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*Thesis' includes 'treatise', dissertation' and other similar productions.

**A GRAMMAR
OF NIAS SELATAN**

Lea Brown

A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

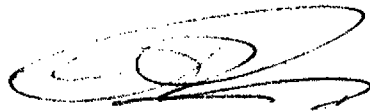
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Except where otherwise acknowledged, this thesis represents the original research of
the author

Lea Brown
(Pamela Leanne Brown)

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Lea Brown', with a stylized flourish at the end.

University of Sydney

2001

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A funny thing happened on my way from doing my B.A. at Melbourne Uni to the rest of my life: I went to a seminar given by Bill Foley in which he described some of his adventures during field work in PNG. It sounded ... well ... tantalizing. And that seminar was directly responsible for my doing this thesis. Now, while I haven't followed in Bill's footsteps exactly, I've had a few adventures myself. So for the adventures, the memories, the other life, that this thesis has brought me, I want to thank Bill Foley. Bill has also been my supervisor, and I want to thank him, warmly and effusively, for his comments and discussions about my work throughout the writing period, as well as for his patience, his faith in me, his friendship and his support over the time it has taken to complete this work.

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ABBREVIATIONS

APP	affix with applicative function
CAU	affix with causative function
CFT	counterfactual marker <i>mea</i>
CLF	classifier
COLL	collective prefix, referring to a group or member of a group
COMP	complementizer <i>va</i> (~ <i>βa</i>)
D.PTCL	discourse particle
DAT	dative preposition <i>khö</i>
DIST	distal demonstrative
DO	dynamic verb-forming prefix <i>fa-</i>
DYN	dynamic verb-forming prefix <i>m(aN)-</i>
EMPH	emphatic
EXIST	existential verb <i>so</i>
HAVE	verb forming prefix meaning 'have N'
HORT	hortative particle, <i>da</i>
INTNS	intensifier <i>sibai</i>
IPF	imperfective affix
IRR	irrealis mode
JNT	joint action prefix <i>mo-</i>
LK	linker
LOC	locative preposition <i>ba</i>
MUT	mutated nominal
NEG	negator <i>löna</i>
NEG(N)	constituent negator (i.e. non-verbal constituents)
NEG.CFT	negative counterfactual <i>böi</i> 'lest'
NEG.EXIST	negative existential verb <i>löna</i>
NEG.IMPER	negative imperative marker <i>böi</i> (~ <i>böli</i>)
NR	nominalizer
p	plural
pe	plural exclusive
PERF	perfect particle <i>ma=</i>
pi	plural inclusive
PROX	proximate demonstrative

Q	question particle <i>ha, hai</i>
Q.tag	question tag particle <i>a</i>
RDP1	initial syllable reduplication
RDP2	disyllabic reduplication
RECOG	recognitional deictic
REL	relative clause marker <i>si=</i> (~ <i>s=</i>)
RES	resultative prefix <i>te- / to-</i>
RLS	realis mode
s	singular
ST	stative
TR	transitivizing suffix

Letters which occur in brackets after some examples indicate that these examples are written ones. The letters refer to the source documents:

D	refers to the Nias-Indonesian dictionary, Laiya 1985
H	refers to collections of texts, Hämmerle. 1986, 1990
Z-L	refers to the Master's dissertation by Zagötö-Laiya 1975

Volume 1
Chapters 1 - 5

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Nias is the name of the language spoken by people of the island of Nias and of the group of islands called the Batu Islands south of Nias. Nias lies about 100 kilometres west of Northern Sumatra at about 1° north of the equator. These islands are part of the larger chain of islands which stretches along the west coast of Sumatra, known as the Barrier Islands. The other large islands in the Barrier chain are Simeuluë to the north of Nias, and the Mentawai islands (Siberut, Sipora and the Pagai Islands) and Enggano to the south.

The precise linguistic affiliations of Nias are still a matter of debate. Nias is classified by Ethnologue (1992) as a Sundic language of the North Sumatran subgroup of the Western Malayo-Polynesian group of Austronesian languages. 'Sundic', however, is merely a convenient geographical grouping for languages whose linguistic affiliations are not known (Tryon 1995:21). Recent research by Nothofer (1986) has shown that the languages of the Barrier Islands and the Batak languages of Northern Sumatra share a number of phonetic, semantic and lexical innovations, which he claims provide evidence for a single genetic group. In later research Nothofer hypothesizes that in very early times the Barrier Islands used to form a 'Paleo-Hesperonesian' linguistic area with the Philippines, Sulawesi, Borneo, Java-Bali-Lombok, western Sumbawa and Sumatra (1994). He suggests that this area was at some later time occupied by another migration of Western Austronesian speakers, whose languages overlaid or supplanted the earlier one in most places, with the exception of the Barrier Islands, which consequently retain relics of the earlier Paleo-Hesperonesian language.

With respect to the languages geographically near Nias, it is clear that the language of Sichule, spoken on the island of Simeuluë to the north, is closely related to Nias (see Kähler, 1955, 1963), but that Simeuluë (also known as Simalur), the other

Western Malayo-Polynesian language spoken on the same island, is not (Kähler 1963). The Mentawai language to the south is claimed by Nothofer (1986) to be closely related to Nias, based on a comparison of word lists from these islands. However, no systematic comparison of the grammars of the two languages has yet been done to suggest how close this relationship is. Enggano, the language spoken on Enggano Island, about 400 km to the south of the other islands, was once considered to be a linguistic isolate (Capell 1982), but is now thought to be western Austronesian although still difficult to subgroup (Nothofer 1986,1994; see also Schmidt's comment in the introduction to Kähler 1987:III). Nias also shows lexical, morphological and syntactic similarities with both Toba and Karo, the two Batak dialects geographically closest to Nias on the Sumatran mainland, but further analysis would be required to assess how closely related these languages are.

1.2 Contact history

The Barrier Islands have been known to traders from the Persian Gulf since at least 851 AD, when the trader Suleiman described the island of Sumatra and made reference to the islands to its west, noting the largest to be one called 'Niyān' (Ferrand 1913-1914:36). Contact with Chinese traders is also recorded from before 1433 (Mills, Appendix 1 of Ma Huan 1970: 238-239, 281-282), but it was not until the 16th century that there is any record of contact with sailors from Europe (Marsden, 1811:9ff.). However, by 1669 Dutch officials had concluded agreements with a number of Nias chiefs from various parts of the island for use of land, presumably for cultivation of crops for export (Schröder 1917: 309ff). By 1756, the British had taken over Dutch interests in the island and set up a small trading post at Gunungsitoli, a harbour town in the northeast of the island which became the government and business centre of the island (Schröder 1917: 708). At that time a devastating slave trade was being carried on between some Nias chiefs and the Acehnese and Chinese in exchange for gold, and since the northern districts around Gunungsitoli considered themselves to be under the protection of the British East India Company they made regular appeals

to the Resident in Nattal in Sumatra (one of the establishments of the British East India Company) for help to stop this trade. In 1820 Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, an agent in the British East India Company based in Fort Marlborough in Sumatra, sent agents to explore the island and gather information about its resources. This trip resulted in a British settlement being established at Teluk Dalam in the south (Raffles 1830:487-489). His agents reported that, concerning the slave trade, as many as fifteen hundred slaves were being captured each year by Nias chiefs for the purposes of buying gold from the Acehnese and Chinese. Although Raffles made valiant attempts to stop the trade, he did not succeed, and Nias people claim that slave-trading continued until at least the end of the nineteenth century. In 1825 Britain was required to hand over its interests in Nias (and all of Sumatra) to the Dutch by treaty and Nias remained under Dutch control until World War II, when the Japanese occupied the island.

From about the middle of the 19th century Dutch officials of the East India Company in Nias requested that missionaries be sent to convert the populace. With the arrival of greater numbers of government officials as well as missionaries, interest in Nias and surrounding islands flourished and many articles of an anthropological nature were published in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Several missionaries also involved themselves in the language of Nias—notably the Dutch missionary E. W. Thomas, who published the first dictionary (in 1887) in association with J. W. Taylor Weber, a Dutch government official, and the German missionaries Heinrich Sundermann (who lived for nearly 40 years in the island), H. Lagermann, who collaborated with Sundermann in his major grammatical work (1913), and E. E. Fries.

1.3 Nias: the place, the people

Nias Island is approximately 4000 sq. km. in area, about 125 km. in length, and about 45 km. wide. The population of Nias and the Batu Islands was estimated at 628,489 in 1994 (Kabupaten Nias, 1996:45). The island is extremely hilly in most areas and densely forested. Wherever land is available for cultivation, it is covered with plantations of coconut or banana trees, or fields of sweet potatoes, tapioca and rice. As

mentioned above, there is only one substantial town in Nias, Gunungsitoli, which lies on a harbour on the north-east coast and is still the centre for government and business. About 30,000 people (about 5% of the population), made up of people from all areas of Nias, live in Gunungsitoli. Apart from these people and those who live in Teluk Dalam, a small harbour and market town in the south, most of the people of Nias are villagers, living agricultural lives. Around 90-95% of the population are Christian; the remainder constitute small groups of Nias people who have converted to Islam or who retain animist beliefs, and a few Chinese (Lase ms. 1988).

Until the beginning of the 20th century, all Nias people held animist beliefs and worshipped their ancestors. Carved wooden statues of deceased family members used to be placed on shelves in houses and were believed to hold the souls of these ancestors, and were regarded as having supernatural powers. Man-size megalithic sculptures of the original ancestors of Nias people are also found everywhere in Nias, and every village contains huge stone seats which are erected for the ancestors of village leaders to sit on when councils of law, or certain feasts, are held. In each village one of these stone seats is said to have the power to bring death to any person who sits on it. It is of interest to note, with respect to these stone figures and seats, that Nias is the only megalithic culture in Sumatra (Heine-Geldern 1972[1935], Mulia 1981). The uniqueness of this aspect of Nias culture is intriguing in light of the fact that the origins of the Nias people is still unknown. People still believe in supernatural powers in Nias today and some still fear the wrath of ancestors, but in general nowadays most Nias people also acknowledge the Christian God as omniscient and omnipotent.

Daily life in most villages remains much the same as it has been for centuries, or even millenia. For women it involves cooking, cleaning, washing, collecting food, tending the garden or rice fields and feeding the pigs. For men it involves hunting or fishing, or tending to coconut trees, fixing and making various tools or household items. The staple diet of most people is rice, although sweet potatoes and tapioca are more common in many parts of the (poorer) interior. Rice has become part of the staple diet only in the last few centuries, and before that sweet potatoes were the staple

food everywhere in Nias. Pigs used to be the most important measure of wealth and status in all areas of Nias until disease wiped out the entire pig population in 1997. Pigs were used for buying brides or for holding feasts in order to raise prestige. Now money or gold is substituted. Another indication of wealth and status, particularly in the south, is the number of coconut trees a person owns. Fishing is extremely important to all coastal villages, and fish (fresh or dried) is part of the diet of most people. Interestingly, however, Nias people are not sea-farers—there is no culture of sailing or boat-building, nor are there any myths relating to travels outside Nias as far as I am aware. Interesting also in the light of this is that despite this apparent lack of seafaring history, boats play a prominent role in the death of important people, for whom coffins are made in the shape of large canoes with brightly painted dragon heads on their bows.

Traditional houses in Nias are all built with the same basic functional design: there is always one large room in the front for daily life, for entertaining guests and is the place where the family sleeps at night, and one small room in the back where meals are taken and where newlyweds sleep, which is separated from the front room by a kitchen/hearth area, and in some houses, a privy. Along the inside wall of the front room in every house runs a bench where people can sit and look out of open louvred windows which stretch along the front of the house, and talk to people outside. Roofs are made with sago branches, and each roof has a flap above the front room which can be opened for circulation of air. Houses are built on stilts so that pigs and other animals can be kept beneath them. Despite a similarity in basic design, both houses and villages in the north and south are quite different in appearance. In the north, houses are oval-shaped ; in the south houses they are rectangular. In the north, villages consist of a groups of houses scattered over a very wide area; in the south houses are conjoined in two long parallel rows of houses, facing each other across a paved area about 50 metres wide. Doors between houses allow access from one end of a row to the other, originally so that there was a corridor along which people were able to run in times of attack. The house of the village leader is often built on an imposing scale at

one end of the two rows of houses or in the centre of one of them, overlooking the entire village. In the centre of Nias, houses are rectangular but are not always joined as they are in the south.

Villages in the south are often very large compared with the rest of Nias, with sometimes up to two thousand or more inhabitants. Each village is an autonomous entity with its own laws, and this, coupled with the sense of solidarity which was expected to be engendered by village leaders, has been responsible for considerable dialectal variation in the south. Until the middle of the twentieth century, the laws of a village were decided by a governing body consisting of the head of the village and his advisors. Some laws relating to marriage, injury or theft continued as they had been from time immemorial, but other laws or rules were devised specifically for a village, and sometimes according to the mere whim of a village leader. These could be as idiosyncratic as not being allowed to eat the fruit of the village leader's trees, or not asking a question of a nobleman. Penalties for transgression could range from fines, which were often so great that the family of the transgressor could be indebted to the family of the transgressed for generations and may even have had to offer themselves as slaves to acquit their debt, to death. Stories of village leaders who became rich through fining their subjects are still talked about with disgust today. Village law was absolute, but more importantly it was unwritten and therefore unknown to outsiders. An outsider would not dare to enter a village in which they did not have relatives for fear of transgressing a law of which they were unaware. It is because of these idiosyncratic, village-specific laws that intervillage communication was uncommon in the south of Nias, except for visits by village leaders and pre-arranged inter-village celebrations.

A village leader (*si'ulu*) used to be elected from the people. This position was hereditary but could be challenged and changed through warfare. The *si'ulu* selected a council of up to ten advisors (*si'ila*, lit. 'one who knows sth.')

from amongst the villagers, and usually from his own extended family, who could advise him of the goings-on in families, of marriage alliances, pregnancies, sicknesses, and in particular,

any sudden wealth. Every village also had one knowledgeable and powerful person (*ere*) whose position was also hereditary, who was the conduit for messages from gods and ancestors, who analysed dreams, divined causes of death and treated illnesses. Today, the government of Indonesia and local government officials have supreme power in all villages, police administer justice and it is the Christian Church which guides the people in their spiritual lives.

1.4 Dialects of Nias

There are three major speech varieties in Nias, a northern, a central and a southern variety. The variety spoken in the north has the largest number of speakers, the one spoken in the south, which includes the Batu Islands, has the fewest. Most of the linguistic studies of Nias which have been done so far have concentrated on the northern variety. In fact, as mentioned above, the south of Nias contains much dialectal variation, although the variations appear to be confined to lexical differences and differences in pronunciation and intonation. Lexical and pronunciation differences between northern and southern varieties are more marked, and grammatical differences are also evident, although not to an extent which make understanding impossible (see below for examples of differences between these two varieties). The central variety of Nias has not been studied to any extent linguistically, although from the texts which are available, differences between it and the other two appear to be mainly lexical. Based on wordlists of 200 lexical items collected by German missionaries in six areas of Nias, Nothofer (1986:95) establishes the cognate percentage between dialects in Nias at about 80%. Apart from these six wordlists and two collected for a Dutch Government survey of the languages of Indonesia around the end of the nineteenth century (the Holle lists of 1904 and 1911 published as Stokhof 1980a, 1980b), there have been no systematic dialect surveys in Nias.

The northern dialect has become the main (and prestige) variety in Nias. The reason is possibly very simple: Gunungsitoli, the capital of Nias, was the place where foreigners alighted from ships and where business and government offices were

established. There were no roads in Nias until very recently and it was not easy to travel to much of the rest of the island. Consequently, the inhabitants of the area around the capital, Gunungsitoli, were the first to be studied extensively by those interested in anthropology and sociology; the dialect spoken in that area was the first to have a dictionary compiled of it (Thomas and Taylor Weber 1887) and the one of which a grammar was written (Sundermann 1913). Most importantly it was the one into which the Bible was translated (Sundermann 1911, 1921). With the spread of Christianity in the island, often the Bible (specifically the New Testament), was the only book kept in a village house, and it was, and still is, frequently read by older people. The northern dialect is therefore the only dialect which can be read by literate Nias people, including the people in the south for whom many lexical items and some grammatical constructions they would find in the Bible would not be native. The attention which has been given to the northern dialect attributes to it a sense of specialness which Nias people view as not belonging to the other varieties.

The dialect described in this thesis is a southern variety, specifically from the village of Botohilitanö in the southwest tip of the island. I have used the term 'Nias Selatan' (which means 'south Nias' in Indonesian) to refer to the language I describe, but Nias people in the south themselves refer to the way they say things according to the village from which they come (e.g. *li Mbotohilitanö* 'language / speech / voice of Botohilitanö'). When speaking in Indonesian people refer to speech of a particular area by a more general place name, such as *Bahasa Teluk Dalam* ('the language of Teluk Dalam') for the speech of many districts around the southern market town, or *Bahasa Batu* if referring specifically to the speech of people from the Batu Islands. In this thesis I use the name 'Nias' when I discuss a feature which I believe occurs in all dialects even if the form has variant pronunciations, but where I am aware of important dialectal differences, I specify the dialect as Nias Selatan or Nias Utara (i.e. 'north Nias' in Indonesian).

1.4.1 Dialectal differences

As mentioned above, the main differences between the dialects is lexical. Just to give an example, some of these differences are listed below. They include a number of basic nouns and verbs and core grammatical items such as demonstratives and aspect markers:

	Nias Selatan	Nias Utara	Meaning
nouns	sekhula	banio	'coconut'
	ifö	ngingi	'tooth'
	fiso	talinga	'ear'
	bale	osali	'meeting/council house'
verbs	oturagö	ombakha'ö	'tell'
	moroi	i-otarai	'come from'
	sindro	zizio	'stand'
	inu	badu	'drink'
aspect	ma	no	'perfect aspect'
	aßai	moa	'finished, ready'
demonstratives	ha'a	da'a	'this'
	hö'ö	da'ö	'that'
	ande	andö	'that'
adverbs	maná ¹	iada'e	'now'
	ga	ba da'a	'here'
	gane	ba da'ö	'there'
question words	hanata / hata	ha niha /hata	'who'
	haiya	hadia	'what'
	haega 'where' ²	heza 'where to/from'; hezo 'where at'	
subordinators	mea	ena'ö	'so that'
	gasagasa	fatua	'while'

¹ I have used a grave accent here to indicate lexical stress (on the final syllable) to distinguish this lexical item from the verb *mana* 'eat' which takes canonical word stress, which is penultimate. See 2.8 for other items in which stress is lexical and falls on the final syllable.

² The difference between 'to/from' and 'at' is not made explicit in Nias Selatan but is understood from other lexical items in an utterance, e.g. *haega gö-möi* 'where are you going?' [where 2sg.IRR-go]; *haega moroi ndaugö* 'where have you come from?' [where come.from 2sg.ABS]; *haega toroi ndaugö* 'where are you staying?' [where live/stay 2sg.ABS].

There are two significant differences in pronunciation between northern and southern varieties which are comment-worthy. The first, and most important one, involves the presence versus absence of a velar nasal in the dialects: the phonemic inventory of northern and central dialects has a velar nasal, that of the southern dialects does not. It is this pronunciation difference which has been used by most writers on Nias, as well as by Nias people themselves, to distinguish the southern dialect from the rest. Where northern and central dialects have /ŋ/, southern dialects use /n/, e.g. northern and central speakers say *tenga* for 'No, not x' while southerners say *tena* or *te'ana*; north and central *nganga* 'chew betel' is pronounced *nana* in the south.

The second difference involves the presence or absence of an alveopalatal affricate in the consonant inventory: southerners have this sound, northerners do not (and apparently some central varieties also have this sound). Words beginning with /t/ or /s/ in the north have corresponding forms pronounced with the affricate [tʃ] in the south, e.g. *tibo* 'throw away' in the north is *cibo* ([tʃibo]) in the south, *söfösöfö* 'grass used for ointment for pimples' is *cöföcöfö* ([tʃvftʃvftʃv]) in the south. The grapheme 'z' represents a sound which is pronounced as an alveolar affricate, [dz], in the north, but an alveopalatal affricate, [dʒ], in the south.

The morphosyntactic differences between north and south Nias overall are not great. There are, however, two significant ways in which they differ. The first is that the southern variety exhibits a morphologically distinct irrealis mode and future tense which is not present in the northern variety. Irrealis mode and future notions are expressed in the south by a special set of prefixes on the verb, in association with distinct forms of the verb. In the north, irrealis and future meanings are expressed by adverbs or by using different verbs. A sentence in Nias Selatan (south Nias) such as *gu-m-ohe*, [1s.IRR-IPF-carry] 'I will/might bring (it)', which consists of a verb in imperfective mode (*m-ohe*) with an irrealis pronominal prefix, *gu-*, must be rendered in the north as *u-ohe dania* [1s-bring later], consisting of a simple realis form of the verb (*ohe*) and a realis prefix, *u-*, followed by the adverb *dania* 'later'. The sentence *gu-möi ba fasa* [1s.IRR-go LOC market] which means 'I want to / might / will go to market' in

Nias Selatan, must be rendered as *möi-do ba fasa dania* [go-1sg.ABS to market later], lit. 'I am going to market later', in Nias Utara.

The second morphosyntactic difference involves a set of pronominal suffixes which are present in the northern variety but absent in the south. In the northern dialect first and second person singular and first person exclusive plural absolutive³ arguments may be expressed by suffixes on the verb, while in the south these forms can only be expressed by independent pronouns. Examples of these are given in (1)-(3). The suffixed pronouns of the northern variety and the full forms corresponding to them in the south are given in bold:

- | | Nias Utara | | Nias Selatan | |
|-----|------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|
| (1) | Ata'u- do | v-ofanö. | Ata'u | ndrao v-ofanö. |
| | be.afraid-1s.ABS | NR-leave | be.afraid 1s.ABS | NR-leave |
| | 'I'm frightened of leaving.' | | | |
| (2) | Hanawa lö | möi-' ö ? | Hava löna | möi ndaugö ? |
| | why | NEG go-2s.ABS | why | NEG go 2s.ABS |
| | 'Why didn't you go?' | | | |
| (3) | No | so-ga. | baomo | Ma= so ndraga baomo. |
| | PERF | EXIST-1pe.ABS | at.home | PERF=EXIST 1pe.ABS at.home |
| | 'We were at home.' | | | |

The pronouns of the southern dialect are completely independent of the verb and can be separated from it by adverbials. For example, the locative form *baomo* 'at home' in (3) above can occur between the verb and the pronoun, e.g. *ma so baomo ndraga* 'we were at home'. In the northern dialect nothing can intervene between the verb and the suffix.

³ I use the term 'absolutive' to indicate that the single argument of an intransitive verb and the more patientive argument of a transitive verb are marked in the same way, and differently from the agentive argument of the transitive verb.

1.5 The role of Indonesian in community life

Nias is still a strong language in all areas of the island. It is the language spoken at home, in the market, in village churches, and at all social gatherings unless there are foreigners present. Indonesian, however, is the language of power, of education and bureaucracy, and it is often used by more educated parents to their children in the hope that it will increase their chances of doing well at school. Almost every village has a primary school, and attendance of all children is mandatory. Since all schools in Indonesia teach classes only in Indonesian, the learning of Indonesian is inevitable. The Nias language is not taught as part of the curriculum. However, until very recently, in many villages in the south and centre and the more remote parts of the north, many children did not attend school regularly because their services were required in the fields and at home. It has also been common so far for children not to attend school beyond primary level. Many adults in these areas today are not literate in Indonesian and may not even have good oral competence, and are almost certainly illiterate in Nias as well. There are very few outsiders who bother to learn Nias, and those who do so are usually connected with the Church.

1.6 Previous linguistic studies

As mentioned above, the first dictionary of Nias, with corresponding words given in Malay and Dutch, was compiled by J. W. Thomas and E. A. Taylor Weber and published in 1887. Apart from this work and the collections of words which were made for the Dutch Government survey of Indonesian languages in 1904 and 1911 mentioned above, the main study of the Nias language up until 1913 was conducted by just one scholar, the German missionary Heinrich Sundermann. His first linguistic publication in 1883 was a brief sketch of some of the morphology of Nias and his last, in 1913, was a comprehensive grammar. In the intervening period he published a German-Nias dictionary (1892a), a Nias-German dictionary (1905a) and a translation of both Old and New Testaments (1911). In addition to these major works, he

published collections of texts with translations or glossaries and brief grammatical sketches (1892b, 1905b), collections of stories (1886, 1887a, 1891b, 1892c, 1918/1990), and several anthropologically-oriented articles (1884, 1887b, 1888, 1889, 1891, 1898).

Sundermann's Nias-German dictionary is much more comprehensive than Thomas and Taylor Weber's, although it lacks some of the useful collocations which the latter dictionary contains. Sundermann's grammar of 1913 is based on the northern dialect but also incorporates comments from the missionaries H. Lagemann and W. Frickenschmidt on the southern dialect. Sundermann's grammar presents most of the data in forms of paradigms, lists and phrasal examples and unfortunately gives very few examples in sentence form. However, a learner's grammar, prepared by the missionary E. E. Fries (1915), which is based on Sundermann's grammar makes up for this by providing many examples in sentence form. This work, which resembles a Latin primer, is a very accessible grammar for the learner, containing a vocabulary with each lesson, paradigms of grammatical forms, rules and translation exercises.

The most important work to be published on Nias since Sundermann's work is a series of three articles by Hans Kähler (1936-7) which examine the phonology and morphology of Nias in the light of then newly available Proto-Austronesian reconstructions by Dempwolff (1934). Kähler's access to Dempwolff's reconstructions gave him insights into the diachronic development of Nias which previous scholars could not have had, which offered historical solutions to many puzzles which had taxed Sundermann and Fries. For example Kähler suggests the probable origin of the most interesting aspect of Nias grammar—changes in the initial segments of nouns which mark grammatical relations ('nominal mutation', see Chapter 7 for full discussion)—proposing that mutation of genitive forms of nouns derives from PAN genitive marker **ni*, (p.126)⁴, and that mutations in other contexts derived from PAN

⁴ Kähler of course referred to 'UAN', not 'PAN', Dempwolff's abbreviation of Ur-Austronesisch, the German term which is translated as 'Proto-Austronesian'.

**na* (p 262)⁵. Kähler was also able to show evidence from reconstructed forms for relationships between morphemes which Sundermann had listed without suggestion of a relationship (such as the nominalizing suffixes *-a*, *-wa*, *-ta*, *-la* and *-na*, (pp.121-122) whose semantic and morphological similarities are so close as to warrant the claim of derivation from a single original base form), and he frequently notes potential relationships between other morphemes which were overlooked or not stated by Sundermann (such as the similarities between the prefix *mu-*, the infix *-um-* and the prefix *m-* (p212)). Kähler's analyses are also frequently supported by comments about similarities in morpho-syntax between Nias and other Austronesian languages (such as the similarity between the function of nominal mutation in Nias and that of the Samoan absolutive NP marker 'o (p262)).

A work of comparative philology which provides fascinating lexical data is that of Lafeber's *Vergelijkende klankleer van het Niasisch* ('Comparative Phonology of Nias') published in 1922. Lafeber's work is a collection of Nias words compared with words in those languages which might be thought to have introduced them to Nias—Sanskrit, Tamil, Hindi, Persian, Arabic, Portuguese, Dutch, and other Indonesian languages. Many of his proposed borrowings are no doubt correct in origin, such as the months of the year from Dutch (*januari*, *februari*, *mareti* etc.) and perhaps the days of the week from Arabic (*sinaya* 'Monday', *salasa* 'Tuesday', *rabu* 'Wednesday', *kami* 'Thursday', *zumaha* 'Friday', *satu* 'Saturday'), although it is possible, of course, that these may have been borrowed indirectly through other Indonesian traders who had had contact with Arabs or Dutch, such as the Acehnese. The data compiled by Lafeber invites rigorous comparative analysis.

⁵ Although the origin of the genitive form from PAN **ni* (or PMP **nu*) is almost certainly correct, the origins of mutation in other contexts, in fact, cannot be right on the basis of the evidence he cites, although mutation almost certainly derives from a form homophonous with the one proposed by Kähler. Kähler proposes the particle *na* as the origin of nominal mutation, giving sentences such as *löna na tanö tanari* which he translates as 'there was no land', or *löna na niha baewawö danö* 'there were no people on the face of the earth'. In fact the *na* in these sentences is the aspectual particle meaning 'yet, still', and the sentences are mistranslated. The proper translations should be 'there was not yet any land', 'there were not yet any people ...'. Despite the erroneous data used in support of the claim, it seems very likely that a particle *na* was the original form of mutation. Constructions which are better candidates for showing this are discussed in 3.2.3.

Two more recent major works are written in Indonesian: a grammar and a Nias-Indonesian dictionary. The grammar, *Struktur Bahasa Nias* (Halawa et al. 1983), is arranged such that each morpheme is listed, followed by its form, distribution, function and meaning, and exemplification in sentences. The style is unusual, listing all affixes together regardless of their function. For example, all prefixes are listed together in one section, with pronominal prefixes mixed up with derivational and aspectual prefixes. The linguistic sections of the grammar have been subject to very poor typesetting—there are innumerable errors throughout the text in every area of the analysis, including incorrect assignment of glosses to morphemes and incorrect translations of examples, as well as a very great number of typographical errors, making the text very unreliable. The work does, however, provide a very good overview of ethnography, demography and the sociolinguistic situation in Nias. The Nias-Indonesian dictionary (Laiya, 1985) has been compiled by a native speaker and lists words from both north and south Nias, but since the dictionary was written primarily for Nias speakers, who might be expected to know where a word was spoken, it does not identify whether a word is from the north or the south. However, the dictionary is extremely useful because it gives example sentences for many words, although the examples are all written in the northern dialect even when a word comes from the south. Poor typesetting prevails also with this work, such that spelling of either entry or example cannot be relied on, and entries need to be checked (for example against Sundermann's dictionary).

Apart from these major works there has been relatively little linguistic study of Nias since Kähler's articles in 1936-7. Two articles by Gertrud Pätsch (a student of Kähler's) examine the pronominal and verbal morphology of Nias and clarify the ergative morphology of verbal person-marking in the northern dialect (Pätsch 1964a, b). Another article by Pätsch (1978) examines historical evidence for Nias as part of the Austronesian family. A brief phonetic study of the northern dialect is reported in Catford 1988, which includes an examination of Nias vowel frequencies and charts of vowel formants, and a discussion of trilled segments. The position of Nias and other

Barrier island languages within the Austronesian family is examined by Nothofer (1986), who provides evidence from phonetic, semantic and lexical innovations to claim that the Barrier Island and Batak languages of Northern Sumatra form a subgroup. Nothofer 1994 proposes a hypothesis that the Barrier islands contain relic forms from Proto-Paleo-Hesperonesian languages, a subgroup of western Austronesian speakers which spread across Sumatra and settled the Barrier Islands, and which, he claims, were not completely replaced by later Western Austronesian invaders (a view which opposes Mahdi 1988, who interprets the data as evidence that the Barrier Islands were originally populated with people speaking languages cognate with those spoken in the Philippines, Palau, Chamorro and Sulawesi)⁶.

There is a huge body of texts available in the Nias language, mostly collected from various parts of Nias by the anthropologist W. Steinhart. Steinhart's texts are provided with translations and extensive commentary in Dutch (1934, 1937, 1950-51, 1954). One of Steinhart's texts from the Batu Islands is also available with an English translation (Steinhart and Maier 1990). All of the texts collected by Steinhart are oratorical in style—stories that were told and sung at feasts—and occur in the form of semantically parallel couplets. Until recently, the only non-poetic collections of texts available (which have translations in German) were those in Sundermann 1886, 1887a, 1892b, 1892c and 1905b. Over the last decade or so, however, Father Johannes Hämmerle, a Catholic missionary who has lived in Nias for over 25 years, has published several collections of non-poetical texts of various sorts from people from all over Nias (1986, 1990, 1995).

An immense corpus of anthropological studies also exists for Nias, dating from the middle of the nineteenth century. Surveys of anthropological and related works can be found in Voorhoeve 1955, Suzuki 1958, Kennedy 1962, Feldman 1984[1977] and

⁶ If non-linguistic evidence for the origins of Nias people is taken into account it might provide even more interesting hypotheses to test. The uniqueness of Nias's megalithic culture was mentioned above. Other aspects include the unusual and imposing village architecture of Nias, anthropological aspects such as bride-prices and the importance of pigs and the fact that, phenotypically, Nias people resemble people from northern Laos, Vietnam and Thailand rather than the Malay type which populate much of the Indonesian archipelago.

Roth 1985. More recently an extensive and detailed anthropological study of daily life and ritual in a traditional village in Central Nias is given in Beatty 1992, where more recent references may be found.

1.7 Fieldwork for this study

I spent approximately seven months in Nias in 1993-4 and three months in 1996. In my first trip I spent the first two months in the north of the island and the last five in the south. My main data collection came from the time I spent in the south. During this period I stayed at Sorake, a coral bay fishing area belonging to the small village of Botohilitanö, which lies on a hill behind Sorake. Botohilitanö is a new village, perhaps only about 150 years old, established by people who had fled the nearby village of Mainamölö after it had been razed out of revenge following a murder. Sorake (lit. 'there is coral') lies on the western shore of a bay known as Lagundri (originally known as *luaha gunde*, 'estuary of the Gunde river', and also spelt Lagundi). Lagundri used to be one of two excellent harbours in the south until 1856 when a tidal wave wiped out the Dutch trading post established there. The small group of houses in the village of Lagundri is now one of the few small Muslim communities in Nias. Both Sorake and Lagundri are considered by many people in nearby villages to be *o-halama* (lit. 'HAVE-halama'). A *halama* is a house built outside a village by people who either want to live closer to their fields or who don't like the village leader, or who wish to escape justice for a misdeed. The term *ohalama* carries connotations of being outside the law, a place where crime can be committed without too much fear of retribution. The villagers in Sorake and Lagundri, nevertheless, do not view themselves in this way.

In Sorake I stayed in a *losmen* — a family house with extra rooms for paying guests — with a large extended family. For much of the time I was the only guest. The *losmen* was often visited by other members of the family from nearby villages as well as from the harbour town of Teluk Dalam about 25 km east, and from Tello Island, one of the Batu group, south of Nias. All members of the family spoke Nias Selatan at home and with other members of the community, but it was normal for Indonesian to

be spoken with any guests from other parts of Indonesia or overseas, including with me.

Most of the time during my first stay was spent with one person, Ama Gumi, who was able and willing to spare the time. Ama Gumi was then (in 1993) around the age of 50. He comes from Botohilitanö where he grew up, and is one of the first people to have built a permanent dwelling in Sorake. He attended school to the age of fifteen, when his father died, and when he had to remain at home to help his family in the fields. Every day I was able to go to Ama Gumi for periods of two to three hours, where I could ask questions (in Indonesian), record texts, and elicit data. He was often visited by neighbours and family from Botohili who came to ask him for details and stories about their family. He told me (and anyone who happened to be present) stories about ancestors, about events and people in neighbouring villages and about procedural details of daily life in the village and events such as house-building and coconut agriculture. I spent afternoons going through data collected in the mornings and analysing it, preparing questions to check the next day. His stories are not the only data relied on, but most of the examples in this thesis come from texts recorded by Ama Gumi because his texts make up the bulk of the texts I collected.

I spent a total of about three months in Medan, in northern Sumatra, during my first trip, where I was fortunate to make the acquaintance of an English-speaking pastor from the Nias church, Reverend Lase, who helped me with translations and corrections of texts. Rev. Lase was born in the south of Nias and had lived in Medan for many years looking after a small flock of ex-patriate Nias people. Before I had collected any texts from Nias, I had worked with Rev. Lase translating texts from Father Hämmerle's 1986 and 1990 collections. After I had collected my own texts Rev. Lase helped me again to translate these and providing invaluable cultural knowledge and explanations of many linguistic idiosyncrasies .

In my second trip to Nias in 1996, my consultant was the primary school teacher from Botohilitanö, a man of about 35 years who had attended primary school in Botohilitanö, but had completed high school and a teaching diploma in

Gunungsitoli. We worked together for three hours almost every morning for the two months he was available, during which time I checked and elicited examples from him, and attempted a systematic check of grammatical data. Despite having lived in Botohilitanö during his early years and for the 15 years prior to 1996, unfortunately his speech and judgements often showed influence from northern Nias. During this stay, however, I was also able to collect several more texts, translations of which I subsequently checked with Sitasi Laiya, the compiler of the Nias-Indonesian dictionary.

1.8 Data base for this study

My analysis is based on primary data from oral texts collected predominantly from one speaker (Ama Gumi) who, as mentioned above, had spent his (approximately) 50 years in one village in the south of Nias, and who is regarded as a superlative storyteller. I have also used texts that Ama Gumi had written down, and which he read out to me for recording. Other oral data used in my analysis include texts recorded from five people in the family with whom I lived in the south, all of whom come from the same village as my primary speaker, and one non-family member who was the village healer in that village (Botohili). A text recorded from a very old speaker from another village about 30 km from my field site was made available to me by Sitasi Laiya, from her 1975 dissertation on the phonetics and phonology of Nias Selatan. It is translated into English and the text is transcribed in narrow phonetic script and marked with stress.

All of the oral texts were analysed into pause boundaries, and then into clauses within these if clause and pause boundaries did not coincide. Many texts were marked for stress and some were marked for intonation as well. In total there are approximately 3300 clauses in the primary data on which I have relied for examples. Before I had collected any of my own texts, I had already completed a morphological analysis of Steinhart's (oratorical) text XVII from the Batu Islands, consisting of 1328 lines (664 doublets), which I subsequently used as a check against my own findings. I have also used morphological analysis of 877 lines from Hämmerle's (1986) and

(1990) collections of texts from South Nias, constituting approximately 1170 clauses, which has also served as a check on the analysis of my own texts. These data have not always been sufficient for constructions which occur infrequently, so elicited data has also been called upon for evidence, as well as examples noted from conversations held with me or in my presence. I have tried to present oral text examples in the thesis in preference to elicited or written examples where possible⁷.

Because of my limited knowledge of German, I have had to have the basic linguistic works on Nias translated. The works for which I have relied on translations are the following: Sundermann's grammatical works (1905b and 1913), Fries' grammar (1915), Kähler's *Untersuchen über die Laut-, Wort- und Satzlehre des Nias* (1936-7) and Pättsch's two 1964 articles.

⁷ Written examples are marked in the text with letters indicating their source. Those which are marked with (D) are from the Laiya dictionary (and have been checked for spelling); those marked with (Z-L) are from the text analysed by Sitası Zagötö-Laiya for her 1975 dissertation or are example sentences given by her in that dissertation; those marked with (H) are from stories published by Father Johannes Hämmerle (1986 and 1990).

CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY

This chapter provides a description of the phonetics and phonology of Nias Selatan. Section 1 presents consonant phonemes, a discussion of unexpected or unusual pronunciations and minimal or near-minimal pairs which establish phonemic status of consonants; section 2 presents vowel phonemes and minimal pairs; section 3 describes syllable structure, word structure, including a definition of phonological word, and stress; section 4 illustrates the interaction between stress and intonation.

SECTION 1 CONSONANTS

2.1 Inventory of consonant phonemes

Nias Selatan has 22 consonant phonemes. There are six plain stops at four places of articulation, one stop with a trilled release, five fricatives at four places of articulation, two affricates which contrast in voicing, two trills, two nasals, one lateral and three approximants. The consonant phonemes are listed in Table 1. Symbols in brackets following these contain the IPA representations of the phonemes if they differ from the grapheme.

Table 1: consonant phonemes of Nias Selatan

	labial	labio- dental	(dento-) alveolar	(alveo-) palatal	velar	labio- velar	glottal
stops							
voiceless			t		k		' [ʔ]
voiced	b		d		g		
trilled release			ndr [dʳ]				
nasals	m		n				
fricatives							
voiceless		f	s		kh [x]		h
voiced		v					
affricates							
voiceless				c [tʃ]			
voiced				z [dʒ]			
trills	mb [B]		r				
lateral			l				
approximants		β [ʋ]		y [j]		w	

The phoneme chart for northern Nias has one additional phoneme, a velar nasal, /ŋ/, and lacks the affricate /c/ ([tʃ]). In addition the affricate /z/ ([dʒ]) is pronounced as an alveolar affricate, [dz] in northern Nias.

2.2 Phonetic description of unusual consonants

Although there is a great deal of dialectal variation in pronunciation in the south of Nias, in general phonemes and phones have a one-to-one relationship, as described in the Table 1. Some segments, however, warrant comment about their pronunciation because they are phonetically abnormal or unusual in some way. The consonants described in this section are the following:

the bilabial stop /b/

the bilabial trill /mb/ ([B])

the labiodental approximant /β/ ([ʋ])

(dento-)alveolar sounds in general and the stops /t/ and /d/ in particular

the stop with trilled release /ndr/ ([dʀ])

the affricates /c/ ([tʃ]) and /z/ ([dʒ])

the palatal approximant /y/ ([j]).

Note that throughout this study, the accent mark [ˈ] placed over a vowel will be used to indicate primary stress, since the apostrophe mark ['] has been co-opted for the glottal stop. However, the vowel /ö/ is difficult to mark in this way because of the umlaut character it carries. Syllables with primary stress containing this vowel will be marked with [ˈ] before the initial consonant of the stressed syllable, e.g. *bö'ö* will be written as [ˈbö'ö], or in IPA script, [ˈbʷʷö].

2.2.1 Labial sounds

/b/ The bilabial stop /b/ does not participate in a voicing contrast¹. It is, however, voiced in all contexts.

/mb/ bilabial trill [B]

The bilabial trill is produced by releasing air which has built up in the mouth behind a bilabial closure through relaxed lips such that they 'flap' slightly. Although the grapheme assigned to this phoneme suggests that it is nasalized, it is rarely the case in Nias Selatan that nasalization occurs. Occasionally in deliberate slow speech, such as one occasionally uses to children (or a fieldworker learning the language), prenasalization can be present in intervocalic contexts, however such nasalization is not normal, and in initial position, never occurs. The lack of mutation in this segment is unusual. Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996: 130) note that almost universally, if bilabial trills occur in a language, they are prenasalized. However in Nias Selatan, there is a general reluctance to pronounce nasalization in consonant clusters in intervocalic position, as can be seen in words borrowed from Indonesian which contain nasal stop/affricate clusters, e.g. Indonesian *janji* 'promise' is

¹ Historically PAN/PMP/PHF *p has become /f/ everywhere in Nias.

pronounced *zazi* ([ɟáɟi]) in Nias, Indonesian *tinju* 'hit' is Nias *tezu* ([téɟu]), Indonesian *tentu* 'surely' is Nias *tatu* [tátu], Indonesian *belanja* 'shopping' is Nias *balazo* ([baláɟo]), a person's name, *Inti*, is pronounced 'Iti' ([ʔiti]). The presence of the nasal in the grapheme for the bilabial trill (and the stop with trilled release, which is also represented with a nasal stop grapheme) is due to the fact that the dialect for which the orthography was first developed was the northern one, where nasalization is more frequent in these consonants². Historically there is good evidence that nasalized consonants occurred (see below). However, in Nias Selatan, there is no phonetic remnant of the nasal segment. In some speakers, this segment is even pronounced as a bilabial fricative rather than as a trill.

The bilabial trill is an uncommon sound in the languages of the world, found principally in only two language areas: in some Bantoid languages spoken in the Grassfields area of Cameroun in West Africa and in Austronesian (Maddieson 1989:91). Within Austronesian languages, however, this sound is not quite so unusual. Maddieson (ibid.) notes that it occurs in about eleven Oceanic languages spoken in the Manus Province of Papua New Guinea³, in at least three on Malekula Island in Vanuatu, and apart from Nias, in the Western Malayo-Polynesian group in the Muna language spoken on Muna Island in South-East Sulawesi.

2.2.1.1 Origins of the bilabial trill in Nias

There has been some speculation as to the development of the bilabial trill in Nias. According to Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996:130), bilabial trills in almost all other languages in the world have developed from increased labiality formed from anticipatory articulation of the vowel /u/ following a prenasalized stop. But in Nias,

² Catford's (1988) data for Nias Utara (p.153) records both /mb/ and /ndr/ as prenasalized 'often, but not always' in intervocalic position, but 'virtually never' in initial position. Spectrographic analysis needs to be undertaken on the Nias Selatan data to find out whether nasalization in these segments is present acoustically, even though it is not auditorily obvious.

³ A bilabial trill also occurs in Rawo, a Papuan language spoken in Coastal Sandaun Province in Papua New Guinea (William Foley and Mark Donohue, personal communication).

the bilabial trill can be followed by any vowel⁴. A list of words containing this sound exemplifies this:

(1) vowels occurring after bilabial trill

i	simbi	[síBi]	'lower jaw'
e	lembe	[léBe]	'stick together, glue'
u	tumbu	[túBu]	'born'
o	simbo	[síBo]	'smoke'
ö	ambö	[ʔáBʏ]	'less'
a	mbambatö	[BaBátʏ]	'in-laws' ⁵

Note also that the vowel preceding the bilabial trill is unrestricted as well. If it is labiality which is responsible for the trilled part of a prenasalized bilabial trill in other languages it must be something else which is responsible for the development of this sound in Nias. Synchronically, the following vowel clearly has no influence on the articulation of the trill.

Catford (1988:154) explains the development of the bilabial trill in Nias as arising from a pressure buildup in the mouth being released through delayed and incomplete articulatory closure after the soft palate had been raised for the cessation of nasalization in anticipation of the bilabial closure, based on the belief that bilabial trills (and the dento-alveolar stops with trilled release) are reflexes of proto-Austronesian nasal-stop clusters. He notes (*ibid.*) that the bilabial closure in a nasal-stop cluster need not be tight because air is flowing out through the nose, and consequently, the lips do not have to withstand any appreciable pressure. Therefore, unless the lips are immediately tightened on release of the build-up of air-pressure, they 'will be set "flapping in the breeze" ' (*ibid.*). Maddieson (1989:112) disputes Catford's articulatory scenario, arguing that one of the factors required for the production of a bilabial trill is lip tension attributable to a vowel for which 'the target labial aperture is relatively small' (such as /u/). However, for Nias, given that the

⁴ The bilabial trill in Rawo also occurs in front of a range of vowels.

⁵ *Mbambatö* may refer to one's spouse's parents or to one's child's spouse's parents.

bilabial trill has developed in front of any vowel, it is difficult to accept Maddieson's claim that the lip tension must be due to the small aperture required for the following vowel. It seems indisputable that nasalization is in some way responsible for the development of a bilabial trill since it is this which is a constant feature (also in the data provided by Maddieson 1989 for other languages), and not just high back rounded vowels. On the other hand, however, given the lack of nasalization in bilabial trills in present day Nias, it is perhaps difficult, at a synchronic level, to substantiate Catford's argument for the production of the sound from a pressure build-up behind a closure of the nasal flap.

Despite this lack of nasalization in present day Nias, Catford's proposed articulatory scenario is almost certain to be correct. Bilabial trills in Nias derive from several separate sources, depending on their position in the word, but all appear to involve nasalization. In initial position, /mb/ only occurs in nouns beginning with /b/ in certain case forms, nouns derived by reduplication and in irrealis forms of verbs beginning with /b/ and /β/. The case forms in which nouns occur with initial /mb/ are those involving mutation⁶, which is historically the result of fusion of an initial segment with a preceding nasal morpheme (see 3.2). Reduplication is frequently associated with increased voicing or sonority of stem consonants (see 3.5). In verbs in irrealis mode, /mb/ results from a fusion of initial /b/ with the infix /um/ which occurs on most other verbs (see 3.4). In intervocalic position, the bilabial trill probably derives from nasal-stop clusters as Catford proposes, cf., e.g., Nias *tumbu* 'grow; born' ([túbu]), which is cognate with many Austronesian languages in which there is a word with similar meaning and form, which motivate the reconstruction of the PAN form **Cu(m)buq* 'grow, sprout'⁷.

⁶ Mutation refers to a system of morphophonological changes which may occur in the initial segment of a nominal form, which function as case in Nias (see 3.2).

⁷⁷ Adelaar 1992 argues that this reconstruction contains an infix: **C-um-ubuq*.

Historically one source of bilabial trills in Nias may also be Western Malayo-Polynesian nasal clusters formed at morphological boundaries, if Nias Selatan *mbuna.mbuna* 'rain drops' is related to the reconstructed PHN form **am+bun* 'drizzle' (PHN is Zorc's 1994 Proto-Hesperonesian, equivalent to Proto Western MP). However, other nasal clusters reconstructed for PMP are reflected as stops or approximants in Nias, e.g. PMP **qu(m)bi* > *gɔβi* 'yam'; PMP **anduN* 'ancestors' > Nias *adu* 'carving of ancestors'; PMP **maNkuk* > Nias *mago* 'cup, bowl'.

Thus the development of the bilabial trill seems almost certain to be the result of anticipatory nasal flap closure and associated increase in oral pressure released through lax lips. The loss of nasalization from the segment over time perhaps need not have caused the loss of the articulatory posture which gave rise to the trill, although it is interesting to note in this regard that the not uncommon pronunciation of the trill as a bilabial fricative suggests that the articulatory posture adopted for the trill may indeed also be in the process of being redefined.

/β/ labio-dental approximant [β]

The description of this segment as labio-dental in this thesis differs from previous descriptions. Both Catford (1988) and Laiya (1975), for example, describe the segment which occurs in the dialects which they studied as a bilabial fricative rather than an approximant. Other writers, such as Sundermann and Halawa et al., do not distinguish this sound from the labio-dental fricative, /v/. All of the speakers of the dialects of Nias Selatan in which the data for this thesis was collected, however, pronounce this consonant as a labio-dental approximant, with the lower lip merely approaching the upper teeth, not, as would be the case for a fricative pronunciation, almost forming a closure with them. In words in which the approximant occurs, there is, in fact, free variation for some speakers between the approximant pronunciation and the fricative. In words in which only the fricative pronunciation is possible (see discussion of /v/ below), however, it is impossible to substitute the approximant.

Works written in or about Nias have only ever used one symbol for both /v/ and /β/, the grapheme 'w' (phonetically [v] in German). Laiya 1975 distinguishes the two phonemes in her analysis, but retains the spelling convention of using 'w' for both. I have used the grapheme 'β' for the labio-dental approximant and 'v' for the fricative. Minimal pairs establishing the phonemic status of these segments and a discussion of the difficulties surrounding this are given in 2.3 and 2.4 below.

2.2.2 (Dento-)alveolar sounds

The consonants listed as (dento-)alveolar are pronounced in some speakers as dental, with the tongue often showing between the teeth, and in some speakers as closer to alveolar, if not wholly alveolar. Most of the people from the village I worked in, and from villages close by, appeared to have pronunciations closer to alveolar, but there were just a few people with whom I had a close relationship whose pronunciation was clearly dental. It may be coincidental that these few are from a higher social level or are more highly educated than most villagers, or it may indicate a dialectal variation. The trill /r/, the lateral /l/ and the fricative /s/ were all much more clearly alveolar in all speakers than dental.

/t/ and /d/ In most of the speakers with whom I had contact /t/ and /d/ were pronounced with the tip of the tongue behind the upper teeth or on the alveolar ridge. For some speakers the tongue was visible on occasions, but not as a matter of normal pronunciation. In most speakers also /t/ is pronounced with slight aspiration.

In certain areas of Nias Selatan (specifically the speech of people from the large area around Mainamölö and Hilisimaetanö in the south west), there is an interesting variation in the pronunciation of /t/ and /d/ when these segments precede the vowel /u/. In this context these segments have secondary articulation. What is unusual about this, however, is that this articulation is labio-dental. Some examples of words in which this occurs are given, with phonetic transcription, in (2):

(2) **secondary articulation of /t/ and /d/ in front of /u/**

	word	phonetic transcription
/t/	betua 'stomach'	[bet ^t úa]
	atua 'old' (things)	[at ^t úa]
	balatu 'knife'	[balát ^t u]
	fitu 'seven'	[fít ^t u]
	manutu 'pound'	[manút ^t u]

	atulö 'correct'	[at ^f úlɣ] ⁸
	satumba 'one rice-measure'	[sat ^f úBa]
/d/	adulo 'egg'	[ad ^v úlo]
	laeduru 'ring'	[laed ^v úru]
	adu 'ancestor image'	[ʔád ^v u]
	adudu 'undone'	[ad ^v úd ^v u]
	dudugö 'pull down, destroy'	[d ^v ud ^v úgɣ]

Note that the secondary articulation occurs whether the segment precedes a stressed or an unstressed syllable. In some speakers slight alveolar frication as well as labiodental offglides can be heard, i.e. [ts^f] and [dz^v]. Catford (1988:153), who also comments on this phenomenon, mentions that this kind of labiodentalization has been recorded so far only in the Caucasian languages of Abkhaz and Tabasaran (1988:ibid.). When followed by other vowels, [t] and [d] have no secondary articulation, although, as mentioned, /t/ may be aspirated in some speakers, as transcribed in (3)

(3) **pronunciation of /t/ and /d/ in front of vowels other than /u/**

ata'u 'afraid'	[atáʔu] or [at ^h áʔu]
tebai 'can't do'	[tebái] or [t ^h ebái]
ato 'many people'	[ató] or [at ^h ó]
idanö 'water'	[ʔidánɣ]
ide'ide 'small'	[ʔideʔide]
madou 'peck'	[madóu]

The reason for this secondary articulation is relatively straightforward: the vowel [u] in Nias Selatan is often articulated with the lower lip raised to form a slightly pouting posture with the upper lip, so that the inside of the lip is close to or touching the top teeth. In his collection of texts from various places in Nias, Hämmerle (1986,

⁸ The segment [ɣ] is a mid back unrounded vowel.

1990) writes these variant pronunciations as 'tp' and 'dp', which suggests that in some speakers the secondary articulation occurs as a stop. I have also been told by a number of Nias people that in some villages in the Maenamölä district, these segments have the pronunciations [p^f] and [b^v]—in other words, the stops have completely assimilated to the labiality of following /u/. Words such as *matua* 'male', *satumba* 'one measure of rice' and *dudugö* 'destroy' are pronounced as [map^fúa], [sap^fúba] and [b^vub^vúgɣ] (and even, I'm told, [bubúgɣ]). I have not heard any speakers whose speech has succumbed to the total assimilation of the stop to the labiality of /u/ (i.e. [p^f] and [b^v]) or of the secondary articulation to the stop (i.e. [tp] and [dp]). In speakers in the village in which I worked there was, in fact, very little evidence of secondary articulation. This pronunciation is actually considered amusing by some people in the north, and is occasionally made fun of.

/ndr/ The phoneme /ndr/ is pronounced as a plosive followed by a trill. Phonetically it could equally be regarded as a trill with pre-plosion⁹. The description of this segment as a stop with trilled release rather than as a trill with preplosion is motivated by the fact that morphophonemic processes involving this segment are associated with /d/ in a greater number of contexts than with /r/. For example, /ndr/ is found as a morphophonological variant of /d/ in both nouns and verbs, but it is a variant of /r/ only in verbs. Furthermore, in the numeral system, both /ndr/ and /r/ are conditioned variants of /d/ in collocations containing *dua* 'two' (cf. e.g. *me-ndrua* [when-two] 'twice' and *da-rua* [CLF-two] 'two people'), suggesting that both the stop with trilled release and the trill are ultimately derived from /d/. As mentioned above in connection with the bilabial trill, the nasal segment which occurs in the grapheme for this sound is misleading. There is rarely nasalization in this segment, although, like the bilabial trill, its origin in initial position in nouns and verbs almost certainly

⁹ Catford (1988:153) regards this segment as a slightly retroflex trill in Nias Utara, but notes that it starts the vibratory cycle from a closed position, as opposed to /r/ which starts from an open position.

derives from the fusion of a nasal morpheme with an initial stop or alveolar trill, and in medial position may be derived from nasal stop clusters.

2.2.3 (Alveo-)palatal sounds

/c/ and /z/ Phonetically these segments are affricated stops, made with laminal occlusion at the alveopalatal area. The sounds involve a short burst of fricated noise when released which is perceptually much shorter than that which occurs in alveopalatal affricates in standard English¹⁰.

/y/ /y/ is pronounced as a palatal or alveo-palatal approximant [j] in most instances of use. However, in one particular context there is a curious variation in many speakers' pronunciation. When this segment occurs after /o/, it sounds like an unrounded velar approximant [ɥ]¹¹. There are very few words in which this occurs, since /o/ is not frequent in lexemes except for prefixes, however it does occur in one high frequency word—the quantifier *oya* 'most, much, many (things)'—and is therefore recurrent in conversation. It also occurs in the words *hoya* 'bamboo lengths used for building' (which rhymes with *oya*), *oyo* 'red', *mo-loyo* [USE-sail] 'sail' (which rhymes with *oyo*), and in the 3rd person pronoun *ya* when it occurs after a word ending in /o/. In all other medial contexts, /y/ is preceded and followed by the vowel /a/ and the backer pronunciation does not occur (e.g. *raya* [raja] 'south', *buaya* [b^waja] 'crocodile'). It seems fairly clear, then, that the pronunciation of /y/ is influenced by the back vowel /o/. Thus in the speech of many people in the southern dialect areas the phoneme /y/ has the allophone [ɥ] when it follows /o/, i.e.:

- (4) /y/ -> [ɥ] / /o/___ (a dialectal variant)
 -> [j] / elsewhere

¹⁰ Catford (1988:152) mentions that these affricates are pronounced as alveolar [ts] and [dz] in Nias Selatan. These alveolar pronunciations are unknown to me, although they may occur in varieties other than the ones I have observed.

¹¹ As suggested to me by Phil Rose, Australian National University, pers. comm.

The 'backing' of /y/ by a preceding /o/ provides evidence also for the relative (or phonemic) frontness of /a/, since the distinction between [ʔóya] and [ʔáya] is only in whatever feature or features distinguish /o/ from /a/. (Rounding plays no role in Nias phonology.) Catford's (1988) formant charts for /a/ in northern Nias also indicate that this vowel is predominantly fronted acoustically as well. I am not aware of whether /y/ is pronounced as [ɥ] after /o/ in the north.

2.3 Minimal contrasts

Minimal and near-minimal contrasts for suspicious segments are listed in (5). Where an expected contrast does not occur it is discussed in the section following.

(5) Minimal and near-minimal contrasts in consonant phonemes

INITIAL POSITION	MEDIAL POSITION
LABIAL	
(i) /b/ - /f/	
bo 'ladder'; 'lungs'	abeto 'pregnant'
fo 'smoking rack above hearth'	afeto 'bitter'
(ii) /b/ - /v/	
ba 'and' (conjunction)	
va 'that' (complementizer)	
(iii) /b - /mb/	
bubu 'porridge'	sibi 'ball made of coconut leaves'
mbumbu 'ends of roof poles'	simbi 'lower jaw'
(iv) /b/ - /w/	
bawa 'moon, month'	lawa 'up, high'
wawa 'garden of sweet potatoes'	labalaba 'large spider'
(v) /b/- /β/	
ba 'and'	tabotabo 'instrument used for chasing birds'
βa 'that' (a variant of va)	(taβo-)taβo 'fat'

(vi) /w/ - /β/

waö 'say'

BaöBaö 'unacceptable behaviour'

bawa 'moon, month'

baβa 'mouth'

(vii) /f/ - /v/

fakhe 'rice'

vakhe 'rice:MUT'

(viii) /f/ - /w/

falu 'place to keep lime for betel quid' sifa 'kick'

walu 'eight' siwa 'nine'

(ix) /f/ - /β/

fufu 'mash'

βuβui 'pour'

afo 'betel quid'

aβö 'companion'

(DENTO-)ALVEOLAR / (ALVEO-)PALATAL

(x) /t/ - /d/

ta- '1pl.incl. realis prefix'

da- '1pl.incl. irrealis prefix'

ato 'many' (people)

adu 'ancestor image'

(xi) /t/ - /s/

ta'a 'we ate (it)'

sa'a 'fingernail'

ate 'liver'

asi 'sea'

(xii) /d/ - /dr/

da- 1pl.incl irrealis prefix

nda- 3pl irrealis prefix

dada 'lower'

ndrandra 'plait'

(xiii) /d/ - /r/

-ra '3p.POSS'

-da '1pi.POSS'

aröu 'far'

madou 'peck'

(xiv) /r/ - /dr/

rara (dödö) 'attract'

ndrandra 'plait'

a`ra 'be/take long time'

anda 'this'

(xv) /r/ - /l/

rara dödö 'attract'
lala 'way, road'

berebere 'sty (in eye)'
belebele 'paved area near houses'

(xvi) /c/ - /z/

cimba 'bucket'
zimba 'jealousy'¹²

bici 'grumbling'
bizi 'prepare a betel quid'

(xvii) /c/ - /t/ - /s/

cöföcöfö 'k.o. grass'	töβu 'sugarcane'	söfu 'poison'
cuko 'poke, 'prod'	tutu 'pound'	sukhu 'comb'
kacöe 'crab'	atóto 'be loosened'	asó'a 'fall down with crash'

(xviii) /z/ - /d/

zuzu 'climb'
dudugö 'destroy'

ezöa 'gap'
edöna 'intensely dislike'

(xix) /z/ - /r/

zozo 'stopper for bottle'
roro 'follow'

azizi 'blunt'
ariri 'reduced in size'

VELAR / GLOTTAL

(xx) /k/ - /g/

ko'o 'dig'
go'o 'crack:MUT'

rake 'coral'
lage 'freckle, mole'

(xxi) /k/ - /kh/

kaoni 'call'
khao 'grate'

faköyö 'tangled together'
fakhöyö 'play'

(xxii) /k/ - /ʎ/

okafu [okafu] 'cold (weather)'
o'afu [oʎafu] 'cold (feeling, e.g. with malaria)'

¹² The words *zimba* 'jealousy', *bici* 'grumbling' and *bizi* 'prepare a betel quid' do not occur in my own data. These are mentioned in Laiya's 1975 dissertation on the phonetics and phonology of Nias Selatan.

(xxiii) /kh/ - /h/

kholi 'split (e.g. wood)'
holi 'redeem'

fakhe 'rice'
fahela 'children's game'

(xxiv) /ʔ/ - 0

te'u [teʔu] 'mouse, rat'
teu [teu] 'rain'

(xxv) /ʔ/ - /h/

bö'ö [bʔʔ] 'different'
böhö [bʔhʔ] 'deer'

(xxvi) /ʔ/ - /t/

i'a [ʔiʔa] 'fish'
ita [ʔita] 1pl.incl. pronoun

FRICATIVES

(xxvii) /f/ - /s/

fanagö 'the act of stealing'
sanagö 'thief'

afi 'wing'
asi 'sea'

(xxviii) /f/ - /h/

fa 'about' (phrasal/clausal particle)
ha 'only' (phrasal/clausal particle)

afatö 'broken'
ahatö 'near'

(xxvix) /s/ - /h/

sawa 'wet rice field'
hawa 'atmosphere, weather'

lase 'type of fruit tree'
lahe 'footstep'

NASALS

(xxx) /m/ - /n/

mana 'eat'
nana 'chew betel'

omo 'house'
ono 'child'

2.4 Discussion of phonemic status of segments

Some phonemes are not easy to establish on the basis of minimal or near-minimal pairs. In this section I describe those segments for which contrasts are problematical.

The segments discussed here are the following: /b/ vs /β/, /f/ vs /v/, /c/, the glottal stop, /y/ and /w/.

2.4.1 /b/ - /β/

The phoneme /β/ is derived from /b/ in intervocalic position. Some words in Nias Selatan containing /β/ are cognate with words in Nias Utara in which /b/ occurs instead, such as *βaβaya* 'touch' which is cognate with Nias Utara *babaya*, and *aβua* 'heavy' which is cognate with Nias Utara *abuas*. A number of words reconstructed for PAN and PMP have /b/ where Nias Selatan has /β/, e.g. Nias *töβu* 'sugarcane' reflects PAN **tebúS* 'sugarcane', Nias *báβa* 'mouth' reflects PMP **baq+baq* 'mouth'¹³. In initial position /β/ occurs in verbs in what appears to be the result of a consonant harmony process, such as may have occurred with labial consonants in other Austronesian languages (see Ross 1995:61). Examples of this occur in, for example, *βaβaya* 'touch', from the root *baya*, and *βaβalö* 'borrow' from the verb *balö* 'repay'. Presumably initial syllable reduplication placed the original initial /b/ in intervocalic position, resulting in its lenition, but subsequently the lenited segment was copied into initial position. This process (and its lack of application) is responsible for some verbs having two forms, e.g. *buβui* / *βuβui* 'pour' and *böβöi* / *βöβöi* 'make'. Both forms are equally acceptable to speakers and appear to be dialectal variants.

Although /β/ is a lenited form of /b/ historically, synchronically it is a separate phoneme from /b/, as the minimal pairs in (5.v) above show¹⁴. However,

¹³ Unless otherwise stated, reconstructions have been taken from Zorc 1995.

¹⁴ The lenition of PAN/PMP **b* intervocalically must have given rise to a situation in early Nias of complementary distribution—/b/ occurred word initially and [β] (i.e. β) occurred word medially. However, it would appear that while intervocalic **b* was being replaced by /β/, another intervocalic /b/ came into being: medial /b/ in Nias today reflects PHN/PWMP **b* as exemplified in the following data:

PHN*ta+bas 'cut'	>	taba 'cut',
PHN*bed+bed 'wind around, tie'	>	böbö 'tie',
PHN*buR+buR 'porridge'	>	bubu 'porridge',
PWMP*nabuq 'fall' (*Dabuq, *labuq)	>	labu 'fall suddenly and stop'

there is some free variation in the pronunciation of this segment in initial position—it appears to be possible to substitute /b/ for /β/ in words which begin with /β/. By contrast it is not possible to substitute /β/ for /b/ in words beginning with /b/. The phoneme /β/ does not occur in many words in Nias but it has a high frequency in speech because it occurs in several common contexts: the most commonly used classifier for inanimate things (*bua* ~ *βua*, see 4.3), two common time words which occur frequently in planning events (*boni* ~ *βoni* 'night' and *bawa* ~ *βawa* 'month'), and in the complementizer *βa* (also pronounced as [va]).

There is also free variation between /β/ and the labiodental fricative /v/ in some commonly used words. The word in which there is greatest variation is the high frequency complementizing particle *va* 'that' (mentioned above). This particle may derive from, or be related to, the nominalizing prefix *fa-* (see 6.4.1). If so, the form of the complementizer with /v/ (i.e. [va] rather than [fa]) occurs because the complementizer is the first constituent of complements, which are, in most cases, grammatically dependent, and therefore case-marked¹⁵. Although all speakers agree,

Lenition of the consonant /b/ appears to have been operative at a very early stage of the language. The lenited form /β/ is found in a number of (now fossilized) lexemes, e.g.:

lenited form	base or related word
oβōra 'not cooked perfectly (rice)'	bōra 'uncooked rice'
oβuge'e 'green'	bu ge'e 'feathers of e'e bird'
aβu'a Vintr. 'be moved'	bu'a Vtr. 'move'
fa-aβu'a N. 'the act of moving'	bu'a Vtr. 'move'
mo-βua Vintr. 'be bearing fruit'	bua N. 'fruit'
mo-βōli 'buy'	ōli 'buy' (cf <i>beli</i> 'buy' in Indonesian)
bōβōi 'do, make'	bōi 'do, make'
βui-βui 'sprinkle'	buβui 'pour'
βaβaya 'touch'	baya 'touch'
βaβalō 'borrow'	balō 'repay'

/b/ is also lenited in nouns referring to time when counting is involved, e.g.:

lenited form	base
dua βoni 'for two nights'	boni 'night'
tōlu βoni 'for three nights'	
ōfa βawa 'for four months'	bawa 'month'
ōnō βawa 'for six months'	

and in classifiers beginning with /b/ after the linker *na=*, e.g.

lenited form	base
tōlu na=βua x 'three x'	bua 'classifier for animals'
tōlu na=βalō y 'three y'	balō 'classifier for abstract things or heaps/piles'
tōlu na=βulu z 'three z'	bulu 'classifier for flat things'

¹⁵ An alternative derivation might also be proposed that *va* is related to the verb *waö* (~*wa'ö*) 'say', since a verb with this meaning is the source of complementizer in many languages.

when questioned, that the 'correct' pronunciation of the complementizer is [va], in fact many speakers say [βa]. Other common lexemes in which this kind of alternation is evident are the verb forms *aβai* ~ *aβali*, used frequently as preverbal auxiliaries with the meaning 'be ready, finished', which are also pronounced as [ʔavái] and [ʔaváli]. The conjunction *aβena*, 'then', which is also relatively common, is also pronounced [ʔavéna] or [ʔavená].

2.4.2 /f/ vs /v/

The consonant /v/ has unique phonemic status in Nias—it cannot be determined as a phoneme, independent of /f/, by minimal pairs. Normally in phonemic analysis, a minimal pair is taken to prove that a different sound is a different phoneme, because the change in the sound produces a completely different word. This cannot be done for /v/ and /f/, for the reason that /v/ only ever occurs in the grammar as a replacement for /f/. The presence of /v/ or /f/ in the same position in a word, such as *vakhe* 'rice:MUT' or *fakhe* 'rice', indicates that the word stands in a particular grammatical relation, but does not change the meaning of the word. Both *vakhe* and *fakhe* refer to 'rice' but they have different grammatical relations. Similarly the verb forms *vake* and *fake* 'do, use' both refer to the same action, but indicate a difference in the time of the event (*vake* is irrealis mode, *fake* is realis).

Despite the fact that /v/ cannot be dissociated from /f/, /v/ can be established as a separate phoneme from /f/ based on the fact that it can change the case of a noun and thus change the meaning of an entire constituent. For example the phrase *ba fo* means 'and the storage area above the hearth' ([CNJ storage.area.above.the.hearth]), while *ba vo* can only mean 'into the storage area above the hearth' ([LOC storage.area.above.the.hearth:MUT]). What is interesting about this alternation for phonology is that the phonemic distinction does not depend on any difference in referential meaning of a single word but on the difference in meaning that the phonemes make to a unit larger than the word.

Although my own data lacks evidence of /v/ in intervocalic position, it should be noted that the dialect spoken in To'ene'asi (about thirty kilometres to the east of the area in which my fieldwork was carried out) does contain such words, as recorded in Laiya (1975:103, 108):

- (6) *vava* 'sweetest part of fruit'
vövö 'be real, true'
lava 'big toe'
avö 'friend'

Two of these words, *vövö* and *avö*, also occur in my own data, but are pronounced with /β/ in place of /v/¹⁶. The other two words do not occur. I assume, therefore, that there is dialectal difference in the pronunciation of /v/, and that it has become phonemicized in intervocalic contexts in some speech varieties.

The lack of data in which /v/ occurs in medial position inhibits comparisons with other phonemes in this position, such as /b/, /β/ and /w/, and is responsible for the gaps in minimal pairs listed above.

2.4.3 /c/

The phoneme /c/ ([tʃ]) occurs infrequently in Nias Selatan and does not occur in Nias Utara at all. The segment occurs in only thirteen words in my own corpus, listed in (7) and (8):

(7) words with /c/ in initial position

verbs	<i>cibo</i>	'throw out'
	<i>cili</i>	'throw at/to'
	<i>cika</i>	'tear asunder, part'
	<i>cimba</i>	'repulse'
	<i>cuko</i>	'poke, prod'

¹⁶ The word *böbö* 'truth', which occurs only once in my data, may also be a variant of *βöβö* (i.e. To'ene'asi *vövö* 'be real, true'.) However, it may be possible that both may be related to the word *böbö* 'tie' which occurs in both dialects.

nouns	ci'aci'a	'gecko'
	cimba	'bucket'
	cici	'faeces' ; 'defecate'
	cöföcöfö	'grass used for ointment for pimples'

(8) words containing /c/ in intervocalic position

nouns	foci	'lie'
	kocikoci	'sound of rustling'
	borocóe	'monitor lizard'
	kacóe	'crab'

In nine of the thirteen words, /c/ is followed by /i/. It cannot be coincidence that the sequence /ti/ occurs in my data only once, and based on this evidence, it seems reasonably certain that /c/ is historically derived from /t/ in front of /i/. Other evidence of a relationship comes from cognates in Nias Utara: three of the words listed above occur in Nias Utara with /t/ in place of /c/: *tibo* 'throw out', *timba* 'bucket' and *ti'i* 'faeces; defecate'. However, it is interesting to note that not all words containing /c/ can be assumed to derive from /t/—two words (*cuko* 'poke, prod' and *cöföcöfö* 'grass for ointment') correspond to forms in Nias Utara which have /s/ in place of /c/, i.e. *suko* and *söfösöfö*. Despite the fairly obvious historical connection between /c/ and /t/, based on the near-minimal pairs such as those given in (7) and (8) above it is clear that /c/ is a separate phoneme from /t/ synchronically in Nias Selatan.

2.4.4 Glottal stop

Usually all vowel-initial words in Nias begin with a phonetic glottal stop when pronounced in isolation. One of the residual problems for the phonology of Nias, as it is for some other Austronesian languages (see, e.g., Steinhauer 1991, Himmelmann forthcoming), is whether glottal stops which occur phonetically in front of vowel initial words are phonemic or not. Here I outline the problem.

Glottal stops occur phonemically in intervocalic position in a word, contrasting with /t/, /k/, /h/ and zero, as the following minimal pairs show:

/ʔ - /t/	i'a [ʔi'a] 'fish'	ita [ʔita] 1pi:MUT
/ʔ - /k/	okafu [ʔokáfu] 'cold (weather)'	o'afu [ʔoʔáfu] 'cold (feeling, e.g. with malaria)'
/ʔ - /h/	bö'ö [ʔbʏʔʏ] 'different'	böhö [ʔbʏhʏ] 'deer'
/ʔ - 0	te'u [téʔu] 'mouse, rat'	teu [téu] 'rain'

In initial position, phonetic glottals contrast with the same consonants, but not with zero:

(9)	teu [téu] 'mouse, rat'	eu [ʔéu] 'wood, tree'
	köfa [ʔkʏfa] 'ship'	öfa [ʔʏfa] 'four'
	halö [háʔʏ] 'take'	alö [ʔáʔʏ] 'shrink'

In Nias I have adopted the position that glottal stops are not phonemic in initial position but are inserted phonetically at the beginning of phonological word boundaries. The rule for this is as follows:

(10) rule for glottal insertion

0 → [ʔ] / # ___ phonological word

A phonological word in Nias is defined as a root plus any string of syllables over which primary stress has influence. Some examples of the application of this rule are: *emali* 'enemy', pronounced [ʔemáli], *ofanö* 'leave!', pronounced [ʔofánʏ]. Suffixes are included in the domain of stress assignment and are therefore not preceded by a glottal if vowel-initial, e.g. the final vowel of the verb *tába* 'cut' forms a diphthong with the initial vowel of the applicative suffix *-isi*, e.g. *taba-isi* [tabáisi]

'clear away grass', indicating that stress treats the sequence of vowels as one syllable (see 2.9 for discussion of stress). Prefixes in general are outside the domain of stress assignment and appear to be treated as separate phonological words. For example, in *to-ila* [RES-know] 'be known' the sequence of vowels is not diphthongized but is pronounced as two separate vowels, i.e. [toʔila]. Bound roots (see 4.5) are not phonological words because they do not function as words in the language, and therefore do not participate in stress assignment until derivational morphology has been applied. The intransitivizing prefix /a-/ coheres phonologically with bound roots and forms a diphthong with any initial vowel, e.g. *a-ukhu* 'hot' [ʔáuxu]. According to the rule of glottal insertion a glottal stop should be inserted phonetically at the beginning of *ukhu*, because it is a phonological word, but not at the beginning of *-ukhu*, because it is not a phonological word, which is exactly what happens, i.e. *ukhu* is pronounced [ʔáuxu] and not [ʔaʔúxu].

If all vowel-initial words were phonemically glottal initial then there would be no need for a rule to insert a glottal stop. However, if this were the case, it would give rise to certain morphological complications. For example, it would be necessary to replace a glottal stop with /n/ when prefixes based on the imperfective morpheme *aN-* (see 3.3) are attached to verbs (e.g. *man-uri* 'keeping', from *uri* 'keep'); and one would have to decide how a glottal stop could be replaced by /n/ or /g/ in all mutated forms of nouns (see 3.2.1). This means that the number of morphological rules needed is increased and the morphology is made more complex than if there were a simple rule of glottal insertion. In addition, if a glottal were assumed to be phonemic in all vowel-initial words, then the phonotactic structure of the word would be complicated by the fact that there must be a rule which stipulates that initial syllables of words are exceptional in having to have the form CV while all other syllables can be (C)V (see 2.7 for details of syllable structure).

It is possible that only some verbs and some nouns are vowel-initial and others are phonemically glottal initial. However, the evidence for this is also complex. For example, a distinction between vowel-initial intransitive verbs and

vowel-initial transitive verbs is made in two morphological processes: in relative clause marking and in irrealis verb forms. In relative clauses, the vowel of the relative clause marker is elided in front of vowel-initial intransitive verbs, but not in front of vowel-initial transitive verbs, e.g. *s=a-lawá* [REL=ST-tall] 'who is tall', cf. *si=alu-i* [REL=hunt-TR] 'who looks for'. In irrealis mode vowel-initial intransitive verbs have the same form as they have in realis mode, i.e. they begin with a glottal stop, e.g. *ya-alawa* [jaʔaláwa] 'he will be tall', while vowel-initial transitive verbs are preceded by *m-*, e.g. *ya-m-alui* [jamalúwi] 'he will look for'. It is difficult to account for the behaviour of these verbs by saying that one form is vowel-initial and one glottal initial. If intransitive verbs are regarded as vowel-initial because the vowel of the relative clause marker is elided when it is attached, then in irrealis mode one has to insert a glottal in front of them. Based on the evidence from irrealis verb forms, however, if intransitive verbs are regarded as glottal initial, then one has to remove the glottal when the relative clause marker is attached. The difficulties are the same for transitive verbs—if one claims transitive verbs as glottal initial based on evidence from relative clauses, then one has to replace the glottal with *m-* in irrealis mode. Thus, for 'vowel-initial' verbs, the evidence for a phonemic glottal seems contradictory.

In the case of nouns, all 'vowel-initial' nouns can be divided into two classes—one class which takes an initial /n/ in certain grammatical contexts and the other class which takes /g/ in those same contexts (for discussion see 3.2.1). It may be possible, therefore, to claim that all nouns which begin with /n/ in these grammatical contexts are vowel-initial and those which begin with /g/ are glottal-initial. In fact, there is historical evidence which shows that those nouns which take /n/ in mutation form are mostly derived from vowel-initial forms or words beginning with *S, which was lost everywhere in initial position in Nias, and that those which take /g/ are derived from words which began with *k or *q (see 3.2.1 and fn. 1 in Chapter 3). However, if it is true, it complicates morphological rules by requiring the insertion of glottals in some grammatical contexts but the deletion or

replacement of glottals by other phonemes in other grammatical contexts. For example, when the prefixes *mo-* 'HAVE' and *fa-* 'do/make N'; 'call s/o by [N]' are added to a noun (See Chapter 5, a glottal must be inserted between the prefix and a vowel-initial noun, e.g. *mo-ono* [moʔóno] 'have children'. However, when the prefix *maN-* 'do sth. with N' is added, the initial glottal of glottal-initial nouns would have to be replaced by /n/, e.g. *man-adulo* [manadúlo] 'lay eggs', which is formed from *adulo*, 'egg', which has a mutation form with /g/ (*gadulo* [egg:MUT]), and so would be considered to be glottal-initial.

Because the rule of glottal insertion appears to be the most succinct way of accounting for the presence of initial glottals in Nias, it has been adopted in this thesis. In fact this preserves the status quo with regards to orthography, as vowel-initial words in Nias have been written in citation form without an initial glottal until now.

2.4.5 /y/

The approximant or semivowel /y/ occurs in word-medial position only before /o/ or /a/, as mentioned in section 2.2 above. It is also restricted in word-initial position, to a small set of native words and a few borrowed words. The native words are listed in (11):

(11) words containing initial /y/

free pronouns	ya'o 'I'
	ya'ugö 'you.sg'
	ya'ia 'he, she'
	ya'ita 'we.incl'
	ya'aga 'we.excl'
	ya'ami 'you.pl'
	ya'ira 'they'
dependent pronouns	ya 'he, she'
	ya'ö 'that one'
clause-initial particle	ya 'I hope'
emphatic agreement particle	ya'ia 'yes, that's right'

presentative forms	yaa ¹⁷ / yae 'here it is'; 'this is...' yazö! 'here it is!'.
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Clearly such a restricted distribution is suspicious. Catford (1988:184-5) has suggested that words which begin with /y/ such as those listed in (11) above (and those which begin with /w/, which is also distributionally restricted—see 2.4.6 below) may be better represented phonemically as vowel-initial, indeed as the only true vowel-initial words in Nias, the rest of the so-called vowel-initial words being phonemically glottal-initial. While there may be an argument for claiming that words such as those in (11) begin with a vowel phonemically, in this thesis I am constrained to claim that they begin with a semivowel, as a result of adopting the position that the glottal stop is not phonemic in initial position (see section 2.4.4 above). If words which begin with a vowel phonemically are in fact phonetically glottal-initial, then words such as those in (11) above which begin with a semivowel are in contrast with them. Compare, for example, the initial syllable of the third singular independent pronoun (and homophonous affirmative particle), *ya'ia* [jaʔja], which begins with a semivowel/approximant [j], with the initial syllable of the pronominal modifier *iagö* [ʔjágʷ] 'lots of' which begins phonetically with the consonant [ʔ].

The claim that Nias has the consonantal phonemes /y/ and /w/ in initial position also contributes to a simplification of the statement of syllable structure (see 2.7), which would otherwise require the positing of an additional, alternative syllable structure only for initial syllables that included reference to the fact that if the initial syllable contained two vowels, the initial vowel would always be /i/ or /u/.

The locative meanings in the last two of the forms listed in (11) may be attributable to a derivation from an earlier locative marker *i, reflexes of which are common in Austronesian languages¹⁸. In addition, a prefix *i- has recently been

¹⁷ Presentative forms are usually sentence-initial and stressed. The double vowel in *yaa* 'this is..., here is...' indicates a phonetically long vowel, but phonemically the word contains a sequence of two vowels.

¹⁸ A lexical constraint on /y/ exists also in Indonesian and Malay, where it is restricted word-initially to words such as *yaitu* 'that is' and *yang*, the relative clause marker (Adelaar 1992:11), in which it is assumed that

reconstructed for a number of pronouns (Blust 1999). There are now, also, a number of borrowed words in Nias in which /y/ occurs in contexts semantically outside the field of locative or pronominal meanings, such as *Yesu* 'Jesus', and the months *Yanuari* 'January', *Yuni* 'June' and *Yuli* 'July'.

2.4.6 /w/

Like /y/, the approximant or semivowel /w/ is also restricted in initial position, but in this case the restriction appears to be phonetic rather than lexical. An initial /w/ occurs only before an /e/ or /a/, and only in the following words in my data:

(12) words containing initial /w/

nouns	we	'liquid (of any sort)'
	wewe	'climbing vine used for tying things'
	wawa	'garden planted with sweet potatoes'
	wa'a	'root'
	waiwai	'behaviour, actions'
	wani	'bee'
particles	we	second position particle 'in fact'
	wa	second position politeness particle
	walaö	second position hearsay particle 'they say, it is said'
numeral	walu	'eight'
verbs	warawara	'be many'
	waö	'say'

Intervocally /w/ also occurs in front of /e/ or /a/, but in addition occurs in front of the vowel /ö/ in one word: the fossilized noun *halö-wö* [take-NR] 'work'¹⁹. Similar to

the initial /y/ derives from an earlier *i (Adelaar, *ibid.*). Of additional interest with respect to the derivation of /y/ from a locative marker *i is that in Nias Utara, /y/ is found in the locative nouns *yöu* 'north', *yawa* 'up (here/there)' and *yomo* 'at, to home' (which are *löu*, *lawa*, and *baomo* respectively in Nias Selatan), *yefo* 'across; on the other side' and *ye* 'now'.

¹⁹ In the speech variety of the area around To'ene'asi, /w/ occurs also in front of /u/, e.g. *tuwu* 'support', *wuwu* 'move back'. In the variety with which I worked, these verbs are pronounced with /β/ in place of /w/.

In the verb *waö* 'say' (also pronounced *wa'ö*, with a glottal stop between the two vowels) it is possible that the initial [w] may be the result of accretion. This verb is related to the second position particle *laö*, meaning 'it is said' (and also to *walaö* 'they say, it is said'), as well as to *maö*, the irrealis and imperfective form of the verb. The forms *laö* and *maö* appear to consist of a stem *-aö* meaning 'say', and an initial prefix *l-* or *m-* (the irrealis and imperfective prefix for verbs beginning with bilabial consonants (see 3.4)). If *l-*

the discussion in 2.4.5 above with respect to /y/, while words such as those listed in (12) can be analysed as beginning with a vowel phonemically, they are treated in this thesis as beginning with the consonantal phoneme /w/ owing to the necessity of distinguishing them from other words which are analysed as beginning with a vowel phonemically. Thus words such as *we* 'liquid'²⁰ [we] and *ue* 'rattan' [ʔúe] (or [ʔúwe]), which were provided by Catford to suggest that /w/ and /u/ are in complementary distribution and therefore not separate phonemes, are, in the light of the analysis in this thesis, in contrastive distribution.²¹

SECTION 2 VOWELS

2.5 Vowel phonemes

Nias Selatan has 6 vowel phonemes, which are listed in Table 2.

Table 2. Vowels in Nias Selatan

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e	ö (ʏ)	o
low		a	

Only /u/ and /o/ are rounded. Auditorily the vowels seem to have approximately the same phonetic values in both stressed and unstressed syllables, which are close to those for the cardinal values they represent, except for /a/, which is usually pronounced slightly to the front of low central. This pronunciation appears

and *m-* are prefixes to a stem *-aö* (or *a'ö*), then [w] may also be an additional segment, perhaps a phonetic accretion before an /a/. However, there is no evidence similar to this for other words in the list, and phonetic accretion will not account for the occurrence of [w] in front of /e/, so a more general explanation is required.

²⁰ Catford glosses *we* as 'honey', but in Nias Selatan it can mean any sort of liquid, such as, for example, the milk of a coconut, or water in a well.

²¹ Additional support for claiming phonemic status for /w/ is that *w has been reconstructed for a number of words for which Nias has reflexes, e.g.: PAN **walu* 'eight' > Nias *walu* 'eight'; PMP **wani* 'bee' (n with circumflex) > Nias *wani* 'bee'; PHN **bawaŋ* 'garlic' > Nias *bawa* 'garlic'.

to be a feature of Nias as a whole as Catford (1988:158) gives a chart of vowel formant frequencies for /a/ in a speaker from Nias Utara which show fronted values in that dialect as well. The vowel /ø/ is a mid back unrounded vowel in all contexts²². Length is not phonemic. A sequence of two vowels of the same quality occurs in only one context: when a noun ending in /u/ is followed by the second singular possessive suffix *-u*, e.g. *sukhu-u* 'your comb', pronounced [suxú:]. Note that the presence of the possessive suffix is evident from stress assignment—without stress the word is pronounced with stress on the first syllable, i.e. [súxu]; with the addition of the monosyllabic suffix, stress moves to one syllable to the right, i.e. [sukhúu].

2.6 Minimal pairs

The phonemic status of these vowels is established by the following minimal contrasts.

(13) /i/ ~ /e/

miβo 'crow'

meβo 'guard rice field from birds'

(14) /u/ ~ /o/ ~ /ö/ ~ /e/ ~ /a/

bu 'hair'

bo 'rung (of step/ladder)'

bö 'name used by woman to female friend' (short for *babö*)

be 'give'

ba 'and'; 'at, in, to, from'

²² It may, of course, be the case that the perception of these vowels belies variation which is undetectable to the ear. Catford's recordings of the vowel /ø/ ([v]) indicate that pronunciation in the dialect that he recorded varies significantly with surrounding context, often fronted, backed or raised from the auditorily perceived mid back position (1988:156, 158).

SECTION 3 PHONOTACTIC STRUCTURE

2.7 Syllable, word and stress

A syllable in Nias has the form (C)V, where V may be bimoraic. A definition for phonological word in Nias was given in the discussion of the phonemic status of glottal stops above (2.4.4) and is repeated here: a phonological word is a root plus any string of syllables over which primary stress has influence. (Phonological) words consist of a string of up to seven syllables, with the qualification that there may be no more than one bimoraic V in a word. There are no syllable-final consonants in words²³, and no consonant clusters. The alveopalatal affricates /c/ and /z/ and the alveolar stop with trilled release /ndr/ are treated as unit phonemes.

All words in Nias have the potential to be stressed on the penultimate syllable, apart from a small number of words which have fixed stress on the final syllable (see 2.8 below). The primary indicator of stress in a word in isolation is the auditory loudness of the syllable compared with others. Vowel length and pitch change usually accompany stressed syllables, but are not essential²⁴. There does not seem to be any regular assignment of any stress to other syllables in a word. The only clearly observable instances of stress occurring more than once in words in isolation occurs in words which have undergone disyllabic reduplication, such as *fa-téte-téte* 'keep on following' in which stress is assigned to both the stem and the copied part of the stem. Auditorily it is usually difficult to determine which of these syllables is louder, but when there is a difference, it is the second which carries the greater prominence. Some examples of words in which stress occurs on the penultimate syllable are given in (15):

²³ Affixes, which are mostly monosyllabic, generally conform to the same syllable structure. However there is one affix which is exactly the reverse of canonical syllable form—the infix /um/. The infix poses no problem for the language, however, since it occurs after the initial consonant of a word, and the word recalibrates its syllables to accommodate an extra syllable in second position to begin with the /m/ of the infix. Another prefix (C)aN-, is written as though it contains a final consonant, but its final segment does not have any real phonetic form. Its presence is apparent only from its effects on initial segments of stems—when it is attached to a word, the initial segment of the stem and the final segment of the prefix fuse to create a new consonant as the initial segment of the second syllable of the word (see 3.3).

²⁴ Vowel length and pitch change are strongly associated with emphasis on important elements in clauses, i.e. words or constituents which the speaker wants to ensure the hearer takes note of (see examples section 2.13 below).

(15) Words with penultimate stress

ˈtörö 'go'

töˈrö-i 'go via'

fa-ˈtörö 'make go'

fa-ma-ˈtörö 'govern'

fa-ma-töˈrö-wa 'government'

sa-ma-töˈröi-ˈö 'messenger'

Baßamatalúo 'Baßamataluo village'

Danazumenivúgö 'the Danazumenivugö clan'²⁵

Danazumenivuˈgö-a 'these Danazumenivugö people'

Suffixes, both pronominal and derivational, are counted as syllables for the assignment of stress. For example, compare *ono* [ʔóno] 'child' with *ono-gu* [ʔonógu] 'my child' and *auri* [ʔáʷri] 'alive' with *auri-fa* [ʔaʷrífa] 'life'. Prefixes, on the other hand, are not counted as part of the word for stress assignment. This means that when a prefix is added to a monosyllabic stem, stress does not shift, despite the fact that the derived word is disyllabic. For example there is a distinction between the derived verb *mo-ndri* [modrí] 'be mosquitoey' ([HAVE-mosquito]), and the verb *mondri* [módri] 'bathe'. In the form *mo-ndri* 'be mosquitoey', the prefix *mo-* 'HAVE N' is unstressed and stress falls on the noun *ndri* 'mosquito', while in *móndri* 'bathe', the penultimate vowel /o/ is part of the verb itself and attracts stress. This also means that monosyllabic verbs, *a* 'eat', *so* 'arrive' and *be* 'give' are always stressed (in contexts in which it is the verb which carries primary stress) when they take pronominal prefixes, e.g. *la-a* [laʔá] 'they ate (it)', *gu-so* [gusó] 'I will come', *i-be* [ʔibé] 'he gave (it)'.

²⁵ The appearance of /v/ in this name is related to the fact that the clan is part of a story which derives from To'ene'asi area, where intervocalic /v/ occurs. In the area in which I worked (Botohilitanö), intervocalic /v/ does not occur. Where /v/ occurs in words in intervocalic position in To'ene'asi variety, /B/ tends to occur in the area around Botohilitanö.

2.8 Words with lexical stress

As mentioned above, there are just a few words in Nias Selatan which have lexical stress. In all of them stress occurs on the final syllable, in connected speech as well as in isolation. An exhaustive list of these words from my data is given in (16):

(16) Words with final stress

andá	proximal deictic demonstrative
andé	distal deictic demonstrative
ha'á	proximal deictic demonstrative
hö'ö	distal deictic demonstrative
ha(na)tá	Q word 'who?, whom?'
haiyá	Q word 'what?'
ató	Vintr. 'many (people)'
ará	Vintr. 'far'
ma'tö	aspectual particle 'then, after'
ma'nö	aspectual particle 'just'
maná	Advbl. 'now; then' (cf. <i>mána</i> 'eat(ing)')
aßená	advbl. 'then, after that'
fofó	N. 'sore, boil, ulcer' (cf. <i>fófo</i> 'kind of bird')
ya'ó	1s independent pronoun ²⁶

2.9 Sequences of vowels / phonetic diphthongs

Since all syllables are vowel-final in Nias, sequences of vowels occur when a syllable consisting only of a vowel follows any another syllable. In a number of cases, when two vowels in a sequence (within the same word) are of different heights, they form a phonetic diphthong. The lower vowel remains the nucleus of the diphthong and the other vowel becomes a glide (i.e. non-syllabic). Both falling

²⁶ Many of the words which contain lexical stress on the final syllable appear to be morphologically complex, suggesting derivation from monosyllabic bases. For example, the verbs *ara* 'be a long time' and *ato* 'be many (people)' are intransitive, and like many other intransitive verbs may contain the prefix *a-*. The adverb *mana* 'now', and aspectual particles *matö* 'then' and *manö* 'just' appear to contain the morpheme *ma* which is associated in other words with time, e.g. *ma* 'past tense', *mahemolu* 'tomorrow', *ma'akha* 'today', *ma'ökhö* 'day'. The demonstratives *andra*, *andre*, *ha'a* and *hö'ö* have enclitic forms without the initial syllable, namely =*ndra*, =*ndre*, =*a* and =*ö*. The first singular independent pronoun *ya'o* and the corresponding dependent form *ndao* appear to have the same base vowel /*o*/.

and rising diphthongs occur. The sequences of vowels which occur as falling diphthongs in Nias Selatan are the following:

(17) falling diphthongs

ai	ae	ao	au
oi			ou
öi			öu

Those which occur as rising diphthongs are the following:

(18) rising diphthongs

ia	io
ua	
ue	

In general when the last two syllables of a word consist of a sequence of vowels, stress occurs on the penultimate vowel and the vowels are pronounced separately, often with an intervening glide, e.g. *kiö* [kíjʷ] 'urine' (not [ˈkʲʷ]); *ebua* [ʔebúwa] 'big' (not [ʔeˈbʷa]).

Evidence that a vowel sequence behaves like a diphthong is revealed by stress, which applies to the syllabic element of the diphthong, leaving the unstressed element as an offglide or an onglide. Some examples of diphthongs in words are given in (19) and (20). (Offglides and onglides are represented by superscript characters in this study to distinguish them more clearly from the nuclear vowel in phonetic transcriptions.):

(19) Falling diphthongs

ai	ila'ila-ini 'calculate'	[ʔilaʔiláʔni]
ae	ba-ero 'outside'	[bá ^e ro]
ao	sao-'ö 'make happen'	[sá ^o ʔʷ]
au	hauga 'how much?'	[há ^w ga]

oi	oloi-'ö 'kidnap'	[ʔolóʔɿ]
ou	tou-'ö 'set down'	[tóʷɿ]
öi	samatöröi-'ö 'messenger'	[samatɿ'ɿʔɿ]
öu	aröu-'ö 'make distant'	[ʔa'ɿʷɿ]

(20) Rising diphthongs

ia	kia-'ö 'shock'	[kíáɿ]	cf. to-kia 'be shocked' [tokíja]
io	alio-'ö 'hurry up'	[ʔalíóɿ]	cf. alio 'be quick' [ʔalíjo]
ua	ebua-'ö 'make bigger'	[ʔebʷáɿ]	cf. ebua 'be big' [ʔebúwa]
ue	tueli 'get down'	[tʷéli] ²⁷	

As can be seen from the list of words, it is usually suffixes which alter the stress assignment of a word. When a suffix is attached to a word, stress moves one syllable to the right.

Evidence that the diphthong is treated by the language both as a single syllable and as a bimoraic structure comes from reduplication (see 3.5 for discussion of morphophonemic characteristics of reduplication). Diphthongs are treated as single syllables when they occur in stems which undergo disyllabic reduplication, e.g. *hauga-hauga* [háʷgaháʷga] 'however much', from *hauga* 'how much', *faigi-faigi* [fálgifálgi] 'watch' from *faigi* 'see', *faosa-faosa* [fá°safá°sa] 'always share' from *faosa* 'share'. When only one syllable is reduplicated, however, only the nucleus is copied, e.g. *ka-kaoni* 'call out till attention is attracted' from *kaoni* [ká°ni] 'call out to'; *fa-faosa* 'divide up completely' from *faosa* [fá°sa] 'share; *ag-aitö* 'black (pl)' from *aitö* [ʔáɿɿ] 'black'²⁸. This latter characteristic of reduplication indicates that it perceives diphthongs as consisting of two morae, one of which is prosodically active and takes part in the copying process, the other being prosodically inert and treated as a glide. This occurs whether the prosodically active mora is initial or final (i.e. whether the diphthong is falling or rising). Rising diphthongs which occur in reduplicated forms

²⁷ The verb *tueli* 'get down' is the only example of the sequence /ue/. However, the verb occurs several times in the data.

