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A Grammar of the Muna Language

René van den Berg

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Contents

Preface

This dissertation could not have been written without the help and assistance of many people. I would like to take this opportunity to mention some of them.

First, I am grateful to the Indonesian government, who through the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI) allowed my wife and myself to do research on Muna. Prof. Dr. Husen Abas, Dean of the Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Hasanuddin in Ujung Pandang was our sponsor. Many thanks to him and his wife for their support, friendship and hospitality. Local government offices in Ujung Pandang, Kendari and Raha have always smoothly arranged the necessary paper work and in this way facilitated our stay in Indonesia. At this point I would also like to mention my former teacher, the late Prof. Dr. J.C. Anceaux, whose enthusiasm for linguistics was contagious and who first suggested Muna as a field of study. I have never been sorry for having taken up his suggestion. With gratitude and grief I recall his efforts to read and evaluate the various chapters of this dissertation. His lively and active spirit was in strong contrast to his failing body. His death occurred a few days after we discussed the last chapters of the first draft.

Secondly, numerous people on Muna have contributed in one way or another to this project. Nilus Larangka taught us the first Muna words. His enthusiasm and good humour we will always remember. La Ode Abdul Fattah spent many long evenings working with us, often left amazed at the intricacies of his own language. His patience, dependability and creative language use laid a firm basis for much that we accomplished. Hanafi was always willing to discuss the finer points of Muna grammar and vocabulary with us; I consider him a true colleague. He and his family, together with Mainuru Hado became real friends. We will never forget our outings to Pulau Munante.

When I first arrived in Raha in 1984, Siddo Thamrin and his wife gave me accomodation for two weeks. Again they provided hospitality to us in 1985 for a short period. La Ode Bolonene and his family let us have the upper part of their beautifully located house near the sea. The family of Wa Kandiida in Mabodo also deserve special mention. Wa Tini and La Rianta were brave enough to lodge curious Westerners in their house a couple of times. They cannot overestimate the importance of those times in Mabodo to us. By refusing to speak Indonesian to us, La Hanamu contributed much to our fluency in Muna. His company, friendship and young coconuts made a lasting impression.

Many other people taught us or provided help, such as La Kimi Batoa (especially in January 1988), La Mokui, Lengko Umar, La Ode Dini, Sadaria, La Aso, Wa Sukia, Mustafa and La Kuti. In addition, the following people have helped us by providing written stories: Wa Ode Asila, Muhamed Zahab Ihu, Yos P., Wa Ode Hanafia, La Meri and La Fona and some fifteen SPG-pupils, whose

cooperation under the guidance of Hanafi is kindly acknowledged here. *Tangkanomo, miendo Wuna, katumpuno laloku ne bhari-bharikaetaamu*!

Thirdly, my colleagues of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Sulawesi showed understanding and goodwill towards our special project. Discussing linguistic issues with them helped me to formulate my thoughts more clearly. They and our family and friends in the Netherlands and abroad have also been faithfully supporting us in prayer.

Jennegien Nieuwstraten taught me the basics of using a word-processor. Marjan Groen provided help with the maps and my brother-in-law Fred Klingeman helped me by writing a special 'Munafoon' computer programme which produced some of the results presented in the chapter on phonology. Jack Prentice, Ann Cable and Bert Voorhoeve corrected my English.

Finally, the contribution of my wife Lydi is beyond measure. Not only has she supported this project wholeheartedly from beginning to end, but her keen linguistic insight and method have saved me from many a pitfall. Thank you for sharing the vision, for friendship and humour, for reading and correcting the xth version, for putting up with linguistic discussions from breakfast table till midnight, for discovering the definiteness shift, for the very regular cups of coffee, for your company and for much more.

Praise be to God.

Conventions

In Muna a morpheme boundary is indicated by a hyphen (-). The corresponding English semantic units are also separated by hyphens, but when a unit consists of more than one word, these words are separated by dots. An example is:

    isa-ku
    older.sibling-my

In the Muna material, square brackets [..] mark an infix or a nasal prefix, as in *na-k[um]ala* 'he will go' or *na-[m]ala* 'he will take'. For the active participle circumfix (*-um-/-no*, *me-/-no*, *mo-/-no*) the first part is not glossed. Example:

    me-late-no
    -live-A.PART

In most cases, affixes are glossed in the word-for-word translation by standard abbreviations explained below. In some cases an English word (in capitals) is used as a translation, for instance:

    no-ko-ana
    3sR-HAVE-child

In other cases the affix is simply retained (in capitals) in the English interlinear glosses, as in:

    do-si-kala-ha
    3pR-SI-go-HA

The reader is referred to Chapter 10 for the meaning and use of these affixes. As for the English translations, it is helpful to bear in mind that Muna makes no distinction between 'he' and 'she' and that verbs are not marked for tense.

The following symbols are used in the text:

```
/   /       phonemic transcription
[   ]       allophonic transcription
<   >       orthographic representation
(   )       optional
~           in variation with
->          results in
<           derived from
>           more than
-           morpheme boundary (in Muna)
`           primary stress
ˎ           secondary stress
?           questionable
*           ungrammatical
2           two people
```

The following list explains abbreviations used in the word-for-word glosses and some other abbreviations used in the English text:

ACC	accidental passive (*ti-*)
ADH	adhortative (*-ana*, *-mana*)
ADV	adverbial (*feka-*)
A.PART	active participle
ART	article (*La*, *Wa*, *A*, *o*)
Attr	attributive
C	consonant
CA	class affix (*-me-*, *-mo-*)
CAUS	causative (fo_1-)
Cl	clause
CL	clitic (*-a*)
CLAS	classifier
Dem	demonstrative
DETR	detransitivizer (fo_2-)
du	dual
DUB	dubitative (*bhahi*)
EM	emphatic (*-ha*)
EMPH	emphatic (*maka*)
ex	exclusive
FACT	factitive (*feka-*)
FUT	future (*so*, *na-*, *-ho*)
IMP	imperative
inc	inclusive
INJ	interjection
INS	instrument (*ka-/-ha*)
INT	intensifier (*-Cao*)
intr	intransitive
IO	indirect object (*-ghoo*)
IRR	irrealis
k.o.	kind of
L.CAUS	locutional causative (*fe-*)
lit.	literally
loc	locative preposition
LOC	locative (*ka-/-ha*)

```
MeasPhr    measure phrase
N          noun
NEG        negator (pata)
NOM        nominalizer (ka-)
NP         nominal phrase
PF         perfective (-mo)
pl         plural
PLUR       plural (-hi, -Vmu, ndo)
pol        polite
POS        possessive linker (-no, -ndo)
poss       possessive suffix
PP         prepositional phrase
P.PART     passive participle (ne-/ni-)
Pro        personal pronoun
PURP       purpose (-ghoo)
Quan       quantifier
REAS       reason (ka-/-ha)
REC        reciprocal (po-)
RED        reduplication
Rel        relative clause
REP        repetitive (-Ci)
sg         singular
SURPR      surprisive (garaa)
TEMP       temporal (-ha)
tr         transitive
TR         transitivizer (-Ci)
v          verb
V          vowel
```

For the subject prefixes the following conventions are used:

```
1          first person                    h          honorific
2          second person                   u          unfamiliar
3          third person                    R          realis
1p         first person plural inclusive   I          irrealis
1e         first person plural exclusive   p          plural
s          singular
```
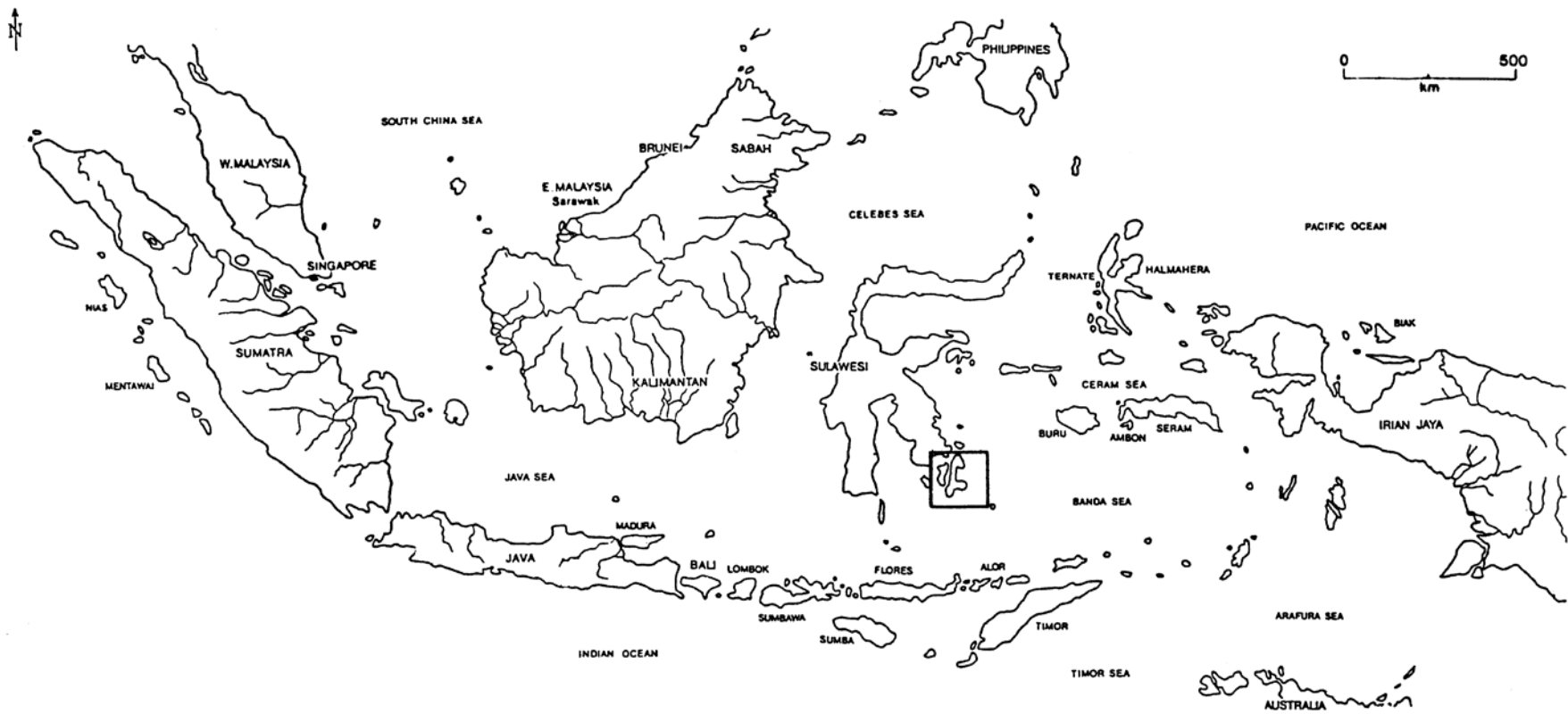
Map 1. Indonesia (showing the Muna-Buton area)
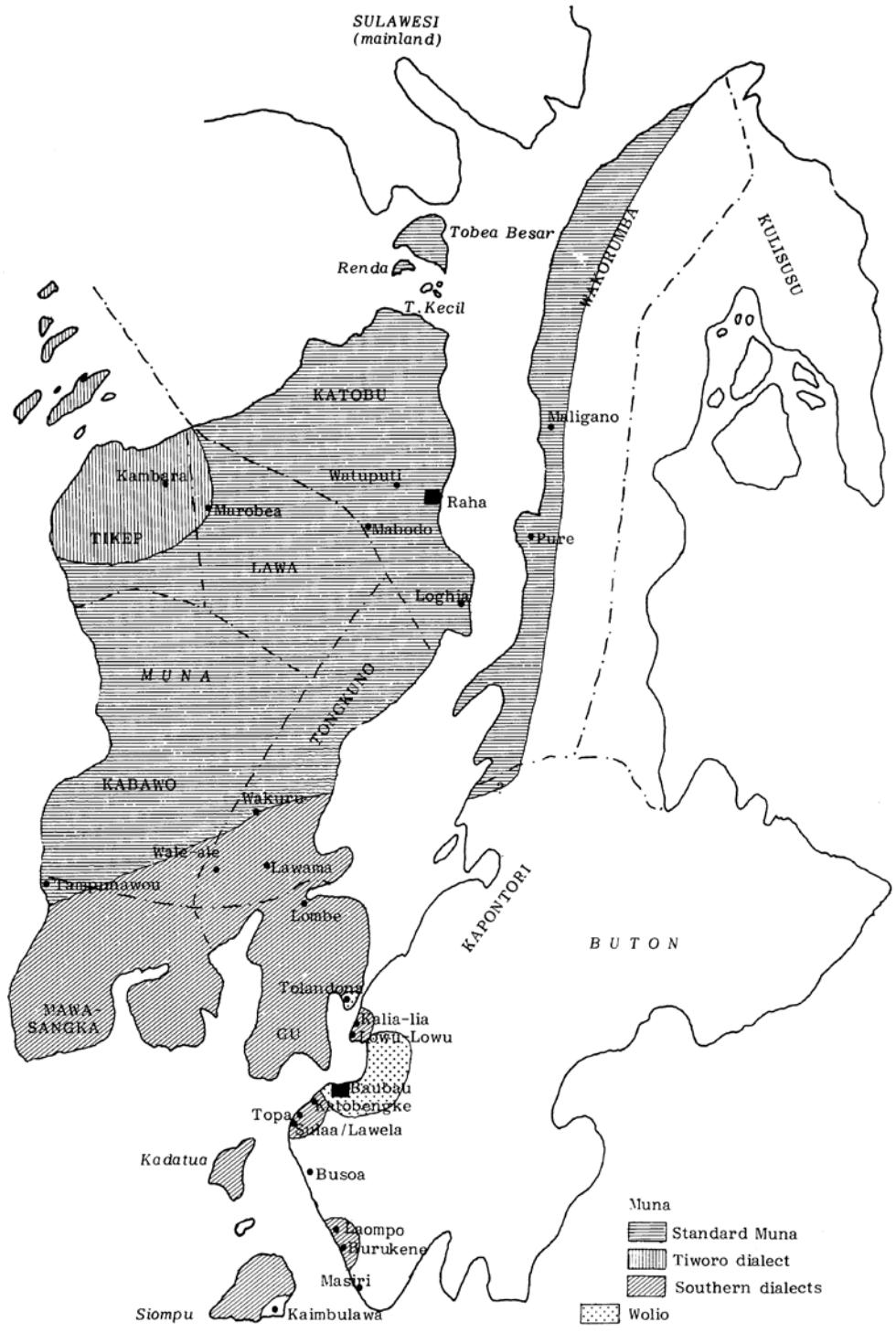
Map 2. Muna-Buton area

Chapter 1

General Introduction

This chapter serves as a general introduction to the grammar of Muna that follows in the subsequent chapters. In 1.1 I give a brief sketch of Muna, the island and the people. The information presented there is almost completely culled from the few written sources that exist about Muna and is not based on independent research. The most important of these sources are Bouman (1933), Couvreur (1935) and Vonk (1937). 1.2 discusses aspects of the language such as previous studies, dialects, language boundaries and the place of Muna within the Austronesian language family. Finally, 1.3 provides some background information on the methodology of the fieldwork underlying this grammar and also discusses the theoretical stance of this grammar.

1.1. *Muna: the island, the people*

1.1.1. Location

Muna is one of the bigger islands located off the southeast coast of the crab-shaped island of Sulawesi, Indonesia (see map 1). To the east of Muna lies the better-known island of Buton (sometimes spelled Butung following the Bugis pronunciation), separated from Muna by the rather narrow Buton Strait. To the west lies the mountainous island of Kabaena. Between the northwest coast of Muna and the mainland of Sulawesi a large number of small islands are found, the Tiworo archipelago. From north to south the largest distance on Muna is approximately 110 km, while the biggest east-west distance is roughly 60 km.

  Concerning the name given to this island, older sources and maps (before the twentieth century) generally use the name Pangasane, Pangesana or Pantjana. The origin and meaning of this name are unknown to me, but Pancana is also found as the name of a village in central Buton. In a note Müller (1839-44:89) mentions that on French maps the name 'Mounan' is found. 'Muna' is certainly an exonym, the endonym being 'Wuna'. In the language spoken on the island this word is used for the island (*witeno Wuna*), for the people (*miendo Wuna*) and for the language (*wamba Wuna*). The word *wuna* means 'flower', and according to a local legend the name was given to this coral island soon after the first inhabitants arrived, namely, the crew of one of Sawerigading's ships that ran aground on the coral. Sawerigading was the legendary prince of Luwu'

in South Sulawesi. They discovered a stone that had flowers growing on it (*kontu kowuna*). This natural wonder led to the name Wuna. It is believed on Muna that the Dutch corrupted this word to Muna. Hence the name Muna came to be the name for the island in Malay/Indonesian. I have not found any opposition on Muna to the use of Muna as an exonym. Some other sources, however, do use the name Wuna, for instance Yatim 1981.

1.1.2. Ecology

Geologically Muna is a low-lying coral island (reef limestone). The area just south and west of the capital Raha (located on the northeast coast) is hilly (highest hill over 240 m) but in the far south some hills are higher than 400 m. Especially in the south of the island the surface is very rocky, with only a thin layer of top soil in holes and gaps between the rocks.

In certain hilly areas the island shows several layers of terrace-shaped coral formations, suggesting a gradual rise of the island over the centuries (Elbert 1911:145; Van Vuuren 1920:365-366). As a result of the porous soil, there are a number of caves in these hills. In caves about 10 km from Raha (Liangkobori and Metanduno) prehistoric cave drawings can be seen: hunting scenes, animals, boats and other symbols (Kosasih 1983, 1984). The northern and eastern parts of Muna are flat. The coral is here covered with a layer of alluvial clay.

In the south and in the east the coast rises straight up from the sea, but in the north and the west mangrove forests of varying width form the transition between land and sea. In the coastal area off Loghia a large number of small inlets and rocky islands (for example Pulau Lima) are to be found. North of Loghia the shore is low and flat, consisting of sand and mud. During low tide large areas fall dry (*kaghotia*), as wide as 1 km. Coral reefs line the south and west coast of Muna, but the Buton Strait is relatively free from coral (Verstappen 1957). Along the west coast a number of peat swamps fringe the shore line.

As a result of the rocky coral underground there are relatively few rivers on Muna. Only in those areas where there is sufficient earth and clay are a number of streams found, most of which are unsuitable for navigation. Some rivers in the north and west can be used by small vessels, such as the Lambiko and the Wasolangka Rivers. Since the population was primarily located in the dry and hilly western area, water shortage was and to some extent still is a major problem on Muna. In these drier areas one is often dependent on rain water, and in times of drought on 'water' tapped from banana trees and bamboo stalks. A number of springs in these dry areas are of great worth, as they can provide whole areas with water (for example Matakidi for Lawa and Jompi for Raha).

As for flora, parts of Muna are still covered with forest, but most of the island has been cultivated. Parts are also overgrown with elephant grass. Of the forests, special mention needs to be made of the teakwood (*Tectona grandis*) forests. Shortly after 1910, when the Dutch started to administer this area directly, the exploitation of these teakwood forests was begun, first by the colonial government (*Dienst van het Boschwezen*), later also by a private enterprise (Vejahoma). Currently Muna makes an important contribution to the national export of teakwood and fortunately there is also attention paid to the environmental aspects of this exploitation. Reforestation and the allocation of protected areas are evidence of this. Brascamp (1918) offers an interesting account of the discovery of these forests. Rattan and certain orchid species are also found.

   Fauna on Muna are limited in variety compared with mainland Sulawesi. The
only endemic bigger mammals are one monkey species (*macaca*), deer and wild
swine. Especially the latter occur in large numbers, causing much damage to
crops. Horses and buffaloes were probably introduced from elsewhere. The
animals unique to Sulawesi (anoa and babi rusa) do not live on Muna. The cuscus
is the only marsupial. Snakes are common, but rarely poisonous. A rare
freshwater snake was discovered not long ago near Raha (Iskander 1979).
Crocodiles are now rare on Muna. Birds are found in large numbers and in many
varieties: herons, storks, hawks, several dove species, cockatoos and
parakeets. The Buton Strait between Muna and Buton is full of fish and provides
good fishing water for the coastal population.

1.1.3. Demography

The two islands Muna and Buton constitute two *kabupatens* (regencies), but
confusingly the boundary between these two runs across the two islands such
that the southern one-third of Muna belongs to *kabupaten* Buton, while the
northern half of Buton belongs to *kabupaten* Muna (see Map 2). Until 1987
kabupaten Muna consisted of seven *kecamatan*s (sub-regencies) of which five are
located on Muna: Katobu, Kabawo, Lawa, Tongkuno and Tikep (= Tiworo Kepulauan).
The other two, Wakorumba and Kulisusu, are found on northern Buton. In 1987
several of these *kecamatan*s were split up; the total number is now twelve.
   The total population of *kabupaten* Muna was 191,366 by the end of 1985. In
order to obtain the total number of speakers of the language, several factors
have to be taken into account:
-      The population of *kecamatan* Kulisusu (22,668) does not speak Muna, but a
Bungku dialect.
-      Raha, the capital of *kabupaten* Muna, has a number of ethnic minorities
such as Bugis, Bajau (also in other coastal areas of Muna), Chinese and civil
servants from all over Indonesia. Altogether these probably do not number more
than 5,000.
-      The *kecamatan*s Gu and Mawasangka in southern Muna (part of *kabupaten*
Buton) are part of the Muna-speaking area. Their population is 28,944 (Gu) and
23,749 (Mawasangka).
-      Several villages on Buton (for instance in *kecamatan* Batauga) are Muna-
speaking; these people probably do not exceed 10,000.
A rough estimate for the total population that speaks Muna is therefore 225,000
people.
   Houses were formerly scattered among swiddens, with the exception of one
large walled settlement, Kota Muna, the political and cultural centre of Muna,
which was abandoned in the nineteenth century after an internal power struggle.
Since the Dutch started colonizing Muna early in this century, people were
forced to build roads and live in villages along these roads. The centre of
population has for a long time been in Tongkuno, the district of Kota Muna, in
the dry and hilly eastern part of the island. The west and the north were
sparsely populated, probably because in these low-lying lands people were much
more susceptible to malaria than in the dry and higher east.
   It is striking that this island population has never been a seafaring nation
and has generally avoided living along the coast. The socio-political situation
in the past probably accounts for this. Pirates were very common in this
part of the archipelago up to the nineteenth century and Muna people were
often taken away as slaves to such places as Makassar. It is perhaps not a
coincidence that the words for 'sea' and 'afraid' are homophonous in Muna

(*tehi*). An exception must be made for the village of Loghia, located on the east coast and for centuries Muna's most important window on the outer world.

During this century there have been major changes in the settlement patterns. Firstly, the choice of Raha as the capital of the local colonial government has caused the population centre to shift from Tongkuno to Katobu. Raha is now a small provincial town with a population of approximately 16,000. Secondly, in the 1960s several villages from the driest areas in Tongkuno were transferred to the northeast, where living conditions are more favourable. As a result Tongkuno is now the least populated area on the island.

1.1.4. Housing and economy

Living conditions and material culture are relatively simple. The staple food is maize, grown in small fields sometimes a considerable distance from the homes. Maize is supplemented by roots and vegetables and, in coastal areas, fish. Dry-rice agriculture is found in some parts, but generally the area is too dry for rice. Cash crops such as cashew and cacoa trees are increasingly popular.

Traditional houses are built on piles, with woven bamboo walls and roofs of dried grass. The building of wooden or even brick houses is encouraged by the government, but such houses are still seen as a sign of wealth.

Art seems to be mainly functional. Weaving of sarongs is common and beautiful patterns can often be seen. Certain villages specialize in producing earthen jugs, but these are not decorated.

1.1.5. Social organization

According to Couvreur (1935), social strata were still quite distinct on Muna in the 1930s, but nowadays this division is increasingly felt to be incompatible with modern life. Traditionally there were four classes: *kaumu* are the high nobility, *walaka* the lower nobility, *maradika* the commoners (who in turn are subdivided into three classes) and finally the slaves (*ghata*). Each class had its own rights and prerogatives, relating to marriage, clothing, ornaments and so on. Only the nobility were entitled to bear the title *La Ode* (men) or *Wa Ode* (women) before their names.

These classes were also determinants in language use. Social deixis, for example, was an important parameter in the choice of the different terms of reference for 'wife'. A *kaumu* would use the term *isamiu* (lit. 'your (polite) older sibling') to refer to his wife when speaking to somebody from a lower class, whereas the lower class would use *aimiu* (lit. 'your (polite) younger sibling') to the higher class. Presently such differences are tending to fall into disuse.

1.1.6. Religion

The vast majority of Muna people are Muslim (97%), although pre-Islamic beliefs and practices are still widespread. Islam entered Muna probably through Buton, which was itself converted to Islam by the sultan of Ternate in the late sixteenth century.

As a result of the work of Catholic missionaries starting in the 1930s, a few villages in the south are predominantly Catholic (Wale-ale, Lakapera, Lawama, Lolibu). The Catholic church has done much work in the area of community development, schooling and health care. They were the first to relocate a poor village from the dry south to a more fertile area (see Mingneau 1974). Unfortunately no language material was published, although some of the mission-

aries had a good command of the language and parts of the New Testament have been translated in draft form.

In addition to a Catholic church there are two small Protestant churches in Raha, the members of which are almost exclusively non-Muna.

1.1.7. History

It is not yet clear where the Muna people came from and how long the island has been inhabited. The greatest dialectal variation is found in the southeast (Gu), suggesting a population movement from south to north. Also, no datings of the cave drawings mentioned in 1.1.2 have yet been published

In 1.1.1 a legend was mentioned that the first people to arrive on Muna were Sawerigading, the prince of Luwu, and his crew. The place where his ship is said to have run aground on the coral is a hill near the village of Bahutara in central Muna.

Another important legend concerning the origins of Muna is that of *Bheteno ne Tombula*, the first king of Muna, who appeared from a bamboo stem and who married Tandiabhe, the daughter of the king of Luwu who had been expelled from her native country and reached Muna by sea. This legend is to be found in the Appendix (Text 4).

It seems likely that the first inhabitants of the island were hunters and gatherers. The old times are called *dhamani momaano karaka* 'the time of the frog-eaters'. According to one story it was the Portuguese (*miendo Porotugisi*) who introduced maize (*kahitela* < Castilla) to the island.

For a long time the people lived close together, but the growth of the population led to the expansion of the people into four villages and later four districts (*ghoera*). Gradually an intricate system of political organization emerged, probably modelled after Buton, which developed into a politically important area in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Vonk 1937). At the head of the Muna people stood the *Sarano Wuna* ('Muna council'), led by the chosen *omputo* 'king, ruler' (lit. 'our lord'). Other members included functionaries such as four district leaders (*ghoerano*), one *bhonto bhalano*, one *mintarano bitara* and two *kapitalao*. Disputes and quarrels over succession were not uncommon and in such times the sultan of Buton often played a decisive role. The relationship between Buton and Muna after 1664 (when Ternate formally gave up its claim to Muna) is usually characterized as that between an older and a younger brother. Buton considered Muna to be one of its four autonomous provinces (*barata*), which surrounded the sultanate. In Muna its independence of Buton is usually stressed, but it is a fact that Muna has always stood in the shadow of its 'big brother', whose political and cultural superiority were obvious to all concerned. The influence of Buton in the areas of religion, socio-political organization and language (borrowing) can probably not be overestimated.

In the first decade of this century the Dutch began to administer the area directly. Before that time, contacts with Europeans seem to have been minimal, but thereafter a permanent military representation of the colonial government was present in Raha, which, for ease of access, was chosen as the new capital. After 1910 there followed a period of rapid changes, including the abolition of the *Sarano Wuna* and the introduction of the system of forced labour (*harendesi*) for the building of roads and the subsequent new village patterns. Schools were introduced, a small hospital was built, run by the Catholic mission, and the exploitation of the teak forests began. With the exception of the war years, the Dutch ruled Muna until 1949, after which the island took its place in the Indonesian Republic.

1.2. The language

1.2.1. Previous studies

Until quite recently no substantial information was available on the language spoken on Muna. Using information from a Muna slave in central Sulawesi, Adriani, the pioneer of Sulawesian linguistics, wrote a few pages on Muna, focusing on historical phonology (Adriani 1914:247-260). It is still unclear which dialect is described: possibly Tiworo but certainly not 'standard Muna'. Furthermore there are quite a few errors in his analysis; he claims for instance that the infix *-um-* is 'dead', but still found in *fumaa* 'eat'. Both statements are wrong. Considering the paucity of his data, such errors are understandable.

   The first real attempt to describe part of the grammar is Hanafi (1968), an unpublished IKIP thesis. Hanafi gives a good overview of the segmental phonology and analyses the system of verbal inflection. Many good insights are presented, such as the nature of subject inflection and the morphophonemics of *-um-*.

   Another unpublished IKIP thesis is Sidu Marafad (1976). He also limits himself to the system of verbal inflection. Sidu Marafad is the first to recognize the three different verb classes. In spite of some shortcomings, these two theses must be given the credit for the first systematic analysis of the intricate system of Muna verbal morphology. Another unpublished IKIP thesis on Muna verbal inflection is Piliha (1981).

   Starting in the late 1970s, some linguistic research was carried out in Muna under the supervision of the Balai Penelitian Bahasa in Ujung Pandang, a branch of the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa in Jakarta. The resulting publications of these efforts are Yatim (1981), a bird's eye view of the language, followed by volumes on morphosyntax (Sande et al. 1986), verbal morphology (Yatim et al. 1984), and a small Muna-Indonesian dictionary (Mattalitti et al. 1985). Due to the short time allotted to each research team and the lack of funds, the quality of these works is not always satisfactory.

1.2.2. Language boundaries and dialects

In Van den Berg (1988), I have given an overview of the language situation on Muna and parts of Buton. Some of the information concerning the language boundaries and the dialect situation of Muna is repeated below.

   The dialect that is most widely spoken on Muna and enjoys the highest prestige is found in the central and northern part of the island. This dialect I call 'standard Muna'. Standard Muna is spoken with remarkably little dialectal variation in a large area on Muna comprising the four *kecamatans* that made up the old Muna kingdom: Tongkuno, Kabawo, Lawa and Katobu. It is also the language of Tobea Besar, an island between Muna and the mainland of Southeast Sulawesi. In Sneddon (1982) Tobea Besar is mistakenly assigned to the Tolaki-speaking area. The Muna population on Tobea Besar consists of recent immigrants from central Muna. There is also a Bajau settlement; Bajau are also found on Tobea Kecil and Renda, two islands close to Tobea Besar.

   The eastern boundary of Muna is on northern Buton. All along the western coast of Buton (*kecamatan* Wakorumba) there are Muna settlements, some of which are said to have been founded by people from Loghia, a fishing village on Muna's east coast, a few miles south of the capital Raha. They all speak standard Muna. It is unclear whether the southern boundary of these settlements coincides with the *kecamatan* boundary between Wakorumba and Kapontori. There is one village on the Wakorumba coast, Maligano, northeast of Raha, where the

original population speaks Taluki, a Bungku isolect which is about 75% cognate with Kulisusu, the closest Bungku language. To my knowledge, the existence of this isolect has never been reported.

In northwest Muna a different dialect is found in *kecamatan* Tikep (Tiworo Kepulauan) on the Tiworo islands and around Kambara. The island population in the Tiworo archipelago is a mixture of Bajau, Bugis, Muna and people from Kadatua (an island southwest of Baubau). A number of islands are uninhabited. On the mainland of Muna the dialect boundary between Tiworo and standard Muna runs through Marobea (formerly Dandila), east of Kambara.

Moving south we encounter a very important bundle of isoglosses which roughly coincides with an administrative boundary. The two southernmost *kecamatan*s of Muna, Gu and Mawasangka, belong to the southern group of Muna dialects. Following Indonesian usage I will use the term Gumas to refer to these dialects. Certain villages, however, are exceptional in that they are located in the 'wrong' area. Tampunawou in northwest Mawasangka is standard-Muna-speaking, whereas a few villages in southern Tongkuno, such as Wale-ale and Lawama, speak a Gumas dialect. The present dialect boundary runs right through Tongkuno's capital Wakuru, and causes dialectal differences between generations. My impression is that the boundary is moving south, due to the influence of standard Muna in Wakuru. Gu and Mawasangka are occupied by a number of closely related subdialects. Gu shows the biggest number of dialectal differences in the whole Muna-speaking area. The village of Tolandona, located on the Buton Strait, is Wolio-speaking.

Muna dialects are also found on two small islands southwest of Baubau, Kadatua and Siompu. Kadatua has a Gumas subdialect, but Siompu shows a different southern dialect. On Siompu another language is also found, Kaimbulawa. The middle island, Liwutongkidi ('small island'), is uninhabited.

Finally, a number of Muna dialects are spoken on the west coast of Buton, just north and south of Baubau. North of Baubau there are the fishing villages of Lowu-Lowu and Kalia-lia with slightly different Gumas dialects. South of Baubau we find Katobengke, Topa, Sulaa and Lawela, all speaking Gumas dialects. Moving further south, we first run into a separate language, Busoa, after which follow Laompo (opposite Siompu) and Burukene. These two closely related dialects are also part of the Gumas dialect complex.

Muna speakers have also moved to other areas in Sulawesi, such as the Telaga islands off Kabaena, Kendari and Ujung Pandang. In Ambon there is also a group of Muna speakers (from Batu Sori).

Our present knowledge of the Muna dialect situation allows the following estimates of population figures.

1. Standard Muna   150,000
2. Tiworo   dialect   10,000
3. Southern dialects
     a. Siompu   7,000
     b. Gumas dialects   60,000

On Map 2 the boundaries of the Muna language and the dialects are indicated.

The reasons for distinguishing these dialects (and not more) is partly because of lexico-statistics: these speech varieties all share more than 80% of their basic vocabulary. Secondly, there are important phonological differences between these dialects, summarized in the following chart, in which <'> marks a glottal stop:

Standard Muna	*gh*	*h*	*r*
Tiworo	*h*	*h*	*r*
Siompu	*'*	*'*	*r*
Gumas	*'*	*'*	*h*

Examples:

Standard Muna	*ghuse*	*dahu*	*rindi*	*foroghu*
Tiworo	*huse*	*dahu*	*rindi*	*forohu*
Siompu	*'use*	*da'u*	*rindi*	*foro'u*
Gumas	*'use*	*da'u*	*hindi*	*foho'u*
	'rain'	'dog'	'cold'	'drink'

Other phonological differences concern, for example, palatalization of *t* before
i and *u*, implosion of the alveolar stop and the existence of *nc* as a phoneme.

1.2.3. Subgrouping

Muna is an Austronesian language belonging to the Western Malayo-Polynesian
branch of that family (Blust 1980). Within this branch the internal
relationships are far from clear; in fact even the existence of the branch as
one subgroup within Austronesian has not been firmly established.
    The first attempt at subgrouping the languages of Sulawesi was made by Esser
(1938). One of the twelve groups he distinguishes is the Muna-Buton group,
which includes Muna and Wolio. This subgrouping has remained unchallenged until
recently; current debate focuses on the place of Wolio and Wotu (a language in
South Sulawesi) (Noorduyn 1987; Sirk 1988).
    Obviously it is much too early to make definite statements. In the first
place, the languages of Buton are extremely poorly known, with the exception of
Wolio (Anceaux 1952, 1987). Secondly, a comparison of the languages in the
Muna-Buton group cannot ignore the languages of central and southeast Sulawesi,
the Kaili-Pamona group together with Bungku-Mori-Tolaki (Mills 1981:60).
    In Van den Berg (1988), I have made an attempt to reconstruct the phonology
and the free pronouns of Proto-Muna, the nearest relatives of which are the
'Munic' languages on Buton, such as Pancana, Busoa, Kaimbulawa and possibly
Cia-Cia. More research is needed before a more detailed subgrouping can be
made.

1.2.4. Literature and language use

Unlike Wolio, the official language of the sultanate on Buton, Muna has never
known a writing system. Written literature is therefore of very recent date and
almost exclusively of oral origin. As in other traditional cultures in
Indonesia, the oral literature comprises a wide range of forms and subject
matter. Prose stories include legends, folktales, fables and romances. Under
the heading of poetry can be reckoned such forms as *kabhanti* and *kantola*.
Pogala is a kind of traditional drama (Lanayo 1979). A good anthology of Muna
oral literature would be a very fruitful and worthwhile project.
    It is generally felt that the influence of modern life and the mass media has
a negative effect on the creation and maintenance of these traditional forms.
Yet some attempts can be seen to counter this movement, such as the release of
a cassette a few years ago with traditional and new songs in Muna ('*Wuna
liwuku*').

As for language use, quite a sharp distinction needs to be drawn between the capital Raha and the villages in the interior. In the villages Muna is dominant, Indonesian being mainly restricted to the schools. Everybody is fluent in Muna, but presumably a large percentage do not speak Indonesian. In Raha this situation is reversed. Indonesian is dominant, even in families where both parents are from Muna. The percentage of children born in Raha of Muna parents but not fluent in Muna is probably quite high.

Foreigners living in Raha (Chinese, Bugis, Javanese) very rarely learn to speak Muna, a fact which the Muna people themselves attribute to the difficulty of their language. While Muna is certainly not an easy language to learn (mainly because of its complex inflectional morphology), the socio-linguistic situation in Raha is probably an equally important factor.

All over Muna education is in Indonesian, with Muna used as the language of instruction in the lower forms. No educational material is available in Muna, but at present a 'Muna language team' is trying to change this situation by producing material in the local language. There are also plans for a dictionary and an anthology of Muna prose and poetry.

1.3. Methodology and framework

1.3.1. Fieldwork

My first visit to Muna was in August of 1984 and was meant to be a fact-finding trip. No real research was done, although I gathered some language data. The main purpose was to make contacts at various levels, find suitable language helpers and a place to live. Thanks to the kind cooperation of many people, this visit proved a success.

In July 1985 my wife and I arrived in Muna and stayed there till November 1986 for an extensive period of fieldwork. The first four or five months were spent acquiring a proficiency of the spoken language, although Indonesian continued to be indispensable for discussing specific grammatical and lexical points. We rented a house in Raha and lived there, but in addition we made frequent tours to villages in the interior. During these first months the basic pho-nology and the inflectional system were analysed. From January 1986 onwards the emphasis shifted to the analysis of derivational morphology and syntax. In order to achieve this it was crucial to have a good corpus of texts. Ultimately we had some 75 texts of varying lengths at our disposal (approximately 150 typed pages). We acquired these texts in the following ways:
1.   Record a spoken text and transcribe it or have someone else transcribe it;
2.   Ask literate people to write a text;
3.   Cull texts from published and non-published sources. The provincial office for education and culture in Kendari has collected a number of Muna folk stories. These unpublished stencilled collections contained much valuable material.
Every text was carefully checked with language helpers for the meaning and the use of particular structures and words. Then lists and charts were made for various phenomena (for example, for negation, for each affix, for each demonstrative and so on), on the basis of which preliminary conclusions were drawn which were further checked against new material, corrected, supplemented and so on. In addition a dictionary file was set up, eventually containing some 2,500 root entries.

On our return to the Netherlands the actual writing started, followed by a short fieldtrip to Muna in January and February of 1988, in which the chapters

written thus far were checked and more information was collected on obscure or difficult points.

   This grammatical description of Muna is based on the speech variety in *kecamatan* Katobu (to which Raha belongs), as this was the area where we lived. Our main language helpers, Laode Abdul Fattah and Hanafi BA, were both natives of Katobu (born in Loghia and Watuputi respectively). The speech in Katobu is a subdialect of standard Muna, and where it deviates from subdialects spoken in Tongkuno, Kabawo and Lawa, I have tried to indicate this.

1.3.2. **Framework**

This grammar is an attempt to provide a comprehensive view of the structure of Muna from phonology through morphology to syntax. In other words, it is a descriptive grammar and therefore full of data. As a corollary, theoretical discussions are kept to a minimum, although this obviously does not imply that no theoretical decisions have been taken. What I have tried to avoid is the use of terms and notations of a particular theoretical school of linguistics in my description of the grammar of Muna. This grammar stands squarely in the structuralist tradition in which language form is the basis of the description, subsequently related to meaning. I have also drawn on insights from the functional-typological approach to language, which will be apparent in many cases.

   The comprehensiveness of this grammar must necessarily lead to a certain shallowness. This will be clear on many pages. When I think that the description is simplistic or cannot account for all the facts, I have indicated this. On three points I have had to make concessions on what I see as an ideal descriptive grammar. Firstly, no acoustic analysis of the phonemes is given. Secondly, intonation is largely ignored (except when clearly contrastive). Thirdly, the vast area of affix-combinations is only minimally touched upon. Hopefully the future will leave time for myself or someone else to fill these gaps.

   This grammar has been written with two kinds of readers in mind. First, it is intended for linguists working in the Austronesian language family (and more specifically Western Malayo-Polynesian or Sulawesi). Second, theoretical and typological linguists may welcome another 'exotic' language.

   I hope that I have done the Muna language sufficient justice in this description, without forcing my own views on it. And I express the hope that it will be the means of communication on the island of Muna for many generations to come.

Wa Kandiida muttering a charm (*nebasa dhoa*)

Small traditional house in Mabodo (*lambu karubu*)

Playing the gong (*dopombololo*)

Processing cashew nuts (*dhambu sera*)

The road to Loghia (*o kabhongka*)

The village of Mone in Gu (*liwuno Mone*)

Wa Tini in her kitchen (*negau*)
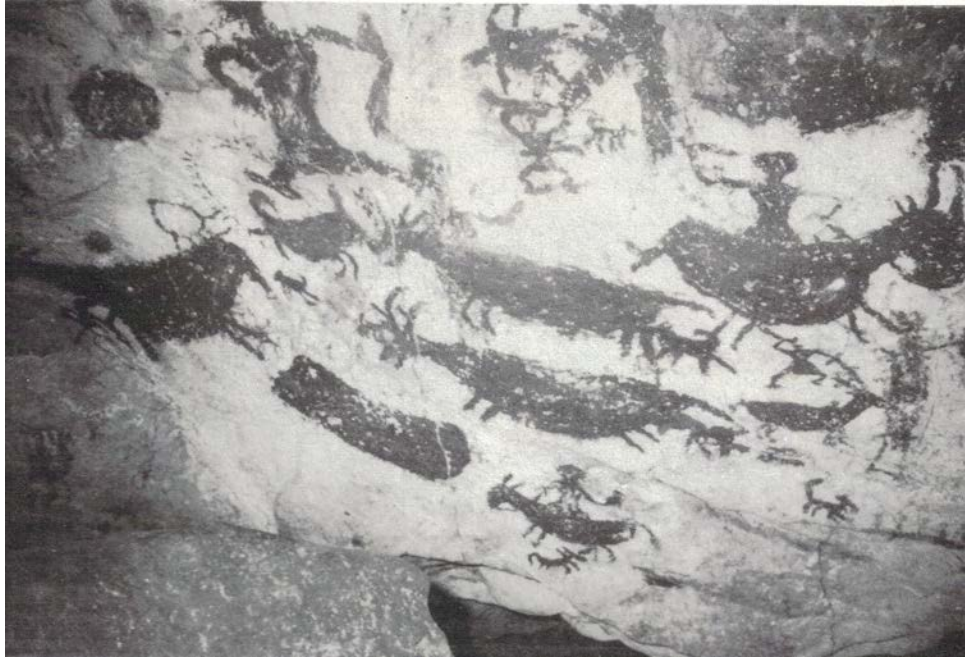
Cave drawings in Liangkobori

Chapter 2

Phonology

This chapter describes the sound system of the Muna language. The emphasis is on the basic sound structures of the language, such as phonemes, syllable structure, stress and phonotactics.

Two observations must be made concerning the scope of the description given here. First, the phonetic description in 2.1 of the consonants and vowels is necessarily impressionistic. The unavailability of Muna speakers in the Netherlands and relatively simple recording techniques made high quality acoustic descriptions impossible.

Second, this description is conservative in that no attempt is made to relate the facts to current phonological theories. Hence one will not find formalized rules or analyses of the facts in the words and notations of a particular school of phonology (for instance, distinctive feature matrix, autosegmental tiers). What is presented here is meant to be an adequate description of the relevant facts.

In 2.1 the phoneme inventory of Muna is given, with subsequent phonetic descriptions and examples. In addition to a list of words showing phonemic oppositions (2.2), a table with phoneme frequencies is presented (2.3). In 2.4 syllable and root structure is discussed, followed by a treatment of stress (2.5) and vowel sequences (2.6). In 2.7 the phonotactics of the simple root are discussed, followed by a section on morphophonemics (2.8). Finally, 2.9 illustrates the phonological adaptations of loanwords.

2.1. Phonemes: inventory and description

2.1.1. Phoneme inventory

a.   *Consonants*

In the chart the following abbreviations are used:

vd   : voiced
vl   : voiceless
prenas   : prenasalized

	bilabial	labio-dental	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
stop vl	p			t	(c)	k		
vd	b		ḍ	d	(j)	g		
vl prenas	mp			nt		ŋk		
vd prenas	mb			nd		ŋg		
implosive	ɓ							
nasal	m			n		ŋ		
fricative vl		f		s				h
vd							ʁ	
vl prenas				ns				
trill				r				
lateral				l				
approximant	w				(y)			

Notes   1. The palatal consonants /c/, /j/ and /y/ are marginal loan
            phonemes. The number of words containing these recent loan
            phonemes is very low. Consequently, they will not be included
            in the discussion of consonants.
        2. /t/ and /nt/ are placed here with the alveolar /d/, although
            they are phonetically apico-dentals. The difference between
            /t/, /nt/ and the lamino-dental /ḍ/, however, is much bigger,
            hence their inclusion with the alveolars.

b.   *Vowels*

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	ɛ		ɔ
low		a	

2.1.2. Phonetic description

In this section a phonetic description of all the consonants and vowels will be
given with illustrative examples. In these examples the phoneme under
discussion will be illustrated both in initial and in medial position within
the word. I will give the phonemes in phonemic transcription (marked by //),

followed by the orthography adopted in this grammar (marked by <>). Allophonic descriptions are between square brackets ([]).

Consonants

/p/   <p>   voiceless bilabial plosive:

      paso   'nail'
      dopi   'board'

/b/   <b>   voiced bilabial plosive:

      buku   'bone'
      bebe   'duck'

/mp/   <mp>   voiceless prenasalized bilabial plosive:

      mpona   'long'
      sampu   'go down'

/mb/   <mb>   voiced prenasalized bilabial plosive:

      mbololo   'gong'
      lambu   'house'

These four bilabial plosives have flapped or trilled allophonic variants before /u/ in stressed position. When the closure of the plosive is released, the lips are vibrated once or twice fairly lightly while the lower jaw is moved forward a little. This allophone only occurs in less careful speech and is considered at best substandard. Since the International Phonetic Alphabet does not suggest a symbol for this variation, I use the diacritic * to symbolize this 'rolling release':

      puhe   [puhɛ]   ~   [p*uhɛ]   'navel'
      buri   [buri]   ~   [b*uri]   'write'
      kambuse [kambusɛ]   ~   [kamb*usɛ]   'cooked maize'
      kampuuna [kampuuna] ~   [kamp*uuna] 'crossroads'

/ɓ/   <bh>   voiced bilabial implosive:

      bhaguli   'marble'
      tobho   'stab'

/m/   <m>   voiced bilabial nasal:

      mata   'eye'
      ama   'father'

/w/   <w>   voiced labial approximant. The following are common allophones:

    [ʋ]   voiced labio-dental approximant, often found before /a,e,i/:

      wangka   [ʋaŋka]   'tooth'
      wewi   [ʋɛʋi]   'pig'
      wite   [ʋitɛ]   'land'

[w]   voiced spread (unrounded) bilabial approximant with slight
       lip protrusion, common before /ɔ/ and /u/:

       wondu   [wɔndu]   'fragrant'
       wulu   [wulu]   'hair'

[β]   voiced bilabial fricative with slight lip protrusion, only
       before /u/:

       wuna   [βuna]   'flower'

Before /u/ there is therefore free variation between [w] and [β]. This
whole system of allophones is quite unstable within the speech community.
With several speakers I recorded only the first or the second allophone.
The degree of lip protrusion in the second and third allophone also
varies, as does the amount of friction to be heard in the third
allophone. Whatever the phonetic norm, it is very clearly not a rounded
bilabial like the English /w/. The target seems to be a labio-dental or a
bilabial spread approximant, with lip protrusion and friction resulting
from the following rounded back vowels /ɔ/ and /u/.

/f/   <f>   voiceless labio-dental fricative:

       foo   'mango'
       mafu   'yam'

/ḓ/   <dh> voiced lamino-dental plosive:

       dhangku   'beard'
       medha   'table'

This phoneme only occurs in (suspected) loanwords (see 2.9). In many of
these it corresponds to the Indonesian palatal plosive <j>. Many speakers
have the Indonesian <j> as a target or norm for this sound in those
words, as Indonesian is the prestige language. This target is reached
with varying degrees of success, resulting for example in a lamino-
palato-alveolar affricate [j].

       bhadhu   [ɓaḓu]   ~   [ɓaju]   'shirt'
       dhambu   [ḓambu]   ~   [jambu]   'cashew nut'

In words containing <dh> that have no formally corresponding Indonesian
equivalent, such as *adhara* 'horse', this allophonic variation does not
occur.

/t/   <t>   voiceless apico-dental plosive:

       tombi   'flag'
       late   'live'

/d/   <d>   voiced apico-alveolar plosive:

       dada   'cook'
       madaho   'later'

/d/ may be realized as an implosive [ɗ]. This is often the case before /a/, regularly before /i/ and /ɛ/, but rarely before /ɔ/ and never before /u/. Before /a/ and /ɔ/ the plosive is sometimes made with a post-alveolar or even a retroflex point of articulation:

dahu	[dahu]	~	[ɗahu]	~	[ɖahu]	'dog'
deu	[deu]	~	[ɗeu]			'needle'
lodo	[lɔdɔ]	~	[lɔɖɔ]			'sleep'

/nt/ <nt> voiceless apico-dental prenasalized plosive:

ntabhala	'thumb'
lantoga	'bracelet'

/nd/ <nd> voiced apico-alveolar prenasalized plosive:

ndau	'heron'
panda	'bottom'

/n/   <n>   voiced apico-alveolar nasal:

nea	'name'
lani	'sky'

/s/   <s>   voiceless lamino-alveolar grooved fricative (tip of tongue usually behind lower teeth):

saho	'rafter'
lasa	'ten thousand'

/ns/ <ns> voiceless lamino-alveolar prenasalized grooved fricative:

nsara	'long'
nunsu	'beak, bill'

/r/   <r>   voiced apico-alveolar trill:

rase	'rust'
horo	'fly'

/l/   <l>   voiced apico-alveolar clear lateral approximant:

lembi	'naked'
ala	'take'

/k/   <k>   voiceless dorso-velar plosive:

kori	'leprosy'
bhake	'fruit'

This sound has the usual allophones before front and back vowels: a palato-velar [k] before /i/ and /ɛ/, and a post-velar [k] before /ɔ/ and /u/. Before /a/, /k/ is a regular velar plosive.

/g/   <g>   voiced dorso-velar plosive:

     ganda   'drum'
     laga   'tree ant'

    Under the same circumstances /g/ has similar allophones as /k/.

/ŋk/ <ngk> voiceless prenasalized dorso-velar plosive:

     ngkodau   'old'
     rangko   'young'

/ŋg/ <ngg> voiced prenasalized dorso-velar plosive:

     nggela   'clean'
     sanggara   'fried banana'

/ŋ/   <ng>   voiced dorso-velar nasal:

     nginda   'shine'
     pangaowa   'sail'

/ʁ/   <gh>   voiced dorso-uvular fricative:

     ghuse   'rain'
     ragha   'branch'

/h/   <h>   voiceless glottal fricative:

     hende   'rise'
     maho   'near'

Vowels

/i/   <i>   high front unrounded vowel:

     isa   'older sibling'
     kuli   'skin'

/u/   <u>   high back rounded vowel:

     usa   k.o. tree
     lowu   'drunk'

/a/   <a>   low central unrounded vowel:

     ana   'child'
     kala   'go'

/ɛ/   <e>   half-open front unrounded vowel:

     elu   'saliva'
     bhose   'shoulder'

In the immediate environment of another vowel the half-open sound is
raised to a half-close vowel [e]:

rea	[rea]	'blood'
neu	[neu]	'dry'
mie	[mie]	'person'

/ɔ/   <o>   half-open back rounded vowel:

horo	'fly (v)'
rako	'catch'

In the immediate environment of another vowel the half-close allophone
[o] occurs:

oe	[oe]	'water'
wou	[wou]	k.o. tree
peo	[peo]	'extinguished'

Word-initial vowels are optionally preceded by a non-phonemic glottal stop:

ina	[ina]	~	[ʔina]	'mother'
ure	[urɛ]	~	[ʔurɛ]	'high tide'

2.2. List of contrasts

This section presents a list of minimal pairs showing some of the more
important contrasts establishing the phonemes in 2.1. The reasons for treating
the prenasalized segments as unit phonemes will be discussed in 2.4. I have
tried to limit the contrast to initial position in disyllabic roots, but in
some cases no good examples were available, either because they did not happen
to occur in the data gathered, or because of distributional limitations (*ng* and
ngg, for instance, are very rare in initial position). In such cases contrast
is shown in other environments. In one case (*ngk* - *ngg*) the environment is not
completely identical.

p	- b	*pulu*	'tough'	*bulu*	'draw'
p	- mp	*pau*	'umbrella'	*mpau*	'sleepy'
b	- mb	*bulu*	'draw'	*mbulu*	'pick vegetables'
mp	- mb	*mpali*	'stroll'	*mbali*	'become'
b	- bh	*baru*	'happy'	*bharu*	'fungus'
bh	- mb	*bhoto*	'guess'	*mboto*	'stay awake'
p	- m	*panda*	'bottom'	*manda*	'regret'
p	- f	*paa*	'four'	*faa*	'termite'
b	- w	*bulu*	'draw'	*wulu*	'hair'
t	- d	*tolo*	'mucus'	*dolo*	'roof top'
d	- dh	*dolo*	'roof top'	*dholo*	'twisted'
t	- nt	*toro*	'ponder'	*ntoro*	'turn, spin'
d	- nd	*dawu*	'part'	*ndawu*	'fall'
nt	- nd	*ntoro*	'turn, spin'	*ndoro*	'skirt'
d	- n	*dea*	'red'	*nea*	'name'
l	- r	*lea*	'painful'	*rea*	'blood'
s	- ns	*sara*	k.o. official	*nsara*	'long'
ns	- nt	*nsara*	'long'	*ntara*	'hold'

k	–	g	*kanda*	'wound'	*ganda*	'drum'
k	–	ngk	*bhake*	'fruit'	*bhangke*	'corpse'
g	–	ngg	*ago*	'cure'	*anggo*	'unsteady'
ngk	–	ngg	*langke*	'tall'	*langgo*	'proud'
g	–	ng	*gari*	'uncombed'	*ngari*	'bored'
g	–	gh	*gau*	'cook'	*ghau*	'lung'
h	–	gh	*haro*	'sweep'	*gharo*	'hungry'
gh	–	r	*ghase*	'chin'	*rase*	'rust'
s	–	h	*sala*	'path'	*hala*	'wrong'
–	–	h	*ala*	'take'	*hala*	'wrong'
–	–	gh	*ase*	k.o. game	*ghase*	'chin'

2.3. Phoneme frequency

In a corpus of over 1,000 disyllabic roots (CVCV type, see 2.4) the frequency (in percent) of the consonant phonemes in word-initial and word-medial position is as follows (because of rounding off, the total is not exactly 100):

phoneme	initial	medial
p	7.6	3.8
b	4.5	2.1
mp	0.6	2.5
mb	1.2	5.4
bh	6.6	2.5
f	1.5	1.1
t	11.5	5.9
d	4.5	3.8
dh	3.3	2.1
nt	1.0	4.2
nd	0.9	5.2
s	8.1	4.9
ns	0.3	2.2
k	7.8	4.5
g	4.2	2.5
ngk	0.5	5.1
ngg	0.3	0.6
gh	5.6	2.2
h	3.7	2.5
l	8.8	14.5
r	6.5	8.6
w	5.4	3.9
m	4.0	2.7
n	1.8	5.1
ng	0.4	1.6
	100.6	99.5

The following observations can be made on the basis of these figures:

1. Initially, voiceless stops, *s* and *l* occur with high frequency.
2. Prenasalized consonants and *ng* are relatively rare in initial position.
3. Medially, liquids are highly favoured; apart from these consonants, preferences seem less distinctive in this position.

4. The functional load of *ngg* as a phoneme is very low.

The relative frequency of vowels (in percent) in these roots is as follows (divided between occurrence in the final or the penultimate syllable):

	penultimate	final
i	11	17
e	14	14
a	35	32
o	22	18
u	18	19

2.4. Syllable and root structure

2.4.1. Syllable structure

The structure of the syllable depends crucially on the analysis of the pre-nasalized segments *mp*, *mb*, *nt*, *nd*, *ngk*, *ngg* and *ns*. Are these phonetically complex sound units or are they sequences? And what is the syllable division of words like *lambu* 'house'?
  The analysis adopted here treats these segments as unit phonemes in all positions in view of the following considerations:

1. There are no unambiguous consonant sequences in the language (such as *kl*, *tr* and *ps*). This makes a sequence analysis suspicious.

2. There are no word-final consonants. It seems reasonable to assume that this is a property of the syllable rather than of the word. A syllable division of *lambu* as *lam-bu* is therefore untenable, the more so as word- initial prenasalized segments also occur (for example *ndoke* 'monkey').

3. The prenasalized consonants function as units in the morphological process of full reduplication (that is, reduplication of the first two syllables, see 10.3). Notice the following examples:

    lambu   'house'
    ka-lambu-lambu   'small house'

    pulangku   'staircase'
    ka-pula-pulangku   'small staircase'

A diminutive is made by the combination of the prefix *ka-* and reduplication of the first two syllables of the root. In the second example it is clear that the prenasalized consonant *ngk* is part of the third syllable. This is therefore evidence that the syllable breaks in *lambu* and *pulangku* should be as follows (syllable boundary is indicated by a dot):

    la.mbu   'house'
    pu.la.ngku   'staircase'

4. A final point which may be mentioned is the psychological status of this analysis. Everybody who was asked to identify the syllables in the two words above agreed on *la.mbu* and *pu.la.ngku* as the correct division. Since

there is no written tradition in Muna, this must reflect a structural
property of the language.

Syllable structure in Muna is therefore as follows: (C) V
I am aware that there is an alternative solution, namely to treat the
prenasalized segments as clusters of plosives or *s* preceded by a homorganic
nasal. This analysis would mean eliminating seven phonemes from the inventory
and adding seven consonant clusters, which would furthermore complicate the
syllable structure. In both analyses a simplification in one area leads to a
complexity in another. For reasons of distribution and symmetry I have adopted
the solution outlined above.
One other point which deserves attention is the analysis of vowel sequences
(such as *aa*, *ei*, *ou*). Is there any evidence that these segments are sequences
of phonemes and not monophonemic long vowels and diphthongs?
The first reason is one of symmetry. All possible sequences of like and
unlike vowels occur (see 2.6), which supports the analysis of such sequences as
V.V. Secondly, in reduplication processes the sequences can be separated.
Notice the following pairs:

ne-langke	'it is high'
no-mba-langke-langke	'it is rather high'
no-ngkodau	'it is old'
no-mba-ngkoda-ngkodau	'it is rather old'

From the second example it is clear that the sequence *au* in *ngkodau* is split up
since it belongs to two different syllables, the final *u* constituting a
syllable in its own right.
Some examples of syllable divisions:

afumaa	*a.fu.ma.a*	'I eat'
mbololo	*mbo.lo.lo*	'gong'
nompona	*no.mpo.na*	'long'
gholeo	*gho.le.o*	'sun, day'
kauso	*ka.u.so*	'shoe'

2.4.2. Root structure

Roots display various combinations of syllable types. The following chart shows
the root structures that are most common in the language. Although most of
these forms are plain roots, some roots of more than two syllables may have
frozen morphology. Based on a sample of approximately 2,500 roots, the relative
frequency of root types is given, but structures that occur less than five
times in the corpus have been ignored (0.1%).

number of syllables	structure	example	gloss	frequency
1	CV	*we*	loc. prep.	0.4
2	V.V	*o.e*	'water'	0.2
	V.CV	*i.fi*	'fire'	4
	CV.V	*ha.e*	'what'	6
	CV.CV	*bha.ngka*	'boat'	44

3	V.V.CV	*a.i.ni*	'this'	0.2
	V.CV.V	*u.le.a*	'load'	0.4
	V.CV.CV	*a.dha.ra*	'horse'	2
	CV.V.V	*wa.e.a*	'bat'	0.5
	CV.V.CV	*gho.e.ra*	'district'	3
	CV.CV.V	*gho.hi.a*	'salt'	5
	CV.CV.CV	*fo.no.ti*	'edible shellfish'	25
4	V.CV.CV.CV	*a.li.ngki.ta*	'wash corpse'	0.2
	CV.V.CV.V	*ka.i.nde.a*	'plantation'	0.2
	CV.V.CV.CV	*ka.o.mbe.la*	'hut'	0.5
	CV.CV.V.V	*bho.ko.e.o*	'sea shell'	0.2
	CV.CV.V.CV	*to.nu.a.na*	'soul'	1
	CV.CV.CV.V	*ma.li.mu.a*	'bewitch'	2
	CV.CV.CV.CV	*bhi.ri.na.nda*	'widow'	4
5	CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	*pa.da.ma.la.la*	'citronella'	0.4

The following conclusions can be drawn concerning the structure of the root:
1. The majority of roots are disyllabic, although trisyllabic roots are also
   common. Roots consisting of one, four or five syllables are marginal
   (altogether less than 10%).
2. CV syllables are much more common than V syllables.
3. V syllables tend to occur in root-final position.
4. Trisyllabic roots contain at least one CV syllable (there are no V.V.V
   roots).
5. Sequences of three vowels are very uncommon in roots (0.7%).

2.5. Stress

With minor exceptions, stress is predictable and therefore non-phonemic. Stress
falls on the penultimate syllable of the word, whether it is a root or a
derivation. The only exceptions are certain vowel sequences (see 2.6) and words
containing the clitic *-a* (see 9.22). Secondary stress can be heard on the
fourth and sixth syllable from the end; stress therefore seems to be spread out
evenly over the word in rhythmic patterns. In the following examples <`> marks
primary stress on the following syllable, whereas secondary stress is indicated
by <ˌ>:

`ani	'bee'
`bhosu	'water jug'
ka`bhongka	'main road'
ˌghunde`letu	'worm'
neˌtula`tula	'he tells a story'
ˌnetuˌlatu`lamo	'he has told a story'

2.6. Vowel sequences

In sequences of two vowels, all five vowels are found as either the first or
the second element. As noted in 2.4.1 the second vowel constitutes a separate
syllable. Examples:

ghii	'peel (betelnut)'
bhie	'heavy'
lia	'cave'
lio	'palm rib'
diu	'movement'
bhei	'rotten'
bhee	'crazy'
bhea	'betel'
feo	'squeeze'
deu	'needle'
ghai	'coconut'
ghae	'cry'
gaa	'marry'
dhao	'learn to stand'
ghau	'lung'
doi	'money'
oe	'water'
bhoa	'hawk'
foo	'mango'
wou	k.o.tree
pui	'coccyx'
ghue	'rattan'
dua	'two'
suo	'bamboo trap'
tuu	'knee'

When the two adjacent vowels are different, stress is regular and falls on the penult. When the two vowels are identical, however, the resulting sequence is phonetically one long vocoid. Examples:

nee	[nɛ:]	'nose'
laa	[la:]	'river'
tuu	[tu:]	'knee'

In other words, the final unstressed vowel is absorbed into the preceding identical vowel. This accounts for the fact that when Muna people do write their language, they tend to write word-final sequences of like vowels as one vowel (for example *fuma* for *fumaa* 'eat').

The disyllabic character of the sequence reappears when it occurs in non-final position because of affixation (for example *fumaa-mo*, *nee-ku*), when the phonetically long vocoid is stressed on its second part. In such cases the sequence is always written as a double vowel.

As noted in 2.4.2, sequences of three vowels are quite uncommon. The following were recorded in roots (in derivations there are many more possibilities):

bheau	'candlenut tree'
bhokoeo	k.o. shellfish
bhuia	'card game'
buea	'crocodile'
daoa	'market'
kaeo	k.o. plant

kaue	'swing'
siua	'nine'
soua	'pimple'
waea	'bat'

In some of these words stress assignment is irregular, as it does not fall on the penult but on the antepenult. This is the case in the following examples:

`bhuia*	`siua*
`daoa*	`soua*
`kaeo*	`waea*
`kaue*	

But in the following examples stress is regularly on the penult:

bhe`au
bhoko`eo
bu`ea

The rules governing these phenomena are still unclear. Notice that a word like *siua* 'nine' cannot be reinterpreted or analysed as **siwa*, because of the clear phonetic differences between these sounds: *w* does not show any lip rounding before *a*, whereas *u* is a fully rounded vowel.

  Finally, there are two roots with sequences of three like vowels, although the first syllable is in both cases probably a frozen morpheme. In these examples a glottal stop occurs between the first and the second vowel:

| *maaa* | [maʔa:] | 'slim, slender' (compare *aa* 'waist') |
| *kaaa* | [kaʔa:] | 'crevice, gap' |

This glottal stop, which is non-phonemic, also occurs optionally between the first and the second vowel in a sequence of three vowels in complex words:

| *no-ko-oe* | [nɔkɔ:e] ~ [nɔkɔʔoe] | 'it has water' |
| *no-ko-ue* | [nɔkɔue] ~ [nɔkɔʔue] | 'it has veins' |

2.7. Phonotactics

In this section an attempt is made to analyse the structure of roots in terms of the combinatory possibilities of vowels and consonants. Such an analysis for (what is now called) Proto-Malayo-Polynesian in Chrétien (1965) has yielded important insights, whereas Uhlenbeck (1949) and Adelaar (1983) have shown that such patternings are an important feature in Javanese and Malay respectively and presumably in other Austronesian languages as well.

  I restrict myself to disyllabic CV.CV roots of which there are just over 1,100 in my corpus. The following chart shows the result of a comparison of the initial consonant (C1) and the medial consonant (C2) of these roots. I use the following notations:

    v   : occurs twice or more
    (v) : occurs only once
    -   : does not occur

C1/C2	p	b	mp	mb	bh	f	t	d	dh	nt	nd	s
p	v	–	v	–	–	–	v	v	v	v	v	v
b	–	v	–	v	–	–	v	v	v	v	v	v
mp	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	v	–	–	–	v
mb	–	–	–	–	–	–	v	–	(v)	–	–	–
bh	–	–	–	–	v	–	v	v	(v)	v	(v)	v
f	v	–	–	–	–	v	v	(v)	–	–	v	–
t	v	–	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v
d	v	–	v	v	–	–	v	v	–	–	v	(v)
dh	–	(v)	v	v	–	–	–	–	v	–	(v)	v
nt	(v)	–	–	–	–	–	–	(v)	–	–	–	–
nd	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
s	v	v	v	v	v	(v)	–	v	v	v	v	v
ns	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
k	v	v	v	v	v	–	v	v	(v)	v	v	v
g	–	(v)	v	v	–	–	v	v	v	v	v	v
ngk	–	(v)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
ngg	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(v)
gh	–	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	–	v	v	v
h	(v)	–	–	v	(v)	–	–	v	(v)	(v)	v	–
l	v	v	v	v	v	–	v	v	–	v	v	v
r	v	v	v	v	–	v	v	v	–	v	v	v
w	–	–	–	v	(v)	–	v	–	(v)	v	(v)	v
m	–	–	–	(v)	–	(v)	v	v	v	v	v	v
n	v	–	–	–	(v)	(v)	–	–	–	–	–	(v)
ng	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(v)	–	(v)	–

C1/C2	ns	k	g	ngk	ngg	gh	h	l	r	w	m	n	ng
p	v	v	v	v	–	v	v	v	v	–	–	v	–
b	v	v	–	v	–	–	–	v	v	–	–	v	v
mp	–	–	v	–	–	–	–	(v)	–	–	–	v	v
mb	–	v	–	–	–	–	–	v	v	–	–	v	v
bh	v	v	v	v	–	(v)	v	v	v	v	–	v	v
f	–	(v)	–	–	–	(v)	–	v	v	–	–	v	(v)
t	–	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v
d	(v)	v	v	v	–	v	v	v	(v)	(v)	v	v	(v)
dh	–	v	v	v	–	–	–	v	v	(v)	(v)	(v)	–
nt	–	–	(v)	–	–	(v)	–	v	v	–	–	–	–
nd	–	v	–	–	–	–	–	v	v	v	–	–	(v)
s	v	v	–	v	–	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v
ns	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(v)	v	–	–	–	–
k	–	–	–	v	–	–	(v)	v	v	v	v	v	–
g	(v)	–	V	–	–	–	(v)	v	v	v	(v)	(v)	–
ngk	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	v	v	–	–	(v)	–
ngg	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(v)	(v)	–	–	–	–
gh	–	–	–	v	–	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	–
h	(v)	(v)	–	(v)	–	–	(v)	v	v	v	v	v	–
l	v	v	V	v	(v)	(v)	v	v	(v)	v	v	v	(v)
r	v	v	V	v	v	v	(v)	–	v	v	v	v	(v)
w	–	v	(v)	(v)	–	v	v	v	v	v	–	v	(v)
m	v	v	(v)	v	(v)	–	v	v	v	(v)	v	v	–
n	(v)	–	(v)	v	–	(v)	(v)	v	(v)	(v)	v	(v)	–
ng	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(v)	v	–	–	–	–

The main difficulty in the analysis of these facts is to distinguish between accidental and systematic gaps. Conclusions must therefore be cautious and provisional; for this reason conclusions concerning low-frequency phonemes such as *h*, *ng* and *ngg* are not drawn. Taking observations by the above-mentioned authors as starting points, the following tentative phonotactic constraints can be formulated. (In the following, the word 'contra-voiced' means differing in voice from the other consonant in the root.)

1.   Initial plosives do not co-occur with contra-voiced homorganic plosives (the implosive *bh* counts as a plosive here). Hence the following pairs are systematic gaps:

        p..b..   p..bh..
        bh..p..   b..p..
        k..g..   g..k..

        This constraint does not apply to *t* and *d*, which is evidence of the fact that these sounds are not homorganic (apico-dental versus apico-alveolar).
        Closer scrutiny reveals that the fricative *f* and the approximant *w* share this non-occurrence with contra-voiced bilabial plosives. There are no examples of the following patterns:

        f..b..   f..bh..
        b..f..   bh..f..
        w..p..   w..f..
        p..w..   f..w..

        For the labials the rule can therefore be extended to exclude all co-occurrences of contra-voiced labial obstruents (plosives, fricative and approximant).
        The behaviour of the uvular fricative *gh* shows that combinations with the velar plosives do not occur:

        gh..k..   k..gh..
        gh..g..   g..gh..

        This may mean that phonologically these sounds are homorganic and hence the velar area falls under the same generalization as the labial area. In that case the non-occurrence of *g* and *gh* could be accidental.

2.   Prenasalized plosives do not co-occur with contra-voiced obstruents. The following patterns are not found:

        p..mb..   mb..p..
        b..mp..   mp..b..
        bh..mp..   mp..bh..
        f..mb..   mb..f..
        w..mp..   mp..w..
        k..ngg..   ngg..k..
        g..ngk..   ngk..g..

        Non-occurrence of *bh..mb..* and *f..mp..* is therefore probably accidental (compare also the trisyllabic *kabhamba* 'spider'). As for *gh*, it does occur with *ngk* but not with *ngg*, the reversal of what we expect. This

might mean that this rule does not hold for velar obstruents, or, alternatively, that *gh* is voiceless at some level of its representation or was voiceless in the past. The latter possibility is most plausible in view of the fact that Muna *gh* reflects PAN *q, possibly a voiceless uvular plosive (see Van den Berg 1988).

3. Obstruents and prenasalized consonants do not co-occur with homorganic nasals. The following patterns are found either rarely or not at all:

p..m..	m..p..	mp..m..	m..mp..
b..m..	m..b..	mb..m..	m..mb..
bh..m..	m..bh..	nt..n..	n..nt..
f..m..	m..f..	nd..n..	n..nd..
w..m..	m..w..	ns..n..	n..ns..
k..ng..	ng..k..	ngk..ng..	ng..ngk..
g..ng..	ng..g..	ngg..ng..	ng..ngg..

    The following roots are exceptions to these rules:

membe	'goat' (onomatopoeic? compare Wolio *bembe*)
mafu	'yam'
mawa	'flood'
nunsu	'beak, mouth'

4. Prenasalized plosives do not co-occur:

mp..mb..	mb..mp..
ns..ngk..	ngk..ns.. etc.

5. Unlike liquids do not co-occur:

l..r..	r..l..

    Exception: *lera* 'blessing' (loan?)

6. Not a constraint, but a tendency, is the fact that prenasalized consonants tend to co-occur with liquids, non-homorganic nasals and non-homorganic contra-voiced plosives.

The remaining gaps cannot be easily accounted for. Is the non-occurrence of *p..f..* and *k..f..* a pattern? What about *f..s..* and *h..s..*? Ad hoc constraints can be formulated, but in order to draw firmer conclusions a bigger data base would be needed, all loanwords would have to be identified and independent examinations in other languages carried out.
  Good candidates for accidental gaps are the following pairs:

p..ng..	gh..p..
s..t..	l..f..
w..d..	m..gh..

Consonant-vowel constraints

There is one very clear constraint on the combination of C and V in roots: *bh* does not occur before *u*. In other words, *bh* has a defective distribution

in combination with vowels. Among all the root types there is only one exception to this rule, the word *bhuia* 'card game', possibly a loan from Wolio.

   What the reason is for this constraint is not clear, but possibly there is a correlation between the 'backness' of *u* and the frontness preferences of implosives. It is typologically well known that bilabial implosives are much more frequent than alveolar implosives, while velar implosives are very rare. The backness of *u* may function as a kind of block to the implosion of the previous consonant. Alternatively, the lip rounding of *u* may be of some influence in the process.

   Other non-existent combinations involve low-frequency consonants (*nse*, *ngu*) and are best considered accidental.

2.8. Morphophonemics

Under this heading a few processes will be described in which allomorphy is determined by the phonological shape of the root. Three such processes can be distinguished, while a fourth one is included here too.

2.8.1. *-um-* allomorphy

The infix *-um-* serves to form the irrealis of certain verbs, and, in combination with the suffix *-no*, the active participle of those verbs (see 4.5 for meaning and usage). This infix has a number of allomorphs which are given in order of importance, first in combination with roots, then with prefixes and finally with reduplication.

A.   In combination with roots.

   a. In the majority of cases (except for those mentioned under b, c and d) the regular infix *-um-* is infixed after the first consonant of the root:

      dadi   *d[um]adi*   'live'
      dhudhu   *dh[um]udhu*   'push'
      gaa   *g[um]aa*   'marry'
      hela   *h[um]ela*   'sail'
      solo   *s[um]olo*   'flow'
      rende   *r[um]ende*   'alight'

   b. When the root has an initial vowel, the prefix *m-* is found as an allomorph:

      ala   *m-ala*   'take'
      ere   *m-ere*   'stand up'
      uta   *m-uta*   'pick fruit'
      omba   *m-omba*   'appear'

   c. When the root has an initial *p* or *f*, this consonant is replaced by *m* (nasal substitution):

      pongko   *[m]ongko*   'kill'
      pili   *[m]ili*   'choose'
      foni   *[m]oni*   'climb, go up'
      futaa   *[m]utaa*   'laugh'

d. When the root has an initial *b*, *bh*, nasal or prenasalized consonant, there is no formal change in the root (a 'zero morpheme'):

baru	'happy'
bhala	'big'
manda	'repent'
nale	'soft, weak'
mbolaku	'steal'
ndiwawa	'yawn'

A special case is formed by roots with initial *w*. Some of these roots undergo nasal substitution, but the majority do not change:

waa	*[m]aa*	'give'
wora	*[m]ora*	'see'
wanu		'get up'
wei		'clear (a field)'

e. A final allomorph is dialectal within standard Muna. This is the infix *-im-*, which is found in roots of which the first vowel is *i*. This phenomenon, which is a case of vowel harmony, seems to be restricted to a few villages in Katobu, such as Watuputi:

limba	*l[im]imba*	'go out'
hiri	*h[im]iri*	'peel'
sikola	*s[im]ikola*	'go to school'

A number of regular irrealis forms with high frequency can be further reduced by deletion of *m* when this *m* is the result of nasal substitution or nasal prefixation. In the following examples, person inflections have been added for the sake of naturalness:

realis	irrealis	
a-wora-e	*a-[m]ora-e / a-ora-e*	'I see it'
no-omba	*na-[m]omba / na-omba*	'he appears'
a-foroghu	*a-[m]oroghu / a-oroghu*	'I drink'
a-fumaa	*a-omaa (= ao-maa)*	'I eat'

The last example is irregular in that the regular form (**a-[m]omaa*) does not exist (or no longer exists). For all three examples the subject prefixes have been reinterpreted as belonging to the irrealis ao-class (see 4.5).

B. In combination with prefixes.

When roots are affixed with verbal prefixes (that is, when the resulting derivation is a verb) the behaviour of *-um-* is not predictable, but has to be specified for each prefix. Three cases can be distinguished (for meaning and usage of these prefixes, see chapter 10), of which the first two are illustrated by two examples each.

a. The prefix is amenable to *-um-*: the normal allophonic rules for roots apply. This is the case with the following prefixes:

fe- (a-class)	*feka-*
fo$_1$-	*foko-*
ka-	*para-*

no-fo-ada-e	*na-[m]o-ada-e*	'he borrows it'
no-ka-baru-baru	*na-k[um]a-baru-baru*	'he is naughty'

b. The prefix is resistant to *-um-*: the rules do not apply. This is true for the majority of prefixes:

fe- (ae-class)	*po-*
fo$_2$-	*poka-*
ki-/-ha	*ponta-*
ko-	*si-*
paka-	*si-/-ha*
piki-	*ti-*

no-ko-doi	*na-ko-doi*	'he has money'
no-ti-wora	*na-ti-wora*	'it is visible'

c. The prefix is blocked for *-um-*: the rules cannot apply because of the shape of the prefix (initial nasal or prenasalized consonant). Examples are the following prefixes:

mansi-	*mpo-*
manso-	*ngko-*
mba-	*nsa-*

These facts can be reanalysed in terms of weak and strong morpheme boundaries before a given prefix, such that a certain prefix is specified for its morphological boundary, a weak one allowing for *-um-* allomorphy, while a strong boundary is resistant to such rules.

C. In combination with reduplication.

With fully reduplicated roots (that is, repetition of the first two syllables of the root) only the reduplicated part is affixed with *-um-* while the base remains unchanged. In these examples I ignore inflection and meaning (for reduplication see 10.3).

reduplicated irrealis	realis	
s[um]uli-suli	*suli*	'return'
l[um]imba-limba	*limba*	'go out'
[m]anta-antagi	*antagi*	'wait'

This is true for almost all cases, except when the base has an initial *p* or *f*. In these cases, both the reduplicated part and the base undergo nasal substitution:

[m]oni-[m]oni	*foni*	'climb, go up'
[m]eki-[m]ekiri	*fekiri*	'think'
[m]unda-[m]unda	*punda*	'jump'

With partial reduplication (that is, only the first syllable of the base is repeated) both regular *um*-infixation and blocking occur as variants, although infixation seems to be more common:

ro-rondo / r[um]o-rondo	*rondo*	'dark'
tu-turu / t[um]u-turu	*turu*	'sleepy'
ke-kebha / k[um]e-kebha	*kebha*	'tap (a tree)'

2.8.2. **Nasal accretion**

In a number of words, to be specified below, a process occurs that can be called 'nasal accretion', that is, the addition of a homorganic nasal to an obstruent (plosive, fricative, approximant) resulting in a prenasalized consonant. First I will treat the formal side of this process, followed by a discussion of its occurrence and usage.

The following phonemes can undergo nasal accretion (right-hand column specifies the resulting prenasalized consonant):

p	*mp*
f	*mp* (*mf*)
b, *bh*, *w*	*mb*
t	*nt*
d	*nd*
s	*ns*
k, *gh*	*ngk*
g	*ngg*

Of all the plosives, only *dh* (a loan phoneme) does not participate in this process. The implosive *bh* loses its implosive character, while the continuants *f* and *w* are occlusivized to *mp* and *mb* respectively. The prenasalized counter-part of *gh* is *ngk*, which is remarkable in that there is a difference in place of articulation (uvular versus velar) as well as in voicing. This supports the earlier observation that *gh* was possibly a voiceless plosive at an earlier stage.

As for *f*, in a very limited number of words *f* can have the prenasalized variant *mf* in addition to *mp*, mostly after the prefix *para-*. Since *mf* is not an independently established phoneme and clusters do not occur in the language, this poses a problem. The best solution seems to be to regard *mf* as a juncture allophone of *mp*, that is, an allophone which is only found at a special morpheme boundary.

Nasal accretion occurs in the following three cases:

a. In combination with certain affixes, for example *ka-* (10.2.17), *ka-/-ha* (10.2.18) and *para-* (10.2.38):

ka-ntisa	'plants, crop'	*tisa*	'plant'
ka-mpooli	'result'	*pooli*	'obtain'
ka-mpumaa-ha	'eating utensil, plate'	*fumaa*	'eat'
ka-ngkoleo-ha	'clothesline'	*gholeo*	'dry (in the sun)'
para-mpodea	'shout repeatedly'	*podea*	'shout'
para-mpeena	'ask all the time'	*feena*	'ask'
(also: *para-mfeena*)			

b. In a number of compounds (10.4), with *ka-* (5.9.2; 10.2.17) or *ko-* (10.2.21):

pae ngka-dea	'red rice'
kontu ngko-wuna	'stone with flowers'
no-filei ngka-pode-podea	'she ran away screaming'
turu-ngkato	'eaves'
no-angka-angka-mbono-da	'he followed them stealthily'

c. Initially, in a few words. In these cases there appears to be free variation between the 'plain' and the prenasalized consonant, although most informants agree that the prenasalized variant sounds more 'refined', having a poetic or literary flavour. This may be true for the first few examples, but seems rather far-fetched for the word for 'tomato', in which the prenasalized variant is used in everyday conversation.

kolipopo	*ngkolipopo*	'star'
bidhadhari	*mbidhadhari*	'fairy'
kamokula	*ngkamokula*	'elder, parent'
birita	*mbirita*	'news'
badha	*mbadha*	'body'
tigho	*ntigho*	'always'
tamate	*ntamate*	'tomato'

2.8.3. Possessive suffix *-ndo/-do*

The regular third person plural possessive suffix *-ndo* 'their' (see 5.4.1) has a variant *-do* which is found with bases containing a prenasalized consonant. In some high-frequency words the variant with *-do* is the only possible one, but in many cases doublet forms are attested:

lambu-do	'their house'
amba-do	'their word, they said'
randa-(n)do	'their stomach'
sa-kundo-(n)do	'when they had left'
ni-angka-(n)do	'their leader'
kambele-(n)do	'their shadow'

This phenomenon is no doubt related to the phonotactic constraint formulated in 2.6 that prenasalized consonants do not co-occur in roots. Apparently this constraint is also at work in complex words. Notice that it does not apply to the first person inclusive *-nto*, which is never affected. However, the form *-to* is probably found in the noun *omputo* 'ruler, king' (lit. 'our lord'), which is related to *ompu* 'lord'.

2.8.4. Allomorphy of *-Ci* and *-Cao*

Although strictly speaking the following problems are not related to morphophonemics, this seems the best place to discuss them.
  The suffixes *-Ci* (transitivizing, often a locative or petative meaning, see 10.2.16) and *-Cao* (intensifier, see 10.2.15) each have a number of allomorphs. In the case of *-Ci* the following consonants can take the C position:

    p, t, k, f, s, gh, h, m, n, ng, l, r, w

(that is, all the voiceless plosives, the fricatives, nasals, liquids and the approximant). These consonants thus seem to form a natural class over against the remaining consonants (voiced plosives, the implosive and the prenasalized consonants).

To illustrate this suffix I give two examples (for further information see 10.2.16):

| *leni* | 'swim' | *leni-fi* | 'swim for something' |
| *lodo* | 'sleep' | *lodo-ghi* | 'sleep on something' |

In the case of the suffix *-Cao* the C position can be occupied by one of the following consonants:

    p, t, f, s, h, l, r

This is a smaller set, also excluding the nasals, the velar/uvular *k* and *gh* and *w*. For examples and usage of *-Cao* see 10.2.15.

As for the status of these consonants in the derivation, a possible solution is to treat them as underlying final consonants of the root, which are deleted in every environment except before the suffixes *-i* and *-ao*. Positing underlying final consonants however, violates an exceptionless rule in the (surface) phonology of the language, namely that there are no syllable-final consonants. Also, one runs into problems with verbs that take more than one suffix. I therefore simply choose to describe the different allomorphs as bound allomorphs for which the verb has to be specified in the lexicon.

For a discussion of a similar case of allomorphy in Maori, see Hale (1973).

2.9. Adaptation of loanwords

Like all other languages, Muna has borrowed and still borrows a large part of its vocabulary. The source languages are Malay/Indonesian, Bugis, Wolio and (formerly) Dutch. In this section the main phonological adaptations loanwords have undergone will be discussed. In many cases there is a known corresponding lexeme in Malay and hence I take the source language to be Malay (possibly through Bugis or Wolio), although in many cases the words are ultimately from Sanskrit, Arabic, Dutch and other languages.

The most important adaptations can be classified as follows:
1. replacement of foreign sounds;
2. avoidance of final consonants;
3. breaking of clusters.

1. *Replacement of foreign sounds*

a. Malay *e* (schwa) is replaced by *a*:

Muna	Malay/Indonesian	
tarigu	*terigu*	'wheat'
kalasi	*kelas*	'class'
talati	*telat*	'late'

But *e* is replaced by *i* following *s*:

sikola	*sekolah*	'school'
sinapa	*senapan*	'rifle'
sipeda	*sepeda*	'bicycle'

b. Malay/Indonesian *j* (voiced palatal plosive) is regularly replaced by *dh*, but educated speakers of Muna may retain its palatal character (see also the discussion on *dh* in 2.1.2):

dhambu	*jambu*	'cashew'
dhala	*jalan*	'way, road'
dhamani	*jaman*	'era'

But *d* is also frequently replaced by *dh*:

dhalima	*delima*	'pomegranate'
dhoa	*doa*	'ritual prayer, charm'
dhosa	*dosa*	'sin'

The existence of the word *dosa* 'guilt, debt' next to *dhosa* 'sin' suggests an interesting but complicated history of borrowing and semantic change of these words.

c. *c* (voiceless palatal plosive) is replaced by *s*:

soba	*coba*	'try'
bisara	*bicara*	'speak'
hansuru	*hancur*	'ruined'

In recent loans *c* is either retained or (in the speech of non-educated people) replaced by *t*:

ceti	*cet*	'paint'
ceta	*cetak*	'print'
beca ~ beta	*becak*	'becak, trishaw'
cina ~ tina	*cina*	'Chinese'

d. *y* is replaced by *e* intervocalically and after *h*; initially it is retained:

parasaea	*percaya*	'believe'
raeati	*rakyat*	'people'
sambahea	*sembahyang*	'Muslim prayer'
yakini	*yakin*	'certain, convinced'

The sequence *ayu* is replaced by *au*:

Malau	*Melayu*	'Malay'
pau	*payung*	'umbrella'

e. *ny* (palatal nasal) is replaced by *n*:

mina	*minyak*	'oil'
panaki	*penyakit*	'disease'

2. *Avoidance of final consonants*

In some cases final consonants are deleted:

bensi	*bensin*	'gasoline'
kiama	*kiamat*	'doomsday'
koso	*kosong*	'empty'
mogo	*mogok*	'fail, break down'
nilo	*nilon*	'nylon'
obe	*obeng*	'screwdriver'
sumu	*sumur*	'well'

But more usual is the addition of a vowel. The conditions specifying when the final consonant is deleted and when a vowel is added and which vowel that must be, cannot be given at present.

adhati	*adat*	'customary law'
bani	*ban*	'tyre'
bebasi	*bebas*	'free'
hafala	*hafal*	'memorize'
haku	*hak*	'right'
imamu	*imam*	'Muslim leader'
imani	*iman*	'faith'
kakusu	*kakus*	'toilet'
kantori	*kantor*	'office'
kasara	*kasar*	'rough, uncivilized'
tanggala	*tanggal*	'date'
wolu	*wol*	'wool'

3. *Breaking of clusters*

A vowel is inserted in a consonant cluster. If the final syllable is open, an extra vowel is added to that syllable:

arataa	*harta*	'wealth'
haragaa	*harga*	'price'
ilimiu	*ilmu*	'knowledge'
karadhaa	*kerja*	'work'
sakusii	*saksi*	'witness'
wakutuu	*waktu*	'time'

Other examples of the breaking of clusters:

karatasi	*kertas*	'paper'
misikini	*miskin*	'poor'
parakesa	*periksa*	'investigate'
surudadu	*serdadu*	'soldier'

Finally a few examples of some idiosyncratic adaptations:

faraluu	*perlu*, *fardu*	'necessary, obligatory'
harasia	*rahasia*	'secret'
koboru	*kubur*	'grave'
putolo	*potlot*	'pencil'
rangkaea (verb)	*orang kaya*	'rich (man)'

The following words seem to be direct borrowings from Dutch:

bisiloi	*besluit*	'decision'
harendesi	*herendienst*	'statutory labour'
ndoro	*onderrok*	'skirt'

In the last example *ondoro* was probably re-analysed as *o ndoro*, in which *o* is the article (5.6).

Chapter 3

Words and word classes

This chapter will form a prelude to the syntax and morphology chapters of this Muna grammar. I will first discuss the difference between word, affix and clitic, while the rest of the chapter is concerned with the division of words into word classes and a succinct discussion of these classes. A number of issues relating to the area of word classes will conclude this chapter.

3.1. Words, affixes, clitics

3.1.1. Words

In this section I will define some concepts which will be used throughout this grammar. Based on Reichling (1935) the word can be defined as a unit of phonological and morphological constancy and syntagmatic mobility. In other words, in a word such as *fotu* 'head', the four phonemes are in a given fixed order and cannot be changed without altering the meaning or resulting in a non-existent word. Morphological constancy is shown by the fact that in a word such as *no-feka-nggela-hi-e-mo* 'she has already made it clean', the order of the morphemes is fixed. Given these six morphemes, this is the only possible ordering. Syntagmatic mobility can be shown by replacement, movement, separability and isolation. In combination these tests will show the division between words, groups of words and affixes. Take for example the following two sentences, which are almost identical in meaning (although there is a difference in emphasis):

(1) a. *inodi a-kamokula-mo*   'I am already old'
      I   1sR-old-PF

    b. *a-kamokula-mo inodi*   'I am already old'
      1sR-old-PF   I

The fact that the two constituents of these two clauses can be moved around shows that they are separate words.

3.1.2. Affixes

Affixes can be defined as a closed class of grammatical elements within the word. They are bound morphemes and cannot occur on their own. A fair number of affixes change the word class of the root to which they are affixed.

   Formally, the following categories can be distinguished: prefixes, suffixes and infixes. Another formal process involving word-internal structural changes is reduplication, which in some cases is combined with affixation to signal one semantic unit. Examples of affixation:

1. Prefix *fo-* on verbal bases; resulting meaning: causative.

   ndawu   'fall'
   fo-ndawu   'drop'

2. Combination of prefix *ka-* and reduplication on nominal bases; resulting meaning: diminutive.

   tomba   'basket'
   ka-tomba-tomba   'small basket'

3.1.3. Inflection and derivation

The distinction between inflection and derivation is traditionally widely used in linguistics, but it is hard to define these notions satisfactorily independent of a particular language (Bybee 1985). In this description I will make the following distinction:

1. Inflection refers to those morphological processes that mark person deixis. Specifically, inflection involves affixes that mark the subject, direct object and indirect object on the verb and the possessive/agentive suffixes on nouns and participles. Each of these four inflectional categories has its own inventory, the members of which stand in a paradigmatic relationship to each other. In addition, the category of subject inflection is made up of three subclasses. Inflectional morphology on the verb will be treated in detail in Chapter 4, while possessive inflection is discussed in 4.9 and in 5.4.
2. Derivational morphology covers all remaining processes of affixation and reduplication, covering a wide range of semantic categories such as aspect, causation and nominalization. Some derivational affixes have grammatically determined allomorphs. Derivational morphology is the subject of Chapter 10.

Regularity, productivity and change of word class are not the distinguishing parameters in this definition. Rather, inflection covers the traditional category of verbal conjugation, which in this case is extended to 'nominal conjugation'.

3.1.4. Clitics and cliticization

Clitics take a position midway between words and affixes. They constitute meaningful elements that differ from affixes in, for example, their position and their behaviour with respect to stress rules and other phenomena. In Muna there exists only one clitic element, the pausal clitic *-a* (for a full dis-cussion of meaning and usage of this clitic, see 9.22). The reasons for calling

it a clitic are both phonological and grammatical. First, -a is the only element that does not affect word stress when it is present. As noted in 2.5, stress is normally on the penultimate syllable of the word and affixes are considered part of the word. The addition of -a, however, does not affect the placement of stress. In the following examples <`> marks a following stressed syllable:

    `lima   'arm'
    li`maku   'my arm'
    lima`kumo   'my arm' (emphatic)
    lima`kumoa   'my arm' (emphatic pausal)

Grammatically it differs from affixes in that it is not added to the word, but rather to the phrase (for instance after negators). Also, its meaning as a 'pausal marker' is markedly different from the kind of meaning derivational affixes usually have. In the illustrative sentences in this grammar, -a will simply be glossed as 'CL' (clitic).
   Cliticization is a phonological process whereby an independent word is phonologically attached to the preceding or following word. Two such processes occur in Muna, whereby a monosyllabic word is pre-cliticized to the following verb and loses its vowel:

1. The preposition so 'for' in purpose clauses (see 9.17):

    so a-k[um]ala   ~   s-a-k[um]ala   'that I go'
    so ae-gholi   ~   s-ae-gholi   'that I buy'

2. The negator pa 'not (future)' in negative clauses (see 8.5.2):

    pa o-l[um]imba   ~   p-o-l[um]imba   'you will not go out'
    pa o-[m]ondoi   ~   p-o-[m]ondoi   'you will not be able'

The forms so and pa in the first column are full words. Their distribution is parallel with other prepositions (Chapter 6) and negators (8.5) that do not cliticize. In the second column, however, these elements have become clitics, as they are part of the following word.
   This phenomenon of vowel merging is also found with the prefixes sa- and ta- (see 10.2.44 and 10.2.48).

3.2. Word classes

Any systematic grammar of a language will have to define the parts of speech or word classes that are relevant for that language. We cannot work on the assumption that the traditional division into parts of speech is universal; a system has to be set up which is based on the language under investigation. It turns out, for example, that the category 'adjective' cannot be maintained for Muna, as there is no independent criterion by which supposed adjectives can be satisfactorily defined apart from verbs.
   Word classes are distinguished on two bases: inflectional/derivational possibilities and syntactic properties. I distinguish between declinable and nondeclinable words, and then arrive at morphological classes dividing the declinable words into noun, verb, numeral and pronoun. Syntactic criteria such as substitution, expansion and function divide the nondeclinable words into several classes.

   For Muna I propose the following ten word classes, of which several will have subdivisions:

1. Noun
2. Verb
3. Pronoun
4. Numeral
5. Quantifier
6. Adverb
7. Preposition
8. Conjunction
9. Particle
10. Interjection

There is a primary division between noun and verb on the one hand and all the other word classes on the other hand. Noun and verb are open classes comprising several thousands of members and continually expanding because of borrowing. The other word classes are all closed classes, the members of which can be listed. Also, nouns and verbs have a wide array of derivational possibilities, whereas derivation is impossible for many of the others (quantifier, adverb, preposition, conjunction, particle and interjection) or very limited (pronoun and numeral). The differences can be shown in the following chart:

	open/closed	derivational possibilities
noun	open	many
verb	open	many
pronoun	closed	few
numeral	closed	few
quantifier	closed	none
adverb	closed	none
preposition	closed	none
conjunction	closed	none
particle	closed	none
interjection	closed	none

There is an element of arbitrariness in this classification with respect to the status of class and subclass. Pronouns could also have been considered a subclass of nouns because of their syntactic function, while negators (now under adverbs) could have been treated as a separate class, as is done by Silzer for Ambai (Silzer 1984).

3.3. Individual discussion of word classes

In this section I will give operational definitions for noun and verb and illustrate the other word classes.

3.3.1. Noun

Morphologically, nouns form the basis of the following derivations, among others:

a. *ka-* + reduplication of N   diminutive noun (10.2.19)

  kabhawo 'mountain', *ka-kabha-kabhawo* 'hill'

b. *ko-* + N   'have/possess N' (10.2.21)

  ana 'child', *ko-ana* 'have a child/children'

Syntactically, nouns show the following properties:
a. they can be modified by other elements, such as the article *o*, possessive
   suffixes and demonstrative pronouns;
b. they are negated by *suano* 'not';
c. they can fill the position after a preposition;
d. they can function as subject, direct object and indirect object in a clause.
  Examples of nouns are *lambu* 'house', *kampufu* 'youngest child' (both simple
nouns), *ka-pindalo* 'desire' and *ka-lente-ha* 'place of birth' (both complex
nouns).
  Within the set of nouns a number of subsets can be distinguished, such as:
1. proper nouns (names)
2. classifying nouns (classifiers)
3. measure nouns
4. the reflexive-emphatic noun *wuto*.
  Nouns are further discussed and illustrated in Chapter 5. The derivational
possibilities of nouns are treated in 5.2 and in Chapter 10.

3.3.2. Verb

Morphologically the most conspicuous aspect of the verb is the obligatory
presence of the prefixes marking subject inflection (subject markers, see
Chapter 4). For example, in *no-kala* 'he goes', the root *kala* 'go' is prefixed
with a bound morpheme *no-* that refers to a third person singular. Every word
that shows this kind of inflection is a verb. In this chapter verbs will be
given in their (bound) root form. On the basis of the subject markers, three
verb classes can be distinguished: a-verbs, ae-verbs and ao-verbs (see 4.3).
  Another important division, which cuts across the previous division, is that
between transitive and intransitive verbs. Transitive verbs can be distin-
guished from intransitive verbs by means of the following processes:
1. a transitive verb can receive direct object inflection, an intransitive verb
   cannot;
2. from a transitive verb a passive participle can be derived; this is not
   possible with intransitive verbs.
Intransitive verbs can be further subdivided into stative and dynamic in-
transitive verbs. They are distinguished morphologically in that stative
intransitive verbs can form the basis of derivations with *mba-* + reduplication,
meaning 'rather', and with *feka-*, a factitive prefix. Examples follow.

Transitive: *rabu* (ae-verb) 'make'

  (2)a. *ne-rabu*   'he makes'
       3sR-make

    b. *no-rabu-e*   'he makes it'
       3sR-make-it

    c. *ni-rabu-no*   'what he has made'
       P.PART-make-his

    d. *no-mba-rabu-rabu

    e. *no-feka-rabu-e

Stative intransitive: *ghosa* (ao-verb) 'strong'

    (3)a. *no-ghosa*   'he is strong'
        3sR-strong

    b. *no-ghosa-e*

    c. *ni-ghosa-no*

    d. *no-mba-ghosa-ghosa*   'he is rather strong'
        3sR-RATHER-RED-strong

    e. *no-feka-ghosa-e*   'he makes it strong'
        3sR-FACT-strong-it

Dynamic intransitive: *kala* (a-verb) 'go'

    (4)a. *no-kala*   'he goes'

    b. *no-kala-e*

    c. *ni-kala-no*

    d. *no-mba-kala-kala*

    e. *no-feka-kala-e*

On the relationship between the verb classes a-, ae- and ao- and the transitive
and stative/dynamic intransitive classes, see 4.4.
   Stative intransitive verbs are usually translated as adjectives in English.
To use the term 'adjective' for these words obscures the important fact that in
Muna these words behave in every respect as verbs. Both predicatively and
attributively these putative adjectives are marked in exactly the same way as
verbs, that is, with subject inflection and as active participles, as illus-
trated by the following two pairs (both verbs are ao-verbs):

    (5)a. *no-ghae*   'he cries'
         3sR-cry

    b. *no-kesa*   'it is beautiful'
        3sR-beautiful

    (6)a. *anahi mo-ghae-no*   'a crying child / a child that
        child -cry-A.PART   cries'

    b. *kalambe mo-kesa-no*   'a beautiful girl / a girl
       girl   -beautiful-A.PART   that is beautiful'

Because of their structural similarity, *ghae* and *kesa* are grouped together as
verbs: they differ in their derivational possibilities, as illustrated above

by *ghosa* and *kala*, hence the categorization into stative and dynamic in-transitive verbs.

