	***bi***	*bandil*
	not yet	be	-MOD	real	rifle
	'There were no rifles yet'				

Another typical nominal property is that NPs can be modified by emphatic or demonstrative pronouns (singular or plural, section 4.6.1). Illustrations are the demonstrative pronouns in (2). *Nuna* in (2a) modifies *na tau* 'the person' and *yena* in (2b) modifies *na witu* 'the grass'. Observe that *nuna* follows the NP, while *yena* precedes it. The NPs in (2c,d) show that nominal modifiers canonically follow their head. Therefore the word order where the pronoun follows the NP (as in (2a)) is considered to be the basic order, while in (2b) the pronoun is fronted.

(2) a. [[*Na* *tau*] *nuna*]$_k$ *na*$_k$- *hàmu*
ART person DEI.3s 3sN- be good
'That person (there) is a good (person)'

b. *Lalu* *mbotu* *-ya*$_k$ [*yena*$_j$ [*na witu*] t_j]$_k$
too be heavy -3sA this one ART grass
'This grass (here) is too heavy' (to be used as roofing material)

c. *Uma witu*
house grass
'A hut (i.e. a house with a grass roof)'

d. *Witu uma*
grass house
'Grass for (the roof of) a house'

Nouns (NPs) also have specific quantifying properties. For instance, nouns may occur with a bare, underived numeral and they may have a classifier, as illustrated in (3), (4) and (5) (see also section 4.6.2). In (3) and (4) the numeral expression is part of the NP, in (5) the quantifier is an independent NP (*lima mbua-da* 'five loaves of them'), which is possessed by the noun it quantifies (*da kambamba* 'the bread (pl)').

(3) *Hakambulu* *ndaung*
ten years

(4) [*Tailu* *mbua* *kajawa*]$_{NP}$
three CLF papaya
'Three papayas'

(5) *Na-piti-ha* [*da kambamba*]$_{NPj}$ *ba* [*lima mbua* *-da$_j$*]$_{NP}$
3sN-take-3pA ART bread CNJ five CLF -3pG

dàngu [*da iyang*]$_{NPk}$ *ba* [*dua ngiu* *-da$_k$*]$_{NP}$
and ART fish CNJ two CLF -3pG
'He took five loaves and two fishes' (lit.: 'He took the loaves that (were) five pieces of them and the fish that (were) two beasts of them')

The quantifier *mbu(lu) ndàba* 'all'[102] is another example of a quantifier used with nouns only. As illustrated in (6), the quantifier is an independent NP that is possessed by the NP it quantifies. Note the various positions of the quantifier in (6a-f).

(6) a. *Da-* *munju* *da* *kokur* ***mbu ndàba*** ***-da***
3pN- fall off ART coconut all -3pG
'The coconuts all fell off (the tree)'

b. *Da* *kokur* ***mbu ndàba*** ***-da*** *da-* *munju*
ART coconut all -3pG 3pN- fall off
'The coconuts all fell off'

c. *Da-* *munju* ***mbu ndàba*** ***-da*** *da* *kokur*
3pN- fall off all -3pG ART coconut
'The coconuts all fell off' (lit.: 'They fell off all of the coconuts')

d. ***Mbu ndàba*** ***-da*** *da* *kokur* *da-* *munju*
all -3pG ART coconut 3pN- fall off
'All the coconuts fell off'

e. *Da* *kokur* *da-* *munju* ***mbu ndàba*** ***-da***
ART coconut 3pN- fall off all -3pG
'All the coconuts fell off'

f.* ***Mbu ndàba*** ***-da*** *da-munju* *da* *kokur*
all -3pG 3pN-fall off ART coconut

Some nouns, such as *tolung* 'meat' in (7), have their own, culturally determined, typical measure words (see also section 6.5.2):

(7) *Ha.utu* *tolung*[103]
one.string meat
'One string of meat'
(Pieces of meat offered for sale are usually strung on a rope)

4.1.2. Verbal properties

Typical verbal properties in Kambera include the following. First, there are two affixes that derive verbs. One is the derivational prefix *pa.*. It derives causative verbs from verbs (*meti* 'die' → *pa.meti* 'kill') and factitive verbs from nouns (*lunggi* 'hair' → *pa.lunggi* 'have hair', section 6.1.2). The suffix *.ng* derives applicative verbs (*bunggah* 'open X' → *bunggahu.ng* 'open (X) for Y' (section 6.2.2).[104]

Second, verbs can be modified by adverbs; adverbs do not modify nouns. Adverbs form a separate lexical category that is discussed in section 4.4. (8) illustrates how the degree adverb *lalu* 'too' modifies a verb but not a noun:

(8) a. ***Lalu*** *mbana-na* *na* *lodu*
too hot -3SG ART day
'It's too hot'

b.* ***Lalu*** *uma*
too house

Kambera verbs differ from nouns in being quantified by the adverb *hàla* 'all, complete(ly)' (section 4.4) or by a verb. The quantifying verbs are derived from numerals by adding a circumfix *paN.-ng* to the numeral, where *N* stands for a homorganic nasal, as in (9). Such quantifying verbs mean 'to do (something) X times'. (10) illustrates a quantifying verb that modifies the verb it follows.

(9)	*dua*	'two'	***pa.ndua.ng***	'do twice'
	tailu	'three'	***pa.ndailu.ng***	'do three times'
	patu	'four'	***pa.mbatu.ng***	'do four times'
	pira	'how many?'	***pa.mbira.ng***	'(do) how many times?'

(10) *Mbàda* *unung* ***panduang?***[105]
already drink do twice
'Did you have a second drink already?'
(lit.:'(Did you) already drink twice?')

Verbal argument(s) are usually marked by pronominal clitics that are attached to the verb (or its projection) (cf. section 3.3). Now the question is whether the pattern of pronominal cliticisation tells us anything about a possible distinction between nouns and verbs. The general pattern for accusative and dative clitics is to attach to verbal projections, while genitive clitics attach to nouns. However, in (11) the accusative

clitics mark the S of non-verbal predicates — they attach to predicative NPs; there is no separate copular verb (see section 5.5.1). The pronoun *nyungga* in (11b) is coreferent to the genitive enclitic *-nggu* (cf. (12)).

(11) a. *Hurundandu* ***-ya***
soldier -3SA
'He (is) a soldier'

b. [*Mbapa* *-nggu* *nyungga*] ***-ya***
husband -1SG I -3SA
'He (is) my husband'

That is, the accusative clitic does not exclusively mark direct objects or attach to verbs; it also marks the S of nominal predicates. So the mere fact that an item has an accusative clitic attached to it cannot be used to establish the category of that item. The same applies to the dative clitic. Consider the sentence in (12):

(12) a. [*Nda* [*mbapa* *-nggu*]$_{NP}$] ***-nya***
NEG husband -1SG -3SD
'He/it is not my husband'

b. [*Nda* [*mbapa* *-nggu*]$_{NP}$] ***-nggau***
NEG husband -1SG -2SD
'You are not my husband'

The S of the possessed nominal predicates in (12) is expressed with a dative (*-nya, -nggau*) rather than the (usual) accusative (*-ya, -kau*). In (11b), where the nominal predicate contained the pronoun *nyungga* 'my', the accusative was used, but the S of a 'short' possessed nominal predicate (i.e. one without a possessor pronoun) must be dative. The reason for this is unknown.[106] This shows that even dative clitics do not exclusively attach to verbs.

As well as possessors, a genitive clitic may also mark subjects (in 'nominal clauses', cf. section 4.2); i.e. the genitive clitic does not exclusively attach to nouns but also to verbal projections.

Thus, the verbal status of a lexical item is only unambiguous when it has a nominative subject or when it appears in the 'continuative' construction where the subject is expressed by a genitive clitic plus a non-referential dative clitic (section 5.3). Nominative subjects and 'continuative' aspect marking are not only typical verbal properties but are also used to distinguish between main and subordinate clauses. In contrast to main clauses, subordinate clauses cannot mark their subject with nominative or continuative (chapter 8).

4.2. Similarities between nouns and verbs

In this section I will discuss how the properties of Kambera verbs and nouns may overlap. First, certain clauses in Kambera have a number of nominal properties; I will call these 'nominal clauses' and shall discuss them in section 4.2.1. Second, in section 4.2.2 I will show that the similarities between verbs and nouns are not limited to nominal clauses. Third, Kambera has a considerable number of multifunctional lexical items that seem to belong to both the nominal and verbal category at the same time. These will be discussed in section 4.2.3. And finally, in section 4.2.4 it will be shown that Kambera has no affixes that select roots of one specific category; i.e. that attach to only verbal or only nominal roots.

4.2.1. Nominal clauses

4.2.1.1. Formal properties

As has been mentioned above, a genitive pronominal enclitic crossreferences the POSSESSOR of a noun while another function of this clitic is to mark the subjects of embedded clauses, as illustrated in (13).

(13a) illustrates an object relative clause — the morpheme *pa-* marks it as such. The fact that this clause has a genitive subject (*-mu* '2SG') is one of the nominal properties of relative clauses in general. (See section 8.1 for a full discussion). In contrast to a relative clause, an embedded clause like the one in (13b) only has a genitive subject — it is not marked by a special morpheme (*pa-* in (13a)). (13b) is a nominal clause,[107] the topic of this and the next subsection.[108]

(13) a. *Nda ku- pí -a -nya$_j$* **[*na pa-ngàndi -mu*]$_{Sj}$**
NEG 1SN-know-MOD -3SD ART RMO-take -2SG
'I didn't know what you brought'

b. *Nda ku- pí -a -nya$_j$* **[*na ngàndi -mu rú kuta*]$_{Sj}$,**
NEG 1SN- know -MOD -3SD ART take -2SG leaf pepper plant[109]

hi hili kei -nggu -nya kawài
CNJ again buy -1SG -3SD just now
'I didn't know that you would bring *kuta* so I also bought some'

In (13) the clitics *-nya* '3SD' that are attached to the verb in the matrix clause are coindexed with the entire embedded clauses (like in (21) below). The subject of an embedded nominal clause may also be marked as the object of the matrix verb, yielding (14) (its second clause is identical to the one in (13b) and omitted).

(14) *Nda ku- pí -a* ***-nggau***$_j$ *[na ngàndi -mu*$_j$ *rú kuta], ...*
NEG 1sN- know -MOD -2sD ART take -2sG leaf pepper plant
'I didn't know (of) your bringing *kuta* so...(etc.)'

Nominal clauses may be either dependent (i.e. embedded, subordinate) clauses, as in (13b) and (14), or main clauses, as in (15). In this sentence, the matrix clause (in bold) has a genitive subject which controls the subject of the subordinate clause *pa-kareuk* 'to talk':

(15) *...ba* ***[nda lalu pingu hàmu -a -na*** *[pa-kareuk]*$_S$ ***]*** $_S$
CNJ NEG too know good -MOD -3sG CTR-talk
'...because he can't talk very well yet'
(lit.: '...because he doesn't yet know too well [— to talk]$_S$')

That is, genitive subject marking is not determined by the syntactic status of the clause, i.e. whether or not it is embedded. In fact, most nominal clauses are simple main clauses, as illustrated by (16)-(19) below and elsewhere in this and the next section.

In (16) and (17) the verb is intransitive; in (18) and (19) it is transitive. In (18) the object is indefinite (*tau* 'someone', lit. 'a person'), in (19) the object is definite.[110]

(16) *Na apu-mu, katuda-**na** la pinu bolsak -ka una*
ART granny-2sG sleep-3sG LOC top mattress -PRF EMP.3s
'Your granny, she will sleep on a mattress'

(17) *Laku-**nda** la hingi luku*
go-1pG LOC edge river
'Let's go to the river side'

(18) *Muda-a hanggil* ***-na*** *tau na motur*
easy-MOD bump into -3sG person ART truck[111]
'The truck easily hits someone'
(lit.: 'Just easy its bumping into someone (of) the truck')

(19) *Ba jiapa -ma* ***na*** *hanggapit* ***-na-nya*** *dá*
CNJ continuously -EMP ART clasp -3sG-3sD inside
'While he kept clasping it inside...' (Context: 'It' is an eel which is caught inside a small space between stones by the river side.)

Let us consider the nominal characteristics of these clauses in more detail. Genitive subject marking is just one of the nominal features of these clauses. Nominal clauses may also be marked for definiteness with the singular article *na*, as in (19) and (20):

(20) *Muda -a nuna, jàka jia* ***na*** *pala* ***-nda***
easy -MOD DEI.3s if EXIST ART cross -3pG
'That's easy for us to cross' (lit.: 'That (is) easy, if (it's) our crossing')

Subordinate nominal clauses may function as the argument of a matrix verb and as such may be crossreferenced on that verb, as in (13b) and (21)–(23). In (21) and (22) the nominal clause is marked as the subject of the matrix verb — with nominative *na-* in (21) and with the continuative aspect construction in (22). In (23) the dative clitic *-nya* crossreferences an object nominal clause.

(21) *Nda* ***na**$_j$-hàmu* *ndoku* [*na ludu -na* *na tau* *la rudung*] $_{Sj}$
NEG 3sN-good NEG.emp ART sing -3sG ART person LOC night
'It's not nice at all that people sing at night' (lit.: 'It is not nice at all the singing of the people at night')[112]

(22) [*Na kahingir-na* *na wài*]$_{Sj}$ *nuna,* *toma* *hàmu-**nanya**$_j$*
ART be clear-3sG ART water DEI.3s reach be good[113]-3s.CONT
'That water is very clear'
(lit.: 'The clear(ness) of that water, it is very good')

(23) *Nda* *ku-* *pí* *-**nya**$_j$* [*na* *laku -mu*] $_{NPj}$
NEG 1sN- know -3sG ART go -2sG
'I didn't know that you'd gone' (lit.: 'I didn't know (of) your going')

Nominal constituents can be clefted by a pronominal clitic attached to the existential marker *jia* (section 4.6.5). This is illustrated in (24) for the nominal clause *na riki-na na ana-na nyuna* 'the laughing of his child'), which is clefted and crossreferenced with *-ya*. The article *na* is optional.

(24) *Jia* *hàmu* *-ya$_j$* [*na* *riki* *-na* *na* *ana-na* *nyuna*] $_{NPj}$
EXIST good -3sA ART laugh -3sG ART child-3sG he
'How his child laughed! (Lit.: 'It (is) good the laughing of his child'

Nominal clauses may be compared with an NP, as in (25)–(26):

(25) [*Hama* *pingu-mi*] [*dàngu* [*ama-mu*]]
be same know-2pG with father-2sG
'You (pl) and your fathers are equally bright'
(lit.: 'Your (pl) knowing is the same as your (sg) father')

(26) [[*Na mandapu -na* *i Ama*]$_{NP}$ *la tana*] [*hama anakeda-ya*]
ART sit -3sG ART father LOC ground be same child-3sA
'Father sits on the floor as if he were a child'
(lit.: 'Father's sitting on the ground, he/it is the same as a child')

Nominal clauses are verbal constructs with nominal external syntax. Their nominal properties are discussed here to illustrate the general objective of this section, namely showing that nouns and verbs share some formal properties. However, despite these

similarities, there are also structural distinctions between nominal clauses and possessed NPs, as I will discuss now.

Typical features by which we can distinguish nominal clauses from NPs are, for example, the mood and aspect clitics in (27) and (28), and the irrealis negator *àmbu* in (29) and (30). Such grammatical elements never occur inside possessed NPs.

(27) *...ba nda lalu pingu hàmu -a -na pa- kareuk*
CNJ NEG too know be good -MOD -3SG CTR- talk
'...for he cannot speak too well'

(28) *Hili mandai* ***-ma*** *-na -i...*
again be long -EMP -3SG -ITER
'It (was) some time later...'

(29) *Bita-nja da mata-na* ***ka àmbu*** *peku ita-na-nja da ana-na*
cover-3PD ART eye-3SG CNJ NEG.IRR be able see-3SG-3PD ART child-3SG
'Cover her eyes so she won't be able to see her children'

(30) *Panau-nya nyuna ka* ***àmbu*** *palu -na -nja -i da ana-na*
tell-3SD he CNJ NEG.IRR hit -3SG -3PD -ITER ART child-3SG
'Tell him that he shouldn't hit his children (anymore)'

The nominal predicates in (31) and (32) have classifiers as their lexical heads. Classifiers are typically nominal: they originate from nouns (section 4.6.2) and are used to count nouns. However, the genitive clitic in (31) is not interpreted as a possessor but as a subject:

(31) *Hau* ***-na*** *-ka, makaweda...*
one.CLF -3SG -PRF old woman
'In the first place/to begin with, woman...'
Not good for: 'Her first (one),...' *or* 'her only one,...'

Similarly, in (32), the genitive clitic cannot be interpreted as a nominal possessor but rather as the subject of the entire predicate, including two PP's:

(32) *Hina-a -pa hi [dàmbu*[114] *la wá la dita]* **-na,**
new-MOD -IMPF CNJ two.CLF LOC down LOC up -3SG

meti wàru -du -na -nya -ka
die dispose -EMP -3SG -3SD -PRF
'He barely (had) two (teeth) down (and) up[115] (when) she died leaving him an orphan (lit.: '...when she died disposing of him')
* '...his two (teeth) down (and) up'

Nominal (or, more generally, non-verbal) predicates regularly have an accusative subject (see section 5.5.1). Sentences (31) and (32) show that there are a number cases where a nominal predicate has a genitive subject. Because of their clausal features I consider them nominal clauses rather than possessed NPs.

4.2.1.2. Functional properties

Nominal clauses are used very frequently and in many different contexts. It is not easy to pin down the functional properties that set them apart from other types of clauses, such as those with a nominative subject. What is clear, however, is that nominal clauses have an important discourse function: they are circumstantial clauses in the discourse which provide the background information for the clauses that carry the main narrative.[116] This background information includes actions, events, or processes, but also states like age, time, and properties, and concepts like location and habituality. For instance, the sentences (13b), (14), (15), (19), and (28) in the previous section are used as circumstantial clauses. They are preceded or followed by a clause for which they give the background information. In the sentences (17), (18), (21), (22), (23), (24), (25), (26), (27), (29) and (30) not the actual fact of something taking place, but a possible or imagined event/action (irrealis) is described, or a property/habit, while (32) is an idiomatic predicate indicating an age. Additional illustrations are (33)-(35). The nominal clauses in (33) and (34) are actions/events that set the stage for another clause. (35) is a locative predicate.

(33) *Ka tama -du* ***-na,*** *hi na-wanga-ya*$_j$ [*na bi ngaru-na*] $_j$
CNJ enter-EMP-3SG, CNJ 3SN-open-3SA ART real mouth-3SG
'So he goes inside, and he opens its beak'

(34) *Ba meu -meu* ***-na,*** *ba na- imbu -ya*
CNJ RDP -roar -3SG CNJ 3SN- search -3SA
'And it roared (tiger/cat) while it went after him'

(35) *Hariu kilu -na na marau-**na** weling la uma*
thousand kilometer-3SG ART be far-3SG move from LOC house
'A thousand kilometers he was away from home'
(lit.: A thousand kilometers of his being moved away from home)

Because their discourse role is circumstantial, the modality of nominal clauses is non-agent oriented, i.e. a nominal clause expresses an orientation on the predicate of which the subject is a part. The agentivity of the subject is not in focus. The aspectual properties of nominal clauses may vary. They are a result of the interaction of this modality and the semantics of the verb. The modal properties of nominal clauses include irrealis (but see also below). The tense of nominal clauses is unspecified and depends on its other properties. For instance, if it is in the irrealis mood, the tense may

be future. The irrealis mood of nominal clauses is also apparent in the expression of optative in (17) above or in the resignation in (36):

(36) *Pa.meti bia -mu -ngga, nda nggàra ehi*
CAU.die MOD -2SG -1SD NEG what content
'Just kill me, it doesn't matter' (lit.: 'Just kill me, (it has) no content')

Short questions[117] like (37)–(40) are nominal clauses preceded by a question word. Some of them cannot have a nominative subject, as the grammaticality contrast between (37a,b) and (38a,b) indicates. Others, such as (39a) and (40a), *may* have a nominative subject, as illustrated in (39b) and (40b), though they favour a genitive subject.[118]

(37) a. *E, Rambu Ngana, nggara ula* ***-mu****?*
EXCL Lady Ngana what do -2SG
'Hey Rambu Ngana, what are you doing?'

b. * *Nggàra* ***mu-*** *ula?*[119]
what 2SN- do

(38) a. *Nggàra mài* ***-na****?*
what come -3SG
'Why does he come?'

b. * *Nggàra na- mài?*
what 3SN- come

(39) a. *Pirang tàka* ***-mu****?*
when arrive -2SG
'When did you arrive?'

b. *Pirang* ***mu-*** *tàka?*
when 2SN- arrive
'When will you arrive?'

(40) a. *Nggi lua-****mu*** *hena?*
where go-2SG over there
'Where are you going?' (greeting)

b. *Nggi* ***mu-*** *lua -ka hena?*
where 2SG- go -PRF over there
'Where are you going?'

The dependent status of the nominal clause is also apparent from the fact that certain adverbials have scope over a nominal clause. The adverbials express tense, aspect,

mood or degree. In (41) some examples are given (see also the discussion in section 4.4).

(41)	**Aspect & Tense**		**Mood**	
	jiapa	'still, continuing'	*peku*	'be able to, possible'
	ta.langa	'while, in the meantime'	*daingu*	'surely'
	hangu	'straight away, like that'	*memang*	'indeed'
	ma.ndai	'long time'	*muda-a*	'just easy' (easy-MOD)
	ma.reni	'near, almost'	**Degree**	
	bidi	'just now'	*mbana*	'very'
	lundu	'until'	*rakajàka*	'normal, just right'
	mbàda	'already'	*lalu*	'too'

Some of these items (*mandai, mareni, mbàda, peku, muda-a, mbana* and *ràkajàka*) also have a predicative, verbal function.[120] The sentences (42)—(46) illustrate nominal clauses that are preceded by an aspectual or temporal adverb. The adverbs are given in italics.

(42) ***Mbàda*** *rongu* ***-nggu*** *-nya -ka na kareuk -na ba ku-lua la uma*
already hear -1SG -3SD -PRF ART talk-3SG CNJ 1SN-go LOC house
'I already heard his talking on my way home'

(43) *Ba* ***talànga*** *lua-**na** pambawa hi ku-pàtu-ya pa-ngangu*
CNJ while go-3SG go out CNJ 1SN-stop-3SA CTR-eat
'And while he was going out, I asked him for dinner' (lit.: '... I stopped him to eat')

(44) *Ba* ***mareni*** *hambola **-na** -ka, na- hidu na ina-na*
CNJ near give birth -3SG -PRF 3SN- be ill ART mother-3SG
'When she was almost having her baby, her mother got ill
(lit.: 'When (it was) near her giving birth, her mother got ill')

(45) ***Bidi*** *njoru-**na** na ài ba talànga nàhu* *-ngga*[121]
just now topple-3SG ART tree CNJ while move away -1SD
'The tree fell when I walked by'

(46) ***Lundu*** *njili* ***-nggu*** *ba ku- yaulu -ya na wei*
until be tired -1SG CNJ 1SN- chase -3SA ART pig
'Until I got tired I chased the pig'

The mood adverbials given in the right-hand column of (41) express notions like degree, desire, ability, probability, possibility, supposition, indecision, dubitative and subjunctive. Degree adverbials were illustrated in (8a) and (25) contains a comparative construction. The sentences in (29) were illustrations of 'epistemic mood' combining with nominal clauses, as is (47):

(47) ***Daingu*** *hadang* ***-na*** *-ka* *nú* *tai* *jàka* *u-lua* *pa-kajuku-ya*
surely get up 3SG -PRF DEI later if 2SN-go CTR-prick-3SA
'Surely he will get up (i.e. get better) if you are going to give him an injection'

Finally, the nominal clause is used in idiomatic expressions. One of these is *jia hàmu-ya* in (24) above, an idiomatic expression for 'an excessive degree'. Consider also the sentences in (48). *Nggamu* 'who' in (48a) is the nominal predicate, its (accusative) subject is *-ya* (more examples are given in section 4.6.1). (48a) is the usual question about someone's identity, whereas (48b) is an idiomatic expression for amazement about someone's extraordinary looks or identity. The subject is accusative in the former and genitive in the latter case:

(48) a. *Nggamu* *-ya* *nuna?*
who -3SA DEI.3S
'Who is that?'

b. *E inai,* *nggiki* *tau* ***-na*** *-ka* *yena!*
EXCL how person -3SG-PRF DEI.3S
'Gee, what kind of person is this!'/ 'Gee, whoever is this!'

There are many idiomatic expressions expressing notions of concession, amazement, exaggeration, or unexpectedness. In such idiomatic expressions the interrogative *nggiki* 'how' is often combined with a nominal clause. The following sentences are some examples:

(49) a. *Nggiki* *hama* ***-na,*** *ba* *rama* *-du* *-mu* *-nya?*
how be same 3SG CNJ touch -EMP -2SG -3SD
'(How) did this happen, because you touched it?'

b. *Nggiki* *hama* *nda* *hí* ***-na***
how be same NEG cry -3SG
'Boy, did he/she cry!'

(50) *Jàka* *nda* *nggiki* *karai* *-a* ***-mu*** *una,*
if NEG how ask -MOD -2SG EMP.3S

nda *jia* *wua* *-a* ***-na*** *-nggau*
NEG EXIST give-MOD -3SG -2SD
'However (often) you ask (him), he won't give it to you'

(51) *Ka nggiki-**na**?*
CNJ how-3SG
'How?'/'Why?'/'Under what circumstances?'/'In what way?' etc.

Sentence (33b) above already showed that nominal clauses may also contain a reduplicated verb.[122] Such clauses are also circumstantial, as illustrated in (52):

(52) a. *Rohak -rohak* ***-na*** *ba na- hí*
RDP -trample -3sG CNJ 3sN- cry
'Trampling (the ground), he cried'

b. *Nggi-nggidi -a* ***-na*** *ba na- pangga*
RDP -tremble -just -3sG CNJ 3sN- walk
'Trembling, he walked'

In (53a) below a 'usual' sentence with a reduplicative form is given — with a nominative subject, expressing emphasis, habit, iteration, etc., depending on the context. (53b) and (53c), however, are circumstantial nominal clauses. Note that in these sentences the reduplication also expresses a notion of 'unexpectedness', 'suddenness' and 'ingressiveness'. (53c) has the aspectual adverb *hangu* 'straight away'.

(53) a. *Na- pa- palu jàka ta- malih*
3sN- RDP- hit if 1pN- be naughty
'He (usually/really) hits us when we are naughty'

b. *Palu.ng -palu.ng -ma-a* ***-na*** *ba na-tàka*
RDP -hit.ng[123] -EMP-just -3sN CNJ 3sN-arrive
'He just started hitting when he arrived/he will just start hitting when he arrives'

c. *Hangu buta.ng -buta.ng -ma -a* ***-na*** *bai manila,*
straight away RDP -pull out.ng -EMP -just -3sG real peanut

nda na- hili karai
NEG 3sN- again ask
'He just began to pull out peanuts[124] straight away, he didn't even ask'

4.2.1.3. Conclusions

In this section the formal and functional properties of nominal clauses were discussed. Nominal clauses are clauses with a subject that is morphologically marked with the genitive case; they are found with both intransitive and transitive verbs. Their syntactic distribution is diverse: they may either be subordinate or main clauses. The external nominal properties of these clauses are apparent from the fact that their subject is genitive. Various nominal properties of nominal clauses were discussed: nominal clauses may be specified for definiteness, they may be a verbal argument and be crossreferenced on a matrix verb, and they may be clefted and compared. However,

their internal structure is clausal, as evidenced by the fact that they may contain negations and modal and aspectual clitics.

The functional (semantic, discourse) properties of nominal clauses are diverse, but all nominal clauses share the property that they do not express the main narrative line in discourse and/or are unasserted propositions. Questions and idiomatic expressions are often nominal clauses. Their typical modal (e.g. irrealis), modality (i.e. non-agent oriented) and aspectual properties are connected to a similar 'dependent' discourse function. It is not unlikely that the genitive subject of some nominal clauses may just be an alternative morphological case marking of the subject to indicate the special functional properties of the clause (see 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5 for additional discussion). This may account for the fact that nominal clauses are so widely used without any apparent syntactic, aspectual, modal, or tense restrictions. Needless to say, this construction still awaits further investigation.

4.2.2. Other similarities between nouns and verbs

In this section I will discuss some other similarities between verbs and nouns, beginning with some features that verbs share with nouns, followed by the 'typically verbal' properties of nouns. Verbs may be used as verbal arguments: with a definite article they form an NP which may be crossreferenced on the verb. Consider the sentences in (54). In (54a) the verb *manganga* 'steal' is used predicatively in a nominal clause — the subject is marked with a genitive clitic, the object with a dative. In (54b), however, the same verb functions as a definite object NP, crossreferenced on the matrix verb with the object clitic *-nya*. (Because the matrix verb itself is part of a (headless) relative clause with a subject gap, it does not have an overt subject.)

(54) a. *Jàka manganga -ma -na -nya -i una, ka nggiki wà-nda-i?*
if steal -EMP -3sG -3sD -ITER EMP.3s CNJ how say-1pG-ITER
'If he does steal it again, what can we do about it?'[125]

b. *Na ma- kaloru -nya$_i$ [na manganga]$_{NPi}$ nda na-hàmu wà-a-nya*
ART RMS- arrange -3sD ART steal NEG 3sN-be good use-MOD-3sD
'Who is engaged in theft will not fare well'
(lit.: The (one) who arranges the stealing, he will not be good with it)

In (55) a similar example is given of the nominal use of active, transitive verbs. The verbs *maràmbi* 'pinch (something)', *rambang* 'snatch (something)' and *ribang* 'rob (someone)' are not nominalised by an overt morpheme. Yet, with the determiner *na* they are definite NPs.[126]

(55) *Na- juju -ta pa- pa.laku -ya$_i$*
3sN- incite -1pA CTR- CAU.go -3sA

[**na** *maràmbi*]$_{NPi}$ [**na** *rambang*]$_{NPi}$ [**na** *ribang*]$_{NPi}$
ART pinch ART snatch ART rob
'He incites us to pinch and snatch and rob'

Like nouns, verbs may be governed by prepositions.[127] The sentences in (56) illustrate that the locational preposition *la* can govern both a noun (56a) and a verb (56b). The nominalised form of *ngangu* 'eat' is *pa-ngangu* 'food', a headless relativisation, (56c).

(56) a. *Ma-* *lindi* ***la*** *mbatang*[128]
1pN- cross LOC bridge
'We follow/cross the bridge' (lit.: 'We cross over the bridge')

b. *Ma-* *kapàru* *-ya* ***la*** *ngangu*
RMS- be strong -3sA LOC eat
'He is good at eating' (lit. 'He is strong in eat(ing)')

c. *Na* ***pa-ngangu***
ART RMO-eat
'The food' (lit.: 'That what is eaten')

The preposition *la* forms complex prepositions with prepositional nouns (see section 4.5 below). Such complex prepositions may govern both nouns and verbal projections. This is is illustrated in (57a,b), respectively.

(57) a. [[*La* *hambeli*]$_P$ ***uma***$_N$]$_{PP}$ *ningu* *oka*
LOC outside house be garden
'Outside the house is a garden'

b. [[*La* *hambeli*]$_P$ [***piti-na-nya*** *i* *Rambu Putaria*]$_S$] $_{PP}$ ...
LOC outside take-3sG-3sD ART Lady Putaria
'After he took Lady Putaria (as his wife)...'

The comitative preposition *dàngu* 'and, with' may form a prepositional phrase with either a nominal (noun, pronoun) or a verb. In sentence (58a) two nouns are combined, in (58b) two pronouns. In (58c), on the other hand, the same preposition governs the stative verb *hàmu* 'be good'[129] and this PP is used adverbially:[130]

(58) a. *Kopi* *dàngu* ***nggula***
Coffee with sugar

b. *Nyungga* *dàngu* ***nyimi*** *mbu ndàba* *-nda*
I with you (pl) all -3pG
'All of us' (lit.: 'I and you all of us')

c. *Nyuna* *na-* *pa.laku* [*dàngu* ***hàmu***]$_{PP}$ *-nya...*
He 3sN- CAU.go with be good -3sD
'He does it well' (lit.: 'He does it with good')

Weli(ng) 'move (away) from' is a prepositional verb[131] and indicates a motion away from something. It may be used in combination with the preposition *la*. (59) illustrates that this combination may govern both nouns (59a) and verbs (59b).

(59) a. *Rumba* *weli(ng)* *la* ***padang***
grass move from LOC field
'Grass from the field'

b. *...ka* *ní mànu -nggau* *la* ***hayandal*** *weli(ng)* *la* ***katiu-mu***
CNJ be always-2sD LOC be well move from LOC have pain -2sG
'...so that you'll always be well, away from pain'

Nouns may be used predicatively; Kambera has no separate copula verb. That is, like verbs, nouns may be the lexical head of a predicate. Pronominal, aspectual and modal clitics may attach to a nominal predicate, as is illustrated in (60). In (60a) *-mbu* is a clitic meaning 'and also...' and *-kai* is the subject clitic. In (60b), *-ya* is the subject of the nominal predicate *nyumu* 'you' and *-ka* is aspectual, as in (60c). Note the contrast in structure and meaning between (60b,c).

(60) a. *Tau* *mayila* ***-mbu*** ***-kai*** *nyimi* *ná*
person poor -also -2pA you (pl) DEI
'Moreover, you (pl) (are) also poor people'

b. *Nyumu* *-ya*$_j$ ***-ka*** *nàhu* [*na* *ana-nggu*]$_j$
you -3sA -PRF now ART child -2sG
'My child (is) yours now'

c. *Nyumu*$_j$ ***-ka*** *nàhu* [*na* *ana* *-nggu*]$_j$
you -PRF now ART child -1sG
'You (are) my child now'

The negators *nda* and *àmbu* are used for both nominal and verbal predicates. In (61) the nominal predicate is negated while in (62) the presence or existence of the nouns is negated. Compare this with the negation of a verbal predicate, as in the second clause in (62a), and in the sentences in (63). Sentence (64) illustrates how the irrealis negator *àmbu* can be used both for nominal and verbal predicates.

(61) a. *Nina* ***nda*** *tustel* *-a* *-ya, senter* *-ya*[132]
DEI.3s NEG camera -MOD -3sA torch -3sA
'This is not a camera, it's a torch'

b. [*Na anakeda yena*]$_j$ [***nda*** *ana -na nyuna -a*] *-ya*$_j$,
ART child DEI.3s NEG child -3sG he -MOD -3sA

[*ana -nggu nyungga*] *-ya*$_j$
child -1sG I -3sA
'This child, it's not HIS child, it's MY child'

(62) a. *Jàka* ***nda*** *wài nda ku- luri -a*
if NEG water NEG 1sN- live -MOD
'Without water I cannot live' (lit.: 'If no water I don't live')

b. *Jàka* ***nda*** *nyumu ba meti pangalang -bia -nanya -ka làti*
if NEG you CNJ die go on -MOD -3s.CONT -PRF in fact
'Without you he just would have died'
(lit.: 'If not you he would just have been dying straight away')

(63) a. *Jàka* ***nda*** *na- mài, meti-nggunya*
if neg 3sN- come die-1s.CONT
'If he doesn't come, I'll die'

b. ***Nda*** *ku- ngangu -a iyang*
NEG 1sN- eat -MOD fish
'I don't eat fish'

(64) a. ***Ambu*** *riki -du!*
NEG.irr laugh -EMP
'Don't laugh!'

b. ***Ambu*** *hurundandu-ya làti, na-njadi hàmu jàka pandita-ya*
NEG.irr soldier -3sA in fact 3sN-become be good if reverend-3sA
'If he wasn't a soldier, he'd be a good reverend'
(lit.: 'If he (was)n't a soldier, he'd become good if he (was) a reverend')

Verbs and nouns do not differ in their function as nominal or verbal attribute. When a word is modified, the order is always [Head + Modifier]. The data in (65) show that a noun may be modified by a noun (a), a nominal projection (with a verbal modifier) (b), by a verb (c) or by a verbal projection (d,e):

(65) a. [*meu*$_N$ *rumba*$_N$]$_{NP}$ 'wild cat'
cat grass

b. [*iyang*$_N$ [*tau wàu*]$_{NP}$]$_{NP}$ 'fish of smelling person'
fish person smell

c. [*iyang*$_N$ *wàu*$_V$]$_{NP}$ 'smelly fish'
fish smell

d. [*iyang*$_N$ [*wàu tau*]$_{VP}$]$_{NP}$ 'fish smelling of people'
fish smell person

e. [*kataka*$_N$ [*punggu ài*]$_{VP}$]$_{NP}$ 'an axe for cutting down trees'
axe cut down wood

Consider the sentences in (66). The head verb is modified by a noun in (66a) and in (66b). *Jangga eti* and *mbana wài ilu* are phrasal verbs (cf. section 7.2). The head verb in (66c) is modified by another verb — *dedi meti* 'be born & die, i.e. die in labour' is a compound verb (cf. section 7.1).

(66) a. [*Jangga*$_V$ *eti*$_N$]$_V$
be tall liver
'Be arrogant' (lit.: '(Have a) tall liver')

b. *Na-* [*mbana*$_V$ [*wài ilu*]$_N$]$_V$ *na maramba*
3sN- be hot water saliva ART king
'The king has hot saliva' (which is an ominous sign)

c. [*Dedi*$_V$ *meti*$_V$]$_V$ *-ma -a* *-nanya* *na* *ina* *-na*
be born die -EMP -MOD -3s.CONT ART mother -3sG
'His mother died in labour'[133]

The observed similarities between verbs and nouns are as follows: verbs may be preceded by an article and thereby get the status of an NP which may be used and crossreferenced as a verbal argument. Verbs may be governed by a preposition or a prepositional verb, and they may be used to modify a noun. Nouns may be used as verbal attributes. Both nouns and verbs may be used predicatively. Nominal predicates have no copula and may have pronominal, aspectual and modal clitics attached to them, like verbal predicates. Both types of predicates are negated in the same way.

4.2.3. Multifunctional items

A Kambera lexical item can function either as a verb or as a noun without having an overt morpheme relating these two categories derivationally. Such words are called precategorial or multifunctional items and will be discussed now.[134] Examples which illustrate that some roots do not have a unique lexical category are given in (67):

(67)[135,136]	Nominal	Verbal (int)	Verbal (tr)
hai	'comb'	—	'comb X'
hukung	'law/penalty'	—	'punish X'
hindi	'attic'	—	'dry/smoke X'
bàndil	'rifle'	'shoot'	'shoot X'
dadu	'dice'	'play dice'	—
lindi	'bridge'	'cross' bridge'	—
ramuk	'pool/swamp'	'be in a pool'	—
tanda	'sign'	'know'	'know X'
wài	'water'	'believe, have faith'	'believe in X'
hilu	'language'	—	'(ex)change X'
ludu	'song'	'emit sound/sing'	—

In (68)—(69) illustrations are given of the nominal (a) and verbal (b) use of some roots. In (68a) the noun *tanda* 'sign' forms an NP with its attribute, the stative verb *màndung* 'be solid'. In (68b) *tanda* 'know something' is used as a transitive verb, with a subject (the nominative proclitic) and an object (the accusative enclitic):

(68) a. [***Tanda***$_N$ *màndung*$_V$]$_{NP}$
sign be solid
'A symbol of unity' (e.g. a wedding ring)

b. *Ku-**tanda** -ma-ya*$_j$ [*na tài walabau-mu*]$_j$ *lai yohu*
1SN-know -EMP-3SA ART excrement green fly -2SG LOC here
'I do know/recognise your birth mark here'[137]

The marker *bi* that modifies *bàndil* in (69a) may only occur prenominally, as was discussed in section 4.1.1. It is independent evidence that *bàndil* is a nominal in this sentence. On the other hand, the nominative clitic *na-* in sentence (69b) is only used with verbs (as has been discussed in section 4.1.2.) Its use here to mark the subject of *bàndil* suggests that *bàndil* is used as a verb in this second sentence, as is also clear from its meaning.

(69) a. *Ndedi ningu -a bi **bàndil***
not yet be -MOD real rifle
'There were/are no rifles yet'

b. *Na- **bàndil** ànga -ka bi hurundandu*
3SN- shoot useless -PRF DER soldier
'Soldiers will just shoot me without reason'

In (70a,b) we can see that a multifunctional lexical item like *hilu* has developed two different meanings, one nominal (70a) and one verbal (70b). They are still related in the sense that 'language' is a means to communicate, i.e. 'exchange' ideas.

(70) a. *Na* *hilu* *Humba*
ART language Sumba
'Sumbanese' (lit.: 'The Sumbanese language')

b. *Pa.hilu* *-ya* *jàka* *na-* *ruhak*
CAU.exchange -3SA if 3SN- be broken/torn
'Change it if it is torn'

In (71a) *ramuk* 'pool' is part of a locative PP, governed by the preposition *la*, while in (71b) *ramuk* is used as a predicate. It was used to describe the state of a baby lying in (a 'pool'of) its own dirt. In this clause, the genitive clitic (primarily) marks the subject of a state rather than a nominal possessor.

(71) a. *Jia -du -ya -ka* *la* ***ramuk*** *nda mihi la ndiha* *nda malài*
EXIST -EMP -3SA-PRF LOC pool NEG dry LOC grass NEG be long
'It's near the pool that never dries up and near the grass that isn't scorched' (i.e. mythological heaven)

b. *E!* ***Ramuk*** *-na!*
EXC pool -3SG
'Oh no! She lies in a pool (of dirt)'. Not good for: 'Oh no! Her pool!')

A multifunctional item may be used nominally and verbally (transitive and intransitive). If it is used as an intransitive verb, it may have both an active and a non-active interpretation. In (72) the four different uses of *hurat* 'letter' (an obvious loan from Indonesian) are shown, in (73) they are illustrated.

(72)	*hurat*:	Noun:		'letter'
		Verb:	intransitive, non-active:	'be stained/be scribbled on'
			intransitive, active:	'scribble'
			transitive:	'scribble on X, scratch on X'

In (73a) *hurat* is used nominally, it is an object NP that is crossreferenced on the verb with an accusative clitic. In (73b) it is used as an intransitive verb with the verb *hàla* 'be complete' (which can only be used as a verbal quantifier, section 4.1.2). In (73c) *hurat* is an active intransitive verb, in (73d) a transitive verb, used in a subject relative clause.

(73) a. *Na-* *ita* *-ya*$_i$ [*na* ***hurat***]$_{NPi}$ *la* *pinu* *nulang*
3SN- see -3SA ART letter LOC top pillow
'He saw the letter on the pillow'

b. [***Hurat*** *hàla*]$_V$. *na* *bi* *kalembi-na*
be stained complete ART real shirt-3SG
'His shirt is full of stains' (lit.: 'His shirt (is) completely stained')

c. *Ba talànga* ***hurat*** *-na -ka,...*
CNJ while scribble -3SG -PRF
'And while he was scribbling,...'

d. *Ngga na [ma-**hurat**-ya$_j$ [na bai dinding yia]$_j$] $_S$?*
who ART RMS-scribble on-3SA ART real wall DEI
'Who (is) the (one) that scribbled (on) the wall here?'

We have seen how multifunctional roots are used both as nouns and verbs (transitive/intransitive, active/non-active) without having undergone a visible, overt formal derivation.

Do the derivational morphological properties of a word play a role in establishing its lexical class? For the productive affixes *pa.*, *.ng* and the circumfix *ka.-.k* the answer is yes, because they always derive verbs.[138] But the categorial status of formally derived words is not always so clear. Formally derived words are (by definition) not productively derived. Kambera has two kinds of formally derived words in Kambera: (i) words with an affix from a morphological derivation that has stopped being productive and (ii) loans that are adapted to Kambera phonotactics (section 2.2, 2.3). An example of the latter type is *ka.renja* 'church' > Indonesian *gereja* 'church'. The first unstressed syllable of *ge'reja* is reinterpreted into Kambera phonotactics as a prefix (*ge* > *ka.*), while the stressed foot *'reja* is interpreted as a canonical Kambera root (*'renja*). This root is, of course, only formally a root: it does not have an independent meaning or function in Kambera.

Formally complex words may show the same multifunctional behaviour as the roots in (67) above, as illustrated in (74).[139]

(74)	**Nominal**	**Verbal (intr)**	**Verbal (tr)**
ha.yandal	'comfort'	'live in comfort'	—
ka.hili	'trick/deceit'	'use dirty tricks'	'deceive X'
ka.mbànga	'ugliness'	'be unattractive'	—
ka.ninu	'mirror'	'mirror'	'mirror/investigate X'(poetical)
ka.njobak	'pit/hole'(soil worn away)	'wear away (become a hole)'	—
ka.renja	'church'	'go to church'	—
la.múdit	'thin rope'	'twist rope'	—
ma.nganga	'theft'	'steal'	'steal X'
ma.ndapu	'seat'	'sit'	—
pa.reta	'government'	'govern, reign'	'govern X'
n.jala	'sin, fault'	'be/do wrong, be mistaken'	—

Consider the illustrations in (75) and (76). The noun *ka.renja* 'church' in (75a) is used as a verb 'go to church' in (75b):

(75) a. *Na* ***ka.renja*** 'The church'
ART church

b. *Rihi* *hàmu* *ka* *na-**ka.renja*** 'He had better go to church'
be more good CNJ 3SN-church

In (76a) the NP *na njala-nggu* 'my mistakes/sins' is marked on the verb *manàhal* 'regret' with the object clitic *-nya*. In (76b,c) *njala* is used as a verb, both in the continuative aspect construction, and with a nominative subject. Both constructions are verbal given the characteristics discussed in section 4.1.1 above.

(76) a. *Ku-* *manàhal* *-nya* *na* ***njala*** *-nggu*
1SN- regret -3SD ART mistake -1SG
'I regret my sins'

b. *Eha!* ***Njala*** *-mbu* *-nggunya* *-i* *-ka* *nú* *kawài*
EXC be wrong -also -1S.CONT -ITER -PRF DEI just now
'Darn! I was wrong/mistaken there too'

c. *Na-* *pa.ndia* *-ya* *ba* *nda* *na-* *njala*
3SN- CAU.NEG -3SA CNJ NEG 3SN- be wrong
'He denied that he was wrong'

The conclusion of this section is that the categorial status of a certain lexical items in Kambera is ambiguous or unclear. Both roots and derived forms can be multifunctional.

4.2.4. The same prefixes for verbs and nouns

The translations given for most derived words in the Kambera dictionary (Onvlee 1984) indicate that most of them are verbs, or are used as such.[140] Although this cannot be used as an argument to formally establish lexical categories, it suggests that the Kambera affixes probably have been verbalizing affixes at some point in the history of the language.

On the other hand, the prefixes *ha.*, *ka.*, *la.*, *ma.*, *ta.* and [*nas*] are neither exclusively verbal nor exclusively nominal so that the categorial status of a lexical item cannot automatically be read off its morphological structure. In (77)–(88) forms with the prefixes just mentioned are given without comment to illustrate that such derived forms may be nouns or verbs:

(77) *Nggi-ya* *na* ***ha.atu?***
where-3SA ART one
'Where is the (other) one?'

(78) *Lupa ana* ***ha.bola*** *-ma -nanya -ka*
until DIM give birth -EMP -3s.CONT -PRF
'Until she gave birth...'

(79) *Ha.ka.mbulu pitu* ***ka.mambi***
ten seven goat
'Seventeen goats'

(80) ***Ka.tuda*** *-ki-nanya -ka la tài ka.mambi una i Windi*
sleep -MOD -3s.CONT -PRF LOC excrement goat EMP.3s ART Windi
'Windi just had to sleep in the goat droppings'

(81) ***La.wora***
'An iguana'

(82) *Nggiki -na hi u-* ***la.nggori****?*
how -3sN CNJ 2sN- burp
'Why do you burp?'

(83) *Na* ***ma.ramba***
ART king
'The king'

(84) ***Ma.ngàdat*** *-danya tiang jàka ta- kabàli -ha*
be afraid -3p.CONT later if 1pN- frighten -3sA
'They will be scared when we frighten them'

(85) *Mài -nanya na* ***mbapa*** *-mu?*
come-3s.CONT ART husband -2sG
'Will your husband come (here)?'

(86) *Nda na-* ***mbata*** *-a*
NEG 3sN- be broken -MOD
'It's not broken'

(87) *Iyang, iyang, wà -na -nda -pa-du-a*[141] *la* ***ta.lora***
fish fish say -3sG-1pG -IMPF-EMP-MOD LOC village square
'"Fish, fish" they keep on calling to us on the village square'

(88) *Nda na-* ***ta.binu*** *-a na kalú*
NEG 3sN- be peeled -MOD ART banana
'It's impossible to peel the banana' (lit.: 'The banana cannot be peeled')

These data show that in cases of formally derived words having the prefix *ha.*, *ka.*, *la.*, *ma.*, *ta.* or [*nas*] the categorial status of the derived form may be either nominal or verbal.

4.2.5. Conclusions

In this section I have shown that the formal and functional distinctions between verbs and nouns are often not clear in Kambera, for various reasons. First, 'fuzzy' boundaries are caused by the overlapping functional and structural properties of both categories. In the diagram in (89) the typical functions are indicated of items that are the unambiguous[142] members of one of the main lexical categories Noun or Verb. It illustrates the overlap in syntactic properties of nouns and verbs. A function that is typical for the relevant category is marked <++>, a possible function is marked <+>, and an impossible function is marked <—>.

(89)

	Noun	Verb
Lexical head of transitive predicate	—	++
Lexical head of intransitive predicate[143]	+	++
Lexical head of NP	++	—
Modifier of verb	+	+
Modifier of noun	+	+
Head of verbal compound	—	++
Head of nominal compound	++	—

Second, some roots and derivations have a categorial status that is inherently ambiguous: the multifunctional items. And, finally, quite a number of morphological processes are not productive anymore, their derived forms have become lexicalised. As a result, words with the same affix do not necessarily have the same categorial status.

4.3. The absence of adjectives

Wielenga (1909:16) assumes a category of adjectives ('bijvoeglijke naamwoorden') in Kambera: a formally diverse set of items, classified as adjectives because their translate into Dutch as adjectives.[144] In Onvlee (1925) Kambera is assumed to have adjectives but they are not discussed at all. Kapita (1983:57) also distinguishes a — formally diverse — class of adjectives ('kata keadaan') but the motivations for such a class are left implicit.

In Onvlee (n.d.a:28) the fact is mentioned that some lexical items may be both an 'adjective' and a verb, as *pingu* 'know X' in (90):

(90) a. *Anakeda* *pingu* 'A smart child'
child know

b. *Na-* *pi* *-nya*[145] 'He knows it'
3sN- know -3sD

Despite this observation, Onvlee maintains that the adjectives are a separate category. The reason he has is the fact that 'adjectives' occur in comparative structures. However, it is unclear which comparative constructions Onvlee has in mind. As far as I know, a verb like *pingu* 'know (X)' does occur in comparative constructions with the verbs *rihi* 'be more' and *hama* 'be same',[146] as (91) and (92) illustrate. In (93) two adverbs are used — *ana* 'a little' is used to modify *pingu* 'know', and *ngeri* 'almost' modifies *matua* 'be old'. In other words, *pingu* and *matua* are used as ordinary intransitive verbs here.

(91) *Na-* ***rihi*** *pingu* *-pa* *na* *ana* *-na* *nyuna* *weling...*
3sN-be more know -IMPF ART child -3sG he move from
'His child is smarter than...'

(92) ***Hama*** *pingu* *-mi* *dangu* *ama-mu*
be same know -2pG with father-2sG
'You and your father are equally smart'

(93) ***Ana*** *pingu* *-na* *-ka* *ba* ***ngeri*** *matua* *-na* *-ka*
a little know -3sG -PRF CNJ almost be old -3sG -PRF
'He sort of realised that he was growing up'
(lit.: 'He knew a little that he was almost old')

On the other hand, it is not unusual that minor syntactic differences derive from semantic differences between lexical items, and vice versa, so it is probably true that stative verbs are used in comparisons much more frequently than active verbs because of their specific semantic properties. For verbs like *pingu* that may receive both a stative and a transitory interpretation, the stative interpretation prevails in comparative constructions, for obvious reasons. However, I consider such predictable semantic and syntactic properties insufficient to distinguish a separate lexical category of adjectives from (intransitive) verbs. The syntactic correspondences between these so-called 'adjectives' and the 'intransitive verbs' suggest that they are all intransitive verbs. The notion 'stative' intransitive verbs is used to set apart the intransitive verbs denoting typical property concepts, such as size, colour, dimension, shape etc. from other intransitive verbs. It has no (idiosyncratic) structural reflections and is a purely semantic distinction. In other words, the stative verbs that express the typical adjectival notions do not show any formal (selectional, syntactic) differences with intransitive verbs like *meti* 'die', *mbàdi* 'itch' *njorung* 'fall, topple', *laku* 'go' or *puru* 'descend, go down' (see the discussion in section 5.5).

Another reason for not recognizing a separate category of adjectives is that all verbs, i.e. not only the stative intransitive verbs, can be used attributively. In (94a,b) the modifier of the noun is a stative verb, in (94c,d,g,h) an active intranstive verb and in (94e,f,i) a transitive verb (see also (65) and (66) above):

(94) a. *Pàu* *rara*
mango be red/ripe
'A ripe mango'

b. *Tawuru* *mbiha*
ring be magic
'A magic ring'

c. *Tau* *kareuk*
person talk
'A talkative person'/'Someone with a big mouth'

d. *Tau* *paàrang*
person ask
'Someone who nags (i.e. constantly asks for things)'

e. *Ata* *ngàndi*
slave take
'A "take slave"'
(i.e. a slave of a royal bride that she brings with her on her ways)

f. [*Ana* [[*ata* *ngàndi*] *ina* *-na*$_j$] $_k$] *-nya*$_k$ [*i* *Windi*]$_j$
child slave take mother -3SG -3SD ART Windi
'He is a child of Windi's mother's slave'
(lit.: 'He (is) a child of the slave brought by Windi's mother')

g. *Rehi* *hurung*
moment go forward
'Time to go forward' (i.e. visit future family in law to propose marriage)

h. *Pindu* *tama*
door enter
'Entrance'

i. *Kahidi* *muti*
knife harvest (rice)
'A knife to harvest the rice with'

Note that the thematic relation between the noun and the verb may be THEME (a,b), AGENT (c,d), PATIENT (e,f), TIME (g), LOCATION (h) or INSTRUMENT (i).[147]

There is no derivational or inflectional verbal morphology that differentiates between 'stative' intransitive verbs like *rara* 'be red/ripe' and other intransitive verbs like *tàka* 'arrive', *hei* 'go up' or *laku* 'go'. The morphological expression of the syntactic subject is the same for all these verbs (e.g. nominative, genitive, genitive plus (empty) dative, accusative (cf. section 3.3 and 5.5)). All aspectual and modal clitics that attach to the 'normal' intransitive verbs also attach to the 'stative' intransitive verbs. In (95) the subject of the stative verb *rara* 'be red/ripe' is morphologically expressed with the continuative aspect construction (combination of genitive and dative clitic). So the stative verb gets a dynamic interpretation because it appears in this construction. Also

note the use of the clitic *-ka* 'PRF' in this sentence. In (96) we can see that a stative verb can have a nominative subject clitic. Additional illustrations can be found throughout this book.

(95) *Rara -nanya -ka na pàu hi ku- nga -nya*
red -3s.CONT -PRF ART mango CNJ 1sN-eat -3sD
'The mango has ripened, so I eat it'

(96) *Na- mbana na tau Jawa*
3sN- be hot/angry ART person Java
'The stranger is angry'

The stative verbs are modified by the same adverbs as other verbs, provided these adverbs are semantically appropriate. The following sentences illustrate that the degree adverbs *lalu* 'too' and *ai lulu* 'very' are not only used with 'stative' intransitive verbs, as in (97), but also with active, transitive verbs, as in (98):

(97) a. ***Lalu*** *kudu-na na uma nuna*
too small-3sG ART house DEI.3s
'That house is too small'

b. *Kudu* ***ai lulu*** *-nanya -ka*
small very -3s.CONT -PRF
'It's very small'

c. *Na- jangga* ***ai lulu*** *na kanjaka*
3sN- be tall very ART chair
'The chair is very high'

(98) a. *Ba* ***lalu*** *ita -du -na-nya -i -ka nú...*
CNJ too see -EMP -3sG-3sD -ITER -PRF DEI
'For he saw only too well (that...)'

b. *Tipu* ***ai lulu*** *-ma -nggu-nya nú na eri -nggu*
cheat very -EMP-1sG-3sD DEI ART younger sibling -1sG
'I really cheated my younger sibling'

To summarise, in this section I have given some structural arguments why Kambera does not have a separate lexical category of adjectives. I have described the syntactic and morphological similarities between the stative verbs that denote typical 'adjectival' notions, and other intransitive verbs. Because structural arguments for a separate category of adjectives are lacking, I assume there is none.

4.4. Adverbs

Adverbs are a separate category in Kambera,[148] and in this section I describe the most obvious structural properties of this category.

Adverbs are bimoraic feet, and therefore meet the prosodic minimal word requirement, like the other content words — the nouns and the verbs — and unlike the affixes and clitics (cf. section 2.3). That is, adverbs are independent prosodic words, and separate lexical items.

The structural properties of the category of adverbs are unique in the following respects. First, unlike nouns and verbs, adverbs are not and cannot be productively morphologically derived. For instance, they cannot be the base for a derivation with the causative prefix *pa-* (section 6.1.2.3), as is illustrated in (99), where *lalu* and *lia* are verbal adverbs, and *hangu* and *bàdi* are clausal adverbs (see the discussion below).

(99)

lalu	'too (much)'	→ * ***pa.lalu***	*'cause to be too much'
lia	'maybe'	→ * ***pa.lia***	*'cause to be uncertain'
hangu	'straight away'	→ * ***pa.hangu***	*'cause to be (done) immediately'
bàdi	'CONDITIONAL'	→ * ***pa.bàdi***	

Second, adverbs never have pronominal clitics attached to them because they do not function as predicates or arguments (unlike nouns and verbs).[149] This is illustrated by the illformedness of (100), where the adverb *tika* 'almost' is used predicatively in (100a) (with a nominative subject) and as a definite possessed noun in (100b):

(100) a. * *Na-* *tika* *ba....*
3SN- almost/start CNJ
Intended reading: 'He starts and...'

b. * *Na* *tika* *-mu* *nyumu* *nda* *na-* *hàmu* *-a*
ART almost/start -2SG you NEG 3PN- be good -MOD
Intended reading: 'Your start was not nice'

Kambera has two general types of adverbs: adverbs modifying a verb and adverbs modifying a clause. The verbal adverbs occur (linearly-) adjacent to the verb, either preverbally or postverbally. The adverbs before the verb are quantifying adverbs, adverbs of degree, aspectual adverbs and manner adverbs. The postverbal adverbs are (also) quantifying adverbs and adverbs of degree and temporal and modal adverbs. In (101) a list is given.

(101) **Preverbal adverbs**[150]

kawàra	'both, together'
lalu	'too (much)'
ana	'a little' (<'child')
lú	'hardly; quickly'
tika	'almost'
pas	'exactly'

Postverbal adverbs

jua	'just, only'
ai lulu	'too, very much' (*lulu* 'long, ongoing')
ànga(-ànga)	'uselessly'
lia	'maybe'
pàku	'only; firstly'
kàdi	'just'
mema(ng)	'immediately'
mànu (-mànu)	'always'

Illustrations with preverbal *lalu* 'too (much)' are (97a) and (98a). Preverbal *tika* 'almost' is illustrated in (102). Postverbal *ai lulu* 'very much' is illustrated in (97b,c) and (98b). Postverbal *kàdi* 'just' and *lia* 'maybe' are illustrated in (103) and (104). More illustrations can be found throughout this book.

(102) *Da-* ***tika*** *pakoja* *-du* *-ya* *nyuna*
3pN- almost stab to death -EMP -3sA he
'They almost stabbed him to death'

(103) *Ku- bànjal* ***kàdi*** *-kau yohu, ka ku-pangalang la uma*
1sN-put just -2sA here CNJ 1sN-continue LOC house
'I'll just put you here, and I go on home'

(104) *Tarang pangangu* ***lia*** *-ya -ka una yena*
presumably food maybe -3sA -PRF EMP.3s DEI.3s
'Presumably this must be food'

The position of sentential adverbs differs from verbal adverbs. Sentential adverbs are either sentence initial (occur in the topic position, section 3.5.2) or sentence final (alternatively, they occur directly after the nuclear clause). They modify all sentences, whether the predicate is verbal or not (cf. the locative predicates in (106) and (110), and the nominal predicate in (109)).

Some frequently used sentential adverbs that are sentence-initial are given in (105) (see also *tarang* 'presumably' in (104) above). They express the speaker's attitude towards the sentence or are aspectual. They may or may not be modified by aspectual and modal clitics.

(105) **Sentence-initial adverbs**

tarang	'presumably'
daingu	'surely'
lupang	'must' (OBLIG.)'
ta.lànga	'while'
memang	'immediately'
hangu	'straight away'
mbàda	'already'

(106) ***Daingu*** *ni -ma -nya la lamari*
surely be -EMP -3sD LOC cupboard (Indonesian)
'(I'm) sure it is in the cupboard'

(107) ***Lupang*** *li -ya na anda na ma-hàmu*
must go along -3sA ART road ART RMS-be good
'He must follow the right track, i.e. do the proper thing'
(lit.: 'He must go along the road that is good')

Two modal adverbs that follow the nuclear clause are *bàdi/budi* 'CONDITIONAL' and *ihi/ihu* 'UNCERTAIN'. Examples are given in (108)–(111).

(108) *Ka ku- kaliti -ma -ya -pa* ***bùdi,*** *ba wà-na*[151]
CNJ 1sN- ride -EMP -3sA -IMPF COND CNJ say-3sG
'"I have to ride it", he said'/'He said he wanted to ride it'

(109) *Tau wulu -ya* ***bàdi,*** *ka na- bàkul na uma-na*
person be rich -3sA COND CNJ 3sN- be big ART house-3sG
'He has to be a rich man, because his house is big'

(110) *Ni-nya la uma* ***ihi*** *wà-nggu hi ku-mài pa-tangar*
be-3sD LOC house UNCERT say-1sG CNJ 1sN-come CTR-look
'I thought he might be at home so I came to (have a) look'
(lit. '"He may be at home", I said, so I came to look')

(111) *...ba manjú -mbu -nanya -ka* ***ihu*** *una na makaweda*
CNJ be hungry -also -3s.CONT -PRF UNCERT EMP.3s ART old woman
'...because the old woman was probably feeling hungry'

Some adverbs are multifunctional. For instance, the adverb *ana* 'a little (bit)' is (conceptually) related to the noun *ana* 'child'. The lexical items in (112) can be used both verbally and adverbally. Because the items in (112) can undergo causative derivation like intransitive verbs (cf. section 6.1.2.1), and because they can be used and cliticised like verbs (i.e. have a subject clitic) I assume that they belong to the category of verbs, although they can be *used* as adverbs.

(112)

	Verb	**Adverb**
hàla	'(be) finish(ed)	'completely, all'
hama	'be similar/same'	comparative adverb
peku	'be able to, can'	'possibly'
njala	'do wrong'	'wrongly'
beli	'return'	'back'(directional adv.)
mandai	'be a long time'	'after a long time'
mareni	'be near'	'almost'
mbàda	'be ready'	'already'

muda-a	'be easy'	'just easy' ('easy-MOD')
mbana	'be hot'	'very (good at)'
utung	'(have/to) profit'	'luckily'
dening	'be true'	'truly/surely'
mili	'be taken'	'except'
loha	'be clear/exact'	'clearly/exactly'
dira	'be satisfied'	'very/extremely'

In (113) an illustration is given of the verbal use of *muda-a* '(just) easy' — marked with a nominative subject — while (20) above illustrates the adverbial use. In (96) above the verbal use of *mbana* 'be hot/angry' is illustrated, while in (114) its adverbial use is illustrated.

(113) *Na-* ***muda-a*** *na ngara ngia -na nuna*
3SN- be easy-MOD ART way road -3SG DEI.3s
'His way is easy'

(114) ***Mbana*** *laku mànu -ya*[152]
very (good at) go always -3SA
'He is very good at walking'

In this section I have discussed the two types of adverbs that Kambera has. The adverbs are lexical roots and independent prosodic words, and I have presented structural evidence to distinguish them as a seperate category.

4.5. Prepositions[153]

Pronominal clitics never attach to prepositions and prepositions never express a 'thing', a 'motion' or an 'action'. In this respect prepositions differ from nouns and verbs. Kambera has very few 'true' prepositions; they are given in (115).

(115)
la	LOCATIVE (non-pronominals)
lai	LOCATIVE (pronominals, names)
hu	DIRECTIONAL
dàngu	COMITATIVE

Dàngu is discussed in section 7.2.2 and will not be considered here. *La* and *lai* may be used in simple prepositional phrases (PPs), as in (116)–(118). The PP as a whole can be topicalised, as in (116b), but the preposition *la* cannot be stranded, as in (116c). The ambiguity of (118) illustrates the fact that *la* indicates an (unspecified) location, which can be interpreted as the direction, the source or the goal of the noun governed by the preposition.

(116) a. *Na- bànjal -ya$_j$ [na ana -na]$_j$* ***[lai nyungga]$_{PP}$***
3sN- put -3sA ART child -3sG LOC 1
'He left his child with me'

b. ***[Lai nyungga]$_{PP}$*** *na- bànjal -ya$_j$ [na ana -na]$_j$*
LOC 1 3sN- put -3sA ART child -3sG
'With me he left his child'

c.* ***Nyungga*** *na- bànjal -ya$_j$ [na ana -na]$_j$* ***lai*** —
1 3sN- put -3sA ART child -3sG LOC
Intended reading: '1 (am the one whom) he left his child with —'

(117) *Ni-nya* ***la*** ***uma***
be-3sD LOC house
'He's at home'

(118) *Na hurat* ***la mbapa -nggu*** *nda na- tàka -a*
ART letter LOC husband -1sG NEG 3sN- arrive -MOD
'The letter to/from my husband didn't arrive'

As mentioned in section 4.2.2, *la* and *dàngu* may not only govern nouns, but also verbs. The preposition *la* can form complex prepositions with prepositional nouns. The prepositional nouns are considered nouns because some of them are (also) used as independent nouns. Complex prepositions have the same distribution as simple prepositions; they may also govern both nouns and verbs. Some illustrations are given in (119). Of the prepositional nouns, the ones that still function as independent nouns are *katiku* 'head' and *lihi* 'side'.

(119)

la lumbu	'underneath'
LOC cover	
la wuku	'in/surrounded by'
LOC cover	
la padua (*dua* 'two')	'in the middle'
LOC middle	
la honga	'between'
LOC space between to entities	
la huduk	'against (wall)'
LOC narrow space/crack/fissure	
la pinu	'on'
LOC top	
la katiku	'on top of'
LOC head	

la	*hambeli*	'outside'
LOC	other side/outside	
(*beli* 'return', *mbeli* 'turn around')		
la	*kajia*	'behind'
LOC	back (of things, animals, humans)	
la	*hapapa*	'next to'
LOC	side	
(*papa* 'partner; one of a pair'		
la	*hangga*	'before', 'in front of'
LOC	front	
la	*wawa/wá*	'below'
LOC	down	
la	*dita*	'above'
LOC	up	
la	*lihi*	'at the side of'
LOC	side (of things, animals, humans)	

Some examples of complex prepositional phrases are given in (120)–(122):

(120) *Katuda* ***la*** ***lumbu*** ***topu***
sleep LOC under mat
'Sleep under a mat'[154]

(121) *Woka* ***la*** ***hangga*** ***uma***
garden LOC front house
'A garden before/in front of the house'

(122) *Na- himbu -ya na ana-na* ***la*** ***honga*** ***tau*** ***dangu***
3SN-search -3SA ART child-3SG LOC between person be many
'He looked for his child in the crowd' (lit. '...between the many people')

The wind directions 'east' and 'west' are nominalised verbs:

(123) a. *La pa-hunga lodu = La pa-hunga*
LOC RMO-exit day
'To/in/from the East' (lit.: 'At where the day comes out')
b. *Pahunga* 'east'

(124) a. *La pa-tama lodu = La pa-tama*
LOC RMO-enter day
'(To/in/from the) West' (lit.: 'At where the day goes in')
b. *Patama* 'west'

The morpheme *pa-* is a marker that normally marks relative clauses with an object gap (cf. section 8.1). *Hunga* 'exit' and *tama* 'enter' belong to the group of intransitive

verbs that relativise a locational argument as if it were the object. That is, I assume the expressions (123) and (124) to be formally related to (cf. section 8.1):

(125) *La* ***ngia*** *pa-hunga* *lodu*
LOC place RMO-exit day
'At the place where the day begins'

(126) *La* ***ngia*** *pa-tama* *lodu*
LOC place RMO-enter day
'At the place where the day ends'

In the expressions for 'south' and 'north' the preposition governs (root) nouns that have an independent meaning as indicated in (127b) and (128b) (Onvlee 1984):

(127) a. *La* *nunju*
LOC south
'In the South'

b. *nunju*
'length' (N)

(128) a. *La* *ndàbar*
LOC north
'In the North'

b. *ndàbar*
'traverse, cross, width (N)'

In everyday life directions are indicated by the expressions of (132) rather than by East, West, North and South. Kataka, the village where the fieldwork was done, is located between the sea (east) and the mountains (west). Thus the two major directions employed in everyday speech are westwards towards the mountains: *hu dia* 'upstream' and eastwards towards the sea: *hu luru* 'downstream'.

In the expressions for 'left' and 'right', the preposition *la* governs verbs rather than nouns:

(129) a. *La* *ka.lai*
LOC left
'(On/to the) left'

b. *ka.lai*
'be wrong/mistaken/misguided (V)'

(130) a. *La* *ka.wana*
LOC right
'On/to the right'

b. *ka.wana*
'be true/correct/right (V)'

The preposition *lai* governs only personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, personal names, and nominal deictic elements. Unlike *la*, *lai* can only form simple prepositional phrases (i.e. without prepositional nouns). Unlike *hu, lai* indicates a location, goal or source rather than a physical direction. Illustrations are given in (131).[155]

(131)

lai nyuda	'to/for/at them'
LOC they	
lai Ama	'to etc. Dad'
LOC father	
lai Miri	'to etc. the Lord'
LOC Lord	
lai Windi	'to etc. Windi'
LOC Windi	
lai nuna	'to that one'
LOC DEI.3s	
lai nú	'there (far)'
LOC DEI	
lai nai	'here'
LOC DEI	
lai ní	'here (at speaker)'
LOC DEI	
lai ná	'there (at adressee)'
LOC DEI	
lai wawa/wá	'down there'
LOC down	
lai dita	'up there'
LOC up	
lai papa	'on the other side'
LOC partner; one of a pair	
lai dia	'upstream (loc.)'
LOC upstream	
lai luru	'downstream (loc.)'
LOC downstream	

The preposition *hu* has a restricted distribution. It is only used with directional predicates, in expressions indicating physical direction, as in (132).

(132)

hu papa	'yonder (dir.)'
DIR partner; one of a pair	
hu dia	'upstream (dir.)'
DIR upstream	
hu luru	'downstream (dir.)'
DIR downstream	
hu lua	'there (dir.)'
DIR go	
hu dita	'up there (dir.)'
DIR up	

hu	*wawa/wá*	'down there (dir.)'
DIR	down	
hu	*dalu/dá*	'into, in there (dir.)'
DIR	inside	

Observe that *la*, *lai* and *hu* all govern the nominal deictics *wawa*, *dita*, *luru*, *papa* etc. The glosses above do not clearly reflect the distinction between the use of *la*, *lai* or *hu* with these deictics. In (133)—(135) the contrast between the three prepositions is illustrated.

(133) *Ni-nja da muhu-ma* ***la*** ***wawa*** ***kotak***
be-3pD ART enemy -1pG LOC down village
'Our enemies are below the village' (i.e. lower on the hill)

(134) a. *Renja -danya* ***lai*** ***wawa***
have a party -3p.CONT LOC down
'They are having a party down there'

b. * *Renja -danya* ***la*** ***wawa***
have a party -3p.CONT LOC down

c. *Ni -nja* ***la*** ***wawa*** ***-mu***
be -3pD LOC down -2sG
'They are below you'

d. * *Renja -danya* ***hu*** ***wawa***
dance -3p.CONT DIR down

(135) a. *Ku- ngàndi -ya duku* ***hu*** ***wawa***
1sN- take -3sA EMP.1s DIR down
'I'll take it down'

b. * *Ku- ngàndi -ya duku* ***la*** ***wawa***
1sN- take -3sA EMP.1s LOC down

The contrast is as follows. *La* is a locative preposition which can form a complex preposition with a prepositional noun, including the nominal deictics *wawa/dita* etc. This complex preposition as a whole governs an 'argument'. In (133) this is a noun, in (134c) it is a genitive clitic (compare the ungrammatical structures in (134b) and (135b)).

In contrast to this, the preposition *lai* does not combine with prepositional nouns/nominal deictics but rather forms a simple locative PP with pronouns, names and nominal deictics. This is illustrated in (134a). The ungrammaticality of (134b) shows that *la* cannot be used in the same context — *wawa* has to have a 'argument', *-mu* '2sG' in (134c)).

Hu does not indicate a location but forms a directional PP instead, as is illustrated in (135a). The directional preposition *hu* only governs nominal deictics. It cannot govern nouns and verbs, unlike *la* (and *dàngu*). *Lai* only governs personal names, pronominals and nominal deictics.

Apart from marking physical locations, the preposition *la* is also used in the expressions to indicate parts of the day, as in (136)–(139):[156]

(136) a. *La mbaru*
LOC early morning[157]
'In the (early) morning (6-10 a.m.)'

b. *Na lodu mbaru*
ART day early morning
'The (early) morning'

(137) *La maling*
LOC late afternoon-early evening
'In the afternoon/evening (4-7 p.m.)'

(138) *La rudung*
LOC night
'At night' (7-12 p.m.)

(139) *La mandalora*
LOC midnight
'At midnight'

(140) *La tidu* *lodu*
LOC work towards the top/carry on head day
'At midday/noon' (12 a.m.-1 p.m.)

(141) *La ha.rí*
LOC be light
'Before dawn' (3-5 p.m.)

Of the three prepositions *la, lai* and *hu*, *la* is the one least specified. It governs nouns, verbs, and deverbal nouns to mark locations and temporal expressions. *Lai* marks a special subset of locations because it only governs personal names, pronominals and nominal deictics, while *hu* marks directions by governing nominal deictics.

4.6. Other categories

In this section I discuss some minor categories of Kambera. In general, the categories discussed can be equated with what traditionally are called the closed word classes. The

overview given in this section is not complete. What can be found elsewhere (e.g. Wielenga 1909, Onvlee 1925, 1984, etc.) shall only be summarised here.

I start with the nominals. Then I discuss the classifiers, numerals and articles, followed by the clausal elements, such as deictics and negations. I will also discuss the conjunctions as interclausal elements, and close the section with a list of exclamations and tags.

4.6.1. Nominals (pronouns, reflexive noun, generic nouns)

The category of nouns is an open category, while the 'nominals', which share many structural properties with nouns, are closed classes of nominal elements. They include pronominal clitics, personal, emphatic and demonstrative pronouns:

(142) **Pronominal clitics** (see section 3.3)

	NOM	GEN	ACC	DAT
1s	*ku-*	*-nggu*	*-ka*	*-ngga*
2s	*(m)u-*	*-mu*	*-kau*	*-nggau*
3s	*na-*	*-na*	*-ya*	*-nya*
1p (inc)	*ta-*	*-nda*	*-ta*	*-nda*
1p (exc)	*ma-*	*-ma*	*-kama*	*-nggama*
2p	*(m)i-*	*-mi*	*-ka(m)i*	*-ngga(m)i*
3p	*da-*	*-da*	*-ha*	*-nja*

(143) **Personal pronouns** (see section 3.3.3)

nyungga	1 singular
nyumu	2 singular
nyuna	3 singular
nyuta	1 plural (inclusive)
nyuma	1 plural (exclusive)
nyimi	2 plural
nyuda	3 plural

(144) **Emphatic pronouns** (see section 3.1.5.2)

1s	*duku*	['ɗuku]
2s	*dumu*	['ɗumu]
3s	*duna/una*	['ɗuna]/['ʔuna]
1p (incl)	*duta/uta*	['ɗuta]/['ʔuta]
1p (excl)	*duma*	['ɗuma]
2p	*dimi*	['ɗimi]
3p	*duda/uda*	[' uɗa]/['ʔuda]

(145) **Demonstrative pronouns** (see section 3.1.5.2, section 5.2)

a.	*nina*	'this one (at speaker)'
	DEI.3s	
	nida	'these (at speaker)'
	DEI.3p	
b.	*nana*	'that one (near adressee)
	nada	'those (near adressee)'
c.	*nuna*	'that one (overthere)'
	nuda	'those (overthere)'
d.	*naina*	'that one (near speaker, but further away than *nina*))
	naida	'those (near speaker, but further awawy than *nida*)'

In (146) the demonstrative pronouns *nuna* and *nina* are used pronominally, in (147) *nuna* modifies a noun, in (148) the emphatic pronoun *duku* 'I' modifies the pronoun *nyungga.*

(146) ***'Nuna*** *atau* ***'nina*** *?*
DEI.3s or DEI.3s
'That one or this one?'

(147) *Ngandi -ya na mbola* ***'nuna***
take -3SA ART basket DEI.3s
'Take that basket'

(148) *'Nyungga -ma* ***'duku*** *ma- 'ngàndi -ha*
I -EMP EMP.1s RMS- take -3PA
'(It was) me who took them'

(149) **Pronominal for S in continuative aspect** (see section 5.3)

1s	*-nggunya*
2s	*-munya*
3s	*-nanya*
1p(inc)	*-ndanya*
1p(exc)	*-manya*
2p	*-minya*
3p	*-danya*

Kambera has a reflexive or possessive noun *wiki* 'self/own'. In (150) it is used as to mark possession:

(150) *Uma* ***wiki*** *-nggu*
house self/own -1sG
'My own house'

(151) *Banda* ***wiki-mu***
cattle self-2sG
'Your own cattle'

(152) *Nyuna ningu kanjaka pa- pandoi* ***wiki*** *-na*
he be chair RMO- make self -3sG
'He has a selfmade chair' (lit. 'He has[158] a chair made by himself')

Wiki has the structural properties of a noun rather than a pronoun. Like other nouns, it can be used as a nominal modifier (compare (150) and (153)), whereas pronouns must be crossreferenced on the noun with a genitive clitic, as in (154).

(153) *Uma witu -nggu*
house grass -1sG
'My hut'

(154) *Uma -nggu nyungga*
house -1sG I
'My house'

The NP containing *wiki* can either be grammatically definite (have a definite article) as in (155), or indefinite (have no article), as in (156) and (157).[159] If it is definite, it is crossreferenced with an object clitic on the verb, as in (155).

(155) *Ka ta-kinju-ha*$_j$ *[[da* ***wiki-nda***$]_j$ *nyuta ha.atu - ha.atu*$]_j$
CNJ 1pN-examine-3pA ART self-1pG we RED- one
'Let's examine ourselves, each one of us'

(156) *Ku- pa.ita.ng* ***wiki*** *-nggu*
1sN- CAU.see.ng self -1sG
'I showed/revealed myself'

(157) *Imbu ndingir* ***wiki-mi!***
seek be standing self-2pG
'Try to be independent' (lit.: 'Seek to be standing (by) yourself')

In (158) *wiki* is a possessed nominal inside a prepositional phrase. The PP is the location of a direct speech quote that expresses the cognitive act 'imagine': the literally translation of the construction is 'say uselessly to/in themselves' (see also section 8.2.4).

(158) *Ba* *wà-da* *ànga* [*la* ***wiki*** *-da*]$_{PP}$
CNJ say-3pG useless LOC self -3pG

ba [*tau* *pa-* *pindi* *-na* *i* *Ala*] *-kama*
CNJ person RMO- chosen -3sG ART God -1pA
'They imagined themselves to be Gods chosen people'
(lit.: 'They said uselessly to themselves "we (are) people chosen by God"')

The interrogative pronouns in Kambera are *nggamu* 'who', *nggàra* 'what' and *nggi* 'where/which'. (Other interrogatives are *pira* 'how many', section 4.1.2, and *nggiki* 'how', section 4.2.1.1).

Reduplicated forms of the interrogative pronouns are discussed in section 2.6.2; for interrogative pronouns in nominal clauses see section 4.2.1.2. *Nggamu* 'who' (often shortened to *ngga*) is used pronominally — as a nominal predicate and to question an NP. This is illustrated in (48a) and (159). In (159a) *nggamu* is the nominal predicate, *-kau* is the subject. In (159b) it questions an NP. In (159c) it questions another nominal constituent, a headless relative clause.

(159) a. ***Ngga(mu)*** *-kau?*
who -2sA
'Who (are) you?'

b. ***Ngga(mu)*** [*angu* *-mu*] *kamodung?*
who companion -2sG last night
'Who accompanied you last night?'
(lit.: 'Who was your companion last night?')

c. ***Ngga(mu)*** [*na* *ma-* *palewa* *-kai*]$_j$ *hi* *mài* *lai* *nai?*
who ART RMS- send -2pA CNJ come LOC DEI
'Who (was the one) that send you so that you'd come here?'

Nggamu may also be used to question the possession of a noun:

(160) a. [*Ama* *-na* *i* ***nggamu***]$_j$ *-ya*$_j$*?*
father -3sG ART who -3sA
'Whose father (is) he?' (lit.: 'Father of who (is) he?')

b. [***Nggamu*** *ama* *-na*]$_j$ *-nya*$_j$ *nuna*$_j$*?*
who father -3sG -3sD DEI.3s
'Whose father (is) that?'

c. [***Ngga*** *kalembi* *-na*]$_k$ *-nja*$_k$ *yeda*$_k$*?*
who family -3sG -3pD DEI.3s
'Whose family (are) they?'

Nggàra 'what' is used pronominally in a similar way as *nggamu*:

(161) a. ***Nggàra*** *wà* *-mu* *Rambu?*
what say -2SG Lady
'What (did) you say ma'am?'/'What do you think ma'am?'

b. ***Nggàra*** *-ya* *-ka* *nuna?*
what -3SA -PRF DEI.3S
'What (is) that?'

c. ***Nggàra*** *-bia* *pa-mbuha* *-mu,* *ma-* *hàmu*
what -MOD RMO-want -2SG RMS- be good
'Whatever you like, it's fine (with me)'
(Lit. 'What (it is that) you like, (which is) fine')

d. ***Nggàra*** *ma-katiu* *-mu?*
what RMS-hurt -2SG
'What (is) hurting you?' (lit.: 'What (is) your hurt?')

In (162a,b) and (163) we can see that another function of *nggàra* is to question the general identity of a noun. The questioning of a (non-human) possessor intended in (162c,d) can only be formulated in more general terms, as in (162b).

(162) a. *Kuhi-na* *na* *uma* *-nggu*
key-3SG ART house -1SG
'A key of my house'

b. [***Nggàra*** *kuhi*] *-ya*$_j$ *nuna*$_j$*?*
what key -3SA DEI.3S
'What (kind of) key (is) that?'

c. * *Kuhi-na* *na* ***nggàra?***
key-3SG ART what
Intented reading: 'A key of what?' (compare (160a))

d.* ***Nggàra*** *kuhi-na* *nuna?*
what key-3SG DEI.3S
Intended reading: 'A key of what?' (compare (160b)

(163) *Kira-kira* ***nggàra*** *njam* *bùdi?*[160]
about what hour COND
'At what time, roughly, (do we) have to (be there)?'

The most frequent use of the interrogative pronoun *nggi* 'where/which' is to question a location, as in (164).

(164) a. *Ka* ***nggi*** *-bia* *-kau* *Umbu?*
CNJ where -MOD -2SA Lord
'Just where (are) you, man?'

b. *La* ***nggi*** *-ya* *-ka* *nyuna?*
LOC where -3SA -PRF he
'Where is he?'

c. ***Nggi*** *rama* *dingu* *kawài?*
where work be just now
'Where (have you) been working just now?'

(165) [***Nggi*** *mbara*] *-ya*$_j$ [*na* *ngia* *pa-weli -na* *na ngilu?*] $_{NP_j}$
where direction -3SA ART place RMS-move from -3SG ART wind
'Which direction does the wind come from?'
(lit.: 'Which direction (is) it, the place that the wind moves from?')

In (164a) *nggi* is used as a non-verbal locative predicate, and in (164b) it is part of a prepositional phrase, which also constitutes a non-verbal locative predicate. In (164c) there is no overt subject marking. In (165) *nggi* questions the origin of a noun. It forms a nominal predicate with that noun.

Another class of nominal are the generic nouns. Generic nouns are used to distinguish general categories of nominals, like classifiers do (section 4.6.2). They constitute the grammatical head of a NP which also contains a modifying noun. They have a generalised semantics, as the arrow in the glosses in (166) suggests. Generics differ from classifiers in not being used for counting. The main Kambera generics are given in (166), and some illustrations of their use in (167).

(166)

wài	'water'→ 'liquid'
uhu	'rice'→ 'food'
ana	'child'→ 'offspring'
ri	'bone' → 'sth. belonging to sth./so.'

(167) a. *wài* *mata,* *wài* *huhu* *wài* *ria*
water eye water milk water blood
'tears' 'milk' 'blood'

b. *uhu* *karohu,* *uhu* *watar,* *uhu wei*
rice core rice corn rice pig
'peeled rice' 'corn ready to eat'(grained & cooked) 'pig fodder'

c. *ana* *manu,* *ana ndua,* *ana rara,* *ana mini*
child chicken child two child be red child male
'little chicken' 'twin' 'baby' 'brother/nephew'

d.	*rí*	*ma-dàka,*	*rí kajia,*	*rí ana,*	*rí karobu*
	bone	RMS-be sharp	bone back	wife child	side dish pumpkin
	'sharp thorn'		'backbone'	'daughter in law'	'pumpkin leaf dish'

Other nominals are the prepositional nouns in (119) and (132) and the expressions indicating parts of the day in (136)–(139) (section 4.5), the days of the week (168), parts of the month (169) and the months of the year (170):

(168) **Days of the week**

lodu minggu	day week (< *minggu* Ind.)	'Sunday'
lodu hau	day one	'Monday'
lodu dàmbu	day two	'Tuesday'
lodu tailu	day three	'Wednesday'
lodu patu	day four	'Thursday'
lodu lima	day five	'Friday'
lodu nomu	day six	'Saturday'

(169) **Parts of the month**

wula ta.mbulu	moon sink	'full/new moon'
wula ka.hibit	moon become less	'waning moon'
wula ka.meti	moon *ka*.die	'dark moon'

The names in (168) must be relatively recent innovations. Onvlee (1984:243) describes the 30 days of a moon-month with 30 different names. These may still be used in specific cultural contexts, but in everyday language the terms in (168) are used (most of the data in Onlvee 1984 are from before World War II). The names of the months in (170) are also recent innovations; Onvlee (1984:544) again gives a different list. The use of *wulang hiwa* 'September' is illustrated in (171).

(170) **Months of the year**

wulang hau	month one	'January'
wulang dàmbu	month two	'February'
wulang tailu	month three	'March'
wulang patu	month four	'April'
wulang lima	month five	'May'
wulang nomu	month six	'June'
wulang pitu	month seven	'July'
wulang walu	month eight	'August'
wulang hiwa	moon nine	'September'
wulang hakambulu	moon ten	'October'
wulang hakambulu hau	moon eleven	'November'
wulang hakambulu dàmbu	moon twelve	'December'

(171) *La kawunga na nú ba la* ***wulang hiwa,*** *kangohu -du -ya-ka nú*
LOC first DEI DEI CNJ LOC month nine clear -EMP-3SA-PRF DEI
'Firstly, when it's September, it (=the garden) is cleared' (from the weeds that have grown since the last harvest)

Periods of the year may also be referred to with specific expressions:[161]

(172) a. *Wula múti, wula pàpu watar*
month harvest rice month pluck corn
'Harvest season' (approx. January-March)

b. *Wula mbàki*
month deficit
'Hunger season' (new crop is not yet ripe) (November-January)

c. *Wula / ndau wandu*
month / year dry period
'Dry season' (July-November)

d. *Wula / ndau urang*
month / year rain
'Rainy season' (December-April)

4.6.2. Numerals and classifiers[162]

Numerals used for counting are:

(173) 1 = *diha*, 2 = *dua*, 3 = *tailu*,[163] 4 = *patu*, 5 = *lima*, 6 = *nomu*, 7 = *pitu*, 8 = *walu*,[164] 9 = *hiwa*, 10 = *ha.kambulu*

Diha '1' in (173) is derived from a verb meaning 'to count':

(174) *Diha -ha da hapi!*
count -3PA ART cow
'Count the cows!'

The numeral *diha* is only used for counting, never to quantify an NP. For quantification, either the prefix *ha-* is affixed to the base (section 6.5.2),[165] or the classifiers *heu* 'one (animal)' and *hau* 'one (object)' are used. These classifiers are mergers of *ha.* and *wua*, resp. *ha.* and *iù* (see below). Kambera thus makes a formal distinction between counting and quantification.

Numerals higher than ten are counted as in (175). Observe that in the numbers 11, 12, 21, 22, etc. the classifiers *hau* 'one.CLF' and *dàmbu* 'two.CLF' are used (cf. below) rather than the numerals *diha* 'one' and *dua* 'two'.

(175) *kambulu* 'tens':
10 = *ha.ka.mbulu* (*ha.* < PAN *isa, section 6.5.2)
11 = *ha.ka.mbulu* ***hau*** (* *ha.ka.mbulu* ***diha***)
12 = *ha.ka.mbulu* ***dambu*** (* *ha.ka.mbulu* ***dua***)
13 = *ha.ka.mbulu tailu*
14 = *ha.ka.mbulu patu*, etc.
20 = *dua ka.mbulu*
21 = *dua ka.mbulu* ***hau***
22 = *dua ka.mbulu* ***dambu***
23 = *dua ka.mbulu tailu*, etc.
30 = *tailu ka.mbulu*
31 = *tailu ka.mbulu* ***hau***
32 = *tailu ka.mbulu* ***dambu***
33 = *tailu ka.mbulu tailu*, etc.

The base of *ka.mbulu* 'ten' is *mbulu* 'be total, incorporate all members' (Onvlee 1984:308). I have not attested such a separate lexical item *mbulu,* except in the quantifying expression *mbulu ndàba* 'all' (cf. (6), ?b)):

(176) ***Mbulu*** *ndàba-da*
be total complete-3pG
'All of them'

'Hundreds' are *ngahu*, which is homophonous with *ngahu* 'breath, soul, spirit'. Whether or not this is accidental is not clear.

(177) *ngahu* 'hundreds':
100 = *ha.ngahu*
200 = *dua ngahu*
300 = *tailu ngahu*, etc.