²⁸ In vowel-initial words, initial syllable reduplication inserts a /g/ between the copied vowel and the stem (see discussion of reduplication in 3.5.1)

include the prosodically inert mora as part of the onset, e.g. *ebua-ebua-’ö* ‘always make bigger’, from *ebua-’ö* ‘make bigger’ [ʔeb^wáʔv], is pronounced as [ʔeb^wáʔeb^wáʔv], i.e. the initial glide counts as part of the consonantal onset²⁹.

2.10 Word structure

All underived words in Nias consist of from one to three syllables. The majority of simple nouns, verbs and word bases are disyllabic, but there are a few monosyllabic forms and a larger proportion of trisyllabic forms. All words of more than three syllables appear to be derived.

2.10.1 Monosyllabic words

Monosyllabicity is characteristic of phrasal and clausal particles and pronominal affixes in Nias Selatan, e.g. *fa* ‘about’, *ha* ‘only’, *ba* ‘and’, *me* ‘when’, *u-* ‘1s:RLS’, *la-* ‘3p:RLS’, *-gu* ‘1s.POSS’. There are very few monosyllabic nouns and verbs. A list of those which occur in my data are given in (21):

(21)	monosyllabic nouns	monosyllabic verbs
	ö ‘food’	so ‘exist’; ‘arrive’
	bo ‘lungs’	a ‘eat’
	bu ‘hair’	be ‘give’
	fo ‘storage place above cooking area’	
	fu ‘family lineage’; ‘clump’	
	li ‘voice, speech, sound’	
	ndri ‘mosquito’	
	ndro ‘blood’	
	we ‘liquid’	

In connected speech monomoraic forms such as *ö* ‘food’ have short vowels unless they carry stress, in which case they are lengthened (i.e. become bimoraic); diphthongs have the same duration as short single vowels in connected speech but

²⁹ This is the only example I have of reduplication of a rising diphthong, so further data needs to be gathered in order to be certain that the reduplication process works in the same way with other words.

are lengthened when stressed. Phrasal and clausal particles and pronominal prefixes and suffixes generally have short vowels in connected speech since few of them are ever stressed.

2.10.2 Disyllabic words and roots

Disyllabic form is statistically the most frequent form for simple nouns and verbs and is the most common form for bound roots (lexemes which cannot function as nouns or verbs without further derivation; see discussion in 4.5). Examples of the types of disyllabic words which occur in Nias Selatan are given in (22):

(22)	syll. form	noun		verb
	V.V	uo	'vein' [ʔuo] ³⁰	none that I am aware of
	CV.V	teu	'rain'	koe 'poke'
	V.CV	ono	'child'	uri 'look after'
	CV.CV	te'u	'mouse; rat'	bözi 'hit'

All but two dependent pronouns are also disyllabic, e.g.: *ita* '1p:MUT', *ira* '3p:MUT', *ndraga* '1pe:MUT'.

2.10.3 Trisyllabic words

Many of the most commonly used nouns and all but one of the independent pronouns are trisyllabic. There are a few basic trisyllabic verbs as well, although nouns outnumber verbs by about ten to one. Some examples of common trisyllabic words are given in (23) and (24).

(23)	trisyllabic nouns
	adulo 'egg'
	alitö 'fire'
	balatu 'knife'

³⁰ Note that the characterisation of such words as vowel-initial depends on an analysis of Nias in which the glottal which occurs in initial position is not phonemic. See 2.4.4 for discussion.

banua	'village'
benua	'garden'
eßali	'paved yard between rows of houses'
idanö	'water'
nagole	'meat'
ölömbu	'green coconut'
sekhula	'coconut'

(24) trisyllabic verbs

ta'unö 'be dirty'

kaliru 'be busy'

Synchronically, many intransitive verbs are also trisyllabic. This is because they are derived from disyllabic bound roots with monosyllabic prefixes, e.g. *e-bua* 'be big', *a-ta'u* 'be afraid', *a-fusi* 'be white'.

SECTION 4 CLAUSAL STRESS AND INTONATION**2.11 Intonation: overview**

Intonation is used in Nias, as it is in other languages, to indicate emotional states or attitudes of the speaker. For a non-native speaker these uses are difficult to be certain of and will not be discussed in this study. However, intonation is also used in Nias to provide grammatical information, in particular for identifying various speech acts, and for distinguishing adverbial clauses from main clauses. One word in every clause is stressed more strongly than other words in the clause. It is on this word that the pitch change in intonational phrases signalling grammatical or pragmatic information pivots.

There are two main intonation contours, one with a falling pitch following the primary stress and one with a rising pitch. The clause types which carry falling intonation are statements, commands and information questions. Clause types which carry rising intonation contours include yes-no questions, requests, sentence-initial adverbial clauses and fronted constituents. Tag questions begin with falling

intonation and have rising intonation on their tags. For orthographic convenience, I use numbers to indicate levels of pitch. The number 2 is taken to be the normal pitch of the speaker, 1 is lower pitch than normal, 3 is higher and 4 is very high. I continue to use the mark [ˈ] to indicate primary stress.

2.11.1 Falling intonation: statements

Statements have a normal level pitch up to the word which carries primary clausal stress, followed by a lowering of pitch on the syllable(s) after that, e.g.:

- (25) Lōna la-tehé-gö.
 2 2 2 2 2 1
 NEG 3p.RLS-agree-TR
 They did not agree (to it).
- (26) Lōna a-hóno dödö-nia.
 2 2 22 1 1 1 1 1
 NEG ST-calm liver-3s.POSS
 He wasn't at ease.
- (27) A-ta'u sibái ira.
 2 2 2 2 3 1 1
 ST-afraid INTNS 3p.MUT
 They were very frightened.
- (28) La-be ba mbá'a.
 2 2 2 2 1
 3p.RLS-put LOC pig.pen:MUT
 They put (them) in the pigpen.

Short utterances such as responses to questions have the same declarative intonation contour, although in contracted form. (If an entire intonation contour occurs on one syllable, I have indicated this with raised or lowered numbers.)

- (29) Láu.
21
Yes / OK.
- (30) ˈKhö-gu.
2 1
DAT-1s.POSS
To me. (in response to 'Who does this belong to?')
- (31) ˈLöna.
2 1
NEG
No.

2.11.2 Falling intonation: commands

Most commands have lowered pitch on syllables following the primary stress, e.g.:

- (32) Dóro ga!
3 1 1
bring here
Bring (it) here!
- (33) Böi mi-búnu!
3 3 3 1
NEG.IMPER 2p.RLS-kill
Don't kill (them)!
- (34) Böi mi-a-nái!
2 2 2 3 1
.....aN-sai
NEG.IMPER 2p.RLS-IPF-take
Don't take (them)!

2.11.3 Falling intonation: information questions

Questions which begin with a question word usually begin with level pitch which can be slightly higher than normal. The pitch then drops after the syllable carrying primary stress, which usually occurs on the content word (or phrase) representing the information which is pre-supposed, e.g.:

- (35) Haega gö-´möi?
 3 3 3 31
 where 2p.IRR-go
 Where are you going?
- (36) Haega morói ha'a?
 3 3 3 31 1 1
 where come.from PROX
 Where does this come from?
- (37) Haega moroi ndrágö?
 3 3 3 33 3 1
 where come.from 2s..MUT
 Where have you been?
- (38) Hanata íra=ndre?
 3 3 3 3 1 1
 who 3p.MUT=DIST
 Who were they?
- (39) Hamega mofánö ira?
 2 2 2 2 3 1 1 1
 when leave 3p.MUT
 When did they leave?
- (40) Haiya ni-wa´ö-u ga, Amá?
 2 3 2 2 3 1 1 1 1
 what PASS-say-2s.POSS here father
 What is is you want here, Sir?³¹

³¹ Note that the final word *Ama* in (40) is stressed on the final syllable instead of the penultimate. This is typical of the vocative use of the kin terms *Ama* 'father' and *Ina* 'mother'. The most common way of

2.11.4 Rising intonation: yes-no questions

Yes-no questions have the same word order as simple statements but are distinguished from these by raised pitch on the final word of the utterance. Usually the pitch is level on the syllables preceding this word. Some examples are given in (41)-(43):

- (41) Ma=so na zibayá-u?
 2 2 2 2 2 3 4
 sibaya
 PERF=arrive yet uncle:MUT-2s.POSS
 Has your uncle arrived yet?

- (42) So gamaña=ö aná'a ga?
 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 3 3 4
 amaña
 EXIST sale=DIST gold here
 Are you still selling gold? (lit. Is there that selling of gold here?)

- (43) Gö-man-a na 'ö-u?
 3 3 3 3 3 4
 2s.IRR-IRR-eat yet food-2s.POSS
 Do you want some more to eat?

2.11.5 Rising intonation: Requests

Requests typically take the form of yes-no questions preceded by *tola* ('can'):

- (44) Tola gu-váigi?
 2 2 2 2 3
 can 1sg.IRR-see:IRR
 May I see (it) please?

attracting someone's attention is to use the word *ho* in front of an address form, e.g. '*Ho, Iná!*', 'Excuse me, Ina', with the intonation [3 1 2].

2.11.6 Rising intonation: Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses and phrases which occur first in a sentence are separated from the main clause by a pause, and carry a rise in pitch or a rise with a dip in it on the final word of the clause or phrase. Some examples of adverbial clauses and phrases are given in (45)-(48). In (47) and (48) the final clause of the sentence is given also, showing normal declarative intonation:

- (45) Na so z=a-nófu khö-mi, ...
 2 2 2 3 2 2 2³
 s=aN-sofu
 if EXIST REL.MUT=IPF-ask DAT-2p.POSS
 If someone asks you, ... (lit. 'if there is one who asks you')
- (46) Me ma=la-dóro, ...
 3 2 1 1 2
 when PERF=3p.RLS-carry
 When they had brought them, ...
- (47) Haega=manö ni-rugi-ra banúa, | ba la-bokai féfu.
 2 2 2 3 2 2 2 2 2 2 3 | 2 2 2 2 2 1
 where just PASS-reach-3p.POSS village | CNJ 3p.RLS-open all
 Whatever village they reached, they opened all (of them).
- (48) Fanuvö ha'á | la-halö ndrá-ono
 2 3 2 2 2³ | 2 2 2 2 1
 ira-
 war this | 3p.RLS-take COLL.MUTchild
 (In) this war, they took children.

2.11.7 Rising intonation: fronted constituents

Constituents which have been fronted also carry rising intonation, and are separated from the rest of the clause by a pause, e.g.:

- (49) Fefu gana'a 'föna, | te'ána mae ana'a maná.
 3 3 2 2 2 3 1² | 3 4 2 2 2 2 2 2 2
 all gold:MUT in front | NEG(N) resemble gold now
 All of the gold then, it was not like the gold today.

- (50) ...ba féfu manu ni-doro-ra khö-nia gáö,
 2 3 2 3 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2³
 ...CONJ all chicken PASS-carry-3p.POSS DAT-3s.POSS there
 oi kála.
 2 3 1
 all be.defeated
 ...and all of the chickens (fighting cocks) they'd brought to him there, they
 were all defeated

2.11.8 Falling and rising intonation: tag questions, leave-taking

Questions which request confirmation of a statement have falling pitch on the statement and rising pitch on the tag. The pitch of the statement can often be raised above normal until it drops on the penultimate syllable of the final word of the clause.

- (51) Löna ono-'nia, 'lö-a?
 3 3 3 3 4 1 2 3
 NEG. EXIST child-3sg.gen NEG-Q.tag
 She doesn't have any children, does she?

Leave-taking usually takes the form of a hortative statement to which a polite particle =wa'e is attached:

- (52) Da=gu-'möi=wa'é?
 2=2-3=1 2
 HORT=1s:IRR-go=D.PTCL
 I'll go now, if you'll excuse me³². (lit. Let me, I will go, OK?)

³² This is the most frequently used form of excusing oneself to leave.

2.12 Stress and intonation as evidence of constituency

In Laiya 1975(:124) there is a very nice example of how stress can distinguish the grammatical functions and constituents within a clause. Laiya gives the sentence *i'a manu simate asu*, which can be interpreted in three ways according to the way in which stress is assigned. In the first, clausal stress is assigned to the final word, and the sentence is translated as in (53). (Square brackets indicate constituents which belong together syntactically in these interpretations.)

- (53) I'a [manu simate] ásu
 i-a manu si=mate asu
 3s.RLS-eat chicken REL=be dead dog
 The dog eats the dead chicken.³³

The object of the verb in (53) is a noun modified by a relative clause, *manu si=mate*, 'chicken which is dead'.

In the second interpretation, given in (54) below, the word *simate* collocates with *asu* to form a headless relative meaning 'the one whose dog is dead'. Primary clausal stress still occurs on the final constituent, *asu*, but the verb *mate* carries secondary stress, as part of the constituent involved in signalling primary stress:

- (54) I'a manu [simate ásu]
 i-a manu si=mate asu
 3s.RLS-eat chicken REL=be dead dog
 The man whose dog is dead eats the chicken.

In fact, what Laiya shows with regard to these two sentences is that primary stress alone cannot signal different interpretations for these sentences. Other clues such as intonation contours must be taken into account. For example in (53) the pitch of the voice would normally continue fairly level till it reached the word *mate*, where the

³³ Transcriptions and translations are taken directly from Laiya, but I have added glosses.

pitch would drop on the second syllable, and the final word, *asu*, would be spoken with lowered pitch, as shown in (53'):

(53')	I'a	[manu	simate]	ásu
	i-a	manu	si=mate	asu
	2 2	2 2	2 2 1	1 1
	3s.RLS-eat	chicken	REL=be dead	dog
	The dog eats the dead chicken.			

In (54), a pitch drop would normally occur on the second syllable of the word *manu*, and lower pitch would remain throughout the phrase *simate asu*, as illustrated in (54'):

(54')	I'a	manu	[simate	ásu]
	i-a	manu	si=mate	asu
	2 2	2 1	1 1 1	1 1
	3s.RLS-eat	chicken	REL=be dead	dog
	The man whose dog is dead eats the chicken.			

These examples are instructive for showing how intonation contours in association with stress can signal grammatical constituency. In (53), *asu* is the lexical subject of the verb *a* 'eat' and is distinguished from the rest of the clause by its lower pitch. In (54) lower pitch on *simate asu* indicates that the entire phrase is the subject.

The third interpretation, involves three constituents, each stressed independently, resulting in a list of noun phrases. (It should be noted that stress disambiguates the meaning of the word *i'a*: if pronounced with stress on the final syllable, [i'á], it means 'he/ she/ it eats', but if pronounced with stress on the first syllable, [i'á], it can only mean 'fish'.)

- (55) Í'a mánu [simate ásu]
 i'a manu si=mate asu
 fish chicken [REL=be.dead dog]
 Fish, chicken, the man whose dog is dead.

In (55) each of the first two constituents would be followed by a pause, and possibly would have raised pitch on the second syllable. The third constituent would have level pitch until the final syllable where it drops to below normal range, indicating the end of the list, e.g.:

- (56) Í'a mánu [simate ásu]
 i'a manu si=mate asu
 2 3 2 3 2 2 2 2 1
 fish chicken [REL=be.dead dog]
 Fish, chicken, the man whose dog is dead.

There is also a fourth interpretation not mentioned by Laiya (1975) which is similar to the last: the word *simate* by itself can mean 'the person/animal that died'. The utterance can consist of a list of four noun phrases if each of the words is given independent stress, e.g.:

- (57) Í'a, mánu, simáte, ásu.
 Fish, chicken, the dead person/animal, a dog.

2.13 Pitch change

Unusually high pitch or dramatic pitch change is found most frequently on constituents that the speaker is either surprised about or wants to emphasize so that the hearer will take note. Syllables which are spoken on a high pitch or on which such a pitch change occurs are often accompanied by very long vowels. Such variation in pitch is frequently found on constituents in first position, which is often the place for topicalized NPs and other fronted arguments, i.e. elements which are

typically contrasted or treated as grammatically special. Some examples of sentences in which constituents associated with unusual pitch occur are given in (58)-(63). (The words in English which correspond to those spoken on higher pitch and exaggerated vowel length or with a significant pitch change in Nias Selatan are underlined. Note that these words are not necessarily those which we might stress in English in these utterances. Length of vowels is indicated by [:].)

- (58) Aná:'a gandre | Te'ana á:βu.
 2 4 2 2 2 | 2 4 2 3 1
 andre
 gold that.one:MUT | NEG(N) ash
 That's gold! That's not ash!
- (59) Zá:mba döi-nia! Moroi gáne
 4 2 2 2 2, 3 3 3 2
 töi
 guava name:MUT-3s.POSS come.from there
 ba ˈkhö-ma!
 2 4 1
 LOC DAT-1pe.POSS
 'Guava' is what that's called! It's from back there where I come from!
- (60) He ˈlö:na! Ha góβi=wa.
 2 4 1 2 4 1 1
 hey no! just sweet potato=D.PTCL
 Hey no way! (it's) only (good enough for growing) sweet potato.
- (61) La-waö ba á:mbö=wa na,
 2 1² 2 4 2 2 2
 3p.RLS-say CONJ be less than=D.PTCL still
 They said, 'but it's still not enough'.

CHAPTER 3

MORPHOPHONOLOGY

3.1 Morphophonology: overview

There are four productive morphophonological processes and three restricted or fossilized processes which will be discussed in this section. The processes described in this chapter and the sections in which they are discussed are the following:

Section 1: Productive morphophonological processes

- 3.2 Nominal mutation
- 3.3 Nasal assimilation
- 3.4 /um/ allomorphy
- 3.5 Reduplication

Section 2: Fossilized or restricted processes

- 3.6 Vowel deletion (fossilized)
- 3.7 Sonorant deletion (fossilized)
- 3.8 Alternations in initial consonants of nominalizing suffixes (fossilized)
- 3.9 Vowel loss/contraction (restricted?)

SECTION 1: PRODUCTIVE MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

3.2 Nominal mutation

The most distinguishing feature of Nias morphosyntax is a system of segmental alternations which occur on the initial segment of most nominal constituents, which plays a role similar to that of case in other languages. I refer to this system by the term 'mutation' by analogy with a similar system of initial consonant alternations which are known by this name which operate in Celtic languages. Mutation is a morphophonemic process which affects the initial segments of simple nouns, pronouns, headless relatives and other derived nominals.

3.2.1 Mutation on nouns

The effect of mutation is most clearly observable in nouns. Nouns in Nias have two forms, a 'mutated' form and an 'unmutated' form. The unmutated form of a noun is usually its citation form. The mutated form differs from the unmutated form in its initial segment, in accordance with a set of regular morphophonemic alternations. Examples of unmutated forms of nouns (i.e. citation forms), their mutated forms, and a list of the alternations which occur are given in Table 3. Note that some initial segments do not change when mutated. These are /m/, /n/, /l/, /r/, /mb/, /β/, /w/, /g/, /ndr/, /kh/ and some initial /d/s and /z/s.

Table 3. Mutation in nouns: alternations in initial consonant phonemes

base form and meaning	mutated form	alternation
voiceless consonants		
fakhe 'rice'	vakhe	f > v
tanö 'land'	danö	t > d
si'o 'stick'	zi'o	s > z [ɟ]
ci'aci'a 'gecko'	zi'aci'a	c [tʃ] > z [ɟ]
kefe 'money'	gefe	k > g
voiced consonants		
baβi 'pig'	mbaβi	b > mb [B]
doi 'thorn; fishbone'	ndroi	d > ndr [dʳ]

The reason that the unmutated form of the noun and not the mutated form is regarded as the base form is that there are some phonemes which can signal mutation for several base forms. For example /z/ is the mutation form for /s/, /c/ or /z/; /d/ can be the mutation form for /t/ or for /d/; /g/ can be the mutation form for /k/, for /g/ itself or for a vowel-initial noun.

The nouns exemplified in Table 3 are all consonant-initial. Vowel-initial nouns are preceded by one of two consonants in their mutation forms: /n/ or /g/. Some examples of nouns which take /n/ in their mutated form are given in (1):

(1)	unmutated noun	mutated form
	öri 'village federation'	nöri
	ußu 'plank'	nußu
	oßo 'boat'	noßo
	ißa 'sibling'	nißa
	ete 'bridge'	nete
	adu 'statue of ancestor'	nadu

Examples of nouns which take /g/ in their mutation forms are given in (2):

(2)	unmutated noun	mutated form
	öri 'amulet'	göri
	ußu 'part of coconut with eyes'	gußu
	oßoto 'small dike'	goßoto
	ißö 'movement (e.g. of lips)'	gißö
	ete'ete 'long unbroken wave'	gete'ete
	adulo 'egg'	gadulo

Note that the first and second examples on each of the lists constitute minimal pairs. In unmutated form, *öri* can mean either 'village federation' or 'amulet', but the mutated form *nöri* can only mean 'village federation', while the mutated form *göri* can only mean 'amulet'. Similarly the noun *ußu* can mean 'plank' or 'part of the coconut with eyes', but *nußu* can only mean 'plank', and *gußu*, 'part of the coconut with eyes'. With each of the other vowels, the respective pairs constitute near-minimal pairs. Although the default mutation form for all derived vowel-initial nouns is /g/, there is no phonological conditioning which can predict which form a simple, underived noun will take. How do speakers know which nouns take /n/ and which take /g/?

Historical evidence suggests how this situation came about. The variation in initial mutation forms corresponds fairly consistently with different reconstructed forms: with few exceptions mutation forms with /g/ are reflexes of PAN forms with initial *q and *k, while nouns which take /n/ are reflexes of vowel-initial or *S-initial forms (as was mentioned in 2.4.4 with respect to the phonemic status of initial glottal stops)¹. On a synchronic level, it seems plausible to propose that nouns which take /n/ in their mutation forms are vowel-initial while those which take /g/ are phonemically glottal initial. However, as was mentioned with respect to the phonemic status of word-

¹ PAN forms beginning with *q and *k are listed in (i), with their reflexes in Nias Selatan. PAN vowel-initial forms and forms beginning with *S, which was lost everywhere in Nias, are listed in (ii) with their Nias reflexes (reconstructed forms are taken from Zorc 1994, 1995; with variants in parentheses taken from Blust 1999):

(i) PAN forms beginning with *q and *k

PAN *qaCey 'liver'	> (g)ate;	
PAN *quáy 'rattan'	> (g)ue;	
PAN *qalipan 'centipede'	> (g)alifa;	
PAN *qateluR 'egg'	> (g)adulo;	(*qiCeluR)
PAN *kúliC 'skin'	> (g)uli;	(*qaNiC)
PAN *káyuh 'tree, wood'	> (g)eu	(*kaSiw)

(ii) PAN forms beginning with a vowel or *S

PAN *uRát 'vein, sinew'	> (n)uo
PAN *i+júŋ 'nose'	> (n)ikhu
PAN? *aNak 'offspring'	> (n)ono 'child'

PAN *Sajfŋ 'younger sibling'	> (n)akhi
PAN *Sesi 'meat, flesh, contents'	> (n)ösi

However, on the basis of current historical knowledge, this neat division does not account for all the data. For example some forms in Nias Selatan which have mutant forms with /n/ have reflexes reconstructed with *q in PAN e.g.:

PAN *qa+jeŋ 'charcoal'	> (n)akho
PAN *qenay 'sand'	> (n)ene 'area of sand'
PAN *qúluH 'head'	> (n)ulu 'headwaters of river'

Similarly some forms which have mutant forms with /g/ reflect PAN reconstructions which are vowel initial or *S initial, e.g.:

PAN *fkuR 'tail'	> (g)i'
PAN *Si-ka'en 'fish'	> (g)i'a (*sikan)

PMP forms are also inconsistent in reflecting the mutation form in Nias. Vowel initial PMP forms may reflect /g/ or /n/, e.g.:

PMP *aluja 'paddle'	> (g)alukha 'oar'
PMP *anduŋ 'ancestors'	> (n)adu 'ancestor image'

In addition, at least one common noun has a different mutation form in Nias Utara from the form it takes in Nias Selatan: *alitö* 'fire' (< PHN *aliten 'firebrand'). This noun has the mutant form *nalitö* in Nias Selatan but *galitö* in Nias Utara.

initial glottals (see 2.4.4), by distinguishing one set of nouns from the other by the presence or absence of a glottal involves an increase in the numbers and complexity of morphological rules, requiring the replacement of the glottal in certain derivational processes or the insertion of a glottal in others.

However, there may be no need to posit a phonemic glottal in front of some vowel-initial nouns. There are, in fact, only a relatively small number of nouns which take /n/ in mutation, and the fact that the list is fairly small suggests another solution. I have listed all of the nouns from my data which fall into this set in (3)-(5) below. The nouns are listed in the three categories which are distinguished syntactically by the grammar of Nias: 'human', 'non-human animate' and 'inanimate' (see 11.6).

Nouns which occur with initial /n/ in mutated form

(3) human nouns

aßö 'companion'
 akhi 'younger sibling'
 ama 'father'
 emali 'enemy'
 eni 'messenger'
 ißa 'sibling'
 ina 'mother'
 ono 'child'
 udu 'enemy'

(4) non-human animates

asu 'dog'
 agö 'crab'

(5) inanimates

adu 'statue of ancestor'
 afo 'betel quid'
 alitö 'fire'
 asi 'sea'
 eßali 'yard'
 ene 'seashore'

ete 'footbridge made of two planks'
 idanö 'water'
 ogu 'neck'
 ohi 'coconut tree'
 omo 'house'
 oþo 'small boat'
 öri 'federation of villages'
 ose 'hut in field for resting during work'
 ösi 'contents'
 ulu 'headwaters'
 urakha 'one's share'
 uþu 'plank of wood'

As can be seen, most of the nouns in the lists above are simple disyllabic forms, referring to familiar people or common items in daily life. There are no morphophonemic grounds for distinguishing this set, and there appear to be no strong semantic grounds for grouping them together either. One striking observation that can be made about the nouns in this set is that it contains all of the vowel-initial nouns that refer to humans. In other words, there is no vowel-initial noun referring to a human being that takes a mutation form in /g/. It does not seem improbable, therefore, that speakers simply learn the set of nouns which take /n/ in mutation form. If speakers distinguish these nouns from the rest in this way, then it is not necessary to posit a glottal stop in initial position in the majority of vowel-initial nouns.

3.2.2 Mutation in pronouns and the collective particle *-ira*

Pronouns, too, have mutated forms, but in their case the effect of mutation is irregular. A list of pronouns in unmutated and mutated form is given in Table 4. The pronouns are termed 'unmutated' and 'mutated' in this study for the sake of avoiding terminological confusion.

Table 4: pronouns in Nias Selatan

	unmutated	mutated
1s	ya'o	ndrao
1s.EMPH	ya'oto	ndraoto
2s	ya'ugö	ndraugö
3s	ya'ia	ya
1pi	ya'ita	ita
1pe	ya'aga	ndraga
2p	ya'ami	mi
3p	ya'ira	ira

Note that while some of the unmutated forms regularly correspond to forms which begin with /ndra/, other mutated forms are irregular. (For further discussion of pronouns see 4.6)

Another form which is affected by mutation is the collective prefix *ira-*. This prefix attaches to kin terms and proper names to refer to people who occur in, or are thought of as a member of, a group, e.g. *ira-Dali* 'Dali's family' or 'Dali and his companion(s)'. When mutated, this prefix takes the form *ndra-*, e.g. *khö ndra-Dali* [DAT COLL.MUT-Dali] 'to/from Dali's family (see 4.3)².

3.2.3 Mutation in classifiers

Mutation operates in a different way with a set of nouns which are used as classifiers. Classifiers are a small set of nouns which categorize other nouns according to semantic principles and are used with numerals in counting (see 4.3). When classifiers are used as normal nouns, they follow the same rules of mutation as other nouns. When they are used as classifiers, they conform to a slightly different system of initial

² It is presumably not a coincidence that the forms *ira-* and *ndra-* correspond to the realis and irrealis forms of third plural pronominal prefixes which occur with verbs (see 10.3.1). However, if these forms are related, it is difficult to understand how verbal prefixes came to be attached to proper names or kin terms.

segment alternations. When a classifier follows a numeral ending in /a/, the classifier takes a mutated form, as exemplified in (6). (The classifiers used in the following examples are *eu* 'classifier for non-human animates' and *roto* 'classifier for things that come in sections (like sugarcane or bamboo)'; see 4.3 for full list of classifiers.)

- (6) *dua geu mbaβi* [two CLF.MUT pig:MUT] 'two pigs'
öfa ndroto döβu [four CLF.MUT sugarcane:MUT] 'four pieces of sugarcane'

However, when the numeral does *not* end in /a/, it is linked to a following classifier by the particle *na=*, e.g.:

- (7) *önö na=eu mbaβi* [six LK=CLF pig:MUT] 'six pigs'
fitu na=roto döβu [seven LK=CLF sugarcane:MUT] 'seven pieces of sugarcane'

In other words, mutation of classifiers is in contrastive distribution with a construction consisting of a linker and unmutated noun³.

3.2.4 Initial segment alternations in numerals

Numerals have their own system of alternations in initial segments which bear some resemblance to the system of nominal mutations. However these alternations are different enough to warrant calling the numeral system a separate one.

The cardinal numbers are the following:

- | | | |
|-----|----------------|----------------|
| (8) | numeral | meaning |
| | sara | 1 |
| | dua | 2 |

³ Not all classifiers are in their unmutated form after *na=*. Those which begin with /b/ are lenited after *na=*. However lenition of /b/, which historically occurred as a result of being intervocalic, is a process which is no longer productive, and the forms in which the lenited form of /b/ occur synchronically are fossilized (see discussion of /B/ in 2.4.1 for examples, and Chapter 2 fn. 14). For the purposes of exemplifying the contrastive distribution between *na=* and mutation in classifiers, however, the fossilized lenited forms of the classifiers beginning with /b/ can be regarded as equivalent to unmutated forms.

tölu	3
öfa	4
lima	5
önö	6
fitu	7
walu	8
siwa	9
fulu	10

Numerals for the 'teens' are formed by the combination of a base *fele-* (presumably related to *fulu*, 'ten') followed by one of the numbers from *sara* 'one' to *siwa* 'nine'.

Numerals based on *fele-* are listed in (9):

(9)	numeral	value
	<i>fele-zara</i>	11
	<i>fele-ndrua</i>	12
	<i>fele-dölu</i>	13
	<i>fele-öfa</i>	14
	<i>fele-lima</i>	15
	<i>fele-önö</i>	16
	<i>fele-βitu</i>	17
	<i>fele-walu</i>	18
	<i>fele-ziwa</i>	19

If one compares the numeral forms in (9) with the numerals in (8), one can see that many of the initial phonemes occur in a changed form⁴. Some of the alternations which occur are the same as those which occur in nominal mutations: /s/ alternates with /z/, /d/ with /ndr/ and /t/ with /d/. What is different in this group is that /f/ does not have a voiced fricative counterpart but is lenited to /β/ (as occurs also in complex numerals

⁴ The same set of changed forms occurs in the construction meaning 'n times', e.g. *me-ndrua* 'twice', *me-dölu* 'three times', *me-βitu* 'seven times'. Although it is not clear what influence the phonological form has on the alternations in the initial segment, it is of interest to note that both *fele-* and *me-* end in /el/.

based on *fulu* as discussed below⁵), and that the 'vowel-initial' numerals *öfa* 'four' and *önö* 'six' do not have counterparts with /n/ or /g/ as vowel-initial nouns do, but in fact require the insertion of a glottal stop following *fele-*. The system of sound alternations in these numerals, therefore, is not exactly the same as those of nominal mutation. Nor are they simply the result of voicing or lenition. In effect, the same observation can be made about the alternations in this set as can be made of those in the set of nominal mutations: the changes which occur in these numerals are not predictable by phonemic rule and must therefore be learnt. A great deal of evidence points to the fact that numerals are classified as verbs in Nias (see 4.4), so it is surprising to find alternations similar to mutation in a set of verb-like words. However, numerals behave differently from verbs also (see 4.4 and 8.5.2), so it is also not so surprising that alternations in them are different from those of nouns, since the contexts for use are, and presumably always have been, different.

3.2.5 Morphological status of mutation

There are four ways in which 'mutation' is realized in nominals:

- (i) as a change in the initial consonant on consonant-initial nominals, according to the alternations described in 3.2.1, e.g. *baβi* 'pig' - *mbaβi* 'pig:MUT'.
- (ii) as an /n/ or /g/ added in front of the initial vowel on vowel-initial nominals, as described in 3.2.1, e.g. *omo* 'house' - *nomo* 'house:MUT', *ömö* 'debt' - *gömö* 'debt:MUT'.
- (iii) as irregular changes in the morphological form of pronouns which may involve the initial syllable, as shown in Table 4, e.g. *ya'ugö* 2s - *ndraugö* 2s.MUT, or the lack of the initial syllable or first two syllables, e.g. *ya'ira* 3p - *ira* 3p.MUT, *ya'ami* 2p - *mi* 2p.MUT.

⁵ /f/ is also lenited sporadically in some lexical words: *manaβuli* 'return', related to *fuli* 'give back, turn back', and *oβuloa* 'group' related to *ofulo* 'be gathered'. The number *fitu* 'seven' is also lenited in the construction *me βitu* 'seven times'.

- (iv) as an irregular change in the morphological form of the 'collective' prefix *ira-*, while the noun remains unmutated, e.g. *ira-ono* [COLL-child] 'child, children' - *ndra-ono* [COLL.MUT-child] 'child, children:MUT'.

If one also includes the alternation found in numeral classifiers between a mutated classifier and a linker plus an unmutated noun (see 3.2.3), a fifth realization can be added: *na=* + unmutated noun. Note that whichever context mutation occurs in, it occurs always on the initial segment or syllable of that constituent.

The grammatical trigger for mutation does not have to be adjacent to the mutated nominal—the nominal may be separated from the trigger by another NP, adverbial constituents or particles. For example in (10), the verb is the grammatical trigger for the mutation of its P argument⁶ *sekhula nirökhi* 'grated coconut', but it is separated from its P argument by the locative phrase *ba ragaraga* 'into the basket':

- | | | | | | |
|------|------------|-----|------------|-------------|------------|
| (10) | I-be | ba | ragaraga | zekhula | ni-rökhi. |
| | | | ragaraga | sekhula | |
| | 3s.RLS-put | LOC | basket:MUT | coconut:MUT | PASS-grate |

She put the grated coconut into the basket.

However, if a nominal occurs in front of its trigger, it is no longer mutated. For example in (11), the P argument *tanö hö'ö*, 'that land', occurs at the front of the clause and takes unmutated form:

⁶ In discussing the contexts for mutation (and other syntactic constructions) the abbreviations S, P and A are used as terms for the functions of the obligatory arguments in prototypical clause types (following Comrie 1978): S represents the single argument of an intransitive verb, P represents the more patientive argument in a transitive clause and A represents the more agentive argument in a transitive clause. This is a variation of the forms S, A and O also commonly used. I have chosen to use P rather than O because it is semantically isomorphic with A, in that A represents the argument which prototypically corresponds to the more agentive participant in a transitive clause and P represents the argument which prototypically corresponds to the more patientive.

- (11) Tanö hö'ö, irugi mana, la-f-o-töi 'taro'o zi'o'.
 land DIST until this.time 3p.RLS-CAU-HAVE-name plant stick:MUT
 That land, until now, is called 'Taro'o zi'o' ('the stick is planted').

Compare this sentence in its non-fronted form, in which the noun *tanö* 'land' occurs in its mutated form, *danö*: *La-fotöi danö hö'ö 'taro'o zi'o'* [3p.RLS-CAU-HAVE-name land:MUT DIST 'plant stick:MUT'] 'They called that land, 'taro'o zi'o'.') This suggests that mutation is constrained to occur only within scope of its trigger and that in all cases the scope of the trigger extends rightwards.

Given that mutation has four (or five) distinct realizations and that the form of mutation that appears depends on the kind of nominal to which it applies, mutation must be represented as an abstract morpheme. Since a nominal which is mutated as a result of its relationship to a verb may occur anywhere in a predicate, the mutation morpheme must be able to 'float', and be realized by the appropriate form when its host takes its place in the clause. Mutation and the word to which it is attached are treated by the syntax as a single unit, not as separable morphemes.

A formal question has not yet been addressed: is mutation a clitic, an affix or some other morphological configuration? The evidence, which is reviewed below, seems to provide conflicting views.

To begin with, the irregularities in the morphophonological form of mutation described in (i)-(iv) above are very un-clitic-like, as is also representation by an abstract morpheme, which is required to account for these irregularities. Second, mutation is selective in the word class to which it attaches. Mutation applies to constituents which function as arguments of verbs, prepositions, numerals, quantifiers and other nominals, i.e. nouns, pronouns, headless relatives and nominalized forms of verbs (see chapter 7). However, mutation does not affect the quantifier *fefu* 'most, all', the indefinite pronoun *samösa* 'one person' or numeral + classifier constructions when they are used as arguments of verbs. For example, in (12) and (13), *fefu* 'all' and *samösa* 'one person'

function as P arguments, and in (14) *da-tölu* 'three people' functions as an S argument. S and P arguments require mutated NPs, yet *fefu*, *samösa* and *da-tölu* are unmutated in these functions.

(12) Tola ta-fake fefu.
 can 1pi.RLS-use all
 We can use all (of them).

(13) Ta-fili samösa.
 1pi.RLS-choose one person
 We chose one person.

(14) Mo-guna da-tölu.
 HAVE-need CLF-three
 Three men are needed. (/ One has need of three men.)

Mutation also does not affect the prepositional phrase *khö* + possessive suffix, meaning 'N's place' when it is used as an NP. For example *khö-ma* is unchanged after the locative preposition *ba* in (15), a context which normally calls for a mutated nominal:

(15) Toroi ya ba khö-ma.
 stay.at 3s.MUT LOC DAT-1pe.POSS
 She's staying at our place.

Mutation thus appears 'sensitive' to the category of the word which functions as a nominal. This sensitivity, too, is a property of affixes, not of clitics.

Mutation affects an entire phrase, not just single constituents. It is marked only once in the phrase, at the beginning. For example NPs joined by *ba* 'and' or *ma* 'or', are marked with mutation only on the initial segment of the first conjunct. An example of a conjoined NP is given in (16) below. The phrase *zi'ulu ba si'ila ba niha mbanua* 'the

village leader, (his) advisors and the people of the village', is a single NP which functions as the S argument of the verb *orahu* 'have a meeting'. Mutation is marked only on the first conjunct, *si'ulu* 'village leader':

- (16) ... orahu zi'ulu ba si-ila ba niha mbanua.
 si'ulu banua
 ... HAVE-meeting village.leader:MUT CNJ advisor CNJ person village:MUT
 ... the village leader, (his) advisors and the people of the village had a meeting.

This feature of mutation is more clitic-like than affix-like, since affixal case is typically marked on each of the NPs in a conjoined phrase.

In headless relatives, also, mutation only occurs on the first constituent of the clause, i.e. the relative marker *s(i)=*. An example of mutation on a headless relative is given in (17) below. The headless relative *zi=löna fa-oro* 'that which cannot be seen', is the P argument of *ila* 'see'. It is the whole clause which is subject to mutation, yet it is only *si=* which is mutated:

- (17) I-ila zi=löna fa-oro.
 si=
 3s.RLS-see REL.MUT=NEG DO-visible
 He sees things that are not visible.

The relative marker *s(i)=* is itself analysed (tentatively) as a clitic in this thesis. *S(i)=* attaches to whichever word appears first in the predicate in a relative clause (see 8.4 for details). Typically affixes do not attach to clitics, while clitics may attach to other clitics. If the relative marker is a clitic, then the mutation morpheme is most likely also a clitic.

The evidence discussed above is summarized in (18) and (19):

(18) Evidence for clitic status of mutation

- (i) Mutation is always at the beginning of the phrase or clause. If mutation were an affix, one might expect that it could be marked on constituents within a phrase.
- (ii) In particular, mutation is only marked on the first conjunct of conjoined NPs. Case affixes, if they apply to conjoined NPs, tend to occur with each conjunct.
- (iii) Mutation applies not just to nouns and pronouns, but also to the relative marker, exhibiting an indifference to the morphological constituency of a nominal which is more clitic-like than affix-like.
- (iv) Mutation applies to the clitic *s(i)=*. Case affixes do not generally apply to clitics.

(19) Evidence for affixal status of mutation

- (i) Mutation exhibits a certain degree of selection with respect to the word class with which it can occur, attaching to nouns, pronouns and nominalized clauses, but not to quantifiers or numerals.
- (ii) The morphological irregularities shown in pronouns and the collective particle *ira-*, and the fusional nature of mutation in nouns, are typical of affixes but not clitics.
- (iii) Where mutation is phonologically regular, it is not phonetically predictable—a characteristic of affixes rather than clitics, which tend to be morphologically transparent.

As mentioned above, the evidence appears contradictory. Since there is no practical need to take a stand on this issue, the decision about the morphological status of mutation is left for further analysis.

3.2.6 Clues to the origins of mutation

Clues to the origins of mutation in Nias can be found in several parts of the grammar. One important clue comes from constructions containing the linker *na=* which is found in contexts related to quantification. The most important context that is important to determining the origins of mutation involves phrases containing quantifiers and classifiers. As described in section 3.2.3 above, constructions consisting of a linker and unmutated classifier are in contrastive distribution with a construction which has a mutated form of a classifier. To repeat what was said there for the sake of convenience, classifiers which occur with numerals ending in /a/ are mutated while classifiers which occur with numerals not ending in /a/ are unmutated but require the linker *na=*, as illustrated in (20):

- (20) *lima geu mbaβi* [five CLF.MUT pig:MUT] 'five pigs'
walu na=eu mbaβi [eight LK=CLF pig:MUT] 'eight pigs'

It seems clear that the mutation of the classifier and the non-presence of *na=* are related in some way. The most obvious possibility is that mutation is derived from the fusion of a reduced form of the linker with the initial segment of the classifier (although the phonological reasons for the reduction of the linker are not absolutely clear). Whether this is the path taken in the development of mutation or not, it appears that the linker in classifier constructions retains an earlier form of mutation in those nouns which are used as classifiers, and may, in fact, illustrate an earlier form of mutation in all nouns in Nias.

Mutation does not contrast with a nasal linker in any other part of the grammar, although a linker *na=* occurs in other quantificational phrases (see below). However, there is a great deal of evidence in Austronesian languages in general for linkers in NPs. Nasal ligatures or linkers are used in quantificational constructions in a large number of Malayo-Polynesian languages (Adelaar 1994). A genitive linker is a well-established feature of Austronesian languages and has been reconstructed for Proto-

Austronesian (**ni*) and Proto Malayo-Polynesian (**nu*). The evidence for nasal ligatures or linkers with functions in NPs other than numeral and classifier phrases or possessive phrases is less well-documented, but is nevertheless not hard to find. Adelaar (1994:4) notes Tagalog and Old Javanese as having a nasal linker indicating (amongst other meanings) definiteness or deixis, although there is general use of a nasal linker between constituents in NPs in many Philippine languages. Toba Batak uses a ligature *na* in NPs (Foley (1980:185), and Karo Batak uses a 'specifier', *-na*, in an NP which introduces new information (Woollams 1998:147). Tolai uses a connecting particle, *na*, between many constituents in a noun phrase (Mosel 1984); and Malagasy is only one of several other Austronesian languages which use a nasal morpheme as an article preceding nouns.

Based on the overwhelming evidence for pre-nominal nasal morphemes in Austronesian and the evidence in Nias of contrastive distribution between linkers and mutation, it seems reasonably uncontroversial to claim that a nasal morpheme of some kind used to precede nouns in Nias to mark those contexts which are now marked by mutation (which are in all cases contexts in which the noun is dependent, i.e. contexts which might call for linkers). Given the variety of linkers in other languages, it is possible, too, that there were different forms of linkers in Nias in different grammatical contexts. Clearly, however, whatever form such linkers took at an earlier time, the result of their interaction with the noun which followed them was the same, since mutated forms of nouns in all syntactic contexts which require mutation do not differ.

There is another area of the morphophonology of numerals which is analogous to that which has just been described for classifiers, but differs in a significant way. In numerals it is lenition which is in contrastive distribution with a construction containing a linker. In numerals based on *fulu* 'ten', *fulu* occurs in lenited form when the number preceding it ends in /a/, e.g.:

- (21) dua Bulu [two ten:LEN] 'twenty'
 lima Bulu [five ten:LEN] 'fifty'
 siwa Bulu [nine ten:LEN] 'ninety'

When the numeral preceding *fulu* ends in any other vowel, *fulu* remains unchanged, but must be accompanied by the linker *na=*,⁷ e.g.

- (22) *tölu na=fulu* [three LK=ten] 'thirty'
önö na=fulu [six LK=ten] 'sixty'
walu na=fulu [eight LK=ten] 'eighty'

As can be observed, in a pattern similar to that of mutation and linker constructions in classifiers, the lenition of /f/ in *fulu* is in contrastive distribution with the linker *na=* plus an unlenited form. Like the contrastive distribution between mutation and *na=* in classifiers, this suggests that lenition has developed from the closer phonological association of the linker with *fulu* in those constructions where the linker followed /a/.

However, there is more to the picture in numerals: the linker *na=* also occurs in higher numerals based on *otu* 'hundred' and *hönö* 'thousand', but in these cases the linker occurs even when *otu* or *hönö* is preceded by numerals ending in /a/, e.g.

- (23) *sa-na=otu* [one-LK=100] '100'
dua na=otu [two-LK=100] '200'
lima na=otu [five-LK=100] '100'
siwa na=hönö [nine-LK=100] '9000'

Whatever the motivating factor for the lenition of /f/ in *fulu* was, it is absent from the forms in (23). However, it may be possible to explain this in part, and throw some light on the lenition of /f/ in *fulu* at the same time. Although the linker is not absent in numerals based on *otu* '100' when following numerals ending in /a/, it does occur in a phonologically reduced form. The linker and the numeral *otu* 'hundred' form a

⁷ This particle may or may not be the same linker as occurs with numerals in construction with classifiers, but is, in any case, homophonous with it. The evidence for a nasal ligature between numerals and the word for 'ten' is found in many MP languages (see Adelaar 1994 for discussion). Blust (1995: 628) also mentions that there is evidence for a ligature **pa* between the clitic numeral **esa* 'one' and the base **puluq* 'group of ten' in the common ancestor of extra-Formosan languages.

phonological word, as revealed by the fact that a diphthong is created from the sequence of vowels which arises from the attachment and that stress occurs on the more vocalic of the segments, i.e. /a/—the word *naotu* is pronounced as a disyllabic word with stress on the first syllable: [ná^otu], indicating that the linker and numeral are no longer separate phonological words. Evidently, then, there is a tendency for the linker to attach to the word following it (rather than the word preceding it) if the phonological context is conducive to such an attachment. Such attachment has presumably occurred with *fulu* and *otu*⁸. Because of its morphophonological integration with its host, the linker is regarded syntactically as a clitic. However, it does have affix-like properties: clearly it is sensitive to the morphological category of its host, and clearly it takes part in a mini-paradigm consisting of *na=* or lenition, one of which must occur in the position preceding the numeral. Despite its affix-like properties, however, *na=* is analysed in this thesis as a clitic because of its morphophonological integration with *otu*. If the linker were a prefix, a glottal stop should be inserted between it and the numeral, since prefixes are regarded as separate phonological words for the purposes of glottal insertion (see 2.4.4).

On the basis of the evidence presented here, it can also be extrapolated that the linker which alternates with mutation in classifiers discussed above, like the linker which alternates with lenition in numerals, attaches to the classifier which follows it, and not to the preceding numeral.

3.3 Nasal assimilation

The second major morphophonemic process which operates in Nias is the system of 'nasal assimilation'. Nasal assimilation refers to patterns of morphophonemic alternations which occur at the juncture of certain prefixes and verb stems. The process is a characteristic of verb systems in western Malayo-Polynesian languages. The trigger for nasal assimilation in Nias is the morpheme *aN-*. This morpheme is an

⁸ Presumably *hönö* 'thousand' is unaffected by *na=* because the phoneme /h/, which often patterns with sonorants in languages, is in general unaffected by mutation, and may therefore also be unaffected by the phonemic conditions which give rise to lenition and fusion in numerals.

imperfective marker and detransitivizing prefix which occurs mainly in nominalized forms of transitive verbs and almost invariably in association with another affix (see Chapter 6 for nominalization and 3.3 for the prefix *maN-* of which *aN-* is part). 'N' represents an underspecified nasal segment which takes a different form depending on the initial segment of the stem to which it is attached. The underspecified segment is regarded as nasal because in default contexts, such as vowel initial verbs, it surfaces as [n], and in other contexts it is responsible for generating a nasal segment homorganic with the initial obstruent on the verb. Since Nias allows neither syllable final consonants nor consonant clusters, the nasal coda in these prefixes cannot be realized as a nasal consonant in front of consonants in stem-initial position. What happens to resolve this problem is that the nasal coda of the prefix and the initial consonant of the verb fuse to become the single consonant onset of the second syllable of the derived form (e.g. *m-aN-* + *fake* 'use' => *m-a-make*).

The most common changes that occur due to nasal assimilation are listed below (with examples using the imperfective prefix *maN-*). For the sake of morphological clarity in glossing these forms, prefixes are separated from the base before the fused consonant:

(i) Bilabial phonemes and voiceless (dento-)alveolar and (alveo-)palatal consonants are replaced with homorganic nasals:

/b/	→	/m/	be'e 'give'	ma-me'e
/f/	→	/m/	fake 'use'	ma-make
/t/	→	/n/	tagö 'steal'	ma-nagö
/s/	→	/n/	sofu 'ask a question'	ma-nofu
/c/ [tʃ]	→	/n ⁹	cibo 'throw away'	ma-nibo

⁹ As discussed in 2.4.3, the phoneme /c/ is probably derived from /t/ or /s/ preceding /i/. Since nasal assimilation has operated in Western Malayo-Polynesian languages from very early times, it is probable that the nasally assimilated form in Nias was established at a time when /n/ replaced a base-initial /t/ or /s/.

(ii) The voiced dento-alveolar consonants /d/ and /r/ are replaced by the stop with trilled release, and the prefix changes to *mo-*:

/d/	→	/ndr/ [dʀ]	döli 'drag'	mo-ndröli
/r/	→	/ndr/ [dʀ]	rino 'boil, cook'	mo-ndrino

(iii) Velar consonants are replaced by /g/, and the prefix changes to *mo-*:

/k/	→	/g/	kaoni 'call to'	mo-gaoni
/kh/ [x]	→	/g/	khau 'fine'	mo-gau

(iv) For the most part, the consonants /β/, /ndr/, /n/, /l/, /g/ and /h/ remain unchanged, but the prefix changes to *mo-*, e.g.:

βuβusi	'breathe'	mo-βuβusi
ndanda	'plait'	mo-ndanda
nönö	'add'; 'whisper'	mo-nönö
lawa	'challenge'	mo-lawa
gale	'sell merchandise carried on pole'	mo-gale
halö	'hold, take'	mo-halö

(v) Vowel-initial verbs, with the exception of verbs beginning with /o/, display the default form of the prefix, (C)*an-*, e.g. *man-alui* 'looking for' from *alui* 'look for', *man-uri* 'keeping' from *uri* 'keep, look after'. Verbs beginning with /o/ are anomalous in appearing to gain a prothetic /l/, and in taking *o-*, e.g. *mo-lohe* 'carrying' from *ohe* 'carry' (in fact the /l/ which occurs in these verbs is probably a retention from an earlier form of the root¹⁰). This rule applies only to *underived* verb stems beginning with /o/.

¹⁰ The reason for the occurrence of [l] in verb bases beginning with /o/ is almost certainly historical. Initial /o/ in Nias is a reflex of PAN and PMP *RV, where *R is some sort of post-velar rhotic. Some reflexes which show this derivation are PAN *Raya 'big' > Nias *oya* 'many, much (inanimate)'; PAN *Rumaq 'house' > Nias *omo*; PMP *Ratus '100' > Nias *otu*. It is possible then that an initial rhotic in verb bases developed a nasal assimilation form of /l/ prior to the loss of the rhotic from initial position in underived base forms. The 'new' segment (/l/) would have been protected from loss by being word-internal (as one can see in, e.g., *molohe* 'carrying').

Derived verbs beginning with /o/ behave like all other vowel initial verb stems and take the default form of the prefix, e.g. *man-ofulo-i* 'collecting' from *ofulo-i* 'collect' [gathered-TR].

The variations in the forms of the verb are not due to a simple phonetic process. If the variation in the initial segment were the result of a simple process of homorganic nasal substitution, the (dento-)alveolar segments /d/ and /r/ ought to be replaced by /n/, and the velar phonemes by /ŋ/. In the case of velar segments, it could be argued that the replacement by a nasal segment cannot take place because there is no velar nasal in the phonemic inventory of Nias Selatan. However, this cannot be the reason, since the same alternations (i.e. /k/ and /x/ with /g/, not /ŋ/) occur also in Nias Utara, where a velar nasal *is* present in the phonemic inventory of the language. What this indicates is that while the [+nasal] feature of the coda prevails in the alternations of anterior consonants, some other feature must be responsible for the change in velar phonemes. This also provides evidence that the features of the coda must operate independently of each other, and are activated by features of the segment with which /N/ is juxtaposed.

Certain phonemes behave at variance with the general principles so far outlined. These phonemes are: /b/, /β/, /d/, /l/, /r/, /z/ and /k/. The anomalies which occur are the following:

/b/ and /β/ As noted above, an initial /b/ is usually replaced by /m/ and the prefix retains the vowel /a/. In some verbs, however, /b/ is replaced by a bilabial trill and the prefix takes a form with /o/, e.g.:

base verb	nasally assimilated form
baso 'read'	mo-mbaso (*mamaso)
balo 'mend'	mo-mbalo (*mamalo)

In the Laiya dictionary (1985), there are eight verbs beginning with /b/ which are listed as taking the bilabial trill in their nasal assimilation form compared with thirty-four

which take /m/. Two of the eight anomalous verbs are ones which have alternative pronunciations with /β/. These are:

base verb	nasally assimilated form
böböi / βöböi 'make'	mo-mböböi (*ma-möböi; *mo-βöböi)
babaya / βαβaya 'touch'	mo-mβαβaya (*ma-mαβaya; *mo-βαβaya)

Another verb, *βαβαlö* 'borrow', which has no alternative form beginning with /b/, nevertheless has two nasally assimilated forms, one of which begins with a bilabial trill: *mo-mbalö* / *mo-βαβαlö* 'borrowing'. The alternative form with the bilabial trill is also anomalous in not having the initial syllable reduplication, suggesting that this form may reflect an older form in which the initial segment of the base verb was /b/.

/d/ Although /d/ is usually replaced by /ndr/ and the prefix preceding the base takes a form with /o/, two verbs have different nasally assimilated forms. The common verb, *doro* 'carry on shoulder', has an alternative form in which /d/ is replaced by /n/, and the prefixal vowel is /a/: *ma-noro*. In other words *doro* behaves as if it begins with a voiceless consonant. The other verb, *daludalu-ni* [medicine-TR] 'treat; 'cure', does not change, but takes a prefix with /o/, e.g. *mo-daludalu-ni* 'treating'.

/l/ /l/ is usually preceded by a prefix with /o/, but one verb has a different nasally assimilated form. In the verb, *lali* 'change', initial /l/ changes to /n/ and the prefix takes /a/: *ma-nali* (*mo-lali).

/r/ /r/ usually changes to /ndr/ and takes a prefix with /o/. In just one verb, *rabu* 'snatch away', /r/ does not change, although the prefix still takes a form with /o/, e.g. *mo-rabu* (*mo-ndrabu) 'snatching away'.

/z/ There are few verbs which begin with /z/, but the prefix (C)aN- behaves differently with almost all of them. In one verb, *zuzu* 'climb', the voiced alveo-palatal

affricate is replaced by /n/, e.g. *ma-nuzu*. Another verb, *zizi* 'make blunt' has two forms, one in which /z/ is replaced with /n/, i.e. *ma-nizi*, and one in which it does not change, but takes the prefix *mo-*, i.e. *mo-zizi*. The other two other verbs which begin with /z/ do not change, but take the prefix *mo-*.

/z/	→	/n/	zuzu 'climb'	ma-nuzu
			zizi 'make blunt'	ma-nizi
/z/		/z/	zizi 'make blunt'	mo-zizi
			zago 'guard'	mo-zago (*ma-nago)
			zuzu-ni 'split with wedge'	mo-zuzu-ni

/k/ There are not many verbs which begin with /k/, and of those which occur, few occur with the prefix (C)*aN-*. The most frequently heard verb is *kaoni* 'call out'¹¹, for which the nasally assimilated form is, as exemplified above, *mo-gaoni*. However there are two verbs used for common actions, *ki'i* 'shave' and *ko'o* 'dig' which have two different forms with the prefix *maN-*. One variant conforms to the pattern described for *kaoni*, i.e. /k/ becomes /g/ and the form takes the prefix *mo-*, e.g. *mo-gi'i*, *mo-go'o*. The second variant has a form in which /k/ appears to be replaced with /n/: *ma-ni'i*, *ma-no'o*. Both variants are equally acceptable to speakers in Nias Selatan. Since the latter forms display the default form of the prefix with /n/, they also suggest the possibility that the prefix may be attached to vowel-initial stems, and that /k/ may have been lost from the initial position of the root forms. However, both *ki'i* and *ko'o* are still fully operative verbs in both Nias Selatan and Nias Utara, so this scenario is unlikely. What has presumably happened with these verbs is that forms containing a velar nasal consonant, *mangi'i* and *mango'o*, became frequent at a time when Nias Selatan still retained a velar nasal in its phonemic inventory, and the coda of the prefix fused with the initial /k/ to become a velar nasal. Since all velar nasals were later converted to

¹¹ *Kaoni* 'call out' is, in fact, from the northern dialect, but is used by many speakers instead of the strictly southern verb, *faöndru*.

dento-alveolar nasals in Nias Selatan, this change would have encompassed these two verbs, i.e. *mangi'i* would have become *mani'i*, *mango'o* would have become *mano'o*.

3.4 /um/ allomorphy in irrealis verb forms

The infix *-um-* marks imperfectivity in verbs (see 10.3.2 for discussion). One of its uses is with verbs in irrealis mode. In this use it exhibits allomorphy, which is described in this section.

In verb stems which begin with a consonant other than a labial, /um/ is infixated after the initial consonant, e.g.:

base form of verb	irrealis form	meaning
tataro 'sit down'	gu-t- um -ataro	'I want to / might / will sit down'
halö 'take, hold'	ja-h- um -alö	'he wants to / might / will take (it)'
cibo 'throw away'	nda-c- um -ibo	'they want to / might / will throw (it) away'

In verb stems beginning with labial consonants, /um/ interacts phonologically with the initial consonant. In verb stems beginning with /b/ or /B/ the consonant resulting from the interaction takes the form of a bilabial trill, e.g.:

base form	irrealis form	meaning
bunu 'kill'	gu- mbunu	'I want to/ might/ will kill (it)' .
βaβalö 'borrow'	ya- mbalö (*ya-mbaβalö ¹²)	'he wants to/ might/ will borrow (it)'

Verb stems beginning with /f/ change to [v], e.g.:

base form	irrealis form	meaning
fake 'use'	nda- vake	'they want to / might / will use (it)'

¹² The fact that the irrealis form of βaβalö 'borrow' is *mbalö* and not **mbaβalö* reveals the origins of /B/ in the lenition of intervocalic /b/. Both βaβalö and *mbalö* are derived from the root *balö*, which has two (presumably related) meanings: 'repay' and 'avenge'.

faigi 'see' gu-vaigi 'I want to / might / will see (it)'

The verb *waö* / *wa'ö* 'say', which is the only verb beginning with /w/, replaces /w/ with [m], e.g. *gu-maö* 'I want to/might/will say'.

Vowel-initial verb stems denoting an activity take an initial [m]¹³ e.g.:

base form	irrealis form	meaning
ila 'know'	gu-m-ila	'I want to / might / will know'
ohi 'chase'	nda-m-ohi	'They want to / might / will chase'
uta 'vomit'	ja-m-uta	'He wants to / might / will vomit'
a'ege-'ö 'laugh at'	ndra-m-a'ege'ö	'They want to / might / will laugh at'

Vowel-initial stative verbs rarely occur in irrealis form, but when they do, they have the same form as their realis stem, e.g.: *ya-alawa* 'he will be tall' from *alawa* 'be tall'.

Transitive verbs derived from stative verbs are preceded by [m], e.g.:

base form	irrealis form
atulö 'be correct'	gu-m-atulö-'ö [1s.IRR-correct-TR] 'I want to / might / will correct'

In summary, the allomorphs of /um/ in irrealis verb forms are the following:

(24) allomorphs of /um/ in irrealis verb forms

/um/ + /b/	->	[mb]
/um/ + /β/	->	[mb]
/um/ + /f/	->	[v]
/um/ + /w/	->	[m]
/um/ + V	->	[m]
/um/ + C _[non-labial]	->	[-um-]

¹³ The fact that *waö* 'say' also has a form which begins with /m/ is suggestive of a base form for this verb which is vowel-initial, i.e. *aö*, or *a'ö*. The restricted nature of /w/ is discussed in 2.4.6.

It will be noticed that the allomorphs of /um/ which occur with /b/ and /f/ are the same forms that occur as mutated forms of these phonemes in the system of nominal mutation. What is more, the prefixation of [m] to vowel-initial verbs is analogous to the prefixation of [n] to vowel-initial nouns in the system of nominal mutation. The fact that /um/ is obviously the source of the allomorphy in these irrealis verb forms and the fact that the allomorphy is so clearly analogous to mutations in nouns is circumstantial evidence which supports a claim that nominal mutation also has its source in a nasal morpheme which has eroded over time and fused with the initial syllable.

3.5 Reduplication

There are two types of reduplication in Nias Selatan: initial syllable reduplication (RDP1) and disyllabic reduplication (RDP2). Both types of reduplication occur in verbs with varying levels of productivity. A certain amount of lexicalization occurs with both types of reduplication, indicating that neither process is fully productive any longer. Disyllabic reduplication has been used historically to derive many nouns in Nias, but is no longer productive as a derivational process. Reduplication as a grammatical device does not apply to nouns with any sort of productivity, although there are several instances in the data in which a noun is reduplicated with an intended meaning of plurality which may be attributable to calquing of Indonesian where such a process is fully productive (see 8.7).

3.5.1 Initial syllable reduplication

Initial syllable reduplication has two formal realizations depending on whether a verb stem begins with a consonant or a vowel. When it occurs on consonant-initial verb stems it copies the initial consonant and vowel of the stem. The meanings associated with initial syllable reduplication of consonant-initial verb stems include plurality of the more patientive argument of a transitive verb or completion or exhaustiveness of an

action. Some reduplicated forms of consonant-initial verbs and their stems are listed in (25)

(25) verbs derived from consonant-initial bases with initial syllable reduplication

reduplicated form	base
ba-bago 'divide up completely'	bago 'divide'
ba-bago 'wash'	bago 'beat'
bo-bokai 'open one by one'	bokai 'open'
ci-cibo 'throw everything out'	cibo 'throw away'
ci-cika 'make holes in (pl. object)'	cika 'make hole in sth'
le-le'agö 'stretch oneself out'	le'agö 'lay something down'
ta-tabä 'cut up'	tabä 'cut down'
ta-taru 'plant one by one'	taru 'plant'
tu-tunö 'tell story in great detail'	tunö 'tell'

Note that all of the above verbs are transitive. The reduplication of other transitive verbs does not yield acceptable forms. For example it is not possible to say **bu-bunu* (from *bunu* 'kill') to mean 'kill (pl. P)' or **ta-tagö* (from *tagö* 'steal') to mean 'steal (pl. P)', which suggests that this process is no longer productive. As can be seen from the list of meanings of the reduplicated forms, a number of them have idiosyncratic meanings, which is also suggestive of lexicalization. Intransitive verbs that begin with a consonant cannot undergo initial syllable reduplication. The following reduplications, for example, are not possible:

<i>*bi-biha</i>	from	biha 'be sated'
<i>*bo-bohou</i>	from	bohou 'be new'
<i>*bö-bötö</i>	from	bötö 'be wounded'
<i>*sö-sökhi</i>	from	sökhi 'be good'
<i>*ta-ta'unö</i>	from	ta'unö 'be dirty'

However, although initial syllable reduplication does not apply to consonant-initial intransitive verbs, it does apply productively to vowel-initial ones, to indicate a plural

argument¹⁴. When initial syllable reduplication occurs on these verbs it copies the initial vowel and inserts /g/ between the copied vowel and the vowel of the stem, as the list in (26) exemplifies.

(26) verbs derived from vowel-initial bases with initial syllable reduplication

reduplicated form	base
ag-a'ege 'laugh' (S-PL)'	a'ege 'laugh'
ag-afatö 'broken (S-PL)'	a-fatö 'broken'
ag-ahakhö 'melted (S-PL)'	a-hakhö 'melted'
ag-anau 'long (S-PL)'	a-nau 'long'
eg-ebua 'big (S-PL)'	e-bua 'big'
ig-ide'ide 'small (S-PL)'	ide'ide 'small'
og-obou 'rotten (S-PL)'	obou 'rotten'
og-oya 'be many (things)'	oya 'be many (things)'

Typically vowel-initial intransitive verbs are stative. The meaning of initial syllable reduplication in these verbs is restricted entirely to the grammatical one of indicating a plural argument. That is, the process has not developed any idiosyncratic meanings such as were noted for reduplication of consonant initial transitive verbs.

3.5.1.1 Interaction with other morphological processes

Initial syllable reduplication of transitive verbs is a process which applies before the addition of prefixes associated with nasal assimilation (those containing the morpheme *aN-*, see 3.3 above). This is evident from examples such as *f-a-na-taba* (*f-* *aN-* *ta-taba* [NR-IPF-RDP1-cut]) 'the act of cutting down' in which it can be seen that the attachment of the nominalizing prefix *f-aN-* results in the assimilation of the initial segment of the copied syllable but not to the initial segment of the stem itself. Other examples which illustrate this order of processes are the following:

¹⁴ It is unclear at this stage why the process of initial syllable reduplication applies to vowel-initial stative verbs but not to consonant-initial ones.

- f-a-nu-tunö* [NR-IPF-RDP1-tell] 'the act of telling in great detail'
f-aN- + *tu-tunö* 'tell in great detail' (from *tunö* 'tell')
- f-a-ma-bago* [NR-IPF-RDP1-wash] 'the act of washing'
f-aN- + *ba-bago* 'wash' (from *bago* 'beat')
- ma-ma-bagi* [IPF-RDP1-share] 'sharing out completely'
maN- + *ba-bagi* 'share out completely' (from *bagi* 'share')
- ma-nu-sugi* [IPF-RDP1-collect.debt] 'reminding'
maN- + *su-sugi* 'remind' (from *sugi* 'collect debts')

In one rather common example, however, reduplication appears to have applied after affixation of the prefix. The form *f-o-ndro-ndrono* 'the act of listening', consists morphologically of the nominalizer *f-aN-* plus a reduplicated form of the verb *rono* 'hear'. However, the fact that the reduplicated form has a nasally assimilated segment in initial position of the stem as well as the reduplicated form suggests that reduplication has occurred after the application of the prefix, and that the first segment of the altered segment has been copied. This is the only clear example of this ordering in my data.

3.5.2 Disyllabic reduplication

Disyllabic reduplication copies the first two syllables of the stem of the verb. In underived verbs, this usually involves copying the entire root. Examples of some simple underived verbs with their reduplicated forms are given in (27) below. In its most frequent function disyllabic reduplication usually indicates some sort of intensification of the activity, process or state to which the verb stem refers (see 10.3.5 for discussion of the meanings of reduplication).

(27) Verbs derived with disyllabic reduplication from underived verb forms

	base	reduplicated form and meaning
Vtr	<i>bago</i> 'beat'	<i>bago-bago</i> 'repeatedly / habitually beat'
	<i>bözi</i> 'hit'	<i>bözi-bözi</i> 'keep hitting'
	<i>fake</i> 'use'	<i>fake-fake</i> 'always use'; 'repeatedly use'
	<i>sora</i> 'carve'	<i>sora-sora</i> 'always carve'

Vintr	bahö 'sneeze'	bahö-bahö	'keep on sneezing'
	möi 'go'	möi-möi	'always go, habitually go'
	baga 'be in good condition'	baga-baga	'be in very good condition'
	sökhi 'be good, nice'	sökhi-sökhi	'be very good / nice'

When monosyllabic roots occur in reduplicated form, such as *be-be* 'keep on giving' from *be* 'give' or *soso* 'always exist' from *so* 'exist', it is impossible to tell from a purely formal point of view whether reduplicated monosyllabic roots participate in initial syllable reduplication or disyllabic reduplication. From a semantic point of view, however, it is clear that their meanings implicate disyllabic reduplication.

It was noted in 2.7 that prefixes are not counted as part of a word for the purposes of stress assignment. Certain prefixes are also ignored by the process of disyllabic reduplication. These prefixes include the intransitive verb prefixes stative *a-* / *e-*, resultative *te-* / *to-*, *o-* / *mo-* 'HAVE' (+noun) and dynamic *fa-* (+noun) (see Chapter 5). With these prefixes, disyllabic reduplication apparently precedes prefixation. Examples of verbs which have undergone disyllabic reduplication in which prefixes are affixed after reduplication are given in (28):

(28) Verbs derived with disyllabic reduplication from derived verb forms

base verb	reduplicated form	meaning
abölö 'heavy'	a-bölö-bölö	'very heavy'
alumö 'shady'	a-lumö-lumö	'very shady'
atua 'old'	a-tua-tua	'very clever'
ebua 'big'	e-bua-bua	'very big'
ofökhö 'sick'	o-fökhö-fökhö	'very sick'
we 'liquid'	mo-we-we	'always have liquid'
fagölö 'the same'	fa-gölö-gölö	'similar' ¹⁵

¹⁵ Note that the meaning of *fa-gölö-gölö* ('similar') implies an attenuation of the 'state' referred to by *fa-gölö* ('same'). This kind of meaning is usually found with colour terms, but occurs sporadically elsewhere in the lexicon, e.g. *a'ege'ege* 'smile' from *a'ege* 'laugh'.

3.5.2.1 Interaction with other morphophonological processes.

Disyllabic reduplication behaves differently with respect to the addition of prefixes associated with nasal assimilation. The imperfective and detransitivizing morpheme *aN-* is attached before disyllabic reduplication can apply. The evidence for this comes from the fact that the consonants which result from the fusion of the nasal coda of the prefix with the stem-initial segment of the verb are copied over in the reduplication process. For example in *ma-naba-naba* 'keep on cutting', /n/ is the result of nasal assimilation of a stem-initial /t/ after affixation of the prefix *maN-*, i.e. *maN-* + *taba* 'cut' = *manaba*. Other examples of verbs with reduplicated bases which have undergone nasal assimilation are given in (29):

(29) Verbs with bases which undergo nasal assimilation prior to disyllabic reduplication

base	reduplicated form with <i>maN-</i>	
be 'give'	ma-me.me	'always giving'
era'era 'think'	ma-nera.nera	'keep on/always thinking'
khau 'impose a fine'	mo-gau.gau	'always imposing fines'
sora 'carve,decorate'	ma-nora-nora	'keep on carving'

Examples of derived verb stems follow the same pattern:

(29) Verbs with derived bases which undergo nasal assimilation prior to disyllabic reduplication

base	reduplicated form with <i>maN-</i>
fa-hokha [DO-flirt] 'exaggerate'	ma-maho-mahokha 'always exaggerate'
fa-lali [DO-change] 'make changes'	ma-mala-malali 'always swapping'
o-mbase [DO-change] 'rest'	mo-lomba-lombase 'always rest'
fe-lai [DO-change] 'lick, taste'	ma-mela-melai 'eat between meals'
sekhe-gö [ask.question-TR] 'ask questions'	ma-nekhe-nekhe-gö 'interrogate'

One of the most frequently used verbs, *a* 'eat', occurs in a form in which the imperfective prefix *maN-* is included in the reduplication: *man-a-man-a* [RDP2-IPF-eat] 'always eating'. This appears to be the only case in which the prefix *maN-* is reduplicated along with the base. No other monosyllabic transitive verb is reduplicated in this manner (cf. *be* 'give' above). (The verb *a* 'eat' also has another unusual reduplicated form which is exemplified below.)

3.5.3 Consonant variation associated with reduplication

Disyllabic reduplication is often associated with a change in the initial consonant of the stem and the copied element, which does not appear to cause any significant difference in meaning. A list of some verbs in which such a change has applied is given in (37):

(30) Verbs which occur with voiced initial segments in reduplicated form

base	reduplicated form and meaning	
faigi 'see'	vaigi-vaigi	'watch'
sekhe-gö 'ask a question'	zekhe.zekhe-gö	interrogate'
sofu 'ask for'	zofu.zofu	'always ask for'
taba 'cut up'	daba-daba	'cut down'
tegu 'talk to'	degu.degu	'always talk to'
tunö 'tell sth.'	dunö.dunö	'always talk about sth.'
kaoni 'call out'	gaoni.gaoni	'always call out'

What is interesting about the changes which occur in these forms is that they are the same as some of the changes which occur in nominal mutation, i.e. /f/ alternates with /v/, /s/ with /z/, /t/ with /d/ and /k/ with /g/. However, this is as far as the similarity goes. Verbs which begin with /b/ do not have an alternative reduplicated form beginning with /mb/, e.g. *bunu-bunu* 'always kill' (**mbunu-mbunu*); verbs which begin with /d/ or /t/ do not have reduplicated forms which alternate with others beginning with /ndr/, e.g. *dali-dali* 'always grind' (**ndrali-ndrali*), *rono-rono* 'always hear' (**ndrono-ndrono*); verbs which begin with vowels (or glottal stops) do not have forms which alternate with others beginning with [n] or [g], e.g. *oni-oni* 'always ask someone to do sth.' (**noni-*

noni / **goni-goni*). The alternations in the reduplicated forms, therefore, appear to be more like the result of a voicing process rather than a set of morphophonemic alternations. Nevertheless it is of interest that those alternations which do occur involve just the voiceless consonants of the phonemic inventory. These are reflexes of Proto Austronesian stop consonants (*p, *t, *C,*k), which may indicate that the process of initial mutation which is now confined to nouns was once a more general phonemic process which applied in other parts of the grammar as well. It is also of interest to note that in another Western Malayo-Polynesian language, *Tukang Besi*, the process of nasal substitution—which is a minor and infrequent one in this language—affects only voiceless consonants (Donohue 1999:41).

A number of verbs referring to colours or taste have unusual forms of sound alternations when reduplicated. Reduplication also has a different meaning in these verbs from its meaning in other verbs—with these verbs it implies an attenuation of a quality or state, rather than an intensification. The verbs of which I am aware which have unusual reduplicated forms are listed in (31):

(31) Reduplicated forms of verbs of sensation

<i>ami</i> 'tasty'	a-nami.nami	'sort of tasty, sweetish'
<i>oyo</i> 'red'	o-royo.royo	'reddish'
<i>aitö</i> 'black'	a-raidö.raidö	'burnt black'
<i>afusi</i> 'white'	a-vuzi-vuzi	'whitish'

From the evidence of reconstructed data for *ami* 'tasty' which include an initial nasal (e.g. PAN**ñam* 'tasty' Zorc 1994, 1995)¹⁶, it appears that reduplication of this word in Nias reinstates a segment which may have been present at an earlier time. If this is so, then the process of disyllabic reduplication may be very old and conservative, and may therefore reflect earlier forms of initial consonants in the words *oyo* and *aitö* as well. Other, possibly more recent, colour terms do not have forms in which there is unusual

¹⁶ Note, however, that Nias *ami* 'tasty' may more closely reflect PMP **e+mis* 'sweet'.

alternation, cf. *a-usö-usö* 'be sort of yellow' from *a'usö* 'be yellow'; *o-βuge-βuge'e* 'be greenish' from *oβuge'e* 'be green'¹⁷.

The voicing of the medial consonants in *afusi* and *aitö* exemplified above suggests that the process operating in these forms is a prosody which applies to the whole of the reduplicated form, rather than a rule which applies just to the initial segment. If this is the case, it may also explain the unexpected presence of [g] in the reduplicated form *m-ege'ege* 'always crying', from the verb *me'e* 'cry'. A glottal stop is the normal reflex of PAN / PMP *k in medial position in Nias, so if the glottal stop in *me'e* is derived from an earlier form with *k, then it is not surprising that the reduplicated form contains [g] if reduplication is associated with a voicing prosody as well. In addition, since *me'e* is not a colour or taste term, it is possible that medial consonant voicing is not as restricted semantically as it first appears. Another reduplicated form which appears to resurrect the voiced form of an earlier initial consonant is *aga'aga* 'keep on eating' from the verb *a* 'eat' (for which a PAN form *ka'en has been reconstructed). If these reduplications do preserve a voiced form of an earlier medial or initial consonant (such as PAN/PMP *k), this argues that the reduplicated forms of these verbs are now lexicalized. This appears to be the case, since this kind of reduplication is not productive.

SECTION 2: RESTRICTED OR FOSSILIZED MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

3.6 Vowel deletion

In a number of frequently occurring constructions containing two predicate complex particles in which the second is vowel-initial, the vowel in final position of the first particle is deleted¹⁸. The full forms which undergo vowel loss and the contracted forms are listed in (32):

¹⁷ This colour term is derived from the possessive NP *bu ge'e* 'feathers of the *e'e* bird' by the prefix *o-* 'be/do like N' (Sundermann 1913: 61). An *e'e* is a kind of parrot with green feathers.

¹⁸ See 4.13.6 and 10.2.5 for a full description of these particles.

(32) Predicate complex particles which undergo contraction

full form	gloss	contraction	meaning
ta-ae	1pi.RLS-come	tae	'let's go' / 'come on'
löna=ae	NEG=already	nae	'not yet'
ma=ae	PERF=already	mae	'already'
ma=oi	PERF=all/most	moi	PERF:all/most

The word *ae* functions as an imperative verb meaning 'come' as well as a postverbal particle meaning 'already'. Apart from the deletion of the initial syllable of *löna* in the contracted form *nae*, the rest of the expressions pattern in the same way—the final /a/ of the first morpheme is lost, and the two morphemes are fused to become one word. It is assumed that it is the vowel of the first morpheme which is elided and not the initial vowel of the second morpheme based on the evidence of the deletion of /a/ from the perfect marker *ma=* in the form *m=oi* 'PERF-all/most', and from other processes of elision which occur in the language such as the loss of the vowel of the relative clause marker *s(i)=* when attached to vowel-initial stative verbs (see 8.4), and the vowel of the causative prefix *f(V)-* preceding vowel-initial roots (see 6.4). Although the sequences listed in (32) above may have originated as a result of fast speech, they are now apparently almost never pronounced as full forms.

3.7 Sonorant deletion

There are three pairs of verbs in Nias Selatan which have the same meanings but differ formally in that one of the pair lacks a medial sonorant consonant. The pairs of verbs are listed in (33):

(33) Verbs in which medial sonorants are elided

böli	böi	'don't do' (negative imperative)
aßali	aßai	'be ready, be finished'
ahori	oi	'be finished'; 'all, most'

The two forms of negative imperative are completely interchangeable according to speakers, but conventionally *böi* is the more normal form in conversational use. *Böli* occurs more often in the speech of older people and in written texts such as the bible. *Aßali* and *ahori* are verbs which are used also as preverbal particles. Their short forms are also verbs, but are used much more frequently as preverbal particles than as main verbs. The word *oi* is also a verb which functions as a preverbal particle, but it is used as a verb so infrequently that it seems to be close to complete lexicalization as a preverbal particle. In all cases the form which lacks the medial sonorant is used in the more grammaticized context. These variant forms indicate that the language has, at some time in the past, allowed a tendency for sonorant consonants in intervocalic position to be lost. As far as I know the process does not affect any other words, and does not operate in the language synchronically.

3.8 Alternations in initial consonants of suffixes

Most suffixes used to derive nouns and verbs in Nias are of the form -CV, in which the C slot shows a range of consonants and the V slot may be /a/ or /ö/ (see Chapter 6). Some examples of the range of consonants which occur in nominalizing suffixes is given in (34):

(34) nominalizing suffixes

suffix	derived noun	meaning	base or related form
-fa	auri-fa	life	auri 'be alive'
-kha	atumbu-kha	'origin'; 'east'	tumbu 'be born'
-la	obou-la	remains of corpse'	obou 'rot'; 'smell'
-ma	taro-ma	position, status	ta-taro [RDP1-sit] 'be seated'
-na	ötö-na	ford (in river)	ötö 'cross'
-sa	fao-sa	'company'	fao 'join in'
-ta	börö-ta	origin', ancestor'	börö 'base, source'
-wa	banö-wa	water to wash hand before meal	mombanö 'wash hand(s)'
-fö	uri-fö	animal	uri 'keep'
-lö	beße-lö	banks of river	beße 'lips'

-mö	tanö-mö	seedling	tanö 'plant'
-sö	βaβaya-sö	cooked things	βaβaya 'cook'
-tö	faosa-tö	piece	faosa 'share'
-wö	halö-wö	work	halö 'hold, take'

Some of the derived nouns listed above are cognate with words in other languages which have the same or related consonants word-finally, or are reflexes of forms containing these consonants that have been reconstructed for Proto Austronesian or Proto Malayo-Polynesian. For example the noun *tanö-mö* 'seedling' is derived from *tanö* 'plant', which is cognate with *tanam* 'plant' in Indonesian and a reflex of PAN **CaNém* 'plant; bury'. The word *uri-fö* 'animal' is related to the predicate *a-uri* 'be alive', which is a reflex of PAN **qúd₂ip* 'alive'. The noun *beβe-lö* 'banks of river' may be related (via metaphorical extension) to *beβe* 'lips', which is cognate with Indonesian *bibir* 'lips'. This could mean that the initial /l/ of the suffix may be a reflex an original word final liquid. Though few in number, these derivations strongly suggest that the consonants of the suffixes *-fa*, *-fö*, *-mö* and *-lö* are derived from earlier word-final consonants, and although the evidence is slim, it is suggestive of an origin in word-final consonants for other suffix-initial consonants.

If we look at the consonants which occur in the suffixes, a significant pattern emerges. They are listed in (35):

(35) consonants which occur in nominalizing suffixes

	labial	alveo-palatal	velar
nasals	m	n	
stops		t	
fricatives	f	s	kh
sonorants	w	l	

What we don't find are the following:

(36) consonants which do not occur in nominalizing suffixes

	labial	alveo-palatal	velar
stops	b	d	g
fricative	v		
affricates		c, z	
trills	mb	ndr, r	
approximants	β	y	

Even discounting the phonemes /mb/, /β/, /v/, /ndr/ and /y/ which are most probably of recent origin, what we observe is that there are no voiced obstruents in the list of suffix-initial consonants in (35), only voiceless consonants or sonorants. If these suffixes do indeed reflect earlier word-final consonants which have accreted to a more original nominalizing suffix **-a*, we have here evidence that these consonants did not include any voiced obstruents. If there had been any, presumably there would be some evidence in the suffix forms.

3.9 Vowel contractions

Vowel contractions occur very frequently in the fast speech pronunciations of four very commonly used words: *sui* 'again', *göi* 'also', *möi* 'go' and *waö* 'say'. Three of these contain a vowel sequence ending in /i/. Their contracted forms are, respectively, [si] (or [ʃi]), [gi] and [mi]. The fourth word, the verb *waö* 'say', is pronounced most often as [wɤ] (i.e. *wö*), where /a/ has been lost, but sometimes also as [wo] where fusion of the vowels seems to have occurred. Note that it is always the first vowel of the sequence which is lost, rather than the final vowel.

CHAPTER 4

WORD CLASSES

4.1 Word classes: overview

The lexicon of Nias contains two large open word classes: noun and verb. These two classes are clearly distinguished with regard to a number of features, including the fact that only nouns can have mutated and unmutated forms and that only verbs may occur with pronominal prefixes. Nias has no class of adjectives—it uses verbs to express meanings which are typical of adjectives in languages which have them, and uses relative clause constructions with verbal predicates to express attributive modification of nouns. Closed word classes include pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, numerals, prepositions, adverbs and particles. In addition to these word classes, Nias has a class of 'precatatorial roots', which are distinguished from 'words' in that they cannot function as words without morphological alternation of some kind, i.e. an affix or reduplication. Although this class of word-roots is not strictly a 'word' class they are discussed under section 4.5 in 'Closed classes'.

SECTION 1 OPEN CLASSES

4.2 Distinctions between nouns and verbs

Morphosyntactically nouns can be distinguished from verbs by their potential to occur in a mutated form according to the system of mutation which operates to mark case in the language (see chapter 5). Nouns, but not verbs, can also occur with a possessive suffix¹. Verbs can be distinguished from nouns by their potential to occur with irrealis pronominal prefixes (see 10.3.1). In addition, only verbs may be preceded by auxiliary verbs or particles signalling modality, certain aspectual notions and quantification of an

¹ Possessive suffixes do occur with the passive form of the verb but in fact it can be shown that the passive form of the verb has a number of other nominal features, of which the affixation of the possessive suffix is just one (see 8.4). Possessive pronouns also occur with the preposition *khö*, but the fact that *khö* occurs with a possessive suffix supports other evidence that this preposition is derived from a noun.

argument (see 10.2), and only verbs may occur as predicates of relative clauses (see 8.4).

Morphologically, only verbs occur with the passive prefix *ni-* (see 8.4) and the irrealis morpheme */um/* (see 10.3.1). Reduplication is productive (to an extent) only in verbs, where it has various aspectual meanings (see 10.3.5), even though reduplication has clearly been a productive mechanism for the derivation of nouns in the past as there are a large number of nouns which are fossilized in reduplicated form (see 6.2), the roots of which appear to be no longer active.

Apart from these properties, the collocational possibilities of nouns and verbs are different. Nouns, but not verbs, can be modified by demonstratives and relative clauses, and may function as arguments of numerals and numeral+classifier phrases (see Chapter 8). If these constituents occur with a verb, they occur in argument function and must be morphologically marked to indicate the change of function. Nouns, but not verbs, can also occur as arguments of prepositions. Verbs, on the other hand, are distinguished from nouns collocationally by the following features: only verbs can occur with the perfect marker *ma=*, the intensifier *sibai* and adverb *sui* 'again' (see chapter 10), or the negative imperative morpheme *böilböli* 'don't do' (see chapter 11.5). Verbs are also distinguished from non-verbal constituents, which includes nouns, in being unable to follow the negator *te'ana* (see 9.3, 9.4).

Derivationally, the prefixes *(m)o-* 'HAVE N' and *o-* 'be/look like N' attach only to nouns, (e.g. *mo-ono* 'have children' from *ono* 'child'; *o-böhö* 'be/look like a deer' from *böhö* 'deer') (see Chapter 5.1.1.3, 5.1.2.2). The prefixes *s-aN-* and *f-aN-* which derive nouns can only be added to verbs, and the nominalizing suffix *-(C)a* is almost exclusively attached to verbs (see 6.5.1).

Morphologically and syntactically, it is impossible to distinguish a simple underived noun in an NP in predicate function from an intransitive verb in realis mode. Both take initial position; both are followed by a nominal argument in mutated form; neither has any specific distinguishing morphology. For example the sentence *guru nama-nia* [teacher father:MUT-3s.POSS] 'his father is a teacher', which contains the

noun *guru* 'teacher' in nominal predicate function, can be compared with the sentence *o-fökhö nama-nia* [HAVE-illness father:MUT-3s.POSS] 'his father is sick', in which an intransitive verb takes predicate function. Only the syntactic and collocational differences mentioned above (and context of course) will distinguish the noun from the verb.

4.3 Classes of nouns

Nouns in Nias are not marked for number or gender, but they are marked to indicate the relationship they have to other constituents within a phrase or clause through the process of mutation (the morphological details of which were outlined in 3.2.1). There are four small subclasses of nouns which are morphosyntactically special.

One of the small subclasses is the set of nouns which can be identified as the class of nouns which begin with /n/ in their mutation form. These nouns were listed in 3.2.1.

Another class of morphosyntactically special nouns is the class of classifiers—nouns used with numerals, or the indefinite use of the question word *hauga* 'how many, how much' when counting things below about ten in number². These nouns behave like other nouns when they are not used as classifiers, and conform to the morphophonological rules of mutation described in 3.2.1. When used as classifiers, however, they observe different rules of mutation (see 3.2.3). The classifiers in frequent use in Nias Selatan, and the sorts of things they are used to count, are given in Table 5 (their meanings as common nouns are given in square brackets).

² Like a number of other languages (Aikhenvald 2001), classifiers in Nias are not used with higher numerals.

Table 5: classifiers in Nias Selatan

Classifier	Thing counted
<i>da</i>	people (men, noble women) [no similar noun known]
<i>eu</i>	pigs and other adult animals, coconut trees, some concrete things (bodies) [<i>eu</i> 'tree, wood']
<i>balö</i>	abstract things (thoughts, kinds of things, jobs) [<i>balö</i> 'end, heap, pile']
<i>rozi</i>	long things (wood, gold), baby animals (piglets, puppies) [<i>rozi</i> 'long pole for pounding rice']
<i>roto</i>	sections (e.g. of bamboo, sugarcane) [<i>roto</i> 'section of bamboo']
<i>bulu</i>	flat things (blankets, mats, fields, pages) [<i>bulu</i> 'leaf']
<i>bua</i>	other things in general [<i>bua</i> 'fruit'] people: forefathers, wives, mothers, sons, children, enemies, slaves concrete things: villages, houses, rows of houses, doors, tables, chairs, books, plates, eggs, mosquitoes abstract things: questions, reasons, embarrassments, organizations, names, things to do time: day, week

The classifier for people, *da*, refers to people in general, but while it is used consistently for men and groups including men, it is not used consistently with women, children or slaves, who are sometimes classified with *bua*. Typically *da* collocates with the noun *niha* 'person, people', but this noun usually refers to men. The use of the word *eu* 'tree' as a classifier for animals is a little unusual. More frequently in Indonesian languages the noun meaning 'tail' is used as a classifier of animals (cf. Indonesian *ekor*, which is a noun meaning 'tail' and a classifier for animals). Adams 1989:79 mentions that the grouping of the word for 'tree' with animals occurs in Rongao, a language of the North Bahnaric subgroup of the Mon-Khmer family³. Classifiers in numeral phrases are discussed further in 8.5.2.

³ The /o/ in the first syllable of the language name Rongao, and in the word for 'tree' (bon²), is phonologically a back unrounded vowel (Adams 1989:x).

A third subclass contains reduplicated forms. The nouns in this class are quite numerous, and heterogeneous in meanings, although some of them refer to objects which are typically iconically associated with reduplication, including names for small insects or things usually found in large numbers, sounds, types of movements and plants. Instruments, tools, household items and parts of houses are also found frequently in reduplicated form (see 8.7). Reduplication is not productive in forming nouns synchronically.

A further class of syntactically special nouns is the small class of nouns referring to humans who typically occur in groups. These nouns are usually preceded by the 'collective' prefix *ira*⁴, e.g.: *ira-ina* [COLL-mother] 'women' (i.e. mothers), *ira-ama* [COLL-father] 'adult men' (i.e. fathers). Primary amongst the words to which the collective particle may attach is the word for 'child', *ono*. Because of the frequency of its use with *ira*-, this combination of morphemes has been lexicalized, as is evident from the fact that there is no longer a glottal stop inserted between *ira*- and the noun as would be expected from the glottal insertion rule (see 2.4.4), and the sequence of vowels which is formed at the juncture of the two morphemes is pronounced as a diphthong, i.e. the two morphemes form a single phonological word: *iraono* [ʔirá^ono]. Other combinations such as *ira-matua* 'young men, males' and *ira-alaʔe* 'young women, females', also appear to have been lexicalized, since the words *matua* 'male' and *alaʔe* 'female' are, in fact, intransitive verbs rather than nouns. This prefix does not necessarily have to refer to a group—it can refer to just one person who is normally thought of as belonging to the group which is categorized by the noun (see, e.g., ex (15) in Chapter 7). The prefix *ira*- may also be attached to proper names to indicate a group of people including the person referred to by name, e.g. *ira-Gusti* may mean Gusti and her family or Gusti and her friend(s).

⁴ The collective morpheme *ira*- is treated as a prefix rather than a particle for three reasons: 1) it is semantically restricted, occurring only with kin terms and proper names, 2) it is syntactically restricted—in word order it may only occur in front of the noun, and collocationally nothing can intervene between it and the noun which it precedes, 3) unlike particles in general, it has no meaning independent of the nominal of which it is a part, and 4) unlike particles which are generally invariant, it occurs in a mini-paradigm of two morphemes (*ira*- and *ndra*-) which represent a fused form of case and noun class marking.

Proper names can be phrasal or clausal in form and therefore polysyllabic. Names given to children usually refer to some significant entity, or to an event during the time of the pregnancy, birth or the few weeks after birth. Some children's names are *Gumi* 'threads hanging down from shirt', *Maoso* 'raising', *Fasu-i* [nail-TR] 'nail', *Fa-sa'a* [DO-fingernail] 'scratch', *Mol-ombase* [IPF-rest] 'resting'. Names given to villages usually refer to local natural features or to some significant event in their founding, e.g. *Baβa-mata-luo* [mouth-eye-day], *Boto-hili-tanö* [tree-trunk-place-land], *So-rake* [EXIST-coral], *Hili-si-mae-tanö* [place-REL-resemble-land], *Zambu-ra=e* [guava-3p.POSS=PROX]. Proper names do not behave any differently from common nouns syntactically, taking part in the system of nominal mutation which identifies grammatical relations in nouns. There are no distinctive morphological features apart from polysyllabicity.

Kin terms also are morphologically non-distinctive nouns. However, when referring to someone from one's own village who is not strictly one's own kin, it is customary to add a first inclusive plural genitive pronoun after the most commonly used kin terms, such as *ama* 'father' and *ina* 'mother', followed by a dative phrase referring to the person to whom they are related. For example, *ina-da khö-u* [mother-1pi.POSS DAT-2s.POSS] 'your mother' (lit. our mother (belonging) to you). The word *ono* 'child' is also rarely found without a possessive suffix referring to the parent of the child, e.g. *ono-gu* 'my child', *ono-nia* 'his/her child'. 'Children' in general are usually referred to by the word *ira-ono* (mentioned above in connection with the collective prefix *ira-*), which may refer to one child or to several.

4.4 Classes of verbs

At a morpho-syntactic level, Nias distinguishes two classes of verb: those which take pronominal prefixing in realis declarative clauses and those which do not. For the most part, those verbs which take pronominal prefixing correspond to the set of semantically bivalent or trivalent verbs, and those which do not correspond mostly to semantically monovalent verbs. Verbs which use pronominal prefixing in simple realis declarative

clauses, such as the third plural prefix *la-* in *la-ila* [3p.RLS-know] 'they know (it)'), will be called 'transitive', and verbs which lack this kind of prefixing in realis clauses will be termed 'intransitive' (e.g. *ebua* '(it's) big').

At a semantic level, the most important division of verbs in Nias is the distinction between dynamic and stative verbs. Dynamic verbs are those which typically refer to actions that are carried out by an Actor (a participant capable of cognition and/or movement, and typically acting volitionally), e.g. *moloi* 'run', *bini'ö* 'hide', *fatane* 'send'. Stative verbs typically refer to qualities or characteristics which inhere in a participant or are the result of an action, and which usually extend over time, e.g. *atua* 'ST:mature, old', *ide'ide* 'ST:small', 'small', *bidöyö* 'ST:blind'. At a purely formal level most dynamic verbs are consonant-initial and most stative verbs are vowel-initial. In general, when stative verbs undergo disyllabic reduplication, their meaning is one of intensification of the state, e.g. *e-bua-bua* 'very big' from *ebua* 'big', *sökhi-sökhi* 'very good' from *sökhi* 'good'. When dynamic verbs undergo disyllabic reduplication, the meaning tends to be one of habitual or continuous action, e.g. *möi-möi* 'always go', *bini-bini-ö* 'keep on hiding' (see 10.3.5).

The dynamic-stative distinction is the most significant factor motivating verbal derivational morphology in Nias. By far the largest class of stative verbs begins with the prefix *a-*. Such verbs generally refer to states which describe some (often inherent) characteristic of the referent, e.g.: *a-fusi* 'white' < *-fusi* 'white', *a-tulö* 'straight' < *-tulö* 'straight', *a-röu* 'far away' < *-röu* 'far away'. Another class of stative verbs is formed with the prefixes *te-* and *to-*, e.g. *te-rono* 'heard' from *rono* 'hear', *te-boka* 'open' (< *-boka*, cf. *boka-i* 'open sth.'), *to-bini* 'hidden' (< *-bini*, cf. *bini-ö* 'hide sth'). Verbs beginning with *te-* or *to-* refer to states resulting from the action referred to in the stem. These states can be characterized generally as less permanent than those to which verbs derived with *a-* refer, or as having less effect on the referent of the argument. (See chapter 5 for discussion of these verbs.) One small set of dynamic intransitive verbs in Nias is distinctive in beginning with /m/. These verbs include *m-aoso* 'get up; stand up; wake up', *m-ofanö* 'leave', *m-örö* 'sleep', *m-e'e* 'cry', *m-oloi* 'run away', *m-oroi* 'come

from', *m-uta* 'vomit', *m-ondri* 'bathe', *m-alu* 'go hunting', *m-iβo* 'crow', *m-eβo* 'chase birds', and possibly *m-öi* 'go, come'. Another small set of dynamic verbs which are syntactically related to these begins with /h/ and contains the infix *-um-*: *h-um-ago* 'snore', *h-um-eu* 'shake', *h-um-ede* 'speak', *h-um-ola* 'burn', *h-um-ombo* 'fly', *h-um-aga* 'shine'. These two small sets of dynamic verbs occur in the same form in both main and dependent clauses, and in realis or irrealis mode (see 5.1.1.2). In addition, they have in common that none of them can take initial syllable reduplication (which indicates plurality of the argument in other (stative and dynamic) verbs). It can be inferred that the initial /m/ and the infix /um/ are allomorphs of a morpheme which is cognate with affixes in other Austronesian languages which have a similar function and form, related to the widespread Actor Focus morpheme /um/. It is interesting to note that although Nias Selatan and Nias Utara share the verbs beginning with *m-*, those beginning with /h/ have an initial *mu-* in Nias Utara instead of the infix *-um-* (e.g. *mu-hago* 'snore' (N.U.)). As has been suggested for the infix /um/ in Chamorro (Topping 1973: 170), which, like /um/ in Nias contravenes canonical syllable form of CV (see 2.7), it is tempting to suggest that the infix may be derived by metathesis from a prefix *mu-*. Such a prefix would also provide a ready source for an initial /m-/ in front of vowel-initial roots. (See Chapter 5 for discussion of these verbs.)

