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A Grammar of Tukang Besi



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Conventions

Transcriptions of the *Tukang Besi* sentences will be given in an orthography that is as close to the spoken language as possible; where segments are deleted, they are indicated by appearing in round brackets; the ‘careful speech’ pronunciation of the word or sentence would be expected to include the bracketed sounds. For more information on the orthography employed, see section 2.6

Morpheme boundaries will be indicated by a hyphen (-), for both affixal and clitic junctures, except for the subject focus infix which will be set off from the rest of the morpheme in which it is manifested by angle brackets ([]).

The translations of the example sentences are given in as close to natural English as possible; where necessary a more literal translation is also given in order to make a point more transparent.

Translations of sentences in *Tukang Besi* are indicated as ungrammatical by the use of an asterisk (*) before the sentence; a sentence that is grammatical, but is either contextually inappropriate, or requiring a special context in order to be judged acceptable, are glossed with a cross-hatch (#) before the sentence.

Intonational breaks are indicated by the use of standard punctuation symbols. A non-final break is shown with a comma (,); other intonational endpoints are indicated by devices such as a full stop (.) for an utterance-final break, and a colon (:). See Chapter 2, section 6 for a brief discussion of these symbols.

The following abbreviations are used to gloss morphemes:

1	first person	(portmanteau)
2	second person	(portmanteau)
3	third person	(portmanteau)
ACC.PASS	accidental passive	<i>te-</i>
ALL	allative	<i>kua</i>
ANA	anaphoric reference	<i>ai</i>
ANTICAUS	anticausative	<i>mo-</i>
APPL	general applicative	<i>-ako</i>
BEN	benefactive	<i>ako</i>
BREAK	breaking verbaliser	<i>ban-</i>
CAUS	causative	<i>pa₁-</i>
CASUAL	casual conversation marker	<i>i</i>
CLASS	classifier	(many)
COM	comitative	<i>-ngkene, kene</i>
COMP	complementiser	<i>ako</i>
CORE	non-nominative core article	<i>te</i>
DAT.OBJ	dative object	(portmanteau)
DIR	locative applicative	<i>-(VC)i</i>

DO	verbalising prefix	<i>he-</i>
DUR	durative	<i>heme-</i>
EMPH	emphatic, current	<i>-do</i>
ENDPOINT	final destination preposition	<i>apa</i>
FACT	factitive	<i>hoko-</i>
FREQ	frequentive	<i>me-</i>
from	ablative, 'ever'	<i>mina</i>
GEN	genitive particle	<i>nu, u, no</i>
have	possessing	<i>hoto-</i>
I	irrealis	(portmanteau)
ILL.FORCE	illocutionary force marker	<i>la, wa, ka, da,</i> <i>ga</i>
INAL	inalienable / plural marker	<i>mai, meai</i>
INFEST	infestation, adverse abundance	<i>-'o, -ko</i>
INSTR	instrumental	<i>ako</i>
INTENS	intensifier	<i>heka-</i>
ITER	iterative prefix	<i>para-</i>
MULT	multiple subject	<i>pada-</i>
NL	nominaliser	<i>-'a</i>
NOM	nominative core article	<i>na</i>
OBJ	object	(portmanteau)
OBL	general oblique article	<i>i, di</i>
OCC	occupational	<i>pa₂-</i>
OP	object prefix	<i>i-, di-, ni-</i>
PA	paucal	(portmanteau)
PASS	general passive	<i>to-</i>
PF	perfective marker	<i>-mo</i>
PL	plural	(portmanteau)
POSS	possesive	(portmanteau)
PRES	presentative	<i>ka- -'e</i>
PREV	previous reference marker	<i>ba'i</i>
PURP	purposive	<i>-ako</i>
R	realis	(portmanteau)
REC	reciprocal	<i>po-</i>
RED	reduplication	(various)
REF	referential demonstrative	<i>me- -'e</i>
REQ	requestive; indirect causative	<i>hepe-</i>
SF	subject focus	<i>-[um]-</i>
SG	singular	(portmanteau)
SOC	social activity prefix	<i>hopo-</i>
SW:COMP	switch complementiser	<i>kua</i>
VOC	vocative suffix	<i>-o</i>
VRB	purposeful verbaliser	<i>hoN-</i>
VRB/NOM	verbaliser/nominaliser	<i>wo-</i>
yet	(not) yet, still	<i>-ho</i>

In the explication of grammatical functions-changing processes, abbreviations are made

using argument structures. These can be taken to be space-saving equivalents of functional structures representing the same process. Thus, for instance, in chapter 9 the notation

$$'pa- \langle [], [Pt] \text{ PRED } \langle [Ag], [] \rangle \rangle'$$

is used; this can be taken as shorthand for the following f-structure representation (after Andrews 1996):

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{LCS} \quad \text{CAUS} \langle [], [], \text{ARG} \rangle \\ \text{TERMS} \quad \langle [], [], [] \rangle \\ \text{ARG} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{LCS} \quad \text{'verb'} \langle [], [] \rangle \\ \text{TERMS} \langle [], [] \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

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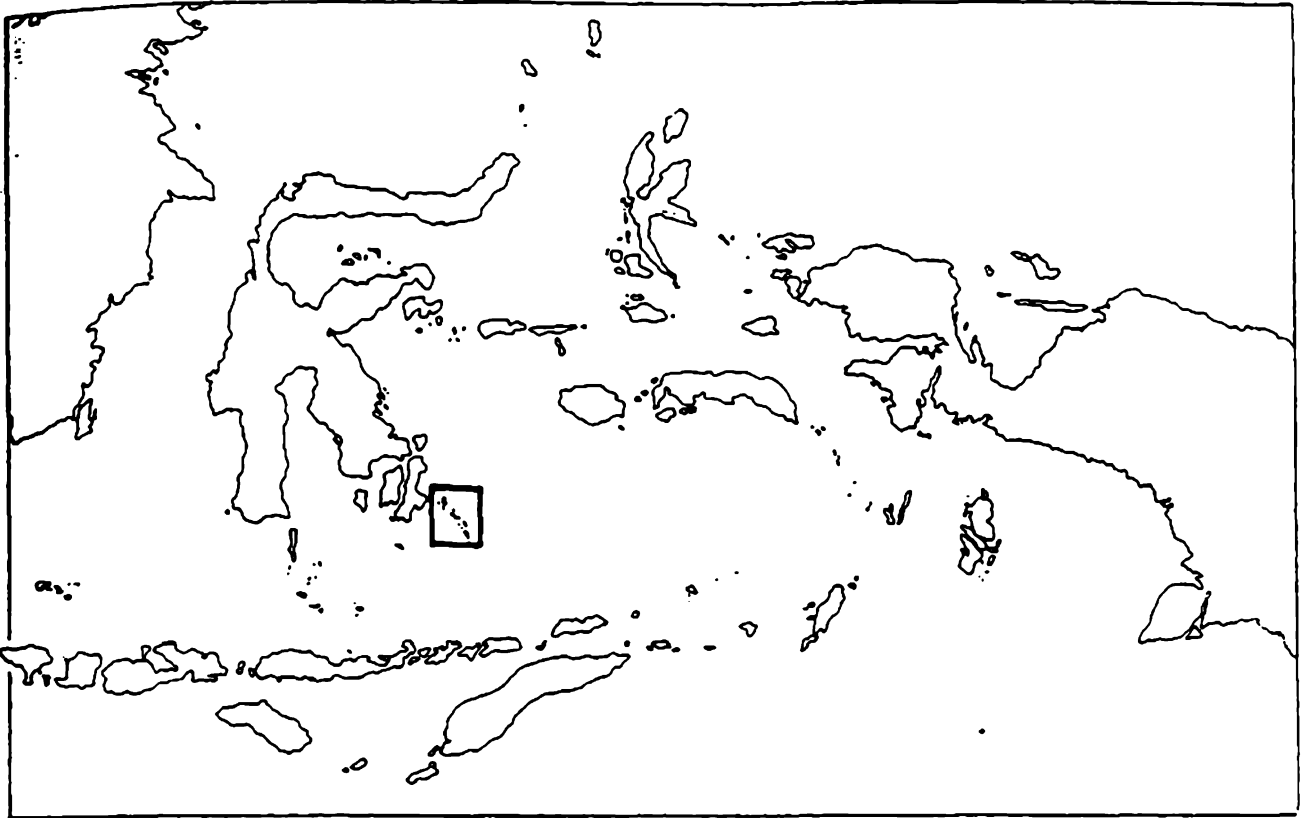
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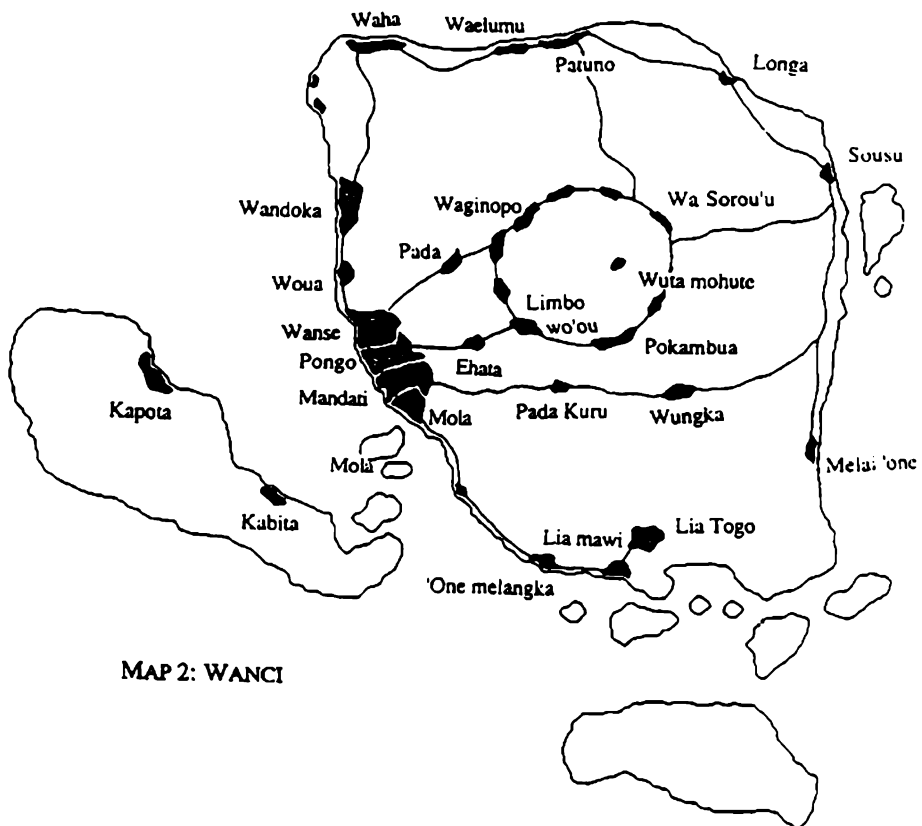
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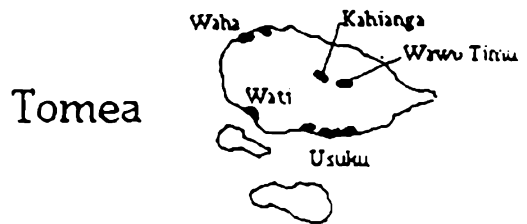
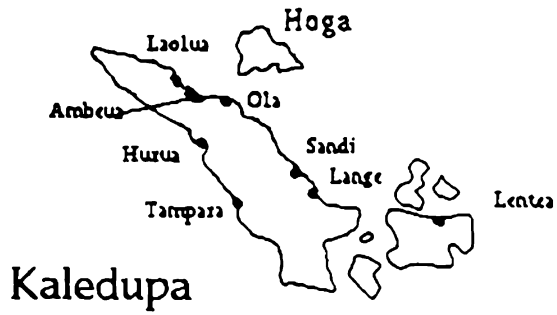
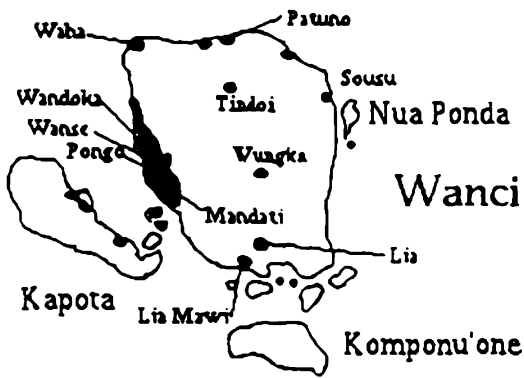
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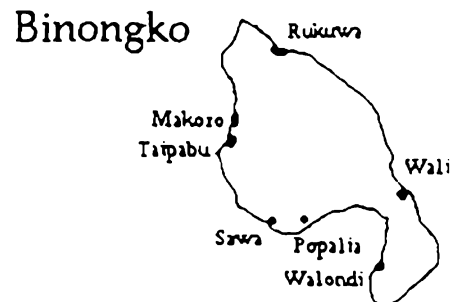
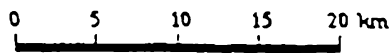
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(see map 3 for details of the islands)



MAP 2: WANCI



MAP 3: THE TUKANG BESI ISLANDS



Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Setting

The *Tukang Besi* language is spoken in the archipelago that bears the same name, the *Kepulauan Tukang Besi*, east of the island of Buton in the province of Southeast Sulawesi. In this area it is the main (and almost sole) language of everyday communication. Administratively the archipelago is made up of four *kecamatan* (sub-districts), Wanci, Kaledupa, Tomea and Binongko, each consisting of one main island, and each except Binongko having a cluster of smaller islands, some inhabited, in addition to the main island. These four *kecamatan* (sub-districts) are all located in the *Kabupaten* (district) of Buton.

In addition to these primary islands where the language is unchallenged there are many monolingual and bilingual settlements of *Tukang Besi* speakers on other islands in Sulawesi, Maluku, Nusa Tenggara and Irian Jaya, and large populations of speakers in trading centres such as Baubau, Ujung Pandang, Surabaya, Jakarta, Banjarmasin, Singapore, Ambon, Taliabu, Obi, Fakfak, Manokwari and Darwin. As well as the members of the communities who are actively involved in trading many *Tukang Besi* have become market gardeners (especially in the east), or construction workers (more in the west), and producers of raw goods for their trading cousins. An account of a typical one of these communities comes from Anceaux (1958: 112), writing about the linguistic situation in the city of Fakfak on the Bomberai peninsula of Irian Jaya:

Fakfak, the principal town of the whole peninsula and its direct environs are inhabited by people from the adjacent language-areas but also by an important number of original Indonesians, mainly from the Moluccas (Ambonese, Ceramese, Keiese and a great number of Butonese), who for the greater part have given up the use of their original language and taken up Malay. Only amongst the Butonese groups one can still hear the original languages regularly used,...

The extent and numbers of speakers in these settlements and cities is rich ground for further sociolinguistic investigation. The *Tukang Besi* traders that I have visited have all been very active in their use of the language, but there is evidence that the youngest generation is losing its active command of the language when raised in a multilingual environment. This is probably due to the demise of the previously wide-spread pidgin varieties of *Tukang Besi*, as a result of the spread of local Malay dialects, and so the narrowing social environment in which *Tukang Besi* functions in these far-flung trading posts. In the home archipelago itself *Tukang Besi* is the main language spoken by all people, of all ages and occupations. In the coastal areas near to government centres most people can understand Malay or Indonesian, but do not use it, even when speaking to outsiders, who are expected to learn the local language.

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There are only two significant groups of non-Tukang Besi peoples in the area. The first of these is a widely scattered group of Bajau villages, on Kaledupa (Mantigola, Sepela and LaHoa), Tomea (LaManggau) and Wanci (Mola, founded in the main in 1957 by refugees from Mantigola, though there was a small settlement in Mola Utara before 1957), where Bajau is the first language of all, but most of whom can also speak *Tukang Besi* bilingually. The only other significant presence of non-Tukang Besi peoples is in the southern part of Binongko, which is home to about 3,000 Cia-Cia speakers, descendants of soldiers sent there in the 1700s by the sultan of Wolio to quell an uprising on the island. Apart from these areas, there are various government officials in the *kecamatan* capitals who come from other islands, many from Baubau or other places in Sulawesi, typically Bugis or Toraja people, but with some Javanese as well. These people are usually forced by circumstance to learn enough *Tukang Besi* to communicate in the market. In many coastal villages there are people from other language areas who have married *Tukang Besi* women, and have moved to the islands; these people too become *Tukang Besi* speakers, as their numbers are not great enough to form a significant community.

1.1.1 Geography

The islands that are the homeland to the *Tukang Besi* people are all coral islands, with no hills higher than 300m, and no permanent water except in sinkholes and caves, which abound in the karst environment created by the coral. The staple food crops are cassava and corn, with sweet potatoes occasionally consumed. Additionally, kangkung, young bamboo shoots, beans, tomatoes, eggplant and jackfruit are occasionally grown as vegetables, and the islands produce bananas, custard apples, pineapples, watermelons, and a glut of mangoes at the end of the rainy season. Fishing forms an important part of the diet, and on Wanci the fish are also farmed in or pens by the shore, thus providing a regular food supply. There is little animal husbandry, restricted to some sporadic keeping of buffaloes, goats, chickens, and very many ducks. Wildlife is in the main scarce on the islands due to overpopulation by humans, the only wild land animals being lizards, rats and mice. In the sword grass flats of the east and south west there are in addition to these also countless insects (spiders, centipedes, grasshoppers, beetles, etc.). In the more extensive forested areas of the north-west and the south-east there are still cuscus to be found in the trees, but they are scarce these days, and nowhere near as abundant as they are in, for example, the heavily forested vicinity of Lasalimu on the Butonese mainland.

1.1.2 Demography and population

A count of the total population of *Tukang Besi* speakers will probably never be made accurately, with many communities in eastern Indonesia being listed in local censuses as Bajau or Bugis communities. When asked about their ethnic origins, most of those people will say that they are from Sulawesi, and if pressed specify Buton. An outright admission of coming from the *Tukang Besi* islands is not easy to extract, this location being thought to be too insignificant to merit any mention. Approximate figures for the number of people on the four islands in Southeast Sulawesi are:

Wanci:	± 35,000
Kaledupa:	± 20,000
Tomea:	± 15,000
Binongko:	± 20,000

These figures reflect almost exclusively native speakers of *Tukang Besi*, since there are no other ethnic groups in this island chain apart from the Bajau, who number about 4,000 in the Wanci subdistrict, and 1,500 in the Kaledupa subdistrict, and the Cia-Cia speakers on Binongko, about 3,000. This leaves a total of approximately 80,000 people. The addition of the communities that are scattered throughout Indonesia is likely to double this total (in Fakfak alone there are approximately 10,000 speakers, for instance).

The original *Tukang Besi* culture of the islands is a matrilineal one, with husbands usually moving to their bride's village area, but without becoming part of that family. Marriage is described as being an alliance of families, rather than the husband entering the bride's family, or vice versa, and the bridewealth payments are correspondingly low (when compared to, for instance, patrilineal areas in eastern Indonesia), a marriage costing about Rp 2,000,000. Despite this matrilineal residence pattern, there is a system of patrilineal inheritance; this leads to men working in separate garden locations scattered about the island, in some instances extending to cover more than one island. Most of the gardening work on Wanci is done by men, all except the final harvesting and transportation home of the cassava that is ready for eating, which is carried out by women with a male guard. Some inland gardens, far from other villages in the north and north-east, are also the domain of women, but this is considered exceptional by most Wanci people. Women are also responsible for harvesting the tidal flats, searching in the shallow water, or more commonly on the flats when the tide has receded (which can create an area up to a kilometre wide along some parts of the coast), digging up crabs, molluscs and starfish, which are eaten. Men conduct the fishing and trading that involves traversing the deep water beyond the coral drop-off that mars the end of the shallows, but do not engage in any productive work in the tidal flats. This movement of people to different areas on a regular basis adds to the cohesion that the whole society has, with constant interaction for most villages. The only exceptions to this overall cohesion are the more secluded areas of Wungka, occupying the central-southern jungle area, and Melai 'one on the south-east coast.

The people of these islands cannot be characterised in simple socio-economic or ethnic terms, as there is a large degree of variation from island to island, in terms of both socio-economic habits and ethnic composition. Trading communities away from the main islands intermarry with local people whilst preserving a strong sense of a *Tukang Besi* identity, making the ethnic composition of a *Tukang Besi* community independent from its linguistic status. Culturally, it can be said that the *Tukang Besi* people fall within the cultural dominion of Baubau and the Sultanate of Wolio, having had their local ruler (the *Meantu'u* of Lia, on Wanci) appointed by a Sultan 400 years ago, and generally giving obedience to and having pride in the sultan, though noticeably less so than the mainland peoples on Buton. Many of the traditional stories are identical to those told by Wolio speakers, and indeed those in other areas further west in the Wolio cultural area, such as on the island of Muna (René van den Berg, personal communication), or indeed even north in the Philippines (Walrod 1979 presents a tale of a monkey and a tortoise in Ga'dang (Philippines) which is almost identical to the sixth text presented in the appendices to this

volume). Island by island, the following stereotypes emerge:

The Wanci islanders are the most oriented towards trade, with fleets of up to 40 vessels regularly smuggling second hand clothes and karaoke stereos from Singapore to most of Indonesia, as well as more mundane trade in plastics and agricultural tools. They have the greatest number of people living in cities elsewhere, typically staying for up to a year away from the islands, working in odd jobs and helping family in business ventures, before returning to their villages for half a year to help with harvesting and ceremonies. Trading voyages conducted by Wanci people tend to be along fixed trade routes, with representatives waiting in the overseas ports to organise a cargo to be ready when the ships arrive, so there is a roughly set route and schedule to the trade.

On Kaledupa, the emphasis is on education, as the island has a tradition, since its conquest by Tidore in the 1600s, of sending sons to centres of learning, and even more important there is a tradition of well-educated teachers returning to Kaledupa. The Kaledupa people are not particularly known for their seafaring abilities, riding when necessary with cousins from Wanci or on motor-powered vessels, and are well known for their lack of business acumen. Kaledupa is the one island in the group without shops, and only in 1991 was a market area built by the government to promote commerce on the island.

Tomea is regarded as the most culturally intact of the islands, with the least impact from other cultures and regions. Tomea speech is thought of as being the most refined of the dialects, and Tomea considered to have the finest dancers and musicians. Tomea has the lowest population, due to a very low number of expatriates and poor conditions on the island itself. Not known for their trade, there are but a few natives of Tomea in the Maluku region, scattered around Ambon, Banda and a few other islands.

Binongko has a smaller population than Tomea, but has probably the highest number of emigrants to other regions of any of the islands. The *Tukang Besi* communities with permanent residents on islands in eastern Indonesia tend to be descended from Binongko traders, and the island of Kapota west of Wanci is largely populated by Binongko people. The island of Binongko is very poor, with little fresh water, and none close to the villages, which are all located on the coast, so agriculture is less effective on this island than elsewhere. Binongko is also situated in an area poor for fish (the best area being just east of Kaledupa), so many of the people of Binongko have taken to craft to earn their livings: the name of the island chain, *Tukang Besi* ('blacksmith' in Malay), comes from the Binongko blacksmiths whose wares predominate as far afield as Ujung Pandang in South Sulawesi. The blacksmiths of Binongko are largely credited with secret powers (*ilmu gaib*) that enables them to pull glowing iron from the hearth without tongs, and to beat metal into machetes with their hands if necessary. Trade conducted by the Binongko people tends to be less organised than that carried out by the Wanci traders, and is more of an individual family affair, with whole family units taking to the boat for up to ten months at a time, sailing to gardens and potential trade opportunities in

other islands.

The *Tukang Besi* people are nearly 100% Muslim (as is most of the *Butonese* population; I have met exactly one non-Muslim *Tukang Besi* person, Roy from Laha on *Ambon* island, who is a recent convert to Christianity), and practice their faith fervently, whilst incorporating many elements of the pre-Islamic beliefs that are common in the area. These animistic beliefs take the form of offerings to male and female spirit shrines in certain locations, and the widespread use of shamanism to guarantee success in agriculture or fishing. A detailed spirit world is accepted as existing in the same space as the normally accessible world, but is invisible and immaterial to most people; only those with the rare ability to see the other world are capable of manipulating it and its denizens, which include many varieties of spirit and demon beings, both sentient and non-sentient, benign and malevolent. Many unusual landscape features, such as protruding rocks or unusual trees are thought to be inhabited by spirits that dwell there either voluntarily or through having been bound there against their will by another spirit or person. In the event of a storm in which such a tree collapses, the spirit is released, and can pose quite a problem to a nearby settlement or garden. Skilled shamans (*mia pande*, 'clever person' in *Tukang Besi*) can interact with this world to combat the effects of the spirits, and some become entwined with the beings of that world to the extent of marrying a spirit there, or retrieving weapons and wealth from some of the other world's cities. A full treatment of these aspects of the *Tukang Besi* world view is beyond the scope of this short introduction, but it is hoped that it can be expanded on in the future.

1.1.3 History

The *Tukang Besi* people do not claim to be native to their area. The origin myths from *Wanci* relate that the ancestors of the modern *Tukang Besi* population arrived from across the ocean from the area of *Palakarang* to the south-west coast of *Wanci*. On arrival they found the island to be already inhabited by the people who built the stoneworks that can still be seen on the summit of *Tindoi*. The stories tell that there was originally a village of these pre-*Tukang Besi* people on the top of *Tindoi*, but all that remains of this now are the ruins of stone walls; the area is now the site of a primary rainforest (the only one still on the island).

After the arrival of the *Tukang Besi* peoples on *Wanci* there followed a period of fighting which saw *Lia* and *Mandati* emerge as rival powers in the region. Refugees fleeing from this fighting colonised the north coast, via *Tindoi* (the people known nowadays as *Rupu*), and up the west coast to *Wanse*. These divisions are preserved today in the different dialect areas, and the different occupations that people from different areas tend to carry out, with (for instance) persons from the west coast more likely to be involved in trading syndicates conducting business with ports to the west, those on the north coast more likely to be individual traders with a route stretching east to *Irian Jaya*, and people from the south east of the island simple farmers. Certain villages have a strong reputation for criminal activities, and other areas are more renowned for their shamans.

1.2 The region

1.2.1 Surrounding languages

The immediate area about the Tukang Besi islands in Southeast Sulawesi is the waters of the Banda Sea and the Flores Sea. The islands form an extension of insular Southeast Sulawesi into the Banda sea, so there are no immediate neighbours of any size. The closest other languages of contact are Bajau, spoken in two communities in the archipelago itself and in numerous small communities along the east Buton coast, the Desa Wali dialect of Cia-Cia on Binongko, and Lasalimu, spoken in the village of the same name on the coast of east Buton, a village into which many Tukang Besi people have married, and now comprise about 25% of the total population of 2,000 in the village. The Lasalimu language is only spoken in Lasalimu and the *kampung* of Malaoge, about 4km away from Lasalimu proper. Other languages of East Buton include (from north to south) Kulisusu, Pancana (east), Kamaru, Cia-Cia (main), Cia-Cia (Pasarwajo), and Cia-Cia (Wabula). Other languages in the rest of Buton include Cia-Cia (Sampolawa), Kaimbulawa, Busoa, Muna and Wolio. Further details can be found in Donohue and van den Berg (forthcoming).

1.2.2 Previous studies in the region

The Muna-Buton region is still virtually unknown, linguistically. The Dutch government linguist E. J. van den Berg did deep studies on Wolio, the sultanate language and first language of most of the inhabitants of Baubau, but he was killed and all his notes lost during the Japanese occupation in World War II before much of this work was published. J. C. Anceaux conducted research in Wolio, culminating in his description of Wolio (1952) and dictionary (1987). René van den Berg is conducting ongoing research into Muna, spoken all over the large island of the same name, which has resulted in a grammar of the language, a dictionary, and several other publications on historical and syntactic issues (see bibliography). Apart from these works, however, the approximately 15 languages of insular Southeast Sulawesi remain unknown and undocumented (though extensive work has been carried out by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics on the Moronene and Tolaki languages of the Southeast Sulawesi mainland). Survey work has been conducted by this author in conjunction with René van den Berg, but is yet to be published.

1.3 The language

1.3.1 Previous (and other) work on the language

There have been very few references to the Tukang Besi language in print. The language appears on language maps, such as Esser (1938), Salzner (1960), without any substantive work having been done on the language. Anceaux (1978) is the first treatment of the language situation on the islands off mainland Southeast Sulawesi, with the publication of a list of about 30 words from the language and a tentative (but largely accurate) subgrouping hypothesis. This study represents the first time that any language data had appeared in print. This improvement of the detail on the language was repeated in Sneddon (1987). Two other linguistic surveys of the area, Bhurhanuddin (1979) and Kaseng

(1987), also include mention of *Tukang Besi*, as well as wordlists based on the Swadesh 200-item wordlist, but fail to consistently note vowel length, and do not record glottal stops or implosion at all.

Information about the structure of language did not appear until Collins (1983b: 32-33, and endnote 35, p. 139) who, with accurate data, speculated on the possible connection of the article *te* (described by Collins as a prefix) to a Central Maluku suffix * -tə. In Blust (1993: 251), brief reference is made to *Tukang Besi*, where *kaʔola* ‘chicken’, from Popalia (a large village on Binongko) is listed (incorrectly) as a possible cognate with the putative proto Central Malayo-Polynesian *kandoRa ‘rat’ (proto Austronesian *R becomes Ø (adjacent to /u/ and sometimes /i/) or /h/ (elsewhere) in *Tukang Besi*, but never /l/). Pawley and Pawley (1994: 358) correctly list *henaʔu* as a *Tukang Besi* word meaning ‘descend, go seawards, go west’ in a discussion of Austronesian canoe and seafaring terminology. The Pusat Bahasa in Jakarta has produced *Morfologi dan sintaksis Bahasa Binongko* (published in a less complete form as Manyambeang et al 1985), a monograph purporting to describe morphological and syntactic processes in the language (as represented by the southern dialect spoken in Binongko), but misses many crucial points, such as word breaks, morphological divisions and phonemic principles. Since then various studies on some aspect of the language (phonetic, morphological, syntactic, dialectal) have appeared by the present author (see bibliography for a full listing), and Klamer (1997) has presented an insightful study on certain complementation types.

1.3.2 Alternative names

The name *Tukang Besi* is an exonym, from Malay *tukang besi* ‘blacksmith’. The local word for a blacksmith is *Pande tutu* or *Tuka kabali*, but these terms are never used as a means of reference for the island chain or its language. The closest the *Tukang Besi* come to an endonym is to change the pronunciation to fit their phonological system, making it [tuka^mbesi]. Note that this is distinct from the loan form of the word ‘tukang besi’, meaning blacksmith, which has been borrowed into the language (alongside *Pande tutu* and *Tuka kabali*) as [tuka^mbasi]. Other names used by the people to refer to themselves and their language varieties include:

Wakatobi	(Wanci, Kaledupa, Tomea, Binongko)
Bahasa Pulo	(island language)
Pogau Ka'umbeda	(from the folk etymology of the proto-word for ‘fact’)
Pogau Wanse	(for Wanci)
Pogau Kahedupa	(for Kaledupa)
Pogau Tomia	(for Tomea)
Pogau Binongko	(for Binongko)
Pogau Daoa	(trade language used in the market between people from different dialect groups)

The word for ‘speech, language’, *pogau*, has the additional connotation that is not official, proper, or refined (*halus* in Malay), while the loanword *bahasa* has no such connotations. The two terms are interchangeable in the speech of most speakers, even those with no knowledge of Malay, but the difference becomes apparent with the following example:

Bahasa Malau	'the language of Malaysia and east Sumatera' 'the national language of Indonesia' (though 'Bahasa Indonesia' is preferred for this latter)
Pogau Malau	'the language of, for example, Ambon, Bacan, and the trade language of Irian Jaya and Kupang' 'the national language, if referring to the Dutch or Sultanate times'

The term Wakatobi has been avoided here since, although it neatly includes all the speech varieties in the home island area, it excludes the language as spoken by the inhabitants of areas such as Bonerate in South Sulawesi, where *Tukang Besi* is spoken to the exclusion of any other languages. I have chosen to continue to refer to the language and ethnic group with the label '*Tukang Besi*' since it is neither offensive nor unknown to the people themselves, and because it is already and unambiguously established in the literature.

1.3.3 Attitudes to their language

Despite the fact that *Tukang Besi* is a language that is only rarely written there are strong feelings about what is 'correct' use of the language, many of which are at strong variance with what the speakers themselves use. Principal amongst these, for the purposes of this description, include the following:

- Genitive marking on stative verbs: speakers seem universal in their non-acceptance of this, yet nearly everyone employs it (chapter 7).
- Co-occurrence of *-[um]-* and object suffixes. In elicited sentences speakers are reluctant to accept verb forms that display both the *-[um]-* infix and an object suffix, yet in real (unguarded) speech this is common (chapter 7).
- Derivation of verbs without the verbalising prefix *he-*. Whilst many cases of verbs derived from an associated noun through prefixing with *he-* are common, there are many cases in normal speech of 'nouns' being used as verbs simply by the addition of subject prefixes (chapters 4 and 11).

As this grammar is descriptive, rather than prescriptive, the forms treated here represent what was actually heard. Native speaker intuitions have been followed and consulted as much as possible, but not to the extent of denying data.

The language is spoken by all age groups in almost all settlements visited, even those communities away from the main islands in which there was a mix of different languages, of which *Tukang Besi* was not the main language. Such settlements include Laha on Ambon island, where Ambonese Malay is the dominant language of communication between groups, or many small settlements in eastern Nusa Tenggara, where Lamaholot and Malay compete as trade languages, and even further east in Irian Jaya, where local Malay and in some cases New Guinea languages (such as Onin and Iha in the vicinity of Fakfak) are used between members of different linguistic communities. In such

communities even the younger speakers spoke *Tukang Besi*, though often without the understanding of the different dialectal words that a child growing up in a purer *Tukang Besi* environment would have learned, and with lexical reduction. For instance, children on *Pantar* were observed to use *kaluku* 'old coconut' to refer to all stages of coconuts, including drinking coconuts, for which the lexeme *osimpu* 'young coconut' exists. Adults in the same community (originally settled from *Binongko* possessed a full command of their language, but were unable to recognise many of the northern *Tukang Besi* words that I used. These words posed no problems to the elders of the same community, people who had grown up on the *Tukang Besi* islands, and so learned many northern dialect words along with their own dialect words when still children.

1.3.4 Dialects

There are many dialect differences in the *Tukang Besi* language, probably enough to warrant separating the speech of *Wanci* and *Kaledupa* from that of *Tomea* and *Binongko*, and establishing a northern *Tukang Besi* and southern *Tukang Besi* as separate, though very closely related languages (a conclusion also reached by E. J. van den Berg - see Cense 1954). The differences appear to be mainly in the area of the lexicon and allophonic variation (see Donohue forthcoming a); grammatical differences are minimal. The lexical differences are small (typically no more than 20% of a 200-item list being different), but this is enough to make intelligibility very difficult, unless both parties are already experienced in dealing with speakers of the other speech variety. This is because the divergent vocabulary is all very common lexical items, such as (contrasting *Wanci* and *Binongko* dialects) *ika / kenta* 'fish', *poda / soka* 'knife', *moro'u / motindo'u* 'drink', *'oloo / moina* 'day', *morondo / uutu* 'night', *mo'aro / mo'omuru* 'hungry', etc. See Donohue (forthcoming a) for further details.

Within these two broad divisions each island has its own distinct speech, again distinguished lexically and allophonically. Each island has in addition to this several sub-dialects – on *Wanci*, where my personal experience is greatest, there are at least five broad linguistic areas with distinctive speech. These areas are:

Rupu	used in the coastal areas north from <i>Wandoka</i> around the island to <i>Longa</i> , and the hill areas of <i>Tindoi</i> ;
Wanse	Spoken on the west coast from <i>Pongo</i> to <i>Woua</i> , and inland as far as 'Ehata;
Kapota	spoken on the island of the same name, a mixture of <i>Binongko</i> and <i>Wanci</i> ;
Mandati	The west coast of the island south from <i>Pongo</i> and <i>Mandati</i> to include <i>Mola</i> and the neighbouring hamlets down almost to <i>Lia</i> , and inland across the island through <i>Pada Kuru</i> and <i>Wungka</i> to <i>Melai</i> 'one and north to <i>Sousu</i> ;
Lia	Very similar to <i>Mandati</i> , centred around the old palace in <i>Lia</i> , including the coastal villages of 'One <i>melangka</i> and <i>Lia Mawi</i> . It is characterised by the high frequency of borrowings from <i>Wolio</i> , the language of government in the Sultanate days.

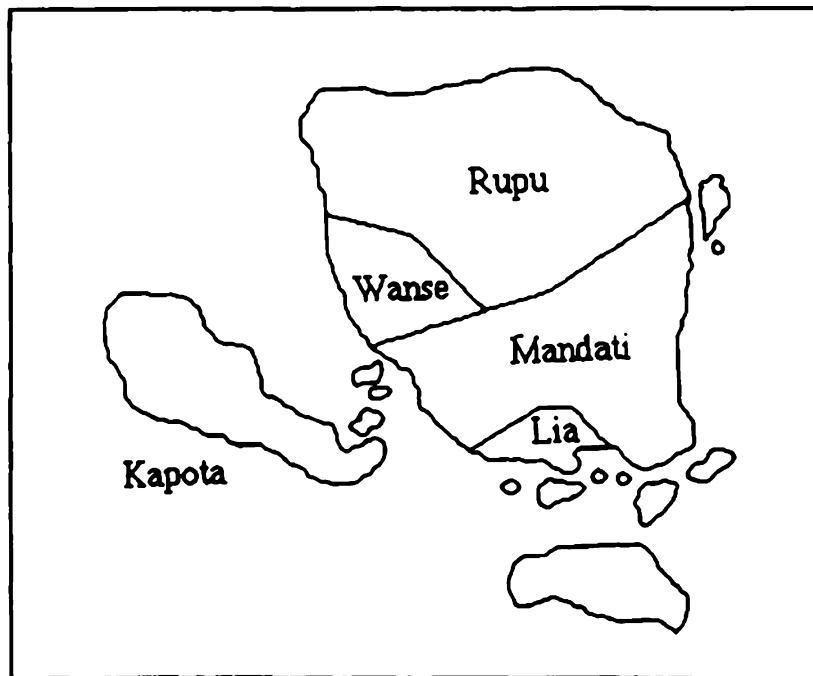
The greatest difference lies between the *Lia-Mandati* complex and the rest. Several lexical

items, and the [d] allophone for /dʒ/ (pronounced [dʒ] in the other sub-dialects, and sometimes [z] on the north coast) set the Lia-Mandati dialects apart from the rest. The differences between Rupu and Wanse speech are minimal, being restricted mainly to vocabulary items, and there are few difficulties in comprehension between the two. Some diagnostic lexical items for the different areas are given below (Kaledupa is included for comparison as an example of the next large dialect area):

	Rupu	Wanse	Kapota	Mandati	Lia	Kaledupa
banana	<i>loka</i>	<i>loka</i>	<i>loka</i>	<i>pida</i>	<i>pida</i>	<i>pida</i>
bucket	<i>timba</i>	<i>timba</i>	<i>gue</i>	<i>timba</i>	<i>timba</i>	<i>timba</i>
chicken	<i>kadola</i>	<i>kadola</i>	<i>manu</i>	<i>manu</i>	<i>manu</i>	<i>manu</i>
corn	<i>kaitela</i>	<i>kaitela</i>	<i>gandu</i>	<i>gandu</i>	<i>gandu</i>	<i>gandu</i>
crowbar	<i>kali</i>	<i>kali</i>	<i>'ua</i>	<i>'ua</i>	<i>'ua</i>	<i>'ua</i>
descend	<i>tuhu</i>	<i>tuhu</i>	<i>tuhu</i>	<i>tuhu</i>	<i>tuhu</i>	<i>sabu</i>
fish	<i>ika</i>	<i>ika</i>	<i>kenta</i>	<i>ika</i>	<i>ika</i>	<i>kenta</i>
go	<i>wila</i>	<i>wila</i>	<i>'inte</i>	<i>wila</i>	<i>'inte</i>	<i>'inte</i>
knife	<i>poda</i>	<i>poda</i>	<i>soka/pod</i>	<i>poda</i>	<i>poda</i>	<i>soka</i>
			<i>a</i>			
night	<i>morondo</i>	<i>morondo</i>	<i>uutu</i>	<i>morondo</i>	<i>morondo</i>	<i>uutu</i>
rain	<i>wande</i>	<i>wande</i>	<i>wande</i>	<i>wande</i>	<i>wande</i>	<i>monda</i>
return	<i>waliako</i>	<i>waliako</i>	<i>mbule</i>	<i>mbule</i>	<i>mbule</i>	<i>mbule</i>
sarong	<i>worai</i>	<i>wurai</i>	<i>wurai</i>	<i>gendi</i>	<i>gendi</i>	<i>wurai</i>
shelter	<i>walewale</i>	<i>walewale</i>	<i>laiga</i>	<i>laiga</i>	<i>laiga</i>	<i>laiga</i>
sit	<i>kede</i>	<i>kede</i>	<i>mpunda</i>	<i>kede</i>	<i>kede</i>	<i>kede</i>
sit place	<i>godegode</i>	<i>gelagelamp</i>	<i>godegode</i>	<i>godegode</i>	<i>godegode</i>	<i>godegode</i>
		<i>a</i>				
spouse	<i>bela</i>	<i>bela</i>	<i>umangge</i>	<i>bela</i>	<i>bela</i>	<i>bela</i>
tie string	<i>bongko</i>	<i>bongko</i>	<i>bongko</i>	<i>bongko</i>	<i>bongko</i>	<i>boke</i>
wind	<i>iri</i>	<i>iri</i>	<i>kawea</i>	<i>kawea</i>	<i>kawea</i>	<i>wande</i>

A fuller treatment of the dialect situation is given in Donohue (forthcoming a), which includes detailed comparative vocabularies from all four main islands in the Tukang Besi archipelago, and a list from Bonerate in South Sulawesi as well.

The locations of the Wanci subdialects are shown in map 4. The division between Kapota and the rest is clear, having a sea channel separating the main island and Kapota. The division between the Rupu dialect area and the rest roughly follows the line that marks the Tindoi hill area off from the rest of the lowlands to the west and south. The extension of the Rupu dialect to the north, around Patuno and Waha, is the result of a population expansion in the last 80 years; previously the north coast was too dangerous for permanent settlement, due to the threat of piracy. The Lia-Mandati dialects are set in the area of (supposed) original settlement on the island, and the Wanse dialect is a northwards extension of that settlement, mixed with movement to the coast by people from the Rupu area since the establishment of the sub-district capital at Kota Wanci in the last 30 years.



Map 4. Sub-dialect areas on Wanci

One important and consistent difference between the Wanse-Mandati-Lia dialects and Rupu dialect lies in the treatment of certain high back vowels, which would involve the positing of six vowel phonemes in a 'pre-Tukang Besi' stage of the language (before the split up of the subdialects of the modern Wanci area). The correspondences are:

	Wa-Ma-Lia	Rupu	
[o] / [o]	<i>ʔolota</i>	<i>ʔolota</i>	'wilderness'
	<i>toka</i>	<i>toka</i>	'but'
	<i>wose</i>	<i>wose</i>	'prawn'
[u] / [w]	<i>peku</i>	<i>pekʷ</i>	'backfist'
	<i>wuta</i>	<i>wʷta</i>	'ground'
	<i>kau</i>	<i>kaw</i>	'tree, wood'
[u] / [o]	<i>wurai</i>	<i>worai</i>	'sarong'
	<i>sauri</i>	<i>saori</i>	'very'
	<i>kaʔulu</i>	<i>kaʔolo</i>	'don't ever'

These alternations point to an analysis that would require three high back vowels to account for all the modern correspondences. The pre-Tukang Besi forms corresponding to the above sets would be as follows:

	pre-TkB:	Example:
[o] / [o]	* /o/	* <i>wose</i>
[u] / [w]	* /w/	* <i>wʷta</i>
[u] / [o]	* /u/	* <i>wurai</i>

Thus a pan-dialectal approach to the phonology would need to refer to three different high back vowels, even though no dialect displays more than a two-way contrast between vowels in this environment synchronically.

1.4 Sources for this study

My first, informal, trip to the *Tukang Besi* islands was in August 1991, during which time I gathered mainly lexical materials on Wanci and swam off Hoga, near Kaledupa, but did only a small amount of grammatical work. I had earlier met *Tukang Besi* people travelling on *Pelni* ships through Indonesia, and had noted the people who referred to themselves as being from Sulawesi Tenggara, or if pressed Buton, but only reluctantly as being from the islands. Before and since that time I have visited Indonesia a number of times, on each occasion inevitably meeting *Tukang Besi* people in the unlikeliest of places, and later conducting research under the auspices of the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia. During these visits, between 1992 and 1995, the majority of the time was spent in the village of Patuno on the north coast of Wanci, and also a fair deal of time around Kota Wanci on the west coast. Walking trips around the island of Wanci were undertaken, to see how people in other villages lived and spoke, and occasionally to Kaledupa as well. *Tukang Besi* people from all the islands have been met with, and talked to informally on islands and boats between Surabaya and Irian Jaya in the years 1994 to 1998, sometimes in the scope of ongoing linguistic research, but sometimes merely adding socio-historical details to my knowledge of the area. All such encounters have deepened my understanding of the *Tukang Besi* people and their place in modern and historic Indonesia.

The people whose contact has fuelled this study have been from a wide cross-section of the *Tukang Besi* speaking community, ranging in age from around four to eighty, both male and female, and most age groups in between.

The formal education of the speakers I worked with reflects a range of experience. Some of the speakers were totally untouched by modern education (whilst often possessing a deep traditional education), being illiterate and having received no schooling either from the Dutch, the Japanese, or the modern Indonesian government. Others have been educated by the Dutch before World War II, received training under the Japanese regime, or have attended teachers' colleges since Indonesian independence. The most highly (formally) educated of my informants had just completed a basic university degree in Sulawesi, and was working as a junior lecturer when the field work for this study was completed.

Most of the people who have contributed information have been bilingual (or more) in Indonesian, Straits Malay, Ambonese Malay or Makassar Malay, or a mixture of these. Some older speakers contributed information elicited in Dutch or Japanese, and some of the younger generation are learning English to various degrees of proficiency. Many people who have helped me with paradigms, stories, explanations, and simple companionship, have been completely monolingual in *Tukang Besi*; these are the people living in the hill areas of Tindoi.

The social status of the people I have worked with varies between acknowledged *mia pande* shamans who are members of the nobility (*La Ode*, *Wa Ode*), to those who are considered *kombeo* 'mad' by others on the same island. Texts have been recorded from people known for their ability as raconteurs, others from those who consider themselves as unable to contribute worthwhile data (but who did, nevertheless, consent to being recorded). Casual conversation has been the source of many insights during festivals, boat building works, marriages, gardening, canoeing and simply chatting.

Whilst the input (in the form of data gathered from elicitation and stories recorded) has come from a wide cross-section of the *Tukang Besi* speaking population, the variety represented here is that of the *Rupu* sub-dialect of *Wanci* speech, unless otherwise mentioned (this is only important in chapter 9).

1.5 Data-gathering procedures

Most materials used in this grammar have been taken from recordings of traditional stories, explanations about how certain aspects of *Tukang Besi* material and social culture operate, and recordings of conversations. Texts were always transcribed with a native speaker, usually someone other than the person who gave the text in the first place; in this way the textual material represents the speakers' perception of "proper" speech, and also a consensus of views. Texts on various subjects, from traditional stories to life experiences and simple conversation, were recorded from speakers ranging from six years old to approximately ninety years old in age, ranging from village pariahs to local nobility in terms of social status, and from people from all the main dialect areas (all four islands), and representing all the subdialects of *Wanci* island. In this way it is hoped that the corpus of data is as representative as possible of *Tukang Besi* as it is actually spoken.

As will become obvious, some of the chapters in this grammar are largely populated by elicited examples (especially chapters 9 and 10). Whilst I prefer data that has come from textual or conversational materials, as being more indicative of spontaneous, "natural" language (for obvious reasons), I have no aversion to the use of elicitation to fill out a paradigm. Whilst I believe that an ideal linguistic description would include only naturally-occurring materials, and make no use of elicitation at all, such a grammar would also take 50 years or so to write, waiting for all the combinations of things to turn up by chance. Both my funding and my patience are insufficient for such a wait... As a restraint, I have deliberately not extended elicitation into areas for which there was no supporting data available from other sources. As an example of this, the material on double applicatives was only collected after double applicative constructions had been observed in texts, and in freely occurring speech; the elicitation sessions did not seek out paradigms that were not there. Most elicitation was conducted on a group of people (typically three to five), and later checked both with other groups, and with the same groups, to see if the judgements were consistent, and not just reflecting a peculiar idiolect. In general, (almost) all the materials present as examples in this grammar have been checked with about 10 different people, some of them more than once, to act as a check on quirky responses.

Chapter 2

Phonology and morphophonology

2.1 The phonemes

This chapter will mainly deal with the phonology of the Wanci dialect of the *Tukang Besi* language, but will also include an account of the more salient features of the phonology of the other dialects, such as gemination and the retroflex lateral phone. This information is presented in a descriptive manner, with phonemic contrasts amongst consonants being exemplified in detail only where the two phonetic distinct sounds are close enough to suspect a phonemic identity. The allophones of the individual phonemes are presented with the description of the phonemes, and further attention will be paid to those phonemes or groups of phonemes that show problematic allophony. The phoneme inventory of the Wanci dialect consists of maximally twenty seven consonants (counting loan phonemes) and five vowels (though see the historical analysis presented in chapter 1.3, which involves the use of a sixth vowel, /u/ (contrasting with /ɯ/) to account for the correspondences across dialects). The consonants and vowels are dealt with and exemplified separately in section 2.1.1 and 2.1.2.

2.1.1 Phoneme inventory

Consonantal phonemes:

Place:	BILABIAL	ALVEO-DENTAL	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
Manner:					
Plosive, voiceless	p	t	(tʃ)	k	ʔ
Plosive, voiced	(b)	(d)	(dʒ)	g	
Implosive	ɓ	ɗ			
Fricative	β	ʃ			h
Nasal	m	n		ŋ	
Prenasalised, voiceless	mp	nɸ ns		ŋk	
Prenasalised, voiced	mb	nɗ	(nʒ)	ŋg	
Sonorant		r l			

Note: forms () in brackets are loan phonemes (mainly from Indonesian/Trade Malay), with [tʃ] alternating with [s], and [d] with [dʒ] (and sometimes [z] as well).

16 Chapter 2

Vowel phonemes:

	FRONT	BACK	ROUND
HIGH	i	ɯ	o
	ɛ		
LOW		a	

2.1.2 Description of the phonemes

Here I list the phonemes and their major allophonic variants, with examples of the phonemes in words.

/p/	Voiceless bilabial stop		
→	[p̚], [p̚]	/__(a, o)	
→	[p]		
	<i>porai</i>	[p̚orai]	'fiancee'
	<i>kape</i>	[kape]	'hand drum'

/mp/	prenasalised voiceless bilabial stop		
→	[^m p̚], [^m p̚]	/__(a, o)	
→	[^m p]		
	<i>mpa'ampa'a</i>	[^m p̚paʔa'm̚paʔa]	'starfish'
	<i>katumpu</i>	[kaʔɯmpɯ]	'house post'

Note that /p/ and /mp/ have identical allophonic distributions, the only difference being the prenasalisation associated with /mp/.

/b/	imploded bilabial stop		
→	[b̥], [p̥]	(voiced or voiceless imploded stop)	
→	[ʔb̥], [ʔb̥]	/__V#	
→	[β]	/V__V	
	<i>bambai</i>	[b̥ambai]	'comb'
	<i>soba</i>	[sɔʔba] ~ [sɔβa]	'try'

/mb/	prenasalised voiced bilabial stop		
→	[^m b̥], [^m b̥]	/free variation	
→	[m:]	/fast speech (see section 2.1.7)	
	<i>mbale</i>	[^m b̥ale]	'lie down'
	<i>wombo</i>	[βɔm:o]	'2 nd story in a house'

/m/	voiced bilabial nasal stop		
→	[m]		
	<i>mura</i>	[mɯ[a]	'probably'
	<i>ama</i>	[ama]	'father'

/β/	voiced bilabial fricative		
→	[β], [v]	/ __free variation	
→	[ϕ]	/ __rare allophone (found more commonly in children's speech)	
		/ __dominant allophone in Tomea and Binongko	
	<i>worai</i>	[βɔrai] ~ [vɔrai] ~ [ϕɔrai]	'sarong'
	<i>'awa</i>	[ʔaβa] ~ [ʔava] ~ [ʔaϕa]	'get'

The fact that [ϕ] is the major allophone of /β/ in Southern Tukang Besi means that the contrast between /β/ and /p/ is often reduced in those dialects, as it often is in Northern Tukang Besi as well. The [β] allophone of /β/ overlaps with the [β] allophone of /b/, and the [ϕ] allophone overlaps with the [ϕ] allophone of /h/, reducing the contrast between phonemes in two other contexts as well.

/b/ voiced bilabial stop

Loan phoneme only present in recent borrowings

→	[b]		
	<i>baiara</i>	[bajara]	'pay'
	<i>babi</i>	[babi]	'pig'

/t̚/ voiceless apico-dental stop

→	[t̚]		
	<i>tinti</i>	[t̚ɪnti]	'run'
	<i>oto</i>	[ot̚o]	'car'

ⁿt̚/ prenasalised voiceless apico-dental stop

→	[ⁿ t̚]		
	<i>nti'i</i>	[ⁿ t̚ɪ'i]	'fast'
	<i>tanta</i>	[t̚a ⁿ t̚a]	'aunt'

/ɖ/ voiced imploded apico-dental stop

→	[ɖ]		
→	[ʔɖ], [ɖ]	/ __V#	
	<i>dapi</i>	[ɖapi]	'twin'
	<i>hada</i>	[haʔɖa]	'shall, will, want'

ⁿɖ/ prenasalised voiced apico-dental stop; idiolectally released rhotically (especially in Kaledupa dialect)

→	[ⁿ ɖ], [ⁿ ɖʰ]		
→	[ⁿ ɖ]		
→	[ɳ:]	/fast speech (see section 2.1.7)	
	<i>ndanga</i>	[ɳ:aŋa]	'jackfruit'
	<i>wande</i>	[βaŋɖe] ~ [βaŋɖʰe] ~ [βaŋɖe]	'rain'

/ŋ/ voiced apico-dental nasal stop

→	[ŋ]		
	<i>nangu</i>	[ŋaŋu]	'swim'
	<i>pana</i>	[paŋa]	'arrow'

/s/ grooved voiceless alveolar fricative

→	[s]		
	<i>sala</i>	[sala]	'road'
	<i>mobasa</i>	[mɔbasa]	'large'

/n̥s/ prenasalised voiceless grooved alveolar fricative

→	[n̥s], [~s]	(see section 2.1.7)	
	<i>hansu</i>	[hansw] ~ [h̃sw]	'sword'

/d/ voiced apico-alveolar stop/voiced palato-alveolar stop

Loan phoneme only present in borrowings

→	[d]	dominant allophone in Mandati-Lia sub-dialects of Wanci, and Tomea-Binongko; idiolectally otherwise	
→	[dʒ]		
	<i>da'o, ja'o</i>	[daʔo] ~ [dʒaʔo]	'bad, evil'
	<i>karadaa, karajaa</i>	[karada:] ~ [karadʒa:]	'work'

/r/ tapped or trilled voiced alveolar rhotic

→	[r]		
→	[r̥]	/V__V Wanci dialect only	
→	[ɽ̥]	/V__V casual fast speech (Wanci dialect only)	
	<i>ramo</i>	[ramo]	'flesh'
	<i>bara</i>	[baɽa]	'don't'

/l/ voiced alveolar lateral

→	[l]		
→	[l̥]	/V__V casual fast speech (Wanci dialect only)	
→	[ɽ̥]	/(a.o.u)__ Tomea, Binongko dialects	
	<i>laro</i>	[laɽo]	'inside'
	<i>lalo</i>	[laɽo]	'fly'

Note that a common allophone of both /r/ and /l/ is [ɽ̥] or [ɽ̥]; this means that the contrast between the two phonemes is often neutralised, as in the examples above.

/tʃ/ voiceless (palato-) alveolar sibilant; in free variation with /s/

Loan phoneme only present in borrowings

→	[tʃ], [s]		
	<i>cokolati, sokolati</i>	[sɔkɔlati]	'brown; chocolate'

/dʒ/ voiced apico-alveolar stop or fricative/voiced palato-alveolar stop

Loan phoneme only present in borrowings; often varies with /d/

→	[d], [dʒ]		
→	[z]	northern Wanci sub-dialects, idiolectally	
	<i>da'o, ja'o</i>	[daʔo] ~ [dʒaʔo] ~ [zaʔo]	'bad, evil'
	<i>karadaa, karajaa</i>	[karada:] ~ [karadʒa:]	'work'

/ndʒ/ prenasalised voiced apico-alveolar stop or affricate

Suspected loan phoneme only present in very few observed forms

→ [d], [ndʒ]
makanjara [ˌmakaˈndʒara] ~ [ˌmakaˈndara] ‘kind of dance’

/k/ voiceless dorso-velar stop

→ [k̟], [c] / __ i

→ [k]

kie [kie] ~ [cie]

‘mat’

aka [aka] ~ [ak:a]

‘root’

/ŋk/ prenasalised voiceless dorso-velar stop

→ [ŋk]

ngkaru [ŋkaru]

‘carry’

pangku [paŋku]

‘back’

/g/ voiced dorso-velar stop

→ [g], [dʒ]

→ [ʔg], [ʔdʒ] / V₁__ V#

→ [ɣ] / __ V((C)V)₂#

nogugudu [noɣuˈɡuːdu]

‘they make noise’

baga [ˈbɑːʔɡɑ]

‘cheek’

/ŋg/ prenasalised voiced dorso-velar stop

→ [ŋg]

→ [ŋ:] /fast speech (see section 2.1.7)

ngga [ŋga]

‘than (in comparisons)’

tungga [t̚uŋːwa]

‘each’

/ŋ/ voiced dorso-velar nasal stop

→ [ŋ]

ngaa [ŋa:]

‘name’

anga [aŋa]

‘gills’

/ʔ/ glottal stop, idiolectally slightly aspirated

→ [ʔ], [ʔ^h] / __ free variation

→ [k] / __ V (-ʔɛ, -ʔa) (see section 2.1.4)

’angka [ʔaŋka]

‘forbid’

ne’i [nɛʔi] ~ [nɛʔ^hi]

‘contents’

/h/ voiceless glottal continuant

→ [ϕ] / __ u

→ [h]

hu’u [huʔu] ~ [ϕuʔu]

‘give: tree’

waha [βaha]

‘west’

/i/ high front unrounded vowel

→ [i, ɪ]

<i>ina</i>	[ina]	'mother'
<i>jari</i>	[dʒari] ~ [dari] ~ [zari]	'so, thus, then'

/ɯ/ high back unrounded vowel

→ [u] /oC0__, w__ dominant allophone in Tomea, Binongko and Mandati-Lia sub-dialects of Wanci

→ [ɯ, ɰ]

<i>tolu</i>	[tɔ[u]	'three'
<i>tuhu</i>	[tɰhɰ]	'descend'

/ɛ/ mid-closed front unrounded vowel

→ [e, ɛ]

→ [e] /__#

<i>ela</i>	[ɛla] ~ [ɛl:a]	'tongue'
<i>mele</i>	[mɛle]	'request, ask'

/ɔ/ mid back rounded vowel

→ [ɔ]

→ [o] /__u, __ (C)(o)#, (p,mp,b,mb,m,w,b) __

' <i>obu</i>	[ʔɔbu]	'dog'
' <i>oloo</i>	[ʔɔ'o:]	'day, sun'

/a/ low unrounded vowel

→ [ɐ],[a]

<i>atu</i>	[aɰ]	'that'
' <i>eka</i>	[ʔeka]	'climb'

For typographic convenience whenever text is not enclosed in phonetic or phonemic brackets in the rest of this description the following conventions will be assumed when writing the phonemes. Further discussion of orthographic representations of *Tukang Besi* can be found in section 2.6.

Phonemes:

p	t	(tʃ)	k	ʔ
(b)	(d)	(dʒ)	g	
β	ɸ			h
m	n		ŋ	
mp	nt			
ns		ŋk		
mb	nd	(ndʒ)	ŋg	
	r	l		

Orthography:

p	t	c	k	'
b	d	j	g	
b	d			
w	s			h
m	n		ng	
mp	nt			
ns			ngk	
mb	nd	nj	ngg	
	r	l		

Minimal pairs amongst the vowels

<i>balu</i>	'buy'
<i>balo</i>	'answer'
<i>bala</i>	'classifier for soap'
<i>bale</i>	'young frond of coconut tree'
<i>bali</i>	'turn around'

Minimal contrasts amongst the (suspicious) consonants:

/m/ - /n/ - /ŋ/

<i>ama</i>	'father'	<i>ana</i>	'child'	<i>'anga</i>	'gills'
------------	----------	------------	---------	--------------	---------

/mp/ - /mb/

<i>kompā</i>	'eel'	<i>komba</i>	'moon'
--------------	-------	--------------	--------

/ŋ/ - /h/ - Ø

<i>'ada</i>	'send'	<i>hada</i>	'imminent'	<i>ada</i>	'borrow'
-------------	--------	-------------	------------	------------	----------

/ŋ/ - /h/

<i>pa'a</i>	'thigh'	<i>paha</i>	'thunder'
-------------	---------	-------------	-----------

/t/ - /^ht/

<i>titi</i>	'breast'	<i>tinti</i>	'run'
-------------	----------	--------------	-------

/d/ - /^hd/

<i>pidi</i>	'rubbish'	<i>pindi</i>	'firm excrement'
-------------	-----------	--------------	------------------

/t/ - /r/

<i>tutu</i>	'blunt'	<i>turu</i>	'beat a fish unconscious'
-------------	---------	-------------	---------------------------

/l/ - /r/

<i>ala</i>	'fetch'	<i>ara</i>	'if'
------------	---------	------------	------

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/n/ - /n̩s/

wine 'seedling' pinse 'squeeze'

2.1.3 Vowel sequences

The following clusters of vowels have been found to occur morpheme internally:

Table 1. Vowel clusters

VV:	aa	ae	ai	ao	au
e.g.:	<i>ngaa</i> 'name'	<i>bae</i> 'rice'	<i>hebai</i> 'sew'	<i>hao</i> 'rope'	<i>rau</i> 'yell'
VV:	ea	ee	ei	eo	eu
e.g.:	<i>mea</i> 'pay'	<i>ree</i> 'cough'	<i>lei</i> 'sea urchin'	<i>ngeo</i> 'charcoal'	<i>deu</i> 'needle'
VV:	ia	ie	ii	io	iu
e.g.:	<i>mia</i> 'person'	<i>kie</i> 'mat'	<i>mohii</i> 'left'	<i>sio'oloo</i> 'afternoon'	<i>liu</i> 'reason'
VV:	oa	oe	oi	oo	ou
e.g.:	<i>soroa</i> 'sweat'	<i>doe</i> 'money'	<i>loiloi</i> 'lie'	<i>'oloo</i> 'sun'	<i>rou</i> 'forehead'
VV:	ua	ue	ui	uo	uu
e.g.:	<i>wunua</i> 'house'	<i>'ue</i> 'rattan'	<i>wui</i> 'bead'	<i>koruo</i> 'many'	<i>wakutuu</i> 'time'

Diphthongs & Vowel sandhi rules

Vowels across a word boundary often show sandhi effects such that one of the vowels is eclipsed (the first of the two), or a partial loss of features of both of the vowels creates a new phonetic shape, slightly longer than a normal single vowel, as seen in the examples below:

/a/ + /a/ →	[a:]	<i>awana atu</i>	[aβa'na:tu]
/a/ + /u/ →	[o], [u]	<i>manusia u kampo</i>	[manu'siukampo]
/a/ + /e/ →	[ɛ]	<i>'awa e sura</i>	['aβɛ'sura]
/a/ + /i/ →	[i], [e]	<i>wila i dao</i>	['βili'dao]
/o/ + /i/ →	[e:]	<i>rato i Wanse</i>	['rate:'βanse]

e'a	e'e	e'i	e'o	e'u
<i>le'ale'ana</i> 'today'	<i>le'e</i> 'urine'	<i>ne'i</i> 'flesh'	—	<i>nde'u</i> 'not want'
i'a	i'e	i'i	i'o	i'u
—	—	<i>menti'i</i> 'fast'	—	—
o'a	o'e	o'i	o'o	o'u
<i>helo'a</i> 'cook'	<i>ko'e</i> 'stroke'	<i>lo'ia</i> 'ginger'	<i>wo'ou</i> 'new'	<i>moro'u</i> 'drink'
u'a	u'e	u'i	u'o	u'u
<i>tudu'a</i> 'slave'	<i>bu'ea</i> 'crocodile'	<i>wuwu'i</i> 'wash hands'	<i>wetu'o</i> 'star'	<i>lu'u</i> 'tear'

The lack of glottal stops following /i/, the high front member of the vowel inventory, is conspicuous. Since this has the lowest frequency of the vowel phonemes in *Tukang Besi*, this may simply reflect insufficient sampling (the above tabulation is based on a corpus of approximately 2,000 words), though the attested presence of glottal stops in all other combinations (with the exception of *e'o*; again, this may reflect the fact that /e/ and /o/ are relatively infrequent vowel phonemes) points to this being a systematic absence. The presence of an /i?i/ sequence is not surprising, in light of the tendency for glottal stops to appear at morpheme boundaries between identical high vowels (described below).

Despite the limited number of relevant examples, table 2 does indicate that the presence or absence of a glottal stop is phonemic in *Tukang Besi*, regardless of its unusual behaviour. In *Tomea* and *Binongko*, and to a lesser extent on *Wanci*, a glottal stop can be responsible for non-phonemic glide formation, if it precedes a high vowel, as described in the following rule:

$$? \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{ V} \\ + \text{ high} \\ \alpha \text{ back} \\ + \text{ syllabic} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{ G} \\ + \text{ high} \\ \alpha \text{ back} \\ - \text{ syllabic} \end{array} \right] ? \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{ V} \\ + \text{ high} \\ \alpha \text{ back} \\ + \text{ syllabic} \end{array} \right]$$

Examples:

gora'u [gɔ'raʔu] ~ [gɔ'raʷu] 'egg'

mo'ini [moʔini] ~ [mojʔini] 'shy, embarrassed'
(*Tomea, Binongko*)

Compare this rule of glide formation with that described in section 2.1.7, which forms

glides progressively rather than regressively when adjacent to velar prenasalised stops.

Non-phonemic glottal stops

Non-phonemic occurrences of glottal stops can be found in three main environments:

1. before an imploded stop phoneme that follows a stressed syllable;
2. after a vowel in a word spoken with strong stress (anger, etc.);
3. between two vowels that occur in adjacent syllables as a result of morphological, syntactic or pragmatic factors.

Examples of 1. are:

<i>tokabi</i>	→	[t̚o'kaʔbi]	'lost'
<i>podī</i>	→	[p̚oʔdi]	'chicken louse'
<i>baga</i>	→	[b̚aʔga]	'cheek'

Examples of 2. are:

<i>ana</i>	→	[a'naʔ]	'Child!' (What DO you think you're doing?)
<i>dahani</i>	→	[d̚aʔ'ha:ni]	'(How would I) know (?)'
<i>mai</i>	→	[maʔi] ~ [ma'iʔ]	'Come! (for heaven's sake!)'

Examples of 3. are:

<i>waa-aku</i>	→	[βa:'ʔakw]	'Tell me!'
<i>di iso</i>	→	[di'ʔiso]	'Over there'
<i>koru-uo</i>	→	[k̚oru'ʔwo]	'Many! (<koruo)

This insertion of a glottal stop at a morpheme boundary is never compulsory, but is most likely to occur:

1. between like vowels
2. between high vowels

Thus /e\$o/ is less likely to have a glottal stop inserted than is /a\$a/, which in turn is less likely than /i\$u/ or /i\$i/, which is almost inevitably interrupted by a glottal stop.

The last example in 3. above shows reduplication of the vowel in the stressed syllable, to achieve an emphatic effect; this reduplication will always present a 'boundary' between two like vowels, and so is a prime candidate for glottal stop insertion.

The glottal stop /ʔ/ shows morphophonemic alternations with [k] in a restricted environment: if it is part of the object suffix or nominalising suffix, following a root whose last consonant is a glottal stop, it surfaces as [k]; i.e.,

ŋ / → [k] / ? V \$ __ (-ŋɛ/, -ŋa/)

Examples:

<i>'ido</i>	+ 'a	→	[iŋ'ɕɔŋa]	<i>'place of birth'</i>
<i>moro'u</i>	+ 'a	→	[.moroŋuka]	<i>'beverages'</i>
<i>like</i>	+ 'e	→	[li'kɛŋɛ]	<i>'wake someone up'</i>
<i>hu'u</i>	+ 'e	→	[hwŋwke]/[ɸwŋwke]	<i>'give to'</i>

BUT	<i>ngo'o</i>	+ 'u	→	[ŋɔŋou]	<i>'your nose'</i>
	NOT		→	* [ŋɔŋɔku], [ŋɔŋɔu]	

Note that the glottal stop in the above example does not change to a [k], but rather disappears in the syllable following the first glottal stop:

ŋ / → Ø / ? V \$ __ (not -ŋe, -ŋa)

Further examples of this deletion are:

/moroŋu/	+ /ŋuka/	→	[mo,ɔŋw:ka]	<i>'Drink as well.'</i>
/ŋu/	+ /ŋaβa/	→	[ŋw'aβa]	<i>'You obtain.'</i>

For some speakers (predominantly on the north coast), sequences of glottal stops in adjacent syllables are allowed in some words, but not in others:

<i>helo'a</i>	+ 'a	→	[.hɛlɔŋaŋa]	<i>'cooking place'</i>	
BUT	<i>moro'u</i>	+ 'a	→	[.moroŋuka]	<i>'beverages'</i>

We can observe that there is a general process of glottal dissimilation in adjacent syllables; in some cases the dissimilation is accomplished by deletion, in others by the second glottal stop becoming a [k]. The existence of such forms as [.hɛlɔŋaŋa], however, indicates that this rule of glottal dissimilation must be lexically specified, and not an absolute rule in the language. It is worth noting that the same speakers who allow this glottal - vowel - glottal sequence do delete a glottal stop which is part of a possessive suffix: [.hɛlɔŋaŋaw], < *helo'a* - 'a - 'u, 'your cooking place.'

2.1.5 The glottal continuant

The phoneme /h/ is regularly realised as [h] in most environments, but in casual speech before /u/, rather than [hw], the sequence is more often realised as [ɸw]. This is regular in Wanci, but in the southern islands of Tomea and Binongko, where the usual realisation of the /w/ phoneme is not [β] but [ɸ], the resulting phonological confusion of the sequence /wu/ ([ɸw]) has resulted in a reinterpretation of the /w/ in several /wu/ clusters as an /h/. For example:

[hɛsɔ'ɸwi]	'wash'	→	/hɛsɔ'βwi/ (northern interpretation)
		→	/hɛsɔ'hwi/ (southern interpretation)

2.1.6 Realisations of the imploded stops

The stops that are described as implosive have varying realisations. The labial phoneme /b/ shows the strongest implosion of the three, almost always appearing with a clearly identifiable amount of implosion to distinguish it from the loan phoneme /b/. Similarly with /d/, there is enough implosion to distinguish the contrast with the loan allophone /d̥/, but noticeably less implosion than would typically accompany /b/ in a similar environment. In the case of /g/, implosion is not part of the normal realisation of the phoneme, and the words native to *Tukang Besi* and those of foreign origins show the same allophones; the loan words have been assimilated into *Tukang Besi* with a loan /g/ interpreted as a *Tukang Besi* /g/, testifying to the very minimal load born by implosion as a distinctive feature of the velar phoneme. This has an obvious articulatory explanation in the fact that there is less room in the vocal cavity between a velar closure and the glottis than there is between a labial closure and the glottis, and so it is harder to reduce the air pressure (by means of the glottis-lowering mechanism that distinguishes imploded stops) sufficiently to create distinctive implosion. That the loan words are not simply borrowed with a loan phoneme of very similar phonetic shape (i.e., a /g/ to parallel the /d̥/ and /b̥/ that have been incorporated) is shown by the behaviour of the /g/ in lax and post-stressed environments.

In lax environments (informal, no emphasis or primary stress) between vowels, a /g/ may lenite to a /ɣ/:

/noguɣwɔw/	→	[,nɔɣu'ɣwɔw]	'they make noise'
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In a post-stressed position, /g/ (as well as /b/ and /d/, BUT NOT /b/ and /d/) shows the greatest tendency to implode, and can also be pre-glottalised to some extent. This is the environment that displays the strongest implosion, especially noticeable with /b/ and /d/, and with all the voiced stops pre-glottalisation is frequently heard in this position.

	<i>kabongo</i>	→	[ka'βoŋo]	'deaf'
	<i>molobu</i>	→	[mo'lɔʔbu]	'straight'
BUT	<i>babi</i>	→	[ʔbabi]	'pig' (< Indonesian <i>babi</i>)
	<i>kadola</i>	→	[ka'dʒɔla]	'chicken'
	<i>pada</i>	→	[paʔɖa]	'sword grass'
BUT	<i>nodomi</i>	→	[no'dɔmi]	'they play domino-cards' (< Indonesian 'domino')
	<i>nogopo</i>	→	[no'gɔpo]	'it is foggy'
	<i>to'oge</i>	→	[tɔ'ʔɔŋɛ]	'big'
		~	[tɔ'ʔɔŋɛ]	
AND	<i>pajoge</i>	→	[,nɔpa'dʒɔŋɛ]	'dance' (< Indonesian <i>joget</i>)
		~	[,nɔpa'dʒɔŋɛ]	

From these examples it can be clearly seen that the /g/ in the loanword *joge* (< Malay *joget*)

is treated identically to the /g/ in *to'oge*.

2.1.7 Realisations of the prenasalised phonemes

The prenasalised stops are orthographically represented as follows, with the following major allophones:

/ ^m p/	→	{mp}	[^m p], [^m ɸ]
/ ^m b/	→	{mb}	[^m b], [m:]
/ ⁿ t/	→	{nt}	[ⁿ t]
/ ⁿ d/	→	{nd}	[ⁿ d], [n:]
/ ⁿ s/	→	{ns}	[ⁿ s], [˘s]
/ ⁿ dʒ/	→	{nj}	[ⁿ dʒ]
/ ^ŋ k/	→	{ngk}	[ŋk]
/ ^ŋ g/	→	{ngg}	[ŋg], [ŋ:]

As can be seen, the realisations of the prenasalised series show more than simply a homo-organic nasal plus stop series. The voiced members /ngg/, /nd/ and /mb/ provide interesting geminate allophones; these allophones appear in casual speech, in free variation with the normal allophones, but with low frequency. Thus, in casual speech we find the following variants:

<i>bambai</i>	[bɑ ^m bai]	~	[bɑ ^m :ai]	'comb'
<i>ndanga</i>	[ⁿ daŋɑ]	~	[ŋ ⁿ naŋɑ]	'jackfruit'
<i>dinggawi</i>	[i ^ŋ gaβi]	~	[i ^ŋ :jaβi]	'yesterday'

Notice that the tendency is for a phonetically complex but phonemically unitary cluster (such as [m] + [b]) to alternate in casual speech with a geminate that separates the two phonetic elements into two (perceptual to a non-native speaker) timing units; the /m:/ in *bambai* requires additional length, and the /n:/ in *ndanga* is audible as two syllables. Note that the same 'splitting' phenomena is observed in extremely forceful speech (see section 2.10, note 2). This might suggest that the reality of the 'phonemic unit' that is represented as, for example /mb/, is actually at some level felt to be two separable units.

The lenition of /NC/ to [NN] also allows phonetic glides to form under the influence of a preceding vowel, as seen in 'yesterday' in the examples above; this can be captured in the following rule:

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ + \text{high} \\ \alpha \text{ back} \\ + \text{syllabic} \end{array} \right] + \text{NC} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ + \text{high} \\ \alpha \text{ back} \\ + \text{syllabic} \end{array} \right] \text{N:} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{G} \\ + \text{high} \\ \alpha \text{ back} \\ - \text{syllabic} \end{array} \right]$$

This rule restricts the occurrence of glide formation to the environment immediately following a velar phoneme ([+ high]). A further example is given below:

<i>tungga 'oloo</i>	[t ^ŋ ʷŋga ʔɔ ^ŋ o:]	~	[t ^ŋ ʷŋ:wa ʔɔ ^ŋ o:]	'everyday'
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The phoneme /ns/ may produce [ns] as an allophone, but is more likely to be manifested as an [s], with nasalisation on the preceding vowel:

mansa [maⁿsa] ~ [māsa] 'silat (fighting arts)'

The lack of a preceding vowel in word-initial position may be a reason for the (according to the data collected so far) lack of initial /ns/ sequences, despite their root-initial appearance (e.g., in *ma-nsuana* 'old') (though see chapter 11 for a discussion of the productivity of the putative prefix *mo-*).

Finally, /mp/ has the allophone [m^ɸ] in free variation with [mp] before a non-high back or low vowel:

monimpala [mon^ɸm^ɸpala] ~ [mon^ɸm^ɸpala] 'homesickness, miss'

The distribution of [m^ɸ] parallels that of the [ɸ] allophone of [p], suggesting that [m^ɸ] is not an allophone special to the prenasalised character of the phoneme, but rather special to the bilabial articulation.

2.1.8 Loan phonemes

The phonemes /b/, /d/ and /c/, /j/ are found only in loan words of recent origin. The most frequent of these, /b/, is present only in more recent loan words, and speakers identify it as the 'Indonesian' way to say a 'b', not the *Tukang Besi* way. The phonemes /d/ and /j/ ([d] and [dʒ]) are found only rarely in loans, and the difference between the two is inconsistently maintained, a fact also very much apparent in the Indonesian spoken by many *Tukang Besi* speakers. Although /d/ is more likely to be realised as [dʒ] than /j/ as [d], both cases of transference occur. Thus we find:

Indonesian 'domba'	→	[dʒ ^ɔ m ^ɸ ba]	'sheep'
		(rarely [du ^m ba])	
Indonesian 'jadi'	→	[dari], [dʒari]	'so, thus'
		(Rupu [zari])	

The other loan palatal consonant, /c/, is usually only realised by younger speakers, where older speakers will produce instead a [s]:

Indonesian 'bicara'	→	[bi'sara]	'say'
Indonesian 'camat'	→	[sama], [tʃamaɬ]	'district officer'

2.2 Extra-phonemic issues

2.2.1 Extra-phonemic sounds

Not all of the sounds heard from *Wanci* speakers conform to all of these conventions, sounds in the class of interjections or imitative noises. Amongst others, these include:

[ɛtɛtɛtɛɛ] 'surprise, mild shock'

[tɔŋ]	'sound of a gong'
[sajaŋ]	'refrain in love-songs'

2.3 Syllable level processes

2.3.1 Phonotactics

The canonical form of a root is disyllabic, and each syllable consists of:

S → (C)V

The language will obviously allow no phonemic consonant clusters or final consonants, but will allow vowel clusters. This analysis is facilitated by the analysis of complex phonetic units such as [mp] as unitary pre-nasalised phonemes; this may be justified on the grounds that there are no other unambiguous consonant clusters in *Tukang Besi*, and that the pre-nasalised series parallel the distribution of the regular stops:

INITIAL		MEDIAL	
<i>peku</i>	'backfist'	<i>pepe</i>	'slap'
<i>beka</i>	'cat'	<i>kobe</i>	'correct'
<i>meha</i>	'red'	<i>rame</i>	'loud, busy'
<i>mpa'ampa'a</i>	'sea urchin'	<i>tumpe</i>	'first born'
<i>mbeaka</i>	'not'	<i>lembe</i>	'taut'
<i>tenda</i>	'storage shelf'	<i>letere</i>	'11 measure'
<i>dahani</i>	'to know'	<i>pidi</i>	'rubbish'
<i>nangu</i>	'to swim on the surface'	<i>wini</i>	'pull on line (fish)'
<i>(kede) ntigi</i>	'(sit) squatting'	<i>tinti</i>	'run'
<i>ndanga</i>	'jackfruit'	<i>pindi</i>	'firm excrement'
<i>(ma) nsuana</i>	'old (person)'	<i>hansu</i>	'heavy chopping sword'
<i>kaluku</i>	'ripe coconut'	<i>motika</i>	'hard'
<i>gai</i>	'hook, pull'	<i>baga</i>	'cheek'
<i>ngaa</i>	'name'	<i>anga</i>	'gills of fish'
<i>ngkaru</i>	'carry'	<i>kangkau</i>	'crow'
<i>nggala</i>	'to be exactly as'	<i>dinggawi</i>	'yesterday'

Further support of the unitary analysis of the prenasalised sequences is in their treatment in reduplicated words. Reduplication as a process in *Tukang Besi* regularly copies the first two syllables of the word in question (see 2.5.4); thus, reduplicating produces the following forms:

<i>'ita</i>	→	<i>'ita-'ita</i>	('look'	→	'glance at')
<i>hesowui</i>	→	<i>heso-hesowui</i>	('wash'	→	'wash playfully, splashingly')

If the N+C sequence was split over two syllables, the reduplicated form of 'karambau' (putatively syllabified ka.ram.ba.u) would be as follows:

karambau → * *karam-karambau* → * *karangkarambau*)

In fact, the reduplicated form is '*kara-karambau*', consistent with the analysis that the [m] is assigned to the following syllable, and thus not included in the reduplicated part.

Finally, native speakers of the language are unanimous in their syllable division of words containing the prenasalised phonemes, always assigning the N+C sequence to the beginning of one syllable if asked to break a word up into syllables. Thus *nolanda'e* 'they trampled it' is always divided into syllables as:

no - la - nda - 'e
and never
* *no - lan - da - 'e* (But see section 2.4.2)

2.3.2 Stress assignment

Stress is regularly assigned to the penultimate syllable of the word, and secondary stress is assigned to every second (phonetic) syllable preceding the stressed syllable. Thus, in the following examples stress is shown by a raised stress mark (´) preceding the syllable with primary stress, and a lowered stress mark (˘) preceding syllables with secondary stress.

[ʔw'ɔ̃hi]	'kick with heel'
[˘βandɛ]	'rain'
[no'βandɛ]	'It's raining.'
[˘noβa'ndɛho]	'It's still raining.'
[ku,βali'ako]	'I'll go home.'
[ku,pamo,roʔu'kɛmo]	'I made her/him drink.'

The major exception to this is the (common) case of a verb without object suffixing followed by a *te*-marked object, in which case the *te* is counted as part of the verb for the purposes of stress assignment:

[noʔi'ʔa ʔɛ kɛ'nɛno] 'He saw his friend.' (< *no'ita te keneno*)

This does not apply to the other articles that may appear post-verbally, *na* or *i*, nor to object-suffixed verbs:

[noʔi'ʔa na kɛ'nɛno]	'His friend looked.'	(< <i>no'ita na keneno</i>)
* [noʔi'ʔa na kɛ'nɛno]		
[noʔi'ʔaʔɛ na kɛ'nɛno]	'He saw his friend.'	(< <i>no'ita'e na keneno</i>)
* [noʔi'ʔaʔɛ na kɛ'nɛno]		

This is not merely a prosodic phenomenon concerning the syllabic length of a word, since adding a perfective clitic to the verb will not affect the process of the *te* article being treated as part of the preceding word, phonologically: [noʔi'ʔa'mo ʔɛ kɛ'nɛno].

The rules of stress-assignment become more complicated when we consider words with four or more vowels in which not every 'syllable' has an initial consonant, thus creating forms with two (or more) adjacent vowels. In order to adequately account for these cases we need to consider an analysis that uses both morae and syllables. The rules for mora assignment are simply that every vowel is assigned to its own mora. The rules for syllable assignment are that every mora is assigned to its own syllable provided that

- (a) it is the final or penultimate mora; (i.e., * __ μ μ #)
 (b) it is not adjacent to another vowel (i.e., * (V) __ (V))

An example of this can be seen in the word *waliako* 'return', which has the following mora and syllable assignments (primary and secondary stress are indicated as well, with one 'x' indicating secondary stress, and 'xx' indicating primary stress):

	<i>wa</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ko</i>	
morae	μ	μ	μ	μ	
syllables	σ	σ	σ	σ	
stress	x	-	xx	-	
	[βa	li	'a	ko]	'return home'

Although the morae *li* and *a* present a sequence of two vowels, since the *a* occurs in the penultimate position it is automatically assigned to a separate syllable. If a perfective clitic were added to the end of the word, changing the number of morae, then a different picture of syllable assignment would appear due to the changed positions of the morae within the phonological word. Now *ko* and *mo* occupy the two final mora positions, and *li* and *a*, as adjacent vocalic segments, are assigned to the same syllable, creating a diphthong - interestingly, it is not predictable from the different vowel qualities whether the resulting diphthong will be a rising or a falling one, and both are attested in free variation. Since there is a consonant between the vowel of *wa* and that of *li*, the mora containing *wa* is still assigned to a separate syllable.

	<i>wa</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>mo</i>	
morae	μ	μ	μ	μ	μ	
		\ /				
syllables	σ	σ		σ	σ	
stress	x	-	xx	-		
	[βa	liǎ	'kɔ	mɔ]	'returned home (perfective)'	
~	[βa	lja	'kɔ	mɔ]		

Other examples follow:

	<i>ba</i>	<i>e</i>		<i>ba</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>su</i>		<i>ba</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>mi</i>
mora	μ	μ		μ	μ	μ		μ	μ	μ	μ
								└─┬─┘			
syllables	σ	σ		σ	σ	σ		σ	σ	σ	
stress	xx	-		-	xx	-		-	xx	-	
	[<i>ʔ</i> ba e]			[<i>ʔ</i> ba <i>ʔ</i> e su]				[<i>ʔ</i> ba ^h <i>ʔ</i> ma mi]			
	'rice'			'my rice'				'our (paucal) rice'			

Compare the last derivation with a near-identical case that has a glottal stop separating the vowels, and an additional case in which the irrelevance of adjacent vowels in the final two morae may be seen:

	<i>ba</i>	<i>ʔe</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>mi</i>		<i>ba</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>u</i>
mora	μ	μ	μ	μ		μ	μ	μ	μ
						└─┬─┘			
syllables	σ	σ	σ	σ		σ	σ	σ	
stress	x	-	xx	-		-	xx	-	
	[<i>ʔ</i> ba ʔe ma mi]					[<i>ʔ</i> ba u ʔba u]			
	'our (paucal) fruit'					'Baubau, capital city of Buton'			

The only remaining exception to this involves the /w/ vowel, which can form a diphthong with a following vowel (i.e., a rising diphthong). This is regularly found when the stress is found on the following vowel, and is observed with one preposition *kua* even though the /w/ occupies the primary-stressed position:

[<i>h</i> e sɔ <i>ʔ</i> βwi mo]	'bathed'
~ [<i>h</i> e sɔ <i>ʔ</i> βu i mo]	
(cf. [<i>h</i> e sɔ <i>ʔ</i> βu i], ?* [<i>h</i> e sɔ <i>ʔ</i> βwi] / * [<i>h</i> e <i>ʔ</i> sɔ βwi] 'bathe')	
[<i>k</i> ɯa]	'to(wards)'
* [<i>k</i> w a]	

(In southern *Tukang Besi* the preposition is [*ka*] ~ [*ka:*], from /*ka(a)*/, and so we can see that in both languages the stress is regularly on the /a/; this would be expected given that the origin of this preposition is (probably) local Malay *ka* (< Standard Malay *kə*) 'towards'. Since no words other than case markers (which *kua* is not) may be monosyllabic, the addition of an extra vowel is not inexplicable)

Here the desyllabification of the /w/ to [ɰ] does not affect the count of syllables for the purposes of stress assignment, but simply joins the two vowels together into one syllable.

In the case of reduplication, or perceived reduplication, the reduplicated portion of the word is considered as a separate phonological word for the purposes of stress assignment.

	[nɔ̌ ʔɛ ɭɔ̌ ʔɛ ɭɔ̌ mo]	'he called around'
expected *	[nɔ̌ ʔɛ ɭɔ̌ ʔɛ ɭɔ̌ mo]	(< <i>no'elo'elomo</i>)
	[kɔ̌ mo kɔ̌ 'mo ro]	'small cucumber sp.'
expected *	[kɔ̌ ,mo kɔ̌ 'mo ro]	(< <i>komokomoro</i>) (< dutch <i>komkommer</i>)

The acoustic correlates of stress in *Tukang Besi* are surprisingly uniform: rather than being a cluster of properties reflecting amplitude, fundamental frequency and duration, we find that there is a relatively constant, high pitch throughout the 'stressed' syllable, and that this is the primary correlate of phonological stress. It is worth speculating (Donohue 1994a) that *Tukang Besi* has an incipient pitch-accent system, with a pitch-based system developing though the regularisation of the realisation of an older (non-contrastive) stress system. Since the rules for stress assignment are regular, this new system would then represent a pitch-accent system with no functional load, but the presence of different stress-patterns in relatively recent loanwords has led to a (very small) number of words that contrast only through stress (see section 2.4.2).

2.4 Variable phonetic processes

2.4.1 Gemination

Gemination of certain consonants is a feature of *Tukang Besi* that sets it apart from the other languages of the Southeast Sulawesi area; vowel gemination was exemplified in section 2.1.2 ('Non-phonemic glottal stops'), and geminate nasals arising from the prenasalised phonemes were dealt with in section 2.1.6. In addition to these, in the right environments the following consonants may optionally geminate, especially in *Kaledupa*, *Tomea* and *Binongko* speech, and less frequently but still noticeably in *Wanci*:

p	t	k
m	n	ŋ
	s	
	l	(alveolar allophone)

Gemination occurs in the first place on the consonant of the stressed (penultimate) syllable:

[top:aŋa	motut:urɰ	meɪ:ai	moʔom:ɰrɰ]
'cut branches'	'sleepy'	'far'	'hungry' (<i>Tomea</i> , <i>Binongko</i>)

If the stressed syllable is also the initial one (i.e., the word is di-syllabic), the gemination can jump one syllable forward:

[kapi 'wing' (≠ * [k:api])	εk:a 'climb'	εl:a 'tongue'	gɯn:ɯ 'mountain'
-----------------------------------	-----------------	------------------	---------------------

This jump forward is allowed if and only if the phonemic consonant in the stressed syllable is *not* one of the following:

			?
mp	nt	ŋk	
mb	nd	ŋg	
m	n	ŋ	
w			
	1		

Thus the following do *not* show gemination:

[maʔεka 'afraid, fear' * [maʔεk:a]	mondilɯ 'sour' * [mondil:ɯ]	βila 'go' * [βil:a]	lono 'cloud' * [lon:o]	maŋa 'eat' * [maŋ:a]
--	-----------------------------------	---------------------------	------------------------------	----------------------------

Note that this does not apply to non-phonemic glottal stops:

saba'anne (< *sabane*, with stressed vowel gemination for pragmatic effect and concomitant glottal stop insertion)
'all'

If a consonant qualifies for gemination, the addition of pronominal prefixes or suffixes will sometimes affect the placement of gemination. Details on why the geminate consonant changes in some cases but not in others are not yet known. Some examples:

/paŋa/	→	[paŋ:a]		
'branch'		'branch'		
	→	[top:aŋa]	→	[top:aŋaʔe]
		'we cut branches'		'we cut the branches'
			→	* [topaŋ:aʔe]
/pono/	→	[pon:o]	→	[pon:oʔe]
'suck'		'suck'		'suck it'
	→	[nophon:o]		
		's/he sucks'		
	→	* [nop:ono]		

Lastly, certain vowel environments must be satisfied in order to qualify the consonants for gemination or not, different for different consonants:

<i>/p/, /k/ :</i>	V	—	V
	[- high]		< - back, + high >
	< + low > _α		< - low > _α
	< + back > _β		< + back > _β

i.e., after /a e o/, and before /a o i u/; a__a and o__i not allowed

<i>/t/ :</i>	V	—	V
	< + high > _α		[α low]
	< + back > _β		[-α high]

i.e., after /o i u/ and before /a i u/

<i>/m/, /n/, /ŋ/ :</i>	V	—	V
	< + back > _α		< + back > _α
	< + low > _β		< + low > _β

i.e., after /o u/ and before /o u/, or a__a

<i>/s/ :</i>	V	—	V
	[- back]		[α low]
			[-α high]

i.e., after /a e i/ and before /a i u/

<i>/ʎ/ :</i>	V	—	V
	[α high]		[α high]
	[- back]		
	[- low]		

i.e., after /e i/ (thus the retroflex allophone cannot be geminated), and /i/ must follow if preceded by /i/

The final note to the gemination rules is that they apply to the underlying forms; that is, the forms before *-[um]-* allomorphy (section 2.5.1) or nasal accretion (section 2.5.2) have taken place. For example, the following do not geminate even though the stress and vowel environments are suitable:

[homorɔw] (< hoN-horu)	'weave'	(* [hom:orɔw])
[honoha] (< hoN-toha)	'wash'	(* [hon:oha])

In the first example, the underlying /h/ is not one of the consonants that can geminate, and in the second case the underlying /t/ is followed by an /o/, which disqualifies it from gemination. An underlying /n/ qualifies for gemination in this environment, furnishing proof that the gemination rule applies before the rule of nasal substitution.