'Thousands' are *riu.* (Onvlee (n.d., 1984:443) lists *riu* as 'ten thousand' but in Kataka it was not used as such.)

(178) *riu* 'thousands':
1000 = *ha.riu*
2000 = *dua riu*
3000 = *tailu riu*
10.000 = *ha.ka.mbulu riu*
100.000 = *ha.ngahu riu*

(179) 1.000.000 = *hau njuta* (< *jutah* 'million' Ind.)

An illustration of a complex number is (180) and fractions are given in (181). In fractions, the classifiers *hau* and *dàmbu* are used.

(180) 3.242 = *tailu* *riu* *dua* *ngahu* *patu* *kambulu* *dambu*
three thousand two hundred four ten two

(181) Fractions: ½ = *hatenga* (< *setengah* 'half' Indonesian)
1 ½ = *hau* *hatenga* (* *ha.hatenga*, * *diha hatenga*)
one.CLF half
2 ½ = *dambu* *hatenga* (* *dua hatenga*)
two.CLF one half

As a rule, counted nouns are part of a phrase consisting of both a numeral *and* a classifier (see below). However, some combinations of numerals and nouns occur without a classifier: high numerals such as 10, 50, 60, 1000 in combination with nouns *wulang* 'month' or *ndaung* 'year' optionally (preferably) occur without classifier:

(182) *Hakambulu wulang*
one.ten month
'Ten months'

(183) *Lima kambulu ndaung*
five ten year
'Fifty years'

A possible explanation for this option may be that such large numbers of months/years are presented as a unit rather than as individual entities that are counted. With smaller numbers of months/years, classifiers are obligatory:

(184) *Hau ndaung/wulang*
one.CLF year/month

(185) *Patu mbua wula-na-pa lai nú*
four CLF month-3sG-IMPF LOC there
'He (stayed) there another four months'

(186) *Tailu mbua rudu-na lai nú*
three CLF night -3sG LOC there
'He (stayed) there for three nights'

The noun *kilu* 'kilometer' or 'kilogram', a recent loan from Indonesian, is not classified, see sentence (35) above. This may be because the concept of 'distance' does not readily match with the semantics of any of the classifiers, as we can see from (187):

(187)

wua/mbua	classifier for spherical objects
pungu/mbungu	classifier for oblong objects
wàla/mbàla	classifier for flat, thin objects
iu/ngiu	classifier for animals
tau	classifier for people

However, most nouns are quantified with a numeral plus an obligatory classifier. Kambera classifiers are listed in (187); their use is illustrated in (188)–(194). (For additional illustrations see section 4.1.1; for a discussion of the quantifying prefix *ha.* see section 6.5.2).

(188) *Ha.kambulu ngiu kamambi* * *Ha.kambulu kamambi*
one.ten CLF goat
'Ten goats'

(189) *Ha.kambulu mbàla kapambal* * *Ha.kambulu kapambal*
one.ten CLF board/shelf
'One board/shelf'

(190) a. ***hau*** *kajawa*
one.CLF papaya

b. ***dàmbu*** *kajawa*
two.CLF papaya

c. *tailu mbua kajawa*
three CLF papaya

(191) a. ***ha.****pungu pena*
ha.CLF pen

b. *dua mbungu pena*
two CLF pen

c. *tailu mbungu pena*
three CLF pen

(192) a. ***ha.****wàla kapambal*
ha.CLF plank

b. *dua mbàla kapambal*
two CLF plank

c. *tailu mbàla kapambal*
three CLF plank

(193) a. ***heu*** *kamambi*
one.CLF goat

b. *dua ngiu kamambi*
two CLF goat

c. *tailu ngiu kamambi*
three CLF goat

(194) a. ***ha.****atu tau*
one person

b. *tau ma-dua*
person RMS-two
'two persons/people' (lit.: 'People that are two')

c. *tau ma-tailu*
person RMS-three
'three persons/people' (lit.:'People that are three')

(194) illustrates that counting people differs from counting animals and objects — two or more people are counted with the numeral in a relative clause (cf. section 8.1).

The classifiers *hau* 'one (thing)' in (190a), *dàmbu* 'two (pieces)' in (190b) and *heu* 'one (animal)' in (193a) are forms in which the number/prefix and the classifier are merged. The remaining forms are classifiers prefixed with the individualising prefix *ha.* (section 6.5) or classifiers preceded by numerals.

We can reconstruct the origin of merged forms *hau, dàmbu* and *heu* as in (195):

(195)	*hau*	< *ha.*	*wua*	'one CLF (spherical objects)'
	dàmbu	< *dua*	*mbua*	'two CLF (spherical objects)'
	heu	< *ha.*	*iu*	'one CLF (animals)'

The argument is as follows: first, there is an individualising prefix *ha.* attached to the classifiers *pungu* and *wàla*, resulting in *ha.pungu* 'one (oblong object)' and *ha.wàla* 'one (flat object)', cf. (191)–(192). This prefix is also used in combination with other quantifying words (see section 6.5.2). We therefore assume it is the source of the /h/ in the forms *hau* and *hiu*.

Secondly, analogous to the phonological mutation that is visible in the classifiers *pungu/mbungu* and *wàla/mbàla*, the same formal relation applies to *wua* 'fruit' and *mbua*, the classifier for spherical objects.

The roots in (191a), (192a) and (194a) have plain initial consonants. The prenasalisation of the classifiers must have taken place when the form with *ha.* already existed because in general it is possible to prefix *ha.* to roots with an initial prenasalised consonant (section 6.5). In other words, I assume that the roots of the forms with *ha.* (*ha.pungu, ha.wàla, ha.atu*), i.e. the roots with plain initial consonants, are the 'original' forms of the classifiers. We can then relate the exceptionally shaped classifiers *hau, dàmbu*, and *heu* to the other forms in the paradigms by assuming that they are merged forms, as indicated in (195). Classifiers are also discussed in section 4.1.1. Denumeral verbs are discussed in 4.1.2 and 6.6.1.

Numerals can be used predicatively. If a numeral predicate denotes an amount of people seen as a group or entity, the argument is marked with an accusative clitic (see section 5.5). In such a case, the predicate expresses a state (rather than an event, process or activity) and the S is identical to that state. An illustration of this is given in (196a,b). Sentences (196c,d) illustrate that the S of numeral predicates may also be marked with a nominative (196c) or occur in the continuative aspect (196d). In this respect numeral predicates behave similar to intransitive verbs.

(196) a. *Dua ka.mbulu pitu -a **-ha***
two ten seven -MOD -3pA
'They are (a group of) only twenty seven (people[166])

b. *Dua ka.mbulu pitu -a -ya$_k$*
two ten seven -MOD -3sA
It$_k$ is (a group of) only twenty seven (people)'

c. ***Da$_j$*** *dua ka.mbulu pitu -a*
3pN two ten seven -MOD
'They$_j$ (are) only twenty seven (people)'

d. *Tau ngahu riu* ***-nanya*** *-ka una lai nú*
person hundred thousand -3s.CONT -PRF EMP.3s LOC DEI
'A hundred thousand people (were present) there'

The predicative function of numerals makes them resemble verbs (*ka.mbulu* 'be ten'). They are distinguished from verbs in the following respects (i) numerals can precede classifiers to form a numeral phrase in order to quantify a noun while verbs cannot and (ii) numerals form a closed class while verbs (of course) are an open class. In (196a,b) the argument is marked with a plural or singular accusative clitic. The nominative plural clitic in (196c), however, cannot be replaced by a singular. This suggests that an accusatively marked argument is conceptually more an entity (i.e. a group rather than twenty seven individuals) than when it is marked otherwise, as (196c,d).

4.6.3. Articles

In Kambera, the articles mark definiteness and number. Kambera has three such articles, *na* 'singular', *da* 'plural' and *i* for proper names. An indefinite noun (phrase) has no article and is unspecified for number. Possession does not necessarily imply definiteness, that is, a possessed NP without an article is still indefinite. Thus 'possession' and 'definiteness' are not syntactically related concepts in Kambera. A possessed NP like the one in (197a) can be interpreted as definite or indefinite (and singular or plural).[167]

(197) a. *Ana -nggu*
child -1sG 'A child of mine/ Children of mine'

b. *Na ana -nggu*
ART child -1sG 'My child'

For a discussion of the contrast between definite/indefinite NPs see sections 3.3.3, 6.2.5., and 8.2.

4.6.4. Clausal elements

Other elements in the clause are deictic elements, the existential marker *jia*, negators and the aspectual and modal clitics. Aspectual and modal clitics are discussed in section 2.3, 3.1.4 and 3.5. Deictic elements are the base for the derivation of demonstrative pronouns (cf. section 2.3, 3.1.5.2, 3.3.3, 4.6.1) and for the derivation of locational

verbs (section 5.2). In their underived form they are used to refer to time (198a,b), space (198c,d) and discourse (198e,f,g).

(198) a. *La njam* ***ní***
LOC hour DEI
'At this moment'

b. ***Nú*** ***nú***
DEI DEI
'Then (and) there'

c. *Nina* ***ná***
DEI.3S DEI
'This one (near you)'

d. *Lai* ***ná***
LOC DEI
'Overthere (near you)'

e. *Ndia* ***ná!***
NEG DEI
'No!' (not like that)

f. ***Nú*** *-du -ya -ka*
DEI -EMP -3SA-PRF
'Yes indeed' (lit.: Thus it (is)')

g. *Màla* ***nú,...***
well DEI
'Well...'/'So...'/ 'Therefore...'

The existential marker *jia* is used in existential constructions (199) and clefts (200):

(199) a. ***Jia*** *-ya$_j$* *nyuna$_j$!*
EXIST -3SA he
'It is him!'

(200) a. *...ba* ***jia*** *-ya$_j$* *[i Landu Niki]$_j$* *-ki* *-a* *-ka*
CNJ EXIST -3SA ART Landu Niki -MOD -MOD -PRF

na ma- mandapu la pinu watu
ART RMS- sit LOC top stone
'...because it was Landu Niki again who sat on the rock'

b. *Na Umbu -na i Ranji, hi* ***jia*** *-ha$_j$* *[da bidi mini]$_j$*
ART lord -3SG ART Ranji CNJ EXIST-3PA ART new male
'The master of Ranji, and there were (also) some young men,...'

Kambera has several types of negators, which are listed in (201).

(201)

nda	negation
ndia	emphatic negation
mdedi	'not yet'
àmbu	'won't', 'don't' (irrealis negation)
àmbu ... ndoku	'won't/don't ... at all'
nda ... ndoku	'not ... at all'

The general negator is *nda*. Illustrations of the use of this negator, and of the negators *àmbu* and *ndedi*, can be found elsewhere in this chapter (e.g. (12), (13), (21), (29), (30), (50), (53c), (69a), (76c), (88) and section 4.2.2) and throughout the book. *Ndia* is illustrated in (198e) and (202) (and in the texts in the Appendix), double negation is illustrated in (203).

(202) ***Ndia,*** *[lànga tàka nda ina -a -nggu] -nya*
NEG truly NEG mother -MOD -1SG -3SA
'No, she (is) really not my mother'

(203) a. ***Ambu*** *bobar* ***ndoku*** *-ma -ya!*
NEG.IRR preach NEG.EMP -EMP -3SA
'Do not talk about it at all!'

b. ***Nda*** *ningu* ***ndoku***
NEG be NEG.EMP
'There are none at all'/'I have none at all'

4.6.5 Interclausal elements

Many of the syntactic structures that link two or more clauses are coordinated structures (subordinate structures are discussed in chapter 8). Conjunctions are clause-intial (section 3.5.2) and are listed in (204).

(204)

ba	'as, while, because'
ka	'so that; introduction to question'
hi	'then, thus, and'
jàka	'if, when'
kanadú	'because'
nanyuna	'however, but'

Sentences with conjunctions in this chapter are e.g. (33), (34), (42), (43), (45), (46), (49a), (52)–(54), (62), (63a), (75b), (95), (108)–(110). As far as I have been able to establish, all Kambera conjunctions are coordinating. (205a) and (206a) illustrate the coordination of two clauses, in (205b) and (206b) the second clause is a controlled clause (see also 8.2.1, 8.2.3, and the texts in the Appendix).

(205) a. *[Ta- pakiring]* $_S$ *[ka ta- tinu -nya na lau haromu]* $_S$
1PN- start CNJ 1PN- weave -3SD ART sarong tomorrow
'We start (with) (something else) so that we'll weave the sarong tomorrow'

b. *[Ta- pakiring* ***[pa-*** *tinu -nya na lau haromu]* $_S$*]* $_S$
1PN- start CTR- weave -3SD ART sarong tomorrow
'We start to weave/weaving the sarong tomorrow'

(206) a. *Ku-* *parahaya* *-ya$_j$* *ba* *nda* *na$_j$-* *kambàlik*
1SN- trust -3SA CNJ NEG 3SN- talk nonsense
'I trust him because he doesn't lie'

b. *Ku-* *parahaya* *-ya* *pa-* *nda* *kambàlik*
1SN- trust -3SA CTR- NEG talk nonsense
'I trust him not to lie'

Jàka, kanadú and *nanyuna* are forms in which two or more words/clitics are grammaticalised into one grammatical element: a conjunction. *Nanyuna* (< *na nyuna*) is represented in (207), *jàka* (< *jia-ka*) in (208) and *kanadú* [kana'du:][168] in (209).

(207) *na* *nyuna* 'thus it' → 'however, but'
DEI he/she/it

(208) *jia* *-ka* 'were (it)' → 'if'
EXIST -PRF

(209) *ka* *na* *-dú* 'for that/thus → 'because'
CNJ DEI -EMP

4.6.6. Exclamations and tags

Exclamations can be the base of verbal derivations, see section 6.3.4.

(210)

e!	surprise	*is!*	suprise/awe
eha!	surprise/anger	*isia!*	awe
e inai!	surprise/indignation	*yoo!*	'hey you!'
yi!	surprise/excitement	..., *ai?*	'.., is(n't) it?'
yiha!	surprise/excitement	..., *hi*	'.., you know'
ha!	anger	..., *angu*	'.., is(n't) it'
hah!	anger		

4.7. Summary and conclusions

In this chapter the Kambera lexical categories have been established. I have presented structural and functional evidence that Kambera has three major lexical categories: verbs, nouns and adverbs. Despite the categorial distinction between nouns and verbs, it has been shown that their properties often overlap. I also presented arguments for the absence of a category of adjectives and described some salient properties of the Kambera prepositions. Finally, I gave an overview of the closed class categories in Kambera.

Chapter 5
Intransitive argument linking

5.0. Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the various ways in which Kambera intransitive arguments (S) are morpho-syntactically marked.[169] An S can be expressed by five distinct clitics or clitic combinations, as illustrated for the verb meti 'die/be dead' in (1) (all the sentences allow S to be expressed by an optional coreferent NP like *nyuna* in (1c)):

(1) a. *Jàka nda nyumu, **da-** meti -ka làti*
CNJ NEG you 3SN- die -PRF in fact
'Without you, they would die/they would have died'

b. *Mbàda meti **-na** -ka?*
already die -3SG -PRF
'Is he dead already/has he died already?'

c. *Ba na- habola tuna -ka nú,*
CNJ 3SN- give birth thus -PRF DEI

*meti -ma -a **-nanya** nyuna yena*
die -EMP -MOD -3S.CONT she this.one
'When she thus gave birth, she died'

d. *Jàka nda nyumu, **da-** meti **-ha** -ka làti*
if NEG you 3PN- die -3PA -PRF in fact
'Without you, they would die/have died for sure'

e. *Jàka nda nyumu, meti-**ya**$_k$ -ka làti*
CNJ NEG you die -3SA -PRF in fact
'Without you, we would die/have died' (lit.: '...one$_k$ would have died')

The marking strategies of S in (1) are summarised in (2), where **meti'** is shorthand for the semantics of the verb *meti* and (x) is the verbal argument that be expressed by any of the five pronominal clitic markings given in the righthand column:

(2)	**semantic**		**morphosyntactic**
	meti' (x)	*expressed as*	a. nominative
			b. genitive
			c. genitive + dative
			d. nominative + accusative
			e. accusative

Sentence (1a) shows an S marked by a third person plural nominative proclitic (*da-*). The nominative clitic expresses A and S in unmarked declarative sentences. Unlike the other S-markings in (1) it does not force a specific interpretation of the clause. Nominative marking has been discussed in section 3.3.2.

(1b) shows an S that is marked by a genitive enclitic (*-na*). Nominal clauses like this are used very frequently and have the external syntax of possessed NPs. The functional properties of nominal clauses are diverse, but all of them express a circumstance of the main clause that they combine with, i.e. they function like dependent clauses in Kambera discourse. The genitive marking of S is as grammatical and as frequently used as the nominative marking but it also signals distinct mood, modality, aspectual and discourse properties of the nominal clause. See section 4.2.1 for a discussion of nominal clauses.

Sentence (1c) contains a pronominal clitic cluster of genitive *-na* and dative *-nya*. This cluster, which was introduced in section 3.3.2, will be further discussed in section 5.3, where I will argue that synchronically, the cluster has a single referent: the S of a clause in continuative aspect.

The S-marking in (1d) employs both a nominative *and* an accusative clitic at the same time. This construction will be discussed in section 5.4.

A construction such as the one in (1e), where S is marked identical to O, i.e. with an accusative clitic, will be referred to as an 'accusative-S' or 'absolutive' construction. This construction resembles the one in (1d) in that both clauses employ an accusative clitic. I will argue that this is not accidental but reminiscent of an older stage of Kambera with an absolutive-ergative system. Section 5.5 discusses the accusative-S construction and defines the contexts where it is used obligatorily, moving on to constructions that do so optionally. The generalization that emerges is that the accusative clitic is used to mark an S which has less control on the activity expressed by the verb than would be expected from the canonical meaning of the verb. In other words, Kambera is a fluid-S (stative-active) language type (Merlan 1985, Holisky 1987, Dixon 1994).

Before discussing the various S-markings in section 5.3-5.5 I first define the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs in section 5.1 and then discuss the dative marking of the S of deictic verbs in section 5.2.

5.1. The distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs

The lexical distinction between intransitive and transitive root verbs concerns the possible number of arguments: an intransitive verb has maximally one argument while a transitive verb has minimally two. Root verbs in Kambera never have more than two arguments.[170] There are no root verbs with three arguments in Kambera; ditransitive verbs are all morphologically derived applicative verbs, as illustrated in (3) (cf. 6.2):

(3) a. *ngàndi* 'take X'
*ngàndi.**ng*** 'take (X) to Y'

b. *wua* 'give X'
*wua.**ng*** 'give (X) to Y'

Some transitive verbs resemble the traditional 'optionally transitive' verbs because they have a covert or implied object (e.g. *ngangu* 'eat (X)' and *kamang* 'try (X)').The verbs in (4) occur in my database in constructions with and without an object:

(4)

àling	1. 'get loose' 2. 'take off X'	*njàrang*	1. 'be lost' 2. 'loose X'
buta	1. 'do the weeding' 2. 'weed X'	*pingu*	1. 'be smart' 2. 'know X'
hambur	1. 'understand/meet' 2. 'understand X' /'meet X'	*tinung*	1. 'to weave' 2. 'weave X'
ita	1. 'to see' (i.e. not be blind) 2. 'see X'	*toma*	1. 'be enough' 2. 'meet X'
kamang	1. 'try' 2. 'try X'	*unung*	1. 'drink' 2. 'drink X'
napa	1. 'wait' 2. 'wait for X'	*mbayar*	1. 'pay' 2. 'pay X'
ndàmang	1. 'be settled down' 2. 'be accustomed to X'	*ha.leli*	1. 'change places' 2. 'move X'
ngangu	1. 'eat' 2. 'eat X'	*ha.mayang*	1. 'pray' 2. 'pray to X'
rongu	1. 'to hear' (i.e. not be deaf) 2. 'hear X'	*ha.mbati*	1. 'hurt' (-act) 2. 'hurt X'
		ka.liut	1. 'be confused' 2. 'confuse X'
		ka.rai	1. 'nag' 2. 'ask for X'
		ma.rombang	1. 'be forgetful' 2. 'forget X'
		pa.áu(ng)	1. 'be calling' 2. 'call X'
		pa.banjar	1. 'chatter/talk' (and: 'the talking', i.e. a noun) 2. 'talk about X'

The only difference between the intransitive and transitive use of a verb like *napa* 'wait/wait for X' is that in the former interpretation there is no object clitic present,[171] while in the latter case there is.[172]

For some of the optionally transitive verbs there is a considerable difference between their transitive and intransitive interpretation. In (5) illustrations are given of the intransitive and transitive use of *toma.* In (5a) *toma* means 'be enough (for someone)', in (5b) it means 'meet (a requirement of) X', in (5c) it is a transitive verb 'meet/catch X' used in the idiomatic expression *toma la kurung* 'catch X in the act of adultery', and in (5d) it is the second transitive verb of a serial verb construction.

(5) a. *Nda* ***na-*** *toma* *-a*
NEG 3SN- enough -MOD
'It is not enough'

b. *Nda* ***ku*** *-toma* ***-ha*** *-i* *duku* *nyungga da tilu manu hau tena*
NEG 1sN-meet -3sA -ITER EMP.1s I ART egg chicken one boat
'I do not have a boat full of chicken eggs' (lit.: 'I do not meet (the requirement of) a boat full of chicken eggs')

c. *Ka* *toma-**na**$_j$* ***-ngga**$_k$* *-ka* *[bai tau]$_j$* *la* *kurung*
CNJ meet-3sG -1sD -PRF DER person LOC room
'So someone caught me in the act of adultery' (lit.: 'Someone caught me in the room')

d. *Hi* ***ku-*** *hei* *toma* ***-kau***[173]
CNJ 1sN- go up meet -2sA
'So I'll come up towards you' (lit.: 'I'll go up (and) meet you')

According to the criterion formulated above, I consider the verbs in (4) transitive because they *may* have an overt object. With an overt object the aspectual interpretation of a clause is delimited, with a covert object it is (relatively) non-delimited (see also 6.2.6.1).

5.2. Deictic verbs: S is marked with dative clitic

Kambera deictic verbs are verbs of motion or direction. They are derived from deictic elements by the addition of a suffix *.ng*, as shown in (6) (see also 3.1.5.2, 6.2.3). Observe that the deictic elements *nu* and *nai* cannot be the base of such a derivation.[174]

(6)	*ni*	near speaker	*ni.ngu*[175]	'be here' (at speaker)
	na	near addressee	*na.ngu*	'come towards addressee'
	nàmu	motion/location towards	*nàmu.ng*	'moving towards speaker'
	nàhu	motion/location from	*nàhu.ng*	'moving away from/ going past'
	nu	far from speaker & addressee		* *nu.ngu*
	nai	near speaker (further away than *ni*)		* *nai.ngu*

If the S of deictic verbs is indefinite, it is not marked on the verb. It may be implied (7) or expressed as an indefinite NP (8):

(7) *Mbàda* *ningu* *-ka*
already be -PRF
'There are some already/(We/I) have got some already'

(8) *Ningu* *-ka* *tau* *la* *uma*
be -PRF person LOC house
'There are people at home'

Because its marking is sensitive to definiteness, the S of deictic verbs has object-like properties: the crossreference of objects is sensitive to the definite/indefinite distinction, the crossreference of subjects is not (section 3.3.3).

A definite deictic S is marked on the verb with a dative clitic, as illustrated in (9)–(11) for the verbs *na.ngu* 'come towards addressee', *nàmu.ng* 'move towards speaker' and *nàhu.ng* 'move away, go past'. Verbs such as these, which end in a nasal consonant (*ng*), take a dative (prenasalised) object clitic (cf. section 6.2). Because the function of this clitic is to mark (direct/indirect) objects, its use in the present context is another indication of the object-like properties of the deictic S.

(9) *Hunju -wa nά! Na -ma -**nya**$_j$ -ka hena!*
slaughter -HORT DEI coming -EMP -3SD -PRF there
'Slaughter (a pig)! It$_j$ is on its way (to you)!'[176]

(10) *Agus! Laku-kau hu wά! Nàmu-**nya**$_j$ mangu pangiang!*
Agus go -2SA DIR down come-3SD owner place
'Agus! Go away! The person whose seat that is, is coming! (lit.: 'The owner of the seat is moving towards you')

(11) *Bidi njoru -na na ài ba talanga nàhu -**ngga***
newly topple -3SG ART wood CNJ while move away -1SD
'The tree fell down just as I went past (it)'

The dative marking of definite S's of deictic verbs is obligatory, as illustrated in (12). In (12a) the verb has a dative S, the correct form, but clauses with nominative (12b), genitive (12c) or continuative aspect marking (12d) of the S of *ningu* are ungrammatical.

(12) a. *Mbàda ni-**ngga** -ka*
already be-1SD -PRF
'I am (here) already'

b. * ***Ku**-ningu*
1SN-be
Intended reading: 'I am (here)'

c.* *Mbàda ningu -**nggu** -ka*
already be -1SG -PRF
Intended reading: 'I am (here) already'
Good as: 'I have (some) already' (cf. (18) below)

d.* *Ningu -nggunya*
be -1S.CONT
Intended reading: 'I am (here)'

(12c) is grammatical with the reading 'I have some already', i.e. when *ningu* 'be' is used to express possession. I will now briefly discuss the possessive function of *ningu*. In possessive contexts, the indefinite S of *ningu* is interpreted as the possessee, while

the (oblique) location serves as the possessor (13a).[177] When S is indefinite, as in (13a), the possessive relation is more permanent than when S is indefinite, as in (13b).

(13) a. *Ningu kabela lai nyuna*
be machete LOC he
'He has a machete' (lit.: 'There is a machete with him')

b. *Ni-nya lai nyuna na kabela nuna*
be-3sD LOC he ART machete DEI.3s
'That machete is with him'

Locations and possessions are relativised in the same way (section 8.1). In (14a) the noun *luku* 'river' is part of a locative PP, in (14b) it is the head of a relativisation. Similarly, the possessor *tau* 'person' in (15a) has become the head of an identical relativisation in (15b).

(14) a. *Ningu wuya la luku*
be crocodile LOC river
'There is a crocodile in the river'

b. *Luku [ma- [ningu wuya .ng]]*$_{\text{Rel. clause}}$
river RMS- be crocodile .ng
'A river with crocodiles'

(15) a. *Na$_j$-marihak [na kalembi-na na tau nuna]$_j$*
3sN-be dirty ART clothes-3sG ART person DEI.3s
'[That person's clothes]$_j$ are dirty'

b. *Tau [ma- [ningu kalembi marihak .ng]]*$_{\text{Rel. clause}}$
person RMS- be clothes be dirty .ng
'A person who has dirty clothes'

Examples (14b) and (15b) illustrate a productive derivation of verbal complexes whereby the indefinite S of *ningu* is incorporated into the verbal complex (see also section 6.2.6.2). The incorporating morpheme *.ng* marks the end of the verbal constituent. Additional examples of this are (16) and (17):

(16) *Da tau da ma- [ningu anakeda .ng] la padua*
ART person ART RMS- be child .ng LOC middle
'The people that have a child in their midst'

(17) *Na ma- [ningu hinggi kombu la dita la wá .ng]*
ART RMS- be traditional cloth LOC up LOC down .ng
'The one that is covered in 'hinggi kombu' (traditional cloth)' (lit.: 'The one that has a 'hinggi kombu' on the upper and lower (part of his body)')

Incorporation is not confined to verbal complements: (16) shows that PPs can be incorporated as well.[178] Therefore, the fact that the argument of *ningu* is incorporated in (14b), (15b), (16) and (17) does not necessarily imply that it must be a verbal complement.

Ningu as a locational predicate has a THEME S which is marked with a dative clitic. In possessive contexts the POSSESSEE — the same argument as the THEME in locational contexts — is implicit or indefinite and hence unmarked, while the POSSESSOR is marked as an oblique location, as illustrated in (13a).

Surprisingly, however, the verb allows an alternative thematic interpretation and morpho-syntactic marking of its single argument. This is illustrated in (18), where the argument of *ningu* is a POSSESSOR (rather than a POSSESSEE/THEME) and is marked with a genitive clitic (rather than a dative). The POSSESSEE is absent or implied here. The ungrammaticality of (19) shows that *ningu* does not have two arguments.

(18) *Mbàda* *ningu* ***-nggu*** *-ka*
already be -1SG -PRF
'I have (some) already'

(19) * *Mbàda* *ni -nggu* *-nya*
already be -1SG -3SG

Ningu thus has both a locational and a possessive function. The verb has one argument with variable interpretations: THEME/POSSESSEE or POSSESSOR. If it is a THEME it is marked by a dative clitic, if it is a POSSESSOR it is marked by a genitive clitic. Locational THEMES and POSSESSEES are treated similarly. Oblique LOCATIONS are marked as POSSESSORS.

5.3. The 'continuative aspect' construction: S is marked with genitive and dative clitics[179]

5.3.1. Introduction

A common construction in Kambera is the one illustrated in (20). The S of the clause in (20) is marked with two ordered clitics: the genitive enclitic *-nggu* '1SG', and the dative *-nya* '3SD' (which does not seem to have a referential function).

(20) *Laku* ***-nggu*** ***-nya***
go -1SG -3SD
'I am going'

The sentences in (21)-(24) show that the same construction is used for both activity verbs, such like *laku* 'go' and *pabanjar* 'talk', and state verbs, such as *manjú* 'be hungry' and *poki* 'be blind'.

(21) *Laku* ***-nggu*** ***-nya***
go -1sG -3sD
'I am going'

(22) *Ka* *paba-banjar* *-du* ***-da-nya*** *-ka* *nú*
CNJ pa.RDP-talk -EMP -3pG-3sD -PRF DEI
'So they were talking/talked for a while'

(23) *Manjú* *-ma* ***-nggu*** ***-nya*** *ina*
be hungry -EMP -1sG -3sD mother
'I am (feeling) hungry, mum'

(24) '*Poki* ***-na*** ***-nya?***' '*Mm, poki* ***-na*** ***-nya***'
be blind -3sG -3sD yes be blind -3sG -3sD
'Is he blind?' 'Yes, he is blind'

The function of this construction is to express continuative aspect: the point of commonality is that the event or state expressed by the predicate continues or endures.

The sentences in (25) illustrate the use of the intransitive[180] verb *mutung* 'burn with fire' in clauses with various aspectual and temporal properties. The continuative aspect marking of the subject in (25a) makes the aspect of the clause unbounded, continuous and non-completed, compared to the (default) nominative marking of the subject in the sentences (25b-d), which does not have these connotations.

(25) a. *Mutung* ***-na*** ***-nya*** *na* *uma*
burn -3sG -3sD ART house
'The house is/was aflame/burning'

b. ***Na-*** *mutung*
3sN- burn
'It burns/is burned/is burning/will burn' (etc., depending on context)

c. ***Na-*** *mutung* *-ka*
3sN- burn -PRF
'It is burned (down)'

d. ***Na-*** *mutung* *-pa* *na* *uma* *hau*
3sN- burn -IMPF ART house one.CLF
'Still another house has burned (down)'

e. ***Na-*** *mutung* *na* *uma* *jàka* *u-* *pajulu* *wàngu* *epi*
3sN- burn ART house if 2sN- play use fire
'The house will burn (down) when you play with fire'

In the sentences (21)-(25a) the genitive clitic marks the subject, while the dative clitic — always the third person singular *-nya* in this construction — seems to have no referential function. In the following sections I will explain how the dative ended up in this construction.

5.3.2. Structural ambiguity with transitive nominal clauses

The continuative aspect construction is formally related to transitive nominal clauses. Sentence (26) illustrates a simple transitive nominal clause. The verb *palu* 'hit' is transitive, the subject is genitive *-mu* '2SG', while the object is marked with dative *-nya* '3SD'.[181]

(26) *Palu bia* ***-mu*** ***-nya,*** *nda nggàra ehi*
hit MOD -2SG -3SD NEG what content
'You just hit it (e.g. dog), it doesn't matter'

Obviously, intransitive nominal clauses are not expected to have an object marking clitic, but the intransitive clause in (20) does feature such a clitic, the standard function of which is to mark objects. In this respect, then, the continuative aspect construction is formally similar to transitive nominal clauses.

The two types of clauses can be formally distinguished in certain specific contexts. Consider the contrasting sentences in (27): (27a) is an intransitive nominal clause, (27b) a transitive (applicative)[182] nominal clause with an object clitic *-nya*, and (27c) an intransitive verb in the continuative aspect construction.

(27) a. *Mbàda kanabu* ***-na$_j$*** *-ka*
already fall -3SG -PRF
'It$_j$ has already fallen (e.g. coconut)'

b. *Mbàda kanabu* ***-na$_j$*** ***-nya$_k$*** *-ka*
already fall -3SG -3SD -PRF
'It$_j$ has already fallen on him$_k$ (e.g. coconut falls on someone's head)'

c. *Kanabu* ***-na*** ***-nya$_j$*** *-ka*
fall -3SG -3SD -PRF
'It$_j$ is falling'. Not good for:'S/he is dropping it'

As the translation of (27b) indicates, the dative clitic in this construction marks an object, while it does not in (27c). Further evidence for the non-referentiality of the dative clitic in continuative aspect constructions is given in (28). These sentences contain the complex verb *hunju tobung* 'slaughter various animals', literally: 'slaughter pigs & slaughter cows'. This serial verb must always have a plural object because it describes the slaughtering of minimally two animals: one pig and one cow.

(28) a. *Hunju* *tobu* *-da$_j$* ***-nja$_k$***
slaughter pig slaugher cow -3pG **-3pD**
'They$_j$ were slaughtering them$_k$ (pig(s) and cow(s))'

b.* *Hunju* *tobu* *-da$_j$* ***-nya$_k$***
slaughter pig slaugher cow -3pG **-3sD**
* 'They$_j$ were slaughtering it$_k$ (pig(s) and cow(s))'

c. *Hunju* *tobung* *-da* ***-nya***
slaughter pig slaugher cow **ng** -3pG -3sD
'They were slaughtering'

In (28a) the (obligatorily) plural object of the serial verb is indeed marked with a plural clitic: *-nja*. The sentence in (28b) has a singular object clitic (*-nya*) and is therefore ungrammatical. Yet, sentence (28c) is grammatical, though it also features the singular object clitic, *-nya*. What is the nature of this clitic?

In (28b) the object is explicit, while in (28c) it is left implicit. Another difference between these two sentences is that in (28b) the verb *tobu* 'slaughter cow' does not end in a velar nasal, whereas in (28c) it does. The full lexical and citation form of the verb *tobung* 'slaughter cattle' has a final nasal consonant. Kambera has a number of transitive verbs like this, i.e. with a lexical[183] nasal final consonant. Such verbs always express their object with the dative clitic and lose the final stem nasal in the process, cf. section 6.2.2, 6.2.4). This is the case in (28a), where the object is dative plural (*-nja*). In (28b) the verb also lost its final nasal as a result of the presence of the dative clitic, singular *-nya*. In (28c), however, we observe that with the dative clitic *-nya* the verb retains the final nasal. That is, the nasal is *not* in complementary distribution with the object clitic, as it should be.

Therefore, the dative clitic *-nya* in (28c) cannot be an object-marking clitic, as it is in (28a,b). If it were an object clitic, sentence (28c) would have been ungrammatical like (28b), because the serial verb *hunju tobung* 'slaughter pig (s) and slaughter cow(s)' cannot have a singular object (*-nya*). But since (28c) is grammatical it cannot be an ordinary transitive nominal clause. We conclude that what we have here is a continuative aspect construction, similar to the constructions in (21)-(25a).

There is thus an important difference between the transitive nominal clauses and the continuative aspect construction: the dative clitic in transitive nominal clauses is an object marker (cf. (28a)), whereas in continuative constructions it is not (cf. (28c)). The context in which this contrast is formally reflected is in clauses where the verb ends in a nasal consonant.

5.3.3. Formal relation with possessed nominal predicates

To establish the referential function of the dative clitic in continuative aspect constructions we now consider another construction to which the continuative construction is formally related: clauses with possessed nominal predicates.

The argument of a non-verbal predicate in Kambera is commonly marked with an accusative clitic and the language has no (overt) copular verb (section 5.5.1). However, when the nominal predicate is possessed, as in (29) *mbapa-nggu*, its argument is marked by the dative clitic (*-nya* in this case):

(29) [[*Mbapa* *-nggu*]$_{NP}$]$_{predicate}$ ***-nya***
husband -1sG -3sD
'He (is) my husband'

Apart from nouns, a nominal predicate may also consist of a nominal clause, i.e. a verb with a genitive subject, as shown in (30). In (30a) the nominal predicate is *tarahik-na*$_j$ [*na anda*]$_j$ 'the road's (being) slippery'. The subject NP of *tarahik* is *na anda*, marked on the verb with *-na*. This subject is contained in the nominal predicate that is predicated of the matrix subject *-ya*. (30b) shows the same verb, now being used in the continuative aspect construction.

(30) a. [*Tarahik* ***-na*** *na* *anda*] -ma -ya...
be slippery -3sG ART road -EMP -3sA
'It (is because of) the road's (being) slippery...'

b. *Tarahik* ***-na*** ***-nya*** *na* *anda*
be slippery -3sG -3sD ART road
'The road is slippery'

Thus, there is an analogy between the clauses with nominal predicates as in (29), and the nominal clause-predicate in (30a). I assume that the continuative aspect construction in (30b) has a similar structure, i.e. the clitic *-nya* in (30b) is interpreted as the S of the nominalised predicate *tarahik-na*, as represented in (31). The subject *-na* of the verb *tarahik* is contained in the nominal predicate that is predicated of the matrix subject *-nya*.

(31) [[*Tarahik* ***-na***]$_{NP}$]$_{predicate}$ ***-nya***
be slippery -3sG -3sD

A continuative aspect construction as in (32), can thus be paraphrased as 'it (is) my going'. This analysis has two advantages, both pertaining to the status of the dative clitic in continuative aspect constructions: (1) the dative clitic is not a meaningless empty morpheme, but has the function to mark the matrix subject, and (2) the fact that the dative clitic is always third person singular is now explained, because it is used as an expletive subject.

(32) *Laku* ***-nggu*** ***-nya***
go -1sG -3sD
"It (is) my going" → 'I am going'

This analysis reflects the historical development of this construction. However, there is synchronic evidence that the cluster of genitive and dative clitic is no longer interpreted as part of a biclausal structure but has been reinterpreted as marking one argument (rather than two).

(33a) and (34a) show that the cluster genitive-dative in a continuative aspect construction is considered an inseparatable unit: the clitics cannot be separated from each other by items like the full pronoun *nyungga* 'I', or the emphatic enclitic *-ma*. In a clause with an ordinary possessed nominal predicate this is possible, as (33b) and (34b) show.

(33) a. * [*Laku* *-nggu*] ***nyungga*** *-nya / -ya*
go -1sG I -3sD / -3sA
Intended reading: 'I AM going'

b. [*Mbapa* *-nggu*]$_{NP}$ ***nyungga*** *-ya*
husband -1sG I -3sA
'He (is) MY husband'

c. *(Nyungga)* *laku* *-nggu -nya* *(nyungga)*
I go -1sG -3sD I
'I am going'

(34) a.* [*Laku* *-nggu*] ***-ma*** *-nya*
go -1sG -EMP -3sD
Intended reading: 'I AM going'

b. *Jàka* *jia -ha* *da* *banda,* [*banda* *-nda*]$_{NP}$ ***-ma*** *-nja*
if EXIST-3pA ART cattle cattle -1pG -EMP -3pD
'About the cattle, they (are) OUR cattle (not yours)'

c. *Laku* ***-ma*** *-nggu* *-nya*
go -EMP -1sG -3sD
'I AM going'

Sentences (33c) and (34c) are the correct forms for the intended readings of the (a) sentences. The full pronoun *nyungga* that is used for emphasis occurs in the positions before or after the verbal complex, like any other subject NP. The position of the emphatic clitic *-ma* is between the verb and the clitics that mark the verbal arguments. The fact that the genitive-dative cluster in continuative constructions cannot be split, suggests that nowadays this cluster is interpreted as one inseparatable unit marking the subject of the clause.

5.3.4. Conclusions

We have seen that the intransitive continuative aspect constructions show (surface) ambiguity with transitive nominal clauses and are the result of the reanalysis of a biclausal structure into one clause:[184]

(35) a. [[verb + subject] $_S$ subject] $_S$
b. [verb + subject] $_S$

This means that one and the same Kambera sentence may be analysed in three different ways if the meaning of the verb allows it, as in (36):

(36) a. *Kukah* ***-na$_k$*** ***-nya$_j$*** *-ka yia*
rub -3sG -3sD -PRF then
'He$_k$ was rubbing it$_j$'

b. [*Kukah* ***-na$_k$***] ***-nya$_j$*** *-ka yia*
rub -3sG -3sD -PRF then
'It$_j$ (was) [his$_k$ rubbing]'

c. *Kukah* ***-na-nya$_k$*** *-ka yia*
rub -3sG-3sD -PRF then
'He$_k$ was rubbing'

Sentence (36a) contains a transitive verb with a definite object that is marked with an object clitic on the verb. The homophonous sentence in (36b) is glossed as if it consists of a nominal clause predicating over the expletive subject *-nya*, while the same clause is interpreted in (36c) as a continuative aspect construction.[185,186]

We have analysed the genitive-dative cluster as (synchronically) having only one referent: the S. Alternatively, we could analyse the first clitic (the genitive) as marking S while the second clitic (the dative) marks continuative aspect.

An argument against the latter analysis is that the dative clitic *-nya* is otherwise not used to mark aspect. Kambera has three aspect-marking clitics: *-ka* 'perfective', *-pa* 'imperfective' and *-i* 'iterative (again, also)' and the distributional properties of these clitics are distinct from the pronominal ones (to which the dative belongs) (section 3.5.1.1). I will therefore not analyse *-nya* as a marker of continuative aspect, but conclude instead that at present Kambera employs this cluster as a new disyllabic pronominal form, one that is used to mark an S in continuative aspect. The paradigm of this form and the glosses as they will be used elsewhere in this work, are given in (37):

(37)			
	1s	*-nggunya*	'1s.CONT'
	2s	*-munya*	'2s.CONT'
	3s	*-nanya*	'3s.CONT'
	1p(inc)	*-ndanya*	'1p.CONT'
	1p(exc)	*-manya*	'1p.CONT'
	2p	*-minya*	'2p.CONT'
	3p	*-danya*	'3p.CONT'

The dative clitics in the forms in (37) have lost (most of) their semantic content because their referential function has become zero and/or is merged with the genitive clitic (the original embedded subject). The resulting pronominal form is prosodically special because it is 'decliticised': it is a disyllabic prosodic word rather than a monosyllabic clitic. In addition, it involves an increase of semantic information: the pronominal is no longer a marker of person/number only, but one that marks 'person/number of arguments of intransitive verbs in continuative aspect'.[187]

5.4. The 'double-S' construction: S is marked with nominative and accusative clitics[188]

The single argument of intransitives can be syntactically expressed by two distinct pronominal clitics which are simultaneously used in one sentence. This was illustrated in (1d), repeated here as (38):

(38)	*Jàka*	*nda*	*nyumu,*	***da-***	*meti*	***-ha***	*-ka*	*làti*
	if	NEG	you	3pN-	die	-3pA	-PRF	in fact

'Without you, they would die/have died for sure'

This construction will be referred to as 'double-S' construction. The fact that S is marked with the accusative clitic — a clitic canonically used to mark O — as well as the nominative clitic is an important similarity between this construction and the accusative-S construction discussed in section 5.5 below.

In (38) and (39) double S marking is used to state explicitly that the speaker is certain about the situation/event expressed by the clause:

(39)	[*I*	*Miri*	*Yehu*]$_j$	***na-***$_j$	*mài*	***-ya***$_j$[189]	*la*	*pinu*	*tana*
	ART	Lord	Jesus	3sN-	come	-3sA	LOC	top	earth

'The Lord Jesus did come down to earth'

Apart from evidentiality, the double-S construction expresses other subjective evalutations of the speaker about the proposition, such as obligation, supposition or expectation. Sentence (40a) contains a notion of 'obligation' and contrasts with (40b). The latter sentence, with only a nominative clitic to mark S, is a simple declarative statement and, as indicated by the translation, does not imply obligation.

(40) a. ***Da-*** *laku* ***-ha*** *pa-* *rama* *haromu*
3pN- go -3pA CTR- work tomorrow
'They must/have to go to work tomorrow'

b. ***Da-*** *laku* *pa-* *rama* *haromu*
3pN- go CTR- work tomorrow
'They will go to work tomorrow'

In (41) and (42) the double-S marking expresses the expectation that something will happen or be done.

(41) *E!* *na-* *mbata* *-ya* *-ka* *nú!*
EXCL 3sN- be broken -3sA -PRF DEI
'Hey! It is almost breaking/it will surely break!'

(42) ***Ta-*** *hei* *-du* ***-ta*** *la pinu palindi jàka na-mbeni* *na karimbua*
1pN- ascend -EMP -1pA LOC top hill CNJ 3sN-fierce ART buffalo
'We will (surely) run up the hill if the buffalo gets mad'

The generalization is that this construction is used to express subjective moods, but this should be modified on the basis of the facts illustrated in (43) and (44):

(43) a. ***Da-***$_j$ *puru* ***-ha*** [*da* *papalewa*]$_j$
3pN- descend -3pA ART angel
'Angels came down'

b. ***Da-***$_j$ *puru* [*da* *papalewa*]$_j$
3pN- descend ART angel
'Angels came down'

c.* *Puru* ***-ha*** *da* *papalewa*
descend -3pA ART angel
Intended reading: 'Angels came down'

(44) a. ***Da-*** *tama* ***-ha*** *la* *kurung* *ba* *ku-* *yaulu* *-ha*
3pN enter -3pA LOC room CNJ 1sN- chase -3pA
'They entered the room when I chased them'

b. ***Da-*** *tama* *la* *kurung* *ba* *ku-* *yaulu* *-ha*
3pN enter LOC room CNJ 1sN- chase -3pA
'They entered the room when I chased them'

c.* *Tama* ***-ha*** *la* *kurung* *ba* *ku-* *yaulu* *-ha*
enter -3pA LOC room CNJ 1sN- chase -3pA
Intended reading: 'They entered the room when I chased them'

According to the informants that were consulted, (43a) and (44a) are not used to express a particular mood and are an alternative form of the (b) sentences. Note that of the two clitics used in the (a) sentences, the accusative rather than the nominative can be freely omitted, as shown by the illformedness of the (c) sentences.

In sum, a doubly marked S is mostly used to express certain moods, though this is not necessarily so. The double-S construction does have, however, a restricted use, as it is mainly used in specific registers, poetic and/or religious texts and is considered somewhat archaic.[190]

There is some reason to believe that the double marking of the subject was used more widely at the beginning of this century. Wielenga (1909) provides some evidence for this. Most of the examples he gives of this construction as it was used at that time (unfortunately, just nine) are considered ungrammatical by present-day speakers. Nowadays, using an accusative clitic in (45)—(47) is not grammatical. Wielenga, however, reported these sentences to be correct (Wielenga 1909:47, 51-53).

(45) * *Na-* *manandang* *-ya* *na* *uma* *-nggu*
3SN- be beautiful -3SA ART house -1SG
Intended reading: 'My house is beautiful'

(46) * ***Da-*** *bokul* ***-ha*** *da* *ka.lú*
3PN- be big -3PA ART banana
Intended reading: 'The bananas are big'

(47) * *Na-* *rengga* *-ya* *ba* *na-* *laku*
3SN hurry -3SA CNJ 3SN- go
Intended reading: 'He walks quickly' (lit.: 'He hurries as he goes')

On the other hand, (48) and (49) below, which are also presented in Wielenga (ibid) are nowadays still acceptable, although a construction without the accusative clitic is preferred.

(48) *Hi* ***da-*** *beli* ***-ha*** *la* *uma*
CNJ 3PN- return -3PA LOC house
'And they went back home'

(49) *Hi* ***na-*** *laku* *-ya* *na* *maramba*
CNJ 3SN- go -3SA ART king
'And the king went'

The restricted use of these constructions nowadays, as compared to their wider use at the beginning of this century suggests that the phenomenon of double S-marking is a relict of an earlier construction that was more widely used at an earlier stage.

There are several indications that double S-marking reflects a stage in the language's evolution from an absolutive-ergative system towards a nominative-accusative system, a stage that allows the S markers of both systems to be used simultaneously.

Firstly, if indeed the nominative-accusative system has 'taken over' an older absolutive-ergative pattern, we can explain why the accusative clitic (formerly the 'absolutive'), in contrast to the nominative, can be left out in double-S marking (cf. (43b,c). We can also explain the fact that double S-marking is mainly part of registers used in poetry and religious texts and is considered archaic, because Kambera (oral) literature consists mostly of traditional texts passed down the generations. The traditional texts are rather structured, contain much ritual speech,[191] and often address religious topics. (However, although its present-day use is restricted, the construction is not always considered archaic. It is used in everyday language to express certainty, expectancy or obligation as discussed above (cf. (43)-(44)).

Secondly, the hypothesis that Kambera is evolving from an absolutive-ergative pattern to a nominative-accusative system ties in with the fact that a part of its morphology shows traces of an absolutive-ergative pattern as discussed in section 3.4.1. Given that the derivational morphology of a language often shows traces of its former (morpho-) syntactic patterns it is not surprising that the embedded structures in Kambera syntax (control, relativisation) exhibit a nominative-accusative system while Kambera morphology shows mixed nominative-accusative and absolutive-ergative properties.

Additional indications that the language displays a mix of both systems are the following: (i) S's of non-verbal predicates are always marked accusative (S=O) while S's of verbal predicates are variably marked. The 'exceptional' marking of the S's of non-verbal predicates can be considered as a remnant of the earlier 'absolutive' marking of the S of *all* intransitive predicates, surviving today for the clearly delineated class of non-verbal predicates only. (ii) Imperatives S and O are treated alike: both are marked with an accusative clitic (cf. (59)-(60)) whereas A is always omitted (as in (59)) (cf. section 5.4). (iii) The 'fluid' marking of the S of verbal predicates itself shows a mix of absolutive-ergative and nominative-accusative properties, as discussed in the next section.

5.5. The 'absolutive' construction

The fifth possibility to mark S is with an accusative enclitic and was illustrated in (1e) above, repeated here as (50):

(50) *Jàka nda nyumu, meti-ya$_k$ -ka làti*
CNJ NEG you die -3SA -PRF in fact
'Without you, we would die/have died' (lit. '...one$_k$ would have died')

In this particular sentence, the accusative clitic is used as an impersonal pronoun. However, in this section I show that accusatively marked S's are not only impersonal pronouns, and impersonal pronouns are not always accusative.

I will argue that the accusative marking of S depends on the interpretation of how the argument is involved in the situation expressed by the verb: if S is less actively involved than what the canonical meaning of the verb would suggest, it is marked accusatively. (Because synchronic Kambera morpho-syntax in general follows the

nominative-accusative pattern, the morpheme that marks O and sometimes S is called 'accusative' rather than 'absolutive'). The construction in which the S is marked with an accusative enclitic is referred to as the 'absolutive'[192] construction, because it is this construction where S is marked identical to O. On the basis of the arguments presented in the previous subsection I suggest that this construction is a synchronic reflex of the absolutive marking that must have been part of the absolutive-ergative pattern of a previous stage of the language.

5.5.1. Accusative S with non-verbal predicates

Predicates that express inherent states (identity, class membership) are nominal, the language has no copular verb and the argument is obligatorily expressed with an accusative clitic. The predicates in (51)–(54) are nominal:[193]

(51) [*Tau mini*]$_{NP}$ *-ya*
person male -3sA
'It/he (is) a man'

(52) [*Potu-na* [*na apu-nggu la Humba*]]$_{NP}$ **-ya**
photo-3sG ART granny -1sG LOC Sumba -3sA
'It (is) a picture of my Sumbanese granny'

(53) *Ba* [*tau la hori*]$_{NP}$ *-ta -i...*
CNJ person LOC tradition -1pA -ITER
'Because, although we are people (knowing) of tradition...

(54) *Nda* [*uma witu*]$_{NP}$ *-a* ***-ya,*** [*uma watu*]$_{NP}$ ***-ya***
NEG house grass -MOD -3sA house stone -3sA
'It (is) not a hut, it (is) a brick house'

(55) *Ka nggi* ***-kau?***
CNJ where -2sA
'Where (are) you?'

The argument of identity predicates is identical to the situation described by the predicate and is thus not actively involved or controlling that situation. The same applies for the other non-verbal predicates that Kambera employs to express locations in time and space: a prepositional phrase in (56) and a deictic element in (57), respectively. The arguments of all these non-verbal predicates are expressed with an obligatory accusative clitic.

(56) *Lai nú -ya*
LOC DEI -3sA
'He/she/it (is) there'

(57) *Nú -du -ya*
DEI -EMP -3sA
'Yes, indeed' (lit.: 'So/thus (is) it')[194]

A special group of non-verbal predicates are the numeral predicates. If a numeral predicate denotes an amount of people seen as a group or entity, S is marked with an accusative clitic. In such a case, the predicate expresses a state (rather than an event, process or activity) and S is identical to that state. An illustration of this is given in (58a,b). Sentences (58c,d), however, illustrate that the S of numeral predicates may also be marked with a nominative (58c) or occur in the continuative aspect (58d). In this respect numeral predicates behave similar to intransitive verbs (see section 4.6.2).

(58) a. *Dua kambulu pitu -a* ***-ha***
two ten seven -MOD -3pA
'They are (a group of) only twenty seven (people[195])

b. *Dua kambulu pitu -a* ***-ya***$_k$
two ten seven -MOD -3sA
It$_k$ is (a group of) only twenty seven (people)'

c. ***Da***$_j$- *dua kambulu pitu -a*
3pN two ten seven -MOD
'They$_j$ (are) only twenty seven (people)'

d. *Tau ngahu riu* ***-nanya*** *-ka una lai nú*
person hundred thousand -3s.CONT -PRF EMP.3s LOC DEI
'A hundred thousand people (were present) there'

In (58a,b) the argument is marked with a plural or singular accusative clitic. The nominative plural clitic in (58c), however, cannot be replaced by a singular. This suggests that an accusatively marked argument is conceptually more an entity (i.e. a group rather than twenty seven individuals) than when it is marked otherwise, as (58c,d).

5.5.2. Accusative S with verbal predicates

Another context in which S is marked like O is when the situation expressed by the verb is in focus while the argument involved in the situation is either less in focus than the verb or implicit. In one instance this is always the case: in imperative clauses. Imperative addressees are always second person and in imperatives the focus is on the activity that should be carried out rather than on the (known) addressee — which explains why overt (pro)nominal marking of addressees may be absent. Other constructions where S is marked like O are (i) clauses with an emphatically left-

dislocated verb (ii) clauses with an impersonal subject and (iii) clauses with a verb that is modified by degree adverbs. Below they will be discussed in turn.

5.5.2.1. Imperative clauses

Let us first look at imperatives. In Kambera imperatives, the addressee of transitives (i.e. a clitic or NP marking the A) is always omitted, as illustrated by (59). On the other hand, the addressee of intransitives (i.e. a clitic marking the S), though it may be omitted, is commonly present and is marked with an accusative clitic, i.e. identical to O, as in (60)–(61):[196]

(59) *Kinju* ***-ha!***
examine -3pA
'Examine them!'

(60) *Kapàndi* ***-kau*** *yohu* *la* *lumbu* *kahembi!*
hide -2sA here LOC cover bush
'Hide here under the bushes!'

(61) *Katuda-**kau**/* ***-kai*** *nàhu!*
sleep -2sA -2pA now
'Go to sleep now!'

The accusative marking of addressees in imperatives can be connected to the marking of the less controlling verbal argument in the following way. Consider (62), which shows that an imperative addressee can also be marked with a nominative:

(62) *(Ka)* ***u-*** *kapàndi* *yohu* *la* *lumbu* *kahembi!*
CNJ 2sN- hide here LOC cover bush
'(That) you hide here under the bushes!'

The two imperatives (60) and (62) differ in politeness.[197] (60) sounds like an order, and is in fact the standard imperative. Using the nominative, as in (62), (the clause is no longer imperative but rather declarative), makes the command into a polite request because using the nominative in this way expresses respect for the addressee. When giving a command it is more polite to speak to the addressee as if he were in control of the activity (using a nominative) than as if he were not (using an accusative).

5.5.2.2. Clauses with a dislocated verb

The second construction in which S is marked accusatively, even when it is agentive, is in clauses with an emphatically left-dislocated verb. (63) illustrates such a verb

dislocation. Observe that the S-marking clitic is accusative *-ya* and has a personal referent, *i Windi*:

(63) *Tembang, nda tembang -a -ya$_j$ -pa [i Windi]$_j$*
be stupid NEG be stupid -MOD -3SA -IMPF ART Windi
'(As for being) stupid, Windi is no longer stupid'

The S of such emphatically dislocated verbs is obligatorily marked with an accusative and the S may have (and often has) a personal referent, as in the illustration given.[198]

The gloss in (63) gives an indication of the interpretation of a clause with a left dislocated verb plus an accusative S. The difference between the interpretation of such a left-dislocation and an unmarked declarative clause can also be seen by comparing (64a) and (64b):

(64) a. *Ngangu, nda ngangu **-ha$_j$** -pa [da ina ama-na]$_j$*
eat NEG eat -3PA -IMPF ART mother father-3SG
'(As for) eating, his parents don't eat anymore' (they cannot eat, e.g. because of a serious illness)

b. *Nda **da-** ngangu -a da ina ama -na*
NEG 3PN- eat -MOD ART mother father -3SG
'His parents don't (want to) eat' (e.g. because they are not hungry)

One of the important distinctions between the two sentences is that the clause with *ngangu* 'eat' in the dislocated construction is interpreted as 'a state of being able to eat' or 'habitually eat' in contrast to the activity sense of the second clause with *ngangu* in the normal position. That is, the S in (64a) is not in control of the state, while (64b) indicates a controlling S.

5.5.2.3. Clauses with an impersonal subject

Clauses with an impersonal S are the third type of context in which we often encounter an absolutive construction. (But impersonal referents are not obligatorily marked accusative, cf. the marking of weather verb arguments below).

In (65) the clitic *-ya* '3SA' functions as an impersonal pronoun. It cannot be interpreted as coreferent with an NP with a personal referent such as *i Windi*, as the indices show. It contrasts with (64a), where the accusative clitic crossreferenced *da ina ama-na* 'his parents'.

(65) *Jàka nda nyumu, meti -ya$_{k/*j}$ -ka làti * [i Windi]$_j$*
CNJ NEG you die -3SA -PRF in fact ART Windi
'Without you, we would die/have died'
(lit.: 'One$_k$ would have died' vs. * 'Windi$_j$ would have died')[199]

Additional illustrations are given in (66). Sentence (66a) shows that the accusative clitic has an impersonal referent. In this construction, it cannot have a personal referent, as shown in (66b,c). An S with a personal referent must be marked differently, using e.g. the continuative construction in (66d). However, when the verb is dislocated, as in (66e), the referent of the accusative may be personal.

(66) a. *Mbeni* *-ya* *-ka* *nú*
be angry -3SA -PRF DEI
'One is angry/people are angry'

b.* *Mbeni* *-ya*$_j$ *-ka* *nú* [*na tau*]$_j$
be angry -3SA -PRF DEI ART person
Intended reading: 'One is angry/the people are angry'

c.* *Mbeni* *-ya*$_j$ *-ka* *nú* [*i* *Umbu* *Mada*]$_j$
be angry -3SA -PRF DEI ART Lord Mada
Intended reading: 'Lord Mada is angry'

d. *Mbeni* ***-nanya***$_j$ *-ka* *nú* [*i* *Umbu* *Mada*]$_j$
be angry -3S.CONT -PRF DEI ART Lord Mada
'Lord Mada is (feeling/getting/being) angry'

e. *Mbeni,* *nda* *mbeni* *-a* *-ya*$_j$ *-pa* [*i Umbu Mada*]$_j$
be angry NEG be angry -MOD -3SA -IMPF ART Lord Mada
'(As for) being angry, Lord Mada is no longer angry'

Another illustration of the impersonal use of the accusative is given in (67). In (67a) the S of the verb *harui* 'have trouble' is not a person — the clause describes a situation and the S can be accusative. In (67b), however, the S is the person *i Umbu Ndilu*, and cannot be marked with an accusative. Thus, for stative verbs, the generalisation is that if the subject refers to a situation it can be accusative, while personal subjects cannot be so marked.

(67) a. *Ka* *harui* *-ya* *-ka,* *Umbu Ndilu*
CNJ be in trouble -3SA -PRF Lord Ndilu
'Isn't it a mess, Lord Ndilu' (lit.: 'It is trouble, Lord Ndilu')

b.* *Ka* *harui* *-ya*$_j$ *-ka* [*i* *Umbu Ndilu*]$_j$
CNJ be in trouble -3SA -PRF ART Lord Ndilu
Intended reading: 'So Lord Ndilu was in trouble'

The impersonal sense of an S marked with the clitic *-ya* '3SA' is also employed to express distance or politeness. Using the 3rd person singular accusative *-ya* instead of the second person genitive *-mu* in order to be polite is illustrated in (68), where the

same question is asked informally in (68a) using a second person genitive clitic, and politely in (68b) with a third person (impersonal) accusative clitic:

(68) a. *Nggàra mài **-mu**?*
what come -2SG
'Why (do) you come/what do you want from me?' (familiar)

b. *Nggàra mài **-ya** -i nú?*
what come -3SA -ITER DEI
'What can I do for you? (polite)

In (68b) the accusative S marker *-ya* has an impersonal referent, and thereby the question is made less confronting, less informal. We saw above that using the accusative also suggests that the S is less actively involved in the situation expressed by the verb; in this case, the addressee is referred to as a someone who is part of the situation and not actively involved in 'coming to get something'. In (68b), on the other hand, the clitic has a personal referent and this question is more direct and informal. The contrast between (68a,b) illustrates a clearly pragmatic use of the accusative marking of S. (Note that this pragmatic use is exactly the mirror image of the S marking in imperatives discussed above).

The accusative S-marking is not limited to simple clauses: it may also be used to mark a matrix S controlling the subject of an embedded clause, which is then rendered impersonal. In (69a) below the matrix S is marked with an accusative clitic. In (69b) the matrix S is also marked with an accusative clitic, but using the first person singular forces a personal interpretation of the matrix S which renders the clause ungrammatical:

(69) a. *Mài **-ya** pa- mandura -bia -pa yohu!*
come -3SA CTR- wait endlessly -MOD -IMPF here
'Coming only to wait endlessly here!' (lit.: 'One comes only to wait endlessly here')[200]

b.* *Mai **-ka** pa- mandura -bia -pa yohu*
come -1SA CTR- wait endlessly -MOD -IMPF here
Intended reading: 'I've come only to wait endlessly here'

In other words, a matrix S in control structures can be marked accusatively but it must have an impersonal interpretation (hence can only be third person singular accusative).

The use of the impersonal pronoun may also be relevant with respect to weather verbs, because such verbs are often considered to be exceptional verbs in e.g. having an un(der)specified argument or having no argument at all. Kambera weather verbs are given in (70):[201]

(70) *ha.ledak* 'be clear; windy and sunny' (cf. (71)),
upung 'to earthquake (V)' (* *na upung* 'the earthquake (N)')
ka.bila.k 'flash with lightning'
ka.nduru.k 'to thunder'

These verbs pattern with the other intransitive verbs, including activity verbs like *palài* 'run' or stative verbs like *miting* 'be black'. This is illustrated in (71): the S of the weather verb *haledak* 'be clear weather: windy and sunny' can be marked with a nominative, as in (71a), or with a genitive, as in (71b), it may occur in a continuative construction, as in (71c), or in an accusative-S construction, as in (71d).[202]

(71) a. ***Na-*** *haledak* *ba* *ta-* *kabeli*
3SN- be clear CNJ 1pN- return
'It was clear when we returned'

b. *Lalu* *haledak* ***-na***
too be clear -3SG
'He is very cheerful'

c. *Ba* *da- hàla -ka,* *haledak* ***-nanya*** *-ka*[203] *na katiku-na*
CNJ 3SA- finish -PRF be clear -3S.CONT -PRF ART head -3SG
'When they finished, his worries disappeared' (lit.: 'His head became clear')

d. *Lalu* *haledak* ***-ya***
too be clear -3SA
'It's very clear (weather)'

(Note that the impersonal S of *haledak* can also be marked with a nominative (71a), which shows that impersonal referents are not necessarily marked with the accusative). The weather verbs behave just as any other intransitive verb as far as the marking of their (impersonal) referent goes. There is thus no reason to assume that weather verbs differ from the other intransitive verbs in the amount of lexically specified information concerning the morphosyntactic behaviour of their S. At the same time, crosslinguistically, there is evidence that not much information about the argument of a weather verb is (or needs to be) specified in the lexicon. Let us assume that Kambera weather verbs are no exception to this. The fact that the arguments of Kambera weather verbs behave morpho-syntactically no different than the arguments of other (active, stative) intransitive verbs may then be taken to indicate that the lexical entry of Kambera intransitives in general can be as simple as that of the weather verbs. I will return to this in section 5.5.4.

5.5.2.4. Clauses with a verb modified for degree

The fourth context in which we encounter accusative S is when a verb is modified by degree adverbs.

In (71d) above the degree adverb *lalu* 'too' modifies *haledak* 'be clear' and the (impersonal) S is marked accusatively. In (72) below, *dira* 'extremely' and *ai lulu* 'very' are the (preverbal and postverbal) degree adverbs that modify *mayila* 'be poor', and here the accusatively marked S has a personal referent:

(72) *Dira* *mayila* *ai lulu* ***-kama***
extremely be poor very -1pA
'We are so very, very poor'

In general, a genitive or an accusative S rather than a nominative is preferred with verbs that are modified for degree.[204] In (73) the underived verb *bàkul* 'be big' is modified by the degree adverb *lalu* 'too'. Its argument is marked accusatively in (73a) and genitively in (73b). The two clauses have a different interpretation: (73a) mentions the spoon's exceptional largeness as its identifying property while in (73b) it is a relative property.

(73) a. *Na* *huru* *nuna* *lalu* *bàkul* *-a* ***-ya***[205]
ART spoon DEI.3s too be big -just -3sA
'That spoon (is) a very large one'

b. *Na* *huru* *nuna* *lalu* *bàkul* ***-na***
ART spoon DEI.3s too be big -3sG
'That spoon (is) too big' (e.g. for the small mouth of the baby)

Consider the marking of the S of the stative verb *mbeni* 'be angry' in (74). In (74a) the verb is modified for degree, S has a personal referent and is marked accusatively. (74b) shows that a construction without a degree adverb is grammatical when S is marked nominatively. When S is marked accusatively, the construction is ungrammatical, as in (74c). An alternative is to interpret S as having an impersonal referent, as in (75).

(74) *Hina* *-ka* *hi* *na-* *pàda* *-ya*[206]...
recently -PRF CNJ 3sN- experience -3sA
'Only now he feels/experiences...'

a. *...ba* *lalu* *mbeni* ***-ha***$_j$ [*da* *aya* *-na*]$_j$
CNJ too be angry -3pA ART elder sibling -3sG
'...that his brothers are very angry'

b. *...ba* ***da-***$_j$ *mbeni* [*da* *aya* *-na*]$_j$
CNJ 3pN- be angry ART elder sibling -3sG
'...that his brothers are angry'

c. * *...ba* *mbeni* ***-ha***$_j$ [*da* *aya* *-na*]$_j$
CNJ be angry -3pA ART elder sibling -3sG
Intended reading: '...that his brothers are angry'

(75) *Mbeni* *-ya* *-ka* *nú*
be angry -3sA -PRF DEI
'One was angry/(The) people were angry'

In other words, the accusative marking of S seems to be preferred in contexts where verbs are emphatically fronted or modified for degree or in contexts where the S has an impersonal referent. Additional illustrations are given in (76).

(76) a. *Ka* *dira* *hangàtar* ***-ha*** *-ka*
CNJ extremely be amazed -3pA -PRF
'So they were extremely amazed'

b. *'Iss...'* *wà-da* *ba* ***da-*** *hangàtar*
EXC say-3pG CNJ 3pN- be amazed
''Wow', they said amazed'

c. *Da-* *mài* *pa-* *kandura* *-ya* *pakariang* *hangàtar-**da***
3pS- come CTR- stare -3sA accompanied by be amazed-3pG
'They came to stare at him in amazement' (lit.: '... accompanied by their amazement')

d. *Ka* *hangàtar* ***-nanya*** *-ka* *yena* *tau* *kawini*
CNJ be amazed -3s.CONT -PRF this one person female
'So this woman was feeling amazed/amazing herself'

In (76a) the S of the verb *hangàtar* 'be amazed' is marked accusatively and is modified for degree. (76b,c,d) show that the S of *hangàtar* can also be expressed with a nominative or genitive clitic or occur in the continuative aspect construction.

5.5.2.5. The optionality of the 'absolutive' construction

The construction in which the S is marked accusatively is a marked construction, both in terms of frequency of use and in requiring specific contexts where emphasis is being put on the situation expressed by the verb. Because one and the same verb allows different S markings, an absolutive construction is not purely syntactically determined. This is illustrated in (77). The absolutive construction in (77a) expresses the fact that

S is less actively involved in the situation expressed by the verb, but this marking is optional, cf. (77b).

(77) a. *Hí -ma -a -ya$_j$ -ka [i Umbu Mada]$_{NPj}$ una*
cry -EMP -MOD -3SA -PRF ART Lord Mada EMP.3s
'Lord Mada just cried and cried' (i.e. could do nothing else)

b. *Hí -ma -a -nanya$_j$ -ka [i Umbu Mada]$_{NPj}$una*
cry -EMP -MOD -3s.CONT -PRF ART Lord Mada EMP.3s
'Lord Mada was crying' (but could have chosen not to)

The S NP in (77a) is *Umbu Mada* and it is crossreferenced with an accusative clitic. In (77b) the S NP is again *Umbu Mada* and it is marked on the verb with the continuative construction. The semantic contrast between (77a,b) is indicated in the translations: the subject in (77a) is presented as having less control on his crying, i.e. as being in a state of crying that he can do little about, whereas in (77b) he can.

The construction used in (78) suggests a situation in which Lord Mada is most helpless:

(78) *Hí -ma -a -ya$_j$ [na [ma- ni -nya lai Umbu Mada]]$_j$*
cry -EMP -MOD -3SA ART RMS- be -3SD LOC Lord Mada
'Lord Mada did nothing but cry'
(lit.: 'It (was) only crying that was at Lord Mada's; Lord Mada had nothing but crying')

The S NP is marked accusatively here, as in (77a), but note that, in contrast to (77a), the S NP in (78) is an NP containing a relative clause with the verb *ningu* 'be (here'): *na ma-ninya lai Umbu Mada* 'what was at Lord Mada's' which can also be glossed: 'what Lord Mada had'(see also section 5.2). In sum, the S of (78) is an NP describing the *situation* Lord Mada is in and using this structure suggests that Lord Mada is completely out of control.

The use of the absolutive construction can be described in terms of control/activity versus non-control/non-activity: S is marked accusatively to suggest that it is less actively involved in the situation expressed by the verb than we would expect from looking at the canonical meaning of the verb. The semantic parameter which is relevant for marking S like O in Kambera is 'control'.[207]

5.5.3. Exceptional intransitive verbs: No absolutive construction for *ta*-derivations[208]

Crosslinguistically, it seems that non-agentive, telic and directional verbs are more liable to occur in 'unaccusative' (our absolutive) constructions than other verbs (cf. Merlan 1985, Levin and Rappaport 1992, among others). In Kambera, however, all intransitive verbs may occur with an accusatively marked S (except for intransitives

with the prefix *ta.*, examples of these are repeated in (80)). There is not one particular lexical-semantic property that singles out a separate class of verbs which take accusatively marked S. That is, not only non-agentive, telic or directional intransitives have an accusative S, but also agentive, atelic and non-directional intransitive verbs, as illustrated in (79) (all the verbs have been recorded in spontaneous (unelicited) absolutive constructions).

(79)

activity:		**state:**	
pa.bànjar	'talk/chatter'	*jangga*	'be high'
ngangu	'eat'	*hàmu*	'be good'
laku	'go'	*kudu*	'be small'
direction:		*tembang*	'be stupid'
mài	'come'	*ka.hingir*	'be clean/clear (water)'
luhu	'leave'	*ma.yila*	'be poor'
event:		*ha.ledak*	'be clear (weather)'
tàka	'arrive'	*ha.rui*	'be in.trouble'
hí	'cry'	*ha.nduka*	'have problems'
meti	'die/be dead'	*ha.ngunja*	'sit idly'
ka.lit	'grow dark'	*ha.ngàtar*	'be amazed'

That agentive, atelic and nondirectional verbs are also used in absolutive constructions indicates that it is not the lexical semantics of the verb which determines that S may be marked like O in Kambera.

Derivations with *ta.*, illustrated in (80), are exceptional in this respect. They cannot have an accusatively marked S, as illustrated by the illformedness of (81a) below. On the other hand, the grammaticality of (81b) indicates that the S of a *ta.*-verb can be marked with a nominative.[209]

(80)	*bunggah*	'X open Y'	*ta.bunggah*	'Y be open (unexpectedly etc.)'[210]
	lunggur	'X scrape Y'	*ta.lunggur*	'Y be sore (accidentally etc.)'
	mbutuh	'Y slip off'	*ta.mbutuh*	'Y slip off (unexpectedly etc.)'
	lukur	'Y be huddled'	*ta.lukur*	'Y be huddled (involuntarily)'
	nggàjir	'Y shake'	*ta.nggàjir*	'Y shake (involuntarily etc.)'

(81) a.* [*Na* *ài* *nuna*]$_{NPj}$ ***tambuta*** *-ya*$_j$ *-ka* *dàngu* *amung*
ART tree DEI.3s drop out -3SA -PRF with root

b. [*Na* *ài* *nuna*]$_{NPj}$ ***na-***$_j$ ***tambuta*** *dàngu* *amung*
ART tree DEI.3s 3SN- drop out with root
'That tree is uprooted'

This pattern is especially odd because *ta.*-derivations express uncontrolled, unintentional, involuntary or unexpected achievements. At first glance, we would therefore expect their argument (not active by definition) to be accusatively marked

rather than nominative. At the least, marking this argument accusatively should be an *option*, contrary to fact, as seen in (81a). In other words, the one Kambera argument type that resembles an object most closely in its lexical semantics is the only one that *cannot* be marked like O.

5.5.4. Conclusion: Kambera is a fluid-S language

The data prestented above show that the absolutive/accusative-S construction is used to indicate that S has less control (relative to A) on the activity expressed by the verb. In other words, that Kambera is a fluid-S language (Merlan 1985, Holisky 1987, Dixon 1994).

The following contexts for the absolutive construction were discussed:

When the predicate is non-verbal, S is marked like O because S is either identical to or located at the situation expressed by the predicate, that is: inherently non-active. When the predicate is verbal, S is marked like O when the verb receives more emphasis than the verbal argument. Typically, this is the case in imperatives, but it is also a characteristic of emphatically left-dislocated verbs, verbs modified for (excessive) degree, and impersonal clauses.

However, S can also be marked like O outside these contexts. In that case, it indicates the *relative* degree of active involvement of S in the situation expressed by the verb: an accusative-S construction suggests less active involvement than the canonical meaning of the verb would lead us to expect — it presents the argument as part of the situation more than being actively involved in it.

Thus, sometimes the absolutive construction is obligatory (e.g. when the predicate is non-verbal or in imperatives), in other cases it is optional, determined by discourse or pragmatic motivations, whereas in the case of the *ta.*-verbs it is disallowed alltogether. The Unaccusativity Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978) and related proposals, which suppose that there is a close link between an underlying object and an S in absolutive construction cannot explain this variation.

5.6. Conclusions

There is no direct connection between the marking of S like O and the type of syntactic configurational information that would be present either in the lexical entry of a verb ('the argument of this verb is internal/external') or at underlying syntactic structure ('the argument of this verb is an underlying object/subject').

Five different ways of marking S are possible and they are used in distinct contexts. The morphological shape of any S-marking clitic reflects more information than just the information that is specified in the lexical entry of the intransitive verb, therefore it cannot be determined by lexical properties of the verb alone.

Neither Kambera syntax, nor the language's word formation nor its morphosyntax shows evidence that the language formally distinguishes between classes of intransitives, with the exception of the *ta.*-derivations. The evidence not to distinguish

a class of 'unergatives' and 'unaccusatives' in Kambera can be summarised as follows:
(i) The majority of the intransitive verbs can optionally occur in the ergative construction, i.e. the absolutive construction is not reserved for one separate class of 'unaccusative' verbs.

(ii) Intransitive verbs can also mark S with the nominative and genitive, and in addition they can appear in the continuative construction and (presumably) in the double subject construction. That is, if we would claim that verbs occurring in the absolutive construction form a separate lexical class, we would have to assume multiple lexical entries for every Kambera intransitive verb since all of them can occur in various other constructions as well.

(iii) In embedded structures (control, relativization, cf. chapter 8) and in morphological derivation (causativization, section 6.1), intransitives behave alike in the sense that there is not one particular class of verbs patterning S with O and another class where S=A (i.e. there are no lexical classes of so-called 'unaccusatives' and 'unergatives'.)

All Kambera intransitive predicates (including the non-verbal predicates, excluding the *ta.*-verbs) can be characterised with a similar simple lexical structure, as illustrated in (82), where 'predicate' is shorthand for the lexical semantic properties of the predicate and '(x)' represents the fact that the predicate has one argument x.

(82) **predicate'** (x)

Crucially, there need not be a distinction between intransitives with internal and external arguments, and the semantic/thematic content of the argument (as e.g. PATIENT or THEME) need not be specified in the lexicon.[211]

To account for the optionality of the absolutive construction I propose to make use of the distinction between the inherent lexical meaning and the possible, cancellable meaning of a verb. Verbs with active interpretations can easily get less (or non-) active interpretations when they occur in the absolutive construction, whereas the reverse does not apply. This suggests that the notion of activity is not part of the inherent lexical meaning of the verb but rather an implicature based on the semantic properties of the actor (e.g. animacy) and the lexical properties of the verb (Dowty 1991).

This amounts to saying that in Kambera basic predicates are stative — a conclusion in line with the well-known verb classification of Vendler 1967 and Dowty 1979. It also implies that the language does not have intransitive root verbs that are inherently active.

This perspective provides an explanation for the exceptional behaviour of the *ta.*-derivations, which cannot mark S with an accusative. The *ta.* prefix productively derives intransitive verbs from transitive and intransitive bases. This productive morphology derives the lexical specifications of the verb — the derivation with *ta.* gives the verb has an *absolute* non-active interpretation. This rules out the notion of *relative* non-activity that triggers the choice for the absolutive construction with the other intransitive verbs. In a sense, the addition of the derivational morpheme *ta-* makes the lexical semantics of the base 'invisibl', because *ta-*'s feature of absolute non-activeness replaces to the relative non-activeness of the base.

We can test the validity of this account by looking at the anticausative derivation. This derivation looks similar to the *ta.*-derivation because both derivations result in intransitive non-active verbs. However, anticausatives differ from *ta.*-derivations because (i) they do not have a regular, productively derived non-active interpretation, and (ii) they are no longer analysed as morphologically complex. In other words, the prefix in anticausatives no longer carries its own lexical semantics. Thus an anticausative verb, like morphologically simplex intransitive verbs, may be interpreted as *relatively* non-active. So anticausatives differ from the productive *ta.*-verbs because the non-active interpretation is not a part of their *inherent* lexical specification (anymore). In this way, the concept of cancellable semantic properties in the lexical conceptual structure of verbs accounts for the behaviour of the larger part of Kambera intransitive verbs. As a bonus, this concept also provides the key to understanding the the exceptional case marking properties of one particular group of Kambera intransitive verbs, the *ta.* derivations.

Chapter 6
Derivational morphology

6.0. Introduction

This chapter provides a discussion of derivational morphology in Kambera. The two major productive derivational word-formation processes of Kambera are discussed in the first two sections of this chapter. Section 6.1 is about the prefix *pa.*, which derives verbs that may have a causative, permissive, factitive, resultative, intensive, infinitive or reciprocal interpretation. Section 6.2 discusses various uses of the morpheme *.ng*,[212] which is used, among other things, to derive applicative verbs. In section 6.3 I discuss how these two derivational processes interact. Cases where they may not interact are also presented. The topic of section 6.4 is the circumfix *ka.-.k*, which productively derives verbs of sound, motion and vision. The other derivational processes in Kambera are either more or less unproductive or apply to a limited set of bases. In sections 6.5 to 6.10 I discuss them in alphabetical order — the prefix *ha.* in section 6.5, the prefix *ka.* in section 6.6, the prefix *la.* in section 6.7, the prefix *ma.* in section 6.8, the prefix [*nas*] in section 6.9 and the prefix *ta.* in section 6.10. In section 6.11 I provide some paradigms that illustrate the (partial) interaction of the prefixes *ha.*, *ka.*, [*nas*] and *ta.* Finally, in section 6.12 some conclusions will be formulated.

6.1. The prefix *pa.*

6.1.1. Introduction

Kambera has a derivational process that derives verbs by prefixing *pa.* to either verbal or non-verbal bases. These bases are usually of major lexical categories (verbs, nouns) although some derivations are based on roots from minor categories.

The affix *pa.* is considered an affix, not a clitic, because it selects a specific base, a lexical item, to attach to, and forms a new word with it. The base and the affix cannot be separated by lexical or functional items. Also, the derived form differs in meaning from its base, as will be discussed below. In these respects the affix *pa.* constrasts with the two morphemes that are homophonous with it, the inflectional clitics that mark subordinate clauses — 'relative' *pa-* and 'control' *pa-*. Prefix *pa.* is an affix instead of a clitic, and it creates verbs, whereas the inflectional clitics mark clauses (object relative clauses and controlled clauses, respectively, cf. chapter 8).[213]

In this section I will discuss the structural properties of the word formation process that derives verbs by prefixing *pa.* and the meaning changes that are induced by it. The verbs derived with *pa.* (causative, factitive, reciprocal etc.) may also be interpreted as more volitional, habitual or intensive than their base. I will present evidence why I consider all the verbs derived with *pa.* the result of one morphological process.

In the next section (6.1.2) I discuss the morphological characteristics of this derivational process, according to the category of the base, as well as the meaning changes that are the result of this derivation. In section 6.1.3 the lexicalised derivations with *pa.* will be presented, while in section 6.1.4 I discuss some of the syntactic properties of verbs derived with *pa.* — in particular, how they are used in subordinate clauses and serial verb constructions. In section 6.1.5 I summarise the morphological, syntactic, semantic and lexical properties of the verbs derived with *pa.* and conclude that there is no convincing structural or semantic evidence to establish more than one word formation process prefixing *pa.*[214]

6.1.2. Bases and derivations with *pa.*

Prefix *pa.* often changes the valency of a verb. As a causative affix it changes the thematic relations of argument(s) of its base by adding a new argument (a causer (AGENT)) to the thematic structure of the verb. The most frequent causative derivation is on the basis of intransitive verbs (either root or base), or transitive verbs without an overt object.

The verb *rongu* 'hear (X)' in (1a) is an optionally transitive verb, *pa.rongu* in (1b) is causative 'cause X to hear'.

(1) a. [*Na tau na ma-kawanga*]$_j$ *nda na-*$_j$ *rongu -a*
ART person ART RMS-be deaf NEG 3SN- hear -MOD
'The deaf don't hear' (lit.: 'The person who is deaf doesn't hear')

b. [*Na tau na ma-kawanga*]$_k$ *na- pa.rongu -ya*$_k$
ART person ART RMS-be deaf 3SN- **pa**.hear -3SA
'He heals the deaf' (lit.: 'The person who is deaf he makes him hear')

If the base is an intransitive verb, its (only) argument becomes the object ('causee') of the derived verb. Sentences (2a,b) illustrate this for the stative intransitive *rara* 'be red/ripe' which becomes *pa.rara* 'let become red/ripe'. The subject of the stative verb in (2a) has become the object of the causative verb in (2b). A causative may have a permissive reading, as seen in (2b).

(2) a. *Da-*$_j$ *rara hàmu* [*da pàu*]$_j$
3PN- be red be good ART mango
'The mangoes are nice and ripe'

b. ***Pa.rara*** *-ya*$_j$ [*na pàu*]$_j$
pa.be red -3SA ART mango
'Let the mango ripen'

In the following subsections prefixation with *pa.* is discussed in terms of the various types of bases the prefix may have. I start with intransitive verbs and nouns because

these are the bases from which the causative is most often derived. Minor categories and intransitive verbs are less favoured.

6.1.2.1. Intransitive verbs as bases

Derivation with *pa.* is very productive with non-active intransitive verbs, the data in (3) are a selection:

(3) Causative derivations with non-active intransitive bases

ànga	'be foolish/useless'	***pa.ànga***	'confuse/cheat X'
bulu	'be empty/clear'	***pa.bulu***	'clear X (garden)'
dànggit	'be short'	***pa.dànggit***	'shorten X'
hàmu	'be good'	***pa.hàmu***	'cause X to be good'
hinggil	'be exceptional/isolated'	***pa.hinggil***	'hide X/set X apart'
ili	'be clean/clear'	***pa.ili***	'clean/clear X'
kabu	'be crushed'	***pa.kabu***	'crush X'
màndung	'be robust/solid'	***pa.màndung***	'make X robust'
màtu	'be complete'	***pa.màtu***	'make X complete'
rara	'be red/ripe'	***pa.rara***	'cause/let X become red/ripe'
wuwa	'be known/revealed'	***pa.wuwa***	'reveal X'
tumbu	'grow/develop'	***pa.tumbu***	'let X develop/bring about/plan X'
lui	'dissolve/melt'	***pa.lui***	'dissolve/melt X'
màu	'be destroyed'	***pa.màu***	'cause to disappear'
ka.tuda	'sleep'	***pa.ka.tuda***	'put X to sleep'
n.jàrang	'get lost'	***pa.njàrang***	'confuse/distract X'
n.jala	'be wrong'	***pa.n.jala***	'condemn X'
ha.mbati	'be painfull'	***pa.ha.mbati***	'hurt X'
ka.baba	'be brief/short'	***pa.ka.baba***	'make X brief/short'
ka.njilit	'be trapped/jammed'	***pa.ka.njilit***	'trap X in a corner'
ka.wirak	'be sticky'	***pa.ka.wirak***	'make X sticky'

The data in (3) show that the base for a causative derivation does not have to be a root but may also be a (formally) derived word, with prefixes like [*nas*]., *ha.* and *ka.*[215] *Màndung* 'be robust, solid' and *njàrang* 'get lost' in (3) (and *hadang* 'get up' and *ha.wurung* 'fly' in (9) below) have a final consonant *ng*. In this respect they formally resemble applicative verbs (section 6.2). However, all the base verbs in (3) and (9) are intransitive, i.e. the final nasal is not an applicative morpheme but rather a lexical final consonant — comparable to the final [t] in *dànggit* 'be short' or [l] in *hinggil* 'be exceptional'.

Sentences (4)-(8) illustrate causativised forms and stative intransitive bases in their sentential context. Causative verbs may also have a manipulative reading ('make X do something') or a directive reading ('let X do something').

(4) a. *Na-$_j$ lui -du bùdi hi na-$_k$ langga*
3sN- melt -EMP COND CNJ 3sN-be sweet
'It$_j$ (sugar) should dissolve so that it$_k$ (coffee) becomes sweet'

b. *Na- **pa.**lui -ya$_j$ [na liling]$_j$*
3sN- **pa.**melt -3sA ART candle
'He makes the candle melt/he melts the candle'

(5) a. *Màu -ka dumu nyumu!*
be destroyed[216] -PRF EMP.2s you
'Bad luck for you!'

b. ***Pa.**màu ndàba -ya yena!*
pa.be lost all -3sA this one
'Make this all disappear!'

(6) a. *Da- kawàra katuda*
3pN- both sleep
'They (both) sleep together (in one bed)'

b. *Da- **pa.**katuda -ya na anakeda*
3pN- **pa.**sleep -3sA ART child
'They put the child to sleep'

(7) a. *Ambu ta- kanabu*
NEG.irr 1pN- fall
'Let's (be careful) not (to) fall'

b. *Na- **pa.**kanabu -ta weling la ài*
3sN- **pa.**fall -1pA move from LOC wood
'He made us fall from the tree'

(8) a. *Nda da- tàka -mbu -pa,*
NEG 3pN- arrive -also -IMPF

njàrang -ma -ki -a -danya -ka uda
get lost -EMP -MOD -MOD -3p.CONT -PRF EMP.3p
'They didn't even arrive, they just happened to get lost'

b. ***Pa.****njàra* *-na$_k$-nya$_j$* [*na* *angu* *-na*]$_j$
pa.get lost -3sG-3sD ART companion -3sG
'He$_k$ confused/distracted his friend$_j$' (lit.: 'He caused his friend to get lost')

Although the majority of causatives are derived from stative intransitive verbs, there are also causatives of active intransitive bases, as shown in (9) and illustrated in (10) and (11).

(9) Causative derivations with active intransitive bases

laku	go	***pa.****laku*	'let X go/ carry out X/do X'
luhu	go out/exit	***pa.****luhu*	'let X get out/ cause X to go out'
hadang	stand up	***pa.****hadang*	'wake up X/ make X stand up'
ndolak	stand (up)	***pa.****ndolak*	'make X stand/ establish/set up X'
ha.wurung	fly	***pa.****ha.wurung*	'make X fly/throw X into the air'

(10) a. *Napa* *jàka* *u-* *ka.beli...*
later if 2sN- return
'Later if you return...'

b. *Ta-* ***pa.****ka.beli* *-ha* *da* *tentara*
1pN- **pa.**return -3pA ART soldier
'We make the soldiers go back/get them to return'

(11) a. [*Na* *kapaki*]$_j$ *luhu* *-nanya$_j$* *-ka* *una*
ART frog leave -3s.CONT -PRF EMP.3s
'The frog got out'

b. *Mili* *u-* ***pa.****luhu* *-ka* *la* *ma-harui*[217] *una*
if only 2sN- **pa.**leave -1sA LOC RMS-be in trouble EMP.3s
'Just get me out of this trouble' (lit.: 'If only you got me out of trouble')

Derivations with *pa.* may not only have a causative or factitive interpretation, but may also be interpreted as more volitional or intensive than their base. The derivations in (12) are instances of this.[218]

(12) Derivations with a more volitional/intensive interpretation

torung	'endure, not give up'	***pa.torung***	'persevere, stand up to X'
mài	'come'	***pa.mai.ng***	'come to do something'
rengga	'go/move fast'	***pa.rengga.ng***	'hurry (up)' (action)

Sentence (13a) illustrates the underived use of *torung* in a general statement, not adressed to a specific person in a specific situation. The verb is translated here as 'endure'. In (13b) a specific person is told to 'persevere', i.e. be active in 'enduring' something. In (13c) the translation could be 'keep on (doing something)'.