There are two small classes of verbs which also occur in the role of verb modification—one class consisting of words which refer to some temporal or manner aspect of a situation described by a main verb, and another class of verbs which refer to the extent of participation of one of the participants in the action / state / process described by the verb. Both classes function as preverbal auxiliaries in the predicate complex (see 10.2.4, 10.2.5). A list of the verbs which refer to temporal or manner aspects of the situation is given in (1) with their meanings as verbs as well as preverbal auxiliaries:

(1) preverbal temporal or manner auxiliaries

	verb	meaning as verb	meaning as auxiliary
Vi	ara	be/take long time	long time
	to'ölö	usually done	usually
	aßali / aßai	be finished / ready	finished / ready
	ambö	be less than	lacking, not enough
	töra	be more	too much
	fasala	make mistake	wrongly
	alio	be quick	quickly
	ahono	be calm	calmly
Vt	irau	do once	ever
	ifuli	return	again

Those verbs which refer to the totality of a participant's involvement are listed in (2):

(2) preverbal quantifiers

	verb	meaning as verb	meaning as quantifier
	ahori	be finished	most, all
	faoma	be the same	all (together)
	fao	be together with	all (together)
	aero	each / every	each / every

For further discussion of these verbs see Chapter 10.

SECTION 2 CLOSED CLASSES**4.5 'Precategorial' roots**

Like many other Austronesian languages Nias has a large class of intransitive/transitive verb pairs and verb/noun pairs which share the same root, which by itself does not have any syntactic function. One way of describing this state of affairs is to say that the language has a large set of roots which cannot occur as verbs or nouns without extra morphology to indicate what function they have. The term 'precategoryal' has been used to describe roots such as these, although the term has come to be used in two ways.

One way is that which is typical of Oceanic languages, in which a word can be used either as a noun or as a verb, but it can't be known which until it is used in discourse (see, e.g., Broschart 1997). Nias has a few examples of this type, some of which are listed in (3). Note that in every case the verb which corresponds to the noun is transitive.

(3) Words which can be used as nouns or transitive verbs

root	noun meaning	verb meaning
fesu	tie, fastener	tie together
fole	small mortar for mashing betel	mash betel ingredients
ndrialala	net	catch with net
söndra	idea	find
tanö	plant	plant
tuhi	knee	kneel on
tuo	sting	sting

Since transitive verbs in Nias cannot occur without pronominal prefixes in any context except for imperative sentences, the verbs that are listed here are actually stems rather than full words. Since an inflected verb is more marked than a noun, which can occur without morphological additions or modification as either predicate or argument, the words listed here as 'roots' could be thought of primarily as members of the noun category which, via zero derivation, can be used as verb stems. However, although there is some regularity in the meanings of some of these verbs (e.g. 'do something with N') which might suggest derivation from the noun, in fact the meanings of the verbs are not consistently predictable from the nouns, nor the nouns from the verbs. The idiosyncratic nature of some of these words suggests they might be listed in the lexicon both as nouns and as verbs. In either of these analyses, these forms are not truly 'precategorial'.

The second way of describing precategoriality is typical of Western Austronesian languages, where a bound root cannot occur as a grammatical word until

it has acquired morphology that signals the function of the derived form. This type of precategoryality is pervasive in Nias. Some examples of the intransitive/ transitive verb pairs derived from the same bound roots are given in (4):

(4) Intransitive and transitive verbs derived from the same root

root	Vintr	Vtr
-e'e	m-e'e 'DYN-cry'	e'e-si [cry-TR] 'cry over'
-fae	to-fae 'RES-contained'	fae-'ö [contain-TR] 'hold'
-boka	te-boka 'RES-open'	boka-i [open-TR] 'open'
-hono	a-hono 'ST-calm'	hono-gö [calm-TR] 'settle'
-basö	a-basö 'ST-wet'	basö-i [wet-TR] 'wet'

As this list shows, there does not seem to be any correlation between the morphological form of the intransitive verb and the morphological form of the transitive verb derived from the same root. The same heterogeneity of form and meaning can be noted for those members of the class of verb/noun pairs. Examples of these are given in (5). Note that many of these roots form both intransitive and transitive verb forms as well as nouns.

(5) Verbs and nouns derived from the same root

root	Vintr	Vtr / Noun
-bini	to-bini [RES-hide] 'hidden'	bini-'ö 'hide' / binibini 'hiding place'
-uta	m-uta [DYN-vomit] 'vomit'	uta-'ö 'throw up' / uta'uta 'vomit'
-eße	—	eße-gö 'put at edge' / eße'eße 'edge of ceiling'
-era	—	era-i 'count' / era'era 'thought'
-eßo	m-eßo [DYN-chase.birds] 'guard field'	eßo-khi 'chase birds' / eßo-kha 'hut in field'
-hao	e-hao [ST-?order] 'tidy'	hao-gö 'put in order' /

haohao 'proper way of
doing sth.'

Despite what appears to be a lack of regular correspondences between forms, there is, in fact, some order in this system. With very few exceptions, the roots listed in (4) and (5) can be divided into two types:

- (i) roots which derive intransitive verbs whose S argument is an Actor (i.e. dynamic verbs)⁵
- (ii) roots which derive intransitive verbs whose S argument is a Patient (i.e. stative verbs)

Justification of this classification is based on the types of affixes with which the roots are compatible. Some roots derive intransitive verbs with the dynamic prefix *m-*, some with the stative prefix *a-*, and some with the resultative stative prefixes *to-* and *te-*. The semantic role of the S argument of intransitive verbs derived with *m-* is that of Actor (a participant capable of cognition and/or movement). In transitive verbs derived from roots which form intransitive verbs with *m-*, the referent of the A argument corresponds to the S argument of the intransitive verb. Compare, for example, the S argument of *m-e'e* 'cry' in (6), with the A argument of the verb *e'e-si* 'cry over' in (7). In (6) the S argument is the mutated form of *iβa* 'sibling' (here 'sister'):

- (6) M-e'e niβa-nia.
iβa
DYN-cry sibling:MUT-3s.POSS
Her sister is crying.

In (7) the one doing the crying, is again *iβa* 'sister', but in this case it is represented by an unmutated NP as well as being marked by a third singular verb prefix, *i-*.

⁵ See Chapter 3 fn 6 for discussion of the abbreviations A, P and S..

- (7) I-e'e-si nono-nia iβa-nia.
 ono
 3s.RLS-cry-TR child:MUT-3s.POSS sibling-3s.POSS
 Her sister is crying over her child (implied: who has died).

In both cases it is the sister who is crying, but the caseforms of the word *iβa* in the two sentences are different, reflecting the difference in argument role.

The semantic role of the S argument of intransitive verbs derived with the stative prefixes *a-*, *to-* or *te-* is typically that of Patient (a participant which is held to be unable to affect the situation described by the verb). In transitive verbs derived from the roots which form intransitive verbs with *a-*, *to-* or *te-*, it is the referent of the P argument which corresponds to the referent of the S argument of the intransitive verb. For example the S argument of the intransitive stative verb *a-böu* 'smell bad' in (8) is the mutated form *dana-gu* 'my hand:MUT':

- (8) A-böu dana-gu.
 tana
 ST-smell.bad hand:MUT-1s.POSS
 My hand smells bad.

Compare (9), in which the P argument of the transitive verb derived from the same root is again the mutated form *dana-gu* 'my hand MUT':

- (9) U-böu-si dana-gu v-a-naba i'a.
 tana f-aN-taba
 1s.RLS-smell.bad-TR hand:MUT-1s.POSS NR.MUT-IPF-cut fish
 I got my hands smelly from cutting up the fish. (D)

Note that the transitivity suffix *-si* occurs on both the root *-e'e* 'cry' in (7) and the root *-böu* in (9), indicating that it is only the semantic role of the intransitive verb

derived from a bound root which distinguishes the two classes of roots. Some roots which belong to these two sets are listed in (10) and (11) below, with intransitive and transitive verbs which are derived from them, and common nouns if they occur. Roots which form dynamic intransitive verbs are listed in (10):

(10) Roots which derive dynamic intransitive verbs

root	Vintr	Vtr / Noun
-alu	m-alu [DYN-hunt] 'go hunting'	alu-i [hunt-TR] 'look for' / -
-e'e	m-e'e [DYN-cry] 'cry'	e'e-si [cry-TR] 'cry over'
-örö	m-örö [DYN-sleep] 'sleep'	f-örö-mi ⁶ [DO-sleep-TR] 'sleep on' / f-örö-ma [DO-sleep-NR] 'bed'
-eßo	m-eßo [DYN-chase.birds] 'guard field'	eßo-khi [chase.birds-TR] 'scare birds' / eßo-kha [chase.birds-NR] 'hut in field for resting in while guarding field from birds'
-uta	m-uta [DYN-vomit] 'vomit'	uta-'ö [vomit-TR] 'throw up' / uta'uta 'vomit'

Roots which form stative intransitive verbs are listed in (11).

(11) Roots which derive stative intransitive verbs

root	Vintr	Vtr / Noun
-basö	a-basö [ST-wet] 'be wet'	basö-i [wet-TR] 'wet'
-böu	a-böu [ST-rotten] 'smell rotten'	böu-si [rotten-TR] 'cause to smell bad'
-fönu	a-fönu [ST-full] 'be full'	fönu-i [full-TR] 'fill'
-hatö	a-hatö [ST-near] 'be close'	hatö-'ö [near-TR] 'bring close'
-hono	a-hono [RES-calm] 'be quiet'	hono-gö [calm-TR] 'settle'
-bua	te-bua [RES-move] 'be moved'	bua-'ö [move-TR] 'move'
-boka	te-boka [RES-open] 'be open'	boka-i [open-TR] 'open'

⁶ There are two intransitive derivations of the root *-örö*: *mörö* 'be sleeping' and *förö* 'go to sleep'. Both of the prefixes *m-* and *f-* are 'dynamic' (see 5.1).

-oro	te-oro [RES-visible] 'be visible'	oro-'ö [visible-TR] 'make visible'
-bini	to-bini [RES-hide] 'be hidden'	bini-'ö [hide-TR] 'hide' / binibini 'hiding place'
-ele	to-ele [RES-visible] 'be visible'	ele-gö [visible-TR] 'expose' / ele'ele 'visible sign of wealth or fame'
-fae	to-fae [RES-contain] 'be contained'	fae-'ö [contain-TR] 'hold'
-kia	to-kia [RES-shock] 'be shocked'	kia-'ö [shock-TR] 'startle'

The prefixes and suffixes which occur with these roots are not interchangeable. In other words, each root is locked into the derivation it has. Note that all of the transitive derivations have regular causative-like meanings (something like 'A is responsible for P's being in state Vb.⁷'), yet one cannot predict from an intransitive form which transitivizing suffix a root takes, nor, with absolute certainty, what form a common noun might take if the root is also found in nominal form. Note also that the meanings of the nouns are not predictable. If these roots do not occur in verb forms other than the ones listed here and if it is impossible to predict which affix applies to which root, this implies that the roots themselves are not free to choose a derivational affix at will, but are known only to associate with those affixes with which they are attached in the lists above. This means that these forms must be lexicalized in the derivations in which they occur.

Some stative roots have gone further along the path of lexicalization than those listed in (11) above. There is a large class of intransitive/transitive verb pairs in which the intransitive verb itself is the stem of the transitive verb. Some of these are listed in (12):

(12) Transitive verbs with stative intransitive verb stems

intransitive verb	transitive verb
atulö 'be straight'	atulö-'ö 'correct, make straight'
aitö 'be black'	aitö-'ö 'blacken'

⁷ See fn 5, Chapter 3 for discussion of the abbreviations A, P and S..

aβolo 'be wide'	aβolo-’ö 'make wide(r)'
abe'e 'be strong'	abe'e-gö 'make stronger'
alösö 'be smooth'	alösö-i 'cause to be smooth'
aoha 'be light'	aoha-si 'cause to be light, bright'
aila 'be shy'	aila-si 'cause to feel ashamed'
ambö 'be less'	ambö-si 'lessen' (cause to be less)
aefa 'be passed'	aefa-si 'release' (cause to be free)
aβali 'be ready'	aβali-si 'finish' (cause to be ready)
aisö 'be bitter'	aisö-ni 'cause to be bitter'

Once again note the heterogeneous nature of the transitivity suffixes. As a general rule transitive verbs which are derived from stative verb stems do not occur with more than one suffix. Yet the intransitive verb stems give no clue as to which suffix they take. The transitive verbs listed in (12) are clearly derived, but it appears that they are now lexicalized in the forms listed. The intransitive verbs in this list, too, are obviously morphologically compositional (consisting of a prefix *a-* and a root), but the roots do not occur in any words other than these intransitive and transitive verbs.

Nouns which are derived from bound roots are unpredictable in meaning, indicating that the roots themselves no longer provide semantic basis for derivation—the nouns must be listed lexically in their reduplicated or affixed form. Similarly, bound roots which are stems of verbs are fixed in their dynamic/stative orientation and (generally) invariant in their choice of affix. These characteristics suggest that the roots do not occur as separate lexemes in the lexicon even though they may have been separate lexemes at some earlier period of the history of the language. Synchronically, the verbs which are derived from bound roots are presumably listed lexically in their affixed forms.

4.6 Personal pronouns

There are two sets of personal pronouns in Nias Selatan, which have roughly the same argument functions as those of unmutated and mutated nouns. These pronouns were given in Table 4 in Chapter 3, which is repeated here for convenience.

Table 4 (from p. 74): pronouns in Nias Selatan

	unmutated	mutated
1s	ya'o	ndrao
1s.EMPH	ya'oto	ndraoto
2s	ya'ugö	ndraugö
3s	ya'ia	ya
1pi	ya'ita	ita
1pe	ya'aga	ndraga
2p	ya'ami	mi
3p	ya'ira	ira

Each set of pronouns distinguishes first, second and third persons, singular and plural number, with inclusive and exclusive first person plural. First person singular in each set has an emphatic form. Independent pronouns have almost the same distribution in the clause as nouns (see Chapter 7). They are distinguished from nouns in being unable to occur with possessive pronouns.

Nias also has three sets of pronominal affixes—two sets of prefixes which obligatorily index person and number of arguments on the verb and one set of suffixes which marks possession on nouns. These affixes are listed in Table 6.

Table 6: Pronominal affixes in Nias Selatan

	realis	irrealis	possessive
1s	u-	gu-	-gu
2s	ö-	gö-	-u
3s	i-	ya-	-nia
1pi	ta-	da-	-da
1pe	ma-	ga-	-ma
2p	mi-	gi-	-mi
3p	la-	ndra-	-ra

Realis prefixes index the person and number of A arguments; irrealis prefixes index the person and number of A and S arguments (see 11.2 and 11.4 for further discussion). There are no separate reflexive or reciprocal pronouns—reflexive meaning can be indicated by a simple transitive construction (see 11.2.1.1) and reciprocal meaning can be indicated by intransitive construction (see 11.4.1). The word *samösa* functions as an independent pronoun meaning 'someone' (e.g. *so samösa* [arrive someone] 'someone has arrived'), and is also used as an emphatic marker with other pronouns or NPs with the meaning 'alone, by oneself', e.g. *ya'o samösa* [1s someone] 'I myself'; 'just me'.

4.7 Demonstratives

There are two broad semantic types of demonstratives: a purely deictic type and a 'recognitional' type (see Himmelmann 1996), both of which have numerous forms. The deictic type is used to identify the physical or cognitive proximity of the referent of the NP within the situational or speech context. These are listed in (13):

(13) deictic demonstratives

PROXIMAL: ha'a, andra, andraha'a

DISTAL: hö'ö, andre, andrehe'e

The four forms *ha'a*, *andra*, *hö'ö* and *andre* have both nominal and adnominal functions. *Andraha'a* 'this one' and *andrehe'e* 'that one' can only be used nominally. There are also three sets of enclitic forms which have roughly the same meanings as *andra* and *andre*. (See 8.3 for discussion of demonstratives.)

The second type of demonstrative has the function of drawing the hearer's attention to someone or something which has either been previously mentioned or is within the sphere of knowledge shared by speaker and hearer (frequently reference to family members or cultural detail, and not to the larger context of general knowledge, such as 'the sun'). These recognitional forms function only as adjuncts, never as heads of NPs. They are: *no*, *noma'e* (or *nomae*) and *nomema'e* (or *nomemae*). Their meaning is something like 'the one I've been talking about' or 'you know?' (see 8.3.7).

Deictic demonstratives have features of nouns, but can be shown to be a distinct word class based on a combination of morphological and syntactic characteristics. Deictic demonstratives are like nouns in that they function as heads of NPs in uses which are typical of nouns such as arguments of verbs and prepositions, and as predicates of predicate nominal clauses. When they function as heads of NPs, the vowel-initial deictics mutate in contexts which call for nominal mutation, e.g. *börö gandrehe'e* 'because of that sort of thing' (lit. 'because of that one'). Deictic demonstratives, like nouns, may not occur as predicates in relative clauses, a context reserved specifically for verbs, and like nouns in NP predicates, may not co-occur with the range of preverbal auxiliaries which may accompany verbal predicates. In predicate position they are negated with the non-verbal negator *te'ana*, and not the verbal negator *löna* (see 9.3, 9.4 for non-verbal predicates). Deictic demonstratives are unlike nouns, however, in that they can never occur as possessors, and cannot be modified by relative clauses or numeral phrases (see chapter 8). However, deictic demonstratives are distinct from both nouns and verbs in two ways: 1) they do not take part in any derivational morphology, and 2) in their adjunct role in an NP they may follow a noun

without any further morphological adjustment. (For nouns or verbs to modify nouns they must take on additional morphology.)

There is a small class of words that is semantically related to deictic demonstratives which are used when presenting something (physically or visually) to someone. These words all seem to have very similar meanings and are interchangeable in many contexts. The words are: *yaa*, *yae* and *yazö*. Their meanings are something like 'here/this is...' (like *voici* [see-here] 'here (it) is' and *voilà* [see-there] 'there (it) is' in French). They occur first in a clause and are always followed by an NP in mutated form. This construction conforms to nominal predicate structure (see Chapter 9) and realis intransitive verb structure. Some examples of these deictics are given in (14)-(16):

(14) Wah! Yaa mboto s=e-bua.

boto

wow here is body REL-ST-big

Wow! This is a big tree trunk! (*yazö* could be used in place of *yaa*)

(15) Yae nafo-da.

afo

here is betel quid:MUT-1pi.POSS

Here is our betel. (i.e. please help yourself) (*yazö* or *yaa* could be used in place of *yae*)

(16) Yazö=wa!

here is=D.PTCL

Here it is. (giving sth. to person).

Morphologically the forms *yaa* and *yae* appear to consist of a morpheme *ya* plus the demonstrative suffixes *-a* and *-e* (see 8.3.5 for discussion). A morpheme /zö/ does not occur in any other words.

4.8 Interrogatives

4.8.1 Yes-no question particles

There are two interrogative particles, *ha* and *hai*, which are frequently (but not invariably) used to form yes-no questions from simple declarative sentences. These particles always occur first in the clause and are not used for any function other than question formation (although *ha* is homophonous with the clause-initial particle meaning 'only, just' (see 4.13.3.1 below)). Some examples of these particles are given in (17)-(19):

- (17) Ha Bazi zia'a nda-ono?
 sia'a ira-ono
 Q Bazi firstborn:MUT COLL.MUT-child
 Is Bazi the oldest child?

- (18) Hai so ginötö-u bözi fulu?
 inötö
 Q EXIST time:MUT-2s.POSS hit ten
 Do you have time at ten oclock? (lit. is there your time (at) ten o'clock.)⁸

- (19) Hai, löna=e rake tanö bö'ö?
 Q NEG.EXIST=D.PTCL coral land other
 (Do you think) there is no coral anywhere else? (This is a rhetorical question.)

4.8.2 Information-question words

Interrogatives which request information form a distinct class of words based on shared morphological features, word order properties and non-interrogative uses. The interrogatives in Nias Selatan are listed in (20):

⁸ The phrase *bözi fulu* is a calque from Indonesian, where the word *pukul* 'hit' is used with a similar meaning, something like English 'o'clock', e.g. *pukul lima* [hit five] 'five o'clock'.

(20) Interrogatives in Nias Selatan

- hata/hanata* 'who?'⁹
haiya 'what?'
hakhö 'to, for, from whom?'
haeße 'which?'
hamega 'when?'
haega 'where?'
hauga 'how much, how many (things)?'
hadauga 'how many (people)?'
hanawara 'why?'
hava 'why (in the world)?' / 'how could...'
haiya mbörö 'for what reason?'; 'why?'
haega ißaisa 'how?'
haega ißaisa lala 'in what way?'

Morphologically these words are distinctive in beginning with *ha* (or *hai*, in the case of *haiya* 'what'), which functions by itself as a clause-initial particle introducing yes-no questions, as exemplified above. Interrogatives always occur in first position in sentence e.g. *haeße z-ebua ira* [which REL.MUT=ST:big 3p.MUT] 'which of them is bigger?'; *haega ndra-möi?* [where 3p.IRR-go] 'Where are they going?'. Interrogatives also function as markers of indirect questions and take first position in these clauses as well, e.g. *löna na ma-rono haega möi ya* [NEG yet 1pe.RLS-hear where go 3s.MUT] 'We haven't heard yet where he went'.

4.8.3 Indefinite pro-form function of interrogatives

In addition to these uses, a subset of these forms also function as indefinite pro-forms. Semantically there are two different types of indefinite pro-forms. One type is what

⁹ The difference between *hata* and *hanata* is not clear, although the morphological forms tend to imply that *hata* might be used in syntactic contexts which require unmutated forms and *hanata* in contexts calling for mutated forms. This however, is not the case—both *hata* and *hanata* are acceptable in both contexts (e.g. *hata zi-a* and *hanata zi-a* [who REL.MUT-eat] mean 'who ate (it)?' for further examples see 4.8). The answer is clearly not as simple as this, and requires further investigation.

Haspelmath (1997:134, fn 4) calls 'non-specific free relative clause markers'¹⁰, or 'conditional concessive' markers. These forms in English take the '-ever' suffix on the interrogative form. The meaning is something like 'some x, I know it could be any x, but I don't know which one(s)'. In Nias these forms are frequently accompanied by the particle *manö*('ö) 'just'. A list of the forms found with this use in the data is given in (21):

(21) interrogatives used as non-specific free relative clause markers

hata / hanata 'whoever'
haiya 'whatever'
hamega 'whenever'
haega 'wherever'

Examples of interrogatives in these uses are given in (22)-(26):

(22) *Hata mi anda z=o-okhöta,*
 =
 who 2p.MUT PROX REL.MUT=HAVE-possession
ande zi=to-bali kafalo ba mbanua=nde.
 si=
 DIST REL.MUT=RES-turn head LOC village:MUT=PROX

Whoever amongst you has possessions, he is the one who will become the head of this village.

(23) *Hanata z=a-löna ama, ina,*
 =
 who REL.MUT-?-NEG.EXIST¹¹ father mother

¹⁰ From Haspelmath 1997:134, FN 4: "A free relative clause is a relative clause that does not modify a noun phrase, but constitutes a noun phrase itself [i.e. 'headless relative' in this thesis (LB)] Non-specific free relative clauses (...) are ... easily recognized in English because only they allow the relative pronoun *wh-ever*, e.g. (specific) *She told him what (*whatever) she had seen the day before*; but (non-specific) *She used to tell him what/whatever she saw*."

¹¹ I don't know the function of the prefix *a-* in front of *löna* in the word *z=a-löna* although the meaning of the word is clear. However such a morpheme also occurs with the verb *a-so-gö* [?-EXIST/arrive-TR] 'invite, arrange, organize' derived from the existential verb *so* (or intransitive verb *so* 'come, arrive'.

i-doro ba-omo-nia Si'ulu.
3s-carry LOC-house-3s.POSS village.leader

Whoever did not have a father or mother, the village leader took to his own home. (OS:94)

- (24) Haiya=manö z-alua dania, böröta-nia hö'ö.
s-alua
what=justREL.MUT-happen later origin-3s.POSS DIST

Whatever happens later, that will be its beginning.

- (25) Fa-bö'ö hawa haega ta-rugi.
DO-different weather where 1pi.RLS-reach

The weather is different wherever we go (reach).

- (26) Hamega ara löna darodaro ba mbanua hö'ö,
banua
when long.time NEG seat of law LOC village:MUT DIST
la-waö, "ande döi-nia, so halama".
töi
3p.RLS-say DIST name:MUT-3s.POSS EXIST hut:MUT

Whenever there's no *darodaro* (seat of law) in a village for a long time, you call it 'so halama' (*So halama* means 'There are huts.' (as opposed to houses))

Several interrogatives occur in reduplicated form with similar meaning, as listed in (27).

- (27) interrogatives used in reduplicated form as markers of non-specific free relative clauses**

ha'ö-ha'ö-khö 'whoever:DAT'¹²
ha-mega-mega 'whenever'¹³

¹² I have no un-reduplicated example of *ha'ökhö* meaning 'to whomever'. Since the other interrogative forms appear to be able to be used as non-specific relative clause markers with or without reduplication, this may be an accidental gap in the data.

haega-haega 'wherever'

hauga-hauga 'however many (things)'

Some examples of reduplicated interrogatives used with similar meaning are given in (28)-(31):

- (28) Ha'ö-ha'ökhö=manö, böli oturagö, ...
 RDP2-who:DAT=just NEG.IMPER tell
 Whoever it is, don't tell (them)... (*oturagö* 'tell' requires a dative addressee)

- (29) Ha-mega-mega ginötö ga-möi ba ga-m-ohe döröfö.
 inötö döröfö
 Q-RDP2-when time:MUT 1pe.IRR-go CNJ 1pe.IRR-IRR-carry gift:MUT
 Whenever we go (visiting) we take gifts.

- (30) ...böro hauga-hauga na=luo ma-sofu,
 because RDP2-how.many LK=day 1pe.RLS-ask
 ba löna f-a-nema li.
 f-aN-tema
 CNJ NEG.EXIST NR-IPF-receive sound
 ...because no matter how many days we ask, there will be no answer.

- (31) Haega-haega toroi ya ba ya'ia löna a-hono
 RDP2-where live 3s.MUT CNJ 3s NEG ST-calm
 Wherever he lives, he's not happy (calm).

13 *Ha-mega-mega* 'whenever' differs from the other reduplicated trisyllabic interrogative, *ha'ö-ha'ö-khö* 'to whom?' in that the reduplication does not include the question particle *ha*. Reduplication of *ha-mega* 'when' copies only the stem. This makes this indefinite form formally similar to the indefinites *ha-nata-nata* 'someone' and *hai-ya-ya* 'something' discussed further on in this chapter, and suggest that *ha-mega-mega* may also mean 'sometime'. However, I have no data which confirms this at this stage.

There is insufficient data to say whether there is a semantic or syntactic difference between uses in reduplicated form and non-reduplicated form. The reduplicated form occurs much less frequently than the simple form.

The second type of indefinite pro-form derived from interrogatives corresponds generally to the English indefinite forms which take the 'some-' prefix. The following forms have this type of use:

(32) Indefinite pro-forms derived from interrogatives

- haega 'somewhere'
- hauga 'some amount, several' (things)
- hadauga 'some, several' (people)
- haiya (manö'ö) ginötö [what (just) time:MUT] 'sometime'
- haiya / haiya-ya 'something'
- löna haiya-ya 'nothing'
- löna hanata-nata 'no-one'¹⁴

Some examples of the first three interrogatives used with this type of indefinite meaning are given in (33)-(36).

- (33) Haega manö'ö ta-tou-'ö.
 where just 1pi.RLS-down-TR
 We put it down somewhere.
- (34) Löna hauga u-rono
 NEG how.much 1s.RLS-hear
 I didn't hear much.
- (35) Me hauga na=luo s=aefa, ...
 when how.many LK=day REL=ST:passed
 Several days ago, ...

¹⁴ There are no examples in the data of a word for 'someone' based on the interrogative *hanata* 'who'. 'Someone' can be expressed by the word *samösa* 'one person', see 4.9 .

- (36) Hadauga niha zi=möi-möi ...
 si=
 how.many person REL.MUT=RDP2-go
 Several people kept coming (up to him) ... (lit. the ones who kept coming were I-don't-know-how-many people)

The interrogative *haiya* 'what' may occur with the noun *ginötö* 'time' with the meaning 'any time'. In the following example the clitic =*manö'ö* 'just' attaches to *haiya*:

- (37) Mol-ombase haiya=manö'ö ginötö.
 inötö
 IPF-stay what=just time:MUT
 Drop by any time.

The other indefinite proforms derived from interrogatives are based on *haiya* 'what' and *hanata* 'who'. *Haiya* may be used by itself with the meaning 'something', or it may occur in reduplicated form, *hai-ya-ya* 'something'¹⁵. Examples of these forms are given in (38)-(39):

- (38) Na haiya z=a-boto la-cibo
 s=a-boto
 if what REL.MUT=ST-break 3p.RLS-throw away
 If anything is broken it can be thrown out.

¹⁵ The morphological analysis of *haiyaya* 'something' as *hai-ya-ya* is speculative, based on the fact that *ha-nata-nata* in the form *löna hanatanata* 'no-one' (ex (42)) reduplicates the final two syllables but not the question particle *ha*, and taking into account the comment by Haspelmath (1997:179) that no cases of partial reduplication of the corresponding interrogative are found in examples of languages which form indefinite pronouns from reduplication. It is assumed that only *ya* is reduplicated and that the question particle *hai* attaches to the reduplicated base. Even though *ya* is monosyllabic it is assumed that the reduplication strategy which applies is that of disyllabic reduplication, such as occurs with monosyllabic verbs (see 3.5.2 for details). The formal similarity between the third singular mutated form of the pronoun, *ya*, and the stem of this interrogative/indefinite pronoun should be noted. There is no similar association between *-nata* and any pronoun in Nias (excluding the first plural inclusive realis pronoun *ta-*, which is semantically unlikely to be related), although it is possible that */ta/* may be a reflex of the PAN form for 'person', **Cau*. The morpheme *na* may be related to the linker *na=* which occurs with numerals and classifiers (see 3.2).

4.9 Indefinite pronoun: *samösa* 'someone'

Nias Selatan has three ways of referring to a non-specific person: a headless relative construction, the noun *niha* 'person', or the word *samösa* 'someone'. These three forms are illustrated with translations of the sentence 'someone's coming' in (43)-(46). Sentence (43) and (44) illustrate two possible headless relatives as arguments of the existential verb:

- (43) So zi=so
 si=
 EXIST REL.MUT=arrive
 Someone's coming. (lit. There is one who is arriving.)

- (44) So zi=möi ga
 si=
 EXIST REL.MUT=go/come¹⁸ here
 Someone's coming. (lit. There is one who is coming here.)

Sentence (45) illustrates the use of *niha* 'person' with existential *so*:

- (45) So niha si=möi ga
 EXIST person REL=go/come here
 Someone's coming. (lit. There is a person who is coming here.)

Sentence (46) illustrates the use of *samösa* 'one person' with existential *so*.

- (46) So samösa si=möi.
 EXIST someone REL=go/come
 Someone's coming.¹⁹ (lit. There is someone who is coming.)

¹⁸ The verb *möi* may mean 'go' or 'come' depending on the orientation of speaker to the person who is going or coming.

¹⁹ It is not clear at this stage what the differences in exact meanings are between these various sentences.

Morphologically the word *samösa* 'someone', 'alone' consists of the short form of the numeral *sara* 'one', i.e. *sa-*, and the stem *-mösa*, which is not known to occur outside the word *samösa*. However, the word *ösa* functions as a nominal modifier meaning 'some' (see 8.5.1). Given the number of languages which use a notion like 'some' with the numeral for 'one' to derive an indefinite pronoun (see Haspelmath 1997:163), it seems likely that *-mösa* contains the morpheme *ösa* 'some'. Note that although *samösa* is the argument of existential *so* in (46), and is modified by a relative clause, indicating that it is nominal in function, it is not mutated. This provides good evidence that it begins with (the short form) of the numeral, *sa-* 'one', as numerals and the quantifier *fefu* 'most, all' do not mutate when functioning as arguments. The word *samösa* can function on its own with the meaning 'one person', as illustrated in (47):

- (47) La-bunu da-walu. Samösa la-doro.
 3p.RLS-kill CLF-eight someone 3p.RLS-carry

They killed eight of them (people). One of them they took captive.

Samösa also has other uses. It is used to mean 'alone', as illustrated in (42) above. It is also used as an emphatic particle, as illustrated with the first singular pronoun *ya'o* in (48):

- (48) ... börö ya'o samösa ma=u-oturagö khö-nia mema'e.
 because 1s someone PERF=1s-tell DAT-3s.POSS earlier

... because I myself told him (about it) earlier.

Samösa is also used as a specific indefinite pronoun (i.e. 'a certain person') to introduce a new participant, as illustrated in (49):

- (49) So matö samösa — ta-waö a-tua-tua ya — ...
 EXIST then someone — 1pi.RLS-say ST-RDP2-mature 3s.MUT —

Now, there was a certain person—we say he was very wise— ...

There is no example of *samösa* accompanied by the noun *niha* 'person' in my data, suggesting that the noun *niha* is redundant to the meaning of *samösa*.

Morphologically the word *samuza* 'one time' appears to be similar in composition to the word *samösa* 'one person', beginning with the morpheme *sa-* 'one'. There is, however, no lexeme known with which *-muza* may be associated. *Samuza* is used as a prenominal modifier of nouns referring to periods of time to express the notion of a single indefinite time. It occurs most commonly with the word *ma'ökhö* 'day' (or *luo* 'day'), as illustrated in (50):

- (50) Samuza ma'ökhö h<um>ede Namada Lareso khö Taögönaso, ...
 Amada
 one day <IPF> speak Amada:MUT Lareso DAT Taögönaso
 One day Amada Lareso was saying to Taögönaso, ...

The morphological parallels between *samösa* 'one person' and *samuza* 'one time' are also to be found in the derived forms *samösa-na* 'each' and *samuza-na* 'every now and then, bit by bit'. The precise meaning of the suffix *-na* is not entirely obvious, but seems to mean something like 'one at a time'²⁰. There are few examples of these forms in the data. However, in the data available, *samösana* 'each' occurs only at the end of the clause, and *samuzana* 'every now and then, bit by bit' occurs only at the beginning. The word *samösa-na* 'each' is illustrated in (51):

²⁰ Stress falls on the penultimate syllable in *samösá-na* and *samuzá-na*, indicating that the additional morpheme *-na* is a suffix and not a separate word or a particle.

- (51) La-a gö-ra samöšana.
 ö
 3p.RLS-eat food-3p.POSS each
 They each ate their food.

The word *samuzana* 'every now and then'; 'bit by bit' is illustrated in (52) and (53):

- (52) Samuzana afaehu.
 bit by bit ST:melted
 Bit by bit (it) melted.

- (53) Samuzana mo-manabuili ba Hilizondrege'asi.
 Hilizondrege'asi
 every now and again JNT-return LOC Hilizondrege'asi:MUT
 Every now and again they would return to Hilizondrege'asi.

4.10 Numerals

In Nias, numerals exhibit features of several word classes, but are sufficiently different from other classes to be considered a separate class. They show the greatest number of similarities with quantificational verbs which are, themselves, a subtype of existential verb (see 4.4). They share one syntactic feature with a small set of nominal quantifiers which is not shared with any other word class—numerals and these quantifiers are the only words which may occur with NPs as arguments in phrases which themselves occur as arguments of verbs, prepositions or nouns (e.g. *felendrua ndraono* [twelve COLL.MUT:child] 'twelve children', *fefu nasu* [all dog:MUT] 'all (of the) dogs'). The nominal quantifiers which share this feature with numerals are listed in (54) (see 8.5 for discussion):

- (54) **nominal quantifiers**
 fefu 'all, most'
 ma'efu 'a small amount, a few'

ösa 'some'

iagö 'lots'

However, numerals, but not these quantifiers, may occur as predicates without any morphological modification, a feature shared by both nouns and intransitive verbs. In (55), for example, the predicate is *dua* 'two':

- (55) Ha dua duturu-nia.
 tuturu
 just two finger:MUT-3s.POSS
 He has only two fingers. (lit. His fingers are only two.)

Clauses in which numerals occur as predicates have the same structure as the 'predicate possession' use of existential clauses (see 11.4.2)—possession is expressed by a possessive suffix on the NP argument, as illustrated by the third singular possessive suffix *-nia* in (55) above (cf. *so nono-nia* [EXIST child:MUT-3s.POSS 'She has a child/children']). This feature is also shared by the quantificational verbs *ato* 'many (people)' and *oya* 'many (things)' (cf. *oya mbaßi-nia* [many pig:MUT-3s.POSS] 'He has many pigs'). In addition, numerals, like quantificational verbs, modify definite and referential NPs by means of a relative clause construction, as do normal verbs (e.g. *iraono si=fitu na=fulu* [COLL:child REL=seven LK=ten] 'the seventy children'). As predicates, however, numerals are defective. They are semantically incompatible with (and therefore do not occur with) the range of preverbal and postverbal particles and adverbs which occur in the verb predicate complex (such as the perfect marker *ma=*, the intensifier *sibai*, *sui* 'again'; see 10.2, 4.12). Quantificational verbs, in contrast, do occur with some of these preverbal and postverbal constituents (see 11.4.2).

Numerals differ most significantly from all other word classes syntactically in that they cannot always function by themselves, but must be accompanied by a classifier (as mentioned in 4.10; see also 8.5.2). The combination of numeral +

classifier conforms to the same syntactic principles that have been outlined for numerals, i.e.:

- (i) NUM+CLF functions as a predicate without morphological modification, e.g.:

[Önö na-eu] mbaßi-gu.
 six LK=CLF pig:MUT-1s.POSS

I have six pigs. (lit. 'my pigs are six').

- (ii) NUM+CL occurs in a relative clause for postnominal modification, e.g.

baßi-gu si=[önö na-eu]
 pig-1s.POSS REL=[six LK=CLF]

my six pigs (lit. my pigs which are six).

- (iii) NUM+CL may take a noun as argument and form a phrase which functions as an argument, e.g.:

A-fökhö [önö na-eu] mbaßi-gu.²¹
 baßi
 ST-illness [six LK=CLF] pig:MUT-1s.POSS

Six of my pigs are sick.

The syntactic dependence between numeral and classifier has led to lexicalization of the collocation in one case: the numeral *dua* 'two' is reduced to *do-* when it occurs with *bua*, the classifier used for concrete things in general, and the combination of *dua* + *bua* is pronounced as *dombua*. The numeral *sara*, 'one', always occurs in its short form, *sa-*, with classifiers, e.g. *sa-geu ohi* [one-CLF.MUT coconut tree] 'one coconut tree'.

²¹ Note that the noun *mbaßi-gu* 'my pigs' is mutated because it follows the numeral+classifier and not because it is the argument of the verb *afökhö* 'sick'. (See 7.1.2.4 and 7.1.2.5 for discussion.)

Morphosyntactically, numerals are similar to nouns in that they participate in a system of segmental alternations (as described in 3.3.2.5). They are different from nouns, however, in that the system of alternations which operates in numerals is not the same as the one which operates in nouns (detailed in 3.2.1). What's more, in combining with other numerals, a special grammar is observed which makes use of the linker *a*, which is not found elsewhere in the grammar of Nias. The grammar of complex numerals is outlined below.

The numeral system in Nias is decimal. In forming numerals based on tens, hundreds or thousands, the numeral precedes the word for 'ten', 'hundred' or 'thousand' and is linked to that word by mutation or the linker *na=*, as discussed in sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2. In the formation of more complex numerals, the linker *a* occurs between the 'higher' base form and the cardinal number, e.g.:

- | | | | | | | |
|------|------|---------|---|------|-----------------------------|--------|
| (56) | öfa | βulu | a | rua | [four ten:LEN LK two:LEN] | '42' |
| | tölu | na=fulu | a | öfa | [three LK=ten LK four] | '34' |
| | önö | na=otu | a | siwa | [six LK=100 LK nine] | '609' |
| | lima | na=hönö | a | βitu | [five LK=1000 LK seven:LEN] | '5007' |

Dates are represented in the following way:

- | | | | | | |
|------|---|-----------|--------------|-------|----------------|
| (57) | önö | mbawa | si=sara | | |
| | | bawa | | | |
| | six | month:MUT | REL=one | | |
| | the sixth of January (lit. six of the month which is one) ²² | | | | |
| (58) | Me | ndöfi | si=hönö | a | [siwa na=otu a |
| | | döfi | | | |
| | when | [year:MUT | REL=thousand | LK [9 | LK=100 LK |

²² The noun *bawa* means both 'moon' and 'month'.

[fitu na=fulu a sara]]

[7 LK=10 LK one]]

In 1971 (lit. in year which is 1000 and 900 and 70 and 1)

An example of a longer date is illustrated in (59), to show how the grammar of numerals operates in larger numbers. Note that the whole date is regarded as the argument of the preposition *ba*. This is clear from its form as a headless relative which, as the argument of a locative preposition, is mutated:

- (59) Mofanö ndrao ba Jakarta
 leave 1s.MUT LOC Jakarta
 ba [zi=[fulu [mbawa si=felendua]]
 [si= [bawa
 LOC [REL.MUT=[ten [month:MUT REL=twelve]]
 [döfi si=hönö a [siwa na=otu a [siwa na=fulu a rua]]]]]
 [year REL=thousand LK [9 LK=100 LK [9 LK=10 LK two]]]]

I left Jakarta on December 10, 1992.

As the numerals exemplified in (56)-(59) show, the cardinal numbers are either unmutated after the linker *a*, or they have a lenited form. The cardinal numbers which lenite are *dua* (~*rua*) 'two', *fitu* (~*bitu*) 'seven' and *fulu* (~*βulu*) 'ten'. Note, however, that they do not lenite after the linker *a* when they are part of a higher numeral, as illustrated in (58) and (59). This sensitivity to cardinal numbers is another morphophonological idiosyncrasy of numerals.

4.11 Prepositions

The class of prepositions in Nias is a set of invariant forms which occur in front of noun phrases, with meanings which relate the referent of the noun phrase to the context described in the rest of the clause. They are distinguished from other word classes which can precede a noun phrase both semantically and syntactically: semantically they

do not alter the meaning of the noun phrase which follows them in any way, which indicates that they are not 'modifiers' as are other pre-nominal forms such as quantifiers, numerals and some particles, and syntactically prepositions have a relational function which other pre-nominal forms do not have.

There are two basic directional and locative prepositions in Nias, used in a variety of syntactic contexts with a wide range of meanings. Their use is determined by whether their object is human or locational. *Khö* is used only with humans (i.e. 'to, for, from a person/ people, e.g. *khö nama-gu* [DAT father:MUT-1s.POSS] 'to/from my father'), and *ba* is used typically with non-human referents ('to, from, at, on, in a place or thing', e.g. *ba mbanua* [LOC village:MUT] 'to, from, at, in the village') although *ba* may also occur with humans in a generic sense (e.g. *löna fa-oro ba niha* [NEG DO-seen LOC person] '(it) can't be seen by humans'). *Khö* is the root of the noun *khökhö* 'possessions', the verb (*m*)*o-khö* 'own' and the noun derived from this verb, *o-khö-ta* [[HAVE-possession]-NR] 'property, wealth', but does not occur on its own in the data except as a preposition. As far as I know, *ba* is never used in any other function, or as a root of any other word. It is homophonous with the clausal and phrasal conjunction *ba*, 'and', but it is, of course, difficult to know whether the homophony conceals a relationship or is purely coincidental.

It is unclear whether these prepositions are clitics or not. They are not affixes because they precede noun phrases, not nouns, and they occur in front of whichever constituent comes first in the phrase, whether quantifier, numeral or particle. Typically they are unstressed. Some evidence that *ba* may be a clitic comes from a set of locational expressions in which *ba* has been lexicalized. The set of expressions are the following:

(60) lexicalized prepositional phrases with *ba*²³

baomo 'at home'; 'at the house' (<i>omo</i> 'house')	[bá ^o mo]
baora 'on the stairs' (<i>ora</i> 'stairs')	[bá ^o ra]
baero 'outside' (at the toilet) (<i>ero</i> 'outside')	[bá ^o ro]
baeβali 'in the courtyard' (<i>eβali</i> 'courtyard')	[bá ^o vali]
baene 'at the shore; fishing' (<i>ene</i> 'beach')	[bá ^e ne]
baobo 'at sea; fishing' (<i>obo</i> 'boat')	[bá ^o bo]
baulu 'upstream' (<i>ulu</i> 'headwaters')	[báwlu]
barö 'underneath' (<i>arö</i> 'area underneath house')	[bárv]

Each of the expressions listed in (60) typically refers to a place where people do something regularly, and one of the connotations of some of these expressions is to indicate that a person is doing what is normally done in that place, such as, for *baene* and *baobo*, fishing. The unmutated nouns in these expressions are syntactically anomalous. Syntactically *ba* is usually followed by a noun which is mutated, and in fact, each of the expressions can also be realized with a mutated noun, e.g. *ba nomo* 'at the house', *ba nora* 'on the stairs'. Semantically, the unmutated nouns imply uniqueness. The referent of the unmutated noun is a place which speaker and hearer can identify uniquely. Yet the unmutated nouns which follow *ba* in these expressions are still capable of grammatical modification such as possessor phrases and relative clauses (e.g. *baomo dua-gu* [LOC:house grandfather:MUT-1s.POSS] 'at my grandfather's house'; *baeβali s=aβolo* [LOC:courtyard REL=ST:wide] 'to the wide courtyard'), which argues that the expressions still consist of a preposition followed by a noun. At a phonological level, however, the expressions are treated as single words. The sequence of vowels formed by the attachment of *ba* to vowel-initial nouns results in diphthongs (and in the case of *barö*, the long vowel produced by the two vowels in juxtaposition has been reduced to a single vowel). The fact that *ba* has been

²³ The noun *baka* 'inside' may also belong to this set. However there is no noun known of the form **ka* or **aka* with an appropriate meaning on which this form may be based. In addition, *baka* occurs with the preposition *ba*, e.g. *baka ba zekhula* [inside LOC coconut:MUT] 'inside the coconut', unlike all of the forms listed in (60). Semantically, too, the word *baka* does not appear to refer to a unique location.

phonologically integrated into these expressions argues that it may be a clitic in them, and may therefore have clitic status in other phrases as well.

Khö is followed by a mutated noun (as exemplified above), or by a possessive suffix. The fact that possessive suffixes occur with *khö* suggests that *khö* could be a noun, since the potential to take a possessive suffix is characteristic of nouns. *Khö* has other nominal features—it cannot function as a predicate without derivation, and the derivational morphology which does apply to it is the prefix *(m)o-* 'HAVE' (i.e. *(m)o-khö* 'own; have possessions'), which in all other cases attaches only to nouns. However, it does not occur by itself in any other contexts as a noun, although the reduplicated noun *khö-khö* 'possession(s)' suggests that iconically this word refers to a plurality of objects. *Khökhö* can, however, refer to just one object, as well as to many.

Nias also has a number of complex prepositions which provide greater refinement of location or direction in which the basic prepositions are collocated with words which function elsewhere in the language as verbs, adverbs or nouns. The most frequently occurring complex prepositions are *moroi ba* and *moroi khö*. The word *moroi* occurs elsewhere in the language as an intransitive verb meaning 'come from; start from'. In collocation with *ba* or *khö*, however, *moroi* has no verbal features, e.g. no adverbs or aspectual particles may precede or follow it; nothing can be inserted between the verb and the preposition and it can't take an argument. Another verb which occurs frequently in collocation with *ba* is *möi* 'go'. The collocation has an allative meaning, i.e. 'go towards'. Like *moroi*, *möi* no longer has verbal features when it functions as part of a complex preposition. It is a feature of all of these compounds, in fact, that nothing may intervene between the word with which the preposition is collocated and the preposition. In other words they are treated syntactically as a unit. Prosodically, too, the preposition does not alter the stress assignment of the word it combines with. If secondary stress applies to the complex preposition, it applies to the penultimate syllable of the word preceding *ba*, and *ba* remains without stress e.g. *sanandrösa ba gosali* [sana'dʷsa ba gosáli] 'about the church'. Common compounds are the following:

(61) complex prepositions

preposition	meaning	meaning of combinatory word
moroi ba	from	come from
möi ba	to(wards)	go
lawa ba	up at/on	high
tou ba	down to	down
baka ba	inside	inside
sanandrösa ba	about, concerning	andrö 'ask for' ²⁴
ba nai	near, close to	side of body
ba zina	beside	sina 'edge'

There are six other prepositions with more specific locative or other meanings.

These are:

(62) other simplex prepositions

- faoma 'with' (both comitative and instrumental)
- irugi 'until'
- ißaßö 'above'
- balazi/mbalazi 'on account of'
- börö 'because of'
- barö 'under'

Except for *faoma* 'with', these prepositions are followed by nominals in mutated form. *Faoma* functions as a verb meaning 'be the same' in other contexts. As a verb it is followed by a nominal in mutated form, e.g. *faoma ira* [be.same 3p.MUT] 'they are the same'. As a preposition, however, it is followed by a noun which is unmutated, which indicates that it is no longer functioning as a verb, e.g. *faoma ya'ira* [with 3p] 'with them'. Similarly the word *i-rugi* is a verb in other contexts, meaning '(s)he reaches'. As

²⁴ The noun *sanandrösa* can be segmented morphologically quite easily: [s=aN-andrö-sa, [REL=IPF-ask-NR], but it is difficult to give a literal translation of it. It seems to mean 'what one is asking'. Typically, it is used with *ba* as a complex preposition meaning 'about'. It may also function as a noun meaning 'topic (of conversation)'.

a verb the initial syllable varies with the person and number of the Actor (cf. *la-rugi* 'they reach'; *ma-rugi* 'we (excl) reach'). It is clear that when *irugi* functions prepositionally it is no longer functioning as a verb because it is invariable—the initial syllable does not alter if reference involves more than one person or non-third persons (e.g. *moloi ira irugi ga* [run 3p.MUT until here] 'they ran all the way to here'). *Iβaβö* 'above', is coincidentally similar to transitive verbs with third singular prefixes. In all probability, however, it is a reflex of the PAN form **i-+bá+baw* 'on top of' with the PAN locative marker **i-* (PAN/PMP*b became /β/ intervocallically in the variety of Nias Selatan described in this thesis). The word *balazi* is a noun meaning 'measures, steps, action' or 'guide', but its most frequent use (and the meaning which speakers bring first to mind) is the prepositional one, 'on account of'. The word *börö* is a common noun with several meanings, including 'base of tree'; 'basis'; 'source'; 'reason'. It is less easy to claim that *börö* 'because' is primarily a preposition because any noun which follows it in its prepositional use is mutated, and could be regarded as occurring in a possessive construction with the noun meaning 'source, reason'. On the basis of frequency of use, however, the meaning 'because' is primary and it is therefore included in the class of prepositions. The word *barö* 'underneath' is derived from a prepositional phrase, as mentioned above. It occurs infrequently in my data.

Two other words which are used as prepositions, *furi* 'behind' and *föna* 'in front', are primarily adverbs of location and time, and can also be used as nouns. Like *khö*, these words take possessive suffixes (e.g. *furi-u* 'behind you(s)'), revealing their nominal features. A categorial affinity with nouns exists for many adverbs (see 4.12, 11.3.3).

A number of other words which have the function of nouns or verbs can occur pre-nominally, but since there is no difference between the form of the noun which follows any of these forms when they are nouns or verbs and the form the noun would take if they were prepositions, it is difficult to say which function is primary. These are: *gasagasa* 'in the course of; while' (as N. 'interval, period of time'), *götö(götö)*

'during; in the time of' (as N. 'piece'), *mae* 'like' (as V. 'be like; resemble'), *molo'ö* 'according to' (as V. 'follow').

4.12 Adverbs: overview

Adverbs are defined in this study as words which can modify any semantically compatible constituent without undergoing morphological modification, and are not rigidly constrained in their positional possibilities within a phrase or clause (in contrast with particles, which are defined as having fixed positions in a clause). Although adverbs in Nias typically modify verbs or other non-nominal constituents, they can also modify nouns. In general adverbs do not function as predicates, although they do function as arguments of the verbs *törö* 'go' and *agö* 'stay' (see 11.3.3). Adverbs are basically distinguished from other word classes by the syntactic positions in which they can occur and their relative freedom of positional possibilities within a clause. For example, some adverbs occur in either initial or final position in a clause or sentence, others occur either post-verbally, after the predicate complex, or after an argument in the predicate, while others occur in final position of NPs or after verbs. There does not appear to be any productive morphology used to derive adverbs in Nias. However, some verbs which occur in preverbal auxiliary positions have meanings which are typical of manner adverbs in those languages which have them, e.g. *a-hono tataro ya* [ST-calm sit 3s.MUT] 'he sat *calmly*'; *alio aukhu gaβu* [quick hot sand:MUT] 'the sand gets hot *quickly*', see 10.2.4). The prepositional phrase *ba va'alio* [LOC [NR:MUT-ST:quick] 'quickly', which is formed from the preposition *ba* followed by an abstract noun derived from a stative verb also has adverbial function. In addition, constituents which indicate some past time reference can be recognized by phrases introduced by the particle *me* 'when' plus a noun or NP, such as *mema'e* 'earlier', *me fōna* [when in front] 'in the early days', *me ndröfi* [when year:MUT] 'last year', *me migu no* [when week RECOG] 'last week', *me dua βoni* [when two night:LEN] 'two nights ago'. Adverbs have been categorized in this study first according to whether they are locative or temporal, and second according to the positions which they may take in a clause.

4.12.1 Locative adverbs

Locative adverbs are listed in (63):

(63) locative adverbs

ga 'here' (indefinite place)
 gane 'there' (indefinite place)
 gae 'here' (definite place)
 gaö 'there' (definite place)²⁵
 tou 'down'
 lawa 'up'
 baka 'inside'
 furi 'behind'
 föna 'in front'

Of these, *ga / gae* 'here', *gaö / gane* 'there' may occur either first or last in a clause but have a preference for initial position, e.g.:

(64) Ga löna ndrindri. töra lawa.
 here NEG.EXIST mosquito, more high
 There aren't any mosquitoes here, it's too high.

(65) So göi nidanö s-o-töi Gomo gaö?
 idanö
 EXIST also water:MUT REL=HAVE-name Gomo there
 Is there also a river known as Gomo there?

(66) Gaö alua hö'ö.
 there happen DIST
 That happened there.

²⁵ The locative adverbs *gane*, *gae* and *gaö* consist of the morpheme *ga* plus either the suffix *-ne* 'far away' or the deictic demonstrative suffixes, proximal =*e* or distal =*ö* (see 8.3 for demonstrative modifiers).

Lawa and *tou* also occur in complex prepositions (see 4.11). The words *furi* 'behind', *föna* 'in front' and *baka* 'inside' usually occur in final position in a clause, as illustrated in (72)-(74):

- (72) *βuβu ndraugö furi.*
 move.back 2s.MUT behind
 Please move back.

- (73) *Ha ira-Basiwa zi=lö mo-gau-gau föna.*
 si=
 only COLL-Basiwa [REL.MUT=NEG DYN-RDP2-fine in.front]²⁷

The only ones who never fined (people) then were Basiwa's family (lit. the ones who did not do fining`always before were only Basiwa and his family.)

- (74) *...ba dania mi-be ya baka.*
 CNJ later 2p.IRR-put 3s.MUT inside
 ...and later put him inside.²⁸

Furi 'behind' and *föna* 'in front' also function as prepositions on their own or as part of a complex preposition with locative *ba* (see 4.11 above). *Baka* 'inside' may occur as part of a complex preposition with locative *ba*.

4.12.2 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs are listed in (75):

²⁷ Mutation on the relative clause marker indicates that the clause is an argument (see chapter 9 for discussion of non-verbal clause structure). There is some ambiguity in this sentence as to whether *föna* has scope over just the relative clause or over the whole utterance.

²⁸ This is an imperative utterance. The verb *be* 'put' occurs with the second plural pronominal prefix *mi-* referring to the addressees.

(75) **temporal adverbs**

mana 'now'; 'then'

ma'akha 'today'

meneβi 'yesterday'; 'the day before'

mahemolu 'tomorrow'; 'the next day'

meföna 'in the early days'

me'oβi 'last night'

mema'e 'earlier'

dania 'later'

All of these adverbs tend to occur at the end of a clause if the adverb itself is not emphasized. Examples of *meneβi* 'yesterday' and *mana* 'now' are given in (76).

- (76) Gusti ma=möi ba Teluk Dalam meneβi,
 Gusti PERF=go LOC Teluk Dalam yesterday,
 ba mana so ya ba=omo
 CNJ now EXIST 3s.MUT LOC=house

Gusti went to Teluk Dalam yesterday, but right now she's at home.

An alternative order for the second clause in (76) with *mana* at the end of the clause, i.e. *so ya ba=omo mana* [EXIST 3s.MUT LOC=house now], is also possible, though rhetorically less effective since the contrast between the times is not as immediate. An example of *mana* 'now' also occurs in (77), along with *ma'akha* 'today'.

- (77) Gu-mörö mana. Döröfö.
 1s.IRR-sleep now. sleepy.
 böröme ma'akha löna inötö mörö.
 because today NEG.EXIST time sleep

I'm going to bed now. (I'm) sleepy. Because there wasn't any time today to have a sleep. (lit. ...because today time for sleeping didn't exist.)

Examples of *mahemolu* 'yesterday', 'the next day' and *meföna* 'in the early days' are given in (78) and (79).

- (78) La-f-o-töi meföna 's=o-baßi niha'.
 3p-CAU-HAVE-name in.the.early.days REL=HAVE-pig person
 In the early days they called (him) 'the human-keeper'.²⁹

- (79) Gu-möi ba fasa mahemolu.
 1s.IRR-go LOC market tomorrow
 I want to go to the market tomorrow.³⁰

Mahemolu may be placed at the beginning of a clause, but a pause must occur after it, as exemplified in (80):

- (80) ABali hö'ö, mahemolu, mo-halöwö.
 ST:finished DIST next day DYN-work
 When that's done, the next day (they) go off to work.

Me ma'e 'earlier' occurs as part of the recognitional deictic *no mema'e* 'you know the one I mean' (see 8.3.7), but it occurs by itself adverbially either after a verb or in clause-final position, e.g.:

- (81) ... börö ya'o samösa ma=u-oturagö mema'e khö-nia
 ... because 1s alone PERF=1s.RLS-tell earlier DAT-3s.POSS
 ... because I told him myself earlier
 or
 (82) ... börö ya'o samösa ma=u-oturagö khö-nia mema'e.
 ... because 1s alone PERF=1s.RLS-tell DAT-3s.POSS earlier
 ... because i told him myself earlier

²⁹ *S-o-baßi niha* literally means 'the one whose humans are like pigs'. Pigs are prized possessions in Nias.

³⁰ *Fasa* 'market' is a borrowed word and as such, does not mutate. Normally nouns are mutated after the locative preposition *ba* (see 7.1.2).

Dania 'later' occurs immediately after a verb (83) or in final position in a clause (84):

- (83) Na möi dania ndaga mondi ...
 if go later 1pe.MUT bathe
 If they were to go bathing later ...

- (84) Gu-m-oturagö ndaugö khö-ra dania.
 1s.IRR-IRR-tell 2s.MUT DAT-3p.POSS later
 I'm going to tell them about you later.

4.12.3 Non-locative, non-temporal adverbs

There are three non-locative, non-temporal adverbs which modify NPs as well as predicates. These are *göi* 'too', *ma'efu* 'a bit, some' and *arakhagö* 'rather, almost'. *Göi* follows the constituent it modifies. Examples (85)-(87) illustrate the variable position of *göi* in a sentence, and the meanings it imparts by taking these positions:

(i) after predicate complex

- (85) I-fa-sura-'ö göi khö-gu zura.
 sura
 3s.RLS-APP-write-CAU also DAT-1s.POSS letter:MUT
 He made me write a letter, too (as well as doing something else)

(ii) after an argument

- (86) I-fa-sura-'ö khö-gu göi zura
 sura
 3s.RLS-APP-write-CAU DAT-1s.POSS also letter:MUT
 He also made me, too, write a letter

- (92) **Arakhagö** limaßulu fakhe³¹ furi hö'ö, ...
 almost fifty year behind DIST

Almost 50 years after that, ...

As this is the only example of its use other than with verbs, it is unclear whether it can occur also with NPs or whether it is simply the verbal features of the numeral which allow it to be used in this context.

One adverb, *tö* 'more, extra', occurs almost exclusively at the end of quantifying phrases³². Examples (93) and (94) illustrate its use after numeral phrases:

- (93) Sa-mbua **tö** v-a-nofu-gu, Ama.
 ... -bua f-aN-sofu
 one-CLF.MUT more NR.MUT-IPF-ask-1s.POSS father

I have one more question, Ama. (lit. My question is one more.)

- (94) ... da-t<um>ema gana'a önö batu **tö** samösa.
 ana'a
 ... 1pi.IRR-<IRR>receive gold:MUT six stone more alone
 ... we ourselves will receive an extra six stones of gold.³³

³¹ *Fakhe* is also the normal word for 'rice', illustrating the fact that the rice growing season was originally used for counting 'years'. The word *fakhe* is used for counting more than one year. The word *ndröfi* 'year' (related to *döfi* 'star') is used with the short form of the numeral for 'one', *sa-*, to refer to just one year.

³² *Tö* also occurs three times with a meaning which I have not been able to determine. All of the instances occur in one sentence taken from a story recorded by Father Johannes Hämmerle. This use of *tö* does not occur elsewhere in my data. The sentence is given in (i):

(i) Nahia gö-ra, s=afusi **tö** si=öfa sagi,
 place food:MUT-3p.POSS REL=ST:white ? REL=four side
 na s=oyo **tö** la'ala'a, ofulo-fulo,
 if REL=ST:red ? colour ST:round
 na s=aitö **tö** la'ala'a ba s=omigö-migö.
 if REL=ST:black ? colour CNJ REL=ST:oval

As for the dishes for their food, white (food) *tö* square pot, if (the food is) red *tö* in colour, (the dish is) round, if (the food is) black *tö* in colour then (the dish is) oval. (H)

³³ The numeral phrase *önö batu* 'six stone' in this example is right-dislocated as can be seen from the fact that it does not occur in a relative clause construction. As the NP is indefinite, the numeral phrase

Example (95) illustrates its use after the adverb *ma'efu*:

- (95) Ma'efu tō so ira.
 a bit more arrive 3p.MUT
 They'll be here in a little while.

4.12.4 Adverbs or particles?

The distinction between adverb and particle blurs a little when it comes to those words which only occur in or after the predicate complex. I have chosen to call 'adverbs' those forms which appear to have greater freedom in post-verbal position within the predicate complex or the rest of the clause, and to call 'particles' those words which have fixed positions (see section 4.13 below). The adverbs which occur post-verbally are *sui* 'again', *ana* 'sometime' and *matō* 'therefore; so'. *Sui* 'again' usually occurs somewhere after a verb, but its position seems quite variable. Examples (96) and (97) show *sui* 'again' occurring after a verb and at the end of a clause respectively:

- (96) Fa-manömanö sui ira boni.
 DO-chat again 3p.RLS night
 They discussed (it) again at night.

- (97) Ande z=a-ta'u ira sui?
 DIST REL=ST-afraid 3p.MUT again
 Is that why they were frightened again?

Sui 'again' follows any post-verbal enclitic particles, as exemplified in (98):

- (98) I-fuli=manö'ö sui ya Zinö
 3s.RLS-turn.back=just again 3s.MUT Zinö
 ...Zinö just turned back again ...

would normally precede the noun (see 8.5). I don't know why *batu* 'stone' is unmutated in this phrase—usually the noun following a numeral other than 'one' is mutated.

Sui may also occur after *ya* in (98), i.e. an alternative order with the same meaning is *i-fuli=manö'ö ya sui Zinö* [3s.RLS-turn.back=just again 3s.MUT Zinö].

The word *ana*, 'sometime' occurs in only two examples in the data. In these it immediately follows the verb. It is included with adverbs because of its semantic similarity with other adverbs such as *sui* 'again' which refer to some temporal aspect of the situation described in the clause. The examples containing *ana* 'sometime' are (99) and (100). Note that *sui* 'again' follows *ana* 'sometime' in example (99):

- (99) Ta-fuli **ana** sui mbörögö huhuo-da
 1pi.RLS-turn.back sometime again begin:IRR meeting-1pi.POSS
 We will begin our discussions again sometime.³⁴

- (100) Gu-möi **ana** ba khö-mi
 1s.IRR-go sometime LOC DAT-2p.POSS
 I'd like to go to your house sometime, (but no definite time)'

Matö 'then, so, therefore', has a preference for a position after one or more arguments or at the end of the clause, as exemplified in (101)-(104):

- (101) ... ba la-be ya **matö** guru agama.
 ... CNJ 3p.RLS-put 3s.MUT therefore teacher religion
 ... and so they made him a teacher of religion.

- (102) Möi ya guru agama **matö** ga ba Mbotohilitanö
 go 3s.MUT teacher religion therefore here LOC Botohilitanö
 So he became a teacher of religion here at Botohilitanö.

³⁴ I don't know why the irrealis form of the verb (*mbörögö* 'begin:IRR') occurs without a pronominal prefix in (99). It may be a substitution for the imperfective (and definite future) form *mamörögö* [*maN-börögö*] (see 10.3.4), possibly idiosyncratic to the speaker. I am not aware of any other cases of the irrealis form occurring without a pronominal prefix. Irrealis forms may occur with *mo-* 'joint action' prefix, which occurs instead of a third plural prefix (see, e.g., ex (53); and see 10.3.3).

- (103) Löna ta-ila nama hauga fakhe **matö** furi hö'ö,...
 NEG 1pi.RLS-know perhaps how.many year therefore behind DIST
 So we don't know how many years after that, ...

- (104) Nah, me ara gaö ya ba GunungSitoli **matö**, ...
 now, when long.time there 3s.MUT LOC GunungSitoli therefore
 Now, since he had stayed so long in GunungSitoli then, ...

Matö 'then, so, therefore' may also occur immediately after a verb, as in (105) below, and after a modal auxiliary, as in (106):

- (105) La-cimba **matö** lösu ande
 lösu
 3p-kick therefore mortar:MUT DIST
 Then they kicked away that mortar.

- (106) Ande va tola **matö** la-waö ba ta-be saßuyu.
 DIST COMP can therefore 3p.RLS-say CNJ 1pi.RLS-give slave
 So that's why they could say, 'We give (them) as slaves'.

Matö 'then, so, therefore' appears to follow any other adverbs or particles in a verb complex, as illustrated with *sui* 'again' in (107):

- (107) Ba löna sui **matö** ta-ila [...]
 CNJ NEG again therefore 1pi.RLS-know
 And so again we don't know [...], ...

4.13 Particles: overview

Particles are defined for this study as invariant words which have fixed position in a clause or phrase. The various types of particle are basically determined by their positional possibilities. The positions that particles take are the following: initial position in a clause, initial position in a phrase, second position in a clause, second

position in a predicate complex, immediate post-verbal position and final position in a clause. The prepositions *ba* and *khö* are one set of particles which have already been mentioned, which occur only in front of NPs and signal the relationship of the NP to the larger constituent of which the prepositional phrase is a part.

4.13.1 Initial position in clause

Grammatically there are two types of clauses in which particles may take initial position—independent (main) clauses and clauses which are syntactically subordinate. The particles which occur in initial position can be classified into two classes based on whether they introduce independent clauses or whether they do not. Particles which introduce main clauses either signal some notion such as the speaker's opinion of the certainty of the event described in the clause or signal the pragmatic intention of the clause. Particles which introduce clauses that are incomplete utterances unless they are part of a larger constituent basically signal the function of the clause within that larger constituent or its semantic relationship to the other clause.

4.13.1.1 Initial position in independent clause

Particles which express how the speaker feels or thinks about the situation described in the clause are listed in (108):

(108) particles which express speaker's thoughts or feelings about topic

ya 'I hope'
da 'I want to do [cl], I want to know if you agree',
te 'perhaps',
dörö 'perhaps'(?),
nama 'I can't be sure'.

Some examples of these particles are given in (109)-(113):

- (109) **Ya** aboto ba dödö-u.
 tödö
 I hope ST-break LOC liver:MUT-2s.POSS
mea böi elunu ndaugö
 so.that NEG.IMPER ST:lost 2s.MUT
 I hope that you understand what I say so that you don't get lost.

- (110) **Da** u-o-bubu ö-u vakhe.
 fakhe
 HORT 1s.RLS-HAVE-porridge food-2s.POSS rice:MUT
 Let me make you some porridge.

- (111) **Te ma=ahori** fefu mbala.
 bala
 perhaps PERF=ST:finished all papaya:MUT
 Perhaps all the papaya are gone.

- (112) **Dörö** so niha gaö baka.
 perhaps EXIST person there inside
 There could be a person inside there.

- (113) **Nama** nda-ma-maβa dania.
 perhaps 3p.IRR-IRR-sell later
 Maybe they'll sell (them) later.

The particles *ha* and *hai*, which indicate that a sentence is a yes-no question were illustrated above (see 4.8.1). Another particle which signals the pragmatic intention of the speaker is the negative imperative marker *böi*, and its more formal form *böli*, 'don't'. Examples of these are given in (114) and (115);

- (114) **Böi** mi-e'e.
 NEG.IMPER 2pRLS-cry
 Don't cry.³⁵
- (115) **Böli** mi-taha ndrao!
 NEG.IMPER 2p.RLS-stop 1s.MUT
 Do not stop me!

4.13.1.2 Initial position in subordinate clause

Clauses which semantically relate one clause to another clause within a larger constituent are marked with one of the particles listed in (116).³⁶

(116) Subordinating particles

- na 'when' (future), 'if'
- me 'when' (past)
- mena 'in case'
- böröme 'because'
- mea 'so that'
- he ... he 'whether ... or'
- hewa'e 'although'

Clauses introduced by the particles listed in (116) are generally adverbial in function, and are termed 'subordinating particles' or just 'subordinators' in this thesis. Sentences in which one of the clauses is introduced by *na* 'if, when (future)', *he* 'whether' or *hewa'e* 'even though' usually occur with a second clause introduced by a conjunctive particle, or in the case of *he* 'whether', by another *he*. These adverbial clause markers are illustrated below. In (117), the conditional use of *na* is illustrated. Note that the apodosis of the conditional sentence must be marked by the conjunctive particle *ba*.

³⁵ Note that the plural pronominal prefix in this example is used to 'soften' the command. It was used by an older woman to a young relation of her husband's. The second plural prefix in (115), on the other hand, was used to address several people and is more formal.

³⁶ The morphological status of all of the forms in (116) is not firmly established at this stage. As mentioned a little further on, a number of these forms may be complex morphemes.

- (117) **Na** löna ma=bötö, **ba** tola i-halö.
 if NEG PERF=wounded CNJ can 3s.RLS-hold
 If (a person) has not been wounded, he can carry (things).

When *na* is used with future time reference, the matrix clause typically occurs in irrealis mode, as illustrated in (118):

- (118) **Na** ebuā ndao gu-mo-guna.
 when ST-big 1s.MUT 1s.IRR-HAVE-use
 When I'm bigger I'll be needed.

Because of the semantic association of the future with a conditional sense, *na* can be ambiguous out of context. This ambiguity is illustrated in (119), where the particle can imply '*if*' or '*when*'. In this instance, neither clause is syntactically affected by the presence of *na* and could stand on their own as independent sentences:

- (119) **Na** la-faigi ita fa-mae na mana ndrao.
 if/when 3p.RLS-see 1pi.MUT DO-resemble when do.like.this 1s.MUT
 If/when they see us, copy what I do. (lit. 'If/when they see us, do like when I do like this')

Clauses introduced with the particle *he* 'whether' typically occur with a second clause introduced also by *he*, as illustrated in (120):

- (120) Fefu ndra-matua, **he** la-sußö **he** lö'ö,
 ira-
 all COLL.MUT-male whether 3p.RLS-fight whether NEG
 m-oi mo-gamagama
 PERF-all HAVE-armament
 All of the men, whether they fought or not, all of them were armed.

He is also a phrase-initial particle with the meaning 'either, or', illustrated in 4.13.2.3 below. The particle *hewa'e* 'although' may be a complex morpheme, derived from a combination of the particle *he* 'whether' with the discourse particle =*wa'e* (see 4.13.5). This form is illustrated in (121):

- (121) **Hewa'e** löna s<um>ura, ba la-akui, mo-lo-'ö...
 maN-o
 even.though NEG <IPF>write CNJ 3p.RLS-accept DYN-follow-TR
 Even tho it's not written down, it's accepted, according to ...

In clauses introduced by the other particles listed in (116) above, neither the clause containing the particle nor the matrix clause is affected syntactically by the presence of the particle, so the clauses are 'subordinate' only in terms of being semantically reliant on another clause to complete an utterance. An example of each of these is given below. The particle *me* is illustrated in (122) with the meaning of past time reference 'when':

- (122) **Me** mofanö ya, la-roro ya niha fefu
 when leave 3s.RLS 3p.RLS-follow 3s.MUT person all
 When he left, everyone followed him.

The form *mena* 'in case' may be a complex form consisting of the particles *me* 'when' and *na* 'if'. This form is illustrated in (123):

- (123) I-oturagö **mena** la-bunu ita dania ...
 3s.RLS-tell in.case 3p.RLS-kill 1pi.MUT later
 He told (them about it) in case they killed us later ...

The form *böröme* 'because' may also be complex, consisting of the noun *börö* 'base, source, reason' and *me* 'when'. This form is illustrated in (124):

- (124) **Böröme** ira-ono s=a-dölö tödö ya, i-waö 'gu-möi'
 because COLL-child REL=ST-go.straight liver 3s.MUT 3s.RLS-say 1s.IRR-go
 Because he was still an innocent child, he said 'I will go'... (lit. because he was a
 child whose liver was straight, he said...)

The particle *mea* 'so that' is illustrated in (125):

- (125) Mo-guna dendra gahe **mea** tola möi niha
 tendra ahe niha
 HAVE-use heel:MUT leg:MUT so.that can go person:MUT
 lawa ba vo
 fo
 up LOC storage.area.above.hearth:MUT

You have to have footholds so that you can get up to the storage area above the
 hearth.

This particle, or a particle homophonous with it, also functions as a counterfactual
 particle (see 4.13.6).

4.13.1.3 Initial position in co-ordinate clauses

Clauses introduced by the co-ordinating particles *ba* 'and, then' and *ma* 'or' are
 different from the types of clauses introduced by the particles listed in (116) above
 because they are not semantically reliant on another clause to complete the sense of the
 utterance. The clauses introduced by *ba* 'and' or *ma* 'or' could, in effect, stand on their
 own without an introductory particle, without altering the truth value of the utterance
 (see examples below). These particles also have a greater range of functions than most
 of those listed in (116), functioning also at the phrasal and word level (the particle *he* is
 also used at the phrasal level and is discussed in 4.13.2.3 below). The particles *ba*
 'and', 'then' and *ma* 'or' are termed 'co-ordinating conjunctions' or simply 'conjunctions'

in this thesis. Their uses at clausal and other constituent levels are exemplified in the following sections.

Although *ba* 'and', 'then' may join constituents other than clauses (see below), its primary function is at the clausal level. In its role as a clausal conjunction, *ba* typically signals simultaneous events, as illustrated by the first and last conjuncts in (127), or sequential events, as illustrated by the middle conjunct in (127):

(127)	La-halö	naʃu,	ba	la-be	ba	zole
		aʃu				sole
	3p.RLS-take	ash:MUT	CNJ	3p.RLS-put	LOC	half.coconut shell:MUT
	ba	mo-möi	m-ondi	dania	ba	ande
						f-o-ndu-ndukhu-ra.
						f-aN-rukha
	CNJ	JNT-go	DYN-bathe	later	CNJ	DIST [NR-IPF-RDP1-rub]-3p.POSS

They take the ash and put it in a coconut shell then when they go to bathe later, that is what they use as a scrub.

In many texts, *ba* 'and', 'then' occurs as a sentential conjunction, to indicate that the new sentence is connected with the previous utterance, e.g.:

(128)	Zamba	döi-nia,		moroi	gane	ba	khö-ma.
		töi					
	guava	name:MUT-3s.POSS		come.from	there	LOC	DAT-1pe.POSS
	Ba	hera ³⁷	ndao	hava	so	ga.	
	CNJ	surprise	1s.MUT	why	EXIST	here	

It's called 'guava', it comes from way over there where I come from. And I'm surprised to find it here. (lit. Its name is 'guava', (it) comes from far over there at my place. And I'm surprised why it's here')

Ba often occurs at the beginning of a matrix clause which is preceded by a subordinate clause, e.g.:

³⁷ *Hera* 'surprised' is borrowed from Indonesian *heran* 'surprised'.

- (129) Me ya-möi nina-ra ba fasa,
 ina
 when 3s.IRR-go mother:MUT-3p.POSS LOC market
 ba fefu ndaono-nia mo-vaohi khö-nia
 ira- -faohi
 CNJ all COLL.MUT-child-3s.POSS JNT-go.with.IRR DAT-3s.POSS

When their mother wanted to go to market, all her kids wanted to go with her.

Ba also usually introduces the apodosis of a conditional construction in which the protasis is introduced by *na* 'if', e.g.:

- (130) Na mofanö nina-gu
 ina-
 if leave mother:MUT-1s.POSS
 ba ya'o z=olu'i akhi-gu.
 s=
 CNJ 1s REL.MUT=carry.on.hip younger.sibling-1s.POSS

If my mother goes out, I'm the one who carries my little brother.

Other examples of *ba* as a clausal conjunction can be found in numerous examples in this study.

Ma 'or' occurs infrequently in the data. An example of *ma* 'or' in its role as a clausal conjunction is given in (131):

- (131) ... na h<um>ede ma na la-faöndu khö naßö-ra, ...
 aßö
 ... if <IPF> speak or if 3p.RLS-call DAT friend:MUT-3p.POSS
 ... if they speak or if they call out to their friends, ...

4.13.2 Initial position in phrase

As mentioned above, the particles *ba* 'and', *ma* 'or' and *he* 'either, or' may occur with constituents other than clauses. The functions of these particles in association with phrases or smaller constituents will be exemplified in this section. Two other conjunctions, comitative *faoma* 'and, together with' and *möi* 'and, together with' will also be exemplified in this section. NPs which occur with *ba* 'and', *ma* 'or' *he* 'either, or' and *faoma* 'with' share the feature that they are unmutated. NPs following *möi* are mutated.

4.13.2.1 *Ba* 'and'

Ba 'and' joins NPs, adverbials and prepositional phrases. In its role as a phrasal conjunction, *ba* has only the meaning 'and'—the sequential meaning 'then' is found with clausal conjunction only. In (132) *ba* joins two NPs marked by the collective prefix *ira-* (~ *ndra-*):

(132)	Gaö	lawa	so	nahia	ga-moni-ta
					a-moni-ta
	there	high	EXIST	place	[ST-taboo-NR].MUT
	ndra-Si'ulu		ba	ira-Ere, ...	
	ira-				
	COLL.MUT-village.leader		CNJ	COLL-religious.leader	

There is a place of purification for the kings and religious leaders up there...

(H)

Note that the NP which follows *ba* 'and' is unmutated. Two NPs joined by *ba* 'and' form a larger NP, and it is the larger NP which is case-marked (see 7.2.2.5 for discussion). Case-marking is realized by mutation on the first NP in a conjoined phrase, i.e. on *ndra-Si'ulu* in (132). The conjunction *ba* 'and' can never be confused with the locative preposition *ba* because the conjunction is always followed by an unmutated nominal, while the preposition is followed by a mutated form except for the small set of lexicalized expressions referring to unique locations (see 7.2.2.2). For

- (135) To-föfö hele ma a-mondri-a nda-matua
 hele ira-
 RES-split waterfall:MUT or ?-bathe-NR³⁹ COLL.MUT-male
- ba to-föfö hele ma a-mondri-a nda-alaße.
 hele ira-
 CNJ RES-split waterfall:MUT or ?-bathe-NR COLL.MUT-female

The cataract or bathing place for men is separate, and the cataract or bathing place for women is separate. (H)

Note that, like NPs following *ba* 'and', the NP following *ma* 'or' is unmutated, indicating that case-marking applies to the conjoined NP and not to the individual noun junct. It is difficult to see that *hele* is mutated in (135) because /h/ is one of the phonemes which is unaffected by mutation. However in (136) below, it is clear that mutation (i.e. casemarking) applies to *nakhi-u* 'your.younger.sibling:MUT', but not to *ka'a-u* 'your older sibling'.

- (136) U-oßai khö nakhi-u
 akhi-
 1s.RLS-send greetings DAT younger.sibling:MUT-2s.POSS
 (ma ka'a-u) ...
 (or older.sibling-2s.POSS)
 I send greetings to your younger brother (or (is he) your older brother?) ...

Example (137) illustrates a disjunction between two relative clauses (i.e. modifiers of NPs):

- (137) Fa-lakhi ira niha si=möi ma-nasi goßi,
 niha maN-sasi
 DO-meet 3p.MUT person:MUT REL=go IPF-pick sweet.potato

³⁹ It is not clear to me what function the prefix *a-* has in this derivation. However, there are other intransitive verbs which also acquire a prothetic *a-* in nominal derivations (see 6.5).

ma si=möi ba ndu'u, ...
 du'u
 or REL=go LOC long.grass:MUT
 People who went to get ubi or who went to the jungle (to hunt) met them... (H)

In (138), two locative prepositional phrases are connected with *ma* 'or':

(138) La-wa'ö, "ba zi=sa-götö lawa
 si=sa-ötö
 3p.RLS-say LOC REL.MUT=one-level:MUT high
ma ba lania so ya"
 lania
 or LOC sky:MUT EXIST 3s.MUT
 They say, "It is at the first level above or in the sky" (H).⁴⁰

In (139), two dative phrases are joined by *ma*:

(139) Ha-'ö-khö ndra-mbe gana'a ande?
 -be ana'a
 Q-?-DAT 3p.IRR-give:IRR gold:MUT DIST
 Hai khö Hiliafasi **ma** khö Mbaßöhulandro?
 Hiliafasi Baßöhulandro
 Q DAT Hiliafasi or DAT Baßöhulandro:MUT
 Who were they going to give that gold to? Hilifasi or Baßöhulandro?

Two verbs are (dis-)joined by *ma* 'or' in (140):

⁴⁰ Normally pronouns do not refer to inanimate objects. In this sentence *ya* refers to a mythical village of gods, so perhaps it has a special significance which allows it to be referred to pronominally. However, there are quite number of other instances in which NPs referring to inanimate entities are anaphorically referred to by pronouns. It could perhaps be the case that the distinction between animate and inanimate involves much greater semantic complexity than superficially observable. Alternatively, perhaps, it may be the case that the distinction is breaking down in modern Nias.

ahori	la-be	ba	nahia.
			nahia
finished	3p.RLS-put	LOC	place:MUT

...and all of the food, whether pork or rice, is all put (out) in place.

4.13.2.4 *Faoma* 'and, together with'

The word *faoma* is used comitatively with NPs. It functions elsewhere in the grammar as a verb meaning 'the same', as an instrumental preposition (see 7.2.2.1) and as a preverbal quantifier (see 10.2.5). In (143) below, two lexical NPs are joined with *faoma*. Both NPs bear the same grammatical relation to the verb *möi* 'go'. Note that the first noun, *ndra-alaße* 'girls' is mutated, but the second argument *aßö-ra* 'their friends' is unmutated after *faoma*:

(143)	Möi	ba	hele	ndra-alaße	faoma	aßö-ra.
			hele	ira-		
	go	LOC	waterfall:MUT	COLL.MUT-female	with	friend-3p.POSS

The girls and their friends went to the bathing place.

Examples of *faoma* occurring with pronouns are rare in the data. In the elicited sentence (144) below, two pronouns are joined by *faoma*. The conjoined phrase is the argument of the verb *möi* 'go':

(144)	Möi	ndrao	faoma	ya'ia	ba	fasa.
	go	1s.MUT	with	3s	LOC	market

He and I went to the market.

Note that only the first pronoun is mutated. The pronoun following *faoma* is unmutated. This phrase is a single constituent—it is not possible to separate the conjuncts, i.e. **möi ndrao ba fasa faoma ya'ia* 'I went to market with him'. If the phrase occurs in any other position, it occurs as a unit. It is possible, for example, to place the phrase at the beginning of the clause, e.g.

- (145) Ya'o faoma ya'ia möi ba fasa
 1s with 3s go LOC market
 'I with him went to market'.

In phrases joined by *faoma* 'with', like those joined by *ba* 'and', mutation occurs only on the initial conjunct, once again illustrating the fact that mutation marks NPs, not just single constituents.

4.13.2.5 *Möi* 'and'

The word *möi* is used infrequently (and probably colloquially) with the meaning 'and' or 'together with'. It is presumably related to the verb *möi* 'go, come'. Unlike the other conjunctions described above, *möi* is followed by a mutated NP. The following sentence shows that the NP following *möi* is mutated even though it occurs in front of the verb, where one expects an unmutated form.

- (146) Fefu zi=bihasa möi nda-ono ofulo.
 si= ira-
 all REL.MUT=old go COLL.MUT-child gathered
 All of the old people and the children were gathered.

4.13.3 Other 'initial place' particles

There are two other particles which occur in initial position of certain constituents: *ha* 'only, just' and *fa* 'about'. These particles are described separately because their distribution and functions are different from particles described so far. *Ha* 'only, just' occurs in front of phrasal constituents and verbs. The particle *fa* 'about' is restricted in its occurrence to numeral phrases.

4.13.3.1 *Ha* 'only, just'

The particle *ha* 'only, just' occurs in initial position of NPs as illustrated in (147) - (149):

- (147) **Ha** sa-mbua malige te-sönda.
 -bua
 only one-CLF.MUT tower RES-find

Only one tower can be found. (H)

- (148) **Ha** ya'ugö ö-fa-manömanö-si
 only 2s 2s.RLS-DO-talk-APP

You're just talking about yourself.

- (149) **Ha** idanö aukhu ö divo-divo
 only water ST:hot food RDP2-sidedish

We have only warm water for a sidedish (common polite comment made to guests before sitting down to eat)



Ha 'only, just' may also occur in front of verbal predicates and prepositional phrases.

Sentences (150) and (151) exemplify its use with verbal predicates:

- (150) Tobai la-börö danö!
 tanö
 can't 3p.RLS-kick.with.heel ground:MUT

- Ha** la-tou-'ö tuturu⁴³ ahe s=ebuga.
 just 3p.RLS-down-TR finger leg REL=ST:big

They couldn't touch the ground with their heels! They could only put their big toes down. (H)

- (151) **Ha** i-wa'ö si=alaße anda, '...'
 only 3s.RLS-say REL=female PROX
 This woman just said, '...'

⁴³ I don't know why *tuturu* 'finger' is unmutated in this sentence.

Sentences (152) and (153) show its use in front of prepositional phrases. In (152) *ha* precedes a prepositional phrase beginning with *börö* 'because of':

- (152) **Ha** *börö* *gana'a* *ni-halö* *Namada* *Laresökhi,*
ana'a *Amada*
 just because.of gold:MUT PASS-take Amada:MUT Laresökhi
te-kiko *go-khö-ta.*
o-khö-ta
 RES-destroy HAVE.MUT-possession-NR
 Just because of the gold that Amada Laresökhi had taken, their wealth was destroyed.

In (153), *ha* precedes two locative phrases introduced by *ba*:

- (153) **Na** *la-rino* *gö-ra* *goßi,* *...*
ö *goßi*
 when 3p.RLS-boil food:MUT-3p.POSS sweet.potato ...
ha *ba* *dalü* *nalitö* *la-ra'u,*
talü *alitö*
 just LOC middle:MUT fire:MUT 3p.RLS-catch
ha *ba* *mboßoa* *la-fa-zohu.*
boßoa
 just LOC cauldron:MUT 3p.RLS-DO-push

When they cook sweet potatoes, ..., they just wrestle (each other while they are still) in the fire, they fight (over them while they are) still in the pot. (lit. 'When they boil their food sweet potato, ..., just in the middle of the fire they wrestle (each other), just in the pot they push (each other) (to get the food). (H)

Ha 'only just' is also used as part of a construction meaning 'as soon as', in which *ha* precedes a verb and the intensifier *sibai* follows it, e.g.:

- (154) **Ha** mo-luo **sibai** mo-mofanö ...
 just DYN-day INTNS JNT-leave ...
 As soon as it was daylight they left ...

- (155) **Ha** so **sibai** nakhoda i-waö ...
 nakhoda
 just arrive INTNS captain:MUT 3s.RLS-say
 As soon as the captain arrived, he said ...

4.13.3.2 *Fa* 'about'

The particle *fa* 'about' differs from other particles in that it is used only in front of numeral phrases, with the meaning that a non-specific estimate is being made. The particle *fa* is illustrated in (156).

- (156) **Fa** hönö na=eu mbaßi
 baßi
 about thousand LK=CLF pig:MUT
 ba zi=sa-mbua banua=ndra
 si=.....-bua
 LOC REL.MUT=one-CLF:MUT village=this
 There are about a thousand pigs in this one village.

If *ha* occurs as well as *fa*, *ha* precedes *fa*, as illustrated in (157) and (158):

- (157) **Ha fa** tölu ßawa o'öli a-tua
 bawa
 only about three month:LEN mature.coconut ST-old

It takes only about three months for the coconut to get ripe(mature, old).

- (158) **Ha fa** sara tuturu-ra v-a-munu niha
 f-aN-bunu
 only about one finger-3p.POSS NR-IPF-kill person

It takes only about one of their fingers to kill a man.

4.13.4 Final position particle

There are just a few sentences in the data which have the particle *a* in final position, with raised intonation on the particle. The particle seems to function like a tag in a tag question, inviting a response from the hearer. Two examples are given in (159) and (160):

(159) Ö-rono, a?
 2s.RLS-hear Qtag
 You heard , didn't you?

(160) Löna ono-nia, lö-a?
 NEG.EXIST child-3s.POSS no-Qtag
 She doesn't have any children, does she?

4.13.5 Second position in clause

Particles which may only occur in second position in a clause fall into two semantic classes: evidentials and politeness particles. 'Second' position is the position following the first full constituent of the clause. This excludes clause-initial adverbial markers or conjunctions. Since all of the forms which occur in second position may occur after any type of constituent, they are considered to be clitics. Two quotative or hearsay evidential particles which take this position are the words =*walaö* and =*laö* which both mean 'people say; it is said', whereby the speaker disclaims first-hand knowledge of an event⁴⁴. Examples of these forms are given in (161) - (163). In (161), the word *walaö* occurs after the initial NP *böröta niha=ö* 'the origin of men':

⁴⁴ I was informed by one speaker that both =*walaö* and =*laö* are derived from *la-waö ßa* [3p.RLS-say that] 'they say that'.

- (161) Bөрө-ta niha=**ö=walaö**, ya'ia Namada Hia ba Gomo.
 niha Amada
 source-NR person:MUT=that=they.say 3s Amada:MUT Hia LOC Gomo
 They say that the original man was Amada Hia from Gomo.

In (162) =*walaö* occurs after a clause-initial locative adverb, *gaö*:

- (162) Gaö=**walaö** zi=o-föna i-fa-taro nomo-nia
 si=o-föna omo-
 there=they.say REL.MUT=HAVE-front 3s.RLS-CAU-sit house:MUT-3s.POSS
 ama=**ö** moroi ba Gomo.
 father=that come.from LOC Gomo

They say that that man from Gomo was the first to establish his house there (lit. there they say (that) the one who was there first, he set up his house, that man from Gomo.) (Z-L)

In (163), =*laö* occurs after the verb:

- (163) Ma=i-salogo-i=**laö** sa-geu mböhö
 -eu böhö
 PERF=3s.RLS-underarm-TR=hearsay one-CLF.MUT deer:MUT
 mbalazi va-e-bua-nia.
 fa-
 on.account.of NR.MUT-ST:big-3s.POSS

It is said he was so big that he could carry a whole deer under his arm. (lit. 'It is said he carried under his arm one deer on account of his strength.') (Z-L)

The particle =*ine* seems to mean something like 'in fact' or 'well, ...', i.e. the speaker wants to correct something just said or add more information to clarify something. Some examples are given in (164) and (165). In (164), =*ine* follows the predicate of the second clause:

- (164) Löna mo-eluaaha sibai, tobali
 NEG HAVE-meaning INTNS but
 löna sökhi-sökhi=**ine** dödö-gu börö hö'ö
 tödö-gu
 NEG RDP2-good=in.fact liver:MUT-1s.POSS because DIST

It wasn't very important but in fact it made me feel bad. (lit. It didn't have a lot of meaning, but my liver was not very good because of that.)

In (165), =*ine* follows the negator, perhaps to emphasize the negation:

- (165) ... ba löna=**ine** la-waö 'so LoBalani ba zorugo'...
 sorugo
 CNJ NEG=in.fact 3p.RLS-say EXIST God LOC sky:MUT
 ... but in fact they didn't say 'God is in the sky, ... (H)

The particles =*e*, =*we*, =*wa* and =*wa'e* all add some measure of politeness to an utterance. There are not many examples of the politeness particles =*e* and =*we* in my data, so judgements are based only on the examples provided here. The particle =*e* seems to be a question particle, or a particle which requests agreement, as examples (166) and (167) below show⁴⁵.

- (166) Gö-mofanö=**e**?
 2s.IRR-leave=Qtag
 Are you going now?

- (167) Löna=**e** gö-man-a?
 NEG=Qtag 2s.IRR-IRR-eat
 You don't want any more? / You're not going to eat any?

⁴⁵ There is another enclitic particle =*e* which occurs on noun phrases with demonstrative function, but it is often difficult to know which particle one is dealing with. Examples of demonstrative =*e* are given in 8.3.5.

An example of =*we* is given in (168):

- (168) Haiya=*we*? Löna u-rono.
 what=D.PTCL NEG 1s.RLS-hear
 Pardon? I didn't hear (what you said).

The particles =*wa* and =*wa'e* are exemplified in (169)-(171).

- (169) Fönu-i=*wa* mba'a idanö
 ba'a
 full-TR=D.PTCL bak:MUT water
 Please fill the bak (water tub) with water.

- (170) Base-'ö=*wa'e*.
 wait-TR=D.PTCL
 Please wait for me.

- (171) Da gu-möi=*wa'e*.
 HORT 1s.IRR-go=D.PTCL
 I'll be off then, if that's ok with you. (lit. 'Let me, I want to go=*wa'e*)

At least in some cases, =*we*, =*wa* and =*wa'e* have a meaning similar to =*ine* 'in fact', as illustrated in (172) - (175):

- (172) Löna=*we* ni-a-gu
 NEG=D.PTCL PASS-eat-1s.POSS
 Well in fact, it wasn't me who ate (it). (This implies that the speaker knows who did eat it.)

- (173) La-waö 'ba ambö=*wa* na.
 3p.RLS-say CNJ ST:less=in.fact yet
 They said 'But in fact there are still not enough.'

- (174) Löna! Fa-bö'ö! Bö'ö=wa ma'ufo,...
- NEG DO-different different=in.fact ma'ufo (k.o. fruit)
- No! they're different. *Ma'ufo* is, in fact, different.

- (175) Hai löna=wa'e aukhu dö'dö-da ba hö'ö?!
- tödö
- Q NEG=D.PTCL ST:hot liver:MUT-1pi.POSS LOC DIST
- How could we not get angry at that?! (lit. How could our livers not get hot at that!?)

4.13.6 Predicate complex particles

As mentioned earlier, it is in the predicate complex and post-verbal position that the distinction between particle and adverb is most difficult to make, and I have adopted the position in this thesis that those words which appear to take fixed positions in the predicate complex will be regarded as particles. There are five such forms, listed in (176):

(176) particles with fixed position in verb predicate complex

- =ae 'already' (and various other indeterminate meanings)
- =manö('ö) 'just'
- na 'still, yet'
- mea (counterfactual marker)
- sibai (intensifier)

=Ae is highly grammaticized and occurs immediately after the first constituent of the predicate complex, whether this is a modal auxiliary, negator *löna* or the perfect marker *ma=*. The particle =ae is treated as a clitic because it may follow preverbal constituents or the verb, depending on which constituents occur in the predicate complex. Some

- (181) Na=e s=a-negu-negu ya'ita
 s=aN-tegu
 NEG=already REL=IPF-RDP2-chide 1pi

There was no one to chastise us yet.