3.3.3. Pronoun

There are two, structurally different, sets of pronouns: personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns.

  The set of free personal pronouns (to be distinguished from pronominal af-fixes such as subject markers) comprises six basic members, for example *inodi* 'I'; *ihintu* 'you' (see 5.3).

  The set of demonstrative pronouns comprises six members, for example *aini* 'this'; *awatu* 'that (far)' (see 5.5).

  Other traditional pronominal categories are not needed, since 'possessive pronouns' are in fact possessive suffixes (5.4), while positing a category of interrogative pronouns would obscure the fact that question words are drawn from more than one word class (see 8.6.2).

3.3.4. Numeral

This is a closed class of 15 basic words. Combinations of these words add up to a much larger number, which, however, is fully regular and predictable. Nine of these numeral words (the numbers one to nine) occur in three forms: free, prefixed and reduplicated. Numerals and their derivational possibilities are discussed as part of the measure phrase in 5.7.

3.3.5. Quantifier

The class of quantifiers is a closed class of six members, such as *eano* 'every', *sabhara* 'all kinds of'. Quantifiers are usually placed in front of the head noun they modify, though some quantifiers can 'float' to other positions in the clause. For a detailed treatment of quantifiers see 5.7.6.

3.3.6. Adverb

Adverbs are words that modify the verb or the whole clause. They form a closed class with several subclasses:
1. Temporal adverbs, for example *indewi* 'yesterday'
2. Intensifying adverbs, for example *sepaliha* 'very'
3. Focusing adverbs, for example *dua* 'also, too'
4. Negators, for example *miina* 'no, not'
5. Disjuncts, for example *hadae* 'maybe'.
  Adverbs are further discussed and illustrated in the chapter on clausal syntax (7.11).

3.3.7. Preposition

Prepositions are a closed class of elements specifying the semantic relation-ship that holds between a verb and a nominal. There are two subclasses of prepositions:
1. local prepositions: *we*, *te* and *ne*;
2. non-local prepositions: *bhe* 'with', *peda* 'like', *so* 'for' and *ampa* 'until'.
On the meaning and usage of simple and complex prepositions, see Chapter 6.

3.3.8. Conjunction

Conjunctions are a closed class of words whose function is to connect clauses and sentences, for example *bhe* 'and, while', *rampahano* 'because'. Conjunctions are treated in the chapter on interclausal syntax, Chapter 9.

3.3.9. Particle

There are two monosyllabic words in Muna that do not fit into any of the above categories, the article *o* and the plural marker *ndo*. They share the feature of pre-nominal position, but otherwise differ markedly from each other. These particles are treated in 5.6 as part of the nominal phrase.

3.3.10. Interjection

Interjections form a closed class of words that are aberrant in their syntactic behaviour from other word classes in that they constitute single-word clauses. The following types of interjections can be distinguished:
1. emotive interjections, for example *adede* 'ouch' (expresses pain)
2. interjections to call or chase away animals, for example *sio* (call to chase away chickens)
3. the word *uumbe* 'yes'.
For a fuller list of interjections see 7.12.2.

3.4. Word-class changes and double membership

In this section I want to mention several issues that are connected with word classes, without treating these issues in any detail.

1. There are regular processes by which words can change from one class to another, usually through the addition of morphological material. Rules describing morphological processes must therefore specify the input and output in terms of word classes, as is done in Chapter 10 on derivational morphology. Examples of word-class changes:

   a. *ana*   'child'   (noun)
      ko-ana   'have a child/children'   (verb) (see 10.2.21)

   b. *tolu*   'three'   (numeral)
      nae-tolu   'in three days'   (verb) (see 5.7.2)

   c. *rimba*   'quick, fast'   (verb)
      feka-rimba   'fast'   (manner adverb) (see 10.2.5)

   d. *bheta*   'sarong'   (noun)
      bheta   'wear a sarong'   (verb) (see 10.5)

2. Some words are members of more than one word class or seem to have a derived usage in another word class. Such words are best considered to have a basic word-class membership and a derived one through a process which is irregular and lexically determined. Examples:

bhe   1. 'with'   (preposition)
         2. 'and, while'   (conjunction)

sigaa 1. 'part'   (noun)
         2. 'sometimes'   (adverb)

3.5. Conclusion

A comparison of Muna and, for example, English shows that the category 'verb' is often used in Muna where English has other word classes. This is not only true for the English category 'adjectives' but also for such words as *no-langka* 'rarely', *ne-nturu* 'often', *no-nea* 'usual(ly)'. Morphologically they are verbs because of the subject markers *ne-* and *no-*, but semantically they correspond to adverbs in English. To this category also belong words such as *nae-tolu* 'in three days', *nae-fato* 'in four days', verbs which are based on numerals. Another example is provided by manner adverbs marked by *feka-*, which are optionally inflected for subject (see 7.10.3 and 10.2.5). Other words that can optionally receive subject inflection include conjunctions such as *kansuru* 'at once' and the preposition *peda* 'like' (6.2.4).

   Finally, it should be mentioned that the division into word classes is both necessary and meaningful for basic - that is, underived - words. With certain derived words problems arise, however. Participles, for example, retain some verbal features, acquire a number of nominal characteristics and have other unique properties.

   The following chart shows the spreading of some of these features over the basic categories of noun and verb and the active and passive participles:

	noun	pass.part.	act.part.	verb
1. function as subject	+	+	+	–
2. basis of co-derivation	+	+	–	–
3. negator	*suano*	*pata*	*pata*	*miina*
4. person marking	P	P	–	S
5. modified by demonstrative or descriptive attribute	+	+	+	–

Notes: 1. Verbal subjects (parameter one) do occur, but are very rare.
         2. For *ko*-derivations, see 10.2.21.
         3. For negators, see 8.5.
         4. In the fourth parameter (person marking) P stands for possessive inflection (4.9), while S signifies subject inflection (4.1). Active participles are not marked for person.
         5. For demonstratives see 5.5, for descriptive attributes 5.9.2.

The conclusion must be that passive participles are very noun-like in their syntactic behaviour, more so than active participles. Both, however, have unique properties because of their special negator *pata*. Other derivations take up other intervening positions. The terms noun and verb should therefore be used with caution with respect to derived categories. In discussions of the participles the terms noun and verb will therefore be avoided.

Chapter 4

Verbal inflection

This chapter deals with verbal morphology, one of the most complex aspects of Muna grammar. More specifically, it is restricted to verbal inflection. First, subject inflection is discussed with its complexities, such as the three different paradigms for subject markers (4.3, 4.4), the influence of the irrealis mood on subject inflection (4.5) and the so-called definiteness shift (4.6). A first analysis of these topics is given in Van den Berg (1987). Direct and indirect object inflection are treated in 4.8. The chapter ends with a discussion of inflection in morphologically complex words (4.9).

4.1. Subject inflection

In Muna a clause can consist of a single verb, as illustrated in (1):

    (1) a. *no-leni*   'he is swimming'
           3sR-swim

        b. *a-leni*   'I am swimming'
           1sR-swim

In (1a) the prefix *no-* marks the subject of the verb *leni* as third person singular (it also indicates the realis (R) mood, see 4.5), while the prefix *a-* in (1b) marks the subject as first person singular (realis).
   These clauses can be expanded by a full nominal or pronominal subject; a free pronoun usually indicates emphasis (see 5.3.1):

    (2) a. *ama-ku   no-leni*   'my father is swimming'
           father-my 3sR-swim

        b. *inodi a-leni*   'I am swimming'
           I   1sR-swim

In these cases there is agreement between the noun phrase functioning as the subject of the clause and the prefix indicating the subject on the verb. Henceforth these prefixes will be called subject markers. The following clauses are therefore ungrammatical:

(3)a. *ama-ku a-leni*

    b. *inodi no-leni*

The following chart presents the subject markers for one class of verbs. For ease of reference the full paradigm of subject inflection illustrated on the verb *kala* 'go' is given together with the free pronouns, which are further treated in 5.3.

person		pronoun	verb form	gloss
sg	1	*inodi*	*a-kala*	'I go'
	2	*ihintu*	*o-kala*	'you go'
	2 polite	*intaidi*	*to-kala*	'you (polite) go'
	3	*anoa*	*no-kala*	'he/she/it goes'
du	1 inclusive	*intaidi*	*do-kala*	'we (2 incl) go'
pl	1 inclusive	*intaidi-imu*	*do-kala-amu*	'we (>2 incl) go'
	1 exclusive	*insaidi*	*ta-kala*	'we (ex) go'
	2	*ihintu-umu*	*o-kala-amu*	'you (plural) go'
	2 polite	*intaidi-imu*	*to-kala-amu*	'you (polite pl) go'
	3	*andoa*	*do-kala*	'they go'

Notice the following points about these subject markers:

1. *-Vmu*, the plural marker on first person inclusive and second person, is a derivational suffix (see 10.2.30). The first vowel of the suffix is a copy of the base to which it is attached (vowel harmony); compare the following examples:

     leni   'swim'   *o-leni-imu*   'you (plural) swim'
     horo   'fly'   *o-horo-omu*   'you (plural) fly'

2. The dual takes a marginal position in this system. A formal distinction between dual and plural can only be made for the first person inclusive, not for the other persons. And even for the first person one frequently finds the dual where the referents are clearly more than two. Formally there is an opposition, but the unmarked member of the two can cover both meanings.

3. The *do*-forms can also be used for the second person singular, in which case they have a rather formal connotation. Their use does not imply politeness but rather aloofness; the form is especially suitable for addressing foreigners. The following possibilities exist for the second person singular:

(4) *do-mai-ghoo ne hamai*?   'where do you come from?'
      2suR-come-IO loc where   (said to a stranger)

(5) *to-mai-ghoo ne hamai*?   'where do you come from?'
      2shR-come-IO loc where   (said to a respected person)

(6) *o-mai-ghoo ne hamai*?   'where do you come from?'
      2sR-come-IO loc where   (normal register)

This extra meaning of *do-* results in a threefold ambiguity for a *do*-form: 1. 'we (dual inclusive)'; 2. 'they'; and 3. 'you' (to a foreigner). In the translation of examples of *do-* in this grammar a choice will be made between 'we' and 'they' instead of giving both possibilities. Finally, the *do*-forms also occur in general statements, comparable to English 'one' (Dutch *men*); this can be viewed as a combination of the meanings of 'we' and 'they'.

4.2. Agreement

As explained in 4.1, there is agreement between a full nominal subject and the subject markers on the verb with respect to number. There are, however, certain regular exceptions to this rule:

1. Inanimate plural subjects take a singular subject marker:

(7) *bara-hi-no   no-hali*   'his goods are expensive'
    good-PLUR-his 3sR-expensive

Plural animals as subjects constitute a borderline case; they can either take a singular or a plural subject marker:

(8) *o   kadadi-hi   no-rato-mo   / do-rato-mo*
    ART animal-PLUR 3sR-arrive-PF   3pR-arrive-PF
    'the animals have arrived'

2. When a comitative is present in the clause preceded by the preposition *bhe* 'with', a singular subject may have a plural subject marker. In such cases, the verb is often, but not necessarily, prefixed with *po-*:

(9) *hadhi amaitu do-po-ghawa-mo bhe anahi ini*
    haji that   3pR-REC-get-PF with child this
    'the haji met the child'

(10)*anoa do-kala-mo bhe A   Kalami*
    he   3pR-go-PF with ART Kalami
    'he went away with Kalami'

3. A third person singular nominal subject that has plural reference takes a plural subject marker. This usage is common with names and titles:

(11)*kolaki-no liwu   ini miina da-ko-ana*
    leader-POS village this not   3pI-HAVE-child
    'the village chief (and his wife) did not have children'

(12)*Wa Ode Tonde Bulawa ini do-suli-mo*
    Wa Ode Tonde Bulawa this 3pR-return-PF
    'Wa Ode Tonde Bulawa (and her friends) returned'

4.3. The three verb classes

Muna has three verb classes with partly different subject markers. First the formal side of these classes (the different subject markers) will be

presented, followed by a discussion of the membership of the three classes.
   The three verb classes in Muna will be referred to as the 'a-class', the 'ae-class' and the 'ao-class'. This usage is based on the first person singular subject marker of these three classes:

   (13) *a-lente*   'I was born'
        1sR-born

   (14) *ae-late*   'I live'
        1sR-live

   (15) *ao-lodo*   'I sleep'
        1sR-sleep

Further evidence for the existence of these three verb classes is offered by the morphological shape of the locative noun derived from these verbs:

   (16) *ka-lente-ha*   'birthplace'
   (17) *kae-late-ha*   'living place'
   (18) *kao-lodo-ha*   'sleeping place, bed'

The choice of *ka-/-ha*, *kae-/-ha* or *kao-/-ha* is determined by the verb class to which the verb belongs. This is also true for the subject markers. The following forms therefore do not exist:

   (19) **ae-lente*
        **kae-lente-ha*
        **a-late*
        **kao-late-ha*

The full inflection of the three verb classes is as follows. For the sake of comparison the a-class is repeated.

person		a-class	ae-class	ao-class
		kala 'go'	*late* 'live'	*lodo* 'sleep'
sg	1	*a-kala*	*ae-late*	*ao-lodo*
	2	*o-kala*	*ome-late*	*omo-lodo*
	2 p	*to-kala*	*te-late*	*to-lodo*
	3	*no-kala*	*ne-late*	*no-lodo*
du	1 in	*do-kala*	*de-late*	*do-lodo*
pl	1 in	*do-kala-amu*	*de-late-emu*	*do-lodo-omu*
	1 ex	*ta-kala*	*tae-late*	*tao-lodo*
	2	*o-kala-amu*	*ome-late-emu*	*omo-lodo-omu*
	2 p	*to-kala-amu*	*te-late-emu*	*to-lodo-omu*
	3	*do-kala*	*de-late*	*do-lodo*

A few examples of ae- and ao-verbs will illustrate these subject markers:

ae-verbs:

   (20) *ae-soso*   'I smoke'
        1sR-smoke

    (21) *ome-buri*   'you are writing'
         2sR-write

    (22) *de-kadiu*   1. 'we are taking a bath'
         1/3pR-bath   2. 'they are taking a bath'

ao-verbs:

    (23) *ao-tehi*   'I am afraid'
         1sR-afraid

    (24) *omo-lowu*   'you are drunk'
         2sR-drunk

    (25) *no-lolu*   'he is stupid'
         3sR-stupid

4.4. Membership of the three verb classes

The existence of three verb classes automatically raises the following ques-
tion: are there factors which determine or predict to which class a given verb
will belong? Phonological conditioning is ruled out. Compare the following
three verbs which all have the same initial two phonemes, yet belong to three
different classes:

    (26) a. *a-losa*   'I emerge, come through'
         b. *ae-lobhi*   'I hit'
         c. *ao-lowu*   'I am drunk'

We have to look in the direction of the syntactic and semantic properties of
the verb in order to discover conditioning factors. In the following section a
sample inventory for each verb class will be given, using the distinction that
was made in Chapter 3 between transitive, dynamic intransitive and stative
intransitive verbs. Then follows a discussion of the correlation between the
morphological division and the syntactic-semantic division. When only a few
examples of a certain category are given, this indicates that there are not
many examples of this type.

A. Class a- has the following members:

1. dynamic intransitive verbs:

dadi	'live'	*kala*	'go'
foni	'go up, climb'	*leni*	'swim'
futaa	'laugh'	*linda*	'dance'
gaa	'be/get married'	*monifi*	'dream'
horo	'fly'	*suli*	'go home, return'

2. stative intransitive verbs:

ambano	'ashamed'	*kamokula*	'old'
baru	'happy'	*kodoho*	'far'
bughou	'new'	*mente*	'suprised'
fanaha	'warm'	*moito*	'itchy'

3. transitive verbs:

   fumaa   'eat'   *foroghu*   'drink'

B. Class ae- has the following members:

1. transitive verbs:

   ada   'borrow'   *ghani*   'hide'
   ala   'take'   *ghome*   'wash'
   basa   'read'   *haro*   'sweep'
   buri   'write'   *kulusi*   'peel'
   dodo   'cut, slice'   *lengka*   'open'

2. dynamic intransitive verbs:

   dea   'defecate'   *ghohi*   'tell a lie'
   ghoghora   'urinate'   *late*   'live, dwell'

   Some of these verbs have a reflexive meaning:

   kadiu   'take a bath'   *lembo*   'wallow in the
                                                            mud'

3. stative intransitive verbs:

   langke   'high, tall'   *ngkonu*   'round'
   mpau   'sleepy'   *ware*   'broad'

C. Class ao- has the following members:

1. stative intransitive verbs:

   aha   'thirsty'   *kengku*   'dried up'
   bhee   'crazy'   *kolo*   'sour'
   bhie   'heavy'   *maho*   'near'
   dea   'red'   *meme*   'wet'
   hali   'difficult'   *rombu*   'fat'

2. dynamic intransitive verbs:

   ghae   'cry'   *ndawu*   'fall'
   lodo   'sleep'

3. transitive verb:

   bhalo   'answer'

In order to obtain some idea of the correlation between the verb classes and
their member verbs I have taken the first 200 verbs of the Muna dictionary file
and classified them as belonging to one of the subgroups as specified above.
The result is as follows:

   Class a-:   transitive   5   2.5%
                  dynamic intransitive   46   23.0%   (=33%)
                  stative intransitive   15   7.5%

Class ae-:	transitive	80	40.0%	
	dynamic intransitive	13	6.5%	(=48%)
	stative intransitive	3	1.5%	
Class ao-:	transitive	1	0.5%	
	dynamic intransitive	5	2.5%	(=19%)
	stative intransitive	32	16.0%	
		_____	_____	
		200	100.0%	

A few conclusions can be drawn from this chart. Transitive verbs have a strong preference for the ae-class, whereas dynamic intransitive verbs are usually (but not always) members of the a-class. Stative intransitive verbs prefer the ao-class, although a fair number of them are also found in the a-class. In other words, there are some strong tendencies that point to the following correlations:

    class a- dynamic intransitive verbs
    class ae-transitive verbs
    class ao-stative intransitive verbs

The many exceptions force us to handle this rule rather loosely. The main pattern is clear, but there are many unexpected counterexamples.
  So far only basic underived verbs have been discussed. Derived verbs also belong to one of the three verb classes. Notice the following points about verb-class membership of derived verbs:

1. Verbal affixes determine the verb class. Examples:

  a. The causative prefix *fo-* moves a verb to class ae- (see 10.2.6):

    ao-ndawu   'I fall'
    ae-fo-ndawu   'I drop'

  b. The reciprocal prefix *po-* moves a verb to class a- (see 10.2.41):

    de-lobhi   'they hit'
    do-po-lobhi   'they hit each other'

2. Reduplicated verbs (without other affixes) always belong to class ae- (see 10.3):

    a-kala   'I go'
    ae-kala-kala   'I walk'

3. Verbs derived from nouns through zero-derivation (transposition) are either ae-verbs or a-verbs (see 10.5):

    bheta   'sarong'
    ae-bheta   'I wear a sarong'

    bhose   'paddle'
    no-bhose   'he rows a boat'

4. Transposition also occurs between verbs of different classes, in which case
   there is an unpredictable difference in meaning:

    ala   1.(ae-) 'take'
                                                       2.(ao-) 'popular, in demand'

    asi   1.(ae-) 'like, love'
                                                       2.(ao-) 'have pity with, care about'

    lembo   1.(a-) a. 'flow'
                                                          b. 'urinate in bed during
                                                               sleep'
                                         2.(ae-) 'wallow in mud-hole (buffalo)'

4.5. Realis and irrealis

All the verb forms discussed so far can refer to either the past or the
present. They can therefore be called the realis mood, to set them apart from
the irrealis, a differently inflected verb form. The irrealis has two primary
uses:
1. it refers to the future, or it expresses a wish, a desire or an intention;
2. it is obligatorily used in negative clauses.
   Examples of the usage of the irrealis will follow below; first the formal
side of the irrealis will be dealt with. The most important difference between
the realis and the irrealis is the different set of subject markers that are
prefixed to the verb.
   The following chart shows the different sets of realis and irrealis subject
markers for each of the three verb classes.

		Class a-		Class ae-		Class ao-	
		REALIS	IRREALIS	REALIS	IRREALIS	REALIS	IRREALIS
sg	1	*a-*	*a-*	*ae-*	*ae-*	*ao-*	*ao-*
	2	*o-*	*o-*	*ome-*	*ome-*	*omo-*	*omo-*
	2p	*to-*	*ta-*	*te-*	*tae-*	*to-*	*tao-*
	3	*no-*	*na-*	*ne-*	*nae-*	*no-*	*nao-*
du	1 inc	*do-*	*da-*	*de-*	*dae-*	*do-*	*dao-*
pl	1 inc	*do-Vmu*	*da-Vmu*	*de-Vmu*	*dae-Vmu*	*do-Vmu*	*dao-Vmu*
	1 ex	*ta-*	*ta-*	*tae-*	*tae-*	*tao-*	*tao-*
	2	*o-Vmu*	*o-Vmu*	*ome-Vmu*	*ome-Vmu*	*omo-Vmu*	*omo-Vmu*
	2p	*to-Vmu*	*ta-Vmu*	*te-Vmu*	*tae-Vmu*	*to-Vmu*	*tao-Vmu*
	3	*do-*	*da-*	*de-*	*dae-*	*do-*	*dao-*

Notice that a number of subject markers are identical in the realis and in the
irrealis (sg 1, sg 2, pl 2, pl 1 ex).
   For the ae-class and ao-class these irrealis subject markers can be directly
attached to the verb form, but this is not the case with the a-class. In the a-
class the irrealis subject markers are prefixed to the so-called um-form. The
um-form is a bound form that is the result of the operation of a morphological
process of which the most common form is the infix *-um-*. For a detailed
discussion of the allomorphy of *-um-*, see 2.8.1. For ease of reference the main
points are summarized here:

a. *p-* and *f-* (and sometimes *w-*) change to *m-*;
b. initial vowels get the prefix *m-*;
c. there is zero-allomorphy with initial nasals, prenasalized consonants, *b*, *bh*
   and (sometimes) *w*;
d. in all other cases the morpheme is realized as the infix *-um-*.

Examples illustrating the irrealis (translated as future):

    Realis   Irrealis

A. Class a-:

    a-kala   *a-k[um]ala*   'I will go'
    o-foni   *o-[m]oni*   'you will go up'
    no-horo   *na-h[um]oro*   'it will fly'
    ta-manda   *ta-manda*   'we (ex) will repent'
    do-leni   *da-l[um]eni*   'they will swim'

B. Class ae-:

    ae-gholi   *ae-gholi*   'I will buy'
    ne-ada   *nae-ada*   'she will borrow'
    ome-rabu-umu   *ome-rabu-umu*   'you (pl) will make'
    de-basa   *dae-basa*   'we will read'

C. Class ao-:

    ao-lowu   *ao-lowu*   'I will be drunk'
    omo-gharo   *omo-gharo*   'you will be hungry'
    no-lodo   *nao-lodo*   'he will sleep'
    do-bhalo-omu   *dao-bhalo-omu*   'we (pl) will answer'

The partial similarity between the a-class and the ao-class has disappeared in
the irrealis. Take for example the following two verb forms in the third person
singular:

    (27)a. *no-hoda*   'he coughs'
    (28)a. *no-ghosa*   'he is strong'

In the realis these verb forms seem to belong to the same class. In the
irrealis, however, it appears that they belong to different verb classes:

    (27)b. *miina na-h[um]oda*   'he doesn't cough'
    (28)b. *miina nao-ghosa*   'he isn't strong'

In order to illustrate usage and meaning of the irrealis, clauses will be given
in which irrealis forms occur. As mentioned above, there are two primary
usages:

1. To express futurity, a wish or an intention:

    (29)*naewine a-k[um]ala we Raha*   'tomorrow I will go to Raha'
        tomorrow 1sI-go   loc Raha

(30) *naefie   na-gh[um]use*?   'when will it rain?'
     when.FUT 3sI-rain

(31) *na-k[um]ala we   daoa   nae-gholi kenta*
     3sI-go   loc market 3sI-buy   fish
     'she will go to the market to buy fish'

2. It is the only verb form that can be used in negative sentences, that is, in
   the presence of negators such as *miina* 'not', *miina-ho* 'not yet' and *pa*
   'will not'. The presence of a negator before the verb often triggers the
   clitic *-a* on the verb (see 8.5 and 9.22):

   (32) *miina na-mai-a*   'she didn't come'
        not   3sI-come-CL

   (33) *pa   na-mai-a*   'she won't come'
        FUT.not 3sI-come-CL

   (34) *miina-ho na-r[um]ato-a*   'she hasn't arrived yet'
        not.yet   3sI-arrive-CL

When the negator is placed after the verb for reasons of emphasis, the irrealis
is also used:

   (35) *na-k[um]ala we   Arobhai miina*   'she didn't go to Arobhai'
        3sI-go   loc Arobhai not

The realis/irrealis distinction is only valid for subject-inflected verb forms.
Derived constructions not having this property, such as nominalizations,
imperatives and participles, do not show this distinction. Thus, in addition to
the nominalization *ka-lente-ha* 'birthplace', there is no noun *ka-l[um]ente-ha*.
  When a verb is suffixed with the futurity suffix *-ho*, the realis form must be
used (see 9.7.1 and 10.2.13). The use of the realis and irrealis in conditional
clauses is not yet completely clear (see 9.13).

4.6. The definiteness shift

4.6.1. Definition and illustration

A given verb is a member of one of the three classes; this membership is
specified in the lexicon and determines the shape of the subject markers and
the allomorphs of, for example, certain nominalizations. There are, however,
certain regular modulations or shifts between the verb classes. The most
important of these is what I call the 'definiteness shift'. This definiteness
shift can be formulated as follows: when the object of a transitive ae-verb is
definite, the verb shifts to the a-class.
  The definiteness shift will be illustrated with an easy example before the
rule is considered in more detail:

   (36) a. *ne-rabu   nuhua*   'she is making a pitcher'
           3sR-make pitcher

    b. *no-rabu-e*   'she is making it'
       3sR-make-it

    c. **ne-rabu-e*

Rabu is an ae-verb, hence the subject marker *ne-* in (36a). When the direct object is 'definite' (for example, a pronominal suffix), the verb shifts to the a-class; hence the form *no-rabu-e* in (36b) instead of the expected but non-existent **ne-rabu-e*.

  This shift only applies to transitive ae-verbs. Transitive a- and ao-verbs, of which there are only a few, do not change:

  (37)a. *a-fumaa*   'I eat'
       1sR-eat

     b. *a-fumaa-e*   'I eat it'
       1sR-eat-it

  (38)a. *ao-bhalo*   'I answer'
       1sR-answer

     b. *ao-bhalo-e*   'I answer him'
       1sR-answer-him

'Definite' in the definition captures a variety of objects that trigger this change. For want of a better term these objects are described as 'definite', although I am aware that the traditional usage of 'definite' is somewhat different.

  These 'definite' objects are the following (reference will be made to nominal constructions which will be discussed in the next chapter, but they are introduced here to show the effect on the verb):

1. a. direct object pronominal suffix (see 4.8.1)
   b. indirect object pronominal suffix (but only with *Cao-verbs*, see 4.8.2)
2. free pronoun (see 5.3)
3. personal name
4. the question word *lahae* 'who' (but not *hae* 'what')
5. a noun modified by:
   a. a possessive suffix
   b. a demonstrative pronoun
   c. the question words *hamai* 'which' and *lahae* 'who, whose'
   d. a temporal adverb
   e. an object relative clause (9.1.2, 9.1.3)
6. an 'implicit' object, that is, an object which is not overtly present but
   retrievable from the context.

Examples of these definite objects will be given below. The numbers refer to the specification of the direct objects given above; where appropriate in the (a) examples the 'normal' usage of the verb is illustrated, in the (b) examples the definiteness shift is given.

1. a. Direct object pronominal suffix:

  (39)a. *ne-aso   kalei*   'she is selling bananas'
       3sR-sell bananas

  b. *no-aso-e*   'she is selling them'
     3sR-sell-it

  b. Indirect object pronominal suffix with *Cao*-verb:

(40)a. *ne-pande-hao*   'he knows'
     3sR-know-INT

  b. *no-pande-ha-ane*   'he knows it'
     3sR-know-INT-it

2. Free pronoun:

(41)a. *ae-ghondo-hi doi*   'I am looking for money'
     1sR-look-TR money

  b. *a-ghondo-hi ihintu*   'I am looking for you'
     1sR-look-TR you

3. A personal name:

(42)a. *de-bhasi se-mie*   'they are calling somebody'
     3pR-call one-person

  b. *do-bhasi Hanamu*   'they are calling Hanamu'
     3pR-call Hanamu

4. The question word *lahae*:

(43)a. *ome-ghondo-hi hae?*   'what are you looking for?'
     2sR-look-TR   what

  b. *o-ghondo-hi lahae?*   'who are you looking for?'
     2sR-look-TR who

5. A noun modified by:

  a. a possessive suffix:

(44)a. *ne-ala-mo   kapulu*   'he took a machete'
     3sR-take-PF machete

  b. *no-ala-mo   kapulu-no*   'he took his machete'
     3sR-take-PF machete-his

  b. a demonstrative pronoun:

(45)a. *ne-pongko-mo se-ghulu ghule*   'he killed a snake'
     3sR-kill-PF   one-CLAS snake

  b. *no-pongko-mo ghule amaitu*   'he killed the snake'
     3sR-kill-PF   snake that

  c. the question words *hamai* and *lahae*:

(46)a.*ome-basa boku?*   'are you reading a book?'
        2sR-read book

   b.*o-basa   boku hamai?*   'which book are you reading?'
        2sR-read book which

   d. a temporal adverb:

(47)a.*ae-gholi bheta   indewi*   'I bought a sarong yesterday'
        1sR-buy   sarong yesterday

   b.*a-gholi bheta   indewi*   'I bought yesterday's sarong'
      1sR-buy sarong yesterday   (the one we saw, discussed
                                          yesterday)

   e. an object relative clause (see 9.1.2, 9.1.3):

(48)a.*ne-gholi bheta*   'he bought a sarong'
         3sR-buy   sarong

   b.*no-gholi bheta   ka-mooru-ku*   'he bought the sarong that I
      3sR-buy   sarong NOM-weave-my   wove'

6. An 'implicit' object:

(49)*ne-ala-mo   se-poi   kontu   maka   no-ghompa*
      3sR-take-PF one-CLAS stone   then   3sR-throw
      'he took a stone and threw it'

(50)*no-alihi-e-mo   maka no-tei   ne   ka-tomba-tomba*
      3sR-take.out-it-PF then 3sR-put loc basket-DIM
      'she took it out and put it in a small basket'

The verbs *ghompa* in (49) and *tei* in (50) are both ae-verbs. The expected form
in (49) is therefore *ne-ghompa* or *no-ghompa-e*. The actual form *no-ghompa* can be
accounted for by 'direct object suppression'; since the direct object is
retrievable from the same sentence, the pronominal suffix *-e* can be 'sup-
pressed', but the effect on the verb (the definiteness shift) is retained. The
suffix *-e* can be introduced without any apparent change in meaning. The
circumstances under which this suppression occurs are not clear.
   When the object noun is modified by another plain noun or by the question
word *hae* 'what', the definiteness shift does not seem to be obligatory: both a-
and ae-inflections occur (but see the partitive usage in 4.6.3):

(51)*ne-/no-fewono-mo kaburu-no   kaedeha*   'he smelled the stench of the
      3sR-smell-PF   stench-POS faeces   faeces'

(52)*o-/ome-basa boku hae?*   'what kind of book are you
      2sR-read   book what   reading'

When an ae-verb has become an a-verb because of the definiteness shift, the
regular processes of um-formation for an a-verb now apply too. In other words,
this verb has become an a-verb both in the realis and in the irrealis. Consider
the following examples:

(53) a. *ne-ala   kapulu*   'he took a machete'
        3sR-take machete

     b. *no-ala   kapulu-no*   'he took his machete'
        3sR-take machete-his

The definiteness shift is triggered because of the possessive suffix *-no*. When these sentences are negated, the difference between the ae-inflection and the a-inflection becomes even more transparent:

(54) a. *miina nae-ala   kapulu*   'he didn't take a machete'
        not   3sI-take machete

     b. *miina na-[m]ala kapulu-no*   'he didn't take his machete'
        not   3sI-take   machete-his

Miina 'not' requires an irrealis; in (54a) this is shown by the different subject marker *nae-*, but in (54b) the irrealis is marked both by a different subject marker and by the um-form *[m]ala*, since in (53b) and in (54b) *ala* now belongs to the a-class.
  Another example of the same process is offered by the following pairs of sentences:

(55) a. *ne-gholi lambu*   'she bought a house'
        3sR-buy   house

     b. *nae-gholi lambu*   'she will buy a house'
        3sI-buy   house

(56) a. *no-gholi-e*   'she bought it'
        3sR-buy-it

     b. *na-gh[um]oli-e*   'she will buy it'
        3sI-buy-it

Unlike the realis/irrealis distinction, the definiteness shift is not limited to verbs with subject inflection. Imperatives and active participles also undergo this shift (see 8.7 and 9.1.1). Nominalizations, however, do not.
  Constructions in which there is no definiteness marker in the object but the verb still shows the shift (for example *no-gholi lambu* 'he buys/bought a/the house') do not seem to occur, apart from the cases mentioned in 4.7.
  This definiteness shift raises some interesting theoretical questions. Based on a large sample of languages, Hopper and Thompson (1980) argue that a definite object correlates with an increase in transitivity. It is striking that in Muna the definiteness shift is a move away from the typically transitive ae-class towards the typically intransitive a-class. Thus Muna seems to be a counterexample to the rule formulated by Hopper and Thompson.

4.6.2. Derived transitivity and the definiteness shift

Certain direct objects of derived transitive verbs behave differently with respect to the definiteness shift than those of simple transitive verbs. This is partly determined by the type of derivation and the basic verb-class membership. Three cases can be distinguished.

1. Objects of causative or factitive verbs (marked by *fo-* and *feka-*). These derived verbs are all ae-verbs, and with definite direct object the definiteness shift is triggered.

    (57)a. *ao-ndawu*   'I fall'
           1sR-fall

        b. *ae-fo-ndawu   piso*   'I drop a knife'
           1sR-CAUS-fall knife

        c. *a-fo-ndawu-e*   'I drop it'
           1sR-CAUS-fall-it

    (58)a. *no-bhala*   'it is big'
           3sR-big

        b. *ne-feka-bhala bhadhu*   'she makes a shirt bigger'
           3sR-FACT-big   shirt

        c. *no-feka-bhala-e*   'she makes it bigger'
           3sR-FACT-big-it

2. Objects of 'locutional causative' verbs (marked by *fe-*). These derived verbs are all ae-verbs, but definite objects do not trigger the definiteness shift (see 8.2.4 and 10.2.4).

    (59)a. *ae-gholi kalei*   'I bought bananas'
           1sR-buy   banana

        b. *ae-fe-gholi   kalei*   'I order bananas to be bought'
           1sR-L.CAUS-buy banana

        c. *ae-fe-gholi-e*   'I order it to be bought'
           1sR-L.CAUS-buy-it

3. Objects of derived transitive *Ci*-verbs. When suffixed with this affix, simple a- and ae-verbs change to ae-verbs, but ao-verbs stay in the ao-class. Definite objects only trigger the definiteness shift when the base (underived) is an a-verb. If the underived verb is an ae-verb, the shift does not take place (see also 8.1 and 10.2.16).

    (60)a. *a-ghumu   we   tehi*   'I dive into the sea'
           1sR-dive loc sea

        b. *ae-ghumu-ti kunsi*   'I dive for a key'
           1sR-dive-TR key

        c. *a-ghumu-ti-e*   'I dive for it'
           1sR-dive-TR-it

    (61)a. *ae-late   ne   ini*   'I live here'
           1sR-live loc this

        b. *ae-late-ghi lambu aini*   'I live in this house'
           1sR-live-TR house this

c. *ae-late-ghi-e*   'I live in it'
   1sR-live-TR-it

The following chart shows the distribution of the definiteness shift over the three verb classes in simple and derived transitive verbs.

	simple	derived	with definite object

1. Simple transitive verbs:

	simple	derived	with definite object
	a-		*a-*
	ae-		*a-*
	ao-		*ao-*

2. Derived transitive verbs 1 (causatives and factitives):

	simple	derived	with definite object
	a-	*ae-*	*a-*
	ae-	*ae-*	*a-*
	ao-	*ae-*	*a-*

3. Derived transitive verbs 2 (locutional causatives):

	simple	derived	with definite object
	a-	*ae-*	*ae-*
	ae-	*ae-*	*ae-*
	ao-	*ae-*	*ae-*

4. Derived transitive verbs 3 (*Ci*-derivations):

	simple	derived	with definite object
	a-	*ae-*	*a-*
	ae-	*ae-*	*ae-*
	ao-	*ao-*	*ao-*

4.6.3. Exceptions to the definiteness shift

There are certain exceptions to the definiteness shift. These can be grouped under the following categories:

1. Intransitive ae-verbs derived from nouns through transposition can be extended by an NP, which is syntactically not a direct object, as it cannot be replaced by a direct object pronominal suffix. The definiteness shift therefore does not take place:

   (62) a. *ne-ndoro*   'she wears a skirt'
           3sR-skirt

       b. *ne-ndoro handu*   'she wears a towel (as a skirt)'
           3sR-skirt towel

       c. *ne-ndoro handu-ku*   'she wears my towel (as a skirt)'
           3sR-skirt towel-my

2. It is possible to make a construction with a definite object and yet keep the verb in the ae-class. In such cases, however, there is a meaning difference between the two clauses: with an ae-inflection the object has

a partitive reading, whereas with an a-inflection a completive meaning is suggested. Compare the following examples:

(63) a. *ae-fo-ndawu   tonde*   'I drop a glass/glasses'
        1sR-CAUS-fall glass

     b. *a-fo-ndawu   tonde-ku*   'I drop my glass/glasses'
        1sR-CAUS-fall glass-my

     c. *ae-fo-ndawu   tonde-ku*   'I drop one of my glasses'
        1sR-CAUS-fall glass-my

(64) a. *a-runsa   mie-no   lambu-ku*   'I divorce my wife'
        1sR-divorce person-POS house-my

     b. *ae-runsa   mie-no   lambu-ku*   'I divorce one of my wives'
        1sR-divorce person-POS house-my

(65) a. *a-mbolaku doi-no   sabhangka-ku*   'I will steal my friend's
        1sI-steal money-POS friend-my   money'

     b. *ae-mbolaku doi-no   sabhangka-ku*   'I will steal some of my
        1sI-steal   money-POS friend-my   friend's money'

This opposition only seems to take place with direct objects that have been made definite by nominal modification such as a possessive suffix or another noun. With pronominal suffixes this option is not open:

(66) a. *a-fo-ndawu-e*   'I have dropped it'
        1sR-CAUS-fall-it

     b. **ae-fo-ndawu-e*

3. The verbs *wura/wora* 'see' and *rabu* 'make'. Both are ae-verbs, but with definite objects such as modified nouns they regularly do not shift to a-verbs. The reasons for this are still unclear.

In spite of the regularity of the definiteness shift and its exceptions, there remain a number of cases in the text material where the shift does take place and the object is not definite, or alternatively, where the shift does not take place while the object is definite. (See, for example, Appendix text 3, sentences 1 and 23). These residual problems need further study.

4.7. Minor verb-class changes

In addition to the definiteness shift, there is a small class of verbs that displays another shift from ae- to a-inflection, a process which is some kind of detransitivization. With these ae-verbs, the verb can shift to the a-class when the object is generic and is almost incorporated in the verb. To this class belong such verbs as *mooru* 'weave', *tisa* 'plant', *hulo* 'hunt, chase' and possibly others.

(67) a. *ae-mooru bheta*   'I am weaving a sarong'
        1sR-weave sarong

  b. *a-mooru   bheta*   'I am weaving a sarong'
     1sR-weave sarong

(68)a. *de-hulo   rusa*   'they are hunting deer'
     3pR-hunt deer

  b. *do-hulo   rusa*   'they are hunting deer'
     3pR-hunt deer

This is clearly not a definiteness shift. Rather, the opposite is true. The noun is generic and the activity is seen as a whole; the object is incorporated in the verb. Other possible translations of (67b) and (68b) are: 'I am sarong-weaving' and 'They are deer-hunting'. Because of this object incorporation the verb is treated as an intransitive verb and therefore changes to the a-class, which is typically intransitive.

   Furthermore, the object of such verbs can be left out while the verb remains in the a-class:

(69)a. *a-mooru*   'I am weaving'
     1sR-weave

  b. *no-tisa*   'he is planting'
     3sR-plant

  c. *do-hulo*   'they are hunting'
     3pR-hunt

Certain other transitive verbs also allow this 'object suppression', but then the verb remains in the ae-class:

(70)a. *ae-basa   boku*   'I am reading a book'
     1sR-read book

  b. *ae-basa*   'I am reading'
     1sR-read

(71)a. *ne-gau   ghoti*   'she is cooking rice'
     3sR-cook rice

  b. *ne-gau*   'she is cooking'
     3sR-cook

The circumstances under which this detransitivization shift takes place are not fully understood. Possibly this shift indicates a completive or habitual aspect. Compare the following two short dialogues, which were provided to illustrate the differences:

A. (72)a. *ome-afa   itu?*   'what are you doing?'
     2sR-do.what that

  b. *a-mooru*   'I am weaving'
     1sR-weave

  c. *o-mooru   hae?*   'what are you weaving?'
     2sR-weave what

Instead of (c), (d) is also possible:

    d. *ome-mooru hae?*   'what are you weaving'
       2sR-weave what

    e. *ae-mooru bheta*   'I am weaving a sarong'
       1sR-weave sarong

Afa 'do what?' is an ae-verb; *mooru* is an ae-verb, but in (b) no object is
specified, hence the change to a- (detransitivization). In (c) the a-inflection
is remarkable, since a questioned direct object can hardly be called a case of
detransitivization or object incorporation. The alternative inflection with ae-
in (d) is also well-formed in this context. (e) has the normal ae-inflection,
the emphasis being on the object (the questioned constituent).

B. (73) a. *ome-afa   indewi?*   'what did you do yesterday?'
          2sR-do.what yesterday

       b. *a-mooru   bheta*   'I wove a sarong'
          1sR-weave sarong

In (b) the a-inflection is used, since the emphasis is on the activity as a
whole and not just on the object; hence we get object incorporation and an
intransitive a-inflection.

4.8. Direct and indirect object inflection

The following chart shows the pronominal suffixes marking direct and indirect
object, in combination with the free pronouns and the possessive suffixes. The
last two categories will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

person	free	direct object	indirect object	possessive
sg 1	*inodi*, *idi*	*-kanau*	*-kanau*	*-ku*
2	*(i)hintu*	*-ko*	*-angko*	*-mu*
2p	*intaidi*	*-kaeta*	*-kaeta*	*-nto*
3	*anoa*	*-e*	*-ane*	*-no*
du 1 inc	*intaidi*	--	--	*-nto*
pl 1 inc	*intaidi-imu*	--	--	*-nto-omu*
1 ex	*insaidi*	*-kasami*	*-kasami*	*-mani*
2	*(i)hintu-umu*	*-ko-omu*	*-angko-omu*	*-Vmu*
2p	*intaidi-imu*	*-kaeta-amu*	*-kaeta-amu*	*-nto-omu*
3	*andoa*	*-da*	*-anda*	*-ndo*

Direct and indirect object suffixes are part of the verb. This is most clearly
shown by the position of the suffix -*mo* in the verb. This -*mo* follows all other
suffixes. It also follows the pronominal suffixes.

(74) a. *ne-pepe-mo   se-mie*   'he hit somebody'
        3sR-hit-PF   one-person

     b. *no-pepe-kanau-mo*   'he hit me'
        3sR-hit-me-PF

4.8.1. Direct object inflection

The direct object pronominal suffixes are used:

1. when the object is the goal, target, patient or causee of the verb:

(75) *do-wora-kanau*   'they see me'
     3pR-see-me

(76) *a-dhumpa-ko-mo*   'I pushed you'
     1sR-push-you-PF

(77) *na-[m]aso-e*   'she will sell it'
     3sI-sell-it

(78) *do-tesi-kasami*   'they tested us (ex)'
     3pR-test-us(ex)

(79) *a-[m]ealai-kaeta*   'I ask your permission to leave'
     1sI-ask.permission-you(pol)

(80) *no-fo-futaa-da*   'he made them laugh'
     3sR-CAUS-laugh-them

2. with certain experiential verbs to denote the experiencer (see 7.4):

(81) *no-rengku-kanau*   'I am shivering'
     3sR-shiver-me   (lit. 'it shivers me')

3. with the question word *hamai* 'which, where' (8.6.2), the existential verb
   naando 'be' (7.2.1), the negator *miina* 'not' (8.5.1) and demonstrative
   derivations with *ha-* (5.5.8 and 10.2.11):

(82) *hamai-ko-mo?*   'where are you?'
     where-you-PF

(83) *naando-e?*   'is he still there?'
     be-him

(84) *miina-e-mo*   'it is no longer there'
     not-it-PF

(85) *aini-ha-kanau*   'here I am'
     this-LOC-me

4. with *bhari-bhari-* 'all' (5.7.6):

    (86)*bhari-bhari-kaeta-amu*   'all of you (polite plural)'
         RED-all-us-PLUR

4.8.2. Indirect object inflection

The indirect object pronominal suffixes are used:

1. to express semantic functions such as beneficiary, recipient, instrument:

    (87)*ne-gholi-kasami bhadhu*   'he bought a shirt for us (ex)'
        3sR-buy-us(ex) shirt

    (88)*a-[m]oni-si-angko-e*   'I will climb it for you'
        1sI-go.up-TR-you-it

    (89)*de-buri-ane sura*   'they write a letter with it'
        3pR-write-it letter

2. to express the semantic function 'goal' with *Cao*-verbs (10.2.15). When the
   suffix *-Cao* is followed by one of the indirect object suffixes or by the
   suffix *-ghoo*, the final *o* of *-Cao* is deleted. Only with the first person
   suffix *-kanau* is this rule optional.

    (90)*a-pande-ha-ane*   'I know it' (base: *pande-hao*)
        1sR-know-INT-it

    (91)*ghondo-fa-anda*   'take care of them!'
        (IMP-)look-INT-them   (base: *ghondo-fao*)

    (92)*do-pande-ha(o)-kanau*   'they know me'
        3pR-know-INT-me

3. with certain intransitive verbs to express goal, such as *kanu* 'make ready to
   go', *asi* 'like, love', *limpu* 'forget'. These verbs are treated as
   intransitives on formal grounds since they cannot be suffixed with a direct
   object pronominal suffix. Indirect object suffixation (either pronominal or
   with *-ghoo* (see 7.9)) is optional with *kanu* and *limpu*, but seems to be
   obligatory with *asi*.

    (93)*no-kanu-ane*   'she made him ready to go'
        3sR-make.ready-him

    (94)*a-asi-angko*   'I like you'
        1sR-like-you

For a full discussion of *-ane* (and its relation to *-ghoo*) see 7.9.
  Indirect object suffixes, unlike direct object suffixes, do not trigger the
definiteness shift:

    (95)a.*ae-gholi-angko pae*   'I buy rice for you'
          1sR-buy-you   rice

      b. *a-gholi-angko pae*

It is possible to have both a direct and an indirect object suffix on the verb, but in that case the direct object is limited to -e; the indirect object precedes the direct object:

(96) *no-gholi-kanau-e*   'she bought it for me'
     3sR-buy-me-it

(97) *a-gh[um]oli-angko-e*   'I will buy it for you'
     1sI-buy-you-it

(98) *do-gholi-anda-e*   'they bought it for them'
     3pR-buy-them-it

The definiteness shift is triggered in all these cases, because of the direct object suffix -e. Combinations of other direct object pronominals with indirect object pronominals are ungrammatical:

(99) **no-owa-kanau-da*
     3sR-bring-me-them

This meaning can be expressed in the following way, where the recipient is no longer a suffix but a free pronoun:

(100) *no-owa-da   ne inodi*   'he brought them to me'
      3sR-bring-them loc I

When -*ane* and -*e* are both suffixed to a verb, the two *e*'s are frequently fused into one single -*e*; the verb remains in the a-class:

(101) *a-gholi-ane-e*   'I bought it for her'
      1sR-buy-her-it

(102) *a-gholi-ane*   'I bought it for her'
      1sR-buy-her/it

4.8.3. **The missing first person inclusive**

The chart presented at the beginning of 4.8 raises the question how the first person inclusive dual and plural are expressed when they are direct or indirect pronominal objects. As can be seen, there are no suffixes for these categories. The language uses two other mechanisms:

a. The full pronoun is used (an option which is also open for all the other persons for emphatic purposes, see 5.3.1):

(103) *no-faraluu intaidi*   'he needs us'
      3sR-need   we

b. The prefix *fo-* is used (the detransitivizer, not the causative *fo-*, see 8.3 and 10.2.7):

(104) *mahingga pa   da-fo-bhasi, ta-da-k[um]ala-mo dua*
      although FUT.not 3pI-DETR-call JUST-1pI-go-PF   also
      'although they will not invite us, we will just go too'

For the first person inclusive indirect object this *fo-* can also be used,
together with the indirect object marker *-ghoo*. In this case the class affixes
me- and *mo-* also surface (see 10.2.28):

   (105) *no-fo-me-owa-ghoo   foo*   'he brought us a mango'
         3sR-DETR-CA-bring-IO mango

   (106) *no-fo-me-gholi-ghoo pae*   'she bought rice for us'
         3sR-DETR-CA-buy-IO rice

4.8.4. The form *-kaeta*

As illustrated in 4.8, one of the meanings of *-kaeta* is 'second person polite'
(direct or indirect object). Another example of this usage is (107):

   (107) *indewi   a-wora-kaeta   we toko*
         yesterday 1sR-see-you(pol) loc shop
         'yesterday I saw you (polite) in the shop'

However, *-kaeta* has another important function, namely in imperative construc-
tions. The basic meaning of *-kaeta* here is probably 'for us', that is, an
indirect object first person plural suffix (for which forms are lacking in the
chart). The imperative with *-kaeta* is informal and its use indicates that the
action which is commanded is for the benefit of both the speaker and the
hearer. *-Kaeta* will be glossed 'us' in the interlinear translation as a
shorthand notation (see 8.7.3).

   (108) *me-gholi-kaeta kenta naewine*
         IMP-buy-us   fish tomorrow
         'buy some fish tomorrow' (for us, so that we can eat)

When there is no direct benefit for the hearer, *-kanau* will be used instead.
Notice the difference between the following two sentences:

   (109) *me-ala-kaeta kurusi*   'get a chair for us'
         IMP-get-us   chair

   (110) *me-ala-kanau kurusi*   'get me a chair'
         IMP-get-me   chair

In (109) there is a clear implication that getting the chair is also for the
benefit of the hearer, because, for example, a guest has arrived and the host
commands his son to get a chair. The son as part of the family is also
responsible for the well-being of the guests. (110), on the other hand, would
be uttered by a father to his son when he needs a chair for himself.
   Finally, *-kaeta* is used in polite adhortative sentences, where the speaker
also includes himself:

   (111) *fumaa-kaeta*   'let us eat'
         (IMP-)eat-us

   (112) *me-ngkora-kaeta-amu*   'let us (plural) sit down'
         IMP-sit-us-PLUR

4.9. Inflection and derived constructions

Simple verbs all have the common characteristic of subject inflection. This is not the case with morphologically complex words derived from verbs. As far as inflection goes, the following formal categories can be distinguished for these derivations, which will be discussed in turn:

1. regular subject inflection;
2. nominal (= possessive) inflection;
3. neither subject nor possessive inflection:
   a. active participles;
   b. imperatives;
   c. certain deverbal derivations.

1. Regular subject inflection. This comprises most verbal prefixes and suffixes (for instance *fo-*, *po-*, *-Ci*, *-Cao*), as well as reduplication. (See Chapter 10 for a detailed treatment of derivational morphology.)

2. Nominal inflection. This covers not only nominalizations such as the affixes *-ha*, *ka-* and *ka-/-ha*, where the possessive suffix marks real possession, but also certain derived words which retain many verbal properties but where the agent is expressed by a possessive suffix. Nominal inflection is illustrated by the following derivations:

   1. the passive participle, marked by the prefix *ni-/ne-* (see 9.1.2 and 10.2.33):

      (113) *ni-rabu-ku*   'what I have made'
            P.PART-make-my

   2. the temporal subordinative prefix *sa-* 'when' (see 9.7.1 and 10.2.44):

      (114) *sa-rato-no*   'when he had arrived'
            WHEN-come-his

   3. the temporal prefix *paka-* 'when just, when first' (see 9.7.1 and 10.2.37):

      (115) *paka-gaa-ndo*   'when they were just married'
            FIRST-marry-their

3. Neither subject nor nominal inflection:

a. active participle

   The form of the active participle is dependent on the verb class to which the verb belongs. Its formation is as follows:

   a. class a-:   um-form + *-no*:

      kala   *k[um]ala-no*   'going'
      pande   *[m]ande-no*   'know, clever'

   b. class ae-: *me-* + root + *-no*:

basa   *me-basa-no*   'reading'
rimba   *me-rimba-no*   'fast'

c. class ao-: *mo-* + root + *-no*:

ghae   *mo-ghae-no*   'crying'
rombu   *mo-rombu-no*   'fat'

Participles are used in subject relative constructions (see 9.1.1):

(116) mie   k[um]ala-no we daoa   ama-ku
      person go-A.PART   loc market father-my
      'the man who is going to the market is my father'

(117) bheta   mo-hali-no   maitu a-kiido-e
      sarong -expensive-A.PART that 1sR-refuse-it
      'I don't want that expensive sarong'

Active participles do not show the realis/irrealis distinction. Futurity is
expressed by means of the preposition *so* 'for'. The definiteness shift does
apply to active participles.

b. imperative

The form of the imperative is also dependent on the verb class. The im-
perative for each verb class is as follows (see 8.7):

a. class a-: root

kala   *kala*   'go!'
sampu   *sampu*   'go down!'

b. class ae-: *me-* + root

ngkora   *me-ngkora*   'sit down!'
buri   *me-buri*   'write!'

c. class ao-: *mo-* + root

lodo   *mo-lodo*   'sleep!'
bhalo   *mo-bhalo*   'answer!'

Imperatives do not show the realis/irrealis distinction, but they do undergo
the definiteness shift.

c. deverbal derivations

Certain deverbal derivations are not inflected at all, either verbally or
nominally. The following two constructions show this zero-inflection, which
is rather uncommon in the language:

1. simple deverbal base following *miina bhe* 'there is no...' (see 7.2.2 and
   8.5.1):

(118) *miina bhe   sampu*   '(he) didn't come down'
      not   with come.down   (lit. 'there was no coming down')

The addition of a possessive suffix to *sampu* is not ungrammatical but very
marked. In the textual material only the plain deverbal form occurs.

2. deverbal base prefixed with *sa-* (see 10.2.44):

(119) *ana-ku   sa-ghae*   'my child is crying all the time'
      child-my ONLY-cry

Chapter 5

The nominal phrase

This chapter deals with the structure of the nominal phrase (NP). Starting with the formula for its internal structure (5.1), the various possible heads of nominal phrases and their modifiers are discussed. The noun as head of an NP will be discussed in 5.2, the personal pronoun in 5.3, the possessive suffix and modifying nouns in 5.4, the demonstrative pronoun in 5.5, nominal particles in 5.6, the measure phrase (including numerals, classifiers and quantifiers) in 5.7. Relative and simple verbal clauses functioning as heads are treated in 5.8. Question words can also head an NP, but they will be discussed in 8.6.2.

  This chapter is not only concerned with the syntax of noun phrases but also with the morphology of its constituent parts. Word classes whose primary function is to head or modify an NP will be analysed here in terms of their derivational possibilities (noun, personal pronoun, demonstrative and numeral).

5.1. Internal structure of the nominal phrase

The head of a nominal phrase can be a noun (N), a personal pronoun (Pro), a demonstrative pronoun (Dem), a relative clause (Rel) or a simple verbal clause (Cl). With these heads a number of modifiers are possible, such as a measure phrase (MeasPhr), the article (Art), a quantifier (Quan) or an attribute (Attr). The greatest number of attributes is found when the head of the NP is a noun. In other cases the possibilities of modification are more restricted.

  The unmarked internal structure of these types of NPs is as follows (marked orderings are discussed in 5.10; heads of NPs are capitalized and not in brackets):

a. (Art)
   (MeasPhr) N (NP) (-Poss) (Attr) (MeasPhr) (Attr) (Dem)
   (Quan)

b. PRO (Rel) (Dem)

c. DEM

d. (Quan) REL (Dem)

e. CL (Dem)

The attribute under (a) can be a temporal or a locative phrase, a relative or
an appositive clause, certain nouns, certain adverbs and question words.
'Attribute' is here used in a narrow sense to cover these different attributive
structures. For the wider sense of 'attribute', that is, an attributive element
to a head noun, I use the term 'modifier'. These attributes will be illustrated
in 5.9. A measure phrase can occur either before or after the head noun, but
not twice.

5.2. The Noun

In addition to common nouns, the following subtypes of simple nouns (that is,
morphologically not complex) can be distinguished:

1. proper nouns (names);
2. classifying nouns (classifiers);
3. measure nouns;
4. the emphatic/reflexive noun *wuto*.

The morphological and syntactic features of these nouns are different from
those of the common noun. Names, for example, do not normally receive affixes
(see 5.2.3). Classifiers and measure nouns can be prefixed with a prefixed
numeral. They are treated in 5.7.4 and 5.7.5. The noun *wuto* is discussed in
5.4.

5.2.1. The common noun

In addition to possessive inflection (see 5.4), the derivational possibilities
of the common noun are as follows (the noun *lambu* 'house' is used as an
illustrative base):

1. Nominal derivations:

   a. suffix *-hi*; meaning 'plural' (10.2.12):

      lambu-hi   'houses'

   b. prefix *ka-* + reduplication; meaning 'diminutive' (10.2.19):

      ka-lambu-lambu   'small house'

   c. prefix sa- + reduplication; meaning 'only Ns, full of Ns, Ns
      everywhere' (10.2.44):

      sa-lambu-lambu   'only houses, houses everywhere'

   d. prefix *ta-*; meaning 'only, just' (10.2.48):

      ta-lambu-no   'just his house'

   e. reduplication after *miina bhe* 'there is no' (7.2.2).

2. Verbal derivations (with subject inflection):

   a. prefix *ko-*; meaning 'have, possess' (10.2.21):

      a-ko-lambu   'I have a house'

   b. prefix *si-*; meaning 'be one in respect to; have the same' (10.2.46):

      do-si-lambu   'we (2) have one house'

3. Unproductive derivations:

The derivations discussed so far are all regular and productive for common nouns. A few common nouns, however, can also occur in derivations which are only partly productive, that is, these processes only apply to certain categories of common nouns. Notice the following 'minor' derivations:

   a. *foko-/-u* (10.2.9):

      ina   'mother'   *foko-ina-u*   'classificatory
                                                          mother: aunt'
   b. *foko-* (10.2.8):

      awa   'grandmother'   *no-foko-awa* 'he calls grand-
                                                          mother'
   c. *fe-* (10.2.4):

      wise   'front'   *no-fe-wise*   'it is in front
                                                           of'
      hale   'floor'   *ne-fe-hale*   'he makes a floor'

   d. *mansi-* (see 10.2.25 for examples).

   e. *po-* (10.2.41):

      ase   kind of game   *do-po-ase*   'we are playing
                                                           ase'

5.2.2. Internal structure of the complex noun

In the preceding section the simple common noun was described in terms of its derivational possibilities. In this section the starting point will be at the opposite end, that is, the morphologically complex noun is described in terms of its bases and affixes. Necessarily there will be some overlap with the preceding section, since certain nouns have nominal roots. These affixes are discussed in detail in Chapter 10.
  The following types of derived nouns exist:

1. Prefix *ka-* on verbal roots (10.2.17):

   ka-pindalo   'wish' (n)   *pindalo*   'wish' (v)
   ka-buru   'stench'   *buru*   'stink'

2. Circumfix ka-/-ha (and its allomorphs kae-/-ha and kao-/-ha) on verbal roots
   (10.2.18):

ka-lente-ha	'place of birth'	*lente*	'be born'
kao-lodo-ha	'bed'	*lodo*	'sleep'

3. Suffix *-ha* on verbal roots (10.2.11):

fumaa-ha	'time to eat'	*fumaa*	'eat'
wawe-ha	'(time to) turn'	*wawe*	'turn'

4. *ka-* + reduplication on nominal roots (10.2.19):

ka-tonde-tonde	'small glass'	*tonde*	'glass'
ka-wale-wale	'small hut'	*wale*	'hut'

5. Reduplication on nominal roots (10.3):

laha-lahae	'whoever'	*lahae*	'who'
ando-andoke	'Mr. Monkey'	*andoke*	'monkey'

6. Suffix *-hi* on nominal roots (10.2.12):

kontu-hi	'stones'	*kontu*	'stone'
muri-hi	'pupils'	*muri*	'pupil'

Unproductive derivations:

1. Prefix *po-* on verbal roots (10.2.41):

po-wora	'vision, view'	*wora*	'see'

2. Circumfix *foko-/-u* on kinship terms (10.2.9):

foko-ama-u	'uncle'	*ama*	'classificatory uncle: father'

3. Prenasalization on numeral bases (5.7.2):

ndua	'second cousin'	*dua*	'two'

Compounds are relatively rare in Muna. One type which is formally marked
through prenasalization is discussed in 10.4. Examples:

idha-mpaapa	'father and mother'	*idha*	'father'
		paapa	'mother'
ina-ngkolaki	'lord mother'	*ina*	'mother'
	(term used in charms)	*kolaki*	'lord, nobleman'

Other compound-like structures are discussed in 5.4.2.

5.2.3. Proper nouns

Proper nouns (names) are used for identifying persons and locations. Proper
nouns have very limited inflectional and derivational possibilities; only

locative names can be affixed with *ko-/-ha-e* (5.7.3), while possessive inflection with personal names is not impossible but rather unusual.
  Notice the following points about proper nouns referring to persons:

1. Names are usually preceded by the articles la (for men) or wa (for women), both as term of address and as term of reference. When names are written for official purposes, these elements are capitalized. In normal speech la is often reduced to a.

    La Aso
    Wa Sukia

   In this connection it is interesting to note that many place-names also start with La- or Wa-, while Ma- seems to be another prefix used for place-names. The meaning of these elements is unknown.
   Examples:

Lasehao	*Wasolangka*	*Mawasangka*
Lambiku	*Wanseriwu*	*Mabodo*
Latawe	*Wakuru*	*Masalili*
Lailangga	*Wabintingi*	

2. When somebody belongs to the nobility, he/she is allowed to place ode before his/her name. In writing this is usually capitalized:

    La Ode Malefu
    Wa Ode Hanafia

3. Names are often abbreviated. This is especially the case when people are directly addressed (see 10.6):

La Ifu	< *La Salifu*
Wa Ida	< *Wa Kandiida*

4. Names can be preceded by the particle ndo, which denotes plurality (5.6.5). It means: 'X cum suis; X and his friend(s)/relative(s)'. It is also found with animal names when they figure as characters in a story:

te ndo Wa Tini	'at Wa Tini's' (at her house, where she and her family live)
ndo bhiku	'Snail and his friend(s)'

5. When animals are the main characters in a story, the common name is made into a proper name by reduplication, preceded by la (or the reduced form a). The reduplication may be full (two syllables) or supernumerary (three syllables) (see 10.3):

ndoke	'monkey'	*landoke-landoke*	'Mr. Monkey'
		andoke-andoke	
		lando-landoke	
		ando-andoke	

   The last form is the most usual one. Some other examples that occur in texts:

alaga-alaga	*laga*	'ant'
adhi-adhini	*dhini*	'jin, evil animal'
akapo-kapoluka	*kapoluka*	'tortoise'

This last example is surprising, since the article a is found only on the reduplicated part, not on the root. It seems that when the root contains more than two syllables, reduplication precedes prefixation of the article *a*. Disyllabic roots are first prefixed with *a* or *la* and then partially or fully reduplicated.

   Reduplication is also used to form names out of phrases:

ware-ware lima	'Mr. Broadhand'	*ware*	'broad'
		lima	'hand'

Such constructions may again be preceded by *la*, *a* or *wa*:

la sopi-sopi koro	'Mr. Sharpbottom'	*sopi*	'sharp'
		koro	'bottom'
a wiga-wiga mata	'Mr. Eyefilth'	*wiga*	'filth'
		mata	'eye'

5.3. **Personal pronoun**

The free pronouns were presented in 4.1 in combination with the subject markers. They are repeated here, along with the possessive suffixes.

person		personal pronoun	possessive suffix
sg 1		*inodi*, *idi*	*-ku*
2		*(i)hintu*	*-mu*
2 p		*intaidi*	*-nto*
3		*anoa*	*-no*
du 1	inc	*intaidi*	*-nto*
pl 1	inc	*intaidi-imu*	*-nto-omu*
1 ex		*insaidi*	*-mani*
2		*(i)hintu-umu*	*-Vmu*
2 p		*intaidi-imu*	*-nto-omu*
3		*andoa*	*-ndo*

Inodi, *ihintu* and *ihintu-umu* are full forms, *idi*, *hintu* and *hintu-umu* are reduced forms (5.3.3).

5.3.1. **Usage**

The free pronouns are used in the following constructions:

1. They are obligatorily used:

   a. after prepositions:

      (1) *ama-mani   ne-gholi bhadhu so insaidi*
          father-our(ex) 3sR-buy shirt for us (ex)
          'our father bought a shirt for us (ex)'

      (2) *dosa-mu   ne inodi ta-se-riwu*
          debt-your loc I   TA-one-thousand
          'you still owe me one thousand'

   b. when they are the subject of an equative clause (7.6):

      (3) *inodi guru   we SMA*
          I   teacher loc SMA
          'I am a teacher at the SMA (= Senior High School)'

      (4) *ihintu-mo ka-bholosi-no   kamokula-ndo*
          you-PF   NOM-replace-POS parent-their
          'you are the replacement of their parents'

   c. as the predicate of headless relative clauses (so-called 'cleft'
      constructions), see 9.1.5:

      (5) *suano anoa me-ala-no*
          not   he   -take-A.PART
          'it is not he who has taken it'

      (6) *ihintu dua so ne-sambili-ndo   mie   bhari*
          you   too FUT P.PART-discuss-their people many
          'you too will be talked about by the people'

2. The personal pronouns are optionally used:

   a. to emphasize the subject of a verbal predicate, in addition to the
      subject marker. (In the English translations emphasis will be shown by
      capitalizing the relevant word.)

      (7) *ihintu o-mai-ghoo ne hamai?*   'where do YOU come from?'
          you   2sR-come-IO loc where

      (8) *ihintu o-[m]ala koro-no,   idi a-[m]ala ghole-no*
          you   2sI-take bottom-its I   1sI-take top-its
          'YOU will take the bottom, I will take the top'

      (9) *omo-lolu   sepaliha ihintu itu*   'YOU are very stupid indeed'
          2sR-stupid very   you   that

   b. to emphasize the direct or the indirect pronominal object. Here they
      cannot be combined with the regular pronominal suffixes.

(10) a.*madaho fumaa-kanau*   'in a while you can eat me'
        later (IMP-)eat-me

     b.*madaho fumaa   inodi*   'in a while you can eat ME'
        later (IMP-)eat I

     c.**fumaa-kanau inodi*

(11) *miina da-[m]ili anoa*   'they did not choose HIM'
        not   3pI-choose he

c. to emphasize a possessive suffix. The possessive suffix and the free
   pronoun may co-occur; in such cases the pronoun follows the noun, but
   occasionally it is found preceding it:

   (12) *peda hamai hintu kalei-mu?*   'how is YOUR banana tree?'
           like which you   banana-your

   (13) *idi-a naando fato-ghonu sikola ka-fo-fo-guru-ha-ku*
           I-CL be   four-CLAS school NOM-DETR-CAUS-learn-LOC-my
           'there were four schools where I was teaching'

   (14) *no-hende   ka-bhari-no ihi-no   anoa*
           3sR-increase NOM-many-POS contents-his he
           'HIS grains grow in number'

   In the following example the personal pronoun is used in a possessive
   sense substantively, replacing a noun which is retrievable from the
   context:

   (15) *idi-a niho se-tangke roo-no*
           I-CL just one-CLAS leaf-its
           'mine has just got one leaf' (my tree)

5.3.2. Derivation

The possibilities of derivation with the free pronouns are very limited:

a. suffix *-mo*, indicating emphasis (10.2.29):

   (16)*inodi-mo*   'I am the one'
       I-PF

b. prefix *ta-*, meaning 'only, just' (10.2.48):

   (17)*ta-andoa*   'just them'
       JUST-them

c. prefix *sa-* + reduplication, meaning 'always, only' (10.2.44):

   (18)*sa-ino-inodi-mo kaawu ne-waa-ghoo-no   pakea*
       ONLY-RED-I-PF   only P.PART-give-IO-his clothes
       'it's always me alone that he gives clothes to'

(19) *sa-inta-intaidi*   'always the two of us'
     ONLY-RED-we

5.3.3. Reduced pronouns

The reduced personal pronouns *idi*, *hintu*, *hintu-umu* can occur in exactly the same positions and seem to have the same usage as the full free pronouns. In (8) and (12) examples have already been provided of these reduced pronouns. Other examples:

(20) *a-k[um]ala kadeki idi*   'I will go now'
     1sI-go   first I

(21) *tunu   hintu-umu*   'burn (it), all of you'
     (IMP-)burn you-PLUR

The only difference between the full and the reduced free pronouns is that the derivational process with *sa-* as described in 5.3.2 cannot apply to the latter. Forms such as *ta-hintu* 'just you' and *idi-mo* 'it is I' are less usual but not impossible, but forms such as **sa-idi-idi* do not occur.

5.3.4. Pronoun as head of NP: modifiers

As mentioned in 5.1, a pronoun which heads an NP can be modified by a demonstrative pronoun, or a relative clause. Examples of pronouns modified by a demonstrative pronoun:

(22) *inodi ini*   'I here'
     I   this

(23) *hintu itu*   'you there'
     you   that

(24) *anoa watu*   'he over there'
     he   that

Pronouns modified by a relative clause:

(25) *ihintu [m]asole-no*   'you who are pretty, you
     you   pretty-A.PART   pretty one'

(26) *ihintu-umu me-aso-no   we daoa   no-bhari guna-amu*
     you-PLUR   -sell-A.PART loc market 3sR-much work-your.PLUR
     'you who sell at the market have a lot of work to do'

Also, pronouns can be modified by a full appositive NP, which is then actually outside the head NP (see 5.9.1):

(27) *insaidi bhidhadhari miina ta-t[um]oka*
     we(ex) fairy   not   1eI-complete
     'we (ex) fairies are not whole'

(28) *insaidi mie-no   Wuna ta-asi-ane ta-fumaa kambuse*
     we(ex) person-POS Muna 1eR-like-it 1eR-eat cooked.corn
     'we (ex) people of Muna like to eat cooked corn'

This type of modification seems to be limited to first and second persons.
  Finally, pronouns can be modified by a numeral verb, with the exception of
inodi 'I', in which case the measure phrase *se-mie* is used:

(29) *intaidi do-ru-dua*   'we two'
     we   1pR-RED-two

(30) *andoa do-pe-fato-fulu*   'the forty of them'
     they   3pR-ABOUT-four-ten

(31) *inodi-mo se-mie, a-asi-ane-mo*   'as for me, I like it'
     I-PF   one-man 1sR-like-it-PF

5.4. Possession

5.4.1. The possessive suffixes

The paradigm of possessive suffixes, which was presented in 5.3, is used for
nominal inflection. This inflection is found with nouns, passive participles
and certain other derivations (see 4.9). Examples:

(32) *kamokula-ku*   'my parents'
     parent-my

(33) *ina-mu*   'your mother'
     mother-your

(34) *ne-mbolaku-no*   'what he/she/it has stolen'
     P.PART-steal-his

(35) *lambu-nto*   1. 'your (polite) house'
     house-our   2. 'our (2) house'

(36) *wale-nto-omu*   1. 'your (polite plural) hut'
     hut-our-PLUR   2. 'our (>2) hut'

(37) *wite-mani*   'our (ex) land/country'
     land-our(ex)

(38) *doi-imu*   'your (plural) money'
     money-your.PLUR

(39) *sa-kundo-do*   'when they had left'
     WHEN-leave-their

As mentioned in 2.8.3, the third person plural suffix *-ndo* alternates with *-do*
when suffixed to bases that contain a prenasalized consonant.
  To emphasize the possessive pronouns, the following two possibilities exist:

1. free pronouns are added, usually after the head noun (see 5.3.1):

(40) *guru-ku   inodi*   'MY teacher' (not yours)
     teacher-my I

(41) *galu-ndo   andoa*   'THEIR field' (not ours)
     field-their they

2. the emphatic/reflexive noun wuto 'self' is added. This noun wuto itself is
   also obligatorily suffixed with a possessive:

   (42) *lambu-ku wuto-ku*   'my own house'
        house-my self-my

   (43) *suano ka-ghosa-no   wuto-no*   'it was not his own strength'
        not   NOM-strong-his self-his

Both possessive suffixes have to be present; the following forms are therefore
ungrammatical:

   (44) a. **lambu-ku wuto*
           house-my self

        b. **lambu wuto-ku*
           house self-my

The third person singular possessive suffix *-no* is also found in a number of
adverbs and conjunctions. This is probably a special lexicalized use of *-no*:

   hadae-no   'probably'   *hadae*   'maybe'
   tabea-no   'unless'   *tabea*   'unless'
   maka-ha-no   'then, but'   *maka*   'then'
   pasi-no   'then'

5.4.2. Possessive constructions with and without linker

When a head noun is modified by another noun or a noun phrase, the possessive
linker *-no* is suffixed to the first noun. This linker *-no* is a special use of
the third person possessive suffix *-no*. As in most languages, the relation
between the two nouns is typically one of possession, but there is a wide array
of meaning relations such as partitive, provenance, characteristic of, located
in and so on. Some examples:

   (45) *roo-no   sau*   'leaf of a tree; vegetable'
        leaf-POS tree

   (46) *mie-no   Wuna*   'somebody from Muna'
        person-POS Muna

   (47) *galu-no   pae*   'rice field'
        field-POS rice

   (48) *daoa-no   Raha*   'the market of Raha'
        market-POS Raha

   (49) *guru-no   wamba   Malau*   'teacher of Indonesian'
        teacher-POS language Malay

   (50) *lambu-no ani*   'beehive' (lit. house of bees)
        house-POS bee

When this combination of nouns is again suffixed by a possessive, the pos-
sessive suffix is added to the last noun:

(51) *lambu-no ama-ku*   'my father's house'
     house-POS father-my

(52) *pughu-no kalei-mu*   'your banana tree'
     tree-POS banana-your

It is not possible to replace the possessive linker by one of the other
possessive suffixes, or to add one at that place:

(53) a. **pughu-ku kalei*

     b. **pughu-no-ku kalei*

     c. **pughu-ku-no kalei*

Notice that constructions like (51) and (52) are structurally ambiguous. The
final possessive suffix can theoretically modify the whole phrase or just the
last noun. In (51) *-ku* only modifies *ama* 'father', whereas in (52) *-mu* modifies
the whole phrase *pughu-no kalei*.
  When the noun phrase has plural reference, the plural possessive linker *-ndo*
can be used. The plurality may either be determined by the head noun or by the
modifying noun. The use of *-ndo* is not obligatory; *-ndo* stresses the plurality
of the head noun and therefore of the whole phrase:

(54) a. *boku-no muri-hi*   'the book(s) of the pupils'
        book-POS pupil-PLUR

     b. *boku-ndo muri(-hi)*   'the books of the pupil(s)'
        book-POS pupil(-PLUR)

     c. *boku-hi-no muri(-hi)*   'the books of the pupil(s)'

     d. *boku-hi-ndo muri(-hi)*   'the books of the pupils'

The use of either *-ndo* or the plural suffix *-hi* marks the whole phrase as
plural. The occurrence of *-hi* in both the head noun and in the modifying noun
is avoided.

(55) *wamba-do kamokula-hi*   'the words of the old people'
     word-POS old-PLUR

(56) *motoro-ndo   bhai-ku*   'the motorbikes of my friend(s)'
     motorbike-POS friend-my

(57) a. *mie-ndo   Wuna*   'people from Muna'
        person-POS Muna

     b. *mie-no   Wuna*   'somebody/people from Muna'
        person-POS Muna

In (57a) the reference is clearly plural; in (57b) it may be singular or
plural.

When the modifying noun is animate, the possessive linker can be omitted without any change in meaning:

(58) a. *kalei-no   a-ndo-a-ndoke*   'the monkey's banana tree'
        banana-POS RED-ART-monkey

     b. *kalei   a-ndo-a-ndoke*   'the monkey's banana tree'
        banana RED-ART-monkey

(59) *bhai-hi   karambau Kainsedodo*   'buffalo Kainsedodo's friends'
     friend-PLUR buffalo Kainsedodo

In a number of constructions we find modifying nouns without a possessive linker. In the following cases the absence of this linker is obligatory:

a. when the second noun is the name of the material from which the first noun is made:

   (60) a. *lambu kontu*   'stone house'
         b. *lambu dopi*   'board house'
         c. *nuhua wite*   'earthen pitcher'
         d. *singkaru bulawa*   'golden ring'

b. when the second noun pertains to a family relationship:

   (61) a. *ina wee*   'stepmother'
         b. *ama ghampo*   'father-in-law'
         c. *anahi titiisa*   'first-born child'

c. when there is a relationship of identity between the two nouns:

   (62) a. *ana muri-hi*   'pupils' (lit. 'pupil children')
         b. *karambau bhai-no*   'his fellow buffaloes'

d. when the second noun is a name, even when this name is derived from a common noun:

   (63) a. *karambau Kainsedodo*   'buffalo Kainsedodo'
         b. *Wa Ode Kambea Mpatani*   'Mrs. *Mpatani* flower'

    Compare:
         c. *kambea-no mpatani*   '*mpatani* flower'

e. when the second noun is a derivation with ka- or ka-/-ha that functions as a descriptive phrase, a relative clause or an apposition to the head noun:

   (64) *laa   ka-rubu*   'small river'
         river NOM-small

   (65) *bheta ka-mooru-ku*   'the sarong that I wove'
         sarong NOM-weave-my

   (66) *liwu ka-lente-ha-no*   'the land where he was born'
         land NOM-born-LOC-his

(67) *ka-tomba-tomba kaen-tei-ha ghoti*   'a small rice basket / a small
    DIM-RED-basket NOM-put-LOC rice   basket in which rice is kept'

f. in many other fixed phrases which can be analysed as a kind of compound, although there is no formal marking (see 10.4):

(68) a. *gola   ghai*   'mixture of brown sugar and
     sugar coconut   grated coconut'

   b. *mina gasi*   'kerosene'
     oil   gas

(69) a. *dhambu sera*   k.o. cashew nut
   b. *adhara bholo*   'black horse'
   c. *manu kariri*   'hen with white and red feathers'
   d. *kalei susu*   k.o. small banana

5.5. Demonstrative pronoun

5.5.1.   Forms

There are six basic demonstrative pronouns in Muna, which occur in two sets, one with and one without initial *a-*. These two sets are as follows:

1		*aini*	*ini*
2		*aitu*	*itu*
3 near		*amaitu*	*maitu*
3 far:neutral		*awatu*	*watu*
3 far:high		*atatu*	*tatu*
3 audible		*anagha*	*nagha*

On the difference between the two sets, see 5.5.5. In addition to these basic sets various combinations are possible, such as *amaitu-ini*. These will be discussed in 5.5.7. Minor forms are the dialectal *asotu* and the combination *awagha-itu*.

   All demonstrative pronouns can be used to refer to the location in space of a given entity. In addition, several demonstrative pronouns can also refer to location in time and location in discourse. I will call this the locative, the temporal and the anaphoric usage of demonstratives.

5.5.2.   Locative usage

The first person demonstrative *aini* is used for whatever is near the speaker, that is, for what is within his reach. *Aitu*, the second person demonstrative, refers to an entity that is closer to the hearer than it is to the speaker, but not necessarily as close as *aini* is to the speaker. *Aitu* can also be used for something near the speaker when *aini* is already in use ('not this one, but that one', when both objects are at the same distance). When the entity referred to is about the same distance away from both speaker and

hearer, several options are open. The third person *amaitu* typically refers to
an object that is not far away, especially when it is contrasted with *awatu*,
which is further away. Obviously, 'far away' is a relative term and much
depends on the perspective of the speaker. In any case, *awatu* seems to be the
most neutral form in the third person series. It contrasts with *atatu* in that
atatu has an extra semantic component of 'height' (from the point of view of
the speaker) which is lacking in *awatu*. Informants would usually say that *atatu*
refers to a high location and *awatu* to a low location, but from conversations
and texts it is evident that *awatu* is in fact the neutral form, which can even
be used for relatively high points. Only in opposition to *atatu* does it mean
'low' or 'level'. In certain contexts *atatu* seems to mean 'far away' or
'further away' in opposition to *awatu*, rather than 'higher than'. *Anagha*,
finally, is used for an object that cannot be seen by either speaker or hearer,
but is audible. A crying child or a barking dog that is not visible can be
referred to by means of the demonstrative *anagha*. The primary usage of *anagha*,
however, is anaphoric (see 5.5.4).

   In the glosses and in the translation no attempt is made to reflect these
distinctions: 'this' is the equivalent of *aini*, 'that' of all the other
demonstratives.

   In addition to these demonstratives in standard Muna, there is also a
dialectal demonstrative *asotu*. Its meaning is probably equivalent to *awatu*. Its
use, however, is limited to certain villages in the *kecamatan* Katobu and it is
considered substandard by Muna speakers from other areas and even from Katobu
itself.

   All demonstrative pronouns can function as the head of an NP or as a
modifying attribute. Examples of this locative usage:

(70) *ala-mo   aini hintu*   'YOU take this'
     (IMP-)take-PF this you

(71) *pena aini miina nae-taa*   'this pen is not good'
     pen this not   3sI-good

(72) *no-ko-bhake-mo   ghai   aitu*   'that coconut tree has borne
     3sR-HAVE-fruit-PF coconut that   fruit'

(73) *manu-manu amaitu o   tomi*   'that bird is a sparrow'
     bird   that   ART sparrow

(74) *awatu   lambu-ku*   'that is my house'
     that   house-my

(75) *atatu kalei-mu*   'that is your banana tree'
     that banana-your

(76) *ane a-t[um]ogho sau awatu*   'if I fell that tree'
     if 1sI-fell   tree that

(77) *...na-t[um]aburi bhe sau atatu*   'it will press down that tree'
        3sI-press   with tree that

(78) *dahu anagha dahu-ku*   'that dog (the one you hear) is
     dog that   dog-my   mine'

5.5.3. Temporal usage

One basic demonstrative can have a temporal meaning, namely *aitu*. Other temporal meanings occur with the complex demonstratives as discussed in 5.5.7. *Aitu* has two meanings:

aitu 1. now, at this moment (of speaking);
       2. at that moment (refers to a point in discourse, located in either the past or the future).

These meanings are obviously related, the difference being their 'deictic anchoring'. *Aitu* refers to a point which has already been established in the previous discourse, and only when no such point is present, does it refer to the present moment, that is, the actual moment when the speaker is talking. Examples:

(79) *aitu a-k[um]ala-mo*   'now I am about to go'
     now 1sI-go-PF

(80) *ane nao-maa-kanau, aitu nao-repu*   'when he eats me, he will croak'
     if 3sI-eat-me   now 3sI-croak

In (80) a moment in the future has already been established, hence *aitu* means 'then, at that time'; in (79) no such point is present, hence the meaning 'now'. The 'now' of *aitu* is only a very short moment; for longer stretches of time *ampa-aitu* 'now, nowadays' is used.
  In one text *aini* occurs as a temporal demonstrative with the same meaning as *aitu* 'then, at that time'. This usage of *aini* is very rare:

(81) *aini Wa Maruai no-kala kansuru*   'then Wa Maruai went straight
     now ART Maruai 3sR-go continually   on'

5.5.4. Anaphoric usage

Certain demonstrative pronouns are often used to refer back to an entity that has already been introduced in the preceding context. In such cases *aini*, *aitu*, *amaitu* and *anagha* can be translated either as demonstratives or as definite articles, depending on the context, although they are still glossed as demonstratives. *Awatu* and *atatu* do not have this anaphoric function.

(82) *de-fo-naando kafaka.   No-rempo   kafaka   aini...*
     3pR-CAUS-be   discussion 3sR-finished discussion this
     'they organize a discussion. When this discussion is finished...'

(83) *a-fetingke bhirita amaitu*   'I have heard the news'
     1sR-hear   news   that

(84) *no-fetingke anagha...*   'when she heard that...'
     3sR-hear   that

Aitu, which is rarely found as an anaphoric demonstrative, most commonly occurs in temporal phrases where it refers to an activity or a time in the immediate past. A number of frequently found expressions are the following:

(85) a. *no-pada   aitu*   'after that'
        3sR-finished that

     b. *pasino aitu*   'after that'
        after   that

     c. *sa-lapasino aitu*   'after that'
        WHEN-after   that

     d. *wakutuu aitu*   'at that time'
        time   that

Notice also the difference between *peda aini* 'like this (future)' and *peda aitu* 'like this/that (past)' in the following sentences:

(86) *amba-no   peda aini*: '...'   'he said: "...."'
     word-his like this

(87) *sa-no-bisara   peda aitu*   'when she had spoken thus'
     WHEN-3sR-speak like that

5.5.5. The referential demonstratives

In 5.5.1 two different sets of demonstrative pronouns were introduced. So far all the examples have been from the first set, with initial *a-*. In this section the difference between these two sets of demonstratives will be discussed.

   The first set I will call 'identifying demonstratives'. An identifying demonstrative picks out one unique referent among many possibilities; it is a way of signalling out one among many, and the use of this form (at least in its spatial usage) is generally accompanied by pointing towards the object or turning one's head or nodding in the direction of the object.

   The forms of the second set, without initial *a-*, I will call 'referential demonstratives'. A referential demonstrative refers to an entity that has already been introduced in the discourse. Objects for which there is only one referent (for example 'the world') can only be modified by a referential demonstrative, which is also the case with names and pronouns. They can be said to have known reference from the extra-linguistic context.

   In other words, the identifying demonstratives carry the meaning composite 'known to speaker and not known to hearer', while for the referential demonstrative the following statement is true: 'known to speaker and known to hearer'. The referential demonstratives can have a spatial usage but they are especially common as anaphoric demonstratives.

   The difference between identifying and referential demonstratives can be illustrated by means of the following pairs of examples (glossed identically):

(88) a. *bhai-ku   aini*   'this friend of mine' (but not
        friend-my this   the others here/there)

     b. *bhai-ku   ini*   'my friend (here) / this friend
        friend-my this   of mine (already mentioned)'

(88a) identifies one among many of my friends, while (88b) refers to 'my friend' who has already been introduced and is now the topic in the discourse, or he is close to the speaker at the moment of speaking.

(89)a.*ne Raha aini*   'in this Raha (capital of Muna)'
         loc Raha this

     b.*ne Raha ini*   'here in Raha'
         loc Raha this

(89a) implies that there are other places called Raha, while (89b) implies that
the phrase is uttered by someone who is in Raha.
  The referential set is therefore used when there is no need to identify or
re-identify the noun or noun phrase under consideration. This is especially the
case when:

1. the noun is already modified by other attributes such as:
   - a possessive suffix
   - another noun or noun phrase
   - a relative phrase or clause
2. the NP is a name or a pronoun
3. the noun or noun phrase is a known entity in the context.

In addition the referential demonstratives are used in the following con-
structions:

1. when the noun is modified by the article o (see 5.6). Since the 'meaning' of
   o has no relation with definiteness or givenness, this restriction on the
   co-occurrence of o and the identifying demonstratives cannot easily be
   accounted for.
2. when the NP is found in a prepositional phrase. In those cases the
   referential demonstratives are usually found, even when there is a new,
   unmodified head noun. When the demonstrative follows the preposition
   directly, the referential demonstrative must be used:

   ne ini   'here'
   ne watu   'over there'

The referential demonstratives will now be illustrated one by one. Since in
most cases the head noun is a known entity in the discourse, the examples
should ideally include that part of the preceding discourse in which the entity
is made known. For practical reasons, however, this is only done in a few
cases.

a. *ini*

   (90)*a-[m]ala-mo ghole-no ini*   'I will take its top'
       1sI-take-PF top-its this

   (91)*ihintu ini o-mai-ghoo ne hamai?*   'where do YOU come from?'
       you   this 2sR-come-IO loc where

   (92)*ko-to-tolu-ha-ndo   ini do-po-sabhangka*
       KO-RED-three-HA-their this 3pR-REC-friend
       'the three of them were friends'

   (93)*miina dao-limpu dua de-owa   bhaku,   tamaka*
       not   3pI-forget too 3pR-bring provisions, but

     bhaku-ndo   ini se-kasopa kaawu
     provisions-their this one-plate only

     'they did not forget to take provisions with them, but their pro-
     visions were only one *kasopa* (= traditional bowl-like container)'

(94) *de-basa-ghoo tora dhoa   mate-no   ini*
     3pR-read-IO   again prayer die-A.PART this
     'again they recite a prayer for the dead man'

(95) *a-fo-fo-guru   wamba   Inggirisi, tamaka wamba   Inggirisi*
     1sR-DETR-CAUS-learn language English,   but   language English

     ini   miina da-[m]asi-ane
     this not   3pI-like-it

     'I taught English, but they did not like English'

(96) *te   dhunia ini*   'in this world'
     loc world this

(97) *no-siki-e-mo   kambuse   ini*
     3sR-spoon.up-it-PF cooked.maize this
     'he served (out) the maize with a spoon'

Ini is found in these examples, modifying a noun that is already modified by
a possessive suffix in (90) and (93), by another noun in (95). In (92) and
(97) the noun (and in (94) the participle heading the noun phrase) is not
modified, but in each case it has already been introduced and is therefore
'given information'. In (91) ini is found modifying a pronoun (see 5.3.5)
and in (96) it occurs in a prepositional phrase where it modifies a noun of
which there is only one referent: dhunia 'world'.

b. *itu*

   Itu is not commonly used as an anaphoric demonstrative; only a few examples
   occur. As a locative demonstrative in prepositional phrases it is more
   common:

(98) *ne   ghubhe itu*   'on the rafter'
     loc rafter that

(99) *no-wanu   kaawu anahi itu*   'when the child got up'
     3sR-get.up after child that

(100)*inodi itu-a, ane a-[m]angkafi ka-pindalo-ku*
      I   that-CL if 1sI-follow   NOM-desire-my
      'as for me, when I follow my desire'

The difference between *inodi ini* ('I this') and *inodi itu* ('I that') is that
the former is used when the speaker gives objective information about himself,
whereas he uses the latter when he gives his opinion about something else.
There is a subjective element in *inodi itu* which is lacking in *inodi ini*.

(101) *inodi ini, no-mpona-mo ao-saki*   'I have been ill for a long time'
      I   this 3sR-long-PF 1sR-ill

(102) *inodi itu, a-asi-ane   anagha*   'as for me, I like that'
      I   that 1sR-like-it that

c. *maitu*

(103) *ina-no   no-saki-mo. Welo ka-saki-no maitu*...
      mother-her 3sR-ill-PF in   NOM-ill-her that
      'her mother fell ill. During her illness...'

(104) *do-wora kaawu kontu ko-wuna-no   maitu*
      3pR-see after stone HAVE-flower-A.PART that
      'when they saw the stone with the flowers'

(105) *te wawo-no wata maitu bhe kadondo*
      loc top-POS log that be woodpecker
      'on top of the log there was the woodpecker'

(106) *ne hamai katogha maitu*?   'where is that crow?'
      loc where crow   that

d. *nagha*

(107) *no-horo-mo ana-ku   nagha*   'my child flew'
      3sR-fly-PF child-my that

(108) *no-bisara-mo manu-manu nagha*   'the bird said'
      3sR-speak-PF bird   that

(109) *robhine nagha no-suli-mo*   'the woman went home'
      woman   that 3sR-go.home-PF

e. *watu*

(110) *ne-ngkora we simbali   watu*   'she is sitting in the inner
      3sR-sit   in inner.room that   room over there'

f. *tatu*

(111) *o   liwu   te mata-gholeo tatu*   'the village is there far away
      ART village loc eye-sun   that   in the east'

Referential demonstratives that function as the head of an NP seem to be
limited to *nagha*:

(112) *o-hunda   nagha?*   'do you want that?'
      2sR-agree that

There is some variation between the identifying and the referential set.
Especially with unmodified given nouns there is freedom as to which of the
two sets is used. When a narrator uses the identifying demonstratives in
such a case, he wishes to re-identify his main character; but when he uses
the referential demonstratives, he assumes the entity is still known. The

following example, taken from a story, is about a man whose wife goes to spy on
him and then returns home. Both demonstratives can be used in this example,
since the woman constitutes 'given' information, which is not modified by
another element:

   (113) *robhine anagha no-suli-mo*   'the woman went home'
        woman   that   3sR-return-PF

   (114) *robhine nagha no-suli-mo*   'the woman went home'
        woman   that 3sR-return-PF

5.5.6. Other usages of the referential demonstratives

Sometimes the referential demonstratives are used when they function neither as
the head of an NP nor as a modifying element of an NP. Often some kind of
deictic meaning component can be detected, but it is not possible to do more
than list the usages that have not been dealt with in the previous section.

a. *ini*

   1. ini is optionally added to certain adverbs and conjunctions, to which it
      seems to add a component of futurity and uncertainty, not reflected in
      the translation:

      naewine   'tomorrow'
      naewine ini   idem

      garaa   conjunction denoting surpise
      garaa ini   idem

      talahano   1.'actually, as a matter of
                                      fact'
                                 2.'once upon a time'
      talahano ini   idem

      sakotughu   'actually, really, indeed'
      sakotughu ini   idem

      In the following example there is a difference in meaning:

      indefie   'when?'
      indefie ini   'in the past, formerly'

   2. ini is found after subordinate clauses. This phenomenon of a referential
      demonstrative following a clause (found much more frequently with maitu)
      is a kind of linking device where the preceding clause is taken as the
      known entity:

      (115) *se-taghu-mo a-fo-fo-guru*   *wamba*   *Inggirisi.*
           one-year-PF 1sR-DETR-CAUS-learn language English

           Welo do-fo-fo-guru   *ini...*
           in   3pR-DETR-CAUS-learn this

           'I taught English for one year. During this teaching...'

(116) *do-kala-mo do-ghondo-e. Garaa do-ghondo-e kaawu ini*...
      3pR-go-PF 3pR-see-it   SURPR 3pR-see-it after this
      'they went to look at it. When they had seen it...'

(117) *no-kala-mo La Ngkangkasi. Garaa no-kala ini-a   no-wora-mo wewi*
      3sR-go-PF   ART Ngkangkasi SURPR 3sR-go this-CL 3sR-see-PF pig
      'La Ngkangkasi went away. While he was going he saw a pig'

3. ini follows the irrealis in main clauses where it indicates that the
   planned activity is being performed at the moment of speech:

(118) a   *a-k[um]ala-mo inodi*   'I am about to go'
          1sI-go-PF   I

      b   *a-k[um]ala-mo ini inodi*   'I am going now'
          1sI-go-PF   this I

b. *itu*

1. itu is often found in commands, questions and exclamations. It gives
   extra force to the utterance and also implies some impatience. It is
   difficult to express this adequately in an English translation (see also
   8.7.3). Itu will nevertheless be glossed 'that' in the interlinear
   translation.

(119) *piki-suli-imu*   *itu*   'do come home quickly'
      (IMP-)fast-return-PLUR that

(120) *tei-kaeta-amu   itu*   'please do help yourselves'
      (IMP-)put-us-PLUR that

(121) *naefie   da-k[um]ala itu?*   'when shall we go?'
      when.FUT 1pI-go   that

(122) *peda hae itu la-ndoke-la-ndoke?* 'how is it, Brother Monkey?'
      like what that RED-ART-monkey

(123) *ingka ama-mu   bhore itu*   'it's your father, you silly
      ENIM father-your silly that   thing'

(124) *o   ka-gau   no-taha-mo itu*   'the food is cooked'
      ART NOM-cook 3sR-ripe-PF that

2. *itu* is added to certain temporal nouns to form a temporal adverb:

alo   'night'
alo itu   'tonight'

gholeo   'day'
ghole itu   'today'

3. itu is added to certain adverbs adding the meaning of past orientation or
   certainty:

     garaa   conjunction denoting surprise
     garaa itu   idem

     dadihanomo   'so, therefore'
     dadihanomo itu   idem

     naewine   'tomorrow'
     naewine itu   idem

c. *maitu*

   maitu, like ini, can also modify a clause of which the main verb has already
   been mentioned or suggested, thus acting as a clause linker:

   (125) *do-fewule-mo ko-ru-dua-ha-ndo.   Garaa naando de-ngko-ngkora maitu...*
         3pR-rest-PF KO-RED-two-HA-their SURPR be   3pR-RED-sit   that
         'the two of them took a rest. While they were sitting...' (lit.
         'during that time they were sitting...')

   (126) *ina-no   no-kala-mo ne-galu. Wakutuu-no no-kundo   maitu...*
         mother-his 3sR-go-PF 3sR-field time-its   3sR-go.away that
         'his mother went to work in the field. When she had gone...'

   (127) *ni-kona-ndo   do-fo-fo-sudhu   maitu*
         P.PART-call-their 3pR-DETR-CAUS-be.right that
         'what is called 'putting in the right position' (in the grave)'

d. *nagha*

   nagha is occasionally found after certain adverbs:

     tangkanomo   'in short, briefly'
     tangkanomo nagha   idem

5.5.7. Combinations of demonstratives

As mentioned in 5.5.1, certain combinations of demonstratives occur. In these
cases the last element is always a referential demonstrative, usually *ini*. The
whole combination in turn can be either an identifying or a referential
demonstrative (for example *amaitu-ini* or *maitu-ini*). Such combinations can
function as either head or modifier.
   When the combination has a temporal meaning, this can either refer to an
absolute point in time, where the deictic point of reference is the moment of
speaking, or it can denote a relative point in time, where the deictic point of
reference is established in the discourse. Compare the meanings 'now' and
'then' of *aitu* in 5.5.3 (examples (79) and (80)).
   The addition of *ini* to a demonstrative has two primary meanings:
1. It emphasizes the demonstrative;
2. It adds a temporal meaning component. Part of the meaning of the main demon-
   strative is maintained, namely the distance from the speaker, but this is
   now re-analysed as temporal distance or anaphoric distance ('mentioned just
   now', 'mentioned a while ago').
In the glosses the element *ini* will be ignored in complex demonstratives.
   The following combinations of demonstratives (with illustrative examples in
clauses) have *ini* as their last element:

1. *aini-ini*   1. 'the one just mentioned'
                                                (referential: *ini-ini*)
                                             2. 'just now,only a few minutes
                                                ago' (usual form *ani-ini*)

   (128) *nea-no   liwuto aini-ini*   'the name of this island (just
       name-POS island this   mentioned)'

   (129) *fato-ghonu sikola ini-ini*   'these four schools (just
       four-CLAS school this   mentioned)'

   (130) *amba-no   ani-ini*   'he said just now'
       word-his just.now

2. *amaitu-ini*   'that (the aforementioned)'

   (131) *fato-fulu-gha kahitela amaitu-ini miina na-[m]ada-e-a*
       four-ten-day corn   that   not   3sI-finish-it-CL
       'in forty days he had not finished the (aforementioned) corn'

   (132) *a-po-ghawa-ghoo kaawu ka-ntoo-no   bhirita amaitu-ini*
       1sR-REC-get-IO after NOM-certain-POS news   that
       'when I had found out the truth about this (aforementioned) news'

The referential demonstrative maitu-ini is very rarely used. In the one
example found in a text it follows a subordinate clause functioning as a
linker:

   (133) *pada   do-fo-kawi-da   maitu-ini-a...*
       finish 3pR-CAUS-marry-them that-CL
       'when they had married them...'

3. *awatu-ini*   'that' (emphatic)

   (134) *sau   awatu-ini no-bhari bhake-no*   'THAT tree has got much fruit'
       tree that   3sR-many fruit-his

4. *atatu-ini*   'that' (emphatic)

   (135) *ka-ware-no   kangkaha atatu-ini peda-mo wulu-no fotu se-tangke*
       NOM-broad-POS road   that   like-PF hair-POS head one-CLAS
       'THAT road is as narrow as a hair'

5. *anagha-ini*   1. 'formerly, a long time ago'
                                             2. 'at that time (a long time
                                                ago)'
                                             3. exclamation denoting surprise

   (136) *anagha-ini naando se-mie   moghane* 'once upon a time there was a
       that   be   one-CLAS man   man'

The referential demonstrative *itu* functions as the last element in the
combination *awagha-itu*. This complex form is different from the other
demonstratives in that the simple base **awagha* or **wagha* does not exist. Its
meaning and usage is as follows:

a. It is a combination of a locative and a temporal meaning: 'that (not far)' and 'just now'. It is typically used to refer to someone who has just passed by.