2.4.2 Final nasals in loan words

The differential treatment of loanwords with different final nasals in *Tukang Besi* is quite interesting. The velar nasals are usually dropped (occasionally with compensatory vowel

lengthening), words ending with an [n] sometimes have the nasal preserved with a stress shift, or else drop it, and words with a final [m] either appear with a vowel added to the end of the word to enable it to fit the normal phonotactic constraints of the language, or sometimes simply appear with the nasal preserved and the stress shifted. Examples of all of these options are given below (other examples can be gleaned from the wordlists at the end of this book):

/m/:	om	'uncle'	< Dutch	<i>oom</i>
	he'lem	'motorcycle helmet'	< Dutch	<i>helm</i> ([hɛlɛm])
	'komo	'come (Ritual)'	< Dutch	<i>kom</i>
/n/:	kra'ton	'palace'	< Malay	<i>kəraton</i>
	bu'ton	'Buton island'	< Ternate (?)	<i>butu</i> ~ <i>buntun</i> 'marketplace'
	buabu'aha	'fruits'	< Malay	<i>buabuahan</i>
	pengi'napa	'hotel'	< Malay	<i>penginapan</i>
/ŋg/:	'gunti	'scissors'	< Malay	<i>gunting</i>
	'pau	'umbrella'	< Malay	<i>payung</i>
	pa'raa	'war'	< Malay	<i>pərang</i>
	tu'lungi ~ ~ tu'lumi	'help'	< Malay	<i>tolong</i>

The final nasals in some loanwords may seem a very strange borrowing pattern for a language that only allows vowel-final words, but the strangeness is mitigated in two ways:

1. The final nasals are borrowed as *syllabic* nasals, with the properties of vowels for the purposes of syllable counting and stress assignment. Thus, the final sequence in 'helem' is treated as a sequence of two morae; the [m] is held for a brief span and then released. This unusual interpretation by the *Tukang Besi* is possible because they are already familiar with the concept of syllabic nasals from the allophones of the prenasalised stops that have syllabic nasal components;
2. The exaggerated pronunciation of words with initial prenasalised stop clusters gives full syllabic status to the nasal component. Thus, the following are the normal pronunciations:

[^m bɛ 'a ʔɛ]	'there is none'
[ⁿ dɛ ʔu]	'(I) don't want (it)'

If annoyed, for example after being repeatedly asked and several times having to have given the same answer, a speaker may express exasperation with the (slightly rude) pronunciations:

[ᵐ bε 'a? ʔε] 'there absolutely isn't any'
 (so stop bothering me!)
 [ŋ 'dε? ʔu] 'I really don't want (it) at all!'

The existence of these syllabic nasals in the language, even in this sub-phonemic form, seems to have been sufficient to allow the creation of loan words with syllabic nasals in other places.

It appears, however, that some final syllabic nasals enjoy only a passing existence in the language, leaving their impression on the stress patterns. The following treatment of the Malay word ['kəntaŋ] 'potato' (stressed on the first syllable in Sulawesi Malay) is a typical example:

Loan word:	'kentang'	'potato'	(< Malay)
	['kəntaŋ]		
1. Vowel transfer	['kəntaŋ]		
2. Nasal syllabification	[kɛ'ntaŋ]		
3. C# deletion	[kɛ'nta]	~	[ka'nta]
4. stress re-assignment			['kanta]
5. modern forms	[kɛ'nta]	and	['kanta]

All three levels of analysis are present on Wanci at the present, with younger speakers analysing it at level 2, older speakers at level 3, and sophisticated younger-middle aged speakers producing stage 3 and sometimes stage 4 forms. The vowel change at stage 3 applies in some speakers to prevent the formation of a homonym with *kenta* (archaic for 'fish'). Note that at stage 3 ['kɛⁿta] 'fish' and [kɛⁿta] are differentiated only by stress, thus lending a fractional load to the part played by stress in the phonological system of the language.

2.5 Processes involving nasals

2.5.1 Morpho-phonology

There are very few morphophonemic alternations in *Tukang Besi*. We have already seen how the process of glottal dissimilation operates to stop glottal stops occurring in adjacent syllables. There is also some allomorphy involved with a few verbal affixes involving nasals (Allomorphy involving nasal substitution or nasal accretion is common in many languages of Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines; see Newman (1984) for a survey of the phenomenon). The first of these to be described involves the infix *-[um]-*:

The *-[um]-* infix is inserted between the first consonant and the first vowel of the verb *after* the subject prefix (the forms are illustrated with an alternation between realis and irrealis pronouns as well; whilst commonly occurring together, irrealis pronouns are not a prerequisite to the appearance of the infix; see chapters 7 and 15):

(Sub)-(C₁)V(CV)... → (Sub)-(C₁)[um]V(CV)

e.g.,	'u-nangu 'you swim'	→	ko-n[um]angu 'you might swim'	→	*k[um]o-nangu
	no-'awa 'they get'	→	na-'[um]awa 'they want to get'	→	*n[um]a-'awa

except when C₁ is a bilabial continuant, or is the beginning of one of a restricted group of derivational affixes. These exceptions are discussed below.

The *-[um]-* is regularly infixated for all consonants except /w/, /h/ and /m/. Non-infixated forms also occur in some predictable general cases of allomorphy, and for some lexically irregular roots. These are exemplified in (1) - (26)

/w/ and /h/ cases.

With a verb beginning with /w/, the *-[um]-* infix reduces to *-[m]-* and replaces the initial /w/ of the stem, thus:

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------|---|--------------|-------------------|
| (1) | 'u-waliako | → | ko-[m]aliako | 'you return home' |
| (2) | 'u-hesowui | → | ko-[m]esowui | 'you wash' |

There are, however, counter-examples that show normal *-[um]-* allomorphy, as in the following:

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---|------------------|--------------------|
| (3) | 'u-wikirii | → | ko-w[um]ikirii | 'you think' |
| (4) | 'u-hali-hali | → | ko-h[um]ali-hali | 'you stroll about' |

Sometimes there is no realisation at all of the *-[um]-* infix:

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------|---|---|----------|
| (5) | 'u-wila | → | ko-wila ~ ko-w[um]ila
(≠ *ko-[m]ila) | 'you go' |
|-----|---------|---|---|----------|

/m/ cases.

On a form beginning with an /m/, there is no realisation of the *-[um]-* infix:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|---|-----------|-------------|
| (6) | 'u-moro'u | → | ko-moro'u | 'you drink' |
|-----|-----------|---|-----------|-------------|

It may be argued that it undergoes the same reduction as for /w/ stems, and then replaces the original /m/ with a morphologically induced [m]:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|---|-------------|-------------|
| (7) | 'u-moro'u | → | ko-[m]oro'u | 'you drink' |
|-----|-----------|---|-------------|-------------|

There is of course no way of proving this one way or the other. Since the form

- | | | | | |
|-----|--|---|----------------|-------------|
| (8) | | → | *ko-m[um]oro'u | 'you drink' |
|-----|--|---|----------------|-------------|

never appears, we can safely say that there is a different process operating here than with the /w/.

General cases.

When the verb to which the *-[um]-* is attached is a complex verb, morpheme initial /p/ and /h/ may be elided and replaced with the [m]; when the verb to which the *-[um]-* is attached is a complex verb involving the *pa-* causative prefix an *-[um]-* is infix in some cases, and the initial /p/ is elided and replaced with [m] in others:

	REALIS	IRREALIS		
(9)	<i>no-pa-kede</i>	<i>na-p[um]a-kede</i>	'seat'	(* <i>namakede</i>)
(10)	<i>no-pa-wila</i>	<i>na-p[um]a-wila</i>	'send'	
(11)	<i>no-pa-leama</i>	<i>na-[m]a-leama</i>	'improve'	(* <i>napumaleama</i>)
(12)	<i>no-pa-mente</i>	<i>na-[m]a-mente</i>	'surprise'	
(13)	<i>no-po-gau</i>	<i>na-[m]o-gau</i>	'speak'	
(14)	<i>no-po-'awa</i>	<i>na-[m]o-'awa</i>	'meet'	
(15)	<i>no-hepe-'ita</i>	<i>na-[m]epe-'ita</i>	'ask to look at'	
(16)	<i>no-he-lo'a</i>	<i>na-[m]e-lo'a</i>	'prepare food'	
(17)	<i>no-heka-wou</i>	<i>na-[m]eka-wou</i>	'angle (for fish)'	
(18)	<i>no-ho-[ng]ali</i>	<i>na-[m]o-[ng]ali</i>	'dig hole'	
(19)	<i>no-hoko-mate</i>	<i>na-[m]oko-mate</i>	'kill'	
(20)	<i>no-hoto kompo</i>	<i>na-[m]oto kompo</i>	'be pregnant'	

Thus *po-*, *he-*, *hoN-*, *heka-*, *hoko*, *hoto-* and *hepe-* all drop their initial consonants in favour of the [m], and with *pa-* we can see that /p/ drops in favour of [m] if the root is non-agentive, and that [um] is regularly inserted after the initial /p/ if the root is agentive (compare 'improve' and 'seat').

In relative clauses it appears that a non-active /m/-initial verb modifying the relativised noun can show such phonetically unchanged [m] allophone, but with a different meaning:

(21)	<i>te mia melanga</i> 'the tall person'	→	<i>te mia [m]elanga</i> 'the tallest person'
(c.f., (22))	<i>te mia to'oge</i> 'the fat person'	→	<i>te mia t[um]o'oge</i> 'the fattest person')

In combination with an vowel-initial stem, the infix sometimes reduces to [m], and sometimes remains a full [um], with no discernible governing factors:

(23)	<i>ala</i>	<i>[m]ala</i>	'fetch'
(24)	<i>aso</i>	<i>[um]aso</i>	'sell'

Lexical cases.

With the verb *nde'u* 'not want', the infix appears after the first consonant not of the stem, but of the subject prefix:

- (25) *nu-nde'u* → *n[um]u-nde'u* 'you don't want'
 → **nu-nd[um]e'u*

With the verb *hu'u* 'give', an irregular form arises out of the combination of *-[um]-* with the verb root:

- (26) *'u-hu'u* → *ko-[m]o'u* 'you give'
 → **ko-[m]u'u, ko-h[um]u'u*

2.5.2 Nasal substitution

The prefix *hoN-* displays nasal substitution in a voiceless consonants following it. Nasal substitution is the common western Indonesian phenomenon of a nasal (of the same place) replacing a voiceless stop when the morpheme in question is added. This replacement does not occur if the stop is voiced:

- | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|--|--------|
| ? | → | <i>ho-[m]oru</i>
'weave' | |
| <i>ha'o</i>
'hammer' | → | <i>ho-[m]a'o</i>
'to hammer purposefully' | (G:63) |
| <i>tutu</i>
'pound, smith' | → | <i>ho-[n]utu</i>
'to make something (of a blacksmith)' | (G:7) |
| <i>kumbu</i>
'arrowhead fist' | → | <i>ho-[ng]umbu</i>
'to use an arrowhead fist' | (G:63) |
| <i>kabali</i>
'machete' | → | <i>ho-[ng]abali</i>
'to use a machete and cut with it'
(c.f., <i>he-kabali</i> 'to wave a machete without result') | (G:63) |
| ? | → | <i>hobai</i> → * <i>ho-[m]ai, * ho-<i>mbai</i></i>
'sew' | |

It can be seen that the nasal substitutions affect voiceless consonants, turning them into the nasal of the corresponding place, with the glottal /h/ taking /m/ (the most unmarked nasal) as its nasal counterpart. There are not many examples of this process occurring.

2.5.3 Reduplication and nasal addition

There are two forms of reduplication prevalent in *Tukang Besi*, disyllabic (the norm) and monosyllabic reduplication, and a further form (vowel reduplication) that is used for pragmatic effect to emphasise the truth values of one word sentences. Disyllabic reduplication refers to the repetition of the initial two syllables of the word, not counting a subject prefix of a verb as part of the word. Monosyllabic reduplication consists of only the first syllable being repeated (again, not counting the subject prefix), and vowel reduplication is the reduplication of the stressed vowel of the word. Examples of all of these can be found in the following:

Disyllabic reduplication:

<i>te bokusu</i> 'my book'	→	<i>te boku-bokusu</i> 'my books' / 'my little book'
<i>notinti</i> 'He is running'	→	<i>notinti-ntinti</i> 'He's running around madly.'

Monosyllabic reduplication:

<i>mo-lungu</i> 'wet'	→	<i>mo-lu-lungu</i> 'slippery'
<i>mo-turu</i> 'sleep'	→	<i>mo-tu-turu</i> 'be tired'

Vowel reduplication:

<i>koruo</i> 'many'	→	<i>koru-'uo</i> 'certainly many'
<i>amai</i> 'they'	→	<i>ama-'ai</i> 'certainly them'

As can be seen, an initial voiceless stop is prenasalised if the reduplication is disyllabic ; the other forms of reduplication do not produce nasal addition.

2.5.4 Further nasal addition

Prenasalisation is also observed when the object forms of the 1st and 2nd person plural pronouns are bound to numeral verbs to specify the number of people participating in an event:

<i>towila tolu-ng-kita</i>	'We (all three) went.'
<i>kowila dua-ng-kami</i>	'We both went.'
<i>kiwumila tolu-ng-komiu</i>	'You three will go.'

The third person plural object suffix begins with a glottal stop, and so has no corresponding nasal:

no'inte lima'e 'They five went.'

This is described in chapter 8.

Nasals are also added with the prefix *heN-* 'xth time'

<i>dua</i>	→	<i>he-n-dua</i>	'two times'
<i>tolu</i>	→	<i>he-n-tolu</i>	'three times'
<i>gana</i>	→	<i>he-ng-gana</i>	'four times'
<i>paira</i>	→	<i>he-m-paira</i>	'how many times?'

Note that the prenasalisation arising as a result of the prefix *heN-* affects the voiced stops, unlike the prenasalisation associated with reduplication. This is a different process from that found with nasal substitution (as described in 2.5.2) in that the original stop is not deleted; in *hentolu*, the /t/ is not elided (compare with *tutu* / *honutu* in section 2.5.2).

2.6 Orthographic issues

I have already introduced the conventions of writing the velar nasal as {ng}, the high back unrounded vowel as {u}, and the imploded stops as {b} and {d}, respectively. These spelling conventions basically follow those used in the writing of Indonesian, except for the addition of the imploded stops, and represent few problems either for phonological representation or for speakers learning an orthographic system (though see below for a discussion of the graphemes {b} and {d}).

Other typographical decisions are not so simple. Representing the glottal stop as { ' } is accepted by most speakers, especially when it appears between two non-identical vowels, as in, for instance, the pair:

<i>bae</i>	'rice'	[baʔɛ]
<i>ba'e</i>	'fruit'	[baɛ]

Word-initially speakers showed less tendency to write the glottal stop; thus *'oloo* 'sun' is likely to be written as *oloo*. Between like vowels, the Indonesian convention of assuming a glottal stop is the preferred convention for most speakers:

<i>saat</i>	'moment'	(Indonesian)	[saʔat]
<i>saa</i>	'snake'	(Tukang Besi)	[saʔa]
(in this grammar represented as <i>sa'a</i>)			

Speakers who have learnt to write glottal stops as { ' } tend to write it in both phonemic and non-phonemic positions; thus, for instance, there is no underlying glottal stop between the two /a/ vowels separated by a morpheme boundary in *helo'aako* 'cook for'. Nevertheless, speakers who have learnt to write glottal stops tend to write a glottal stop in

that position:

helo'a'ako 'cook for'
(here represented as *helo'aako*)

As might be expected, the convention in Indonesian of assuming a glottal stop between two like vowels makes the writing of a vowel sequence with two identical vowels contentious.

<i>mentii</i>	'fast'	[mɛ'ntiʔi]	(here represented as <i>menti'i</i>)
<i>mohi</i>	'left'	[mo'hi:]	(here represented as <i>mohii</i>)

Some speakers distinguish phonemic and non-phonemic glottal stops in their writing; these speakers prefer to use the apostrophe to indicate a non-phonemic glottal stop, and use a macron above a vowel to indicate a following glottal stop. For instance:

[hɛ.loʔaʔako] 'cook for' /heloʔa + ako/

would be written

helōa'ako
(here written *helo'aako*)

These same speakers do not automatically add glottal stops between two identical orthographic vowels, yet do not use two vowels to represent a sequence of two identical vowels. Their orthographic representations of /mentiʔi/ 'fast' and /mohii/ 'left' are the following:

<i>mentii</i>	'fast'	[mɛ'ntiʔi]
<i>mohi</i>	'left'	[mo'hi:]

A final point of graphic choice remains in the issue of the representation of the imploded stops /ɓ/ and /ɗ/. Although these sounds do not contrast with plain voiced ones, most speakers who are familiar with Indonesian have no trouble distinguishing them from the sounds /b/ and /d/, referring to them as 'the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh letters of the alphabet'. Whilst most speakers accept the use of {b} and {d} for /ɓ/ and /ɗ/, a minority of speakers reject this as misleading, and not representative of the difference between the Indonesian pronunciation and their own, and feel that using the same symbolisation would lead to incorrect pronunciations. These speakers recommend {bp} for /ɓ/, and {dt} for /ɗ/, a surprisingly astute recognition of the fact that in fact these stops are not contrastively voiced, but rather contrastively imploded, and have both voiced and voiceless allophones. Since consonant clusters do not occur in *Tukang Besi* this is an option that could be used, but the simpler alternative has been used here.

Orthographically there also seems to be divided opinion on the representation of contracted forms. Some, such as *awanatu* < *awana atu*, are so lexicalised that they represent no problems, but others, such as *towe* < *te uwe*, are less acceptable when written. Intermediate between these two extremes are contractions like *mbeako wila* for

mbeak(a) owila, which are more common than the 'full' form.

Word boundary decisions are also problematic. I have noticed a preference in many people's writing to write KPs and PPs as single words, despite the pronunciation of the article *te* marking an object as one phonological word with a preceding verb. For example:

No-'elo te 'obu
3R-call CORE dog
'She called the dog.'

[noʔɛ'loʔɛ ʔobɯ]

{ *Nōelo teobu* }

The object clitics that appear on verbs are also a source of word-boundary confusion; some speakers write these as separate words when they are polysyllabic, but as part of the verb when not, as in:

No-'elo-aku
3R-call-1SG.OBJ
'She called me.'

[noʔɛlo'aku]

{ *Nōelo aku* }

No-'elo-ko
3R-call-2SG.OBJ
'She called you.'

[noʔɛ'loko]

{ *Nōeloko* }

No-'elo-kita
3R-call-1PL.OBJ
'She called us.'

[noʔɛlo'kiʔa]

{ *Nōelo kita* }

These same speakers acknowledge that the clitics are bound forms, eluding to orthographic confusion.

Intonational cues are written with the standard punctuation symbols as are used in English and Indonesian, namely a comma (,), full stop (.), colon (:), and on occasion a semi-colon (;), though this latter is not often used in writing by *Tukang Besi* people. The pragmatic content of these punctuation symbols is roughly equivalent to that found in English or Indonesian when the same punctuation is used, although the perceptual cues are often different. Interestingly, in the light of the fact that *Tukang Besi* has an incipient pitch-accent system (section 2.3.2), both pitch and duration (the lengthening of a pre-pausal vowel) play a major part in the intonational system, according to the generalisations emerging from Nagano-Madsen's work (1992, 1993) for a pitch-accent language. Despite only recently having acquired pitch as a lexically relevant phonological feature, it appears that *Tukang Besi* fits well into the mould for languages of that type as regards the realisation of intonation.

Chapter 3

Syntactic units and the clause

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the layers of the clause in *Tukang Besi*, and proposes syntactic tests for them. The externally motivated tests for the major constituents of the clause, the verb phrase and the case phrase, are given, followed by a discussion of the three major clause types in *Tukang Besi*. An unusual feature of the verbal clause in *Tukang Besi* is that whilst the verb unambiguously displays prefixes that index the subject of the verb, and usually has agreement indexing the object of the verb if transitive, nominal case marking is at variance with this pattern. The nominals are marked in a Philippine-type manner, the marking not directly agreeing with the verbal indexes but indicating a syntactically determine clause.

3.2 Categories and terms

3.2.1 [A], [S], [O] and Pivot

The labels [A], [S] and [O] are used as labels of convenience to describe the basic grammatical functions of arguments of transitive and intransitive clauses. [S] is the single argument of an intransitive clause, whether it is an unergative verb or an unaccusative verb (The subjects of unergative and unaccusative verbs can be distinguished by subscripting them as S_A or S_O , referring to the properties shared by these [S]s and the appropriate argument of a transitive verb ([A] or [O]). In a transitive clause, the two arguments are in either [A] or [O] roles. Andrews (1985: 68) describes the discovery and testing procedure for these roles in terms of reference to the 'primary transitive verb', and the morphosyntactic treatment of its two arguments as follows:

The class of two-argument verbs taking an Agent and a Patient (eg. *kill, eat, smash*) is important enough to be given a name: we shall call them 'primary transitive verbs' (PTVs). Languages always seem to have a standard way or ways in which they express the Agent and Patient of a PTV. If a NOMINAL is serving as an argument of a two-place verb, and receiving the morphological and syntactic treatment normally accorded to an Agent of a PTV, we shall say that it has the grammatical function A; if it is an argument of a verb with two or more arguments receiving the treatment normally accorded to the Patient of a PTV, we shall say that it has the grammatical function O.

The labels [A], [S] and [O] are thus means of describing the arguments that are accessible to different morphological and syntactic operations that are sensitive to the syntactic role an argument plays in the clause. If an operation is constrained so that not all arguments of a clause have equal access to it, then those that do have such access may be

said to be the pivot of that construction (see Heath 1975, Dixon 1979, Foley and Van Valin 1984 for further discussion and exemplification of this term). A process may be described as selecting an [S,A] pivot, for instance, or an [S,O] one, depending on the particular constraints of that morphological or syntactic process. The morphological and syntactic pivots of *Tukang Besi* are further described in chapter 20.

3.2.2 Core versus oblique

The division of nominals into those that are 'core' and those that are not has been thoroughly discussed in Foley and Van Valin (1984: 77-80), who note that the use of the same division (under a variety of different names) is found in tagmemic theory (Pike and Pike 1982), Dik's functional grammar (Dik 1978), and relational grammar. Basically, the list of 'core' arguments includes those arguments said to be more closely associated with the verb: the [A], [S] and [O] arguments, as defined in the previous section. Unlike Foley and Van Valin, I assume that more than two arguments can be core arguments in a clause; evidence for the morphosyntactic unity of these arguments in *Tukang Besi* is given in 3.11.1. The other category, 'oblique' (= Foley and Van Valin's 'periphery'), is the set of nominals less closely associated with the verb, more optional, less likely to be indexed on the verb. For a recent evaluation of the relevance of the divisions 'core' and 'oblique', see Alsina (1993), where he discusses evidence for the category cross-linguistically (under the label 'direct').

3.2.3 Subject and object

The term 'subject' has been the source of considerable confusion in the modern linguistic literature, particularly with respect to the treatment of Philippine-type languages, and languages with ergative elements to their syntax. 'Subject' has been used to describe either a grouping of [S] and [A] categories that are treated alike with respect to some area of morphology or syntax, or to refer to 'the' grammatical pivot of a language that some/most/all grammatical processes refer to; the confusion in the terminology comes from the fact that in the more familiar European languages both uses coincide, but not in other languages (see Dixon (1972, 1979), Payne (1978), Schachter (1976, 1977) for the basic description of languages in which the two definitions of the term do not coincide). In this description the term subject will be used solely to refer descriptively to the first usage: the collapse of the [S] and the [A] roles, without ascribing any grammatical uniqueness to this argument.

Object is used to refer to any core argument (see section 3.11.1) that is NOT a subject; there may be more than one in a predicate, and in that case we can distinguish a *primary object* and a *secondary object* (see chapter 4.5.3 and chapter 10), on the basis of various morphosyntactic tests. The term object and the syntactic role [O], as defined by Andrews, are not identical; more than one object may be present in a clause, but in an asymmetrical language (as defined by Bresnan and Moshi 1990, and see also the discussion in chapter 10.7), such as *Tukang Besi*, only one of these may be in the syntactic role of [O].

3.2.4 Nominative

Philippine-type languages present problems for the analysis of grammatical processes in

terms of [A], [S] and [O], and 'subject' and 'object'. Analyses of these languages, typically exemplified by Tagalog, have variously ascribed accusative syntax to them (eg. Guilfoyle, Hung and Travis 1992), or ergative syntax (e.g. Byma 1986), or even as displaying an essentially nominal character (eg. Starosta, Pawley and Reid 1982, Naylor 1995 and the references therein). Maclachlan (1994) has shown that there is equal justification for viewing the language as either ergative or accusative, depending on the approach taken to morphological classification (though see Foley 1991b), and that Tagalog is better treated as displaying characteristics of both of these categories. Despite this, Tagalog does not absolutely belong to either of these camps, what Maclachlan calls the 'hybrid' hypothesis. Unlike languages with (predominantly) accusative or ergative syntax, each clause in a Philippine-type language must morphologically SELECT one of the arguments of a transitive verb as its pivot; there is no unmarked choice (or, rather, either choice may be interpreted as equally marked); this analysis is thoroughly treated in Schachter (eg., 1976, 1977) and Foley and Van Valin (1984).

I use the term 'nominative' in a sense similar to that employed by Bell (1983) for Cebuano and Kroeger (1993) for Tagalog to refer to the case that is assigned to that selected argument in the clause, regardless of whether that argument is in [A], [S] or [O] syntactic role. In previous literature on Philippine-type languages this pragmatic role has been referred to as the "focus", "subject" or "topic". I use nominative to escape the other associations that these terms carry, which can be shown (Kroeger 1993, and paragraph 3.2.3) to be distinct from the nominative pivot. Nominative is used in two senses, to refer to the morphological case marker *na*, and also to refer to the unique grammatical function that may be marked by the article *na*. The difference between these two uses of the term are further described in section 3.8.3.

3.2.5 Semantic roles and the thematic hierarchy

Reference to [A] [S] and [O] syntactic roles, to subject and object, and to nominative or non-nominative grammatical relations, is not sufficient to describe the syntactic processes that are found in *Tukang Besi*. In addition to these, use will be made of a modified version of the thematic hierarchy as set up by Bresnan and Kanerva (1989). Their version of the thematic hierarchy assumes the following list of semantic roles, in an ordered hierarchy (the choice of the label 'thematic' or 'semantic' is arbitrary; I shall refer to semantic roles, since that is (I believe, perhaps mistakenly) the most wide-spread and unambiguous term; I shall, however, continue to refer to the 'thematic hierarchy' as an ordered list of these terms, since 'thematic hierarchy' is a term that has become established in the literature):

agent > beneficiary > goal/experiencer > instrument > theme/patient > locative

See Roca, ed., 1992, for many further works and bibliographies of works that have used the thematic hierarchy as an explanatory tool. Important discussion on the use of semantic roles in grammar can be found in Dowty (1991), and much earlier work on a slightly differently ranked thematic hierarchy can be found in Foley and Van Valin (1984). Bruce (1984) explicitly uses an early version of the thematic hierarchy as an explanatory tool in his grammar of *Alamblak*, and Carrier-Duncan (1985) uses a version of it in a study of derivational word formation.

The workings of *Tukang Besi* grammar do not provide evidence for all these

distinctions. Since this grammar is intended primarily as a description of the workings of *Tukang Besi*, only those divisions necessary for such a description are employed here. The modified hierarchy referred to in this grammar is as follows, collapsing Bresnan and Kanerva's beneficiary, goal and experiencer into one position, here labelled 'dative' (since it covers a lot of the ground occupied by traditional dative cases), and recognising that on morphosyntactic grounds we cannot distinguish theme and patient, thus collapsing them into 'theme/patient' (various other languages, notably those of the Caucasus and of Polynesia, clearly do distinguish theme from patient. See Kibrik (1985), Chung (1978), amongst others):

agent > dative > instrument > theme/patient > locative

Various parts of grammar refer to the role that arguments bear on this hierarchy, and the relative order of the different semantic roles in this hierarchy is also particularly useful in explaining some facts of object relative clauses (chapter 15). Conventions that need to be introduced with respect to the use of argument structure and semantic roles are the use of empty square brackets '[']' to refer to an argument whose semantic role value is not specified or irrelevant to the discussion at hand, and the use of angled brackets '< >' to represent the list of arguments in a verb's subcategorisation frame. If a verb subcategorises for oblique arguments, then they are represented in a separate list: <<(CORE)>> <<(OBLIQUE)>>. An example of this is one of the argument lists for the verb *kahu* 'send': 'send <[Agent] [Theme]> <[Recipient]>'.

3.3 Guide to *Tukang Besi* grammatical forms

3.3.1 Clause types

We can distinguish verbal clauses, non-verbal clauses, and existential clauses as morphosyntactically distinct entities in *Tukang Besi*. A verbal clause (section 3.4) is one in which the predicate uses subject indexing on the verb, or is an imperative. A non-verbal clause presents the predicate in an NP, either in a KP or in a PP, with oblique article *i* or preposition, respectively (many prepositions obligatorily or optionally combine with the oblique article *i*.); this type of clause includes equative, exclamatory and presentative clauses. An existential clause is predicated by the semi-verbs *ane* or *mbea'e*, which do not take subject indexing, nor are they part of a KP or PP.

3.3.2 Morphology

Tukang Besi is a language that puts a greater functional load on the verbal part of the clause than the nominal part. There is case marking, accomplished by the use of the articles and prepositions, but there is much more verbal morphology than there is nominal morphology. In the valency-increasing category are the three causative prefixes and three applicative markers (chapters 9 and 10), and valency-decrease is accomplished by three passive-like prefixes, two reciprocal prefixes, and various other prefixes (chapter 11). Object incorporation also features in the language as a valency decreasing device, and two varieties of possessor ascension conspire to complicate the picture of valency and

grammatical relations (chapters 7 and 20).

3.4 Verbal clauses

3.4.1 Word order and marking strategies

The basic verbal clause in *Tukang Besi* is verb-initial, and, due to extensive indexing of arguments on the verb (see chapter 5 for a more detailed analysis of the 56 status of the pronominal indexing on the verb), often consists of ONLY a verb (including this pronominal indexing); nominals representing core arguments are optional in *Tukang Besi* if the referential identity of their arguments has already been established, the information about their syntactic functions being carried by the verbal agreement for both object and subject. The nominal object of a transitive clause, if present, usually immediately follows the verb, with the subject after it, but the order of these two constituents is not fixed. The verb in a main clause is obligatorily prefixed to indicate the subject of the verb, and optionally (though usually) suffixed (or perhaps better ENCLITICISED - see Chapter 5) to index the object if transitive. The clause in these two clauses can be modelled as follows; different patterns occur if the verb is NOT indexed for an object; see 3.4.2.

Transitive:	s-V-o	na O	te A
Intransitive:	s-V	na S	

These different patterns are illustrated in sentences (1) - (3) (the other possible means of indexing subject and object are described in chapter 5):

Transitive:

- (1) *No-'ita-'e na kene-no te ana.*
 3R-see-3OBJ NOM friend-3POSS CORE child
 'The child saw its friend.'

(Or, equally grammatical and natural, *No'ita'e te ana na keneno*, with VAO word order)

Intransitive, active:

- (2) *No-tinti na ana.*
 3R-run NOM child
 'The child is running.'

Intransitive, non-active:

- (3) *No-buti na ana.*
 3R-fall NOM child
 'The child fell.'

As illustrated in examples (1) to (3), any NP referring to a core argument is obligatorily preceded by a core article. If the argument is known, given information, and pragmatically prominent, it may be assigned nominative case, and is marked with the nominative article *na* (with variant *a*, glossed as 'NOM'). Only one argument per clause may be nominative;

other core arguments, not selected as filling the nominative position in the clause, are marked with the general non-nominative core article *te* (with variants *'e* and *e*, CORE'). This is also the article used when a core argument is fronted (either clause-internally or topicalised), so it is perhaps better to call it the 'other' article; core argument other than the nominative, argument other than the post verbal ones. Here it is glossed as TOP when marking, along with a near-obligatory pause, a topicalised NP, and CORE when marking a core argument that is within the clause but not in nominative case. For the apparent 'objects' of the verbs *mo'aro* and *motindo'u* (see section 3.8.2) the CORE gloss is used, rather than introducing a third gloss for this use of the article.

The unit that is made up of the article and the NP is referred to as the case phrase (KP, see section 3.10.2 for a discussion). Notice that the agreement on the verb does not indicate semantic roles directly; the agreement markers index the [S,A] argument and the [O] of the verb respectively, regardless of the semantic role borne by the argument to which the affix refers. This is demonstrated by the same prefix being used for both the agents in (1) and (2) and also for the patient in (3), thus grouping the single argument of an intransitive verb with the agentive argument of a transitive verb together in the same relation for the purposes of verbal indexing. Notice also the following examples (4) and (5), in which a Dative role may appear either prefixed or suffixed on the verb, depending on the grammatical function that it serves:

Dative role prefixed as subject:

- (4) *Ku-'awa-'e na pandola.*
 1SG-get-3OBJ NOM eggplant
 'I got the eggplants.'

Dative role suffixed as object:

- (5) *Ku-hoti-'e na ana kilua.*
 1SG-donate-3OBJ NOM child half.orphaned
 'I gave (food and clothing) to the child one of whose parents is dead.'

This point, the non-equivalence of semantic roles and verbal indexing, is illustrated in more depth in chapter 20. While it may seem overly cautious to make the point here, the relevance of semantic role information in other parts of the grammar renders this assumption non-trivial.

3.4.2 Transitive verbs without object agreement

The constituent order and nominal marking strategy shown in 3.4.1 is different when a transitive verb appears without its object agreement. When this agreement is not used, the subject prefixing on the verb does not change, but the basic constituent order of the arguments is rigidly [VO]A and, importantly, the articles used to mark the nominals are used in the opposite way to a clause with object agreement, schematically as follows:

Normal transitive:	s-V-o	na O	te A
no object indexing:	s-V	te O	na A

In these transitive clauses without object agreement, the marking of the [A] at the KP is now shown by the nominative article *na*, but the verbal indexing of the [A] argument has remained consistent with example (1), still prefixed onto the verb.

Some examples of these patterns and their differences are given in (6) and (7):

Transitive verb with object agreement:

- (6) a. *No-kiki'i-ko (na iko'o) te beka.*
 3R-bite-2SG.OBJ NOM 2SG CORE cat
 'The cat bit you.'
- b. **No-kiki'i-ko te iko'o na beka.*
 3R-bite-2SG.OBJ CORE 2SG NOM cat
 'The cat bit you.'

Transitive verb without object agreement:

- (7) a. *No-kiki'i te iko'o na beka.*
 3R-bite CORE 2SG NOM cat
 'The cat bit you.'
- b. **No-kiki'i te beka na iko'o.*
 3R-bite CORE cat NOM 2SG
 'The cat bit you.'

In both (6a) and (7a) the agent *beka* is indexed on the verb by the third person realis subject prefix *no-*, and additionally in (6) the second person singular object is indexed by means of the second person singular object agreement marker *-ko*. When this agreement marker is not used, as in (7), the agent *beka* must be marked by the nominative article *na*, and *iko'o* by the non-nominative article *te*. This variation in the presence or absence of object agreement is the only way that the case assigned to nominals may be changed; note the ungrammatical (6b) and (7b). Clearly, the presence or absence of object agreement on verbs functions as a form of voice system. The analysis adopted here is that it is a Philippine-style voice system, with a restricted range of categories, two (a stronger case for this position is put in Chapter 7.6.1, and an alternative is considered in 7.6.2). In *Tukang Besi* the diachronic drift towards head-marking pronominal indexing has proceeded to quite an extent, but at the same time the overt Philippine-style case system has been preserved, and its verbal cues reinterpreted as being those involving the presence versus absence of the object agreement.

Although the transitive verbs we have seen can appear either with or without object agreement, there is evidence that the suffixed (ie., morphologically more complex) versions are in some sense the 'basic' ones: they appear more frequently in texts (approximately 70% of transitive verbs in texts use object agreement); they are the citation

forms of most transitive verbs; and, although all transitive clauses may appear with object agreement, there are some transitive clauses that cannot appear without object agreement, such as the verb *molinga* 'remember'. Furthermore, there are many verbs (see chapter 4.3.3) that, if used transitively, require object agreement, and the limited data available to me on child language acquisition suggests that children learning *Tukang Besi* acquire a command of the object agreement earlier than they do of the subject prefixes. Children often substitute the near-frozen 'adjectival' prefix *mo-* in the place of subject prefixes until they are about 5 or 6 years old, but seem to be able to manipulate the object suffixes on their verbs much earlier, indicating that object indexing is learnt earlier than is subject indexing.

3.4.3 Passive clauses

Compare these patterns with those found with a *to-* passive form (see chapter 11), in which no *by*-phrase may be mentioned, and the single argument of the verb may be indexed on the verb by means of subject prefixes, seen in (8):

- (8) *'U-to-kiki'i na iko'o.*
 2SG.R-PASS-bite NOM 2SG
 'You were bitten.'

In (8) the patient nominal takes the nominative article just like the patient of an object suffixed verb form such as (6), but unlike that sentence the patient of the passive verb is subject, not object, and is indexed by the prefixed set of pronominal affixes, as an intransitive subject, whether unaccusative or unergative (as in (2)) would be (though with a passive clause a third person prefix may always be substituted: *Notokiki'i na iko'o* is also grammatical. See chapter 11 for details and an assessment of the implications of this marking). Thus whilst treating the patient of the verb alike, as far as its nominative marking goes, the indexing strategy on the verb is quite different. Notice also that in (6) the agent of the verb is present in the subject prefixes on the verb; in (8) the agent may not be expressed in any way whatsoever. If the [A] of the unpassivised sentence was an instrument, then the instrument may be present in the passive sentence. Furthermore, a verb with more than one object (either ditransitive or a verb with applicative or caustive morphology) allows the second object to be present in the passive clause. See chapters 11 and 20.

3.4.4 Ditransitive verbs and multiple objects

There is only one verb that is unambiguously ditransitive in *Tukang Besi*, *hu'u* 'give'. Two other verbs display ditransitive behaviour. One of these, *kahu* 'send' has two alternative subcategorisation frames, the first ditransitive: ⟨[Agent] [Dative] [Theme]⟩ and the other transitive ⟨[Agent] [Theme]⟩ ⟨[Dative]⟩. See chapter 4 for a discussion. The second, *sumbanga* 'donate' is a (probably recent) loan word (< Malay *sumbang* 'donate'), and is not treated consistently by speakers, perhaps because it is still an unstable borrowing. With this verb, from the theme and the dative arguments, only the DATIVE nominal may be treated as an object; the nominal in theme role cannot be indexed on the verb (deriving the verb through the use of the applicative suffix *-ako* does allow the theme

to be treated in some respects as an object. This is elaborated in chapter 10). Compare the articles used on the nominals in (9) with those in the corresponding object suffixed sentence in (10), and the ungrammatical (11):

- (9) *Ko_i-hu'u te ika_k (na iko'o_i) te iaku_j.*
 2SG.I-give CORE fish NOM 2SG CORE 1SG
 'You will give me some fish.'
- (10) *Ko_i-hu'u-aku_j te ika_k (na iaku_j) (te iko'o_i).*
 2SG.I-give-1SG.OBJ CORE fish NOM 1SG CORE 2SG
 'You will give me some fish.'
- (11) * *Ko_i-hu'u-ke_k na ika_k (te iko'o_i) te iaku_j.*
 2SG.I-give-3OBJ NOM fish CORE 2SG CORE 1SG
 'You will give me some fish.'
 (Good for: 'You will give me to the fish.')

In most cases involving the verb *hu'u* there is no possible confusion between the recipient and the theme arguments, which are case marked the same way in (10), or between the recipient and theme objects, identically case marked in (9), and so the word order is not fixed. There are possible sentences in which both the recipient and the theme are animate, as seen in (12):

- (12) *No_i-hu'u te raja_j te tudu'a_k.*
 3R-give CORE ruler CORE slave
 'She gave a slave to the king.'

In this case, the word order is fixed: *te tudu'a* cannot precede *te raja* without causing a change in the meaning:

- (13) *No_i-hu'u te tudu'a_k te raja_j.*
 3R-give CORE slave CORE ruler
 'She gave the king to a slave.'
 * 'She gave a slave to the king.'

We can see that there is a preference, when potential ambiguities present themselves, to have the recipient precede the theme (though compare (13) with (9), where there is no potential for ambiguity, and no restriction on the relative ordering of the two objects).

With ditransitive verbs that have an optional instrument as well as an agent and a patient (see chapter 4.5.1 for details on this), the order is fixed: the patient must precede the instrument, as seen in (14) and (15):

- (14) *No_i-tompā-'e_j na 'obu_j te watu_k.*
 3R-give-3OBJ NOM dog CORE stone
 'She threw a stone at the dog.'
- (15) * *No_i-tompā-'e_j te watu_k na 'obu_j.*
 3R-give-3OBJ CORE stone NOM dog

A sentence with a non-nominative object is just as ungrammatical as (15) when the

instrument precedes the patient: * *No_i-tomp_a te watu_k te 'obu_j*. With the instrument following the theme, and both marked with *te*, there is no problem with grammaticality: *Notomp_a te 'obu te watu*.

Verbs with applicative morphology, introducing an extra object as a core argument, are similarly restricted as to which of the two 'objects' may be treated as the [O]. See Chapter 9.2 for further discussion.

3.4.5 Serial verb constructions

Often two verbs are used together in a serial verb construction (see chapter 8 for a discussion on the usefulness and cohesion of this term); there are several morphosyntactically distinguishable classes of serial verb constructions, and the two verbs may be linked either contiguously or non-contiguously. These are all dealt with in detail in chapter 8. In one type, the same-subject type, both of the verbs share the same subject:

- (16) *Saba'ane ko-manga-tolu-'e na gora'u (te ikami).*
 all IPA.R-eat-be.three-3OBJ NOM egg CORE IPA
 'The three of us ate all the eggs.'

In what I shall (following Crowley 1987) call a switch-subject type of construction, the second of the verbs refers to the object of the first, and thus may be thought of as having a different subject at some level:

- (17) *I po-sepa-'a i aba, i Lia ito,*
 OBL REC-kick-NL OBL previous, OBL Lia that:higher
no-sepa-raha-ako-'e-mo na La Ali ana.
 3R-kick-blood-APPL-3OBJ-PF NOM La Ali this
 'At the last posepa'a, up there in Lia, Ali here was kicked so hard that he bled.'

In addition to these examples serial verb constructions are also used to indicate aspect and modality; this is discussed in chapter 8.

3.5 Non-verbal clauses

3.5.1 Core noun phrase predicates

Equative expressions are presented in a non-verbal clause, with two core case phrases juxtaposed with each other. The unmarked order presents the subject first followed by a predicate in a non-nominative case phrase, the opposite order to that which is found with an intransitive verbal clause. If the subject is emphasised it appears as a nominatively marked NP after the predicate. Equative clauses are used for naming objects, adding information about a known entity, and presenting a referent for a question word.

Normal:	te SUBJ	te PRED
Focussed:	te PRED	na SUBJ

Examples of these sentence types are given in (18) and (19):

- (18) *Te ia te tolida-su.*
 CORE 3SG CORE cousin-1SG.POSS
 'She is my cousin.'
- (19) *Te iko'o na w[um]ila '[um]akala-aku.*
 CORE 2SG NOM go.SI trick.SI-1SG.OBJ
 'It's you who went and tricked me.' (WaI: 82)

This construction is commonly used in questions, with the questioned element serving as the predicate:

- (20) *Te emai na '[um]elo-'elo-aku iso?*
 CORE who NOM RED.SI-call-1SG.OBJ yon
 'Who is it that's calling me there?' (WaI: 65)
 (Lit., 'Who is it that is that one calling me?')

Further details on these constructions can be found in Chapter 14.

3.5.2 Oblique predicates

Clauses with oblique predicates are similar to equative clauses in their structure, except that the predicate nominal is in an oblique case phrase or a prepositional phrase, and the subject nominal is found initially in most cases. When being questioned the predicate may be fronted, and the subject nominal nominatively marked, but this is rare (in the matrix below 'ObIP' is an abbreviation for an oblique phrase, whether a preposition phrase or a case phrase).

Normal:	te SUBJ	ObIP
Focussed:	ObIP	na SUBJ

Examples of these forms follow in (21) - (23), with a case phrase serving as the predicate in (21), and prepositional phrases in (22) and (23):

- (21) *Te wunua-mami i kampo ito.*
 CORE house-1PA.POSS OBL village that:higher
 'Our house is in the village up there.'
- (22) *"Te w[um]ila kua 'umpa?"*
 CORE go.SI ALL Q
 'Where did (she) go?'
 (Lit., 'The going one is to where?')

- (23) *Ke iaku na doe-miu!*
 and 1SG NOM money-2PL.POSS
 'It's for me that your money is!
 (Roughly equals, 'Give me some money!')

More details on the semantic range and syntactic frames of the different prepositions are found in Chapter 12.

3.6 Other clause types

3.6.1 Existential clauses

Existential clauses use the semi-verb *ane* to assert the existence of something. The existential object is marked by the conjunct *ke(ne)* (see chapter 18 for a justification of the analysis of *kene* as a conjunction). if it follows immediately after the verb root; otherwise it is marked by the nominative article *na* (though the nominatively marked argument has no nominative pivot properties; see chapter 20.4). The following sentences show the basic pattern in (24), and then a nominatively-marked existent separated from the semi-verb by a nominal phrase, in (25). (26) shows how the semi-verb may take object agreement, in which case the existent, as the object of the construction, is also overtly nominatively marked:

- (24) *Ane ke po'o koruo i Tindoi.*
 exist and mango many OBL Tindoi
 'There are many mangoes in Tindoi.'
- (25) *Ane i Tindoi na po'o koruo.*
 exist OBL Tindoi NOM mango many
 'There are many mangoes in Tindoi.'
- (26) *Ane-'e na po'o koruo i Tindoi.*
 exist-3OBJ NOM mango many OBL Tindoi
 'There are many mangoes in Tindoi.'

Two constructions can be used to assert the non-existence of something, either the above construction using *ane* and the predicative negator *mbea(ka)* may be used; more commonly, however, the negative existential *mbea'e* is used:

- (27) *Mbea-mo ane ke po'o koruo i Tindoi.*
 not-PF exist and mango many OBL Tindoi
 'There aren't many mangoes in Tindoi any more.'
 (The *ka* is usually omitted before an object suffix or an aspectual suffix)
- (28) *Mbea'e-mo na po'o koruo i Tindoi.*
 not.exist-PF NOM mango many OBL Tindoi
 'There aren't many mangoes in Tindoi any more.'

The syntax of existential clauses is discussed further in chapter 14 and chapter 20.

3.6.2 Possession

Possession may be expressed clausally using either an existential construction, with possessive suffixes or a genitive phrase to indicate the possessor subject, or using the special incorporating verb *hoto-* 'have', in which case the possessor is marked by subject prefixes on the verb. Examples of each type are given in (29) and (30):

(29) *Ane-ho kene kabali-su.*
 exist-yet and machete-1SG.POSS
 'I still have a machete.'

(30) *Ku-hoto kabali-ho.*
 1SG-have machete-yet
 'I still have a machete.'

Whilst (29) is a normal existential construction, which we could gloss literally as 'My machete still exists', (30) is more interesting in that the object of possession cannot appear as a separate nominal; it must either be incorporated, as in (30), or be present as an object suffix: *kuhoto'eho*, 'I still have it.' The two constructions are not completely interchangeable; see chapter 13 for details.

3.7 Pragmatically determined variations in clause structure

3.7.1 Pre-verbal position

The basic order of constituents presented in 3.4.1 and 3.4.2 can be, and often is, modified through the appearance of an argument before the verb. There are two strategies by which a nominal can appear in a preverbal position, either fronting within the clause, which serves as a 'focusing' strategy, or fronting to a position outside the clause, topicalising the nominal. Topicalisation is discussed in 3.7.2, and clause-internal fronting is discussed in this section. This is very similar to the position that Durie (1987) called the CORE TOPIC; this term is not appropriate for *Tukang Besi*, however, since non-core time expressions may also occur in this position (see 3.11.3). See also Aissen (1992) for a discussion of two different preverbal positions in Mayan languages, and King (1995) on Russian, and the theoretical implications in a unification grammar.

Within the clause, only a nominal bearing the nominative grammatical relation may be fronted. The nominal is placed in a pre-verbal position, yet still within the clause, and the article of the nominal is not the nominative *na*, but rather the more general *te*. We can thus say that arguments with nominative case are marked by either the article *na*, or by preverbal position (and the general article *te*). The pronominal marking on the verb is unaffected by this process. The changes in constituent order and article use can be summarised as follows:

Transitive:	te O	s-V-o	te A
Intransitive:	te S	s-V	
Transitive, no object indexing	te A	s-V	te O

Fronted examples of (1) and (2) are presented below as (31) and (32), and an object-suffix-dropping version of (1) is fronted as (33):

(31) *Te kene-no no-'ita-'e te ana.*
 CORE friend-3POSS 3R-see-3OBJ CORE child
 'The child saw its friend.'

(32) *Te ana no-tinti.*
 CORE child 3R-run
 'The child is running.'

(33) *Te ana no-'ita te kene-no.*
 CORE child 3R-see CORE friend-3POSS
 'The child saw its friend.'

Note the difference between (31) and (33), in which the grammatical relations are signalled only by constituent order and the object suffix on the verb. Further specification that a nominal is focussed, beyond this preverbal positioning, can be given with the use of *ba'anomo* 'it is the one':

(34) *Ba'anomo te iaku ku-'ita te laku.*
 FOCUS CORE 1SG 1SG-see CORE cuscus
 'I'm the one who saw the cuscus.'

3.7.2 Topicalisation

A wider range of nominals may be fronted by topicalising to a clause-external position than is possible by moving to a preverbal position, but staying within the clause. The article on all topicalised nominals is the non-nominative article *te*. The pronominal marking on the verb is unaffected by this process, and both nominative and non-nominative core arguments may be topicalised. The most significant difference between clause-external topicalising and clause-internal fronting is that topicalisation necessarily accompanied by a pause separating it from the rest of the clause, which is indicated here by the use of a comma (I use the term 'pause' in accordance with traditional terminology, though all acoustic studies of 'pauses' have shown that what is perceptually a pause rarely involves a period without phonation, but rather represents a break in the intonation contour of the utterance (Chafe 1980: 14, Cruttenden 1986:36-39). This is realised acoustically by lengthening of the last pre-pausal segment, and a break in the F_0 contour.). Additionally, non-nominative core arguments and non-core arguments may be topicalised, but not fronted. The changes in constituent order and article use can be summarised as follows:

Transitive:	(1) te O,	s-V-o	te A
	(2) te A,	s-V-o	na O
Intransitive:	te S,	s-V	
Transitive, no object indexing	(1) te O	s-V	na A
	(2) te A,	s-V	te O

Expanding on (31) - (33) to produce equivalent topicalised sentences generates the forms found in (35) - (39):

- (35) *Te kene-no, no-'ita-'e te ana.*
 TOP friend-3POSS 3R-see-3OBJ CORE child
 'As for the friend, the child saw her/him'
- (36) *Te ana, no-'ita-'e na kene-no.*
 TOP child 3R-see-3OBJ NOM friend-3POSS
 'As for the children, they saw their friend.'
- (37) *Te ana, no-tinti.*
 TOP child 3R-run
 'As for the child, s/he ran off.'
- (38) *Te ana, no-'ita te kene-no.*
 TOP child 3R-see CORE friend-3POSS
 'As for the children, they saw their friend.'
- (39) *Te kene-no, no-'ita na ana.*
 TOP friend-3POSS 3R-see NOM child
 'As for the friend, the child saw her/him.'

Sentences (40) and (41) show examples of topicalised non-core arguments, with their prepositions or case marking preserved:

- (40) *Di kadera to'oge atu, ku-kede.*
 OBL chair big that 1SG-sit
 'In that big chair, I sat.'
- (41) *Ako te iko'o, ku-homoru te wurai wo'ou ana.*
 PURP CORE 2SG 1SG-weave CORE sarong new this
 'As for you, I am weaving this new sarong (for you).'

Because of the freedom allowed to all nominals to be topicalised, the role played by the topicalised nominal is not immediately apparent before the rest of the sentence is uttered. Other devices can also be used to emphasise the fact that a nominal is topicalised:

- (42) a. *Ara te ana...*
 if TOP child
 ‘As for the child...’
- b. *Buntu te ana...*
 as.for TOP child
 ‘As for the child...’
- c. *Karo e ana...*
 if TOP child
 ‘As for the child...’

Further discussion of topicalisation and other pragmatic effects on clause structure can be found in Chapter 19.

3.7.3 Topic-Comment constructions

Examples of topicalisation have already been seen in verbal clauses (section 3.7.2), and fronting has been discussed as a separate phenomenon. Topicalisation is also frequently found as a means of presenting the ‘background referent’ of a clause; this is different from the topic constructions that have already been seen in that the comment following the topic is not necessarily a whole clause, as in (43), or overtly related to the topic, as in (44):

- (43) *Te manga-'a-no, te piri leama.*
 TOP eat-NL-3POSS CORE plate good
 ‘The place where he eats has good plates.’
 (Lit, ‘As for the place where he eats, good plates.’)

The pause between a topic and its comment disambiguates this from a segmentally identical equative clause meaning ‘His eating place is a good plate.’; this pause is even more relevant for the disambiguation of example (45).

- (44) “*Tabea e iaku, o-ba'e-mo.*”
 but TOP 1SG 3R-fruit-PF
 ‘But as for me, it (a banana tree) has fruit.’ (ANd: 40)
 (That is, ‘As for me (TOPIC), it (a banana tree of mine) is already in fruit’)

This same construction can also be used to indicate a form of possession, as in (45):

- (45) *Te iaku, te ika.*
 TOP 1SG CORE fish
 ‘As for me, (I have some) fish.’

Although this construction appears to be identical to an equative clause meaning ‘I am a fish’, the intonation patterns of each are distinct, with the intonation break found in the topic-comment construction much more pronounced than that found with a normal equative clause, involving a greater lengthening of the preceding vowel and a greater fall in F_0 .

3.7.4 Right dislocation

Any core argument of a clause, nominative or non-nominative, may be right-dislocated, and occur after the rest of the sentence. Both preverbal positioning and topicalisation may cooccur in the same clause as right dislocation. Unlike preverbal positioning, right dislocated nominals use the same articles that they would display in a basic clause; this is a characteristic that distinguishes right dislocation from a clause-external afterthought, in which the article of all nominals is the non-nominative *te*, seen in (48). Otherwise, both afterthoughts and right dislocation may follow the final intonation contour for the sentence. Only a few examples are given:

- (46) *No-pa-kede-'e i kadera te ama-no, na kalambe.*
 3R-CAUS-sit-3OBJ OBL chair CORE father-3POSS NOM young.girl
 'Her father sat her down in the chair, the girl.'
- (47) *Saba'ane no-moro'u-ke na tee, te mia*
 all 3R-drink-3OBJ NOM tea CORE person
k[um]alu iso.
 tired.SI yon
 'They drank all the tea, those tired people'
- (48) *No-mbule-mo wa!; te Wa Yani measo'e ai.*
 3R-return-PF ILL.FORCE TOP Wa Yani REF-yon ANA
 'She's already gone home! Wa Yani, that is.'

3.8 Articles and case marking

We have seen that the structure and choice of nominative or non-nominative case of the arguments in a clause in *Tukang Besi* is monitored to a large extent by the pronominal affixing on the verb, and the choice of articles on nominals. This section summarises the use of the two core articles, *na* and *te*, in both verbal and non-verbal clauses. There are constructions that use KPs (NPs with case-marking articles), and yet more that use bare NPs, without articles; these are now dealt with separately.

3.8.1 Nominative *na*

The nominative article *na* is restricted in its functions, being a marker of a unique position in the clause. It can only be used to mark a core argument that has been selected as being the nominative pivot in that clause. The syntactic ramifications of an argument being the nominative pivot are dealt with in more detail in chapter 20, though some examples will be seen in 3.8.3. Givenness, definiteness and referentiality are all pragmatic notions that are bound up in the specification that is part of a nominative argument's pragmatic representation.

3.8.2 Non-nominative *te*

In contrast to the nominative article *na*, the other article used to mark core arguments, *te*, has a wider range of functions. It is used to mark

1. non-nominative core arguments;
2. fronted core arguments with nominative case;
3. predicates of a non-verbal clause;
4. topicalised core arguments;
5. the argument in [Cause] role (for certain bodily sensations);

The first use, the marking of non-nominative core arguments, is unproblematic, involving only the specification that after the nominative KP has been determined, all other core arguments are assigned the article *te*. In 3.7.1 we saw that a clause may have a variant in which the nominative KP is fronted, but remains within the clause, and is marked with *te*. In 3.5.1 we saw that both the nominal predicate and the subject of a non-verbal clause are marked by the non-nominative article *te*; this means that both of the NPs are marked in the same way unless the clause presents a fronted predicate, with only constituent order to distinguish the two arguments (since the clause is equative anyway, this is not really a problem). With topicalised constructions a core argument is also marked by *te*; in order not to describe a clause-external argument with the gloss CORE, the gloss TOP is used in this context. Two experiencer verbs, *mo'aro* 'hungry' and *motindo'u* 'thirsty' allow an optional 'object', the cause of the sensation, to be present in the clause, and marked by *te*. This is somewhat surprising; other adjectives, such as *monimpala* 'miss' and *ma'eka* 'afraid', mark their optional oblique objects with the oblique article *i*. It can be shown, however, that despite the marking with *te*, the 'objects' of *mo'aro* and *motindo'u* are not core arguments in any syntactic sense. They are not, for example, able to be indexed on the verb with object agreement (50) without being first made core arguments by means of applicative morphology (51), (52):

- (49) *No-mo'aro te bae (na amai).*
 3R-hungry CORE rice NOM 3PL
 'They are hungering for rice.'
- (50) **No-mo'aro-'e na bae (te amai).*
 3R-hungry-3OBJ NOM rice CORE 3PL
- (51) *No-mo'aro-ako te bae (na amai).*
 3R-hungry-APPL CORE rice NOM 3PL
 'They are hungering for rice.'
- (52) *No-mo'aro-ako-'e na bae (te amai).*
 3R-hungry-APPL-3OBJ NOM rice CORE 3PL
 'They are hungering for rice.'

Further evidence that these 'objects', such as that in (49), are not core objects is seen in chapter 4. It must be emphasised that there are only two verbs known to have this unusual habit of marking a non-core argument with the article *te*, and syntactic tests (such as tests for objecthood as appearing on the verb by object indexing, being subject in a passive construction, heading an object relative clause) clearly show that the putative objects of these verbs do not behave as other objects do.

From the above we can see that the function of *te*, unlike *na*, is not a clearly defined one; it is used more as an 'other' category than as marking a specific set of relations.

Within the core of the clause, one argument is selected as the nominative one, and all others are marked by *te*. In the sentence as a whole, the most external argument, the topicalised one, is marked by *te* regardless of its role in the clausal core, and other, more central, arguments, preserve their original marking.

3.8.3 Grammatical relations versus Morphological case

We have already seen that it is necessary to recognise a certain grammatical relation associated with nominals bearing nominative case as a descriptive element underlying several processes in this chapter, such as the ability to be fronted within the clause (further discussion can be found in chapter 20). However, it has also been seen that once fronted a noun phrase loses the explicit nominative marking, and is instead marked by the general article *te*. This has already been illustrated in sections 3.7.1 and 3.7.2, and the relevant examples are repeated here for easy reference:

(1) *No-'ita-'e na kene-no te ana.*
 3R-see-3OBJ NOM friend-3POSS CORE child
 'The child saw its friend.'

(31) *Te kene-no no-'ita-'e te ana.*
 CORE friend-3POSS 3R-see-3OBJ CORE child
 'The child saw its friend.'

Here we can see that the nominatively marked *keneno*, when fronted, has the explicitly nominative case marker replaced by the more general *te*. Given that the subcategorised argument position of the verb is actually filled by the pronominal affix on the verb (see chapter 5), once the identity of the referent has been established, the nominal may be wholly dispensed with, giving (53):

(53) *No-'ita-'e te ana.*
 3R-see-3OBJ CORE child
 'The child saw her/him/it/them.'

It can be shown, however, through various syntactic tests, that although *te keneno* in (31) and the object suffix in (53) are not explicitly marked by the nominative article, they still behave as an argument bearing the nominative grammatical relation would behave, for instance by being able to launch floating quantifiers, a property not available to non-nominative arguments. This is illustrated in (54) - (56), with subscripts used to show the launcher of the floated quantifier:

(54) *Sa-mia_j no-'ita-'e na kene-no_j te ana.*
 1-CLASS 3R-see-3OBJ NOM friend-3POSS CORE child
 'The child saw one of its friends.'
 * 'One of the children saw its friend.'

(55) *Sa-mia_j te kene-no_j no-'ita-'e te ana.*
 1-CLASS CORE friend-3POSS 3R-see-3OBJ CORE child
 'The child saw one of its friends.'
 * 'One of the children saw its friend.'

- (56) *Sa-mia_j no-'ita-'e_j te ana.*
 1-CLASS 3R-see-3OBJ CORE child
 'The child saw one of them.'
 * 'One of the children saw them.'

We must then recognise that although the arguments in (31) and (53) are not marked for morphological nominative case, they nevertheless behave as a nominative argument does; I shall refer to these arguments as being the nominative pivot.

The opposite phenomenon, that of an argument being marked with the nominative article, but displaying none of the properties that distinguish nominative arguments from non-nominative ones, also occurs. In a passive construction, the (derived) subject of the passive verb is marked with the nominative *na*; it does not, however, display any of the syntactic properties normally associated with nominative arguments; this is illustrated again with floating quantifiers, though other properties produce the same result. In (58) we can see that, despite overtly appearing in nominative case, the argument *anano mai* cannot launch a floated quantifier:

- (57) *No-to-kiki'i na ana-no mai.*
 3R-PASS-bite NOM child-3POSS INAL
 'Their children were bitten.'
- (58) * *Tolu-mia_j no-to-kiki'i (na ana-no mai)*_j.*
 3-CLASS 3R-PASS-bite NOM child-3POSS INAL

In this case, we must say that the argument displays nominative case, as indicated by the choice of article, but does not carry the nominative pivot, as shown by its (lack of) nominatively controlled syntactic properties; the single argument of a passive verb lacks not only all properties associated with nominative arguments, but also the syntactic property that is associated specifically with non-nominative core arguments, namely the ability to launch a floating adverb. It does, however, participate in a number of other (argument structure-dependant) pivot processes. See chapters 11, 15 and 20 for more details on this construction.

3.8.4 Bare NPs

In addition to the KPs marked by either the nominative or non-nominative article, in certain environments NPs appear without an article. NPs without articles are found with:

1. Prepositional phrases
2. Incorporated objects

Examples of prepositional phrases have already been seen in 3.5.2, and many more are presented in chapter 13. All prepositional phrases are in the outermost layer of the clause, and are thus syntactically rather inert, unless promoted to core status by the use of applicatives.

Examples of incorporated objects can be seen in (59) with the verb *jari* 'become', which obligatorily incorporates its object. A version with an object in a normal case

phrase, as in (60), is ungrammatical.

- (59) *No-jari raja-mo.*
 3R-become king-PF
 'He became king.'
 (also good as *No-jari-mo raja*, but not * *No-jari-mo te raja*)
- (60) * *No-jari te raja-mo.*
 3R-become CORE king-PF

When an incorporated object appears with a verb, no other 'object' may be present, either as a pronominal index or as an independent NP:

- (61) * *No-sai-'e kabali.*
 3R-make-3OBJ machete
 'He makes them, machetes.'
- (62) * *No-sai kabali-'e.*
 3R-make machete-3OBJ
 'He makes machetes.'
- (63) * *No-sai kabali te kabali melangka.*
 3R-make machete CORE machete long
 'He machete-makes long machetes.'

It is clear from these data that the incorporated object is filling the argument position of object called for by the verb; on the other hand, it loses its syntactic status as a core argument through the process of incorporation.

3.9 A short note on interclausal relations

As has been mentioned in 3.4.1 and 3.4.2, one argument in a clause is selected, based on its pragmatic prominence, and assigned nominative case. This choice is motivated by the exigencies of discourse, since the nominative argument is the preferred controller and target of zero anaphora across coordinate clause boundaries. Since the nominative argument usually represents relatively older, known, specific and more 'given' information, with newer participants appearing as non-nominative arguments, arguments are usually nominatively marked only after being introduced as a non-nominative argument. A short example from the middle of a text illustrates this nicely:

- (64) *Ara ku_i-[m]o-busu na_j-t[um]alo-aku_i, kene te ia_j*
 if 1SG-REC.SI-forward.fist 3I-win.SI-1SG.OBJ and CORE 3SG
no_j-pande di lola-'a, jari labi ku_j-akala-'e_j.
 3R-clever OBL fly-NL so better 1SG-trick-3OBJ
 'If I_i want to fight he_j'll beat me_i, and he_j's good at flying, so it'd be
 better if I_i tricked him_j.' (RA: 24)

In these four clauses, 'I' begins as the nominative argument in an [S] role (with no object in the clause, the single argument must be the one with nominative case) in the conditional clause; the next clause sees a new argument ('he') introduced in [A] role, and 'I'

continuing in an [O] role, still the nominative argument. The third clause uses fronting to highlight the change of grammatical relations; in this clause, the ‘he’ argument is continued, but placed preverbally as the single argument of an intransitive verb, making it necessarily nominative (although the overt marking is not nominative, because of its position); the final clause follows the same pattern as was seen in the second clause, the [S] argument now becoming an [O] but remaining nominative, and a new argument being (re-)introduced as an [A]. Notice also that in four clauses, containing two transitive and two intransitive verbs, only once is a core argument expressed with a nominal as well as the pronominal affixes, and that occurred when there was a change in the identity of the nominative argument, in the second clause. Since the referential information about the participants is already clear from the context of story, only the role information present on the verbs is needed, combined with occasional pragmatic marking of the nominals, to monitor which participant is being referred to at any time.

The beginning of a story, in which there can be no assumed knowledge about the identity and relative prominence of the participants, is illustrated in the next example. The protagonist *Wa Sabusaburengki* is introduced as the object of an existential clause, and in the next clause becomes the predicate of an identificational clause, and then the nominative [A] of the transitive clause headed by *asumumbele*. Following the introduction of a new argument as the [O], *Wa Sabusaburengki* loses nominative status (but remains an [A]); the new character introduced as an [O] in the preceding clause, the chicken (*kadola*) becomes the new nominative argument and retains this status for the rest of the passage:

- (65) *Sapaira sapaira ana, ane kene wowine_i sa-mia,*
 once.upon.a.time exist and woman 1-CLASS
te ngaa-no_i te Wa Sabusaburengki.
 CORE name-3POSS CORE Wa Sabusaburengki
Te Wa Sabusaburengki ana_i a_i-s[um]umbele
 CORE Wa Sabusaburengki this 3I-decapitate.SI
te kadola_j.
 CORE chicken
La'a-mo na_i-s[um]umbele-'e_j na kadola iso_j,
 just-PF 3I-decapitate.SI-3OBJ NOM chicken yon
noj-pogau-mo na kadola iso_j kua ...
 3R-say-PF NOM chicken yon :

‘Once upon a time, there was a lady_i, and her name_i was *Wa Sabusaburengki*. *Wa Sabusaburengki*_i was going to cut off a chicken_j’s head. Just as she_i was about to cut off its_j head, that chicken_j said “.....”.’
 (WaSab: 1-3)

As would be expected, given the lack of previous information, the proportion of core nominals per clause is higher in this section of text, serving to lexically expand the role information carried on the verbs. Of five clauses, two are transitive verbal clauses and one an intransitive verbal clause; these three clauses display a total of four KPs.

3.10 The status and structure of phrases in the clause

3.10.1 Verb phrases

The verb phrase in *Tukang Besi* contains the verbs and sometimes the object nominal. It is

the unit within which a floating adverb may appear (see Chapter 7), and is a constituent that cannot contain an oblique nominal phrase or a time expression (see 3.11.2 and 3.11.3). From the existence of such pairs as (66) and (68), and the ungrammaticality of (67):

(66) *Dinggawi no-'ita te kadadi l[um]ola i ito.*
 yesterday 3R-see CORE bird fly.SI OBL there:higher
 'They saw a bird flying up there yesterday.'

(67) * *Dinggawi no-'ita i ito te kadadi l[um]ola.*
 yesterday 3R-see OBL there:higher CORE bird fly.SI
 'They saw a bird flying up there yesterday.'

(68) *Dinggawi no-'ita-'e i ito na kadadi l[um]ola.*
 yesterday 3R-see-3OBJ OBL there:higher NOM bird fly.SI
 'They saw a bird flying up there yesterday.'

we must conclude that the verb phrase does not contain the object KP if the verb is indexed for the object; in (67) the sentence is ungrammatical because of the oblique phrase *i ito* being placed between the verb and the object *te kadadi lumola*, thus inside the verb phrase. In (68), however, the oblique phrase in the same position does not render the sentence ungrammatical, because the object KP is now no longer in the verb phrase, which fact is signalled by the object agreement on the verb and the nominative marking on the nominal. Further evidence from floating adverbs (see chapter 7), and the greater mobility of a nominative object when compared to a non-nominative one (see 3.4.1), supports this conclusion. We can then define the VP as being the unit that includes the verb, and either a bound pronominal object or an object KP, but not both. These two options are schematised as follows:

[s-V *te* NP_O]_{VP} or [s-V-o]_{VP} but not [s-V-o *na* NP_O]_{VP}

When a verb has object agreement, the object KP is not in the verb phrase, but simply a constituent in the sentence, so that structures behind (66) and (68) are those seen in (66)' and (68)', the brackets indicating the constituency of the phrases:

(66)' [*Dinggawi* [*no-'ita* [*te kadadi l[um]ola*]_{KP}]_{VP} [*i ito*]_{KP}]_S.

(68)' [*Dinggawi* [*no-'ita-'e*]_{VP} [*i ito*]_{KP} [*na kadadi l[um]ola*]_{KP}]_S.

Evidence for this comes from the fact that the non-nominative article is phonologically part of the preceding verb for the purposes of stress assignment when it refers to an object nominal, but neither the non-nominative article when referring to a non-object, nor the nominative article, are part of the verb phonologically:

- (69) *No-'ita te kene-no na ana.*
 3R-see CORE friend-3POSS NOM child
 'The child saw its friend.'

[noʔita te ke'eno na 'ana]

* [noʔita te ke'eno na 'ana]

- (70) *No-'ita-'e te ana na kene-no.*
 3R-see-3OBJ CORE child NOM friend-3POSS
 'The child saw its friend.'

[noʔitaʔe te 'ana na ke'eno]

* [noʔitaʔete 'ana na ke'eno]

- (71) *No-'ita-'e na kene-no te ana.*
 3R-see-3OBJ NOM friend-3POSS CORE child
 'The child saw its friend.'

[noʔitaʔe na ke'eno te 'ana]

* [noʔitaʔena ke'eno te 'ana]

- (72) *No-wila na kene-no.*
 3R-go NOM friend-3POSS
 'Their friend has gone.'

[noʔi[a na ke'eno]

* [noʔi'[ana ke'eno]

This is taken as evidence of a closer bond between the unsuffixed verb and its object than a verb with object agreement and any argument, either nominative or non-nominative, that follows it.

The manner in which an activity is performed may be indicated either by an exclamatory clause (for further details see chapter 14), by nominalising the action and then predicating it with an adjective, or by an adverbial construction, in which an uninflected adjective or adverb directly modifies the verb, appearing directly after it. These last two are illustrated here:

- (73) *No-menti'i na tinti-'(a) u kumbou measo'e la!*
 3R-fast NOM run-NL GEN goanna REF-yon ILL.FORCE
 'That goanna's running was fast!'

- (74) *No-tinti menti'i na kumbou.*
 3R-run fast NOM goanna
 'The goanna ran fast.'

As has been mentioned, the adverb may, with syntactic restrictions, 'float' away from its immediate post verbal position to appear anywhere within the verb phrase; this is discussed in chapter 7.

3.10.2 Noun Phrases

The fact that *Tukang Besi* needs to distinguish between the Noun Phrase (NP) and the Case Phrase (KP) has already been foreshadowed. The argument for this is that the paradigmatic roles that the constituent traditionally called the 'NP' plays in clauses can be summed up as follows:

- serve as a direct (core) argument of a verb;
- be the unit replaced by a clause in a complement construction;
- be the sister of a preposition in a preposition phrase

It is true that the first two of these functions are played by the one constituent in *Tukang Besi*; compare the following two sentences:

- (75) *Dinggawi ku-'ita-'e [na Wa Darwin r{um}ato]*'NP'.
 yesterday 1SG-see-3OBJ NOM Wa Darwin arrive.SI
 'I saw Wa Darwin arrive yesterday.'
 (lit., 'Yesterday I saw Wa Darwin who was arriving.')

- (76) *Dinggawi ku-'ita-'e [no-rato na Wa Darwin]*COMP.
 yesterday 1SG-see-3OBJ 3R-arrive NOM Wa Darwin
 'I saw Wa Darwin arrive yesterday.'

However, when we examine the structure of a prepositional phrase, we find that an oblique case article + NP constituent is not always the constituent that is the sister of the preposition. In (77) *mina* takes a case article + NP sister, but in (78) the preposition *kua* occurs with no article, and indeed cannot occur with an article when specifying motion towards a person, as seen by the ungrammaticality of (78)':

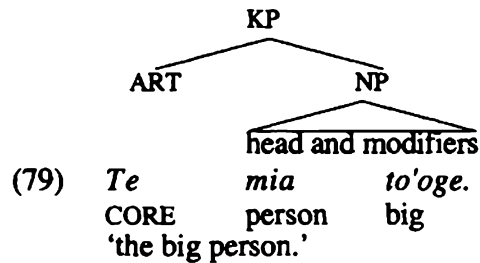
- (77) *No-rato [mina [i Wa Darwin]*KP]PP.
 3R-arrive from OBL Wa Darwin
 'She misses Wa Darwin.'

- (78) *No-wila [kua Wa Darwin]*PP.
 3R-go ALL Wa Darwin
 'She went to Wa Darwin.'

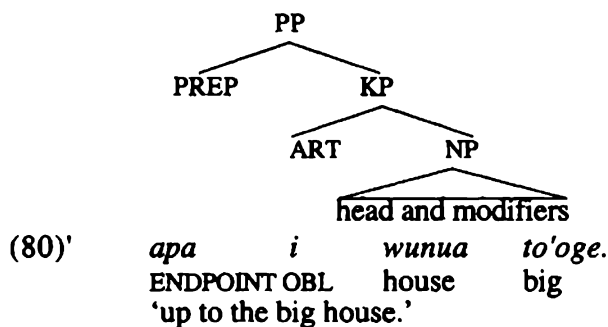
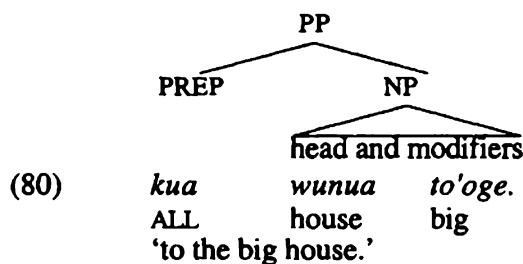
- (78)' * *No-wila [kua [i Wa Darwin]*KP]PP.
 3R-go ALL OBL Wa Darwin

For this reason we need to recognise a larger constituent in *Tukang Besi* which consists of the NP and its preceding case-marking article. The terminology for such a constituent exists, proposed by Fillmore (1968), and used more recently by Lamontagne and Travis (1987), Kroeger (1990) and others, as well as a long descriptive tradition within (lexi-)case grammar. A NP that is preceded by a case-marking article is assumed to be nested inside a Case Phrase (KP); when an NP appears without a case article, having only a preposition preceding it, it is a simple NP. It is understandable that the oblique case marker has come to be omitted following some prepositions, since the use of a preposition already signals the nominal as oblique, and moreover more finely specifies the semantics

of the relation. We can hypothesise that a pre-Tukang Besi had only the oblique case *i*, and that the other 'prepositional' forms are more recent additions to the language. *mina* and *kene* are still used as verbs, and *kua* (southern variant *ka*) is clearly derived from Malay *kə*. Only *apa* has no clear etymology, and this is the preposition that must appear with a complete oblique case marked KP following it. The structures proposed for these two phrases are seen in (79) and (80). The structure associated with a KP is that given in (79) (details in chapter 12):



A prepositional phrase with the preposition *kua*, which has as its sister an NP which does not use articles, has an apparently nearly identical structure, seen in the putative tree for (80), but this is only the result of a missing oblique article, as (80)' shows:

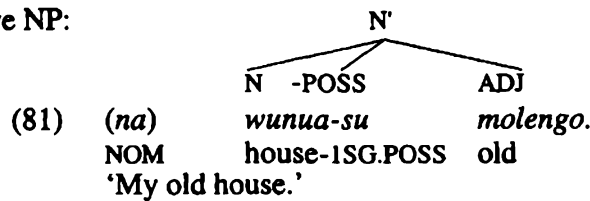


From (80)' we can see that the PP takes a KP as its object; indeed, *kua i wunua to'oge* is also acceptable, though more marked. We must conclude that some PPs unusually allow a non-headed KP as the sister of the preposition; since a preposition already specifies the non-core status of its argument, the oblique case marker is simply double marking of that fact, and so in some cases may be dispensed with.

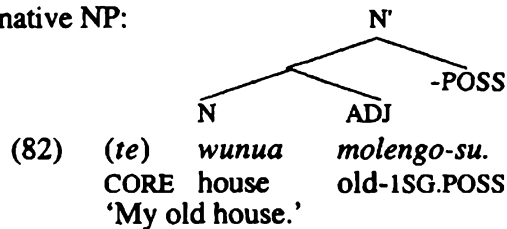
The internal structure of the Noun Phrase is dealt with at length in Chapter 12; here I will only mention that the NP is head-initial, and that some details of the structural organisation of the NP depend on the pragmatic status assigned to the argument (nominative case is explicitly marked by the choice of *na* or preverbal position, as the article for the KP (all non-core NPs have the structure associated with a non-nominative

NP)). The crucial aspects of this variation are the choice of demonstratives available at the end of the NP, and the ordering of the constituents in the N' at the beginning of the NP. The ordering of the two different types of N' constituents is as follows:

Nominative NP:



Non-nominative NP:



Further details on structural differences can be found in chapter 12.

We can define the NP paradigmatically as the unit that may be replaced by a simple pronoun or noun. Further, the KP or PP is a unit that, while it is somewhat mobile in the clause, may not be broken up and its constituents scattered through the clause. Thus, the head of the noun phrase may not be separated from its modifying adjective in (83) - (85):

- (83) *Dinggawi no-mai [min(a) i [Pada Kuru]_{NP}]PP*
 yesterday 3R-come from OBL Pada Kuru
[na [mia mo'owu iso]_{NP}]KP.
 NOM person fat yon
 'That fat person came from Pada Kuru yesterday.'

- (84) * *No-mai [min(a) i [Pada Kuru]_{NP}]PP*
 3R-come from OBL Pada Kuru
[na mia dinggawi mo'owu iso].
 NOM person yesterday fat yon

- (85) * *Dinggawi no-mai*
 yesterday 3R-come
[na mia [min(a) i [Pada Kuru]_{NP}]PP mo'owu iso].
 NOM person from OBL Pada Kuru fat yon

Additionally, the head of an NP may not be fronted without fronting any other modifying elements as well (though a quantifier may float away from its KP, giving the impression of a stranded modifier, as in (85)'):

- (85)' *[Te [kene-su]_{NP}]KP no-mai-mo [dua-mia]_{Quantifier}*
 CORE friend-1SG.POSS 3R-come-PF 2-CLASS
 'Both of my friends have come.'

- (86) *Dinggawi* [*Te mia mo'owu*]_{NP}]_{KP} *no-mai*
 yesterday CORE person fat 3R-come
 [*min(a) i [Pada Kuru]*]_{NP}]_{PP}.
 from OBL Pada Kuru
 'Yesterday, the fat person came from Pada Kuru.'

- (87) * *Dinggawi*
 yesterday
 [*te mia*] *no-mai* [*min(a) i Pada Kuru*]_{NP}]_{PP} [*mo'owu*].
 CORE person 3R-come from OBL Pada Kuru fat
 'Yesterday, the fat person came from Pada Kuru.'

Equally importantly, the NPs in the sentence, *mia mo'owu* and *Pada Kuru* may be replaced with personal pronouns or demonstratives. Of course, as a core argument the KP may be left out altogether, if the referential information is all retrievable from context, since the information about its role in the clause can all be discovered by the pronominal affixes on the verb:

- (88) *Dinggawi no-mai* [*min(a) i [Pada Kuru]*]_{NP}]_{PP} [*na [ana]*]_{NP}]_{KP}.
 yesterday 3R-come from OBL Pada Kuru NOM this
 'This one there came from Pada Kuru yesterday.'
- (89) *Dinggawi no-mai* [*min(a) i [iso]*]_{NP}]_{PP} [[*na ia*]_{NP}]_{KP}.
 yesterday 3R-come from OBL yon NOM 3SG
 'S/he came from over there yesterday.'

Apart from the information on their internal structure, presented in chapter 12, the facts of syntactic mobility, coherence, and paradigmatic relationship with pronouns and demonstratives serve to define the noun phrase in *Tukang Besi*. Information on pronouns can be found in chapter 5, and information on the modificational possibilities in an NP is found in chapters 6, 13, 15 and 18, in addition to the structural summary in chapter 12.

3.10.3 Oblique Phrases

Little needs to be said about the coherency of prepositional phrases; their internal structure has been illustrated in (80) and (80)'. Paradigmatically and syntagmatically they are subject to the same constraints as apply to noun phrases (though see 3.5.2 for further details). The internal structure of any oblique phrase is that of a non-nominative NP (see section 3.10.2).

3.11 The layers of the clause: core and oblique arguments

The clause outside the verb in *Tukang Besi* is split into levels, with the entire clause, including all oblique arguments on the one hand and the core (also known as *direct functions* or *terms*) on the other. The nuclear level of juncture, to use Foley and Van Valin's terminology, is represented by contiguous verb serialisation within the V' constituent in the VP, and is discussed and explained in detail in chapter 7. This is also the level at which some serial verb constructions (chapter 8) are joined. The first is the domain of prepositional case-marking based on semantic role function; the latter, the core layer,

displays articles that serve to code the pragmatic role of their constituents, and may be indexed on the verb to show their syntactic functions. The ability to be indexed on the verb has been mentioned before, by Foley and Van Valin (1984:79) as a feature that is often useful in distinguishing core arguments from others in the clause, “Correlating with the unmarked morphological status of core arguments is the possibility of their being cross-referenced on the verb” (1984: 79). See also Alsina (1993).

3.11.1 Core arguments

The arguments that may be indexed on the underived verb are limited. Without the addition of applicative morphology, only arguments in [Agent], [Dative], [Instrument] or [Theme/Patient] semantic roles may be indexed on the verb (if that verb’s subcategorisation frame calls for an argument in that semantic role), and without the use of applicative morphology only these arguments may be selected as the pivot in various constructions (some grammatical constructions automatically select a pivot because of the particular syntactic or semantic role that it bears, which is not a variable; see chapter 20). The fact that a single semantic role (illustrated with [Dative]) may appear indexed on the verb as either subject or object, depending on the verb’s subcategorisation frame, has already been seen in 3.4.1. This point is exemplified in more detail in chapter 20, and the use of applicative morphology is dealt with in chapter 10.

We have seen that verbal indexing is an option only available for core arguments. Further arguments that can be used to establish the special status of core arguments are:

- core arguments are obligatorily marked by articles on their KP, whilst oblique nominals are often grammatical with just a preposition, dropping the oblique article *i*.
(the verbal origins, and verbal characteristics, of some of these prepositional forms, are mentioned in chapter 4, and chapter 12. See chapter 12 for a chart summarising the differences in use of the prepositions and articles)
- only core arguments may launch floating quantifiers (if nominative) or floating adverbs (if non-nominative);
- only core arguments may be relativised, using the subject relative clause or the object relative clause;
- in nominalised constructions, or if the verb is in an object relative clause, possessive suffixes or genitive phrases may only indicate the core arguments of the verb ;

Andrews (1985: 82) writes that “One set of cases, commonly called ‘syntactic’ cases, code the core functions”, and that “NPs with ‘syntactic’ cases tend to express a wide range of semantic functions and to be targeted by rules sensitive to grammatical function”. The evidence from *Tukang Besi* would support the conclusion that the articles *te* and *na* are primarily used to mark core arguments.

Examples of floating adverbs and floating quantifiers are given in Chapters 7 and 20, respectively; it is shown there that they can be floated only with reference to a

(non-nominative or nominative, respectively) core argument. Nominalisation is also covered in chapter 12, but some examples are given below. The basic verbal sentence is presented in (90), and (91) is a grammatical nominalisation based on that sentence; (92), on the other hand, which marks the oblique *i wale wale* as a genitive phrase in the nominalisation, is not grammatical, offering an important point on which core and non-core arguments differ:

Basic sentence:

- (90) *No_i-hu'u-aku_j te boku_k i wale wale_l.*
 3R-give-1SG.OBJ CORE book OBL shelter
 'They gave me a book in the shelter.'

Nominalisation:

- (91) *'U-'ita te [hu'u-ka-no_i nu iaku_j*
 2SG.R-see CORE give-NL-3POSS GEN 1SG
nu boku_k]Nominalisation i wale wale_l.
 GEN book OBL shelter
 'Did you see them giving me a book in the shelter?'
 (Lit., 'Did you see their giving of a book of me in the shelter?')

- (92) * *'U-'ita te [hu'u-ka-no_i nu iaku_j nu boku_k*
 2SG.R-see CORE give-NL-3POSS GEN 1SG GEN book
nu wale wale_l]Nominalisation.
 GEN shelter
 (Lit., 'Did you see their giving of a book of me of the shelter?')

The facts and restrictions of relativisation are covered in chapter 15, and do not need to be enumerated here, since they correspond closely to the restrictions on nominalisations: only and all core arguments may be indexed by means of genitive phrases.

As well as the evidence from nominalisations, a second piece of morphosyntactic evidence separates the putatively core arguments from the rest (the obliques), namely that of case-marking options. The core arguments are the only arguments in these semantic roles that can be marked with *te* or *na* without the need for derivational morphology, and which cannot appear marked by the oblique case *i* (with the exception of [Cause], which (in the case of the two verbs *mo'aro* 'hungry' and *motindo'u* 'thirsty') can be marked with *te*. The cause NP does not, however, display any features that are normally associated with core arguments marked by *te*; see section 3.8.2 for details). Additional (negative) evidence for the special status of core arguments is that, when topicalised, an oblique nominal keeps its original preposition or case marker, whereas a core nominal always has *te* as its article, as illustrated in (93), showing an oblique KP topicalised, and still marked with *di*, and (94), showing that a core KP uses *te* when topicalised.

- (93) *Di koranga, ku-elo-'e na Wa Ngge'e.*
 OBL garden 1SG-call-3OBJ NOM Wa Ngge'e
 'In the garden, I called Wa Ngge'e.'

- (94) *Te Wa Ngge'e, ku-elo-'e di koranga.*
 TOP Wa Ngge'e 1SG-call-3OBJ OBL garden
 'Wa Ngge'e, I called her in the garden.'

3.11.2 Oblique arguments

In addition to the core arguments of a clause, various non-core, or *oblique*, arguments may be present. The facts of topicalisation provide one piece of evidence for there being a unified concept of the oblique, or non-core, level of the clause, and the inability to be part of a nominalisation also serves to separate them from the core arguments of a clause. The oblique arguments in *Tukang Besi* can be divided into those that are Inner Oblique (Dixon's (1980: 98) *syntactic periphery*, Andrews' (1985) *inner locatives*, though these terms are not wholly synonymous), and those that are Outer Oblique. The arguments in the outer oblique layer are either unmarked time expressions (*dinggawi* 'yesterday', *duaalo* 'in two day's time'), or oblique case or prepositional phrases (*mina i Kahedupa* 'from Kaledupa', *kua Buru* 'to Buru', *kene inano* 'with his mother', *di kampo* 'in the village', *i ta'o i aropa* 'next year'). Syntactically, these arguments in the outer oblique layer are different from the ones in the inner oblique layer in that they cannot be referred to by valency changing processes, such as applicative constructions (unlike claims that have been made for applicative constructions in Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 1980) (but see Kozinsky and Polinsky 1991 for a counterpoint)).

The inner oblique layer consists of those NPs that function not as setting, but as a part of the action involved in the predicate. Thus the same article *i* that is used in the outer oblique layer can be used to mark arguments here, functioning as inner locatives. Andrews (1985:70) describes his inner locatives as being the NP serving in the role that gives "the location of a participant, rather than of the event or state as a whole", and the outer locative as being "the place where something is done". An example of this distinction in *Tukang Besi* can be seen in the following pairs of sentences:

- (95) [[*No-hengolo te sede*]Core *i panse*]Oblique.
 3R-boil CORE taro OBL pot
 'She boiled the taro in the pot.'
- (96) * [*No-hengolo-mi te panse te sede*]Core.
 3R-boil-DIR CORE pot CORE taro
 'She boiled the taro in the pot.'
- (97) [[*No-tau te sede*]Core *i panse*]Oblique.
 3R-put CORE taro OBL pot
 'She put the taro in the pot.'
- (98) [*No-tau-pi te panse te sede*]Core.
 3R-put-DIR CORE pot CORE taro
 'She put the taro in the pot.'

In (95), *i panse* is an outer oblique argument, and cannot be promoted to core status by use of the directional applicative suffix *-VCi* (see chapter 10), as seen in the ungrammaticality of (96). In (97), on the other hand, *i panse* is part of the specification of the action, the [Location] where the [Agent] places the [Theme], and is an inherent part of the action; as such, being in the Inner oblique layer, it can be promoted to core status by use of the applicative suffix, seen in (98).

The two non-contiguous serial verbs, *ako* and *kene*, also control NPs within the clause but in a separate core layer. The verbal character of *ako* is revealed by the fact that NPs governed by *ako* are inside core KPs, as witnessed by the fact that they preserve their articles. This difference between being a core argument of *ako* and *kene* in this type of construction and being an argument of a contiguous serial verb construction (see chapters 8 and 10) is that their objects are in the second case part of the core layer of the main verb; this is essential for any relativisation or passivisation operations to occur. Thus the non-main core unit *ako te inano* in (99) may not appear in the part of the clause delimited by core arguments of *ala*, seen in (100). With a contiguous serialisation, seen in (101), this becomes possible, because the two core constituents have been combined:

- (99) [[*No-ala te sede*]Core1 [*ako te ina-no*]Core2
 3R-fetch CORE taro BEN CORE mother-3POSS
i *Wa 'Ega*]Oblique-
 OBL *Wa Ega*
 'She fetched the taro from Wa Ega for her mother.'

- (100) * [[*No-ala [ako te ina-no]*Core2 *te sede*]Core1
 3R-fetch BEN CORE mother-3POSS CORE taro
i *Wa 'Ega*]Oblique-
 OBL *Wa Ega*

- (101) [*No-ala-ako te ina-no te sede*]Core
 3R-fetch-APPL CORE mother-3POSS CORE taro
i *Wa 'Ega*]Oblique-
 OBL *Wa Ega*
 'She fetched the taro from Wa Ega for her mother.'

As the various oblique arguments appear to have the same restrictions regarding their position in the clause, they are not all exemplified here, but only examples using the (most basic and least problematic) general oblique article *i* are given here; for further details, see chapter 13.