(13) a. *Torung -ma -a la mayila jàka nggi-nggiki-na-ka-i una*
endure -EMP -MOD LOC trouble if RDP-how-3sG-PRF-also EMP.3s
'Don't give up in trouble, whatever happens' (lit.: 'Endure in trouble, however (bad) it (is)')

b. *Ambu hí -du, **pa.toru** -ma -a -nya!*[219]
NEG.irr cry -EMP **pa**.persevere -EMP -MOD -3sD
'Don't cry, stand up to it!' (lit. 'Don't cry, persevere it!')

c. ***Pa.toru** mànu -ma -nanya la pa- mai yohu*
pa.persevere always -EMP -3s.CONT LOC CTR- come here
'He keeps on coming here all the time' (lit.: 'He is always persevering in coming here')

The root form of *mài* 'come' is used in (14a), the prefixed form in (14b,c). One of the differences between forms is that the derived form implies that the subject has a purpose for coming and/or the direction where he/she is coming to is important, while in the underived form purpose and direction are irrelevant. According to informants, the contrast between *mài* and *pa.mài.ng* is 'come' versus 'come to stay/to do something'.[220] The verbal suffix *.ng* must also play a role in the contrast, though it is not entirely clear how (see section 6.2).

(14) a. *Mài -ma -ki -a*[221] *-danya -ka uda*
come -EMP -MOD -MOD -3p.CONT -PRF EMP.3p
'They just came' (i.e. direction/purpose not important)

b. ***Pa.mài.ng** -ma -ki -a -danya -ka uda*
come -EMP -MOD -MOD -3p.CONT -PRF EMP.3p
'They just came' (to stay, i.e. they just moved here)

c. *Na lodu na pa-patu wà-na,*
ART day ART RMO-four use-3sG
'(On) the fourth day,

***pa.**mài.ng -ma -ki -a -danya -i -ka uda la uma-da...*
pa.come.ng-EMP-MOD-MOD -3p.CONT -ITER-PRF EMP.3p LOC house-3pG
they were just coming to their house...' (direction/purpose important)

We have seen that for the majority of intransitive bases prefixation with *pa.* increases the valency of the verb by one: an AGENT is added and the argument of the base becomes the object of the derived verb. Prefixing *pa.* works in the same way both when the base is active and non-active. This is a morphological argument not to distinguish between two lexical classes of intransitives ('unergatives' vs. 'unaccusatives'). (More arguments are presented in chapter 5).

Prefixing *pa.* does not always result in a valency increase: some derivations remain intransitive. Such derivations have a (more) volitional reading with a (more) actively involved subject than their base form. See section 6.1.5. for a discussion of how these two effects of *pa.* prefixing can be related.

6.1.2.2. Nouns as bases

When the causative prefix attaches to a noun, the derived form is a verb. The resulting verb may either be intransitive or transitive, and, besides causation, it expresses concepts like possession ('have N'), (ascribed) identity ('be N', 'call someone N', 'treat someone as N'), location ('be at N', 'be in N'), instrument ('use (as) N') etc. Sometimes the term *factitive* is used for similar derivations (as in Van den Berg 1989). Examples are given in (15).[222]

(15) Factitive derivations of nominal bases

ana	'child'	***pa.**ana*	'have children'
ihi	'content'	***pa.**ihi*	'(cause to) have content'
kadu	'horn'	***pa.**kadu*	'have/with horns'
lunggi	'hair'	***pa.**lunggi*	'(cause to) have hair/be haired'
wua	'fruit'	***pa.**wua*	'(cause to/let) have fruit' '(cause to/let) have dots'
aya	'older sibling'	***pa.**aya*	'call X *aya*/ be older than X'
eri	'younger sibling'	***pa.**eri*	'call X *eri*/ be younger than X'
ariyá	'guest/visitor'	***pa.**ariyá*	'treat as guest/visit (X)'
tau	'person'	***pa.**tau*	'honour X / consider X human'

lihi	'side'	***pa.lihi***	'(cause X to) be close/ at the side'
pingi	'stem/origin/base'	***pa.pingi***	'consider X basic/ important'
ining	'shelter'	***pa.ining***	'give shelter to X'
kindi	'spherical instrument to make threads'	***pa.kindi***	'get a spherical shape/ swell (e.g. cooked rice)'

Crosslinguistically, it is not unusual that causative and so-called factitive verbs are derived with the same prefix. In Boumaa Fijian, for instance, the 'causative' affix *va'a* among other things derives intransitive verbs from nominal bases 'with a meaning like 'use' or 'make' or 'have'' (Dixon 1988:182). In Kambera, causatives and factitives are also derived by the same morphological process — intransitive verbs with *pa.* become causative verbs, nouns with *pa.* become factitive verbs. Furthermore, both notions may be present within the same derivation, as illustrated by the causative/factitive verbs *pa.ihi*, *pa.lunggi*, *pa.wua* and *pa.lihi* in (15).

6.1.2.3. Minor categories as bases

In this section I will present the derivations with *pa.* that have a base which is neither a verb nor a noun. In (16) it is demonstrated that prepositional nouns (section 4.5), the numeral for 'two', the existential marker *jia* and the emphatic negator *ndia* 'no' (section 4.6) can become verbs through *pa.* derivation. Examples (17)—(21) show how these derivations are used in sentences.

(16) Verbs derived from minor categories

dita	'up' (prep. noun)	***pa.dita***	'hoist/lift up X'
wawa	'down' (prep. noun)	***pa.wawa***	'humiliate X/ look down on X'
dua	'two' (numeral)	***pa.dua***	'divide X (two or more)'
tailu	'three' (numeral)	**** pa.tailu***	* 'divide X in three'
jia	existential marker	***pa.jia***	'agree (with X)/ profess (faith)'
ndia	'no' (emph. negator)	***pa.ndia***	'deny X'

(17) *Na-* ***pa.dita*** *-ya* *na* *wài*
3SN- pa.up -3SA ART water
'He hoists up the water' (e.g. from well)

(18) *Na* *tau* *na* *ma-* ***pa.wawa*** *angu* *-na* *patau*
ART person ART RMS- **pa.**down mate -3SG human
'The people that humiliate their fellow human beings'

(19) *Na-**pa**.dua*[223] *-ya* *na* *uhu-na*
3sN-**pa**.two -3sA ART rice-3sG
'He divides his rice' (in two or more portions)

(20) *...**pa**.jia -ma -a* *-na$_k$ -nya$_j$* *[na maramba nuna]$_k$* *nú*
pa.EXIST-EMP -MOD -3sG -3sD ART king DEI.3s DEI
'...(so) that king$_k$ agreed with it$_j$'

(21) *Na-* *pa.ndia* *-ya* *ba* *nda* *na-* *njala*
3sN- pa.no -3sA CNJ NEG 3sN- be/do wrong
'He denied that he did wrong' (lit.: He denied it (and) he did no wrong')

Some categories of words cannot be the base of a derivation with *pa.* Some of them can only be verbalised by affixing *pa.* and *.ng* at the same time. These derivations are discussed in section 6.3 below. Others, like the adverbs, can never be productively derived with *pa.* (This is an argument in favour of a separate category of adverbs, cf. the discussion in section 4.4). (22) and (23) show that *jua* 'only' and *kàli* 'usually' cannot be derived with *pa.*

(22) a. *Laku* ***jua,*** *beli* ***jua***
go only return only
'Go with empty hands, come back with empty hands'
(lit.: 'Only go, only return', i.e. bring nothing when going or returning)

b.* ***pa**.jua*
Intended reading: 'cause to be only/just'

(23) a. *Na* *ma-* ***kàli*** *harik*
ART RMS- usually split
'What usually splits'

b.* ***pa**.kàli*
Intended reading: 'cause (to be) usual(ly)'

In sum, we have seen that the prefix *pa.* derives verbs from intransitive verbs, nouns and some minor category items. Adverbs cannot be the base of a derivation with *pa.*.

6.1.2.4. Transitive verbs as bases

In this section I will discuss what happens when the prefix *pa.* has a transitive verb as its base. First of all, it should be mentioned that most of the transitive verbs that are the base of a causative derivation are derived applicative verbs (cf. section 6.3). Causative derivations based on a transitive root are quite rare in Kambera. Such derived

forms are either causative or intransitive with an intensive/ volitional/ reciprocal meaning (cf. (12)).

Let us first consider the causative derivation. When a transitive root verb is causativised, the AGENT of the base verb becomes the (implied) causee of the derived verb, and the THEME object of the base verb remains the object of the derived verb. Illustrations are given in (24).

(24)	*rongu*	'hear X'	***pa.rongy***	'cause Y to hear (X)'
	tàru	'watch X'	***pa.tàru***	'make Y watch (X)'

Consider the root verb *tàru* 'watch X' in (25a,b) and its causative derivation *pa.tàru* in (25c,d,e). The semantic difference between *tàru* on the one hand and *pa.tàru* on the other, is twofold. In (25c) the derived verb is causative, while in (25d) it expresses an activity that is experienced as (too) intense. The reciprocal meaning that can be given to the derived verb (provided the subject is plural and there is no object) is illustrated in (25e).

(25) a. *Nggiki hi u- tàru?*
why CNJ 2sN- watch
'Why do you watch?'

b. *Nggiki hi u- tàru -ka?*
why CNJ 2sN- watch -1sA
'Why do you watch me?'

c. *Nggiki hi u- **pa.taru** -ka?*
why CNJ 2sN- **pa.**watch -1sA
'Why do you make me watch (it)?'

d. *Nggiki hi u- **pa.tàru?***
why CNJ 2sN- **pa.**watch
'Why are you watching (all the time)?' (expressing irritation)

e. *Da- **pa.tàru***[224]
3pN- **pa.**watch
'They watch each other' (lit.: 'They watch (intensively)')

That is, a derivation with *pa.* may not only be causative, but may also have an intensive/reciprocal interpretation. In fact, there are very few derivations from a transitive root verb that have a causative interpretation — most are only used intransitively, with an intensive or reciprocal meaning (i.e. with an interpretation like (25d,e) and unlike (25c)). Such derived verbs have an AGENT which is more volitional than the AGENT of their base verb.

Note that almost all derivations with *pa.* in the previous sections involved a valency change of the base (i.e. a change in the number and organisation of the thematic

arguments). It is therefore remarkable that most derivations with a transitive verbal root/base do not result in a valency change, whereas a derivation from an intransitive verb usually does result in such a change.

Examples (26)–(28) illustrate the contrast between the underived root form and the derivation with a more intensive/volitional meaning. In (26) the base verb is *witil* 'pinch X' and the derivation *pa.witil* 'pinch X (intensively)'.

(26) a. *Ka nggiki hi u- witil -ya?*
CNJ why CNJ 2sN- pinch -3sA
'Why do you pinch him?'

b. *Ka nggiki hi u- **pa.witil?***
CNJ why CNJ 2sN- **pa.**pinch
'Why are you pinching (all the time)?' (expressing irritation)

c. *Ambu **pa.witil** -dú!*
NEG.irr **pa.**pinch EMP
'Stop pinching (each other)!' (lit. 'Don't pinch (intensive)!')

In (27) the base verb is *tila* 'kick'. In (27a,b) the kicking of the horse is a temporary activity whereas in (27c) it is the horse's habit/character that is being referred to. (27d) shows that the verb *pa.tila* 'kick (habitual)' may also be interpreted as 'kick each other', i.e. in a reciprocal sense.

(27) a. *Tila -nanya$_j$ [na njara]$_j$*
kick -3s.CONT ART horse
'The horse is kicking (now)'

b. *Na-$_i$ tila -ya$_j$ [na tau]$_j$*
3sN- kick -3sA ART person
'She (i.e. a horse) kicked (the) people' (lit.: 'She kicked the person')

c. *Rimang, na-$_i$ **pa.tila** [na njara]$_i$*
look out 3sN- **pa.**kick ART horse
'Be carefull, the horse kicks' (i.e. it's her character)

d. *Da- **pa.tila***
3pN- **pa.**kick
'They kick (each other)'

In (28) the contrast is between *palu* 'hit X' and *pa.palu* 'hit X (habitually)':

(28) a. *Na-$_i$ palu -ta tau$_i$ jàka ta- malih*
3sN- hit -1pA person if 1pN- be naughty
'We will be hit when we are naughty' (lit.: 'A person hits us when we (are) naughty')

b. *Na-$_i$ **pa.palu** [na tau]$_i$ jàka ta- malih*
3sN- **pa.**hit ART person if 1pN- be naughty
'The man (always/usually) hits when we are naughty'

In these sentences, the AGENT of the derivation is more intensely involved in the activity than the AGENT of the base verb. Thus, these derivations with *pa.* have a volitional, intensive reading. As mentioned above, this includes the notion of reciprocity.

The following examples show that Kambera does not have a reciprocal pronoun, that the presence of *pa.* does not necessarily make a verb reciprocal, and that the absence of *pa.* does not exclude a verb having a reciprocal meaning. Consider first the sentences in (29). In (29a) the verb does not have a reciprocal sense, in (29b) it does, and there is no reciprocal pronoun.

(29) a. *Tabi wà -nggu -nggau hena Umbu Maramba*
greet say -1sG -2sD overthere sir Maramba
'My greetings to you, Umbu Maramba'

b. ***Pa.**tabi -danya -ka*
pa.greet -3p.CONT -PRF
'They greet (each other)'

The presence of *pa.* does not necessarily make the verb reciprocal, as shown in (30). In both (30a,b) the verb is used in a reciprocal sense, but in (30a) it is not morphologically derived, whereas in (30b) it is.

(30) a. *Da- kawàra*[225] *ngàndi uhu*
3pN- both take rice
'They bring each other rice' (lit.: 'They both take rice')

b. *Da- kawàra **pa.**ngàndi.ng hurat*
3pN- both **pa.**take.ng[226] letter
'They send each other letters' (lit.: 'They both send (someone) letters')

Consider the contrasting sentences in (31). In (31a,b) the transitive verb *tanda* 'know' is used, in (31b) it is modified by the adverb *kawàra*. In (31c) *tanda* is derived with affix *pa.* (and the morpheme *.ng* discussed in section 6.2) and is also modified by *kawàra*. (31d) has a similar structure, except that it has a definite object whereas

(31b,c) have an indefinite object (cf. the presence/absence of the article and the object clitics). None of the sentences has a reciprocal interpretation.

(31) a. *Ambu ta- njala tanda -ya*
NEG.irr 1pN- do wrong know -3sA
'Let's not misunderstand him/it'

b. *Da- kawàra tanda duma -da*
3pN- both know part -3pG
'They both know their fate'

c. *Da- kawàra **pa.**tanda.ng duma-da*
3pN- both **pa.**know.ng part-3pG
'They both think about their fate'

d. *Da- kawàra **pa.**tanda -nya*[227]
3pN- both **pa.**know -3sD
'They both think about it'

Sentences like (31b,c,d) constitute evidence that *pa.* does not derive specific 'reciprocal' verbs. Nor do clauses with a reciprocal interpretation have special syntactic properties. Instead, derivations with *pa.* can be used in a reciprocal sense.

We have seen that many of the verbs which are derived with *pa.* on the basis of transitive verbs may have an intensive or reciprocal interpretation. In Kambera, a subject and/or object may be covert if the emphasis is on the action/event/habit expressed by the verb. Observe that none of the 'intensive' derivations with *pa.* above has a definite object (e.g. (25d,e), (26b,c), (27c,d), (28b), (29b)), while in (26c) and in (32) there is not even an (overt) subject:

(32) *Nda **pa.**katuda -a la rudung*
NEG **pa.**sleep -MOD LOC night
'(It was) impossible to sleep at night' (lit.: 'No sleeping (intens.) at night')

The 'intensifying' function of derivations with *pa.* is similar to the function of infinitives in a language like Dutch (the Dutch translations of (26c) and (32) would use infinitives: *Zit niet te knijpen* lit.: 'Sit not to pinch', *Slapen was 's nachts onmogelijk* lit.: 'To sleep was impossible at night').

However, prefixing *pa.* does not derive 'infinitival' verbal forms. Recall that morphologically underived verbs may have covert arguments too, if these are implied, generic or determined by the context (cf. section 5.1). In other words, the fact that the verbs in (26c) and (32) lack overt arguments is not because they are morphologically derived infinitives, but because they have an intensive reading.

We conclude that Kambera neither has a 'reciprocal' nor an 'infinitival' nor a 'habitual' morphological form for verbs. There is one prefix *pa.* which is used in various ways: (i) when the base is an intransitive verb or a noun, the prefix increases

the valency of the verb with one AGENT argument, and (ii) it derives verbs with a more active/ volitional/ intensive interpretation than their bases. The reciprocal/ infinitival/ habitual interpretation of some of the derived forms is a function of their intensive/ volitional reading. Prefixing *pa.* to transitive bases *usually* derives verbs with such an intensive reading, whereas derivations from nominal and intransitive bases *usually* result in causative/factitive verbs. There are, however, some derived intransitive verbs with an intensive reading instead of a causative (cf. (13) and (14) above). Thus the different interpretations of derived verbs cannot be accounted for by assuming that they are the result of unrelated morphological processes.

Kambera is not unique in having a morphological derivation that causes a change in verbal semantics which may or may not result in a valency increase. In Leti (Central Malayo Polynesian) the prefix *va-* derives causatives, reciprocals and marks 'intensive iteration' (van Engelenhoven 1995: 115-116). In Buru (Central Malayo-Polynesian) the prefix *ep-* derives both causatives and reciprocal/multiple actor verbs (Grimes 1991:113-115[228]). In Fijian (Oceanic) the affix *va'a* derives (among other things) causative/factitive verbs but also non-causative verbs with the notion of 'doing intensively, with special effort' (Dixon 1988:181-189). In Tukang Besi (West Malayo Polynesian) a 'purposeful verbaliser' *hoN-* derives transitive verbs from intransitive bases; when the base is transitive the derived verb is a transitive with a 'stronger sense of result arising from the action' (Donohue 1995:277).

Further arguments supporting the hypothesis that all derived forms with *pa.* are in fact the result of one morphological process will be given in section 6.1.4, after the lexicalised derivations with *pa.* discussed in the next section.

6.1.3. Lexicalised derivations with *pa.*

Lexicalised derivations are formally complex words that either have a root (or base) that no longer exists as an independent word, or, if the root/base still exists as such, lexicalised derivations are semantically unrelated to it. Some lexicalised derivations with the prefix *pa.* are illustrated in (33).[229]

(33)[230]

? loku		***pa.loku***	'prepare (food)'
? muku		***pa.muku***	'lie face down'
? ndoi		***pa.ndoi***	'make/do X'
? hàngal		***pa.hàngal***	'hang X around/ on something/someone'
julu	'keep X busy'	***pa.julu***	'play'
lài	'search X/prune X'	***pa.lài***	'run'
bera	'break X'	***pa.bera***	'fight/have a war'
ngalang	'receive X'	***pa.ngalang***	'continue'

As can be seen from (33), the lexicalised derivations may be intransitive or transitive verbs. In the examples with a question mark, the root/base is no longer an

independently used word, nor does it have a meaning independent of the derived form. The other roots/bases are still used as independent words although their derived forms are no longer regularly semantically related to them.

6.1.4. Syntactic properties of derivations with *pa.*

6.1.4.1. Derivations with pa. in subordinate clauses

My hypothesis as to the nature of verbs derived with *pa.* is that, although these derived verbs may be transitive or intransitive and their interpretations may vary, they are all manifestations of the same derivational process and have similar syntactic properties. The examples given in the previous sections show that all verbs derived with *pa.* may be the (lexical) head of a main clause.[231] In this section I will try to establish possible other syntactic differences between, on the one hand, verbs derived with *pa.* that have a causative/factitive reading and, on the other hand, derivations with *pa.* that have a volitional/intensive reading.

In this respect, I will consider the use of these derived verbs in subordinate clauses (cf. chapter 8) and in serial verb constructions (cf. chapter 7). It will be shown that derived verbs with different interpretations *may* occur in the same syntactic contexts although they exhibit *preferences* for different contexts. That is, there are some distributional differences between the derived verbs with a causative/factitive meaning and those with a volitional/intensive reading. However, these seem to be minor differences, on the basis of which a clearcut distinction between different prefixes *pa.* cannot be made.

The following sentences illustrate some of the possible syntactic contexts of the derived verbs. In (34) illustrations are given of the use of causative/factitive verbs in controlled clauses, which are marked by the control clitic *pa-* (cf. section 8.2). In (34a) the derived verb is factitive: *pa.ana* 'give birth' in (34b) it is causative: *pa.meti* 'cause X to die'. The sentences contain two different morphemes '*pa*'. The outer one is the clitic *pa-* marking the embedded clause, while the inner is the causative prefix *pa.*. (The subscript 'Sctr' means 'controlled clause'.)

(34) a. *Na-pakiring* [*pa-* ***pa.ana*** *la* *njam* *nomu*]$_{Sctr}$
3SN-begin CTR- **pa.child** LOC hour six
'She began to have children at six o'clock' (said of a pig that got twelve piglets)

b. *..laku* *-da* [*pa-* *haipa-ya*]$_{Sctr}$,
go -3pG CTR- jeer -3SA
'...they went to jeer at him,

mbuhang *la* [*pa-* ***pa.meti*** *-mbu* *-ya* *-i* *-pa*]$_{Sctr}$
like LOC CTR- **pa.die** -also -3SA -MOD -IMPF
(they) even wanted to kill him as well'

Derived verbs with an intensive/volitional interpretation may also occur in controlled clauses, as in (35) and (36). In (35a) and (36a) the underived forms of the verbs *tàru* 'watch X' and *witil* 'pinch X' are used in the subordinate clause, whereas (35b) and (36b) use the intensive verb form.

(35) a. *Panjang -danya [pa- tàru]*$_{Sctr}$
stop -3p.CONT CTR- watch
'They stop watching'

b. *Panjang -danya [pa- **pa.tàru**]*$_{Sctr}$
stop -3p.CONT CTR- watch
1. 'They stop staring' (i.e. watching intensively)
2. 'They stop watching each other'

(36) a. *Nda na-panjang -a [pa- witil -ya na angu-na]*$_{Sctr}$
NEG 3SN-stop -MOD CTR- pinch -3SA ART companion-3SG
'He doesn't stop pinching his friend'

b. *Nda na-panjang -a [pa- **pa.witil**]*$_{Sctr}$
NEG 3SN-stop -MOD CTR- pinch
'He doesn't stop pinching' (i.e. keeps on pinching all the time)

Finally, a lexicalised derivation may also be the lexical head of a controlled clause. This is shown in (37), where *pa.julu* 'play' is a lexicalised derivation:

(37) *Mili àmbu laku ànga-ànga nàhu [pa- **pa.julu***]$_{Sctr}$
if only NEG.IRR go RDP-uselessly now CTR- play
'If only (you) weren't fooling around' (lit.: 'If only you would not go uselessly now to play')

Turning now to the second type of subordinate clauses, the relative constructions, in (38a) it is shown that the factitive verb *pa.ana* 'give birth' is part of the headed, subject relative clause *na ma-pa.ana la wuku rumba*. In (38b) the causative verb *pa.meti* 'kill' is part of the headless, object relative clause *pa-pa.meti-da* ('SREL' means 'relative clause').

(38) a. *Na wei [na ma- **pa.ana** la wuku rumba]*$_{Srel}$
ART pig ART RMS- **pa.**child LOC cover grass
'The pig who dropped its piglets (lit. 'had her children') in the tall grass'

b. *Pira ngiu pàku nú [pa- **pa.meti** -da]*$_{Srel}$
how many animal merely DEI RMO- **pa.**die -3SG
'Just how many animals did they kill?' (lit.: 'Merely how many animals merely were killed by them?')

In (39) the relative clause contains a derived verb with an intensive/volitional interpretation. *Tundung* 'follow X' is derived to become *pa.tundung* 'spoil X' and is part of the relative clause *pa-pa.tundung*. *Pa.ndoi* 'make X' in (40) is a lexicalised derivation in the relative clause *na ma-pandoi manjala* (see also section 8.1).

(39) *Ba* [*umbuk* [*pa-* ***pa.tundung***]$_{Srel}$] *-kau*
CNJ grandchild RMO- **pa.**follow -2SA
'Because you (are) a spoiled grandchild' (lit.: 'Because you are a grandschild that (is) followed')

(40) *Nggamu -ya$_j$* [*na ma-* ***pa.ndoi*** *ma-njala*]$_j$, [*pa-hukung*] *-ya$_j$*
who -3SA ART RMS-make RMS-be wrong RMO-punish -3SA
'Who it is that makes mistakes (lit. 'what is wrong'), he (will be) punished'

The third type of subordinate clause is the nominal clause. In sentence (41a) the factitive verb *pa.ana* is part of the nominal clause *na pa.ana-na* (cf. section 4.2.1). The pronominal clitic *na-* cross-references this nominal clause on the matrix verb *pa.lihi* '(cause to) be at side/close'.

(41) *Na$_i$-* *pa.lihi* [*na* ***pa.ana*** *-da*]$_i$
3SN- pa.side ART **pa.**child -3PG
'They drop their young close to each other' (lit.: 'Their dropping youngs is close to each other')

In (42) the nominal clause contains a volitional/intensive verb. *Mai* 'come' is derived to become *pa.mai.ng* 'come with a purpose' (cf. (14) above).

(42) *Na-* *mbuti* *-nya$_i$*[232] [*na* ***pa.mai.ng*** *-mu*]$_i$
3SN- expect -3SD ART **pa.**come.ng -2SG
'He expected your coming'

In sum, all derivations with *pa.*, whatever their interpretation, may occur in subordinate clauses, so they all have the same external distribution in this regard. In other words, the variable interpretation of verbs derived with *pa.* is not the result of a difference in syntactic environment. In addition, the sentences (34), (36), (35), (37), (38b) and (39) show that the prefix *pa.* is not in complementary distribution with the homophonous markers of subordinate clauses (control clitic *pa-* and relative marker *pa-*), i.e. that it is a distinct morphological element.

6.1.4.2. Derivations with pa. in serial verb constructions

Kambera verbs, whether or not morphologically derived, may be part of a verbal construction of two adjacent verbs (section 7.1).[233] That is, all verbs derived with *pa.*

may not only occur as a single verb in a clause, but also in serial verb constructions, whatever their interpretation.

Consider the sentences in (43). In (43a) the underived verb *njàpu* 'run out' is used, while (43b,c) illustrates the use of its causative derivation as the single verb of a clause and as the second verb (V2) in a complex (compound) verb construction. The V2 indicates the result of the action expressed by the first verb (V1), the two verbs together have an accomplished event structure.

(43) a. *Njàpu*[234] *-nanya*$_j$ *-ka* [*na wài*]$_j$
run out -3s.CONT -PRF ART water
'There is no water any more' (lit.: 'The water ran out')

b. ***Pa.****njàpu* *-ya!*
pa.run out -3sA
'Finish it!' (lit.: 'Cause it to run out')

c. *Unu* ***pa.****njàpu* *-ha* *da* *tàda ài*
drink **pa.**run out -3pA ART medicine
'Drink up the medicine!' (lit. 'Drink (and) cause the medicine to run out')

In (44)-(53) some additional illustrations are given. In (44a) and (45a) the underived verb is used, while in (44b) the derived verb is used as the V2 in a serial verb construction. In (45b) both V1 and V2 are derived.

(44) a. *Da-* ***pa.****bokul* *-ya* *na* *uma*
3pN- **pa.**be big -3sA ART house
'They enlarge the house'

b. *Da-* *wulu* ***pa.****bokul* *-ya* *na* *uma*
3pN- build **pa.**be big -3sA ART house
'They enlarge the house' (lit.:'They build (and) enlarge the house')

(45) a. *Na-* *njàrang*[235] *la* *omang*
3sN- get lost LOC wood
'He gets lost in the wood'

b. *Na-* ***pa.****ita* ***pa.****njàra* *-nggama* *ànda* *kareuk*
3sN- **pa.**see **pa.**get lost -1pD road talk
'He misled us' (i.e. talked deceptively) (lit.: 'He showed us a 'way of talk' (and) caused us to get lost (on it)')

The sentences in (46) below illustrate the function of a derived V2 in a complex predicate. In (46a,b) the V2 is the underived intransitive verb *maràu* 'be far', while in (46c,d) it is the derived verb *pa.maràu* 'cause X to be far'.

(46) a. *Na- ita maràu -ya*
3SN- see be far -3SA
'He sees him (from) far away'

b. *Na- ngàndi maràu -ya na anakeda*
3SN- take be far -3SA ART child
'He takes the child far away' (i.e. he goes far away while he takes the child with him)

c. *Na- **pa.**maràu -ya na kalau meti*
3SN- **pa.**be far -3SA ART mouse die
'He takes the mouse far away'

d. *Na- ngàndi **pa.**maràu -ya na kalau meti*
3SN- take **pa.**be far -3SA ART mouse die

ka àmbu na- wàu la uma
CNJ NEG.IRR 3SN- smell LOC house
'He takes the dead mouse far away so that it will not smell in the house' (i.e. he goes far away to take the dead mouse there)

The serial verb constructions *ngàndi maràu* in (46b) and *ngàndi pa.maràu* in (46d) differ with respect to the volitionality or intention of their subject. Semantically, both V2's, *maràu* and *pa.maràu* are resultative verbs — in both sentences the resulting state of the object is 'to be far away'. But in (46b) this is a side effect of the action of the subject whereas in (46d) it is the purpose of the subject's activity. The concepts 'causative' and 'volitional' cannot be separated in the semantic contrast between (46b,d), because the the verb *pa.maràu* in (46c) is causative and has a more volitional subject than *maràu*.

A similar case is (47). In (47a) *rengga* 'go/move fast' is an underived non-volitional verb that modifies *laku* 'go', while in (47b,c) the derived verb *pa.rengga(.ng)* is volitional.[236] Because it is a volitional verb, it can also be used in an imperative clause, which *rengga* cannot, as illustrated in (47c).

(47) a. *Ba na- laku rengga hi na- njoru wàngu*[237]
CNJ 3SN- go move fast CNJ 3SN- fall with
'Because he moved (too) fast, he fell' (lit. 'As he goes (and) moves fast he falls with (it)')

b. *Ba na- laku **pa.**rengga.ng hi na- njoru wàngu*
CNJ 3SN go **pa.**move fast CNJ 3SN- fall with
'Because he hurried (too much) he fell'

c. ***Pa.**rengga!* * *Rengga!*
Hurry (up)! * Go fast!

In (48a) the V1 *laku* is modified by the temporal expression *rudung* 'night/be night'. In (48b) *pa.rudung* is the causative V2.

(48) a. *Laku rudung*
go (be) night
'Go by night/while it is night'

b. *Laku* ***pa.rudung***[238]
go **pa.**(be) night
'Be gone until the night' (lit.: 'Go (and) cause it to be night')

Additional examples of serial verb constructions with a derived V2 in (49)—(52) show that a derivation with *pa.* in V2 position is often used to express resultative notions.

(49) *Pani* ***pa.kababa*** *-ya!*
tell **pa.**be short -3SA
'Summarise it!' (lit.: 'Tell (and) make it brief')

(50) *Na- puhi* ***pa.rihi.ng*** *-pa*
3SN- put in **pa.**be more.ng -IMPF
'She puts in even more' (context: she puts more stuff in the bag than she did yesterday)

(51) *Palu* ***pa.meti*** *-ya!*
hit **pa.**die -3SA
'Hit him dead!'

(52) *...ka ku-kokur*[239] ***pa.mananda*** ***pa.hàmu.ng***
CNJ 1SN-coconut **pa.**be beautiful **pa.**be good.ng
'...that I'll oil (myself to become) beautiful and nice'

Finally, the structural properties of lexicalised derivations do not differ from the productively derived verbs — lexicalised derivations may also be both V1 and V2 in serial verb constructions. This is illustrated in (53) and (54) respectively:

(53) ***Pa.lài*** *nyara -ha da ahu la mbomang*
run chase -3SA ART dog LOC space under house[240]
'He chased the dogs under the house'

(54) *Ba meti* ***pa.ngalang*** *-bia -nanya-ka làti*
CNJ die continue -MOD -3S.CONT-PRF in fact
'In fact, he just died straight away'

To summarise, in this section we have seen that the majority of the verbs that are productively derived with *pa.* and are part of a serial verb construction, occur in V2

position and have a causative/resultative interpretation. However, *pa.ita.ng*[241] 'show (X) to Y' in (45b) shows that derived verbs may also occur as V1. Derived forms with a volitional/intensive interpretation and the lexicalised derivations also occur both as V1 and as V2. The conclusion is that the variable interpretation of the derived verbs is not dependent on their position in a serial verb construction. Yet, the tendency is that *pa.*verbs in serial verb constructions have a causative reading, occur as V2, and express resultative notions.

6.1.5. Conclusions

We have seen that the base of a derivation with *pa.* can be a stative or active intransitive verb, a noun, an item from a minor category, or a transitive verb. Prefixing *pa.* may have different effects: (i) it may change the valency of the verb by adding one argument, i.e. a causative, factitive or permissive verb is derived, and (ii) it may change the semantic features of the verb (i.e. by making the AGENT of the base verb more volitional).

The majority of the Kambera verbs with a causative/factitive reading are derived from intransitive or non-verbal bases, whereas the derivations with a more volitional/intensive reading prefer to have a transitive verb as their base. The choice of a certain base is not subcategorially determined but is rather a tendency: there are exceptions to this pattern — derived verbs with a transitive base may acquire a causative interpretation, verbs derived from an intransitive may stay intransitive with an intensive reading.

The derived verbs can be the lexical head of main and subordinate clauses[242] in any of their interpretations and regardless whether or not they are lexicalised forms. In serial verb constructions they can be either the first or the second verb, though the second position is favoured.

On the basis of these distributional facts we can say that despite its different interpretations, derivation with *pa* is one morphological process. It should not be characterised in terms of valency change, but as adding control or volitionality to the semantics of the verb. Prefix *pa.* thus derives verbs by changing the semantic features of the base verb. The semantic link between the causative/factitive function of *pa.* and its intensive/volitional reading is that both interpretations need a controlling, volitional AGENT. Thus, the valency increase is just a possible secondary effect of *pa.* prefixation.[243]

6.2. The morpheme *.ng*

6.2.1. Introduction

In this section I discuss the nasal morpheme *.ng*. We will see that this morpheme has many different functions but that its major function is to derive verbs. This function is discussed first, in section 6.2.2. When *.ng* is suffixed to verbal or nominal bases, the

result is an applicative verb. In Kambera, applicative derivation adds an object argument to the verb. The nasal morpheme is not simply an applicative morpheme. When it is suffixed to deictic elements, quantifiers and prepositional nouns it has a general verbalising function (section 6.2.3). In other words, the suffixation of the nasal allows for an additional argument for the derived form. In section 6.4 some hypotheses concerning the origin of the nasal suffix are formulated.

In the citation form of the applicative verbs the nasal is present. The citation form, taken to be the underlying form, is identical to the surface form if the applicative object is indefinite or implicit, i.e. not marked with a clitic, as in (55a). Below we will see that in the majority of cases, applicative verbs are cliticised with their object (most sentences below are from actual discourse). In such cases, the nasal suffix 'disappears', as in (55b). The clitic that marks applicative objects is the dative clitic, a prenasalised form.

(55) a. *Jàka ngga- nggamu bia, nda na- wua.**ng** -a*
if RDP- who MOD NEG 3sN- give to -MOD
'He doesn't give it to just anyone'

b. *Na- wua -ngga [na njara]*
3sN- give to -1sD ART horse
'He gives me the horse'

In (56a,b) the applicative verb *pa.ngàndi.ng*[244] has an implicit object which is not cliticised on the verb, hence the nasal is visible. In (56c) the object is explicit and marked on the verb with the enclitic *-nya*, to the expense of the nasal suffix.

(56) a. *Da- kawàra pa.ngàndi.**ng** hurat*
3pN- both pa.take.**ng** letter
'They both send letters/they send each other letters'

b. *Lupa pa.ngàndi.**ng** -nanya -ka bi kareuk*
until pa.take.ng -3s.CONT -PRF real talk

weli yohung hu papa
move from here LOC yonder
'Until he sent a message from here to there'

c. *Lupa pa.ngàndi -na$_i$ -nya$_k$ -ka [bi kareuk]$_j$*
until send -3sG -3sD -PRF real talk
'Until he$_i$ sent him$_k$ that message$_j$'

The only formal contrast between (56b,c) is that in (56b) the nasal morpheme is present. Their interpretation differs in that (56b) the object is implied: *-nanya* has only one referent — the S is expressed by the 'continuative aspect construction' where *nya*

is not a referential morpheme (section 5.3). In (56c), however, *-nya* is referential: the object is not implied, as the translation shows.

In a sense, then, the nasal morpheme and the dative clitic are in complementary distribution. Therefore I discuss the nature of the dative clitic in section 6.2.5 Contrary to what a superficial look at the data might suggest, I argue that the dative clitic is *not* an assimilation of the nasal morpheme and the accusative clitic.

Three additional functions of the nasal morpheme have been attested and are discussed in section 6.2.6: (i) the nasal is attached to a verb to change its aspectual properties; (ii) the nasal is used in combination with verbal incorporation; and (iii) the nasal may be used for stylistic reasons. The first two of these are related to the applicative function of the nasal morpheme, the source of the third function is unknown.

6.2.2. The suffix *.ng*: applicative verbs and their bases

The predominant function of the nasal morpheme *.ng* is the derivation of applicative verbs. Kambera applicative verbs are derived from base words of various categories by adding a velar nasal to the base. The suffixation of the velar nasal changes the valency of the root/base by adding an extra (object) argument. In (57), (64) and (76) below we can see that applicatives are derived from both verbal and nominal bases.

6.2.2.1. Transitive bases

Applicative verbs that have a transitive verb as their base have two objects: a direct object, which is the semantic PATIENT (or THEME), and an applicative[245] object, semantically the GOAL/ RECIPIENT/ BENEFICIARY/ MALEFICIARY/ LOCATION (section 3.4.2).[246] Not only roots, but also formally derived verbs (such as *pa.ní* 'tell X' and *pa.ndoi* 'do/make X' in (57)) can be the base of an applicative derivation. In a case like *rongu* 'hear X' the base object is inanimate while the applicative object of *rongu.ng* is animate.

(57) Applicatives from transitive bases[247]

bunggah	'open X'	*bunggahu.ng*	'open (X) for Y'
himbu	'search for X'	*himbu.ng*	'search (X) for Y's benefit'
wua	'give X'	*wua.ng*	'give (X) to Y'
butuh	'pull out X'	*butuhu.ng*	'pull out (X) for Y'
tú	'put X'	*tu.ng*	'put (X) in Y/in front of Y'
ngàndi	'take X'	*ngàndi.ng*	'take (X) to Y'
kei	'buy/receive X'	*kei.ng*	'buy (X) for Y'
palu	'hit X'	*palu.ng*	'hit (X) for Y'
ràma	'touch X'	*ràma.ng*	'do/prepare (X) for Y'
liti	'step on X'	*liti.ng*	'step (on X) for Y'

hàha	'stamp down X'	*hàha.ng*	'stuff Y/cram Y (with X)'
tàru	'watch X'	*tàru.ng*	'find/get (X) for Y'
rongu	'hear X (inanimate)'	*rongu.ng*	'hear Y (animate)'
piti	'take X'	*piti.ng*	'take (X) for Y'
pa.ní	'tell X'	*pa.ní.ng*	'tell (X) to Y'
pa.ndoi	'do/make X'	*pa.ndoi.ng*	'do/make (X) for Y'
la.muji	'suck (on) X'	*la.muji.ng*	'suck (X) for Y'

The interaction between causative and applicative derivation will be the topic of section 6.3 below.

As we have seen, only definite NPs are cross-referenced in Kambera (section 3.3). An applicative verb can have maximally two object clitics attached to it, but if there is only one object clitic, that clitic marks the applicative object. The base object is then either indefinite or implied. As always, NPs that are cross-referenced by the clitics are optional.

Consider the sentences in (58). The (causative) applicative verb *pa.ngàndi.ng* 'send (X) to Y' in (58a) has an indefinite direct object (i.e. *ma-mbotu* 'difficulties'), the subject NP is *da tau akat* 'the bad people'. The indirect object is implied — the applicative morpheme *.ng* is present, but there is no pronominal clitic that marks the indirect object.[248] This sentence contains the applicative verb in its nasalised citation form. The sentences (58b,c,d) show how objects are cross-referenced on the verb. In (58b) the direct object of the transitive root verb *ngàndi* 'take X' is cross-referenced with the clitic *-ya*, while in (58c) the indirect object of the derived applicative verb *ngàndi.ng* 'take (X) to Y' is marked with clitic *-nya*. Its coreferent NP is *i Ama*, which is optionally present, as the brackets indicate. In (58d) both objects are cross-referenced, the indirect object preceding the direct object. Note that in this case the *direct* object is also marked with the dative clitic, instead of the expected accusative. This is because in Kambera clitic clusters the second pronominal enclitic 'slot' should always contain a dative clitic.[249, 250]

(58) a. *Da-pa.ngàndi.ng* [*ma-mbotu*] [*da tau akat*] [*la hangga-na i Ala*]$_{PP}$
3pN-send RMS-heavy ART person be bad LOC front-3sG ART God
'The bad people cause trouble to God' (lit.: 'The bad people send what is heavy to the front of God')

b. *Da-* *ngàndi* *-ya*$_j$ [*na* *uhu*]$_j$
3pN- take -3sA ART rice
'They bring the rice'

c. *Da-* *ngàndi* *-nya*$_k$ [*na* *uhu*]$_j$ [*i* *Ama*]$_k$
3pN- take for -3sD ART rice ART father
'They bring father$_k$ the rice$_j$'

d. *I* *Ama* *na-* *ngàndi* *-ngga* *-nya*
ART father 3sN- take for -1sD -3sD
'Father brings it to me'

The dative clitic that cross-references the indirect object in applicative constructions encodes two things at the same time — the fact that the verb underlyingly ends in a nasal and the fact that the verb has a definite (applicative) object, rather than an indefinite or implicit one. The status of the applicative morpheme, the dative clitics and their mutual interaction will be further discussed in section 6.2.4 and 6.2.5 below.

Consider the sentences in (59). In (59a) the transitive base verb is used and the direct object is marked with an accusative clitic *-ya*, while in (59b) the clitic *-ngga* marks the BENEFICIARY of the applicative verb (the direct object is now expressed as an NP). In (59c) both the applicative object (*-ngga*) and the direct object (*-nya*) are marked on the verb.

(59) a. *I* *Ama* *na-* *kei* *-ya*$_j$ [*na* *menja*]$_j$
ART father 3sN- buy -3sA ART table
'Father buys the table'

b. *I* *Ama* *na-* *kei* *-ngga*$_k$ [*na* *menja*]$_j$
ART father 3sN- buy for -3pD ART table
'Father buys the table (for) me'

c. *I* *Ama* *na-* *kei* *-ngga* *-nya*
ART father 3sN- buy for -1sD -3sD
'Father buys it (for) me'

The applicative may also be used to distinguish between inanimate and animate objects. In (60a) the object of the verb *rongu* 'hear X' is inanimate, a sound, whereas the object of the applicative *rongu.ng* in (60b) is animate:

(60) a. *Na-* *rongu* *-ya*$_j$ [*na* *kareuku* *-na*$_k$]$_j$
3sN- hear -3sA ART talk -3sG
'She hears his talking'

b. *Na-* *rongu* *-nya*$_k$ [*kareuku* *-na*$_k$]$_j$
3sN- hear (animate) -3sD talk -3sG
'She hears him talking' (lit.: She hears him [his talking])[251]

This does not imply that all Kambera applicative objects are (or have to be) [+animate], as the inanimate applicative objects in (62c), (67), (72b), etc. show.

The sentences in (61) illustrate different uses of the verb *palu* 'hit X'. In (61a) it is transitive, and the clitic *-ya* refers to the PATIENT. *Palu ahu* in (61b) is an idiomatic expression for 'kill a dog (by hitting it on the head)'; the clitic *-nya* refers to the applicative object.

(61) a. *Na- palu -ya$_j$ [na ahu]$_j$*
3sN- hit -3sA ART dog
'She hits the dog'

b. *Na- palu -nya$_k$ ahu$_j$*
3sN- hit for -3sD dog
'She kills a dog for him$_k$'

(62) illustrates some word order possibilities of objects NPs (see also section 3.5). The order in (62a) where the object NP occurs postverbally, is the unmarked order. Variation in the order of NPs is used to express 'focus' on certain arguments, as in (62b).[252] Sentence (62c) shows that when the indirect object (*na mbola* 'the basket') is marked on the verb, both object NPs are postverbal[253] and the direct object NP precedes the indirect object NP. (62d) shows that a subject in an applicative verb may be marked with a genitive enclitic. The direct object NP in this sentence is *uhu-da* 'their food'.

(62) a. *Na- tu -ya$_j$ [na epi]$_j$ [la pinu menja]$_{PP}$*
3sN- put -3sA ART fire LOC top table
'He puts the lamp on the table'

b. *[Na tinta*[254]*]$_j$ na$_i$- tu -nya$_k$ [na pena]$_k$ [i Ama]$_i$*
ART ink 3sN- put in -3sD ART pen ART father
'Father put THE INK in the pen'

c. *Ku- tu -nya$_k$ [ihi -na$_k$]$_j$ [na mbola]$_k$*
1sN- put in -3sD content -3sG ART basket
'I filled the basket' (lit.: 'I put (its) content in the basket')

d. *Tu -na -nja$_k$ [uhu -da]$_j$ [da wei]$_k$*
put at -3sG -3pD rice(GENERIC) -3pG ART pig
'He feeds the pigs' (lit.: 'He puts (their) food at the pigs')

The sentences in (63) contain the base verb *wua* 'give X' and its derivation *wua.ng* 'give (X) to Y'.

(63) a. *Na- wua -ya$_j$ [na njara]$_j$*
3sN- give -3sA ART horse
'He gives the horse (away)'

b. *Na- wua -ngga na njara*
3sN- give to -1sD ART horse
'He gives me the horse'

c.? *Na- wua -ngga -nya na njara*
3SN- give to -1SD -3SD ART horse
'He gives me the horse'

d. *Na- wua -ngga -nya*
3SN- give to -1SD -3SD
'He gives it (to) me'

e. *...ba ku- wua tau*
CNJ 1SN- give person
'...when I give a wife (away)' (lit.: 'When I give a person (away)'[255])

f. *Jàka ngga- nggamu bia, nda na- wua.ng -a*
if RDP- who MOD NEG 3SN- give to -MOD
'He doesn't give it to just anyone'

The base verb in (63a) is a transitive verb with only one (THEME) object *na njara* 'the horse'. The derived applicative verb *wua.ng* has an additional indirect object (GOAL/RECIPIENT). In (63b) the verb is applicative and the clitic *-nya* refers to the recipient of the horse, not to the horse itself.

Observe that only the indirect object is marked on the verb here; the direct object NP *na njara* 'the horse' is definite but not cross-referenced on the verb. Sentence (59c) showed that it is possible to crossreference both objects simultaneously; which would render (63c) or (63d). If both objects are pronominal, this is fine (63d). But in case one object is pronominal and the other an NP (e.g. because it is 'new information': *na njara* in (63c)), the object NP is usually not crossreferenced. In general, if only one object NP is cross-referenced, crossreferencing the indirect object is preferred over the direct object (see section 3.3, 3.5.1).

The sentences (63e,f) exemplify indefinite objects. In (63e) the transitive verb *wua* has an indefinite direct object and no indirect object, in (63f) the applicative verb *wua.ng* is used and the indirect object is indefinite. It is the NP *ngga-nggamu* 'anyone' (lit.: 'who (ever)') that is contained in the left dislocated phrase *jàka ngga-nggamu -bia* 'just anyone'.

6.2.2.2. Intransitive bases

Applicative verbs can also be derived from an intransitive base. In (64) we can see that this base may either be morphologically simple or formally derived. The applicative object is the GOAL/SOURCE/BENEFICIARY/MALEFICIARY/LOCATION argument. The base verb may be an active verb (e.g. *pangga* 'walk') or a non-active/stative verb (*njoru* 'fall/topple'). Non-controlled achievement verbs, derived with the prefix [*nas*] can be the base for an applicative derivation (e.g. *m.bera* 'be broken', *m.binu* 'be full/filled', cf. section 6.9).[256] In contrast to this, agentless/unexpected achievement verbs, derived with the prefix *ta.* (cf. section 6.10) cannot become applicatives.

(64) Applicatives from intransitive bases

riki	'laugh'	*riki.**ng***	'laugh at/about Y'
hei	'go up'	*hei.**ng***	'climb Y'
luhu	'leave'	*luhu.**ng***	'leave Y'
beli	'return'	*beli.**ng***	'return to work on/for Y'
tama	'enter, go into'	*tama.**ng***	'enter Y'
àhi	'sneeze'	*àhi.**ng***	'sneeze on (*for) Y'
tànggi	'cough'	*tànggi.**ng***	'cough on Y'
hí	'cry'	*hi.**ng***	'cry about/for Y'
mbeni	'be angry'	*mbeni.**ng***	'be angry at X'
muta	'vomit'	*muta.**ng***	'vomit Y/vomit on Y'
bàtir	'be rude'	*bàtiru.**ng***	'be rude to Y'
uhuk	'sit'	*uhuku.**ng***	'sit on Y'
pangga	'walk'	*pangga.**ng***	'trespass on/violate Y'
ndolak	'stand up'	*ndolaku.**ng***	'stand up for Y'
ma.ndapu	'sit'	*ma.ndapu.**ng***	'settle on Y'
pa.lài	'run'	*pa.lài.**ng***	'run after Y'
pa.banjar	'talk'	*pa.banjaru.**ng***	'talk about Y'
ka.tuda	'sleep'	*ka.tuda.**ng***	'sleep on Y'
ka.linjik	'jump'	*ka.linjiku.**ng***	'pounce/jump over Y'
ka.tambul	'listen/prick ears'	*ka.tambulu.**ng***	'prick one's ears for Y'
ma.ngilu	'go in front/advance'	*ma.ngilu.**ng***	'advance w. respect to Y'
tàka	'arrive'	*tàka.**ng***	'arrive at Y'
mbinu	'be full/filled'	*mbinu.**ng***	'fill X'
ka.rudu.k	'(be) stoop(ed)'	*ka.ruduku.**ng***	'bow for/obey Y'
njàka	'be scarce'	*njàka.**ng***	'X is scarce for Y'/ 'Y lacks X'
njoru	'fall/topple'	*njoru.**ng***	'fall for Y'
mbera	'be broken'	*mbera.**ng***	'break for Y'
njuda	'be tired'	*njuda.**ng***	'be tired as result of Y'
màuku	'be drunk/dizzy'	*màuku.**ng***	'be dizzy as result of Y'
tatik	'be sleepy'	*tatiku.**ng***	'be sleepy as result of Y'
ta.mbulu	'sink/be sunk'	* *ta.mbulu.**ng***	—
ta.lihu	'stream/stick out'	* *ta.lihu.**ng***	—
ta.pàlang	'be(come) chaotic'	* *ta.pàla.**ng***	—

Sentences (65)—(67) illustrate some of the possible semantic roles of applicative objects — in (65) it is a MALEFICIARY, in (66) a BENEFICIARY and in (67) a LOCATION.

(65) *Ku- bàtir -nggau tai!*
1SN- be rude to -2SD later
'I'll get mad at you!'

(66) *Na- ndolak -nya$_k$ [na ana rara]$_k$*
3SN- stand up for -3SD ART child red
'He stands up for the baby ('s benefit)'

(67) *Na- mandapu -nya$_k$ [na tana yena]$_k$*
3SN- sit on -3SD ART ground DEI.3S
'He settles on this land'

Sentences (68)—(71) show non-controlled achievement verbs in applicative constructions.

(68) *Njàka -na$_i$ -ngga$_k$ [ana kapu]$_i$ duku$_k$*
be scarce to -3SG -1SD DIM chalk EMP.1S
'I lack some chalk' (lit. 'A little chalk is scarce to me')

(69) *Na-$_i$ mbinu*[257] *-nya$_k$ pa-ngangu$_i$ [na uma]$_k$*
3SN- fill -3SD RMO-eat ART house
'The house is filled with food' (lit.: 'Food fills the house')

(70) *Na$_i$- njoru -nya$_k$ -ka au$_i$, na$_i$- mbera -nya$_k$ -ka mbàlu$_i$*
3SN- fall for -3SD -PRF fireplace 3SN-break for -3SD -PRF jar
'The fireplace$_i$ falls down for her$_k$, the jar$_i$ breaks for her$_k$' (poetic)[258]

(71) *Ku- mauku -nya$_k$ [na kareuk -na]$_k$*
1SN- be drunk/dizzy from -3SD ART talk -3SG
'I am dizzy from his talking'

The contrasting sentences in (72) below show that a LOCATION (SOURCE/GOAL) may be expressed either with a prepositional phrase, as in (72a), or as the object of an applicative verb, as in (72b). The translations given express the semantic difference between the two constructions, *luhu weling la Y* means 'come out of Y' while *luhu.ng* means 'leave Y'.

(72) a. *Ba na- luhu -ka [weling*[259] *[la pindu uma]]$_{PP}$ nú*
CNJ 3SN- leave -PRF move from LOC door house DEI
'When he came out of the house door...'

b. *Ndedi na- luhu -nya$_k$ [na omang]$_k$*
not yet 3SN- leave from -3SD ART wood
'He had not left the forest yet'

Consider the sentences in (73) below. In (73a) the verb is intransitive and the LOCATION/SOURCE *kanjaka* 'chair' is part of a prepositional phrase. In (73b) the verb is applicative and the pronominal clitic *-nya* refers to the GOAL. The GOAL of the verb is not *tana* 'ground' or *la tana* 'on the ground' but a piece of wood on the ground.

Thus, *tana* is part of a locative PP which is the modifier of the applicative object in (73b).

(73) a. *Na- kapunduh [weling la kanjaka]*$_{PP}$
3sN- jump move from LOC chair
'He jumps from the chair'

b. *Na- kapunduh -nya*$_j$ *[na ài [la tana]* $_{PP}$ *]*$_j$
3sN- jump on -3sD ART wood LOC ground
'He jumps on the (piece of) wood on the ground'

The sentences in (74)—(75) are additional illustrations of the difference between locational adjuncts and arguments. In (74a) *ngia pa-katuda* 'bed' is part of a locational PP. In (74b) the verb is applicative and *ngia pa-katuda* is the applicative object, a [+Affected] GOAL, which is cross-referenced on the verb with the dative pronominal clitic *-nya*.

(74) a. *Na- katuda kawài [la ngia pa-katuda -mu]*$_{PP}$
3sN- sleep just now LOC place RMO-sleep -3sG
'He slept just now on your bed' (bed is location)

b. *Na- katuda -nya*$_j$ *kawài [na ngia pa-katuda -mu]*$_j$
3sN- sleep on -3sD just now ART place RMO-sleep -3sG
'He slept on your bed just now' (bed is affected)

In (75) illustrations are given of the applicative verb *tàka.ng* 'arrive at Y'. In (75a) the location is either the king or the place where he lives, but in (75b) it can only be interpreted as the king himself. In (75c,d) we can see a minimal pair. (75c) has an applicative object clitic *-nya* without a coreferent NP. (The LOCATION argument is identified in the adjunct PPs but PPs are not crossreferenced). In (75d) the applicative object clitic has a referent NP: *na tana* 'the land'.

(75) a. *Jia tàka -ma-ki-a -nda tai [la maramba]*$_{PP}$
EXIST arrive -EMP-MOD-MOD -1pG later LOC king
'In a flash we'll arrive at the king('s)' (context: fairy tale)

b. *Ba na- tàka -nya*$_j$ *-ka [na maramba]*$_j$
CNJ 3sN- arrive at -3sD -PRF ART king
'When he arrived at the king'

c. *Da- hili tàka -nya*$_j$ *-i*
3pN- again arrive at -3sD -ITER
'Then they also arrived there$_j$,

[*la Tana Patu Tawa*]$_{PP}$ [*la Awa Patu Ndàni*]$_{PP}$
LOC land four layer LOC heaven four storey
at the four-layered earth, the four-storeyed heaven'[260]

d. *Da- hili tàka -nya$_j$* [*na Tana*]$_j$
3pN- again arrive at -3sD ART land
'Then they arrived at the earth$_j$

[*la Tilu Tawa*]$_{PP}$ [*la Awa Patu Ndàni*]$_{PP}$
LOC three layer LOC heaven four storey
[at the three layers] [at the three storeyed heaven]'

In sum, an applicative construction does not exclude the presence of a locative prepositional phrase: they can both occur in the same clause. We will see that the same morpheme is also used with a general verbalising function (making verbs of deictic elements, quantifiers and prepositional nouns, section 6.2.3). These are indications that there is no derivational relation between the applicative morpheme and a preposition in Kambera.

6.2.2.3. Nominal bases

The applicative morpheme *.ng* may also derive a verb from a nominal base, as illustrated in (76).

(76) Applicatives from nouns

ana	'child'	*ana.**ng***	'have Y as child'
angu	'friend/companion'	*angu.**ng***	'have Y as friend'
ina	'mother'	*ina.**ng***	'have Y as mother'
muhu	'enemy'	*muhu.**ng***	'have Y as enemy'
lihi	'side'	*lihi.**ng***	'be at side of/near Y'
huduk	'crack/space between'	*huduku.**ng***	'stick Y crack'
tilu	'egg'	*tilu.**ng***	'lay Y as egg/ lay egg on Y'
tamu	'name'	*tamu.**ng***	'have name Y'
lodu	'day'	*lodu.**ng***	'have day Y' (e.g. with a certain assignment)
tana	'land'	*tana.**ng***	'have/own land Y'
luku	'river'	*luku.**ng***	'have/own river Y'
ka.ria	'mate'	*ka.ria.**ng***	'accompany Y'
ka.bela	'sword'	*ka.bela.**ng***	'have (as) sword Y'
ka.tàka	'axe'	*ka.tàka.**ng***	'have (as) axe Y'
ka.tiku	'head'	*ka.tiku.**ng***	'consider Y as head/important'

In (77)—(80) denominal applicative verbs are used in declarative main clauses. In (81), (82) and (83) the applicative is part of a relative clause with an overt object. The object is expressed by the dative clitic *-nya* or *-nda*.

(77) *Na-$_j$ ana -nya$_k$ [na anakeda [na pa-ita]$_{Srel}$]$_{NPk}$*
3sN- child -3sD ART child ART RMO-see
'The child that was seen is her child'
(lit.:'She$_j$ 'childs' [the child that was seen]$_k$)

(78) *...hi na$_j$- angu -nya$_k$*
CNJ 3sN- companion -3sD
'...so he$_j$ is friends with him$_k$' (lit.'So he$_j$ 'friends' him$_k$)

(79) *[Na panyaki]$_j$, na$_j$- muhu -ma -nda$_k$[261] nyuta$_k$*
ART illness 3sN- enemy -EMP -1pD we
'Illness is inimical to us' (lit.: 'Illness 'enemies' us')

(80) *Katiku -nya$_k$ [na woka]$_k$*
head -3sD ART garden
'Consider the garden most important'

(81) *Ngga na ma- ana -nya$_k$?*
who ART RMS- child -3sD
'Whose child is she$_k$?' (lit. 'Who (is) the (one) that is child to her$_k$?')

(82) *Na ma- ina -nya$_k$*
ART RMS- be mother -3sD
'The one whose mother she$_k$ is' (lit. 'The (one) that is mother to her$_k$?')

(83) *Na ma-tana -nya$_k$ [na tana]$_k$,*
ART RMS-land -3sD ART land
'The (one who) owns the land,

na ma- luku -nya$_k$ [na luku]$_k$
ART RMS- river -3sD ART river
the (one who) owns the river, i.e. the creator'
(lit. the (one) that 'lands' the land, the (one) that 'rivers' the river)

(84) and (85a) illustrate some verbs in their non-finite use — without an object clitic, retaining their nasal affix. The verbs in (84) have indefinite objects (the NPs do not have an article) that are not cross-referenced on the verb. The verb *tilu.ng* 'lay X as an egg' has *watu* 'stone' as its indefinite object in (85a), whereas in (85b,c) it is definite. Note that the object in (85b) is a semantic PATIENT, whereas the object in (85c) is a LOCATION. This suggests that the thematic properties of the object of a denominal applicative verb may vary, depending on the context.

(84) *Na ma-kabela.**ng*** *wú* *-na,* *na* *ma-kataka.**ng*** *ngàndu-na*[262]
ART RMS-sword.**ng** nail -3SG ART RMS-axe.**ng** teeth-3SG
'The (one) who uses his nails as a sword, his teeth as an axe'

(85) a. *Na-* *tilu.**ng*** *watu*
3SN- egg.**ng** stone
'She lays pebbles as (if they were) eggs' (context: fairy tale)

b. *Na-* *tilu* *-nya*$_k$ *-ka* [*na* *watu*]$_k$
3SN- egg -3SD -PRF ART stone
'She laid the stone as if it were an egg'

c. *Na-* *tilu* *-nya*$_k$ [*na* *watu*]$_k$
3SN- egg -3SD ART stone
'She laid eggs on the stone/rock'

In conclusion, applicative verbs are derived from verbal and nominal bases. Apart from deriving applicative verbs, however, the morpheme *.ng* also derives other kinds of verbs. This will be discussed in the next subsection.

6.2.3. The verbalisation of deictics, quantifiers and prepositional nouns

The suffix *.ng* does not only derive applicative verbs. It also has a more general verbalising function when attached to deictic elements, quantifiers and prepositional nouns. (86) illustrates two deictic verbs derived by affixing *.ng* to a deictic element:

(86) *ni* DEI 'at speaker' → *ni.**ng*** 'be where speaker is'
nàmu DEI 'towards speaker' → *nàmu.**ng*** 'move towards speaker'

Deictic verbs indicate a motion or a location. Although they are derived by a nasal morpheme, they differ from the applicatives discussed in the previous sections because they are intransitive, and, as discussed in section 5.2, have a dative S. The verbalisation of quantifiers is illustrated in (87). The quantifying expression *mbu(lu) ndàba* 'all' in (87a) contains two quantifying nouns: *mbu(lu)* 'completed entity' *ndàba* 'all'. *Ndàba* is verbalised into the stative intransitive verb *ndàba.ng* 'be gathered' in (87b). Note that the S of this verb is marked with the dative clitic *-nja*, like the deictic verbs in (86) above. In (87c) *mbulu* 'completed entity' is verbalised into the active intransitive verb *mbulu.ng* 'gather'. The S is nominative here.

(87) a. *Mbulu* *ndàba* *-da* *da* *ma-* *hamayang...*
completed entity (Q) all (Q) -3PG ART RMS- pray
'All of them who pray'

b. *Jia hàmu-ya*[263] *ba ndàba* ***-nja*** *ba tàru -ya*
EXIST good-3sA CNJ be gathered -3pD CNJ watch -3sA
'Incredible, (how) they were all looking at him' (lit.: 'It is good, that they were gathered and watched him')

c. ***Ta-*** *mbulu.ng la uma -mu nyumu tai*
1pN- gather LOC house -2sG you later
'We will gather in your house'

In (88a) the root verb *kudu* 'be small' modifies a noun. In (88b,c) the mass noun quantifier *hakudu* 'a little bit' is used. In (88c,d) the derived verb *hakudu.ng* 'be a small amount' is used.[264] The predicate of the relative clause in (88e) is non-verbalised *ha.kudu*, while in (88f) it is the verb *ha.kudu.ng*. I do not have an explanation for this variation.

(88) a. *Uma kudu* (* *uma kudu.**ng***)
house be small
'A small house'

b. *Wài ha.kudu -na*
water a little bit -3sG
'A little (bit of) water'

c. *Wài* ***ha.kudu.ng***
water be a small amount
'A small water' (e.g. a small well or stream)

d. *Watar* ***ha.kudu.ng***
corn be a small amount
'A small amount of corn'

e. *Ndui da ma- ha.kudu*
money ART RMS- a little bit
'A small sum of money' (lit. 'Money that is a little bit')

f. *Tau na ma-* ***hakudu.ng***
person ART RMS- be a small amount
'People that are few'

The suffix *.ng* also derives verbs from prepositional nouns (cf. section 4.5). This is illustrated in (89)–(91). In the (a) sentences the prepositional nouns are part of a PP, in the (b) sentences they have become verbs. Observe that the derived verbs may be used transitively (cf. (89b), (91b)), and intransitively (cf. (90b)).

(89) a. [*La* *wawa* *kotak*]$_{PP}$ *-ya*
LOC down village -3sA
'He (is) below the village'

b. *Na-* *wawa* ***-nya*** $_{k}$ [*na* *njara*]$_{k}$
3sN- down -3sD ART horse
'He sits on the lower (i.e. back) end of the horse' (i.e. not in the middle)

(90) a. *Laku* [*hu* *papa*]$_{PP}$
go DIR one of a pair
'Go yonder' (*hu papa* 'yonder (dir.)')

b. *Na* *maramba* *na* *ma-* *papa.**ng***
ART king ART RMS- be yonder
'The king that lives yonder'

(91) a. *Ni* *-nya* [*la* *hangga* *uma*]$_{PP}$
be -3sD LOC front house
'It is in front of the house'

b. *...ba* *na-* *hangga* ***-nja***$_{k}$ [*da* *tau* *dua* *banjar*]$_{k}$
CNJ 3sN- confront -3pD ART person two a people
'...when he confronts the two groups of people'

6.2.4. The history of *.ng*

According to Onvlee (1925:XXXVII-XLIII) the nasal suffix was originally a nasal morpheme (*-n*), marking a third person singular object on the verb "..which in some related languages (like the language of Kupang) is attested as *-n*." (Onvlee 1925:XXXVII, translation mine). In a footnote, Onvlee provides the following illustrations from the language of Kupang (West-Timor) (original transcription):

(92) *Auk-dati-n*
'They tear him'

(93) *Oen* *pisu-n*
'I kill him'

According to Onvlee (ibid.), Kambera cognates of this pronominal marker *.n* are the third person singular pronominal markers *na-* and *-na* which are still in use now.[265] He further supposes that the marker *.n* was in use as an object marker before the present-day *-ya*. Attached to a verb, it was of course the typical characteristic of transitive verbs, and this may have been the reason why it became a means to transitivise intransitive verbs.

Assuming that in Kambera, like in many other Austronesian languages, final nasal consonants have been neutralised into the velar [ŋ] (cf. section 2.2.1), a result of this neutralisation process may have been that the object marker/transitive morpheme [n] became [ŋ]. Originally, the object marking was a typical property of transitive verbs. In some cases, however, reinterpretation of the marker resulted in it being used to transitivise intransitive verbs and nouns, and thus it became a morpheme that productively derives transitive (applicative) verbs, i.e. our applicative suffix *.ng*.

In (94) and (95) some words ending in a nasal are given. Although the exact origin and/or the status of the final nasal in these words is not always clear, one thing is certain — they are not productively derived applicative verbs because they do not have an independently used base form, and the intransitive verbs in (95) do not have an object. The nasal in these forms is thus a lexical consonant.

(94) Non-applicative transitive verbs ending in a lexical nasal

danggang	'sell X'	*pàdang*	'feel/experience X'
wàrung	'throw X away'	*monung*	'(build) hope (on) X'
pawang	'head flock X'	*dundang*	'invite X'
rinjung	'wish/long for X'	*tobung*	'kill horse/buffalo'
màtang	'leave alone X'	*kamang*	'try/test X'
mbuhang	'want/like X'	*kunggulung*	'roll X'
mbuting	'be prepared for'	*rimang*	'be careful/ watch out for X'
àling	'take off X'		
pànjang	'stop X'	*ngalang*	'get/receive X'
lowang	'spit out X/take X out of mouth'	*mbulang*	'be disappeared/ forget X'
kàning	'be right size (for X)'	*ngangu*	'eat X'
	'come loose/	*benging*	'wake up X'
àling	take off X'	*kawing*	'marry X'
hukung	'punish X'	*ha.mayang*	'pray (to X)'
runung	'dive (into) X'	*hanang*	'be happy (about X)'
unung	'drink X'		
tinung	'weave X'		

(95) Intransitive verbs ending in a lexical nasal

hadang	'get up'	*muhung*	'be rotten'
libung	'gallop/jump'	*tembang*	'be a fool/stupid'
ka.pùdang	'have eyes closed'	*todang*	'be a fool/stupid'
mutung	'burn (intr)'	*màndung*	'be strong/secure'
lumbung	'be deep'	*hawurung*	'fly'

Nowadays, [ŋ] is optional in some words, in particular in nouns. The reason for this may be that it (no longer) has a 'meaning' in nouns and that Kambera prefers phonotactically simple roots to complex ones (i.e. a CVCV root is prefered to a CVCVC

root, see section 2.2.1). In (96) some nouns with a final nasal are given. The nouns that have been attested both with and without a final nasal are represented with a nasal in brackets.

(96) Nouns ending in an (optional) nasal

awang	'heaven, sky'	*rimba(ng)*	'hunger/famine'
kurung	'room'	*tolung*	'meat'
liang	'cave'	(cf.: *tolu*	'flesh')
nulang	'pillow'	*wunang*	'priest'
ma.nulang	'dead skin/leather'	*wuru(ng)*	'pot/pan'
omang	'wood/forest'	*dua modung*	'day after tomorrow'
pulung	'word/message'	*mali(ng)*	'tonight/
rudu(ng)	'night'		late afternoon'
ndau(ng)	'year'		
wula(ng)	'moon/month'		
karu(ng)	'sack'		

The optionality of the final nasal in nouns is illustrated in (97) and (98). In the (a) sentences the nasal is present, in the (b) sentences it is absent.

(97) a. *La* *padua* ***rudung***
LOC middle night
'In the middle of the night'

b. *Tailu* *mbua* *rudu* *-na* *lai* *nú*
three CLF night -3SG LOC DEI
'He spent three nights there'

(98) a. *Na-* *ta.mbulu* *na* ***wulang***
3SN- be full ART moon
'The moon is full' (lit. it is full the moon)

b. *Wula* *ta.mbulu*
moon be full
'Full moon'

In sum, the final nasal consonant in Kambera has three different origins: (i) it may be a fossilised pronominal suffix (originally the object marker [n]); (ii) it may be a lexical consonant, i.e. a consonant that is part of the root (possibly a reduced form of various nasals in the proto-form), or (iii) it may be the productive 'applicative' morpheme *.ng* that was discussed above.

6.2.5. The dative clitic

6.2.5.1. Is the dative clitic derived from the accusative clitic?

The accusative clitic paradigm is almost[266] the dative paradigm minus a nasal, as shown in (99) (cf. section 3.3.1).

(99)

	accusative	**dative**
1s	*-ka*	*-ngga*
2s	*-kau*	*-nggau*
3s	*-ya*	*-nya*
1p(inc)	*-ta*	*-nda*
1p(exc)	*-kama*	*-nggama*
2p	*-ka(m)i*	*-ngga(m)i*
3p	*-ha*	*-nja*

Looking at these paradigms, the question immediately comes to mind whether it is possible to derive the dative paradigm from the accusative by either a phonological or a morpho-phonological merger rule. In other words, [*nas*] + accusative = dative (e.g. [*nas*] + [ja] → [nja]). In other words, there would only be one object clitic, the accusative, from which the dative is derived by merging with the nasal.[267]

This would not only account for the formal similarity between both object clitics, but also for the complementary distribution of the applicative nasal morpheme and the dative clitic in applicative constructions (as in (56b,c)). As was shown in the previous section, the nasal is *either* part of the non-finite applicative verb, *or* the applicative object is definite and marked by a dative clitic. The derivation in (100) gives an informal account of this.

(100) $[ŋ]_{\text{applicative morpheme}} + [ja]_{\text{object}} \rightarrow [nja]_{\text{applicative object}}$

This analysis would also account for the functional difference between accusative and dative clitics. Canonically, accusatives mark direct objects (semantic PATIENTs), whereas datives mark indirect (applicative) objects (semantic BENEFICIARY / GOAL / LOCATION), as the contrasting sentences (58b,c), (59a,b), (61a,b), (62a,b) etc. have shown.

At the same time, however, the verbs that end in a lexical nasal (cf. (94b) and (95b)), are not derived applicatives and they have maximally one object. Only because these verbs end in a nasal, their object is marked with a dative clitic and they drop their own nasal. In this case, then, the dative clitic does not refer to an indirect/applicative object, semantically a BENEFICIARY/GOAL/LOCATION. It just refers to the only object the verb has. In other words, there is no formal difference in the marking of the object of transitive verbs with a final nasal consonant on the one hand, and applicative verbs with a final nasal morpheme on the other. Consider the sentences in (101) and (102), where it is shown how the verbs *danggang* 'sell X' and *tinung* 'weave X' mark their only object. This object is a semantic PATIENT but, as the illustrations show, it is

marked with a dative clitic. In (101a) and (102a) the direct object is indefinite, i.e. not cliticised on the verb, in the other sentences it is definite and cliticised.

(101) a. *Na- danggang njara*
3SN- sell horse
'He sells horses'

b. *Na- dangga -nya$_{j/*k}$ [na njara]$_j$*
3SN- sell -3SD ART horse
'He sells the horse' (Not good for: 'He sells him$_k$ the horse$_j$')

c. *Na- dangga -nya$_j$ [na njara]$_j$ [lai nyuna]$_{PP}$*
3SN- sell -3SD ART horse LOC he
'He sells the horse$_j$ [to him]'

(102) a. *Na- tinung lau bùdi hi na- ngalang ndui*
3SN- weave sarong COND CNJ 3SN- receive money
'She should weave sarongs so she'd get money'

b. *Na- tinu -nya$_{j/*k}$ [na lau]$_j$*
3SN- weave -3SD ART sarong
'She weaves the sarong' (Not good for: 'She weaves her$_k$ the sarong$_j$')

c. *Tinu -na -nya$_{j/*k}$ [na lau]$_j$ [nduma -na nyuna]$_k$*
weave -3SG -3SD ART sarong share -3SG she
'She weaves the sarong$_j$ [for her]$_k$'

d. *Na-$_i$ tinu -nya$_{j/*i}$ [nyuna]$_i$ [na lau]$_j$*
3SN- weave -3SD she ART sarong
'SHE$_i$ has to weave the sarong$_j$'

In these sentences the dative clitic *-nya* refers to the direct object, which is the semantic PATIENT, as is indicated by the indices on the object clitics. The incorrect translations of sentences (101b) and (102b) show that they cannot have an applicative interpretation, i.e. the dative is exclusively marking the PATIENT direct object here; it cannot mark the indirect object (BENEFICIARY etc.). The indirect object of these verbs can only be expressed by a PP with a preposition like *lai* or the NP *nduma-na* 'her/his share, benefit'. This 'oblique' marking of the indirect object is shown in (101c,d) and (102c) respectively. In sentence (102d) the pronoun *nyuna* emphatically refers to the subject, not to the indirect object (the unmarked position for a subject NP is preverbal, the marked (emphatic) position is postverbal). This does not imply that transitive verbs which are not productively derived applicatives, always have a PATIENT object. In (103) this is illustrated with the verb *runung* 'dive'. The object of this verb is not only marked with a dative clitic, it also has the semantics of an applicative object. In (103a) it is a GOAL, in (103b) it is a BENEFICIARY, and in (103c,d) is a LOCATION.

(103) a. *Na- runu -nya$_k$ [na tawuru -na]$_k$ [la wài]$_{PP}$*
3SN- dive up -3SD ART ring -3SG LOC water
'He dived up his ring from the water'

b. *Na- runu mema -ngga*
3SN- dive up immediately -1SD
'He dived me up immediately'

c. *Na- runu -nya$_k$ [na omang]$_k$*
3SN- dive into -3SD ART wood
'He dives into the wood' (i.e. enters it & is absorbed by it)

d. *Na- runu -nya$_k$ [na wài mbangat]$_k$*
3SN- dive into -3SD ART water be strong
'He dives in(to) the fast-flowing stream' (lit. 'the strong water')

e. *Na- runung la tehik*
3SN- dive in LOC sea
'He dives in the sea'

To conclude, the dative clitic occurs more widely than in applicative constructions only. It does not only mark an object which is semantically a BENEFICIARY/GOAL etc., it also marks the PATIENT of verbs that end in a lexical nasal. The dative clitic can thus no longer be seen as the product of a morphological process where the applicative morpheme *.ng* is suffixed, followed by phonological merger with the accusative clitic. However, the name 'dative' is appropriate in as far as it reflects its core function, which is to mark the applicative object of productively derived applicative verbs.

We have thus seen that there is no productive morphological rule of [ŋ]-prefixation involved in determining the use and form of the dative clitic. This, however, does not exclude the possibility of the dative clitic being derived by a purely phonological rule, i.e. [ŋ] + Acc → Dat. (104a,b) illustrate this process, (104b) is ungrammatical.

(104) a. *Mbana tembang -kau*
very be foolish -2SA
'You're such a fool'

b. * *Mbana temba **-nggau***
very be foolish -2SD

For the sake of argument, let us assume for the moment that the dative is derived from the accusative by phonological fusion of nasal and accusative. Phonological fusion or merger usually takes place between elements that are linearly adjacent;[268] i.e. is not expected to occur when two elements are linearly non-adjacent. We will see that the nasalisation of the dative clitic does apply when it should not, and does not apply when it could.

In (105a) it is shown that, while the subject clitic *-da* intervenes (in strictly linear terms) between the applicative verb and dative object clitic, the verb and clitic have fused (i.e. the final nasal of the verb has 'disappeared'). (105b,c) are not alternative representations of (105a). In (105b) the final nasal of the verb is non-adjacent to *-ha* (because the subject clitic *-da* intervenes), so that it cannot be used to derive the form *-nya*. In fact, the nasal morpheme cannot be affixed to the pronominal (/modal/aspectual) clitic cluster at all. This is not surprising, since it is very unlikely that the base of an applicative derivation is a (nuclear) clause, let alone a clause minus its object. This is shown in (105c). In addition, recall that the subject of an applicative construction can also be a nominative proclitic (see (62) above). In that case, the applicative derivation must have the verb instead of the clause as its base. That is, we would have to assume two types of bases (i.e. verb or clause) for the same derivation, depending on whether the subject is nominative proclitic or a genitive enclitic. This makes (105c) even more unlikely. Finally, the pair in (105d,e) illustrates the property of the Kambera clitic cluster that the preferred form of the second postverbal clitic is dative, even if it refers to a PATIENT direct object.

(105) a. *Tu -da -nja$_k$ uhu [da wei]$_k$*
put -3pG -3pD rice (GENERIC) ART pig
'They gave the pigs food' (lit.: 'They put food at the pigs')

b. * ***Tu.ng*** *-da* ***-ha$_k$*** *uhu [da wei]$_k$*
put.ng -3pG -3sA rice (GENERIC) ART pig

c. * *Tu -da* ***.ng*** ***-ha$_k$*** *uhu [da wei]$_k$*
put -3pG .ng -3pA rice (GENERIC) ART pig

d. * *Tu -da -ya$_j$ [na uhu]$_j$ [la pinu menja]$_{PP}$*
put -3pG -3sA ART rice LOC top table
* 'They put the rice on the table'

e. *Tu -da -nya$_j$ [na uhu]$_j$ [la pinu menja]$_{PP}$*
put -3pG -3sA ART rice LOC top table
'They put the rice on the table'

Sentences analogous to (105b,c,d) can be constructed for (106)–(111). In all cases this produces similar ungrammatical results. In (106)–(111) the verb and the nasal morpheme/dative clitic are not linearly adjacent: clitics and adverbs occur between the verb and the dative clitic, whether the verb is a productively derived applicative or not ((106)–(109) illustrate productively derived applicative structures, (110)–(111) contain verbs with a lexical final nasal).

In (106) the applicative verb is *riki.ng* 'laugh at Y', and the dative clitic is separated from the verb by the emphatic clitic *-ma*. In (107)–(109) there is an adverb between the applicative verbs (*beli.ng* 'return to Y', *himbu.ng* 'seek for Y' and *ngàndi.ng* 'take to Y') and the object clitic.

(106) *Ba na- riki **-ma** -nya$_k$ -ka una*
CNJ 3sN- laugh -EMP -3sD -PRF EMP.3s
'...that he does laugh at her$_k$'

(107) *Napa ku- hili beli **pàku** -nya$_k$ [na umbuk -nggu]$_k$*
later 1sN- again return firstly -3sD ART grandchild -1sG
'I'll first go back to my grandchild'

(108) *Lua ka u- himbu **pàku** -nya$_k$ watar$_i$ [na ina-mu]$_k$*
go CNJ 2sN- seek firstly -3sD corn ART mother-2sG
'First go and find some corn for your mother'

(109) *Na- ngàndi **mema** -nya$_k$ [na uhu]$_j$*
3sN- take immediately -3sD ART rice
'He brings him the rice straight away'

Sentences (110) and (111) show that transitive verbs with a lexical final nasal, i.e. a nasal that is *not* a productive applicative morpheme, have an adverb between the verb and the object clitic in exactly the same fashion. The dative clitic marks the PATIENT here.

(110) *Na- tinu **mema** -nya$_j$ [na lau]$_j$*
3sN- weave immediately -3sD ART sarong
'She weaves the sarong straight away'

(111) *Na- unu **mema** -nya$_j$ [na wài mbana]$_j$*
3sN- drink immediately -3sD ART water be hot
'He drinks the coffee immediately'

In conclusion, phonologically speaking, the nasalisation of the dative clitic does apply when it should not — when two elements are linearly non-adjacent. Thus it cannot be the result of a purely phonological process,

Furthermore, it does not apply when it could, i.e. the nasal and the accusative do not merge when they are linearly adjacent. This is shown in (112). In (112a) the nasal is linearly adjacent to the accusative clitic *-ya*, but does not merge with it. The syntactic structure of the clause prohibits this — it has a nominal predicate (*potu pa-paitang* 'the picture that was shown') and the subject is *-ya*. Thus, *-ya* is not governed by the applicative verb. (112a) can therefore not be rendered as (112b). Now look at (112c). The first part of (112c) (*potu pa-pa.ita-nya*) is homophonous to (112b), but (112c) is grammatical, while (112b) is not. This is so because the respective sentences have a different syntactic structure. In (112c) the applicative verb governs the object.

(112) a. [*Potu pa- pa.ita.**ng***]$_{NPj}$ *-ya$_j$ lai Windi*
photograph RMO- CAU.see.**ng** -3sA LOC Windi
'It (is) the photograph which was shown to Windi'

b. * [*Potu pa- pa.ita*] $_{NP_j}$ ***-nya***$_j$ *lai Windi*
photograph RMO- CAU.see -3sD LOC Windi
Intended reading: 'It (is) the photograph which was shown to Windi'

c. [*Na potu* [*pa-pa.ita* ***-nya***$_k$ [*i Windi*]$_k$]$_{Srel}$]$_{NP_i}$ *na*$_i$*-ruhak -ka*
ART photograph RMO- CAU.see -3sD ART Windi 3sN-be torn-PRF
'The photograph which was shown to Windi, was torn'

If it were true that Kambera has a purely phonological rule 'merge/fuse a velar nasal with the initial segment of an accusative clitic' this should apply without exception if the phonological context were right — also the accusatively marked subject in (112a) should be prenasalised.

Similarly, when an S is marked with an accusative clitic (cf. section 5.5) fusion between the clitic and the nasal does not occur. This is shown by the contrast between (113a,b):

(113) a. *Mbana tembang -kau*
very be foolish -2sA
'You're such a fool'

b. * *Mbana temba* ***-nggau***
very be foolish -2sD

c. *...ba na- pa.temba* ***-nggau***
CNJ 3sN- CAU.be foolish -2sD
'...because he considers you (to be) a fool/makes you look like a fool'

Again, the phonological context is right, but the syntactic structure prohibits assimilation between *.ng* and the clitic, because in (113a) *-kau* marks the S and not the O. (113c) shows that the causative/applicativederivation *pa.temba.ng* 'make X foolish' does have an object marked with a dative clitic. An additional example is (114), where *.ng* and *-ya* do not assimilate (i.e. the construction is not * *wua-nya*):

(114) *Mili na- wua.***ng** *-ya*$_i$ [*na ana -na*]$_i$
if only 3sN- give.**ng** -3sA ART child -3sG
'If only he'd give his child (i.e. to marry me)'

Another argument against the idea that the dative is a prenasalised accusative, is that the nasal morpheme is not always in complementary distribution with the dative clitic: in the same clause both a nasal morpheme and a dative clitic can cooccur, so that, in contrast to the expectation, synchronically, the nasal morpheme and the dative clitic are morpho-phonologically unrelated (see section 6.2.6).

Finally, at various points in this book it has been mentioned that dative clitics have their own unique distributional properties, which distinguish them form the accusative clitics. This also suggests that the dative is not just a phonologically derived form of

the accusative. For ease of reference, I will summarise these unique properties of the dative paradigm in a separate section, immediately below.

6.2.5.2. Summary: the properties of the dative clitic

We have seen that the canonical function of the dative is to mark the applicative (indirect) object in an applicative construction. Semantically, this object may be a BENEFICIARY, MALEFICIARY, GOAL, SOURCE or LOCATION.

We have also seen that another function of the dative is to mark the (only) object of transitive verbs that end in a nasal consonant. These verbs are *not* productively derived applicatives, and the object marked with a dative may be a PATIENT, as in (94)—(95) in section 6.2.4. The data in that section (and the previous ones) may give the impression that the dative should be considered a clitic that marks [+affected] objects, in contrast to the accusative, that marks 'ordinary' objects. Admittedly, most dative objects are affected objects, but because the opposite is not true, i.e. not all affected objects are dative, this cannot be a correct generalisation about the dative. Illustrations of verbs that do have an affected object, but do not end in a nasal, and (therefore) do not mark their object with a dative, are given in (115).

(115) Transitive verbs with an affected object not ending in a nasal

dili	'stand on X'
juju	'influence/seduce/work on X'
wàhi	'confiscate X'
rupu	'kill X (chicken/goat)'
tàru	'watch X'
dutuh	'pull X out of case/container'
la.muji	'suck on X'

The distinction [+/— affected] *only* obtains between the two objects of a productively derived applicative verb: the base object is the direct object, marked accusative, the applicative object is the derived object which is marked dative. The difference between the two objects is that the dative indirect object is more affected than the base object (examples were given in section 6.2.2 above).

Another characteristic of the dative clitic is that its use is often determined by properties of the clitic cluster (cf. section 3.5.1). Let me repeat the restrictions on the pronominal clitic cluster. First of all, there are two (postverbal) 'slots' for object clitics, the second of which may only contain a dative clitic. In double object constructions this dative refers to a semantic PATIENT argument (see for example (58d) and (59c) in section 6.2.2 above). Usually, the S of a non-verbal predicate is accusative (cf. (112)). However, when a nominal predicate is possessed, the S is marked dative, because of the mere fact that the genitive clitic occupies the first postverbal slot and the second slot can only be dative (cf. section 4.1.2). Sentence (116) illustrates this.

(116) [*Mbapa* *-nggu*]$_{NP}$ ***-nya*** $_j$
husband -1sG -3sD
'He$_j$ (is) my husband'

The second restriction on clitic clusters that concerns the dative is the following. A verb cannot mark both objects unless the indirect object (in the first postverbal clitic slot) is 1st or 2nd person, and the direct object (in the second postverbal clitic slot) is 3rd person.[269] That is, the (a) sentences in (117)–(120) below are ungrammatical, because either the first slot is third person, or the second slot is not third person, or both. (The NPs are in brackets to indicate that they are optional, their presence or absence does not play a role in the ungrammaticality of these sentences.)

(117) a.* *Ngàndi -nya -nya na kanjàka*
take -3sD -3sD ART chair
Intended reading: 'Take the chair to him'

b. *Ngàndi -nya*$_j$ [*na kanjàka*]$_k$
take -3sD ART chair
'Take the chair to him'

(118) a.* *Ngàndi -nya -ngga i ngguru*
take -3sD -1sD ART teacher
Intended readings: 'Take me to the teacher'/'Bring the teacher to me'

b. *Ngàndi -ngga lai ngguru*
take -1sD LOC teacher
'Take me to the teacher'

c. *Ngàndi -ngga i ngguru*
take -3sD ART teacher
'Bring the teacher to me'

(119) a.* *Ngàndi -nja -nja (da njara)*
take -3pD -3pD ART horse
Intended reading: 'Take them (the horses) to them'

b. *Ngàndi -nja*$_j$ [*da njara*]$_k$
take -3pD ART horse
'Take the horses to them'

(120) * *Ngàndi -ngga -nggau*
take -1pD -2pD
Intended reading: 'Take me to you'

(Note that the ungrammatical judgement about (120) may also be caused by its unusual pragmatics.)

A third restriction is the order of object clitics: the indirect object clitic is always followed by the direct object clitic.[270]

In conclusion, I have presented evidence that the dative paradigm was derived from the accusative at some stage in the history of Kambera, which explains the striking formal similarities between the two paradigms. I have also argued that such a (phonological/morphological) process is no longer productive at present.

6.2.6. Other functions of *.ng*[271]

Apart from deriving (applicative) verbs, the nasal morpheme has developed other grammatical functions as well. They include the following. Firstly, the presence of a final nasal attached to verbs influences their aspectual properties. This is discussed in section 6.2.6.1. Secondly, in section 6.2.6.2 it will be shown that the nasal morpheme accompanies the incorporation of elements into the verb. This incorporation derives a complex verb, the nasal being attached to the right edge of this complex. And thirdly, in section 6.2.6.3, I will show that the nasal may also be used as a 'filler' in certain styles. Finally, section 6.2.6.4 provides some conclusions.

6.2.6.1. The aspectual function of .ng

The attachment of the aspectual nasal to a verb determines the aspectual interpretation of the clause. This change can be described in several different terms: the aspect of the clause becomes continuous, imperfective, distributive, non-delimited or atelic. (These terms are used descriptively here and are pre-theoretical.) I will first discuss how this aspectual function of *.ng* is connected to the fact that the same morpheme derives applicative verbs. We have seen (cf. section 6.2.2 and 6.2.4) that when an applicative verb has an indefinite[272] indirect/applicative object, this object is not marked on the verb and the nasal suffix is retained. Lacking an overt object, the action denoted by such an applicative verb does not reach a natural terminal point. In other words, the (in)definiteness of the affected indirect object determines the telicity of the clause (Verkuyl 1972, 1989). This is shown in (121), where in (121a) the GOAL of the delimited action of 'sending' is *-nya* 'him', while in (121b) the object is indefinite and the action is non-delimited.

(121) a. *Ku- mbuhang pa- pa.ngàndi* ***-nya***$_j$ *uhu*$_i$
1sN- want CTR- send -3sD rice
'I want to send him (some) rice'

b. *Ku- mbuhang pa- pa.ngàndi.**ng** uhu*
1sN- want CTR- send.ng rice
'I want to send (some) rice (to someone)'

An additional example of this contrast is given in (122). The aspectual contrast between (122a,b) is connected to the formal properties of the verb. The verb in (122a) is simple, transitive *wua* 'give X', and the direct object is marked on the verb. In (122b) the direct object is also marked on the verb, but here the verb has a nasal suffix. The applicative derivation of *wua* 'give X' is *wua.ng* 'give (X) to Y'. The suffix *.ng* in (122b) is thus the applicative suffix, and the verb has an indefinite GOAL/BENEFICIARY.