(137) *awagha-itu ai-ku*   'that was my brother'
      that   younger.sibling-my   (the person who has just
                                        passed not far from us)

(138) *mie   awagha-itu sabhangka-ku*   'that man is my friend'
      person that   friend-my   (idem)

b. As a referential demonstrative it follows an action verb and functions as a temporal adverb 'then'. The preceding verb is not suffixed with -mo (9.21).

(139) *no-si-ka-horo-ha wagha-itu welo oe   karaka*
      3sR-SI-KA-jump-HA that   in   water frog
      'then the frog suddenly jumped into the water'

(140) *no-wula   wagha-itu, mohama, garaa o   liwu*
      3sR-open.eyes that   INJ   SURPR ART village
      'then he opened his eyes, good heavens, there was a village'

c. In combination with ini it is a temporal adverb meaning 'a long time ago'.

(141) *awagha-itu-ini naando se-mie   bhirinanda*
      that   be   one-CLAS widow
      'a long time ago there was a widow'

Another demonstrative that is also found as a final element in complex demonstratives is *nagha*, but only in the combination *anagha-nagha*. This typically refers to something which is heard and has been mentioned before and therefore forms the topic of conversation. Probably the use of *anagha-nagha* is limited to Katobu.

(142) *suara anagha-nagha suara-no ana-ku*
      voice that   voice-POS child-my
      'that voice is the voice of my child'

But it can also refer to an object that is not in view, but which still forms the topic of conversation:

(143) *lambu anagha-nagha no-hali   siaghe*
      house that   3sR-expensive too
      'that house is too expensive'

5.5.8. Derivations of demonstratives

The following derivational affixes have a demonstrative as base:

1. Suffix *-ha* (10.2.11):

As an answer to a question about the location of an object or person, the identifying demonstratives are suffixed by the locative suffix *-ha*, and the

resulting construction is obligatorily suffixed by a pronominal direct object
suffix (see 4.8.1):

(144) *ne   hamai o   solo*?   'where are the matches?'
      loc where ART match

(145) *aini-ha-e*   'here they are'
      this-HA-it

(146) *ne   hamai kapulu-mu*?   'where is your machete?'
      loc where machete-your

(147) *awatu-ha-e*   'there it is'
      that-HA-it

(148) *hamai-ko-mo*?   'where are you?'
      where-you-PF

(149) *aini-ha-kanau*   'here I am'
      this-HA-me

When these *ha*-derivations are to be stressed, it is possible to add a
referential demonstrative that corresponds with the identifying demonstrative
in the head. This doubling of demonstratives is again limited to the Katobu
area:

(150) *aitu-ha-e-mo   itu ama-mu*   'THAT is your father'
      that-HA-him-PF that father-your

(151) *aini-ha-e-mo ini ne-ngara-i-ndo   anahi*
      this-HA-it-PF this P.PART-dislike-TR-their child
      'THIS is what the children dislike'

2. Suffix *-e* (10.2.2):

Awatu and *atatu* can be emphasized by adding the suffix *-e*. This suffix is
pronounced on a very high pitch and is drawn out considerably. Compare also *-e*
on vocatives in 7.12.1.

```
                  ____
        _____ ____/
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(152) *lambu awatu-e*::   'THAT house over there'
      house that-E

3. It is possible to use the demonstrative pronouns predicatively, in which
   case a third person singular referent is expressed by means of the direct
   object prononimal suffix -e. Since such constructions function as
   predicates, the emphatic suffix -mo is usually added, as in (150) and (151)
   above and in the following:

(153) *aitu-e-mo   ama-mu*   'THAT is your father' (lit.
      that-him-PF father-you   that is him, your father)

(154) *awatu-e so ka-sawi-ha-nto*   'that is what we will use as
      that-it FUT NOM-go.by-LOC-our   our vessel'

(155) *ane na-de-dea   wangka-no, aitu-e-mo   [m]uta-e*
      if 3sI-RED-red tooth-his that-him-PF A.PART-pick-it
      'if somebody's teeth are red, he is the one who has picked it'

5.6. Particles

5.6.1. The article *o*

In Muna there is one article, the particle *o*, which always precedes the noun it
modifies. Its usage and meaning are completely different from that of the
article in Indo-European languages. There is no relation with definiteness or
specificness; it does not serve emphasis nor is it a topic marker. In fact,
there is no clear meaning in the sense of referential meaning. The term
'article' is used, following Anceaux (1952) in his description of Wolio. The
function of *o* is to signal the relative syntactic freedom of a noun or a noun
phrase. In other words, a noun modified by *o* has a lesser degree of syntactic
binding to the rest of the clause than a noun which is not so marked.
Therefore, we typically find NPs modified by *o* in the following constructions:

1. single-word clauses consisting of one noun, for example as an answer to the
   question 'What is this?';
2. in enumerations;
3. in nominal predicates;
4. in preverbal subjects and objects and other nouns;
5. in appositions.

The article is not usually found before an NP following the main verb, either
as subject or as object, nor in possessive constructions after the linker *-no*.
In those cases the syntactic binding is too strong; but see 5.6.4 for variation
in usage.

5.6.2. Usage of *o*

1. Single-word clauses (the reference may be either singular or plural):

   (156) *o   hae-no   ini-a*?   'what is this?'
         ART what-its this-CL

   (157) a. *o medha*   'a table'
         b. *o tonde*   'a glass'
         c. *o kalei*   'bananas'

   It is not possible to leave out *o* in these examples.

2. Enumerations (coordinated nouns or noun phrases). In enumerations the first
   word may or may not receive o, the following nouns all have o obligatorily,
   but the last item, which follows the preposition bhe 'with', never has o:

   (158) *na-fo-waa-ghoo   ka-ghosa, o   ka-tolala   bhe omuru me-wanta*
         3sI-DETR-give-IO NOM-strong ART NOM-opportune with age   A.PART-long
         'He will give us strength, opportunity and a long life'

(159) *ne-gholi o   pae, o   kenta, o   kambulu   bhe kalei*
      3sR-buy ART rice ART fish   ART vegetables with banana
      'she bought rice, fish, vegetables and bananas'

Notice also the following two examples with the connective *tawa* 'or'; especially the second example is interesting, as *o* is here used before a noun which stands in a possessive relationship to the governing noun. As mentioned above, such a noun does not normally take *o*. In this case it can take *o* because of the coordination with *tawa*:

(160) *do-po-ghonu-ghonu-mo tora bhasitie-hi-a   tawa o   mosiraha*
      3pR-REC-RED-gather-PF again relative-PLUR-CL or   ART neighbour
      'the relatives or the neighbours gather again'

(161) *ka-po-ghonu-ghonu-ha-no   bhasitie-hi-a   tawa o   mosiraha*
      NOM-REC-RED-gather-LOC-POS relative-PLUR-CL or   ART neighbour
      'the meeting of the relatives or the neighbours'

3. Nominal predicates in equative clauses:

(162) *inodi o   moghane*   'I am a man'
      I   ART man

(163) *ama-ku   o   guru*   'my father is a teacher'
      father-my ART teacher

(164) *suano o   mbadha so ne-ghondo*   'it is not the body that will
      not   ART body   FUT P.PART-look   be looked at'

   Apart from the last example, *o* has to be used in these sentences.

4. Preverbal subject:

(165) *o   dahu no-kotou*   'a dog barks'
      ART dog 3sR-bark

(166) *o   kapoluka no-bisara-mo*   'the tortoise said'
      ART tortoise 3sR-speak-PF

(167) *o   karambau no-mate-ghoo ka-wule*
      ART buffalo   3sR-die-IO   NOM-tired
      'the buffalo died of exhaustion'

In such preverbal subjects *o* has to be present. The following sentences are therefore ungrammatical:

(168) a. **dahu no-kotou*

      b. **kapoluka no-bisara-mo*

The article is also obligatory in other preverbal nominal phrases such as direct objects or preposed dependent nouns.

(169) *o   karambau no-talo-e   pikore*
       ART buffalo 3sR-defeat-him k.o.bird
       'the buffalo was defeated by the bird'

(170) *o   kadondo,   karadhaa-no ne-tisa   pae*
       ART woodpecker work-his   3sR-plant rice
       'as for the woodpecker, his work was to plant rice'

5. Appositions:

(171) *ne-late bhe se-mie   robhine, o   bhirinanda*
       3sR-live with one-CLAS woman,   ART widow
       'he lived with a woman, a widow'

(172) *ne-rabu raki, o   ka-lambu-lambu we tehi*
       3sR-make raft ART DIM-RED-house loc sea
       'he made a raft, a small house at sea'

The head of an apposition may be a nominalized stative intransitive verb (see 9.2):

(173) *ne-gholi adhara ka-rubu, o   ka-pute*
       3sR-buy   horse NOM-small ART NOM-white
       'he bought a small horse, a white one'

5.6.3. Co-occurrence restrictions of o

The only affix that can be added to the article is the prefix *ta-* 'only, just' (10.2.48):

(174) *ta-o   ganda*   'only a drum'
       JUST-ART drum

There are restrictions on the modifiers that can combine with the article *o* in an NP:

1. *o* cannot pre-modify a noun that is already modified by a possessive suffix:

(175) a. **o   lambu-ku*
          ART house-my

      b. **o   ka-kesa-no*
         ART NOM-beautiful-its

The only exception is *o hae-no* 'what?' used as a question to ask for the identity of a specific object (see 8.6.2), although it is not completely clear whether *-no* is in fact a possessive suffix here.

2. o cannot be combined with a prenominal measure phrase nor with a quantifier:

(176) a. **o   tolu-ghulu dahu*
          ART three-CLAS dog

But when the measure phrase follows the noun, *o* can be used:

(176) b. *o   dahu tolu-ghulu*   'the three dogs'
          ART dog three-CLAS

3. *o* is not found combined with an identifying demonstrative:

   (177) **o   ndoke   anagha*
          ART monkey that

4. Also, after a preposition *o* cannot occur:

   (178) a. *welo lambu*   'in the house'
             in   house

         b. **welo o lambu*

   (179) a. *so anahi-hi*   'for the children'
             for child-PLUR

         b. **so o anahi*

Other combinations with *o*, however, are possible, such as:

a. a referential demonstrative (5.5.5):

   (180) *o   dahu maitu*   'the dog'
          ART dog that

b. a relative clause (9.1):

   (181) *o   anahi to-tolu-no   ini*   'the three children'
          ART child RED-three-A.PART this

c. a 'clipped' participle (5.9.2, 10.2.51):

   (182) *o   kalambe mo-kesa*   'a beautiful girl'
          ART girl   A.PART-beautiful

d. another noun or noun phrase (5.4.2):

   (183) *o   kontu ka-rubu*   'a small stone'
          ART stone NOM-small

e. a dependent numeral verb (5.7.2):

   (184) *o   mie   do-to-tolu*   'the three people'
          ART person 3pR-RED-three

Normally *o* does not co-occur with quantifiers. In the construcution *bhari-bhari-ndo o ghoti* 'all the foods', which was found in one text, it seems that the quantifier *bhari-bhari-ndo* precedes the article in the noun phrase. Probably, however, the quantifier constitutes a noun phrase in its own right. In any case the construction is rather unusual.
   The fact that *o* cannot occur with a possessive suffix nor with an identifying demonstrative suggests there is a tendency for *o* not to be used when the noun or noun phrase is already modified. This is not a rule, however, and

the examples given above amply show that *o* can occur in combination with other modifiers. Notice also the following example, where the first two nouns (which are unmodified) take *o*, whereas the last two nouns, which are modified by a 'clipped participle' (see 5.9.2 and 10.2.28), do not:

(185) *tabea o   podiu,   o   feili,   lalo me-taa*,
      but   ART character ART disposition heart A.PART-good

      lalo mo-asi
      heart A.PART-pity

      '[what counts] is character, disposition, a good and loving heart'

5.6.4. Variation in usage

What was said in 5.6.1 and 5.6.2 is true for the speech of most people and is consistent with a fair number of texts. However, in a few texts, *o* is found much more frequently than can be explained by the criteria set up above. The following sentences from such texts illustrate these cases:

(186) *o   pikore   ne-tudu   o   karambau na-[m]oroghu*
      ART k.o.bird 3sR-admonish ART buffalo 3sI-drink
      'the bird admonished the buffalo to drink'

(187) *no-foni dua o   oe*   'the water also rose'
      3sR-rise also ART water

(188) *no-mate-mo ina-ndo   o   anahi-hi*
      3sR-die-PF mother-POS ART child-PLUR
      'the mother of the children died'

These examples show the use of *o* modifying a postverbal object (186), a postverbal subject (187) and a dependent noun after the possessive linker (188). When these sentences were checked with other informants, some of them reacted against the use of *o* in these contexts. All these informants came from basically one dialect area, although there were age differences.

   In order to find out to what extent the usage of *o* was subject to individual preference, a random test was organized. Clauses from texts containing the article in an 'unexpected' place were transformed into an exercise for filling in *o*. Every NP was given a blank space before it in which informants could indicate whether *o* was obligatory (+), impossible (-), or optional (±).

   The following syntactic positions were distinguished (each position was represented by at least three sentences; overall order was random):
1. preverbal Subject (S);
2. preverbal Object (O);
3. postverbal S (intransitive verbs);
4. postverbal O;
5. postverbal S (transitive verbs);
6. dependent nouns after the possessive linker;
7. nouns after a preposition.

Some of the results of this test (a few clauses for four informants) are as follows:

	A	B	C	D
1. preverbal S:				
a. *o karambau* no-mente 'the buffalo was amazed'	+	+	+	+
b. *o oe* no-sampu dua 'the water also went down'	+	+	+	+
2. preverbal O:				
c. *o karambau* no-talo-e pikore 'the buffalo was defeated by the bird'	+	+	+	+
3. postverbal S:				
d. *no-foroghu-mo dua o pikore* 'the bird also drank'	−	±	±	±
e. *no-sampu kaawu o ure* 'when the low tide came'	−	±	−	±
4. postverbal O:				
f. *no-salihi o karambau* 'he admonished the buffalo'	−	−	±	±
g. *ne-gholi-mo o pae* 'she bought rice'	−	±	±	±
h. *de-fo-naando o rompu-ha* 'they organized a meeting'	−	−	±	±
5. postverbal S (transitive verbs):				
i. *(o karambau) no-talo-e o pikore* 'the buffalo was defeated by the bird'	−	±	±	±
6. dependent noun:				
j. *amba-no o pikore* 'the bird said'	−	−	−	+
k. *no-rato-mo kala-ha-no o kahepu* 'then came the turn of the youngest'	−	±	±	±
7. after preposition:				
l. **we o wiwi-no kaghotia* 'at the sea shore'	−	−	−	−

The following observations can be made:

1. With all informants *o* is obligatorily present with preverbal nouns.
2. With all informants *o* is obligatorily absent after prepositions.

3. Informant A is a 'strict' user of the article, only allowing for preverbal nouns; D on the other hand is a 'lax' user, allowing the article in all positions except before prepositions.
4. There is variation within positions 3, 4 and 6. This variation cannot be accounted for by syntactic rules.

To sum up our conclusions concerning the article, the following rules governing the application of *o* can be stated:

1. NPs in certain positions require the article: single-word utterances, enumerations, preverbal nouns.
2. The article cannot be combined with the possessive suffix in the same NP, nor with an identifying demonstrative, a prenominal measure phrase or a quantifier.
3. There is much idiolectal variation in the application of o to other NP functions such as postverbal nouns and dependent nouns.

These observations point towards the fact that *o* signals relative syntactic freedom within the clause of the NP which it modifies. Single-word clauses and enumerations are typical examples of 'free' positions, and a preverbal subject is (in intransitive clauses) the marked position (see 7.3). Postverbal nouns are more 'bound' (in whatever sense) to the governing verb or to the clause as a whole than preverbal nouns, at least in Muna, where the preverbal position is reserved for special pragmatic marking. *O* in itself, however, does not have a pragmatic meaning, as is clear from the examples. But this 'binding' theory does not explain the co-occurrence restrictions with, for example, possessive suffixes.

   Another problem is the variation that exists. Possibly the use of *o* is linked up with other features such as animacy or the intervention of adverbs between the verb and the postverbal subject. Possibly, too, this variation is connected with speech tempo. One informant suggested that in slow, careful speech the use of *o* is more appropriate with postverbal nouns than in normal speech. This points in the direction of 'intonational binding' as an explaining mechanism. I was not able to confirm this hypothesis by independent recordings. Clearly, this aspect of Muna grammar still needs much research.

5.6.5. The particle *ndo*

The particle *ndo* signals explicit plurality of the noun phrase which it modifies. Usually the head noun is animate. The form *a-ndo* is also found, but how it differs from *ndo* is not clear. *Ndo* is found modifying the following nominal types:

1. Single names. The resulting construction means 'X cum suis, X and her friend(s), companion(s)'.

   (189) *do-kala-mo tora ndo Wa Mbaruisa*   'Wa Mbaruisa and her sister
         3pR-go-PF again PLUR ART Mbaruisa   went again'

   (190) *no-hamba ndo Wa Marangkululi*   'he chased Wa Marangkululi and
         3sR-chase PLUR ART Marangkululi   her friends'

2. Coordinate names. Here ndo redundantly marks the phrase as plural; it does not mean: 'A + B cum suis'.

(191)   *pasino do-kanu-mo   ndo a-bhiku-a-bhiku bhe a-laga-a-laga*
         then   3pR-prepare-PF PLUR RED-ART-snail   with RED-ART-ant
         'then Snail and Ant prepared themselves to go'

3. The question word *lahae* 'who':

(192) *o-butu   te ndo lahae*?   'with whom are you staying?'
      2sR-stay loc PLUR who

4. Demonstrative pronouns, both identifying and referential. The head noun is
   often suffixed with the plural marker *-hi*:

(193) *anahi-hi   ndo aini do-moelu-mpaati-mo*
      child-PLUR PLUR this 3pR-fatherless-orphan-PF
      'these children are orphans (both their father and mother have died)'

(194) *kalambe-hi ndo amaitu-ini pada-mo   no-wora-da   Pariama*
      girl-PLUR PLUR that   finish-PF 3sR-see-them Pariama
      'Pariama had already seen the girls'

(195) *sa-lompo-lompona-no pasi-hi   ando amaitu-a ne-mbali-mo*
      SA-RED-long-its   coral-PLUR PLUR that-CL   3sR-become-PF

      se-ghonu liwu
      one-CLAS land

      'gradually those coral reefs became land'

In addition to *ndo anagha* 'those (plural)', the form *ndo danagha* is also found.
In isolation, *danagha* does not occur.

(196) *mie   ndo danagha*   'those people'
      person PLUR that

The particle *ndo* can only be suffixed with the plural suffix *-hi*:

(197) *dhamani-ndo mie   ndo-hi   danagha*
      era-POS   person PLUR-PLUR that
      'the era of those people'

5.7. The measure phrase

In this section I will describe the parts of speech expressing measurement.
These include the word classes of numerals and quantifiers and the nominal sub-
classes of classifiers and measure nouns. These four word types can form a
measure phrase which modifies a nominal. In addition to the syntax of the
measure phrase, the derivational possibilities of the numeral and of the
measure phrase will be discussed.
  The measure phrase has the following internal structure:

    { (Numeral + Classifier) }   N
    {   (Quantifier)   }

The measure phrase usually precedes the noun it modifies, but it may also follow. There is a subtle difference between a pre-nominal and a post-nominal measure phrase. In the case of a pre-nominal measure phrase the numeral is stressed, whereas in a post-nominal construction it is the nominal that is stressed:

(198) a. *tolu-ghulu dahu*   'THREE dogs'
         three-CLAS dog

     b. *o   dahu tolu-ghulu*   'three DOGS'
         ART dog three-CLAS

Co-referential deletion can occur with head nouns, resulting in a measure phrase without head, which is retrievable from the immediate context:

(199) a. *de-wora-mo pughu-no kalei*   'they saw a banana tree'
         3pR-see-PF tree-POS banana

     b. *ingka se-pughu kaawu*   'but can't you see there is
         ENIM one-CLAS only   only one (tree)?'

Measure phrases cannot be expanded, except by the adverb *labhi* 'more'. This *labhi* can be added to a measure phrase, but it can also form the basis of a *ko*-derivation which may or may not be verbally inflected:

(200) a. *tolu-wula   labhi*   'more than three months'
         three-month more

     b. *ko-labhi se-taghu*   'more than one year'
         HAVE-more one-year

     c. *no-ko-labhi-mo raa-wula ne-late ne ini*
         3sR-HAVE-more two-month 3sR-live loc this
         'he has lived here for more than two months'

Occasionally a measure phrase is preceded or followed by a noun indicating measure, such as *ka-bhari-no* 'quantity' and *ka-ompona-no* 'duration':

(201) *ne-late ne ini raa-fulu-wula ka-ompona-no*
       3sR-live loc this two-ten-month NOM-long-its
       'she lived here for twenty months'

(202) *anahi-hi-no   kolaki-no liwu   ka-bhari-no do-pi-pitu*
       child-PLUR-POS lord-POS village NOM-many-its 3pR-RED-seven
       'the village chief had seven children'

5.7.1. The numeral

The lower numerals (one to nine) have three variants, which can be called the free form, the prefixed form and the reduplicated form, as shown in the following chart:

	free	prefixed	reduplicated
one	*ise*	*se-*	*se-ise*
two	*dua*	*raa-*	*ru-dua*
three	*tolu*	*tolu-*	*to-tolu*
four	*paa*	*fato-*	*po-paa*
five	*dima*	*lima-*	*di-dima*
six	*noo*	*nomo-*	*no-noo*
seven	*pitu*	*fitu-*	*pi-pitu*
eight	*oalu*	*alu-*	*oalu*
nine	*siua*	*siua-*	*si-siua*

The following points can be made about these forms:

1. raa- 'two' has the variants rua- and ra-;
2. dima 'five' has the variant lima; li-dima is sometimes used for di-dima;
3. oalu 'eight' (free form) has the variant alu;
4. the reduplicated form oalu 'eight' is irregular (probably because of the initial vowels).

The free forms are only used for counting, that is, they can only occur in isolation, when they do not follow or precede a noun.

The prefixed forms have a much wider usage:
a. Before units of ten (fulu), hundred (moghono), thousand (riwu). Formally these words are measure nouns, but for semantic reasons I treat them with the numerals.
b. Before classifiers and measure nouns.

The reduplicated forms are used:
a. After units of ten in counting.
b. In verbal and nominal derivations when the referents are human.

The only exception to these rules are *ompulu* 'ten' instead of the expected but non-existent **se-fulu*, and *moghono*, which already means 'one hundred' and cannot be prefixed by *se-*: **se-moghono*, but *raa-moghono* 'two hundred'.

Counting, then, in Muna goes as follows:

1	*ise*	11	*ompulu se-ise*	21	*raa-fulu se-ise*
2	*dua*	12	*ompulu ru-dua*	22	*raa-fulu ru-dua*
3	*tolu*	13	*ompulu to-tolu*	30	*tolu-fulu*
4	*paa*	14	*ompulu po-paa*	40	*fato-fulu*
5	*dima*	15	*ompulu di-dima*	50	*lima-fulu*
6	*noo*	16	*ompulu no-noo*	60	*nomo-fulu*
7	*pitu*	17	*ompulu pi-pitu*	70	*fitu-fulu*
8	*oalu*	18	*ompulu oalu*	80	*alu-fulu*
9	*siua*	19	*ompulu si-siua*	90	*siua-fulu*
10	*ompulu*	20	*raa-fulu*	100	*moghono*

101	*moghono se-ise*
134	*moghono tolu-fulu po-paa*
200	*raa-moghono*
300	*tolu-moghono*

```
1,000                     se-riwu
2,000                     raa-riwu
10,000                    se-lasa
1,000,000                 se-juta
                          se-lila  'innumerable, without number'
                          but not: *raa-lila
```

As shown above, the prefixed forms occur before units of ten, a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand, and a million. They are also found before classifiers and measure nouns:

```
se-ghulu                                'one ...'
raa-ghonu                               'two ...'
tolu-wula                               'three months'
lima-kilo                               'five kilometres'
```

Examples of the reduplicated forms in counting after units of ten have been given above. The main use of the reduplicated numerals is as the base of inflected verbs (a-class, no um-form), when the referents are human. When the number is higher than ten, the complex numerals illustrated above are employed:

(203) a. *do-to-tolu*   'we are three'
         1pR-RED-three

      b. *ta-po-paa*   'we (ex) are four'
         1eR-RED-four

      c. *da-fato-fulu*   'they will be forty'
         3pI-four-ten

When these numeral verbs are used attributively, the active participle form of the verb is usually employed, but the inflected form is also found:

(204) a. *kalambe-hi pi-pitu-no*   'the seven girls'
         girl-PLUR RED-seven-A.PART

      b. *kapitalao   ru-dua-no*   'the two sea officers' (officials
         sea.officer RED-two-A.PART   in the old Muna kingdom)

(205) a. *mie   do-po-paa   ini*   'these four people'
         person 3pR-RED-four this

      b. *bhe ghata-no do-po-paa*   'with his four slaves'
         with slave-his 3pR-RED-four

The participle form is also found in the idiomatic expression *bhasitie ompulu rua-fulu-no* 'the extended family' (lit. 'the ten twenty relatives').
   Reduplicated numerals are also found in temporal phrases which are translated literally from Indonesian. This usage is frowned upon by many speakers of Muna:

(206) a. *tanggala to-tolu*   'the third (of the month)'
         date   RED-three

    b. *wula po-paa*   'April' (the fourth month)
       month RED-four

Ordinals do not exist in Muna. For 'first' either *bhaa-bhaano* is used (which is
not a numeral but probably a participle) or the adverb *paka-paka*. It is not
clear how the ordinal concept of 'second' 'third' and so on is expressed in
Muna.
  Nor do fractions exist, apart from *se-tanga* 'a half' and *se-wunta* 'a half';
'a year and a half' is *se-taghu se-tanga*.
  Finally, mention must be made of the increasing use of the Indonesian num-
erals in Muna everyday speech. Some of these forms are partially adapted to the
phonological shape of Muna; thus *ampa* 'four' (< *empat*) and *ana* 'six' (< *enam*).

5.7.2. Derivations on numeral bases

The following derivations of the numerals exist. The first three are closely
connected:

1. *e-* + prefixed numeral; meaning: 'period of ... days' (10.2.3)

   These forms can only occur in combination with units of ten and the word -
   gha 'day' (a bound form of *gholeo* 'day'). There is one irregularity: the
   bound form of two is not *raa-* in this case but *-fua*.

       ompulu-gha-e-fua   'twelve days'
       ompulu-gha-e-tolu   'thirteen days'
       ompulu-gha-e-fato   'fourteen days'
       raa-fulu-gha-e-fitu   'twenty-seven days'

2. The prefixed numerals can form the base of a verb which functions as a
   temporal adverb. These verbs belong to the ae-class and have a defective
   paradigm in that they are only inflected for the third person singular. For
   past reference ('x days ago') the suffix -mo is added to the realis form,
   for future reference ('in x days') the irrealis form is employed. Again -fua
   is the bound form of 'two' in this series. With siua 'nine' as base, the
   word -gha is needed.

       ne-fua-mo   'two days ago'
       ne-tolu-mo   'three days ago'
       ne-fato-mo   'four days ago'
       ne-siua-gha-mo   'nine days ago'

       nae-fua   'in two days'
       nae-tolu   'in three days'
       nae-fato   'in four days'
       nae-alu   'in eight days'
       nae-siua-gha   'in nine days'

   When periods of ten or more days are constructed in this way, the forms
   under (1) are employed, with past reference suffixed by *-mo* and with future
   reference prefixed by *na-*.

       ompulu-gha-mo   'ten days ago'
       ompulu-gha-e-fua-mo   'twelve days ago'

> *raa-fulu-gha-e-alu-mo*   'twenty-eight days ago'
> *na-ompulu-gha*   'in ten days'
> *na-ompulu-gha-e-tolu*   'in thirteen days'
> *na-tolu-fulu-gha-e-fitu*   'in thirty-seven days'

3. The prefixed numeral derivation with e- can also be reduplicated, resulting in a distributive meaning: 'every x days'; these reduplicated structures can also be inflected as verbs (ae-class, only third person singular realis). In faster speech there are vowel changes in the reduplicated syllable; the resulting vowel combination ee can again be reduced to a single vowel e:

> *e-fu-efua > e-fe-efua > e-fe-fua*   'every two days'
> *ne-fe-fua*   'every two days'
> *ne-te-tolu*   'every three days'
> *ne-fe-fato*   'every four days'

4. The suffix -ghoo is added to free or reduplicated forms meaning 'in the x-th place':

> *(se-)ise-ghoo*   'in the first place'
> *(ru-)dua-ghoo*   'in the second place'
> *(to-)tolu-ghoo*   'in the third place'

Finally, there are a number of unproductive derivations:

1. *ka-se-ise*   'unity'   *se-ise*   'one'

2. *pisa*   'first cousin'   *ise*   'one'
   ndua   'second cousin'   *dua*   'two'
   ntolu   'third cousin'   *tolu*   'three'

These forms are abbreviations of longer forms: *ntopisa* 'first cousin', *topendua* 'second cousin' and *topentolu* 'third cousin'. In everyday speech these longer forms are rarely used.

3. *i-tolu*   1. 'ritual ceremony on the third day after someone's death'
                     2. 'period of three days'

   i-fitu   'ritual ceremony on the seventh day after someone's death'

4. *ne-riwu-no*   'thousands of'
   ne-moghono-no   'hundreds of'
   ne-fulu-no   'tens of'

As a sample derivation of the numerals, the base 'four' will be taken:

> *paa*   'four' (used in counting)
> *fato-*   'four' (before classifiers and measure nouns)
> *-e-fato*   'four days' (only in combination with units of ten and *-gha*)
> *ne-fato-mo*   'four days ago'
> *nae-fato*   'in four days'
> e-fa-e-fato ~ e-fe-e-fato ~ e-fe-fato   'every four days'

ne-fe-fato   'every four days'
po-paa   'four' (after units of ten)
(po-)paa-ghoo   'in the fourth place'
do-po-paa   'they/we are four'

5.7.3. Derivations on measure-phrase bases

Measure phrases form the basis of the following derivations:

1. Prefix na-, indicating futurity (10.2.32). This prefix must be used with the measure phrase when the verb is in the irrealis indicating futurity:

   (207) *dae-ghawa na-se-ghulu rusa*   'we will get a deer'
         1pI-get   FUT-one-CLAS deer

   (208) *nae-late ne ini na-raa-taghu*   'he will live here for two years'
         3sI-live loc this FUT-two-year

2. Prefix ta-, meaning 'still, another', in obligatory combination with na-, which it precedes (10.2.48):

   (209) *nae-late ne ini ta-na-se-ahadhi*   'she will live here another week'
         3sI-live loc this TA-FUT-one-week

3. Prefix pe-, meaning 'about, approximately'; in obligatory combination with na-, which it follows, even when reference is to the past (10.2.13):

   (210) *na-pe-raa-gholeo-mo*   'about two days ago'
         FUT-ABOUT-two-day-PF

   (211) *ta-na-pe-ompulu-gha*   'for about another ten days'
         TA-FUT-ABOUT-ten-day

4. Prefix ti- (variant te-), meaning 'as much/many as', used in concessive clauses (9.14 and 10.2.50):

   (212) *mahingga ti-tolu-piri   no-fumaa, miina nao-wehi*
         although TI-three-plate 3sR-eat   not   3sI-full
         'although he has eaten as much as three platefuls, he is not full'

5. When a post-nominal measure phrase is followed by a demonstrative, the measure noun is obligatorily suffixed with -no. The resulting construction, for example se-mie-no, can be analysed as an active participle (compare ru-dua-no 'two'), although the base (the inflected verb) does not exist: do-ru-dua, but *no-se-mie. Examples:

   (213) *kalambe se-mie-no   maitu*   'that girl'
         girl   one-CLAS-A.PART that

   (214) *golu se-ghonu-no   ini*   'this ball'
         ball one-CLAS-A.PART this

6. Circumfix *ko-/-ha-e* (10.2.22), meaning 'all of it; the whole':

(215) *ko-tolu-ghulu-ha-e*   'all three of them'
      KO-three-CLAS-HA-it

(216) *ko-ra-wua-ha-e*   'both of them'
      KO-two-CLAS-HA-it

When this derivation is used attributively with a noun, the *ko*-part need not be present:

(217) no-ti-puru   kuli-no   se-ghulu-ghulu-ha-e
      3sR-ACC-peel skin-his one-RED-body-HA-it
      'the skin on his whole body peeled off'

7. Prefix fe-, meaning 'divide into x; do the action denoted by the verb x times' (10.2.4):

(218) *ne-fe-raa-weta*   'he splits it in two'
      3sR-FE-two-side

(219) *no-fe-tolu-bhera-e*   'she breaks it in three'
      3sR-FE-three-part-it

(220) *do-fe-raa-ka-rugi-mo*   'they suffered a loss twice'
      3pR-FE-two-NOM-lose-PF

5.7.4. Classifiers

Classifiers are a subset of nouns; they function in a measure phrase between the prefixed numeral and the head noun. A noun in Muna can only be modified by a numeral with the help of a classifier. Thus, *raa-dahu* 'two dogs' needs a classifier between *raa-* 'two' and *dahu* 'dog' to make the phrase complete, in this case the classifier *ghulu* : *raa-ghulu dahu* is the correct counterpart of 'two dogs'. Classifiers are also called 'counters' (Walker 1982) or 'numeral coefficients' (Anceaux 1952)
   There are twelve classifiers in Muna. They will be given below, followed by their literal meaning, a specification of the type of nouns they 'classify', together with a few examples and possible exceptions. Many classifiers are also common nouns, but some classifiers are not. Those classifiers therefore do not have a meaning of their own, which is indicated by a hyphen.

Classifier	literal meaning	specification	example	
1. *mie*	'person'	people	*robhine*	'woman'
			anahi	'child'
2. *ghulu*	'body'	animals	*kadadi*	'animal'
			ghule	'snake'
		also:	*kandulua*	'pillow'
			kambewe	k.o.dish
3. *pughu*	'tree'	trees	*foo*	'mango'
			ghai	'coconut'
4. *poi*	–	stone	*kontu*	'stone'

5. *sau*	'wood'	certain oblong body parts	*wangka* *wuna-no lima*	'tooth' 'finger'
6. *tuwu*	–	clothes, material made of cloth	*bheta* *sala* *kapusuli*	'sarong' 'trousers' 'handkerchief'
7. *mata*	'eye'	sharp, pointed objects	*kapulu* *polulu* *deu*	'machete' 'axe' 'needle'
8. *woka*	–	household equip-ment that is round and shallow	*piri* *mangko* *kawali* *kasongko* *katinti*	'plate' 'bowl' 'frying pan' 'lid, cover' 'sieve'
9. *pele*	–	oblong objects	*sau* *putolo* *ghubhe* *kaharo*	'stick' 'pencil 'beam' 'broom'
10. *tangke*	'leaf'	thin and flat objects	*roo* *dopi* *ponda* *wulu-no fotu* *karatasi*	'leaf' 'board' 'mat' 'head hair' 'paper'
11. *wua*	'fruit'	1.fruits that are not small and round	*kalei* *ghai* *kapaea*	'banana' 'coconut' 'papaya'
		2.household equip-ment that is round and can either be closed or filled or has contents in itself	*tonde* *sere* *bhele* *butolo* *kantalea* *komforo*	'glass' 'teapot' 'tin' 'bottle' 'lamp,light' 'kerosene stove'
		3.furniture	*medha* *lamari*	'table' 'cupboard'
12. *ghonu*	'seed'	everything else, such as:		
		1.small, round objects	*foo* *ghunteli* *golu* *singkaru*	'mango' 'egg' 'ball' 'ring'
		2.large objects	*bhangka* *lambu* *liwu*	'boat' 'house' 'village, country'

Wua and *ghonu* are the most commonly used classifiers; they are also found with new objects that do not fit neatly into one of the other categories, for example *se-wua sentere* 'a flashlight', but also: *se-ghonu sentere*. The dividing line between *wua* and *ghonu* is not always clear; size is probably the distinguishing factor: *ghonu* is used for either small round objects or really big objects, *wua* takes the objects in between:

(221) a. *se-ghonu lemo*   'a lemon'
          one-CLAS lemon

     b. *se-wua   lemo bhala-no*   'a grapefruit'
         one-CLAS lemon big-A.PART

The reduplicated numeral *se-ise* 'one' can also function in a measure phrase, as in *se-ise ka-nea* 'a/one custom'. In such cases the reduplicated numeral is probably re-analysed as the prefixed numeral *se-* plus a classifier *ise*. It is found with certain non-concrete objects: *kanea* 'custom', *panaki* 'illness', *ilimiu* '(magical) knowledge', *ponamisi* 'feeling', and seems to be limited to the numerals 'one' and 'two' (*raa-ise*). The derivation *ko-ra-ise-ha-e* 'both of them' is also found.

5.7.5. Measure nouns

Measure nouns constitute an open class. They differ from other nouns by virtue of the fact that they can be immediately preceded by the prefixed numerals. This is not the case with common nouns, which have to be pre-modified by a classifier in such cases. Measure nouns also differ from classifiers; classifiers come in between the numeral and the head noun, whereas measure nouns are the head of the measure phrase themselves; they do not further modify another noun.

   So far the following measure nouns have been found; they can be grouped in a number of semantic categories:

1. parts, sections

   didi   'slice (bread, fish)'
   dodo   'piece'
   bhera   'part'
   weta   'side'
   mbali   'side' (also of body parts that come in pairs)
   kati   'piece' (cut or broken, for example of rope
                         or fingernail)
   bhini   'piece' (torn off)

2. parts of plants and trees

   konti   'hand (of bananas)'
   tongku   'frond'
   tongka   'branch'
   wili   'bunch (of bananas)'
   ragha   'leaf'
   kampuna   'cluster (of fruits)'
   fagha   'bunch (of coconuts)'
   polumpu   'clump (of bamboo)'

3. extents of time

gholeo	'day'
alo	'night'
wula	'month'
kamentae	'morning'
taghu	'year'
ahadhi	'week'
bhara	'rainy season'
tanda gholeo	'dry season'

4. lengths

rofa	'fathom'
dhari	'arm's length'
tuda	'span'
siku	'cubit'
inere	'body length'

5. areas

ragha	'field, about 100 m2'
bhante	'10 x 10 *rofa*'
bage	'100 x 100 *rofa*'

6. weights

ka-sughu	'load carried on poles; 62.5 kg'
kupou	'load carried on the back tied to the head'
ka-tongku	'load carried on the shoulder'
ka-ughu	'load carried on the head'

7. volumes

kasopa	'bowl'
piri	'plate'
kopo	'handful'
kadu	'bag'
ghobho	'bundle'
tonde	'glass'

8. money terms (obsolete, except for *rupia* and *bhoka*)

rupia	'rupiah'
ringgi	'2 1/2 rupiah'
see	'1/10 rupiah, 10 cents'
doi	'1/100 rupiah, 1 cent'
kepe	'1/1000 rupiah, 1/10 cent'
gobha	'2.5 cents'
tibha-tali	'25 cents'
tali	'30 cents'
bhoka	'240 cents' (now generally 24,000 rp)

9. metric terms

    kilo   'kilogram, kilometer'
    mitere   'meter'
    litere   'liter'

10. others

    giu   'kind, sort'
    paku   'time, occasion'
    pasa   'pair'
    sunsu   'storey (of building)'

5.7.6. Quantifiers

In Muna there are only six quantifiers. They will be summed up and illustrated in this section. In 5.7.7 quantification will be discussed that is not expressed by overt quantifiers.
  The six quantifiers are:

    eano   'every'
    sabhara   'all kinds of, each and every'
    malingu   'every, each'
    bhari-bhari-e   'all'
    keseno   'all; only'
    sanea   'all; only'

Quantifiers precede the nouns they modify, with the exception of *keseno* and *sanea*, which may also 'float' in the clause. I will discuss the quantifiers one by one.

1. *eano* 'every' (variant *iano*):

    (222) *eano   manu-manu ne-salo tulumi*
          every bird   3sR-ask help
          'she asked every bird for help'

  When eano modifies a noun and a locative relative clause, this relative clause may also precede the noun. Normally relative clauses follow the noun:

    (223) a. *eano   lambu ka-rato-ha-no   no-tudu-da   da-[m]utaa*
              every house NOM-come-LOC-his 3sR-order-them 3pI-laugh
              'in every house that he came to he ordered them to laugh'

          b. *eano   ka-rato-ha-no   lambu no-tudu-da   da-[m]utaa*
              every NOM-come-LOC-POS house 3sR-order-them 3pI-laugh
              'in every house that he came to he ordered them to laugh'

    (224) *eano   l[um]iu-no   manu-manu ne-salo tulumi*
          every pass-A.PART bird   3sR-ask help
          'every bird that passed by she asked for help'

This fronting is not possible when the relative clause consists of more than one word:

(225)a. *eano laa-no   sau ka-pee-ha-no   ana-no*
          every stem-POS tree NOM-land-LOC-POS child-her
          'every tree trunk that her son alighted on'

   b. **eano ka-pee-ha-no ana-no laa-no sau*

When *eano* and a relative clause are part of a prepositional phrase, *eano* has to follow the head noun:

(226)a. *ne laa-no   sau eano ka-pee-ha-no   ana-no*
          loc stem-POS tree every NOM-land-LOC-POS child-her
          'to every tree trunk that her son alighted on'

   b. **ne eano laa-no sau ka-pee-ha-no ana-no*

Eano can also be used as a conjunction meaning 'every time' (see 9.7.2).

2. *sabhara* 'all kinds of, each and every':

(227)*sabhara   hula-no ghoti*   'all the different sorts of food'
       all.kinds sort-POS food

(228)*sabhara   ka-waa-ghoo no-kiido-e*   'all kinds of gifts he refused'
       all.kinds NOM-give-IO 3sR-refuse-it

3. *malingu* 'every, each':

(229)*malingu ka-nea   ne Wuna ini no-pande-ha-ane*
       every   NOM-usual loc Muna this 3sR-know-INT-it
       'he knows every custom here in Muna'

There does not seem to be a difference between *eano* and *malingu*. The difference between these two words and *sabhara* is that *sabhara* stresses the diversity of the objects, not just their individuality.

4. *bhari-bhari-e* 'all':

(230)*bhari-bhari-e anahi-hi-ku*   'all my children'
       RED-all-it   child-PLUR-my

When the head noun is human, the final *-e* can be replaced by *-ndo*. The use of *-ndo* makes the human reference explicit; this is left unspecified when the form with *-e* is used:

(231)*bhari-bhari-ndo anahi-hi-ku*   'all my children'
       RED-all-their   child-PLUR-my

In addition, *bhari-bhari-e* has a related bound form *si-bhari* (sometimes *se-bhari*), which functions as a measure phrase (prefixed numeral *se-/si-* and noun *bhari*). This form is only found as the base of a derivation with *ko-/-ha-e* which has the same meaning 'all' (see 10.2.22). To intensify this 'all' the base *bhari* may be reduplicated. Again the final *-e* may be replaced by *-ndo* when the head noun is human. The *-ha* part of *ko-/-ha-* need not be present in this particular derivation. *Si-bhari* itself cannot occur in isolation. The following possibilities therefore exist to express 'all':

1. a. *bhari-bhari-e*
   b. *bhari-bhari-ndo*
2. a. *ko-si-bhari-e*
   b. *ko-si-bhari-ndo*
3. a. *ko-si-bhari-ha-e*
   b. *ko-si-bhari-ha-ndo*
4. a. *ko-si-bhari-bhari-e*
   b. *ko-si-bhari-bhari-ndo*
5. a. *ko-si-bhari-bhari-ha-e*
   b. *ko-si-bhari-bhari-ha-ndo*

The difference between the (a) and the (b) forms has been explained above. The forms without *-ha* can only be used attributively; forms with *-ha* can either modify a head noun or function as the head of an NP. The non-reduplicated forms are not commonly used. The most frequently found forms are (5a) and (5b): *ko-si-bhari-bhari-ha-e* and *ko-si-bhari-bhari-ha-ndo*.

  The vowels of *ko-si-* are sometimes metathesized to form *ki-so-bhari-bhari-ha-ndo*.

  Bhari-bhari-e can also be followed by an object pronominal suffix, in which case the final *-e* is lost: *bhari-bhari-kaeta-amu* 'all of you (polite)'.

5. *keseno* 1. 'all' (before verbs)
             2. 'only' (before nouns)

  Keseno is a floating quantifier. Before a noun it means 'only', but when it floats and precedes the verb, it means 'all' or sometimes 'all the time, always'. The verb form which follows can be an inflected form or a participle.

  a. Before verbs, glossed as 'all':

    (232) *bhasitie-ku maitu keseno do-hunda / h[um]unda-no*
          family-my   that   all   3pR-agree agree-A.PART
          'my relatives all agreed'

    (233) *o   sau aini keseno pata n[um]aando-no we Walanda*
          ART tree this all   NEG be-A.PART   loc Holland
          'none of these trees exist in Holland'

    (234) *eano no-tola, o   bhiku keseno no-bhalo   te   wise*
          every 3sR-call ART snail all   3sR-answer loc front
          'every time he called, the snail always answered in front (of him)'

  b. Before nouns, glossed as 'only':

    (235) *noafa o-fumaa-ghoo keseno kenta?*
          why   2sR-eat-IO   only   fish
          'why do you only eat fish?'

    (236) *keseno kaawu kuli-no ne-ghoro-ghoo-no*
          only   only skin-its P.PART-throw-IO-his
          'only the skins did he throw away'

The following two sentences, which differ in their placement of keseno, illustrate the different meanings very clearly:

(237) *anahi-hi-ku   keseno do-sikola / s[um]ikola-no*
      child-PLUR-my all   3pR-school school-A.PART
      'my children all go to school'

(238) *keseno anahi-hi-ku   s[um]ikola-no*
      only   child-PLUR-my school-PART
      'only my children go to school'

Keseno is probably related to the nouns kese and kese-keseno 'dry, without side dish':

(239) a. *a-fumaa-ghoo kese*   'I eat dry (rice or maize only,
         1sR-eat-IO   dry   without a side dish such as
         vegetables, fish or eggs)'

      b. *a-fumaa-ghoo kese-keseno*   'I eat dry (idem)'
         1sR-eat-IO   RED-dry

6. *sanea* 'all, all of them':

Sanea is synonymous with keseno 'all', but unlike keseno it has to be followed by a participle. Sanea cannot precede a noun:

(240) *me-late-no   ne Wuna ini sanea pata [m]ande-no wamba   Walanda*
      -live-A.PART loc Muna this all   NEG   know-A.PART language Holland
      'none of those who live in Muna know Dutch' (lit. 'those who live
       in Muna, all of them do not know Dutch')

5.7.7. Quantification

This section discusses how quantificational concepts such as 'few, some, many, none' are expressed. This issue is worth investigating, as there are only a few overt quantifiers (most of which mean 'all') and the question arises how other quantificational concepts are realized in the language. The following concepts will be dealt with in this section: 'none, nothing, nobody, a little, a few, some, many, much, all, every'.

1. 'none, nothing, nobody'

   a. combining *miina* 'not' with *o hae-hae* 'anything':

   (241) *miina nae-wora o   hae-hae*   'she did not see anything,
         not   3sI-see ART RED-what   she saw nothing'

   b. alternatively, *miina* can be added to an existential clause with *bhe*:

   (242) *miina bhe mai-no*   'there were not (people) who
         not   be come-A.PART   came; nobody came'

   c. negating a verb form prefixed by *-ko-ni-*:

        (243) *miina a-ko-ni-gholi*   'I have not bought anything'
              not   1sI-HAVE-P.PART-buy

        (244) *miina ta-ko-ni-wora*   'we (ex) have not seen anything'
              not   1eI-HAVE-P.PART-see

2. 'a little, a few'

   a. *sendai* 'little'. This word can only be used attributively with mass
      nouns, not with count nouns. It is often the head of an NP. Finally, it
      may be used predicatively in an equative clause:

        (245) *no-waa-kanau sendai oe*   'he gave me a little water'
              3sR-give-me little water

        (246) *no-fumaa sendai kaawu*   'he only ate a little'
              3sR-eat   little only

        (247) *kurusi-mani sendai kaawu*   'we have only got a few chairs;
              chair-our   little only   our chairs are only a few'

   b. *sehae* 'how much, how many' when used rhetorically means 'not much, a
      little':

        (248) *dadi gadhi-ku na-sehae-mo   dua*
              so   fee-my   FUT-how.much-PF also
              'so my salary was going to be only a little'

   c. the verb *kai* 'short, too short, too little':

        (249) *no-kai   oe   te kampo*   'there is (too) little water in
              3sR-short water in village   the villages'

3. 'some'

   a. the noun *sigaa* 'part' is used as a measure phrase, either before or after
      the head noun:

        (250) *no-runsa-da-mo   sigaa sabhangka-hi-no*
              3sR-leave-them-PF part friend-PLUR-his
              'he left some of his friends'

   b. the existential verb *naando* followed by a noun phrase:

        (251) *naando so me-angkafi-no pendidikan IKIP*
              be   FUT -follow-A.PART education IKIP
              'there were some who were going to study at IKIP'

4. 'many, much'

   This notion is expressed by the verb *bhari* 'to be much/many', which belongs
   to the a-class:

        (252) *doi-no   no-bhari sepaliha*   'he has a lot of money' (lit.
              money-his 3sR-many very   'his money is a lot')

(253) *no-bhari sepaliha no-fumaa*   'he eats very much'
      3sR-many very   3sR-eat

(254) *no-bhari [m]ande-ha-kanau*   'many know me' (lit. 'who know
      3sR-many (A.PART-)know-INT-me   me are many')

When the referent of 'many' is human, the verb may receive plural
inflection:

(255) *do-bhari pata l[um]ulusu-no*   'there were many who did not
      3pR-many NEG pass-A.PART   pass (the exam)'

No-bhari also occurs in reduplicated form (either full or partial redu-
plication), meaning 'all, most (of all)'

(256) *no-bhari-bhari manu-manu l[um]iu-no* 'all the birds that passed'
      3sR-RED-many   bird   pass-A.PART

(257) *La Sidhingkui mie   bhari-bhari-no [m]omaa-no*
      ART Sidhingkui person RED-much-A.PART eat-A.PART
      'La Sidhingkui was the man who ate most'

In these examples the partially reduplicated forms *no-bha-bhari* and *bha-
bhari-no* are also possible.
  In *mie bhari*, *bhari* is a clipped participle; the whole construction means
'people (in general), the crowd'.

5. 'all, everything'

   a. *bhari-bhari-e* or one of its derivations (see 5.7.6);

   b. *o hae-hae* 'anything, everything':

      (258) *o   hae-hae ne-pogau-ghoo-mu   a-[m]angkafi-e*
            ART RED-what P.PART-speak-IO-your 1sI-follow-it
            'everything you have said I will follow'

   c. the verb *wolo* 'finish' followed by another verb:

      (259) *do-wolo-mo   do-lodo   o anahi-hi*
            3pR-finish-PF 3pR-sleep ART child-PLUR
            'all the children were asleep'

      (260) *do-wolo-mo   do-ghonu   bhari-bhari-e ne-fumaa*
            3pR-finish-PF 3pR-gather RED-all-it P.PART-eat
            'all the (types of) food had gathered together'

   d. derivation with *si-/-ha* (*se-/-ha*) on verbal bases (10.2.47):

      (261) *a-si-gholi-gholi-ha-e*   'I bought all of it'
            1sR-SI-RED-buy-HA-it

      (262) *soba se-basa-basa-ha boku-hi   amaitu*
            try SI-RED-read-HA book-PLUR that
            'try to read all those books'

e. the negator *tapa* followed by a clipped participle, meaning 'there is
   nobody who is not' (see also 8.5.3):

    (263) *tapa ko-tobho*   *do-rato*
        NEG (A.PART-)HAVE-dagger 3pR-arrive
        'they all arrived with daggers'

6. 'each, every'

   a. *eano* (see 5.7.6);

   b. *malingu* (see 5.7.6);

   c. *hamai* 'which' (see 8.6.2);

    (264) *do-pada-e*   *do-lili-ki-e*   *hamai karumbu*
        3sR-finish-it 3pR-go.round-TR-it which forest
        'they had gone through every forest'

   d. reduplication of a measure phrase, consisting of a prefixed numeral and a
      classifier or a measure noun:

    se-gho-se-gholeo   'every day'
    se-wu-se-wula   'every month'
    raa-raa-taghu   'every two years'

7. 'whole'

   a. *ko-/-ha-e* with a measure phrase as base (see 5.7.3 and 10.2.22);

   b. the word *suru* with certain temporal measure nouns:

    suru gholeo   'the whole day'
    suru dhamani   'the whole season; eternally'

5.8. Clausal heads of NP

5.8.1. Relative clause as head of NP

Normally a relative clause modifies a head noun (5.9 and 9.1), but headless
relative clauses (sometimes referred to as 'free relatives') also occur. In
such a case the relative clause becomes the head of the NP. There are several
types of relative clauses, but in this section only the subject relative clause
(formed with the active participle) and the object relative clause (formed with
the passive participle) will be illustrated. The terms 'subject' and 'object'
in subject and object relative clauses refer to the function of the relativized
element (participle or noun) in the relative clause, not to the function of the
relative clause in the main clause. For a full discussion of relative clause
formation, see 9.1.

a. subject relative clauses:

(265) *no-ghondo-hi-mo [m]ota-no   bhelomba-no*
      3sR-look-TR-PF pick-A.PART bhelomba-his
      'he looked for (the one) who had picked his *bhelomba* (k.o.fruit)'

(266) *no-kala we ko-lambu-no*   'he went to (the one) who owns
      3sR-go   loc HAVE-house-A.PART   the house'

(267) *[m]ande-no wamba   Wolio no-bhari* 'there are many who know Wolio'
      know-A.PART language Wolio 3sR-many

b. object relative clauses:

(268) *ni-wora-no-mo   kaawu kantawu-no kulitoto*
      P.PART-see-her-PF only heap-POS   dead.leaves
      'what she saw was only a heap of dead leaves'

(269) *tapi-e   ne-pogau-ghoo-ku   itu*
      (IMP-)remember-it P.PART-speak-IO-my that
      'remember what I have said'

(270) *ni-rako-no   ini-a   o   manu   ka-pute*
      P.PART-catch-his this-CL ART chicken NOM-white
      'what he had caught was a white chicken'

These relative constructions can be modified by a demonstrative, as in (269), (270) and (271), or by a quantifier, as in (272) and (273):

(271) *ne-po-hala-hala-ti-ghoo-ndo   ini o   doi*
      P.PART-REC-RED-wrong-TR-IO-their this ART money
      'what they quarrelled about was money'

(272) *bhari-bhari-e ni-fumaa*   'everything that is eaten, all
      RED-all-it   P.PART-eat   the foods'

(273) *malingu mo-raku-kanau*   'all those who hate me'
      every   A.PART-hate-me

5.8.2. Simple verbal clause as head of NP

Simple verbal clauses are found as the head of an NP in a prepositional phrase, after the preposition *welo* 'in, while, during' (see 6.3). The verb may be in the realis or in the irrealis. Frequently the 'generic' subject marker *do-/de-* is used in this construction. Also, this subordinate clause is usually modified by a referential demonstrative:

(274) *welo do-fo-fo-guru   wamba   Malau...*
      in   3pR-DETR-CAUS-learn language Malay
      'in teaching Malay...'

(275) *welo dao-roghu ini-a...*   'during this (future)
      in   3pI-drink this-CL   drinking...'

(276) *welo no-angkafi-da   ini-a...*   'while he followed them...'
      in   3sR-follow-them this-CL

5.9. Attributes

5.9.1. Types of attributes

In addition to the modifiers dealt with so far, such as article, demonstrative, numeral and quantifier, there are a number of other modifications of the noun phrase, which I have called attributes. These involve phrases and clauses that will be discussed at some other point and therefore they are only mentioned briefly here. These attributes are:

1. relative clause (see 9.1 for the various types of relative clauses):

    (277) *mie   k[um]ala-no ne watu ama-ku*
         person go-A.PART   loc that father-my
         'the man going there is my father'

    (278) *liwu ka-lente-ha-no   o Wolio*   'the land where he was born is
         land NOM-born-LOC-his ART Buton   Buton'

2. prepositional phrase, indicating location, direction, purpose and so on (see Chapter 6):

    (279) *daoa   we Raha*   'the market in Raha'
         market loc Raha

    (280) *wamba ne ina-ku*   'the word (spoken) to my mother'
         word   loc mother-my

    (281) *sau soo tumpu*   'wood for firewood'
         wood for firewood

3. temporal adverb (see 7.10.1, 7.11):

    (282) *monifi-ku morondo*   'my dream last night'
         dream-my   last.night

    (283) *tula-tula anagha-ini*   'a tale of old'
         story   that

    In (283) *anagha-ini* is actually a demonstrative pronoun (see 5.5.7), but here it functions as a temporal adverb:

4. descriptive *ka*-nominalization (see 5.9.2):

    (284) *kontu ka-rubu*   'a small stone'
         stone NOM-small

    (285) *oe   ka-tembe*   'fresh water'
         water NOM-fresh

5. question words (see 8.6.2):

    (286) *lambu hae*?   'which house?'
         house what

(287) *tolu-ghulu [m]eda-no   hae*?   'three animals of what kind?'
      three-CLAS like-A.PART what

6. appositive clause (see 9.2.4), only possible with certain nouns:

   (288) *bhirita de-faraluu mie*   'the news that they needed
         news   3pR-need   person   people'

   (289) *tula-tula-no ne-ghawa parasee*   'the story that he got a prize'
         story-its   3sR-get   prize

7. focusing adverbs (see 7.11.1):

   (290) *isa-no   kaawu*   'only his older brother'
         older.sibling-his only

   (291) *se-tonde   tora*   'another glass'
         one-glass again

   (292) *ina-ndo   dua*   'their mother too'
         mother-their too

These adverbs can sometimes even float within an NP, where they end up between
other constituents:

   (293) *loso-no   kaawu kontu*   'only the holes in the stones'
         hole-POS only   stone

   (294) *bhasitie-hi-no   dua maitu*   'his relatives too'
         relative-PLUR-his also that

8. appositive noun phrase, which is co-referential with the main noun phrase.
   An appositive noun phrase constitutes a new nominal phrase which is outside
   the main noun phrase:

   (295) *no-wora-mo sabhangka-no, ana-no   ndoke*
         3sR-see-PF friend-his   child-POS monkey
         'he saw his friend, the baby monkey'

   (296) *ne-late bhe ana-no   se-mie, o   moghane*
         3sR-live with child-her one-CLAS, ART boy
         'she lived with her only child, a boy'

   (297) *o   moghane pasole   se-bhera ghule se-bhera manusia*
         ART man   handsome one-part snake one-part man
         'a handsome man, partly snake and partly man'

9. other juxtaposed clauses (see 9.2.4):

   (298) *bhai-no   naando no-dadi*   'his friends (from the time)
         friend-his be   3sR-live   he was still alive'

   (299) *dawu-mu   de-pansa*   'your share of the fishing'
         part-your 3pR-fish

5.9.2. Descriptive attributes

In Chapter 3 it was made clear that the category 'adjective' cannot be maintained for Muna, since supposed adjectives behave like verbs. In this section the two strategies for the formation of descriptive attributes will be illustrated and contrasted. The term 'descriptive attributes' is meant to cover words referring to such concepts as size, shape, age, quality and so on. Predicatively such concepts are realized as verbs, but attributively there are two possibilities:

1. the active participle form of the verb is used, either full or clipped (see below):

   (300) *bheta mo-hali-no*   'an expensive sarong'
         sarong -expensive-A.PART

   (301) *sau   me-langke-no*   'a high tree'
         tree -high-A.PART

2. the verb is nominalized by means of *ka-*:

   (302) *adhara ka-pute*   'a white horse'
         horse   NOM-white

   (303) *oe   ka-tembe*   'fresh water'
         water NOM-fresh

The choice between a participle form or a nominalization seems to be lexically fixed. Certain stative intransitive verbs can be nominalized for attributive purposes, while others cannot. In all cases a *ka*-nominalization can be replaced by a participle, but the reverse is not true; not all participles of stative intransitive verbs can be replaced by attributive *ka*-nominalizations.

   (304) a. *kontu ka-rubu*   'a small stone'
             stone NOM-small

         b. *kontu mo-rubu-no*   'a stone that is small'
             stone -small-A.PART

   (305) a. *oe   ka-tembe*   'fresh water'
             water NOM-fresh

         b. *oe   mo-tembe-no*   'water that is fresh'
             water -fresh-A.PART

   (306) **bheta   ka-hali*
             sarong NOM-expensive

   (307) **sau   ka-langke*
             tree NOM-high

There is a subtle difference between the (a) and the (b) forms in (304) and (305), as is also suggested by the English translations. In the (a) examples the noun phrase is presented as a unity that can take any position in the sentence. The (b) examples, on the other hand, present salient information

about the head noun and the expectation is that what is said in the remainder
of the sentence is related to the emphasized quality of that noun. In (308) and
(309) the two noun phrases of (304) have been made part of a sentence which
illustrates the difference:

(308) *kontu mo-rubu-no   no-hali   de-ghompa-ane*
      stone -small-A.PART 3sR-difficult 3pR-throw-it
      'a stone that is small is difficult to throw with'

(309) *ne-ala-mo   kontu ka-rubu   maka no-ghompa-ane dahu*
      3sR-take-PF stone NOM-small then 3sR-throw-it dog
      'she took a small stone and threw it at the dog'

Reversing the two attributes here would result in very stilted sentences: *mo-
rubu-no* is the natural choice in (308), since the rest of the sentence is
clearly related to the size of the stone, which is not the case in (309).
   The following is a non-exhaustive list of stative intransitive verbs that can
be nominalized for attributive purposes:

1. colour terms:

pute	'white'	*ghito*	'black'
dea	'red'	*kanda*	'blue'
kuni	'yellow'		

2. others:

nsara	'long'	*kempa*	'cripple'
wanta	'long'	*rubu*	'small'
bhee	'crazy'	*neu*	'dry'
mate	'dead'	*taha*	'ripe'
kesa	'beautiful'	*ghuri*	'living'
tembe	'fresh'	*nubho*	'toothless'
rindi	'cold'	*ndalo*	'deep'

With some of these nominalizations, especially in fixed expressions, nasal
accretion is found (see 2.8.2):

(310) a. *pae ngka-dea*   'red rice'
         rice NOM-red

      b. *ghuti ngka-kuni*   'yellow iron'
         iron NOM-yellow

In a number of fixed expressions the 'clipped participle' is found, that is,
the participle forms (*mo-*, *me-* and *-um-*) without the suffix *-no*:

(311) *kalambe mo-kesa*   'a beautiful girl'
      girl   A.PART-beautiful

(312) *lalo me-taa*   'a good heart'
      heart A.PART-good

(313) *mie   mo-dai*   'evil people'
      person A.PART-bad

Very rarely, root forms of the verb are found, as in:

(314) *liwu   bughou*   'new land'
      village new

(315) *o   moghane pasole*   'a handsome man'
      ART man   handsome

However, *bughou* in (314) is an ambiguous form, since it can also be a clipped participle; the initial *b* triggers the zero-allomorph of the *um*-form (see 2.8.1). The root form *pasole* in (315) may be changed to *[m]asole-no*, the participle form.
  The *ka*-nominalization is sometimes made into the head of the whole construction:

(316) *ka-taha-no   kalei*   'a ripe banana' (lit. 'ripeness
      NOM-ripe-POS banana   of a banana')

(317) *ka-mate-no   manu*   'a dead chicken' (lit. 'death
      NOM-dead-POS chicken   of a chicken')

When two descriptive attributes modify the head noun, one of them is a *ka*-nominalization, the other a participle. The order is fixed: the participle has to follow the *ka*-nominalization:

(318) *adhara ka-ghito   bhala-no*   'a big black horse'
      horse   NOM-black big-A.PART

(319) *adhara ka-rubu   mo-pute-no*   'a little white horse'
      horse   NOM-small -white-A.PART

(320) **adhara bhala-no ka-ghito*

Alternatively, both verbs are nominalized (when this is lexically possible, see above), in which colour has to precede size:

(321) a. *adhara ka-pute   ka-rubu*   'a little white horse'
          horse   NOM-white NOM-small

      b. **adhara ka-rubu ka-pute*

Such double descriptive attributes are, however, rather unnatural. The most natural way of expressing such concepts is by making the second attribute a separate appositional noun phrase, marked by the article *o*:

(322) *guru   bughou o   kamokula*   'an old new teacher' (a new
      teacher new   ART old   teacher who is an old man)

(323) *bhadhu ka-dea o   bughou*   'a new red shirt'
      shirt   NOM-red ART new

5.10. Combinations and restrictions of modifiers

The internal structure of the NP which is given in 5.1 is repeated here:
    (Quan)
    (Art)   N   (NP) (-Poss) (Attr) (MeasPhr) (Attr) (Dem)
    (MeasPhr)

The following combinations of modifiers do not occur:

1. Quantifier and Measure Phrase, either pre-nominal or post-nominal;
2. Article and Possessive suffix;
3. Article and pre-nominal Measure Phrase;
4. Article and quantifier.

Within the category 'attribute' (which comprises *ka*-nominalizations, pre-positional phrases, temporal adverbs, relative, appositive and other clauses) the least marked order seems to be the following:

    ka-NOM - PrepPhr - Temp - RelCl - AppCl

An apposition is found outside the NP proper and therefore always follows the other constituents.
  Examples of combinations of attributes and other modifying elements will be given below. Nouns are frequently modified by one or two modifiers, but a combination of three modifiers is already much rarer, whereas an example of four modifiers was only found once. N signals the head noun.

a. N - NP - RelCL - Dem

    (324) *ana-no   ndoke me-late-no   welo karuku maitu*
          child-POS monkey -live-A.PART in   forest that
          'the baby monkey living in the forest'

b. N - ka-NOM - RelCL

    (325) *kalei ka-rubu   ka-gholi-ku*
          banana NOM-small NOM-buy-my
          'the small bananas that I bought'

c. N - Temp - AppCl

    (326) *tula-tula anagha-ini no-tondu   se-ghonu liwu*
          story   that   3sR-dissolve one-CLAS village
          'the old story that a village has dissolved'

d. N - RelCl - AppCl

    (327) *bhirita mai-ghoo-no   ne pomarinta de-faraluu mie*
          news   come-IO-A.PART loc government 3pR-need   person
          'the news that came from the government that they needed people'

e. Quan – N – NP – RelCl

   (328) *sabhara   hula-no   ghoti ne-fumaa-ndo   manusia*
         all.kind sort-POS food P.PART-eat-POS man
         'all the kinds of food that are eaten by man'

f. N – NP – RelCl – Dem

   (329) *kenta topa   ne-mbolaku-no   maitu*
         fish dried P.PART-steal-his that
         'the dried fish that he had stolen'

g. N – NP – PrepPhr – Temp

   (330) *wamba-no ina-ku   ne   inodi indefie-mo   ini*
         word-POS mother-my loc I   formerly-PF this
         'my mother's words to me in the past'

h. Quan – N – NP – RelCl

   (331) *eano   pughu-no sau   ka-pee-ha-no*
         every tree-POS wood NOM-land-LOC-his
         'every tree that he alighted on'

i. Art – N – MeasPhr – RelCl

   (332) *o   moghane se-mie   suma-sumano ka-kesa*
         ART man   one-CLAS RED-most   NOM-beautiful
         'a most beautiful man'

j. N – MeasPhr(=RelCl) – RelCl – Dem

   (333) *kadadi rua-ghulu-no   ne-wora-ndo   ani-ini   ini*
         animal two-CLAS-A.PART P.PART-see-their just.now this
         'the two animals they had seen just now'

The following example was made up for the purpose of expanding the number of modifiers; it is rather artificial but considered grammatical. In this example there are two relative clauses, making a total of five modifiers:

k. Quan – N – ka-NOM – RelCl – RelCl – Dem

   (334) *bhari-bhari-e kenta ka-rubu   mo-mbaka-no   ka-gholi-ku maitu*
         RED-all-it   fish NOM-small -tasty-A.PART NOM-buy-my that
         'all those tasty little fish that I bought'

A number of modifying categories can be filled twice. This has already been illustrated in (334) with two relative clauses. Another example of two relative clauses is (335). Also, a case of two quantifiers within one NP was found (see 338).

a. When two relative clauses are found in a single NP the object relative clause (marked on the verb by *ka-* or *ne-/ni-*) precedes the subject relative clause (marked by the active participle):

(335) *foo   ka-uta-ku   bhala-no*   'the big mango that I picked'
      mango NOM-pick-my big-A.PART

(336) *se-mie   ne-fo-kamokula-ndo   so   [m]ato-[m]ato-no*
      one-man P.PART-CAUS-old-their FUT RED-accompany-A.PART
      'a person who is authorized to accompany (him)'

But if the object relative clause consists of more than one word it may also
follow the subject relative:

(337) *bhadhu mo-kesa-no   ka-gholi-ku ne watu*
      shirt -beautiful-A.PART NOM-buy-my loc that
      'the beautiful shirt that I bought there'

b. The only example found of two quantifiers in a single NP is the following:

(338) *bhari-bhari-e malingu ka-nea*   'each and every custom'
      RED-all-it   every   NOM-usual

5.11. Variation and marked orders

With a number of modifiers the relative order is not so fixed, either in
relation to other modifiers or in relation to the head noun. This holds true
for the following modifiers:

1. Poss - *ka*-Nom

   Both orderings are possible but the second is more natural:

   (339) a. *adhara ka-rubu-ku*   'my small horse'
             horse NOM-small-my

         b. *adhara-ku ka-rubu*   'my small horse'
             horse-my   NOM-small

2. Temp - RelCl

Both orderings are possible:

   (340) a. *tula-tula anagha-ini mo-kesa-no*
             story   that   -beautiful-A.PART
             'the beautiful story of old'

         b. *tula-tula mo-kesa-no anagha-ini*

3. RelCl- AppCl

   Both orderings are possible:

   (341) a. *bhirita ne-fetingke-ku indewi   no-mate ama-ku*
             news   P.PART-hear-my yesterday 3sR-die father-my
             'the news which I heard yesterday that my father has died'

    b. *bhirita no-mate ama-ku   ne-fetingke-ku indewi*
        news   3sR-die father-my P.PART-hear-my yesterday

4. Relative clauses may precede the head noun. This is a marked order (see 9.1):

  (342) a. *mie-hi   [m]ande-no welo liwu   ini*
          person-PLUR know-A.PART loc village this
          'wise people in this village'

        b. *[m]ande-no mie-hi   welo liwu   ini*

Chapter 6

The prepositional phrase

In this chapter I will describe the prepositional phrase, which consists of a
preposition and a nominal phrase. The preposition always precedes the NP. There
are seven simple prepositions in standard Muna, which can be divided into three
local and four non-local prepositions, discussed in 6.1 and 6.2 respectively.
This distinction is not merely semantic (the non-local *ampa* can also have a
locative usage) but primarily morphological: the non-local prepositions can be
suffixed by -*mo*, the local prepositions can not. Complex prepositions are
discussed in 6.3.

6.1. Local prepositions

The three local prepositions are *we*, *te* and *ne*. All three can indicate both
location and direction. Their distinguishing components are:
1. Relative height. *Te* is used for locations and directions that are higher
   than the point of orientation; *we* and *ne* are unmarked for height.
2. Specificness. *Ne* is used for specific locations and directions and with
   certain verbs denoting specific actions. *We* and *te* are unmarked for this
   meaning.

All three local prepositions will be glossed as 'loc' in the interlinear
translations, the translation depending on the context. Dialectally the
following forms of these prepositions occur: *wae/wee*, *tae/tee* and *nae/nee*. This
is especially the case in the southern dialect area.

6.1.1. The preposition *we*

We is the most unmarked preposition. It can indicate position, direction or
source, and can therefore be translated by 'in, on, at, to, from'. The reduced
preposition *welo* 'in' will be treated in 6.3.

    (1) *ne-late we lambu*   'he stays at home'
        3sR-live loc house

    (2) *a-k[um]ala we sangku*   'I will go to the forest'
        1sI-go   loc forest

(3) *amba-no we lalo*   'he said to himself'
     word-his loc inside

(4) *o-mai-ghoo we daoa*?   'do you come from the market?'
     2sR-come-IO loc market

(5) *ne-ngkora-mo we wunta*   'she sat in the middle'
     3sR-sit-PF   loc middle

(6) *a-kunsi-da   we kamara*   'I locked them in the room'
     1sR-lock-them loc room

6.1.2. The preposition *te*

The meaning of *te* is more specific than *we*. The following usages can be
distinguished:

   a. It is obligatorily used for a position or a direction that is higher than
      a previously established point of orientation, or it refers to the upper
      part of an object:

      (7) a. *na-k[um]ala te molo*   'he will go to the mountains'
              3sI-go   loc mountains

           b. **na-k[um]ala we molo*

      (8) *do-mai-ghoo te lani*   'we come from the sky'
           1pR-come-IO loc sky

      (9) *no-lodo   te ghole-no kalei*   'he slept in the top of the
           3sR-sleep loc top-POS banana   banana tree'

      (10) *te wawo-no*   'on the top'
           loc top-its

      Te is also obligatorily used with verbs that refer to a motion upwards,
      such as *foni* 'go up', *ampe* 'bring up':

      (11) *a-[m]oni te Watuputi*   'I will go to Watuputi'
           1sI-go.up loc Watuputi

      Relative height plays an important role in Muna, not only in the use of
      demonstratives such as *watu* and *tatu* and the prepositions *we* and *te*, but
      also in the choice of verbs of motion. When a certain location is clearly
      higher than the point of orientation, the verb *kala* 'go' is not normally
      used; rather *foni* 'go up' is the correct verb, as in (11). Alternatively,
      sampu 'go down' is the usual expression when the goal of the movement is
      lower than the point of orientation, as in (12):

      (12) *da-s[um]ampu we Laa   Bhala-no* 'we will go down to the Big
           1pI-go.down loc river big-A.PART River'

   b. It is used for places that are located to the east of Muna. Sometimes
      places in the north also take te:

```
(13) te  mata-gholeo                    'in the east'
     loc eye-sun

(14) te Ambo                            'in Ambon'

(15) te Kandari                         'in Kendari'
```

c. It is used for places that are located in the front of an object, or in an important position:

```
(16) te  wise                          'in front'
     loc front

(17) te  fotu                          'at/to the head'
     loc head

(18) te  fointo                        'at/to the door'
     loc door

(19) te  Wolio                         'to Buton'
     loc Buton
```

6.1.3. The preposition *ne*

Ne has many functions:

a. It is the usual preposition before (referential) demonstratives (5.5.5) and the question word *hamai* 'where, which' (8.6.2):

```
(20) a. ne  ini                        'here'
        loc this

     b. ne  watu                       'there'
        loc that

     c. ne  hamai?                     'where?'
        loc where
```

A common variant of *ne ini* 'here' is *na ini*.

b. It is the local preposition used before names and certain nouns modified by a referential demonstrative:

```
(21) a. ae-late  we  Raha              'I live in Raha'
        1sR-live loc Raha

     b. ae-late  ne  Raha ini          'I live here in Raha'
        1sR-live loc Raha this
```

c. It is used for animate recipients, source, path and also for agents in nominalized relative clauses marked by *ka-/-ghoo* (see 9.1.3):

```
(22) no-bisara-mo ne  robhine-no       'he said to his wife'
     3sR-speak-PF loc wife-his
```

    (23) *ne-fe-gholi   kenta ne inodi*   'she ordered me to buy fish'
         3sR-L.CAUS-buy fish loc I

    (24) *da-t[um]ola ne Kakawasa*   'we will call to the Almighty'
         1pI-call   loc Almighty

    (25) *ne-pakatu sura   ne inodi*   1. 'he sent a letter to me'
         3sR-send letter loc I   2. 'he sent a letter through
              me, by means of me' (path)

    (26) *a-fetingke-e ne Ali*   'I heard it from Ali'
         1sR-hear-it loc Ali

    (27) *sura   ka-pakatu-ghoo-ku ne ina-ku*
         letter NOM-send-IO-my   loc mother-my
         'the letter that was sent to me by my mother'

  d. It is used for certain time specifications:

    (28) *no-tanda ne wula-no   Februari* 'it began in February'
         3sR-begin loc month-POS February

    (29) *no-lente ne taghu 1985*   'he was born in 1985'
         3sR-born loc year 1985

  e. It is the usual preposition in combination with a number of verbs:

    (30) *o-[m]esua ne sikola hae*?   'what school will you enter?'
         2sI-enter loc school what

    (31) *a-sawi   ne adhara*   'I went on horseback'
         1sR-go.by loc horse

    (32) *no-tei ne ka-tomba-tomba*   'she put it in a small basket'
         3sR-put loc DIM-RED-basket

    (33) *no-punda ne suo*   'he jumped into the bamboo trap'
         3sR-jump loc bamboo.trap

    (34) *no-mai-ghoo ne patu*   'it comes from bamboo'
         3sR-come-IO loc bamboo

  It is not clear what these verbs or clauses share semantically. Possibly the
  action as a whole is a specific action directed towards one object, which,
  although it is not marked as definite, is still taken to be specific by the
  hearer in the sense that only one referent is meant. If this is true, it can
  be linked with the 'specific' usuage of *ne* illustrated under (a) - (d).

In spite of their different usages there is still a lot of variation possible
with the local prepositions. In many cases the speaker seems to be free to
choose, as illustrated by the following example:

  (35) *no-rato we/te/ne kampuuna*   'she arrived at a crossroads'
       3sR-come loc   crossroads

The difference between *we* and *te* in (35) can be said to correspond to a ref-
erential difference, depending on the height of the crossroads in relation to
the point of orientation. The choice between *we* and *ne*, however, depends on the
speaker's perspective of the 'givenness' or 'specificness' of the noun or noun
phrase.

   In addition to these three local prepositions there is a dialectal form *se*,
which takes a marginal position in standard Muna. In other Muna dialects it is
frequently found. When it is used in standard Muna, it functions as a local
preposition for places that are not far away from the point of orientation and
that are on a level with that point. The most common occurrence is *se Wolio*
'to/in Buton', but also *se Pure* 'to/in Pure' and *se lambu-do* 'in/to their
house'. This *se* is comparable both in form and usage to the dialectal demon-
strative *sotu* (5.5.2).

6.2. Non-local prepositions

There are four non-local prepositions: *bhe* 'with', *so* 'for', *ampa* 'until' and
peda 'like'. These prepositions can all be suffixed by *-mo*.

6.2.1. The preposition *bhe*

The basic meaning of *bhe* is 'with', but its use is extended to other areas
beyond the traditional realm of prepositions. The following uses can be
distinguished:

   a. Comitative, inclusion (also negative comitative preceded by *miina* 'not');
      'with, and, also':

      (36) *o-mai   bhe lahae*?   'with whom did you come?'
           2sR-come with who

      (37) *de-late-mo bhe ina   wee-ndo*   'they lived with their step-
           3pR-live-PF with mother step-their mother'

      (38) *do-kala-mo bhe polulu-ndo*   'they went with their axes'
           3pR-go-PF   with axe-their

      (39) *a-kala miina bhe anoa*   'I went without him'
           1sR-go not   with he

      (40) *ka-mooru-ndo   bhe Wai-Wai*   'their (including Wai-Wai's)
           NOM-weave-their with Wai-Wai   weaving'

      (41) *na-t[um]aburi bhe sau awatu*   'it will also press down that
           3sI-press   with tree that   tree'

      (42) *no-asi   bhe bhai-no*   'he has pity on his friends'
           3sR-pity with friend-his

      (43) *welo ghoti no-tei-ane bhe kaedehano*
           in   rice 3sR-put-it with faeces
           'she also put faeces in the rice'

This 'inclusive' usage following such verbs as *owa* 'bring' and *ampe* 'bring up' can best be translated as 'along':

(44) *de-owa-mo   bhe   karada-ndo*   'they took their spears along;
     3pR-bring-PF with spear-their   they also took their spears'

(45) *ne-ampe   bhe   ifi*   'he took fire up with him'
     3sR-bring.up with fire

When the pronominal subject is repeated as a free pronoun in a prepositional phrase, the resulting meaning is 'also, too' with reference to the subject:

(46) *a-mai   bhe   idi*   'I too will come'
     1sI-come with   I

(47) *o-k[um]ala bhe   ihintu*?   'will you also go?'
     2sI-go   with you

When the noun after *bhe* is reduplicated, this indicates that the inclusion of this noun is unexpected:

(48) *do-buna-e   bhe para-paraka-no*
     3pR-pull.out-it with RED-root-its
     'they pulled it out, roots and all'

(49) *no-wolo   no-tondu bhe mie-mie-no*
     3sR-finish 3sR-sink with RED-person-its
     'it had sunk with all hands'

b. Coordination of NPs and verbs. This use of *bhe* is closely connected with *bhe* as a conjunction marking simultaneity (9.6):

(50) *ne-gholi pae bhe   kambulu*   'she bought rice and vegetables'
     3sR-buy   rice with vegetables

(51) *ko-si-bhari-bhari-ha-e ne-taa   bhe   no-muda*
     KO-SI-RED-all-HA-it   3sR-good with 3sR-cheap
     'they are all good and cheap'

c. Comparison:

(52) *no-bhala anoa bhe   inodi*   'he is bigger than I am'
     3sR-big   he   with I

(53) *ka-kodoho-no bhe   tehi se-kilo*   'it is one kilometre from the
     NOM-far-POS with sea   one-km   sea'

d. After *po*-derived verbs:

(54) *no-po(-)gau-mo   bhe   ina-ndo*   'he spoke with their mother'
     3sR-REC-speak-PF with mother-their

(55) *do-po-ghawa-mo bhe   anahi amaitu*   'they met (with) the child'
     3pR-REC-get-PF with child that

e. Resultative; *bhe* functions as a conjunction 'therefore, as a result':

 (56) *do-limpu-ha-ane bhe dhunia bhaa-bhaano*
    3pR-forget-INT-it with world RED-first
    'therefore they forgot all about the first world'

 (57) *rampahano no-tu-turu mata-ku, no-bhogha bhe tonde*
    because 3sR-RED-sleepy eye-my 3sR-break with glass
    'because I was sleepy, the glass broke'

 (58) *no-bhari no-fekiri no-bungi bhe fotu-no*
    3sR-much 3sR-think 3sR-bald with head-his
    'he thinks a lot, therefore he is/became bald'

 (59) *a-laga-a-laga na-mate-ghoo ka-gharo, no-rubu-mo bhe aa-no*
    RED-ART-ant 3sI-die-IO NOM-hunger 3sR-small-PF with waist-her
    'because Ant was about to die of hunger, her waist is/became
     small'

f. Existential; *bhe* functions as an existential preposition in existential
  clauses (see 7.2.2); *bhe* is glossed as 'be':

 (60) *bhe faraluu-ku sendai*   'there is something I have to
    be need-my   little   do; I have some business'

 (61) *miina bhe doi ka-rubu-a*   'I do not have any change'
    not be money NOM-small-CL

g. Emphatic in exclamatory clauses (7.7):

 (62) *bhe ka-ghi-ghito*   'how black he is!'
    with NOM-RED-black

 (63) *bhe ka-roko-no padhi*   'how dirty his scales are!'
    with NOM-dirty-POS scales

There remain a few cases where the function of *bhe* is not perfectly clear,
for example in (64), where it is optional:

 (64) *no-fo-rato bhe bhai-no*   'he told his friends'
    3sR-CAUS-come with friend-his

6.2.2. The preposition *so*

So, with variant pronunciation *soo*, is a non-local preposition meaning 'for' in
beneficiary and purpose phrases. It can also function as a future marker.

 a. Beneficiary:

 (65) *a-gholi-e so ihintu*   'I bought it for you'
    1sR-buy-it for you

 (66) *ne-ghoro-ghoo-mo so kapoluka* 'he threw it for the tortoise'
    3sR-throw-IO-PF for tortoise

The beneficiary can also be expressed in an indirect object marked by
-ghoo or by an indirect object pronominal suffix (see 4.8.2 and 7.9).

b. Purpose:

(67) *ala-mo   aini so dawu-mu*   'take this for your part'
     (IMP-)take-PF this for part-your

(68) *sau soo tumpu*   'wood for firewood'
     wood for firewood

(69) *ne-ghoro-mo kontu so ka-tandai-no   na-s[um]uli*
     3sR-throw-PF stone for NOM-signal-POS 3sI-return
     'he dropped stones to guide his way back'

c. Future marker with participles and *ka-/-ha*-nominalizations:

(70) *lahae so me-mbali-no   kolaki-no ghoti*?
     who   FUT -become-A.PART king-POS food
     'who is the one who will become the king of foods?'

(71) *awatu-e so ka-sawi-ha-nto*   'that is what we will use as
     that-it FUT NOM-go.by-LOC-our   our means of transport'

6.2.3. The preposition *ampa*

The meaning of *ampa* is 'until, as far as, as long as'. Although it is a non-
local preposition, it may have a locative meaning in addition to a temporal
function.

a. temporal and locative:

(72) *no-tanda indewi   ampa nae-fua*
     3sR-begin yesterday until 3sI-two
     'from yesterday until the day after tomorrow'

(73) *no-kala ampa Kandari*   'he went as far as Kendari'
     3sR-go   until Kendari

(74) *ampa aini tula-tula-ku*   'as far as this is my story;
     until this story-my   this was my story'

Occasionally *ampa* is used with another preposition:

(75) *ampa we Raha*   'as far as Raha'
     until loc Raha

(76) *ampa ne gholeo-no Sinene*   'until Monday'
     until loc day-POS   Monday

b. It introduces a main clause after a negative conditional clause (see
   9.13):

(77) *ane pa   ome-wora karambau na-fitu-ghulu   nagha ampa*
     if FUT.not 2sI-see buffalo FUT-seven-CLAS that until

     a-[m]eka-mate-ko
     1sI-CAUS-die-you

     'If you have not seen (found) those seven buffaloes, I will kill
     you'

6.2.4. The preposition *peda*

Peda is a non-local preposition meaning 'like, as':

(78) *no-konginda peda bulawa*   'it shone like gold'
     3sR-shine   like gold

(79) *peda aini*   'like this, thus' (refers to
     like this   something that will follow)

(80) *peda aitu*   'like that, thus' (refers to
     like that   something that has preceded)

Peda differs from the other prepositions in that it can receive subject
inflection (a-class), but only for the third person singular. An active
participle can also be formed:

(81) *no-peda aini*   'like this'
     3sR-like this

(82) *[m]eda-no   hae?*   'which one?'
     like-A.PART what

The irrealis form *na-[m]eda* is sometimes shortened to *nada*:

(83) *nada   hamai?*   'how (will it be)?'
     like.IRR which

In addition to these three basic non-local prepositions, there are also two
deverbal prepositions in Muna:

  mbali   1.'to become'
                                     2.'as, for'

  lapasi   1.'to pass'
                                     2.'after'

These words are either inflected as verbs, or they occur uninflected, in which
case they function as deverbal prepositions:

(84) *lapasi i-tolu do-po-ghawa tora*   'after three days they met again'
     after   I-three 3pR-REC-get again

(85) *a-pake sau aini mbali katuko*   'I use this stick as a walking
     1sR-use wood this as   cane   stick'

There is a difference between *mbali* and *so* 'for' in this connection:

(86) *a-pake sau aini so katuko*   'I use this stick for a walking
     1sR-use wood this for cane   stick'

In (85) the implication is that the piece of wood is already used as a walking
stick, whereas (86) states the intention to do so. Sometimes the two co-occur:

(87) *de-tando sau mbali so lambu-do*   'they cut wood for their houses
     3pR-cut   wood for   for house-their   (= to build their houses)'

6.3. Complex prepositions

Complex prepositions are structures that function like a preposition, but
consist of a simple preposition and a locative noun (compare English 'on top
of'). This structure then is linked to the following NP by means of the
possessive linker *-no* (or *-ndo* when the following noun phrase is to be ex-
plicitly marked as plural). Since Muna has so few simple prepositions, these
complex prepositions serve to specify different shades of meaning in location
and direction. The following examples illustrate these complex prepositions:

we panda	'under, below'
te wawo	'over, on top of'
te wise	'before, in front of, opposite'
we kundo	'behind, at the back of'
ne soriri	'beside, at/on the side of'
ne wunta	'in the middle'
ne wunta-wunta	'right in the middle'
ne gholota	'between, among, approximately'
we se-mbali(-ha)	'at one side of'
ne wiwi	'by, next to, beside'
ne maho	'near, about'
we lalo, *welo*	'in, inside'
we ghowa	'under, below'
we se-weta	'on the other side, beyond'

Illustrated in clauses:

(88) *no-foni   te wawo-no sau me-langke*
     3sR-climb loc top-POS tree A.PART-tall
     'he climbed to the top of a high tree'

(89) *tae-late ne wiwi-no tehi*   'we (ex) live beside the sea'
     1eR-live loc side-POS sea

(90) *ama-ku   ne-ngkora ne soriri-ku*   'my father sat down beside me'
     father-my 3sR-sit   loc side-my

Syntactically, these complex preposition constructions do not differ from
possessive constructions involving two nouns, such as *we lambu-no ama-ku* 'in
the house of my father'.
  The choice of the first preposition is fixed with certain nouns (for example
te wise, *te wawo*), but in many cases there is variation between *we* and *ne*,

probably depending on whether the speaker takes the noun phrase as given or specific:

(91) *do-fewule-mo we/ne ghowa-no   foo*   'they rested under a mango tree'
    3pR-rest-PF   loc   bottom-POS mango

The following examples are taken from one text; all three prepositions are used:

(92) a. *no-anta-antagi-mo kamokula-no te wunta-no   sala*
       3sR-RED-wait-PF   parent-her loc middle-POS road
       'she waited for her parents in the middle of the road'

   b. *pata kao-kado-ha-no   no-fumaa we wunta-no   sala*
      NEG NOM-dare-REAS-her 3sR-eat loc middle-POS road
      'she did not dare to eat in the middle of the road'

   c. *rampano suano ka-fumaa-ha ne wunta-no   sala*
      because NEG   NOM-eat-LOC loc middle-POS road
      'because the middle of the road is not the place to eat'

The form *welo* 'in, inside' is a reduced form of the complex preposition *we lalo*. It is found in locative and temporal functions, as well as preceding subordinate clauses, and glossed as 'in':

   a. locative and temporal:

   (93) *no-luku-mo   welo nuhua*   'he went inside the pitcher'
        3sR-enter-PF in   pitcher

   (94) *no-rato   welo timbu*   'he came during the east monsoon'
        3sR-arrive in   east

   (95) *no-ere   welo gholeo*   'he left in the dry season'
        3sR-leave in   day/dry.season

   b. preceding a subordinate clause which heads an NP (see 5.8.2):

   (96) *welo do-po-bhotu   ini, do-po-hunda-pi*
        in   3pR-REC-decide this 3pR-REC-agree-TR
        'in making this decision, they reached an agreement'

   (97) *welo a-fo-fo-guru   ini-a   ae-mbali   guru   honoro*
        in   1sR-DETR-CAUS-learn this-CL 1sR-become teacher honour
        'during this teaching I was an honorary (= unpaid) teacher'

The complex preposition *te lalo* may also be reduced to *telo*:

(98) *no-foni   telo lambu*   'he went (up) into the house'
    3sR-go.up in   house

Chapter 7

The clause

As in most languages, the clause in Muna is characterized by the properties of the predicate and the semantic relations that obtain between the predicate and the arguments. I will work on the assumption that the clause is layered. A first distinction that needs to be made is that between an inner and an outer part of the clause. The inner part, the core, consists of the predicate and the obligatory arguments, whereas the outer part (the periphery) provides extra information concerning the state of affairs designated by the core, such as time, manner and location. In 7.1 – 7.7 the clause core will be discussed, but in those sections it will simply be called 'the clause'. The clause periphery will be discussed in 7.9 and 7.10. In 7.11 and 7.12 minor elements of the clause will be mentioned, such as different types of adverbs and vocatives. Throughout this chapter attention will also be given to aspects of word order. 7.8 will be concerned with fronting.

  In the clause core a primary distinction can be made between verbal and non-verbal clauses. Non-verbal clauses are clauses that do not have an inflected verb as the nuclear element of the clause. In Muna there are two types of non-verbal clauses, namely equative and exclamatory clauses (7.6 and 7.7). As for verbal clauses, several types can be distinguished on the basis of the number of nuclear arguments. If there is only one argument, the clause may be either intransitive or existential (7.1, 7.2); if there are two arguments, the clause is either transitive or copular (7.3, 7.5). Experiential clauses are discussed in 7.4.

7.1. Intransitive clauses

An intransitive clause consists minimally of one verb, an inflected intransitive verb. As noted in 4.1, full nominal subjects do not have to be present in verbal clauses, the presence of the subject marker being sufficient. These 'bare' intransitive clauses are illustrated in 7.1.1. When a full nominal subject is present, this subject either precedes or follows the verb. In 7.1.2 it is argued that VS is the basic word order and that SV orders are the result of syntactic (7.1.3) and pragmatic (7.1.4) operations. When an intransitive clause is expanded by an indirect object (either a full nominal, marked by -*ghoo*, or a pronominal suffix) the clause remains intransitive (see 7.9).

7.1.1. Bare intransitive clauses

The following examples illustrate 'bare' intransitive clauses on the basis of simple intransitive verbs. These verbs may belong to any of the three verb classes distinguished in 4.3.

(1) *ao-wule*   'I am tired'
    1sR-tired

(2) *o-suli-mo*?   'have you come back already?'
    2sR-return-PF

(3) *no-ere   saowalahano*   'he leaves at dawn'
    3sR-leave dawn

(4) *ne-langke*   'it is high'
    3sR-high

Complex intransitive verbs in intransitive clauses are illustrated in the following examples:

(5) *miina-ho da-ko-ana*   'they do not have children
    not.yet   3pI-HAVE-child   yet'

(6) *o-ko-doi*?   'have you got any money?'
    2sR-HAVE-money

(7) *do-se-riwu*   'there are a thousand of them'
    3pR-one-thousand

(8) *ta-pe-raa-fulu*   'there are about twenty of us'
    1eR-ABOUT-two-ten

A special type of intransitive clause is the 'ambient' clause. Ambient clauses make statements about the weather. The verb used in these clauses has a defective paradigm in that it can only be inflected for the third person singular subject. This subject is comparable to the English dummy subject 'it'. Ambient clauses typically consist of only a verb. In some cases the addition of a full nominal subject is possible, but in most cases this is semantically impossible.

(9) *no-ghuse*   'it is raining'
    3sR-rain

(10)*no-tondu*   'there is thunder'
    3sR-thunder

(11)*no-bhibhito*   'there is lightning'
    3sR-lightning

(12)*no-rindi*   'it is cold'
    3sR-cold

(13)a. *no-hine-mo*   'it has stopped raining'
    3sR-stop-PF

    b. *o   ghuse no-hine-mo*   'the rain has stopped'
       ART rain 3sR-stop-PF

(14)a. *no-ko-olu*   'it is cloudy'
       3sR-HAVE-cloud

    b. *o   lani no-ko-olu*   'the sky is cloudy'
       ART sky 3sR-HAVE-cloud

7.1.2. Unmarked order: VS

When a subject NP is present, it may either precede or follow the verb. I take the order Verb-Subject (VS) to be the unmarked order for the following reasons:

1. It is found much more frequently than SV.
2. It is the normal order in fixed expressions.
3. It is the only possible order in subordinate constructions with kaawu 'after'.
4. Many SV orderings can be 'explained' by syntactic factors (see 7.1.3).
5. For the remaining cases pragmatic factors seem to be responsible (7.1.4).

Each of these reasons will be treated in detail below.

1. VS is more frequent than SV.

   In a sample of 155 intransitive clauses in 10 short texts, the proportion was as follows:

     VS   107   69%
     SV   48   31%

Examples of VS clauses with full NPs:

(15) *ne-panda-mo gholeo*   'the sun is already low'
     3sR-low-PF   sun

(16) *no-koghendu-mo robhine nagha*   'the woman was startled'
     3sR-startle-PF woman   that

(17) *no-tende tora dahu*   'the dog ran again'
     3sR-run   again dog

(18) *no-wule-mo   katogha*   'the crow was already tired'
     3sR-tired-PF crow

(19) *no-ngari-mo   lalo-ndo*   'they were fed up'
     3sR-bored-PF heart-their

(20) *do-si-mo-ghae-ha-mo ko-to-tolu-ha-ndo*
     3pR-SI-CA-cry-HA-PF KO-RED-three-HA-their
     'all three of them cried'

(21) *no-pada   se-wula*   'a month had passed'
     3sR-pass one-month

(22) *no-bhari seakito*   'there are many black ants'
    3sR-many black.ant

2. VS is the order in fixed expressions.

   a. descriptions with *lalo* 'heart' to refer to mental states and emotions:

      (23) *no-bhela   lalo-ku*   'I am sad'
          3sR-wounded heart-my

      (24) *no-rungku   lalo-ku*   'I am happy'
          3sR-touched heart-my

   b. statements about time or weather:

      (25) *no-pana gholeo*   'it is hot'
          3sR-hot sun

      (26) *no-pute   wula*   'it is full moon'
          3sR-white moon

      (27) *no-ghindotu gholeo*   'it is noon'
          3sR-zenith   sun

3. VS is the order in subordinate constructions with *kaawu* 'after' (see 9.7.2):

   (28) *no-mai   kaawu moghane-no, no-ghondo-e-mo*
       3sR-come after man-her   3sR-look-it-PF
       'when her husband came, he looked at it'

   (29) *no-mate   kaawu ghule amaitu, andoa do-si-suli-ha-mo*
       3sR-dead after snake that   they 3pR-SI-return-HA-PF
       'when the snake was dead, they went home together'

When the order VS in the subclause is changed to SV, the result is
ungrammatical:

   (30) **moghane-no kaawu no-mai, no-ghondo-e-mo*
        man-her   after 3sR-come 3sR-look-it-PF

7.1.3. SV order: syntactic factors

Several partly independent syntactic factors seem to be responsible for a large
number of the actual SV occurrences. At least three such factors have been
found, but it should be added at once that a number of counter-examples have
also been encountered (to be presented below), for which no satisfactory
explanation is yet at hand.
   The three syntactic factors, discussed in turn, are the following:
a. presence of a prepositional phrase;
b. presence of a nominal indirect object;
c. verbal juxtaposition.

a. Presence of a prepositional phrase in the clause. The unmarked order is now
   S-V-PP:

(31) *o   katogha no-pee-mo   ne   sau mba-langke-langke-no*
     ART crow   3sR-land-PF loc   tree RATHER-RED-high-A.PART
     'the crow landed on a rather high tree'

(32) *kenta topa no-ndawu-mo ne   wite*
     fish dry 3sR-fall-PF loc earth
     'the dried fish fell to the ground'

(33) *o   oe   no-pesua we bhangka-ndo*
     ART water 3sR-enter loc boat-their
     'the water entered their boat'

(34) *ama-ku   ne-ngkora ne soriri-ku*
     father-my 3sR-sit   loc side-my
     'my father sat down by my side'

(35) *a-bhiku-a-bhiku no-luku-mo   welo nuhua*
     RED-ART-snail   3sR-enter-PF in   pitcher
     'Snail crept into the pitcher'

(36) *o   pikore ne-ere-ere   te wawo-no katumpu*
     ART bird   3sR-RED-stand loc top-POS tree.trunk
     'the bird stood on top of the tree trunk'

The following examples are exceptions to this general rule:

(37) *do-fewule-mo ko-rudua-ha-ndo ne ghowa-no   bhake*
     3pR-rest-PF KO-two-HA-their loc bottom-POS banyan
     'the two of them rested under a banyan tree'

(38) *ingka miina na-[m]otaa se-mie-no   we simbali watu*
     ENIM not   3sI-laugh one-person-A.PART loc room   that
     'but somebody is not laughing there in that room'

It seems likely, however, that these prepositional phrases have been moved
out of their position and are therefore 'right-dislocated'. These states of
affairs are presented as afterthoughts and in spoken language this may (but
need not) be reflected in an intonation break between the rest of the clause
and the PP.

b. The second syntactic factor explaining SV order is the presence of an
   indirect object in the clause, marked by the verbal suffix -*ghoo*. The
   unmarked order in a clause containing a subject NP and an indirect object NP
   is S-V-IO:

(39) *inodi ini a-rugi-ghoo-mo ka-pudhi-no   dahu*
     I   this 1sR-lose-IO-PF NOM-praise-POS dog
     'I suffered a loss because of the dog's praises'

(40) *o   karambau no-mate-ghoo ka-wule*   'the buffalo died of exhaustion'
     ART buffalo 3sR-die-IO   NOM-tired

(41) *a-laga-a-laga nao-kuta-ghoo-mo dua ka-gharo*
     RED-ART-ant   3sI-break-IO-PF also NOM-hungry
     'Ant will also break down with hunger'

c. The third syntactic factor is verbal juxtaposition, in which there is a
   strong tendency to put the subject before the first V, rather than in
   between the two Vs. For verbal juxtaposition see 9.2.

   (42) *robhine-no no-kala-mo no-sola-sola-i-e*
        woman-his 3sR-go-PF 3sR-RED-crawl-TR-him
        'his wife went to spy on him'

   (43) *kampufu-no   kino liwu   no-kala-mo ne-uta   bhelomba-no*
        youngest-POS chief village 3sR-go-PF 3sR-pick k.o.fruit-his
        'the youngest child of the village chief went and picked some of his
         bhelomba fruits'

   (44) *bhai-hi-ku   do-wolo   do-suli*
        friend-PLUR-my 3pR-finish 3pR-return
        'my friends all returned'

   (45) *o   dahu no-wule-mo   dua no-lumpa*
        ART dog 3sR-tired-PF also 3sR-run
        'the dog was also tired of running'

Here, too, we occasionally find counter-examples:

   (46) *no-wule-mo   mie anagha ne-ghondo-hi karuku*
        3sR-tired-PF man that   3sR-look-TR   herb
        'the man was tired of looking for herbs'

   (47) *do-wolo   do-lodo   o   anahi-hi*
        3pR-finish 3pR-sleep ART child-PLUR
        'all the children were asleep'

7.1.4.   SV order: pragmatic factors

Pragmatic or text-functional criteria may have to be taken into account to
arrive at a proper understanding of all the factors involved in the VS – SV
ordering in intransitive clauses.
  The following five factors all seem to be important, though it has to be
stressed that this analysis is preliminary and the results are tentative.

a. topic of contrast or comparison
b. topic establishment
c. topic shift
d. conclusion or result
e. climax

Each of these factors will be discussed and illustrated in detail.

a. Topic of contrast or comparison

Frequently an SV clause structure is found when two entities are contrasted or
compared, a usage I call 'topic of contrast or comparison'. The following
examples are all taken from texts; the (b) clause directly follows the (a)
clauses in the text.

(48) a. *o-k[um]ala ne   hamai itu bhela*?   'where are you going, friend?'
        2sI-go   loc where that friend

     b. *ae-mpali-mpali   kaawu*   'I am only walking around'
        1sR-RED-walk.around only

     c. *ihintu o-mai-ghoo   ne   hamai*?   'where do you come from?'
        you   2sR-come-IO loc where

(49) a. *idi hadae na-mate-mo kalei-ku*   'maybe my banana tree is about
        I   maybe 3sI-die-PF banana-my   to die'

     b. *idi kalei-ku   no-ko-bhake-mo*   'my banana tree is already
        I   banana-my 3sR-HAVE-fruit-PF   bearing fruit'

(50) a. *sabutuhano bhai-hi-ku   do-wolo   do-suli*
        as.a.result friend-PLUR-my 3pR-finish 3pR-return
        'as a result my friends all returned'

     b. *ta-inodi miina a-s[um]uli*   'only I did not go home'
        JUST-I   not   1sI-return

(51)   *ina-ndo   no-mate-mo, ta-ama-ndo   naando-e*
        mother-their 3sR-die-PF, JUST-father-their be-him
        'their mother had died, only their father was still alive'

(52) a. *o   katogha no-pee-mo   ne   sau mba-langke-langke-no*
        ART crow   3sR-land-PF loc tree RATHER-RED-high-A.PART
        'the crow landed on a rather high tree'

     b. *o   dahu no-fetumpu-mo dua*   'the dog halted too'
        ART dog 3sR-stop-PF   also

(53) a. *do-wolo-mo   do-lodo   o   anahi-hi*
        3pR-finish-PF 3pR-sleep ART child-PLUR
        'all the children were asleep'

     b. *tamaka o   anahi moelu se-mie   miina nao-lodo*
        but   ART child orphan one-CLAS not   3sI-sleep
        'but one of the orphan children was not asleep'

In (48a) no pronoun is used, but a pronoun is found in (48c) to mark the
contrast between the speaker and the hearer. (48b) is the answer to the
first question. In (49a) and (49b) *idi* is a fronted pronoun (see 7.8). In
(49b) *kalei-ku* is in preverbal position because it is contrasted with the
kalei-ku of (49a), which is in the unmarked postverbal position. In (50a)
bhai-hi-ku is preverbal because of the two juxtaposed verbs, compare example
(44). *Inodi* in (50b) is contrasted with 'all my friends', hence the fronted
position. In (51) both nouns are fronted, which is probably the unmarked
position when two comparable entities are contrasted within one sentence.
(52a) has a fronted subject because of the prepositional phrase, whereas in
(52b) the dog is compared to the crow and hence fronted. Notice that in this
example there is no contrast but a comparison. (53b) is another example of a
contrast to the general statement given in (53a).

b. Topic establishment

By this term I mean the establishment of a topic ('the entity being
discussed') after it has been introduced. A participant is typically
introduced in a non-subject position, but when it is introduced as the
subject, it is usually found in postverbal position. It is subsequently
confirmed in the role of topic by being placed in preverbal position. Again,
some of the context of the examples has to be given in order to adequately
illustrate this usage.

(54) a. *peda hamai hintu kalei-mu?*   'how is your banana tree?'
        how which you   banana-your

     b. *kalei-ku   no-tumbu-mo*   'my banana tree is already
        banana-my 3sR-grow-PF   growing'

(55) a. *anagha-ini naando se-ghulu ana-no   ndoke ne-late   ne wiwi-no*
        formerly   be   one-CLAS child-POS monkey 3sR-live loc side-POS

        karumbu
        woods

        'once upon a time there was a little monkey who lived near the
         woods'

     b. *ana-no   ndoke ini ne-mpali-mpali-hi*
        child-POS monkey this 3sR-RED-walk.around-HI
        'this little monkey was walking around'

(56) a. *pae-mo   nae-mbali-a o-[m]eredaa ina-mu   so*
        FUT.no.more 3sI-can-CL 2sI-hope   mother-your FUT

        t[um]anggo-da
        (A.PART-)support-them

        'you can no longer expect your mother to take care of them'

     b. *ina-mu   no-kamokula-mo*   'your mother is already old'
        mother-your 3sR-old-PF

(57) a. *ta-no-tanda-tanda kaawu nunsu-no ne oe*
        JUST-3sR-RED-tap   only beak-his loc water
        'he just tapped his beak on the water'

     b. *tamaka o   oe   no-sampu   kansuru*
        but   ART water 3sR-go.down continually
        'but the water kept going down'

(58) a. *mie anagha no-kala ne-kabua kenta we tehi*
        man that   3sR-go 3sR-fish fish loc sea
        'the man went to fish in the sea'

    b. *kenta ka-ghawa-no maitu sadhia miina na-bhari-a*
       fish NOM-get-his that always not   3sI-many-CL
       'he never caught many fish' (lit. 'the fish that he got were
        always not many')

Two things have to be mentioned here. First, one frequently finds a referential demonstrative, such as *ini* in (55b), attached to the established topic. Secondly, one could argue that in (57b) the subject is also topic of contrast, since there is a clear implication from the context that the event (or non-event) is unexpected. In this case, the functional-pragmatic factors seem to reinforce each other.

c. Topic shift

By topic-shift I mean the following two cases:

1. Certain participants are not formally introduced but inferentially given. In a certain text (text 1 in the Appendix) there is a dialogue between a father and his eldest son about the activities of the latter, his mother and his younger brothers and sisters. The last-named are introduced as follows:

    (59) *ai-hi-mu*   *de-afa-mo*   *itu kaasi-ndo*?
       younger.sibling-PLUR-your 3pR-do.what-PF that pity-their
       'and your younger brothers and sisters, the poor things, what are
        they doing?'

    The *ai-hi-mu* are inferentially given in a discussion on family matters and hence as subjects they appear before the verb.
      Another example is the following (from text 5 in the Appendix), in which at a crucial point in the story a cock starts to crow, and in his crowing gives away a secret that leads to the denouement of the story:

    (60) *garaa o manu   no-kakurao-mo*   'and then a cock crowed'
       SURPR ART chicken 3sR-crow-PF

    This is the first time the cock is mentioned (hence the indefinite article in the translation), but as the story is located around a house, the presence of domestic animals such as cocks is inferentially given.

2. Topic-shift may also be used for the re-introduction of a participant who has not been the topic for a certain period in the discourse. It is of course impossible to provide the following examples with the whole preceding context, but one preceding clause should suffice. Example (61) is from a story about a fool:

    (61) a. *no-wora kaawu bhai-ndo   do-kala bhe polulu-ndo*
         3sR-see after friend-their 3pR-go with axe-their

        dae-wei   we sangku, anoa no-sina-mo   dua
        3pI-clear loc forest he   3sR-go.along-PF also

       'when he saw other people with their axes going to clear the
        forest, he went along as well'

   b. *no-mpo-mpona bhai-hi-no   do-sula-mo*
      3sR-RED-long friend-PLUR-his 3pR-burn-PF
      'after some time his friends began to burn (the forest)'

In (61a) other people (lit. 'their friends') are introduced as objects of the verb 'see', after which the fool is the topic for eight sentences. Then, in (61b), those people are mentioned again, but now in preverbal subject position before *do-sula-mo*, because they have been introduced before (the verb *no-mpo-mpona* belongs syntactically to a different clause). It is a re-introduction of known participants.
   This usage is particularly common when there is a change of subject (or topic) in a sentence between a subclause and the main clause which follows it:

(62) *no-mamara kaawu, a-paa-paando   no-filei-mo*
     3sR-angry after ART-RED-mouse.deer 3sR-flee-PF
     'after he (=the jin) became angry, the mouse deer ran away'

(63) *wakutuu-no no-kundo maitu, Wa Ode Kambeano Mpatani no-bisara-mo*
     time-its   3sR-leave that Wa Ode Kambeano Mpatani 3sR-speak-PF
     'when he (=the buffalo) had gone, Wa Ode Kambeano Mpatani said...'

(64) *no-toka   kae-late-ha-ndo, A Titibholo no-hela-mo tora*
     3sR-complete NOM-live-LOC-their ART Titibholo 3sR-sail-PF again
     'when their house was ready, A Titibholo sailed off again'

In these cases the distance between the previous mentioning of the subject and its re-introduction can be relatively small.

d. Result or conclusion

  Frequently the line of events of a story is interrupted to present a result or a conclusion. This need not be the final conclusion of the story, but in many stories temporary, intermediate results are presented that lead to the next chain of events. Such conclusions very often have the subject in preverbal position. It should be stressed that there is clearly no topic-shift involved in the following examples.

(65) *dadi o   karambau no-tende kansuru*
     so   ART buffalo 3sR-run continually
     'so the buffalo kept running'

(66) *dadi ko-toko-no   no-baru   sepaliha*
     so   HAVE-shop-A.PART 3sR-happy very
     'so the shopkeeper was very happy'

(67) *oe   welo bhangka-ndo no-kele-mo*   'their boat was dry (again)'
     water in   boat-their   3sR-dry-PF

(68) *panda-pandano bhangka-ndo miina-mo nao-bhenta*
     finally   boat-their no.more 3sI-hole
     'finally their boat did not have a hole anymore'

There are also counter-examples, however, where a conclusion is presented with the subject in postverbal position:

(69) *dadi no-sere-mo rea-no*   'so his blood flowed'
     so   3sR-flow-PF blood-his

e. Climax

   At climactic points in the discourse, there is often a tendency for the main
   participant to be fully expressed and to be put in preverbal position. In
   Muna the conjunction *kansuru* 'at once' is often added to give the climactic
   action extra force. This *kansuru* can also be inflected as an ae-verb (see
   9.21, example (301)). The following examples are all taken from the
   climactic point in the narrative:

   (70) *o   ndoke nagha kansuru no-punda*   'the monkey jumped at once'
        ART monkey that at.once 3sR-jump

   (71) *no-pooli no-rondo idi-a kansuru a-ere   te Kandari*
        3sR-get 3sR-dark I-CL at.once 1sR-leave loc Kendari
        'when it got dark, I left straight away for Kendari'

   (72) *no-mpona kaawu, A-Ware-ware-lima   kansuru ne-pundu*
        3sR-long after ART-RED-broad-hand at.once 3sR-grab
        'after a long time, Mr. Broadhand suddenly grabbed (it)'

   (73) *pada   kaawu amaitu, Lauale-Lauale ini-a   kansuru no-suli*
        finish after that   RED-Lauale   this-CL at.once 3sR-return
        'after that Lauale-Lauale immediately went home'

Thus, syntactic and pragmatic considerations are shown to have an effect on the
place of the subject in relation to the verb. It is important to realize that
especially pragmatic factors relate to the speaker's intent to mark something
as, for instance, topic of contrast. In other words, the speaker is free to
choose a particular strategy, but he is not compelled to do so. This explains
the VS order in those cases where there is a marked contrast with another
entity, so that preposing the subject to become 'topic of contrast' is
certainly a possibility. Compare the following example, where there is a
contrast but the second subject is still in postverbal position:

   (74) *no-paghindulu o   kahepu, no-mburumai o   titiisa*
        3sR-go.first ART youngest 3sR-go.last ART oldest
        'the youngest went first, the eldest came last'

This whole area needs much more research. The syntactic factors have to be
carefully checked, operational definitions have to be found for the pragmatic
factors and quantitative studies must show the extent of variation.

7.2. Existential clauses

The existential clause in Muna is also a one-argument clause, but it is
distinguished from the intransitive clause because of its aberrant
characteristics. There are two types of existential clauses in Muna, one with
the verbal base *naando* (occasionally *naandoo*) as nucleus, the other with the
preposition *bhe* as nucleus.

7.2.1. Existential clauses with naando

The closest equivalent to the existential verb 'to be' in English is the irregular verb *naando*. It is irregular in that it is not usually inflected in the realis. The verb is typically used in clauses introducing the main participant of a story, in which case the order is always VS, followed by another clause which is a description of that participant. The following examples are all story-openers:

(75) *anagha-ini we se-ghonu liwu naando se-ghulu ana-no*
     formerly   loc one-CLAS land be   one-CLAS child-POS

     ndoke   ne-late ne wiwi-no karumbu
     monkey 3sR-live loc side-POS woods

     'once in a certain land there was a baby monkey who lived
      near the woods'

(76) *naando wawono   a-bhiku-a-bhiku bhe a-laga-a-laga*
     be   formerly RED-ART-snail   with RED-ART-ant
     'long ago lived Snail and Ant'

(77) *anagha-ini naando Karambau Kainsedodo ne-fembula bhelomba*
     formerly   be   Buffalo Kainsedodo 3sR-grow   k.o.fruit
     'once buffalo Kainsedodo grew *bhelomba*-fruits'

(78) *naando se-mie   hadhi no-gaa   bhe se-mie   robhine*
     be   one-CLAS haji 3sR-marry with one-CLAS woman
     'there was a haji who was married to a woman'

The verb *naando* is uninflected in all these examples, but the subject marker *no-* can be added freely. In the irrealis, however, the verb has to be inflected:

(79) a. *miina na-n[um]aando-a*   'it is not there'
        not   3sI-be-CL
     b. **miina naando*

     c. **miina n[um]aando*

(80) *naefie-naefie na-n[um]aando hadhi ko-bhili-no   fotu*
     RED-when.FUT 3sI-be   haji HAVE-scar-A.PART head
     'should there be a haji with a scar on his head...'

The participle of *naando* is also used in relative clauses:

(81) *o   hae-hae n[um]aando-no welo lambu do-waa-ane*
     ART RED-what be-A.PART   in   house 3pR-give-him
     'they gave to him everything that was in the house'

Other examples of the existential usage of *naando*, but not in story-openings:

(82) *no-bhari ni-fumaa: naando kapaea ka-taha, naando kahitela,*
     3sR-many P.PART-eat be   papaya NOM-ripe be   maize

     naando mafu sau
     be   yam wood

     'there are many foods, there is ripe papaya, there is maize,
      there is cassava'

(83) *no-feena-mo bhahi naando ka-amponi-no   do-gaa   bhe ana-no*
     3sR-ask-PF maybe be   NOM-forgive-POS 3pR-marry with child-his
     'he asked whether there is forgiveness if one has married one's child'

At this place I will also treat some other uses of *naando*. The first of these
is that *naando* may be object-inflected: the direct object pronominal suffixes
are added to the base *naando*, in which case the addition of subject markers is
ungrammatical (see 4.8.1) The meaning of an object-inflected *naando* is the same
as with subject inflection, but the object-inflected forms are used either when
the subject of the clause precedes the verb or when the subject has first or
second person reference.

(84) *ta-ama-ndo   naando-e*   'only their father was there
     JUST-father-their be-him   (was alive)'

(85) *naandoo-ko*?   'are you there?'
     be-you

In the second place *naando* may precede another verb, in which case the meaning
is not existential but signals a progressive aspect. In some instances it may
even be translated by 'still' or 'while':

(86) *naando no-lodo*   'he is (still) asleep'
     be   3sR-sleep

(87) *no-rafo-ti-e   naando no-bisara*   'she found him while he was
     3sR-find-TR-him be   3sR-speak   still talking'

(88) *intagi-kasami   ne ini naando ta-k[um]ala tae-ala sau*
     (IMP-)wait-us(ex) loc this be   1eI-go   1eI-get wood
     'wait here for us (ex) while we go and get wood'

7.2.2. Existential clauses with bhe

In addition to the verb *naando*, the word *bhe* can also be used in existential
clauses. The preposition *bhe* has already been discussed in 6.2.1, where its
usage was shown to be broader than the other prepositions.
  In existential clauses *bhe* seems to function as a verb, but since it is not
and cannot be inflected, we can not call it a verb. I will use the term
'existential preposition' to refer to this *bhe*, which is glossed as 'be'.
  Examples of *bhe* in positive clauses:

(89) ne-lengka lapa-lapa, garaa bhe Wa Ode Kambeano Mbiluju
     3sR-open   mattress   SURPR be Wa Ode Kambeano Mbiluju
     'she folded away the mattress and there was Wa Ode Kambeano Mbiluju'

(90) *a-mai   ne ini rampahano bhe isa-ku*
    1sR-come loc this reason   be older.sibling-my
    'I have come here because my older brother is (here)'

(91) *tamaka we lalo   bhe a-paa-paando*
    but   loc inside be ART-RED-mouse.deer
    'but inside there was the mouse deer'

(92) *miina na-[m]ande-ha-ane bhe kaedeha welo ghoti-no*
    not   3sI-know-INT-it   be faeces in   rice-his
    'he did not know there were faeces in his rice'

More usual, however, is the occurrence of *bhe* in negative clauses (see 8.5.1):

(93) *miina-ho bhe bhirita ampa aitu*   'so far there is not any news
    not.yet be news   until now   yet'

(94) *miina-mo bhe ka-se-ise*   'there was no unity any more'
    no.more be NOM-RED-one

(95) *miina bhe doi-ku*   'I do not have any money'
    not   be money-my

(96) *paise   bhe ka-ngara-ha-ku-a*   'I won't be bored'
    FUT.not be NOM-bored-REAS-my-CL

In all the preceding examples *bhe* is followed by a full noun. In certain constructions *bhe* is found followed by the root form of a verb (see 4.9); the resulting meaning is a very strong negative:

(97) *suru gholeo miina bhe sampu*   'all day long there was no
    long day   not be go.down   coming down; he did not come
          down'

(98) *miina-ho bhe suli*   'there was no returning yet;
    not.yet be return   we still did not return'

Notice that there is no overt subject expressed in these clauses; the context normally makes this sufficiently clear. The semantic difference between such a root form and a *ka-/-ha*-nominalization (10.2.18) is not entirely clear.
  Finally, *naando* and *bhe* may also co-occur in a clause:

(99) *naando bhe ghule*   'there is a snake'
    be   be snake

In this examples *bhe* seems to function as an emphatic preposition. It may be left out in (99) without any clear difference in meaning. On the other hand, *naando* may also be left out, in which case the remaining *bhe* is again an existential preposition.

7.3. Transitive clauses

A transitive clause is a clause which is formed on the basis of a predicate that is specified for two arguments: subject and object. The subject and object

can be present in various ways:
- the subject can be a full NP or merely be indicated by the subject marker;
- the object can be a full NP, a pronominal suffix, a combination of a full NP and a pronominal suffix (which I will call object agreement) or zero.
The unmarked order in transitive clauses with full subject and object nouns is SVO, but these positions are not fixed; in certain circumstances the following divergent orders may be found:
- S follows V (subject postposing);
- O precedes V (object preposing);
- S and O follow V (subject and object postposing);

After illustrating the normal transitive word order, with full and pronominal NPs, I will discuss and illustrate the following points:
- zero objects;
- object agreement;
- object focus: OV, VS, OVS;
- subject postposing: VOS;
- subject + object postposing: VSO.

7.3.1. Unmarked order: SVO

Depending on whether S and O are full nominals or pronominal suffixes, four types can be distinguished. In the clause name abbreviations I use -e to stand for the direct object pronominal suffix.