3.11.3 Oblique arguments in the clause: Time expressions

Compensating for their often unmarked status (appearing as bare NPs in the clause, rather than being embedded in a KP), time expressions (sentence-level adverbials) are more constrained in terms of their position in the clause than are prepositionally marked outer locative phrases. A time expression usually appears in the preverbal position (unless that position is occupied by a core argument), or following all other clausal constituents. A time expression may also appear before the object KP and following the verb as long as (a) the object is nominative (this is equivalent to saying that the time expression may not occur in a verb phrase) and (b) this will not place the time expression between a subject KP and the verb. So, for example, the \checkmark indicates where the adverbial time expression *dinggawi* 'yesterday' may occur, * shows where it cannot occur:

- (102) \checkmark \checkmark *No-manga-'e-mo* * *na bae* * *te ana-no* \checkmark .
 \wedge \wedge 3R-eat-3OBJ-PF \wedge NOM rice \wedge CORE child-3POSS \wedge
 'Their children ate the rice yesterday.'

- (103) \checkmark , \checkmark *No-manga-'e-mo* * *te* *ana-no* \checkmark *na* *bae* \checkmark .
 3R-eat-3OBJ-PF ^ CORE child-3POSS ^ NOM rice ^
 'Their children ate the rice yesterday.'

When one of the core arguments is fronted, the preverbal position is not available for a time expression, but the time expression may be topicalised, and placed before the whole clause:

- (104) \checkmark , *te* *ana-no* * *no-manga-mo* * *te* *bae* \checkmark .
 ^ CORE child-3POSS ^ 3R-eat-PF ^ CORE rice ^
 'Yesterday, their children ate the rice.'

If one of the core arguments is topicalised, the time expression may still appear in the clause-internal fronted position:

- (105) *Te* *ana-no*, \checkmark *no-manga-mo* * *te* *bae* \checkmark .
 TOP child-3POSS ^ 3R-eat-PF ^ CORE rice ^
 'Their children, yesterday they ate the rice.'

3.11.4 Oblique arguments in the clause: Locative expressions

A locative expression is always in a prepositional or oblique case phrase, and is usually found after all other core arguments. If it is preverbal, it must be topicalised; it cannot occupy the fronted position that core arguments and time expressions can occupy. It may appear between the subject and the verb, unlike a time expression. It may not, however, intervene between a *te*-marked object NP and the verb (that is, it may not occur in the verb phrase). The following sentences use the same \checkmark and * symbols to indicate where a locative expression such as *i wunua hele* 'in another house' may and may not occur:

- (106) \checkmark , * *No-sangka* * *te* *kie* \checkmark *na* *ompu-su* \checkmark .
 ^ ^ 3R-weave.mat ^ CORE mat ^ NOM grandparent-1SG.POSS ^
 'My grandmother wove the mat in another house.'

- (107) *Te* *kie*, * *no-sangka* \checkmark *na* *ompu-su* \checkmark .
 TOP mat ^ 3R-weave.mat ^ NOM grandparent-1SG.POSS ^
 'That mat, my grandmother wove (it) in another house.'

If the verb is marked with object agreement and two core KPs are present, then right dislocation of one of them must occur if they are both post verbal.

- (108) *No-sangka-'e* \checkmark *te* *ompu-su* \checkmark ; *na* *kie*.
 3R-weave.mat-3OBJ ^ CORE grandparent-1SG.POSS ^ NOM mat
 'My grandmother wove it in another house, a mat.'

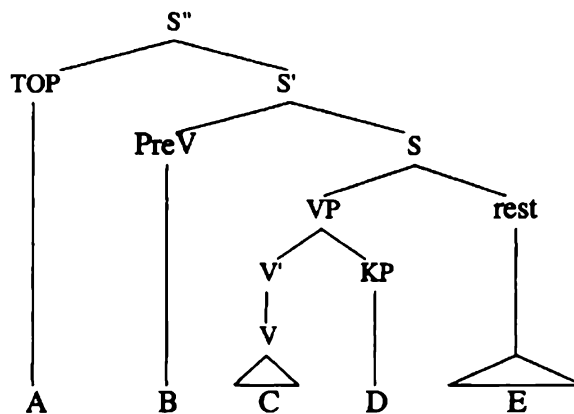
- (109) *No-sangka-'e* \checkmark *na* *kie* \checkmark ; *te* *ompu-su*.
 3R-weave.mat-3OBJ ^ NOM mat ^ CORE grandparent-1SG.POSS
 'She wove the mat in another house, my grandmother.'

Of course, the locative phrase *i wunua hele* may freely appear at the end of the clause, following all the KPs, and so not force any right dislocation, as in (110):

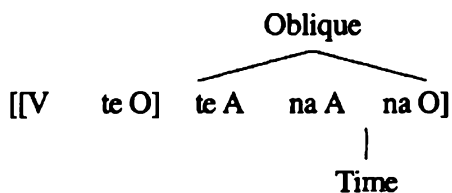
- (110) *No-sangka-'e* *te* *ompu-su* *na* *kie* \checkmark .
 3R-weave.mat-3OBJ CORE grandparent-1SG.POSS NOM mat
 'My grandmother wove a mat in another house.'

3.12 Summary

The relationship between the functional categories and the constituent structures found in *Tukang Besi*, which have been described in the preceding sections, can be summarised in the following structure. The evidence supporting an analysis with a VP constituent is presented in more detail in chapter 7; existential and non-verbal clauses are covered in chapters 14 and 18 in more detail.



- A: Any argument, core or oblique
- B: A nominative KP, or a time expression
- C: The verb, and any bound pronominal arguments
- D: Any non-prominent KPs (applicative and causative morphology or ditransitive verbs can mean that more than one argument is non-prominent, and thus present in the VP)
- E: Prominent KPs in the clause. The preferred (though not absolute) order of KPs under the S node is shown below, the position of any time expressions or oblique phrases is also included:



Oblique arguments may appear anywhere in the area indicated on the diagram; a time expression may only appear in the position indicated, if it is not pre-verbal or right-dislocated.

Even though some time expressions are marked by the oblique article, they may still

occur here, despite locative obliques being excluded from this position. This can be seen in the textual example below which includes a topicalised subject followed by an oblique-marked time expression in a preverbal position:

- (111) *E ikami ana, i rondo buka-'a baaba-'a-no*
 TOP IPA this OBL night festival-NL first-NL-3POSS
ku-wila tolu-rondo tolu-oloo...
 1SG-go 3-night 3-day
 'Well as for us, on the night of the festival I went first three days and three nights...' (Sin: 1)

One piece of terminology deserves some explanation. An NP is said to be 'prominent' if it either is the highest semantic role in its clause, or it is selected as the sole nominative argument in its clause; if either of these conditions are met, then the NP is 'prominent'. If neither of these two conditions are met, then the NP is 'non-prominent'. In formal notation the conditions for prominence are thus:

- (111) Prominence condition:
 $\langle [] \dots \rangle$ or $\langle \dots [] \dots \rangle$
 |
 NOM

Later it will be argued that in fact nominative status is the result of being the sole argument of a predicate that is combined with the base predicate, and so we can think of the prominence condition as being, on a more abstract level, simply an NP being the highest semantic role in its outermost predicate, which only takes a single nominal argument; a lexicalist representation of this is given as (112):

- (112) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{LCS Voice 'nominative } \langle [], \text{ARG} \rangle \\ \text{TERMS } \langle [], [], \dots \rangle \\ \text{ARG } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{LCS 'ita } \langle [], [] \rangle \\ \text{TERMS } \langle [], [] \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$

In the event of two arguments in one predicate sharing the same relative prominence on the thematic hierarchy, then there must be a decision on the speaker's part as to their relative (perceived) prominence. This is only necessary in constructions involving the addition of the comitative applicative suffix *-ngkene*, described in chapter 10.2.

Chapter 4

Word classes

4.1 The term 'word'

The concept of the 'word' may be defined either phonologically or grammatically. If grammatically defined, the relevant criteria may be either paradigmatic or syntagmatic. Paradigmatically, a word may be replaced by other words, whether it is nominal or verbal, assuming that the result is grammatical from the point of view of the other levels of the grammar. Syntagmatically, it moves in the sentence as a unit, and may not be divided. These are the same criteria that were used to establish the existence of Noun Phrases, Case Phrases and Verb Phrases.

Problems specific to the question of the 'word' mainly centre around the difference between the grammatical and the phonological word, and the fact that processes of language change have led to some parts of the lexicon moving between word classes, leading to problems in an absolute interpretation of the data. At the same time a root may display properties that define it as belonging to one word class, but another set of criteria would place it in another. This is apparent in *Tukang Besi* when we look at contiguous serial verb constructions.

Paradigmatic replacement can be seen in the following sets:

- (1) *Ku-manga te osimpu.*
1SG-eat CORE young.coconut
'I ate the coconut.'
- (2) *Ku-manga te kaujawa.*
1SG-eat CORE cassava
'I ate the cassava.'
- (3) *Ku-hengolo te kaujawa.*
1SG-boil CORE cassava
'I boiled the cassava.'
- (4) *Ku-hengolo-'e na kaujawa.*
1SG-boil-3OBJ NOM cassava
'I have boiled the cassava.'

Syntagmatic coherence is exemplified by the fact that *kaujawa* 'cassava', etymologically clearly a compound based on *kau* 'wood' and *jawa* 'Java' (that is, Javanese wood), cannot be split up and spread about the sentence, or even the noun phrase. As a whole word, however, it may appear in a noun phrase with either of the articles, and move within the clause:

- (5) *Ku-manga te kaujawa.*
 1SG-eat CORE cassava
 'I ate the cassava.'
- (6) *Ku-manga-'e na kaujawa.*
 1SG-eat-3OBJ NOM cassava
 'I ate the cassava.'
- (7) *Te kaujawa ku-manga-'e.*
 CORE cassava 1SG-eat-3OBJ
 'I ate the cassava.'
- (8) * *Te kau ku-manga-'e jawa.*
 CORE cas- 1SG-eat-3OBJ -sava
 'I ate the cassava.'
- (9) * *Ku-manga-'e na kau koruo jawa.*
 1SG-eat-3OBJ NOM cas- many -sava
 'I ate a lot of cassava.'

Furthermore, there are (as has been seen in chapters 2 and 3) differences in the phonetic rules that apply to two identical vowels not of the same morpheme, depending on whether they adjoin across a morpheme boundary within the same word, or across a word boundary. In (10) and (11) the existence of a phonetic glottal stop between *wila* and *ako* depends on whether or not the two morphemes occur in one word, or with a word boundary between them:

- (10) *No-wila ako te ina-no.*
 3R-go BEN CORE mother-3POSS
 'They went for their mother.'
 [no'βila 'ako tɛ i'nano] ~ [no'βila:ko tɛ i'nano] ~ [no'βil 'ako tɛ i'nano]
- (11) *No-wila-ako te ina-no.*
 3R-go-APPL CORE mother-3POSS
 'They sent their mother.'
 [noβi.laʔa'ko tɛ i'nano] ~ [noβi.laa'ko tɛ i'nano]

The shift in accent is due not to the placement of the word break, but the fact that in (11) *te inano* is under the same VP node as *nowilaako*, whereas in (10) *te inano* is in the same node as *ako*, but not the same as *nowila*. See chapter 3 for a discussion of the implications of this for phrase structure.

In the case of identical vowels coming together across a word boundary the two vowels either merge or show no special phenomena. If the same morphemes come together within the word, a glottal stop is frequently inserted between the two vowels (see chapter 2 for more discussion).

4.1.1 Words versus affixes

Problems in the idea of the word being defined by paradigmatic replacement alone arise when we look at contiguous serial verb constructions. One of the main functions of serial

verb constructions cross-linguistically is to build complex verbal units (Foley and Van Valin 1984: 205) (see chapter 8 for more details on the restrictions applying to serial verb constructions in *Tukang Besi*). An example of this is seen in (12), where an activity and a resulting state are presented as a serial verb construction:

- (12) *Ku-kamalo-meha te bangka.*
 1SG-paint-red CORE ship
 'I painted the ship red.'

Here the free verb *kamalo* presents the activity, and *meha* describes the resulting state. However, *kamalo* is also in a paradigmatic relationship with the factitive prefix *hoko-*:

- (13) *Ku-hoko-meha te bangka.*
 1SG-FACT-red CORE ship
 'I made the ship red.'

We have then a paradigmatic relationship between a member of a non-bound, open word class, *kamalo*, and a bound affix, *hoko-*. There is no reason to assume that processes of language change might not lead to *hoko-* being reanalysed as an independent, unbound verb, meaning something like 'make';¹ this has not yet happened, as *hoko-* cannot stand independently of another verb, whereas other serial verbs can:

- (14) * *Ku-hoko te bangka.*
 1SG-FACT CORE ship
 'I caused the ship.'

- (15) *Ku-kamalo te bangka.*
 1SG-paint CORE ship
 'I painted the ship.'

This data is, however, good evidence for the argument that at a more abstract level of analysis the causative prefixes are best regarded as verbs, but ones that may only appear bound to another verb root. This is paralleled by the analysis of the bound pronominal affixes marking subject and object on verbs as being bound pronominal forms, and not just agreement markers (chapter 5).

Moving in the opposite direction, the verb *ako* 'do for' has a much wider range of meanings when used as a serial verb, being able to introduce benefactive, instrumental, theme, purpose or causal arguments (see chapter 10 for a more detailed discussion). With this degree of semantic bleaching, and the decline in its use as a main verb, we are probably witnessing a process in which *ako* is becoming reanalysed as a preposition or affix (see Baker (1988a) for a detailed discussion of the putative relationship between prepositions and applicative affixes, and that between verbs and causative affixes).

- (16) * *Ku-ako te kabali.*
 1SG-do.for CORE machete
 'I used the machete.'

- (17) *Ku-simbi-ako te kabali.*
 1SG-slash-APPL CORE machete
 'I slashed (the grass) with a machete.'

Given that *Tukang Besi*, as with all languages, is in a continuous process of reanalysis, with (in the case of *Tukang Besi*) open class lexemes being reanalysed as closed class, it is reasonable to expect that some lexemes in the open classes behave somewhat erratically in certain environments. Similarly, some of the members of some closed classes, namely the prepositions, show some properties more typical of the open classes.

4.2 Word classes and the problem of overlap

The lexical specification of many words in *Tukang Besi* does not explicitly mention word class membership; the same form may be used, with no derivational morphology, in both nominal and verbal frames. Rather, the word class of these lexical items is specified syntactically. Thus the same lexeme may appear functioning as a noun in some contexts, and as a verb in others. An example of this can be seen in the following two extracts from the same text (the *Wa Iambo* text included in the appendices), occurring in adjacent lines:

- (18) ...*ka-atu-mo no-nduu-mo na tawatawa i molengo.*
 PRES-that-PF 3R-make.noise-PF NOM hand.gong OBL long
 '... there it was there, a hand gong (that she'd heard) earlier on was making a noise.'
- (19) "E, *te ndonga-ndonga o-tawatawa-mpaira*,...
 Hey CORE RED-clang 3R-hand.gong-GEN-what
 '... "Hey, what kind of hand gong thing is that clanger doing,...."'

In (18) *tawatawa* functions as the head of a noun phrase, its nominal character in this clause clear from the article preceding it indicating that it is in a KP, and is the nominative subject of the intransitive verb *nduu* 'make noise'; *tawatawa* is not affixed to indicate relative clause status, so we must assume it is the nominal head of the NP. In the next line, given here as (19), *tawatawa* is prefixed with verbal subject-marking morphology, and clearly serves as the intransitive verb in the clause whose subject is *te ndongandongong* 'the clanger' / 'the clanging one'. Similar precategorical behaviour is found with words describing more permanent properties, such as *leama* 'good', which may function as a predicate (*Noleama*, 'S/he's good. '), or a referential expression in a KP (*te leama*, 'the good (one)', or the good(ness)'; the KP may refer either to someone or something possessing this property, or to the property itself). With an adjective beginning with *mo-*, such as *molengo* 'long (time)', the use of the lexeme in a KP requires less morphology than the predicative use, since the fossilised *mo-* prefix is not retained in referential use: *te lengo*, 'the long (one)', or the length', compared with *Nomopera* 'S/he's short.', but **Nolengo*. With adjectives with the fossilised *ma-*, the prefix is always retained when referential (*te mamuda* 'the comfortable (one)'/ 'the comfort'), and adjectives with *me-* show variable behaviour: *te langka* / *te melangka* 'the long (one)' / the length', and *Nomelangka*.

There do not appear to be many lexemes that are always unambiguously either nouns

or verbs, but not both. Certainly (at least most) 'nominals' can occur in verbal positions, without derivational morphology. Some verbs require overt derivation, using the nominalising suffix *-a*, to appear as nouns. This is the case with *'ita* in (20) - (22):

(20) *Ku-['ita] te honda-'u.*
 1SG-see CORE motorbike-2SG.POSS
 'I can see your motor bike.'

(21) *Te ['ita-ra]-no no-ja'o ala'a.*
 CORE see-NL-3POSS 3R-bad just
 'It looks pretty bad.'

(22) * *Te ['ita]-no no-ja'o ala'a.*
 CORE see-3POSS 3R-bad just

(this morpheme has the special form *-ra* when used with *'ita* 'see' denoting 'sight, appearance.' Note, however, that the word *'ita-'a* also exists, meaning 'act of looking', precluding the analysis that *-ra* is a suppletive form of the morpheme *-a* used with the stem *'ita*.)

Other lexemes require this suffix to refer to the action, but have another (related) meaning when used nominally without the suffix; such is the case with *topa* in the following examples:

(23) *Ku-[topa]-'e na ana-'u mosega.*
 1SG-slap-3OBJ NOM child-2SG.POSS naughty
 'I slapped your naughty child.'

(24) *Te [topa-'a]-no o-i-sala no-moboaha.*
 CORE slap-NL-3POSS 3R-OP-fault 3R-heavy
 'His slapping was rather severe.'

(25) *Te [topa]-no o-i-sala no-moboaha.*
 CORE hand.drum-3POSS 3R-OP-rather 3R-heavy
 'His hand drum is rather heavy.'
 (A hand drum is played by slapping the ends with an open palm)

Some 'more nominal' concepts DO require the use of a verbalising prefix *he-* in order to be used verbally. Compare the use of two different body-part terms as verbs of striking, in (26) - (28) which require the verbal prefix, and (29) - (30) which, like most body-part terms in *Tukang Besi*, do not require this prefix to be used verbally:

(26) *Te tu'u i wor(u) u pa'a.*
 CORE knee OBL under GEN thigh
 '(Your) knee is under (your) thigh.'

(27) *No-he-tu'u te bali-no.*
 3R-DO-knee CORE opponent-3POSS
 'He kneed his opponent.'

- (28) * *No-tu'u te bali-no.*
 3R-knee CORE opponent-3POSS
- (29) *Te peku i talik(u) u lima.*
 CORE backfist OBL behind GEN hand
 'The backfist is at the back of the hand.'
- (30) *No-peku te bali-no.*
 3R-backfist CORE opponent-3POSS
 'He backfisted his opponent.'

(a backfist is a clenched fist used to strike with the first two knuckles swung 'backhand'-fashion at the target)

Although no counts or extensive testing have been done, there are, impressionistically, fewer purely nominal lexemes than there are purely verbal lexemes; that is, a greater proportion of words that would be classed as 'nouns' from an English perspective display pre-categorial behaviour than do words which are more 'verbal.'

The best analysis is probably that there are some concepts which are, due to their semantic content, explicitly verbal, and a (smaller) number of concepts that are more nominal. The majority of forms, however, may function in either position in a clause, as exemplified by *tawatawa* in (18) and (19). The cline between strictly verbal concepts and (the less common) strictly nominal concepts may be represented as follows:

Verbal	Pre-categorial			Nominal
'ita	topa	bose	wowine	komba
'see'	'slap'	'paddle'	'woman'	'moon'

This cline is justified by several morphosyntactic traits, presented in table 3:

Table 3. Features showing the verbal-pre-categorial-nominal cline

	'ita	topa	bose	wowine	komba
Head of NP without '-a?		←-----→			
Subject prefixes?	←-----→				
Object suffixes?	←-----→				
Subject may be [Dative]?	←-----→				

Examples of these parameters interacting with different words at different points on the continuum can be seen in examples (21) - (25), and the discussion underneath example (33). Example (65) in chapter 12 shows the inability of *komba* to occur with the nominalising suffix '-a', and line 46 of the Wa Iambo text (the first text of those included in the appendices) presents a natural discourse use of subject prefixes on an intuitively very nominal concept, *wowine* '(be a) woman'. This ambiguous behaviour is partly explainable by the fact that the subclass of non-agentive verbs in Tukang Besi is made up of verbs whose meaning is ambiguous between 'be STATE' and 'become STATE'. Thus *mate*

'dead', with third person subject prefixes, may mean either 'S/he is dying', 'S/he died', or 'S/he is dead':

- (31) *Jari no-poso-mo na ia mo'ane iso, o-, no-mate-mo.*
 so 3R-dizzy-PF NOM 3SG male yon 3R- 3R-die-PF
 'That boy felt dizzy, he was (weakening and) dying.' (WaI:61)

- (32) *Jari te La Kohokoho no-mate-mo.*
 so CORE La Heron 3R-dead-PF
 'So Heron died.' (RA:39)

- (33) *Jari o-, o-po-'awa-mo. O-pogau na Ndokendoke kua*
 so 3R- 3R-REC-get-PF 3R-say NOM Monkey :
 'E iaku, o-mate-mo, mbeaka no-'ido na loka-su.
 TOP 1SG 3R-die-PF, not 3R-live NOM banana-1SG.POSS
 'Well, they met each other, Monkey said "As for me,
 they are dead, my bananas aren't living."' (AK:37)

With this breadth of meaning, one form being used to indicate both a state and a process, it is less surprising that otherwise nominal lexemes can be used verbally; the extension of a state of existence to a process of change follows from the semantic classes established by the non-agentive verbs. An example of the functional reality of this ambiguity can be illustrated anecdotally. Sitting in a canoe, with a *Tukang Besi* person in a similar canoe within arm reach, both equipped with paddles but in very shallow water, such that the canoes could be propelled without paddles if needed, I said to my companion *bose!* As a putatively verbal form, it would be interpreted, by its lack of any subject prefixes, as being an imperative used to a singular addressee, with the meaning 'Paddle! (away)'. As a putative nominal form, the absence of an article or verb would mean that it could only be interpreted as the theme object of the verb *give*, thus meaning '(Give me your) paddle!' My idea was that if the lexeme *bose* was underlyingly verbal, the addressee should paddle away; if underlyingly nominal, he should give me the paddle. His response was neither of these; he hesitated, and then asked 'Do you want me to paddle away, or to give you the paddle?', clearly unable to disambiguate the two interpretations of the (grammatical) utterance.

The concept of clear word classes is needed to describe the direction taken by many derivational affixes; the suffix *-a* 'nominaliser' always derives a word that is a noun; similarly, the prefixes *he-* 'verbaliser', *hoN-* 'purposeful verbaliser', and *hoko-* 'factitive', amongst others, always unambiguously derive words that are verbs (see chapters 9 - 11 for more examples). Here, as in the lexicon, there are more unambiguously verbal concepts than nominal ones. Even though there are more precategorical entries in the lexicon than ones assigned to the classes 'noun' or 'verb', I will use the labels 'noun' and 'verb' to discuss their function in a particular syntactic frame, without necessarily claiming that the word is specified lexically as being either noun or verb.

With the closed word classes a greater proportion of the lexemes are more clear; *'ulu*, for instance, is a classifier, and cannot be used as a head of a noun phrase, or verbally. Some of these clear cases are listed below:

CLASSIFIER	<i>'ulu</i> 'classifier for animals'	<i>bala</i> 'classifier for soap'
PREPOSITION	<i>mina</i> 'ablative preposition'	<i>kua</i> 'allative preposition'
CONJUNCTION	<i>maka</i> 'and then...'	<i>toka</i> 'but'

Many of the forms that may appear in a syntactic position that calls for a member of a closed class can also, however, function as a member of an open class. Examples include:

CLASSIFIER-NOUN:	<i>ba'e</i>	'counter for small round things' 'fruit; heart'
CONJUNCTION-NOUN:	<i>kene</i>	'and, whilst' 'friend'
CONJUNCTION-VERB:	<i>jari</i>	'and so, thus...' 'become'

A discussion of word classes in *Tukang Besi* must bear in mind that the distinction between classes is, generally, a syntactically determined one, and not lexically specified. With this in mind, the open word classes, consisting of nouns and verb (including adjectives) will be discussed, followed by commentary on the closed word classes.

4.3 Open word classes

There are two main classes of words in *Tukang Besi* that have open membership, nouns and verbs. There is not a limit to the number of items in these classes, and loan words are regularly assimilated to one of these open classes. Additionally, there is a sub-class of verbs that has several distinct morphosyntactic properties, in some ways more similar to nouns than to verbs, consisting wholly of intransitive non-agentive verbs (see 4.5); these are called adjectives. They act identically to verbs when used predicatively, but when modifying the head of an NP they display some distinctive behaviour. The adjectives also appear to be an open (sub-)class, with approximately 9% of the lexicon of the language being adjectives (Based on a count of approximately 1500 items in a dictionary file), and loanwords able to be borrowed into this class.

4.4 Nouns

A noun can be identified on syntactic grounds by the fact that it always appears in an NP, preceded by either an article (see 4.6.7) or a preposition (4.6.4). In citation, nouns are most commonly preceded by the non-nominative core article *te*. A nominal can head an NP without requiring any morphology to specify that it is serving in that role, such as the derivational *-'a* required on some 'verbs'. Due to the extensive indexing of role information on the verb in *Tukang Besi*, nominals in core function occur rather

infrequently: a text of 130 verbal clauses (*Wa lambo*, in the appendices) included approximately 30 nominals each in [S] and [O] role, and 10 in [A] role. The infrequency of nominals appearing in discourse, and the lack of any outstanding pre-syntactic criteria that they have, leads to there being few criteria for their classification. The system of numeral classifiers covertly divides the nominals into groups, but these are not absolute divisions, as one nominal may appear with more than one classifier, such as *loka* 'banana' (see 4.6.6).

4.5 Verbs and adjectives

The label 'verb' is used to indicate the class of words that can be prefixed to indicate its subject when used as the head of a main clause. Verbs, and the subclass of adjectives, are related and divided into subclasses by a number of morphological features, which are summarised in table 4, and illustrated with examples following the table:

Table 4. Defining characteristics of different verbal (and verblike) categories in *Tukang Besi*

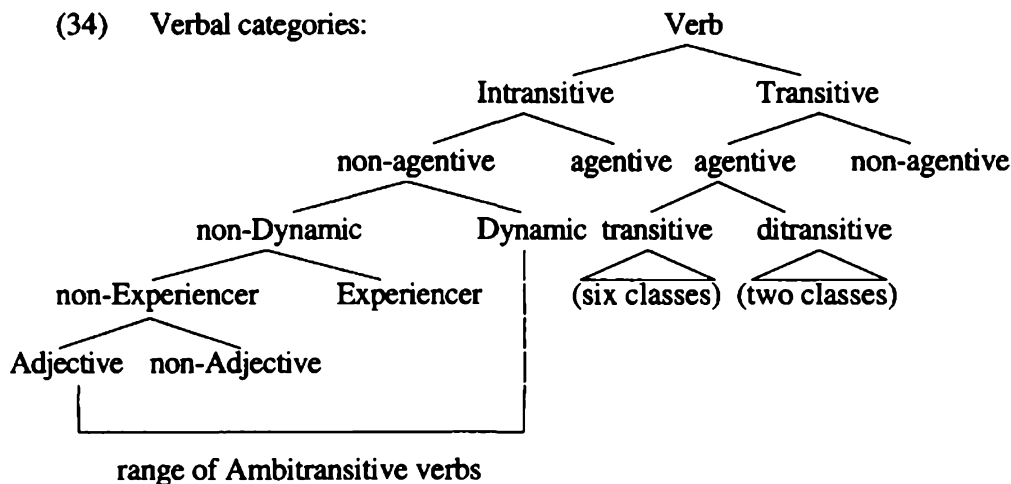
<i>to'oge</i> 'big'	<i>ja'o</i> 'bad'	<i>like</i> 'awake'	<i>mente</i> 'surprise'	<i>buti</i> 'fall'	<i>wila</i> 'go'	<i>bose</i> 'paddle'	<i>topa</i> 'slap'	<i>hu'u</i> 'give'	<i>hoto-</i> 'have'	
hoko- factitive										
pa- causative								pa-		
pa- + {-um}- = [m]a-								[m]a-		
may take object suffixes				may take object suffixes						
Compulsory -um- when modifying										
Objects must be nominative									+NOM	
						hepe- requestive				
—Adjective—			non-Adjective							
non-Experiencer			Exp.-er	non-Experiencer				Exp.-er		
non-Dynamic			Dynamic				- dyn.			
non-agentive					agentive			- agent.		
intransitive					transitive					

In addition to the facts in table 4, it should be noted that *hoto-* is the only example of a non-agentive transitive verb, and that there appear to be only two ditransitive verbs, *hu'u* 'give' and *kahu* 'send'.

The morphological tests involved are:

- choice of causative prefixes: *hoko-* factitive, *pa-* causative, or *hepe-* requestive;
- use of the subject infix *-[um]-* when modifying in an NP;
- allomorphy of *-[um]-* when the verb is prefixed with *pa-* in a main clause;
- ability to take object suffixes to index an object;
- ability for an object (if present) to be non-nominative.

Diagrammatically, the different classes of verbs can be represented as in (34):



The terms transitive and intransitive need no introduction, other than to mention that transitive verbs in *Tukang Besi* may generally omit their object; they do not, however, act as intransitives in this case, as several syntactic tests show (see e.g. chapter 9.1). Agentive and non-agentive are used to describe the difference between verbs that subcategorise for an [Agent] argument and those that do not; an agent is in control of the predicate, and not affected by it directly. The term 'non-agentive' is used in preference to 'stative', since these verbs may refer to either an ongoing state or the inception of that state, as illustrated in (31) - (33). A dynamic verb describes an activity that necessarily changes over time; a non-dynamic verb may refer to an activity that leads to a change, but may equally refer to an unchanging state. Within the non-Dynamic class, experiencer verbs are those in which the affected argument does not undergo a change in physical state, but only an emotional or experienced one, such as *mo'aro* 'be hungry' as opposed to *mobela* 'be wounded'. Finally, the distinction between Adjective and non-Adjective is purely a morphosyntactic one, and does not have any semantic correlates (other than the interpretation of one modifying constructions). For instance, the set of colour terms is split between the Adjective and non-Adjective class; *biru* 'black' is an adjective, but *'ijo* 'green' is a verb.

Examples of the morphological criteria establishing these divisions can be seen in (35) - (62):

Transitive verbs divided on the basis of the ability or inability to take non-nominative objects:

(35) *No-siasa-'e na 'obu iso.*
3R-beat-3OBJ NOM dog yon
'They beat that dog.'

(36) *No-siasa te 'obu iso.*
3R-beat CORE dog yon
'They beat that dog.'

(37) *No-hoto-'e na 'obu iso.*
3R-have-3OBJ NOM dog yon
'They own that dog.'

- (38) * *No-hoto te 'obu iso.*
 3R-have- CORE dog yon
 'They own that dog.'

Transitive / intransitive established by the choice of article when causativised with *pa-* in Lia-Mandati dialect:

- (39) *No-pa-manga di mia iso.*
 3R-CAUS-go OBL person yon
 'They had that person there eat.'

- (40) * *No-pa-manga te mia iso.*
 3R-CAUS-go CORE person yon

- (41) *No-pa-wila te mia iso.*
 3R-CAUS-go CORE person yon
 'They sent that person there.'

- (42) * *No-pa-wila di mia iso.*
 3R-CAUS-go OBL person yon

Agentive / non-agentive established by the ability or inability to occur with *hepe-*

- (43) *Ku-pa-buti te osimpu.*
 1SG-CAUS-fall CORE young.coconut
 'I dropped the coconut.'

- (44) * *Ku-hepe-buti te osimpu.*
 1SG-REQ-fall CORE young.coconut

- (45) *No-pa-wila-aku te ina-su.*
 3R-CAUS-go-1SG.OBJ CORE mother-1SG.POSS
 'My mother made me go.'

- (46) *No-hepe-wila-aku te ina-su.*
 3R-REQ-go-1SG.OBJ CORE mother-1SG.POSS
 'My mother asked me to go.'

non-agentive / agentive established by the allomorphy of *pa-* and *-[um]-*:

- (47) *Ko-[m]a-buti te osimpu-?*
 2SG.I-CAUS.SI-fall CORE young.coconut
 'Are you going to drop the coconuts?'

- (48) * *Ko-p[um]a-buti te osimpu?*
 2SG.I-CAUS.SI-fall CORE young.coconut

- (49) * *Ko-[m]a-wil(a) i koranga la?*
 2SG.I-CAUS.SI-go OBL garden ILL.FORCE

- (50) *Ko-p[um]a-wil(a) i koranga la?*
 2SG.I-CAUS.SI-go OBL garden ILL.FORCE
 'Are you going to go to the garden?'

non-Dynamic / Dynamic established by the ability or inability to occur with the factitive prefix *hoko-*:

- (51) *No-hoko-like-aku te iai-su.*
3R-FACT-wake.up-1SG.OBJ CORE younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
'My younger brother really woke me right up.'
- (52) *No-pa-like-aku te iai-su.*
3R-CAUS-wake.up-1SG.OBJ CORE younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
'My younger brother woke me up somewhat
(but I managed to get back to sleep).'
- (53) * *Ku-hoko-buti te osimpu.*
1SG-FACT-fall CORE young.coconut
- (54) *Ku-pa-buti te osimpu.*
1SG-CAUS-fall CORE young.coconut
'I dropped the coconut.'

Experiencer / non-Experiencer established by the use of passive relative clauses (separates non-dynamic non-experiencer) in Lia-Mandati dialect:

- (55) * *Te iaku t[um]o-pa-mente.*
CORE 1SG PASS.SI-CAUS-surprise
'I, who was surprised....'
- (56) *Te iaku t[um]o-pa-like.*
CORE 1SG PASS.SI-CAUS-wake.up
'I, who was woken up,'

Adjectives separated from non-Adjective non-Dynamic verbs based on the ability to modify without the *-[um]-* infix:

- (57) *No-wila na kalambe kabongo.*
3R-go NOM girl deaf
'The deaf girl went.'

(Note that, as mentioned in chapter 2.5.1, the *-[um]-* infix shows no overtly distinct allomorph on adjectives beginning with *m-*, but is semantically distinct; thus *meha* 'red' but *[m]eha* 'reddest'. Context disambiguates these two meanings.)

- (58) *No-wila na kalambe l[um]ule.*
3R-go NOM girl naked
'The naked girl went.'

- (59) *No-wila na kalambe k[um]abongo.*
3R-go NOM girl deaf
'The girl who's really deaf went.'

(Adjectives can appear with the infix *-[um]-*, but are then assigned a superlative meaning)

- (60) * *No-wila na kalambe lule.*
 3R-go NOM girl naked
 'The naked girl went.'

Adjectives divided into plain adjectives and ambitransitive verb/adjectives:

- (61) * *To-leama-'e na wunua-no.*
 1PL.R-good-3OBJ NOM house-3POSS
 'We improved their house.'
- (62) *To-ja'o-ke na wunua-no.*
 1PL.R-bad-3OBJ NOM house-3POSS
 'We ruined their house.'

The subcategorisation frames of the verbs in the different classes share certain gross features, with the transitive verbs having the greatest variation. The classes of transitive, intransitive (non-agentive, experiencer, agentive), ditransitive and ambitransitive verbs will be dealt with separately to explain the peculiarities of the subcategorisation frames of verbs in their class.

4.5.1 Transitive verbs

Verbs in *Tukang Besi* can be usefully grouped according to the semantic roles of the arguments that they take. This is determined through the interactability of different verbs with different constructions that call for particular semantic roles (see Donohue 1996 for an illustration of this procedure with intransitive verbs); the relevant constructions are causativisation (chapter 9), applicativisation (chapter 10), and the ability of a by-phrase in a passive construction to appear (chapters 11 and especially 20). All transitive verbs have one of the following as their basic subcategorisation frame:

- | | | | |
|----|-------------|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. | <i>topa</i> | ⟨[Ag], ([Thm/Pt])⟩ | 'slap with first joint of fingers;
slap a hand drum' |
| 2. | <i>'awa</i> | ⟨[Dat], ([Thm/Pt])⟩ | 'get, obtain' |
| 3. | <i>raho</i> | ⟨[Instr], [Pt] _{NOM} ⟩ | 'affect' |
| 4. | <i>pake</i> | ⟨[Ag], ([Instr])⟩ | 'use' |
| 5. | <i>hoti</i> | ⟨[Ag], ([Dat])⟩ | 'donate (food or clothing) charitably' |

It is worth noting from the outset that in most cases the object of the transitive verb is optional: as a general principle, a transitive verb may be used without an overt object (either nominal or affixal) with no special morphosyntax required to 'detransitivise' it. In the case of verbs with morphology that specifically adds on more than the base number of objects, there is a requirement that at least one object must be present, but there is no specification as to which of the possible objects this must be, in the case of (for example) a base transitive verb with applicative or causative morphology added (though there is evidence that the objectless verb is still regarded as transitive - see the discussion on dialect B forms of causatives in chapter 9.3). This also means that some derived transitive verbs (for example, *pa-ja'o* 'ruin', morphologically CAUS-bad) have an obligatory object.

The first of these case-frames is the most common, with most transitive verbs fitting

this frame. Dative subjects occur only with *'awa* 'get' and *tarima* 'receive', and as an alternative for some perception verbs (e.g. the verb *rodongo* with the frame ⟨[Dat], ([Thm/Pt])⟩ has the meaning 'hear (by chance)', and with the frame ⟨[Ag], ([Thm/Pt])⟩ 'listen to (deliberately).'

The differences between an agent subject and a dative subject are testable morphologically; when the verb is affixed with the applicative affix *-ngkene*, a suffix that may only appear on verbs with an [Ag] argument, the verb cannot serialise with *sala* to mean 'by chance':

(63) *No-sala-rodongo te tolua-'a nu rambi.*
3R-accident-hear CORE vomit-NL GEN orchestra
'They happened to hear the orchestra.'

(64) * *No-sala-rodongo-ngkene te kene-no.*
3R-accident-hear-COM CORE friend-3POSS
'They happened to listen to (it) with him.'

The third frame is the most unusual, REQUIRING a nominative patient, and applies only to expressions of natural force, such as *raho* 'affect' (in 'the rain affected me'), *mepa* 'wet', *motiti* 'dry'. An example is shown in (65), and the ungrammaticality of a non-nominative object is shown in (66):

(65) *No-motiti-aku te 'oloo s[um]jio.*
3R-dry-1SG.OBJ CORE sun afternoon.SI
'The afternoon sun dried me.'

(66) * *No-motiti te anabou la'a-mo n[um]jangu*
3R-dry CORE child just-PF swim.SI
na 'oloo s[um]jio.
NOM sun afternoon.SI
'The afternoon sun dried the boy who had just been swimming.'

Instrumental objects, as shown in the fourth subcategorisation frame, are seen with the verb *pake* 'use', verbs of throwing such as *eda* 'throw underarm', *kabi* 'throw away at', and many derived verbs, such as *heka-batu* 'throw (a stone)', *he-kabali* 'use a machete', which may also take non-typical objects (such as, in the examples given, *hekabatu te po'o* 'throw a mango (as if it were a stone)', *hekabali te hansu* 'use a sword (as if it were a machete)').

(67) *No-heka-batu te po'o.*
3R-VERB-stone CORE mango
'They threw mangoes (as if throwing stones).'

Simple transitive verbs with dative objects are rare; indeed, only *hoti* 'donate (food or clothing)', and speech act verbs such as *balo* 'answer', and *ema* 'ask' have been identified in this frame so far. Unlike *hu'u* 'give', which takes a dative and a theme object, *hoti* has an assumed object, food or clothing, that may not be overtly expressed nominally. Compare (68) and (69) with the ungrammatical (70):

- (68) *No-hu'u te ana mo'aro (te mandara).*
 3R-give CORE child hungry CORE sweet.potato
 'They gave (sweet potato) to the hungry child.'
- (69) *No-hoti te ana mo'aro.*
 3R-donate.food CORE child hungry
 'They donated food to the hungry child.'
- (70) * *No-hoti te ana mo'aro te mandara.*
 3R-donate.food CORE child hungry CORE sweet.potato
 'They donated sweet potato to the hungry child.'

This behaviour can probably be attributed to the fact that *hoti*, used nominally, has the meaning 'meal'. However, even when referring to clothing donated charitably, the object may not be mentioned:

- (71) * *No-hoti te ana mo'aro te baju.*
 3R-donate.food CORE child hungry CORE shirt
 'They donated a shirt to the hungry child.'

Note that [Agent] is the most versatile top semantic role in transitive verbs frames, able to appear with all the other semantic roles, and that [Theme/Patient] is the most versatile bottom semantic role, able to appear with any of the other semantic roles above it. This provides support for the notion that the proto-typical subject of a transitive clause is an [Agent], and that the prototypical object is a [Theme/Patient].

Further examples of transitive verbs, divided according to their subcategorisation frames, include:

⟨[Ag], ([Thm/Pt])⟩:	<i>ala</i>	fetch
	<i>manga</i>	eat
⟨[Dat], ([Thm/Pt])⟩:	<i>'ita</i>	see, catch sight of
	<i>tarima</i>	receive
⟨[Instr], [Pt] _{NOM} ⟩:	<i>mepa</i>	wet
	<i>raho</i>	affect
⟨[Ag], ([Instr])⟩:	<i>pake</i>	use
	<i>hebaju</i>	wear (a shirt)
⟨[Ag], ([Dat])⟩:	<i>hoti</i>	donate (food/clothes)
	<i>'ema</i>	ask (someone)

Notice that in all cases, except for verbs with instrumental subjects, the object of the transitive verb may be omitted; a drop in transitivity does not require morphological derivation in order to be grammatical, but may occur at any time. This has been indicated in the subcategorisation frame by the bracketing around the object in each of these frames. In the case of an unspecified object, the culturally or contextually unmarked object is assumed (e.g., *manga* 'eat' takes *manga* 'cassava' as its assumed object; *pake* 'use', in the context of a discussion on blacksmithing, takes *palu* 'hammer', as its assumed object).

Two subclasses of the ⟨[Ag], ([Thm/Pt])⟩ class of verbs exists, verbs which subcategorise for an optional core argument in instrumental role, as well as a patient, thus

representing a kind of 'ditransitive' construction. The first of these subcategories is for an extra argument:

simbi ⟨[Ag], ([Instr]), ([Pt])⟩ 'slash'

Other verbs with a subcategorisation frame allowing a core instrumental argument include the following:

<i>bongko</i>	tie
<i>gonti</i>	chop
<i>hugu</i>	slice
<i>koho</i>	chop
<i>tu'o</i>	fell

The second subclass also involves an instrument in addition to a theme/patient argument, but has the restriction that the instrument may not be nominative:

tompa ⟨[Ag], ([Instr]-NOM), ([Pt])⟩ 'throw (something) at'

Compare the grammaticality of (72) and (73), with nominative instruments:

(72) *No-simbi-e te pada na kabali.*
 3R-slash-3OBJ CORE kunai.grass NOM machete
 'He slashed the kunai grass with the machete.'

(73) * *No-tompa-e te 'obu na tomba.*
 3R-throw-3OBJ CORE dog NOM mud
 'He threw the mud at the dogs.'

This second subclass includes verbs in which the instrument cannot so readily be thought of as an intermediate agent (following Marantz 1984: 247); the instrumental knife involved in the verb 'cut' is much more easily thought of as an intermediary agent than is the instrumental stone in a verb like 'throw' (note, however, that unlike English a sentence like 'The machete slashed the kunai grass.' is NOT grammatical in *Tukang Besi*, as some agent must be expressed or implied; only a small number of weather verbs allow for an instrument to act as the subject in their clause). Other verbs in this subclass include:

<i>tompa</i>	throw
<i>hambere</i>	throw something long
<i>eda</i>	throw underarm

These two subclasses of verbs that subcategorise for an instrumental argument as well as another non-subject core argument differ from the verbs that take a sole instrumental object in that the head of an object relative clause may not be the instrumental object in the case of these verbs, whereas it may be for verbs with instrumental main objects. Compare (74) and (75):

- (74) * *Te kabali i-simbi-su.*
 CORE machete OP-slash-1SG.POSS
 'The machete that I slashed with.'

(an Instrument relative clause may be used for either of these two constructions to express the instrument in a relative clause that is distinct from either the subject relative clause or the object relative clause. Both of the following sentences are grammatical: *Te kabali simbisu*, *Te kabali pakesu*. See chapter 15)

- (75) *Te kabali i-pake-su.*
 CORE machete OP-slash-1SG.POSS
 'The machete that I used.'

Not all verbs that involve an instrument as part of their action may include a core instrumental role; with the verbs that can, it appears that there is a default choice of instrument, such as *kabali* 'machete' as the default instrument used with *simbi*, or *poda* 'knife' the default instrument used with *tobo* 'stab'. A verb that does not have a default instrument is *helo'a* 'cook'. Compare the grammatical (76) with the ungrammatical (77):

- (76) *No-simbi te pada te kabali.*
 3R-slash CORE kunai.grass CORE machete
 'He slashed the kunai grass with the machete.'

- (77) * *No-helo'a te kaitela tepanse.*
 3R-cook CORE corn CORE pot
 'She cooked the corn in a pot.'

(this sentence is acceptable with a preposition marking *panse*: *No-helo'a te kaitela dipanse*)

These verbs also differ from ditransitive verbs such as *hu'u* 'give' in that only the theme/patient argument may be subject in a passive sentence, whereas both the recipient and theme arguments of *hu'u* may be subject in a passive sentence (as exemplified in chapter 11).

4.5.2 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs can be split into those that take agentive arguments as their sole arguments, and those that take non-agentive arguments. The non-agentive verbs may be either experiencer or theme/patient verbs. Into the latter category fall the subclass of adjectives, and the overlapping class of ambitransitive verbs, dealt with later.

The adjectives that may not appear with object-suffixes, exemplified by *to'oge* in table 4, and thus are not ambitransitive verbs, have a simple subcategorisation frame that allows only a patient:

to'oge <[Pt]> 'big'

Other adjectives with this subcategorisation frame include the following:

<i>biru</i>	black
<i>kabongo</i>	deaf
<i>kandala</i>	blind
<i>ki'iki'i</i>	little
<i>kombeo</i>	unusual
<i>koruo</i>	many
<i>leama</i>	good
<i>meha</i>	red
<i>mena</i>	hot (water)
<i>rede</i>	boiling

and all the adjectives formed with *ma-*, *me-* or *mo-*, such as *mandawulu* 'beautiful', *mendaro* 'deep', *mombaka* 'delicious'.

The subclass of verbs must have an experiencer as subject. Some of these verbs may optionally take an oblique argument, marked by either the article *i* or *te*:

- (78) *No-motindo'u te uwe nu osimpu.*
 3R-thirsty CORE water GEN young.coconut
 'She's thirsting for some coconut juice.'

- (79) *No-monimpala i porai-no.*
 3R-miss OBL fiancée-3POSS
 'She misses her fiancée.'

The verbs that do not take oblique arguments are ambitransitive:

- (80) *No-mente na kalaminsala-su.*
 3R-surprised NOM elder.sister-1SG.POSS
 'My older sister is surprised.'
- (81) *No-mente-'e na kalaminsala-su.*
 3R-surprised-3OBJ NOM elder.sister-1SG.POSS
 'They surprised my older sister.'

These verbs have the following subcategorisation frames:

<i>motindo'u</i>	⟨[Dat], ([Cause])⟩	'thirsty'
<i>monimpala</i>	⟨[Dat], ([Source])⟩	'feel homesick, miss'
<i>mente</i>	⟨([Ag]), [Dat] _{NOM} ⟩	'surprised'

There are very few verbs with this type of subcategorisation frame.

Agentive intransitive verbs subcategorise for one argument:

<i>wila</i>	⟨[Ag]⟩	'go'
-------------	--------	------

Other agentive verbs with this subcategorisation frame include the following:

<i>'aka'aka</i>	play
<i>antara</i>	accompany
<i>helante</i>	make floor
<i>kede</i>	sit
<i>lagu</i>	sing
<i>lola</i>	fly
<i>nangu</i>	swim
<i>po'awa</i>	meet
<i>potae</i>	say
<i>tinti</i>	run

Some non-agentive verbs have alternate subcategorisation frames in which the single argument is an [Agent], not [Patient]. This is found with verbs denoting a voluntarily induced state, such as *moturu* 'sleep.' The [Agent] interpretation is a rather marked one, and usually not the first interpretation that speakers will assume. The subcategorisation frames for *moturu* are as follows:

<i>moturu</i>	<[Pt]>	'sleep'
<i>moturu</i>	<[Ag]>	'go in order to sleep'

Note this contrast in the sentences (82) and (83):

- [Theme]:
- (82) *No-moturu* *kene* *wowine* *ane* *ke* *hotu* *mopera.*
 3R-sleep and woman exist and hair short
 'He slept with the woman with the short hair.'
 (i.e., they were asleep near each other.)
 (# they had sex together)
- [Agent]:
- (83) *No-moturu-ngkene* *te* *wowine* *ane* *ke* *hotu* *mopera.*
 3R-sleep-COM CORE woman exist and hair short
 'He slept with the woman with the short hair.'
 (i.e., they had sex together)
 (* they simply slept near each other without activity)

Sentence (82) uses the conjunction *kene* (on an 'empty' NP; see chapter 18) to show an additional sleeping participant of the activity; the [Patient] interpretation is the only one possible. In (83), however, the [A] of the verb must be an [Agent], because of the addition of the *-ngkene* applicative suffix that requires an [Agent] in the subcategorisation frame of the verb, and so the non-agentive interpretation is not allowed. The analysis that this agentive meaning of *moturu* is lexicalised, rather than an alternative case frame, can be countered by the fact that in *Tukang Besi* the verb *moturu* 'sleep' also has a range extending over 'lie down, rest' (as in Indonesian *tidur* 'sleep'); in *pa-moturu* CAUS-sleep 'put to sleep', the meaning is not of knocking someone out, but of laying a person down in order that they can sleep. I argue then that in addition to 'sleep, lie down, rest', 'have sex' is also part of the range of the lexeme.

With a verb denoting a state that is NOT voluntarily induced, this agentive interpretation

is not allowed, as seen by the ungrammaticality of suffixing *-ngkene* to the verb (which would require an agent argument):

[Patient]:

- (84) *No-turu* *kene* *wowine* *ane* *ke* *hotu* *mopera*.
 3R-unconscious and woman exist and hair short
 'He was unconscious with the woman with the short hair.'
 (i.e., they happened to be knocked out near each other.)

[Agent]:

- (85) * *No-turu-ngkene* *te* *wowine* *ane* *ke* *hotu* *mopera*.
 3R-unconscious-COM CORE woman exist and hair short

4.5.3 Ditransitive verbs

There are only three verbs that display ditransitive (in the usual sense of the term, involving a recipient and a theme; see also the *simbi* subclass of transitive verbs described in 4.5.1) behaviour, *hu'u* 'give', *sumbanga* 'donate (money)', and *kahu* 'send'. All three differ in some ways with regard to their subcategorisation frames; most radically, *sumbanga* is a loan word, and speakers vary in their treatment of its arguments. Since there is no consensus about its grammatical treatment, and no prescriptive norm, *sumbanga* has not been considered here. Of the other two ditransitive verbs, *hu'u* has only one subcategorisation frame, which is also found for some occurrences of *kahu*:

hu'u <[Ag], ([Dat]), ([Thm])> 'give'

In this frame both the dative and the theme arguments are specified as optional; one of them is, however, required. Thus (86) and (87) are both grammatical, but (88) is not:

- (86) *No-hu'u-aku*.
 3R-give-1SG.OBJ
 'They gave me (something).'
- (87) *No-hu'u te doe*.
 3R-give CORE money
 'They gave (someone) some money.'
- (88) * *No-hu'u*.
 3R-give
 'They gave (someone) (something).'

With *kahu* 'send', the same frame as for *hu'u* may be used, specifying three core arguments, or alternatively the following may be used with only two core arguments, and one oblique one:

kahu <[Ag], ([Thm])> <[Dat]> 'send'

Similar to the restrictions found with *hu'u*, the frame specifies two optional arguments, in

this case the theme and the locative; one, however, is required, making * *nokahu* ‘They sent’ an ungrammatical sentence on its own. Compare the following sentences, the first using the ⟨[Ag], [Dat], [Thm]⟩ subcategorisation frame with three core arguments, the second using the ⟨[Ag], ([Thm])⟩ ⟨[Dat]⟩ frame. With the first frame, both the Dative and the Theme objects are marked as core arguments, but only the Dative object may be indexed on the verb. In the second sentence, the Theme is the object that determines the object suffixes on the verb, and the recipient is present as an oblique argument; it may not be marked by the core article *te*:

- ⟨[Ag], ([Dat]), ([Thm])⟩
- (89) *No-kahu-aku te doe te kene-su.*
 3R-send-1SG.OBJ CORE money CORE friend-1SG.POSS
 ‘My friend sent me some money.’

- ⟨[Ag], ([Thm])⟩ ⟨[Dat]⟩
- (90) *No-kahu-'e na doe te kene-su i iaku.*
 3R-send-3OBJ NOM money CORE friend-1SG.POSS OBL 1SG
 ‘My friend sent some money to me.’

These two subcategorisation frames have further consequences when grammatical processes such as passivisation and relative clause formation are applied; with the first frame, the recipient may be passivised, whereas with the second, the theme may be passivised:

- (91) *No-to-kahu-mo te doe na kene-su.*
 3R-PASS-send-PF CORE money CORE friend-1SG.POSS
 ‘My friend was sent some money.’
- (92) *No-to-kahu-mo na doe i kene-su.*
 3R-PASS-send-PF NOM money OBL friend-1SG.POSS
 ‘My friend sent some money to me.’
- (93) * *No-to-kahu-mo na doe te kene-su.*
 3R-PASS-send-PF NOM money CORE friend-1SG.POSS
 ‘My friend sent some money to me.’

4.5.4 Ambitransitive verbs

The set of Ambitransitive verbs consists of non-agentive verbs, whether they are adjectives or not, dynamic or not, that have the following subcategorisation frame:

ja'o ⟨([Ag]), [Thm/Pt]_{NOM}⟩ ‘bad; ruin’

This shows a verb with a patient, and an optional agent. Whether the agent is present or not, the patient must be the nominative argument in its clause. In an intransitive clause, this is not a problem; all underived subjects of intransitive clauses are automatically nominative:

- (94) *No-ja'o na ambere iwo.*
 3R-bad NOM bucket that:lower
 'That bucket down there is wrecked.'
 # 'That bucket down there has been ruined.'

This notation indicates that only one of the following two sentences is grammatical:

- (95) *No-ja'o-ke na ambere te anabou [m]oto akala*
 3R-bad-3OBJ NOM bucket CORE child have.SI trick
meiwo'e.
 REF-that:lower
 'That naughty child down there has ruined the bucket.'
- (96) * *No-ja'o te ambere na anabou [m]oto akala meiwo'e.*
 3R-bad CORE bucket NOM child have.SI trick REF-that:lower
 'That naughty child down there has ruined the bucket.'

In order for an argument other than the highest in the thematic hierarchy (see chapter 3) to be the nominative one in a sentence, object suffixes must be used. In the case of the ambitransitive verbs, this means that if the verb is used transitively, then the restriction that the [Patient] argument must be nominative requires the verb to use object suffixes.

Other ambitransitive verbs with this subcategorisation frame include the following:

<i>bongko</i>	tie, be tied
<i>buke</i>	open, be open
<i>buti</i>	fall, drop
<i>hesowui</i>	wash
<i>like</i>	wake up
<i>lule</i>	strip, be naked
<i>mota'a</i>	cook, be cooked
<i>pono</i>	fill, full
<i>pusi</i>	confuse, be dizzy
<i>saba'e</i>	divide, be separate

Finally, one verb, *waliako* 'return', appears to have the following subcategorisation frame:

waliako ⟨[Ag], ([Thm/Pt])⟩ 'return'

This is different from the ambitransitive verbs that all require a nominative patient/theme, and allow for an optional agent; *waliako* has an agentive argument, and allows that argument to act on itself, intransitively, or on another object, transitively. This contrasts with the closely related verb *mbule* 'return', which is a simple agentive intransitive verb, and does not allow for a transitive interpretation:

mbule ⟨[Ag]⟩ 'return'

4.6 Closed word classes

The closed word classes show less internal division, less derivational morphology, and much smaller membership than the open classes of noun, verb (and adjective). Some of these, the independent forms of the pronouns, and the referential and actual demonstratives, for instance, are better thought of as belonging to a greater nominal class, but they are described here separately, due to their smaller membership and restricted derivational possibilities.

4.6.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are available for first, second and third persons, and further differentiate number three ways for first person (singular, paucal and plural), and two ways for second person (singular and plural). The paucal category is being eroded to become a plural exclusive one, through contact with other languages, foremost Malay, that use this distinction. The pronoun class can be thought of as having one set of free forms, two prefixed sets, and three suffixed sets (one of which is becoming obsolete). There are, however, very few features distinguishing the free forms of the pronouns from any other noun, and might be better thought of as being specialised nouns, leaving only the bound forms as true pronouns. Further details on the forms of the various pronominal sets are given in Chapter 5.

4.6.2 Epistememes (interrogatives)

Whilst there is clearly a group of words that may be called interrogatives, in that they are invariably used when asking content questions and for specifying the semantic range of a group of entities, the actual words themselves fall into different classes, and some are indeed precategoryal. Only a small few of the words can be classed as being epistememes (see Durie and Mushin 1992, Mushin 1995 for a discussion about the use and justification of this term), and do not belong in any other word class. The epistememes found in *Tukang Besi* are:

<i>paira</i>	what	noun
<i>sapaira</i>	how much (price)	epistememe
<i>-mpaira</i>	what kind of	precategoryal
<i>popia</i>	how many (n.)	numeral + classifier
<i>pia-</i>	how many	numeral
<i>ie'ei, emai, ie'emai</i>	who	noun
<i>'umpa</i>	how, where	epistememe
<i>ha'a</i>	how, do what	verb
<i>kehia</i>	when (future)	epistememe
<i>(d)ehia</i>	when (past)	epistememe
<i>anu</i>	thingy, whatsit	precategoryal

These words, and their use, are discussed in more detail in chapter 19.

4.6.3 Demonstratives

There are two sets of demonstratives in *Tukang Besi*, further divided into those used to refer to entities still visible, and those used to refer anaphorically to no longer current or visible entities. The first set indicates spatial or referential distance from the speaker, divided three ways into that which is close to the speaker, but far from the hearer (*ana*), that which is close to the hearer but far from the speaker (*atu*), and that which is far from both (*iso*). The second set is used to add a topographic component to the information, specifying either ‘up’ (*ito*) or ‘down’ (*iwo*); in addition to literal up and down, these topographic demonstratives are also used to refer to east and west, north and south, landwards and seawards, and towards versus out from the cultural centre. There seems to be a hierarchy of relevance of these categories for the purposes of choosing which demonstrative to use, such that a trip downhill may still be described as going in the upward direction, if the journey still proceeds in a west-east direction. Further details, and village-specific information on this topographic deixis, is given in chapter 6.

4.6.4 Prepositions

The class of prepositions in *Tukang Besi* contains several words that have additional functions in other word classes, foremost verbs. It seems clear that there is a cline of properties that separate ‘pure’ prepositions from pure verbs. The following set of features seems to define the differences and similarities clearly, going from main-clause verbs on the left, through the serial verb use of *ako*, to the conjunction *kene*, and then the three prepositions:

	Verb	<i>ako</i>	<i>kene</i>	<i>mina</i>	<i>kua</i>	<i>apa</i>
Core article phonologically incorporated?	←-----→					
Governs KP, not NP?		←-----→				
Allows object suffixes?		←-----→				
Uses subject prefixes when predicative?	←-----→					
Fronts when nominal fronts?			←-----→			

The behaviour of these words, as both ‘prepositions’ and in other roles, is dealt with in chapter 13.

4.6.5 Conjunctions

Two clauses in *Tukang Besi* can be conjoined without the need for an overt conjunction. However, some conjunctions exist to join two clauses, neither of which is subordinate to the other. Some of these conjunctions include:

<i>kene</i>	and
<i>toka</i>	but
<i>kambeda</i>	but, however, in fact
<i>tabeda</i>	but, in contrast
<i>maka</i>	and then
<i>jari</i>	well, so
<i>buntu kua</i>	whereas
<i>hebuntu</i>	whereas
<i>karna</i>	because, the reason is
<i>(d)ehia</i>	when (past)
<i>anu</i>	thingy, whatsit

The first of these, *kene*, shows many verb-like properties, but with interesting and important restrictions that are not applied to main-clause verbs; it may be that *kene* is displaying an interesting usage here as a serial verb serving to link syntactic units. Details of this are discussed in chapter 17.

4.6.6 Numerals and classifiers

Numerals form an almost closed word class in *Tukang Besi*, with native forms for the numbers from one to ten and hundred, and a decimal counting system. The numbers for thousand, *riwu*, and million, *juta*, are loans (from Malay), but fit into the base-ten system easily. In addition to the numbers, certain quantifiers and questions words, such as *koruo* ‘many’, and *pia-* ‘how many’, also fit into the numeral category, in that they occur in the same position in a numeral + classifier phrase. The numerals from 1 - 9 have three different forms, and these are given in table 5:

Table 5. Numerals from 1 - 9

	free	prefix	‘reduplicated’
1	<i>sa'asa</i>	<i>sa-</i>	<i>sa'asa</i>
2	<i>dua</i>	<i>dua-</i>	<i>dodua</i>
3	<i>tolu</i>	<i>tolu-</i>	<i>totolu</i>
4	<i>gana</i>	<i>hato-</i>	<i>gana</i>
5	<i>lima</i>	<i>lima-</i>	<i>lolima</i>
6	<i>no'o</i>	<i>nomo-</i>	<i>nono'o</i>
7	<i>pitu</i>	<i>hitu-</i>	<i>popitu</i>
8	<i>alu</i>	<i>alu-</i>	<i>oalu</i>
9	<i>sia</i>	<i>sia-</i>	<i>sosia</i>

Many of the numbers have the same form across several columns but this is not true for the class of numerals as a whole; for example, ‘four’ is *gana* in both the free and the reduplicated sets, but has a separate prefixed form, *hato-*. For ‘nine’, on the other hand, the free and prefixed forms are identical, *sia*, but the reduplicated form is different, *sosia*. In Southern *Tukang Besi*, of Tomea and Binongko, the historically irregular *gana* (< Malay *gənap*, ‘complete’?) does not occur, and the historically more conservative *pa'a* is used with the meaning ‘four.’

The plain forms are used to form the last number in a complex number, such as ‘one’ in thirty one, *toluhulu sa’asa*, and (with modification) to show the number of participants in an intradirective action (see chapter 5). The major use of the reduplicated forms is as numeral verbs. In this function they are treated as ambitransitive (adjectival) verbs: they may be transitive, but only when used with object suffixes. Some examples of their use are given in (97) and (98):

(97) *Te ikomiu i-popia-mo wa?*
 CORE 2PL 2PL.R-how.many-PF ILL.FORCE
 ‘How many of you are there now?’

(98) *Labi to-dodua-’e?*
 better 1PL.R-be.two-3OBJ
 ‘We should (put a) second one (in).’

(Referring to putting petrol in a motorbike; lit., ‘Better we should make it two.’)

The reduplicated forms are also used for counting (‘How many chickens do I have? One, two, three...’) by some speakers, though others (the older generation) use the plain forms, and yet others always use classifiers with the prefixed set of numerals. The most common pattern amongst younger speakers seems to be to use the unreduplicated forms, except for the number one, which is often given as *sa’asa* when counting. A final use of these numerals is to show an ‘ordinal’ number, by being used as adjectival modifiers. In this use the sense is that the item numbered is the one that makes the set equal to the ‘ordinal’ number that is expressed. For example, in

(99) *Te kie totolu-no atu ai, ...*
 TOP mat be.three-3POSS that ANA
 ‘Now, her third mat there ...’

(Literally glossed, ‘That mat of hers that makes (the number of mats) three...’)

The prefixed forms are used with classifiers, and with the higher numbers (10, 100,...) to form complex numbers, as seen in table 6:

Table 6. Numbers above 9 (selection only)

10	<i>ompulu</i>	30	<i>toluhulu</i>
11	<i>ompulu sa'asa</i>	40	<i>hatohulu</i>
12	<i>ompulu dua</i>	50	<i>limahulu</i>
13	<i>ompulu tolu</i>	60	<i>nomohulu</i>
14	<i>ompulu gana</i>	70	<i>hituhulu</i>
15	<i>ompulu lima</i>	80	<i>aluhulu</i>
16	<i>ompulu no'o</i>	90	<i>siahulu</i>
17	<i>ompulu pitu</i>	100	<i>sahatu</i>
18	<i>ompulu alu</i>	200	<i>duahatu</i>
19	<i>ompulu sia</i>	300	<i>toluhatu</i>
20	<i>duahulu</i>	400	<i>hatohatu</i>
21	<i>duahulu 'asa</i>	500	<i>limahatu</i>
22	<i>duahulu dua</i>	600	<i>nomohatu</i>
23	<i>duahulu tolu</i>	700	<i>hituhatu</i>
24	<i>duahulu gana</i>	1,000	<i>sariwu</i>
25	<i>duahulu lima</i>	1,000,000	<i>sajuta</i>

Note that the numeral 'one' uses a special form when it attaches to *-hulu* 'ten'; rather than the expected *sa-*, as seen in *sa-hatu* '100', *sa-riwu* '1,000', and all the numeral + classifier combinations, it and the following *-hulu* appears as a suppletive form, *ompulu*. As can be seen, intermediate numbers are simply combinations of different base-ten units. A more complicated example:

1966: *sa-riwu* *sia-hatu* *nomo-hulu* *no'o*
 1-thousand 9-hundred 6-ten 6

Classifiers occur only after a numeral, and are not entirely fixed for each lexical item; for instance, *loka* 'banana' may take *ba'e*, the 'fruit and small objects' classifier, as its classifier when the speaker wishes to refer to the fruit, or *'asa*, the general classifier, when referring to pieces of fried banana. The following classifiers have been found; it is very likely that a thorough search would reveal more, but their use is declining amongst younger speakers, who tend to use *'asa* to cover the whole range of meaning.

Classifier	Things covered	example:	
<i>'asa</i>	general counter	<i>sombure</i> <i>potoloti</i>	'stick' 'pencil'
<i>'ulu</i>	animals	<i>woleke</i> <i>ika</i>	'rat' 'fish'
<i>ba'e</i>	small objects;	<i>beleke</i> <i>malobu</i>	'can' 'bowl'
	fruit	<i>loka</i> <i>po'o</i>	'banana' 'mango'
<i>bala</i>	soap	<i>sabo</i> <i>rinso</i>	'soap' 'soap powder'

<i>hu'u</i>	long things	<i>kau</i> <i>koni</i>	'tree' 'tooth'
<i>lawa</i>	foldable things	<i>kie</i> <i>tasitasi</i>	'mat' 'bag'
<i>limbo</i>	social groups of people	<i>kampo</i> <i>togo</i>	'village' 'town' ²
<i>mata</i>	pointed things; metal things; small quantities of mass nouns	<i>deu</i> <i>kabali</i> <i>kela</i> <i>rante</i> 'one' <i>uwe</i>	'needle' 'machete' 'ring' 'chain' 'sand' 'water'
<i>mia</i>	people	<i>wowine</i> <i>tukatutu</i>	'woman' 'blacksmith'
<i>rope</i>	means of transport	<i>bangka</i> <i>oto</i>	'ship' 'car, vehicle'
<i>tuwu</i>	cloth	<i>roo</i> <i>wurai</i>	'skirt' 'sarong'
<i>wunga</i>	limb extremities	<i>ae</i> <i>lima</i>	'leg' 'arm'

A numeral + classifier phrase may occur in an NP (see chapter 12), or it may float to a position elsewhere in the sentence (see chapter 20); an example of each of these options can be seen in (100), which has a numeral + classifier in the NP that contains the counted noun, and (101), which shows a numeral + classifier floated out of the NP:

- (100) *Sa-anu-no* *ane* *ke* [*mia pande* [*sa-mia*]_{N-C}]_{NP},
 when-thingy-3POSS exist and shaman 1-CLASS
no-tari-ako-'e *na* *kau* *iso*.
 3R-ESP-APPL-3OBJ NOM tree yon
 'When that happened, there was a shaman, and he spied on that tree mentally.'

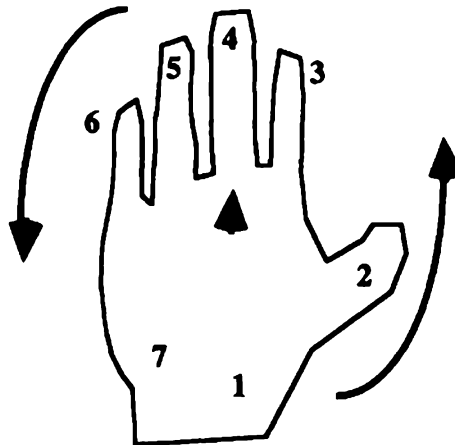
- (101) *Ane* [*sia-rope*]_{N-C} *na* [*kapala mawi*]_{NP} *i* *o'a*.
 exist 9-CLASS NOM boat sea OBL mooring.place
 'There are nine motor ships in the harbour area.'

In both of these cases, the only modification that can occur is with *labi* 'better, more' following the numeral + classifier, as in (102):

- (102) *Ane* [*sa-komba labi*]_{N-C} *na* [*wakutuu*]_{NP}.
 exist 1-month more NOM time
 'They had more than a month.'

Numerals 2: The *kampalei*

In addition to the regular set of base-ten numerals, there is a counting system that involves the use of the fingers and palm of the right hand, originally (and still primarily) used for determining fortune at sea, it is used by many people as a means of normal counting as well. The arrangement of the hand for this mode of counting is as seen in figure 1:

FIGURE 1: THE *kampalei*

After arriving back at the palm, the thumb, on a second circuit, becomes 8, and so on, so that the palm is then 13, 19, 25, etc. These numbers may be referred to using the normal number set, or using the names of the fingers, so that on the first circuit the following names are encountered, as alternatives to the numerals 1 - 7:

1	<i>randa nu lima</i>	<i>randa</i>	'chest'
2	<i>wunga to'oge</i>	<i>to'oge</i>	'big'
3	<i>wungansaha</i>	<i>saha</i>	'indicate'
4	<i>wungantonga</i>	<i>tonga</i>	'middle'
5	<i>wunganja'o</i>	<i>ja'o</i>	'bad'
6	<i>wungancili</i>	<i>kili</i>	'small'
7	<i>randa nu lima</i>	<i>randa</i>	'chest'

Thus *tonga* may be used with the meaning 'four', instead of *gana*. Alternative names exist for the *wunga ja'o*, 'bad finger', such as *wunga homali* 'cursing finger'.

4.6.7 Articles

There are four articles in *Tukang Besi* (see chapter 3 for the differences between the articles and prepositions), two of which (*te* and *na*) are obligatorily used with all core NPs, one of which (*i/di*) is usually, but optionally, used with oblique NPs, and one of which (*nu*) is used only with genitive expressions inside another NP. This is the smallest, and most closed word class in the language. Although the two core articles mark the nominative (*na*) and non-nominative (*te*) core arguments in a clause, they do not directly mark those cases, with the non-nominative article also used for all fronted or topicalised core arguments,

which can be shown by various syntactic tests (see chapter 20) to still retain their original grammatical function, nominative or non-nominative. The oblique article is more constant.

4.7 A note on 'derivational' and 'inflectional' categories

As with the distinction between different word classes, so too is the distinction between derivational and inflectional morphology somewhat tenuous for *Tukang Besi*. This can be illustrated with the set of object suffixes. As would be expected of an inflectional class, they are fully productive; any transitive verb may (optionally) take object suffixes, and some verbs require them. The existence of such pairs as *ja'o* 'bad' and *ja'oke* 'ruin' (morphologically decomposable into the adjective 'bad' + the affix 'third person object suffix'), exemplified in 4.5, example (62), might be taken as proof that the set of object suffixes can function as a means of deriving transitive verbs from intransitive ones. This view would assume that the presence or absence of object-indexing morphology on the verb dictated the article choice on the KP; in fact, as the choice of articles on the KPs is really a case-marking system that makes overt a pragmatic prominence due to the role that the argument in question plays in the discourse situation, it is better to think of the abstract Case 'nominative' being assigned to the KP on the base of discourse criteria (given, prominent information, ongoing salience in the narration or conversation). Should that argument not be the highest on the hierarchy of semantic roles that the main verb of its clause subcategorises for, then the verb must be marked by object suffixes. Since some verbs, such as *ja'o* 'bad; ruin' have a stipulation in their lexical entries that the nominative argument must be the [Patient], these verbs must use object suffixes when they are presented with a nominal argument serving as an [O].

Chapter 5

Pronouns

5.1 Personal pronouns

There are two basic divisions in the category ‘pronoun’ in *Tukang Besi*, between the free forms that function to (almost) all intents and purposes as common nouns in KPs and PPs, but are used only rarely in real discourse, and the five sets of pronominal affixes that are obligatorily attached to verbs, to indicate the person and number of the subject and object, or to nominals, to indicate the possessor of that nominal. These may generally cooccur, but there are some environments in which only one of the two sets may occur (see section 5.2 for details).

Tukang Besi distinguishes pronominal forms in three persons, and in the free forms distinguishes singular and plural forms in all persons. In addition, the first person non-singular is divided into two rather loosely distinguished subsets of dual-paucal and plural, with considerable overlap in usage between the two. The bound sets of pronouns distinguish number only for the first and second person, with number not marked in the third person in any of the five sets.

The form and function of all the pronominal forms are discussed in this chapter. Chapter 7 discusses other details of the appearance of the verbal affixes, and chapter 18 presents information about the function of verbal affixing in conjoined phrases and reciprocal constructions.

The pronominal forms, both free and bound, are set out in table 7:

Table 7. *Tukang Besi* pronominal forms

	Irrealis Subject	Realis Subject	Free forms	Possessive	Object	Dative Object
1SG	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>iaku</i>	<i>-su</i>	<i>-aku</i>	<i>-naku</i>
2SG	<i>ko-</i>	<i>'u- / nu-</i>	<i>iko'o</i>	<i>-'u</i>	<i>-ko</i>	<i>-nso</i>
3SG	<i>na- / a-</i>	<i>no- / o-</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>-no</i>	<i>-'e</i>	<i>-ne</i>
1PA	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ko-</i>	<i>ikami</i>	<i>-mami</i>	<i>-kami</i>	<i>-nsami</i>
1PL	<i>ta-</i>	<i>to-</i>	<i>ikita</i>	<i>-nto</i>	<i>-kita</i>	<i>-nggita</i>
2PL	<i>ki-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>ikomiu</i>	<i>-miu</i>	<i>-komiu</i>	<i>-ngkomiu</i>
3PL	<i>na- / a-</i>	<i>no- / o-</i>	<i>amai</i>	<i>-no</i>	<i>-'e</i>	<i>(amai)</i>

Notice the following points about the pronominal affixes:

- a. No distinction is made between the third person singular and plural forms in the affixes; the *-ne* object suffix is almost obsolete in Wanci. In addition to *-e* and *-ne*, there is a conditioned allomorph *-ke*, described in chapter 2.
- b. The first person singular subject prefix does not have different realis and irrealis forms.
- c. Apart from the third person, the object agreement markers resemble transparently their corresponding free forms.
- d. Whilst the third person shows no distinction in number, and the second person differentiates between singular and non-singular, there are two pronominal sets corresponding to the first person non-singular, *ikami* and *ikita*, glossed as “1PA” (paucal) and “1PL” (plural) respectively. These pronouns are used with a lot of overlap by most speakers, but the *ikami* forms usually refer to a small group of people, typically two to four, and the *ikita* forms typically refer to groups of four or more, though they have been heard with reference to as few as two people. Note that the fundamental difference between the two is NOT one of exclusive/inclusive as is usually the case in Austronesian languages (at least as far as the speech of older, more traditional speakers is concerned), but of ‘paucal’ versus ‘plural’ reference. An example of this is (1), overheard in a canoe:

- (1) *Ko-bose kua jambata?*
 1PA.R-paddle ALL jetty
 ‘Are we (incl.) paddling to the jetty?’

Given the environment of the speech act, it could only be assumed that the speaker included the addressee in the utterance, providing a certain inclusive reference. Younger speakers have been observed using them with the exclusive/inclusive distinction rather than paucal/plural, thus bringing *Tukang Besi* back into typological line with its other Austronesian relatives; this might be the result of having learnt Indonesian at school and learnt the exclusive/inclusive distinction that *kami* and *kita* show in Indonesian.

- e. When a speaker wishes to show respect to the addressee, the second person plural forms are used in place of the second person singular forms (*ikomiu*, etc.). Respect may be paid to a group of people addressed, or a greater degree of respect paid to an individual, by the use of the first person plural forms (*ikita*, etc.).
- f. The first person plural free pronoun is sometimes used by older people to refer to themselves when addressing younger people, sometimes displaying a slight feeling of annoyance in the use of such forms. The first person plural affixes are not used in this context, only the free form of the pronoun.
- g. The dative object forms appear to be almost obsolete in Northern *Tukang Besi*. In general, their use has been supplanted by the general object forms, and they are

consistently used only by Tomea and Binongko speakers. In other dialect areas they are a mark of archaic speech.

h. The first person plural forms are used as a 'generic pronoun', such as:

- (2) *To-[m]o-ha'a-ke?*
 1PL.R-VRB.SI-why-3OBJ
 'What shall we do about it?'
- (3) *Ara to-sai te humbu...*
 if 1PL.R-make CORE k.o.basket
 'If you make a basket,...'

5.2 Use of the free forms

The use of a full (free form) personal pronoun in *Tukang Besi* discourse is rare, since most clauses are verbal and there is extensive indexing of the role information of the arguments on verbs. Nevertheless, full personal pronouns are obligatory in certain syntactic and discourse environments, specifically as the:

a. Subject of an equative or locational clause:

- (4) *[Te [iaku]PRO]KP e guru di SD Wandoka.*
 CORE 1SG CORE teacher OBL primary.school Wandoka
 'I am a teacher at the Wandoka primary school.' (J:1)
- (5) *[Te [amai]PRO iso]KP te r[um]ato min(a)*
 CORE 3PL yon CORE arrive.SI from
i Tindoi i morondo.
 OBL Tindoi OBL night
 'Those guys are the ones who arrived from Tindoi last night.'

b. Object of a presentative clause

- (6) *Te iaku ane ke iai-su sa-mia (a)la'a*
 TOP 1SG exist and younger.sibling-1SG.POSS 1-CLASS just
Ka-ana'e [na [ia]PRO]KP!
 PRES-this NOM 3SG
 'I only have one younger brother. Here he is!'

c. Object of a negative existential clause

- (7) *Mbea'e koruo na ikami ane-ho d[um]ahani-'e,*
 not.exist many NOM 1PA exist-yet know.SI-3OBJ
toka ane [ke [amai]PRO i Tindoi]CONJ.
 but exist and 3PL OBL Tindoi
 'There aren't many of us who still know it, but there are those in Tindoi.'

c. Object of an oblique prepositional or case phrase with *mina*, and *i*:

- (8) *No-ma'eka* [di [amai]_{PRO}]KP.
3R-fear OBL 3PL
'He is afraid of them.'
- (9) *To-mai-mo* [mina [di [ia]_{PRO}]KP]PP.
1PL.R-come-PF from OBL 3SG
'We came from (his place).'

With *ako* and *kene*, the object suffixes or possessive suffixes may also be used. Pronouns may not head a prepositional phrase governed by *kua* or *mina*. See chapter 13 for more information. It is interesting to note that these contexts are exactly those that do not have any morphological positions for affixed pronominal forms; with no verb in the sentence, there is no position for a verbal affix to appear (some speakers allow the negative existential *mbea'e* to inflect for the person of the existant, so that the form in (7) would be *mbea-kami*. Most speakers regard this as ungrammatical, however).

The use of the free pronouns in KPs in verbal clauses is never ungrammatical, but if they are present as core arguments of the verb they must agree in number and person with the indexing on the verb dictated by their article and the verbal indexing (see chapter 3). In some environments either a bound pronominal form or a free pronoun, but not both, must be used; the appearance of both together is blocked. These environments include

a. Serial verb constructions:

- (10) a. *No-potae kua te boku-no ako te iko'o.*
3R-say : CORE book-3POSS BEN CORE 2SG
'She said that her book would be for you.'
- b. *No-potae kua te boku-no ako-ko.*
3R-say : CORE book-3POSS BEN-2SG.OBJ
'She said that her book would be for you.'
- (11) * *Nopotae kua te bokuno akoko (te / na) iko'o.*

b. Conjunction/serial verb/preposition:

- (12) a. *No-wila kene ia.*
3R-go and 3SG
'They are travelling with him.'
- a. *No-wila kene-'e.*
3R-go and-3OBJ
'They are travelling with him.'
- (13) * *Nowila kene'e (na) ia.*

(The status of *kene* is very problematic. It is further discussed in chapters 12 and 18)

c. Emphatic possessive phrases:

(14) a. *Te mansa-nto.*
 CORE silat-1PL.POSS
 'Our fighting style.'

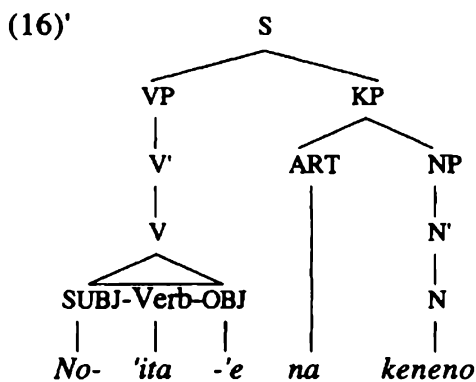
b. *Te mansa ikita.*
 CORE silat 1PL
 'Our fighting style.'

(uniquely ours, as opposed to silat fighting styles on other islands)

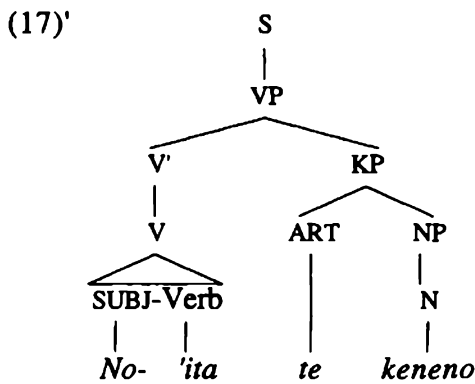
(15) * *Te mansanto ikita.*

The ungrammaticality of sentences (11), (13) and (15) can be explained by assuming that in these cases the pronominal index obligatorily possesses a feature [PRED = 'Pro'] (see section 5.3.1 for a discussion on the status of verbal indexing). In the case of an object-indexed verb, the object suffix is also pronominal. There is no conflict between the PRO and the KP since the object is, if nominative (the case when a verb uses object agreement morphology), no longer present in the VP, but is a daughter of the S node. Compare (16)' and (17)', which respectively present constituent structures for a clause with an object suffixed verb, (16), and one with a verb unmarked for object, (17):

(16) [[[No-'ita-'e]_{V'}] VP [na [kene-no]_{NP}] KP] S.
 3R-see-3OBJ NOM friend-3POSS
 'They saw their friend.'



(17) [[[No-'ita]_{V'}] [te [kene-no]_{NP}] KP] VP] S.
 3R-see CORE friend-3POSS
 'They saw their friend.'



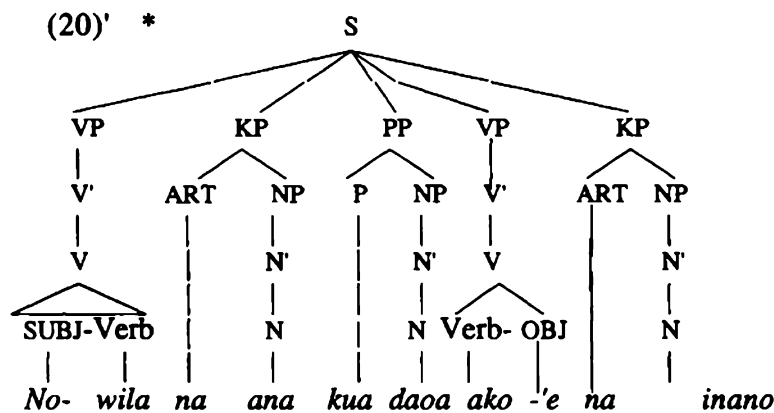
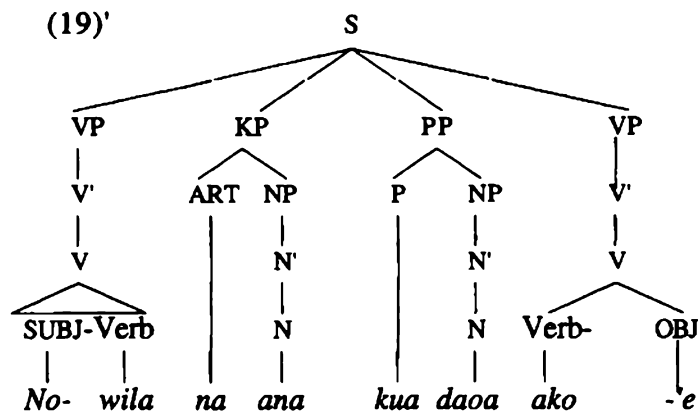
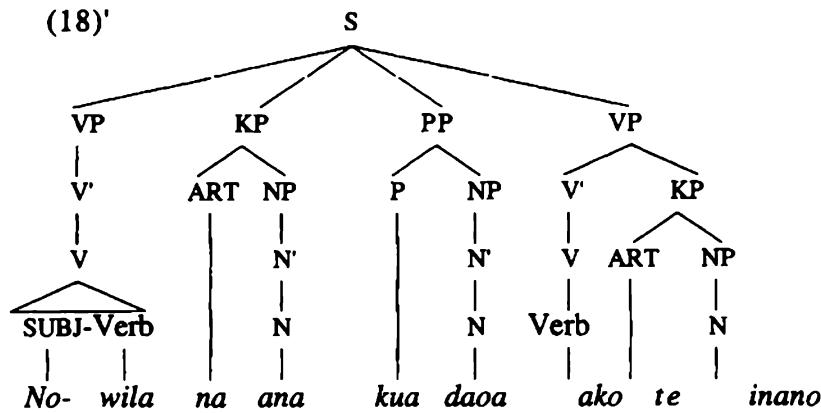
In (16) there is an object present on the verb in the form of the object suffix. There is no functional clash, however, because the nominal representation of the object is not under the VP, but rather under the S node. In (17), with no object indexing on the verb, the object nominal can appear in a KP under the VP node without a clash, since there is no other representation of the object in the VP (the constituency shown in (16)' and (17)' is justified in chapter 7).

With the serial verb(oid)s *ako*, *pake* and *kene*, and the type of possession seen in (14b), there is no such option of appearing in a higher position in the tree, and so the double occurrence of objects, or possessors, is blocked. An example with *ako* shows that either nominal or suffixal object may be present with *ako*, but not both. Unlike the object of the first VP in a clause, the object of *ako* cannot appear as a daughter of S if nominative, since that position is already occupied by the [S] of the first verb, *na ana*, and the serial verb does not participate in a 'nominative-exchange' relationship with that argument.

- (18) [[[No-wila]_{V'}]VP [na [ana]_{NP}]KP [kua [daoa]_{NP}]PP
 3R-go NOM child ALL market
 [[ako]_{V'} [te [ina-no]_{NP}]KP]VP]S.
 BEN CORE mother-3POSS
 'The child went to the market for its mother.'

- (19) [[[No-wila]_{V'}]VP [na [ana]_{NP}]KP [kua [daoa]_{NP}]PP
 3R-go NOM child ALL market
 [[ako-'e]_{V'}]VP]S.
 BEN-3OBJ
 'The child went to the market for her.'

- (20) * [[[No-wila]_{V'}]VP [na [ana]_{NP}]KP [kua [daoa]_{NP}]PP
 3R-go NOM child ALL market
 [[ako-'e]_{V'}]VP [na [ina-no]_{NP}]KP]S.
 BEN-3OBJ NOM mother-3POSS
 'The child went to the market for its mother.'



As has been already mentioned in chapter 3, if there is a verb in the clause then in addition to the indexing on the verb, a free form pronoun may appear independently, agreeing with the subject prefix or object suffix that refers to it in person and number. Examples with the subject:

- (21) *No_i-like-mo* (na *ia_i*).
 3R-wake.up-PF NOM 3SG
 'S/he has woken up.'

- (22) * *No_i-like-mo* na *iko'o* *_i / _j.
 3R-wake.up-PF NOM 2SG

or the object:

(23) *Ku-'ita-'e_i na ia_i.*
 1SG-see-3OBJ NOM 3SG
 'I saw her.'

(24) * *Ku-'ita-'e_i na ikomiu *_i/j.*
 1SG-see-3OBJ NOM 2PL

The free pronouns can be used as core arguments in clauses, implying a degree of contrastive focus with some other possible referent:

(25) *Ku-'ita te ia.*
 1SG-see CORE 3SG
 'I saw her.' (and not someone else)

As seen in chapter 3, a secondary object of a ditransitive verb cannot be affixed on the verb, and so if present must be indicated by a full KP:

(26) *Ko_i-hu'u-aku_j (te ika_k) (te iko'o_i).*
 2SG.I-give-1SG.OBJ CORE fish NOM 2SG
 'You will give me (some fish).'

This is elaborated in chapters 7 and 20. The use of pronouns that are coreferential to an index on the verb is generally restricted to emphatic or contrastive environments. Content questions soliciting information place the question word initially in a *te* phrase, and the answer is expected to be framed in the same format. Simple use of subject affixes on the verb is inadequate. The question in (27):

(27) *Te emai na w[um]ila kua daoa?*
 CORE who NOM go.SI ALL market
 'Who went to the market?'

is answered in a felicitous manner by the following:

(28) a. *Te iaku, ku-wila i daoa.*
 TOP 1SG 1SG-go OBL market
 'I'm going to the market.'
 (Lit., 'As for me, I'm going to the market')

b. *Te iaku na w[um]ila.*
 CORE 1SG NOM go.SI
 'It's me who's going.'

An infelicitous response (but one that is perfectly grammatical in another context) is given in (29):

(29) # *Ku-wila i daoa.*
 1SG-go OBL market
 'I am going to the market.'

The reason for the infelicity of (29) being used as a response to (27) is that it places the focussed, questioned information in a position that must be assigned nominative status by an intransitive verb. Since nominative status is associated with more given, old information, this creates a clash of functions, and so is infelicitous, if used with the intended pragmatic focus on the subject of the intransitive verb. This is, however, a perfectly acceptable answer to a different question that assumes the identity of the subject as given:

- (30) *'U-wila i 'umpa?*
 2SG.R-go OBL Q
 'Where are you going?'

With the pragmatic focus on a core argument of a verb, the felicitous response also involves the use of a free pronoun (notice that the focus can only occur on a non-nominative argument):

- (31) a. *No_i-busu-ki te ie'ei_j i aba?*
 3R-forward.punch-DIR CORE who OBL PREV
 'Who did he_i punch just then?'
- b. *No_i-busu-ki te ia_j.*
 3R-forward.punch-DIR CORE 3SG
 'He_i punched him_j.'
- c. *Te ia_j na i-busu-ki-no_i.*
 CORE 3SG NOM PP-forward.punch-DIR-3POSS
 'It's he_j that was punched by him_i.'
- d.# *No_i-busu-ki-'e_j.*
 3R-forward.punch-DIR-3OBJ
 'He_i punched him_j.'

The infelicity of (31d) can be explained in the same way as the infelicity of (29); the nominative status that the object of a suffixed transitive verb assumes is incompatible with the pragmatic focus that a questioned participant requires in discourse.

- (32) a. *No_i-topa-'e_j te emai_i i aba?*
 3R-slap-3OBJ CORE who OBL PREV
 'Who slapped her just then?'
- b. *No_i-topa-'e_j te ia_i.*
 3R-slap-3OBJ CORE 3SG
 'He slapped her.'
- c. *Te ia_i na t[um]opa-'e_j.*
 CORE 3SG NOM slap.SI-3OBJ
 'It's him who slapped her.'
- d. # *No_i-topa na ia_i.*
 3R-slap NOM 3SG
 'He slapped.'

As can be seen from the preceding examples in this section, the use of free pronouns in *Tukang Besi* is almost always grammatical, but due to the pronominal indexing on verbs is often not compulsory. In a prepositional phrase, the use of pronominal indexing (object agreement forms with *ako*, possessive suffixes with *kene*) cannot occur with a free pronoun.