Note that the 'first constituent' excludes adverbial clause markers (and conjunctions), as illustrated in (182), where =ae occurs after the verb *oya* 'lot', not after the adverbial clause marker *me* 'when, since':

- (182) Me oya=ae li, ..
 li
 since ST:much=already sound:MUT

Since there was already a lot of talk,...

Like =ae, =*manö*('ö) occurs immediately after the first constituent of the predicate complex. (I am unable to find a difference between the two forms =*manö* and =*manö*'ö—they appear to be interchangeable in all contexts). Examples of =*manö*('ö) are given in (183)-(184):

- (183) Tola=**manö** la-halö, la-inu.
 can=just 3p.RLS-take 3p.RLS-drink

You can just take (it), just drink (it).

- (184) La-waö 'ta-be=**manö** töi ha'a, So rake'.
 3p.RLS-say 1pi.RLS-give=just name PROX EXIST coral
 They said, 'we'll just call this place 'Sorake'.' (lit. 'there is coral')

If there are other particles present, it is =*manö*('ö) which remains closest to the first constituent, as exemplified in (185) and (186).

(185) Löna=**manö**=ae tataro ndraugö ba-omo.

NEG=just=already sit 2s.MUT LOC-house

You just never stay at home. (lit. already just not sit you at home)

(186) Tohare=**manö**=laö ba mbaßagöli

baßagoli

RES:arrive=just=they.say LOC door:MUT

niha=ö s=ebua-bua boto, ba mbanua Lahusa.

niha banua

person:MUT=that REL=ST-RDP2-big body LOC village:MUT Lahusa

They say that those people with the big bodies just turned up at the gate at the village of Lahusa.

In addition to its use with verbal predicates, the particle =*manö* (or perhaps a homonym) also frequently occurs immediately after indefinite proforms derived from question words. Some examples are given in (187) and (188), see also section 4.8.3 above.

(187) ... haega=**manö** so nda-ono ande si=fa-khöjö, ...

ira-

... where=just EXIST COLL.MUT-child DIST REL=DO-play

... wherever there were those children playing,

(188) Oi ya'ia si=o-föna z=a-nolo ya'ita

s=aN-tolo

all 3s REL=HAVE-front REL.MUT=IPF-help 1s

hamega=**manö** mo-guna gefe khö-da.

kefe

when=just HAVE-use money:MUT DAT-1pi.POSS

He is always the first one to help us whenever we need money.

The counterfactual particle *mea* occurs immediately after the main verb, or, in subordinate clauses, in clause-final position. Examples of counterfactual *mea* are given in (192)-(195). In (192) and (193), *mea* occurs after verbs:

- (192) Göna **mea** khö-gu mbatu.
 batu
 hit CFT DAT-1s.POSS rock:MUT

I was almost hit by a rock. (Compare the sentence without *mea*: *göna khö-gu mbatu* [hit DAT-1s.POSS rock:MUT] 'I was hit by a rock'.)

- (193) Gu-möi **mea** ba meda ba löna alua.
 1s.IRR-go CFT LOC Medan CNJ NEG happen

I wanted to go to Medan but didn't manage to get there.

In (194), *mea* occurs as the final constituent of the apodosis of a conditional sentence:

- (194) Na mo-teu **mea**, ba ma=a-basö ita.
 if DYN-rain CFT CNJ PERF=ST-wet 1pi.MUT

If it had rained we would have gotten wet.

In (195), *mea* occurs at the end of a conditional clause introduced by *he*:

- (195) He=wa möi ya **mea**, ba löna a-ta'u ndrao.
 whether=D.PTCL go 3s.MUT CFT CNJ NEG ST-afraid 1s.MUT

If he were to come I wouldn't be frightened.

The intensifier *sibai* occurs only after verbs. Its meaning is difficult to specify, but typically *sibai* intensifies the situation described by the verb and can often be translated

as 'very'⁴⁸. Some examples of *sibai* are given below to illustrate the range of its use and meaning.

- (196) Lōna u-ila sibai geluaha vehede-nia andre ...
 eluaha fehede
 NEG 2s.RLS-know INTNS meaning:MUT word:MUT-3s.POSS DIST
 I didn't really understand the meaning of those words of his ...

- (197) Sōkhi na te-botokhi sibai ba dödö zatua ...
 tödö satua
 good if RES-explain INTNS LOC liver:MUT parent:MUT
 It would be good if it could be thoroughly understood by parents ...
 (lit. (it would be) good if (it) were very(well) understood in the livers of parents
 (that ...)) (D)

- (198) Lōna sibai omasi ya fa-lakhi khö-gu la-waö.
 NEG INTNS want 3s.MUT DO-meet DAT-1s.POSS 3p.RLS-say
 They say he really doesn't want to meet me. (lit. It is really not that he wants to
 meet me, they say.)

There is one particle, the perfect marker *ma=*, which occurs in front of verbs and any preverbal quantifier to indicate that the situation described by the verb is completed. This particle is discussed in 10.2.3.

⁴⁸ Disyllabic reduplication is also used to intensify the meaning of many intransitive verbs (see 10.3.5.2). The difference in meaning between the use of *sibai* and disyllabic reduplication is still to be determined.

CHAPTER 5

DERIVATIONAL VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

Introduction

Nias makes use of prefixes, suffixes and the infix *-um-* in deriving verbs. Verb stems may be bound roots, nouns, intransitive verbs and transitive verbs. Apart from those verbs derived with causative prefixes (see 5.1.2.1) and the prefix *o-* (see 5.1.2.2), verbs which result from the affixation of a prefix or the infix are intransitive. Verbs which result from the addition of a suffix are transitive.

5.1 Prefixes: overview

The prefixes used to derive intransitive verbs and the kinds of stems to which they may attach are listed in (1)¹:

(1) prefixes which derive intransitive verbs and the stems to which they attach

Prefix	Stems		
a-	Vtr	N	Rt
m-	—	—	Rt
-um-	—	—	Rt
maN-	—	N	—
mo-	—	N	—
o-	—	N	Rt
te-	Vtr	N	Rt
to-	Vtr	N	Rt
fa-	Vtr	N	Rt

The prefixes used to derive transitive verbs and the kinds of stems they may have are listed in (2):

¹ Vtr = transitive verb; Vintr = intransitive verb; N = noun; Rt = bound root.

(2) **prefixes which derive transitive verbs and the stems to which they attach**

Prefix	Stems		
fa-	Vintr	Rt	N
fe-	Vintr	Rt	N
f-	—	Rt	—
o-	—	—	N

5.1.1 Prefixes which derive intransitive verbs**5.1.1.1 Stative *a-*(ST)**

The prefix *a-* occurs with transitive verbs, bound roots and nouns. In all cases, the affixation of *a-* results in an intransitive verb which is stative, i.e. one in which the referent of the S argument is not an Actor (typically an entity which is capable of carrying out the action described by the verb).

Typically stative verbs derived from transitive verbs with the prefix *a-* describe the result of the action of the verb with respect to the referent of the S argument of the derived intransitive verb. This argument corresponds to the P argument of the transitive verb stem. To illustrate, compare the transitive verb *fatö* 'break' illustrated in (3) with its intransitive form *a-fatö* 'broken' in (4). In (3), the A argument is expressed by the pronominal prefix *i-*, and the P argument by the NP *doho-nia* 'his spear':

(3)	I-fatö	doho-nia	ba	mbaluse-nia.
		toho		baluse
	3s.RLS-break	spear:MUT-3s.POSS	LOC	shield:MUT-3s.POSS

He broke his spear on his shield.

In the intransitive clause illustrated in (4) below, the S argument corresponds to the P argument of the sentence in (3) above:

- (4) Ma=a-fatö doho-nia.
 toho
 PERF=ST-break spear:MUT-3s.POSS
 His spear had been broken.

A list of some intransitive verbs derived from transitive verbs with the prefix *a-* is given in (5):

(5) **intransitive verbs derived from transitive verbs with *a-***

transitive verb	derived intransitive verb
bo'a 'free sth.'	a-bo'a 'peeled off' (e.g. sunburnt skin)
böbö 'boil'	a-böbö 'mushy from being boiled too long'
boto 'break' (flat object)	a-boto 'broken'
deha 'yank out'	a-deha 'forcibly yanked out'
fatö 'break' (long object)	a-fatö 'broken'
fufu 'mash, smash'	a-fufu 'mashed'
khozi 'burn'	a-khozi 'burnt'
ki'i 'shave'	a-ki'i 'bald'
lulu 'slacken, loosen'	a-lulu 'loosened'
re'a 'split'	a-re'a 'split'
riri 'singe'	a-riri 'singed'
rörö 'distract'	a-rörö 'distracted'
zizi 'blunt by jabbing'	a-zizi 'blunt'

The states described by intransitive verbs derived from transitive verbs are typically permanent or long-lasting, as many of the verbs listed in (5) show. Some further sentences illustrating intransitive verbs derived from transitive verbs with *a-* are given in (6)-(8):

- (6) Na a-re'a vafa tobai la-fake.
 fafa
 if ST-split plank:MUT can't 3p.RLS-use
 If the plank is split, you can't use (it).

- (7) A-riri mbu mbölökha-gu börö nalitö.
 bu bölökha alitö
 ST-singe hair:MUT arm:MUT-1s.POSS because.of fire:MUT

The hair on my arm got singed from the fire. (D)

- (8) A-rörö ndrao va-manömanö-sa.
 fa-
 ST-distract 1s:MUT DO-chat-NR:MUT

I got distracted talking.²

Stative intransitive verbs derived from nouns with the prefix *a-* are concerned with conditions of the body, and the nouns which occur with *a-* refer to body parts or processes. A list of intransitive verbs derived from nouns with the prefix *a-* and the nouns from which they are derived is given in (9):

(9) **intransitive verbs derived from nouns with *a-***

noun	derived verb
beto 'stomach'	a-beto 'pregnant'
bösi 'conjunctivitis'	a-bösi 'have a sty'
böböi 'perspiration'	a-βöböi 'perspiring'
ebu 'hump on back'	a-ebu 'bent from age, hunch-backed'
fau 'sore throat'	a-fau 'hoarse'
fiso 'ear' ³	a-fiso 'deaf'
fosu 'breast of young girl'	a-fosu 'starting to have breasts'
fökhö 'illness'	a-fökhö 'sick'
huβa 'grey hair'	a-huβa 'grey-haired'
khötökhötö 'soft bone'	a-khötökhötö 'easily broken' (because soft)
lumö 'shade'	a-lumö 'shady'
sai'ö 'long grass'	a-sai'ö 'overgrown with long grass'

² The nominalized form of the verb *fa-manömanö* 'chat' functions as an adverbial in this sentence. See 6.4.6 for discussion of adverbial uses of nominals.

³ Despite the fact that *a-fiso* is used to mean 'deaf' in Nias Selatan, the noun *fiso* is not used for 'ear'. The word *talina* is used for 'ear' in Nias Selatan. *Fiso* is used for 'ear' in Northern Nias.

(13) intransitive verbs derived from bound roots by the prefix *a-*

root	derived verb and meaning	transitive verb and meaning
-basö	a-basö 'wet'	basö-i 'wet'
-böu	a-böu 'smell bad'	böu-si 'make smell bad'
-bu	a-bu dödü 'sad'	bu-si dödü 'make sad'
-fönu	a-fönu 'full'	fönu-i 'fill'
-hakhö	a-hakhö 'shrivelled, shrunk'	hakhö-si 'reduce size of' (e.g. fat)
-hani	a-hani 'adrift'	hani-gö 'wash away'
-hatö	a-hatö 'near'	hatö-'ö 'bring closer'
-hori	a-hori 'finished'	hori-gö 'finish'
-lea	a-lea 'weak, limp'	lea-gö 'lay out'
-ta'u	a-ta'u 'afraid'	fe-ta'u 'frighten'
-toru	a-toru 'fallen off'	toru-gö 'throw down'

Some sentences containing verbs derived from bound roots with *a-* are given in (14)-

(16):

- (14) Hewa'e fandrita ya, a-hakhö dödü-nia.
 tödü
 even.though priest 3s.MUT ST-shrink liver:MUT-3s.POSS
 Even though he was a priest, he had no pity. (lit. '..., his liver(heart) was shrivelled up') (D)

- (15) Na a-böu nagole tobai la-a.
 nagole
 if ST-rotten meat:MUT can't 3p.RLS-eat
 If the meat smells one can't eat it.

- (16) La-halö ba danö na a-toru.
 tanö
 3p.RLS-take LOC land:MUT if ST-fall.down
 We pick (them) up from the ground when (they've) fallen off.

5.1.1.2 Dynamic prefixes: overview

There are four prefixes and one infix which are used to derive dynamic verbs, i.e. verbs in which the S argument is an Actor (an entity capable of volitionally carrying out the action of the verb). The prefixes are *m-*, *m-aN-*, *mo-* and *fa-*; the infix is *-um-*. All dynamic intransitive verbs derived with *m-*, *m-aN-*, *mo-* or *-um-* are imperfective, and take the same form in both realis and irrealis modes. All of these affixes function also as imperfective markers (see 10.3.2). It could be argued that the inflectional function of these affixes is an artifact of their derivational function, in that the result of affixing one of these forms to any part of speech is an imperfective intransitive verb. Despite this, the aspects of these affixes which pertain to verb-forming roles as opposed to altering aspectual features of a verb are discussed separately in this chapter, and inflectional functions are discussed in Chapter 10.

5.1.1.2.1 Dynamic *m-* (DYN)

The formative *m-* occurs with a closed set of vowel-initial bound roots to derive dynamic intransitive verbs, i.e. ones in which the S argument refers to an Actor (a participant capable of doing the action of the verb). A list of the intransitive verbs derived from bound roots with *m-* is given in (20):

(20) intransitive verbs derived from bound roots with *m-*

- m-alu* 'hunt'
- m-ambu* 'forge metal'
- m-aoso* 'get up, wake up'
- m-e'e* 'cry'
- m-eβo* 'guard field'
- m-ofanö* 'leave'
- m-öi* 'go, come'
- m-olani* 'swim'
- m-oloi* 'run away'
- m-ondri* 'bathe'
- m-örö* 'sleep'
- m-uta* 'vomit'

As can be seen from this list, most of these verbs refer to imperfective activities, i.e. ones which continue for some time, are habitual or atelic. As mentioned above, these forms are used for both realis and irrealis constructions, and occur in the same syntactic contexts in which imperfective forms of consonant-initial intransitive verbs and transitive verbs occur (see 10.3.2). However, although verbs derived with *m-* from bound roots can be used in the same syntactic contexts as those verbs which are made imperfective by affixation of *-um-* or *maN-*, I will treat the use of *m-* with bound roots as a (dynamic) verb-forming affix for glossing purposes for four reasons:

1) without *m-* these forms would not have any syntactic status at the clause level, so it seems that the verb-forming function must predominate over the marking of imperfectivity (whereas verbs which are marked as imperfective by *-um-* or *maN-* function as verbs without these affixes, so the affixation of these morphemes does not change the word class).

2) the notion of 'imperfective' could apply just as easily to verbs derived with stative *a-*, resultative *te-/to-* or dynamic *fa-* (see below), so it is semantically inadequate and inappropriate to identify the formative *m-*, in contrast with these other prefixes, as deriving imperfective verbs.

3) as will be seen below (sections 5.1.1.2.2 - 5.1.1.2.4), the infix *-um-* and the prefix *maN-* occur in contexts in which they must be described as verb-forming rather than imperfective, and since they also occur in other contexts in which they mark imperfectivity (see 10.3.2), it seems appropriate therefore to distinguish the different functions also for *m-*.

(23) intransitive verbs derived with *-um-* from roots beginning with /h/

derived intransitive	noun and/or transitive verb
h-um-ago 'snore'	N. hagogago 'snoring'
	—
h-um-a-hafa 'be in heat (pig)' ⁸	N. hafahafa 'commotion'
	—
h-um-ola 'burn with flames'	N. holahola 'flame(s)'
	—
h-um-ombo 'fly'	N. hombohombo 'stone jump'
	Vtr. hombo-i 'jump over'
h-um-eu 'shake, sway'	N. heuheu 'shaking'
	Vtr. heu-gö 'shake'
h-um-edede 'speak'	N. fehede 'word(s)'
	Vtr. hede 'call out to'

Like verbs derived with the formative *m-*, verbs derived with the infix *-um-* all involve an Actor as S argument, and refer to imperfective activities. Like *m-*, to which it is presumably related phonologically, the infix may have a dual function of deriving a verb and marking imperfectivity. However, because of its phonological, semantic and functional similarity to dynamic *m-*, and because it is in complementary distribution with *m-* in its selection of stem, it will also be glossed as 'dynamic' (DYN). Examples of sentences containing some of these verbs are given below. In (24), the S argument is the first singular pronoun *ndrao* 'I':

(24)	Ba	dödö-gu	h<um>ago	ndrao	boni.
		tödö	hago		
	LOC	liver:MUT-1s.POSS	<IPF>snore	1s:MUT	night
	I think I snore at night.				

⁸ The root of this verb is *hafa*. The initial syllable of the stem in the derivation *h<um>a-hafa* is reduplicated, although I'm not quite sure of the meaning of the initial syllable reduplication here. Initial syllable reduplication normally indicates either a plural argument, doing the action in many small parts, or doing something until completion (see 10.3.5.1).

In (25) and (26) the S arguments, *nalitö* 'fire' in (25) and *niha* 'people' in (26), have generic reference:

- (25) H<um>ola sibai nalitö na oköli geu.
 hola alitö eu
 <DYN>flame INTNS fire:MUT if HAVE:dryness wood:MUT
 A fire burns well if the wood is dry. (D)

- (26) Tebai h<um>ombo niha böröme löna afi-ra.
 hombo niha
 can't <DYN>jump person:MUT because NEG wing-3p.POSS
 People can't fly because they don't have wings. (D)

5.1.1.2.3 Weather verbs with *-um-*

The infix *-um-* also occurs with three bound roots or nouns beginning with /h/ to derive intransitive verbs referring to weather conditions. The resulting verbs have alternative forms derived with the prefix *mo-* (see below). The verbs derived with *-um-* are the following:

- (27) **weather verbs derived with *-um-***
- | noun | derived verb |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| haga 'ray' | h-um-aga 'shine' |
| huguhugu/ugu'ugu 'thunder' | h-um-ugu(hugu) mbanua 'thunder' |
| hali'i 'lightning' | h-um-ali(hali) 'lightning' |

The verb *humaga* 'shine' does not have an argument, as illustrated in (28).

- (28) ... tumbu luo, h<um>aga moroi ba gabölata.
 luo haga abölata
 ... born day:MUT <DYN>shine come.from LOC east:MUT
 ... day dawned, shining from the east.

khau 'fine'	mo-gau 'fine'
li 'noise, sound'	mo-li 'make a noise'
ndrandra 'plait'	mo-ndrandra 'wear a plait'
sao 'anchor'	ma-nao 'set anchor'
simbo 'smoke'	ma-nimbo 'be smoking'
tana 'hand'	ma-nana 'crawl'
toho 'spear'	ma-noho 'carry spear'

As can be seen from the meanings in this list, these verbs generally refer to an activity which is imperfective in nature. Note that these derivations conform to the initial segment alternations discussed for *maN-* in 3.3, whereby the prefix changes to *mo-* in front of segments which do not take part in the alternations (such as /ndr/, /g/, /h/, /l/). Given that the marker of imperfectivity in transitive verbs also conforms to these principles (see 10.3.2), it is unlikely that the verb-forming prefix *maN-(~mo-)* and the imperfective *maN-(~mo-)* are distinct morphemes. However, as noted at the beginning of this section, the verb-forming function of this prefix is discussed in this chapter while the inflectional aspect is treated in Chapter 10

Typically the S argument of these verbs is an Actor (i.e. capable of carrying out the action of the verb)¹¹. Because this prefix exhibits the same functions that are characteristic of *m-* and *-um-*, it will be glossed, like them, as dynamic. Sentences which illustrate the use of some of these verbs are given in (31)-(34). In (31), the verb *mo-gamagama* 'wear armament' is preceded by the preverbal quantifier *oi* 'all' and the perfective marker *ma=*, which is cliticized to the quantifier:

- (31) M=oi mo-gamagama niha.
 maN- niha
 PERF=all DYN-armament person:MUT
 Every man wore weapons.

¹¹ Verbs such as *ma-nimbo* 'be smoking' tend to invalidate this meaning, although it could be argued that the motion of smoke suggests some active ability, at least in a metaphorical sense. It may be better to refer to the arguments of dynamic verbs as 'non-patients' rather than as 'Actors'.

5.1.1.2.5 Dynamic *mo-* (DYN)

As mentioned above, derivations with *maN-* conform to the initial segment alternations discussed in 3.3. For example, when affixed to nouns beginning with segments which do not yield to alternation (such as /g/, /l/, /h/), the prefix takes the form *mo-*, as illustrated in several of the forms in list (32) above. However, there are several verbs derived from nouns which seem to conform semantically to this set, yet which do not conform morphophonemically. These nouns have initial segments which would be expected to alternate, yet the prefix which occurs is *mo-*. In the absence of a better term at this stage of analysis, the prefix *mo-* which occurs in these derivations is also glossed as 'dynamic', since it shares the feature of imperfectivity with *-um-*, *maN-* and *m-*, it has the same shape as an allomorph of *maN-*. These nouns fall into two semantic categories: items of apparel and weather conditions. Verbs derived from nouns referring to items of apparel are listed in (35):

(35) intransitive verbs derived from nouns with dynamic *mo-*

noun	derived verb
aya 'jewelery'	mo-aya 'wear jewelery'
baru 'shirt, dress'	mo-baru 'dress, put clothes on'
sifatu 'shoe'	mo-sifatu 'put shoes on, wear shoes'

The verb *mo-baru* 'dress', put clothes on' is used interchangeably with a more regular but less common form *ma-maru* with the same meaning. However, the verbs *mo-sifatu* 'put shoes on' and *mo-aya* 'wear jewelery' do not have any other form. *Mo-sifatu* 'put on / wear shoes' is exemplified in (36):

(36)	Mo-sifatu	ita	mea	tola	möi	ba	gereja. ¹³
	DYN-shoe	1pi.MUT	so that	can	go	LOC	church

Let's put our shoes on so we can go to church.

¹³ The noun *gereja* 'church' is borrowed from Indonesian *gereja* 'church'. The word is pronounced like the Indonesian word, i.e. [gəredʒa], (as if it were spelt *göreza* in Nias), but Indonesian spelling is used.

Verbs derived from nouns referring to weather conditions have the meaning 'N(stem) is happening'. These verbs are listed in (37):

(37) weather verbs derived from nouns with *mo-*

noun	derived verb
ani 'wind'	mo-ani 'be windy'
bade 'storm'	mo-bade 'be storming'
teu 'rain'	mo-teu 'rain(ing)'

Weather verbs derived with *mo-* do not occur with arguments. Some examples of verbs of this type are given in (38) and (39). Note that the derived verb is modified by *sibai* in (38), indicating that it is clearly treated by the syntax as a verb:

- (38) Lōna omasi niha möi fa-gai ba nasi
 niha asi
 NEG like person:MUT go DO-fish.with.hook LOC sea:MUT
 na mo-ani sibai.
 if DYN-wind INTNS

Men don't like to go fishing in the sea when it's very windy.¹⁴

- (39) O-fökhö delau-gu na mo-bade.
 telau
 HAVE-illness head:MUT-1s.POSS if DYN-storm

I get a headache when we have a storm.¹⁵

The noun stem in the following example is modified by a relative clause, suggesting that *mo-* is added to an NP rather than just a noun:

¹⁴ Although the word *niha* can refer to any person, usually it refers specifically to men. In this sentence it can only refer to men since only men fish.

¹⁵ The verb *o-fökhö* 'have illness' has an alternative form *a-fökhö*, listed in (9). See section 5.1.1.3 for derivations with *o-* 'HAVE'. I am unaware of a difference in meaning between these two forms.

weather conditions (or dressing), the derivation with *mo-* may be a more recent one. The fact that it uses as its stem the noun *hali'i* rather than the root supports the suggestion of a more recent derivation.

5.1.1.3 *mo-*: 'HAVE'

A prefix of the shape *mo-* occurs productively with nouns to derive intransitive verbs with the meaning 'S has N(stem)'. This prefix is treated as distinct from dynamic *maN-~mo-* discussed in 7.1.1.2.4 above because *mo-* 'HAVE' is invariant in form and derives verbs which are semantically more stative than dynamic. A list of some of these verbs is given in (42):

(42) intransitive verbs derived with *mo-*

noun	derived verb
afi 'wing'	mo-afi 'have wings'
böra 'rice grain'	mo-böra 'begin to have grain' (of plants)
biso 'poison'	mo-biso 'poisonous'
boto 'body, shape'	mo-boto 'have shape of'
bua 'fruit'	mo-βua 'have fruit, be fruiting'
bulu 'feather'	mo-bulu 'have feathers'
doi 'bone, needle'	mo-doi 'have bones' (e.g. fish)
eluaha 'meaning'	mo-eluaha 'have meaning'
fozu 'result'	mo-fozu 'have result, succeed'
guna 'use'	mo-guna 'useful'
hoβu 'rust'	mo-hoβu 'rusty'
lala 'way'	mo-lala 'have a way'
lele 'shell'	mo-lele 'have hard shell'
ndreβa 'pimple'	mo-ndreβa 'have pimples'
ndro 'blood'	mo-ndro 'bleeding'
ömö 'debt'	mo-ömö 'have debt, be in debt'
wa'a 'root'	mo-wa'a 'take root'
we 'liquid'	mo-we 'have liquid in'

Some examples of these verbs in use are given in (43) and (44).

- (43) *Mo-hoβu* *mbalatu.*
 balatu
HAVE-rust *knife:MUT*

The knife is rusty.

- (44) ... *löna* *mo-eluahä* *sibai* ...
 NEG *HAVE-meaning* *INTNS*

(It) wasn't very important ... (lit. It didn't have a lot of meaning...')

Note that *mo-eluahä* 'have meaning' in (44) above is followed by the intensifier *sibai*, indicating that the derived form is treated by the syntax as a verb. Some more examples of this construction are given in (45) and (46). In (45) the verb *mo-wä'a* 'have roots, take root' is the predicate of an adverbial clause introduced by *nä* 'if':

- (45) *La-unu* *rigi* *ba* *nidanö* *irugi* *mo-wä'a.*
 rigi *idanö*
3p.RLS-soak *maize:MUT* *LOC* *water:MUT* *until* *HAVE-root*

They submerge the maize in water until (it) takes root. (D)

In (46), the verb *mo-fozu* 'have success' is illustrated in negated form:

- (46) *Asese* *la-tandraigö* *va-nanö* *goβi* *Balanda*
 faN-tanö *goβi*
often *3p.RLS-try* *NR.MUT-plant* *tuber:MUT* *Dutch*
- ba* *Danö* *Niha* *ba* *löna* *mo-fozu.*
 Tanö *Niha*
- LOC* *land:MUT* *person:MUT* *CNJ* *NEG* *HAVE-success*

People have often tried to grow potatoes in Nias but they've never had any success. (D)

Verbs derived with *mo-* 'HAVE' never occur in main clauses without the formative *m-*. However, in relative clauses, this formative is omitted and the stem behaves like a

vowel-initial stative verb, taking the elided form of the relative marker *s=*, as illustrated in the relative clause in (47) and by the headless relative in (48):

- (47) A-ta'u ndrao gulö s=o-biso.
 ulö
 ST-afraid 1s.MUT snake:MUT REL.MUT=HAVE-poison
 I'm scared of poisonous snakes.

- (48) Be=wa'e khö-gu z=o-we.
 s=
 give=D.PTCL DAT--1s.POSS REL.MUT=HAVE-liquid
 Please give me the one that has liquid in it.

Because the formative *m-* does not occur on verbs in relative clause constructions, it could be assumed that the prefix *mo-* 'HAVE' is composite, consisting of dynamic *m-* and a prefix *o-*. In fact, there is a small set of verbs which occur only with the prefix *o-* which have a similar meaning to those verbs derived with *mo-*. These verbs are listed in (49):

(51) **intransitive verbs derived from nouns with *o-***

noun	derived verb
böra 'rice grain'	o-ßöra 'not fully cooked' (rice)'
fökhö 'disease, illness'	o-fökhö 'have disease, illness' ¹⁶
gömigömi 'darkness'	o-gömigömi 'at time of no moon'
gönögönö 'clump, clot'	o-gönögönö 'have clumps, clots'
guigui 'top, peak'	o-guigui 'too full, so that top is like a mountain'
lofo 'hunger'	o-lofo 'hungry'
lotu 'turbid water'	o-lotu 'muddy'

16 See fn.15.

When these verbs occur in relative clauses they take the form of the relative marker expected of vowel-initial stative verbs, i.e. *s=*, which makes them indistinguishable from those derived with *mo-*. This is illustrated with the verb *o-lofo* 'hungry' in (50):

- (50) Löna ö si=löna ami khö niha s=o-lofo.
 niha
 NEG food REL=NEG tasty DAT person:MUT REL=HAVE-hunger
 There is no food which is not tasty for a hungry person. (D)

Verbs derived with *o-* are few and frequently have idiosyncratic meanings (cf. *o-βöra* 'not fully cooked'). Because of this, it seems reasonable to think that these derivations are now fossilized and the prefix *mo-* has taken over the meaning which *o-* used to have. I have therefore decided not to decompose the prefix *mo-* but to retain both *o-* and *mo-* with the meaning 'HAVE'.

5.1.1.4 Resultative *te-* / *to-* (RES)

The prefixes *te-* and *to-* typically occur with transitive verbs, and with less frequency, bound roots. A list of transitive verbs and the intransitive verbs derived from them with these prefixes is given in (51):

(51) intransitive verbs derived from transitive verbs with *te-* and *to-*

	transitive verb	derived intransitive verb
te-	bato 'stop'	te-bato 'stopped'
	bözi 'hit'	te-bözi 'be hit accidentally'
	handro 'spear'	te-handro 'be struck down with spear'
	rono 'hear'	te-rono 'able to be heard'
	söndra 'find'	te-söndra 'be found'
	susu 'stab'	te-susu 'stabbed'
	tutu 'hit'	te-tutu 'be bumped, be hit accidentally'
	taha 'stop'	te-taha 'hindered'
	taru 'plant'	te-taru 'planted'
	tehe 'agree'	te-tehe 'approved'

	tohu 'add to'	te-tohu 'continued'
	tunö 'tell'	te-tunö 'be told'
to-	fesu 'tie up'	to-fesu 'tied up'
	fili 'spill'	to-fili 'spilled'
	föfö 'separate'	to-föfö 'separated off'
	ila 'know'	to-ila 'able to be known'
	khai 'hook'	to-khai 'hooked, caught in'
	sai 'overtake'	to-sai ba dödö 'brought to mind'

The primary function of these prefixes appears to be to signal that the coming about of these states is not attributable to an agent. For example in (52), the state refers to the result of action but the agent is not identified because it is irrelevant to the situation:

- (52) ma=te-söndra laeduru si=taiha.
 laeduru
 PERF=RES-find ring:MUT REL=lost

The ring that was lost has been found.

By comparison, if the transitive form of the verb *söndra* 'find' were used, as illustrated in (53),

- (53) ma=i-söndra laeduru-nia.
 laeduru
 PERF=3s.RLS-find ring:MUT-3s.POSS

She found her ring.

it is presupposed that the agent, in this case expressed by the pronominal prefix on the verb, is the topic of conversation, and is therefore relevant to the situation. The use of the prefixes *te-* and *to-* with transitive verbs is one way in which Nias allows the entity which is expressed by a P argument to take a more important role in discourse. Some other examples of derivations of intransitive verbs from transitive verbs with these

te-	te-boka 'open'	boka-i 'open'
	te-bu'a 'moved'	bu'a-'ö 'move'
	te-fatöfatö 'pleated'	fatö-'ö 'fold, pleat'
	te-höndrö 'sunk'	höndrö-gö 'press down'
	te-sao 'happen'	sao-'ö 'cause to happen'

Examples of some of these derivations is given in (57) and (58):

(57)	Ba	ndröfi	si=ma=aefa,	te-höndrö	göfa	tambang
		döfi				köfa
	LOC	year:MUT	REL=PERF=passed	RES-sink	ship:MUT	ferry
	moroi	ba	Banda Aceh.			
	come.from	LOC	banda Aceh			

Last year a ferry from banda Aceh sank.¹⁷

(58)	To-haβia	viga	khö-gu.
		figa	
	RES-fall.down	plate:MUT	DAT-1s.POSS

A plate fell down on me.

The difference between verbs derived with the prefixes *te-* / *to-* and those derived with *a-* appears to be in the degree of permanence of the state described by the verb or the degree to which the action has an effect on the referent of the S argument of the derived verb. For the most part, those verbs derived with *te-/to-* describe an effect which is less intense or less permanent than those derived with *a-*. This can be seen by comparing the forms *te-bu'a* 'moved' and *a-βu'a* 'moved' which are derived from the root *-bu'a*. (This is the only root in my data which occurs with both prefixes.) The verb *a-βu'a* typically refers to moving house, i.e. a permanent state, as implied by sentence (59):

¹⁷ The word *tambang* is the Indonesian word for 'ferry'.

- (59) *Ma=a-βu'a ndra-Dali.*
 bu'a ira-
 PERF=ST-move COLL.MUT-Dali
 Dali's family have moved.¹⁸

The form *te-bu'a* refers to things which have been moved, which implies a potentially less permanent state, e.g.:

- (60) He! *ma=te-bu'a meza hö'ö!*
 meza
 hey PERF=RES-move table:MUT DIST
 Hey! This table has been moved.¹⁹

There appears to be little difference in meaning between *te-* and *to-* synchronically. Many verbs only ever occur with one prefix or the other, e.g. *te-söndra* 'found', from *söndra* 'find' (**to-söndra*), *to-ila* 'known' from *ila* 'know' (**te-ila*). However, in some cases, speakers may use either form in conversation, or accept the substitution of one prefix for the other, e.g. *te-rono* / *to-rono* 'heard', *te-bözi* / *to-bözi* 'accidentally hit'. A number of speakers have told me that *te-* is northern Nias and *to-*, southern. However, despite this, I have not noticed any variation in prefixes on verbs which appear in texts, nor that *to-* forms occur only in the south. It is more likely that there was an earlier distinction, which is now lost or in the process of changing, by which *te-* applied only to transitive verbs and *to-* to bound roots. In fact, when verbs have already undergone derivation to become transitive verbs, only *te-* can be used. A list of derived transitive verbs and the resultative verbs derived from them with *te-* is given in (61):

¹⁸ The lenition of /b/ in *a-βu'a* 'moved' suggests that this derivation is quite old, as lenition of intervocalic /b/ is no longer productive.

¹⁹ The noun *meza* 'table' is borrowed from Indonesian *meja* 'table'.

(61) **derived transitive verbs which occur with *te-***

transitive verb	derived form
boka-i 'open'	te-bokai 'opened'
ebua-'ö 'make larger'	te-ebua'ö 'be praised'
hondrö-gö 'press'	te-höndögö 'pressed'
ide'ide-'ö 'make smaller'	te-ide'ide'ö 'belittled, be looked down upon'
tandra-igö 'try'	te-tandraigö 'tested, tried'
tendro-'ö 'support'	te-tendro'ö 'be leaning against'

Some of these derivations are illustrated in (62)-(64).

- (62) Te-tandraigö v-a-mati-nia.
 f-aN-fati
 RES-try NR.MUT-be.sure.of-3s.POSS

His faith was tested. (D)

- (63) Te-börötaigö festa.
 RES-begin party
 The party has started.²⁰

- (64) Te-ide'ide-'ö döi-nia.
 tõi
 RES-small-TR name:MUT-3s.POSS

He doesn't have a very good name. (lit. His name has been made small.)

There is one example in which a noun occurs as the stem of a resultative verb: *te-turia* 'become news'. This form is exemplified in (65), where the noun *turia* is the cognate argument of the verb:

²⁰ The noun *festa* 'party' is borrowed from Indonesian *pesta* 'party', and is therefore unmutated.

tezu 'hit with fist' fa-tezu 'box'
usu 'bite' fa-usu 'bite'

The prefix *fa-* appears to be used with these verbs to indicate that the action described by the verb is done for some time. Verbs derived with *fa-* cannot refer to punctual actions. These verbs are used in the same syntactic contexts as other verbs which are imperfective, for example in progressive and purposive constructions (see 10.3.2.2). To illustrate the difference between a simple transitive verb and a verb derived with *fa-*, compare the transitive forms of the verbs in (67) and (68) with the forms derived with *fa-* given in (69) below. In (67), the transitive verb *tezu* 'hit with fist' is illustrated. The A argument refers to an Actor, the P argument refers to the affected object, *delau-gu* 'my head':

- (67) Ma=i-tezu delau-gu.
 telau
 PERF=3s.RLS-punch head:MUT-1s.POSS
 He punched me in the head. (i.e. 'He punched my head.')

In (68), the verb *ra'u* 'catch' is illustrated. The A argument is *folisi* 'police', the P argument is the headless relative *zanagö* 'thief':

- (68) La-ra'u z=a-nagö folisi
 s=aN-tagö
 3p.RLS-catch REL.MUT=IPF-steal police
 The police caught the thief.²²

In both of the sentences given above, the action referred to is punctual. Dynamic *fa-* is used with these verbs in the following example, and refers to activity which continues for some time:

²² The noun *folisi* 'police' is borrowed from Indonesian *polisi* 'police' and is therefore unmutated.

(69)	Löna	fa-tezu	ira,	fa-ra'u	ira.
	NEG	DO-punch	3p.MUT	DO-catch	3pMUT

They were not punching each other, they were wrestling.

Note that the S argument of the derived verbs corresponds semantically to the A argument of the transitive verbs. Intransitive forms derived from transitive verbs with *fa-* have a meaning something like 'the referent of the S argument does the action described by the stem for some time'. The prefix *fa-* in these derivations will be glossed with the word 'DO' to indicate the most basic meaning of the morpheme despite the fact that this gloss is rather simple, since the alternative gloss of 'dynamic' has been co-opted for other morphemes. In descriptions of the prefix, however, I will continue to refer to it as 'dynamic *fa-*' to distinguish it from causative *fa-* discussed in section 5.1.2.1.1. Some other examples of transitive verbs which occur with the prefix *fa-* are given below, with simple transitive forms in brackets for comparison. In (70), there are two forms derived with *fa-*, both of which refer to the habitual character of the entities described:

(70)	Gaö	so	khö-ra	niha	s=a-nagö-nagö,
				niha	s=aN-tagö
	there	EXIST	DAT-3p.POSS	person:MUT	REL=IPF-RDP2-steal
	...	si=fa-tuo,	si=fa-bunu	...	
	...	REL=DO-stab	REL=DO-kill		

There they have people who are thieves, ..., who go round stabbing (people), who go round killing, (cf. *La-tuo niha, la-bunu niha* [3p.RLS-stab person:MUT, 3p.RLS-kill person:MUT] 'They stab people, they kill people.')

Note that the headless relatives containing constructions with *fa-* in (70) refer to the participants who are expressed by the A arguments in the corresponding transitive

forms. Another example is given in (71), where the S argument corresponds to the A argument of the transitive form, and a dative phrase expresses the P argument:

(71) Fa-bözi ira khö ndra-Lafau.

ira-

DO-hit 3p.MUT DAT COLL.MUT-Lafau

They were fighting with (members of) the Lafau clan. (cf. *La-bözi ndra-Lafau*
'They hit the members of the Lafau clan.')

When nouns form the stem of intransitive verbs derived with dynamic *fa-*, the verbs tend to have one of four basic meanings, outlined below in (i)-(iv):

(i) If the noun is a movement or sound (including speech), the meaning is, broadly, 'the referent of the S argument does N(stem)'. A list of verbs with this type of meaning is given in (72):

(72) intransitive verbs derived from nouns with *fa-*

noun	derived verb
bikhöbikhö 'whistle'	fa-bikhöbikhö 'whistle'
gö'a 'a burp'	fa-gö'a 'burp'
gilo 'shaking of head'	fa-gilo 'shake head' (say no)
liwaliwa 'movement'	fa-liwa(liwa) 'move'
manömanö 'chat'	fa-manömanö 'chatting'
lele 'curse'	fa-lele 'swear, abuse'

Some sentences illustrating these verbs are given in (73) - (76):

(73) Fa-lele ira.
DO-swear.word 3p.MUT

They exchanged abusive language.

- (74) Na fa-gö'a ndraono tandra hö'ö
 if DO-burp COLL.MUT-child sign DIST
 va ma=abuso ya.
 COMP PERF=ST:sated 3s.MUT

When a child burps that's a sign that they're full. (D)

- (75) Löna i-tema li-gu, ha fa-gilo manö ya.
 li
 NEG 3s.RLS-receive sound:MUT-1s.POSS only DO-shake just 3s.MUT

He didn't answer me, he just shook his head. (i.e. = said 'no') (D)²³

- (76) Fa-manömanö ndraga sanandrösa ba vaöli-sa Ziwa,
 faöli Siwa
 DO-chat 1pi.MUT about LOC marry-NR.MUT Siwa:MUT
 ba tanö bö'ö-nia.
 CNJ land other-3s.POSS

We chatted about Eka's wedding, amongst other things.²⁴

Some of the verbs derived with dynamic *fa-* from nouns referring to sounds or movements have meanings similar to those derived with dynamic *maN-~mo-*. For example one says *fa-gö'a* 'burp' but *mo-li* 'make a sound', *fa-liwaliwa* 'move', but *mo-gaele* 'move with slow stride'. At this stage it is not clear which kinds of nouns occur with *fa-* and which occur with *maN-~mo-*, or what the difference in meanings is; however it should be noted that *fa-* occurs far more frequently with nouns of movement and sound with this meaning than *maN- ~ mo-*, perhaps indicating a productivity which does not exist with *maN- ~ mo-*.

(ii) If the noun is a physical object, the meaning is usually something like 'S does something with N(stem)', as exemplified by the verbs listed in (77):

²³ Although there is another verb, *sulö*, meaning 'answer', the collocation *tema li* 'receive word' appears to be more common in normal conversation.

²⁴ The expression *tanö bö'ö-nia*, literally 'the other land', is idiomatic for 'etcetera, and so forth'.

(77) noun	derived verb
binibini 'hiding place'	fa-binibini 'play hide and seek'
boko 'ball' ²⁵	fa-boko 'play ball'
dora 'net for catching fish'	fa-dora 'catch fish with net'
fana 'arrow and bow, rifle'	fa-fana 'shoot at with arrow/rifle'
gai 'fishing line and hook'	fa-gai 'fish with line and hook'
högö 'head'	fa-högö 'nod' (say yes) ²⁶
koreta 'bike'	fa-koreta 'ride a bike'

An example of this kind of derivation is given in (78):

(78)	Me	i-rono	ni-waö-gu,	ba	fa-högö	ya.
	when	3s.RLS-hear	REL-say-1s.POSS	CNJ	DO-head	3s.MUT

When he heard what I had to say, he nodded in agreement. (D)

In (79) the verb *fa-dora* occurs as a complement of the verb *ila* 'know'. It is clear that it is not a nominal argument of the verb because it is unmutated—nominal P arguments would be mutated in this context:

(79)	Löna	i-ila	fa-dora.
	NEG	3s.RLS-know	DO-fish.with net

He doesn't know how to fish with net.

In (80), the derived verb *fa-binibini* 'play hide and seek' is functioning as a complement of the matrix verb *lau* 'do', in a construction which signals a progressive meaning (see 10.3.2.2.1). The verb *fa-binibini* has no separate argument, but its notional argument is the same as the A argument of the sentence, expressed by the unmutated noun *iraono* 'children' and the third plural pronominal prefix on the verb:

²⁵ *Boko* refers to a ball made of fern leaves or coconut palm leaves.

²⁶ The noun *högö* 'head' is used in Northern and Central Nias but not typically used in Nias Selatan, where *telau* 'head' is more common. However *högö* is apparently lexicalized in the verb meaning 'say yes' in all areas.

Note that if the emotional or attitudinal activity described by the verb is directed at someone, that other participant is expressed by a dative phrase, as illustrated by *khö dalifuso-nia* 'towards his friend' in (83).

(iv) The fourth kind of derivation of an intransitive verb from a noun is possibly related to the type just described since it shares with it the syntactic construction with a dative phrase, but this fourth kind is treated as distinct because the dative phrase is obligatory, and because the nouns functioning as stems conform to a single category—kin terms. When the noun stem is a kin term, the derived verb must have two arguments, one mutated S argument and one dative. The derived verb means 'the referent of S calls the referent of DAT by the term N(stem)'. This is illustrated in (84), in which the noun root is the kin term *gaβu* 'grandmother'

- (84) Fa-gaβu ira khö-gu.
 DO-grandmother 3p.MUT DAT-1s.POSS
 They call me 'grandmother'. (because I am the same age and social status as their own grandmother)

Another example of this type of derivation is given in (85):

- (85) Eluaha-nia ma=fa-sibaya ya
 meaning-3s.POSS PERF=DO-uncle 3s.MUT
 khö nda-ama-da ba khö-ma.
 ira-
 DAT COLL.MUT-father-1pi.POSS LOC DAT-1pe.POSS

It means he would call our father and his brothers at our place 'uncle'.

Dynamic intransitive verbs derived by the addition of *fa-* to bound roots exhibit various meanings similar to those outlined above for derivations from nouns and transitive verbs. Again it can be observed that many of the meanings appear to have a

- (79) Fa-hatö fe-förö ira.
 DO-close CAU-sleep 3p.MUT
 They lay down to sleep side by side.
- (90) Fa-soso nama-gu khö-gu.
 ama
 DO-angry father:MUT-1s.POSS DAT-1s.POSS
 My father is angry at me.

Note that in regard to those derivations referring to activities which are directed towards someone, that someone is expressed by a dative phrase, as illustrated by *khö-gu* 'towards me' in (90). Similarly where the second participant needs to be mentioned separately for discourse purposes, it is expressed by a dative phrase, as illustrated in (91), or as a locative phrase, as illustrated in (92).

- (91) Fa-lakhi ndao khö-nia
 DO-meet 1s.MUT DAT-3s.POSS
 ba v-anavuli-gu ba-omo.
 f
 LOC NR.MUT-return-1s.POSS LOC-house
 I met him on my way home.
- (92) Löna fa-oro ba niha.
 niha
 NEG DO-visible LOC person:MUT
 (It) couldn't be seen by humans.²⁷

One further derivation should be noted because of its common use: *fa-bö'ö* 'be different'. This verb is derived from the word *bö'ö* 'other, different', whose word-class status is uncertain (see 8.6). An example of *fa-bö'ö* is given in (93):

²⁷ The noun *niha* 'person' is generic here and therefore warrants the locative preposition *ba* rather than the personal preposition *khö*. In this context, *khö niha* would mean 'by (a certain) person'.

- (93) Fa-bö'ö hawa haega ta-rugi.
 hawa
 DO-different weather:MUT where 1pi.RLS-reach
 The weather is different everywhere we go.

If a second entity is mentioned in a clause with *fa-bö'ö* with which the referent of the S argument is compared, that second entity is expressed by a prepositional phrase introduced with *moroi khö/ba* 'from'. For example, a child with epilepsy was described to me in the following sentence:

- (94) Fa-bö'ö ya moroi ba niha bö'ö.
 niha
 DO-different 3s.MUT come.from LOC person:MUT other
 He's different from other people.

In many cases, verbs derived with dynamic *fa-* may be used with reciprocal meaning, as may be inferred from examples (69), (73), (76) and (88) above (see also 11.4.1 for the syntax of reciprocal clauses). Some of the verbs derived with *fa-* are ambi-transitive, i.e. they can take transitive syntax as well as intransitive. Some sentences illustrating transitive use of verbs derived with *fa-* are given below. In (95), the verb *fa-liwa* 'DO movement' occurs with overt lexical A and P arguments:

- (95) I-fa-liwaliwa gaßu asi.
 aßu
 3s.RLS-DO-movement sand:MUT sea
 The sea moves the sand around.

In (96), the imperative form of the verb *fa-udu* 'quarrel' is accompanied by a mutated headless relative clause functioning as a P argument:

Ba	fa-lakhi	ira	ba	nasi	Sorake.
				asi	
COMP	DO-meet	3p.MUT	LOC	sea:MUT	Sorake

He promised her that they would meet at Sorake.

As mentioned above, the prefix *fa-* also has a causative function (see 5.1.2.1.1 below). The reason that dynamic *fa-* is distinguished from causative *fa-*, and may even be a different morpheme, is that verbs derived with dynamic *fa-* generally have transitive counterparts derived with the suffix *-si* and nominal forms derived with *-sa*, while verbs derived with causative *fa-* have no such related forms²⁸. Some derivations illustrating transitive and nominal correspondences with dynamic intransitive verbs are given in (100):

(100) intransitive verb	transitive verb	derived noun
fa-bö'ö 'be different'	fa-bö'ö-si 'make different'	fa-bö'ö-sa 'difference'
fa-lakhi 'meet'	fa-lakhi-si 'meet with'	fa-lakhi-sa 'meeting'
fa-huβu 'friendly'	—	fa-huβu-sa 'friendliness'
fa-gölö 'be the same'	—	fa-gölö-sa 'similarity, comparison'
fa-lele 'curse, abuse'	—	fa-lele-sa 'swear word'
fa-öli 'marry'	—	fa-öli-sa 'marriage'
fa-tiu dödö 'hostile'	—	fa-tiu-sa dödö 'hostility'
fa-udu 'quarrel'	—	fa-udu-sa 'quarreling'
fa-soso 'angry'	fa-soso-ini 'be angry with'	fa-soso-sa 'dispute' (but cf. fa-soso-ta 'anger')

5.1.1.5.1 Applicative function of dynamic *fa-*

The association of *fa-* with clauses in which a dative phrase is used to indicate the involvement of a second participant is found also with two transitive verbs of

²⁸ The fact that there are no nominalized forms of causative verbs may be due to the semantics of causative forms and nouns—it is rare in English, for example, to find constructions such as 'the causing of her crying' or 'the making her do it'. It may be the case, then, that causative *f(V)-* in Nias is simply another function of dynamic *f(V)-*.

'throwing': *cibo* 'throw away' and *cili* 'throw at'. When *fa-* is affixed to these verbs, it introduces a new participant. The new participant is expressed by an oblique phrase, and is treated by relativisation as if it were a P argument. For the purposes of this study, I will call affixes which motivate the addition of a new core argument which is treated like a P argument and occurs in oblique form 'applicative' (see 5.2).

A simple sentence with *cibo* contains an A argument and a P argument, as illustrated in (101), in which the A argument is expressed by the pronominal prefix on the verb, and the P argument by *haβuhaβu* 'rubbish':

- (101) La-cibo haβuhaβu.
 haβuhaβu
 3p.RLS-throw rubbish:MUT
 They threw the rubbish away.

When *fa-* is affixed to the verb, a new entity is introduced by means of a dative or locative phrase and the meaning changes to involve a directive action, as exemplified in (102) and (103):

- (102) U-fa-cibo zekhula khö ndra-ono.
 sekhula ira-
 1s.RLS-DO-throw coconut:MUT DAT COLL.MUT-child
 I threw the coconut to the child.

- (103) U-fa-cibo zekhula ba zumo.
 sekhula sumo
 1s.RLS-DO-throw coconut:MUT LOC well:MUT
 I threw the coconut into the well.

Notice that the argument structure of the verb is not changed—*fa-cibo* 'throw to', like *cibo* 'throw away', has an A argument referring to the thrower and a P argument referring to the thing thrown. The difference in these sentences is the addition of a

dative or locative phrase. Despite its morphologically oblique form, however, the newly introduced argument is treated by the syntax as if it were a P argument. This can be seen in the behaviour of relative clauses. When the P argument *zekhula* 'coconut' is relativised, the verb takes a form with the prefix *ni-* (passive, but see 8.4.3 for discussion of this term in Nias) and the A argument occurs as a suffix on the verb, as illustrated in (104):

- | | | | | | |
|-------|--------|-------------|-----------------------|-----|----------------|
| (104) | E-bua | zekhula | ni-fa-cibo-gu | khö | ndra-ono. |
| | | sekhula | | | ira- |
| | ST-big | coconut:MUT | PASS-DO-throw-1s.POSS | DAT | COLL.MUT-child |
- The coconut that I threw to the child was big.

However, both the dative argument and the locative argument in such clauses can be relativised in the same way, as illustrated in (105) and (106) below. The verb takes the *ni-* form and the A argument is expressed as a possessive suffix on the verb. In both constructions, the P argument of the original sentence is unmutated, indicating a loss of case or oblique morphological form²⁹:

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------------|----------------|-----------------------|----------|
| (105) | O-lofo | ndra-ono | ni-fa-cibo-gu | sekhula. |
| | | ira- | | |
| | HAVE-hunger | COLL.MUT-child | PASS-DO-throw-1s.POSS | coconut |
- The child to whom I threw the coconut is hungry.

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------|----------|-----------------------|----------|
| (106) | A-fönu | zumo | ni-fa-cibo-gu | sekhula. |
| | | sumo | | |
| | ST-full | well:MUT | PASS-DO-throw-1s.POSS | coconut |
- The well into which I threw the coconut is full.

²⁹ Unmutated form is typical for instruments, locative nouns and targets of verbs of comparison, amongst other functions (see 7.2).

The other 'throw' verb with similar properties to *cibo* 'throw away' is *cili* 'throw stones at and hit (i.e. hit with stones)'. The simple transitive form is illustrated in (107):

- (107) *La-cili* *niha* *batu.*
 niha
 3p.RLS-throw person:MUT stone
 They pelted the man with stones.

In simple clauses in which *cili* is used without *fa-*, the argument referring to the instrument cannot be relativised. If the P argument is relativised, the instrument occurs in the relative clause in the same (unmutated) form as it would have in a simple main clause, as illustrated in (108).

- (108) *Atoru* *niha* *ni-cili-ra* *batu.*
 niha
 go.down person:MUT PASS-throw-3p.POSS stone
 The man who was pelted with stones by them collapsed.

If *fa-* is added to *cili*, it derives a construction in which the thing thrown occurs as the mutated argument, and a newly added dative or locative phrase expresses the direction of the missile. Both the instrument and the target in this derived construction can be treated as P arguments of the verb for the purposes of relativisation. The simple transitive form of the derived verb *fa-cili* 'throw to' is illustrated in (109):

- (109) *I-fa-cili* *khö* *nono-nia* *mbola.*
 ono *bola*³⁰
 3s.RLS-DO-throw DAT child:MUT-3s.POSS ball:MUT
 He threw a ball to her child.

³⁰ I assume that the noun *bola* 'ball' has been borrowed from Indonesian *bola* 'ball'. However, unlike other words borrowed from languages other than Nias, the noun *bola* takes part in mutation, indicating that the word has become part of the lexicon of Nias words.

Note that the meaning has changed also—the verb no longer means 'hit X with missile' but 'throw missile to X'³¹. In this derived form, the verb has three core arguments instead of two, as shown by the fact that both the thing thrown and the person to whom the thing is thrown can be relativised in the same way. This is illustrated in (110) and (111). In both sentences, the verb takes the *ni-* form, the A argument is expressed by a suffix on the verb and the argument which is not relativised occurs in the relative clause, as a prepositional phrase if it is the target (110), or in unmutated form if it is the missile (111).

- | | | | | | |
|-------|--|----------|-----------------------|-----|-------------------|
| (110) | Ide'ide | mbola | ni-fa-cili-nia | khö | nono-nia. |
| | | bola | | | ono |
| | ST:small | ball:MUT | PASS-DO-throw-3s.POSS | DAT | child:MUT-3s.POSS |
| | The ball that he threw to her child was small. | | | | |

- | | | | | |
|-------|---|-----------|-----------------------|-------|
| (111) | M-e'e | nono | ni-fa-cili-nia | bola. |
| | | ono | | |
| | DYN-cry | child:MUT | PASS-DO-throw-3s.POSS | ball |
| | The child to whom he threw the ball was crying. | | | |

See also sections 5.2.1. and 5.2.2 below for potentially another use of this prefix as an applicative marker.

5.1.2 Prefixes which derive transitive verbs

5.1.2.1 'Causative' prefixes

There are three 'causative' prefixes used in Nias Selatan: *fa-*, *f-* and *fe-*. By 'causative' I mean that derived verbs with intransitive stems have the following features:

³¹ The fact that the meaning of *fa-cili* is different from *cili* argues that this may not be an applicative construction but simply a lexical process. However, since I have defined applicative morphemes as ones which motivate the addition of a new core argument which behaves like a P argument and is expressed in oblique form (see 5.2), I will assume for the present study that this construction is applicative.

- (i) syntactically the derived verbs are transitive.
- (ii) semantically the derived verbs are associated with two Actors: a Causee—the entity that does the action of the verb, and a Causer—the entity who is responsible for getting the Causee to do the action of the verb.
- (iii) the Causee is expressed by the P argument of the causative verb, and the Causer by the A argument.
- (iv) the Causee (the P argument of the causative verb) corresponds to the S argument of the stem verb, and the Causer (A argument of the causative verb) is an additional participant.

None of the prefixes *fa-*, *f-* or *fe-* is productive. All of the prefixes attach to intransitive verbs; the prefixes *f-* and *fe-* occur also with bound roots; *f-* also occurs with transitive verbs derived with *o-* (see 5.1.2.1.2 below); and *fe-* also occurs with nouns. *Fa-* occurs with only four (consonant-initial) verbs; *f-* occurs only with vowel-initial intransitive verbs and bound roots; *fe-* occurs with all parts of speech. The difference between *fe-* and *fa-* in some examples was explained to me as one of personal involvement of the Causer in the action—if *fe-* is used, the referent of the A argument must be physically involved in making the action happen. For example, if people *fe-sindro* a pillar, it means they are holding it up themselves. If people *fa-sindro* a pillar, it means they are using ropes and pulleys to keep it upright. The difference appears to be similar to what has been termed 'direct' versus 'indirect' causation (cf., e.g., Givón 1975). *Fe-* may be regarded as a marker of 'direct' causation, while *fa-* is a marker of 'indirect' causation. If a mother *fe-sindro* a baby, she is holding it up with her hands while it tries to stand. A mother cannot *fa-sindro* a baby. The root *bu'a* occurs with both *fe-* and *fa-*—the difference is exemplified in the following sentences. In (112), *fe-* implies that the table can be lifted easily:

- (112) Hanawara ö-fe-βu'a sui meza hö'ö
 meza
 why 2s.RLS-CAU-move again table:MUT DIST
 Why did you move that table again?³²

Only *fa-* can be used in (113) because the *darodaro* 'seat of law' referred to is a megalith which requires hundreds of people and many ropes, pulleys and rollers to move:

- (113) Na la-fa-bu'a darodaro mate niha.
 darodaro niha
 if 3p.RLS-CAU-move seat.of.law:MUT die person:MUT
 If you move a seat of law someone will die.

5.1.2.1.1 *fa-*

Fa- occurs with only four verbs (*sökhi* 'good', *sindro* 'stand', (*ta*)*taro* 'sit' and *törö* 'go') and one bound root (*-bu'a* 'move'). The causative forms of these verbs are: *fa-zökhi* 'make, fix', *fa-sindro* 'make stand, build (e.g. a village)', *fa-(ta)taro* 'seat', *fa-törö* 'make go, work' and *fa-bu'a* 'move'. An example of *fa-bu'a* 'move' was given in (113) above; examples of the first three verbs are given in (114)-(116). Simple intransitive forms are given in brackets for the first three verbs. Note that the S argument of the simple intransitive verb corresponds to the P argument of the causative form.

- (114) La-fa-zökhi noro si=bohου.
 oro
 3p.RLS-CAU-good ladder:MUT REL=new
 They made a new ladder. (Cf. *Sökhi noro si=bohου* [good ladder:MUT REL=new] 'The new ladder is nice(ly made).')³³

³² The lenition of /b/ in *fe-βu'a* 'move' is not morphophonologically motivated synchronically. Given that there is also a contrast between the two stative forms *a-βu'a* 'moved' and *te-bu'a* 'moved', it is possible that there are two roots, *-bu'a* and *-βu'a*. For the present study, however, I have assumed that these forms belong to one root, associated with the meaning 'move'.

- (115) La-fa-sindro gehomo.
 ehomo
 3p.RLS-CAU-stand pillar:MUT

They erected the pillar. (cf. *Sindro gehomo* [stand pillar:MUT] 'The pillar is standing')

- (116) La-fa-tataro fefu niha.
 niha
 3p.RLS-CAU-sit all person:MUT

They got everyone seated. (cf. *Tataro fefu niha* [sit all person:MUT] 'Everyone was sitting')

The verb *törö* is syntactically anomalous. It is typically used as a transitive verb which has a P argument referring to a location or means of transport (see 11.3.3). The meaning of the causative verb form *fa-törö*, however, is such that it behaves as if it were the causative of an intransitive verb just meaning 'go' rather than 'go by means/way of'. In other words, despite the fact that *törö* is not normally used intransitively (except in its imperfective form *manörö* 'walk'), it seems to be used as an intransitive verb stem in the causative construction. An example of the causative form *fa-törö* 'make go' is given in (117):

- (117) I-fa-törö goreta.
 koreta
 3s.RLS-CAU-go bike:MUT

He fixed the bike / made the bike work.³⁴

³³ The 'mutation' of the initial segment of *sökhi* in this derivation argues that the form is lexicalized and is no longer seen as compositional. The verb *sökhi* 'good' has a very general meaning, and can refer to the aesthetic aspect of something as well as its functional value.

³⁴ The noun *koreta* 'bike' is borrowed from Indonesian. However *koreta*, like *bola* 'ball' mentioned above, takes part in mutation, indicating that the word has become part of the Nias lexicon.

5.1.2.1.2 *f-*

F- occurs with vowel-initial verbs and bound roots. A list of verbs derived from vowel-initial intransitive verbs with *f-* is given in (118):

(118) **causative verbs derived from intransitive verbs with *f-***

intransitive verb	causative verb
a'ege 'laugh'	f-a'ege 'make laugh'
aefa 'free'	f-aefa 'set free'
akao 'difficult'	f-akao 'cause suffering'
alua 'happen'	f-alua 'make happen'

Sentences illustrating some of these derivations are given in (119) and (120). Simple intransitive sentences are given as well for comparison with the causative construction. Note that the S argument of the simple intransitive verb corresponds to the P argument of the causative verb.

- (119) I-f-a'ege ndraga ba'e.
 3s.RLS-CAU-laugh 1pe.MUT monkey

The monkey made us laugh. (Cf. *A'ege ndraga* [laugh 1pe.MUT] 'We laughed')

- (120) I-f-akao ita.
 3s.RLS-CAU-have.difficulty 1pi.MUT

He annoys us (causes us to have difficulty). (Cf. *Akao ita* 'We are having difficulties')

In a number of dynamic verbs derived with *m-*, *f-* replaces *m-*. A list of causative verbs in which *f-* replaces *m-* is given in (121):

(121) **causative verbs derived from vowel-initial dynamic roots with *f-***

intransitive verb	causative verb
m-aoso 'get up, wake up'	f-aoso 'raise'

m-e'e 'cry'	f-e'e 'make cry'
m-ofanö 'leave'	f-ofanö 'send away'
m-ondri 'bathe'	f-ondri 'bathe so.'

Examples of some of these verbs are illustrated in (122) and (123):

- (122) Hanata zi=f-e'e Ribka.
 who REL.MUT=CAU-cry Ribka
 Who made Ribka cry?

- (123) Mi-f-ondri ndra-ono-mi!
 ira-
 2p.RLS-CAU-bathe COLL.MUT-child-2p.POSS
 Go and bathe your children!

F- also replaces *m-* in intransitive verbs derived with *mo-* 'HAVE' as listed in (124):

(124) causative verbs derived from intransitive verbs with *mo-* 'HAVE'

intransitive verb	causative verb
mo-boŋo 'have mark'	f-o-boŋo 'mark sth.'
mo-boto 'have shape of'	f-o-boto 'make shape of'
mo-golu 'have a door'	f-o-golu 'make a door'
mo-lala 'have a way'	f-o-lala 'find a way'
mo-lasara 'have dragon carving'	f-o-lasara 'carve dragon'
mo-ömö 'have debt, be in debt'	f-o-ömö 'put in debt'
mo-ösi 'have contents'	f-o-ösi 'fill'
mo-töi 'have name'	f-o-töi 'give name to'

Some of these verbs are illustrated in (125)-(128):

The formative *f-* also occurs with a transitive verb derived from a noun with *o-* 'LIKE' (see below), illustrated in (130):

- (130) I-f-o-ete (ya) Ama Gumi
 3s.RLS-CAU-LIKE-bridge (3s.MUT) Ama Gumi
 ba gotalua Nama Dali ba Ama Lina.
 otalua ama
 LOC gap:MUT father:MUT Dali CNJ father Lina

Ama Gumi acted as a go-between (=bridge) in the rift between Ama Dali and Ama Lina. (lit. He made himself like a bridge over the gap of Ama Dali and Ama Lina)

One example in the data suggests that *f-* may also have a 'let' interpretation. This is illustrated in (131) where the verb stem appears to involve a dynamic verb derived with *maN-(~mo-)*:

- (131) F-o-*baöbaö* nono hö'ö.
 ono
 CAU-DYN-steps child:MUT DIST
 Böi lu'i manö ya.
 NEG.IMPER carry.on.hip just 3s.MUT

Let the child walk (do steps/stepping). Don't just carry him. (D)

5.1.2.1.3 *fe-*

The causative prefix *fe-* occurs with intransitive verbs, bound roots, nouns, and transitive verbs. This prefix has a wider distribution than the other two prefixes. Some of the verbs with which it occurs are the same as those with which *fa-* occurs. A list of causative verbs derived from intransitive verbs with *fe-* is given in (132):

It is not known to what extent this kind of meaning is available to other derivations with *fe-*.

5.1.2.2 *o-* 'LIKE'

The prefix *o-* occurs with nouns to derive transitive verbs with a meaning something like: 'A makes P like N(stem)'. This meaning is illustrated in (140), in which the P argument, *mbara'a* 'throne', is described as being carved like a deer:

- (140) I-o-böhö mbara'a ha'a.
 bara'a
 3s.RLS-LIKE-deer throne:MUT PROX

He made (carved) this throne to resemble a deer.

In (141), the P argument and the A argument are co-referential:

- (141) I-o-mao ya v-ofanö.
 f-
 3s.RLS-LIKE-cat 3s.MUT- NR:MUT-leave

He left like a cat (i.e. silently). (lit. He made himself like a cat on his departure.)

Other examples tend to refer to the use of an object in an atypical function, as illustrated in (142)-(144):

- (142) U-o-tandaja mbatu ande.
 batu
 1s.RLS-LIKE-pillow stone:MUT DIST

I used that stone as a pillow

- (143) Böi mi-o-saßuju ndraga.
 NEG.IMPER 2p.RLS-LIKE-slave 1pe.MUT

Don't treat us like slaves.

- (144) I-o-toho geu.
 eu
 3s.RLS-LIKE-spear wood:MUT

He carried a stick for a spear. ('He made the stick (function) as a spear.')

It might appear that the noun stem of the derived verb and the mutated NP which follows it are equivalent to the arguments of the intransitive verb *mae* 'resemble', e.g. *mae toho geu* [resemble spear stick] 'The stick resembles a spear' (see 11.4.2.10). However, the construction consisting of *o-* plus the noun is clearly treated by the syntax as a transitive verb which is followed by an argument in P function since the P argument in these constructions is relativised in the same way as P arguments of basic transitive verbs. This is illustrated in (145), in which *mbara'a* 'throne' is modified by a relative clause in which it functions as the P argument:

- (145) Sökhi sibai mbara'a ni-o-böhö.
 bara'a
 good INTNS throne:MUT PASS-LIKE-deer

The throne that is carved like a deer is very beautiful. (cf. ex (142) above)

Similarly in (146), the noun *nadu* 'statue' is modified by a relative clause in which it functions as the P argument:

- (146) Oya nadu ni-o-niha-niha.
 adu
 many statue:MUT PASS-LIKE-RDP-person

There are many statues that look like a man³⁵ (cf. *i-o-niha nadu* [3s.RLS-LIKE-person statue:MUT] 'He made the statue to look like a man')

³⁵ I'm not sure why the noun *niha* 'person' is reduplicated in this example. In the unrelativised form of the verb, given after the translation, it is not. Reduplication does not occur in other examples.

These verbs may be detransitivized with the formative *m-*, which otherwise derives dynamic intransitive verbs from vowel-initial bound roots, as illustrated in (147).

- (147) M-o-böhö mbara'a ha'a.
 bara'a
 DYN-LIKE-deer throne:MUT PROX

This throne looks like (is shaped like) a deer.

Note that the S argument in (147) corresponds to the P argument of the transitive form. Another example of this is given in (148):

- (148) M-o-toho nandröta si=so ba mbaßagöli.
 nandröta LOC baßagöli
 DYN-LIKE-spear fungus:MUT REL=EXIST LOC door:MUT

The fungus on the door looks like a spear. (D)

In intransitive form, these verbs cannot mean 'P is made to be like N(stem)', but only 'S looks like N(stem)'.

If the A argument and the P argument of a construction consisting of the prefix *o-* and a noun are co-referent, as illustrated in (143) above, the verb is reflexive, and typically implies that the referent is intentionally 'pretending to be N(stem)'. For example one can say of a child crawling around on hands and knees:

- (149) I-o-asu ya.
 3s.RLS-LIKE-dog 3s:MUT

He is pretending to be a dog. (He makes himself like a dog.)

In this construction the mutated pronoun which functions as the P argument is optional and can be omitted. This kind of construction apparently allows derived nouns to function as stems as well as simple nouns. Another example of this kind of

construction is given in (150) below, in which the prefix *o-* is apparently added to a headless relative clause, *s=o-fökhö* 'one who is ill':

- (150) *Ma=i-o-s=o-fökhö-fökhö*³⁶ (ya)
 PERF=3s.RLS-LIKE-REL=HAVE-RDP2-illness (3s.MUT)
 mea löna mo-halöwö.
 so.that NEG DYN-work

He pretended to be very sick so that he didn't have to do any work. ('He pretended to be one who was very sick, so that (he) didn't work.')

A more complicated example is given in (151), in which the verb of the headless relative clause is followed by its P argument in unmutated form, *böbö* 'village laws':

- (151) *U-o-s=an-ila böbö (ndao) khö-nia.*
 -aN-ila
 1s.RLS-LIKE-REL=IPF-know villlage.law (1s.MUT) DAT-3s.POSS

I pretended to know adat law (village laws) in front of him. (/?I made myself (out) to be one who knows law towards him.)

As the parentheses indicate, the mutated pronouns in (150) and (151) that are coreferential with the A arguments are optional and can be omitted without changing the meaning of the sentence.

5.1.2.3 *osi=* 'pretend'

In fact, the reflexive construction containing the prefix *o-* 'LIKE' plus a noun appears to have become confused synchronically with a construction which consists of a proclitic

³⁶ Derivational affixes cannot normally occur outside clitics, so it is likely that the morpheme *o-* in (152) is not really a form of the prefix *o-* 'LIKE' but is part of an allomorph of the clitic *osi=* discussed a little further on in this section.

verb stem-forming particle *osi=* 'pretend' followed by a clause.³⁷ The particle *osi=* 'pretend' is not in the active grammar of young speakers of Nias but is used in stories from older speakers. The particle seems to occur in just a few fossilized constructions such as those illustrated in (152)-(157) (it is difficult to give literal meanings for some of the sentences which occur in this construction.). Almost all of the examples I have contain negators, although I do not know if this is required for this construction. Examples (152) and (153) involve verbs derived from negators. The negator *lö'ö* is currently used only in emphatic negative responses or in the modal forms *tobai lö'ö / lö tola lö'ö* 'have to' in Nias Selatan.

- (152) U-*osi=*lö'ö-gö ya.
 1s.RLS-pretend=NEG-TR 3s:MUT
 I pretended not to know he was there.

- (153) I-*osi=*tena-gö ndao.
 3s.RLS-pretend-NEG(N)-TR 1s.MUT
 He ignored me. / He looks down on me.

Note that the mutated pronoun which follows the verb in these examples is not coreferential with the A argument. In contrast with constructions containing *o-* 'LIKE', constructions with *osi=* 'pretend' cannot be made reflexive. Another example is given in the imperative sentence (154), in which *osi=* is followed by a nominal clause in which the predicate is *tena ina-u* 'it is not your mother' and the argument is *ni-fatunö-ma* 'the one being talked about by us':

- (154) *Osi=*tena ina-u ni-fa-tunö-ma.
 pretend=NEG(N) mother-2s.POSS PASS-DO-tell-1pe.POSS
 Pretend it's not your mother we're talking about.

³⁷ A verb or verbal prefixes with the meaning 'pretend' and with similar phonological form is found in other Western Malayo-Polynesian languages Kankanay, Cebuano, Bario Kelabit and Iban (Blust 1980: 42).

- (157) U-osi=mörö (ndrao).
 1s.RLS-pretend=sleep (1s.MUT)

I pretended to be asleep. (/ 'I made myself (out) to be one who was asleep.')

The mutated first singular pronoun *ndrao* in (157) is ambiguous in its syntactic function between an argument coreferential with the A argument (and thus an example of *o-* 'LIKE' plus a headless relative) and the S argument of the verb *mörö* (and thus an example of the proclitic particle *osi=*) What appears to have happened is that, because of the formal similarity between the construction with *osi=* 'pretend' followed by a verb or clause and the prefix *o-* attached to a headless relative beginning with the relative marker *si=*, there arose instances in which the final vowel of the particle *osi=* was elided in front of stative verbs, by analogy with the elision of the vowel of the relative marker *si=*, which gave rise to sentences such as those in (150) and (151) above. These sorts of cases then presumably came to be recognized as examples of the prefix *o-* 'LIKE' plus a derived noun.

5.2 Suffixes: overview

Suffixes which are used to derive verbs and the kinds of stems to which they attach are the following. (In this list, question marks are placed in front of stems which occur once only, the status of which is uncertain.)

(158) derivational suffixes and the stems to which they attach

Suffix	Stems			
	Vintr	Rt	N	Vtr
-'ö	Vintr	Rt	N	Vtr
-gö	Vintr	Rt	N	Vtr
-i	Vintr	Rt	N	—
-ni	Vintr	Rt	N	Vtr
-fi	Vintr	?Rt	—	—
-khi	—	Rt	—	—
-si	Vintr	Rt	—	—

-i'ö	Vintr	—	—	—
-ini	Vintr	—	N	—
-isi	Vintr	—	N	—

The primary function of suffixes in Nias Selatan is to derive transitive verbs from intransitive verbs, roots and nouns. With respect to intransitive verbs and bound roots, which are all lexically subcategorized for one argument (see 4.5), the derivation of a transitive verb by addition of a suffix equates semantically to the addition of a new participant to the situation described by the verb. Depending on the kind of verb stem, the new participant may be expressed either by an A argument or by a P argument. Although syntactically all suffixes are 'transitivizers' in that the derived verb is transitive, they can be regarded as having either 'causative' or 'applicative' function depending on whether they introduce an A argument or a P argument. 'Causative' function derives verbs which have the features listed above in section 5.1.2.1. All suffixes may have this function. 'Applicative' function derives verbs which exhibit the following features:

- (i) the derived verb is transitive.
- (ii) the referent of the A argument of the derived verb corresponds to the referent of the S argument of the intransitive stem.
- (iii) the new participant is expressed by the P argument.
- (iv) semantically the referent of the A argument corresponds to the referent of the S argument of the underived verb (in contrast with 'causative' constructions in which the referent of the A argument does not correspond to the S argument).
- (v) if the stem is an emotion or mental state verb which associates with two mutated arguments, the experiencer corresponds to the A argument of the derived verb and the stimulus corresponds to the P argument.

Only the suffixes *-'ö*, *-i*, *-fi*, *-si*, *-ni* and *-khi* are used applicatively. To illustrate 'applicative' function, compare the intransitive verb *cici* 'defecate' illustrated in (159) and its transitivized counterpart *cici-ni* 'defecate on' illustrated in (160). In (159) *cici* has only one argument, the third singular *ya*:

- (159) Tebai *cici* *ya*.
 cant defecate 3s.MUT

He is constipated. (lit. He can't defecate.) (D)

In (160), the transitive verb *cici-ni* has two arguments, the A argument *asu* 'dog' and the P argument *mbatö* 'floor'. Note that the A argument in (160) corresponds semantically to the S argument of the intransitive verb in (159) above:

- (160) Ma=i-cici-ni *mbatö* *asu*.
 batö
 PERF=3s.RLS-defecate-TR floor:MUT dog

The dog has defecated on the floor.

Morphologically the monosyllabic suffixes of Nias Selatan have one of two basic shapes: *-Cö* or *-(C)i*, where C stands for a glottal stop or /g/ when followed by /ö/, or a fricative or nasal when followed by /i/. The significance of these sounds is that there is evidence that the consonants which precede /i/ in verb suffixes may reflect original word final consonants, and if this is the case, it indicates that words in Nias once allowed only fricatives and nasals as word-final consonants (cf. 3.8). There appears to be no synchronic association of one shape with any particular function—suffixes of both shapes can be used with both causative or applicative functions. The only principle which holds for intransitive verbs and roots, with the exception of the emotion verbs (see 5.2.4. and 5.2.9), is that if a stem is stative the derived verb is causative, and if the stem is dynamic the derived verb is applicative. The

suffixes which were listed in (158) will be discussed in turn below, exemplifying the functions associated with them.

5.2.1 -'ö

The suffix -'ö is used with stative verbs and roots to derive verbs with a 'causative' meaning (something like 'A makes P vb'³⁹). A list of some intransitive verbs and the causative verbs derived from them with -'ö is given in (161):

(161) causative verbs derived from intransitive verbs with -'ö

intransitive verb	transitive verb
abe'e 'strong'	abe'e-'ö 'make stronger'
adogodogo 'low'	adogo-'ö 'make lower'
aitö 'black'	aitö-'ö 'blacken'
alawa 'be high'	alawa-'ö 'raise higher'
alio 'quick'	alio-'ö 'make hurry'
aßakha 'deep'	aßakha-'ö 'deepen'
aßolo 'wide'	aßolo-'ö 'make wider'
atulö 'straight, right'	atulö-'ö 'make right, straight'
ebua 'big'	ebua-'ö 'make bigger, raise children'
ide'ide 'small'	ide'ide-'ö 'make smaller'
oya 'much, many'	oya-'ö 'make be a lot'
tola 'well'	tola-'ö 'make well'

To illustrate the effect of the suffix on the intransitive verb, compare the intransitive sentence in (162) with the transitivized form of the verb in (163).

(162)	Abe'e	sibai	gehomo	nomo	s=e-bua.
			ehomo	omo	
	ST:strong	INTNS	pillar:MUT	house:MUT	REL=ST-big

The pillars of the big house (the house of the village leader) are very strong.

³⁹ The abbreviations A, P and DAT are used as short forms of the phrase 'the referent of A/P/DAT'. See fn 6 Chapter 3 for discussion of the terms A and P.

- (163) I-abe'e-'ö ita Loßalani ...
 3s.RLS-ST:strong-TR 1pi.MUT Loßalani
 God gives us strength ... (lit. God makes us be strong ...)

Note that the S argument of the intransitive construction in (162) corresponds to the P argument of the transitive construction—both refer to the thing which is strong. The additional participant in the transitive form, *Loßalani* 'God', is the Causer, expressed by the A argument. Further examples of transitivized forms of stative intransitive verbs are given in (164)-(167). Simple intransitive forms of the verbs are given in brackets for comparison of argument structure.

- (164) ö-ide'ide-'ö ndrao mana, ...
 2s.RLS-ST:small-TR 1s:MUT at.this.time
 You look down on me now, ... (cf. *ide'ide ndrao* 'I am small')

- (165) U-atulö-'ö ni-sura-u.
 1s.RLS-ST:correct-TR PASS-write-2s.POSS
 I have corrected what you wrote. (cf. *atulö ni-sura-u* 'What you wrote is correct')

- (166) Böi oya-'ö li-u.
 li
 NEG.IMPER much-TR noise:MUT-2s.POSS
 Don't talk too much (lit 'Don't make your words/sound be a lot.') (cf. *oya li-u*
 'You're making a lot of noise' (lit. your noise is a lot.')

- (167) Tola-'ö=wa'e vökhö-u
 fökhö
 abate-TR=D.PTCL illness:MUT-2s.POSS

fatua löna na möi (ndraugö) ba gereja.
 while NEG yet go (2s.MUT) LOC church

Get yourself better before you go to church, eh? (cf. *tola vökhö-u* 'Your illness is abating')

Stative roots to which the suffix -'ö attaches are listed in (168). The intransitive verbs derived from the same roots are listed for comparative purposes:

(168) causative verbs derived from stative roots with -'ö

root	transitive verb	intransitive verb
-bali	bali-'ö 'turn into'	to-bali 'changed into, become'
-bini	bini-'ö 'hide'	to-bini 'hidden'
-bu'a	bu'a-'ö 'move'	a-βu'a/te-bu'a 'moved'
-fae	fae-'ö 'put in'	to-fae 'contained'
-hakhö	hakhö-'ö 'reduce, shrink'	a-hakhö 'shrivelled, shrunk'
-hatö	hatö-'ö 'bring closer'	a-hatö 'close'

Examples of these verbs are given in (169)-(171):

(169) I-fae-'ö ndra-ono-nia ba moto.
 ira- moto
 3s.RLS-contained-TR COLL.MUT-child-3s.POSS LOC car:MUT

He filled the car with his kids. / He caused his kids to be contained by the car.

(cf. *to-fae zaluaya si=öfa na hono* [RES-contain REL.MUT-dance REL=four LK thousand] 'It contained four thousand dancers').

(170) La-bali-'ö ya saβuyu
 3p.RLS-turn-TR 3s.MUT slave

They made him a slave. / They caused him to become a slave. (cf. *tobali ya saβuyu* 'He became a slave')

- (171) I-bini-'ö ya.
 3s.RLS-hide-TR 3s.MUT

He hid himself. (or 'He_i hid him_j.' (see 11.2.1.1 for reflexive forms))

One example of a root which is affixed with -'ö suggests that this suffix could have a 'let' interpretation (unless 'causing' fat to shrink involves merely 'letting' it shrink):

- (172) I-hakhö-'ö daßödaßö mbaßi.
 daßödaßö baßi
 3s.RLS-shrink-TR fat.MUT pig.MUT

She let the pig fat set. (i.e. She didn't do anything to the fat.)

The suffix -'ö occurs in applicative function with two dynamic verbs: *a'ege* 'laugh' and *omasi* 'like'. To illustrate the effect of the suffix on these verbs, compare the intransitive form of *a'ege* 'laugh' in (173), with the transitive form *a'ege*-'ö 'laugh at' in (174). Note that the S argument of the intransitive clause in (173) corresponds to the A argument of the transitive construction in (174):

- (173) A'ege ira.
 laugh 3p.MUT

They laughed

- (174) La-a'ege-'ö ndrao.
 3p.RLS-laugh-TR 1s.MUT

They laughed at me.

The argument which is added in the transitive construction is the P argument, in (174) the first singular pronoun, *ndrao*.

The emotion verb *omasi* 'like' typically occurs with two mutated arguments, as illustrated in (175):

- (175) Omasi ya ita.
 like 3s.MUT 1pi.MUT
 He likes us.

Note that the experiencer, expressed by the third singular *ya*, precedes the stimulus, *ita* 'us'. When the suffix *-'ö* is added to *omas* 'like', the result is a normal transitive verb in which the experiencer takes the role of the A argument and the stimulus takes the role of P argument, as illustrated in (176) below. The derived verb is also regarded as implying an intensification of the feeling represented by *omas* 'like', although the intentionality on the part of the referent of the A argument which is implied by a transitive form may also be responsible for this.

- (176) I-omas-'ö ita Loßalani.
 3s.RLS-like-TR 1pi.MUT Loßalani
 God loves us.

The suffix *-'ö* occurs with applicative meaning also with two dynamic roots: *-uta* and *-base*. The derived verbs are *uta-'ö* 'vomit, bring up' and *base-'ö* 'wait for'. An example of the transitive verb derived from the addition of the suffix *-'ö* to the dynamic root *-uta* is given in (177). The intransitive sentence form is given in brackets for comparison. Once again, note that the S argument of the intransitive form corresponds to the A argument of the transitive form.

- (177) I-uta-'ö gö-nia ni-a-nia mema'e Zöni.
 ö
 3s.RLS-vomit-TR food:MUT-3s.POSS PASS-eat-3s.MUT earlier Zöni
 Zöni has brought up the food he ate earlier. (cf. *M-uta Zöni* [DYN-vomit Zöni]
 'Zöni is vomiting.')

The derived verb *base-'ö* is exemplified in a passive headless relative in (178):

- (178) Hata ni-base-'ö-u?
 who PASS-wait-TR-2s.POSS
 Who are you waiting for? (lit. The one being waited for by you is who?)

The suffix -'ö is also used to derived transitive verbs from nouns. The nouns with which -'ö occurs are listed in (179):

(179) transitive verbs derived from nouns with -'ö

noun	transitive verb
lagö 'cover for large object'	lagö-ö 'close, cover large thing'
föfö 'residue, other part'	föfö-ö 'separate off'
bila 'crooked thing'	bila-'ö 'make crooked'
tendro 'a support' (like the back of a chair)	tendro-ö 'lean against'

The meaning of these derivations is something like 'A makes P be N(stem)' or 'A makes P have N(stem)'. Some examples of these verbs are given in (180) - (182):

- (180) La-föfö-'ö ira, ya'ira niha si=so.
 3p.RLS-split-TR 3p:MUT 3p person REL=EXIST

The rich people separated themselves off. (lit. Those people who have (material possessions), they made themselves be a separate part.)

- (181) Böi tendro-'ö ndraugö ba do!sa!
 to!sa
 NEG.IMPER support-TR 2s.MUT LOC wall:MUT

Don't lean against the wall! (lit. 'Don't make yourself have support from the wall')

- (182) Ni-lagö-'ö zavenaita andre.
 savenaita
 PASS-cover-TR layer:MUT DIST

That layer was covered. (lit. That layer was one for which a cover was made.)

The suffix -'ö may occur on transitive verbs without necessarily changing the argument structure. What the suffix seems to do in these instances is to add some sort of intensity to the meaning. Some transitive verbs which occur with -'ö with are listed in (183):

(183) transitive verbs which occur with the suffix -'ö

transitive verb	derived verb
bato 'stop'	bato-'ö 'stop intentionally'
cika 'tear'	cika-'ö 'rip apart'
fera 'press'	fera-'ö 'squeeze'
osisi 'follow'	osisi-'ö 'investigate'

An illustration of the two forms of the verb meaning 'stop' is revealing for the meaning of -'ö. In (184), the simple transitive form is used:

- (184) La-bato va-a'ege.
 fa-
 3p.RLS-stop NR:MUT-laugh

They stopped laughing.

This sentence implies that the laughter just petered out over time. By comparison, when *bato* occurs with the suffix -'ö the implication is that the participants stopped laughing intentionally:

- (185) La-bato-'ö va-a'ege.
 fa-
 3p.RLS-stop-TR NR:MUT-laugh
 They stopped laughing.

An appeal to the argument that transitive clauses of themselves imply volition or intent on the part of the A speaker can't explain the difference between these two sentences since both are transitive. The association of this suffix with increased 'intent' on the part of the referent of the A argument may be responsible for the explanation given to me for why it is *-gö* and not *'ö* which is used to create a transitive verb from the intransitive verb *taiha* 'lose'—the suffix *'ö* cannot be used because you don't lose things on purpose.

In contrast with the example of *bato* 'stop' given above, in which the arguments of both sentences were the same, when the suffix is added to the verb *cika* 'tear, rip', the category of noun which functions as the P argument can change. The verb *cika* 'tear' normally refers to material such as paper, as illustrated in (186):

- (186) U-cika garate.
 karate
 3s.RLS-tear paper:MUT
 I tore the page.

With the suffix *'ö*, the verb can have as its P argument the result of the action or 'tearing'. For example in (187), the path referred to by the P argument is made by ripping through long grass or traipsing through wet earth:

- (187) U-cika-'ö lala-gu ba gatua / laza.
 lala atua laza
 1s.RLS-tear-TR way:MUT-1s.POSS LOC jungle:MUT / rice.paddy:MUT
 I'm making my way through the long grass / ricefield.

5.2.1.1 Causative circumfix *fa-...-'ö*

The suffix *-'ö* also occurs in a different construction with transitive verbs in which the dynamic prefix *fa-* is also involved. A construction consisting of a transitive verb affixed with both *fa-* and *-'ö* has the meaning 'A gets someone to do the action described by the verb'. The 'getting' may involve asking or some other means. Typically the Causee, i.e. the 'someone' who does the action of the verb, is expressed by a dative phrase if mentioned. The construction may involve a fusion of causative and applicative functions of the two affixes, although, if so, it is hard to be completely certain which affix supplies which function⁴⁰. To illustrate this derivation, compare the simple transitive form of the verb *sura* 'write' in (188) with its derived form in (189):

(188) U-sura zura.
 sura
 1s.RLS-write letter:MUT
 I wrote a letter.

(189) I-fa-sura-'ö zura khö-gu fandrita.
 sura
 3s.RLS-DO-write-CAU letter:MUT DAT-1s.POSS priest
 The priest got me to write a letter.

There are three observations to be made about these examples: 1) in the derived construction (189), the P argument is the same as the P argument of the original

⁴⁰ For glossing purposes I identify *fa-* with applicative and *-'ö* with causative for three reasons:

- (i) When dynamic *fa-* is added to a transitive verb, it introduces a new dative argument (see section 5.1.1.5). When the suffix *-'ö* is added to a transitive verb, there is no new argument (see above). This makes it more likely that *fa-* is responsible for the additional dative argument.
- (ii) In applicative verbs derived with *-'ö*, the argument which is introduced is expressed by a mutated P argument (see 5.2.1 above). In the construction discussed in this section, the applied argument is dative, which makes *-'ö* less likely a candidate than *fa-* for being responsible for the applied argument.
- (iii) While *fa-* is found in causative function, it is restricted to just a few verbs (see section 5.1.2.1.1). The suffix *-'ö*, on the other hand, is found in great abundance with causative function, making *-'ö* more likely to be responsible for the causative interpretation than *fa-*.

transitive construction, 2) the dative argument of the derived verb (i.e. the Causee) corresponds to the original A argument (the writer), and 3) the A argument of the derived construction is introduced. In many cases, the dative argument expressing the Causee, i.e. the person who does the action of the verb, can be omitted, as illustrated in (190):

- (190) Ta-fa-fazökhi-'ö zagö.
 sagö
 1pi.RLS-DO-fix-CAU roof:MUT
 We had the roof fixed.

Another example is given in (191), where the P argument is a noun modified by a relative clause, and the Causee is optional:

- (191) I-fa-kuru-'ö niha si=bözi ira-alaße
 niha
 3s.RLS-DO-jail-CAU person:MUT REL=hit COLL-female
 (khö folisi) Ama Lina.
 (DAT police) Ama Lina

Ama Lina got the man who assaulted the woman arrested (by the police).

Although the A argument of an original transitive verb is realized as a dative argument in a derived construction, it is apparently still a core argument, as is evident from relativisation. Both the P argument and the dative argument can be relativised in the same way, namely with a passive form of the verb. This is illustrated in (192) and (193) below. In (192), the P argument is relativised. The dative argument is unchanged.

- (192) Ogoro niha ni-fa-kuru-'ö Nama Lina khö folisi.
 niha Ama
 abhor person:MUT PASS-DO-jail-CAU Ama:MUT Lina DAT police
 I loathe the man whom Ama Lina had arrested by the police.

In (193) the dative argument is relativised, and the P argument of the derived verb takes unmutated form:

- (193) U-ila folisi⁴¹ ni-fa-kuru-'ö
 1s.RLS-know police PASS-DYN-jail-CAU
 Nama Lina akhi-gu.
 Ama
 Ama:MUT Lina younger.sibling-1s.POSS
 I know the policeman whom Ama Lina got to arrest my brother.

Another example of the construction with *fa-* and *-'ö* is given in (194):

- (194) U-fa-inu-'ö daludalu khö nakhi-gu.
 daludalu akhi
 1s.RLS-DO-drink-CAU medicine:MUT DAT younger.sibling:MUT-1s.POSS
 I got my little brother to drink the medicine.

Compare the simple transitive form of the verb *inu* 'drink' given in (195) below:

- (195) I-inu daludalu akhi-gu.
 daludalu
 3s.RLS-drink medicine:MUT younger.sibling:MUT-1s.POSS
 My little brother drank the medicine.'

⁴¹ *Folisi* 'police' is borrowed from Indonesian polisi, and is thus unmutated in contexts which normally require mutated forms.

Note that the P argument is the same in both examples, the dative phrase of the derived construction corresponds to the A argument of the simple transitive clause, and the A argument of the derived construction in (194) (i.e. the Causer) is an introduced argument.

Other transitive verbs which may occur in construction with *fa-* and *-'ö* are listed in (196):

(196) transitive verbs which occur with *fa-...-'ö*

transitive verb	derived form
baso 'read'	fa-baso-'ö 'get someone to read'
baya-gö 'baptize'	fa-baya-gö-'ö 'ask someone to baptize'
be lawa [put high] 'store'	fa-be-lawa-'ö 'ask someone to store'
hede 'call out to'	fa-hede-'ö 'get someone to invite'
zira 'see'	fa-zira-'ö 'show'

5.2.2 -gö

The suffix *-gö* is almost entirely causative in function. In my data it has applicative function with only one intransitive verb: *m-an-ifi* 'dream', whose applicative form is illustrated in (197):

- (197) U-anifi-gö ya.
 1s.RLS-dream-TR 3s.MUT
 I dreamt about him. (D) (cf. *asese man-ifi ndrao* [often IPF-dream 1s.MUT] 'I often dream']

In its causative function, the suffix *-gö* applies to intransitive verbs and bound roots. Stems to which *-gö* is added and the forms which are derived are listed in (198):

(198) causative verbs derived from intransitive verbs and bound roots:

	stem	derived form
Vintr	abe'e 'strong'	abe'e-gö 'make stronger'
	aekhu 'go in direction of'	aekhu-gö 'aim at'
	ara 'long time'	ara-gö 'take a long time'
	aukhu 'hot'	aukhu-gö 'heat up'
	faedo 'lined up, parallel'	faedo-gö 'compare'
	taiha 'lost'	taiha-gö 'lose'
	tohu 'add to'	tohu-gö 'continue'
	fao 'join'	fao-gö 'attach, accompany'
	o-tura 'HAVE news' ⁴²	otura-gö 'tell'
	o-dödö 'HAVE liver'	odödö-gö 'concentrate on'
roots	-dudu	dudu-gö 'undo' (cf. <i>a-dudu</i> 'undone')
	-hori	hori-gö 'finish' (cf. <i>a-hori</i> 'finished')
	-hono	hono-gö 'settle down' (cf. <i>a-hono</i> 'calm')
	-havia	haβia-gö 'throw down forcefully' (cf. <i>to-haβia</i> 'fall down')
	-lea	lea-gö 'lay down' (cf. <i>to-lea</i> 'lying down, horizontal')
	-nönö	nönö-gö 'whisper' (cf. <i>fa-nönö</i> 'whisper', Vintr)

The use of *-gö* is illustrated with the verb *abe'e* 'strong' in (199):

⁴² Stems of verbs formed with the prefix *(m)o-* 'HAVE' are included here even though they do not occur in their intransitive form (i.e. with *mo-*) in my data.

potential to exercise control over the result, while in *abe'e-gö*, the referent of the P argument cannot exercise control over the result. It appears to be true for most verbs derived with *-gö* that the referent of the P argument has little control over the result of the action, although this may be because the P argument usually refers to an inanimate entity. Many examples of verbs derived with the suffix *-'ö*, on the other hand, contain P arguments which have animate referents. Some examples of verbs derived from intransitive stems are given in (200)-(202). Simple intransitive forms are supplied in parentheses for comparison. In each case note that the P argument of the derived form corresponds to the S argument of the intransitive verb.

- (200) Ma=u-taiha-gö laeduru-gu.
 laeduru
 PERF=1s.RLS-lost-TR ring:MUT-1s.POSS
 I've lost my ring. (cf. *taiha laeduru-gu* 'My ring is lost')

- (201) U-fao-gö gefe ba zura.
 kefe sura
 1s.RLS-join-TR money:MUT LOC letter:MUT
 I attach money with the letter. (cf. *fao ndruga ba lala* (D) [join 1pe.MUT LOC way:MUT] 'We walked along the road together')

- (202) Hori-gö gö-u kofi.
 ö
 finish-TR food:MUT-2s.POSS coffee
 Finish your coffee. (cf. *a-hori gö-gu kofi* 'My coffee is finished')

Some examples of transitive verbs derived from bound roots are given in (203) and (204). (Literal translations of these sentences are given in parentheses where necessary, but often seem convoluted and appear to make the meaning a little obscure.)

- (206) I-a-so-gö zi'ulu fefu.
 si'ulu
 3p.RLS-?-arrive-TR village.leader:MUT all

He invited all the village heads to come. (lit. He caused all the heads of the villages to arrive.)

The suffix *-gö* occurs frequently with nouns to derive transitive verbs. A list of nouns and the verbs which are derived from them is given in (207):

(207) transitive verbs derived from nouns with -gö

noun	derived verb
balu 'cover.net'	balu-gö 'cover'
(balu 'kind of small net which you cover the fish with')	
boha 'molar'	boha-gö 'chew with molars'
börö 'base'	börö-gö 'begin'
ero 'outside'	ero-gö 'turn one's back on'
föfö 'part of sth'	föfö-gö 'put aside'
hele 'waterfall'	hele-gö 'pour'
töra 'extra'	töra-gö 'make more'

The meanings of the derived verbs are not completely predictable and it is difficult to find a single coherent sense for the suffix. In general, the meaning is something like 'A does something which results in P either having N (*balu-gö*, *börö-gö*), or being affected by N (*boha-gö*, *töra-gö*), or being like N (*hele-gö*, *föfö-gö*)'. Some examples are given below.