```
1. S-prefix,   O-suffix   :  V-e
2. full S,     O-suffix   :  SV-e
3. S-prefix,   full O     :  VO
4. full S,     full O     :  SVO
```

1. V-e transitive clauses:

  (100) *no-hela-e-mo*   'he pulled it up'
        3sR-pull-it-PF

  (101) *do-ghawi-e   kansuru*   'they had her continually on
        3pR-lap-her continually   their lap'

  (102) *do-tesi-kasami   tora*   'they tested us (ex) again'
        3pR-test-us(ex) again

  (103) *a-k[um]apihi-da*   'I will search them'
        1sI-search-them

2. SV-e transitive clauses:

  (104) *o   dahu no-tu-tunggu-e   we koro* 'the dog guarded him below'
        ART dog 3sR-RED-guard-him loc bottom

  (105) *o   kadondo   no-sula-e-mo*   'the woodpecker burnt it'
        ART woodpecker   3sR-burn-it-PF

  (106) *a-dhi-a-dhini kansuru no-gege-e*   'at once the jin put it
        RED-ART-jin   at.once 3sR-bind-it   around his waist'

3. VO transitive clauses:

   (107) *garaa ne-ghawa-mo se-ghulu kenta*   'and then he got a fish'
         SURPR 3sR-get-PF one-CLAS fish

   (108) *no-fo-limba   bhaku   ka-owa-ndo*
         3sR-CAUS-go.out provisions NOM-bring-their
         'he took out the provisions they had taken along'

   (109) *ane a-[m]angkafi ka-pindalo-ku*   'if I follow my desire'
         if 1sI-follow   NOM-desire-my

   (110) *do-wora-mo me-kabua-no*   'they saw a fisherman'
         3pR-see-PF -fish-A.PART

   (111) *dae-foni-si ghai*   'we will climb a coconut tree'
         1pI-go.up-TR coconut

4. SVO transitive clauses:

   (112) *o   katogha ne-mbolaku kenta topa*   'the crow stole dried fish'
         ART crow   3sR-steal fish dry

   (113) *idi a-[m]ala ghole-no*   'I will take the top'
         I   1sI-take top-its

   (114) *kabua-bua ini ne-ghondo-hi-mo sau ka-mate*
         girl   this 3sR-look-TR-PF wood NOM-dead
         'the girl looked for dead wood'

   (115) *ai-hi-ku   miina-ho da-[m]ande-ha-ane hula-no*
         younger.sibling-PLUR-my not.yet 3pI-know-INT-it   face-POS

         ama-mani
         father-our(ex)

         'my younger siblings still did not know our (ex) father's face'

   (116) *o   kolope   no-fetingke anagha*
         ART wild.cassava 3sR-hear   that
         'the wild cassava heard that'

7.3.2. Zero objects

There are two situations in which the object of a transitive verb is
suppressed. In the first case a full noun which is semantically predictable can
be left out (for example with *basa* 'read', *fumaa* 'eat' and *gau* 'cook', see
4.7).
   This section deals with 'implicit objects' (see 4.6.1). Implicit objects
occur in a sequence of events when the object is mentioned in the first clause
(either as a full noun or as a pronominal suffix) and the second clause stands
in a very close relationship to the first one. In such a case the normal
state of affairs is that the object is again realized as a pronominal suffix,
but it is not unusual to find no suffix at all, the object being suppressed.
With ae-verbs the definiteness shift is triggered and hence it can be argued

that the direct object is present at some point. In any case the suffix is always retrievable from the context and can be inserted without any change in meaning; it only makes the object explicit.

(117) *ne-ala-mo   se-poi   kontu maka no-ghompa we*
      3sR-take-PF one-CLAS stone then 3sR-throw loc

      wunta-wunta-no kantawu-no kulitoto
      RED-middle-POS heap-POS   dead.leaves

      'she took a stone and threw it into the middle of the heap of dead
       leaves'

(118) *pada   kaawu no-rako-e   no-buna-ti-mo   wulu-no   maka*
      finish after 3sR-catch-him 3sR-pull.out-REP-PF feather-his then

      no-tei we ghowa-no   wata
      3sR-put loc bottom-POS log

      'after he had caught him, he pulled out his feathers and put him
       under a log'

In the following example the verb *fumaa* is used in exactly the same way; again the suffix *-e* may replace the implicit object. There is no definiteness shift involved here, as *fumaa* is already an a-verb.

(119) *no-ene-e-mo   dahu maka no-fumaa*
      3sR-pick.up-it-PF dog then 3sR-eat
      'the dog picked it up and ate it'

7.3.3. Object agreement

Object agreement is the combination of a pronominal suffix and a full NP as in the following example:

(120) *tapi-e   wamba-ku*   'remember my words'
      (IMP-)remember-it word-my

The suffix *-e* 'agrees' with the full direct object and is therefore more or less redundant.
   Object agreement is frequently found with *-Cao*-verbs (although strictly speaking these verbs require morphologically indirect objects, see 4.8.2):

(121) *a-pande-ha-ane ka-angka-ha*   'I know the road'
      1sR-know-INT-it NOM-go-LOC

(122) *ghondo-fa-anda   ai-hi-mu*
      (IMP-)look-INT-them younger.sibling-PLUR-your
      'look after your younger brothers and sisters'

In most of the cases of object agreement the direct object is a known entity that is supplied for the sake of clarification, almost as an afterthought. Since there is no break in the intonation pattern, however, it is not likely to be a case of right-dislocation.
   In the following examples, the direct object has been mentioned before:

(123) *na-h[um]ala-e kae-kabua-ha-no*   'he will pull in his fishing
      3sI-pull-it   NOM-fish-INS-his   line'

(124) *no-kaawu-e   ko-se-kasopa-ha-e*   'he finished the whole pan'
      3sR-finish-it KO-one-food.pan-HA-it

(125) *no-wora-e   kaawu foo   amaitu-ini*   'after he had seen the mango'
      3sR-see-it after mango that

(126) *no-pada-e   kalei se-konti*   'he finished one bunch of the
      3sR-finish-it banana one-bunch   bananas'

However, in the following examples the object is not a known entity, and hence
a functional explanation cannot be given. It is possible that a system of
object agreement is gradually coming into existence, on the analogy of the
subject agreement system, in which a full NP (either nominal or pronominal)
agrees with the subject markers. But this must remain a hypothesis.

(127) *do-fenamisi-e-mo ka-gharo-no   taghi*
      3pR-feel-it-PF   NOM-hungry-POS belly
      'they felt their hungry bellies'

(128) *o   ndoke ne-wei   no-puru-si-e   roo-no   sau*
      ART monkey 3sR-clear 3sR-take.off-REP-it leaf-POS tree
      'the monkey was clearing (his field) by peeling off tree leaves'

7.3.4. Object focus

In the unmarked SVO order the information is presented from the perspective of
the subject. It is also possible, however, to take the object as point of
departure and to background the subject. This is done by using OVS word order
or, when either S or O is not a full NP, OV or V-eS. When the object precedes
the verb, it is customary to find a pronominal suffix on the verb that agrees
with the fronted object. The actual structure of most of the examples is
therefore OV-eS. I will discuss OV, V-eS and OVS in turn.

1. OV clauses

An object is preposed when it is the most salient bit of information in the
discourse. This is often the case when the object contains a quantifier, as in
the following examples:

(129) *o   hae-hae ka-fo-rato-ghoo-ku   ama   a-[m]angkafi-e*
      ART RED-what NOM-CAUS-arrive-IO-my father 1sI-follow-it
      'everything you have said to me, father, I will follow'

(130) *sabhara   ka-waa-ghoo no-kiido-e*
      all.kinds NOM-give-IO 3sR-refuse-it
      'all the different gifts he refused'

Also, in a general statement concerning the object, the object is frequently
preposed:

(131) *karadhaa iniho ne-tanda-ki   sadhia do-ka-mpuu-mpuu-ane*
      work   just P.PART-begin-TR always 3pR-KA-RED-serious-it
      'one always works harder on a task newly commenced'

(132) *lahae so me-mpau-no   da-dh[um]umpa-e we wite*
      who   FUT -sleepy-A.PART 3pI-push-him   loc earth
      'whoever gets sleepy will be pushed to the ground'

2. V-eS clauses

A postverbal subject is usually found when a new agent is introduced in the
discourse that has not been mentioned before or has not played a role for some
time. In other words, there is a shift of subject from one clause to the next.
The old subject, however, which has now become the object, is still the topic
of the discourse. This construction is functionally very close to a passive. In
fact, these sentences are always translated as passives in Indonesian by Muna
speakers. Structurally, however, they are very clearly not passives, since
there is no passive morphology. In the translation I have also frequently used
passives.

(133) *dadi no-sere-mo rea-no.   Kansuru no-tagho-e   a-kapo-kapoluka*
      so   3sR-flow-PF blood-his at.once 3sR-collect-it   ART-RED-tortoise
      'so his blood flowed. At once it was collected by the tortoise'

(134) *wakutuu-no no-horo-ane, no-wora-e-mo   dahu*
      time-its   3sR-fly-it   3sR-see-him-PF dog
      'when he flew with it, he was seen by a dog'

(135) *ana-no   mo-saki-no   naando ne-ndo-ndole do-libu-libu-e*
      child-his -sick-A.PART be   3sR-RED-lie 3pR-RED-surround-him

      isa-hi-hi-no
      older.sibling-PLUR-PLUR-his

      'his sick child was lying down surrounded by its older brothers
       and sisters'

(136) *kenta topa no-ndawu-mo ne wite; no-ene-e-mo   dahu*
      fish dry 3sR-fall-PF loc earth 3sR-pick.up-it-PF dog
      'the dried fish fell to the ground. It was picked up by the dog'

(137) *pada   no-wogha-e, no-tifu-li-e-mo   ani*
      finish 3sR-hit-it 3sR-sting-REP-him-PF bee
      'after he had hit it, he was stung by the bees'

(138) *insaidi ta-si-kaku-kakuta; no-runsa-kasami ama-mani*
      we(ex) 1eR-ONE-RED-sibling 3sR-leave-us(ex) father-our(ex)
      'we (ex) are brothers and sisters; our father has left us'

The fact that it is possible for the subject of a transitive clause to follow
the verb may result in seemingly ambiguous clauses, in which it is not clear
whether the nominal constituent following the verb is the object (with
pronominal agreement on the verb) or the subject. Compare the following
example:

(139) *no-fumaa-e-mo kenta*   1.'she ate the fish'
      3sR-eat-it-PF fish   2.'she was eaten by the fish'

This ambiguity does not exist in spoken language, since the intonation patterns
of the two clauses differ:

```
 -------------------------------
              _____  --_
          - _
 -------------------------------
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   (140) a. *no.fu.ma.a.e.mo ke.nta*   'she was eaten by the fish'

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          _____--     --_
       - _           -
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```
      b. *no.fu.ma.a.e.mo ke.nta*   'she ate the fish'

In (140a) the nucleus is on *kenta*, whereas in (140b) the nucleus is on
nofumaa-e-mo, with a tail intonation on *kenta*. This is in accordance with
our claim that object agreement is a kind of clarification, hence the tail
intonation.

3. OVS clauses

As in VS clauses, in OVS clauses the perspective is from the object which is
foregrounded, while the subject is backgrounded. Again, this is functionally
a passive, and I will translate these clauses as such.

(141) *kenta topa ka-mbolaku-no no-fumaa-e-mo dahu*
      fish dry NOM-steal-his 3sR-eat-it-PF dog
      'the dried fish that he had stolen had been eaten by the dog'

(142) *dadi o   karambau no-talo-e   o   bhiku*
      so   ART buffalo 3sR-defeat-him ART snail
      'so the buffalo was defeated by the snail'

(143) *wulu-no   pada-mo   no-buna-ti-e   ndoke*
      feather-his finish-PF 3sR-pull.out-REP-it monkey
      'his feathers had been pulled out by the monkey'

(144) *Wa Ndai Pitu pada-mo   do-ghoro-e   isa-hi-hi-no*
      ART Ndai Pitu finish-PF 3pR-throw-her older.sibling-PLUR-PLUR

      we   tehi Sampuru
      loc sea Sampuru

      'Wa Ndai Pitu has been thrown into the Sampuru sea by her older
      sisters'

4. Subject postposing: VOS

In a number of clauses the subject follows the verb and the object. This seems
to be the case for the following two reasons:

1. The subject is topic of contrast in a transitive construction. In 7.1.4 it
   was shown that the topic of contrast or comparison in intransitive clauses
   is put in the special position before the verb. This position is not a
   special position in a transitive clause, hence the subject is placed in a
   special position after the verb and the object. It may or may not be
   significant that the following subjects are all pronouns:

   (145) *o-[m]ala hae-no-no   itu hintu*?   'which part of it will YOU take?'
         2sI-take what-its-its that you

   (146) *a-[m]ala ghole-no ini idi-a*   'I will take the top'
         1sI-take top-its this I-CL

   (147) *ala-mo   aini hintu so dawu-mu*
         (IMP-)take-PF this you   for part-your
         'you take this for your share'

2. The subject is added for purposes of clarification in subordinate clauses,
   again almost as an afterthought. This usage is relatively rare. In the
   following two examples the subjects are known entities that have played
   important roles in the preceding discourse:

   (148) *do-fetingke pogau-no   kolope   ini r[um]ato-no welo rompu-ha*
         3pR-hear   speech-POS wild.cassava this come-A.PART in   meet-TEMP
         'when those present in the meeting heard the speech of the wild
          cassava'

   (149) *no-fetingke ka-bhalo-no   maitu hadhi amaitu-ini*
         3sR-hear   NOM-answer-his that haji that
         'when the haji heard that answer'

   It is feasible to compare this VOS order in temporal subordinate clauses to
   the VS order in intransitive temporal subclauses, which formed one of the
   reasons for considering VS the unmarked order (see 7.1.2). On that basis one
   could argue that VOS is the unmarked or 'underlying' order in all transitive
   clauses. This comparison, however, cannot be maintained, since in the
   overwhelming majority of cases, SVO is the order found in transitive
   temporal subclauses, while in intransitive temporal subclauses with *kaawu*,
   VS is the only possibility.

5. Subject + Object postposing: VSO

   In VSO orders there is a combination of two factors. First, the subject is
   the topic of contrast and hence postposed. Second, the object is added for
   clarifying purposes and hence also postposed. Object agreement reflects this
   clarification function:

   (150) *no-pada-e   A-se-tu-se-tuda ka-gau-ku*
         3sR-finish-it ART-RED-one-span NOM-cook-my
         'Mr. One-span has finished what I have cooked'

   (151) *a-wora-e   inodi o   ka-angka-ha*   'I have seen the road'
         1sR-see-it I   ART NOM-go-LOC

(152) *nada   hamadi so na-gh[um]awa-e-ghoo anoa kenta topa*
      IRR.like which FUT 3sI-get-it-PURP   he   fish dry
      'how he could get the dried fish'

7.4. Experiential clauses

The experiential clause is formally a subtype of the transitive clause. The verb in an experiential clause has a defective paradigm: it is obligatorily marked by a third person singular subject and a pronominal direct object designating the experiencer. Experiential verbs typically refer to involuntary states or processes connected with the body (see 4.8.1).

(153) *no-rengku-kanau*   'I am shivering (cold)'
      3sR-shiver-me

(154) *no-rengku-e*   'he is shivering'
      3sR-shiver-him

(155) *no-tongko-e*   'she is choking;
      3sR-choke-her   she swallows the wrong way'

(156) *no-ghudehi-da*   'they feel the urge to relieve
      3sR-feel.urge-them   themselves'

These and the following verbs functioning in experiential clauses can also occur as intransitive verbs, in which case the subject marks the experiencer. There is no difference in meaning:

(157) a. *ao-sodo*   'I am hot (with fever); I have
         1sR-hot   a temperature'

      b. *no-sodo-kanau*   'I am hot'
         3sR-hot-me

(158) a. *ao-redu*   'I am shivering (from fever)'
         1sR-shiver

      b. *no-redu-kanau*   'I am shivering'
         3sR-shiver-me

The intransitive verb *rato* 'arrive' also occurs in experiential clauses, meaning 'to suffer from, be struck by':

(159) a. *no-rato-e   ka-roko*   'he is suffering from sharp
         3sR-arrive-him NOM-sharp   internal pains'

      b. *no-rato-kanau wula*   'I am having my period'
         3sR-arrive-me moon/month

7.5. Copular clauses

There is one clause type of which the base is a verb that can take two arguments: a subject and a complement. The second argument cannot be called

an object, since a full NP cannot be replaced by a direct or indirect object pronominal suffix, hence the name complement. These verbs may be called copular verbs; they include:

mbali   'become, be'
ko-labhi   'be more than'

Examples:

(160) *inodi ae-mbali   guru   honoro*   'I became/was an honorary (=
       I   1sR-become teacher honour   unpaid) teacher'

(161) *ta-kolabhi   lima-fulu*   'there are more than fifty of
       1eR-be.more five-ten   us (ex)'

(162) *a-bhiku-a-bhiku ne-mbali-mo   kadadi* 'Snail became an animal'
       RED-ART-snail   3sR-become-PF animal

The order is not necessarily S-V-Complement; the subject may also follow the rest of the clause:

(163) *no-wolo   ne-mbali   sangku we-wei-ha-mu*
       3sR-finish 3sR-become forest RED-clear-LOC-your
       'everything you have cleared has become forest (again)'

Frequently a clause containing a form of *mbali* is found closely attached to a preceding noun, pronoun or pronominal suffix, in which case it may lose its subject marker and become a deverbal preposition 'for' (see 6.2.4):

(164) *ne-ghondo-hi karuku ne-mbali   kaago*
       3sR-look-TR   herbs 3sR-become medicine
       'he looked for herbs to become/to be used as medicine'

(165) *da-s[um]angke-e nae-mbali kolaki-no   ghoti*
       3pI-appoint-him 3sI-become leader-POS food
       'they will appoint him to become/as leader of the food'

(166) *do-mooru   kapa   ka-tisa-ndo   wuto-ndo mbali bheta-ndo*
       3pR-weave cotton NOM-plant-their own-their for   sarong-their
       'they wove the cotton they had planted themselves for their sarongs'

7.6. Equative clauses

Equative clauses are verbless clauses that consist of a nominal subject and a complement, which can be an NP or a PP. Derivations involving the prefix *sa-* (10.2.44) and *sa-/-ha* (10.2.45) also function as complements in equative clauses. Semantically, equative clauses usually make statements about the identity or the location of the subject. Here, 'subject' should be understood as the known or given entity in the discourse (for example pronouns, demonstratives, nouns modified by possessive suffixes). The complement contains new information about this subject.
   The usual order in an equative clause is Subject-Complement, although the reverse order is also found. The following four types can therefore be distinguished (*sa-* and *sa-/-ha*-derivations are grouped with NPs):

a. NP-subject, NP-complement;
b. NP-complement, NP-subject;
c. NP-subject, PP-complement;
d. PP-complement, NP-subject.

a. NP-subject, NP-complement

  (167) *inodi o   moghane, ihintu o   robhine*
        I   ART man   you   ART woman
        'I am a man, you are a woman'

  (168) *ihintu-mo ka-bholosi-no   kamokula-ndo*
        you-PF   NOM-replace-POS parent-their
        'you are the substitute of their parents'

  (169) *bhaku-ndo   ini se-ka-kaso-kasopa   kaawu*
        provision-their this one-DIM-RED-food.pan   only
        'their provision was only one small pan'

  (170) *kopuhu-no   ntai-ntai-ha-no watu*
        banana.heart-its RED-hang-HA-its that
        'the banana heart is still hanging there'

  (171) *ka-ntisa-ku hende-hende-ha-no*   'my crop is still growing'
        NOM-plant-my RED-grow-HA-its

  (172) *gadhi-ku   na-sehae-mo   dua*   'my salary was not going to be
        salary-my FUT-how.much-PF also   much either'

  (173) *o   laa   sa-kiri-kiri*   'its stem is full of thorns'
        ART stalk ONLY-RED-thorn

  (174) *inodi sa-hunda-hunda*   'I am all in favour'
        I   ONLY-RED-agree

  (175) *ama-ku   sa-wanu-ha-no*   'my father can barely get up'
        father-my SA-get.up-HA-his

  (176) *awatu-ha-e-mo katendewuna-no ama-mu*
        that-LOC-it-PF rooftop-POS   father-your
        'that is the rooftop of your father's house'

b. NP-complement, NP-subject

When the complement precedes the subject, this is because it is a question word
or because it is emphasized:

  (177) *o   hae sabhabu-no*?   'what is the reason?'
        ART what reason-its

  (178) *sehae   se-ghulu*?   'how much is one (fish)?'
        how.much one-CLAS

  (179) *o   hae wamba-no ina-mu*?   'what were your mother's words?'
        ART what word-POS mother-your

(180) *se-tanga mate kamokula-ku*   'my parents are half dead'
      one-half dead parents-my

c. NP-subject, PP-complement

When the complement is a prepositional phrase, it designates the location of
the subject or makes a comparison about the subject.

(181) *awa-ku   welo lambu*   'my grandfather is at home'
      grandparent-my in   house

(182) *suano ka-fumaa-ha ne wunta-no   sala*
      not   NOM-eat-LOC loc middle-POS road
      'the middle of the road is not an eating place'

(183) *ka-bhala-no peda-mo winto*   'its size was like a grindstone'
      NOM-big-its like-PF grindstone
      'its size was like a grindstone'

(184) *ghonu-no ta-peda-hi-mo   bhone*   'its seed is just like sand'
      seed-its JUST-like-HI-PF sand

(185) *amba-no   peda aini*   'he said (the following)'
      word-his like this

d. PP-complement, NP-subject

   Again, when the complement is a question word or strongly emphasized, the
   complement precedes the subject:

(186) *ne hamai ina-mu   ampa aitu*?   'where is your mother now?'
      loc where mother-your until now

(187) *peda hamai itu bhirita*?   'how is it going?'
      like what   that news

(188) *peda-mo anagha-nagha tula-tula-no*   'thus was the story'
      like-PF that   story-its

   A clause-initial complement is common with the emphasized preposition *soo-mo*
   'for'; the subject is a referential demonstrative:

(189) *soo-mo bara-ndo   andoa watu*   'those goods were for THEM'
      for-PF goods-their they that   (lit. 'that was for THEIR
                                              goods')

(190) *soo-mo kamara-no watu*   'that room is for him'
      for-PF room-his that

7.7. Exclamatory clauses

Formally, exclamatory clauses are nominalizations of verbal clauses. Their
emotional impact is much stronger than that of the corresponding verbal
clauses.

(191) a. *no-pana lalo-ku*   'I am angry'
          3sR-hot heart-my

      b. *ka-pana-no lalo-ku*!   'how angry I am' (lit. 'the
          NOM-hot-POS heart-my   heat of my heart')

The subject of the verbal clause is realized as a dependent ('possessed') NP
modifying the nominalized verbal head. The possessive linker *-no* links the two
NPs. The resulting construction is therefore in all respects similar to a plain
NP, which gives rise to ambiguity in meaning between a phrase and a clause:

(192) *ka-bhari-no anahi-hi-mu* (!)   1. 'the number of your children'
       NOM-many-POS child-PLUR-your   2. 'how many children you have!'

Intonation will normally disambiguate here, as an exclamatory clause will be
spoken on a relatively higher pitch and with more intensity than a non-
exclamatory clause. Also, as a phrase, (192.1) functions within a clause,
whereas (192.2) is a complete utterance in itself.
  In the following examples no attempt is made to reflect the exclamatory
nature of all the clauses in the translation, because such renderings are often
unnatural.

(193) *ka-mbaka-no kenta topa*!   'how nice that dried fish is!'
       NOM-nice-POS fish dry

(194) *ka-baru-ku-mo*!   'how happy I am!'
       NOM-happy-my-PF

(195) *ka-bhala-mu ihintu ini, inodi ka-rubu-ku*!
       NOM-big-your you   this I   NOM-small-my
       'you are big, I am small'

(196) *ka-kolilino-mu awa*!   'how far you have strayed,
       NOM-astray-your grandparent   granny!'

(197) *ka-ghohi-ndo*!   'they are telling a lie!'
       NOM-tell.lie-their

Often the dependent NP (the semantic subject of the clause) is fronted to a
position before the nominalized verb for reasons of emphasis (see 7.8):

(198) *paa-paando   ka-baru-no   sepaliha*
       RED-mouse.deer NOM-happy-his very
       'the mouse deer was very happy'

(199) *ina   wee-ndo   ka-ghosa-no lalo-no*
       mother step-their NOM-hard-POS heart-her
       'how hard-hearted their stepmother was'

(200) *aitu maka anahi ini ka-tehi-no*   'the child was very afraid'
       that EMPH child this NOM-afraid-his

With such fronted NPs it is even possible to leave out the possessive linker
-no:

(201) *o   roo ka-ware*   'its leaves are broad'
      ART leaf NOM-broad

(202) *o   ihi   ka-bhala-hi*   'its contents are big'
      ART contents NOM-big-PLUR

This construction can hardly be called a nominalization or an exclamatory clause; it seems to come close to a special type of equative clause consisting of a subject NP and a complement in the form of *ka*-nominalization. This might be one of the origins of the attributive use of *ka*-nominalizations as discussed in 5.9.2.

   In some of these exclamatory clauses the preposition *bhe* is found, always preceding the *ka*-noun. This could possibly be the existential use of the preposition *bhe* (see 7.2.2), but I do not opt for this analysis for the following reason. In existential clauses *bhe* cannot be left out (except when it co-occurs with *naando*), whereas in exclamatory clauses it can be freely left out. *Bhe* seems to function here as an emphatic preposition preceding nouns in certain functions.

(203) *pakade   bhe ka-rubu-hi-no   bhake*
      moreover with NOM-small-PLUR-POS fruit
      'moreover its fruits are small'

(204) *bhe   ka-aha-ku*!   'how thirsty I am!'
      with NOM-thirsty-my

(205) *mie-no   bhe ka-lolu*!   'how stupid the man is!'
      person-his with NOM-stupid

In (205) the dependent NP *mie-no* is fronted.
   In a number of examples *bhe* is found preceding a *ka*-nominalization without any dependent NP, so that the semantic subject has to be deduced from the context:

(206) *bhe   ka-pasole*!   'how handsome (he is)'
      with NOM-handsome

(207) *bhe   ka-gharo   peda aini*!   '(we are) so hungry'
      with NOM-hungry like this

(208) *ka-mbaka-no kalei bhe ka-wehi*!   'how nice that banana was and
      NOM-nice-POS banana with NOM-full   how full (I am)'

7.8. Fronting

Fronting of a syntactically dependent NP to clause-initial position is a commonly found construction. This is the case when the dependent NP is the topic of the discourse about which the remainder of the clause makes a statement. Compare the following two examples:

(209) a. *no-nale laa-no   pae*   'a rice stalk is weak'
         3sR-weak stalk-POS rice

      b. *o   pae no-nale laa-no*   'a rice stalk is weak'
         ART rice 3sR-weak stalk-its

(209a) is a neutral statement which does not presuppose any previous discourse
knowledge. (209b), on the other hand, presents *pae* as the established topic of
discourse, about which something is said, namely that its stalk is weak. The
corresponding clause type in Indonesian is termed 'topic-comment sentence' by
Macdonald (1976). Other examples:

   (210) *A   Titibholo ini, no-mate-mo ama-no   bhe ina-no*
         ART Titibholo this 3sR-die-PF father-his with mother-his
         'Titibholo's father and mother had died'

   (211) *a-bhiku   no-ti-hoba-mo   kadada-no*
         ART-snail 3sR-ACC-spill-PF vegetable-his
         'Snail's vegetables were spilled'

   (212) *wamba   Inggirisi ini, no-po-hala   ka-basa-no   bhe ka-buri-no*
         language English   this 3sR-REC-wrong NOM-read-its with NOM-write-its
         'the spelling and the pronunciation of English differ from each other'

   (213) *kamokula-hi-no   no-bhela-mo   lalo-ndo*
         parent-PLUR-her 3sR-wounded-PF heart-their
         'her parents were very sad'

This fronting of a dependent NP can even occur when the NP is 'carried' over
two verbs:

   (214) *fato-fulu-gha kahitela amaitu-ini miina-ho na-[m]ada-e*
         four-ten-day maize   that   not.yet 3sI-finish-it

         no-fumaa-e bhake-no
         3sR-eat-it fruit-its

         'in forty days he had not yet finished eating the fruit of that maize'

7.9. Indirect object extensions

A basic clause can be further extended with non-nuclear arguments that give
extra information about the state of affairs described in the basic predicate.
Some of these non-nuclear arguments refer to place and time of the action, to
be discussed in 7.10. In this section I will deal with those arguments that can
be expressed through indirect object pronominal suffixes as discussed in 4.8.
These arguments will therefore be called indirect objects (IO), but note that
this is a syntactic notion. Semantically an indirect object may express such
functions as beneficiary and recipient, but also instrument and reason.
In the following discussion, subdivisions are made according to the full
nominal or pronominal suffix character of both direct object (DO) and IO.

7.9.1. Full indirect objects

When the IO is a full NP, the verb is suffixed with *-ghoo*, a suffix that
signals the presence of an IO (see 10.2.10). Examples of indirect objects on

both transitive and intransitive verbs with a subdivision according to their semantic function:

a. Beneficiary:

(215) *ae-gholi-ghoo ina-ku   o   pae*   'I buy rice for my mother'
      1sR-buy-IO   mother-my ART rice

(216) *do-dhoa-ghoo mate-no   ini*   'they pray for the dead man'
      3pR-pray-IO die-A.PART this

(217) *ae-ala-ghoo ai-ku   na-se-tonde*
      1sI-get-IO younger.sibling-my FUT-one-glass
      'I will get my younger brother another glass'

   Beneficiaries are also found in prepositional phrases headed by *so* 'for' (see 6.2.2).

b. Recipient:

(218) *ne-owa-ghoo ama-ku   kenta*   'she brought my father some fish'
      3sR-bring-IO father-my fish

(219) *de-pakatu-ghoo awa-ku   sura* 'they sent my grandmother a
      3pR-send-IO   grandparent-my letter letter'

(220) *ne-kapuuna-ghoo-mo robhine-no*   'he told his wife'
      3sR-tell-IO-PF   woman-his

Recipients also occur after the preposition *ne* (see 6.1.3).

c. Instrument:

(221) *ae-ghome-ghoo sabo*   'I wash with soap'
      1sR-wash-IO   soap

(222) *no-suli-ghoo   motoro*   'he went home by motorbike'
      3sR-return-IO motorbike

(223) *ome-tampoli-ghoo lima*?   'do you sew by hand?'
      2sR-sew-IO   hand

d. Reason:

(224) *do-mate-ghoo ka-gharo*   'they died of hunger'
      3pR-die-IO   NOM-hungry

(225) *a-rugi-ghoo ka-pudhi-no   dahu*   'I suffer a loss because of
      1sR-lose-IO NOM-praise-POS dog   the dog's praises'

(226) *lela-no   na-ti-buna-ghoo-mo   ka-wule*
      tongue-his 3sI-ACC-pull.out-IO-PF NOM-tired
      'his tongue was hanging out with exhaustion' (lit. 'his tongue was
       to be pulled out with exhaustion')

e. Referent:

    (227) *do-bisara-ghoo anahi-hi-ndo*   'they were talking about their
          3pR-speak-IO   child-PLUR-their   children'

    (228) *ae-tula-tula-ghoo monifi-ku*   'I will tell about my dream'
          1sR-RED-tell-IO   dream-my

    (229) *do-po-kamunti-ghoo-mo kolope*   'they were whispering about
          3pR-REC-whisper-IO-PF wild.cassava   the wild cassava'

f. Comitative:

    (230) *no-horo-ghoo Wa Ode Kambea Mpatani te lani*
          3sR-fly-IO   Wa Ode Kambea Mpatani loc sky
          'he flew with Wa Ode Kambea Mpatani in the air'

    (231) *miina dae-rato-ghoo fonoti*   'they did not come home with
          not   3pI-arrive-IO shellfish   shellfish'

    (232) *no-suli-ghoo Wa Ode Ana we lambu-do*
          3sR-return-IO Wa Ode Ana loc house-their
          'he returned with Wa Ode Ana to their house'

    Comitatives are also found after the preposition *bhe* 'with' (see 6.2.1).

g. Following a *po*-derivation (10.2.41). Verbs prefixed by *po-* are intransitive.
   When an extra argument is added to the predicate, either the preposition *bhe*
   'with' is used (see 6.2.1), or the verb is suffixed with *-ghoo*. The semantic
   roles vary with the meaning of the verb:

    (233) *a-po-guru-ghoo wamba   Wuna*   'I am learning Muna'
          1sR-PO-learn-IO language Muna

    (234) *a-po-ghawa-ghoo anoa*   'I met him'
          1sR-REC-get-IO he

    (235) *do-po-hala-ti-ghoo robhine*   'they were quarrelling about a
          3pR-REC-wrong-TR-IO woman   woman'

    (236) *do-po-sobo-ghoo oe-no   Wulamoni bhe oe   sigaahano*
          3pR-REC-mix-IO water-POS Wulamoni with water other
          'they mixed the water from Wulamoni with other water'

Sometimes the semantic function is not easily stated:

    (237) *ae-uji-ghoo wamba   Malau*   'I took a test in Indonesian'
          1sR-test-IO language Malay

7.9.2. Oblique indirect objects

There are a few other constructions in which an extra argument on the verb
is signalled by the suffix *-ghoo*. The difference between these and the examples
in the preceding section is that these arguments cannot be replaced by the
IO pronominal suffixes. For these indirect objects I use the term 'oblique

indirect objects'. Oblique indirect objects occur in three different construction types:

a. When the extra argument is the reflexive/emphatic noun *wuto* 'self', which is obligatorily possessed:

(238) *a-fumaa-e-ghoo wuto-ku*   'I ate it myself'
      1sR-eat-it-IO self-my

(239) *me-ghondo-hi-ghoo-mo wuto-mu*   'look for it yourself!'
      IMP-look-TR-IO-PF   self-your

(240) *ne-pinde-ghoo wuto-no*   'he chose himself'
      3sR-choose-IO self-his

b. After *ko*-derivations in which case there is an equative relationship between the base noun in the *ko*-derivation and the oblique indirect object:

(241) *do-ko-ana-ghoo-mo   dua La Patola*
      3pR-HAVE-child-IO-PF also ART Patola
      'La Patola was also one of their children' (lit. 'they also had
       the child La Patola')

(242) *inodi-mo ini isa-mu   ko-nea-ghoo-no   Sihafari*
      I-PF   this older-sibling HAVE-name-IO-A.PART Sihafari
      'I am your older brother, whose name is Sihafari'

(243) *na-ko-gholi-ghoo na-se-tali   bheta aitu*
      3sI-HAVE-price-IO FUT-one-30.cent sarong that
      'that sarong will cost 30 cents'

(244) *no-ko-bhirita-ghoo-mo no-saki*   'the news arrived that he was ill'
      3sR-HAVE-news-IO-PF   3sR-ill

   In this last example the oblique indirect object is a clause which stands in an appositional relationship to the noun *bhirita* (see 9.2.4).

c. After numeral verbs; the oblique object signals one of the included members of the set, not an extra member:

(245) *do-pipitu-ghoo inodi*   'we were seven, including myself'
      1pR-seven-IO   I

(246) *sa-kawi-no   kolaki-no liwu   ini do-ompulu-ghoo-mo*
      SA-marry-POS leader-POS village this 3pR-ten-IO-PF

      robhine amaitu
      woman   that

      'with that woman included, the village chief has ten wives'

(247) *ne-faraluu anahi robhine da-fato-fulu-po-paa-ghoo ana-no*
      3sR-need   child woman   3pI-four-ten-RED-four-IO child-her
      'she needed forty-four girls, including her own child'

7.9.3. IO pronominal suffix

When the indirect object is a known entity, it is often realized as an indirect object pronominal suffix. For the paradigm of this suffix, see 4.8. In the interlinear translation no attempt is made to distinguish between DO and IO pronominal suffixes.
  Examples with intransitive verbs:

  (248) *no-rato-ane-mo*   'he arrived with her'
        3sR-arrive-her-PF

  (249) *ta-sambahea-ane*   'we recite prayers for him'
        1eR-recite.prayer-him

With transitive verbs it has to be noted that the definiteness shift is not triggered by a definite IO (verb remains in the ae-class), but only by a definite DO (verb shifts to the a-class):

  (250) a. *ne-ala-ane-mo   kapulu*   'he took a machete against her'
           3sR-take-her-PF machete

        b. *no-ala-ane-mo   kapulu-no*   'he took his machete against her'
           3sR-take-her-PF machete-his

  (251) *madaho ae-rabu-ane   kabhara*   'in a while I will make a stable
        later   1sI-make-him stable   for him'

  (252) *kapihi-kanau-umu   monifi-ku ini*
        (IMP-)look.for-me-PLUR dream-my   this
        'try to find me my dream'

  (253) *a-gh[um]oro-angko dua   na-se-wua*
        1sI-throw-you   also FUT-one-fruit
        'I will also throw you another piece of fruit'

The IO pronominal suffixes are also employed to signal the patient ('semantic direct object') followed by a full indirect object. In other words, to express the combination of the DO suffix *-e* + *-ghoo*, the IO pronominal suffix *-ane* is used. It is crucial to distinguish this *-ane* from *-ane* in the preceding section, since in the latter case the definiteness shift is triggered. The DO is definite, even if it is expressed in the form of an IO suffix. In the interlinear translation I will use the gloss 'it/IO', 'you/IO' for this use of the IO suffixes to indicate its double function. Examples:

  (254) *a-rako-ane   lima-ku*   'I caught him with my hand'
        1sR-catch-him/IO hand-my

  (255) *a-t[um]ulumi-angko hae*?   'with what can I help you?'
        1sI-help-you/IO   what

  (256) *do-po-gaati-anda-mo   kae-late-ha*
        3pR-REC-separate-TR-them/IO-PF NOM-live-LOC
        'they lived in different places' (lit. 'they separated their living
         place')

(257) *no-gholi-ane   rea*   'he bought it with his blood'
      3sR-buy-it/IO   blood

In this last case it is the definiteness shift that shows the (indirect object) function of the noun *rea*; compare (257) with (258), where *rea* is direct object:

(258) *ne-gholi-ane   rea*   'he bought blood for him'
      3sR-buy-him   blood

When the DO and the IO are both pronominal suffixes, they can only co-occur when the DO suffix is *-e*:

(259) *a-[m]oni-si-angko-e*   'I will climb it for you'
      1sI-go.up-TR-you-it

(260) *a-k[um]adiu-anda-e*   'I will wash them with it'
      1sI-wash-them-it

This last example is surprising, since the IO suffix *-anda* clearly refers to the patient in the context. Apparently the combination of IO pronominal suffixes and the DO suffix *-e* allows for a wider interpretation, possibly because this is the only ordering that is allowed. Thus *-anda-e* (and not **-da-ane* or **-ane-da*) can mean 'it for/with them' and 'they for/with it'. For other examples and the shortening of *-ane-e* to *-ane*, see 4.8.

7.9.4. Preverbal IO and DO

When a full IO is present, it may be put in preverbal position for reasons of emphasis or point of perspective. In such cases the IO pronominal suffixes have to be used, and not the general IO suffix *-ghoo*:

(261) *gholi-no   ne-gholi-ane mbololo*   'with its price he bought a gong'
      price-its 3sR-buy-it   gong

(262) *Wa Ode Kambeano Mpatani a-rato-ane-mo*
      Wa Ode Kambeano Mpatani 1sR-come-her-PF
      'I have come with Wa Ode Kambeano Mpatani'

(263) *o   kapulu   de-lako-ane sau*   'with a machete one cuts wood'
      ART machete 3pR-cut-it   wood

(264) *oe   aitu o-k[um]adiu-anda-e anahi-hi-mu*
      water that 2sI-bath-them-it   child-PLUR-your
      'with that water you must bathe your children'

When a full direct object shifts to clause-initial position, the IO pronominal suffixes are also used, referring both to the DO and to the IO:

(265) *ndoro-ku a-tampoli-ane masina*   'I sew my skirt on a machine'
      skirt-my 1sR-sew-it/IO machine

(266) *o   dahu do-ghompa-ane   kontu*   'they threw a stone at the dog'
      ART dog 3pR-throw-it/IO stone

Again, note the difference in the application of the definiteness shift:

   (267) a. *o   kapulu de-lako-ane sau*   'with a machete one cuts wood'
          ART machete 3pR-cut-it wood

      b. *o   sau   do-lako-ane   kapulu*   'wood is cut with a machete'
          ART wood 3pR-cut-it/IO machete

In (267a) *-ane* only refers to the indirect object, whereas in (267b) *-ane* refers to the preverbal direct object, while at the same time it marks the presence of a full IO NP.

  As is the case with DO (see 7.3.3), indirect objects may also show object agreement. In other words, an IO pronominal suffix can be followed by a full IO, usually for reasons of clarification:

   (268) *do-sambahea-ane-mo   mate-no   ini*
       3pR-recite.prayer-him-PF dead-A.PART this
       'they recite a prayer for the dead man'

   (269) *no-lili-ane   kenta anagha*   'he went round with that fish'
       3sR-go.round-it fish that

In certain cases, the full indirect object is put in a PP, in which case the pronominal suffix is still an indirect object, but the full NP is no longer so:

   (270) *miina na-[m]ata-ane so ka-dadi-ha-ndo   se-gholeo*
       not   3sI-enough-it for NOM-live-HA-their one-day
       'it was not enough for one day's living'

Finally, similar to DO zero marking, there may be indirect object zero marking (suppression) when the IO referent is clearly established in the discourse. However, the verb is still suffixed with *-ghoo* in these cases:

   (271) *ta-no-ghoro-ghoo kuli-no*   'he just threw the (banana) skins
       JUST-3sR-throw-IO skin-its   (to him)'

   (272) *bhawe-no   no-to-towi-e   maka no-dada-ghoo*
       top.cord-his 3sR-RED-slice-it then 3sR-cook-IO
       'the cord of his spinning top she sliced and then cooked (for him)'

   (273) *fo-omba-kanau   hula-mu! Ta-do-fo-omba-ghoo hula-no   bheka*
       (IMP-)CAUS-appear-me face-your JUST-3pR-CAUS-appear face-POS   cat
       'show me your face!' 'They just showed (her) the face of the cat'

7.10. **Temporal, locative and manner periphery**

In this section we will be concerned with the clause periphery, that is, those elements that provide extra information on the state of affairs designated by the clause core and that are not syntactically indirect objects. A number of peripheries are introduced through prepositions and have already been illustrated in Chapter 6. Here I will concentrate on three periphery types: time, location and manner.

7.10.1. Temporal periphery

The temporal periphery answers the question 'when?' or 'how long?' in relation to the clause core. The temporal periphery may be filled by a number of different words and phrases, all of which I will call 'temporal' in this section. The following temporals may be distinguished (the list is not exhaustive):

1. demonstrative (see 5.5):

    aitu   'now; at that time'
    ani-ini   'just now, recently'
    anagha-ini   'formerly, once'

2. noun phrase:

    ghole itu   'today'
    ta-na-se-wula   'in a month'
    se-taghu ka-ompona-no   'for a year'
    se-wakutuu   'once, at one time'
    samentaeno   '(in the) morning'
    ghole-gholeo   '(at) noon'
    korondoha   '(in the) evening'
    rambi ompulu   'ten o'clock'
    talahano ini   'once upon a time'
    saowalahano   '(at) dawn'
    ta-sendai   'shortly'
    tompa-tompa-no-mo   'ultimately'

3. derived numeral (see 5.7.3):

    nae-tolu   'in three days'
    ne-tolu-mo   'three days ago'

4. prepositional phrase (see Chapter 6):

    ampa aitu   'now, nowadays'
    ampa ka-soo-no gholeo   'till sunset'

5. adverb (see 7.11.1):

    madaho   'in a while, later'
    sadhia   'always'
    nihomo   'just'
    (ta)ntigho   'all the time'
    indewi   'yesterday'

6. measure phrase (see 10.2.11):

    se-komi-ha   '(in) one suck'
    se-pilo-ha   '(in) one blink'

In some cases it is not easy to decide on the word class of a temporal:

    paka-paka (noun/adverb?)   'first'
    bhaa-bhaano (noun/participle?)   'at first, in the beginning;
                                               first'

As far as the place of the temporal periphery is concerned, the usual position
is clause-initial:

    (274) *bhaa-bhaano no-naando wite-no Wuna peda adho-no   se-ghonu pasi*
          RED-first   3sR-be   land-POS Muna like shape-POS one-CLAS coral
          'in the beginning the land of Muna had the shape of a coral reef'

    (275) *sa-lompo-lompona-no pasi-hi   maitu ne-mbali-mo   se-ghonu liwuto*
          SA-RED-long-its   coral-PLUR that 3sR-become-PF one-CLAS island
          'gradually those coral reefs became an island'

    (276) *wakutuu aitu Sawerigading no-sawi   ne bhangka*
          time   that Sawerigading 3sR-go.by loc boat
          'at that time Sawerigading entered a boat'

    (277) *ampa   aitu bhangka-no naando-e*   'his boat is still there'
          until now boat-his   be-it

    (278) *naewine   da-si-kala-ha dae-kabua*   'tomorrow we will go fishing
          tomorrow 1pI-SI-go-HA 1pI-fish   together'

    (279) *naando saowalahano sepaliha do-bhose-mo*
          be   dawn   very   3pR-row-PF
          'while it was still very early they rowed away'

    (280) *se-tofa-ha kaawu no-filei-mo*   'having struck just one blow
          one-hit-HA only 3sR-run-PF   he ran away'

    (281) *se-pilo-ha   no-pada-e-mo*   'in a wink he had finished it'
          one-blink-HA 3sR-finish-it-PF

It is not unusual, however, to find the temporal periphery in clause-final
position:

    (282) *kansuru do-rame-rame-ane   fato-fulu-gha*
          at.once 3pR-RED-celebrate-her four-ten-day
          'at once they gave her a party (which lasted) for forty days'

    (283) *miina dao-maa dua se-gholeo*   'one day we will not eat'
          not   1pI-eat also one-day

    (284) *da-po-ghawa tora ta-na-se-wula*   'we will meet again in a month'
          1pI-REC-get again STILL-FUT-one-month

Certain temporals may also occupy the position between the preverbal NP (either
subject or object) and the verb:

    (285) *dadi a-laga ta-sendai na-mate-ghoo ka-gharo*
          so   ART-ant TA-little 3sI-die-IO   NOM-hungry
          'so in a while Ant will die of hunger'

(286) *kamokula-hi-no tigho   do-ghae*
      parent-PLUR-her all.the.time 3pR-cry
      'her parents were crying all the time'

(287) *ihintu-umu madaho tala-amu   ne wiwi-no sala*
      you-PLUR   later (IMP-)row-PLUR loc side-POS road
      'you (pl) must stand in a row at the roadside'

(288) *kenta ka-ghawa-no sadhia miina na-bhari-a*
      fish NOM-get-his always not   3sI-many-CL
      'he never caught many fish'

Not all temporals can occur in every possible position, however. The following
five temporals were tried out in different positions in a clause:

ani-ini	'just now, recently'
indewi	'yesterday'
tolu wula ka-ompona-no	'for three months'
sadhia	'always'
(ta)ntigho	'all the time'

These five temporals were inserted in the numbered positions in the following
clause:

```
1           2         3         4          5
  isa-ku       ne-gholi   roti     we daoa
  brother-my   3sR-buy    bread    loc market
  'my brother buys/bought bread in the market'
```

The results were as follows:

	1	2	3	4	5
aniini	x	x	?	x	x
indewi	x	x	*	x	x
tolu wula kaomponano	x	x	*	()	x
sadhia	x	x	*	()	x
tantigho	*	x	*	*	*

```
x  =  possible
*  =  impossible
() =  possible, but change of meaning (the temporal is seen to be part of
      the locative; for example, three months residence in the market)
?  =  questionable
```

This suggests that temporals may belong to different subclasses defined on the
basis of their possible position in the clause. Such a subclassification,
however, still remains to be worked out.

7.10.2. Locative periphery

In Chapter 6 the prepositional phrase was analysed and the various prepo-
sitions, including the locative prepositions, were discussed and illustrated.
Here I will only discuss the locative periphery in terms of its position

within the clause. Usually, the locative periphery is found in clause-final position:

(289) *ama-ku   ne-ngkora ne soriri-ku*   'my father sat down by my side'
      father-my 3sR-sit   loc side-my

(290) *no-tei-e   welo soronga*   'he put her in a box'
      3sR-put-her in   box

(291) *o kadondo   ne-nta-ntade te wawo-no wata*
      ART woodpecker 3sR-RED-stand loc top-POS log
      'the woodpecker stood on a log'

Occasionally it may be found in initial position. This may be the case when a location is introduced in an existential clause or for reasons of emphasis or surprise:

(292) *ne tatu naando se-ghulu ghule*   'there is a snake over there'
      loc that be   one-CLAS snake

(293) *we wiwi-no tehi naando liwu kae-late-ha-no   La Ware-ware-lima*
      loc side-POS sea be   land NOM-live-LOC-POS ART RED-broad-hand
      'the village where Mr. Broadhand lived was by the sea'

(294) *garaa we panda-no   ghoti no-wora-mo kaedeha maitu*
      SURPR loc bottom-POS rice 3sR-see-PF faeces that
      'then under the rice he saw the faeces'

7.10.3. Manner periphery

The manner periphery deserves special attention as it may be formed through a derivational process. If the manner in which a certain state of affairs is carried out is to be expressed explicitly, there are two possibilities.
  First, a manner verb is simply juxtaposed either before or after the main verb:

(295) *ne-rimba no-tende*   'he runs fast'
      3sR-fast 3sR-run

(296) *a-kala ae-luntu-luntu*   'I go slowly'
      1sR-go 1sR-RED-slow

For more discussion of juxtaposition, see 9.2.1.
  Alternatively, a manner adverbial is formed on the basis of a stative intransitive verb. The derivational prefix for manner adverbials is *feka-* (10.2.5):

(297) *a-tende feka-rimba*   'I run fast'
      1sR-run ADV-fast

(298) *inodi o   ka-pongke; feka-ghosa bisara*
      I   ART NOM-deaf   ADV-hard (IMP-)speak
      'I am deaf, speak clearly'

(299) *tirisangi   feka-taa*   'strain (it) well'
      (IMP-)strain ADV-good

Note that there is a slight difference of meaning between the use of a juxtaposed manner verb and a manner adverbial. The latter implies more energy and willpower on the part of the performer of the action.
  If the verbal base is reduplicated with *feka-*, the meaning is intensified:

(300) *no-sia-e   feka-tangka-tangka katogha*
      3sR-bite-it ADV-RED-firm   crow
      'the crow held it very firmly in his beak'

(301) *no-horo feka-rimba-rimba*   'he flew as fast as possible'
      3sR-fly ADV-RED-fast

(302) *mo-pilo   feka-tugha-tugha*   'close your eyes very tightly'
      IMP-close.eyes ADV-RED-hard

(303) *no-bisara-mo dahu feka-bhala-bhala*   'the dog spoke very loudly'
      3sR-speak-PF dog ADV-RED-big

As can be seen, the manner adverbial normally follows the verb, but in the imperative it may also precede the verb.
  Frequently, such a manner adverbial is inflected like a verb, that is, it is prefixed by the subject markers from class a-. The resulting construction is again a juxtaposition of a manner verb to a main verb:

(304) *no-feka-rimba kamokula-no Tongkuno ne-tudu   se-mie na-s[um]ampu*
      3sR-ADV-fast elder-POS   Tongkuno 3sR-order one-man 3sI-go.down
      'quickly the elder of Tongkuno ordered somebody to go down'

(305) *ne-lagu-mo no-feka-bhala-bhala Wadhe Kokanda*
      3sR-sing-PF 3sR-ADV-RED-big   Wadhe Kokanda
      'Wadhe Kokanda sang very loudly'

(306) *a-k[um]ala a-g[um]ampi welo karuku a-[m]eka-kodo-kodoho*
      1sI-go   1sI-move   in   forest 1sI-ADV-RED-far
      'I will go far away in the forest'

These *feka*-derivations may even receive pronominal direct object suffixes. In such cases, however, it is not always easy to distinguish between an inflected manner adverbial and a factitive derivation with *feka-* (see 8.2.1) which is juxtaposed to the preceding verb.

(307) *a-dh[um]aga-ni-e a-[m]eka-taa-taa-e*
      1sI-guard-TR-it   1sI-ADV/FACT-RED-good-it
      'I will guard it very well'

(308) *de-seli-ane kantoba do-feka-ndalo-ndalo-e*
      3pR-dig-her hole   3pR-ADV/FACT-RED-deep-it
      'they dug a very deep hole for her'

7.10.4. Combinations of peripheries

Although combinations of peripheries are not very frequent within one clause, especially at the beginning of a text or episode one may encounter both temporal and locative peripheries. The following examples show a few such clauses and also combinations of time and place with other peripheries such as beneficiary (with *so*) and comitative (with *bhe*).

(309) *wakutuu aitu ne Raha ini naando no-kura sepaliha guru-no*
     time   that loc Raha this be   3sR-few very   teacher-POS

     wamba   Inggirisi
     language English

     'at that time there were very few teachers of English here in Raha'

(310) *nae-tolu da-po-ghawa tora ne ini*
     3sI-three 1pI-REC-get again loc this
     'in three days we will meet here again'

(311) *mie anagha ne-late bhe robhine-no bhe ana-ndo*
     man that   3sR-live with woman-his with child-their

     do-li-dima we wiwi-no karumbu we maho-no tehi
     3pR-RED-five loc side-POS forest loc near-POS sea

     'this man lived with his wife and their five children
      on the edge of the forest near the sea'

(312) *dae-ampe   ka-mo-taha te molo   so kamokula-ndo*
     3pI-bring.up NOM-CA-ripe loc mountain for parent-their
     'they were to bring cooked food up to the mountains for their
      parents'

(313) *ne-ghoro kontu ne ka-angka-ha so ka-tandai-no na-s[um]uli*
     3sR-throw stone loc NOM-go-LOC for NOM-sign-POS 3sI-return
     'he dropped stones on the road to guide his way back'

7.11. Adverbs

In Chapter 3 adverbs were defined as a closed class of words that do not form the head of a phrase, that cannot take prefixes or suffixes and that can serve a variety of purposes. On the basis of their meaning, several subtypes of adverbs can be distinguished. The primary division, following Quirk and Greenbaum (1973), is that between adjuncts and disjuncts. Adjuncts are to some extent integrated into the structure of the clause, whereas disjuncts are semantically outside the clause; they convey the speaker's comment on or evaluation of the content of the communication.

7.11.1. Adjuncts

Adjuncts can be further subdivided according to semantic criteria. The following subclassification is only provisional and no attempt is made to be

exhaustive in the listing of adverbs. Illustrations of the use of adverbs in clauses will be given sparingly.

Types of adjuncts:

1. Temporal adverbs (see 7.10.1):

> *indewi*   'yesterday'
> *kansuru*   'continually'
> *tantigho*   'all the time'
> *sebantara*   'in a short time'
> *ndai-ndaino*   'in a while'

2. Manner adverbials with *feka-* (see 7.10.3).

The temporal adverb *kansuru* 'continually' and *feka*-derivations can receive object-inflection in a transitive clause. Possibly the adverbs are incorporated in the verbs. In the following examples there is no difference in meaning between the (a) and (b) constructions:

(314) a. *no-hamba-e   kansuru*   'he chased him continually'
         3sR-chase-him continually

      b. *no-hamba kansuru-e*   'he chased him continually'
         3sR-chase continually-him

(315) a. *no-tumbu-e feka-ghosa*   'he hit him hard'
         3sR-hit-him ADV-hard

      b. *no-tumbu feka-ghosa-e*   'he hit him hard'
         3sR-hit ADV-hard-him

3. Negators (see 8.5).

4. Intensifiers. These always follow a nominal or a verbal head:

> *sepaliha*   'very'
> *daano*   'indeed'
> *mpuu*   'indeed, really'
> *kotughu*   'true, real'

(316) *no-ghosa sepaliha buku-no*   'his bones are very strong'
       3sR-hard very   bone-his

(317) *no-mbaka daano*   'it is indeed nice'
       3sR-nice truly

(318) *gau-no   mpuu   na-gh[um]awa-e*   'he really wanted to get it'
       wish-his really 3sI-get-it

(319) *a-fumaa kotughu*   'I am really eating (not just
       1sR-eat true   playing)'

(320) *ina-ku   kotughu*   'my real mother'
       mother-my real

5. Focusing adverbs:

   dua   'also, too'
   tora   'again'
   deki, *kadeki*   'first'
   kaawu   'only'
   ampamo   'only, merely'
   niho   'just'

These also have to follow the nominal or verbal head to which they belong.
Within the clause, focusing adverbs follow the verb immediately; they must
precede a postverbal subject or object:

(321) *anoa no-sina-mo   dua*   'he went along as well'
      he   3sR-go.along-PF also

(322) *naewine da-k[um]ala tora we kaghotia*
      tomorrow 1pI-go   again loc beach
      'tomorrow we will go again to the beach'

(323) *dae-ngkora deki ne ini*   'we will sit here for a while'
      1pI-sit   first loc this

(324) *ta-no-tanda-tanda kaawu nunsu-no ne oe*
      JUST-3sR-RED-tap only beak-his loc water
      'he only tapped his beak on the water'

These focusing adverbs sometimes occur in unexpected places such as right in
the middle of a noun phrase. Apparently they may float into noun phrases and
break up such a constituent:

(325) *amba-no kontu, tamaka loso-no   kaawu kontu*
      word-his stone but   hole-POS only stone
      'he said it was a stone, but it was only a hole in a stone'

7.11.2. Disjuncts

Disjuncts are only loosely connected with the meaning of the clause; they
indicate the speaker's or narrator's point of view on the content of the
clause:

   hadae   'maybe, perhaps'
   tantumo   'of course'
   bhahi   'perhaps, possibly'
   sio-siomo   'hopefully'
   manansangia   'hopefully'
   labhi   'it is better if'
   ingka   'as you know, as you can see;
                                                  is not it?' (equivalent to Dutch
                                                immers, Latin *enim*)

(326) *hadae na-mate-mo kalei-ku*   'maybe my banana tree is about
      maybe 3sI-die-PF banana-my   to die'

(327) *tantumo   ihintu dua so ne-sambili-ndo   mie   bhari*
      of.course you   also FUT P.PART-speak-their people many
      'of course people will talk about you too'

(328) *bhahi a-[m]unda we se-weta-no   ini*
      maybe 1sI-jump loc one-side-A.PART this
      'maybe I could jump to this side'

(329) *sio-siomo pae-mo   da-marasai*   'hopefully we will suffer no
      hopefully FUT.no.more 1pI-suffer   more'

(330) *ingka no-mbaka*   'obviously it is nice; it is
      ENIM   3sR-nice   nice, isn't it?; don't you
                                            agree it is nice?'

(331) *ingka ama-mu*   'don't you know that he is
      ENIM   father-your   your father?'

(332) *labhi   a-s[um]uli we Raha*   'it would be better for me to
      better 1sI-return loc Raha   go back to Raha'

The word *kaasi* is also a disjunct. It is used very frequently in narrative texts and its function is to show empathy for the characters in the story. It is hard to translate, the closest equivalents being something like 'too bad for him/her', 'what a pity for him/her', 'the poor...'. However, these English equivalents tend to sound unnatural in a discourse.

  When the referent of *kaasi* is plural, it may receive the plural possessive marker *-ndo*. *Kaasi* may occur in various positions in the clause, but in the majority of cases it follows the verb or the postverbal subject:

(333) *o   kapoluka sa-ntaa   kaasi we panda*
      ART tortoise ONLY-wait pity loc bottom
      'all the time the poor tortoise was waiting down below'

(334) *miina da-ko-diu   kaasi-ndo*   'they did not move, the poor
      not   3pI-HAVE-move pity-their   things'

(335) *wulu-no   kadondo   no-tumbu kaasi*
      feather-POS woodpecker 3sR-grow pity
      'the feathers of the poor woodpecker were growing (again)'

7.12. Other peripheral elements

In this section I want to have a short look at a number of other elements that function at the clause periphery and that cannot be subsumed under other headings. These elements are vocatives, interjections and ideophones.

7.12.1. Vocatives

A vocative is a noun that is used to address a person directly in a conversation, for example in commands, requests, exclamations. A vocative bears no mark to distinguish it from a non-vocative; the interjection *o* may precede a vocative.

The following nouns are used for vocatives:

1. Proper names

2. Kinship terms:

   ama   'father'
   ina   'mother'
   awa   'grandparent'

3. Generic terms denoting persons:

   bhela   'friend' (only vocative)
   ghane   'boy' (only vocative)
   keda   'girl'

4. Verbs denoting qualities (no affixation):

   bhore   'stupid one'
   lolu   'fool'

Vocatives are usually found in clause-initial or clause-final position:

   (336) *ome-afa   itu ghane*?   'what are you doing, boy?'
         2sR-do.what that boy

   (337) *ae-ngko-ngkora ingka ama*   'I am just sitting down, father
         1sR-RED-sit   ENIM father   (as you can see)'

   (338) *o   sabhangka soba ghoro-kanau   dua bhe idi*!
         hey friend   try (IMP-)throw-me also with I
         'hey friend, please throw me one too'

   (339) *ne hamai o   kenta adhara*?   'where is the fish, horse?'
         loc where ART fish horse

   (340) *aitu, ghane-hi, kala   ghondo-hi-kanau-umu   bhake-no*
         now   boy-PLUR (IMP-)go (IMP-)look-TR-me-PLUR fruit-its
         'and now, boys, go and try to find its fruit for me'

Vocatives may be further emphasized by suffixing *-e* to the word (10.2.2). This is particularly common with kinship terms. This *-e* may be drawn out when said on a high tone and is used for calling somebody who is a long way off. Compare the *-e* on demonstratives in 5.5.8.

   (341) *ina-e,   tulumi-kanau*!   'mother, help me!'
         mother-EM (IMP-)help-me

   (342) *ama-eeee*!   'oh father!!'
         father-EM

7.12.2. Interjections

Two different kinds of interjections can be distinguished in Muna on a semantic basis. First, there is the type of interjection that is used to show emotions

(such as pain, fear, amazement). Second, there are interjections used for animals, either to call them or to chase them away.

   The following list is a sample of the most common emotive interjections in Muna, the intonation on which they are normally uttered and the emotions they convey.

aa	(mid fall)	disappointment, dejection
ee	(high fall)	1. disagreement
		2. amazement
haa	(high level)	fright, alarm, shock
hah	(low fall)	contempt, disbelief
o	(low level)	calling attention
aulee	(mid rise)	sorrow, regret
adede	(mid rise)	pain
inei	(high level)	surprise
kunae, *konae*		mild irritation (Dutch: *joh*)
ih	(mid fall)	physical effort

A number of morphologically complex structures also function as interjections, that is, as typical one-word clauses:

ala-itu	'there you are' (reproach after unheeded warning)
bholosi-no lalo	'you have only yourself to blame'
anoa-mo	'that is right; OK'
bhai-ane	'who knows?; no idea'
(r)unsa-ghoo-mo	'just leave it; let it be'

Examples in clauses (some interjections are not glossed):

(343) *aa, no-tumbu mba-leu-leu*   'ah, it is withering' (lit. 'it
     ah, 3sR-grow RATHER-RED-wither   grows witheringly')

(344) *ee, noafa o-angka-ghoo ne ini?*   'hey, why are you going this
     hey, why 2sR-go-PURP loc this   way?

(345) *ee, miina nao-ghosa*   'hey, he is not strong'
     hey, not   3sI-strong

(346) *haa, aitu beano a-rafo-ko-mo*   'boo! now I have finally
     boo! now unless 1sR-catch-you-PF   caught you'

(347) *o setani   nagha? hah, ka-bhari-no ne-fetingke-mu*
     ART evil.spirit that   ugh NOM-many-POS P.PART-hear-your
     'is that an evil spirit? Rubbish, you are hearing things'

(348) *aulee, miina a-l[um]ulusu*   'oh bother, I have not passed
     oh   not 1sI-pass   the exam'

(349) *alaitu; a-ghele-angko o-[m]omaa-e; aitu omo-saki*
     -       1sR-forbid-you 2sI-eat-it   now 2sR-sick
     'there you are, I told you not to eat it; now you are sick'

(350) *ih, ka-bhie-no!*   'oof, how heavy it is!'
     oof NOM-heavy-its

(351) *me-ngkora ne ini konae*   'why don't you sit down here'
      IMP-sit   loc this -

(352) *adede, no-lea   fotu-ku*   'ouch, my head hurts'
      ouch   3sR-hurt head-my

Certain words that belong to other word classes can be used as interjections.
Examples:

  ina-e   extreme pain or fright
                                         (lit. 'mother')
  hintu   shock, terror (lit. 'you')
  garaa   mild surprise (usually a
                                         conjunction introducing a
                                         new, somewhat unexpected
                                         event, see 9.11)

(353) *ina-e,   a-mate-mo*   'oh no, I am about to die'
      mother-EM 1sI-die-PF

(354) *ama-ku   hintu indewi   no-maho-mo no-finda-hi-e   oto*
      father-my you   yesterday 3sR-near-PF 3sR-step-TR-him car
      'oh boy, my father was almost run over by a car yesterday'

(355) *no-lente ana-mu.   Garaa!*   'your child is born. What a
      3sR-born child-your SURPR   surprise!'

The following list is a provisional list of interjections used to call or chase
away animals. As is the case in many languages, in Muna interjections show
phonologically irregular patterns (non-phonemic sounds such as the palato-
alveolar fricative *sy*, closed syllables and so on).

  koro-koro; krrrrrr   to call chickens
  sio, *siu*, *syo*, *sy*   to chase away chickens
  auuuu   to call dogs (< *dahu* 'dog')
  kokokoko   to call dogs
  'tut' (alveolar click), *mamamama*   to call cats (usually accom-
                                         panied by tapping on the ground)
  ekaaae   to call cats (< *bheka* 'cat')
  sigha   to chase away cats or dogs
  'nasalized ee'   to call goats
  'brrr' (bilabial trill)   to chase away goats, cows and
                                         horses
  puuae   to call horses
  huisy, *sei*, *haae*   to chase away wild pigs
  hia, *hela*   to chase away monkeys

Some of these interjections form the bases of verbs:

  ae-koro-koro   'I call chickens'
  ae-sio   'I chase chickens away by
                                          calling *sio*'
  ae-sigha bheka   'I chase away a cat by calling
                                          sigha'

7.12.3. Ideophones

In narrative texts the Muna language makes little use of ideophones. The only examples found are words expressing the sounds made by animals or instruments:

kaa-kaa	sound made by crows
kakurao	'cock-a-doodle-doo'
nduu-nduu	sound made by a gong

There are, however, many words that form the basis of a verbal derivation with *ko-* which have the meaning 'to make the sound of'. There are probably scores of these onomatopoeic verbs and the following list is a small sample of these:

no-ko-bhondu	sound of a falling coconut
no-ko-pisi	sound of a thin, flat surface hitting something else, to slap
no-ko-rangku	sound of falling rice, maize or stones
no-ko-rumba	sound of mice scampering in the attic, people walking on dry leaves
no-ko-rasa	sound made by people walking on dead leaves, dead branches in a forest
no-ko-peke	sound of wood (stick, board) being broken
no-ko-depa	sound made by chickens flapping their wings
no-ko-bheghe	sound of hitting clay or dough
no-ko-dangku	sound of two hard surfaces hitting each other; to knock, to tap, to stamp

Chapter 8

Clausal modifications

In Chapter 8 I will be concerned with a number of syntactic and morphological phenomena that modify simple clauses. Those modifications may be grouped under the following labels:
- valency changes; that is, the number of possible nuclear arguments of a certain predicate is affected. In the case of Muna we encounter transitivizing (8.1) and causative (8.2) affixes that add to the number of arguments, whereas detransitivizers (8.3) and reciprocals (8.4) reduce that number.
- polarity. Negation is discussed in 8.5.
- modality. So far, most examples have been statements. In 8.6, 8.7 and 8.8 I will discuss other modes, namely the interrogative, the imperative and the adhortative mode.

8.1. Transitivizing

A number of intransitive verbs can be made transitive by suffixing the verb root with *-Ci* (10.2.16), where C stands for any consonant apart from the voiced stops and the prenasalized consonants (see 2.8.4 for a discussion of these consonants). The resulting syntactic object can have a variety of semantic functions, often a locative or a petative ('move to get X') element.
  As for the verb-class membership, all derived transitive *Ci*-verbs belong to class ae-. Hence, we expect the application of the definiteness shift with definite objects. This, however, is only the case when the underived verb is a member of the a-class. If the underived verb is an ae-verb, there is no definiteness shift (see 4.6.2). Notice the following examples:

(1) a. *a-ghumu we tehi*   'I dive into the sea'
     1sR-dive loc sea

   b. *ae-ghumu-ti kunsi*   'I dive for a key'
     1sR-dive-TR key

   c. *a-ghumu-ti-e*   'I dive for it'
     1sR-dive-TR-it

   d. **ae-ghumu-ti-e*

(2)a. *ae-late   ne   ini*   'I live here'
     1sR-live loc this

   b. *ae-late-ghi lambu-no   ama-ku*   'I live in my father's house'
      1sR-live-TR house-POS father-my

   c. *ae-late-ghi-e*   'I live in it'
      1sR-live-TR-it

   d. **a-late-ghi-e*

When the underived verb is an ao-verb, the derived *Ci*-verb is still an ao-verb,
and hence no definiteness shift is involved:

   (3)a. *omo-ghae*   'you are crying'
        2sR-cry

      b. *omo-ghae-fi hae*?   'what are you crying for?'
         2sR-cry-TR   what

      c. *omo-ghae-fi-e*   'you are crying for it'
         2sR-cry-TR-it

The following list illustrates *Ci*-derivations showing the various allomorphs;
first person singular subject markers are left untranslated. For more examples
see 10.2.16.

   a-sola   'crawl on hands and knees'
   ae-sola-i   'crawl towards, approach care-
                                fully, spy on'

   a-angka   'go, stop at'
   ae-angka-i   'go for, stop at to get some-
                                thing'

   ao-ghae   'cry, weep'
   ao-ghae-fi   'cry for, bewail'

   a-leni   'swim'
   ae-leni-fi   'swim to get something'

   a-kala   'go'
   ae-kala-hi   'go to (somebody)'

   a-mai   'come'
   ae-mai-hi   'come to (somebody), visit'

   a-bhose   'row (a boat)'
   ae-bhose-ki   'row for'

   a-dhaga   'watch out'
   ae-dhaga-ni   'watch out for, guard over'

   a-dhala   'run' (intransitive)
   ae-dhala-ngi   'put in motion, execute'

```
a-hende                                'rise, go up'
ae-hende-pi                            'rise to get something'

a-donga                                'look upwards'
ae-donga-wi                            'look up to'
```

Examples in clauses:

(4) *o   polisi ne-sola-i   kasibu*   'the police crawled towards the
    ART police 3sR-crawl-TR thief   thief'

(5) *ae-angka-i kapulu ne bhai-ku*   'I go to my friend to get a
    1sR-go-TR machete loc friend-my   machete'

(6) *do-ghae-fi ana-ndo*   'they were weeping for their
    3sR-cry-TR child-their   child'

(7) *a-leni-fi   simbi-ku   mo-ndawu-no* 'I am swimming to find the
    1sR-swim-TR bracelet-my fall-A.PART   bracelet I dropped'

(8) *ae-kala-hi mie   [m]ande-no*   'I go to a knowledgeable man'
    1sR-go-TR   person know-A.PART

(9) *no-mai-hi-kanau isa-ku*   'my older sibling came to me'
    3sR-come-TR-me older.sibling-my

(10) *dhaga-ni   nea-no   kamokula-mu* 'watch over your parents' name'
    (IMP-)guard-TR name-POS parent-your

(11) *o   kapala desa   no-dhala-ngi parinta-no bupati*
    ART head   village 3sR-run-TR   order-POS bupati
    'the village head executes the orders from the bupati'

(12) *de-bhose-ki liwuto Munante*   'they rowed towards the island
    3pR-row-TR   island Munante   of Munante'

(13) *ne-hende-pi roo-no   kalei*   'he rose (and stretched his arm)
    3sR-rise-TR leaf-POS banana   to get a banana leaf'

(14) *sadhia ne-donga-wi   kalambe-hi*   'he is always looking at girls'
    always 3sR-look.up-TR girl-PLUR

8.2. Causatives

Causative constructions are also valency-extending. An argument is added to the predicate that is in some way causally involved in the state of affairs designated in the predicate. That extra argument, usually called 'causer', is the new subject of the clause, whereas the old subject, called the 'causee', moves to a new syntactic position, usually the direct object position.

  In Muna four different types of causative constructions can be distinguished, depending on the causative prefix and the syntactic character of the verbal base:

1. causatives on stative intransitive bases marked by *feka-* (factitives);
2. causatives on dynamic intransitive bases marked by *fo-*;

3. causatives on transitive bases marked by *fo-;*
4. locutional causatives on transitive bases marked by *fe-*. This last construction is in some ways deviant from true causatives.

8.2.1. Factitives

A factitive derivation on a stative intransitive verbal base is marked by the prefix *feka-* (10.2.5) on the verb. All factitive derivations belong to the ae-class, irrespective of the verb class membership of the basic underived verb (first person subject markers again untranslated):

ao-nggela	'be clean'	*ae-feka-nggela*	'clean'
a-mate	'die, be dead'	*ae-feka-mate*	'kill'
ae-ware	'broad'	*ae-feka-ware*	'broaden'
ao-ghosa	'hard, strong'	*ae-feka-ghosa*	'harden'

The causee is expressed as a direct object, as shown by the use of the direct object pronominal suffixes. Definite objects trigger the definiteness shift:

(15) *ae-feka-nggela karete*   'I am cleaning the yard'
     1sR-FACT-clean yard

(16) *a-feka-nggela-e*   'I am cleaning it'
     1sR-FACT-clean-it

(17) *feka-rimba   bhengkala-mu*!   'quicken your pace!'
     (IMP-)FACT-fast step-your

(18) *ome-feka-mate manu*   'you killed a chicken'
     2sR-FACT-die chicken

The basis of such a *feka*-derivation may also be a reduplicated verbal base, or a base to which is added the suffix *-hi*. In the latter case the meaning of the resultant state is possibly softened:

(19) *ina-ku   no-feka-bhala-bhala galu-no*
     mother-my 3sR-FACT-RED-big   field-her
     'my mother has made her field much bigger'

(20) *feka-roko-roko-e*!   'make it very sharp!'
     (IMP-)FACT-RED-sharp-it

(21) *no-feka-lalesa-hi-e*   'he made it (rather?) wide'
     3sR-FACT-wide-PLUR-it

(22) *do-feka-laa-hi   sau   amaitu*   'they made the stick (rather?)
     3pR-FACT-straight-PLUR stick that   straight'

8.2.2. Causatives on dynamic intransitive bases

The second causative construction is made on the basis of dynamic intransitive verbal bases and is marked by the prefix *fo-* (10.2.6), which again pulls all the derived verbs into the ae-class. The meaning of the resulting causatives has a wide range: it varies from a permissive causative ('let') to a direct causative, and in addition it may also imply a moment of speech (that is, a

locutional causative). Only in a few cases have I tried to show these ranges of meaning in the translation.

a-futaa	'laugh'	*ae-fo-futaa*	'let laugh, make laugh'
a-suli	'return, go home'	*ae-fo-suli*	'return (tr), give back, bring back'
ao-lodo	'sleep'	*ae-fo-lodo*	'make sleep, put to bed'
ae-ngkora	'sit'	*ae-fo-ngkora*	'make sit, put down'

In this case the causee is also expressed as a direct object, which may trigger the definiteness shift. Examples in clauses:

(23) *ae-fo-suli   kantalea*   'I return the lamp'
     1sR-CAUS-return lamp

(24) *miina da-[m]o-sampu-e   ne   hale*   'they did not put her down on
     not   3pI-CAUS-go.down-her loc floor   the floor'

(25) *a-[m]o-wula-ko,   maka wula*
     1sI-CAUS-open.eyes-you then (IMP-)open.eyes
     'if I order you to open your eyes, then open your eyes'

(26) *miina nao-mpona, do-fo-kawi-da-mo*
     not   3sR-long   3pR-CAUS-marry-them-PF
     'not long afterwards, they were married'

As is the case with underived transitive verbs, an indirect object pronominal suffix may be added to these causative derivations, indicating typical IO functions:

(27) *ae-fo-suli-angko   se-riwu*   'I return rp 1,000 to you'
     1sR-CAUS-return-you one-thousand

(28) *ne-fo-ngkora-ane se-piri*   'she put a plate before him
     3sR-CAUS-sit-him one-plate   (for his benefit)'

As was demonstrated in 7.9.3, the indirect object pronominal suffixes also serve to mark a direct object pronoun followed by a full indirect object. This is glossed 'IO/him', 'IO/you' and so on. In such cases the definiteness shift is triggered:

(29) *a-fo-lodo-angko   tula-tula*   'I send you to sleep by means
     1sR-CAUS-sleep-IO/you story   of a story'

8.2.3. Causatives on transitive bases

When a causative verb is formed on the basis of a transitive verb, the prefix *fo-* is used again, and the derived verb belongs to the ae-class:

a-fumaa	'eat'	*ae-fo-fumaa*	'feed'
ae-ada	'borrow'	*ae-fo-ada*	'lend'
ae-ala	'take'	*ae-fo-ala*	'cause to take'
ae-buri	'write'	*ae-fo-buri*	'cause to write'

In addition to the terms 'causer' and 'causee' I would like to introduce another term, namely 'causand', for the direct object of the underived verb in a causative construction. In the sentence 'John had Mary write a letter', 'John' is the causer, 'Mary' the causee and 'letter' the causand.

When the causee and the causand are both full nouns, the causee is expressed as an indirect object, by adding the suffix *-ghoo* to the verb. The causee follows the verb immediately, and the causand often receives the article *o*:

(30) *ae-fo-fumaa-ghoo dahu o   ghoti*   'I feed rice to the dog'
     1sR-CAUS-eat-IO dog ART rice

(31) *a-fo-ada-ghoo   isa-ku   se-riwu*
     1sR-CAUS-borrow-IO older.sibling-my one-thousand
     'I lend rp 1,000 to my brother'

It is more usual to find these constructions with object agreement, that is, the causee is expressed in a pronominal suffix and the full causee NP is put in clause-final position:

(32) *a-fo-fumaa-ane ghoti o   dahu*   'I feed rice to the dog'
     1sR-CAUS-eat   rice ART dog

(33) *a-fo-ada-ane   se-riwu   isa-ku*
     1sR-CAUS-borrow one-thousand older.sibling-my
     'I lend rp 1,000 to my brother'

The causee in this causative construction can either be expressed by a direct or by an indirect object pronominal suffix:

(34) a. *a-fo-fumaa-angko kalei*   'I feed you a banana'
        1sR-CAUS-eat-you banana

     b. *a-fo-fumaa-ko   kalei*   'I feed you a banana'
        1sR-CAUS-eat-you banana

(35) a. *a-fo-ala-ane   sau*   'I cause him to get wood'
        1sR-CAUS-get-him wood

     b. *a-fo-ala-e   sau*   'I cause him to get wood'
        1sR-CAUS-get-him wood

It is not clear whether the difference between these syntactic realizations corresponds with a difference in meaning. The possibility of expressing the causee as a direct object only exists when the causand is a full NP or not present at all. When the causand is a pronominal suffix, the causee must be an indirect object, since there cannot be two direct object pronominal suffixes on one verb:

(36) a. *a-fo-fumaa-angko-e*   'I feed it to you'
        1sR-CAUS-eat-you-it

     b. **a-fo-fumaa-ko-e*

Notice that a definite causee triggers the definiteness shift, whether it is syntactically a direct or an indirect object, as in (34) and (35). The latter

is surprising, since definite indirect objects do not trigger the definiteness shift in basic, underived constructions.