The appearance of a free pronoun is associated with pragmatic focus. This has been described by Bresnan and Mchombo (1987: 746) as follows:

A focus expresses CONTRAST, in the sense of Chafe 1976; it designates something that is NOT presupposed (relevant to some context).

The use of free pronouns is associated with the introduction or reintroduction of a participant into the discourse, or with the switching of emphasis to new referents in discourse. That the pragmatic roles are changing is indicated by the presence of the free pronouns, but the precise grammatical role played by the participants to which the pronouns refer is indicated by the article used with the pronoun (*te* 'non-nominative core' or *na* 'nominative') in combination with the verbal morphology (see chapter 3) (In Bresnan and Mchombo's (1987b: 23) terminology these are referred to as *nonargument functions*, "such as TOP, FOC, and ADJUNCT" and *argument functions* "such as SUB, OBJ, OBL(ique)"). Since an article can only govern an NP, and not a pronominal affix, the free forms must be used, as the head of an NP, in order for this system of changing article use to be productive.

Morphological possibilities with a free form pronoun are extremely limited. The only affixing that has been observed is the addition of the emphatic suffix *-mo*:

(33) a. *Te emai na ng[um]aa-ako La Udi?*
 CORE who NOM name.SI-APPL La Udi
 'Who's name is La Udi?'

b. *Iaku-mo.*
 1SG-PF
 'It is me.'

(34) A: *No-topa te emai.*
 3R-slap CORE who
 'Who did he hit?'

B: *Te ia iai-su.*
 CORE 3SG younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
 'Her, my younger sister.'

A: *Mbeaka ku-rodongo-'e, te emai?*
 not 1SG-hear-3OBJ CORE who
 'I didn't hear that, who?'

B: *Te ia-mo iso!*
 CORE 3SG-PF yon
 'Her there!'

5.3 Affixed pronominal forms

Section 5.2 has shown that the free pronoun set is not obligatorily used in the presence of verbal affixing. In most environments, thus, a pronominal affix is the preferred way of tracking the role information about a known referent. This information can be characterised as topicalised, in the sense given by Bresnan and Mchombo (1987):

what is under discussion, whether previously mentioned or assumed in discourse.

The affixed forms are less likely to stand alone referring to new information, which will be introduced by a construction using a free form pronoun.

There are five different sorts of affixed pronominal forms: Irrealis subject prefixes, Realis subject prefixes, possessive suffixes, object agreement forms and dative object agreement forms. These will each be dealt with in the following sections. First, however, an argument will be presented that the pronominal affixes on the verbs can be thought of as serving as bound pronouns, and actually filling the argument position of the verbs that subcategorise for them.

5.3.1 The status of verbal indexing

It has long been recognised that languages which index their arguments on the verb may have more than just weak grammatical agreement operating. The pronominal indexing has been identified by some as representing incorporated pronouns (amongst others, Boas (1911), Bloomfield (1927, 1933), and more recently Van Valin (1977) on Lakhota, Jelinek (1984) on Warlpiri (but see Simpson 1991), Pawley (1986) on Fijian, Bresnan and Mchombo (1987) on Chichewa, and Baker (1991) on Mohawk). Discussing the importance of verbal indexing in head marking languages, in which class *Tukang Besi* is at least partly included (the fact that the object is only optionally indexed on the verb in *Tukang Besi* makes it a less than perfect exemplar of the class), Van Valin (1993: 17-18) writes that

...with respect to clauses in head-marking languages, *the pronominal affixes on the verb are the core arguments of the clause*, not the optional independent lexical NPs and pronouns.... What then is their [the independent NPs - MHD] status? Semantically, their function is to further specify the reference of the pronominal arguments, which specify only person (and sometimes number). Syntactically, they are clause internal...they are irrelevant to statements of grammatical phenomena, because these phenomena make reference primarily to the pronominal affixes. (emphasis original)

In Foley's (1991) description of Yimas, he asserts that the pronominal affixes in that language are pronominal elements. He states that

In essence, the claim is that the pronominal affixes actually fill the argument positions of the verb and that any noun phrases filling what seem to be the core argument positions of the verb are actually only indirectly linked to it, by being in apposition to a pronominal affix which bears the same noun class, person, and number specifications as the noun phrase. (p. 227-228)

The arguments that he puts forward in favour of this interpretation in Yimas are also valid arguments for treating the pronominal affixes in *Tukang Besi* as filling the argument positions of a verb (at least some of the time). These arguments are:

1. Overt nominals are often not used in discourse, referents mentioned solely by means of their pronominal affixes (p. 229-230);
2. Pronominal affixes referring to nominals distinguish more number categories than do the nominal themselves (p. 230-231);
3. Even though an NP cannot be headed by two conjoined nominals, a pronominal affix can agree in number with multiple nominals (p. 185; 231);
4. Human possessors can appear as core arguments marked on the verb, even though the corresponding nominal cannot appear as a core argument on the clause (p. 231-232).

Examining these points one by one for their validity as tests in *Tukang Besi*, we find that the ellipsis of nominals in discourse is a regular feature of *Tukang Besi* narratives. One traditional story recorded offers an example of a participant being tracked for seven lines using pronominal affixes on the verb, without nominals, after the introduction of the protagonist in the first line. In (35a) - (35i) the verbal affixes referring to *La Kape'ingkape'i* have a subscripted *LaK* to indicate their identity:

- (35) a. *La Kape'ingkape'i iso no_{LaK}-wila no_{LaK}-tunga-ntunga*
 La Fool yon 3R-go 3R-RED-fishing
di mawi.
 OBL sea
 'Fool went fishing by the sea.'
- b. *O_{LaK}-rato i mawi no_{LaK}-he-kai-kai-mo.*
 arrive OBL sea 3R-do-RED-hook-PF
 'Arriving at the sea, he cast (his) hooks.'
- c. *Molengo molengo no_{LaK}-wila no_{LaK}-'awa-mo te opa*
 long long 3R-go 3R-obtain-PF CORE grotto
nu mata meha no_{LaK}-kai-'e-mo
 GEN eye red (crab sp.) 3R-hook-3OBJ-PF
kambeda te mata meha.
 fact CORE crab sp.
 'After a while, he went and came across the cave of a Redeye, and he hooked about in it, since there was a Redeye.'

- d. *Po'oli te atu no_{LaK}-wila-mo 'uka no_{LaK}-po-'awa-mo*
 finish CORE that 3R-go-PF again 3R-REC-obtain-PF
te opa nu wela'a no_{LaK}-ho-moro-'e-mo kambeda
 CORE grotto GEN crab sp. 3R-VRB-insert.hand-3OBJ-PF fact
te opa nu kompa.
 CORE grotto GEN eel
 'After that he went again and met a grotto of a wela'a, and felt around a bit with his hand, because that's the cave of eels.'
- e. *Jari la'a-mo no_{LaK}-ro-'e no-kaha-'e-mo*
 so just-PF 3R-insert.hand-3OBJ 3R-bite-3OBJ-PF
na lima-no.
 NOM hand-3POSS
 'So just as he inserted his hand, it was bitten.'
- f. *Agori no_{LaK}-gai-'e na lima-no.*
 immediately 3R-withdraw-3OBJ NOM hand-3POSS
 'Immediately he pulled his hand out.'
- g. *Sa-gai-ako-no na lima-no no-raha-ako-mo.*
 when-withdraw-APPL-3POSS NOM hand-3POSS 3R-blood-APPL-PF
 'When his hand was pulled out, it bled because of (the biting).'
- h. *Sa-raha-ako-no na lima-no no_{LaK}-he-doito-mo "..."*
 when-blood-APPL-3POSS NOM hand-3POSS 3R-do-cry-PF
 'When his hand bled, he cried.'
- i. *Po'oli te ia iso no_{LaK}-'eka-mo*
 finish CORE 3SG yon 3R-climb-PF
na La bela Kape'ingkape'i kua wunua-no.
 NOM La dear Fool ALL house-3POSS
 'After that, La Kape'ingkape'i went up to his house.'

In another text of twenty eight lines describing someone's falling onto a stonefish, the chief protagonist is never mentioned nominally, being assumed from the title, and is referred to only through the use of verbal affixes. In the story of Wa Iambo (in the appendices), only 70 core nominals appear in the text, split approximately between 30 nominals in [S] function, 30 in [O] function, and 10 in [A] function, out of approximately 130 verbal clauses.

The second point, that the pronominal affixes distinguish more number categories than do the independent nominals, is as valid in *Tukang Besi* as it is in *Yimas*. There is no indication of number in nominals whatsoever, yet there is up to a three way distinction in number for the pronominal affixes (see 5 for details; *Tukang Besi* distinguishes singular, paucal and plural in the first person, singular and plural in the second person, and makes no number distinction in the third person).

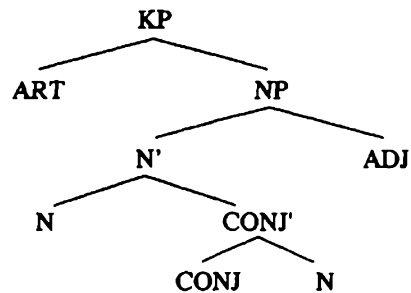
The third point, concerning the ungrammaticality of conjoining nominals to serve as the head of an NP contrasting with the ability of the pronominal affixes to agree in number with two or more NPs added together, also applies. In *Tukang Besi* sentences of the 'old men and women' type are impossible, as seen in (36) ('old person' is a lexicalised item *mansuana* 'old; old person'; for this reason a different set of lexical items has been used to

illustrate this point; whilst glossed ‘mother’ and ‘father’, *ina* and *ama* actually refer to any female or male, respectively, person of one ascending generation, and are more polite than *wowine* ‘woman, female’ and *mo’ane* ‘man, male’):

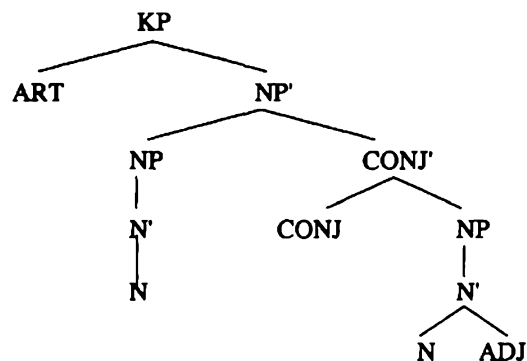
- (36) * *Te* [[*ama* *kene* *ina*] *mo’owu*].
 CORE father and mother fat
 ‘Fat men and women.’

(Good with the meaning: ‘Men and fat women.’), and the structure
Te [[*ama*] *kene* [*ina* *mo’owu*]]

- (36)' *



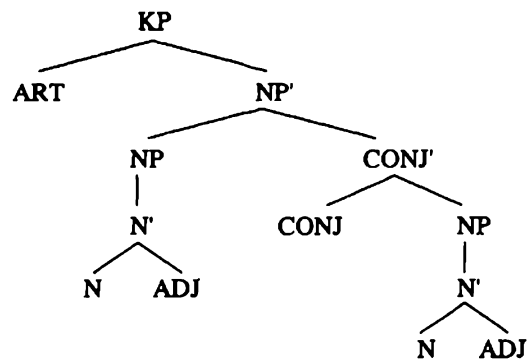
- (36)''



When *kene* is used as a conjunction, can only join NPs, and not N's or Ns. In order to express ‘fat men and women’, with ‘fat’ modifying both the nouns, in *Tukang Besi*, it is necessary to mention two separate (conjoined) noun phrases, each with its own adjective:

- (37) *Te* [[*ama* *mo’owu*] *kene* [*ina* *mo’owu*]].
 CORE father fat and mother fat
 ‘Fat men and women.’

- (37)'



Despite this restriction, we find that two nominal heads of NPs can be referred to by a single pronominal index on the verb:

- (38) *To_{i,j}-wila* [*na* [*iaku_i*]_{NP} *kene* [*iai-su_j*]_{NP}]_{NP_{i,j}}
 1PL.R-go NOM 1SG and younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
 'My younger sister and I went.'

This is, however, more likely a result of the fact that the verbal indexing can index the person and number features of a whole KP, whereas conjunctions join NPs together, and cannot be used to conjoin an N'.

More significantly, we find that an empty NP may still be indexed on the verb (see McCloskey and Hale 1984):

- (39) *Ku_i-wila* [[\emptyset]_{NP_i} *kene* [*iai-su_j*]_{NP}]_{NP_{i,j}}
 1SG-go and younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
 'My younger sister and I went.'

In (39), unlike (38), there is no other representation of the first person singular argument in the clause at all, and so the pronominal index must be thought of, in this context, as being a full pronoun. Details of this construction are discussed in more detail in chapter 18.

Finally, in chapters 7 and 20 data on the phenomenon of possessor ascension are presented illustrating the fact that the inalienable possessor of an affected argument of a verb may be indexed as a subject or object on the verb (using the normal sets of subject and object affixes), whilst it may not appear as a nominal with core status in an equivalent clause without possessor ascension. An example of this is seen in the grammatical (40), with possessor ascension, and the ungrammatical (41):

- (40) *O-ha'a* *'u-sepa-aku* *na* *tolida-su* *atu* *la?*
 3R-why 2SG.R-kick-1SG.OBJ NOM cousin-1SG.POSS that ILL.FORCE
 'Why did you kick my cousin?'

- (41) **O-ha'a* *'u-sepa-'e* *na* *tolida-su* *atu* *te* *iaku?*
 3R-why 2SG.R-kick-3OBJ NOM cousin-1SG.POSS that CORE 1SG
 'Why did you kick my cousin?'

In (40) a possessor, present as the first person singular possessive suffix on *na tolida*, is also indexed on the verb with the first person singular object suffix, and functions (for various tests, including passivisation) as the object of the clause (see chapter 11 for details on the interaction of external possessor with other grammatical function-changing processes). In the equivalent sentence without possessor ascension, and so without *-aku* as a suffix on the verb, the possessor may not be present in any way other than as a possessive suffix or as a genitive phrase within another KP. In other words, the possessor has a position in the argument structure of the verb only if it appears as an affix; as a separate KP, as in (41), it has no argument position, and is ungrammatical.

A problem with exclusively identifying the pronominal affixes on the verb as the core arguments of that verb arises when we consider (as is illustrated in sections 3.4.1 and

3.4.2) that, whilst subject prefixes are compulsory on the verb, object agreement is not. We are thus forced to modify the assertion to the effect that these affixes MAY, but do not have to, fill the arguments position of the verb; if an object suffix is not used, it does not mean that the object position is not filled (as can happen in unspecified object deletion, referred to in chapter 4), but that the subcategorisation requirement for an object is filled by the appropriate object KP (see 3.4.2, and chapter 8), and is not left empty.

In the case of objects, there is evidence that either an object suffix, or a KP, may appear in the verb phrase, but not both (see chapter 8). Whichever of the two appears in the VP is filling the argument position assigned by the verb's subcategorisation frame, necessarily pronominally in the case of the object suffix. When both an object KP and an object suffix on the verb appear in a clause, the object KP is not a part of the verb phrase, but is cataphorically linked to the object suffix. The nature of this linkage between the nominal and the verbal affix can be shown to be more than just the weak agreement that is found in languages such as English by looking at certain cooccurrence restrictions, which are best examined in the context of WH-questions.

The fact that a nominative object (which has, necessarily, object agreement on the verb) cannot be the focus of a question (as seen in (42) and (43)) points to the fact that the object suffix is doing more than simply agreeing with the KP, or the KP with the object suffix (see Bresnan and Mchombo 1987 for a discussion of similar facts in Chichewa):

(42) (')U-'ita te emai?
2SG.R-see CORE who
'Who did you see?'

(43) * (')U-'ita-'e na emai?
2SG.R-see-3OBJ NOM who
'Who did you see?'

The subject prefix in questions is not so easily handled; it allows for pragmatic focus IF AND ONLY IF the verb is also indexed for the object (that is, if it refers to a non-nominative argument). Thus an intransitive verb, which cannot be indexed for an object, is ungrammatical with a pragmatically focussed subject in (normal clausal) place:

(44) * No-mai na emai i aba?
3R-come NOM who OBL previous
'Who arrived just then?'

This is equally ungrammatical with a fronted subject:

(44)' * Te emai no-mai i aba?
CORE who 3R-come OBL previous
'Who arrived just then?'

The pragmatic focus required by WH-questions can only be grammatically expressed in a cleft construction employing a relative clause (chapter 15), such as that in (45):

(45) Te emai na [r{um}ato i aba]?
CORE who NOM arrive.SI OBL previous
'Who arrived just then?'

The subject of a transitive verb shows behaviour similar to the subject of an intransitive verb; it may not be questioned in place, as in (47), if the verb is un-affixed for object. It may be questioned in place only when there is object agreement morphology on the verb, showing that the subject prefixes are not to be taken as always representing a pronominal element:

(46) *No-nabu-'e* (*na* *pandanga-su*) *te* *emai* *i* *aba?*
 3R-drop NOM spear-1SG.POSS CORE who OBL previous
 'Who dropped it (my spear) just then?'

(47) * *No-nabu* *te* *pandanga-su* *na* *emai* *i* *aba?*
 3R-drop CORE spear-1SG.POSS NOM who OBL previous
 'Who dropped my spear just then?'

As with (44) and (45), grammatical versions of (46) and (47) can also be made with cleft constructions, seen here as (48) and (49):

(48) *Te* *emai* *na* *n[um]abu* *te* *pandanga-su?*
 CORE who NOM drop.SI CORE spear-1SG.POSS
 'Who dropped my spear just then?'

(49) *Te* *emai* *na* *n[um]abu-'e* *na* *pandanga-su?*
 CORE who NOM drop.SI-3OBJ NOM spear-1SG.POSS
 'Who dropped my spear just then?'

Discussing similar issues in Plains Cree, Dahlstrom (1991: 130; originally in Dahlstrom 1986: 196-197) accounts for the ambiguous interpretation of the verbal indices as representing pronominal elements or simple agreement by stating that

Languages such as Cree, in which verb inflection functions as agreement if a lexical argument is used with the verb, and as an incorporated pronominal element when lexical arguments are omitted, are said to include an optional equation of PRED = 'pro' in the lexical entry of the inflectional material.

This would account for the variant restrictions that apply to the lexical expansions of the subject indices of transitive verbs depending on whether or not object agreement is present or not; in the case of *Tukang Besi*, however, we can state unambiguously that an object suffix represents an incorporated pronoun.

5.4 Subject prefixes

The subject prefixes are used to show the grammatical subject of the verb; details of the use of subject prefixes were given in chapter 3 and will be dealt with further in chapter 7. Here I will only mention the different forms of the subject prefixes, and give examples of their use. The realis (indicated by 'R' in the glosses) set of subject prefixes introduced in table 7, and examples of the use of each of them, are presented in examples (50) - (56):

- (50) *Ku-gonti te kau.*
1SG-chop CORE wood
'I chopped the wood' (T1:21)
- (51) *"O-ha'a 'u-doito, La Kape'ingkape'i?"*
3R-why 2SG.R-cry La Fool
'Why are you crying, Fool?' (Oen:29)
- (52) *No-wila legolego.*
3R-go arms.swinging
'He was walking, swinging his arms.' (EiT:6)
- (53) *Ko-bose i jambata la?*
1PA.R-paddle OBL jetty ILL.FORCE
'Are we paddling to the jetty?'
- (54) *To-manga-do.*
1PL.R-eat-EMPH
'Let's eat first.'
- (55) *I-t[um]ulatula te paira, e ikomiu gana (a)na.*
2PL.R-narrate.SI CORE what CORE 2PL four this
'What story are you four going to tell (us)?' (T1:59)
- (56) *Ea-'e. Ara ane, no-melampa.*
not-3OBJ if exist 3R-few
'No. If there are any, they are few (in number).' (D:18)

The irrealis (indicated in the glosses by 'I') set of subject prefixes are used in the case of intentions and wishes. Whilst it is not compulsory, the considerable overlap between the semantic ranges that determine the uses of the irrealis pronouns and the *-[um]-* infix mean that often they co-occur. For further discussion, see chapter 8. Examples of the use of the irrealis subject prefixes can be seen in (57) - (63):

- (57) *Sa-minggu-mo ku-w[um]ila i Baubau.*
1-week-PF 1SG-go.SI OBL Baubau
'Over one week I'll go to Baubau.'
- (58) *Ilange ko-n[um]angu-nangu 'uka?*
tomorrow 2SG.I-RED.SI-swim again
'Are you going to swim again tomorrow?'
- (59) *Na-haiara-'e.*
3I-pay-3OBJ
'She is going to pay.' (T1:23)
- (60) *Min(a) i Buru, ka-wila kua Ambo.*
from OBL Buru 1PA.I-go ALL Ambon
'From Buru, we'll go to Ambon.' (J:10)

- (61) *E Mar, ako ta-wila i lapanga.*
 Hey Mark PURP 1PL.I-go OBL field
 'Hey Mark, let's go to the sports field.'
- (62) *Ki-r[um]odongo 'uka.*
 2PL.I-hear.SI also
 'Do you want to listen as well?'
- (63) *Te Wanse, o-monea na-po-daga no-para-aso, no-karajaa,*
 TOP Wanci 3R-usual 3I-REC-trade 3R-ITER-sell 3R-work
mo'ane wowine.
 man woman (TB:5)
 'On Wanci, usually they want to trade, they sell, they work, men and women.'

5.5 Possessive suffixes

Possessive suffixes are primarily used to show the possessor of an item, alienable or inalienable. They may be replaced for emphatic (focusing) effect by a genitive phrase containing a free form pronoun:

- (64) a. *Te kolikoli-'u.*
 CORE canoe-2SG.POSS
 'Your canoe'
- b. *Te kolikoli nu iko'o.*
 CORE canoe GEN 2SG
 'Your canoe'

Examples of the use of the possessive suffixes (as seen in table 7) can be found in (65) - (71):

- (65) *Ku-laha te handu ki'iki'i-su.*
 1SG-search CORE towel small-1SG.POSS
 'I am looking for my small towel.'
- (66) *No-mohoo na mata-'u.*
 3SG-sick NOM eye-2SG.POSS
 'Your eye is sore.' (WI:6)
- (67) *Jari o-waa-'e-mo te raja na ana-no iso kua ...*
 so 3R-tell-3OBJ-PF CORE king NOM child-3POSS yon :
 'So the King told his son:...' (WI:33)
- (68) *Ka-atu'e na wunua-mami.*
 PRES-there NOM house-1PA.POSS
 'There is our house.'
- (69) *To-rame-rame-ako te tuha-nto meai.*
 1PL.R-RED-noise-APPL CORE family-1PL.POSS ANA
 'We make it very lively for our families.' (Ram:2)

- (70) *Ane ke doe-miu?*
 exist and money-2PL.POSS
 'Do you have any money?'
- (71) *Te bahasa-no, te pogau-no no-po-sala 'uka.*
 TOP language-3POSS TOP speech-3POSS 3R-REC-fault also
 'Their languages, their speeches, also differ.' (TB:2)

Chapter 13 deals with possessive structures at both the phrasal and the clausal level in more detail. In addition to marking possession on nominals, possessive suffixes are also used in other contexts:

- a. on the reflexive noun *karama* and the individual pronoun *pe'esa* (also described in chapter 17):

- (72) *No-gonti karama-no ako te poda.*
 3R-cut self-3POSS INSTR CORE knife
 'He cut himself with a knife.'
- (73) *O-po-gora karama-no-mo.*
 3R-REC-brawl-self-3POSS-PF
 'They fought with each other.'
- (74) *'U-wila pe'esa-'u i Lia?*
 2SG.R-go own-2SG.POSS OBL Lia
 'Did you go to Lia on your own?'
- (75) *No-ala te kaitela-no ako te iaku pe'esa-su.*
 3R-fetch CORE corn-3POSS BEN CORE 1SG own-1SG.POSS
 'They brought the corn for me alone.'

- b. To show the subject in combination with the temporal nominalising prefix *sa-* :

- (76) *Sa-rato-su no-hu'u-naku te kaujawa i-hengolo.*
 when-arrive-1SG.POSS 3R-give-1SG.DATOBJ CORE cassava OP-boil
 'When I had arrived they gave me some boiled cassava.'
- (77) *Sa-anu-no (o)-waliako-mo.*
 when-thingy-3POSS 3R-return-PF
 'When she had done that, she returned.' (Sab:12)

- c. To show the subject of an object relative clause. In combination with applicative morphology on the verb, it can mark another non-relativised core argument of the verb (see chapter 15 for further details of the applicative structures):

- (78) *Te ia te mia i-'ita-su...*
 CORE 3SG CORE person PP-see-1SG.POSS
 'S/he is the person who I am looking at.'

(79) *Te po'o i-balu-ako-'u u ina-no...*
 CORE mango PP-buy-APPL-2SG.POSS GEN mother-3POSS
 'The mango that was bought for you by his mother...'

(80) *Te po'o i-balu-ako-no u iko'o...*
 CORE mango PP-buy-APPL-3POSS GEN 2SG
 'The mango that was bought for you by her...'

d. on stative experiential verbs:

(81) a. *Kalu-'u-mo?* b. *'U-kalu-mo?* (G:66)
 tired-2SG.POSS-PF 2SG.R-tired-PF
 'Are you tired?' 'Are you tired?'

(82) a. **Nangu-no?* b. *No-nangu.*
 swim-3POSS 3R-swim
 'Did he swim?' 'Did he swim?'

e. following the comitative preposition *kene*:

(83) *Mbeaka 'u-hada w[um]ila kene-su?*
 not 2SG.R-want go.SI and-1SG.POSS
 'Don't you want to go together with me?'

With the stative experiential verbs the undergoer-subject may be indexed on the verb by means of the possessive suffixes if there is no subject prefix on the verb. This practice was universally proscribed against by the speakers I queried, but use of this marking pattern was just as universally used in casual conversation. See Chapter 7 for more details.

5.6 Scope of possessive antecedency

All pronominals in a language must have some antecedent which they index; in the case of the verbal indexes, which are bound up in the system of nominative:antecedency and non-nominative case assignment, the scope of reference is simple. In the case of pronominal possessive suffixes on nouns, there is no problem in establishing the identity of reference if there is only one immediate antecedent, as in (84):

(84) *No-rato na La lai ako te honda-no.*
 3R-arrive NOM La Iai INSTR CORE motorbike-3POSS
 'La Iai_i came by means of his_i/*_j motorbike.'
 (The motorbike is La Iai's)

In the case of a (di)transitive verb, if there is a difference in the person and number categories between two main arguments of a verb there is similarly no possible confusion in the reference of a possessive suffix, even if there is no nominal in the sentence:

(85) *I-pa-ma'eka-'e ako te baliu-miu na amai.*
 2PL.R-CAUS-fear-3OBJ INSTR CORE axe-2PL.POSS NOM 3PL
 'You guys scared them with your axes.'
 * 'You guys scared them with their axes.'

If both the subject and the object in the sentence share the same person and number categories (i.e., they are both third person), then, just as in English, a sentence becomes ambiguous:

- (86) *No-hu'u te kene-su te poda-no na La Kasi.*
 3R-give CORE friend-1SG.POSS CORE knife-3POSS NOM La Kasi
 'La Kasi_i gave my friend_j his_i knife.'
 'La Kasi_i gave my friend_j his_j knife.'

Changing the nominative status of the two possible antecedents of *te podano* does not resolve the ambiguity:

- (87) *No-hu'u-ke na kene-su te poda-no*
 3R-give-3OBJ NOM friend-1SG.POSS CORE knife-3POSS
te La Kasi.
 CORE La Kasi
 'La Kasi_i gave my friend_j his_i knife.'
 'La Kasi_i gave my friend_j his_j knife.'

Notice that the ambiguity of antecedency vanishes in English when an object-pivot sentence type (the passive) is used rather than an active one:

- (88) Mary_i gave Anna_j her_{i/j} book
 (89) Anna_j was given her*_{i/j} book by Mary_i

This is not the case in *Tukang Besi*, as we can see from the ambiguous readings available to both (86) and (87).

5.7 Object agreement

The object pronominal forms serve to indicate the direct object of a transitive verb; examples of the object agreement in use can be seen in (90) - (96):

- (90) *Te ia no-hu'u-aku te osimpu.*
 CORE 3SG 3R-give-1SG.OBJ CORE young.coconut
 'He gave me a young coconut.'
- (91) *Ane ku-waa-ko.*
 exist 1SG-tell-2SG.OBJ
 'There's something that I have to tell you.'
- (92) *Ku-'ita-'e na kau.*
 1SG-see-3OBJ NOM tree
 'I saw the tree.'
- (93) *No-raho-kami te wande.*
 3R-affect-1PA.OBJ CORE rain
 'We were affected by the rain.'

applicative suffix (-*ako*), or if that verb is inherently ditransitive (*hu'u* 'give', *kahu* 'send'). In general, however, they are supplanted in daily use by the normal object suffixes. Compare (99) with (101), and (100) with (102):

Old-style:

(99) *No-hu'u-nso* *te* *osimpu* *sa-ba'e*.
 3R-give-2SG.DAT.OBJ CORE young.coconut 1-CLASS
 'He gave you a coconut.'

(100) *No-'ita-ko*.
 3R-see-2SG.OBJ
 'He saw you.'

New-style:

(101) *No-hu'u-ko* *te* *osimpu* *sa-ba'e*.
 3R-give-2SG.OBJ CORE young.coconut 1-CLASS
 'He gave you a coconut.'

(102) *No-'ita-ko*.
 3R-see-2SG.OBJ
 'He saw you.'

In other languages of the Muna-Buton area the 'dative object' suffixes are used for more than just the recipient of a ditransitive verb: they are also found in Muna (van den Berg 1989) to index an applied object regardless of its semantic role (the same pattern is found in Pancana as well). This use has not been found in Tukang Besi. This may simply reflect the fact that the affixes are now almost completely obsolete in Tukang Besi, being only very rarely used and so information about their use is sketchy and informants waver in their opinions, usually preferring to use the regular, productive set of object suffixes, or it may reflect a genuine distributional difference between the (pre-)Tukang Besi dative object suffixes and the contemporary second object (van den Berg calls the cognate morphology 'indirect object' affixes in Muna) suffixes found in other languages of the area.

Chapter 6

Demonstratives

6.1 Introduction

Tukang Besi has a system of deixis with two sets of demonstratives: general demonstratives and topographic demonstratives. Each of these sets allows three different forms, used for actual deixis, referential deixis, and presentational deixis. The different forms of each set are presented in the tables below (Kaledupa dialect has the general presentative forms without the *-e*, and with a more pronounced intervocalic glottal stop. Thus: *ka'ana*, *ka'atu*, *ka'aso*.).

Table 8. General demonstratives

SET ONE: GENERAL demonstratives			
	Actual	Referential	Presentative
this	<i>ana</i>	<i>meana'e</i>	<i>kaana'e</i>
that	<i>atu</i>	<i>meatu'e</i>	<i>kaatu'e</i>
yonder	<i>iso</i>	<i>measo'e</i>	<i>kaaso'e</i>

Table 9. Topographic demonstratives

SET TWO: TOPOGRAPHIC demonstratives			
	Actual	Referential	Presentative
yonder, higher	<i>ito</i>	<i>meito'e</i>	<i>kaito'e</i>
yonder, lower	<i>iwo</i>	<i>meiwo'e</i>	<i>kaiwo'e</i>

6.2 Semantic differences: set one

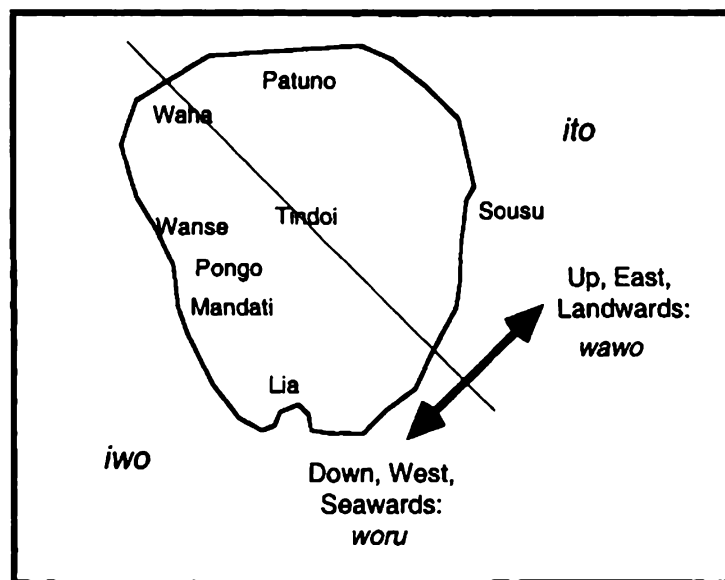
As can be seen from the tables, the distances that determine the demonstrative choice in set one and set two appear in three different forms, here labelled *actual*, *referential* and *presentative*. The difference between the actual and referential sets is similar to the difference between visible and non-visible reference. The use of the actual set implies that the person or thing modified is or was present in the real world at the time of the speech act (or speech act reference). The use of the referential set does not have this implication, and its members can be used to refer to future time events, persons since departed from the scene of the discourse, or long-past events. The presentative set serves in a different syntactic position to the first two, and is discussed in chapter 14. The differences between the three different forms of set one is similar to the differences between first, second and third person of the personal pronoun sets; the *ana* forms are typically used when referring to one's own sphere, archetypically when referring to things or people near the speaker. Corresponding to the second person pronouns, *atu* forms are typically used to refer to things nearer the addressee than the speaker. Finally, the *aso* forms are used with things at a distance from either the speaker or the listener(s), similar to the use of third person

a distance from either the speaker or the listener(s), similar to the use of third person pronouns. The demonstratives may also be used with temporal deictic meaning: the non-*ana* forms then refer to a past version of an entity (*te iaku iso* 'that (prior) me').

The actual scope of reference depends, however, on the scope of the discourse in which the clauses containing demonstratives are embedded. *ana* can be used with things at a considerable distance from the speaker when these are contrasted with things at an even greater distance. Similarly, something a long way from either speaker or listener can be referred to with *atu* or *ana*, if the speaker wishes to associate either the listener or her/himself with that thing. In combination with the personal pronouns themselves, rather than being restricted in their occurrence to *iaku ana*, *iko'o atu* and *ia iso*, any combination of pronoun and demonstrative may be used, the demonstratives then assuming a purely discourse function, without any direct spatial reference. The use of these demonstratives will be illustrated in section 6.6.

6.3 Semantic differences: set two

The demonstratives from set two are more restricted in their application; they have a reference that includes information about the relative position of the speaker and the referent, and (basically) present an alignment of upwards or downwards. The reference is, however, more complicated than simply higher and lower than the speaker; *ito* includes in its range of meaning upwards, away from the sea, eastwards/northwards, and away from the referential centre (a social, political or cultural centre). The other topographic demonstrative, *iwo*, on the other hand, refers to downwards, seawards, west/south direction, and towards the referential centre. On Wanci, a roughly north-west \ south-east line divides *ito* and *iwo*, if seen from a village near the top of Tindoi (such as Wuta mohute):



MAP 5: *ito* AND *iwo* FROM TINDOI

These demonstratives are also associated with verbs that describe motion in their classificatory direction, which can be used to replace any generic motion verb referring to motion in the direction that would be indicated by the demonstrative. These are shown in

table 10:

Table 10. Topographic demonstratives and associated verbs of motion

Demonstrative	Directions	Verb of motion	
<i>ito</i>	'up, landwards, east, north, in'	<i>'eka</i>	'climb'
<i>iwo</i>	'down, seawards, west, south, out'	<i>hena'u</i>	'descend'

For instance, when travelling to Wanci, one could in general say

- (1) *Ilange ku-langke-mo i Wanse.*
 tomorrow 1SG-sail-PF OBL Wanci
 'Tomorrow I'm going to Wanci.'

If you were travelling from Ambon, to the east of Wanci, and thus categorically 'above' the *Tukang Besi* islands (according to the folk taxonomy), you could say

- (2) *Ilange ku-hena'u-mo i Wanse.*
 tomorrow 1SG-descend-PF OBL Wanci
 'Tomorrow I'm going (down) to Wanci.'

Alternatively, if on one of the several boats that ferry between Baubau or Lasalimu, west and thus 'down', and Wanci, you would say

- (3) *Ilange ku-'eka-mo i Wanse.*
 tomorrow 1SG-climb-PF OBL Wanci
 'Tomorrow I'm going (up) to Wanci.'

Similarly, if waiting for a boat on the jetty in Pongo (western Wanci) and asked where you were going to, you could reply

- (4) *Ku-l[um]angke i Lasalimu.*
 1SG-sail.SF OBL Lasalimu
 'I want to sail to Lasalimu.'

Alternatively, with a gesture from your chin in the direction of the east Buton mountains on the western horizon, you could say

- (5) *Ku-l[um]angke i iwo.*
 1SG-sail.SF OBL that.down
 'I want to sail to (Lasalimu).'

(the specific identity of the goal being assumed, because the greatest number of johnsons travelling from Wanci go to Lasalimu, where many people have family connections)

If you boarded the *Tunas Jaya* (hopefully before it sank in early 1993!), which runs between Baubau, Wanci, Taliabo, Buru and Ambon, you might be asked where you were going, if the questioner did not know on which leg of its route the ship was. A list of

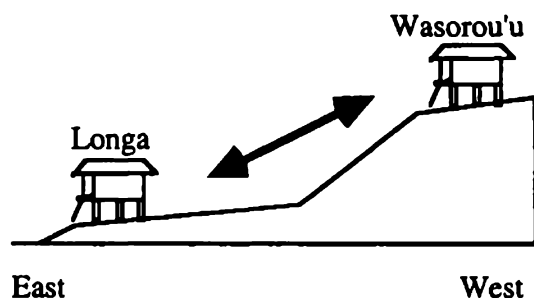
satisfactory replies would include

- (6) *To-langke i ito.*
 1PL.R-sail OBL that.up
 'We are sailing east to (Ambon/Buru).'

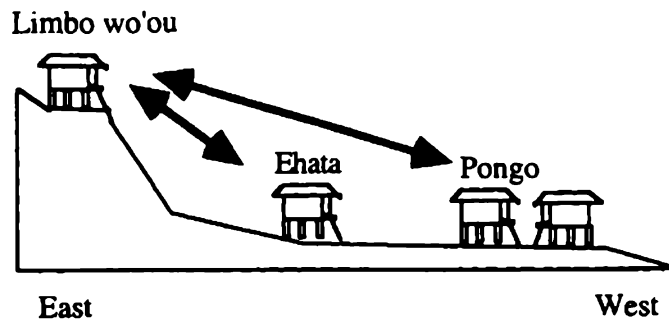
(the exact identity cannot be assumed this time, because whilst many people have family connections on Buru, the political, social and economic centre of Maluku is in Ambon)

The topographic demonstratives, and their associated verbs, can thus substitute in a clause for either the direction or the action, but not both; *to'eka i iwo* is pedantic nonsense in colloquial talk.

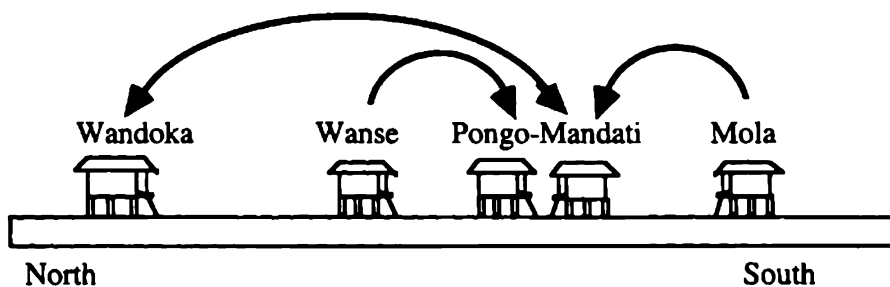
Taking a different point of reference produces a different classification of the world in terms of its *ito* and *iwo* division. For example, two villages, on the east coast of Wanci and in the hills inland, respectively, will refer to each other in different ways, with a different relationship from that of a similar pair of villages on the west side of the hills. If you travel between Longa, on the east coast, and Wasorou'u, immediately to the west and in the hills of Tindoi, we refer to the direction of travel as being in the *ito* 'up' direction, and the verb used to describe the travel can be *'eka* 'climb'; physically, you need to climb up the hills and ridges that separate the villages, and so in this case the 'up' definition is very apt to describe the movement. If travelling in reverse, from Wasorou'u to Longa, however, the direction of travel, despite being downhill, is not *iwo* 'down', but rather *ito* 'up'; this is because for the purposes of determining directional reference the fact that Longa lies to the east of Wasorou'u takes precedence over its location downhill of Wasorou'u. Both villages are thus classified as being 'higher than' each other, in terms of both being an *ito* position with respect to the other.



On the west side of the hills, there is no difficulty in assigning direction; travelling down from Limbo wo'ou to Ehata will entail not just literally descending the hills, but also travelling to the west, so there is no clash in terminological choices, and the direction is unambiguously *iwo* 'down', the motion verb used is *hena'u* 'descend'. From Ehata to Limbo wo'ou, the direction of travel is eastwards and physically up, so again there is not clash of choices, and the direction is *ito*. Continuing from Limbo wo'ou or Ehata along the plain to the city around Pongo, however, will be thought of not as travelling *iwo* 'down', but *ito* 'up', because the movement is directed to a centre, the city, and this fact takes precedence over both the westward direction, and the downward direction. Here there is a symmetry in reference again; from Pongo to Limbo wo'ou, the travel is eastwards and up, thus making it an *ito* direction. From Pongo to Ehata there is no upward movement, but the direction is east, thus making Ehata *ito* as well.



Another interesting directional choice comes when you travel from Pongo-Mandati along the road to the north or south of the city. The areas immediately north and south of the city, Wanse and Mola respectively, are classified as *iwo* locations, because of the contrast that they show with the classificatorily higher centre that is the city; Mola would in any case be *iwo*, since it lies to the south of the city. Wanse is termed *iwo*, as seen from Pongo, despite being located to the north, showing that the proximity to the city cancels out the deictic 'height' that comes with being northwards. Wandoka, however, separated from Wanse and the city by about 1km of open country, is far away enough from the centre that the northward location assures it of *ito* status, as seen from Pongo. All of the smaller villages treat the city area of Pongo-Mandati as the social and political centre (the sub-district office, local army and police headquarters buildings, and community health post for the island are all located in Pongo), and thus as an *ito* location. The arrows in the diagram below show *ito* directions (upwards); the absence of an arrow indicates *iwo* (downwards) direction.



The determination of whether a location is classified as *ito* 'up' or *iwo* 'down' can be modelled as in figure 2. If the location is physically higher than the point of reference (usually that of the speech act), then the location is classified as *ito*; if it is lower, however, is not automatically classified as *iwo*. First, the location is evaluated for its relative east-west position; if it is further east than the point of the speech act, then it is *ito*; if it is further to the west, it does NOT necessarily follow that it is *iwo*. Next, a more landward location merits *ito* status; next, being the social or cultural centre is adequate to be called *ito*. Finally, a more northerly location merits *ito* status; only if all these five possibilities for being classified as an *ito* location are unsuccessful is the fact that a location is physically lower examined; if it is lower, and not more easterly, landward, more important, or northerly, then and only then is it classified as *iwo*.

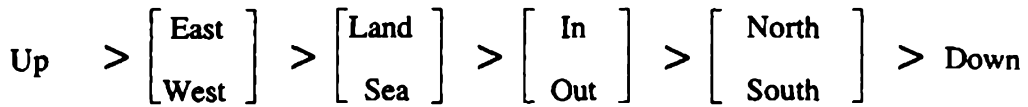


Figure 2. Factors affecting demonstrative choice

We can speculate about the cultural reasons behind these choices. The land orientation of west = *iwo*, east = *ito* is based on the fact that the Wanci people are centred on the plains of the West coast, and that the east coast is both less important, culturally and agriculturally, and that you generally have to climb up a hill or ridge in order to reach it. Land is classed as higher than sea for obvious physical reasons, and the fact that the homes of the *Tukang Besi* people are on land, and so the home is on a higher level than the homeless sea (this is unlike, for instance, the *Sama* or *Bajau* people., a large village of which is to be found off the south-west coast of Wanci in the administrative villages of *Mola Utara* and *Mola Selatan*, and whose system of spatial reference is not based on a land sea distinction as sharply as that of the *Tukang Besi*). The choice of the centre as higher than the periphery is essentially arbitrary, though the old Sultanate capital of *Lia*, in the south of the island, lies on the top of a hill, perhaps giving a historical connection between height and political power. The treatment of north as higher than south is arbitrary; it has already been seen that northerly location is not enough to guarantee an *ito* classification, if overridden by other factors. This perhaps indicates that north-south orientation is a less strong factor for determining *ito* and *iwo* classification; this is borne out by the fact that at sea, or when referring to locations on other islands that would involve a trip by sea to reach them, the factors determining deictic choice are slightly different to those used on land. Of course, up and down, landward and seaward, and into or out from the deictic centre are no longer relevant categories in the determination of direction at sea; nevertheless, we might expect, based on the land orientation, a hierarchy as shown in figure 3:

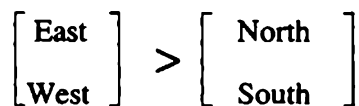


Figure 3. Cardinal directions and demonstrative choice on land

This is not, however, the case; at sea, the importance of north and south to *ito* and *iwo* locations is reversed, compared to the land classification, and southerly location is associated with *ito*, northerly location with *iwo*:

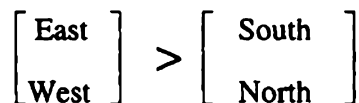


Figure 4. Cardinal directions and demonstrative choice at sea

6.4 Use of the demonstrative forms

The actual forms are used as demonstratives referring to identities that are still visible, or

obviously inferable, whilst the referential forms refer back in the discourse to a previously salient referent (as described in 6.2). Consider this short extract from the middle of a story, in which two speakers are talking, the first asking a villager for news of a man named *La Iambo*:

- (7) *Te iaku ana ku-laha te La Iambo*
 CORE I this 1SG-search CORE La Iambo
n(u) ku-lake. Ku-lake (e) La Iambo."
 GEN 1SG-connected 1SG-connected CORE La Iambo
Potae-m(o) kua "Mbea'e na ngaa meatu'e di ana."
 say-PF : not-3OBJ NOM name REF-that OBL here
 '(He said:) "I am searching for La Iambo, with whom I am related. I am
 connected with La Iambo." He replied: "There is no such name here."
 (Wal:74 - 75)

The first speaker uses the actual demonstrative *ana* when talking about himself; in introducing oneself to other people, this is accepted form. In reply, the villager says *mbea'e na ngaa meatu'e di ana*, using *ana* here to refer to the whole village area, and not just his own person, and uses the referential form *meatu'e* instead of the actual *atu* to modifying *ngaa* 'name'. This is because the use of *atu* would have associated the name with the addressee directly, and not with his immediately preceding discourse, in which La Iambo was mentioned. In this way the actual and referential demonstratives are used in contrasting functions. Notice also that the referential forms can appear with or without the anaphoric marker *ai* following, in this case without. Speakers report no difference in meaning, and appear to idiolectally favour one variant over the other, though increasing referential length does seem to correlate with a more frequent use of *ai*.

As an aside, this should not be taken to imply that the other deictics cannot be used on the first person; *atu* and *iso* are commonly found modifying *iaku*, and also (though more rarely) *ito* and *iwo*. These uses will only be found, however, when referring to oneself in an earlier time. For instance, contrast the demonstratives in (7) with (7)':

- (7)' *Dua-alo, te iaku iso ku-'eka i Tindoi...*
 2-days CORE 1SG yon 1SG-climb OBL Tindoi
 'Two days ago, I went up to Tindoi...'

Here the speaker is clearly referring to the events of another time, and self-identity is then gauged as being separate.

The actual and referential forms of the same demonstrative differ in meaning. Compare their use in the following sentences. In (9), the question is rhetorical, since the use of an actual demonstrative is already indication that the person referred to is visible, at least to the speaker:

- (8) *'U-(')ita te mia iso?*
 2SG.R-see CORE person yon
 'You see that person over there?'
 (rhetorical question unless talking to someone inside, or with sight problems)

It is possible to utter this sentence with the referential forms, but with a change in meaning; now the person in question is the one who has been discussed, and the question is a

genuine one:

- (9) *'U-(')ita te mia measo'e?*
 2SG.R-see CORE person REF-yon
 'Can you see that person?' (who we were talking about)
 (real question, but identity already assumed)

The presentative forms, more fully discussed in chapter 14 contrast with the actual forms, but do not occur in the same environments as the referential forms. The difference between actual and presentative forms can be seen in the following:

- (10) *Te ana te bok(u) u Ali ana.*
 CORE this CORE book GEN Ali this
 'This is Ali's book.'
 (emphasis on the identity of *what this is*, and not on the issue of its being there)
- (11) *Kaana'e na bok(u) u Ali ana.*
 PRES-this NOM book GEN Ali this
 'Here's this book of Ali's.'
 (emphasis on the question of *which one* is Ali's book, not on its identity)

Presentative forms are fully discussed in 14, and because of this and their divergent syntactic behaviour they are not considered in the rest of this chapter.

6.5 Use of the demonstratives

6.5.1 Modifying the head of a noun phrase

The actual and referential forms of the demonstratives can all function as modifiers of the head of an NP. They are the last member of the NP, and so serve the useful role of indicating the boundary of an NP. This is very apparent when a relative clause with several internal constituents modifies a head. NPs containing the inalienable marker *mai* (see chapters 12 and 13) obligatorily take an actual demonstrative. It cannot appear either bare, without a demonstrative, or in company with a referential demonstrative.

- (12) *No-elo te ana-no mai iso.*
 3R-call CORE child-3POSS INAL yon
 'She called her children.'
- (13) a. * *No-elo te ana-no mai measo'e.*
 3R-call CORE child-3POSS INAL REF-yon
 'She called her children.'
- b. * *No-elo te ana-no mai.*
 3R-call CORE child-3POSS INAL
 'She called her children.'

If the *mai* appears further to the left, then the demonstrative itself remains at the end of the NP:

- (14) *No-elo te ana-no mohii mai iso.*
 3R-call CORE child-3POSS left INAL yon
 'She called her left-handed child.'
- (15) *No-elo te ana-no mai mohii iso.*
 3R-call CORE child-3POSS INAL left yon
 'She called her left-handed child.'

Should a *mai* appear further to the left in an NP modified by a relative clause, then no demonstratives may be used, nor may it follow the *mai*:

- (16) * *No-elo te ana-no mai '[um]ak'aka iso.*
 3R-call CORE child-3POSS INAL play.SF yon
 'She called her child, who was playing.'

A demonstrative may, however, appear modifying a constituent of the relative clause, but not the main clause:

- (17) *No-elo [te ana-no mai ['[um]ita*
 3R-call CORE child-3POSS INAL see.SF
 [*te kadadi ito*]_{KP}]_{RC}]_{KP}.
 CORE bird that.up
 'She called her child, who was watching the bird up (in the tree).'

**No'elo [te anano meai ['umita [te kadadi]_{KP}]_{RC} ito]_{KP}*

In (17) *ito* is a demonstrative modifying *te kadadi*, and not *te anano meai*, and so the relative clause is not intruding between a fronted *meai* and a 'stranded' demonstrative.

Actual demonstratives may be used if the relative clause itself has moved left:

- (18) *No-elo te ana-no ['[um]ita [te kadadi ito]_{KP}]_{RC}*
 3R-call CORE child-3POSS see.SF CORE bird that.up
meai iso]_{KP}.
 INAL yon
 'She called her child, who was watching the bird up (in the tree).'

In (18), as in (17), the relative clause is not intruding between the inalienable and general demonstratives, and so there is not conflict. The use of a demonstrative modifying *anano* is possible here only if *anano* appear in a non-nominative KP; the corresponding sentence with a nominative KP is ungrammatical:

- (19) * *Noelo'e [na anano ['umita'e [na kadadi ito]_{KP}]_{RC} meai iso]_{KP}.*

With nominative KPs the restrictions on the appearance of actual and referential demonstratives with the inalienable marker still hold, but there is also a restriction on the occurrence of the referential demonstratives: if a nominative KP is modified by a referential demonstrative, the demonstrative must be preceded by the 'previous mention' word *ba'i*:

- (20) a. *No-elo te ana-no measo'e ai.*
 3R-call CORE child-3POSS REF-yon ANA
 'She called her child.'
- b. * *No-elo-'e na ana-no measo'e ai.*
 3R-call-3OBJ NOM child-3POSS REF-yon ANA
 'She called her child.'
- c. *No-elo-'e na ana-no ba'i measo'e ai.*
 3R-call-3OBJ NOM child-3POSS PREV REF-yon ANA
 'She called her child.'

The anaphoric *ai* may appear after actual demonstratives as well as referential ones in nominative phrases (see chapter 12 for a discussion on the co-occurrence restrictions):

- (21) a. *No-elo te ana-no iso.*
 3R-call CORE child-3POSS yon
 'She called that child.'
- (22) a. * *No-elo te ana-no iso ai.*
 3R-call CORE child-3POSS yon ANA
 'She called that child.'
- c. *No-elo-'e na ana-no iso ai.*
 3R-call-3OBJ NOM child-3POSS yon ANA
 'She called that child.'

Examples of the use of the different demonstratives modifying the head of an NP are:

- (23) *O-mohoo a mata ina-no, te kalambe ana]DEM.*
 3R-sick NOM eye mother-3POSS CORE girl this
 'Her mother's eye was sick, this girl.'
 (WaI:2)
- (24) *Tu'o-'e-mo Wə Sabusaburengki, te iko'o,*
 chop-3OBJ-PF Wa Sabusaburengki CORE 2SG
na kau [atu]DEM.
 NOM tree that (Sab:27)
 'Will you chop that tree there by you down, Wa Sabusaburengki?'
- (25) *Te wemba i-lemba-no [iso]DEM koruo pale*
 CORE bamboo PP-carry-3POSS yon many length
te monda i-gonti-gonti.
 CORE already OP-RED-cut (EiT:4)
 'The bamboo that they were carrying was many lengths of split (bamboo).'
- (26) *Te mia i Tindoi ompulu-kilo labi no-wila ae*
 TOP person OBL Tindoi 10-kilometre more 3R-go foot
kua Mola [iwo]DEM ako na-b[um]alu
 ALL Mola that.down PURP 3R-buy.SF
te ika i-he-mawi u Wajo [iso]DEM.
 CORE fish OP-do-sea GEN Bajau yon
 'The people from Tindoi walk more than ten kilometres in order to buy fish that the Bajau catch at sea.'

- (27) *"Ane 'uka kene koranga-su i Tindoi [ito]DEM."*
 exist also and garden-1SG.POSS OBL Tindoi that.up
 'I've got a garden up in Tindoi as well.'

6.5.2 Substituting for the head of a noun phrase

As described in more detail in chapter 12, an actual demonstrative may serve as the head of the NP. This can occur only if the reference of the arguments is assumed from the context or understood from the preceding discourse (i.e., it is anaphorically retrievable). This demonstrative head may not be modified - it is already fully specified from its anaphoric reference. The inability to be modified in the NP correlates with its normal position at the right-most boundary of the NP.

- (28) *No-ma'eka di simbuku to'oge iso.*
 3R-afraid OBL octopus large yon
 'S/he is afraid of those big octopuses.'

- (29) *No-ma'eka di iso.*
 3R-afraid OBL yon
 'S/he is afraid of them.'
 (also good as: 'S/he is afraid over there.')

Examples have already been given of demonstratives serving as the head of an oblique phrase. A demonstrative serving as the head of an NP in a core role can be seen in the following:

- (30) *Kabi-'e na buk(u) u ika atu!*
 throw.out-3OBJ NOM bone GEN fish that
 'Throw away those fish bones!'

- (31) *Kabi-'e na atu!*
 throw.out-3OBJ NOM that
 'Throw that away!'

Demonstratives rarely function as the head of a KP which is serving as the subject of its clause, since that nominal can be adequately represented by the subject prefix on the verb. Of course, an object can also be represented solely by object suffixes. An alternative to the above sentences, assuming that the fish bones had already been mentioned in the preceding conversation, would be simply *kabi'e*. This, however, has other consequences for the structure of discourse. It is not unknown, however, especially for second person referents:

- (32) *'U-basa te boku na atu?*
 2SG.R-read CORE book NOM that
 'Are you reading a book?' (G:47)

6.5.3 As demonstratives of manner

The general demonstratives, especially *atu*, can phonologically combine (that they are not

grammatically affixed forms is evidenced by the readiness of speakers to separate the forms in slow speech) with *awana* ‘manner, way’ to form very frequently heard exclamations or explanations ‘Like this’ or ‘In that way...’ The referential demonstratives cannot occur in this position. The phonologically bound forms usually occur clause-initially:

<i>awanana</i>	<	<i>awana ana</i>
<i>awanatu</i>	<	<i>awana atu</i>
* <i>awana[afi]so</i>	<	<i>awana iso</i>
		* <i>awana ito</i>
		* <i>awana iwo</i>

- (33) *Awanatu to-tihi te wemba.*
 manner.that 1PL.R-shave CORE bamboo
 ‘That’s how you shave bamboo.’
- (34) * *Awana meatu'e to-tihi te wemba.*
 manner REF-that 1PL.R-shave CORE bamboo
 ‘That’s how you shave bamboo.’
- (35) *Labi ki-sawi i honda awana iso*
 better 2PL.R-ride.as.passenger OBL motorbike manner yon
 ‘It’d be better if you mounted the bike like them.’

6.5.4 As temporal modifiers

All the general demonstratives can, and regularly do, occur in combination with other clause-linkage devices to show the sequence of events, but only one of the demonstratives regularly occurs on its own as a temporal modifier. The referential demonstrative *meana'e* may also occur on its own in an adverbial function with the meaning ‘now’. There is also a reduplicated form of this adverb, *mea-meana'e*, meaning ‘lately’.

- (36) *Meana'e mbea'e na wudo timu awana 'u-buri...*
 now not-3OBJ NOM season east manner 2SG.R-write
 ‘It is not the east monsoon season as you wrote...’
- (37) *Mea-meana'e ane ke koruo na usalao t[um]uju*
 RED-now exist and may NOM storm descend.SF
di Wanse ana.
 OBL Wanci this
 ‘There have been a lot of big storms coming here to Wanci lately.’

Examples of the use of other demonstratives with other clause-linkage devices are:

- (38) a. *Po'oli iso...* b. *Pasi atu...* c. *Po'oli na ana...*
 finish yon complete that finish NOM this
 ‘After that...’ ‘After that...’ ‘After this...’

6.6 The use of demonstratives in discourse tracking

When tracking in discourse, in addition to the already-mentioned spatial reference, the demonstratives *ana*, *atu* and *iso* are used to track who has said what. The use of *ana* corresponds to things that the speaker is talking about in the same breath, that is, before the addressee responds with anything. *atu* is used to refer to something that has just been mentioned by the other party, and either can use *iso* to refer to an already established topic. An idealised stretch of conversation would run as follows:

(39) A: *Te ia ane 'uka kene wunua di Pada.*
 CORE s/he exist also and house OBL Pada
E wunua-no ana...
 CORE house-3POSS this
 'He also has a house in Pada. Now that house...'

B: *Te wunua (a)tu ane ke ao séng?*
 TOP house that exist and roof galvanised.iron
 'That house, does it have a galvanised iron roof?'

A: *Ara te iso di Pada, ea-'e, toka no-hoto 'uka*
 If CORE yon OBL Pada not-3OBJ but 3R-have also
di Lia.
 OBL Lia
 'That one in Pada, no. But he also has a house in Lia...'

Further examples of the use of demonstratives in discourse, but from naturally-occurring speech, can be found in the texts provided at the end of this grammar, and need not be repeated here.

Chapter 7

Verb phrases

7.1 Verb phrases

The verb phrase in *Tukang Besi* consists of the verb itself, with pronominal affixing, an optional auxiliary beginning the verb phrase, and a non-prominent object KP, if present. The existence of a verb phrase comprising these elements can be proven from occurrence restraints on the positions that a locative or time expression can occur in the clause (see chapter 3), and from looking at the positions in which a floating adverb can appear (section 7.10). These same criteria also show that nominative KPs are not part of the VP, but are outside it, at a higher level of constituent structure. The structure of the verbal complex is thus dependent on whether the object is specified as nominative or not. The structure of the verb phrase is as shown in figure 5:

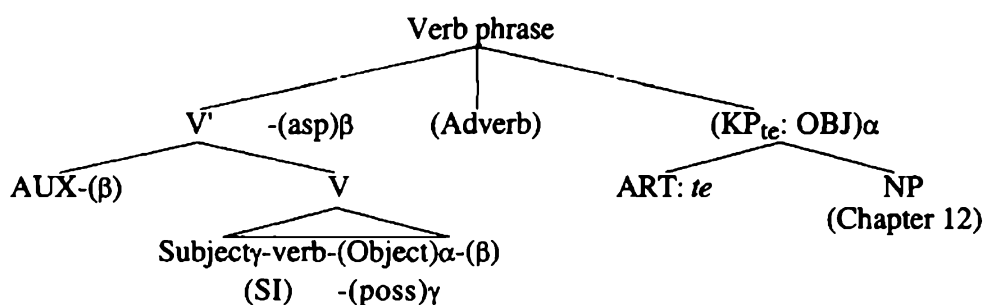


Figure 5. Structure of a verb phrase

AUX	→ auxiliary
Subject	→ subject prefixes
SI	→ subject infix
stem	→ verb stem, either simple or derived
poss	→ possessive suffixes
Object	→ object suffixes
asp	→ aspect suffixes

The letters α , β and γ denote that only one occurrence of this constituent may occur. Thus, if a verb has subject prefixes it may not also have possessive suffixes. Similarly, if a verb is suffixed with object suffixes, then no KP appears in the VP, or if an aspect suffix (which may appear on any constituent in the V') appears on the auxiliary, one may not also appear on the verb, and vice versa.

These various components of the verbal complex will be dealt with and exemplified

separately, sections 7.2 - 7.6 describing briefly the pronominal indexing, and 7.7 onwards dealing with other topics relevant to the verb phrase. The internal structure of a nominal object is dealt with later in chapter 11.

7.2 Subject prefixes

The verb in *Tukang Besi* is almost always marked for subject by pronominal affixes on the verb, as explained in Chapters 3 and 5 (with the exception of imperatives addressed to a single person, possessively marked adjectives (section 7.4), and informal use (7.5.1)). The minimal verbal clause (the most frequent case after referential identity has been established) consists of the verb alone, without a separate subject KP, as seen in (1):

- (1) *Ku-nde'u.*
1SG-not.want
'I don't want to.'

The basic verbal clause consisting of the affixed verb may be expanded with one or more KPs, to resolve ambiguity about the identity of the participants. These KPs are case marked according to the conventions already described in chapter 3.

- (2) [*Te tukatutu*]_{KP} [*no-'ita* [*te sanggila*]_{KP}]_{VP}.
CORE blacksmith 3R-see CORE pirate
'The blacksmith saw the pirate.'

Details on the marking strategies for KPs and verbs were given in chapter 3. The verbs indicate the subject through the use of portmanteau morphemes that express person and number of the subject, and also realis or irrealis mood. A table displaying the full set of pronominal affixes is given in Chapter 5.

Examples of the use of the realis set of subject prefixes are given in (3) - (6):

- Transitive verb:
- (3) *Ku-gonti te kau.* (T1:21)
1SG-chop CORE wood
'I chopped the wood'
- Agentive intransitive verb:
- (4) *Jari no-'eka di wunua-no.* (WI:{21})
so 3R-climb OBL house-3POSS
'So she went up to her house.'
- Non-agentive intransitive verb:
- (5) *O-mandawulu.*
3R-beautiful
'She's beautiful.'

Impersonal Weather Verb:

- (6) *La'a-m(o) no-kinda.*
 just-PF 3R-lightning
 'Lightning just struck.'
 (Glossing literally, 'It has just lightnined.')'

7.2.1 Irrealis subject prefixes

The irrealis set of subject prefixes are used to refer to a state or event that is unrealised. This can be at the time of the utterance itself, or at the time of the point of reference of the utterance. The irrealis prefixes are used to show an intention on the part of the subject, or a necessary or likely outcome. The basic difference between the realis and irrealis prefixes can be seen in examples (7) and (8), where (7) describes an action that is completed and (8) expresses the speaker's idea about the outcome of the action. The irrealis forms are very often used in combination with the subject focus infix *-[um]-* (see 7.3); the use of this infix in combination with the irrealis pronoun set suggests a greater degree of volition on the part of the actor. The difference between (8) and (10) is one of volition, that between (8) and (9) one of immediacy:

- (7) *No-haiara-'e.*
 3R-pay-3OBJ
 'She has paid it.'
- (8) *Na-haiara-'e.*
 3I-pay-3OBJ
 'She is going to pay it.'
- (9) *No-h[um]aiara.*
 3R-pay.SI
 'She is about to pay.'
- (10) *Na-h[um]aiara.*
 3I-pay.SI
 'She will/wants to pay.'
- (T1:23)

Object agreement is only rarely used in combination with the irrealis forms of the first and second person subject prefixes, and only if the *-[um]-* infix is used. It is likely that this is not a grammatical, but a discourse constraint. The use of object suffixes goes hand in hand with nominative Case, and thus pragmatic prominence, being assigned to the object. This is an unlikely situation when a person is referring to her/his own intentions, or those of the addressee. Compare the (roughly equivalent) unusualness of the use of the English passive in 'It will be paid by you.' compared to the more natural use with a perfective sentence such as 'It was paid by you.'

- (11) *Ko-tarima 'uka sa-ba'e.*
 2SG.I-receive again 1-CLASS
 'You'll get another one (free).'

- (12) # *Ko-baiara-'e.*
 2SG.I-pay-3OBJ (T1:23)
 'You shall pay it.'
- (13) *Ko-b[um]aiara-'e.*
 2SG.I-pay.SI-3OBJ (T1:23)
 'You'll pay it.'
- (14) *Ka-s[um]artere-'e na kapala-'u.*
 IPA.I-charter.SI-3OBJ NOM boat-2SG.POSS
 'We want to hire your boat.'
- (15) *Ka-cartere 'e oto.*
 IPA.I-charter CORE car (J:13)
 'We'll charter a car...'

Note that although it is a condition for the use of the irrealis pronominal sets that the event is not yet realised, it is not the case that all unrealised actions require irrealis forms; (9) above shows this to be the case. This is further illustrated by the following two sentences, illustrating the use of realis pronouns for future events, in (16), and for negated events, seen in (17):

- (16) "*Mai La Bekabeka, ku-bawa-ako-ko kua mawi*
 come La Cat 1SG-take-APPL-2SG.OBJ ALL sea
ako 'u-po-kaha-kaha-kita kene La bela Kompakompa."
 for 2SG.R-REC-RED-bite-1PL.OBJ and La dear Eel (Oen: 14)
 'Come, Puss, I'm going to take you to the sea so that you can fight with Eel
 for us.'
- (17) *Mbea-do 'u-ala te lei ka?*
 not-EMPH 2SG.R-fetch CORE sea.urchin ILL.FORCE
 'Have you still not fetched the sea urchins?'

7.3 Subject infix *-[um]-*

The Subject infix (SI) usually occurs with the irrealis subject prefixes, but is also found with the realis forms. It is used with in all subclasses of verbs in a verbal main clause to:

1. express a future event, and to comment on its likelihood
2. show wishes and desired intentions
3. emphasise the actor in a sentence

Examples of the *-[um]-* infix in combination with the realis subject markers can be found in the following (an explanation of the morphophonological alternations associated with the *-[um]-* infix can be found in chapter 2):

- (18) *'U-[m]ala te paira?*
 2SG.R-fetch.SI CORE what
 'What do you want?'
 (Lit., What do you want to take?)

- (19) *'U-b[um]juri?*
 2SG.R-write.SI
 'Do you want to write?'

The *-[um]-* infix combined with the irrealis pronouns can be seen in examples (20) - (25):

- (20) *Na-b[um]jaiara.*
 3I-pay.SI (T1:23)
 'She will/wants to pay.'
- (21) *Ko-p[um]a-buti-'e.*
 2SG.I-CAUS.SI-fall-3OBJ
 'You'll drop it'
- (22) *Ku-nde'u b[um]jaiara.*
 1SG-not.want pay.SI (G:10)
 'I don't want to pay.'
- (23) *Ku-nde'u baiara.*
 1SG-not.want pay (G:10)
 'I'm not paying.'
- (24) *Mbeaka ku-b[um]jaiara.*
 not 1SG-pay.SI (G:10)
 'I won't pay.'
- (25) *Mbea-ho ku-baiara.*
 not-yet 1SG-pay (G:10)
 'I haven't paid yet.'

In examples (21) and (22) the presence of *-[um]-* shows a greater subject oriented interpretation, the sentences lacking the *-[um]-* similarly lack this overtone of intentionality.

A good minimal pair-like contrast occurred one night in conversation with two other people. On hearing that I was definitely intending to travel to Wanci for a certain festival, one surprised participant of the conversation said to the other:

- (26) *A-wila?*
 3I-go
 'Is he going?'

using an irrealis pronoun without the subject focus infix; her focus was on the fact that my going was seen as unusual, and that was emphasised by the lack of subject focus infix, which would have indicated more intention, and the presence of the irrealis pronoun, to show that the certainty of the outcome was being questioned. About five minutes later, when asking me if her classificatory brother was going to go to my house the next day, I replied

- (27) *Oho, no-wila.*
 Yes 3R-go
 'Yes, he's going.'

using a realis pronoun, and was immediately corrected with (28),

- (28) *Na-w[um]jila.*
3I-go.SI
'He will go.'

using an irrealis pronoun, and this time the subject focus as well. The difference is that the emphasis was now not on the certainty of the action, but on the fact that it was the classificatory brother who was going to act, and that his intentions, whilst agreed on, were intentions and not a promise.

7.4 Possessive marking on adjectives

With an adjective (a sub-class of the set of intransitive, non-agentive, non-dynamic verbs; see chapter 4.5) the theme subject may be coded onto the verb by means of the possessive suffixes, to the exclusion of the regular subject prefix on the verb. This practice was universally proscribed by the speakers I queried, but use of this marking pattern seems to be just as universal in casual conversation. Examples of the use of the possessive to show the theme subject are:

- Adjective (intransitive non-agentive):
- (29) a. *Kalu-'u-mo?*
tired-2SG.POSS-PF
'Are you tired?' b. *'U-kalu-mo?*
2SG.R-tired-PF (G:66)
'Are you tired?'
- Intransitive non-agentive:
- (30) a. * *Like-'u?*
awake-2SG.POSS
'Are you awake?' b. *'U-like?*
2SG.R-awake
'Are you awake?'
- Transitive non-agentive verb:
- (31) a. * *Hoto-'u ana?*
have-2SG.POSS child
'Do you have children?' b. *'U-hoto ana?*
2SG.R-have child
'Do you have children?'
- (32) a. * *'U-hoto ana-'u.*
2SG.R-have child-2SG.POSS
'Do you have children?' b. *Hoto [ana-'u]?*
have child-2SG.POSS
'Do you have children?'
- Dynamic verb:
- (33) a. * *Buti-no?*
fall-3POSS
'Did he fall down?'
(Good for: 'His fall.')
- b. *No-buti.*
3R-fall
'Did he fall down?'

In the above sentences, (30) and (31) show that the option of possessive suffixing does not apply to all non-agentive verbs, but only to certain intransitive ones. The use of the possessive in (31b) is on the incorporated noun, and not on the verb. Compare with the more transparent ungrammaticality in the paraphrase below:

- (34) a. * *Ane-'u* *kene ana?*
 exist-2SG.POSS and child
 'Do you have children?'
 b. *Ane kene ana-'u?*
 exist and child-2SG.POSS
 'Do you have children?'
 (Literally, 'Do your children exist?')

A difference in meaning exists between adjectives and verbs whose subject is marked by means of subject prefixes and those that use genitive pronouns. Whereas both strategies allow a stative interpretation, only a verb using subject prefixes can have an inchoative interpretation:

- (35) a. *No-monini.*
 3R-cold
 'They are cold.'
 'They are getting cold.'
 b. *Nini-no.*
 cold-3POSS
 'They are cold.'
 * 'They are getting cold.'

7.5 Irregularities in subject marking

7.5.1 Omissions

In casual speech there are omissions in indexing of subjects on the verb. An agentive verb unmarked for subject has an understood first person subject in statements and a second person subject in questions, whilst unprefixated non-agentive verbs have a third person participant as the understood subject.

Examples of sentences that are unambiguous as far as the reference of the subjects is concerned are seen in (36) - (38):

- (36) (*Ku-*)*wila* *i* *ito* *me-ana-'e ai.*
 (1SG-)go OBL there:higher REF-this ANA
 'I'm going north now.'
- (37) *Ane-ho* (*o-*)*mohoo?*
 be-yet (3R-)sick
 'Is he still sick?'
 (* 'Are you still sick?')
- (38) (*'U-*)*sai* *te* *paira?*
 (2SG.R-)make CORE what
 'What are you making?'
 (* 'What is s/he making?')

I suggest that the parallel patterns of (near) compulsory coding of first and second persons on non-agentive verbs and optional coding on agentive verbs show the workings of a hierarchy of activity salience in discourse. The participants most salient in the speech act, the first and second person, do not obligatorily require subject prefixes, being assumed to be the instigators of actions; on the other hand, activities by persons or things that are not part of the speech act are always so prefixed, marking them as more unlikely instigators. With non-agentive verbs, however, the less active role required by the third person patient subject of a non-agentive verb does not necessarily require marking, since this is the expected state for a non-participant of the speech act. A first or second person in this less active role, on the other hand, role must be marked on the verb.

7.5.2 Third person supercession

The subject prefixes are often used to refer to the derived subject of a *to-* passive verb. Another option is to use a dummy third person subject prefix, giving the passive verb a more stative meaning (note that agents cannot be mentioned in a clause with a *to-* passive; see chapter 11.2):

(39) *'U-to-'ita na iko'o.*
 2SG.R-PASS-see NOM 2SG
 'You were seen.'

(40) *No-to-'ita na iko'o.*
 3R-PASS-see NOM 2SG
 'You were visible.'

Whilst the prefix on the verb agrees with the derived subject in (39), the third person prefix in (40) is a dummy subject marker on what is really a verb without a nominative argument - see chapters 11 and 20 for details.

7.6 Object suffixes

Most transitive verbs can be suffixed with object suffixes, and many intransitive ('ambitransitive') verbs too may occur with object suffixes (see chapter 4); these index the direct object of the verb, and are portmanteau forms expressing the number and person of the object. Their affect on the structure of the verbal complex is minimal, but they drastically affect the distribution of the core case-marking articles (see chapter 3 for a summary of this and other KP marking strategies). The use of object suffixes is also largely dependent on discourse factors, namely givenness, specificity (rather than definiteness), and topic continuity, much like the use of passive forms in English. In this way, the object suffixes are the equivalent of passive forms in languages such as English as regards discourse functions (special thanks to C. Donohue for first pointing this correspondence out to me in 1992), creating a new pivot of the sentence for certain constructions. Compare (41) with sentence (42):

(41) *No-'ita-'e te sanggila na tukatutu jari no-tode.*
 3R-see-3OBJ CORE pirate NOM blacksmith so 3R-flee
 'The blacksmith was seen by the pirate, and so fled.'

* 'The pirate saw the blacksmith, and so fled.'

(42) *No-'ita te sanggila na tukatutu jari no-tode.*
 3R-see CORE pirate NOM blacksmith so 3R-flee
 'The blacksmith saw the pirate, and so fled.'

* 'The blacksmith saw the pirate, and so the pirate fled.'

Both of these sentences show the preverbal KP of the first sentence coreferential with the subject of the second, but in the case of (41) it is the object of the verb *no-'ita'e*, and not the subject, that is judged to be coreferential with the elided KP in the second clause. The subject prefixes on the verb, however, continue to index the person and number of *na*

tukatutu, showing that the subject remains a core argument. The grammatical status of nominative arguments is examined in greater depth in chapter 20.

An important use of the object suffixes is when they are obligatorily used to indicate that the [Theme/Patient] argument of an ambitransitive verb is the object, and not the subject, of the clause. Unlike English, most otherwise intransitive verbs cannot be simply used with an added object:

- (43) a. *No-hesowui na ana-su mai iso.*
 3R-wash NOM child-1SG.POSS INAL yon
 'My children are washing.'
- b. * *No-hesowui te ana-su mai iso*
 3R-wash CORE child-1SG.POSS INAL yon
na wowine-su.
 NOM wife-1SG.POSS
 'My wife is washing my children.'
- c. *No-hesowui-'e na ana-su mai iso*
 3R-wash-3OBJ NOM child-1SG.POSS INAL yon
te wowine-su.
 CORE wife-1SG.POSS
 'My wife is washing my children.'
- d. *No-pa-hesowui te ana-su mai iso*
 3R-CAUS-wash CORE child-1SG.POSS INAL yon
na wowine-su.
 NOM wife-1SG.POSS
 'My wife is washing my children.'

Sentence (43b) is acceptable with the addition of a causative prefix, as in (43d), but now there is less direct involvement; with the causative prefix, the statement could be interpreted as 'My wife is making my children wash themselves.', as well as 'My wife is washing the children.' The first interpretation is not a grammatical reading of (43c).

This can be simply described in terms of the requirement that the argument in [Theme/Patient] role be consistently marked as nominative; when the object suffix is added to the verb, the argument that was serving as the subject of the intransitive verb is the object of the new verb, and an agent is added. This may be represented in terms of clausal structure as follows:

s-V	na S	∅
↓		
s-V-o	na O	te A

The argument structure account, however, as presented in chapters 3, 4 and 20, is preferred here to the interpretation that the object suffixes are seen as derivational, which the above formula, lucid though it is, would imply. See chapter 4 for examples of the sort of verbs (not by any means all of those with a [Theme/Patient] argument) that enter into this sort of construction.

7.6.1 Object suffixes: a second account

The object suffixes have been presented as pronominal indexing of the object on the verb, yet this analysis does not account for the variation in case marking that was described in chapter 3. Accordingly, one possible extension to this analysis will be presented here. The fact that the object suffixes are not compulsory, as is the case with the subject prefixes, has led to their use in monitoring the status of participants and disambiguating discourse. A sentence with and without object suffixes is given in (44):

- (44) a. *No-'awa te boku na ana.*
 3R-get CORE book NOM child
 'The child got the book.'
- b. *No-'awa-'e na boku te ana.*
 3R-get-3OBJ NOM book CORE child
 'The child got the book.'

As has been described in chapter 3, the type of verbal indexing (presence versus absence of object suffixes) correlates with predictable variation in the case marking on nominals, and variation in their syntactic behaviour (see chapter 20), showing that the variation in case is not merely morphological.

This is exactly the same correlation exhibited by the better-known verbal affixes and KP marking in various Philippine languages, as demonstrated by the following pair of sentences from Tagalog (I am not going to enter the debate about the theoretical significance of what has here been blithely termed 'focus', or the nominal versus verbal nature of the affixed words in Philippine languages, in this book. For a discussion of these question, see (amongst (many) others) Schachter 1976 and 1977, and Kroeger 1993. The glosses in Tagalog sentences follow Kroeger's conventions):

- (45) Tagalog:
- a. *Kumuha ng libro ang bata.*
 get.AV GEN book NOM child
 'The child got a book.'
- b. *Kinuha ng bata ang libro.*
 get.OV GEN child NOM book
 'The child got a book.'

Just as in *Tukang Besi*, the 'articles' marking the noun phrases change with the change in verbal morphology. This could be good evidence that the *Tukang Besi* verbal system operates on a similar basis to the Philippine 'focus' system, as exemplified here by Tagalog. Immediate objections to this could be raised, arguing that the *Tukang Besi* system is clearly a pronominal inflection system on the basis that the object suffixes show variation for person and number, whereas the Tagalog verbal system does not. Compare the following sentences in Tagalog (46) and *Tukang Besi* (47):

- (46) Tagalog:
- a. *Sumampal ng bata ang babae.*
slap.AV GEN child NOM woman
'The woman slapped the child.'
- b. *Sinampal ng babae ang bata.*
choose.OV GEN woman NOM child
'The woman slapped the child.'
- c. *Sinampal ka ng babae.*
slap.OV 2SG.NOM GEN woman
'The woman slapped you.'
- (47) a. *No-topa te ana na wowine.*
3R-slap CORE child NOM woman
'The woman slapped the child.'
- b. *No-topa-'e na ana te wowine.*
3R-slap-3OBJ NOM child CORE woman
'The woman slapped the child.'
- c. *No-topa-ko (na iko'o) te wowine.*
3R-slap-2SG.OBJ NOM 2SG CORE woman
'The woman slapped you.'
- d. * *No-topa-'e na iko'o te wowine.*
3R-slap-3OBJ NOM 2SG CORE woman
'The woman slapped you.'

The sentences in (46b) and (46c), and (47b), (47c) and (47d) clearly show that while the Tagalog sentences do not require the verbal morphology to reflect the person or number of the participants, the *Tukang Besi* object suffixes vary in form for tis parameter; the ungrammaticality of (47d) clearly demonstrates this. This could be taken as an argument that the *Tukang Besi* object suffixes on the verb are pronominal inflections, rather than part of a 'focus' or voice system of the kind exemplified by the Tagalog data. The full 'inflectional' paradigm for the verb *pili* is as follows (keeping the third person subject constant):

Notopaaku Notopako Notopa'e
'S/he slapped... ...me.' ...you.' ...her/him/it/them.'

Notopakami Notopakita Notopakomiu
...us few.' ...us all.' ...you lot.'

It should be borne in mind, however, that the Tagalog system also shows variation. At the purely verbal level, the object suffixes vary in *Tukang Besi*, changing depending on the person and number categories of the object in the clause; these same categories are irrelevant in Tagalog, in which the same verbal affix being is used for objects regardless of person or number. At the clause level, however, the noun phrase marking 'articles' in Tagalog show considerable variation, the choice of the article depending on whether the KP is a common noun ((48a) and (48e) below), a proper noun ((48c) and (48g)), a

pronoun (in which case a suppletive form of the pronoun is used, as in examples (48b) and (48f), which may combine with a separate case-marking article as well) or a demonstrative (which also displays suppletive forms, but which never appear with a preceding article; (48d) and (48h)).

- (48) Tagalog:
- a. *Sinampal ng babae ang bata.*
slap.OV GEN woman NOM child
'The woman chose the child.'
- b. *Sinampal mo ang bata.*
slap.OV 2SG.GEN NOM child
'You chose the child.'
- c. *Sinampal ni Andres ang bata.*
slap.OV GEN Andres NOM child
'Andres chose the child.'
- d. *Sinampal nito-ng babae ang bata.*
slap.OV this.GEN-LINKER woman NOM child
'This woman chose the child.'
- e. *Sumampal ng bata ang babae.*
slap.AV GEN child NOM woman
'The woman slapped a child.'
- f. *Sumampal ka ng bata.*
slap.AV 2SG.NOM GEN child
'You slapped a child.'
- g. *Sumampal ng bata si Andres.*
slap.AV GEN child NOM Andres
'Andres slapped a child.'
- h. *Sumampal ng bata ito-ng babae.*
slap.AV GEN child this.NOM-LINKER woman
'This woman slapped a child.'

Sentences (48a)-(48h) show that the 'articles' marking the noun phrases vary in Tagalog according to broad categories. This variation in case marking strategies stands in contrast to *Tukang Besi*, which uses the same articles, without any suppletion or variation at all, regardless of the grammatical class of the nominal concerned (there is minor phonetic variation in the articles, with *na* fluctuating with *a*, and *te* with *'e* and *e*, but this is random phonological variation, and not the same as the regular Tagalog paradigms). The *Tukang Besi* variation has already been seen in sentences (47b) and (47c), and the full paradigm of the *Tukang Besi* equivalents of the Tagalog examples above, presented in the same order, is seen in (49):

- (49) a. *No-topa-'e na ana te wowine.*
b. *Nu-topa-'e na ana te iko'o.*

- c. *No-topa-'e* *na ana* *te La Pe'i.*
- d. *No-topa-'e* *na ana* *te wowine ana.*
- e. *No-topa* *te ana* *na wowine.*
- f. *No-topa* *te ana* *na iko'o.*
- g. *No-topa* *te ana* *na La Pe'i.*
- h. *No-topa* *te ana* *na wowine ana.*

Further evidence that the object suffixes serve as elements in a 'focus' system (see the beginning of chapter 3 for a brief discussion of the workings of a Philippine-style system, and also the discussion in chapter 20.1, and 20.14.4) is seen in the fact that there are verbs that REQUIRE an object to be expressed with the nominative article, if present, and thus require object suffixes if they are used transitively: unusual in the system. Certain goal-oriented verbs, such as *molinga* 'forget' are unacceptable (for most speakers, at least) without object suffixes, as seen in the grammaticality of (50) compared to the ungrammaticality of (51), which uses no object suffixes:

- (50) *'U-molinga-'e* *na* *ngaa-su?*
 2SG.R-forget-3OBJ NOM name-1SG.POSS
 'Have you forgotten my name?'
- (51) * *'U-molinga* *te* *ngaa-su?*
 2SG.R-forget CORE name-1SG.POSS

This is parallel to the treatment of some verbs in Tagalog, which allow object voice, but not an actor voice, when in a predicative position (But not when occurring in other positions. Schachter (1977: 304) gives the example *Nasaan ang tumakot ng bata?* where NOM fighten.AV GEN child 'Where is the one who frightened a child?'). One such verb is *takot* 'be frightened' (Schachter 1977: 304) (reglossed according to the conventions in Kroeger 1993):

- (52) Tagalog:
 a. *Tinakot* *ng* *lalaki* *ang* *bata.*
 frightened.OV GEN man NOM child
 'A/The man frightened the child.'
- b. * *Tumakot* *ng* *bata* *ang* *lalaki.*
 frightened.AV GEN child NOM man

Other verbs that may only take object voice when appearing predicatively include *bigo* 'disappoint', *galaw* 'move, point', *gising* 'wake up', *gutom* 'hungry', *hiya* 'shame', *liko* 'turn around', *pigil* 'restrain', *talo* 'defeat(ed)', *tapos* 'finish' (Ramos and Bautista 1986).

In *Tukang Besi* a large subclass of verbs can be used either transitively or intransitively, and if used transitively the theme/patient argument MUST be nominative, and so object suffixes are used:

- (53) *No-like na kalambe.*
 3R-wake.up NOM young.girl
 'The girl woke up.'
- (54) a. *No-like-'e na kalambe.*
 3R-wake.up-3OBJ NOM young.girl
 'They woke the girl up.'
- b. * *No-like te kalambe.*
 3R-wake.up CORE young.girl

On the other hand, there are no transitive verbs that CANNOT take object suffixes. If there is an unmarked category, then, it is that which uses the object suffixes. This is a counter to the intuitive claim (based on morphological evidence) that the basic form of the verb is the verb without object suffixes; since the putative category for non-object focus, a verb without object suffixes, has less morphological complexity than a verb with object suffixes, it is thus less marked than the suffixed version (as illustrated in (55) and elsewhere). That is, the morphological realisations of the two categories are as follows:

non-object 'focus'	object 'focus'
∅	-aku, -ko, -'e, -ke, -ne, -kami, -kita, -komiu

(-ke and -ne are variants of the third person suffix)

Other tests of markedness, such as the fact that some transitive verbs require the presence of the object suffixes, whereas none require them to be absent, are indicative of the fact that they are unmarked. Further argumentation on this point has already been presented in chapter 3. Chapter 20, drawing on Sells 1995b, presents a more detailed analysis of the function of voice and case in both *Tukang Besi* and a better-known Philippine language, Tagalog, and argues that the apparent inflectional categories of the object suffixes are not incompatible with the analysis that they monitor a Philippine-style voice system.

7.6.2 Object suffixes: a third account

An alternative analysis of the voice system would be to assume that the sentences in (47b) represent the basic clause structure, and that *na* and *te* are absolutive and ergative case markers, respectively (see the model in 3.4.1). Sentences such as (47a) are then derived from them; this would then be an antipassive construction. A reglossing of (47a) and (47b), with the intransitive sentence (2) from chapter 3, would be as seen in (55) and (56):

- (55) a. *No-topa(-∅) te ana na wowine.*
 3R-slap-ANTIPASSIVE 'ERG' child ABS woman
 'The woman slapped the child.'
- b. *No-topa-'e na ana te wowine.*
 3R-slap-3OBJ ABS child ERG woman
 'The woman slapped the child.'

- (56) *No-tinti na ana.*
 3R-run ABS child
 'The child is running.'

There are several problems with this analysis: the [A] in the 'antipassive' construction in (55a) is still marked as a core argument, and does not undergo demotion of any sort, a process taken to be normal (if not universal) treatment of *by*-phrases in passive and antipassive constructions (Baker 1988a:9, Dixon 1994:146, amongst others; Foley and Van Valin (1984: 176-181) argue that there is a Jacaltec antipassive construction found in relative clauses that treats the [O] as a core argument, and that Sama also has a non-backgrounding antipassive construction. The analysis of Sama seems to me to be flawed, since it does not take into account the split-intransitive nature of the voice system in at least some varieties of the language (Donohue 1996), leaving Jacaltec as the sole purported example of language with a non-backgrounding antipassive). We could argue, based on analogous cases in Australian and Inuit languages, that the apparent 'ergative' case in (55a) was really an instrumental, a relation that may (for some verbs) be marked with *te*, but this would not account for the inability of the other, more common, instrumental preposition *kene* to occur in this position: **Notopa-∅ kene ana na wowine*. Secondly, there is no derivational morphology involved in the derivation of the 'antipassive', rather the derivation is carried out by DROPPING verbal morphology (or, to be generous, replacing the object suffixes with a zero antipassive morpheme, the only zero morpheme in the language). This is a surprising artifact of the analysis, the more so given that *Tukang Besi* DOES have a morphological passive construction, one that (like all other reported examples of passives and antipassives) involves additional morphological material, and the demotion of the agentive argument. That the antipassive construction would be so different, on both language-internal and cross-linguistic grounds, seems remarkable.

Additional inconsistencies with this analysis emerge when we examine the passive voice: in this form, the prefix *to-* signals the passive voice, and the agent of the corresponding agentive verb form is not mentioned (though implied). Unlike the *by*-phrase in the putative 'antipassive' sentence (55a), the *by*-phrase in (57a) may not be mentioned: it is 'demoted by omission'. Another problem is that we can only derive the passive verb form from the antipassive version; the passive cannot be derived from the non-antipassive version, as the ungrammaticality of (57b) demonstrates:

- (57) a. *No-to-topa(-∅) na ana (*te wowine).*
 3R-PASS-slap-ANTIPASSIVE ABS child 'ERG' woman
 'The child was slapped (by the woman).'
- b. **No-to-topa-'e na ana.*
 3R-PASS-slap-3OBJ ABS child

Examining relative clause formation (more fully covered in chapter 15) yields further problems: an object may head a relative clause if the verb bears the prefix *i-*. Logically the 'demoted' object of an 'antipassive' construction should not be able to head the relative clause, since it is not the subject of the intransitive antipassive clause. In fact, however, this relative clause type only occurs with the putative antipassive construction; a version with object suffixes on the verb is ungrammatical. Compare this result with (58c) and

(58d), showing that the subject of an underived or passive intransitive clauses may not head an *i*- relative clause:

- Object relative clauses
- (58) a. *Te ana i-topa(-Ø) nu wowine.*
 ERG child OP-slap-ANTIPASSIVE GEN woman
 'The child who was slapped by the woman'
- b. **Te ana i-topa-'e nu wowine.*
 ERG child OP-slap-3OBJ GEN woman
 'The child who was slapped by the woman'
- c. **Te ana i-buti.*
 ERG child OP-fall
 'The child who fell over'
- d. **Te ana i-to-topa(-Ø).*
 ERG child OP-PASS-slap-ANTIPASSIVE
 'The child was slapped'

For these reasons I have chosen to analyse the voice alternation as being the result of an admittedly atypical Philippine-style 'focus' system.

7.7 External possession

The possessor of an 'inalienably' possessed object (body part, cosanguinal kin) (see chapter 12) may be indexed on the verb in place of the third person subject or object affix that would be expected for that item. The possessed subject or object also appears in the sentence as an independent, necessarily nominative, nominal, and preserves possessive suffixing coreferential with the subject or object affix. Such possessor raising (or 'external possession') is only available for the possessor of the theme/patient object of a transitive clause or theme/patient subject of an intransitive one, never for the [A] of a transitive one or an agentive or dative [S]. Compare the following sentences:

- [Patient] [O] of a transitive clause:
- (59) *No-pepe-aku_i na iai-su_i.*
 3R-slap-1SG.OBJ NOM younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
 'He slapped (me) my younger brother.'
- [Patient] [S] of an intransitive clause:
- (60) *Ku_i-mohoo na lima-su_i.*
 1SG-sick NOM hand-1SG.POSS
 'My hand is sore.'
 (Glossing literally, 'My hand am sore.')
- [Agent] [S] of an intransitive clause:
- (61) **To_i-kulia i Haluoleo na tolima-nto_i.*
 1PL.R-study.at.university OBL Haluoleo NOM cousin-1PL.POSS
 'Our cousin are studying at Haluoleo university.'