- (208) I-balu-gö ita fa-'a-lögölögö.
 3s.RLS-cover-TR 1pi:MUT NR-dark

We were enveloped by darkness.

- (209) U-hele-gö nidanö ba gahembatö.
 idanö ahembatö
 1s.RLS-waterfall-TR water:MUT LOC floor:MUT

I poured the water onto the floor.

- (210) La-ero-gö ya.
 3s.RLS-outside-TR 3s.MUT

They turned their back on her. (i.e. They did not care for her any more)

The verb *börö-gö* 'begin' is a commonly used word. In (211), the verb *börö-gö* 'begin' occurs with a clausal complement:

- (211) La-börö-gö la-fasa mbatu gehomo.
 batu ehomo
 3p.RLS-base-TR 3p.RLS-nail stone:MUT pillar:MUT

They begin by setting the stones for the pillars.

As was observed for *-'ö*, the suffix *-gö* may be added to some transitive verbs without changing their argument structure. The semantic effect is something like an intensification of the meaning. Three verbs which are affected in this way are *taha* 'stop, forbid', *tehe* 'agree, let' and *roro* 'follow'. The derived forms are illustrated in (212)-(214). In (212) and (213), the simple transitive form would also be appropriate, but I'm told that the form with *-gö* is 'stronger':

- (212) I-taha-gö/taha ndao ama-gu
 3s.RLS-stop-TR/stop 1s.MUT father-1s.POSS
 v-a-nai ono zibaya-gu.
 f-aN-sai sibaya
 NR:MUT-IPF-take child uncle:MUT-1s.POSS

My father forbade me to marry my cousin

5.2.2.1 Causative circumfix *fa-* ... *-gö*

Like *-'ö*, the suffix *-gö* is also used in association with dynamic *fa-* to derive verbs with the meaning 'A gets someone to do the action of the verb'. The suffix *-gö*, however, occurs with verbs which are ditransitive rather than monotransitive. To illustrate the use of *-gö* in this function, compare the simple ditransitive verb *be'e* 'give' in (217) with the derived construction in (218). In (217), the Giver (A argument) is expressed by the lexical NP *Ama Dali* and the pronominal prefix on the verb *i-*; the Gift (P argument) is expressed by the mutated noun *gefe* 'money'; and the Recipient is expressed by a dative phrase:

- (217) I-be'e gefe khö zondröröu Ama Dali.
 kefe sondröröu
 3s.RLS-give money:MUT DAT healer:MUT Ama Dali
 Ama Dali gave money to the village healer.

When the suffix *-gö* is added to the verb, the argument structure does not change. However, it is understood that the A argument is no longer directly responsible for doing the action of the verb but that a new participant has been introduced to do this. Sentence (218) below illustrates this:

- (218) I-fa-be'e-gö gefe khö zondröröu Ama Dali.
 kefe sondröröu
 3s.RLS-DO-give-CAU money:MUT DAT healer:MUT Ama Dali
 Ama Dali sent money to the village healer. (i.e. He got someone to give money to the village healer.)

Note that, as in (217) above, *Ama Dali* is the A argument; the mutated noun *gefe* 'money' is still the Gift (P argument), and the dative phrase still expresses the

- (225) Fefu ndra-alaße, ba fefu ndra-matua,
 ira-alaße ira-matua
 all COLL:MUT-female CNJ all COLL.MUT-male
 m=oi la-ofulo-i.
 PERF=all 3p.RLS-gathered-TR
 All the girls and all the boys were gathered together.

A list of stative bound roots which derived transitive verbs with *-i* is given in (226).

(226) Transitive verbs derived from stative bound roots with *-i*

root	intransitive verb	derived transitive verb
-boka	te-boka 'open'	boka-i 'open'
-basö	a-basö 'wet'	basö-i 'wet'
-fönu	a-fönu	fönu-i 'fill'
-βuβu	—	βuβu-i 'pour'

Some examples of the verbs derived from bound roots with *-i* are given in (227)-(229). Intransitive forms are provided in parentheses for comparison. In each case, note that the S argument of the intransitive form corresponds to the P argument of the derived transitive:

- (227) U-basö-i gahembatö idanö.
 ahembatö
 1s.RLS-wet-TR floor:MUT water

I wet the floor with the water. (cf. *a-basö gahembatö* 'The floor is wet')

- (228) Boka-i mbaβa-u.
 baβa
 open-TR mouth:MUT-2s.POSS

Open your mouth! (cf. *te-boka mbaβagoli* 'The door is open.')

- (236) I-törö-i mbanua.
 banua
 3s.RLS-go-TR village:MUT

He walks around the village (i.e. person without a job, just taking a look at what's going on)

Note, however, that the verb no longer refers to movement towards a destination but to movement on or within a plane.

Transitive verbs derived from nouns with *-i* tend have a meaning related to the use of the referent of the noun with respect to the referent of the P argument. A list of nouns used to derive transitive verbs from *-i* is given in (237):

(237) Transitive verbs derived from nouns with *-i*

noun	derived transitive verb
hambö 'instrument used for winnowing'	hambö-i 'winnow'
sagö 'sago palm'	sagö-i 'make roof for'
salogo 'part of body from armpit to waist'	salogo-i 'carry under arm'
sulu 'torch made of coconut branches'	sulu-i 'light'
uro 'prawn, lobster'	uro-i 'fish for lobsters'

Some examples of sentences illustrating these verbs are given in (238)-(240):

- (238) I-sagö-i nomo faoma ato.se.
 omo
 3s.RLS-roof-TR house:MUT with corrugated.iron⁴⁹

He roofed the house with corrugated iron.

⁴⁹ *Ato.se* is the Nias form of Indonesian *atap seng* 'corrugated iron'.

The general characteristic of stative verbs to which *-si* is added which distinguish them from stative verbs to which *-'ö* is added is that they describe states which are non-gradable or less gradable, while those to which *-'ö* is attached are typically gradable. The referent of the S argument of intransitive verbs whose transitive form is derived with *-si* is not in the state described by the verb before the action described by the transitive verb. For example, the verb *abeto-si* 'make pregnant' can only be used of a person who is, up to that point in time, not *abeto* 'pregnant'. By comparison, stative verbs whose transitive forms are derived with *-'ö* or *-gö* are frequently already in the state described by the intransitive verb, and the transitive verb describes an increase in that state. For example, one may *aßakha-'ö* 'deepen' a ditch which is already *aßakha* 'deep'. This semantic difference may also be associated with the suffix itself. The common verb *ebua* 'big' is typically transitivized with the suffix *-'ö*, e.g. *ebua-'ö* 'make bigger'. However, there is an idiomatic use of this verb with the suffix *-si*, which means 'set a fire' or 'get a fire going'. This is illustrated in the frequently heard imperative form (247):

- (247) E-bua-si nalitö!
 alitö
 ST-big-TR fire:MUT
 Set the fire! / get the fire going!

The point about *ebua-si* is that the fire doesn't exist until the time at which it is set.⁵¹ The same sense of not being in a state until something happens to put one into that state may be the reason that some verbs referring to feelings or states of mind which collocate with the noun *tödö* 'liver' (see 11.4.2.7) are transitivized with this suffix. A list of these 'cognitive function' verbs which derive transitive verbs derived with *-si* are given in (248):

⁵¹ I am not sure if *ebua-'ö* 'make bigger' could be used to mean 'build up the (already going) fire'.

(248) Transitive verbs derived from emotion verbs with -si

intransitive verb	transitive verb
agafökhö dödö 'feel bad' ⁵²	agafökhö-si dödö 'make feel bad'
abu dödö 'sad'	abu-si dödö 'make sad'
fa-duhu dödö 'believe'	fa-duhu-si dödö 'believe in' ⁵³

In intransitive forms of these verbs, the noun *dödö* fills the role of the S argument. If a reason or stimulus is given for the state, it occurs in the form of a mutated nominalized verb (see 11.4.2.7) or as a clause, as illustrated in (249):

- (249) A-ga-fökhö dödö-gu me ma=fe-sala ya sui.
 tödö
 ST-RDP1-illness liver:MUT-1s.POSS when PERF=CAU-error 3s.MUT again
 I felt bad when he made a mistake again.

When these verbs are made transitive with *-si*, the referent of the P argument corresponds to the S argument of the underived verb, and a new A argument expressing the cause is introduced. Some sentences containing transitivized forms of these cognitive predicates are given in (250) and (251):

- (250) I-a-ga-fökhö-si sibai dödö-gu.
 tödö
 3s.RLS-ST-RDP1-illness INTNS liver:MUT-1s.POSS
 He really hurt my feelings.

⁵² The initial syllable reduplication in the verb *agafökhö* 'be ill' is lexicalized in Nias Selatan. In Nias Utara 'I feel bad' is expressed by the unreduplicated form *afökhö dödö-gu*. The transitive form of this verb in Nias Utara requires a composite prefix *-isi*, e.g. *afökhö-isi* 'make feel bad'.

⁵³ Some examples of transitive verbs derived from emotion verbs with *dödö* 'liver' occur with unmutated forms of the noun, i.e. *tödö*. I cannot explain why this is so at the moment.

Note that the P argument of the verb *fa-manömanö-si* in (256) is the noun phrase *zanandrösa gosali* 'the topic of the church'.

By means of the suffix *-si*, the reciprocal sense implicit in many of these verbs can be unpacked and the two participants can be identified as more or less agentive in the event. The verb *fa-lakhi-si* 'meet with' illustrates a different situation. Compare the intransitive form *fa-lakhi* 'meet' in (257) with the transitive form illustrated in (258). In the intransitive form, the implication is that the participants are all engaged in the same activity:

(257)	Fa-lakhi	ira	ba	luaha	nidanö.
				luaha	idanö
	DO-meet	3p.MUT	LOC	estuary:MUT	water:MUT

They met at the mouth of the river.

In the transitive form derived with *-si*, the referent of the A argument is regarded as initiating the activity, and the referent of the P argument as simply acceding to it:

(258)	I-fa-lakhi-si	mbalö	zi'ulu	Hilafasi.
		balö	si'ulu	
	3s.RLS-DO-meet-TR	end:MUT	village.leader:MUT	Hiliafasi

He went to see the supreme head of Hiliafasi.⁵⁴

With verbs derived with *fa-*, the suffix *-si* has applicative function: the A argument of the derived verb corresponds to the S argument of the intransitive form and the P argument is introduced, and may refer to an entity expressed by a grammatically oblique argument in the corresponding intransitive construction. Some other examples of these derivations are given in (259) and (260):

⁵⁴ The NP *balö zi'ulu* refers to a person who is superior in rank to all of the village leaders of a group of villages in a particular region (in this case, Hiliafasi region).

- (259) Löna la-fe-hede-si⁵⁵ ndrao.
 NEG 3p.RLS-DO-call-TR 1s:MUT
 They didn't even say hello to me. (D)

- (260) Ma=la-fa-oyo-si ndraugö ...
 PERF=3p.RLS-DO-joke-TR 2s:MUT
 They were making a fool of you ...

The suffix *-si* occurs in applicative function with only one dynamic root in my data: *-e'e*, from which intransitive *me'e* 'cry' is derived. Compare the intransitive form *me'e ira* 'they are crying' with the transitive form illustrated in (261):

- (261) La-e'e-si nina-ra (si=ma=mate).
 ina
 3p.RLS-cry-TR mother:MUT-3p.POSS (REL=PERF=die)
 They are crying over their mother (who has died).

Note that the S argument of the intransitive form corresponds to the A argument of the transitive form and that the P argument is introduced.

5.2.5 *-ni*

The suffix *-ni* is not a commonly used suffix, but it occurs with the full range of word classes: intransitive verbs, bound root, nouns and transitive verbs. The stative intransitive verbs with which it occurs in my data are *aisö* 'bitter' and *bohōu* 'new'. A transitive verb derived with *-ni* from *aisö* 'bitter' is illustrated in (262):

⁵⁵ The verb *fe-hede* means 'say *'Ya'ahoβu*' to someone. *Ya'ahoβu* means literally 'may you be blessed'. It is the normal greeting all over Nias.

- (262) I-aisö-ni nidanö mea tebai la-inu.
 idanö
 3s.RLS-ST:bitter-MUT water:MUT so.that can't 3p.RLS-drink
 He made the water bitter so that they couldn't drink (it).

The verb *bözi-ni* 'clean' may also belong with these verbs if *bözi* is a Nias form of the Indonesian word *bersih* 'clean'. There is no intransitive verb *bözi* in my data, but the transitive verb *bözi* 'hit' may have been understood as the same word and have been used in place of *bersih*. Alternatively, the verb *bözi* 'hit' may be the stem of the verb *bözi-ni* 'sweep, clean', since sweeping, or cleaning, uses small strokes of whatever instrument is used. *Bözi-ni* 'clean' is illustrated in (263):

- (263) I-bözi-ni nomo faoma ezoi.
 omo
 3s.RLS-hit-TR house:MUT with broom
 She swept the house with the broom.

The only bound root in my data to which *-ni* is added is the root *-hau*, in the transitive verb *ha-hau-ni* 'make clear, bright' (e.g. a dark room). The intransitive form of this root is *o-hau-hau* (or *o-ha-hau*) 'clear, bright, pure' (e.g. water, one's heart).

The suffix *-ni* is used applicatively with three intransitive verbs, *cici* 'defecate', which was illustrated in (160) above, *kiö* 'urinate', and *faukhu* 'hatch eggs, brood'. The applicative form of *kiö*, like *cici*, allows a locative noun to function as a P argument, as illustrated in (264):

- (264) Ma=i-kiö-ni nahia m-örö.
 nahia
 PERF=3s.RLS-urinate-TR place:MUT DYN-sleep
 He has wet the bed.⁵⁶ (D)

⁵⁶ The phrase *nahia mörö* 'place to sleep' is used for 'bed' for those people who have beds, but typically refers to the place in the front room of the house where mats are spread at night for sleeping. The word *mörö* 'sleep' usually functions as an intransitive verb (see section 5.1.1.2.1 above).

The simple intransitive form of *faukhu* 'brood' typically takes some kind of bird as the S argument. In its derived transitive form, the bird refers to the A argument and the P argument is typically *gadulo* 'eggs', as illustrated in (265):

- (265) Löna omasi i-faukhu-ni gadulo-nia bebe.
 adulo
 NEG like 3s-hatch-TR egg:MUT-3s.POSS duck
 A duck doesn't like to brood over her eggs. (D)

The suffix *-ni* occurs with just three nouns in my data: *ete* 'bridge', *köli* 'fence' and *daludalu* 'medicine'. In each case the derived verbs mean something like 'A makes P have N(stem)' (which is the same meaning that occurred also for some derivations with *-gö*, see 5.2.2 above). Some examples of these derived verbs are given in (266)-(268):

- (266) Ande manö la-ete-ni niha=nde.
 DIST therefore 3p.RLSS-bridge-TR person=DIST
 So that was what these people used as a bridge. (two tree trunks)

- (267) Mi-köli-ni laza-mi ande ...
 laza
 2p.RLS-fence-TR rice.paddy:MUT-2p.POSS DIST
 You should fence your field ... (D)

- (268) I-daludalu-ni vökhö-nia doto.
 fökhö
 3s.RLS-medicine-TR illness:MUT-3s.POSS doctor
 The doctor cured his illness.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ The noun *doto* 'doctor' is borrowed from Indonesian *dotor* 'doctor'.

The suffix *-ni* is also added to the transitive verb *huβu* 'associate with, be in contact with' to derive a verb with a similar meaning: *huβu-ni* 'associate with, have relations with'. The difference appears to be that this latter verb can refer to social or sexual relations, while the former merely implies acquaintanceship. An example of *huβu-ni* is given in (269):

- (269) Löna fao dödö-gu na ö-huβu-ni ya.
 tödö
 NEG join liver:MUT-1s.POSS if 2s.RLS-associate.with-TR 3s.MUT

I am not happy about your associating with him. (D) (lit. My liver does not join/(cooperate) if you associate with him.)

Like other instances of suffixes added to transitive verbs, *-ni* seems to have an effect of intensifying the meaning of the stem verb (see 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 above).

5.2.6 *-fi*

The suffix *-fi* occurs with one bound root, *-ori*, and with two verbs which express strong emotion, *ata'u* 'afraid' and *ogoro* 'abhor, detest'. The root *-ori* does not occur in any other derivation, but, given the meaning of the transitive verb derived from this form, *ori-fi* 'save, keep alive', it seems likely that it is related to the transitive verb *uri* 'keep, look after' and its intransitive form *a-uri* 'alive'. An example of *ori-fi* is given in (270):

- (270) I-ori-fi ya daludalu ande.
 3s.RLS-?live-TR 3s.MUT medicine DIST

That medicine saved him (kept him alive).

It is reasonably obvious that the verbs *uri* 'keep, look after', and *auri* 'alive' derive from a PAN form such as has been reconstructed for 'alive', **huDip*. If so, then the initial

consonant of the suffix on *ori-fi* derives from a word-final /f/ (since PAN *p is reflected as /f/ in Nias). In theory, then, this verb is derived from the suffix *-i*.

In association with the two emotion verbs mentioned above, *-fi* has applicative function. These verbs typically occur with two mutated arguments or a mutated argument and a dative phrase, as exemplified in (271):

- (271) A-ta'u Vasui nama-nia / khö nama-nia.
 Fasui ama ama
 ST-afraid Fasui:MUT father:MUT-3s.POSS / DAT father:MUT-3s.POSS
 Fasui is scared of his father.

Note that the experiencer is always the mutated argument closest to the verb, and that it is the stimulus which can be expressed as a dative phrase. When the emotion verb is made transitive, the experiencer is expressed by the A argument and the stimulus by the P argument:

- (272) I-a-ta'u-fi nama-nia Fasui.
 ama
 3s.RLS-ST-afraid-TR father:MUT-3s.POSS Fasui
 Fasui is in awe of his father. / Fasui fears his father.

An example of the applicative form of *ogoro* is illustrated in (273). The experiencer, *Loʔalani* 'God', is expressed by the A argument and the stimulus, *horö* 'sin', by the P argument:

- (273) I-ogoro-fi horö Loʔalani.
 horö
 3s.RLS-abhor-TR sin:MUT God
 God abhors sin. (D)

relate to the word *böbö* 'true; truth'. The two derived verbs are illustrated in (277) and (278):

- (277) U-BöBö-khi ndaugö ba z=alua anda.
 s=
 1s.RLS-?true-TR 2s.MUT LOC REL.MUT=happen PROX
 I blame you for what's happened.

- (278) Böi BöBö-si ndao na haiya z=alua khö-u.
 s=
 NEG.IMPER ?true-TR 1s.MUT if what REL=happen DAT-2s.POSS
 Don't blame me if anything happens to you. (D)

I do not have any examples of the root *böbö* in any other use, and cannot comment at this stage on any difference in meaning between these two examples. However, since the suffix *-si* is by far the most commonly used form of transitivizer, it may be that its use has been extended to this root in the idiolects of some people.

5.2.8 *-mi*

The suffix *-mi* occurs on just one verb, *förö* 'go to sleep'. The derived verb is illustrated in (279):

- (279) I-förö-mi nofo-gu.
 ofo
 3s.RLS-sleep-TR mat:MUT-1s.POSS
 He slept on my mat.

This verb appears to allow only the thing slept on as P argument, not a general location (cf, e.g. **i-förö-mi nomo-gu* [3s.RLS-sleep-TR house:MUT-1s.POSS] 'he slept at my house'). The form *förö* is the imperative form of the verb meaning 'sleep', as well as the stem form for other derivations such as *fe-förö* 'put to bed, sleep' and *förö-ma* 'bed

used by parents when child is born'. The simple realis form of this verb is the dynamic form *mörö* 'sleep'. The imperative form is illustrated in (280):

- (280) Föro ndraugö.
 sleep:IMPER 2s.MUT
 Go to sleep!

5.2.9 Complex suffixes: *-i'ö*, *-isi*, *-ini*

There are a number of suffixes which appear to consist of *-i* followed by *-'ö*, *-gö*, *-si* or *-ni*. These suffixes are illustrated below.

The suffix *-i'ö* occurs with the emotion verb *omuso dödö* 'happy', with similar function and meaning as *-si* had with verbs relating to mental states (see (250)-(251) above)—the S argument of the emotion verb corresponds to the P argument of the transitivized verb, and the A argument refers to the stimulus:

- (281) I-omuso-i'ö dödö-gu.
 tödö
 3s.RLS-happy-TR liver:MUT-1s.POSS
 He makes me happy.

The suffix *-isi* occurs with an emotion verb as well, as illustrated in (282):

- (282) I-erege-isi tödö nina-nia.
 ina
 3s.RLS-worry-TR liver mother:MUT-3s.POSS
 He worries his mother.⁵⁸

The suffix *-ini* occurs with nouns and with one verb. Derivations with nouns are illustrated in (283) and (284):

⁵⁸ The noun *tödö* 'liver' is unmutated in this sentence, where one would normally expect mutation (as the P argument of the verb).

- (283) Tebai u-faigi ni-gambara-ini.⁵⁹
 can't 1s.RLS-see PASS-picture-TR

I couldn't see what he'd drawn.

- (284) I-oβasa-ini v-a-maoso darodaro si'ulu.
 f-aN-faoso darodaro
 3p.RLS-feast-TR NR:MUT-IPF-CAU:raise seat.of.law:MUT village.leader

The village head held an ovasa celebration for the raising of the *darodaro* (seat of law).

The verb to which the suffix *-ini* attaches is *fa-soso* 'be angry'. This verb has the same characteristics as other verbs derived with *fa-*, so it is difficult to know why the transitive verb is formed with *-ini* instead of *-si* (see section 5.2.4 above). The transitive form is illustrated in (285)

- (285) I-fa-soso-ini ndao guru.
 3s.RLS-DO-anger-TR 1s.MUT teacher

The teacher was angry with me.

⁵⁹ The word *gambara* 'picture' is borrowed from Indonesian *gambar* 'picture'. However, as far as I can tell, this suffix is not productive.

X

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**A GRAMMAR
OF NIAS SELATAN**

Lea Brown

Volume 2

Chapters 6 - 11

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ABBREVIATIONS

APP	affix with applicative function
CAU	affix with causative function
CFT	counterfactual marker <i>mea</i>
CLF	classifier
COLL	collective prefix, referring to a group or member of a group
COMP	complementizer <i>va</i> (~ <i>βa</i>)
D.PTCL	discourse particle
DAT	dative preposition <i>khö</i>
DIST	distal demonstrative
DO	dynamic verb-forming prefix <i>fa-</i>
DYN	dynamic verb-forming prefix <i>m(aN)-</i>
EMPH	emphatic
EXIST	existential verb <i>so</i>
HAVE	verb forming prefix meaning 'have N'
HORT	hortative particle, <i>da</i>
INTNS	intensifier <i>sibai</i>
IPF	imperfective affix
IRR	irrealis mode
JNT	joint action prefix <i>mo-</i>
LK	linker
LOC	locative preposition <i>ba</i>
MUT	mutated nominal
NEG	negator <i>löna</i>
NEG(N)	constituent negator (i.e. non-verbal constituents)
NEG.CFT	negative counterfactual <i>böi</i> 'lest'
NEG.EXIST	negative existential verb <i>löna</i>
NEG.IMPER	negative imperative marker <i>böi</i> (~ <i>böli</i>)
NR	nominalizer
p	plural
pe	plural exclusive
PERF	perfect particle <i>ma=</i>
pi	plural inclusive
PROX	proximate demonstrative

Q	question particle <i>ha, hai</i>
Q.tag	question tag particle <i>a</i>
RDP1	initial syllable reduplication
RDP2	disyllabic reduplication
RECOG	recognitional deictic
REL	relative clause marker <i>si=</i> (~ <i>s=</i>)
RES	resultative prefix <i>te- / to-</i>
RLS	realis mode
s	singular
ST	stative
TR	transitivizing suffix

Letters which occur in brackets after some examples indicate that these examples are written ones. The letters refer to the source documents:

D	refers to the Nias-Indonesian dictionary, Laiya 1985
H	refers to collections of texts, Hämmerle. 1986, 1990
Z-L	refers to the Master's dissertation by Zagötö-Laiya 1975

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CHAPTER 6

DERIVATIONAL NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

6.1 Introduction: types of nominalization strategies

The stems of derived nouns in Nias have two sources: 1) bound roots and 2) verbs and other parts of speech. Bound roots (see 4.5) are the major source of stems for nouns derived by reduplication, discussed in 6.2. Nouns derived from verbs and other parts of speech are formed by three processes. The processes are listed below with the categories of nouns which they typically derive:

- (i) **relative clause formation (headless relatives):** nouns referring to people or other entities who are characterized as doing the action of the verb, undergoing the action of the verb or undergoing the state or process described by the verb, e.g. *si=mate* [REL=die] 'the person who died', *ni-bunu* [REL=kill] 'the one who was killed'.
- (ii) **prefixation:** nouns referring to actions, states, processes, acts of vb-ing, manner of action and instruments, e.g. *fa'a-mate* [NR-die] 'death'.
- (iii) **suffixation:** nouns referring to places or times at which the verb happens or is done, events, concrete and abstract results of vb-ing, e.g. *a-mate-la* [IPF-die-NR] 'corpse'.

Compounding is not a process which appears to have had any level of productivity in Nias. Those which occur are characterized by lack of mutation on the second noun, e.g. *tuturu ahe* [finger leg] 'toe', *börö tu'i* '[base back.side] 'base of skull', *ama talu* [father middle] 'my father's middle brother', *fanikha tanö* [oil land] 'cooking oil'.

6.2 Reduplication

Many of the nouns which occur in Nias are in reduplicated form. Nominal reduplication involves either one or two syllables (i.e. the process may involve monosyllabic or disyllabic reduplication). Reduplication as a means of deriving nouns does not appear to be productive synchronically. Although the kinds of nouns which occur in reduplicated form are extremely diverse, there are certain categories which indicate that reduplication has operated iconically to suggest things that occur in large numbers. Nouns which occur in reduplicated form are listed below according to some of the categories apparent from my data¹.

(1) reduplicated nouns derived from monosyllabic roots which are not known to occur in any other derivation

animals that occur in large numbers

fofo 'bird'

mumu 'centipede'

ndrindri 'mosquito'

ö'ö 'kind of lizard'

things that occur in pairs

mbumbu 'roof poles that stick out from top of house'

meme 'breast'

nini 'gums'

u'u 'heel'

plants or things that occur in the natural world

mbombo 'little stream'

mömö 'moss, mould'

nene 'stem of sweet potato leaf'

wewe 'climbing grass'

zozo 'kind of grass plug for container'

¹ It may, of course, be the case that some of these forms are not reduplicated monosyllabic roots at all, but disyllabic forms which coincidentally have the form of reduplicated monosyllables. Without a thorough diachronic analysis this cannot be established at this stage, and the forms presented here are regarded tentatively as derived by monosyllabic reduplication, without the knowledge that an original monosyllabic root exists.

other things

- hoho 'men's song sung with war dance'
- lele 'shell of animal'
- lölö 'swaddling clothes'; 'pith of sugarcane'
- mbamba 'person who chatters all the time'
- ndrundru 'fence that you can see through'
- riri 'suffering'
- rörö 'an enjoyable event (party, wedding)'

Nouns that are derived from disyllabic roots which are not known to occur in any other derivation are listed in (2).

(2) reduplicated nouns derived from disyllabic roots which are not known to occur in any other derivation

animals that occur in large numbers

- betebete 'small fish with many bones'
- doladola 'frog'
- ci'aci'a 'gekho'
- löföfö 'fireflies'
- tolutolu 'bumble bee'

parts of body, esp that occur in pairs

- danidani 'temples of head'
- foyofoyo 'part of body from waist to hip'
- ranarana 'joints'
- rakaraka 'skeleton'
- rönörönö 'eyebrows'
- umbu'umbu 'fontanelle'

plants or objects that occur in natural world

- bödöbödö 'small fallen coconut, with not much flesh inside'
- budubudu 'end of sweet potato plant not stuck to vine'
- cöföcöfö 'grass used for medicine'
- fa'ufa'u 'edible fern'
- ferefere 'fish fern'
- sömasöma 'hibiscus'

tools or household objects

bu'abu'a 'pot holder'

korokoro 'ladle'

kurikuri 'clay storage jars'

silasila 'bamboo storage container for eggs'

sounds

kocikoci 'any 'little' sound' (like footsteps, opening plastic bags)

tiutiu 'hiss'

takhötakhö 'sobbing'

Bikhoßikho 'whistling'

other things (?that occur in numbers)

firifiri 'sprinkling of rain'

gumigumi 'bits of thread hanging down, fringe'

la'ala'a 'colour'

mbunambuna 'rain drops'

Some nouns are derived from bound roots, i.e. roots which occur also in verbal derivations but do not occur on their own. Typically the verb derived from the same root as the noun has a meaning something like 'do something (appropriate) with N(stem)'. Some of these nouns are listed in (3) with the verbs derived from the same root.

(3) reduplicated nouns derived from roots which are also found as stems of verbs

noun

balu-balü 'cover for small things' (e.g. cup)

binö-binö 'food wrapped in banana leaf'

eße-eße 'edge of floor in traditional house'

ele-ele 'visible sign of wealth'

lagö-lagö 'cover for large things'

mbini-mbini/bini-bini 'hiding place'

silu-silu 'door'

verb

balu-gö 'cover'

binö-gö 'roast bundle of food'

eße-gö 'keep to the edge'

to-ele 'visible'

lagö-ö 'cover'

bini-ö 'hide'

silu-gö 'close door'

Some nouns are derived from other simple nouns. Meanings seem broadly to involve an association of the referent of the derived noun with the referent of the simple noun.

A list of these sorts of nouns are given in (4):

(4) reduplicated nouns derived from nouns

simple noun	derived noun
bulu 'feather'	bulu-bulu 'fish hook using feather as bait'
feta 'instrument for scaring birds'	feta-feta 'sound of mouth while eating'
hamo 'rice flour'	hamo-hamo 'dust or fine powder'
hasi 'coffin'	hasi-hasi 'death throes'
hele 'waterfall; bathing place with channelled water'	hele-hele 'channel for bringing water to bathing place'
ndro 'blood'	ndro-ndro 'food consisting of intestines of pig cooked in blood'
remo 'wooden bar used to repulse weapon'	remo-remo 'wood used to prevent people from passing'

Some nouns are also derived from verbs by means of reduplication. The kinds of things referred to by nouns derived from verbs by reduplication tend to fall into two categories: tools or instruments and, broadly, things resulting from the action of the verb. Some nouns derived from verbs by means of reduplication are listed in (5):

(5) reduplicated nouns derived from verbs

verb	noun
instruments	
bago 'hit randomly'	bago-bago 'instrument for hitting animal'
ra'u 'catch'	ra'u-ra'u 'small net for catching fish'
sulo 'pry off'	sulo-sulo 'knife for cutting off bark'
sou 'scoop'	sou-sou 'scoop'
hare 'support'	hare-hare 'place to put mats in house'
results	
balo 'mend'	balo-balo 'patch'
bu'u 'tie hair in knot'	bu'u-bu'u 'hair knot/bun'

halö 'hold, take'	halöhalö 'equipment, tools'
hede 'call'	hede-hede 'words, talk'
ila 'know'	ila-ila 'sign' (e.g. of someone's behaviour')
khoi 'scratch'	khoi-khoi 'straight line'
sahe 'continue, extend'	sahe-sahe 'link, connecting thing'
sölö 'mend'	sölö-sölö 'repairs'
taha 'hold up, hinder'	taha-taha 'hindrance'
tögi 'dig hole'	tögi-tögi 'small hole dug for latrine'

The derivation of nouns from verbs may not be productive synchronically perhaps because it could result in confusion, given that reduplication is a productive means of indicating aspectual information in verbs (see 10.3.5).

6.3 Relative clause formation (headless relatives)

The main function of relative clauses in Nias is to include additional information in an NP, usually for the purposes of identification (see 8.4 for discussion of the structure and function of relative clauses). However, a relative clause construction may also be used on its own as an argument of a verb, noun or preposition to refer to people or things characterized by doing the action of the verb or undergoing the action of the verb. Some examples of headless relatives used as arguments in sentences are given below. In example (6), the headless relative *zi=tataro* 'ones who sit', which relativizes the S argument of *tataro* 'sit', functions as the S argument of *warao* 'few':

- (6) Ha warao zi-tataro.
 si=
 only few REL.MUT=sit
 Only a few of them sit. (H) (lit. 'The ones who sit are only a few.')

In (7), two headless relatives occur in a conjoined phrase which is the P argument of the verb *boto-khi* 'explain'. (Note that only the first noun of the P argument in (7) is mutated, as mutation occurs only on the first constituent of an NP.)

A list of some common nouns which have been derived from intransitive verbs by means of a relative clause construction are given in (10):

(10) common nouns which have the form of headless relatives

verb	noun
bihasa 'old'	si=bihasa 'old person'
ahatö 'close'	s=ahatö 'intimate family'
alawa 'high'	s=alawa 'noble person'
m-oloyo 'sail'	s=oloyo 'sailor'
ato 'many people'	s=ato 'public'
aßuyußuyu 'young' (not strong?)	s=aßuyu 'slave'
(cf. also o-mbuyu(mbuyu) 'weak') ⁴	

Nouns derived by means of the relative clause strategy typically refer to people or things that can be characterized by a certain quality which persists over time. Stative verbs are particularly suited to act as stems of these sorts of nouns because they are inherently non-punctual. Transitive verbs, on the other hand, usually refer to events which are punctual, or events conceived of as bounded in time, and do not easily accommodate a sense of persistence in time. In order to function as the base of a noun referring to what may be seen as a constant characteristic of a person, transitive verbs must be 'de-punctualized'. This is achieved with the addition of the prefix *aN-*, which has the syntactic function of detransitivizing a transitive verb and the semantic function of implying that the activity continues for some time. It is rarely used on roots without the concomitant use of another affix to indicate what part of speech the word has, e.g. *m-an-ila* [DYN-aN-know/see] know/see:IMPERFECTIVE', *an-ila-ta* [aN-know/see-NR] 'spirit' (thing seen)⁵. Although it occurs most frequently with transitive verbs, it can

⁴ It seems clear that the forms *s=a-ßuyu* [REL-ST-?] 'slave', *a-ßuyußuyu* [ST-RDP2-?] 'young' and *o-mbuyumbuyu* [HAVE-RDP2-?] 'weak' are both semantically and morphologically related, and presumably derive from a bound root *-buyu*. However, this root does not occur in any of my other data.

⁵ The only uses of *aN-* which occur in my data without another affix are in negated imperative forms such as *böi a-nußö* [NEG.IMPER IPF-fight] 'don't let's fight', where it is clear that *anußö* [aN-sußö] is related to the imperfective intransitive form of the verb, *manußö* 'fight:IPF' [maN-sußö]=[IPF-fight] (see 10.3.2), since the imperative form cannot take a P argument e.g. **böi*

also occur with some intransitive verbs (some examples can be found in the nominal derivations discussed in the following sections). The prefix *aN-* is a stem-forming affix which derives intransitive verb stems that connote imperfectivity. It will be glossed as imperfective (IPF). A list of some nouns derived from transitive verbs which have been de-punctualized with *aN-* is given in (11):

(11) **headless relatives formed from depunctualized transitive verbs**

verb	noun
maβa 'sell'	s=a-maβa 'shopkeeper'
tagu 'sew'	s=a-nagu 'sewer'
suβö 'fight'	s=a-nuβö 'fighter'
tagö 'steal'	s=a-nagö 'thief'
sora 'decorate'	s=a-nora 'decorator'
fahö 'carve statues'	s=a-mahö 'carver'

An example of a headless relative derived from the transitive verb *fa-hökha* 'show off, exaggerate' [DO-flirt/exhibit flaunting behaviour], is given in (12). The headless relative functions as the A argument of the verb *waö* 'say'.

- (12) La-waö s=a-ma-hö-mahö-kha⁶ "..."
 s=RDP2-aN-fa-hökha
 3p.RLS-say REL-IPF-DO-RDP2-flirt
 Those who always exaggerate said '...'

Nouns derived from depunctualized transitive verbs may be accompanied by arguments that would take P function in simple transitive sentences. These arguments are unmutated in headless relatives, as illustrated in (13), where the words *omo* 'house'

anuβö ira 'don't fight them'. If one wants to add an argument referring to whom it is one is fighting against, one must add a dative phrase such as *khö-ra* [DAT-3p.POSS] 'with them', e.g., *böi anuβö khö-ra* 'don't fight with them'.

⁶ The use of reduplication in this verb implies that the person does the action of the verb all the time. Note that the reduplication strategy operates on the first two syllables of *fa-hökha* after the addition of the imperfective prefix *aN-*, since the initial consonant is /m/ in both instances, i.e. *aN-* + *fa-hökha* => *amahökha*, *s=* + *amahökha* => *s=a-maho-maho-kha* (see 10.3.5).

and *ö* 'food' are the P arguments of nouns derived from the verbs *bözini* 'sweep' and *rino* 'boil' respectively:

- (13) S-a-mözini omo, s=o-ndrino ö-da,
 s=aN-bözini s=aN-rino
 REL-IPF-sweep house REL=DTR-boil food-1pi.POSS
 s=o-ndroro-gö, nda-alaße.
 s=aN-roro ira-
 REL=IPF-follow-TR COLL.MUT-female

Women are the ones who clean the house, cook our food, look after (the children). (H) (lit. 'Women are the ones who sweep the house, the ones who cook our food, the ones who cause (children) to follow')

Although a habitual or generic meaning is applicable to headless relatives derived from transitive verbs in many cases, it does not mean that the derived noun cannot refer to one specific instance of the activity described by the verb. In the following sentence the P argument refers to a specific object which is the result of a specific action:

- (14) S=a-mahö adu hö'ö Nama Dali
 s=aN-fahö ama
 REL=IPF-carve statue that Ama:MUT Dali

Ama Dali is the person who carved that statue.

The implication contained in (14), however, is that Ama Dali carves many statues, and this is just one of them. Sometimes it is inappropriate to depunctualize a transitive verb. This is especially the case in questions, where the requested information requires identification of a participant involved in one specific action. Questions are typically presented in cleft constructions, in which the question word is the predicate and a headless relative is argument (see 9.2.1). An example of a headless relative referring to one specific event is given in (14). Note, once again, that the P argument is unmutated.

- (15) Hata zi=be'e khö-u kefe hö'ö?
 si=
 who REL.MUT=give DAT-2s.POSS money DIST
 Who gave you that money?

There are a number of very common nouns which have the form of headless relatives whose stem does not appear to be a verb synchronically. The stem is either a noun, a bound root or a form which has the morphophonological shape of a verb but which is not used as verb. These forms are listed in (16):

(16) common nouns with the shape of a headless relative

noun	stem
si'ulu 'village leader'	?ulu 'headwaters of river'
si'alaße 'female'	alaße 'female'
simatua 'male'	matua 'male'
si'akhi 'youngest'	akhi 'younger sibling'
si'a'a 'oldest, firstborn'	ka'a 'older sibling'
sibaya 'mother's brothers'	-baya 'touch' (cf. Baßaya 'touch')

Headless relatives occur most frequently as arguments or predicates in nominal clauses, and further examples can be found in Chapter 9.

6.4 Prefixes: overview

As mentioned above, prefixes derive abstract nouns referring to states, processes, acts of vb-ing, actions and manner of action, as well as concrete nouns referring to instruments. Prefixes do not derive nouns referring to places or to things resulting from actions, which is the domain of suffixal derivation (see below). There are five prefixes which are used to derive nouns, which are all allomorphs of one morpheme. The prefixes that are used to derive nouns and the kinds of stems with which they occur are the following:

- 6.4.1 fa- vowel-initial stative intransitive verbs
 6.4.2 fa'a- consonant-initial stative intransitive verbs
 6.4.3 f- vowel-initial stems of dynamic verbs
 6.4.4 fe- consonant-initial dynamic verbs except *möi* 'go' and *so* 'arrive'
 6.4.5 fe'a- *möi* 'go', *so* 'arrive'

Note that a prefix of the form *f(V)-* (instantiated as *fa-*, *f-* and *fe-*) also derives causative verbs (see 5.1.2.1). In many cases, words with the same form may be used either as nouns or as causative verbs. It is unclear at this stage how (or if) the causative function of these prefixes and the nominalizing function are related in Nias⁷.

6.4.1 *fa-*

The prefix *fa-* occurs productively with vowel-initial stative verbs to derive nouns which have abstract meaning. A list of some nouns derived in this way is given in (17):

(17) nouns derived from vowel-initial stative verbs

stative verb	noun
abe'e 'strong'	fa-abe'e 'strength'
a-be'ebe'e 'thick'	fa-abe'ebe'e 'thickness'
a-dogodogo 'short'	fa-alogodogo 'shortness, lowness'
ahatö 'close'	fa-ahatö 'proximity'
ahori 'finished'	fa-ahori 'nothing left'
aila 'shy, ashamed, embarrassed'	fa-aila 'embarrassment, shyness, shame'
alawa 'tall, high'	fa-alawa 'height'
alögölögö 'dark'	fa-alögölögö 'darkness'
ami 'tasty, sweet'	fa-ami 'nice taste'
ami 'tasty, sweet'	fa-ami 'tastiness, sweetness'
amu'i 'naughty'	fa-amu'i 'naughtiness'
anau 'long' (space)	fa-anau 'length'
ara 'take a long time'	fa-ara 'length of time'
aröu 'far away'	fa-aröu 'distance'
aßakha 'deep'	fa'aßakha 'depth'

⁷ Given that Philippine languages such as Tagalog and Cebuano have a causative morpheme *pa-* and a nominalizing morpheme *pag-*, it is likely that the homophony in Nias is just coincidental.

aβujuβuju 'young'	fa-aβuyu 'immaturity' (plant)
ato 'bmany people'	fa-ato 'multitude' (of people)
a-tuatumua 'wise'	fa-atuatumua 'wisdom; science'
atulö 'true, correct'	fa-atulö 'honesty'
aukhu 'hot'	fa-aukhu 'heat'
auri 'alive'	fa-auri 'life'
azi'azi 'salty'	fa-azi'azi 'saltiness'
ide'ide 'small'	fa-ide'ide 'smallness'
ebua 'big'	fa-ebua 'size'
olofo 'hungry'	fa-olofo 'hunger'
omasu 'like'	fa-omasu 'love'
oya 'much, many' (things')	fa-oya 'multitude' (of things)

Some examples of these nouns are given below. In (18), the noun *va-aukhu* 'heat' is the P argument of the verb *raso-i* 'feel':

- (18) U-raso-i va-aukhu.
 fa-
 1s.RLS-feel-TR NR.MUT-hot
 I feel hot.

If the referent of the S argument of the intransitive verb stem is mentioned, it is expressed as a possessive suffix on the noun or as a mutated NP following the noun. For example in (19), the noun *va-auri* 'life'⁸ is suffixed with the first singular pronominal form *-gu*, which refers to the same entity as the first singular pronoun *ndrao* in the intransitive clause *auri ndrao* 'I am alive':

- (19) Götö va-auri-gu, oya nono mbanua
 fa- ono banua
 during NR.MUT-ST:alive-1s.POSS many child:MUT village:MUT

⁸ I have two forms for the word meaning 'life(time)', *fa-auri*, as exemplified in (19) above, and *auri-fa*, exemplified in (94) further on. At this stage I cannot distinguish any difference in their meanings.

si=mofanö	ba	mbanua	ha'a ...
		banua	
REL=leave	LOC	village	PROX

During my lifetime, many villagers have left this village ... (lit. During my lifetime, the children of the village who (have) left from this village are many.)

Similarly in (20) below, the derived noun *va-olofa* 'hunger', which functions as the argument of the preposition *balazi* 'on account of', carries the third singular pronominal suffix *-nia*. The referent of this suffix corresponds to the referent of the S argument of the intransitive construction *o-lofo ya* [HAVE-hunger 3s.MUT] 'he is hungry'.

(20)	Balazi	va-o-lofo-nia	i-a
		fa-	
	on.account of	NR.MUT-HAVE-hunger-3s.POSS	3s.RLS-eat
	gae	s=ataha	
	gae		
	banana:MUT	REL=ST:raw	

He was so hungry that he ate a raw banana. (lit. 'On account of his hunger, he ate a raw banana.)

Antonyms of nouns derived from stative verbs may be constructed from negated forms of verbs, e.g. *fa-löna sökhi* [NR-NEG good] 'badness'; *fa-löna afakha* [NR-NEG deep] 'shallowness'. These forms are treated by the syntax as single syntactic units, since they may occur with possessive suffixes referring to entities which would be expressed as mutated forms in the corresponding simple intransitive clauses. For example *fa-löna sökhi-nia* [NR-NEG good-3s.POSS] 'her not nice-ness, her nastiness' contains the third singular suffix *-nia*, which refers to the same person as the mutated pronoun *ya* in *löna sökhi ya* [NEG good 3s.MUT] 'she is not nice'. *Fa-* may also occur with *löna* in its negative existential meaning, e.g. *fa-löna ösi* [NR-NEG contents] 'emptiness'. The noun which follows *löna* is unmutated, as expected of nouns following the negative

existential marker. Another example is given in (21), where the clause *löna kefe* 'there is no money' is nominalized by *fa-*. The derived nominal is used as a kind of adverbial in this sentence, to provide an explanation for the action:

- (21) Fa-löna kefe, löna möi ya ba sekola.
 NR-NEG money NEG go 3s.MUT LOC school

Not having any money, she didn't go to school.

Because the noun in these constructions is unmutated, it would appear that *fa-* is affixed to a clause rather than just the verb, unless it can be claimed that it is an idiosyncratic grammatical feature of nouns derived from negative existential constructions that the argument of the verb retain its unmutated status. Normally one would expect a noun which is the S argument of a verb to occur in mutated form⁹.

Typically words for emotions and certain mental states are derived from the affixation of *fa-* to a stative verb in the composite structure consisting of the mental state verb and the noun *dödö* 'liver'. Some nouns derived in this way are listed in (22):

⁹ It's possible that *fa-* is a clitic or a particle and not a prefix. Apart from the fact that *fa-* precedes the negator in negative stative clauses and appears to precede a clause rather than just a verb in negative existential clauses, there is one common nominal form derived with *fa-* in which *fa-* precedes the particle *ha* 'only'. This nominal is *fa ha sara dödö* 'unity', which is a very important cultural concept for all Nias people and is a frequent topic of conversation. It is illustrated in the following sentence:

- (i) löna fa-ha-sara-dödö ba mbanua ande,
 NEG NR-only-one-liver:MUT LOC banua village:MUT DIST.
 ha fa-soso-soso-ta
 only DYN-RDP2-angry-NR
 There is no unity in that village, only fighting all the time.

If *ha sara dödö* is a clause consisting of a verb, *sara* 'one', preceded by a particle *ha* 'only' and followed by an S argument *dödö* 'liver:MUT', then the form *fa* attaches to a preverbal particle. If *ha sara dödö* is a numeral phrase, then *fa* is attached to the pre-head particle. Unless *ha* is analysed as a verb, then *fa* cannot be seen to attach to the same part of speech in every instance, i.e. it is not displaying characteristics of a prefix but of a clitic or particle. It is, however, difficult to know what its function or meaning could have been at an earlier stage of the language before it became a nominalizer. For the present time, I will continue to refer to *fa-* as a prefix, even though it may occur with non-verbal constituents in some cases.

(22) nouns derived from mental state verbs + *dödö* 'liver'

verb	noun
abu <i>dödö</i> 'sad, worried'	fa-abu <i>dödö</i> 'sadness'
afatö <i>dödö</i> 'be disappointed'	fa-afatö <i>dödö</i> 'disappointment'
ahöli <i>dödö</i> 'be surprised'	fa-ahöli <i>dödö</i> 'surprise'
ebolo <i>dödö</i> 'patient'	fa-ebolo <i>dödö</i> 'patience'
omuso <i>dödö</i> 'happy'	fa-omuso <i>dödö</i> 'happiness'

An example of the noun *fa-afatö dödö* 'disappointment' is given in (23), where it is the S argument of the stative verb *to-ele* 'be visible'. In these cases, the possessive suffix on *dödö* occurs in simple intransitive forms of the verb as well (e.g. *a-fatö dödö-nia* [ST-break liver:MUT-3s.POSS] 'he was disappointed':

(23)	To-ele	va-a-fatö	dödö-nia.
		fa-	tödö
	RES-visible	NR.MUT-ST-break	liver.MUT-3s.POSS

His disappointment was evident.

An example of the derived noun *va-ebolo dödö* 'patience' is given in (24). It occurs with a mutated NP *nama-gu* 'my father' expressing the possessor:

(24)	Ahöli	dödö-gu	va-ebolo	dödö	nama-gu.
		tödö	fa-	tödö	ama
	surprised	liver:MUT-1s.POSS	MUT.NR-wide	liver:MUT	father:MUT-1s.POSS

My father's patience surprised me.

Evidence that these derivations are treated as single syntactic units can be found in examples in which the derived noun is modified by a relative clause. This is illustrated in (25), in which the derived noun is followed by the relative clause *s-abölöbölö* 'very heavy, intense'. Note that semantically this relative clause modifies the concept *va-abu dödö* 'sadness' and not just the noun *dödö* 'liver'.

- (25) Ba va-abu dödö s-a-bölö-bölö so ya.
 fa- tödö
 LOC NR.MUT-sad liver:MUT REL.ST-RDP2-heavy EXIST 3s.MUT
 She was extremely upset. [lit. In very great sadness she existed.]

6.4.2 *fa'a-*

The prefix *fa'a-* derives abstract nouns from the small number of consonant-initial intransitive verbs (see 5.1.1.2.1), and two quantificational words, *fefu* 'most, all' and *sambua* [one-CLF.MUT] 'one'. A list of nouns derived with *fa'a-* is given in (26):

(26) nouns derived from consonant-initial stative verbs with *fa'a-*

verb	noun
mate 'die'	fa'a-mate 'death'
so 'arrive'	fa'a-so 'arrival'
sökhi 'good'	fa'a-sökhi 'kindness, goodness'
tola 'get better'	fa'a-tola 'the process of getting better'
tumbu 'be born'	fa'a-tumbu 'birth'
fefu 'most, all'	fa'a-fefu 'totality'
sambua 'one'	fa'a-sambua 'unity'

Some sentences exemplifying verbs derived with *fa'a-* are given below. In (27), the noun *fa'a-mate* 'death' is the 'instrument' or 'cause' argument of the verb *göna* 'be struck by':

- (27) Göna ira fa'a-mate.
 be.struck 3p.MUT NR-die

They are suffering from a death. (lit. They have been struck by a death.)

Like nouns derived with *fa-*, nouns derived with *fa'a-* may occur with possessor arguments which correspond to the S argument of the simple intransitive verb stem. In (28) for example, the mutated noun *gamuata-nia* 'his behaviour' corresponds to the S

argument of the verb *sökhi* 'good' in the intransitive clause *sökhi gamuata-nia* 'his behaviour was good':

- | | | | |
|------|---------|-------------|-----------------------|
| (28) | Börö | va'a-sökhi | ga-mua-ta-nia, ... |
| | | fa'a- | aN-bua-ta |
| | because | NR.MUT-good | IPF.MUT-do-NR-3s.POSS |

Because his behaviour was good. ... (lit. because of the goodness of his behaviour)

In (29), the noun *va'a-toroi* 'stay' is the argument of the preposition *götö* 'during'. The noun is suffixed with a first singular pronominal form, which corresponds to the first singular mutated pronoun that functions as the S argument of the intransitive clause *toroi ndrao ba Jakarta* [stay 1s.MUT LOC Jakarta] 'I stayed in Jakarta'.

- | | | | |
|------|--------|---------------------|-----------------|
| (29) | Götö | va'a-toroi-gu | ba Jakarta, ... |
| | | fa'a- | |
| | during | NR.MUT-stay-1s.POSS | LOC Jakarta |

During my stay in Jakarta, ...

The noun *fa'a-tohare* 'arrival' is illustrated in (30), where it functions adverbially:

- | | | | |
|------|----------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| (30) | Fa'a-tohare | ndra-Ere | noma'e, |
| | | ira- | |
| | NR-arrive | COLL.MUT-priest | RECOG |
| | la-tema | faoma | oßasa s=e-bua |
| | 3p.RLS-receive | with | oßasa.feast REL=ST-big |

Once the priest had arrived, they honoured him with a grand *oßasa* celebration. (lit. The arrival of the priest that I know you know, they received (him) with a big *oßasa* (feast).) (H)

The nominalized form of the verb *so* 'arrive' is illustrated in (31), where it is the argument of the preposition *föna* 'before'.

m-ondri 'bathe'	f-ondri 'act of taking a bath/ wash'
o-fökhö 'be ill'	f-ofökhö 'state of being sick'
mo-ana'a 'HAVE gold'	f-o-ana'a 'state of having (a lot of) gold'
mo-βua 'HAVE fruit'	f-o-βua 'state of having fruit'
mo-loyo [DYN-sail] 'sail'	f-o-loyo 'action of setting sail'
mo-li [DYN-noise] 'make noise'	f-o-li 'action of making noise'
mo-elemu [DYN-magic] 'practise magic'	f-o-'elemu 'means of doing magic' OR 'instrument for doing magic'

Some sentences illustrating nouns derived with *f-* are given below. In (33), the derived noun is the P argument of the verb *base-'ö* 'wait for':

- (33) Da-mbase'ö v-o-βua.
 -base-'ö f-o-bua
 1pi.IRR-IRR:wait-TR NR.MUT-HAVE-fruit:LEN-3s.POSS
 We will wait (for it) to fruit. (/We will await its fruiting.)

In (34), the noun *f-ondri* 'act of taking a bath' is the argument of the preposition *sa-ndrohu* [one-moment] 'while (time); all along (space)'. The noun is marked with a possessive suffix *-gu* which refers to the same entity as the S argument of the verb *mondri* in the simple intransitive clause *ma mondri ndrao* [PERF bathe 1s.MUT] 'I have bathed':

- (34) Ogoro ndrao na la-faigi-faigi
 abhor 1s.MUT if 3p.RLS-RDP2-see
 sa-ndrohu f-ondri-gu
 one-period.of.time NR-bath-1s.POSS

I hate it when people watch while I'm taking a bath. (lit. I hate if they watch during my bathing.)

A list of some transitive verbs and the nouns which are derived from them is given in (35) below, grouped according to whether they refer to actions or instruments. Because the derived nouns refer to events which continue for some time or objects which are 'time-stable' (Givon 1984), transitive verbs which are nominalized with *f-* must occur in imperfective form, i.e. prefixed with *aN-*:

(35) nouns derived with *f-* from imperfective forms of transitive verbs

actions

transitive verb	noun
atulö-'ö [correct-TR] 'make correct'	f-an-atulö-'ö 'reconciliation
be li [give word:MUT] 'propose'	f-a-me li 'tentative proposal of marriage
be nafo [give betel:MUT] 'offer betel'	f-a-me afo 'action of offering betel nut
bunu 'kill'	f-a-munu 'action of killing
fa-sindo [CAU-stand] 'stand sth up'	f-a-masindo 'action of standing
fa-kiko [DO-ruin] 'destroy'	f-a-makiko 'destruction'
faosa 'divide up'	f-a-maosa 'action of dividing up
faoso 'raise'	f-a-maoso 'action of raising
farö 'render down to oil'	f-a-marö 'action of cooking coconut milk to become oil'
fazökhi 'build, fix'	f-a-mazökhi 'action of building / fixing
fo-ndo-ndono [DO-RDP1-hear] 'listen'	f-a-mo-ndono 'action of listening
ra'u 'catch'	f-o-nda'u 'action of capturing
sura 'write'	f-a-nura 'action of writing' OR 'thing used for writing'
sulö-ni [revenge-TR] 'take revenge on'	f-a-nulö-ni 'revenge
suvö 'fight'	f-a-nuvö 'war / fighting
tagö 'steal'	f-a-nagö 'action of stealing
tanö 'plant'	f-a-nanö 'action of planting', OR 'manner of planting'
tema li [receive word] 'answer'	f-a-nema li 'answer'
tolo 'help'	f-a-nolo 'action of helping

instruments

transitive verb	noun
dekha 'roll'	f-o-ndrekha 'stone for rubbing chilli on' OR 'way of rubbing chilli'
fa-hola [DO-flame] 'light'	f-a-mahola 'thing used to fan flames' (e.g. petrol)
ra'a 'cut small things'	f-o-nda'a 'knife for cutting up small things'
rino 'boil'	f-o-ndino 'instrument used for cooking'
ruru 'clean out stomach'	f-o-nduru 'laxative'
törö dödö [go liver:MUT] 'remember'	f-a-nörö tödö 'memory, souvenir'

As the list shows, the stem may be simple or derived, and may occur with a fixed P argument. Note, however, that in the nominalized form of the verb, P arguments are unmutated, as illustrated, for example by *afo* 'betel' in *fa-me afo* 'offering of betel' (cf. *be nafo* 'offer betel'). Some of these nouns are illustrated below. In (36), the noun derived from *sußö* 'fight' is the S argument of *alua* 'happen':

(36)	Si=mane	lala	ba	alua	v-a-nußö.
					f-aN-sußö
	REL=do.like.that	way	CNJ	happen	NR.MUT-IPF-fight

That is the way the war happened.

In (37) below, the derived noun is the 'possessor' argument of the noun *mbößö* 'village law'. Note that the derived noun occurs with an unmutated noun *omo* 'house', which corresponds to the P argument of a simple transitive use of the verb stem *fazökhi* 'build' (given in brackets after the translation):

(37)	...la-waö	mbößö	v-a-mazökhi	omo.
		bößö	f-aN-fazökhi	omo
	...3p.RLS-say	village.law:MUT	NR.MUT-IPF-build	house

...they stated the law (regarding the cost) of building the house. (cf. *la-fazökhi nomo* [3p.RLS-build house:MUT] 'They built a house.')

In both (38) and (39) below also, the derived nouns occur with unmutated arguments which correspond to the P arguments of simple transitive forms of the verb stems (given in brackets after translations).

(38) I-be gölö-nia v-a-nolo ya'o.

 ölö f-aN-tolo

3s.RLS-give toil:MUT¹⁰-3s.POSS NR.MUT-IPF-help 1s

He gave his income to help me. (cf. *I-tolo ndrao* [3s.RLS-help 1s.MUT] 'He helped me')

(39) Löna sökhi v-a-nagu baru-nia ande.

 f-aN-tagu

NEG good NR.MUT-IPF-sew shirt-3s.POSS DIST

The way you sewed that shirt of his is not very good. (D) (*ö-tagu mbaru-nia* [2s.RLS-sew shirt:MUT-3s.POSS] 'You sewed his shirt')

If the referent of the A argument of the transitive verb which is the stem of the derived noun is also mentioned in the construction, it is expressed as a possessive suffix on the noun or as a mutated NP immediately after the noun. This is illustrated in (40), in which the derived noun is the P argument of the verb *faigi* 'see'.

(40) La-faigi v-a-m-aoso-ra.

 f-aN-f-aoso

3p.RLS-see NR.MUT-IPF-CAU-get.up-3p.POSS

They watched them raise (it).

The third plural suffix *-ra* refers to people who were raising a very large pillar, and corresponds to the third plural A argument, *la-*, in the simple transitive construction: *la-f-aoso gehomo* [3p.RLS-CAU-get.up pillar:MUT] 'They raised the pillar'.

¹⁰ The word *ölö* means 'toil, effort' (especially wearisome effort). It is used in Nias also to refer to 'income' and 'profit'.

6.4.4 *fe-*

The prefix *fe-* occurs with dynamic intransitive and transitive verb stems typically to derive nouns referring to acts, but in some instances also instruments or manner of action. Derivation of nouns by means of *fe-* does not appear to be productive. Some nouns which are derived with *fe-* from verbs are listed in (41):

(41) nouns derived with *fe-*

	verb	noun
Vtr	a 'eat'	fe-a 'the (act of) eating'
	bötö-si [hurt-TR] 'hurt'	fe-bötö-si 'anything you hurt people with'
	hede 'call'	fe-hede 'words'
	halö 'take'	fe-halö 'the (act of) taking'
	unu-gö [soak-TR] 'soak'	fe-unu-gö '(act of) soaking' OR 'manner of immersion'
Vintr	bahö 'cough'	fe-bahö 'the (act of) coughing'
	m-alu 'hunt'	fe-alu 'the (act of) hunting'
	mambu 'forge metal'	fe-ambu 'the (act of) forging metal'
	miḑo 'crow'	fe-miḑo 'the (act of) crowing'
	mörö 'sleep'	fe-mörö 'the (act of) sleeping'

Examples of nouns derived with *fe-* are given below. In (42) the noun is derived from the intransitive verb *mörö* 'sleep', and functions as the S argument of the verb *ahono* 'calm':

(42) Lōna a-hono ve-mörö-nia.
 fe-
 NEG ST-calm NR.MUT-sleep-3s.POSS
 Her sleep was not restful. (D)

In (43), the noun is derived from the verb *a* 'eat', and functions as the P argument of the verb *oya-’ö* 'make P be much':

- (43) Oya-'ö ve-a=e.
 fe-
 much-TR NR.MUT-eat=D.PTCL
 Eat plenty, won't you. (lit. make your eating a lot, eh?)

In (44), the derived noun *ve-ambu* 'the forging' and its argument *tefaö* 'iron' occur as the argument of the preposition *ba* 'for':

- (44) Möi ya ba mbanua hö'ö ba ve-ambu tefaö
 banua fe-
 go 3s.MUT LOC village:MUT DIST LOC NR.MUT-forge iron
 He goes to that village to work iron. (or, 'He goes to that village for forging iron')

It is unclear at this stage what the difference is between *fe-* and *f-*. Both forms occur with vowel-initial stem: *f-e'e* 'the act of crying', from *-e'e* 'cry'; *fe-ambu* 'the act of forging', from *-ambu* 'forge'¹¹. As a causative prefix, *fe-* indicates that the action is done by the referent of the A argument and not by an intermediary (see 5.1.2.1.3). There is no strong evidence that any sense of personal involvement applies in its function as a nominalizer.

6.4.5 *fe'a-*

The form *fe'a-* occurs with just two verbs: *möi* 'go' and *so* 'arrive'. Examples of the nouns derived from these verbs are given below. In (45), the derived noun is the stimulus of the verb *omasi* 'like':

¹¹ It is possible that there is some phonological principle at work: *fe-* only occurs with roots which begin with /a/; *f-* never occurs with these roots.

- (45) Omasi ndao ve'a-möi ba fasa.
 fe'a-
 like 1s.MUT NR.MUT-go LOC market
 I like going to the market.¹²

Another example is given in (46), where the noun *ve'a-möi* is in a possessive construction with the noun *lala* 'way'. The derived noun *vanalui* 'the looking for' also occurs in this sentence, as the head of the complement of the mental state verb *abu dödö* 'sad':

- (46) Abu dödö-nia v-an-alu-i lala ve'a-möi
 tödö f-aN-alu-i fe'a-
 sad liver:MUT-3s.POSS NR.MUT-IPF-hunt-TR way NR.MUT-go
 ba göfa.
 köfa
 LOC ship:MUT

He was anxious to find a way to get to the ship. (lit. 'His liver was sad about the looking for a way of (the) going to the ship.')

In (47), the derived noun *fe'a-so* 'arrival' is the argument of the locative preposition *ba* 'in'. Note that the possessive suffix on the derived noun has the same referent as the S argument of a simple intransitive construction with *so* (e.g. *ga so ndrao* [here arrive 1s.MUT] 'I came here'):

- (47) Mi-bologö dödö-mi me u-f-akao manö
 tödö
 2p.RLS-cover-TR liver:MUT-2p.POSS when 1s.RLS-CAU-difficult just

¹² Note that *fe'a-* could really be said to attach to the clause segment *möi ba fasa* [go LOC market] 'go to market' rather than simply attaching just to the verb *möi* 'go'. Thus *fe'a-* is similar to *fa-* in this clitic-like property (see footnote 9 above).

ba ve'a-so-gu ande
 fe'a-
LOC NR.MUT-arrive-1s.POSS DIST

Please excuse me for bothering you by arriving unexpectedly. (lit. Cover your livers since I caused (you) difficulty in that arrival of mine.) (D)

Another example of this derived form is given in (48), in which the derived noun occurs with a possessive suffix referring to the same participants who would be referred to by the third plural S argument of the simple intransitive clause *ma so ira* [PERF arrive 3p.MUT] 'they have arrived'.

- (48) A-radö ma'efu ve'a-so-ra.
 ST-drag.out a.bit NR.MUT-arrive-3p.POSS
 They came a bit late. (lit. 'Their arrival was a bit protracted.')

It is not clear what the difference is between *fe'a-so* and *fa'a-so*, which was illustrated in example (31) above, repeated below for convenience:

- (31) ...böbö si=ma=la-honogö-i föna va'a-so agama...
 fa'a-
village.law REL=PERF=3p.RLS-settle-TR in.front NR.MUT-arrive religion
...the village law that was settled before the coming of religious doctrine...

Unlike the verb *so* 'arrive', the verb *möi* 'go' does not have an alternative form with *fa'a-*; the nominalized form of *möi* 'go' is always *fe'a-möi*.

6.4.6 Participial functions of nouns derived with *f(V)-*

Nouns derived with the prefixes which begin with the formative *f-* frequently function in roles which 'present' participles (or gerunds) play in languages that have them, i.e. as nominal constituents derived from verbs, which function as arguments and which may

- (52) I-bato-'ö v-an-ofulo-i sulo.
 f-aN-ofulo
 3s.RLS-stop-TR NR.MUT-IPF-gathered-TR dead.coconut.branch
 He stopped collecting the dead branches. (cf. *i-ofuloi zulo* [3s.RLS-collect dead branch:MUT] 'He collected the dead branches')
- (53) I-tandaigö v-o-ndöli sao..
 f-aN-döli
 3s.RLS-try NR.MUT-IPF-pull anchor
 He tried to pull in the anchor. (cf. *i-döli zao* [3s.RLS-draw anchor:MUT] 'He pulled in the anchor')
- (54) I-forege v-a-me kefe
 f-aN-be
 3s.RLS-make.effort NR.MUT-IPF-give money
 khö numönö-nia.
 umönö
 DAT son.in-law:MUT-3s.POSS
 He insisted on giving money to his son-in-law. (cf. *i-be gefe khö-nia* [1s.RLS-give money:MUT DAT-3s.POSS] 'He gave money to him')
- (55) Löna u-ila v-a-nema li.
 f-aN-tema
 NEG 1s.RLS-know NR.MUT-IPF-receive word:MUT
 I don't know how to answer. (cf. *u-tema li-nia* [1s.RLS-receive voice:MUT-1s.POSS] 'I answered him', lit. 'I received his voice')
- (56) Omasi ndao v-a-nura sura.
 f-aN-sura
 want me NR.MUT-IPF-write letter
 I want to write a letter. (cf. *u-sura zura* [1s.RLS-write letter:MUT] 'I wrote a letter')

sonorants -wa -la -a

These suffixes derive nouns which can be roughly categorized into the following types:

- (i) places / times at which vb-ing happens or is done (e.g. *a-tumbu-kha* 'east' from *tumbu* 'born; grow', *a-khömi-ta* 'time of no moon' from *-o-gömi-gömi* 'at time of no moon')
- (ii) things that vb or are vb-ed (e.g. *oroi-sa* 'message' from *m-oroi* 'come from'; *ondröi-ta* 'inheritance' from *röi* 'leave behind')
- (iii) act of vb-ing (the vb-ing) (e.g. *amili-ta* 'election' from *fili* 'choose')
- (iv) result of vb-ing (*anunu-a* 'cremation' from *tunu* 'burn')

As some of the examples in this list show, if the stem of a noun derived with one of the *-(C)a* suffixes is transitive, it must occur in imperfective form, i.e. with the prefix *aN-*. For example *ondröita* 'inheritance' is derived from *aN-röi-ta* [IPF-leave.behind-NR]; *amilita* 'election' consists of the morphemes *aN-fili-ta* [IPF-choose-NR]. In some derivations a prothetic *a-* occurs on intransitive stems, the provenance of which is not yet identified (e.g. *a-tumbu-kha* [?-born-NR] 'east'). Many nouns appear to fit more than one category and many others don't fit these categories well. Examples of nouns derived with these suffixes will be given below. There is some evidence (discussed in 6.6 below) that the numerous initial consonants that the suffix *-(C)a* now has were earlier more restricted, and that they derive from just three suffixes:

- sa*, which occurred with stems containing verbs derived with *fa-*,
- ta*, which was suffixed to vowel-final stems,
- and -*a*, which was suffixed to consonant-final stems.

The consonants which appear on the suffixes synchronically are presumably the relicts of earlier word-final consonants.

Suffixes of the shape $-(C)\ddot{o}$ are listed in (60):

(60) suffixes of the shape $-(C)\ddot{o}$

stops		-tö
fricatives	-fö	-sö
nasals	-mö	

These suffixes are also seemingly derived from two basic forms: $-t\ddot{o}$, which attached to vowel-final stems, and $-ö$, which attached to consonant-final stems. They derive nouns which can be categorized, roughly, as entities which would be referred to by the P argument of transitive verb stems (e.g. *βαβaya-sö* 'cooked thing' from *βαβaya* 'cook'), or as things that await the action of the verb (e.g. *basi-tö* 'field ready for harvesting, from *basi* 'harvest'). These suffixes are discussed in section 6.5.2 below.

The suffixes will be discussed individually below. Only the suffixes $-ta$ and $-t\ddot{o}$ appear to occur with stems other than verbs.

6.5.1 $-(C)a$ suffixes

The suffixes of the shape $-(C)a$ will be discussed in order of frequency of occurrence, except for $-sa$, which is used in special ways and will be discussed first. The order of frequency of occurrence of these suffixes in my data is: $-ta$, $-la$, $-wa$, $-a$, $-kha$, $-ma$, $-na$ and $-fa$.

6.5.1.1 $-sa$

The use of the suffix $-sa$ appears to be governed principally by morphology. This suffix is used to nominalize almost all verbs derived with dynamic $fa-$ (but note that some are nominalized by $-ta$, see list (57) below; see 5.1.1.5 for dynamic $fa-$). The resulting nouns are either abstract, or refer to verbal or physical acts. Almost all of the

meanings can be paraphrased as 'the vb-ing', so it is not clear that any distinctions need to be made. Nevertheless, for the sake of analysis, these verbs and the nouns derived from them are listed in the three categories 'abstract', 'speech event' and 'physical event' in (61)-(63):

(61) abstract nouns derived from dynamic *fa*- verbs with *-sa*

verb	noun
fa-aefa 'set free'	faefa-sa 'separation(people)'
fa-bö'ö 'different'	fa-bö'ö-sa 'difference'
fa-gölö 'same'	fa-gölö-sa 'similarity' (cf. <i>fa-gölö-gölö</i> [NR-RDP2-same] 'sameness')
fa-huβu 'make friends'	fa-huβu-sa 'friendship'
fa-limo 'deceive'	fa-limo-sa 'deception'
fa-manö 'do talking'	fa-manö-sa 'commission'
fa-ohi 'wanting to go with'	fa-ohi-sa 'the desire to accompany'
fa-sala 'make error'	fa-sala-sa 'fault'
fa-tiu dödö 'hostile'	fa-tiu-sa dödö 'hostility'
fa-udu 'quarrel'	fa-udu-sa 'enmity'

(62) nouns referring to speech events, derived from dynamic *fa*- verbs with *-sa*

verb	noun
fa-höβö 'mock'	fa-höβö-sa 'mockery'
fa-lele 'abuse'	fa-lele-sa 'swear word'
fa-manömanö 'chat'	fa-manömanö-sa 'conversation'
m-oroi 'come from'	oroi-sa 'message'

(63) nouns referring to physical acts or actions, derived from dynamic *fa*-verbs with *-sa*

verb	noun
fa-bago 'fight'	fa-bago-sa 'fight'
fa-bali 'separate'	fa-bali-sa 'leave-taking' (cf. <i>fa-bali-wa</i> 'crossroad')
fa-fera 'fish with hands'	fa-fera-sa 'act of fishing just with hands' (cf. <i>fa-fera</i> 'action of fishing with hands')
fa-kawi 'die, dead'	fa-kawi-sa 'death'

fa-khöyö 'play'	fa-khöyö-sa 'play'
fa-lakhi 'meet'	fa-lakhi-sa 'meeting'
fa-lali 'take turns'	fa-lali-sa 'exchange'
fa-soso 'angry'	fa-soso-sa 'dispute' (cf. <i>fa-soso-ta</i> 'quarreling')
fa-βatö 'visit'	fa-βatö-sa 'visit'

The suffix *-sa* has the same kind of function with dynamic verbs as the nominalizer *fa-* has with stative verbs. It could be the case that *-sa* is used with these dynamic verbs instead of *fa-* precisely because the stems are already derived with a verbalizing *fa-*. However, the suffix used to transitive verbs derived with *fa-* also begins with /s/ (e.g. *fa-lakhi-si* [DO-meet-TR] 'meet with'), so this consonant is apparently intimately associated with verbs of this type. Note that where a verb has two possible nominalizations (such as *fa-soso-sa* 'dispute' and *fa-soso-ta* 'quarreling') the form derived with *-sa* refers to an event (or act) rather than an (ongoing) action, i.e., an action which can be seen as completed and perceived of as a countable entity. An example of the noun *fa-sala-sa* 'fault' is given in (64), where it is the P argument of the verb *sekhe-gö* 'ask questions about':

(64)	I- <i>sekhe-gö</i>	va- <i>sala-sa</i>	ba	ni- <i>waö-gu</i> .
		fa-		
	3s.RLS-ask-TR	DO.MUT-wrong-NR	LOC	PASS-say-1s.POSS

He is looking for faults in what I said.

If the referent of the S argument of the stem verb is mentioned, it is expressed as a possessive suffix on the noun or a mutated noun phrase. For example in (65), the third plural possessive suffix *-ra* on the derived noun *fa-bö'ö-sa* 'difference' refers to the same entities referred to by the third plural pronoun *ira* in the simple intransitive sentence *fa-bö'ö ira* [DO-different 3p.MUT] 'they are different'. In this example the derived noun is the predicate of a nominal clause in which *duturu ba ahe* 'fingers and feet' (lit. finger and leg) is the conjoined argument:

- (65) Fa-bö'ö-sa-ra duturu ba ahe
 DO-different-NR-3p.POSS finNR CNJ leg
 Their fingers and legs are different. (lit. 'Their fingers and feet/legs are their difference.')

Another example is given in (66), in which the derived noun is followed by a mutated NP referring to the participants who would be referred to by the S argument of a simple intransitive clause:

- (66) Ha börö va-ohi-sa ndra-ono-nia khö-nia,
 only because DO.MUT-run-NR COLL.MUT-child-3s.POSS DAT-3s.POSS
 ba löna alua möi ya ba fasa
 CNJ NEG happen go 3s.MUT LOC market

Simply because of her children's wanting to go with her, she didn't manage to get to market. (D) (cf. *fa-ohi ndra-ono-nia khö-nia* [DO-run COLL.MUT-child-3s.POSS DAT-3s.POSS] 'Her children wanted to go with her')

6.5.1.2 *-ta*

The suffix *-ta* is the most frequent suffix of the *-(C)a* group. The nouns derived with *-ta* can refer to places or times at which the activity described by the verb happens, to the act of vb-ing or to things which are vb-ed. Some nouns falling into these categories are listed in (67)-(69). Note that, like nouns derived from transitive verbs with *f-*, nouns derived from transitive verbs with *-ta* (and other *-(C)a* suffixes) require that the verb be detransitivized by using the imperfective form, prefixed with *aN-*:

- (67) **nouns derived with *-ta* referring to places ('where/when vb is done/happens')**

verb	noun
aekhu 'fall'	aekhu-ta 'end point, place where sth falls' (cf. aehu-la 'moral sacrifice')

moni 'avoid taboo'	amoni-ta 'sacred place'
dali 'grind'	ondali-ta 'whetstone'
o-gömigömi 'at time of no moon'	
	akhömi-ta 'night without moon'
m-o-lemba 'sticky'	olemba-ta 'notice board'

(68) nouns derived with -ta referring to acts (= 'the vb-ing')

verb	noun
fili 'choose'	amilita 'election'
m-an-ahori 'IPF-finish'	anaho'ri-ta 'end, conclusion' OR 'sth. left till end'
bua 'do sth'	amua-ta 'behaviour'

(69) nouns derived with -ta referring to 'what is vb-ed'

verb	noun
ohe 'carry'	olohe-ta 'burden'
ila 'know, see'	anila-ta 'divine revelation' OR 'spirit'
mo-khö 'possess'	okhö-ta 'property, possessions'
khao 'dig'	ogao-ta 'result of digging'
röi 'leave behind'	ondöi-ta 'inheritance'

Nouns derived from verbs which are already derived with dynamic *fa-* are listed separately in (70) below so that they may be more easily compared with those discussed in the previous section derived with *-sa*.

(70) nouns derived with -ta from verbs derived with dynamic fa-

verb	noun
fa-ambö 'run short of'	fa'ambö-ta 'shortage; lack'
fa-huru 'meet'	fahuru-ta 'confluence'
fa-lau 'collect money for necessities like marriage'	
	amalau-ta 'money collected for needs'
fa-khai 'hook'	amakhai-ta 'family ties/relationships' (cf. <i>fa-khai-sa</i> [DYN-hook-NR] 'connection')
fa-rahu 'tie'	amarahu-ta 'conclusion, tying up loose ends, summary'
fa-soso 'get angry'	fasoso-ta 'quarreling'

Some nouns derived with *-ta* have nouns or parts of speech other than verbs as stems. These are listed in (71). The meanings that the nominalizer has with these forms varies depending on the stem, and no overall meaning is apparent beyond a vague one like 'an instantiation of the notion indicated by the stem' (except for *sao-ta*, 'harbour' which appears to rely on the meaning of 'place where X happens' which is indicated for many nouns derived with suffixes of the shape *-(C)a*).

(71) **nouns derived with *-ta* from parts of speech other than verbs**

stem	derived noun
börö (N) 'base, source'	börö-ta 'origin', ancestor'
sao (N) 'anchor'	sao-ta 'harbour'
furi (Adv) 'behind'	afuri-a-ta 'last'
ande (Dem) 'that'	ande-ta 'the exact one'
root unknown	bake-ta 'large plate for food' (about 3 feet in diameter)

An example of a noun derived with *-ta* is given in (72), where it is the S argument of the resultative state verb *te-kiko* 'ruined':

- (72) Te-kiko go-khö-ta¹³.
 o-khö-ta
 RES-ruin MUT.HAVE-possession-NR

Their property was ruined.

Another noun is illustrated in (73), where it is the P argument of the verb *ila* 'know' and is in a possessive construction with the derived noun *ve-hede* [NR.MUT-call] 'words'.

¹³ The noun *okhöta* 'property, wealth' derives from the root *khö*, which is presumably also the stem of the noun *khökhö* 'possessions' and the verb *mo-khö* 'HAVE possessions' and is, by itself, the dative preposition.

(75) nouns derived with *-la* referring to places

verb	noun
m-ate 'die, dead'	ate-la 'coffin; grave' (cf. <i>amate-la</i> 'corpse') ¹⁴
ta'u 'scoop'	ana'u-la 'place where scoop is kept'

(76) nouns derived with *-la* referring to S arguments ('what vbs')

verb	noun
aekhu 'fall'	aekhu-la 'moral sacrifice' (cf. <i>aekhu-ta</i> 'place where sth falls')
obou 'rotten'	obou-la 'remains of corpse'
tumbu 'born, grow'	atumbu-la 'bud, sprout, embryo' (cf. <i>atumbu-kha</i> 'east')

(77) nouns derived with *-la* referring to P arguments ('what is vb-ed')

verb	noun
be(e) 'give'	ame'e-la 'gift, tribute, church contribution'
bu'a 'repay'	bu'a-la 'gift, present'
boßöi 'do, make'	omboßöi-la 'product OR material sth. is made from' (cf. <i>f-o-mbößöi</i> [NR-IPF-do] 'act, deed')
osisi 'follow'	anosisi-la 'story told without digression' (cf. <i>anosisi-tö</i> 'family line, genealogy')
sofu 'ask'	anofu-la 'point of question'

(78) nouns derived with *-la* referring to (?)results

verb	noun
etu-ö 'decide'	aetu-la 'decision'
akao 'difficult'	akao-la 'suffering' (cf. <i>fa-akao</i> 'state of suffering')
f-aedo [DO-equal] 'parallel'	amaedo-la 'example, parable' (cf. <i>fa-maedo</i> [NR-compare] 'comparison')
fatö 'break off'	amatö-la 'shaving, splinter'

¹⁴ The existence of the two forms *ate-la* 'coffin' and *a-mate-la* 'corpse' suggests that the verb *mate* 'die, dead' may be derived from a root *-ate* with the dynamic formative *m-*. If this were the case, the stem of *amatela* may be an imperfective form of *f-ate*, which would be the transitive (or causative) form of *m-ate*, by analogy with other verbs derived with dynamic *m-* which have transitive forms beginning with *f-*, such as *me'e* 'cry': *fe'e* 'cause to cry', *maoso* 'rise': *faoso* 'raise'.

khö Loβalani.

Loβalani

DAT God:MUT

If we help people, that's our tribute to God. (cf. *Ta-be'e game'ela khö Loβalani*. [1pi.RLS-give IPF-give-NR-1pi.POSS DAT God:MUT] 'We give tribute to God')

Similarly in (81) the participant corresponding to the A argument of a simple transitive form of the stem verb is expressed by a mutated argument *nani* 'wind:MUT'. This sentence takes the form of a nominal clause in which the derived noun *amatöla* 'piece broken off' is the head of the predicate NP and the NP in initial position is the fronted argument:

- | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------------------|----------|
| (81) | Eu | hö'ö | a-matö-la | nani |
| | | | | ani |
| | wood | that | IPF-break.off-NR | wind:MUT |

That (bit of) tree was broken off by the wind. (lit. 'That wood is a piece broken off by the wind) (cf. *i-fatö geu ani* [3s.RLS-break.off tree:MUT wind] 'The wind broke off (a bit of) the tree.')

This is also illustrated in (82), where the mutated noun following the derived noun *anetu-la* 'decision' corresponds to the A argument of the simple transitive form (given in brackets):

- (82) ...si tebai maulö mol-o'ö an-etu-la zi=warawara¹⁷
 aN-etu-la si=
 ...REL can't arrange IPF-follow IPF-decide-NR REL.MUT=(?)many.people

...which can't be arranged according to decisions by the general public. (cf. *La-etu-'ö si-warawara* [3p.RLS-decide-TR REL=?] 'The general public decided (it).')

6.5.1.4 -wa

Nouns derived from *-wa* refer to places, things that are vb-ed, and some other things which are hard to classify:

(83) nouns derived with *-wa* referring to places

verb	noun
törö 'go'	törö-wa 'thing walked on' OR 'experience gone thru'
fa-törö [CAU-go] 'govern'	ama-törö-wa 'area governed and inhabitants'
fa-bali [DO-split] 'split'	fabali-wa 'crossroads' (cf. <i>fa-bali-sa</i> 'leave-taking')
m-olombase 'rest'	olombase-wa 'place to take holiday'

(84) nouns derived with *-wa* referring to P arguments ('what is vb-ed')

verb	noun
balö 'repay'	ombalö-wa 'loan'
öli 'buy'	oßöli-wa 'thing bought' ¹⁸

(85) other nouns derived with *-wa*

verb	noun
fa-döli [DO-drag] 'drag'	a-ma-döli-wa 'source of contention, tug-of-war'

¹⁷ Neither the verb *warawara* nor a root *-wara* occur in any other derivations, so the meaning of it is not clear. The noun *si=warawara*, which has the form of a headless relative, always refers to the public in general, as opposed to leaders or people in authority.

¹⁸ The transitive verb *öli* 'buy' has an imperfective form *m-o-ßöli* which exhibits an initial consonant on the root indicating its cognacy with Indonesian *beli* 'buy' (and Tagalog *bili* 'buy'). Clearly the initial consonant of *ßöli* has been lost from the transitive form.

m-ofanö [DYN-leave] 'leave'	ofanö-wa 'departure'
m-ombanö [DYN-wash hand] 'wash hand(s)'	banö-wa 'water to wash hand with before meal'
tandra 'sign' (N)	tandra-wa 'excuse'

An example of the noun *amatörö-wa* 'government' is given in (86), where it is the predicate of a nominal clause in which the second plural pronoun *ndraga* 'you:pl' is the argument.:

- (86) A-ma-törö-wa-gu ndraga.
 aN-fa-törö
 IPF-CAU-go-NR-1s.POSS 2p.MUT

You are my people. (implies: I can do whatever I want with you) (cf. *u-fa-törö ndraga* [1s.RLS-CAU-go 2p.MUT] 'I make you go (work)')

6.5.1.5 -a

Although it is very likely that the suffix *-a* is of great antiquity (see 6.6 below), it does not occur frequently synchronically. Nouns derived with *-a* which occur in my data are listed in (87)-(88). The nouns can be categorized into two distinct semantic classes: places where vb happens, and things that are gathered together. As can be seen, *-a* is attached to both intransitive verbs and transitive verbs. Transitive verb stems are in imperfective form (prefixed with *aN-*):

(87) nouns derived with *-a* referring to places

verb	noun
m-ondri [DYN-bathe] 'bathe'	amondri-a 'bathing place / bathroom'
m-o-talu 'be in middle'	otalu-a 'gap, episode'
tunu 'burn'	anunu-a 'place for burning' OR 'cremation'

(88) nouns derived with *-a* referring to things that are gathered

verb	noun
o-rahu [DYN-tie.to] 'make conclusion'	orahu-a 'meeting'
oβulo 'gathered'	anoβulo-a 'collection of things'
oβulo 'gathered'	oβulu-a 'organization, company'
ra'u 'collect debt'	onda'u-a 'collection of debts'

The nouns *otalua* 'gap, episode' and *oβuloa* 'organization' are illustrated in (89) and (90). In (89) the derived noun is added as an expansion of the argument *ira*, and is therefore in apposition with it.

(89)	La-f-o-töi	ira ¹⁹ ,	go-talu-a	anda
			o-talu-a	
	3p.RLS-CAU-HAVE-name	3pMUT	MUT.HAVE-middle-NR	PROX
	'horö	boβoa'.		
	war	cooking.pot		

They called them, those episodes that I just related, the 'wars of the cauldron'.

In (90) the derived noun is part of the numeral phrase which is the lexical expression of the A argument:

(90)	Do-mbua	goβulo-a	la-be	gefe	s=oya
	dua-bua	oβulo		kefe	
	two-CLF.MUT	MUT:gathered-NR	3p.RLS-give	money:MUT	REL=much
	khö	zi	göna	fa-abu	dödö
					tödö
	dat	M.rel	be.struck	NR-sad	liver:MUT

Two organisations gave a lot of money to the disaster victims (lit. ones who were struck by sadness).

¹⁹ The pronoun *ira* 'them' in this sentence refers to 'wars', i.e. a non-animate noun. Usually pronouns do not have inanimate reference. This may indicate that the syntactic distinction between animate and inanimate involves semantic considerations which are more complex than just a simple biological dichotomy. Alternatively, it may indicate that a clear distinction between animate and inanimate is not being maintained in the language.

6.5.1.6 -kha

The suffix *-kha* occurs with four verbs in my data, deriving nouns which refer to places:

(91) nouns derived from verbs with -kha

verb	noun
βuβu 'move back' (?)	aβuβu-kha 'whirlpool'
m-ambu 'forge metal'	ambu-kha 'forge'
m-eβo 'chase birds'	eβo-kha 'hut built for resting in while guarding rice field'
tumbu 'born'	atumbu-kha 'east' (cf. <i>atumbu-la</i> 'bud, sprout, embryo')

6.5.1.7 -ma

The suffix *-ma* occurs in only three derivations in my data, all referring to places:

(92) nouns derived with -ma

verb	noun
tataro 'sit'	taro-ma 'situation, position, status, state'
förö 'sleep'	förö-ma 'bed', or 'place where people sleep'
handro 'throw a spear' (?)	handro-ma 'place where water falls from roof'

6.5.1.8 -na

The suffix *-na* occurs in three derivations only in my data, one referring to a place, one referring to an abstract noun and one referring to the act of vb-ing:

(93) nouns derived with -na

verb	noun
ötö 'cross'	ötö-na 'ford' (in river)
faso 'force'	faso-na 'compulsion, force, exercise'
fa-bözi [DO-hit] 'do hitting'	fa-bözi-na 'fight'

What is interesting about this last form is that the nominalizing suffix begins with the same suffix as the transitive suffix in the verb *bözi-ni* 'sweep', which appears to be derived from the verb *bözi* 'hit', even though the meanings of the derived verb and the derived noun are very different. This suggests that, if the forms *bözi*, *bözi-ni* and *bözi-na* are related, they may derive from an earlier root which contained a final /n/.

6.5.1.9 *-fa*

There is only one noun which has the suffix *-fa*: *auri-fa* 'life'²⁰, from *auri* 'alive'. This noun is illustrated in (94):

(94)	Eluaha-nia	löna	khö-ra	auri-fa,
	meaning-3s.POSS	NEG	DAT-3p.POSS	ST:alive-NR
	börö	gömö	nono-nia	
		ömö	ono	
	because	debt:MUT	child:MUT-3s.POSS	

It means they had no life, because of the debt (incurred by) his child.

It is the noun *auri-fa* which helps to provide some evidence for consonant final words in earlier Nias. Not only do we have this form with the suffix *-fa*, but we also have the form *uri-fö* 'animals' (usually referring to domesticated animals). As noted in 3.8, this set of words are reflexes of the PAN form **qúd₂ip* 'alive'. Word final /p/ in Nias has become /f/, which is what shows up in these nominalisations. These nominalisations and others discussed below appear to indicate that at least some of these nouns derive from earlier verbs which ended in a final consonant to which a vocalic nominalizing suffix is added, and that these suffixes, therefore, derive from just two or three forms.

²⁰ As mentioned in footnote 6 above, this noun appears to have the same meaning as *fa-auri* 'life(time)'.

6.5.2 *-(C)ö* suffixes

The meanings of the nouns derived with *-(C)ö* are diverse, although there is a general tendency towards tangible things. The stems for the derived nouns are almost entirely transitive verbs. Derived nouns can be divided into things which will be *vb-ed* (corresponding to the P argument of the transitive verb stem) and things which (broadly) result from *vb-ing*. Two nouns derived from bound roots refer to times of day, and one noun, *beße-lö* 'banks of river', may derive from the noun *beße* 'lips', if the use of the noun in the derived form is an instance of metaphorical extension. These categories are listed in (95) - (97):

(95) things that will be *vb-ed* (potential P arguments)

verb	noun
basi 'harvest'	basi-tö 'field of crop ready for harvest'
fohu 'select person'	fohu-tö 'girl ready for selection for marriage'
sawa 'go to'	sawa-tö 'place one will arrive at, destination'
sora 'decorate'	sora-fö 'sth. ready for decorating'
tanö 'plant'	tanö-mö 'seedling, sth ready for planting'

(96) things which result from *vb-ing*

verb	noun
faosa 'divide'	faosa-tö 'piece'
osisi 'follow'; <i>mbambatö</i> 'family'	anosisi-tö <i>mbambatö</i> 'family records'
no root known	legai-tö 'sweat'
halö 'take'	halö-wö 'work'
uri 'look after'	uri-fö 'domestic animal'
ßaßaya 'cook'	ßaßaya-sö 'cooked things(?)'

(97) times of day

root	noun
-löfö (cf. löfölöfö N. 'firefly')	löfö-tö 'sunset'
-rißi (cf. riwiriwilökhö 'cicada')	riwi-tö 'sunset'

Some examples of these forms are given in the following sentences. In (98), the derived noun is in a possessive construction with the noun phrase *göfa hö'ö* 'that ship', and functions as the argument of the nominal predicate *Sibolga* (a port on the west coast of Sumatra):

- | | | | | | |
|------|----|---------|-----------------|----------|-------|
| (98) | Ha | Siboga | zawa-tö | göfa | hö'ö? |
| | | | sawa | köfa | |
| | Q | Sibolga | MUT.head.for-NR | ship:MUT | DIST |

Is that ship going to Sibolga? (lit. Is the destination of that ship Sibolga?)

In (99) the noun *βaβaya-sö* 'things to be cooked' is the fronted P argument of the verb *balu-gö* 'cover':

- | | | | | | |
|------|-----|------------|-----------------|------|------------------|
| (99) | Ba | βaβaya-sö, | la-balu-gö | bulu | nohi. |
| | | | | | ohi |
| | CNJ | cook-NR | 3p.RLS-cover-TR | leaf | coconut.tree:MUT |

And the things to be cooked, they covered with coconut leaves.

6.6 Earlier suffix forms

As mentioned above, there is some evidence that the numerous consonants in these suffixes are relict word-final consonants. The words which suggest this are the following:

auri-fa 'life', *uri-fö* 'domestic animal' and *uri-fi* 'keep, look after'

tanö-mö 'seedling'

βεβε-lö 'banks of river'

As noted in Chapter 3 section 8, the evidence for the origin of these suffixes in word-final consonants is sound, even though there is not much of it. The question remains, if all of the suffixes are not original, what were the original suffixes? From the data

illustrated in this section, it would appear that all of the $-(C)a$ suffixes except $-sa$ have similar meanings and functions, and that all of the suffixes of the shape $-(C)\ddot{o}$, too, have similar meanings. Because the forms $-ta$ and $-t\ddot{o}$ are by far the most numerous suffixes, and because they occur with stems that are not verbs, it seems plausible to consider them as the most general form of the suffix, presumably ones whose earlier forms attached to vowel-final stems. If all of the other consonants are relict word-final forms, then the original forms of the suffixes $-a$ and $-\ddot{o}$ would complement these by attaching to consonant-final stems. Only $-sa$ seems to have always had a special function of nominalizing verbs already derived with dynamic $fa-$.

CHAPTER 7

NOMINAL MUTATION AND CASE

The system of nominal mutation which was described in 3.2.1 is one of the main strategies for marking grammatical relations in Nias¹. This chapter presents a basic summary and description of the syntactic contexts in which mutated and unmutated nominals occur. Details concerning other strategies for marking grammatical relations, such as word-order, pronominal indexing on verbs, and prepositions, are elaborated in Chapter 11.

The first part of this chapter, Section 7.1, outlines the contexts in which mutated nominals occur. The second part, 7.2, outlines the contexts in which unmutated nominals occur. The third section, 7.3, describes the functions of mutated and unmutated forms in derived contexts.

7.1 Contexts in which mutated nominals occur: overview

Mutated nominals occur at both clause-level and phrase-level. At clause-level mutation occurs predominantly on S arguments of intransitive verbs, on P arguments of transitive verbs, on arguments of nominal predicates and on NPs in apposition with mutated nominals. These contexts are described in detail in 7.1.1.1-7.1.1.6. At phrase level, mutation occurs predominantly on arguments of other nominals (e.g. on

¹ Mutation of initial consonants to mark syntactic information is known from many language families, although it is not a common morphosyntactic process in languages in general. It is found in the Niger-Congo language Fula where mutation marks noun classes (Arnott 1970), the Shoshonean language Chemehuevi (Press 1979, discussed in Lieber 1987:84-7), Iwaidja in Australia (Evans 1998) and, as is perhaps most commonly known, the Celtic languages.

There is a remarkable similarity of either function or form in mutation phenomena amongst the languages in which it occurs. In the Celtic languages mutation has case-marking functions which are similar to those in Nias, such as (amongst others) marking objects of transitive clauses, possessors in possessive phrases, prepositions or postpositions (Awbery 1986; Harlow 1989). Furthermore, environments in which mutation does not occur are also similar to those in Nias, such as fronting of arguments. The phonemic feature of nasalization, which is clearly associated with mutation in Nias (see 3.2) is also common to mutation systems in other languages. For example in Fula, Chemehuevi, and Mende nasal clusters are a feature of mutation (Lieber 1987:74-8, 84-7, 112); synchronically in colloquial Welsh, coarticulated nasal + stop clusters are still a productive process (Pilch 1986: 110); and Irish eclipsis, like Nias nominal mutation, is also attributable historically to the loss of a nasal morpheme.

'possessors'), on arguments of certain prepositions, and on arguments of numerals and other quantificational words. These contexts are described in Sections 7.1.2.1-7.1.2.5.

7.1.1 Clause-level arguments

7.1.1.1 S arguments of intransitive verbs

The most common function of mutated nominals is as the S argument of simple intransitive verbs. Example (1) illustrates a simple realis stative construction, in which the verb takes first position in the clause and is followed by a mutated noun (see 11.4 for intransitive clause structure):

- (1) Aukhu nidanö.
 idanö
 ST:hot water:MUT
 The water is hot.

Example (2) shows an intransitive verb with a mutated pronoun:

- (2) M-örö ya.
 DYN-sleep 3s.MUT
 He is asleep.

Mutation occurs on the S argument of irrealis forms of intransitive verbs as well, as illustrated in (3). Note that the S is also expressed by the pronominal prefix on the verb (see 11.4 for discussion):

- (3) Ya-möi ga ba khö-ma nama Mili.
 ama
 3s.IRR-go here LOC DAT-1pe.POSS father:MUT Mili
 Mili's father wants to come here to our place.