8.2.4. Locutional causatives

The fourth causative type in Muna is different from the others. It is formed only on the basis of transitive verbs, marked by the prefix *fe-* (10.2.4), which draws all these derivations into the ae-class. Its meaning is more specific than a *fo*-causative. A *fe*-causative implies that the causer has interacted verbally with the causee with the purpose of having him or her perform an action for the benefit of the causer. Hence the name 'locutional causative'. The normal translation of a locutional causative is therefore 'ask, request, command to do X for the benefit of the subject'. The degree of politeness and compulsion (request versus order) is left unspecified.

ae-buri	'write'	*ae-fe-buri*	'ask/order to write'
ae-sangke	'lift up'	*ae-fe-sangke*	'ask/order to lift up'
ae-tulumi	'help'	*ae-fe-tulumi*	'ask/order to help'
ae-gholi	'buy'	*ae-fe-gholi*	'ask/order to buy'

The causee in a locutional causative is expressed in a prepositional phrase with the preposition *ne*, the usual preposition with verbs of speaking (see 6.1.3). The causand is a direct object, as witnessed by the direct object pronominal suffixes, but notice that the definiteness shift is not triggered by these direct objects, at least not in the Katobu dialect. Possibly other Muna dialects also require the definiteness shift here. Apparently its status as direct object is different from an underived direct object. If the verbal base is an ao-verb, the class-affix *-mo-* surfaces (see 10.2.28).

(37) *ae-fe-buri   sura   ne ina-ku*   'I ask my mother to write a
     1sR-L.CAUS-write letter loc mother-my letter (for me)'

(38) a. *ae-fe-buri-e*   'I ask that it be written'
        1sR-L.CAUS-write-it

   b. **a-fe-buri-e*

(39) *ne-fe-mo-kanu-ghoo-mo   bhaku-no   ne robhine-no*
     3sR-L.CAUS-CA-prepare-IO-PF provisions-his loc woman-his
     'he ordered his wife to prepare his provisions again'

(40) *ne-fe-tulumi   ne inodi*   'she asked me to help her'
     3sR-L.CAUS-help loc I

(41) *ne-fe-kakompo-mo   tora bhaku-no*
     3sR-L.CAUS-wrap.up-PF again provision-his
     'he ordered (her) to wrap up his provisions'

(42) *ne-fe-owa   ka-feena   we lambu-no kalambe*
     3sR-L.CAUS-bring NOM-question loc house-POS girl
     'he requested that the marriage gifts be brought to the girl's house'

In the examples above it is not always easy to translate the component 'for the benefit of the causer' properly, but this meaning aspect is clearly present. In (37), for example, the implied meaning is that it is the causer's

task to write a letter; because he is unable or unwilling to do so, help is
requested from his mother and so the causer instigates and benefits from the
action.

   If there is no causand, the meaning of this causative changes. The causer and
the causand are understood to be co-referential and a medio-passive meaning
emerges:

   (43) *ne-fe-sangke*   'she asked to be lifted up'
        3sR-L.CAUS-lift.up

   (44) *ae-fe-fumaa*   'I ask to be eaten'
        1sR-L.CAUS-eat

   (45) *Wa Ode Ana ne-fe-tulumi   ne-fe-suli-ghoo   te lambu-no*
        Wa Ode Ana 3sR-L.CAUS-help 3sR-L.CAUS-return-IO loc house-her
        'Wa Ode Ana asked for help to be brought to her house'

   (46) *ne-fe-ato   na-k[um]ala nae-kabusa we laa*
        3sR-L.CAUS-accompany 3sI-go   3sI-urinate loc river
        'she asked to be accompanied to go and urinate in the river'

It is possible to add an indirect object to a *fe*-causative, which can signal a
beneficiary or a recipient, but never the causee:

   (47) *ae-fe-buri-angko   sura*   'I ask (someone) to write a
        1sR-L.CAUS-write-you letter   letter for you'

   (48) *ae-fe-gholi-angko pae ne ai-ku*
        1sR-L.CAUS-buy-you rice loc younger.sibling-my
        'I order my younger brother to buy rice for you'

There is a crucial difference then between (47) and (49):

   (49) *a-fo-buri-angko   sura*   'I have you write a letter'
        1sR-CAUS-write-you letter

In (47) *-angko* signals the beneficiary, whereas in (49) *-angko* refers to the
causee. In (47) and in (48) the meaning component 'for the benefit of the
causer', however hard to translate, is still present.

8.2.5. Combinations of causatives

The following examples of causative stacking were found in texts, and others
were elicited from speakers of the language. The latter case is marked as such.

1. *fo-* + *feka-* (elicited):

   (50) *ne-fo-feka-ghosa*   'he causes to strengthen'
        3sR-CAUS-FACT-strong

2. *fe-* + *feka-*:

   (51) *ne-fe-feka-roko-e*   'she ordered it to be sharpened'
        3sR-L.CAUS-FACT-sharp-it

3. *fo-* + *fo-* (elicited; some disagreement on acceptability and the definiteness shift):

   (52)*a/ae-fo-fo-lodo   ana-ku   ne ina-ku*
      1sR-CAUS-CAUS-sleep child-my loc mother-my
      'I let my mother put my child to bed'

   (53)*ne/no-fo-fo-ndawu-e*   'he caused it to be dropped'
      3sR-CAUS-CAUS-fall-it

4. *fe-* + *fo-*:

   (54)*Ade Wuna dae-fe-fo-limba-e   we saliwu*
      Ade Wuna 1pI-L.CAUS-CAUS-go.out loc abroad
      'we will order Ade Wuna to be sent abroad'

   (55)*ae-fe-fo-lodo   ne ina-ku*   'I ask to be put to bed by my
      1sR-L.CAUS-CAUS-sleep loc mother-my   mother'

5. *fo-* + *fe-* (elicited; questionable):

   (56)*?a-fo-fe-buri-e*   'I caused him to order to write'
      1sR-CAUS-L.CAUS-write-him

6. *fe-* + *fe-* (elicited; questionable):

   (57)*?ne-fe-fe-gholi   pae*   'she ordered to order to buy
      3sR-L.CAUS-L.CAUS-buy rice   rice'

To end this section I will give two causative paradigms on transitive verbs:

   a-fumaa   'eat'
   ae-fo-fumaa   'feed'
   ae-fe-fumaa   1.'order to eat'
                              2.'ask to be eaten'

   ae-fe-fo-fumaa   'order to feed'

   ae-ada   'borrow'
   ae-fo-ada   'lend'
   ae-fe-ada   1.'order to borrow'
                              2.'ask to be borrowed'

   ae-fe-fo-ada   'order to lend'
   ?ae-fo-fe-ada   'cause to order to borrow'
   ?ae-fe-fe-ada   'order to order to borrow'

8.3. Detransitivizing

It is very striking that Muna should have another prefix *fo-* (10.2.7) which is valency-reducing. To distinguish it from the causative *fo-* I will call it *fo$_2$-*. It is attached to transitive bases and has the effect of replacing the object.

   Apart from its syntactic behaviour, *fo_2*- differs from the causative *fo*- (*fo_1*)
morphologically:

1. *fo_1*- is an ae-class prefix, *fo_2*- an a-class prefix:

   ae-ada   'I borrow'
   ae-fo_1-ada   'I lend'

   ae-pongko   'I kill'
   a-fo_2-pongko   'I kill X'

2. The irrealis allomorph of *fo_1*- is *[m]o*-, but *fo_2*- does not change:

   no-fo_1-suli-e   'he returns it'
   na-[m]o-suli-e   'he will return it'

   no-fo_2-pongko   'he kills X'
   na-fo_2-pongko   'he will kill X'

This detransitivizing *fo_2*- is employed in general statements when the object is
left unspecified; the usual implication is that the object is human. From the
context it appears that the reference is often to first person inclusive 'we',
a category for which no pronominal suffixes are available (see 4.8.3). When the
verb is also suffixed with *-ghoo*, *fo_2*- refers to the indirect object.
Examples in clauses:

   (58) *do-tanda-mo deki do-fo-kadiu*   'they started by giving a bath'
        3pR-begin-PF first 3pR-DETR-bath

   (59) *lapasi aitu do-fo-walu-mo*   'after that came the putting into
        after   that 3pR-DETR-shroud-PF   a shroud'

   (60) *sio-siomo na-fo-waa-ghoo   ka-ghosa*   'hopefully He will give us
        hopefully 3sI-DETR-give-IO NOM-strong strength'

   (61) *ingka na-fo-sampu-niki   tora o   gurudha*
        ENIM 3sI-DETR-come.down-TR again ART garuda
        'don't you know that the garuda will come down upon us again'

   (62) *na-s[um]ampu dua robhine-no na-fo-fumaa*
        3sI-come.down also woman-his 3sI-DETR-eat
        'his wife will also come down to eat us'

The resulting predicate with *fo_2*- cannot be extended with a direct object,
neither as a full noun nor as a pronominal suffix:

   (63) a. *o   adhara no-fo-sia*   'a horse bites (people)'
           ART horse 3sR-DETR-bite

        b. **no-fo-sia   mie*
           3sR-DETR-bite people

        c. **no-fo-sia-e*
           3sR-DETR-bite-him

Notice that in (61) the verb *sampu* is made transitive by means of the suffix *-niki* and detransitivized by the *fo₂-* prefix.

It is not unusual to find combinations of the detransitivizing *fo-* and the causative prefixes *feka-* or *fo-*:

(64) *no-fo-feka-roko*   'he sharpens people's wits,
     3sR-DETR-CAUS-sharp   raises their spirits'

(65) *naando no-fo-fo-lodo*   'he is still busy putting
     be   3sR-DETR-CAUS-sleep   someone to bed'

(66) *lahae so fo-fo-sudhu-no*?
     who   FUT DETR-CAUS-right.position-A.PART
     'who will put the body in the right position (in the grave)?'

In combination with the causative prefix, the predicate may be extended with an indirect object (marked by *-ghoo*) indicating the instrument or the means of the action:

(67) *a-fo-fo-lodo-ghoo   suara-ku*   'I put (people) to sleep with
     1sR-DETR-CAUS-sleep-IO voice-my   my voice'

(68) *no-fo-fo-insafu-ghoo   ilimiu-no*   'he made (people) conscious
     3sR-DETR-CAUS-aware-IO knowledge-his   through his (magical) knowledge'

Finally, the verb *fo-guru* 'teach' must be mentioned here, since it appears to be exceptional. *Fo-guru* is related to *po-guru* 'learn' and to *guru* 'teacher'; it is syntactically a causative verb, in which the causee (the pupil) is expressed in an indirect object and the causand (the subject taught) in a direct object:

(69) *a-[m]o-guru-angko dhoa*   'I will teach you a magical
     1sI-CAUS-learn-you charm   charm'

When the causee is a pronominal suffix and the causand a full noun, the causee may also be realized as a direct object pronominal suffix for reasons that are not clear (compare also examples (34) and (35) in 8.2.3):

(70) *a-[m]o-guru-ko   dhoa*   'I will teach you a magical
     1sI-CAUS-learn-you charm   charm'

(71) *no-fo-guru-e/ane   wamba   Inggirisi* 'he taught him English'
     3sR-CAUS-learn-him language English

When the causee is not mentioned, the detransitivizing *fo-* is used. Notice, however, that *fo-* replaces an indirect object in this case, and not the usual direct object:

(72) *a-fo-fo-guru   wamba   Walanda* 'I teach Dutch'
     1sR-DETR-CAUS-learn language Holland

When the suffix *-ghoo* is added, it may signal the subject taught or the means of instruction:

(73) *a-fo-fo-guru-ghoo*   *wamba*   *Malau* 1.'I teach Indonesian'
     1sR-DETR-CAUS-learn-IO language Malay 2.'I teach in Indonesian'

This indirect object may be pronominalized, and the causee (the pupils) may re-emerge in a prepositional phrase:

(74) *a-fo-fo-guru-ane*   *ne andoa*   1. 'I teach it (=Indonesian)
     1sR-DETR-CAUS-learn-it loc they   to them'
                                      2. 'I teach them in it (=in
                                         Indonesian)'

8.4. Reciprocals

Another valency-decreasing strategy is the formation of a reciprocal predicate by means of the prefix *po-* (10.2.41). Such a *po*-derivation is necessarily intransitive and belongs to the a-class. With simple bases a dual subject is indicated, whereas a reduplicated base signals a plural subject. Normally *po*-derivations must have a non-singular subject:

(75) *ta-po-wora*   'we (ex) see each other'
     1eR-REC-see

(76) *do-po-semba*   'they (2) kick each other'
     3pR-REC-kick

(77) *do-po-fo-guru*   'they (2) teach each other'
     3pR-REC-CAUS-learn

(78) *do-po-feta-fetapa*   'they (>2) ask each other'
     3pR-REC-RED-ask

(79) *do-suli*   *we* *lambu do-po-feena-mo* 'when they (2) came home they
     3pR-return loc house 3pR-REC-ask-PF   asked each other'

(80) *do-po-logo-logo-mo*   *da-r[um]ako-e ndoke amaitu*
     3pR-REC-RED-compete-PF 3pI-catch-him monkey that
     'they competed with each other to catch that monkey'

If the reciprocity concerns the indirect object or a possessive relationship, the *po*-derivation is suffixed with *-ghoo*:

(81) *do-po-rabu-ghoo bhangka*   'they made a boat for each other'
     3pR-REC-make-IO boat

(82) *da-po-ka-tapu-ghoo bheta ghane*   'we will bind our sarongs
     1pI-REC-KA-bind-IO sarong boy   together, boy!'

(83) *do-po-ada-ghoo*   *boku-ndo*   'they borrowed each other's
     3pR-REC-borrow-IO book-their   books'

Occasionally, a reciprocal *po*-derivation is found with a singular subject. Since *po*-derivations are syntactically intransitive, the patient is either expressed as an indirect object (suffix *-ghoo*, see 7.9), or in a prepositional phrase with *bhe* (see 6.2.1). The difference between this singular 'reciprocal'

clause and the unmarked non-singular is that in this case the action is viewed
from one actant only, although it is clear that the action is reciprocal:

(84) *no-po-ghawa-ghoo bhai-no*   'he met his friend'
     3sR-REC-get-IO   friend-his

(85) *no-po-semba bhe isa-no*   'he and his brother kicked each
     3sR-REC-kick with older.sibling-his   other'

8.5. Negation

In Muna the negative mode is formed by adding a negator (negative adverb) to a
statement. Five different negators (with minor variations) can be distinguished
in Muna. They correlate with different aspects of the syntax of the language,
such as verbal versus nominal negation, realis versus irrealis mood, finite
versus participle form and indicative versus imperative mode. The five negators
are:

1. *miina*   (past, present)
2. *pa/pae/paise*   (future)
3. *pata* (*tapa*)   (participles, *ka-/-ha*-derivations)
4. *suano*   (nominal)
5. *ko/koe/koise*   (imperative)

These negators will be illustrated one by one in this section, with the
exception of *ko/koe/koise*, which is discussed in 8.7.4. Other words involving a
negative meaning component are treated in 8.5.5.

8.5.1. The negator *miina*

When a verbal clause referring to the past or present is negated, the word
miina is put before the verb. The effects on the verb are twofold:

1. The verb form changes from realis to irrealis (see 4.5). It is impossible
   for *miina* to be followed by a realis verb form. Note, however, that the
   irrealis in this case still refers to the past or present. Only the first
   verb after the negator is affected by this irrealis shift.

2. The verb is often (but not always) suffixed with the clitic *-a*.

(86) *miina na-[m]ande-ha-ane lahae ama-no*
     not   3sI-know-INT-it   who   father-his
     'he did not know who his father was'

(87) *A   Ntaapo-apo miina na-s[um]ampu*   'Ntaapo-apo did not come down'
     Art Ntaapo-apo not   3sI-go.down

(88) *miina na-[m]ooli-a no-foni-si-e-a*   'he was not able to climb it'
     not   3sI-able-CL   3sR-go.up-TR-it-CL

In less careful speech *miina* may be shortened to *na*, and occasionally it is
even left out altogether, the irrealis then being the only indication for

the negation. This last usage is relatively rare, possibly because of its
ambiguity (does the irrealis point towards negation or the future?).

(89) *na   nao-afa-a*   'it does not matter'
     not 3sI-be.what-CL

(90) *dadihano-mo na-ko-katoo   wa   ambe bhe   hintu-umu itu;*
     so-PF   3sI-HAVE-partner ART girl with you-PLUR   that

     no-ko-katoo-ghoo   ndoke
     3sR-HAVE-partner-IO monkey

     'so the girl does not have you (pl) as her marriage partner, her
      marriage partner is a monkey'

A number of intensifying and focusing adverbs may modify the negator *miina*, in
which case they occupy a position between the negator and the verb:

(91) *miina sepaliha na-poka-lala-lala-mi-e   ina-no*
     not   very   3sI-POKA-RED-help-TR-her mother-his
     'he never ever helped his mother'

(92) *tula-tula-no miina siaghe nae-ntale-a*
     story-its   not   too   3sI-clear-CL
     'the story is not too clear'

(93) *miina tora bhe mo-bhalo-e*   'again there was nobody who
     not   again be A.PART-answer-him   answered him'

When the negation is to be stressed, the negator is put in clause-final
position; the verb is still in the irrealis. In some cases *miina* is found both
preceding the verb and in clause-final position:

(94) *maka a-[m]afa-ane? a-mbaraka(-a)   miina*
     then 1sI-do.what-it 1sI-climb.well(-CL) not
     'what can I do about it? I cannot climb well!'

(95) *na-[m]oni te lani, miina dua*   'he has not gone to the sky
     3sI-go.up loc sky   not   also   either'

(96) *miina bhe ka-lele-ha   dua miina*   'there was no place to cross
     not   be NOM-cross-LOC also not   either'

In existential clauses with *bhe*, *miina* is also the regular negator. The noun
following *bhe* can be a regular noun (97) or a nominal derivation as in (96) and
(98), a deverbal noun (root form) as in (99), a reduplicated noun as in (100)
or a *ka-/-ha*-derivation marking emphasis as in (101):

(97) *miina bhe doi   ka-rubu-ku-a*   'I do not have any change'
     not   be money NOM-small-my-CL

(98) *ta-no-po-mate-ghoo-mo miina sepaliha bhe ka-ghuri*
     TA-3sR-PO-die-IO-PF   not   very   be NOM-heal
     '(the wound) never healed as long as she lived' (lit. 'until she
      died there was absolutely no healing')

(99) *miina bhe fetapa no-ala-mo   wulu-no fotu se-tangke-no   maitu*
      not   be ask   3sR-take-PF hair-POS head one-CLAS-A.PART that
      'without asking she took the hair'

(100) *miina bhe hae-hae*   'there is nothing'
      not   be RED-what

(101) *miina bhe ka-parasaea-ha-no Raja Mpitiri*
      not   be NOM-believe-HA-POS Raja Mpitiri
      'Raja Mpitiri did not believe it at all'

This *bhe* may also be found at the beginning of a verbal clause, while *miina*
occurs in clause-final position. Such a construction denotes contra-expectation
and can be adequately translated with 'even':

(102) *sampe-sampe bhe ae-epe   ka-wule   miina*
      so.that   with 1sI-feel NOM-tired not
      'so that I did not even feel tired'

(103) *bhe   na-[m]ealai-da   miina me-ngkora-ngkora-no*
      with 3sI-ask.permission-them not   -RED-sit-A.PART
      'he did not even ask those who were sitting for permission to leave'

The suffixes *-mo* and *-ho* can be added to *miina*, resulting in *miina-mo* 'no more'
and *miina-ho* 'not yet':

(104) *o   kadondo   miina-mo na-[m]ooli-a   no-horo*
      ART woodpecker no.more 3sI-able-CL   3sR-fly
      'the woodpecker was no longer able to fly'

(105) *no-suli   te wale, miina-ho bhe ka-gau-a*
      3sR-return loc hut   not.yet be NOM-cook-CL
      'when she came home, the food was not ready yet'

(106) *miina-ho siaghe na-ro-rondo*   'it is not too dark yet'
      not.yet   too   3sI-RED-dark

Finally, like the existential verb *naando*, the negator *miina* can also receive
object-inflection, that is, it functions as a kind of verb of which the subject
is expressed in direct object pronominal suffixes (see 4.8.1).

(107) *garaa no-ghondo-hi ndoke, miina-e-mo*
      SURPR 3sR-look-TR   monkey not-him-PF
      'he looked for the monkey, but he was no longer there'

8.5.2. The negators *pa*, *pae*, *paise*

When a verbal clause referring to the future is negated, the negator *pa* or *pae*
is used, which seem to have no difference in meaning. Occasionally *pe* is found,
possibly a dialectal form. Verbs following these negators are also in the
irrealis form. With vowel-initial verb forms *pa* may be cliticized to the verb:
pa-o- > *p-o-* (see 3.1.4).

(108) *pa   a-k[um]ala we sikola naewine*
      FUT.not 1sI-go   loc school tomorrow
      'I will not go to school tomorrow'

(109) *ane pa   na-r[um]ato, fo-rato-kanau*
      if FUT.not 3sI-come   (IMP-)CAUS-arrive-me
      'if he does not come, please let me know'

(110) *ingka pe   na-ko-ghuluha   da-s[um]angke pae*
      ENIM   FUT.not 3sI-HAVE-meaning 1pI-appoint   rice
      'can't you see it is senseless to appoint the rice (as king)?'

(111) *p-o-k[um]ala*?   'won't you go?'
      FUT.not-2sI-go

The emphatic *paise* is used in one-word clauses as a response to a question
about a future state or event. In such a case *pa* is ungrammatical. *Paise* is
also found within clauses in the same position as *pa*:

(112) *A: na-gh[um]use naewine?*   *B: paise / *pa(e)*
          3sI-rain   tomorrow   FUT.not
       A: 'will it rain tomorrow?'   B: 'it won't'

(113) *peda hae la-ndoke-la-ndoke, paise   o-mai-a*?
      like what RED-ART-monkey   FUT.not 2sI-come-CL
      'how about you, monkey, won't you come along?'

The suffixes *-mo* and *-ho* can only be added to the form *pae*, not to *pa*.

(114) *aitu pae-mo   a-[m]o-lapa-ko*   'now I won't let you go anymore'
      now FUT.no.more 1sI-CAUS-leave-you

(115) *no-tanda ghole itu pae-mo   da-marasai*
      3sR-begin day   that FUT.no.more 1pI-suffer
      'from today we will suffer no more'

(116) *pae-ho   siaghe na-bhari-a   so mai-no   naewine*
      FUT.not.yet too   3sI-many-CL FUT come-A.PART tomorrow
      'there are not many yet who will come tomorrow'

In addition *pa*/*pae* and *paise* are used in counterfactual statements, often
following the conjunction *ane* 'if':

(117) *ane pae   ao-limpu, lima taghu-mo* 'if I have not forgotten (it),
      if FUT.not 1sI-forget five year-PF   it was five years ago'

(118) *ane paise, dae-karadhaa hae*?   'if not, why should one work?'
      if FUT.not 3pI-work   what

(119) *no-kotughu bhe paise, tula-tula-no peda aini*
      3sR-true   with FUT.not story-its   like this
      'true or not, this is the story'

(120) *ane pa   bhai-ku, miina-mo nae-wanta fekiri-ku*
      if FUT.not friend-my no.more 3sI-long thinking-my
      'if it had not been for my friend, I would not have thought long'

For other examples and the usage of *sa-pae*, see 9.13.
  The following combinations of *pa(e)* with adverbs occur:

  pae dua   'of course, understandably'
  pa ingka   'no problem, take it easy'

(121) *pae   dua nao-sabha, o karada maitu o   ka-ada*
      FUT.not also 3sI-worry ART spear that ART NOM-borrow
      'of course he was worried, the spear was borrowed'

(122) *pa   ingka, ta-me-pili-mo   itu*
      FUT.not ENIM   JUST-IMP-choose-PF that
      'no problem, just take your choice'

8.5.3. The negators *pata*, *tapa*

Pata is the negator before three different non-finite verbal derivations,
namely active and passive participles and *ka-/-ha* reason clauses. The suffixes
-mo and *-ho* may again be added to this negator.

1. *Pata* with active participle (see 9.1.1 and 10.2.51):

(123) *garaa giu   pata s[um]aha-no maitu miina na-ti-perapi*
      SURPR something NEG   legal-A.PART that not   3sI-ACC-enjoy
      'something unlawful cannot be enjoyed'

(124) *do-bhari pata l[um]ulusu-no*   'there were many who did not pass
      3pR-many NEG   pass.exam-A.PART   the exam'

(125) *no-foroghu ne sere   bulawa pata ko-ka-songko-no*
      3sR-drink loc kettle golden NEG HAVE-NOM-close-A.PART
      'she drank from a golden kettle without a lid'

(126) *ta-anoa-mo pata-ho [m]unda-no*   'only he had not jumped yet'
      JUST-he-PF NEG-yet jump-A.PART

2. *Pata* with passive participle (see 9.1.2 and 10.2.33):

(127) *foo   aini pata ni-uta-ku*   'this is not a mango that I
      mango this NEG P.PART-pick-my   have picked'

(128) *ta-se-mie   pata ne-bhasi-ndo*
      STILL-one-person NEG P.PART-call-their
      'there was still one man who had not been called'

3. *Pata* with *ka-/-ha* reason clauses (see 9.15 and 10.2.18):

(129) *pata-mo ka-pande-ha-ndo   anahi-hi   maitu*
      NEG-PF NOM-know-REAS-their child-PLUR that
      'that is the reason those children are not clever'

(130) *pata-ho ka-mai-ha-no   rampano no-saki ana-no*
      NEG-yet NOM-come-REAS-his because 3sR-sick child-his
      'the reason he has not come yet is that his child is ill'

Certain focusing adverbs may intervene between the negator and the verb form:

(131) *pata tora ka-mai-ha-no   rampano miina-ho na-ko-doi*
      NEG   again NOM-come-REAS-his because not.yet 3sI-HAVE-money
      'the reason he has not come again is because he has not yet got any
       money'

The negator *tapa* is probably related to *pata*. It is followed by a clipped participle and means 'there is nobody who is not', in other words 'everybody is':

(132) *mie-hi   we Wuna tapa ko-galu*
      person-PLUR loc Muna NEG (A.PART-)HAVE-field
      'the people in Muna all have fields'

(133) *tapa mo-bhela   po-gira-gira-no   indewi*
      NEG A.PART-wound REC-RED-fight-A.PART yesterday
      'all the people who fought yesterday were wounded'

8.5.4. The negator *suano*

The negator *suano* (dialectally also *soano*) is used for constituent negation, that is, before an NP. Again, *-mo* and *-ho* may be added, though this is less common than with *miina*. The clitic *-a* is frequently attached to the last element of the NP which is being negated:

(134) *aini suano medha-a, tamaka kurusi*   'this is not a table, but a
       this not   table-CL but   chair   chair'

(135) *suano ka-ghosa-no   pikore*   'it was not the pikore's
       not   NOM-strong-POS k.o.bird strength'

(136) *anoa suano-mo guru-mani* 'he is no longer our (ex)
       he   no.more teacher-our(ex) teacher'

(137) *suano kaawu inodi, do-bhari*   'not just me, there were many
       not   just I   1pR-many   of us'

8.5.5. Other negators

In addition to these five negators with their variants and derivations, there are a few other words that have a negative meaning component: the emphatic negative adverb *mau-na* and the negative verbs *ghuri* and *kiido*.

1. *Mau-na* is used in combination with negative existential constructions with
   bhe for purposes of emphasis, or preceding a measure phrase indicating
   contra-expectation. The numeral in the measure phrase is invariably *se-*
   'one'. The *-na* of *mau-na* may in fact be a special use of the futurity (or
   irrealis) prefix *na-* with measure phrases (see 5.7.3 and 10.2.32):

(138) *no-tola, mau-na bhe mie-mie*   'he called, but there was
      3sR-call not   be RED-people   absolutely nobody'

(139) *miina bhe [m]asi-ane,   mau-na se-mie*
      not   be A.PART-love-her not   one-person
      'there was absolutely nobody who loved her, not a single person'

(140) *miina bhe d[um]onga-ti-e,   mau-na se-mie*
      not   be A.PART-look.up-TR-her not   one-person
      'there was nobody who cared for her, not a single person'

(141) *mau-na se-turu miina nao-ndawu we wite*
      not   one-drop not   3sI-fall loc earth
      'not even a drop fell to earth'

2. The negative verb *ghuri* means 'absolutely not' and may either precede or
   follow the negated clause, of which the verb must be in the irrealis. This
   verb *ghuri* only occurs in the third person singular realis:

(142) *mahingga a-po-guru   se-a-se-alo,   no-ghuri a-[m]ande*
      although 1sI-PO-learn RED-one-evening 3sR-not 1sI-know
      'although I study every evening, I really do not know (it)'

(143) *mahingga nae-ala kaawu sau, no-ghuri, miina sepaliha*
      although 3sI-get only wood 3sR-not   not   very
      'he never ever went to get wood'

3. The negative verb *kiido* 'not want, refuse' is also followed by the irrealis:

(144) *a-kiido   a-k[um]ala*   'I do not want to go'
      1sR-refuse 1sI-go

Raising of negative words from the subclause to the main clause ('I don't think
it is raining') is ungrammatical in the great majority of examples. Only one
example was elicited where the scope of the negator is possibly the subclause:

(145) *miina a-ko-patudhu-ghoo   da-g[um]aa andoa maitu*
      not   1sI-HAVE-intention-IO 3pI-marry they that
      'it is not my intention that they will marry'

8.6. The interrogative mode

In the interrogative mode, yes-no questions need to be distinguished from
content questions (sometimes called question-word questions). In the latter
category, a variety of question words are found that will be treated one by
one. Other topics in this section include indirect questions and echo
questions.

8.6.1. Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions in Muna are formed simply by use of interrogative intonation.
On the basis of their intonation, two types of yes-no questions can be dis-

tinguished: a neutral question and a leading question. In the neutral pattern a mid-high head is followed by a rising nucleus:

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         - - -     -
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(146) *de-aso   ghunteli ghole itu*?   'do they sell eggs today?'
      3pR-sell egg   day   that

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             _ _ _ _ -
         -  -
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(147) *o   robhine   isa-mu*?   'is your older sibling female?'
      ART woman   older.sibling-your

Other examples:

(148) *o-hunda nagha*?   'do you want that?'
      2sR-want that

(149) *miina ome-salo tulumi we sigaahano*? 'do you not ask others for
      not   2sI-ask help   loc other   help?'

(150) *da-s[um]angke pae*?   'will we appoint rice (as king)?'
      1pI-appoint   rice

The second type of yes-no question is a leading question, in which only the nucleus is spoken on a high tone followed by a mid tone; the speaker expects a positive answer from the hearer, he wants to make sure he has heard it correctly or drawn the right conclusion:

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(151) *no-kala we sikola*?   'has he gone to school?'
      3sR-go loc school   'he has gone to school, hasn't
                                      he?'

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                    - _
         - - -   - -
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(152) *isa-mu   o robhine*?   'your older sibling is female,
      o.s.-your ART woman   isn't she?'

Other examples:

(153) *no-suli-mo   ama-mu*?   'your father has come home,
      3sR-return-PF father-your   hasn't he?'

(154) *no-pana gholeo*?   'it is hot, isn't it?'
      3sR-hot day

Answers to yes-no questions (of both types) can be single-word clauses such as *uumbe* 'yes', *miina* 'no', *paise* 'no (will not)', *bhahi* 'possibly' and *beane* or *bhaiane* 'who knows'. It is also possible to repeat the verb in a positive answer:

(155) A: *Garaa no-rato-mo*?   B: *no-rato-mo*
      SURPR 3sR-arrive-PF   3sR-arrive-PF
      'has he arrived already then?'   'yes, he has arrived'

The answer to a negative question is a combination of *uumbe* and a negator when agreeing with the negation; the verb is repeated when the speaker wishes to deny the negation:

(156) A: *p-o-k[um]ala   we daoa*?   'you won't go to the market,
      FUT.not-2sI-go loc market   will you?'

    B: *uumbe, paise*   'you are right, I won't go'
      yes   FUT.not

    B: *a-k[um]ala*   'no, I will go'
      1sI-go

The question tag *ela* (variant *elae*) may be added to a yes-no question when the speaker is fairly certain that the answer will be positive. It is a feature of informal spoken Muna:

(157) A: *we Walanda no-rindi ela*?   B: *uumbe*
      loc Holland 3sR-cold tag   yes
      'in Holland it is cold, isn't it?'   'yes, it is'

(158) A: *miina nao-hali   elae*?   B: *uumbe, miina*
      not   3sR-difficult tag   yes   no
      'it is not difficult, is it?'   'no, it isn't'

Alternative questions are formed with the conjunction *maka*:

(159) *o-k[um]ala we sikola maka paise*?   'are you going to school or not?'
      2sI-go   loc school then FUT.not

(160) *o-ghawa-e-mo itu maka miina-ho*?   'have you got it or not yet?'
      2sR-get-it-PF that then not.yet

8.6.2. Content questions

Content questions differ from yes-no questions in that specific question words are used that ask for information. In this section I will treat the Muna question words one by one, giving illustrations of regular and aberrant usages. As for the intonation, the stressed syllable of the question word is normally spoken on a high tone. Notice that in the majority of cases the question word occupies the same position as the corresponding non-questioned constituent in a statement.
  The following question words can be distinguished:

1. *hae* 'what, which'

Hae may fill the position of any noun phrase: subject, direct and indirect object, an NP within a prepositional phrase and a dependent NP within another NP. In addition it may be used attributively, in which case it means 'which'. When *hae* functions as the subject of the clause, it is preceded by the article *o*:

(161) *o-fumaa hae itu ghane*?   'what are you eating, boy?'
      2sR-eat what that boy

(162) *a-t[um]ulumi-angko hae inodi*?   'what can I help you with?'
      1sI-help-IO/you   what I

(163) *do-sawi   ne hae do-kala*?   'how will we go?'
      1pR-go.by loc what 1pR-go

(164) *omo-ghae-fi hae itu bhela*?   'what are you crying for,
      2sR-cry-TR what that friend   friend?

(165) *bhara kadadi hae ne-tolo-no*?
      maybe animal what P.PART-swallow-his
      'who knows what animal he had swallowed'

(166) *o   hae wamba-no ina-mu*?   'what did your mother say?'
      ART what word-POS mother-your

(167) *o-[m]esua ne sikola hae itu*?   'which school did you go to?'
      2sI-enter loc school what that

When a questioned direct object is put in clause-initial position, usually the passive participle is employed, which can best be translated by a cleft clause. Very rarely the finite verb form is retained.

(168) *o   hae ne-gholi-mu*?   'what is it that you bought?'
      ART what P.PART-buy-your

(169) *o   hae ome-gholi*?   'what did you buy?'
      ART what 2sR-buy

When *hae* follows the suffix *-ghoo* it often refers to purpose, hence its translation as a why-question. In these examples *-ghoo* can be analysed both as a purpose suffix and as an indirect object suffix (see 7.9, 9.17, and 10.2.10):

(170) *o-mai-ghoo   hae*?   'why have you come?'
      2sR-come-IO/PURP what

(171) *o-tola-ghoo   hae*?   'why are you calling?'
      2sR-call-IO/PURP what

The possessive suffix *-no* can be added to *hae* with the resulting meaning of 'what part?' It is usually suffixed by another possessive suffix indicating the object of which the questioned constituent is part:

(172) *o-[m]ala hae-no-no   itu hintu*? 'which part will you take?'
      2sI-take what-its-its that you

(173) *hae-no-no   pata-ho t[um]oka-ha-no*? 'which part is not ready yet?'
      what-its-its NEG-yet ready-HA-A.PART

(174) *to-wora   hae-no-ku*?   'which part of me do you see?'
      2shR-see what-its-my

(175) *hae-no-mu   robhine aitu*?   'what relation is that woman
      what-its-your woman   that   to you (your wife, sister or
                                             daughter?)'

But *o hae-no* is also found in simple questions asking for the identity of a
specific entity:

(176) *o   hae-no   ini-a*?   'what is this?'
      ART what-its this-CL

(177) *o   hae-no   ne-patudhu-ghi-mu*?   'what do you mean?'
      ART what-its P.PART-mean-TR-your

Hae-no followed by a possessive suffix may also occur with the preposition *so*
'for', in which case it means 'to what purpose?', 'what use is that for X?' It
often functions as a rhetorical question:

(178) *ee, so hae-no-mu   ome-ala ndoke   itu-a*?
      hey for what-its-your 2sR-take monkey that-CL
      'what is the use of you taking a monkey?'

(179) *na-[m]orai-kanau-ghoo A   Titibholo so hae-no-ku   itu*?
      3sI-propose-me-PURP   ART Titibholo for what-its-my that
      'to what purpose should Titibholo propose to me?'

When *hae-no* is suffixed with *-mo*, it may indicate a causal relationship.
Possibly it is a fossilized one-word question that is asked and answered by the
speaker himself:

(180) *no-mamara-ki-e-mo   ama-no   hae-no-mo   ne-sia   mie   ndoke*
      3sR-angry-TR-him-PF father-his what-its-PF 3sR-bite people monkey
      'his father was angry with him because the monkey had bitten people'

(181) *ina   wee-ndo   ka-ghosa-no lalo-no hae-no-mo do-suli   tora*
      mother step-their NOM-hard-POS heart-her what-its-PF 3pR-return again
      'how hard-hearted their stepmother was because they had returned
      again'

The reduplicated *hae-hae* means 'everything', or, in combination with a negator,
'nothing' (see 5.7.7).
  Finally, the question word *hae* may be added to clauses partly repeating
somebody else's statement to signal irritation:

(182) A: *o   bupati naando no-saki*   'the bupati is still ill'
         ART bupati still 3sR-ill

     B: *no-saki hae? no-mpona-mo no-ghosa*
        3sR-ill what 3sR-long-PF 3sR-strong
        'what do you mean "ill"? He has been well for a long time'

2. *lahae* 'who, whose'

Lahae (or the shortened form *ahae*) is made up of the question word *hae* and the
article *la*. It may fill the position of a questioned human NP and in addition
it can also be used attributively. Although *la* is the masculine article, *lahae*
can be used for both sexes; the word **wahae* does not exist.

(183) *lahae ihintu-umu ini*?   'who are you (pl)?'
      who   you-PLUR   this

(184) *o-waa-ane   lahae boku amaitu*?   'to whom did you give that book?'
      2sR-give-him who   book that

(185) *o-mai   bhe lahae*?   'with whom have you come?'
      2sR-come with who

(186) *ome-late we lambu lahae*?   'in whose house do you live?'
      2sR-live loc house who

When *lahae* is the subject of a verbal clause, the verb form is very frequently
an active participle. Again, this corresponds to a cleft construction:

(187) *lahae [m]ala-e*?   'who took it?' 'who was it that
      who   (A.PART-)take-it   took it?'

(188) *lahae so [m]ondo-i-no*?   'who will be able?'
      who   FUT able-TR-A.PART

Lahae may be preceded by the plural marker *ndo* (see 5.6.5):

(189) *o-butu   te ndo lahae*?   'with whom (pl) are you staying?'
      2sR-stay loc PLUR who

(190) *ndo   lahae r[um]ato-no   itu*?   'who (pl) have arrived?'
      PLUR who   arrive-A.PART that

Like *o hae-no*, *lahae-no* asks for the identity of a more specific entity than
lahae:

(191) soo-ku   lahae-no mai-no   rambi tolu-mata itu?
          thought-my who-its   come-A.PART blow three-eye that
          'I thought: who is coming at three o'clock?'

The reduplicated *laha-lahae* means 'everybody, anybody':

(192) *laha-lahae kaawu so   me-ware-hi-no   roo*
      RED-who   only FUT -broad-PLUR-A.PART leaf
      'anybody who has got broad leaves'

3. *sehae* 'how much, how many'

Sehae can possibly be analysed as consisting of the question word *hae* and
the prefixed numeral *se-* 'one', although the meaning of the combination is
not predictable from the meaning of the parts. It is the question word

asking for amounts, numbers, extents and so on. When the referent is human, *sehae* is inflected as a verb from the a-class. When the reference is to a future state or action, the prefix *na-* is attached to *sehae*, as it is to numerals.

(193) *sehae   taghu umuru-nto*?   'how old are you (polite)?
      how.many year age-your(pol)

(194) *sehae   ka-ompona-no ome-late ne Raha ini*?
      how.much NOM-long-its 2sR-live loc Raha this
      'how long have you lived here in Raha?'

(195) *sehae   litere pae ka-gholi-mu*?   'how much rice have you bought?'
      how.much liter rice NOM-buy-your

(196) *do-sehae   r[um]ato-no*?   'how many have arrived?'
      3pR-how.many arrive-A.PART

(197) *na-sehae   ome-ada*?   'how much do you want to borrow?'
      FUT-how.much 2sI-borrow

Used in rhetorical questions, sehae may also mean 'not much' (see 5.7.7).

4. *hamai* 'where; which'

Hamai is the question word asking for location or direction in equative clauses. In verbal clauses it most commonly follows the preposition *ne* (which in combination with *hamai* has the variant *na*). A variant of *ne hamai* is *ne hamadi*. Like the negator *miina*, *hamai* can also receive object inflection (see 4.8.1).

(198) *hamai o   kenta dahu*?   'where is the fish, dog?'
      where ART fish dog

(199) *o-k[um]ala ne   hamai*?   'where are you going?'
      2sI-go   loc where   (usual greeting on the street)

(200) *da-s[um]ikola ne   hamai andoa*?   'where will they go to school?'
      3pI-school   loc where they

(201) *o-ala-e-emu   ne hamadi kenta-amu   itu*?
      2pR-take-it-PLUR loc where fish-your(pl) that
      'where did you (pl) get those fishes of yours?'

(202) *hamai-ko-mo*?   'where are you?'
      where-you-PF

(203) *hamai-e itu*?   'where is it?'
      where-it that

When *hamai* is used attributively, it means 'which', indicating a choice between alternatives:

(204) *o-basa   boku hamai*?   'which book are you reading?'
      2sR-read book which

(205) *ana-ku   hamai*?   'which child of mine?'
      child-my which

In addition *hamai* can be used as a quantifier meaning 'every' (see 5.7.7) and as an adverb meaning 'moreover':

(206) *hamai mai-no   ne ini no-fo-guru-kasami*
      which come-A.PART loc this 3sR-CAUS-learn-us(ex)
      'whoever comes here teaches us (ex)'

(207) *miina na-t[um]anggo ama-ku,   hamai   no-maho-mo na-[m]ansio*
      not   3sI-support   father-my moreover 3sR-near-PF 3sI-pension
      'my father does not support us financially; moreover he is about to
       retire'

5. *peda hae / peda hamai* 'how'

These complex question words, consisting of the preposition *peda* 'like' and the question words *hae* and *hamai*, are used for questioning means, manner, state and quality. An alternative form, *peda hamadi*, is occasionally found. Especially in combination with *hae* and *hamai*, *peda* is often inflected like a verb (see 6.2.4). The irrealis form *na-meda* is frequently shortened to *nada*.

(208) *peda hamai hintu kalei-mu*?   'how is your banana tree?'
      like which you   banana-your

(209) *na-meda   hamai*?   'how (is it going to be)?
      3sI-like which

(210) *peda hae   ka-bhala-no*?   'what size is it?
      like what NOM-big-its

(211) *peda hae   o-wamba-wuna-ane*?   'how can you translate it into
      like what 2sR-language-Muna-it   Muna?'

(212) *no-fekiri nada   hamadi so   na-gh[um]awa-e-ghoo*
      3sR-think like.IRR which FUT 3sI-get-it-PURP
      'he thought about how he might get it'

The active participle *[m]eda-no* hae can be used attributively or as the head of an NP and means 'which; what kind of', either referring to a choice between alternatives or to the quality of the questioned noun:

(213) *mindalo-kanau   [m]eda-no   hae*?   'which one is it that wants me?'
      wish-me(-A.PART) like-A.PART what

(214) *boku medano-hae ne-basa-mu*?   'what kind of book/which book
      book how-A.PART P.PART-read-your   have you read?'

Peda hae can also take the function of a rhetorical question which is closely connected to a following statement. It is the speaker's comment on his previous utterance, which is 'natural' and 'understandable':

(215) *ne-fe-ghondo-ghoo-mo. Peda hae pada, do-gaa   bughou itu*
      3sR-L.CAUS-look-IO-PF like what already 3pR-marry new   that
      'he asked (her) to look (for lice on his head). That is quite normal,
       isn't it? They were newly married!'

(216) *no-pupu   ka-mente-no   ana-no   raja ini. Peda hae, miina-mo*
      3sR-finish NOM-surprised-POS child-POS king this like what no.more

      na-[m]ora-e kamokula amaitu
      3sI-see-him old   that

      'he was flabbergasted. And that is understandable, since he did not
       see the old man any more'

6. *nefiemo / naefie / indefie* 'when'

These three question words all mean 'when', but *nefiemo* and *indefie* can only
refer to a point in the past, whereas *naefie* refers to a future state or
action:

(217) *naefie   o-mai*?   'when will you come?'
      when.FUT 2sI-come

(218) *nefiemo   o-mai*?   'when did you come?'
      when   2sR-come

(219) *indefie o-rato   garaa*?   'when did you arrive?'
      when   2sR-arrive SURPR

The reduplicated *naefie-naefie* points to a possible but unspecific point in the
future: 'when at any time':

(220) *naefie-naefie na-r[um]ato hadhi ne liwu   ini*
      RED-when.FUT 3sI-arrive haji loc village this
      'when a haji should arrive in this village'

Indefiemo ini is an adverb meaning 'some time ago, in the past':

(221) *indefie-mo ini naando ka-rame   welo liwu   ini*
      when-PF   this be   NOM-celebrate in   village this
      'some time ago there was a festival in this village'

8.6.3. The question verb afa

In Muna there are two interrogative verbs on the basis of the root *afa*. With
ae-inflection this root means 'do what?' The verb may be suffixed with the
indirect object pronominal suffixes, in which case the verb shifts
(irregularly) to the a-class, but the um-form is not necessarily employed:

(222) *ome-afa-amu*?   'what are you (pl) doing?'
      2pR-do.what-PLUR

(223) *ai-hi-mu   de-afa-mo   itu kaasi-ndo*?
      younger.sibling-PLUR-your 3pR-do.what-PF that pity-their
      'what are your younger siblings doing, the poor things?'

(224) *a-afa-ane*?   'what can I do about it?
      1sI-do.what-it   (rhetorical question
                                            signalling resignation)

(225) *da-[m]afa-ane*?   'what can we do about it?'
      1pI-do.what-it   (idem)

When *afa* is in the ao-class, the verb has a different meaning: 'what is the matter with?' In the third person singular it can usually be translated by 'why' (which is consequently done in the interlinear). Verbs following this *noafa* are often but not always suffixed with the purpose suffix *-ghoo*. This is also the case with the (inflected) preposition *peda*:

(226) *omo-afa*?   'what is the matter with you?'
      2sR-be.what

(227) *miina nao-afa-a*   'it does not matter'
      not   3sI-be.what-CL

(228) *noafa no-sampu-ghoo   we kota*?   'why has he gone to town?'
      why   3sR-go.down-PURP loc town

(229) *noafa peda-ghoo aini*?   'why is it like this?'
      why   like-PURP this

For emphasis *noafa* may be put in clause-final position:

(230) *pa   nae-mbali noafa-mo*?   'why would it not be possible?'
      FUT.not 3sI-can   why-PF

(231) *no-tehi-ghoo   noafa*?   'why is he afraid?'
      3sR-afraid-PURP why

In negative why-questions, the negator *miina* 'not' is sometimes not present; in these cases the purpose suffix *-ghoo* is also absent. The following two clauses have the same meaning:

(232) a. *noafa na-mai   ne ini*?   'why has he not come here?'
         why   3sI-come loc this

      b. *noafa miina na-mai-ghoo   ne ini*?
         why   not   3sI-come-PUPR loc this
         'why has he not come here?'

When a pronominal object suffix is present in negative why-questions, IO suffixes are more usual than DO suffixes when they precede *-ghoo*. These IO suffixes still refer to the semantic patient:

(233) *noafa miina o-[m]ewa-ngi-ane-ghoo*? 'why did you not resist him?'
      why   not   2sI-resist-TR-him-PURP

(234) *noafa miina o-s[um]epa-ane-ghoo*?   'why did you not kick him?'
      why   not   2sI-kick-him-PURP

Finally, *afa* is also found as a nominal base for a *ko*-derivation, usually in negative clauses:

(235) *ingka miina a-ko-afa-afa*   'don't you know I don't have
     ENIM not   1sI-HAVE-RED-what   anything'

8.6.4. Questions introduced by *soo-mo*

A special type of why-question is formed without an overt question word. Instead, the emphasized preposition *soo-mo* precedes a clause in which the verb is marked with the purpose suffix *-ghoo*. This question does not ask for information, but is rhetorical. The speaker implies that there is no need to act the way the addressee does or has done.

(236) *soo-mo dua o-mente-ghoo*?   'why are you so amazed? (There
     for-PF also 2sI-amazed-PURP   is no reason to be amazed)'

(237) *soo-mo nao-sabha-ghoo   randa-mu*?   'why are you worried? (There is
     for-PF 3sI-worried-PURP belly-your   no need to be worried)'

(238) *soo-mo dua o-s[um]awi-ghoo ne motoro*?
     for-PF also 2sI-go.by-PURP loc motorbike
     'why would you go by motorbike? (There is no need for it)'

8.6.5. Other question words

There are two adverbs in Muna, *bhahi* and *bhara*, both meaning 'perhaps, maybe, possibly' that occur very frequently in interrogative clauses, so that they can almost be termed question adverbs. Their function is to reinforce the question character of the clause by expressing wonder or doubt (compare Indonesian *gerangan*). These adverbs also occur in non-interrogative clauses as regular adverbs. Examples:

(239) *bhara o   hae sabhabu-no*?   'what is the reason?'
     maybe ART what reason-its

(240) *noafa bhara*?   'what could the reason be?'
     why   maybe

(241) *bhara no-nai-nai-si-e   hae*?   'what/who could have sharpened
     maybe 3sR-RED-sharpen-REP-it what   them?'

(242) *nae-mbali bhara a-wogha-e inodi*?   'could I perhaps hit it?'
     3sI-can   maybe 1sI-hit-it I

(243) *miina a-[m]ande-ha-ane bhahi no-kala ne hamai*
     not   1sI-know-INT-it maybe 3sR-go loc where
     'I do not know where he went'

See also 8.6.6 for the use of *bhahi* in indirect questions.

8.6.6. Indirect questions

Indirect questions do not differ syntactically from direct questions. Indirect questions are introduced by complement-taking verbs such as *feena* 'ask' and

pande-hao 'know'. It is not uncommon to find the adverb *bhahi* preceding the embedded question. Although this *bhahi* seems to fill a kind of complementizer position, it is an adverb indicating doubt and uncertainty.

(244) *miina na-[m]ande-ha-ane lahae ama-no*
     not   3sI-know-INT-it   who   father-his
     'he did not know who his father was'

(245) *no-feena-mo bhahi naando ka-amponi do-gaa   bhe ana-no*
     3sR-ask-PF maybe be   NOM-forgive 3pR-marry with child-his
     'he asked whether there is forgiveness if one has married one's
      child'

(246) *ta-[m]ealai   bhahi nae-mbali tae-late ne kaghotia*
     1eI-ask.permission maybe 3sI-can   1eR-live loc beach
     'we (ex) want to ask permission (whether it is possible) to live
      on the beach'

(247) *miina na-ti-pande-hao-a   bhahi no-mai-ghoo ne hamadi*
     not   3sI-ACC-know-INT-CL maybe 3sR-come-IO loc where
     'it is not known where he came from'

For further discussion of juxtaposition and conjoining, see 9.2 and 9.3.

8.6.7. Echo questions

Echo questions are questions that are repeated by the hearer; for example 'Am I interested in music?' as a response to the question 'Are you interested in music?' Echo questions do exist in Muna, but they are relatively uncommon. When the hearer is not sure whether he has heard the question correctly or is extremely surprised at the question, he will usually answer *o hae* 'what?' or *peda hae* 'how?', possibly with partial repetition of the question. These answers are also found in reaction to unintelligible statements and commands. The following examples are elicited material and possibly less natural:

(248) a. *o-pande wamba   Jermani?*   'do you speak German?'
      2sR-know language German

    b. *a-pande wamba   Jermani?*   'do I speak German?'
      1sR-know language German

    c. *a-pande wamba   hae?*   'do I speak what?'
      1sR-know language what

    d. *o   hae? wamba   Jermani? miina!* 'what? German? Oh no!'
      ART what language German   not

(249) a. *o-k[um]ala ne hamai?*   'where are you going?'
      2sI-go   loc where

    b. *o   hae? ne hamai a-k[um]ala? we toko!*
      ART what loc where 1sI-go   loc shop
      'what? Where I am going? To the shop!'

8.7. The imperative mode

The imperative mode is used to make orders to the hearer. This mode is characterized by a special non-finite verb form (the imperative) and the frequent use of a number of affixes and adverbs that serve to increase or decrease the force or degree of politeness of the command.

8.7.1. The imperative verb form

As was shown in 4.9, the imperative is different for each of the three verb classes in the following way:

class a:	root
class ae:	*me-* + root
class ao:	*mo-* + root

Examples:

(250) *kala*!   'go!'
      (IMP-)go

(251) *me-ngkora*!   'sit down!'
      IMP-sit

(252) *mo-pilo*!   'close your eyes!'
      IMP-close.eyes

When the order is directed to more than one hearer, the second person plural suffix *-Vmu* is added to the imperative. It follows all other suffixes.

(253) kala-amu!   'go (pl)!'
      (IMP-)go-PLUR

(254) piki-suli-imu!   'come home quickly!'
      (IMP-)FAST-return-PLUR

(255) suli-ghoo-omu   kadeki!   'bring her home first!'
      (IMP-)return-IO-PLUR first

With transitive verbs the same imperative forms are used. With definite direct objects, the definiteness shift occurs.

(256) *me-dhaga-ni galu*   'watch over the field'
      IMP-watch-TR field

(257) *dhaga-ni   nea-mu*   'watch over your name'
      (IMP-)watch-TR name-your

(258) *me-intagi oto*   'wait for the car'
      IMP-wait car

(259) *intagi-kasami*   'wait for us (ex)'
      (IMP-)wait-us(ex)

When the speaker wishes to make a polite command he may choose the second
person polite subject markers. With the ae-class, the irrealis prefix *tae-*
seems to be fairly common, next to the realis *te-*. The suffix *-mo* (see below)
is normally added to this polite imperative:

(260) *to-kala Bapa*   'please go, sir'
      2shR-go sir

(261) *tae-ngkora-mo*   'please sit down'
      2shI-sit-PF

(262) *to-lodo-mo   Ibu*   'please go and sleep, Madam'
      2shR-sleep-PF Madam

Also, the 'unfamiliar' second person subject markers *do-* and *de-* may be used in
the imperative mode to address a hearer whose status and position is not yet
known to the hearer (see 4.1):

(263) *de-ngkora ne ini*   'please sit down here'
      2suR-sit   loc this

8.7.2. The use of free pronouns in imperatives

The second person free pronouns *hintu* 'you' and *hintu-umu* 'you (pl)' may be
added to imperatives. Depending on intonation and voice quality this conveys
either a very forceful command or merely contrastive emphasis ('not he, but
you'). These pronouns may either precede or follow the verb.

(264) *ala-mo   aini hintu*   'you take this'
      (IMP-)take-PF this you

(265) *ihintu me-ngkora te wawo-no kantei*
      you   IMP-sit   loc top-POS threshold
      'you sit down on the threshold!'

(266) *mo-lodo   ne ini hintu, inodi ne watu*
      IMP-sleep loc this you   I   loc that
      'you sleep here, I (will sleep) over there'

8.7.3. Modifying the imperative: affixes and adverbs

The imperative mode in Muna can be modified in certain ways to fit the
situation and to convey the speaker's emotion. Obviously, intonation and
intensity of speaking are extremely important as well. I will focus, however,
on the verbal character of the imperative here.
   The following is a list of affixes (or affix combinations) and adverbs that
may modify imperatives. Since imperatives in English only allow for a small
range of formal modification, it is hard to get the impact of the imperatives
in the translation. In a number of cases, I have therefore provided Dutch
equivalents.

1. Suffix *-mo*

   The suffix *-mo* (10.2.29) usually softens the command when spoken with a
   neutral intonation. The command is not presented as an order, but almost

as a recommendation: what is commanded is the natural thing to do for the hearer, who only needs a little extra stimulus to perform the action:

(267) *me-ngkora-mo*   'do sit down' (Dutch: ga maar
      IMP-sit-PF   zitten)

(268) *wula-mo*   'just open your eyes' (Dutch:
      (IMP-)open.eyes-PF   doe je ogen maar open)

When the command is said on a high pitch, the order may be more forceful. There is an urgency which is absent in the previous examples:

(269) *suli-mo*!   'go home, will you'
      (IMP-)return-PF

(270) *sampu-mo*   *ghane*!   'come down, boy!'
      (IMP-)come.down-PF boy

2. Prefix *ta-* and suffix *-mo*

The combination of *ta-* (10.2.48) and *-mo* results in a very weak imperative; the command is almost presented as a recommendation or as if the speaker gives permission. Dutch *maar* is a good equivalent of this affix combination:

(271) *ta-fumaa-mo*   'do eat' (Dutch: eet maar)
      JUST-(IMP-)eat-PF

(272) *ta-sabara-mo*   *deki*   'just be patient' (Dutch: wees
      JUST-(IMP-)patient-PF first   maar geduldig)

3. Suffix *-kaeta*

As noted in 4.8.4 the pronominal object suffix *-kaeta* can be added to imperatives. Its usage is rather informal and it is most natural between friends. There is an element of 'togetherness' in the command, expressed by *-kaeta*; the speaker presents the command in such a way that it seems as if both he and the hearer will benefit from the action:

(273) *ghindulu-kaeta-amu*   *hintu-umu*   'you (pl) go first please'
      (IMP-)go.first-us-PLUR you-PLUR

(274) *tei-kaeta-mo*   'please help yourself'
      (IMP-)put-us-PF   (standard phrase for inviting
                                              people to start eating or
                                              drinking)

4. The demonstrative *itu*

When the speaker adds the demonstrative *itu* (see 5.5.6) to a command, it signals mild irritation and impatience on his part. The hearer may not have performed the action after the first command and the speaker has to remind him again:

(275) *mai*   *ne* *ini* *itu*   'now come here' (Dutch: kom
      (IMP-)come loc this that   nou toch)

(276) *wora   itu*   'now look' (Dutch: kijk nou toch)
       (IMP-)see that

(277) *me-ngkora itu*   'now sit down' (Dutch: ga toch
       IMP-sit   that   zitten)

5. The verb *soba*

When the imperative form of the verb *soba* 'try' (alternant form *insoba*) is
added to a command, it may convey two things:

1. On a neutral intonation it signals a new, unexpected command for the hearer.
   The speaker wants the action performed so that he himself can do something
   else; the command is merely a necessary step in the process:

   (278) *soba horo-kaeta   ne itu a-[m]unda-ghoo*
          try (IMP-)move-us loc that 1sI-jump-PURP
          'please move a little so that I can jump' (Dutch: ga eens opzij)

   (279) *soba ere*   'please stand up' (Dutch: ga
          try (IMP-)stand   eens staan)

2. On a high pitch, *soba* may also convey mild irritation and impatience:

   (280) *soba fumaa-mo*   'why don't you eat?' (Dutch: eet
          try (IMP-)eat-PF   nou toch eens)

   (281) *soba mo-lodo*   'why don't you sleep?' (Dutch:
          try IMP-sleep   ga nou toch slapen)

   (282) *insoba fetingke   wamba-ku ini*   'why don't you listen to what
          try   (IMP-)listen word-my this   I say?' (Dutch: luister nou toch
                                                eens)

6. The adverb *pada*

The adverb *pada* 'already' signals an emphatic command which is not impolite,
nor is there impatience. The speaker is strongly convinced of the necessity of
the action being performed:

   (283) *foroghu   pada*   'please do drink!'
          (IMP-)drink already

   (284) *poguru   feka-taa-taa pada*   'make sure you learn well'
          (IMP-)learn ADV-RED-good already

8.7.4. The prohibitive

For the prohibitive (negative imperative), use is made of special negators: *ko*
and *koe*. Between these two words there is no difference in meaning or function;
ko, however, seems to be more frequently used:

   (285) *ko   punda-a   ne watu-a*   'don't jump over there'
          DONT (IMP-)jump-CL loc that-CL

```
(286) ko    mo-limpu   itu                    'don't forget!'
      DONT  IMP-forget that
```

```
(287) ko    di-diu-kanau-umu                  'don't bother me'
      DONT  (IMP-)RED-move-me-PLUR
```

Frequently *koe* is suffixed by *-mo*. The resulting negator *koe-mo* is less forceful than *ko* and *koe*. Sometimes it means no more than 'there is no need to', 'it is not necessary', but it can also come close to 'don't':

```
(288) koe-mo  o-podea-amu                     'you don't have to shout'
      DONT-PF 2pR-shout-PLUR
```

```
(289) koe-mo  rambi-e-a  idha                 'there is no need to hit her,
      DONT-PF hit-her-CL father                father; don't hit her, father'
```

As can be seen in the first example, the second person subject markers are occasionally retained. With polite negative imperatives this is always the case:

```
(290) koe-mo  o-sakara                        'don't worry'
      DONT-PF 2sR-worry
```

```
(291) koe   to-ghae                           'don't cry'
      DONT  2shR-cry
```

Ko, *koe* and *koe-mo* can also be followed by non-second-person verbs, in which case the meaning is 'let not'. The verb can be either in the realis or in the irrealis:

```
(292) koe-mo  ae-soso-a                       'let me not smoke; there is no
      DONT-PF 1sR-smoke-CL                     need for me to smoke'
```

```
(293) koe-mo  no-suli-a  /  na-s[um]uli-a 'let him not go home'
      DONT-PF 3sR-return-CL 3sI-return-CL
```

Finally, there is an emphatic form *koise* (comparable to *paise*, 8.5.2), which forms a clause in itself: Don't! Occasionally it is followed by a verb:

```
(294) koise! ko    punda     ne  ini          'Don't! don't jump here'
      DONT   DONT  (IMP-)jump loc this
```

```
(295) koise futaa                             'don't laugh'
      DONT  (IMP-)laugh
```

```
(296) koise da-k[um]ara-karaku-e              'don't let it get dirty'
      DONT  3pI-RED-dirty-it
```

8.8. The adhortative mode

The adhortative mode is expressed in Muna by suffixing *-ana* (10.2.1) or *-mana* (10.2.24) to the realis verb. *-Ana* is for dual numbers, whereas *-mana* is the neutral, unmarked form. In most instances *-mana* has a plural (>2) reference, but in one text with two actants *-ana* and *-mana* are both used.

The adhortative mode in Muna only applies to first person plural. The adhortative expression *mai-mo* 'come on' often precedes adhortations:

(297) *mai-mo   do-kala-ana*   'come on, let us (2) go'
      (IMP-)come-PF 1pR-go-ADH

(298) *mai-mo   do-suli-mana   we   lambu*
      (IMP-)come-PF 1pR-return-ADH loc house
      'come on, let us go home'

(299) *do-pogaa-mana   deki*   'let us separate first'
      1pR-separate-ADH first   (standard phrase when
                                              continuing one's journey
                                              after a conversation)

(300) *do-foni-si-e-ana*   'let us (2) climb it'
      1pR-go.up-TR-it-ADH

Another way of forming the adhortative mode is by means of the purpose suffix *-ghoo*. The difference between *-ghoo* and *-ana/-mana* seems to be that the *-ana/-mana* adhortative suggests more readiness or willingness on the part of the hearer to perform the action than with *-ghoo*. In the *-ghoo* adhortative the action is presented almost as a purpose, which is not supposed to be performed at once:

(301) *do-fewule-ghoo deki*   'let us take a rest first'
      1pR-rest-PURP first

(302) *soba do-ala-e-ghoo*   'why don't we take it?'
      try 1pR-take-it-PURP

(303) *mai-mo   de-tula-tula-ghoo tora*
      (IMP-)come-PF 3pR-RED-chat-PURP again
      'come on, let's have a chat again'

A last way of forming an adhortative meaning is through the irrealis:

(304) *dao-roghu deki*   'let us first drink'
      1pI-drink first

Chapter 9

The Sentence

In this chapter I will deal with sentences, structures that involve more than one simple clause. Traditionally a basic distinction is made between coordination and subordination. It seems that such a distinction is difficult to maintain for Muna, since there is only one clause type that is formally marked as dependent, namely relative clauses. No other complex structures make use of formal means (such as word order or special verb forms) to indicate subordination. A difference that is made, however, is the distinction between clauses that are juxtaposed (no conjunction, no intonation break) and clauses that are conjoined. On the basis of the conjunctions used, conjoined clauses can be further subdivided into, for example, contrastive, conditional and temporal conjoined clauses.

These three linking types (subordination, juxtaposition and conjoining) will be discussed in turn in 9.1, 9.2 and 9.3 - 9.19. In 9.20 direct and indirect speech are discussed. The chapter ends with sections on the suffix *-mo* in narrative discourse (9.21) and the clitic *-a* (9.22).

9.1. Subordination: relative clauses

Relative clauses are formally marked as subordinate either by a special verb form (a participle) or by a nominalization. Semantically, all relative clauses narrow down the possible range of referents of the domain noun (the antecedent). Within the noun phrase they have an attributive function. Non-restrictive relative clauses do not seem to occur in Muna.

In Van den Berg-Klingeman (1987) an analysis of relative clause formation is given with particular reference to the function of the relativized NP in the relative clause. This section draws heavily on examples and conclusions reached there.

As a general introduction it may be noted that Muna does not make use of relative pronouns or relative markers in the formation of relative clauses. A useful division which can be made is that between headed and headless or free relative clauses.

9.1.1. Marked by active participles

When the relativized NP is the subject of the dependent clause, the active participle form of the verb is used. Plain active participles have the

following form (see 4.9):

    a-class: *um*-form-/-*no*
   ae-class: *me-/-no*
   ao-class: *mo-/-no*

Relative clauses normally follow the head noun:

    (1) *do-bhalo   mie-hi   niho r[um]ato-no   ini*
        3pR-answer person-PLUR just arrive-A.PART this
        'the people who had just arrived answered'

    (2) *garaahano ta-do-wora-mo   kontu ko-wuna-no*
        SURPR   JUST-3pR-see-PF stone HAVE-flower-A.PART
        'and then they suddenly saw a stone that had flowers on it'

    (3) *moghane me-langke-no maitu ne-pongko manu*
        man   -tall-A.PART that 3sR-kill   chicken
        'that tall man has killed a chicken'

    (4) *ana-no   mo-saki-no   naando ne-ndo-ndole*
        child-his -sick-A.PART be   3sR-RED-lie
        'his sick child was still lying down'

    (5) *tei   ka-tofa mo-meme-no   ini welo embere*
        (IMP)-put NOM-wash -wet-A.PART this in   bucket
        'put this wet laundry in the bucket'

As illustrated in 8.5.3 the negator with participles is *pata*. The
realis/irrealis distinction is neutralized for the participles. To indicate
futurity (one of the main functions of the irrealis) the preposition *so* (6.2.2)
is used. When the two co-occur, *so* precedes *pata*:

    (6) *ae-faraluu dahu so me-dhaga-ni-no   lambu*
        1sR-need   dog FUT -guard-TR-A.PART   house
        'I need a dog that will guard the house'

    (7) *lahae so me-mpau-no   da-dh[um]umpa-e we wite*
        who   FUT -sleepy-A.PART 3pI-push-him   loc earth
        'whoever gets sleepy will be pushed to the ground'

    (8) *no-foroghu te pata ko-gola-no*
        3sR-drink   tea NEG HAVE-sugar-A.PART
        'he drank tea without sugar'

    (9) *mie   so pata l[um]ulusu-no tabea da-s[um]uli*
        person FUT NEG pass-A.PART   unless 3pI-return
        'people who will not pass the exam must go home'

In certain examples the final suffix -*no* of the active participle may
optionally be left out (see 5.9.2). This is especially the case with the verb
mai-ghoo 'come from'. The suffix -*no* can always be added, however:

(10)*naando-mo bhirita mai-ghoo   ne pomarinta*
    be-PF   news   come-IO-(A.PART) loc government
    'there was news from the government'

(11)*giu pata s[um]aha   pa   na-ti-perapi*
    kind NEG legal-A.PART FUT.not 3sI-ACC-enjoy
    'something that is illegal will not be enjoyed'

When the active participle is suffixed with a direct object pronominal suffix
(*-kanau*, *-ko*, *-e* and so on, see 4.8.1), this suffix replaces *-no*:

(12)*naando-mo fato-ghonu sikola bhasi-kanau*
    be-PF   four-CLAS   school call-me-(A.PART)
    'there were four schools that called me'

(13)*no-bisara-mo kuea   [m]angkafi-e   maitu*
    3sR-speak-PF k.o.bird follow-him-(A.PART) that
    'then the <u>kuea</u>-bird that followed him said...'

When numeral verbs are used attributively, the active participle form is also
frequently used (see also 5.7.2):

(14)*no-feena-mo kalambe-hi pi-pitu-no*   'he asked the seven girls'
    3sR-ask-PF girl-PLUR RED-seven-A.PART

(15)*kapitalao   ru-dua-no   de-ere-ere   do-po-kundo*
    sea.officer RED-two-A.PART 3pR-RED-stand 3pR-REC-back
    'the two sea officers were standing back to back'

(16)*dhaga-ni   nea-no   bhasitie ompulu rua-fulu-no*
    (IMP)-watch-TR name-POS family   ten   two-ten-A.PART
    'watch over the name of your extended family'

When there is more than one verb in the relativized clause, all of them are in
the participle form; *so* and *pata*, if present, can occur only once:

(17)*de-faraluu mie   so [m]indalo-no me-angkafi-no pendidikan guru*
    3pR-need   person FUT wish-A.PART -follow-A.PART education   teacher
    'they need people who wish to follow teacher training'

(18)*ae-po-ghawa-ghoo anahi k[um]a-mpuu-mpuu-no   poguru-no*
    1sR-REC-get-IO   child KA-RED-serious-A.PART learn-A.PART
    'I met a child who was seriously studying'

Occasionally a relative clause precedes its head. This is not very common, and
in most cases a quantifier is part of the domain noun (see also 5.7.6). That,
however, is not a condition:

(19)*eano l[um]iu-no manu-manu ne-salo tulumi*
    every pass-A.PART bird   3sR-ask help
    'every bird that passed he asked for help'

(20)*hadae-ingke   naando [m]ande-no mie-hi   welo liwu   ini*
    maybe-probably be   know-A.PART person-PLUR in   village this
    'probably there are wise people in this village'

The active participle is also used when the subject of the relative clause
functions as a dependent ('possessed') NP within the main clause. The head noun
may keep or lose the possessive linker -no.

(21) *ampa-mo   kaawu kampufu-ndo   mo-de-dea-no   wangka(-no)*
     merely-PF only youngest-their -RED-red-A.PART tooth(-his)
     'it was only their youngest child whose teeth were red'

(22) *na-n[um]aando hadhi ko-bhili-no   fotu(-no)*
     3sI-be   haji HAVE-scar-A.PART head(-his)
     'there will be a haji whose head is scarred'

9.1.2. Marked by passive participles

When the relativized NP is the direct object of the dependent clause, the most
common strategy is to use the passive participle. The verb takes the prefix *ne-*
(variant *ni-*, see 10.2.33) and possessive suffixes indicate the agent (see 4.9
and 5.4.1). Such an agent need not be present in general statements. Again, the
negator is *pata*, while *so* marks the future:

(23) *karadhaa niho ne-tanda-ki   sadhia do-ka-mpuu-mpuu-ane*
     work   just P.PART-begin-TR always 3pR-KA-RED-serious-it
     'one always devotes oneself to work recently commenced'

(24) *kenta topa ne-mbolaku-no   maitu sae-taa-ha-no-mo ka-bhala-no*
     fish dry P.PART-steal-his that SA-good-HA-its-PF NOM-big-its
     'the dried fish that he had stolen was moderately big'

(25) *sau ni-bhogha-mu   no-wolo-mo*
     wood P.PART-chop-your 3sR-finish-PF
     'the wood that you have chopped has been used up'

A full nominal agent, if present, follows the third person singular suffix -*no*:

(26) *bheta   ne-tofa-no   isa-ku   no-neu-mo*
     sarong P.PART-wash-POS older.sibling-my 3sR-dry-PF
     'the sarong that my older brother has washed is dry'

When the relativized NP is the indirect object of the dependent clause, the
passive participle is suffixed by the indirect object suffix -*ghoo*:

(27) *ka-mbaka-no kenta topa ne-horo-ghoo-no*!
     NOM-nice-POS fish dry P.PART-fly-IO-his
     'how nice is that dried fish that he is flying with!'

(28) *aini-ha-e-mo   robhine ne-owa-ghoo-ku   se-tuwu bheta*
     this-HA-her-PF woman   P.PART-bring-IO-my one-CLAS sarong
     'this is the woman to whom I have taken a sarong'

(29) *aitu-ha-e-mo   polulu ne-bhogha-ghoo-no   sau*
     that-HA-it-PF axe   P.PART-chop-IO-his wood
     'that is the axe with which he has chopped the wood'

```
(30)miina a-[m]ora-e  robhine ne-waa-ghoo-mu       boku-ku
    not   1sI-see-her woman   P.PART-give-IO-your book-my
    'I have not seen the woman to whom you have given my book'
```

9.1.3. Nominalized relative clauses

A second strategy for the formation of relative clauses in which the
relativized NP is the direct object, is nominalization of the verb by means of
the prefix *ka-* (10.2.17). Structurally, such a nominalization may be called
adjunct relativization. So far, a functional or semantic difference between
these two strategies (passive participle or nominalization) has not been found.
Possibly there is a relation between the choice of one or the other and the
function of the head noun in the main clause, suggested by the fact that a
passive participle seems to be preferred when the antecedent of the relative
clause is the subject of the main clause.
   Possessives in nominalized relative clauses also mark agents, but the negator
(which rarely occurs) is the nominal negator *suano*. *So* cannot co-occur with a
nominalized relative clause.

```
  (31)no-fo-limba      bhaku     ka-owa-ndo
      3sR-CAUS-go.out provisions NOM-bring-their
      'he took out the provisions they had taken with them'
```

```
  (32)do-ghondo-hi-mo kotupa      ka-ghoro-fi-ndo
      3pR-look-TR-PF  food.basket NOM-throw.away-REP-their
      'they looked for the food baskets they had thrown away'
```

The following example illustrates an antecedent modified by both a nominalized
relative clause and an active participle:

```
  (33)do-fomaa-ghoo-omu mie     kam-pooli-ku [m]uta-no   foo-ku
      1pR-eat-PURP-PLUR person NOM-obtain-my pick-A.PART mango-my
      'let us eat the person that I got who picked my mango'
```

A nominalized relative clause marked by *ka-/-ghoo* is structurally possible, but
unlike the past participle suffixed by *-ghoo* the relativized noun is still the
direct object, not the indirect object. The possessive suffix following the
suffix *-ghoo* does not mark the agent (as with *ne-/-ghoo*), but it marks the
beneficiary or the recipient. In a *ka-/-ghoo* relative clause the agent is
introduced by the preposition *ne*. Compare the following examples:

```
  (34)sura   ne-pakatu-ku                  'the letter that I sent'
      letter P.PART-send-my
```

```
  (35)sura   ka-pakatu-ku                  'the letter that I sent'
      letter NOM-send-my
```

```
  (36)mie    ne-pakatu-ghoo-ku sura        'the person to whom I sent a
      person P.PART-send-IO-my letter      letter'
```

```
  (37)*mie   ka-pakatu-ghoo-ku sura
      person NOM-send-IO-my    letter
```

```
  (38)sura   ka-pakatu-ghoo-ku ne  ina-ku     'the letter that was sent to me
      letter NOM-send-IO-my    loc mother-my   by my mother'
```

(39) *bheta   ka-waa-ghoo-mu   ne   robhine aitu*
     sarong NOM-give-IO-your loc woman   that
     'the sarong that was given to you by that woman'

The following chart summarizes the different relative clause formations in
relation to the function of the relativized noun (X indicates the strategy
used):

	act.part.	pass.part.	nominal.
subject	X	–	–
direct object	–	X	X
indirect object	–	X-*ghoo*	–

9.1.4. Locative relative clauses

A final type of headed relative clause is formed by adjoining a locative
nominalization, which is marked by the circumfix *ka-/-ha* (10.2.18) on verbal
bases, to the head noun. Structurally, this is similar to the nominalized
relative clauses discussed above. The agent is again present in the form of the
possessive suffixes. Other arguments of the relative clause, such as direct and
indirect objects, locatives and temporals, are simply 'carried along' in the
nominalization. Objects cannot be marked on the verb by means of pronominal
suffixes.

(40) *we wiwi-no   tehi naando liwu   kae-late-ha-ndo*
     loc side-POS sea be   village NOM-live-LOC-their
     'at the seashore was the village where they lived'

(41) *naando fato-ghonu sikola ka-fo-fo-guru-ha-ku   wamba*
     be   four-CLAS school NOM-DETR-CAUS-learn-LOC-my language

     Inggirisi welo se-minggu
     English   in   one-week

     'there were four schools where I taught English in one week'

(42) *pasi ka-ti-sore-ha-no   nagha do-kona-e   te Lagadi*
     coral NOM-ACC-run.aground-LOC-his that 3pR-call-it loc Lagadi
     'the coral reef where he ran aground is called Lagadi'

A quantifier may draw the locative noun to a pre-head position (see also 5.7.6
and example (19) in 9.1.1), but a post-nominal position is more common:

(43) a. *eano ka-rato-ha-no   lambu*   'every house where he came'
        every NOM-arrive-LOC-his house

     b. *eano lambu ka-rato-ha-no*   'every house where he came'
        every house NOM-arrive-LOC-his

9.1.5. Free relatives

A relative clause may stand on its own without modifying a head noun. Such free
or 'headless' relatives are common when the understood head is 'people,
somebody' or when it is fully retrievable from the context, as in (47):

(44) *tamaka miina bhe [m]ondo-i-no*   'but there was nobody who could
     but   not   be able-TR-A.PART   do it'

(45) *do-bhari pata l[um]ulusu-no*   'there were many who did not pass
     3pR-many NEG pass-A.PART   (the exam)'

(46) *dadihanomo do-asi-ane   ko-toko-no*
     so   3pR-like-him HAVE-shop-A.PART
     'so the shopkeepers liked him'

(47) *no-bhasi buea   bhai-hi-no   ko-si-bhari-bhari-ha-ndo. Naando*
     3sR-call crocodile friend-PLUR-his KO-one-RED-all-HA-their   be

     bhala-no, naando mo-rubu-no,   naando me-wanta-no,   naando
     big-A.PART be   -small-A.PART   be   -long-A.PART   be

     mo-ngkubu-no
     -short-A.PART

     'he called all his fellow crocodiles. There were big ones and small
      ones, there were long ones and short ones'

Free relatives are also found with passive participles without accompanying
head noun:

(48) *tapi-e   ne-pogau-ghoo-ku*   'remember what I have said!'
     (IMP)-remember-it P.PART-say-IO-my

(49) *garaa ini naando ne-ghongko-no*   'but there was something she was
     SURPR this be   P.PART-suck-her   sucking on'

(50) *ka-bhari-no   ne-fetingke-mu*!   'how much you hear!'
     NOM-much-POS P.PART-hear-your   (idiom to ridicule somebody
                                               who hears (eerie) sounds
                                               everywhere)

Some of these passive participles occur so often in free relative constructions
that they come to function as nouns, for example *ne-angka* 'leader' (lit. 'the
one who is appointed'), *ne-fumaa* 'food' (lit. 'that which is eaten'). The test
whether they are in fact nouns in a given construction is to negate the clauses
and see which negator they take: *pata* (with participles) or *suano* (with nouns).
   Another type of construction involving free relatives is the so-called
'cleft' construction (following English-based terminology). The free relative
clause functions as the subject of an equative clause, which consists of a
subject and a complement (7.6). Pragmatically, the free relative subject
presents given information, whereas the complement (often a question word, a
pronoun or a negated constituent) is the new and salient point of information.
In these 'cleft' constructions, the complement normally precedes the free
relative subject. Compare the following two questions:

(51) *lahae so k[um]ala-no*?   'who is it that will go?'
     who   FUT go-A.PART

   (52)*lahae na-k[um]ala*?   'who will go?'
      who   3sI-go

The first question is more natural and more forceful, since the questioned constituent is a complement in itself. Other examples:

   (53)*ampa-mo   inodi mai-no*   'only I have come'
      merely-PF I   come-A.PART

   (54)*anoa kaawu [m]omaa-no*   'he is the only one who has
      he   only   eat-A.PART   eaten'

   (55)*so   bhose-no   ta-se-mie*   'only one was to row'
      FUT row-A.PART JUST-one-person

   (56)*garaa bhasi-e   maitu foko-ama-u-no   anahi amaitu*
      SURPR call-(A.PART)-her that FOKO-father-U-POS child that
      'the one who called her was the child's uncle'

Such 'cleft' constructions also occur with passive participles:

   (57)*keseno kaawu kuli-no ne-ghoro-ghoo-no*
      only   only   skin-its P.PART-throw-IO-his
      'only the skins did he throw (to him)'

   (58)*suano o   mbadha, suano o   fewutoi so ne-ghondo*
      not   ART body   not   ART stature FUT P.PART-look
      'it is not the body, not the stature that (we) have to look at'

   (59)*ne-wora-no-mo   kaawu ampa-mo   kantawu-no   kulitoto*
      P.PART-see-her-PF only merely-PF heap-POS   dry.leaves
      'what she saw was only a heap of dry leaves'

   (60)*ne-po-hala-hala-ti-ghoo-ndo   ini...*
      P.PART-REC-RED-wrong-TR-IO-their this
      'what they were quarrelling about was...'

9.2. Juxtaposition

Juxtaposition involves the linking of two or more clauses without a conjunction and without an intonational break between the different parts. The two parts constitute a single whole. Several types of juxtaposition can be distinguished based on semantic criteria (9.2.1); most of these divisions are not formally marked. In 9.2.2 and 9.2.3 subject and object complementation are discussed. The term 'complementation' is used here in a rather loose, semantic sense, since there is no formal marking. Syntactically, these clauses are also juxtaposed. In 9.2.4 I discuss clauses that are juxtaposed to noun phrases.

  In all the examples given below, the perfective suffix *-mo* cannot be suffixed to the verb in the juxtaposed clause, which is further evidence of the close linkage between the clauses (see also 9.21).

9.2.1. **Types of juxtaposed clauses**

Using the semantic relationship between the two clauses as a basis, the following division can be made.

a. The juxtaposed clause denotes condition, circumstance or result. In most of these examples it is possible to add a conjunction (for example, *ane* 'if'), which results in a conjoined construction:

    (61)*ana-no   naando ne-ndo-ndole do-libu-libu-e*
        child-his be   3sR-RED-lie   3pR-RED-surround-him

        isa-hi-hi-no
        older.sibling-PLUR-PLUR-his

        'his child was still lying (there) surrounded by his older brothers
         and sisters'

    (62)*nao-kesa   sepaliha dua suara-no (ane) nae-lagu*
        3sI-beautiful very   also voice-his (if) 3sI-sing
        'his voice will also be very beautiful when he sings'

    (63)*do-dadi te dhunia ini miina nae-mbali do-ka-angka-angka ne*
        3pR-live loc world this not   3sI-can   3pR-KA-RED-go   loc

        ka-pudhi
        NOM-praise

        'while living in this world one must not be led astray by praise'

b. The juxtaposed clause is an elaboration or clarification of the first clause. No conjunction can be added in these examples. The subjects of the first and the second clause are identical and the verbs must agree in mood (either both realis or both irrealis):

    (64)*o ndoke ne-wei   no-puru-si-e   roo-no   sau*
        ART monkey 3sR-clear 3sR-pull.off-REP-it leaf-POS tree
        'the monkey was clearing (the forest) by pulling the leaves off the
         trees'

    (65)*no-tanampe   mie   anagha ne-salo ne Kakawasa*
        3sR-lift.hands person that   3sR-ask loc God
        'the man lifted his hands in supplication to God'

    (66)*no-tende dahu no-hamba katogha*   'the dog ran chasing the crow'
        3sR-run dog 3sR-chase crow

    (67)*do-sawi   ne hae do-kala*?   'how will we go?'
        1pR-go.by loc what 1pR-go   (using what kind of vehicle?)

    (68)*dadi no-ghi-ghito Wa Ode Rangkuno Bhea no-pototo ndoke*
        so   3sR-RED-black Wa Ode Rangkuno Bhea 3sR-same monkey
        'so Wa Ode Rangkuno Bhea was as black as a monkey'

(69) *no-bheti   A   Se-tu-se-tuda no-losi   we   ghabu*
     3sR-jump.aside ART RED-one-span 3sR-arrive.at loc kitchen
     'One-span jumped aside into the kitchen'

c. The juxtaposed clause follows a clause containing a motion verb (such as
   kala 'go', *foni* 'go up') indicating a kind of purpose. Usually, but not
   necessarily, the juxtaposed clause follows right after the motion verb.
   Again, the subjects of the two clauses must be identical and the verbs must
   agree in mood.

   (70) *naewine   da-si-kala-ha dae-kabua we tehi*
        tomorrow 1pI-SI-go-HA 1pI-fish loc sea
        'tomorrow we will go fishing together in the sea'

   (71) *andoa da-[m]oni dae-empe   ka-mo-taha te   molo   so kamokula-ndo*
        they 3pI-go.up 3pI-take.up NOM-CA-ripe loc mountains for parent-their
        'they will go and bring the cooked food to the mountains for their
         parents'

   (72) *pasino   no-suli-mo   no-bhasi ndoke*
        after.that 3sR-return-PF 3sR-call monkey
        'after that he went home to call the monkey'

   The verb *mai-ghoo* 'come from', when juxtaposed to a motion verb, may lose
   its subject marker and become almost preposition-like:

   (73) *ta-ere-mo   we Malang ta-mai-ghoo te Kandari*
        1eR-leave-PF loc Malang 1eR-come-IO loc Kendari
        'we (ex) left for Malang coming from Kendari'

   (74) *no-suli-mo   mai-ghoo ne-kabua*   'he returned from fishing'
        3sR-return-PF come-IO 3sR-fish

d. The juxtaposed clause consists of a numeral verb, also agreeing with the
   first verb in subject and mood:

   (75) *da-l[um]eni-mo da-ru-dua*   'let us two swim together'
        1pI-swim-PF   1pI-RED-two

   (76) *do-suli-mo   do-to-tolu   do-po-angka-angka*
        3pR-return-PF 3pR-RED-three 3pR-REC-RED-go
        'the three of them went home behind one another'

9.2.2. Subject complementation

In juxtaposition involving subject complementation the juxtaposed clause is
semantically the subject of the first clause. This first clause is
intransitive, consists of only one verb and denotes such concepts as time,
manner and aspect. It can often be translated by an adverbial. The particular
class of verbs that can be followed by such a clause are referred to as
'complement-taking verbs'. Consider the following example:

   (77) *no-nea   a-leni*   'I usually swim'
        3sR-usual 1sR-swim

The complement-taking verb *nea* 'usual' is followed by a simple clause which functions as the argument of that verb.

  With a large number of complement-taking verbs the subject of that verb may agree with the subject of the complement clause. An alternative to (77) is (78), without any meaning distinction:

  (78) *ao-nea   a-leni*   'I usually swim'
       1sR-usual 1sR-swim

I will term this agreement 'subject harmonization'. Not all complement-taking verbs allow for subject harmonization. Three classes can be distinguished: those that cannot take it, those that can and those that have to take it. The following non-exhaustive list illustrates these three classes, followed by examples in clauses.

a. Complement-taking verbs class 1: no subject harmonization

  ne-taa   'good; had better'
  no-hali   'hard, difficult'
  no-langka   'rare, rarely'
  no-po-kantibha-ghoo   'happen to; accidentally'

  (79) *ne-taa-mo   a-s[um]uli-mo*   'I had better go home'
       3sR-good-PF 1sI-return-PF

  (80) *no-hali do-pesua we kamali*   'it is hard to enter the palace'
       3sR-hard 3pR-enter loc palace

  (81) *no-po-kantibha-ghoo niho a-rato*   'I happened to have just arrived'
       3sR-PO-hit-IO   just 1sR-arrive

b. Complement-taking verbs class 2: optional subject harmonization

  no-nea   'usual, usually'
  no-pada   'finish, ready'
  ne-kansuru   'right away'
  ne-rimba   'fast'
  no-kodoho   'far'
  no-ka-mpuu-mpuu   'serious, seriously'
  no-mba-dei-dei   'hurry, hurriedly'
  ne-mbali   'can, may'
  no-wule   'tired'
  no-piru   'sound (of sleep)'
  no-mpona   'long (of time)'
  no-tubhari   'increase; more'

  (82) *ne-kansuru   no-logha-e*   'he stabbed him right away'
       3sR-right.away 3sR-stab-him

  (83) *ae-rimba a-tende*   'I run fast'
       1sR-fast 1sR-run

  (84) *miina-ho na-kodoho no-kala*   'she has not gone far'
       not.yet 3sI-far   3sR-go

(85)*no-wule-mo   dahu no-lumpa*   'the dog was tired from running'
     3sR-tired-PF dog 3sR-run

(86)*do-pada   do-fumaa*   'they have already eaten'
     3pR-finish 3pR-eat

(87)*miina da-[m]iru do-lodo*   'they did not sleep soundly'
     not   3pI-sound 3pR-sleep

Double complementation with subject harmonization may also occur:

(88)ao-nea   ae-rimba a-kala   'usually I walk fast'
     1sR-usual 1sR-fast 1sR-go

It is not clear which factors determine the choice of subject harmonization
in a particular context. What is clear is that most verbs show a preference
for one or the other strategy, without the alternative being ungrammatical.
   The verbs *pada* and *kansuru* may also occur without subject markers, in
which case they function as verbal conjunctions (see 9.7.3).

c. Complement-taking verbs class 3: obligatory subject harmonization

   no-ghindulu   'be/go first, be/go earlier'
   no-tanda   'begin'
   no-tiere   'stop'
   no-wolo   'finished, used up; all'

(89)*a-ghindulu a-fumaa*   'I eat first'
     1sR-first   1sR-eat

(90)*do-wolo   do-ere*   'they have all left'
     3pR-finish 3pR-leave

9.2.3. Object complementation

The juxtaposed clause is semantically the direct object of the complement-
taking verb, which is transitive. Subject harmonization is not an option, but
the subject of the complement clause may be cross-referenced by a direct object
pronominal suffix on the complement-taking verb. This signals emphasis.

(91)*do-wora-mo ao-ghae*   'they saw me cry'
     3pR-see-PF 1sR-cry

(92)*do-wora-kanau-mo ao-ghae*   'they saw ME cry'
     3pR-see-me-PF   1sR-cry

Object-complement-taking verbs include such categories as the following:

1. Physical perception:

   wora   'see'
   fetingke   'hear'
   namisi   'feel'

2. Mental perception and mental states:

kona	'think, suppose'	*monifi*	'dream'
pande-hao	'know'	*parasaea*	'believe'
fekiri	'think'	*tapi*	'remember'
pindalo	'wish'	*kiido*	'refuse, not want'
limpu	'forget'		

3. Verbs of speech, or implying a moment of speech:

bisara	'speak, say'	*tudu*	'order'
ghele	'forbid'	*podhandi*	'promise'
hunda	'agree to'	*salo*	'ask, request'
bhalo	'answer'	*bhasi*	'call, invite'

4. Others:

ghondo-hi	'look for, search'
waa	'give'

Examples (for category 3 see also 9.20):

(93) *a-fetingke-e ne-ngkawowo*   'I heard him whistle'
     1sR-hear-him 3sR-whistle

(94) *do-pande-ha-angko ome-ghohi*   'they know you are lying'
     3pR-know-INT-you 2sR-lie

(95) *do-kona-kanau mie-no   Inggirisi*   'they thought I was English'
     3pR-think-me person-POS English

(96) *a-namisi-e o   gholifa   no-lele   ne   towu-ku*
     1sR-feel-it ART centipede 3sR-crawl loc back-my
     'I felt a centipede crawling on my back'

(97) *miina dao-limpu de-owa   bhaku*
     not   3pI-forget 3pR-bring provision
     'they did not forget to bring provisions with them'

(98) *ne-ghondo-hi nao-maa*   'he looked for something to eat'
     3sR-look-TR 3sI-eat

With *kona* 'think, suppose' the juxtaposed clause as a whole may be cross-referenced by *-e* 'it' on the verb:

(99) *a-kona-e   ome-gholi ghunteli*   'I thought you had bought eggs'
     1sR-think-it 2sR-buy   egg

With certain verbs, an 'object complement' clause is preceded by the suffix *-ghoo* on the verb, indicating that it is in fact functioning as an indirect object. Verbs followed by such complements include *monifi* 'dream' (in which case the suffix *-ghoo* is optional) and *hali* 'desire':

(100) *-no-monifi-ghoo ne-wora kamokula*   'he dreamt that he saw an old
      3sR-dream-IO   3sR-see old   man'

(101) *ne-hali-ghoo-mo na-po-gunti-ghoo laa   anagha*
      3sR-wish-IO-PF 3sI-PO-cut-PURP river that
      'he wished to cross the river'

9.2.4. Clauses juxtaposed to NPs

Certain clauses are directly juxtaposed to NPs. A primary division must be made
between independent and dependent clauses, based on the relation of the clause
to the NP.
   Independent clauses function as the predicate of an equative clause of which
the subject is an NP. The NP and the juxtaposed clause are on the same level;
this is a special type of the equative clause. The subject NPs of such equative
clauses belong to a limited set of obligatorily possessed nouns indicating
speech or mental states and processes and a few others such as *karadhaa* 'work':

(102) *gau-no   mpuu   ta-nao-ndawu-mo kenta topa*
      desire-his really TA-3sI-fall-PF fish dry
      'he really wished that the dried fish would fall'

(103) *soo-ku   lahae mai-no   rambi tolu-mata itu*
      thought-my who   come-A.PART blow three-eye that
      'I thought: who might come at three o'clock?'

(104) *patudhu-ku a-[m]esua we sikola*   'my purpose was to go to school'
      purpose-my 1sI-enter loc school

(105) *karadhaa-no ne-kabua kenta*   'his work is to catch fish'
      work-his   3sR-catch fish

Some of these nouns may also follow the juxtaposed clause. This is especially
common with *amba-no* 'his word; he said' (see 9.20). In one example the subject-
noun *namisi* 'feeling' is found inside the predicate clause, which itself is
also complex:

(106) *ingka pe   nao-hali   namisi-ku dae-ghondo-hi*
      ENIM FUT.not 3sI-difficult feeling-my 1pI-look-TR
      'it seems to me that it won't be hard to search'

Dependent juxtaposed clauses allow for possible subdivisions:

a. 'Relative' juxtaposed clauses. These clauses are not formally marked as
   relative clauses, as they lack participles but have fully inflected verb
   forms instead. Semantically, however, they also narrow down the range of
   possible referents of the domain noun. These juxtaposed relative clauses are
   especially common after NPs that are the argument of the existential verb
   naando 'be'. It is always possible to replace the fully inflected form by an
   active participle.

(107) a. *naando se-mie   moghane no-kala welo katugha*
         be   one-CLAS man   3sR-go in   forest
         'there was a man who went into the forest'

   b. *naando se-mie   moghane k[um]ala-no welo katugha*
       be   one-CLAS man   go-A.PART   in   forest
       'there was a man who went into the forest'

(108) *naando se-mie   hadhi no-gaa   bhe ana-no*
       be   one-CLAS haji 3sR-marry with child-his
       'there was a haji who had married his child'

(109) *naando se-pele   sau mo-kesa-no   ne-lame-lame we*
       be   one-CLAS wood -beautiful-A.PART 3sR-RED-lie loc

       se-mbali-ha-no wata
       one-side-HA-POS log

       'there was a beautiful piece of wood lying beside a log'

Other examples are also found, in which the 'relativized' noun is the
subject, the object or a dependent NP within the juxtaposed clause. There is
no intonation break between the head noun and the clause:

(110) *no-po-ghawa-ghoo kamokula ne-katuko no-mai-ghoo no-hulo*
       3sR-REC-get-IO   old   3sR-stick 3sR-come-IO 3sR-hunt
       'she met an old man with a stick who had been hunting'

(111) *ne-ghawa-mo se-ghulu kenta no-rapa-mo   ka-bhala-no*
       3sR-get-PF one-CLAS fish 3sR-enorm-PF NOM-big-its
       'he got an extremely big fish'

(112) *tamaka ne-mbali-mo   kontu do-kona-e   Bahutara*
       but   3sR-become-PF stone 3pR-call-it Bahutara
       'but it became a stone which is called Bahutara'

Finally, a juxtaposed relative clause may follow the noun *sabhabu-no* 'the
reason'; the conjunction *sampe* 'until, so that' may introduce the clause:

(113) *o   hae sabhabu-no sampe do-kiido   da-poguru*?
       ART what reason-its until 3pR-refuse 3pI-learn
       'what is the reason that they refuse to learn?'

b. 'Appositive' juxtaposed clauses, in which the clause states the content of
   the head noun. Such nouns include *bhirita* 'news', *tula-tula* 'story', *ka-
   bhalo* 'answer':

   (114) *ta-no-naando-mo bhirita de-faraluu guru*
          TA-3sR-be-PF   news   3pR-need   teacher
          'suddenly there came the news that they needed teachers'

   (115) *ka-bhalo-no   miina-mo na-ko-doi   miina a-[m]arasaea*
          NOM-answer-his no.more 3sI-HAVE-money not   1sI-believe
          'his answer that he did not have any money left I did not believe'

c. 'Content' juxtaposed clauses, linked to an exclamatory clause of which the
   head is a deverbal noun (see 7.7):

(116) *ka-bhala-no maka soso-no   kenta topa no-fumaa-e-mo dahu*
      NOM-big-POS EMPH regret-his fish dry 3sR-eat-it-PF dog
      'how sorry he was his dried fish had been eaten by the dog!'

(117) *ka-bhela-no   lalo-no   o   mie   da-s[um]umbele-e kaasi*
      NOM-wounded-POS heart-POS ART person 3sI-slaughter-her pity
      'how sad the people were they were going to slaughter her, poor thing'

d. Others, in which the semantic relationship between the head noun and the
   juxtaposed clause varies, although some sort of dependency is involved:

(118) *no-ala-mo   dawu-no de-pansa*   'he took his share of the
      3sR-take-PF part-his 3sR-fish   fishing'

(119) *guru-mu   ome-afa?   guru-ku   a-ngadhi*
      teacher-your 2sR-do.what   teacher-my 1sR-recite
      'what does he teach you?   He teaches me to recite (the Quran)'

(120) *patudhu-no no-kala ini na-[m]ealai*
      purpose-his 3sR-go this 3sI-ask.permission
      'the purpose of his going was to ask permission (to leave)'

(121) *ne-bhasi-ane-mo sabhangka-no so bhai-no   na-k[um]ala ini*
      3sR-call-him-PF friend-his   for friend-his 3sI-go   this
      'she called one of his friends for him to be a companion during his
       journey'

9.3. Conjoining: introduction

In this section clausal connections will be discussed which I call conjoining,
that is, the linking of two clauses by means of a conjunction and separated by
an intonational break. In some instances the conjunction is absent, but the
pause in the intonation then serves to distinguish this type from
juxtaposition.
   Subdivisions have been made on some broad semantic groupings (for example
sequence, contrast, conditional) but I am fully aware that other groupings are
also possible.
   Then a note about conjunctions. In chapter 3 conjunctions were introduced as
a separate wordclass. There are, however, certain difficulties with
conjunctions. First, there are only a few words that can only function as a
conjunction. Other words that function as conjunctions are in fact nouns or
verbs. I will call those conjunctive nouns and verbs respectively. Still other
conjunctions also belong to other wordclasses such as *peda* 'like, as'
(preposition) and *eano* 'each, every' (quantifier).
   Secondly, certain conjunctions can only be used to link clauses within the
sentence (for example *ane* 'if', *rampahano* 'because'), whereas others can also,
or preferably do, link sentences and can thus initiate a new sentence (for
example *dadihanomo* 'so, therefore'; *tangkanomo* 'in short'). It might be argued
that words such as the latter are in fact adverbs, but since their function is
clearly to connect clauses and sentences I prefer to call them conjunctions. I
suggest a division is necessary between dependent and free conjunctions, the
latter having the extra property of the ability to connect sentences as well as
clauses.