[Dative] [S] of an intransitive clause:

- (62) * *Ku_i-ma'eka na iai-su_i.*
 1SG-afraid NOM younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
 'My brother is scared.'

[Agent] [A] of a transitive clause:

- (63) * *Ku_i-hu'u te Wa Kopi na iai-su_i.*
 1SG-give CORE Wa Kopi NOM younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
 'My younger brother gave Wa Kopi (something).'

Possessor raising is never obligatory, so (55) is also grammatical without possessor ascension, using third person object suffixes, *Nopepe'e na iaisu*.

Compare the following ungrammatical sentences employing [Dative] and [Instrumental] objects, ungrammatical because of the attempt to launch possessor raising from an object whose semantic role is not patient or theme:

- (64) * *No-hoti-aku_i na tolida-su_i.*
 3R-give-1SG.OBJ NOM cousin-1SG.POSS
 'He donated to my cousin.'

- (65) * *No-pake-aku_i na palu-su_i.*
 3R-use-1SG.OBJ NOM hammer-1SG.POSS
 'He used my hammer.'

Of course, the above sentences may be expressed with a third person affix on the verb; the difference, however, is that sentences using the possessor raising strategy imply that the possessor is more affected, and leaves the possessor as a nominative argument in the clause, with associated nominative properties (see chapter 20).

7.8 Object incorporation

Object nominals can occur in the verb phrase, following the verb stem but preceding an applicative morpheme. Typically (but not necessarily) these incorporated nominals are non-referential, and refer to the generic object of a habitual action. This is an interpretation also available to a non-pivot object of a transitive verb, of course, so it cannot be said that all non-referential or generic objects are incorporated:

- (66) *No-sai te kuikui.*
 3R-make CORE cakes
 'S/he makes cakes.'
 'S/he is making a cake.'
- (67) *No-sai-kuikui.*
 3R-make-cakes
 'S/he makes cakes.'
 * 'S/he is making a cake.'

If there is an incorporated object, an underived verb cannot appear with an extra-verbal object as well, or object agreement referring to the incorporated object; additionally, the incorporated object must be a basic object, and cannot be the object of an applicative

construction:

- (68) * *No-sai-ako-wowine.*
 3R-make-APPL-woman
 'He makes (them) for woman.'
- (69) * *No-sai-kuikui-'e.*
 3R-make-cake-3OBJ
 'S/he makes them cakes.'
 'S/he makes it like a cake.'

Not all incorporated objects are the object of a habitual action; the following is an example of an incorporated object in a specific action:

- (70) *Te mia p[um]ake te helém ito*
 CORE person use.SI CORE helmet that:higher
a-w[um]ila di Patuno na-p[um]ake sipeda.
 3I-go.SI OBL Patuno 3I-use.SI bike
 'The person with a helmet on up north is going to go to Patuno by motorbike.'
 (Here *sipeda* is from Malay *sepeda motor*, 'motor bike', which is not a
 Tukang Besi word. The normal Tukang Besi word for motor bike is *honda*.)

The structural position of the 'incorporated' object in the verb phrase is somewhat ambiguous. The fact that an incorporated object cannot cooccur with object agreement that refer to it, and that aspectual markers can follow it, would point towards it being placed in the position of the object index at the end of the verb (but before the position taken by aspect marking), as suggested by the phrase structure in figure 6:

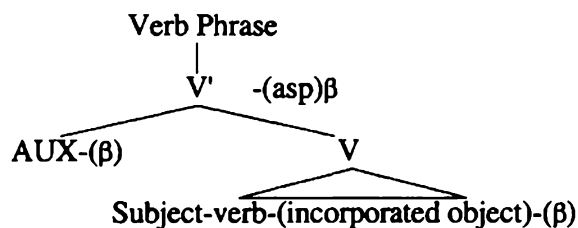


Figure 6. Verb Phrase with an incorporated object
 (only the relevant parts shown)

The structure in figure 6 is consistent with the sentence type exemplified by (71), with the incorporated object appearing immediately before the aspect marker (actually an aspectual clitic, not a suffix, as evidenced by the freedom in positioning it displays):

- (71) *No-sai kuikui-mo.*
 3R-make cake-PF
 'S/he has made cakes.'

However, the aspect marker may also intrude between the verb stem and the object nominal, as in (67)':

- (71)' *No-sai-mo kuikui.*
 3R-make-PF cake
 'S/he has made cakes.'

With a auxiliary in the VP, aspect may appear marked on the auxiliary, as seen in (72), but is still eligible to appear following the verb root, or following the incorporated object:

- (72) *Mbea-mo no-sai kuikui.*
 not-PF 3R-make cake
 'S/he doesn't make cakes any more.'

This data leads to the conclusion that the Auxiliary, Verb and Object are equal with respect to being available for the assignment of the aspect suffixes, and that the object has not been simply incorporated directly into the verb, as suggested in figure 6. A further complication is that this phenomenon is not simply noun-incorporation, but rather object incorporation. Compare the following two sentences, (73) having a normal post-verbal object nominal, and (74) with an 'incorporated' NP:

- (73) [*No-tutu-mo* [*te* [*kabali mohama*]_{NP}] _{KP}] _{VP}.
 3R-pound-PF CORE machete sharp
 'He is making a sharp machete.'

- (74) *No-tutu [kabali mohama]_{NP}-mo.*
 3R-pound-machete sharp-PF
 'He made sharp machetes.'

It is clear that the whole NP of the object is the unit that 'incorporates', and not simply the noun. Furthermore, the components of the original KP form an indivisible unit. Alternatives to (74), showing the perfective suffix in different places, are given in (75):

- (75) a. *No-tutu-mo [kabali mohama]_{NP}.*
 3R-pound-PF machete sharp
 'He made sharp machetes.'
- b. *Ane-mo no-tutu [kabali mohama]_{NP}.*
 exist-PF 3R-pound machete sharp
 'He does make sharp machetes now.'
- c. * *No-tutu [kabali-mo mohama]_{NP}.*
 3R-pound machete-PF sharp

If, as is assumed in 7.8, the aspectual affixes are attached, once, to any word directly beneath the node dominating the V (the V'), then we must assume the constituent structure presented in figure 7 for the representation of a sentence such as (71)' and (72):

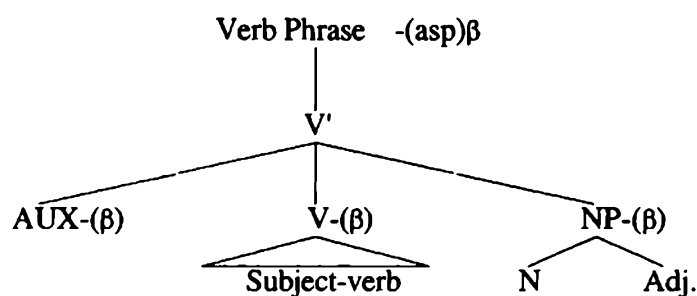


Figure 7. Verb Phrase with an incorporated object: 2

From a comparison of figure 7 with figure 5, we can see that it is valid to speak of object incorporation, but not of incorporation into the verb itself, and not just of noun incorporation. The incorporated element is an N', and it is incorporated into the V' rather than the V, as evidenced by the positional variation of the aspect suffixes. The fact that the incorporated N is not under the V node is evidence that all the post-verbal morphology, such as object agreement, aspect marking, and applicative morphology, are in fact V'-level elements. This is dealt with in more detail in Donohue (forthcoming b).

7.9 Aspect and auxiliaries

Aspectual distinctions are indicated by suffixes typically found on the verb or the auxiliary of the clause, but which may appear (robbed of their aspectual meanings) on other elements as well. The occurrence of an aspectual suffix in the verb phrase precludes its use elsewhere in that phrase: if there is an aspectual suffix on the verb, it may not appear on the auxiliary, and vice versa. We may conclude that the aspect suffixes are not inherently part of the V, but part of the V', and appear suffixed to maximally one word within that constituent.

There are three different suffixes that indicate aspectual distinctions on verbs. These are:

<i>-mo</i>	verbal activity or state has begun
<i>-ho</i>	verbal activity or state is not yet completed
<i>-do</i>	verbal activity or state is current; emphatic

Additional aspectual distinction can be achieved through the use of certain other auxiliaries. In most cases these may also function as verbs; the lack of pronominal indexing in this position, however, shows a trend towards their reinterpretation as aspect markers. When they do occur with subject marking, they are interpreted as part of a serial verb construction (see chapter 8).

<i>ako</i>	future
<i>ane</i>	be (still)
<i>la'a</i>	just, immediately after
<i>mbea (ka)</i>	not
<i>mina</i>	already
<i>mondo</i>	already

<i>pasi</i>	already, after
<i>po'oli</i>	after, finished
<i>sagaa (-saga'a)</i>	a little bit

The verbs *po'oli* and *mina* also appear as modal operators in serial verb construction. In those cases, however, they appear with subject marking. See chapter 8 for details.

The aspectual affixes indicate different categories of time and aspect division depending on the semantic class of the verb. The relevant categories are:

- non-agentive, intransitive
- non-agentive, transitive
- agentive, intransitive
- agentive, transitive

Tense-like meanings are expressed through the combination of aspect and mood marking on the verb, and can receive 'fine-tuning' with regard to their location in time through the use of adverbial or oblique phrases expressing time, such as *i rearea ai* 'this morning', or *duaalo* 'in two days time' / 'two days ago' (see chapter 3 for details about the position of such expressions within the clause, and chapter 17 for an elaboration of the possibilities of adverbial time expressions). The category of mood as it pertains to verbal morphology has already been discussed, appearing on the subject prefixes and the use of the subject focus infix. The different aspectual affixes will now be discussed one by one with reference to these categories.

7.9.1 The perfective *-mo*

When appearing with a non-agentive verb, either transitive (there is only one transitive, non-agentive verb: *hoto-*, 'to have') or intransitive, *-mo* indicates that the state denoted by the verb is current but in the recent past such a state was not the case. There is no information about the endpoint of the state. Thus the following two pairs of sentences, (76) and (77), and (78) and (79), contrast in terms of how the INCEPTION of the state is viewed:

(76) *No-meha na watu iso.*
 3R-red NOM rock yon
 'That rock is red.'

(77) *No-meha-mo na watu iso.*
 3R-red-PF NOM rock yon
 'That rock has become red.'

(It was painted, or had red cloth draped over it; it is currently red)

(78) *No-hoto-wunua.*
 3R-have-house
 'They have/own a house.'

- (79) *No-hoto wunua-mo.*
 3R-have house-PF
 'They have a house now.'
 (That is, they have finished building or buying it)

With an agentive verb, transitive or intransitive, the suffix *-mo* shows that the activity has already begun, but again does not give any information about the endpoint of the activity, as seen in (80) and (81):

- (80) *No-waliako di kampo-no.*
 3R-return OBL village-3POSS
 'They are going back to their village.'
 'They (always) go back to their village.'
- (81) *No-waliako-mo di kampo-no.*
 3R-return-PF OBL village-3POSS
 'They have gone back to their village.'
 'They are on the way back to their village.'

The first of these would be an appropriate response to a generic question, such as 'What do they do after a festival?', whereas the second would be rather inappropriate in this environment. It is more appropriate as a response to a more specific question such as 'Where have they all gone?'.

With a transitive verb, the same pattern can be seen:

- (82) *No-kili te lante.*
 3R-clean CORE floor
 'She is cleaning the floor.'
 'She (habitually) cleans the floor.'
- (83) *No-kili-mo te lante.*
 3R-clean-PF CORE floor
 'She is cleaning the floor.'
 * 'She (habitually) cleans the floor.'
 'She has cleaned the floor.'

In order to express a meaning closer to the traditional sense of the 'perfective', *Tukang Besi* speakers use object suffixes in combination with its transitive verbs, as seen in (84), in which the presence of the object suffixes on the verb correlates with (amongst other things) perfectivity. Alternatively, a speaker can use an ambient serial verb construction, using the verb 'finish', *po'oli*, placed before the activity verb, as in (85) (more on this construction in chapter 8):

- (84) *No-basa-'e-mo na sura.*
 3R-read-OBJ-PF NOM letter
 'He's started to read the letter.'
- (85) *No-po'oli(-mo) no-basa te sura.*
 3R-finish-PF 3R-read CORE letter
 'He's finished reading the letter.'

A salient feature of *-mo*, because of the frequency with which it is encountered, is its use to indicate an inceptive state, in combination with the irrealis subject pronouns. Compare the following two examples, the first using realis pronouns and *-mo*, the second using irrealis pronouns:

- (86) *No-basa-mo te sura.*
 3R-read-PF CORE letter
 'He's started to read the letter.'
- (87) *Na-b[um]asa-mo te sura.*
 3I-read.SI-PF CORE letter
 'He's is about to read the letter.'

The irrealis pronominal set does not co-occur with either of the other two aspectual suffixes *-ho* or *-do*, described in the next two sections.

7.9.2 The incomplete *-ho*

The suffix *-ho* used on an agentive verb indicates that the activity has been continuing in the past, and is still relevant at the moment of the speech act. This suffix does not appear directly with non-agentive verb, transitive or intransitive, but may appear on the auxiliary *ane*. Contrasting with *-mo*, the use of *-ho* does not give any information about the endpoint of the state, but only refers to the current non-completion of the verb. The pair of sentences shown in (84) and (85) contrast in terms of how the CONTINUATION of the state is viewed:

- (88) *No-homoru te wurai.*
 3R-weave CORE sarong
 'She's weaving a sarong.'
- (89) *No-homoru-ho te wurai.*
 3R-weave-yet CORE sarong
 'She's still weaving a sarong.'

As might be expected, *-ho* is incompatible with the use of object suffixes, which give a perfective meaning to the sentence:

- (90) * *No-homoru-'e-ho na wurai.*
 3R-weave-3OBJ-yet NOM sarong

The use of *-ho* with intransitive agentive verbs is unusual. As with non-agentive verbs, there is a tendency not to use *-ho* on the main verb itself, but to use it in conjunction with the semi-verb *ane* 'exist', which has the same continuative sense when used as a auxiliary. Examples of non-agentive and agentive verbs using *-ho* are given below:

- Non-agentive, intransitive:
- (91) *No-mohoo na kene-su.*
 3R-sick NOM friend-1SG.POSS
 'My friend is sick.'

- (92) * *No-mohoo-ho na kene-su.*
 3R-sick-yet NOM friend-1SG.POSS
- (93) *Ane-ho (o)-mohoo na kene-su.*
 exist-yet 3R-sick NOM friend-1SG.POSS
 'My friend is still sick.'

Non-agentive, transitive:

- (94) * *No-hoto-wunua-ho na amai.*
 3R-have-house-yet NOM 3PL
 'They still a house.'
- (95) *Ane-ho (o)-hoto-wunua na amai.*
 exist-yet 3R-have-house NOM 3PL
 'They still own a house.'

Agentive, intransitive:

- (96) ? / # *No-waliako-ho di kampo-no.*
 3R-return-yet OBL village-3POSS
 'They are still on the way back to their village.'
- (97) *Ane-ho no-waliako di kampo-no.*
 exist-yet 3R-return OBL village-3POSS
 'They are still on the way back to their village.'

7.9.3 The emphatic *-do*

This suffix shares much in common with *-ho*, and often appears as the aspect marker on a verb used to reply affirmatively to a question in which *-ho* was used. For instance:

Question:

- (98) *Ane-ho mohoo?*
 exist-yet (3R-)sick
 'Is he still sick?'

Answer:

- (99) *Ane-do.* (short for: *Anedo nomohoo.*) (Less felicitous: # *Ane-ho.*)
 exist-EMPH exist-yet
 'Still.'

The aspect marker *-do* differs from *-ho* in that although the state or activity denoted by the verb is currently relevant, it does not have to be one that has extended through time to any great extent, and carries the additional sense that the relevance of the state or activity is unusual or unexpected in some way. As with *-ho*, this suffix does not usually appear on its own with non-agentive verbs (and not at all with *hoto-* 'have', the only non-agentive transitive verb), appearing by preference on the pre-verb *ane*. In combination with agentive intransitive verbs, however, the aspect suffix is found on the main verb. Used either with or without a auxiliary, *-do* indicates that the activity is relevant at the moment of the speech act. Unlike both *-mo* and *-ho*, *-do* gives no information about either the endpoint or the

inception of the state or activity.

The following set of minimally contrastive examples shows the difference between the three aspect markers in terms of how the CONTINUATION of the state is viewed:

- (100) *Ku-he-sala.*
 1SG-do-trousers
 'I wear trousers (habitually).'
 'I am wearing trousers.'
- (101) *Ku-he-sala-mo.*
 1SG-do-trousers-PF
 'I am now wearing trousers (but I wasn't earlier).'
- (102) *Ane-ho ku-he-sala.*
 exist-yet 3R-do-trousers
 'I am still wearing my trousers.'
- (103) *Ku-he-sala-do.*
 1SG-do-trousers-EMPH
 'I'll put my trousers on first, right now.'

Agentive intransitive and non-agentive intransitive verbs have already been seen using *-do*. The following sentences illustrate an agentive intransitive verb in combination with *-do*:

- (104) *No-homoru-do te wurai.*
 3R-weave-EMPH CORE sarong
 'She's now weaving a sarong.'
 'She's going to weave the sarong first.'
 (e.g., before she begins the curtain cloth)

As already mentioned, the suffix *-do* does not appear with the non-agentive transitive verb *hoto-* 'have', either directly on the verb or carried by a auxiliary:

- (105) * *Ku-hoto-sala-do.*
 1SG-have-trousers-EMPH
 ? 'I'll own some trousers first.'
- (106) * / # *Ane-do ku-hoto-sala.*
 exist-EMPH 1SG-have-trousers

This is not so much a morphosyntactic restriction but the result of an incompatible pairing of semantics; the inception of ownership is a process of making (*sai*) or buying (*balu*), and so these verbs would be used in place of the more stative *hoto-*:

- (107) *Ku-balu-do te sala.*
 1SG-buy-EMPH CORE trousers
 ? 'I'll buy some trousers first.'

7.9.4 Auxiliaries

Additional temporal information can be included in a verbal complex through the use of preverbal auxiliaries, by which term I refer to a small set of modifiers that may appear immediately preceding the verb itself. There is also a set of verbs that can occur in an ambient serial verb construction, often commenting on the modality of the verb. I shall define ambient serialisation as occurring when there is a third person subject prefix on the mood-marking verb (that is, the verb without lexical argument structure; see 8.2.3), and define an auxiliary as occurring when there is no such affix; it is worth noting, however, that some of the so-defined auxiliaries can also occur as full main verbs, such as *po'oli* 'finish'. Despite operating as a verb in main clauses, it never appears with the third person subject prefix in an ambient serial verb construction:

- (108) * *No-po'oli ku-sai te ndangu-ndangu.*
 3R-finish 1SG-make CORE k.o.soup
 'I've finished making the ndangu-ndangu.'
 (*ndangundangu* is a soup made from sweetpotatoes or pumpkin, cooked with coconut milk)

Frequently the auxiliary carries an aspect marker in order to further specify the temporal situation to which the verbal complex applies.

The most commonly encountered auxiliary-aspect combinations are as follows:

<i>mbea (ka)</i>	not
<i>pasi (-mo)</i>	already, after
<i>la'a (-mo)</i>	just, immediately after
<i>po'oli (-mo)</i>	after, finished
<i>mina(-mo)</i>	ever
<i>sagaa (-saga'a)</i>	a little bit
<i>ane(-ho)</i>	is currently, is still (with agentive verbs)

Aspect marking does not have to appear on an auxiliary, if present. Compare the following equivalent sentences:

- (109) *Mbeak(a) o-hawasaa-mo.*
 not 3R-angry-PF
 'They aren't angry any more.'
- (110) *Mbea-mo (o)-hawasaa.*
 not-PF 3R-angry
 'They aren't angry any more.'

There are restrictions as to the co-occurrence of these pre-verbal modifiers with the different aspect affixes, as set out in table 11. These restrictions are of the nature of semantic incompatibility between the auxiliary and the aspect suffix:

Table 11. Auxiliaries and aspect marking

ASPECT	∅	-mo	-ho	-do
<i>mbea(ka)</i>	+	+	+	+
<i>pasi</i>	+	+	+	+
<i>la'a</i>	-	+	-	-
<i>po'oli</i>	+	+	-	+
<i>mina</i>	+	+	+	+
<i>sagaa</i>	+	-	-	-
<i>ane</i>	+	-	+	+

Examples of the use of these modifiers together can be seen in (111) - (112):

(111) *Mina-mo no-wila i Tomia.*
 ever-PF 3R-go OBL Tomea
 'They have been to Tomea before.'

(112) *Ane-do no-heka-wou-wou.*
 exist-EMPH 3R-VRB-RED-cast.line
 'They are still fishing.'

Notice that the aspect marker may appear on either the main verb or on the auxiliary. This point has already been discussed in 7.8 with respect to determining the constituency of incorporation structures.

7.10 Adverbs

An adverb typically appears directly following the verb, but may appear to other positions in the verb phrase, either preceding or following the verb or VP-internal KP. Adverbs may only appear outside their basic post-verbal position if they refer to a condition on the action that is relevant to a non-nominative argument. An example of a normal adverb immediately following the verb is given in (113) (the VP being indicated by angle brackets), and an ungrammatical sentence with an adverb in a floated position is shown in (114):

(113) [*No-wila [legolego]_{ADV}]_{VP} na amai.*
 3R-go arms.swinging NOM 3PL
 'They went (along) with their arms swinging.'

(114) * [[*Legolego*]_{ADV} *nowila*]_{VP} na amai.

In (114), even though *legolego* clearly refers to a condition on the action that is determined by the argument *na amai*, that argument is nominative, and so the adverb may not float. Even when there is no overt nominatively marked nominal in the clause, the restriction still holds, as (115) indicates:

(115) * [*Legolego* arms.swinging *nowila*]_{VP}.

Many adverbs are also used as verbs, such as *menti'i* 'quickly; (be) fast'. Even with these acting as adverbs, the restriction on place holds, as can be seen in (116a) and (116b):

(116) a. *No-langke menti'i.*
 3R-sail fast
 'They are sailing fast.'

b. * *Menti'i no-langke.*
 fast 3R-sail

(This is expressible, but only through the addition of subject marking on the first (non-active) verb, giving it independent status in a serial verb construction: *No-menti'i no-langke* 3R-fast 3R-sail 'They are sailing fast.')

This means that an adverb in an intransitive clause cannot appear in any position other than the immediately post-verbal one.

In a transitive clause, however, a verb without object suffixes allows an adverb connected with properties of the object to float, and a verb that does use object suffixes allows adverbs which indicate a property dependant on the subject to float. Sentence (117) shows a clause with an adverb referring to the non-nominative object in place, and (118) and (119) show it grammatically in other positions within the verb phrase:

(117) [*No-'ita [ki'iki'i]_{ADV} te ika*]_{VP} *na amai.*
 3R-see little CORE fish NOM 3PL
 'They saw some of those fish.'

(with the implication that it was the action of the school of fish (swimming away behind a rock, for instance) that prevented all of them from being seen)

(118) [*No'ita te ika [ki'iki'i]_{ADV}*] _{VP} *na amai.*

(119) [[*Ki'iki'i]_{ADV} no'ita te ika*]_{VP} *na amai.*

Sentence (118) is ambiguous between the floating qualifier interpretation and the interpretation 'They saw a small fish'. But note the following, where the presence of the adjective *to'oge* 'big' disallows the interpretation that has *ki'iki'i* modifying *ika*:

(118)' [*No-'ita [te ika to'oge]_{KP} ki'iki'i*]_{VP} *na amai.*
 3R-see CORE fish big little NOM they
 'They saw some of the big fish.'

In (120), the same sentence but now with object suffixes, and thus a nominative object (see chapter 3.5) uses the same adverb, but it is now unambiguously referring to constraints imposed by the subject of the verb; (122) and (120) show positions available for this adverb to float to, (121) showing that the nominative object cannot be construed to be within the verb phrase, if that is indeed the domain of floating adverb placement:

(120) [*No-'ita-'e [ki'iki'i]_{ADV}*] _{VP} *na ika te amai.*
 3R-see-3OBJ little NOM fish CORE 3PL
 'They partially saw those fish.'

(with the implication that it was because of a defect in the watchers (cataracts in their eyes, or long hair) that prevented all the fish from

being seen)

- * (with the implication that it was the action of the school of fish (swimming away behind a rock, for instance) that prevented all of them from being seen)

(121) * [No'ita'e]_{VP} na ika [ki'iki'i]_{ADV} te amai.

(122) [[Ki'iki'i]_{ADV} no'ita'e]_{VP} na ika te amai.

With *mobo*ha 'heavy' used adverbially, as in (123), it can, because of the inherent semantics of the verb and the adverb, only refer to the object, and so may only be grammatically floated within the verb phrase if the object is non-nominative. After the basic post-verbal position is demonstrated in (123), (124) and (125) show alternative, floated positions within the VP, and (126) shows the ungrammaticality of floating the adverb with a nominative object:

(123) [No-*lemba* [*mobo*ha]_{ADV}]_{VP} te *wemba*].
 3R-carry.on.shoulder heavy CORE bamboo
 'They carried the bamboo with difficulty.'
 (with the sense that the heaviness of the bamboo made it difficult)

(124) [No*lemba* te *wemba* [*mobo*ha]_{ADV}]_{VP}.

(125) [[*Mobo*ha]_{ADV} *nolemba* te *wemba*]_{VP}.

(126) * [[*Mobo*ha]_{ADV} *nolemba*'e]_{VP} na *wemba*.

Similarly, *menti*'i 'fast' can only be used adverbially referring to the subject, and so must have a non-nominative subject if it is to appear in other than the post-verbal position. This requires, however, that the object be nominative, and so outside the verb phrase. A basic adverbial form is given in (127), and a version showing the adverb floated to appear pre-verbally in (128). (129) provides evidence for the verb-phrase external position of the nominative object, through the fact that, unlike (117), a floating adverb may not appear following the object KP. (130) shows the ungrammaticality of floating the adverb with a nominative subject.

(127) [No-*ala*'e [*menti*'i]_{ADV}]_{VP} na *kaitela*.
 3R-fetch-3OBJ fast NOM corn
 'They fetched the corn quickly.'

(128) [[*Menti*'i]_{ADV} *noala*'e]_{VP} na *kaitela*.

(129) * [*Noala*'e]_{VP} na *kaitela* [*menti*'i]_{ADV}.

(130) * [[*Menti*'i]_{ADV} *noala* te *kaitela*]_{VP}.

Some further details on aberrant floating adverbs is found in chapter 17, but they do not deviate significantly from the pattern described here.

Chapter 8

Serial verb constructions

8.1 Introduction

The term ‘serial verb construction’ has been used to describe a very wide range of observed phenomena in different languages, often with very few points of commonality. A discussion of how the *Tukang Besi* facts that are here described as ‘serial verb constructions’ fit into the different categories that have been proposed to account for the phenomenon follows a description of the forms themselves, and the morphosyntactic restrictions that apply to them.

These (very divergent) forms are all treated in this one chapter because they do share some properties as a class that separate them from other grammatical phenomena; these are, namely, that both of the two verbs in a serial verb construction:

- are not marked as being subordinate in any way to another syntactic unit;
- are not so independent as to be able to take independent aspect marking, or separate negation;
- share an argument (though see the discussion of ambient serial verb constructions).

These are the criteria that Durie (1988:3) used to define serialisation:

In simple descriptive terms, serialization is what happens when two or more verbs are juxtaposed in such a way that they act as a *single predicate*, taking a unitary complex of direct arguments. The verbs are bound together syntactically and/or morphologically on the basis of *sharing one or more core arguments*, and *neither verb is subordinate to the other*. Typically in a serial verb construction there is *no marker of subordination or coordination, no dividing intonational or morphological mark of a clause boundary*, and the verbs *cannot have separate scope for tense, mood, aspect, illocutionary force, and negation*. (Emphases mine [MHD])

In terms of dependence, serial verb constructions appear to fall between fully independent sequences of verbs in their own clauses (such as conjoined clauses, described in chapter 18) and fully dependent (such as relative clauses, see chapter 15) constructions, in that they display some dependency on each other (as mentioned above), yet are not morphologically marked as subordinate in any way. In terms of bondedness, a serial verb construction is more tightly bound than either of these two constructions, in the case of contiguous serialisations behaving similarly to a verb with morphology such as causatives or applicatives (chapters 9 and 10).

There are two broad categories into which the class of serial verb constructions will be

divided, for ease of explication. These are referred to as NON-CONTIGUOUS and CONTIGUOUS constructions, following the terminology used by Durie (nd) (this terminology corresponds in most important ways to Foley and Van Valin's *nuclear* versus *core* junctures (1984: 188)). An example of each of these can be seen in (1) and (2):

- (1) [To-[wila]_v]_{VP} [to-[koruo]_v]_{VP} kua wungka.
 1PL.R-go 1PL.R-many ALL ridge
 'Lots of us went to the ridge.'
 (ie., 'We went to the ridge, we were many.')

- (2) [To-[wila]_v-[koruo]_v]_{VP} kua wungka.
 1PL.R-go-many ALL ridge
 'Lots of us went to the ridge.'

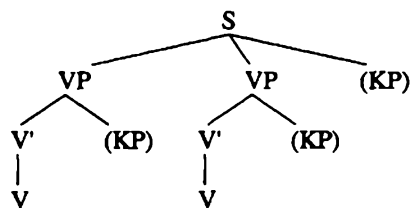
In (1) there are two separate verb phrase entities, each with its own subject marking, whereas (2) shows only one set of subject prefixes for the whole verbal complex. With transitive verbs and overt nominal objects the difference is even more noticeable, as seen in (3) and (4):

- (3) [No-[helo'a]_v te roukai]_{VP} [[ako]_v te ana-no]_{VP}.
 3R-cook CORE vegetables do.for CORE child-3POSS
 'She cooked the vegetables for her children.'

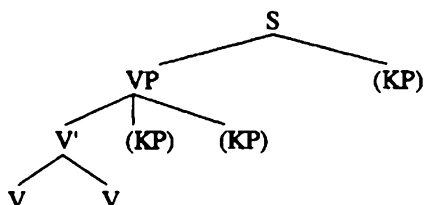
- (4) [No-[helo'a]_v-[ako]_v te ana-no te roukai]_{VP}.
 3R-cook-do.for CORE child-3POSS CORE vegetables
 'She cooked the vegetables for her children.'

We may represent these different structures, that of the non-contiguous type, seen in (1) and (3), and the contiguous serial type, seen in (2) and (4), with the structures proposed below:

- (5) Non-contiguous serialisation:



- (6) Contiguous serialisation:



In non-contiguous serialisation, each verb has its own core arguments selected, with at least one of these arguments coreferential between the two verbs. When the two verbs are contiguously joined, there can be no independent specification of arguments. In the examples presented so far, the shared argument has been the subject of both of the verbs (using 'subject' and 'object' to refer to the arguments bearing [S,A] and [O] syntactic roles in a clause, respectively, as described at the beginning of chapter 3). It is also possible, in a contiguous serial verb construction, for the object of the first verb to be coreferential with the subject of the second. An example of this is seen in (7):

- (7) [No-[*tutu*]_v-[*molobu*]_v-*'e*]_{VP} *na kabali te La Mbagi.*
 3R-pound-straight-3OBJ NOM machete CORE La Mbagi
 'La Mbagi beat the machete blade straight.'
 (M:20)

This is only possible if the second verb is unaccusative, and the first verb describes an action that totally affects its object. This type of serialisation is here called switch-subject serialisation (following Crowley 1987), as opposed to same-subject serialisation, which has been exemplified in (1) - (4).

A further distinction is found, depending on whether the function of the serial verb construction is to simply increase the valency of the clause (as described in 8.2.2) or to build a complex predicate in which two (or more, though this is not attested in *Tukang Besi*) verbs are used together to describe an action in more detail than is otherwise possible in the language (such as (2) above). This last usage is referred to here as a 'predicate-building' function (as per Foley and Van Valin 1984: 205): no new arguments are added to the predicate, but the semantic specification of the predicate is enhanced. Finally, there is a construction that is treated here as serialisation even though it is very different to the other forms of serialisation described here in that it does not share any arguments between the verbs: 'ambient' serialisation. This is described in 8.2.3, 8.2.4, 8.2.5 and 8.3.5.

The interaction of these sets of parameters, one concerned with the level of the serialisation, and the other dealing with the relationship between the arguments of each of the verbs, would logically yield eight different types of serial verb constructions. In practice, however, the full range of possibilities is not realised. The combinations that are found in *Tukang Besi* are shown in table 12:

Table 12. Types of serial verb constructions in *Tukang Besi*

	Same subject	Switch subject	Multiple Object	Ambient
Non-contiguous	+	-	+	+
Contiguous	+	+	+	+

It can be seen that switch-subject serialisation is the only form of serialisation that does not occur in both contiguous and non-contiguous forms. All the other forms have both contiguous and non-contiguous variants. These are discussed separately in the sections following.

8.2 Non-contiguous serialisation

In a non-contiguous serial verb construction there is argument sharing between the verbs, with the subject the same for both verbs. Importantly, however, both verbs have their own array of grammatical functions; one of these arguments is linked with an argument of the other verb in the construction, but the verbs are each in their own VP in the same clause.

8.2.1 Same-subject

Same subject serialisations are common at the core level, usually involving motion or posture verbs, and another verb that specifies the manner in which that motion or posture verb is carried out.

Despite their frequency, non-contiguous same subject serialisations are also the most difficult to establish unambiguously as serial verb constructions. An example of the difficulty is presented as a discussion of this form of serialisation. With a basic movement verb preceding the manner verb, there are two different interpretations allowed. The basic meaning is the same, but an alternative (clearly biclausal) interpretation of purpose is also allowed:

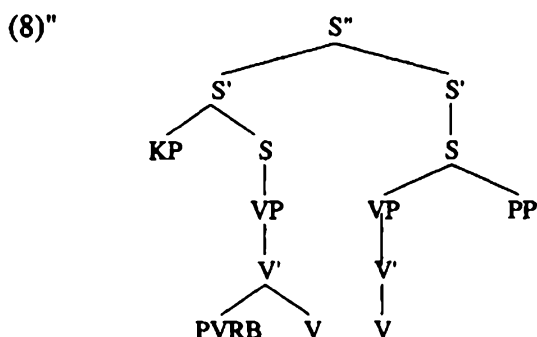
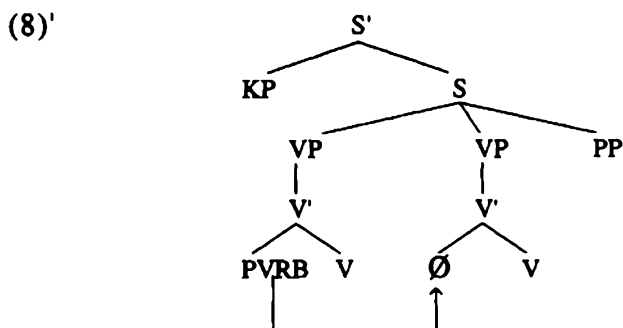
- (8) *Te anabou iso α no-wila β no-kee-ngkee γ kua wunua.*
 CORE child yon 3R-go 3R-RED-hop ALL house
 'The child went hopping to the house.' (M:20)
 (or: 'The child went to the house in order to hop.')

(The verb *kee* only indicates a single hop, and so must be reduplicated if it appears in a clearly extended activity (assuming that the house is more than one hop away))

Adding *mbeaka* 'not' in the positions indicated by the Greek letters α , β and γ changes the meaning of the sentences, and shows that interpretations with both a biclausal reading and a single-clause reading are grammatical. The different interpretations for the different positions of *mbeaka* are:

- α 'The child didn't go hopping to the house.'
 OR 'The child didn't go to the house to hop.'
 * 'The child didn't go, but did hop to the house.'
 β 'The child didn't hop to the house (but DID go, in some other way.)'

With the negator inserted in the β position there is a biclausal interpretation. Inserting *mbeaka* before both the verbs, at the point marked by α , can cause it to negate both of the verbs, clearly indicating that they are part of the same clause, or negate the first of the verbs, if the sentence is interpreted biclausally (as in the second reading). The two grammatical interpretations of the sentence with a negator in the α position are represented structurally as seen below in (8)', representing a monoclausal interpretation with negation applying to both verbs, and (8)", which is a biclausal interpretation of the same string.



As it stands, without a negator or obligatory intonational clues indicated, the sentence in (8) is morphosyntactically ambiguous between a monoclausal serial verb reading, and a biclausal reading. Aspect marking is another clue to the mono- or biclausal nature of the sentence. Aspect cannot be marked in the α position. Applying an aspectual marker (the perfective suffix *-mo*) to the β position produces a biclausal interpretation; with aspect marked at the position marked by γ , the clause is likely to be interpreted as a serial verb construction.

- β 'The child had gone, and (then) hopped to the house.'
 γ 'The child had gone and hopped to the house.'
 OR 'The child went, and had hopped to the house.'

An example of an unambiguously biclausal sentence can now be given. The sentence in (8) appears initially to satisfy the requirements for being classified as a serial verb construction, two verbs functioning as a complex predicate with no morphological intrusions, no intonation break, and necessary agreement between the two verbs in terms of subject marking. However, this appearance is deceptive:

- (9) *Te anabou iso α no-kee-ngkee β no-wila kua wunua.*
 CORE child yon 3R-RED-hop 3R-go ALL house
 'The child went hopping to the house.' (M:20)

Trying to add a negator to the sentence in different positions, in the same manner as was done in (8), produces the following interpretations, and serves as evidence that the sentence is not a monoclausal serial verb construction, but is actually biclausal:

- α ‘The child went to the house (but not by hopping.)’
 * ‘The child didn’t go hopping to the house.’
 β ‘The child hopped (but not to the house.)’

In order for *mbeaka* to be inserted in either of the positions indicated with the readings shown, there must be a pause after *nokeengkee*, clearly delineating the two clauses. Note that in the basic sentence, without *mbeaka* inserted, there is NOT a noticeable intonation break between *nokeengkee* and *nowila*. Furthermore, the requirement that the two verbs share the same subject is not a product of the serial verb construction alone, but of general restrictions on cross-clausal anaphora (see chapters 3 and 20 for more details).

A still closer juncture between the two verbs can be seen in 8.3.1, in which the two verbs are contiguously serialised.

We have seen that in order to be interpreted as a non-contiguous serial verb construction, the following conditions must be met by the two verbs involved:

- scope of negators must include both verbs;
- aspect may be marked only once;
- no intonation break may be present (even when negators are used)
 (Given that no intonation break is necessary for even biclausal sentences, this is a necessary but not a sufficient criterion for determining that a given sentence involves a serial verb construction.)

8.2.2 Multiple object

Multiple object serial verb constructions are found in *Tukang Besi* in non-contiguous structures with the verb *ako* ‘do for’. The use of *ako* in this position is interpreted as verbal in that it governs a core KP, a trait shared only by verbs, and not prepositions. On the other hand, it is not affixed with subject prefixes, the presence of which is another trait universally shared by verbs. The most logical interpretation of this inconsistent behaviour is that *ako* does not fit completely into either the class of verbs or prepositions; we might speculate that there is a process of regrammaticalisation taking place at the current time, in which *ako* is caught between two classes, simultaneously displaying some of the characteristics of both (it is interesting to note that all of the verbal morphology that occurs FOLLOWING the verb shows evidence of being less closely bound to the verb than the verbal prefixes, and that it is all more transparently relatable to free morphology; the evidence suggests that the post-verbal verbal morphology is in fact a collection of V'-level enclitics, as opposed to the preverbal prefixes). Regardless of the formal approach taken, the use of *ako* + KP in a clause is to increase the valency of that clause through the addition of extra arguments. Indeed, Foley and Van Valin (1984: 207) mention that, in their examination of serial verb constructions:

In one sense the functions of serial verbs and prepositions/oblique case markers are similar in that they mark NPs which are *not normally* core arguments of the main verb of the clause.

In *Tukang Besi* the boundary of the class ‘preposition’ is at best ambiguous with many ‘prepositional’ roles being carried out by verbs, either in or out of serial constructions, but

serial verb constructions that look less verb-like than other constructions, ones in which the valency of the clause is not raised. These constructions are always multiple-object type serial verb constructions, one subject serving as the same for both verbs.¹ The characterisation of this form of serialisation is as set out below:

x does V₁ (to y), performing the action and also doing V₂ to z.

The verb *ako* 'do for' appears in either a contiguous constructions or a non-contiguous constructions, the second of these functioning similarly to the 'prepositional' role, introducing new arguments into the clause:

Non-contiguous serialisation:

- (10) *No-wila kua daoa ako te ina-no.*
 3R-go ALL market do.for CORE mother-3POSS
 'They went to the market for their mother.'

Biclausal:

- (11) *No-wila kua daoa, no-ako te ina-no.*
 3R-go ALL market 3R-do.for CORE mother-3POSS
 'They went to the market, all the while doing it for their mother.'

The difference between (10) and the non-contiguous serialisation examples seen earlier in (8) and (9) is that in (10) the second verb in the series does not use subject prefixes.

Sentence (11) shows a biclausal sentence, the oblique prepositional phrase *kua daoa* and the (optional) pause breaking up the series of subject-inflected verbs. A non-contiguous serial verb construction with subject prefixes on *ako* is not possible:

- (12) * *No-wila no-ako te ina-no kua daoa.*
 3R-go 3R-do.for CORE mother-3POSS ALL market
 'They went doing it for their mother.'

Unlike the predicate-building constructions, valency-increasing non-contiguous serial verb constructions only allow aspect to be marked on the first verb in the core series. The second verb, which is not affixed to indicate the subject, may not take aspect markers:

- (13) *No-helo'a-ke-mo ako te ina-no.*
 3R-cook-3OBJ-PF BEN CORE mother-3POSS
 'They cooked it for their mother.'

- (14) * *No-helo'a-ke ako-mo te ina-no.*
 3R-cook-3OBJ BEN-PF CORE mother-3POSS

The set of verbs that exhibit this kind of behaviour in serial verb constructions is extremely restricted. Elsewhere (chapter 10) *ako* and some other morphemes are treated as an applicative suffixes (and glossed as APPL), to which they are functionally equivalent (see section 8.5 for a discussion on the difficulties in meaningfully separating serial verbs and some other processes that are traditionally regarded as bound morphemes). Regardless of the analysis, the next most verb-like being the verb *kene* 'accompany', which in a non-contiguous serialisation serves to introduce an extra argument participating in the verbal

state or action:

(preposition-like function):

- (15) *No-wila kene ina-no.*
 3R-go accompany mother-3POSS
 'She went with her mother.'

In this construction *kene* is less verb-like than *ako* in the equivalent structure. Here it differs in that the object of *kene* is not in a core KP, thus arguing for a prepositional interpretation of *kene*. Diachronically this too is best described as a process of grammaticalisation, a root changing categories and becoming a member of an evolving preposition / conjunction class, with *kene* further down this track than *ako*. Chapters 10 and 18 present alternative analyses of the constructions involving *kene*. One feature unites *kene* with *ako*: they are both capable of expressing their object by means of object suffixes, a trait that prepositions do not share. Compare (16) - (20):

- (16) *No-wila kua daoa ako-'e.*
 3R-go ALL market do.for-3OBJ
 'They went to the market for her.'

(In this construction the verb *ako* may take EITHER object suffixes, OR a nominal object, but NOT both. See chapter 5 for further discussion of this restriction.)

- (17) *No-wila kene-'e.*
 3R-go accompany-3OBJ
 'She went with her.'

- (18) * *No-wila apa-'e.*
 3R-go ENDPOINT-3OBJ
 'She went up to it.'

- (19) * *No-wila kua-'e.*
 3R-go ALL-3OBJ
 'She went to her.'

- (20) * *No-rato mina-'e.*
 3R-arrive from-3OBJ
 'She arrived from it.'

As a main verb, *kene* has the meaning 'accompany':

Independent Verb:

- (21) *No-kene te ina-no.*
 3R-accompany CORE mother-3POSS
 'She accompanied her mother.'

More details on the constraints that apply to the use of *kene* can be found in chapter 18.

8.2.3 'Ambient' serialisation: predicates with no arguments

Ambient serialisation is a term used by Crowley (1987: 40) to refer to a situation in which

it is neither the subject of the first verb,...nor the object...that is marked on the second verb. Rather, the second verb refers to the general act..., with no particular participants in mind.

This sort of serial verb construction is also found in *Tukang Besi*, except that, perhaps predictably, the ordering of the two verbs is the other way around, with the first verb commenting on the general action denoted by the second verb (Paamese, which Crowley was discussing, is an SVO language, whereas *Tukang Besi* is basically a VOS language). This is exemplified in (22):

- Ambient:
 (22) [*O-tantu*]_V [[*no-rato*]_V *sabentara*].
 3R-certain 3R-arrive in.a.moment
 'They'll be here in a moment for certain.'
 (ie., 'It is certain they will arrive in a moment.')

These constructions appear to violate the otherwise firm restriction that there must be some argument-sharing between the two verbs in the serial verb construction, one of the defining characteristics introduced at the start of this chapter. It is clear, however, that the sort of predicates that enter into this sort of construction are precisely the sort that are used in raising constructions in languages like English. A similar solution is proposed to the apparent contradiction that arises in calling these serial verb constructions when there is no shared argument: one of the verbs, *o-mura* in the example below, does not assign any arguments, and so has no argument to share. The subcategorisation frame for *mura* is as follows:

'*mura* < [semantics of likely] >'

and so for the serial verb construction in (23):

- (23) [*O-mura-mura*]_V [[*no-pa-muru*]_V *na* *Joni* *di* *iko'o*].
 3R-RED-likely 3R-OCC-bald NOM Joni OBL 2SG
 'John is likely to be angry at you.'
 (ie., 'It is likely (that) John will be angry at you.')

the combined predicate structure is as shown in (23)':

(23)' 'likely < [semantics of likely] *be angry* <[Dative] > <[Locative] > >'

There are two different sorts of ambient serialisation, divided on the need for the subject prefixes of the two verbs to agree or not, a division that also corresponds to the ability of any aspectual marking to appear on the second verb or not. These two sorts of serialisation are discussed separately below in sections 8.2.4 and 8.2.5.

8.2.4 Ambient serialisation with no subject agreement

There are two types of ambient serialisation, the (more common) case of third-person marking on the first verb (all ambient serialisation is non-contiguous), and ambient serialisation with the semi-verb *ane*, which does not take subject prefixes at all. In both cases, the first verb is a comment on the whole clause that is headed by the second verb. The third person subject prefix on the ambient serialised verb can be thought of as indexing the whole following clause. This would explain why it is invariably third person (the same as is found with impersonal, subjectless weather verbs (see chapter 20), and optionally with passive verbs), and displays no agreement with the following subject prefix. The relationship between the two verbs can be characterised as follows:

x does V_2 (to y), and the whole event is V_1 .

For instance, the ambient serialisation in (44) adds information about the whole clause, and is not confined to just one of the arguments in it:

- (24) O_1 -[jari]_V [nu-[ada]_V te sipeda-su]_i la-i!
 3R-become 2SG.R-borrow CORE bicycle-1SG.POSS ILL.FORCE-FAMILIAR
 'Sure you can borrow my bike!'

There is a limited set of verbs that has been observed in ambient serial verb constructions. Prominent in this list are the following (listed with *o-* 'third person realis subject prefix' attached):

<i>o-jari</i>	become, happen
<i>o-membali</i>	become, permit
<i>o-tantu</i>	certain
<i>o-ha'a</i>	why, how
<i>o-mura</i>	likely
<i>o-leama</i>	good
<i>o-mamuda</i>	easy, convenient
<i>o-marasai</i>	difficult

The verbs above all appear with third person subject prefixes, invariant for the person or number of the subject of the second verb, which is prefixed to indicate the person and number of the subject.

Examples of ambient serial verb constructions are presented in (25) - (28):

- (25) *O-mura ku-rato 'uka ilange.*
 3R-maybe 1SG-arrive also tomorrow
 'I might come over tomorrow as well.'

- (26) *O-marasai ku-gande-ko i honda-su.*
 3R-become 1SG-give.a.lift-2SG.OBJ OBL motorbike-1SG.POSS
 'I probably can't give you a lift on my motorbike.'

(27) *O-ha'a tabeda to-wila loeloe?*
 3R-why necessary 1PL.R-go slowly
 'Why will we have to go slowly?'

(28) *O-leama no-pogau Wanse da.*
 3R-good 3R-speak Wanci ILL.FORCE
 'He can speak Wanci well.'

The semi-verb *ane* 'be, exist', consistent with its irregular 'semi-verbal' behaviour, appears without subject prefixes, yet is the first verb in the series. In a serial construction it gives a progressive aspect to the sentence, and often appears with the aspect suffix *-ho* 'yet' or *-do* 'emphatically yet':

(29) *Ane-ho no-wande.*
 exist-yet 3R-rain
 'It's still raining.'

(30) a. Question: *Ane-h(o) o-mohoo?* b. Answer: *Ane-do!*
 exist-yet 3R-sick exist-EMPH
 'Is he still sick?' 'Sure is (of course)!'

8.2.5 Ambient serialisation with subject agreement

The use of serialisation as a means of expressing modal distinctions is found with the verbs *agori* 'immediately' and *po'oli* 'finish', *parahuu* and *hematu* 'begin, start', and the semi-verb *ane* 'exist'. These form non-contiguous serial verb constructions, always appearing as the first verb in the series, and generally satisfying the conditions placed on non-contiguous serial constructions as regards the placement and scope of negatives, as described for example (8) earlier. The two verbs combine to produce a modal interpretation and an action as seen below:

x does a V_1 kind of V_2 (to y).

In addition to these verbs serving in clearly modal roles in the clause, the verb *soba* 'try' is included here because of its morphosyntactic behaviour, which is identical to these other modal verbs.

<i>o-agori</i>	immediately
<i>o-harai</i>	extremely
<i>o-hematuu</i>	begin to
<i>o-parahuu</i>	start
<i>o-po'oli</i>	finish
<i>o-saori</i>	very
<i>o-soba</i>	try

Examples of modal serialisations are:

- (31) *Te tukatutu no-agori no-tode...*
 CORE blacksmith 3R-immediate 3R-flee
 'The blacksmith fled without delay...' (G:7)
- (32) *'U-po'oli-mo 'u-po-'awa ke iai-su?*
 2SG.R-finish-PF 2SG.R-REC-obtain and younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
 'Have you met my younger sister already?'
- (33) *La'a-m(o) meana'e ku-para-huu ku-buri i boku.*
 just-PF now 1SG-ITER-begin 1SG-write OBL book
 'I have just now begun to write in the book.'
- (34) *Ku-hematuu-mo ku-henahenai te pogau Wanse.*
 1SG-begin-PF 1SG-learn CORE language Wanci
 'I have begun to learn Wanci.'

Note that in (32) and (34) the first verb in each serial construction has an aspect suffix, yet the sentence is still interpreted monoclausally (contrary to the discussion following example (8) earlier, and see (36) below). Indeed, the second verb CANNOT be marked for aspect, as seen in (35):

- (35) * *Ku-hematuu ku-henahenai-mo te pogau Wanse.*
 1SG-begin 1SG-learn-PF CORE language Wanci

This is completely the opposite case to the restrictions on aspect marking on predicate building non-contiguous serialisations, or ambient serialisation, shown by the following examples:

- (36) * *Te anabou iso no-wila-mo no-keengkee kua wunua.*
 CORE child yon 3R-go-PF 3R-RED-hop ALL house
 (Good with a biclausal interpretation: 'The child had already gone, then he hopped to the house.')
- (37) * *O-mura-mo ku-rato 'uka ilange.*
 3R-maybe-PF 1SG-arrive also tomorrow
 'It is already a possibility that I might come over tomorrow as well.'

Notice that although *ane* has been listed as a verb that occurs in both ambient serialisations and modal serialisations, the morphosyntactic restrictions on aspectual affix placement (almost inevitably found in modal serialisations, and very common with ambient serialisations) make the particular reading unambiguous. Compare (38) and (39):

- Ambient serialisation: aspect marked on V₂:
- (38) *Ane no-'eka-do i Tindoi.*
 exist 3R-climb-EMPH OBL Tindoi
 'They really are going up to Tindoi.'
 * 'They are going to Tindoi right now.'

Modal serialisation: aspect marked on V_1 :

- (39) *Ane-do no-'eka i Tindoi.*
 exist-EMPH 3R-climb OBL Tindoi
 'They are going up to Tindoi right now.'
 * 'They really are going up to Tindoi.'

The morphosyntactic difference between this type of serialisation and the sort discussed in 8.2.4 becomes obvious when we try to combine the two verbs of this class without identical subject indexing:

- (40) * *O-saori ku-mele ku-po-'awa-ngkene-ko.*
 3R-very 1SG-happy 1SG-REC-get-COM-2SG.OBJ
 'I'm very happy to have met you.'

Similar ungrammaticality is found if we try to combine two verbs of the sort seen in 8.2.4, yet have them show subject concord:

- (41) * *Ku-marasai ku-ala-'e na kau pe'esa-su saba'ane.*
 1SG-difficult 1SG-fetch-3OBJ NOM wood own-1SG.POSS all
 'I won't be able to fetch all the wood by myself.'

8.3 Contiguous serialisation

8.3.1 Same-subject

A basic example of a contiguous serial verb construction, paralleling those seen already in 8.2.1, is given in (42), where the subject marking is absent from the second verb, and the two verbs are bound as one phonological word. They are not able to be split up by pauses or negators, without detracting from their status as 'good' language:

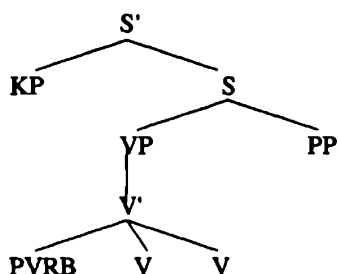
- (42) *Te anabou iso α no-wila- β -kee-ngkee- γ kua wunua.*
 CORE child yon 3R-go-RED-hop ALL house
 'The child went hopping to the house.' (M:20)

Inserting negators in the positions marked with α and β , as in 8.2.1, yields the following interpretations:

- α 'The child didn't hop to the house.'
 β (not possible)

The structure representing the sentence in (42) is as seen in (42)' (compare with the trees given for (8) in 8.2.1):

(42)'



Assuming that these are now verbs joined contiguously within the VP, we would expect them to take the same marking for aspect, and not be able to independently specify it. This is in fact exactly what happens. Attempting to attach the perfective clitic *-mo* to the verbal complex at the positions marked β and γ yields only one grammatical reading:

- β (not possible)
 γ 'The child has already gone hopping to the house.'
 * 'The child is going and has already hopped to the house.'

If *-mo* (or either of the other aspect markers, *-ho* or *-do* (see chapter 7)) is inserted in the position marked by β , the second verb must take independent subject prefixes, and agree with the first verb for aspect marking. The sentence must also have a biclausal interpretation, and cannot be interpreted as a serial verb construction, as in (43):

- (43) *Te anabou iso no-wila-mo, no-kee-ngkee-mo*
 CORE child yon 3R-go-PF 3R-RED-hop-PF
kua wunua.
 ALL house
 'The child has gone and has hopped to the house.' (M:20)

There is a fourth requirement for contiguous serialisations of predicate-building constructions: the second verb in the construction may not DISPLAY a higher valency than the first, and if the verb is of a higher transitivity than the first, then the valency of that verb is reduced in the serial verb construction. Attempting to serialise a transitive verb with the intransitive *wila* at a contiguous level leads to a decrease in valency of the transitive verb (different from the common process of unspecified object deletion, in that the occurrence of an object is judged ungrammatical in this sort of serial verb construction). Sentence (44) is an acceptable non-contiguous serial verb construction:

- (44) *No-wila no-lolaha te ana t[um]okabi.*
 3R-go 3R-search CORE child lost.SI
 'They went and looked for the lost child.'

Negators follow the pattern in (8). The sentence may be interpreted as either two clauses without overt conjunction, or as one clause with a serial verb construction. Imitating (42), and combining the two verbs contiguously renders the sentence ungrammatical if the object is overtly retained either in a KP or as an object suffix:

- (45) a. * *No-wila-lolaha te ana t[um]okabi.*
 3R-go-search CORE child lost.SI
 'They went searching for the lost child.'

The verb sequence is acceptable if *lolaha* is taken as indicating the manner in which the party went, not as specifying an additional action:

- b. *No-wila-lolaha.*
 3R-go-search
 'They went searching.'

This behaviour, the inability of a transitive verb serialised with an intransitive verb to appear with an object (as in (45a)) contradicts a widespread cross-linguistic generalisation that states that the displayed transitivity of a serial verb construction will be at least equal to that of the transitivity of its highest member. This is in clear contrast with the grammaticality of the following very similar example from Yimas (Foley 1991:283):

- (46) Yimas:
Margki kia-ka-nanaŋ-kamal-kula-ntut.
 leaf.stem.VII.PL VII.PL.O-1SG.A-DUR-search-walk-RM.PAST
 'I walked around looking for leaf stems.'

Here, as Foley explains it,

one verb root *kamal-* 'search' is bivalent while the other, *kula-* 'walk', is monovalent. The bivalent verb root licenses the whole verb theme to be inflected as transitive.

As seen in (45), the reverse is the case in *Tukang Besi*, when the verbs are functioning to build a semantically more complex predicate. This is not the case in serial verb constructions which function basically as valency-increasing devices; see the discussion in 8.2.2 and the examples in that section.

There is another (small) set of serial verb constructions, ones that can appear either as contiguous-level juncts, or as biclausal complement constructions (not, thus, serial verbs), but do not allow non-contiguous serialisation. This is the case with the verbs *hada* 'be about to', which is specialised to mean 'will, shall, want' in serial verb constructions, and *pande* 'be good at, do often'. When the subject of *hada* is coreferential with the subject of the second verb the following verb is unmarked by subject prefixes.

- (47) *'U-hada-balu te wurai?*
 2SG.R-want-buy CORE sarong
 'Will you buy the sarong?' 'Do you want to buy the sarong?' (G:47)
- (48) *Te iaku ku-hada-nangu-nangu.*
 CORE 1SG 1SG-want-RED-swim
 'I want to (go) swimming.' (G:39)

When the two subjects are not coreferential, subject marking must be used on the second verb, and a complement construction used:²

- (49) *Mbeaka ku-had(a) o-mohoo.*
 not 1SG-want 3R-sick
 'I don't want him to be sick.' (T1:29)
- (50) *No-hada no-wila.*
 3R-want 3R-go
 'S/he_i wants her/him*_{i;j} to go.'

Unlike (48), (50) is a coordinate biclausal construction. Whilst the serial verb construction can only be negated as a whole, either of the clauses in the biclausal construction composing (50) may be negated. Negation of the first clause has already been illustrated, negation of the second clause is shown in (51):

- (51) *Ku-hada mbeak(a) o-mohoo.*
 1SG-want not 3R-sick
 'I want him not to be sick.'

Compare this with the ungrammatical (52), attempting to negate only the second verb in a serial verb construction version of (50):

- (52) * *Ku-hada-mbeaka-mohoo.*
 1SG-want-not-sick
 'I want to be not sick.'³

The use of *pande* 'frequently, often, be good at' as a contiguous serial verb is illustrated in (53):

- (53) *Te kene-su no-pande-wila di Kendari.*
 CORE friend-1SG.POSS 3R-often-go OBL Kendari
 'My friend often goes to Kendari.'

8.3.2 Same-subject with numeral verbs

Another quirk of same-subject serialisation is the behaviour of intransitive verbs serialised with the numerals, actually ambitransitive verbs meaning 'be in a group of NUM'. Compare (45b) with (54)

- (54) * *No-wila-dodua na amai.*
 3R-go-be.two NOM 3PL
 'Both of them went.'

The grammaticality of (54) can be rescued if we add an object suffix to the verb, agreeing in person and number with the subject prefix:

- (55) *No-wila-dodua-'e na amai.*
 3R-go-be.two-3OBJ NOM 3PL
 'Both of them went.'

With first and second person subjects, the object suffix is slightly different to the typical

object suffix, and more similar to the dative object suffixes in that they are prenasalised (see chapter 5):

- (56) *Ko-mai-gana-ngkami.*
1PA.R-come-be.four-1PA.OBJ
'Four of us came.'
- (57) *To-langke-nono'o-ngkita.*
1PL.R-sail-be.six-1PL.OBJ
'Six of us went sailing.'
- (58) *Ki-w[um]jila-popia-ngkomiu?*
2PL.I-go.SI-be.how.many-2PL.OBJ
'How many of you lot are going?'

This may be used with transitive verbs showing unspecified object deletion, but not if the verb displays an overt object, nominally or by verbal affix:

- (59) a. *To-manga-nono'o-ngkita.*
1PL.R-eat-be.six-1PL.OBJ
'Six of us ate.'
- b. * *To-manga-nono'o-ngkita te mandara.*
1PL.R-eat-be.six-1PL.OBJ CORE sweet.potato
'Six of us ate sweet potatoes.'
- c. * *To-manga-nono'o-ngkita na mandara.*
1PL.R-eat-be.six-1PL.OBJ NOM sweet.potato
'Six of us ate sweet potatoes.'
- d. * *To-manga-nono'o-'e.*
1PL.R-eat-be.six-3OBJ
'Six of us ate it.'

Compare the plural object suffixes in their standard and dative forms, with the forms found in this construction:

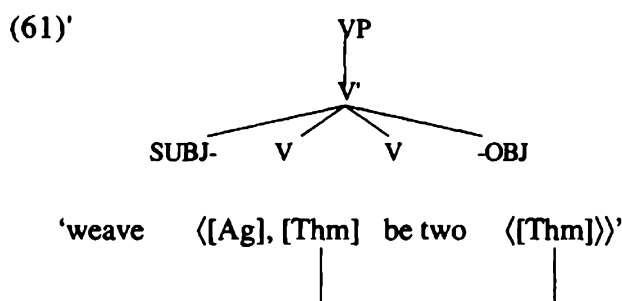
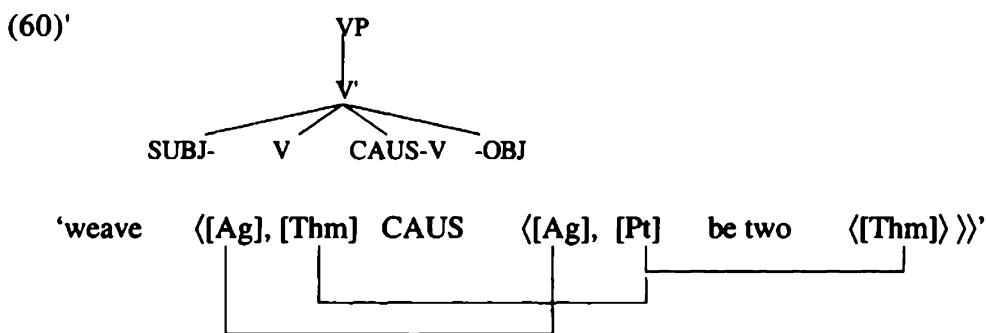
	1PA	1PL	2PL	3(SG/PL)
Normal	-kami	-kita	-komiu	-e
Dative	-nsami	-nggita	-ngkomiu	-e
Intradirective	-ngkami	-ngkita	-ngkomiu	-e

When the first verb in a contiguous serial verb construction involving numeral verbs is transitive, then the numeral verb must be made transitive as well, by the addition of causative prefixes. In this way the two verbs remain a same-subject construction, but both may now additionally subcategorise for the same object. Compare the grammatical (60) with the ungrammatical (61):

- (60) *To-sangka-pa-dodua-'e* *na* *kie.*
 1PL.R-weave.mat-CAUS-be.two-3OBJ NOM mat
 'We wove two mats.'
 (Lit., 'We wove mats, we made them be two.')

- (61) * *To-sangka-dodua-'e* *na* *kie.*
 1PL.R-weave.mat-be.two-3OBJ NOM mat
 'We wove two mats.'

The constituent and argument structures of the verb phrases representing (60) and (61) are as displayed in (60)' and (61)' (compare with the argument structure templates for different serial verb construction types presented in 8.5):



It appears to be a constraint that in contiguous serialisations involving numeral verbs that all subcategorised-for arguments must be shared for the construction to be grammatical. Sentence (60), with the numeral verb made transitive by the addition of causative morphology, can share both the subject and the object of the first verb in the sequence, whereas (61), with an intransitive numeral verb, may not take a transitive verb in a contiguous serialisation. This restriction holds even if the object of the verb is not explicitly mentioned, as seen by (62), in which the numeral verb cannot be taken to refer to the number of weavers:

- (62) * *To-sangka-dodua.*
 1PL.R-weave.mat-be.two
 'Two of us wove mats.'

This is evidence that the process of unspecified object deletion is not detransitivisation (further syntactic tests are given in chapter 9). The restraints on contiguous serialisation with numeral verbs are different from the pattern found with the class of 'switch-subject'

verbs, described in the following section.

This use of an object suffix as well as a subject prefix to show agreement with the same argument is similar to the intradirective forms that have been reported for some Oceanic and eastern Indonesian languages (Ezard 1991, Grimes 1992, 1993), and for Chadic and Benue-Congo (Gerhardt 1989: 373–374).

8.3.3 Switch subject

The contiguous constructions considered so far are clearly same-subject constructions functioning to build a complex predicate. A second type of serialisation is found, which for convenience I shall label ‘switch-subject’, since in a biclausal paraphrase of the serial verb construction clauses with two different subjects would have to be used; reductionistically, the subject of the second verb is coreferential with the object of the first verb. Verbs participating in this construction must necessarily be one transitive verb that has a patient/theme object, and a non-active verb sharing that patient/theme (ie., an unaccusative second verb). These show a cause-effect relationship between the two verbs and the common undergoer:

x does V_1 to y , and so y is V_2 as a result of x 's actions.

In the case of these ‘resulting state’ serial verb constructions, only a juncture at the contiguous level is allowed:

- (63) *No-kamalo-meha te banka.*
 3R-paint-red CORE ship
 ‘They painted the ship red.’

This may be paraphrased biclausally, but not in a non-contiguous serial verb construction:

- (64) *No-kamalo te banka ka'ano no-meha.*
 3R-paint CORE ship such.that 3R-red
 ‘They painted the ship so that it would be red.’

- (65) * *No-kamalo no-meha te banka.*
 3R-paint 3R-red CORE ship

For this sort of serialisation to occur there must necessarily be a transitive verb as the first verb in the series, and an unaccusative intransitive verb as the second verb. Additionally, there is a semantic distinction such that the patient must be TOTALLY affected; the boat referred to in (63) must end up being painted COMPLETELY red all over, and not just have a runner line around the water mark that is red, for instance. In other words, it must be true to say that the boat IS red, after painting, and not just exhibiting some features of redness. Object suffixes are quite acceptable with this sort of construction:

- (66) *No-tobo-mate-'e na sanggila.*
 3R-stab-die-3OBJ NOM pirate
 ‘He stabbed the pirate dead.’

The use of this kind of construction implies that there was one action involved - in (66), a quick stab, and the pirate dies - and that the two events, stabbing and dying, are nearly simultaneous; there is no space of time between the cause predicate occurring and the effect predicate taking place. Sentence (66) could not be uttered referring to the death of a pirate as the result of a drawn out series of feints, slashes and stabbings, in which the victim slowly bled to death. A death as the result of multiple stab wounds, in which the several acts of stabbing and the act of dying are temporally separable events, would be described in a biclausal manner as in (67). Again, non-contiguous serialisation is inadequate for expressing the sense of (66):

- (67) *No-tobo-'e (na sanggila ka'ano) no-mate.*
 3R-stab-3OBJ NOM pirate such.that 3R-die
 'He stabbed (the pirate until) he died.'

Unlike (66), (67) does not imply that the action and its results were so linked. There may have been a fight, and after a series of striking and stabbing at each other, the pirate died of accumulated wounds, perhaps not alone from the stab wound. Other examples of this switch-subject form of serialisation include:

- (68) *No-sai-ja'o te bangka na mia kombeo.*
 3R-make-bad CORE ship NOM person mad
 'The crazy person made the ship such that it was ruined/useless.'
- (69) *No-helo'a-mombaka te imanga na ina-su.*
 3R-cook-delicious CORE food NOM mother-1SG.POSS
 'My mother cooked the food so that it was delicious.'

As mentioned, this form of serialisation cannot appear with patients that are not TOTALLY affected. Compare the grammatical (66) with the ungrammatical (70):

- (70) * *Ku-busuki-mobela te sanggila.*
 1SG-punch-wound CORE pirate
 'I punched the pirate so that he was hurt.'

Intransitive verbs with resulting states are also unable to appear in this cause-result construction:

- (71) * *No-karajaa-kalu.*
 3R-work-tired

This would be expressed in *Tukang Besi* with the preposition *apa* 'endpoint' or the discourse connective *sampe* 'until' (<Malay *sampe*):

- (71)' *No-karajaa sampe no-kalu.*
 3R-work until 3R-tired
 'They worked until they were tired.'

This is quite easily explained through the switch-subject constraint: two serialised intransitive verbs cannot have a second argument to be a new subject for the second

predicate not coreferential with the subject of the first predicate. Furthermore, the one argument that they do share would have to function as both an agent (of the first verb) and a patient/theme (of the second verb), in the one clausal nucleus, which is impossible given that the first verb is unergative and the second one unaccusative (see also the discussion of ‘forced-interpretations’ that agentive applicative constructions can give to some verbs, in chapter 10.2). Similarly, the constructions presented in (70) and (71) are not permissible as examples of complex predicates showing same-subject agreement (with the putative meanings ‘I woundedly punched the pirate (I was wounded)’, and ‘They worked tiredly.’), since that is a form that in *Tukang Besi* is used only to elaborate the semantic content of a predicate, and not to describe the result of that action. In order to express the senses on the English translations of (70) and (71), a biclausal sentence similar to (67) must be used.

8.3.4 Multiple object

Multiple object contiguous serialisations are found with the verbs *ako* ‘do for’ and *kene* ‘accompany’ (which appears as *ngkene* in this construction). Owing to the great amount of variation that these forms display, and the similarity (identity!) that they bear to the well-described applicative constructions, they have been dealt with in more detail in chapter 10.

As with all transitive or ambitransitive verbs, *ako* can take object suffixes if it is used in a construction analogous to either (72) or (73):⁴

(72) *No-wila-ako te ina-no kua daoa.*
 3R-go-do.for CORE mother-3POSS ALL market
 ‘They went for their mother to the market.’

(73) *No-wila-ako-'e (na ina-no) kua daoa.*
 3R-go-do.for-3OBJ NOM mother-3POSS ALL market
 ‘They went for their mother to the market.’

The verb *kene* ‘accompany’ is also used in contiguous serial verb constructions, such as seen in (74):

(74) *No-wila-ngkene te ina-no.*
 3R-go-accompany CORE mother-3POSS
 ‘She went with her mother.’

This can also be expressed with a construction that is, like (9) in 8.2.1, ambiguously either biclausal or an example of non-contiguous serialisation:

(75) *No-wila no-kene te ina-no.*
 3R-go 3R-accompany CORE mother-3POSS
 ‘She went, accompanying her mother.’

Unlike *ako*, *kene* does not appear in non-contiguous serial verb constructions. It has been seen that *kene* displays significantly less verbal behaviour than does *ako*, and the view taken here is that it is more like a conjunction or preposition. This is elaborated on in chapters 12 and 18.

8.3.5 Ambient serialisation

Ambient serialisation is found, to a limited extent, with contiguous constructions as well. The following verbs have been observed in contiguous serial verb constructions as well as in non-contiguous serial verb constructions:

<i>o-agori</i>	immediately
<i>o-saori</i>	very
<i>o-sumbere</i>	immediately

The only addition to the list presented earlier in 8.2 is *sumbere*, which has not been observed outside contiguous serial verb constructions. An example of these verbs used in contiguous constructions are given in (76) - (78):

- (76) *Sa-mente-no na kumbou iso no-agori-tinti-mo.*
 when-surprise-3POSS NOM goanna yon 3R-immediately-flee-PF
 'When that goanna got a shock it dashed off straight away.'
- (77) *Jari te manusi(a) u kampo iso o-sumbere-wila-mo*
 so CORE people GEN village yon 3R-immediately-go-PF
saba'ane ako na-t[um]u'o te kau iso.
 all PURP 3I-chop.SI CORE tree yon (Sab: 15)
 'So the people of that village all went off immediately and were going to chop that tree down.'
- (78) *O-saori-meransa na wande raho-kita i aba.*
 3R-very-heavy NOM rain affect-1PL.OBJ OBL earlier
 'The rain that soaked us earlier on was really heavy.'

8.4 Summary of morphosyntactic differences

As has been seen from the individual discussions, serial verb constructions in *Tukang Besi* exhibit four different patterns, with grammaticality judgements of the same morphosyntactic form dependent on the function that the serial verb construction carries out in the sentence. For instance, when two verbs appear together in a contiguous serial construction, the second verb may only be transitive and maintain a bivalent interpretation in a valency-increasing construction, but not in a predicate-building construction. Similarly, aspect marking may occur on the first verb in a serial verb construction only if the construction is serving as a modal or valency increasing one. Predicate building and ambient serial verb constructions do not allow aspect marking to occur on the first verb in non-contiguous serial verbs constructions. A summary of the differences in acceptability of different morphosyntactic patterns for the different constructions is presented in table 13:

Table 13. Morphological parameters of serial verb constructions

	Predicate building	Multiple Object	Ambient serialisation	Modal serialisation
NON-CONTIGUOUS				
SUBJ on V ₁ ?	+	-	†	†
SUBJ on V ₂ ?	+	+	+	+
SUBJ (V ₁) = SUBJ (V ₂)?	+	-	-	+
-aspect on V ₁ ?	-	+	-	+
-aspect on V ₂ ?	+	-	-	-
CONTIGUOUS				
SUBJ (V ₁) = SUBJ (V ₂)?	+/-*	+	n/a	+
V ₁ (trans) is bivalent?	-	+	n/a	-

NOTES: + indicates grammaticality, - indicates ungrammaticality. † Subject prefixes are not used with the semi-verb *ane*; non-referential third person prefixes are used with the other verbs. Ambient and modal constructions do not occur in contiguous constructions. * If V₁ is intransitive, there is a same-subject constraint. If V₂ is transitive, either same subject or switch subject constraints may operate.

8.5 Serial verbs and other grammatical categories

The different types of linking that are found between the arguments of serial verb constructions can be described as being same-subject, in which the subject of both verbs is the same, switch-subject, in which the object of one verb is the same as the subject of the next, identical, in which there is a requirement that both subject and object be shared by both verbs, and ambient, in which there are no shared arguments because one of the predicates assigns no arguments. In terms of subcategorisation frames, these different sorts of serialisation may be represented as seen in (77) - (80):

(79) Same-Subject:
 'PRED₁ <[], ([])> PRED₂ <[], ([])>'

(80) Switch-subject:
 'PRED₁ <[], []> PRED₂ <[[Thm/Pt]]>'

(81) Identical:
 'PRED₁ <[], ([])> PRED₂ <[], []>'

(82) Ambient:
 'PRED₁ < [semantics of PRED₁] PRED₂ <[], ([])>'

Two things are notable about these representations: firstly, there is a great diversity present in the restrictions, so great that the unity of the group as ‘serial verb constructions’ becomes somewhat dubious. Secondly, the similarity of two of these linkages to the sort found in causative (chapter 9) and applicative (chapter 10) constructions leads us to consider the real differences between these constructions (a point that was also raised in chapter 4). In both causative (particularly the factitive causative involving the prefix *hoko-*) and switch-subject serialisations the requirement on linking is that the single argument of an unaccusative verb with a theme or patient semantic role is linked with the object of the affect predicate.

Chapter 9

Causative morphology

9.1 Causative morphology: introduction

There are three different prefixes that can be classified in the general category of causatives in *Tukang Besi*, *hoko-*, *pa-* and *hepe-*. All of them have slightly different meanings and applications, and they are labelled here FACTITIVE, CAUSATIVE and REQUESTIVE, for ease of discussion.

The factitive prefix *hoko-* has the most limited distribution in that it can only occur with non-dynamic intransitive verbs, and derives a transitive verb.

The more general causative *pa-* can occur on almost any verb base, transitive or intransitive, and adds a causer argument. The only restriction on its occurrence is that the causee of a construction based on a transitive verb must be an [Agent], and not a [Dative] or [Instrument] semantic role. As will be explained, speakers of the Wanci dialect of *Tukang Besi*, which is the main variety investigated, show different interpretations of the argument structure of the derived verb, depending on their sub-dialectal backgrounds. Speakers of the Wanse-Rupu dialect require the causee to be the object of the derived verb form, but speakers of Lia-Mandati dialect take this argument to be an oblique argument if the underived verb is transitive, and the original object of the underived verb stays as the object of the construction.

Finally, the requestive *hepe-* occurs with active verbs, transitive or intransitive, to indicate that the causer requests someone to carry out an action for the causer's benefit. Although this is rather different from the other two causative prefixes, it is subject to the same restrictions on the semantic role of a causee as *pa-*.

Some of the semantic and distributional differences between these three causatives are shown in table 14, showing three semantic variables: degree of physical effort required, permanency of resulting effect, and transitivity of the input verb.

Table 14. Differences amongst the causative prefixes

	Effort (causer's)	Permanency	Intransitive		Transitive
			non-dynamic	dynamic	
<i>hoko-</i>	high	high	←-----→		
<i>pa-</i>	low	medium	←-----→		
<i>hepe-</i>	none	none			←-----→

Additionally, another (and different) method of producing a causative reading on many non-Active verbs of the ambitransitive class (see chapter 4) is to simply use object suffixes on an otherwise intransitive verb. In terms of the categories used in the table above, this

means of causation involves a medium to high degree of effort to achieve a medium level of permanency, and applies only to certain dynamic and non-dynamic non-active intransitive verbs.

An example showing the differences in grammaticality produced by the effort parameter can be seen in (1a) and (1b):

- (1) a. *Te riirii monda i-sumbele t[um]inti iso*
 CORE duck already PP-decapitate run.SI yon
no-pa-mate-'e te kene-su.
 3R-CAUS-dead-3OBJ CORE friend-1SG.POSS
 'The duck that was already running around with its head cut off was killed by my friend.'
- b. * *Te riirii monda i-sumbele t[um]inti iso*
 CORE duck already PP-decapitate run.SI yon
no-hoko-mate-'e te kene-su.
 3R-FACT-dead-3OBJ CORE friend-1SG.POSS

Whilst the first of the sentences is acceptable, and highly revealing of *Tukang Besi* attitudes towards death, the second is not. The only effort needed to 'kill' a duck which has had its head cut off is to knock it over and stop it running around any more, which is not a major enough physical effort to 'count' as part of *hokomate*, unless the duck had already run off into the scrub and so entails a serious search and effort to track down. The permanency difference is seen in the following different results:

- (2) a. *No-pa-mate-'e na kene-su mohoo iso.*
 3R-CAUS-dead-3OBJ NOM friend-1SG.POSS sick yon
 'He killed my sick friend.'
 (not permanently, since a shaman will 'kill' a person in order to drive out an intruding spirit, and then resurrect the dead body; the friend is expected to be alive now)
- b. *No-hoko-mate-'e na kene-su mohoo iso.*
 3R-FACT-dead-3OBJ NOM friend-1SG.POSS sick yon
 'He killed my sick friend.'
 (permanently, and is now guilty of murder; the friend needs burying)

The difference between causation on an ambitransitive verb using object suffixes, or using a causative prefix can be seen in (3a) and (3b):

- (3) a. *No-hesowui-'e na ana-no.*
 3R-wash-3OBJ NOM child-3POSS
 'She washed her children.'
 (physically took the children and washed them herself)
- b. *No-pa-hesowui-'e na ana-no.*
 3R-CAUS-wash-3OBJ NOM child-3POSS
 'She got her children washed.'
 (arranged for the children to be washed, either told them to do it themselves, had someone wash them, or did it herself)

One point that all the causative constructions share is that the causer is an argument whose semantic role is [Agent]. The addition of the comitative applicative suffix *-ngkene* (see 10.2), only possible on verbs with [Agent] roles, is possible with all causative constructions, as seen in (4a) - (4c):

- (4) a. *No-hoko-leama-ngkene te ikaka-su*
 3R-FACT-good-COM CORE elder.sibling-1SG.POSS
 'They improved it with my elder brother.'
 (it is now perfect, and can be expected to remain in that state)
- b. *No-pa-leama-ngkene te ikaka-su.*
 3R-CAUS-good-COM CORE elder.sibling-1SG.POSS
 'They fixed it up with my elder brother.'
 (it's better, but not perfect, and maybe only a temporary job)
- c. *No-hepe-leama-ngkene te ikaka-su.*
 3R-REQ-good-COM CORE elder.sibling-1SG.POSS
 'They with my elder brother asked for it to be improved.'

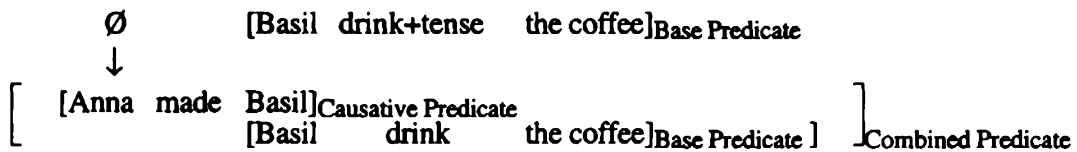
The causee of any of these constructions can be shown to be a Theme/Patient role, as tested by the ability to display possessor ascension (see chapter 7), shown for the different causative prefixes by (4d) - (4f):

- (4) d. *No-hoko-mobela-aku na bahu-su.*
 3R-FACT-wound-1SG.OBJ NOM shoulder-1SG.POSS
 'He hurt my shoulder.'
 (it's seriously damaged)
- e. *No-pa-mobela-aku na bahu-su.*
 3R-CAUS-wound-1SG.OBJ NOM shoulder-1SG.POSS
 'He hurt my shoulder.'
 (it's not too bad)
- f. *No-hepe-mobela-aku na bahu-su.*
 3R-REQ-wound-1SG.OBJ NOM shoulder-1SG.POSS
 'They asked for my shoulder to be hurt.'

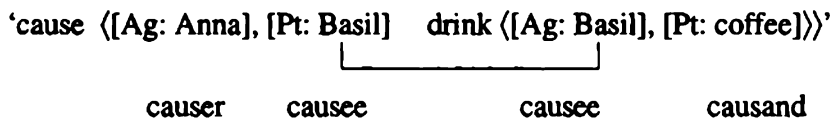
Examples of the syntactic restrictions that apply to the different prefixes are dealt with individually in the following sections. In the discussion that follows, I shall follow van den Berg (1989: 200) in using the terms 'causer', 'causee' and 'causand' to refer to the (maximal) three semantically distinct arguments of the derived causative verb. The 'causer' is the additional agentive argument added to the clause that becomes the [A] of the combined causative predicate. The 'causee' is the subject of the basic predicate, whether that predicate is transitive or intransitive, and the 'causand' is the argument that was the object of a transitive predicate before the causative predicate is added (and so necessarily not occurring with derivations involving *hoko-*, or using an intransitive verbs as the base). To illustrate these terms in English, in the sentence 'Anna made Basil drink the coffee', *Anna* is serving as the causer, *Basil* is the causee and *the coffee* is the causand. The basic

sentence from which this causative construction is derived is 'Basil drank the coffee.' This sentence is illustrated in the following models, which will be used in the rest of this chapter to illustrate the derivational processes that are found with the different affixes

Clausal constituents:



Argument structure:



The restriction on a causative predicate having a maximum of three arguments is consistent with the restrictions found for applicative constructions (see chapter 9.2), and means that constructions such as

- (5) a. *No-pa-hu'u-ke te iaku te doe.*
 3R-CAUS-give-3OBJ CORE 1SG CORE money
 'They made her give me the money.'

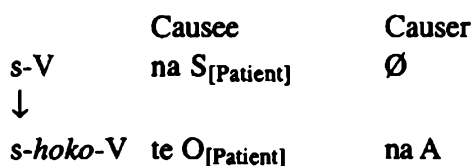
are ungrammatical. A periphrastic construction such as

- b. *No-tumpu-'e no-hu'u-aku te doe.*
 3R-command-3OBJ 3R-give-1SG.OBJ CORE money

is used instead.

9.2 Factitive *hoko-*

The factitive prefix occurs only with non-active intransitive verbs having a Theme/Patient as the semantic role of their argument, and has the meaning of 'do work in order to make completely (verb)'. This is in contrast to the result of combining the causative *pa-* with a non-active verb, in which case there is not the same implication that the change is so complete or so thorough. The subject of the non-active predicate becomes the object of the combined predicate, and an actor is added as the new subject. This may be expressed in terms of the clausal constituents as follows:



In terms of the argument structure involved, a better expression is as follows:

'*hoko-* ⟨[Ag], [Pt] PRED ⟨([Thm/Pt])⟩⟩

The object of the derived structure is treated as a full syntactic object in all ways, subject to the usual tests for object status: object indexing, relativisation in an object relative clause, being subject in a passive verb form and Focussing. The only difference between a verb with *hoko-* and a normal transitive verb is that the verb with the factitive prefix does not allow unspecified object deletion (UOD). Compare *no'ita* in (6), a verb that is inherently transitive and allows UOD, and (7), which attempts UOD with a factitive construction:

(6) *Sa-rato-no* *i* *iwo,* *no-'ita.*
 when-arrive-3POSS OBL there:lower 3R-see
 'When she arrived there, she looked around.'

(7) * *No-hoko-mena* \emptyset .
 3R-FACT-hot
 'They heated [] up.'

Sentence (7) can be made grammatical by the simple addition of an object, either a nominal or object suffixes. The occurrence of object suffixes to indicate the object of the factitive construction has already been seen in (2b). Some of the other tests for objecthood are presented in (8) and (9):

Head of an object relative clause:

(8) *Te* *bangka* *monda* *i-hoko-leama* *no-langke-mo.*
 CORE ship already OP-FACT-good 3R-sail-PF
 'The ship that had been fixed up has already sailed.'

Be subject if verb is passive:

(9) *No-to-hoko-ja'o-mo.*
 3R-PASS-FACT-good-PF
 'It has been ruined.'

The restriction that the semantic role of the causee must be [Theme/Patient], and not just an argument of an intransitive verb, can be shown by the ungrammaticality of (10), which attempts to apply *hoko-* to a verb with a single [Dative] argument, *monimpala*. The argument structure of this construction is shown in (10)':

(10) * *No-hoko-monimpala-'e.*
 3R-FACT-miss-3OBJ
 'They made her feel homesick.'

(10)' * '*hoko-* ⟨[Ag], [Pt] PRED ⟨([Dat])⟩⟩

The restriction already mentioned in table 14, that *hoko-* can only appear with non-dynamic (i.e., unaccusative) verbs thus requires further modification: *hoko-* can only appear with a

subset of the class of unaccusative verbs, those that take [Theme/Patient] semantic roles.

As already mentioned, *hoko-* is used only to indicate a complete change of state, usually of a permanent nature, that involves a degree of effort on the part of the causee. As such, the use of *hoko-* is rather restricted, with *pa-* being more common. An example of the use of *hoko-* to derive a transitive clause from an intransitive one is seen in (11a), the underived sentence, and (11b), which shows the effect of the addition of the factitive *hoko-*. Further examples of the use of *hoko-* are given in (12) and (13) (object agreement on the verb is not compulsory; *Nohokomatemo te ompusu* is an equally grammatical sentence. There is, however, a strong tendency for the object of the causative construction to be nominative.):

- (11) a. *No-mate-mo na ompu-su.*
3R-dead-PF NOM grandparent-1SG.POSS
'My grandparent is dead.'
- b. *No-hoko-mate-'e-mo na ompu-su.*
3R-FACT-dead-3OBJ-PF NOM grandparent-1SG.POSS
'They killed my grandparent.'
- (12) "*Buntu pe'esa-'u bar(a) o-hoko-mate-ko te mia.*"
as.for self-2SG.POSS don't 3R-FACT-die-2SG.OBJ CORE person
'And if you (go) alone, watch out that people don't kill you.' (WaI:6)
- (13) *Te sala ito mbeaka no-leama, toka i komba*
CORE road that:higher not 3R-good but OBL moon
meatu'e ai no-hoko-leama-'e te pamarenta.
REF-that ANA 3R-FACT-good-3OBJ CORE government
'That road to the north isn't very good, but next month the government's going to fix it up.'

The prefixes *me-* and *mo-*, which frequently occur with adjectives, are incompatible with the factitive prefix *hoko-*, but can occur with the causative *pa-*. The other 'adjectival' prefix, *ma-*, is compatible with *hoko-*:

<i>mandawulu</i>	'beautiful'	<i>hoko-mandawulu</i>	'make something beautiful'
		<i>pa-mandawulu</i>	'make someone look better'
<i>metangku</i>	'close'	<i>hoko-tangku</i>	'make closer (rebuild a fence)'
		<i>pa-metangku</i>	'draw near to'
<i>motiti</i>	'dry'	<i>hoko-titi</i>	'dry something'
		<i>pa-motiti</i>	'make someone dry'

The other, less frequent, prefix found on adjectives, *ma-*, is not dropped in this context, or when used in the exclamatory construction, indicating a longer history of fusion with the root, and thus lexicalisation. It is worth noting that both *me-* and *mo-* occur as productive prefixes in *Tukang Besi* (see chapter 10), marking frequentive and resultative, respectively, whilst *ma-* is not productive in this way. The adjectives found with *ma-* tend to show less temporary states than do the *mo-* and *me-* adjectives, though counterexamples are rampant. *ma-* is also the least frequent of the adjectival prefixes (only 10% of prefixed adjectives use *ma-*).

The prefix *hoko-* cannot occur with any active verb roots, either transitive or intransitive:

(14) * *No-hoko-manga-'e na ana-no te ika dawu-no.*
 3R-FACT-eat-3OBJ NOM child-3POSS CORE fish portion-3POSS
 'She made her child eat its fish dish.'

(15) * *No-hoko-wila-'e na ana-no i daoa.*
 3R-FACT-go-3OBJ NOM child-3POSS OBL market
 'She made her child go to the market.'

For either of these, the causative prefix *pa-*, a periphrastic causative using a manipulative verb, or an alternative verb (such as *tumpu* 'order'; *hoti* 'donate food, give meal') must be used.

9.3 Causative *pa-*

The general causative prefix *pa-* has a wider range of application than the factitive *hoko-*, and is also subject to two different interpretations by the different dialect areas as far as the argument structure of the derived verb is concerned. Unlike non-dynamic verbs using *hoko-*, there is not such a complete irreversible change implied when *pa-* is used.

As mentioned earlier, two groups of *Tukang Besi* speakers differ in how grammatical function assignment goes in morphological causative constructions. Although the speakers do not live in absolutely separable groups, they will be referred to here as 'dialect A' and 'dialect B', referring to the *Wanse-Rupu* dialect and the *Lia-Mandati* dialect areas respectively. For both of these dialects, the treatment of intransitive verbs is the same: the causee becomes the object of the derived verb, and a new subject causer is added to the argument structure of the verb:

Intransitive base:

	Causee	Causer
s-V	na S _[Agent/Patient]	Ø
↓		
s- <i>pa</i> -V	te O _[Patient]	na A

The argument structure representing this causative construction is almost the same as that presented for *hoko-*; the only significant difference is that the single argument of the base predicate is not restricted as to its semantic role, so both dynamic and non-dynamic intransitive verbs may appear with *pa-* as the causative:

'*pa-* <[], [Pt] PRED <[]>>'

The causee is again the object of the construction, in all senses (see chapter 20) of the causative construction. Examples of the causative *pa-* on intransitive verbs can be seen in (16) and (17):

(16) *No-wila na anabou i jambata.*
 3R-go NOM father OBL jetty
 'The father went to the jetty.'

(17) *No-pa-wila te anabou i jambata na ama.*
 3R-CAUS-go CORE child OBL jetty NOM father
 'The father sent the child to the jetty.'

When combined with transitive verb bases there are two distinct variants in syntactic treatment, which will be discussed in full one at a time.

In dialect A the causative prefix *pa-* makes the subject of the basic verb (the causee) the primary object of the derived verb, leaving the base object of the verb, the causand, as a core argument without object properties. In addition to this, a new causer argument is added as the subject of the composite verb.