(122) a. *Na- wua -ya$_i$ [na njara miting]$_i$*
3sN- give -3sA ART horse be black
'He gives the black horse'

b. *Mili na- wua.**ng** -ya$_i$ [na ana -na]$_i$*
if only 3sN- give.**ng** -3sA ART child -3sG
'If only he'd give his child' (to marry me)

In this respect, an applicative verb behaves as expected — when its affected object is indefinite, the clause is interpreted as non-delimited. The aspectual properties of the whole clause are determined by the fact that the verb does not have a definite object. In other words, in the sentences (121b) and (122b) the aspectual properties of the clause are not determined by the presence of a nasal morpheme, but by the absence of a definite object NP (semantically generic or non-specific).

But it is not only in (productively derived) applicative verbs that the absence of the object in combination with the presence of the nasal morpheme has this aspectual function.

Any verb that happens to end in a nasal has an aspectually different interpretation when it has an indefinite object and 'retains' its final nasal. The final nasal in *tobung* 'slaughter X' in (123) and *ngangu* 'eat X' in (124) is a phonological segment, not an applicative morpheme, but it does have an aspectual function. The definite, specific object is marked by the object clitic *-nya* in the (a) sentences, while in the (b) sentences the object NP is not definite and the nasal is retained. This difference results in the same aspectual difference as was discussed above. With a definite object NP, the clause denotes a limited or punctual action, when the object is indefinite or implied it has no object marking, the nasal is retained and the action is not punctual or limited but continuous or non-delimited. The ungrammatical (c) sentences show that the nasal cannot cooccur with a definite object NP, i.e. that they are in complementary distribution.

(123) a. *Ita -ya, tobu -na$_k$ **-nya**$_i$ -ka [na hapi -nggu]$_i$*
see -3sA slaughter -3sG -3sD -PRF ART cow -1sG
'Look (at) him, he$_k$ slaughters [my cow]$_i$'

b. *Tobung -nanya$_k$ -ka hapi*
slaughter -3s.CONT -PRF cow
'He$_k$ is slaughtering a cow/cows'

c.* *Tobung* *-na*$_k$ *-nya*$_i$ *-ka* *[na hapi -nggu]*$_i$
slaughter -3sG -3sD -PRF ART cow -1sG

(124) a. *Mbàda nga -na*$_k$ ***-nya***$_i$ *-ka* *[na uhu]*$_i$?
already eat -3sG -3sD -PRF ART rice
'Has he$_k$ already eaten [the rice]$_i$?'

b. *Mbàda* ***ngangu*** *-na*$_k$ *-ka* *uhu?*
already eat -3sG -PRF rice
'Has he$_k$ eaten (some) rice already?'

c.* *Mbàda* ***ngangu*** *-na -ka na uhu*
already eat -3sG -PRF ART rice

The sentences (125a) and (125c) are a minimal pair that again shows how object marking influences the interpretation of the verb and the clause. *Pàdang* is not a productively derived applicative verb. In (125a) it means 'think about X/think X over' and has a definite object marked by *-nya*. If the object is definite, the verb cannot 'retain' its final nasal, as shown in (125b). In (125c) the object is the indefinite NP *wàu tau* 'human smell' (which is not cross-referenced on the verb because it is indefinite). The verb now means 'notice X'.

(125) a. *Ba pàda -ma -na* ***-nya***$_i$ *-ka [na ihi -na]*$_i$
CNJ experience -EMP -3sG -3sD -PRF ART content -3sG
'He has been thinking about it' (lit.: 'He has been thinking about the content of it')

b.* *Ba* ***pàdang*** *-ma -na* ***-nya*** *-ka na ihi -na*
CNJ experience -EMP -3sG -3sD -PRF ART content -3sG

c. *Pàdang -ma -nanya wàu tau -ka yena*
experience -EMP -3s.CONT smell person -PRF this
'He noticed a human smell'

The previous examples showed that the (in)definiteness of the object determines the aspectual properties of the clause. Not only when a verb is a productively derived applicative verb, but also when it just happens to end in a lexical nasal.

Thus, the aspectual properties of the clause are not determined by the presence of the nasal — which in the latter type of verbs is not a morphological unit anyway — but by the absence of a definite object, which correlates with the presence of the nasal. In this way, the presence of the nasal indirectly determines the aspectual properties of the clause.

This indirect function of the nasal morpheme has been reinterpreted and is overapplied to non-applicative verbs and verbs without a lexical nasal. For such verbs, a suffixed nasal morpheme directly determines the aspect of the clause, i.e. the nasal

functions as an aspectual marker. The verbs in (126)—(129) all have a nasal attached to them when a durative, non-delimited aspect is marked, but in none of these sentences can the nasal be interpreted as an applicative morpheme (cf. the translations of the examples) and none of the verbs has a lexical nasal.

The verb *ita* 'see X' in (126a,b,c) is neither applicative nor does it have a lexical final nasal consonant. (126b) has a punctual interpretation (e.g. the subject sees some dead horses in a vision), although the object is indefinite. In (126c) the verb also has an indefinite object, it has a nasal attached, and has a durative, non-delimited interpretation (the subject is travelling over the world and sees various things). That is, not the absence of a definite object — both sentences have an indefinite one —, but the presence of the nasal is what creates the aspectual difference between (126b,c).

(126) a. *Na- ita -ya na manu*
3sN- see -3sA ART chicken
'He sees the chicken'

b. *Na- ita njara meti*
3sN- see horse die
'He sees (some) dead horses'

c. *Na- ita.**ng** njara meti, na- ita.**ng** karimbua meti,*
3sN- see.**ng** horse die 3sN- see.**ng** buffalo die
'He sees dead horses, he sees dead buffaloes,

*na- ita.**ng** tau meti*
3sN- see.ng person die
he sees dead people'

Now consider the contrast between the use of *winggir* 'surround X, besiege X' and *winggiru.ng* in (127) below. *Winggiru.ng* is semantically not an applicative verb here (* 'surround (X) for Y'). Sentence (127a) describes the complete action of besieging a city, whereas (127b) concentrates on the act of besieging, i.e. it describes the movements of the soldiers quietly moving around a city (to lay a siege). In other words, the nasal is used to mark aspect here.

(127) a. *Winggir -da$_i$ -nya$_j$ -ka [na kotak nuna]$_j$*
surround -3pG -3sD -PRF ART city DEI.3s
'They$_i$ are besieging [that city]$_j$'

b. *Winggiru.**ng** -danya$_i$ -ka*
surround.**ng** -3p.CONT -PRF
'They$_i$ are laying a siege' (lit.: 'They are surrounding')

The sentences in (128) contrast the finite act of swallowing some water (*nyàba*, in (128a,b)) with the act of doing this for some time (*nyàba.ng* in (128c)). *Nyàba.ng* is

not applicative (*'swallow (X) for Y'). (128d) shows that a definite object and the nasal cannot cooccur here.[273]

(128) a. *Na- duruhung pa- nyàba -ya$_i$ [na wài]$_i$*
3SN- continue CTR- swallow -3SA ART water
'He continued to swallow the water'

b. *Nyàba- nyàba -ya$_i$ -ka una [na wài]$_i$*
RED- swallow -3SA -PRF EMP.3S ART water
'(He) swallowed the water again and again'

c. *Nyàba.**ng**- nyàba.**ng** -na -ka una*
RDP- swallow -3SG -PRF EMP.3S
'(While he was) swallowing (the water) again and again,[274]

ba na- pa.tundu-nja da bi kaparak la luku
CNJ 3SN- follow-3PD ART real corn cookie LOC river
he went after the corn cookies in the river'

d.* *Nyàba.**ng**- nyàba.**ng** -ya$_i$ -ka una [na wài]$_i$*
RED- swallow -3SA -PRF EMP.3S ART water

Although it occurs more frequently with transitive bases, the non-applicative, 'aspectual' nasal may also have an intransitive base. This is shown in (129). (129a) contains an applicative verb and the applicative object is marked with *-nya*. In (129b) the verb is bare, and in (129c) it has a nasal attached to it. The semantic contrast between (129b) and (129c) shows the aspectual interpretation of the (applicative) verb *tàka.ng*. It has no explicit locational argument and the aspect of this sentence is non-finite.

(129) a. *Ba na- tàka -**nya**$_i$ -ka [i Umbu Ndilu Tana Humba]$_i$*
CNJ 3SN- arrive -3SD -PRF ART Lord Ndilu Land Sumba
'When he arrived at Umbu Ndilu of the Sumba land...'

b. *Mareni tàka -da la uma*
near arrive -3PG LOC house
'They were almost home'

c. *Mareni tàka.**ng** -da la uma*
near arrive -3PG LOC house
'They were almost getting home/were approaching home'

That is, the bare verb in (129b) denotes a punctual and limited action, whereas the verb with the nasal suffix in (129c) is more habitual, continuous, imperfective, distributed or non-delimited.

Summing up, for telic transitive verbs like *palu* 'hit X', *winggir* 'surround X', *wua* 'give X' and *nyàba* 'swallow X' the use of the nasal creates a meta-event that includes several sub-events. For atelic transitive verbs such as *pàdang* 'think (about X), experience X' and *pa.au.ng* 'call X' the use of the nasal makes the verb durative with an indefinite/unspecified point in time. For intransitive verbs the function of the nasal seems to make the verb distributive/durative without having an inherent end-point.

The aspectual use of the nasal morpeme as it is briefly sketched in this section also occurs in special grammatical constructions that express pleasure, irritation, surprise, or a combination of these moods with respect to an ongoing action.

The sentences (130)—(133) illustrate this for the intransitive verbs *rara* 'be red' and *lui* 'melt', and for the transitive verbs *buta* 'cut/pick X' and *palu* 'hit X'. The reduplication expresses a notion of 'unexpectedness' or 'suddenness', the nasal expresses the ongoing action.

(130) *Rara.**ng**- rara.**ng*** *-ma* *-a* *-na* *na* *uhu*
RDP- be red.**ng** -EMP -MOD -3SG ART rice
'(And) (soon) the rice ripened...'

(131) *Hangu* *lui.**ng**- lui.**ng*** *-ma* *-a* *-na* *bai* *liling*
straight away RDP- melt.**ng** -EMP -MOD 3SG real candle
'(And) immediately that candle started to melt'

(132) *Hangu* *buta.**ng**- buta.**ng*** *-ma-a-na* *bai* *manila,*
straight away RDP- open.**ng** -EMP-MOD -3SG real peanut
'Just beginning to pull (out) peanuts (from the soil) straight away,

nda *na-* *hili* *karài*
NEG 3SN- again ask
he didn't even (bother to) ask' (for permission)

(133) *Palu.**ng**- palu.**ng*** *-ma* *-a* *-na*
RDP- hit.**ng** -EMP -MOD -3SG
'He just started hitting like that'

In conclusion, I have argued that there is a connection between the applicative use of the nasal morpheme and its use as an aspectual marker. When the object of an applicative verb is indefinite, and the nasal morpheme is thus retained, the verb gets a durative, imperfective, distributive or non-delimited aspectual reading. In addition, the nasal morpheme is also used to mark aspectual differences in constructions which are not applicative constructions, in which case it has developed into a aspectual marker. The 'aspectual' nasal differs from the 'applicative' nasal in that it does not change the argument structure of the verb. We also saw that the combined use of reduplication and the nasal expresses certain moods.

6.2.6.2. Incorporation with ***.ng***

The nasal morpheme is also used for the incorporation of nouns, verbs or prepositional phrases into the verb.[275,276] That this is indeed a process of incorporation is shown by (134a,b) below. The verb *panjang* 'stop, rest' ends in a lexical nasal, but when the temporal noun *lodu* 'day' is incorporated, the nasal attaches to the end of the incorporated element instead of the verb. In other words, a complex verb is derived by incorporation, and the nasal attaches to the right edge of this verb.

(134) a. *Panjang* *la* *lodu* *minggu*
stop/rest LOC day Sunday
'Rest on Sunday'

b. *Panja* *lodu* ***.ng***
stop/rest day **.ng**
'Rest during the day'

The process of incorporation is not restricted to verbs that end in a nasal: an element may be incorporated into a verb not ending in a nasal. In such a case, the nasal is added, as shown in (136)—(138). In other words, the verbs ending in a nasal truly incorporate an element, as represented in (135a), while for verbs not ending in a nasal, the nasal is attached as part of the the incorporating process. This is represented in (135b).

(135) a. V**-ng** — incorporation of X → V **X -ng**

b. V — incorporation of X → V **X -ng**

The incorporated elements are of various types. In (134) above a temporal noun was incorporated. In (136) and (137) an object noun is incorporated into the verbal complex. In (136a) the simple verb *tú* 'put X' is used. In (136b) the verb is made complex by incorporation of a noun *ratah* 'interruption'.[277,278]

(136) a. *Lua, lua -kau tu -ha hu lua*[279]
go go -2sA put -3pA DIR somewhere
'Go, go (and) put them somewhere over there'

b. *Laku [tú ratah .ng] hu luru*
go put interruption .ng DIR downstream
'Go, cut (him) off down there'
(lit.: 'Go (and) put an interruption down there')

In (137) the verb *langga* 'tread' and its locational object *tana* 'earth, land' form a new complex verbal expression. This expression is probably lexicalised, because the verb *langga* is no longer used independently. (*Pangga* 'tread' is used instead).

(137) *Linjik- linjik -a -mu hu lua ba u- [langga tana* ***.ng***]
RDP- hop -MOD -2SG DIR somewhere CNJ 2SN- tread earth .ng
'You just hop around when you tread the earth'[280]

Apart from nouns, other categories can also be incorporated. In (138) the verb *kahili* 'cheat' with the verb *laku* 'go' results in a complex verbal expression:

(138) [*Laku kahili* ***.ng***]
go cheat **.ng**
'Pretend to go' (lit.: 'Go (and) cheat')

In (139) the verb *hurung* 'come forward' has incorporated the quantifying noun *ndàba* 'all', while the verb *ngangu* 'eat'[281] in (140) has incorporated the quantifying adverb *meha* 'alone':

(139) [*Huru ndàba* ***.ng***]!
come forward all **.ng**
'All come forward!'

(140) [*Nga meha* ***.ng***]
eat alone **.ng**
'Eat alone'

The sentences in (141) illustrate a productive derivation of verbal complexes that indicate possession or location (cf. section 7.2.3). (141a) is a simple declarative clause with an oblique location. (141b) contains a relative clause with the verb *ningu*. The S of *ningu* is definite and marked on the verb. The location/possessor of S is the head of the relativisation. (141c) has the same relative structure but here S is indefinite (and not marked on *ningu*, cf. section 5.2), and S is incorporated, as indicated by the morpheme *.ng*.

(141) a. *Ningu wuya la luku*
be crocodile LOC river
'There is/are (a) crocodile(s) in a/the river'

b. *La luku na ma- ni -nya na wuya nuna*
LOC river ART RMS- be -3SD ART crocodile DEI.3S
'In the river with that crocodile'

c. *La luku ma- [ningu wuya* ***.ng***]
LOC river RMS- be crocodile .ng
'In the/a river(s) with (a) crocodile(s)'

Additional examples of similar incorporation structures are (142)—(147):

(142) *Na tau na ma- [ningu ihi woka* ***.ng***]
ART person ART RMS- be content garden **.ng**
'The person that has crops'

(143) *Da tau da ma- [ningu anakeda* ***.ng***] *la padua*
ART person ART RMS- be child **.ng** LOC middle
'The people that have a child in their midst'

(144) *Na ma- [ningu hinggi kombu la dita la wá* ***.ng***]
ART RMS- be traditional cloth LOC up LOC down **.ng**
'The one who is covered in *hinggi kombu* (lit.: The one who has *hinggi kombu* on the upper and lower (part of his body)'

(145) *...la ma- [ningu uma* ***.ng***]
LOC RMS- be house **.ng**
'...to where there are houses'

(146) *...ba ma- nda [ningu lingu* ***.ng***] *-ya*
CNJ RMS- NEG be use/sense **.ng** -3SA
'...because it is without sense/useless'

(147) *Na ma- nda [hàmu* ****.ng***]
ART RMS- NEG be good ***.ng** /-3SG
'What is wrong/incorrect'

Note that in (144) prepositional phrases are incorporated.[282] In (145) the relative clause is used as a location. In (146) the relativised clause is negated. (147) shows that the nasal cannot be used for a relative clause that has no incorporated noun.

Another way to incorporate elements is by using the verb *mangu.ng* 'possess', a verb derived from the noun *mangu* 'possession', cf. (148a,b). This verb incorporates object nouns, as in (148c). Additional illustrations are (149a,b) and (150).

(148) a. *Tambulu [mangu tau*]$_{NP}$
sink possession person
'Someone's possessions sink'/ '(The) sinking of someone's possessions'

b. [*Mangu -na i Ina*]$_{NP}$ *-ya*
possession -3SG ART mother -3SA
'It (is) mother's'

c. *Tambulu [mangu tau* ***.ng***]
sink possess person **.ng**
'Sink (while) taking all the passengers'

(149) a. *...ba* *ku-* *mangu-nya* *na* *tana* *yena*
CNJ 1SN- possess -3SD ART earth DEI.3s
'...when I possess that land'

b. *Ina* [*mangu* *tana* ***.ng***]
mother possess earth **.ng**
'The mother of the world'

(150) *Uhu* [*mangu* *tàda* ***.ng***]
rice possess skin **.ng**
'Unpolished rice' (lit. 'Rice possessing skin')

In addition to the noun incorporation illustrated in (149)—(148), the verb *mangu.ng* also incorporates verbs that indicate a manner or circumstance, as in (151):

(151) a. *Ndolak* [*mangu* *hàmu* ***.ng***] !
stand possess be good **.ng**
'Stand properly!'

b. *Palewa* [*mangu* *hidu* ***.ng***]
send possess be ill **.ng**
'Send someone (while being) ill' (i.e. the person sent is ill)

c. [*Palewa* [*mangu* *hidu*]] ***-nya***
send possess be ill -3SD
'Send him while being ill' (i.e. the person sent is ill)

The position and form of the object marking clitic in (151c) are evidence that *mangu* and *hidu* in (151b,c) are indeed part of one verbal complex with palewa. The object clitic marks the complement of the transitive verb *palewa* 'send X', but it surfaces as the complement of the intransitive *hidu* 'be ill'. Normally, the object of *palewa* would be marked with an accusative (*-ya*) because *palewa* does not end in a nasal. Here its object is marked with a dative (*-nya*) because of the presence of the 'incorporation' nasal. In other words: the form (case) of the object clitic is determined by the whole verbal complex rather than by *palewa* alone.

The sentences in (152) are evidence that the nasal marks the end of the complex verb. (152a) is an example of a transitive verbal complex with an incorporated verb and an indefinite object. Observe the position of the marker *-bia* 'just, only'. In (152a) it follows the nasal, and the ungrammaticality of (152b) shows that it cannot precede the nasal. In other words, the nasal marks off the verbal constituent to which the clitics attach (see section 3.5.1.2).

(152) a. *Na-* [*dangga* [*mangu* *baku* ***.ng***] ***-bia*** *pau*]
3SN- sell possess be unripe **.ng** just mango
'He just sells some mangoes unripe'

b. * *Na-* [*dangga* [*mangu* *baku* ***-bia*** ***.ng***]] *pau*
3sN- sell possess be unripe just **.ng** mango

Mangu(.ng) is interchangeable with the preposition *dàngu* 'with (comitative)' (cf. section 7.2.2), without changing the meaning of the sentence, as shown in (153a,b). Both constructions express adverbial notions. Despite their similar function in these contexts, there are structural differences between *mangu.ng* and *dàngu*: *mangu.ng* is a verb while *dàngu* is a preposition, and *mangu.ng* has a final nasal while the preposition *dàngu* has not. In (153c,d) where *dàngu* is used instead of *mangu.ng*, the nasal is clearly added: it is neither part of the verbs *pa.ní* 'tell' and *meti* 'die' (these verbs are not applicative here[283]) nor of the preposition *dàngu*. (153d) illustrates the incorporation of a negated verb.[284]

(153) a. [*Nga* [*dàngu/mangu* *marihak* *lima*] ***.ng***]
eat with/possess be dirty hand **.ng**
'Eat with dirty hands'

b. [*Nga* [*dàngu/mangu* *marihak*] ***.ng***]
eat with/possess be dirty **.ng**
'Eat dirty' (i.e. eat without having had a bath first)

c. [*Paní* [*dàngu* *mbení*] ***.ng***]
tell with be angry **.ng**
'Tell while being angry'

d. [*Meti* [*dàngu nda lalei*] ***.ng***]
die with NEG marry a woman **.ng**
'Die unmarried to a woman, i.e. die a bachelor'

Constructions with *mangu* and *dàngu* such as (153) modify verbs. It is also possible to modify a verb with another verb, e.g. in the serial verb constructions discussed in section 7.1. The formal difference between the complex verbal constructions discussed here and the serial verbs of section 7.1 is the absence of the nasal morpheme in the derivation of serial verbs.

Similarly, the difference between adverbs and the modifying constructions with *mangu/dàngu* in (153) is that when adverbs modify a verb, there is no nasal morpheme attached to the verbal complex, as shown in (147) and (154), except when the verb itself ends in a nasal, as in (107)—(111). (154) contrasts with (140): in (140) the verb *ngangu* 'eat' ends in *.ng(u)*, in (154) *laku* 'go' does not.

(154) a. *Laku* *meha*
go alone
'Go/walk/travel alone'

b.* *Laku* *meha.**ng***
go alone.**ng**

Summing up, we have seen that nouns, verbs, quantifiers and prepositional phrases can be incorporated into complex verbal expressions. Some of the derived expressions have been lexicalised. The incorporated elements are either verbal arguments, or else they modify the meaning of the head verb. Verbs ending in a nasal truly incorporate an item, as demonstrated. For other verbs, the nasal is introduced as part of the incorporation process. Thus the status of the nasal is ambiguous: in the former cases it is a part of the morphological base, in the latter cases it is a derivational suffix.

6.2.6.3. The stylistic function of .ng

Sometimes the use of a nasal morpheme has neither a syntactic nor a morphological nor a semantic function. It is used as a 'filler' when a speaker hesitates or when an official/pompous style is used (sermons/official speeches). (155) and (156) are illustrations. In (155) the existential marker *jia* occurs in the 'topicalised position' (cf. section 3.5.2). (155a) illustrates the standard structure, where the existential marker *jia* is the predicate of *-ya* 'it'. In (155b) the pronominal clitic is 'dropped', and in (155c) the existential marker is 'decorated' with an additional *.ng*, which has a stylistic function only and is optional.

(155) a. *Jia* *-ya* *ba...*
EXIST -3SA CNJ
'It is so that...'

b. *Jia* *ba...*
EXIST CNJ
'(It) is so that...'

c. *Jia.**ng*** *ba...*
EXIST.**ng** CNJ
'(It) is so that...'

The sentences in (156) come from a sermon and the nasal gives them a rather pompous ring. Again, the nasal is optional.

(156) a. *Na* *pulung* *yena* *mbu.**ng!***
ART word this also.**ng**
'This word as well!'

b. *Ka* *na-* *hanggànang* *la* *rehi* *-nda* *nyuta* *mbu.**ng***
CNJ 3SN- relate to LOC time -3PG we also
'So that it also relates to our times'

This optional use of a velar nasal as a 'filler' is not obviously related to any of the other functions of the nasal.

6.2.6.4. Conclusions

In the preceding sections we have seen that the nasal morpheme serves several functions besides the derivation of applicative verbs. In the first place, we saw that the nasal may be used as an aspectual marker, to indicate that the verbal aspect is continuous, imperfective, distributive, or non-delimited. I have explained how this aspectual function of *.ng* is derived from the applicative with an indefinite/implied object. In some cases, *.ng* has an aspectual function only and does not change the valency of the base.

Secondly, it was shown that the nasal morpheme is used in connection with the incorporation of various items into the verbal complex. Although the details of this incorporational process are still unclear, what is derived is a complex verb. The nasal has an ambiguous status in this process — it is either part of an incorporating verb or it is introduced in the process of incorporation. And thirdly, the nasal may also be used as a 'filler' in certain styles.

Thus, the morpheme *.ng* is a derivational suffix when it derives (applicative) verbs from nouns and verbs and when it incorporates words, but when it marks aspect it has an inflectional function that is arguably derived form its original (applicative) function. There is no obvious relation between these morphological functions and its stylistic function.

6.3. The interaction of *pa.* and *.ng*

6.3.1. Introduction

The two derivational processes discussed in the previous two sections were shown to derive different kinds of verbs. *Pa.* derives causative, factitive, resultative, intensive, infinitive and reciprocal verbs, *.ng* derives applicative, deictic and quantifying verbs.

The two processes do not apply in a fixed order. In section 6.3.2 I discuss the different derivational orders that are possible. First I discuss the derivations from verbal bases, followed by the derivations from nouns and elements from minor categories. In section 6.3.3 I discuss some derivations that have both affixes *pa.* and *.ng*. These derived forms are unproductive or lexicalised forms. *Pa.* and *.ng* may function as a circumfix when they productively derive complex verbs from nominal or verbal constituents, from adverbials and from exclamations. This is discussed in section 6.3.4.

6.3.2. Productive derivations with *pa.* and with *.ng*

6.3.2.1. Verbs as bases

The two processes, affixing *pa.* and *.ng*, do not occur in a fixed order. In this section I first discuss the base verbs that are causativised before being made applicative, followed by derivations with the opposite order.

In (157) illustrations are given of verbal bases that can be made causative but not applicative. The applicative may only be derived after the verb is causativised. Observe that the bases in (157) are all intransitive: transitive bases that are first causativised and then made applicative have not been attested. In the light of the fact that Kambera has extremely few causativised transitive verbs (section 6.1.2.4) this is not surprising. Three of the derived verbs in (157) have a meaning that is regularly derived. Note, however, that *pa.laku.ng* has also developed a more or less idiosyncratic meaning.

(157)	*luhu*	'go out', 'exit'
*	***luhu.ng***	
	pa.luhu	'cause X to go out', 'take X out'
	pa.luhu.ng	'take (X) out for Y'
	laku	'go/walk'
*	***laku.ng***	
	pa.laku	'cause X to go', 'send X'
	pa.laku.ng	'organise X', 'do X', 'start X' (meeting/engine)
	lui	'melt (intr)'
*	***lui.ng***	
	pa.lui	'cause X to melt', 'melt X'
	pa.lui.ng	'melt (X) for Y'
	bokul	'be big'
*	***bokulu.ng***	
	pa.bokul	'cause X to be big', 'enlarge X'
	pa.bokulu.ng	'enlarge (X) for Y'

Verbs that are made applicative before they can be made causative are given in (158) below. Note that some of these derivations have transitive bases, unlike the ones in (157).

(158)

	mbinu	'be full'
	*mbinu.**ng***	'fill Y'
*	***pa.**mbinu***	
	pa.**mbinu.**ng	'provide Y with everything'
	hei	'climb/go up'
	*hei.**ng***	'climb Y'
*	***pa.**hei***	
	pa.**hei.**ng	'make (X) climb Y'
	tama	'enter/go in'
	*tama.**ng***	'enter Y'
*	***pa.**tama***	
	pa.**tama.**ng	'make (Y) enter Y'
	tàka	'arrive'
	*tàka.**ng***	'arrive at Y'
*	***pa.**tàka***	
	pa.**tàka.**ng	'take (X) to Y', 'tell (X) to Y'
	beli	'return'
	*beli.**ng***	'return to work for/on Y'
*	***pa.**beli***	
	pa.**beli.**ng	'make X go back'
	toma	'be enough', 'reach'
	*toma.**ng***	'meet X', 'find X', 'come across X'
*	***pa.**toma***	
	pa.**toma.**ng	'meet each other', 'come to each other'
	liti	'step on X'
	*liti.**ng***	'stamp on X'
*	***pa.**liti***	
	pa.**liti.ng	'plough rice field' (by letting buffaloes stamp on it)
	ngàndi	'take X'
	*ngàndi.**ng***	'take (X) to Y'
*	***pa.** ngàndi***	
	pa.**ngàndi.**ng	'send (X) to Y', 'cause someone to take (X) to Y'
	kei	'accept X', 'buy X'
*	***pa.**kei***	
	*kei.**ng***	'accept (X) for Y', 'buy (X) for Y'
	pa.**kei.**ng	'submit (X) to Y', 'make Y accept X'

	hi	'cry'
	hí.ng	'cry about X'
*	***pa.hí***	
	pa.hí.ng	'cry about each other'

Most derivations in (158) have a predictable semantic interpretation, but some are less predictable: a verb can be interpreted as a causative without being derived with the causative prefix, cf. the stative base verb *mbinu* 'be full' with its derivation *mbinu.ng* 'fill Y' (*mbinu* 'be full' is a derivation from *pinu* 'fill X', cf. section 6.9). Some derived forms can only be used in specific contexts, like *pa.liti.ng* 'plough a rice field by having buffaloes stamp on it'.

The derived forms in (157) and (158) above show that some verbs are first made causative or applicative before they are further derived. However, there are also verbs that allow either a causative or an applicative derivation on the basis of their root verb. Only one of these is the base for a following derivation. Examples are given in (159).

(159)

mbana	'be hot'
mbana.ng	'let Y warm up (in sun)'
pa.mbana	'heaten X (on fire)'
njoru	'fall (over)', 'topple'
njoru.ng	'fall for/on/to Y'
pa.njoru	'cause X to fall'
pa.njoru.ng	'cause X to fall on Y'
katuda	'sleep'
pa.katuda	'put X to sleep'
katuda.ng	'sleep on Y'
pa.katuda.ng	'cause/tell Y to put (X) to sleep'
ita	'see'
pa.ita	'heal X from blindness'
ita.ng	'see Y (+aff)'
pa.ita.ng	'show (X) to Y'
rongu	'hear'
pa.rongu	'heal X from deafness'
rongu.ng	'hear Y (+anim)'
pa.rongu.ng	'let Y hear (X)'
rihi	'be more'
pa.rihi	'make X more'
pa.rihi.ng	'make (X) more in Y'

For some of the derived verbs the derivational order cannot be established: the verb *pa.njoru.ng* 'cause to fall on Y' which has both a causer and a location, may either be derived from the causative *pa.njoru* 'cause to fall' or from the applicative *njoru.ng* 'fall on Y'. The verbs *pa.ita.ng* 'show to Y' and *pa.rongu.ng* 'let Y hear', on the other hand, must be derived from the applicative derivation because their meaning is not related to the causative verb *pa.ita* and *pa.rongu*.

6.3.2.2. Nouns as bases

Some nouns are first turned into factitive verbs by means of the prefix *pa.*, and are then made into applicative verbs with the suffix *.ng*. An example is given in (160).

(160)	*ata*		'slave'
	pa. *ata*	*wiki-na*	'make (oneself) a slave', 'humiliate oneself'
	pa. slave	self-3sG	
	pa.ata.ng	*wiki-na*	'enslave oneself to Y', 'humiliate oneself to Y'

A noun may also be derived into an (intransitive) applicative verb which is then made causative, as in (161).

(161)	*karia*	'(travel) companion'
	*karia.**ng***	'be companion to Y: accompany Y'
	pa.**karia.**ng	'make (X) companion to Y/make (X) travel with Y'

Finally, for some denominal verbs that have both the prefix *pa.* and the suffix .ng, it is unclear whether they are based on an applicative or a causative verb. This is shown in (162):

(162)	*ana*	'child'
	*ana.**ng***	'have Y as child (trans.)'
	pa.ana	'have a baby/offspring'
	pa.**ana.**ng	'give birth (intr.)'
	angu	'friend/companion'
	*angu.**ng***	'have Y as friend (trans.)'
	***pa.**angu*	'be friends (with Y)'
	pa.**angu.**ng	1. 'be each others's friends'
		2. 'befriend Y (to Z)'
		3. 'have friends'
	muhu	'enemy'
	*muhu.**ng***	'have Y as enemy'
*	***pa.**muhu*	
	pa.**muhu.**ng	1. 'be each other's enemy'
		2. 'make Y one's enemy'

6.3.2.3. Items from minor categories as bases

The affix *pa.* derives causative verbs from bases of minor categories. These derived verbs can subsequently be made applicative. This is shown in (163). Observe that *pa.jia* and *pa.jia.ng* have the same interpretation.

(163)

dita	'up' (prepositional noun)
pa.dita	'pick up X'
pa.dita.ng	'haul/bring up (X) for Y'
dua	'two' (numeral)
pa.dua	'divide X in two or more'
pa.dua.ng	'share (X) with Y'
jia	'(thus) is' (existential marker)
pa.jia	'agree (with X)'
pa.jia.ng	'agree (with X)'
ndia	'no' (emphatic negator)
pa.ndia	'deny X', 'reject X'
pa.ndia.ng	'disagree with X'

6.3.2.4. Conclusions

This section may be summarised as follows. Firstly, derivation with *pa.* and derivation with *.ng* are two independent and separate morphological processes that apply at different derivational stages. There is no evidence that they are extrinsically ordered.

Secondly, the verbal base of a derivation is most often intransitive rather than transitive. The derived forms are then transitive verbs. Productive verbal derivations usually result in a valency increase rather than a decrease.[285]

Thirdly, the semantics of the verbal base plays a role in the order in which applicative and causative derivation apply. (158) above shows that applicative formation precedes causative formation when the base verb is directional, stative or an event verb, rather than an active verb. (But note the exception to this tendency; the verb *kei* 'receive X, buy X, take X'.) In addition, the derivations given in (157) show that there is no such uniform base for the verbs that first undergo causativisation before they are made applicative: these bases include active verbs as well as stative, directional and event verbs. In other words, the semantics of the verbal base plays a role in the derivation but it is not possible to state a generalisation in terms of verbal semantic/lexical properties that predicts the order of the applicative and causative derivation. Morphologically complex forms with an unclear derivational history like the ones in (159) are further evidence of this (see also section 6.3.3 below).

Finally, we have seen that some derived forms are used in specific contexts and/or have a more or less lexicalised meaning. That is, in some cases the causative / applicative form has been lexicalised.

6.3.3. Lexicalised derivations with *pa.* — *.ng*

There are a number of verbs that do not have a separate causative and applicative form, but have only one form where *pa.* and *.ng* are affixed together. For some of these verbs, the root is still used independently, others do no longer have such an independently used root form. Examples of the former type are given in (164).[286] The data illustrate that the meaning of the derived forms as compared to their bases is not the sum total of its parts, and shows some variation. Some of the derived verbs are transitive, others are intransitive.

(164)

hau	'be dressed'	***pa.hau.ng***	'dress Y'
jilik	'be visible'	***pa.jiliku.ng***	'reveal (oneself (toY))'
kàna	'touch/attain'	***pa.kàna.ng***	'hook X/cause (X) touch Y'
lànga	'invisible/ disappear(ed)'	***pa.lànga.ng***	'pass/go past (intr)'
mài	'come'	***pa.mài.ng***	'come with a purpose'
remi	'be crowded/ celebrate'	***pa.remi.ng***	'be in a row (intr)'
lumbat	'jump up'	***pa.lumbatu.ng***	'jump up towards e. o.'
ka.memih	'whisper'	***pa.kamemihu.ng***	'whisper to each other'
tanda	'know X'	***pa.tanda.ng***	'think about X/know X'
karài	'ask X'	***pa.karài.ng***	'ask X all the time'
yaulu	'chase X'	***pa.yàulu.ng***	'chase X intensely'
himbu	'search for X'	***pa.himbu.ng***	'search for X intensely'
rihi	'be more'	***pa.rihi.ng***	'make X more'
ngàda	'look up'	***pa.ngàda.ng***	'consider/think about X'

The forms in (164) show that the prefix *pa.* may have a causative or an intensive reading, while the suffix *.ng* may be applicative or aspectual.

There are also formally derived verbs that have no independently used root form. Illustrations are given in (165). The derived verbs are either intransitive or transitive. Note that the root *ndapu* of the verb *pa.ndapung* 'lie in wait for game in hunt' must have existed as an independent base, because the verb *ma.ndapu* 'sit' has also been derived from this root.

(165)

?ngala	?		
ngalang	'receive X'	***pa.ngalang***	'continue/walk on'
?nedi	?		
neding	'wait for X'	***pa.neding***	'wait (for X)/
ndapu	?		be patient (with X)'
?ndapung	>*ma.ndapu*'sit'?	***pa.ndapung***	'lie in wait (in hunt)'
?àra(ng)	?	***pa.àrang***	1. 'ask a question (V)'
			2. 'question (N)'
?limba(ng)	?	***pa.limbang***	'ponder (on X)'
?njonja(ng)	?	***pa.njonja.ng***	'help each other'
?tingi(ng)	?	***pa.tingi.ng***	'listen to X'

In conclusion, most of the derived verbs discussed in this section are lexicalised, because (i) their derivational history is unclear (either they have no independently used root, or the root has a different meaning), (ii) some forms have undergone semantic drift, and (iii) the derived verbs are either intransitive or transitive. If they had been productively derived, they would be transitive (analogous to the applicative discussed in section 6.2).

6.3.4. Derivations with the circumfix *pa.—.ng*

Another instance where *pa.* and *.ng* appear together is as the circumfix *pa.—ng*. The use of the circumfix must be distinguished from the function of *pa.* and *.ng* individually, though there are some semantic similarities. I will first discuss the derivations from nominal bases (6.3.4.1), followed by those from verbal bases (6.3.4.2), and verbs that are derived from exclamations (6.3.4.3). (See also section 4.1.2 where the derivation of quantifying verbs with the circumfix *paN.-.ng* is discussed.)

6.3.4.1. Nouns as bases

The circumfix *pa.—.ng* is affixed to a nominal phrase ([N + N/V] compound or NP) to derive verbal expressions that are reminiscent of the factitive denominal verbs such as *ana* 'child' → *pa.ana* 'have children' (section 6.1.2.2). Like denominal factitive verbs, the derived verbs discussed in the present section express concepts like possession ('have N'), (alleged) identity ('be (like) N' or 'treat someone as N'), location ('be at N') etc. They may either be transitive or intransitive. Illustrations are given in (166). (166a—e) can be used intransitively and transitively, (166f—l) are intransitive.

(166) a.	***pa.***	[*hilu* *Humba*]$_N$ ***.ng*** language Sumba	1. 'speak (use) the Sumbanese language' 2. 'translate X into Sumbanese'
b.	***pa.***	[*ana* *umbuk*]$_N$ ***.ng*** child grandchild	1. 'have grandchildren' 2. 'give X grandchildren'
c.	***pa.***	[*kambuli* *rapa*]$_N$ ***.ng*** plaiting bit	1. 'have the pattern of a horse bit' 2. 'wind X into a plaited pattern'
d.	***pa.***	[*eti* *banda*]$_N$ ***.ng*** liver cattle	1. 'live irresponsible' (lit.: 'have a cow's liver') 2. 'cause X to live irresponsible'
e.	***pa.***	[*tangga* *butuh*] $_N$ ***.ng*** lid be loose	1. 'have a loose lid (i.e. be too full to close) 2. 'cause X to have a loose lid'
f.	***pa.***	[*wài* *huhu*]$_N$ ***.ng*** water(GEN) milk	'become milky' (inchoative)
g.	***pa.***	[[*wua* *dalu* [*kajawa*]]$_N$***.ng*** fruit inside papaya	'become similar to papaya pips'
h.	***pa.***	[*ana wini*] [*ana mini*]]$_N$.ng child female child male	'be each other's sibling'
i.	***pa.***	[*angu* *kotaku*]$_N$.ng companion village	'come from the same village'
j.	***pa.***	[*katiku* *lambaru*]$_N$ ***.ng*** head centipede	'be (red) as a centipede's head'
k.	***pa.***	[*hangga* *ngaru*] ***.ng*** opposite face	'have position facing each other'
l.	***pa.***	[*lei* *pa.paha*] ***.ng*** husband be wife	'be husband and wife'

The difference between the derivations in (166) and the factitive derivations discussed in section 6.1.2.2 is both formal and functional: the base for the derivations discussed here is a phrase whereas in section 6.1.2.2 it is one noun and factive verbs cannot have an inchoative meaning,[287] whereas the derivations in (166) can. This is shown in (166f,g), where both derived verbs have an inchoative meaning ('become N'). That is, part of the function of the nasal suffix in the derivations in (166) may be that it induces such an inchoative reading of the verb.

Observe that the second element in (166l) is a stative verb instead of a noun. In (166g,h) it is seen that compounds that are the base of these derivations may themselves consist of a compound, such as *wua dalu* 'fruits inside = pips' in (166g) and *ana mini/kawini* 'child male/female = brother/sister' in (166h). Note further that the first nominal element in (166k) is the prepositional noun *hangga* 'opposite' and the first noun in (166l) is a word for 'husband' that has become obsolete.

6.3.4.2. Verbs as bases

The same affixation process is used productively for verbal bases. A verb with a noun (or nominal compound, cf. (167b,c)) may form a complex verb (cf. section 7.2, 7.3). The noun characterises the manner of the verb. The complex verb is the input to the derivation with *pa.—.ng* that derives equational verbal constructions. Some of these are given in (167).[288]

(167) a. ***pa.*** [*winggir* *wàngga*]$_V$ ***.ng*** 'surround X like a wàngga tree'[289]
surround kind of tree

b. ***pa.*** [*malih* *ana maramba*]$_V$ ***.ng*** 'be as naughty as a prince(ss)'
be naughty child king

c. ***pa.*** [*paita* *kapu ndala*] ***.ng*** 'be bitter as 'ndala pumpkin''
be bitter kind of pumpkin

d. ***pa.*** [*kaliti* *kawini*]$_V$ ***.ng*** 'ride horse as a woman (side saddle)'
ride horse woman

e. ***pa.*** [*kambombu* *wei*]$_V$ ***.ng***] 'be as fat as a pig'
be fat pig

f. ***pa.*** [*mbotu* *watu*]$_V$ ***.ng*** 'be as heavy as a rock/stone'
be heavy stone

g. ***pa.*** [*palu* *ma-poki*]***.ng***[290] 'hit like a blind (man)'
hit RMS-be blind

6.3.4.3. Exclamations as bases

Derivations with *pa.—.ng* may also have an exclamation as their base. This seems to be a very productive derivational process to derive transitive onomatopoeic verbs. (169a) and (170a) contain the exclamations *woi* and *wú*, while (169b) and (170b) illustrate their verbal derivation.

(168)

hui	excl. to shoo away dog	***pa.hui.ng***	'shoo away dogs'
hua	excl. to shoo away chicken	***pa.hua.ng***	'shoo away chickens'
hú	excl. to shoo away pig	***pa.hú.ng***	'shoo away pigs'
hó	excl. to shoo away cattle or horses	***pa.hó.ng***	'shoo away cattle/horses'
wú	call for person at unknown place	***pa.wú.ng***	'call X at place far off'
há	1. excl. of happiness 2. excl. to scare someone	***pa.há.ng***	1.'call 'há' in hunt'/ 'hunt down X' 2. 'sing a (happy) song'
woi	excl. affirming call ('yoo')	***pa.woi.ng***	'answer X'

(169) a. *'Woi' wà-na -ma -ka*
'yoo' say-3SG -EMP -PRF
'He said 'yoo''/'He answered the call'

b. *Na- **pa.woi** **-ngga***
3SN- pa.yoo -1SD
'He answered me'

(170) a. *'Wú! Mài.ng -wa!*
Hey! come -HORT
'Hey! Come here!'

b. *Ku- **pa.wú** **-nya***
1SN- pa.hey -3SD
'I called him (without knowing where he was)'

6.3.4.4. Conclusions

The circumfix *pa.-.ng* productively derives verbs on the basis of nominal or verbal compounds and exclamations. The verbal derivations from nominal compounds have the same function as the factitive derivations on the basis of nouns (section 6.2.2). When the base is a verbal constituent, the derivation is a complex verb that expresses a comparison. The verbs derived from exclamations are active verbs, which can have a definite or indefinite object and mean 'exclaim X (to Y)'.

The morphemes *pa.* and *.ng* are affixed simultaneously: there is no evidence that the derivations of the verbs in (166)–(168) took place in stages. However, the semantic similarities between the derivations discussed in this section and the derivations with *pa.* and *.ng* are striking: like the prefix, the circumfix discussed in this section may express factitive notions and like the nasal suffix, it has a verbalizing function. This suggests that the circumfix *pa.—.ng* is not only formally, but also functionally related to the prefix *pa.* and the suffix *.ng*.

6.4. The circumfix *ka.-.k*

Kambera has many roots that describe motions, sounds or visible properties. They are semi-verbal in the sense that they cannot be used predicatively: they have to be morphologically derived and/or they must appear in a construction that is also used for speech reports, a quotative construction.

The circumfix *ka.-.k* derives verbs from these roots that mean 'make, emit or have sound, noise or visible property X'. In African linguistics the label ideophone is used for such words: 'a word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualitative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity' (Doke 1935:119, cited in Schachter 1985). In (171) a number of roots that can be affixed with *ka.-.k* are given:[291]

(171) **Sounds**

ngùru	'murmur'	*ndòri/tòri*	'be silent' (no reaction)
mbùtu	'thud'	*pàdi*	'be quiet' (no sound)
hèri	'tearing noise'	*reu*	'sound of talking'
tòru	'rattle'		
ndòru	'rattle/roar'	**Motions**	
nggòru	'crack (thunder)'	*yidi*	'shiver (of dislike)'
tòku	'knock/bang'	*wàdi*	'blink'
ndùru	'roll (thunder)'	*ngàdu*	'nod' (also:agree (V))
pàka	'smack'	*linji*	'jump'
mbàti/	'drip'	*nggidi*	'shiver (of cold)'
mbàli		*tila*	'convulsion/spasm'
mbùku	'snap/tap (feet)'	*ndiku*	'jerk to get loose'
tiku	'creak/click'	*tàta*	'vibrate/w. chattering teeth'
nduku	'roll/drum'		
bèri	'crack/crunch'	**Sights**	
mbèri	'rasping/grating'	*jila*	'flicker/glimmer/
bèsu	'click' (with cheek)		flash'
dèti/dètu	'click' (front mouth)	*rèri*	'ablaze (fire)/
dòtu	'click' (back mouth)		shine (ring)'
hètu	'sniff'	*bila*	'light/brightness'

All the roots in (171) can be affixed with *ka.-.k* to become verbs, as illustrated in (172a), (173a) and (174a).

In addition to appearing in the fully derived form, the roots appear in two other constructions. The first is the reduplicated construction. As can be seen from (172b,c), (173b) and (174b,c), the reduplicated element can be a CV-syllable, a foot (or a prosodic word), or more, as in (174c) (see also section 2.6). The subject is either genitive or covert/absent. Reduplication suggests an ongoing action or event.

The second way of describing a sound, motion or a visible property is to use a quotative construction with the verb *wà(ngu)*.[292] This construction renders the

sentence more 'vivid' and 'direct'. (172c) and (174c) illustrate the use of this construction for sound and sight words.

(172) a. *...ndia, nda na- **ka.reu.k** -a -pa na ina -na*
NEG NEG 3SN- talk -MOD -IMPF ART mother -3SG
'...no (way), his mother wouldn't talk'

b. *...ba **re- reu** -ma -na -i na ma- ningu ihi woka .ng*
CNJ RDP- talk -EMP -3SG -MOD ART RMS-be content garden .ng
'...and he keeps on talking, the one with crops' (lit.: '...the one who has garden content is')

c. *'Kàna -kau tai', wà-na -ka nú ba **reu- reu** meha-na*
get -2SA later say-3SG -PRF DEI CNJ RDP- talk alone -3SG
'"I'll get you", he said, talking to himself' (lit.: 'talking alone')

(173) a. *Hili odah -ya na ha.papa, **ka.mbùtu.k** -danya da marara*
again stroke -3SA ART side fall thudding-3p.CONT ART gold
'Again (he) stroke the side, (and) gold came falling out'

b. *Waring, nggiki-na wà-mu,*[293] ***mbùtu- mbùtu** da njara*
rub how -3SG say-3SG RDP- thud ART horse
'(He) rubbed.., amazing...! "Thud, thud," (did) the horses' (i.e. when he rubbed the stomach of a magic horse, horses fell out of it)

c. ***Mbùtu wà-na** tuna nú, na-puru nuna nú*
thud say-3SG thus DEI 3SN-descend DEI.3s DEI
'(It fell) thudding, (and) he climbed down' (lit.: "Thud", it did, and he descended')

(174) a. *Na- **ka.jila.k** na uma*
3SN- gleam ART house
'The house gleams' (e.g. because it is newly painted)

b. *...ba **ji- jila** -bia -na -ka*
CNJ RDP- gleam -MOD -3SG -PRF
'...because it shines...'

c. ***Jila.k wà-na - jila.k wà-na** -ma -ka la Kawáu*
RDP gleam say-3SG -EMP -PRF LOC Kawáu
'It lightens/there is lightning over Kawáu (lit.:'"Gleam!" it (did) repeatedly...')

Despite the productivity of *ka.-.k*, in some cases the function of the circumfix is less transparant. Illustrations are given in (175).

(175)

mbàli	'drip'	***ka.mbàli.k***	'lie/talk nonsense'
pàra	'swift movement'	***ka.pàra.k***	1. 'banana cookie' 2. 'thrash about'
* *wohu*	*	***ka.wohu.k***	'joint/theme'
piha	'fall/wilt'	***ka.piha.k***	'mud'

These derivations either have a root form that is independently used but semantically (partly/completely) unrelated, or the root form is no longer used as an independent word.

6.5. The prefixes *ha.*$_1$ and *ha.*$_2$

There are two prefixes *ha.*: both have a different diachronic origin, their synchronic morphological status (unproductive/productive) is different and their function differs.

The first will be discussed in section 6.5.1., where *ha.*$_1$ is described as deriving verbs and nouns. Many of derived forms are lexicalised derivations. The majority of the derivations are intransitive verbs that describe a state or a property (cf. (176) and (181) below), but there are also transitive verbs and nouns with the prefix *ha.*.

The second prefix *ha.*$_2$ is distinct from *ha.*$_1$ because it derives only 'measure words' and/or quantifiers and is productive. It is discussed in section 6.5.2.

6.5.1. The prefix *ha.*$_1$ in verbs and in nouns

Examples of derivations with ha. are given in (176) and (181). As can be seen here, the majority of the verbs are non-active and intransitive. There are also some active intransitives, some transitive verbs and some nominal derivations with *ha.* (of which *ha.papa* 'other side' and *ha.mbeli* 'outside' are prepositional nouns). The derivations in (176) have a root form that can still be used independently.

(176)

ngàtar	'be amazed'	***ha.ngàtar***	'be amazed'
lutur	'be sad'	***ha.lutur***	'be sad'
nduka	'be stuck/hidden'	***ha.nduka***	'be in trouble/worried'
likir	'tilt head'	***ha.likir***	'tilt/lean over'
lata	'base/foundation'	***ha.lata***	'be stiff'
mbàda	'extinguished (fire)'	***ha.mbàda***	'be gone/have left'
lela	'cut thongs/slivers'	***ha.lela***	'be light (not heavy)'
mbila	'clear/clean'	***ha.mbila***	'be clear/shiny'
ngganggar	'sway'	***ha.ngganggar***	'fall backwards'
ngànja	'snobbish/arrogant'	***ha.nganja***	'watch with surprise'

dànggit	'be brief/short'	***ha.danggit***	'be brief/short'
rika	'run with arms open' (e.g.child to mother)	***ha.rika***	'w. spread arms & legs'
ngijir	'pull a face (w. lips)'	***ha.ngijir***	'pull a face (with lips)'
wanjir	'sway with arms'	***ha.wanjir***	'prepare/make X ready'
mata	'1. raw 2. face/eye'	***ha.mata***	'look at/keep eye on X'
kuku	"cock-a-doodle-doo"	***ha.kuku***	'crow (of rooster)'

The root form of the verb has a very restricted distribution, whereas the derivation can be used in any structural context. If they are used at all,[294] root forms are preferably used in quotative constructions with *wà-na*, 'do/say', as in (177a) and (178a) (cf. section 8.2.4), or in the reduplication in (180a) (cf. most root forms of the *ka.—.k* derivations discussed in the previous section). That is, most root verbs cannot be used as 'ordinary' verbs (e.g. they cannot have a nominative clitic and do not occur in the continuative aspect construction (cf. (177a,b)). Observe that the semantic relation between the roots and derivations in (176) varies. Some derivations seem to be semantically unrelated to their roots, others are somewhat related, while some even seem to have an identical translation. In other words, it is impossible to state the contribution of the prefix *ha.* to the meaning of the derivation. Illustrations of root forms and derivations are given in (177)—(180). In (177) and (178) the semantic difference between the (a) and (b) sentence is that the event denoted by the root in the direct speech construction is more 'direct' and 'punctual' than the event denoted by the derived verb.

(177) a. *Ngàtar* *wà-na* *-bia* *-ka*
be amazed say/do-3sG -MOD(just) -PRF
'He was just lost in amazement' (lit.: 'He just did "amaze"')

b. *Ka* ***ha.ngàtar*** *-nanya* *-ka*
CNJ be amazed -3s.CONT -PRF
'So he was amazed'

(178) a. *Likir* *wà-na* *-bia* *-ka*
tilt head say/do-3sG -MOD(just) -PRF
'He just kept his head tilted' (e.g. because of a stiff neck)
(lit.: 'He just did "tilt"')

b. ***Ha.likir*** *-ki* *-nya$_j$!*
tilt -MOD(a little) -3sD
'Lean away from it$_j$ a bit!'

In (179a,b) the root form and the derivation are used with the same meaning, whereas in (179c) the derivation is used as a transitive verb.[295]

(179) a. *Na- leli.ng*[296] *-ka -i la hau paraing, nda nggàra ehi-a*
3SN- move -PRF -ITER LOC one.CLF area NEG what content-MOD
'Even if he moves to another area (again), it doesn't matter'

b. *Na- **ha**.leli -ka -i la hau paraing nda nggàra ehi-a*
3SN- move -PRF -ITER LOC one.CLF area NEG what content-MOD
'Even if he moves to another area (again), it doesn't matter'

c. ***Ha**.leli -ya na uhu!*
move -3SA ART rice
'Move the rice!' (i.e. put it in another place)

In (180a), *kuku*, an onomatopoeic word, is used for the (punctual) activity of a rooster crowing after winning a fight. *Ha.kuku* in (180b) denotes the event of roosters crowing for the third time during the night as an indication of time (3-4 a.m.).[297] The difference is thus aspectual.

(180) a. *Ku- kuku -na na manu ba na- talu -ka*
RDP- crow -3SG ART chicken CNJ 3SN- win -PRF
'The rooster crowed when it won (the fight)'

b. *Ka ba **ha**.kuku pandailung -danya -ka*[298]
CNJ CNJ crow do three times -3p.CONT -PRF
'And when they (the roosters) crow for the third time'

The derived forms given in (181) are considered lexicalised because they no longer have an independently used root form. Again, the majority, but not all of the verbs is non-active and intransitive, there are some active intransitives and some transitive verbs and nouns.

(181)

***ha**.ledak*	'be clear (weather)'	***ha**.bola*	'deliver a baby'
***ha**.rui*	'have problems'	***ha**.wandang*	'give mutual assistance'
***ha**.làngat*	'be strong'	***ha**.mumu*	'rinse one's mouth'
***ha**.yili*	'collapse in convulsions'	***ha**.memu*	'be happy/proud'
		***ha**.mbayang/*	'pray to/for X'
***ha**.rua*	'be supported'	***ha**.mayang*	
***ha**.mbati*	'hurt stinging'	***ha**.nderang*	'lean on X'
***ha**.rí*	'be light/day'	***ha**.witi*	'cook X with steam'
***ha**.ndakang*	'do once'	***ha**.mbeli*	'outside'
***ha**.wutu*	'(be) a little'	***ha**.kalaki*	'trousers'
***ha**.wurung*	'fly'	***ha**.nganji*	'kingdom'
***ha**.kola*	'(go to) school (V/N)'	***ha**.rikang*	'cross'

The subject of the verbs in (176) and (181) is usually animate, but not necessarily so (e.g. a lamp may *ha.mbila* 'shine brightly'). The sentences (182)–(188) show that the morpho-syntactic marking of the subject of *ha.*derivations does not differ from other verbs. In (182) the subject is nominative, in (183) it is marked with the continuative aspect construction, while in (184) it occurs in the absolutive construction (section 5.3, 5.5). In (185) the intransitive verb has no cliticised subject, only a pronoun. The transitive verbs in (186) have only a cliticised object, while in (187) the transitive subject is nominative. In (188) the subject is genitive (i.e. the subject of a nominal clause).

(182) *Na- **ha.**rí -ka nú na omang*
3sN- be light -PRF DEI ART wood
'The wood has become light' (i.e. one has got near the end of the wood)

(183) ***Ha.**nduka -manya nyuma la rimbang*
be in trouble -3p.CONT we LOC famine
'We were in trouble because of the famine'

(184) *Ka dira ana **ha.**lutur -bia -ya -ka duna, ba...*
CNJ to limit DIM be sad -MOD-3sA -PRF EMP.3s CNJ
'So he just felt very sad, because...'

(185) ***Ha.**nggganggar memang nyuna wà-na*
fall backwards immediately he say-3sG
'It is said that he fell over straight away'/ 'He$_j$ said that ...'

(186) *Hi **ha.**witi -ya, hi nga wà -nya*[299] tolung
CNJ steam -3sA CNJ eat use -3sD meat
'And it was steamed and eaten with meat'/ 'And (we) steamed it and ate it with meat'

(187) *Na- **ha.**maya -nja$_j$ [da bi karimbua]$_j$*
3sN- pray -3sD ART DER buffalo
'He prayed for the buffaloes' (i.e. prayed to get buffaloes)

(188) *Njadi wà-nya na **ha.**memu -da...*
so use-3sD ART be proud -3pG
'So with their boasting...'

Derivations with *ha.* can be causativised with *pa.* (cf. section 6.1. above). This is shown in (189), where the second verb in the verbal complex is a causative verb.

(189) *Hi ku- paní **pa.ha.**dànggit -ya*
CNJ 1sN- tell **pa.**be short -3sA
'So I told it briefly' (lit.: 'So I told (it) & made it brief')

In sum, there are several indications that prefixing with *ha.* is no longer a productive process. First of all, there are many fossilised derivations. Secondly, most of the root verbs that are still used as independent verbs have restricted distributional properties. Thirdly, there is a lot of variation in the semantic relation between the various roots that still exist as independent verbs and their derivations — some are identical, some have no semantic relation at all. And finally, the category of the derived forms varies, suggesting that they have been lexicalised.

6.5.2. The prefix *ha.*$_2$ in quantifiers

The prefix *ha.*$_2$ is a bound form of the numeral 'one' (PAN *isa) (see also section 4.6.2.) It derives quantifying words of all kinds on the basis of numerals, generics and measure words. Illustrations are given in (190). The roots given in the left-hand column occur only with *ha.* or a numeral (*dua, tailu,* etc.).[300]

(190)

ngahu	***ha.****ngahu, dua ngahu*	'one hundred, two hundred'
riu	***ha.****riu, dua riu*	'one thousand, two thousand'
hondu	***ha.****hondu, dua hondu*	'one, two bundle(s)' (of beans)
mawang	***ha.****mawang, dua mawang*	'a pair, two pairs'
wili	***ha.****wili, dua wili*	'one, two bunch(es)' (of bananas)
njàpi	***ha.****njàpi, dua njàpi*	'one, two hand(s)' (of bananas)
nggài	***ha.****nggài, dua nggài*	'one, two bunches' (of coco/betelnuts)
pau	***ha.****pau, dua pau*	'one, two small bunches' (of betelnuts)
ràpa	***ha.****ràpa, dua ràpa*	'one, two fathom'
ka.dipu	***ha.****ka.dipu, dua ka.dipu*	'one piece' (cake, meat, ...)
ka.mbulu	***ha.****ka.mbulu, dua ka.mbulu*	'ten, twenty'
yapil	***ha.****yapil, dua yapil*	'small handfull' (rice, sugar,...)
yopul	***ha.****yopul, dua yopul*	'large handfull' (rice, sugar,...)
laba	***ha.****laba, dua laba*	'one, two bars' (of tobacco)/ one, two pieces' (of soil)
tenga	***ha.****tenga*	'a half' (> Ind. *setengah* 'half')
papa	***ha.****papa*	'other side' (*papa* 'one of a pair')

Apart from the derivations in (190), the prefix *ha.* also derives the quantifier *ha.kudu* 'a little bit' from the verb *kudu* 'be small' (cf. (88) above). *Ha.kudu* is a quantifier like *ha.wutu* '(be) a little'. The verbs *ha.dànggit* 'be short (time)' and *ha.ndàkang* 'do once' are quantifying verbs with a root that has no longer an independent meaning.

6.6. The prefix *ka.*

In this section I discuss derivations with the prefix *ka.* Apart from its form, I do not see any obvious relation between this prefix and the first part of the circumfix

ka.—.k.[301] Derivations with the prefix *ka.* include verbs and nouns. In section 6.6.1 I will discuss how *ka.* derives verbs from numerals. Section 6.6.2 will discuss the meaning change that a derivation with *ka.* may induce on a verbal base. In section 6.6.3 other derived forms with *ka.* are discussed, while section 6.6.4 provides a summary and conclusions.

6.6.1. Numeral verb derivations with *ka.*

The prefix *ka.*, accompanied by the suffix *.ng*, is used to derive verbs from numerals. The regular derived meaning of the verb is 'to be a set of <Numeral>', i.e. 'be a pair, a threesome, a foursome', etc. Examples are given in (191). They show that the numerals which have merged with their classifier, such as *hau*, *heu* and *dàmbu* (cf. section 4.6.2) can be turned into verbs.

The derived form *ka.dua(.ng)* has been attested both with and without the nasal and both forms have the same meaning. The exact function of the nasal is unclear. It could be related to the nasal that is used in combination with incorporation as described in section 6.2.6.2 above.

(191)

hau	'one' (thing)	***ka.hau.ng***	1. 'be dressed' 2. 'unite' 3. '(cause to) separate (X/for Y)'
heu	'one' (animal)	***ha.ka.heu.ng***	'(be) one animal'
dua	'two'	***ka.dua(.ng)***	'have two/have a pair'
dàmbu	'two' (things)	***ka.dàmbu.ng***	'(cause to) be/have pair fruits'
tailu	'three'	***ka.tailu.ng***	'(cause to) be a threesome'
nomu	'six'	***ka.nomu.ng***	'(cause to) be a group of six'
walu	'eight'	***ka.walu.ng***	'(cause to) be a group of eight'

Words derived with *ka.* and *.ng* may have a causative interpretation, as illustrated in (192) and (194b). They cannot be the base for productive causativisation with the prefix *pa.* (discussed in section 6.1).

(192) *Ku-* ***ka.nomu*** *-nja*
1SN- be a six-some -3pD
'I make groups of six of them/I put them six by six'

The prefix *pa* is attested as part of another derivation that derives verbs from numerals: *paN.-.ng*, 'to do something X times', where *N* stands for a homorganic nasal (cf. section 4.1.2.). In the verb *pandailung* is derived from the numeral *tailu* 'three':

(193) *Ku-* *pandailung* *pa-* *pa.au* *-nya*
1SN- **paN**.three.**ng** CTR- call -3SD
'I called him three times'

In (194a) the verb *ka.hau(.ng)* means 'unite', in (194b) it has a PATIENT object and means 'separate X' while in (194c) it has a BENEFICIARY object and means 'separate for Y'. Observe that in (194d), which is almost identical to (194b), the verb means 'wear X/be dressed in X'

(194) a. *Nggi -ya na ma- **ka.hau.ng?***
who -3SA ART RMS- unite
'Which (idea) is it that unites?' (i.e. 'Which (idea) can we agree with?')

b. ***Ka.hau** -na -nya$_k$ [na uhu na pa- mbàda pa.imbung]$_k$*
separate -3SG -3SD ART rice ART RMO- already clean
'He separates [the rice that has already been cleaned]$_k$'

c. ***Ka.hau** -nja$_j$ [uhu -da]$_k$*
separate -3PD rice -3PG
'Set their rice apart' (lit.: 'Separate [their rice]$_k$ for them$_j$')

d. ***Ka.hau** -na -nya$_k$ [na kalembi]$_k$*
wear -3SG -3SD ART clothes
'He wears [the clothes]$_k$'

Example (195b) and (196b) show the incorporation of a noun into the derivation: the phrase between brackets is a complex verb meaning 'have two children at the time'. Note that the nasal is not present in (195a), while in (196a) it is.

(195) a. ***Ka.dua** eti*
be a pair liver
'Be able to know right from wrong' (lit.: 'Be of two livers')

b. *Da kamambi da-kàli [pa.ana **ka.dua** ngiu **.ng**]*
ART goat 3PN-usually pa.child be a pair CLF .ng
'Goats usually get two young at the time' (lit.: 'The goats usually have children in pairs')

(196) a. *Beri **ka.tailu.ng***
divide be a threesome
'Divide in three'

b. *La ài **ka.tailu** reti **.ng**[302]*
LOC wood be a threesome stem .ng
'At the three trees'

The major syntactic functions of these denumeral verbs are as follows. They are used as main verbs, some of which have a causative reading (cf. (192) and (194)). They may also be used to modify verbs, as in (196) and (195b), or nouns, as in (196b). There is

a similarity between the nasal that is used in this derivation and the nasal discussed in section 6.2.6 — both may be part of the derivation of complex verbs (cf. *ka.tailu reti.ng* in (196b)).

6.6.2. Verbal derivations with *ka.*

The base of derivations with *ka.* may be an intransitive verb, a transitive verb or a noun. In this section I will concentrate on the verbal derivations with a verbal base. As far as can be established on the basis of scanty data,[303] this prefix does not change the argument structure of the verb, i.e. when *ka.* is prefixed to an intransitive base, the derived form is also intransitive, while a derivation from a transitive base remains transitive. Consider the data in (197).

(197)

hunju	'slaughter (pig)'	***ka.hunju***	'be engaged in activity of slaughtering a pig'
tundu(ng)	'follow X'	***ka.tundu(ng)***	'be following (X)'
lai	'cut down X'	***ka.lai***	'cut down X'
liti	'stamp on X'	***ka.liti***	'ride (horse) (V)'
taku	'draw (water)'	***ka.taku***	'accept X (V)'
mboka	'be fat'	***ka.mboka***	'look healthy/ prosperous'
luri	'live (V)/ life (N)'	***ka.luri.ng***	'(be) alive (V/Adv)'
ndolak	'stand up (V)'	***ka.ndolaku.ng***	'(be) standing'
tau	'person (N)'	***ka.tau.ng***	'with human body'
mili	'carried along'	***ka.mili***	'been carried along'
beli	'go back'	***ka.beli***	'turn around/return'
punduh	'jump'	***ka.punduh***	'jump'
tuda	'sleep'	***ka.tuda***	'sleep'
tiu	'hurt'	***ka.tiu***	'hurt (intr)'
nubar	'muddy'	***ka.nubar***	'be muddy'
hingir	'clear'	***ka.hingir***	'be clear (water)'

It is not easy to pin down the meaning change that the prefix induces: it seems to affect the aspectual properties of the base. Let me first discuss some illustrations with transitive bases. Consider the sentences (198)—(200). The activity verbs *hunju*, *lai* and *tundung* are derived to become verbs that express a bounded event. In (198a) *hunju* refers to the act of killing only, while in (198b) *ka.hunju* refers to the complete ritual that surrounds the killing itself. It is ungrammatical to replace the verb *ka.hunju* in (198b) by *hunju*. In (199a) the verb has a punctual meaning 'cut down X (now)', whereas *ka.lai* in (199b) refers to the fact that someone is cutting or has cut the tree.

(198) a. *Hunju-wa* *ná,* *na* *-ma* *-nya$_j$* *-ka* *hena*[304]
slaughter -HORT DEI come to addressee -EMP -3sD -PRF there
'Kill (the pig), it$_j$ goes to you' (i.e. it is for you as addressee)

b. *'Ambu* *hili* *nggidik* *-du,'* *wà-da* *-nya,*
NEG.irr again tremble -EMP say-3pG -3sD

ka *ma-* ***ka.****hunju* *-du* *-da* *-nya* *i* *Umbu Ndilu*
CNJ RMS- slaughter -EMP -3pG -3sD ART Lord Ndilu
'Don't be afraid any longer', they told him, and they started the ritual to honour Lord Ndilu (lit.: '...began to slaughter (a pig) for Umbu Ndilu')

(199) a. *Lai* *-ya* *nana* *ài!*
cut down -3sA DEM.3s wood
'Cut down that tree overthere!'

b. ***Ka.****lai* *-na* *-nya* *-ka*
cut down -3sG -3sD -PRF
'He is cutting/has been cutting it down'

In (200a) the verb *tundung* 'follow X' is used in the metaphorical sense, in (200b) in the literal sense of 'come along'. In (200c), on the other hand, it refers to a state of mind that does not refer to a specific action at a specific time.

(200) a. *'Ka mili u-tundu -nya nyuna* *na* *pa-wuku-nggu'* *hi* *wà-na*
CNJ unless 2sN-follow-3sD he ART RMO-wish-3sG CNJ say-3sG
'"Unless you follow my plan" (lit. what I wish), he said'

b. *Màla,* *u-* *mbuhang* *pa-tundung?*
well 2sN- want CTR-follow
'Well, do you want to come along?'

c. ***Ka.****tundung -ndanya* *la* *tau* *-du* *-a* *-ka?*
follow -1p.CONT LOC person -EMP -MOD -PRF

Ka.*tundung-minya* *lai* *nyuma* *-du -a -ka* *ama* *bokul?*
follow -2p.CONT LOC we -EMP -MOD -PRF father be big
'Are we just following people? Are you just following us, the elders?'

Derivations from intransitive bases are illustrated in (201)—(204). Observe that the root forms in (201a) and (202a) occur in a construction with the verb *wà(ngu)*. In this respect, roots of derivations with *ka.* resemble the ideophonic roots (section 6.4) and the roots of derivations with *ha.* (section 6.5.1). The punctual meaning of (201a) and (202a) is a result of the root occurring in this construction with the verb *wà(ngu)*, that is, the whole structure has the sense of punctual achievement, the root alone has not.

However, it is not obligatory for a root to occur in this construction, as shown in (203a) and (204a). Observe that the meaning contrast between *mili* and *ka.mili* in (203) on the one hand, and *beli* and *ka.beli* in (204) on the other, is not the same.

(201) a. *Punduh wà -nanya na ahu*
jump say/do -3s.CONT ART dog
'The dog is making a jump' (lit.: '"Jump" does the dog')

b. ***Ka.punduh*** *-nanya na ahu*
jump -3s.CONT ART dog
'The dog is jumping'

(202) a. *Tuda.ng wà-na -ma -a*
sleep.ng say/do -EMP -MOD
'He just fell asleep (straight away)' (lit.: 'He just did "sleep"')

b. ***Ka.tuda*** *-nanya -ka*
sleep -3s.CONT -PRF
'He is sleeping/asleep'

(203) a. *Mili -nanya -ka na habu*
be carried along -3s.CONT -PRF ART soap
'The soap is being carried along (with the stream)'

b. ***Ka.mili*** *-nanya -ka na habu*
be carried along -3s.CONT -PRF ART soap
'The soap has been/was carried along (with the stream)'

In (201)—(203) the derived form is the form that is used most frequently (the examples with the root forms had to be elicited). In (204a,b), however, the contrast between *beli* 'return' and *ka.beli* 'turn around/return' is illustrated. In this case, the root form is the one use most frequently.

(204) a. *"Njadi" wà-danya, beli -du -danya -ka*
be possible say-3p.CONT, return -EMP -3p.CONT -PRF
'"OK", they said, (and) they went back'

b. *Beli beli*[305] *nyuna i Umbu Mada, tàka beli -nya*$_j$ *[na ana njara]*$_j$
return back he ART Lord Mada arrive back-3sD ART child horse
'Lord Mada went back again, (and) got back to his foal'

c. *Tàka beli la ana njara,*
arrive back LOC child horse
'Back at the foal,

*'nàhu, u-**ka**.beli beli -kau', hili wa-nanya -i*
now 2SN-turn around back -2SA again say-3S.CONT -ITER
she told him again to return'
(lit.:'..."now, you must turn around", she told him again')

The semantic difference between *beli* and *ka.beli* is also apparent in (205). In these sentences the locational NP *na uma* 'the house' can be relativised with a clause containing *beli* but not with *ka.beli*, except perhaps in the sense of a toy house that is turned around.[306]

(205) a. *Na uma na pa- beli -nggu*
ART house ART RMO- return -1SG
'The house I went back to' (lit.: 'The house (of) my returning')

b.* *Na uma na pa- **ka.beli** -nggu*
ART house ART RMO- turn around -1SG
?'The house that I turned around'

In short, the deverbal use of prefix *ka.* seems to affect the aspectual properties of the base verb. If the base is an active transitive, it is derived to become a *bounded event* verb. If the base is an intransitive verb, the contrast between the base and the derivation is less clear. We have seen that, when the intransitive root form is used, the clause in which it appears expresses a punctual achievement, whereas the derived form is the unmarked form that is temporally unspecified.

In (206a), (207) and (208) verbs with *ka.* are used adverbially. The contrast between (206a,b) shows the contrast between a derivation with *ka.—.ng* and *pa.—.ng* (6.3).

(206) a. *Na- laku **ka.tau.ng** -ma -a*
3SN- walk with human body -EMP -MOD
'He goes with a human body' (i.e. Not in spirit he goes to heaven)

b. *Uma nda **pa.tau.ng***
house NEG have people
'Sacred house (for the spirits)' (lit.: 'House not peopled')

(207) *Tani **ka.luri.ng***
bury be alive
'Bury alive'

(208) *Unu* ***ka.ndolaku.ng***
drink be standing
'Drink (while) standing'

Formally, these expressions are serial verbs (chapter 7). In one respect, however, they differ from productively derived serial verbs: the verbs with *ka.* that are used adverbially (like *kataung, kaluring* and *kandolakung*) only function as adverbs, and only occur as V2 in a complex verb. That is, they do not occur as independent verbs, unlike the V2s of productively derived serial verbs.

Kambera has another way to express adverbial concepts similar to the ones in (206)–(208): verbs to be used adverbally can be incorporated into a verbal complex, with the verb *mangu.ng* or with the preposition *dàngu* and the morpheme *.ng* (section 6.2.6.2), as illustrated in (209a), (210a):

(209) a. *Palewa* *màngu* *hidu.**ng***
send possess be ill.**ng**
'Send (while being) ill' (i.e. the person send is ill)

b.* *Palewa* ***ka**hidu.**ng***
send be ill.**ng**

(210) a. *Paní* *dàngu* *mbeni.**ng***
tell with be angry **.ng**
'Tell (while being) angry'

b.* *Paní* ***ka.**mbeni.**ng***
tell be angry **.ng**
'Tell (while being) angry'

The constructions in (209a) and (210a) are productively derived; while forms with *ka.(—.ng)* used as adverbs only occur in lexicalised/idiomatic expressions, as the ungrammaticality of (209) and (210b) illustrates. A construction with *màngu.ng* or *dàngu* is always preferred to derivation with *ka.(—.ng)*, except in the expression in (206)–(208), the only *ka.(—.ng)* derivations with an adverbial notion that have been attested. The forms with *màngu* and *dàngu* were attested on numerous occasions in various contexts.

6.6.3. Other derivations with *ka.*

In (211) forms with *ka.* are given where the base is a noun or a verb, but the derivation is a noun. Although most derivations in (211) are semantically related to their base, semantic drift has occurred and/or the derived form has developed a specific meaning.

(211)

liku	'rope'	***ka.liku***	'cane basket/box'
hilu	'language'	***ka.hilu***	'ear'
wini	'seed'	***ka.wini***	'female/woman'
ninu	'mirror image'	***ka.ninu***	'mirror'
meti	'die, be dead'	***ka.meti***	'ritual sacrifice'

In (212) some highly lexicalised derivations with *ka.* are given. They are nouns, prepositional nouns, adverbs or verbs and do no longer have an independent root form.

(212)

Noun		**Verb (intr)**	
ka.hembi	'bush(es)'	***ka.nabu***	'fall (down from above)'
ka.hidi	'knife'	***ka.borang***	'be brave'
ka.mambi	'goat'	***ka.njiwa***	'be stupid/dumb'
ka.njaka	'chair'		
ka.lau	'mouse'	**Prep. Noun**	
ka.tiku	'head'	***ka.lai***	'left'
ka.bela	'sword'	***ka.wana***	'right'
ka.jawa	'papaya'	***ka.puka***	'top (of tree)'
ka.taka	'axe, hoe'	***ka.wunga***	'first'
ka.pola	'ulcer'		
ka.ndunu	'star'	**Adverb**	
		ka.ngeu	'yesterday'
Verb (tr)		***ka.modung***	'last night'
ka.wànar	'ponder about X'	***ka.wài***	'just now'
ka.hai	'pull up X'		
ka.rai	'ask X'		

Causative derivations of bases with the prefix *ka.* (and suffix *.ng*) are productive. The data in (213) are illustrations.

(213)

a. V trans.:	***ka.liti***	'ride X' → ***ka.liti.ng*** 'ride on X'
	pa.ka.liti.ng	'make (X) ride on Y'
	****pa.ka.liti***	'make X ride'
b. V intrans.:	***ka.tuda***	'sleep'
	pa.ka.tuda	'put X to sleep'
c. Noun:	***ka.loka***	'group, series'
	pa.ka.loka	'organise, manage'

Causative formation on morphologically underived transitive verbs is not very frequent in general (section 6.1); which explains why *kaliti* is made applicative before it can be causativised.

6.6.4. Summary and conclusions

There are several uses of the prefix *ka.*: it derives verbs from numeral and verbal bases. The derivation affects the aspectual properties of the verb, and a limited set of derivations with *ka.* can be used adverbially. A formally identical prefix has been involved in the derivation of nouns from nominal (and verbal) bases and some highly lexicalised forms, including verbs, nouns (also prepositional nouns) and adverbs. *Ka.* is no longer a productive prefix because it does not derive a uniform category, the meaning changes that are induced by it vary, the use of *ka.* derivations as adverbials is only possible in a few idiomatic expressions, and many derivations with *ka.* have either undergone a semantic change/specialisation, or have no independently used root at all.

6.7. The prefix *la.*

There are a limited number of historically derived words with the prefix *la.*, both verbs and nouns. None of the forms in (214) (except *la.lei*, see below) has a root form that is still used independently. The argument to synchronically analyse them as containing a prefix is therefore purely formal: phonotactically, they are identical to morphologically complex words rather than root forms (i.e. they consist of a root (foot) plus an unstressed prefix (syllable /Ca/), cf. section 2.2, 2.3). [307]

(214)

verbs		**nouns**	
la.lei	'be married to a woman	*la.mbungur*	flower sp. (*Datura factuosa*)
		la.mboya	name of medicinal plant tree
la.ngora	'wipe off	*la.wungu*	sp. with hard wood
la.wihir	'turn one's back/ give way to X	*la.wina*	bean sp. (*Cajanus Cajan*)
		la.nggapa	1. tree sp. with thin bark
la.mihi	'clean away X		2.'be very thin (V)'
la.manga	'be weak/have sore back/joints	*la.ngira*	tree sp. used for canoes
		la.ngaha	tree (*Barringtonia asiatica)*
la.mbiri	'look sleepy	*la.yia*	1. 'ginger plant'
la.muji	'suck		2. title for brother in law
la.nggori	'burp	*la.hona*	'red onion'
la.ngidip	'hickup/gasp	*la.mbàku*	'civet cat'
la.ngudu	'be in a heap	*la.wora*	'iguana'
la.nggeha	'be thin	*la.nggudu*	tuberous plant sp. (*Toca palmata*)
la.wújur	'w. bended back		
la.nggudu	'(tie X) with feet together (e.g.pig)	*la.ngàdi*	'type of coral'
		la.ngiha	'gums'
		la.mbonga	'deep large hole'
		la.mbaru	'centipede'

As can be seen in (214), the prefix *la.* is commonly used in words that belong to specific semantic fields. The nouns are mainly plants or animals, while the verbal forms mostly denote a position or state of the body, and movements/sounds that are related to the mouth (*la.muji* 'suck', *la.nggori* 'burp', *la.nggidip* 'hickup, gasp'). Only the derivation *la.lei* 'be married (to a woman)' has an independently used root form *lei*, which, however, means 'husband' rather than 'wife'. *Lei* is considered coarse (low register) and is therefore not often used; *mbapa* is the common term for 'husband'.

6.8. The prefix *ma.*

Derivations with *ma.* are both nominal and verbal. The verbs are intransitive and non-active. They cannot appear without *ma.* and the reason to analyse them as morphologically complex is purely formal (cf. the forms with *la.*, section 6.7). The function of the prefix is not clear.

(215)

ma.yila	'be poor/sad'	***ma.nganga***	'be a thief/steal'
ma.kia	'be ashamed/ embarassed'	***ma.njú***	'be hungry'
		ma.ndapu	'sit/settle'
ma.lijang	'be weak'	***ma.muli***	'trad. piece of jewelry'
ma.linggit	'be secluded/isolated'	***ma.nila***	'peanut'
ma.nandang	'be beautiful'	***ma.nginu***	'kind of bird'
ma.ngàdat	'be afraid'	***ma.ràda***	'field'
ma.nàhal	'have regret(s)'	***ma.ràmba***	'king'

The sentences (216)–(217) and (219)-(220) illustrate some of these verbs.

(216) *Ku-* ***ma.ngàdat*** *pa-* *meti*
1SN- be afraid CTR- die
'I'm afraid to die'

(217) *Jàka* ***ma.nganga*** *-ma* *-nanya* *-i* *una...*
if steal -EMP -3s.CONT -ITER EMP.3s
'If he is stealing as well...'

In some forms the prefix *ma.* may be related to Proto Malayo Polynesian *ma-*, the Kambera reflex of which is the clitic *ma-* that marks subject relative clauses (cf. section 8.1). Relative clauses may be headless and have a nominal status. The derivations given in (218) show how a relative construction can be reinterpreted as a noun (*ma.rara* 'gold', *ma.ka.weda* 'old woman') or a verb (*ma.aya* 'be the older sibling').

(218)

rara	'be red, ripe'	***ma.rara***	'gold' (=which is red)
aya	'older sibling'	***ma.aya***	'the older sibling' (=who is the older sibling)
rapu	'something hidden/unknown'	***ma.rapu***	'spirits of ancestors' (= which is hidden)
mbowa	'hole/gap'	***ma.mbowa***	'something with gaps/holes'
ka.weda	'be old'	***ma.kaweda***	'old woman' (=who is old)

The prefix *ma.* is, however, not *identical* to the relative marker *ma-*. In (219) and (220) the verbs *ma.nandang* 'be beautiful' and *ma.ndapu* 'sit' are part of a relative construction, the relative marker is used in addition to the prefix *ma.*. The same applies to the other verbs in (215).

(219) a. *Lau* ***ma.nandang***
sarong be beautiful
'A beautiful sarong'

b. *Lau* ***ma-*** ***ma.nandang***
sarong RMS- be beautiful
'A sarong that is beautiful'

(220) a. *Ba* *na-* ***ma.ndapu*** *i* *Umbu Lú* *la* *Mangili...*
CNJ 3SN- settle ART sir Lú LOC Mangili
'When Umbu Lú settled in Mangili...'

b. *Da* ***ma-*** ***ma.ndapu*** *-nya*$_j$ [*na* *tana* *yena*]$_j$
ART RMS- settle -3SD ART land this one
'Those who settle on this land'

6.9. The prefix [*nas*]./mutation: non-controlled intransitive verbs

In this section I will discuss a prefix that consists of a phonological feature rather than a segment: the homorganic nasal prefix [*nas*]. derives intransitives that express non-controlled achievement from transitives by prenasalising word-initial stops. In (221) illustrations are given. Some of the derivations are illformed; I will come back to this below.

(221)

transitive		**intransitive**	
pata	'break X'	***mbata***	'be broken (e.g. chair)'
pana	'heat up X'	***mbana***	'be warm/hot'
baha	'wash X'	***mbaha***	'be wet'
pàda	'extinguish X'	***mbàda***	'have gone out'
pàpa	'flatten X'	***mbàpa***	'flattened/thrown over'
pinu	'fill X'	***mbinu***	'be full/filled'
buta	'pluck/weed X'	***mbuta***	'be weeded/plucked'
bera	'break X (e.g. glass)'	***mbera***	'be broken/split/disagree'
kodang	'move X'	***nggodang***	'be loose (e.g. tooth)'
keru/reku	'drag X (with foot)'	***nggerung***	'fish'
kupul	'surround X'	***nggupul***	'surround X'
kunggulung	'roll X'	***nggunggul***	'roll over'
tutu	'stay close to X'	***ndutu***	'follow X'
porak	'break X (e.g. wood)'	***mborak***	'be broken'
pulur	'destroy X'	* ***mbulur***	* 'be destroyed'
puli	'let go X'	* ***mbuli***	* 'be gone/gone loose'
pijar	'squeeze (out) X'	* ***mbijar***	* 'be squeezed'
pinu	'peel X'	* ***mbinu***	* 'be peeled'
palar	'cut open X'	* ***mbalar***	* 'be cut open'
* *bàdi/pàdi*	* 'itch X'	***mbàdi***	'be itchy'
* *beni/peni*	* ?	***mbeni***	'be angry/brave'
* *biha/ piha*	* ?	***mbiha***	'be magic'
intr/noun			
tòri	make no sound	***ndòri***	'make no sound'
papa	one of pair/partner	***mbapa***	'husband'

The data in (221) show that the valency of transitive base verbs decreases through the morphological derivation. The original AGENT disappears, while the original PATIENT of a transitive base has become the sole argument of the derived verb, as illustrated in (222a,b). In (222a) the transitive root verb *kunggul* 'roll X' is used, in (222b) the derived intransitive *nggunggul* 'roll (by itself)'. In (222c) this verb is turned into an unintentional/unexpected intransitive achievement verb (section 6.10) by the prefix *ta.*

(222)a. *Ka u- kunggul -nya$_j$ [na ngohung]$_j$!*
CNJ 2SN- roll -3SD ART container[308]
'You roll the container (away)!'

b. *Nggungul -nanya$_i$ -ka [na ngohung]$_i$*
[nas].roll -3s.CONT -PRF ART container
'The container is rolling' (away) (by itself)

c. ***Ta.****nggungul* *-nanya*$_i$ [*na anakeda*]$_i$
ta.[nas].roll -1s.CONT ART child
'The child is rolling' (e.g. down the hill) (by accident)

Derivations with [*nas*] may the base for a causative derivation with the prefix *pa.* (cf. section 6.1), as in (223).

(223) ***mbaha*** 'be wet' ***pa.mbaha*** 'cause X to be wet'
mbata 'be broken' ***pa.mbata*** 'cause X to be broken'

Consider the sentences in (224). In (224a) the subject of the derived verb *mbaha* 'be wet' is 'my clothes'. The verb (224b) is causativised *pa.mbaha* 'cause X to be wet' and part of an object relative clause (cf. section 8.1.). (224c) shows that the verb *mbaha* does not have an object, because it cannot form an object relative clause, something which the transitive base verb *baha* 'wash X' *can* do, as shown in (224d).

(224) a. *Na-* ***mbaha***[309] *na kalembi -nggu nyungga*
3sN- **[nas]**.wash ART clothes -1sG I
'My clothes are wet'

b. *Na kalembi na pa-* ***pa.mbaha*** *-na*
ART clothes ART RMO- CAU.**[nas]**.wash -3sG
'The clothes that were made wet by him'

c.* *Na kalembi na pa-* ***mbaha*** *-na*
ART clothes ART RMO- **[nas]**.wash -3sG

d. *Na kalembi na pa- baha -na*
ART clothes ART RMO- wash -3sG
'The clothes that she washed'

Are the derivations in (221) 'lexical passives' (Dowty 1991:557)? Note that by using the notion 'passive' the existence of some person or thing bringing about the achieved situation is implied. This is not always the case for the derived transitive verbs above. For instance, *mbàda* 'have gone out, be extinguished' can be used both for a fire that has gone out by itself and for a fire that was extinguished by someone. Furthermore, prefixing [*nas*] is not always a 'valency reducing' process, e.g. *tòri* 'make no sound' → *ndòri* 'make no sound' in (221). Thus the forms are not regularly derived passives. Nor are they (semantically) 'ergative' or 'anticausative' verbs (Comrie 1985:326) because these notions imply that the verbs have no AGENT at all, and this would not be appropriate for a derived verb like *mbuta* 'be plucked/weeded', where clearly an agent is implied that weeds the grass. (In contrast to [*nas*]. derivations, verbs derived with the prefix *ta.* are truly agentless, as in (222c), cf. section 6.10). The term 'non-controlled achievement' for the [*nas*] derivations indicates the semantics of the derived forms, whatever the semantics of their base form was or is.

I do not have an explanation for the derivation of the noun *mbapa*. I have not attested other nouns that are derived from verbs by prefixing [*nas*]. Given its exceptional status, there may not even be a morphological relation between *papa* and *mbapa*: it could also be a loan word from Ind. *bapak* 'mr., father'.

The ungrammatical derived forms in (221) above and the derivations that no longer have an independent root suggest that derivation by prenasalisation is no longer productive. Achievement verbs with bases such as * *mbulur*, * *mbuli* etc. are derived by prefixing *ta.*, as is illustrated in (232) in section 6.10.

My corpus of spontaneous texts does not contain roots *and* derived forms with [*nas*] (i.e. if there is a derived form in the corpus, its (possible) root is not, and vice versa). I therefore checked sixteen roots with their prenasalised derivations as they are given by Onvlee (1984)[310] with one informant in 1992. The informant did not agree with 13 of these derivations: the root or the derivation does not (or: no longer) exist as an independent word and/or the derivation was with the prefix *ta.* or *ha.* rather than [*nas*]. This considerable discrepancy between Onvlee's data and mine could be due to dialectal variation or to the fact that the nasal prefix is becoming obsolete (or both).

Finally, let me comment on the phonological aspects of this derivational process, which mutates plain stop consonants into prenasalised stops (cf. section 2.1.1). All the roots in (221) have an initial stop consonant and the roots with an initial liquid [l,r] or nasal consonant that I examined did not have a derived form with [*nas*]., but were instead derived with *ta.*, *ka.* or *ha.*. The following may be a language-internal explanation why non-stop initial consonants do not take part in the derivation: Kambera has lexical prenasalised stops (*mb, nd, ngg*, section 2.1.1) in onset positions in the root. The derived onsets in (221) comply to the Kambera lexical phonological system. In contrast to this, simply prefixing [*nas*]. to liquid or nasal onsets would result in illformed segments like [*nr*], [*nl*], [*n:*]. In other words, the prefix [*nas*]. only derives words that are phonologically wellformed, and the prefixes *ta.*, *ha.* and *ka.* are used when prefixing [*nas*]./mutation would result in an illformed segment. (225) and (234) below illustrate such alternative derivations.