- (7) A-ta'u mba'e nono matua.
 ba'e ono
 ST-fear monkey:MUT child:MUT male

The monkey is afraid of the boy.

The order of the constituents in clauses denoting mental states such as these in which there are two mutated NPs is fixed: the experiencer always precedes the stimulus. Another example is given in (8), where the experiencer is a third person pronoun *ya*, and the stimulus is a second person pronoun:

- (8) Omasi ya ndraugö.
 like 3s.MUT 2s.MUT

He likes you.

(There is only one example of these verbs in irrealis mode in my data³, but it is not accompanied by a lexical argument which illustrates case-marking and so will not be illustrated here. The example is given in (132) in Chapter 11.)

7.1.1.4 Arguments of nominal clauses

Mutated nominals occur in argument function of nominal clauses (see Chapter 9). A nominal clause is illustrated in (9). The predicate is a proper name, occurring in initial position, and the argument is the mutated NP *döi-nia* 'his name':

- (9) Fasui döi-nia.
 töi
 Fasui name:MUT-3s.POSS

His name is Fasui.

³ There may be a semantic reason for this lack of examples: these verbs express feelings or mental states which may not be able to have future or non-real time reference, but are part of a present or past reality only.

Another example is given in (10), where the predicate is a headless relative expressing the occupation for which the person is known, and the argument is the third singular pronoun, *ya*:

- (10) S=a-nunö ya
 aN-tunö
 REL=IPF-tell 3s:MUT
 He is a singer (of stories).

7.1.1.5 P arguments

Mutation also occurs on nominals which function as P arguments of transitive verbs in main clauses. This is illustrated in (11), in which the transitive verb *bunu* 'kill' is followed by its P argument in mutated form, *mbaβi* 'pig:MUT':

- (11) La-bunu mbaβi.
 baβi
 3p.RLS-kill pig:MUT
 They killed a pig.

P arguments are expressed by mutated nominals whether the clause occurs in realis or irrealis mode. An example of a transitive clause in irrealis mode is given in (12). The P argument is the mutated noun phrase *nomo Namada nomae Lafau* 'that Amada Lafau's house'.

- (12) Ndra-kh<um>ozī nomo Namada nomae Lafau.
 omo amada
 3p.IRR-<IRR>burn house:MUT Amada:MUT RECOG Lafau
 They want to burn down the house of that Amada Lafau.

Pronouns occur in mutated form as P arguments as well. Examples (13) and (14) illustrate mutated pronouns in P function. In (13) the mutated second singular pronoun *ndraugö* is the P argument of the verb *tehe* 'agree with':

- (13) U-tehe ndraugö
 1s.RLS-agree 2s.MUT
 I agree with you.

In (14) the mutated pronoun *ndraga* is the P argument of the verb *tolo* in irrealis form:

- (14) Ya-t<um>olo ndraga.
 3s.IRR-<IRR>help 1pe.MUT
 He will help us.

7.1.1.6 NPs in apposition to mutated arguments

Lexical NPs in apposition to pronouns in mutated form are also mutated. For example, in simple intransitive clauses, a lexical expression of an S argument may occur in addition to a pronoun. When this happens, the lexical NP is mutated. For example in (15), the mutated noun *ndra-alaße* 'the girl'⁴, which is separated from the main clause by comma intonation, is in apposition with the third singular pronoun *ya*:

- (15) Haega so ya, ndra-alaße?
 ira-
 where EXIST 3s.MUT COLL.MUT-female
 Where is she, the girl?

Similarly in (16), the mutated NP, *Namada nomae Lafau*, 'that Amada Lafau' occurs in addition to the third person singular mutated pronoun *ya*:

⁴ The collective prefix *ira*-(~*ndra*-) can refer to one person who is generally thought of as belonging to a group categorized by the noun (see 4.3).

- (16) Samuzana möi ya, Namada nomae Lafau.
Amada
bit.by.bit go 3s.MUT Amada:MUT RECOG Lafau

Every now and again he would come, that Amada Lafau.

Note that mutation is marked twice in these clauses, once in pronominal reference and once in the appositional NP.

Additional lexical NPs in mutated form also occur in intransitive constructions which involve two arguments of equal syntactic status. Such a situation obtains in constructions which have reciprocal meaning, including verbs meaning 'be the same' or 'be different'. These constructions consist of an intransitive verb derived with *fa-* plus a plural mutated pronoun, e.g. *fa-manömanö ira* [DO-chat 3p.MUT] 'they chatted', *fa-bö'ö ira* [DO-other 3p.MUT] 'they are different', *fa-udu ndraga* [DO-opponent 1pe.MUT] 'we quarrelled'. If the individual participants are mentioned, they are referred to by nouns in their mutated form. For example in (17), the villages who are at war are referred to by the plural pronoun *ira*, and then listed by name:

- (17) Fa-suvö ira mbanua Zifalagö Gomo
banua Sifalagö
DO-fight 3p.MUT village:MUT Sifalagö:MUT Gomo
mbanua Zana'ai.
banua Sana'ai
village:MUT Sama'ai:MUT

The villages of Sifalagö Gomo and Sana'ai were at war. (H)

In (18), the participants in the chat are referred to by the pronoun *ira*, and then listed by name:

Although nouns are mutated when functioning as possessors, independent pronouns do not occur in mutated form as possessors. When possessors are expressed pronominally, they occur as suffixes on the possessed noun, e.g. by the suffix *-gu* in *tana-gu* [hand-1s.POSS] 'my hand', and by the suffix *-nia* in *ono-nia* [child-3s.POSS] 'her child'. Possessive suffixes are generally only used with reference to humans (as are mutated pronouns). For a list of possessive suffixes see Table 6 in Chapter 4.

7.1.2.2 Arguments of the dative preposition *khö*

Mutated nominals occur after the dative preposition *khö*, which is the basic preposition used with humans (see 4.11). Examples of prepositional phrases containing mutated nominals after *khö* are given in (20) - (23). In (20), the noun *fo'omo* 'spouse' has the role of Recipient:

- | | | | | | |
|------|-------------|------------|--------------------|-----------|---------|
| (20) | I-be | <i>khö</i> | vo'omo-nia | nukha | s=oyo. |
| | | | fo'omo | nukha | |
| | 3s.RLS-give | DAT | spouse:MUT-3s.POSS | cloth:MUT | REL=red |
- She gave her husband the red cloth.

In (21), *nama-nia* 'his father' is a Goal:

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------|--------------|------------|--------------------|
| (21) | I-oturagö | zi=ndruhu | <i>khö</i> | nama-nia. |
| | | si= | | ama |
| | 3s.RLS-tell | REL.MUT=true | DAT | father:MUT-3s.POSS |
- He told his father the truth.

In (22), the noun *si'ila* 'advisor' occurs as a Source after the preposition *khö*:

- (22) La-tema gana'a khö zi'ila.
 ana'a si'ila
 3p.RLS-receive gold:MUT DAT advisor:MUT

They received the gold from the advisor.

In (23), *khö* signals a benefactive role for the nominal *nama-nia* 'her father':

- (23) I-öli khö nama-nia daβuo
 ama taβuo
 3s.RLS DAT father:MUT-3s.POSS betel.leaf:MUT

She bought her father some betel leaves.

If reference is pronominal, the dative preposition takes possessive suffixes e.g. *khö-nia* [DAT-3s.POSS] 'to, from, for him'. Pronominal suffixes take the same semantic roles as mutated nominals. Examples (24)-(27) illustrate pronominal suffixes in each of the roles exemplified in (20)-(23) above for nominals. In (24), the dative phrase *khö-nia* 'to him' refers to a recipient:

- (24) La-be khö-nia gana'a.
 ana'a
 3p.RLS-give DAT-3s.POSS gold:MUT

They gave him the gold.

In (25), *khö-u* 'to you' refers to the addressee:

- (25) Haiya ni-waö-nia khö-u?
 what PASS-say-3s.POSS DAT-2s.POSS

What did he say to you?

In (26), *khö-gu* 'from me' represents a source:

- (26) Omasi ya ya-mbalö gefe khö-gu.
 kefe
 want 3s.MUT 3s.IRR-borrow:IRR money:MUT DAT-1s.POSS
 He would like to borrow money from me.

In (27), *khö-u* 'for you' is benefactive:

- (27) Da u-o-bubu vakhe khö-u.
 fakhe
 HORT 1s.RLS-DYN-porridge rice:MUT DAT-2s.POSS
 Let me make the porridge for you. (Cf. *da u-o-bubu ö-u vakhe* 'Let me make you some porridge.')

7.1.2.3 Arguments of other prepositions

Mutated nominals also occur after the general preposition for non-humans things, *ba*, and compounds formed with this preposition such as *baka ba* 'inside', (see 4.11) e.g. *ba mbanua* 'in, at, to, from the village', *baka ba mboβoa* [inside LOC cauldron:MUT] 'inside the cauldron'. Some other examples of mutated nouns following the preposition *ba* are given in (26)-(27):

- (26) So ndro ba mbaβa-nia.
 ndro baβa
 EXIST blood:MUT LOC face:MUT-3s.POSS
 He has blood on his face.
- (27) Ma=atoru ba dana-gu mboβoa.
 tana boβoa
 PERF=fall LOC hand:MUT-1s.POSS cauldron:MUT
 The pot fell out of my hands.

Pronominal reference does not occur after *ba* since pronominal reference is restricted to humans.

When the adverb *föna* 'in front' is used as a preposition, it is followed by mutated noun, as exemplified in (28) and (29):

- (28) So mere föna nomo.
 mere omo
 EXIST sign:MUT in.front house:MUT

There's a sign in front of the house.

- (29) La-hono-göi föna va'a-so agama.
 fa'a-
 3p.RLS-calm-TR in.front NR.MUT-arrive religion

It was all settled before the coming of religion.⁵

However, when *föna* 'in front' occurs with pronouns, the pronoun is in possessive form, e.g. *föna-gu* [in.front 1s.POSS] 'in front of me', *föna-mi* [in.front 2p.POSS] 'in front of you'⁶.

7.1.2.4 Nominals occurring with numerals and numeral classifiers

Mutation occurs on nominals which occur with a numeral or a numeral plus classifier construction. Some examples of nominals which occur with numerals are given in (30). The numeral occurs before the nominal:

- (30) *sara mbu* [one hair:MUT] 'one hair'
 dua gahe [two leg:MUT] 'two legs'
 öfa zi'u [four elbow:MUT] 'four corners'
 lima na=otu z=aluaya [five LK=100 REL.MUT=dance] 'five hundred dancers'

Examples of nominals occurring with numeral + classifier combinations are given in (31). The numeral and classifier precede the nominal:

⁵ The word *agama* 'religion' is borrowed and therefore does not mutate.

⁶ The ability to occur with possessive suffixes is one criterion for noun-hood (see 4.2). The suffixation of pronominal forms to *föna* indicates that *föna* is still syntactically nominal in some sense.

- (31) *tölu na-eu mbaßi* [three LK=CLF pig:MUT] 'three pigs'
öfa mbua göndra [four CLF.MUT drum:MUT] 'four drums'
önö rozi gehomo [six CLF pillar:MUT] 'six pillars'
siwa batu gana'a [nine CLF gold:MUT] 'nine stone of gold'

7.1.2.5 Nominals occurring with the quantifier *fefu* 'all'

Nominals which occur with the quantifier *fefu* 'all, most' are also mutated. For example, in (32), *fefu* is followed by the mutated noun *geu* 'tree':

- (32) *Oi a-fatö fefu geu.*
 all ST-break all tree:MUT
 All the trees are broken.

Example (32) is ambiguous as to whether mutation occurs on the argument *geu* 'tree' due to its role as the S argument of *a-fatö* 'broken', or to its relationship with *fefu*. However, when the NP containing *fefu* 'all' occurs before the verb, a position which requires unmutated nominals (see 7.2.1.8), *geu* 'tree' remains in mutated form, as illustrated in (33):

- (33) *Na mo-ani s-a-bölö-bölö,*
 when HAVE-wind REL=ST-RDP2-strong
ba fefu geu oi a-fatö.
 CNJ all tree:MUT all ST-break
 When the wind is very strong, all of the trees get broken.

If mutation on *geu* is motivated by its relationship to the verb, the mutation would be lost when the noun precedes the verb (see 7.2.1.8). Since *geu* is mutated in (33), the quantifier *fefu* 'all' must be responsible for the mutation. The construction with *fefu* 'all' looks as if it has the same possessive form as the English phrase used to translate it,

i.e. *all of the trees*. However, it is clearly not the same kind of construction, since any pronoun which follows *fefu* is not in possessive form but is mutated, as illustrated in (34), where *fefu* occurs with the mutated third plural pronoun, *ira*. Note that the NP *fefu ira* 'all of them' precedes the verb, a context which requires unmutated nominals:

- (34) Fefu ira ma-nua föci.
maN-hua
all 3p.MUT IPF-speak lie
All of them tell lies.

Note that *fefu* 'all, most' itself, is never mutated, even when it is the sole argument of the verb (see 8.5.1).

7.2 Contexts in which unmutated nominals occur: overview

The range of syntactic contexts in which unmutated nominals occur is greater and more diverse than that of mutated nominals. In unmutated form, nouns have a slightly different distribution from pronouns. At clause level, unmutated nouns occur in the following functions:

(35) functions of unmutated nouns at clause level

- as A arguments
- as arguments of the negative existential verb
- as the predicate of nominal clauses
- as targets of change of state verbs
- as arguments expressing standards to which other entities are compared
- as instrumental arguments with verbs of impact
- as locative temporal or instrumental arguments
- in fronted position

For semantic reasons, unmutated pronouns may occur only in the first three of these functions, or in fronted position in a clause.

Functions in which unmutated nouns occur at phrase level are listed in (36):

(36) functions of unmutated nouns at phrase level

- as arguments in certain locative phrases
- as the argument of certain prepositions
- as arguments within conjoined phrases
- as non-initial NPs in lists
- following the particle *ha* 'only'

Again, for semantic reasons, unmutated pronouns do not occur in the first of these functions.

Contexts in which unmutated nouns and pronouns occur at clause-level will be described in sections 7.2.1.1.-7.2.1.8, followed by those in which unmutated nouns and pronouns occur at phrase-level, sections 7.2.2.1-7.2.2.6.

7.2.1 Clause-level arguments

7.2.1.1 A arguments

Lexical expressions of the A argument in transitive clauses occur in unmutated form, as illustrated by the unmutated form of *ama* 'father' in (37):

- (37) I-fa-tene ga ndrao khö-mi ama-gu.
 3s.RLS-DO-messenger here 1s.MUT DAT-2p.POSS father-1s.POSS

My father sent me here to you. (H)

In (38) the A argument is expressed by the third plural pronominal prefix *la-* and by the phrase *ono mbanua* 'children of the village' (i.e. 'villagers'), in which *ono* is unmutated:

below. The predicate is the first singular unmutated pronoun, *ya'o*, and its argument is the mutated lexical noun *zia'a* 'the eldest' (see Chapter 6 for further examples).

- (44) *Ya'o zia'a.*
 sia'a
 1s first.born:MUT
 I am the eldest. (lit. 'the eldest is me')

7.2.1.4 Targets of change of state verbs

Unmutated nouns occur as the argument referring to the target in change of state verbs such as *tobali* 'become', *möi* 'become', *be* 'make become', *bali'ö* 'change, convert', *falali* 'swap', *fake* 'use as', *halö* 'take (to use) as'. The argument referring to the participant which undergoes change is mutated. For example in (45), the target for the change is expressed as the unmutated NP, *sabu-ma* 'our soap', and the entity undergoing change is expressed by the mutated NP *mbötua naβu andre* 'that lime of the ashes', which is the P argument of the verb *vake* 'use':

- (45) *Ga-vake sabu-ma mbötua naβu andre.*
 ...-fake bötua aβu
 1pe.RLS-use:IRR soap-1pe.POSS lime:MUT ash:MUT DIST
 We will use that lime ash as our soap.

In (46), the participant undergoing change is *danö* 'land', mutated form of *tanö*, and the target is the unmutated noun *benua* 'farm':

- (46) *La-halö danö hö'ö benua.*
 tanö
 3p.RLS-hold land:MUT DIST garden
 They took that land as a garden.

7.2.1.5 Nominals expressing standards to which other nominals are compared

Unmutated nouns also occur as the argument which expresses the standard with which something is compared in constructions with the verb *mae* 'be like', 'resemble'. The argument which refers to the thing being compared is mutated. For example in (47), the standard with which *dödö-nia* 'his liver' (i.e. the 'seat of emotions') is compared is the unmutated form *batu* 'stone':

- (47) Mae batu dödö-nia.
 tödö
 resemble stone liver:MUT-3s.POSS
 His heart is as hard as stone.

In constructions with *mae* 'be like', word order appears to be fixed. In all the examples in the data *mae* is always followed by the standard, and not by the object compared.

7.2.1.6 Instrumental arguments

Unmutated nouns commonly occur with instrumental meaning. Arguments referring to instruments occur particularly with verbs of impact, as illustrated in (48) by the unmutated noun *toho* 'spear':⁹

- (48) Göna ya toho.
 struck 3s.MUT spear
 He was hit with a spear.

However, other kinds of verbs may also occur with unmutated nouns which identify an instrumental role (in a very broad sense) for the referent of the NP. For example in (49), the unmutated noun *ana'a* 'gold' is understood as the thing used to fulfill the action of the verb:

⁹ See 11.4.2.8 for discussion of these constructions, and arguments that these clauses are not transitive.

- (49) I-fönu-i mbölökha-nia ana'a.
 bölökhä
 3s.RLS-full-TR arm:MUT-3s.POSS gold
 He filled his arms with gold.

Another example is given in the unmutated noun *idanö* 'water' in (50), which describes in literal terms the action of baptism, i.e. touched with water:

- (50) To-baya idanö ya.
 RES-touch water 3s.MUT
 He was baptized.

7.2.1.7 Certain locative or temporal arguments

An unmutated noun may also occur with locative or temporal meaning with a variety of semantically appropriate verbs. For example, the noun *sekola* 'school' is used locatively in (51):

- (51) Me ma=tama ya sikola ...
 when PERF=graduate 3s.MUT school
 When he had graduated from school ...

In (52) the noun *boni* 'night' is used as a temporal adverbial:

- (52) Fa-manömanö sui ira boni.
 DO-chat again 3p.MUT night
 They talked again at night.

7.2.1.8 Fronted arguments

NP arguments which occur at the front of a clause are unmutated, including arguments which would normally be mutated if they followed a verb. For example in (53), the

argument which occurs in initial position, *si'o hö'ö* 'that stick', is the P argument of the verb *taru-'ö* 'plant':

- (53) Si'o hö'ö ma=i-taru-'ö ba danö.
 stick DIST PERF=3s.RLS-plant-TR LOC ground.MUT
 That stick he planted in the ground. (Z-L)

In unmarked forms of transitive clauses, the P argument occurs after the verb and is mutated, e.g. *i-taru-'ö zi'o hö'ö ba danö* [PERF 3s.RLS-plant-TR stick:MUT DIST LOC ground.MUT] 'he planted that stick in the ground'.

7.2.2 Phrase-level arguments

7.2.2.1 Arguments of the instrumental preposition *faoma*

Unmutated nouns occur after the instrumental preposition *faoma* 'with', e.g. *faoma sousou* [with scoop] 'with a scoop'. Note that most other prepositions occur with mutated nominals, as discussed above in sections 7.1.2.2 and 7.1.2.3. Other examples of unmutated nouns occurring with the instrumental preposition *faoma* 'with' are given in (54) and (55):

- (54) U-tabá nagole faoma balatu.
 nagole
 1s.RLS-cut.up meat:MUT with knife
 I cut the meat with a knife.

- (55) Ma=i-cimba faoma baluse-nia.
 PERF=3s.RLS-repulse with shield-3s.POSS
 He repulsed (it) with his shield. (Z-L)

7.2.2.2 Lexicalized locative phrases

Unmutated nouns also occur anomalously in one small set of locative phrases containing the locative preposition *ba*. Usually *ba* is followed by a mutated NP, e.g. *ba mbanua* [LOC:village:MUT] 'in, at, to the village'. The set of locative phrases in which *ba* is followed by an unmutated noun was given in (56) but is repeated here for convenience:

- (56) *baomo* [LOC:house] 'at home, home'
baeßali [LOC:courtyard] 'in the courtyard'
baora [LOC:stairs] 'on the stairs'
baoßo [LOC:boat] 'in the boat' (fishing)
baene [LOC:sea shore] 'at the sea shore' (fishing)
baulu [LOC:headwaters] 'upstream'
baero [LOC:outside] 'outside' (euphemism for going to the toilet)
barö [LOC:area.underneath] 'underneath'

These phrases have become lexicalized, as is evident from two features: the sequence of vowels formed from the affixation of *ba* to the vowel-initial noun is diphthongized, indicating that the preposition is no longer a separate word, and the affixation of *ba* does not occasion the insertion of a glottal stop, which would be required if the noun were a distinct phonological word.

7.2.2.3 Nominals following *ha* 'only'

Unmutated nouns and pronouns also occur after the particle *ha* 'only, just', regardless of their grammatical function. An example of *ha* followed by an unmutated pronoun is given in (57):

- (57) *Ha* *ya'ia* *zi=möi.*
 only 3s REL.MUT=go

He was the only one to go. (lit. 'The one who went was only him.)

Further examples may be found in 4.13.3.1. All of the examples containing *ha* occur in first position in the clause. Since phrases containing *ha* 'only' always occur in this position, which typically requires an unmutated NP, it is not clear whether the particle *ha* is influencing the form of the nominal or whether the lack of mutation is due to the position of the NP.

7.2.2.4 Nouns following the numeral *sa-* 'one' + classifier

Typically unmutated nouns occur after the reduced form of the numeral *sa-* 'one' plus a classifier, e.g. *sa-mbua banua* [one-CLF.MUT village] 'a village', *sa-geu bafi* [one-CLF.MUT pig] 'a pig'. When other numerals or numerals and classifiers precede nouns, the nouns are mutated, e.g. *öfa geu mbafi* [four-CLF.MUT pig:MUT] 'four pigs'. However, there are several instances in which mutated nouns occur in exactly the same constructions, e.g. *sa-geu mbafi* [one-CLF.MUT pig:MUT] 'one pig'. There may be subtle semantic influences of which I am as yet unaware, or these constructions may be undergoing restructuring.

7.2.2.5 Nominals following a conjunction

As discussed in 4.13.2 unmutated nominals occur after the conjunctions *ba* 'and' and *ma* 'or', and after the word *faoma* 'with' in its comitative use. For example in (58), a conjoined phrase occurs as an S argument of the existential verb *so*. The phrase consists of the mutated proper name *Namada Salawa Holia*¹⁰ and the unmutated NP *fo'omo-nia* 'his wife':

- (58) Gaö so Namada Salawa Holia ba fo'omo-nia, Larisenia.
 Amada
 there EXIST Amada:MUT Salawa Holia CNJ spouse-3s.POSS Larisenia
 There live Amada Salawa Holia and his wife, Larisenia.. (H)

¹⁰ Note that proper names and place names in Nias conform to the same system of mutation as simple nouns.

As mentioned in 4.13.2, mutation occurs only on the first NP in a conjoined phrase. In (59), the S argument of the verb *fao* 'join with' is a conjoined phrase consisting of the mutated NP *Mazinö* and the unmutated place name *Onolalu* (Mutation is not evident on *Mazinö* because /m/ is not affected by mutation):

- (59) Na la-f-o-töi Mainamölö meföna ba
 when 3p.RLS-CAU-HAVE-name Mainamölö in.the.early.days CNJ
 löna fao Mazinö ma Onolalu.
 NEG join.with Mazinö or Onolalu

When they named (it) Mainamölö in the early days, it didn't include Mazinö or Onolalu. (H)

In (60), the conjoined phrase is the P argument of the verb *dada* 'set down', and is similar to the conjoined phrase in (58) above in that it consists of a proper name and the NP *fo'omo-nia* 'his wife'. The NP arguments are joined with *faoma* 'with':

- (60) Ba i-dada sui matö tou Namada Gözö Helani
 Amada
 CNJ 3s.RLS-put.down again therefore down Amada:MUT Gözö Helani
 Tanö faoma fo'omo-nia Inada Rai Sahoni.
 Tanö with spouse-3s.POSS Inada Rai Sahoni

And so again he set down Amada Gözö Helani Tanö and his wife Inada Rai Sahoni. (H)

Further examples of the two conjunctive particles and *faoma* can be found in 4.13.2.

7.2.2.6 Non-initial nominals in lists

In lists, unmutated nominals occur in non-initial position. For example in (61), the nouns which follow *li* 'sound' all refer to 'possessors'. As noted in 7.1.2.1 above, possessors are expressed by mutated nouns or possessive pronouns. In the list in (61), only the first noun, *zi'ulu* 'village leader', is mutated. The other nouns are unmutated.

7.3.1 Arguments of imperfective forms of transitive verbs

Mutated nominals are used to express the referent corresponding to the A argument of a simple transitive clause when the verb is used in its imperfective form as a main clause verb (see 10.3.2.1 for discussion). For example in (62), the A argument is expressed by the mutated proper name *Vasui*:

- (62) Man-uri zawi Vasui.
 sawi fasui
 IPF-keep cattle:MUT Fasui:MUT
 Fasui keeps cattle.

Compare a simple transitive version of this clause, in which the A argument is represented by the pronominal prefix *i-* and the proper name, *Fasui*: *ma i-uri zawi Fasui ...* [PERF 3s.RLS-keep cattle:MUT Fasui...] 'Fasui kept cattle'.

In dependent clauses which contain imperfective forms of transitive verbs P arguments are unmutated (dependent clauses are ones in which the A argument is not overtly mentioned, having been expressed by an argument in the matrix clause). The verb *fazökhi* 'make, fix' is illustrated in imperfective (and dependent) form in the progressive construction in (63). The P argument, *fandru* 'light', is unmutated:

- (63) I-lau ma-mazökhi fandru.
 maN-fazökhi
 3s.RLS-do IPF-fix lamp
 He's fixing the light.

Compare the simple transitive form of this clause: *i-fazökhi vandru* [3s.RLS-fix light:MUT] 'He fixed the light', in which the P argument is mutated noun *vandru*. Dependent clauses containing imperfective forms of transitive verbs may be thought of as nominal in character. Apart from the fact that they may occur as complements of the verb *lau* 'do' in the progressive construction illustrated in (63) (see 10.3.2.2.1 for

discussion), they are very similar in form and syntactic structure to nominalized forms of transitive verbs derived with *f-aN-* (see 6.4.3).

7.3.2 Arguments in relative clauses

When an argument is relativised, typically core arguments which occur in the relative clause are unmutated. For example, when a P argument is relativised, the A argument is expressed by a mutated NP or a possessive suffix. Example (64) below illustrates a relative clause relativising *nukha* 'clothes'. The A argument is expressed by the mutated noun phrase *nakhi-gu* 'my younger sibling':

- (64) *nukha ni-sasai nakhi-gu*
 akhi
 clothes PASS-wash younger.sibling:MUT-1s.POSS
 the clothes which were washed by my little sister

Pronominal reference to the A argument in such clauses is made by possessive suffix e.g. *nukha ni-sasai-nia* [clothes PASS-wash-3s.POSS] 'clothes washed by her'.

When an A argument is relativised, or a dative argument in clauses in which it is core (see 8.4.2 and 8.4.3) the P argument is expressed by an unmutated NP. For example, in (65) the A argument, *ono matua* 'boy' has been relativised, and occurs as the argument of the demonstrative predicate *andrehe'e* 'that one'. The P argument in the relative clause, *ohi* 'coconut tree', is unmutated.

- (65) *Andehe'e nono matua si=lau ohi.*
 ono
 that.one child:MUT male REL=climb coconut.tree
 That's the boy who climbed the tree.

In (66) the source argument (dative) is relativised, and the P argument, *kefe* 'money' is unmutated:

- (66) Niha si=ma=u-βaβalö kefe sibaya-gu.
 person REL=PERF=1s.RLS-borrow money uncle-1s.POSS

The man I borrowed the money from is my uncle.¹¹

Compare the unrelativised sentence in which the P argument is mutated: *u-βaβalö gefe khö-niha* [1s.RLS-borrow money:MUT DAT-person] 'I borrowed money from a man'.

When possessor or locative arguments are relativised, S arguments are expressed by unmutated nominals. For example in (67), the possessor, *niha* 'man' is relativised. The 'possessed' object, which is the S argument of the relative clause, is expressed by the unmutated noun *fo'omo* 'wife':

- (67) niha si=mate fo'omo
 person REL=die wife
 the man whose wife died

In (68), the locative *banua* 'village' is relativised. The S argument, *ina-gu* 'my mother', is unmutated:

- (68) banua si=toroi ina-gu
 village REL=live mother-1s.POSS
 the village in which my mother lives

For further examples and discussion of relative clauses see 8.4

7.3.3 Arguments of nominalized verbs

When verbs are nominalized (see Chapter 6), A or S arguments occur as possessive suffixes on the derived noun or as mutated nouns after it. For example in (69), the

¹¹ Note that (66) is a nominal clause in which *sibaya-gu* 'my uncle' is the predicate (as is evident from its lack of mutation; see Chapter 9 for discussion). The argument, *niha si=ma uβaβalö kefe*, 'the man I borrowed money from', is fronted.

nominalized form of the verb *mo-βua* 'HAVE fruit' occurs with a mutated NP *gae-ra* 'their banana trees'.

- (69) Gasagasa v-a-mase'ö f-o-βua gae-ra ...
 f-aN-base'ö gae
 during NR.MUT-IPF-wait.for CAU-HAVE-fruit:LEN banana:MUT-3p.POSS
 While they waited for their banana trees to bear fruit, ... (lit. during the waiting
 for the fruiting of their banana trees...)

In a simple intransitive form of the verb, *gae-ra* would function as the S argument, e.g. *mo-βua gae-ra* 'HAVE-fruit:LEN banana:MUT-3p.POSS] 'Their banana trees are fruiting'. An example of an A argument in the form of a possessive suffix, *-nia*, occurs in (70):

- (70) Börö v-a-m-o-ndono-nia li Goidö ...
 f-aN-f-aN-rono Goidö
 because.of NR.MUT-IPF-CAU-IPF-hear-3s. POSS sound Goidö:MUT
 Because of his listening to Goidö's words, ...

Compare the simple transitive form of this clause, in which the A argument is a pronominal prefix on the verb: *i-f-o-ndro-ndrono li Goidö* [3s.RLS-DYN-IPF-RDP1-hear sound:MUT Goidö:MUT] 'he listened to the words of Goidö'. Another example is given in (71), in which the third plural possessive suffix *-ra* can be seen to correspond to the A argument of the simple transitive clause *la-faoso gehomo* [3p.RLS-CAU-rise pillar:MUT] 'They raised the pillar'.

- (71) Fefu nono mbanua oi la-faigi
 ono banua
 all child:MUT village:MUT all 3p.RLS-see

va-m-aoso-ra	ehomo.
f-aN-f-aoso	
NR.MUT-IPF-CAU-rise-3p.POSS	pillar

All of the people of the village watched them raising the pillar.

Note that the P argument of the derived noun in (71), *ehomo* 'pillar', is unmutated. As mentioned above, this is typical for P arguments of nominalized transitive verbs. Another example of this is given in (72), in which the noun *omo* 'house' is in unmutated form after the nominalized form of the transitive verb, *fazökhi* 'make, fix'. (This nominalization is itself mutated, to mark the possessor of *mböbö* 'laws'.)

(72)	... la-waö	mböbö	v-a-mazökhi	omo.
		böbö	f-aN-fazökhi	
	... 3p.RLS-say	law:MUT	NR.MUT-IPF-make	house

... they talk about the laws for building a house.

7.4 Summary: comments on case marking

As examples in the lists show, at the level of argument structure in simple (non-derived) main clauses, mutated nominals occur as S and P arguments while unmutated nominals occur as A arguments. The case alignment which treats the S and P arguments in the same way and the A argument differently is typically described as an ergative pattern. In such a pattern, S and P arguments are regarded as occurring in absolutive case and the A argument as occurring in ergative case. Although the terms 'absolutive' and 'ergative' are appropriate for arguments in some contexts in Nias, there are numerous syntactic contexts in which these terms are potentially misleading. In particular, many of the uses listed in (35) and (36) of unmutated forms are ones that are not ergative in the sense of the A argument of a transitive verb, such as the predicate in predicate nominal clauses, the non-initial noun in lists or conjoined phrases or the P argument in dependent clauses and of nominalized verbs. Despite a possibly clumsy feel to the words, the terms given to nominal arguments in this thesis are simply

'mutated' and 'unmutated'. For simplicity, only mutated nominals are glossed with MUT; no extra gloss is used for unmutated nominals.

CHAPTER 8

NOUN PHRASE STRUCTURE

This chapter outlines the structure of noun phrases. Noun phrases are constituents which are not part of the verbal predicate complex (see Chapter 10) but bear a grammatical relationship either to the verb or to another constituent within the clause. This grammatical relationship is manifested by case marking, which is realized as mutation (or lack of it) on the noun or pronoun head of the noun phrase (see 3.2 for the morphological expressions of mutation). The head of a noun phrase always occurs as the first constituent in the phrase. In section 8.5 of this chapter, evidence is presented to claim that Nias also has quantificational phrases in which quantifiers and numerals are heads.

8.1 Basic constituent order in NPs

A noun phrase containing more than just a noun can be followed by any of the following modifiers: a possessive pronoun or noun, one or two demonstrative adjuncts and one or more relative clauses. There are rarely more than two adjuncts in a noun phrase. More often than not there is only one, if any. The most commonly found adjunct is a demonstrative. Some quantifiers and numerals may precede an NP, and take the syntactic role of head of a quantificational phrase (see section 8.5). If an NP is specific and definite, a numeral takes the form of a relative clause and follows the noun. Schematically, the order of constituents in a definite NP with noun as head is given in (1) (where the raised 'n' implies the theoretical possibility of any number):

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|--------|-----------|---------|-------------------|-------|
| (1) | N | (POSS) | (DEM) | (DEM) | (RC) ⁿ | (RC) |
| | | | (DEICTIC) | (RECOG) | (attrib) | (num) |

Each of these constituents will be discussed below.

8.2 Possession

Possessors immediately follow the noun referring to the possessed thing, and occur as a mutated noun or possessive suffix. Only nouns (both simple and derived) occur as heads of possessive constructions—pronouns and proper names do not occur with possessive modification. An example of a possessive construction is given in (2). The possessor is expressed by the mutated noun *mbuaya* 'crocodile':

- (2) *telau mbuaya*
 buaya
 head crocodile:MUT
 head of the crocodile.

A pronominal possessor is expressed as a suffix, e.g. *telau-nia* [head-3s.POSS] 'his head'.¹ Alienable and inalienable possession is not distinguished. Compare, for example, *telau-nia* 'his head' with *balatu-nia* [knife-3s.POSS] 'his knife', or *sifatu-nia* 'his shoe'. Possessive constructions are used also for part-whole relations in which ownership is not at issue, e.g.:

- (3) *ere neBali*
 eBali
 path courtyard:POSS
 central path of courtyard

¹ A list of possessive pronominal suffixes was given in Table 5 in Chapter 4, but is repeated here for convenience. Irrealis pronominal prefixes are also listed here to illustrate the similarities between them and the possessive suffixes. Realis pronominal prefixes are listed for reference.

	possessive suffixes	irrealis prefixes	realis prefixes
1s	-gu	gu-	u-
2s	-u	gö-	ö-
3s	-nia	ya-	i-
1pi	-da	da-	ta-
1pe	-ga	ga-	ma-
2p	-mi	gi-	mi-
3p	-ra	ndra-	la-

- (4) ono mbanua
 banua
 child village:POSS
 villager (lit. child of village)

Possessors may be nested. For example in (5), the possessive modifier *nakhi zadura-gu* itself contains the possessive modifier *zadura-gu* which itself contains the possessive suffix *-gu* (brackets are included for clarity):

- (5) Ina Moli, [ono [nakhi [zadura-gu]]].
 akhi sadua
 mother Moli child younger.sibling:MUT grandparent:MUT-1s.POSS

The mother of Moli is the daughter of the younger brother of my grandfather.
 (i.e. my grandfather's niece)

(The NP *ina Moli* in this example is the argument of the nominal predicate *ono nakhi zadura-gu*. It has been fronted for discourse purposes. In non-fronted nominal clauses the argument follows the predicate and occurs in mutated form, see 7.2.1.8.) Note that in possessive constructions, the possessive suffix or mutated noun referring to the possessor refers only to the constituent immediately to its left. For example in (5), the first singular possessive suffix *-gu* refers only to *zadura*, not to *nakhi* 'younger sibling' or to *ono* 'child'. Another example of nested possessors is given in (6):

- (6) Löna faoma [ndroto-ndoto [mboto ndra-matua]]
 roto boto ira-
 NEG same RDP-part:MUT body:MUT COLL.MUT-male

ba	[ndroto-ndroto	[mboto	ndra-alaße]].
	roto	boto	ira-
CNJ	RDP-part:MUT	body:MUT	COLL.MUT-female

Parts of a man's body are not the same as parts of a woman's body.²

In (6), the 'possessor' of *ndrotondroto* 'parts' is the mutated noun *mboto* 'body', while the 'possessor' of *mboto* is the mutated noun *ndra-matua* 'man' in the first NP and *ndra-alaße* 'woman' in the second.

8.3 Demonstratives

Demonstrative adjuncts may immediately follow any noun or pronoun head of an NP. If the noun is possessed, a demonstrative adjunct will follow the possessive construction.

There are two broad semantic types of demonstratives in Nias: a purely deictic type and a 'recognitional' type (Himmelman 1996, 1998; see below), both of which have numerous forms. The deictic type is used to identify the physical or cognitive proximity of an entity within the situational or speech context. Deictic demonstratives form two classes: a proximal class (PROX), referring to things which are physically or cognitively close to the speaker, and a distal class (DIST), referring to things which are physically or cognitively distant from the speaker. Some deictic demonstratives may function as both adjunct and pronoun, some function only as adjuncts, and some function only as pronouns. Adnominal uses will be discussed first because adnominal use is broader and more frequent than pronominal use (as is the case in other languages, see Himmelman 1996:204).

The deictic demonstrative adjuncts of Nias Selatan are listed in Table 7, according to whether they have proximal or distal meaning. In practice the distinction

² The reduplication of nouns to indicate plural, as has occurred in the form *ndroto-ndroto* 'parts', is not a normal strategy in nouns to indicate plural in Nias Selatan. See section 7 in this chapter.

between proximal and distal is often not clear.³ The terms PROX and DIST are used for deictic demonstratives until a more precise analysis can be made.

Table 7: Deictic demonstrative adjuncts in Nias Selatan

PROXIMAL	DISTAL
ha'a	hö'ö
andra	andre
=ndra	=ndre
-a, -e -ö ⁴	

The clitics and suffixes in this list function only as adjuncts, as does the proximal form *andra*. The other three forms, *ha'a*, *hö'ö* and *andre*, function also as pronouns (see below). In terms of the distinctions made in Himmelmann 1996:238 (and 1998:322), deictic demonstratives, both adnominal and pronominal, will be discussed with respect to the following meanings:

- (i) situational use: referring to an entity in the presence of the speaker and hearer
- (ii) tracking use: referring to an entity mentioned in a previous clause
- (iii) discourse-deictic use: referring to previous stretch of discourse, i.e. a section of text typically reporting an event or speech

Deictic demonstratives used adnominally only occur in situational and tracking uses. All of them have tracking use, but only *ha'a* and *hö'ö* are used to any extent

³ It is evident that the demonstratives in Nias Selatan have subtle meanings other than the ones described in this section, which require further study.

⁴ As will be seen further on in this section, these suffixes are less distinctive than this classification makes them appear. However, their current meanings are not easy to determine precisely, and tentative classification into proximal and distal is based on their use in the commonly used adverbs *ga-e* 'here' (specific place) and *ga-ö* 'there' (specific place) and the presentatives *ya-a* / *ya-e* 'here is, this is...'.

situationally (an exception is that *andra* appears to be used situationally for familiar places and times, and both *andra* and its short form =*ndra* are frequently used in place of *ha'a* in reported speech). The distal adjunct *andre* and the clitic forms occur only in tracking use (again with the exception of *andre* used for some reported speech contexts (see below for examples)).

8.3.1 Demonstrative adjuncts: proximal deictic

8.3.1.1 Situational: *ha'a*

The proximal demonstrative *ha'a* is used typically to refer to tangible objects. Examples of *ha'a* used situationally are given in (7) and (8):

- (7) Haiya guna harehare **ha'a**?
 harehare
 what use shelf:MUT PROX

What's this shelf used for? (indicating shelf with motion of head)

- (8) Hanawara va löna la-oböi nohi **ha'a**?
 ohi
 why COMP NEG 3p.RLS-cut.down coconut.tree:MUT PROX

Why don't they chop down this tree? (touching tree with hand)

8.3.1.2 Tracking: *ha'a*

Ha'a has infrequent adnominal use in tracking a referent. *Ha'a* is illustrated in tracking use in (10) below, which is the final sentence of a section of text fifteen clauses long, which begins with (9). *Ha'a* in (10) refers to the underlined noun *ndraβa* 'foreigner' in (9)..

- (9) La-waö manö ndraβa ... so ya.
 ndraβa
 3p.RLS-say just foreigner:MUT ... arrive 3s.MUT

Möi	ga	ya	ma-nörö.
			maN-törö.
go/come	here	3s.MUT	IPF-walk

They just said a foreigner...arrived. He had come here for sight-seeing (lit. to walk around).

...

13 clauses

...

(10) Maoso göi niha **ha'a**, i-waö, "eu si=sökhi."
 niha
 get.up also person:MUT PROX 3s.RLS-say tree REL=good

Also this man said, "this is a good tree".

Note, however, that the man referred to by *ha'a* in (10) is introduced 15 clauses earlier (in ex (9) above), and while the story does not diverge from action which includes this participant, he is not specifically mentioned again apart from the pronoun *ya* in the sentence immediately after his introduction. In (10), then, *ha'a* is not indicating immediate textual proximity but rather the assumed retention in the addressee's memory of the recent introduction of a participant.

8.3.1.3 Situational: *andra*

Andra does not appear to be used situationally like *ha'a*. *Andra* is, however, used to refer to less tangible things present to both speaker and addressee such as places and times. For example in (11), the place *Soroso* has not been mentioned before, but refers to the crossing over a river close to where the speaker lives and is speaking:

(11)	Fa-a-röu	moroi	ba	Zoroso	andra	irugi	Gaetusa,
				Soroso			Aetusa
	NR-ST-far	come.from	LOC	Soroso	PROX	up.to	Aetusa
	fitu	kilo.					
	seven	kilometre					

The distance from Soroso here to Aetusa is seven kilometres.

Since *andra* is not normally used situationally, what seems to be happening in these cases is that *andra* is used to report statements in which the real speaker may have used *ha'a*. Another example of this phenomenon is given in (15):

- (15) "He!" la-waö "Va'a-sökhi mbua geu andra"
 fa'a- bua eu
 hey! 3p.RLS-say NR.MUT-good fruit:MUT tree:MUT PROX
 "Hey!" they said, "How nice the fruits of these trees look!"⁷

8.3.1.5 Tracking: *andra*

Andra is used as a tracking device in discourse typically when the entity referred to is intended by the speaker to be retrievable from the immediately preceding discourse. This is illustrated in the excerpts (16)-(17) and (18)-(19) below, in which the entities modified by *andra* in both cases are introduced into the story in the immediately preceding sentence.

- (16) So *zi=so-khö-ra*.
 si=
 EXIST REL.MUT=EXIST-possession-3p.POSS

They had servants. (lit. Ones who were there for them existed.)

- (17) Si=so-khö-ra **andra**, ira-alaße ba
 REL.MUT=EXIST-possession-3p.POSS PROX COLL-female CNJ
 ira-matua, eluaha, s-a-me-me ö mbaßi-ra.
 s=aN-be baßi
 COLL-male meaning REL=IPF-RDP2-give food pig:MUT-3p.POSS

These servants of theirs, a woman and a man, that is, were the ones who used to give the pigs their food.⁸ (lit. 'those who always gave their pigs food')

⁷ Mutated forms of nominalized verbs in initial position appear to be used for expressing surprise.

⁸ The word *sisokhö* is a headless relative which literally means 'one who is a possession'. The NP containing the demonstrative in (17) is a fronted argument of the nominal predicate expressed in the headless relative clause, *sameme ö mbaßi-ra* 'the ones who cook their pigs' food'. The predicate status

(18) La-fa-tuhi *gaβaöli*.
 kaβaoli
 3p.RLS-DYN-trivet frying.pan:MUT

(19) Me la-fa-tuhi *gaβaöli* **andra**, ma=a-boto.
 kaβaoli
 when 3p.RLS-DO-trivet frying.pan:MUT PROX PERF=ST-break

They put the pan on the trivet (stones). When they put this pan on the trivet the stones broke.⁹

8.3.2 Demonstrative adjuncts: distal deictic

8.3.2.1 Situational: *hö'ö*

Like the proximal demonstrative *ha'a*, the distal demonstrative *hö'ö* refers to tangible objects. Examples of the distal form *hö'ö* used in situational contexts are given in (20) and (21). Gestures such as a nod or turn of the head in the direction of the referent or a subtle pointing with the chin or lips may accompany *hö'ö*, but usually the speaker and hearer are looking towards the same place so the gesture is unnecessary.

(20) Ma=afaihö nose **hö'ö**
 ose
 PERF=collapsed field.hut:MUT DIST

That field hut has collapsed. (looking at it)

is clear from the fact that the relative marker is unmutated. If this were an argument the relative marker would be mutated, as it is in the argument of existential *so* in the first sentence.

⁹ The noun *tuhituhi*, 'trivet', refers to three stones which are placed on a fire to steady a cooking vessel and raise it above the fire. The transitive verb *fa-tuhi* means something like 'place on trivet'. The matrix clause in the second sentence in (19), *ma aboto* 'broke', has no argument, which indicates that its argument is an inanimate object, and here, could syntactically refer to *kaβaoli* 'frying pan'. However, the rest of the story is concerned with a broken stone of the trivet, not with the pan. The pan is only mentioned again, much later, in the retelling of the story. Here then, the argument is referring to the *tuhituhi*, 'trivet stones', even though only the root of this word functions as part of the verb stem.

- (21) Haiya halöwö mba'e hö'ö?
 halöwö ba'e
 what work:MUT monkey:MUT DIST

What are **those** monkeys doing? (looking at them)

8.3.2.2 Tracking: *hö'ö*

In tracking use, there is no sense in which *hö'ö* implies textual distance. Typically an NP in which *hö'ö* occurs may refer to an entity which was mentioned a long time before or to one which has only just been mentioned. For example in the excerpt given in (22)-(24) below, the noun *vehede* 'word' refers to a word '*zamba*', introduced just four clauses earlier:

- (22) Zamba döi-nia, moroi gane ba khö-ma.
 töi
 guava name:MUT-3s.POSS come.from there (indef) LOC DAT-1pe.POSS

- (23) ba hera ndrao ha ßa so ga".
 CNJ surprised 1s.MUT only COMP EXIST here

- (24) Nah. Me ya'ira niha s=a-tua-tua,
 D.PTCL since 3p person REL=ST-RDP2-mature
 la-analisa **ve-hede** **hö'ö**.¹⁰
 fe-
 3p.RLS-analyse NR.MUT-speak DIST

It's name is 'guava', it's from over there where I live. But I'm just surprised to find it here. Now, since they were wise men, they analysed that word.

In (26) below also, the man referred to by the NP *niha hö'ö* has been the topic of conversation for the last six clauses before this, and is even mentioned in a possessive pronominal suffix in the clause preceding this one (given in (25)), yet a distal form is used:

¹⁰ The word *hera* and the verb *analisa* are borrowed from Indonesian *heran* 'surprise(d)' and (*meng-*)*analisa* 'analyse' respectively.

- (25) Tobai khö-nia ha'a!
 can't DAT-3s.POSS PROX

He can't do this sort of thing! (lit. 'This can't be done by *him*'.)

- (26) Na si=mane niha hö'ö, löna sökhi.
 niha
 if REL=do/be.like.that person.MUT DIST NEG good

If **that man** is like that it's not good. (lit. If that man is one who is doing/being like that (it) is not good.)

Given the paucity of instances of proximal *ha'a* in tracking use, it would appear that *hö'ö* plays a dual role of proximal and distal textual distance.

Demonstrative adjuncts typically refer only to the noun which immediately precedes them. For example, in (27), *hö'ö* refers to the possessor noun *moto* 'car' and not to the possessed *va'a-te-kiko* 'the breaking down':

- (27) A-bölö-bölö sibai va'a-te-kiko moto hö'ö.
 fa'a- moto
 ST-RDP2-strong ITNS NR.MUT-RES-ruin car:MUT DIST

That car's (constant) breaking-down is very frustrating. (D)

However there are contexts in which reference may be ambiguous, and may refer to the immediately preceding noun or to the entire preceding NP. This is illustrated in (28), where *hö'ö* refers to the possessor *geu* 'tree', but in theory could also refer to *ndraha* 'branches' as well, or to *liwaliwa ndraha* 'the movement of the branches':

- (28) A-bölö-bölö liwaliwa ndraha geu hö'ö
 liwaliwa ndraha eu
 ST-RDP2-strong movement:MUT branch:MUT tree:MUT DIST

The movement of the branches of that tree is very strong. (because of the wind).

- (32) M-oi la-fo-'ila'ila fefu geu=**ndra** s=ebua.
 eu
 PERF-all 3p.RLS-CAU-HAVE-sign all tree:MUT=PROX REL=big
 They have marked all these big trees.

8.3.3.2 The suffix *-ndra*

A morpheme with the same phonological form as the clitic =*ndra* frequently occurs in people's names after their title. This is illustrated in (34) and (35), where the word *Amada* (lit. 'our father'), is used as a customary title (typically used for all older men as well as one's family forefathers and village ancestors). Note that the name which occurs after the title *Amada* is the name of the participant in the story, i.e. it is *Lafau* and *Helazatarö* who are participants, not, according to the literal translation of the title, their fathers:

- (34) Me i-'ila Amada=**ndra** Lafau va oya, ...
 when 3s.RLS-see Amada-? Lafau COMP much
 When Amada Lafau saw that it was a lot ...¹²

- (35) Böröme ahatö Namada=**ndra** Helazatarö,...
 Amada
 because ST-close Amada:MUT-? Helazatarö
 Because Amada Helazatarö was close, ...

¹² Note that the word order in (34) is V-A-P. The normal order V-P-A, i.e. *i-ila va oya Amada ndra Lafau* [3s.RLS-see COMP much Amada-ndra Lafau], is just as acceptable and means the same thing. However, there is an ambiguity concerning the constituent *va oya* which is disambiguated by the word order. Formally the constituent *va oya* can either be a complement consisting of the complementizer *va* and the intransitive verb *oya* 'be many', or it could be the mutated form of the nominalized form of the verb *oya*, *fa-oya* 'amount' (implying a large amount). In fact, either translation would be suitable for this sentence. However, there is a tendency for complements to occur after the lexical expression of an A argument, perhaps because they are often long constituents. In (34), because *va oya* occurs after the A, it is translated as a complement rather than a nominalized form of the verb. If it had occurred before the A, the more appropriate translation would have been: 'Because Amada Lafau saw the (large) amount'.

The meaning of *-ndra* in these examples is not entirely clear. In almost every case the participant has just been mentioned, so *-ndra* appears to be a proximal tracking adjunct. However, formally the morpheme /*ndra*/ which occurs in these examples is not the same as the proximal demonstrative clitic =*ndra*. In constructions such as those illustrated in (34) and (35) above, the title is affected by the presence of /*ndra*/, causing stress to move one syllable to the right. That is, *Amada-ndra* is pronounced [amadádra], with stress on the penultimate syllable. (Without the presence of *-ndra*, *Amada* is usually pronounced with penultimate stress, i.e. [ʔamáda]¹³.) Because stress moves to the right when *-ndra* is present, I have analysed this morpheme as a suffix, since this is one of the features which distinguishes suffixes from clitics in Nias Selatan. It is also perhaps significant in claiming that the suffix *-ndra* is a different morpheme from the demonstrative clitic =*ndra*, to note that the full demonstrative *andra* corresponding to the clitic form never occurs in proper names, suggesting that the suffixal form is not related to the deictic demonstrative. The distal demonstrative =*ndre* does not occur in proper name constructions either, suggesting that there is no need for the suffix *-ndra* to distinguish proximal from distal mentions of proper names. Frequently proper names containing *-ndra* also include a recognitional demonstrative after the clitic, indicating that the participant has been mentioned before. Examples in which *-ndra* and a recognitional demonstrative co-occur are illustrated in (36 and (37):

- (36) I-hönagö maö khö Namada-**ndra** nomae Larisökhi,
 m-waö Amada
 3.RLS-do.before IPF:say DAT Amada:MUT-? RECOG Larisökhi
 He had previously said to this Amada Larisökhi we know, ...

¹³ Sometimes the title *Amada* is also pronounced with stress on the first syllable, i.e. [ʔámada], for reasons I can't explain at present.

- (37) Maoso Namada-**ndra** nomemae Lafau, ...
 Amada
 get.up Amada:MUT-? RECOG Lafau
 Then (the aforementioned) Amada Lafau got up, ...

While there are many examples in which the suffix *-ndra* is followed by a recognitional demonstrative in proper names, there is only one other example in my data in which any other demonstrative occurs in an NP along with a recognitional demonstrative. Since such difference exists between the suffix *-ndra* and demonstrative adjuncts in general, this is further support for claiming that the suffix is a different morpheme from the clitic *=ndra*.

There is an additional formal resemblance between the suffix *-ndra* used in proper names and the mutated form of the collective prefix, *ndra-* used with proper names (see 4.3). Semantically the collective prefix is quite appropriate in proper names, where a phrase such as *Amada ndra-Lafau* (with the prefix *ndra-*, not the clitic *=ndra*) might have the meaning 'ancestor of the Lafau clan'. However, the suffix *-ndra* which occurs in proper names cannot be the same morpheme as the collective prefix *ndra-* for two reasons. One is that the participant referred to by these proper name constructions is, as mentioned above, not the 'ancestor' of anyone but the person whose name is given, e.g. Lafau in (34) and (37). The second reason is that the collective prefix is never followed by a recognitional demonstrative in any other context, so it is unlikely that it would be followed by a recognitional demonstrative in these constructions. Furthermore, there are rare instances when discourse particles such as *matö* 'so, therefore', can follow the suffix *-ndra* in proper names. Such an instance is illustrated in (38):

- (38) Me i-rono Amada-**ndra** **matö** Lafau,...
 when 3s.RLS-hear Amada-? therefore Lafau
 So when Amada Lafau heard about this...

Although the sentence is correct as it is, it is also the case that *matö* could occur after the verb or after the entire clause. Since the collective prefix cannot be separated from the name to which it attaches, such evidence supports a statement that the suffix *-ndra* is a different morpheme. It is not clear what the meaning of this suffix is at this stage, nor its relationship with the proximal deictic demonstrative clitic *=ndra*.

8.3.3.3 Distal *=ndre*

The distal clitic *=ndre* does not show the same tendency to be followed by other material as proximal *=ndra*, but it does show a greater tendency in this regard than full demonstratives. Some examples of NPs containing *=ndre* followed by other material are given in (39)-(43). In (39) the NP is modified by a relative clause *si=da-rua* 'which are two':

- (39) *Niha=ndre si=da-rua, i-fe-ta'u.*
 dua
 person-DIST REL=CLF-two:LEN 3s.RLS-CAU-afraid
 Those two people, he frightened.

In (40) the NP is modified by *fefu* 'most, all':

- (40) *Me oja=ae li,*
 li
 since many=already sound:MUT
 oya li niha=ndre fefu,...
 li niha
 many sound:MUT person:MUT=DIST most, all
 As there was already a lot of talk, a lot people talking (about it)...

In (41), the NP is modified by a prepositional phrase:

- (41) Mo-möi la-faigi idanö=**ndre** ba Mbagule,...
- Bagule
- JNT-go 3p.RLS-see water=DIST LOC Bagule:MUT
- They went to see that water at Bagule,...¹⁴

In (42), the clitic occurs as the final element of an NP containing a possessor, but is followed by a temporal NP:

- (42) Gasagasa v-a-nua-nia=**ndre**, boni-e andre, ...
- f-aN-hua
- during NR.MUT-IPF-talk=DIST night-DIST DIST
- During those discussions of his, on that night, ...

Generally, however, =*ndre* occurs at the end of a noun phrase, as illustrated in (43):

- (43) andre || döi-nia 'zamba', mbua geu=**ndre**.
- töi bua eu
- DIST || name:MUT-3s.POSS guava fruti:MUT tree:MUT=DIST
- Its name is 'guava', the fruit of that tree.

The clitic =*ndre* is sometimes found with an extra syllable -'e or -'ö which attracts stress. Because this final syllable is stressed, it is not clear that the form is a clitic any longer. In some cases these extra syllables are said to have a meaning of selectivity, i.e. 'that particular x', as in the following example:

- (44) Fa-βatö-sa-nia=**ndre**-'e te'ana gaö,
- DO-visit-NR-3s.POSS=?DIST-particular NEG(N) there

¹⁴ The lack of mutation on the P argument, *idanö* 'water', may be due to the fact that this site is unique in Nias (I'm told) in having pure water which does not need to be boiled before drinking. As mentioned in 7.2.2.2, it is sometimes the case that unique locations or entities are referred to by unmutated forms where mutation would be expected.

ba Hilizondege'asi. Gaö möi ya
 Hilizondege'asi
 LOC Hilizondege'asi:MUT there go 3s.MUT
 fa-βatö¹⁵, ba Mbaßöhulando.
 Baßöhulandro
 DYN-floor LOC Baßöhulandro:MUT

That particular visit of his was not to there, to Hilizondege'asi. It was to Baßöhulando he went for a visit.

- (45) "Boto-hili-tanö". andrehe'e || zi=sah¹⁶,
 si=
 Boto-hili-tanö DIST || REL.MUT=legal
 mbanua nde-'ö Botohili.
 banua
 village:MUT DIST-particular Botohili

"Boto-hili-tanö." That was what the legal name was, of that particular village, Botohili.

These extra syllables are also found occasionally following the full form *andre*, and once again attract stress. In these cases, however, the meaning of 'selectivity' seems forced. Some examples of this are given in (46) and (47):

- (46) Me mo-fanö Namada andre-'ö,...
 Amada
 when leave Amada:MUT DIST-particular
 When **that** Amada left, ...

¹⁵ The word *faβatö* 'visit' is derived from *batö* 'floor' plus the dynamic verb stem-forming prefix *fa-*. The lenition of /b/ indicates that the word has become lexicalized. *Fa-βatö* is used here in a purposive construction.

¹⁶ *Sah* 'legal' is borrowed from Indonesian *sah* 'legal, valid'.

- (47) Gaö mi-halö mbatu andre-'ö ba Zamburæ.
 batu Zamburæ
 there 2p.RLS-take stone:MUT DIST-particular LOC Zamburæ:MUT

Go and take **those** stones from Zamburæ.

It is not clear what the formal status of these extra syllables is, what their meaning is, or, indeed whether the difference in form signals a difference of meaning.

8.3.4 Demonstrative adjuncts with pronouns

Some deictic demonstrative adjuncts may occur with pronouns as well as with nouns. In my data, *andra*, *andre*, =*ndra* and =*ndre* occur in this function, but the situational demonstratives *hö'ö* and *ha'a* do not. The proximal demonstrative *andra* occurs with pronouns which refer to people who are being addressed, as illustrated in examples (48) and (49):

- (48) Izö ine ya'ami **andra** si=feleßitu,
 D.PTCL D.PTCL 2p PROX REL=seventeen
 böi mi-röi ndrao.
 NEG.IMPER 2p.RLS-leave.behind 1s.MUT

Well, then, you seventeen, don't leave me.

- (49) Hata mi **andra** z=o-okhöta, ...
 s=
 who 2p.MUT PROX REL.MUT=HAVE-property

Whoever amongst you has wealth ... (lit. who(ever)of (these?) you is one who has property...)

The clitic =*ndra* is used only once, attached to the pronoun which the speaker uses to refer to himself and the people with him, as illustrated in (50):

- (50) I-waö, "samösa ndraga=**ndra**
 3s.RLS-say one.person 1pe.MUT=PROX
 tobai ga-r<um>öi ndraugö".
 can't 1pe.IRR-<IRR>leave.behind 2s.MUT
 He said "Not one of us could leave you".¹⁷

The distal demonstrative *andre* is used with a third plural pronoun in (51) below, referring to people who have not actually been mentioned, but belong to the family of the participant who has been the topic of conversation for some time:

- (51) A-hori ira **andre** fitu na=fulu batu, aβenia aman¹⁸.
 ST-finish 3p.MUT DIST seven LK=ten stone then peace
 If they could finish (paying off a fine of) seventy stone (of gold), then everything would be settled.

The distal clitic =*ndre* is used in (52) with reference to people who have been mentioned by name in the previous sentence (which is given in example (51) above):

- (52) Hanata göi ira=**ndre**?
 who also 3p.MUT=DIST
 Who were they?

In (53), =*ndre* is used again with third plural reference, and again the referent occurs in the previous sentence in the text:

¹⁷ Note that the phrase *samösa ndraga=ndra* is a fronted A argument which is also expressed by the pronominal prefix *ga-* on the verb. Although this phrase occurs before the verb, a position which requires unmutated forms of arguments, the pronoun is still mutated, indicating that the trigger for mutation is the indefinite pronoun *samösa* 'one person'.

¹⁸ The word *aman* is borrowed from Indonesian *aman* 'peace'. *Aβenia* 'just now' is also pronounced *aβena*.

- (55) Löna i-sikhi, irugi a-töla mbaluse-ö.
 baluse
 NEG 3s.RLS-repulse up.to ST-bone shield:MUT-PROX

Fanambai prepared his shield. He did not repulse (the spear), so that it pierced the strut of the shield. (Z-L) (lit. ...until the shield was ?boned (reached up to the strut (bone)))

In (56), *-a* refers to a spear that has not been overtly mentioned in the text, but is implied from the use of the verb *handro* 'throw a spear' four clauses earlier. Thus if this form is 'proximal' it is cognitively close and not textually recent:

- (56) ...ba te-taru doho-a ba danö,...
 toho tanö
 ...LOC RES-plant spear:MUT-PROX? LOC land:MUT
 ...and the/this/that spear landed in the ground, ... (Z-L)

In (57), *-a* is perhaps used situationally, in the way *andra* is used, to refer to a place in which speaker and addressee both happen to be:

- (57) Ya'ia nidanö Gomo-a gaö ba zumali.
 idanö sumali
 3s river:MUT Gomo-PROX there LOC waterfall:MUT

That is this river Gomo there at the waterfall.²⁰ (Z-L) (Gomo river is the one the speaker's village is on and where he and his addressee are talking)

In some contexts, the nouns to which these suffixes attach have not been mentioned before, but are assumed to be shared knowledge, i.e. the suffixes play a recognitional role (see below). This is the case for the suffix *-a* in (58):

²⁰ The third singular pronoun *ya'ia* is not normally used for inanimate objects, but the river Gomo is a very significant one in Nias mythology and this may be relevant in the use of the pronoun here.

- (58) U-rono-rono dōi nda-ono
 töi ira-
 1s.RLS-RDP2-hear name:MUT COLL.MUT-child
 Danazumenivugö-a gane ba khö-ma.
 Danazumenvugö
 Danazumenivugö:MUT-RECOG there(non-spec) LOC DAT-1pe.POSS
 I used to hear the name of these Danazumenivugö people (that I know you know about) there at my village. (Z-L)

In (59) below, the suffix *-a* on *vösi* 'fösi tree' is also presumably recognitional. It refers to a tree which is known by all Nias people as the tree that God (Loʔalani) planted. The suffix *-ö* on *ama* 'ancestor' could, perhaps, be used in discourse-tracking, but since reference to the ancestor has been active in the discourse all along in the pronominal prefix on the verb, its meaning is more likely to be proximal.

- (59) ...ba i-huta sara ndraha vösi-a
 fösi
 ...CNJ 3s.RLS-cut.off one branch fösi.tree:MUT-RECOG
 moroi gae ba Gomo, ba i-doro
 Gomo
 come.from here(spec) LOC Gomo:MUT CNJ 3s.RLS-carry
 laö ama-ö.
 hearsay ancestor-PROX
 ...and it is said that this ancestor cut off a branch of this *fösi* tree (that I know you know about) here in Gomo, and carried (it with him). (Z-L)

In (60) below, the suffix *-ö* on the noun *niha* 'people' tracks a participant, but again, a participant which has been referred to pronominally for some time in the text. The suffix *-a* is used on the name of a village which has not been mentioned before but is a large and well-known village in Nias, indicating that *-a* is used recognitionally.

- (60) La-tu-tunö matö khö-nia niha-ö gaö
 3p.RLS-RDP1-tell therefore DAT-3s.POSS person-DIST? there(spec)
 ba mbanua, va so nemali MaenamöLö-a.
 banua email MaenamöLö
 LOC village:MUT COMP EXIST enemy:MUT MaenamöLö:MUT-RECOG

Then those people who were present there in the village told him that this (village of) MaenamöLö had enemies.²¹ (Z-L)

These suffixes should not be confused with the suffixes *-e* and *-ö* described above. The suffixes *-e* and *-ö* are different in three ways: first, they are glottal-initial, while the suffixes *-a*, *-e* and *-ö* are syllabic vowels; second, they occur only with demonstratives, while *-a*, *-e* and *-ö* occur on nouns (and the adverbs and presentatives mentioned above); and third, they attract stress, while *-a*, *-e* and *-ö* affect the stress of the entire word, requiring it to move one syllable to the right, e.g. *niha-ö* 'those people' in (60) is pronounced as [niháʋ] (cf. the unaffixed form *niha* 'people' [níha]).

8.3.6 Demonstrative pronouns

The list of deictic demonstrative pronouns in Nias Selatan is given in Table 8:

Table 8: Deictic demonstrative pronouns in Nias Selatan

PROXIMAL	DISTAL
ha'a	hö'ö
—	andre
andraha'a	andrehe'e

As exemplified in 8.3.1 and 8.3.2 above, *ha'a*, *hö'ö* and *andre* function also as nominal adjuncts. The demonstratives *andraha'a* and *andrehe'e* function only as pronouns.

²¹ Note that this sentence has the order V-A-P, an order which is found in cases in which the P argument is in the form of a complement.

- (63) La-waö, "he! tobai khö-nia **ha'a!**
 3p.RLS-say hey! can't DAT-3s.POSS PROX

They said, 'Hey! he can't do **this!** (lit. 'This can't be done by him.')

The distal demonstrative *hö'ö* is used in situational contexts and as a discourse-deictic demonstrative. An example of *hö'ö* used situationally is given in the idiomatic question form (64) where *hö'ö* is the argument of the question word *ha'ökhö* 'to whom':

- (64) Ha-'ö-khö **hö'ö?**
 Q-?particular-possession DIST

Whose is **that?** (lit. That is (whose)?)

In discourse-deictic uses, *hö'ö* may refer to events, speech, activities, behaviour, places and times. *Hö'ö* occurs most commonly in the phrase *aefa hö'ö* [passed DIST] 'after that', used to refer to an event or events just related. In this phrase it functions as an S argument of *aefa* 'passed'. Another example of *hö'ö* in S function is given in (65):

- (65) Gaö=walaö ba Hiligayama alua **hö'ö,**
 Hiligayama
 there(spec)=they.say LOC Hiligayama:MUT happen DIST

They say it was there at Hiligayama (that) **that** happened. (Z-L)

In (66), *hö'ö* is the P argument of the verb *ila* 'know':

- (66) U-ila=ae **hö'ö.**
 1sg-know=already that

I already know **that.**

In (67), *hö'ö* is the P argument of the verb in the question form *haega i-vaisa* 'how' (the root of the verb *vaisa* is not known):

- (67) I-waö "gu-va-sindo mea mbanua.
-fa- banua
 3s.RLS-say 1s.IRR-IRR-CAU-stand CTF village:MUT
 haega i-vaisa **hö'ö**?"
 how DIST

He'd said 'I want to establish a village. How do I do **that**'?

In (68) and (69) *hö'ö* is the argument of a locative preposition:

- (68) Gaö mo-lomba-lombase ira ba **hö'ö**.
 maN-ombase
 there(spec) IPF-RDP2-rest 3p.MUT LOC DIST

They always took a rest at **that** place.

- (69) Salase ya ba **hö'ö**.
 finished 3s.MUT LOC DIST

It finishes with **that**.²³

Hö'ö is also used in certain idiomatic expressions, such as those given in (70):

(70) **Idiomatic expressions using the distal demonstrative pronoun *hö'ö***

khö-gu ae hö'ö 'it's my responsibility' (lit. to-me come that);

haiya hö'ö? 'what's the matter?' or 'what's happening/happened?' (lit. That is what?)

simane hö'ö 'if that's the case' (lit. That is what is doing/being like that).

Some examples of these idiomatic forms are given in (71)-(73):

²³ *Salase* 'finished' is borrowed from Indonesian *selesai* 'finished'. The pronoun *ya* here is anomalous, since pronouns usually only refer to humans. The pronoun refers to a very long story which has just been told about the founding of the village of Botohilitanö. The demonstrative pronoun refers to the event related in the sentences just prior to this, which themselves finish with a sentence which translates as: "We'll turn it into a villlage and call it Boto-hili-tanö".

- (71) I-waö "moa! khö-gu ae hö'ö"
 3s.RLS-say finished! DAT-1s.POSS ?come:IMPER DIST
 He said, "Enough! **that** is my responsibility."²⁴

- (72) Ai faigi haiya hö'ö.
 go:IMPER see what DIST
 Go and have a look at what has happened.

- (73) Nah, si=mane hö'ö, ba lau.
 Now, REL=be/do.like DIST CNJ OK
 Now, if **that** is the case, well, OK.²⁵

8.3.6.2 *Andre*

The proximal demonstrative *andra* does not occur in my data in pronominal use, either as an argument or as a predicate. The distal demonstrative pronoun *andre* is used in a restricted context—it occurs only as a nominal predicate in equational clauses, to indicate that a participant or certain information that has become important in the discourse. As a nominal predicate, *andre* always occurs in initial position. It has tracking use, as illustrated in (74), and discourse-deictic use as illustrated in (75). (For ease of interpretation, predicates of nominal clauses are separated from arguments in the following examples by the mark '||'.)

- (74) **Andre** || v-o-ndu-ndukhu-ra.
 f-aN-rukha
 DIST || NR.MUT-IPF-RDP1-rub-3p.POSS

That was their scrubbing stuff. (lit. 'Their scrubbing stuff was that.')

²⁴ I'm not sure whether *ae* is one of the imperative forms of the verb *möi* 'go, come' (see 11.5) or the particle *=ae* 'already'. The word *moa* 'finished' is equivalent to *ma=aßali* / *ma=aßai* [PERF=finished] 'finished' which may be substituted for *moa*. Speakers tell me that *moa* is derived from *ma=aßali*.

²⁵ The word *lau* has three meanings: as a transitive verb it means either 'climb' (see ex (85)), or 'do' (see ex (39) in Chapter 9), as an affirmative response particle it means 'yes, OK, let it be'. *Lau* is the usual response to any polite request.

- (75) **Andre** || ga-nofu-la.
aN-sofu
DIST || IPF.MUT-ask-NR
That was the question. (lit. The question was that.)

Followed by a headless relative, equational constructions with *ande* link a previously mentioned participant or information which is now in discourse focus with additional attributive information. Example (76) illustrates this tracking use:

- (76) **...andre** || zi=tobali kafalo ba mbanua=ndre.
si= banua
...DIST || REL.MUT=become head LOC village:MUT=DIST
...that is the one who will become head of that village (lit. the one who will become head in that village is that one.)²⁶

Examples (77) and (78) illustrate discourse-deictic use:

- (77) **Andre** || ni-dönadöna Namada=ndra Taögönaso.
Amada
DIST || PASS-RDP2-expect Amada:MUT=PROX Taögönaso
That is what this Amada Taögönaso expected. (lit. what was expected by Amada Taögönaso was that.)

- (78) **Andre** || mbörö ba tobai da-mazu,
börö
DIST || reason COMP can't 1pi.IRR-advance
da-mbali-'ö banua si-'oföna.
1pi.IRR-turn-TR village first
That was the reason that we couldn't go ahead with it, and turn it into a village right at the beginning.²⁷

²⁶ The noun *kafalo* 'head' is presumably borrowed from Indonesian *kepala* 'head' (of body and of organization). There is no /p/ phoneme in Nias, so /p/ is pronounced as /t/. I am not sure why there is a final /o/ in place of Indonesian /a/.

As a nominal predicate, *ande* has acquired special uses and meanings. It is used to identify the names of people and things, as illustrated in (79):

(79) **Andre** || döi-nia Siwa La'imba.
töi

DIST || name:MUT-3s.POSS Siwa La'imba

His name was Siwa La'imba. (H) (lit. His name was **that**, Siwa La'imba.)

It has also come to be used idiomatically with the meaning 'that's why / how' in equational constructions in which the subject is a clause rather than a single lexical item. The clause may occur with or without a complementizer, as illustrated in (80) - (81):

(80) **Andre**|| va löna alua.

DIST || COMP NEG happen

That is why (it) didn't happen.

(81) **Andre** manö || la-ete-ni niha=ndre.

DIST just || 3p.RLS-bridge-TR person=DIST

That, then, was how those people bridged (it).

Nominal clause constructions with *andre* are discussed further in Chapter 9.

8.3.6.3 *Andraha'a* and *andrehe'e*

The two forms *andraha'a* and *andrehe'e* occur infrequently, and appear to have emphatic deictic use. Both occur in predicate function of nominal clauses, and *andrehe'e* also occurs in argument function. *Andraha'a* occurs only twice in my data, both in situational contexts:

²⁷ The verb *mazo* 'advance' is borrowed from Indonesian *maju* 'advance'.

- (82) **andraha'a** || nahia si=tumbu ya'o.
 nahia
 PROX || place:MUT REL=be.born 1s

This is the place where I was born.

- (83) **Andraha'a** || nohi-ma.
 ohi
 PROX || coconut.tree:MUT-1pe.POSS

These are our coconut trees.

Most of the instances of *andrehe'e* in my data occurred in response to elicited sentences (cf. ex (85)-(88) below). There are three spontaneous instances of *andrehe'e*, given below in examples (84), (89) and (90). In (84), *andrehe'e* is used as a nominal predicate to refer to the complex NP which precedes it, in a construction which resembles left-dislocation:

- (84) Niha s=o-aya ana'a,
 person REL=HAVE-jewellery gold
andrehe'e niha s-o-khö-khö.
 niha
 DIST person:MUT REL-HAVE-possession

(If you see) people wearing gold jewellery, **they** are the ones who are wealthy.

Other examples of *andrehe'e* from elicited data do not involve left-dislocation, but are constructions which are identificational, indicating that the argument is definite and specific. Some examples of these are given in (85)-(88):

- (85) **Andrehe'e**|| nohi ni-lau nono matua.
 ohi ono
 DIST || coconut.tree:MUT PASS-climb child:MUT male

That is the tree the boy climbed.

- (89) Andre ösa kaya ira, börö gandrehe'e.
 andrehe'e
 DIST some rich 3p.MUT because.of ?DIST:MUT

That's how some of them got rich, because of (doing) things like that.²⁸

- (90) La-fotöi gandrehe'e hö'ö 'löna la-tehe'.
 andrehe'e
 3p.RLS-CAU-HAVE-name ?DIST:MUT DIST NEG 3p.RLS-agree

They call that (sort of) behaviour 'disagreeable' (lit. 'they do not agree')

In (90), note that *andrehe'e* is modified by the deictic demonstrative adjunct *hö'ö*. There is no other example of a demonstrative pronoun which is modified by deictic demonstrative, arguing that the form *andrehe'e* in this use is not regarded as deictic, but appears to be treated as a nominal constituent.

8.3.7 Demonstrative adjuncts: Recognitional

'Recognitional' demonstratives identify participants which are assumed to be known by the addressee from previous mention or from shared knowledge. There are three recognitional adjuncts which have the function of drawing the hearer's attention to someone or something which has either been previously mentioned or is within the sphere of knowledge shared by speaker and hearer. They are: =*no*, *noma'e* (or *nomae*) and *nomema'e* (or *nomemae*). All of them seem to mean something like 'the one I've been talking about' or 'you know?'. These recognitional forms function only as adjuncts, never as heads of NPs. None of them affect the stress of the constituent they follow, and while =*no* is never stressed, *noma'e* and *nomema'e* both occur in some contexts with stress either on the penultimate or final syllables. The first form, =*no*, is analysed as a clitic because it appears to occur after phrases or clauses (see below). The contexts for variation in stress for the other forms, *noma'e* and *nomema'e*, not yet

²⁸ The quantifier *ösa* 'some' appears to be functioning as a preverbal quantifier in this example. There are no other examples in my data in which *ösa* occurs in this function, and its use would have to be checked before it could be included with other forms which occur in this function (see 8.5).

understood, so they are treated as particles until further study can determine their morphological status.

The first form, =*no*, occurs infrequently and may well be a reduced form of the others²⁹. In the following examples, the clause containing =*no* is intended as a reminder, something like 'remember X?'. In (91), =*no* follows the possessor in a possessive NP which refers to an entity which was mentioned over thirty clauses earlier at the beginning of the story and has not been mentioned since:

- (91) Ndaha gavöni=**no** ni-fake-nia
 avöni
 branch fösi.tree:MUT-RECOG PASS-use-3s.POSS
 ba v-an-ötö asi möi ba Maru,
 f-aN-ötö Maru
 LOC NR.MUT-IPF-cross sea go LOC Maru:MUT
 ma=i-o-si'ö ba v-anavuli.
 f-
 PERF=3s.RLS-LIKE-stick LOC NR.MUT-return

That branch of the fösi tree that he used for crossing the sea to Maru, he used as a walking stick on his return. (Z-L)

In (92), =*no* refers to an entire clause describing an activity which was mentioned in the text approximately one hundred clauses earlier:

- (92) Samuza luö, samuza öfi, la-rino sui
 one day one evening 3p.RLS-boil again
 gö mbaßi=**no**.
 ö baßi
 food:MUT pig:MUT=RECOG

One day, one evening, they were again cooking the pigs' food as I was telling you about before.

²⁹ A homophonous morpheme functions as the perfect aspect marker preceding verbs in Northern Nias, equivalent to *ma=* in Nias Selatan.

In (93), *=no* modifies the NP consisting of *toko* 'shop' and the relative clause which follows it:

- (93) Mahemolu, omasi ndraugö manaßuli ba toko
 next.day like 2s.MUT return LOC shop
 si=möi ita oßi=**no**?³⁰
 REL=go 1s.MUT afternoon=RECOG

Tomorrow, do you want to go back to **that** shop we went to **the other day**?

From these examples it would appear that *=no* attaches to the final constituent of whatever construction expresses the entity it refers to. An example in which both the long form *nomema'e* and *=no* have the same referent is given in (94) below. In this example, *nomema'e* follows a demonstrative cliticized to a prepositional phrase, but it refers to the entire NP preceding it, consisting of the headless relative *zahatö* 'those who are close', the dative phrase *khö-ra*, and the proximal demonstrative *=ndra*. These 'relatives of theirs' were mentioned eighteen clauses earlier. The short form *=no* also refers to the 'relatives of the people who had been burnt', expressed in a complex NP consisting of the headless relative *zahatö* and the prepositional phrase following.

- (94) Maoso z=a-hatö khö-ra=ndra nomema'e,
 s=
 get.up REL.MUT=ST-close DAT-3p.POSS=PROX RECOG
 z=a-hatö khö ni-khozi=**no** la-waö ...
 s=
 REL.MUT=ST-close DAT PASS-burn=RECOG 3p.RLS-say

The relatives of these people **I've been talking about**, the relatives of those people who had been burnt **I told you about before**, got up and said ...

³⁰ The mutated pronoun *ita* is unexpected in this sentence. Usually when locative arguments are relativized, S arguments are *unmutated* in the relative clause (see section 8.4).

The noun *toko* 'shop' is a recent borrowing from Indonesian (*toko* 'shop') and is therefore not mutated.

The second form, *noma'e*, occurs primarily in proper names, like the suffix *-ndra* discussed in 8.3.3.2 above, e.g. *Amada noma'e Taögönaso* 'our ancestor Taögönaso, whom I know you know'. However, *noma'e/nomae* also occurs occasionally in other NPs, as illustrated in (95)-(96):

- (95) Bөрөme so mbambatö-ra,
 mbambatö
 because EXIST wife-giving.family.MUT-3p.POSS
 zi=so-khö-ra **noma'e**
 si=
 REL.MUT=EXIST-DAT-3p.POSS RECOG
 Because **these** servants **I was talking about** had close family, ...

- (96) La-be khö-nia gana'a **nomae** ni-ozökhö-ra.
 ana'a
 3p.RLS-give DAT-3s.POSS gold:MUT RECOG PASS-collect-3p.POSS
 They gave him **that** gold **I mentioned** that they had collected.

The longer form, *nomema'e*, may also occur in place of *noma'e* in proper names, as exemplified in (97) below. In this example, in fact, the person to whom *nomema'e* refers has not been mentioned in the story so far, but is someone about whom the speaker was telling me several days earlier. So the reference is not to someone previously mentioned in the discourse, but expected to be remembered from recent discussion:

- (97) Samuza ma-'ökhö, so Namada Taögönaso,
 Amada
 one day arrive Amada:MUT Taögönaso

fao ira-Amada **nomema'e** Larisökhi].
 join COLL-Amada RECOG Larisökhi

One day, Amada Taögönaso came, together with **that** Amada Laresökhi **we were talking about the other day** and his men.

As mentioned in 8.3.3.2 above, the suffix *-ndra* co-occurs with *noma'e* in these constructions, but it is not clear what difference in meaning the suffix adds. Typically, however, *nomema'e* occurs with simple nouns which refer to entities previously mentioned in the discourse. In (98), for example, the water referred to is mentioned only four clauses earlier.

(98)	I-fa-sisi	nidanö	nomema'e
		idanö	
	3s.RLS-DYN-flow	water:MUT	RECOG
	si=so	ba	zinado.
			sinado
	REL=EXIST	LOC	container:MUT

He poured out **that** water **I mentioned** that was in the container. (Z-L)

In (99), the gold referred to has not been mentioned for the last twenty-six clauses.

(99)	Löna	göi	alua	i-halö	gana'a	nomema'e,
					ana'a	
	NEG	also	happen	3s.RLS-take	gold:MUT	RECOG
	Amada	noma'e	Lafau.			
	Amada	RECOG	Lafau			

And he didn't manage to take **that** gold **I mentioned before**, that Amada Lafau

The distal deictic adjunct *andre* co-occurs with a recognitional demonstrative once in my data, shown in (100) below. In this example, the deictic demonstrative precedes the recognitional demonstrative.

- (100) Ba si'ulu=wa=e ||
 CNJ village.leader=D.PTCL=POL.Q ||
 nama-da andre nomema'e!?
 ama
 ancestor:MUT-1pi.POSS DIST RECOG

And you mean **that** ancestor **you've been talking about** was a village leader!?

The recognitional demonstrative *nomema'e* appears to be morphologically complex. Clearly the clitic =*no* is part of it. The temporal adverb *mema'e* 'earlier' is a likely contender for the other part of this demonstrative. Some examples of *mema'e* are given here in order to give some indication of its meaning.

- (101) So laö niha-ö gaö mema'e.
 niha
 arrive they.say person:MUT-DIST there(spec) earlier

They say that man arrived there **earlier**.

- (102) I-fuli manö'ö sui ya Zinö.
 3s.RLS-turn.back just again 3s.MUT Zinö
 ba danö si=oföna te-taro'o ya'ira mema'e.
 tanö
 LOC land:MUT REL=first RES-settled 3p earlier

Zinö just went back again to the place that had been established by them **before**. (Z-L)

- (103) Tobali, löna na töi-nia mema'e.
 however NEG yet name-3s.POSS earlier

However, it didn't have its name **then**.

- (104) Afachu **mema'e**, mae idanö.
 changed.shape earlier resemble water
 (It) had melted **earlier**, (it was) like water. ...

8.4 Relative clauses: overview

There are two types of relative clauses which occur in NPs in Nias, one in which the predicate is a verb which describes an event, state or process, and one in which the predicate is a numeral or quantifier. The difference in these two types is in word order only—relative clauses containing numerals or quantifiers must follow any other relative clause if there is one. Relative clauses follow any possessor and usually also any demonstrative.

8.4.1 Basic strategies

All relative clauses are formed by gapping the argument being relativised. All arguments, both core and peripheral, can be relativised in this way (see 11.2 and 11.4 for basic structure of transitive and intransitive clauses). The basic structure of a relative clause is illustrated in (105) below, in which the S argument of the verb *bohou* 'new' is relativised. The relative clause is introduced by the relative marker *si=*.

- (105) I-be khö-gu mbaru si=bohou
 baru
 3s.RLS-give DAT-1s.POSS dress:MUT REL=new
 She gave me a new dress.

When the relative marker precedes an intransitive verb which is vowel-initial, the vowel of the relative marker is elided, as illustrated with the verb *asolo* 'fat' in (106):

- (106) La-ta-taba geu s=asolo andre
 eu
 3p.RLS-RDP1-cut tree.MUT REL=fat DIST
 They cut down that fat tree.

Transitive verbs which are vowel-initial do not cause the elision of the vowel of *si=*. This is shown in (107) below, which exemplifies one way in which A arguments may be relativised (another way is discussed below). Note that the pronominal prefix which normally expresses the A does not occur on the verb in (107) and that the P argument is unmutated, as shown by the form of the first singular pronoun *ya'o*. These two features are typical of relative clauses in which A arguments are relativised.

- (107) Andrehe'e nasu si=usu ya'o.
 asu
 DIST dog:MUT REL=bite 1s

That's the dog that bit me. (cf. *I-usu ndrao asu* [3s.RLS-bite 1s.MUT dog] 'The dog bit me.')

The basic structure exemplified in (105) above for S arguments is used for relativising possessors, locatives, experiencers and stimuluses. Examples of each of these are given in (108)-(112) below. (Relativisation of P arguments and datives is different from this basic strategy, and will be discussed below, along with the variant construction available for A arguments.) In (108), the noun *niha* 'man' is the possessor of the noun *fo'omo* 'spouse', which functions as the S argument in the relative clause:

- (108) Toroi ba mbanua-da niha
 banua niha
 live LOC village:MUT-1pi.POSS person:MUT
 si=ma=mate fo'omo meneβi.
 REL=PERF=die wife yesterday

The man whose wife died yesterday lives in our village.

In (109), a locative in an intransitive clause is relativised. The S argument in the relative clause is unmutated:

- (109) ...ga ba danö si=so ya'ita.
 tanö
 ...here LOC land:MUT REL=EXIST Ipi
 ...here on earth where we are. (H) (cf. *Ga so ita ba danö*. [here(non-spec)
 EXIST Ipi.MUT LOC land:MUT] 'We are here on earth'.)

In (110), a locative argument in a transitive clause is relativised. The P argument in the relative clause is unmutated:

- (110) Andrehe'e || mbua si=ma i-halö
 bua
 DIST || fruit.tree:MUT REL=PERF 3s.RLS-take
 bua mbala andre.
 fruit papaya DIST

That is the tree that he took those papaya from. (cf. *i-halö mbua mbala moroi ba mbua hö'ö* [3s.RLS-take fruit:MUT papaya:MUT come.from LOC fruit.tree:MUT DIST] 'He took the papaya from that tree')

In (111), the experiencer of the verb *ata'u* 'be afraid', one of the verbs which take two mutated arguments (see 11.4.2.6) is relativised. Note that the stimulus, *lumölumö-nia* 'his shadow', which may occur in unrelativised clauses either as a mutated noun or in a dative phrase, occurs in this relative clause in a dative phrase³¹.

- (111) niha s-ata'u khö lumölumö-nia
 lumölumö
 person REL=afraid DAT shadow:MUT-3s.POSS
 a man afraid of his own shadow (D)

³¹ I have only two examples of relative clauses relativizing experiencers, and in both of these the stimulus is expressed by a dative phrase. At present, I do not know whether a simple noun can occur in this construction instead of a dative phrase.

cf *Ata'u niha lumölumö-nia / khö lumölumö-nia* [afraid person:MUT shadow:MUT / DAT-shadow:MUT] 'The man is afraid of his (own) shadow.'

In (112), the stimulus of *ata'u* 'be afraid' is relativised. The S argument remains in its mutated form, as it appears in an unrelativised clause.

(112) Andrehe'e || nasu s=ata'u nono-gu.
 asu ono
 DIST || dog:MUT REL=afraid child:MUT-1s.POSS
 That's the dog that scared my child.

cf *Ata'u nono-gu nasu* 'My child is afraid of the dog'

The basic strategy for relative clauses must be used when the verb is preceded by any of the pre-verbal particles or auxiliaries which occur in the predicate complex (see Chapter 10). This includes the negator *löna*, the perfect marker *ma=*, adverbial auxiliaries or quantificational particles. Examples of relative clauses which contain these elements are illustrated in (113)-(116). In (113), the negator *löna* precedes the verb. Note that the verb in the relative clause is in imperfective form. The simple realis form of a verb cannot occur in negated relative clauses³².

(113) Andrehe'e || nono matua
 ono
 DIST || child:MUT male
 si=löna mo-lau (*i-lau) ohi.
 maN-lau
 REL=NEG IPF-climb (*3s.RLS-climb) coconut.tree
 That's the boy who did not climb the coconut tree.

³² The irrealis form of verbs does not occur in relative clauses in my data either, but I do not have an explanation for this. It may simply be an accidental gap in the data.

A relative clause containing the perfect marker *ma=* is given in a nominal clause construction in (114). In this example a dative argument is relativised. Note that the dative phrase is gapped, and the P argument, *kefe* 'money', is unmutated. The predicate of the nominal clause is the unmutated NP *sibaya-gu* 'my uncle', the relativised dative argument is the fronted argument of the nominal clause:

- (114) Niha si=ma=u-βaβalö kefe || sibaya-gu
 person REL=PERF=1s.RLS-borrow money || uncle-1s.POSS

The person I borrowed money from is my uncle.

An example of a relative clause containing an adverbial auxiliary is given in (115). Because the adverbial auxiliary, *aβena* 'just then', also functions as an intransitive verb in other contexts, the vowel of the relative marker is elided in front of it:

- (115) Asöndru dödö-da va-mo-ndrono f-e'e nono andre
 tödö fa-maN-rono ono
 touched liver:MUT-1pi.POSS NR.MUT-IPF-hear NR-cry child:MUT DIST
 s=aβena mate ina.
 REL=then die mother

We were saddened to hear that child crying whose mother had just died (D)

A relative clause containing the quantifier *faoma* 'together' is given in (116). The relative clause is formed with *si=* even though it relativises a P argument, which requires a different relativisation strategy if the verb in the predicate complex is unmodified (see below):

- (116) Andrehe'e || ndöfi si=faoma ta-faigi me'oβi.
 ndöfi
 DIST || star:MUT REL=all.together 1pi.RLS-see last.night

That's the star we all saw last night.

ba	saβa	s=an-alu-i	s=a-nagö
		aN-alu-i	aN-tagö
CNJ	python	REL=IPF=hunt-TR	REL=IPF-steal

They have monkeys that breathe fire and civet cats that massage people whose bones are broken ... and pythons that search for thieves. (H)

When a relative clause relativising an A argument is negated, there is no option in the form of the relative clause—the relative marker *si=* occurs attached to the negator, and the verb in the clause must be imperfective, as illustrated in (119):

(119)	Ya'ö	si=löna	ma-me	kefe	khö	nono	matua.
			maN-be			ono	
	1s	REL=NEG	IPF-give	money	DAT	child:MUT	male

I was the one who did not give the boy money.

8.4.3 Relativising P arguments and datives

P arguments and datives are treated in a similar way with respect to relativisation. Apart from the gapping of the argument (including the preposition *khö* in dative arguments), the following features characterize relative clauses relativising Ps and datives:

- (i) the verb is marked with the prefix *ni-*
- (ii) the verb has no pronominal prefix
- (iii) the A argument is realized as a possessive suffix or as a mutated noun following the verb.
- (iv) in dative relativisation, P arguments are unmutated³³

³³ Relativization of datives of underived verbs (such as *be* 'give') occurs only in elicited examples in my data. In these examples, there is discrepancy in the case marking of the P argument. In some examples the P argument is mutated, as illustrated by *gefe* 'money:MUT' in (i):

(i)	andrehe'e		nono	ni-be-gu	gefe
			ono		kefe
	DIST		child:MUT	PASS-give-1s.POSS	money:MUT
	That's the child to whom I gave money.				

In other examples, the P argument is unmutated, as illustrated by *turia* 'news' in (ii):

An example of typical relativisation of a P argument is given in (120); the A argument is expressed by the third singular possessive suffix *-nia*:

- (120) U-fake zekhula ni-rökhi-nia.
 sekhula
 3s.RLS-use coconut:MUT PASS-grate-3s.POSS
 I used the coconut which she grated.

Compare the non-relativised form of the relative clause in (121) in which the verb is marked with a pronominal prefix, *i-*, and the P argument is mutated:

- (121) I-rökhi zekhula.
 sekhula
 3s.RLS-grate coconut:MUT
 She grated the coconut.

Another example of a *ni-* form of relative clause in which a P argument is relativised is given in (122).

- (122) Tebai lö'ö la-doro fakake ni-o-guna-'ö.
 can't NEG 3p.RLS-carry tools PASS-HAVE-use-TR
 They have to carry any tools they'll need³⁴.

-
- (ii) andrehe'e || niha ni-oturagö-gu turia
 DIST || niha PASS-tell-1s.POSS news
 That's the man I told the news to.

In all examples of dative relativization in derived verbs, the P arguments are unmutated. I have taken the lack of mutation of Ps as typical of dative relativization for the present study because unmutated P arguments outnumber mutated ones and because it is characteristic of relative clause construction in Nias that core arguments which occur in relative clauses are unmutated. However, I leave the matter open for further analysis.

³⁴ The noun *fakake* 'tools, instruments' should be mutated as the P argument of *doro* 'carry'. However, this word is anomalous in never being mutated. I do not have an explanation for this, but point out that the word is also three syllables long, which makes it a potential candidate for derivation from a disyllabic root. It is possible that the word is derived from the nominalizing prefix *fa-* and a root *kake*, although this root is not known in other contexts.

An example of relativisation of a dative argument is given in (123) below. The recipient is expressed by the noun *zondröröu* 'village healer'. This noun and the relative clause modifying it constitute the argument of the nominal predicate *sibaya-gu* 'my uncle':

(123)	Sibaya-gu	z-o-ndöröu	ni-fa-be'e-gö
		s=aN-röröu	
	uncle-1s.POSS	REL.MUT=IPF-medicine	PASS-APP-give-CAU
	Nama	Dali	kefe
	father:MUT	Dali	money

The healer to whom Ama Dali sent money is my uncle.

Ni- forms of the verb resemble typical passives in other languages: the verb is explicitly marked, the patient is pivot in the sense of being relativised and the agent is marked obliquely. Most uses of the *ni-* form of the verb, however, differ from a typical passive in that it is more common for the A argument to be present than for it to be omitted and in fact, must be present if the A argument is human³⁵. It is also the case that *ni-* forms are restricted in their use. They do not occur as main clause verbs, only in relative clauses. Despite this restriction, the forms will be glossed as passive (PASS), because the alternative possibility of 'patient focus' carries connotations of a focus system described for other western Austronesian languages which does not apply in this case, and no other good term presently suggests itself. Semantically, passive forms in Nias are imperfective. They are incompatible with the perfect marker *ma*, and can refer to unrealized activities, as illustrated in (124):

³⁵ The A argument is also more commonly present than not in 'passive' (*di-*) forms in Indonesian. (William Foley, pers. comm.).

- (124) Va-oya || nukha ni-sasai-u!
 fa- nukha
 NR.MUT-much || clothes:MUT PASS-wash-2s.POSS
 You have a lot of washing to do!³⁶

In addition, passive forms may occur after the negator *löna* in relative clauses, as illustrated in (125):

- (125) Andrehe'e nohi si=löna ni-lau nono matua.
 ohi ono
 DIST coconut.tree:MUT REL=NEG PASS-climb child:MUT male
 That is the coconut tree the boy did not climb. (lit. That is the coconut tree which is not the one climbed by the boy.)

This characteristic is further evidence of the non-punctual or imperfective nature of passive forms, since, as mentioned above, *löna* may not occur in a relative clause with a punctual verb form

8.4.4 Stacking relatives

Relative clauses may be stacked, although the phenomenon does not occur often. An example is given in (126), where the entity which is relativised, *niha* 'man', corresponds to the S argument of the verb *alawa* 'tall' in the first relative clause and the A argument of the verb *ohe* 'carry' in the second (the two relative clauses have been bracketed for clarity):

- (126) Niha [s=alawa] andre [s=ol-ohe si'o],
 aN-ohe
 person REL=tall DIST REL=IPF-carry stick

³⁶ Mutated forms of nominalized verbs tend to be used in sentence initial position for making exclamations, i.e. expressing surprise.

va	oya	nono-nia.
		ono
?	many	child:MUT-3s.POSS

That tall man with the walking stick has many children.³⁷

However in the second relative clause, the verb is detransitivized with the imperfective prefix *aN-*, which, in effect, makes the relativized argument an S. Note that the P argument of the corresponding simple transitive clause *i-ohē zi'o* [3s.RLS-carry stick:MUT] 'he carried a stick' is unmutated in the relative clause, emphasizing the intransitive form of the relative clause. Note that the distal demonstrative *andre* occurs between these two relative clauses, indicating that the first clause may be considered semantically closer to the noun it modifies than the second. This illustrates that more permanent attributes occur closer to the head than less permanent ones.