Transitive base:

	Causand	Causee	Causer
s-V	te O _i	na A _{[Agent]j}	∅
↓			
s- <i>pa</i> -V	te O _i	te O _j	na A _k

'*pa-* ⟨[], [Pt] PRED ⟨[Ag], []⟩⟩'

Note that it is the Agent of the base verb that is linked to the second argument position of the causative predicate. This models, correctly, the fact that the causee, and not the causand, is treated as the object of the causative construction. Furthermore, the semantic role of the subject of the base predicate must be [Agent]. Evidence for this comes from the ungrammaticality of verb forms made from transitive verbs taking [Dative] or [Instrumental] subjects (Transitive verbs with a [Theme] or [Patient] subject do not exist in *Tukang Besi* (and possibly not in any other languages)):

(18) * *No-pa-tarima te kene-no te poda.*
 3R-CAUS-receive CORE friend-3POSS CORE fish
 'They made their friend receive the knife.'

(19) * *No-pa-raho-'e na wande te mia pande.*
 3R-CAUS-affect-3OBJ NOM rain CORE shaman
 'The shaman made the rain wet them.'

In these sentences a morphological causative cannot be added to the verb. If a causative reading is desired, a periphrastic causative may be used:

(20) *No-waa-'e na kene-no ako no-tarima te poda.*
 3R-tell-3OBJ NOM friend-3POSS PURP 3R-receive CORE knife
 'They made their friend receive the knife.'

- (21) *No-waa-'e na wande ako no-raho-'e.*
 3R-tell-3OBJ NOM rain COMP 3R-affect-3OBJ
 'He made the rain wet them.'

A minimal pair showing the ungrammaticality of a non-Agent semantic role as causee exists in the verb *'ita* 'look at, see', which can have either an [Agent] or a [Dative] interpretation of the semantic role of its subject. With the interpretation 'look at (intentionally)', with an [Agent] subject, it may be causativised:

- (22) *Ku-pa-'ita-'e te boku.*
 1SG-CAUS-see-3OBJ CORE book
 'I showed them the book.'
 (Literally, 'I made them look at the book.')

This sentence cannot have the reading 'I made them see (by chance, non-intentionally) the book.' This may be tested by the addition of the verb *sala* 'do accidentally', which requires that the subject be non-agentive, and also removes the possibility of morphological causation:

- (23) *No-sala-'ita te boku.*
 3R-accident-see CORE book
 'They happened to see the book.'
- (24) * *Ku-pa-sala-'ita-'e te boku.*
 1SG-CAUS-accident-see-3OBJ CORE book
 'I made them accidentally see the book.'

Causing someone to unintentionally catch sight of something can be expressed using a periphrastic causative:

- (25) *Ku-karajaa-'e no-sala-'ita te boku.*
 1SG-work-3OBJ 3R-accident-see CORE book
 'I arranged for them to happen to see the book.'

As an aside, it is interesting to note the effect of placing *sala* before the causative morpheme. Serialising with the same *sala*, but now appearing before the whole causative predicate, shows why the causer of a *pa-* construction does not have to be an [Agent], unlike the causee in a factitive construction:

- (24)' *Ku-sala-pa-'ita-'e te boku.*
 1SG-accident-CAUS-see-3OBJ CORE book
 'I accidentally showed them the book.'
- (24)" * *Ku-sala-hoko-leama-'e.*
 1SG-accident-FACT-good-3OBJ
 'I accidentally really improved it.'

The addition of object suffixes on the verb follows a predictable pattern, with the causee, the second argument of the outermost predicate, being the nominative argument indexed on the verb:

	Causand	Causee	Causer
<i>s-pa-V</i>	te O _i	te O _{[Agent]j}	na A _k
↓			
<i>s-pa-V-o_j</i>	te O _i	na O _{[Agent]j}	te A _k

The derivation of a causative verb, with and without object suffixes, is illustrated in the examples (26) - (29):

- (26) *No-kaha* *te ika* *na ana-no.*
 3R-bite CORE fish NOM child-3POSS
 'The child bit the fish.'
- (27) *No-pa-kaha* *te ana-no* *te ika (na amai).*
 3R-CAUS-bite CORE child-3POSS CORE fish NOM 3PL
 'They made their child bite the fish.'
 (This sentence is potentially ambiguous between the reading given and 'They made the fish bite their child.' This latter reading, however, is much more implausible than the first. In order to force this reading, object suffixes would be used on the verb to make the causee and causand unambiguously distinguished: *Nopakaha'e te anano na ika (te amai).*)
- (28) *No-pa-kaha-'e* *na ana-no* *te ika (te amai).*
 3R-CAUS-bite-3OBJ NOM child-3POSS CORE fish CORE 3PL
 'They made their child bite the fish.'
- (29) * *No-pa-kaha-'e* *na ika te ana-no* *(te amai).*
 3R-CAUS-bite-3OBJ NOM fish CORE child-3POSS CORE 3PL
 (Grammatical, plausible (with the meaning given in the last footnote), and also criminal, if *ika* 'fish' is replaced with *kodipo* 'shark'.)

Other object related properties, such as the ability to head an object relative clause and to be passivised uniquely single out the causee argument:

Be head of a object relative clause:

- (30) *Te mia i-pa-ala-no* *nu wemba no-kalu.*
 CORE person OP-CAUS-fetch-3POSS GEN bamboo 3R-tired
 'The person who was made to fetch the bamboo is tired.'
- (31) * *Te wemba i-pa-ala-no* *nu mia no-moboha.*
 CORE bamboo OP-CAUS-fetch-3POSS GEN person 3R-heavy
 'The bamboo that was made to be fetched by the man is heavy.'

Be subject if verb is passive:

- (32) *No-to-pa-ala-mo* *na mia iso (te wemba).*
 3R-PASS-CAUS-fetch-PF NOM person yon CORE bamboo
 'That person was made to fetch bamboo.'

- (33) * *No-to-pa-ala-mo na wemba iso (te mia).*
 3R-PASS-CAUS-fetch-PF NOM person yon CORE person
 'That bamboo was made to be fetched (by the person[Causee]).'

In dialect B the causee of a construction based on a transitive verb base is marked as an oblique argument by the oblique article *i/di*, and the causand (if present) is treated as the sole object of the combined causative predicate. An intransitive predicate is treated in the same way as by speakers of the majority dialect. The formula representing the treatment of a transitive verb base is as follows:

Transitive base:

s-V	Causand	Causee	Causer
	te O _i	na A _{[Agent]j}	∅
↓			
s-pa-V	te O _i	di [Agent]	na A _k
<i>'pa-</i> <[], [Pt] PRED <[Ag], []>>'			

The addition of object suffixes shows that the causand is treated as the object of the verb for this purpose: relativisation, passivisation etc. also single this argument out as the object:

	Causand	Causee	Causer
s-pa-V	te O _i	di [Agent]	na A _k
↓			
s-pa-V-o	na O _i	di [Agent]	te A _k

This pattern, identical to that found with the requestive verbal prefix discussed in the following section, is illustrated as follows:

- (34) *No-kaha te ika na ana-no.*
 3R-bite CORE fish NOM child-3POSS
 'The child bit the fish.'
- (35) *No-pa-kaha te ika di ana-no (na amai).*
 3R-CAUS-bite CORE fish OBL child-3POSS NOM 3PL
 'They made their child bite the fish.'
- (36) *No-pa-kaha-'e na ika di ana-no (te amai).*
 3R-CAUS-bite-3OBJ NOM fish OBL child-3POSS CORE 3PL
 'They made their child bite the fish.'
- (37) * *No-pa-kaha-'e na ana-no di ika.*
 3R-CAUS-bite-3OBJ NOM child-3POSS OBL fish
 'They made their child bite the fish.'
 (Good for: 'They made a fish bite their child.')

Applying the tests of ability to head an object relative clause, and access to being subject in a passive construction, we manage to single out the causand, not the non-core causee:

Head of a object relative clause:

- (38) *Te wemba i-pa-ala-no i mia no-moboha.*
 CORE bamboo OP-CAUS-fetch-3POSS OBL person 3R-heavy
 'The bamboo that was made to be fetched by the man is heavy.'
- (39) * *Te mia i-pa-ala-no nu wemba no-kalu.*
 CORE person OP-CAUS-fetch-3POSS GEN bamboo 3R-tired
 'The person who was made to fetch the bamboo is tired.'

Become subject if verb is passive:

- (40) *No-to-pa-ala-mo na wemba iso (di mia).*
 3R-PASS-CAUS-fetch-PF NOM person yon OBL person
 'That bamboo was made to be fetched (by the person[Causee]).'
- (41) * *No-to-pa-ala-mo na mia iso (te wemba).*
 3R-PASS-CAUS-fetch-PF NOM person yon CORE bamboo
 'That person was made to fetch bamboo.'

Note, however, that speakers of this dialect DO allow an intransitive verb to treat the causee (the single argument of the original predicate) as the object of the construction, just as the majority dialect does:

- (42) *Te mia iso no-pa-wila-'e.*
 CORE person yon 3R-CAUS-go-3OBJ
 'They sent that person there.'
- (43) *Te mia i-pa-wila-no no-kalu.*
 CORE person OP-CAUS-go-3POSS 3R-tired
 'The person who was sent is tired.'
- (44) *No-to-pa-wila-mo na mia iso.*
 3R-PASS-CAUS-go-PF NOM person yon
 'That person was sent.'

This is a different treatment from that offered by the requestive prefix. The treatment of arguments of the base verb may be stated in terms of the fact that the [S] or [O] argument of the base predicate (the absolutive argument, if you will) becomes the object of the causative construction, and the [A] of the base predicate becomes an oblique argument marked by *i/di* (see Baker 1988a: 162-163).

The different treatment of [A] and [S] in this construction shows that *anasu* is NOT treated as an [S] of an intransitive verb; if *manga* in (45) was to be considered intransitive when it appears without an object argument, then we would expect the causee to be marked as a core argument of the verb, with *te*. This is not, however, the case, and it appears as an oblique argument, indicating the transitive status of the verb.

- (45) a. *Ku-pa-manga di ana-su mai.*
 1SG-CAUS-eat OBL child-1SG.POSS INAL
 'I'll have my daughter eat (it).'
- b. **Ku-pa-manga te ana-su mai.*
 1SG-CAUS-eat CORE child-1SG.POSS INAL

9.4 Requestive *hepe-*

The requestive prefix *hepe-* adds a new argument, a causer, as the subject and implicit beneficiary of the action that is requested. The direct object of the underived verb root remains as the grammatical object, and the causee is demoted to an oblique *i/di* phrase (see (51) - (53)) (note that this is NOT the marking that an instrumental would be marked by. *Ako* and *kene* are the verbal and prepositional forms associated with instrumental roles, and these may not be used with the demoted subject in this construction). This case marking strategy is different from the treatment that dialect B speakers give to their *pa-*causative construction, in that the causee argument in a construction based on an intransitive verb is NOT treated as an object with the requestive, unlike the case with the *pa-*causative, which treats an [S] or [O] of a base predicate identically (see example (47) and the underived (46), and compare with (34) and (35)). The formula representing the derivation of a requestive construction based on an intransitive verb is as follows:

Intransitive base:

	Causer	Causee
s-V	∅	na S _i
↓		
s- <i>hepe</i> -V	na A _{[Agent]j}	di O _i

The argument structure annotations indicate that an intransitive verb is the output of the combination of *hepe-* and the base predicate. The single argument of the base predicate is associated with an oblique argument of the requestive predicate, and is not a core argument of the derived verb:

‘*hepe-* <[Ag]> <[Obl]> PRED <[Ag]>’

This demotion of the subject in the underived verb to oblique status, and its subsequent inability to be indexed on the verb by object suffixes, can be illustrated with an intransitive example, in (46) - (48):

- (46) *No-wila na ana.*
 3R-go NOM child
 ‘The child goes.’
- (47) *Ku-hepe-wila (na iaku) di ana.*
 1SG-REQ-go NOM 1SG OBL child
 ‘I ask the child to go.’

- (48) * *Ku-hepe-wila-'e na ana.*
 1SG-REQ-go NOM child
 'I ask the child to go.'

In addition to not being able to be indexed by the object suffixes, all other properties associated with objects are unavailable to the causee of a requestive construction, such as relativisation and passivisation:

- (49) * *Te ana i-hepe-wila.*
 CORE child OP-REQ-go
 'The child who was asked to go.'
- (50) * *No-to-hepe-wila-mo na ana.*
 3R-PASS-REQ-go-PF NOM child
 'The child was asked to go.'

Transitive verbs behave in the same way as dialect B speakers' treatment of the *pa*-causative on transitive verbs, the causee being treated as a oblique argument, and the causand being treated as the object of the derived construction:

Transitive verb:

s-V	Causand	Causee	Causer
↓	te O _j	na A _{[Agent]i}	∅
s-hepe-V	te O _j	di [Agent] _i	na A _k
'hepe-	⟨[Ag], [Pt]⟩	⟨[]⟩	PRED ⟨[Ag], []⟩

The process of deriving a requestive verb from a normal transitive sentence is illustrated in (51) - (53):

- (51) *No-'ita te arolojii na ama-no.*
 3R-see CORE watch NOM father-3POSS
 'His father is looking at the watch.'
- (52) *No-hepe-'ita te arolojii na ia (di ama-no).*
 3R-REQ-see CORE watch NOM 3SG OBL father-3POSS
 'He_i is asking his father to show him_i the watch.'
 * 'He_i is asking his father to show him_j the watch.'
- (53) *No-hepe-'ita-'e na arolojii (di ama-no).*
 3R-REQ-see-3OBJ NOM watch OBL father-3POSS
 'He is asking his father to show him the watch.'

In addition to the object-affixed version of the verb in (51), further proof of the causand's status as object of the construction is seen in the tests of access to being head of an object relative clause, and behaviour in a passive construction, seen in (54) and (55):

- (54) *Te lonsi i-hepe-'ita-no no-ja'o.*
 CORE watch OP-REQ-see-3POSS 3R-bad
 'The watch that he asked to have looked at is broken.'
- (55) *No-to-hepe-'ita-mo na arolojii ana (di ama-no).*
 3R-PASS-REQ-see-PF NOM watch this OBL father-3POSS
 'His father asked (someone) to look at this watch.'
 (Glossing literally, 'This watch has been asked to be looked at by his father.')

9.5 Causatives: combinations

Combinations of two morphological causatives are rare in *Tukang Besi*. No causative prefix may directly precede (/follow) itself. Sentences of the type

- (56) * *No-pa-pa-moturu te ana.*
 3R-CAUS-CAUS-sleep CORE child
 'She made him put the child to bed.'

are thus ungrammatical. A concept such as the translation given for (56) is expressed with a periphrastic causative, using a manipulative complement construction (see chapter 16):

- (57) *No-waa-'e no-pa-moturu te ana.*
 3R-tell-3OBJ 3R-CAUS-sleep CORE child
 'She told him to put the child to bed.'

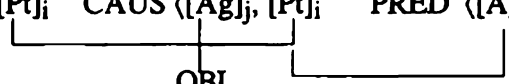
Even with morphologically different causatives, almost all possible combinations are ungrammatical, such as (58):

- (58) * *No-pa-hoko-leama-'e.*
 3R-CAUS-FACT-good-3OBJ
 'She made him fix it.'

When the first of the causative prefixes is *hepe-*, however, and the base predicate is intransitive, a series of causative prefixes may occur and still be grammatical, as seen in (59), illustrating *hepe-* and *pa-* (*hepe-* and *hoko-* is also a possible double causative construction). This is the only case in which two causatives may appear on the same verb root:

- (59) *No-hepe-pa-wila te ana i 'one.*
 3R-REQ-CAUS-sleep CORE child OBL beach
 'She asked him to send the child to the beach.'

The derivational history and argument structure for this kind of construction is seen in (59)' and (59)'':

- (59)' s-wila na S_{[Agent]i} Ø
 ↓
 s-pa-wila te O_i na A_{[Agent]j} Ø
 ↓
 s-hepe-pa-wila te O_i di [Agent] [Causee]j na A_{[Agent: Causer]k}
- (59)" 'REQ <[Ag]_k, [Pt]_i CAUS <[Ag]_j, [Pt]_i PRED <[Ag]_i> >>'

 OBL

The argument structure for (59) would be as shown in (59)':

- (59)' 'CAUS <[Ag]_k, [Pt]_j CAUS <[Ag]_j, [Pt]_i PRED <[Ag]_i> >>'


Unlike (59)", the original [S] of the intransitive predicate is not represented in the outermost layer of the combined predicate. As will be seen in chapter 11, however, this is not a sufficient reason on its own to rule out a sentence's grammaticality.

9.6 Causatives and ditransitive verbs

Causative prefixes are extremely restricted in their ability to appear with ditransitive verbs. The factitive *hoko-* would not be expected to be able to appear with ditransitive verbs, since it is restricted to appearing on a subclass of unaccusative verbs. The causative *pa-*, which has a much wider range of application, may not appear on ditransitive verbs either. Thus (60) is ungrammatical:

- (60) * *No-pa-hu'u* te ana te iai-no
 3R-CAUS-sleep CORE child CORE younger.sibling-3POSS
 te an(a) u riiri.
 CORE child GEN duck
 'She made the child give the duckling to his brother.'

This sort of sentence is made with periphrastic causatives involving a complementation construction instead (see chapter 16):

- (61) *No-tumpu-'e* na ana ako na-[m]o'u
 3R-order-3OBJ NOM child COMP 3I-give.SI
 te iai-no te an(a) u riiri.
 CORE younger.sibling-3POSS CORE child GEN duck
 'She told the child to give the duckling to his brother.'

One possible reason for the ungrammaticality of (61) is that the underived verb already has three core arguments, and that adding an additional causative predicate to the verb over-saturates it, there (apparently) being a restriction such that (complex) verbs with one or two predicates cannot have more than three core arguments. Evidence from the interaction of applicative morphology with ditransitive verbs appears to add support to this suggestion (see chapter 10.6).

9.7 Causatives: summary

The accessibility to different grammatical processes that the causee and causand arguments of the different causative constructions display is summarised in table 15. Information for both dialect A and dialect B speakers is given for the *pa-* causative. Table 15 includes information that has not been exemplified with sentences, but is included for the sake of completeness.

Table 15. Transitive verbs. Properties of the objects of causative constructions

	<i>hoko-</i> Causee	<i>pa-</i> (dialect A) Causee Causand	<i>pa-</i> (dialect B) Causee Causand	<i>hepe-</i> Causee Causand
object suffix?	+	+	-	+
ORC	+	+	-	+
Passive	+	+	-	+
Passive RC	+	-	-	+†
Reciprocal	+	+	-	?
UOD	-	+°	+°	+°
Focus	+	+	-	+

† only if in [Theme/Patient] role.

? not present in the data available.

° either may be omitted, but at least one of the two must be present.

An important property of objects of causative constructions that differentiates them from objects of applicative constructions is the ability to be the head of a passive relative clause. In restricted circumstances, the object of a causative construction may appear as the head of a subject relative clause involving a passive verb, as in (62):

- (62) *Te t{um}o-hoko-ja'o atu no-mowuru.*
 CORE PASS.SI-FACT-good that 3R-smell.rotten
 'That one there that had been ruined smells rotten.'

This is a property also found with the other causative prefixes:

Causative *pa-* (dialect B only):

- (63) *Te mia t{um}o-pa-manga nu sede no-bila-mo.*
 CORE person PASS.SI-CAUS-eat GEN taro 3R-full-PF
 'The person who was made to eat some taro is already full.'

Requestive *hepe-*:

- (64) *Te sede t{um}o-hepe-manga di mia iso no-mobai.*
 CORE taro PASS.SI-REQ-eat OBL person yon 3R-hard
 'The taro that was asked to be eaten by that person there is hard.'
 (That is, 'The taro that [someone] asked that person to eat is hard.')

There is, however, an important restriction as to which objects may appear in this construction: only an object in theme or patient semantic role may appear as the head of a passive relative clause. Compare (56) above with causative constructions involving verbs with an argument that is Dative or Instrument in the base predicate, seen in (57) and (58) respectively:

[Dative] object:

- (65) * *Te ana t[um]o-hepe-hoti measo'e no-mele.*
 CORE child PASS.SI-REQ-donate REF-yon 3R-happy
 'The child who was requested to be donated food to is happy.'
 (That is, 'That child that [someone] asked [someone else] to donate food to is happy.')

[Instrumental] object:

- (66) * *Te palu hoko-lobu t[um]o-hepe-pake atu no-moboaha.*
 CORE hammer FACT-straight PASS.SI-REQ-use that 3R-heavy
 'That straightening hammer that was asked to be used [by someone] is heavy.'
 (That is, 'That straightening hammer that [someone] asked [someone else] to use is heavy.')
- (a *palu hokolobu* is a particular type of hammer used in the ironworking process to straighten out a machete blade)

The reason for the ungrammaticality of (65) and (66) can be explained in terms of the semantic roles of the arguments involved. The causative object (causand in the case of the requestive causative) is a [Patient] of the causative predicate, and may head a passive relative clause only if it is also in [Theme/Patient] semantic role in the base predicate. The argument structures of the grammatical (64) and the ungrammatical (65) are presented in (64)' and (65)', showing this clash of properties:

(64)' 'hepe- <[Ag], [Pt] *manga* <[Ag], [Pt]]>'

|
OBL

Semantic roles agree

(65)' * 'hepe- <[Ag], [Pt] *hoti* <[Ag], [Dat]]>'

|
OBL

Semantic roles do not agree

The reason that dialect A speakers do not allow a passive relative clause to be formed on their *pa-* causative constructions is obvious when we examine the semantic role clash that would be entailed in, for example, (67) and (68):

Causative *pa-* (Dialect A):

- (67) *No-pa-manga-'e na mia te sede.*
 3R-CAUS-eat-3OBJ NOM person CORE taro
 'They made that person eat some taro.'

Causative *pa-* (Dialect A):

- (68) * *Te mia t{um}o-pa-manga nu sede no-bila-mo.*
 CORE person PASS.SI-CAUS-eat GEN taro 3R-full-PF
 'The person who was made to eat some taro is already full.'

- (68)' * '*pa-* <[Ag], [Pt] manga <[Ag], []>>'

Because the [Patient] of the causative predicate is coreferential with the [Agent] of the base predicate for dialect A speakers, it is impossible for the semantic role clash to be resolved in this construction. Only *pa-* or *hoko-* constructions based on non-dynamic verbs with [Theme] or [Patient] arguments will allow a passive relative clause headed by the causee:

- (69) *No-pa-moturu-'e na ana-no.*
 3R-CAUS-eat-3OBJ NOM child-3POSS
 'She put her child to sleep.'

- (69)' '*pa-* <[Ag], [Pt] moturu <[Thm]>>'

- (70) *Te ana-no t{um}o-pa-moturu mbeaka no-'awa*
 CORE child-3POSS PASS.SI-CAUS-sleep not 3R-get
te kuikui.
 CORE cake
 'Her child who was put to sleep didn't get any cakes.'

- (71) *No-pa-mente-'e na ana-no.*
 3R-CAUS-surprise-3OBJ NOM child-3POSS
 'She surprised her child.'

- (71)' '*pa-* <[Ag], [Pt] mente <[Dat]>>'

- (72) * *Te ana-no t{um}o-pa-mente.*
 CORE child-3POSS PASS.SI-CAUS-sleep
 'Her child who was surprised.'

Note that this is not a restriction on the ability to be passivised; it is a restriction on the ability to head a passive relative clause. A plain passive verb with a non-[Theme/Patient] object is shown in (73):

[Dative] object:

- (73) *Te ana misikini meatu'e no-to-hepe-hoti-mo.*
 CORE child orphan REF-that 3R-PASS-REQ-donate-PF
 'That orphaned child has been requested to be donated food to.'
 (That is, '[Someone] has asked [someone else] to donate [food and/or clothing] to that orphaned child.')

(73) shows that the restriction is about the argument being the head of a passive relative clause, and not about being the subject of a passive construction itself.

Chapter 10

Applicative morphology

10.1 Applicatives: introduction

There are three different applicative suffixes, *-ngkene*, *-ako* and *-(VC)i*. These may all be grouped under the name **APPLICATIVE** because they are all valency-increasing devices that add an extra object, rather than a subject (valency increase with the addition of a subject is the defining characteristic of causativisation). The first of these, *-ngkene*, here called the **COMITATIVE** or **AGENTIVE** applicative suffix, and glossed **COM**, has the most restricted range of meaning, always implying some degree of accompaniment in an action, and is most restricted in terms of which verbs it may occur on. The suffix *-(VC)i* (the values of the optional vowel (*V*) and optional consonant (*C*) that precede the invariable final *-i* vary) is labelled the **DIRECTIONAL** applicative suffix, and is glossed **DIR**. It appears to be developing into several distinct suffixes, which all have the shared component of a location or direction, but with additional differing semantic overtones. Finally *-ako* has the broadest range of meaning of the applicative suffixes, and is glossed simply as **APPL** for applicative. This affix can introduce arguments in dative, instrumental, theme, cause or purpose semantic roles.

Examples of the different semantic roles of applied objects that may be introduced by the different affixes are given in (1) - (8):

Comitative (Agent)

- (1) *No-kede-ngkene te ompu-no.*
3R-sit-COM CORE grandparent-3POSS
'They sat with their grandparents.'

Dative

- (2) *No-helo'a-ako te ina-no.*
3R-cook-APPL CORE mother-3POSS
'They cooked for their mother.'

Instrument

- (3) *No-hugu-ako te poda-no.*
3R-chop-APPL CORE knife-3POSS
'They chopped with their knives.'

Theme

- (4) *No-hu'u-ako te towu.*
3R-give-APPL CORE sugar.cane
'They gave some sugar cane (to someone).'

Location

- (5) *No-kede-mi te kadera.*
 3R-sit-DIR CORE chair
 'They sat on the chairs.'

Allative

- (6) *No-wil(a)-isi te ama-su.*
 3R-go-DIR CORE father-1SG.POSS
 'They visited my father.'

Cause

- (7) *No-mate-ako te buti.*
 3R-die-APPL CORE fall
 'They died in a fall.'

Purpose

- (8) *No-lemba-ako te karia'a.*
 3R-carry-APPL CORE festival
 'They carried (something) for the festival.'

An example of the different meanings attached to the directional suffix, depending on the choice of consonant, is seen in (9) and (10):

- (9) *No-kede-api te ta'(i) u kadola.*
 3R-sit-DIR CORE faeces GEN chicken
 'He sat in the chicken shit.'
 (unintentionally, and has suffered as a result))

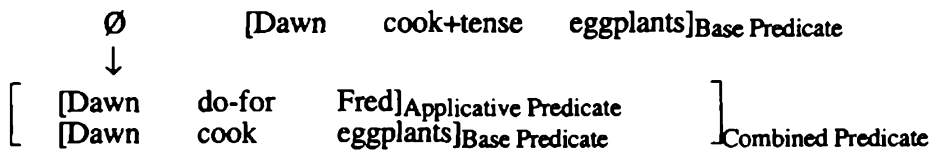
- (10) *No-kede-mi te kadera.*
 3R-sit-DIR CORE chair
 'He sat on the chair.'
 (intended result of his actions)

The syntactic restrictions that apply to the different suffixes and the different semantic roles of the applied objects are dealt with individually in sections 10.2 - 10.4, and summarised in 10.7. The terminology used in the following discussion uses the standard terms found in the literature where such terms exist. The terms 'base object' and 'applied object' refer to the object of a predicate before applicative morphology was added to it, and the object that is dependant on the applicative morphology, respectively. Similarly, the applicative predicate is the predicate containing the applied object, and the base predicate is the one that contains the base object (if transitive), or the single intransitive argument. Since the [A] of the applicative predicate is always coindexed with the [A] or [S] of the base predicate, I shall refer to that argument as the subject of the construction.

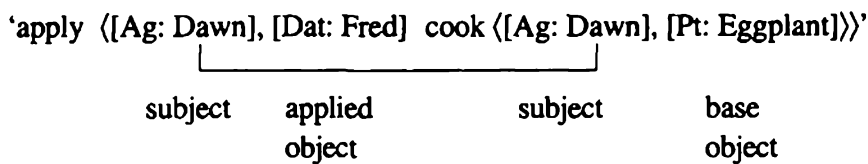
Illustrating the use of these terms in English, with a dative applied object, in the sentence 'Dawn cooked eggplants for Fred', *Dawn* is serving as the subject of the base predicate, of the applicative predicate, and of the construction as a whole; *eggplants* is the base object, and *Fred* is the applied object; the basic sentence from which this applicative construction is derived is 'Dawn cooked eggplants.' This sentence is illustrated in the following models, which will be used in the rest of this chapter to illustrate the derivational

processes involved with the different affixes

Clausal constituents:



Argument structure:



One important restriction on the formation of applicative constructions is that the applied object may not bear the same semantic role as the base object. Thus, if the base object is [Dative], as in (11), a second [Dative] argument may not be added:

[Dative] - [Dative]:

- (11) * *No-'ema-ako te ina-no te polisi.*
 3R-answer-APPL CORE mother-3POSS CORE policeman
 ‘He answered the policeman for his mother.’

(Good with the reading ‘He answered the policeman by telling about his mother.’)

If the second dative argument is not indexed on the verb, it is acceptable:

- (11)' *No-'ema te polisi ako te ina-no.*
 3R-answer CORE policeman BEN CORE mother-3POSS
 ‘He answered the policeman for his mother.’

Similarly in (12), in which the verb *hesala* takes an instrument as its object, a second instrumental argument may not be added to the predicate:

[Instrument] - [Instrument]:

- (12) * *No-he-sala-ako te hao te sala molengo.*
 3R-DO-trousers-APPL CORE rope CORE trousers old
 ‘He wore the old trousers by means of a piece of rope.’

An exception to this generalisation is presented in section 10.6, dealing with ditransitive verbs. The constraint illustrated in (12) is not one that prohibits the use of an applicative construction with verbs such as *hesala*; *hesala* may be part of an applicative construction, just not with an instrumental applied object:

- (12)' *No-he-sala-ako te ama-no te sala leama.*
 3R-DO-trousers-APPL CORE father-3POSS CORE trousers good
 ‘He wore the good trousers as a favour to his father.’

One feature characterises all the applicative constructions, and is also shared with the causative constructions: unspecified object deletion may not apply to both the objects in the construction at the same time. In other words, when applicative morphology is present, at least one of the objects, the base or the applied object, must be present. Different constructions have different restrictions as to which of the objects may be deleted, but all require that at least one of them be present (either as object index or as full nominal).

10.2 Comitative applicative suffix *-ngkene*

This suffix is the most restricted of the three applicative suffixes, with respect to the semantic roles that it can introduce. Only [Agent] semantic roles are introduced, and this forms an exception to the otherwise firm requirement that the applied object of an applicative construction may not bear the same semantic role as an argument in the base predicate, showing that the prominence (as defined in chapter 3) assigned to an argument this far up the thematic hierarchy affects the grammaticality judgements of at least some constructions.

When an agentive object is added by the comitative applicative affix, the applied agent is an equal and voluntary participant in the action indicated by the verb, but is viewed by the speaker as of secondary importance after the [A]. When added to an intransitive verb, the applied object shows all the properties of a normal object, except for the inability to undergo unspecified object deletion, as mentioned below (18). Sentences illustrating the various properties associated with objects in *Tukang Besi* are given in (13) - (19):

- (13) *No-wila-ngkene te kene-su.*
 3R-go-COM CORE friend-1SG.POSS
 'They went with my friend.'

Object suffix:

- (14) *No-wila-ngkene-'e na kene-su.*
 3R-go-COM-3OBJ NOM friend-1SG.POSS
 'They went with my friend.'

Object relative clause:

- (15) *Te kene-su i-wila-ngkene-no no-waliako-mo.*
 CORE friend-1SG.POSS OP-go-COM-3POSS 3R-return-PF
 'My friend who they went with has come back.'

Passive prefix:

- (16) *No-to-wila-ngkene-mo na kene-su.*
 3R-PASS-go-COM-PF NOM friend-1SG.POSS
 'My friend was gone with.'

Reciprocal prefix:

- (17) *No-po-wila-wila-ngkene ke kene-su.*
 3R-REC-RED-go-COM and friend-1SG.POSS
 'They and my friend went with each other.'

Unspecified Object deletion:

- (18) * *No-wila-ngkene* \emptyset .
 3R-go-COM
 'They went with [].'

Pragmatic focus:

- (19) *No-wila-ngkene* *te* *emai?*
 3R-go-COM CORE who
 'Who did they go with?'

With a transitive verb, the same properties are encountered for an applied object, except that it may not be the subject of a passive sentence:

- (20) *No-homoru-ngkene* *te* *kene-no* *te* *wurai*
 3R-weave-COM CORE friend-3POSS CORE sarong
na ompu-su.
 NOM grandparent-1SG.POSS
 'My grandmother wove a sarong with her friend.'

Object suffix:

- (21) *No-homoru-ngkene-'e* *na* *kene-no* *te* *wurai*
 3R-weave-COM-3OBJ NOM friend-3POSS CORE sarong
te ompu-su.
 CORE grandparent-1SG.POSS
 'My grandmother wove a sarong with her friend.'

Object relative clause:

- (22) *Te* *kene-no* *i-homoru-ngkene-no* (*nu* *wurai*)
 CORE friend-1SG.POSS OP-go-COM-3POSS GEN sarong
no-koni.
 3R-laugh
 'Her friend whom she wove a sarong with is laughing.'

Passive prefix:

- (23) * *No-to-homoru-ngkene-mo* *na* *kene-no* (*te* *wurai*).
 3R-PASS-weave-COM-PF NOM friend-3POSS CORE sarong
 'Her friend was woven (a sarong) with.'

Reciprocal prefix:

- (24) *No-po-homo-homoru-ngkene* *ke* *kene-no* (*te* *wurai*).
 3R-REC-RED-weave-COM and friend-3POSS CORE sarong
 '(My grandmother) and her friend wove a sarong with each other.'

Unspecified Object deletion:

- (25) * *No-homoru-ngkene* \emptyset *te* *wurai*.
 3R-go-COM CORE sarong
 'She wove a sarong with [].'

Pragmatic focus:

- (26) *No-homoru-ngkene te emai?*
 3R-weave-COM CORE who
 'Who did she weave (a sarong) with?'

The behaviour of the base object is illustrated in (27) - (32). It is immediately obvious that the base object is syntactically fairly inert. Indeed, the only one of the syntactic properties examined that an agentive base object has access to is the ability to be deleted.

Object suffix:

- (27) * *No-homoru-ngkene-'e na wurai te kene-no.*
 3R-weave-COM-3OBJ NOM sarong CORE friend-3POSS
 'She wove a sarong with her friend.'

Object relative clause:

- (28) * *Te wurai i-homoru-ngkene-no (nu kene-no)*
 CORE sarong OP-go-COM-3POSS GEN friend-3POSS
no-leama.
 3R-good
 'The sarong that she wove with her friend is beautiful.'

Passive prefix:

- (29) * *No-to-homoru-ngkene-mo na wurai (te kene-no).*
 3R-PASS-weave-COM-PF NOM sarong CORE friend-3POSS
 'The sarong was woven with.'

Reciprocal prefix:

- (30) * *No-po-homo-homoru-ngkene ke wurai).*
 3R-REC-RED-weave-COM and sarong

Unspecified Object deletion:

- (31) *No-homoru-ngkene te kene-no Ø*
 3R-go-COM CORE friend-3POSS
 'She wove with her friend[].'

Pragmatic focus:

- (32) * *No-homoru-ngkene te paira?*
 3R-weave-COM CORE what
 'What did she weave with?'

One noteworthy property of the *-ngkene* suffix is the ability that it has to 'force' an agentive interpretation on some otherwise unaccusative verbs. For instance, the verb *moturu* 'sleep' can be interpreted as a state, 'be asleep', or as a process 'fall asleep, go to sleep'. In neither case is the subject an agent. With the comitative applicative suffix added, however, an agentive interpretation is forced on the verb. This is a consequence of the fact that the applied agent is, as stated above, an equal and voluntary participant in the verb. Compare (33), with an unaccusative interpretation, and (34), in which the *-ngkene* suffix forces an unergative interpretation that was not otherwise available to the verb:

[Theme]:

- (33) *No-moturu kene wowine ane ke hotu mopera.*
 3R-sleep and woman exist and hair short
 'He slept with the woman with the short hair.'
 (i.e., they were asleep near each other.)
 (# they had sex together)

[Agent]:

- (34) *No-moturu-ngkene te wowine ane ke hotu mopera.*
 3R-sleep-COM CORE woman exist and hair short
 'He slept with the woman with the short hair.'
 (i.e., they had sex together)
 (* they simply slept near each other without activity)

Sentence (33) uses the conjunction *kene* (on a bare NP; see chapter 18) to show an additional person who happened to be asleep as well. The [Theme/Patient] interpretation is the only one possible. In (34), however, the [A] of the now transitive verb must be an [Agent], because of the addition of the *-ngkene* applicative suffix that requires an [Agent] in the subcategorisation frame of the verb, and so the non-Active interpretation is not allowed. Most importantly, the meaning of the verb changes from the non-Active 'be asleep; fall asleep' to the Active 'have sex with', as indicated in the glosses. Some other verbs that have been observed with this alternation include *mate* 'die, be dead / commit suicide'; *nggolo* 'roll around on the ground (as if drunk) / roll around playfully'; *molango* 'be drunk or seasick, become drunk or seasick / intentionally drink with the aim of becoming drunk'.

10.3 General applicative suffix *-ako*

The suffix *-ako* is the most common of the three applicative suffixes, and also displays the widest range of meaning of the three suffixes. Examples of the use of *-ako* to support dative, instrumental, theme, cause and purpose semantic roles as objects of the verbs have already been given in (2) - (8). Despite the fact that all these semantic roles may appear as objects of verbs affixed with this applicative suffix, they do not display identical syntactic behaviour, as can be determined when diagnostic tests are carried out. Additionally, the behaviour of the base object of the construction also varies, depending on the semantic role of the applied object. To illustrate this point, compare the following sentences, and their applicativised forms:

- (35) a. *No-ala te kau.*
 3R-fetch CORE wood
 'She fetched the wood.'
- b. *No-ala-ako te ina-su te kau.*
 3R-fetch-APPL CORE mother-1SG.POSS CORE wood
 'She fetched the wood as a favour for my mother.'
- (36) a. *No-balo te ama-no.*
 3R-answer CORE father-3POSS
 'She answered her uncle.'

- b. *No-balo-ako te kampo te ama-no.*
 3R-answer-APPL CORE village CORE father-3POSS
 'She answered her uncle with the (name of the, information about the) village.'

When we add object suffixes to the verbs, we find that only the dative applied object allows this. The theme applied object in (38) cannot appear as a nominative argument, and be indexed on the verb by object suffixes:

- (37) c. *No-ala-ako-'e na ina-su.*
 3R-fetch-APPL-3OBJ NOM mother-1SG.POSS
 'She fetched (it) as a favour for my mother.'
- (38) c. **No-balo-ako-'e na kampo.*
 3R-answer-APPL-3OBJ NOM village
 'She answered with the (name of the, information about the) village.'

Differences also emerge in the base objects, when we examine their behaviour in object relative clauses, in which the base object of a dative applicative construction may head a relative clause, whilst the base object of a theme applicative construction may not:

- (39) d. *Te kau i-ala-ako-no.*
 CORE wood OP-fetch-APPL-3POSS
 'The wood that was fetched for her...'
- (40) d. **Te ama-no i-balo-ako-no.*
 CORE father-3POSS OP-answer-APPL-3POSS
 'Her father, who was answered with it...'

The properties of the applied and base objects of applicative constructions involving *-ako* are examined separately for the different semantic roles of the applied objects.

10.3.1 Dative applied objects

Dative applied objects built on intransitive or transitive base predicates display the same range of grammaticality as did the agentive objects found when the *-ngkene* suffix is used:

- (41) *No-wila-ako te ina-no i daoa.*
 3R-go-APPL CORE mother-3POSS OBL market
 'She went to the market for her mother.'

Object suffix:

- (42) *No-wila-ako-'e na ina-no i daoa.*
 3R-go-APPL-3OBJ NOM mother-3POSS OBL market
 'She went to the market for her mother.'

Object relative clause:

- (43) *Te ina-no i-wila-ako-no no-mele.*
 CORE mother-3POSS OP-go-APPL-3POSS 3R-happy
 'Her mother who she went to the market for is happy.'

Passive prefix:

- (44) *No-to-wila-ako-mo na ina-no i daoa.*
 3R-PASS-go-APPL-PF NOM mother-3POSS OBL market
 'Her mother was gone for to the market.'

(i.e., her mother benefited by someone going to the market for her)

Reciprocal prefix:

- (45) *No-po-wila-wila-ako na amai.*
 3R-REC-RED-go-APPL NOM 3PL
 'They both went for each other.'

Unspecified Object deletion:

- (46) * *No-wila-ako* \emptyset .
 3R-go-APPL
 'She went for [].'

Pragmatic focus:

- (47) *No-wila-ako te emai i daoa?*
 3R-go-APPL CORE who OBL market
 'Who did she go to the market for?'

With a transitive verb, the same restrictions on grammaticality are encountered:

- (48) *No-helo'a-ako te ana-no te kaujawa.*
 3R-cook-APPL CORE child-3POSS CORE cassava
 'She cooked cassava for her children.'

Object suffix:

- (49) *No-helo'a-ako-'e na ana-no te kaujawa.*
 3R-cook-APPL-3OBJ NOM child-3POSS CORE cassava
 'She cooked cassava for her children.'

Object relative clause:

- (50) *Te ana-no i-helo'a-ako-no (nu kaujawa) no-mobila.*
 CORE child-3POSS OP-cook-APPL-3POSS GEN cassava 3R-full
 'Their children who she cooked (cassava) for are full.'

Passive prefix:

- (51) *No-to-helo'a-ako-mo na ana-no te kaujawa.*
 3R-PASS-cook-APPL-PF NOM child-3POSS CORE cassava
 'Her children were cooked cassava for.'

Reciprocal prefix:

- (52) *No-po-helo-helo'a-ako na amai.*
 3R-REC-RED-cook-APPL NOM 3PL
 'They both cooked for each other.'

Unspecified Object deletion:

- (53) * *No-helo'a-ako te kaujawa Ø*
 3R-cook-APPL CORE cassava
 'She cooked cassava for [].'

Pragmatic focus:

- (54) * *No-helo'a-ako te emai te kaujawa?*
 3R-cook-APPL CORE who CORE cassava
 'Who did she cook cassava for?'

The (limited) behaviour of the base object in a dative applicative construction is illustrated in (55) - (60):

Object suffix:

- (55) * *No-helo'a-ako-e na kaujawa te ana-no.*
 3R-cook-APPL-3OBJ NOM cassava CORE child-3POSS
 'She cooked cassava for her children.'

Object relative clause:

- (56) * *Te kaujawa i-helo'a-ako-no (nu ana-no) no-mobai.*
 CORE cassava OP-cook-APPL-3POSS GEN child-3POSS 3R-hard
 'Their cassava she cooked (for her children) is hard.'

Passive prefix:

- (57) * *No-to-helo'a-ako-mo na kaujawa (te ana-no).*
 3R-PASS-cook-APPL-PF NOM cassava CORE child-3POSS
 'The cassava was cooked for the children.'

Reciprocal prefix:

- (58) * *No-po-helo-helo'a-ako kene kaujawa.*
 3R-REC-RED-cook-APPL and cassava

Unspecified Object deletion:

- (59) * *No-helo'a-ako te ana-no Ø*
 3R-cook-APPL CORE child-3POSS
 'She cooked [] for her children.'

Pragmatic focus:

- (60) * *No-helo'a-ako te paira?*
 3R-cook-APPL CORE what
 'What did she cook cassava for?'

(Good with an instrumental reading: 'What did she cook with?')

Notice that whilst the standard object relative clause (described in chapter 15) is not available to the base object, a relative clause with an argument other than the *by*-phrase, indexed as the first genitive argument, is grammatical. This construction is described in more detail in chapter 15.

10.3.2 Instrumental applied objects

The applied object of an instrumental applicative construction with intransitive or transitive base predicates shows the same behaviour as does a dative one, except that the verb may not be reciprocalised to make the instrumental applied object coindexed with the original subject. Sentences illustrating the behaviour of instrumental applied objects are given below:

- (61) *No-wila-ako te kolikoli.*
 3R-go-APPL CORE canoe
 'He went by means of a canoe.'

Object suffix:

- (62) *No-wila-ako-'e na kolikoli.*
 3R-go-APPL-3OBJ NOM canoe
 'He went by means of a canoe.'

Object relative clause:

- (63) *Te kolikoli i-wila-ako-no o-isala-melanga.*
 CORE canoe OP-go-APPL-3POSS 3R-rather-long
 'The canoe that he used to go in is quite long.'

Passive prefix:

- (64) *No-to-wila-ako-mo na honda-no.*
 3R-PASS-go-APPL-PF NOM motorbike-3POSS
 'His motorbike was gone with.'

Reciprocal prefix:

- (65) * *No-po-wila-wila-ako na kene-su ke honda.*
 3R-REC-RED-go-APPL NOM friend-1SG.POSS and motorbike

Unspecified Object deletion:

- (66) * *No-wila-ako Ø.*
 3R-go-APPL
 'He went by means of [].'

Pragmatic focus:

- (67) *No-wila-ako te paira?*
 3R-go-APPL CORE what
 'What did he use to go with?'

The same grammatical restrictions are encountered with applied objects of transitive base verb:

- (68) *No-tu'o-ako te baliu te kau.*
 3R-chop-APPL CORE axe CORE tree
 'He chopped the tree with an axe.'

Object suffix:

- (69) *No-tu'o-ako-'e na baliu te kau.*
 3R-chop-APPL-3OBJ NOM axe CORE tree
 'He chopped the tree with an axe.'

Object relative clause:

- (70) *Te baliu i-tu'o-ako-no (nu kau) no-mohama.*
 CORE axe OP-chop-APPL-3POSS GEN tree 3R-sharp
 'The axe that he chopped (the tree) with is sharp.'

Passive prefix:

- (71) *No-to-tu'o-ako-mo na baliu (te kau).*
 3R-PASS-chop-APPL-PF NOM axe CORE tree
 'His axe was chopped (a tree) with.'

Reciprocal prefix:

- (72) * *No-po-tobo-tobo-ako na amai.*
 3R-REC-RED-stab-APPL NOM they

Unspecified Object deletion:

- (73) * *No-tu'o-ako te kau Ø*
 3R-chop-APPL CORE tree
 'He chopped the tree with [].'

Pragmatic focus:

- (74) *No-tu'o-ako te paira (te kau)?*
 3R-chop-APPL CORE what CORE tree
 'What did he chop (the tree) with?'

The base object of an instrumental applicative construction behaves somewhat differently from that in dative or agentive constructions:

Object suffix:

- (75) * *No-tu'o-ako-'e na kau te baliu.*
 3R-chop-APPL-3OBJ NOM tree CORE axe
 'He chopped the tree with an axe.'

Object relative clause:

- (76) * *Te kau i-tu'o-ako-no (nu baliu) no-saori-melangka.*
 CORE tree OP-chop-APPL-3POSS GEN axe 3R-very-tall
 'The tree that he chopped with (the axe) is very tall.'

Passive prefix:

- (77) * *No-to-tu'o-ako-mo na kau (te baliu).*
 3R-PASS-chop-APPL-PF NOM tree CORE axe
 'The tree was chopped with (an axe).'

Reciprocal prefix:

- (78) *No-po-tobo-tobo-ako na amai (te poda).*
 3R-REC-RED-stab-APPL NOM 3PL CORE knife
 'They stabbed each other with (knives).'

Unspecified Object deletion:

- (79) *No-tu'o-ako te baliu ∅.*
 3R-chop-APPL CORE axe
 'He chopped [] with an axe.'

Pragmatic focus:

- (80) * *No-tu'o-ako te paira (te baliu)?*
 3R-chop-APPL CORE what CORE axe
 'What did he chop with (the axe)?'
 (Good with the (bizarre) reading 'What did he chop the axe with.')

Unlike the dative and agentive base objects, the base object of an instrumental applicative construction can enter into a reciprocal relationship with the agent, given sufficient animacy. This is a good reason for supposing that the ability to enter into operations such as reciprocal ones is based on the argument's inherent semantic content, rather than the role that it plays in a clause.

10.3.3 Theme applied objects

Applied objects bearing a theme role are not found for intransitive verbs, only for transitive verbs. Theme applied objects display little syntactic flexibility compared to the Agent, Dative and Instrument applied objects already examined. A theme applied object is not able to bear the nominative grammatical relation, but is capable of heading relative clauses, being subject in passive constructions, and being pragmatically focussed:

- (81) *No-hu'u-ako te boku te ana.*
 3R-give-APPL CORE book CORE child
 'He gave the child a book.'

Object suffix:

- (82) * *No-hu'u-ako-'e na boku te ana.*
 3R-give-APPL-3OBJ NOM book CORE child
 'He gave the child a book.'

Object relative clause:

- (83) *Te boku i-hu'u-ako-no (nu ana) no-mokobo.*
 CORE book OP-give-APPL-3POSS GEN child 3R-thick
 'The book that he gave (to the child) is thick.'

Passive prefix:

- (84) *No-to-hu'u-ako-mo na boku (te ana).*
 3R-PASS-give-APPL-PF NOM book CORE child
 'The book was given (to a child).'

Reciprocal prefix:

- (85) * *No-po-hu'u-hu'u-ako na amai.*
 3R-REC-RED-give-APPL NOM they

Unspecified Object deletion:

- (86) * *No-hu'u-ako te ana Ø*
 3R-give-APPL CORE child
 'He gave the child with [].'

Pragmatic focus:

- (87) *No-hu'u-ako te paira (te ana)?*
 3R-give-APPL CORE what CORE child
 'What did he give (to the child)?'

The base object of a theme applicative construction is also very restricted:

Object suffix:

- (88) * *No-hu'u-ako-'e na ana te boku.*
 3R-give-APPL-3OBJ NOM child CORE book
 'He gave the child a book.'

Object relative clause:

- (89) * *Te ana i-hu'u-ako-no (nu boku) no-mele.*
 CORE child OP-give-APPL-3POSS GEN book 3R-happy
 'The child that he gave (the book) to is happy.'

Passive prefix:

- (90) * *No-to-hu'u-ako-mo na ana (te boku).*
 3R-PASS-give-APPL-PF NOM child CORE book
 'The child was given (a book).'

Reciprocal prefix:

- (91) *No-po-hu'u-hu'u-ako na amai (te boku).*
 3R-REC-RED-give-APPL NOM 3PL CORE book
 'They gave each other (a book).'

(The book must be the same real-world entity in each of the two transactions)

Unspecified Object deletion:

- (92) *No-hu'u-ako te boku Ø*
 3R-give-APPL CORE book
 'He gave [] a book.'

Pragmatic focus:

- (93) * *No-hu'u-ako te emai (te boku)?*
 3R-give-APPL CORE who CORE book
 'Who did he give (a book) to?'

10.3.4 Cause applied objects

Only an intransitive verb can take *-ako* to introduce a cause phrase in an applicative construction. The syntactic behaviour of the applied object is very limited:

- (94) *No-mate-ako te buti.*
 3R-die-APPL CORE fall
 'He died in a fall.'

Object suffix:

- (95) *No-mate-ako-'e na buti.*
 3R-die-APPL-3OBJ NOM fall
 'He died in a fall.'

Object relative clause:

- (96) * *Te buti i-mate-ako-no...*
 CORE fall OP-die-APPL-3POSS
 'The fall that he died in...'

Passive prefix:

- (97) * *No-to-mate-ako-mo na buti.*
 3R-PASS-die-APPL-PF NOM fall
 'A fall was died in.'

Reciprocal prefix:

- (98) * *No-po-mate-mate-ako na kene-su ke buti.*
 3R-REC-RED-die-APPL NOM friend-1SG.POSS and fall

Unspecified Object deletion:

- (99) * *No-mate-ako Ø.*
 3R-die-APPL
 'He died in a [].'

Pragmatic focus:

- (100) *No-mate-ako te paira?*
 3R-die-APPL CORE what
 'How did he die?'

Notice that some of the properties are different from those found with instrumental applied objects, distinguishing these two semantic roles.

10.3.5 Purpose applied objects

Purpose phrases can also be introduced by an applicative suffix, and are even more inert syntactically than causal applied objects. Unlike a causal applied object, however, a purpose applicative construction may appear on a transitive verb. With an intransitive base, the only 'property' displayed by a purpose applied object is the ability to be in pragmatic focus:

- (101) *Ku-wila-ako te kawi-'a u kene-su.*
 1SG-go-APPL CORE marry-NL GEN friend-1SG.POSS
 'I went for the wedding of my friend.'

Object suffix:

- (102) * *Ku-wila-ako-'e na kawi-'a u kene-su.*
 1SG-go-APPL-3OBJ NOM marry-NL GEN friend-1SG.POSS
 'I went for the wedding of my friend.'

Object relative clause:

- (103) * *Te kawi-'a u kene-su i-wila-ako-no...*
 CORE marry-NL GEN friend-1SG.POSS OP-go-APPL-3POSS
 'The wedding of my friend that I went for...'

Passive prefix:

- (104) * *No-to-wila-ako-mo na kawi-'a nu kene-su.*
 3R-PASS-go-APPL-PF NOM marry-NL GEN friend-1SG.POSS
 'My friend's wedding was went for.'

Reciprocal prefix:

- (105) * *Ko-po-wila-wila-ako.*
 1PA.R-REC-RED-go-APPL
 (Good with a dative reading: 'We went (somewhere), doing it for each other.')

Unspecified Object deletion:

- (106) * *Ku-wila-ako Ø*
 1SG-go-APPL
 'He went in a [].'

Pragmatic focus:

- (107) * *U-wila-ako te paira?*
 2SG.R-go-APPL CORE what
 'What did you go for?'

Purpose applicative constructions based on transitive verbs have even more restrictions, with pragmatic focus on the applied object only minimally interpreted as acceptable, and ungrammatical for some speakers. There is a tendency for pragmatic focus to be interpreted as referring to an instrumental applied object:

- (108) *No-lea-ako te langke-'a-no te kaitela.*
 3R-load-APPL CORE sail-NL-3POSS CORE corn
 'They loaded the corn for the voyage.'

Object suffix:

- (109) * *No-lea-ako-'e na langke-'a-no te kaitela.*
 3R-load-APPL-3OBJ NOM sail-NL-3POSS CORE corn
 'They loaded the corn for the voyage.'

Object relative clause:

- (110) * *Te langke-'a-no i-lea-ako-no (nu kaitela)*
 CORE sail-NL-3POSS OP-load-APPL-3POSS GEN corn
no-molengo.
 3R-long
 'The voyage that they loaded (the corn on) was long.'

Passive prefix:

- (111) * *No-to-lea-ako-mo na langke-'a-no (te kaitela).*
 3R-PASS-load-APPL-PF NOM sail-NL-3POSS CORE corn
 'The voyage was loaded for (with corn).'

Reciprocal prefix:

- (112) * *No-po-lea-lea-ako na amai.*
 3R-REC-RED-load-APPL NOM 3PL
 (this is good with a dative interpretation, 'They loaded \emptyset for each other.')

Unspecified Object deletion:

- (113) * *No-lea-ako \emptyset te kaitela.*
 3R-load-APPL CORE corn
 'They loaded the corn for [].'

Pragmatic focus:

- (114) *No-lea-ako te pa'ira (te kaitela)?*
 3R-load-APPL CORE what CORE corn
 # 'What did they load (to the corn)?'
 (Preferred interpretation: 'What did they use to load the corn with?')

The base object of a purpose applicative construction is even more syntactically limited:

Object suffix:

- (115) * *No-lea-ako-'e na kaitela te langke-'a-no.*
 3R-load-APPL-3OBJ NOM corn CORE sail-NL-3POSS
 'They loaded the corn for a voyage.'

Object relative clause:

- (116) * *Te kaitela i-lea-ako-no (nu langke-'a-no)*
 CORE corn OP-load-APPL-3POSS GEN sail-NL-3POSS
o-koruo.
 3R-many
 'The corn that they loaded (for the voyage) was much.'

Passive prefix:

- (117) * *No-to-lea-ako-mo na kaitela (te langke-'a-no).*
 3R-PASS-load-APPL-PF NOM corn CORE sail-NL-3POSS
 'The corn was loaded for (a voyage).'

Reciprocal prefix:

- (118) *No-po-lea-lea-ako na amai (te langke-'a-no).*
 3R-REC-RED-load-APPL NOM 3PL CORE sail-NL-3POSS
 'They loaded each other for (a voyage).'

Unspecified Object deletion:

- (119) *No-lea-ako te langke-'a-no \emptyset .*
 3R-load-APPL CORE sail-NL-3POSS
 'They loaded [] for the voyage.'

Pragmatic focus:

- (120) * *No-lea-ako te paira (te langke-'a-no)?*
 3R-load-APPL CORE what CORE sail-NL-3POSS
 'What did they load for (the voyage)?'

10.3.6 Summary of *-ako*

Unlike *-ngkene*, which has a small range of possible interpretations, all involving two equal participants involved in the same activity, the meaning of the *-ako* suffix is less constrained, possibly reflecting a longer period of grammaticalisation from its (supposed) original meaning 'do for', which function it still preserves as the sole interpretation of *ako* when used as the main verb of a clause. In non-contiguous level 'serial verb constructions' in which *ako* is functioning as a predicate (described in chapter 14), the only possible interpretations of the object of *ako* are dative or purposive, suggesting that the cause and instrumental interpretations are the most recent to be added to the wide range that this affix has when used in a nuclear level construction. Indeed, we can say that when *ako* introduces a cause phrase it is unambiguously an applicative affix, since in no other of its uses can it take a cause phrase. When it serves with a dative argument, the interpretation of *ako* as an affix rather than an independent verb is most arbitrary, since the independent verb *ako* can take dative objects as well, as seen in (121) which uses the set of dative object suffixes on the main verb *ako*:

- (121) *No-ako-naku te mia l[um]emba te wemba.*
 3R-do.for-1SG.DAT.OBJ CORE person carry.SI CORE bamboo
 'The person carrying the bamboo did (it) for me.'

The difference in grammatical behaviour between instrumental and dative applied objects is minimal, the only difference being the ability to participate in a reciprocal construction, and that is most likely the result of constraints imposed by the semantics of the arguments themselves, rather than a syntactic constraint working on applicative constructions (this is intended in the same manner that not all transitive verbs can be reciprocalised. 'We saw each other', or 'Anna and I laughed at each other' are both acceptable, but real-world constraints stop sentences with highly affected, non-sentient patients, such as 'The tree and I chopped each other down.' from being grammatical when reciprocalised). This matter is discussed further in 10.7.

The fact that the base objects of these applicative constructions show some syntactic properties is also interesting. The ability to participate in a reciprocal construction is likely to be the result of the semantics of the arguments involved. The different restrictions involved in relative clauses are more fully discussed in chapter 15.

10.4 Locative applicative 'suffix complex' *-(VC)i*

The locative applicative suffix is of the general form *-(VC)i*; that is, the suffix necessarily contains the /i/ vowel, and may be preceded by a consonant. Some forms of the suffix additionally have a vowel preceding this consonant (there are no attested cases of *-Vi*). Unlike the preceding two affixes, which introduce primarily core semantic roles as core arguments of the verbal complex, the *-(VC)i* suffix serves only to make oblique arguments into core arguments of the verbal complex. The fact that these arguments bear lower-

ranked semantic roles than most of those introduced by *-ngkene* and *-ako* leads to different syntactic behaviour of either the applied object or the base object in some respects. This can be ascribed to the semantic roles of the participants, rather than being thought of as a property inherent in the affix itself, due to the fact that the non-core semantic roles introduced by *-ako*, the “cause” and “purpose” roles, also show substantially different behaviour from applied objects with higher semantic roles.

The different varieties of the suffix are set out below:

- a. *-i* ‘removal’
wulu ‘feather’ *hewulu-i* ‘pluck, remove feathers from’
 (the verb *hewulu*, without a directional applicative suffix, does not occur)
- b. *-pi*
tau ‘put’ *tau-pi* ‘put in’
- c. *-api* ‘discard’
aso ‘sell’ *aso-api* ‘sell to (spitefully)’
kabi ‘throw away’ *kabi-api* ‘throw away at’
kahu ‘send’ *kahu-api* ‘send to’
kede ‘sit’ *kede-api* ‘sit on (unintentionally)’
tompa ‘throw at’ *tompa-api* ‘throw to (someone) (to catch)’
tuhu ‘descend’ *tuhu-api* ‘descend down to’
- d. *-ti*
hembula ‘plant’ *hembula-ti* ‘plant (a place) with something’
kombi ‘medicine’ *komba-ti* ‘treat (someone) with medicine’
- e. *-ki* ‘forceful application’
busu ‘punch’ *busu-ki* ‘punch with forward fist’
pepe ‘slap’ *pepe-ki* ‘slap forcefully’
sepa ‘kick’ *sepa-ki* ‘kick’
tapa ‘inform’ *tapa-ki* ‘reprimand’
- f. *-i* ‘accompanying object’
mai ‘come’ *ma-i* ‘bring something’
- g. *-mi* ‘endpoint activity’
'ido ‘live’ *'ido-mi* ‘grow up in’
da'o laro ‘be angry’ *da'olaro-mi* ‘be angry at’
doito ‘cry’ *doito-mi* ‘cry about (someone)’
kede ‘sit’ *kede-mi* ‘sit on’
rato ‘arrive’ *rato-mi* ‘arrive to (someone)’
tonto ‘view’ *tonto-mi* ‘stare at’
- h. *-(V)si* ‘movement towards’
'urang(a) ‘be at’ *'urang(a)-isi* ‘occupy’
mai ‘come’ *mai-si* ‘come to (someone), approach’

wila 'go' *wil(a)-isi* 'visit'

In many cases the consonants found in this suffix represent the consonants that were final consonants in proto-Austronesian (e.g., pAN *sepak 'kick' has the final *k preserved in the locative applicative suffix, even though it is dropped elsewhere in the language. This does not explain the consonant in, for instance, *tau-pi*, where *tau* is derived from proto-Austronesian *taRuq, since there is a (semi-) regular rule whereby *q > ? in Tukang Besi. The expected form would thus be **tau-'i*, not the attested *tau-pi*. A recent loan word, *tonto* 'view, spectate' (The fact that this is a recent loan can be deduced from the fact that it has the variants *tonto* (< Malay *tonton*) and *nonto* (< Malay *m'nonton* (*meN* + *tonton*)), shows an *m* in the affix, despite being a borrowing from Malay *tonton* with a final *n*; the expected **tonto-ni* does not occur. Furthermore, there is the problem of verbs that were vowel-final in proto-Austronesian, but nonetheless show consonants in the locative applicative affix, such as *mai* (< pAN *maRi), which appears as *ma(i)-'i* and *ma(i)-isi*, both forms displaying consonants. We must therefore conclude that a lot, perhaps even a majority, of the suffixal consonants are not derived from verb-final consonants in an earlier form of the language. Van den Berg (1989: 291–294) has also observed similar problems with respect to the *-Ci* and *-Cao* suffixes in Muna, observing that they often vary from dialect to dialect, and from affix to affix with the same root.

A cursory glance is sufficient to notice that some verbal roots (such as *mai* or *kede*) can appear with more than one possible allomorph of the *-(VC)i* affix, leading to a tentative conclusion that the different consonants have developed into separate affixes, a solution that has been proposed for the similar affix (in terms of both form and function) that is found in Oceanic languages (Arms 1973, Geraghty 1983, Milner 1984 amongst others). This would however fail to capture the fact that most of the verb roots have only one possible affix. A further problem with the Tukang Besi data for this solution is that even having removed the consonant as a thematic consonant, and declared the locative applicative affix to be simply the *-i*, we would still need to account for the variation between the presence and absence of vowels between the consonant and the verbal root (as in *-api* and *-(V)si*). It is worth noting that, apart from the object suffixes, all the other (limited) suffixal material on verbs is disyllabic, as are most roots in the language. The addition of a vowel to the *-Ci* affix cannot be accounted for by assuming it is an epenthetic vowel used to break up consonant clusters, as occurs in other languages, since all roots are vowel-final in Tukang Besi (diachronically, this becomes true only after the final *C has been reinterpreted as part of the applicative suffix). One possible solution is that the speakers are restructuring the morpheme based on analogy with the other, predominantly disyllabic, morphemes in the language. This solution is then not any more helpful in explaining the data here.

When combined with an intransitive root, the *-(VC)i* affix produces syntactically productive applicative constructions:

- (122) *No-kede-mi te kadera atu.*
 3R-sit-DIR CORE chair that
 'She sat on that chair.'

Object suffix:

- (123) *No-kede-mi-'e na kadera atu.*
 3R-sit-DIR-3OBJ NOM chair that
 'She sat on that chair.'

Object relative clause:

- (124) *Te kadera i-kede-mi-no no-to'oge.*
 CORE chair OP-sit-DIR-3POSS 3R-big
 'The chair that she used to sit on is big.'

Passive prefix:

- (125) *No-to-kede-mi-mo na kadera atu.*
 3R-PASS-sit-DIR-PF NOM chair that
 'His that chair was sat on.'

Reciprocal prefix:

- (126) * *No-po-kede-kede-mi na kene-su ke kadera.*
 3R-REC-RED-sit-DIR NOM friend-1SG.POSS and chair
 'My friend and the chair sat on each other.'

Unspecified Object deletion:

- (127) * *No-kede-mi ∅.*
 3R-sit-DIR
 'She sat on a [].'

Pragmatic focus:

- (128) *No-kede-mi te paira?*
 3R-sit-DIR CORE what
 'What did she sit on?'

The same grammatical patterns are encountered with applied objects of transitive base verbs, though the proscription against unspecified object deletion is absent, if the other (base) object is present:

- (129) *No-aso-api te bae te iai-no.*
 3R-sell-APPL CORE rice CORE younger.sibling-3POSS
 'He sold to his brother some rice.'

Object suffix:

- (130) *No-aso-api-'e na iai-no te bae.*
 3R-sell-APPL-3OBJ NOM younger.sibling-3POSS CORE rice
 'He sold to his brother some rice.'

Object relative clause:

- (131) *Te iai-no i-aso-api-no (nu bae)*
 CORE younger.sibling-3POSS OP-sell-APPL-3POSS GEN rice
no-da'o laro-no.
 3R-bad inside-3POSS
 'His brother who he sold (rice) to is angry.'

Object relative clause:

- (132) *Te iai-no i-aso-api (nu bae)*
 CORE younger.sibling-3POSS OP-sell-APPL GEN rice
(nu ia) no-mohali.
 GEN 3SG 3R-expensive
 'The rice that was sold to (his brother) (by him) was expensive.'

Passive prefix:

- (133) *No-to-aso-api-mo na iai-no (te bae).*
 3R-PASS-sell-APPL-PF NOM younger.sibling-3POSS CORE rice
 'His brother was sold (rice) to.'

Reciprocal prefix:

- (134) *No-po-aso-aso-api na amai (te bara-bara).*
 3R-REC-RED-sell-APPL NOM 3PL CORE things
 They sold things to each other.'

Unspecified Object deletion:

- (135) *No-aso-api Ø te bae.*
 3R-sell-APPL CORE rice
 'He sold rice to [].'

Pragmatic focus:

- (136) *No-aso-api te emai (te bae)?*
 3R-sell-APPL CORE what CORE rice
 'Who did he sell (rice) to?'

The base object of a locative applicative construction behaves very freely, compared to the base objects of the other types of applicative constructions:

Object suffix:

- (137) * *No-aso-api-'e na bae te iai-no.*
 3R-sell-APPL-3OBJ NOM rice CORE younger.sibling-3POSS
 'He sold some rice to his brother.'

Object relative clause:

- (138) *Te bae i-aso-api(* -no) (di iai-no)*
 CORE rice OP-sell-APPL-3POSS OBL younger.sibling-3POSS
no-mohali.
 3R-expensive
 'The rice that was sold (to his brother) was expensive.'

Passive prefix:

- (139) * *No-to-aso-api-mo na bae (te iai-no).*
 3R-PASS-sell-APPL-PF NOM rice CORE younger.sibling-3POSS
 'The rice was sold to (his brother).'

Reciprocal prefix:

- (140) * *No-po-aso-aso-api na ia kene bae*
 3R-REC-RED-sell-APPL NOM 3SG and rice
 (*te iai-no*).
 CORE younger.sibling-3POSS
 'He and the rice sold each other to (his younger brother).'

Unspecified Object deletion:

- (141) * *No-aso-api te iai-no* \emptyset .
 3R-sell-APPL CORE younger.sibling-3POSS
 'He sold [] to his younger brother'

Pragmatic focus:

- (142) *No-aso-api te paira (te iai-no)?*
 3R-sell-APPL CORE what CORE younger.sibling-3POSS
 'What did he sell to (his younger brother)?'

The most notable thing about the locative applicative constructions is the behaviour of the base object. Unlike the other applicative constructions that introduce higher semantic roles (agent, dative, instrument and theme/patient), the base object of a locative applicative construction may not be left out of a clause, and may be pragmatically focussed. This behaviour indicates that the lower semantic role of the applied object means that the object, although made into a core argument by the presence of applicative morphology, is not prominent enough pragmatically to be capable of satisfying the need for at least one object in the clause, or to be the sole locus of pragmatic focus.

10.5 Double applicatives

Double applicative constructions are available for a very limited subset of the possible combinations of applicative suffixes. The semantic roles and relative ordering of the applied objects determines the acceptability of a possible combination of applicative suffixes. The allowed interactions of two applicative suffixes may be summarised, arranged by affix forms:

1st \ 2nd	<i>-ngkene</i>	<i>-ako</i>	<i>-(VC)i</i>
<i>-ngkene</i>	-	+	-
<i>-ako</i>	-	-	-
<i>-(VC)i</i>	+	+	-

The allowed combinations of semantic roles of the applied objects are as follows:

1st \ 2nd	Ag	Dat	Instr
Ag	-	+	-
Loc	+	+	+

Thus (143) is a grammatical form, with the dative applicative affix further from the verb root than the agentive one, whilst (144), with the reverse order, is not:

[Agent] + [Dative]

- (143) *No-wila-ngkene-ako te ina-no te Wa Ki'i.*
 3R-go-COM-APPL CORE mother-3POSS CORE Wa Ki'i
 'She went with Wa Ki'i for her mother.'

[Dative] + [Agent]

- (144) * *No-wila-ako-ngkene te ina-no.*
 3R-go-APPL-COM CORE mother-3POSS
 'She went for someone with her mother.'

The allowed and ungrammatical structures are represented in (145)' and (146)':

- (143)' 'APPL <[Ag], [Dat] APPL <[Ag], [Ag] PRED <[] >>'
-

- (144)' * 'APPL <[Ag], [Ag] APPL <[Ag], [Dat] PRED <[] >>'
-

The grammatical properties of the two applied objects and the base object will be discussed in separate sections, based on the semantic role borne by the second applied object in the predicate. To describe the different objects, the terminology 'second applied object' and 'first applied object' will be used. The first applied object is the object that depends on the applicative morphology closest to the verb. The second applied object is the object dependent on the applicative morphology outside this. In the examples just examined, *te Wa Ki'i* is the first applied object of *wila-ngkene-ako*; the second applied object is *te inano*. We may represent these groupings as follows:

[*wila-[ngkene-[ako te ina-no]*]_{2nd object-appl} *te Wa Ki'i*]_{1st object-appl}]
 go-COM-APPL CORE mother-3POSS CORE Wa Ki'i

Double applicative constructions are also reported for Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 1980, Gerdts 1992). Gerdts concludes that most of the 'applicative' structures in Kinyarwanda do involve advancement, and hence most of the apparent 'double' applicative structures do not really involve two applicatives. In *Tukang Besi* this argument will not work since many of the tests that Gerdts uses on Kinyarwanda to establish the presence of a position for the 'applicative' object even before the addition of applicative morphology do not apply to *Tukang Besi*, since it is a language without many of the symmetrical properties ascribed to Kinyarwanda.

10.5.1 Agent second applied objects

With an agent as the second applied object, the first applied object must be a locative applied object. Both intransitive and transitive constructions are found, and in both constructions the first applied object shows no syntactic activity at all. In the double applicative construction based on a transitive verb the base object is similarly inert syntactically. Intransitive and transitive sentences are exemplified separately, looking at the

same object properties that have been examined for basic applicative constructions.

Intransitive verbs:

- (145) a. *Ku-wil(a)-isi-ngkene te iai-su*
 1SG-go-DIR-COM CORE younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
(di ompu-su.
 OBL grandparent-1SG.POSS
 'I visited my grandmother with my younger sister.'

Object suffixes on second applied object:

- b. *Ku-wil(a)-isi-ngkene-'e na iai-su*
 1SG-go-DIR-COM-3OBJ NOM younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
(di ompu-su).
 OBL grandparent-1SG.POSS
 'I visited my grandmother with my younger sister.'

Object suffixes on first applied object:

- c. * *Ku-wil(a)-isi-ngkene-'e te iai-su*
 1SG-go-DIR-COM-3OBJ CORE younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
na ompu-su.
 NOM grandparent-1SG.POSS
 'I visited my grandmother with my younger sister.'

Object relative clause on second applied object:

- d. *Te iai-su i-wil(a)-isi-ngkene-su*
 CORE younger.sibling-1SG.POSS OP-go-DIR-COM-1SG.POSS
(di ompu-su no-mele.
 OBL grandparent-3POSS 3R-happy
 'My younger sister who I visited my grandmother with is happy.'

Object relative clause on first applied object:

- e. * *Te ompu-su i-wil(a)-isi-ngkene-su*
 CORE grandparent-3POSS OP-go-DIR-COM-1SG.POSS
(u iai-su) no-mele.
 GEN younger.sibling-1SG.POSS 3R-happy
 'My grandmother who I visited with (my younger sister) is happy.'

Passive:

- f. * *No-to-wil(a)-isi-ngkene-mo*
 3R-PASS-go-DIR-COM-PF
(na kene-su / na ompu-su).
 NOM friend-1SG.POSS NOM grandparent-3POSS
 '(My friend // My grandmother) was visited with.'

Pragmatic focus:

- g. *'U-wil(a)-isi-ngkene te ie'ema?*
 2SG.R-go-DIR-COM CORE who
 'Who are you visiting (with)?'
 * 'Who did you visit (with someone)?'

Transitive verbs:

- (146) a. *Ku-tau-pi-ngkene te iai-su*
 1SG-put-DIR-COM CORE younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
te marica (di roukau i-helo'a-su /
 CORE pepper OBL vegetables OP-cook-1SG.POSS
te roukau i-helo'a-su).
 CORE vegetables OP-cook-1SG.POSS
 'I put pepper in the vegetables that I was cooking with my younger sister.'

Object suffixes on second applied object:

- b. *Ku-tau-pi-ngkene-'e na iai-su*
 1SG-put-DIR-COM-3OBJ NOM younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
te marica (di roukau i-helo'a-su /
 CORE pepper OBL vegetables OP-cook-1SG.POSS
 * *te roukau i-helo'a-su).*
 CORE vegetables OP-cook-1SG.POSS
 'I put pepper in the vegetables that I was cooking with my younger sister.'

Object suffixes on first applied object:

- c. * *Ku-tau-pi-ngkene-'e te iai-su*
 1SG-put-DIR-COM-3OBJ CORE younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
na marica (di roukau i-helo'a-su /
 NOM pepper OBL vegetables OP-cook-1SG.POSS
te roukau i-helo'a-su).
 CORE vegetables OP-cook-1SG.POSS
 'I put pepper in the vegetables that I was cooking with my younger sister.'

Object suffixes on base object:

- d. * *Ku-tau-pi-ngkene-'e na roukau i-helo'a-su*
 1SG-put-DIR-COM-3OBJ NOM vegetables OP-cook-1SG.POSS
te iai-su.
 CORE younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
 'I put pepper in the vegetables that I was cooking with my younger sister.'

Object relative clause on second applied object:

- e. *Te iai-su i-tau-pi-ngkene-su*
 CORE younger.sibling-1SG.POSS OP-put-DIR-COM-1SG.POSS
 * *(u marica) (di roukau i-helo'a-su) no-mele.*
 GEN pepper OBL vegetables OP-cook-1SG.POSS 3R-happy
 'My younger sister who I put pepper in (the vegetables I was cooking) with is happy.'

Object relative clause on first applied object:

- f. * *Te marica i-tau-pi-ngkene-su*
 CORE pepper OP-put-DIR-COM-1SG.POSS
(di roukau i-helo'a-su) o-isala-mohana.
 OBL vegetables OP-cook-1SG.POSS 3R-rather-hot
 'The pepper that I put in (the vegetables I was cooking) with (someone) is rather spicily hot.'

Object relative clause on base object:

- g. * *Te roukau i-tau-pi-ngkene-su*
 CORE vegetables OP-put-DIR-COM-1SG.POSS
 (*u marica*) (*u iai-su*) *no-mombaka.*
 GEN pepper GEN younger.sibling-1SG.POSS 3R-delicious
 'The vegetables that I put (pepper) in with (my younger sister) are delicious'.

Passive:

- h. * *No-to-tau-pi-ngkene-mo*
 3R-PASS-put-DIR-COM-PF
 (*na kene-su* / *na marica* / *na roukau*).
 NOM friend-1SG.POSS NOM pepper / NOM vegetables
 '(My friend / the pepper / the vegetables) was put in with.'

Pragmatic focus on second applied object:

- i. * *'U-tau-pi-ngkene te ie'ema?*
 2SG.R-go-DIR-COM CORE who
 'Who are you putting (it) in (it) with?'

Pragmatic focus on first applied object or base object:

- j. * *'U-tau-pi-ngkene te paira?*
 2SG.R-go-DIR-COM CORE what
 'What are you putting (it) in (it) with (someone)?'
 'What are you putting in (it) with (someone)?'

The behaviour of a double applicative construction with an agentive second applied object is very similar to the behaviour of a basic applicative construction with an argument in the same semantic role as applied object. The only difference is the treatment of the non-(second) applied object, which in the case of a double applicative construction appears and behaves as an oblique argument, as if the locative applicative morphology had not been added to the verb. In the case of a double applicative construction based on a transitive verb, the first applied object may appear with either oblique (*di*) or core (*te*) case marking, but in each case behaves as an oblique argument syntactically, displaying no syntactic object properties.

10.5.2 Dative second applied objects

A dative applicative can follow either an agentive applicative *-ngkene*, or a locative *-(VC)i* applicative. The [Agent] + [Dative] combination is dealt with first. This is found only with transitive base verbs:

- (147) a. *No-homoru-ngkene-ako te iaku te kene-no*
 3R-weave-COM-APPL CORE 1SG CORE friend-3POSS
te wurai na ompu-su.
 CORE sarong NOM grandparent-1SG.POSS
 'My grandmother wove a sarong for me with her friend.'

Object suffixes on second applied object:

- b. * *No-homoru-ngkene-ako-aku te kene-no*
 3R-weave-COM-APPL-1SG.OBJ CORE friend-3POSS
te wurai na ompu-su.
 CORE sarong NOM grandparent-1SG.POSS
 'My grandmother wove a sarong for me with her friend.'

Object suffixes on first applied object:

- c. *No-homoru-ngkene-ako-'e te iaku na kene-no*
 3R-weave-COM-APPL-3OBJ CORE 1SG NOM friend-3POSS
te wurai te ompu-su.
 CORE sarong CORE grandparent-1SG.POSS
 'My grandmother wove a sarong for me with her friend.'

Object suffixes on base object:

- d. * *No-homoru-ngkene-ako-'e te iaku te kene-no*
 3R-weave-COM-APPL-3OBJ CORE 1SG CORE friend-3POSS
na wurai te ompu-su.
 NOM sarong CORE grandparent-1SG.POSS
 'My grandmother wove a sarong for me with her friend.'

Object relative clause:

- e. * *Te (iaku / wurai / kene-no) i-homoru-ngkene-ako-no.*
 CORE 1SG / sarong / friend-3POSS OP-weave-COM-APPL-3POSS
 '(I / the sarong / her friend) which was woven for with.'

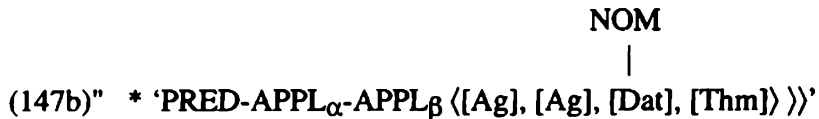
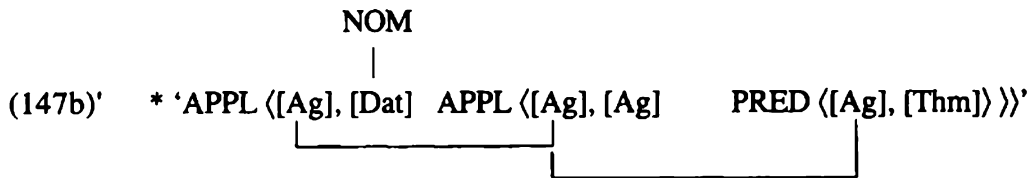
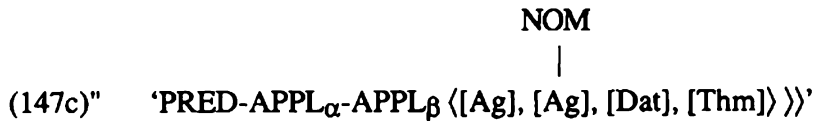
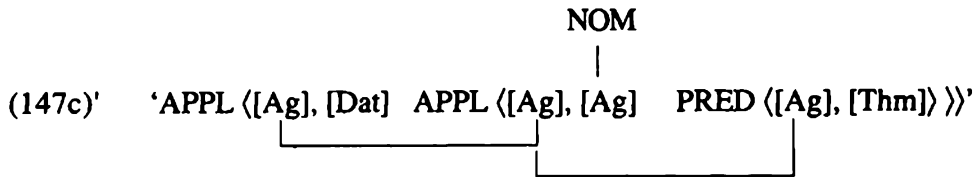
Passive:

- e. * *No-to-homoru-ngkene-ako-mo na (iaku / kene-no / wurai).*
 3R-PASS-weave-COM-APPL-PF NOM 1SG / friend-3POSS / sarong
 '(I / Her friend / A sarong) was woven with for.'

Pragmatic focus:

- f. * *Nu-homoru-ngkene-ako te (emai / paira)?*
 2SG.R-weave-COM-APPL CORE who / what
 'Who are you weaving (something) for with (someone)?'
 'Who are you weaving (something) with for (someone)?'
 'What are you weaving for (someone) with (someone)?'

What is most interesting about the data on agent + dative combinations is that when there are two applied objects, only the first applied object, the agent, may be nominative and be indexed on the verb. The second applied object does not have these privileges. This suggests that the ability to be nominative is partly determined by the semantics of the argument itself; the agent is more prominent than the dative argument when it comes to determining which of the two may be nominative. This makes perfect sense if we assume that the applicative constructions 'collapse' the separate predicates and refer directly to prominence on the thematic hierarchy, as suggested in (147c)" (derived from (147c)'). Although (147b)' appears to be a reasonable assignment of case features, when the 'collapsed' predicate is examined ((147b)'), the ungrammaticality of the structure which would assign nominative case to the third argument on the hierarchy is obvious (see chapter 20 for more discussion on the mechanism behind nominative case assignment).



With a locative applicative construction as the first suffix, the base predicate can be either intransitive or transitive.

Base verb is intransitive:

- (148) a. *No-wil(a)-isi-ako te ina-no te ompu-no*
 3R-go-DIR-APPL CORE mother-3POSS CORE grandparent-3POSS
na kene-su.
 CORE friend-1SG.POSS
 'My friend visited her grandmother as a favour to her mother.'

Object suffixes on second applied object:

- b. *Ku-wil(a)-isi-ako-'e na ina-su*
 3R-go-DIR-APPL-3OBJ NOM mother-1SG.POSS
te ompu-su.
 CORE grandparent-1SG.POSS
 'I visited my grandmother as a favour to my mother.'

Object suffixes on first applied object:

- c. * *Ku-wil(a)-isi-ako-'e na ompu-su*
 3R-go-DIR-APPL-3OBJ NOM grandparent-1SG.POSS
te ina-su.
 CORE mother-1SG.POSS
 'I visited my grandmother as a favour to my mother.'

Object relative clause on second applied object:

- d. *Te ina-su i-wil(a)-isi-ako-su.*
 CORE mother-1SG.POSS OP-go-DIR-APPL-1SG.POSS
 'My mother who I visited (grandmother) for.'

Object relative clause on first applied object:

- e. * *Te ompu-su i-wil(a)-isi-ako-su.*
 CORE grandparent-1SG.POSS OP-go-DIR-APPL-1SG.POSS
 'My grandmother who I visited for (my mother).'

Passive on second applied object:

- f. * *No-to-wil(a)-isi-ako-mo na ina-su.*
 3R-PASS-go-DIR-APPL-PF NOM mother-1SG.POSS
 'My mother was visited (grandmother) for.'

Passive on first applied object:

- g. * *No-to-wil(a)-isi-ako-mo na ompu-su.*
 3R-PASS-go-DIR-APPL-PF NOM grandparent-1SG.POSS
 'My grandmother was visited by me for (my mother).'

Pragmatic focus:

- h. *Nu-wil(a)-isi-ako te emai te ompu-'u.*
 2SG.R-go-DIR-APPL CORE who CORE grandparent-2SG.POSS
 'Who are you visiting your grandmother as a favour for?'
 * 'Who are you visiting as a favour for your grandmother?'

Transitive verbs as base:

- (149) a. *Ku-tau-pi-ako te ina-su te marica*
 1SG-put-DIR-APPL CORE mother-1SG.POSS CORE pepper
di roukau i-helo'a-su.
 OBL vegetables OP-cook-1SG.POSS
 'I put pepper in the vegetables that I was cooking for my mother.'

Object suffixes on second applied object:

- b. *Ku-tau-pi-ako-'e na ina-su te marica*
 1SG-put-DIR-APPL-3OBJ NOM mother-1SG.POSS CORE pepper
di roukau i-helo'a-su.
 OBL vegetables OP-cook-1SG.POSS
 'I put pepper in the vegetables that I was cooking for my mother.'

Object suffixes on first applied object:

- c. * *Ku-tau-pi-ako-'e te ina-su te marica*
 1SG-put-DIR-APPL-3OBJ CORE mother-1SG.POSS CORE pepper
na roukau i-helo'a-su.
 NOM vegetables OP-cook-1SG.POSS
 'I put pepper in the vegetables that I was cooking for my mother.'

Object suffixes on base object:

- d. * *Ku-tau-pi-ako-'e* *te* *ina-su* *na* *marica*
 1SG-put-DIR-APPL-3OBJ CORE mother-1SG.POSS NOM pepper
di roukai i-helo'a-su.
 OBL vegetables OP-cook-1SG.POSS
 'I put pepper in the vegetables that I was cooking for my mother.'

Object relative clause on second applied object:

- d. *Te ina-su i-tau-pi-ako-su*
 CORE mother-1SG.POSS OP-put-DIR-APPL-1SG.POSS
 * (*u marica*) (*di roukai i-helo'a-su*) *no-mele.*
 GEN pepper OBL vegetables OP-cook-1SG.POSS 3R-happy
 'My mother who I put (something) in (the vegetables I was cooking) for is happy.'

Object relative clause on first applied object:

- e. * *Te roukai i-tau-pi-ako-su* (*u ina-su*).
 CORE vegetables OP-put-DIR-APPL-1SG.POSS GEN mother-1SG.POSS
 (*u marica*) *no-mohana.*
 GEN pepper 3R-hot
 'The vegetables that I put in (with pepper) for (my mother) is hot.'

Object relative clause on base object:

- f. * *Te marica i-tau-pi-ako-su* (*u ina-su*)
 CORE pepper OP-put-DIR-APPL-1SG.POSS GEN mother-1SG.POSS
 (*di roukai i-helo'a-su*) *no-mohana.*
 OBL vegetables OP-cook-1SG.POSS 3R-hot
 'The pepper that I put in (the vegetables I was cooking) for (my mother) is hot.'

Passive:

- g. * *No-to-tau-pi-ako-mo*
 3R-PASS-put-DIR-APPL-PF
 (*na ina-su / na marica / na roukai.*
 NOM mother-1SG.POSS NOM pepper NOM vegetables
 'My mother was put (something) in (something) for.'

Pragmatic focus on second applied object:

- h. '*U-tau-pi-ako* *te emai* * (*te marica*) (*di roukai*)?
 2SG.R-put-DIR-APPL CORE who CORE pepper OBL vegetables
 'Who are you putting pepper in (the vegetables) for?'

Pragmatic focus on base object or first applied object:

- i. * '*U-tau-pi-ako* *te paia* (*te marica*) (*di roukai*)?
 2SG.R-put-DIR-APPL CORE who CORE pepper OBL vegetables
 'What are you putting in for (the vegetables)?'

As was the case for the agentive second applied object, no passivisation is possible on this construction. Unlike the agentive case, however, passivisation is possible on dative applied objects of basic applicative constructions. Thus, the ungrammaticality of (148)g and (149)g is unexpected, and must be a feature of the doubly-embedded predicate with

which the agent in the outermost applicative predicate is coindexed.

Passive of a dative basic applicative construction:

(51) 'PASS <[] APPL <[Ag], [Dat] PRED <[Ag], []>>'

Passive of a dative double applicative construction:

(149g) * 'PASS <[] APPL <[Ag], [Dat] APPL <[Ag], [] PRED <[]>>>'

10.5.3 Instrumental applied objects

Instrumental applicative morphology can occur as part of a double applicative construction only when it follows locative applicative morphology closer to the verb root. Versions based on both intransitive and transitive stems are found, and are exemplified in the following examples.

Intransitive:

- (150) a. *Ku-wil(a)-isi-ako te kene-su*
 1SG-go-DIR-APPL CORE friend-1SG.POSS
te honda-su.
 CORE motorbike-1SG.POSS
 'I visited my friend by means of my motorbike.'

Object suffixes on second applied object:

- b. * *Ku-wil(a)-isi-ako-'e na kene-su*
 1SG-go-DIR-APPL-3OBJ NOM friend-1SG.POSS
te honda-su.
 CORE motorbike-1SG.POSS
 'I visited my friend by means of my motorbike.'

Object suffixes on first applied object:

- c. * *Ku-wil(a)-isi-ako-'e te kene-su*
 1SG-go-DIR-APPL-3OBJ CORE friend-1SG.POSS
na honda-su.
 NOM motorbike-1SG.POSS
 'I visited my friend by means of my motorbike.'

Object relative clause on second applied object:

- d. * *Te honda-su i-wil(a)-isi-ako-no...*
 CORE motorbike-1SG.POSS OP-go-DIR-APPL-1SG.POSS
 'My motorbike that was used by me to visit (my friend)...'

Object relative clause on first applied object:

- e. * *Te ina-su i-wil(a)-isi-ako-no...*
 CORE mother-1SG.POSS OP-go-DIR-APPL-1SG.POSS
 'My mother that I visited by means of (my motorbike)...'

Passive on second applied object:

- f. * *No-to-wil(a)-isi-ako-mo na honda-su.*
 3R-PASS-go-DIR-APPL-PF NOM motorbike-1SG.POSS
 'My motorbike was used by me to visit (my friend).'

Passive on first applied object:

- g. * *No-to-wil(a)-isi-ako-mo na ina-su.*
 3R-PASS-go-DIR-APPL-PF NOM mother-1SG.POSS
 'My mother was visited by me by (motorbike).'

Pragmatic focus on second applied object:

- h. * *'U-wil(a)-isi-ako te paira te kene-'u?*
 2SG.R-go-DIR-APPL CORE what CORE friend-2SG.POSS
 'What are you visiting your friend by means of?'

Pragmatic focus on first applied object:

- i. * *'U-wil(a)-isi-ako te honda-su te ie'ei?*
 2SG.R-go-DIR-APPL CORE motorbike-1SG.POSS CORE who
 'Who are you visiting by means of my motorbike?'

Base verb is transitive:

- (151) a. *Ku-tau-pi-ako te sidu te marica*
 1SG-put-DIR-APPL CORE spoon CORE pepper
*(di/*te) roukau i-helo'a-su.*
 OBL CORE vegetables OP-cook-1SG.POSS
 'I put pepper in the vegetables that I was cooking with a spoon.'

Object suffixes:

- b. * *Ku-tau-pi-ako-'e na (sidu / marica / roukau).*
 1SG-put-DIR-APPL-3OBJ CORE spoon pepper vegetables
 'I put pepper in the vegetables with a spoon.'

Object relative clause on second applied object:

- c. *Te sidu i-tau-pi-ako-su (u marica)*
 CORE spoon OP-put-DIR-APPL-1SG.POSS GEN pepper
(di roukau i-helo'a-su) no-to'oge.
 OBL vegetables OP-cook-1SG.POSS 3R-big
 'The spoon which I used to put (something) in (the vegetables I was cooking) is large.'