6.10. The prefix *ta.*: agentless intransitive achievement verbs

Prefix *ta.* derives achievement verbs that are non-intentional, involuntary, accidental, sudden or unexpected.[311] In (225) some examples are given of derivations based on a transitive root. Some have a root with a non-stop initial consonant (cf. the discussion of the prenasalisation of stop-initial roots in section 6.9 above). They are derived with *ta.*, *ka.* or *ha.*. The choice of one of these prefixes in the examples in (225) seems to be unpredictable. The roots that have the same meaning as their derivation have special properties, which I will return to below.

(225)

bunggah	'open X'	***ta.bunggah***	'open/opened'
binu	'peel X'	***ta.binu***	'be peeled'
rohak	'kick/sweep X with feet across floor'	***ta.rohak***	'kick/shuffle with one's feet' (e.g. angry child)
lunggur	'rub/scrape X'	***ta.lunggur***	'be scraped/sore' (skin)
menyal	'be weak/soft'	***ta.menyal***	'be weak/limp/soft'
milih	'be smooth'	***? ta.milih***	? 'be smooth'
		ka.milih	'be smooth'
leling	'move to other place'	***ta.leling***	'be tilted/inclined (to)'
		ha.leli	'move (X)/be moved'
ràhik	'be slippery'	***ta.ràhik***	'be slippery'
lihu	'bulge/stream' 'out/protrude'	***ta.lihu***	'bulge/stream out/ protrude'
lukur	'cowered/huddled'	***ta.lukur***	'cowered/huddled'
mbutuh	'slip off'	***ta.mbutuh***	'slip off'
nggàjir	'shake (intr)'	***ta.nggàjir***	'shake (intr)'

The subject of verbs derived with *ta.* is never an AGENT, it is non-volitional and (therefore) normally inanimate.[312] Because there is no AGENT implied in the derived verbs and some derived forms have the same valency as their base, they cannot be considered passives that are regularly derived from transitive verbs. The reasons are similar to those discussed in connection to the prefix [*nas*] in the previous section. Because the notion AGENT is not part of their semantic representation, these verbs are semantic 'ergatives', 'unaccusatives' or 'anticausatives'. They have the semantic property that they cannot have an AGENT argument. This semantic 'ergativitiy' has nothing to do with the absolutive construction, when S gets the same morpho-syntactic marking as O (namely accusative) (section 5.5). This is a structural phenomenon; it is not semantically determined.

Because *ta.* derivations do not allow their S to be structurally interpreted as more or less actively involved — the parameter triggering the fluid-S marking phenomena discussed in chapter 5 — these verbs never occur in absolutive constructions (section 5.5.3). This is illustrated in sentence (229f).

The sentences in (226)—(228) illustrate the derivation. The base verb is used when the action is in progress, as in (226a). In (226b) the derived form is used to indicate the (accidental) achievement of a state. In (227a) and (228a) the base verb is reduplicated, which also suggests an ongoing event/state. The derived verbs in the (b) sentences, on the other hand, express an achieved state. There is no AGENT implied in the achievement. It may or may not be the result of something that happened by accident (compare (226b) to (227b) and (228b)).

(226) a.	*Lunggur*	*-na$_i$-nya$_j$*	*[na*	*ihi*	*-na]$_j$*
	scratch	-3SG-3SD	ART	body	-3SG

'He$_i$ is scratching his body$_j$'

b. *Na- njoru nuna na hapi, **ta.**lunggur hàla na ihi-na*
3sN- fall DEI.3s ART cow be sore completely ART body-3sG
'(Because) the cow fell, its body is completely sore/scraped'

c. *Kau **pa.ta.**lunggur -ya na wihi-na*
scratch CAU.be sore -3sA ART leg-3sG
'(He) scratched his leg sore' (lit.: 'He scratched & caused his leg to be sore')

(227) a. *Menyal- menyal -bia -na ba na- pangga*
RDP- be weak/limp -MOD -3sG CNJ 3sN- walk
'He walks weakly'

b. ***Ta.**menyal hàla nyumu ba u- pangga*
be limp completely you CNJ 2sN- walk
'You (are) completely limp when you walk'

(228) a. *Milih-milih -bia-na na karata ba ku- àpa -ya*
RDP-be smooth -MOD-3sG ART paper CNJ 1sN-hold -3sA
'The paper felt smooth when I held it'

b. *Na- **ta.**milih hàmu na menja*[313]
3sN- be smooth be nice ART table
'The table is nice (and) smooth'

The subject of a verb derived with *ta.* is often not cliticised, as shown in (226b) and (227b). Derivations with *ta.* can be causativised, as shown in (226c), but this possibility is rarely used[314] — *ta.*-verbs are non-intentional achievements and a causative of such a verb would mean 'causing an unintended achievement', a fairly unusual, but not implausible concept. (By scratching his leg, for example in his sleep, the person unintentionally caused the skin to be sore).

(229) illustrates derivations of the verb *bunggah* 'open X'. In (229a) the verb is applicative (*bunggahu.ng* 'open (X) for Y', cf. section 6.2). In (229b) the derived achievement verb *ta.bunggah* 'be open' is used. No AGENT is implied in this derivation. In (229c), however, where the verb is part of a relative clause with an object gap, an AGENT is implied. Sentences (229d,e) are illustrations that *ta.bunggah* can be used in different aspects. The ungrammaticality of (229f) shows that subjects of *ta.* verbs cannot appear in the absolutive construction (i.e. have accusative case).

(229) a. *Napa i Yehu Karitu na- bunggah -nggai pindu*
later ART Jesus Christ 3sN- open -2pD door
'Jesus Christ will open for you the door'

b. *Nàhu **ta.**bunggah -nanya -ka, mai -kai -wa!*
now be open -3s.CONT -PRF come -2pA-HORT
'It's open now, come on!'

c. *Tau* *ma-pira -ya*$_j$ [*na tau na* ***pa-*** *bunggah* *na pindu*]$_j$?
person RMS-how many -3SA ART person ART RMO-open ART door
'(For) how many people has the door been opened?'

d. ***Ta.****bunggah* *-nanya*$_j$ *-pa* [*na* *pindu*]$_j$
be open -3s.CONT -IMPF ART door
'The door is still open'

e. *Mbàda* ***ta.****bunggah* *-na* *-ka*
already be open -3SG -PRF
'It is already open'

f.* *Mbàda* ***ta.****bunggah* *-ya* *-ka*
already be open -3SA -PRF

In (230) and (231) it is shown that verbs with *ta.* can be used with an inchoative meaning or in a continuative aspect construction:

(230) *...hi* *na-* ***ta.****mbutuh*
CNJ 3SN- slip off
'...and it slipped off'

(231) ***Ta.****pàlang* *-ma* *-nanya* *na* *tau* *na* *ma-meti*
lie scattered -EMP -3s.CONT ART person ART RMS-die
'The casualties were scattered (around)' (lit.: The people who died were scattered)

Some *ta.* derivations are opaque. In (232) some examples are given of derivations that prefix *ta.* to a prenasalised base. The plain, morphologically simple root in the left-hand column is used as an independent word, the prenasalised base is not. This base must be related to the derivations discussed in the previous section (cf. (221) above), where most derived prenasalised verbs were said to be intransitive, non-controlled achievement verbs. The prenasalised base in these *ta.* derivations is an intermediate form that is not used as an independent verb.

(232)

pulur	'destroy X'	***ta.mbulur***	'destroyed, perished'
puli	'let go X'	***ta.mbuli***	'become detached'
porak	'break X'	***ta.mborak***	'be broken (e.g. bone)'
pijar	'squeeze (out) X'	***ta.mbijar***	'be squeezed'
palar	'cut open X'	***ta.mbalar***	'have a long cut/tear (e.g. in leg/shirt)'
binu	'peel X'	***ta.mbinu***	'be peeled'

These derivations have properties similar to the *ta.* derivations discussed above. In (233a) the root is an active verb, while the derived form in (233b) is an unintentional achievement verb:

(233) a. *Na-* *porak* *mema* *-ya* *na* *bangku*[315]
3SN- break immediately -3SA ART bench
'He broke the bench in no time at all'

b. *Na-*$_j$ ***ta.mborak*** [*na* *lima-na*]$_j$
3SN- broken ART hand-3SG
'His hand is broken'

Other derivations that no longer have an independently used base are given in (234).[316]

(234) ***ta.mbulu*** 'sink' ***ta.liurung*** 'stand w. back to X
ta.liu 'have left' ***ta.pàlang*** 'lie scattered/be scattered'

Finally, there are also derivations with a semantically unrelated root. They are given in (235). The data in (235) also show that some derivations with *ta.* are nouns.

(235)

mbàla	'CLF flat objects'	***ta.mbàla***	'be round (V)/ pumpkin (N)'
lora	'neither fat nor thin'	***ta.lora***	'village square'
mbaka	'be specked/mottled'	***ta.mbaka***	'tin'
wuru	'pot/pan'	***ta.wuru***	'ring'

Above, it was observed that in (225) some roots have the same meaning as their derivations. These roots have special properties. They can only be used in a 'direct speech' construction with the verb *wà(ngu)* 'say/do' (cf. section 8.2.4). Consider the contrasting sentences in (236) and (237).

(236) a. ***Ta.mbutuh*** *-nanya* *-ka* *na* *tawuru*
slip off -3S.CONT -PRF ART ring
'The ring slipped off'

b. *Mbutuh* *wà-na* *weling* *la* *uma*
slip off say/do-3SG move from LOC house
'He quickly left the house' (lit.: 'He did "slip" from the house')

(237) a. *...ba* *na-* ***ta.nggàjir*** *na* *liang*
CNJ 3SN- shake ART cave
'...when the cave shook'

b. *Nggàjir wà -na ba na- upung*
shake say/do -3SG CNJ 3SN- earthquake
'There was a shock because there was an earthquake'
(lit.: 'It did "shake" because it earthquaked')

The difference between the use of the derived verb and the root in a construction with *wà(ngu)* is that the latter construction gives the event a sense of 'directness', or 'punctuality'. This is not a meaning conveyed by the root itself — it is a property of the quotative construction in which the root occurs. (See also roots with the prefix *ka.*, section 6.6.2, cf. sentence (201a), (202a), roots with the prefix *ha.*, section 6.5.1, cf. sentence (177a), (119a) and 'ideophonic' roots, section 6.4, cf. sentence (173c), (174c)).

To conclude, we have seen that prefix *ta.* derives achievement verbs that are non-intentional, involuntary, accidental, sudden or unexpected. The subject of such verbs is never an AGENT and these verbs are semantic 'ergatives', 'unaccusatives' or 'anticausatives'. Although prefixing *ta.* has a transparant function, not all derivations with *ta.* are productively derived.

6.11. Overview: interaction of some prefixes

In (238) derivations of the same root are provided, which illustrates the interaction of the various prefixes. The meaning of the various derivations may or may not be related to each other.

(238) - * *bonga*

ha.bonga	'have a large opening/be loud (mouthed)'
ta.bonga	'with a large opening/(suddenly) yell'
— * *buwa*	— *
ha.buwa	'have opening/be opened (e.g. dress)'
ta.buwa	'be opened suddenly/be torn'
pa.buwa	'(tear) open X'
— * *maulu*	— *
ha.maulu	'be withered/weak'
ta.maulu	'suddenly be without strength'
— *kuku wà-na*	— 'it does (lit. say-3SG) "cock-a-doodle-doo"'
ha.kuku	'event of crowing'
* ***ta.kuku***	* 'sudden crowing'
— *pòhu wà-na*	— 'he moved into' (e.g. house)' (lit. "sink" say-3SG)
mbòhu(k) wà-na	'he sinks' (e.g in mud)
ta.mbòhuk	'sink' (e.g. in unseen hole)

— buta	— 'weed X/pluck X'
mbuta	'be weeded/picked'
ta.mbuta	'fall(en) out (by itself)'
— pukal	— 'pull loose' (e.g. button)
mbukal wà-na	'it comes loose' (lit. "loose" say-3sG)
ta.mbukal	'to have come loose/to be free now'
— beli	— 'return'
ha.beli	'(turn) inside out'
ka.beli	'return/turn around'
*— * mbeli*	— *
*** ka.mbeli***	*
ha.mbeli	'outside' (prep. noun)
pa.mbeli.ng	'turn X around'
pa.ka.mbeli.ng	'hide oneself at the side'
— nduka	— 'be stuck'
ka.nduka	'be stuck/be at the end'
ha.nduka	'be in trouble/be sad'
— ndànga	— 'be wrong'
ka.ndànga	'be thirsty'
ha.ndànga	'be in a corner/be trapped/be in a tight situation'
— mbàti wà-na	— 'it drips' (lit. "drop" say-3sG)
ka.mbàti.k	'to drip'
ha.mbàtik	'one drop'
pa.ka.mbàtiku.ng	'to drip water on someone'
ha.mbàti	'hurt/sting'

6.12. Summary and conclusions

In this chapter the derivational word-formation processes of Kambera have been discussed. As the conclusions concerning particular derivations have been given at the end of the relevant sections, I will only give some general conclusions here.

Kambera has two major productive derivational word-formation processes, prefixing *pa.* and suffixing *.ng*. The prefix *pa.* derives verbs that may have different interpretations. The semantic features of the verb are changed by the derivational process (i.e. the AGENT becomes more volitional), and this may result in a valency change (a causative/factitive is derived). On the basis of distributional facts, I argued that, despite the different interpretations that derivations with *pa.* can have, this

derivation is one morphological process. The semantic link between the causative/factitive (and resultative) use of *pa.* on the one hand, and the intensive/volitional (and reciprocal and infinitive) use of *pa.* on the other, is that both interpretations need a controlling, volitional AGENT. The majority of the verbs with a causative/factitive reading are derived from intransitive or non-verbal bases, whereas the derivations with a more volitional/intensive reading prefer transitive verbs as their bases. However, the choice of a certain base is not subcategorially determined, rather, it is a tendency. There are exceptions to this pattern.

The suffix *.ng* derives (applicative) verbs, but not exclusively so. Neither does the dative clitic exclusively mark applicative objects. In connection to this, I showed that, despite their formal resemblance (i.e. dative clitics appear to be prenasalised accusatives), the dative clitic has some unique structural properties which distinguish it from the accusative.

Apart from deriving applicative verbs, the nasal was shown to have other grammatical functions as well. Firstly, the presence of a final nasal attached to verbs influences the aspectual properties of the clause. Secondly, the nasal morpheme is also used in connection with the incorporation of elements into the verb. This incorporation creates a complex verb, the nasal being attached to the right edge of this complex. And thirdly, the nasal may also be used as a 'filling up' final consonant in certain styles.

Derivation with *pa.* and derivation with *.ng* are two independent and separate morphological processes, each with their own structural properties and meaning. They apply at different derivational stages and are not intrinsically ordered. The semantics of the verbal base plays a role in the order in which applicative and causative derivation apply. As can be seen from the derivations in (158) above, applicative formation precedes causative formation when the base verb is directional, stative or an event verb, rather than an active verb.

The verbal base of a derivation with *pa.* or *.ng* is often intransitive rather than transitive. The derived forms are then transitive verbs. Thus, verbal derivations usually result in an increase of the number of verbal arguments and almost never in a valency decrease. (But recall that a valency decrease is a result of the (less/unproductive) derivations by prefixing [*nas*] or *ta.*)

Another productive derivation is the affixation of the circumfix *ka.—.k* to ideophonic roots. In this way verbs of motion, sound and sight are derived. Derivations with *ha.*, *ka.*, *la*, *ma.*, [*nas*] and *ta.* were shown to be more or less unproductive. A major distinction between these derivations is that forms with *ka.*, *la.* and *ma.* are of various categories, while many of the derivations with the prefixes *ha.*, *ta.* and [*nas*] are non-active intransitive verbs. Derivations with *ka.* are nouns or verbs, and the number of items of both categories is about the same. Derivations with *la.* and *ma.* are nouns and verbs, the majority of the verbs being intransitive.

The facts presented in this chapter show that, apart from underived intransitives and the deictic verbs discussed in section 5.2, Kambera has eight other formally distinct types of intransitive verbs: (i) verbs derived with 'intensive' *pa.*, (ii) ideophonic verbs

with their special morphological and syntactic properties, (iii) state or event intransitive verbs derived with *ha.*, (iv) intransitives derived with *ka.*, (v) intransitives derived with *la.*, (vi) intransitives derived with *ma.*, (vii) non-controlled achievement verbs derived with the [*nas*]. prefix, and (viii) unintentional/unexpected achievement verbs derived with *ta.*. The latter verbs are unique in being semantically 'unaccusative', i.e. inherently agentless (see also section 5.5.3).

Chapter 7
Complex verbs

7.0. Introduction

A complex verb construction is a predicate which is composed of constituent morphemes but functions syntactically as a unit, either a word or a phrase (cf. Foley 1994). In this sense, all morphologically derived verbs are complex verbs. The complex verbs that are the focus of this chapter are unlike the verbal derivations in chapter 6 in that they are not a combination of a base and (an) affix(es) but consist of two separate lexical elements, which are often also separate prosodic words. We will see that the additional element may be another verb (7.1, 7.2.1, 7.2.3), a preposition (7.2.2) or a noun (7.3). In section 7.1 the structural properties of serial verb constructions are discussed, and I present a number of arguments why these constructions may also be analysed as 'compound' verbs. In section 7.2 I discuss three other types of complex verbs which consist of either two verbs or a verb plus a preposition. Yet another type of complex verb are the phrasal verbs, in which a verb is combined with a body part noun to express emotions and appearances. These are discussed in section 7.3. In section 7.4 some conclusions are formulated.

7.1. Serial verb constructions[317]

7.1.1. General serial verb constructions

Serial or multi-verb constructions in Kambera are combinations of two verbs that jointly constitute a single predicate.[318] In this section I discuss the structural properties of these constructions. I present semantic, (morpho-) syntactic and phonological evidence to show the difference between serial verb constructions and a sequence of two clauses. The verbal sequences in (1) consist of two intransitive verbs.[319] In (2), on the other hand, the first verb is intransitive, the second transitive.

(1) V1 intransitive, V2 intransitive

ma.ndapu hàpa	'sit + chew betelnut'	'sit chewing betelnut'
hei puru	'go up + go down'	'go up and down'
lua mài	'go + come'	'come and go'
riki hàdiru.ng	'laugh + be loud'	'laugh loudly'
ha.nganga ha.ní	'open mouthed + stay'	'stand openmouthed'
hidu payambarung	'be ill + be terminally ill'	'be terminally ill'
dedi meti	'be born + die'	'die at birth (child)'

rihi kudu	'be more + be small'	'be smaller'
njurak ndànga	'be adulterous +do wrong'	'commit adultery'
ka.palih ka.leka	'lie + cheat'	'have shady character'
nggidu nggaudu	'shake + be afraid'	'be very worried'

(2) V1 intransitive, V2 transitive

palài ngàndi	'run + take X'	'bring X running'
tama ngàndi	'go in + take X'	'go in with X'
luhu ngàndi	'go out + take X'	'go out with X'
ka.weda ngàndi	'be old + take X'	'grow old with X'
meti ngàndi	'die + take X'	'take X to the grave'
puru ngàndi	'go down + take X'	'go down with X'
hei toma	'go up + reach X'	'go up to(wards) X'
tama toma	'enter + reach X'	'go in to(wards) X'
ngeni toma	'swim + reach X'	'swim to(wards) X'
luhu toma	'go out + reach X'	'go out to(wards) X'
pala toma	'cross over + reach X'	'cross over to X'
beli toma	'return + reach X'	'return to X'
meti wàrung	'die + dispose of X'	'die leaving/taking X'
pa.lài wàrung	'run + dispose of X'	'run leaving X behind'
pa.lài nyara	'run + chase X'	'run after X'
ma.ndapu dimbak	'sit + block X'	'sit blocking X'
puru ka.riang	'descend + accompany X'	'go down with X'
mai ka.riang	'come + accompany X'	'come with X'
laku bànjal	'go + put down X'	'go & put X (iter.)'
uhuk ha.ria	'sit + lean against X'	'sit leaning against X'
hí rohu	'cry + hug X'	'hug X crying'
ka.reu.k ka.ngùru.ku.ng	'talk + whisper to Y'	'talk whispering to Y'

Crosslinguistically, the second verb (V2) of a multi-verb construction often expresses a further development, result or direction of the first verb (V1) (see e.g. Foley—Van Valin 1984, Crowley 1987), but the semantic relation between the verbs in a multi-verb construction often shows a great deal of variation. The verbs in (1) show that V1 and V2 may be simultaneous or sequential actions, as in *mandapu hàpa* 'sit chewing betelnut' and *hei puru* 'go up and down', and that V2 may modify V1, as in *hidu payambarung* 'be terminally ill'. The verbs in (2) illustrate that the V2 may semantically modify the V1 by being the result of V1, as in *mandapu dimbak* 'sit blocking X', or by being the direction of V1, as in *hei toma* 'go up towards X'. It is also possible that both verbs express one complex event or action, for example *hí rohu* 'hug X crying'. In addition, in the serial verb constructions of ritual language (discussed in section 7.1.2), V1 and V2 may be (more or less) synonymous (cf. Fox 1988). Finally, there are complex verbs where V1 is specified by a locative or instrumental V2 or by the preposition *dàngu* 'with'. In sum, the semantics of Kambera multi-verb constructions is unpredictable and shows a great deal of variation.

Sentences (3) and (4) below illustrate serial verb constructions where both verbs are intransitive. The subject *ku-* of the complex verb is a nominative proclitic in (3), with V1 as its phonological host. In (4) the subject *-nanya* is an enclitic and, with the modal clitics, has V2 as its host.[320]

(3) *...ba* ***ku-*** *[mandapu* *hàpa]...*
CNJ 1SN- sit chew betelnut
'...when I sat chewing betelnut...'

(4) *[Dedi* *meti]* *-ma* *-a* ***-nanya***$_k$ *[na* *ana-na]*$_k$
be born die -EMP -MOD -3s.CONT ART child-3SG
'Her child died at birth'

In other words, the clitic expressing the subject of a serial verb has the same positional properties as the the subject clitic of a simple verb: it is part of a clitic cluster that attaches to the verbal projection, which consists of a verb and maximally two adverbs (section 3.5).

In the serial verb constructions in (5), (6) and (7) V1 is intransitive, and V2 transitive. In (5a) the subject is a nominative proclitic to V1 while the object is a dative enclitic to V2.[321] In (5b), on the other hand, the subject is a genitive enclitic to V2 followed by the object-marking clitic.

(5) a. *Ba* ***na-***$_j$ *meti* *wàru* ***-nya***$_k$ *-ka* *[na* *ana-na]*$_k$
CNJ 3SN- die dispose of -3SD -PRF ART child-3SG
'When he died leaving his child (an orphan)'
(lit: 'When he died disposing of his child')

b. *Meti* *wàru* ***-na*** ***-nya*** *nú* *na* *ana -na*
die dispose of -3SG -3SD DEI ART child -3SG
'(Then) he died leaving his child (an orphan)'

In (6) the object of V2 *nyara* 'chase X' is marked with the accusative clitic *-ha*. In (7) the applicative object of the verb ***kangùruku.ng*** 'whisper to Y' is marked with the dative clitic *-nya*.

(6) ***Na-*** *pa.làì* *nyara* ***-ha***$_k$ *[da* *ahu]*$_k$ *la* *mbomang*
3SN- run chase -3PA ART dog LOC space under house
'He ran after the dogs under the house'

(7) *Hi* ***na-*** *ka.reu.k* *ka.ngùru.k* ***-nya*** *la* *ka.hilu* *-na*
CNJ 3SN- talk whisper -3SD LOC ear -3SG
'And he whispered to her in her ear'

In the serial verb constructions in (8) both verbs are transitive, and share the same subject and object. Note that transitive V2s may be derived with the causative prefix

pa. and that there is a contrast in volitionality of the predicate *ngàndi pa.marau* in (8) (where the V2 is a causative verb) and *ngàndi marau* in (12), where the V2 is intransitive (for a discussion of this contrast, see section 6.1.4.2).

(8) V1 transitive, V2 transitive

hiku puha	'lever up X + drop X'	'lever X (out) off'
tila wàrung	'kick X + dispose off X'	'kick X away'
palu wàrung	'hit X + dispose off X'	'hit X away'
palu pa.meti	'hit X + cause X to die'	'hit X dead'
wulu pa.bakul	'build X + cause X to be big'	'enlargen X'
unu pa.njàpu	'drink X + cause X to finish'	'drink up X'
pa.ita pa.njàra.ng	'show X +cause X to be lost'	'mislead X'
ngàndi pa.maràu	'take X + cause X to be far'	'take X far away (intentionally)'

Illustrations are given in (9)–(11). In the serial verb in (9) the shared subject is a proclitic and the shared object an enclitic, whereas in (10) both are enclitics. Sentence (11) illustrates an imperative serial verb construction.

(9) *Na- tila wàru -ma* ***-nya***$_k$ [*na lau -na*]$_k$
3SN- kick dispose of -EMP -3SD ART sarong -3SG
'She kicks away her sarong'

(10) *Hiku puha* ***-na*** ***-nya***$_k$ *-ka* [*nuna tolu wei*]$_k$
lever off drop -3SG -3SD -PRF DEI.3S meat pig
'He levered off that pork' (i.e. from his plate)

(11) *Palu wàru* ***-nya!***
hit dispose of -3SD
'Hit it away!'

In the serial verbs in (12) V1 is transitive and V2 intransitive. Though Kambera does not have many of such constructions, they do exist.

(12) V1 transitive, V2 intransitive[322]

hema ha.dànggit	'answer + be out of breath'	'answer curtly'
hema hoput	'answer + be disappointed'	'answer disappointed'
karia.ng mbembah	'accompany X + be free'	'take (bride) w.o. paying'
ngàndi ma.ràu	'take X + be far'	'take X far away (unintentionally)'

Illustrations are (13) and (14). Observe that the accusative clitic *-ya* in (13), which marks the object of the transitive V1 *ngàndi* 'take X', is attached to the *in*transitive V2

marau 'be far'. The subject in (14) is a genitive enclitic, the object is marked by a dative enclitic.

(13) *Na-* *ngàndi* *maràu* *-ya*$_j$ [*na* *anakeda*]$_j$
3sN- take be far -3sA ART child
'He takes the child far away' (i.e. it is with him when he goes far away)

(14) *Ka nggàra, ka* *karia* *mbembah* ***-na***$_j$***-nya***$_k$*-ka* *una*
CNJ what CNJ accompany be free -3sG-3sD-PRF EMP.3s
'Hey, he$_j$ just took her$_k$ (with him) (as his bride) without paying'

In sum, the subject and object marking of complex verb constructions is the same as the subject and object marking of simple verbs. The clitics attach to the edge of the verbal projection, whether it is simple or complex. The two verbs in a serial verb share their subject which is only marked once. Similarly, the objects of two transitive verbs are shared and only marked once for both verbs. If V1 is transitive and V2 intransitive, as in (13) and (14), the object clitic does not attach to the transitive verb but to its usual place — the right edge of the verbal projection — even if this means that its phonological host is an intransitive verb.

The valency of a serial verb is equal to the valency of the verb with the maximal number of arguments. Underived verbs in Kambera have maximally two arguments (section 5.1), a derived causative and applicative verb may have three . Because causative and applicative verbs may be part of serial verb constructions, serial verbs have maximally three arguments. This is illustrated in (15), where the object of the verb *ngàndi.ng* 'take (X) to Y' is the dative *-nya* '(for) him'.[323]

(15) *Puru* *ngàndi* ***-nya***$_j$ [*patu* *mbua* *mamuli*]$_k$
descend take -3sD four CLF traditional ear ring
'(They) brought down for him four ear rings'

The morphologically complex structure of a serial verb does not influence the pronominal marking of its arguments. It does not matter whether the complex verb is a sequence of two intransitives, two transitives, or an intransitive and a transitive (either order). All serial verbs may have a nominative subject proclitic or a genitive/continuative aspect subject enclitic. Transitive serial verbs have the regular object markings, i.e. accusative or dative enclitics. In short, morpho-syntactically the serial verb behaves as a simple verb.

Examples such as (4), (9), (10), (14) and (17) show that in serial verb constructions the modal and aspectual specification is the same for both verbs — the markers only occur once and it is impossible to give an independent mood/aspect interpretation to each verb. Finally, adverbs and negators have scope over both verbs, as illustrated in (16) and (17), respectively.

(16) *Na-* ***hili*** *palu* *wàru* *-nya*$_k$ [*na* *ahu-na*]$_k$
3SN- again hit dispose of -3SD ART dog-3SG
'Again he hit his dog away'

(17) ***Nda*** *ku-* *riki* *hàdirung* *-a*
NEG 1SN- laugh be loud -MOD
'I didn't laugh loudly'

The prosodic properties of serial verb constructions are as follows. The V2 has primary stress, the V1 has secondary stress. That is, V2 is the prosodic head. In this respect, multi-verb constructions have the same prosodic properties as nominal compounds, which are always prosodically right-headed (and syntactically left-headed).

Serial verbs contrast with a conjoined sequence of two clauses. Kambera clauses are linked by conjunctions like *hi* '(and) so' in (35), *ba* 'while, because' in (3) and *ka* 'thus, so that' in (14) (see section 4.6.6), or, in the absence of an overt conjunction, by an intonational break. The verbs in such conjoined clauses both have main stress. A sequence of two clauses separated by intonational breaks is illustrated in (18) and (19):

(18) [*Ku-* *pa.mbinu* __]$_S$, [*ku-* *pa.màtu* *-nggau*]$_S$
1SN- CAU.be full 1SN- CAU.be complete -2SD
'I fill (you) up, I provide you with everything'

(19) a. [*Nda* *ta-* *hili* *beli*]$_S$ [__ *mai* [*pa-* *rongu* *-ya* *yohu*]$_S$]$_S$
NEG 1PN- again return come CTR- hear -3SA here
'We won't come back again to listen to it here'

b. [*Nda* *ta-* *hili* *beli*]$_S$ [__ *dengi* *-ya* *yohu*]$_S$]$_S$
NEG 1PN- again return dry -3SA here
'We won't come back again to dry it here'

The O of the first clause in (18) is covert. In (19a) the second clause has a covert S followed by an embedded (S-control) clause. In (19b) the second clause has a covert A. In conjoined clauses, verbal arguments may be morpho-syntactically covert for pragmatic reasons, but they may always be overtly marked too, unlike the shared arguments in serial verb constructions.

Additional illustrations are given in (20) and (21). Sentence (20a) contrasts in form and meaning with (4) above, repeated here as (20b). (20a) is a sequence of two conjoined clauses, each with its own subject, separated by an intonational break. As indicated in the translation, the covert subject of the verb *dedi* 'be born' in the first clause of (20a) is the child who died, the subject of *meti* 'die' is his mother. Sentence (20b), on the other hand, is monoclausal and contains a serial verb: both verbs share the same subject, which is the child that died.

(20) a. [*Dedi,*]$_S$ [*meti* *-ma* *-a* *-nanya*$_j$ [*na* *ina-na*]$_j$]$_S$
be born die -EMP -MOD -3s.CONT ART mother-3sG
'(When he) was born his mother died'

b. [[*Dedi* *meti*]$_V$ *-ma* *-a* *-nanya*$_k$ [*na* *ana-na*]$_k$]$_S$
be born die -EMP -MOD -3s.CONT ART child-3sG
'Her child died at birth'

The sentences in (21) illustrate a similar contrast. (21a) contains two conjoined clauses, separated by a pause. The subject, which is the same for both verbs, is marked twice. In (21b), on the other hand, the verbs form one complex verb and the subject is marked once.

(21) a. [*Na-* *palài*]$_S$, [***na-*** *wàru* *hàla* *-nja*]$_S$
3sN- run 3sN- dispose of be complete -3pD
'He ran (and) he left them all behind'

b. [*Na-* [*palài* *wàru*]$_V$ *-nja*]$_S$
3sN- run dispose of -3pD
'He ran leaving them behind'

Thus, in contrast to verbs in conjoined clauses, verbs in serial verb constructions share their subject/object and cannot have their arguments marked separately.

Serial verb constructions also differ from a sequence of a main verb followed by a subordinate (controlled) clause. Controlled clauses are marked with the control marker *pa-* (cf. the embedded clause in (19) and the discussion in section 8.2). This morpheme does not occur on V2 in a serial verb.[324] The sentences in (22) and (23) illustrate the contrast.

Sentences (22a,b) contain a serial verb with a causative V2. The subject of the complex verb is expressed by the proclitic *na-* in (22a), and by the genitive enclitic *-na* in (22b). As clitics form a cluster which attaches to the edge of the verbal projection, (which consists of one (morphologically simple or complex) verb and maximally two adverbs, section 3.5), the position of the clitic cluster is a diagnostic to distinguish between a morphologically complex, serial verb and a sequence of two clauses. The ungrammaticality of (22c), where the continuative subject *-nanya* cannot occur between V1 and V2 is thus evidence that V1 and V2 behave as one syntactic unit.

(22) a. *Na-* [*ngàndi* ***pa.maràu***]$_V$ *-ya*
3sN- take **pa**.be far -3sA
'He takes it far away'

b. [*Ngàndi* ***pa.maràu***]$_V$ *-na* *-nya*
take **pa**.be far -3sG -3sD
'He is taking it far away'

c. * *Ngàndi -nanya* ***pa.***maràu -ya
take -3s.CONT **pa.**be far -3sA

The sentences in (23) contain the main verb *mbuhang* 'want X' and the controlled clause *pa-tulih-ya* '(to) write it'. In (23a) the subject of the main verb is nominative and controls the subject of the embedded clause. In (23b) the embedded clause is separated from the main verb by the subject clitic *-nggunya*, which is attached to the (projection of) the main verb and thereby separates the main verb from the embedded clause (compare (22c)). The ungrammaticality of (23c), where the subject is marked on the embedded verb *pa-tulih* 'to write' (analogous to (22b), is evidence that the verbal sequence in (23c) does not make up one predicate but is a sequence of two clauses, and thus unlike the serial verb in (22).

(23) a. [*Ku-* *mbuhang* [***pa-*** *tulih* *-ya*]$_S$]$_S$
1sN- want CTR- write -3sA
'I want to write it'

b. [*Mbuhang* *-nggunya* [***pa-*** *tulih* *-ya*]$_S$]$_S$
want -1s.CONT CTR- write -3sA
'I want to write it' (lit.: 'I am wanting to write it')

c. * *Mbuhang* ***pa-*** *tulih* *-nggu* *-nya*
want CTR- write -1sG -3sD

This section can be summarised as follows. The first and the second verb in a Kambera serial verb construction can be either intransitive or transitive, in any combination, but some combinations occur more often than others (see above). The serial verb constructions have the prosodic properties of compounds. The valency of the serial verbs is not the total sum of its parts — the arguments of both verbs are always shared and never occurs in between V1 and V2. In a serial verb with a transitive V1, the subject of V1 is also the subject of V2, and the object of V1 is also the object of V2. A serial verb construction is a syntactic unit like a simple verb, and unlike a biclausal structure. There is a structural contrast between serial verbs and juxtaposed clauses: the verbs in a serial verb construction must share their subject/object markers, whereas juxtaposed clauses may have separate subject/object marker. The structural contrast between serial verbs and control structures is evident from the different position of the pronominal clitics. Finally, the often unpredictable semantic relation between a sequence of two verbs in a serial verb suggests that they are morphologically rather than syntactically derived. The Kambera serial verbs may therefore be analysed as verbal compounds (Sebba 1987).

7.1.2. Serial verb constructions with synonymous verbs

In Kambera ritual language pairs of more or less synonymous words or sentences are often used. The ritual (religious, poetic) language that uses these parallelistic expressions is called *lawiti luluk* 'parallel sayings'. The data in (24) below are illustrations of serial verbs in such *luluk* speech. (In Fox (1988) more aspects of the ritual languages in eastern Indonesia are discussed.)[325] The first two verbs in (24) are transitive, the others are intransitive.

(24)

hunju tobung	'slaughter pig + slaughter cattle'
buti ma.nganga	'pinch X + steal X'
nedi napa	'wait + wait for X'
runggu rengga	'be quick + be fast'
ka.wita ha.nàta	'cut X in two + chop up X'

The structural properties of these synonymous serial verbs are the same as those discussed in the previous section. Consider the sentences in (25), where the compound verb consists of two (almost) synonymous verbs, namely *hunju* 'slaughter pig(s)' and *tobung* 'slaughter cow(s)'.

(25) a. *Hunju* *tobung* *-danya*$_j$
slaughter pig slaugher cow -3p.CONT
'They$_j$ were slaughtering'

b. *Hunju* *tobu* *-da*$_j$ *-nja*$_k$
slaughter pig slaugher cow -3pG -3pD
'They$_j$ were slaughtering them$_k$ (pigs & cows)'

c. * *Hunju* *tobu* *-da*$_j$ *-nya*$_k$
slaughter pig slaugher cow -3pG -3sD
Not good for: 'They were slaughtering it (pigs & cows)'

The subject in (25a) is marked in the continuative aspect construction. The object is implied. In (25b) the object is marked with the plural clitic *-nja*. The serial verb in (25c) has a singular object *-nya*. But the semantics of the serial verb *hunju tobung* 'slaughter pig(s) and cow(s)' do not allow a singular object and therefore this sentence is ungrammatical. (The absence of the final nasal consonant of *tobung* in (25b,c) is explained in section 5.3.2, where these sentences are discussed as evidence for the continuative aspect construction.)

7.2. Instrumental, comitative and locative complex verbs

In this section I discuss three types of complex verbs with special functional and syntactic properties. The first type is a construction where a verb is followed by the special verb *wàng(u)* 'use' as V2. We will see that in addition to being a verb, *wàng(u)* has prepositional properties too. Complex (serial) verbs with *wàng(u)* as V2 have an additional object argument, which is canonically an INSTRUMENT, PURPOSE, REASON, or CAUSE. THey will be referred to as instrumental constructions or verbs and are discussed in section 7.2.1. The second type of complex verbs are a combination of a verb and the preposition *dàngu* 'with/and' as the second element. Such verbal constructions have an additional COMITATIVE object argument and are discussed in section 7.2.2. The third type of complex verbs are combinations of a verb and the verb *ningu* 'be' as V2. Such complex predicates are locative; the presence of *ningu* does not alter the valency of the base verb. Locative verbal constructions are discussed in section 7.2.3.

7.2.1. Instrumental constructions with the prepositional verb *wàngu* 'use'

7.2.1.1. The prepositional verb wàngu

The phonological properties of the verb *wàngu* are exceptional in the sense that the lexical root form of this verb is monosyllabic *wà*. Its citation form is *wàngu*. In Kambera, a monosyllabic root is not allowed to surface as an independent prosodic word — lexical roots should minimally be bimoraic feet. In order to make *wà* into a proper Kambera verbal citation form, a (postlexical) default consonant /ŋ/ is attached to it, resulting in the form *wàng*, to which the paragogic vowel [u] is added to avoid a closed syllable (see section 2.2.1). The postlexical citation form (and infinitive form) of the verb is thus *wàng(u)*; represented below as *wàngu*.

When a clitic is attached to this verb, the verb and the clitic form a prosodic word together. The syllable *ngu* is then no longer necessary to make the verb stem conform to the minimal word constraint. This explains why *ngu* is lost when the verb has an object or subject clitic attached to it; i.e. why the clitics are in complementary distribution with the nasal, resulting in forms such as *wa-nya* 'use it' in (26), or *wà-nggu* 'I do' in (28) (see also section 6.2).[326]

Wàngu functions as the verbal predicate of a clause. Its interpretation varies according to its syntactic context: it is translated as 'use' when it has only an object, as illustrated in (26) and (27), and as 'do' or 'want' or 'say/tell' when it has a subject, as illustrated in (28)-(30).

(26) *Njadi* *-mbu* *jàka* ***wà-nya***$_j$ *yena*$_j$ *?*
be possible -also if use-3sD DEI.3s
'Is (it) also possible with this one?'

(27) *Na- wànda -ta* ***wà-nya***$_j$ *[na pulung yena]*$_j$: '...'
3sN- call -1pA use-3sD ART word DEI.3s
'He calls us by means of this message'

(28) *Nggiki* ***wà*** ***-nggu*** *ba ku- wua -nggau?*
how do -1sG CNJ 1sN- give -2sD
'How should I give it to you?'

(29) *Unung* ***wà*** ***-mu?***
drink want -2sG
'Do you want to drink (something)?'

(30) *Nggiki* ***wà*** ***-na*** *la hilu Humba?*
how say -3sG LOC language Sumba
'What is it in Sumbanese? (lit.: 'How (is) it said in the Sumbanese language?')

Wàngu is an exceptional verb in many respects, one of which is the fact that its pronominal marking is restricted: its object must be dative and its subject genitive rather than nominative (* *ku-wàngu* 'I say'). (For more discussion, see section 8.2.4. In one context its subject is nominative: when *wàngu* is the main verb followed by a controlled clause, see (34)—(37)).

Apart from constructions where *wàngu* has the sense of 'do', as in (28)—(30), *wàngu* plus its genitive subject is used most often in quotative constructions that report direct and indirect speech. Illustrations are (31) and (32):

(31) *"Ka ndia"* ***wà*** ***-na*** *-ma -a* ***-nggai***
CNJ NEG say -3sG -EMP -MOD -2pD
'"No", he said to you (pl)' / 'He told you (pl) not to'

(32) *"Ambu imbu -ya na pa- harui wàngu"* ***wà-na***
NEG.irr seek -3sA ART RMO- have trouble use say-3sG
'"Don't look for trouble", he said' / 'He told (us) not to look for trouble'

The quotative construction with *wàngu* is also used with ideophonic roots to give an event a sense of 'directness' or 'punctuality'. See the discussion in the sections 6.4, 6.5.1, 6.6.2 and 6.10. The use of *wàngu* as a speech verb is further discussed in section 8.2.4.[327]

The verb *wàngu* may control an embedded clause. Semantically, a clause controlled by *wàngu* is interpreted as being simultaneous or in immediate sequence to the event of the preceding clause. This is illustrated in (33)—(37). In order to maintain consistency the verb *wàngu* is glossed here too as 'use'.

(33) *Hàla -ka pa- buta -ya na uding* ***wàngu*** *pa- jarang*
finish -PRF CTR- pick -3SA ART rice plant use CTR- disperse
'After picking the germinated riceplants (they are) bedded out'

(34) *Patiang ana mandài-ndài* ***wàngu*** *pa- buta ana rumba*
wait DIM RDP-be long[328] use CTR- pick DIM grass
'Waiting a while in the meantime weeding some grass'

(35) *Lundu mali -na hi na-* ***wàngu*** *pa- kabeli*
until late afternoon -3SG CNJ 3SN- use CTR- return
'He (walked) until the evening and then returned'

(36) *Ka rihi hàmu nàhu,*
CNJ be more be good now

ba ku- ***wàngu*** *pa- kanandar -ya nú...*
CNJ 1SN- use CTR- think about -3SA DEI
'(It is) better, now I think about it... (that...)'

(37) *Talanga la anda -ka nyungga hi na-* ***wàngu*** *pa- urang*
while LOC road -PRF I CNJ 3SN- use CTR- rain
'While I was on the road (it started) to rain'

To summarise, while many aspects of this verb still remain unclear, the general impression is that the verb *wàngu* has unique syntactic properties and restrictions and a variety of meanings and functions. Its structural properties are generally verbal.

The verb has a secondary function as a preposition: it has distributional properties similar to the locative prepositions *la* and *lai* (section 4.5) and *dàngu* 'with/and' (section 7.2.2). This is illustrated for *la* in (38) and (39a). (39a) contains the instrumental constituent [*wàngu huru*] 'with/using a spoon', analogous to the PP [*la uma*]$_{PP}$ 'at home' in (38). Just as *la* has a locative complement, *wàngu* has an instrumental complement.

In (39a) the instrumental constituent appears postverbally. In (39b) it is focused, leaving *wàngu* 'stranded'. In this respect *wàngu* differs from the preposition *la* and *lai*, because these cannot be stranded. (39c) shows that the direct object must precede the instrumental constituent. In (39d) the whole instrumental constituent is topicalised: it either precedes the conjunction (*ba* in this case) and/or is followed by an intonation break. (39e) shows that *wàngu* can only have an instrumental complement.

(38) *Ku- ngangu uhu* [***la*** *uma*]
1SN- eat rice LOC house
'I eat rice at home'

(39) a. *Ku-* *taku* *uhu* [***wàngu*** *huru*]
1sN- scoop rice use spoon
'I scoop rice with a spoon'

b. *Huru* *ku-* *taku* *uhu* [***wàngu*** —]
spoon 1sN- scoop rice use
'I scoop rice with a SPOON'

c.* *Huru* *ku-* *taku* [***wàngu*** —] *uhu*
spoon 1sN- scoop use rice

d. [***Wàngu*** *huru*] *ba* *ku-* *taku* *uhu*
use spoon CNJ 1sN- scoop rice
'With a spoon I scoop rice'

e.*? [***Wàngu*** *uhu*] *ba* *ku-* *taku* *huru*
use rice CNJ 1sN- scoop spoon
*? 'Using rice I scoop a spoon'

Another similarity between the verb *wàngu* and the prepositions *la* and *dàngu* is the following. Just as *wàngu* may head a controlled clause (cf. (33)—(37)), the prepositions *la* and *dàngu* may also head a controlled clause. For *la* this is illustrated in sentence (40), for *dàngu* in sentence (66) below.

(40) *Hi* *ku-* *njadi* ***la*** *pa-* *piti* *-ya*
CNJ 1sN- be able LOC CTR- take -3sA
'So I'll be able to take/get it'

A clause headed by *la* is interpreted as the purpose of the matrix clause (section 4.2.2, 8.2.1, 8.2.3).

Summing up, we have seen that *wàngu* has various verbal properties, one of which is that it can be inflected for subject and object. It also has some prepositional properties, but as Kambera prepositions are not inflected for subject and/or object, I conclude that *wàngu* is a verb with a grammaticalised prepositional function.

7.2.1.2. Wàngu *in complex instrumental verbs*

Instrumental constructions are derived by combining a verb (transitive or intransitive) with *wàngu*. Assuming that *wàngu* is a verb, we can analyse these constructions as serial verb constructions with *wàngu* as V2.

As can be seen in (41), *wàngu* introduces a new argument as the object of a complex verb construction. The complex instrumental verb, derived by adding *wàngu*, is thus transitive per definition. The additional object may have variable semantic interpretations, including INSTRUMENT, REASON, CAUSE, and PURPOSE. We will see that

the additional object of an instrumental construction may also have the semantic functions BENEFICIARY, MALEFICIARY, GOAL, in which case the instrumental verb is used in free variation with the applicative. (The applicative object, however, cannot have the semantic functions INSTRUMENT, REASON, CAUSE and PURPOSE. In addition, there are structural differences between the applicative and the instrumental object, see below and section 8.1.2).

In (41) the V1 is an intransitive verb and the V2 is *wàngu*, which 'adds' an instrumental object (here represented as Y):

(41) V1 intransitive plus *wàngu*

ha.yidi wàngu	'play games using/on Y'
riki wàngu	'laugh about Y'
pa.banjar wàngu	'talk about Y/talk using language Y'
mài wàngu	'come because of Y'
nda mài wàngu	'not come because of Y'
nggidik wàngu	'shake because of Y/be worried because of Y'
ka.makih wàngu	'be embarrassed about Y'
ma.kia wàngu	'be ashamed about Y'
hàmu wàngu	'be good because of Y/fare well because of Y'
mbingir wàngu	'be worried because of Y/about Y'
bei wàngu	'crawl using Y'
ludu wàngu	'sing using (song) Y'
ka.butuh wàngu	'grow/increase using Y'

Illustrations are given in the sentences (42)—(44). The verb in (42a) is the simple intransitive verb *kamakih* 'be embarrassed', while in (42b) the complex verb *kamakih wàngu* 'be embarrassed about Y' has an additional object, which is marked on the verb with the clitic *-nya*. In sentence (43a) the simple verb *pabanjar* 'talk' is used. In (43b) the complex verb *pabanjar wàngu* 'talk using/about Y' has an instrumental object, namely the NP *hilu Humba* 'Sumbanese language'. This NP is indefinite and not marked on the verb. (The subject is in the continuative aspect construction.) In (42c) the object of *pabanjar wàngu* 'talk using/about Y' is the topic of the conversation — it is definite and marked on the verb.

(42) a. *Ta-* ***ka.makih***
1pN- be embarrassed
'We are embarrassed (of ourselves)'

b. *Ta-* ***ka.makih*** ***wà*** *-nya*$_j$
1pN- be embarrassed use -3sD
'We are embarrassed about it$_j$'

(43) a. *Mbàda* ***pabanjar*** *-danya*$_k$ *-ka*
already talk -3p.CONT -PRF
'They$_k$ have already been talking'

b. *Ba* ***pabanjar*** ***wàngu*** *-nanya$_k$* *hilu Humba -du -ka*
CNJ talk use -3s.CONT language Sumba -EMP -PRF
'Because she$_k$ was talking (using) Sumbanese'

c. *Da-* *pahàmbur* *handàka* *la* *pa-* ***pabanjar*** ***wà*** *-nya$_j$*
3pN- meet do once LOC CTR-talk use -3sD
'They met once to talk about

[nggamu -ya *[na* *ma-mangu* *tana* *Umalulu]]$_j$*
who -3sA ART RMS-own land Melolo
who possessed the land of Melolo'

In (44a) the base verb is *mài* 'come', in (44b) the complex verb is *mài wàngu* 'come because of Y'. In (44c) the complex verb *mài wàngu* 'come because of Y' is embedded in an object relative clause. Note the different marking of the subject of the complex verb in (44b,c): either with a continuative construction, or with a genitive enclitic. Note also that the interpretation of the additional object varies: the object of the complex verb in (44b) is a REASON, the object in (44c) is a REASON or a PURPOSE.

(44) a. *Nda* *na-* ***mài*** *-a*
NEG 3sN- come -MOD
'He doesn't come'

b. *Ka* *[da* *ana-nda]$_j$* *nda* ***mài wàngu*** *-ma -a -danya$_j$ -i -pa*
CNJ ART child-1pG NEG come use -EMP -MOD -3p.CONT -ITER -IMPF
'So our children won't come anymore either (because of something)'

c. *Ka* *pa.ita -na$_j$ -nya$_k$ -ka* *[na* *pa-* ***mài wà*** *-na* *la Humba]$_k$*
CNJ CAU.see -3sG -3sD -PRF ART RMO- come use -3sG LOC Sumba
'So she can show why she came to Sumba'
(lit.: 'So she can show the use of her coming to Sumba')

In (45), the object of *hayidi wàngu* 'play games on Y' is the 'instrument' of the game, i.e. a MALEFICIARY.[329] The object of *nggidik wàngu* in (46) can have various interpretations.

(45) *Ka* *ku-* ***ha.yidi*** ***wà*** *-nya$_j$* *[i* *Ama]$_j$*
CNJ 1sN- play games use -3sD ART father
'So that I play games on Father'

(46) *Ambu* ***nggidik*** ***wà*** *-du* *-nya*
NEG.irr worry use -EMP -3sD
'Don't be worried about it'

In (47) some illustrations are given of complex verbs consisting of a transitive V1 and *wàngu* as V2. Because *wàngu* introduces an additional object, the complex verb has two objects. The object of the transitive V1 remains the direct object of the derived verb (represented as X), and the added object (represented as Y) is semantically the INSTRUMENT, though LOCATION, MANNER, REASON and SOURCE are possible semantic functions of this argument as well, as we will see below.[330]

(47) V1 transitive plus *wàngu*

tú wàngu	'use Y' (lit. 'put (X) use Y')
nga(ngu) wàngu	'eat X with Y' (INSTR/COMITATIVE)
taku wàngu	'scoop X using Y' (INSTR)
palu wàngu	'hit X using Y' (INSTR)
tunu wàngu	'roast X using Y' (INSTR)
buta wàngu	'pluck X using Y' (INSTR)
kamạng wàngu	'try (out) X using Y' (INSTR)
wàhi wàngu	'rob X because of Y' (REASON)
bunggah wàngu	'open X using/because of Y' (INSTR/REASON)
tuku wàngu	'trash X using/because of Y' (INSTR/REASON)
pa.meti wàngu	'kill X using/because of Y' (INSTR/REASON)
ita wàngu	'see X with/because of Y' (INSTR/REASON)
tanda wàngu	'know X because of Y' (* using Y) (REASON/*INSTR)
kei wàngu	'buy X with Y' (*because of Y) (INSTR/*REASON)
àpa wàngu	'grab at X using/because of Y' (INSTR/REASON)
hingga wàngu	'protect X with Y' (INSTR)
opa wàngu	'protect X with Y' (INSTR)
butuh wàngu	'pull out X using Y' (INSTR)
pa.ní wàngu	'tell X using Y' (INSTR)
manahu wàngu	'cook X using Y' (INSTR)

I will now discuss the status of the two objects of these complex verbs, in particular the evidence to analyse one object as morphosyntactically more closely related to the verb than the other.

We have seen that in the case of an applicative verb, the applicative object is marked on the verb with a dative clitic (cf. section 6.2). This clitic may be followed by an additional clitic marking the direct object. In contrast to this, the instrumental constructions in (47) allow maximally one object clitic on the verb. In what follows we will see that this may either be the direct object (X in (47)) or the instrumental object (Y in (47)).

We know from chapter 3 that in Kambera only definite objects are marked on the verb (i.e. object NPs containing an article). Therefore, neither the direct object nor the instrumental object is marked on the verb in (48) (see also (39)). In (48a,b) the objects are not marked on the verb *ngangu wàngu* 'eat (X) using Y' because the direct object is implied (48a) or indefinite (48b) and the instrumental object is indefinite. In (48c) the direct object is definite and marked on the verb with the dative *-nya*, while the instrumental[331] object *tolung* 'meat' is indefinite and not marked.

(48) a. *Ku-* ***ngangu*** ***wàngu*** *lima*
1sN- eat use hand
'I eat (it) with (my) hands'

b. *...hi* ***ngangu*** *uhu* ***wàngu*** *rí*
CNJ eat rice use vegetables
'...and ate rice with vegetables'

c. *...hi* ***nga*** ***wà*** *-nya$_i$* *tolung$_j$*
CNJ eat use -3sD meat
'...and ate it$_i$ with meat$_j$'

In (49) the direct object is definite and the instrumental object is indefinite. In (49a) the instrumental constituent is not part of the verb. In (49b) the instrumental phrase is topicalised. In (49c) the definite object is marked on the verb *wàngu* — the clitic *-nja* '3pD' refers to the PATIENT argument *da ahu-mu nyumu* 'your dogs'. Observe that the definite direct object is also marked on the verb *palu* 'hit' in the nuclear clause. (49d) illustrates a similar construction, but now the instrumental construction is topicalised. The direct object, which is marked on *wàngu*, must then be topicalised as well, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (49e), where the direct object is not topicalised. In (49f) *wàngu* forms a complex verb with *palu*. Now the direct object is only marked once — on the complex verb. The direct object NP may also precede the nuclear clause as in (49g).

(49) a. *Ku-* *palu -ha$_j$* *[da ahu-mu nyumu]$_j$* ***[wàngu*** *ài]*
1sN- hit -3pA ART dog-2sG you use wood
'I hit your dogs with a stick'

b. ***[Wàngu*** *ài]* *ba* *ku-* *palu -ha$_j$* *[da ahu -mu nyumu]$_j$*
use wood CNJ 1sN- hit -3pA ART dog -2sG you
'With a stick I hit your dogs'

c. *Ku- palu -ha$_j$* *[da ahu-mu nyumu]$_j$* ***[wà-nja$_j$*** *ài]*
1sN- hit -3pA ART dog-2sG you use-3pD wood
'I hit your dogs using a stick (on them)'

d. ***[Wà -nja$_j$*** *ài]* *[da ahu -mu nyumu]$_j$* *ba* *ku-* *palu-ha$_j$*
use -3pD wood ART dog -2sG you CNJ 1sN- hit-3pA
'Using a stick on your dogs I hit them'

e. * ***[Wà -nja$_j$*** *ài]* *ku-* *palu -ha$_j$* *[da ahu-mu nyumu]$_j$*
use -3pD wood 1sN- hit -3sA ART dog-2sG you

f. *Ku-* [*palu* ***wà*** *-nja$_j$* *ài*] [*da* *ahu-mu* *nyumu*]$_j$
1sN- hit use -3pD wood ART dog-2sG you
'I hit with a stick your dogs'

g. [*Da* *ahu-mu* *nyumu*]$_j$ *ku-* [*palu* ***wà*** *-nja$_j$* *ài*]
ART dog-2sG you 1sN- hit use -3pD wood
'Your dogs I hit with a stick (on them)'[332]

Thus, in (49) the object that is marked on the complex verb is the direct object because it is definite and the instrumental object is not.

The sentences in (50) illustrate the opposite case where the instrumental object is definite and the direct object is not. The object that is marked on the complex verb is the instrumental object, as indicated by the subscripts. In (50b) the instrument NP is focused and *wà-nya* does not move along with it. In (50c), however, the verb and the NP move as one constituent.

(50) a. *Ku-* *taku* ***wà*** *-nya$_j$* *uhu* [*na* *huru-mu* *nyumu*]$_j$
1sN- scoop use -3sD rice ART spoon-2sG you
'I scoop rice using your spoon'

b. [*Na* *huru-mu* *nyumu*]$_j$ *ku-* *taku* ***wà*** *-nya$_j$* *uhu*
ART spoon-2sG you 1sN- scoop use -3sD rice
'Your spoon I scoop rice using it'

c. [***Wà*** *-nya$_j$* [*na* *huru-mu* *nyumu*]$_j$] *ku-* *taku* *uhu*
use -3sD ART spoon-2sG you 1sN- scoop rice
'Using your spoon I scoop rice'

In sum, both objects may be marked on the complex verb, depending on which one is definite. In (51) I have illustrated cases where both objects are definite. In (51a) the instrumental object is marked on the verb, in (51b) it is the direct object. Thus, the marking does not seem to be grammatically determined.

(51) a. *Na* *uhu* *da-taku* ***wà*** ***-nja$_j$*** [*da* *huru -mu* *nyumu*]$_j$
ART rice 3pN-scoop use -3pD ART spoon -2sG you
'The rice they scoop using your spoons'

b. [*Na* *uhu*]$_i$ *da-taku* ***wà-nya$_i$*** *da* *huru -mu* *nyumu*
ART rice 3pN-scoop use-3sD ART spoon-2sG you
'The rice they scoop it using your spoons'

Sentence (52) also has two definite objects. The object clitic on the verb marks the direct object (the person pelted with books, someone known from the context) and not the instrument (the books used for the pelting).

(52) *Ku- patàda* ***wà-nya***$_i$ *[da bi mbuku-nggu]*$_j$
1sN- pelt use-3sD ART DER book-1sG
'I pelted him$_i$ with those books of mine$_j$'

Thus, grammatical definiteness (the presence of an article) determines which object is marked on the complex verb, but when both objects are definite, contextual factors decide. In this respect, instrumental objects differ from applicative objects: applicative objects are obligatorily marked on the verb if they are definite (cf. table 3.1), definite instrumental objects are not (cf. (51b), (52)).

Let us now consider the complex instrumental verbs with three objects: a direct object (X), an applicative object (Y) and an instrumental object (Z):

(53) *paní.**ng** wàngu* 'tell (X) to Y using Z/about Z'
*manahu.**ng** wàngu* 'cook (X) for Y using Z/with Z'

Consider the sentences in (54). In (54a) the simple verb *paní* 'tell X' is used. (54b) illustrates the applicative verb *paní.ng* 'tell (X) to Y', where *-nggau* 'you' is the applicative object and the NP *na ihi eti-na* 'the content of his liver' is the direct object. In (54c,d) the instrumental compound verb *paní.ng wàngu* 'tell (X) to Y using Z' is used. In (54c) this is translated as 'give Y name Z', the applicative object *na wài* 'the water'is crossreferenced on the verb, the instrumental object Z is the name *Wài Marang*, the direct object is implied. In (54d) the compound verb has neither an overt direct object, nor an overt instrumental object; it has only an overt applicative object which is marked on the verb.

(54) a. *Jia ba tuna nú, u-* ***pa.ní*** *-du-ya*$_j$ *budi*
EXIST CNJ thus DEI 2sN- tell -EMP-3sA COND
'If (it is) so, you should say it$_j$'

b. *Mili na-* ***pa.ní*** ***-nggau***$_k$ *[na ihi eti -na]*$_j$
if only 3sN- tell -2sD ART content liver -3sG
'If only he would tell you$_k$ what's on his mind' (lit. ...[the content of his liver]$_j$)

c. *Bubal* ***wà-na***$_k$ *[na wài]*$_k$, *na*$_j$*-* ***pa.ní wà -nya***$_k$ *['Wài Marang']*$_i$
bubble say/do-3sG ART water 3sN- tell use -3sD water fresh
'The water bubbled up, he called it (using the name) "Fresh Water"'

d. *Hi kiri wà-ma nyuma*
CNJ start say/do-1pG we

na ***pa.ní*** ***wà -nja***$_k$ *[da katoda kawindu]*$_k$
ART tell use -3pD ART katoda kawindu
'And so we started to call upon (=pray to) the 'katoda kawindu'' [333]

Sentence (55) illustrates the instrumental compound verb *manahu.ng wàngu* 'cook (X) for Y using Z'. The direct object is *pangangu* 'food', the applicative object is marked on the verb by the clitic *-nja* 'they', which refers to the recipients of the food. The instrumental object is the indefinite NP *wài* 'water' (to cook with). This instrumental object is introduced in the first clause and implied in the second and not marked on the verb.

(55) [*Laku pa- taku wài*]$_S$ [*ka ku- ana* ***manahu*** ***wà -nja***$_k$
go CTR- scoop water CNJ 1SN- DIM cook use -3pD
'(I'll) go and fetch water so that I cook

pangangu$_i$ *tai* [*da ana mini -nggu*]$_k$]$_S$
food later ART child male -1SG
food with (it) for my brothers' (lit.: '...I cook with (it) for my brothers food')

Thus, in instrumental constructions with an applicative verb, it is the applicative object rather than the instrumental object that is marked on the verb.

If the presence vs. absence of crossreference on the verb is indeed evidence for a closer vs. looser morphosyntactic relation between the verb and its arguments, the crossreference of direct, instrumental and applicative objects shows the structural hierarchy of (56):

(56) [[[verb] applicative object] direct/instrumental object]

Additional differences between object markings are discussed below (cf. (77)) and in section 8.1.2.

The structural and functional distinctions between instrumental and applicative objects, which undoubtedly exist, can be muddled by the fact that the instrumental construction may be used in free variation with applicative constructions. In such cases the additional object has the same semantic functions as an applicative object, namely BENEFICIARY, GOAL, LOCATION etc. Illustrations are given in (57)—(59). (57a,b) are from the same paragraph of a narrative. The base verb is *kamang* 'try (out) X'. Sentence (57a) contains a complex instrumental verb, sentence (57b) does not. Yet, the object of both verbs is the same and the interpretation of the sentences is identical. The same observations can be made with respect to (58) where the base verb is *mbuting* 'expect X', and (59) where the base verb is *pa.tanda.ng* 'understand X'.

(57) a. *"Ka ta-* ***kama*** ***wà*** *-nya*$_j$ [*i Ama*]$_j$" *wà -mu nú*
CNJ 1pN- try use -3sD ART father say -2sG DEI
'"Let's try out father$_j$" you said'/ 'You want(ed) to try out father'

b. *"Nda jia ka ku-* ***kama*** *-nya*$_j$ [*i Ama*]$_j$" *wà-na*
CNJ EXIST CNJ 1sN- try -3sD ART father say-2sG
"It's not that I want to try out father" he said' /
'He didn't want to try out father'

(58) a. *Nda ku- **mbuti** wà -a -nya ba na- beli*
NEG 1sN- expect use -MOD -3sD CNJ 3sN- return
'I didn't expect him to return'

b. *Nda ku- **mbuti** -nya ba na- beli*
NEG 1sN- expect -3sD CNJ 3sN- return
'I didn't expect him to return' (lit.: 'I didn't expect him that he returned')

(59) a. *Nda lalu **pa.tanda** wà -a -nya...*
NEG too understand use -MOD -3sD
'It's not too well understood...'

b. *...ba da- **pa.tanda** -nya ba lalu mila -da*
CNJ 3pN- understand -3sD CNJ too be poor -3pG
'...for they understood/knew that they were poor'

In conclusion, the instrumental object and the applicative object canonically express distinct semantic roles, but in some contexts, the semantic distinction may be bleached.

The complex verbs with *wàngu* discussed until this point have an additional instrumental object. There are, however, also complex verbs with *wàngu* that do not have such an extra argument. Such complex verbal constructions may express an instrumental/causal relation between two clauses, as illustrated in (60), where the 'tripping' is the cause of the 'dying':

(60) *Jàka ndia, [mu-tunjur]$_S$ [**meti** **wàngu** -munya]$_S$*
if not 2sN- trip die use -2s.CONT
'If not, you'll trip and die (because of that)'

Sentence (61) shows that such a construction may also express a causal/ instrumental relation between a sentence and what is said in the previous discourse. In the case of (61) the reason why Umbu Ndilu (immediately) goes on his way is told in the sentences previous to this one.

(61) *Ka **laku** **wàngu** -du -nanya -i Umbu Ndilu*
CNJ go use -EMP -3s.CONT -ITER sir Ndilu
'So (immediately) Umbu Ndilu went on his way'

I leave this wider use of verbal compounds with *wàngu* for future research.

7.2.2. Comitative constructions with the preposition *dàngu* 'with/and'

Dàngu 'with/and' is a preposition with various functions. In (62) it is COMITATIVE,[334] in (63) it is used in adverbial constructions where it expresses a STATE/MANNER (see also section 6.2.6.2).

(62) a. *Na uma* [***dàngu*** *na pindu bàkul*]$_{PP}$
ART house with ART door be big
'The house with the large door'

b. *Kopi* [***dàngu*** *nggula*]$_{PP}$
coffee with sugar
'Coffee with sugar'

c. *Anakeda* [***dàngu*** *halapa bidi*]$_{PP}$
child with sandal be new
'A child with new sandals'

(63) a. *Ngangu* [***dàngu*** *marihaku.ng*]$_{PP}$
eat with be dirty
'Eat while dirty' (person or food is dirty, depending on context)

b. *Na- meti* [***dàngu*** *nda lalei.ng*]$_{PP}$
3sN- die with NEG be married to woman
'He died a bachelor (unmarried)'

c. *Nyuna na- pandoi* [***dàngu*** *hàmu*]$_{PP}$ *-nya*
he 3sN- make with be good -3sA
'He repairs it nicely'

In (64)—(65) the preposition conjoins constituents. In (64) it conjoins NPs, in (65) PPs, in (66) two clauses, and in (67) a clause and an NP.

(64) a. [*I Umbu Kalu Rihi* [***dàngu*** *da angu -na*]$_{PP}$]$_{NP_j}$ *da-$_j$ mài yohu*
ART lord Kalu Rihi with ART friend -3sG 3pN- comehere
'Umbu Kalu Rihi and his friends came here'

b. *Na tana* [***dàngu*** [*na awang*]]$_{PP}$
ART earth with ART heaven
'Earth and heaven' (lit.: 'The earth with the heaven')

c. [*Nyungga* [***dàngu*** *nyimi*]$_{PP}$]$_j$ *mbu ndàba -nda$_j$*
I with you (pl) all -1pG
'All of us' (lit.: 'I with you (pl) all of us')

(65) *Na- tarahik* [*la kajia uma*]$_{PP}$ [***dàngu*** [*la hapapa uma*]$_{PP}$]$_{PP}$[335]
3sN-be slippery LOC back house with LOC side house
'It's slippery at the back of the house and next to the house,

tapi [*la hangga uma*]$_{PP}$ *nda na- tarahik -a*
but LOC front house NEG 3sN- be slippery -MOD
but in front of the house it's not slippery'

(66) *Màta -wa nyimi,* [*ka i- patutu -nya*$_j$]
well -HORT you CNJ 2p- follow -3sD
'Well, may you do exactly (what I say)

[***dàngu*** *ka i- karuduk -nya*$_j$] [*na pareta-nggu*]$_j$
with CNJ 2pN- bow for -3sD ART command-1sG
and obey my command'

Sentence (67) shows that the reading of the preposition is not necessarily comitative: both participants laughed, but not together (compare (72a,b).

(67) *Na- riki* [***dàngu*** *nyungga*]$_{PP}$
3sN- laugh with I
'He laughed and (so did) I' / Not good for: 'He laughed with me'

In (68) the preposition has an inclusive reading, but the argument to which the conjoined pronoun *nyungga* is associated differs: in (68a) *nyungga* is interpreted as (included in) the subject *ma-* '1pN', in (68b), it is interpreted as part of the object *-nya* '3sD'.

(68) a. *Ma- nga -nya* [***dàngu*** *nyungga*]$_{PP}$
1pN- eat -3sD with I
'We ate it' (lit.: 'We and I ate it')

b. *Na- nga -nya* [***dàngu*** *nyungga*]
3sN- eat -3sD with I
'He ate it and me' (i.e. I was eaten too)
Not good for: 'He and I ate it'/'He ate it and (so did) I'

In (69a), where the verb *ngangu* 'eat' is used intransitively, the preposition has a comitative reading. The pronoun *nyungga* is obligatorily present and cannot be crossreferenced on the verb. Sentence (69b) is formally and functionally related to (69a), but now the verb and the preposition (rather than the preposition and its complement) form a unit. Evidence for this is that the verb occurs in its monsyllabic root form *nga,*[336] and that *nyungga* is now crossreferenced as the comitative object on the complex verb with the clitic *-ngga.* The pronoun *nyungga* itself is optional.

(69) a. *...hi* [*na-* ***ngangu***] [***dàngu*** *nyungga*]
CNJ 3sN- eat with I
'...so he'll eat with me'

b. *...hi* [*na-* ***nga*** ***dà*** *-ngga*] (*nyungga*)
CNJ 3SN- eat with -1SD I
'...so he'll eat with me'

When the preposition *dàngu* is used comitatively it is almost always part of a complex verb, as in (69b). In such contexts, the preposition has a grammaticalised function as a valency-changing verbal particle.

Complex verbs with *dàngu* are further illustrated in (70) and (71). All of them have an additional COMITATIVE object. A comitative object differs from an applicative object because it is not (primarily) a BENEFICIARY / LOCATION etc., and it differs from the instrumental object because it is not an INSTRUMENT / REASON etc.

(70) Intransitive V1 and preposition *dàngu*

riki dàngu	'laugh with Y'
hí dàngu	'cry with Y'
pangga dàngu	'walk with Y'
pa.banjar dàngu	'talk with Y'
ka.reu.k dàngu	'talk with/to Y'
pa.hambur mata dàngu	'lay eyes on Y' (lit. 'meet eye with X')
puti dàngu	'roll a rope with Y'
ha.yidi dàngu	'joke with Y'
nggidik dàngu	'be worried/afraid together with Y'
ka.makih dàngu	'be embarrassed together with Y'
ma.kia dàngu	'be ashamed together with Y'
hàmu dàngu	'be good (i.e. have a good relationship) with Y'
mbingir dàngu	'hesitate together with Y'
bei dàngu	'crawl together with Y'
ludu dàngu	'sing together with Y'

The data in (70) show that the comitative object joins in the activity/state of the subject of the base verb. When the base verb is transitive, as in (71), the added comitative object is not an argument that is 'acted upon' (like the object of the base verb) but rather takes part in the activity of the subject:

(71) Transitive V1 and preposition *dàngu*

banjal dàngu	'put down X with Y/help Y to put down X'
pa.meti dàngu	'kill (X) together with Y' (i.e. Y helps)
ita dàngu	'see (X) together with Y' (i.e. Y sees too)
tanda dàngu	'recognise/know (X) together with Y'
taku dàngu	'scoop (X) together with Y'
palu dàngu	'hit (X) together with Y'
tunu dàngu	'roast (X) together with Y'
kamang dàngu	'try (X) together with Y'

kei dàngu	'buy (X) together with Y'
pa.ní dàngu	'talk with Y' (lit. 'tell (X) together with Y')
ràndi dàngu	'bind/tie (X) together with Y' (i.e. Y helps)

In (72) illustrations are given with the complex verb *riki dàngu* 'laugh with Y'. They show that the comitative object is marked on the verb. The NP *nyungga* is optional (used for emphasis) in (72a) and focused in (72b). It cannot be focused without being crossreferenced on the verb, as shown in (72c). The ungrammaticality of (72d,e) indicates that *dàngu* and its complement cannot be extracted from the predicate. In this respect the preposition *dàngu* differs from the prepositional verb *wàngu* (compare (49)–(50)). It differs from other prepositions such as locative *la* and *lai* (section 4.5) in that it does not form a constituent that can moved separately.

(72) a. *Na- **riki** **dà** -ngga (nyungga)*
3SN- laugh with -1SD I
'She laughs with me'

b. *Nyungga na- **riki** **dà** -ngga*
I 3SN- laugh with -1SD
'With me she laughs'

c. * *Nyungga na- **riki** **dàngu** —*
I 3SN- laugh with

d. * ***Dàngu** nyungga na- **riki** —*
with I 3SN- laugh

e. * ***Dà** -ngga nyungga na- **riki** —*
with -1SD I 3SN- laugh

In (73)–(75) illustrations are given of comitative constructions with a transitive base verb. In the (a) examples the base verb is used, while the (b) examples show how the verb is used in the comitative construction.

(73) a. *Ku- **ràndi** -ha$_j$ [da watar]$_j$*
1SN- tie -3SA ART corn
'I tie the corncobs (in strings)'

b. *Ku- **ràndi** **dà** -nja$_k$ [da watar]$_j$*
1SN- tie with -3SD ART corn
'I tie the corncobs with them' (i.e. I join them in tying the corncobs)

(74) a. *Ku- **banjal** -ya$_k$ [na uhu]$_k$ lai Windi*
1SN- put -3SA ART rice LOC Windi
'I store the rice at Windi's'

b. *Ku- **banjal** **dà** -nya$_j$ [na uhu]$_k$*
1sN- put with -3sD ART rice
'I put down the rice with him' (i.e. I help him to put down the rice)

(75) a. *Ku-**paní** -nya$_j$ ka na$_j$- mài pa- rama dà -ngga*
1sN-tell -3sD CNJ 3sN- come CTR- work with -1sD
'I tell him to come and work with me'

b. *Ku- **paní dà** -nya$_j$ ka na$_j$- mài pa- rama dà-ngga*
1sN- tell with -3sD CNJ 3sN- come CTR- work with-1sD
'I discuss with him to come and work with me'

c. *Ka ta- **paní** **dà** -nya$_j$ [i Umbu Ndilu]$_j$, ba wà-nda*
CNJ 1pN- tell with -3sD ART sir Ndilu CNJ say-1pG
'"Let's discuss (it) with Umbu Ndilu", we said'/ 'We decided to discuss (it) with Umbu Ndilu'

The sentences (73b) and (74b) show that the object which is marked on the complex verb is the added, comitative object — not the direct object of the base verb. In (75) the direct object is implicit in all sentences. The object clitic in (75a) marks the applicative object of *paní.ng* 'tell (X) to Y', while the object clitics in (75b,c) mark the comitative object. In a word, if there is an object marked on a comitative complex verb, it is the comitative object.

Thus, apart from causativisation and applicative formation, there are two additional valency-increasing derivational processes in Kambera. Comitative verbs (with the preposition *dàngu*) have a added comitative object and instrumental verbs (with the verb *wàngu*) have an added instrumental object.

In (76) the derivations of four verbs are given. The applicative derivation with suffix *.ng* is contrasted with the comitative and the instrumental derivation.

(76)

riki	'laugh'	*paní*	'tell X'
riki.ng	'laugh at/about Y'	*paní.ng*	'tell (X) to Y'
riki dàngu	'laugh with Y'	*paní dàngu*	'discuss (X) with Y'
riki wàngu	'laugh about Y/ because of Y'	*paní.ng wàngu*	1. 'tell (X) about Y' 2. 'tell (X) to Y' 3. 'tell (X) because of Y' 4. 'call Y (using name Z)'
pabanjar	'talk'		
pabanjaru.ng	'talk about Y'	*tú*	'put/do X'
pabanjar dàngu	'talk with Y'	*tú.ng*	'put/do (X) in Y'
pabanjar wàngu	1. 'talk using Y' 2. 'talk about Y' 3. 'talk with Y'	*tú dàngu*	'do/work on (X) with Y'
		tú wàngu	'do (X) using Y/use Y'

With respect to object marking on the verb, we have seen that definite comitative and applicative objects are the ones that are always marked on a comitative, resp. applicative verb, unlike the instrumental object. To the hierarchy in (77) we can thus add the comitative object on the same level as the applicative object:

(77) [[[verb] applicative/comitative object] direct/instrumental object]

7.2.3. Locative constructions with the verb *ningu* 'be (here)'

The verb *ningu* 'be (at/near speaker)' is a deictic verb, derived from the deictic element *ni* 'at/near speaker'. Apart from being used as an independent verb (with a dative S, section 5.2) it also occurs as V2 in verbal compounds. This is not a valency-increasing operation; it just renders the predicate locative. In general, if the location of an event/activity is considered important, the verb forms a compound verb with *ningu*. The meaning of a compound '*V* + *ningu*' may be translated as 'to V somewhere'.

Usually, a compound with *ningu* is used when the location of the predicate is in focus. This is for example the case when the location is being questioned (with *nggi* 'where', as in (78c)) or in combination with a topicalised locative PP (as in (80)–(82)).

Consider the sentences in (78) below. In (78a) the question word *nggi* 'where' is part of a PP headed by *la* 'LOCATIVE', the PP is the non-verbal predicate, is subject is *-ya* 'he'. In (78b) the predicate is verbal (*tàka* 'arrive') and *pirang* 'when' questions the time of arrival of the subject. In (78c) the predicate is a complex locative verb *tàka ningu* 'arrive & be' and now *nggi* questions the location of arrival. *Ningu* is optional here, in the sense that without the locative verb *ningu* the essence of the question would be the same, although without *ningu* there would be less emphasis on the exact location.

(78) a. *La nggí -ya?*
LOC where -3SA
'Where is he?'

b. *Pirang ba u- tàka?*
when CNJ 2SN- arrive
'When did you arrive?'

c. *Nggí* ***tàka ningu*** *kawài?*
where arrive be just now
'To which point did (you) get just now?' (lit.:'Where (did you) arrive & be just now?')

The sentences (79), (80) and (81) below are some additional illustrations of intransitive verbal compounds with *ningu*. In (79) the location of sleeping is questioned, in (80) the topicalised PP indicates the location of sitting, and in (81) it indicates the location of staying.[337]

(79) *La nggí* ***ni*** *-ya*$_j$ *ihi na-*$_j$ ***katuda*** ***ningu?***
LOC where be -3sA UNCRT 3sN- sleep be
'Where will he sleep?' (lit.: 'Where (will) he be, (where) he (will) sleep & be?')

(80) *La pàti -ya*$_j$ *na-*$_j$ ***mandapu*** ***ningu***
LOC crate -3sA 3sN- sit be
'On the crate he sits' (lit.: 'He (is) on the crate (and) he sits & is (there)')

(81) *Jàka la Wài Jilu -ya*$_j$ *làti na-*$_j$ ***ngiang*** ***ningu***, *hàmu ai lulu*
if LOC Wài Jilu -3sA in fact 3sN- stay be be good very
'Suppose he'd stay in Wài Jilu, (that would) be very nice'
(lit.: 'If he (were) in Wài Jilu, (where) he'd stay & be, (that would) be very good')

Sentence (82) below illustrates a verbal compound with a causative V1 *pa.hadang* 'erect X'[338] and the verb *ningu*. The locative PP and the temporal adverb *tai* 'later' are topicalised and the object *-nya* is marked on the right edge of the complex verb.[339]

(82) [*La pinu* [*watu pingi*] *yena*]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$ *tai*
LOC top rock base this one later

ka ***pa.hada*** ***ni*** *-nya na kabunggur -nggu*
CNJ CAU.stand up be -3sD ART people -1sG
'On this rock I will establish my people'

In (83) the transitive verb is *kariang* 'accompany X'. The object *-nggau* 'you' is marked on the verb. In (84) the indefinite object *watar* 'corn' is not marked on the verb.

(83) *Ka nggí -kau na-* ***karia*** ***ni*** *-nggau?*
CNJ where -2sA 3sN- accompany be -2sD
'Where did he bring you?'

(84) *Ka nggí u-* ***karai*** ***ningu*** *watar?*
CNJ where 2sN- ask be corn
'Where (was it that) you asked (for) corn?'

When an applicative verb combines with *ningu*, the resulting complex locative verb has two objects (direct object, applicative object). This is illustrated in (85) and (86). In (85a) the verb *tú* 'put X' has one object which is marked on the verbal compound with *-ya* '3sA'. In (85b), where the verb is applicative *tu.ng* 'put (X) for Y', the applicative object is marked on the verb with *-nya* '3sD'. In (85) similar facts are illustrated with the verb *punggu* 'cut down X' and *punggu.ng* 'cut down (X) for Y'.

(85) a. *Nggi mbara -ya$_i$ mu- **tú** **ni** -ya$_j$?*
where direction -3sA 2sN- put be -3sA
'(In) wich direction (was) it (that) you put it?'

b. *Nggi mbara -ya$_i$ mu- **tú** **ni** -nya$_k$ [uhu-na]$_j$?*
where direction -3sA 2sN- put be -3sD rice-3sG
'(In) which direction (was) it (that) you put his rice for him'

(86) a. *Ka nggi i- **punggu** **ni** -ya$_j$ [yena na kambaniru]$_j$?*
CNJ where 2pN- cut down be -3sA this one ART pole
'Where did you cut down this pole?'

b. *Ka nggi i- **punggu** **ni** -nya$_k$ [yena na kambaniru]$_j$?*
CNJ where 2pN- cut down be -3sD this one ART pole
'Where did you cut this pole for him?'

A synonym of *ningu* in verbal compounds is *dingu*. But in contrast to *ningu*, *dingu* is not an independent verb. Its (derivational) history and its meaning are unclear. *Ningu* and *dingu* are interchangeable in some, but not all verbal compounds. Examples (87)—(90) show that *dingu* is used to derive locative constructions similar to the ones with *ningu*. The sentences in (90) and (91) illustrate that *dingu* can only be used in intransitive constructions (with intransitive verbs or with transitive verbs without an overt object). As the status and meaning of *dingu* are still unclear, I do not have an account for this.

(87) *Ka nggi na- **hakola** **ningu/dingu**?*
CNJ where 3sN- (go to) school be
'Where does he go to school?'

(88) *"Nggi **rama** **ningu/dingu**, Umbu?", wà -na -nya*
where work be sir say -2sG -3sD
'"Where are you going to work sir?", she asked him'

(89) *Jiapa -mbu -pa ka ningu ndui ka nggi **ta-kei ningu/dingu**?*
still be -also -IMPF CNJ be money CNJ where 1pN-buy be
'Even if there still were money, where (would) we (go to) buy?'

(90) a. *Laku hu lua, ka i- **ngangu** **ningu/dingu**!*
go DIR there CNJ 2pN- eat be
'Go overthere to eat there' (lit.: 'Go over there so that you eat & be')

b. *Ka nggi ta- **ngangu** **ningu/*dingu** es*
CNJ where 1pN- eat be ice
'Where (do/can) we eat ice (cream)?'

(91) *Ka nggi ta* ***-kei ningu/*dingu*** *honda*
CNJ where 1pN -buy be motorbike
'Where (do/can) we buy a motorbike?'

In conclusion, *ningu* resembles the verb *wàngu* and the preposition *dàngu* in being able to become part of a complex verb. Unlike complex verbs with *wàngu* and *dàngu*, a derivation with *ningu* has the same valency as its base verb. The status of the element *dingu* that can sometimes be used as a synonym of *ningu* is unclear.

7.3. Phrasal verbs of emotion and appearance

A 'phrasal verb' is a verbal construction in which a verb is accompanied by a body part noun which is obligatorily present and is inalienably possessed by the logical subject of the phrasal verb.[340] The noun is obligatorily present, but it is not necessarily incorporated into the verb (except in instrumental and comitative constructions, see below). Phrasal verbs include verbs describing emotions states of oneself or someone else and verbs describing appearances of character or body.

The phrasal verbs of emotion all contain the body part noun *eti* 'liver' which expresses the location of the emotions. The possessor of *eti* is the experiencer of the emotion. Illustrations are given in (92).

(92) Phrasal emotion verbs with *eti*[341]

bàrang eti	'pound + liver'	'be worried'
wini eti	'be hidden + liver'	'wish'
mila eti	'be poor + liver'	'have compassion'
hàmu eti	'be good + liver'	'be good'
bàkul eti	'be big + liver'	'be happy/relieved'
nggauru eti	'be glad + liver'	'be glad'
ula eti	'have enough + liver'	'be fed up'
jangga eti	'be high + liver'	'be arrogant/haughty'
kendar eti	'be humble + liver'	'be humble/meek'
kudu eti	'be small + liver'	'be disappointed'
mbaha eti	'be wet + liver'	'be pleased'
mbata eti	'be broken + liver'	'be shattered'
mbana eti	'be hot + liver'	'be fervent/very angry'
ha.nduka eti	'be in trouble + liver'	'be sad'
ka.lài eti	'be wrong/left + liver'	'be disappointed'
ka.dua eti	'be two + liver'	1.'be in two minds' 2.'know right from wrong'
ka.leka eti	'be crooked + liver'	'be untruthful/dishonest'
ka.ràu eti	'be dark + liver'	'be angry'
ma.nganga eti	'steal + liver'	'be greedy'
pa.ngàndi eti	'take + liver'	'be touching/very good' (person)

The emotion verbs feature in two parallel constructions: one is a phrasal construction in which the body part noun forms an independent NP, and the other is an incorporated construction where the noun has become part of the verbal constituent. Both constructions are semantically (virtually) identical and are illustrated in (93) and (94).

In (93) the body part noun *eti* 'liver' is part of the NP *na eti-na na maramba nuna* 'the liver of that king', which is crossreferenced as the subject *-nanya* of the verb. In (94) the noun *eti* 'liver' is incorporated into the verbal constituent, while its possessor, the NP *na maramba nuna* 'that king' is left stranded. This possessor NP is crossreferenced as the subject of the derived verb.

(93) *Mbaha -nanya$_j$ -ka [[na eti -na] [[na maramba] [nuna]]]$_{NPj}$*
be wet -3s.CONT -PRF ART liver -3sG ART king DEI.3s
'That king was feeling pleased' (lit.: 'The liver of that king (was) wet')

(94) *Mbaha eti -nanya$_j$ -ka [[na maramba] [nuna]]$_{NPj}$*
be wet liver -3s.CONT -PRF ART king DEI.3s
'That king was feeling pleased' (lit.: 'That king (was) wet-livered')

The phrasal construction is the one that is most often used: in my corpus of sponteneous Kambera speech the phrasal expressions for emotions far outnumber the incorporated ones.

Most of the emotion verbs in (92) have an intransitive base verb, but note that the base verb of two verbs is transitive:

(95) *manganga eti* 'be greedy' lit.: 'have a stealing liver'
pangàndi eti 'be touching/sweet' lit.: 'capture (other people's) liver'

Unlike incorporated forms with an intransitive base verb, the forms in (95) do not have a phrasal constructions parallel to the incorporated one, as the ungrammaticality of (96b) and (97b) shows:

(96) a. *Manganga eti -munya -ka*
steal liver -2s.CONT -PRF
'You are greedy' (lit.: 'You have a stealing liver')

b. * *Manganga -nanya -ka na eti-mu nyumu*
steal -3s.CONT-PRF ART liver-2sG you
Intended reading: 'You are greedy' (lit.: 'Your liver is stealing')

(97) a. *Pangàndi eti -nanya -ka*
capture liver -3s.CONT -PRF
'He is sweet' (lit.: 'He captures livers')

b. * *Pangàndi -nanya -ka na eti-mu nyumu*
capture -3s.CONT-PRF ART liver-2sG you
Intended reading: 'He is sweet (to you)' (lit.: 'He captures your liver')

In other words, for these verbs, there is no phrasal form with a transitive base verb and a separate NP for *eti.*

Emotion verbs where a transitive base verb is involved are also exceptional in that there are very few of them (I have attested only two), and they differ from each other in the semantic role linked to *eti*: either an agent role (in the case of *manganga eti*) or a theme role (in the case of *pangàndi eti*). I assume that these expressions arose through the process of lexicalisation, analogous to the incorporated emotion verbs with intransitive base verb (Klamer 1998e).

The noun *eti* is non-referential in either of the constructions (93) and (94), and its possessor cannot be questioned. Normally, Kambera question words appear as the head of a relative clause (section 8.1.3) or *in situ,* as illustrated in (22), where the nominal possessor is questioned. When we question a possessor of incorporated *eti*, it renders a nonsensical interpretation, as illustrated in (99):

(98) *Tàka-nanya$_j$-ka [[na mbapa-na] [i nggamu]]$_j$?*
arrive-3s.CONT-PRF ART husband -3sG ART who
'Whose husband has arrived?'

(99) ? *Na-bàrang [[na eti -na] [i nggamu]]$_k$?*
3sN-pound ART liver -3sG ART who
Intended idiomatic reading: 'Who was worried?'
Literal interpretation: ? 'Whose liver was pounding?'

The argument of a verbal compound with *eti* can be questioned using the other available strategy: a relative structure relative structure:

(100) *Nggamu na ma- bàrang eti?*
who ART RMS- pound liver
'Who is/was worried?'

The position of incorporated *eti* in (94) — immediately adjacent to the verb — is not a position that is normally available for verbal arguments. Nominals commonly follow the clitic cluster (except for the incorporations discussed in 6.2.6.2). This is illustrated for the complement of a transitive verb in (101) and (102):

(101) a. *Na- tàru -bia nàhu angu -na*
3sN- watch -MOD now companion -3sG
'He just watches his companions'

b. * *Na- tàru angu (-na) -bia nàhu*
3sN- watch companion (-3sG) -MOD now

(102) a. *Ngàndi -na -nya ana pangangu*
take -3sG -3sD DIM food
'He brought him some food'

b. * *Ngàndi ana pangangu -na -nya*
take DIM food -3sG -3sD

Indefinite subject NPs are never incorporated, neither as intransitive arguments (103a) nor as transitive agents (103b):

(103) a. * *Ba jorung mbapa-nggu (-nanya) -ka*
CNJ topple husband-1sG -3s.CONT -PRF

b. * *Lapi tau -na -nya*
cheat person -3sG -3sD

Apart from *eti* no other body part noun can be incorporated, cf. *katiku* 'head' in (104), and neither can idiomatic objects such as *ahu* in *palu ahu* 'kill a dog' in (105).