   The remainder of this section on conjoined clauses is built up as follows. After a discussion of conjoining without conjunctions (9.4) follows a fairly detailed description of different types of conjoining based on their meaning and arranged by conjunction or affix (9.5 - 9.19).

9.4. Conjoining without conjunction

When two clauses are conjoined without overt conjunction, the semantic relationship shows a considerable variety (contrast, reason, clarification and so on). Usually the two clauses show some sort of balanced structure, or, in the case of clarification, the second clause is a partial repetition of the first. In balanced structures, parts of the second clause may be 'gapped', but the conditions for and the extent of gapping have not been investigated in detail.
   Finally, it should be mentioned that it is not always easy to decide whether clauses that look like conjoining without conjunctions are in fact two different sentences. In other words, whether a slight pause is a comma or a full stop. In the following examples I assume the pause signals a break between clauses:

   (122) *a-bhiku-a-bhiku ne-rabu kadada,   a-laga-a-laga ne-tumbu kahitela*
         RED-ART-snail   3sR-make vegetables RED-ART-ant   3sR-pound maize
         'Snail cooked the vegetables, Ant pounded the maize'

   (123) *sigaa   no-wolo   no-ala,   sigaa   dua miina*
         sometimes 3sR-finish 3sR-popular sometimes also not
         'sometimes it got sold out, sometimes it did not'

   (124) *garaa no-ghawa-mo dhakasumu-no,   no-ghawa-e we panda-no   lambu*
         SURPR 3sR-get-PF   flying.jacket-her 3sR-get-it loc bottom-POS house
         'then she found her flying jacket; she found it under the house'

In the following examples temporal sequence is marked without conjunctions. Notice, however, that the perfective suffix *-mo* is absent in the first clause but present in the second (see 9.21):

   (125) *no-fetingke pogau-no   dahu, no-futaa-mo katogha*
         3sR-hear   speech-POS dog   3sR-laugh-PF crow
         'when he heard the speech of the dog, the crow laughed'

   (126) *garaa no-rato   we kaghotia maitu, no-wora-da-mo*
         SURPR 3sR-arrive loc beach   that   3sR-see-them-PF

         sa-robhi-robhine-hi
         ONLY-RED-woman-PLUR

         'when he arrived on the beach, he saw them, only women'

The temporal adverb (participle?) *bhaa-bhaano* 'at first, for the first time' occurs in such temporal clauses with the meaning 'when first'. The verb in the second clause is not marked by *-mo*:

(127) *bhaa-bhaano a-kala we Raha, ao-tehi   a-wora oto*
      RED-first   1sR-go loc Raha 1sR-afraid 1sR-see car
      'when I first went to Raha, I was afraid when I saw cars'

(128) *bhaa-bhaano ta-po-ghawa we Jakarta, miina a-t[um]anda-i-e   dua*
      RED-first   1eR-REC-get loc Jakarta not   1sI-remember-TR-him also
      'when we (ex) first met in Jakarta, I did not remember him'

Temporal sequence can also refer to a point in the future. In that case Muna does not make a distinction between a temporal and a conditional clause. The first clause may be introduced by *ane* 'if', but need not be:

(129) *(ane) na-r[um]ato sabhangka-ku, fo-rato-kanau*
      (if) 3sI-arrive friend-my   (IMP)-CAUS-arrive-me
      'when my friend comes, please tell me'

(130) *ae-late-mo dua ne ini itu na-[m]ongko-kanau-mo dua idha-ku*
      1sI-live-PF also loc this that 3sI-kill-me-PF   also father-my
      'if I stay to live here, my father will kill me also'

(131) *da-mate da-si-mate-ha, da-d[um]adi da-si-dadi-ha*
      1pI-die 1pI-SI-die-HA 1pI-live   1pI-SI-live-HA
      'if we die, we will die together; if we live, we will live together'

9.5. Alternative

An alternative conjoined clause is introduced by the conjunction *maka*:

(132) *o-ghawa-e-mo   itu maka miina-ho*?   'have you got it or not yet?'
      2sR-get-it-PF that then not.yet

For other uses of *maka*, see 9.7.2. The conjunction *atawa* (probably a borrowing from Indonesian *atau* 'or') is also used for alternative conjoining.

9.6. Simultaneous

The conjunction *bhe* 'with' (also preposition, see 6.2.1) links two clauses that occur simultaneously. The subjects of the two clauses must be the same and the verb in the second clause cannot be suffixed with *-mo*.

(133) *no-sia-e   feka-tangka-tangka katogha bhe no-horo feka-rimba-rimba*
      3sR-bite-it ADV-RED-firm   crow   with 3sR-fly ADV-RED-fast
      'the crow held it very tightly in his beak while he flew as fast as
       possible'

(134) *no-bisara-mo ama-no   'Uumbe' bhe no-fo-limba   bhaku-ndo*
      3sR-speak-PF father-her yes   with 3sR-CAUS-go.out provision-their
      'her father said "Yes" while he took out their provisions'

(135) *no-ghae-mo bhe no-tumbu-tumbu-lao koro-no*
      3sR-cry-PF with 3sR-RED-pound-INT bottom-his
      'he cried while hitting his buttocks'

Because of the condition of identical subjects, the following sentence is ungrammatical:

(136) *ama-ku   no-kala-mo we Kandari bhe inodi a-kala we Baubau
       father-my 3sR-go-PF loc Kendari and I   1sR-go loc Baubau
       'my father went to Kendari and/while I went to Baubau'

The sentence becomes acceptable by leaving out *bhe* or by replacing it with a conjunction such as *garaa*.

9.7. Temporal

Temporal clauses allow for a wide variety of marking. Some of the linking between the clauses is taken care of by affixes and some by conjunctions, either dependent or free conjunctions. These three strategies will be discussed and illustrated in turn. In most of the examples that follow, the clause containing the temporally preceding action precedes the main activity clause. That first clause is never marked with the perfective suffix *-mo*, whereas the second clause is, except after such words as *kansuru* 'right away' (also when inflected) and *maka* 'then' (see 9.21).

9.7.1. Marked by affixes

1. When the events denoted by the verbs in the two clauses occur in rapid succession, the prefix *sa-* (10.2.44) is affixed to the verb in the first clause, which is either nominally or verbally inflected. The subject of that clause, if present, normally follows that verb. This rapid succession is equivalent in meaning to the English construction 'as soon as'. When followed by a vowel, *sa-* can be reduced to *s-*.

(137) *sa-no-wora   ghule, kamokula amaitu ne-kansuru no-logha-e*
       WHEN-3sR-see snake old   that   3sR-at.once 3sR-stab-him
       'as soon as the old man saw the snake, he stabbed him'

(138) *sa-wanu-no   ndoke, no-bisara-mo ne kapoluka*
       WHEN-wake.up-his monkey 3sR-speak-PF loc tortoise
       'as soon as the monkey woke up, he said to the tortoise'

This construction is also possible for future time reference, in which only the verbal (irrealis) inflection is used:

(139) *sa-o-[m]etingke po-ganda-no   po-mbololo-no*
       WHEN-2sI-hear   PLAY-drum-A.PART PLAY-gong-A.PART

       ta-sonso-sonso-ghoo-mo aitu
       JUST-RED-follow-IO-PF   that

       'as soon as you hear (people) play the drum and play the gong, follow
        that'

(140) *sa-nao-kele oe   maitu, na-r[um]ato-mo Burungakusa*
       WHEN-3sI-dry water that   3sI-arrive-PF Burungakusa
       'as soon as the water has dried up, Burungakusa will come'

2. The prefix *paka-* (10.2.37) 'when first, when just', on verbal bases with
   nominal or verbal inflection indicates a temporal relationship between two
   states, or durative events in which the state/event in the main clause takes
   place during the initial stages of the state denoted in the clause
   containing *paka-*.

   (141) *paka-gaa-ndo   sadhia do-pogira*   'when they were just married,
         FIRST-marry-their always 3pR-fight   they were always fighting'

   (142) *paka-mate-no   no-bhari kahanda*   'when he had just died, there
         FIRST-die-his 3sR-many ghost   were many ghosts'

   (143) *paka-lente-no anahi aitu, naando no-saki ina-no*
         FIRST-born-his child that be   3sR-sick mother-his
         'just after the birth of the child, his mother was still ill'

   This prefix is related to the temporal adverb *paka-paka* 'at first; ini-
   tially'.

3. The prefix *ta-* (10.2.48) on verbal bases indicates an 'until' clause. The
   verb is obligatorily suffixed with *-mo*, while the suffix *-hi* also frequently
   emerges. Clauses containing such *ta-*derivations may either precede or follow
   the main clause.

   (144) *ta-no-ti-doli-mo   gholeo miina da-r[um]ato kamokula-ndo*
         UNTIL-3sR-ACC-turn-PF sun   not   3pI-arrive parent-their
         'until the sun set, their parents had not arrived'

   (145) *ne-late bhe awa-no   ini-a   ta-no-bhala-hi-mo*
         3sR-live with grandparent-his this-CL UNTIL-3sR-big-HI-PF
         'until he was grown up he lived with his grandmother'

   (146) *ta-no-wule-mo   buku-no miina nae-pooli oe*
         UNTIL-3sR-tired-PF bone-her not 3sI-able water
         '(even) until she was very tired, she still had not got any water'

9.7.2. Marked by dependent conjunctions

1. One of the most common ways to mark temporal succession is through the use
   of the conjunction *kaawu* 'after'. In a temporal clause containing *kaawu* the
   verb must take the initial position in the clause, immediately followed by
   kaawu. If a full subject is present, it must follow this *kaawu*. Again, the
   verb in the temporal clause cannot be, but the verb in the main clause must
   be, suffixed by *-mo* (except after the adverb *kansuru*).

   (147) *no-ko-labhi   kaawu raa-taghu, ae-mbali-mo   guru*
         3sR-HAVE-more after two-year   1sR-become-PF teacher
         'after more than two years, I became a teacher'

   (148) *no-mate kaawu ghule amaitu, andoa do-si-suli-ha-mo*
         3sR-die after snake that   they 3pR-SI-return-HA-PF
         'when the snake was dead, they went home together'

(149) *no-rato   kaawu we lambu-ndo   ini, kansuru no-ghoro-e*
      3sR-arrive after loc house-their this at.once 3sR-throw.away-it

      kalangka-no ini
      basket-her this

      'when she got home, she immediately threw her basket away'

2. Temporal sequence is also marked by the conjunction <u>maka</u> 'then'. The verb in the clause following <u>maka</u> cannot be suffixed with -<u>mo</u>:

(150) *no-ene-e-mo   dahu maka no-fumaa*
      3sR-pick.up-it-PF dog then 3sR-eat
      'the dog picked it up and ate it'

(151) *no-ala-mo   kapulu-no   maka no-lobhi wughu-no*
      3sR-take-PF machete-his then 3sR-hit   neck-his
      'he took his machete and hit him on the neck'

(152) *soba do-ala-e-ghoo   maka da-t[um]isa*
      try 1pR-take-it-PURP then 1pI-plant
      'let's try to take it and then plant it'

When the reference is to a future succession of events, the use of <u>maka</u> implies that the second event will not take place unless the state/event of the first clause has been realized:

(153) *na-r[um]ato kapala maka na-[m]ere*   'not until the ship arrives
      3sI-arrive ship   then 3sI-leave   will he leave'

(154) *nae-fua maka na-s[um]uli*   'he will only return the day
      3sI-two then 3sI-return   after tomorrow'

In such clauses referring to the future, the temporal clause preceding the conjunction *maka* may be marked with the futurity suffix *-ho* (10.2.13). This *-ho* may be suffixed to verbs, nouns and adverbs. Verbs must be in the realis:

(155) *o-pande-ho   maka tiere   po-guru*!
      2sR-know-FUT then (IMP)-stop (IMP)-PO-learn
      'when you know (it), then stop learning!'

(156) *namaghuleo-ho maka a-[m]ago-e*   'not until it is afternoon will
      afternoon-FUT then 1sI-cure-him   I cure him'

(157) *we ghabu-ho   maka ao-maa*   'I won't eat until later in the
      loc kitchen-FUT then 1sI-eat   kitchen'

3. The conjunction *eano* 'every time'. The second clause is not marked by *-mo* because of the recurrent action:

(158) *eano   no-tola, do-bhalo*   'every time he called, they
      every 3sR-call 3pR-answer   answered'

(159) *eano   no-horo, sadhia no-fewule*   'every time he flew, he took a
       every 3sR-fly always 3sR-rest   rest'

4. The conjunction *kira-kira* 'about to'. This conjunction is frequently found
   together with the verb *maho* 'near, almost'. It may also be found in
   combination with the conjunction *kaawu*:

(160) *kira-kira no-maho-mo na-r[um]ako-da, garaa no-tumbu-mo patu*
       about   3sR-near-PF 3sI-catch-them SURPR 3sR-grow-PF bamboo
       'when she was about to catch them, suddenly there grew a bamboo bush'

(161) *kira-kira no-ko-hasili   kaawu ka-fenembula-no, no-suli-mo   tora*
       about   3sR-HAVE-result after NOM-plant-his   3sR-return-PF again
       'when his plant was about to bear fruit, she returned again'

5. The conjunction *sampe* 'until' (possibly a borrowing from Indonesian *sampai*):

(162) *no-lobhi wughu-no ghule maitu sampe no-po-gunti*
       3sR-hit   neck-POS snake that   until 3sR-PO-cut
       'he hit the neck of the snake until it was cut in two'

(163) *ae-ngko-ngkora-mo kansuru   sampe no-mentae*
       1sR-RED-sit-PF   continually until 3sR-morning
       'I sat (there) all the time until it became morning'

6. The negator *miina-ho* 'not yet' (8.5.1) can also function as a conjunction:

(164) *miina-ho na-kodoho no-kala, no-kolingku-mo mata-no*
       not.yet 3sI-far   3sR-go   3sR-glance-PF eye-her
       'she had not yet gone far when her eye fell on something'

(165) *miina-ho na-r[um]ato potandingi-ha, o   bhiku no-fo-rato*
       not.yet 3sI-arrive compete-TEMP   ART snail 3sR-CAUS-arrive

       bhe   bhai-no   kadeki
       with friend-his first

       'before the time of the match had come, the snail first told his
        friends'

7. The nominal conjunction *wakutuu* 'time'. This noun (a loan from Indonesian)
   can function as a conjunction, in which case it is followed by a juxtaposed
   clause. Occasionally, the possessive suffix *-no* is added to *wakutuu*.

(166) *wakutuu no-lengka-e maitu garaa no-fewono-mo ka-buru-no*
       time   3sR-open-it that SURPR 3sR-smell-PF NOM-stink-its
       'when he opened it he smelled the stench'

(167) *wakutuu-no no-horo-ane, garaa no-wora-e-mo   dahu*
       time-its   3sR-fly-it   SURPR 3sR-see-him-PF dog
       'when he flew with it, he was seen by a dog'

8. A number of verbal conjunctions, such as:

a. *No-pada* 'to finish; complete'. May occur uninflected and in combination
with *kaawu*.

    (168) *no-pada   no-fumaa ndoke, no-lodo-mo   deki*
          3sR-finish 3sR-eat monkey 3sR-sleep-PF first
          'when the monkey had finished eating, he first went to sleep'

    (169) *pada   no-bisara peda anagha, ne-kansuru no-filei*
          finish 3sR-speak like that   3sR-at.once 3sR-run.away
          'after he had said that, he immediately ran away'

    (170) *pada   kaawu no-wora-e, no-suli-mo*
          finish after 3sR-see-it 3sR-return-PF
          'when he had seen it, he went home'

b. *No-lapasi* 'go by, pass'. Usually followed by a demonstrative or a time
measure phrase; it may occur uninflected (see 6.2.4).

    (171) *no-lapasi se-ahadhi do-po-ghawa-mo tora*
          3sR-pass one-week 3pR-REC-get-PF again
          'after one week they met again'

    (172) *lapasi i-tolu ta-hawo-mo*   'after three days we (ex) moved'
          pass   I-three 1eR-move-PF

c. *Ne-laa* 'straight'.

    (173) *o   fari ini ne-laa   do-wora A Paso-Paso Bhanggai,*
          ART fairy this 3sR-straight 3pR-see ART Paso-Paso Bhanggai

          kansuru do-filei
          at.once 3pR-run.away

          'as soon as the fairies saw Paso-Paso Bhanggai, they immediately
           ran away'

d. *No-pooli* 'able, get, obtain' in certain fixed expressions. *Kaawu* can be
added.

    (174) *no-pooli no-rondo kansuru a-ere*
          3sR-get 3sR-dark at.once 1sR-leave
          'when it got dark I left right away'

    (175) *no-pooli kaawu no-mentae, moghane-no ini-a   no-kala-mo tora*
          3sR-get after 3sR-morning man-her   this-CL 3sR-go-PF again
          'the next morning her husband went again'

    (176) *no-pooli neewine no-mate-mo*   'the next day she died'
          3sR-get next.day 3sR-die-PF

e. *No-rato* 'to arrive'; may be uninflected, even in the irrealis, in which
case it has future reference.

(177) *no-rato   sabhangka-hi-no nagha do-wule   do-po-kalalambu...*
      3sR-arrive friend-PLUR-her that 3pR-tired 3pR-PLAY-game
      'when her friends were tired of playing games...'

(178) *rato   no-suli   ne-tula-tula-mo bhe Wai-Wai*
      arrive 3sR-return 3sR-RED-tell-PF with Wai-Wai
      'when he came home, he chatted with Wai-Wai'

(179) *r[um]ato   o-mate, ome-mbali buea*
      IRR.arrive 2sI-die 2sI-become crocodile
      'when you die, you will become a crocodile'

9.7.3. Marked by free conjunctions

As discussed in 9.3, free conjunctions can connect both clauses and sentences. Where sentence connections are illustrated, I will not always provide the preceding context.

1. *Kansuru* 'at once, right away, immediately'. The verb following *kansuru* cannot be suffixed with *-mo*.

(180) *no-punda-mo ne suo,   kansuru no-mate*
      3sR-jump-PF loc bamboo.trap at.once 3sR-die
      'he jumped into the bamboo trap and died at once'

(181) *ne-tula-tula-ane-mo kamokula; kansuru do-fo-gaa-da*
      3sR-RED-tell-her-PF old   at.once 3pR-CAUS-marry-them
      'he told the old man about her; right away they were married'

2. *Pasina* (variants *pasino*, *pasighoono*) 'after that; and then'.

(182) *pasino de-ngko-ngkora-mo tora maka de-tula-tula-hi*
      then   3pR-RED-sit-PF   again then 3pR-RED-tell-PLUR
      'after that they sat down again and chatted'

(183) *do-tudu-da   dae-ngkora. Pasina de-ngkora-mo*
      3pR-order-them 3pI-sit   then   3pR-sit-PF
      'they ordered them to sit down; then they sat down'

3. *Panda-pandano* 'finally, in the end'.

(184) *panda-pandano bhangka-ndo miina-mo nao-bhenta*
      finally   boat-their no.more 3sI-hole
      'finally their boat did not have a hole anymore'

9.8. Contrastive

Contrast is marked by four different conjunctions: *tamaka* 'but', *sembali* 'except', *tabea* 'unless' and *mingkinomo* 'nevertheless'.

1. *Tamaka* (variant *tamakahano*) indicates plain contrast:

(185) *aini suano medha-a, tamaka o   kurusi*
      this not   table-CL but   ART chair
      'this is not a table but a chair'

(186) *suano bhiku bhaa-bhaano mo-bhalo-no-a,   tamaka sabhangka-hi-no*
      not   snail RED-first   -answer-A.PART-CL but   friend-PLUR-his
      'it was not the first snail that answered, but his friends'

(187) *gau-ndo   da-gh[um]ele-ane, tamaka do-tehi*
      wish-their 3pI-forbid-him   but   3pR-afraid
      'they wished to forbid him, but they were afraid'

2. *Sembali* (lit. 'one side'), and variants *wasembali*, *masembali* means 'except, unless, on the contrary':

(188) *pa   a-r[um]unsa-ko masembali ome-kapuuna-kanau lambu-no Bula*
      FUT.not 1sI-let.go-you except   2sR-tell-me   house-POS Bula
      'I will not let you go, unless you tell me where Bula's house is'

(189) *do-wolo   do-po-gira;   sembali o   pae miina bhe diu*
      3pR-finish 3pR-REC-fight except ART rice not   be movement
      'they were all fighting. The rice, on the contrary, did not stir a
       limb'

3. *Tabea* (variants: *beano*, *tabeano*, *tabeahano*) has a complex usage; it can only partly be described as a conjunction, although that seems to be its primary function. It links a negative clause to another clause specifying the exception, or the conditions under which the first statement can be true after all.

(190) *pa   nae-mbali deki na-[m]oni telo lambu, tabea na-t[um]isa*
      FUT.not 3sI-can   first 3sI-go.up in   house unless 3sI-plant

      deki kapa-no
      first cotton-his

      'he cannot go up into the house, unless he first plants his cotton'

(191) *tamakahano Wai-Wai no-kiido-mo,   tabeahano na-s[um]uli-mo we*
      but   Wai-Wai 3sR-refuse-PF unless   3sI-return-PF loc

      lambu-no idha-no   anoa
      house-POS father-her she

      'but Wai-Wai refused, (except that) she wanted to return to her own
       father's house'

(192) *sabhara   ne-fumaa   miina na-[m]indalo tabeano foo   dhanggi*
      all.kinds P.PART-eat not   3sI-desire   unless mango dhanggi
      'she did not want to eat any kind of food, except *dhanggi* mango'

When *tabea* is part of a positive clause which is not linked to another clause, the phrase following *tabea* states the necessary condition for

the preceding part. In this case, it cannot be called a conjunction, and the translation 'only; must' is appropriate.

(193) *ane a-fo-ago   idi-a tabeano korondo-ha*
       if 1sR-DETR-cure I-CL unless dark-TEMP
       'if I cure (people) it must be dark'/
       'I only cure when it is dark'

(194) *tabea da-k[um]ala we liwu-ndo   bhai-ndo*
       unless 1pI-go   loc village-POS friend-their
       'we must go to the villages of other people'

(195) *ka-naando-ha-no foo   dhanggi tabea we tehi Tingkulu*
       NOM-be-LOC-POS   mango dhanggi unless loc sea Tingkulu
       'the only place where there is <u>dhanggi</u>-mango is the Tingkulu sea'

4. *Mingkinomo* 'nevertheless, yet':

(196) *do-ghele-ane   no-foni; mingkinomo   no-foni*
       3pR-forbid-him 3sR-go.up nevertheless 3sR-go.up
       'they forbade him to go up; yet he went up'

9.9. Additive

The conjunction *pakade* 'moreover; in addition' introduces an additive clause that provides extra information. Often the adverb *dua* is added to *pakade*.

(197) *no-wule-mo   sepaliha; pakade   no-wora gholeo ne-panda-mo dua*
       3sR-tired-PF very   moreover 3sR-see sun   3sR-low-PF also
       'she was very tired and moreover she saw that the sun was already
        low'

(198) *Bula Siku no-waa-kanau karadhaa ae-rabu-ane bhara-no   adhara-no;*
       Bula Siku 3sR-give-me work   1sI-make-him stable-POS horse-his

       pakade   dua a-gh[um]ondo-hi-ane ringgi-no awa-no
       moreover also 1sI-look-TR-him   coin-POS grandparent-his

       'Bula Siku has given me the task to make a stable for his horse; in
        addition I have to find him his grandfather's coin'

(199) *o   ihi   ka-bhala-hi, pakade   dhangku*
       ART content NOM-big-PLUR moreover beard
       'its contents are big; moreover (it has got) a beard (= thorny
        hair)'

9.10. Surprisive

The conjunction *garaa* (alternant *garaahano*) introduces a 'surprisive' clause, that is, information which is unexpected at that point in the discourse. This may involve a simple 'expectancy reversal' as in 'I thought A, but it turned out that B' or, more frequently, in narrative discourse, where the

next state/event falls outside the logical and cultural rules of what can be expected.

(200) *soo-ku   ihintu mie-no   Kanada, garaa o   Walanda*
      thought-my you   person-POS Canada   SURPR ART Holland
      'I thought you were Canadian, but you are Dutch'

(201) *no-kala-mo no-maho-ti-e;   garaa miina nae-wora hae-hae*
      3sR-go-PF   3sR-near-TR-it SURPR not   3sR-see   RED-what
      'she approached it, but did not see anything'

(202) *no-wora kaawu wewi ini, garaa o   wewi maitu*
      3sR-see after pig this SURPR ART pig that

      ta-no-si-ka-bisara-ha-mo
      TA-3sR-SI-KA-speak-HA-PF

      'when he saw the pig, the pig suddenly began to speak'

Garaa often functions as a free conjunction introducing new sentences in narratives. In this respect it is similar to *pasino* 'and then', the difference being that *garaa* has the extra overtones of unexpectedness ('but then'). Certain less experienced story-tellers tend to overuse it, thereby reducing these overtones.
   The demonstratives *ini* and *itu* can follow this conjunction (see also 5.5.6); *garaa ini* has future reference, while *garaa itu* refers to the past.

(203) *garaa ini, niho-mo o-k[um]ala-mo*?   'well, are you leaving only now?'
      SURPR this just-PF 2sI-go-PF

(204) *amba-no   na-r[um]ato rambi ompulu, garaa itu no-rato   rambi*
      word-his 3sI-arrive blow ten   SURPR that 3sR-arrive blow

      raa-mata-mo
      two-eye-PF

      'he had said he would arrive at ten o'clock, but he came at two'

9.11. Conclusive

The conjunctions *dadi* 'so, consequently' (variant *dadihano(mo)*), *tangkanomo* 'in short, to sum it up' and *sabutuhano* 'because of that, as as result', introduce conclusive clauses. These are free conjunctions.

(205) *niho dua a-tanda   a-fo-fo-guru;   dadihanomo naando dua*
      just also 1sR-begin 1sR-DETR-CAUS-learn so   be   also

      a-ka-mpade-mpade-ane welo a-fo-fo-guru
      1sR-KA-RED-desire-it in   1sR-DETR-CAUS-learn

      'I had just begun to teach, so I still enjoyed teaching'

(206) *miina-mo bhe ka-se-ise; tangkanomo ntigho-mo kaawu do-po-gira-gira*
     no.more be NOM-RED-one in.short   always-PF only 3pR-REC-RED-fight
     'there was no more unity, in short, they were always quarrelling with
      each other'

(207) *a-rato   ne ini garaa no-mamara-ki-kanau isa-ku;*
     1sR-arrive loc this SURP 3sR-angry-TR-me   older.sibling-my

     sabutuhano ka-lea-no   lalo-ku
     as.a.result NOM-painful-POS heart-my

     'when I arrived here my brother was angry at me; as a result I was
      very sad'

9.12. Clarificatory

The conjunctive noun *maana-no* 'that is to say' (lit. 'its meaning') may serve
to introduce a clarificatory clause:

(208) *aitu-e-mo so ne-sangke;   maana-no   aitu-a na-ti-bharaki,*
     that-EM-PF FUT P.PART-appoint meaning-its that-CL 3sI-ACC-love

     na-ti-mo-tehi
     3sI-ACC-CA-fear

     'he will be the leader, in other words, he will be loved and be
      feared'

9.13. Conditional

Conditional clauses, both real and unreal, are introduced by *ane* 'if'. Such
conditional clauses may refer to the present, the past, the future or to a
generic situation. An alternative for *ane* is *barangka* 'if'. Sometimes the two
are found together. In conditional clauses both the realis and the irrealis
mood is found. It is not yet clear which factors determine that choice.

(209) *ane o-h[um]unda na-[m]eda aini, madaho a-[m]oni-si-e   inodi*
     if 2sI-agree   3sI-like this later 1sI-go.up-TR-it I

     kalei tatu
     banana that

     'if you agree to this, I will climb that banana tree'

(210) *ane da-[m]ekiri-e, no-bhie   sepaliha karadhaa-ku*
     if 3pI-think-it   3sR-heavy very   work-my
     'come to think of it, my work was very heavy'

(211) *barangka no-ala   kenta-hi-no, ne-gholi-ane kahitela*
     if   3sR-popular fish-PLUR-his 3sR-buy-it   maize
     'when his fish sold well, he would buy maize with it'

(212) *barangka ane miina nao-ala,   miina dao-maa dua se-gholeo*
      if   if not   3sI-popular not   3pI-eat also one-day
      'when it did not sell well, they would not eat one day'

The main clause may simply consist of the question word *peda hae* 'how'. This
construction is used for suggestions or new ideas.

(213) *peda hae ane da-t[um]angkahi deki*? 'how about eating first?'
      like what if 1pI-eat   first

Real and unreal conditionals are not distinguished:

(214) *ane na-r[um]ato kapala, a-k[um]ala we Jakarta*
      if 3sI-arrive ship   1sI-go   loc Jakarta
      1. 'when a/the ship comes, I will to to Jakarta'
      2. 'if a ship would come, I would go to Jakarta'

Similarly, negative real and counterfactual conditionals both take the negator
pa/paise:

(215) *ane pa   na-mai   kapala, pa   a-k[um]ala*
      if FUT.not 3sI-come ship   FUT.not 1sI-go
      1. 'if the ship won't come, I won't go'
      2. 'if the ship hadn't come, I wouldn't have gone'

Other examples of negative counterfactuals (see also 8.5.2):

(216) *ane paise, pa   a-po-ghawa bhe ama-ku*
      if FUT.not FUT.not 1sI-REC-get with father-my
      'if not, I would not have met my father'

(217) *ane pa   o ka-bhore-bhore ini-a, o hae dua so*
      if FUT.not ART DIM-RED-stupid this-CL ART what also for

      nae-owa-ghoo   kalangka?
      3sI-bring-PURP basket

      'if she were not stupid, why would she have brought a basket?'
       (rhetorical question stressing the stupidity of the action)

The complex conjunction *sa-pae/sa-paise* means 'if not' and is equivalent to *ane
pa*. The main clause is sometimes introduced by the preposition *ampa* (6.2.3).

(218) *na-mamara-ki-e-mo   kolakino liwu   sa-pae   na-ti-wora*
      3sI-angry-TR-him-PF ruler   village IF-FUT.not 3sI-ACC-see

      karada-no maitu
      spear-his that

      'the ruler of the village will be angry at him, if his spear is not
       visible (= does not turn up)'

(219) *sa-paise   na-[m]eda aitu tabea   pae-mo   da-k[um]aradhaa*
      IF-FUT.not 3sI-like that unless FUT.no-more 3pI-work
      'if that is not the case, one must no longer work'

(220) *sa-pae   o-t[um]oka-e   bhara-no   adhara-ku na-se-gholeo ampa*
      IF-FUT.not 2sI-complete-it stable-POS horse-my FUT-one-day until

      a-[m]eka-mate-ko
      1sI-CAUS-die-you
      'if you have not finished the stable for my horse in one day, I
       will kill you'

The conjunction *ane* has some other, aberrant, usages.

1. A kind of topic marker, 'as for' (compare Indonesian *kalau*):

(221) *ane inodi, da-s[um]angke o   pae*
      if   I   1pI-appoint   ART rice
      'as far as I am concerned, we will appoint the rice'

(222) *ane fekiri-ku idi, andoa maitu o   robhine-hi*
      if thought-my I   they that ART woman-PLUR
      'it seems to me that they are women'

2. A marker in unconditional imaginative clauses, 'if only':

(223) *ka-mbaka-no kenta topa anagha! Ane maka so inodi!*
      NOM-nice-POS fish dry that   if EMPH for I
      'how nice that dried fish is! If only it were for me!'

The conjunction *barangka* also functions as a free conjunction introducing a
conclusive clause: 'then, in that case'.

(224) *amba-no ndoke: 'Barangka a-[m]unda ne watu'*
      word-POS monkey then   1sI-jump loc that
      'the monkey said: 'In that case I will jump over there'

Another conjunction introducing conditional clauses is *sumano* (sometimes
suffixed with *-mo*) 'if only, provided that':

(225) *aitu sumano-mo o-runsa-kanau madaho ae-salo-angko ne Ompu*
      now if.only-PF 2sR-let.go-me later 1sI-ask-you   loc God

      o-ko-ana-ghoo   mo-kesa-no
      2sI-HAVE-child-IO -beautiful-A.PART

      'now if only you let me go, I will ask God for you that you will
       have a beautiful child'

(226) *madaho tora do-tubhari, sumano bhe ka-ghosa   bhe ka-tolala*
      later   again 1pR-add   if.only be NOM-strong with NOM-opportune
      'later we will add again, provided we have strength and opportunity'

9.14. Concessive

Concessive clauses, indicating frustrated expectation, are introduced by the
conjunction *mahingga* 'although, even though'. Concessive clauses may precede or
follow the main clause and occasionally even occur within the main clause
following the subject.

(227) *do-kala-ana de-kapihi   mahingga da-r[um]ato we   tehi Tingkulu*
     1pR-go-ADH 1pR-search although 1pI-arrive loc sea Tingkulu
     'let us go and search, even though we may arrive at the Tingkulu
      sea'

(228) *mahingga de-tula-tula-ane miina na-[m]arasaea*
     although 3pR-RED-tell-him not   3sI-believe
     'although they told him, he did not believe (it)'

(229) *noafa kulitoto   amaitu, mahingga do-ghompa-ane   kontu miina*
     why   dry.leaves that   although 3pR-throw-IO/it stone not

     na-ti-kambisa-a?
     3sI-ACC-scatter-CL

     'why are those dry leaves not scattered, even though one throws
      stones at them?'

When the concessive clause contains a numeral, the prefix *ti-* (variant *te-*,
10.2.50) precedes that numeral. Its function is to stress the unexpected
outcome ('as much/many as').

(230) *mahingga ti-nomo-taghu-mo no-po-guru   wamba   Inggirisi*
     although TI-six-year-PF   3sR-PO-learn language English

     miina-ho na-[m]ande
     not.yet 3sI-know

     'although he has studied English for as many as six years, he still
      cannot speak it'

(231) *mahingga ti-tolu-piri   no-fumaa, miina nao-wehi*
     although TI-three-plate 3sR-eat   not   3sI-full
     'although he has eaten as much as three platesful, he is not full'

Finally, *mahingga* is followed by question words such as *peda hae* (*peda hamadi*)
'how' and *ne hamai* 'where' to mean 'however that be' and 'wherever':

(232) *mahingga na-[m]eda hamadi a-[m]angkafi-e monifi-ku*
     although 3sI-like where 1sI-follow-it dream-my
     'whatever may happen, I will follow my dream'

(233) *tangkanomo na-k[um]apihi-e kansuru   mahingga ne   hamai*
     in.short   3sI-search-it   continually although loc where
     'in short, she would go on looking for it, wherever (she had to go)'

9.15. Reason

Clauses indicating reason are introduced by one of the following conjunctions:
rampano (variant *rampahano*), *masamo*, *kapaa* (*rampano*), all meaning 'because'.
Especially *rampa(ha)no* is very frequently used. It can either precede or follow
the reason clause. In addition, the conjunctive noun *sabhabu-no* (lit. 'its
reason') also means 'because'. Finally, *dhorohano* 'because' can serve as a
conjunction followed by an NP ('because of').

(234) *miina na-k[um]ala we sikola rampahano no-saki*
      not   3sI-go   loc school because   3sR-sick
      'he has not gone to school because he is ill'

(235) *miina-mo ao-lodo-a,   masamo ntigho a-feki-fekiri monifi-ku*
      no.more 1sI-sleep-CL because always 1sR-RED-think dream-my
      'I did not sleep any more, because I was constantly pondering about
       my dream'

(236) *madaho tora do-tubhari, sabhabu-no o   alo   ini no-bhala-mo*
      later   again 1pR-add   reason-its ART night this 3sR-big-PF
      'later we may add again, because it is already late tonight'

(237) *miina na-[m]oni telo lambu, no-tehi   rampahano*
      not   3sI-go.up in   house 3sR-afraid because
      'he did not enter the house because he was afraid'

(238) *ne-tisa-ndo   ghonu-no, kapaa   ne-kona-ndo   bhake-no*
      P.PART-plant-their seed-its because P.PART-call-their fruit-POS

      wute sau ini no-mba-wanta-wanta, no-ko-ghonu-ghonu we lalo
      yam wood this 3sR-RATHER-RED-long 3sR-HAVE-RED-seed loc inside

      'they planted its seeds, because this so-called wood-yam was rather
       long and had many seeds inside'

(239) *kapaa   rampahano ka-bhala-no lalo-ndo   da-ko-harasia   ini*
      because because   NOM-big-POS heart-their 3pI-HAVE-secret this

      do-kala-mo de-kapihi bhake-no foo
      3pR-go-PF   3pR-search fruit-POS mango

      'because they really wanted to have a child, they went to look for a
       mango fruit'

(240) *dhorohano ka-ware-no   lima-no se-kidha mata oe welo*
      because   NOM-broad-POS hand-his one-wink eye water in

      bhangka-ndo no-kele-mo
      boat-their 3sR-dry-PF

      'because of his broad hands, the boat was dry in a wink'

There is a special type of reason-result-clause connection in which the result
is a nominalized clause, indicated by the circumfix *ka-/-ha* (10.2.18) on the
verbal base. The negator is *pata* (see 8.5.3).

(241) *ka-mai-ha-ku   ne Bandu   ini rampano bhe isa-ku*
      NOM-come-REAS-my loc Bandung this because be older.sibling-my
      'the reason that I have come here to Bandung is because my brother
       is here'

(242) *ka-ti-kona-ha-no   wite-no Wuna rampano do-wora kontu*
      NOM-ACC-call-REAS-POS land-POS Wuna because 3pR-see stone

      ko-wuna-no
      HAVE-flower-A.PART

      'the reason the land is called 'Wuna' (= flower) is because they
       saw a stone with flowers on it'

(243) *pata kao-lodo-ha-ndo   morondo   rampano no-rindi siaghe*
      NEG NOM-sleep-REAS-their last.night because 3sR-cold too
      'the reason they did not sleep last night is because it was too cold'

When the result is presented in a new sentence, with the reason preceding in
the previous sentence, the perfective suffix *-mo* is added to the
nominalization. If the negator *pata* is present, *-mo* is suffixed there.

(244) *kansuru no-punda ne suo.   Ka-mate-ha-no-mo*
      at.once 3sR-jump loc bamboo.trap NOM-die-REAS-his-PF
      'at once he jumped into the bamboo trap. And that is the reason he
       died'

(245) *Pata-mo ka-pande-ha-ndo   anahi-hi   do-wamba   Inggirisi*
      NEG-PF NOM-know-REAS-their child-PLUR 3pR-language English
      'and that is the reason the children do not speak English'

9.16. Manner

Manner clauses are introduced by the conjunctive preposition *peda(mo)* 'like,
as' (see 6.2.4), followed by an active or passive participle clause.

(246) *no-ghompa-e-mo   peda me-ghompa-no   kontu*
      3sR-throw-him-PF like -throw-A.PART stone
      'he threw him away like one throws a stone'

(247) *ane do-fumaa-e do-mate-ane peda ne-pulu-ghoo-no*
      if 3pR-eat-it 3pR-die-it like P.PART-mention-IO-his

      ka-bhatatala-hao-no
      NOM-curse-INT-his

      'if one eats it one dies because of it, as is mentioned in the curse'

(248) *se-paku naando se-mie   no-kala ne-kapihi so ne-fumaa-no*
      one-time be   one-person 3sR-go 3sR-search FUT P.PART-eat-his

      peda ne-mo-nea-ha-ghoo-no
      like P.PART-CA-usual-HA-IO-his

      'once a man went to look for his food as he was used to'

9.17. Purpose

Purpose clauses are marked as such by the suffix *-ghoo* (10.2.10) on the verb (glossed PURP). This purpose *-ghoo* is different from, though possibly related to, the indirect object suffix *-ghoo*. The verb is in the realis or irrealis, depending on whether the purpose is generic or refers to a specific future action.

(249) *horo-kaeta a-[m]unda-ghoo*   'move a little so that I can
      move-us   1sI-jump-PURP   jump'

(250) *no-kala we sangku nae-wei-ghoo*   'he goes to the forest to clear
      3sR-go loc forest 3sI-clear-PURP   (it)'

(251) *mo-pilo   tora a-h[um]oro-angko-ghoo*
      IMP-close.eyes again 1sI-fly-you-PURP
      'close your eyes again so that I can fly with you'

(252) *no-fo-guru   anahi hende bughou do-pande-ha-ane-ghoo dua*
      3sR-CAUS-learn child growth new   3sR-know-INT-it-PURP too
      'it teaches the younger generation so that they will know too'

When the purpose clause contains the preposition *so* 'for', this indicates a close link between a noun in the main clause (not the subject) and the purpose or the result. This noun functions as an instrument in the purpose clause:

(253) *no-sangke pandanga-no so na-l[um]ogha-e-ghoo*
      3sR-lift spear-his   for 3sI-stab-him-PURP
      'he lifted his spear to stab him'

(254) *ne-salo-mo anagha so kaawu da-po-fehulai-ghoo*
      3sR-ask-PF that   for only 3pI-REC-remember-PURP
      'he asked that so that they would remember each other'

(255) *miina na-ko-doi   so nae-gholi-ghoo pae*
      not   3sI-HAVE-money for 3sI-buy-PURP   rice
      'he did not have money to buy rice'

With vowel-initial verbs, *so* is often cliticized to the verb, for example *s-ae-gholi-ghoo* 'for me to buy' < *so ae-gholi-ghoo* (see 3.1.4).

(256) *fo-ada-kanau   deki doi-mu   s-a-c[um]eta-ghoo tesisi-ku*
      (IMP)-CAUS-borrow-me first money-your for-1sI-print-PURP thesis-my
      'lend me (some of) your money so that I can print my thesis'

This *so* also occurs in purpose clauses following the question words *peda hae* or *peda hamai* 'how':

(257) *bhara [m]eda   hae so dae-ghawa-ghoo harasia*?
      maybe IRR.like what for 1pI-get-PURP   secret
      'how can we possibly get children?'

Negative purpose clauses are introduced by the conjunction *koana* 'lest'. There is no *-ghoo* suffix on the verb, which must be in the realis mood:

(258) *runsa-e-mo   ne ini koana no-meme*
      (IMP)-put-it-PF loc this lest 3sR-wet
      'put it here so that it won't get wet'

(259) *da-s[um]angke kolaki-no ghoti ne-fumaa   koana do-po-gira-gira*
      1pI-appoint   ruler-POS food P.PART-eat lest 1pR-REC-RED-fight
      'we will appoint a leader of the foods so that we won't be quarrelling
       with one another'

9.18. Dubitative

A dubitative clause indicates a purpose that is desired but far from certain.
The conjunction *bhahi* (also an adverb meaning 'perhaps'), glossed DUB
introduces such dubitative clauses. It is not always easy to adequately
translate them into English, although the older English construction
'that...may' comes very close.

(260) *a-[m]angkafi-da-mo bhahi kaawu a-rafo-da*
      1sI-follow-them-PF DUB   only 1sR-catch-them
      'I will follow them that I may find them'

(261) *da-gh[um]ulu   telo kamotugha bhahi de-ghawa foo   dhanggi*
      1pI-go.towards in   forest   DUB   1pR-get mango dhanggi
      'let us go towards the forest that we may get a <u>dhanggi</u>-mango'

(262) *da-s[um]umbele Wa Katogha bhahi kaawu na-ti-taha   oe   maitu*
      3pI-slaughter ART Katogha DUB   only 3sI-ACC-stop water that
      'they will slaughter Wa Katogha that the water may be stopped'

(263) *a-[m]ora-e-ghoo bhahi no-kesa   daano*
      1sI-see-her-PURP DUB   3sR-beautiful indeed
      'let me see her whether she is indeed beautiful'

(264) *soba pakande-ghoo   manu   bhahi pa   na-ko-rasu*
      try (IMP-)feed-IO chicken DUB   FUT.not 3sI-HAVE-poison
      'feed it to the chickens and see whether it is not poisoned'

When the content of the dubitative is undesirable, the caveat-prefix *ta-* is
added to the verb:

(265) *feka-taa   ne ini bhahi ta-do-wora-e mie*
      (IMP)-CAUS-good loc this DUB   TA-3pR-see-it people
      'put it here, that people may not see it'

(266) *na-se-mie   so me-dhaga-ni-no bhantea bhahi ta-do-di-diu-e*
      FUT-one-person FUT -guard-TR-A.PART hut   DUB   TA-3pR-RED-move-it
      'one person will guard the hut, that people may not disturb it'

9.19. Balanced

There are two types of balanced clauses. The first involves the so-called a
fortiori argument: if A is such and such, then certainly B. Both parts of
such balanced clauses are introduced by conjunctions. The first clause (the

minor clause) is marked by *salangi*, *saneghoomo* 'while' or *ane* 'if', whereas the major clause is introduced by *poolimo* or *poolighoomo* (possibly from the verb *pooli* 'can, be able'), often followed by *dua* 'too'.

> (267) *salangi ihintu mie   r[um]emba-no o-[m]ondo-i-mo, poolimo*
>   while   you   person arrive-A.PART 2sI-can-TR-PF   much.more
>
>   *dua inodi*
>   also I
>
>   'if a newcomer like you can do it, how much more I myself'

> (268) *salangi no-moisa we Bandu   se-tanga mate-mo, poolimo   dua bhe*
>   while   3sR-alone loc Bandung one-half dead-PF much.more also with
>
>   *inodi*
>   I
>
>   'living alone in Bandung was already a heavy burden on him, how
>   much more when I am with him'

> (269) *ane nao-maa-e kadadi ka-mama-no   maitu na-mate, poolimo   dua*
>   if 3sI-eat-it animal NOM-chew-her that 3sI-die much.more also
>
>   *nao-maa-e manusia*
>   3sI-eat-it man
>
>   'when an animal eats her quid, it will die, how much more when a man
>   eats it'

The other type of balanced sentence is the so-called co-balanced type: 'the more ... the more'. Both clauses are introduced by the conjunction *nihompu* 'the more':

> (270) *nihompu no-hende ka-bhari-no ihi-no   anoa, nihompu*
>   the.more 3sR-grow NOM-much-POS contents-his he   the.more
>
>   *no-tubhari no-ungko ne bhai-no*
>   3sR-add   3sR-bow loc friend-his
>
>   'the heavier his ears, the more he (= the rice) bows to his friends'

9.20. Direct and indirect speech

9.20.1. Direct speech

Direct quotations usually follow verbs of speech such as *bisara* 'say, speak', *feena* 'ask', *bhalo* 'answer', but they may also precede these verbs. When the verb of speech precedes the quote, the quotation noun *amba-no* 'his word' (or *amba-ku* 'my word' and so on) is often found at the juncture point. It is not obligatory. Occasionally the reduced variant *mba-no* is found.

(271) *no-feena-mo kapoluka: 'peda hamai itu bhirita?'*
      3sR-ask-PF tortoise   like where that news
      'the tortoise asked: "How is it going?"'

(272) *no-bisara-mo tora mie   anagha amba-no: 'sio-siomo pae-mo*
      3sR-speak-PF again person that   word-his hopefully FUT.no.more

      da-marasai'
      1sI-suffer

      'the man spoke again, he said: "Hopefully we will no longer suffer"'

(273) *do-bhalo   mie-hi   niho r[um]ato-no ini amba-do: 'insaidi*
      3pR-answer person-PLUR just arrive-A.PART this word-their we(ex)

      ini o   Wadho'
      this ART Bajau

      'then answered the people who had just arrived: "We are Bajau's"'

It is possible to start a new sentence with *amba-no* without having an
introductory verb of speech. Especially in spoken narrative texts, it is common
to add many *amba-no*'s, at the beginning, at the end, but also in the middle of
an utterance. The following two examples are taken from oral narratives:

(274) *no-doli-mo we wawa.   Amba-no: 'bhahi ihintu eda',*
      3sR-turn-PF loc space.under.house word-her maybe you   girl

      amba-no 'a-[m]orai-mo   ihintu idi', amba-no
      word-her 1sI-propose-PF you   I   word-her

      'she looked down under the house and said: "Maybe you girl", she
       said, "I will propose to you", she said'

(275) *no-bhasi-e-mo   karambau, amba-no: 'aitu',   amba-no,*
      3sR-call-him-PF buffalo   word-his now   word-his

      'da-po-dhalu   dua ka-ghosa da-po-semba'
      1pI-REC-compete also NOM-strong 1pI-REC-kick

      'the buffalo called him, he said: "Now", he said, "we will also
       compete in kicking as hard as possible"'

9.20.2. Indirect speech

Non-interrogative indirect speech is simply juxtaposed to the main clause
containing the verb of speech (9.2.3). This is also possible after *amba-no*:

(276) *no-bisara-mo ama-no   da-gh[um]oro-fi-da welo karumbu*
      3sR-speak-PF father-his 3pI-throw-REP-them in   forest
      'then his father said that they would throw them away in the forest'

(277) *no-tudu-da   da-[m]utaa*   'he ordered them to laugh'
      3sR-order-them 3pI-laugh

```
(278) amba-no   we  lalo-no   ne-taa-mo   na-s[um]uli-mo
      word-his loc heart-his 3sR-good-PF 3sI-return-PF
      'he said to himself that it was better to go home'
```

Indirect interrogative clauses can also be juxtaposed to a clause containing *feena* 'ask', but very frequently the word *bhahi* is found introducing the speech clause. Although at first sight this *bhahi* functions as a complementizer (English 'ask whether'), it seems more appropriate to regard this as a special use of the disjunctive adverb *bhahi* 'maybe', emphasizing the open character of the question (see also 8.6.5).

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(279) no-feena-kanau bhahi sehae    taghu umuru-ku
      3sR-ask-me      maybe how.much year  age-my
      'he asked me how old I was'
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(280) no-feena-ghoo bhahi naando              'he asked whether there still
      3sR-ask-IO     maybe be                  were some'
```

Finally, direct and indirect speech may be embedded in direct or indirect speech, as when, for example, A orders B to tell C something. When the embedded direct speech (B to C) refers to the future, it is preceded by the quotation word *potae* (variant *potee*). This word is synonymous with *so amba-mu* 'your (future) word' (sometimes reduced to *s-amba-mu*). *Potae* is glossed as QUOTE:

```
(281) no-bisara-mo tora  ka-kamo-kamokula ini: 'Suli-mo           we
      3sR-speak-PF again DIM-RED-old          this (IMP)-return-PF loc

      lambu-mu    keda, maka fo-rato          kamokula-mu potae
      house-your girl  then (IMP)-CAUS-arrive old-your    QUOTE

      pae-mo       o-ko-dawua          we  dhunia ini'
      FUT.no.more 2sI-HAVE-happiness loc world  this

      'then the little old woman said: "Go home, girl, and tell your parents
       that you will have no more happiness in this world"'
```

```
(282) hadhi amaitu no-tudu-mo   anahi moelu  maitu na-k[um]ala na-bhasi
      haji  that   3sR-order-PF child orphan that  3sI-go       3sI-call

      guru-no     potee: 'no-bhasi-ko  hadhi welo kaendea'
      teacher-his QUOTE   3sR-call-you haji  in   plantation

      'the haji ordered the orphan child to go and call his teacher and  to
       say: "The haji in the plantation calls you"'
```

```
(283) no-bisara-mo Kapitalao Lahataala: 'suli-mo!          fo-rato
      3sR-speak-PF Kapitalao Lahataala   (IMP)-return-PF (IMP)-CAUS-arrive

      Kapitalao Dhunia s-amba-mu:   "Kapitaloa Lahataala no-ko-ana-mo"'
      Kapitalao Dhunia for-word-your Kapitalao Lahataala 3sR-HAVE-child-PF

      'then Kapitalao Lahataala said: "Go home and tell Kapitalao Dhunia:
       'Kapitalao Lahataala has got a child'"'
```

Notice that in (281) the speech between A (the little old woman) and B (the girl) is direct and between B and C (the parents) indirect. The reverse is true in (282), where the speech between B and C is also direct. Whether this variation is always possible or whether it depends on other deictic phenomena is not yet clear.

9.21. Perfective *-mo* in narrative discourse

In narrative texts the perfective suffix *-mo* has its own special usage. Since this usage can only be discussed with reference to complex sentences, it has to be treated here rather than in the next chapter.

   Primarily, *-mo* is suffixed to those verbs that denote a new completed state or action. In narratives such verbs take the story one step further, and a quick look at the use of *-mo* in a story reveals that the verbs suffixed with *-mo* form the backbone or skeleton of the story. Hence we do not find *-mo* attached to verbs in conjoined clauses or clauses providing background information. In other words, *-mo* functions as a sequential or development marker.

   In certain cases *-mo* is optional, but the governing principles behind this choice are not yet completely clear.

   Some examples of *-mo* in consecutive clauses:

   (284) *do-kala-mo tora; do-wora-mo me-kabua-no; no-feena-mo Wa Ode T.*
         3pR-go-PF again 3pR-see-PF -fish-A.PART 3sR-ask-PF Wa Ode T.
         'they went again; they saw someone fishing; Wa Ode T. asked...'

   (285) *dadi no-suli-mo   te lambu-no; no-fo-rato-mo   idha-no   ini*
         so   3sR-return-PF loc house-his 3sR-CAUS-arrive-PF father-his this
         'so he came home; he told his father...'

These examples consist of more than one sentence (boundary marked by <;>). Sentences consisting of more than one clause have various restrictions on the occurrence of *-mo*. It is not found in the following cases, even though a completed state or action may be denoted:

a. In juxtaposed clauses (including 'relative' juxtaposed clauses, see 9.2.1):

   (286) *no-suli-mo   no-bhasi ndoke*   'he went home and called the
         3sR-return-PF 3sR-call monkey   monkey / he went home to call
                                                  the monkey'

   (287) *do-kala-mo do-ghondo-e*   'they went and looked at it /
         3pR-go-PF   3pR-look-it   they went to look at it'

   (288) *naando se-ghulu ghule niho no-pada   ne-tolo   se-ghulu kadadi*
         be   one-CLAS snake just 3sR-finish 3sR-swallow one-CLAS animal
         'there was a snake that had just swallowed an animal'

b. In complement clauses (9.2.2, 9.2.3):

   (289) *do-kiido-mo   da-pogaa-ti*   'they refused to separate'
         3pR-refuse-PF 3pI-separate-TR

   (290) *no-wule-mo   dahu no-lumpa*   'the dog was tired from running'
         3sR-tired-PF dog 3sR-run

c. In temporal conjoined clauses (with or without conjunctions, see 9.7):

(291) *garaa no-rato   we kaghotia maitu, no-wora-da-mo*
      SURPR 3sR-arrive loc beach   that   3sR-see-them-PF
      'when he arrived on the beach he saw them'

(292) *pada do-kawi   do-kala-mo te lambu-no   ina-no*
      after 3pR-marry 3pR-go-PF loc house-POS mother-her
      'after they got married they went to her mother's house'

(293) *no-pooli kaawu no-mentae   no-sampu-mo   no-bhasi-da*
      3sR-get after 3sR-morning 3sR-go.down-PF 3sR-call-them
      'the next morning he went down to call them'

d. *-mo* is obligatorily absent after the conjunctions *kansuru* 'at once', *maka* 'and then', *bhe* 'with' and *sampe* 'until':

(294) *no-rato   a-fererene a-ko-ghendu; kansuru a-wanu*
      3sR-arrive 1sR-wake.up 1sR-HAVE-shake at.once 1sR-get.up
      'when I woke up, I was startled; at once I got up'

The verb *a-fererene* is not suffixed with *-mo* because it is inside a temporal conjoined clause; *a-ko-ghendu* does not have *-mo* because it is not a completed state. Other examples:

(295) *ne-ala-mo   se-poi   kontu maka no-ghompa-e*
      3sR-take-PF one-CLAS stone then 3sR-throw-it
      'he took a stone and threw it'

(296) *no-pada   kaawu aitu, no-ere-mo   maka no-fealai-kanau*
      3sR-finish after that 3sR-stand-PF then 3sR-ask.permission-me
      'after that he stood up and asked me permission to leave'

(297) *no-rato   te tumbu-no kalei bhe no-futaa, kansuru ne-ala*
      3sR-arrive loc top-POS banana and 3sR-laugh at.once 3sR-take

      kalei se-wua   maka no-fumaa
      banana one-CLAS then 3sR-eat

      'when he arrived at the top of the banana tree, while laughing, he
       right away took a banana and ate it'

(298) *garaa a-bhiku-a-bhiku ini no-fenu-mo toli-no   bhe no-ghae*
      SURPR RED-ART-snail   this 3sR-blow-PF mucus-his and 3sR-cry
      'Snail blew his nose and cried'

(299) *no-ala-mo   kapulu-no   maka no-lobhi wughu-no ghule sampe*
      3sR-take-PF machete-his then 3sR-hit   neck-POS snake until

      no-po-gunti
      3sR-PO-cut

      'he took his machete and hit the snake's neck until it was cut in
       two'

(300) *ae-ngko-ngkora-mo kansuru   sampe no-mentae*
      1sR-RED-sit-PF   continually until 3sR-morning
      'I remained sitting until it became morning'

When *kansuru* 'at once' is inflected as a verb (ae-class), it does not receive *-mo*, nor does the following verb:

(301) *sa-no-wora   ghule, ne-kansuru no-logha-e*
      WHEN-3sR-see snake 3sR-at.once 3sR-stab-him
      'as soon as he saw the snake, he stabbed him right away'

e. In a clause containing a phrase or word (other than the verb) that is suffixed with *-mo*, the verb is not marked with *-mo*:

(302) *morondo   ao-lodo   rambi-mo ompulu raa-mata*
      last.night 1sR-sleep blow-PF ten   two-eye
      'last night I went to sleep at twelve o'clock'

(303) *se-taghu-mo no-hawo we Kandari*   'a year ago he moved to Kendari'
      one-year-PF 3sR-move loc Kendari

(304) *pada-mo   do-ghoro-e   isa-hi-hi-no*
      finish-PF 3pR-throw-her older.sibling-PLUR-PLUR-her
      'she has been thrown away by her older siblings'

In a number of constructions *-mo* seems to be optional, even when it denotes a new and completed state or event. This is the case in the following constructions, all taken from narrative texts.

a. After verbs suffixed with *-ghoo* or *-ane*:

(305) *no-rato   ne kampuuna   no-po-ghawa-ghoo kamokula*
      3sR-arrive loc crossroads 3sR-REC-get-IO   old
      'when she arrived at a crossroads she met an old man'

(306) *pada   kaawu aitu do-fentoho-ane kadeki*
      finish after that 3pR-stop-it   first
      'after that they stopped (doing) it'

b. The first action clause in a story may lack *-mo*:

(307) *naando wawo-no a-bhiku-a-bhiku bhe   a-laga-a-laga. Kamokula-no*
      be   top-its RED-ART-snail   with RED-ART-ant   old-POS

      a-bhiku-a-bhiku ini bhe a-laga-a-laga do-kala de-wei   te molo
      RED-ART-snail   this with RED-ART-ant   3pR-go 3pR-clear loc hills

      'in former times (lit. at the top) there lived Snail and Ant. The
       parents of Snail and Ant went to clear the forest on the hills'

(308) *talahano ini a-dhi-a-dhini bhe a-paa-paando   do-po-dhalu*
      once   this RED-ART-jin   and RED-ART-mouse.deer 3pR-REC-compete

      ka-ntara de-mboto
      NOM-long 3pR-stay.awake

          'once upon a time the jin and the mouse deer held a competition in
           staying awake longest'

c. In a fast sequence of actions without conjunctions the second verb may lack
   -mo:

   (309) *kamokula amaitu no-sangke-mo pandanga-no, no-tonda(-mo) lima-no*
          old   that   3sR-lift-PF spear-his   3sR-take(-PF) hand-POS

          ka-bua-bua maka do-kala te ko-ghule-ha-no
          girl   then 3pR-go loc HAVE-snake-LOC-A.PART

          'the old man lifted his spear, took the girl by the hand and then
           they went to the place where the snake was'

d. When the verb is followed by a derivation consisting of *(ng)ka-* + redupli-
   cation indicating simultaneity (10.2.19):

   (310) *no-filei(-mo)   ngka-pode-podea*   'she ran away screaming'
          3sR-run.away-PF WHILE-RED-scream

The demand that the verb presents a new and completed action accounts for the
fact that *-mo* is not present in clauses providing background information and in
negative clauses.
   Special mention must be made of clauses that are repetitions, rewordings or
further specifications of preceding clauses. Sometimes the verbs in such
clauses also take *-mo*, and sometimes they do not, the reasons for which are not
clear.

   (311) *no-kawi-ane-mo   anahi anagha; no-kawi-ane-mo   Wa Ndaipitu*
          3sR-marry-her-PF child that   3sR-marry-her-PF Wa Ndaipitu
          'he married the child; he married Wa Ndaipitu'

   (312) *do-kala-mo tora do-owa-e;   no-kala no-owa-e   tora o*
          3pR-go-PF   again 3pR-bring-it 3sR-go 3sR-bring-it again ART

          ka-kamo-kamokula
          DIM-RED-old

       'they went again to bring it; the little old woman went to bring it
        again'

This last example is a case of self-correction by the narrator.
   Although the main outline of the usage of *-mo* is fairly clear, it certainly
remains an area of research that needs much more attention.

9.22. The clitic -a

Since the clitic *-a* cannot be analysed as a derivational affix and since it
makes crucial reference to notions higher than the word, it is treated here as
part of the complex sentence.
   This clitic, whose function is rather elusive, can be attached to virtually
any word of whatever word class, except for prepositions and conjunctions.

It does not have a clear meaning, but its usage can possibly best be described under the following three headings.

a. It (optionally) co-occurs with negators (see 8.5), in which case it follows the negated constituent. If there is more than one verb following a negator, both verbs can receive the clitic:

(313) *miina-ho siaghe da-bhari-a mie*   'there were not yet many people'
      not.yet too   3pI-many-CL person

(314) *pa   nae-mbali-a*   'it is not possible'
      FUT.not 3sI-can-CL

(315) *suano ka-ghosa-no   pikore-a*   'it was not the bird's strength'
      not   NOM-strong-POS k.o.bird-CL

(316) *miina na-[m]ooli-a no-foni-si-e-a*   'he was not able to climb it'
      not   3sI-able-Cl   3sR-climb-TR-it-CL

b. It (optionally) occurs in exclamations and questions. This is especially the case with the demonstrative *itu* in exclamations and questions (5.5.6):

(317) *ka-ghindotu-no gholeo itu-a*!   'the sun is at its height'
      NOM-zenith-POS sun   that-CL   (greeting at noon)

(318) *o   hae-no   ini-a*?   'what is this?'
      ART what-its this-CL

(319) *peda hae   itu-a*?   'how is it (going)?'
      like what that-CL

(320) *aitu maka no-tifu-li-e-mo   ani-a*
      now EMPH 3sR-sting-REP-him-PF bee-CL
      'he was terribly stung by the bees'

c. The usage of the clitic -a that is most difficult to describe is its function as a 'pausal clitic' in a certain speech style. It occurs at certain natural boundary points in the flow of speech and has a marked effect on the intonation. The -a is drawn out considerably (two to three times the normal length of a vowel) and the whole word is pronounced at mid-high, level intonation. By this special intonation the idea is conveyed that the speaker has not finished his sentence or speech yet. After such a word there usually is a slight pause which starts a new breath group. At the end of a sentence it is much more rarely found than within a sentence.
   Its most appropriate use seems to be in traditional speaking styles, such as meetings of village elders, when participants express their viewpoints one by one. The lengthening of the vowel may be functional in such circumstances, as it allows some time for the speaker to formulate his thoughts for the next clause while at the same time strongly indicating that he is still in the middle of his speech.
      A good example is the following sentence:

(321) *inodi itu-a,   ane a-[m]angkafi ka-pindalo-ku-a, mahingga*
      I   that-CL if 1sI-follow-TR NOM-wish-my-CL   although

      ta-na-mentae-a,   paise bhe ka-ngara-ha-ku-a   ae-tula-tula
      UNTIL-3sI-morning-CL FUT.not be NOM-bored-HA-my-CL 1sR-RED-tell

      'as for me, if I follow my desire, even until it gets light I will
       not be bored chatting'

Since the clitic is a feature of a particular spoken style, it occurs less
frequently in written texts. One written text, a traditional folk story, was
surprisingly full of it, but on reading it, other speakers of the language
strongly felt it was inappropriate and overdone. Some examples from that story:

(322) *garaa sa-kundo-no   ina-no-a   A Ntaapo-apo no-kala-mo dua*
      SURPR WHEN-leave-her mother-his-CL A Ntaapo-apo 3sR-go-PF also

      no-po-kalalambu. Kahitela so   ne-gau-no   ini-a
      3sR-PLAY-game   maize   FUT P.PART-cook-his this-CL

      ta-no-runsa-mo.   No-suli   ina-no   no-mai-ghoo ne-galu-a
      JUST-3sR-leave-PF 3sR-return mother-his 3sR-come-IO 3sR-field-CL

      garaa ana-no   ini-a   naando no-lodo
      SURPR child-her this-CL be   3sR-sleep

      'as soon as his mother had left, A Ntaapo-apo went to play. The maize
       that he had to cook he just left. When his mother returned from
       working in the field, she found her child still asleep'

As was mentioned above, the clitic occurs at certain natural boundary points,
such as the following:
- at the end of a clause within a sentence;
- at the end of a preverbal temporal, locative or topic phrase;
- at the end of a preverbal subject or object;
- at the end of a clause-initial subject in an equative clause.
Some examples:

(323) *no-kala-mo no-kapihi bhai-hi-no-a   dao-maa-e-ghoo*
      3sR-go-PF   3sR-search companion-PLUR-his-CL 3pI-eat-her-PURP
      'he went to look for his friends in order to eat her'

(324) *ka-lente-ha-ku-a   we Walanda*   'my birthplace is Holland'
      NOM-born-LOC-my-CL loc Holland

(325) *o kadondo-a   karadhaa-no-a ne-bhenta-li   laa-no   sau*
      ART woodpecker-CL work-his-CL   3sR-make.hole-REP stalk-POS tree
      'as for the woodpecker, his work is to make holes in trees'

Chapter 10

Derivational morphology

Before giving a full overview of Muna derivational morphology, a number of terminological points and decisions concerning the presentation of the material must be made clear.

As mentioned in 3.1.3 I maintain a rather sharp language-specific distinction between inflection and derivation. With respect to Muna, inflection concerns the marking of the category 'person' on verbs and nouns, whereas derivation applies to all other categories. The following morphological paradigms are therefore not treated in this chapter: subject inflection (4.1), direct and indirect object inflection (4.8) and possessive inflection (5.3, 5.4). The only exception to this division is the realis-irrealis opposition marked by -um- and its allomorphs. Although that is also a derivational affix, it is also treated elsewhere (4.5) because of its correlation with subject inflection, from which it can hardly be separated. Furthermore, the clitic -a is not considered part of derivational morphology and is treated in 9.22.

In Muna derivational morphology the following processes occur: affixation (10.2), the most complicated and widely used process; reduplication (10.3); compounding (10.4); transposition (10.5) and abbreviation (10.6). Affixes are further subdivided into prefixes, suffixes, infixes and circumfixes. A combination of a prefix and reduplication (for example *mba-* + reduplication) I call an affix-combination.

Derivations are formed on bases. The bases can be simple, in which case they are roots, or complex. A derivation can itself become the (complex) base for a further derivation. A word can thus show multiple layers of derivation, though in some cases it is difficult or even impossible to determine which is the intermediate base (compare English *uncertainty*; from *certain* through *certainty* or through *uncertain*?).

In 10.2 the following information is provided for all the affixes, which, for ease of reference, are given in alphabetical order. First the shape of the affix (combination) is presented, followed by the word class of the derived word (for example a 'nominal prefix' means that the derived word is a noun, irrespective of the word class of the base). Verbal prefixes are further specified as to the verb class the derived verb belongs to (class a-, ae-, or ao-) and its 'attitude' towards *-um-*-infixation: amenable (normal rules apply), resistant (rules do not apply) or blocked (rules cannot apply because of the shape of the prefix), see 2.8.1. The meaning of the affix is given (or rather, the abstraction of the meaning of the derived words as against the meaning of their bases) and information is given concerning the productivity of the

process. Although I do not discuss fossilized morphology in this chapter, certain affixes or uses of affixes do not seem to be productive.

Subdivisions in the discussion of affixes are made on the basis of both formal criteria (different word classes as bases, simple and complex bases, bound roots) and semantic factors. Nowhere are examples meant to be exhaustive.

In the examples given, verbal derivations are given in the third person singular (*ne-* for ae-verbs, *no-* for a-verbs and ao-verbs); where possible these forms have been translated by infinitives without *to*. In those cases where a clausal translation is more appropriate or is the only possibility, I make a choice between 'he' and 'she', rather than give both equivalents. This is also true for derivations that have obligatory plural subject inflection: *do-* and *de-* are only translated as 'they', although they can also signal first person plural inclusive 'we'. As for the roots in the right column on the page, no class membership for verbal roots is indicated.

As a final point, possible 'further derivations' on the basis of the derivation under discussion are provided. If such further derivations are impossible, this is stated explicitly. If nothing is said concerning further derivation, the available information does not warrant a definitive statement.

Finally a word about the order of affixes within derived words. I am not able to provide a full schema of the various ordering possibilities, for the simple reason that such a huge project (checking all the combinatory possibilities of some fifty derivational affixes) was beyond the scope of the present study. A further difficulty lies in the fact that certain affixes can occur in different orders with corresponding different meanings. Moreover, the fact that *a* precedes *b* and *b* precedes *c* does not necessarily imply that *a* precedes *c*. Certain sub-orders seem to exist. Finally, a table of affixes must also specify which combinations do not occur or are extremely marked. At this point there is not enough information available. Hence a full account of affix combinations cannot be given, although certain patterns can be culled from the 'further derivations'.

10.1.   Affixation: summary

The following chart summarizes the main information about all the affixes and affix-combinations to be discussed in 10.2. However, only the most common uses are indicated; special uses and unproductive derivations are discussed in 10.2. The meaning of some of the affixes is given in simple English equivalents. Productivity of the affix is indicated by y(es) or n(o).

The categorial status of both the base and the derivation are provided. A hyphen indicates that the derived form does not neatly fall into one of the recognized categories (see also 3.5). When verbs are not subcategorized for either morphology (a-, ae- or ao-class) or syntax (transitive versus intransitive), this implies that a subdivision does not have to be made for the affix under discussion and that the derivation has the same morphological and syntactic features as the base.

The following non-transparent abbreviations are used:

- PrNum: prefixed numeral
- RedNum: reduplicated numeral
- Vst: stative intransitive verb
- MP: measure phrase

	Affix	Meaning	Base	Derivation	Productive
1.	*-ana*	dual adhortative	V	V	y
2.	*-e*	emphatic	Dem,Voc	Dem,Voc	y
3.	*e-*	period of x days	PreNum	N	y
4.	*fe-*	1. locutional causative	V	V (ae)	y
		2. various	N	V (a)	n
		3. various	N,MP,(V)	V (ae)	n
5.	*feka-*	1. factitive	Vst	V (ae)	y
		2. adverbial	Vst	Adv	y
6.	*fo_1-*	causative	V	V (ae)	y
7.	*fo_2-*	detransitivizer	V	V (a)	y
8.	*foko-*	'call/shout X'	N	V (a)	n
9.	*foko-/-u*	kinship relation	N	N	n
10.	*-ghoo*	1. indirect object	V	V	y
		2. purpose	V	V	y
11.	*-ha*	1. location,time,manner	V	N	y
		2. predicative	Dem	–	y
12.	*-hi*	1. plural	N,V	N,V	y
		2. enumeration,'leisurely'	V	V	y
13.	*-ho*	1. future	N,V	N,V	y
		2. optative	V	V	y
14.	*i-*	xth night after death	PreNum	N	n
15.	*-Cao*	intensifier	V	V	n
16.	*-Ci*	1. repetitive	Vtr	V (ae)	n
		2. locative, petative	Vintr	V (ae)	n
17.	*ka-*	1. nominalization	V	N	y
		2. 'unexpectedly'	V	V (ae)	y
18.	*ka-/-ha*	location,time,instrument, reason	V	N	y
19.	*ka-* + red.	1. diminutive	N	N	y
		2. 'rather'	Vst	V (a)	n
		3. simultaneous	V	–	y
20.	*ki-/-ha*	'many, all together'	Vsound	V (a)	y
21.	*ko-*	'have/possess'	N	V (a)	y
22.	*ko-/-ha*	'all of, the whole'	MP,RedNum	N	y
23.	*ko-* + red.	'continue to be'	V	N	y
24.	*-mana*	plural adhortative	V	V	y
25.	*mansi-*	'quite/only a few'	N	V (a)	y?
26.	*manso-*	habitual	Vintr	V (a)	y
27.	*mba-* + red.	'rather'	Vst	V (a)	y
28.	*me-, mo-*	1. imperative	V	–	y
		2. clipped participle	V	–	y
		3. class affixes	V	V	n
29.	*-mo*	perfective, emphatic	N,V	N,V	y
30.	*-Vmu*	plural	V	V	y
31.	*mpo-* + red.	'pretend, act as if'	Vintr	V (ae)	y
32.	*na-*	future	MP	MP	y
33.	*ne- (ni-)*	passive participle	Vtr	–	y
34.	*ngko-*	habitual	V	V (ae)	y
35.	*nsa-* + red.	'increasingly'	Vst	V (ae)	y
36.	*pa-*	profession	V	N	n
37.	*paka-*	'when first, when just'	V	N/V (a)	y
38.	*para-*	habitual	V	V (a)	n
39.	*pe-*	'approximately'	MP	MP	y

```
40. piki-          'early, soon'                 V      V (a)     y
41. po-            1. reciprocal                 Vtr    V (a)     y
                   2. 'play'                     N      V (a)     y
                   3. 'in parts, broken'         V      V (a)     y
42. poka- + red.   'pretend, for fun, a little'  V,N    V (a)     y
43. ponta- + red.  'to and fro, up and down'     V      V (a)     n
44. sa-            1. 'when, as soon as'          V      N/V (a)   y
                   2. 'all the time, only'       V      N         y
45. sa-/-ha        'hardly, only just'           V      N         y
46. si-            'be one, have the same'       N      V (a)     y
47. si-/-ha        1. 'at one time, together'    V      V (a)     y
                   2. 'sudden, unexpected'       V      V (a)     y
48. ta-            1. caveat                      V      V         y
                   2. 'only, just'               N,V    N,V       y
                   3. 'until, another'           V,MP   V,MP      y
                   4. 'sudden'                    V      V         y
49. ti-            accidental/agentless passive  Vtr    V (a)     y
50. ti- (te-)      'as much/many as'             MP     MP        y
51. -um-/-no,      active participle             V      –         y
    me-/-no, mo-/-no
```

10.2. Affixes and affix-combinations

10.2.1. *-ANA*

Verbal suffix, productive. With first person plural inclusive inflection the meaning is dual adhortative (see 8.8), while only the realis occurs. With other persons a purpose clause is indicated in which the speaker conveys an attitude of carelessness.

   a. Base is a simple verb:

```
   do-fumaa-ana      'let us (2) eat'          fumaa   'eat'
   do-ghae-ana       'let us (2) cry'          ghae    'cry'
   no-mate-ana       'just let him die'        mate    'die'
```

   b. Base is a complex verb (object-inflection, derived verbs):

```
   do-pogaa-ti-ana    'let us (2) separate'     pogaa   'separate'
   do-piki-wanu-ana   'let us (2) get up early' wanu    'get up
   a-buko-e-ana       'just let me swallow it'  buko    'swallow'
   a-[m]aa-angko-ana  'just let me give to you' waa     'give'
```

   Further derivations: impossible.

10.2.2. *-E*

Emphatic suffix on demonstrative (see 5.5.8) and vocative bases (see 7.12.1). The vowel is often lengthened and pronounced on a high pitch.

```
   atatu-e           'over there!'             atatu      'that'
   ina-e             'mother!'                 ina        'mother'
```

10.2.3. *E-*

Nominal prefix on prefixed numerals (see 5.7.2). Meaning: 'period of x days'.
Only found in combinations with units of ten and *-gha* 'day'. Productive.

ompulu-gha-e-tolu	'thirteen days'	*ompulu*	'ten'
		tolu-	'three'
fato-fulu-gha-e-fato	'forty-four days'	*fato-*	'four'

10.2.4. *FE-*

1.   Verbal prefix, ae-class, resistant to -um-. Meaning: locutional caus-
     ative, 'ask to/order to'. (see 8.2.4). Productive.

   a. Base is a simple verb:

ne-fe-tulumi	'ask/order to help/ ask to be helped'	*tulumi*	'help'
ne-fe-antagi	'ask/order to wait for/ ask to be waited for'	*antagi*	'wait for'

   This derivation is often found in combination with the indirect object
   suffix *-ghoo* indicating the addressee (a full NP addressee must be in a
   prepositional phrase with *ne*). With ao-verbs, the class-affix *-mo-* may
   emerge:

ne-fe-mo-kanu-ghoo	'ask/order to prepare'	*kanu*	'prepare'

   With change in meaning:

ne-fe-ghondo-ghoo	'ask/order someone to search for lice in one's hair'	*ghondo*	'look'

   b. Base is a complex verb:

ne-fe-po-bhai-ghoo	'ask to be accompanied'
	< *po-bhai-ghoo* 'accompany' < *bhai* 'friend'
ne-fe-fo-limba	'ask/order to take out'
	< *fo-limba* 'take out' < *limba* 'go out'

   Further derivations:

kae-fe-ghondo-ha-mani	'place where we (ex) asked to be looked at'
	< *fe-ghondo* 'ask/order to look'

no-ti-fe-seli	'asked/ordered to be dug'
	< *fe-seli* 'ask/order to dig' < *seli* 'dig'

2.   Verbal prefix, a-class, amenable to *-um-*, intransitive. This category is
     unproductive; the meanings cannot be predicted from the base:

   a. Base is a simple noun:

no-fe-wise	'face, be opposite to'	*wise*	'front'
no-fe-kema	'turn/keep left'	*kema*	'left'
no-fe-loso	'live in a hole'	*loso*	'hole'
no-fe-kaofe	'nest'	*kaofe*	'nest'
no-fe-liwu	'domicile'	*liwu*	'village'
no-fe-wawo	'go first'	*wawo*	'top'
no-fe-panda	'be/lie under'	*panda*	'bottom'
no-fe-ghunteli	'lay eggs'	*ghunteli*	'egg'
no-fe-wunta	'be in the middle'	*wunta*	'middle'
no-fe-sabhabu	'be the reason'	*sabhabu*	'reason'
no-fe-idho	'become green'	*idho*	'green'
no-fe-tompa	'promise not to repeat something'	*tompa*	'end'

b. Base is a complex noun (only some colour terms):

no-fe-ka-kanda	'become blue'	*ka-kanda*	'blue'
no-fe-ka-kuni	'become yellow'	*ka-kuni*	'yellow'
no-fe-ka-dea	'become red'	*ka-dea*	'red'

c. Base is a bound root (and therefore an alternative analysis is to treat them simply as units). Some of these verbs are no longer intransitive:

no-fe(-)aghi	'spit'
no-fe(-)tapa	'ask'
no-fe(-)ntoho	'take a rest'
no-fe(-)redaa	'hope'

3. Verbal prefix, ae-class, amenable to *-um-*. Unproductive.

a. Base is a simple noun, the resulting verb is intransitive. This process is limited to a few words related to house-building:

ne-fe-lambu	'build a house'	*lambu*	'house'
ne-fe-ghabu	'build a kitchen'	*ghabu*	'kitchen'
ne-fe-ghato	'build a roof'	*ghato*	'roof'
ne-fe-hale	'build a floor'	*hale*	'floor'

b. Base is a simple noun, the derived verb is transitive:

ne-fe-nami	'taste'	*nami*	'taste'
ne-fe-bhaku	'eat (of a king)'	*bhaku*	'provisions'

c. Base is a simple verb, the derived verb is transitive:

ne-fe-wono	'smell'	*wono*	'kiss'
ne-fe-pili	'choose (carefully)'	*pili*	'choose'

d. Base is a reduplicated verb, the derived verb is transitive:

ne-fe-ntaa-ntaa	'expect, wait for'	*ntaa-ntaa*	'ready'

e. Base is a simple noun, the prefix occurs in combination with the suffix *-Ci*; the derived verb is transitive:

ne-fe-bhadhu-ghi	'clothe with a shirt'	*bhadhu*	'shirt'
ne-fe-bheta-ghi	'clothe with a sarong'	*bheta*	'sarong'
ne-fe-lapa-i	'saddle'	*lapa*	'saddle'
ne-fe-ompu-ghi	'respect, honour as lord'	*ompu*	'lord'
ne-fe-hula-i	'remember, think about'	*hula*	'face'
ne-fe-ghato-i	'put a roof on'	*ghato*	'roof'
ne-fe-paeasa-ghi	'put a pane in'	*paeasa*	'pane, mirror'

f. Base is a simple verb, the prefix occurs in combination with the suffix *-Ci*; the derived verb is transitive:

ne-fe-ware-i	'spread out'	*ware*	'broad'
ne-fe-wanu-i	'wash somebody's hands or feet'	*wanu*	'wash hands/feet'

g. Base is a measure phrase consisting of a numeral and a measure noun. The resulting transitive verb means 'to divide/do the action denoted by the verb in x times' (see 5.7.3):

ne-fe-ra-bhera	'break into two'	*ra-*	'two'
		bhera	'part'
ne-fe-tolu-bhogha	'break into three'	*tolu-*	'three'
		bhogha	'part'
ne-fe-ra-gholeo	'do in two days'	*gholeo*	'day'
ne-fe-tolu-dughu	'(drink) in two draughts'	*dughu*	'draught'

h. Base is a bound root (possibly analysable as a unit):

ne-fe(-)buni	'hide'
ne-fe(-)tambo	'catch/hunt using bait'
ne-fe(-)api	'count'
ne-fe(-)tingke	'hear' (compare *ne-tingke-tingke* 'to overhear')

10.2.5. *FEKA-*

1. Verbal prefix, ae-class, amenable to *-um-*, transitive, productive. Meaning: factitive (see 8.2.1).

a. Base is a stative intransitive verb (adjective):

ne-feka-bhala	'enlarge'	*bhala*	'big'
ne-feka-ngkonu	'make round'	*ngkonu*	'round'
ne-feka-ngkubu	'shorten'	*ngkubu*	'short'

b. The prefix *feka-* is found in combination with the suffix *-hi* without any apparent change in meaning compared with 1.a:

ne-feka-nggela-hi	'clean'	*nggela*	'clean'
ne-feka-rimba-hi	'speed up'	*rimba*	'quick'

Notice the following semantically divergent pair:

ne-feka-taa	'put away, store'	*taa*	'good'
ne-feka-taa-hi	'repair'		

2.   Adverbial prefix, denoting a manner adverbial (see 7.10.3):

   a. Base is a simple stative intransitive verb:

feka-rimba	'quickly'	*rimba*	'quick'
feka-ghosa	'hard, loud'	*ghosa*	'hard'

   b. Base is a reduplicated stative intransitive verb; the resulting adverb
      means 'as ... as possible':

feka-bhari-bhari	'as much as possible'	*bhari*	'much, many'
feka-kodo-kodoho	'as far as possible'	*kodoho*	'far'
feka-tangka-tangka	'as firmly as possible'	*tangka*	'firm'

   c. Both with simple and reduplicated bases the adverb can be inflected as a
      verb, in which case it belongs to the a-class, is amenable to *-um-* and
      intransitive:

no-feka-rimba	'quickly'	*rimba*	'quick'
no-feka-wehi-wehi	'as full as possible'	*wehi*	'full (after eating)'
no-feka-bhala-bhala	'as big/loud as possible'	*bhala*	'big'

   For transitive usage of these constructions see 7.10.3. It is not clear
   whether the usage under c is derived or original in relation to a and b;
   in other words, whether the non-inflected forms are the true bases from
   which the inflected forms are derived or whether they are reductions.

10.2.6. *FO₁-*

Verbal prefix, ae-class, amenable to *-um-*, transitive. Meaning: causative
('make, cause, let, order'). See 8.2.2 and 8.2.3.

   a. Base is a simple intransitive or transitive verb; productive:

ne-fo-pesua	'enter (tr)'	*pesua*	'enter (intr)'
ne-fo-futaa	'cause to laugh'	*futaa*	'laugh'
ne-fo-naando	'organize, set up'	*naando*	'be'
ne-fo-ngkora	'put'	*ngkora*	'sit'
ne-fo-ada	'lend'	*ada*	'borrow'
ne-fo-fumaa	'feed'	*fumaa*	'eat'

   With idiosyncratic meaning:

ne-fo-rato	'tell'	*rato*	'arrive'

   b. Base is a reduplicated root:

ne-fo-baru-baru	'spoil'	*baru-baru*	'spoiled'
ne-fo-ntaa-ntaa	'prepare'	*ntaa-ntaa*	'ready'

c. Base is a noun:

    ne-fo-guru   'teach'   *guru*   'teacher'
                                                        also: *po-guru* 'learn'
    ne-fo-kamokula   'entrust an old man   *kamokula* 'old, elder'
                                  with a special task'

d. Base is a complex verb:

    ne-fo-fe-wise   'put something opposite to'
                                  < *fe-wise* 'to face < *wise* 'front'

Further derivations:

    no-fe-fo-limba-e   'he ordered it to be taken out'
                                  < *fo-limba* 'take out' < *limba* 'go out'
    ka-fo-rato-ghoo-ku   'what I have been told'
                                  < *fo-rato* 'tell' < *rato* 'arrive'
    do-po-fo-gho-fo-ghonu   'they came together, held a meeting'
                                  < *fo-ghonu* 'bring together' < *ghonu* 'present'

10.2.7. *FO$_2$-*

Verbal prefix, a-class, resistant to -*um*-, intransitive.
Meaning: detransitivizer: a human (usually first person inclusive) object is
implied but left unspecified (see 8.3). Productive.

a. Base is a simple transitive verb:

    no-fo-pongko   'kill (us/people)'   *pongko*   'kill'
    no-fo-kadiu   'bathe (us/people)'   *kadiu*   'bathe'
    no-fo-ato   'accompany (us/people)' *ato*   'accompany'
    no-fo-tulumi   'help (us/people)'   *tulumi*   'help'

    With certain verbs the class affixes (-*me*- and -*mo*-) surface:

    no-fo-mo-raku   'hate (us/people)'   *raku*   'hate'
    no-fo-me-ala-hi   'serve (us/people)'   *ala-hi*   'serve'

b. Base is a derived transitive verb (including causative verbs with *fo$_1$*-):

    no-fo-sampu-niki   'come down upon (us/people)'
                              < *sampu-niki* 'come down upon' < *sampu* 'go down'
    no-fo-fo-guru   'teach (us/people)'
                              < *fo-guru* 'teach' < *guru* 'teacher'
    no-fo-fo-lente   'assist (us/people) in giving birth'
                              < *fo-lente* 'give birth' < *lente* 'be born'

c. The verbs *fumaa* (variant *fomaa*) 'eat', *foroghu* 'drink' and *futaa* (variant
   fotaa)'laugh' possibly show a fossilized prefix *fo*-. If that is the case,
   the prefix has changed both in function and in form from either *fo$_1$*- or
   fo$_2$- since none of the verbs is causative in meaning. On the other hand,
   the first two are transitive, while all three are amenable to -*um*-.

This definitely points towards an analysis in which the forms are treated
as units.

10.2.8. *FOKO-*

Verbal prefix, a-class, amenable to *-um-*, intransitive. Meaning: 'to call/shout
X'. Unproductive.

   a. Base is a simple noun (kinship term):

   no-foko-ina   'call 'mother''   *ina*   'mother'
   no-foko-ama   'call 'father''   *ama*   'father'
   no-foko-awa   'call 'grandparent''   *awa*   'grand-
                                                                       parent'
   b. Base is an interjection:

   no-foko-adede   'shout 'ouch' (with pain)' *adede*   'ouch'

10.2.9. *FOKO-/-U*

Nominal circumfix. Unproductive. Used for a limited number of kinship terms.
Probably there is a connection with the prefix *foko-*, so that the 'true'
meaning is 'the one who is called X'.
Base is a simple noun (kinship term):

   foko-ama-u   'uncle'   *ama*   'father'
   foko-ina-u   'aunt'   *ina*   'mother'
   foko-ana-u   'nephew, niece'   *ana*   'child'
   foko-awa-u   'sibling of grandparent'   *awa*   'grand-
                                                                       parent'

10.2.10. *-GHOO*

Verbal suffix on verbal bases.

1.   To denote an indirect object (see 7.9).

   a. Base is a bound verbal root. These verbs can only occur suffixed with
      -ghoo or with indirect object inflection (see 4.8.2):

   no-waa-ghoo   'give'
   no-ghele-ghoo   'forbid'
   ne-asi-ghoo   'love, like'

   b. Base is an intransitive or a transitive verb. The argument introduced by
      -ghoo may fulfil such functions as beneficiary, recipient, instrument
      (see 7.9.1):

   ne-gholi-ghoo   'buy for'   *gholi*   'buy'
   ne-pakatu-ghoo   'send to'   *pakatu*   'send'
   ne-tampoli-ghoo   'sew with'   *tampoli*   'sew'

With locative meaning:

no-mai-ghoo   'come from'   *mai*   'come'

c. Base is a derived verb prefixed with *po-*:

no-po-ghawa-ghoo   'meet with'   *po-ghawa*   'meet'
                                                  ghawa   'get'
no-po-guru-ghoo   'learn'   *po-guru*   'learn'
                                                  guru   'teacher'

With idiosyncratic meaning:

no-po-kantibha-ghoo   'accidentally'   *kantibha*   'hit'

d. To denote an oblique indirect object (see 7.9.2):

1. In 'reflexive clauses' to introduce the reflexive noun *wuto* 'self';
2. In clauses containing a *ko*-derived intransitive verb to introduce a
   noun which is semantically equivalent to the noun in the verbal
   derivation;
3. In numeral clauses to introduce an argument that is included in the
   numeral.
For examples of these categories see 7.9.2.

Further derivations:

ka-waa-ghoo   'gift'
                         < *waa-ghoo* 'give'
ka-fo-ntaa-ntaa-ghoo   'what has been prepared for (X)'
                         < *fo-ntaa-ntaa* 'prepare' < *ntaa-ntaa* 'ready'

me-fo-tula-ghoo-no-mo 'the one who explained to (X)'
                         < *fo-tula-ghoo* 'explain to (X)' < **tula*
                         also: *tula-tula* 'tell a story'

2.   To indicate a purpose.

   a. In purpose clauses (see 9.17). The verb is either realis or irrealis.

   ne-gholi-ghoo   'in order to buy'   *gholi*   'buy'
   na-[m]unda-ghoo   'in order to jump'   *punda*   'jump'

   b. In adhortative clauses (only first person inclusive). See 8.8.

   do-foni-ghoo   'let us go up'   *foni*   'go up'
   do-feenagha-ghoo   'let us ask'   *feenagha*   'ask'

   c. In interrogative clauses following *noafa* 'why'. See 8.6.3 for examples.

3.   The suffix *-ghoo* also occurs as distinguishable element in a number of
     conjunctions:

   pasi-ghoo-no   'then'   also *pasino*, *pasina* 'then'
   sane-ghoo-mo   'while, whereas'
   pooli-ghoo-mo   'much more'   also *poolimo*   'much more'

10.2.11. *-HA*

1.   Nominal suffix on verbal bases, indicating location, time and manner.
     Productive.

   a. Base is a simple verb:

fumaa-ha	'meal time'	*fumaa*	'eat'
wawe-ha	'turn (in game)'	*wawe*	'turn'
karadhaa-ha	'working time'	*karadhaa*	'work'
rompu-ha	'formal meeting'	*rompu*	'come together'
dodo-ha	'cutting place, neck'	*dodo*	'cut'
rabu-ha	'way to make'	*rabu*	'make'
fekiri-ha	'way to think'	*fekiri*	'think'

   Notice the following idiosyncratic meanings, some of which are
   obligatorily possessed:

tunu-ha	'food (yams) heated (in ashes and hot stones)'	*tunu*	'burn'
ala-ha(-no)	'(his) property'	*ala*	'take'
wura-ha(-no)	'seemingly, look'	*wura*	'see'
ghulu-ha(-no)	'meaning, sense'	*ghulu*	'go toward'

   b. Base is a complex verb (especially *po*-derivations):

po-guru-ha	'learning time'	*po-guru*	'learn'
po-tandingi-ha	'time/place of the match'	*po-tandingi*	'compete'
po-sora-ha	'neighbour'	*po-sora*	'near each other'

   c. Base is a measure phrase, consisting of a numeral and a deverbal measure
      noun; the meaning is temporal. The resulting noun can function as a
      temporal adverb (see 7.10.1).

se-tofa-ha	'(in) one blow'	*tofa*	'hit'
ra-kala-ha	'(in) two trips'	*kala*	'go'
se-pilo-ha	'(in) one blink'	*pilo*	'blink'

   d. Base is a reduplicated verb which is obligatorily possessed. The meaning
      is durative: 'keep, continue to; still'. Although the derivation is a
      noun, the most natural translation is verbal or clausal.

hende-hende-ha-no	'it keeps growing'	*hende*	'grow'
ere-ere-ha-ndo	'they are still standing'	*ere*	'stand'
lodo-lodo-ha-mu	'you kept sleeping'	*lodo*	'sleep'
ntai-ntai-ha-no	'it is still hanging'	*ntai*	'hang'

2.   The suffix *-ha* occurs in combination with the active participle of simple
     or derived verbs (*-um-/-no*, *me-/-no*, *mo-/-no*). The resulting meaning is
     either partitive, temporal or locative.

   a. Base is a numeral (verb). The meaning is partitive. Numeral verbs are
      resistent to *-um-*, hence only the suffix *-no* occurs.

moghono-ha-no	'one of a hundred'	*moghono*	'hundred'
lima-fulu-ha-no	'one of fifty'	*lima-fulu*	'fifty'
	(for instance coins, paper money)		

b. Base is a simple verb; the meaning is locative, temporal or partitive:

me-ntalea-ha-no	'light place, outside'	*ntalea*	'light'
mo-ndeli-ha-no	'slippery place'	*ndeli*	'slippery'
mo-lino-ha-no	'quiet place'	*lino*	'quiet'
t[um]oka-ha-no	'(part) which is ready'	*toka*	'ready'
mo-dai-ha-no	'(part) which is broken'	*dai*	'broken'

With divergent meaning:

(*so*) *me-taa-ha-no*	'the best way'	*taa*	'good'

c. Base is a derived verb (often a *ko*-derived intransitive verb, which is *-um*-resistant):

ko-oe-ha-no	'place with water'	*oe*	'water'
ko-ghule-ha-no	'place with a snake'	*ghule*	'snake'
ko-kontu-kontu-ha-no	'place with many stones'	*kontu*	'stone'

3.   *-ha* is a 'predicative' suffix on demonstrative bases, which receive obligatory object-inflection (see 4.8.1 and 5.5.8):

aini-ha-kanau	'here I am'	*aini*	'this'
awatu-ha-e	'there it is'	*awatu*	'that'

4.   In combination with *-no*, *-ha* occurs in certain adverbs and conjunctions. Often forms without *-ha-no* also exist.

dadi-ha-no	'so, therefore'	*dadi*	'so'
maka-ha-no	'then'	*maka*	'then'
tamaka-ha-no	'but'	*tamaka*	'but'
garaa-ha-no	'then (SURPR)'	*garaa*	'then (SURPR)'
tabea-ha-no	'unless, except'	*tabea*	'unless'
rampa-ha-no	'because'	*rampa-no*	'because'
labhi-ha-no	'better'	*labhi*	'more'
also: *labhi-ha-ku*	'better'		
tala-ha-no	'actually'		
sabutu-ha-no	'as a result, therefore'		
pali-ha-no	'whereas, while'		

10.2.12.   *-HI*

1.   Suffix on nominal bases indicating explicit plurality and/or diversity (simple nouns can have both singular and plural reference). Productive.

   a. Base is a simple noun:

sau-hi	'trees'	*sau*	'tree'
bhai-hi	'friends'	*bhai*	'friend'
sikola-hi	'schools'	*sikola*	'school'

b. Base is a reduplicated noun; the emphasis is on diversity:

sau-sau-hi	'all kinds of trees'	*sau*	'tree'
nea-nea-hi	'various names'	*nea*	'name'

c. Base is a complex noun:

ka-lambu-lambu-hi 'small houses'
          < *ka-lambu-lambu* 'small house' < *lambu* 'house'
(*kontu*) *ka-rubu-hi* 'small stones'
          < *ka-rubu* 'small(ness)' < *rubu* 'small'

Double occurrence of *-hi* is found with some human nouns:

isa-hi-hi	'older siblings'	*isa*	'older sibling'
ai-hi-hi	'younger siblings'	*ai*	'younger sibling'

With divergent meanings:

ana	'child'
ana-hi	1. a.'child' b.'children' 2.'wife'
ana-hi-hi	1.'children' 2.'wives'

2.   Pluralizing suffix on the pluralizer *ndo* (see 5.6.5):

ndo-hi anagha	'those'
ndo-hi aini	'these'

3.   Suffix on verbal bases, with some variety of meanings. This *-hi* is not to be confused with *-hi* as an allomorph of *-Ci* (10.2.16). This usage is productive. The following meaning aspects can be distinguished:

  a. Plurality of the subject or the object (or both):

do-rubu-hi	'they are (all) small'	*rubu*	'small'
do-pande-hi	'they are (all) clever'	*pande*	'clever'
do-fumaa-hi	'they (all) ate'	*fumaa*	'eat'
no-ali-hi-e-mo	'he took it (all) out'	*ali*	'take out'
no-waa-hi-ane-mo	'he gave it (all) to her'	*waa*	'give'
no-wora-hi-da	'he saw them (all)'	*wora*	'see'

Subject plurality is common with participles:

mate-hi-no	'those who have died'	*mate*	'die'
fo-ato-hi-no	'those that accompanied (us/people)'	*ato*	'accompany'

t[um]isa-hi-no	'those that are sowing'	*tisa*	'sow'
ru-dua-hi-no	'the two of them'	*ru-dua*	'two'

b. The action or state denoted by the verb is one of a longer series (for example, an enumeration in a description); with action verbs the use of *-hi* implies that more was done:

ne-ware-hi	'it is broad' (among other things)	*ware*	'broad'
ne-kunde-hi	'she washed her hair' (among other things)	*kunde*	'wash hair'

c. The suffix softens the intensity or degree of a stative intransitive verb. The resulting meaning is 'rather, somewhat'.

ne-taa-hi	'rather good, OK'	*taa*	'good'
no-rubu-hi	'rather small	*rubu*	'small'
ne-langke-hi	'rather tall'	*langke*	'tall'

This is also possible on derived bases:

no-mba-wanta-wanta-hi 'rather long'
                < *no-mba-wanta-wanta* 'rather long' < *wanta* 'long'

d. It indicates a leisurely action or state, performed without specific purpose. Since that usually implies some duration, the suffix *-hi* in this sense is frequently found in combination with reduplication:

ne-mpali-mpali-hi	'stroll about, walk around'	*mpali*	'stroll'
ne-ngko-ngkora-hi	'sit down (relaxed)'	*ngkora*	'sit'
no-fewule-hi	'take a rest'	*fewule*	'rest'

It is not always easy to determine which meaning aspect is foregrounded in a given discourse. The following utterances are ambiguous:

do-fumaa-hi	1. 'they (all) eat'
	2. 'they eat (among other things)'
	3. 'they eat (at their leisure)'
no-kesa-hi	1. 'it is beautiful (among other things)'
	2. 'it is rather beautiful'

4. *-hi* is found on other bases:

miina-hi	'certainly not'	*miina*	'not'
pada-hi	'after (many different things)'	*pada*	'after'

5. *-hi* is found in combination with other affixes:

a. The prefix *feka-* (10.2.5); *-hi* does not markedly affect the meaning, though it possibly softens the factitive somewhat:

ne-feka-nggela-hi	'to make (rather?) clean'	*nggela*	'clean'
ne-feka-rubu-hi	'to make (rather?) small'	*rubu*	'small'

   b. The prefix *ta-* 'until' (10.2.48):

      ta-no-bhala-hi-mo 'until he was big'   *bhala*   'big'
      ta-no-mate-hi-mo 'until she died'   *mate*   'die'

10.2.13. *-HO*

1.   A suffix that can be attached to different word classes. It marks a
      future aspect. In clauses it is usually balanced by a clause introduced
      by *maka* 'then' (see 9.7.2).

   a. Base is a simple or complex verb:

      no-bhala-ho   'when he is big'   *bhala*   'big'
      no-taha-ho   'when it is ripe'   *taha*   'ripe'
      no-fonisi-e-ho   'when he climbs it'   *foni-si* 'climb'

   b. Base is an adverb or a noun in a prepositional phrase:

      naewine-ho   '(when it is) tomorrow'   *naewine* 'tomorrow'
      we ghabu-ho   'when in the kitchen'   *ghabu*   'kitchen'

   c. On other bases with slightly different meanings:

      miina-ho   'not yet'   *miina*   'not'
      pae-ho   '(will) not yet'   *pae*   '(will) not'
      naando-ho   'still, only'   *naando*   'be'
      kadeki-ho   'wait a second!'   *(ka)deki* 'first'

2.   It is attached to simple verbal bases and functions as an optative: a
      special form for requests and desires in prayers and charms:

      no-hende-ho   'may/let it grow'   *hende*   'grow'
      ne-ntalea-ho   'may/let it get light'   *ntalea*   'light'
      no-pono-ho   'may/let it become full'   *pono*   'full'
      naando-ho   'may/let there be'   *naando*   'be'

3.   Base is a bound form:

      ingke-ingke-ho   'as if'

10.2.14. *I-*

Nominal prefix on two numeral bases. Probably related to *e-* (10.2.3). Un-
productive.

      i-tolu   'the third night after   *tolu-*   'three'
                            someone's death; period
                            of three days'
      i-fitu   'the seventh night after   *fitu-*   'seven'
                            someone's death'

10.2.15. *-CAO*

The suffix *-Cao* (C stands for a subclass of consonants, see 2.8.4) occurs on verbal bases and is not productive. The resulting verb is almost always transitive (class ae-), but sometimes intransitive (class a-). The derived verb has an intensified meaning aspect compared with the basic verb, and often denotes a violent and vehement action. *-Cao*-derived verbs are formally marked by the fact that they take indirect object inflection, in which case the final vowel in *-Cao* is sometimes lost (see 4.8.2).

   The following list is not exhaustive, although most of the regularly used derivations are found here. A difficulty with these verbs is that in several cases different meanings were recorded, which were not always confirmed by other speakers of the language. A certain degree of idiolectal meaning variation seems to be connected with these verbs:

   a. Base is a simple verb:

ne-pande-hao	'know'	*pande*	'know, clever'
no-ndole-hao	'lie down (action)'	*ndole*	'lie down' (state)
ne-limpu-hao	'forget all about'	*limpu*	'forget'
ne-ghondo-fao	'take care of'	*ghondo*	'look (at)'
no-longko-fao	'fall/lie face down'	*longko*	'lie face down, stoop'
ne-ghati-fao	'hold tightly (under the arm); squeeze, push'	*ghati*	'hold (under the arm)'
ne-tumbu-lao	'plant (firmly) in the ground; hit firmly'	*tumbu*	'pound, hit'
ne-wangku-lao	'throw/strike vigorously; collide with'	*wangku*	'hit, strike'
ne-dhudhu-lao	'push forcefully (in one big push)'	*dhudhu*	'push'
ne-rambi-tao	'fling down'	*rambi*	'hit, strike'
ne-angka-tao	'respect, be sensitive'	*angka*	'appoint'
ne-ule-tao	'spin/turn round vehemently'	*ule*	'turn, shake the head'
ne-kitu-rao	'wipe intensively'	*kitu*	'wipe'
ne-koki-rao	'turn/push away someone's face'	*koki*	'rub'
ne-puru-sao	'let go (rope); take off leaves randomly'	*puru*	'take off leaves'
ne-horo-pao	'fly off with'	*horo*	'fly'

   b. Base is a bound root:

ne-fende-hao	'greet'
ne-dangku-lao	'hit/shake violently'
ne-furu-tao	'move very fast; exhaust, use up'
ne-tabhi-lao	'throw (clothes) over the clothesline so that they hang out broadly'
ne-bhatatala-hao	'curse'

   Further derivations:

         no-ti-pande-hao   'known'
                               < *pande-hao* 'know' < *pande* 'know, clever'
         do-po-angka-tao   'they respect each other'
                               < *angka-tao* 'respect' < *angka* 'appoint'
         ka-tumbu-lao   'pole, house post'
                               < *tumbu-lao* 'plant (firmly) in the ground; hit firmly'
                               < *tumbu* 'pound, hit

10.2.16. *-CI*

Verbal suffix, with a number of allomorphs. The 'binding' consonant (C) may be
zero or any consonant, except for the voiced stops and all the prenasalized
consonants (see 2.8.4). There do not seem to be any semantic criteria that
determine the choice for a particular allomorph.

   a. Base is a simple transitive verb. The meaning is iterative or repetitive,
      the action is performed several times, either to one object (with for
      example 'to hit') or to several objects (with for example 'to pick up').
      This category is not productive, although there are probably a few
      hundred verbs that can take this affix:

ne-uta-li	'pick (fruit) repeatedly'	*uta*	'pick (fruit)'
ne-kuru-si	'shave (repeatedly)'	*kuru*	'shave'
ne-dodo-wi	'slice (repeatedly)'	*dodo*	'slice'
ne-ene-pi	'pick up (repeatedly)'	*ene*	'pick up'
ne-punto-ri	'blow (repeatedly)'	*punto*	'blow'
ne-sia-ti	'bite (repeatedly)'	*sia*	'bite'
ne-ghoro-fi	'throw away (repeatedly)'	*ghoro*	'throw away'

   b. Base is a simple intransitive verb. The suffix adds an argument to the
      predicate, of which the semantic function varies (locative, petative).
      See 8.1 for other examples and the syntactic properties of this
      derivation.

ne-liu-ghi	'pass (tr)'	*liu*	'go by'
ne-maho-ti	'approach'	*maho*	'near'
ne-ghumu-ti	'dive for'	*ghumu*	'dive'
ne-hunda-pi	'agree to'	*hunda*	'agree'
ne-futaa-hi	'laugh at'	*futaa*	'laugh'
ne-ghoghora-fi	'urinate on'	*ghoghora*	'urinate'
ne-punda-ghi	'jump for'	*punda*	'jump'
ne-tumbu-ghi	'grow on'	*tumbu*	'grow'
ne-suli-ki	'return to get something; repeat'	*suli*	'return'
ne-horo-mi	'fly for, fly to get sth'	*horo*	'fly'
ne-ere-mi	'stand up to get sth'	*ere*	'stand (up)'
ne-pee-ri	'land on'	*pee*	'land'

   c. Base is a transitive verb. This is only a very small class with some
      idiosyncratic meanings.

ne-tudu-mi	'make an extension to'	*tudu*	'connect, join'
ne-ghonto-mi	'close off against, protect'	*ghonto*	'close'
ne-ghondo-hi	'look for'	*ghondo*	'look (at)'
ne-ala-hi	'serve (food) to'	*ala*	'take'

d. Base is a simple noun; the derived verb is transitive. Limited number.

ne-kolambu-ngi	'put a mosquito net on'	*kolambu*	'mosquito net'
ne-parinta-ngi	'command, order'	*parinta*	'order'
ne-rae-mi	'reach out for'	*rae*	'reach (n)'
ne-wise-ki	'face'	*wise*	'front'
ne-kontu-i	'pave'	*kontu*	'stone'
ne-harabu-i	'cover with dust'	*harabu*	'dust'

e. The suffix *-Ci* is found in combination with other affixes:

ne-fo-foroghu-ti	'cause to drink'	*foroghu*	'drink'
ne-fe-wanu-i	'wash somebody's hands or feet'	*wanu*	'wash hands or feet'
ne-fe-ghato-i	'cover with a roof'	*ghato*	'roof'
ne-fe-paeasa-ghi	'put the glass in'	*paeasa*	'glass, mirror'
ne-fe-ompu(-ni)-ghi	'treat as lord, honour, sustain, support with gifts'	*ompu*	'lord'

Certain peculiarities need to be mentioned with respect to the suffix *-Ci*:

a. A few verbs have more than one allomorph with different meanings:

no-angka	'go, take a route'
ne-angka-i	'go for, stop at to get'
ne-angka-fi	'follow, go along with'

b. There is some dialectal variation with certain verbs as to the allomorph:

ne-ene-pi	(*ne-ene-mi*, *ne-ene-wi*)	'to pick up (repeatedly)'
ne-tolo-fi	(*ne-tolo-wi*)	'to swallow (repeatedly)'
ne-longko-fi	(*ne-longko-wi*)	'to stoop to get'
ne-ghumbo-ri	(*ne-ghumbo-ni*, *ne-ghumbo-mi*)	'to smoke out'
ne-siki-pi	(*ne-siki-ri*, *ne-siki-wi*)	'to spoon up'

c. Some bases have special bound forms or double suffixation:

ne-tende-reki	'run towards'	*tende*	'run'
ne-sampu-niki	'come down upon'	*sampu*	'go down'

d. A comparison of the 'binding' consonants of the suffixes *-Cao* and *-Ci* shows that there is often, but not always, agreement, when a verbal root allows for both derivations:

ne-tumbu-li	'hit (repeatedly)'	*tumbu*	'hit, pound'
ne-tumbu-lao	'plant (firmly) in the ground, hit firmly'		
ne-puru-si	'take off leaves repeatedly'	*puru*	'take off leaves'
ne-puru-sao	'take off leaves randomly'		
ne-longko-fi	'stoop down to get'	*longko*	'stoop'
ne-longko-fao	'fall/lie face downward'		
ne-rambi-si	'hit (repeatedly)'	*rambi*	'hit'
ne-rambi-tao	'fling down'		

10.2.17. *KA-*

1.   Nominal prefix on verbal bases. The meaning of the resulting deverbal
      noun is partly dependent on the meaning of the verbal base, partly on the
      direct context. The following categories can be distinguished:

   a. Deverbal noun denoting the abstraction of the verbal quality:

ka-ghosa	'strength'	*ghosa*	'strong'
ka-gharo	'hunger'	*gharo*	'hungry'
ka-tehi	'fear'	*tehi*	'afraid'
ka-nea	'custom'	*nea*	'usual'
ka-buri	'writing, script'	*buri*	'write'
ka-ntoo	'certainty'	*ntoo*	'certain'
ka-naando	'existence'	*naando*	'be, exist'

   b. The result or product of the action or process denoted by the verb:

ka-tofa	'washing, laundry'	*tofa*	'wash (clothes)'
ka-bhenta	'hole'	*bhenta*	'make hole'
ka-mbulu	'(uncooked) vegetables'	*mbulu*	'pick (ve- getables)'
ka-ntalea	'light, lamp'	*ntalea*	'light'
ka-weo	'swelling, bump'	*weo*	'swell'

   c. The instrument with which the action is carried out:

ka-haro	'broom'	*haro*	'sweep'
ka-koo	'rope'	*koo*	'tie'
ka-pusuli	'handkerchief'	*pusuli*	'wipe one's face'
ka-ransa	'sieve'	*ransa*	'sieve'

   d. A final category with idiosyncratic meanings, in many of which animacy
      seems to be important:

ka-pongke	'deaf person'	*pongke*	'deaf'
ka-nubho	'toothless person'	*nubho*	'toothless'

ka-sibu	'thief'	*sibu*	'be a thief'
ka-mate	'corpse'	*mate*	'die, dead'
ka-dadi	'animal'	*dadi*	'live'

These categories are not watertight divisions; often more than one meaning is possible on a certain base, in which case the immediate context must provide indications as to which interpretation is correct. Consider:

ka-insu	1. 'grated coconut meat'	*insu*	'grate (coconut)'
	2. 'coconut rasp'		
ka-mate	1. 'death'	*mate*	'die, dead'
	2. 'corpse'		

Apart from their use as 'normal' heads of NPs, *ka*-derivations occur in some other construction types. Since these topics are all dealt with in other parts of this grammar, they are only briefly discussed and illustrated here.

a. A *ka*-derived noun functions as the head of an exclamatory clause, in which case the noun is obligatorily possessed (see 7.7):

| *ka-mbaka-no* | 'how nice it is' | *mbaka* | 'nice' |
| *ka-baru-ku* | 'how happy I am' | *baru* | 'happy' |

b. The noun functions in a nominalized relative clause (see 9.1.3):

| *manu ka-hole-ku* | 'the chicken that I fried' | *hole* | 'fry' |
| *kalei ka-gholi-no* | 'the banana that he bought' | *gholi* | 'buy' |

c. The noun functions as a descriptive attribute to a head noun (see 5.9.2); nasal accretion is found in certain fixed expressions:

oe ka-tembe	'fresh water'	*tembe*	'fresh'
dahu ka-kempa	'a cripple dog'	*kempa*	'cripple'
pae ngka-dea	'red rice'	*dea*	'red'

The order of the constituents in b and c may even be reversed, in which case the possessive linker *-no* is present (see 5.9.2):

| *ka-taha-no kalei* | 'a ripe banana' | *taha* | 'ripe' |
| *ka-pinda-no kenta* | 'a roasted fish' | *pinda* | 'roast' |

Some *ka*-derivations on complex bases:

ka-ghoro-fi-no	'what he had thrown away'
	< *ghoro-fi* 'throw away (repeatedly)' < *ghoro* 'throw away'
ka-fo-late	'foster child'
	< *fo-late* 'cause to live; take into one's home'
	< *late* 'live'
ka-ghi-ghito	'blackness'
	< *ghito* 'black'
ka-ka-bhore-bhore-mu	'what an idiot you are'
	< *ka-bhore-bhore* '(be an) idiot' < *bhore* 'stupid'

The following aberrant formations are to be noted:

a. Some verbal roots take a class affix:

ka-me-salo	'request'	*salo*	'request'
ka-mo-tugha	'forest' (also: *ka-tugha*)	*tugha*	'hard'
ka-mo-taha	'cooked food'	*taha*	'ripe'
ka-mo-ghuri	'green/fresh crop'	*ghuri*	'green, living'

b. Some bases occur with the otherwise non-existent affix *-ma-*:

ka-ma-dondo	'dawn'	*dondo*	'very early'
ka-ma-ghuleo	'afternoon'	?> *gholeo*	'day, sun'

c. Rarely, a verbal base takes a prefix *kae-* or *kao-*:

kae-mbali	'event, happening'	*mbali*	'happen'
kao-bhalo	'answer' (also *ka-bhalo*)	*bhalo*	'answer'
kao-mpona	'duration (also *ka-mpona*)	*mpona*	'long'

d. With nasal accretion *ka-* occurs in the following derivations:

ka-ntisa	'plants, crop'	*tisa*	'plant'
ka-ngkorawu	'mixture'	*korawu*	'mix'
ka-mpooli	'result'	*pooli*	'obtain'

e. *ka-* occurs in combination with the suffix *-a* (does not occur on its own):

ka-dhadhi-a	'event'	*dhadhi*	'finished, ready'
ka-ghoti-a	'dry beach during low tide'	*ghoti*	'low (tide)'
ka-ka-pudhi-a	'request for praise'	*pudhi*	'praise'

2. Verbal prefix (ae-class, amenable to *-um-*).

a. Base is a simple verb; meaning: 'unexpectedly'; productive:

ne-ka-rato	'arrive unexpectedly'	*rato*	'arrive'
ne-ka-mate	'die unexpectedly; swoon'	*mate*	'die'
ne-ka-rako	'catch unexpectedly'	*rako*	'catch'

b. Base is a transitive verb; there is little or no difference in meaning between the basic and the derived verb; unproductive:

ne-ka-kolo	'pickle'	*kolo*	'pickle'
ne-ka-bhogha	'chop, cut (people)'	*bhogha*	'chop'
ne-ka-logha	'stab'	*logha*	'stab'
ne-ka-ntai	'hang (tr + intr)'	*ntai*	'hang (intr)'
ne-ka-dunsa	'slaughter, cut up'	*dunsa*	'slaughter, cut up'

Formally aberrant (nasal accretion, other affixes):

ne-ka-ntunu	'burn, roast'	*tunu*	'burn'

ne-ka-ntafe	'receive, catch (in hand)'	*tafe*	'take hold of'
no-ka-rondo-a	'be overtaken by the night'	*rondo*	'dark'
no-ka-ngko-ghae	'speak while crying' (in a rain-making ceremony)	*ghae*	'cry'

10.2.18. *KA-/-HA*

1.   Nominal circumfix on verbal bases. Allomorphs, depending on the verb
     class of the base: *ka-/-ha* on a-verbs, *kae-/-ha* on ae-verbs, and
     kao-/-ha on ao-verbs. Productive.

  a. Meaning: location/time/instrument of the action or process denoted by the
     verbal base; location is the most unmarked and most frequently occurring
     meaning.

     Base is a simple verb:

ka-lente-ha	'place/time of birth'	*lente*	'be born'
ka-pee-ha	'place to land'	*pee*	'land'
kae-buri-ha	'writing utensil'	*buri*	'write'
kae-tisa-ha	'place/time to sow'	*tisa*	'sow'
kao-lodo-ha	'bed'	*lodo*	'sleep'

     Base is a complex verb:

ka-fo-fo-guru-ha	'place to teach' < *fo-fo-guru* 'teach (people)' < *fo-guru* 'teach' < *guru* 'teacher'
ka-mai-ghoo-ha-no	'place where he comes from, his origin' < *mai-ghoo* 'come from' < *mai* 'come'
ka-po-ghawa-ghawa-ha-ndo	'their meeting place' < *po-ghawa* 'meet' < *ghawa* 'get'

  b. Meaning: the reason of the activity/state denoted by the verb (see 9.15).
     The noun is obligatorily possessed.

     Base is a simple verb:

ka-mai-ha-ku	'the reason I have come'	*mai*	'come'
ka-tiere-ha-no	'the reason it stopped'	*tiere*	'stop'
ka-naando-ha-no	'the reason it is there'	*naando*	'be'

     Base is a complex verb:

ka-ti-kona-ha-no	'the reason it is called' < *ti-kona* 'be called' < *kona* 'call, name'
ka-ti-fo-dadi-ha-mani	'the reason we (ex) were made alive' < *ti-fo-dadi* 'be made alive' < *fo-dadi* 'make alive' < *dadi* 'live'
ka-fe-loso-ha-no	'the reason he lives in a hole' < *fe-loso* 'live in a hole' < *loso* 'hole'

c. Meaning: emphatic deverbal noun. This meaning only occurs in negative clauses after *miina bhe* 'there is no' (see 7.2.2 and 8.5.1).

    (*miina bhe*) *ka-parasaea-ha* 'there was no belief whatsoever
                                 (= X did not believe it at all)'
                                 < *parasaea* 'believe'
    (*miina bhe*) *ka-pande-ha-ku* 'there was no cleverness/skill of mine
                                 whatsoever (= I was not clever (at it) at
                                 all)' < *pande* 'clever, skilful'

d. The following derivations have irregular meanings:

ka-dadi-ha	'life, livelihood'	*dadi*	'live'
ka-fumaa-ha	'food'	*fumaa*	'eat'
kae-taa-ha-no	'it is better/best'	*taa*	'good'

    kae-kapa-kapande-ha   'first result of learning to be skilful at'
                       < *kapa-kapande* 'learn to be skilful at'
                       < *pande* 'know, clever'
    kae-kabu-kaburi-ha   'first result of learning to write'
                       < *kabu-kaburi* 'learn to write' < *buri* 'write'

e. Formally divergent are the following unproductive formations:

kae-deha	'faeces'	?<	*dea*	'defecate'

With nasal accretion, denoting objects:

ka(e)-ntei-ha	'vessel, container'	*tei*	'put, store'
ka-ngkoleo-ha	'clothesline'	*gholeo*	'dry (in the sun)'
ka-mporoghu-ha	'drinking utensil, cup'	*foroghu*	'drink'
ka-mpumaa-ha	'eating utensil, plate'	*fumaa*	'eat'
ka-ntabhilao-ha	'clothesline (in house)'	*tabhilao*	'hang out broadly (clothes)'
ka-ngkowea-ha	'stretcher, litter'	*ghowea*	'carry to-gether on the shoulders'

With nasal accretion and linking consonant:

ka-nsoo-pa	'west'	*soo*	'go down (sun)'
ka-mponi-sa	'pole ladder for climbing trees'	*foni-si*	'climb'
		foni	'go up'

2.   Nominal circumfix on nominal bases; unproductive:

ka-bhila-ha	'rest, remainder'	*bhila*	'rest'
ka-moghane-ha	'male genitals'	*moghane*	'man, male'
ka-robhine-ha	'female genitals'	*robhine*	'woman, female'

10.2.19. *KA-* + REDUPLICATION

1.   Nominal affix-combination. Mostly on nominal bases. Meaning: diminutive.

   a. Base is a simple noun. Productive:

ka-kontu-kontu	'small stone'	*kontu*	'stone'
ka-wale-wale	'small hut'	*wale*	'hut'
ka-tomba-tomba	'small basket'	*tomba*	'basket'
ka-kabha-kabhawo	'hill'	*kabhawo*	'mountain'

   With divergent meanings:

ka-lima-lima	1.'pickpocket' 2.'hand rail'	*lima*	'hand'
ka-wela-wela	1.'small cockatoo' 2.'roasted unripe banana'	*wela*	'cockatoo'
ka-ghuse-ghuse	k.o. plant	*ghuse*	'rain'

   With vowel contraction:

kana-ana, *kanana*	'baby'	*ana*	'child'

   b. Base is a reduplicated noun; in this case there is no extra reduplication, only *ka-* is prefixed:

ka-kuhu-kuhuti	'little owl'	*kuhu-kuhuti*	'owl'

   c. Base is a bound root:

ka-bua-bua	'girl (age 12-15)'
ka-puu-puu	k.o. flute

   d. Base is a stative intransitive verb; unproductive:

ka-kamo-kamokula	'small old person'	*kamokula*	'old'
ka-lolu-lolu	'idiot'	*lolu*	'stupid'

2.   Verbal affix-combination; a-class, amenable to *-um-*. Unproductive.

   a. Base is a stative intransitive verb; meaning softens the quality of the verb, 'rather':

no-ka-lolu-lolu	'rather stupid'	*lolu*	'stupid'
no-ka-pongke-pongke	'rather deaf'	*pongke*	'deaf'
no-ka-rombu-rombu	'rather fat'	*rombu*	'fat'
no-ka-kodo-kodoho	'rather far'	*kodoho*	'far'
no-ka-meko-meko	'rather sweet'	*meko*	'sweet'
(also: *no-ka-eko-eko*)			
no-ka-kolo-kolo	'rather sour'	*kolo*	'sour'
(also: *no-ka-olo-olo*)			

   b. Base is a bound root; the derivation pertains to character features. Sometimes a base exists, but there is no clear semantic relationship between the base and the derivation.

no-ka-baru-baru	'naughty'	?> *baru*	'happy'
no-ka-ili-ili	'shy, modest'		
no-ka-dhoro-dhoro	'unmannered, arrogant'		
no-ka-empa-empa	'impolite, mean'		

   c. Base is a verb; idiosyncratic meanings; unproductive:

no-ka-ere-ere	'learn to stand up'	*ere*	'stand up'
no-ka-mpuu-mpuu	'do something seriously'	*mpuu*	'serious'
no-ka-angka-angka	'follow, be led astray by'	*angka*	'go, take a route'

It is also possible that the forms of this last category are made up of the prefix *ka-* while the base is a reduplicated verb. With the available information, this is hard to determine.

3.   Affix-combination joined to an independent verb, forming a compound signalling simultaneous action. Frequently (but not necessarily) nasal accretion is present so that the affix takes the form of *ngka-* + reduplication. This could be considered a separate affix, but since the nasal accretion is not obligatory it seems best to treat it under the present affix-combination. The nasal accretion points to the close link between the independent verb and the affix-combination. This pattern is productive:

(no-filei) nkga-pode-podea	'she ran away screaming'	*podea*	'scream'
		filei	'run away'
(do-kala) ngka-ghae-ghae	'they went crying'	*ghae*	'cry'
		kala	'go'
(no-tende) ka-bisa-bisara	'he ran while talking'	*bisara*	'talk'
		tende	'run'
(no-hiri-e) ngka-kala-kala	'she peeled it while going'	*kala*	'go'
		hiri	'peel'
(ne-basa) ka-ere-ere	'he reads standing up'	*ere*	'stand up'
		basa	'read'

The compound nature of this derivation is most clearly shown in the fact that the object of the main verb can be suffixed to the compounded verb:

do-koburu ngka-ghuri-ghuri-da	'they buried them alive'	*ghuri*	'living'
		koburu	'bury'

But also possible is:

do-koburu-da ngka-ghuri-ghuri 'they buried them alive'

10.2.20. *KI-/-HA*

Verbal circumfix; a-class, resistant to *-um-*. Meaning: 'many, all together'; only singular inflection when the referents are non-animate. Base: the so-called 'sound' verbs (7.12.3) and a few others. Only productive on the 'sound' verbs. Usually in combination with the auxiliary affixes *ta-* and *-mo*.