Object relative clause on first applied object:

- d. * *Te roukau i-tau-pi-ako-su (*u marica)*
 CORE vegetables OP-put-DIR-APPL-1SG.POSS GEN pepper
(u sidu) no-mombaka.
 GEN spoon 3R-delicious
 'The vegetables that I put (pepper) in with (the spoon) are delicious.'

Object relative clause on base object:

- e. * *Te marica i-tau-pi-ako-su (u sidu)*
 CORE pepper OP-put-DIR-APPL-1SG.POSS GEN spoon
(di roukau i-helo'a-su) no-mohana.
 OBL vegetables OP-cook-1SG.POSS 3R-hot
 'The pepper that I put in (the vegetables I was cooking) with (the spoon) is hot.'

Passive:

- f. * *No-to-tau-pi-ako-mo na (sidu / marica / roukau).*
 3R-PASS-put-DIR-APPL-PF NOM spoon / pepper / vegetables
 'The (spoon / pepper / vegetables) was put in with.'

Pragmatic focus:

- g. * *'U-tau-pi-ako te paira?*
 2SG.R-go-DIR-APPL CORE what
 'What are you putting (it) in (it) with?'
 * 'What are you putting in (it) with (it) ?'
 * 'What are you putting (it) in with (it) ?'

The most unusual feature of instrumental double applicative constructions is the fact that neither the instrumental applied object nor any other object can be selected as a nominative argument, and may head a relative clause only if the base predicate was transitive.

10.6 Applicatives and ditransitive verbs

Ditransitive verbs display some unusual behaviour when they are applicativised. There are two types of ditransitive verbs, those with a recipient and a theme arguments, and those with a theme and an (optional) instrument. These are exemplified by the subcategorisation frames presented in (152) and (153):

(152) '*hu'u* <[Ag], ([Dat]), ([Thm])>' 'give'

(153) '*simbi* <[Ag], ([Instr]), ([Pt])>' 'slash'

When an applicative is added to a ditransitive verb, the resulting argument structure is often completely predictable. For instance, adding a beneficiary to *simbi* 'slash' can result in a sentence such as the following:

(154) *Ku-simbi-ako te tuha-su te sede*
 1SG-slash-APPL CORE family-1SG.POSS CORE taro
(te kabali).
 CORE machete
 'I slashed at the taro (with a machete) for my family.'

(154)' 'APPL <[Ag], [Dat] slash <[Ag], [Instr], [Pt]>>'

If add a beneficiary argument to *hu'u* 'give', however, different behaviour is found.

From a base construction such as:

- (155) *Ku-hu'u-ke na iai-su te sede.*
 1SG-give-3OBJ NOM younger.sibling-1SG.POSS CORE taro
 'I gave my sister some taro.'

a beneficiary added by means of applicative morphology produces the following sentence, with the original goal object, *iaisu*, now an oblique argument:

- (156) *Ku-hu'u-ako-'e na ina-su te sede*
 1SG-give-APPL-3OBJ NOM mother-1SG.POSS CORE taro
di iai-su.
 OBL younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
 'I gave my sister some taro for my mother.'

The argument structure that we propose for (156) is set out in (156)', with the subscripts indicating the semantic identity or non-identity of the arguments (same subscript = same argument). The argument structure associated with (155) is included for comparison, with the subscripts that indicate the identity of the arguments coordinated to match those used in (156)':

- (155)' 'give ⟨[Ag]₁, [Dat]₃, [Thm]₄⟩'

- (156)' 'APPL ⟨[Ag]₁, [Dat]₂ give ⟨[Ag]₁, [Thm]₄⟩ ⟨[Loc]₃⟩⟩'

The reason for the shift of the original dative argument to oblique status is that otherwise it would contravene the restriction that an applied object may not bear the same semantic role as a base object. Note that this shift to oblique status is only an option for the dative argument of a ditransitive verb. The dative argument of a transitive verb may not appear as an oblique argument, freeing up the dative core argument position for a dative applied object:

- (157) * *No-'ema-ako te ina-no di ama-no.*
 3R-answer-APPL CORE mother-3POSS OBL father-3POSS
 'She answered her uncle as a favour to her mother.'

Verbs with an instrument as well as another non-agent in their subcategorisation frames display similar behaviour when an instrumental applied object is added. If the applicative suffix introduces an instrumental role (in order to emphasise it, and to make it available for heading a relative clause, for instance), the base object is marked as an oblique argument of the clause:

- (158) *Ku-simbi-ako te kabali di sede.*
 1SG-slash-APPL CORE machete OBL taro
 'I slashed at the taro with a machete.'

In other words, the formula in (160)' is not fully descriptive of the process involved in

applicativising *simbi*:

(158) 'APPL ⟨[Ag]₁, [Instr]₂ slash ⟨[Ag]₁, [Instr]₂, [Pt]₃⟩⟩'

In (158), it appears that the presence of the instrument argument in both the applicative predicate and the base predicate causes the base object to be an oblique argument, just as was found when an additional dative argument was added to a predicate with a dative argument in it. In (158), however, the instrumental arguments refer to the same real-world object - note that the use of the same numerical subscripts indicates their co-identity. The construction, however, behaves as if the restriction stating that there should be no more than three core arguments in a single or double predicate construction were still restricting the number of core arguments in (158). The result of combining the two predicates in (158) is the argument structure given in (158)'':

(158)'' 'APPL ⟨[Ag]₁, [Instr]₂ slash ⟨[Ag]₁, [Instr]₂⟩ ⟨[Pt]₃⟩⟩'

The agentive argument is not subject to demotion to oblique status. The instrument argument cannot be demoted, since the purpose of the applicative predicate is to make arguments core ones (even if they were already core). The patient of the base predicate is thus the argument that is demoted to oblique status.

10.7 Applicative summary

10.7.1 Basic applicative constructions

The data that has been exemplified in the preceding sections for each of the morphologically distinct affix types is presented here in tabular format for the sake of easy comparison. Table 16 deals with properties of the applied objects of intransitive base predicates:

Table 16. Intransitive verbs. Properties of the applied object

	Agent	Dative	Instru- mental	Locative	Allative	Cause	Purpose
object suffix?	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
ORC	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Passive	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Reciprocal	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
UOD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Focus	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Noteworthy features:

- In contrast to the applied object of an inherently transitive verb, an agentive applied object of an inherently intransitive verb may be passivised;
- A locative or allative applied object may not be deleted if it is the sole object of the verb;
- A passive may not be formed about the purposive applied object of an intransitive verb.

With base predicates that are inherently transitive, the information summarised must include not only the data about the applied object, but also information concerning the behaviour of the base object in the applicative construction. This information is presented in tables 17 and 18:

Table 17. Transitive verbs. Properties of the applied object

	Agent	Dative	Instru- mental	Theme	Locative	Allative	Purpose
object suffix?	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
ORC	+	+	+	+, (+)	+, (+)	+, (+)	-
Passive	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
Reciprocal	+	+	-	-	-	+	-
UOD	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
Focus	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)

Noteworthy features:

- An applied object bearing the role of agent, dative, instrument or theme/patient (defining the set of core relations) cannot be deleted;
- An applied object bearing the role of theme or purpose cannot be indexed on the verb by object suffixes (and thus cannot be nominative Case);
- An applied object bearing the role of agent cannot be passivised.

Table 18. Transitive verbs. properties of the basic object

	Agent	Dative	Instru- mental	Theme	Locative	Allative	Purpose
object suffix?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ORC	-	(+)	(+)	-	(+)	{+}	-
Passive	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Reciprocal	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
UOD	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
Focus	-	-	-	-	+	+	-

Noteworthy features:

- The base object in a locative or allative applicative construction cannot be deleted;
- The base object of a construction involving an agentive, instrumental, theme or purpose applied object cannot be pragmatically focussed.

One feature universally distinguishes an object of an applicative construction from an object of a simple transitive verb: an object in an applicative construction may not head a subject relative clause with a verb employing a passive prefix, regardless of the semantic role that it bears, or whether it is the applied or basic object. An example of this contrast is given in (159a), (159b) and (159c) (note that the objects in (159a) and (159b) bear the same semantic role, [Dative]):

Verb without applicative morphology:

- (159) a. *Te kene-su t{um}o-hu'u te kabali no-mele.*
 CORE friend-1SG.POSS PASS.SI-give CORE machete 3R-pleased
 'The friend of mine who was given a machete is pleased.'

Verb with applicative morphology: applied object as head:

- b. * *Te kene-su t{um}o-ala-ako te kabali*
 CORE friend-1SG.POSS PASS.SI-fetch-APPL CORE machete
no-mele.
 3R-pleased
 'The friend of mine who a machete was fetched for is pleased.'

Verb with applicative morphology: base object as head:

- c. * *Te kabali t{um}o-ala-ako te kene-su*
 CORE machete PASS.SI-fetch-APPL CORE friend-1SG.POSS
no-mohama.
 3R-sharp
 'The machete that was fetched for my friend is sharp.'

A further distinction concerns unspecified object deletion; although applicative constructions generally allow unspecified object deletion, there is a requirement that at least one object be present, either in an NP or as a pronominal object suffix (or both) (this stems from a general requirement in the language that if a verb has valency-increasing morphology, at least one object must be present; see chapter 4.5.1). This restriction means that if the applied object is the sole object in the clause, it cannot be deleted. When the applicative construction has more than one object, the semantic role of the applied object determines which of the two objects may be deleted, and which is obligatorily present. Example (160) demonstrates that a Dative applied object must be present, whilst the base object in the same applicative construction may be deleted. This is reversed for the objects in an applicative construction with a locative applied object (example (161)), in which the base object is obligatorily present, and the applied object is the optional one. If the verb without applicative morphology is intransitive, and so there is only one object in the applicative construction, the applied object must be present, regardless of its semantic role, as seen in (162):

Dative applied object:

- (160) *No-ala-ako* * (*te kene-su*) (*te kabali*).
 3R-fetch-APPL CORE friend-1SG.POSS CORE machete
 'They fetched my friend a machete.'

Locative applied object:

- (161) *No-aso-api* (*te kene-su*) * (*te kabali*).
 3R-sell-DIR CORE friend-1SG.POSS CORE machete
 'They sold my friend a machete.'

Locative applied object of an intransitive verb:

- (162) *No-wil(a)-isi* * (*te kene-su*).
 3R-go-APPL CORE friend-1SG.POSS
 'They visited my friend.'

Sentence (160) is also grammatical with the applied object expressed by object suffixes:

- (160)' *No-ala-ako-'e* (*na kene-su*) (*te kabali*).
 3R-fetch-APPL-3OBJ NOM friend-1SG.POSS CORE machete
 'They fetched my friend a machete.'

Another generalisation, this time linking applied objects with objects of simple transitive verbs, is that they may always be in pragmatic focus, such as is found in questions. In most cases, the base object is no longer able to be pragmatically focussed. This is illustrated in (163) and (164):

Applied object focussed:

- (163) *No-ala-ako* *te emai te kabali?*
 3R-fetch-APPL CORE who CORE machete
 'Who did they fetch a machete for?'

Base object focussed:

- (164) * *No-ala-ako* *te kene-su te paira?*
 3R-fetch-APPL CORE friend-1SG.POSS CORE what
 'What did they fetch for my friend?'

(this is expressible with a core-level serial verb construction: *No-ala te paira ako te kene-su?*)

Apart from the ability to be pragmatically focussed, and the inability to be the passive head of a subject relative clause, applied and base objects of applicative constructions display considerable variation with regard to their access to different object-defining grammatical processes, depending on the semantic role of the applied object in the construction. The facts are summarised in the preceding tables 17 and 18, dealing with the basic and applied objects of transitive verbs.

The variation in ability to be reciprocalised is the simple result of semantic plausibility; instruments, themes and locations lack the sentience necessary to participate in a transitive verb action. The inability of an applied object that is a theme to be indexed on the verb with

object suffixes comes as a result of its position on the thematic hierarchy (Bresnan and Kanerva 1989, see chapter 3.2.5). The verb in *hu'u* 'give' subcategorises for ⟨[Ag], [Dat], [Thm]⟩. When the theme becomes the applied object, it is still ranked below the other object, the Dative, in the thematic hierarchy: ⟨[Ag], [Dat], [Thm]_{APPL}⟩; in the other applicative constructions involving core semantic roles, the applied object is always higher than the base object in terms of this thematic hierarchy: ⟨[Ag], [Ag]_{APPL}, []⟩, ⟨[Ag], [Dat]_{APPL}, []⟩ or ⟨[Ag], [Instr]_{APPL}, []⟩. The fact that the theme applied object may be subject if the verb is passive stems from the fact that even without applicative morphology both arguments of *hu'u* may be passivised (exemplified in (11.2.1).

Note that this symmetry does not extend to the objects of the applicativised *hu'u-ako*. The base (dative) object may NOT be subject if the verb is applicativised:

Base object being subject with passive verb:

- (165) * *No-to-hu'u-ako-mo na kene-su te kabali ana.*
 3R-PASS-give-APPL-PF NOM friend-1SG.POSS CORE machete this
 'My friend was given this machete.'

It is interesting that [Agent] applied objects cannot be subject with passive verbs, when all other applied objects may be. This is illustrated in (166):

Agent (comitative) applied object:

- (166) * *No-to-homoru-ngkene-mo na kene nu ompu-su.*
 3R-PASS-weave-COM-PF NOM friend GEN grandparent-1SG.POSS
 'They fetched my friend a machete.'

This probably results from a restriction on the passive operation that limits it to appearing only with arguments bearing a semantic role lower than [Agent], if there is such an argument present in the argument structure of the verb. In an applicative construction based on an intransitive verb, the only roles in the argument structure are both [Agent], but in a construction based on a transitive verb, there is (even if suppressed by unspecified object deletion) an argument with a semantic role lower than [Agent]; this argument may not be subject in a passive verb construction, however, because of the restraints on the selection of arguments by the passive process that limit it to the second semantic role in the hierarchy. It is worth noting that no simple transitive verbs have objects with [Agent] semantic roles, whilst objects with [Dative], [Instrument] and [Theme/Patient] are all attested.

10.7.2 Double applicative constructions

The summary of basic applicative constructions had to deal with the properties of the applied object and the base object for both transitive and intransitive verbs. In double applicative constructions there are at least two objects present, the first applied object and the second applied object (gauged by the relative distance of the relevant applicative morphology from the stem of the verb). If the verb was transitive before any applicative morphology was added, then the base object is also a factor to be considered.

Note that the first applied object in a double applicative construction is not the same as the base object of a basic applicative construction, nor is there a direct correspondence

between the second applied object based on an intransitive verb and the applied object of a basic applicative construction based on a transitive verb. Illustrating the first of these two points, consider the marking and behaviour in nominalisations of the base object of a basic applicative construction, and the first applied object of a double applicative construction, shown here in (167) - (172). In both cases, the semantic role of the second applied object is [Agent], but only the dative applied object of the basic applicative construction is marked as a core argument, and treated as such in nominalisations:

- (167) *Ku-ala-ngkene te kene-su te kabali ana.*
 3R-fetch-COM CORE friend-1SG.POSS CORE machete this
 'I fetched this machete with my friend.'
- (168) *Te ala-ngkene-'a-su nu kene-su nu kabali*
 CORE fetch-COM-NL-1SG.POSS GEN friend-1SG.POSS GEN machete
no-menti'i.
 3R-fast
 'The way I fetched this machete with my friend was fast.'
- (169) *Ku-wil(a)-isi-ngkene te kene-su di ompu-no.*
 3R-go-DIR-COM CORE friend-1SG.POSS OBL grandmother-3POSS
 'I visited his grandmother with my friend.'
- (170) * *Ku-wil(a)-isi-ngkene te kene-su*
 3R-go-DIR-COM CORE friend-1SG.POSS
te ompu-no.
 CORE grandmother-3POSS
 'I visited his grandmother with my friend.'
- (171) *Te wil(a)-isi-ngkene-'a-su nu kene-su*
 CORE go-DIR-COM-NL-1SG.POSS GEN friend-1SG.POSS
di ompu-no no-menti'i.
 OBL grandmother-3POSS 3R-fast
 'The way I visited his grandmother with my friend was fast.'
- (172) * *Te wil(a)-isi-ngkene-'a-su nu kene-su*
 CORE go-DIR-COM-NL-1SG.POSS GEN friend-1SG.POSS
nu ompu-no no-menti'i.
 GEN grandmother-3POSS 3R-fast
 'The way I visited his grandmother with my friend was fast.'

The different behaviour displayed by the second applied object of a double applicative construction, compared to that displayed by the applied object of a basic applicative construction, is illustrated in (173) - (174), where the objects in question are both in a [Dative] semantic role:

- (173) *Te kene-su i-wil(a)-isi-ako-su...*
 CORE friend-1SG.POSS OP-go-DIR-APPL-1SG.POSS
 'My friend who(se grandmother) I visited for (them)...

- (174) * *Te kene-su i-ma(i)-isi-ako-su...*
 CORE friend-1SG.POSS OP-come-DIR-APPL-1SG.POSS
 'My friend who I came to (somewhere) for...'

The behaviour of the object arguments in double applicative constructions, exemplified in section 10.5, is summarised in tables 19 - 21:

Table 19. Intransitive verbs. properties of the second applied object

Intransitive	Locative +		
	Agent	Dative	Instrumental
object suffix?	+	+	-
ORC	+	+	-
Passive	-	-	-
UOD	+	+	+
Focus	+	+	+
Other object	di	te	te

Table 20. Transitive verbs. properties of the second applied object: I
 (Other objects: base object // first applied object)

Transitive	Locative +		
	Agent	Dative	Instrumental
object suffix?	+	+	-
ORC	+	+	+
Passive	-	-	-
UOD	+	+	+
Focus	+	+	+
Other objects	di // te/di	di // te/di	di

Table 21. Transitive verbs. properties of the second applied object: II

Transitive	Agent +
	Dative
object suffix?	-†
ORC	-
Passive	-
UOD	+
Focus	-
Other objects	te

†(note: object suffixes *may* index the comitative applied object)

10.8 Combining properties and the question of symmetry or asymmetry

A symmetrical language is one in which both objects of a construction with more than one

object are accorded equal status grammatically. Either may be passivised, for example (see Bresnan and Moshi 1990). One language with both this property, and a strong typological similarity to *Tukang Besi*, and thus a convenient point from which to conduct a comparison, is *Pancana* (Austronesian, Muna-Buton group, Southeast Sulawesi; data from my own fieldnotes). Examples (175a) and (175b) show that at least one object property, the ability to be subject in a passive construction, can be claimed by either of the objects of an applicative construction with a dative applied object:

Pancana:

Passivised applied object:

- (175) a. *Sabangka-ku no-ti-ala-a'u sabo.*
 friend-1SG.POSS 3R-PASS-fetch-APPL soap
 'My friend had soap fetched for him.'

Passivised basic object:

- b. *Sabo no-ti-ala-a'u sabangka-ku.*
 soap 3R-PASS-fetch-APPL friend-1SG.POSS
 'Soap was fetched for my friend.'

Discussing the differences between symmetrical and asymmetrical languages, Alsina (1993: 565) notes that

The diagnostics which prove to be reliable cross-linguistically are the ability of an argument to be expressed as the subject, to be represented by means of an object marker, and to be reciprocalized.

Furthermore, it is not just the ability of either object to display such properties that is important (1993:560):

Chichewa is a language in which only one internal argument at a time can exhibit properties of nonrestricted arguments. This we shall take to be the defining characteristic of an "asymmetrical" language. On the other hand, a symmetrical language is one in which two internal arguments may simultaneously display properties of nonrestricted arguments.

Even in this stricter definition *Pancana* qualifies as symmetrical; for example, sentence (176) shows both the objects indexed on the verb with object suffixes:

Pancana:

Pronominalised applied *and* basic objects (on a ditransitive verb):

- (176) *No-waa-kainta-e.*
 3R-give-1PL.IN.OBJ2-3OBJ
 'They gave it to us.'

Examining these criteria for *Tukang Besi*, we find that none of the applicative constructions allow both objects equal access to be subject in a passive construction, to be represented by means of an object marker, or to be bound with the subject in a reciprocal construction. In all cases, if one object may display that property, the other may not. It would seem that *Tukang Besi* is an asymmetric language. However, whilst no applicative construction presents two objects that are accessible to the same grammatical process, the

instrumental applicative does allow a reciprocal construction (combining the subject and the base (theme) object) to cooccur with another process affecting the instrumental object, such as indexing on the verb by means of the object suffixes (177a), being subject if the verb is passive (177b), or heading an object relative clause (177c):

- (177) a. *To-po-simbi-simbi-ako-'e* *na* *hansu*.
 1PL.R-REC-RED-slash-APPL-3OBJ NOM sword
 'We slashed each other with swords.'
- b. *No-to-po-simbi-simbi-ako-mo* *na* *hansu*.
 3R-PASS-REC-RED-slash-APPL-PF NOM sword
 'The swords have been used for mutual slashing.'
- c. *Te* *hansu* *i-po-simbi-simbi-ako* *nu* *sanggila* *iso*
 CORE sword OP-REC-RED-slash-APPL GEN pirate yon
no-mohama.
 3R-sharp
 'The swords that were used by the pirates to slash each other with are sharp.'
 (Notice that *simbi* is not treated the same as *tompa* (section 10.6). It belongs in the subclass of transitive verbs that allow for nominative instruments (see chapter 4))

It is not possible to combine multiple object-affecting processes on a verb base which does not include a reciprocal, for example, passive and object suffixes are not compatible on the same verb form:

- (178) * *No-to-simbi-ako-'e*.
 3R-PASS-slash-APPL
 'They were chopped with them.'

Although *Tukang Besi* generally shows the properties of an asymmetrical language, certain constructions with objects bearing instrumental semantic roles display some features that would be consistent with a symmetrical interpretation. The data from *Tukang Besi* indicates that rather than classifying a language, or even a construction, as symmetrical or asymmetrical, each individual combination of grammatical construction, semantic role, and transitivity needs to be separately examined. The behaviour of objects in applicative constructions does not follow strict rules such that examination of one part of the system can lead to sure predictions about the behaviour of other areas.

Chapter 11

Other verbal morphology

11.1 Valency reducing affixes

There are several prefixes that are used derivationally to produce verbs with a lower valency than that displayed by the underived verb. Most of these prefixes appear to be incompatible with each other on the one verbal root, even though they can be shown (through interaction with other prefixes) to occur in different positions (an exception to this is that a verb whose valency has been increased by an applicative suffix, and so has more than one object to discard, does allow multiple valency reduction, as does an object which appears as the result of possessor ascension.). Both subject and object may be combined to form a single subject through the use of the reciprocal prefix *po-*. The passive prefixes are dealt with in section 11.2, and serve to mark a verb in which the subject of the clause is the affected argument (the one lowest on the thematic hierarchy), and do not allow for any mention of the instigator of the action at all. At the other end of the verb, an object may be incorporated into the verb, thus reducing the transitivity in a different way. This has been dealt with in chapter 7.

11.1.1 Durative performance prefix *heme-*

The prefix *heme-* implies that an action is done over a period of time; it derives an intransitive verb, and so can have no objects even if based on a transitive base.

<i>no-'ita</i>	‘see’	<i>no-heme-'ita</i>	‘search around’
<i>no-landa</i>	‘stamp, squash’	<i>no-heme-landa</i>	‘stamp feet about for a while’

s-V	(te O _j)	na S/A _i
↓		
s- <i>heme</i> -V		na S _i

(1) *Ku-lende te po'o iso.*
 1SG-squeeze CORE mango yon
 ‘I squeezed that mango.’

(2) *Ku-heme-lende.*
 1SG-DUR-squeeze
 ‘I squeezed (them).’ (over a period of time)

- (3) * *Ku-heme-lende te po'o.*
 1SG-DUR-squeeze CORE mango
 'I squeezed the mangoes.' (over a period of time)
- (4) *Molengo no-heme-'ita-'e no-lagu-mo na ana-no iso.*
 long 3R-DUR-see-3OBJ 3R-sing-PF NOM child-3POSS yon
 'For a long time her child searched for her, singing.'

It can of course be speculated that this prefix is really a combination of the verbal prefix *he-* and the frequentive prefix *me-*. This cannot be tested, though the semantics of the two prefixes do not seem to be compatible.

11.1.2 Frequentive prefix *me-*

This prefix is used on active verbs to derive a non-active intransitive verb out of the root, with the meaning 'perform the activity denoted by the verb on several occasions'.

<i>no-tinti</i>	'run'	<i>no-me-tinti</i>	'frequently runs'
<i>no-lele'e</i>	'urinate'	<i>no-me-he-lele'e</i>	'frequently urinate'
<i>no-'ita</i>	'look'	<i>no-me-'ita</i>	'frequently look'

s-V	(te O _j)	na S/A[Agent] _i
↓		
s-me-V	∅	na S _i

- (5) *No-mo-talo.*
 3R-ANTICAUS-beat
 'They have been beaten.'
- (6) *No-me-mo-talo.*
 3R-FREQ-ANTICAUS-beat
 'They always lose.'
- (7) *No-tita'i ala'a.*
 3R-defecate just
 'S/he's only defecating.'
- (8) *No-me-tita'i ala'a.*
 3R-FREQ-defecate just
 'All s/he does is defecate.'
- (9) *No-laha te doe.*
 3R-search CORE money
 'He is looking for money.'
- (10) *No-me-laha (*te doe).*
 3R-FREQ-search CORE money
 'He is always looking.'

11.1.3 Reciprocal prefix *po-*

The reciprocal prefix is not always a 'true' reciprocal, in that there does not have to be two-way action (see example (41), using the multiple subject prefix *pada-*, which may be rephrased as *Noposimbi na sangila kene amai*, though **Nopomoturu* is completely unacceptable. The rephrasing of (41) is possible since the multiple participants are affected patients as well as subjects). There are, however, necessarily two or more participants that are affected by the action. Normally, of course, these will be the subject and the object of the underived verb. The subject prefix on the verb that represents the combined subject and object of the underived verb can index either the person and number features of the combined nominals, or only one or the other of them (see chapter 18 for details on the restrictions involved).

s-V	te O _j	na A _i
↓		
s _{i+j} / s _j / s _i - <i>po</i> -V	∅	na S _{i+j} A _i +O _j

This is represented in argument structure as follows:

‘REC <[] PRED <[], []>>’

The two possibilities for the use of the subject prefixes are shown below in (12) and (13), with the underived sentence presented first in (11):

- (11) (')*U-'ita-aku* *te* *iko'o*.
 2SG.R-see-1SG.OBJ CORE 2SG
 'You saw me.'

The reciprocal sentence with subject indexing showing both the base [A] and the base [O] is seen in (12):

- (12) *To-po-'ita-'ita* (*na* *ikita*) / ((*na* *iaku*) *ke* *iko'o*).
 1PL.R-REC-RED-see NOM 1PL NOM 1SG and 2SG
 'We saw each other.'

If the subject prefix indexes only the base [A], then the base [O] is obligatorily present in the form of a conjunct phrase:

- (13) '*U-po-'ita-'ita* ((*na* *ikita*) / (*na* *iko'o*)) *(*ke* *iaku*).
 2SG.R-REC-RED-see NOM 1PL NOM 2SG and 1SG
 'You and I saw each other.'

Details of the person and number combinations, and the indexing on the verb, that are allowed can be found in chapter 18.

11.2 Passive prefixes

There are three passive prefixes in *Tukang Besi* that can be used with transitive verbs, *to-*, *te-* and *mo-*. They all share the properties of being restricted to transitive (or ditransitive) verbs, that they display a preference for appearing with the perfective aspect marker *-mo* (less strong with *mo-*), and that there can be no *by*-phrase with the passive verb form. After that the differences between the three prefixes (which are mutually incompatible) become apparent. With *to-*, the most productive of the three, the object of a transitive verb is conceived of as having the action described by the verb performed on it, in a rather inexact manner (multiple or unidentified participants, or over a long period of time). We may characterise this passive as follows:

x (intentionally or otherwise) causes *V* to happen to *y*.
y may or may not be changed as a result of this

With the *te-* accidental passive there is no sense of volitionality in the verb at all; other than this qualification, the meaning is very similar to that found with *to-*. Since there is no agency in the verb at all, either implicit or assumed, the set of verbs that *te-* may appear with is much more restricted than the set which may appear with *to-*, being limited to things that may be plausible caused by natural forces. The characterisation of *te-* is as follows:

V happens to happen to *y* (without volition), which may or may not have changed

The final 'passive' prefix, *mo-*, is better termed an anticausative (see Comrie (1981) and Lichtenberk (1991) for the use of this term). It attaches to process verbs, and the derived verb denotes the state resulting from that activity. We may semantically characterise this construction as follows:

y was *V*-ed, and has now changed state significantly

These different passive prefixes will now be discussed one by one.

11.2.1 General passive *to-*

The prefix *to-* attaches to active transitive verbs and can be characterised as a subject-demoting passive, in that the argument corresponding to the subject of the non-passive sentence loses many pivot properties, most of which are NOT acquired by the original object, which becomes the single argument of the derived intransitive verb. The single argument of the passive verb is marked by the nominative article, following the pattern for intransitive verbs, and is additionally eligible to be marked on the verb by means of subject prefixes. As is apparent from the preceding description, a passive cannot be formed on an intransitive verb. In such a derived passive verb form, coding of any argument by means of object-suffixes is not possible (Even in a ditransitive verb: **No-to-hu'u-ke-mo*. 3R-PASS-give-3OBJ-PF 'They were given it.'). The correspondences involved between a passive sentence and a non-passive one can be summarised by the following schema:

- (18) *Te kau di-ala-'u ako te i-rampu morondo*
 CORE wood OP-fetch-2SG.POSS PURP CORE OP-burn night
o-to-pidi-mo.
 3R-PASS-rubbish-PF
 'The wood which you brought to burn tonight is already used up.' (G:58)
- (19) "...*toka mbeaka (a)la'a no-to-bata.*"
 but not even 3R-PASS-scratch (Sab:28)
 '(We're tired,) but it [the tree] is not even scratched.'

Further arguments for describing the *to-* passive as a backgrounding passive without any corresponding foregrounding properties concern the assignment of pivot properties to the subject of the derived verb. Although the subject, as the single argument of an intransitive verb, is marked by the nominative article *na*, and is the sole argument indexed on the verb, it does not acquire any of the pivotal properties normally associated with the nominative argument, such as the ability to be deleted under conditions of identity with a previous *na*-argument (see chapter 20). Just as (20b), illustrating coreferential deletion of non-nominative NPs, is ungrammatical, or at least infelicitous, so too is (21), despite the article use being consistent with the qualifications necessary for coreferential deletion, as is the case for (20a):

- (20) a. *Ku-'ita-ko (na iko'o), kene 'u-tulu.*
 1SG-see-2SG.OBJ NOM 2SG and 2SG.R-stop
 'I saw you, and you stopped by (for a chat).'
- b. */# *Ku-'ita te iko'o, kene 'u-tulu.*
 1SG-see CORE 2SG and 2SG.R-stop
- (21) * *'U-to-'ita na iko'o, kene 'u-tulu.*
 2SG.R-PASS-see NOM 2SG and 2SG.R-stop
 'You were seen, and stopped by (for a chat).'

Another property ascribed to nominative arguments that is not carried through to the single argument of a *to-* passive includes the ability to launch floating quantifiers. The subject of a *to-* passive clause may only be modified by a floating quantifier within the NP. It may not launch a floating quantifier to a position outside the NP.

- (22) a. *No-to-'ita [na banka saba'ane]_{NP}.*
 3R-PASS-see NOM ship all
 'All of the sailing ships were seen.'
- b. * *Saba'ane no-to-'ita [na banka]_{NP}.*
- c. * *No-to-'ita saba'ane [na banka]_{NP}.*

The subject of a *to-* passive can serve as the head of a subject relative clause, a property that is associated with an argument in [A] or [S] syntactic role, not with the nominative argument:

- (23) *Te mia t[um]o-'ita iso no-lalo-mo.*
 CORE person PASS.SI-see yon 3R-pass.by-PF
 'The person who was seen is passing by.'

As indicated in the translations, the passive function is usually used with a perfective meaning. With perception verbs, such as *'ita* 'see', this is not morphologically apparent, but to be judged completely acceptable accomplishment verbs often require the addition of *-mo* 'perfective':

- (24) a. *No-sai te kabali na tukatutu.*
 3R-make CORE machete NOM blacksmith
 'The blacksmith made the machete.'

b. # *Notosai na kabali.*

- c. *No-to-sai-mo na kabali.*
 3R-PASS-make-PF NOM machete
 'The machete has been made.'

With a ditransitive verb, the behaviour of the two 'objects' with respect to passivisation depends on whether the verb contains an instrument or a recipient in its subcategorisation frame. With a verb that subcategorises for a core instrument, only the theme/patient may be passivised:

- (25) a. *No-tu'o te baliu te kau.*
 3R-make CORE axe CORE tree
 'They chopped the tree down with axes.'
- b. *No-to-tu'o-mo na kau te baliu.*
 3R-PASS-make-PF NOM tree CORE axe
 'The tree was chopped down with axes.'
- c. * *No-to-tu'o-mo na baliu te kau.*
 3R-PASS-make-PF NOM axe CORE tree
 'The axe was chopped down with at trees.'
 (Good for: 'The axe was chopped down by means of a tree.')

(notice that the non-*by*-phrase instrumental core argument may be mentioned in the passive clause)

With a ditransitive verb involving a recipient, both the recipient and the theme are available to be the subject of a passive clause (this is despite the fact that only the recipient may head an object relative clause, or be indexed on the verb by object suffixes.):

- (26) a. *No-hu'u te mo'ane mandawulu te kamba.*
 3R-make CORE man beautiful CORE flower
 'He gave the beautiful man a flower.'

b. *No-to-hu'u-mo na mo'ane mandawulu te kamba.*
 3R-PASS-make-PF NOM man beautiful CORE flower
 'The beautiful man was given a flower.'

c. *No-to-hu'u-mo na kamba te mo'ane mandawulu.*
 3R-PASS-make-PF NOM flower CORE man beautiful
 'The flower was given to the beautiful man.'

(Though in *Tukang Besi* 'the beautiful man' is still a core argument in this sentence, so a closer translation would be 'The flower was given the beautiful man.', but I find this to be ungrammatical English.)

In (26b) and (26c) we also see that the non-*by*-phrase may be mentioned in the passive sentence, even though it is not an instrument, but a theme (in (26b) or a recipient (in 26c). One explanation for the asymmetry in behaviour is that the addition of applicative morphology on *tu'o* will make the instrument able to be passivised, yet that is not the case with the recipient of *hu'u* if applicative morphology is added. In other words, there is an alternative strategy for making the instrument of *tu'o* the subject of a passive sentence, but no alternative for the recipient of *hu'u*. The instrument of *tu'o* may also be present in a prepositional phrase (with *kene*, see chapter 12) or in a core level serial verb construction (with *ako*, see chapter 8). These are also options not available to the recipient of *hu'u*.

In short, prefixing *to-* to a verb backgrounds the original [A] argument completely; the argument is not expressible by any means (unless, exceptionally, it bears [Instrumental] semantic role; see chapter 20 for a discussion of this). The [O] becomes eligible to be subject indexed on the verb, though this is not compulsory, the 'dummy' third person index also being commonly used. The article that is used to mark the undergoer nominal is the nominative *na*, as would be expected for the single argument of an intransitive verb, but the presence of this article does not confer any of the pivot properties associated with nominative arguments.

11.2.2 Accidental passive *te-*

The prefix *te-* appears only on transitive verbs that can take a generic, or 'natural', actor. That is, they do not require animate agency or volition. The passive must be interpreted as describing an accidental occurrence, and so cannot appear on verbs that involve a volitional actor. The subject that is the single argument of the verb must be totally affected by the action. The affect of *te-* on the grammatical functions may be expressed by the following schema:

s-V	te O _{[Theme/Patient] j}	na A _i
↓		
s-te-V	na S _j	∅

This is be illustrated in examples (27) and (28):

- (27) a. *To-tompa te 'obu ako te watu.*
 1PL.R-throw CORE dog INSTR CORE stone
 'We threw stones at the dog.'
 (Lit. 'We threw at the dog with stones.')
- b. *No-to-tompa na 'obu te watu.*
 3R-PASS-throw NOM dog CORE stone
 'The dog had stones thrown at it (by someone).'
 (Notice that more than one argument appears here, with the subcategorised-for instrument appearing with the same marking that it had in the non-passive clause. This is the general case for multi-valent verbs, that any non-subject core arguments that are not passivised may appear in the passive sentence as well.)
- c. *No-te-tompa na 'obu te watu.*
 3R-ACC.PASS-throw NOM dog CORE stone
 'Stones were thrown at the dog (by an accidental force).'
- (28) a. *No-nabu te kaluku na amai ito.*
 3R-drop CORE coconut NOM 3PL that:higher
 'They dropped the coconut.'
- b. *No-to-nabu-mo na kaluku.*
 3R-PASS-drop-PF NOM coconut
 'The coconut was dropped (by someone).'
- c. *No-te-nabu-mo na kaluku.*
 3R-ACC.PASS-drop-PF NOM coconut
 'The coconut happened to fall.'
 (through forces of nature, such as a storm)

The accidental instrumental passive contrasts with the normal *to-* passive as shown in the examples in section 11.2.1.

The same restrictions on lack of nominative properties apply to single argument of the *te-* passive as apply to the *to-* passive, namely lack of control over coreferential deletion and the inability to launch floating quantifiers:

- (29) a. *No-nabu-'e na boku-no, mbeaka-mo no-lolaha-'e.*
 3R-drop-3OBJ NOM book-3POSS not-PF 3R-search-3OBJ
 'They tossed his book aside, and he couldn't find it any more.'
- b. * *No-te-nabu na boku-no,*
 3R-ACC.PASS-drop NOM book-3POSS
mbeaka-mo no-lolaha-'e.
 not-PF 3R-search-3OBJ
 'His book happened to fall away, and he couldn't find it any more.'
- (30) a. *No-te-mepa-mo [na pakea saba'ane]NP.*
 3R-ACC.PASS-wet-PF NOM clothes all
 'All of the clothes were soaked.'

- b. * *Saba'ane notemepamo [na pakea]NP.*
- c. * *Notemepamo saba'ane [na pakea]NP.*

This passive too, then, can be described as a backgrounding passive in which there is no promotion of the undergoer argument to a more prominent position, yet the actor in backgrounded entirely, being obligatorily deleted.

In discourse, the use of these passive forms is rather a 'dead end': after a sentence with a *to-* or *te-* passive, the thread of discourse must be started again from scratch, and so we can think of these passives not only as backgrounding passives, but also as ones that are 'concluding' passives, a sort of morphological full stop that marks the end of a thematic unit in discourse. This is consistent with the lack of a nominative pivot associated with a clause using either of these two passive types, which would not allow discourse centred around that particular topic to continue without reiterating all the nominals concerned (since conjunction reduction typically both targets and is controlled by nominative arguments, see chapter 20). For example, in (31) the passive is used to stop someone from droning on endlessly about fishing:

- (31) A: *O-saori-koruo na ika i-wini-no. No-wini no-wini*
 3R-very-many NOM fish OP-reel.in-3POSS 3R-reel.in 3R-reel.in
no-wini-torusu. No-wini te ika to'oge, no-wini
 3R-reel.in-continue 3R-reel.in CORE fish big 3R-reel.in
'uka te ika ki'iki'i, malingu-giu. Ane ke simbuku,
 also CORE fish small various-kinds exist and octopus
ane'e. Kene 'uka ane 'uka...
 exist-3OBJ and also exist also
 'Oh, they got a lot of fish. They were pulling them in, they kept on pulling them in, non-stop. They got some big fish, they got some smaller fish, lots of different sorts. They had octopus, they did, and they also had...'
- B: *Óo, no-to-wini-mo. Maka pasi-mo atu?*
 yes 3R-PASS-reel.in-PF and.then after-PF that
 'Right, they were all caught. And then?'
- A: *Oho, jari, po'oli atu, te amai no-waliako-mo.*
 yes so finish that CORE 3PL 3R-return-PF
 'Yes, well, and then after that they came back home.'

To continue discussing the fish after the use of a passive is very infelicitous discourse, and so the speaker is more-or-less forced to change the topic, thus getting on with the narrative.

11.2.3 Anticausative *mo-*

The *mo-* prefix attaches to active transitive process verbs and serves to show that the original object is in the changed state that can be assumed to result from the process activity described in the verb. This set of relationships can be described by the following schema:

s-V	te O _{[Patient]j}	na S _{[Agent]i}
↓		
s-mo-V	na S _j	∅

This is illustrated in practice by the following example. In (32), the non-passive verb is shown, both with and without object suffixes. In (33), the corresponding passive verb is illustrated:

(32) a. *'U-gonti-'e na kau.*
 2SG.R-chop-3OBJ NOM wood
 'You chopped the wood.'

b. *'U-gonti te kau.*
 2SG.R-chop CORE wood

(33) *No-mo-gonti-mo na kau.*
 3R-ANTICAUS-chop-PF NOM wood
 'The wood is chopped.'

(with the implication that the activity was done volitionally)

As with the other two passive prefixes, nominative pivot properties are not associated with the argument of the intransitive verb, and the *by*-phrase may not be mentioned.

11.2.4 Passive summary

These similarities and differences between the different passive forms, and the diathesis introduced by the presence or absence of object suffixes on the verb, are summarised in table 22:

Table 22. The three passive forms, and object suffixes, compared

	Actor may be present?	Verbal agreement?	Nominative properties?	Degree of affectedness?
object-suffixes	yes	as object	yes	low-high
<i>to</i> - prefix	no	(subject)	no	low-high
<i>te</i> - prefix	none implied	(subject)	no	high
<i>mo</i> - prefix	no	(subject)	no	total

11.3 Valency-neutral prefixes

The set of 'valency-neutral' affixes are so called because, when added to a verb, they do not either add or subtract any additional arguments to the clause. In contrast to the valency reducing affixes, which always reduce the valency of the verb by one, or the valency increasing affixes, which always add one argument to the verb (to a maximum of three arguments in any one verb phrase), the valency neutral affixes do not specify a change in valency.

11.3.1 Intensifier *heka-*

Adding *heka-* to an intransitive verb gives the sense that the activity is performed with more than usual effort and for a longer period of time. With reduplication of the root, the meaning is similar, but with the implication that the action or state is not real, that it is only being pretended.

s-V	na S
↓	
s- <i>heka</i> -V	na S

<i>rau</i>	'yell'	<i>no-heka-rau</i>	'cry out repeatedly'
<i>nangu</i>	'swim'	<i>no-heka-nangu</i>	'practise swimming' (go through the motions)

With reduplication:

<i>hesowui</i>	'wash'	<i>no-heka-heka-hesowui</i>	'pretend to wash oneself'
<i>hawaa</i>	'angry'	<i>no-heka-hawa-hawaa</i>	'pretend to be angry'

(34) *Te ia di 'one ala'a, no-heka-nangu ala'a.*
 CORE 3SG OBL beach just, 3R-INTENS-swim just
 'Oh, he's just on the beach, he's only going through the motions of swimming.'

(35) *Bar(a) ('u-ma'eka-ako-'e, no-heka-hawa-hawaa ala'a la.*
 don't 2SG.R-afraid-APPL-3OBJ, 3R-INTENS-RED-angry just ILL.FORCE
 'Don't be afraid of him, he's just pretending to be angry.'

11.3.2 Verbaliser *homo-*

The prefix *homo-* (possibly a combination of *hoN-* 'purposeful verbaliser' and *mo-* 'anticausative', though it is not immediately apparent how the semantics of the two prefixes are compatible) has only been encountered twice in texts, so very little can be said about its functions or semantic content. The examples of its use are presented in (36) and (37) below, with the surrounding text attached:

(36) *No-homo-ro-'e-mo kambeda te opa nu kompa.*
 3R-VRB-insert.hand-3OBJ-PF fact CORE grotto GEN eel
Jari la'a-mo no-ro-'e no-kaha-'e-mo na lima-no.
 so just-PF 3R-insert.hand-3OBJ 3R-bite-3OBJ-PF NOM hand-3POSS
 'He felt around a bit with his hand, because that's the cave of eels.'
 'So just as he inserted his hand, it was bitten.' (Oen: 4-5)

(37) *Saba'a-ba'ane na mia no-homo-ngkaru*
 all.RED NOM person 3R-VRB-carry
sa-'apa-'apata-no.
 1-RED-extremity-3POSS (Sab: 40)
 'All the people were carrying as much as they could.'

11.3.3 Social activity prefix *hopo-*

The use of *hopo-* on a verb implies that the action carried out is done for a social or ceremonial function, and not just for purely personal goals. The transitivity of the clause is not affected, a transitive verb serves as input, and a transitive verb is the result of the derivation.

s-V	(te O _j)	na S/A _i
↓		
s- <i>hopo</i> -V	(te O _j)	na S/A _i

Alternatively, the derivation can be taken to refer to a person who carries out that action. Examples of the derivation of verbs and nouns through the addition of *hopo-* are given below:

<i>wiliisi</i>	‘visit’	<i>no-hopo-wiliisi</i>	‘visit someone in official function’
		<i>te hopowiliisi</i>	‘person who officially visits’
(composed of <i>wila</i> ‘go’ and the directional applicative suffix -VCi)			
<i>elo</i>	‘call out to’	<i>no-hopo-elo</i>	‘summon for social /ceremonial duty’
		<i>te hopoelo</i>	‘person who officially summons’
<i>topa</i>	‘slap with fingers’	<i>no-hopo-topa</i>	‘chasten by slapping’
		<i>te hopotopa</i>	‘person who officially chastises’
<i>waa</i>	‘tell, inform’	<i>no-hopo-waa</i>	‘announce’
		<i>te hopowaa</i>	‘person who announces news’

(38) *No-waa-'e kua no-rato.*
 3R-tell-3OBJ SW:COMP 3R-arrive
 ‘She told them that she had arrived.’

(39) *No-hopo-waa-'e kua no-rato.*
 3R-SOC-tell-3OBJ SW:COMP 3R-arrive
 ‘She announced to them that she had arrived.’

11.3.4 Multiple subject prefix *pada-*

The prefix *pada-* is sometimes used as a reciprocal prefix, but is more commonly used to indicate simply that there is more than one participant involved in conducting the action, and not necessarily that the action involved is reciprocal. Unlike *po-*, *pada-* does not have valency reduction as a necessary component of its semantics. Because of this it may be used with intransitive verbs as well as transitive ones.

s-V	te O _i	na A _j
↓		
s- <i>pada</i> -V	∅	na S _{jA/O} (<i>kene</i> S _{iO/A})

- (40) *No-pada-moturu na amai iso.*
 3R-MULT-sleep NOM 3PL yon
 'They are all sleeping there.'
- (41) *No-pada-simbi na sanggila kene amai iso.*
 3R-MULT-slash NOM pirate and 3PL yon
 'They and the pirates are all slashing about.'
 (Not necessarily at each other)

11.3.5 Iterative *para-*

The iterative prefix *para-* can be applied to transitive or intransitive (unergative) verbs to derive a verb with the same meaning and same valency, but with the added meaning that the activity is a regular one. Thus from *'ita* 'see' the derived verb *para'ita* 'frequently look (nosily)'. If the verb was originally transitive, it may still display objects, either nominative or non-nominative, in the derived form.

<i>aso</i>	'sell'	<i>no-para-aso</i>	'sell as a regular activity'
<i>langke</i>	'sail'	<i>no-para-langke</i>	'sail regularly'

- (42) *No-para-aso te loka di daoa.*
 3R-ITER-sell CORE banana OBL market
 'She sells bananas in the market.'
- (43) *No-para-langke di Maluku.*
 3R-ITER-sell OBL Maluku
 'They frequently sail in Maluku.'

11.3.6 Verbaliser / Nominaliser *wo-*

The prefix *wo-* has only been attested in a few cases, and derives either intransitive verbs or nominals which refer to the place of origin of the verbal activity.

<i>sala</i>	'path'	<i>no-wo-sala</i>	'go by means of a road'
<i>lua</i>	(vomit)	<i>te wolua</i>	'spring (of water)'

(the word for 'vomit' is *tolua* in Southern Tukang Besi; the putative root *lua* has not been encountered on its own. 'Vomit' in Northern Tukang Besi is *henenasi*.)

- (44) *No-wo-sala na La Kasi.*
 3R-VRB/NOM-road NOM La Kasi
 'La Kasi left by the road.'

11.4 Valency-announcing prefixes

Unlike the valency-neutral prefixes, which do not change the valency of a verb to which they attach, the valency-announcing prefixes have a set valency target (either intransitive or transitive) for the derived verb, such as *hoN-*, which always derives a transitive verb, regardless of whether the input verb was intransitive (in which case it changes by the addition of an argument) or transitive (in which case there is no change in the valency of

the verb). A pre-categorial root is normally intransitive if used verbally, so the addition of a verbalising prefix in such cases cannot be said to increase the valency of the root, but only to license the use of the root as a verb in the first place. The fact that a transitive verb root appears as an intransitive verb when used with certain of the prefixes, such as *he-*, does not mean that we can characterise *he-* as a valency-decreasing affix, since the other valency decreasing affixes are unequivocally NOT able to be used with intransitive roots. We can thus better characterise the sort of behaviour exhibited by *he-* and other prefixes as valency-announcing, rather than valency decreasing.

11.4.1 Breaking verbaliser *ban-*

The prefix *ban-* is used to make verbs out of the two body part terms that are only capable of being used verbally when specially affixed with verbal prefixes. The resulting verbs have a more forceful interpretation than verbs formed with the *he-* prefix, the other option for these two body parts. The two body parts that are used with *ban-* are *siku* 'elbow' and *tu'u* 'knee'. The difference between *hesiku* and *bansiku* is that *hesiku* is less forceful than *bansiku*, which implies a stronger impact, preferably with bone, whereas *hesiku* can be used to describe either a weaker impact, or an impact with soft tissue. Similar distinctions hold between *hetu'u* and *bantu'u*. The derived verb is transitive.

<i>siku</i>	'elbow'	<i>no-ban-siku</i>	'smash with elbow'
<i>tu'u</i>	'knee'	<i>no-ban-tu'u</i>	'smash with knee'

- (45) *No-ban-siku-aku* *na* *buku karakara-su.*
 3R-BREAK-elbow-1SG.OBJ NOM bone rib-1SG.POSS
 'He broke my ribs with his elbow.'

- (46) *No-ban-tu'u-ke* *na* *bali-no* *mina* *mbea-ho*
 3R-BREAK-knee-3OBJ NOM opponent-3POSS from not-yet
no-sepa liku-'e.
 3R-kick behind-3OBJ
 'He kneed his opponent damagingly before he did a back kick on him.'

Compare with *peku* 'backfist, hit with backfist'; *busu* 'fist; hit with fist'; *sambu* 'back of hand; hit with back of hand', compare with the instrumental use of *randa nu ae* in *sepa te randa nu ae* 'kick with instep', and the specialist term *sepa* 'kick with foot'.

11.4.2 Verbaliser *he-*

The prefix *he-* is used to make verbs out of some words that are not capable of being used verbally, and can also be used with inherently verbal roots to produce a sense of extended duration, and more forceful performance. Additionally, there is a special sense attached to the use of *he-* with the names of building parts, with which the prefix combines to mean 'produce, make'. Examples of the use of *he-* include:

Root is nominal: derived verb is intransitive:

Production:

<i>wunua</i>	'house'	<i>no-he-wunua</i>	'build a house'
<i>lante</i>	'floor'	<i>no-he-lante</i>	'make a bamboo floor'
<i>ato</i>	'roof'	<i>no-he-ato</i>	'weave a thatch roof'
<i>lima-lima</i>	'one of a ship's planks'	<i>no-he-lima-lima</i>	'make the <i>lima-lima</i> for a ship'

Conceivably, *he-* in this context can be related to the verb *sai* 'make' (*s > h is attested only rarely in *Tukang Besi*, but is a common sound change in other languages of the *Muna-Buton* region), and the original building part could be thought of as an incorporated object.

Use:

<i>baju</i>	'shirt'	<i>no-he-baju</i>	'wear a shirt'
<i>kabali</i>	'machete'	<i>no-he-kabali</i>	'wave a machete around'
<i>siku</i>	'elbow'	<i>no-he-siku</i>	'hit s.o. with elbow'
<i>tu'u</i>	'knee'	<i>no-he-tu'u</i>	'hit s.o. with knee'

Root is verbal, the derived verb is intransitive:

s-V	(te O _j)	na A/S[Agent] i
↓		
s-he-V		na S _i

<i>kai</i>	'hook for something'	<i>no-he-kai-kai</i>	'hook around (for something)'
<i>doito</i>	'cry'	<i>no-he-doito</i>	'carry on, cry (out), wail'

(47) *Rato i mawi no-he-kai-kai-mo.*
 arrive OBL sea 3R-DO-RED-hook-PF
 'Arriving at the sea he started trailing his hooks.'

(48) * *No-he-kai-kai-'e.*
 3R-DO-RED-hook-3OBJ

(49) * *No-he-kai-kai te opa.*
 3R-DO-RED-hook CORE grotto

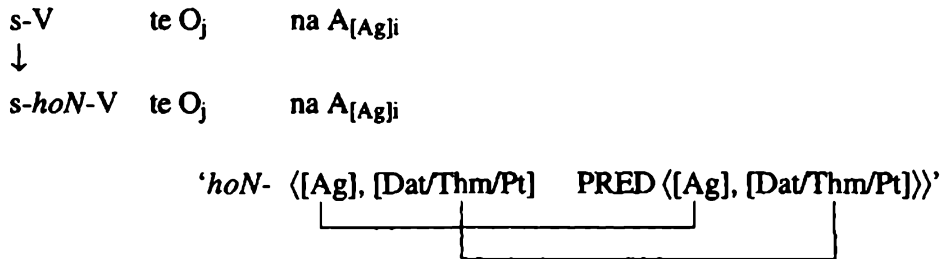
One case has come to light of the derived verb with *he-* being transitive (or at least ambitransitive). When *he-* combines with *tade* 'stand' (ambitransitive), it makes for a derived verb that may take an object. Compare (48) with (48)':

(48)' *No-he-tade-'e na wunua wo'ou-no.*
 3R-do-stand-3OBJ NOM house new-3POSS
 'They built their new house.'

This irregularity might just be a result of analogy with Malay, which has *membangun* 'build' formed from the intransitive *bangun* 'wake up, get up, stand up'.

whatever arguments are necessary to flesh out a transitive predicate, adding an [A] to unaccusative verbs, the non-agentive argument acting as an [O], and adding an [O] to unergative verbs, the agentive argument of which is treated as an [A].

If the verb was transitive before the *hoN-* prefix was added, then the verb remains transitive, and no reordering of the arguments occurs:



Examples of the use of *hoN-* are presented in (50) - (57):

- (50) A: *No-ha'a-mo?* B: *No-totoha.*
 3R-why-PF 3R-wash.clothes
 'What are they doing?' 'They are washing clothes.'

- (51) a. **No-totoha.* *te wurai-no.*
 3R-wash.clothes CORE sarong-3POSS
- b. *No-ho-noha* *te wurai-no.*
 3R-VRB-wash.clothes CORE sarong-3POSS
 'They are washing their sarongs.'

- (52) *Te iaku ku-tutu ku-tutu ku-tutu*
 CORE 1SG 1SG-pound 1SG-pound 1SG-pound
ku-tongka ku-lola.
 1SG-pierce 1SG-fly (LW:13)
 'I'll pound and pound and pound and pierce (it), and then fly away.'

- (53) *Te tukatutu no-ho-nutu te kabali.*
 CORE blacksmith 3R-VRB-pound CORE machete
 'The blacksmith is pounding out a machete.'

[S] of underived verb is [Patient]:

- (54) *No-tunu na kau.*
 3R-burn NOM wood
 'The wood is burning.'

- (55) *No-ho-nunu te kau.*
 3R-VRB-burn CORE wood
 'S/he is burning the wood.'

[S] of underived verb is [Agent]:

- (56) *No-rau na ana.*
 3R-yell NOM child
 'The child is yelling.'

- (57) *No-ho-rau te kene-no.*
 3R-VRB-yell CORE friend-3POSS
 'They are yelling at their friend.'

11.4.4 Occupational prefix *pa-*

The prefix *pa-* is used to derive a non-active intransitive verb from a active verb, regardless of whether the root was transitive or intransitive. This morpheme is probably related to the causative prefix *pa-*, or a specialised meaning of that prefix (compare the use of English *-ise* as a causative morpheme (as in *summary*, *summarise*), and its quite different use in *womanise*. Whilst not restricted to occurring on verbs, when it does so it has the effect of specifying the derived verb as being an intransitive verb.

s-V	(te O _j)	na S/A _{Agent} i
↓		
s- <i>pa</i> -V	∅	na S _i

- (58) *No-ho-(n)utu te ha'o na ia.*
 3R-VRB-pound CORE hammer NOM 3SG
 'He's pounding the hammer.'

- (59) *No-pa-tutu (na ia).*
 3R-OCC-pound NOM 3SG
 'He's a blacksmith.'

Note that *patutu* is not a free nominal form in *Tukang Besi*; 'blacksmith' is *pandetutu*, using the nonproductive noun-deriving prefix *pande-*. The prefix *pa-* is a strictly verb-deriving prefix, and (59) cannot be thought of as analogous to (60), in which an underived 'nominal' (really a precategorial root) is used as a verbal root:

- (60) *No-wowine (na tolida-su).*
 3R-woman NOM cousin-1SG.POSS
 'My cousin is a woman.'

The unacceptability of derived *pa-* forms functioning as nominals is illustrated in (61):

- (61) a. *No-pa-langke.*
 3R-OCC-sail
 'He is a sailor.'
- b. **Te ia te pa-langke.*
 CORE s/he CORE OCC-sail
- c. *Te ia te pande-langke.*
 CORE 3SG CORE WORK-sail
 'He is a sailor.'

Some further examples of *pa-* are given below:

- (62) *No-pa-mo-talo.*
 3R-OCC-ANTICAUS-beat
 'They are the losers.'
 (compare with (6) in the section on *me-*)
- (63) *Ku-pa-lende.*
 1SG-OCC-squeeze
 'I am a Shiatsu practitioner.'
 (worker of cures through finger pressure)

Nominal roots may also be prefixed by *pa-*; the resulting verbal form is also intransitive:

- (64) *No-pa-wowine.*
 3R-OCC-woman
 'He likes womanising.'
- (65) *No-pa-koranga.*
 3R-OCC-garden
 'He works in a garden.'

11.5 Causative-applicative combinations

In addition to double causative and double applicative constructions, which were discussed in chapters 9 and 10 respectively, (certain) verbs may combine a causative and an applicative together. These deserve special mention since they are the only examples of valency-increasing morphology in the language, and the interaction between the two of them is revealing about the relative ordering of the affixes on the verb, despite their being at opposite ends of the verb. There are no examples of a double causative combining with an applicative affix, or of a double applicative appearing together with a causative prefix. An example of causative and applicative morphology appearing on the same verb is given in (66):

- (66) *Ku-pa-gonti-ako* *te* *ama-su* *te* *kau* *meana'e*
 1SG-CAUS-chop-APPL CORE father-1SG.POSS CORE wood REF-that
te *iai-su.*
 CORE younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
 'I had my younger brother chop that wood for my father.'

Although the causative prefixes and the applicative suffixes appear on opposite sides of the verb, it can be shown that the order of combination with the base verbal predicate must be with the causative first and the applicative second. Only the applied object may be nominative, and indexed on the verb by means of object suffixes. The causee may not be nominative if there is an applied object present:

- (67) *Ku-pa-gonti-ako-'e* *na* *ama-su*
 1SG-CAUS-chop-APPL-3OBJ NOM father-1SG.POSS
te *kau* *meana'e* *te* *iai-su.*
 CORE wood REF-that CORE younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
 'I had my younger brother chop that wood for my father.'

- (68) * *Ku-pa-gonti-ako-'e* *te* *ama-su*
 1SG-CAUS-chop-APPL-3OBJ CORE father-1SG.POSS
te *kau* *meana'e* *na* *iai-su*.
 CORE wood REF-that NOM younger.sibling-1SG.POSS
 'I had my younger brother chop that wood for my father.'

The fact that the applied object and not the causee object may be nominative implies an argument structure combination of predicates as given in (67)', leaving the applied object in the second position of the combined predicate, and not the structure in (68)' that would have the causee as the second argument:

- (67)' 'APPL <[Ag], [Dat] CAUS <[Ag], [Pt] chop <[Ag], [Pt] >> >>'
-

- (68)' * 'CAUS <[Ag], [Pt] APPL <[Ag], [Dat] chop <[Ag], [Pt] >> >>'
-

The same restrictions on the relative ordering of the causative and applicative predicates on the verb may also apply to the very different requestive causative *hepe-*. In (69), the nominative marking goes on the [Dative] argument, with which the object suffix agrees:

- (69) *Ku-hepe-putara-ako-'e* *na* *ama-su*
 1SG-REQ-rotate-APPL-3OBJ NOM father-1SG.POSS
te *teepu* *wo'ou-'u*.
 CORE tape new-2SG.POSS
 'I asked (someone) to play your new tape for my father.'

Due to the nature of the argument linking involved with this verb, however, both a structure with a requestive predicate before an applicative predicate, and one with an applicative predicate before the requestive predicate, will produce the same surface grammatical features, as illustrated in the competing argument structures presented in (67)' and (68)'. In both cases, the agent of the base predicate becomes oblique, and the dative argument is the only one available to be nominative.

- (69)' 'APPL <[Ag], [Dat] REQ <[Ag], [Pt] rotate <[Ag], [Pt] >> >>'
-

- (69)" 'REQ <[Ag], [Pt] APPL <[Ag], [Dat] rotate <[Ag], [Pt] >> >>'
-

With intransitive base predicates, the picture is more complicated. If the base predicate was an unergative verb, then the same restriction applies as for a transitive verb, namely that the causative predicate is closer to the base predicate than is the applicative one, evidenced by the ability of the applied object to be nominative.

- (70) *Ku-pa-wila-ako-'e na ompu-su*
 1SG-CAUS-go-APPL-3OBJ NOM grandparent-1SG.POSS
te iai-su kua daoa.
 CORE younger.sibling-1SG.POSS ALL market
 'I had my younger brother go to the market as a favour for my grandmother.'

- (70)' 'APPL <[Ag], [Dat] CAUS <[Ag], [Pt] go <[Ag]>>>'
-

This is the pattern found with applicative constructions that introduce [Agent], [Dative] or [Instrument] roles, if the applied object is [Locative], the order of combination is applicative predicate first, causative predicate second:

- (71) *No-pa-kede-mi-'e te kadera na anabou iso*
 1SG-CAUS-sit-DIR-3OBJ CORE chair NOM child yon
te ina-no.
 CORE mother-3POSS
 'That child was made to sit on the chair by its mother.'

- (72) * *No-pa-kede-mi-'e na kadera te anabou iso.*
 1SG-CAUS-sit-DIR-3OBJ NOM chair CORE child yon

- (71)' 'CAUS <[Ag], [Pt] APPL <[Ag], [Loc] sit <[Ag]>>>'
-

If we try to combine the same morphemes on an unaccusative base, however, the result is ungrammatical

- (73) * *No-pa-moturu-mi te anabou iso te ina-su.*
 1SG-CAUS-sit-DIR CORE child yon CORE mother-1SG.POSS

A composition that saw the applicative combined with the base predicate first would be ruled out by the prohibition against unaccusative verbs participating in applicative constructions, through the requirement that the agent argument of the applicative predicate be coindexed with an agent argument in the base predicate. Thus the argument structure

- (73)' 'CAUS <[Ag], [Pt] APPL <[Ag], [] PRED_{Unaccusative} <[Pt] >>>'
-

is ruled out before the second (causative) predicate is added. There is no such restriction on the addition of a causative morpheme to an unaccusative predicate, however, and so the reasons why

(73)" 'APPL <[Ag], [] CAUS <[Ag], [Pt] PRED_{Unaccusative} < [Pt] >>'

is ungrammatical are less than clear.

11.6 Combinations with reciprocals

The reciprocal prefix can occur in combination with several other grammatical-function changing processes. Here I shall briefly mention its use in combination with causatives, external possession, passives and object incorporation. The use of reciprocals added to applicative constructions has already been extensively documented in chapter 10, but there has not yet been any mention of applicatives based on reciprocal verbs. These are treated here.

11.6.1 Reciprocals and causatives

Causatives may take a reciprocal verb form as their base, but the opposite is not true. Compare (74) and the ungrammatical (75), both based on transitive verbs:

(74) *No-pa-po-tandu-tandu-'e na wembe.*
 3R-CAUS-REC-RED-horn-3OBJ NOM goat
 'He incited the goats to butt each other.'

(75) * *No-po-pa-manga-manga.*
 3R-REC-CAUS-RED-eat
 'They made each other eat (it).'

(74)' 'CAUS <[Ag], [Pt] REC <[] butt.with.horn <[Ag], [Pt] >>'

(75)' * 'REC <[] CAUS <[Ag], [Pt] chop <[Ag], [Pt] >>'

11.6.2 Reciprocals and external possession

The combination of reciprocals and external possession is an interesting one, since once the ascended possessor (the primary object) is joined with the subject in the reciprocal construction, the original object, the 'part', may resurface as object. Compare the developments seen in (76) - (77):

(76) a. *No_i-peku-'e_k na talapihi_k-no_j.*
 3R-backfist-3OBJ NOM temple-3POSS
 'He_i backfisted his_j temple_k.'

- b. *No_{i,j}-po-peku-peku na amai_{i,j}.*
 3R-REC-RED-backfist NOM 3PL
 'They_{i,j} backfisted each other.'

(76b)' 'REC ([] backfist ([Ag], [Pt]))'

- (77) a. *No_i-peku-'e_j na talapihi_k-no_j.*
 3R-backfist-3OBJ NOM temple-3POSS
 'He_i backfisted his_j temple_k.'

- b. *No_{i,j}-po-peku-peku-'e_k na talapihi_k-no_{i,j}.*
 3R-REC-RED-backfist-3OBJ NOM temple-3POSS
 'They_{i,j} backfisted each other in the temple_k.'

(77a)' 'backfist ([Ag], [Pt])' > 'backfist ([Ag], [part: Instr]. [possessor:Pt])'

(77b)' 'REC ([] backfist ([Ag], [part: Instr]. [possessor:Pt]))'

The claim is that when external possession is found, the affected part is seen as the 'means' by which the whole is affected, and so treated as an [Instrument]. The object properties ascribed to the 'part' are only regained if the 'whole' is no longer an object, such as being bound to the original subject, as in a reciprocal construction. An example of an unambiguous [Instrument] displaying this behaviour is seen in (78):

- (78) a. *To-po-simbi-simbi-'e na hansu.*
 1PL.R-REC-RED-slash-3OBJ NOM sword
 'We slashed each other with swords.'

- b. *No-to-po-simbi-simbi-mo na hansu.*
 3R-PASS-REC-RED-slash-PF NOM sword
 'The swords have been used for mutual slashing.'

(78a)' 'REC ([] backfist ([Ag], [Instr]. [Pt]))'

(78b)' PASS < [Pt] REC < [] backfist < [Ag], [Instr], [Pt] >> >>'

Sentences (77) - (78) show that with a primary ([Theme/Patient]) object removed by binding with the subject, monitored by the addition of reciprocal morphology, the instrument may appear as an object, and the same phenomenon operating with external possession. In addition to this, once external possession is in place the original affected part may be incorporated, as seen in (79) and (80):

(79) *No-po-sepa-sepa pa'a.*
3R-REC-RED-kick thigh
'They kicked each other in the thigh.'

(80) *To-po-konta lima.*
1PL.R-REC-hold hand
'Let's shake hands.'

The sentences that take us from a simple transitive clause, through a version with external possession, to a reciprocalised version, to (79), are shown in (81a) - (81c):

(81) a. *No_i-sepa-'e_k na pa'a_k-no_j.*
3R-kick-3OBJ NOM thigh-3POSS
'He kicked his thigh.'

b. *No_i-sepa-'e_j na pa'a_k-no_j.*
3R-kick-3OBJ NOM thigh-3POSS
'He kicked his thigh.'

c. *No_{i,j}-po-sepa-sepa te pa'a-no_{i,j}.*
3R-REC-RED-kick CORE thigh
'They kicked each other's thighs.'

(81)' 'REC < [] kick < [Ag], [part: Instr]. [possessor:Pt] >> >>'

INCORP

11.6.3 Reciprocals and applicatives

Chapter 10 included many examples of a reciprocal prefix being added to an already applicativised predicate. This is exemplified by (82), the argument structure of which is that seen in (82)':

(82) *No-po-ala-ako te kau.*
3R-REC-eat-APPL CORE wood
'They fetched wood for each other.'

(82)' 'REC <[] APPL <[Ag], [Dat] chop <[Ag], [Thm]>> >>'

It is also possible for a reciprocal predicate to then have an applicative predicate added. An example of this is seen in (83a), in which the fact that the applicative is added after the reciprocal can be shown by the ability of the applied object to be indexed on the verb as an object, as in (83b), or the subject of a passive sentence, as in (83c).

- (83) a. *No-po-gira-gira-ako te tuha-no.*
 3R-REC-RED-fight-APPL CORE family-3POSS
 'They fought each other for their families.'
- b. *No-po-gira-gira-ako-'e na tuha-no.*
 3R-REC-RED-fight-APPL-3OBJ NOM family-3POSS
 'They fought each other for their families.'
- c. *No-to-po-gira-gira-ako na tuha-no.*
 3R-PASS-REC-RED-fight-APPL NOM family-3POSS
 'Their families were fought-each-other-for.'

(83a)' 'APPL <[Ag], [Dat] REC <[] fight <[Ag], [Pt]>> >>'

(83c)' 'PASS <[] APPL <[Ag], [Dat] REC <[] fight <[Ag], [Pt]>> >> >>'

A passive of a reciprocal is impossible, since passive requires that more than one argument be present in the predicate that it attaches to. If a passive could access a predicate embedded more than one level away, a structure such as (84)' would be possible, representing (84). This is, however, ungrammatical.

- (84) * *No-to-po-ala-ala-ako na kau.*
 3R-PASS-REC-RED-fetch-APPL NOM wood
 'The wood was fetched for each other.'

(84)' * 'PASS <[] 'REC <[] APPL <[Ag], [Dat] chop <[Ag], [Thm]>> >> >>'

11.7 Combinations with passives

Chapters 9 and 10 have presented many examples of passive predicates added to causative or applicative structures. One example of each is given in (85) and (86):

(85) *No-to-pa-ala-mo na iai-su te kau.*
 3R-PASS-CAUS-fetch-PF NOM younger.sibling-1SG.POSS CORE wood
 'My younger sibling was made to fetch some wood.'

(86) *No-to-ala-ako-mo na ama-su te kau.*
 3R-PASS-fetch-APPL-PF NOM father-1SG.POSS CORE wood
 'My father was fetched some wood.'

The argument structure representations of these sentences are given in (85)' and (86)':

(85)' 'PASS ([] CAUS ([Ag], [Pt] chop ([Ag], [Thm])))'

(86)' 'PASS ([] APPL ([Ag], [Dat] chop ([Ag], [Thm])))'

It is impossible, however, to combine an applicative and passive predicate in the reverse order; (87) is ungrammatical. This is easily explainable by the fact that the passive predicate fails to supply an [Agent] that is required by the applicative predicate in its immediately embedded predicate (see chapter 10).

(87) * *No-to-ala-ako-mo na kau te ama-su.*
 3R-PASS-fetch-APPL-PF NOM wood CORE father-1SG.POSS
 'Some wood was fetched for my father.'

(87)' * 'APPL ([Ag], [Dat] PASS ([] chop ([Ag], [Thm])))'

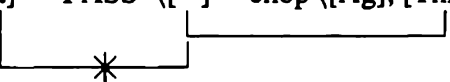
If the applicative predicate could access a predicate embedded more than one level away, the structure in (87)" would result:

(87)" * 'APPL ([Ag], [Dat] PASS ([] chop ([Ag], [Thm])))'

The [A] is, however, unavailable for any processes when a passive predicate is added, not even being able to appear as an oblique argument, as described in 11.2

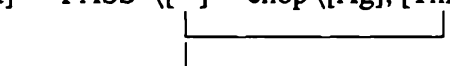
A construction consisting of a causative of a passive with is also ungrammatical:

- (88) * *No-pa-to-gonti-mo na kau.*
 3R-CAUS-PASS-chop-PF NOM wood
 'Some wood was made to be chopped.'

- (88)' * 'CAUS <[Ag], [Pt] PASS <[] chop <[Ag], [Thm]>>>'


Since a causative formed with *pa-*, and also *hepe-*, like an applicative, also has a restriction a restriction on the semantic roles of its base predicate (they must be [Agent]), this is also easily explainable. The factitive *hoko-* might be able to combine with a passive predicate if the passive is based on a verb with a theme or patient [O], even though it is normally only found with unaccusative verbs. If the factitive predicate can only 'see' one layer into the complex predicate, then it would only refer to one ([Theme/Patient]) semantic role, and so qualify for being grammatical. Unlike the single argument of an unaccusative verb, however, the single argument of a passive verb is not nominative, and thus is not identical to the single argument of an intransitive verb, and so the combination is ungrammatical:

- (89) * *No-hoko-to-ja'o-ke-mo na kau melangka.*
 3R-FACT-PASS-bad-3OBJ-PF NOM wood long
 'The *kau melangka* was arranged to be ruined.'

- (89)' * 'FACT <[Ag], [Pt] PASS <[] chop <[Ag], [Thm]>>>'


It is perhaps interesting to note that, cross-linguistically, causatives of passives have only been reported as being grammatical in Chamorro, by Gibson (1980: 115), cited in Baker (1988a: 414 and also 419). A relevant example is shown in (89)'':

Chamorro:

- (89)'' *Si nana ha=na'-ma-fa'gasi i kareta ni lalahi.*
 PN mother 3SG.SUBJ=CAUS-PASS-wash the car OBL males
 'Mother had the car be washed by the boys.'

11.8 Reduplication

Reduplication of verbs in *Tukang Besi* is used to show the extension of an action over time, or the lack of reality about the action, both concepts commonly associated with reduplication. The processes involved in reduplication have already been discussed in chapter 2, and only some additional comments needed to explain some curiosities of the interaction of reduplication with different verb roots will be discussed here.

Reduplication never applies to the subject prefix of a verb. Thus from the unreduplicated (90a), (90b) is a grammatical reduplicated form, and (90c) is not:

- (90) a. *No-kede.*
 3R-sit
 'They are sitting down.'

- b. *No-kede-ngkede.*
3R-RED-sit
'They are sitting around.'
- c. * *Noke-no-kede.*
RED-3R-sit

Other verbal prefixes are included in the scope of the reduplicated two syllables, including the subject infix *-[um]-*; we might explain this as being the result of the process of reduplication applying to a verb form after all the prefixes have been added except the subject prefixes, which are added after reduplication has already applied.

- (91) a. *No-he-tade-'e.*
3R-DO-stand-3OBJ
'They are building it.'
- b. *No-heta-he-tade-'e.*
3R-RED-DO-stand-3OBJ
'They are building it, sort of.'
- c. * *No-he-tade-ntade-'e.*
- (92) a. *Na-t[um]o-'ita.*
3R-PASS.SI-see
'They'll be seen.'
- b. *Na-tumo-t[um]o-'ita.*
3R-RED-PASS.SI-see
'They'll be seen a bit.'
- c. * *Na-t[um]o-'ita-'ita.*

We can thus characterise the reduplication described here as being of the first two syllables after the subject prefix, regardless of the morphological content of those syllables:

$$\text{SUBJ-}\sigma_1 \sigma_2 (\sigma_3\dots) \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{SUBJ-}\sigma_1 \sigma_2 \sigma_1 \sigma_2 (\sigma_3\dots)$$

When reduplication occurs with adjectives, there are some problems to this otherwise neat analysis. With adjectives that do not exhibit either *ma-*, *me-* or *mo-* (historically all derived from the same **ma-* prefix, which is now, to varying degrees, fossilised onto the verb) at the beginning, or else are of only two syllables (such as *meha*, 'red' (< pAN **ma-iRaq*), which begins with *me-*, but is only two syllables long), there is no irregularity:

- (93) a. *No-to'oge.*
3R-big
'She's big.'
- b. *No-to'o-to'oge.*
3R-RED-big
'She's rather big.'

When the adjective begins with *ma-*, the same rules apply as have already been described:

- (94) a. *No-mandawulu.*
3R-beautiful
'She's beautiful.'
- b. *No-manda-mandawulu.*
3R-RED-beautiful
'She's quite beautiful.'

When the adjective begins with *me-* (which may drop if the adjective is placed in an exclamatory clause, or if the factitive prefix (chapter 9.2) is added), then there are two possible reduplicated forms of the verb:

- (95) a. *No-melangka.*
3R-tall
'She's tall.'
- b. *No-mela-melangka.*
3R-RED-tall
'She's rather tall.'
- c. *No-me-langka-langka.*
3R-RED-tall
'She's rather tall.'

When the adjective begins with *mo-*, there is only one possible reduplicated form of the verb:

- (96) a. *No-mopera.*
3R-short
'She's short.'
- b. *No-mo-pera-pera.*
3R-RED-short
'She's rather short.'
- c. * *No-mope-mopera.*

We may summarise the behaviour of the morphologically different types of adjectives as follows, with the ()² notation indicating the reduplicated portion of the word:

non-Adjective, un-prefixed adjective, *ma-* prefixed adjective
(94)' SUBJ-($\sigma_1 \sigma_2$)² σ_3

me- prefixed adjective
(95)' SUBJ-($\sigma_1 \sigma_2$)² σ_3 OR SUBJ- σ_1 ($\sigma_2 \sigma_3$)²

mo- prefixed adjective
(96)' SUBJ- σ_1 (σ_2 σ_3)²

This would seem to indicate that the *mo-* prefix is the least strongly bound of the *ma-*, *me-* and *mo-* prefixes, and *ma-* the most strongly bound.

11.9 The position of verbal morphology

The relative positioning of the different verbal morphology is described below, expanding on the structural diagram representing the internal structure of the verb within the verb phrase that was presented in 7.1.

Preverbal: SUBJ-PASS-CAUS_{REQ}-CAUS_{FACT, CAUS}-REC, V_{reducing}-{V_{neutral}, V_{announce}}-
 ————[SI]————
VERB ROOT

Postverbal: -O_{incorporated} -APPL_{VCi} -APPL_{ngkene} -APPL_{ako} -OBJ -ASP

The abbreviations used are as follows:

SUBJ:	Subject prefixes, realis and irrealis (section 5.4)
PASS:	Passive prefixes <i>to-</i> , <i>te-</i> and <i>mo-</i> (section 11.2)
CAUS _{REQ} :	Requestive prefix <i>hepe-</i> (section 9.1.4)
CAUS _{FACT, CAUS} :	Factitive and Causative prefixes <i>hoko-</i> and <i>pa-</i> (section 9.1.4)
REC:	Reciprocal prefixes <i>po-</i> and <i>pada-</i> (sections 11.1.3 and 11.3.4))
V _{neutral} , V _{announce} :	Other Valency neutral and Valency announcing prefixes (sections 11.3 and 11.4)
SI:	Subject infix <i>-{um}-</i> (section 7.3)
O _{incorporated} :	Incorporated nominal (section 7.7)
APPL _{VCi} :	Directional applicative suffix <i>-VCi</i> (section 10.4)
APPL _{ngkene, ako} :	Comitative and general applicative suffixes <i>-ngkene</i> and <i>-ako</i> (sections 10.2 and 10.3)
OBJ:	Object suffixes (section 5.6)
POSS:	Possessive suffixes (section 5.5)
ASP:	Aspectual suffixes <i>-mo-</i> , <i>-ho</i> and <i>-do</i> (section 7.8)

Notice that we cannot characterise the subject infix *-{um}-* as occupying a unique structural position in this schema with respect to the verb root. It simply is infixed after the first consonant following the subject prefix, regardless of that consonant's morphological identification. The location of the infix is thus dependant on morphological information (location with respect to the subject prefix) and phonological information (the shape of the morpheme to which it attaches (see chapter 2 for a discussion of this affix). For two verbs (*nde'u* 'not want', *hu'u* 'give') there is an irregularity in the application of the subject infix. This is discussed in 2.4.1.

The most affixed verbs that have been recorded in freely occurring speech have about

five morphemes total, such as (97). This is also the number of morphemes found in forms involving a passive of an applicativised verb, or a causative plus applicative, or double applicative construction, when the pronominal indexes are also taken into account, (97) is interesting in showing an incorporated object in a complex construction:

- (97) ...*ku-[m]epe-'ita-taria-'a-ako-ko*,...
 1SG-REQ.SI-see-ESP-NL-APPL-2SG.OBJ
 '... I ask to be let go to see a sage for you,...' (Wal: 4)

SUBJ- CAUS_{REQ}- VERB ROOT -O_{incorporated} -APPL-OBJ
 =SI=

Notice that (97) includes an incorporated nominal (itself a derived form: *taria* 'Extra sensory perception' + *-a* 'nominalising affix') which is the base object of the causativised *hepe'ita*. In total the verb contains six morphemes other than the root, counting the incorporated nominal as one morpheme.

At this point in time I have no further data on the productivity of combinations consisting of an incorporated object on a causativised verb, though such combinations are extremely rare in texts. The argument structure representing (97) is given in (97)':

- (97)' REQ ⟨[Ag]₄, [Pt]₃ APPL ⟨[Ag]₁, [Dat]₃ PRED ⟨[Ag]₁, [Thm]₂⟩⟩⟩
-
- ```

graph TD
 Root["REQ ⟨[Ag]4, [Pt]3 APPL ⟨[Ag]1, [Dat]3 PRED ⟨[Ag]1, [Thm]2⟩⟩"]
 OBL["OBL"]
 INCORP["INCORP"]

 Root --- OBL
 Root --- INCORP

```

Information concerning the productivity and choice of objects for causative structures that select the causee, not the causand, as their direct object will be the subject of further research.



# Chapter 12

## Noun phrases: core and oblique phrases

### 12.1 Noun phrase structure and the case phrase

In *Tukang Besi* the basic NP appears inside a KP, since all NPs must appear either with a preceding article or with a preposition (for certain obliques), sometimes both (some time expressions violate this otherwise fast rule; see chapters 3 or 17). As described in chapter 4, there are four articles used to mark case relations: the nominative *na*, the non-nominative core *te*, the genitive *nu*, and the oblique *i/di*. The genitive case *nu*, and other issues concerning possession, are discussed in chapter 13, and do not feature here. Preposition Phrases are described in the second part of this chapter, and the first part deals with NP structure in general, and the properties of core KPs. These minimally consist of the head of the NP, which is typically a noun (N), plus an article. A minimal KP is, thus, an article followed by an NP headed in the N position, as seen in (1) and (2):

- (1) [Te wowine]<sub>KP</sub> pasi-mo no-wila.  
 CORE woman already-PF 3R-go (TB:8)  
 'The women have already gone.'
- (2) [Te Wanse]<sub>KP</sub>, mbea-h(o) o-koruo na k{um}Julia.  
 TOP Wanci not-yet 3R-many NOM study.at.university.SI  
 'As for Wanci, there aren't yet a lot (of people) who have attended university'

(the second KP *na kumulia* is NOT headed in the N position; indeed, it is not headed at all, and has only the subject relative clause (see chapter 15) following the article)

The minimal KP consisting of simply a noun and a preceding article exemplified above may be expanded in several ways, through modification by demonstratives, inalienable markers, numeral, verbal or adjectival expressions. The relative ordering of many of these elements is not totally fixed, being determined by case choice to some extent, and general freedom of position as well. The demonstratives, however, are rigidly fixed to appear following all other constituents in the KP. Subtopics that are relevant to the internal constituency of the NP, and that are dealt with in other chapters, are those of Possession (see chapter 13) and Demonstratives (chapter 6). Their role in NP structure will be dealt with here, but not the details of their internal structure. Relative clauses, which play a large role in NP structure, will also be dealt with here only as far as their place within the NP is concerned, and their own structures and restrictions are left to chapter 15.

At the other end of the NP to the Demonstrative position is the N', which is also fixed in the position beginning the NP, and consists of a fixed group consisting of the nominal head, any adjectives, and any possessive suffixes. All of the other modifiers in the Noun

Phrase occur after the N'; there are no pre-head modifiers in an NP, and nothing in the KP appears before the article. The choices available for the Demonstrative position depend on the case of the KP as a whole, and there are two different internal structures for an NP, again depending on whether the argument represented by the KP is nominative or non-nominative. The basic non-nominative NP has an ADJ position before the -POSS; this is the major distinguishing feature of this NP type over the nominative NP type, whose ADJ position follows a -POSS, and one of the clear points of distinction between verbs and adjectives. The following basic structures are attested:

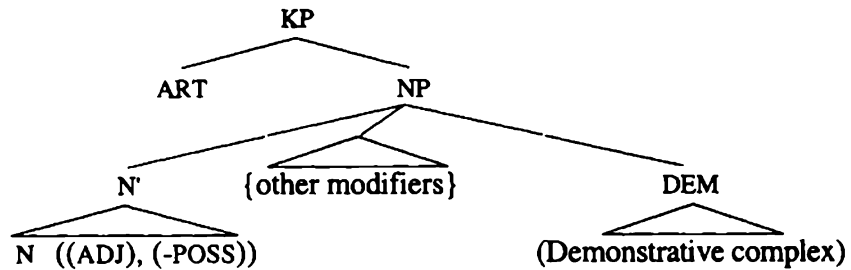
|                        |   |                                                                                                                           |                            |
|------------------------|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| KP                     | → | ART NP                                                                                                                    |                            |
| ART                    | → | <i>na</i>                                                                                                                 | (nominative)               |
|                        | → | <i>te</i>                                                                                                                 | (non-nominative, core)     |
|                        | → | <i>di / i</i>                                                                                                             | (non-nominative, oblique)  |
|                        | → | <i>nu</i>                                                                                                                 | (non-nominative, genitive) |
| NP <sub>non-NOM</sub>  | → | N' GenKP {(INAL), (RC), (N-C)} <sup>2</sup>                                                                               | Dem <sub>non-NOM</sub>     |
| NP <sub>NOM</sub>      | → | N' GenKP {(RC) (N-C) (ObIP)} <sup>2</sup>                                                                                 | Dem <sub>NOM</sub>         |
| N' <sub>non-NOM</sub>  | → | (N) (ADJ) <sup>1</sup> (-POSS)                                                                                            |                            |
| N' <sub>NOM</sub>      | → | (N) (-POSS) (ADJ) <sup>1</sup>                                                                                            |                            |
| Dem <sub>non-NOM</sub> | → | $\left( \begin{array}{l} \text{DEM}_1 \text{ (PREV)} \\ \text{(INAL) DEM}_1 \\ \text{(PREV) DEM}_2 \end{array} \right)^1$ |                            |
| Dem <sub>NOM</sub>     | → | $\left( \begin{array}{l} \text{(INAL) DEM}_1 \\ \text{DEM}_1 \text{ (ANA)} \\ \text{DEM}_2 \end{array} \right)^1$         |                            |

**Abbreviations used:**

N = noun, pronoun or proper name head of the noun phrase. ADJ = Adjective. -POSS = possessive suffix. GenKP = Genitive case phrase. N-C = numeral and classifier. INAL = inalienable possession marker *mai*. DEM<sub>1</sub> = (actual) demonstrative. DEM<sub>2</sub> = (referential) demonstrative. RC = relative clause or oblique phrase. ObIP = oblique phrase. ANA = anaphoric reference marker *ai*. PREV = previous reference marker *ba'i*.

A tree structure representing the composition of the phrase structure rules presented above is given in (3):

(3)



In addition to the difference in the ordering of adjectives and possession, there are some differences in the make-up of the bracketed material following. This is less significant, however, in that the order shown in the curly brackets is a preferred order only, not an absolute one. For stylistic reasons, this preferred order of modifiers may be altered. The choices available for the demonstrative position, however, seem to be absolute. Only nominative phrases may occur with the anaphoric marker *ai*, and only non-nominative phrases may appear with the previous discourse indicator *ba'i*. Furthermore, the position of this demonstrative material is fixed with respect to the rest of the NP. It is always the right-most part of an NP

A distinction needs to be made between NPs in which the article is followed by a head in the N position, and those which are not. An NP with an N constituent is called a headed NP; it is distinguished from an NP without a constituent in this position by the modificational possibilities available, which are in all cases greater for a headed NP. Details of some of the constituents of an NP are dealt with in other chapters, such as those on pronouns, demonstratives, possession, and the section on relative clauses in chapter 15. The discussion here shall centre on the possibilities for modification of different types of NPs.

## 12.2 KPs with an NP headed in the N position

An NP may be headed in the N position by a common noun, names or personal pronouns. The only effect that the different heads have on NP structure is that a pronoun or proper name may not be modified by a (-POSS) or a prepositional phrase. Other modification by adjectives, numerals and classifiers,<sup>1</sup> demonstrative, relative clauses etc. is allowed, within the limits of NP structure described above. Examples (4) - (6) show NPs with these different sorts of heads:

### Common Noun

- (4) [Te [[lai u Sentani kene Kota raja]<sub>N'</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>KP</sub>,  
 TOP distance GEN Sentani and Kota raja  
*ane-ho kirakira dua-hulu kilo labi.*  
 exist-yet roughly 20 kilometres better  
 'The distance between Sentani and Abepura is the better part of 20 kilometres.'  
 (Kotaraja is a suburb of Abepura) (J:15)

### Proper Name

- (5) [Te [[La Ode Wuna]<sub>N'</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>KP</sub> *no-rato kua Buru.*  
 CORE La Ode Wuna 3R-arrive ALL Buru  
 'Lord Wuna arrived at Buru.' (W:17)

## Personal Pronoun

- (6) [Te [[ikomiu l[um]aha te ika atu]<sub>N'</sub>] <sub>NP</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 TOP 2PL search.SI CORE fish that  
 bar(a) i-gugudu awan(a) atu la!  
 don't 2PL.R-make.noise manner that ILL.FORCE  
 'You lot of boys, who are looking for fish, don't make such a noise'

Examples of modification by different means are given in (7) - (15):

## Adjective

- (7) [Te iaku [mo'aro]<sub>ADJ</sub> ana]<sub>KP</sub> ku-melu te i-manga.  
 CORE 1SG hungry this 1SG-plead CORE OP-eat  
 'I who am hungry beg (you) for some food.'
- (8) Ane ke [kaluku [melanga]<sub>ADJ</sub>] <sub>NP</sub>.  
 exist and coconut high  
 'There are tall coconut trees.'

## Possessive

- (9) \* [Te ia[-'u]<sub>ADJ</sub>] <sub>KP</sub>  
 CORE 3SG-2SG.POSS  
 'Your she'
- (10) Mo-[di 'umpa] [na ana[-su]<sub>ADJ</sub>] <sub>KP</sub>, waa-'e kua  
 ST-OBL Q NOM child-1SG.POSS tell-3OBJ :  
 ku-'elo-'e.  
 1SG-call-3OBJ  
 'Wherever my child is, tell him that I'm calling him.'

## Numeral + classifier

- (11) [Te amai [dua-mia]<sub>N-C</sub> iso]<sub>KP</sub> no-po-bela-bela.  
 CORE 3PL 2-CLASS yon 3R-REC-RED-dear  
 'Those two are good friends.'

## Demonstrative

- (12) [Te iaku [iso]<sub>DEM</sub>] <sub>KP</sub> La Kohokoho ku-kutu-'ó!  
 TOP 1SG yon La Kohokoho 1SG-flea-infest  
 'I, Dear Heron, I'm infested with fleas!'
- (13) Maka la'a-mo no-pajulu kua [kampo-kampo] [ito]<sub>DEM</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 and.then just-PF 3R-continue ALL RED-village that:higher  
 'And then they continued on to the villages in the hills.'

## Relative Clause

- (14) [Te ikomiu [[um]aha te ika]<sub>RC</sub> atu]<sub>KP</sub>,  
 TOP 2PL search.SI CORE fish that  
 bar(a) i-gugudu awana atu la!  
 lest 2PL.R-make.noise manner that ILL.FORCE  
 'You lot of boys, who are looking for fish, don't make such a noise'

- (15) [Te kalambe [s[um]aori poilu-ko]<sub>RC</sub> iso]<sub>KP</sub>  
 CORE young.girl very.SI lust-2SG.OBJ yon  
 te l[um]oro la'  
 CORE sexy.SI ILL.FORCE  
 'Hey, that girl who really has the hots for you is a really good-looking one, isn't she!'