(104) a. *Kawunggur -nanya$_j$ [na katiku -na]$_j$*
be dizzy -3s.CONT ART head -3sG
'He was becoming confused'

b. * *Kawunggur katiku -nanya -ka*
be dizzy head -3s.CONT -PRF

(105) a. *Palu -na -ngga ahu*
hit -3sG -1sD dog
'He kills a dog for me' (lit.: 'He hits a dog for me')

b. * *Palu ahu -na -ngga*
hit dog -3sG -1sD

The sentences in (106) show that Kambera does not allow the article and possessive enclitic of *eti* to be stranded when *eti* is incorporated:

(106) a. *Bàrang -nanya -ka na eti -nggu nyungga*
pound -3s.CONT -PRF ART liver -1sG I
'I am/was worried' (lit. 'My heart is/was pounding')

b. * *Bàrang eti$_j$ -nggunya$_k$ -ka na t_j -nggu nyungga$_k$*
pound liver -1s.CONT -PRF ART -1sG I

c. *Bàrang* *eti* *-nggunya*$_k$ *-ka* *nyungga*$_k$
pound liver -1s.CONT -PRF I
'I am/was worried' (lit.: 'I was pounding-hearted')

What is the grammatical status of *eti*? The intransitive base verbs in (92) are all non-active verbs, and *eti* is non-agentive. It cannot have an agentive interpretation: there is no pragmatic reason why concepts as 'be cheerful/happy' should not be expressed with a combination of an active intransitive verb and *eti*, yet, such combinations do not occur:

(107) * *ludu eti*
Intended reading: 'be cheerful' (lit.: 'have a singing liver')
* *riki eti*
Intended reading: 'be happy' (lit.: 'have a laughing liver')

In the forms in (95) *eti* is agentive in *manganga eti* 'have a stealing liver: be greedy', an non-agentive in *pangandi eti* 'capture (other people's livers: be sweet'. We could analyse the incorporation of *eti* as the incorporation of an object, and consider the incorporation in *manganga eti* an exception. But such an analysis would not account for the fact that the incorporation of *eti* is itself an exception to the rule that objects in Kambera are not generally incorporated, cf. (101)–(105).

Superficially, constructions where *eti* is incorporated such as (94) seem to involve the stranding of the possessor of *eti*, which is then 'raised to subject', because it is crossreferencedas the subject of the derived emotion verb. However, Kambera does not generally allow nominal modifier stranding. In (106) we saw that the possessor enclitic *-nggu* and the definite article *na* are neither incorporated along with *eti,* nor left 'stranded'. In addition, neither transitive objects, nor intransitive arguments undergo productive nominal incorporation followed by possessor raising. The sentences in (108) illustrate this for a possessed object:

(108) a. No incorporation with possessor stranding:
* *Palu* *ana*$_k$ *-nanya* t_k *nyungga*
hit child -3s.CONT I

b. No possessor raising to object:
* *Palu* *-na* *-ngga*$_j$ *ana-nggu* (*nyungga*$_j$)
hit -3sG -1sD child-1sG I
Good for: 'My child hits me'

c. No object incorporation and possessor raising:
* *Palu* *ana*$_k$ *-na* *-ngga*$_j$ t_k (*nyungga*$_j$)
hit child -3sG -1sD I

The sentences in (109) show that the same applies to the argument of a (non-active) intransitive verb:

(109) a. No incorporation with possessor stranding:

* *Tàka* *mbapa*$_k$ *-nanya-ka* t_k *nyungga*
arrive husband -3s.CONT-PRF I

b. No possessor raising to (intransitive) subject:

* *Tàka* *-nggunya*$_j$ *-ka* *na* *mbapa* *-nggu* (*nyungga*$_j$)
arrive -1s.CONT -PRF ART husband -1sG I

c. No incorporation of intransitive argument and possessor raising:

* *Tàka* *mbapa* *-nggunya* *-ka* t_k (*nyungga*$_j$)
arrive husband -1s.CONT -PRF I

Kambera employs another construction where a possessor argument appears to be 'raised'; it is illustrated in (110):

(110) a. Base form:

Na- *rasa -a* *-ya*$_j$ [*na* *mbotu* *-mu nyumu*]$_j$
3sN- feel -MOD -3sA ART weight -2sGyou
'She will notice your weight'

b. Licit: possessed nominal stranded and possessor raised:

Na- *rasa* *-a* *-kau*$_k$ [*na* *mbotu* *-mu* t_k]
3sN- feel -MOD -2sA ART weight -2sG
'She will notice you (by) your weight'

c. Illicit: possessed noun incorporated, possessor raised (construction parallel to *eti* incorporation + possessor raising):

* *Na-* *rasa* *mbotu*$_j$ *-a* *-kau*$_k$ [t_j t_k]
3sN- feel weight -MOD -2sA

The 'possessor raising' construction in (110b) differs from the 'possessor raising' associated with the incorporation of *eti* in that the 'stranded' nominal is now the possessee rather than the possessor. If this construction indeed involves possessor raising, it shows that in Kambera a complement noun does not need to be incorporated for its possessor to be raised. In other words, possessor raising and noun incorporation are two formally unrelated processes in Kambera; and the possessor is not necessarily part of the complement NP.

Emotion verbs may be the base of causative, applicative, instrumental and comitative derivations. The sentences in (111) and (112) illustrate the causative derivation. The NP containing *eti* is the subject of the intransitive emotion verb (111a) and (112a), and the object of the causativised verb in (111b) and (112b):

(111) a. *Na-*$_j$ *nggauru* [*na* *eti* *-na*]$_j$
3sN- be glad ART liver -3sG
'He is glad' (lit.: 'It$_j$ is glad [his liver]$_j$')

b. *Na-$_i$ pa.nggauru -ya$_j$ [na eti -na]$_j$*
3sN- CAU.glad -3sA ART liver -3sG
'It makes him glad' (lit.: 'It$_i$ makes [his liver]$_j$ glad')

(112) a. *Na-$_i$ bàkul [na eti -na i Ama]$_i$*
3sN- be big ART liver -3sG ART father
'Father was glad' (lit.: 'It$_i$ was big [the liver of father]$_i$')

b. *Da-$_i$ pa.bàkul [eti wiki -da]$_j$*
3pN- CAU.be big liver self -3pG
'They are arrogant' (lit. 'They$_i$ make [their own liver]$_j$ big')

In (113) the applicative phrasal verb *mila.ng eti* 'have compassion with Y' is used. The applicative object is marked on the verb with *-ngga* '1sD'.

(113) *Nda u- mila -ngga nú eti?*
NEG 2sN- be poor -1sG DEI liver
'Don't you feel compassion towards me?'
(lit.: 'Aren't you poor-livered for me?')

The phrasal verb *hamu eti* 'be good' is causativised in (114a) and *eti* is part of an independent NP. (114b,c) show that on subsequent applicative formation, the object of the causative verb *pa.hàmu* is not incorporated into the verb. Causative and applicative emotion verbs are given in (115) and (116).

(114) a. *Na- pa.hàmu -ya$_i$ [na eti -nggu nyungga]$_i$*
3sN- CAU.be good -3sA ART liver -1sG I
'He relieves my heart' (lit.: 'He causes my liver to be good')

b. *Na- pa.hàmu -ngga eti nyungga*
3sN- CAU.be good -1sD liver I
'He makes me happy/relieved' (lit.: 'He relieves (for) me (my) liver')

c. * *Na- pa.hàmu eti -ngga nyungga*
3sN- CAU.-be good liver -1sD I

(115) Applicative phrasal emotion verbs

mila.ng eti	'have a poor liver for Y'	'have compassion with Y'
karàu.ng eti	'have a dark liver for Y'	'be angry with Y'
kudu.ng eti	'have a small liver for Y'	'be disappointed in Y'
mbata.ng eti	'have a broken liver for Y'	'be shattered w.r.t. Y'

(116) Causative & applicative phrasal emotion verbs

pa.hàmu.ng eti	'cause Y have a good liver'	'make Y happy/relieved'
pa.bàkulu.ng eti	'cause Y have a big liver'	'make Y glad'

Apart from being causativised and made applicative, phrasal emotion verbs can also be the base for the derivation of complex instrumental or comitative verbs, as in (117).

(117) Instrumental and comitative phrasal emotion verbs

kudu eti wàngu	'be disappointed because of Y'
	lit.: 'have a small liver using Y'
mbata eti wàngu	'be shattered because of Y'
	lit.: 'have a broken liver using Y'
jangga eti wàngu	'be arrogant because/towards Y'
	lit.: 'have a high liver using Y'
kendar eti wàngu	'humble oneself because of/towards Y'
	lit.: 'have a humble liver using Y'
hàmu eti dàngu	'be happy together with Y'
	lit.: 'have a good liver with Y'

In instrumental and comitative constructions the noun *eti* is always incorporated. This is illustrated in (118) and (119), where *eti* appears adjacent to the verb in the comitative construction in (118) and the instrumental construction in (119):

(118)	*Ku-*	*hàmu*	*eti*	*dà*	*-nya*
	1sN-	be good	liver	with	-3sD
	'I am happy with him'				

(119)	*Na-*	*kudu*	*eti*	*wà*	*-nda*
	3sN-	be small	liver	use	-1pD
	'He is disappointed because of/in us'				

In section 7.2.1.2 and 7.2.2 we have seen that normally the derivation of complex instrumental or comitative verbs does not involve the incorporation of nominals. But when phrasal emotion verbs are the base of the derivation, *eti* is incorporated. This is illustrated in (120a). A phrasal construction, where *eti* is part of an independent NP, is not possible for instrumental emotion verbs, as shown in (120b) and neither can *eti* appear as an indefinite NP, as in (120c). These restrictions apply to all the derived verbs in (117).

(120) a.	*Na-*	[[*jangga*	*eti*]$_V$	*wà*]	*-nda*
	3sN -	be high	liver	use	-1pD
	'He behaves arrogantly towards us' (lit.: 'He has a high liver with us')				

b. *	*Na-*	*jangga*	*wà*	*-nda*	*na*	*eti*	*-na*
	3sN-	be high	use	-1pG	ART	liver	-3sG

c. *	*Na-*	*jangga*	*wà*	*-nda*	*eti*
	3sN-	be high	use	-1pD	liver

In conclusion, when phrasal verbs are made causative/applicative, *eti* can only be indefinite but is not incorporated. In instrumental and comitative constructions it is always incorporated.

Phrasal verbs may also be formed with other body part nouns. Such verbs desribe appearances of body, character or illnesses, as illustrated in (121).

(121) Phrasal verbs with other body parts

mbana ngaru	'be hot + mouth'	'be hot-tempered/malicious'
mbana ihi	'be hot + body'	'be feverish'
mbana wài ilu	'be hot + saliva'	'be/talk ominous(ly)'
rara wua mata	'be red + eye'	'be angry/heated'
màrah bànggi	'be small + waist'	'have a small waist'
ma.lowa bànggi	'be slim + waist'	'have a slim waist'
hidu ka.tiku	'be ill + head'	'have a headache'
hidu kambu	'be ill + stomach'	'have a stomach ache'

These nominals are like *eti* because they occur in a similar phrasal construction, but they differ from *eti* in that they form a less tight semantic and grammatical unit with the verb: the semantics of the phrasal verbs in (121) is less idiomatic than the verbs with *eti* and the body part nouns in (121) cannot be incorporated, as illustrated in (122b) and (123b):

(122) a. *Rara -nanya$_j$ -ka [na wua mata -na]$_j$*
be red -3s.CONT -PRF ART fruit face -3sG
'Her eyes are red'

b.* [*Rara wua mata*] *-nanya$_j$ -ka*
be red fruit eye -3s.CONT -PRF

(123) a. *Hidu -nanya$_j$ -ka [na katiku -na]$_j$*
be ill -3s.CONT -PRF ART ART head -3sG
'His head aches'

b.* [*Hidu katiku*] *-nanya$_j$ -ka*
be ill head -3s.CONT -PRF

In sum, Kambera has two types of phrasal verbs in which verbs and body part nouns together form a complex new verb. The noun *eti* 'liver' may either be incorporated into the verb or surface as an independent NP. Its possessor is interpreted as the experiencer of the emotion expressed by the verb. The incorporation of *eti* is unique: no other nominals (including other body part nouns and idiomatic objects) are productively incorporated in the same way (but see section 6.2.6.2).

7.4. Summary and conclusions

In this chapter we have seen that Kambera has several types of complex verb constructions. The first type is a serial verb construction in which a verb combines with another verb. Either verb may be transitive or intransitive. I presented evidence to consider such verbal sequences as compounds. The subject and/or object of both verbs that constitute such a compound construction are always shared, and marked only once on the compound verb. The valency of a compound verb is equal to the valency of the verb with the maximal number of arguments.

A special type of compound verb is a verbal construction in which a transitive or intransitive verb is combined with the instrumental verb *wàngu* 'use'. In the derivation of this compound verb, *wàngu* introduces a new argument as the object of the derived instrumental construction. The additional object may have variable semantic interpretations, including INSTRUMENT, REASON, PURPOSE, GOAL, BENEFICIARY and MALEFICIARY. In general, a compound verb with *wàngu* is instrumental, and thus distinguished from an applicative construction, but in some cases it is used in free variation with an applicative construction.

The third type of complex verb is the comitative construction that consists of a transitive or intransitive verb and the preposition *dàngu* 'with/and'. A complex verb derived with *dàngu* has an additional COMITATIVE object.

The fourth type of complex verb the compound verb in which a transitive or intransitive verb combine with the deictic verb *ningu* 'be (here)'. In this way a predicate can be rendered locative. Locative constructions with *ningu* do not have an additional (locative) object argument.

Finally, the fifth type of complex verb is a phrasal verb. Phrasal verbs with the body part noun *eti* 'liver' express emotions and appear in two parallel constructions: one where *eti* is incorporated and another where *eti* forms a seperate constituent. Phrasal verbs with other body part nouns than *eti* describe appearances or emotions. These nouns cannot be incoporated.

Comitative and instrumental constructions can be the base for causative and/or applicative derivation. Phrasal emotion verbs may also be the base for causative, applicative, comitative and instrumental derivations.

With respect to the marking of objects of complex verbs, we know that only definite object are marked on the verb. The shared object of the serial verbs discussed in section 7.1 is marked only once, analogous to the object marking of simple, underived verbs. The strategies of object marking vary per construction. In an applicative construction both definite objects are marked. In an instrumental construction the object that is most salient in the discourse is marked, while in comitative constructions the comitative object is marked on the verb.

Chapter 8
Subordinate clauses

8.0. Introduction

This chapter presents a survey of multiclausal constructions in Kambera, in particular subordinating ones. Coordination is not discussed here, though many of the syntactic constructions that link two or more clauses are coordinations in Kambera: as far as I have been able to establish, all Kambera conjunctions are coordinating. Illustrations of coordinate structures can be found in section 3.4.1, 4.2.1, 4.2.2, 4.6.5, and 7.1.1.

With subordinating conjunctions lacking in Kambera, clauses are subordinated in other ways. Kambera has three different types of subordinate clauses, namely nominal clauses, relative clauses and controlled clauses.

In nominal clauses, the subject of the clause is marked with a genitive enclitic (section 4.2.1). Normally, a nominal clause constitutes a simple, main clause, but it may also control an embedded clause, cf. section 4.2.1. In addition, a nominal clause itself my be subordinate. In this case it is crossreferenced with an object clitic on the verb in the main clause. This is illustrated in (1a). It is also possible to mark the subject of the embedded verb as the object of the main verb (a type of 'subject to object' raising). This is illustrated in (1b).

(1) a. *Nda ku- mbuti* ***-nya***$_j$ [*na tàka -mu*]$_{Sj}$
NEG 1SN- expect -3SD ART arrive -2SG
'I did not expect your coming'

b. *Nda ku- mbuti* ***-nggau***$_j$ [*na tàka -mu*$_j$]$_S$
NEG 1SN- expect -2SD ART arrive -2SG
'I did not expect you to come'

The second type of subordinate clause in Kambera is the relative clause. The sentences in (2) show that there are two formally distinct types of relative clauses, those marked with the clitic[342] *ma-* and having a subject head (2a), and those marked with *pa-* and having an object head (2b).[343]

(2) a. *Na-meti-ka na tau* [*na* ***ma-*** *piti -ya na kabela-nggu*]$_S$
3SN-die-PRF ART person ART RMS take -3SA ART machete-1SG
'The person that took my machete died already'

b. [*Na kabela* [*na* ***pa-*** *piti-na na tau nuna*]$_S$]$_j$, *na*$_j$*-ruhak*
ART machete ART RMO- take-3SG ART person DEI.3S 3SN-be broken
'The machete that was taken by that man is broken'

In section 8.1 I further specify this statement by summarizing the structural properties of Kambera relative clauses. I start in section 8.1.1 with an overview of the general characteristics of relative clauses. Then, in section 8.1.2, I first discuss relative clauses with a subject gap, followed by those that have an object gap. I consider which verbal arguments can be relativised, and how. Then I discuss the nominal properties of a relative clause in section 8.1.3, followed by its clausal properties in section 8.1.4. In section 8.1.5 I briefly discuss some derived uses of the *pa-* relative clause. We will see that, among other things, it is functionally similar to the passive in many other languages.

The third type of Kambera subordinate clauses are the complement clauses which are the topic of section 8.2. Informally, we can say a controlled clause is a clause with a (non-overt) subject that is identical to the subject or the object of its matrix clause. In other words, the subject of a controlled verb is controlled either by a main subject or by a main object. Subject control is discussed in section 8.2.2 and object control in section 8.2.3. In section 8.2.4 I discuss the quotative constructions in Kambera. In many languages speech reports involve syntactic subordination but in Kambera this is not the case.

8.1. Relative clauses

8.1.1. General characteristics

Kambera relative clauses are postnominal, i.e. they normally follow their head and may occur prenominally for emphasis (see (7c) below). A relative clause may either be headed by an NP (including personal, demonstrative or interrogative pronouns) or be headless. A relative clause always has a restrictive interpretation, as is illustrated in (3a) versus (3b-c), and in the contrast between (4a-b), (5a-b) and (6a-b). Relative clauses have nominal status: they may be crossreferenced on the main verb (cf. the clitic *na-* on the main verbs *meti* 'die' and *ruhak* 'be broken' in (2)), they may be marked for definiteness with an article, as in (3c) and (5b). Kambera has no paradigm of relative pronouns, or pronouns used as such.[344] A definite relative clause agrees in number with its head by using either a singular or a plural article, cf. (33a,b).

(3) a. *Na* *pau* *rara*
ART mango be red/ripe
'The ripe mango'

b. *Pau* [***ma-*** *rara*]$_S$
mango RMS be red/ripe
'A ripe (rather than unripe) manggo'

c. *Na* *pau* [*na* ***ma-*** *rara*]$_S$
ART mango ART RmS be red/ripe
'The mango that is ripe'

(4) a. *Wihi hambati -na*
foot hurt -3SG
'His hurting/painfull feet'

b. *Wihi* ***pa-*** *hambati*
foot RMO- hurt
'His feet that were hurt/his hurt feet' (i.e. pain inflicted by someone else)

(5) a. *Na anakeda nda uku*[345] *pingu -ya*
ART child NEG end know -3SA
'The child is extremely smart'

b. [[*Na anakeda*] [*na* ***ma-*** *nda uku pingu*]$_S$] *-ya$_j$*...[346]
ART child ART RMS- NEG end know -3SA
'It$_j$ is [the child that is extremely smart]...'

(6) a. *Wài maringu*
water be cold
'Cold water' (characteristic property)

b. *Wài* [***ma-*** *maringu*]$_S$[347]
water RMS- be cold
'Water that (is) cold' (unexpected/temporal property)

Kambera has no tense marking. The time reference of any clause, whether main or subordinate, may be formally unspecified when it is determined by the context. It may also be specified using temporal adverbs such as *kàli* 'usually' or sentential adverbs like *nàhu* 'now', *kawai* 'just now' or *haromu* 'tomorrow, later' (cf. section 4.4).[348] Without such adverbs, there is no distinction between clauses with a finite and a non-finite interpretation.

Sentences (7a,b) illustrate the contrast between subject and object relativisations. In (7a) the head of the relativisation is the subject *nyuna* 'he/she'. The head of the relative clause in (7b) is the object *da kalembi-da* 'their shirts'; the subject *nyuna* is crossreferenced with the genitive clitic *-na* on the embedded verb. In a relative clause containing an object gap a subject NP is optional. But when it occurs, its position is usually sentence final, as in (7b). In sentence (7c) the relative clause is prenominal: the head of the relativisation is sentence final, while the initial position is occupied by the subject NP of the embedded clause, which is not the head of the relativisation. In other words, a subject NP can move ('scramble') out of a relative clause.

(7) a. *Nyuna$_j$* [*na* ***ma-*** *pa.marihak*[349] [*da kalembi-da$_k$*]]$_{Sj}$
he ART RMS- CAU.be dirty ART shirt-3PG
'He (was the one) that made their shirts dirty'

b. [*Da kalembi-da*]$_k$ [[*na* ***pa-*** *pa.marihak -na*$_j$] *nyuna*$_j$]$_{Sk}$
ART shirt-3pG ART RMO- CAU.be dirty -3sG he
'Their shirts$_k$ were made dirty by him$_j$'

c. *Nyuna*$_j$ [*na* ***pa-*** *pa.marihak -na*$_j$]$_{Sk}$ [*da kalembi-da*]$_k$
he ART RMO- cau.be dirty -3sG ART shirt -3pG
'He$_j$, their shirts$_k$ were made dirty by him$_j$'

In the following sections more specific properties of relative clauses will be discussed.

8.1.2. The relativisation of arguments

In this section I discuss how subjects, direct objects, applicative objects, possessors, instrumental objects, comitative objects, and locations are relativised (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977). I start with the *ma*-relative clause which commonly relativises intransitive arguments and the subject of a transitive verb. Below we will see that it is also employed to relativise possessors.

Let us first consider *ma-* relative clauses with transitive verbs. Sentences (8)–(13) below contain relative clauses with the transitive verbs *dài* 'guard X', *pa.dika* 'create X', *piti* 'take X', *pàpu* 'pluck X' and the applicative verb *kei.ng* 'buy X for Y'. The head of these clauses is the subject of the embedded verb. The object of the verb is marked on the embedded verb, subject to the same rules and restrictions as the object marking in main, declarative sentences (cf. section 3.3, 6.2.2, 6.2.5). A definite object is crossreferenced on the verb and may be accompanied by an additional NP, as in (8) and (9). But it may also be marked with a clitic alone, as in (10). Sentence (11) and (12) show that an indefinite object is not marked on the verb but expressed by an indefinite NP instead. In case the embedded verb is applicative (i.e. has two objects) it is usually just the applicative object that is marked on the embedded verb, as shown in (12), though a definite direct object may be crossreferenced as well, as in (13).

(8) *Ba tau hàmu -ya*$_j$ [*na* [*ma- dài -ya*$_k$ [*na kawini*]$_k$] $_{Sj}$
CNJ person be good -3sA ART RmS- guard-3sA ART woman
'For it (is) a good man (that) guards the woman'

(9) *Nggamu-ya*$_j$ [*na ma- piti-ya*$_k$ [*na kabela -nggu*]$_k$] $_{Sj}$?
who -3sA ART RMS- take-3sA ART machete -1sG
'Who took my machete?' (lit.: 'Who (was) it that took my machete?')

(10) *Ka ta- kiku -nya*$_j$ [*na ma- pa.dika -nda*]$_{Sj}$
CNJ 1pN- follow -3sD ART RMS- create -1sD
'Let's follow him who created us'

(11) *Ku- ita -ya$_j$ [na tau [na ma- pàpu watar]$_S$]$_j$*
1SN- see -3SA ART person ART RMS- pluck corn
'I see the person that plucks corn'

(12) *Nyungga$_j$ [ma- kei -nggau nggula ni papa]$_{Sj}$*
I RMS- buy -2SD sugar DEI other side
'I (was the one that) bought you some sugar over there'

(13) *Ningu tau$_j$ [na ma- kei -ngga -nya$_k$ [na njara miting*[350]*]$_k$]$_{Sj}$*
be person ART RMS- buy -1SD -3SD ART horse be black
'There is someone who bought the black horse for me'

Turning now to the intransitive verbs, the subjects of such verbs are always relativised with a *ma-* relative clause, irrespective of their thematic role. In other words, the subjects of transitive and active ('unergative') and stative ('unaccusative') intransitive verbs are relativised in the same way. The relativised subject in (14) and (15) below is an AGENT argument of *tama* 'enter, go in' and *laku* 'go, walk'. In (16)–(17), however, it is the THEME of a non-active verb. In the question in (18) the subject is predicated by the numeral question word *pira* 'how many'. (Counting of people involves a relative structure with *tau* 'person' as the head noun and the numeral as the predicate of a relative clause, see section 4.6.2).

(14) *Jia -ma -a -ya$_j$ -ka nú, [na ma- tama la woka-nggu]$_{Sj}$*
EXIST -EMP -only -3SA -PRF DEI ART RMS- enter LOC garden-1SG
'It is really just him$_j$ [who entered my garden]$_j$.

(15) *Ni-nya$_i$ lai nyuna$_j$ [na ma- laku pa- dài woka]$_{Sj}$* [351]
be-3SD LOC he ART RMS- go CTR- guard garden
'She$_i$ is with him$_j$ [who went to guard the garden]$_j$

(16) *Na anakeda [na ma- njoru]$_S$*
ART child ART RMS- fall
'The child that fell'

(17) *Na maramba [na ma- papa.ng*[352]*]$_S$*
ART king ART RMS- be yonder
'The king from overseas' (lit.: '...who is yonder')

(18) *[Tau [ma- pira]$_S$]$_j$ -ha$_j$ [da tau katoba]$_j$?*
person RMS- how many -3PA ART person be crazy
'How many crazy people are there?'

That is, the noun expressing the S-function is relativised with a *ma-* relativisation and the thematic role of S is irrelevant.

Possessors are relativised with a *ma-* relative clause too. Three types of relative clauses are used in the relativisation of possessors. The first type is when the embedded verb is derived from a relational noun such as *ina* 'mother' or *ana* 'child' in (19) and (20). Such derived transitive verbs express certain relations between the subject and the object. One of the relations that is thus expressed is 'possession', but other types of relations are also possible (see section 6.2.2.3).

(19) *Na anakeda$_j$ [na ma- ina -nya$_k$]$_S$*
ART child ART RmS- mother -3sD
'The child$_j$ whose mother she$_k$ is'/'The child$_j$ she$_k$ is the mother of'

(20) *Ngga$_j$ [na ma- ana*[353] *-nya$_k$]$_S$?*
who ART RmS- child -3sD
'Whose child is she?'/'Who$_j$ is she$_k$ the child of?'

The second type is illustrated in (21), where the possessor *na tau* 'the person' is the head of the *ma-* relative clause, and the subject of the embedded verb *meti* 'die' is the possessee.[354]

(21) *Ita -nggu -nya$_k$ [na tau na ma-meti [kuru uma-na]$_S$]$_k$*
see -1sG -3sD ART person ART RMS-die wife -3sG
'I saw [the man whose wife died]$_k$'

The third type is the one where the relative clause contains the verb *ningu* 'be' and the incorporated argument of this verb, while the head of the relative construction is the possessor. Illustrations are (22) and (23). Note that the morpheme *.ng* marks the edge of the incorporation.

(22) *Na tau na ma- ningu ihi woka .ng*
ART person ART RMS- be content garden .ng
'The person that has crops' (lit.: 'The person whose garden content is')

(23) *Na pangàdang -da na ma- nda ningu lingu .ng -ya*
ART thoughts -3pG ART RMS- NEG be sense .ng -3sA
'Their senseless thoughts' (lit.: 'Their thoughts whose sense is not')

Constructions such as these are not only used for 'possession' but also to express circumstances or situations, as illustrated in (24) (see also section 5.2, 6.2.6.2):

(24) *Da tau da ma- ningu anakeda .ng la padua*
ART person ART RMS- be child .ng LOC middle
'The people that have a child in their midst' (lit.: 'The people that 'child is' in middle')

The normal position of the possessor pronoun *nyuna* 'he/she' is following the possessed noun, as in (25a,b). It may be the head of a relativisation, as in (25c,d). With an indefinite relative clause, it appears *in situ* (25e).

(25) a. [*Na$_j$- marihak [na kalembi -na* ***nyuna***$]_{NPj}$ $]_S$
3sN- be dirty ART shirt -3sG he
'His shirt is dirty'

b. [[*Na kalembi -na* ***nyuna***$]_{NPj}$ *na$_j$- marihak*$]_S$
ART shirt -3sG he 3sN- be dirty
'His shirt is dirty'

c. ***Nyuna*** *na [ma- marihak na kalembi -na*$]_S$
he ART RMS- be dirty ART shirt -3sG
'He whose shirt is dirty'

d. ***Nyuna*** *na [ma- ningu [kalembi marihaku*$]_{NP}$ *.ng*$]_S$
he ART RMS- be shirt be dirty .ng
'He who has a dirty shirt'

e. [[*Ma- marihak [kalembi -na* ***nyuna***$_k]_j]_S$ *-ya$_j]_S$ hi...*
RMS- be dirty shirt -3sG he -3sA CNJ
'It (was because of) his shirt being dirty that...' (e.g. other clothes became dirty too)

The relative clauses in (26) and (27) are headless (a possessor NP is absent) and definite (an article *na* is present):

(26) *Na ma- ràbih karàha kalai -na*
ART RMS- trickle side left -3sG
'The (one) whose left side trickles (i.e. lets water through)' (mythological character that is the source of rain)

(27) *Nggiki wà-mu-nya na ma-talih wua mata-na*
how say-2sG-3sD ART RMS-protrude fruit eye-3sG
'Wow (lit: 'how do you say to him'), his eyes (were) bulging

na ma- tamungal katiku-na
ART RMS- dislodge head-3sG
and his head (was) falling off' (description of a victim in a fight)
(lit.: 'the (one) whose eyes were bulging, whose head was falling off')

That is, possessors may be relativised using the same strategy as subjects.

I will now discuss the properties of *pa-* relative clauses. *Pa-* relative clauses have an object gap, which includes direct, applicative, instrumental and comitative objects. The

sentences in (2b), (7b) above and (28)-(32) below illustrate the relativisation of direct objects.

In (28a,b) the direct object *na njara* 'the horse' is relativised. The adverbs *hina* 'new(ly)' and *memang* 'immediately' are part of the relative clause and the subject is marked with a genitive enclitic. In (28b) the applicative object is marked with the object clitic *-nya*. (Structures where the subject is left unexpressed are discussed in section 8.1.5.)

(28) a. *Na njara* [*pa- hina kei* ***-na***]$_S$
ART horse RMO- newly buy -3SG
'The horse he just bought'

b. *Na njara* [*na pa- kei memang* ***-na*** ***-nya***$_k$]$_S$
ART horse ART RMO- buy immediately -3SG -3SD
'The horse that he bought immediately for her$_k$'

In sentence (29) the relative clause contains a prepositional phrase and is, together with its head, the nominal predicate of *-ya* '3SA'. That is, *-ya* is the subject of the clause, and *tau* is the NP modified by the relative clause.

(29) [*Tau* [*na pa- pa.dika -nggu* [*la pinu tana*]$_{PP}$]$_S$] ***-ya***$_i$
person ART RMO- create -1SG LOC top earth -3SA
'It (is) mankind that I have created on earth/that is my creation on earth'

Sentence (30a) contains the transitive verb *ngàndi* 'take X' and (30b) its causative/applicative derivation *pa.ngàndi.ng* 'cause (Z) to take X to Y, i.e. 'send X to Y'. In both sentences the relativised noun is the object *na nggula* 'the sugar'. Both relative clauses must have a direct object gap. In (30a) the subject is marked on the verb, in (30b) both subject and applicative object are marked, while in (30c) only the applicative object is marked on the embedded verb.

(30) a. *Na nggula* [*na pa- ngàndi* ***-nggu***]$_S$
ART sugar ART RMO- take -1SG
'The sugar that I took (along)'

b. *Na nggula* [*na pa- pa.ngàndi* ***-nggu*** ***-nggau***]$_S$
ART sugar ART RmO- CAU.take to -1SG -2SD
'The sugar that I sent (to) you'

c. *Na nggula* [*na pa- pa.ngàndi* ***-nggau***]$_S$
ART sugar ART RmO- CAU.take to -2SD
'The sugar that was sent to you'

Some additional examples are (31) and (32). Sentence (31) has a predicate containing the reflexive noun *wiki* 'self'. Its possessor *nyuna* occurs in topicalised position, but has

nothing to do with the relativisation — the head is *uma* 'house'. Sentence (32) has a serial verb, where V1 is intransitive and V2 transitive (cf. section 7.1). The object of V2 (*na pulung* 'the word') is relativised and topicalised, and the relative clause is part of a cleft construction (see section 3.5).

(31) *Nyuna*$_k$ [*ningu uma*$_j$ [*pa- pandoi wiki -na*$_k$]$_S$]$_S$
he be house RMO- make self -3SG
'He has a selfmade house'/'He has a house made by himself'

(32) *Na pulung*$_j$ [*jia -ya*$_j$ [*na* [*pa- laku ngàndi -na*]$_{Sj}$]$_S$
ART word EXIST -3SA ART RMO- go take -3SG
'The gospel is what he brought' (lit. '... went and took (along)')

Applicative objects are also relativised with a *pa-* relative clause. This is illustrated in (33) with the applicative verbs *wua.ng* 'give (X) to Y' and *pa.ngàndi.ng* 'send (X) to Y'.[355] The subject is marked on the embedded verb with a genitive enclitic, the direct object is *ndui* 'money'.

(33) a. *Da tau* [*da pa- wua -nggu ndui*]$_S$
ART person ART RMO- give -1SG money
'The people that I gave money to'

b. *Nyungga* [*na pa- pa.ngàndi -na ndui*]$_S$
I ART RMO- CAU.take to -3SG money
'I (am the one) that he sent money to'

The sentences in (34) show that when an applicative object is relativised, the direct object cannot be marked on the embedded verb. In such a relativisation, the direct object is usually either implied or an indefinite NP (as in (33), (34a) and (36)). The direct object NP may be definite, as illustrated in (34b), but it cannot be crossreferenced on the verb. This is illustrated in (34c).[356]

(34) a. *Da makaweda* [*da pa- ngàndi -nggu nggula*]$_S$
ART old.woman ART RMO- take to -1SG sugar
'The old ladies whom I brought (some) sugar'

b. *Da makaweda* [*da pa- ngàndi -nggu na nggula*]$_S$
ART old woman ART RMO- take to -1SG ART sugar
'The old ladies whom I brought the sugar'

c. * *Da makaweda* [*da pa- ngàndi -nggu -nya*$_k$ [*na nggula*]$_k$]$_S$
ART old woman ART RMO- take to -1SG -3SD ART sugar
'The old ladies whom I brought (*it) the sugar'

The relativised applicative object cannot be marked on the embedded verb, as shown in (35a-d):

(35) a. * *Da tau$_j$* [*da pa- wua -nja$_j$ ndui*]$_S$
ART person ART RMO- give -3pD money
'The people that were given (*them) money'

b. * *Nyungga$_j$* [*na pa- pa.ngàndi -ngga$_j$ ndui*]$_S$
I ART RMO- CAU.bring -1sD money
'I (am the one) that (was) given (*me) money'

c. * *Nyungga$_j$* [*na pa- pa.ngàndi -na -ngga$_j$ ndui*]$_S$
I ART RMO- CAU.bring -3sG -1sD money
'I (am the one) that he gave (*me) money'

d. * *Da makaweda$_j$* [*da pa- ngàndi -nggu-nja$_j$ nggula*]$_S$
ART old woman ART RMO- take to -1sG -3pD sugar
'The old ladies that I brought (*them) some sugar'

However, if the head NP of an applicative object relativisation occurs outside the clause (i.e. is dislocated/topicalised) or is part of a prepositional phrase, it may optionally be crossreferenced on the verb. This is illustrated in (36) and (37a,b).[357]

(36) [*Da tau*]$_j$, [*da pa- wua -nggu -nja$_j$ na ndui*]$_S$, *da$_j$ -meti -ka*
ART person ART RMO- give -1sG -3sD ART money 3pN -die -PRF
'The people, (the ones) whom I gave the money, have died'

(37) a. [*Lai nyungga*]$_{PP}$ [*na pa- pa.ngàndi -na -ngga ndui*]$_S$
LOC I ART RMO- CAU.take to -3sG -1sD money
'To me, he sent me money'

b. [*Lai nyungga*]$_{PP}$ [*na pa- pa.ngàndi -na ndui*]$_S$
LOC I ART RMO- CAU.take to -3sG money
'To me, he sent money'

Let us now turn to another kind of objects, the objects of instrumental verbs (derived with *wàngu* 'use', cf. section 7.2.1). Instrumental objects are relativised like other objects. In (38) the base verb is the intransitive verb *hayidi* 'have fun'. It is intransitive and cannot form an object relative clause. This is illustrated in (38a). The transitive compound verb is *hayidi wàngu* 'have fun with Z', illustrated in (38b,c). The instrumental object *na tau* 'the person' is relativised in (38b,c). In (38b) the subject of the relative clause is unspecified, in (38c) it is marked on the verb as *-nda*.

(38) a. * *Na tau* [*na pa- hayidi -nda*]$_S$
ART person ART RmO- have fun -1pD
Intended reading: 'The person that we have fun with' (cf. (38c))

b. *Na tau* [*na pa- hayidi wàngu*]$_S$
ART person ART RmO- have fun use
'The person to have fun with'

c. *Na tau* [*na pa- hayidi wà -nda*]$_S$
ART person ART RmO- have fun use -1pD
'The person that we have fun with'

An instrumental complex verb may also be derived from a transitive base verb. Such a verb has two objects — a direct object and an instrumental object. Consider the sentences in (39). In these sentences the instrumental compound verb has the transitive base *nga(ngu)* 'eat X'.[358]

(39) a. *Na uhu* [*na pa- nga -nggu*]$_S$
ART rice ART RMO- eat -1sG
'The rice that I ate'

b. *Na huru* [*na pa- nga wàngu*]$_S$
ART spoon ART RMO- eat use
'The spoon to eat with'

c. *Na huru* [*na pa- nga wà -nggu*]$_S$
ART spoon ART RMO- eat use -1sG
'The spoon that I eat with'

d. *Na huru* [*na pa- nga wà -nggu uhu*]$_S$
ART spoon ART RMO- eat use -1sG rice
'The spoon that I eat rice with'

e. *Na huru* [*na pa- nga wà -nggu -nya$_j$ na uhu$_j$*]$_S$
ART spoon ART RMO- eat use -1sG -3sD ART rice
'The spoon that I eat the rice with'

f. *Na huru* [*na pa- nga -nggu*]
ART spoon ART RMO- eat -1sG
'The spoon that I eat'

In (39a) the direct object *uhu* 'rice' is relativised. In (39b,c,d,e) the instrumental object *na huru* 'the spoon' is relativised. Sentence (39f) is in itself a grammatical sentence, but is semantically strange because *na huru* 'the spoon' is interpreted here as the direct object of the verb *ngangu*. In (39b) the subject is unspecified, while in (39a,c,d,e) it

is *-nggu* '1sG'. In (39d) the base object *uhu* 'rice' is indefinite, as usual in a relative clause. However, (39e) shows that it may also be definite and marked on the embedded verb. In other words, a definite direct object can be marked on the verb in an instrumental object relativisation. Recall from (34c) above that is was not possible to cliticise the direct object in an applicative object relativisation. In this sense, there is a contrast between the relativisation of instrumental objects and applicative objects.

Now consider the sentences in (40) and (41) below. Here the complex verbs are *kei wàngu* 'buy X using Z' and *manahu wàngu* 'cook X using Z'. In (40) and (41a) the direct object is relativised, in (41b,c) the instrumental object.

(40) *Na kalembi [na pa- kei wà -nggu -nya$_j$ [na ana manu]$_j$]$_S$*
ART shirt ART RMO- buy use -1sG -3sD ART child chicken
'The shirt that I bought with the chicken' (i.e. in barter trade)

(41) a. *Na uhu [na pa- manahu wà-na-nya$_j$ [na wuru bàhi]$_j$]$_S$*[359]
ART rice ART RMO- cook use-3sG-3Sd ART pot iron
'The rice that she cooked using (it) the iron pot'

b. *Na wuru bàhi [pa- manahu wà- -na -nya$_k$ [na uhu]$_k$]$_S$*
ART pot iron RMO- cook use -3sG -3sD ART rice
'The iron pot that she cooked the rice with'

c. *Na wurung [na pa- manahu wà-na-nya$_j$ uhu [na ina-na]$_j$]$_S$*
ART pot ART RMO- cook use -3sG-3sD rice ART mother-3sG
'The pot that she used to cook food for her mother'

d. * *Na uhu [na pa- manahu wà -na-nya$_j$ wuru bàhi [na ina-na]$_j$]$_S$*
ART rice ART RMO- cook use -3sG-3sD pot iron ART mother-3sG
'The rice that she cooked *[for her mother] with an iron pot'

The object clitic in the relative clause can be doubled by an object NP in the relative clause. This is illustrated in (40) and (41a,b). But note that in (40) and (41a) the object clitic refers to the INSTRUMENT, while in (41b) it refers to the PATIENT and in (41c) to the BENEFICIARY. Both in (41c) and in (41d), the complex verb *manahu.ng wàngu* 'cook (X) for Y using Z' has three object arguments. (41c) shows that if the instrument is relativised, the relative clause can contain both the direct and applicative object. The applicative object is crossreferenced on the verb. In contrast to this, if the direct object of this verb is relativised, it is *not* possible to have a crossreferenced applicative object in the relative clause (the BENEFICIARY *na ina-na* 'his mother'). This is illustrated by (41d). This is a structural difference between the relativisation of direct objects and instrumental objects.

In (41c), it is the INSTRUMENT *na wuru bàhi* 'the iron pot' of an instrumental complex verb with an applicative base verb that is relativised. The BENEFICIARY applicative object NP *na ina-na* 'his mother' is part of the relative clause. Now consider the sentences in (42), where the BENEFICIARY *na ariyá* 'the guest' is

relativised. In (42a,b) the direct object (PATIENT *uhu* 'rice') is unexpressed. The subject *-na* in (42b) is optional.

(42) a. *Na ariyá [na pa- manahu wàngu wuru bàhi]*$_S$
ART guest ART RMO- cook use pot iron
'The guest that she cooked for using an iron pot'

b. *Na ariyá [na pa- manahu wà-na-nya*$_k$ *na wuru bàhi*$_k$*]*$_S$
ART guest ART RMO- cook use-3SG-3SD ART pot iron
'The guest that she cooked for using the iron pot'

c. * *Na ariyá [na pa- manahu wàngu [wuru bàhi]*$_{INS}$ *[uhu]*$_{DO}$*]*$_S$
ART guest ART RMO- cook use pot iron rice
Intended reading: 'The guest that she cooked rice for using an iron pot'
Good for: 'The guest that she cooked for using an iron rice pot'

d. *Na ariyá [na pa- manahu uhu la wuru bàhi]*$_S$
ART guest ART RMO- cook rice LOC pot iron
'The guest that rice was cooked for in an iron pot'

In (42a) the INSTRUMENTal object, part of the relative clause, is indefinite, while in (42b) it is definite and crossreferencedon the verb. The illformed sentence (42c) shows that when an applicative object is relativised, the instrumental object and the direct object NP *cannot* occur simultaneously in the embedded clause, not even if neither is crossreferenced. The correct form is (42d), where the instrument is part of a prepositional phrase. Now, recall from (41c) that if it is the *instrumental* object that is relativised, the relative clause *can* contain two objects. This is a structural contrast between the relativisation of applicative objects and instrumental objects.

The discussion up to now can be summarised as follows: the three objects of an instrumental compound verb are the direct object, the applicative object and the instrumental object. These objects are all relativised by the *pa-* relative clause strategy. However, despite this similarity, the relativisation of these different objects shows some interesting differences. The relativisation of direct objects seems to have the most restrictions. A direct object relativisation can contain maximally *one* other object argument (clitic/NP), namely an applicative object.

The relativisation of an applicative object may contain only one bare object NP, either the applicative object or the instrumental object. In case both object NPs are part of the relative clause the applicative object must be a bare NP and the instrument must be part of a prepositional phrase.

When an instrumental object is relativised, the relative clause may contain either a direct object NP plus its clitic or an applicative object NP plus its clitic. Both direct and applicative object NP may also occur simultaneously. In the latter case, the only restriction is that only the applicative object NP may be cliticised, not the instrumental object NP.

An account of these structural asymmetries between the various Kambera objects which would also provide an explanation for the object asymmetries discussed in chapter 7, is an interesting topic for future research, but will not be pursued here.

Let us now turn to the complex verbs that are derived with *dàngu* 'with'. Such verbs have a comitative object argument (cf. section 7.2.2) A comitative argument is treated like an object in relativisation. This is illustrated in (43), (44) and (45). In (43) the base verb is intransitive *hí* 'cry'. The comitative argument of *hí dàngu*, namely *na tau* 'the person', is relativised with an object relative clause in (43a). The genitive subject *-nggu* is marked on the embedded verb. (43b) shows a subject relative clause where *na tau* is the subject head and *-ngga* the dative comitative object.

(43) a. *Na tau [na* ***pa-*** *hí dà -nggu]*$_S$
ART person ART RMO- cry with -1SG
'The person that I cried with'

b. *Na tau [na* ***ma-*** *hí dà -ngga]*$_S$
ART person ART RMS- cry with -1SD
'The person that cries with me'

In (44) the base verb is transitive *puti* 'roll X'. The comitative argument is relativised like an object. The subject is marked, and the direct object *kalorung* 'rope' occurs in the relative clause. A definite direct object is marked on the verb, as (45) illustrates.

(44) *Na tau [na pa- puti dà -ma kalorung]*$_S$
ART person ART RMO- roll with -1PG rope
'The people that we have rolled ropes with'

(45) *Nggamu [pa- himbu dà -mu -nja*$_j$ *[da hapi -na]*$_j$ *]*$_S$
who RMO- search with -2SG -3PD ART cows -3SG
'With whom did you search for his cows?'

From the previous discussion we can conclude that *pa-* relative clauses always have an object (or rather, as we shall see, non-subject) gap. The object may be a PATIENT, BENEFICIARY, INSTRUMENT or COMITATIVE argument of the (compound) verb. We have also seen (as in (16), (17) and (18) above) that both A and S (active, non-active) are relativised with a *ma-* relative clause, i.e. a relative clause with a subject gap. In other words, subjects that are POSSESSORS of a thing or THEMES or UNDERGOERS of a situation are relativised like AGENTive subjects. Non-active subjects cannot be relativised with an object *pa-* relative clause. This is illustrated in (46)-(49):

(46) * *Tau na pa- hidu*
person ART RMO- be ill
Intended reading: 'People that are ill'

(47) * *Anakeda na pa- njoru*
child ART RMO- fall
Intended reading: 'A child that fell/has fallen'

(48) * *Tau na pa- tàka*
person ART RMO- arrive
Intended reading: 'People that (have) arrived'

(49) * *Da pau da pa- rara*
ART mango ART RMO- be red/ripe
Intended reading: 'The mangoes that are ripe'

Let us now consider the relativisation of locations. Commonly, nominals that specify a location are part of a prepositional phrase, (50a). They cannot be crossrefenced on the verb, as shown by (50b). They can be relativised using the dummy noun *ngia* 'place' as the head of a *pa-* relative clause, with or without the locational noun itself being present, cf. (50c,d). The 'dummy' locational head noun *ngia* cannot be replaced by the 'real' locational noun, cf. (50e).

(50) a. *Katuda -nggunya la topu*
sleep -1s.CONT LOC mat
'I sleep on a/the mat'

b. * *Ku- katuda -ya$_j$ na topu$_j$*
1sN- sleep -3sA ART mat
Intended reading: 'I sleep on the mat'

c. *Na ngia [pa- katuda -nggu]$_S$*
ART place RMO- sleep -1sG
'The place where I sleep (= my bed)'

d. *Na topu ngia [pa- katuda -nggu]$_S$*
ART mat place RMO- sleep -1sG
'The mat where I sleep (= my sleeping mat)'

e. * *Na topu pa- katuda -nggu*
ART mat RMO- sleep -1sG
Intended reading: 'The mat where I sleep (= my sleeping mat)'

Most verbs (transitive/intransitive) that combine with a location, can relativise the location by using *ngia* 'place' in this way.[360] Some additional examples are (51)–(55). The grammaticality contrast between the (a) and (b) examples shows that the locational noun itself cannot be the head of the relativisation.

(51) a. *La pinu watu na ngia pa- pa.hadang -nggu-nya*
LOC top rock ART place RMO- CAU.stand up -1sG-3sD
'On a rock (will be where) I build it'

b. * *Na watu pa- pa.hadang -nggu -nya*
ART rock RMO- CAU.stand up -1sG -3sD
Intended reading: 'the rock on which I build it'

(52) a. *Na ngia pa- banjalu -na -nja da kuhi -na*
ART place RMO- put -3sG -3pD ART key -3sG
'The place where he put his keys'

b. * *Na lamari pa- banjalu -na -nja da kuhi-na*
ART cupboard RMO- put -3sG -3pD ART key-3sG
Intended reading: 'The cupboard where he put his keys'

(53) a. *Na woka na ngia [pa- yaulu -nggu njara]*$_S$
ART garden ART place RmO- chase -1sG horse
'The garden to which I chased (some) horses'

b.* *Na woka pa- yaulu -nggu njara*
ART garden RMO- chase -1sG horse
Intended reading: 'The garden to which I chased (some) horses'
Good for: ? 'The garden for which I chased some horses' (BEN)

(54) a. *Na uma ngia pa- ngiang*[361] *-na na ana-na*
ART house place RMO- stay at -3sG ART child-3sG
'The house where his child stayed'

b. * *Na uma pa- ngiang -na na ana-na*
ART house RMO- stay at -3sG ART child-3sG
Intended reading: 'The house where his child stayed'

(55) a. *[Na ngia [pa- nda peku-nggu]]*$_j$ *hi nda ku- lua, nu-ya*$_j$
ART place RMO- NEG be able-1sG CNJ NEG 1sN- go DEI-3sA
'The place to which it is impossible for me to go, is there'

b. * *Na kotak pa- nda peku -nggu...*
ART town RMO- NEG be able -1sG
Intended reading: 'The town to which it is impossible for me to go...'

Some directional intransitive verbs behave exceptionally in this respect. Consider the sentences in (56) and (57).[362] The noun that indicates the direction of these intransitive verbs is part of a prepositional phrase in a main, declarative sentence, as illustrated in (56a) and (57a). The directional NP cannot be crossreferenced on the verb

like an object NP, as shown in (56b) and (57b). But in (56c) the same directional NP is relativised with a relative clause marked with *pa-*, i.e. as the object of a transitive verb. This is also illustrated in (57c).

(56) a. *Da- puru [la luku]*$_{PP}$
3pN- go down LOC river
'They went down to the river'

b. * *Da- puru -ya*$_j$ *[na luku]*$_j$
3pN- go down -3sA ART river
Intended reading: 'They went down to the river'

c. *Na luku pa- puru -da*
ART river RMO- go down -3pG
'The river to which they went down/descended'

d. *Na luku ngia pa- puru ni -da*
ART river place RMO- go down be -3pG
'The river where they descended' (e.g. got off their horse)

(57) a. *Ku- beli [la uma]*$_{PP}$
1sN- return LOC house
'I go back home'

b. * *Ku- beli -ya*$_j$ *[na uma]*$_j$
1sN- return -3sA ART house
'I returned/went back to the house'

c. *Na uma na pa- beli -nggu*
ART house ART RMO- return -1sG
'The house to which I returned'

d. *Na uma ngia pa- beli -nggu pa-ajar*
ART house place RMO- return -1sG CTR-study
'The house to which I return to study'

Observe that (56d) and (57d) do contain the dummy head noun *ngia* 'place', and that this is connected to a semantic contrast between the (c) and (d) sentences. The presence of *ngia* distinguishes a locational argument from a directional argument. In other words, *na uma* in (56c) and (57c) is the direction of 'going', whereas in (56d) and (57d) *na uma* is the location of 'to study'. In the latter case, *na uma* can only be relativised by using an extra, juxtaposed NP as the head of the relative clause — *(na) ngia* '(the) place'.[363]

In sum, a location can be relativised using the dummy noun *ngia* 'place' as the head of a *pa-* relative clause. The direction of directional verbs as *puru* 'descend' and *beli*

'return' can be relativised by making the directional noun the head of a *pa-* relative clause. The relative clause form for locations and directions is identical to the one used for objects.(Wind directions are also expressed with a *pa-* relative form, see section 4.5). Sentence (63) below shows that locations are questioned using a *pa-* relative clause.

8.1.3. Nominal properties of relative clauses

In the previous section some nominal properties of the relative clause were mentioned: (i) a relative clause can be crossreferenced with a clitic on the main verb, (ii) it can be used as a nominal predicate (cf. (5b), (25c) and (29)), (iii) the subject in a relative clause must be genitive, and (iv) relative clauses are marked for definiteness with an article.

In addition, a headless relativisation, with a verbal root, can be a (lexicalised) nominal.[364] Such nominalisations can be definite or indefinite, quantified, reduplicated and may be governed by a preposition. Some illustrations are given in (58) and (59). (59) illustrates some lexicalised nominalisations with *ma-* and *pa-*.

(58) a. *Dangu* *ma-* *hidu,* *dangu* *ma-* *meti*
be many RMS- be ill be many RMS- die
'Many sick, many dead'

b. *Hau* *ma-* *hàmu*
one.CLF RMS- be good
'Something good'

c. *Dambu* *ma-* *pa.wihi,* *dambu* *ma-* *ka.muluk*
two.CLF RMS- pa.leg/foot two.CLF RMS- bald
'Two with legs (and) two bald ones' (traditional types of earrings)

d. *Na* *pa-pekang* - *pa-* *pekang*
ART RED - RmO- preach
'The (various) preachings/the various (things) preached'

e. *La* *ma-* *harui*
LOC RMS- have trouble
'In trouble'

(59) Nominalised relativisations

rara	'be red/ripe'	***ma-rara***	'gold'
kaweda	'be old'	***ma-kaweda***	'old woman'
aya	'older sibling'	***ma-aya***	'oldest' (of siblings)
meti	'die/be dead'	***ma-meti***	'corps', 'dead person'
katoba	'be crazy'	***ma-katoba***	'lunatic, idiot'
hei	'go up, ascend'	***pa-hei***	'ladder'
wuku	'wish X'	***pa-wuku***	'wish'
ngangu	'eat X'	***pa-ngangu***	'food'
bera	'break/split X'	***pa-bera***	'war'
ita	'see X'	***pa-ita***	'vision'

An interrogative pronoun[365] often heads a relativisation, as shown in (60)—(63). In (60) subject relativisations are illustrated, the relativisations in (61), (62) and (63) have an object gap. As we have seen above (cf. (8) and (14)), relative clauses can be used in cleft constructions, where the head of the relative clause is clefted, and the identification or description of a focused argument is provided by the relative clause. In a similar fashion, an interrogative pronoun can also be clefted, as shown in (60b,c), (61b,c), (62) and (63). In these sentences, *nggamu* 'who', *nggàra* 'what' or *nggi* 'where' is the predicate and the clitic *-ya* is the subject which is 'doubled' by the relative clause.

(60) a. *Nggamu* ***ma-*** *ita* *-ya?*
who RMS- see -3SA
'Who saw him?'

b. *Nggamu* *-ya*$_j$ [*na* ***ma-*** *ita* *-ya*]$_j$?
who -3SA ART RMS- see -3SA
'Who (is) it that saw him?'

c. *Nggamu* *-ya*$_j$ [***ma-*** *ita* *-ya*]$_j$?
who -3SA RMS- see -3SA
'Who (is) it (that) saw him?'

(61) a. *Nggamu* ***pa-*** *ita* *-na?*
who RMO- see -3SG
'Who did he see?'

b. *Nggamu* *-ya*$_j$ [*na* ***pa-*** *ita* *-na*]$_j$?
who -3SA ART RMO- see -3SG
'Who (is) it that he saw?'

c. *Nggamu* *-ya*$_j$ [***pa-*** *ita* *-na*]$_j$?
who -3SA RMO- see -3SG
'Who (is) it (that) he saw?'

(62) *Nggara -ya$_j$ [na **pa-** ita -na]$_j$?*
what -3SA ART RMO- see -3SG
'What (is) it that he saw?'

(63) *Nggi -ya$_j$ [na **pa-** mbuha -mu]$_j$?*
where -3SA ART RMO- like -2SG
'Which one do you like?' (lit.: 'Where (is) the one of your liking?')

That is, the external, distributional properties of relative constructions are nominal. They differ from 'simple' nominal constituents because their internal structure may be clausal. The clausal properties of relativisations will are topic of the next section.

8.1.4. Clausal properties of relative clauses

Though the Kambera speakers of my corpus generally favour conjoined clausal structures to complex embeddings, clauses with more than one embedding do exist: a verb in a relative clause can take a control clause complement, as in (57d) and (64)—(66).

The NP *tau* 'person' in (64) is the object of the verb *pa.mbana* 'urge' (lit. 'cause to be hot'). This NP is not only the head of an object relative clause but it also controls the subject of the clause *pa-mài la karenja* 'to go to church'. In (65) the relativised noun is the subject of *mài* 'come' and controls the clause *pa-ngangu dà-nya* 'to eat with him'.[366] (66a) is a similar construction (with a definite head NP and a definite relative clause) and (66b) shows that such a complex relative construction can be used as a nominal predicate.

(64) *Tau [pa- pa.mbana [pa- mai la karenja]* $_{Sctr}$ *]* $_{Srel}$
person RMO- CAU.be hot CTR- come LOC church
'A person (that is) urged to go to church'

(65) *Tau [ma- mai [pa- ngangu dà -nya]* $_{Sctr}$ *]* $_{Srel}$
person RMS- come CTR- eat with -3SD
'A person who comes to eat with him'

(66) a. *Na tau Màhu [na ma- mài [pa- danggang winu]* $_{Sctr}$*]* $_{Srel}$
ART person Masu ART RMS- come CTR- sell betelnut
'The person from Masu that came to sell betelnut'

b. *[Tau Màhu [na ma- mài [pa- danggang winu]*$_{Sctr}$*]*$_{Srel}$*]*$_{NP}$-ya
person Masu ART RMS- come CTR- sell betelnut -3SA
'It (is) the person from Masu that came to sell betelnut'

We have seen that relative clauses may include adverbs, such as *nda uku* 'extremely' in (5b) and *hina* 'newly' and *memang* 'immediately' in (28), a negator in (53a),

definite object NPs in (40) and (41), a prepositional phrase in (29)) and subject and object clitics (but the subject can only be genitive).

Relative clauses differ from main declarative clauses in the following respects: (i) a relative clause is always marked with the clitic *ma-* or *pa-*, (ii) a relative clause has no aspectual or modal clitics, and (iii) the possibilities for pronominal marking of arguments on the verb in a relative clause are reduced: the relativised noun is a gap, which cannot be filled, neither by crossreferencing clitics nor by (resumptive) pronouns.[367] In addition, the expression of object arguments in the relative clause has some limitations (cf. the discussion around the sentences in (38)-(42) above).

8.1.5. Derived functions of relative clauses

In section 8.1.3. we have seen that the relative construction has nominal properties and can be used as a noun. Examples were given of nouns that are lexicalised relative structures.

The relative structures have other derived functions. An indefinite relative clause may be used as the modifier of a nominal head inside an NP.[368] The head of the NP is the relativised noun.

(67) Relativised verb used as nominal attribute

kalembi	*pa-*	*kei*		'a bought shirt'/ 'a shirt that is bought'
shirt	RMO-	buy		(i.e. not stolen)
tau	*pa-*	*palu*		'a hit man' / 'a man that is hit'
person	RMO-	hit		
ndui	*pa-*	*bohu*		'stolen money' / 'money that is stolen'
money	RMO-	steal		
ana	*pa-*	*namu*		'a loved child' / 'a child that is loved'
child	RmO-	remember		
uma	*pa-*	*tàka*		'house of arrival' / 'a house that
house	RMO-	arrive		(we/they) arrive at'
kanjaka	*ma-*	*bokul*		'a big chair' / 'a chair that is big'
chair	RMS-	be big		
hinggi		*ma-*	*hàmu*	'a good sarong' / 'a sarong that is
men's sarong		RmS-	be good	good'
anakeda	*ma-*	*ludu*		'a singing child' / 'a child that sings'
child	RMS-	sing		

In (68) various other, yet related, functions of the relativised verb form are illustrated. In (68a,b) the modified NP is a nominal predicate (note the different scope of the negator *nda*). In (68c) it is a possessed nominal predicate. In (68d) the modified noun is an independent NP, left-dislocated to the relativisation, while the latter functions as a nominal predicate. The same relativised verb occurs in sentence (68e) and (68f) and here it functions like a passive verb.

(68) a. [*Nda* [*ndui* *pa-* *bohu*]$_{NP}$] *-ya*
NEG money RmO- steal -3sA
'It (is) not stolen money'

b. [*Ndui* [*nda* *pa-* *bohu*]$_{NP}$] *-ya*
NEG money RmO- steal -3sA
'It (i) money that (is) not stolen'

c. [*Ndui* [*pa-bohu-na*]$_{S}$]$_{NP}$ *-nya*
money RmO-steal-3sG -3sD
'It (is) money that is stolen by him'

d. [*Na ndui*]$_{NPj}$, [*pa-bohu*$_{NP}$ [*la uma karenja*]$_{PP}$] *-ya*$_j$
ART money RmO-steal LOC house church -3sA
'The money, it (is) stolen in the church'

e. [*Pa-bohu*]$_{NP}$ *-ya*$_j$ [*na ndui nuna*]$_{NPj}$
RmO-steal -3sA ART money DEI.3s
'It (is) stolen, that money'

f. [*Pa-* *bohu*]$_{NP}$ *-ya*
RMO- steal -3sA
'It (is) stolen'

g. * [*Pa-* *bohu* *-ya*] *la uma karenja*
RMO- steal -3sA LOC house church
Intended reading: 'It (is) stolen in the church'

When looked at superficially, data like (68d,e) would lead to the conclusion that Kambera has passives, that the passive morpheme is *pa* and that the clitic *-ya* '3sA' in (68d,e) marks the object in a passive clause. However, *-ya* does not mark the object of the verb, and is not part of the relative clause. This is shown by (68d), where a PP intervenes between the verb and *-ya*, in contrast to the illformed (68g). In other words, verbal constructions like those in (68) are relativisations, used as nominal predicates. Simple relativisations such as these (i.e. relative clauses without internal clausal properties) can be used as nominal predicates very easily. The subject of a nominal predicate is normally accusative, and dative if the nominal predicate is possessed), see section 5.3.3, 5.5.1).

The nominal predicates may function like passive constructions. In section 3.5 it was mentioned that certain clausal constructions in Kambera have a function similar to passive constructions in other languages. The unmarked position of an object NP (not the clitic) is postverbal, while its 'focused' position is preverbal. That is, the object can be focused by moving the object NP to the position before the nuclear clause. The object is now 'in focus', just as it is in focus in passive constructions in other languages. Consider the sentences in (69). (69a) is a 'usual' transitive sentence, while (69b) has a focused object. Note that the clitic marking on the verb is the same in (69a) and (69b). Another way of placing an object 'in focus' is to use a relative construction. In (69c,d,e) it is shown how an object relative construction relates to a main declarative clause with a focused object NP, like (69b).

(69) a. *Na tau wútu na- palu -ka nyungga*
ART person be fat 3SN- hit -1SA I
'The big man hit me'

b. *Nyungga na- palu -ka tau wútu*
I 3SN- hit -1SA person be fat
'I (was) hit by a big man'

c. *Nyungga* [*pa- palu -na nyuna*]$_S$
I RMO- hit -3SG he
'I (am) (the one who) (was) hit by him'

d. *Nyungga* [[[*pa- palu*]$_S$]$_{NP}$ *-ka*]$_S$
I RMO- hit -1SA
'I (am) (the one who) (was) hit' / 'I (was) hit'

e. *Pa- palu -ka*
RMO- hit -1SA
'I (was) hit'

Summing up, relative constructions have several derived functions in Kambera. Apart from being used as nominal constituents and as modifiers in NPs, they also occur in constructions that would strike the superficial observer as being passive. I argued that these 'passive' constructions are derived from simple relativisations, and although their function is similar to that of the passive construction in other languages, Kambera has no particular passive morpheme that derives a passive voice verb form.

8.2. Complement clauses

8.2.1. General characteristics

Controlled complement clauses are subordinate clauses with a subject that is controlled by the subject or object of the matrix verb. In Kambera, controlled clauses are marked with the proclitic *pa-*. In this section I give an account of the general properties of such clauses, while in the sections 8.2.2 and 8.2.3 some specific properties of, respectively, subject and object controlled clauses will be discussed. The sentences in (70) illustrate the contrast between coordination, relativisation and control.

(70) a. [*Ta- pakiring*] $_S$ [*ka ta- tinu -nya na lau haromu*] $_S$
1pN- start CNJ 1pN- weave -3sD ART sarong tomorrow
'We start (with) (something else) so that we'll weave the sarong tomorrow'

b. [*Ta- pakiri -nja$_j$* [*da lau* [*pa- tinu -nda*]$_S$]$_{NP\,j}$] $_S$
1pN- start -3pD ART sarong RMO- weave -1pD
'We start (with) (them) the sarongs woven by us'

c. [*Ta- pakiri -nya$_j$* [*na pa- tinu -nda*] $_{NP\,j}$] $_S$
1pN- start -3sD ART RMO- weave -1pD
'We start (with) (it) our weaving'

d. [*Ta- pakiring* [*pa- tinung haromu*] $_S$] $_S$
1pN- start CTR- weave tomorrow
'We start to weave tomorrow/we start weaving tomorrow'

e. [*Ta- pakiring* [*pa- tinu -nya na lau haromu*] $_S$] $_S$
1pN- start CTR- weave -3sD ART sarong tomorrow
'We start weaving/to weave the sarong tomorrow'

The two clauses in (70a) are coordinated — the second clause is conjoined with *ka* 'so that' and its subject is overt (*ta-* 'we'). In (70b) the subordinate clause is a relative clause. With its head noun it forms an NP that is crossreferenced on the matrix verb with the object clitic *-nja*. The relatisation in (70c) is marked as the object of the main verb. In (70d) the subject of the verb *pakiring* 'start, begin with X' controls the subject of *tinung* 'weave (X)' in the embedded clause. The same is true in (70e), and here the object of the embedded verb *tinung* 'weave X' is marked on the verb. In this section I discuss some general properties of controlled structures like (70d,e).

The evidence to distinguish a main clause from a controlled clause is as follows. The first indication is the position of the pronominal, modal and aspectual clitics, which mark the edge of the nuclear clause (see also section 3.5 and 7.1.1.). In (71) the subject marking *-nggunya* follows the main verb, i.e. it appears in between the two verbs. This is an indication that the matrix clause and the controlled clause constitute two different clauses.

(71) [*Mbuha -nggunya [pa- tu -ya kuru uma*[369] *-nggu*]$_S$]$_S$
want -1sG.CONT CTR- put -3sA wife -1sG
'I want to make her my wife'

The second indication is the position of sentential adverbs, interjections and intonational breaks. Sentential adverbs are adjoined to the nuclear clause (section 3.3, 3.5.) and 'interjections' are, as always, dislocated elements that are not part of a clause. Now consider the sentence in (72). In this sentence, the doubled (subject) NP *na tau Nipong* and a sentential adverb *làti* appear in between the matrix clause and the controlled clause:

(72) [*Na- mài-ma-ka una na tau Nipong làti [pa-karài-ka*]$_S$]$_S$
3sN- come-EMP-PRF EMP.3s ART person Japan in fact CTR-ask-1sA
'Actually, a Japanese man did come to ask me (for his bride)'

In (73) the two clauses are separated by the sentential adverb *bùdi* and an 'interjection' to the addressee *Ina* 'mother', and two intonational breaks:

(73) [*Màra mài -ma -ka bùdi, Ina, [pa-ihu*]$_S$]$_S$
be diligent come -EMP -PRF COND Mother CTR-bathe
'You should come often, mum, to have a bath'

In (75a), the controlled clause is part of a PP with the locative preposition *la*. In (77), the two clauses are separated by the interjection *hama tuna* (a filler meaning something like 'with respect to'), and/or by the preposition *la*. Thus, there are several indications that controlled clauses are a syntactic domain separate from the main clause.

The next question one might ask is why the control marker *pa-* is considered a clitic instead of a verbal prefix. Like the relative markers *ma-* and *pa-*, *pa-* does not behave like an affix because it attaches to a syntactic phrase (the embedded clause) rather than a morphological base. This is illustrated in (74), where the morpheme *pa-* attaches to the adverb *hili* 'again' and in (92a) below, where it attaches to a negation.

(74) [*Na- laku mài -pa [pa- hili karai -ka*]$_S$]$_S$
3sN- go come -IMPF CTR- again ask -1sA
'He came yet again to ask me again'

The morpho-syntactic properties of a controlled clause are restricted. Such a clause does not have separate markers of aspect or mood, and it is within the scope of the negator or negative verb in the matrix clause. This is illustrated in the contrast between (75a,b).

(75) a. *Na- kahiri -ka la pa- lua pa- kei ri*
3sN- forbid -1sA LOC CTR- go CTR- buy vegetables
'He forbade me to go and buy vegetables'

b. *Na- kahiri -ka ka àmbu ku- kei rí*
3SN- forbid -1SA CNJ NEG.IRR 1SN- buy vegetables
'He forbade me to buy vegetables' (lit.: 'He forbade me so that I wouldn't buy vegetables')

The controlled subject is, by definition, never overtly expressed. The subject of the matrix clause may have an arbitrary referent or a referent determined by the context. If this is the case, the embedded subject has the same arbitrary/contextual referent. This is illustrated in sentence (76).

(76) *Jàka mbuhang pa- kahau mema -nja da ma-kudu...*
if want CTR- separate immediately -3PD ART RMS-be small
'If one/you/we want(s) to set apart the small ones immediately...'

Controlled clauses have some nominal properties. They may be headed by the locative preposition *la*. This preposition makes the clause have a slightly more explicit interpretation: a clause headed by *la* is interpreted as the purpose of the matrix clause (cf. 4.2.2, 7.2.1). I have tried to reflect this semantic contrast in the translations of (77a,b), but the contrast is more subtle than these translations would suggest. Another example is sentence (95) below.

(77) *Monu -nggau ka u- puru nú hama tuna...*[370]
hope -2SD CNJ 2SN- descend DEI with respect to
'(We) trust you (to) come down...'

(la) pa- piti -ha da banda
LOC CTR- take -3PA ART goods[371]
'(in order) to fetch the goods'

Finally, controlled clauses may be headed by the prepositional verb *wàngu* 'use' (cf. section 7.2.1.). A clause controlled by *wàngu* is interpreted as being simultaneous or in immediate sequence to the event of the preceding sentence. One of the illustrations given in section 7.2.1. is repeated here as (78):

(78) *Patiang ana mandài-ndài wàngu pa- buta ana rumba*
wait DIM RDP-be long use CTR- pick DIM grass
'(We) wait a while weeding some grass in the meantime'

In section 8.2.2 and 8.2.3 I discuss specific properties of subject and object control, respectively.

8.2.2. Subject control

Subject control verbs include verbs of direction, knowledge, ability and achievement, verbs expressing propositional attitude, phasal verbs and manipulative verbs. In a subject control construction, the subject of the embedded verb is identical to the subject of the matrix verb. Examples of such verbs are given in (79).

(79)

laku	'go'	*mbuhang*	'want, like'
mài	'come'	*pa.kiring*	'begin, start with'
pingu	'know'	*pa.ngalang*	'go on, continue'
njadi	'be able'	*duruhung*	'keep on'
màka	'be capable of'	*kamang*	'try (X) out'
ma.ngadat	'fear, be afraid of'	*bàtirung*	'threaten'

The sentences in (80)-(84) illustrate some subject control clauses with intransitive matrix verbs.[372] In (80)-(82) the embedded verb has an active subject, in (83) and (84) its subject is non-active. In control, the syntactic relation (S) of this argument is relevant, not its thematic properties.

(80) *Ku- pingu pa- pa.hilu Humba.ng*
1SN- know CTR- pa.language Sumba.ng
'I know Sumbanese' (lit.: 'I know (how) to use the Sumbanese language')

(81) *Na- njadi pa- ngalang ndui*
3SN- be able to CTR- receive money
'He is able to earn money'

(82) *Nda ku- màka -a pa- kaliti njara*
NEG 1SN- be capable -MOD CTR- ride horse
'I cannot ride a horse' (e.g. because I am not strong enough)

(83) *Ku- mangadat pa- meti*
1SN- be afraid CTR- die/be dead
'I'm afraid to die/be dead'

(84) *Nda ku- mbuhang pa- hidu*[373]
NEG 1SN- want/like CTR- be ill
'I don't want/like to be ill'

The sentences in (85)—(87) have transitive matrix verbs. In (85) the object NP *na njara* 'the horse' is coreferent with the object clitic *-nya* and the embedded subject is controlled. The embedded object in (86)—(87) is marked twice: not only on the embedded verb, but also on the matrix verb. Obviously, the subject of a matrix verb can only control an embedded subject if the two propositions are a semantically plausible combination. Sentence (87b) is illformed because usually one does not threaten someone else with the fact that one will be in pain.

(85) *Na- weli -nya$_j$ [na njara]$_{NPj}$ pa- tama la oka*
3sN- move (away) -3sD ART horse CTR- enter LOC coral
'He makes the horse enter the coral' (lit.:'He moves the horse (away from the field) to enter the coral')

(86) *Nda ku- mbuha -a -nggau -pa pa- lei-nggau*
NEG 1sN- want -MOD -2sD -IMPF CTR- have as husband-2sD[374]
'I no longer want (to have) you as my husband'

(87) a. *Na- bàtir -ngga pa- pa.meti -ka nyungga*
3sN- threaten -1sD CTR- CAU.die -1sA I
'He threatens to kill me'

b. * *Na- bàtir -ngga pa- katiu*
3sN- threaten -1sD CTR- have pain
Intended reading: 'He threatens me to have pain' (i.e. he has pain, not I)

Now consider the sentences in (88). (88a) is a simple object control structure. In (88b), the subject of the matrix verb *kamang* 'try (out) X' controls the subject of the second verb *paràha* 'force X'. *Paràha* is an object control verb. As indicated by the indices, the subject of the third verb *kaliti* 'ride X' has the same referent as the matrix object (*-nya*) and the embedded object (*-ya*). However, it cannot be controlled by the object of the embedded verb *paràha* 'force X'. This is shown in (88c). The clause containing *kaliti* must be coordinated and have its own overt subject *na-*, as in (88b).

(88) a. *Ta - paràha -ya$_i$ pa- kaliti njara*
1pN- force -3sD CTR- ride horse
'We forced him to ride a horse'

b. *Ta- kama -nya$_i$ pa- paràha -ya$_i$ ka na-$_i$ kaliti njara*
1pN- try -3sD CTR- force -3sA CNJ 3sN- ride horse
'We tried to force him to ride a horse' (lit.:'...to force him so he rides a horse')

c. * *Ta- kama -nya$_i$ pa- paràha -ya$_i$ pa- kaliti njara*
1pN- try -3sD CTR- force -3sA CTR- ride horse
Intended reading: 'We tried to force him to ride a horse'

That is, a verb that is itself subject-controlled cannot object-control another verb. In (88b) the subject of the verb *paràha* was controlled, and therefore its object could not control the next verb. The sentences (94) and (96a) below show that a matrix verb can control two clauses, provided their subject is identical. I do not have an explanation for this restriction.

The subject clitic in the matrix sentences discussed so far was either nominative or in the continuative aspect construction (sentence (71)). In (89) and (90) the matrix subject is marked with the accusative clitic *-ya*.

(89) *Mai- -ya pa- mandura -bia -pa yohu*
come- 3SA CTR- wait very long time -MOD- IMPF here
'One just comes to wait endlessly here'

(90) *Laku -ya pa- ràma...*
go -3SA CTR- work
'One goes to work...'

(91) * *Laku -ka pa-ràma / laku -ma pa-rama / laku -ha pa-rama*
go -1SA CTR-work go -1PA CTR-work go -1PA CTR-work
Intended reading: 'I go to work' / 'We go to work' / 'They go to work'

A Kambera S may be marked with an accusative clitic (section 5.5). Such an accusative subject may, among other things, be used as an impersonal pronoun. Similarly, the accusative matrix subjects, the accusative matrix subjects in (89) and (90) also function as impersonal pronouns. They can only occur in the third person singular. The ungrammatical clauses in (91) illustrate this. The conclusion is that the morphological case marking of a matrix subject may vary. That is, it is not the morphological case marking of the subject, but the syntactic relation that is relevant in control structures.

8.2.3. Object control

In object control structures, the subject of the embedded clause is identical to the object of the matrix verb. This is illustrated in (92a). (92b) shows that the two clauses can occur in coordination, with an overt subject in the second clause. In (92c) the second clause is a relative construction, used as the nominal predicate of *-ya* 'he'. (92d) shows that in a controlled clause, the controlled subject cannot be marked.

(92) a. *Ku- parahaya -ya pa- nda kambàlik*
1SN- trust -3SA CTR- NEG lie[375]
'I trust him not to lie'

b. *Ku- parahaya -ya$_j$ ba nda na$_j$ - kambàlik*
1SN- trust -3SA CNJ NEG 3SN- lie
'I trust him because he doesn't lie'

c. *Ku- parahaya -ya$_j$ [nda [ma- kambàlik]* $_{NP}$] -ya$_j$
1SN- trust -3SA NEG RMS- lie -3SA
'I trust him, as he (is) not a liar'

d. * *Ku- parahaya -ya pa- nda kambàlik -na*
1sN- trust -3sA CTR- NEG lie -3sG

The few Kambera object control verbs are mainly manipulative verbs. The ones that I have attested are given in (93) (*dundang, pareta* and *parahaya* are loans from Indonesian).

(93)

dundang	'invite X'	*pa.lewa*	'order/send X'
pa.mbana	'urge/encourage X'	*juju*	'incite X'
rudi	'press, force X'	*parahaya*	'believe/trust X'
pa.ràha	'command, force X'	*ka.hiti*	'forbid X'
pareta	'order/command X'		

In (94) and (95) the object of the matrix verb (*-nggau* 'you', *-ta* 'us') is identical to the subject of the controlled verb(s).

(94) *Ku- dunda -nggau pa- mài pa- ngangu yohu*
1sN- invite -2sD CTR- come CTR- eat here
'I invite you to come (and to) eat here'

(95) *Na- juju -ta la pa- pa.laku -ya na bohu*
3sN- incite -1pA LOC CTR- CAU.go -3sA ART greed
'He incites us to steal' (lit.: 'He incites us to let our greed go')

In (96a) the object of the matrix verb (*-ka* 'me') controls the embedded clause. The negative meaning of the matrix verb *kahiri* 'forbid' extends into the controlled clause. In contrast to this, consider the coordinated structure in (96b). Here the negative meaning of the verb does *not* extend into the second clause and the irrealis negator *àmbu* must be obligatorily present in the second clause, as the illformedness of (96c) shows.

(96) a. *Na- kahiri -ka la pa- lua pa- kei rí*
3sN- forbid -1sA LOC CTR- go CTR- buy vegetables
'He forbade me to go and buy vegetables'

b. *Na- kahiri -ka ka àmbu ku- kei rí*
3sN- forbid -1sA CNJ NEG.IRT 1sN- buy vegetables
'He forbade me to buy vegetables' (lit.: 'He forbade me so that I wouldn't buy vegetables')

c. * *Na- kahiri -ka ka ku- kei rí*
3sN- forbid -1sA CNJ 1sN- buy vegetables
* 'He forbids me so that I buy vegetables'

Now consider the sentences in (97), where (97a,b) are wellformed, but (97c) is not. Sentences (97a,b) are wellformed because they combine two propositions that form a semantically plausible combination. (97c) is not, because it is impossible to 'force' someone else to experience something.

(97) a. *Na- rudi -ka pa- katuda*
3SN- force -1SA CTR- sleep
'He forces me to sleep'

b. *Na- rudi -ka pa- langidip*
3SN- force -1SA CTR- burp/hickup
'He forces me to burp/hickup' (e.g. in a show)

c. * *Na- rudi -ka pa- katiu*
3SN- force -1SA CTR- have pain
* 'He forces me to have pain/be painful'

What was said in the previous section, about a subject only being able to control an embedded subject if the two combined propositions are a semantically plausible combination, can thus be seen to apply to object control as well.

8.2.4. Quotative constructions

Some subordinate constructions that occur frequently in other languages are not found in Kambera. For example, causation ('make X', 'cause X') and permission ('let X', 'help X') is not expressed by a bi-clausal structure where the second clause is subordinated to the matrix verb. Instead, notions like these are expressed by deriving a causative verb with the prefix *pa.* (cf. section 6.1.). Also, perception verbs like *ita* 'see X' and *rongu* 'hear X' are not used as matrix verbs of an embedded clause. Instead, they occur in coordinated structures like the ones in (98):

(98) a. *Ku- ita -ya ba na- laku la Umalulu*
1SN- see -3SA CNJ 3SN- go LOC Melolo
'I saw him going to Melolo (lit.:'...when he went to Melolo')

b. *Ku- rongu -kau ba u- ludu*
1SN- hear -2SA CNJ 2SN- sing
'I heard you sing' (lit. 'I heard you while you sang')

Finally, in many languages, subordinating verbs are verbs of speech or thought, such as the English verbs 'tell X', 'promise X', 'report X', 'want X', 'realise X', etc. In Kambera, however, concepts like these are normally expressed by the quotative construction, which, as we will see below, does not involve syntactic subordination. The Kambera quotative construction is used to report speech and physical or mental

perception. The verb used in this construction is the verb *wàngu* 'do, use, say/talk speak' (see also section 6.4, 6.5.1, 6.6.2). Section 7.2.1 discusses the prepositional function of this verb ('with') and gives an account for the difference between the citation form *wàngu* and the verbal root form *wà*.

The lexical meaning of the verb *wàngu* in connection with speech acts and speech reports is 'talk, say, tell', as illustrated in (99)-(102):

(99) *E, wà -nggu$_i$ -nya$_j$ [na ama -mu]$_j$!*
EXC say -1SG -3SD ART father -2SG
'Hey, I was talking to your father!'

(100) *Wà-nggu ba wà-na hama tu-na-i nú kangiu*
say-1SG CNJ say-3SG be same put-3SG-ASP DEI yesterday
'I tell (it) as it was told before'

(101) *Nggiki wà-nggu ba ku- karai -nya?*[376]
how say-1SG CNJ 1SN- ask -3SD
'How should I ask him?' (Lit.:'How (do) I speak when I ask him?')

(102) *Nggiki wà-na la hilu Humba?*
how say-3SG LOC language Sumba
'How do you say it in the Sumbanese language?'

The same verb is used in speech reports, as illustrated in (103)–(109). The length of the quote may vary from one word (in (103) *u* 'yes', in (104) *maing* 'come') to an entire sentence (in (109) *tau Tabundung-kau* 'you're Tabundung people').

(103) *Ka u wà-na -ka una*
CNJ yes say-3SG -PRF EMP.3S
'So he agreed'/'So "yes" he said'

(104) *Nda na- hili paterung maing ba wà-nggu-nya*
NEG 3SN- again hesitate come CNJ say-1SG-3SD
'He didn't even hesitate when I told him to come'/
'He didn't even hesitate (when) "come" I said to him'

(105) *Wua -na$_i$ -nya ndui haromu*[377] *wà -na$_i$*
give -3SG -3SD money tomorrow say -3SG
'He's going to give her money'
'"He'll give her money", he says'

(106) *Daingu pa.ngàndi-nggu -nggau hurat haromu wà -nggu -nya*
surely CAU.take to-1SG -2SD letter tomorrow say -1SG -3SD
'I promised to send him a letter'
'"Surely I'll send you a letter", I said to him'

(107) *Ka na- ngàndi -ya na mbuku* ***wà*** *-nggu -nya làti*
CNJ 3sN- take -3sA ART book say -1sG -3sD in fact
'In fact, I told him to take the book'
'"He (should) take the book", I told him'

(108) *Ku- paní -nja ka na- kabeli haromu i Ama* ***wà-nggu***
1sN- tell -3pD CNJ 3sN- return tomorrow ART father say-1sG
'I told them that father will come home'
'I told them, "father will come home", I said'

(109) *Kabihu nuna, tau Tabundung-kau* ***hi wà-da-nya***
clan DEI.3s person Tabundung-2sA CNJ say-3pG-3sD
'That clan was called the Tabundung People' /
'That clan, "you're Tabundung People", they told it'

A non-generic speech verb may be used in addition to *wàngu*, as in (108). *Wàngu* may not be replaced by such a verb. Sentence (111) is a quote of a quote, and this is marked by a distinct object pronominal on the verb *wàngu* (*-ngga* '1sD' vs. *nggau* '2sD').

(110) *Na- paní -ngga ka na- lua haromu* ***wà-na-ngga***
3sN- tell -1sD CNJ 3sN- go tomorrow say -3sG-1sD
'She told me that she is leaving tomorrow'/
'She told me that "she leaves tomorrow" she said to me'

(111) *Na- paní -ngga ka na- lua haromu* ***wà-na-nggau***
3sN- tell -1sD CNJ 3sN- go tomorrow say-3sG-2sD
'She told me to tell you that she is leaving tomorrow'/
'She told me that "she leaves tomorrow" she said to you'

These sentences also illustrate that there is no syntactic distinction between direct and indirect speech in Kambera: neither the clause with *wà*, nor the quote sentence is distinct from any other main, declarative clause in Kambera. Direct and indirect quotes are distinguished not by syntax, but by a different pronominal reference strategy: sentence (105), (107), (110) and (111) are indirect quotes because the subject (and object) clitic(s) in the quote is (are) not first/second person, i.e. they are not what would be expected if it were direct speech.

Complex sentences containing more than one layer of quotes are often used. The sentences (112) and (113) are illustrations (the brackets indicate here the various layers of quotes):

(112) "[*E, ba namu -ma -nggu -nya na ana njara,*
EXCL CNJ remember -EMP -1sG -3sD ART child horse
"Hey, because I care for the foal,

[['['*tobu* *-nya*'] ***wà*** *-nggu*'] *ba* ***wà*** *-mi*],
slaughter -3sD say -1sG CNJ say -2pG
if you want to kill it,

ai *ndia* *-ma,* *nda* *ku-* *puli* *-ma* *-nya*]' ***wà*** *-na*
EXC NEG -EMP NEG 1sN- let go -EMP -3sD say -3sG
no way!, I won't let it go," he said

(113) [*Padening* *-ma-du-ka* *nú,*
true -EMP-EMP-PRF DEI
"It's really true,

['*pa.tulih* *pa.ànga* *-bia* *-mi* *-nya* *nú*']
pa.write pa.useless -MOD -2pG -3sD DEI
-- (whether) you have been writing it for fun,

wà *-nggu* *ba* ***wà*** *-nggu* *-nja* *da anakeda*
say -1sG CNJ say -1sG -3sD ART child
I asked the children

[[*ndia*] ***wà*** *-nggu*] *ba* ***wà*** *-da,* *làngatàka*] ***wà*** *-na*
NEG say -1sG CNJ say -3pG truly say -3sG
but (they) denied (it) -- and that's the truth," he said

Canonically, the reported speech precedes the speech verb in Kambera. There is no intonational break between the speech report and the verb. This does not imply that the quote and the speech verb belong to the same clause, however, because the speech verb may always be preceded by a coordinating conjunction such as *ba* and *hi* in e.g. (100), (101), (104), (109) and (112).

A Kambera quote is not morpho-syntactically marked as a dependent of the clause containing the speech verb. It does not fill an (object) argument position of the speech verb and it cannot be crossreferenced by a clitic, unlike e.g. nominal clauses (cf. (1a)). If there is an object marked on the verb, it is the addressee, as in (104), (106), (107), (109) and (126). Syntactically, the relation between the quote and the clause with the speech verb is thus an instance of coordination.

The quotative construction is not only used to report speech, but also to express mental and physical perception, i.e. the construction does not always mark actual speech. The quotes in the second conjunct in (112) (*tobu-nya wà-nggu na wà-mi*, lit: 'kill it I say you say' express an intention/thought rather than actual speech. In (114) and (115) the quote is also a thought rather than a speech act, and *wàngu* may be translated as 'think' or 'realise':

(114) *Ka* *nyimi nggamu-ya* *na ana tau* *ba* ***wà-mi?*** ***wà-na-nja***
CNJ you who-3sA ART child person CNJ say-2pG say-3sG-3pD
'"And you, who do you think the man is?" he asked them'/
'And you, you say "who is that man", he said to them'

(115) *Nda* *na-tanda -a-ya* *una* *na ...*
NEG 3sN-know -MOD-3sA DEI.3s ART
'She didn't recognise him, that (man)...

jia *na* *lei-nggu* *amang* *nda* ***wà-na*** *-mbu -pa una*
EXITS ART husband-1sG earlier NEG say-3sG -also-IMPF DEI.3s
she didn't even realise he was her former husband/
she didn't even say, "he used to be my husband"'

In many languages quotative constructions are described as expressing not only speech acts but also intentions and mental activities such as 'think' (cf. Coulmas 1986, Reesink 1993, De Vries 1990, Adelaar 1990, among others). The similar marking of speech acts and cognitive acts is often explained by considering cognitive activities such as 'thinking' as a type of 'inner speech' (Vygotsky 1962). In other words, mental perceptions are linguistically expressed like speech acts. This explanation does, however, not extend to Kambera (and other languages where) quotative constructions also express physical perception when ideophonic roots — describing motions, sounds or visible properties (section 6.4) — occur in the quotative construction to express 'vividness' and 'directness'. An illustration is (116):

(116) *Mbùtu* ***wà-na*** *tuna nú,* *na-puru* *nuna* *nú*
thud say-3sG thus DEI 3sN-descend that one DEI
'Thud! it did and he climbed down'(Context: valuables suddenly fall out of a magic horse's stomach; person climbs down from horse)

(117) *Jila.k* ***wà-na*** *jila.k* ***wà-na*** *-ma* *-ka* *la* *Kawáu*
RDP- gleam say-3sG -EMP -PRF LOC Kawáu
'There was lightning over Kawáu' (lit. 'Gleam!' it did repeatedly...)