```
ta-do-ki-keo-ha-mo        'they all screamed'    keo      'scream'
ta-do-ki-tou-ha-mo        'they all barked'      tou      'bark'
ta-do-ki-muntu-ha-mo      'they all muttered'    muntu    'mutter'
ta-do-ki-ngkora-ha-mo    'they all sat down'    ngkora    'sit'
ta-do-ki-ntade-ha-mo      'they all stood up'    ntade    'stand'
ta-no-ki-dea-ha-mo        'they were all red'    dea      'red'
```

With nasal accretion:

```
ta-do-ki-ngkuni-ha-mo 'they were all yellow'    kuni      'yellow'
(also: ta-do-ko-ngkuni-ha-mo)
```


10.2.21. *KO-*

Verbal prefix on nominal bases; a-class, resistant to *-um-*. Meaning: 'have/possess X'. Productive.

a. Base is a simple noun:

```
no-ko-kanda        'he is wounded'            kanda    'wound'
no-ko-ana          'he has a child/children'  ana      'child'
no-ko-olu          'it is cloudy'             olu      'cloud'
no-ko-ghanti       'he is sweating'           ghanti   'sweat'
no-ko-labhi        'it is more, exceeds'      labhi    'more'
```

With slightly divergent meanings:

```
no-ko-adho         'beautiful'                adho     'shape, form'
no-ko-dadi         'old'                      dadi     'life'
no-ko-ghendu       'startled, frightened'     ghendu   disease
                                                       that causes
                                                       trembling
```

b. Base is a complex noun. Reduplicated nouns as bases are common in negative clauses; the affix sequence *ko-ni-* signals the quantification 'something' and in negative clauses 'nothing' (see 5.7.7).

```
no-ko-kiri-kiri            'full of thorns'    kiri      'thorn'
(miina na-ko-kara-karadhaa 'he has absolutely  karadhaa 'work'
                            (no) work'
no-ko-ka-tulumi            'to be helpful'     tulumi    'help'
no-ko-ni-fumaa             'he has something   fumaa    'eat'
                            to eat'
no-ko-ne-mo-kae            'he lacks something' kae      'be short
                                                         of'
(miina na-ko-ni-gholi      'he has not bought  gholi    'buy'
                            anything'
```

c. A special case is the construction in which the clipped participle of this derivation is compounded to a noun that it modifies. Occasionally nasal accretion is found at the juncture point:

```
kontu (ng)ko-wuna      'stone with flowers'    kontu    'stone'
                                               wuna      'flower'
```

ghaghe (ng)ko-wulu	'hairy leg'	*ghaghe*	'leg'
		wulu	'hair'
mie ko-dhangku	'person with a beard'	*mie*	'person'
		dhangku	'beard'
ana ko-kori	'child with lepra'	*ana*	'child'
		kori	'lepra'

   d. Base is a 'sound' root (most of these are bound roots). There are dozens
      of these derivations, for more examples see 7.12.3.

no-ko-bhondu	sound of a falling coconut
no-ko-depa	sound of chickens flapping their wings

   Further derivations:

ko-lambu-no	'owner of the house'	*lambu*	'house'
ko-ghule-ha-no	'place where there are snakes'	*ghule*	'snake'

10.2.22. *KO-/-HA-*

Nominal affix-combination. Obligatory inflection depending on animacy.
Meaning: 'all of X, the whole X'. Productive.

   a. Base is a measure phrase (prefixed numeral + measure noun). Inflected
      with *-e* to signal a non-animate referent. A variant of *ko-se-* is *ko-si-*
      (see 5.7.3).

ko-se-tonde-ha-e	'the whole glass'	*tonde*	'glass'
ko-raa-weta-ha-e	'both sides'	*weta*	'side'
ko-tolu-wua-ha-e	'all three of them'	*wua*	classifier
ko-se-Wuna-ha-e	'the whole of Muna'	*Wuna*	'Muna'
ko-se-dhunia-ha-e	'the whole world'	*dhunia*	'world'

   When the base noun is reduplicated, the meaning is intensified (in
   English signalled by intonation, hence in the translation by capital
   letters):

ko-se-taghi-taghi-ha-e	'the WHOLE belly'	*taghi*	'belly'
ko-se-ghulu-ghulu-ha-e	'the WHOLE body'	*ghulu*	'body'

   Notice also the forms *ko-si-bhari-(bhari-)ha-e* 'all, everything' and
   (with animate referents) *ko-si-bhari-(bhari-)ha-ndo* 'all, everything'. In
   those forms *-ha-* is optionally absent, see 5.7.3. That is also the case
   in the form:

ko-fato-wala-e	'circumference; the whole environment'	*fato-*	'four'
		wala	'side'

   b. Base is a reduplicated numeral. The derivation is inflected with either
      -e or with plural possessive suffixes. The referents are human:

ko-to-tolu-ha-e	'the three of them'	*to-tolu*	'three'
ko-ru-dua-ha-ndo	'the two of them'	*ru-dua*	'two'
ko-pi-pitu-ha-mani	'the seven of us (ex)'	*pi-pitu*	'seven'

10.2.23. *KO* + REDUPLICATION

Nominal affix-combination on verbal bases with obligatory possessive inflection. Meaning: to continue to be in the state/action denoted by the verb. Depending on the context, this state/action may just have started or may have been going on for some time. This derivation is always juxtaposed to a main verb. The base is a simple verb. The derivation is productive.

ko-wanu-wanu-ku	'I woke up and remained awake; while I remained awake'	*wanu*	'wake up'
ko-ghosa-ghosa-no	'he recovered and remained healthy; while he stayed healthy'	*ghosa*	'healthy strong'
ko-lodo-lodo-no	'he fell asleep and remained asleep; while he remained asleep'	*lodo*	'sleep'
ko-kala-kala-ndo	'they went away and continued to go; while they were going'	*kala*	'go'

10.2.24. *-MANA*

Verbal suffix on verbal bases. Meaning: adhortative (plural); see *-ana* (10.2.1) for adhortative singular. For adhortatives see 8.8. The subject is always first person inclusive. Productive.

a. Base is simple verb:

do-fumaa-mana	'let us eat'	*fumaa*	'eat'
de-bhotu-mana	'let us break'	*bhotu*	'break'
do-leni-mana	'let us swim'	*leni*	'swim'

b. Base is a complex verb:

do-po-gaa-mana	'let us separate' < *po-gaa* 'separate < *gaa* 'marry' (also: *do-po-gaa-ti-mana*)
do-foni-si-e-mana	'let us climb it' < *foni-si* 'climb' < *foni* 'go up'
do-fo-suli-ane-mana	'let us return it to him' < *fo-suli* 'return (tr)'< *suli* 'return (intr)'

10.2.25. *MANSI-* + REDUPLICATION

Verbal affix-combination on nominal bases; a-class, blocked for *-um-*. Meaning: a statement about the existence of a certain number of objects. Depending on the context, this number can be more than expected ('quite a few') or less than expected ('only a few'). The auxiliary prefixes *ta-* (expectancy reversal) and the perfective *-mo* are normally present. The subject must be third person, singular for non-animate and plural for animate referents. The derivation seems to be productive.

```
ta-do-mansi-ghulu-ghulu-mo     'there were quite a few animals;
                                there were only a few animals'
                                < ghulu 'classifier for animals'
ta-no-mansi-ghonu-ghonu-mo     'there are quite a few (items);
                                there are only a few (items)'
                                < ghonu classifier
ta-do-mansi-tandu-tandu-mo     'there were quite a few horns;
                                there were only a few horns (= buffaloes)'
                                < tandu 'horn'
```

10.2.26. *MANSO-*

Verbal prefix on verbal bases; a-class, blocked for *-um-*. Meaning: 'often, habitually'. The derivation characterizes persons or objects. Base is a simple intransitive verb; transitive verbs cannot be the basis of this derivation. Productive.

```
no-manso-ghae        'he often cries'         ghae      'cry'
no-manso-bisara      'he talks a lot'         bisara    'speak'
no-manso-limpu       'he is forgetful'        limpu     'forget'
no-manso-dai         'it often breaks down'   dai       'broken'
no-manso-saki        'he is often ill'        saki      'ill'
(also: no-mana-nsaki)
```

10.2.27. *MBA- + REDUPLICATION*

Verbal affix-combination on verbal bases; a-class, blocked for *-um-*. Meaning: 'rather'. Productive. Base: stative intransitive verb.

```
a. no-mba-hali-hali      'rather difficult'        hali      'difficult'
   no-mba-kodo-kodoho     'rather far'             kodoho    'far'
   no-mba-lolu-lolu       'rather stupid'          lolu      'stupid'
   no-mba-bhari-bhari     'rather many'            bhari     'many'
```

   In some people's speech *mba-* is in free variation with *ma-*:

```
   no-m(b)a-wanta-wanta   'rather long'            wanta     'long'
```

   Further derivations:

```
   mba-langke-langke-no   '(one that is) rather tall'  langke  'tall'
   no-mba-wanta-wanta-hi  'they are all rather long'   wanta   'long'
```

b. Uninflected, this derivation functions as an adverb, especially in certain fixed expressions, such as the first example.

```
   (no-tumbu) mba-leu-leu       'it withers (lit. it       tumbu   'grow'
                                grows witheringly'         leu     'wither'
   (no-tende) mba-rimba-rimba   'he ran rather fast'       tende   'run'
                                                           rimba   'fast'
```

10.2.28. *ME-, MO-*

Prefixes on verbal bases, *me-* for ae-verbs, *mo-* for ao-verbs.

1.   Imperative prefix (see 8.7):

me-ngkora	'sit down!'	*ngkora*	'sit'
me-kala-kala	'walk!'	*kala-kala*	'walk'
mo-lodo	'go to sleep!'	*lodo*	'sleep'
mo-pilo	'close your eyes!'	*pilo*	'close eyes'

2.   Clipped participle prefix on verbal bases. See 5.9.2 and 10.2.51 for clipped participles:

lalo me-taa	'a good heart'	*lalo*	'heart'
		taa	'good'
oe mo-rindi	'cold water'	*oe*	'water'
		rindi	'cold'

3.   Class affix, that is, an auxiliary affix that occurs only in combination with other affixes and has no independent function or meaning. The class affixes are found in combination with the following affixes (only one example is given for each category). The reason why they surface and the variation that is found are not yet accounted for.

   a. *fe-* (10.2.4)

ne-fe-mo-kanu-ghoo	'ask/order to prepare'	*kanu*	'prepare'

   b. *fo$_2$-* (10.2.7)

no-fo-mo-raku	'he hates (us/people)'	*raku*	'hate'

   c. *ka-* (10.2.17)

ka-me-salo	'request'	*salo*	'request'

   d. *ne-* (10.2.33)

ne-mo-nea-ghoo-no	'what she is used to'	*nea*	'usual'

   e. *piki-* (10.2.40)

no-piki-mo-lodo	'he slept quickly'	*lodo*	'sleep'

   f. *po-* (10.2.41)

do-po-mo-ghae-fi	'they (2) bewail each other'	*ghae*	'cry'

   g. *si-/-ha* (10.2.47)

do-si-me-tofa-ha	'they (2) wash together'	*tofa*	'wash'

  h. *ti-* (10.2.49)

    no-ti-mo-tehi   'feared'   *tehi*   'afraid'

4.   Miscellaneous:

  a. Irregular irrealis prefix with *ghondo-(hi)* 'look (for)'

    na-mo-ghondo-hi   'he will look for'   *ghondo*   'look'
    (regular: *na-gh[um]ondo-hi*)

  b. *no-mo(-)isa*   'alone'   ?< *ise*   'one'
     mo-rondo   'last night'   *rondo*   'dark'

10.2.29. *-MO*

The suffix *-mo* (dialectally *-mu*) has a wide range of applications, but a perfective or emphatic meaning component can usually be detected.

  a. Base is an inflected verb. The suffix *-mo* signals either a telic, momentary action or the state resulting from that action. In the latter case the English 'already' can be an adequate translation equivalent. The term 'perfective' is based on this use.

    no-kala-mo   'he went; he has (already)   *kala*   'go'
                          gone'
    no-mate-mo   'he died; he has (already)   *mate*   'die,dead'
                          died; he is (already) dead'
    no-bhala-mo   'it is (already) big'   *bhala*   'big'

    For the use of *-mo* in narrative discourse, see 9.21.
      In combination with the irrealis, *-mo* signals a near future or an intention that is about to or beginning to be performed at the moment of speech:

    na-k[um]ala-mo   'he is about to go; he is   *kala*   'go'
                          leaving this moment'
    nao-lodo-mo   'he is about to fall   *lodo*   'sleep'
                          asleep'

    As a perfective suffix, *-mo* is often found as an auxiliary suffix in combination with other affixes (for example, *mansi-*, *ta-*). On the complexities of the combination of *-mo* with *-Vmu* see 10.2.30.

  b. Base is an imperative. The suffix *-mo* softens or emphasizes the command, depending on the intonation pattern (see 8.7.3).

    me-ngkora-mo   'please sit down'   *ngkora*   'sit'
    suli-mo!   'go home, will you!'   *suli*   'return'

  c. Base is a simple or complex noun. The suffix here signals emphasis, especially in clauses that consist of only one NP ('that is it').

```
    lambu-ku-mo        '(that is) my house'      lambu       'house'
    ka-gholi-no-mo     '(that is) what she bought' gholi     'buy'
    ka-mate-ha-no-mo   '(that is) the reason he   mate        'die, dead'
                        died'
```

d. Base is a personal pronoun; same function as under c:

```
    inodi-mo           '(it is) I, I am the one'  inodi       'I'
    ihintu-mu          '(it is) you, you are the  ihintu      'you'
                        one'
```

With semantic specialization:

```
    anoa-mo            'that is right; that is it' anoa        'he,she'
```

e. Base is a demonstrative derivation:

```
    awatu-ha-e-mo      'there it is'                watu       'that'
```

f. Base is a prepositional phrase. With the prepositions *bhe* 'with', *so* 'for' and *peda* 'like' the suffix is added to the preposition. Otherwise, it is suffixed to the noun or pronoun following the preposition. The preposition *so*, when affixed with -*mo*, is disyllabic. Again, -*mo* signals emphasis.

```
    soo-mo inodi       'for me'                     inodi      'I'
    bhe-mo anoa        'with him'                   anoa       'he,she'
    peda-mo anagha     'like that'                  anagha     'that'
    ne watu-mo         '(it is) over there'         watu       'that'
    ampa na ini-mo     '(it is) up to here'         ini        'this'
```

g. -*mo* also occurs in a large number of adverbs and conjunctions; sometimes with a clear difference in meaning (negators), in other cases in free variation with forms without -*mo*, and in still other cases the form with -*mo* is the only possible form:

```
    miina-mo           'no more'                    miina      'not'
    pae-mo             '(will) no more'             pa(e)      '(will)  not'
    dadiha-no-mo       'so, therefore'              dadi-ha-no 'so, there-
                                                                fore'
    sumano-mo          'if only'                    sumano     'if only'
    sio-sio-mo         'hopefully'
    ampa-mo            'only, merely'
    tantu-mo           'of course'
    kau-kau-mo         'seemingly, as if' (also kau-kau-no-mo)
    pooli-mo           'much more'
    mingkino-mo        'nevertheless'
```

10.2.30. -*VMU*

The pluralizing suffix -*Vmu* occurs on several bases. The *V* stands for an echo vowel, the last vowel of the base which is repeated in the suffix. -*Vmu* is the shape of the morpheme in the Katobu subdialect (which forms the basis of this grammar); in Tongkuno and Kabawo the shape is -*omu*.

The meaning of this morpheme is to pluralize second person (in opposition to singular) and first person inclusive (in opposition to dual).

a. Base is a free pronoun:

(i)hintu-umu	'you (plural)'	*(i)hintu*	'you'
intaidi-imu	'we'	*intaidi*	'we (dual)'

b. Base is a noun or participle with possessive inflection. With the first person inclusive *-nto*, the suffix *-Vmu* is regularly added; with the second person, *-mu* is replaced by *-Vmu*:

lambu-nto-omu	'our (inc) house'	*lambu-nto*	'our (dual) house'
doi-imu	'your (pl) money'	*doi-mu*	'your money'
ne-ghondo-hi-imu	'what you (pl) are looking for'	*ghondo-hi*	'look for'
ne-fetingke-emu	'what you (pl) have heard'	*fetingke*	'hear'

c. Base is verbal. Plurality refers to the subject, which is second person (also in imperatives).

kala-amu!	'go (pl)!'	*kala*	'go'
piki-suli-imu!	'come (pl) quickly home!'	*suli*	'return'
o-didiu-kanau-umu	'you (pl) disturb me'	*didiu*	'disturb'
o-waa-anda-amu	'you have given them'	*waa*	'give'

With first person inclusive adhortatives and imperatives the plurality also refers to the subject:

do-fumaa-ghoo-omu	'let us (pl) eat'	*fumaa*	'eat'
do-ala-e-ghoo-omu	'let us (pl) take it'	*ala*	'take'
do-po-sabha-sabhangka-amu	'let us (pl) be friends'	*sabhangka*	'friend'

d. Base is verbal. Plurality refers to the object which is second person (*-ko*, *-angko*) or the first/second form *-kaeta*.

no-wora-ko-omu	'he sees you (pl)'	*wora*	'see'
no-waa-angko-omu	'he gives you (pl)'	*waa*	'give'
a-[m]ealai-kaeta-amu	'I ask your (polite pl) permission to leave'	*fealai*	'ask per- mission to leave'

The combination of the perfective *-mo* with the pluralizing *-Vmu* gives the form *-Vmoo* in the Katobu subdialect, but *-omuo* in Tongkuno and Kabawo. The Katobu form has contracted the vowels:

o-kala-amoo (Katobu)	'you (pl) have (already) gone'	*kala*	'go'
Tongkuno/Kabawo: *o-kala-omuo*			

10.2.31. *MPO-* + REDUPLICATION

Verbal affix-combination; ae-class, intransitive, blocked for *-um-*. Meaning: 'pretend to; act as if'.

a. Base is an intransitive verb; productive:

```
ne-mpo-futa-futaa      'he pretends to laugh'        futaa    'laugh'
ne-mpo-buri-buri       'he pretends to write'        buri     'write'
ne-mpo-gaa-gaa         'he pretends to be married'   gaa      'marry'
ne-mpo-gau-gau         1.'he pretends to cook'        gau      'cook'
                       2.'he pretends to lie'         gau-gau  'tell a
                                                                lie'
```

b. Base is a noun; unproductive:

```
ne-mpo-robhi-robhine   'act like a woman/            robhine  'woman'
                        pretend to be a woman'
ne-mpo-ana-ana-hi      'act like a child/            ana-hi   'child'
                        pretend to be a child'
ne-mpo-awa-awa         'pretend to call awa/         awa      'grandparent'
                        call awa for no reason'
```

10.2.32. *NA-*

Prefix on measure phrase bases (see also 5.7.3), indicating futurity; productive.

```
na-ompulu-gha          'in ten days'                ompulu       'ten'
na-se-wua              'another fruit'              wua          'fruit'
na-fitu-fulu ghunteli  'seventy eggs'               fitu-fulu    'seventy'
                                                    ghunteli     'egg'
```

10.2.33.   *NE- (NI-)*

Passive participle prefix on verbal bases. Both *ne-* and *ni-* occur in standard Muna, though *ne-* is the usual form in Katobu. This *ne-* should not be confused with the subject marker *ne-* (third person singular for ae-verbs). Agents are optionally marked by possessive suffixes. The participle functions in headed and headless relative clauses (see 9.1).

a. Base is a simple transitive verb:

```
ne-wora-ku             'what I saw'                 wora     'see'
ne-tolo-no             'what it swallowed'          tolo     'swallow'
ne-owa-ndo             'what they brought'          owa      'bring'
```

b. Base is a complex verb:

```
ne-fo-ngkora-no        'what he put down'
                       < fo-ngkora 'put' < ngkora 'sit'
ne-pogau-ghoo-ndo      'what they talked about'
                       < pogau-ghoo 'talk about' < pogau 'speak'
```

> *ne-pande-hao-ku*   'what I know'
>   < *pande-hao* 'know' < *pande* 'know, clever'

With semantic specification:

> *ne-ala-no*   1.'what he took'   *ala*   'take'
>   2.'his wife'
> *ne-mai-ghoo-ku*   'my experiences'   *mai-ghoo* 'come from'
>   *mai*   'come'

Class affixes are found with only one ae-verb, but regularly with ao-verbs. These ao-verbs are intransitive, but a participle can be formed because of the indirect object suffix *-ghoo* referring to cause, reason or content:

> *ne-me-salo-no*   'what he requested'   *salo*   'request'
> also: *ka-me-salo*   'request'
> *ne-mo-nea-ghoo-no*   'what she is used to'   *nea*   'usual'
> *ne-mo-kae-ghoo-no*   'what he is lacking'   *kae*   'short;
>   lacking'
> *ne-mo-saba-ghoo-no*   'what troubles him'   *saba*   'worried'

Formally divergent (*-um*-form in the passive participle):

> *ne-[m]asi-ghoo-ku*   'what I like/love'   *asi*   'like, love'
> also: *ka-[m]asi-ghoo-ku* 'what I like/love'

10.3.34. *NGKO-*

Verbal affix on verbal bases; ae-class; blocked for *-um-*. Meaning: 'often, habitually'; almost identical in meaning to *manso-*, but *ngko-* occurs both on intransitive and transitive bases. Productive.

> *ne-ngko-saki*   'he is often ill'   *saki*   'ill'
> *ne-ngko-amara*   'he is often angry'   *amara*   'angry'
> *ne-ngko-galu*   'he often goes to work   *galu*   'work in
>   in the garden'   garden'
> *ne-ngko-futaa*   'he laughs a lot'   *futaa*   'laugh'

10.2.35. *NSA-* + REDUPLICATION

Verbal affix-combination on verbal bases; ae-class, blocked for *-um-*. Meaning: 'increasingly, more and more'. Base must be a stative intransitive verb. Productive.

> *ne-nsa-bhie-bhie*   'more and more heavy'   *bhie*   'heavy'
> *ne-nsa-pute-pute*   'whiter and whiter'   *pute*   'white'
> *ne-nsa-dai-dai*   'more and more broken'   *dai*   'broken'
> *ne-nsa-hali-hali*   'increasingly difficult'   *hali*   'difficult'

With slightly divergent meaning:

> *ne-nsa-lompo-lompona* 'gradually'   *lompona*   'long'

10.2.36. *PA-*

Nominal prefix on verbal bases. Indicates a profession: 'one who regularly does X for his living'. Unproductive.

pa-galu	'farmer'	*galu*	'work in the field'
pa-hulo	'hunter'	*hulo*	'hunt'
pa-gambara	'artist'	*gambara*	'make a picture'
pa-kebha	'tree tapper'	*kebha*	'tap (tree)'

10.2.37. *PAKA-*

Prefix on verbal bases with verbal or nominal inflection. Meaning: links two clauses by specifying their temporal relationship as one of initial overlapping ('when first, when just'). See also 9.7.1. Productive.

a. With nominal inflection:

paka-rato-ku	'when I first arrived'	*rato*	'arrive'
paka-tanda-no	'when it just started'	*tanda*	'begin'
paka-gaa-ndo	'when they were just married'	*gaa*	'marry'

b. With verbal inflection (less usual); the prefix does not change the verb class of the verbal base:

paka-a-rato	'when I first arrived'	*rato*	'arrive'
paka-no-mate	'when he had just died'	*mate*	'die,dead'

On complex bases:

paka-ae-feka-rubu	'when I first made it smaller'
	< *feka-rubu* 'make smaller' < *rubu* 'small'

10.2.38. *PARA-*

Verbal prefix on verbal bases; a-class, amenable to *-um-*, intransitive. Meaning: iterativity in combination with habituality. In some cases the emphasis is on the variety of the implied objects. Unproductive.

a. Base is a dynamic intransitive verb or, rarely, a transitive verb of which the object is not specified:

no-para-tongka	'vomit repeatedly'	*tongka*	'vomit'
no-para-dosa	'be frequently in debt'	*dosa*	'be in debt'
no-para-gholi	'be a regular buyer; buy a variety of things'	*gholi*	'buy'
no-para-aso	'be a regular seller; sell a variety of things'	*aso*	'sell'
no-para-ada	'borrow all the time'	*ada*	'borrow'

With nasal accretion:

no-para-mpodea	'shout repeatedly'	*podea*	'shout'
no-para-mpeena	'ask all the time'	*feena*	'ask'
(also: *no-para-mfeena*)			
no-para-mponi	'climb all the time'	*foni*	'climb'
no-para-nsuli	'return all the time'	*suli*	'return'
no-para-mpilei	'run away all the time'	*filei*	'run away'
(also: *no-para-mfilei*)			

b. Base is a reduplicated verb:

no-para-tongka-tongka	'vomit repeatedly'	*tongka*	'vomit'
no-para-ghae-ghae	'whimper, blubber'	*ghae*	'cry'

c. Base is a bound derived verb:

no-para-ngko-dea	'show various shades of red'	*dea*	'red'
no-para-ngko-kuni	'show various shades of yellow'	*kuni*	'yellow'

2. Base is a stative verb; the prefix *para-* alternates with *mara-*; in both cases there is nasal accretion. The meaning is idiosyncratic.

no-para-mpute/	'pale'	*pute*	'white
no-mara-mpute			
no-para-ntalea/	'lie bare'	*ntalea*	'light'
no-mara-ntalea			

Further derivation:

ka-para-ghae-ghae	'someone who always whimpers, blubberer'

10.2.39. *PE-*

Prefix on measure phrase bases or numeral verbs. With measure phrases in obligatory combination with *na-* (see 5.7.3); numeral verbs must be in the irrealis. Meaning: 'approximately'. Productive.

na-pe-raa-gholeo-mo	'about two days ago'	*raa-*	'two'
		gholeo	'day'
na-pe-se-riwu rofa	'about 1,000 fathom'	*se-riwu*	'thousand'
		rofa	'fathom'
da-pe-tolu-fulu	'they are about thirty'	*tolu-fulu*	'thirty'

10.2.40. *PIKI-*

Verbal prefix on verbal bases; a-class, resistant to *-um-*. Meaning: 'early, soon, quickly' (the speed refers to the timing of the action or state denoted by the verb, not to the speed with which it is performed). The derived verb retains the transitivity status of the basic verb. Productive.

a. Base is a simple verb:

no-piki-suli	'he returned soon'	*suli*	'return'
no-piki-rato	'he arrived early'	*rato*	'arrive'

With ao-verbs the class affix *-mo-* occurs:

no-piki-mo-lodo	'he slept quickly'	*lodo*	'sleep'

b. Base is a derived verb:

no-piki-ko-ghua	'he is early bald (at a young age)' < *ko-ghua* 'bald; have a bald spot' < *ghua* 'bald spot'
no-piki-fe-buri	'he soon ordered to write' < *fe-buri* 'order to write' < *buri* 'write'

Further derivation:

piki-kala-no	'the ones that went early'

10.2.41. *PO-*

1.   Verbal prefix on verbal or nominal bases; a-class, resistant to *-um-*, intransitive. Affixed with *-ghoo* and indirect object inflection to signal different semantic functions (see 7.9.1 and 8.4). Meaning: several different meanings can be distinguished, but a component of 'more than one involved' seems to be a common denominator.

A. Meaning 'reciprocal' (see 8.4). Productive.

a. Base is a simple transitive verb; plural subjects have dual reference; singular subject possible (with optional argument in *bhe* phrase):

do-po-intara	'they (2) hold each other'	*intara*	'hold'
do-po-tudu	'they (2) order each other'	*tudu*	'order'

Idiosyncratic meaning:

do-po-ala	'they (2) take each other; they (2) are married'	*ala*	'take'
no-po-ghawa	'he meets'	*ghawa*	'get'
do-po-gaa	'they (2) separate'	*gaa*	'marry'

Po-ghawa 'meet' is sometimes treated as an ae-verb, apparently because the relationship with *ghawa* is no longer felt. As an ae-verb, it may undergo the definiteness shift, in which case the *p-* undergoes nasal substitution: *nae-poghawa* 'he will meet'; *na-[m]oghawa-e* 'he will meet her'.

b. Base is a reduplicated verb; only with plural inflection having plural (non-dual) reference:

do-po-tumbu-tumbu	'they hit each other'	*tumbu*	'hit'
do-po-dhandi-dhandi	'they promise each other'	*dhandi*	'promise'
do-po-owi-owili	'they give each other a	*owili*	'give a
(also: *do-po-owo-owili*) message'			message'

c. Base is a complex verb; class affixes surface with ao-verbs:

do-po-fo-guru	'they (2) teach each other'
	< *fo-guru* 'teach' < *guru* 'teacher'
do-po-pali-ki	'they (2) visit each other'
	< *pali-ki* 'visit' < *pali* 'veer, turn aside'
do-po-mo-ghae-fi	'they (2) bewail each other.'
	< *ghae-fi* 'bewail, cry for' < *ghae* 'cry'

B. Non-reciprocal meanings. Singular or plural inflection:

a. Base is a noun. Meaning: 'to play X (game or instrument), to celebrate'.

no-po-kalalambu	'play a game'	*kalalambu*	'game,toy'
no-po-ase	'play *ase*'	*ase*	k.o.game
no-po-foli	'play volleyball'	*foli*	'volleyball'
no-po-mbololo	'play the gong'	*mbololo*	'gong'
no-po-alo	'keep a vigil after someone's death'	*alo*	'night'
no-po-i-fitu	'keep a vigil the seventh night after someone's death'	*i-fitu*	'seventh night'

b. Base is a simple verb. Meaning: 'in parts, broken'; or: 'connected'. The reference is dual.

no-po-gunti	'cut in two'	*gunti*	'cut'
no-po-kuta	'broken in two pieces'	*kuta*	'break'
no-po-losa	'be connected with'	*losa*	'penetrate, arrive'
no-po-sobho	'be mixed with'	*sobho*	'mix'
no-po-tai	'be connected, bound together	*tai*	'stick'
no-po-hala	'be different'	*hala*	'wrong'
no-po-owa	'be carried along by the stream'	*owa*	'bring'
no-po-tubhari	'to increase (intr)'	*tubhari*	'add'

When the base is a reduplicated verb, or when the derivation is reduplicated, the reference is non-dual plural:

no-po-gasa-gasa	'scattered, smashed'	*gasa-gasa*	'scatter' (tr)
no-po-tai-tai	'be connected, bound together'	*tai*	'stick'

c. Base is a noun (simple, reduplicated or compound). Meanings are idiosyncratic:

no-po-sabhangka	'be friends with'	*sabhangka*	'friend'

no-po-bhai	'accompany'	*bhai*	'companion'
no-po-anahi-bhai	'be friends with'	*anahi-bhai*	'friend'
no-po-kantawu	'be gathered together'	*kantawu*	'heap'
no-po-turu	'leak'	*turu*	'drip'
no-po-ulea	'carry/have a load'	*ulea*	'load'
no-po-guru	'learn'	*guru*	'teacher'

d. Base is a bound root; included are a number of communication verbs:

no-po-dea	'shout'
no-po-gau	'speak, say'
no-po-kamunti	'whisper'
no-po-gira	'fight'
no-po-lele	'bring news'; also: *ne-fo-lele* 'spread news'
no-po-sintuwu	'ready, prepared'; also: *ne-fo-sintuwu* 'finish, make ready'
no-po-toto	'be the same'

e. Base is a compound verb:

no-po-mai-nsuli	'commute'	*mai*	'come'
		suli	'return'

C. *po-* occurs in combination with other affixes (not to be confused with further derivations or complex bases). Unproductive.

a. With *-Ci*:

do-po-hunda-pi	'agree with each other' (**do-hunda-pi*, **do-po-hunda*)	*hunda*	'agree'
do-po-kodoho-pi	'far away from each other'	*kodoho*	'far'
no-po-ndawu-ti	'fall (many items)'	*ndawu*	'fall'
no-po-gaga-i	'quarrel, disagree'	*gaga*	'deny'

b. With *ta-* ('until') and the auxiliary suffixes *-ghoo* and *-mo*. Class affixes surface with ao-verbs. Meaning: 'until'.

ta-no-po-mate-ghoo-mo	'until he died'	*mate*	'die, dead'
ta-no-po-gaa-ghoo-mo	'until he married'	*gaa*	'marry'
ta-no-po-mo-lodo-ghoo-mo	'until he fell asleep'	*lodo*	'sleep'

c. With class affixes (idiomatic):

do-po-me-taa	'we/they have a good relationship'	*taa*	'good'
do-po-mo-dai	'we/they have a bad relationship'	*dai*	'bad'

d. With *-ha*:

po-ai-ha	'one who is a younger sibling'	*ai*	'younger sibling'
po-isa-ha	'one who is an older sibling'	*isa*	'older sibling'
po-sora-ha	'neighbour'	*sora*	'approach'

Further derivations:

paka-po-gira-ndo	'when they (2) first started fighting'	
	< *po-gira* 'fight'	
do-si-po-dea-ha	'they (2) shout together'	
	< *po-dea* 'shout'	
ne-po-kamunti-ghoo-ndo	'what they (2) whispered'	
	< *po-kamunti* 'whisper'	

2.   Nominal prefix. Base is a simple or complex verb. Unproductive.

po-wura	'vision, view, sight'	*wura*	'see'
po-tandai	'memory'	*tandai*	'remember'
po-fetingke	'hearing'	*fetingke*	'hear'
po-nami-si	'feeling'	*nami-si*	'feel'
		nami	'taste'
po-diu	'character'	*diu*	'move'

10.2.42. *POKA-* + REDUPLICATION

Verbal affix-combination on verbal and nominal bases; a-class, resistant to -*um*-. Retains transitivity of the basic verb. Meaning: 'pretend, act as if; just a bit, just for fun; continually only a little; still learning to; according to one's ability'. The main semantic component seems to be that of playing down the seriousness of the activity. It is not really performed in the true sense of the word, it cannot be properly called V. Productive.

a. Base is a simple or complex verb:

no-poka-fuma-fumaa	'eat just a little; pretend to eat; eat a a little for fun'	*fumaa*	'eat'
no-poka-linda-linda	'dance a little (for fun)'	*linda*	'dance'
no-poka-bhini-bhini-ti	'just pinch a little (for fun); pretend to pinch'	*bhini-ti*	'pinch (re- peatedly)'
		bhini	'pinch'
no-poka-fo-ra-fo-rato	'pretend to inform'	*fo-rato*	'inform'
		rato	'arrive'

b. Base is a noun:

no-poka-siko-sikola	'play being at school'	*sikola*	'school'
no-poka-bhangka-bhangka	'to play with a boat'	*bhangka*	'boat'

10.2.43. *PONTA-* + REDUPLICATION

Verbal affix-combination on verbs of motion; a-class, resistant to -*um*-; intransitive. Meaning: fast, repetitive and random action, 'to and fro, up and down'. Unproductive.

a. Base is a simple verb:

no-ponta-punda-punda	'jump to and fro, up and down'	*punda*	'jump'
no-ponta-foni-foni	'climb up and down all the time'	*foni*	'go up'

(also with nasal accretion: *no-ponta-mponi-mponi*)

no-ponta-suli-suli	'go back and forth home'	*suli*	'return'

b. Base is a reduplicated verb:

no-ponta-lae-lae	'move back and forth, walk up and down'	*lae-lae*	'move back and forth'

c. Base is a noun:

no-ponta-laa-laa	'move from one branch to the next; go back and forth among trees'	*laa*	'stalk'

10.2.44. *SA-*

1.   Prefix on verbal bases with nominal or verbal inflection. Dialectally *so-*. Occasionally *sae-* with ae-verbs. Meaning: links two clauses in a close temporal relationship ('when, as soon as'). See 9.7.1. Productive.

   a. With verbal inflection. Base is simple or derived; object inflection is possible; realis or irrealis mood; with second person *sa-o-* may contract to *s-o-*.

sa-no-rato	'when he came'	*rato*	'arrive'
sa-o-[m]etingke	'when you hear'	*fetingke*	'hear'
sa-no-waa-ane	'when she gave (it) to him'	*waa*	'give'
sa-do-po-wora	'when they saw each other'	*wora*	'see'
s-o-[m]ora-amu	'when you (pl) see'	*wora*	'see'

   b. With nominal (possessive) inflection. Base is simple or complex, object inflection is impossible.

sa-kundo-no	'when he had left'	*kundo*	'leave'
sa-rato-mani	'when we (ex) arrived'	*rato*	'arrive'
sae-wora-ndo	'when they saw'	*wora*	'see'
sa-po-sobho-no	'when it was mixed'	*sobho*	'mix'
sa-tanda-no-mo	'when it had begun; since'	*tanda*	'begin'
sa-lapasi-no	'when that was passed'	*lapasi*	'pass'

(also: *sa-pasi-no*)

2.   Nominal prefix on verbal and nominal bases. The derivation functions as a complement in an equative clause (see 7.6); it is uninflected. Productive.

   a. Base is a simple verb. Meaning: 'to V all the time; only V'.

sa-ntaa	'wait all the time, only wait'	*ntaa*	'wait'

sa-soso	'smoke all the time, only smoke'	*soso*	'smoke'
sa-ghae	'cry all the time, only cry'	*ghae*	'cry'

When the verbal base is reduplicated, the continuous aspect is even more emphasized, bordering on 'always':

sa-hunda-hunda	'always agree'	*hunda*	'agree'
sa-kii-kiido	'always refuse'	*kiido*	'refuse'
sa-tongka-tongka	'always vomit'	*tongka*	'vomit'

b. Base is a reduplicated simple or complex noun (non-reduplicated nouns do not occur in this construction). Meaning: 'only Ns, full of Ns'.

sa-kiri-kiri	'full of thorns'	*kiri*	'thorn'
sa-kato-katogha	'only crows, crows every-where'	*katogha*	'crow'
sa-robhi-robhine-hi	'only women'	*robhine*	'woman'
sa-ka-ta-ka-tamba	'full of patches'	*tamba*	'patch up'
		ka-tamba	'patch'

3. Variant of *nsa-* + reduplication (10.2.35) without subject inflection and with obligatory suffix *-no*:

sa-bhie-bhie-no (= *ne-nsa-bhie-bhie*)	'more and more heavy'	*bhie*	'heavy'
sa-kodo-kodoho-no (= *ne-nsa-kodo-kodoho*)	'further and further'	*kodoho*	'far'
sa-lompo-lompona-no (= *ne-nsa-lompo-lompona*)	'gradually'	*lompona*	'long'

4. Miscellaneous:

sa-bhangka	'friend'	*bhangka*	'boat'
sa-lambu	'husband, wife'	*lambu*	'house'
sa-kawi	'husband, wife'	*kawi*	'marry'
sa-ina-ina-mu kolaki	k.o. charm/incantation introducing a prayer	*ina*	'mother'
		kolaki	'lord'

10.2.45. *SA-/-HA*

Nominal circumfix on verbal bases with possessive inflection. Allomorphs *sae-/-ha* on ae-verbs and *sao-/-ha* on ao-verbs. Meaning: to a minimal degree ('hardly, only just, just enough'). Verbal and clausal equivalents are most natural, but structurally the derivation is a noun. Productive.

sa-wanu-ha-no	'he can barely get up'	*wanu*	'get up'
sa-fumaa-ha-ku	'I can just about eat'	*fumaa*	'eat'
sae-ntalea-ha-no	'it is just light enough'	*ntalea*	'light'
sao-lowu-ha-ndo	'they are just drunk enough'	*lowu*	'drunk'

This construction can be followed by a dependent noun:

```
sa-pada-ha-no ka-aha-ku    'my thirst was just        pada    'finish'
                            barely quenched'          aha     'thirsty'
sae-taa-ha-no ka-bhala-no  'its size was just         taa     'good'
                            about good (neither       bhala   'big'
                            too big nor too small)'
```

10.2.46. *SI-*

Verbal prefix on nominal bases; a-class, resistant to *-um-*, intransitive.
Meaning: 'be one in respect to N; have the same N; be of the same N'. Only with
plural inflection. Productive.

   a. Base is a non-reduplicated noun (simple or complex). Dual reference.

```
   ta-si-guru            'we (2ex) have the same         guru      'teacher'
                          teacher'
   ta-si-kakuta          'we (2ex) are siblings'         kakuta    'sibling'
   do-si-bhasitie        'they (2) are relatives'        bhasitie  'relatives'
   do-si-kae-late-ha     'they (2) live in the same place'
                          < kae-late-ha 'living place' < late 'live'
```

   b. Base is a reduplicated noun (simple or complex). Non-dual reference.

```
   ta-si-guru-guru       'we (ex) have the same          guru      'teacher'
                          teacher'
   do-si-bhasi-bhasitie  'they are relatives'            bhasitie  'relatives'
   do-si-kao-kao-lodo-ha 'they share a bed'
                          < kao-lodo-ha 'bed'< lodo 'sleep'
```

10.2.47. *SI-/-HA*

1.   Verbal circumfix on verbal bases. Dialectally *se-/-ha*; a-class, resistant
     to *-um-*. Meaning: 'at the same time, all together'. Productive.

   a. Base is a dynamic intransitive verb. Only plural inflection. With ae- and
      ao-verbs, class affixes surface. Non-reduplicated bases have dual
      reference:

```
   ta-si-suli-ha         'we (2ex) return together'    suli    'return'
   do-si-filei-ha        'they (2) ran away            filei   'run away'
                          together'
   do-si-me-tofa-ha      'they (2) wash together'      tofa    'wash'
   do-si-mo-ndawu-ha     'they (2) fall together'      ndawu   'fall'
   o-si-me-gau-ha-amu    'you (2) cook together'       gau     'cook'
```

   Reduplicated bases have non-dual plural reference; the class affixes are
   treated as belonging to the verbal base and are taken along in the
   reduplication:

```
   ta-si-fuma-fumaa-ha       'we (ex) eat together'     fumaa   'eat'
   do-se-me-ka-me-kadiu-ha   'they take a bath          kadiu   'bath'
                              together'
```

    o-se-mo-gha-mo-ghae-ha-amu 'you (pl) are crying   *ghae*   'cry'
                           together'

b. Base is a transitive verb. The meaning of this derivation differs from the preceding one in that the 'togetherness' is now oriented towards the object. Class affixes do not occur. Both singular and plural subjects are allowed. Again, non-reduplicated bases indicate a dual object, whereas a reduplicated base points to a non-dual plural object, in this case usually with the implied meaning 'all of it, the whole'.

    a-si-gholi-ha-e   'I buy both of them'   *gholi*   'buy'
    no-si-lobhi-ha-e   'he hit both of them'   *lobhi*   'hit'
    no-si-wora-ha-kasami 'he saw both of us (ex)'   *wora*   'see'
    no-si-fo-lodo-ha-da   'she put both of them to sleep'
                    < *fo-lodo* 'put to sleep' < *lodo* 'sleep'

    a-si-gholi-gholi-ha-e   'I buy all of it'   *gholi*   'buy'
    no-si-wora-wora-ha-da   'he saw them all'   *wora*   'see'
    no-si-tofa-tofa-ha-ko-omu 'she slapped you all' *tofa*   'slap'

When these derivations on transitive bases also receive indirect object inflection, the affix *-ha* may precede or follow the IO suffix and can optionally be left out altogether:

    no-si-gholi-kanau-ha-e   'she bought both of   *gholi*   'buy'
                         it for me'
    (also: *no-si-gholi-ha-kanau-e*; *no-si-gholi-kanau-e*)

2.   Verbal circumfix on intransitive bases; a-class, resistant to *-um-*. Meaning: sudden, unexpected action. Class affixes occur. Productive.

a. With singular subjects (plural subjects of this form have the meaning listed under 1):

    no-si-omba-ha   'he suddenly appeared'   *omba*   'appear'

    no-si-mo-pula-ha   'it suddenly fell down'   *pula*   'fall down'
    no-si-mai-ha   'he suddenly came'   *mai*   'come'
    no-si-mo-lodo-ha   'he suddenly fell asleep' *lodo*   'sleep'

    Further derivations with *ta-* and *-mo* are common:

    ta-a-si-sampu-ha   'all of a sudden I came   *sampu*   'come down'
                     down'
    ta-no-si-mo-dea-ha-mo 'all of a sudden he became *dea*   'red'
                     red'
    ta-no-si-ko-olu-ha-mo 'all of a sudden it became *ko-olu* 'cloudy'
                     cloudy'   *olu*   'cloud'

b. The circumfix *si-/-ha* is found in combination with the affix *ka*, affixed immediately after *si-*. Possibly this is an independent affix combination. Meaning: sudden, unexpected and frightening action. Productive.

    no-si-ka-mo-ndawu-ha   'suddenly he fell'   *ndawu*   'fall'
    no-si-ka-punda-ha   'suddenly he jumped'   *punda*   'jump'
    no-si-ka-wora-ha-e   'suddenly he saw her'   *wora*   'see'

With plural subjects, the derivation is ambiguous between a *si*-derivation
on a complex *ka-/-ha*-derived nominal base or a *si-ka-/-ha* derivation on a
verbal base:

do-si-ka-tudo-ha	'suddenly they arrived / they arrived at the same place'	*tudo*	'arrive'
do-si-ka-mo-ndawu-ha	'suddenly they fell / they fell in the same place'	*ndawu*	'fall'
do-si-ka-mo-lodo-ha	'suddenly they fell asleep / they slept in the same place'	*lodo*	'sleep'

In the last two examples the second meaning is more usually expressed as
do-si-kao-ndawu-ha and *do-si-kao-lodo-ha*.

Further derivations on this base with *ta-* and *-mo* are common; the meaning
is still more intensified (more sudden, more surprising and more
frightening). The ambiguity for plural subjects is retained.

ta-no-si-ka-bisara-ha-mo	'all of a sudden he spoke'	*bisara*	'speak'
ta-no-si-ka-mo-rondo-ha-mo	'all of a sudden it became dark'	*rondo*	'dark'
ta-do-si-ka-omba-ha-mo	'all of a sudden they appeared'	*omba*	'appear'
ta-do-si-ka-mo-ndawu-ha-mo	'all of a sudden they fell / suddenly they fell in the same place'	*ndawu*	'fall'

10.2.48. *TA-*

Prefix on different bases. Dialectally *to-*. Classified according to meaning;
shared semantic component: unexpected action/state. Productive.

  a. Base is a simple or complex verb. Meaning: predictive warning (caveat)
     concerning something which might possibly happen (see 9.18). With second
     person *ta-o-* is often contracted to *t-o-*:

ta-no-tiulu	'take care it won't get lost/it may get lost'	*tiulu*	'be lost'
ta-a-tolo-ko	'take care I won't swallow you/I may swallow you'	*tolo*	'swallow'
t-omo-ndawu	'take care you won't fall/ you may fall'	*ndawu*	'fall'
ta-no-fo-sangke	'take care he won't lift (us)/he may lift (us)'	*sangke*	'lift'

  b. On different bases. Meaning: 'only, merely, just'.

  1. Base is verbal; also common with imperatives (see 8.7.3) in combination
     with *-mo*. Realis and irrealis moods occur.

ta-o-po-kalalambu	'you are just playing'	*kalalambu*	'game'
ta-no-tudu-e	'he just ordered him'	*tudu*	'order'
ta-da-[m]ekiri-mo	'we will just think'	*fekiri*	'think'

ta-me-pili-mo	'just choose'	*pili*	'choose'
ta-sabara-mo	'just be patient'	*sabara*	'patient'

2. Base is a noun phrase. *Ta-* is prefixed to the first word, which is usually the head noun or pronoun, but which can also be the article *o*. Phonetically *ta* and *o* are separated by a glottal stop; there is no contraction to *to*.

ta-inodi	'only me'	*inodi*	'I'
ta-ama-ndo	'only their father'	*ama*	'father'
ta-o ganda	'only a drum'	*ganda*	'drum'
ta-o kahitela	'only maize'	*kahitela*	'maize'

3. Base is the preposition *peda* 'like'; optionally further affixed with *-hi* and *-mo*:

ta-peda	'just like'
ta-peda-hi-mo	'just like'

c. *ta-* indicates a certain span of time or amount: 'until; another'.

1. Base is verbal; frequently in combination with *-hi* and *-mo*:

ta-do-wule-mo	'until they got tired'	*wule*	'tired'
ta-no-bhala-hi-mo	'until he grew up'	*bhala*	'big'
ta-no-ti-doli-mo	'until it turned west (sun)'	*doli*	'turn'

In this sense *ta-* is also found in combination with *po-/-ghoo* (10.2.41):

ta-no-po-wanu-ghoo-mo	'until he got up'	*wanu*	'get up'

2. Base is adverb or preposition:

ta-nae-fua-mo	'until the day after tomorrow'	*nae-fua*	'day after tomorrow'
ta-dua do-rato-hi-mo	'until they arrived'	*rato*	'arrive'
		dua	'also'
ta-ampa-hi-mo aitu	'up till now'	*ampa*	'until'
		aitu	'now'

3. Base is a measure phrase; the futurity prefix *na-* (10.2.32) is obligatory:

ta-na-se-wula	'another month'	*wula*	'month'
ta-na-se-mitere	'another metre'	*mitere*	'metre'

d. *ta-* indicates a sudden, unexpected action. Base is a simple or complex verb:

ta-no-mate	'suddenly he died'	*mate*	'die, dead'
ta-ne-mbali-mo	'suddenly she became'	*mbali*	'become'
ta-no-ila-mo	'suddenly it disappeared'	*ila*	'disappear'
ta-no-si-rato-ha-mo	'all of a sudden he arrived'		
	< *no-si-rato-ha* 'he suddenly arrived'		
	< *rato* 'arrive'		

Base is the negator *miina(mo)* 'no (more)':

ta-miina-mo na-ti-wora	'suddenly it became invisible'	*ti-wora*	'visible'
		wora	'see'

e. Base is a reduplicated verb. The derivation describes an ongoing unusual or surprising situation. Often in combination with *-mo*:

ta-ne-nsara-nsara-mo	'it remained stuck out (surprisingly)'	*nsara*	'long'
ta-ne-ale-ale	'it hung loosely (surprisingly)'	*ale*	'wave'
ta-ne-late-late-mo	'he was living (surprisingly)'	*late*	'live'
ta-ne-mente-mente-mo	'he was very surprised'	*mente*	'surprised'

The reduplicated base can be prefixed with *ka-;* the meaning does not change, but the derived verb is an a-verb:

ta-no-ka-nggela-nggela-mo	'it remained clean (surprisingly)'	*nggela*	'clean'
ta-no-ka-ntoge-ntoge-mo	'it remained upright (surprisingly)'	*ntoge*	'upright'
ta-no-ka-kala-kala-mo	'he remained going (surprisingly)'	*kala*	'go'

10.2.49. *TI-*

Verbal prefix on verbal bases, a-class, resistant to *-um-*, intransitive. Meaning: accidental/agentless passive, the agent is not mentioned and the subject of the clause is the patient. Productive. Two different uses can be distinguished:

a. General statements and accidentals:

no-ti-gau	'cooked'	*gau*	'cook'
no-ti-hoba	'spilled'	*hoba*	'spill'
no-ti-puru	'peeled off'	*puru*	'take off'
no-ti-rako	'(get) caught'	*rako*	'catch'

With ao-verbs as bases the class affix *-mo-* appears:

no-ti-mo-tehi	'feared'	*tehi*	'afraid'
no-ti-mo-ghae-fi	'bewailed'	*ghae-fi*	'bewail'
no-ti-mo-lodo-ghi	'slept in/on'	*lodo-ghi*	'sleep in/on'

On bound roots (all accidental):

no-ti-ulu	'lost'
no-ti-sore	'run aground'
no-ti-sele	'startled, frightened'

With change of meaning:

| *no-ti-ere* | 'stop' | | | *ere* | 'stand up' |

b. 'Potential', often in negative clauses:

no-ti-basa	'readable'			*basa*	'read'
no-ti-wora	'visible'			*wora*	'see'
no-ti-perapi	'can be enjoyed'			*perapi*	'enjoy'
no-ti-sangke	'can be lifted up'			*sangke*	'lift up'

Further derivations:

| *ka-ti-kona-ha-no* | 'the reason it is called' |
| | < *ti-kona* 'called' < *kona* 'call, name' |

10.2.50. *TI- (TE-)*

Prefix on measure phrase bases in concessive clauses (9.14). Meaning: 'as much/many as'. Productive.

ti-tolu-piri	'as much as three plates-ful'	*tolu-*	'three'
		piri	'plate'
ti-nomo-taghu	'as many as six years'	*nomo-*	'six'
		taghu	'year'

10.2.51. *-UM-/-NO, ME-/-NO, MO-/-NO*

Circumfix for the formation of active participles (here translated as -ing forms). *-um-/no* is found on a-verbs, *me-/-no* on ae-verbs and *mo-/-no* on ao-verbs. For the morphophonemics of *-um-* see 2.8.1; for the function of participles in clauses 9.1. Productive.

s[um]olo-no	'flowing'			*solo*	'flow'
h[um]oro-no	'flying'			*horo*	'fly'
me-ghompa-no	'throwing'			*ghompa*	'throw'
me-soso-no	'smoking'			*soso*	'smoke'
mo-kado-no	'daring'			*kado*	'dare'
mo-meme-no	'wet'			*meme*	'wet'

When the participle receives direct or indirect object inflection, the object suffix replaces *-no*:

[m]akatu-kanau	'sending me'			*pakatu*	'send'
me-gholi-angko	'buying for you'			*gholi*	'buy'
mo-bhalo-e	'answering him'			*bhalo*	'answer'

The suffix *-no* is also absent in a number of fixed expressions (see 5.9.2). The resulting 'clipped participles' can only function as modifiers to nouns; they cannot head an NP, a possibility which is only open for full participles. Examples of clipped participles:

wite mo-kesa	'beautiful land'	*wite*	'land'
		kesa	'beautiful'
lalo me-taa	'a good heart'	*lalo*	'heart'
		taa	'good'
dhaga r[um]ato	'newly arrived trader'	*dhaga*	'trader'
		rato	'arrive'

Finally, -*no* is also absent in constructions with the negator *tapa* (see 8.5.3).

10.3. Reduplication

Reduplication is a morphological process in which a base is partly or wholly repeated. Formally, three types of reduplication can be distinguished: full reduplication (10.3.1), partial reduplication (10.3.2) and supernumerary reduplication (10.3.3). Notice that reduplication which obligatorily accompanies certain prefixes (for example *mba-*, *mpo-*) is not treated here. In such cases the affix + reduplication of the base is analysed as a unitary process.

10.3.1. Full reduplication

A.   On verbal bases; ae-class, amenable to -*um*- on the reduplicated part (the base does not allow for infixation, only for nasal prefixation and substitution, see 2.8.1). The following subdivision is based on the meaning of the reduplicated verb in relation to the basic verb.

  1. Continuous, durative, progressive action/state (translation using English progressive is only an approximation):

ne-feki-fekiri	'he is thinking'	*fekiri*	'think'
ne-ghondo-ghondo	'he is looking at'	*ghondo*	'look at'
ne-tengki-tengki	'he is hitting'	*tengki*	'hit'
ne-tola-tola	'he is calling'	*tola*	'call'

On derived bases:

ne-tumbu-tumbu-lao	'he is planting firmly; hitting hard'
	< *tumbu-lao* 'plant firmly, hit hard'
	< *tumbu* 'pound, hit'
ne-futa-futaa-hi	'he is laughing at'
	< *futaa-hi* 'laugh at' < *futaa* 'laugh'
do-po-ha-po-hamba	'they (2) are chasing each other'
	< *po-hamba* 'chase each other' < *hamba* 'chase'

In a few cases the unreduplicated verb indicates a bodily movement, whereas the reduplicated verb signals the resultant state:

ne-ere-ere	'stand, be upright'	*ere*	'stand up'
ne-ngkora-ngkora	'sit, be seated'	*ngkora*	'sit down'
(more common: *ne-ngko-ngkora*)			
ne-inta-intara	'hold'	*intara*	'take hold of'

ne-mbenga-mbenga	'have the legs wide apart'	*mbenga*	'put the legs wide apart'

2. Action/state is diffuse, rather aimless, performed without specific purpose and at leisure (therefore often combined with *-hi* (10.2.12)).

ne-mpali-mpali	'stroll about, walk around'	*mpali*	'stroll'
ne-kamba-kambage	'make jokes, jest'	*kambage*	'joke, jest'
ne-lanto-lanto	'float around'	*lanto*	'float'

3. Action/state is intensified or emphasized; this is usually the case after negators and in combination with affixes such as *feka-* and *ko-*:

miina na-s[um]uli-suli	'he did not return at all'	*suli*	'return'
miina na-l[um]apa-lapa	'she did not get through at all'	*lapa*	'get through'
no-moi-moisa	'all alone'	*moisa*	'alone'
no-ko-kiri-kiri	'with many thorns'	*kiri*	'thorn'
feka-rimba-rimba	'very fast'	*rimba*	'fast'

4. Plurality of subject (or object) as opposed to duality. This is only the case when reduplication occurs with certain affixes (*po-*, *si-* and *si-/-ha*; see 10.2.41, 10.2.46 and 10.2.47):

do-po-dea-dea	'they shout'	*po-dea*	'shout'
do-po-gira-gira	'they fight'	*po-gira*	'fight'
ta-si-guru-guru	'we (ex) have one teacher'	*si-guru*	'teacher'
o-si-kala-kala-ha-amu	'you (pl) go together'	*kala*	'go'
no-si-ada-ada-ha-e	'he borrowed them all'	*ada*	'borrow'

Notice that the basis of reduplication here is the verbal root, whereas in the examples under 1 the affix forms part of the base. The difference is shown in the following examples:

do-po-hamba	'they (2) chase each other'	*hamba*	'chase'
do-po-ha-po-hamba	'they (2) are chasing each other'		
do-po-hamba-hamba	'they chase/are chasing each other'		

Reduplication can not occur twice within words:

*do-po-ha-po-hamba-hamba

5. Idiosyncratic meanings and bound roots:

ne-gau-gau	'to tell a lie'	*po-gau*	'speak'
		gau	'cook'
ne-baru-baru	'spoiled (child)'	*baru*	'happy'
ne-kala-kala	'walk'	*kala*	'go'
ne-tapu-tapu	'wear a sarong tied over the shoulder'	*tapu*	'bind,tie'
ne-rame-rame	'celebrate, hold a party'	*rame*	'lively, noisy'
ne-tingke-tingke	'overhear'	*fe-tingke*	'hear'

de-dulu-dulu	'work/perform together'	**dulu*	
ne-mboi-mboi	'smile'	*ka-mboi*	'smile'
		*mboi	
ne-tula-tula	'tell a story'	*tula-tula*	'story'
		*tula	

B.   Nominal bases. Subdivision on the basis of the derived meaning.

1. Plurality, variety (this is usually expressed by *-hi*, forming a frequently used combination):

sau-sau	'all kinds of trees'	*sau*	'tree'
kada-kadadi-hi	'all kinds of animals'	*kadadi*	'animal'
bara-bara-no	'his (various) goods'	*bara*	'luggage'

2. Intensification (after *bhe* and *miina bhe*, see 6.2.1 and 8.5.1):

miina bhe mie-mie	'there was no one at all'	*mie*	'person'
bhe para-paraka-no	'roots and all'	*paraka*	'root'

3. Personification. Reduplicated names of animals are characters in a story; base can also be a derived noun or a complex NP. The article *a* or *la* normally precedes these derivations:

a-kapo-kapoluka	'Mr. Tortoise'	*kapoluka*	'tortoise'
a-paa-paando	'Mr. Mouse deer'	*paando*	'mouse deer'
a-ka-bho-ka-bhongo	'Mr. Say-nothing'	*bhongo*	'keep quiet'
a-se-tu-se-tuda	'Mr. One-span'	*tuda*	'span'
a-ware-ware-lima	'Mr. Broadhand'	*ware*	'broad'
		lima	'hand'
Wa Ode Tonde-tonde-bulawa	'Mrs. Goldglass'	*tonde*	'glass'
		bulawa	'gold'

4. Idiosyncratic meanings (often aspects of intensification or resemblance are discernable):

manu-manu	'bird'	*manu*	'chicken'
kadu-kadu	'pocket'	*kadu*	'bag'
dhamu-dhamu	'cow/horse bell'	*dhamu*	'bell,clock'
ghole-gholeo	'midday, noon'	*gholeo*	'day, sun'
same-samentaeno	'early in the morning'	*samentaeno* 'morning'	
lapa-lapa	'mattress'	*lapa*	'saddle'
wunta-wunta	'right in the middle'	*wunta*	'middle'
ai-ai	'youngest sibling'	*ai*	'younger sibling'

5. Bound roots:

dhara-dhara	'pigeon'
panto-panto	k.o. small gnat
moa-moa	'maleo bird'
rapo-rapo	'peanut(s)'
lame-lame	'potato(es)'
godu-godu	'pumpkin, gourd' (also *kodu-kodu*)

| *tula-tula* | 'story' |
| *hole-hole* | 'cookies, cake(s)' (compare *ne-hole* 'to fry') |

C. Base is a question word. Meaning is distributive.

hae-hae	'whatever, anything'	*hae*	'what'
laha-lahae	'whoever, anybody'	*lahae*	'who'
seha-sehae	'however much'	*sehae*	'how much'

(also in (*mii*)*na seha-sehae* 'not long afterwards; after some time')

| *neha-nehamai* | 'wherever' | *nehamai* | 'where' |
| *naefie-fie* | 'whenever, anytime' | *naefie* | 'when (fut)' |

(also *naefefie*, *naefie-naefie*)

D. Base is a measure phrase. Meaning: distributive; the prefixed numeral is part of the base.

se-gho-se-gholeo	'every day'	*se-gholeo*	'one day'
se-mi-se-mie	'everyone, one by one'	*se-mie*	'one person'
se-pa-se-paku	'now and then'	*se-paku*	'once'
tolu-tolu-wula	'every three months'	*tolu-wula*	'three months'

E. Base is a classifier. Only in combination with the prefixed numeral *se-* 'one' and the suffix *-no*. Meaning: 'the only one':

se-mie-mie-no	'the only one (people)'	*mie*	'person'
se-ghulu-ghulu-no	'the only one (animals)'	*ghulu*	'body'
se-wua-wua-no	'the only one (certain objects)'	*wua*	'fruit'

F. Reduplication is found in a number of adverbs and conjunctions, mostly with bound roots.

sio-sio-mo	'hopefully'
mansa-mansangea	'hopefully'
paka-paka	'initially' (*paka-* 'when first', 9.7.1 and 10.2.37)
panda-panda-no	'finally' (*panda* 'bottom')
ingke-ingke-ho	'as if'
kau-kau-no-mo	'look like'

(also *kau-kau-mo*)

| *bhaa-bhaa-no* | 'at first, in the beginning' |
| *kira-kira* | 'about to' |

10.3.2. Partial reduplication

Partial reduplication, that is, the repetition of the first syllable of the root, is not a productive process. Contrary to full reduplication, the verb remains in the class to which the basic verb belongs, and the derivation is amenable to *-um-*. Partial reduplication is almost exclusively found on simple verbal roots and denotes an ongoing, progressive aspect. The syllable that is reduplicated receives an optional extra vowel copy in some derivations. When verbs allow for partial reduplication, full reduplication is often also possible, but used with varying degrees of naturalness. In the case of *mpona* 'long', full reduplication does not occur.

ne-ngko(o)-ngkora	'sitting'	*ngkora*	'sit down'
ne-mpa-mpali	'strolling about'	*mpali*	'stroll'
ne-ndo-ndole	'lying down'	*ndole*	'lie down'
ne-gho-ghondo	'watching, looking at'	*ghondo*	'look at'
ne-ke-kebha	'tapping (a tree)'	*kebha*	'tap'
ne-bho-bhogha	'chopping'	*bhogha*	'chop'
no-le-leu	'rather withered'	*leu*	'wither'
no-mpo(o)-mpona	'rather long'	*mpona*	'long'

With a number of derivations specialized meanings have developed:

no-gho-ghosa	'rough'	*ghosa*	'strong'
ne-di-diu	'disturb, annoy, bother'	*diu*	'move'
ne-tu-tunggu	'guard, watch, wait'	*tunggu*	'guard'
no-ro-rondo	'dark'	*rondo*	'dark, night'

With certain verbs the vowel in the reduplicated syllable is *o*:

ne-lo-lako	'cutting'	*lako*	'cut'
ne-ko-kape	'tearing off (branches)'	*kape*	'tear off'
no-go-gasa	'smashed'	*gasa-gasa*	'scatter'

This is also the case in the question word *ho-hae* 'whatever' (more common: *hae-hae*)

Partial reduplication on bound roots:

ne-gho-ghora	'urinate'
no-tu-turu	'fall down (eyes), be sleepy'

Further derivation:

we-wei-ha	'cleared area (in forest)'	*wei*	'clear (forest)'

10.3.3. Supernumerary reduplication

Supernumerary reduplication, that is, the repetition of more than two syllables of the base, is a very limited process that only occurs productively with personified nouns that have been affixed with the article *la* or *a*:

a-ndoke-a-ndoke	'Mr. Monkey'	*ndoke*	'monkey'
a-bhiku-a-bhiku	'Mr. Snail'	*bhiku*	'snail'
La-uale-la-uale	'La Uale'		

It is also found in the question word *naefie-naefie* 'whenever' (more common: *naefie-fie*, *naefefie*).

10.4. Compounding and incorporation

Compounding as a separate productive morphological process does not exist in Muna. The normal strategy for forming complex NPs involves the possessive linker -*no*, or, in other cases, simple juxtaposition of two nouns (see 5.4.2).

What is meant by compounding is the linkage between two nouns through nasal accretion (see 2.8.2), an unproductive process that is limited to a few frozen phrases:

turu-ngkato	'eaves'	*turu*	'drop'
		ghato	'roof'
awa-ntuu	'great-grandchild'	*awa*	'grandchild'
		tuu	'knee'
we koro-mpolangku	'behind the ladder'	*koro*	'back, bottom'
		polangku	'ladder'
tolu-nsuli-ha	'returning three times'	*tolu*	'three'
		suli-ha	'time of return'

Nasal accretion is also found in combination with certain prefixes, whereby the derived noun or verb is linked to a preceding word, for example *pae ngka-dea* 'red rice'; *no-filei ngka-pode-podea* 'she ran away screaming'. These complex structures can also be regarded as compounds.

   Compounding also occurs in the following cases, where a separate word is incorporated into a verb. This is the case when the two words form a phrase or when the basic verb is modified. The fact that the resulting construction is in fact one word can be shown by the affixation of *-mo*, of object suffixes and the active participle suffix *-no* after the incorporated word. In some cases this incorporation is accompanied by nasal accretion.

do-gaa-bughou-mo	'they are newly wed'	*gaa*	'marry'
		bughou	'new'
no-kalambe-ntugha-mo	'she is (already) an old spinster'	*kalambe*	'girl'
		tugha	'hard, old'
no-ana-moghane-mo	'he is (already) an adolescent'	*ana*	'child'
		moghane	'male'
do-po-anahi-bhai	'they are friends'	*anahi*	'child'
		bhai	'companion'
do-po-mai-nsuli	'they go back and forth between home and work'	*mai*	'come'
		suli	'return'
[m]ande-bhangka-no	'boat people, seafarers'	*pande*	'know'
		bhangka	'boat'
no-angka-angka-mbono-da	'he followed them stealthily'	*angka-angka*	'follow'
		wono	'smell'

Possibly examples of adverb incorporation with *kansuru* 'continually' (see 7.11.1) also fall under this category.

10.5. Transposition

Transposition (or zero derivation) is the process by which roots change from one word class to another without any morphological change. The question which word is the base and which one the derivation is a tricky one which I will not address (compare English *oil*, *to oil* versus *drink*, *to drink*). Rather, I will only describe the existence of such pairs.

   A transpositional relationship is found between nouns and verbs, or between verbs belonging to different verb classes on the other hand. Each category

probably has a few hundred members and the following lists are therefore only illustrative of the facts.

1. Transposition noun-verb:

   a. Noun - a-class verb:

no-bhatata	'pray'	*bhatata*	'prayer'
no-bhibhito	'lighten'	*bhibhito*	'lightning'
no-bhose	'row (a boat)'	*bhose*	'paddle'
no-bungi	'bald'	*bungi*	'bald spot'
no-dadi	'live'	*dadi*	'life, age'
no-dhala	'run (intr, inanimate)'	*dhala*	'way,manner'
no-feaghi	'spit'	*feaghi*	'saliva'
no-ghonu	'present, gathered'	*ghonu*	'seed, classifier'
no-hadhi	'make pilgrimage'	*hadhi*	'pilgrimage'
no-ihi	'go and get water'	*ihi*	'contents'
no-kala	'go'	*kala*	'trip'
no-kamokula	'old'	*kamokula*	'elder, parent'

   b. Noun - ae-class verb:

ne-bheta	'wear a sarong'	*bheta*	'sarong'
ne-bhoru	'cover the head'	*bhoru*	'head cover'
ne-dawu	'divide'	*dawu*	'part'
ne-dhandi	'promise, agree'	*dhandi*	'promise'
ne-didi	'slice'	*didi*	'slice'
ne-gholeo	'dry in the sun'	*gholeo*	'sun, day'
ne-gholi	'buy'	*gholi*	'price'
ne-ghotu	'pass gas'	*ghotu*	'fart'
ne-goga	'scale (fish)'	*goga*	'scale'

   c. Noun - ao-class verb (rare):

no-kutu	'fall (ripe fruit)'	*kutu*	'fallen fruit'

2. Transposition between verbs of different classes:

   a. Ae-verb - ao-verb (with occasional transposition to noun):

ne-afa	'do what?'	*no-afa*	'what is the matter, why?'
ne-ala	'take'	*no-ala*	'in demand, popular'
ne-bhenta	'make a hole'	*no-bhenta*	'have a hole'
ne-bhera	'break (tr)'	*no-bhera*	'broken'
		bhera (n)	'piece'
ne-bhogha	'split, chop'	*no-bhogha*	'split, broken'
		bhogha (n)	'piece, potsherd'
ne-bhongka	'open up (tr)'	*no-bhongka*	'appear'
ne-ghodo	'soak, submerge'	*no-ghodo*	'soaked'

b. Ae-verb - a-verb:

ne-faraluu	'need'	*no-faraluu*	'necessary'
ne-hela	'pull, draw'	*no-hela*	'sail'

10.6. Abbreviation

Abbreviation is a morphological process that is applied to names (see 5.2.5) and certain nouns used as vocatives. The abbreviated form denotes a more intimate relationship of the speaker towards the referent; the forms are commonly used when people are addressed.

   Phonologically speaking, this process involves the abbreviation of the name up to the last two syllables. In an abbreviated name only one consonant is present; the first consonant of the penultimate syllable is therefore dropped if the final syllable has a consonant. If that condition is not met, the consonant in the penultimate syllable is retained. Names of the type VCV can therefore not be abbreviated. The person articles *Wa*, *La* (or *A*) do not participate in the process. Examples:

keda	*eda*	'girl'
bheka	*eka*	'cat'
kalambe	*ambe*	'girl'
Wa Halima	*Wa Ima*	
Wa Sukia	*Wa Kia*	
Wa Sadia	*Wa Dia*	
La Rianta	*La Anta*	
La Hanamu	*La Amu*	

Appendix

Interlinear texts with translation

The following six texts represent some of the prose literature of Muna; their primary function here is to give coherent samples of language usage. The interlinear text is followed by a free translation and a number of notes commenting on certain aspects of the text (emendations of the original, unexplained phenomena and so on). For ease of reference, sentences are numbered consecutively, which is done in the free translation as well. The numbers of the notes also refer to these sentence numbers. For the first text the notes are rather elaborate, giving detailed information on the constructions used with reference to the relevant sections in the grammar. This is done in order to facilitate the understanding of the texts.

  Text one is a personal story by Mustafa from Matakidi (Lawa) and was directly written down by him. Text two is a fable (with foods as characters) written by Siddo Thamrin from Watuputi (Katobu), taken from Yatim et al. (1984) and checked with the author. Text three is an animal fable, written by La Mokui from Kabawo. Text four is the origin myth of the Muna rulers as found in an unpublished collection of folktales from Sulawesi Tenggara; the author is unknown. Text five is a relatively long romance; it is the only oral text of the six. The story was narrated by Wa Kandiida from Mabodo (Katobu). I have decided not to tidy up this text; hence features of spoken language abound: hesitations, false starts, self-corrections, seemingly useless repetitions and so on. Text six, finally, is a folktale about the origin of a spring, as written by Runa Ujian R. from Lawa.

TEXT 1: MONIFIKU (My dream)

1. *Aitu ae-tula-tula-ghoo deki monifi-ku morondo.* 2. *Morondo   ao-lodo*
   now 1sR-RED-tell-IO   first dream-my last.night   last.night 1sR-sleep

rambi-mo ompulu raa-mata. 3. *Miina-ho nao-mpona-a ao-lodo-a   a-monifi-mo*
blow-PF ten   two-eye   not.yet 3sI-long-CL 1sR-sleep-CL 1sR-dream-PF

ama-ku   ne-ngkora ne soriri-ku bhe no-kadampa lima-ku. 4. *Pasighoono*
father-my 3sR-sit   loc side-my   with 3sR-touch hand-my   then

no-feena-kanau-mo. 5. *Amba-no peda aini:*
3sR-ask-me-PF   word-his like this

6. *'Ome-afa   itu ghane?'*
    2sR-do.what that boy

7. *'Ae-ngko-ngkora ingka ama', ka-bhalo-ku.*
    1sR-RED-sit   ENIM father NOM-answer-my

8. *'Ne   hamai ina-mu   ampa aitu?' amba-no tora.*
    loc where mother-your until now   word-his again

9. *Amba-ku: 'Ingka no-kala we daoa'.*
   word-my   ENIM 3sR-go loc market

10. *'Ai-hi-mu   de-afa-mo   itu kaasi-ndo?'*
     younger.sibling-PLUR-your 3pR-do.what-PF that pity-their

11. *Ao-bhalo-e   tora: 'Do-kala te sikola ingka, ama'.*
    1sR-answer-him again 3pR-go   loc school ENIM   father

12. *'Ghondo-fa-anda   ai-hi-mu   itu.* 13. *Ihintu-mo*
     (IMP-)look-INT-them younger.sibling-PLUR-your that   you-PF

*ka-bholosi-no   kamokula-ndo ampa aitu.*14. *Pae-mo   nae-mbali-a o-[m]eredaa*
NOM-replace-POS elder-their   until now   FUT.no.more 3sI-can-CL 2sI-hope

ina-mu   so t[um]anggo-da.   15. *Ina-mu   no-kamokula-mo,*
mother-your FUT (A.PART-)support-them   mother-your 3sR-old-PF

pae-mo   na-[m]ondo-i-a na-t[um]anggo ai-hi-mu.   16.*Ghondo-fa-anda,*
FUT.no.more 3sI-able-TR-CL 3sI-support   y.sibling-PLUR-your (IMP-)look-INT-
them

koe fo-tolala-da-a   da-k[um]a-baru-baru, bhahi da-k[um]a-wuni-wuni
DONT CAUS-opportune-them-CL 3pI-KA-RED-naughty   maybe 3pI-KA-RED-mischievous

tawa da-ndia-ndiale. 17. *Ane to-o-[m]o-tolala-da-mo   da-k[um]a-baru-baru*
or   3pI-RED-pilfer   if TA-2sI-CAUS-opportune-them-PF 3pI-KA-RED-naughty

tantu-mo   ihintu dua so ne-sambili-ndo   mie   bhari.
of.course-PF you   also FUT P.PART-speak-their people many

18. *Dadihanomo dhaga-ni   nea-mu,   dhaga-ni   nea-ndo*
    so   (IMP-)guard-TR name-your (IMP-)guard-TR name-POS

kamokula-hi-mu bhe dhaga-ni   nea-ndo bhasitie ompulu rua-fulu-no'.
elder-PLUR-your with (IMP-)guard-TR name-POS family   ten   two-ten-A.PART

19. *No-pada   kaawu aitu, no-ere-mo   maka no-fealai-kanau.*
    3sR-finish after that 3sR-stand-PF then 3sR-ask.permission-me

20. *Amba-no: 'Aitu a-[m]ealai-ko-mo,   tamaka tapi-e*
    word-his now 1sI-ask.permission-you-PF but   (IMP-)remember-it

ne-pogau-ghoo-ku   itu'. 21. *Ao-bhalo-mo   tora: 'Uumbe. O   hae-hae*
P.PART-speak-IO-my that   1sR-answer-PF again yes   ART RED-what

ka-fo-rato-ghoo-ku   ama   a-[m]angkafi-e'.
NOM-CAUS-arrive-IO-my father 1sI-follow-it

22. *No-pada   kaawu aitu, no-ere-mo   maka no-kala.* 23. *Miina*
    3sR-finish after that 3sR-stand-PF then 3sR-go   not

a-[m]ande-ha-ane bhahi na-k[um]ala ne hamai.   24. *Ampa-mo kaawu welo*
1sI-know-INT-it maybe 3sI-go   loc where   just-PF only in

po-wora-ku no-ghulu   we ka-nsoo-pa.   25. *Pasighoono miina-mo*
PO-see-my 3sR-go.toward loc NOM-go.down-LOC   then   no.more

a-[m]ande-ha-ane-a bhahi no-kala-mo ne hamai.
1sI-know-INT-it-CL maybe 3sR-go-PF loc where

26. *No-rato   a-fererene, a-ko-ghendu.*   27. *Kansuru a-wanu.*
    3sR-arrive 1sR-wake.up 1sR-HAVE-shake   at.once 1sR-get up

28.*Soo-ku   ama-ku   kotughu mai-hi-kanau   ani-ini, garaa kahanda-no*
   thought-my father-my real   (A.PART-)come-TR-me just.now SURPR spirit-his

kaawu. 29. *No-pada   aitu miina-mo ao-lodo-a,   ae-ngko-ngkora-mo*
only   3sR-finish that no.more 1sI-sleep-CL 1sR-RED-sit-PF

kansuru   sampe no-mentae, masamo ntigho a-feki-fekiri monifi-ku, bhe
continually until 3sR-morning because always 1sR-RED-think dream-my with

a-fekiri dua ne-pogau-ghoo-no   ama-ku   welo monifi-ku itu.
1sR-think also P.PART-speak-IO-POS father-my in   dream-my that

Notes

1. *Aitu*, demonstrative 'that (near hearer)', is here used as a temporal adverb
    'now' (5.5.3; 7.10.1).
    Tula-tula 'tell' is an intransitive verb (ae-class), of which the simple
    unreduplicated base does not exist (10.3.1 sub A.5). The suffix *-ghoo*
    points to the indirect object (7.9.1), in this case semantically the
    referent (the thing about which something is told).

This object, *monifiku morondo* 'dream of last night' consists of a noun followed by a temporal adverb (5.9.1). *Morondo* 'last night' contains the root *rondo* 'dark, night' (10.2.28 sub 4).

The focusing adverb *deki* (7.11.1 sub 5) occurs in its usual place immediately following the verb.

2. *Rambi* 'blow' for 'o'clock' is probably a calque from Indonesian *pukul* 'blow, o'clock'.

The suffix *-mo* on *rambi* belongs to the whole temporal phrase; as a result the verb *ao-lodo* cannot be suffixed with *-mo*; there are no double occurrences of *-mo* in single clauses (see 9.21 sub e).

Raa-mata; variants of *raa-* are *ra-* and *rua-*; compare *rua-fulu-no* in sentence 18.

The word *mata* 'eye' is obligatorily used with numbers referring to hours, with the exception of *rambi ompulu* 'ten o'clock'.

3. The first part of the sentence functions as a temporal conjoined clause introduced by *miinaho* 'not yet' (9.7.3 sub 6).

The verb *mpona* 'long' (ao-class) is in the irrealis because of the negator *miinaho* (4.5), which also triggers the clitic *-a* (9.22). *Mpona* is a complement-taking verb (9.2.2), followed by the juxtaposed clause *ao-lodo-a*. There is no subject harmonization.

The final *-a* of *ao-lodo-a* is either triggered by the negator or functions as a pausal clitic on the boundary between the two conjoined clauses 9.22).

A-monifi-mo 'I dreamt' is the main verb in the sentence, denoting a new state/action and hence suffixed with *-mo* (9.21). The verbs in the preceding temporal clause and in the following complement clause cannot be suffixed with *-mo* (9.21).

The clause specifying the content of the dream is a case of object complementation (9.2.3); semantically the juxtaposed clause is the object of the verb *monifi* 'dream'.

The subject *ama-ku* 'my father' occurs in pre-verbal position because of the presence of a locative phrase in the same clause (7.1.3 sub a).

The preposition *ne* is used because *soriri-ku* 'my side' has definite reference (6.1.3).

The conjunction *bhe* introduces a simultaneous clause (9.6).

Kadampa 'touch' is an ae-verb, but because of the definite direct object *lima-ku* 'my hand' the definiteness shift is triggered (4.6.1); hence *no-kadampa* instead of the expected *ne-kadampa*.

4. The conjunction *pasighoono* illustrates the occurrence of *-ghoo* in a number of function words (variants *pasina*, *pasino*) (10.2.10 sub 3).

The verb *feena* 'ask' is suffixed with *-mo* because it denotes a new action (9.21)

5. *Amba-no* introduces direct speech (9.20.1).

Peda aini 'like this' refers to what follows (6.2.4).

6. This clause illustrates the use of *afa* as a question verb (8.6.3), the use of the referential demonstrative *itu* in questions (5.5.6 sub b), also found in sentence 10, and the vocative *ghane* 'boy' (7.12.1).

7. *Ae-ngko-ngkora* is an example of partial reduplication (only the first syllable of the base is reduplicated). The reduplication here has the meaning of a state ('be seated'); compare the simple *ne-ngkora* 'he sat down' in sentence 3 (10.3.1 sub A.1).

The disjunct *ingka* (7.11.2), also found in sentences 9 and 11, indicates that the son assumes his father knows or should know the answer because it is common knowledge or logical ('as you know, as you can see'). The free translation does not reflect this usage.

Ka-bhalo-ku 'my answer' is a nominalization of the verb *bhalo* 'answer'.

8.   *Ne* is the unmarked preposition preceding the question word *hamai* (6.1.3).
     Ampa aitu, literally 'until now', normally means 'nowadays', opposed to
     aitu 'now, this moment' (compare the usage in sentence 13). Here *ampa aitu*
     is used with the meaning 'at the moment', probably because the speaker has
     not been in contact with 'your mother' for a long time. Hence the 'now' is
     given a broader scope.

10. The subject *ai-hi-mu* in pre-verbal position is an example of topic-shift.
     The younger siblings are inferentially given in a discussion of family
     matters (7.1.4 sub c).
     The function of *-mo* in *de-afa-mo* is unclear. It can be left out without
     any apparent change of meaning.
     The disjunct *kaasi-ndo* 'the poor ones' shows the father's empathy for the
     situation of his children (7.11.2).

11. *Bhalo* 'answer' is a transitive ao-verb, a rare category (4.4). With
     definite objects these verbs remain in the ao-class (4.6.1).
     The local preposition *te* implies that the school is located at a higher
     point than the speech location (6.1.2).

12. *Ghondo-fa-anda* 'look after them' is a formation on the basis of *ghondo-fao*
     (ae-class). *Cao*-verbs only take indirect object pronominal suffixes, in
     which case the final *-o* is lost (4.8.2; 10.2.15). Only with *Cao*-verbs do
     IO pronominal suffixes trigger the definiteness shift (4.6.1); the
     imperative is therefore the plain base (8.7.1).
     This clause also illustrates object agreement: *-anda* 'them' on the verb is
     co-referential with the object *ai-hi-mu*. Object agreement is frequently
     found with *Cao*-verbs (7.3.3).

13. This is an equative clause (7.6) in which the subject is emphasized by the
     suffix *-mo* (10.2.29).

14. The negator *pae-mo* 'no more' (8.5.2) triggers the irrealis in the
     following verb forms (4.5) and the clitic *-a* on *nae-mbali* (9.22). The
     irrealis of *feredaa* 'hope' (a-class) is made by means of the *-um*-form,
     resulting in nasal substitution of *f* (2.8.1).
     The clause following *o-[m]eredaa* is again a case of object complementation
     (9.2.3). The clause itself is an example of a 'cleft' construction (that
     is, an equative clause consisting of a noun and a free relative, 9.1.5),
     in which *ina-mu* 'your mother' is the focused constituent.
     So indicates futurity with participles (6.2.2).
     Tanggo (ae-verb) is semantically equivalent to Indonesian *tanggung* 'take
     care of, support (financially), guarantee'. The final *-no* of the active
     participle is replaced by the direct object pronominal suffix *-da* (9.1.1
     examples (12) and (13)), which causes the definiteness shift.

15. The preverbal subject *ina-mu* in an intransitive clause illustrates topic
     establishment, the mother having been introduced in the previous sentence
     (7.1.4 sub b).
     The suffix *-mo* in *no-kamokula-mo* here simply means 'already' (9.21), since
     it refers to an existing state.
     The second part of this sentence consists of two juxtaposed clauses
     (subject complementation, 9.2.2); following the negator *pae-mo*, irrealis
     verb forms occur (4.5).
     Again, *tanggo* is in the a-class because of the definite direct object
     (4.6.1).

16. *Koe* 'don't' introduces a prohibitive (8.7.4).
     Fo-tolala is a causative verb (ae-class) (8.2.2); with definite direct
     object *-da* the definiteness shift is triggered (4.6.1); the clitic *-a* is
     found after negators (9.22).

The verbs *ka-baru-baru* 'naughty' and *ka-wuni-wuni* 'mischievous' illustrate the use of *ka-* + reduplication indicating a character feature (10.2.19 sub 2.b).

The verbs *ka-wuni-wuni* and *ndia-ndiale* are dialectal words (Lawa) and generally unknown in Katobu.

17. *Ane* 'if' introduces a conditional clause (9.13); here it is followed by an irrealis verb form.

    To- in *to-o-[m]o-tolala-da-mo* is a dialectal variant of *ta-*. *Ta-* in combination with *-mo* here means 'just' (10.2.48 sub b.1).

    Tantu-mo 'of course, certainly' is probably a loan from Indonesian (*tentu*).   Like many other adverbs it is suffixed with *-mo* (10.2.29 sub g).

    The clause introduced by *tantu-mo* is a 'cleft' construction (9.1.5), in which the free relative is headed by a passive participle (10.2.33). The agent 'people' is presented in the dependent noun *mie bhari* (5.7.7 sub 4), linked to the participle by means of the plural possessive linker *-ndo* (5.4.2).

18. *Dadihanomo* 'so, therefore' introduces a conclusive clause (9.11).

    Dhaga 'guard, watch, be careful' is an intransitive a-verb, here made transitive (ae-class) through the addition of the transitivizing suffix *-ni* (8.1; 10.2.16). The three direct objects headed by *nea* 'name' are all definite and trigger the definiteness shift. As a result *dhaga* shifts back to the a-class (4.6.2), and the imperative is not formally marked (8.7.1). In the two objects with *nea-ndo* the plural linker *-ndo* points to the plural reference of the whole noun phrase (5.4.2).

    Bhasitie ompulu rua-fulu-no is an idiom, literally: 'your ten twenty relatives', meaning: 'your extended family'.

19. *No-pada* is a verbal conjunction introducing a temporal clause (9.7.2 sub 8.a), in which the word order is obligatorily VS (7.1.2).

    Aitu 'that' is the subject of this temporal clause (5.5.3; 5.5.4).

    The new action *no-ere-mo* 'he stood up' is suffixed with *-mo*; the following verb *fealai* 'ask permission to leave' is not, since it follows the conjunction *maka* 'then' (9.7.2 sub 2; 9.21 sub d).

20. The combination of irrealis and *-mo* in *a-[m]ealai-ko-mo* indicates that the action is performed or about to be performed at the moment of speech (10.2.29 sub a).

    The imperative *tapi-e* of the ae-verb *tapi* 'remember' illustrates the definiteness shift. There is object agreement (7.3.3) between the direct object pronominal suffix *-e* and the following free relative clause (9.1.5).

    The suffix *-ghoo* in the passive participle *ne-pogau-ghoo-ku* 'what I have said' refers to the indirect object (to what is said), as *pogau* 'speak' is an intransitive verb (9.1.2; 10.2.10).

    The referential demonstrative *itu* modifies the imperative (5.5.6 sub b; 8.7.3 sub 4).

21. The article *o* is put before the pre-verbal NP *hae-hae* 'anything, everything' (5.6.2). This direct object is found in pre-verbal position (object focus, OV-e order) as it contains a quantifier (7.3.4 sub 1).

    Fo-rato 'cause to arrive; tell' is the base of the nominalized relative construction *ka-fo-rato-ghoo-ku*. In such cases the possessive suffix following *-ghoo* refers to the indirect object (recipient) and not to the agent. Its meaning is 'what I have been told' (examples (34)-(39) in 9.1.3).

22. This sentence is structurally similar to 19.

23. The clause following a-[m]ande-ha-ane is a case of object complementation (9.2.3), introduced by the adverb bhahi 'maybe' indicating doubt and

uncertainty. The verb *a-[m]ande-ha-ane* is another example of a Cao-verb with definiteness shift and object agreement (compare ghondo-fa-anda in sentence 12).

24. *Ampa-mo kaawu* 'just, only' is a combination of adverbs (7.11.1). *Ampa-mo* can also occur on its own.

Welo po-wura-ku, literally: 'in my vision/view/sight', that is 'it seemed to me'. *Wura* and *wora* 'see' are alternant forms in standard Muna.

The noun *ka-nsoo-pa* 'west' is related to the verb *soo* 'go down (sun)', possibly through a *ka-/-ha* derivation with nasal accretion and an irregular linking consonant *p* (10.2.18 sub e).

25. The clitic *-a* after negators is optional, as can be seen in sentence 23, where it is absent after *a-[m]ande-ha-ane*.

26. The verbal conjunction *no-rato* introduces a temporal clause (9.7.2 sub 8.e).

The verb *a-ko-ghendu* 'I was startled' is not suffixed with *-mo* because it is not viewed as a completed state; the boy remains in a state of fright (9.21).

27. After the conjunction *kansuru* 'at once, immediately' verbs are not suffixed with *-mo* (9.21 sub d).

28. The noun *soo-ku* 'my thought; I thought' is followed by a juxtaposed clause specifying the content of what was thought (9.2.4). This clause itself is another example of a 'cleft' construction (9.1.5).

Mai-hi-kanau 'visiting me' is an active participle. The usual formation of active participles in the a-class is with *-um-/-no*, but the initial nasal of *mai* does not allow for -um-formation (2.8.1) and the direct object pronominal suffix *-kanau* replaces *-no* (9.1.1).

Ani-ini is a (reduced) combination of demonstratives with temporal meaning (5.5.7 sub 1).

Garaa introduces a surprisive clause (9.10), which in this case is elliptic, consisting of a single noun and a focusing adverb (5.9.1 sub 7).

29. The clause following *miina-mo ao-lodo-a* is conjoined to the preceding clause without conjunction (9.4) and clarifies this clause.

The suffix *-mo* is used with *ae-ngko-ngkora*, probably because the sitting is viewed as completed in the same sentence.

The construction *sampe no-mentae* is possibly influenced by Indonesian (*sampai pagi*); in Muna this concept can also be expressed by *ta-no-mentae-mo* 'until it got light'.

Masamo 'because' introduces a reason clause (9.15).

Fekiri 'think' is an ae-verb. The reduplication signals continuous, durative action. Because of the definite object *monifi-ku* 'my dream', the definiteness shift is triggered (4.6.1).

Ama-ku is the full nominal agent of the passive participle *ne-pogau-ghoo-no* (9.1.2).

Itu functions as a rarely used anaphoric referential demonstrative (5.5.5 sub b).

Free translation

1. Now I will first tell you about the dream that I had last night. 2. Last night I went to sleep at twelve o'clock. 3. I had not been asleep for long when I dreamt that my father sat down at my side and touched my hand. 4. Then he asked me a number of questions. 5. He said:
6. 'What are you doing, my boy?'
7. 'I am just sitting down, father,' I answered.

8. 'Where is your mother at the moment?' he asked again.
9. I said: 'She has gone to the market.'
10. 'And your younger brothers and sisters, what are they doing?'
11. I answered again: 'As you know they have gone to school, father.'
12. 'Take care of your brothers and sisters. 13. You have to replace their parents now. 14. You can no longer expect your mother to support them. 15. Your mother is already old, she will no longer be able to support your brothers and sisters. 16. Take care of them, do not let them become naughty or mischievous or become pilferers. 17. If you let them become mischievous, people will surely talk about you too. 18. Therefore watch your own name, watch the name of your parents and watch the name of your extended family.'

19. After that he stood up and asked permission to leave. 20. He said: 'Excuse me, I have to go now, but remember what I have said.' 21. I answered again: 'Yes, father. Everything you have told me, I will follow.' 22. Then he stood up and went away. 23. I don't know where he was going. 24. But it seemed to me that he was heading west. 25. After that I do not know where he went. 26. When I woke up, I was startled. 27. I got up at once. 28. I thought that my real father had visited me, but it was only his spirit. 29. After that I did not sleep anymore, I just sat down until it got light, because I was pondering my dream, and I thought about what my father had said in my dream.

TEXT 2: KOLOPE BHALATUMBU (The wild cassava)

1. *Naando se-wakutuu sabhara   hula-no ghoti ne-fumaa-ndo   manusia miina-mo*
   be   one-time   all.sorts sort-POS food P.PART-eat-POS man   no.more

bhe ka-se-ise.   2. *Tangkanomo ntigho-mo kaawu do-po-gira-gira.*
be NOM-RED-one   in.short   always-PF only 3pR-REC-RED-quarrel

3. *Ne-po-hala-hala-ti-ghoo-ndo   ini, lahae so [m]antasi-no   so*
   P.PART-REC-RED-wrong-TR-IO-their this who   FUT suitable-A.PART FUT

ne-sangke,   so me-mbali-no   ne-angka-do   bhari-bhari-e ghoti
P.PART-appoint FUT -become-A.PART P.PART-appoint-their RED-all-it   food

ne-fumaa. 4. *Maana-no,   so me-mbali-no   kolaki-no ghoti, so*
P.PART-eat   meaning-its FUT -become-A.PART king-POS   food   FUT

ne-fo-ngkora   te fotu ane da-ko-faraluu atawa da-ko-kasukara manusia.
P.PART-CAUS-sit loc head if 3pI-HAVE-need or   3pI-HAVE-feast man

5. *Ee,   ne-fie-fie-ghoo do-po-owo-owili-mo   bhari-bhari-ndo o   ghoti*
   well 3sR-RED-when-IO 3pR-REC-RED-message-PF RED-all-them   ART food

ne-fumaa. 6. *Do-po-owo-owili-ghoo-mo   dae-fo-naando rompu-ha,*
P.PART-eat   3pR-REC-RED-message-IO-PF 3pI-CAUS-be   meet-TEMP

*no-muda-ghoo dae-pili   lahae so me-mbali-no   kolaki-no ghoti.*7. *No-rato*
3sR-easy-PURP 3pI-choose who   FUT -become-A.PART king-POS   food   3sR-arrive

kaawu wakutuu-no rompu-ha, do-wolo-mo do-ghonu   bhari-bhari-e ne-fumaa:
after time-POS   meet-TEMP 3pR-all-PF 3pR-present RED-all-it   P.PART-eat

o   kahitela, o   mafu sau, o   lamedawa,   o   tonea,   o   ghofa, o   pae,
ART maize   ART yam wood ART sweet.potato ART k.o.tuber ART k.o.yam ART rice

o   kolope,   o   wute,   tangkanomo bhari-bhari-e ghoti ne-fumaa
ART wild.cassava, ART k.o.bean in.short   RED-all-it   food P.PART-eat

8. *Maka welo ka-bhari-ndo   maitu, o   kolope   ntigho*
   but in   NOM-many-their that   ART wild.cassava always

[m]o-lai-lai-no   wuto-no 9. *No-bhala mpuu   lalo-no-a*
CAUS-RED-thrust-A.PART self-his   3sR-big   really heart-his-CL

da-s[um]angke-e nae-mbali kolaki-no ghoti. 10. *Sembali o   pae miina bhe*
3pI-appoint-him 3sI-become king-POS   food   except ART rice not   be

diu. 11. *Ne-ngkora we tompa-no ghubhe anoa.*
move   3sR-sit   loc tip-POS beam   he

12. *Do-wolo kaawu do-ghonu,   miina-mo bhe so ne-antagi, aitu no-pogau-mo*
    3pR-all after 3pR-present no.more be FUT P.PART-wait now 3pR-speak-PF

kantawu bhara lahae so [m]antasi-no   so ne-angka-do   ghoti ne-fumaa
heap   maybe who   FUT suitable-A.PART FUT P.PART-appoint-POS food P.PART-eat

ini koana ntigho do-po-hala-hala-ti. 13. No-pogau-mo kolope: 'Ingka
this lest always 3pR-REC-RED-wrong-TR   3sR-speak-PF wild.cassava ENIM

pe   nao-hali   namisi-ku dae-ghondo-hi. 14. Ane inodi
FUT.not   3sI-difficult feeling-my 1pI-look-TR   if I

ta-da-mo-ghondo-mo. 15. Laha-lahae kaawu so me-ware-hi-no   roo, so
JUST-1pI-MO-look-PF   RED-who   only FUT -broad-PLUR-A.PART leaf FUT

bhala-hi-no   ihi,   so ko-kiri-kiri-no,   so ko-dhangku-dhangku-no,
big-PLUR-A.PART contents FUT HAVE-RED-thorn-A.PART FUT HAVE-RED-beard-A.PART

aitu-e-mo   so ne-sangke.   16. Maana-no,   aitu-a   na-ti-bharaki,
that-him-PF FUT P.PART-appoint   meaning-its that-CL 3sI-ACC-love

na-ti-mo-tehi.   17. Maka o   kolope   ini anoa ne-ware-hi
3sI-ACC-CA-afraid   but ART wild.cassava this he   3sR-broad-PLUR

roo-no-a. 18. Laa-no-a   no-ko-kiri-kiri,   no-ko-dhangku-dhangku,
leaf-his-CL   stalk-his-CL 3sR-HAVE-RED-thorn 3sR-HAVE-RED-beard

ihi-no   welo wite pakade   bhe ka-bhala-hi.
contents-his in   earth moreover with NOM-big-PLUR

19. *Do-bhalo-mo   dua sigaahano: 'Aitu miina a-[m]ande-ha-ane bhai-ndo,*
    3pR-answer-PF also others   now   not   1sI-know-INT-it friend-their

maka ane inodi-mo se-mie,   suano o   mbadha, suano o   fewutoi so
but if I-PF   one-person not ART body   not   ART stature FUT

ne-ghondo.   20. Nao-kesa   kaawu mbadha-no, parewa-no, na-t[um]aratumpu
P.PART-look   3sI-beautiful only body-his   figure-his 3sI-sturdy

maka fewutoi-no, ane pe   nao-kesa   podiu-no,   pe   nao-kesa
EMPH stature-his if FUT.not 3sI-beautiful character-his FUT.not 3sI-beautiful

feili-no,   21. sapasina   aitu, ane pe   nae-wanta fekiri-no,
disposition-his   in.addition that if FUT.not 3sI-long thinking-his

na-k[um]a-lolu-lolu, ta-o   ka-kapudhi-a-mo kaawu so ne-ghondo-hi-no,
3sI-KA-RED-stupid   TA-ART NOM-praise-A-PF only FUT P.PART-look-TR-his

ingka pe   na-ko-ghuluha da-s[um]angke-e so ne-angka-do   ghoti
ENIM FUT.not 3sI-HAVE-sense 1pI-appoint-him FUT P.PART-appoint-POS food

22. *Dadihanomo so ne-sangke   aitu, tabeano so me-taa-no   feili,*
    so   FUT P.PART-appoint that unless FUT -good-A.PART disposition

so me-taa-no   podiu,   so me-wanta-no fekiri. 23. Pe   nae-mbali-a
FUT -good-A.PART character FUT -long-A.PART thinking   FUT.not 3sI-can-CL

na-k[um]a-ampa-ampa,   na-k[um]a-dhoro-dhoro, pe   nae-mbali-a nae-langke
3sI-KA-RED-unmannered 3sI-KA-RED-arrogant   FUT.not 3sI-can-CL 3sI-tall

lalo-no-a.   24. Nao-asi bhe bhai-no,   na-ko-ka-tulumi. 25. [m]eda-no
heart-his-CL.   3sI-pity with friend-his 3sI-HAVE-NOM-help   like-A.PART

anagha beano ane inodi, so ne-sangke   so ne-angka-nto-omu
that   unless if I   FUT P.PART-appoint FUT P.PART-appoint-our-PLUR

bhari-bhari-e kaeta-amu ini-a.
RED-all-it   us-PLUR   this-CL

26. No-tamba dua sigaahano: 'Inodi-mo se-mie,   a-asi-ane-mo   nagha peda
    3sR-add also other   I-PF   one-person 1sR-like-it-PF that like

ne-pogau-ghoo aitu. 27. Maana-no,   suano o   ghulu-a, o   fewutoi-a so
P.PART-speak-IO that   meaning-its not   ART body-CL ART stature-CL FUT

ne-ghondo. 28. Tabea o   podiu,   o   feili,   lalo me-taa,   lalo
P.PART-look   unless ART character ART disposition heart A.PART-good heart

mo-asi.   29. Dadihanomo, ane inodi, da-s[um]angke-mo o   pae maitu so
A.PART-pity   so   if I   1pI-appoint-PF   ART rice that FUT

ne-angka-nto-omu   o   ghoti ne-fumaa   ini. 30. Uumbe-mo, ane
P.PART-appoint-our-PLUR ART food P.PART-eat this   yes-PF   if

da-gh[um]ondo fewutoi-no, o   pae ini-a   no-nale laa-no-a.   31. Maka,
1pI-look   stature-his ART rice this-CL 3sR-weak stalk-his-CL   but

ane fekiri-no,   feili-no,   no-faraluu da-[m]angkafi-e. 32. Nihompu
if thinking-his disposition-his 3sR-need   1pI-follow-him   the.more

no-hende   ka-bhari-no ihi-no   anoa, nihompu no-tubhari no-ungko ne
3sR-increase NOM-many-POS contents-his he   the.more 3sR-add   3sR-bow loc

bhai-no.   33. Sapasino   aitu, ingka ta-intaidi-imu dua itu lahae so
friend-his   furthermore that ENIM TA-we-PLUR   also that who FUT

[m]antasi-no.
suitable-A.PART

34. Aitu maka o   kolope   no-fetingke anagha no-dea hula-no, kansuru
    now EMPH ART wild.cassava 3sR-hear   that   3sR-red face-his at.once

no-bisara: 'No-peda hae? Da-s[um]angke pae? 35. O   hae so ne-ala-ghoo
3sR-speak   3sR-like what 1pI-appoint   rice   ART what FUT P.PART-take-IO

ne pae? 36. Laa-no   bhe ka-nale, da-[m]inda-hi-e nao-lepe. 37. Pakade
loc rice   stalk-his with NOM-weak 1pI-step-TR-him 3sI-flat   moreover

bhe ka-rubu-hi-no   bhake. 38. Ghonu-no-a ta-peda-hi-mo bhone. 39.
with NOM-small-PLUR-POS fruit   seed-his-CL TA-like-HI-PF sand

[M]eda-no   inodi beano. 40. O   laa   sa-kiri-kiri, o   roo ka-ware,
like-A.PART I   unless   ART stalk ONLY-RED-thorn ART leaf NOM-broad

o   ihi   ka-bhala-hi, pakade   dhangku. 41. O   hae so ne-bansi   ne
ART contents NOM-big-PLUR moreover beard   ART what FUT P.PART-hate loc

idi ini?'
I   this

42.*Do-fetingke pogau-no   kolope   ini r[um]ato-no welo rompu-ha, kansuru*
   3pR-hear   speech-POS wild.cassava this come-A.PART in   meet-TEMP at.once

do-po-kamu-kamunti. 43. *Do-po-kamu-kamunti-ghoo-mo o   kolope   ini*
3pR-REC-RED-whisper   3pR-REC-RED-whisper-IO-PF   ART wild.cassava this

ntigho no-fo-lai-lai   wuto-no so me-mbali-no   ompu-no ghoti.
always 3sR-CAUS-RED-thrust self-his FUT -become-A.PART lord-POS food

44. *No-rato   no-bhotu   pogau no-ndawu ne pae so ne-angka-ndo*
    3sR-arrive 3sR-decide speech 3sR-fall loc rice FUT P.PART-appoint-POS

ghoti ne-fumaa. 45. *Aitu maka ka-kiido-no   lalo-no-a   kolope   miina*
food P.PART-eat   now EMPH NOM-refuse-POS heart-his-CL wild.cassava not

da-[m]ili anoa, kansuru no-pogau, bhe no-batatala-hao so [m]omaa-no anoa
3pI-choose he   at.once 3sR-speak with 3sR-curse-INT   FUT eat-A.PART he

naewine   nae-fua: 'Aitu ingka garaa miina o-[m]asi-kanau-umu-a
tomorrow 3sI-two   now ENIM SURPR not   2sI-love-me-PLUR-CL

ihintu-umu-a. 46. *Dadihanomo na-t[um]anda-mo gholeo itu idi-a*
you-PLUR-CL   so   3sI-begin-PF   day   this I-CL

a-g[um]aati-mo wuto-ku. 47. *A-k[um]ala-mo a-g[um]ampi welo karuku*
1sI-separate-PF self-my   1sI-go-PF   1sI-move   in   forest

a-[m]eka-kodo-kodoho. 48. *Ta-na-omba-mo   na-n[um]aando o   manusia*
1sI-ADV-RED-far   TA-3sI-appear-PF 3sI-be   ART man

na-[m]araluu nao-maa-kanau, aitu nao-repu, nao-soka.   49.
3sI-need   3sI-eat-me   now 3sI-croak 3sI-perish

Na-[m]ara-tongka-tongka, na-ko-bura-bura   wubha-no.   50. Waesembali
3sI-PARA-RED-vomit   3sI-HAVE-RED-foam mouth-his   unless

nao-wule-kanau deki. 51. *Maana-no   na-s[um]eli-kanau, na-h[im]iri-kanau*
3sI-tired-me   first   meaning-its 3sI-dig-me   3sI-peel-me

maka na-k[um]e-kebha-kanau. 52. *[M]ada   aitu na-gh[um]oleo-kanau, maka*
then 3sI-RED-slice-me   IRR.finish that 3sI-dry-me   then

na-[m]ungkame-kanau welo laa   s[um]olo-no na-fato-gholeo fato-alo.
3sI-tread-me   in   river flow-A.PART FUT-four-day   four-night

53. *Waesembali na-r[um]abu-kanau na-[m]eda anagha maka nae-mbali*
    unless   3sI-make-me   3sI-like that   then 3sR-can

dao-maa-kanau'.
3pI-eat-me

54. *Pada   kaawu no-pogau peda nagha no-ere-mo   maka no-kala.* 55. *Bhe*
    finish after 3sR-speak like that 3sR-stand-PF then 3sR-go   with

na-[m]ealai-da   miina me-ngkora-ngkora-no.
3sI-ask.permission-them not   -RED-sit-A.PART

56. *Dadihanomo no-tanda-mo wakutuu aitu, o   kolope-a   miina-mo*
    so   3sR-begin-PF time   that ART wild.cassava-CL no.more

nae-late-a atawa na-t[um]umbu-a welo galu, ne maho-ndo manusia. 57.
3sI-live-CL or   3sI-grow-CL   in   garden loc near-POS man

Sadhia-mo anoa ka-dadi-ha-no-a   welo karuku. 58. *Sapasino   aitu ane*
always-PF he   NOM-live-LOC-his-CL in   forest   furthermore that if

do-fumaa-e do-para-tongka-tongka, do-mate-ane peda-mo ne-pulu-ghoo-no
3pR-eat-him 3pR-PARA-RED-vomit   3pR-die-him like-PF P.PART-mention-IO-POS

ka-batatala-hao-no. 59. *Waesembali do-wule-ane, do-ungkame-e, maka ne-mbali*
NOM-curse-INT-his   unless   3pR-tired-him 3pR-tread-him then 3sR-able

do-fumaa-e-a. 60. *Peda-mo anagha-nagha tula-tula-no 'kolope*
3pR-eat-him-CL   like-PF that-that   RED-story-POS wild.cassava

bhala-tumbu'. 61. *Dadihanomo ampa aini laha-lahae ntigho*
big-grow   so   until this RED-who   always

me-fo-dhe-fo-dhedhe-no-a atawa [m]o-lai-lai-no   wuto-no-a, sadhia-mo
-RED-CAUS-brag-A.PART-CL or   CAUS-RED-thrust-A.PART self-his-CL always-PF

do-kona-e   'kolope   bhala-tumbu'.
3pR-call-him wild.cassava big-grow

Notes

1.   *ghoti* 1. 'cooked rice' 2. 'food' (general).
3.   *[m]antasi-no* from *pantasi* 'suitable, worth' is a loan from Indonesian. The
    original Muna word for this concept is *laenga*.
    Some other Indonesian loanwords in this text:

wakutuu	<	*waktu*	'time'	(sentence 1)
manusia	<	*manusia*	'man'	(s.1)
maana	<	*makna*	'meaning'	(s.4)
atawa	<	*atau*	'or'	(s.4)
dhangku	<	*janggut*	'beard'	(s.15)
mbadha	<	*badan*	'body'	(s.19)
fekiri	<	*pikir*	'think'	(s.21)
tamba	<	*tambah*	'add'	(s.26)

3. *ne-angka-do*; lit. 'the one who is appointed by them', that is, their
    leader. This passive participle functions as a noun throughout this story.
    The same is true of *ne-fumaa* 'what is eaten; food'.
5. *do-po-owo-owili-mo*; the reduplicated syllable has undergone vowel
    assimilation (from *do-po-owi-owili-mo*).
7. The precise identification of some of the yams is not clear.
12. *kantawu* 'heap' here means 'meeting, those present'.
13. *pe* (here and throughout the story) is a dialectal variant of *pa* or *pae*. *pe*
    is relatively uncommon.
20. *mbadha* 'body', a variant of the more common *badha*.
26. The function of *nagha* 'that' is not clear.
33. *intaidi-imu* can either mean 'all of us (inclusive)' or 'all of you
    (polite)'. Both meanings are possible here.
35. *o hae so nealaghoo*, lit. 'what can be taken from' is an idiomatic
    expression meaning 'what can be expected/hoped from'.
48. *nao-maa* is an irregular irrealis from the root *fumaa* 'eat'.
48. *ta-na-omba-mo*; the irrealis has lost a medial nasal (from *ta-na-[m]omba-
    mo*); see 2.8.1.
51. *na-h[im]iri* 'will slice' is dialectal (parts of Katobu); standard Muna *na-
    h[um]iri*, see 2.8.1.
52. *ungkame* refers to the complex activity of soaking the cassava pieces in
    water while regularly treading and squeezing them so that the poisonous
    substance is dissolved.

Free translation

1. Once upon a time there was no longer any unity among the different sorts of
food eaten by man. 2. In short, they were always quarrelling with each other.
3. The point of controversy was who was suitable to be appointed leader of the
foods; 4. in other words, to become king of the foods, to be put at the head
(of the table) when people needed something or when they had a party.
   5. Well, after some time all the foods sent each other a message. 6. The
message was that a meeting would be held in order to facilitate the choosing of
the king of the foods. 7. When the time of the meeting arrived, all the
different foods gathered together: the maize, the yam, the sweet potato, the
cassava, the tuber, the rice, the wild cassava, the wild bean, in short, all
the foods were present. 8. Now among those present, the wild cassava always put
himself in the forefront. 9. He really wished that they would appoint him king
of the foods. 10. The rice, on the other hand, did not stir a limb. 11. He sat
quietly in a corner (lit. on the end of a beam).
   12. When everybody was present, and there was nobody left to wait for, those
present discussed the question of who was most suitable to become the leader of
the foods, so that they would not always be quarrelling. 13. The wild cassava
said: 'It seems to me that it will not be hard to search. 14. Personally I
think we can just look around. 15. Whoever has broad leaves, a big fruit, and
is thorny and hairy, that is the one who must be appointed. 16. That is to say,
he will be loved, he will be feared.' 17. Now this wild cassava himself has
broad leaves. 18. His stalk is thorny and hairy, and his fruit in the earth is
big. 19. Somebody else answered: 'Now I do not know about the others, but for
me personally, it is not the body, not the stature that we have to look at. 20.
Someone may have a beautiful body, a handsome figure, a sturdy stature, but if
his character is not good, if his disposition is bad, 21. and furthermore, if
his mind is dull, if he is rather stupid, if he is only looking for praise,
well then obviously it is senseless to appoint him as leader of the foods. 22.

Therefore the one who is to be appointed must be of a good disposition, must have a good character, and must be sharp-witted. 23. He must not be unmannered, arrogant or conceited. 24. He must take pity on his fellow-creatures, be helpful. 25. That is how I think the one who is to be appointed to be the leader of us all should be.'

26. Someone else added: 'As for me, I like what has just been said. 27. That is to say, it is not the body, not the stature that we have to look at. 28. On the contrary, what counts is character, a good and loving heart. 29. Therefore, I suggest we appoint the rice over there to be the leader of us foods. 30. Yes indeed, if we look at his figure, the rice has a weak stalk. 31. But, as for his mind, his character, that should be imitated. 32. The heavier his ears, the more he bows to his friends. 33. Furthermore, it is up to us all to decide who is most suitable.'

34. When the wild cassava heard this his face grew very red; at once he spoke: 'What? Are we going to appoint the rice? 35. What is to be expected of the rice? 36. His stalk is weak, when you tread on it, it is flat. 37. Moreover his fruits are small. 38. His grains are just like sand. 39. Compare that to me. 40. A stalk full of thorns, broad leaves, big fruits, and hairy as well. 41. What is wrong with me?'

42. When they heard the speech of the wild cassava, those present at the meeting began to whisper amongst themselves. 43. They whispered about how the wild cassava always put himself in the forefront to become king of the foods.

44. When the decision was taken, the rice was chosen to be leader of the foods. 45. The wild cassava was very offended that they had not chosen him, and right away he spoke up and pronounced a curse on those that would eat him in the future: 'Now it is clear that you do not like me. 46. Therefore from this day onwards I will separate myself from you. 47. I will go far away into the forest. 48. And when someone comes and wants to eat me, he will die, he will croak. 49. He will vomit repeatedly, he will foam at the mouth, 50. unless he exerts himself to obtain me. 51. I mean, he must dig me up, peel me, slice me. 52. Then he must dry me in the sun, and then put me to soak in a flowing river for four days and four nights and squeeze me. 53. Not until he has treated me in that way will he be able to eat me.' 54. When he had spoken thus the wild cassava stood up and left. 55. He did not even ask permission to leave from those who were sitting.

56. Therefore from that time onwards the wild cassava no longer lived or grew in the gardens, near people. 57. His life is always in the forest. 58. And when one eats him, one will vomit repeatedly and die because of him, as was mentioned in his curse. 59. Only if one exerts oneself, by soaking and squeezing him, can he be eaten.

60. That was the story of the 'wild cassava with his big body'. 61. That is the reason why today, whoever brags or puts himself to the forefront is called a 'bragging cassava'.

TEXT 3: O DAHU BHE KATOGHA (The dog and the crow)

1. *Se-wakutuu o   katogha no-mbolaku kenta topa*. 2. *Kenta topa*
   one-time   ART crow   3sR-steal fish dry   fish dry

ne-mbolaku-no   maitu sae-taa-ha-no   ka-bhala-no. 3. *Dadihanomo no-pooli-e*
P.PART-steal-his that SA-good-HA-POS NOM-big-its   so   3sR-can-it

no-horo-ane. 4. *Wakutuu-no no-horo-ane, garaa no-wura-e-mo   dahu*.
3sR-fly-it   time-its   3sR-fly-it   SURPR 3sR-see-him-PF dog

5. *No-bisara-mo no-moisa dahu:'Ka-mbaka-no   kenta topa ne-horo-ghoo-no*
   3sR-speak-PF 3sR-alone dog   NOM-delicious-POS fish dry P.PART-fly-IO-POS

katogha maitu; ane maka so inodi'. 6. *Pada   no-bisara peda anagha*,
crow   that   if EMPH for I   finish 3sR-speak like that

ne-kansuru   no-tende no-angka po-tala-ha-no katogha. 7. *Barangka no-pee*
3sR-at.once 3sR-run 3sR-go   PO-row-LOC-POS crow   if   3sR-alight

te wawo-no sau, o   dahu no-tu-tunggu-e   we koro. 8. *No-horo katogha*
loc top-POS tree ART dog 3sR-RED-guard-him loc bottom   3sR-fly crow

no-tende tora dahu no-angka po-tala-ha-no ka-horo-ha-no   katogha. 9.
3sR-run again dog 3sR-go   PO-row-LOC-POS NOM-fly-LOC-POS crow

Gau-no   mpuu   ta-nao-ndawu-mo kenta topa ne nunsu-no katogha maitu. 10.
desire-his really TA-3sI-fall-PF fish dry loc beak-POS crow   that

Tamaka miina bhe ka-ndawu dua kenta topa anagha, rampano no-sia-e
but   not   be NOM-fall also fish dry that   because 3sR-bite-it

feka-tangka-tangka bhe no-horo feka-rimba-rimba. 11. *Ka-rimba-no   no-horo*
ADV-RED-firm   with 3sR-fly ADV-RED-fast   NOM-fast-POS 3sR-fly

katogha ka-rimba-no dua dahu no-lumpa. 12. *Ne-nsa-lompo-lompona sadhia*
crow   NOM-fast-POS also dog 3sR-run   3sR-NSA-RED-long   always

peda anagha, no-pande-ha-ane-mo katogha garaa o   dahu ini tantigho
like that   3sR-know-INT-it-PF crow   SURPR ART dog this always

no-hamba   anoa.
3sR-chase he

13. *No-mpona kaawu no-horo no-wule-mo   katogha, o   dahu no-wule-mo   dua*
    3sR-long after 3sR-fly 3sR-tired-PF crow   ART dog 3sR-tired-PF also

no-lumpa. 14. *Dadihanomo o   katogha no-pee-mo   ne sau*
3sR-run   so   ART crow   3sR-alight-PF loc tree

mba-langke-langke-no,   o   dahu no-fetumpu-mo dua, tamaka
RATHER-RED-tall-A.PART ART dog 3sR-stop-PF   also but

ta-ne-nsara-nsara-mo lela-no   na-ti-buna-ghoo-mo   ka-wule. 15. *No-fewule*
TA-3sR-RED-long-PF   tongue-his 3sI-ACC-pull.out-IO-PF NOM-tired   3sR-rest

bhe   no-donga-donga-wi katogha maka bhe   no-fekiri nada   hamadi so
with 3sR-RED-look.up-TR crow   then with 3sR-think IRR.like what   for

na-gh[um]awa-e-ghoo anoa kenta topa ne   katogha tatu. 16. *Sebantara*
3sI-get-it-PURP   he   fish dry loc crow   that   moment

ne-ghawa-mo fekiri. 17. *No-bisara-mo dahu feka-bhala-bhala: 'Ka-pasole-no*
3sR-get-PF   thought   3sR-speak-PF dog ADV-RED-big   NOM-handsome-POS

katogha ini, ka-ko-nginda-no   wulu-no,   namisi-ku nao-kesa   sepaliha
crow   this NOM-HAVE-shine-POS feathers-his feeling-my 3sI-beautiful very

dua   suara-no   nae-lagu. 18. *No-fetingke pogau-no   dahu, no-fotaa-mo katogha*
also voice-his 3sI-sing   3sR-hear   speech-POS dog 3sR-laugh-PF crow

'Kaa... kaa...kaa..' 19. *Kenta topa ne   wubha-no   katogha no-ndawu-mo we wite.*
 kaa   kaa   kaa   fish dry loc mouth-POS crow   3sR-fall-PF loc earth

20. *No-ene-e-mo   dahu maka no-fumaa.* 21. *Niho-mo no-fekiri-e katogha*:
    3sR-pick.up-it-PF dog then 3sR-eat   just-PF 3sR-think-it crow

'Ingka garaa inodi ini a-rugi-ghoo-mo ka-pudhi-no   dahu. 22. *Ka-bhala-no*
 ENIM   SURPR I   this 1sR-lose-IO-PF NOM-praise-POS dog   NOM-big-POS

maka soso-no   katogha kenta topa ka-mbolaku-no no-fumaa-e-mo dahu.
EMPH regret-POS crow   fish dry NOM-steal-his 3sR-eat-it-PF dog

23. *Patudhu-no   tula-tula aini no-fo-guru   anahi hende   bughou*
    purpose-POS RED-story this 3sR-CAUS-learn child growth new

do-pande-ha-ane-ghoo dua, garaa giu   pata s[um]aha   maitu miina
3pR-know-INT-it-PURP also SURPR something NEG legal-A.PART that   not

na-ti-perapi. 24. *Bhe   do-pande-ha-ane-ghoo dua, do-dadi   te   dhunia ini*
3sI-ACC-enjoy   with 3pR-know-INT-it-PURP also 3pR-live loc world this

miina nae-mbali do-ka-angka-angka ne   ka-pudhi.
not   3sI-can   3pR-KA-RED-go   loc NOM-praise

Notes

1. The occurrence of the definiteness shift (*no-mbolaku* instead of the
   expected *ne-mbolaku*) is unexplained.
6. The root of *potalahano* is *tala* 'row', hence *po-tala* 'next to, opposite to,
   face, parallel with'. *po-tala-ha* is the locative noun of this derivation
   and refers to the fact that the dog takes the route on the ground which the
   crow takes in the air.
15. *nada hamadi* 'how' is dialectal. Standard Muna *na-meda hamai* or *nada hamai*.
16. Original wording (felt to be awkward by informants): *no-ghawa-e-mo no-
    fekiri-e* 'he got it he thought it = he got an idea'.
23. Definiteness shift in *no-fo-guru* unexplained.

Free translation

1. Once a crow stole a dried fish. 2. The dried fish that he stole was not too big. 3. He was therefore able to fly with it. 4. While he was flying with it, he was seen by a dog. 5. The dog said to himself: 'What a delicious dried fish that crow has; if only it were for me.' 6. When he had spoken thus he immediately started to run, following the route of the crow. 7. Whenever he alighted in a tree top, the dog guarded him below. 8. When the crow flew again, the dog ran after him, following the route the crow was taking. 9. He really wished that the dried fish would fall from the crow's beak. 10. But the dried fish never fell, because the crow held it very firmly in his beak while he flew as fast as possible. 11. The faster the crow flew, the faster the dog ran. 12. After this had lasted for some time, the crow knew that he was being chased by the dog.

13. After he had flown for a long time the crow got tired, and the dog was also tired of running. 14. So the crow landed on a rather high tree; the dog also stopped, his tongue hanging out with exhaustion (lit. his tongue about to be pulled out with exhaustion). 15. He rested and looked up at the crow while he wondered how he could get the dried fish from that crow. 16. Very soon he had an idea. 17. The dog spoke loudly: 'What a handsome crow is this, what shiny feathers he has got, I think his voice must also be very beautiful when he sings.' 18. When the crow heard the dog speaking, he laughed: 'Kaa... kaa...kaa.' 19. The dried fish fell from his beak to the ground. 20. The dog picked it up and ate it. 21. Only then did the crow realize what had happened (lit. did he think): 'I have suffered a loss because of the dog's praises.' 22. The crow was very sorry that the dried fish he had stolen had been eaten by the dog.

23. The purpose of this story is to teach the younger generation, so that they know that something illegal cannot be enjoyed. 24. And so that they also know that while living in this world one must not be led astray by praise.

TEXT 4: MIE BHETENO NE TOMBULA (The man who emerged from a bamboo stalk)

1. *Amba-do   kamokula-hi, dhamani wawo-no naando ne Wuna ini-a   o   mie*
   word-POS elder-PLUR   era   top-its be   loc Muna this-CL ART person

bhete-no   ne tombula, nea-no   do-kona-e   Zaidhul Dhalaali. 2.Dhamani
emerge-A.PART loc bamboo   name-his 3pR-call-him Z.   D.   era

anagha ne Wuna ini-a   miina-ho siaghe da-bhari-a   mie.   3. Ka-naando-no
that   loc Muna this-CL not.yet too   3pI-many-CL person   NOM-be-POS

tula-tula aini te liwu-no   Tongkuno. 4. Ka-bhari-ndo mie-no   Tongkuno.
story   this loc village-POS T.   NOM-many-POS person-POS T.

aitu da-pe-fato-fulu   katendewuna. 5. Ne-angka-do   do-kona-e
that 3pI-ABOUT-four-ten house.top   P.PART-appoint-their 3pR-call-him

kamokula-no Tongkuno.
elder-POS   T.

6. *Se-paku   kamokula-no Tongkuno ini-a   ne-tudu-mo   mie-hi-no*
   one-time elder-POS   T.   this-CL 3sR-order-PF person-PLUR-his

do-po-paa   do-kala de-tando tombula we karumbu ne-kona-ndo   Lambu
3pR-RED-four 3pR-go 3pR-cut bamboo loc forest P.PART-call-their house

Bhala-no. 7. O   tombula ini-a   so da-[m]ake-e mbali kae-ko-koo-li-ha.
big-A.PART   ART bamboo this-CL for 3pI-use-it for   NOM-RED-bind-REP-INS

8. *Aitu do-kala-mo mie   po-paa-no   ini we karumbu-no Lambu Bhala-no.*
   that 3pR-go-PF person RED-four-A.PART this loc forest-POS house big-A.PART

9. *Do-rato   we karumbu sae-wora-ndo   polumpu-no tombula, de-fe-pili-mo*
   3pR-arrive loc forest WHEN-see-their cluster-POS bamboo 3pR-FE-choose-PF

fo-liu-liu-no   ka-bhala-no laa   maka do-tando. 10. Garaa do-tando we
DETR-RED-pass-A.PART NOM-big-POS stalk then 3pR-cut   SURPR 3pR-cut loc

panda, o   tombula ini no-foko-adede, amba-no: 'adede ghaghe-ku'. 11. Do-tando
bottom ART bamboo this 3sR-CALL-ouch word-his ouch leg-my   3pR-cut

te wawo, no-foko-adede tora o   tombula ini, amba-no: 'adede taghi-ku'.
loc top   3sR-CALL-ouch again ART bamboo this word-his ouch belly-my

12. *Do-fo-hende   tora te wawo do-tando-e, sadhia o   tombula ini*
    3pR-CAUS-rise again loc top 3pR-cut-it always ART bamboo this

no-foko-adede, amba-no: 'adede fotu-ku'. 13. Tigho kaawu no-foko-adede
3sR-CALL-ouch word-his ouch head-my   always after 3sR-CALL-ouch

o   tombula ini do-tando-e ini-a, do-tiere-mo mie   po-paa-no   ini
ART bamboo this 3pR-cut-it this-CL 3pR-stop-PF person RED-four-A.PART this

de-tando, maka do-dulu-dulu   do-buna-e   o   tombula ini bhe
3pR-cut   then 3pR-RED-do.together 3pR-pull.out-it ART bamboo this with

para-paraka-no, maka do-tongku do-ampe-e   te   Tongkuno. 14. Do-rato
RED-root-its   then 3pR-carry 3pR-bring.up-it loc T.   3pR-arrive

te Tongkuno, o   tombula ne-tongku-do   ini-a do-pansuru-ane ne
loc T.   ART bamboo P.PART-carry-their this-CL 3pR-straight-it loc

wise-no   kamokula-no Tongkuno.
front-POS elder-POS   T.

15. *Pasino mie   po-paa-no   ini de-tula-tula-ghoo-mo kamokula-no*
    then   person RED-four-A.PART this 3pR-RED-tell-IO-PF   elder-POS

Tongkuno, ka-naando-ha-no do-buna   bhe para-paraka-no o   tombula
T.   NOM-be-REAS-its 3pR-pull.out with RED-root-its   ART bamboo

ini-a,   rampano tigho no-foko-adede do-tando-e. 16. Miina-ho nao-wolo
this-CL   because always 3sR-CALL-ouch 3sR-cut-it   not.yet 3sI-finish

tula-tula-ndo mie   po-paa-no   ini-a, ta-no-si-bisara-ha-mo tora o
RED-story-POS person RED-four-A.PART this-CL TA-3sR-SI-speak-HA-PF again ART

tombula ini, amba-no: 'Ko   di-diu-kanau-umu,   inodi-mo ini kolaki-imu,
bamboo this word-POS DONT (IMP-)RED-move-me-PLUR I-PF   this king-your.PLUR

me-rabu-kanau-umu kolambu   maka kolambu-ngi-kanau-umu.
IMP-make-me-PLUR mosquito.net then (IMP-)mosquito.net-TR-me-PLUR

17. *No-fetingke pogau-no   tombula ini, kamokula-no Tongkuno ne-kansuru*
    3sR-hear   speech-POS bamboo this elder-POS   T.   3sR-at.once

no-parasaea, bhe no-wadengke   ne-fe-rabu   kolambu   ne robhine-hi
3sR-believe   with 3sR-immediately 3sR-L.CAUS-make mosquito.net loc woman-PLUR

welo liwu-no   Tongkuno.18. Aitu o   kolambu ini sebantara do-toka-e.
in   village-POS T.   now ART msq.net this moment   3pR-ready-it

19. *No-toka   kaawu kolambu   ka-fe-rabu-no   ini-a, o   tombula*
    3sR-ready after mosquito.net NOM-L.CAUS-make this-CL ART bamboo

do-ampe-e-mo   welo lambu-no kamokula-no Tongkuno maka do-kolambu-ngi.
3pR-bring.up-it-PF in   house-POS elder-POS   T.   then 3pR-msq.net-TR

20. *Fitu-gholeo ka-lompona-no ta-miina-mo na-ti-wora o   tombula, welo*
    seven-day   NOM-long-its TA-no.more 3sI-ACC-see ART bamboo   in

kolambu   ta-o   moghane se-mie   suma-sumano ka-pasole.   21.
mosquito.net JUST-ART man   one-person RED-most   NOM-handsome

Aini-ha-e-mo ne-kona-ndo   mie   bhete-no   ne tombula,
this-HA-it-PF P.PART-call-their person emerge-A.PART loc bamboo

```
ne-fe-ompu-ghi-ndo-mo          maghuleo   rangkowine kamokula-no Tongkuno bhe
P.PART-FE-lord-TR-their-PF afternoon morning    elder-POS   T.          with

mie-hi        welo liwu    Tongkuno.
person-PLUR in   village T.
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22. Pasino ka-naando aini-a  miina nao-mpona do-pande-ha-ane-mo dua  bhe
    then   NOM-be    this-CL not   3sI-long  3pR-know-INT-it-PF also with

mie-hi        we  liwu    sigaahano welo Wuna ini-a. 23. Sabutuhano o   kabhaku
person-PLUR loc village other      in   Muna this-CL     therefore ART present

aitu-a no-rato    no-mai-ghoo  fato-wala-e,    nae-mbali da-k[um]ona-e mie
now-CL 3sR-arrive 3sR-come-IO four-side-it    3sI-can   3pI-call-him  person

bhete-no        ne tombula ini-a   do-fe-ompu-ni-ghi-e    ko-se-Wuna-ha-e   ini.
emerge-A.PART loc bamboo  this-CL 3pR-FE-lord-TR-TR-him KO-one-Muna-HA-it this
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24. Fato-fulu-gha-e-fato no-lapasi aitu no-rato-mo    ka-tudu    mai-ghoo-no
    four-ten-day-E-four  3sR-past that 3sR-arrive-PF NOM-order come-IO-A.PART

we Duruka do-foni    do-polele       te kamokula-no Tongkuno, amba-do:
loc D.    3pR-go.up 3pR-bring.news loc elder-POS   T.          word-their

'Naando torampe-no          we  kaghotia-no Duruka ne-kona-ndo       Wabahara,
 be     wash.ashore-A.PART loc beach-POS   D.        P.PART-call-their W.

o   kalambe mo-kesa         no-sawi  ne  palangga do-kona-e    Sangke Palangga.
ART girl    A.PART-beautiful 3sR-ride loc basin    3pR-call-her lift   basin
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25. No-fetingke aini kamokula-no Tongkuno-a no-polele-mo     ne Bhete-no
    3sR-hear    this elder-POS   T.-CL       3sR-bring.news-PF loc emerge-A.PART

ne Tombula. 26. Ne-kansuru  Bhete-no       ne Tombula no-tudu   kamokula-no
loc bamboo      3sR-at.once emerge-A.PART loc bamboo  3sR-order elder-POS

Tongkuno da-k[um]ala da-k[um]aapi kalambe s[um]awi-no ne  palangga, amba-no:
T.       3pI-go      3pI-fetch     girl    ride-A.PART loc basin       word-his

'Sampu          kaapi-kanau-umu      robhine s[um]awi-no ne  palangga nagha,
 (IMP-)go.down (IMP-)fetch-me-PLUR  woman   ride-A.PART loc basin     that

anagha-e-mo mie-no       lambu-ku, nea-no  Tandiabhe. 27. No-feka-rimba
that-her-PF person-POS house-my  name-her T.             3sR-ADV-fast

kamokula-no Tongkuno ne-tudu   mie     s[um]ampu-no   k[um]aapi-no Tandiabhe
elder-POS   Tongkuno 3sR-order person go.down-A.PART fetch-A.PART  T.

we Wabahara.
loc W.
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28. Do-rato-ane     kaawu te Tongkuno, Tandiabhe no-pesua-mo  welo kolambu,
    3pR-arrive-her after loc T.         T.         3sR-enter-PF in   msq.net
```

do-si-kae-late-ha-mo   *bhe*   *Bhete-no*   *ne*   *Tombula*. 29. *No-ala-e*   *wula*
3pR-SI-NOM-live-LOC-PF with emerge-A.PART loc bamboo   3sR-take-it moon

no-ala-e   *taghu-a* *pasino* *do-ko-ana-hi-ghoo-mo,*   *ndo*   *Sugi Manuru,*
3sR-take-it year-CL then   3pR-HAVE-child-PLUR-IO-PF PLUR S.M.

Sugi Laende, Sugi Patola. 30. *Aitu ta-de-late-late-mo te Tongkuno*,
S.L.   S.P.   now TA-3pR-RED-live-PF loc T.

do-fe-ompu-ni-ghi-da-mo   *ko-se-Wuna-ha-e*   *ini*. 31. *Lambu-no kamokula-no*
3pR-FE-lord-TR-TR-them-PF KO-one-Muna-HA-it this   house-POS elder-POS

Tongkuno kae-late-late-ha-ndo   do-kona-e-mo   kamali kapaa rampano
T.   NOM-RED-live-LOC-their 3pR-call-it-PF palace reason because

Bhete-no   *ne*   *Tombula ini do-abhi-e*   *o*   *mie*   *tapa me-ntela,*   *dadi*
emerge-A.PART loc bamboo this 3pR-regard-him ART person NEG A.PART-often so

do-kona-e-mo   *kolaki-no* *Wuna*. 32. *Sabutuhano bhari-bhari-e me-mbali-no*
3pR-call-him-PF   king-POS   Muna   therefore RED-all-it   -become-A.PART

kolaki-no Wuna mburumai-no   *ini-a*   *keseno-mo siwulu   mai-ghoo-no*   *ne*
king-POS   Muna following-A.PART this-CL all-PF   offspring come-IO-A.PART loc

Bhete-no   *ne*   *Tombula ini*. 33. *Aini-ha-e-mo tula-tula-no*
emerge-A.PART loc bamboo this   this-HA-it-PF RED-story-POS

ne-kona-ndo   *Bhete-no*   *ne*   *Tombula.*
P.PART-call-their emerge-A.PART loc bamboo

Notes

1. *wawo-no*; it is not clear whether *-no* is a third person possessive suffix
    or the active participle suffix.
11. The use of the article *o* in this text (especially in the phrase *o tombula
    ini*) is not compatible with the rules given in 5.6.
17. The original text had *ne-fe-wadengke do-rabu*, which was felt to be awkward
    by all informants.
23. There is a meaning difference between *fe-ompu-ghi* 'treat as lord' and *fe-
    ompu-ni-ghi* 'adore (with gifts); support (financially) as lord' in
    sentences 23 and 30.
29. *noalae wula noalae taghu* 'a month took him/her/it, a year took him/her/it'
    is an idiomatic expression.
31. *tapa* is an infrequent variant of *pata* (negative with participles).

Free translation

1. The old people say that in former times someone lived here on Muna who had
emerged from a bamboo stalk and whose name was Zaidhul Dhalaali. 2. In that
period there were not yet many people on Muna. 3. This story took place in
Tongkuno. 4. The number of people in Tongkuno at that time was about forty
families. 5. Their leader was called the elder of Tongkuno.

6. Once the elder of Tongkuno ordered four of his people to go and cut bamboo in a forest which is called Lambu Bhalano (= Big House). 7. This bamboo was to be used as binding material. 8. So these four people went to the Lambu Bhalano forest. 9. They arrived in the forest and as soon as they saw a cluster of bamboo, they chose the one that had the biggest stalk and started to cut it. 10. But when they cut at the bottom, the bamboo gave a cry of pain, he said: 'Ouch, my leg.' 11. They cut higher up, but the bamboo gave again a cry of pain: 'Ouch, my belly.' 12. They cut still higher up, but the bamboo kept uttering cries of pain: 'Ouch, my head.' 13. Since the bamboo kept giving cries of pain when they cut it, the four men stopped cutting and together they pulled the bamboo out, roots and all. Then they carried it on their shoulders and brought it up to Tongkuno. 14. When they arrived in Tongkuno, they immediately took the bamboo they carried to (lit. in front of) the elder of Tongkuno.

15. Then the four men told the elder of Tongkuno the reason why they had pulled the bamboo out with roots and all: that it had kept crying out in pain when they cut it. 16. They had not finished their story, when all of a sudden the bamboo spoke again; he said: 'Do not disturb me, I am your king, make me a mosquito net and put me inside.'

17. When the elder of Tongkuno heard the speech of the bamboo, he believed him at once; and immediately he ordered the women in the village of Tongkuno to make a mosquito net. 18. Very soon the net was ready. 19. When the net he had ordered was ready, they brought the bamboo up to the house of the elder of Tongkuno and put him inside the net. 20. After seven days the bamboo had disappeared, there was only an exceedingly handsome man in the mosquito net. 21. This is the one who is called 'Born of Bamboo', and treated as lord day and night by the elder of Tongkuno and by the people of the village of Tongkuno.

22. Not long after this had happened, people in other villages also heard about it. 23. As a result, presents arrived from all sides, so that one can say that 'Born of Bamboo' was treated as lord by the whole island of Muna.

24. After forty-four days messengers from Duruka arrived who came up to bring a message to the elder of Tongkuno. They said: 'At the beach of Duruka, which is called Wabahara, somebody has been washed ashore, a beautiful girl who rode (the sea) in a basin; her name is "Lifted from the Basin".' 25. When the elder of Tongkuno heard this, he brought the message to 'Born of Bamboo'. 26. At once 'Born of Bamboo' ordered the elder of Tongkuno to go and fetch the girl who rode in the basin. He said: 'Go down and get me the woman who rides in that basin; that is my wife; her name is Tandiabhe.' 27. Quickly the elder of Tongkuno ordered people to go down and fetch Tandiabhe from Wabahara. 28. When they arrived in Tongkuno with her, Tandiabhe went into the mosquito net, and she lived with 'Born of Bamboo'.

29. Months passed, years passed and they had children: Sugi Manuru, Sugi Laende and Sugi Patola. 30. They remained in Tongkuno, while the whole island of Muna brought them honour and supported them. 31. The house of the elder of Tongkuno where they lived was called a palace; because 'Born of Bamboo' was considered to be an extraordinary person, he was called king of Muna. 32. Therefore, all the later kings of Muna are descendants of 'Born of Bamboo'.

33. This was the story of the one who is called 'Born of Bamboo'.

TEXT 5: A TITIBHOLO (Titibholo)

1. *Anahi-no...., A   Titibholo ini no-mate-mo ina-no   bhe ama-no.*
   child-his   ART T.   this 3sR-die-PF mother-his with father-his

2. *Dadihano ne-late-mo bhe awa-no.*   3. *De-late bhe awa-no*
   so   3sR-live-PF with grandparent-his   3pR-live with grandparent-his

ini-a ta-no-bhala-hi-mo   dua bhe awa-no.   4. *Pasino no-bhala*
this-CL UNTIL-3sR-big-HI-PF   also with grandparent-his   then   3sR-big

kaawu no-kala-mo no-hela. 5. *No-giu-mo   we Dhawa.* 6.*No-giu-mo*
after 3sR-go-PF 3sR-sail   3sR-make.living-PF loc Java   3sR-make.living-PF

we Dhawa ini-a, no-bhari kupa-no   no-suli-mo   kaasi, Titibholo ini.
loc Java   this-CL 3sR-much money-his 3sR-return-PF pity   T.   this

7. *No-rato   no-tudu-mo   awa-no   maitu, amba-no-a:*
   3sR-arrive 3sR-order-PF grandparent-his that   word-his-CL

'Me-ghondo-hi-kanau a-fo-porai   ina'. 8. *Amba-no: 'Ne   hamai*
IMP-look-TR-me   1sI-DETR-propose mother   word-her loc where

ka-[m]asi-ghoo-mu bhela?' 9. *Amba-no: 'Te ndo kino liwu   tatu ingka',*
NOM-like-IO-your   friend   word-his   loc PLUR chief village that ENIM

amba-no, 'kalambe-hi-no naando do-pi-pitu   tatu'. 10. *Amba-no: 'O-[m]orai*
word-his girl-PLUR-his be   3pR-RED-seven that   word-her 2sI-propose

[m]eda-no   hae?' 11. *Amba-no: 'O   isa   bhahi'.* 12. *Amba-no-a...,*
like-A.PART what   word-his ART older.sibling maybe   word-her-CL

no-kala-mo ina-no   itu-a bhe kadu-no kupa-no. 13. *No-kala ini-a,*
3sR-go-PF mother-his that-CL with bag-POS money-his   3sR-go this-CL

no-rato,   amba-no kino liwu,   ana   moghane ini, amba-no: 'Ka-kolilino-mu
3sR-arrive word-POS chief village child man   this word-his NOM-astray-your

awa!'   amba-no. 14. *Amba-no: 'A-kolilino da-daano konae'.* 15. *Amba-no*:
grandparent word-his   word-her 1sR-astray RED-truly INJ   word-his

'Bhara de-faraluu hae konae awa   itu?' 16. *Amba-no   'Ae-palenda*
 maybe 3pR-need   what INJ   grandparent that   word-her   1sR-figurative

hae konae ini ingka a-mai   a-fo-porai   idi, a-fo-porai-ghoo   A
what INJ   this ENIM 1sR-come 1sR-DETR-propose I   1sR-DETR-propose-IO ART

Titibholo.' 17. *Amba-no: 'Garaa, no-rato-mo?'* 18. *Amba-no: 'No-rato-mo'.*
T.   word-his SURPR 3sR-arrive-PF   word-her 3sR-arrive-PF

19. *Amba-no: '[M]eda-no   hae bhara so ne-asi-ghoo-no   itu?'.* 20. *Amba-no:*
    word-his like-A.PART what maybe FUT P.PART-like-IO-his that   word-her

```
'O   isa'.          21. 'Hi', amba-no  isa,          'na-[m]orai-kanau-ghoo A
 ART older.sibling      INJ  word-POS older.sibling 3sI-propose-me-PURP   ART

Titibholo so  hae-no-ku   itu, parasili'.
T.          for what-its-my that  extraordinary

22. Amba-no: 'pa      ingka ta-me-pili-mo      itu' amba-no  bapa-ndo,
    word-his FUT.not ENIM JUST-IMP-choose-PF that word-POS father-their

'peda, pa       na-h[um]unda isa,          bhahi se-mie    tora.'   23.
 like FUT.not 3sI-refuse   older.sibling maybe one-person again

No-fo-hiu-hiu-e          no-waa-anda   kadu-no kupa-no  maitu ini,
3sR-CAUS-RED-go.past-it 3sR-give-them bag-POS money-his that  this

ko-no-noo-ha-ndo    do-kiido-e     A  Titibholo.
KO-RED-six-HA-their 3pR-refuse-him ART T.

24. No-doli-mo  we wawa,          amba-no: 'Bhahi ihintu eda', amba-no,
    3sR-turn-PF loc space.under.house word-her   maybe you    girl   word-her

'a-[m]orai-mo   hintu idi', amba-no. 25. Amba-no  kampufu-ndo          maitu,
 1sI-propose-PF you   I    word-her     word-her youngest.child-their that

Wa  Ndaipitu... no-mai-mo.  26. Amba-no: 'Uumbe barangka,     nene.        27.
ART N.          3sR-come-PF     word-her   yes   in.that.case grandmother

Hamai itu', amba-no, 'tabea  a-[m]ala-e-mo  inodi kupa'. 28. 'Pa       ingka,
where that  word-her  unless 1sI-take-it-PF I     money       FUT.not ENIM

ala-mo.        29. Ingka bhe  kadu-no kupa-no  ini  a-mai'. 30. Pasighoono
(IMP-)take-PF      ENIM  with bag-POS money-his this 1sR-come     then

no-foni-mo    no-ala-e    Wa  Ndaipitu maitu o   doi.
3sR-go.up-PF 3sR-take-it ART N.        that  ART money

31. No-suli     kaawu, amba-no: 'No-pindalo-kanau [m]eda-no    hae?;
    3sR-return after  word-his 3sR-wish-me       like-A.PART what

[m]indalo-kanau [m]eda-no    hae?', amba-no  Titibholo. 32. Amba-no: 'O
A.PART-wish-me  like-A.PART what    word-POS T.                  word-her   ART

kampufu'.       33. 'Hei', amba-no, 'garaa'. 34. Amba-no: 'A-k[um]ala deki
youngest.child      INJ   word-his  SURPR       word-his 1sI-go       first

tora barangka',    amba-no-a, 'bhahi ae-wura  doi', amba-no-a, 'ingka
again in.that.case word-his-CL maybe 1sI-see  money word-his-CL ENIM

miina-ho na-bhala anoa'. 35. Amba-no: 'Kala-mo'.
not.yet 3sI-big   she        word-her  (IMP-)go-PF

36. No-kala, nomo-wula no-kala ini  A  Titibholo-a, no-rato-mo     tora.
    3sR-go   six-month 3sR-go  this ART T.-CL       3sR-arrive-PF again
```

37. *No-rato-mo   bhe pakea-hi-no: o   bhadhu, o   dali, o   tongko,*
    3sR-arrive-PF with clothes-PLUR-his ART shirt   ART earring ART necklace

o   sandali. 38. *No-rato   ini, do-kala-mo tora do-owa-e   te ndo*
ART sandal   3sR-arrive this 3pR-go-PF again 3pR-bring-it loc PLUR

bapa-no   ini, te ndo kino liwu. 39. *No-kala no-owa-e   tora o*
father-her this loc PLUR chief village   3sR-go 3sR-bring-it again ART

kamo-kamokula, ina-no   ini. 40. *Alo, ka-lea-no   lalo-ndo*
RED-elder   mother-his this   INJ NOM-painful-POS heart-their

*isa-hi-hi-no-a.   41. *Soo-ndo   samea   soo-mo bara-ndo*
older.sibling-PLUR-PLUR-her-CL   thought-their actually for-PF goods-their

andoa watu, garaa do-bhansi-e A   Titibholo.
they that SURPR 3pR-hate-him ART T.

42. *Pasino no-kala-mo no-fealai-e   dua A   Titibholo Wa Ndaipitu*
    then   3sR-go-PF 3sR-ask.permission-her also ART T.   ART N.

ini. 43. *Amba-no: 'A-k[um]ala deki tora inodi ela'.* 44. *Amba-no: 'Uumbe'.*
this   word-his 1sI-go   first again I   TAG   word-her yes

45. *No-kala, nomo-wula tora no-kala, no-rato-mo   tora A   Titibholo ini.*
    3sR-go   six-month again 3sR-go   3sR-arrive-PF again ART T.   this

46. *No-rato   ini bhe pakea-no   ini-a, tora ini-a,*
    3sR-arrive this with clothes-his this-CL again this-CL

ne-mo-kae-ghoo-no,   o   piri, o   hae, o   nuhua, sabha-sabhara
P.PART-CA-short-IO-her ART plate ART what ART pitcher RED-all.kinds

ne-mo-kae-ghoo-no   itu. 47. *Hende-hende ka-lea   lalo-ndo*
P.PART-CA-short-IO-her that   RED-rise   NOM-painful heart-their

isa-hi-hi-no.
older.sibling-PLUR-PLUR-her.

48. *Tolu-nsuli-ha   no-kala no-hela, no-kawi-ane-mo   anahi anagha,*
    three-return-TEMP 3sR-go 3sR-sail 3sR-marry-her-PF child that

no-kawi-ane-mo   Wa Ndaipitu ini. 49. *Pada   do-kawi, do-kawi   te*
3sR-marry-her-PF ART N.   this   finish 3pR-marry 3pR-marry loc

lambu-do bapa-ndo   maitu, do-kala-mo te lambu-no ina-no.   50.
house-POS father-their that   3pR-go-PF loc house-POS mother-his

Do-kala-mo te lambu-no ina-no-a,   ne-la-late-mo.
3pR-go-PF loc house-POS mother-his-CL 3pR-RED-live-PF

51. *No-toka   kae-late-ha-ndo   A   Titibholo no-hela-mo tora, no-kala-mo*
    3sR-complete NOM-live-LOC-their ART T.   3sR-sail-PF again 3sR-go-PF

tora   we   Dhawa.   52. *No-kala we   Dhawa ini-a, no-suli-mo   tora.* 53.
again   loc Java   3sR-go   loc Java this-CL 3sR-return-PF again

No-ere   maitu pada   no-ghele-ane   nae-kala-kala-a, amba-no: 'Ko
3sR-leave that finish 3sR-forbid-her 3sI-RED-go-CL   word-his DONT

me-kala-kala itu eda'. 54. *Amba-no Ndaipitu amba-no: 'Uumbe'.* 55. *Amba-no:*
IMP-RED-go   that girl   word-POS N.   word-her yes   word-his

'Bhahi to-do-bhasi-ko isa-hi-mu   itu o-k[um]ala-amu
 maybe TA-3pR-call-you older.sibling-PLUR-your that 2sI-go-PLUR

ome-kaue-emu   te   foo   dhangki-a, ko   hunda-a'. 56. *Amba-no: 'Uumbe'.*
2sI-swing-PLUR loc mango dhangki-CL DONT agree-CL   word-her yes

57. *Garaa andoa, so-no-kundo   A   Titibholo do-kala-mo do-bhasi-e.*   58.
    SURPR they   WHEN-3sR-leave ART T.   3pR-go-PF   3pR-call-her

Do-bhasi-e   ko-no-noo-ha-ndo   nagha, do-bhasi-bhasi-e, miina-ho deki
3pR-call-her KO-RED-six-HA-their that   3pR-RED-call-her not.yet first

na-h[um]unda. 59. *Garaa no-kala se-mie-no   nagha no-hunda-mo.* 60.
3sI-agree   SURPR 3sR-go one-person-A.PART that   3sR-agree-PF

Do-kala-mo de-kaue.   61. *De-kaue   ini, no-bue-e-mo*
3pR-go-PF   3pR-swing   3pR-swing this 3sR-sway-her-PF

no-feka-gho-ka-ghosa-hi-e maitu-a, soo-no   nao-ndawu-ghoo welo tehi
3sR-ADV-RED-strong-HI-it   that-CL thought-her 3sI-fall-PURP in   sea

Sampuru watu. 62. *No-ndawu kaawu..., tolu-paku no-bue-a   no-ndawu-mo.*
S.   that   3sR-fall after   three-time 3sR-sway-CL 3sR-fall-PF

63. *Garaa kaasi no-tuampe dua ne wawo-no pimpi.* 64. *No-tuampe ne wawo-no*
    SURPR pity 3sR-stuck also loc top-POS cliff   3sR-stuck loc top-POS

pimpi ini-a, no-ponta-laa-laa-mo   te tumbu-no kabhawo-a. 65. *No-foni-mo,*
cliff this-CL 3sR-PONTA-RED-stalk-PF loc top-POS mountain-CL   3sR-go.up-PF

to-ne-late-late-mo   nagha kaasi, ne-late-mo tora ne kabhawo anagha,
JUST-3sR-RED-live-PF that pity   3sR-live-PF again loc mountain that

ne-inta-intagi A   Titibholo.
3sR-RED-wait   ART T.

66. *No-mpona, no-ko-wula,   fato-fulu-gha ingka ne-late te tumbu-no*
    3sR-long 3sR-HAVE-month four-ten-day ENIM 3sR-live loc top-POS

kabhawo, do-liu-mo   bhai-hi-no   A   Titibholo, do-ghindulu
mountain 3pR-pass-PF friend-PLUR-POS ART T.   3pR-precede

bhai-hi-no.   67. *No-liu   se-ghonu, no-feena; no-liu   se-ghonu, no-feena.*
friend-PLUR-his   3sR-pass one-CLAS 3sR-ask   3sR-pass one-CLAS 3sR-ask

68. *Pasighoono amba-no: 'Hadaeno ihintu-umu itu A   Titibholo'.* 69. *Amba-do...*
    then   word-her maybe   you-PLUR   that ART T.   word-their

do-bhalo   we bhangka: 'Ee, A   Titibholo-a no-mburumai'.   70.
3pR-answer loc boat   INJ ART T.-CL   3sR-follow

No-inta-intagi-e-mo ini-a, ta-ne-ntaa-ntaa-mo.   71. *No-wura*
3sR-RED-wait-him-PF this-CL TA-3sR-RED-wait-PF   3sR-see

mburu-mburumai-no no-feabha-mo, amba-no: 'Ee, hadae-no ihintu-umu itu
RED-follow-A.PART 3sR-greet-PF   word-her INJ   maybe-NO you-PLUR   that

A   Titibholo.' 72. *No-doli-mo A   Titibholo ini, soo-no: 'Ingka anagha*
ART T.   3sR-turn-PF ART T.   this thought-his ENIM   that

ibu-ku.' 73. *No-angka no-ala-e   nagha maka no-tei-e   welo soronga, maka*
wife-my   3sR-go   3sR-take-her that then 3sR-put-her in   box   then

no-suli-ghoo te lambu-do.   74. *No-rato   maitu-a, miina na-[m]eabha A*
3sR-return-IO loc house-their   3sR-arrive that-CL   not 3sI-greet   ART

Titibholo. 75. *Nae-feabha hae pada, miina bhe mie   telo lambu*
T.   3sI-greet   what EMPH not   be   person in   house

ta-isa-hi-hi-no.   76. *No-fo-ampe-hi-mo   bara-no   ini*
JUST-older.sibling-PLUR-PLUR-her   3sR-CAUS-bring.up-PLUR-PF goods-his this

telo lambu, soronga-hi-no, no-angku-hi-da-mo   bara-hi-no   telo lambu.
in   house   box-PLUR-his   3sR-carry-PLUR-them-PF goods-PLUR-his in   house

77. *Andoa do-sumpui-e-mo,   de-ala-hi-ane-mo   oe   ini-a   nae-kadiu*
    they 3pR-come.meet-him-PF 3pR-take-HI-him-PF water this-CL 3sI-bathe

A   Titibholo ini, te wise.
ART T.   this loc front.

78. *Garaa o   manu no-kakurao-mo.* 79. *No-kakurao manu maitu, amba-no:*
    SURPR ART cock 3sR-crow-PF   3sR-crow   cock that   word-his

'Kakurao! Wa Ndaipitu pada-mo do-ghoro-e   isa-hi-hi-no
 crow   ART N.   finish-PF 3pR-throw-her older.sibling-PLUR-PLUR-her

we tehi Sampuru'. 80. *'Ee, ka-raku-ku bhe manu nagha, ingka aini-ha-kanau,'*
loc sea S.   INJ   NOM-hate-my with cock that   ENIM this-HA-me

amba-no isa-hi-hi-no.   81. *Ka-ghohi-ndo.* 82.
word-POS older.sibling-PLUR-PLUR-her   NOM-lie-their

Do-fo-lo-fo-lolu-hi   A   Titibholo soo-ndo.   83. *Aa, miina; o   manu*
3pR-CAUS-RED-stupid-HI ART T.   thought-their   INJ not   ART cock

no-kakurao tora: 'Kakurao, Wa Ndaipitu pada-mo   do-ghoro-e
3sR-crow   again crow   ART N.   finish-PF 3pR-throw-her

isa-hi-hi-no   *we   tehi Sampuru'.* 84. *Tolu-paku   no-kakurao manu*
older.sibling-PLUR-PLUR-her loc sea S.   three-time 3sR-crow   cock

ini-a   no-tiere-mo: 'Kakurao, Wa Ndaipitu pada-mo   do-ghoro-e
this-CL   3sR-stop-PF   crow   ART N.   finish-PF   3pR-throw-her

isa-hi-hi-no   *we   tehi Sampuru'.* 85. *'He,   ka-pipita-no   manu*
older.sibling-PLUR-PLUR loc sea S.   INJ   NOM-nuisance-POS cock

anagha, inodi aini-ha-kanau.'
that   I   this-HA-me

86. *A   Titibholo pada   no-fo-ampe-hi   bara-bara-no maitu telo lambu,*
    ART T.   finish 3sR-CAUS-bring.up-HI RED-goods-his that loc house

no-kala-mo ne-kapihi no-foroghu kameko. 87. *Pada   no-foroghu no-bhala-mo*
3sR-go-PF 3sR-search 3sR-drink palm.wine   finish 3sR-drink 3sR-big-PF

alo,   pada-mo   rambi ompulu, A   Titibholo no-rato-mo.   88.
evening finish-PF blow ten   ART T.   3sR-arrive-PF

No-fo-limba-mo   Wa Ndaipitu dae-gau-hi-ghoo   dua dao-maa-hi   maitu.
3sR-CAUS-come.out-PF ART N.   3pI-cook-PLUR-PURP also 3pI-eat-PLUR that

89. *Do-si-file-filei-ha-mo isa-hi-hi-no   maitu,*
    3pR-SI-RED-flee-HA-PF older.sibling-PLUR-PLUR-her that

ta-do-ki-bhondu-ha-mo-a do-filei-ghoo-mo. 90. *Garaa Wa Ndaipitu miina-ho*
TA-3pR-KI-sound-HA-PF-CL 3pR-flee-IO-PF   SURPR ART N.   not.yet

na-mate-a, soo-ndo   no-mate-mo. 91. *Do-bholosi-mo   lambu-do,*
3sI-die-CL thought-their 3sR-die-PF   3pR-exchange-PF house-their

soo-ndo   soo-mo andoa bara. 92. *Garaa itu miina-ho na-mate.*
thought-their for-PF they goods   SURPR that not.yet 3sI-die

93. *Kotughu daano dua o   kae-mbali ngkodau ini.* 94. *Awatu naando-e watu*
    true   really also ART NOM-become old   this   that be-it   that

kaue-no   we tehi, we foo   dhangki, te Sampuru.
swing-his loc sea   loc mango d.   loc S.

Notes

1.   *anahino* is best considered a false start.
3.   The second *bhe awano* is a seemingly useless repetition.
7.   *ina* 'mother' can also be used to address or refer to a grandmother.
8.   The word *bhela* 'friend' in the mouth of a grandmother to her grandson is
     not common; the expected word is *ghane* 'boy'.
13. The occurrence of *ana moghane* 'boy' is hard to explain at this point. (Is
     the village chief a boy. Was his son present?).
13-16. This is a usual roundabout way of approaching a delicate topic.
23. *fo-hiu-hiu;* few people know this word.

26. *nene* 'grandmother' is an example of the use of Indonesian kinship terms in this story; also *bapa* 'father' and *ibu* 'wife' in sentences 38 and 72.
55. *foo dhangki*; also common: *foo dhanggi*, an unidentified type of mango.
57. *andoa* 'they'. The original version has *anoa* '(s)he', which makes little sense at this point.
61. *nofekagho-kaghosahie*; a deviant reduplication pattern; the expected formation is *nofekaghosa-ghosahie*.
65. *nagha* 'that'; better would be *ne nagha* 'there'.
67. *seghonu* 'one ...'; *bhangka* 'boat' is the implied noun.
89. *bhondu* 'sound of falling coconut'. This word expresses the idea that the sisters jumped through the windows and the door onto the ground instead of climbing down the staircase.

Free translation

1. This child..., Titibholo, his father and mother had died. 2. So he lived with his grandmother. 3. Until he was grown up he lived with his grandmother. 4. Then, when he was grown up, he went sailing. 5. He went to make a living in Java. 6. He made a living in Java and after he had got a lot of money he returned, poor Titibholo. 7. When he arrived he gave his grandmother an order: 'Find me somebody to whom I can propose, mother.' 8. She said: 'Where is there someone you like, boy?' 9. He said: 'At the village chief's of course; he has got seven girls there.' 10. She said: 'Which one do you want to propose to?' 11. He said: 'The eldest, if possible.' 12. (She said...) His (grand)mother went with a bag of money. 13. She went and arrived there; the village chief (the son?) said: 'How far you have strayed, granny!' 14. She answered: 'I have indeed really lost my way.' 15. He said: 'What could it be that you need, granny?' 16. She said: 'Why speak in riddles? Isn't it obvious I have come to propose, to propose for Titibholo?' 17. He said: 'Has he arrived then?' 18. She said: 'Yes, he has arrived.' 19. He said: 'Which one does he like? 20. She said: 'The eldest, if possible.' 21. 'Good grief,' said the eldest, 'why should Titibholo propose to me? Incredible!'

22. 'OK; just choose,' said their father. 'Look here, if the eldest does not want him, maybe one of the others will.' 23. She went past them one by one offering them the bag of money, but all six of them refused Titibholo. 24. She looked down under the house and said: 'Maybe you, girl; I will propose to you.' 25. The youngest child, Wa Ndaipitu said..., she came. 26. She said: 'OK, granny. 27. But then,' she said, 'I must take that bag of money.' 28. 'That's all right, take it. 29. I have come with this bag of money (on purpose).' 30. Then Wa Ndaipitu came up into the house and took the money.

31. When she came home, Titibholo asked: 'Which one wants me? Who is it that wants me?' 32. She said: 'The youngest.' 33. 'Hey,' he said, 'that's amazing.' 34. He said: 'In that case I will now go away again to make some money,' he said, 'because she is not grown up yet.' 35. 'Go ahead,' she said.

36. He went away and when he had been away six months, he returned again, Titibholo. 37. He arrived with various articles of clothing: a dress, earrings, a necklace and sandals. 38. When he arrived, they took them to her father, to the village chief. 39. The old woman, his (grand)mother took them there. 40. But my goodness, her older sisters were very offended. 41. They thought that those goods were actually for them, so they hated Titibholo. 42. After that Titibholo went to ask Wa Ndaipitu's permission to leave. 43. He said: 'I am going off again, all right?' 44. 'Yes,' she said. 45. He went away and after six months' absence he returned again. 46. He arrived with clothes, with this and that, things she was still lacking, plates, what not, pitchers, everything

she was short of. 47. The ill feeling of her elder sisters kept mounting. 48. When he had gone sailing three times, he married her, he married Wa Ndaipitu. 49. When they were married - they married at her father's house - they went to his mother's house. 50. They went to his mother's house and lived there.

51. When their own house was ready, Titibholo sailed off again; he went again to Java. 52. After visiting Java he would return again. 53. Before he left he forbade her to go out. He said: 'Do not go out, girl.' 54. Wa Ndaipitu said: 'All right.' 55. He said: 'If your older sisters invite you to go swinging at the *dhangki* mango, do not go with them.' 56. She said: 'Yes.' 57. But as soon as Titibholo had left, they came to invite her. 58. They called on her, all six of them, they kept on inviting her, but at first she refused. 59. But when one came alone she agreed. 60. They went to swing. 61. While they swung, she (one of the sisters) pushed her as hard as possible, so that she might fall in the Sampuru sea, she thought. 62. When she fell..., Three times she pushed and then she fell (off the swing). 63. But fortunately she got stuck (in a tree) on the cliff. 64. After she got stuck, she moved from tree to tree until she reached the top of the mountain. 65. She went up and lived there, the poor thing; she lived on that mountain, waiting for Titibholo.

66. After a long time, a month had passed and she had lived on the mountain top for forty days, the friends of Titibholo passed (on the sea), his friends preceded him. 67. When one boat passed, she asked; when another passed, she asked. 68. Then she said: 'Maybe you are Titibholo.' 69. They said..., they answered from the boat: 'Hey, Titibholo is coming behind.' 70. She waited again and waited. 71. When she saw the last boat, she called out in greeting: 'Hey, maybe you are Titibholo.' 72. Titibholo turned round, thinking: 'But isn't that my wife?' 73. He went up to her, took her and put her in a box; then he returned home with her. 74. When he arrived, Titibholo did not greet anybody. 75. Who was there to greet? There was nobody in the house, except for the older sisters. 76. He lifted all his goods into the house, his boxes and goods, he carried it all into the house. 77. They came out to meet him, and they served him water so that he could take a bath, Titibholo, in front (of the house).

78. Then a cock crowed. 79. The cock crowed and said: 'Cock-a-doodle-doo, Wa Ndaipitu has been thrown into the Sampuru sea by her older sisters.' 80. 'Hey, how I hate that cock; can't you see that here I am,' said her older sisters. 81. How they lied. 82. They thought they were fooling Titibholo. 83. But no. The cock crowed again: 'Cock-a-doodle-doo, Wa Ndaipitu has been thrown into the Sampuru sea by her sisters.' 84. After he had crowed three times, the cock stopped: 'Cock-a-doodle-doo, Wa Ndaipitu has been thrown into the Sampuru sea by her sisters.' 85. 'Ah, bother that cock, I am right here.'
86. After Titibholo had carried all his goods into the house, he went away to look for (a place) to drink palm wine. 87. When he had drunk, late at night past ten o'clock, he came home. 88. He took Wa Ndaipitu out so that they could cook and have something to eat. 89. Then all the sisters fled together, they jumped down (from the windows), fleeing from Titibholo. 90. For Wa Ndaipitu was not dead as they supposed. 91. They had even changed house, they thought that the goods were now theirs. 92. But she was not dead yet.

93. This is the true story of an old event. 94. And there, far away, there is still that swing, near the *dhangki* mango, by the Sampuru sea.

TEXT 6: KANAANDOHANO OE LAGHUMBO (The origin of the Laghumbo spring)

1. *Bhaa-bhaano [m]ora-no   oe   Laghumbo nea-no   Wa Katogha.* 2. *Wa Katogha*
   RED-first   see-A.PART water L.   name-her ART K.   ART K.

ini o   bhirinanda. 3.*Ne-late   no-moisa ne se-ghonu kaombela.* 4.*Wa Katogha*
this ART widow   3sR-live 3sR-alone loc one-CLAS hut   ART K.

ini no-wora-mo manu-manu o   olo ne-rundu. 5.*Pasighoono aitu no-angka-angka*
this 3sR-see-PF bird   ART olo 3sR-shake   then   that 3sR-RED-go

o   olo maitu, garaa no-wora-e-mo   no-fo-holo   nunsu-no we ka-bhenta-no
ART olo that   SURPR 3sR-see-it-PF 3sR-CAUS-enter beak-its loc NOM-break-POS

kontu. 6. *Pasino Wa Katogha ini no-fo-tinda-tinda-e-mo   mata-no, garaa*
stone   then   ART K.   this 3sR-CAUS-RED-clear-it-PF eye-her SURPR

welo loso-no kontu maitu no-pono-ghoo oe.   7. *Wa Katogha ka-baru-no*
in   hole-POS stone that 3sR-full-IO water   ART K.   NOM-happy-her

no-wora oe   maitu, kansuru no-suli-ki   kele-no   ne kaombela-no.
3sR-see water that   at.once 3sR-return-TR bamboo.vessel loc hut-her

8. *Se-gho-se-gholeo peda amaitu kansuru   ampa se-tanda gholeo*
   RED-one-day   like that   continually until one-CLAS dry.season

9. *Dadi mie   welo liwu   do-duku-dukui-e-mo   Wa Katogha ini ne hamai*
   so   person in   village 3pR-RED-suspect-her-PF ART K.   this loc where

ne-ala   oe.   10. *Na-ko-kalei-a   miina, na-ko-patu-a   miina,*
3sR-take water   3sI-HAVE-banana-CL not   3sI-HAVE-bamboo-CL not

na-k[um]ala dua we Arobhai miina. 11. *Pasino do-ka-gho-ka-ghondo-e-mo*
3sI-go   also loc A.   not   then   3pR-RED-KA-look-her-PF

Wa Katogha ini, do-wora-e-mo   no-sangke kele-no   maka no-ghulu   we
ART K.   this 3pR-see-her-PF 3sR-lift vessel-her then 3sR-go.toward loc

ka-kabha-kabhawo. 12. *Garaa do-lowe-lowea mie   welo liwu   ini-a   no-tondu*
DIM-RED-mountain   SURPR 3pR-RED-spy person loc village this-CL 3sR-sink

kele-no   welo loso-no kontu. 13. *Do-pande-ha-ane kaawu welo*
bamboo.vessel-her in   hole-POS stone   3pR-know-INT-it after loc

liwu   Wa Katogha   ini   ne-wora   oe   welo   loso-no   kontu,
village ART K.   this   3sR-see   water in   hole-POS stone

do-ka-ghonu-kafaka-ane   kamokula-hi-no liwu   da-bhenta-e ne aa-no
3pR-NOM-present-discuss-it elder-PLUR-POS village 3pI-hole-it loc slope-POS

kabhawo no-muda-ghoo dae-ala-ane oe   ko-si-liwu-ha-e
mountain 3sR-easy-PURP 3pI-take-it water KO-one-village-HA-it.

14. *Pada   aitu garaa welo liwu   naando se-mie   ni-angka   nea-no*
    finish that SURPR in   village be   one-person P.PART-appoint name-his

Imamu Bhala Taghi, maka no-ko-kaembali   dua. 15. *Pasino Imamu Bhala Taghi*
I.   B.   T.   then 3sR-HAVE-miracle also   then   I.   B.   T.

no-bhenta-e-mo we aa-no   kabhawo. 16. *Karampaha-no   do-bhenta-e oe*
3sR-hole-it-PF loc slope-POS mountain   instrument-his 3pR-hole-it water

anagha o gansa   bhe polulu-no. 17. *No-pooli-e dua Imamu Bhala Taghi*
that   ART pick.axe with axe-his   3sR-able-it also I.   B.   T.

no-bhenta-e, garaa no-mawa   oe   maitu no-mai-ghoo te kabhawa
3sR-hole-it SURPR 3sR-flood water that 3sR-come-IO loc mountain

no-pata-ngi-e   liwu. 18. *Maka buea-no   no-ghumbo no-mai-ghoo we*
3sR-enough-TR-it village   then crocodile-its 3sR-many 3sR-come-IO loc

lalo   no-ghulu   te ka-me-ntalea. 19. *No-rato   te ka-me-ntalea garaa*
inside 3sR-go.toward loc NOM-CA-light   3sR-arrive loc NOM-CA-light SURPR

peda-mo hale buea.   20. *Imamu Bhala Taghi bhe mie   welo liwu*
like-PF floor crocodile   I.   B.   T.   with person in   village

do-sakara-mo   da-afa-ane   oe   bhe buea   limba-limba-ha-no
3pR-worried-PF 3pI-do.what-it water with crocodile RED-go.out-HA-its

na-[m]o-fono liwu.
3sI-CAUS-full village.

21. *Garaa naando-mo se-mie   dua kamokula welo liwu   no-pogau ne kantawu*
    SURPR be-PF   one-person also elder   in   village 3sR-speak loc heap

bhari: 'Da-k[um]a-ghonu-kafaka-ghoo-mo da-s[um]umbele Wa Katogha, bhahi
many   1pI-NOM-present-discuss-IO-PF   1pI-slaughter ART K.   maybe

kaawu na-ti-taha   oe   maitu no-limba. 22. *Rampano so*
only   3sI-ACC-stop water that   3sR-go.out   reason FUT

ka-ti-sumbele-ha-no   Wa Katogha maitu bhaa-bhaano [m]ora-no   oe
NOM-ACC-slaughter-REAS-POS ART K.   that RED-first   see-A.PART water

maitu'. 23. *Garaa do-mai-hi-da-mo   dua ka-bhela-no   lalo o   mie*
that   SURPR 3pR-come-TR-them-PF also NOM-wounded-POS heart ART person

da-s[um]umbele-e kaasi, sabhabu-no ane pa   anoa pa   da-gh[um]awa-e
3pI-slaughter-her pity   reason-its if FUT.not she FUT.not 3pI-get-it

o   oe   maitu. 24. *Pasino o Imamu Bhala Taghi ini bhe kamokula-hi*
ART water that   then   ART I.   B.   T.   this with elder-PLUR

welo liwu   do-ka-ghonu-kafaka-ane-mo   da-s[um]umbele membe so
in   village 3pR-NOM-present-discuss-it-PF 3pI-slaughter goat for

ka-bhonsuliki Wa Katogha ini. 25. *De-wora kaawu membe do-sumbele-e-mo*.
NOM-replace   ART K.   this   3pR-see after goat 3pR-slaughter-it-PF

26. *O   membe ini no-sumbele-e   Imamu Bhala Taghi, maka do-tei-e   ne*
    ART goat   this 3sR-slaughter-it I.   B.   T.   then 3pR-put-it loc

wubha-no oe   anagha. 27. *O   membe nagha no-po-owa   oe   no-kala*
mouth-POS water that   ART goat   that 3sR-PO-bring water 3sR-go

no-ghulu   we lalo; ampa rato-ha-no   ka-ko-ngaa-ha-no   membe
3sR-go.toward loc inside until arrive-LOC-POS NOM-HAVE-sound-LOC-POS goat

ka-fetumpu-ha-no dua o   oe.   28. Ka-ti-kona-ha-no   Laghumbo rampano
NOM-stop-LOC-POS also ART water   NOM-ACC-call-REAS-its L.   because

no-limba   o oe   bhe buea   no-ghumbo. 29. *Ka-kodoho-no oe   anagha*
3sR-go.out ART water with crocodile 3sR-many   NOM-far-POS water that

no-kala sampe moghono ra-fulu mitere ka-kodoho-no.
3sR-go until hundred two-ten meter NOM-far-its

Notes

6.   The original has *nofotinda-tindaemo* 'look closely at'; others suggested
     nofoti-fotindaemo as a better alternative.
8.   *Ampa* usually means 'until', but here it denotes a stretch of time: 'as
     long as' (see 6.2.3).
10. Banana trees and certain bamboo trees are used for drawing 'water' in the
     dry season.
10   Arobhai is the name of a spring.
18. *noghumbo* is an unusual word for 'many', derived from *ghumbo* 'smoke'.
20. *na-[m]o-fono*; irregular irrealis causative from *pono* 'full'; the expected
     form is *na-[m]o-pono*.
20. *daafaane* 'what can we/they do about it'; more common variant *damafaane*.
27. Apparently the direction of the current is reversed at this point, since
     the goat is carried inside the mountain.

Free translation

1. The person who first saw the Laghumbo spring was Wa Katogha ('The crow'). 2.
Wa Katogha was a widow, 3. who lived on her own in a hut. 4. Wa Katogha saw an
olo bird shaking water from its feathers. 5. She followed this bird and saw
that he put his bill in a hole among the stones. 6. She looked closely at it,
and what a surprise, this hole was full of water. 7. Wa Katogha was very happy
that she had discovered this spring, and right away sh   e went home to get
her bamboo container.
   8. This went on every day for the whole dry season. 9. The people in the
village naturally wondered where Wa Katogha got her water. 10. She did not have
any banana trees, nor did she have bamboo trees, and neither did she go to
Arobhai. 11. Then they were on the look-out for her and saw that she took her
bamboo container and went towards the hills. 12. The people in the village
spied on her while she put her container in the hole among the stones. 13. When
they knew that Wa Katogha had found a spring in a hole among the stones, the

village elders held a meeting and decided that they would make a hole in the side of the mountain so that it would be easier for the whole village to get water from it.

14. Now there was in this village a leader whose name was Imamu Bhala Taghi ('The priest with the big belly'); an exceptional man. 15. This Imamu Bhala Taghi made the hole in the side of the mountain. 16. He worked with a pick-axe and a normal axe. 17. Imamu Bhala Taghi managed to make a hole, but surprise! the water flowed from inside the hill flooding the whole village. 18. And with it came a multitude of crocodiles; they came from inside the mountain and moved outside. 19. When they came outside it looked like a floor of crocodiles. 20. Imamu Bhala Taghi and the people of the village were at their wit's end wondering what they could do about the water and the crocodiles that kept coming out of the mountain, filling up the whole village.

21. Then one of the village elders spoke to those present: 'Let's hold a meeting and decide to kill Wa Katogha, so that possibly the water may be stopped. 22. The reason why Wa Katogha should be killed is because it is she who first discovered this spring.' 23. But the people were filled with pity (at the idea) that the poor Wa Katogha would be killed, since if it were not for her, they would never have got the water. 24. Then Imamu Bhala Taghi and the village elders held a meeting and decided to kill a goat as a substitute for Wa Katogha. 25. The first goat that came in sight they slaughtered. 26. The goat was slaughtered by Imamu Bhala Taghi, and then put at the mouth of the stream. 27. The goat was carried with the stream inside the mountain, and at the point where the goat stopped bleating, the water also stopped. 28. The reason it is called Laghumbo (multitude) is because a multitude of crocodiles came out with the water. 29. The water reaches as far as a hundred and twenty metres (inside the mountain).

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