8.4.5 Relative clauses with numerals or quantifiers

Relative clauses containing numerals take the same form as the basic relative clause structure exemplified in (105) above. An example of a relative clause containing the numeral *öfa na=hönö* 'four thousand' is given in (127):

(127)	Ofulo	ba	neßali	z=aluaya	si=öfa	na=hönö.
			eßali	s=		
	gathered	LOC	courtyard:MUT	REL.MUT=dance	REL=four	LK=thousand

The four thousand dancers gathered in the courtyard.

Another example is given in (128), where the relative clause contains the numeral *dua* 'two':

³⁷ It is unclear what the particle *va* is in this sentence.

- (131) I-be khö Dani fefu danö-nia.
 Tani tanö
 3s.RLS-give DAT Tani.MUT all land:MUT-3s.POSS

He gave all of his lands to Tani. (Z-L)

- (132) U-be ma'efu gefe khö ndra-ono fefu.
 kefe ira-
 1s.RLS-give some money:MUT DAT COLL.MUT-child all

I gave some money to all of the children.³⁹

- (133) Me la-törö iagö mbatu, iagö rake s=a-darö-darö,....
 batu rake
 since 3p.RLS-walk lot stone:MUT lot coral:MUT REL=ST-RDP2-sharp

Since they were walking over a lot of stones, a lot of very sharp coral, ...⁴⁰

- (134) Ta-be ösa ga-me'e-la-da
 aN-be'e
 1pi.RLS-give some IPF.MUT-give-NR-1pi.POSS
 khö niha si=lumana.
 niha
 DAT person:MUT REL=poor

We gave some of our contributions to poor people.

³⁹ In (132), *ma'efu* cannot follow *gefe* (i.e. **u-be gefe ma'efu*), nor can *fefu* precede *ndraono* (i.e. **khö fefu ndraono*).

⁴⁰ The quantifier *iagö* 'a lot' resembles the third singular form of the verb *agö* 'stay'. Speakers say these two concepts are not related. In at least one idiomatic context shown in example (i) below, *iagö* has the formal structure of a transitive verb, in which its A argument is expressed lexically as the unmutated noun *teu* 'rain' and its P argument is unexpressed (very like the verb *labu* 'fall heavily and stop' illustrated in 11.3.1):

- (i) tebai da -möi, i-agö teu
 can't 1pi.IRR-go 3s.RLS-?stay rain
 We can't go, the rain is (too) heavy / there's a lot of rain.

In this example, I'm told, *iagö* means 'a lot' more than *oya* ('a lot'). Compare the corresponding sentence with *oya* 'much', which requires a mutated argument, *deu* 'rain:MUT': *oya deu* 'there's a lot of rain / The rain is heavy'.

Note that although the quantifiers in each of these examples introduce arguments which occur in P function, which typically require mutation, *fefu*, *iagö* and *ösa* do not themselves mutate. This is potential evidence that these forms are not categorized by the language as nominal. (Because of its initial /m/, mutation in *ma'efu* would not be observable.) Note, however, that Nias does not treat these forms as verbal either, since they never occur in predicate function.

Both *fefu* 'most, all' and *ma'efu* 'some, a bit, a few' may also occur after a noun with apparently no difference in meaning from pre-nominal position, as illustrated in (135) and (136):

- (135) I-ila dői mbanua fefu
 töi banua
 3sg-know M.name M.village all

He knows the names of all the villages.

- (136) Be ö-gu mae'fu
 give food-1s.POSS some

Please may I have a little food.

This post-nominal position may be related to the potential which numerals and some quantifiers have of occurring at the end of an NP (see 8.5.2 below for discussion of this phenomenon with numerals). The quantifier *ösa* occurs at the end of an NP in two examples, although it does not occur immediately after a noun in any examples. In (137), *ösa* refers to the S argument of the existential verb *so*:

- (137) So ndra-ono ba gosali, ösa.
 ira- gosali
 EXIST COLL.MUT-child LOC church:MUT some

There are some children in the church.

In (138), *ösa* also refers to an S argument, *niha* 'people':

- (138) Ofulo niha ba nomo zi'ulu, ösa
 niha omo si'ulu
 gathered person:MUT LOC house:MUT village.leader:MUT some

A few people gathered at the village leader's house.

Fefu 'most, all' and *ma'efu* 'some, a bit, a few' may also occur by themselves as arguments, as illustrated in (139) and (140) below. In (139), *fefu* is the S argument of the verb *akhozi* 'burnt'. Note, once again, that although *fefu* is in a grammatical relationship with the verb which requires nominal mutation, it does not mutate in this position⁴¹.

- (139) Ma=a-hori-hori a-khozi fefu.
 PERF=ST-RDP2-finish ST-burn all

Absolutely everything had burnt.

In (140), *ma'efu* functions as the P argument of the verb *be* 'give':

- (140) Löna i-be khö-da ma'efu.
 NEG 3s.RLS-give DAT-1pi.POSS a little

He didn't give us (even) a tiny bit.

There are numerous arguments containing *fefu* 'most, all' in my data which are fronted for discourse purposes. When this occurs, *fefu* always precedes the noun, as illustrated in (141):

⁴¹ It is not yet known whether *iagö* 'a lot' and *ösa* 'some' may follow a noun directly or function by themselves as arguments. However, as noted in footnote 28 above with regard to example (89), *ösa* may be able to occur as a preverbal quantifier.

- (141) Fefu ginötö u-fake.
 inötö
 all time:MUT 1s.RLS-use

All my time is taken up. (i.e. I don't have any time (to do x).)

As argued in 7.1.2.5, it is *fefu* which triggers the mutation on the noun and not the verb. I am treating phrases containing quantifiers in prenominal position syntactically as quantificational phrases in which the quantifier functions as the syntactic head, rather than as NPs in which the quantifier is pre-head. Numerals also share this property with *fefu* (see 8.5.2). However, because of relatively little data available on the other quantifiers, it is not possible to conclude that all of the pre-nominal quantifiers exemplified above share this property of triggering mutation with *fefu*. Because of examples such as (141) and those in which numerals are followed by mutated nouns (see below), I have adopted the position that *fefu* and numerals are heads of quantificational phrases in which the nouns which follow them are in a grammatical relationship with them. Note, however, that the Nias construction is not a syntactically possessive one such as occurs in English phrases such as *most of the men* and *all of the men* (see 7.1.2.5 for discussion).

The quantifier *oya* 'a lot' (things), may also occur in front of a noun, as illustrated in (142):

- (142) Ma-faigi oya ndri-manu si=h<um>ombo
 ndri.manu
 1pe.RLS-see many fly:MUT-?42 REL=<DYN>jump
 ba zina gurifö si=mate.
 sina urifö
 LOC side:MUT animal:MUT REL=dead

We saw many flies swarming over the dead animal.

⁴² The word for 'mosquito' is *ndri*. The word *ndrimanu* 'fly' is presumably derived in part from this form, but the word *manu* is not known to occur separately with any meaning.

Like *fefu* 'most, all', *oya* 'a lot' is not mutated when it occurs with an NP in a grammatical relationship which requires mutation. However, *oya* 'a lot' does not share the same properties as *fefu* and other quantifiers listed above. For example it cannot function by itself as an argument. In addition, if it follows a noun it must occur in a relative clause, as required of numerals, which indicates that its verbal properties still prevail (see 4.4).

8.5.2 Numerals and classifiers

Like *oya* 'many', numerals also function as verbs (see 4.10). Because of this, if they occur after a noun, they take the form of a relative clause, as exemplified previously in (127)-(129). Numerals typically occur with nominal classifiers when counting fewer than about ten items, rather than on their own. A post-nominal relative clause containing a numeral + classifier constituent is illustrated in (143). The classifier in this sentence is *da-*, the classifier for men and some other humans.

- (143) I-oβai göi ndraugö Töna,
 3s.RLS-greet also 2s.MUT Töna
 fao ndra-ono si=**da-rua**
 ira- -dua
 join COLL.MUT-child REL=CLF-two:LEN

Töna sends his regards to you, as do the two kids.

Usually when a relative clause containing a numeral or numeral + classifier occurs, the NP it modifies is understood to be specific and definite, as evident in (143) above.

The most common classifiers and the sorts of things they are used to count were given in Table 5 in Chapter 4. The classifiers *da-* (humans) and *bua* (things in general) are the most frequently occurring forms. The classifier for people, *da-*, always precedes the numeral, as exemplified in (143) above. All other classifiers follow the numeral, as illustrated in the phrase *sa-geu mbaβi* 'one pig' in (145) below (the morphological processes involved with the linking of classifiers to numerals were

discussed in 3.2.3). The nouns which follow numeral + classifier constructions are mutated, even if they occur in front of the verb. This is illustrated by the noun *mbaβi* 'pig:MUT' in (145), which occurs in the fronted P argument of the verb *asosoi* 'cook' :

- (145) Sa-geu mbaβi s=ebua si=felendrua alisi⁴³
 -eu baβi
 one-CLF.MUT pig:MUT REL=ST-big REL=twelve shoulder
 la-asoso-i, ...
 3p.RLS-cooked-TR

They cooked a big pig twelve shoulders wide, ...(lit. 'A pig which is big which has twelve shoulders they cooked,...)

As illustrated in (145), the same situation obtains for nouns which occur with numeral + classifier constructions as those which occur with *fefu*. The numeral + classifier and the noun form a phrase in which the numeral and classifier form a constituent which is the head of the phrase, and the noun is an argument of that constituent. Although there are no examples in my data of pronouns occurring with numerals, other examples of numeral + classifiers constructions support the observation that the constituents are not in a syntactically possessive relationship. This is evident from the fact that numerals and numeral + classifier constructions are frequently separated from the noun with which they are associated, i.e., they may 'float'. This kind of phenomenon occurs also in Tagalog, Acehenese and Karo Batak⁴⁴. In my data this phenomenon occurs only with arguments in P or S function. The numeral and classifier can occur, as a unit, either at the beginning or at the end of a clause. For example in (146), the numeral and classifier occur in front of the verb, yet the noun they are associated with, *hele* 'bathing place' occurs after it:

⁴³ Note that the relative clause containing *felendrua* relativizes a possessor. The possessed, *alisi* 'shoulder', is the S argument of the relative clause, and is unmutated.

⁴⁴ For Tagalog see Schacter 1976:500-501, for Acehenese see Durie 1985:143-145, for Karo Batak see Woollams 1996:133-134.

do-mbua.

dua-bua

two-CLF.MUT

There were two seats of law there, in the time (law) of the si'ulus. (i.e. in traditional times when people became village leaders (si'ulus) by hereditary descent or following conflict, not just by being selected by the government.)

In (153), the numeral and classifier occur at the end of the clause after a dative phrase:

- (153) I-be mbaβi khö zi'ulu, fulu na=eu.
 baβi si'ulu
 3s.RLS-give pig:MUT DAT village.leader:MUT ten LK=CLF
- He gave ten pigs to the village chief.

In (154), the numeral and classifier associated with *mbuku* 'books' occur after an adverb, *gaö* 'there':

- (154) So göi mbuku gaö tölu na=βua,...
 buku bua
 EXIST also book:MUT there(spec) three LK=CLF.LEN
- There are also three books there, ...

Syntactically it would appear that the numeral and classifier form a tight unit which is inseparable, while the noun with which they associate is clearly not tightly bound syntactically to the numeral unit.

8.6 Bare nominal modifiers

There is a small set of words which may follow a noun directly in certain common collocations. Words which belong to this set are listed in (155):

(155) Bare nominal modifiers*matua* 'male'*alabe* 'female'*raya* 'south'*löu* 'north'*kafu* 'cold' and*aukhu* 'warm'*bö'ö* 'other, different'

Matua 'male' and *alabe* 'female' are restricted to animate reference or reference to statues of ancestors, e.g., *ono matua* [child male] 'boy', *ono alabe* [child female] 'girl'. The words *matua* 'male' and *alabe* 'female' are verbs in other contexts. Both can be used in attributive clauses e.g. *manu si=matua* [fowl REL=male] 'cock', *niβa-nia si=alabe* [sibling's.spouse-3s.POSS REL=female] 'his sister in law'. *Matua* and *alabe* are commonly also used nominally in headless relative structures to refer to specific groups of people, e.g. *si=matua* 'the men, male/s', *si=alabe* 'sister/s, the young girls, the female/s'). Nevertheless, these words can also be used with the collective particle *ira-* when reference is non-specific (e.g. *ira-matua* 'men', *ira-alabe* '(unmarried) women'), which indicates that they must also have nominal properties, since this prefix only occurs with nouns in other cases (see 4.3). *Raya* 'south' and *löu* 'north' (which are presumably reflexes of PAN **daya* / PMP **Daya* 'towards the interior' and PAN **laHúd* / PMP **lahud* 'towards the sea') are usually found only with the word *tanö* 'land', e.g. *danö raya* 'south' (i.e. Nias Selatan) , *danö löu* 'north' (Nias Utara). However these phrases have other meanings as well—*tanö raya* is used idiomatically to refer to the sea near the beach, while *tanö löu* refers to the sea further out⁴⁶. *Raya* and *löu* are also used with their more original meanings in the sentences (167) and (168) which were used to explain their meaning to me. These sentences are nominal clauses in which the argument is fronted. The relative clause containing the directional terms are the predicates of the clauses, which is evident from their lack of mutation:

⁴⁶ The word *tanö* 'land' in these phrases appears to refer idiosyncratically to an 'area' or 'place' which just happens to be sea rather than land.

- (156) Ulu si=raya
 headwaters REL=raya

The headwaters are (where) *raya* (is).

- (157) Luaha si=löu
 river.mouth REL=löu

The mouth of the river is (where) *löu* (is).⁴⁷

The words *kafu* 'cold' and *aukhu* 'hot, warm' occur only in collocation with *idanö* 'water', as exemplified in (158) and (159):

- (158) Ta-inu manö idanö kafu.
 Ipi.RLS-drink just water cold

Let's just have some cold water.

- (159) Ha idanö aukhu ö ndriβo-ndriβo
 only water ST:hot food RDP2-sidedish

We have only warm water for a sidedish. (common polite comment made to guests before sitting down to eat)

Note that normally such attributions as 'cold' or 'warm' would occur in relative clause construction (e.g. *hawa s=aukhu* 'hot weather'), so the post-nominal forms are not functioning here as verbs. *Kafu* is clearly the root of the intransitive verb *o-kafu* 'cold' [?HAVE-cold](e.g. of weather).

In addition to the words listed in (155) above, there is one other word which behaves anomalously with respect to syntax. This is *bö'ö*, which means 'other' or 'different'. The word for 'other' in Nias Selatan, *bö'ö*, seems to have some of the properties of a number of different words such as numerals, quantifiers, adverbs and

⁴⁷ Note, however, that one northern Nias speaker told me that *raya* means 'east' (where the sun rises) and *löu* is 'west' (where the sun sets). I have not yet checked whether the meanings of directional terms change depending on which part of the island the speaker is.

ba tanö bö'ö-nia.
CNJ land other-3s.POSS

They had a lot of plants, coconut palms, ricefields, sago palms etc.

- (168) ... fato, balatu, suha, ba tanö bö'ö-nia.
axe knife spike CNJ land other-3s.POSS
... axes, knives, bamboo spikes (for animal traps) etc. (H)

Apart from the bare nominal modifiers listed in (166) above, nouns may also be modified by adverbs and prepositional phrases, as illustrated in (169)-(171). In (169), the noun *omo* 'house' is modified by a prepositional phrase and possibly also the adverb *föna* 'in front':

- (169) Omo ba Hilizondrege'asi föna, ma=a-dölö.
Hilizondrege'asi
house LOC Hilizondrege'asi:MUT in.front PERF=ST-go.straight

The houses at Hilizondrege'asi in earlier times were in straight lines.

In (170), the noun *niha* 'people' is modified by an adverb *ga* 'here':

- (170) Abu dödü niha ga.
tödö niha
sad liver:MUT person:MUT here

The people here were sad.

In (171), the noun *omo* which is already part of a locative constituent (*baomo*) is modified by the dative phrase *khö-ra* 'their':

- (171) Möi ndraga ba-omo khö-ra ba löna niha.
go 1pe.MUT LOC-house DAT-3p.POSS CNJ NEG person

We went to their place but there was no one home.

8.7 Reduplication of nouns = plural

There are a number of instances in which nouns are reduplicated for the purposes of indicating plural number. As far as I can tell, this is not a productive or common phenomenon in Nias, and may be influenced by Indonesian, in which reduplication is a normal strategy for indicating plural number in nouns. The process is not fully consistent morphologically with the kinds of reduplication which occur in Nias, which involve only one or two syllables (see 3.5). Reduplication of nouns to indicate plural appears to involve the whole noun, even if the noun has more than two syllables, as illustrated by the trisyllabic form *si'ila* 'advisor' in (172):

(172)	Na	löna	khö-ra	atua,	möi	ndra-Si'ulu
						ira-
	if	NEG	DAT-3p.POSS	jungle	go	COLL.MUT-village.leader
	faoma	si'ila-si'ila		f-a-londra-si		zi'ulu
				aN-londra-si		si'ulu
	with	RDP-advisor		NR-IPF-meet-TR		village.leader:MUT
	ba	mbanua	bö'ö			
		banua				
	LOC	village:MUT	other			

If they do not have jungle⁵¹, the village leaders go with the advisors to meet with the chief in another village. (H)

The process is also not consistent in the way in which mutation applies to the reduplicated form. In some cases, mutation applies after reduplication so that it occurs only on the first segment of the reduplicated form, such as in the word *te'u* 'mouse' in (173) or *boto* 'bottle' in (174) below:

⁵¹ Village leaders and their advisors need to meet away from their village sometimes to discuss certain business that they do not wish to let the villagers hear. Usually they go to a wooded area near their village (*atua* 'jungle'), but if there is no suitable place, they will go to the house of the leader of another village to ensure secrecy. Typically a village leader will have up to twelve advisors selected from various families in the village.

CHAPTER 9

NOMINAL CLAUSES

Introduction

Nias has both nominal and verbal predicate clauses. (Prepositional phrases do not occur as predicates.) The basic structure of all main clauses, whether nominal or verbal, entails a predicate in initial position followed by an argument, usually in mutated form. There are several differences between nominal and verbal clauses. First, verbal predicates may be preceded by auxiliary verbs or particles signalling modality, temporal and manner aspects of the situation described by the verb or quantification of an argument (see Chapter 10); nominal predicates cannot co-occur with any of the constituents which make up a verbal predicate complex¹. Second, verbal predicates are negated with *löna*; nominal predicates with *te'ana* (see 9.3 and 10.2.2.1). Third, reduplication applies only to verbal predicates to indicate plurality of an S or P argument, or intensification / attenuation of meanings (see 10.3.5); nominal predicates cannot be reduplicated.

9.1 Structure of nominal clauses

Typically in discourse, nominal clauses are used to add information about a specific entity or event which has just been mentioned, i.e. they are typical 'topic-comment' structures. In conversational contexts the entity or participant about which a comment is made may be present in the environment of the speaker and hearer. Because nominal clauses have the function of providing comment about an entity, they typically contain a topical NP (i.e. one which is referential, definite, and active in the discourse), or an NP with deictic reference. This chapter describes the kinds of predicates found in nominal clauses, the functions of nominal clauses, and the negation of nominal clauses.

¹ An exception may be the modal verbs *tola* 'can' and *tobai* 'can't', which occur with passive headless relatives in a construction which has characteristics of nominal clauses; see 10.1.1. Since I have not been able clearly to determine the structure of these clauses I leave the analysis for further research.

9.1.1 Nominal clauses with indefinite predicates

Nominal clauses consist of two NPs in sequence. There is no copular element. The normal structure for nominal clauses involves an unmutated argument in first position, i.e. as predicate, and a mutated argument in second position, i.e. as argument. In this construction, the first NP is non-referential and indefinite, the second is referential and definite. An example of this structure is given in (1). (In this chapter a double line (||) is inserted between the predicate and argument for ease of understanding.)

- | | | | | | |
|-----|------------|------|--|-----------|-------|
| (1) | S-o-lau | faya | | nono | hö'ö. |
| | s=aN- | | | ono | |
| | REL=IPF-do | lie | | child:MUT | DIST |
- That child is a liar. (lit. That child is one who does lie(s).)

Note that the first NP provides a comment about the second. Some other examples of this structure are given in (2) and (3).

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|--|-----------------|-------|
| (2) | A-me'ela | | ganunu-a | ha'a. |
| | aN-be'e-la | | aN-tunu-a | |
| | IPF-give-NR | | IPF.MUT-burn-NR | PROX |
- This pan was a gift.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|-------------|-----------|--|--------|
| (3) | Niha | si=sökhi | buabua | | ya. |
| | person | REL=ST:good | behaviour | | 3s.MUT |

He is a person of good character (D) (lit. He is a person whose behaviour is good.)

In these examples, sentence stress occurs in the predicate NP. In (1) and (2) stress and raised pitch occur on the penultimate syllable of the predicate phrase. The argument is spoken on a lower pitch.² The NPs in these clauses cannot change places without changing the referentiality of the predicate. That is, if the NPs which occur in predicate

² I do not have the spoken version of (3), which is taken from the Laiya dictionary.

position in (1)-(3) were to occur in argument function, they would no longer be understood as indefinite. For example, in (4) below which, in effect, involves a reversal of the syntactic role of the headless relative predicate in (1), identifies a particular person:

- (4) Ya'ia || z=o=lau faya.
 || s=
 3s || REL.MUT=IPF-do lie

The liar is HIM. (or 'It is HE who is the liar'.)³

The examples in (1)-(3) *may* be reversed without changing the meaning if both intonation contour and stress is altered: in such cases the argument is fronted (placed at the front of the clause), separated from the predicate by a pause and pronounced with raised intonation; the predicate follows and remains unmutated, indicating that it is in predicate function even though it is the second NP. This is illustrated in (5) in which the predicate, *ame'ela* 'gift' occurs in second place:

- (5) A-nunu-a ha'a, a-me'e-la.
 aN-tunu-a aN-be'e-la
 IPF-burn-NR PROX IPF-give-NR

This pan, (it was) a gift.

This word order occurs if there is reason for making special reference to the argument, e.g. if it is one of a list of things being described or pointed out, or if it is contrasted with some other entity. Another example of a nominal predicate which occurs after the argument is given in (6). Note that the predicate, *amadöliwa* 'source of contention', is unmutated:

³ Note that the argument *zolau faya* 'one who lies' in (4) is a headless relative. The relative clause marker is mutated, indicating that the relative clause is case-marked and is, therefore, functioning as an argument, not an NP adjunct. In example (1) earlier, where *solau faya* functions as a predicate, its headless status is evident from the fact that there was no nominal preceding it which it could modify.

- (6) Tanö Mbotohili andra, || a-madöli-wa.
 Botohili
 land Botohili:MUT PROX || IPF-drag-NR

This land of Botohili, (it was) a source of contention.

9.1.2 Nominal clauses with definite predicates

There are also nominal clauses in which definite NPs occur in both predicate and argument functions. Examples (7) and (8) below illustrate nominal clauses with two definite NPs. In both cases, the predicate NP, in first position, serves to identify the referent of the argument, in second position:

- (7) Si'ulu Mbaßömataluo || nama-gu.
 Baßömataluo ama
 village.head Baßömataluo:MUT || father:MUT-1s.POSS

My father is the head of Baßömataluo (village).

- (8) Ono nakhi zadua-gu || nina Maoso.
 akhi satua || ina
 child younger.sibling:MUT grandparent-1s.POSS || mother:MUT Maoso

Maoso's mother was my grandfather's niece. (lit. The mother of Maoso was the daughter of the younger brother of my grandmother.)⁴

Note that both syntactically and semantically these kinds of clauses are completely reversible without changing the meaning (although the variants would answer different questions). For example (9) is the reverse of (7):

- (9) Ama-gu || zi'ulu Mbaßömataluo
 ama || si'ulu Baßömataluo
 father-1s.POSS || village.head:MUT Baßömataluo:MUT

The head of Baßömataluo was my father.

⁴ The word for grandparent can be *tua*, *satua* or *zadua*.

Note that in (9) *ama-gu* 'my father' is unmutated (in contrast to (7) where it is mutated) and the nominal *zi'ulu* 'villag leader' is mutated (in contrast to (7) where it is unmutated). This difference reflects the fact that *ama-gu* is the predicate in (9), in contrast to (7), where it is the argument.

It is also possible to reverse these clauses by the same means as are used to reverse nonreferential predicates and their arguments, i.e. by topicalizing the argument. As with nonreferential predicates, the reason for such a reversal usually involves some sort of singling out of the referent for special discourse treatment. Example (10) is part of a catalogue of sentences in which the speaker lists various structures and their functions while pointing out things in a house. Note that both the first NP, *sumo ha'a* 'this well' (the argument), and the second NP (the predicate), are unmutated:

- (10) Sumo ha'a || a-na'u-la gö niha idanö.
 || aN-sa'u-la ö
 well PROX || IPF-scoop-NR food:MUT person water

This well, (this is) the place where people draw (their) drinking water. (lit. 'This well, (is) the place where the water food of people is scooped.)

9.1.3 Nominal clauses with personal pronouns as predicates

Many nominal clauses contain personal pronouns as predicates. In many cases in which the referent of the 'topic' argument of a nominal clause is expressed by a personal or demonstrative pronoun, this element will occur first, and the comment will follow. An example of this construction is given in (11):

- (11) Ya'ia || naßö nomo ma'akha.
 aßö omo
 3s || companion:MUT house:MUT today

She was the housekeeper today.

This structure is the reversal of the structure which was described above for examples (1)-(3), in which the comment NP is unmutated and functions as the predicate, and the topic NP is mutated and functions as the argument. Historically it is possible that the structure has arisen from the fronting of the pronoun, perhaps in emphatic function, however synchronically the pronoun is not fronted in this construction, as shown by the mutation of the second NP, indicating that it functions as the argument. Another example of this variant structure is given in (12), in which the third singular independent pronoun *ya'ia* is predicate, and the noun *lala* 'way' is the argument. Because *lala* begins with a consonant which is not affected by mutation, this is not obvious in (12). However, since *ya'ia* refers to the person who is the topic of the discourse, and the sentence was spoken without pause, it has the same structure as (11):

- (12) *Ya'ia* || *lala*.
 lala
 3s || way:MUT

He was (acted as) the/a mediator.

As mentioned in earlier chapters, headless relatives are used extensively in nominalizing function in Nias (see 6.3). They may occur as predicates in nominal clauses, as in (1) above. They may also occur as arguments in nominal clauses in which pronouns occur in predicate position, as illustrated in (13) - (14):

- (13) *Ya'ia* *z=o-ndroro* *Fasui* *ba* *Hilizondrege'asi*.
 s=aN-doro
 3s REL.MUT=IPF-carry *Fasui* LOC *Hilizondrege'asi*

He was the one who brought Fasui to Hilizondrege'asi. (lit. It was he who was the one who brought Fasui to Hilizondrege'asi.)

- (14) ...böörö ya'ia || z=a-munu
 s=aN-bunu
 because 3s || REL.MUT=-IPF-kill
 niha nomema'e si=da-fitu.
 person RECOG REL=CL-seven
 ...because he was the person who had killed those seven men before. (lit.
 ...because it was he who was the one who had killed those seven men
 mentioned before.)

While headless relatives occur most commonly as arguments in nominal clauses which have personal pronouns as predicates, they are not restricted to this context. Headless relatives also occur as arguments with lexical NPs and demonstrative pronouns as predicates. An example of a headless relative occurring with a lexical NP is given in (15). Note that the argument is fronted here, as shown by the lack of mutation on it as well as on the predicate NP *bekhu* 'ghost':

- (15) S=a-me-ta'u ya'o, bekhu.
 REL=IPF-CAU-fear 1s ghost
 It was a ghost that frightened me. (lit. 'What frightened me, (was) a ghost.)

9.1.4 Nominal clauses with demonstrative pronouns as predicate

It is not only personal pronouns which occur as predicates in nominal clauses—demonstrative pronouns referring to entities or events also frequently occur in this function. An example in which a demonstrative pronoun occurs in this kind of construction is given in (16):

- (16) Andre || hikaya va-a-lukhö
 hikaya fa-
 DIST || story:MUT NR.MUT-ST-destroy

ndra-ono Danazumenivugö.

ira-

COLL.MUT-child Danazumenivugö

That's the story of the destruction of the Danazumenivugö people.

A nominal clause construction in which *andre* occurs in initial position is used to identify people or things by name. *Andre* occurs in first position, i.e. as predicate, followed by the mutated form of the word *töi* 'name' and finally, the actual name. Some examples of this construction follow:

(17) Andre || döi-nia Siwa La'imba.

töi

DIST || name:MUT-3s.POSS Siwa La'imba

His name was Siwa La'imba. (H)

(18) Andre || döi-ra Salawasamu'i ba Gawaluo.

||

töi

DIST || name:MUT-3p.POSS Salawasamu'i CNJ Gawaluo

Their names were Salawasami'i and Gawaluo. (H)

(19) Andraha'a || duria moroi khö-ma.

turia

this one || news:MUT come.from DAT-1pe.POSS

That's all the news from us.

An example of a demonstrative pronoun as predicate in construction with a headless relative is given in (20):

(20) Andra || ni-f-o-töi Fe-höbö-i

PROX || PASS-CAU-HAVE-name CAU-disagreement-TR

This is what is called 'Fehöböi'. ('Breaking off relations') (H)

Andre is also used in a similar construction for an emphatic repetition of the element to which *andre* refers, resembling 'antitopic' constructions discussed by Lambrecht (1994: 202). The element which has already been mentioned in a previous clause is repeated sentence finally, usually after a pause and with stress. Examples (21)-(24) illustrate this kind of construction:

- (21) Andre || ni-fa'ke, idánö.
DIST || PASS-use water

That is what is used, water.

- (22) Andre || nösi baka, aná'a
ösi
DIST || contents:MUT inside gold

That was what was inside, gold.

- (23) Andre || z=a-naro mbanua=nda dania,
s=aN-taro banua
DIST || REL.MUT=IPF-set village:MUT=PROX later

Amada=nda Faulö Zató.

Amada=PROX Faulö Zato

He was the one who would be the mainstay of this village, this Amada Faulö Zato.⁵

- (24) Börö meföna, andre || zabu-ra, ábu.
sabu
because in.the.early.days DIST || soap:MUT-3p.POSS ash

Because in the early days, that was their soap, ashes.

Another relatively common construction similar to this one consists of *andre* in predicate position, followed by an NP in argument position, followed in turn by a

⁵ The mutation on *mbanua* 'village' presumably signals a possessive relationship with *zanaro* 'the one who sets/settles (sth.)', i.e. something like 'the settled one of the village'. If *mbanua* were an argument of the verb *-taro* (the root of *tataro* 'sit'), it ought to be unmutated, i.e. *banua*.

subjectless subordinate clause in dependent form, which is apparently in apposition to the demonstrative pronoun in predicate position. These constructions are not as discourse-dependent as the previously described constructions with *andre*, and appear more to be a way of emphasizing the action described by the verb. An example of this kind of construction is given in (25), in which the imperfective clause *mondrara tödö* 'console' occurs in apposition to *andre*:

(25)	Andre		halöwö-da	mana,	mo-ndrara
					maN-rara
	DIST		work-1pi.POSS	at.this.time	IPF-comfort
	tödö	niha	s=abu	tödö.	
	liver	person	REL=ST:sad	liver	

That's what we have to do now, console those who have been afflicted.⁶

Note that the noun *tödö* 'liver', which corresponds to the P argument of the transitive verb *rara* 'comfort' in a simple transitive clause is unmutated, identifying this imperfective clause as dependent (see 10.3.2.2). Another example is given in (26), in which the dependent clause *mo-kia'ö niha* 'shock people' is in apposition with *andre*:

(26)	Andre		halöwö	nono	hö'ö,	mo-kia-'ö	niha.
				ono			
	DIST		work	child:MUT	DIST	DYN-shock-TR	person

That's what that child likes to do, shock people.

The use of *andre* in sentences (21)-(26) above resembles the use of copulas in other languages, and may represent the first stages in the development of such a category in Nias Selatan.

⁶ The construction *abu dödö* (lit. 'the heart is sad') can mean simply 'feel bad', but is also used euphemistically used to describe the state of people who have been affected by the death of someone close.

Andre has also developed an idiomatic meaning, namely 'that's why, that's how', when it is followed by a clausal NP in a nominal clause construction. The clause which follows *andre* in this construction may be in the form of a complement, i.e. introduced with the complementizer *va* (~ *βa*), or may occur as a bare clause. Some examples of sentences in which *andre* means 'that's why, how' are given in (27)-(29). In (27) *andre* occurs with a complement introduced by *va*:

- (27) Andre || va la-ohi ndaoto.
 DIST || COMP 3p.RLS-chase 1s.MUT.EMPH
 That's why they chased me.

In (28) and (29), the predicate is followed by a clause without a complementizer:

- (27) Andre manö || la-ete-ni niha=ndre.
 DIST just || 3p.RLS-bridge-TR person=DIST
 That's just how these people bridged (it).

- (29) Andre || ta-be töi mbanua=ndra, Boto-hili-tanö
 banua
 DIST || 1pi.RLS-give name village:MUT=PROX Boto-hili-tanö
 That's why we gave it this name, Boto-hili-tanö.

9.2 Syntactic uses of nominal clauses

Apart from identification of entities in discourse or addition of further information about an entity or event, nominal clauses have two other main uses in Nias: asking questions about the identity of a participant and expressing superlative comparison.

9.2.1 Questions concerning identity of participant

Questions requesting the identity of a participant have the same structure as nominal clauses in which anaphoric pronouns occur in first position described in 9.1.3 above.

That is, the question word (either *haiya* 'what' or *ha(na)ta* 'who') occurs in first position and the argument referring to the entity to be identified follows in mutated form. Some examples of simple questions are given in (30)-(32):

(30) Haiya gö-u?

ö

what food:MUT-2s.POSS

What are you eating? (lit. Your food is what?)

(31) Hata hō'ō?

who DIST

Who is it? / Who's there? (lit. That is who?)

(32) Hata nakhi-u alafe.

akhi

who younger.sibling:MUT-2s.POSS female

Who is your younger sister? (lit. Your younger female sibling is who?)

With simple nouns, *haiya* usually has the meaning 'what kind of', e.g.:

(33) Haiya geu ha'a?

eu

what tree:MUT PROX

What kind of tree is this? (lit. This tree is what?)

(34) Haiya nono-nia?

ono

what child:MUT-3s.POSS

Is her child a boy or a girl? (lit. Her child is what?)

- (35) Haiya gurifö hö'ö?
 urifö
 what animal:MUT DIST

What kind of animal is that? (lit. That animal is what?)

Like pronominal NPs in first position, question words may be followed by headless relatives functioning as arguments, i.e. in a 'cleft' construction:

- (36) Hata zi=fao khö-u?
 si=
 who REL.MUT=join DAT-2s.POSS

Who's going with you? (lit. The one joining with you is who?)

In (37) below, the question word questions the identity of the A argument of the simple transitive verb whose imperfective form is used in the headless relative clause (cf. *i-bözi ndraugö* [3s.RLS-hit 2s.MUT] 'He hit you'). Note that the P argument is unmutated in the headless relative in which the A argument is relativized, as illustrated by the unmutated pronoun *ya'ugö* 'you':

- (37) Hanata z=a-mözi ya'ugö?
 s=aN-bözi
 who REL.MUT=IPF-hit 2s

Who hit you?

When *haiya* occurs with a headless relative as argument, it usually refers to the P argument of the relative, in which case the headless relative is expressed by a passive verb form, as illustrated in (38)-(39):

- (38) Haiya ni-base-'ö-u?
 what PASS-rest-TR-2s.POSS

What are you waiting for?

- (39) Haiya ni-lau-nia?
 what PASS-do-3s.POSS
 What is he doing?

9.2.2 Superlative comparison

Superlative comparison can be expressed in two ways. In one, a headless relative is predicate, in which the verb which refers to the standard with which the participant is being compared occurs in predicate position. The argument referring to the entity being compared follows, expressed by a mutated NP. This is illustrated in (40), in which the referent of the mutated pronoun *ndrao* 'I' is compared with respect to height against a field expressed by a third plural possessive suffix, *-ra* (referring to the other entities which have the attribute against which the mutated NP is compared):

- (40) S=a-lawa-ra ndrao.
 REL=ST-high-3p.POSS 1s.MUT
 I'm the tallest of them. (lit. I am their one who is tall.)

Another example of this kind of superlative is given in (41), in which the mutated NP *mbanua Baßömataluo* 'the village of Baßömataluo' is compared with respect to size against a field expressed again by a third plural possessive suffix, *-ra*:

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| (41) | S-ebua-ra | mbanua | Mbaßömataluo |
| | | banua | Baßömataluo |
| | REL=ST-big-3p.POSS | village:MUT | Baßömataluo:MUT |
| | ba | danö | niha. |
| | | tanö | niha |
| | LOC | land:MUT | person:MUT |

The biggest village in Nias is Baßömataluo. (lit. The village, Baßömataluo, is their one which is big in Nias.)

Note that the headless relative in these constructions occur with possessive suffixes, indicating that they are treated syntactically as nouns and not relative clauses, since relative clauses do not otherwise occur with possessive suffixes except when passive (as discussed in 8.4.3).

The second way in which superlative comparison can be expressed is with a nominal clause in which the predicate consists of a possessive NP whose head is the derived noun *f-o-ndrege* [NR-IPF-reach] 'the highest, what is achieved' followed by a 'possessor' expressed by a headless relative edescribing the standard against which the comparison is made. The argument is expressed by a mutated NP. For example in (42), the predicate is expressed as *fondrege zalawa*, lit. 'the highest of the ones which are high':

- (42) Fondrege z-alawa || duhe nöri,
 s= || tuhe öri
 highest REL.MUT=ST-high || headman:MUT village.group:MUT
 ba mbanua hö'ö.
 banua
 LOC village:MUT DIST

The overlord of the village commune is the most important person in that village.⁷

Other examples of this construction are given in (43) and (44):

- (43) Fondrege z=onekhe || ya ba kalasi-nia.
 s=
 highest REL.MUT=ST:clever || 3s.MUT LOC class-3s.POSS

He is the cleverest in his class.⁸

⁷ Twelve (or so) villages form one *öri*, a group of villages formed for administrative, political and social purposes. While every village has one *si'ulu* 'village leader', there is only one *tuhe nöri* 'village-group leader' for the twelve villages. The *Tuhe Nöri* is more important than the *si'ulu* in the village in which he lives.

⁸ The noun *kalasi* 'class' is borrowed from Indonesian *kalasi* 'class' and therefore does not conform to normal mutation rules. Nias words following the locative *ba* are normally mutated.

- (44) Fondrege zi=sökhi || nomo hö'ö ba mbanua ha'a.
 si= omo banua
 highest REL.MUT=ST:good || house:MUT DIST LOC village:MUT PROX
 That's the nicest house in this village.

9.3 Negation of nominal clauses

Nominal clauses are negated with the constituent negator *te'ana* (alternatively pronounced *tena* or *teana*) in front of the NP in predicate position. The predicate NP is unmutated, and is followed by a mutated NP in argument position. The negation of sentence (1) above is given in (45). Stress occurs on the negator *tena* in the predicate, and on the final syllable of the demonstrative *hö'ö* in the argument:

- (45) Téna s-o-lau faya || nono hö'ö.
 s=aN- ono
 NEG(N) REL=IPF-do lie || child:MUT DIST
 That child is not a liar. (lit. That child is not one who does lie(s).)

If one wants to contradict something someone has said, i.e. to stress the negation of an assertion, one stresses the nominal following *te'ana* in the predicate and not the negator itself, e.g.:

- (46) Tena s-o-lau fáya || ya.
 s=aN- 3s.MUT
 NEG(N) REL=IPF-do lie || 3s.MUT
 He is NOT a liar. (lit. He is NOT one who does lie(s).)

By itself, *te'ana* means something like 'your assumption about x is not correct'. Its meaning can perhaps best be observed by comparing it with the negative existential verb *löna*, which means something like 'x does not exist'. Compare (47) which contains

te'ana followed by a simple unmutated noun, with (48), which contains the negative existential *löna* followed by the the same noun⁹:

(47) Te'ana asu.
NEG(N) dog
It's not a dog.

(48) Löna asu.
NEG.EXIST dog
There is no dog (here).

Nominal clauses with pronouns in predicate position make use of the negator to emphasize the pronoun in predicate position. Stress occurs on the pronoun, and the argument which follows has low pitch, as exemplified in (49)-(50):

(49) Te'ana ya'ía || z=a-nura.
s=aN-sura
NEG(N) 3s || REL.MUT=IPF-write
HE is not the writer. (lit. The writer (of it) is not him.)

(50) Tena ya'ó || z=a-maso ya'ugö.
|| s=aN-faso
NEG(N) 1s || REL.MUT=IPF-force 2s
It's not ME who's forcing you.

9.4 Constituent negation

The negator *te'ana* is not just a nominal negator. It also negates other constituents (apart from verbs, which are negated with *löna*). An example of *te'ana* with a dative

⁹ The comparison here between *te'ana* and *löna* is similar to that in Indonesian between *bukan*, the constituent negator, and *tidak ada*, the verbal negator *tidak* with the existential verb *ada*, e.g. *bukan asu* 'It's not a dog', versus *tidak ada asu* 'there's no dog (here)'.

phrase is given in (51). Note that in comparisons such as the one illustrated in (51), both the NPs being compared and the negator are stressed:

- (51) Khö ndra-ama-dá i-be gana'a,
 ira-ama ana'a
 DAT COLL.MUT-father-1p.POSS 3s.RLS-give gold:MUT
 teána khö ndra-ama-rá.
 ira-ama
 NEG(N) DAT COLL.MUT-father-3p.POSS]
 It is to OUR ancestor that he gave the gold, not THEIRS.

In (52) *tena* is illustrated with a locative/directional phrase:

- (52) Gu-mofanö moroi ba kóta, téna moroi ba mbanúa.
 1s.IRR-leave come.from LOC city NEG(N) come.from LOC village:MUT
 I will leave from the city not from the village.

Example (53) illustrates the use of *te'ana* with an adverb, *gaö*, which functions as the (fronted) P argument of the verb *sawa* 'head for':

- (53) Te'ána gáö la-sawa ba mbanua, ba Hilmboto,
 banua
 NEG(N) there 3p.RLS-head.for LOC village:MUT LOC Hilmboto
 ga la-sawa gá¹⁰, ba mbeße gaßu.
 beße aßu
 here 3p.RLS-head.for here LOC lip:MUT sand:MUT
 It wasn't there to the village, to Hilmboto, that they headed, it was to here, to the beach.

¹⁰ I am not sure why *ga* 'here' occurs twice in this sentence, but it is common to hear *ga* repeated in the same clause.

CHAPTER 10

THE PREDICATE COMPLEX

10.1 Introduction

As mentioned in the introduction to Chapter 9, verbal predicates differ from nominal predicates in the complexity of the predicate. There are two aspects to the complexity of the verbal predicate. One involves the kinds of words or particles which precede the main verb, the other involves morphological modification of the verb itself. These two aspects are discussed in 10.2 and 10.3 of this chapter respectively.

10.2 Auxiliary words: overview

A verbal predicate, but not a nominal predicate, may be preceded by words which provide notions of modality, negation, temporal and manner aspects of the situation described by the verb, and the extent to which one of the participants is involved in the action, state or process. Most of the auxiliary words which express these notions also function as verbs elsewhere in the language. In their role as preverbal auxiliaries, however, these forms cannot have any arguments, and essentially form a single complex predicate with the following verb. It is always the second verb which carries argument marking. Typically only one preverbal auxiliary occurs with a main verb. Not all of the preverbal elements may occur together. The preverbal elements which will be discussed in this chapter, and the sections in which they are described, are the following:

- 10.2.1 modal expressions
- 10.2.2 negation: *löna*, *lö*, *lö'ö* and *ambö*
- 10.2.3 perfect: *ma=*
- 10.2.4 aspectual expressions
- 10.2.5 quantifiers

10.2.1 Modal expressions

Nias has five regular modal expressions which occur in preverbal position. These are listed in (1) with their meanings, and will be exemplified below:

(1) **modal expressions**

tola 'can'

tebai / tobai 'can't'

tebai löna / tebai lö'ö / lö tola lö'ö 'have to'

sinanea 'ought to, it is appropriate, should'

mo-guna 'it is important (that)' (also used with the meaning 'be useful/needed')

Two other forms that are occasionally used are borrowed from Indonesian: *tepaksa* 'it is necessary, must, have to' (from Indonesian *terpaksa* 'must, have to'), and *tatu* 'it is definite /certain (that), of course' (presumably from Indonesian *tentu* 'definite, certain, of course'). In addition, the clause-initial particles *dörö* 'perhaps' and *nama* 'perhaps' which were exemplified in 4.13.1.1 may also be regarded as modal expressions.

The most frequently used modal verbs are *tola* 'can, be able, be permitted' and *tobai / tebai* 'can't, not be able, not be permitted'. The verb which follows these modal forms can be in realis or irrealis mode, or in a passive form. *Tola* 'can' is predominantly used for ability and permission. Examples (2)-(3) indicate its use in an 'ability' sense. In (2) *tola* precedes the verb *möi* 'go':

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|----------|---------|------|-----|------------|-----------|
| (2) | Moguna | nora | mea | tola | möi | niha | ba-eßali. |
| | | ora | | | | niha | |
| | need | step:MUT | so.that | can | go | person:MUT | LOC-yard |

We need the steps so that people can get to the courtyard.

In (3) *tola* precedes the verb *törö* 'go':

- (10) La-waö 'he ma=tola ni-a?'
 3p.RLS-say whether PERF=can PASS-eat

They said, 'I wonder if they can be eaten?'⁴ (referring to fruits which were unknown.)

If the referent of an A argument is referential, the modal verb must be followed by a simple active main clause in which an A argument is expressed by a pronominal prefix on the verb, as illustrated in (11):

- (11) Haija tola ö-zira?
 what can 2s.RLS-see

What is it you can you see?'

An intransitive verb *tola* occurs in Nias Selatan with the meaning 'abate' (of illness), as illustrated in (12):

- (12) I-tötöna mea tola vökhö-nia.
 fökhö
 3s.RLS-hope CFT abate illness:MUT-3s.POSS

He hopes he'll get better.

This verb also has a transitive form *tola-ö* 'make get better', illustrated in (13):

- (13) I-tola-ö vökhö-nia doto / daludalu.
 fökhö
 3s.RLS-abate-TR illness:MUT-3s.POSS doctor / medicine

The doctor/ medicine cured his illness.

⁴ The constituents *he* and *ma=* occur together only in this example and one other in the same text. *Ma=* does not seem to be used in its 'completive' sense here, and may collocate with *he* 'whether, either' to mean something like 'I wonder' or 'perhaps', by analogy with the sentence-initial particle *nama* 'perhaps' (see 4.13.1.1).

These meanings are not in common usage and are normally replaced these days by the verb *döhö* 'abate' (which may also refer to rain) and its causative form *fa-döhö* 'make get better, cure', suggesting perhaps that the verb *tola* is becoming lexicalized in its modal use.

The verb *tebai* / *tobai* 'can't' denies both ability and permission. The verb may occur by itself if its complement is clear in context, as illustrated by the response in (14):

- (14) A Tola i-lau nohi?
 ohi
 can 3s.RLS-climb coconut.tree:MUT
 A Can he climb the coconut tree?
 B Tobai.
 can't
 B No. (ability and permission denied)

The variation between *tebai* and *tobai* may be dialectal—I have been told by a number of speakers that *tebai* is used in the north and *tobai* in the south. However, I have not noticed any consistency in the use only of *tobai* in the data, which is recorded only from speakers of the southern dialects. The two forms appear to be freely interchangeable in all contexts in my data. In fact, *tebai* appears to have greater frequency of use overall.

Tebai/*tobai* 'can't' occurs with verbs in realis or irrealis mode. Examples (15)–(17) illustrate *tebai* used with verbs in realis mode:

- (15) Na lōna i-tehe Si'ulu, tobai la-bunu.
 if NEG 3w.RLS-agree village leader can't 3p.RLS-kill
 If the village leader doesn't agree, they can't kill (him). (H)

(16) Tobai la-ra'u ya.
 can't 3p.RLS-catch 3s.MUT
 They couldn't capture him.

(17) Tobai la-lawa ira.
 can't 3p.RLS-conquer 3p.MUT
 They couldn't conquer them.

Examples (18)-(20) illustrate *tebai* / *tobai* used with verbs in irrealis mode:

(18) Tobai gu-möli, ambö na gefe-gu.
 kefe
 can't 1s.IRR-IRR-buy not.enough yet money:MUT-1s.POSS
 I can't buy it, I don't have enough money yet. (lit. I can't buy (it), my money is not yet enough.)

(19) Tobai da-z<um>adikö mbanua ...
 banua
 can't 1pi.IRR-<IRR>-make.happen village:MUT
 We won't be able to establish it as a village ...⁵

(20) Tobai gu-r<um>öi nama-gu.
 ama
 can't 1s.IRR-<IRR>leave.behind father:MUT-1s.POSS
 I can't leave my father.

As mentioned above, *tebai* / *tobai* 'can't' may occur with the passive form of a verb if the A argument of the verb is non-referential. An example of *tebai* with the passive form of the verb *be* 'put' is given in (21). Note that the P argument of the verb

⁵ The word *zadikö* 'make happen' is borrowed from Indonesian *jadikan* 'make happen'.

go=D.PTCL CNJ no] 'Are you coming or not?'. The expression *lö tola lö'ö* [not can not] consists of the negator *lö* plus *tola* 'can' followed by *lö'ö*. The negator *lö* is the verbal negator used in northern and central dialects, in contexts in which *löna* would be used in the south, although *lö* is also used occasionally in the south, in particular in fossilized contexts (see, e.g. 5.1.2.3). There is no apparent difference in meaning between these three expressions. They may all be followed either by realis or by irrealis mode. Examples of three modal expressions with the meaning 'have to, must' are given in (24)-(28):

- (24) Tobai lö'ö la-dudu-gö nomo-ra.
omo
can't NEG 3p.RLS-pull.down-CAU house:MUT-3p.POSS
They had to pull down their house

- (25) Tobai löna gu-möi ga.
can't NEG 1s.IRR-go:IRR here
I'll have to come here. (lit. 'I can't not come here.')

- (26) Tobai löna da-fa-lakhi.
can't NEG 1pi.IRR-DO-meet
We'll have to meet.

- (27) Tebai lö'ö la-doro fakake ni-o-guna-ra.
fakake⁸
can't NEG 3p.RLS-carry tools:MUT PASS-HAVE-use-3p.POSS
They have to take the tools they'll need.

- (28) Na möi m-alu ba si=lö tola lö'ö
if go DYN-hunt CNJ REL=NEG can NEG

⁸ The word *fakake* 'tools' ought to be mutated in this position (i.e. as the P argument of the transitive verb *doro* 'carry'). I do not know why it is not. It would appear to be the case that this word has idiosyncratic properties, as there are a number of other instances in which it is not mutated in positions which call for mutation.

mo-a-moni-ta ira.

HAVE-[IPF-taboo-NR] 3p.MUT

If they go hunting, they have to undergo purification. (lit. 'If they go hunting, they are ones who cannot not have purification.') (H)

The form *sinanea* has a meaning which approximates the English modal 'should', in both a moral and a practical sense, as the following examples show. It was explained to me that *tobai lö'ö* 'have to, must' was 'too strong' for these examples:

- (29) Sinanea m-ofanö ita zi=oföna
 si=
 appropriate DYN-leave 1pi.MUT REL.MUT=be.first
 fatua löna na a-lögölögö.
 while NEG .yet ST-dark

We should leave before it gets dark.

- (30) Sinanea ta-f-o-sumane zi=bihasa.
 si=
 appropriate 1pi.RLS-CAU-HAVE-respect REL.MUT=old

We should respect old people.

The verb *mo-guna* [HAVE-use] 'be needed, useful' may be used as a simple intransitive verb which occurs with a mutated nominal referring to the 'useful thing' (see 5.1.1.3). When *mo-guna* is followed by a clausal complement, however, it implies that the action of the clause is important (i.e. 'needs to be done'). In (31), the complement follows the adverb *sibai*. The A argument of the complement is *satua ndraono* 'parents of children', and the P argument is *nono-ra* 'their children'.

- (31) Mo-guna sibai la-fatene nono-ra
 ono
 HAVE-use INTNS 3p.RLS-send child:MUT-3p.POSS

ba zekola satua ndra-ono.
 sekola ira-
 LOC school:MUT parent COLL.MUT-child

It is very important that parents of children send their children to school.

In (32) below, the complement of *mo-guna* 'it is important' contains a verb in impersonal form, *la-asogö* 'they (i.e. people in general) establish' (see 11.2.1.2 for impersonal verbs):

(32) Mo-guna sibai la-a-so-gö darodaro ba mbanua.
 darodaro banua
 HAVE-use INTNS 3p.RLS-?-EXIST-TR seat.of.law:MUT LOC villlage:MUT

It is very important that a darodaro (seat of law) be established in a village.⁹

There are no examples in my data of irrealis forms of *moguna* occurring with complement clauses.¹⁰

An example of the borrowed form *tepaksa* 'it is necessary' is given in (33).

Note that the verb in the clause which follows *tepaksa* is impersonal:

(33) Tepaksa la-khau ya.
 necessary 3p.RLS-fine 3s.MUT

He has to be fined.

An example of *tatu* 'of course, certainly' is given in (34):

⁹ A *darodaro* is a large stone seat about two metres in length, a metre wide and a metre high which is erected to celebrate various occasions such as the establishment of a village or the installation of a new village leader, or as a monument to an earlier ancestor who is regarded by villagers as a significant and continued force in their lives. The establishment of a *darodaro* means that a new village is large enough to have an important man as their head (who can afford to pay for the finding, transportation, erection and carving of the stone) and therefore is large enough to establish a set of laws for that village. Until a village has a *darodaro*, it is considered lawless, such that people may behave however they want without fear of legal punishment.

¹⁰ Since irrealis forms of this verb occur with simple NP arguments (see 5.1.1.3), however, it does not seem unlikely that an irrealis form, *ya-moguna*, followed by a complement clause, would indicate the future importance of an action.

- (34) Me ma=faöli ya, tatu mo-mo-ono.
 when PERF=marry 3s.MUT certain JNT-HAVE-child

As soon as he got married, of course they began to have children.

10.2.2 Negation

There are four forms which are used to express verbal negation in Nias Selatan: *löna*, *lö*, *lö'ö* and *ambö*. Of the first three, only *löna* is used with any frequency—both *lö* and *lö'ö* have restricted use. *Ambö* 'less, lacking' is used in place of *löna* to make a statement which expresses disagreement less direct, i.e. it is used as a polite way of disagreeing with someone.

10.2.2.1 *löna*

The verb *löna* is used for the negation of verbal predicates in both realis and irrealis clauses. (This verb is discussed in 11.4.2.5 with respect to its role as a negative existential verb.) Examples of realis clauses which are negated with *löna* are given in (35)-(37). Note that case marking and verb form in main clauses are not affected by *löna*, as can be seen by comparing the unnegated forms given in parentheses after the translations.

- (35) Löna la-faigi nösi.
 ösi
 NEG 3p.RLS-see contents:MUT

They didn't notice the contents. (cf. *la-faigi nösi* 'they saw the contents')

- (36) Löna alua matö.
 NEG happen therefore

So it didn't happen. (cf. *alua matö* 'then it happened.')

- (37) Löna fao dödö-gu.
 tödö
 NEG join liver:MUT-1s.POSS
 I do not agree. (cf. *fao dödö-gu* 'I agree')

Examples of irrealis clauses which are negated with *löna* are given in (38)-(39):

- (38) Löna ndra-mbe khö-ra ndra-ono.
 ira-
 NEG 3p.IRR-give:IRR DAT-3p.POSS COLL.MUT-child
 They do not intend to give the children to them. (cf. *ndra-mbe khö-ra ndra-ono* 'they intended to give the children to them')

- (39) Löna gu-man-a.
 NEG 1s.IRR-IRR-eat
 I don't want to eat (anything). (cf. *gu-mana* 'I want to eat (something)')

Certain elements with aspectual or adverbial meanings may occur between *löna* and the main verb. For example, *löna* may cooccur with an aspectual preverb such as *asese* 'often', as illustrated in (40):

- (40) Löna asese möi Namada Satöladanö.
 Amada
 NEG often go Amada:MUT Satöladanö
 Amada Satöladanö did not often visit (this land). (H)

As mentioned above in 10.2.1, the 'free' adverbs *sui* 'again', *matö* 'therefore' and *göi* 'also' may also occur between the negator and the main verb. These forms are exemplified with *löna* in (41) - (43):

- (41) Ba löna sui matö ta-ila ...
 CNJ NEG again therefore 2pi.RLS-know
 And so again we don't know ...

- (42) ... löna göi faoro zigi.
 sigi
 ... NEG also DO-visible tip:MUT
 ... also the tip (of it) was not visible.

- (43) Löna göi alua i-halö gana'a nomema'e,
 ana'a
 NEG also happen 3s.RLS-take gold:MUT RECOG
 Amada noma'e Lafau
 Amada RECOG Lafau

That Amada Lafau didn't manage to get that gold after all. (lit. It didn't also happen, (that) Amada Lafau, whom I mentioned earlier, got that gold I've been talking about.)

In (44), two predicate complex particles, =*manö* 'just' and =*ae* 'already', occur between *löna* and the verb:

- (44) Lona=*manö*=*ae* te-taro'o ndraugö ba-omo
 NEG=just=already RES-planat 2s.MUT LOC-house
 You're just never settled at home.

The particles =*ae* 'already' and *na* 'yet, still' may also occur immediately after *löna*, as illustrated in (45) - (47)¹¹:

¹¹ As mentioned in 3.6, the constituents *löna* and =*ae* occur together sufficiently frequently that they have become lexicalized in a reduced form, *na'e*.

ba ma=u-ra'u.
 CNJ PERF=1s.RLS-catch

I caught the plate before it hit the ground. (lit. 'When the plate had not yet fallen down, I caught (it).')

Löna may also be followed by the intensifier *sibai*, as illustrated in (50)¹²:

(50) Löna sibai omasi ya fa-lakhi khö-gu la-waö.
 NEG INTNS want 3s.MUT DO-meet DAT-1s.POSS 3p.RLS-say

They say that he doesn't want to meet me at all. (lit. Not at all does he want to do meeting with me, they say.)

10.2.2.2 Lö and lö'ö

Occasionally a speaker uses the short form *lö* as a negator instead of *löna*, more often in subordinate clauses than in main clauses. This particle is the normal negator in the northern dialects. (*Löna* is not used at all in the north.) An example of the short form of the negator in a sentence is given in (51):

(51) Na so zi=lö a-boto dödö-u
 si= tödö
 if EXIST REL.MUT=NEG ST-break liver:MUT-2s.POSS
 sofu mahemolu.
 ask:IMPER tomorrow

If there's anything you don't understand, ask tomorrow.

(*Lö* is also used in some fossilized phrases—see 5.1.2.3.) The emphatic negator *lö'ö* is used typically to give an emphatic negative answer, as illustrated in the following rhetorical question uttered and then answered by one speaker:

¹² It may be the case that *löna* is functioning as a negative existential verb in this sentence, with the clause which follows *sibai* being a complement. However, there are no other examples of a construction in which the negative existential verb occurs with a complement clause, so for the present I will treat *löna* as modifying *omasi*.

- (52) Hai löna rake tanö bö'ö? I-waö 'Lö'ö!
 Q NEG coral land other 3s.RLS-say no

Do you think there is no coral in any other place? He said, 'No! (i.e. Don't be stupid, of course there is!)

The particle *lö'ö* is also used with statements expressing options, often with the particle *he* 'whether', as illustrated in (53):

- (53) He la-rino idanö andra, he lö'ö, ...
 whether 3p.RLS-boil water PROX whether not

Whether they boil this water or not, ...¹³

10.2.2.3 *Ambö* 'less, not enough'

The verb *ambö* 'be less, not be enough' is used normally as a simple intransitive verb, as illustrated in (54):

- (54) Ambö vakhe.
 fakhe
 less rice:MUT

There is not enough rice.

Ambö is mentioned in this section because it appears to have a similar function to *löna* when used with main clause verbs. However, sentences in which *ambö* occur are pragmatically more polite than the same forms with *löna*. For example, (55) is similar to (37) above, but is more polite:

¹³ As a P argument, the noun *idanö* 'water' ought to be mutated in this sentence. I'm not sure why it is not, but the words for both 'food' (*ö*) and 'water' often show anomalous behaviour in other instances as well. In addition, the water referred to in this example is unique in Nias in being able to be drunk without being boiled, so perhaps its uniqueness motivates the use of an unmutated form.

- (55) Ambö fao dödö-gu.
 tödö
 not.enough join liver:MUT-1s.POSS
 I don't quite agree.

Some other examples of *ambö* used with main clause verbs are given in (56) and (57):

- (56) Ambö sökhi huahua-nia.
 huahua
 not.enough good speech:MUT-3s.POSS
 His speech is not nice.

- (57) Ambö omasi ira z=asioho.
 s=
 not.enough like 3p.MUT REL.MUT=ST:light
 They don't like light much (H)

Ambö is also similar to *löna* in being used with *na* 'yet', with the meaning 'not yet enough' as illustrated in (58):

- (58) Ambö na a-boto ba dödö-nia
 tödö
 not.enough yet ST-smash? LOC liver:MUT-3s.POSS
 ama-da ba hö'ö.
 father-1pi.POSS LOC DIST

Our ancestor at that time did not quite understand. (lit. our ancestor at that (time) was not enough ?smashed/broken¹⁴ in his heart.)

¹⁴ Footnote 2 from Chapter 6 is repeated here: The root *boto* also occurs in the complex verb *aboto ba dödö* [ST-?smash LOC liver:MUT] 'understand', e.g. *löna a-boto ba dödö-gu* [NEG ST-?smash LOC liver:MUT-1s.POSS] 'I do not understand'. There are three words (at least) which have the form *boto* which I assume have distinct meanings: two nouns, *boto* 'circumcision' and *boto* 'body', and the transitive verb *boto* 'smash'. I don't know whether the verb *boto* 'smash' is polysemous or whether the root *boto* which occurs in the two mental state verbs has a completely different meaning.

By far the most frequent use of *ma=* appears to be to indicate that the event described by the verb occurred some time before the reference time, and that the the situation is currently relevant, i.e. it has a 'perfect' meaning (Comrie 1977; cf. Bybee et al. 1994, who call this function 'anterior'). For example, after being ordered to wash his hands before lunch (with the imperative form *ombanö!* 'wash your hands!'), a child said belligerently:

- (67) Ma=m-ombanö ndrao.
 PERF=AV-wash.hand 1s.MUT
 I already HAVE washed my hands.

On seeing a dead dog in the road obviously run over by a car, the speaker exclaimed the following¹⁷:

- (68) Ma=mate nasu. la-gili ya moto.
 asu
 PERF=die dog:MUT 3p.RLS-roll 3s.MUT car
 That dog's dead! It must've been run over by a car(s). (lit. The dog has died.
 The cars rolled (over) it.)

If one asks 'What's new?' on return to an area one has left for some time, the answer should include *ma=* if the reply refers to a situation which is still current. For example in (69) both clauses of the conjoined sentence should include *ma=*. Although *ma=* can be left out of the second clause and still be understood, it is considered to be clearer with it in.

¹⁷ There are not many cars in Nias. To see a dead dog on the road, obviously hit by a car, is extremely unusual.

- (69) Ma=alabu Töna ba ma=a-fatö gahe-nia.
 Töna ahe
 PERF=ST-fall Töna:MUT CNJ PERF=ST-break leg:MUT-3s.POSS
 Töna fell and has broken his leg. (lit. ... and his leg is broken / has been broken.)

Other examples in which *ma=* has a 'perfect' (or 'anterior') meaning are given in (70)-(74):

- (70) Ma=la-fazökhi nomo si=bohau
 omo
 PERF=3p.RLS-build house:MUT REL=new
 ba zi=dua ßawa si=ma=aefa.
 si= bawa
 LOC REL.MUT=two month:LEN REL=PERF=passed

They have built a new house in the last two months.

- (71) Ma=i-bato v-oroko mana.
 f-
 PERF=3s.RLS-stop NR.MUT-smoke at.this.time
 He has stopped smoking now. (D)

- (72) Ma=u-be gulo.
 gulo
 PERF=1s.RLS-put sugar:MUT
 I've already put sugar in.

- (73) Ma=man-a=e ndraugö?
 PERF=IPF-eat=D.PTCL 2s.MUT
 Have you eaten yet?

- (74) He! Ma=a-töla mbo'ö-u na a-ege-ege ndaugö.
 bo'ö
 Hey! PERF=ST-hole cheek:MUT-2s.POSS when RDP2-laugh 2s.MUT
 Hey! You've got dimples when you smile. (lit. 'Your cheeks were holed when you smiled.')

There are also contexts in which *ma=* seems to have just a past meaning, such as the following, which refers to church meetings to which a man had stopped going:¹⁸

- (75) Ma=möi-möi ya.
 PERF=RDP2-go 3s.MUT
 He always used to go.

The perfect particle *ma=* cannot occur with irrealis verb forms, with modal verbs or the negator *löna*.

10.2.4 Time and manner auxiliaries

A number of other words, some of which function as verbs in other contexts, refer to temporal aspects of the action or to the manner in which the action is carried out. I include as 'auxiliaries' all of the words which can occur in front of a main verb to indicate temporal or manner aspects of the situation described by the main verb, or to indicate quantificational aspects of one of the arguments of the main verb. Some of these words have independent use as verbs, some occur only as preverbal elements. The verbs which are used as preverbal temporal or manner auxiliaries are listed in (76) and (77). If they occur independently as verbs their meaning as a verb is also given:

¹⁸ It may be semantically significant that the perfect marker *ma=* is homophonous with one of the formatives of nouns referring to units of time as found in *ma'ökhö* 'a day'; *ma'akha* 'today', *mahemolu* 'tomorrow', *mana* 'at this time', *matö* 'then, therefore, straightaway'. Perfect *ma=* is also homophonous with the conjunction *ma* 'or'.

(76) temporal auxiliaries

verbs	adverbial meaning	verbal meaning
aβali / aβai	'finished'	'be finished'
ara	'for a long time'	'take time'
to'ölö	'usually'	'do usually'
ero	'every time'	'do to each'
oföna	'first'	'be the first'

words with no verbal function

asese	'often'
itaria	'sometimes'

(77) manner auxiliaries

verbs	adverbial meaning	verbal meaning
alio	'quickly'	'be quick'
fasala	'do wrongly'	'be wrong'
löna aetu-aetu	'ceaselessly'	aetu 'cut off, decided'

words with no verbal function

asala 'do indifferently, in a perfunctory manner'

An example of each of the preverbal temporal expressions is given in (78)-(86). Note that the clause which follows these expressions is unaffected by their presence, i.e. there is no difference in case-marking or verb form between these clauses and simple realis clauses.

- (78) Na ma=aβali la-toto ...
 when PERF=finished 3p.RLS-carve
 When they've finished carving (it) ...

- (79) **Ara** mörö ndrao.
 long.time sleep 1s.MUT

I slept for a long time.

- (80) **Ero** so zi=fa-rakaro moroi ga ...
 si=
 every.time arrive REL.MUT=DO-complaint come.from here

Every time there was a plaintiff from here ...

- (81) **Ero** mo-möi mondri, ...
 every.time JNT-go bathe

Every time they went to bathe, ...

- (82) **To'ölö** la-agö khö ndra-Gusti.
 ira-
 usually 3p.RLS-stay DAT COLL.MUT-Gusti

Usually they stay with Gusti's family.

- (83) **Löna to'ölö** la-uri gulö niha.
 ulö
 NEG usually 3p.RLS-keep snake:MUT person

People don't usually keep snakes. (D)

- (84) **Oföna** aekhu ba danö zekhula
 tanö sekhula
 first fall LOC ground:MUT coconut:MUT
 moroi ba zulu.
 sulu
 come.from LOC dead.coconut.tree.branch:MUT

The coconut hit the ground (fell to the ground) before the dead branch. (lit. the coconut fell first to the ground from the branch.)

- (85) **Asese** la-fake gorokoro ira-ina meföna.
 korokoro
 often 3p.RLS-use scoop:MUT COLL-mother in.the.early.days
 In the early days women often used scoops.

- (86) **Itaria** möi ndrao ba khö-ra na löna halöwö-gu
 sometimes go 1s.MUT LOC DAT-3p.POSS if NEG work-1s.POSS
 Sometimes I go to their place if I don't have anything to do. (D) (lit. '...if there is not my work.')

Examples illustrating the use of the verbs listed in (77) as manner auxiliaries are given in (87)-(90):

- (87) **Mi-doro** ndra-tuka, ...,
 ira-
 2p.RLS-carry:IMPER COLL.MUT-workman ...
mea alio aßali nomo-mi.
 omo
 so.that quickly finished house:MUT-2p.POSS
 Bring the workmen, ..., so that your house can be finished quickly.

- (88) **Fa-sala** u-döli.
 DO-wrong 1s.RLS-pull
 I pulled the wrong one out.

- (89) **Löna aetu-aetu** u-rono zinunö-ra.
 sinunö
 NEG RDP2-cut.off 1s.RLS-hear song:MUT-3p.POSS
 I listened to their songs ceaselessly.

The word *asala* 'indifferently' is exemplified in (90), in which the lexical expression of the A argument is fronted and separated from the rest of the clause by a pause:

The particle *oi* does not occur in verbal function in my data²⁰.

As preverbal particles, these words must occur immediately in front of the verb. Nothing can intervene between one of these quantifiers and the verb. The function of these quantifiers appears to be to emphasize the inclusiveness of the participants referred to by one of the arguments in the clause. The participants may be referred to as the pragmatic 'topic' of the sentence (i.e. the participants about whom/which something is being said). Some examples of these particles are given in (93)-(95). In each of these examples, the quantifier refers to the S argument of the verb. In (93) the S argument is expressed by a pronoun whose referent has been mentioned in a previous sentence and is the pragmatic 'topic' of the text at this point:

- (93) Faoma fa-soso ira.
 all DO-angry 3p.MUT
 They got angry at each other.

In (94), the S argument of the clause containing the quantifier *ahori* is expressed by zero anaphora. Pronominal reference to the pragmatic topic of both clauses (*ira* 'they') is made in the first clause:

- (94) Na manaʒuli ira ba-omo, ahoi mo-noro.
 when return 3p.MUT LOC-house all HAVE-load
 When they come home, everyone of them has a load.

In (95), the S argument, expressed by a mutated pronoun (*ira* 'they'), refers to participants previously mentioned who are the current pragmatic topic of the text:

²⁰ Speakers have told me that *oi* is related to *ahori*. Phonologically this seems to fit the pattern observed in a number of frequently used words whereby a sonorant is deleted in intervocalic position (see 3.7). There is other evidence that this may be so—I'm told that the nouns *fa-ahori* and *fa-a'oi* mean the same thing, i.e. 'nothing left'. I do not have examples of these nouns in sentences. If they do indeed mean the same thing, it supports a claim that the preverbal quantifiers *oi* and *ahori* may be related.

- (95) M=oi mate ira fefu.
 PERF-all die 3p.MUT all
 They all died.

These quantifiers appear to be in various stages of grammaticization as preverbal particles. The particle *oi* occurs about six times more often in my data than either *ahori* or *faoma*, and with a wider range of referents. *Oi* appears to be able to refer to almost any argument. *Faoma* refers to S, P and A arguments, and occurs with greater frequency than *ahori*. *Ahori* occurs infrequently in my data, and only with reference to S or P arguments.

Some examples of *faoma* and *ahori* are given below to illustrate their use with various arguments²¹, and examples of *oi* will be discussed a little further on. In (96) below, *faoma* refers to the P argument of the verb *otome-'ö* 'treat as guest, entertain', which is expressed by the mutated pronoun *ira* 'them'. *Ira* refers to the pragmatic topic of the text at this point. This example refers to two people only:

- (96) Faoma i-o-tome-'ö ira Lakoya.
 all 3s.RLS-HAVE-guest-TR 3p.MUT Lakoya
 Lakoya entertained them both (together). (Z-L)

Examples of *faoma* with reference to A arguments are given in (97)-(99). In each of these examples, the A argument is expressed only by the pronominal prefix on the verb:

- (97) Faoma la-ohe doho.
 toho
 all 3p.RLS-hold spear:MUT
 They both carried spears. (There are only two participants in the action.)

²¹ An example of *faoma* referring to an S argument is given in (93) above.

- (98) Faoma la-a.
 all 3p.RLS-eat
 They all ate (some).

- (99) Faoma la-sofu khö naßö-ra,
 aßö
 all 3p.RLS-ask DAT companion:MUT-3p.POSS
 'hata zi=okhö tanö ha'a?'
 si=
 who REL.MUT=own land PROX
 They all asked each other, 'Who is the owner of this land?'

In all of the examples of *faoma* in its use as a preverbal particle, there is a sense that the action is done by, or occurs to all of, the participants together, as indicated in the translation above. Another example which more clearly illustrates this is (100), which refers to a small group of people who, all together, make a presentation to a village leader. This sentence implies that each person gave one pig to the village leader, but that the presentation was done on a single occasion:

- (100) Faoma la-be sa-ge-sa-geu mbavi khö zi'ulu.
 -eu baßi si'ulu
 all 3p.RLS-give RDP2-one:CLF.MUT pig:MUT DAT village.leader:MUT
 They each gave a pig to the village leader.²²

Ahori was illustrated with reference to an S argument in (94) above. In the following examples it is illustrated with reference to P arguments. In (101), *ahori* refers to a P argument which has been fronted:

²² It is unclear to me why *mbaßi* 'pig' is mutated in this sentence. Usually a nominal is unmutated after the numeral *sara* 'one' or its reduced form *sa-* when linked to classifiers.

In (105), the particle *oi* emphasizes the referent of the pronominal S argument *ndraga* 'we':

- (105) Oi to-kia ndraga me fa-lele ya meneβi.
 all RES-shock 1pe.MUT when DO-tongue 3s.MUT yesterday
 We were all shocked when she swore yesterday.

In (106), *oi* refers to the P argument, which is not present in the clause because it is the pragmatic topic of the text at this point and has inanimate reference (trees):

- (106) M=oi la-tandra.
 PERF=all 3p.RLS-mark
 They had marked all (of them).

In (107), the most likely referent of *oi* is the experiencer *ndraga* 'we':

- (107) Oi omasi ndraga nasu.
 all like 1pe.MUT dog:MUT
 We all like the dogs.

With a variation in intonation, however, this sentence can also mean 'We like all the dogs'. If one wanted to emphasize the stimulus (i.e. 'we liked ALL the dogs'), it is better to add the nominal quantifier *fefu* 'all' after *nasu* (to ensure that the noun has plural reference) and to use a dative phrase, e.g.:

- (108) Oi omasi ndraga khö nasu fefu.
 all like 1pe.MUT DAT dog:MUT all
 We like *all* of the dogs.

In (109), *oi* refers to the children referred to by the dative phrase:

- (109) Oi sofu khö ndra-ono ha'ökhö nasu hö'ö.
 ira- asu
 all ask:IMPER DAT COLL.MUT-child Q-particular-DAT dog:MUT DIST
 Ask all the children who that dog belongs to.

In (110), the most likely referent for *oi* is the argument of the dative phrase, *ndraono* 'children', but it is also possible that *oi* refers to the P argument, *vanolo-ra* 'their help':

- (110) Oi ndra-mbe v-a-nolo-ra khö ndra-ono.
 f-aN-tolo ira-
 all 3p.IRR-give:IRR NR.MUT-IPF-help DAT COLL.MUT-child
 They will give help to all of the children. (also: 'They will give all their help to the children.')

In (111), *oi* refers to the locative argument *mbanua-mbanua* 'villages'.

- (111) Oi ndra-va-sindro sikola ba mbanua-mbanua.
 -fa-sindro banua-banua
 all 3p.IRR-[CAU-stand].IRR school LOC village:MUT-village:MUT
 They will build schools in all the villages.²³

Examples (112) and (113) below are presented to show that *oi* (like *fefu* 'most, all') does not always mean 'all' and can also mean 'most':

- (112) Fefu nasu ba mao m=oi mo-i'o.
 asu
 all dog:MUT CNJ cat PERF=all HAVE-tail

²³ As mentioned in a number of places in this thesis, reduplication of nouns is not a normal means of indicating plural number in Nias (see 8.7). Most examples of this phenomenon occurring in my data come from one particular (educated) speaker who perhaps speaks Indonesian more frequently than Nias. Reduplication of nouns is a normal pluralizing strategy for nouns in Indonesian and has presumably influenced this person's language.

Tobali, so gõi nasu si=löna i'o.
 asu
 but EXIST also dog:MUT REL=NEG.EXIST tail

Most dogs and cats have tails. However, there are also some dogs that do not have tails.

(113) Oi ma-ni'o zi=bihasa.
 maN-si'o si=
 all DYN-stick REL.MUT=old

Most old people use walking sticks. (cf. *ma-ni'o niha si=bihasa* [DYN-stick person REL=old] 'Old people use walking sticks.')

When *oi* is preceded by the negator *löna*, the implication is 'not all', as illustrated in the following sentence:

(114) Löna oi man-a ira.
 maN-a
 NEG all IPF-eat 3p.MUT

Not all of them ate.

The addition of the nominal quantifier *fefu* 'all' to this sentence implies that *none* of them ate, e.g:

(115) Löna man-a ira fefu.
 NEG IPF-eat 3p.MUT all

None of them ate.

When an argument has been fronted, *oi* can only refer to the fronted argument. For example in (116), although there are three possible participants to which *oi* might refer, it can only refer to the A argument, the lexical expression of which is given at the

beginning of the clause (and is followed by a pause). *Oi* is stressed in this sentence (and in the two following):

- (116) Fefu nōri, oi la-be gefe s=oya
ōri kefe
all village.group:MUT all 3p.RLS-give money:MUT REL=much
khō niha si=gōna fa-abu dödō.
tödō
DAT person:MUT REL=struck NR-ST:sad liver:MUT

All of the village groups, everyone of them gave a lot of money to the victims.
(victims = people who are struck by sadness)

In (117) below, *oi* can only refer to the A argument (*fefu ndra-akhi-gu* 'all of my brothers'), even though semantically it should be possible for *oi* to refer also to *gefe* 'money':

- (117) Fefu ndra-akhi-gu m=oi la-fa-be'e-gō
ira-
all COLL.MUT-younger.sibling PERF-all 3p.RLS-DYN-give-CAU
gefe khō nina-gu.
kefe ina
money:MUT DAT mother:MUT-1s.POSS

Every single one of my younger brothers sends money to my mother.

In (118), there are two fronted arguments which are both P arguments of the verb *fa-törö-ö* 'cause to be governed' (i.e. 'regulated'). The particle *oi* refers to both of these arguments, but not to the A argument of the verb.

- (118) Fefu mbosibosi mbößö, haiya ni-f-alua
bosibosi bößö
all level:MUT law:MUT what PASS-CAU-happen

- 10.3.4 joint action prefix *mo-*
 10.3.5 reduplication

10.3.1 Irrealis mode

Except for numerals and quantificational verbs, all other verbs may occur in irrealis mode. The main indication of irrealis mode is the form of the pronominal prefix. The irrealis prefixes were listed in Table 5 in Chapter 4. There are two types of verbs with respect to how irrealis mode is marked, one in which the verb has the same form in irrealis as in realis mode and one in which the verb is modified morphologically when it occurs in irrealis mode. The first type includes all intransitive verbs formed with the dynamic prefixes beginning with *m-* (see 5.1.1.2) or *fa-*, and a number of other intransitive verbs. The second includes all consonant-initial transitive verbs and two consonant-initial intransitive verbs. In the former type of verb the pronominal prefix is the only indication of the mode of the clause.

The kinds of verbs which occur in the first class described above which are not derived from dynamic prefixes are the following: the existential verb *so* and its homophonous form meaning 'arrive', *gōna* 'be struck', and stative verbs derived with *a-* and *te-* / *to-*. The irrealis forms of each of these kinds of verbs is illustrated below, with realis forms given in parentheses for comparison. An example of existential *so* in irrealis mode is given in (122):

- | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-------------------|---------|-------|--------------|------------|
| (122) | Ba | sa-mbua | migu tö | ya-so | daßila | |
| | | -bua | | | taßila | |
| | LOC | one-CL.MUT | week | more | 3s.IRR-EXIST | taßila:MUT |
| | khö | Hilizondrege'asi. | | | | |
| | DAT | Hilizondrege'asi | | | | |

In about a week's time there will be a Taßila celebration for (the people of) Hilizondrege'asi. (cf *ma=so daßila* 'there was a taßila celebration')

An example of *so* 'arrive' is given in (123):

- (123) Mahemolu, gu-so ba v-anai ana'a=nda
 f-anai
 tomorrow 1s.IRR-arrive LOC NR.MUT-get gold=PROX
 ni-faigi-da.
 PASS-see-1pi.POSS
 Tomorrow I'll come and get the gold we've seen. (cf. *ma=so ndrao meneḑi*
 [PERF=arrive 1s.MUT yesterday] 'I arrived yesterday')

An example of the verb *göna* 'be struck' in irrealis mode is given in (124):

- (124) Na mofanö ya mana ya-göna teu.
 if leave 3s.MUT at.this.time 3s.IRR-be.struck rain
 If she leaves now she will get caught in the rain. (cf. *göna ya teu* 'she got
 caught in the rain')

Stative verbs rarely occur in irrealis form. An example of an irrealis form of a stative verb derived with *a-* is given in (125). The irrealis prefix, *ya-*, expresses the person and number of the S argument which is also lexically represented by *mboto-nia* 'his body'.

- (125) Na ma=e-bua ya dania ba ya-a-lawa
 when PERF=ST-big 3s:MUT later CNJ 3s.IRR-ST-high
 mboto-nia moro-i khö nama-nia.
 boto ama
 body:MUT-3s.POSS come DAT father:MUT-3s.POSS
 He'll be taller than his father when he's bigger (i.e. older).
 (lit. When he has become big later, his body will be tall from his father.)

Without the pronominal prefix, the verb *alawa* has the same form as would occur in a simple realis clause: cf. *alawa ya* 'he is tall'.

(129) Halö geu. Ya-mo-guna.

eu

take wood:MUT 3s.IRR-HAVE-use

Take a stick. You might need (it). (lit ... It might be useful.) (cf. *mo-guna geu khö-gu* [HAVE-use wood:MUT DAT-1s.POSS] 'I need a stick')

An example of the irrealis form of a dynamic verb derived from the noun *tana* 'hand' is given in (130):

(130) Ya-ma-nana nono-nia ba va-alio.

ono fa-alio

3s.IRR-DYN-hand child:MUT-3s.POSS LOC NR.MUT-quick

Her child will be crawling soon. (cf. *Ma-nana nono-nia ba mbatö*. [DYN-hand child:MUT-3s.POSS LOC floor:MUT] 'Her child is crawling on the floor')

Weather verbs, also derived with a prefix *mo-*, have the same stem in both realis and irrealis modes, as illustrated in (131). Note that even though there is no argument possible with these verbs in realis mode, they must have one in irrealis form.

(131) Ya-mo-teu.

3s.IRR-DYN-rain

It might rain. (Cf. *Mo-teu*. 'It's raining.')

Verbs derived with dynamic *fa-* (see 5.1.1.5) also have the same stem in realis and irrealis mode. An example of the verb *fa-soso* 'get angry' in irrealis mode is given in (132):

(132) Hana va gö-fa-soso khö-gu?

why COMP 2s.IRR-DO-angry DAT-1s.POSS

Why do you get angry with me? (H) (cf. *fa-soso ndraugö khö-gu* [DO-angry 1s.MUT DAT-3s.POSS] 'You are angry with me')

All other verbs, which comprise mostly the set of transitive verbs, occur with the morpheme /um/ in irrealis mode. Two intransitive verbs occur with this morpheme as well: *tataro* 'sit' and *sindro* 'stand'. The derivational functions of the infix *-um-* were described in 5.1.1.2.2 and 5.1.1.2.3. I assume that the derivational morpheme /um/ and the inflectional morpheme /um/ are morphologically and semantically related. However, because there is a need to distinguish imperfective and definite future uses of the prefix *maN-* in transitive verbs from irrealis forms derived with /um/, these two morphemes are kept distinct in the glosses that are used: the gloss IRR 'irrealis' is used specifically for verbs derived with /um/ in irrealis mode, IPF 'imperfective' is used for transitive verbs affixed with *maN-* and intransitive verbs affixed with /um/ when these forms have non-irrealis imperfective functions (see 9.7.1).

The morpheme /um/ has four allomorphs when it is used with verbs in irrealis mode. These allomorphs were described in 3.4. A summary of these allomorphs is repeated here:

(133) Allomorphs of irrealis *-um-*

/um/ + /b/	->	[mb]
/um/ + /β/	->	[mb]
/um/ + /f/	->	[v]
/um/ + /w/	->	[m]
/um/ + V	->	[m]
/um/ + C _[non-labial]	->	[-um-]

Each of these allomorphs is illustrated below. Example (134) illustrates a transitive verb beginning with /b/. Note that the P argument, *ya* 'him', is mutated, as occurs in the realis clause given in parentheses after the translation. The A argument in the irrealis clause in (134) is expressed by the third plural pronominal prefix *ndra-* 'they':

- (134) Ndra-mbunu ya na möi ya gaö.
 -bunu
 3p.IRR-kill:IRR 3s.MUT if go 3s.MUT there

They'll kill him if he goes there. (cf. *la-bunu ya* [3p.RLS-kill 3s.MUT] 'they killed him')

Example (135) illustrates the irrealis form of a transitive verb beginning with /β/. The A argument is expressed both by a pronominal prefix, *ya-*, and by the lexical NP *Ama Dali*; the P argument is *gefe* 'money'. Note that the case marking of the lexical A and P arguments is the same as occurs in realis transitive clauses—the A is unmutated and the P is mutated:

- (135) Ya-mbalö gefe Ama Dali.
 -balö kefe
 3s.IRR-repay:IRR money:MUT Ama Dali

Ama Dali wants to borrow (lit. 'repay') some money. (cf. *I-βaβalö*²⁶ *gefe Ama Dali* [3s.RLS-borrow money:MUT Ama Dali] 'Ama Dali borrowed money')

Example (136) illustrates the irrealis form of a transitive verb beginning with /f/. The P argument is not present in this sentence because it is understood from the context and is inanimate (jewelry). The A argument is expressed by the third singular pronominal prefix *ya-* and the unmutated lexical NP *ina-gu* 'my mother':

- (136) Ya-vake ina-gu.
 -fake
 3s.IRR-wear:IRR mother-1s.POSS

My mother wants to wear (them). (cf. *I-fake ina-gu*. [3s.RLS-wear mother-1s.POSS] 'My mother wore (them)')

An example of the verb *waö* 'say' in irrealis mode is given in (137):

²⁶ The verb forms *mbalö* and *βaβalö* are both forms of the verb *balö* 'repay' (see fn 12 in Chapter 3).

- (137) Tola gu-maö 'May God blessing you'
 can 1s.IRR-say:IRR 'May God blessing you'
 Could I say 'May God blessing you'? (cf. *u-waö* '...' 'I said '...')

Examples of some transitive verbs with initial consonants other than labial consonants are given in (138)-(139):

- (138) Tobai gu-t<um>ohu-gö.
 can't 1s.IRR-<IRR>continue-TR
 I can't go on.

- (139) Gu-r<um>ino gö dome-da=e
 ö tome
 1s.IRR-<IRR>boil food:MUT guest:MUT-1pi.POSS=D.PTCL
 ba ai ndraugö.
 CNJ go:IMPER 2s.MUT

I'll cook the food for our guests, hey, you just go? (cf. *U-rino gö dome*. 'I cooked the guests' food')

- (140) Ya-h<um>alö mbalö-nia.
 balö
 3s.IRR-<IRR>take revenge:MUT-3s.POSS

He wanted to take his revenge. (cf. *I-halö mbalö-nia*. 'He took his revenge')

The two intransitive verbs which participate in this allomorphy, *tataro* 'sit' and *sindro* 'stand', also occur with an infix. These two verbs are illustrated in irrealis form in (141) and (142):

- (141) Haega gu-t<um>ataro?
 where 1s.IRR-<IRR>sit

Where will I sit? (cf. *tataro ndrao* 'I sat down')

- (142) Ya'ami ira-ono-ma ba tuka-da, ...
 2p COLL-child-1pe.POSS CNJ worker-1pi>POSS ...
 gi-s<um>indro we ...
 2p.IRR-<IRR>stand D.PTCL ...

You children of ours and our workers, ..., you'll be standing, OK?... (cf. *sindro mi* 'you stood up')

The morpheme /um/ is realized as an initial *m-* in vowel-initial transitive verbs. Examples are given in (143)-(146):

- (143) Lö tola lö'ö ndra-m-ohe.
 NEG can NEG 3p.IRR-IRR-carry

They will have to carry it. (cf. *la-ohe* 'they carried (it)')

- (144) Gu-m-atulö-'ö zi=ma=ö-sura.
 si=
 1s.IRR-IRR-ST:correct-TR REL.MUT=PERF=2s.RLS-write

I will correct what you write. (cf. *U-atulö-'ö zi=ma=ö-sura*. 'I corrected what you wrote')

- (145) Ndra-m-a'ege-'ö ndrao.
 3p.IRR-IRR-laugh-TR 1s.MUT

They will laugh at me. (cf. *La-a'ege-'ö ndrao*. 'They laughed at me')

- (146) Gu-m-ero-gö ndraugö.
 1s.IRR-IRR-outside-TR 2s.MUT

I will turn my back on you (cf. *U-ero-gö ndraugö* 'I turned my back on you')

Irrealis /um/ is productive, and is used in any new or borrowed words. Two examples in which /um/ is used with borrowed words have already been presented in this chapter, in examples (147) and (148) above. They are presented here again as

prefixes have already been discussed and illustrated with respect to derivational function (see 5.1.1.2.2 - 5.1.1.2.4).

10.3.2.1 Imperfective verbs in main clause function

In the two dynamic intransitive verbs *tataro* 'sit' and *sindro* 'stand', the infix *-um-* indicates that the activity is carried on for some time, as exemplified in (149) and (150). In (149), the argument of the verb *t<um>ataro* 'were sitting' refers to a group of the married men and women of the village. The collective prefix *ndra-* includes both *ama-da* 'the men' and *ina-da* 'the women':

- (149) Gaö t<um>ataro ndra-ama-da ba ina-da ...
 ira-
 there <IPF>sit COLL.MUT-father-1pi.POSS CNJ mother-1pi.POSS ...
 The men and women (i.e. our fathers and mothers) were sitting there ...²⁸

- (150) Ma=s<um>indo ndao föna sa-mbua meza ...
 -bua meza
 PERF=<IPF>stand 1s.MUT in.front one-CLF.MUT table:MUT
 I have been standing in front of a table...

These verbs may occur without an argument if the situation is impersonal, i.e. refers to people in general. This is exemplified in (151) and (152), where the verb *t-um-ataro* refers to anyone who sits on a particular stone. Note that the verb in the main clause in both examples is impersonal, marked with the third plural prefix *la-* which refers to people in general (see 11.2.1.2 for impersonal construction):

- (151) Na gaö t<um>ataro ba z=alösö, ...,
 s=
 if there <IPF>sit LOC REL.MUT=ST:smooth ...

²⁸ The first plural inclusive possessive suffix *-da* is used with kin terms whenever a speaker refers to a relative of someone else in the same village. Everyone in a village is related in some way to everyone else, so the men of the village are *ama-da* 'our fathers' and the women, *ina-da* 'our mothers'.

la-söndra. Ana'a.
3p.RLS-find gold

If someone sits on the smooth one, ..., they find (things). (Like) gold (for example). (lit. 'If there is sitting on the smooth one, ...')

- (152) Tobai na gaö t<um>ataro ba z=oralarana, ... la-bunu
 =
 can't yet there <IPF>sit LOC REL.MUT=ST:rough ... 3p.RLS-kill
 No one can sit on the rough one, ..., (or) they'll be killed.

Transitive verbs have an imperfective form marked with *maN*²⁹. In 5.1.1.2.4 this prefix was described as a dynamic prefix which derives intransitive verbs from nouns. The imperfective form of transitive verbs derived with this prefix is also intransitive—the A argument is no longer marked on the verb and, if lexical, is realized as a mutated NP. This is illustrated in (153), in which the verb *a* 'eat' occurs in the imperfective form *man-a*. The A argument of the simple transitive verb is expressed as the mutated pronoun *ira* and the verb has no pronominal prefix:

- (153) Man-a-man-a mbaßi ira ba ginötö hö'ö.
 maN-a baßi inötö
 RDP2-IPF-eat pig:MUT 3p.MUT LOC time:MUT DIST
 They used to always eat pork at that time.

Both arguments of the verb are mutated, similar to the structure of experiential verbs (see 11.4.2.6). The order of arguments in clauses containing imperfective forms of transitive verbs is fixed, corresponding to the unmarked order of arguments in a simple transitive clause, i.e. V-P-A. The P argument, if it occurs, is typically non-referential.

²⁹ It is possible that *maN*- is morphologically complex, composed of *m*- + *aN*-. However, because of issues concerning various different functions of *maN*- (see 10.3.2) and the meaning of *m*- by itself, I prefer to treat *maN*- as a unitary prefix.

An example in which the P argument is non-referential (although omitted) and the situation can be described as habitual is given in the response in (154 B):

- (154) A. Yæ nafo-da.
 afo
 here.is betel:MUT-1s.POSS
 Here is our betel.
- B. Saohagölö, löna mo-nana ndao.
 maN-nana
 thankyou NEG IPF-chew 1.MUT
 Thanks, but I don't take (it).³⁰

Often one or both arguments are missing. A typical example of an imperfective form without any overt arguments, is given in (155):

- (155) A-efa hö'ö, man-a.
 ST-passed DIST, IPF-eat
 After that, they ate. (Or, perhaps, 'After that, (there was) eating.')

Imperfective forms of transitive verbs conform to the morphophonological principles detailed in 3.3. The imperfective forms of some transitive verbs are listed in (156) to illustrate the variations which occur in the addition of the prefix *maN-* to these stems.

(156) Transitive verbs in imperfective form

transitive verb	imperfective form
bunu 'kill'	ma-mumu 'killing'
βaβalö 'borrow'	mo-mbalö 'borrowing'
fake 'use'	ma-make 'using'
tanö 'plant'	ma-nanö 'planting'

³⁰ The word *saohagölö* consists morphologically of the following constituents: *s=aoha gölö* [REL=ST:light profit:MUT], literally '(I am) one whose profit is light'. The meaning is perhaps similar to English 'It's nothing'.

suβö 'fight'	ma-nuβö 'fighting'
döli 'drag'	mo-ndröli 'dragging'
khau 'fine'	mo-gau 'fining'
uri 'keep'	man-uri 'keeping'

Anomalously, there are two transitive verbs whose imperfective forms are derived with the infix *-um-* rather than the prefix *maN-*. These are *hede* 'call' and *halö* 'take, hold'. When *hede* 'call' is made imperfective with *-um-* its meaning is 'say'. An example of *hede* in its imperfective form as a main clause verb is given in (157):

- (157) H<um>ede khö vo'omo-nia Namada Larisökhi 'Moa! ...'
 fo'omo
 <IPF>speak DAT spouse:MUT-3s.POSS Amada:MUT Larisökhi enough
 Amada Larisökhi said to his wife, 'Enough! ...'

The verb *halö* 'take, hold' does not occur in imperfective form in main clauses in my data. However, it does occur in its imperfective form in dependent clauses, as illustrated in the purposive sentence in (158) (see 10.3.2.2.2 for discussion of purposive construction):

- (158) Aefa hö'ö möi ya h<um>alö mboβo.
 boβo
 pass DIST go 3s.MUT <IPF>take boβo:MUT
 After that he has to go and get the *boβo* fruit.

The affinity which the infix *-um-* shows for deriving intransitive verbs from bound roots beginning with /h/ may explain its function of deriving intransitive verbs from these transitive verbs. The verbs *hede* 'call' and *halö* 'take, hold' are the most commonly used of the few transitive roots which begin with /h/.

The imperfective form of vowel-initial transitive verbs requires the prefixation of *m-*. This is the same form as they have in irrealis mode. Once again, there are no

examples in my data of vowel-initial transitive verbs used in imperfective form in main clauses. An example of the verb *oturagö* 'tell' in a purposive construction is given in (159):

- (159) Da gu-möi m-oturagö ba fasa.
 HORT 1s.IRR-go IPF-tell LOC market
 Let me go and tell (people) at the market.

The imperfective forms of *sindro* 'stand', *tataro* 'sit down', *hede* 'call', *halö* 'take' and vowel-initial transitive verbs are the same as the irrealis forms of these verbs. However, note that typically, irrealis forms of transitive verbs are not all the same as their imperfective form. The irrealis forms for the first three verbs in (156) above, for example, are *mbunu* 'kill:IRR', *mbalö* 'borrow:IRR' and *vake* 'use:IRR'. For this reason, irrealis use of /um/ is treated as distinct from its imperfective use, and the glosses reflect this distinction.