There is no way we can consider quotative constructions with ideophoses as a type of (inner or outer) speech. Thus, the common denominator of the various uses of the construction with *wàngu* is not that they involve speech acts, but rather that they express a physically or mentally perceived event. In this view, then, quotes are a subclass of perceived events. This implies that the verb *wàngu* is not a speech act verb at all, and should not be translated as 'say' but rather has a more generic semantics. Also, the term 'quotative construction' is too specific for what this construction actually does; 'perceived event construction' would be more appropriate. However, as 'speech (act) verb' and 'quotative construction' are the terms commonly used for verbs and constructions such as these, I use them for communicative/typological reasons.

The roots of verbs derived with the prefix *ha-* may also occur in quotative constructions. From the list of *ha.*verbs and their roots given in section 6.5.1, it is clear that the roots of *ha.* verbs describe physical and mental perception. In this respect these roots are similar to ideophonic roots.[378] The different functions of a root and a verb derived with *ha.* are illustrated in (118) and (119).

(118) a. *Ha.likir -ki -nya$_j$!*
tilt -MOD -3sD
'Lean away from it a bit!'

b. *Likir* ***wà*** *-na -bia -ka*
tilt (head) say -3sG -MOD -PRF
'He just tilted his head'

c. * *Ha.likir* ***wà*** *-na -bia -ka*
tilt say -3sG -MOD -PRF

(119) a. *Ha.ngatar -nanya -ka*
be amazed -3sCONT -PRF
'He was feeling amazed'

b. *Ngàtar* ***wà*** *-na -bia -ka*
amaze say -3sG -MOD -PRF
'He is just lost in amazement'

Some inflected forms of *wàngu* function as discourse particles. In (120) and (121) it is an interjection to add vividness and emphasis to the clause (cf. "hey!", "man!", "y'know!" in English). Note that the discourse-particle form of the verb takes the subject *-mu* '2sG'. *Wà-mu* as discourse particle is followed, not preceded by an intonational break.

(120) *Ka da- puru -ka uda nú* ***wà -mu,***
CNJ 3pN- descend -PRF EMP.3p DEI say -2sG
'So they got down man!,

ngandi -danya bi kabela bi nímbu -du-ka nú ***wà -mu...***
take -3p.CONT DER machete DER spear-EMP-PRF DEI say -2sG
they (were) all bringing along those machetes and spears, you know!'

(121) *Njadi na-pàda-nya-ka una nú* ***wà-mu,*** *na ma-kaliti njara miting!*
so 3sN-feel-3sD-PRF EMP.3s DEI say-2sG, ART RMS-ride horse be black
'So she sensed him y'know!, the one riding the black horse!'

In (122)–(125) the inflected verb functions as a question tag. As a question tag, *wàmu* is again not preceded by an intonational break. The subject marking of *wàngu* is often *-mu* '2sG', but not always, as shown in (122).

(122) *Màla la Umalulu na-mbana* ***wà-nggu?***[379]
well LOC Melolo 3sN-be hot say-1sG
'Well, I guess it's hot in Melolo, isn't it?'

(123) *Kama -nya* ***wà-mu?***
try -3sD say-2sG
'Wanna try it?'

(124) *Unung* ***wà-mu?***
drink say-2sG
'Wanna drink?'

(125) *Karia-ngga* ***wà-mu?***
accompany-1sD say-2sG
'Are you coming with me?'/'Wanna come with me?'

Observe that *karia-ngga* in (125) is an indirect quote. (In case it were a direct quote, *karia-ngga wàmu* '(you) come with me' would have been *karia-nggau wàmu* '(I) come with you'.)

Let us now consider some formal properties of the speech verb itself. The subject of the verb *wàngu* is expressed by an obligatory genitive clitic. The verb *wàngu* is transitive but, unlike speech verbs in e.g. English, its complement is not the quote but rather the addressee (if there is one). The addressee is marked by an object clitic on the speech verb, as illustrated in (104), (106), (107), (109) and (126):

(126) *Ningu pawuku-nggu làti nú,* ***wà-na-nya***
be wish-1sG in fact DEI say-3sG-3sD
'"I have a wish", he told him' / 'He told him he had a wish'

Another typical property of the speech verb is that it is the only Kambera verb that is that is on its way to have subject inflection rather than subject crossreference. In general, a genitive subject may be separated from the verb by (i) adverbs and (ii) modal clitics. This is illustrated in (127) where *-na* '3sG' is separated from the verb by the adverb *mema* and the emphasis marker *-ma*:

(127) *Ngandi mema -ma -na -nggai*
take immediately -EMP -3sG -2sD
'He brought it to you (pl) immediately'

In other words, a verb and a genitive subject clitic do not normally form one inseparable unit, but the verb *wàngu* and its genitive subject clitic do form such a unit

— adverbs and modal clitics cannot separate *wà(ngu)* from its subject marking morpheme but must follow it, as in (128b), (129b):

(128) a. * '...' ***wà(ngu)*** *mema* *-na* -nggai
say immediately -3sG -2pD

b. '...' ***wà*** *-na* *mema* *-nggai*
say -3sG immediately -2pD
'"...", he told you (pl) immediately'

(129) a. * '...' ***wà(ngu)*** *-ma* *-na* *-nggai*
say -EMP -3sG -2pD

b. '...' ***wà*** *-na* *-ma* *-nggai*
say -3sG -EMP -2pD
'"...", he told you (pl)'

Thus, in (128b) and (129b) the form *wàna* is no longer analysed as a verbal root plus a subject clitic, but as a verbal stem *wà* with a subject *suffix*. The sentences in (130) are evidence that the suffix *-na* may also be reanalysed as part of the verbal stem, i.e. as not marking the subject. To the stem *wàna* a new subject clitic may be attached. This is illustrated in (130b). A sentence such as (130a) was judged as speech errors by my informants because they contain two subject markers (one genitive, one nominative). Nevertheless, in spontaneous discourse these sentences are often used. The reanalysis entails that the irregular phonotactics of *wàngu* (consisting of a monosyllabic root *wà* and a postlexical syllable *ngu*), and its exceptional subject marking are regularised: *wàna* is analysed as a phonotactically wellformed disyllabic verbal root, and the subject is marked with a (regular) nominative subject, as indicated by the glosses in (130b).

(130) a. * *"..."* *ba* *na-* ***wà*** *-na-nya* *i* *Windi*
CNJ 3sN- say -3sG-3sD ART Windi
'"...", Windi told him'

b. *"..."* *ba* *na-* ***wàna*** *-nya* *i* *Windi*
CNJ 3sN- say -3sD ART Windi
'"...", Windi told him'

Subjects of *wàngu* are not commonly relativised. The only subject relativisation that I have attested with this verb is in the first conjunct of (131), where *hawiang* 'others' is the head and the relative clause is introduced by the clitic *ma-* (section 8.1.2). Strikingly, in the second conjunct the same relativisation strategy is used to relativise the quote. The fact that the quote is relativised with a *ma-* relative clause canonically used for subjects and possessors, rather than with the *pa-* relative clause, canonically

used for objects, also suggests that the a quote is syntactically not the object of the verb *wàngu*, i.e. not a subordinate clause.[380]

(131) *Tàka* *ni-nya* *hawiang-a* *na* *ma-* ***wà*** *-na,*
arrive be-3sD others-MOD ART RMS- say -3sG
'Till there were others who said,

"Jia *-ya* *i* *Yohani",* *na* *ma-* ***wà*** *-na*
EXIST -3sA ART John ART RMS- say -3sG
"It's John", (is what) he said'

Wàngu is nominalised with a *ma*-relative construction as in (132), where its subject is marked with a genitive. Normally, a subject is not marked in a *ma-* relativisation (section 8.1.2). Arguably, the reanalysis of (130b) has been applied here too, i.e. *wàna* is analysed as a verbal root.

(132) *Mbàda* *maromba* *-nggu* *-nya*$_j$ *-ka* [*na* *ma-* ***wà-na***]$_j$
already forget -1sD -3sD -PRF ART RMS- say-3sG
'I've already forgotten what he said'

In sum, the Kambera the quotative construction consists of two coordinated clauses, the second of which contains the multifunctional verb *wàngu*. It is used to express speect acts, (in) direct speech reports, and mentally and physically perceived events. A derived function is as a discourse particle or question tag. The verb *wàngu* has some unique properties: (i) it has an monosyllabic (rather than disyllabic) root form, (ii) it marks the addressee as its complement, (iii) its subject may only be genitive (and in some contexts this clitic is reanalysed as part of the verbal root), and (iv) it behaves exceptionally in relativisation. (See also section 7.2.1.1 for a description of the prepositional properties of this verb).

8.3. Summary and conclusions

Kambera has three kinds of subordinate clauses: nominal, relative and controlled clauses. The nominal clause, is discussed in section 4.2.1. In this chapter the properties of the remaining two types have been discussed. In section 8.1. I discussed how subjects (S/A), possessors, direct objects, indirect objects, possessors, instruments, comitative arguments, and locational arguments are relativised. A relative clause with a subject head is marked with the clitic *ma-*. The subject relative clause is also used to relativise possessors. A relative clause with the clitic *pa-* relativises the remaining arguments: direct objects, indirect objects, instruments, comitative arguments, and locational arguments. The relativisation of objects show some structural differences: of all object relative clauses, the one with a direct object head has the most restrictions. We have also seen that locational verbs relativise their location with a *pa-* relative clause following a sequence of two nouns: the noun expressing the location and the

'dummy' noun *ngia* 'place', the latter functioning as the head of the relative clause. In exceptional cases *ngia* is not used and the noun indicating the direction of the verb is the head of the relativisation.

A relative clause has both nominal and clausal properties. It may be used as a nominal constituent/noun, to modify a nominal head inside an NP and in a construction that functions like a passive construction, but is in reality a simple relative form functioning as a nominal predicate. Thus, Kambera has no passive morpheme nor a passive voice verb form.

In section 8.2 some general properties of controlled clauses were discussed. In a control structure, the subject or object of a matrix verb is identical to the subject of the embedded clause. In subject control the syntactic relation (S/A) of the shared argument is relevant rather than its thematic content or its morphological case.

Finally, it was observed that, whereas many other languages frequently use subordination to combine two propositions, Kambera often prefers to employ other means to express such combinations, ranging from the morphological derivation of new verbs to the coordination of clauses. The Kambera quotative construction is a construction used to report (in)direct speech. It is also used to express thoughts, and perceived events and has thus a wider application than its name suggests. The verb *wàngu* that is used in quotative constructions has some unique morpho-syntactic properties (see also section 7.2.1.1).

Appendix
Kambera texts

1. Conversation

Participants: A, male, older; I, female, older; Y, female, younger; and H, female, younger. Y visits her uncle A and aunt I, for whom she has harvested some rice. H is a niece of A and member of A and I's household. Indonesian loans are glossed with (Ind).

Y. *Na uhu nàhu jiapa -ya -pa hu papa?*
ART rice now still be -3SA -impf DEI yonder
'Is the rice still over there? (i.e. at your place)'

I. *Ka jiapa -ma -ya -pa una.*
CNJ still be -EMP -3SA -IMPF DEM.3s
'(Yes,) it is still there.'

A. *Haromu dengi -ya, bài -àru -nda -nya, lodu hau ngàndi-nda-nya.*
tomorrow dry -3SA stamp -please -1pD -3sD day one take to-1pD -3sD
'Tomorrow (you) dry it, please stamp it for us, (and) take it to us on Monday'

Y. *Ya... ngàndi -ya -ka dumu haromu.*
yes take -3SA -PRF EMP.2s tomorrow
'Yes... (I'll) bring it tomorrow.'

I. *Ha! Kadita -na dua kambulu hau!*
Gee! be sticky[381] -3sG two ten one
'Gee! (There are) twenty one (mugs) of sticky (rice)!'

Y. *Dua kambulu kaba -na lai nyungga,*
two ten mug -3sG LOC I
'Twenty one mugs (of it) at my place,

jàka ndedi da- piti -ya -pa ihi nú kangiu...
if not yet 3pN- take -3SA -IMPF UNCERT DEI yesterday
(that is,) if they have not taken it (away) yesterday...

Napa, jàka na- lodu haromu, daingu dengi-nggu-nya haromu.
later if 3sN- sun tomorrow surely dry-1sG-3Sd tomorrow
If the sun shines tomorrow, I'll surely dry it tomorrow.

Ku- maromba mànu- mànu -nya dumu, hi Mamu.
1sN- forget RDP- always -3sD EMP.2s Excl aunt
I keep forgetting it, Auntie.

Ba laku mànu -nggunya, pa- rama mànu-mànu!
CNJ go always -1s.CONT CTR- work RDP-always
Because I'm always away (lit. 'going'), working all the time!'

I. *Ehi -nya -i una.*
content -3sD -ITER EMP.3s
'It doesn't matter.' (idiomatic expression)

Y switches to a different topic and tells about a fight between her husband (referred to as 'older brother') and his younger brother J. J was supposed to help his older brother — who was sick — to carry the harvested corn home from the fields, but he didn't.

Y. *Jia hàmu -ya setengah mati pa- palàu-nja yia da bai watar.*
EXIST be good -3sA half dead (Ind) CTR- carry-3pD DEI art DER corn
'No kidding (lit. it is good), he (=husband) was half dead carrying that corn.

Sampai na_j- njàru -mbu -ya_k-i Umbu J_k yia [na aya-na]$_j$ ...
until 3sN-hit -also -3sA-again sir J DEI ART older sibling-3sG
Until that J. was hit by his older brother, ...

H. *'Nda u- palàu -du -a' nda wà-na?*
NEG 2sN- carry -EMP -MOD NEG say-3sG
'"You didn't carry (anything) at all", didn't he (the brother) say (that)?'

Y. *U làti Rambu.*
yes in fact lady
'Yes, actually (he did). (*Rambu* is the person the speaker agrees with).

Ka ba ita -ma -du -nanya...
CNJ CNJ see -MOD -EMP -3s.CONT
Because he very well knew...

"ba hidu -nanya -i na aya-nggu" nda wà-na -mbu -i.
CNJ be ill -3s.CONT-ASP ART older sibling-1sG neg SAY-3Sg -also -ITER
that he didn't even take into account that his brother was ill
(lit.: "That my older brother is ill", he didn't even say)

"Haromu ka ta-palàu -nja -i" wà-na -ma -nya -i làti.
tomorrow CNJ 1pN-carry -3pD -ASP say-3sG-MOD-3sD-ITER in fact
In fact, he (=the older brother) had even told him (=J) the day before they were going to get it the next day (lit.: "Tomorrow we'll carry it", he'd actually told him)

Ka ba luru -ya -ka la Ama-na i T. una,
CNJ CNJ downstream -3SA -PRF LOC father-3SG ART T. EMP.3S

na- ndàdik ningu.
3SN- stay be
And he (=J) (was) down there, at the father of T's, where he (was) staying.

Ka hili laku -na la Ama-na i M. -di -ka
CNJ again go -3SG LOC father -3SG ART M. -EMP -PRF

pa- papu ningu.
CTR- pluck (corn) be
And (then) again he (=J) went to the father of M's to pluck corn there (i.e. instead of helping his brother)

Tàka njàmuk -nanya -ka luru,
arrive get in -3S.CONT -PRF downstream
When he (=older brother) went into (the house) down there,

ba reu- reu padua -na -ka dá,
CNJ RDP- talk in the middle -3SG -PRF inside
(and) he (=J) was inside in the middle of talking,

tàka njàrung -na -nya -ka dumu,
arrive punch -3SG -3SD -PRF EMP.2S
then he (=older brother) punched him (=J),

hangganggar memang nyuna wà -na.
fall sprawling to the ground immediately he say -3SG
(and) he (=J) fell sprawling to the ground immediately, he (=older brother) said.

H. *Ai! Ma- karau eti -du -ya.*
Wow RMS- be dark liver -EMP -3SA
Wow, was he mad!

Y. *Palaung -ki -a -nanya -ka una nyuna bi watar,*
carry -just -MOD -3S.CONT -PRF EMP.3S he DER corn
He (=older brother) had just carried that corn (i.e. without help of J),

na-pa.ndailu.ng wunda-du-nya pa- pànja -nya-i namu wawa.ng.
3SN-do three times start-EMP-3SD CTR- stop -3SD-ITER from down
he had to start (it) and stop (it) three times coming from down (the hill) (i.e. he was so ill that he had to rest three times walking up the hill).

E, màta ku- laku lí -bia -ya -ka dumu tai na uhu.
EXC let 1sN- go drop.by -MOD-3sA-PRF EMP.2s later ART rice
Well, let me drop by (with) the rice later.

E, ka laku -nggunya -ka duku làti.
EXC CNJ go -1s.CONT -PRF EMP.1s in fact
Well, I'll be going (idiom for leavetaking)

I. *Laku -wa ná.*
go -HORT DEI
Off you go then (idiom for friendly goodbye)

Y. *Umbu P mai.ng! "Lua kàdi bokul,"*[382] *wà-mu. Kiya! Lua kàdi kiya!*
sir P come.ng go firstly be big say-2G uncle go firstly uncle
(To little son P:) P, come on! Say "goodbye sir" (idiom for leavetaking). (To uncle who is outside:) Uncle! Goodbye uncle!

2. Process description

***Na ngara ngia tundung uhu* 'How to grow rice'**

(1) *Nu -ya, Rambu Ngana,*[383] *la kawunga pakiri -na,*
DEI -3sA lady Ngana LOC first begin -3sG
Thus it is, Rambu Ngana, to begin with (lit. in its first beginning),

nyuma jàka ma-tu.ng woka,
we if 1pN-put.ng garden
we, if/when we work in the garden,

la ma- kawunga.ng jàka tu.ng latang.
LOC RMS- first.ng if/when put.ng paddy
in the first place, about working on the paddy.

(2) *La mangilu -na, pàrah rumba kamotu.*
LOC front -3sG cut down grass paddy dike[384]
First (lit. in its front), (we) cut the grass on the paddy dike.

(3) *Hàla pa- pàrah rumba kamotu,*
finish CTR- cut down grass paddy dike
After the grass on the paddy dike has been cut

weling karimbua, pa- liti.ng.
move from water buffalo CTR- turn up soil/plough
water buffaloes are brought in (from the village to the paddy) to plough.

(4) *Paliti poba -ya -pa.*
plough partly -3sA -IMPF
It is still only ploughed partly.

(5) *Pakiri -nda -nya na paliti.ng -a -pa nú.*
begin -1pG -3sD ART plough -MOD -IMPF DEI
In this way we begin the ploughing.

(6) *Hàla kawu-wunga -na -pa nú, hàbar -nya na uding.*
finish RDP-first -3sG -IMPF DEI sow -3sD ART germinated rice plants
After (what is done) first of all — sowing the rice.[385]

(7) *Hàla -i nuna, hama -na kawài ba wà -nggu-nggau.*
finish-ASP that one be same -3sG just now CNJ say -1sG-2sD
(And) after that, it is like I just told you.

(8) *Hàla -ka pa- parah -ya:*
finish -PRF CTR- sow -3sA
After sowing it (=the rice):

paliting, paliti poba -ya -pa, ndedi pa- pa.kabu -a -nya
plough plough partly -3sA -IMPF not yet CTR- CAU.grit -MOD -3sD
ploughing, (we) plough it only partly, not crushing it (=the soil).

(9) *Mandai -ndai -ka tuna -ka nú, ana patia -nya,*
RDP- long time -PRF thus -PRF DEI DIM wait -3sD
(For a) fairly long time, we wait for it,

jangga -na na uding,
be tall -3sG ART germinated rice plants
(until) the *uding* is tall,

hi weling beli karimbua nú,
CNJ move from return buffalo DEI
then buffaloes are brought (in) again

hi pa.kabu -nya. Kabu.ng.
CNJ CAU.grit -3sD grit.ng
and it is crushed. Crushed.

(10) *Hàla-ka pa- pa.kabu-nya, woti -ha da kamotu,*
finish-PRF CTR- CAU. grit-3sD lift up -3pA ART paddy dike
After crushing it, the paddy dikes are repaired,

hàla-ka *pa-* *woti* *-ha* *da* *kamotu,*
finish-PRF CTR- lift up -3pA ART paddy dike
after lifting up the paddy dikes,

pa.ningu *ana* *angu* *-nda,* *buta-ya* *na* *uding.*
pa.be DIM companion -1pG pluck-3sA ART germinated rice plants
(we) get our companions, (to help) pluck the *uding*.

Hàla *pa-* *buta-ya* *na* *uding,* *wàngu* *pa-* *jarang.*
finish CTR- pluck-3sA ART germ. rice plant use CTR- disperse
After plucking the *uding*, it is bedded out (into the paddy).

(11) *Jara* *-du* *-nya* *-ka* *nú.*
disperse -EMP -3sD -PRF DEI
It is bedded out.

(12) *Hàla* *-ka* *pa-* *jara* *-nya* *nú,*
finish -PRF CTR- disperse -3sD DEI
After having thus bedded it out

patiang *ana* *mandai-ndai* *wàngu* *pa-* *buta* *ana* *rumba.*
wait DIM RDP-be long time use CTR- pluck DIM grass
(we) wait for some time, weeding the grass in the meantime.

(13) *Ka* *ta-* *pani* *-nya* *na* *tamu-na* *na* *uhu*
CNJ 1pN- tell -3sD ART name-3sG ART rice
Let us (now) tell how rice is referred to (lit. tell the name of the rice)

lupa *tàka* *jàka* *ta-* *muti* *-ya.*
until arrive if/when 1pN- harvest -3sA
until (the moment) when we harvest it.

(14) *La* *mangilu-na* *muru* *wai* *-ya* *-pa.*
LOC first-3sG green water -3sA -IMPF
At first, it is still 'green sap'.

(15) *Ai, la* *mangi-ngilu-na* *wàrung* *-nanya* *rau* *pa-mula-na-pa.*
EXC LOC RDP-first-3sG dispose of -3s.CONT leaf RMO-begin-3sG -IMPF
No, at the very first it is still shedding its initial leafs.

(16) *Ana* *muru* *wai,* *muru wai* *kudu.*
DIM green water green water be small
(Its) sap (becomes) green, (it is called) little green sap.

(17) *Mbinu reti kudu, mbinu reti bakul.*
be full stem be small be full stem be big
The stem becomes full (of leafs), smaller and larger (ones).

(18) *Hàla-ka, kahaka, pakindi -nanya -ka*
finish-PRF grow upwards[386] swell -3s.CONT -PRF
After that, (the leafs) grow upwards, (and) it (i.e. ears of rice) (is) swelling.

(19) *Hàla pa-pakindi, hoburung*
finish CTR-swell burst from stem (of riceplant)
After swelling, (the ears of rice) burst out of the stem.

(20) *Hoburung... na-hàla-ka pa-hoburung nú, pa.wai huhu -nanya-ka.*
burst 3sN-finish-PRF CTR-burst DEI, pa.water milk-3s.CONT-PRF
Burst... when it has finished bursting like that, it is (looking) like milk.

(21) *Wài huhu-ka, katànggung -nanya -ka*
water milk-PRF bow down -3s.CONT -PRF
After (looking like) milk, it (is) bowing down (=the ears of rice become heavier).

(22) *Ngeri katàrak, pa.katàrak tambàla.ng -nanya -ka*
begin be hard pa.be hard pumpkin.ng -3s.CONT -PRF
It starts to become hard, it is becoming as hard as a pumpkin.

(23) *Hàla-ka, hàla-ka pa.katàrak tambàla.ng, ihi kalimbung-nanya-ka*
finish-PRF finish-PRF pa.be hard pumpkin.ng content clustered-3s.CONT-PRF
After that, after becoming as hard as a pumpkin, part of it is getting content (=in some of the rice plants individual grains of rice can be felt)

(24) *Ihi kalimbung -nanya-ka nú,*
content be clustered -3s.CONT-PRF DEI
Its content is clustered,

ndedi na- ihi pa.hama ndàba -a -pa.
not yet 3sN- content pa.be same all -MOD -IMPF
not all (of it) has the same content yet.

(25) *"Pa.ihi kalimbung" hi wà -nda -nya.*
pa.content be clustered CNJ say -1sG -3sD
"To have content in clusters" (is how) we call it.

(26) *Ihi kalimbung-ka nú, patia-nya na pa-hamburu ndàba-ka nú,*
content be clustered-PRF DEI wait-3sD ART RMO-meet all -PRF DEI
After that, (we) wait for all (of it) to ripen (lit.: we wait for the meeting (of) all)

(27) *mbulu ndàba na- pa.hama ihi ndàba-ka, muti-du-nda-nya-ka.*
be gathered all 3sN- pa.be same content all-PRF harvest-EMP-1pG-3sD-PRF
(and when) all (of) it has the same content (i.e. is ripe), we harvest it.

(28) *Pa.ningu angu -nda hi ta- ana muti,*
pa.be companion -1pG CNJ 1pN- DIM harvest
(We) get our companions and we harvest a bit,

(29) *ta- pa.ningu ana tau ma-pira tú nú hi ta-muti.*
1pN- pa.be DIM people RMS-how many put DEI CNJ 1pN-harvest
we just get a few people and we harvest.

(30) *Hàla-ka pa-muti-ya parina -du -nda -nya -ka.*
finish-PRF CTR-harvest-3sA trash -EMP -1pG -3sD -PRF
After harvesting it we trash it.

(31) *Parina-ya-ka, kahau -nya nuna na karohu -na,*
trash-3sA-PRF separate -3sD DEI.3s ART grain -3sG
(We) trash it, separate the grains (from the blade) (and)

wàru-nya na kuwang.
dispose of-3sD ART trashed rice plant
throw away the waste.

(32) *Hàla-ka, upu -ya, woti -ya la dàndak,*
finish-PRF scoop with both hands -3sA lift up -3sA LOC rice basket
After that, (we) scoop it up into a rice basket,

(33) *la paniki lai nú, paniki ndia, dàndak-ka-i, hama-bia-na.*
LOC rice sack LOC DEI rice sack NEG rice basket-PRF-ITER be same-MOD-3sG
(or) into a sack, a sack or a basket, that's just the same.
(lit.: in a sack overthere, (if) not a sack, a basket again, it's just the same)

(34) *Hàla-ka, hili pa.ningu ana angu-nda nú, ana nduma kawini-ya-ka,*
finish-PRF again pa.be DIM companion-1pG DEI DIM fate female-3sA-PRF
After that, we call a few of our companions again, it's the women's turn (now),

(35) *nuna la pa.imbung, pa.imbung.*
DEI.3s LOC clean rice[387] clean rice
that is, for cleaning (the rice), cleaning.

(36) *Kahau-nya na karohu jua-na,*
separate-3sD ART grain only-3sG
The pure grains are separated,

hi kahau-nya na kalàmba-na, na ma-nda ningu ihi -na
CNJ separate-3sD ART dust-3sG ART RMS-NEG be content-3sG
and the dirt is separated, that which does not have content.

(37) *Hàla-ka nú, hàla-ka nú pa- pa.imbu-nya,*
finish-PRF DEI finish-PRF DEI CTR- clean rice-3sD
After that, after thus cleaning it,

(38) *hi ta- ana diha-ya nú, hi ta-woti-ya la ana paniki*
CNJ 1pN- DIM count-3sA CNJ 1pN-lift up-3sA LOC DIM sack
we count it[388] and we put it into a sack.

(39) *Nú-ya nú na ngara ngia tu.ng latang.*
DEI-3sA DEI ART way place put.ng paddy
This is the way to grow rice (lit.: this is the way (to) treat a paddy).

(40) *La piti weli la pakiri-na*
LOC take move from LOC begin-3sG
From its beginning

lupa toma la hupu njàpu-na ba pa.imbu -nya, hi diha-ya,
until meet LOC end run out-3sG CNJ clean rice -3sD CNJ count-3sA
until its very end when (we) clean it, and (we) count it,

hàla-ka hi wangu pa-ràput-du-nda-nya nú, ràpit-ya la paniki.
finish-PRF CNJ use CTR-tie close-EMP-1pG-3sD DEI tie close-3sA LOC sack
(and) after that we close it (by tying the sack with a rope), we close the sack.

(41) *Hili ningu-pa ana rehi-na una nú*
again be-PRF DIM time-3sG EMP.3s DEI
Now there is still some time to go

(42) *jàka rehi ana bunggahu-ya, hi bunggahu -ya,*
if/when time DIM open-3sA CNJ open -3sA
before it is time to open it, and when (we) open it,

(43) *hi ta- ana bài, jàka rama wangu-nda-nya-ka-i, ngangu-nda-nya-ka-i*
CNJ 1pN-DIM stamp if/when work use-1pG-3sD-PRF-ITER eat-1pG-3sD-PRF-ITER
we stamp (the rice), whether we work with it or just eat it.[389]

(44) *Nu -du -ya -ka.*
DEI -EMP -3SA -PRF
This is it (lit. Thus/that it (is)).

(45) *Njàpu -ma -du -a -nanya -i nú, na ngara ngia uhu*
finished -EMP-EMP -MOD-3s.CONT -ASP DEI ART way place rice
It is finished now, the (story about) the way (to grow) rice.

3. Prayer

(1) *Miri ma- ni-nggau la surga, Ala ama-ma lai Miri Yehu Karitu,*
Lord RMS- be-2SD LOC heaven (Ind), God father-1pG LOC Lord Jesus Christ
'Lord who art in heaven, God our father in Jesus Christ,

(2) *ma- hili beli la hangga la mandapu-mu*
1pN- again return LOC front LOC sit-2sG
we come to your throne again

la pa-wotu pa-malangu-nya na tamu-mu,
LOC CTR-lift up CTR-acknowledge-3SD ART name-2sG
to praise and thank your name,

(3) *kanadu Miri, nda uku*[390] *bokulu-ya na pa-namung-mu*
because Lord NEG rule be big-3SA ART RMS-remember-2sG
because Lord, without end is your love

ba u- hangga -nggama tau-mu ata-mu,
CNJ 2SN- front -1pD person-2sG slave-2sG
towards us (lit.: when you face us) your people, your servants;

piti welingu la lodu-lodu luri-ma, na pa-mbàda tuka jia-ma.
take come from LOC RED-day life-1pG ART RMS-already support EXIST-MOD
throughout our lives, (you) have been (our) support.

(4) *Ri-rihi Miri, hi pa.rongu -mu-nggama-i*
RED-be more Lord, CNJ CAU.hear -2sG-1pD-ITER
Moreover, Lord, you let us hear again

pulu peka-mu nduma tolu dàngu da hamang-ma
word proclaim-2sG part meat with ART soul-1pG
your preached word with our body and soul;

màla-ki-a-wa, Miri, ka u-tondu-nya la eti-ma ha.atu-ha.atu.
well-MOD-MOD-HORT Lord CNJ 2sN-plant-3sD LOC liver-1pG RED-one
please Lord, plant it in the heart of each and everyone of us,

(5) *Màta-wa, Miri, ka na-dedi hau kaninu luri-ma*
let-HORT Lord CNJ 3sN-become one.CLF mirror life-1pG
please let it become a mirror for our lives,

tau-mu ata-mu la pinu tana,
person-2sG slave-2sG LOC top earth
your people, your servants on earth

ba ma-hangga-nya-pa na luri-ma la pinu tana yena.
CNJ 1pN-front-3sD-IMPF ART life-1pG LOC top earth DEI.3s
when we confront our earthly lives with it.

(6) *Miri ma-ni-nggau la surga,*
Lord RMS-be-2sD LOC heaven (Ind)
Lord who art in heaven,

dangu-ma-nanya-pa na ata-mu na ma- ndedi tanda-kau.
be many -EMP-3s.CONT-IMPF ART slave-2sG ART RMS-not yetknow-2sA
many (of) your servants don't know you yet.
(lit.: there is still many a servant of yours who doesn't know you yet)

(7) *Màla-àru Miri, ka u-dunda-nya wàngu ngahu-mu dàngu pulu-mu.*
well-HORT Lord, CNJ 2s-call together-3sD use spirit-2sG with word-2sG
please Lord, call him with your spirit and your word.

(8) *Màta ka na- hurung la hangga la mandapu-mu*
let CNJ 3sN- come forward LOC front LOC seat-2sG
Let him come to your throne

la pa-wotu pa-malangu-nya na tamu-mu.
LOC CTR-lift up CTR-acknowledge-3sD ART name-2sG
to praise and thank your name.

(9) *Dou Miri ma-ni-nggau la surga,*
EXCL Lord RMS-be-2sD LOC heaven (Ind),
Oh Lord who art in heaven,

hàmu-ka-i Miri da pa-ràma -ma,
be good-PRF-ITER Lord ART RMO-work -1pG
bless our work Lord,

buri -àru -nja ma-peku ma-hamu.
spray -HORT -3pD RMS-be able RMS-be good
let it be competent and correct (lit.: spray it with competence and correctness).

(10) *Màta Miri, ka da-lua-ha da pa- njadi duma*
let Lord CNJ 3pN-go-3pA ART RMO- make EMP.1p
Lord, let our actions (lit.: let Lord, when they go, our makings)

na pa- lerang wà-na pareta-mu
ART RMO- extend use-3sG kingdom-2sG
be used to extend your kingdom

dàngu pa- hunga wà-nya na tamu-mu.
with RMO- raise use-3sD ART name-2sG
and to exalt your name.

(11) *Miri ma-ni-nggau la surga,*
Lord RMS-be-2pD LOC heaven (Ind)
Lord who art in heaven,

kapipi -àru-kama Miri, la ma-huru-ma haatu-haatu.
guide -HORT-1pA Lord, LOC RMS-substitute-1pG RED-one
guide us Lord, as the substitute of us all (i.e. we cannot walk by ourselves)

(12) *Màta-wa pawàla lambaru-na haromu*
let-HORT blossom morning-3sG tomorrow
(And) tomorrow morning (lit.(when) the morning blossoms tomorrow)

ka ma-pa.laku.ng pa-ràma-ma. Màta-wa la dalu palaku-manya
CNJ 1pN-CAU.go.ng RMO-work-1pG let-HORT LOC inside pa.go-1pG.CONT
let us do our work. Let what(ever) we do

ka na- pa.lata.ng -wa la pa-mbuha-mu.
CNJ 3sN- CAU.base.ng -HORT LOC RMO-want-2sG
be based on your will.

(13) *Miri, londa karaha mànu -àru -kama*
Lord lead side always -HORT -1pA
Lord, take us always by the hand

dàngu kabubul -àru-ya na pa-nua.ng-ma,
with care for -HORT-3sA ART RMO-connection.ng-1pG
and look after our relatives

la *kabunggur-mu* *hau mandapu-* *hau mandapu.*
LOC congregation-2SG RED- one.CLF sit
in your congregations everywhere.

(14) *Miri,* *mu-* *pa.toma* *-àru-nya* *na* *nduma* *luri-ma.*
Lord, 2SN- CAU.reach -HORT-3SD ART profit life-1PG
Lord, please fulfill our lifes (lit.: make our lifes profitable).

(15) *Ambu* *utu* *-àru-ha* *da* *njipu* *njala-ma,*
neg.IRR string -HORT-3PA ART cheat fault-1PG
Please don't keep record of our sins (lit.: don't string our cheats and faults)

mu-podaḥu-ha *pa.lata-nya* *na pa-namung* *jua -a -mu*
2SN-cleanse-3PA CAU.base-3SD ART RMO-remember only -MOD-2SG
(and) cleanse them only because of your love

la *ana-mu* *i* *Yehu* *Karitu*
LOC child-2SG ART Jesus Christ
for your son Jesus Christ.

(16) *Ma-turumbeni* *pa-karai-ya* *mbú ndàba-na* *nda* *tutur*
1PN-dare CTR-ask-3SA everything-3SG NEG be obedient
We dare to ask all this (while being) disobedient

dangu tanji *-a -ma-nya* *la hangga* *la mandapu-mu,*
with speak out -MOD-EMP-3SD LOC front LOC sit-2SG
and just be frank before your throne,

jia *ba* *u- namu -a* *-kama* *lai* *Miri* *Yehu Karitu*
EXIST CNJ 2s-remember-MOD -1PA LOC Lord Jesus Christ
(this) is (only) because you love us in Jesus Christ,

na *pingi-na* *na* *luri-ma.* *Aming.*
ART stem-3SG ART life-1PG
the source/base of our life. Amen.

4. Mythological story

The main character of the story is the boy Umbu Mada. His own mother has died and his stepmother hates him. She fakes a terminal illness from which (she says) she can only recover if Umbu Mada's foal is sacrificed. The husband and father, Umbu Ndilu, hesitates to do this but eventually decides he must kill the horse in order to safe his wife. On the day when the horse will be sacrificed, it turns out to be able to fly and manages to escape with the boy. This is the beginning of the journey described in the story. The following is a transcription of approx. 5 minutes from the first part of the story; the complete story lasts more than one hour.

Njara Hawurung 'A flying horse'

[....]

(1) *Njadi nuna jàka na-laku-ka i Umbu Ndilu nàhu la woka,*
thus DEI.3s if/when 3sN-go-PRF ART sir Ndilu DEI LOC garden
So, that one (=stepmother), when Umbu Ndilu (=husband) goes to the garden

la pa- ana imbu nggàra-nggàra,
LOC CTR- DIM search for RDP-what
to get something,

nda na- wua -nya -pa pa-ngangu i Umbu Mada una,
NEG 3sN- give -3sD -IMPF RMO-eat ART sir Mada DEI.3s
(then) she doesn't give food to Umbu Mada,

ndia, palu mànu-na-nya-ka nú,
NEG.emp hit always-3sG-3sD-PRF DEI
no, she always hits him,

dira karàu-na-nya-ka eti.
to limit dark-3sG-3sD liver
she hates him terribly (lit.: she has a dark liver for him)

(2) *A, nú-ya-ka una palu-palu-bia-na-nya-ka duna,*
well DEI-3sA-PRF EMP.3s RDP-hit-MOD-3sG-3sD-PRF EMP.3s
Well, that's why she just keeps hitting him,

jàka na-beli-ka na ama-na, njadi i Umbu Mada una nuna,
when/if 3sN-return-PRF ART father-3sG so ART sir Mada EMP.3s DEI.3s
(but) when his father returns, that Umbu Mada,

nda na-paní-ma -nya ina ama-na
NEG 3sN-tell-EMP-3sD mother father-3sG
he never tells his father (about his) mother:

"Na-palu-ka-i i Ina" nda wà-na-ma-nya-i.
3sN-hit-1sA-ITER ART mother NEG say-3sG-3sD-ITER
"Mum hit me again", he never tells him.

(3) *Njadi ana hakola-nanya-ka una yena-ngga i Umbu Mada nú,*
so DIM go to school-3s.CONT-PRF EMP.3s DEI.3s-MOD ART Umbu Mada DEI
So he starts going to school, this Umbu Mada,

nú kawài na ma- mbàda meti ina-na.
DEI just now ART RMS- already die mother-3sG
the one whose mother had died, (as I said) just now.

(4) *Uru—uruh-ma-na-nya-ka na njara*
RDP-organise-EMP-3sG-3sD-PRF ART horse
He is busy looking after the horse,

na- ana laku nàhu pa-kàu-nya uhu-na,
3sN- DIM go DEI CTR-cut for-3sD rice-3sG
he goes out to cut his food (=grass) for him,

na- ana wála -ya,
3sN- DIM extend cord -3sA
he makes its rope longer (so it can graze more),

lai nú-ki-ya-i-ka duna na ngia pa-harua eti-na duna nú.
LOC DEI-MOD-3sA-ITER-PRF EMP.3s ART place RMO-support liver-3sG EMP.3s DEI
it is there (i.e. with the horse) that his heart finds solace.
(lit.: it is there, the place where his liver is supported)

(5) *Nyuna i Umbu Mada una-ngga,*
he ART sir Mada EMP.3s-MOD
Now he, that Umbu Mada,

ka ba dira muhu-na-nya-ka yena-ngga na ina kudu-na,
CNJ CNJ to limit be hostile-3sG-3sD-PRF DEI.3s-MOD ART mother be small-3sG
because his stepmother is so very hostile towards him,

jàka ni-nya na ama-na
when/if be-3sD ART father-3sG
when his father is present

hina-a-pa *duna* *hi* *na-wua-nya* *pa.ngangu* *nyuna i Umbu Mada*
newly-MOD-IMPF EMP.3s CNJ 3sN-give-3sD RMO-eat he ART sir Mada
only then does she give food to him, Umbu Mada,

jàka *nda* *ni-nya* *na* *ama-na* *una,*
when/if NEG be-3sD ART father-3sG DEI-3s
(and) when his father is not there,

laku-ma-ki-a-nanya-ka *una* *nàhu,*
go-EMP-MOD-MOD-3s.CONT-PRF DEI.3s now
she just sneeks out

pa- papu *bi* *ana* *liju* *kalú* *tau,*
CTR- pluck DER DIM unripe banana person[391]
to pluck some unripe bananas,[392]

ngangu-na-nya-ka *una* *yena* *i Umbu Mada,*
eat-3sG-3sD EMP.3s DEI.3s ART sir Mada
for Umbu Mada to eat,

nú *-ya-ka* *nú.*
DEI -3sA-PRF DEI
that's how it is.

(6) *Njadi* *tu-na-ka* *nú* *una* *wà-mu*
so put-3sG-PRF DEI EMP.3s say-2sG
So, thus it went on, you know,

ka lupa *tàka-du-na-nya-ka* *hidu* *nyuna* *nuna* *na kuru uma-na*
CNJ until arrive-EMP-3sG-3sD-PRF be ill she DEI.3s ART wife-3sG
until his wife (=Mada's stepmother) fell ill (lit.: until illness arrived at his wife)

hidu... *nda* *jia* *-ka* *hidu* *pa.langa tàka.ng-nanya*
be ill NEG EXIST -PRF be ill pa.truly.ng-3s.CONT
illness... (it) wasn't that she was really ill,

hidu *kapilandu* *-nanya-ka* *nuna* *nú* *na kuru uma-na.*
be ill simulate -3s.CONT-PRF DEI.3s DEI ART wife-3sG
she faked being ill, that wife of his.

(7) *Ka* *tu-na-ka* *nú,*
CNJ put-3sG-PRF DEI
And then,

"Ai, ka nda ku-pànjang-ma yia umbu, yia" wà-na-nya.
EXC CNJ NEG 1sN-stop[393]-EMP here sir here say-3sG-3sD
"Oh, I won't get better here, man", she tells him.

(8) *Ngàdal nú ama bokul,*
be gathered DEI father big
(The) wise men gather,

"E, nàhu ana imbu-ya bùdi, na ma- ana kaleha
EXC now DIM search-3sA in fact ART RMS- DIM revenge
"Hey, we should search for the one that put a spell (on her),

ka ta-pi-nya nàhu-ngga, hi ningu-bia nàhu ma-kaleha,
CNJ 1pN-know-3sD now-MOD CNJ be-MOD now RMS-revenge
so we know whether there is someone who put a spell (on her)
(lit. so we know it, and there is someone who revenges),

ka nda na- ana pànjang-ma-i nàhu na ana kuru uma-nggu-i,
CNJ NEG 3sN- DIM stop-EMP-ITER now ART DIM wife -1sG-ITER
because otherwise my dear wife won't recover,

na ana katiu-na" wà-na-ka una Umbu Ndilu una
ART DIM hurt-3sG say-3sG-PRF EMP.3s sir Ndilu EMP.3s
(from) her illness (that is)", said Umbu Ndilu.

(9) *Imbu ama bokul, ndia nàhu;*
search father be big NEG.emp now
The wise men search without succes;

imbu ma-kaleha, nda ningu-ma-pa una ngia pa-kànang-na
search RMS-revenge NEG be-EMP-IMPF EMP.3s place RMO-encounter-3sG
(they) search for a witch, (but) cannot locate one (lit.: there was no place of his encounter)

ka ba hidu kapilandu -nanya.
CNJ CNJ be ill simulate -3s.CONT
because she is faking being ill.

(10) *Hamayang, a, ndia-ma, nda na-njadi-ma-pa la pa-pànjang*
pray EXC NEG.emp-EMP NEG 3sN-can -EMP-IMPF LOC CTR-stop
Prayer, well, no, that did not stop (the illness) either.

(11) *"Ai ka nanyuna ba tu-na nú,*
EXC CNJ however CNJ put-3sG DEI
"Oh, but in this way

nda ana pànjang-ma-nanya-i nú
NEG DIM stop-EMP-3s.CONT-ITER DEI
she'll never get better,

hama tu-na yena i Rambu nú-i
be same put-3sG DEI.3s ART lady DEI-ITER
this woman here,

jia-ya ta- ana njanga-ya wà-nggu ba wà-nda,
EXIST-3sA 1pN- DIM consider-3sA say-1sG CNJ say-1pG
we'll have to consider her opinion (lit.: it is (that) we consider her I say, we say),

ba ana tau la hori -ta-i,
CNJ DIM person LOC tradition -1pA-ITER
because although we are people (knowing) of tradition

nda pa- hunggu -ma-ya-i nú, na hidu-na-i nú" wà-da-du-ka nú
NEG RMO- find -EMP-3sA-ITER DEI ART be ill-3sG DEI-ITER say-3pG-EMP-PRF DEI
we don't understand it at all, this illness of hers", they say.

(12) *Njadi ba wà-da tu-da-ka nú,*
so CNJ say-3pG put-3pG-PRF DEI
So they say,

"Jia ta-rongu-ma-ya-i bùdi hama tu-na i Rambu
EXIST 1pN-hear-EMP-3sA-ITER in fact be same put-3sG ART lady
"Let's actually listen to the woman,

hi nggiki-ma-na dá na ana hidu-na
CNJ how-EMP-3sG in(side) ART DIM be ill-3sG
how she got into her illness

nú hi nda na- njadi-ma la pa-pànjang."
DEI CNJ NEG 3sN- can-EMP LOC CTR-stop
and (why) she can't recover."

(13) *Njadi ba wà-da tu-da-ka nú una*
so CNJ say-1pG put-1pG-PRF DEI EMP.3s
So they say that,

"Ai jàka jia-ya-ka ma-padening-ma-ya-ka una nú
EXC if/when EXIST-3sA-PRF RMS-be true-EMP-3sA-PRF EMP.3s DEI
"Oh, in that case (lit. if it is), the truth is,

jia-pa *ka* *nggiki* *njanga-a-mi-nya,* *la mowal,*
EXIST-IMPF CNJ how consider-MOD-2pG-3sD LOC divination
even if you would look for it by (using) divination,

ka *nggiki* *imbu* *-mbu -mi-ngga* *la* *uma* *hidu ka -i,*
CNJ how search -also-2pG-1sD LOC house be ill-PRF-ITER
or however you would search for me (=for my benefit) in the hospital,

nda ku- *njadi-ma-pa* *la* *pa-pànjang"* *wà-na-ka nú.*
NEG 1sN- can -EMP-IMPF LOC CTR-stop say-3sG-PRF DEI
I won't be able to get better", she says.

(14) *Ba* *lalu ita -di-na-nya-i-ka* *nú,* *ruku-na* *yena-i nuna,*
CNJ too see -EMP-3sG-3sD-ITER-PRF DEI track-3sG DEI.3s-ITER DEI.3s
Because only too well did she always see him, (see) about this one here,

na *lalu* *mbuha-na-nya* *na ana njara* *parai-na* *nyuna yena i Umbu Mada,*
ART too want-3sG-3sD ART child horse track-3sG he DEI.3s ART sir Mada
that he loved his foal dearly, this Umbu Mada
(lit. the him loving his foal dearly by him this Umbu Mada[394])

nú-ya-ka *una* *hi* *na-* *hidu* *kapilandu.*
DEI-3sA-PRF DEI-3s CNJ 3sN- be ill simulate
that's why she faked being ill.

(15) *Jia-ya* *ba* *tu-na-ka* *nú* *wà-na-ka,*
EXIST-3sA CNJ put-3sG-PRF DEI say-3sG-PRF
So she says,

"Jàka *tobu-nya* *na* *ana njara,*
if/when slaughter[395]-3sD ART child horse
"when (you) kill the foal,

jia *hi* *ku-* *njadi pa-pànjang* *weling* *la* *hidu-nggu" wà-na-ka.*
EXIST CNJ 1sN- can CTR-stop move from LOC be ill-1sG say-3sG-PRF
that's when I'll be able to recover from my illness," she says.

(16) *Wà-na-ka* *nú.*
say-3sG-PRF DEI
Thus she says.

(17) *Njadi* *wà-na-ka* *nyuna* *i* *Umbu Ndilu,* *"Ais!"*
so say-3sG-PRF he ART sir Ndilu EXC
So Umbu Ndilu says: "Blast!"

(18) *Na-pikir-ya, "Ka tobu-nya na ana njara*
3sN-think (Ind)-3sA CNJ slaughter-3sD ART child horse
He thinks: "We kill the foal

jia-ma-a-ya-i na ngia pa-harua-na na ana-nggu yena" wà-na.
EXIST-EMP-MOD-3sA-ITER ART place RMO-support-3sG ART child-1sG DEI.3s say-3sG
(but) it's my son's (only) comfort" (lit. is it also the place of his support), he said.

(19) *Namu-ma-na-nya-i una na ana-na,*
remember-EMP-3sG-3sD-ITER EMP.3s ART child-3sG
He cares for his child,

ka ba anakeda mila -ya" wà-na-ka una
CNJ CNJ child be poor -3sA say-3sG-PRF EMP.3s
"he's a poor kid", he says.

(20) *Pikir-ya nyuna i Umbu Ndilu, "Jia nggiki-na wà-nda-ka-i nú,*
think-3sA he ART sir Ndilu EXIST how-3sG say-1pG-PRF-ITER DEI
Umbu Ndilu thinks: "What shall we do (lit. How shall we say),

ta-rongu-bi-ka-i Umbu Mada una
1pN-hear-MOD-PRF-ITER sir Mada EMP.3s
let's first listen to Umbu Mada,

"A a wà-nggu-bia-ka" ana wà-na-ma-i,
yes yes say-1sG-MOD-PRF DIM say-3sG-EMP-ITER
he'll (probably) just agree (lit. "yes yes I just say", he'll say)

ka jia-bia-ya-ka una nú" wà-na-ka i Umbu Ndilu
CNJ EXIST-MOD-3sA-PRF EMP.3s DEI say-3sG-PRF ART sir Ndilu
that's just how it'll be", says Umbu Ndilu.

(21) *Njadi rongu-ya i Umbu Mada: "E, ndia duku, ama!*
so listen-3sA ART sir Mada: EXC NEG.emp EMP.1s father
So he listens to Umbu Mada: "Oh NO dad!

ba jia-ma-a-ya-i duku, ba ana njara pa-mbuha-ma-nggu-nya
CNJ EXIST-EMP-MOD-3sA-ITER EMP.1s CNJ child horse RMO-want-EMP-1sG-3sD
it's MY beloved foal

nda ku-mbuhang-a duku rupu-ya ba wà-na i Ina,
NEG 1sN-want-MOD EMP.1s slaughter-3sA CNJ say-3sG ART mother
I don't want (you) to kill it like mum said,

e ndia nda ku-mbuhang-a" wà-na i Umbu Mada.
EXC NEG.emp NEG 1sN-want-MOD say-3sG ART sir Mada
no way, I don't want (that)", says Umbu Mada.

(22) *Pusing na katiku-na yena i Umbu Ndilu,*
dizzy (Ind) ART head-3sG DEI.3s ART sir Ndilu
Umbu Ndilu doesn't know what to do (lit. Umbu Ndilu's head is dizzy),

yena nda ngangu-ma-nanya-i-pa yena,
DEI.3s NEG eat-EMP-3s.CONT-ITER-IMPF DEI.3s
this one, she isn't eating anymore,

na ina kudu-na yena, na kuru uma-na.
ART mother be small-3sG DEI.3s ART wife-3sG
this stepmother, his wife.

(23) *Njadi hili pa.uhi beli -na-nja-ka da ama bokul.*
so again call together return -3sG-3pD-PRF ART father be big
So he calls the wise men together again.

(24) *Njadi ba na-pa.uhi beli-nja da ama bokul*
so CNJ 3sN-call together return-3pD-PRF ART father be big
So when he calls the wise men together,

"Ai ka nanyuna, ba ana tu-na nú hi ku-ana pa.ùhi-nggami nàhu,
EXC CNJ but CNJ DIM put-3sG DEI CNJ 1sN-DIM call together-2pD now
"well, it's such and such why I've called you (pl) together now,

ka nda na-pànjang-ma-i nàhu na kuru uma-nggu",
CNJ NEG 3sN-stop-EMP-ITER now ART wife-1sG
because my wife still doesn't get better",

"Jia wà-na-ka ní: "Jàka tobu-nya ana njara,
EXIST say-3sG-PRF DEI if slaughter-3sD child horse
what she said was: "if (we) kill a foal,

jia hi ku-njadi la pa-pànjang la hidu-nggu", wà-na-i nú na kuru uma-nggu
EXIST CNJ 1sN-can LOC CTR-stop LOC be ill-1sG say-3sG-ITER ART wife-1sG
(that will) be how I can recover from my illness", my wife said,

ka tàka ku-rongu-a-ya-i hama tu-na i Umbu Mada,
CNJ arrive 1sN-hear-MOD-3sA-ITER be same put-3sG ART sir Mada
but then I came to listen to Umbu Mada

"Ka ndia" wà-na-ma-a-ngga-i
CNJ NEG.emp say-3sG-EMP-MOD-1sG-ITER
and he told me "no way".

(25) *Ka jia-ya-ka hi ku-ana pa.màtu-kami nyimi,*
CNJ EXIST-3sA-PRF CNJ 1sN-DIM CAU.be complete-2pA you (pl)
And that's why I let you (pl) complete (=decide) it,

ka nda hunggu-nggunya-pa anda -i nú
CNJ NEG find-1s.CONT-IMPF way-ITER DEI
because I don't see a way anymore.

(26) *Ka i-kamang-ki la pa-ana rongu-ya hama tu-na i Umbu Mada*
CNJ 2pN-try-MOD LOC CTR-DIM hear-3sA be same put-3sG ART sir Mada
Maybe you can try to listen a bit to Umbu Mada,

wà-nggu, wà-nggu-nggai-ka nú nyimi, bi ama bokul dangu."
say-1sG say-1sG-2pD-PRF DEI you (pl) DER father be big be many
I say, I say to you, all you wise men."

(27) *Ka wà-na-du-nja-i-ka nú da ama bokul dangu.*
CNJ say-3sG-EMP-3pD-ITER-PRF DEI ART father be big be many
That's what he says to the group of wise men.

(28) *Njadi ba tu-na-ka nú, rongu-da-nya-ka i Umbu Mada*
so CNJ put-3sG-PRF DEI hear-3pG-3sD-PRF ART sir Mada
So they hear Umbu Mada,

napa i Umbu Mada, hí-ma-ki-a-nanya-ka una,
wait ART sir Mada cry -EMP-MOD-MOD-3s.CONT-PRF DEI-3s
and Umbu Mada starts to cry (lit. (and) later Umbu Mada, he is crying):

"E, ba namu-ma-nggu-nya na ana njara,
EXC CNJ remember-EMP-1sG-3sD ART child horse
"Hey, I love the foal,

"tobu-nya wà-nggu" ba wà-mi,
slaughter-3sD say-1sG CNJ say-2pG
if you want to kill it,

ai ndia-ma, nda ku-puli-ma-nya" wà-na.
EXC NEG.emp-EMP NEG 1sN-let go-EMP-3sD say-3sG
oh no, I won't let it go", he says.

(29) *Njadi ba tu-na nú, "nanyuna jàka jia*
so CNJ put-3sG DEI but if/when EXIST
And then, "but if we do that (lit. if it is),

daingu -ma-na duna
surely -EMP-3sG EMP.3s

ta- ana uruh -nya hilu-na nú nú" wà-da-nya-ka.
1pN-DIM organise (Ind) -3sD exchange-3sG DEI DEI say-3pG-3sG-PRF
we'll arrange a replacement for it", they promise him.

(30) *Njadi "u u" nda wà-na, "ndia" nda wà-na i Umbu Mada.*
so yes yes NEG say-3sG NEG.emp NEG say-3sG ART sir Mada.
But Umbu Mada neither consents nor protests.
(lit. "yes yes" he didn't say, "no way" he didn't say)

(31) *Hí—hí-bia-nanya-ka duna i Umbu Mada,*
RDP-cry-MOD-3s.CONT-PRF EMP.3s ART sir Mada
He just keeps on crying,

ba pikir handuka-nanya ruku-na yena-ka na ana njara,
CNJ think be sad-3s.CONT track-3sG DEI.3s-PRF ART child horse
because he feels sad about the foal (lit.: because he thinks sadly about the foal),

ba dira namu-na-nya.
CNJ to limit remember-3sG-3sD
because he cares very much for it.

(32) *Nanyuna ba tu-na nú,*
but CNJ put-3sG DEI
But then,

jiapa-ka-i "ndia wà-nggu" ba wà-na-i
still be-PRF-ITER NEG.emp say-1sG CNJ say-3sG-ITER
he has not consented yet,

"Nggi-ya-pa na ma- rihi muda,
where-3sA-IMPF ART RMS- be more easy (Ind)
"Which (one of these) is easier:

ba na-meti hama tu-na yena na tau,
CNJ 3sN-die be same put-3sG DEI.3s ART person
to let a human die

weling *ba* *ta-kahiri-ya* *hama* *tu-na* *na banda.*
move from CNJ 1pN-prevent-3sA be same put-3sG ART cattle
or to save an animal
(lit. when that person dies, from when we prevent cattle (from dying))

(33) *Nanyuna ta- pa. i—ita -bia-nya anda* *hama tu-na i Umbu Mada una nú,*
but 1pN-CAU. RDP-see-MOD-3sD road be same put-3sG ART sir Mada EMP.3s DEI
But we will help him out (lit. but we show him a road), that Umbu Mada,

ka *ambu* *lalu* *handuka-na -i* *nú*
CNJ NEG.irr too be sad-3sG-ITER DEI
so he won't be too sad,"

wà-da *tu-da-nya* *nú* *du-ka*
say-3pG put-3pG-3sD DEI EMP-PRF
so they tell him (=Umbu Ndilu).

(34) *Njadi* *ba* *wà-da* *tu-da-nya* *ka* *nú* *una*
so CNJ say-3pG put-3pG-3sD PRF DEI EMP.3s
Having told him so,

"Ka nda nggàra ehi *-mbu-nanya una"* *lupa wà-na-ka nyuna i Umbu Ndilu*
CNJ NEG what content -also-3s.CONT DEI.3s until say-3sG-PRF he ART sir Ndilu
"Oh well, OK then", Umbu Ndilu concludes.

(35) *Njadi,* *ndoru-nanya-ka* *una* *pa-laku* *la hakola* *i Umbu Mada,*
so continue-3s.CONT-PRF EMP.3s CTR-go LOC school ART sir Mada
So, Umbu Mada continues going to school,

na-beli *la hakola,* *uruh-ma-a-na-nya* *na ana njara.*
3sN-return LOC school organise-EMP-MOD-3sG-3sD ART child horse
(when) he comes home from school, he takes care of the foal.

(36) *Beli* *-ka* *la hakola,* *"ka* *màla* *nú,* *ama* *nú,*
return -PRF LOC school CNJ well DEI father DEI
Coming home from school: "Well dad,

"tobu-nya *na ana njara* *wà-nggu"* *ba* *wà-mi* *nú nú,*
slaughter-3sD ART child horse say-1sG CNJ say-2pG DEI DEI
did you (pl) decide to kill the foal (lit. slaughter the foal I say, you (pl) say?),

tobu-ma-mi-nya-ka?"
slaugter-EMP-2pG-3sD-PRF
are you (pl) going to kill it?"

(37) *"E, ka nggiki-na wà-nda-i hi umbu, nú nú:*
EXC CNJ how-3sG say-1pG-ITER CNJ sir DEI DEI
"Uhm, I'm sorry son, thus (it was said) there:

"tobu-ma-ki-a-nya-ka bùdi una-ngga,
slaughter-EMP-MOD-MOD-3sD-PRF in fact EMP.3s-MOD
"It should in fact be killed,

ka nda na-njadi-du-pa la pa-pànjang na ina-mu,
CNJ NEG 3sN-can-EMP-IMPF LOC CTR-stop ART mother-2sG
because your mum can never recover

jàka nda pa-tobu-nya na ana njara yena yia wà-na-nya.
if/when NEG CTR-slaughter-3sD ART child horse DEI.3s DEI say-3sG-3sD
unless the foal is killed", he says to him.

(38) *Njadi handuka-ma-nanya-ka una i Umbu Mada yena*
so be sad-EMP-3s.CONT-PRF EMP.3s ART sir Mada DEI.3s
So Umbu Mada is feeling sad.

(39) *Da-wua-nya pa-ngangu ba na-beli la hakola nda na-ngangu-ma-pa,*
3pN-give-3sD RMO-eat CNJ 3sN-return LOC scholl NEG 3sN-eat-EMP-IMPF
They give him food when he comes (home) from school but he won't eat

parai ruku la pa-namu-ya na ana njara
track track LOC CTR-remember-3sA ART child horse
because (he) cares for the foal.

(40) *"Ka màla nú pirang-ma-ka tobu-nya wà-mi?"*
CNJ well DEI when-EMP-PRF slaughter-3sD say-2pG
"Well, when do you intend to kill it?"

(41) *"Jàka jia-ya-ka na pa-ana bota-nda nú kawai umbu nú*
if/when EXIST-3sA-PRF ART RMO-DIM decide-1pG DEI just now sir DEI
"It is like (this), our decision just now, son,

nanyuna ta-ana kawúku -ki-nya rehi, walu mbua lodu una nú nú,
but 1pN-DIM tie knots -MOD-3sD time eight CLF day DEI.3s DEI DEI
but we picked a date (lit. tied knots[396]), "eight days from now,

ka ta-wàngu pa-tobu-nya na ana njara" wà-ma-ka nú kawài,
CNJ 1pN-use CTR-slaughter-3sD ART child horse say-1pG DEI just now
and we will kill the foal", we said just now.

(42) *Njadi ma-wua-nya-ka pa-ngangu na ina-mu nú kawài,*
so 1pN-give-3sD-PRF RMO-eat ART mother-2sG DEI just now
So when we gave your mum some food,

ngangu-ma-a-na-nya nú nú, wà-na-i-ka nú i Umbu Ndilu
eat-EMP-MOD-3sG-3sD DEI DEI say-3sG-ITER-PRF DEI ART Umbu Ndilu
she ate it", says Umbu Ndilu.

(43) *Ka tamba handuka -nanya-i-ka yena i Umbu Mada.*
CNJ increase (Ind) be sad -3s.CONT-ITER-PRF DEI.3s ART sir Mada
So Umbu Mada is getting more and more sad.

(44) *Njadi ba wà-na tu-na-ka nú una-ngga,*
so CNJ say-3sG put-3sG-PRF DEI EMP.3s-MOD
And then, after that,

la mbaru, mbàkahu wà-na pa-mbaru, ìru-na-nya ka na ana njara
LOC be new break say-3sG CTR-pa.be new lead-3sG-3sD-PRF ART child horse
one morning, at day break (lit. 'break' says it to be new), he is leading the foal (=from the stable into the field),

(45) *"E ana njara" wà-na-nya-ka*
EXC child horse say-3sG-3sD-PRF
"Oh little horse", he says,

"walu mbua lodu umbu, meti-munya-ka dumu!,
eight CLF day sir die-2s.CONT-PRF EMP.2s
"eight days man, (then) you'll die!,

tobu -da-nggau-ka dumu" wà-na-nya-ka nú nú.
slaughter-3pG-2sD EMP.2s say-3sG-3sD-PRF DEI DEI
they are going to kill you", he tells him.

(46) *Wà-na tu-na nú dàngu hí-ma-na-ka duna.*
say-3sG put-3sG DEI with cry -EMP-3sG-PRF EMP.3s
So he says and he cries.

(47) *Hí-ma-nanya-ka una,*
cry-EMP-3s.CONT-PRF EMP.3s
He is crying,

na- ìru dàngu handuka -nya, jia hàmu-ma-ya-ka na hí-na.
3sN- lead with be sad -3sD EXIST be good-EMP-3sA-PRF ART cry-3sG
sadly he leads it (i.e. the horse), and boy does he cry (lit. it is good his crying).

(48) *Na-tú-nya* *uhu-na,* *jiapa-ma-ya-ka* *una*
3sN-put-3sD rice-3sG still be-EMP-3sA-PRF EMP.3s
He gives it food, still (saying)

"E *meti-munya-ka* *dumu* *umbu,* *tobu-da-nggau-ka* *duna-ngga"*
EXC die-2s.CONT-PRF EMP.2s sir slaughter-3pG-2sD-PRFEMP.3s-MOD
"Oh you are dying, man, they're going to kill you",

wà-na-ma-ka *una,* *hí-ma-nanya-ka* *una* *i Umbu Mada.*
say-3sG-EMP-PRF EMP.3s cry-EMP-3s.CONT-PRF EMP.3s ART sir Mada
he says, and he's crying, Umbu Mada.

(49) *A,* *nú-ya-ka.*
yes DEI-3sA-PRF
Yes, that's how it is.

(50) *Hili* *mbàkah* *wà-na* *la* *mbaru* *hau,*
again break say-3sG LOC be new CLF.one
The next morning (lit. 'break' said it again on another morning)

nú *una* *tàka* *nàhu* *laku reu dà -ma-na-nya-ka* *una*
DEI EMP.3s arrive now go talk with-EMP-3sG-3sD-PRF EMP.3s
he comes to talk with him again:

"E *umbu* *ana* *njara,*
EXC sir child horse
"Hey mister little horse,

pitu *mbua lodu-ki-a-ka,* *meti-munya-ka dumu* *umbu" wà-na-nya-ka*
seven CLF day-MOD-MOD-PRF die-2s.CONT-PRF EMP.2s sir say-3sG-3sD-prf
only seven days, then you'll die man", he said.

(51) *Njadi ba wà-na tu-nanya-ka nú,* *tu—tu-bia-nanya-ka nú una,*
so CNJ say-3sG put-3s.CONT-prf DEI RDP-put-just-3s.CONT-PRF DEI EMP.3s
So this is what he says, (and) he just says the same thing

lupa toma patu, *"patu mbua lodu-ki-a-na-ka umbu" wà-na-ma-nya-ka una*
until arrive four four CLF day-MOD-MOD-3sG-PRF sir say-3sG-MOD-3sD-PRF EMP.3s
until the fourth (day), "only four days left man", he tells him.

(52) *Hí* *mànu-ma-a-ya-ka* *nyuna* *i Umbu Mada una,*
cry always-EMP-MOD-3sA-PRF he ART sir Mada EMP.3s
Umbu Mada does nothing but cry,

da-wua-nya *pa-ngangu* *nyuna* *i Umbu Mada,* *nda na-ngangu-ma.*
3pN-give-3sD RMO-eat he ART sir Mada NEG 3sN-eat-EMP
they give him food, (but) he doesn't eat.

(53) *Pusing* *na katiku-na yena* *i Umbu Ndilu* *ama-na*
dizzy (Ind) ART head-3sG DEI.3s ART sir Ndilu father-3sG
Umbu Ndilu, his father, didn't know what to do (lit. his head is dizzy)

pusing *na katiku-na,* *"nggiki-na* *wà-nggu* *na ana-nggu,*
dizzy ART head-3sG how-3sG say-1sG ART child-1sG
he didn't know what to do, "what should I do (lit. how do I say/use) with my child,

nda hili *ngangu-nanya-i,*
NEG again eat-3s.CONT-ITER
he doesn't eat anymore,

tàka *yena* *yia* *na* *kuru uma* *-nggu -i,*
arrive DEI.3s DEI ART wife -1sG-IMPF
and this wife of mine here again,

"tobu-nya *na ana njara"* *wà-na- ma -i nú."*
slaughter-3sD ART child horse say-3sG-EMP-ITER DEI
"kill the foal", she keeps on saying."

(54) *Pusing* *na* *katiku-na* *i* *Umbu Ndilu.*
be dizzy ART head-3sG ART sir Ndilu
Umbu Ndilu is at a loss.

(55) *Na-namu-nya* *na kuru uma-na,* *na- hili namu-nya* *na ana-na.*
3sN-remember-3sD ART wife-3sG 3sN-again remember-3sD ART child-3sG
He cares for his wife but he also cares for his child.

(56) *A, nú -ya- ka*
EXC DEI -3sA-PRF
Yes, that's how it is.

(57) *Njadi ba* *wà-na* *tu-na-ka* *nú*
thus CNJ say-3sG put-3sG-PRF DEI
And then,

"E umbu ana njara, *dua modung-ki-ya-ka* *una umbu,* *meti-munya-ka dumu*
EXC sir child horse two night-MOD-3sA-PRF EMP.3s sir die-2s.CONT-PRF EMP.2s
"Hey little horse, the day after tomorrow, you'll die,

pa-hewa-nda-nya-ka una", wà-na-nya-ka nuna ana njara.
RMO-separate-1pG-3sD-PRF EMP.3s say-3sG-3sD-PRF DEI.3s child horse
(and) we will be separated", he says to the foal.

(58) *Handuka-ma-nanya-ka una, hí-ma-nanya-ka una, i Umbu Mada yena.*
be sad-EMP-3s.CONT-PRF EMP.3s cry-EMP-3s.CONT-PRF EMP.3s ART sir Mada DEI.3s
He feels so sad, he is crying, this Umbu Mada.

(59) *Ndingu wa-na-bia-ka una ana njara.*
silent say-3sG-MOD-PRF EMP.3s DIM horse
The foal just kept still.

(60) *Pàdi wà-na-bia-ka una*
quiet say-3sG-MOD-PRF EMP.3s
It didn't say a word.

[...]

5. Historical narrative

***La rehi Nipong* 'In the Japanese Era'**

(1) *Ba jia na dedi-na i Rambu E.,*
CNJ EXIST ART be born-3sG ART lady E.
It was at the time when Rambu E. was born,

na ibu guru hu wá la i P.
ART Ms teacher (Ind) DIR down LOC ART P.
the teacher (female) down there at P.'s.

(2) *Handuka-manya nyuma la rimbang,*
be sad-1p.CONT we LOC famine
we had trouble because of the famine,

hau wula -ma pa-ngangu mànu rí,
CLF.one month -EMP CTR-eat always vegetable
a whole month of eating only vegetables (=without rice or meat) all the time,

nda ningu -a uhu, wataru nda ningu-a
NEG be -MOD rice corn NEG be-MOD
there was no rice, there was no corn,

kadihing mburung pa-ngangu, kàri pa-nga-ma,
marrow k.o. sago palm CTR-eat sago palm RMO-eat-1pG
(we had) the marrow of a sago palm to eat, sago was our food,

jàka lua pa- muti pa- kàu yena rí,
if go CTR- harvest CTR- cut DEI.3s leaf
(as) harvesting, (we) cut leafs,

kàu-ya hama kàu uhu njara
cut-3sA be same cut rice horse
(we) cut it like horse food (=grass)

hi hawiti-ya hi nga wà-nya tolung.
CNJ steam-3sA CNJ eat use-3sD meat
and steamed it and ate it with meat.

(3) *Da tolung nuda banda wiki-ma-ma-nja, tapi tobu wini-nja,*
ART meat DEI.3p cattle self-1pG-EMP-3pD but (Ind) slaughter secretly-3pD
Those (pieces of) meat were our own cattle, but (we) slaughtered them in secret,

nda na-pí-a-nya Nipong ma-tobu-nja.
NEG 3sN-know-MOD-3sD Japan RMS-slaugher-3pG
the Japanese didn't know (who) slaughtered them.

(4) *Hàla hi hindi-ha la woka*
finish CNJ suspend-3pA LOC garden
And we hung them (=the pieces of meat) in the garden,

hi ngangu wàngu rí,
CNJ eat use vegetable
and ate it with vegetables,

ngangu kokur jua-a, ngangu wàngu tolung,
eat coconut only-MOD eat use meat
(we) ate only coconut (i.e. no rice or corn), ate it with meat

nú la rehi-na nú, àmang.
DEI LOC time-3sG DEI earlier
then, at that time, in earlier days.

(5) *Tàka ba na-dedi-ka nyuna i Rambu E.*
arrive CNJ 3sN-be born-PRF she ART lady E
But when Rambu E. was born

Ama pa-àu-na-nya-ka pa-ràma la toko Sumba, na Mensembu
father RMO-call-3sG-3sD-PRF CTR-work LOC shop Sumba (Ind) ART Mensembu
Dad was called to work at the Sumbanese shop, the Mensembu,

na, tàka-ka lai nú, hina-ka hi na-ana hàmu na luri-ma,
well arrive-PRF LOC DEI newly-PRF CNJ 3sN-DIM be good ART life-1pG
well, when (he) got there, only then our life got a bit better,

ana katàri-ma nda na-toma,
DIM rag-1sG NEG 3sN-meet
we didn't have enough clothes,

ana ha.wàla-a lau-ma jaka mbaha ka laku la luku pa-dihu
DIM one.CLF-MOD sarong-1sG if/when wash CNJ go LOC river CTR-bathe
we had one sarong only, to wash it (we) went to the river to bathe,[397]

hàla pa-dihu, dengi beli-ya
finish CTR-bathe dry return-3sA
after bathing, (we) let it dry again.

(6) *Nyungga utung na ina-nggu ba luhu-na weling la uma Jawa*
I have luck ART mother-1sG CNJ exit-3sG move from LOC house stranger
I was lucky (with) my mum, because she had worked for a Dutch household (lit. she came from a foreign home)

dangu barang pa-ngandi-na weling la uma Jawa, na ina-nggu
much stuff RMO-take-3sG move from LOC house stranger ART mother-1sG
she had a lot of stuff from the Dutch house

hi na- utu -ngga nyungga, hi ku-hau, la rehi-na nú
CNJ 3sN- have luck-1sG I CNJ 1sN-wear LOC time-3sG DEI
so that was my luck (lit. it had luck for me), I had something to wear, at that time.

(7) *Mbuta-na na tau na-pàki kambala, pàki àngu karung,*
complete-3sG ART person 3sN-wear k.o. mulberry[398] wear with[399] sack
all the people dressed with the bark of the *kambala* or with sacks,

jia da karung uhu hu lua,
EXIST ART sack rice DIR DEI
those rice sacks overthere,

jia -u -ha na pa- pàki-na na tau,
EXIST -EMP -3pA ART RMO- wear-3sG ART person
that was what the people were wearing.

(8) *Angu weling la kulit kayu, kambala-du-ha-ka nuda, hi pàki-ha,*
with move from LOC skin wood mulberry-EMP-3pA DEI.3p CNJ wear-3pA
(Clothes) from the bark of trees, *kambala* they were, and (they) wore them,

hàla hi tungu-danya-i da- katí-ma,
finish CNJ put on-3p.CONT-ITER 3pN- sting-1pG
and when they were put on they stung us,

ba hama bai wutu la katiku, mbinu hàla da bai lau,
CNJ be same DER louse LOC head be full finish ART DER sarong
just as lice on (the) head, the sarongs were full (of them)

nda pa- katuda-a la rudung
NEG CTR- sleep-MOD LOC night
(we) didn't sleep at night (=because of the itching),

dira mayila ai lulu -kama
to limit be poor very -1pA
we were so very very poor.

(9) *Ba na-rama-ka na ama-nggu la toku Sumba*
CNJ 3sN-work-PRF ART father-1sG LOC shop Sumba
Because my father worked-at the toko Sumba,

hamu-nanya-ka na luri-ma
be good-3s.CONT-PRF ART life-1pG
we got on well (lit. our life was being good),

ana ngalang ana pa-ngangu, karohu, nggula, tolung ha.ngia—ha.ngia
DIM receive DIM RMO-eat grain sugar meat RDP-one.place
we got some food, grains, sugar, various kinds of meat,

màtu hàla-nanya-ka una la uma
be complete finish-3s.CONT-PRF EMP.3s LOC house
we had enough (lit. it was complete) at home

lupa ba na-laku na Nipong.
until CNJ 3sN-go ART Japan
until the Japanese came.

(10) *Da angu-ma nyuma pa-mahalímu*
ART companion-1pG we CTR-be young girl
Our friends, the other girls (lit. our companions in being young girls)

tama *hàla* *la* *rumah* *kopi,*
enter complete LOC house coffee
all went into the coffee house (Ind),

nyungga *nda* *ku-tama-a* *la* *rumah kopi,*
I NEG 1SN-enter-MOD LOC house coffee
I didn't go into the coffee house,

na-mai-ma-ka *nyuna* *na tau Nipong* *làti* *pa-karai-ka,*
3SN-come-EMP-PRF he ART person Japan in fact CTR-ask-1SA
a Japanese man came and asked me (=wanted to marry me),

wà-na *na* *ina-nggu:* *"Da* *ana-nggu* *tau* *ma-dua-ha,*
say-3SG ART mother-1SG ART child-1SG person RM-two-3SA
(but) my mother said: "I have two children,

nggamu-a-ka *na* *ma-* *piara-ya-ka* *la* *uma*
who-MOD-PRF ART RM- look after (Ind)-3SA-PRF LOC house
who will look after the house,

nda *ningu-a* *ma-rama"* *wà-na.*
NEG be-MOD RM-work say-3SG
there is no-one to do the work", she said.

(11) *Jia* *-du* *-ya* *-ka* *hi* *nda* *ku-* *laku.*
EXIST -EMP -3SA -PRF CNJ NEG 1SN- go
That's why I didn't go.

(12) *Na,* *hili* *mandai-ndai,* *hili mai-ma-danya-i,*
EXC again RDP-be long time again come-EMP-3p.CONT-ITER
Well, after a long time, they came again,

tapi *na* *ama-nggu* *mbada* *la toku Sumba* *-ya-ka,*
but (Ind) ART father-1SG already LOC shop Sumba -3SA-PRF
but my dad was already (working) at the Sumbanese shop,

nda *hili* *ningu-a-pa* *ma-mbrani*
NEG again be -MOD-IMPF RMS-dare
(so) there was no-one who dared

laku *mai-pa* *pa-* *hili karai* *-ka*
go come-IMPF CTR- again ask -1SA
to come again and ask for me again.

(13) *Tu-na nú amang, na sejara-ma nyuma*
put-3sG DEI earlier times ART history-1pG we
That's how it was in the old days, our history,

na handuka-ma la masa Jepang
ART be sad-1pG LOC era (Ind) Japan (Ind)
our trouble at the Japanese era.

6. Story

The following is the first part of a modern, i.e. non-traditional story about Landu Niki, a man who is not too bright. In the section given here, Landu Niki confuses the verbal and nominal use of *mangela*. As a verb, *mangela* means 'to draw water' or 'to go fishing', its nominal use is instrumental: 'bcuket' or 'fishing instrument'. Landu Niki's language shows two systematic deficiencies (i) a meaningless morpheme *a* (represented in bold) is used instead of various prefixes and/or pronominal clitics, and (ii) functional items such as prepositions, articles, pronominal, aspectual and modal clitics as well as prefixes may, and often are, dropped; roots may not. The story thus shows the conscious simplification of Kambera morpho-syntax. The corrected versions of Landu Niki's utterances were given by the narrator during the transcription of the story, and are provided in the notes.

Landu Niki

(1) *Ni -nya na ha.atu na tau, tamu -na Landu Niki -ya.*
be -3sD ART one ART person name -3sG Landu Niki -3sA
There was a man, his name was Landu Niki.

(2) *Tapi bukan berarti ceritera, memang nyata.*
but not mean story indeed apparent (Ind[400])
But this does not mean it's (just) a story, it really happened.

(3) *Pa-rongu-nggu-nya, ku-ita-ma-ya-pa na tau nuna hu dita.*
RMO-hear-1sG-3sD 1sN-see-EMP-3sA-IMPF ART person DEI.3s DIR up
It's what I have heard, I have really seen that person up there.

(4) *Ma-kaweda -ya -ka, tau la Rindi -ya.*
RMS-be old -3sA -PRF person LOC Rindi -3sA
He's an old man now, someone from Rindi.

(5) *Landu Niki -ma -ya tamu -na.*
Landu Niki -EMP -3sA name -3sA
Landu Niki is his name.

(6) *Berarti, "wà-da amang" nda nu-a-ya-pa.*
mean say-3pG earlier times NEG DEI-MOD-3sA-IMPF
(This) means that it is not a traditional story
(lit. (This) means that it is not like "they said in earlier days".)

(7) *Hàla -ka, ba masa anakeda -ya -pa, wà -na -nya -ka na ina-na,*
finished-PRF CNJ era (Ind) child-3sA-IMPF say-3sG-3sD-PRF ART mother-3sG
Anyway, when he was still in his childhood his mother said to him,

(8) *"Ho Landu Niki!" wa-na-nya, "Woi!" wà-na-ma-ka una,*
EXC Landu Niki say-3sG -3sD yes[401] say-3sG-EMP-PRF EMP.3s
'Hey Landu Niki', she calls him. 'Yes!' he answers,

(9) *ba nda lalu pingu hàmu -a -na pa- kareuk.*
CNJ NEG too know be good -MOD -3sG CTR- talk
(and) he can't talk very well (lit. doesn't know too well to talk).

(10) *"Lua ka u-mangela-nda wài,*[402] *umbu' wà-na-nya.*
go CNJ 2sN-fish/draw-1pD water sir say-3sG-3sD
"Go and draw water for us, son," she says to him.

(11) *"U Ina" wà-na-nya, lumbat wà-na,*
yes mother say-3sG-3sD jump say-3sG
'Yes mum,' he says to her, jumping up,

jàka jia la katàtak hadang-na, na katàtak laku-na.
if/when EXIST LOC startle get up-3sG ART startle go-3sG
getting up startled, going (on his way) startled.

(12) Jia-ya-ka, "woi" ba wà-na nú,
EXIST-3sA-PRF yes CNJ say-3sG DEI
So he says "yes",

(13) *winggir -na-nya -ka nàhu, na kamundu manu uma.*[403]
surround -3sG-3sD -PRF now ART behind chicken house
(and) he goes around the side of the house.

(14) *Patanda-na-nya na ngia pa- huduk -na -nya*
know-3sG-3sD ART place RMO- stick -3sG -3sD
He knows the place where he (=his father) (has) stuck it,

na mangela-na na ama -na.
ART fishing instr.-3sG ART father-3sG
his father's fishing instrument.

Na mangela tuna na ama -na.
ART fishing instr. eel ART father -3sG
The eel fishing rod of his father's.

(15) *Tuna-ka nú, na-hunggu-ya-ka, laku-nanya-ka wá la humur.*
thus-PRF DEI 3sN-find-3sA-PRF go-3sCONT-PRF down LOC well
Then he finds it, and he goes down to the well.

(16) *Puha -na-nya-ka na mangela.*
drop (over edge) -3sG-3sD-PRF ART fishing instr.
He throws the fishing line (over the edge).

(17) *Puha -ya na mangela la humur.*
drop (over edge) -3sA ART fishing instr. LOC well
He throws the fishing line into the well.

(18) *E, ba ndedi -pa na- puha -ya na mangela,*
EXC CNJ not yet -IMPF 3sN- drop -3sA ART fishing instr.
Oh, (but) before he throws the fishing line,

ngadu -na -nya -ka yia.
look down -3sG -3sD -PRF DEI
he looks down into it (i.e. the well).

(19) *"Eha! Ka bi tau -ya-i-ka ni dá ní!*
EXC CNJ DER person -3sA-ITER-PRF DEI inside DEI
"Shoot! there is someone inside!

La humur. Nangu hiana" wà-na,
LOC well come towards adressee there near addressee say-3sG
In the well. Coming this way", he says,

(20) *"— ngela -nggunya wài nyungga" wà -na.*[404]
fish/draw -1s.CONT water I say -3sG
"Me, I'm drawing water", he says.

(21) *Ngadu -nanya-i-ka, kareuk -ma -nanya-i una dá,*
look down-3s.CONT-ASP-PRF talk-EMP-3s.CONT-ASP EMP.3s inside
He is looking down, even talking into (it, the well)

ba ninu -na -nya una.
CNJ reflection -3sG -3sD EMP.3s
while it (is) his reflection.

(22) *"Nda u-ma.**a**-rau-a tai, na -nya **a**- watu!'.*[405]
NEG 2sN- be far-MOD later come to addressee -3sD stone
"If you don't go away, a stone will come your way!"

(23) *Ka pangàkar-nya na watu, pangàkarung-ma-nanya-i namu dá...*
CNJ fling-3sD ART stone fling-EMP -3sCONT-ITER from inside
So he flings the stone, he (=his reflection) is also flinging from inside...

(24) *"Yi! Tuku-mu-ngga-**a** nyungga!" wà-na-nya-ka nú.*[406]
EXC hurl -2sG -1sG I say-3sG-3sD-PRF DEI
"Darn! You are throwing things at me!", he yells at him.

(25) *Wà -na-nya-ka nú.*
say -3sG-3sD-PRF DEI
He says to him.

(26) *Ngeri ana langada beli -nanya -ka.*
little by little DIM peep back -3sCONT -PRF
Carefully he peeps back (into the well) again.

(27) *Hili hàla, hili langada beli -ma-nanya-i dá la humur*
again finish again peep back -EMP-3sCONT-ASP inside LOC well
After that, he peeps back into the well (once) again,

*"Eha! Jàka-**a**-mbeni-ngga — ina-nggu,*[407] *jàka nda lú **a**-beli,*
EXC if be angry-1sD mother-1sG if NEG quickly return
"Hey! If my mother gets angry with me, when I don't return quickly,

jia hi wà -nda, ai?
EXIST CNJ say/do-1pG, TAG
then we're in trouble (idiomatic expression), don't you think?

(28) *Mài pa- tuku -kau nyumu yohu" wà-na-nya.*
come CTR- throw -2sA you here say-3sG-3sD
(She'll) come to throw (stones) at you", he says to him.

(29) *Hili puha beli -na -nya -i...*
again drop back -3sG -3sD -ASP
Again he throws it (i.e. the fishing line, into the well)...

*"E, nda jia -kau nyumu, maràna **a**-riang."*
EXC NEG EXIST -2sA you be diligent accompany
"Oh well, I won't bother with you."
(lit. It is not you (that I'm) diligent (to) accompany)

(30) *Puha -nanya -ka na mangela,*
drop -3s.CONT -PRF ART fishing instr.
He throws (in) the fishing line again,

wà-na-ny nu-bia-ka una, àmbu ita-ya dá na tau.
do-3sG-3sD DEI-just-PRF EMP.3s NEG.irr see-3sA inside ART person
he just does it this way,[408] not to see the person inside.

Puha pakambelu -bia -nya -ka una na mangela.
drop be invisible -just -3sD -PRF EMP.3s ART fishing instr.
(He) just drops the line without looking.

(31) *Tuna-ka nú, puha -ya, "kàna-kau yóó, wài a-boku --a-bokul."*
thus-PRF DEI drop -3sA touch[409]-2sA EXC water RDP-be big
Dropping it, "touch it, big, big water" (i.e. big, big water, get into my bucket[410])

(32) *Pa.dita-ya, yambitung wà-na.*
CAU.up-3sA grab/drag do-3sG
(He) hauls it up and grabs (it).

(33) *Nda na- kàna -ma-pa una dá ka ba mangela -ya.*
NEG 3sN- touch -EMP-IMPF EMP.3s inside CNJ CNJ fishing line -3sA
It (=the water) has not gotten into it, after all it's a fishing line (and not a bucket).

(34) *Mandài -bia -nanya -ka yia,*
be long time -MOD -3s.CONT -PRF DEI

pa- patiang wài dita na ina-na.
CTR- wait (for) water up ART mother-3sG
His mother up there is having a long wait for the water
(lit.: She is (having) a long time to wait for water, his mother up there).

(35) *"Nda jia-a — nú, a-njili-mbu-ka a-yohu, a-njú-mbu-ka a-nyungga.*[411]
NEG EXIST DEI be tired-also-1sA here be hungry-also-1sA I
"It's still not there (=water for mum), and I'm tired here, (and) I'm hungry too.

(36) *Ningu-mbu a-tau, nda a-kàna -mbu a-wài."*[412]
be -also person NEG touch -also water
And there is also someone (in the well), and (the) water has not touched (it) either."

(37) *Tàka -nanya -ka la uma.*
arrive -3sCONT -PRF LOC house
He arrives at home.

(38) *Wà -na -ka nú, hanganga hani -na -ka,*
do/say -3sG -PRF DEI with open mouth be permanent -3s.CONT
(So) he is, in a permanent state of utter amazement,

nda pingu -a -nanya -pa pa-kalokang
NEG know -MOD -3s.CONT -IMPF CTR-explain
because he does not know how to explain (things).

(39) *"Ho Landu Niki", "Woi" wà-na-ma-ka una,*
EXC Landu Niki yes say-3sG-EMP-PRF EMP.3s
"Hey Landu Niki", "Yes", he says,

hema hadanggit -ma-ka una, ba njili -nanya.
answer be out of breath -EMP-PRF EMP.3s CNJ be tired -3s.CONT
(he) answers out of breath, being tired.

(40) *"Ka nggi -ya umbu, na wài,*
CNJ where -3sA sir ART water
"And where is the water, son,

ka ba weli kawài.ng, ma-patia -nggau."
CNJ CNJ from just now.ng 1pN-wait -2sD
we have been waiting for you all the time."

(41) *"U. Ningu a-tau-a wá a- humur' wà-na-ka nú.*[413]
yes be person down well say-3sG-PRF DEI
"Yes. There was someone down in the well", he says.

(42) *"Nggàra tau -ya -i umbu,*
what person -3sA -again sir
"What kind of person would that be, son,

ka ba taku-ndanya wài ka wà-mu-bia-nya-ka una."
CNJ CNJ draw-1p.CONT water CNJ say/do-2sG-MOD-3sD-PRF EMP.3s
you were just going to draw water for us."
(lit.: You just said "we're (going to) draw water")

(43) *"A- wà -nggu -ma-nya-i-ka, a-mbeni wàngu a-watu nyungga,*
say -1sG-EMP-3sD-again-PRF be angry use stone I
"I did tell him (so), I threathened (him) with a stone,

a-mbeni wàngu -ma-nanya-i una, a-watu nyuna' wà-na-ka nú.[414]
be angry use -EMP-3s.CONT-also EMP.3s stone he say-3sG-PRF DEI
(and) he was also threathening (me) with a stone", he says.

(44) *Hàla-ka tuna nú, "ka nggi-ya-ka na wài?"*
finish-PRF put-3SG DEI CNJ where-3SA-PRF ART water
Then, "Where is the water?"

(45) *"E, nda jia-mbu, mbota-mbu — mangela-na a-ama dá a-humur."*[415]
EXC NEG EXIST-also be broken-also fishing instr.-3SG father inside well
"Well, there is none, and father's fishing rod is broken too, in the well."

(46) *"Hi laku -munya -i pa-mangela?" wà-na-nya.*
CNJ go -2S.CONT-ITER CTR-go fishing say-3SG-3SD
"So you went fishing?", she asks him.

(47) *Ndingu wà-na.*
silence do/say-3SG
He stays silent.

(48) *"Na hamba dumu làti hi umbu, ka u-puha-ya dá,*
ART bucket EMP.2S actually EXC sir CNJ 2SN-drop-3SA inside
"(It should be) the bucket, you know, son, that you drop into (the well)

ka u- pa.dita -ya, ka u- ngàndi-ya la uma."
CNJ 2SN-CAU.up -3SA CNJ 2SN- take-3SA LOC house
you haul it up, and you take it home."

(49) *Ndingu wà-na.*
silence do/say-3SG
He keeps silent.

Notes

1. My source here is *Bahasa Daerah di Indonesia* (n.d.) ('Regional languages in Indonesia'), a publication of the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan ('Head Office for Language Promotion and Development, Department of Education and Culture'). Other estimated numbers are 200,000 (Grimes 1992) and 125,000 (Wurm 1994).
2. The group of CMP languages consists of 147 languages (Grimes 1992) and includes the Sumba-Bima group to which Kambera belongs according to Esser (1938). The idea that Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) is a genetic subgroup is not without problems: "If CMP is eventually shown to be a genetic subgroup, it is not of the sort in which there is a parent language whose daughter languages share a number of diagnostic innovations, but rather a diverse grouping of stay-at-home languages that did not participate in the move to Oceania" (Grimes 1994, fn. 3).
3. In the beginning of this century a phonological shift occurred in Kambera, replacing /s/ with /h/ (section 2.1.1). The name of the island *Sumba* thus became *Humba* for speakers of Kambera, while the Dutch/Indonesian name remained *Sumba*.
4. That is, substantial in comparison to what is known about most other CMP languages.
5. Kapita 1977 and 1979 are monolingual Kambera texts; Kapita 1985 and 1987 include Indonesian translations of the Kambera texts.
6. The user of this dictionary should be aware that it contains the language of Sumba between 1926-1955. In the 50-odd years between the time when Onvlee gathered his data and the period of my own fieldwork, many Kambera words as they are reported in the dictionary have been replaced by Indonesian loans. Other lexical items have undergone a shift in meaning, or are (now) reported to belong to a different dialect than Kambera.
7. In the preparation and realisation of my fieldwork the following manuals and questionnaires have been consulted: Shopen (ed., 1985), Comrie—Smith (1977), and Healey (1976).
8. Many of the ideas formulated in this chapter originate from joint work with Harry van der Hulst; cf. Van der Hulst—Klamer (1996b, 1997).
9. Following the ideas of Prosodic Morphology, cf. McCarthy—Prince (1986, 1993).
10. In the present study, syllable boundaries are indicated with |, affixes with a dot (.) (only indicated if necessary) and pronominal, modal and aspectual clitics with a hyphen (-). Although the phonological properties of prepositions, conjunctions, articles and the negation *nda* suggest that they should be considered clitics (see section 2.3), to improve legibility, these items will *not* be hyphenated. Words are separated from each other by a space. Phonological attachment is indicated with (=). In front of a syllable, a (') indicates primary stress, a (,) secondary stress. Stress will be indicated only if necessary for expository reasons. Reduplicative affixes will always be marked with a dash. Formal compounds (e.g. *turumbeni*

'dare') are represented as one word, productive compounds as two (e.g. *wai nyawa* 'water (of the) soul' = 'strength, vitality').

11. The bracketed vowel [u] in *mà | ndu | ng(u)* 'be firm' is a 'paragogic' vowel. See the discussion in section 2.2.1 below.
12. The [p] is reinterpreted as the prefix *pa.* (the vowel *a* is the default vowel for prefixes, see section 2.3.1) while the [k] is reinterpreted as an 'extra' consonant to the foot (see section 2.2.3), realised as the onset of a syllable with the paragogic vowel [u] (see section 2.2.1).
13. The *c* represents a voiceless affricate in Indonesian. In Kambera it only occurs in loans such as *mbaca* 'read' (from Indonesian *baca* 'read'). In this word the *b* has become prenasalised, while the *c* is either retained (as in *mbaca*), or changed into *h* (as in *mbaha*).
14. Apart from the word *ʔuʔu* 'agree, say yes' I have no other example of a glottal stop as the onset of a root-internal syllable. The first example in (i) contrasts with the other two examples in having a word-internal glottal stop.

    (i) [ʔuʔu] 'agree', 'say yes' (u = 'yes'))
    [ʔuhu] 'rice, food'
    [ʔuku] 'limit'
    * [uku]

    A root-internal sequence of two (different) vowels triggers a process of gliding at the phonetic level (2.2.5). A glottal stop is inserted between two identical vowels of two clitics in a cluster (2.3). In word games, some onsetless foot-initial syllables are realised with a homorganic glide (2.5).
15. The database included 317 languages, i.e. most languages have more than one fricative.
16. I have not altered the original (Dutch) spelling of the various authors, where "oe" is /u/ and a doubled consonant indicates that the preceding vowel is lax/short/low.
17. Below I will discuss three additional vowels that only occur in very specific lexical items.
18. Previous authors have not been consistent in the matter of vowel representation, with the result that at times they either mark both the long/tense and the short/lax vowel (e.g. *à* vs *á*), or only one of them (*a* vs *á* or *à* vs *a*) or neither of them (*a* vs *a*). A vowel which is lengthened to conform to the minimal word constraint (cf. section 2.2.1) will always be marked diacritically; e.g. *rí* 'vegetables', *wá* 'down', *yú* 'tongue'.
19. I will not go into much detail here. For an introduction to non-linear phonology I refer to van der Hulst—Smith 1985.
20. According to Onvlee (1984:86) the dialects of Mangili, Lewa and Kodi use *hela*, Anakalang and Mamboru and Indonesian *sela.*
21. This kind of structural representation of vowels is of the Dependency Phonology type, see, among others, Anderson—Ewen (1987), Dikken—Van der Hulst (1988), Van der Hulst (1988), Humbert (1995).
22. I assume that the vowel features in (8b) are not linked to the second skeletal slot, in order to formally account for the phonotactic restriction that a long vowel cannot be followed by a vowel or consonant of equal height (cf. section 2.2.6) in

connection to the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP). I refer to van der Hulst—Klamer (1997) for further discussion.

23. The first syllable *ka* in the word *ka.lauki* 'k.o. fowl' is a prefix. Prefixes are always unstressed (see section 2.2.4).
24. I do not typographically represent the paragagic vowel because its insertion is completely regular and predictable; i.e. there is no need to represent a non-lexical vowel like this. Furthermore, in addition to this non-lexical [u], Kambera also has lexical /u/'s (e.g. *wutu* 'louse'). By only representing the lexical /u/ confusion between the two is avoided. In this respect, the Kambera spelling in this grammar differs from the 'standard' spelling in the Kambera Bible, in Onvlee 1984 and in Kapita's work.

    In derived applicative forms, the paragogic vowel appears between the final consonant and the applicative suffix (*bunggah* 'open' → *bunggahu.ng*). To avoid the impression that Kambera allows consonant clusters such as [h ŋ]) I will include the paragogic vowel in the notation of such forms.
25. In current metrical theory the unbalanced trochee, as in (ia) below, is not considered to be in the basic set of foot templates while a moraic trochee (1b) is (Kager 1994). In this view, the Kambera root template (1a) would not be a basic template of the language but rather a derived, complex structure consisting of a (basic) moraic trochee with an additional light syllable, as represented in (ic). In this analysis we would expect Kambera to have roots with three light syllables, contrary to fact (**lakoba*, (18k)). For more discussion, see van der Hulst—Klamer 1996b, 1997; for a definition of Kambera roots in terms of OT-constraints, see van de Vijver 1998:247-250.

    (i) a. Unbalanced trochee: $(\text{Heavy Light})_F$
        b. Moraic trochee: $(\text{m m})_F$
        c. Moraic trochee plus light syllable $[(\text{m m})(\text{m})]_F$
26. The emphatic clitic *du* is stressed. Functional items *bia* 'just, only' and *àru* 'HORTATIVE (polite)' are prosodic words with the syntactic distribution of clitics and the functional properties of modal clitics. See sections 2.3. and 3.4.
27. In word games, some onsetless foot-initial syllables are realised with a homorganic glide. See section 2.5 below.
28. To improve legibility, the phonetic representations do not show every kind of 'broken' vowel that is physically possible.
29. The proces of nasal prefixation (or, stated in different terms, consonant mutation) derives non-controlled intransitive achievement verbs from transitive base verbs. See section 6.9.
30. The full interrogative pronouns are *nggamu* 'who' and *nggàra* 'what' (cf. section 4.6.1.). Both are often shortened to *ngga*.
31. Verheyen (1941:260) mentions a similar word game in Manggarai (a Central Malayo-Polynesian language spoken on the island of Flores), which takes as its domain a (C)VCV root/foot. In this game only syllable onsets move. (Dutch spelling is adapted, ' is probably a glottal stop):

    (i) *taki apa* → *kati pa'a* 'tax for what?'
        tax what

(ii) *mai cé'é ge hau* → *ami écé ge ahu* 'come to you'
come here to you

(iii) *poli nggitu apa kolé* → *lopi tinggu pa'a loké* 'after that, what more?'
after thus what again/also

32. From the 13 words with 4 syllables that were checked, 11 were mutated like this.
33. As in Leti (Van Engelenhoven 1995, Van der Hulst–Klamer 1996a). Leti also has foot reduplication, like Kambera.
34. Onsetless syllables in the reduplicative prefix and in the base are regularly realised with a glottal stop, which is not indicated (section 2.1.1).
35. Note that question words, when they are reduplicated, may be used in a different sense: not only as emphatic question word ('who/whatever') but also as a noun suggesting indifference ('just anybody/anything').
36. The meaning of *hangia-hangia* 'all kinds of' is probably lexicalised.
37. *Hau* originates from *ha-wua*, where the productive quantifying prefix *ha-*, meaning 'a, one' is prefixed to the classifier *wua* 'fruit' (later changed into *mbua*). See section 4.6.2. and section 6.5.2.
38. Normally, the definite article for plurals is *da* and it marks definite plurals. Without *da*, it depends on the context whether a noun is interpreted as plural (e.g. *tau* 'person' refers to 'a person', 'mankind', '(a) people', 'some people', etc.; cf. *da tau* 'the people'.)
39. Or: the process of mutation that changes an initial plain stop into a prenasalised stop.
40. Ideophones have special vowels that do not occur elsewhere (low è, ò and short ù, see section 2.1.2), hence the short *ù* in *kambùtuk* 'make thudding sound'.
41. With the term 'clitic' I refer to a morpho (-syntactic) unit with specific phonological properties (cf. Zwicky 1977). This should be distinguished from the term 'clitic' as it is used by some as the synonym of 'pronominal elements attached to a verb'.
42. Some exceptions were mentioned in section 2.3. See also the discussion below.
43. See section 3.1.5 below for a discussion of the notion 'syntactic word'.
44. Except for Haaksma (1933:115-117) who employed the terms 'proclisis' and 'enclisis', in previous descriptions of Kambera the pronominal clitics were dubbed 'affixes', while the modal and aspectual clitics were classified as 'particles'. In contrast to this tradition I analyse all these 'particles' and 'affixes' as clitics and argue that such clitics have a special status in Kambera morpho-syntax.
45. For a detailed account of the 'phrasal affixation' type of cliticization I refer to Klavans (1985).
46. Below I propose that the core of a Kambera sentence is a predicator (verbal or non-verbal) which consists of a lexical head plus maximally two modifiers, all of them seperate morphological and prosodic words. In case the predicator is a verb, the modifiers are adverbs; this phrasal category I will call VP and the Kambera clitics attach to this constituent, see section 3.5.1.2.
47. See also section 5.3.3 and 5.5.1.

48. The subject clitic is dative when it is preceded by a genitive enclitic, as in (6b). This is a result of one of the idiosyncratic restrictions on Kambera clitic clusters which states that a second pronominal enclitic must be dative. See sections 3.5.1.1, 6.2.5.
49. The domain of attachment of the clitic cluster is a syntactic constituent. The *internal structure* of the clitic cluster, however, does not show a syntactically motivated surface order; see section 3.5.1.1, Klamer 1997.
50. But the reverse — that the reduced allomorphs only occur in combination with liaison — is not true. Both allomorphs ('full' and reduced) can occur as a proclitic to a verbal (projection), as the sentences (11)–(14) illustrate.
51. If both occur, the order is always <conjunction — negation>.
52. This is a general indication of the meaning of these clitics. The meaning of isolated modal clitics is very hard to pin down because it changes in combination with other clitics in the sentence and according to the context.
53. In the compound *pingi kokur* 'coconut palm' the noun *pingi* 'stem', although it is the syntactic head, the modifier *kokur* 'coconut' has primary stress and is thus the prosodic head, cf. section 3.1.5.3 below.
54. See also the discussion of *-du* in section 2.3.
55. An argument that is relativised leaves a 'gap' in the relative clause, i.e. the 'gap' in the relative clause indicates the original position and syntactic function of its head. The term 'gap' is used pretheoretically here.
56. That is, the conclusions here pertain to these clitics only, and are not necessarily valid for the other clitics mentioned in section 2.3 (e.g. prepositions, conjunctions).
57. The characteristics of words and clitics are overstated here because they are used as diagnostics for clitichood in Kambera. As is well-known, in e.g. the Romance languages (pronominal) clitics have been analysed as being subject to (head) movement (cf. Kayne 1991). Behind such analyses lie specific theoretical conceptions of the relation between syntax and morphology, which I will not go into here.
58. For an overview of the different views on morphology, see Spencer 1991, Carstairs-McCarthy 1992.
59. That is, while they could all explain the use and meaning of (syntactic) words, linguistically untrained speakers of Kambera appeared to be unaware of the presence of Kambera affixes and clitics, and of their interpretation.
60. Deictic verbs that are derived from deictic elements are discussed in section 5.2.
61. Note that the nominative clitics are *pro*clitics, whereas the pronominals in the deictic and emphatic forms are *en*clitics.
62. *Ngàndi* can be translated into English as either 'bring X' or 'take X'. Both translations are used more or less at random in the glosses of this verb throughout this book.
63. A description of A and O grammatical relations is given in section 3.4.1.
64. Rather than a so-called 'pro-drop' language.
65. This distinction is not made by all. For example, Andrews (1985) explicitly mentions agreement as a synonym for crossreference.

66. More or less implicitly in Boas (1911) and Bloomfield (1933), explicitly in Van Valin (1977) on Lakhota, Jelinek (1984) on Lakhota and Baker (1991) on Mohawk.
67. Recall from section 2.1.1 that Kambera /h/ was formally /s/. The derivation /n/ + /sa/ → /ndʒa/ is phonetically more plausible than /n/ + /ha/ → /ndʒa/, suggesting that the prenasalisation process may have been productive at an earlier stage of the language.
68. Diachronically, the genitive and dative *are* probably derived from the nominative and accusative. In other words, Kambera has two basic (primary, ancestral) cases: the nominative and the accusative. And it has two derived cases: the genitive and the dative.
69. Definiteness is formally expressed by the presence of a definite article (*na* 'singular' *da* 'plural', indefiniteness by the absence of an article (section 4.6.4).
70. The fact that a genitive subject-marking clitic 'breaks up' a verb plus complement sequence is a feature which complicates an analysis that tries to productively derive the genitive subject from the nominative (cf. the discussion following (37) above).
71. For the use of the preposition *dàngu*, see section 7.2.2.
72. There are some exceptions to this, see section 3.5.
73. In the following discussion I use the terms 'subject-marking' for clitics marking the A/S relation, and 'object-marking' for clitics marking the O-relation. Evidence for the S/A/O relations and the distinction between direct and indirect objects is given in section 3.4 below.
74. In some cases (e.g. with verbs derived with *ta.*, 5.5.3) not only the NP but also the subject-marking clitic may be absent.
75. Note that these clauses are transitive. In my database there are no intransitive clauses where S is marked both by a clitic and a 'doubling' indefinite NP. This may be explained by the pragmatic function of the doubling NP: indefinite NPs are not easily emphasised.
76. Demonstrative pronouns are either independent NPs or are used to modify a noun/NP. Emphatic pronouns occur as independent NPs only (i.e. do not function as nominal modifiers) and immediately follow the nuclear clause (section 3.5.2.). I have not been able to get more information on the structural properties of demonstrative and emphatic pronouns and their interaction with cliticisation. The different pronouns occur in a variety of constructions and it turned out to be impossible to get clear native speaker's intuitions about the functional or semantic distinctions between them.
77. See Hale (1993) for a similar observation concerning NPs in Warlbiri, which are analysed as adjuncts that are in apposition to pronominal arguments but have a structural position which is lower than dislocated adjuncts in English. Austin and Bresnan (1996) propose an alternative analysis for such NPs.
78. I use PATIENT and THEME in the following sense. A PATIENT is the argument acted upon by an AGENT whereas the THEME is an argument *not* acted upon by an AGENT. A THEME is a non-agentive intransitive subject, like *the ball* in 'the ball rolled'; or the subject of a nominal predicate, like *he* in 'he is a teacher'. In

the former case, it is marked like any other intransitive subject (cf. table 3.2), in the latter case it is accusative or dative (cf. table 3.4). A PATIENT is always marked with an accusative/dative clitic (cf. table 3.3).

79. See also the discussion of 'fluid-S' marking in Kambera, section 5.5.2.5.
80. The term 'raising' is used descriptively here.
81. *Rú kuta*, the fruit or leaves of a pepper plant, is chewed with *winu* 'betel nut' ('Areca nut') and lime.
82. In order to be crossreferenced on the matrix verb, the embedded object must head a relative clause:

    (i) *Nda ku- pí -a -nya*$_j$ [*na rú kuta* [*pa-ngàndi-mu*]$_{\text{RelClause}}$]$_{\text{NP}j}$
    NEG 1sN- know-MOD-3sD ART leaf sirih RM-bring-2sG
    'I didn't know (about) the sirih that you brought'

83. Despite the fact that the marker of control and the marker of O relative clauses are homonyms (both *pa*), they have distinct functional and distributional properties and are thus considered distinct grammatical elements (see chapter 8). The causative prefix *pa.* and the aspectual enclitic *-pa* 'imperfective' are two additional homonyms.
84. In Oceanic languages a similar type of nuclear clause is employed (Lichtenberk 1985:7-8).
85. Parts of this section have appeared as Klamer 1997, which also proposes a theoretical account of Kambera cliticisation.
86. As pointed out in section 3.3.3, the reverse does not hold: a subject is not always marked with a nominative clitic.
87. The term 'mood' is employed here as an (admittedly vague) cover term for the clitics that are employed to express subjective feelings of the speaker with respect to the action/state denoted by the predicate, including emphasis, hortative mood and diminutive. The group of 'mood' clitics can also be defined in negative terms: they do not express aspectual or pronominal notions; or in structural terms: they are the clitics that immediately follow the predicate XP. (For the contrast between 'mood' and 'modality', and the difficulties to define these notions, see Bybee 1985).
88. Because *bia* and *àru* are bimoraic feet and thus meet the minimal word constraint, they could also be analysed as words instead of clitics (i.e. adverbs in this case). Yet, I have analysed them as clitics because they are in complementary distribution with the other modal clitics and not with the adverbs (Adverbs are discussed in section 4.4).
89. In section 6.2 another formal restriction will be discussed, namely that the object of transitive verbs with a final nasal consonant is always dative, whether it is a PATIENT or a BENEFICIARY/GOAL (etc.).
90. Another way to order the clitics would be to link them to nine sequential 'slots' that follow the predicate. Such 'morpheme slots' or 'position classes' are concepts that have often been used to describe the positional properties of morpheme clusters (usually affixes rather than clitics, e.g. Bloomfield 1962, Muysken 1986). Theoretically there is little sympathy for such an approach because its structure-specific character defies a generalization over morphological structure within and

across languages. For Kambera, it has the undesirable implication that unfilled positions are structurally as relevant as full positions — contrary to fact.

91. The empirical base for a syntactic account of word-internal structure (including clitic placement) is that it often 'mirrors' clausal syntactic structure. However, this generalization is not correct for a head-marking language like Kambera, where the ordering of independent phrases is relatively free (see section 3.5.2) while the ordering of clitics is very much fixed. (For an evaluation of a syntactic account to Kambera clitic placement I refer to Klamer 1997).
92. Parallel to nominal phrases consisting of a noun plus a modifier, verbs are modified by adverbs. Compare the verbal predicate in (i) and the nominal predicate in (ii):

(i)	[*Bànjal kàdi*]	*-ya*	(ii)	[*Tau hàmu*]	*-ya*
	store just	-3SA		person be.good	-3SA
	'Just store it'			'He/she (is) a good person'	

93. Kambera has two classes of adverbs: verbal and sentential adverbs. Both types occur in structurally distinct positions and have a different scope (section 4.4). The verbal adverbs form a constituent with the verb, the sentential adverbs do not.
94. The same has been suggested for e.g. Hindi (Mohanan 1995: 90-91) and Warlbiri (Austin—Bresnan 1996:219-220).
95. Sentential adverbs only occur outside the nuclear clause and often precede the NPs but apart from that their positional properties are still very much unclear. Therefore I have not indicated a position for them in this diagram.
96. That is, genitive subjects and subjects marked with the continuative aspect construction are not counted.
97. That is, clauses in which the verbal arguments are expressed by clitics *alone* were not considered.
98. Traditionally, medicine is called *tàda ai* 'bark of a tree'.
99. Kambera only has coordinating conjunctions, see section 4.6.6.
100. Items from minor, closed class categories, such as clitics, affixes and deictic elements have special phonotactic properties (section 2.3).
101. Onvlee (1984:11) reports as the meaning of *bai* 'big/large/enormous in its kind'. According to my information, *bai/bi* does not mean 'big/large'. I analyse it as a marker to positively or negatively emphasise (properties of) the noun, as in (i):

(i)	*Bai*	*wuya*	*bokul*
	real	crocodile	be big
	'Really big crocodiles'		

102. The literal translation of this lexicalized compound is *mbulu* 'gathered (in a row)' *ndàba* 'all (of them)'. Usually the compound is shortened to *mbu ndàba*.
103. More examples of quantifying words derived on the basis of numbers, generics and measures are given in section 6.5.2.
104. Because *bunggah* ends in a consonant, the phonetic rule of paragogic vowel addition applies to make the final syllable open (section 2.2). In the derived forms of lexical items I represent this vowel to avoid the impression that Kambera allows clusters of two consonants (in this case [h] and [ŋ]).

105. There is another verb based on the numeral *dua* 'two': *pa.dua.ng* 'share X with Y' (cf. section 6.3.2.3).
106. In (12) the subject of the nominal predicate is dative instead of the (usual) accusative; and a genitive clitic is directly followed by a dative. This construction is (at the phonetic level) analogous to other constructions where a genitive clitic is followed by a dative enclitic: the 'nominal clause' construction for a transitive verb (cf. 4.2.1.), as illustrated in (i) and the 'continuative' construction (5.3), illustrated in (ii). This formal similarity is further discussed in 5.3.2 and 5.3.3.
    (i) *Mbada palu -nggu -nya -ka*
    already hit -1SG -3SD -PRF
    'I've hit him already' (Verb — Subject (GENITIVE) — Object (DATIVE))
    (ii) *Katuda -nggu-nya*
    sleep -1SG.CONT
    'I am sleeping' (Verb — Subject (GENITIVE + DATIVE))
107. The nominal clause is called a 'substantive construction' in the descriptive tradition of Kambera (Onvlee 1925: LXIX, n.d.:39).
108. I will not attempt to give a full account of this construction (which would amount to writing another book), but only present a brief discussion of its formal and functional properties.
109. *Kuta* 'leaf/fruit of pepper plant' is chewed with *winu* 'betelnut (*Areca* nut)' and *kapu* 'lime, chalk'.
110. Recall that only objects that are specified by the context or by a definite coreferent NP may be crossreferenced on the verb (see section 3.3).
111. *Motur* may mean 'car', 'jeep', 'truck' or 'motorcycle'.
112. Without the PP *la rudung* the sentence would mean 'the singing of the people is not nice' (e.g. because they have bad voices), i.e. the PP is part of the embedded clause.
113. *Toma* 'reach (X)', *hàmu* 'be good', *toma hàmu* 'be very good (idiomatic)'.
114. *Hau* 'one.CLF' and *dàmbu* 'two.CLF' are lexical items in which the numeral is merged with the classifier, cf. section 4.6.2 below.
115. That is, he has two teeth in his upper jaw and two in his lower jaw: he has only four teeth; is still a baby.
116. Thanks to Janet Dyk (p.c.), who suggested this term from traditional Hebrew grammar. In Hebrew, the function of 'circumstantial clauses' is to set the stage for the clauses that form the main narrative. In Hebrew, as in many other languages, circumstantial clauses are nominalisations. Similar constructions in English are the first conjuncts of (i) and (ii):
    (i) *Going inside*, he noticed that...
    (ii) [*John('s) treating Bill naked*] started a riot
117. The semantic link between interrogative clauses and the irrealis nominal clauses may be that in both of them the proposition expressed by the clause is unasserted (cf. Bybee 1985).
118. I do not have an explanation for this variation. It may be related to the fact that the element questioned by *nggàra* is an argument, while *pirang* and *nggi* question adjuncts.

119. The nominative and genitive clitics are invariant for second person singular, but recall from section 3.3 that there are other formal differences between the genitive and nominative paradigm.
120. That is, they can be analysed as verbs that have a secondary adverbial function, or as adverbs that are derived from verbs (with a zero morpheme). I will come back to this in section 4.4 below.
121. The deictic verb *nàhu.ng* always has a dative subject (section 5.2).
122. See section 6.4 for similar reduplicative constructions.
123. The morpheme *.ng* as it is used here is aspectual (continuous, imperfective, distributive, non-delimited). See section 6.2.6.1 for discussion.
124. That is, pull out from the soil.
125. *Nggiki wà-nda* lit.: 'How (is) our saying' is idiomatic for 'what can we do about it'. The various functions of the verb *wà* 'say' are discussed in 6.4, 6.5.1, 6.6.2, 6.10 and 7.2.
126. Observe that in this sentence all three verbs have their own article and thus form three different NPs, yet the object clitic *-ya* that crossreferences them is singular.
127. Not only verbs, but also controlled clauses (marked with the control clitic *pa-*, cf. section 8.2) may optionally be governed by the preposition *la*, expressing the purpose of the matrix clause, as illustrated in (i):

    (i) *...hi* *ku-* *njadi* ***la*** [*pa-* *piti* *-ya*]
    CNJ 1SN- can LOC CTR- take -3SA
    '...so I'll be able to take her' (i.e. as my wife)

    (Controlled clauses may also be governed by the prepositional verb *wàngu*, expressing the circumstance of the matrix clause (section 7.1.3)).
128. The word *mbatang* 'bridge (over river)' is a loan from Indonesian *jembatan*. The Kambera word for something narrow used to cross or connect things is *lindi*, e.g. *lindi watu* 'bridge of stone' or *lindi kajia* 'bridge of back: spine'.
129. *Hàmu* 'be good' in ?c) and *katiu* 'have pain' in (59b) are considered (stative) verbs because they have all the properties that distinguish verbs from nouns as they have been discussed in section 4.1.2 above. For example, they are quantified and modified as verbs, they can have a nominative subject or appear in the continuative construction, etc. See also section 4.3 below.
130. Constructions where a verb is modified by a PP are discussed in section 6.2.6. For more discussion of the preposition *dàngu* 'with' see section 7.2.2.
131. The final nasal of *weli(ng)* is represented in brackets because its status is still unclear. *Weli(ng)* 'move from' is considered a verb rather than a preposition because it can have a subject clitic, e.g. *-mu* in (i), or an object clitic, e.g. *-nja* in (ii). In addition, it expresses a motion/action. Prepositions cannot have pronominal clitics and do not express a motion or action (cf. section 4.5).

    (i) *Nggi* *weli* *-mu?*
    where move (away) from -2SG
    'Where do you come from?/Where are you coming from?'

    (ii) *Weli* *-nja* *da* *karimbua*
    move from -3PD ART water buffalo
    'Round up the buffaloes' (lit.:'Move the buffaloes from (the field)')

132. Loans: *tustel* 'camera'< *toestel* 'camera' (Dutch); *senter* 'torch' < *senter* 'torch' (Indonesian).
133. In the complex verb *dedi meti* 'be born (and) die' the arguments of both verbs refer to different persons, i.e. it means that a baby was born while its mother died in labour. The verb means something like 'die when giving birth' (mother).
134. That is, an item is not multifunctional when there *is* a morpheme relating these two categories, as in Kambera *lunggi* 'hair' → *pa.lunggi* 'have hair'.
135. Loans are often multifunctional. The following loans from Indonesian occur in this section:

Kambera:		Indonesian:	
dadu	'dice, play dice'	*dadu*	'dice'
njala	'sin, do wrong'	*salah*	'(be) wrong, fail, etc.'
karenja	'church, go to church'	*gereja*	'church'
hurat	'letter, scribble (etc)'	*surat*	'letter'
pareta	'government, govern'	*perintah*	'govern, rule, command'
		pemerintah	'government'

136. I consider the basic semantic concepts to be the names of things, places, persons, etc. Predicate concepts are derived on the basis of these substantive concepts (Jackendoff 1990). That is, for a multifunctional item I assume the nominal function to be conceptually basic and the verbal one to be derived. Although it may not have undergone an overt morphological derivation, it can still be conceptually derived.
137. *Tài walabau* 'green fly's excrement' resembles a birth mark.
138. I know of one derivation with *ka.-.k* (section 6.4) that is multifunctional:
    (i) a. *reu* sound of talking
    b. *ka.reu.k* Noun: 'message' (spoken, not written) Verb: 'talk'
139. *Ka.ninu* 'mirror' is an exception: it still has a root form *ninu* 'reflection', as in (i). The same concept is expressed using a reflexive pronoun, as in (ii), but (i) is better accepted by the informants.

(i)	*Ku-ngita-ya*	*na*	*ninu*	*-nggu*	*la*	*ka.ninu*
	1SN-see-3SA	ART	mirror image	-1SG	LOC	mirror

    'I see myself in the mirror' (lit.: 'I see my mirror image in the mirror')

(ii)	*Ku-ngita-ya*	*na*	*wiki-nggu*	*la*	*kaninu*
	1SN-see-3SA	ART	self-1SG	LOC	mirror

    'I see myself in the mirror'
140. Items derived with *la.* seem to have a more or less equal portion of nouns and verbs in Onvlee 1984.
141. The clitic cluster *-pa-du-a* [pa'duwa] has become an independent prosodic word meaning something like 'keep on.., continue to.., be in the middle of..' (cf. section 3.1.4).
142. That is, the multifunctional lexical items are not considered in this diagram.
143. Including non-verbal predicates.
144. This leads to the postulation of 'adjectives' like *mandendjala* 'innocent' (Wielenga 1909:17), which I would analyse as a headless relative clause and represent as in (i):

(i) *Ma- nda njala*
RM- NEG do wrong
'Who does not do wrong'

145. The object of verbs ending in a nasal is marked with a dative clitic (section 6.2.4.2). Verbs like *pingu* here, *ngangu* in (95) and *ningu* in (106) and (110) end in a nasal (section 5.1.2 and 6.2.4.2). The [u] is added for phonotactic reasons: *ngang*, *ping* and *ning* would not be proper Kambera roots because they do not conform to the minimal word constraint (section 2.2.1).

146. Although the use of comparative words like *rihi* and *hama* is clearly adverbial here, these items may also be used as verbs. (i) and (ii) show that they are used predicatively and have a nominative subject. Therefore I consider their basic category to be verbal.
(i) *Na- rihi -pa*
3SN- be more -IMPF
'He is superior/greater' (lit.: 'He is (still) more')
(ii) *Na- hama -bia -ka*
3SN- be same -MOD -PRF
'It makes no difference/doesn't matter' (lit.: 'It is just the same')

147. Note that in this respect Kambera is much less restricted than English. In English, an underived verb is not allowed to form a compound with a noun that is its AGENT (ia). If it is its PATIENT, the compound has to be morphologically derived, as illustrated in (ib). Only with INSTRUMENTS, LOCATIONS etc., a verb may quite freely form a compound (ic,d).
(i) a. * *sing woman*: * AGENT
b. * *drive truck* (→ truck driver): * PATIENT
c. *sort function*: INSTRUMENT * AGENT (* function that sorts)
d. *talk show, hair spray*: LOCATION,* AGENT (* show that talks, * hair that sprays)

148. Adverbial meanings are not only expressed by adverbs, but also by the aspectual and modal clitics, by the ideophonic roots discussed in section 6.4 and by compound verbs discussed in chapter 7.

149. In (102) the clitics are adjacent to the adverb on the surface, but their structural domain of attachment is the verbal phrase, which in this case contains a verb and a modifying adverb. See the discussion of the domain of clitic attachment in section 3.1.4.

150. *Pas* 'exactly' is a loan from Indonesian.

151. See the sections 6.4, 6.5.1, 6.6.2, 6.10 and 7.2.1 for other uses and meanings of *wà(ngu)*.

152. The subject of this clause is marked with an accusative clitic. For an account of such subject marking see section 5.5.

153. Prepositional notions are also expressed with applicative verbs (cf. section 6.2) and with complex verbs as discussed in chapter 7.

154. Usually people sleep *on* the *topu* but when it is cold, an additional *topu* may be used as a blanket.

155. *Papa* 'yonder, at the other side of the sea/river'.

156. The following expressions are not governed by a locative preposition but they are semantically related to the temporal expressions:

(i)	*mata*	*lodu*	
	face/eye	day	'sun'
(ii)	*tama*	*lodu*	
	enter	day	'sunset'
(iii)	*hunga*	*lodu*	
	come out	day	'sunrise'
(iv)	*meti*	*lodu*	
	die	day	'eclipse'

157. *Mbaru* also means 'new'.
158. *Ningu* 'be (here)' can also be used in possessive constructions, section 5.2.
159. The English translation can only render such constructions definite, but in Kambera the definiteness contrast is marked by the presence/absence of the article.
160. *Kira-kira* 'more or less' and *njam* 'hour' are loans from Indonesian.
161. For detailed information about culturally determined temporal expressions in Kambera see Onvlee 1984.
162. Detailed information on numerals and numeral ability in the dialect of Rindi, Eastern Sumba, can be found in Forth 1985. Rindi is almost identical to Kambera.
163. Originally pronounced as *tilu* which means (1) 'egg' and (2) 'testicle'. Because the taboo character of the latter word, the numeral became pronounced with a diphthong (*i*→*ai*) (Onvlee 1984:494).
164. *Walu / ka.walu* 'gather'. Perhaps because in the eight month (August) many traditional gatherings take place (funerals, weddings)?
165. Forth 1985:7 assumes that the prefix *ha* is a 'contraction' of *diha* 'count'. I do not agree with this reconstruction: given that Kambera recently underwent a consonsant shift (*s* → *h*, chapter 2) it is much more likely that the prefix *ha.* derives from PAN *isa 'one' (cf. Indonesian *se-*).
166. We know it concerns 'people' because only human arguments of numeral predicates may be marked accusatively (see also section 5.5). In constructions such as these, non-human arguments must be expressed with a genitive clitic:

(i)	*Dua*	*kambulu*	*pitu*	*-a*	*-da*	/	**-ha*
	two	ten	seven	-only	-3pg	/	*-3pA

'(There are) only twenty seven of them (e.g. books)'

167. This suggests that in a DP structure (Abney 1987), where D is the functional projection of NP, the functional projections for possession and definiteness have to be distinguished.
168. The exeptional stress pattern of [kana'du:] (instead of the regular * [ka'nadu]) reflects the history of this item. *Du* is a stress-bearing clitic (cf. section 2.3).
169. This chapter contains most of Klamer 1998a.
170. This is arguably the case in all languages, see for instance Den Dikken (1995) and references cited there.
171. Or a bare NP if the object is indefinite.

172. Morphologically derived transitive verbs (causative, applicative) are discussed in sections 6.1 and 6.2, oblique objects are discussed in section 7.2.
173. Compound verb constructions are the topic of chapter 7.
174. An explanation for this may be that *ni* and *na* are deictic elements in the Proto Austronesian system, *nu* and *nai* are not. The latter forms may have become part of the system after the morphological derivation of deictic verbs stopped to be productive.
175. The [u] added here is the paragogic vowel that is attached postlexically to *ni.ng* and *na.ng* to make these forms phonotactically 'proper' bimoraic words (section 2.2.1). The dative clitic that attaches to these verbs is in complementary distribution with the final nasal, hence the loss of the final syllable of *na.ngu* in (9) below.
176. Context: a king throws a party for someone who saved his son and gives him a present.
177. Compare:
    (i) *Ningu woka -mu?*
    be garden -2SG
    'Do you have a garden?' (lit.: 'Is your garden?').
178. PPs are not obligatorily incorporated. Alternatives to (17) are (i) and (ii):
    (i) *Na ma- [[ningu hinggi kombu .ng] [la dita la wá]$_{PP}$.ng]*
    ART RM- be traditional cloth .ng LOC up LOC down.ng
    'The one who has a 'hinggi kombu' on the upper and lower (part of his body)'
    (ii) *Na ma- [ningu hinggi kombu .ng] [la dita la wá-na]$_{PP}$*
    ART RM- be traditional cloth .ng LOC up LOC down-3SG
    'The one that has a 'hinggi kombu' on <u>his</u> upper and lower (part of body)'
179. This section has appeared as Klamer 1998b.
180. *Mutung* (intransitive) means 'burn with fire'; it does not have the derived meaning of a physical sensation which the English translation has, neither is it transitive. Transitive 'burn' is translated as *tunu* 'roast/grill/burn something'in Kambera.
181. The PATIENT object is marked by a dative (rather than an accusative) clitic here because it is the second postverbal pronominal clitic, which must always be dative (section 3.3.2, 3.3.4).
182. The verb (27b) is applicative *kanabu.ng* 'fall on X' (base: intransitive *kanabu* 'fall'). The nasal applicative morpheme disappeared because it is in complementary distribution with the object-marking dative clitic (section 6.2). In the intransitive continuative aspect construction in (27c) the verb appears in its citation form.
183. That is, the nasal consonant is not an applicative morpheme here (cf. (28a) where it is).
184. An obvious motivation for the reanalysis is the need for economy (here: economy of cognitive processing) which prefers a simple, monoclausal structure to a more complex one (see e.g. Hall 1992 and references cited there).

185. Ambiguities as in (36) do not often occur. They only occur when the verb is transitive but has an implied/covert object (36c). In case the object is overt, ambiguity only arises if it is marked by a third person singular clitic and is not doubled by an NP (36a).
186. Nominal constructions that developed into constructions with particular aspectual functions (like 'continuative' or 'progressive') have been attested cross-linguistically (cf. Heine & Reh 1984, Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991, Heine 1994).
187. Such 'decliticizations' of forms that were originally (phonologically) bound, while not frequent phenomena, are reasonably well-known (Campbell 1991: 295 and references cited there). They show that it is not necessarily the case that a structural simplification results in the formal reduction of that structure.
188. Section 5.4 and 5.5 appeared as Klamer 1998a.
189. The clitic *-ya* here refers to the S *I Miri Yehu* 'the Lord Jesus' and not to the PP *la pinu tana* 'to earth', nor to *tana* 'earth': when we pluralise the subject, both the nominative *and* the accusative clitic become plural. Prepositional phrases (PPs) or NPs within these PPs are not crossreferenced on the verb.
190. The accusative clitic in this construction cannot be analysed as a kind of 'fake' reflexive pronominal. The reflexive nominal normally used in reflexive constructions is *wiki* 'self/own' (section 4.6.1). Intransitive verbs may occur in constructions with *wiki*, as in (i), but *wiki* cannot be crossreferenced on an intransitive verb, as shown in (ii):

    (i) *Mbàda ndingir wiki-na*
    already be standing self-3SG
    'He's independent already'

    (ii) * *Ta- hei -ta/-ha*$_j$ [*da* ***wiki*** *-nda*]$_j$ *la pinu pa.lindi*
    1PN- climb -1PA/-3PA ART self -1PG LOC top mountain
    Intended reading: 'We will climb on the hill/get ourselves on the hill'

    Thus, an accusative in a double-S construction does not have the same referent as an accusative in a transitive clause, which rules out the possibility that the accusative clitic in a sentence with double-S marking marks a 'fake' reflexive.
191. Kambera ritual speech is unlike Kambera everyday language. Because it contains many opaque metaphors and parallelisms, non-specialised Kambera speakers often say that they cannot understand it. See Fox 1988.
192. This terminology follows common descriptive practice where 'absolutive' stands for the identical marking of S and O, in contrast to the 'ergative' marking of A. It would be confusing to refer to this construction as 'unaccusative' (Levin and Rappaport 1992) because there *is* an accusative clitic involved; or as 'ergative' (Keyser & Roeper 1984, among others) because this construction does not involve the marking of A as opposed to S/O.
193. The negation of nominal predicates is discussed in section 4.2.2.
194. The deictic element *nú* refers to the space/time that is remote from the speaker. Here it has a discourse function, referring to something that has been said previously. Its argument is marked accusatively.

195. We know it concerns people because only human arguments of numeral predicates may be marked accusatively. In constructions such as these, non-human arguments are expressed with a genitive clitic:
(i) *Dua kambulu pitu -a -da / *-ha*
two ten seven -only -3pg / *-3pA
'(There are) only twenty seven of them (e.g. books)'
196. Across languages there seems to be a natural linkage between S and A in imperatives (Dixon 1994:132), but "[..] in addition to this universal S/A linkage, imperatives in particular languages may also in some way treat S and O alike. There are languages that have one verbal affix cross-referencing S or O and another cross-referencing A" — i.e. the Kambera accusative versus Kambera nominative/genitive. "For some languages of this type [..] A can be left unspecified in an imperative, but not S." In Kambera imperatives, S/O are treated alike, and though the accusative S/O marker in imperatives can in principle be omitted, it is commonly present, in contrast to the A marker which is omitted.
197. The least polite imperative form of an intransitive verb is the one that has no addressee marked, e.g. *mài yohu!* 'come here!'. The conjunction *ka* in (60b) is optional.
198. This has been checked in various contexts. On the basis of (63) we expect a sentence like (i), with a non-third person S (i.e. an explicitly personal referent) to be grammatical as well. (This sentence has not been checked with native speakers.)
(i) *Tembang, nda tembang -a -ka -pa [nyungga]*
be stupid NEG be stupid -MOD -1SA -IMPF I
'(As for) being stupid, I am no longer stupid'
199. Personal interpretation:
(i) *Jàka nda nyumu, meti* ***-nanya***$_j$ *-ka làti [i Windi]*$_j$
CNJ NEG you die -3s.CONT -PRF in fact ART Windi
'Without you, Windi would have died'
200. Context: a person who had come in time for a meeting but had to wait a long time for the others to arrive exclaimed that he'd been wasting his time sitting there waiting.
201. The language has few weather verbs, perhaps because the weather on Sumba does not show much variation. *Urang* 'rain' is a noun that can be used predicatively.
202. (71) does not contain an illustration of a clause with doubly marked subjects of weather verbs because my database does not contain such a clause and I have not had the opportunity to check with informants whether such a construction would be grammatical.
203. The presence of the perfective clitic *-ka* makes that the proces has reached an endpoint (i.e. that it is an achievement predicate). Without *-ka* the meaning of the sentence would be 'his worries are disappearing'.
204. A nominative S is preferred with stative verbs without a degree adverb:
(i) a.* *Miting -ya na njara*
be black -3SA ART horse

b. *Na-* *miting* *na* *njara*
3SN- be black ART horse
'The horse is black'

(ii) a. * *Nda* *na-* *hàmu* *na* *wài* *ìhu* *ba* *mbana* *-ya*
NEG 3SN- be good ART water bathe CNJ hot -3SA

b. *Nda* *na-* *hàmu* *na* *wài* *ìhu* *ba* ***na-*** *mbana*
NEG 3SN- be good ART water bathe CNJ 3SN- hot
'The bathing water is not nice because it's hot'

I tested more than 30 stative verbs in constructions parallel to the (a) sentences. They were all considered ungrammatical.

205. The modal clitic *-a* is optional. It makes the sentence sound 'nicer'.
206. The singular object clitic refers to the second clause, *not* to the S of the second clause, which is plural here.
207. The parameter is not 'volitionality' in Kambera, because not only volitional S's are variably marked like O.
208. Apart from simple underived intransitives and the deictic verbs (section 5.2), Kambera has eight other formally distinct types of intransitive verbs: (i) verbs derived with 'intensive' *pa.* (6.1), (ii) ideophonic verbs with their special morphological and syntactic properties (6.4), (iii) state or event intransitive verbs derived with *ha.* (6.5), (iv) intransitives derived with *ka.* (6.6) (v) intransitives derived with *la.* (6.7), (vi) intransitives derived with *ma.* (6.8), (vii) non-controlled achievement verbs derived with the [*nas*]. prefix (6.9), and (viii) unintentional/unexpectedagentless achievement verbs derived with *ta.* (6.10). The latter verbs are a unique class of intransitives in Kambera because they are inherently agentless. They are discussed below.
209. Other exceptional features of these verbs are that their S need not be crossreferenced, as in (i), and that the S cannot be marked genitively or with a continuative construction (see also section 6.10).

(i) *Na* *ài* *nuna* *ta.mbuta* *-ka* *dàngu* *amung*
ART tree that.one drop.out -PRF with root
'That tree is uprooted'

210. A relative structure is involved when a passive-like notion ('be opened (by someone)') is expressed. In (ia) the relativization has an explicit agent (*-na*); in (ib) the relativization functions as a nominal predicate with the subject *-ya* (analogous to structures like (51)-(54) above)(see section 8.1):

(i) a. *Pindu* *pa-* *bunggah* *-na*
door RM- open -3SG
'A door (that is) opened by him'

b. $[Pa\text{-}bunggah]_{\text{Nominal predicate}}$ $-ya_j$ $[na\ pindu]_j$
RM-open -3SA ART door
'The door it (is the one that is) opened'

211. This proposal relates to similar proposals for reduction of the lexically represented information on intransitives and their arguments that have been made e.g. within Lexical Decomposition Grammar (e.g. Joppen & Wunderlich 1995)

and Role and Reference Grammar (Foley & Van Valin 1984, Van Valin 1993, Kishimoto 1996).

212. I use the term 'morpheme' here because the suffix (versus clitic) status of the morpheme *.ng* is questionable (cf. section 2.3). When I refer to this morpheme as 'suffix' this should be read as clitic/suffix.
213. The contrast between prefix *pa.* and 'control' clitic *pa-* is also discussed in section 7.1.1.
214. Cf. the 'Separation Hypothesis', Beard 1987, Aronoff 1994.
215. The final nasal in *màndung* 'be robust/solid' in (11) and *hadang* 'get up' and *hawurung* 'fly' in (9) is a final lexical consonant (like the [t] in *dànggit* 'be short'). Because these verbs are intransitive, the nasal cannot be analysed as the applicative morpheme (section 6.2), despite the formal similarities.
216. *Màu* 'be destroyed' is idiomatic for 'have bad luck'.
217. This is an example of how a headless relative clause with no subject can be used as a noun: *harui* 'be (in) trouble' → *ma-harui* '(that) which is trouble', i.e. 'the trouble' (cf. section 8.1).
218. The final nasal consonant in *torung* is part of the root form, it is not an applicative morpheme. The final nasal in *pa.mài.ng* and *pa.rengga.ng* is a suffix *.ng*. The status of this suffix is unclear, it may be atelic or continuous, but in any case it is not an applicative suffix because the derived forms are still intransitive (see section 6.2).
219. The object clitic is dative in (13b) because the verb *torung* 'endure' underlyingly ends in nasal, as can be seen in (13a). See also section 6.2.4 and 6.2.5 on the use of the dative clitic.
220. There may be semantic differences in addition to this one, but it is hard to get explicit data on subtle semantics like this.
221. The cluster of modal and emphatic clitics *-ma-ki-a* forms a separate prosodic word [ma'kija]. The function of *-ma* is emphatic, *-ki* could be glossed as 'a little' and *-a* as 'just'. However, such a literal translation does not make sense in sentences like the the ones in (14). The 'meanings' conveyed by *-ma-ki-a* depend on the context — for instance, in these sentences it could mean that they came 'at leasure' and/or 'with general consent'.
222. Recall from section 4.2.3 that Kambera also has 'multifunctional' items that can be used both as nouns and as verbs without undergoing an overt morphological derivation, e.g. *hindi* 'N: attic, ceiling, V: put X at ceiling (=smoke X)'.
223. *Pa.dua*, although it may mean 'divide X' is most often used as a prepositional noun, meaning 'middle', as illustrated in (i):

(i) a. *La pa.dua anda*
LOC middle road
'In the middle of the road'/'en route'

b. *La pa.dua ngangu*
LOC middle eat
'In the middle of eating'

224. I consider the reciprocal meaning in (25d) a function of the volitional/intensive reading of a derivation with *pa.* (see below). Also possible is (i):

(i) *Da- kawàra **pa.tàru***
3pN both pa.watch
'They watch each other'

225. Let me briefly explain the use of the adverb *kawàra* 'both' in constructions like (30a). *Kawàra* is an adverb which expresses that more than one person is involved in the activity, event or state denoted by the predicate. It is not a nominal quantifier and it has a wider meaning than the gloss suggests: apart from 'both', it may also mean '(V-ing) together', '(doing V) combined', or '(doing V) at the same time'. *Kawàra* is not a 'reciprocal' adverb. Although it does express notions that are semantically similar, it does not make a clause reciprocal, nor does it appear in reciprocal constructions only. This is seen in (31). (31b,c,d) all contain the adverb *kawàra*, but none of them has a reciprocal interpretation. Furthermore, the adverb *kawàra* can occur with both underived and derived verbs, which suggests that its function is not reciprocal only. The sentences (ia,b) and (iia,b) illustrate this.

(i) a. *Da- kawàra unung*
3pN- both drink
'They drink together'

b. *Kawàra mangu -ma -nja*
both possess-1pG -3sD
'Both of us own them'

(ii) a. *Da- kawàra* ***pa.ita*** *la parangga*
3pN- both **pa**.see LOC market
'They saw each other on the market' (i.e. they did not meet or talk)

b. *Da- kawàra* ***pa.yaulu***
3pN- both pa.chase
'They chase each other'

226. *Ngàndi* 'take X', *ngàndi.ng* 'take/bring (X) to Y', *pa.ngàndi.ng* 'cause (someone) to bring (something) to Y', i.e. 'send (something) to Y'. See section 6.2 below on the derivation of applicatives and section 6.3 on the interaction of applicative *.ng* and causative *pa.*

227. Note that in (31d) the underlying form of the verb is *pa.tanda.ng*, with an applicative nasal morpheme like the verb in sentence (31c). The existence of this (underlying) nasal can be established by contrasting (31a,d). In (31d) the clitic is dative, i.e. the initial consonant is a nasal, whereas in sentence (31a) the clitic is accusative, i.e. non-nasal. See also section 6.2.

228. Grimes assumes that Buru has two homophonous prefixes *ep-*, one causative and one reciprocal. His argument is diachronic: "whereas the causative prefix $ep\text{-}_1$ derives from Proto Austronesian *pa- 'causative', the reciprocal $ep\text{-}_2$ derives from Proto Malayo Polynesian *paRi- 'reciprocal prefix'" (1991:115, footnote 26).

229. Some Kambera words look like derivations with *pa.* but are phonotactically adapted loan words, e.g. *printah* 'give orders' (Indonesian) → *parinta* 'govern X (V), government (N)'.

230. The root *lài* in *pa.lài* 'run' could also be a cognate of Bahasa Indonesia *lari* 'run', as observed by Onvlee (1925).

231. Recall the discussion on 'head marking' in chapter 3.

232. The verb *mbuting* 'expect X' is not a (productively) derived applicative verb. That is, it does not have an (additional) applicative object in addition to its (basic) direct object. Although its object is marked with the dative clitic *-nya* in (42), it is a *direct* object, and not an applicative object. An underived transitive verb with

a lexical final nasal consonant must mark its object with the (nasalised) dative clitic.

233. Serial verb constructions in Kambera contrast with bi-clausal structures (i.e. matrix clause plus subordinate clause) in phonological and syntactic properties, see section 7.1.1.

234. *Njàpu* 'run out' is a intransitive dynamic event verb, in contrast to the semantically similar verb *hàla* which may have a stative ('be finished') *or* a dynamic ('finish X') interpretation, depending on whether it has an object or not.

235. *Njàrang* 'get lost' may also be used transitively, meaning 'lose X', as illustrated in (ia,b):

(i) a.	*Na-*	*njàra*	*-nya*	*na*	*ànda*	b.	*Na-*	*njàra*	*-ngga*
	3sN-	lose	-3sD	ART	road		3sN-	lose	-1sD
	'He lost the way'						'He lost me'		

236. *Pa.rengga.ng* has a volitional/intensive interpretation in (47b) because it has no object. With an applicative object (cf. the suffix *.ng* in the citation form and the dative object *-nya* in (i)), it acquires a causative interpretation:

(i)	*Ku-*	***pa.rengga***	*-nya*$_j$	[*na*	*njara*]$_j$
	1sN-	hurry	-3sD	ART	horse
	'I hurried the horse'				

237. *Wàngu* is discussed in section 7.2.1.

238. Similar examples are (i) and (ii):

(i)	*Rama*	***pa.mandalora***	*-ya*					
	work	pa.midnight	-3sA					
	'Work until midnight' (Lit.: 'Work (and) cause it to be midnight')							
(ii) a.	*Rama*	*rudung*		b.	*Rama*	***pa.rudung***		
	work	(be) night			work	pa.(be) night		
	'Work at night'				'Work until the night'			

239. *Kokur* 'coconut' is a multifunctional item which may also have the verbal interpretation 'apply coconut oil'.

240. The *mbomang*, the space under a house on stilts, is for the domestic animals to sleep in.

241. The causative of *ita* 'see' is *pa.ita* 'cause to see (i.e. heal from blindness)'. In sentence (45b) the verb is the causative applicative verb *pa.ita.ng* 'cause to see (X) to Y', 'show to Y'. Evidence for the applicative status of this verb (i.e. that it *is* derived with the applicative final nasal morpheme, although that nasal is not visible here) is (1) the dative case of *-nggama* (final nasal on verb selects the nasalized object clitic, i.e. the dative) (2) the meaning of the verb in this sentence, which is not * 'heal X from blindness'. See section 6.2.

242. This is one of the major structural distinctions between the prefix *pa.* and the homophonous morphemes that mark subordinate clauses ('control' *pa-* and 'relative' *pa-*).

243. This could be empirical support for Dowty's (1991) proposal that thematic roles are not discrete roles for AGENT, PATIENT, BENEFICIARY, etc., but rather are cluster concepts called PROTO-AGENT (proto-A) and PROTO-PATIENT (proto- O) which are characterised by the semantic properties of the verb. For example, a

proto-A role is characterised by a set of verbal entailments, such as 'volition', 'sentience/perception', 'causation', and 'movement'. In Kambera, affixing *pa.* makes the proto A-concepts more salient and the proto-P entailments change as a result, causing a possible valency change.

244. *Ngàndi* 'take X' > *ngàndi.ng* 'take (X) to Y' > *pa.ngàndi.ng* 'cause (Z) to take (X) to Y, i.e. send (X) to Y'.
245. I use the term 'applicative/applied object' and 'indirect object' as terminological equivalents. Underived verbs in Kambera have maximally two arguments (i.e. AGENT, PATIENT). Through applicative derivation a transitive base verb receives an additional object.
246. In section 8.1 the relativisation of various types of arguments is discussed. Klamer (1994a) addresses the hierarchical organisation of the direct object and the applicative object NPs. Facts from relativisation, Wh-movement, and object NPs as domains for extraction and c-command relations show that the Kambera object NPs are structurally symmetrical.
247. Note that when a root ends in a consonant, a default paragogic vowel is added (cf. section 2.2.1). Because it is a non-lexical vowel, it is not typographically represented in the root form. In morphologically derived forms, paragogic [u] appears between the final consonant and the nasal suffix *.ng* (i.e. *butuhU.ng* rather than *butuhng*). The default vowel is present in the notation of such morphologically derived forms to avoid the impression that Kambera allows consonant clusters like [*hng*].
248. In fact, the GOAL/BENEFICIARY/LOCATION argument is identified in the locative PP in (58a).
249. Van den Berg (1989, section 4.8, 7.9) makes similar observations for Muna (Western Malayo-Polynesian). Muna allows direct and indirect object-marking suffixes to co-occur in the order IO-DO, where the IO suffix may have a patientive referent.
250. The brackets in the examples in this subsection indicate NPs and PPs. Only the PPs will be labelled as such. The verb in applicative constructions is glossed with an applicative meaning when appropriate.
251. *Kareuku-na* 'his talking' can be considered a nominal clause (section 4.2.1) in which case the sentence could be translated as 'She hears him (while) he talks'.
252. The object NP may also appear postverbally but is then indefinite: *Na-tu-nya tinta na pena i Ama* 'Father put ink in the pen'.
253. If the sentence contains two object NPs (which is not often the case because NPs are optional), the unmarked position of both object NPs is postverbal. If the subject is a proclitic and the indirect object clitic is the only object marked on the verb, the unmarked order of both object NPs is NP_{DO}—NP_{IO}. (The same applies when the subject clitic is a genitive enclitic).
254. Kambera phonotactics does not allow a consonant cluster; *tinta* is a loan from (German>) Indonesian *tinta* 'ink'.
255. *Wua tau* 'give a person' is idiomatic for 'give one's daugther to someone in marriage', the noun *tau* referring to the person given (daughter) and not to the recipient. *Tau* is not incorporated into the verb because the position of the clitic

is between the verb and *tau* cluster may always intervene (see also section 3.5.2, 7.3):

(i) *Wua-nggu-nya tau*
give-1SG-3SD person
'I give him a wife'

256. *Mbinu* 'be full/filled' is derived from *pinu* 'fill up X'. Prenasalisation/mutation is (or rather, has been) a morphological process that derives non-controlled intransitive achievement verbs (section 6.9).
257. *Mbinu* 'be full (intr)', *mbinu.ng* 'fill Y'.
258. This expression is used in connection to the death of women. When a woman dies, there is no one left to attend to her 'kitchen', i.e. her fireplace and pots will fall into disrepair.
259. *Weling* is a prepositional verb, used as a directional preposition here.
260. Mythological place where food comes from.
261. The dative and genitive clitic for 1st person plural (incl) are homophonous (both *-nda*). Therefore *na muhu -nda* in (79) could also be analysed as a possessed NP as in (i) below, with a genitive clitic *-nda*. However, an emphatic clitic like *-ma* cannot occur inside a possessed NP, as illustrated in (ii). Because in (79) such a clitic is used, (79) cannot be interpreted as a clause with a nominal predicate: 'our enemy is illness'.

(i) *Na muhu -nda*
ART enemy -1pG
'Our enemy'

(ii) * [*Na muhu -ma -nda*]$_{NP}$
ART enemy -EMP -1pG
Intended reading: 'Our ENEMY'
Good for: 'Is inimical to us', if *na* is interpreted as a 3SN clitic.

262. This is an instrumental construction in poetical language. In everyday language the instrumental constructions with *wàngu* (cf. section 7.1.3.1) are used.
263. *Jià hàmu-ya*, literally 'it is good', is an exclamation of surprise.
264. *Ha.kudu.ng* may also have a possessive interpretation 'have a small amount', as in (i). Causative *pa.hakudu* 'make X less' and causative/applicative *pa.hakudu.ng* 'make (X) less for Y' are illustrated in (ii) and (iii):

(i) *Nuna na ma- hakudu.ng*
DEI.3S ART RM- have a small amount
'That one (the one who) has a little bit'

(ii) ***Pa**.ha.kudu -ya na uhu -na*
pa.little bit -3SA ART rice -3SG
'Give him less rice' (lit.: 'Make his rice a little bit')

(iii) ***Pa**.ha.kudu -nya*$_k$ [*rí -na*]$_j$ [*na uhu -nda nyuta*]$_k$
pa.little bit -3SD vegetable -3SG ART rice(GENERIC) -1pG we
'Give us a little less vegetables to eat'
(lit.: Make the vegetables less in/for our food')

265. Note the homophony between these pronominal elements and the singular article *na*, which is suggestive of a historical connection.

266. 'Almost' because the phonological derivation of 3rd person plural [ha] → [ndʒa] is less easy to derive. See below.
267. The prenasalisation of plain stops is a derivational process, see section 6.9.
268. The point here is that in a purely phonological assimilation process, phonological features must be adjacent at least at some phonological level. I do not want to suggest that the representation of phonological segments does not have structure, nor that phonological features are linearly adjacent at *all* levels of the (phonological) structure when there is fusion.
269. In this case the only object that needs specification through an additional NP is of course the direct object, because 1st and 2nd persons are always clear from the context.
270. See also section 5.3 for a discussion of the dative clitic marking the object of nominal clauses and the homophony between continuative aspect marking of the subject and a genitive-dative clitic cluster.
271. Apart from the applicative use of the nasal, which is very productive and straightforward, the Kambera data show a very confusing picture with respect to the use and the meaning of the nasal morpheme in general. The final nasal is used extremely often and the applicative use accounts only for part of the total number of these uses. For a non-native speaker the structural and/or functional properties of the non-applicative uses of *.ng* are not always clear. In some cases, speakers state that it is used optionally, while in other cases it is obligatory. In other, very similar constructions it cannot be used. Sometimes there seems to be a meaning attached to it which appears to be very hard to explain, sometimes it has no meaning at all. Therefore, this section only discusses some general patterns, leaving many questions with respect to the non-applicative uses of the nasal morpheme unanswered.
272. Definiteness is marked grammatically by the presence of an article.
273. Compare with (122b), where the verb *wua.ng* is applicative, i.e. has two objects, and the (direct) object is *not* in complementary distribution with the nasal.
274. The notion of iterativity ('again and again') is derived by the reduplication.
275. From the discussion below it will become clear that the Kambera incorporation that is discussed in this section is problematic in light of theoretical proposals about incorporation such as Baker 1988, 1996. The term 'incorporation' is used here pre-theoretically, without a commitment to specific theoretical proposals.
276. The incorporation of a body part noun *eti* 'liver' is discussed in section 7.3.
277. *Ratah* is either nominal or verbal: interrupt (V)' and 'interruption (N)'. Assuming that the verb *tú* 'put X' in this sentence selects a nominal object, I have translated *ratah* here as a nominal.
278. When *tú* 'put X' is non-cliticised, the vowel is long due to the minimal word constraint (chapter 2), with a clitic attached to it, the vowel is short.
279. Example (136) illustrates two distinct uses of *lua*, namely as the verb 'go' and as a deictic element 'somewhere'. Note also that in (136b) another verb for 'go' is used — *laku*. *Lua* is preferred when the direction or purpose of going is more important than the act of going itself, whereas the verb *laku* is preferred when the act of going is at least as important as the direction. In English the difference

would be like the contrast between *go* in 'go fishing/go to Amsterdam' (*lua*) and in 'has he gone already?' (*laku*). *Laku* can also have the meaning 'walk, travel' (see (126c) above), although those concepts are also expressed by specific lexical items, such as *pangga* 'walk, tread' and *kaliti* 'travel (with), ride (on), e.g. horse, boat'. The difference between *lua* and *laku* is illustrated in the sentences in (i) and (ii):

(i) a. *Nda u- **lua** la Umalulu?*
NEG 2SN- go LOC Melolo
'Aren't you going to Melolo?'

b. *Ku- ita -ya ba na- **laku** la Umalulu*
1SN- see -3SA CNJ 3SN- go LOC Melolo
'I saw him on his way to Melolo' (lit. '...when he went to Melolo')

(ii) a. *Mbàda **laku** -na -ka la Umalulu?*
already go -3SG -PRF LOC Melolo
'Has he gone to Melolo already?'

b. *Mbàda **lua** -na -ka la Umalulu?*
already go -3SG -PRF LOC Melolo
'Has he been to Melolo already?'

280. Context: this sentence comes from a (mythical) bird who claims that walking ('hopping') is less elegant than flying.

281. *Ngangu* has a CV root to which a nasal consonant, a default consonant in Kambera, is added, as a first step to conform to the minimal word constraint (section 2.2.1), followed by the epenthesis of the paragogic vowel [u] to create an open syllable (closed syllables are not allowed). The verb *ningu* 'be' in (141) is derived from the deictic element *ni* by suffixation of the verbalising morpheme *.ng*, see section 5.2. Like *ngangu, ningu* thus has a CV root to which a nasal morpheme is affixed, but here the nasal is a morpheme. The paragogic vowel [u] in *ningu* is added for the same reason: to create an open syllable. Despite the different status of the nasal in *ngangu* and *ningu*, in both verbs it is in complementary distribution with the dative clitic, as shown in (i). Observe that in (ia) the clitic marks an S (*ningu* is intransitive), while in (ib) it marks an O (*ngangu* is transitive):

(i) a. *Ni **-nya** -ka*
be -3SD -PRF
'He is (here) already'

b. *Ka ta- nga **-nya***
CNJ 1PN- eat -3SD
'Let's eat it'

282. PPs are optionally incorporated. Alternatives to (141d) are given in (i) and (ii):

(i) *Na ma- [[ningu hinggi kombu **.ng**] [la dita la wá]$_{PP}$.**ng**]*
ART RM- be traditional cloth **.ng** LOC up LOC down.**ng**
'The one who is covered in *hinggi kombu*'

(ii) *Na ma- [ningu hinggi kombu **.ng**] [la dita la wá-na]$_{PP}$*
ART RM- be traditional cloth.**ng** LOC up LOC down-3SG
'The one who is covered in *hinggi kombu*'

283. The applicative of *pa.ní* 'tell (X)' is *pa.ní.ng* 'tell X to Y'. This form is not used here: the verb has no (implied) indirect object. The applicative form of *meti* 'die'

is not * *meti.ng* but expressed with the phrase *meti* [*ruku(-na) nyuna*]$_{NP}$ 'die in (his) track', i.e. 'die for him'.

284. This example is probably a lexicalised expression.
285. A valency decrease may be a side effect of the derivation of verbs by prefixing [*nas*] or *ta.*, synchronically unproductive prefixes. See 6.9, 6.10.
286. Some of the verbs in (164) are also discussed in section 6.1 where it is shown that prefixing *pa.* to transitive bases often renders an 'intensive' meaning.
287. Inchoative aspect may be expressed by using the continuative aspect construction for the subject of a factitive verb, as illustrated in (i). In contrast, the verb itself is inchoative in (166d,e).

(i) *Pa.lunggi -danya -ka*
pa.hair -3pG.CONT -PRF
'They are becoming hairy'

288. Other types of nominal incorporation are discussed in 6.2.6.2 (incorporation of O, S and adjuncts) and in 7.3 (incorporation of body part noun).
289. A *wàngga* tree (Indonesian 'waringin'; Latin 'Ficus benjamina' (Onvlee 1984)) has long branches that almost reach the ground. Sheltering under this tree gives the impression of being surrounded.
290. The noun *ma-poki* in (167g) is itself a nominalisation of the verb *poki* 'be blind'— it is nominalised by the relative marker *ma-*.
291. There is a contrast between the stressed vowel in, for example, *mbuku* 'book' and *mbùku* 'snap/tap'. In the latter word, the [u] is pronounced shorter than the 'normal' short [u] of *mbuku*. Note that this is a phonemic contrast in addition to the normal short [u] vs. long [ú]. This contrast is limited to ideophones (i.e. sound/motion/sight words). See also section 2.1.2.
292. *Wà-na* 'he/she/it did/said' or *wa-da* 'they did/said'. In section 7.2.1 some general properties of this verb are discussed, as well as its use in complex instrumental verbs. Verbs with the prefix *ha.* (section 6.5.1) and with the prefix *ka.* (section 6.6.2) also occur in constructions where the verb *wà(ngu)* is used to express a 'vividness' and 'directness'. The use of *wà(ngu)* in direct speech is discussed in section 8.2.4.
293. *Nggiki-na wàmu* lit. 'How (is) it (that) you say' is idiomatic for: 'Wow! Gee! Amazing!'
294. In this context, it may be significant that all the derived forms in (176) and (181) were attested in spontaneous discourse, but, with 3 exceptions, all the root forms had to be elicited. The distinction between the forms in (176) (with an independently used root) and the fossilised derivations in (181) was found through direct elicitation.
295. Note that the verb *ha.leli* as it is used in (179b) is an achievement verb 'have moved/be moved' (from one location to another). As discussed in section 6.9, usually, achievement verbs are verbs derived with *ta.*. The verb *ta.leling* 'be tilted/be inclined to' does exist, but has an idiosyncratic meaning, as in (i):

(i) *Ta.leling kahilu -mu ...*
be inclined ear -2sG
'(Let) your ear be inclined...' (poetic language for 'listen')

296. The function of the nasal morpheme is unclear here, it may be aspectual.
297. Roosters are said to crow three times during the night, which is used as a time indication. *Hakuku ha.ndàkang* 'crow & do once' is used for the time around 10 p.m., when they crow for the first time. *Hakuku pa.mbeling* 'crow & turn around' indicates the time around midnight, when the roosters crow and turn around to face east instead of west — which they do in the first half of the night. *Hakuku pandailung* 'crow & do for third time' is used to indicate the hours before dawn, around 3-4 a.m.
298. The root of the quantifying verb *pa.ndailu.ng* is *tailu* 'three'.
299. The contrast between *wà-nya* in (186), (188) and *wà-na* in (185), (177a), (172c) is discussed in section 7.2.1.1.
300. *Ha.yapil* and *ha.yopul* are more or less archaic measure words, nowadays rice and sugar are measured in *kilu* 'kilogram' (also 'kilometer'):

(i) a. *hau* *kilu* *nggula*
one.CLF kilogram sugar
'One kilogram sugar'

b. *dàmbu* *kilu* *nggula*
two.CLF kilogram sugar
'Two kilograms sugar'

c. *tailu* *mbua* *kilo* *nggula*
three CLF kilogram sugar
'Three kilograms sugar'

301. Unlike the prefix *ka.*, the circumfix *ka.—.k* has a very specific type of base ('ideophones') only and is productive.
302. The noun *reti* 'stem (of rice, shrub, tree)' may also be a generic noun (section 4.6.1) or a classifier (section 4.6.2).
303. Only a few derivations with *ka.* have a transparent formal and/or functional connection with their base form. The ones that I know of are all discussed in this section.
304. The verb *na(ngu)* 'come towards adressee' is a derivation of the deictic element *ná* and has a dative S, cf. section 5.2.
305. The sequence *beli beli* 'go back again' can be analysed as a serial verb construction of two juxtaposed verbs (section 7.1), or as a sequence of the verb *beli* followed by the same verb which is now used adverbially (section 4.4).
306. This interpretation implies that the verb *ka.beli* 'turn around' can also be used transitively, 'turn X around'.
307. The latinate names of some of the plants are from Onvlee (1984).
308. A *ngohung* is a large wooden container in which rice is trashed.
309. *Mbaha* 'be wet' is glossed as '[nas].wash' rather than 'be wet' to indicate its morphemic structure. In other contexts derived intransitives are glossed with their English translation.
310. Recall that his data have been collected in the period 1930—1960.
311. Cf. Malay/Indonesian *ter-*, as in *tidur* 'sleep' → *ter-tidur* 'fall asleep'; Acehnese *teu-* (Durie 1985:72-78), Muna *ti-* (Van den Berg 1989:319-320), Tukang Besi

te- (Donohue 1995:268), Banoni *ta-* (Lincoln 1976:150). See Adelaar (1985:175-182) for a Proto-Malayic reconstruction of this prefix.

312. In my corpus, subjects of *ta.* verbs were: apart from non-active people, the following things: rope, pipe, door, stone, bench, table, chair, house, button, road, clothes; fruits & vegetation: lemon, banana, tree, grass; and bodyparts: stomach, foot, body, leg, feathers, hair.
313. It is better to use *ka.milih* here, but *ta.milih* is also possible.
314. I have no textual examples of this derivation.
315. *Bangku* is an Indonesian word; Kambera does not have a consonant cluster [ŋk].
316. A derivation with *ta.* that has completely been reinterpreted since Onvlee gathered his data is the following. Onvlee (1984) mentions the transitive verb *pulak* 'strip, uncover X' with the derivations *mbulak* and *ta.mbulak* 'be bare, open'. Nowadays the root is no longer used and the derivation *ta.mbulak* has become an extremely rude swear word for males.
317. This term is used in its traditional descriptive sense; below we will see that Kambera serial verbs may be analysed as verbal compounds. For an overview of the various interpretations of the term 'serial verb', see e.g. Sebba 1987, Crowley 1987, Veenstra 1996 and the references cited in these works.
318. I am aware of the fact that in some analyses multi-verb constructions such as serial verbs are derived from a structure with two separate predicates. My purpose here is to describe the syntactic (surface) properties of the serial verbs and contrast them with clausal sequences.
319. *Rihi* 'be more' marks superlative. It is considered a verb because it can be a matrix verb (with a nominative subject proclitic) that controls the subject of an embedded clause, as in (i) and (ii). See also section 4.3.

(i) *Na- rihi -pa pa- pingu na ana -na nyuna*
3SN- be more -IMPF CTR- know ART child -3SG he
'His child is smarter' (lit.: 'His child is still more to know'

(ii) *Na- rihi -pa pa- wulu*
3SN- be more -IMPF CTR- be rich
'He is richer' (lit.: 'He is still more to rich')

320. An idiosyncratic property of the clitic cluster states that the pronominal enclitics are to be preceded by the modal clitics. See sections 3.3, 3.5.
321. A restriction on the clitic cluster is that the second clitic must be dative (cf. 3.3, 3.5).
322. In *karia.ng mbembah* V2 is not incorporated into V1: ***karia mbembahu.ng***, see section 6.2.6.2.
323. *Ngàndi* can be translated both as 'take X ' and 'bring X'. The object of the underived transitive verb *ngàndi* is marked with the accusative clitic *-ya* '3SA', the object of the applicative verb *ngàndi.ng* is marked with dative *-nya*. See section 6.2.
324. In this respect it is important to note the structural difference between the homophonous elements *pa*: one is a prefix deriving causative verbs, the other is a clitic marking a subordinate clause (cf. the evidence discussed in section 6.1.4).

The morpheme *pa.* in *pa.maràu* in (22) below is not a control marker but a causative prefix.

325. The parallelistic constructions of *luluk* speech include not only serial verbs, but also parallelistic proverbs or sayings. For further data I refer to Kapita 1987, an extensive dictionary of Kambera *lawiti luluk* 'parallel sayings'.
326. The final syllables of the preposition *dàng(u)*, which forms a comitative complex verb (section 7.2.2) and the verb *ning(u)*, which forms a locative complex verb (section 7.2.3) also disappear when pronominals are attached. See the discussion of the dative clitic in section 6.2.
327. The Kambera quotative construction is also discussed in Klamer 1998c,d.
328. *Mandài-ndài* 'for a fairly long period'. The root/foot *ndài* is reduplicated (cf. section 2.6.2.2). The prefix *ma.* does not take part in the reduplication.
329. *Hayidi* 'play games' also forms a complex verb with *dàngu*, in which case a COMITATIVE object is added: *Hayidi dàngu* 'play games with Y', see section 7.2.2.
330. I have no account of why the objects of most of the verbs in (47) allow a variable interpretation while some do not.
331. Again, we see that the 'instrumental' object may have various semantic roles: in (48a) *lima* 'hand' it is an INSTRUMENT, while in (48b) *rí* 'vegetable' is a COMITATIVE object (*ngangu* (*uhu*) *wàngu tolung* 'eat (rice) and/with meat'). I use 'instrumental' object as a cover term.
332. The English translation suggests that *da ahu-my nyumu* 'your dogs' is topicalised. This is not the case; the constituent would be within the scope of a conjunction like the other parts of the clause. It is, however, focussed. See section 3.5 for a discussion of the distinction between focussed and topicalised constituents in Kambera.
333. A *katoda* is a pole with a flat stone in front of it. On the stone ritual sacrifices are made to the spirits of the ancestors. Of the several types of *katoda*'s, the *katoda kawindu* is the one that belongs to a house. The one belonging to the village is a *katoda paraing*.
334. COMITATIVE is not identical to INCLUSIVE in Kambera. Inclusion, not comitative, may be expressed with a relative construction, as in (i), where a relative clause is the (nominal) predicate of *-kai* and *-kama*:

(i) a. [*Tau* *ma-* *pira*]$_{NP}$ *-kai* *hena?*
person RM- how many -2pA there
'With how many people were you there?' (lit.: 'You (were) people that were how many there?')

b. [*Tau* *ma-* *dua*]$_{NP}$ *-kama*
person RM- two -1pA
'With the two of us' (lit.: 'We (were) people who are two')

335. Alternatives to this sentence, where one of the nouns is left out, are given in (i). The genitive clitic in brackets is used as a resumptive clitic. It is optional in both sentences. However, according to informants, in (ia) it is usually left out, while in (ib) it is normally used.

(i) a. *Na- tarahik la kajia(-na), **dàngu** la hapapa uma*
3sN- be slippery LOC back(-3sG) with LOC side house
'It is slippery behind (it) and next to the house'

b. *Na- tarahik la kajia uma, **dàngu** la hapapa(-na)*
3sN- be slippery LOC back house with LOC side(-3sG)
'It is slippery behind the house and next to (it)'

336. The phonological properties of the verb *ngangu* are similar to those of *wàngu*: the lexical root form is *nga*, *ngangu* being the uninflected citation form of the verb. The monosyllabic verb root *nga* is not allowed to surface as an independent prosodic word (which must be a bimoraic feet). Thus, a (postlexical) consonant /ŋ/ is attached to it, followed by the paragogic vowel /u/. When *nga* combines with *dàngu*, the resulting complex verb has three syllables, meets the minimal word requirement, and *nga* does not need to undergo the repair strategy.
337. According to my informant, *ningu* is obligatory in (79)–(81), while in (78c) it is optional. I do not have an explanation for this variation.
338. *Hadang* 'stand up' → *pa.hadang* 'cause X to stand up, erect X'.
339. Recall that, like *wàngu* and *dàngu*, the final nasal of the verb *ningu* is in complementary distribution with the dative object clitic.
340. This section is based on Klamer 1998e.
341. Compounds and phrases are syntactically left-headed; i.e. the head of the phrases in (92) is the verb, not the noun *eti*:
(i) *kudu eti* 'to have a small liver'
(ii) *eti kudu* 'small liver'
342. The evidence to consider *pa-/ma-* as clitics rather than affixes is discussed in section 3.1.4, 6.1.1 and 7.1.
343. The head of a relativised construction is the relativised noun, which is the obligatorily missing argument of the verb in the relative clause, where it arguably leaves a 'gap'.
344. Unlike English interrogative/demonstrative pronouns that may be used as relative pronouns.
345. *Nda uku* 'no end' is idiomatic for 'extremely'.
346. In this sentence, the complete relative construction *plus* its head is the nominal predicate of *-ya* '3rd sg. Acc.'.
347. Note that the prefix *ma.* in *ma.ringu* 'be cold' is a lexicalised prefix, and is to be distinguished from the relative marker *ma-*. See section 6.8.
348. That is, the tense of the English translations of the Kambera sentences in this book is just one of several possible tenses as long as the clause does not have a temporal adverb.
349. In this sentence a causative verb is used, i.e. the relative clause contains both the relative marker *pa-* and the causative prefix *pa.* In section 8.2 below, another homophonous morpheme will be discussed, the control clitic *pa-*. The contrast between the clitics *pa-* and the causative prefix *pa.* is discussed in section 7.1.
350. *Njara* 'horse' is not relativised here — note the absence of a relative marker. Nouns may be modified by (morphologically simple/complex verbs), see also

sentence (18) and section 4.3. *Njara* is thus the head of the NP that also contains the attributive verb *miting* 'be black'.

351. *Dài woka* 'guard (the) garden', i.e. guard the crops on the fields against wild boars and free-ranging cattle and horses.
352. *Papa.ng* is a verbal derivation from *papa*, the prepositional noun that appears in complex prepositions like *hu papa* 'yonder', cf. section 4.5.
353. *Ana* means 'child' and has the general sense of 'offspring'; *anakeda* in (19) is 'child' in the sense of human non-adult.
354. I have only attested such possessor relative constructions when the relative clause contained an intransitive verb. Although I have not checked this explicitly with informants, I do not expect that a similar relative construction with a transitive embedded verb will be possible because of the increased complexity of such a sentence. Generally, coordination is preferred to complex embedded structures, so I expect that a sentence like *The man* [*whose horse I stole*] *chased me* would be expressed as *The man chased me when I stole his horse.*
355. For a discussion of causative and applicative verbs, see section 6.1 and 6.2.
356. The fact that a definite object NP cannot be crossreferenced with an object clitic in a relative clause like the one in (34b), suggests that the object NP is not in apposition to the clitic, i.e. that the NP has argument status here.
357. In other languages, resumptive pronoun strategies may be used in relativisations from embedded questions ('long relativisations'), as in certain dialects of English *The chair which I don't know who made it.* The Kambera equivalent of such a long relativisation is a sequence of two relative clauses as illustrated in (ia). The first relative clause must be preceded by the instrumental verb *wàngu* (cf. the illformed sentence in (ib)). The object clitic *-nja* on the verb *pi(ngu)* 'know' marks the embedded relative clause *da ma-pandoi-ya* (and not the relativised object *na kanjàka*), as the number agreement between the object clitic and the plural article *da* shows. The second relative clause is a subject relative clause, i.e. it does not have an object gap.

(i) a. *Na kanjàka*$_k$ [[***wàngu*** *pa- nda ku- pi -a -nja*$_j$]$_{S1}$
ART chair use RM- NEG 1sN- know -MOD -3pD
[*da ma- pandoi -ya*$_k$]$_{S2j}$]
ART RM- make -3sA
'The chair of which I don't know who made it'

b. * *Na kanjàka* [*pa- nda ku- pi -a -nja....*
ART chair RM- NEG 1sN- know -MOD-3pD
Intended reading: 'The chair that I don't know who made it'

358. *Nga(ngu)* has a monosyllabic (CV) root. The final syllable *ngu* of *ngangu* is a result of phonotactic rules and is only present in the citation form of this verb.
359. This sentence and the next are also possible with an unspecified subject/object: *na uhu na pamanahu wàngu wuru bàhi* 'the rice that is cooked with an iron pot'.
360. Except, of course, if the verb is an applicative verb with an applicative object that is a LOCATIONAL argument. This was discussed in section 6.2. We have seen above that applicative objects are relativised like direct objects.

361. Observe that the verb *ngia.ng* 'stay at, be located at' is derived from the noun *ngia* with the suffix *.ng* (section 6.2).
362. And the NP *uma pa-tàka* 'house of arrival' in (67) below.
363. The verb in (56d) is a complex locative verb with *ningu* 'be' (cf. section 7.2.3), the verb in (57c) is simple. But both relativisations have *ngia* as their head.
364. Like nominalised adjectives or participles in English (e.g. *the good, the killed, the dead, the drowned*). Kambera has no category of adjectives — items that are translated like adjectives are considered stative verbs, see section 4.3.
365. Interrogative pronouns are discussed in section 4.6.1.
366. *Ngangu dàngu* 'eat with Y' is a complex verb consisting of a verb and a prepostition, cf. section 7.2.2.
367. Arguably, only relativisations of subjects and direct objects of simple transitive verbs contain an obligatory gap. We saw that in the relativisation of possessor nouns the possessive pronoun may also occur *in situ* (cf. (25b) above) and in the relativisation of indirect object nouns a 'resumptive' indirect object clitic is attached to the embedded verb when the head noun is dislocated or part of a PP (cf. (34) above).
368. Like English 'adjectival' participles: the *broken* table, the *cut* wood. Note, however, that in Kambera such a modifier does not necessarily have to be a formally derived verb — underived verbs may also be used as a nominal modifier, as discussed in section 4.3.
369. *Kuru uma* lit. 'room of a house', idiomatic for (1) 'household' and (2) 'wife'.
370. *Hama tuna* (*hama* '(be the) same', *tú* 'put X', *-na* '3sG') is a recently developed 'trendy' idiom for 'like' or 'with respect to'. It can also be used as a 'filler', a particle that functions as a 'pause' between clauses and before an NP. Some speakers use it very frequently, others do not use it at all. Most people agree that it should not be used by people who want to speak Kambera 'carefully/correctly'.
371. *Banda* literally means 'cattle' but is also used for dowry or general richness.
372. *Pi(ngu)* 'know X' is a transitive verb that is used intransively here.
373. The same construction is possible with the following verbs: *njorung* 'fall', *ha.nduka* 'be in trouble', *ha.nganja* 'do on purpose', *ka.tiu* 'have pain, be painfull', *ka.njiwa* 'be stupid', *luri* 'live', *ma.kia* 'be ashamed', *ma.yila* 'be needy', *ma.njú* 'be hungry', *ma.ngadat* 'be afraid', *ka.tuda* 'sleep', *ma.lijang* 'be weak', *ha.leling* 'move X; be moved'.
374. *Lei* 'husband', *lei.ng* 'have X as husband', but: *la.lei* 'marry a woman', cf. 6.2.
375. The negative connotations of *ka.mbàlik* in Kambera are less than the English gloss suggests. *Kambàlik* may also mean 'talk nonsense' or 'make up stories'.
376. In (i) the quotative characteristics of *wàngu* have been bleached:

    (i) *Nggiki wà-nggu ba ku- wua -nggau?*
    how say-1sG CNJ 1sN- give -2sD
    'How should I give it to you?'

377. The temporal adverb *haromu* means 'tomorrow', 'somewhere in the future' or 'later'.

378. The roots of some, but not all, verbs derived with *ka.* may also occur in the quotative construction, see section 6.6.2. This seems a lexicalised phenomenon.
379. Alternatively, the emphatic negation *ndia* can be used:
    (i) *Màla* *la* *Umalulu* *na-* *mbana* *ndia?*
    EXC LOC Melolo 3SN- be hot NEG
    Well it's hot in Melolo, isn't it?
380. I have no data on the relativisation of the addressee of *wàngu* (cf. (126)).
381. *Kadita* is an abbreviation of *uhu kadita* 'kind of (sticky) rice'.
382. *Bokul* is a shortening of *ama bokul* '(respected) old man'.
383. *Rambu Ngana* is my Sumbanese name. This description was given on my request and is therefore adressed to me.
384. *Kamotu* are earthen walls that separate the different parts/terraces of a rice field/paddy.
385. The speaker corrects himself here — sowing rice in a separate plot of land to get germinated rice plants precedes all the other activities just mentioned.
386. *Kahaka* may also be translated as 'be tall', 'pulled up', 'lifted up', 'raised'. Here it is used to denote the stage when the leafs of the paddy plant start to grow in upwards direction.
387. *Pa.imbung*: a woman holds a basket full of rice over her head and empties it slowly into another basket on the ground. This is done outside, and while the rice is falling down, the wind cleans it from dirt and dust.
388. An amount of rice is normally counted with a large tin mug (see also text 1: Conversation). What is meant here is that after the rice is cleaned in the wind (cf. previous note) a mug is used to scoop it into (a) sack(s) and thus the amount of rice in the sack(s) is established.
389. I.e. whether we eat it with the purpose to gain strength to work on the land, or because we just like to eat it.
390. *Nda uku* 'without rule/limit' is idiomatic for 'very, extremely'.
391. *Kalú tau* lit. 'a person banana' is a certain type of banana.
392. *Liju* [*kalú tau*] 'to pluck banana's young/unripe', [*kalú tau*] *liju* 'young/unripe bananas', *pàpu liju* 'to pluck while being unripe'.
393. *Pànjang* 'stop' is also interpreted as 'recover from illness'.
394. This sentence is ungrammatical because the subject of *mbuhang* 'want, like, love' is expressed both as a core argument (the clitic *-na*) and as an oblique as a complement of *parai-na,* 'by him', lit.: 'his track'. Younger Kambera speakers who are fluent in Indonesian may use *parai-na* to demote the subject in a sentence. This is probably a calque from Indonesian *oleh-nya* 'by him'.
395. *Tobung* 'slaughter an animal by cutting its artery', *hunju* 'slaughter pig by piercing one of its lungs', *rupu* 'slaughter an animal by cutting off its head' *kameting* 'kill/slaughter as a sacrifice'.
396. Traditionally, the weeks (or months) leading to an important occasion are kept track of by tying knots in a rope. With every week (month) passing, one knot is untied.
397. That is, we had to wear it all the time and could only wash it while bathing in the river.

398. *Kambala* 'Paper Mulberry', *Broussonetis papyrifera*. The bark of this plant was traditionally used for clothing (Onvlee 1984:157).
399. *Angu* is synonymous with *dàngu* 'with'.
400. This whole sentence is in Indonesian.
401. *Woi* is 'yes' as the answer to a call, affirmative 'yes' is *u/u-u* or *a/a-a*.
402. The following is a possible alternative interpretation and gloss of this clause:
    (i) *Lua -kau mangela-nda wài*
    go -2pA fish-1pG water
    'You go (and) draw water for us'
403. *Kamundu manu uma* lit. 'a house's chicken's behind' is the sloping part of the roof, at the side of the house. The triangular shape of the roof resembles a chicken's behind seen from the back: ^.
404. (20) ***Mangela*** *-nggunya wài nyungga*
    draw -1s.CONT water I
    'Me, I am drawing water'
405. Without *a*'s.
406. Without *a*.
407. (27) *Eha! Jàka* ***na-*** *mbeni -ngga* ***na*** *ina-nggu...*
    EXC if 1sN- be angry -1sD ART mother-1sG
    'Hey! If my mother (gets) angry with me...'
408. The speaker makes a gesture here, moving his body backwards, turning his head away while sticking out his arms.
409. *Kàna* 'hit, touch' has a non-active subject (cf. *palu* 'hit' with an active subject).
410. Recall that *mangela* also has the interpretation 'bucket' (instrument to draw water).
411. (35) *"Nda jia-**mbu**-ya-**pa** nú, njili-mbu-ka yohu,**ma**.njú-mbu-ka nyungga."*
    NEG EXIST-also-3sA-IMPF DEI be tired-also-1sA here be hungry-also-1sA I
    "It is still not there, and I'm tired here, (and) I'm hungry too."
412. (36) *"Ningu -mbu tau, nda* ***pa***-*kàna -mbu wài."*
    be -also person NEG RM-touch -also water
    "There is also someone (in the well), and the water has not touched (it) either"
413. (41) *"U. Ningu tau wá* ***la*** *humur" wà-na-ka nú.*
    yes be person down LOC well say-3sG-PRF DEI
    "Yes. There was someone down in the well", he says.
414. (43) *"Wà -nggu -ma-nya-i-ka,* ***ku***-*mbeni wàngu watu nyungga*
    say -1sG-EMP-3sD-again-PRF 1sN-be angry use stone I
    "I did tell him (so), I threathened (him) with a stone,
    mbeni wàngu ***watu*** *-ma-nanya-i una nyuna' wà-na-ka nú.*
    be angry use **stone** -EMP-3s.CONT-also EMP.3s he say-3sG-PRF DEI
    (and) he was also threathening me with a stone", he says.
415. (45) *...mbota -mbu* ***na*** *mangela-na* ***i*** *ama dá* ***la*** *humur.*
    be broken-also ART fishing rod-3sG ART father inside LOC well
    "...and father's fishing rod is broken too, in the well"

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