10.3.2.2 Imperfective verbs in dependent clauses

The imperfective form of verbs is used in dependent clauses for three constructions: progressive aspect, purposive clauses and participial relative clauses.

10.3.2.2.1 Progressive aspect

Progressive aspect in Nias Selatan is expressed by a construction consisting of the transitive verb *lau* 'do' followed by a clause containing a verb in its imperfective form. An example of a transitive verb in progressive aspect is given in (160):

- (160) I-lau ma-makha balale ina-gu.
 3s.RLS-do IPF-weave basket mother-1s.POSS
 My mother is weaving a basket.

window. Example (164) also illustrates a P argument which has specific reference, *köfa* 'the ship':

- (164) I-lau ma-maigi köfa Amada Lareso.
 maN-faigi
 3s.RLS-do IPF-see ship Amada Lareso
 Amada Lareso was watching the ship.

An example of the intransitive verb *tataro* 'sit' in progressive aspect is given in (165):

- (165) I-lau t<um>ataro ba nora nomo ama-gu.
 ora omo
 3s.RLS-do <IPF>sit LOC step:MUT house:MUT father-1s.POSS
 My father is sitting on the steps of the house.

Note, in (165), that *ama-gu* 'my father' is semantically the S argument of *tataro*, but is syntactically the A argument of *lau* 'do', as reflected by the pronominal prefix on the verb, *i-*, and its unmutated form. Examples of other intransitive verbs in progressive aspect are given below. In these examples, note that the imperfective form is the same as the form of the verb in simple realis constructions. In (166), the A argument of the verb *lau*, expressed by the third singular pronominal prefix *i-* as well as the unmutated independent pronoun *ya'ia*, is semantically also the S argument of *mohalöwö* 'work':

- (166) I-lau mo-halöwö samösa ya'ia.
 3s.RLS-do DYN-work alone 3s
 He is working by himself. (cf. *Mo-halöwö ya samösa*. 'He is working by himself / he worked by himself')

Simple verbs of bodily actions may occur in progressive aspect, as exemplified in (167) and (168):

(167) I-lau a'ege.

3s.RLS-do laugh

He is laughing (for some time). (cf. *a'ege ya* 'he is laughing / he laughed')

(168) I-lau bahö.

3s.RLS-do sneeze

He is sneezing (for some time). (cf. *Bahö ya* 'He sneezed')

Verbs derived with the dynamic prefix *fa-* (see 5.1.1.5) may also occur in progressive aspect. For example in (169), the noun *ira-ono* 'children', simultaneously represents the referent of the A argument of *lau* 'do' as well as the S argument of the intransitive verb *fa-boko* 'play ball', but syntactically it is treated as an A argument, as shown by its unmutated form:

(169) La-lau fa-boko ira-ono.

3p.RLS-do DO-ball COLL-child

The children are playing ball.

Some intransitive verbs which are semantically incompatible with progressive aspect in English appear to be able to occur in this construction in Nias. Some examples of these verbs are given in (170) and (171):

(170) I-lau omuso dödö-nia.

tödö

3s.RLS-do happy liver:MUT-3s.POSS

He is (being) happy.

(171) I-lau fa-soso.

3s.RLS-do DO-angry

He is (being) angry.

Some verbs which are compatible with progressive aspect in English are not compatible with the Nias construction. One particular set of verbs which is not compatible is the set of basic dynamic verbs beginning with the imperfective formative *m-*, e.g. *mörö* 'sleep', *meβo* 'chase birds' etc., as listed in 5.1.1.2.1. Another verb which cannot occur in progressive aspect in Nias is the verb *bunu* 'kill', e.g. the sentence **i-lau ma-munu baβi* [3s.RLS-do IPF-kill pig] 'He is killing pigs' is not grammatical. However, the verb *fahö* 'stab' is compatible, as illustrated in (172):

- (172) I-lau ma-mahö baβi.
 maN-fahö
 3s.RLS-do IPF-stab pig
 He's stabbing a pig

Oddly, too, the action in (172) refers only to one stab, not to an ongoing activity.

Progressive construction is incompatible with perfect *ma=*. For example, the following sentence is ungrammatical:

- (173) *Ma=la-lau ma-mazökhi omo.
 maN-fazökhi
 PERF=3p.RLS-do IPF-make house
 They had been building a house.

Without *ma=*, this sentence means 'They were building a house' or 'they are building a house'. If one needs to be specific as to how long a particular action has continued, one can add a temporal phrase, e.g.:

- (174) La-lau ma-mazökhi omo ba zi=dua Bawa
 maN-fazökhi si= bawa
 3p.RLS-do IPF-make house LOC REL.MUT=two month:LEN

si=ma=aefa.

REL=PERF=pass

They have been building a house for the past two months.

For non-specific time, one can use a construction with *ara* 'take time', e.g.:

- (175) Ara ae me ma=la-börötaigö v-a-mazökhi omo.
f-aN-fazökhi
long.time already since PERF=3p.RLS-begin NR-IPF-make house

It has been a long time since they started building the house.

10.3.2.2.2 Purposive construction

Purposive constructions consist of the intransitive verb *möi* 'go' and a dependent clause containing an imperfective form of a verb. An example of the transitive verb *fili* 'choose' in a purposive construction is given in (176):

- (176) Möi ndrao ma-mili eu s=o-guna ba-omo.
maN-fili
go 1s.MUT IPF-choose wood REL=HAVE-use LOC-house

I'm going to choose the wood for the house. (for burning)

The S argument of *möi* in (176) is expressed by a mutated argument, *ndrao* 'I'. Semantically the referent of this argument is also the referent of the A argument of the transitive verb *fili* 'choose'. In dependent clauses in purposive constructions, however, the A argument is not expressed. The P argument, e.g. *eu soguna ba nomo* 'wood for the house' in (176), is unmutated. Another example of a purposive construction with a transitive verb in the dependent clause is given in (177):

- (177) *Möi* *ba fasa Nina Mili mo-ßöli s=o-guna khö Gusti.*
 Ina maN-(b)öli
 go LOC market Ina Mili IPF-buy REL=HAVE-use DAT Gusti
 *Ina Mili went to the market to buy groceries for Gusti.*³¹

The S argument of *möi* 'go' in (177) is expressed in mutated form, *Nina Mili* 'Ina Mili'. The P argument in the dependent clause is the unmutated headless relative *soguna* '(household) needs' (lit. 'what has use/ is needed' i.e. groceries). Another example is given in (178), in which the verb *manai* 'get' is in imperfective form. The P argument of *manai*, *böli-nia* 'its price', is unmutated; the S argument of the verb *möi* 'go', expressed by the first singular irrealis pronominal prefix *gu-*, 'I', corresponds to the referent of the A argument of *manai*:

- (178) *Gu-möi manai böli-nia.*
 1s.IRR-go get price-3s.POSS
 I'll go and get the money for it.

In (179), the imperfective form of the verb *tou-'ö* occurs with an unmutated P argument *sagö nomo* 'roof of the house', and the S argument of *möi* 'go', the irrealis prefix *ya-*, refers to the participant corresponding to the A argument of *tou-'ö* :

- (179) *Ya-möi ma-nou-'ö sagö nomo.*
 maN-tou omo
 3s.IRR-go IPF-down-TR roof house:MUT
 He will come to put the roof on the house.

Verbs derived with dynamic *fa-* (see 5.1.1.5) may also occur in purposive constructions, as illustrated in (180):

³¹ The imperfective form *moßöli* 'buy' is irregular. The simple transitive verb is *öli*. The imperfective form appears to retain an earlier form of the root derived from an initial *b. Compare the noun *böli* 'price' which is presumably related, and the verb *beli* 'buy' in Indonesian, which is presumably cognate with *öli* 'buy' and *böli* 'price' in Nias.

- (180) Hiliafasi ha'a nda-möi fa-gai uro.
 Hiliafasi PROX 3p.IRR-go DO-hook:MUT shrimp
 (The men from) this Hiliafasi were going to fish for shrimp.

The auxiliary verb *möi* may be separated from the dependent clause in a purposive construction either by an argument, as illustrated in (176) above, by a prepositional phrase, as illustrated in (177) above, or by a locative adverb and the S argument, as illustrated in (181) below.

- (181) Möi ga ya ma-nörö.
 go here 3s.MUT IPF-go
 maN-törö
 He came here for sightseeing.

Another example of a prepositional phrase occurring between the auxiliary verb and the dependent clause is given in (182) below. In this sentence the verb *möi* 'go', is affixed by the joint action particle *mo-* referring to the fronted argument *iraononia si dasiwa* 'his nine children' (see 10.3.3 below for joint action particle). The prepositional phrase *ba ndru'u* 'to the forest' occurs between *mo-möi* and the dependent clause verb *manalui* 'look for':

- (182) Samuza ma'ökhö ira-ono-nia si=da-siwa
 one day COLL-child-3s.POSS REL=CLF-nine
 mo-möi ba ndru'u, man-alu-i ahulua.
 ndru'u maN-alu-i
 JNT-go LOC grass:MUT IPF-hunt-TR wild.beast

One day his nine children went to the forest to hunt wild beasts. (H)

There are a number of instances in which purposive clauses contain transitive verbs in irrealis rather than imperfective form. It is not clear to me whether this is

evidence of a construction that is undergoing restructuring (through a confusion between irrealis and imperfective forms) or whether there is a systematic pattern to be found. In some of the examples with irrealis form, the joint action prefix *mo-* (see 10.3.3 below) occurs with the auxiliary verb *möi* 'go'. I give examples here of these uses, but will not discuss them further.

- (183) Möi ya va-lakhi-si Namada Helazatarö.
 fa-lakhi-si Amada
 go 3s.MUT [DO-meet-APP].IRR Amada:MUT Helazataro
 He went to see Amada Helazataro.

- (184) Mo-möi vaigi.
 faigi
 JNT-go see:IRR
 They went to take a look.

- (185) Mo-möi mbe ba Hilizondege'asi.
 JNT-go give:IRR LOC Hilizondrege'asi
 They were going to give (them) to Hilizondege'asi.

- (186) Mo-möi kh<um>ozi.
 JNT-go <IRR>burn
 They went to burn (it).

10.3.2.2.3 Participial relative clauses

The imperfective form of verbs, both transitive and intransitive, can be used as a kind of participial relative clause. Like dependent clauses in progressive aspect and purposive constructions, in participial relative clauses the A or S argument is not expressed, and if there is a P argument present, it is unmutated. These participial relative clauses typically express actions which are habitual, continuous or ongoing in some way. An

example of the verb *lau* 'do' used as a participial relative with a habitual meaning is given in (187). The reduplication of the verb means 'continue to do':

- (187) Ato niha mo-lau-lau oßasa na, me-föna.
 niha maN-lau
 many person:MUT IPF-RDP2-do oßasa still when-in.front

There were many people who still held the ovasa ceremony then, in the early days. (lit. 'The people still holding the ovasa ceremony in the early days were a lot.')

An example of an intransitive verb used in participial relative function is given in (188). The S argument of the main clause, *ndri* 'mosquito(es)', is coreferent with the S argument of the derived dynamic (and imperfective) verb *h<um>ombo-hombo* 'flying':

- (188) Oya ndri h<um>ombo-hombo ga.
 ndri
 many mosquito:MUT <IPF>RDP2-fly here

There are a lot of mosquitoes flying (around) here. (lit. 'The mosquitoes flying here are a lot')

An example of the imperfective form of the transitive verb *hua* 'say, speak' in participial function is given in (189). Note that the P argument, *föci* 'lie' is unmutated:

- (189) So ndra-ono-gu ba gotalua-ra ma-nua föci.
 ira- otalua maN-hua
 EXIST COLL.MUT-child-1s.POSS LOC gap:MUT-3p.POSS IPF-say lie

Some of my children tell lies.³² (lit. There are children of mine amongst them (who) say lies.')

³² The phrase *ba gotalua* is a complex preposition meaning 'amongst, between'. Literally it means 'in the gap' or 'in between'.

Commonly dynamic intransitive verbs beginning with *m-* are found as participial relatives. For example, the verb *moroi* 'come from' occurs in this use in (190):

(190)	Löna	ta-ila	nama	hauga	götö	niha
					ötö	niha
	NEG	1pi.RLS-know	perhaps	how.many	generation:MUT	person:MUT
	moroi	ba	Gomo.			
	come.from	LOC	Gomo			

We don't know how many generations of people (there were who came) from Gomo. (Z-L)

Another example of this use of imperfective form is given in (191), where the semantic argument of *moroi* 'come from' is *doho* 'spears', which is not present in the participial clause because it is inanimate.

(191)	Böröme	fa-tete-tete	doho	moroi	lawa...
			toho		
	because	DO-RDP2-follow	spear:MUT	come.from	high

Because the spears kept on raining down... (lit. because the spears kept on following, (they were) coming from up high.)

10.3.3 Joint action prefix *mo-*

The kind of imperfective verb form just described for transitive and intransitive verbs is used when a speaker wishes to indicate that a group of people do something together (i.e. 'joint action'), which is expressed by the prefix *mo-*. This construction can only be used when the participants involved, which may be many or just two, have already been introduced, i.e. they are currently activated in the discourse. The verb to which *mo-* is affixed must be dynamic, that is, the referents of *mo-* are Actors not Patients. The prefix represents A and S arguments of transitive and intransitive verbs which occur in their imperfective form. No P argument nor any pronominal S or A argument may

occur with a verb marked with *mo-*. The joint action prefix is illustrated in (192) and (193) below.

- (192) Mo-t<um>ataro. (*ira)
 JNT-<IPF>sit (*3p.MUT)
 They all sat down together.

- (193) Mo-ma-nunö-nunö. (*ira).
 maN-tunö
 JNT-IPF-RDP2-sing (*3p.MUT)
 They're always singing together.

Lexical arguments may co-occur with joint action prefixes. If a lexical argument occurs it must refer to a *group* of people. The way of referring to a group of people in Nias is with the collective particle *ira-*. This particle can refer to a temporary group of people as well as to people who are commonly recognized as belonging to permanent groups such as families (in the way that a plural form of a surname in English indicates a family i.e. the Browns). The lexical argument which occurs with joint action constructions is mutated. Examples (192) and (193) are repeated below as (194) and (195) with lexical arguments. In (194), the mutated argument *ndra-Sasi* refers to the family to which Sasi belongs:

- (194) Mo-t<um>ataro ndra-Sasi.
 ira-
 JNT-<IPF>sit COLL.MUT-Sasi
 Sasi and her family all sat down together.

In (195), the argument *ndra-Inti* refers only to Inti and her fellow worker Mia, as the context does not allow for any other interpretation (Inti and Mia are the only household workers in the house):

10.3.4 Definite and immediate future

Transitive verbs in their imperfective form are used with an irrealis prefix to express a definite, and often immediate, future—the conviction that an event will occur. This meaning contrasts with the meaning of vague possibility usually implied by the simple irrealis form. Compare the definite future illustrated in (199) with the irrealis form in (200). In (199), the imperfective form of the verb *bu'a* 'repay' occurs with the irrealis prefix *ya-*:

- (199) *Ya-ma-mu'a* *ömö-nia*.
 maN-bu'a
 3s.IRR-IPF-repay debt-3s.POSS

He is about to pay off his debt. (i.e. he has the money ready to hand over)

In (200), the irrealis form of *bu'a* is used:

- (200) *Ya-mbu'a* *gömö-nia*.
 ömö
 3s.IRR-repay:IRR debt:MUT-3s.POSS

He might repay his debt / He would like to repay his debt (but he doesn't know where he would get the money).

Note that the P argument following the definite future form of the verb in (199) is unmutated, in contrast to realis and irrealis clauses containing imperfective transitive verbs in which P arguments are mutated (e.g. (200)). This gives the impression that the irrealis prefix is attached to the imperfective clause and not just to the verb. A good example of a difference between a definite future and an irrealis form can be seen by comparing (201) and (202)-(203). In (202), the speaker uses negation of the irrealis mode of the verb *be* 'give' to say that he will refuse to return a loom that he has borrowed:

- (201) Löna **gu-mbe** khö-nia
 NEG 1s.IRR-give:IRR DAT-3s.POSS
 he aßai horö mbalazi.
 horö balazi
 whether finished sin:MUT action:MUT

I'm not going to give (it) to him even if it is regarded as a sinful action. (H) (lit. I will not give (it) to him even if a sin of behaviour is finished.)

A few sentences on, the speaker repeats his refusal, but this time with even more force, using the definite future form of the verb:

- (202) Löna **gu-ma-me**, ..., he aßali horö,
 maN-be horö
 NEG 1s.IRR-IPF-give ... whether finished sin:MUT

I will NOT give (it to him), ... even if it's a sin.

Then in the same sentence, he reiterates his refusal more vehemently by using the definite future of the more emphatic (and longer) form of the verb, i.e. *be'e*:

- (203) löna **gu-ma-me'e**.
 maN-be'e
 NEG 1s.IRR-IPF-give

I will NOT give (it) back.

Definite future constructions also contrast with another, more immediate, future which is formed with the verb *möi* 'go'. A comparison of the two constructions may indicate the difference most clearly. An example of a definite future form of the verb *baso* 'read' is given in (204):

- (204) Gu-ma-maso buku.
 maN-baso
 1s.IRR-IPF-read book
 I'm going to read a book.

This example implies that there is a definite book I mean to read and that I'll be starting to read the book very soon. In other words, the P argument of this construction is a referential indefinite NP. Note that, as this is a definite future construction, the P argument is unmutated. An example of an immediate future is given in (205):

- (205) Gu-möi ma-maso buku.
 maN-baso
 1s.IRR-go IPF-read book
 I'm going to read a book.

This example implies that I have a book open in front of me and that I'm just about to start reading it. Again, the P argument is referential but indefinite (and unmutated). Note that the verb *möi* 'go' is not used literally in this sentence—it cannot actually mean that the speaker is going somewhere, since this utterance can be made while seated on the chair in which they are about to read. Now compare the irrealis form of this sentence, given in (206):

- (206) Gu-mo-mbaso mbuku.
 maN-baso buku
 1s.IRR-IRR-read book:MUT
 I feel like reading a book.³³

This example implies that I don't have any book in mind, just that I feel like reading something.

³³ The expected form of the verb *baso* 'read' in irrealis mode is *mbaso*. *Mombaso* is a more commonly occurring variant of this form.

Another comparison can be made between (207) and (208). In (207), the verb *fazökhi* occurs in its definite future form:

(207) Gu-ma-mazökhi omo.

maN-fazökhi
1s.IRR-IPF-makehouse

I'm going to build a house. (I have hired the builders and they'll be starting soon)

This example implies that I am definitely going to build a house, or am even building it right now, just not at the place where the utterance is made. Compare the immediate future, given in (208):

(208) Gu-möi ma-mazökhi omo.

maN-fazökhi
1s.IRR-go IPF-make house

I'm going (right now) to build a house. (I'm on my way)

This example indicates to the hearer that the speaker is on his way to the building site. Note that the 'immediate future' construction is formally the same as the purposive construction. It is unclear whether all purposive constructions could be interpreted as 'immediate future', but the formal similarity tends to suggest that the purposive construction in Nias presupposes that an action is definitely being undertaken or about to be. The irrealis form of the verb *fazökhi* 'make, build', exemplified in (209) implies that the action is a desired one, but that there is no notion of reality associated with the action:

(209) Gu-vazökhi nomo.

-fazökhi omo
1s.IRR-make:IRR house:MUT

I'd like to build a house.

10.3.5 Reduplication

A further strategy employed by Nias to indicate aspectual notions is reduplication. As described in 3.5 there are two forms of reduplication, initial syllable reduplication and disyllabic reduplication. These semantic effect of these two types of reduplication will be illustrated in 10.4.1 and 10.4.2. respectively.

10.3.5.1 Initial syllable reduplication

Initial syllable reduplication can signal plurality of argument, iterativity of action or telicity of activity. It is productive, however, only in marking plurality of S arguments in vowel-initial stative verbs. This is illustrated in (210), where the verb *ide'ide* 'small' is reduplicated, because it is the predicate of a relative clause relativizing *barabara* 'things'. The reduplication of the verb indicates that its relativized S argument, i.e. *barabara*, refers to more than one entity:

- (210) Haega so barabara s=ig-ide'ide.
 where EXIST things:MUT REL=RDP1-small
 Where are the small things?³⁴

Another example of this use of initial syllable reduplication is illustrated in (211), where reduplication of the verb indicates that the S argument, *niha* 'person' refers to more than one person :

- (211) Ag-a-be'e niha ba Tete Holi Ana'a³⁵.
 niha
 RDP1-ST-strong person:MUT LOC Tete Holi Ana'a
 The people of Tete Holi Ana'a were strong. (H)

³⁴ The word *barabara* is presumably borrowed from Indonesian *barangbarang* 'things', which would account for its lack of mutation. In this example, *barabara* refers to items that are to be packed for travelling, so it has the same kind of referent as Indonesian *barangbarang*. There is another word for 'thing' in Nias Selatan, *naʃalö*, which is used for more abstract 'things'.

³⁵ *Tete Holi Ana'a* is the place where the ancestors of the people of Nias are said to live.

Example (212) below indicates that Nias treats the noun *bu* 'hair' as a plural concept (as opposed to English which treats it as a mass noun and therefore singular, cf. 'His hair is/*are long'). In (212), the S argument of the reduplicated verb, *bu-nia* 'his hair' has been fronted:

- (212) ...böröme bu-nia ag-anau.
 ...because hair-3s.MUT RDP1-ST:long
 ...because his hair was very long.

Initial syllable reduplication occurs also on the semantically dynamic verb *a'ege* 'laugh' to indicate plural, as illustrated in (213):

- (213) I-bözi naßö-nia ba faoma ag-a'ege.
 aßö
 3s.RLS-hit companion:MUT-3s.POSS CNJ together RDP1-laugh
 He hit his friend and they both laughed.

Some transitive verbs which occur with reduplicated initial syllables can indicate plurality of the P argument, although this does not appear to be productive in these verbs. An example in which initial syllable reduplication indicates that the P argument is plural is given in (214):

- (214) Be khö-gu garate ni-ci-cika.
 karate
 give DAT-1s.POSS page:MUT PASS-RDP1-tear
 Give me the pages that are torn.

If the verb in this sentence were *ni-cika*, instead of the reduplicated form *ni-ci-cika*, the utterance would have referred to only one page, i.e. 'Give me the torn page'. With some transitive verbs, the sense is not just plurality, but also individuation of the P argument,

i.e. something is done to a number of entities one at a time. This is illustrated in (215) and (216):

- (215) I-boka-i mbaßandruhu.
 baßandruhu
 3s.RLS-opened-TR door:MUT
 She opened the doors one by one.

- (216) La-ta-taru zinanö.
 sinanö
 3p.RLS-RDP1-plant seedling:MUT
 One plants the seedlings one by one (in a wet rice field).

In other transitive verbs, initial syllable reduplication indicates that the action is done many times, often with the sense that the actions are small ones, or that the action results in many small pieces. Examples which illustrates this are given in (217) and (218):

- (217) I-ta-taba geu.
 eu
 3s.RLS-RDP1-cut wood:MUT
 He cut up the wood (into many small pieces).

- (218) I-ba-bago mbaßi.
 baßi
 3s.RLS-RDP1-divide pig:MUT
 He divided the pig up into small pieces.

These examples also illustrate a sense which is attendant on transitive verbs which undergo initial syllable reduplication of completion of an activity. Both (217) and (218) above indicate that the action is done until completed. This is also illustrated in

- (225) Mo-we-we zumo hö'ö.
 sumo
 HAVE-RDP2-liquid well:MUT DIST
 That well always has water in it.

- (226) Mo-teu-teu=manö.
 DYN-RDP2-rain=just
 It just keeps on raining!

- (227) Nakhoda göi i-base-base-'ö
 captain also 3s.RLS-RDP2-rest-TR
 The captain kept waiting too.

The notion of 'not managing' to do something is expressed in (228) below by a reduplicated form of the verb *alua* 'happen', followed by a clause describing the action:

- (228) Löna a-lua-lua möi ndaoto khö-u.
 NEG ST-RDP2-result go 1s.EMPH.MUT DAT-2s.POSS
 I didn't manage to get to your place.

The verb in (228) cannot be unreduplicated, since the sentence implies that the event never happened.

'Intensification' of states (in a very broad sense) is illustrated in examples (229)-(230). In (229), the verb *abölö* 'heavy' is used to refer to 'illness':

- (229) A-bölö-bölö vökhö-nia.
 fökhö
 ST-RDP2-heavy illness:MUT-3s.POSS
 His illness is serious.

In (230), the verb *ahulö* 'early', which is typically used for the time when it becomes light (lit 'overtaken'), is reduplicated to imply an even earlier time:

- (230) A-hulö-hulö mahemolu i-faöndu zi'ila numero dua.
 si'ila
 ST-RDP2-overtake next.day 3s.RLS.call advisor:MUT number two
 Very early the next morning he summoned his number two advisor.

Disyllabic reduplication may apply even to the intensifier *sibai*, either with the notion of superlative comparison, as illustrated in (231), or with the notion of excess (i.e. 'too vb to do x') as illustrated in (232) and (233):

- (231) Sökhi sibai-bai mbaru hö'ö.
 baru
 good INTNS-RDP2 shirt:MUT DIST
 That shirt is the nicest.

- (232) Anakhö sibai-bai ndao irugi tobai ma-neranera.
 ST:tired INTNS-RDP2 1s.MUT until can't IPF-think
 I'm too tired to think.

- (233) Ato sibai-bai niha.
 niha
 many INTNS-RDP2 person:MUT
 There were too many people.

Typically when *sibai* is reduplicated, it is pronounced with stress and sometimes raised pitch on the reduplicated syllable and a very long diphthong, e.g. *sibá:::::ibai*.

In verbs which describe colours and sensations, and the verb *a'ege* 'laugh', disyllabic reduplication has the opposite effect of intensity, i.e. attenuation of state ('not very vb'). This meaning is attendant on the reduplicated verb without the presence of a negator. Some examples of these notions are given in (234)-(235):

(234) Ifö-nia a-usö-usö.
 tooth ST-RDP2-yellow
 His teeth are kind of yellow.

(235) A-nami-nami roti ha'a.
 roti
 ST-RDP2-tasty bread:MUT PROX
 This bread is kind of tasty / sweet.³⁶

An example of the reduplication of *a'ege* to mean 'smile' was given in (74) above.

The effect of disyllabic reduplication on numeral + classifier combinations is to indicate that the entities referred to by the reduplicated form occur in a group. Examples of this effect are given in (236) and (237).

(236) I-era-i niha da.wa-da-walu sa-mbua ofulo-a.
 niha sa-bua
 3s.RLS-count-TR person:MUT CLF.RDP2-nine one-CLF.MUT collected-NR
 He arranged people in groups of nine.

(237) ... ira-matua ni-fa-taßi da.ru-da-rua.
 ...COLL-male PASS-CAU-eat.ritual.meal CLF.RDP2-two
 ... the boys who are fed their ritual meal two by two.

Disyllabic reduplication also applies to some question words to derive indefinite pro-forms. Examples of these and discussion may be found in 4.8.3.

Some comparisons of verbs in which both types of reduplication occur can give some idea of the different effects of these two processes. The verb *ebua* 'big' is illustrated in (238) and (239). In (238) initial syllable reduplication indicates that the S argument is plural:

³⁶ The word *roti* is presumably borrowed from Indonesian *roti* 'bread'.

- (238) Eg-ebua mboto-ra.
 boto
 ST.RDP1-big body:MUT-3s.POSS
 Their bodies are big.

In (239), disyllabic reduplication of *ebua* implies an intensity of the state:

- (239) E-bua.bua mboto-nia.
 boto
 ST-RDP2-big body:MUT-3s.POSS
 His body was huge.

The verb *bago* 'beat' is illustrated in (240) and (241). In (240), the verb undergoes initial syllable reduplication to imply repeated small actions (beating and rubbing clothes with a rock against another rock by the well):

- (240) U-ba-bago nukha.
 nukha
 1s.RLS-RDP1-beat clothes:MUT
 I washed the clothes.

In (241), the whole verb is reduplicated to indicate that the action continues for a period of time:

- (241) La-bago-bago guli geu ...
 uli eu
 3p.RLS-RDP2-beat skin:MUT tree:MUT
 They used to beat the bark of the tree ... (to make clothes)

Initial syllable reduplication of the verb *tunö* 'tell' was illustrated in (219) above. When this verb undergoes disyllabic reduplication, it implies that talking occurs all the time,

as illustrated in (242) below. Note that the initial consonant of *tunö* is voiced in this example, a frequent feature of reduplicated verbs (see 3.5):

- (242) Ha ya'ia i-dunö-dunö.
only 3s 3s.RLS-RDP2-tell

She only ever talks about herself. (lit. 'Only herself she keeps on telling about.')

CHAPTER 11

VERBAL CLAUSE STRUCTURE

11.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the structure of transitive and intransitive clauses in Nias Selatan. Typically the word order of transitive clauses in Nias is V-P-A, with the variation V-A-P in clauses which have longer constituents in P function such as complements or direct speech. In this chapter the basic structure of verbal clauses is outlined first, followed by syntactic uses of the basic form, and then descriptions of verbs which have structures that differ from that of the basic structure. Transitive verbs are discussed first. The final sections of this chapter illustrate imperative structure and the relevance of animacy to ongoing reference in Nias.

Two diagnostics are used to determine whether an argument that appears to be additional to the basic transitive or intransitive structure is a 'core' argument or not. Core S or A arguments are defined for Nias Selatan as those arguments which occur obligatorily as pronominal prefixes on the verb in irrealis mode. Core P or oblique arguments are those arguments which can be relativized with a construction containing a passive verb (see 9.1.3.2 for discussion).

11.2 Transitive clauses: basic structure

A transitive clause can be characterized as typically referring to a punctual event which has two or more participants. One of the participants (coded by the A argument) is typically responsible for the effect of the action on the second participant (coded as the P argument). The A argument is obligatorily marked on the verb by the appropriate form of pronominal prefix in both realis and irrealis clauses. If the A argument is also expressed lexically, it occurs in unmutated form. There is no obligatory pronominal marking on the verb for the P argument. However, if the P argument refers to a human participant, overt reference is expected in most circumstances (see 11.6 below). If expressed overtly, the P argument occurs in mutated form. An example of a simple

transitive sentence in realis mode containing lexical A and P arguments is given in (1). The A argument in (1) is expressed by the third singular pronominal prefix on the verb, *i-*, and by the lexical NP *ina-gu* 'my mother'. The P argument is expressed by the mutated noun *vakhe* 'rice:MUT'.

- (1) I-rino vakhe ina-gu.
 fakhe
 3s.RLS-cook rice:MUT mother-1s.POSS
 My mother cooked rice.

The normal constituent order in transitive clauses containing two lexical arguments is V-P-A, as in (1). The order V-A-P normally occurs with verbs of speech in which the direct quotation, which represents the P argument, follows any lexical expression of an A argument. An example of this order is given in (2), in which the lexical expression of the A argument, *Amada Lafau*, occurs immediately after the predicate *i-waö* 'he said', and the P argument, the direct speech, comes last:

- (2) I-waö Amada Lafau, 'Ta-be töi-nia Zamburae'.
 3s.RLS-say Amada lafau 1pi.RLS-give name-3s.POSS Zamburae
 Amada Lafau said 'We'll call (this land) Zamburae'.

The order V-A-P also occurs with verbs which have complements as their P argument, as illustrated in (3), where the A argument is expressed by the lexical NP *ama andre* 'that father' as well as the pronominal prefix *i-*, and the P argument is the complement introduced by the complementizer *va*:

- (3) ...böröme löna na i-ila ama andre ga ba-omo,
 ...because NEG yet 3s.RLS-know father DIST here LOC-house

ba tola göi la-fazaßili manö.
 CNJ can also 3p.RLS-scatter just

You can plant those papaya seedlings in the ground, or you can also just scatter (them) (D)

In (6), the adverb *dania* 'later' occurs between verb and P argument:

- (6) Gu-z<um>ibo dania ndraugö gaö tou ba gelea.
 elea
 1s.IRR-<IRR>throw.out later 2s.MUT there down LOC gutter:MUT
 I'm going to throw you out later, down there into the gutter. (H)

The A argument of a transitive clause can be animate or inanimate, but the instances in which an A argument refers to an inanimate participant are relatively few. Elicited examples like the following are perfectly acceptable but rarely occur in texts:

- (7) I-sai ita fa-a-lögö-lögö.
 3s.POSS-overtake 1pi.MUT NR-ST-RDP2-dark
 Darkness overtook us.

In ongoing text or conversation, typically the referent of the A argument of a transitive verb is previously mentioned in the discourse, referential and almost always topical (in the sense that it continues the reference made by one of the arguments in the immediate context, usually in the immediately preceding clause or sentence). If a lexical NP referring to the A argument occurs in addition to a pronominal prefix, it is usually because the speaker wishes to identify a different topic. In a typical story in which, for example, speakers exchange utterances, each speaker is identified by name or lexical NP. As A arguments these NPs are unmutated. The following exchange exemplifies this. Amada Lareso has spoken to his wife just prior to this text and shown her a large amount of gold. In the exchange illustrated below, Amada Lareso's wife speaks first,

then Amada Lareso responds to her. In both cases the speaker is identified by lexical NP: *fo'omo-nia* 'his wife' in (8) and *Amada Lareso* in (9):

- (8) I-waö fo'omo-nia, 'Haega gö=mbe?
 3s.RLS-say wife-3s.POSS where 2s.IRR-put:IRR
 His wife said 'Where will you put (this)?!'

- (9) Amada Lareso, i-waö, 'Hanawara! Doro ga!
 Amada lareso 3s.RLS-say why! carry:IMPER here
 Amada Lareso said, "What! (How dare you question me!) Bring (it) here!"

If a transitive verb is used as the first utterance in a story or dialogue, a lexical NP expressing the A argument will invariably occur, unless the speaker knows that the hearer is already thinking of the referent of the A argument. In many cases, the first lexical A of a story will precede the verb. This is illustrated, for example, in (10), which is the first sentence of a story about Amada Lareso, a familiar figure in the history of Nias Selatan:

- (10) Samuza ma'ökhö, Amada Lareso i-lau ma-maigi
 maN-faigi
 one day Amada Lareso 3s.RLS-do IPF-see
 köfa ba nasi Luaha Gunde.
 asi
 ship LOC sea:MUT Lagundri.¹

One day, Amada Lareso was watching a ship in Lagundri Bay.

11.2.1 Syntactic uses of transitive clauses

Transitive verbs have two syntactic uses: reflexive construction and impersonal construction. These uses are illustrated in 11.2.1.1 and 11.2.1.2.

¹ *Luaha Gundre* (lit. estuary of the Gundre River) is the original name for Lagundri, a village on the shore of a bay which can be seen from Onohondrö, the village in which Amada Lareso lived.

In fact, some verbs obligatorily require the presence of an independent pronoun for a reflexive reading to be expressed. One such verb is *bunu* 'kill' which is normally only associated with the action of one person on someone or something else. The sentence *i-bunu ya* [3s.RLS-kill 3s.MUT] can only mean someone killed someone else. In order to say someone killed themselves, one has to use the construction in which the A argument is expressed by the unmutated pronoun, as illustrated in (14):

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------|--------|--------|--|
| (14) | I-bunu | ya | ya'ia. | |
| | 3s.RLS-kill | 3s.MUT | 3s | |
| | He killed himself. | | | |

It seems that some verbs are more likely to be understood as reflexive without this extra pronoun, or are perhaps inherently reflexive. For example the verb *dölö* 'go straight, head for without diverging' occurs only in a reflexive construction, e.g. :

- | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|--------|-----|------------|--|
| (15) | La-dölö | ira | ba | gosali. | |
| | 3p.RLS-head.straight | 3p.MUT | LOC | osali | |
| | | | | church:MUT | |
| | They went straight to church. | | | | |

11.2.1.2 Impersonal construction

Transitive verbs with a third plural pronominal prefix *la-* (realis) or *ndra-* (irrealis) may express impersonal meaning. This kind of construction is used when the referent of the A argument is generic (i.e. referring to people in general). An impersonal construction is illustrated in (16). The A argument is expressed by the third plural pronominal prefix, and there is no P argument in this clause because the referent is inanimate and currently active in the conversation. Since the only people present at the time of this statement were the speaker and me, the pronominal prefix cannot have specific reference:

- (16) Tobai la-a.
 can't 3p.RLS-eat

You can't eat (it) / It can't be eaten (pointing to a dried up coconut).

Lexical NPs referring to the A argument cannot be included in these constructions. Another example is given in (17), in which the P argument is *mbatu* 'stones'. (Once again, the only people present on the occasion of this utterance were the speaker and me, so the pronominal prefix has no specific reference.)

- (17) Na la-be mbatu tola la-törö.
 batu
 if 3p.RLS-put stone:MUT can 3p.RLS-go

If you put stones (on top of them), you can walk on them. ('them' = dirt dykes between rice fields)

In (18), an irrealis form of the impersonal construction is illustrated. The statement is a response to a question about the opening time of a shop. The shop was not in an area where the owners were known, so the pronominal prefix has no specific reference:

- (18) Ndra-mboka-i bözi siwa.
 3p.IRR-[open-TR].IRR hit nine

They might open at nine.²

Sometimes the second singular form of the pronominal prefix *ö-* is used with impersonal meaning, as illustrated in the adverbial clause introduced by *na* 'if' in (19):

² The use of the verb *bözi* 'hit' to mean 'o'clock' is a calque from Indonesian, which uses the verb *pukul* 'hit' with the same meaning, e.g. *pukul sembilan* [hit nine] 'nine o'clock'.

- (19) Na ö-böbö mbulu goßi, la-fösi.
 bulu goßi
 when 2s.RLS-tie.up leaf:MUT sweet.potato 3p.RLS-pull.tight

When you tie up sweet potato leaves, you (have to) tighten (the tie). (D)

Note that although *ö-* 'you(sg)' is used in the adverbial clause, a third plural pronominal prefix (i.e. *la-* 'they') is used on the verb in the main clause with the same impersonal meaning. Example (20) below is a rhetorical question posed by the speaker to his audience (of two people) while telling a story about an evil village leader who had imposed an excessively large fine on one of the villagers. The second singular irrealis prefix *gö-* in this example is non-referential:

- (20) Haega manö gö-s<um>önda hö'ö?
 where just 2s.IRR-<IRR>find DIST

Just where would you(/one) get an amount like that?

Although impersonal constructions have formal similarities to simple transitive verbs, they are reduced in transitivity in three ways: 1) the form of the prefix in the clause is fixed—it is either third plural or second singular; 2) the A argument cannot be expressed by a lexical NP (because the A argument is non-referential), 3) the P argument is often omitted or is non-referential.

11.3 Transitive verbs with non-basic case frames

Not all transitive verbs conform to the same case frame as the verbs described above. In the following sections (11.3.1 - 11.3.3), verbs which have different case frames from the basic one are described.

11.3.1 Transitive verbs with one argument

The verb, *labu* 'do suddenly' has only one argument semantically but is formally transitive in the sense that it occurs with a pronominal prefix and an unmutated lexical

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11.3.2.6 *tehe* 'agree'

11.3.2.1 *be* 'give'

The verb *be* 'give' is marked for A and P arguments in the same way as simple transitive verbs, but includes also a third argument representing the recipient, encoded by a prepositional phrase. This is illustrated in (23), in which the P argument is expressed by a headless relative *zi=toröi gö-da* 'our leftovers' (lit. 'what is left behind of our food'), and the recipient is expressed by a locative phrase *ba nasu* 'to the dog':

(23) I-be zi=to-röi gö-da
 si= ö
 3s.RLS-give REL.MUT=RES-leave.behind food:MUT-1pi.POSS
 ba nasu ina-gu.
 asu
 LOC dog:MUT mother-1s.POSS

My mother gave our leftovers to the dog.

Although the argument referring to the recipient of *be* 'give' occurs in a prepositional phrase, it is treated in the same way as the P argument by relativization strategies. For example, both (24) and (25) are possible relativizations of the non-A arguments in (23). In (24), the P argument is relativized—the verb is in passive form; the A argument, *nina-gu* 'my mother', occurs in mutated form after the verb; and the recipient occurs in a prepositional phrase:

(24) Si=to-röi gö-da ni-be nina-gu
 ö ina
 REL=RES-leave.behind food:MUT-1pi.POSS PASS-give mother:MUT-1s.POSS
 ba nasu.
 asu
 LOC dog:MUT

...the leftovers that my mother gave to the dog.

The language indicates that the direct speech which occurs with verbs *waö* and *sofu* is in P function in questions such as *haiya ni-waö-nia?* 'What did he say?' or *haiya ni-sofu-nia?* 'What did he ask?'. These questions are constructed with headless relatives consisting of the passive form of the verb, indicating that the referent of the question word, i.e. the actual speech, is the P argument of the verb.

The verb *andrö* 'ask for' has a different structure from the verb *sofu* 'ask about'. The verb *andrö* occurs with an obligatory unmutated argument and a dative phrase. This is illustrated in (27):

- (27) Asese i-andrö kefe khö-ma.
 often 3s.RLS-ask.for money DAT-1pe.POSS

He often asks us for money.

If the unmutated argument is not present, it is understood, i.e. it must be active in the discourse.³ A derived form of this verb, *andrö-i* 'ask.for-TR', has come to be used to mean 'pray'. In contrast to the simple form of the verb, the derived form the verb takes a mutated P argument referring to the thing asked(prayed) for, as illustrated in (28):

- (28) Gu-man-andö-i ndaugö.
 1s.IRR-IPF-ask.for 2s.MUT

I will pray for you.

Note that the addressee is not included in this form as it is always understood to be the same person (i.e. *Loßalani* 'God').

The verb *oturagö* 'tell about' cannot occur with direct speech, but may occur with an NP or a complement clause introduced by the complementizer *va* (*~βa*). This verb is illustrated in (29) with a mutated pronoun as the P argument:

³ I have no examples of this verb in relative clauses, so I cannot comment on the syntactic status of the two arguments.

- (29) Gu-m-oturagö ndraugö khö-ra.
 1s.IRR-IRR-tell 2s.MUT DAT-3p.POSS
 I'm going to tell them about you.

Oturagö 'tell about' is illustrated in (30) with a complement as P argument:

- (30) I-oturagö khö-gu Ba ma=mate nama-nia.
 ama
 3s.RLS-tell DAT-1s.POSS COMP PERF=die father:MUT-3s.POSS
 He told me that his father had died.

Note that the complement contains reported speech and not direct speech, as shown by the use of the third singular pronominal prefix on the S argument *nama-nia* 'his father', referring to the A argument of the matrix verb, i.e. 'he_i told me that his_i father had died'. (This suffix could also refer to someone else's father, i.e. 'he_i told me that his_j father had died'.)⁴

The verb *botokhi* 'explain' may also occur with an NP or a complement. In (31) it is illustrated with an NP in P function, *mböbö mbanua-nia* 'the laws of his village'.

- (31) La-botokhi khö-gu mböbö mbanua-ra.
 böbö banua
 3p.RLS-explain DAT-1s.POSS law:MUT village:MUT-3p.POSS
 They explained the laws of their village to me.

In (32) *botokhi* is illustrated with a complement which consists of an indirect question. The addressee, who is understood from the context, is not overtly expressed in this example:

⁴ I don't know whether the oblique argument that occurs with verbs of speaking can be relativized in the same way as the oblique argument with the verb *be* 'give'. There are no examples in the data in which such an operation has occurred.

- (32) I-botokhi haiya ni-fake.
 3s.RLS-explain what PASS-do
 He explained what had to be done.

Note that it is normal in verbs referring to speech which occur with dative phrases, the dative phrase may precede the P argument, although the alternative order is equally acceptable grammatically.

11.3.2.3 *cili* 'throw', *tefe* 'sprinkle' and other verbs of impact

The verb *cili* 'throw at and hit' takes two arguments other than the A, one referring to the thing thrown and one referring to the person or thing being targeted. The thing thrown (or 'theme') is realized by an unmutated NP, while the the thing thrown at (the 'target') is realized by a mutated NP. The basic form of this verb is illustrated in (33), where the mutated argument, *nasu* 'dog', occurs immediately after the verb and the unmutated argument, *batu* 'rock', follows. The A argument, *ira-ono* 'children' occurs in final position.

- (33) La-cili nasu batu ira-ono.
 asu
 3p.RLS-throw dog:MUT rock COLL-child

The children threw stones at the dog (and hit it).

The order of the arguments is not crucial, as the reversal in (34) shows:

- (34) La-cili batu nasu ira-ono.
 asu
 3s.RLS-throw rock dog:MUT COLL-child

The children threw stones at the dog (and hit it).

Despite what appears to be either morphologically oblique marking or no marking, the unmutated argument which occurs with this verb behaves like a core P argument with

respect to relativization. Both of the non-A arguments which occur with *cili* 'throw' can be relativized in the same way. This is illustrated in (35) and (36). In (35), the thing thrown is relativized, and the target is expressed by an unmutated NP in the relative clause:

- (35) Andraha'a mbatu ni-cili-nia asu.
 batu
 this one rock:MUT PASS-throw-3s.POSS dog
 This the rock he threw at the dog. (/ hit the dog with)

By contrast, in (36), the target argument is relativized and the theme (the thing thrown) is expressed by an unmutated argument in the relative clause:

- (36) Andrehe'e nasu ni-cili-nia batu.
 asu
 that one dog:MUT PASS-throw-3ps.POSS rock
 That's the dog he threw the/a rock at. (/ hit with the/a rock)

If *batu* 'rock' were like other instrumental arguments, the target argument in the relative clause (*asu* 'dog') ought to occur in a prepositional phrase (see 8.4 for relative clause structure). Since it does not, it would appear that the theme argument has a different syntactic status than that of normal instrumental arguments, or that the target argument has different properties from normal P arguments of transitive verbs. As far as I know, there are no other verbs in Nias Selatan which exhibit the same syntactic properties of *cili* 'throw at and hit', although in principle the relativization of two non-A arguments of ditransitive verbs seems common in the language.

A construction similar to the one described for *cili* 'throw at and hit' in the preceding section occurs with other verbs of impact. For example the verb *tefe* 'sprinkle' may take two arguments apart from the A, one a location, which is mutated, and one a theme, which is unmutated. This is illustrated in (37), in which the location is

Other verbs which behave in the same way as *tefe* 'sprinkle' are derived forms such as *hele-gö* [waterfall-TR] 'pour', *basö-i* [wet-TR] 'wet' and *fönu-i* [full-TR] 'fill'. The verb *fönu-i* is illustrated in (41). The location is expressed by a mutated noun *mba'a* 'tub' and the theme is expressed by an unmutated noun *idanö* 'water':

- (41) I-fönu-i mba'a idanö.
 ba'a
 3s.RLS-fill-TR bak:MUT water

She filled the bak (water tub) with water.

In this case frame, only the location can be relativized, as illustrated in (42). Note that the theme occurs in unmutated form in the relative clause:

- (42) ...ba'a ni-fönu-i-nia idanö
 ...bak PASS-fill-TR water
 ...the bak which she filled with water

Fönu-i 'fill' can also occur with a case frame in which the theme is expressed by a mutated NP and the location by a prepositional phrase. This frame is illustrated in (43):

- (43) I-fönu-i nidanö ba mba'a.
 idanö ba'a
 3s.RLS-fill-TR water:MUT LOC bak:MUT

She filled the bak (water tub) with water. (lit. 'She filled water into the bak.')

In this case frame, only the theme can be relativized. The location occurs in the relative clause as a prepositional phrase:

- (44) idanö ni-fönu-i-nia ba mba'a
 ba'a
 water PASS-fill-TR LOC bak:MUT
 the water that she filled the bak with

The other verbs of impact mentioned above all conform to this basic structure and variation in case frame.

11.3.2.4 Change of state verbs

Another set of transitive verbs with two arguments other than the A is the class of verbs which mean something like 'change x into y'. The verbs which have this meaning are *bali-'ö* [turn-TR] 'convert', *be* 'make' (which is homophonous with *be* 'give' and *be* 'put'). An example of the verb *bali-'ö* 'convert' is given in (45). The argument referring to the participant undergoing change is mutated third singular pronoun *ya*, and the argument referring to the target, *saßuyu* 'slave', is unmutated:

- (45) La-bali-'ö ya saßuyu.
 3p.RLS-turn-TR 3s.MUT slave
 They made him a slave.

The verb *bali-'ö* 'convert' is the transitive counterpart of the resultative verb *to-bali* 'be changed into' which has a similar case structure, and is discussed in 11.4.2.9 below.

The verb *be* 'make' is illustrated in (46), in which the person undergoing change is expressed by the mutated NP *zibaya-gu* 'my uncle' and the target of the change is the unmutated noun *kafalo goßulo-a* 'head of the committee'.

- (46) La-be zibaya-gu kafalo goßulo-a.
 oßulo
 3p.RLS-make uncle:MUT-1s.POSS head gathered.MUT-NR
 They made my uncle the head of the committee.

mode. The basic structure of intransitive clauses consists of a verb as the first element of the clause followed by its S argument in mutated form. Some examples of intransitive verbs and their arguments are given in (56)-(59):

(56) A-nakhö ndao.
 ST-tired 1s.MUT
 I'm tired.

(57) Ezuramö ya.
 ST:hiccup 3s.MUT
 He has the hiccups.

(58) Ata'u mböhö.
 böhö
 ST-fear deer:MUT
 The deer is frightened.

(59) Mate zibaya-nia meneßi.
 sibaya
 die uncle:MUT-3s.POSS yesterday
 His uncle died yesterday.

Normally in texts, pronominal S arguments are referential, active in the discourse and topical (in the sense of continuing to refer to a participant discussed in a previous clause). Lexical S arguments, however, usually occur where it is necessary to refer to a different participant. For example, in the following text sequence, each of the three clauses has a different S argument. Each of the three S arguments has already been introduced into the story and mentioned in the last few clauses but because of the speed of the action, presumably the use of pronouns could confuse the hearer. The S arguments in these clauses activate current cognitive files with the potential for 'topichood' (i.e. potential to be the topic of ongoing discussion). In the first clause, the

S argument is the mutated noun *duhituhi* 'trivet:MUT' (three clay stones used to steady a pot and to raise it above the fire):

- (60) Ma=aso'a duhituhi.
 tuhituhi
 PERF=fall trivet:MUT
 The trivet stone fell down.

The S argument in (61) is the mutated noun *gö mbaßi* 'pigs' food':

- (61) Aso'a göi gö mbaßi.
 ö baßi
 fall also food:MUT pig:MUT
 The pigs' food (in the pan) also fell down.

The S argument of the verb *maoso* 'rise' in (62) is the NP *ndra-alaße andra* 'this woman':

- (62) M-aoso nda-alaße andra, löna i-oturagö
 ira-
 DYN-rise COLL.MUT-female PROX NEG 3s.RLS-tell
 khö vo'omo-nia.
 fo'omo
 DAT spouse:MUT-3s.POSS
 This woman got up, (but) didn't say anything to her husband.

However, in addition to the function of activating current cognitive files, lexical S arguments are also used to introduce new participants or reactivate cognitive files which are assumed to be not currently activated. This often happens with a presentative construction using the verb *so*, either with its existential meaning or with its dynamic meaning 'arrive', as illustrated in (63):

(63) Samuza luo so sui Namada Satöladanö,
 Amada

one day arrive again Amada:MUT Satöladanö

moroi ba Hilisimaetanö.

come.from LOC Hilisimaetanö

One day, Amada Satöladanö came again, from Hilisimaetanö.

A lexical NP *and* a pronominal argument may co-occur in an intransitive clause, although the instances are few. If a lexical noun phrase occurs, it is in an appositional relationship with the pronominal S argument, and is mutated, agreeing in mutation with the pronoun with which it is in apposition (see 7.1.1.6). This kind of situation occurs if there is likely to be some confusion resulting from the use of just a pronoun, or for reasons of emphasis. An example of an intransitive verb with both pronominal and lexical NPs referring to the same participant is given in (64). The S argument is expressed by the third singular pronoun *ya*, and the mutated NP *Namada=*ndra nomema'e Lafau** occurs in apposition to the pronoun:

(64) Möi ya, Namada=*ndra* nomema'e Lafau.

Amada

go 3s.MUT Amada:MUT=PROX RECOG Lafau

He came, this Amada Lafau I've been talking about.

Note that both a proximate demonstrative adjunct, *=ndra*, and a recognitional demonstrative also occur with the lexical NP to assist in the identification of the participant, perhaps suggesting that this participant is regarded by the speaker to be hard to identify without such help.

In irrealis mode, the S argument of an intransitive verb is obligatorily marked on the verb with an irrealis pronominal prefix indicating person and number. As in realis clauses, if the S argument is expressed also by a lexical NP, it is mutated. This is

illustrated in (65), in which the mutated nominal *nono-nia* 'her child' is the lexical expression of the S argument, which is also expressed by the pronominal prefix *ya-*:

- (65) Ya-ma-nana nono-nia ba va-a-lio.
 -maN-tana ono fa-a-lio
 3s.IRR-DYN-hand child:MUT-3s.POSS LOC [NR-ST-quick]:MUT
 Her child will be crawling soon.

As is the case for realis clauses, in irrealis clauses lexical NPs occur with intransitive verbs whenever the argument is not currently under discussion. Another example is given in (66), in which the mutated nominal *nidanö* 'river, water' is the lexical expression coreferential with the third singular prefix *ya-*:

- (66) Ya-mölö nidanö na mo-teu s=a-bölö-bölö.
 idanö
 3s.IRR-flood water:MUT if DYN-rain REL=ST-RDP2-strong
 The river will flood if it rains very heavily.

The verb and its S argument may be separated by other material, as occurs also with transitive verbs (see 11.2 above). This is illustrated in (67), in which the verb *tohare* 'arrive' is separated from its S argument by the prepositional phrase *ba mbaßagoli* 'at the gate':

- (67) Tohare=manö=laö ba mbaßagoli.
 baßagoli
 arrive=just=they.say LOC gate:MUT
 niha=ö s=e-bua-bua mboto ...
 niha boto
 person:MUT=DIST REL=ST-RDP2-big body:MUT

They say that that man with the huge body just arrived at the gate... (Z-L)

- (71) Fa-bali ira.
DO-turn 3p.MUT

They separated.

- (72) Fa-soso ira.
DO-angry 3p.MUT

They got angry with each other.

If context requires that the participants in a reciprocal action are named, lexical NPs in mutated form, naming the participants, occur in addition to the plural pronoun. This is illustrated in (73), in which the third plural pronoun *ira* refers to two villages whose names are given in mutated form:

- (73) Fa-suvö ira mbanua Zifalagö Gomo
banua Sifalagö
DO-fight 3p.MUT village:MUT Sifalagö:MUT Gomo
mbanua Zana'ai.
banua Sana'ai
village:MUT Sama'ai:MUT

The villages of Sifalagö Gomo and Sana'ai were at war. (H)

Another example is given in (74), in which the third plural pronoun refers to two people who are also named:

- (74) Fa-lele ira Nama Dali Nama Mila.
Ama Ama
DO-tongue 3p.MUT Ama:MUT Dali Ama:MUT Mila

Ama Dali and Ama Mila swore at each other.

Example (75) has the same structure:

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------|--------|-----------|------------|
| (75) | Fa-manömanö | ira | Nina Dali | Nina Mila. |
| | | | Ina | Ina |
| | DO-chat | 3p.MUT | Ina dali | Ina Mila |

Ina Dali and Ina Mila chatted together.

In (76), the two participants are identified by mutated lexical NPs, *ndra-alaße* 'girl' and *ndra-matua* 'boy':

- | | | | | |
|------|----------|--------|-----------------|---------------|
| (76) | Fa-soso | ira | ndra-alaße | ndra-matua. |
| | | | ira- | ira- |
| | DO-angry | 3p.MUT | COLL.MUT-female | COLL.MUT-male |

The girl and boy got angry with each other.

Example (77) illustrates a reciprocal construction in which the verb *fa-bö'ö* is not dynamic (i.e. does not refer to an action), but nevertheless implies that the participants are of equal status in the process described by the verb:

- | | | | | | | |
|------|--------------|--------|-------------|----------|-------------|-------------|
| (77) | Fa-bö'ö | ira | mbu | mbebe | mbu | manu. |
| | | | bu | bebe | bu | manu |
| | DO-different | 3p.MUT | feather:MUT | duck:MUT | feather:MUT | chicken:MUT |

The feathers of a duck are different from the feathers of a chicken.

If the plural argument of a reciprocal verb includes oneself, only the other participant need be named⁵, e.g.:

⁵ This construction is analogous to another construction in Nias referring to two participants including oneself, which has in predicate position a numeral phrase consisting of *sa-mbua* [one-CLF.MUT] 'one' and an unmutated noun. This predicate occurs with a plural pronoun referring to the two participants involved and an additional mutated argument identifying the participant other than oneself. This is illustrated in (i) and (ii):

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|---------|---------|------------|------|
| (i) | sa-mbua | banua | ndraga | Nina | Mili |
| | -bua | | | Ina | |
| | one-CLF.MUT | village | 1pe.MUT | mother:MUT | Mili |
- Mili's mother and I live in the same village.

- (78) Fa-lakhi ndraga Nama Dali ba lala.
 Ama lala
 DO-meet 1pe.MUT Ama:MUT Dali LOC road:MUT
 Ama Dali and I met on the road.

A verb derived with *fa-* can also be used with a singular mutated argument and an obligatory dative phrase referring to the other participant, as illustrated in (79)⁶, e.g.:

- (79) Fa-lakhi ndao khö nakhi-nia
 akhi
 DO-meet 1s.MUT DAT younger.sibling.MUT-3s.POSS
 ba v-anaßuli-gu ba-omo.
 f-
 LOC NR.MUT:return-1s.POSS LOC-house
 I met his brother on my way home.

11.4.2 Subtypes of intransitive verbs

There are a number of subclasses of intransitive verbs which have non-basic argument structure, typically associated with having fewer than or more than one argument. Intransitive verbs with no arguments, in general verbs referring to weather conditions, are discussed first. The existential verb *so* and verbs which share features of this verb, such as quantificational verbs and numerals, are discussed next. Finally, verbs with two arguments are described. These include verbs with two mutated arguments, verbs with one mutated argument and one unmutated argument and verbs with a prepositional phrase as well as a mutated argument.

-
- (ii) sa-mbua omo ndraga Nina Mili
 -bua Ina
 one-CLF.MUT house 1pe.MUT mother:MUT Mili
 Mili's mother and I live in the same house.

⁶ At this stage I am not sure whether the obligatory dative argument is core or not.

11.4.2.1 Intransitive verbs with no arguments

Verbs referring to weather conditions derived from nouns with the prefix *mo-* require no argument in realis clauses. Examples of these verbs are given in (80)-(81) (see also 5.1.1.2.3 and 5.1.1.2.5):

- (80) Mo-teu ba Mbotohili ba löna mo-teu ga.
 Botohili
 DYN-rain LOC Botohili:MUT CNJ NEG DYN-rain here
 It's raining in Botohili but it's not raining here.

- (81) Ha mo-luo sibai ba fefu niha möi ba-eßali.
 niha
 only DYN-day INTNS CNJ all person:MUT go LOC-yard
 As soon as it was daylight, everyone came out into the yard.

Although there is no argument possible for these verbs in realis clauses, irrealis forms of these verbs require an obligatory pronominal prefix. Irrealis forms of the verbs *mo-teu* and *mo-bade* are illustrated in (82) and (83). The third singular irrealis prefix *ya-* in the following sentences has the same function as the dummy 'it' in English—it is non-referential but is required by the morphology:

- (82) Ya-mo-teu.
 3s.IRR-DYN-rain
 It might rain / It looks like rain.
- (83) Ya-mo-bade.
 3s.IRR-DYN-storm
 We might have a storm. / It looks like a storm is coming.

Some weather verbs derived from nouns with *mo-* do have arguments. Some examples of these are given in (84)-(86) (see also 5.1.1.2.3):

- (84) Mo-mbunambuna deu.
 teu
 DYN-drop rain:MUT
 It's starting to rain.

- (85) Mo-huguhugu mbanua.
 banua
 DYN-thunder sky:MUT
 It's thundering.

- (86) Mo-hali'i mbanua.
 banua
 DYN-lightning sky:MUT
 It's lightning.

11.4.2.2 Existential verb *so*

Existential clauses are a subtype of intransitive verb clause—the existential verb *so* is followed by a mutated argument, as illustrated in (87).

- (87) So nösi ma ide'ide.
 ösi
 EXIST contents:MUT CNJ ST:small
 There is something inside but it's only little.

The existential verb is also similar to simple intransitive verbs in that it occurs with an obligatory pronominal prefix in irrealis mode. This is illustrated in (88), where the irrealis prefix *ya-* has the same referent as the mutated noun *daßila* 'Taßila feast'

- (88) Sa-mbua migu tö ya-so daßila
 -bua taßila
 one-CL.MUT week more 3s.IRR-EXIST taßila(feast):MUT
 khö Hilizondrege'asi.
 DAT Hilizondrege'asi

In about a week's time Hilizondrege'asi is going to have a Taßila feast.

In addition, existential *so* may undergo disyllabic reduplication, a property restricted to verbs. An example of a reduplicated form of *so* is given in (89), where it has the meaning 'continue to be':

- (89) La-ofulo-i me so-so na zi=toroi
 si=
 3p.RLS-gathered-TR when RDP2-EXIST still REL.MUT=be.at
 ba nalitö.
 alitö
 LOC fire:MUT

They gathered (it) while there still continued to be some remains in the fire.

However, existential *so* does not exhibit all of the properties of normal intransitive verbs. For example, it cannot occur with modal verbs or preverbal quantifiers, with the perfect particle *ma=*, or with the intensifier *sibai*.

Pure existence is rarely stated with the existential verb, but it does occur occasionally, as illustrated in the complement of the verb *ila* 'know' in (90).

- (90) La-ila va so z=o-mböi niha.
 s=aN-böi
 3p.RLS-know COMP EXIST REL.MUT=IPF-make person

They knew that there was a Creator of people. (Z-L)

Locative expressions are common with the existential verb, in particular the adverbs *ga* 'here' (a specific place) in (91) and *gaö* 'there' (a specific place) in (92):

- (91) Ga so vakhe s=asoso.
 fakhe
 here EXIST rice:MUT REL=ST:cooked

There is some cooked rice here.

- (92) Gaö so voroga si=zawa-zawa,
 foroga
 there EXIST building:MUT REL=RDP2-hang
 omo Duha-da Nama-da Loßalani Sanetua Erenua.
 Tuha Ama
 house Lord-1pi.POSS father:MUT-1pi.POSS God Powerful Trusted

There existed the hanging building, the house of the Most Powerful and Trusted God. (H)

Existential constructions are used to express predicate possession. The possessor in a predicate possession construction occurs as a possessive suffix on the argument of existential *so* or as a mutated NP following the argument. For example in (93), the possessor is expressed by the third singular suffix *-nia*:

- (93) So nono-nia do-mbua.
 ono dua-bua
 EXIST child:MUT-3s.POSS two-CL.MUT

She has two children. (lit. 'The two children of hers exist')

In (94) the possessor is expressed by the first plural exclusive suffix *-ma*:

- (94) So nohi-ma.
 ohi
 EXIST coconut.tree:MUT-1pe.POSS

We have (some) coconut trees. (lit. 'Our coconut trees exist')

Predicate possession may be expressed in irrealis form as well, as illustrated in (95). The possessor in this construction is the second plural suffix *-mi*:

- (95) Na löna mi-halö ndra'o⁷
 if NEG 2p.RLS-take 1s.MUT
 ya-so galakhaö-mi s=e-bua.
 alakhaö
 3s.IRR-EXIST disaster:MUT-2p.POSS REL=ST-big

If you do not take me enormous disaster will beset you. (lit. 'If you do not pick me up, your big disaster will exist.') (H)

If the possessor is expressed by a lexical NP, it is expressed by a dative phrase. This was illustrated in (88) above, where the dative phrase *khö Hilizondrege'asi* indicates that the taßila feast will be held for the people of the village of Hilizondrege'asi. If the phrase were intended to mean 'at Hilizondrege'asi', the preposition *ba* would have been used.

11.4.2.3 Quantifier verbs

The quantifier verbs *ato* 'many (people)' and *oya* 'many (things)', are a subtype of existential verb. They have the same structure as existential predicates and occur in predicate possession construction similar to that which occurs with the existential verb. The verb *oya* is exemplified in (96). The S argument of *oya* 'much, many' in (96) is the mutated NP *mbatu andre segebia* 'these big stones':

- (96) Me oya mbatu andre s=e-g-ebua...
 batu
 since many stone:MUT DIST REL=ST-RDP1-big

Since there are a lot of these big stones...

⁷ This text comes from a more central area of Nias Selatan in which the mutated pronouns beginning with *ndra* are pronounced with a glottal stop between *ndra* and the stem, e.g. *ndra'o* 1s.MUT, *ndra'ugö* '2s.MUT', *ndra'aga* '1pe.MUT'.

The verb *ato* 'many' (people) is illustrated in (97):

- (97) Ato niha föna si=löna man-ila mo-mbaso
 niha maN-ila maN-baso
 many person:MUT in.front REL=NEG IPF-know IPF-read

There were a lot of people in the early days who did not know how to read.

Quantifier verbs also typically occur with locative expressions, as exemplified in (98) and (99). In (98), *ato* occurs with the adverb *gaö* 'there' (specific place):

- (98) Gaö ato ndra-talifusö-ra.
 ira-
 there many COLL.MUT-friend-3p.POSS

There are a lot of their friends there. (lit. 'Their friends there are a lot.')

In (99), *ato* occurs with a prepositional phrase:

- (99) Ato niha ba Tete Holi Ana'a.
 niha
 many person:MUT LOC Tete Holi Ana'a

There are a lot of people at Tete Holi Ana'a. (lit. 'The people at Tete holi Ana'a are a lot.')

Examples of these verbs in predicate possession construction are given in (100) and (101). In (100), the 'possessor' is expressed by the third plural possessive suffix *-ra* 'they':

- (100) La-βaβalö viga-ma na ato dome-ra.
 figa tome
 3p.RLS-borrow plate:MUT-1pe.POSS if many guest:MUT-3p.POSS
 If they have many guests they borrow our plates. (lit. 'They borrow our plates
 if their guests are many.') (Z-L)

In (101), the possessor *boto-ra* 'their bodies' has been fronted for discourse purposes:

- (101) Boto-ra oya mbu.
 bu
 body-3p.POSS many hair:MUT
 Their bodies had a lot of hair. (H) (lit. 'Their bodies, the hair was a lot.')

Quantificational verbs are like the existential verb in not being able to occur with modal verbs, but they are less verb-like than the existential verb in that they do not occur in irrealis mode. However, *oya* 'many (things)' occurs with the perfect marker *ma=*, as illustrated in (102):

- (102) Ma=oya=ae mbalatu ni-böβö-i-nia.
 balatu
 PERF=many=already knife.MUT PASS-make-TR-3s.POSS
 He had already made a lot of knives (lit. 'The knives made by him were already
 a lot.')

And both *oya* and *ato* occur with the intensifier *sibai*, as illustrated in (103)-(105):

- (103) Oya sibai ndröfi ba mbanua.
 ndröfi banua
 many INTNS star:MUT LOC sky:MUT
 There are very many stars in the sky.

- (104) Ma=i-söndra mbu vofo s=oya sibai.
 bu fofo
 PERF=3s.RLS-find feather:MUT bird:MUT REL=many INTNS

He found very many bird feathers.

- (105) Me akhozi fasa meneßi ba ato sibai niha si=bötö.
 when ST-burn market yesterday CNJ many INTNS person REL=wounded

When there was a fire at the market yesterday, a great many people were wounded. (lit. 'When the market burnt yesterday, the people who were wounded were many.')

Quantificational verbs also occur as predicates in relative clauses, which is a property restricted to verbs. *Ato* is illustrated in a relative clause in (106) below:

- (106) Na so dome s=ato, ...
 tome
 if arrive guest:MUT REL=many

If there are a lot of guests, ...

An example of *oya* in a relative clause was given in (104) above.

11.4.2.4 Numerals

Numerals are deficient in most of the features which define verbs, such as participating in a realis-irrealis distinction or occurrence with predicate complex constituents. However, numerals may occur in constructions which are similar to predicate possession constructions, as illustrated in (107), in which the NP *gahe-nia* 'his legs' is the argument of *sara* 'one':

- (107) Ha sara gahe-nia.
 ahe
 only one leg:MUT-3s.POSS

He has only one leg. (lit. 'His leg is only one')

In addition, numerals occur as predicates in relative clauses, as illustrated by the numeral *fitu na=fulu* 'seventy' in (108):

- (108) Oi=wa=ine a-lukhö nemali andre si=fitu na=fulu.
 emali
 all=D.PTCL=infact ST-defeat enemy:MUT DIST REL=seven LK=ten

In fact, all of those seventy enemies were defeated. (lit. all were defeated those enemies which were seventy)

11.4.2.5 Negative existential *löna*

The verb *löna* was discussed in its role as the verbal negator in 10.2.2.1 and a constituent of certain modal verbs in 10.2.1. *Löna* also has the function of negative existential verb. The NP which follows negative existential *löna*, in contrast with the NP following the affirmative existential *so*, is unmutated, as illustrated in (109) - (111):

- (109) Löna fakhe ba mba'a.
 ba'a
 NEG.EXIST rice LOC box:MUT

There's no rice in the box.

- (110) Löna ono-nia.
 NEG.EXIST child-3s.POSS

S/he doesn't have any children.

- (111) Löna toða ba löna göi ehomo.
 NEG wall CNJ NEG also pillar

There are no walls, nor any pillars either. (H)

- (114) Na'e s=a-nua.
 s=aN-hua
 NEG.EXIST:already REL=IPF-speak
 No one (had the authority to) speak. (lit. There was not already a person who could speak.)

- (115) Na'e s=a-negu-negu ya'ita.
 s=aN-tegu
 NEG.EXIST:already REL=IPF-RDP2-chastise 1pi
 There was not yet anyone to chastise us.

11.4.2.6 Intransitive verbs with two mutated arguments

As stated in 4.4 and mentioned in 11.4 above, I use the term 'intransitive' for verbs that cannot occur with pronominal prefixes in realis mode. By this definition, there are intransitive verbs that take two arguments.

Predicates referring to certain emotions or states of mind may be followed by two arguments in mutated form, one referring to the experiencer and one referring to the stimulus, i.e. the cause of or reason for the emotion or state of mind⁹. Verbs which can be followed by two mutated arguments include *omasi* 'like', *ata'u* 'be afraid', *ogoro* 'despise', *anigö* 'annoy', *arörö* 'be distracted by', *edöna* 'prefer', *olifu* 'forget', *aila* 'be ashamed' and *aföli* 'be tired of'. An example of *omasi* 'like' is given in (116), in which the experiencer is expressed by the first singular pronoun *ndrao*, and the stimulus by the mutated NP *naßö-u* 'your companion'.

- (116) Omasi ndrao naßö-u.
 aßö
 like 1s.MUT companion:MUT-2s.POSS
 I like your companion.

⁹ Transitive verbs which occur in imperfective form in main clauses also take two mutated arguments; see 10.3.2.1.

The word order in these constructions is always V-experiencer-stimulus, as illustrated in (116). The order in which the arguments of (116) are reversed, i.e. *omasi naßö-u ndrao*, means 'Your companion likes me'. (This is grammatically correct but requires appropriate context to make it pragmatically acceptable.) An example of *ata'u* 'be afraid' is given in (117), in which the experiencer is the first singular pronoun *ndrao* and the stimulus is the mutated NP *nasu* 'dog(s)':

- (117) A-ta'u ndrao nasu.
 asu
 ST-fear 1s.MUT dog:MUT
 I'm afraid of the dog / dogs.

The reverse order of these arguments, i.e. *ata'u nasu ndrao*, means 'The dog is afraid of me'. Examples of other emotion or mental state verbs with two mutated arguments are given in (118)-(124).

- (118) Anigö ndrao ndraugö.
 annoy 1s.MUT 2s.MUT
 You annoy me.

Anigö ndraugö ndrao is grammatical, but not pragmatically sensible without rising intonation and preferably the addition of the question particle *ha* to imply that it is a question, i.e. *ha anigö ndraugö ndrao?* 'Do I annoy you?'

- (119) Ogoro ndrao gamua-ta-nia.
 aN-bua-ta
 disgust 1s.MUT IPF.MUT-do-NR-3s.POSS
 I am disgusted by her behaviour.

The arguments in this sentence cannot be reversed. One is normally disgusted with things not people, and things cannot function as experiencers. A similar reason holds for the non-reversability of arguments in examples (120)- (124) below.

- (120) Arörö ndrao va-manöma'nö-sa.
fa-
ST:distract 2s.MUT [DO-chat-NR].MUT
I got distracted chatting.

- (121) Olifu ndrao dői-nia.
tői
forget 1s.MUT name:MUT-3s.POSS
I forget his name.

In (122), the stimulus is expressed by a headless relative:

- (122) Edöna ira z-a-lögölögö.
s=
prefer 3p.MUT REL.MUT=ST-darkness
They prefer darkness. (H)

In both (123) and (124), the stimulus is expressed by nominalized verbs:

- (123) Aila ndao v-oloi.
f-
ST:ashamed 1s.MUT NR.MUT-run
I'm ashamed of running away.

- (124) Aföli ndao v-a-negunegu ira-ono.
f-aN-tegu
ST:tired 1sgM NR.MUT-IPF--RDP2-talk COLL-child
I'm tired of the kids' bickering.

Since these verbs have two arguments with the same case-marking, the question arises as to the syntactic status of the arguments. It is apparent from evidence which will be presented below that the experiencer is an S argument, although atypical, and the stimulus is syntactically oblique.

The first piece of evidence is that the stimulus may be expressed by a prepositional phrase without any significant difference in meaning. This is illustrated in (125) and (126). In (125), the stimulus is expressed by a dative phrase:

- (125) Omasi ndrao khö naßö-u.
 aßö
 like 1s.MUT DAT friend:MUT
 I like your companion.

In (126), the stimulus is expressed by a locative phrase because it refers to a non-human entity:

- (126) A-ta'u ndrao ba nasu.
 asu
 ST-fear 1s.MUT LOC dog:MUT
 I'm afraid of the dog / dogs.

The exact meaning difference between sentences with two mutated arguments and sentences with prepositional phrases is not clear. As far as I have been able to determine, both case frames for these verbs can be used in any context. However, when the experiencer in these constructions is relativized, prepositional marking of the stimulus occurs. This is illustrated in (127), where the noun *niha* 'person' is relativised, and the stimulus is expressed by the phrase *khö lumölumö-nia* 'his own shadow'¹⁰:

¹⁰ I'm not sure why the preposition *khö* is used here instead of the preposition *ba*. *Khö* is normally only used for humans, however there does seem to be some confusion between the uses of these prepositions in some lexical contexts in which human attributes are involved.

- (127) niha s=a-ta'u khö lumölumö-nia.
lumölumö
person REL=ST-afraid DAT shadow:MUT-3s.POSS

a person afraid of his own shadow. (D) (cf. *ata'u niha lumölumö-nia* 'the man is afraid of his own shadow')

Further evidence of the syntactic obliqueness of the stimulus, and concomitant evidence that the experiencer is an S argument, can be seen in transitivized forms of these verbs. When *omasi* 'like' and *ata'u* 'be afraid' are transitivized with suffixes, the stimulus assumes the role of the P argument, while the experiencer assumes the role of the A. An example of a transitive form of *omasi* 'like' is illustrated in (128), with an imperative form of the transitivized verb. As an imperative utterance, the A argument need not be mentioned, so there is no pronominal prefix on the verb. The P argument is expressed by the mutated NP *naßö-u* 'your neighbour (companion)'

- (128) Omasi-'ö naßö-u si=mane
aßö
[like-TR] friend:MUT-2s.POSS REL=do.like
fa-omasi-u ndaugö.
NR-like-2s.POSS 2s.MUT

Love your neighbour as you would yourself.

Compare the simple intransitive form of this clause given in (129):

- (129) Omasi ndraugö naßö-u?
aßö
like 2s.MUT companion:MUT-2s.POSS

Do you like your neighbour?

The experiencer in (129), *ndraugö* 'you', corresponds to the A argument of (128), and the stimulus, *naßö-u* to the P argument of (128). As discussed in 5.2, the criterial

definition of applicative function for transitive suffixes involves the assumption of the A role of a corresponding transitive verb by S argument of the intransitive verb. Associated with this function is a frequent concomitant use of oblique arguments in P function. These two features characterize the transitivization of *omasi* 'like', providing evidence that the experiencer is treated as an S argument and the stimulus as oblique. Note also that the second singular possessive suffix *-u* on the nominalized form of *omasi* in (128) (i.e. *fa'omasi* 'love') corresponds to the experiencer. Possessive arguments of nominalized verbs can only refer to S or A arguments (see 6.4), providing further evidence of the status of the experiencer argument of *omasi* as an S argument.

The same kind of situation obtains with the transitivization of *ata'u* 'be afraid'. The simple intransitive form of *ata'u* illustrated in (130) below can be compared with its applicativized form in (131):

- (130) *Ata'u* *ya* *nama-nia*.
 ama
 afraid 3s.MUT father:MUT-3s.POSS
 He is scared of his father.

Note that the third singular pronominal experiencer of (130) corresponds to the third singular pronominal prefix expressing the A argument in (131), and the stimulus of (130) is the P argument of (131).

- (131) *I-ata'u-fi* *nama-nia*.
 ama
 3s.RLS-ST-afraid-TR father:MUT-3s.POSS
 He is in awe of his father. / He fears his father.

Evidence that the experiencer is an S argument also comes from the irrealis forms of the verb *omasi* 'like', where the obligatory prefix on the verb refers to the experiencer and not the stimulus. An irrealis form of *omasi* is given in (132):

- (132) Ndra-omasi v-a-maigi ono s=aβena tumbu.
 f-aN-faigi
 3p.IRR-like NR.MUT-IPF-see child REL=just.now born
 They would like to see the new born baby.

Further evidence of the S status of the experiencer can be found in the causative form of the verb *ata'u* 'be afraid', in which the argument in P function expresses the experiencer. An example of the causative form *fe-ta'u* [CAU-afraid] 'frighten' is given in (133):

- (133) Böi fe-ta'u ndra-ono!
 ira-
 don't CAU-afraid COLL.MUT-child
 Don't frighten the children!

Compare the simple irrealis form of this clause: *ata'u ndra-ono ndraugö* 'the children are afraid of you', which shows the experiencer in S function. As stated in 5.1.2.1, a defining criteria for causative formation is that the P argument of the derived verb corresponds to the S argument of the intransitive clause. This supports the claim that the experiencer is an S argument.

However, if the experiencer is an S argument, it is an atypical one with respect to relativization. Typically when an oblique argument of an intransitive clause (such as a locative or possessor) is relativized, the S argument which occurs in the relative clause is unmutated (see 8.4.1). Yet, when stimuli are relativized, the experiencer is unaffected and remains mutated. For example in (134), the stimulus *ö* 'food' has been relativized, but the experiencer which occurs in the relative clause, *ndraga*, is mutated:

(134) La-faso ndraga ve-a ö
 fe-a
 3p.RLS-force 1pe.MUT NR.MUT-eat food
 si=löna omasi ndraga.
 REL=NEG like 1pe.MUT

They forced us to eat food we didn't like. (lit. 'They forced (on) us the eating of food which we didn't like.')

The atypical nature of the experiencer in relative clauses is also illustrated in (135) below. In this example, *andrehe'e* 'that one' refers to the stimulus of the verb *ata'u*:

(135) Andrehe'e z=ata'u ira.
 s=
 that.one REL.MUT=ST-afraid 3p.MUT

That's what they were afraid of.

A simple unrelativized form of (135) is the following: *ata'u ira hö'ö* [afraid 3p.MUT DIST] 'they were afraid of that'. Note that the experiencer, *ira*, is in the same mutated form in this sentence as in (135). The fact that the experiencer occurs as a mutated form in these relative clauses suggests that it is not a typical S argument.

The stimulus of *omas*i may also be expressed by a clause. This is illustrated in (136):

(136) Omasi ndao ö-inu daludalu ha'a.
 daludalu
 want 1s.MUT 2s.RLS-drink medicine:MUT PROX

I want you to drink this medicine.

In constructions in which *omas*i occurs with a clause as stimulus, the meaning usually translates as 'want'. Often, clauses which follow *omas*i 'want' occur in irrealis mode, as

illustrated in (137), in which the A argument of the transitive verb *fakha* 'make', the first singular irrealis prefix *gu-*, is coreferent with the experiencer *ndrao* 'I':

- (137) Omasi ndao gu-vakha mbalale.
 -fakha balale
 want 1s.MUT 1s.IRR-make:IRR basket:MUT
 I want to make a basket.

In (138) the third singular irrealis prefix *ya-* which occurs with the intransitive verb *möi* 'go' is coreferent with the experiencer *ya* 'she':

- (138) Omasi ya ya-möi ba fasa.
 want 3s.MUT 3s.IRR-go:IRR LOC market
 She wants to go to the market.

11.4.2.7 Intransitive verbs with *dödö* 'liver'¹¹ and mutated argument

A small group of intransitive verbs which refer to feelings or states of mind are collocated with the noun *dödö* 'liver', which is assumed to be the locus of mental processes and feelings. *Dödö* 'liver' is suffixed with a pronoun referring to the 'possessor' of *dödö*, or the human who experiences the emotion or mental state. A list of these verbs is given in (139). In many cases the verbs which occur with *dödö* 'liver' do not occur by themselves with any meaning, so glosses cannot be given for these verbs independently of the construction with *dödö*. Those which can be glossed have been.

(139) constructions with *dödö* 'liver'

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| abu <i>dödö-gu</i> | I am sad, anxious, worried |
| ahöli <i>dödö-gu</i> | I am surprised |
| omuso <i>dödö-gu</i> | I am happy |
| akhari <i>dödö-gu</i> | I have strong wish for something to be done |

¹¹ There are two words for 'liver' in Nias Selatan: *tödö* 'liver' (human) and *ate* 'liver' (animal).

asöndru dödö-gu I am touched
 afatö dödö-gu [ST-break liver:MUT-1s.POSS] I am disappointed
 fa-duhu dödö-gu [DO-true liver:MUT-1s.POSS] I believe
 agafökhö dödö-gu [RDPI-ST-illness liver:MUT-1s.POSS] I feel bad¹²

If a stimulus occurs with these emotion and mental state verbs, it is typically expressed by a nominalized verb, a complement or an adverbial clause. Some examples of these verbs are given in (140)-(145) below. In (140) the stimulus is expressed by a nominalized verb in mutated form:

- (140) Abu dödö-nia ve'a-möi ba noβo.
 tödö fe'a- oβo
 sad liver:MUT-3s.POSS NR.MUT-go LOC boat:MUT
- She was worried about going on the boat.

In (141) and (142), the stimulus is expressed by a complement. In (141), the complementizer is optional:

- (141) Ahöli dödö-gu (va) tola fe-sala ya sui.
 tödö
 surprised liver:MUT-1s.POSS (COMP) can DO-error 3s.MUT again
- I'm surprised (that) he could make a mistake again.

With the verb *faduhu dödö-gu* 'I believe', the complementizer is obligatory:

- (142) Fa-duhu dödö-gu va tena s=a-nagö ya.
 tödö s=aN-tagö
 DO-true liver:MUT-1s.POSS COMP NEG(N) REL=IPF-steal 3s.MUT
- I don't believe he's a thief. (lit. I believe that he's not a thief.)

¹² The reduplication in the verb *agafökhö* 'be ill' in (139) is fossilized in Nias Selatan. In Nias Utara 'I feel bad' is expressed by the unreduplicated form *afökhö dödö-gu*.

In (143) and (144), the stimulus is expressed by an adverbial clause:

- (143) Omuso dödö-gu me so ndaugö.
 tödö
 happy liver:MUT-1s.POSS when arrive 2s.MUT
 I was happy that you came.

- (144) A-ga-fökhö dödö-gu na mofanö ndaugö.
 tödö
 ST-RDP1-ill liver:MUT-1s.POSS if leave 2s.MUT
 I'll feel bad if you leave.

In (145) the verb *asöndru dödö-gu* does not really have a stimulus unless it can be thought that the stimulus is expressed by the adverbial clause which occurs as a subordinate clause in the matrix clause:

- (145) Atoru nidanö mata-gu me u-baso zura-u,
 idanö mata sura
 fall water:MUT eye:MUT-1s.POSS when 1s.RLS-read letter:MUT-2s.POSS
 asöndru dödö-gu.
 tödö
 touched liver:MUT-1s.POSS
 Tears fell from my eyes when I read your letter, I was touched (by it).

11.4.2.8 Intransitive verbs with an extra unmutated argument

The verb *göna* 'be struck by' typically occurs with a mutated argument referring to the affected participant and an unmutated argument referring to the thing with which the participant is struck, i.e. the instrument or cause, as exemplified in (146)-(148). Although there would not seem to be a need for strict word order since the arguments are marked differently, no order other than V-Affected-Cause is recorded in my data:

- (146) Ma=göna ya toho.
 PERF=be.struck.by 3s.MUT spear
 He was hit with a spear.
- (147) Göna ya fökhö malaria.
 be.struck.by 3s.MUT illness malaria
 He came down with malaria.
- (148) Göna ndrao teu.
 be.struck.by 1s.MUT rain
 I got caught in the rain.

Because the cause/instrument is unmutated, as are lexical expressions of A arguments with transitive verbs, constructions with *göna* look like transitive clauses: i.e. (148) might be interpreted as 'spear struck him'. However *göna* cannot occur with a pronominal prefix in realis mode. Furthermore, the relative clause construction shows that the mutated argument in these constructions is not a P argument of a transitive verb. If it were, a relative clause in which this argument were relativized would be expected to occur with no relative marker, with the verb marked with *ni-*, and with the A argument expressed as a possessor (see 8.4.3). However, if the argument referring to the affected participant is relativized, what happens is that the relative clause is marked with *si*, the verb remains unchanged, and the cause remains in its unmutated form. This is illustrated in (149), which consists of a nominal clause in which the headless relative, *si=göna famakao* 'the one who is struck by disaster', is the predicate and the third singular pronoun, *ya*, is the argument.

- (149) ... si=göna f-a-m-akao ya.
 f-aN-f-akao 3s.MUT
 ... REL=be.struck.by NR-IPF-CAU-ST:worried
 ... he will be the one struck by disaster. (H)

Note that it is the affected participant of *göna* which is relativized in the headless relative; the cause, *famakao* 'act of causing worry', is unmutated.

Further evidence that the affected participant is an S argument and not a P can be found with irrealis forms of the verb. When *göna* occurs in irrealis mode, the obligatory pronominal prefix denotes the affected participant, as illustrated in (150):

- (150) Na mofanö=e mana gö-göna teu.
if leave=D.PTCL at.this.time 2s.IRR-be.struck.by:IRR rain

If you leave now, you might get caught in the rain. (cf. *göna ndraugö teu* [struck 2s.MUT rain] 'you got caught in the rain')

Since intransitive verbs are obligatorily marked for their S argument in irrealis clauses, this provides evidence that the affected participant is an S argument.¹³

The verb *göna* has an alternative case frame from the case frame described for examples (146)-(148) above. In this alternative frame, the affected participant is expressed by a dative phrase, and the cause by a mutated NP. This is illustrated in (151), in which the affected participant is expressed by the dative phrase *khö-gu*, and the instrument or cause by the mutated argument *mbatu* 'rock':

- (151) Göna khö-gu mbatu.
 be.struck.by DAT-1s.POSS rock:MUT

I was hit with a rock.

Other examples of this construction are given in (152) and (153):

¹³ The syntactic status of the unmutated argument is unclear at this stage. There are no relative clauses in my data in which the cause/ instrument in a clause containing *göna* is relativized.

referring to the target entity ('target') into which the affected participant changes. For example in (155), the mutated nominal *nidanö* 'water' is the theme and the unmutated nominal, *es* 'ice', is the target:

- (155) Tobali nidanö es.
 idanö
 become water:MUT ice
 The water changed into ice.

In (156), the theme is a third singular pronoun *ya* and the target is the nominal *ndraβa* 'Muslim'¹⁶:

- (156) Ma=tobali ya ndraβa.
 PERF=become 3s.MUT foreign.person
 He had become Muslim.

In (157), the theme is *nama-gu* 'my father' and the target is *kafalo mbanua* 'head of the village':

- (157) Tobali nama-gu kafalo mbanua,
 ama banua
 become father:MUT-1s.POSS head village:MUT
 ya'i'a si'ulu.
 3s si'ulu
 My father became the head of the village, that is, a *si'ulu*.

In (158), the theme is *ga'a-gu* 'my older brother' and the target is *guru* 'teacher'. (The word *guru* has the same form in both citation and mutated forms.)

¹⁶ The noun *ndraβa* has the same form in mutated and unmutated contexts. See also footnote 47 in Chapter 4 for discussion of meaning of this term.

- (158) Tobali ga'a-gu guru.
 ka'a
 become older.sibling:MUT-1s.POSS teacher

My older brother became a teacher.

Data from relativization provides evidence that the argument referring to the participant which undergoes change functions as an S argument. For example in (159), the third singular pronoun predicate *ya'ia* refers to the participant who undergoes change. The target argument (*guru agama* 'teacher of religion') occurs in the headless relative that functions as the argument of *ya'ia*:

- (159) Ya'ia zi=tobali guru agama ga ba Lagundri.
 si=
 3s REL.MUT=become teacher religion here LOC Lagundri

He was the one who became a teacher of religion at Lagundri.

Similarly in the nominal clause illustrated in (160), the NP *cacat niha* 'defects of the man' (from Indonesian *cacat* 'disability, defect') is the argument relativized by the clause containing *tobali* 'become'. The argument referring to the target for the change (*tanda* 'sign') occurs in the relative clause in its unmutated form.

- (160) ...[cacat niha] ... si=tobali tanda
 niha
 ...[defect person:MUT] ... REL=become sign
 va löna sökhi ga-mua-ta-nia. ...
 aN-bua-ta
 COMP NEG good [IPF-do-NR].MUT-3s.POSS

...[the defects of the man]...which became a sign that his behaviour was not good...

The verb *möi* 'go' is used idiomatically with the same meaning as *tobali*, i.e. 'become', and with the same case frame. For example in (161) below, which is almost the same sentence as (157) above, the target is referred to by the unmutated noun *kafalo* 'head' and the affected participant is referred to by the third singular mutated pronoun *ya*:

- (161) *Möi ya kafalo mbanua.*
 go 3s.MUT head village:MUT
 banua

He became the head of the village.

Some other examples in which *möi* is used in this function are given in (162) - (165):

- (162) *Möi ya hakim ba Ziboga.*
 go 3s.MUT judge LOC Siboga
 Sibolga:MUT

He became a judge in Sibolga.

- (163) *Ma=möi ya Islam.*
 PERF=go 3s.MUT Islam

He had converted to Islam.

- (164) *Möi ya guru agama.*
 go 3s.MUT teacher religion

He became a teacher of religion

- (165) *Möi ya noninoni ba gödo zaksa.*
 go 3s.MUT clerk LOC office:MUT public.prosecutor:MUT
 ödo

He became a clerk in the public prosecutor's office.

- (168) Mae batu dödö-nia.
 tödö
 resemble stone liver:MUT-3s.POSS

His heart is like a stone. (i.e. He is hard-hearted.)

Other sentences with the same structure are given in (169)-(171):

- (169) Mae sekhula mbatu hö'ö.
 batu
 resemble coconut rock:MUT DIST

That rock (looks) like a coconut.

- (170) Mae baru-gu mbaru-nia.
 baru
 resemble dress -1s.POSS dress:MUT-3s.POSS

Her dress looks like my dress.

- (171) Mae asu ndraugö.
 resemble dog 2s.MUT

You are like a dog.¹⁸

In (172) and (173), the thing compared is fronted for discourse purposes and is therefore unmutated. The standard is also unmutated, as expected.

- (172) Omo-ra mae söröma.
 house-3p.POSS resemble glass

Their houses are like glass. (H)

- (173) Tutura-ra mae bölökha.
 finger-3p.POSS resemble arm

Their fingers are like (as big as) arms. (H)

¹⁸ This is an extremely rude utterance.

- (176) Basö-i gaβu ha'a.
 aβu
 wet-TR sand:MUT PROX
 Wet this sand here.

- (177) Doro khö-gu nukha s=oyo.
 nukha
 carry DAT-1s.POSS cloth:MUT REL=red
 Bring me a red cloth.

- (178) A daludalu.
 daludalu
 eat medicine:MUT
 Take the medicine.

Derived verbs can also be used in imperative form, as illustrated in (179)-(181) in which the verbs are derived with the transitivizer '-ö';

- (179) Oroma-'ö khö-gu lala s=atulö.
 lala
 visible-TR DAT-1s.POSS way:MUT REL=ST:correct
 Show me the right way. (D)

- (180) Base-'ö=wa'e!
 rest-TR=D.PTCL
 Wait (for me)! (for a time, not immediately coming)

- (181) Base-'ö ma'efu!
 rest-TR a.little
 Hang on a minute! (short time, coming immediately)

It is quite common for the second plural realis prefix *mi-* to be added to the imperative form, even when addressing just one person. Usually an imperative with the prefix *mi-* is considered more polite than one without the prefix. Some examples of polite forms of imperatives are illustrated in (182)-(183).

- (182) *Mi-boka-i* *golu.*
 golu
 2p.RLS-open-TR door:MUT
 Please open the door.

- (183) *Mi-ide'ide-'ö* *televisi.*
 television
 2p.RLS-ST:small-TR television
 Please turn the television down.¹⁹

Sometimes a mutated second singular pronoun, *ndraugö*, may also be added for politeness, as illustrated in (184) and (185):

- (184) *Kodala* *ira* *ndraugö?*
 take.picture 3p.MUT 2s.MUT
 Would you take their picture please?²⁰

- (185) *BuBu* *ndraugö* *furi.*
 move.back 2s.MUT behind
 Please move back.

Typically only dynamic intransitive verbs occur in imperative form. In dynamic verbs that begin with *m-*, some imperative forms consist of the verb without the initial *m-*, as illustrated (186)-(187):

¹⁹ The word *televisi* 'television' is a very recent vocabulary item in Nias, and like many borrowed words does not mutate.

²⁰ The word *kodala* 'take a picture' is presumably related to the word Kodak, but if so, I don't know where the *-la* ending comes from.

(186) O-li!

DYN-sound

(come on,) say something! (compare the realis form *m-oli* 'make noise')

(187) Ombanö!

wash.hand

(Go and) wash your hands! (compare the realis form *m-ombanö* 'wash hand(s)')

The verb *möi*, which arguably belongs with this set of dynamic verbs, can mean either 'go' or 'come' depending on the orientation of the speaker to the destination. In imperative form, these two meanings are distinguished. The imperative form *ai* is used to mean 'go (away)' and the imperative form *ae* means 'come (here)'. These uses are illustrated in (188)-(190)

(188) Ai-ne!

go:IMPER-far away

Go away!

(189) Ae ba-omo!

come:IMPER LOC-house

Come in! (you go first)

In (190), there are two imperative forms:

(190) Ai ondri!

go:IMPER bathe

Go take a bath!

The verbs *mörö* 'sleep' and *maoso* 'get up' have imperative forms in which *f-* replaces *m-*, e.g. *förö* 'go to sleep!', *faoso* 'get up!'.²¹

Negative imperative utterances are formed with the preverbal word *böi*, in both transitive and intransitive imperative constructions. An example of a transitive verb in negative imperative form is given in (191). Note that the P argument, the first singular pronoun *ndrao*, is mutated, as it would be in a corresponding affirmative imperative form:

- (191) Böi sumba ndao!
 NEG.IMPER disturb 1s.MUT
 Don't disturb me!

Another example is given in (192), in which the P argument is the third singular mutated pronoun *ya*:

- (192) Böi su-sugi ya na ma=mörö.
 don't RDPI-prod 3s.MUT if PERF=sleep
 Don't wake him if he's gone to sleep.(D)

In (193), the verb *agö* 'stay' is illustrated:

- (193) Böi agö gaö.
 NEG.IMPER stay there
 Don't stay there.

In (194), the P argument of the verb is a headless relative:

²¹ *Förö* is also an intransitive form of the verb meaning 'go to sleep' (as opposed to *mörö* which implies 'be sleeping'). The word *faoso* 'raise' is also the causative form of the verb *maoso* 'get up' (see 5.1.2.1.2).

- (198) Böi mi-bini-'ö dödö-mi.
 tödö
 NEG.IMPER 2p.RLS-hide-TR liver:MUT-2p.POSS
 Don't hide your feelings.

- (199) Böi mi-ata'u.
 NEG.IMPER 2p.RLS-ST-afraid
 Don't be afraid.

The second singular may also be used in negative imperative constructions to express politeness or concern, as illustrated in (200):

- (200) Löna sala-nia. Böi alawölawö ndaugö.
 NEG error-3s.POSS NEG.IMPER ST:embarrassed 2s.MUT
 It's not a problem. Please don't feel embarrassed.

An alternative form of the negative imperative, *böli*, is found as a dialectal variant in more central dialects, as well as in formal contexts. Some examples of *böli* are given in (201) and (202)

- (201) Böli mi-o-'ö ira!
 NEG.IMPER 2p.RLS-follow 3p.MUT
 Do not follow them!

- (202) Böli oturagö khö niha bö'ö!
 niha
 NEG.IMPER tell DAT person:MUT other
 Do not tell anyone else!

11.6 Reference and zero anaphora

In many of the examples in this thesis it has been necessary to comment on the absence of S and P arguments if their referent is inanimate and currently active in the

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