Some examples of NPs modified by more than one modifier are given in (16) - (19):

- (16) [Te kadera [to'oge]<sub>ADJ</sub> [-su]<sub>POSS</sub> [i-sai-su]<sub>RC</sub>  
 CORE chair big-1SG.POSS OP-make-1SG.POSS  
 [mai iso]<sub>DEM</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub> di 'umpa?  
 INAL yon OBL Q  
 'Where are those big chairs that I made?'
- (17) Di 'umpa [na ana-su [[um]aka-'aka]<sub>RC</sub> measo'e ai]<sub>KP</sub>?  
 OBL Q NOM child-1SG.POSS play.SI REF-yon ANA  
 'Where are those children of mine who are playing?'
- (18) [Te ana morunga-su [k[um]onta-'e na an(a) u  
 CORE child young-1SG.POSS hold.SI-3OBJ NOM child GEN  
 riirii ba'i measo'e]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>KP</sub> na-mb[um]ule-mo wa...  
 duck PREV REF-this 3I-return.SI-PF ILL.FORCE  
 'Well, my young child who was holding that duckling wants to go home now...'
- (19) Ku-laha [te ana-su mai iso]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 1SG-search CORE child-1SG.POSS INAL yon  
 'I'm looking for those children of mine.'

Although it is grammatical to have several modifiers on one head, it is highly unusual in natural speech. Apart from a demonstrative and a possessor, normally only one or two modifiers per NP are encountered, other items being expressed predicatively, making a sentence like (20) rather marked. For example, instead of

- (20) No-mai-mo [na wowine mandawulu [dua-mia]<sub>N-C</sub>  
 3R-come-PF NOM woman beautiful two-CLASS  
 [min(a) i Longa ito]<sub>RC</sub> [[um]ala te pandola]<sub>RC</sub>  
 from OBL Longa that:higher fetch.SI CORE eggplant  
 [meatu'e ai]<sub>DEM</sub>]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 REF-that ANA  
 'Those two beautiful women who you know from earlier, who come from Longa and were bringing eggplants, have arrived.'

it is much more natural to present the information split over several clauses, as in (21):

- (21) *Ane* [*dua-mia*]<sub>N-C</sub> [*na wowine* [*na [m]ai min(a)*  
 exist two-CLASS NOM woman NOM come.SI from  
*i Longa ito*]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>KP</sub> *i aba.*  
 OBL Longa that:higher OBL earlier  
*Te amai iso* [*te [[m]andawulu*]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>KP</sub> *la'*  
 CORE 3PL yon CORE beautiful.SI ILL.FORCE  
*No-mai no-ala te pandola* [*na amai [meatu'e]*]<sub>DEM</sub>]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 3R-come 3R-fetch CORE eggplant NOM 3PL REF-that  
 'There are two women who came from Longa in the east earlier on. They  
 were really good looking, you know! They came bringing eggplants.'

Whilst some of the categories such as relative clauses allow for repetition, others, namely adjectives and demonstratives, may only occur once in an NP. So, for instance, (22) is not grammatical:

- (22) \**Di 'umpa?* [*na ana[-su]*]<sub>POSS</sub> [*to'oge*]<sub>ADJ</sub> [*kandala*]<sub>ADJ</sub>]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 OBL Q NOM child-1SG.POSS big blind  
 'Where is my grown-up blind child?'

In order to express this meaning, one of the adjectives must be used as a verb, in the relative clause position, with a subject infix, as is necessarily encountered with all subject relative clauses (see chapter 15):

- (23) *Di 'umpa?* [*na ana[-su]*]<sub>POSS</sub> [*to'oge*]<sub>ADJ</sub> [*k[um]andala*]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 OBL Q NOM child-1SG.POSS big blind.SI  
 'Where is my grown-up blind child?'

Normally, if a sole adjective is used in the relative clause position with the subject infix, it acquires a superlative meaning. This is not the case if it follows another adjective, as in (23) above.

Apparent doubling of demonstratives may occur in some sentences, such as (24) in which *iso* immediately follows *ito*:

- (24) *Te kalambe* [*'[um]ita te kadadi i kau ito*  
 CORE young.girl see.SI CORE bird OBL tree that:higher  
*iso no-koni.*  
 yon 3R-laugh  
 'The girl who's watching the bird up in the tree is laughing.'

This is only superficial, however, as the demonstrative *ito* is in the KP of the relative clause, modifying *kadadi*, and only *iso* modifies *kalambe*:

- (24)' [*Te kalambe* < [*'[um]ita* [*te [kadadi]*]<sub>N</sub> [*i kau*]<sub>RP</sub> [*ito*]<sub>DEM</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub> >]<sub>RC</sub> [*iso*]<sub>DEM</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub>

It is, however, unusual to have two demonstratives appear next to each other in this manner.

Notice that the order of adjectives and possessive suffixes on the two different types of NPs is fixed; a non-nominative NP, for instance, cannot be modified by an adjective following a possessive suffix:

- (25) 'U-'ita [te huu to'oge-su i-sai-su]<sub>KP</sub>?  
 2SG.R-see CORE part.of.loom big-1SG.POSS OP-make-1SG.POSS  
 'Have you seen my big huu that I made?'

- (26) \* 'U-'ita [te huu-su to'oge i-sai-su]<sub>KP</sub>?

Similarly, an NP containing a nominative head always places a possessive suffix immediately following the head; the adjective may not intrude between the head and the possessive suffix:

- (27) [Te huu-su to'oge i-sai-su]<sub>KP</sub> di 'umpa?  
 CORE part.of.loom-1SG.POSS big OP-make-1SG.POSS OBL Q  
 'Where is the big one of mine that I made?'

- (28) \* [Te huu to'oge-su i-sai-su]<sub>KP</sub> di 'umpa?

Unlike the ordering of the constituents that follow the adjective/possessive position, and precede the demonstrative, the ordering of the adjective with respect to the possessive suffix is fixed given the choice of an NP as nominative or non-nominative.

### 12.3 NPs not headed in the N position

In addition to the NPs described above, there are NPs with reduced ranges of modificational possibilities; these are all NPs in which there is no N constituent; rather, the constituent immediately following the article is from one of the categories of the NP other than noun, pronoun or common name. The NP takes an assumed generic 'noun' as its understood reference, as in (29):

- (29) [Te [∅]<sub>N</sub> [to'oge]<sub>ADJ</sub>]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 CORE big  
 'The big one.'

This is a common pattern found in *Tukang Besi*, with adjectives, relative clauses, numeral-classifiers and demonstratives (actual, not referential) appearing immediately following the article. Examples of the other possibilities are given in (30) - (32):

- Relative clause  
 (30) [Te [∅]<sub>N</sub> [s<sup>um</sup>ai te kampo i Mola iso]<sub>RC</sub>]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 TOP make.SI CORE village OBL Mola that  
 te amai Wajo ala'a.  
 CORE 3PL Bajau just (D:14)  
 'Those (guys) who built the village at Mola, they're all Bajaus.'

- Numeral:  
 (31) No-wila-mo [na [∅]<sub>N</sub> totolu iso ai]<sub>KP</sub>?  
 3R-go-PF NOM three yon ANA  
 'Have those three (people) already gone?'

Demonstrative:

- (32) *Mbeaka ku-hada-manga [te [Ø]<sub>N</sub> atu]<sub>KP</sub>?*  
 not 1SG-want-eat CORE that  
 'I don't want to eat that.'

The restrictions on modification of an NP not headed by an N are that only a modifier that would follow the first element in the NP in the ordering of a headed NP is allowed to serve as a modifier. For instance, with a demonstrative as the first element in the NP, no further modification is possible, because a demonstrative occupies the final position in the NP structure:

- (33) \* *[Te iso to'oge-su i-sai-su]<sub>KP</sub> di 'umpa?*  
 CORE yon big-1SG.POSS OP-make-1SG.POSS OBL Q  
 'Where is that big one of mine that I made?'

This means that a relative clause can be modified by a demonstrative, a numeral + classifier, another relative clause, or a combination of these, but not by an adjective:

- (34) *[Te [t/um]inti]<sub>RC</sub> [dua-mia]<sub>N-C</sub> iso]<sub>KP</sub> te an(a) u emai?*  
 CORE run.SI two-CLASS yon CORE child GEN who  
 'Whose children are those ones running there?'

- (35) \* *[Te iso to'oge-su i-sai-su]<sub>KP</sub> di 'umpa?*  
 CORE yon big-1SG.POSS OP-make-1SG.POSS OBL Q  
 'Where is that big one of mine that I made?'

Similarly, a numeral + classifier may not be followed by an adjective, but does allow a relative clause to follow it, or a demonstrative:

- (36) *Nu-'ita-'e [na [dua-mia]<sub>N-C</sub> [k/um]analako te bawa]<sub>RC</sub>*  
 2SG.R-see-3OBJ NOM two-CLASS steal.SI CORE onion  
*iso ai]<sub>KP</sub>?*  
 yon ANA  
 'Did you see those two who were stealing the onions?'

Adjectives may be modified by almost the normal range of possible modifiers, but do not allow for an adjective following, since that position allows maximally one member in an NP, and is already occupied. In order for an adjective to modify another adjective, it must be treated as a normal verb and appear in the relative clause position, as seen in (38):

- (37) \* *Ala-'e [na [mombaka]<sub>ADJ</sub> [to'oge]<sub>ADJ</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub>!*  
 fetch-3OBJ NOM delicious big  
 'Take a big delicious one!'

- (38) *Ala-'e [na [mombaka]<sub>ADJ</sub> [t/um]o'oge]<sub>RC</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub>!*  
 fetch-3OBJ NOM delicious big.SI  
 'Take a big delicious one!'

The inalienable marker, the anaphoric (which is constrained, in any case, to appear



after a demonstrative) and previous reference markers, possessive or genitive phrases and relative phrases (that is, attributes that commence with an overt case marker or preposition) may not be the first element in an NP; they may only appear as modifiers:

- (39) a. \* [Te [Ø]<sub>N</sub> [mai iso]<sub>DEM</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub>...  
           CORE          INAL      yon  
           ‘Those of (mine)’
- b. \* [Te [Ø]<sub>N</sub> [ai]<sub>ANA</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub>...  
           CORE          PREV  
           ‘That which we are discussing’
- c. \* [Te ana]<sub>KP</sub> [te [Ø]<sub>N</sub> [ba'i]<sub>PREV</sub> measo'e]<sub>DEM</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub>...  
           CORE      this      CORE      PREV      REF-yon  
           ‘This is that which we are discussing’
- (40) a. \* [Te [Ø]<sub>N</sub> [nu Wa Si'i]<sub>GEN</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub>...  
           CORE          GEN      Wa Si'i  
           ‘The thing which belongs to Wa Si'i’
- b. \* [Te [Ø]<sub>N</sub> [-su]<sub>POSS</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub>...  
           CORE          -1SG.POSS  
           ‘The thing which belongs to me’
- c. \* [Te [Ø]<sub>N</sub> [i iso]<sub>REL.PHRASE</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub>...  
           CORE          OBL      yon  
           ‘The thing which is over there’

In the case of the inalienable marker, the anaphoric marker, the previous reference marker, and most genitive constructions, attribution of a head in the same phrase is the only option. For non-animate genitive constructions (ie., possession of an inanimate) there is the option of using the ‘dummy’ head-filler *anu* ‘thingy, whatsit’, and with oblique case phrases an appositional phrase may be used to express the oblique relation of a non-headed noun phrase, provided there is an overt nominative article emphasising the oblique phrase reference. Appositional phrases are dealt with in more detail in section 12.4, but examples illustrating their appearance with relative phrases are given below:

- (41) a. [Te [anu]<sub>N</sub> [nu Wa Si'i]<sub>DEM</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub>...  
           CORE thingy      GEN      Wa Si'i  
           ‘The thing which belongs to Wa Si'i’
- b. [Te kadola iso]<sub>KP</sub> [Te [anu]<sub>N-su</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub>.  
           CORE chicken      yon      CORE      thingy-1SG.POSS  
           ‘That chicken belongs to me’  
           (Glossing literally, ‘That chicken is my thingy.’)
- c. [Te [Ø]<sub>N</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub> [na [Ø]<sub>N</sub> [di ana]<sub>REL.PHRASE</sub> [ai]<sub>ANA</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub>...  
           CORE                  NOM          OBL      here          ANA  
           ‘The (one) that is here ...’

A caveat needs to be added to this discussion of apparently non-headed NPs; in several cases, a relative clause has become lexicalised as a noun, a unit that thus can fill the N position of an NP. This point can be proven by the fact that it is capable of the full range of modificational possibilities, such as (as illustrated here) a following adjective. If (42) actually had the structure presented in (42)', the adjective would appear following the relative clause, something that would have to be stipulated as possible for this (and a small set of other) relative clause, but not others. If we assume that the relative clause has become lexicalised, then it obeys all the phrase structure rules assumed to operate on all NPs. The same argument applies to (43) and (43)':

Lexicalised headless relative clause:

- (42) *Maka no-rato [na [mbeaka i-'ita]<sub>N</sub> [ja'o]<sub>ADJ</sub>]<sub>KP</sub>.*  
 and.then 3R-arrive NOM not OP-see evil  
 'And then the bad ghost arrived.'

- (42)' *Maka norato [na [∅]<sub>N</sub> [mbeaka i-'ita]<sub>RC</sub> [ja'o]<sub>ADJ</sub>]<sub>KP</sub>.*

- (43) *No-manga no-pa-koruo [te [i-manga]<sub>N</sub> [mombaka]<sub>ADJ</sub>]<sub>KP</sub>.*  
 3R-eat 3R-CAUS-much CORE OP-eat tasty  
 'They ate a lot of the tasty food.'

- (43)' *Nomanga nopakoruo [te [∅]<sub>N</sub> [imanga]<sub>RC</sub> [mombaka]<sub>ADJ</sub>]<sub>KP</sub>.*

## 12.4 Appositional phrases

As already mentioned, a proper name or pronoun cannot be genitively or possessively modified (see (9) for an example of the ungrammaticality of possessive suffixes with free pronouns). If a speaker wishes to refer to something by name that is possessed, for instance a dog called *Si'i*, this is done by the use of an appositional phrase within the same NP. This, along with examples of the ungrammaticality of a possessive suffix appearing directly on a name or pronoun, is illustrated in (44) and (45):

- (44) a. *Te ia [te [Wa Si'i]<sub>NP</sub> [obu-su]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>KP</sub>.*  
 CORE 3SG CORE Wa Si'i dog-1SG.POSS  
 'That's Si'i, my dog.'

- b. \* *Te ia [te [Wa Si'i[-su]<sub>POSS</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>KP</sub>*  
 CORE 3SG CORE Wa Si'i-1SG.POSS  
 'That's my Si'i.'

- (45) a. *[Te [iaku]<sub>NP</sub> [kene-'u]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>KP</sub>.*  
 CORE 1SG friend-2SG.POSS  
 '(It's) me, your friend.'

- b. \* *[Te [iaku[-'u]<sub>POSS</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>KP</sub>*  
 CORE 1SG-2SG.POSS  
 '(It's) your me.'

Similarly, we find alternatives to the other ungrammatical phrases involving a

prepositional phrase using an appositional construction. Sentence (46) shows the ungrammatical use of a prepositional phrase to modify a pronoun, and (47) shows how this ungrammaticality can be resolved by the use of an appositional phrase:

- (46) \* [Te [iaku mini Iriá]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>KP</sub> mbeaka monea-no  
 CORE 1SG from Irian Jaya not usual-3POSS  
 ku-manga te soami.  
 1SG-eat CORE cassava.bread  
 'I, who am from Irian Jaya, am not used to eating soami.'

- (47) [Te [iaku]<sub>NP</sub> [mia mini Iriá]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>KP</sub> mbeaka monea-no  
 CORE 1SG person from Irian Jaya not usual-3POSS  
 ku-manga te soami.  
 1SG-eat CORE cassava.bread  
 'I, who am a person from Irian Jaya, am not used to eating soami.'

This use of appositional phrases may apply even if the first NP is modified:

- (48) [Te [bangka biru iso]<sub>NP</sub> [i-sai nu ama-su iso]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>KP</sub>  
 TOP ship black yon OP-make GEN father-1SG.POSS yon  
 no-melanga na buebue'a ka-i.  
 3R-high NOM prow ILL/FORCE-TAG  
 'That black ship, which my father made, has a really high prow, you see?'

- (49) [Te [kau ana]<sub>NP</sub> [kai medumpu ana]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>KP</sub>  
 CORE wood this horizontal.house.post short this  
 to-bongko-'e te hao.  
 3R-tie-3OBJ CORE rope  
 'This plank, this short kai, is tied with rope.'

The article is not always dropped in an appositional phrase; if present, it is usually *te*, even if the KP as a whole is marked by the nominative article:

- (50) [Te wunua-su]<sub>NP</sub> [te i-sai no ama-su  
 CORE house-1SG.POSS CORE OP-make GEN father-1SG.POSS  
 dua-hu'u iso]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>KP</sub> no-leama.  
 2-CLASS yon 3R-good  
 'My two houses, which were made by my father, are fine.'

- (51) Na-ngg[um]olo-mo [na [La Bundu molango]<sub>NP</sub>  
 3I-keel.over.SI-PF NOM La Bundu drunk  
 [te ama-su]<sub>NP</sub> measo'e]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 CORE father-1SG.POSS REF-yon  
 'La Bundu over there, who's drunk and my uncle, is about to collapse.'

The presence of these appositional phrases leads to a further rule of KP structure to introduce an appositional phrase. In addition to the structure presented in (3), the following is also a possible expansion of a KP:



- (56) *No-he-doo* [na [ana]<sub>NP</sub> [na t{um}inti]<sub>NP</sub> measo'e]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 3R-DO-wail NOM child NOM run.SI REF-yon  
 'That child who is running is crying.'

## 12.5 Names

The use of personal names is sometimes avoided, in order not to draw too much attention to the person referred to; instead of the personal name, various other strategies are used. A person may be referred to by her/his:

- social position;
- kinship category;
- nickname

Examples of these are:

Social position:

|                           |                |
|---------------------------|----------------|
| <i>te Kapala desa</i>     | 'village head' |
| <i>te Kapala sikola'a</i> | 'headmaster'   |
| <i>te Mia Pande</i>       | 'shaman'       |

Kinship category:

|                           |                         |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>te ompu nu Wa Lisi</i> | 'Wa Lisi's grandmother' |
| <i>te anasu</i>           | 'my child'              |
| <i>te belasu</i>          | 'husband / wife'        |

Nickname (in combination with *La* and *Wa*):

|                   |          |
|-------------------|----------|
| <i>te La Pe'i</i> | 'Idiot'  |
| <i>te La Ta'i</i> | 'Shit'   |
| <i>te La Loka</i> | 'Banana' |

If a personal name or nickname is used, it is almost invariably preceded by *La*, referring to men, or *Wa*, referring to women (both of which can appear in casual conversation as *A*). When referring to members of the traditional nobility this sex-specific particle is expanded with *Ode*, indicating noble status. Close friends, or spouses, may use *bela* in this position. The basic formula for the use of names is then as follows:

Title → {La} ( {bela} ) Name  
           {Wa} ( {Ode} )

These titles can be used with kin terms as well, when referring to someone older than the speaker. In this context, using *La* and *Wa* without a personal name following, *Wa* takes on the additional meaning of a diminutive. Thus, for instance, although (57) is ill-formed, referring to *Mboe*, a male name, with the female *Wa*:

- (57) \* *Wa Mboe*  
       *Wa Mboe*

it is grammatical to use *Wa* with a male kin term, showing endearment, as in (58):

- (58) *Wa Ama*  
 Wa father  
 'Dear father'

It is noteworthy that a large number of place names in *Tukang Besi* begin with *Wa*, and occasionally *La*. For instance, to take a random sample, between the western and eastern sides of the *Tindoi* uplands, the following villages are encountered along the northern track:

*Waginopo*  
*Labulua*  
*Wakokoso*  
*Re'a*  
*Kalele*  
*Seru*  
*Wakomba*  
*Sumandala*  
*Wasorou'u*

yielding four beginning with *Wa*, and one with *La*, out of nine sampled. This probably reflects the earlier matriarchal society that dominated the *Tukang Besi* area before the coming of Islam.

## 12.6 Nominalising morphology: -'a and -'o

### 12.6.1 Nominaliser -'a

There are rather few affixes in *Tukang Besi* that can be used to derive nominals from otherwise verbal roots; some of these are ambiguous, such as *hopo-* (see chapter 11.3.3 for a discussion and examples). Two common strategies emerge for the derivation of nominals. One is the use of relative clauses without a head in the N' position. This has been illustrated in 12.4. Another strategy that exists is for a precatatorial root to simply be used in either a verbal or a nominal syntactic position, with no derivational morphology required. This was discussed in chapter 4.2, where the existence of the morpheme -'a was also mentioned. The suffix -'a serves to derive a nominal concept from a verbal concept. When applied to verbal roots, the result is usually an abstract noun, referring to the action of the conduct of the verb. With 'verbal' concepts that are based on roots which are more precatatorial in nature, the derived nominal often refers to the place in which the action is conducted, though it can also refer to the conduct of the action itself. An example of each of these cases is seen in (59) and (60):

- (59) a. *No-wila.*  
 3R-go  
 'They are going.'

- b. *Te wila-'a-no.*  
 CORE go-NL-3POSS  
 'Their going.'  
 \* 'The place that they go (to).'

- (60) a. *No-manga.*  
 3R-eat  
 'They are going.'

- b. *Te manga-'a-no.*  
 CORE eat-NL-3POSS  
 'Their eating.'  
 'The place that they eating.'

With some verbs, the difference between these two senses has developed into a morphological distinction; the (rarely attested) allomorphs *-ra* and *-ma* appear to have more specific semantic domains than does the more general *-a*. Compare (61b) and (61c) with (62b) and (62c):

- (61) a. *No-kede.*  
 3R-sit  
 'They are sitting.'

- b. *Te kede-'a-no.*  
 CORE sit-NL-3POSS  
 'Their sitting.'  
 \* 'The place that they sitting in.'

- c. *Te kede-ma-no.*  
 CORE sit-NL-3POSS  
 'The place that they sitting in.'  
 \* 'Their sitting.'

- (62) a. *No-'ita.*  
 3R-see  
 'They are sitting.'

- b. *Te 'ita-'a-no.*  
 CORE see-NL-3POSS  
 'Their looking.'  
 \* 'The way that they look.'  
 \* 'The place that they look.'

- c. *Te 'ita-ra-no.*  
 CORE see-NL-3POSS  
 'The way that they look.'  
 \* 'Their looking.'  
 \* 'The place that they look.'

Although the evidence in (61) - (62) suggests that several suffixes are developing, they are not yet productive enough to require special treatment; the suffix *-ma* has been observed on only one word, *kede*, and the *-ra* suffix on only two, *'ita* 'see' and *namisi*

'feel, taste' (with the irregularity that *namisi* + *-ra* yields not \**namisira* but *namira*). A more regular (but still not completely predictable) alternation is the dissimilation that *-a* displays when following a syllable with a glottal stop, appearing as *-ka* (see chapter 2.1.4). This is not wholly regular, however, with some words retaining the glottal stop. For example, compare the forms in (63) and (64):

(63) a. *Nu-motindo'u te uwe.*  
 2SG.R-thirsty CORE water  
 'You are thirsty for water.'

b. *Te motindo'u-ka-'u di uwe.*  
 CORE thirsty-NL-2SG.POSS OBL water  
 'Your thirst for water.'

(See chapter 3.8.2, or Donohue 1998, for a discussion of the non-core status of *uwe* in this sentence)

(64) a. *Nu-helo'a te bae.*  
 2SG.R-cook CORE rice  
 'You are cooking rice.'

b. *Te helo'a-'a-(')u nu bae.*  
 CORE eat-NL-2SG.POSS GEN rice  
 'Your cooking of rice.'

As explained, the function of *-a* and its alternants is to derive unambiguously nominal words from either precatatorial or verbal bases. It may not appear with an unambiguously nominal base:

(65) \**Te komba-'a.*  
 CORE moon-NL  
 'The mooniness.' (?)

Once derived, the nominal displays all the properties associated with an N, and is otherwise unexceptional. It will be noted in the examples above that the subject of the verb may be present in the derived nominal by the use of possessive suffixes. It may also be present in a full genitive phrase rather than just its pronominal information:

(66) *Te wila-'(a) u amai La Tonggi.*  
 CORE go-NL GEN 3PL La Tonggi  
 'The going of La Tonggi and his group.'

If the verb is transitive, then the object may be mentioned as well, by means of a genitive phrase, but the normal interpretation is that the first genitive phrase refers to the subject of the equivalent verbal expression, though this restriction is not an absolute one in nominalisations (object relative clauses are stricter in their requirement that the first genitive phrase refers to the *by*-phrase, and also more likely to include more than one genitively indexed argument. See chapter 15 for discussion):



- (67) *Te 'ita-'(a) u Wa Ode Kiradati.*  
 CORE go-NL GEN Wa Ode Kiradati  
 'The seeing of Wa Ode Kiradati.'

A: The act of seeing that Wa Ode Kiradati carried out, seeing someone/something else

B: The act of seeing that was carried out by someone/something, which resulted in Wa Ode Kiradati being seen.

With (most) ditransitive verbs, or verbs with applicative or other valency increasing morphology, all the core arguments may be mentioned in this manner. Though more than one or two are unlikely to occur in natural speech, since the lack of strict rules on the position of arguments in different syntactic roles makes it difficult to interpret these sentences (such as the ambiguity of (67), in which *Wa Ode Kiradati* is not unambiguously identified as either the see-er or the seen). An example of several genitive phrases on one nominalisation can be seen in (68):

- (68) *Te pa-manga-'a-')(u) u Aswi nu ika atu,*  
 TOP CAUS-eat-NL-2SG.POSS GEN Aswin GEN fish that  
*no-marasai na 'ita-ra-no.*  
 3R-difficult NOM see-NL-3POSS  
 'Hey, the way you fed the fish to Aswin, it didn't look easy.'

Conceivably the nominalisation in (68) could be interpreted as 'Your feeding of Aswin to the fish', but this is pragmatically rather unlikely. With ditransitive verbs, whether of the ⟨[Ag], [Dat], [Thm]⟩ type or the ⟨[Ag], [Instr], [Thm/Pt]⟩ type (see chapter 4), all arguments may appear in the nominalisation, though the instrument is unlikely to appear without the theme/patient appearing as well:

- (69) *No-'ita te tompa-'a-n(o) u Aswi nu watu.*  
 3R-see CORE throw-NL-3POSS GEN Aswin GEN stone  
 'They saw her throwing the rock at Aswin.'

- (70) # *No-'ita te tompa-'a-n(o) u watu.*  
 3R-see CORE throw-NL-3POSS GEN stone  
 'They saw her throwing the rock.'

(This sentence may be interpreted as shown, but is more likely to be interpreted as 'They saw her throwing (something) at the rock.')

- (71) *No-mele-ako te hu'u-'a-n(o) u ama-no nu doe.*  
 3R-happy-APPL CORE give-NL-3POSS GEN Aswin GEN money  
 'He's happy because of their giving his father some money.'

### 12.6.2 Infestation -'o

The suffix -'o, and its dialectal variant -ko, can be used to indicate an over-abundance of a noun, to an adverse degree. This is commonly used in exclamations, but may also appear as a bare noun phrase, or even with verbal morphology. Examples can be seen in (72) - (74):

- (72) *Ke ruhi-ko di iso!*  
 and thorns-INFEST OBL yon  
 'What a heap of thorns there were over there!'
- (73) *Te wunua u mia pande salalu no-kesu-'o.*  
 CORE house GEN shaman always 3R-ant-INFEST  
 'Shaman's houses are always full of ants.'
- (74) *Te 'ase-'u te bulu ngusu-'o.*  
 CORE chin-2SG.POSS CORE moustache-INFEST  
 'You've got such a thick beard!'

## 12.7 Structure of the prepositional phrase

A prepositional phrase is a non-nominative NP or KP preceded by a preposition. It is typically used to introduce adjunct arguments that are not subcategorised for by the verb. In addition to this, predicative uses (as illustrated in chapters 3 and 14) are also common. A prepositional phrase may also be used as a modifier in an NP, though not all prepositions enter equally into all these possibilities (see section 12.9).

The reasons for considering prepositions and articles as separate word classes are not unproblematic, since many prepositions can appear with a bare NP, rather than a KP. In this respect they may be seen as having the same structure as a non-nominative KP, as described in 12.1. This is illustrated in (75):

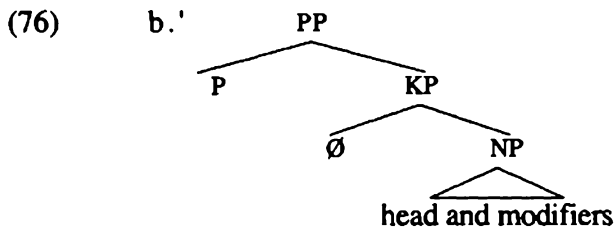
- (75) a. 
 A syntax tree for the noun phrase 'the house'. The root node is 'KP'. It branches into 'ART' and 'NP'. 'ART' is the word 'te' (CORE). 'NP' branches into 'head and modifiers', which is the word 'wunua' (house).
- b. 
 A syntax tree for the prepositional phrase 'to the house'. The root node is 'PP'. It branches into 'P' and 'NP'. 'P' is the word 'kua' (ALL). 'NP' branches into 'head and modifiers', which is the word 'wunua' (house).

We can differentiate articles and prepositions, however. Firstly, all of the prepositions also have variants in which the sister of the preposition is a case phrase, not an apparently bare NP; this is never an option for the case markers *na*, *te*, *i* or *nu*: Most of the possible article + article combinations are internally inconsistent: *i* cannot combine with *te* or *na*, since *i* is oblique, and both *te* and *na* are core articles. Similarly, *na* and *te* cannot combine because *na* marks nominative case, and *te* the non-nominative one. Combinations with the genitive article *nu* are plausible, but disallowed. Unlike the other combinatorial possibilities, the restriction must this time be one of phrase structure constraints (KP → ART NP, but PP → P KP(/K)), rather than functional clashes.

- (76) a. 
 A syntax tree for the noun phrase '\*the house'. The root node is '\*KP'. It branches into 'ART' and 'KP'. 'ART' is the word 'te'. The inner 'KP' branches into 'ART' and 'NP'. 'ART' is the word 'na'. 'NP' branches into 'head and modifiers', which is the word 'wunua'.
- b. 
 A syntax tree for the prepositional phrase 'to the house'. The root node is 'PP'. It branches into 'P' and 'KP'. 'P' is the word 'kua'. The inner 'KP' branches into 'ART' and 'NP'. 'ART' is the word 'na'. 'NP' branches into 'head and modifiers', which is the word 'wunua'.

|                |           |              |                |          |              |
|----------------|-----------|--------------|----------------|----------|--------------|
| <i>nu</i>      | <i>te</i> | <i>wunua</i> | <i>kua</i>     | <i>i</i> | <i>wunua</i> |
| GEN            | CORE      | house        | ALL            | OBL      | house        |
| 'of the house' |           |              | 'to the house' |          |              |

Some of the prepositions (such as *kua*) appear to allow alternation, sometimes taking a bare NP complement, and sometimes an oblique KP complement. This may be functionally explained as removing the double oblique-marking on the NP; since a preposition is inherently oblique, it is unnecessary to further specify the NP as oblique with an oblique case marker. We can then reanalyse the PP in (75b) as being a P + KP, with an empty article position, rather than a P + NP:



This is an important difference in phrase structure between a case phrase and a prepositional phrase, and evidence for their separate status. Another difference between the articles and the prepositions is the fact that the articles *na*, *te* and *i* can appear with arguments bearing a much wider range of semantic roles than any of the prepositions. The range of use of each of the prepositions, and the three clause-level articles (the genitive article *nu* is left out of this table since it can never serve a predicative or adjunct function in the clause), is set out in table 23 (the general preposition *di / i* has a wider range, but the existence of applicative morphology that creates core arguments out of otherwise oblique ones means that the articles *te* and *na* have a much greater range (the 'extended use' in table 21) than does *di / i*).

Table 23. Marking strategies on NPs

|               | [Ag]    | [Dat]   | [Instr] | [Pt] | [Loc]   | [All]   | [Abl]   | [Cause] | [Purp] | [Temp] |
|---------------|---------|---------|---------|------|---------|---------|---------|---------|--------|--------|
| <i>na</i>     | ←-----→ |         |         |      | -----→  |         |         |         |        |        |
| <i>te</i>     | ←-----→ |         |         |      | ←-----→ |         | ←-----→ |         | -----→ |        |
| <i>kene</i>   | ←-----→ | ←-----→ | -----→  |      |         |         |         |         |        |        |
| <i>di / i</i> | ←-----→ |         |         |      |         |         |         |         |        | -----→ |
| <i>kua</i>    |         |         |         |      |         | ←-----→ |         |         |        |        |
| <i>apa i</i>  |         |         |         |      |         | ←-----→ |         |         |        |        |
| <i>mina i</i> |         |         |         |      |         |         | ←-----→ |         |        |        |

- Typical use of the article/preposition.
- Extended use of the article/preposition.
- Article/preposition may not appear with this role

The ‘extended use’ category includes the use of articles on the objects of applied constructions (for *na* and *te*) (see chapter 10), and the replacement of articles or prepositions by *kene*. This is not the same as the use of *kene* as an instrumental preposition itself, but is the use of *kene* as a conjunction (see chapter 18 for discussion of this, as well as the discussion in 12.12).

The difference between prepositions and ‘preposition-like’ verbs is discussed in 12.12.

## 12.8 Semantic range of the different prepositions

There are four different words that will be treated as prepositions here, although it is clear that there is a continuum of grammaticalisation, with some forms being purely prepositional, displaying no characteristics of other word classes, and others tending towards the verb class to different degrees. The five different prepositions, and the oblique case marker, are:

| Form                | Semantic Range            |
|---------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>apa i</i>        | Goal, endpoint            |
| <i>kua</i>          | Goal, Allative, Recipient |
| <i>mina i, mini</i> | Source, Ablative          |
| <i>kene, ke</i>     | Instrument                |
| <i>di, i</i>        | General oblique           |

The first and second of these have the most restricted range of use, and show the least resemblance to other word classes; the other two prepositions, *mina* and *kene*, both show at least partly verb-like behaviour and certain other non-prepositional functions. The general oblique marker is the broadest in semantic range (see table 23). The prepositions *mina* and *kene* can be plausibly related to existent verbs in the language, and another verb, *dei*, bears a resemblance in form and meaning to the *di* variant of the oblique case article:

| Form        | Verb        | Verbal Meaning      |
|-------------|-------------|---------------------|
| <i>di</i>   | <i>dei</i>  | ‘be left over’      |
| <i>mina</i> | <i>mina</i> | ‘have ever been at’ |
| <i>kene</i> | <i>kene</i> | ‘be together with’  |

It is evident that prepositions in *Tukang Besi* have a mixed origin. For two of the ‘prepositions’ *mina*, and *kene*, the verbal and prepositional forms are identical. The variant of the general preposition *di*, though fully established in the language, probably owes its origins to trade Malay *di*, but does nonetheless have a plausible verbal equivalent in *Tukang Besi*. The allative preposition *kua* (*ka* in other dialects, and southern *Tukang Besi*) is also likely to have originally come from trade Malay (*kə*). The verb *ako*, which has undergone a great deal of semantic bleaching, though the core meaning does appear to be ‘do (something) for’, is a likely candidate for grammaticalisation as a preposition in the future of the language. *Ako* is not discussed here, but rather in chapter 8, because it governs a core KP (though not with quite the same freedom accorded to most verbs),

whereas all the prepositions discussed here govern an oblique KP.

The degree to which the prepositions resemble verbs in their behaviour is summarised in table 24, which summarises various features that are associated with verbs, with the serial verb *ako*, the conjunction/verb/noun *kene*, and with the different ‘true’ prepositions:

Table 24. Similarities and differences between verbs and prepositions

|                                           | Verb    | <i>ako</i> | <i>kene</i> | <i>mina</i> | <i>kua</i> | <i>apa</i> |
|-------------------------------------------|---------|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| Core article phonologically incorporated? | ←-----→ |            |             |             |            |            |
| Complement is a core KP?                  | ←-----→ |            |             |             |            |            |
| Allows object suffixes?                   | ←-----→ |            |             |             |            |            |
| Uses subject prefixes when predicative?   | ←-----→ | -----      | -----       | -----       | -----      | -----      |

(*kene* and *mina* only use subject prefixes in a predicative position when in their verbal function; the ‘verb-oid’ *ako* may also be used as a main verb, in which case it is treated as any other verb. In this table, I wish to concentrate on the unusual features it displays when used in a non-contiguous serial verb construction (see chapter 8). It is also discussed in section 12.12)

## 12.9 Functions of the oblique phrase

A prepositional phrase may serve in maximally three different roles in a clause, as a clausal adjunct, as a predicate, or as a modifier within an NP. These different uses are illustrated with the oblique case *i/di* in (77) - (79) serving as a general marker of static location in all cases:

Introducing an adjunct:

- (77) *Ku-kede [di godegode]<sub>KP</sub>.*  
 1SG-sit OBL veranda (G:54)  
 ‘I am sitting on the veranda.’

Predicative:

- (78) *Te ia [di godegode]<sub>KP</sub>.*  
 CORE 3SG OBL veranda  
 ‘She is on the veranda.’

Modifier:

- (79) *Ku-'ema [te wowine [di godegode]<sub>KP</sub> iso]<sub>KP</sub>.*  
 1SG-ask CORE woman OBL veranda yon  
 ‘I’ll ask that woman on the veranda.’

The restrictions on the positions in a verbal clause in which an oblique phrase may appear have already been described in chapter 3, and amount to a restriction against any non-core arguments appearing within the VP, regardless of their status as prepositional phrases or oblique case phrases.

Despite being able to appear as adjuncts, predicates or modifiers, there are differences

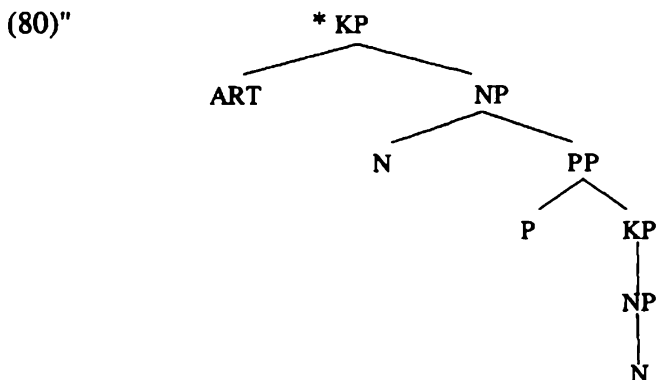
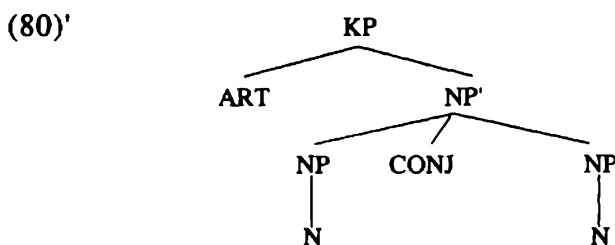
in the range of interpretation that can be attributed to the different oblique markers in these different usages, and restrictions on which functions the different oblique markers may fill. For instance, *ildi* may be used as a marker of static location, as in (73) - (75), but may also serve to mark the goal (allative location, recipient), and in some cases the source of movement. The variation of semantic range and function that the different oblique markers exhibit is summarised in table 25:

Table 25. Use and function of the oblique article and the prepositions

|           | general oblique case              | local prepositions |               |               | non-local     |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Function: | <i>i</i>                          | <i>kua (i)</i>     | <i>mina i</i> | <i>apa i</i>  | <i>ke(ne)</i> |
| Adjunct   | LOC, ALL, TEMP, ABL,<br>CAUS, REC | ALL, REC           | ABL           | END-<br>POINT | INSTR         |
| Predicate | LOC                               | ALL                | ABL           | n/a           | n/a (verbal)  |
| Modifier  | LOC, ABL                          | n/a                | ABL           | n/a           | n/a (CONJ)    |

Although *kua* and *mina* show no variation, it is noteworthy that *i* can only be used to mark static location if it is used predicatively, and can only be interpreted as an ablative marker if it is used to modify within an NP (with exceptions provided for by appositional phrases - see 12.3). The range of use of *apa* and *kene* does not extend past their use as adjuncts. *Kene* may appear in positions other than just adjunct, but is then interpreted as serving as a conjunction. This is illustrated in (80), in which *te mo'ane kene wowine* can only be interpreted as having the structure shown in (80)', and not that displayed in (80)'':

- (80) *Te mo'ane kene wowine no-wila.*  
 CORE man and woman 3R-go  
 'A man and a woman went.'  
 \* 'A man who has a woman (i.e., wife) went.'



Further details on conjoined constructions can be found in chapter 18.

## 12.10 General oblique: oblique article *i/di*

The oblique article *di/i*, in addition to being the semantically underspecified local oblique marker meaning 'at, on, in, towards, through', is also used in some temporal phrases, and to mark the goal or source of certain emotion verbs, such as in the following examples:

Locative:

- (81) *Ku-kede di kadera.*  
 1SG-sit OBL chair (G:54)  
 'I am sitting in the chair.'
- (82) *Te kampo-su i ito.*  
 CORE village-1SG.POSS OBL there:higher  
 'My village is up in the mountains.'
- (83) *Te kampo-kampo i Salantogo o-motembe na uwe.*  
 TOP RED-village OBL Road-to-town 3R-fresh NOM water  
 'The villages in the hills have fresh (i.e., not salty) water.'

Allative:

- (84) *Te kene-su no-wila tunggala komba di Kendari.*  
 CORE friend-1SG.POSS 3R-go every moon OBL Kendari  
 'My friend goes to Kendari every month.' (G:35)
- (85) *Maka no-langke i Sailolo.*  
 and.then 3R-sail OBL Jailolo  
 'And then they sail to Jailolo.'

Ablative:

- (83) *Ku-hada-balu te wurai b[um]juti di tondo atu.*  
 1SG-want-buy CORE sarong fall.SI OBL fence that  
 'I want to buy that sarong that fell of the fence.'
- (87) *Ku-rato i Wa Sorou'u.*  
 1SG-arrive OBL Wasorou'u  
 'I came to Wasorou'u.'  
 \* 'I came from Wasorou'u.'

Temporal:

- (88) *O-koruo na mia la'a-m(o) o-mai mini Kapota.*  
 3R-many NOM person just-PF 3R-come from Kapota  
*i rearea*  
 OBL morning (G:33)  
 'There are many people who have just arrived from Kapota this morning.'

- (89) *I rearea ai o-koruo na mia l[um]angke.*  
 OBL morning ANA 3R-many NOM person sail.SI  
*kua Lasalimu*  
 ALL Lasalimu  
 'This morning there were a lot of people who sailed to Lasalimu.' (G:62)

- (90) *Te sala di po-lota-(a) u Wanse ke Wandoka*  
 CORE road OBL REC-between-NL GEN Wanse and Wandoka  
*no-ja'o, toka i komba meatu'e ai*  
 3R-bad but OBL moon REF-that ANA  
*a-[m]a-leama-'e-mo te pamarenta.*  
 3I-CAUS.SI-good-3OBJ-PF CORE government (G:40)  
 'The road between Wanci and Wandoka is bad, but next month it will be improved by the government.'

Cause of an emotional or physical state

- (91) *Te ana-no no-monimpala di ina-no.*  
 CORE child-3POSS 3R-miss OBL mother-3POSS  
 'The child missed his mother.' (SI:10)

- (92) *Mbeaka 'u-ma'eka i ika to'oge?*  
 not 2SG.R-scared OBL fish big  
 'Aren't you scared of big fish?'

- (93) *Ku-hada i moro'u-k(a) u tee.*  
 1SG-like OBL drink-NL GEN tea  
 'I like to drink tea.'

- (94) *No-kalu di nangu-nangu-'a.*  
 3R-tired OBL RED-swim-NL (G:11)  
 'He is tired from swimming'

Possessed mental knowledge

- (95) *Ane ke d[um]ahani-'e, toka te s[um]aori pande*  
 exist and know.SI-3OBJ but CORE extreme.SI wise  
*di sejar(a) u Walanda no-linda-mo kua Baubau.*  
 OBL history GEN Holland 3R-move-PF ALL Baubau (G:40)  
 'There are some who know it, but the (people who) are most wise about Dutch history have moved to Baubau.'

Another specialised use of the oblique article is found in comparative constructions:

Variable in a comparison:

- (96) *Ku-lancara di pogau Malau ngga ku-pogau-Wanse.*  
 1SG-fluent OBL language Malay than 1SG-speak-Wanci  
 'I am better at Indonesian than I am at Wanci.' (G:40)

- (97) *Menuru te iaku (o)-koruo di Bugisi mai no-wila*  
 according TOP 1SG 3R-many OBL Bugis INAL 3R-go  
*kua Singapura nggala te amai Wanse.*  
 ALL Singapore than TOP 3PL Wanci (G:38)  
 'If you ask me, there are more Bugis that go to Singapore than Wanci people'



## 12.11 Individual prepositions

The use of each of the different prepositional forms will now be illustrated, arranged according to the form of the preposition and each of the semantic roles that are associated with the preposition under discussion. In addition to a discussion of their prepositional uses, each section also summarises the non-prepositional uses associated with that form.

### 12.11.1 Allative preposition *kua*

The allative preposition *kua* is used as well as the oblique article *di/i* to indicate direction towards something (the core allative usage), but also has uses not encompassed by *di/i*. It can be used to introduce direct and indirect speech (glossed in these cases simply as a colon; see chapter 16), and can be used to mark the recipient in clauses involving transactions, though this may be a calque on the Malay use of a variant of the allative preposition in this role (*ke(pada)*). Indeed, the use of *kua* to mark the recipient is not accepted by many speakers, who use *i/di* for this meaning.

When used allatively, *kua* differs from *i/di* in this use in that *kua* is used to specify a direction, rather than a destination. Compare the question and answer sets provided in (98) and (99):

- (98) a. 'U-wil(a) i 'umpā?  
2SG.R-go OBL Q  
'Where are you going?'
- b. Ku-wil(a) i Waha.  
2SG.R-go OBL Waha  
'I'm going to Waha.'
- c. Ku-wil(a) i ito.  
2SG.R-go OBL there:higher  
'I'm going to the north.'
- (99) a. 'U-wila kua 'umpā?  
2SG.R-go ALL Q  
'Where are you going?'
- b. # Ku-wila kua Waha.  
2SG.R-go ALL Waha  
'I'm going to Waha.'
- c. Ku-wila kua ito.  
2SG.R-go ALL there:higher  
'I'm going to the north.'

Whilst a question with the general preposition may be answered with either a destination or a direction, one asked using the allative preposition is felicitously answered with a direction, but not with a particular destination, as was seen in (99b) and (99c). Other sentences illustrating the use of *kua* are given below:

Allative:

- (100) *Maka no-waliako kua kampo.*  
 then 3R-return ALL village (Sab:42)  
 'Then they went back to the village.'
- (101) *No-kahu-'e kua iaku.*  
 3R-send-3OBJ ALL 1SG  
 'She sent it to me.'
- (102) *Te emai ako kua Longa?*  
 CORE who PURP ALL Longa  
 'Who is going to go to Longa?'

The preposition *kua* may be used in conjunction with the oblique case *i* if the goal is not a human, but is specific. Examples of this are given in (103) - (105):

- (103) *Te amai no-wila kua i kampo-no i ito.*  
 CORE 3PL 3R-go ALL OBL village-3POSS OBL there:higher  
 'They went up to their village.'
- (104) \* *No-'eka kua i La Sade.*  
 3R-go ALL OBL La Sade  
 'She went to La Sade.'
- (105) *No-langke ka i Banda.*  
 3R-sail ALL OBL Banda  
*No-rato di ito, no-labu-mo.*  
 3R-arrive OBL there:higher 3R-anchor-PF  
 'Who is going to go to Longa?'

Direct speech:

- (106) *No-balo-mo na Wa Sabusaburengki kua*  
 3R-answer-PF NOM Wa Sabusaburengki :  
 "Ku-g[um]ule-i-ko-mo."  
 1SG-sweet.curry.SI-DIR-2SG.OBJ-PF (Sab:7)  
 'Wa Sabusaburengki replied "I'm going to curry you".'

Reported speech

- (107) *Nu-pogau na iko'o kua nu-hada te 'onu-'onu-'a*  
 2SG.R-say NOM 2SG : 2SG.R-want CORE RED-swim-NL  
*ilange.*  
 tomorrow (G:38)  
 'You said that you wanted to go swimming tomorrow.'

A further important use of *kua* is its role as a switch reference marker in complements. More details on the use of complementisers can be found in chapter 16.

### 12.11.2 Ablative preposition *mina i*

The preposition *mina* has the basic prepositional function of showing ablative movement in

space, and an elapsed period 'since' in a temporal clause (chapter 17). It (and *apa*) differ from the other prepositions in that they must be used in conjunction with the general preposition *i* following (not usually *di* except very formally). Frequently in running speech the final vowel of *mina* is lost, or partially assimilates to the following [i], producing the variants [ˈminai], [miˈnai], [miˈnəi], [miˈnei] and [ˈmini]. It seems likely that the compound preposition *mina i* is becoming a unit *mini*; nevertheless at the present most speakers report *mina i* or *mina di* as the correct form.

- (108) *Mina i 'umpā?* ~ *Mini 'umpā?*  
 from OBL where from where  
 'Where are you coming from?' (greeting)

- (109) *Ku-mai mini Wuta Wolio.*  
 1SG-come from Buton  
 'I've come from Buton.'

- (110) *Te ia mini Walanda.*  
 CORE 3SG from Holland  
 'He is from Holland.'

- (111) *Te mia pande mini Tindoi no-waliako-mo.*  
 CORE shaman from Tindoi 3R-return-PF  
 'The shaman from Tindoi has gone back home.'

Source of mental knowledge

- (112) ...*'u-dahani te pogau Japaa min(a) i 'umpā?*  
 2SG.R-know CORE language Japan from OBL where  
 '...where did you learn Japanese?'

It may also appear as a verb, with the meaning 'ever':

- (113) *Ku-mina-mo i Pulo Hoga.*  
 1SG-ever-PF OBL Hoga  
 'I've been to Hoga.'

- (114) *No-mina-langke i Maluku?*  
 3R-ever-sail OBL Maluku  
 'Has he ever sailed in/to Maluku?'

*mina* is also used in the expression for 'before':

- (115) *Labi to-wila mina mbea-ho no-wande.*  
 better 1PL.R-go from not-yet 3R-rain  
 'We'd better go before it rains.'

### 12.11.3 Endpoint allative preposition *apa*

The endpoint preposition *apa*, like *mina*, must occur with the general preposition following it; unlike *mina*, there is no tendency for the two to merge together, so that only the form [ˈapa i] is heard, and intermediate forms like [aˈpai], [aˈpəi], [aˈpei] and [ˈapi], which

might be predicted on the basis of the phenomenon with the ablative preposition, are not observed. It refines the meaning of *kua* in that in addition to specifying motion towards a point, it carries the additional information that that point is the end of the activity. Compare (116) and (117), which bring out the differences in possible interpretations:

- (116) *No-tinti kua wunua-su*  
 3R-run ALL house-1SG.POSS  
 (*kene no-pajulu kua ito*).  
 and 3R-continue ALL there:higher  
 'He ran up to my house (and then continued on to the east).'
- (117) *No-tinti apa i wunua-su*  
 3R-run ENDPOINT OBL house-1SG.POSS  
 (\* *kene no-pajulu kua ito*).  
 and 3R-continue ALL there:higher  
 'He ran up to my house and stopped (\* and then continued on to the east).'
- (118) *No-tuhu apa i Longa.*  
 3R-descend ENDPOINT OBL Longa  
 'It (a tornado) came down even as far as Longa.'
- (119) *No-'eka apa i Limbo wo'ou,*  
 3R-climb ENDPOINT OBL Limbo wo'ou  
*maka no-waliako-hena'u-mo.*  
 and.then 3R-return-descend-PF  
 'They went as far as Limbowo'ou, and then they came back down.'

With a time expression, it refers to the end of a long period of time:

- (120) *Jar(i) i wakutuu mai sida, apa i tong(a)*  
 so OBL time INAL truth ENDPOINT OBL middle  
*u rondo, rondo-'oloo rondo-'oloo te mia*  
 GEN night night-day night-day CORE person  
*no-rato,...* (WW: 29)  
 3R-arrive  
 'So in those times, in fact, even up till the middle of the night, every day,  
 people keep coming....'

#### 12.11.4 Non-local preposition: instrumental preposition *ke, kene*

The instrumental preposition *ke(ne)* is more typically used serving as a conjunction to show accompaniment or inclusiveness, and is obligatorily used to mark the existent in an existential construction with the semi-verb *ane*. This function can be shown to be (at least somewhat) separate from its prepositional use, however, and is treated as not being a prepositional function. This is dealt with in chapter 18, as well as the discussion in 12.12. The following illustrate the use of *kene*:

Instrumental:

(121) *No-tu'o te kau [kene baliu]pp.*  
 3R-fell CORE tree INSTR axe  
 'He felled the trees with an axe.'

(122) *No-lemba-'e [kene kau]pp.*  
 3R-carry.on.shoulder-3OBJ INSTR stick  
 'He carried it on his shoulder with a stick.'

Notice that *kene* may only introduce an 'intermediate agent' type of instrument, and not just the means used to achieve an end:

(123) \* *No-sawi kua gunu [kene honda]pp.*  
 3R-ride ALL mountain INSTR motorbike  
 'He rode to the mountain on a motorbike.'

Some speakers reject this use of *kene* as an instrumental preposition, and prefer to mark the instrument of all actions with a serial verb construction using *ako* or *pake*, which is also capable of being used with sentences like (123), shown here in this use as (125):

(124) [*Ku-tu'o [te kau]KP*]VP:1 [*ako [te baliu]KP*]VP:2.  
 1SG-fell CORE tree INSTR CORE axe  
 'I felled the trees with an axe.'

(125) [*No-sawi*]VP:1 [*ako [te honda]KP*]VP:2 [*kua gunu*]pp.  
 1SG-fell INSTR CORE motorbike ALL mountain  
 'She went to the mountains by means of a motorbike.'

As an alternative to *ako*, an alternative a serial verb construction with *pake* 'use' (< Malay *pake*, < formal Malay *pakai*) is available:

(126) [*Ku-tu'o [te kau]KP*]CORE:1 [*pake [te baliu]KP*]CORE:2.  
 1SG-fell CORE tree use CORE axe  
 'I felled the trees with an axe.'

The majority of speakers are satisfied with a core instrumental role being assigned to an instrumental KP without the need for a serial verb construction (see chapter 4 for a discussion of different subcategorisation frames):

(127) [*Ku-tu'o [te kau]KP [te baliu]KP*]CORE.  
 1SG-fell CORE tree CORE axe  
 'I felled the trees with an axe.'

The interpretation of an NP in other than an instrumental role preceded by *kene* is problematic, and is examined in 12.12. One reason that *kene* introducing an instrumental role is not treated as a serial verb as well is that in this function it is not possible to replace the NP object of *kene* with an object suffix:

- (128) \* *Ku-tu'o te kau [kene-'e]PP.*  
 1SG-fell CORE tree INSTR-3OBJ  
 'I felled the trees with it.'

(This proposition may be expressed with either a serial verb construction using *ako*: *Kutu'o te kau ako'e* (see chapter 8.2.2) or an applicative construction: *Kutu'oako'e te kau* (see chapter 10.3.2))

The object of *kene*, used as a conjunct, may be replaced with object suffixes:

- (129) *Ku-tu'o te kau [kene-'e]CONJ.*  
 1SG-fell CORE tree and-3OBJ  
 'I felled it and the trees.'

This use of *kene* is dealt with in chapter 18.

## 12.12 Complex prepositions

The specific meaning of the general preposition *i/di* can be, and often is, made more explicit by the use of directional nouns with the preposition. This appears following the preposition, as the head of the NP, and the physical location is then added in a genitive phrase modifying this local noun. The different local nouns observed are:

|                                  |                              |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>i wawo</i>                    | on top of                    |
| <i>i woru</i>                    | underneath                   |
| <i>i sawengka (mohii, moana)</i> | to the (left, right) side of |
| <i>i taliku</i>                  | behind                       |
| <i>i aropa</i>                   | in front of                  |
| <i>i polota'a</i>                | in between                   |
| <i>i luara</i>                   | outside                      |
| <i>i laro</i>                    | inside                       |

Only *luara* is suspect, being clearly a recent loan from Malay *luar*. Although no longer current in northern *Tukang Besi*, other languages of Southeast Sulawesi that do not have a loan word for 'outside' often use the same word for 'outside' as is used for 'behind', often cognate with or identical to *taliku*. In southern *Tukang Besi* the word *mburi* is used with this meaning, both outside and behind. Some examples of the use of these local nouns are given in (130) - (132):

- (130) *No-torae-'e na boku-no [i waw(o) [u meja]KP ]PP.*  
 3R-place-3OBJ NOM book-3POSS OBL above GEN table  
 'She put her book on the table.'
- (131) *No-oko karama-no [i wor(u) [u walewale]KP ]PP.*  
 3R-hide self-3POSS OBL underneath GEN shelter  
 'He hid himself under the shelter.'

- (132) *Te sala*  
 CORE road  
 [i *po-lota*-(a) [u *Wanse kene Wandoka*]<sub>KP</sub> ]<sub>PP</sub>.  
 OBL RC-between-NL GEN *Wanse and Wandoka*  
 'The road between *Wanse* and *Wandoka*....'

## 12.13 Not-quite prepositions: *ako*, *pake* and *kene*

In addition to the (relatively) unambiguous prepositions described above, there are three words which display preposition-like behaviour to various degrees. They also all function as verbs, and some have other properties as well. These are:

| Form        | Semantic Range                          |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------|
| <i>ako</i>  | beneficiary, instrument, purpose, cause |
| <i>pake</i> | Instrument                              |
| <i>kene</i> | Instrument, conjunct: 'and'             |

As main verbs, these have the following meanings:

| Form        | Verbal Meaning |
|-------------|----------------|
| <i>ako</i>  | 'do for'       |
| <i>pake</i> | 'use'          |
| <i>kene</i> | 'accompany'    |

I argue that *ako* and *pake* are best described as atypical verbs, and that *kene* is, in these 'preposition-like' functions (other than the instrumental functions) best thought of as a conjunction. The reasons for the treatment of *ako* and *pake* as verbs in non-contiguous serial verb constructions, rather than as prepositions, are given below. Some of the discussion concerning *kene* is given here, but it is mainly treated in chapter 18.

When *ako* is functioning as a main verb, meaning 'do for', it obeys the restrictions on verbal behaviour, such as requiring the subject relative clause morphology when used to modify an NP (see chapter 15), or requiring subject prefixes when predicative:

- (133) *No-wila-mo na wowine [[um]ako-aku]<sub>RC</sub>*.  
 3R-go-PF NOM woman do.for.SI-1SG.OBJ  
 'The woman who did (something) for me has gone.'

- (134) \* *No-wila-mo na wowine [ako-aku]<sub>RC</sub>*.  
 3R-go-PF NOM woman do.for-1SG.OBJ  
 'The woman who did (something) for me has gone.'  
 (Good with the interpretation: 'The woman who is intended for me (i.e., as a wife) has gone.')

- (135) *Mbea-do 'u-ako-naku wa?*  
 not-yet 2SG.R-do.for-1SG.DAT.OBJ ILL.FORCE  
 'Haven't you done it for me yet?'

- (136) \* *Mbea-do ako-naku.*  
 not-yet do.for-1SG.DAT.OBJ  
 'Haven't you done it for me yet?'

This is not the case when it is used in a more 'prepositional' function, as (137) and (138) illustrate. (137) shows *ako* modifying *olibolu* without any relative clause morphology, and (138) shows *ako* without subject prefixes in a serial verb construction, and not contiguously attached to the verb (as seen in chapters 8 and 10):

- (137) *Te ana te olibolu [ako-aku]<sub>RC</sub>.*  
 CORE this CORE k.o.sweet BEN-1SG.OBJ  
 'This is the olibolu that's for me.'  
 (an *olibolu* is a sweet fried cake, very oily. The derivation of the name is probably from Dutch *oliebol*, 'oily-ball')

- (138) *Mbea-do 'u-sai-'e ako-naku wa?*  
 not-yet 2SG.R-make-3OBJ BEN-1SG.DAT.OBJ ILL.FORCE  
 'Haven't you made it for me yet?'

The same comparisons can be made for *pake* serving as a main verb, and serving in a non-contiguous serial verb construction introducing an instrumental argument.

We find that *ako* displays different degrees of verb-like behaviour depending on the semantic role that its object plays in the clause. Examining the ability of *ako* (in its different usages) and *pake* to serve as adjuncts, predicates and modifiers, we arrive with table 26:

Table 26. Functions and meanings of *ako*

| Function: | <i>ako</i><br>Benefactive | <i>ako, pake</i><br>Instrumental | <i>ako</i><br>Theme | <i>ako</i><br>Purpose | <i>ako</i><br>Cause |
|-----------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Adjunct   | +                         | +                                | -                   | +                     | +                   |
| Predicate | +                         | -                                | -                   | +                     | -                   |
| Modifier  | -                         | -                                | -                   | +                     | -                   |

It is clear that *ako* is most versatile (and most verb-like) when used with a benefactive or purposive sense. Unlike the other prepositions, some of which can only appear in adjunct positions as well, the object of *ako* (and *pake*) is present in a KP, and may be replaced with object suffixes.

The use of *kene* in its 'comitative' role is somewhat different. Whilst it may appear as a main verb, and even preserves the ability to represent its argument by means of object suffixes instead of an NP, it cannot have an object in a KP. Since it appears directly before the NP, and does not allow an article to appear, a surface string analogous to a prepositional phrase appears. Compare (121) above with (139) below:

- (139) *Ku-tu'o [te [[kau]<sub>NP</sub> kene [wemba]<sub>NP</sub> ]<sub>NP</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub>.*  
 1SG-fell CORE tree and bamboo  
 'I felled the trees and the bamboo.'



The fact that the first of the two conjuncts, with its article, may be left out makes this usage even more preposition-like in appearance:

- (140) *Ku-tu'o* [*kene* [*wemba*]<sub>NP</sub>]CONJ.  
 1SG-fell and bamboo  
 'I felled some things and the bamboo.'

Unlike the prepositions, *kene* may replace its following NP with object suffixes. Other reasons for regarding *kene* as a non-preposition are given in chapter 18.

Another related use of *kene* is to place emphasis on the object of a KP or a PP. It may be used to replace the nominative article on an KP, or appear with a local preposition in a PP:

Replacing an article:

- (141) *No-hoko-mate-'e* *kene* *beka-su* *te* *La bela kompakompa.*  
 3R-FACT-dead-3OBJ and cat-1SG.POSS CORE La dear Eel  
 '(He answered: Eel bit me, and) 'Dear' Eel even killed my cat!' (Oen:37)

- (142) "*Oho. Toka nabu-ako-aku ke iaku te mota'a-no.*"  
 yes but drop-APPL-1SG.OBJ and 1SG CORE ripe-3POSS  
 'Yes, but drop some ripe ones for me!' (SA:34)

Some speakers allow *ke* to completely replace the preposition in a PP; so the lack of a preposition in (143):

Replacing a preposition:

- (143) *O-rato ke Kapota.*  
 3R-arrive and Kapota  
 'They arrived even as far as Kapota.'

is acceptable for some speakers, whereas others would prefer:

- (144) *O-rato ke i Kapota.*  
 3R-arrive and OBL Kapota  
 'They arrived even as far as Kapota.'

This is also treated as being an example of the use of *kene* as a conjunction, and is discussed in more depth in chapter 18.

The degree to which these words resemble verbs in their behaviour has been summarised in table 24. The serial verb *pake* has exactly the same morphosyntactic properties as does *ako* in that table.



# Chapter 13

## Possession and possessive constructions

### 13.1 Introduction

Possessive constructions in *Tukang Besi* refer to a difference between alienable and inalienable possessed items, as is commonly found in many languages. Unlike the common situation of a morphological difference emerging between the two categories when they are phrasally possessed, *Tukang Besi* only distinguishes them in clausal possession, and leaves phrasal possession as one unified category. There is, however, an inalienable/plural marker, *m(e)ai*, that can be used in conjunction with the normal phrasal possessive morphology to indicate that the possessed is inalienable or plural (or both).

### 13.2 Phrasal possession

In this section I will deal with possessive constructions on a phrasal level, both the pronominal possessive suffixes and the genitive phrase. These are typically used to show the following range of concepts:

- ownership of objects (canoes, ships, clothes) and land (gardens, land for houses);
- kin relations (mother, father, child, in-laws) and social relations (friend, slave);
- body part relationships to the whole (tail of a dog; hair of the head (of a friend));
- general part-whole relationships (fruit of a tree, door of a house);
- qualities of an object (distance, ability, stupidity);
- spatial relation (where something is located with respect to another referent);
- mental activity or actions (decision of a group, terror of an individual)

#### 13.2.1 Pronominal possession

In chapter 5 the forms of the possessive suffixes were discussed. The information relevant to possession that was presented there is repeated here. The form of the possessive suffix varies for person and number, and the different forms are as follows:

|     |     |          |       |     |      |
|-----|-----|----------|-------|-----|------|
| 1SG | -su | 1PA      | -mami | 1PL | -nto |
| 2SG | -'u |          |       | 2PL | -miu |
|     |     | 3(SG/PL) | -no   |     |      |

Examples (39) - (45) from chapter 5 are repeated here as (1) - (7), illustrating the use of the different suffixes:

- (1) *Ku-laha te handu ki'iki'i[-su]POSS.*  
 1SG-search CORE towel small-1SG.POSS  
 'I am looking for my small towel.'
- (2) *No-mohoo na mata[-'u]POSS.*  
 3R-sick NOM eye-2SG.POSS  
 'Your eye is sore?' (WI:6)
- (3) *Jari o-waa-'e-mo te raja na ana[-no]POSS iso.*  
 so 3R-tell-3OBJ-PF CORE king NOM child-3POSS yon  
 'So the King told his son:...' (WI:33)
- (4) *Kaatu'e na wunua[-mami]POSS.*  
 PRES-there NOM house-1PA.POSS  
 'There is our house.'
- (5) *To-rame-rame-ako te tuha[-nto]POSS mai.*  
 1PL.R-RED-noise-APPL CORE family-1PL.POSS INAL  
 'We make it very lively for our families.' (Ram:2)
- (6) *Ane ke doe[-miu]POSS?*  
 exist and money-2PL.POSS  
 'Do you have any money?'
- (7) *Te bahasa[-no]POSS, te pogau[-no]POSS no-po-sala 'uka.*  
 TOP language-3POSS TOP speech-3POSS 3R-REC-fault also  
 'Their languages, their speeches, also differ.' (TB:2)

### 13.2.2 Genitive article *nu*

Non-pronominal possession is shown by the independent genitive article *nu* (with variants *no* and *u*) appearing between the possessed and the possessor. Structurally, *nu* is the head of its own case phrase, which is composed of the article and a sister NP, the possessor. The order of constituents is thus Head-(GEN-Dependent). This article, or rather its allomorph *u*, may be cliticised onto the preceding noun; this *u* often replaces the final vowel of the word. This is most common with words ending in a back vowel, *a*, *o* or *u*, but can occur with any vowel. For example,

- (8) *Te kadera nu ama-su.*  
 CORE chair GEN father-1SG.POSS  
 ↓  
*Te kadera u ama-su.*  
 ↓ ↙  
*Te kaderu ama-su.*  
 CORE chair=GEN father-1SG.POSS  
 'My father's chair.'

This genitive article may also be used governing pronouns instead of the normal use of possessive suffixes. This has the additional pragmatic force of emphasising the contrastive identity of the possessor compared to other possible possessors. Compare (9a), using the regular possessive suffixes, with (9b), employing a pronominal possessor in a separate genitive phrase to mark the contrastive sense:

- (9) a. *Te kolikoli[-'u]POSS.*  
 CORE canoe-2SG.POSS  
 'your canoe'
- b. *Te kolikoli [nu iko'o]KP.*  
 CORE canoe GEN 2SG  
 'your canoe'

Additionally, the free pronouns are used when the possessed entity has exclusive reference in the conceptual world. In this case, there is neither a genitive article nor a possessive suffix, and the free pronoun is simply placed immediately following the possessed object:

- (10) a. *Te doe[-su]POSS.*  
 CORE money-1SG.POSS  
 'my money.'  
 (usual way to refer to the possession of money)
- b. *Te doe [nu iaku]KP.*  
 CORE money GEN 1SG  
 'My money.'  
 (emphasis on the contrastive identity of the possessor; the possessor has X, and no other possible possessors own it)
- c. *Te doe [iaku]N.*  
 CORE money 1SG  
 'My special money.'  
 (referring to an American \$1 bill, not the normal unit of exchange; the possessor owns the possessed to the exclusion of other possible possessors)
- d. \* *Te doe[-su]POSS [(nu) iaku]KP.*  
 CORE money-1SG.POSS GEN 1SG

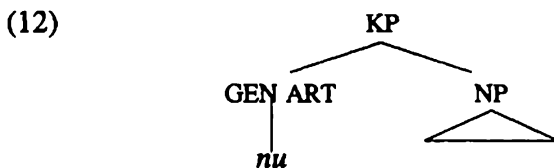
In (10c) the reference is to a one-of-a-kind item of money; no article is used. This construction can be used to express semantically different concepts as well as to achieve

pragmatic effects such as in (10c). Note that it is not grammatical to have both a free pronoun and a possessive marker on the noun, as in (10d).

Compare the very different interpretations of (11a) and (11b):

- (11) a. *Te pogau-nto.*  
 CORE speak-1PL.POSS  
 'The way we talk.'  
 (> our language)
- b. *Te pogau ikita.*  
 CORE speak we  
 'Our language.'  
 (and not that spoken by anyone else)  
 \* 'The way we talk.'

Here (11a) is an unmarked, 'normal' way to refer to 'our language', whilst (11b) presents the information with a greater sense of individuation, rather like 'our own special language, and no-one else's.' The structure of a genitive case phrase is the same as the structures seen in chapter 3, and an example is as set out in (12):



Unlike the core articles *te* and *na*, or the oblique article *i*, the genitive article *nu* has no predicative function. Compare the following non-verbal clauses with core and oblique predicates in (13) and (14), and the phrase involving the genitive *nu* in (15):

- (13) [*Te ia*]<sub>KP</sub> [*te mori*]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 CORE 3SG CORE student  
 'She is a student.'
- (14) [*Te ia*]<sub>KP</sub> [*di ito*]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 CORE 3SG OBL there:higher  
 'She is up there.'  
 (or 'She who is up there.', with the structure [*Te ia* [*di ito*]<sub>KP</sub> ]<sub>NP</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub> )
- (15) [*Te ia* [*nu tuha-su*]<sub>KP</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 CORE 3SG GEN family-1SG.POSS  
 \* 'She is in my family.'  
 ? 'She, of my family.'

Whilst both (13) and (14) have clausal interpretations (though (14) can also be interpreted as a phrase modifying within an NP), this is not a possible option for (15), which can only be interpreted as a KP containing a pronominal head modified by the genitive case phrase.

A genitive KP cannot serve as an adjunct in a main verbal clause (though it may serve as such in some relative clause types; see chapter 15 for details and examples), a characteristic of oblique KPs and PPs. Compare (16) and (17):

(16) [Te ia]<sub>KP</sub> [no-tinti]<sub>VP</sub> [di ito]<sub>PP</sub>.  
 CORE 3SG 3R-run OBL there:higher  
 'She is running up there.'

(17) \* [Te ia]<sub>KP</sub> [no-tinti]<sub>VP</sub> [nu tuha-su]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 CORE s/he 3R-run GEN family-1SG.POSS

These characteristics lead us to assume that *nu* is an article, but with different distributional restrictions from both core and oblique articles. The form of the genitive article is most typically *nu* (or its allomorph *u*); it can, however, especially in the speech of people from the south western coast of Wanci, and those areas in the court of Lia, or those with associations with Buton, be heard as *no*, probably modelled after the suffix *-no* that is found in the languages of Muna and Buton (with the exception of Wolio, the Sultanate language). For example, we find sentences such as (8)' in Muna (van den Berg 1989:86):

(8)' *roo-no sau*  
 leaf-POS tree  
 'leaf of a tree; vegetable'

In these languages, however, it is clear that it is actually the possessive suffixes that are used, and not a separate genitive case marker. Compare example (10b) with the following Muna phrase (van den Berg 1989:85):

(10) e. *guru-ku inodi*  
 teacher-my I  
 'MY teacher' (not yours).'

Clearly the genitive construction is treated differently in *Tukang Besi*, compared to the Muna possessive construction. The genitive case marker is independent of person and number of the possessor, and is not suffixed onto the head noun (*Tukang Besi* would require *te guru nu iaku* as a translation of (ii), and not allow \* *te gurusu iaku*). This is also discussed in chapter 5

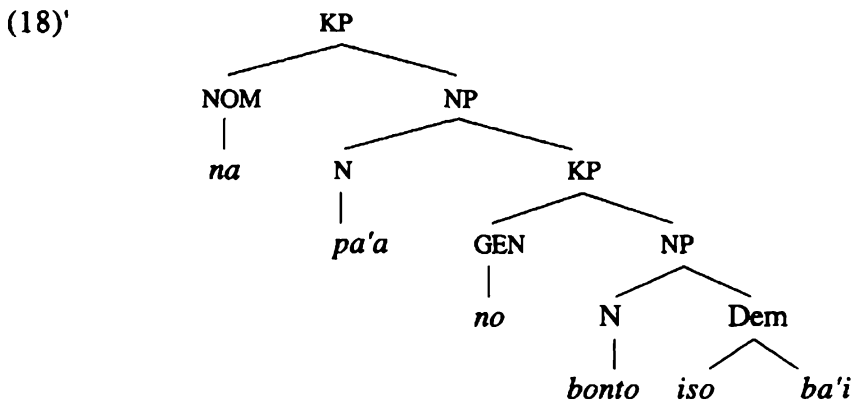
### 13.2.3 Internal structure of a genitive phrase

From the examples above it can be seen that the appearance of a genitive phrase (or possessive suffix) serving to modify a noun is obligatorily within a noun phrase. It can be shown, however, that the NPs that may appear in genitive KPs are non-nominative, and do not display the internal structure associated with nominative NPs. This can be corroborated by the lack of ambiguity in strings that might be naively thought to be ambiguous. Examine the KP containing a genitive case phrase in (18):

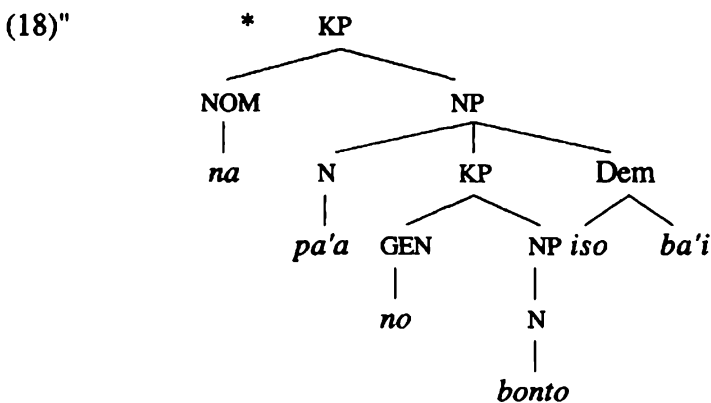
(18) *Jari no-mohoo na pa'a no bonto iso ba'i.*  
 so 3R-sore NOM thigh GEN ruler yon PREV  
 'So that mentioned thigh of the ruler was sore.'  
 \* 'So the thigh of that mentioned ruler was sore.'

Here it might appear to be the case that the demonstrative string *iso ba'i* occurs modifying

a nominative noun phrase, not allowed by the rules governing NP structure (see chapter 12). In fact this interpretation is not allowed, and the demonstrative can only be taken to be referring to the NP inside the genitive phrase, and not the NP outside the genitive phrase. This provides evidence that NPs within a genitive phrase are non-nominative, regardless of the case of the KP in which they are found. This can be represented in the structure seen in (18)', which is contrasted to (18)", not a possible constituent structure representing (18), since it assigns a demonstrative choice that is only available to a non-nominative NP to the nominative NP that is part of the outermost KP.



and not



Thus the *ba'i* is part of the N' containing the embedded *bonto*, and is not modifying the head of the NP, *pa'a*.

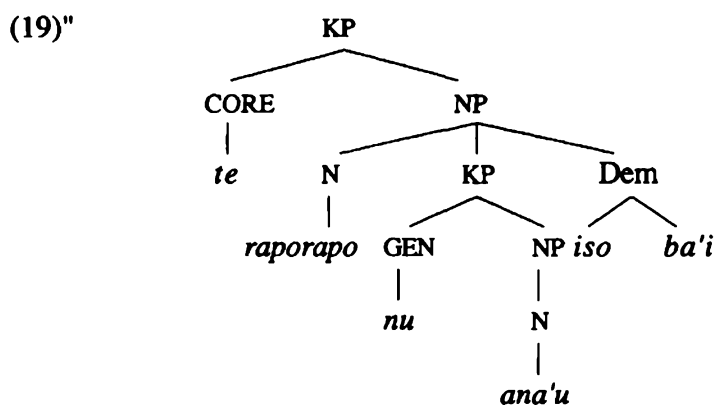
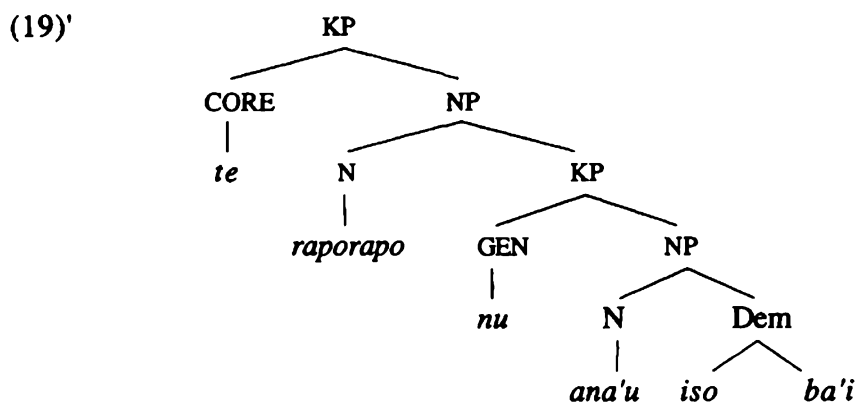
Compare this clarity with the ambiguity that can result when a demonstrative is used in a non-nominative KP containing a genitive phrase :

- (19) *No-ala te rapo-rapo nu ana-'u atu ba'i.*  
 3R-fetch CORE peanuts GEN child-2SG.POSS that PREV  
 'She took those peanuts that were there by you that belong to your child.'  
 'She took the peanuts that belong to that child of yours there by you.'

Since the NP possessor in (19) is non-nominative, the demonstrative string *atu ba'i* is grammatical when taken to refer to *rapo-rapo* as well as *ana'u*, and so ambiguity results. The constituent structures representing the two alternative readings of (19) are given in (19)' and (19)". Note that these are identical structures to (18)' and (18)", yet both are



grammatical when the KP is non-nominative, because of the different internal structures allowed to non-nominative NPs.



The position of the possessive suffixes within an NP is not necessarily immediately following the head noun, as might be deduced from the above, but the positioning is dependent on the article that begins the NP. The relevant portion of the NP structure rules is the following two explications, repeated here from chapter 12:

N'non-NOM → *te* N (ADJ) (-POSS) ...

N'NOM → *na* N (-POSS) (ADJ) ...

As can be seen, in a nominative NP the possessive suffix occurs immediately following the head. In another NP such modification occurs after any adjectival modification. Examples of these differing patterns can be seen in (20) and (21):

(20) *Ku-ita te honda to'oge-u.*  
 1SG-see CORE motorbike big-2SG.POSS  
 'I can see your big motorbike.'

[*ku'ita* [te [honda to'oge] -'u]]

- (21) *Ku-ita-e na honda-u to'oge.*  
 1SG-see-3OBJ NOM motorbike-2SG.POSS big  
 'I saw your big motorbike.'

[*ku'ita'e* [*na* [*honda -'u*] *to'oge*]]

Further complications of NP structure and possessive/genitive placement are dealt with in chapter 12.

Examples of genitive phrases indicating different relationships are given in (22) - (33):

ownership

- (22) *Te kolikoli nu ama-su.*  
 CORE canoe GEN father-1SG.POSS  
 'My father's canoe.'

kin/social relation

- (23) *Te ana nu raja iso.*  
 CORE child GEN king that  
 'The King's son.'

- (24) *Te kene nu Wa Inggi.*  
 CORE friend GEN Wa Inggi  
 'Wa Inggi's friend.'

body part/ body whole

- (25) *Te ate nu komparu.*  
 CORE liver GEN fish sp.  
 'the komparu's liver' (SA:47)

part/whole

- (26) *Te onga nu soha.*  
 CORE rung GEN ladder  
 'rungs of a ladder'

quality/possessor

- (27) *Te pe'i nu mia.*  
 CORE stupidity GEN person  
 'stupidity of a person' (Oen:38)

spatial / locational relation

- (28) *Te lai u Sentani kene Kota raja,*  
 TOP distance GEN Sentani and Kotaraja  
*ane-ho kirakira dua-hulu kilo labi.*  
 exist-yet roughly 20 kilometres better  
 'The distance between Sentani and Abepura is the better part of 20 kilometres.' (Kotaraja is a suburb in Abepura) (J:15)

- (29) *I tonga nu sala.*  
 OBL middle GEN road  
 'in the middle of the road' (Oen:28)

- (30) *Di wor(u) u meja.*  
 OBL under GEN table  
 'under the table'

action/agent

- (31) *...na kiki'i no, nu beka-su.*  
 NOM hold.in.teeth GEN GEN cat-1SG.POSS  
 'my cat's grip in his teeth' (Oen:21)

mental activity/action

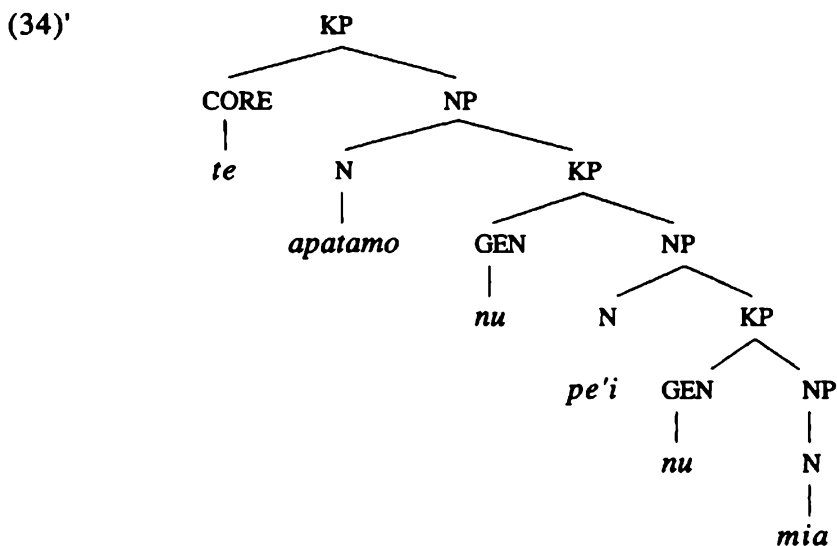
- (32) *Te ma'ek(a) u La Adi.*  
 CORE fright GEN La Adi  
 'The scare of La Adi' (the scare that La Adi got)

- (33) *Te keputusan u po-'awa-'awa no ndoke*  
 CORE decision GEN meeting GEN monkey  
*mai iso.*  
 INAL yon  
 'the decision of the meeting of those monkeys mentioned' (SA:54)

### 13.2.4 Embedded genitive phrases

The genitive phrase may itself contain another genitive phrase; usually not many more than two linked phrases, with or without a final possessive suffix, are found. Examples of this include:

- (34) *Kambeda [te apata-mo [nu pe'i [nu mia]<sub>KP</sub>]<sub>KP</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>*  
 fact CORE extreme-PF GEN foolish GEN person  
*na iko'o.*  
 NOM you  
 "Oh, it is such an incredibly stupid person that you are!" (Oen:38)



- (35) *Ako to-s[um]awi [i kolikoli [nu mi(a)*  
 PURP 1PL.R-board.SI OBL canoe GEN person  
*[u wulumba-(a) [u ina-[su]POSS ]KP ]KP ]KP ]PP.*  
 GEN neighbourhood-NL GEN mother-1SG.POSS  
 'Let's go in the canoe of my aunt's neighbours.'

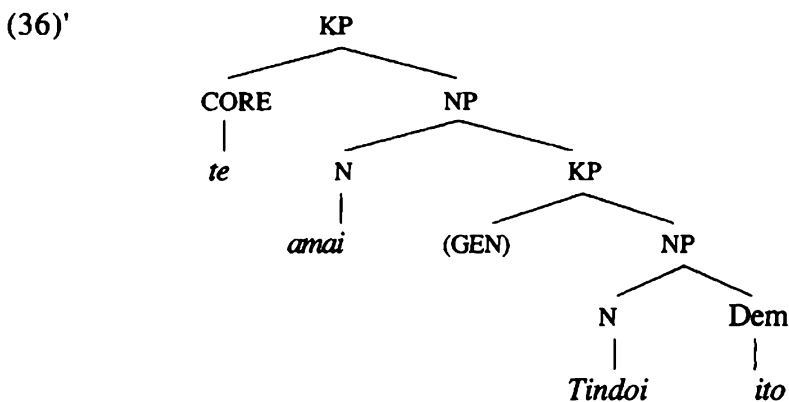
[i [kolikoli [nu mia [nu wulumba'a [nu inasu]]]]]

### 13.2.5 Possession without an overt article

Often possession of a kin term, or the 'possessive relation' expressed between a person and their village, island or ethnic group is expressed without an article. Examples of this can be seen in (36) - (38), using pronouns as the nominal heads, although it is equally possible with other nouns referring to sentient beings:

Nominal/Place of Origin: village

- (36) *Te amai (Ø) Tindoi ito no-mai j[um]o'a-ako*  
 CORE 3PL GEN Tindoi that:higher 3R-come pray.SI-APPL  
*te karia'a.*  
 CORE festival  
 'Those Tindoi people came to pray for the festival.'



- (37) *Buntu te awana amai (Ø) Tomia...*  
 as.for TOP manner 3PL GEN Tomea  
 'And as for the way they (do it) on Tomea,...' (TB:15)  
 (Lit., 'As for he manner of the them of Tomea...')

Nominal/Ethnic group

- (38) *Te mia di Mola iso te amai (Ø) Wajo.*  
 CORE person OBL Mola yon CORE 3PL GEN Bajau  
 'The people in Mola there are the Bajau.' (D:13)

### 13.2.6 The 'inalienable' / plural marker *mai*

The marker *mai* is mentioned here because it usually occurs in conjunction with a possessive suffix. This is probably diachronically analysable into *me-* 'stative prefix' and *-ai* 'anaphoric reference deictic', but the pronunciation *meai* is heard nowadays only rarely on Wanci, from elderly speakers from the east coast villages. The inalienable relation

expressed by *mai* refers to one's close family (excluding in-laws, but including 'half' relations (half brother, step-mother, etc.), which are classificatorily the same as in-laws in *Tukang Besi*, both using the prefix *ko-* on the basic kin term), or those of the same village group, but can be extended to include objects intimately associated with the possessor, such as houses, people or groups or canoes (for men), but in this case it has the added interpretation that there is more than one of the object mentioned. When used with inalienable objects, which are not marked as such phrasally (though see section 13.2 for a discussion of clausal possession), the *mai* serves only to emphasise the inalienability of the object. When used with alienable things, such as in (39), the effect is to emphasise the plurality of the object. For this reason *mai* cannot be described as simply a marker of inalienability or plurality; rather, it interacts with the concept 'inalienable' to be interpreted as either inalienable or plural.

(39) *O-mosega ala'a na ana-su mai iso la.*  
 3R-naughty just NOM child-1SG.POSS INAL yon ILL.FORCE  
 'My kid is nothing but naughty!'

(40) *Te kalambensala-no mai eak(a) o-mandawulu.*  
 CORE young.girl-3POSS INAL not 3R-beautiful  
 'The young girls (of the village) aren't beautiful.' (Pat:8)

(41) *Sa-kampo sa-kampo i Buru (o-)leama karn(a)*  
 1-village 1-village OBL Buru 3R-good because  
*o-koruo a tuha mai.*  
 3R-many NOM family INAL (J:7)  
 'All the villages on Buru are good because we have a lot of family there.'

(42) *Te wowine mai, e, no-he-'uranga di wunua.*  
 CORE woman INAL ah 3R-VRB-stay OBL house  
 'As for the(ir) women, they stay at home.' (TB:9)

### 13.2.7 Other uses of the possessive construction

In addition to marking possession, possessive suffixes are also used to index the subject of a verb in combination with the temporal nominalising prefix *sa-* (see chapter 18), to index the subject of an object relative clause (see chapter 15); to index the experiencer subject of a non-active experiential verb (see chapter 5); to indicate the object of *kene*. With these verbs the experiencer-subject may be indexed on the verb by means of the possessive suffixes if there is no subject prefix on the verb. This practice was universally proscribed by the speakers I queried, but use of this marking pattern was just as universally used in casual conversation. See chapter 7 for more details. Examples of each of these are presented in (43) - (46):

(43) *Sa-anu-no (o)-waliako-mo.*  
 when-thingy-3POSS 3R-return-PF  
 'When she had done that, she returned.' (Sab:12)

(44) *Te ia te mia i-'ita-su i aba.*  
 CORE 3SG CORE person OP-see-1SG.POSS OBL PREV  
 'S/he is the person who I saw earlier.'

- (45) *Nini-'u?*  
cold-2SG.POSS  
'Are you cold?' (G:66)
- (46) *Mbeaka 'u-hada w[um]jila kene-su?*  
not 2SG.R-want go.SI and-1SG.POSS  
'Don't you want to go together with me?'

### 13.3 Clausal possession

In this section we see how *Tukang Besi* handles possession at a clausal level. This typically deals with such concepts as ownership, kin and social relationships; body parts and part/whole relationships are not dealt with in detail, and it cannot really be argued that locational clauses represent a kind of possessive relationship; they are dealt with in Chapter 15.

Ownership can be expressed with the verb *hoto-*. This takes the object of possession as its obligatorily incorporated predicate, and the possessor is expressed by means of subject prefixes. The incorporated nature of the object is evident by the lack of an article before the nominal following the verb, and the possibility for aspectual marking to follow the nominal (see chapter 7 for details of VP-internal structure). Verbs unmarked by object suffixes normally mark their objects with the non-nominative core article *te*, but this is not an acceptable paraphrase for the object of *hoto-*: \**Ku-hoto te wunua to'oge*. The verb *jari* 'become' is another verb that often appears with an incorporated nominal, but in the case of *jari* a paraphrase with a non-incorporated nominal is also possible, which is not the case with *hoto-* unless that nominal is nominative.

This construction is most commonly used with third person possessors, though that is by no means a restriction on the grammaticality of a sentence.

- (47) *Ku-hoto wunua to'oge.*  
1SG-have house big  
'I have a big house.'
- (48) *No-hoto kabali leama.*  
3R-have machete good  
'He has a good machete.'
- (49) ? / # *Ku-hoto ana.*  
1SG-have child  
'I have children.'
- (50) \* *Ku-hoto lima (mohoo).*  
1SG-have hand sick  
'I have a (sore) hand.'
- (51) \* *Te wunua iso, no-hoto ato (molengo).*  
TOP house yon 1SG-have roof old  
'That house, it's got an (old) roof.'

Whilst examples (47) and (48) are perfectly acceptable, (49) - (51) are less so; speakers

acknowledge that 'you could say it that way', but are hesitant to use the construction themselves, or flatly reject it as being ungrammatical *Tukang Besi* (as is the case with (50) and (51), even though they are both easily parsed and interpreted).

There appears to be a dividing line for acceptability of use of *hoto* to introduce the possessed item: if it is a kin term, body part, or part-whole relation, a construction with the verb *hoto-* is less likely to be used, such as seen in (49), and also in (48). Kin terms referring to family related by marriage (i.e., not cosanguinal kin) are much more acceptable as objects of a *hoto* construction:

- (52) *Mbeaka ku-hoto sanggalapa.*  
 not 1SG-have WZH  
 'I don't have a brother-in-law-in-law.'  
 (the *Tukang Besi* term *sanggalapa* refers to the husband of the sister of ego's own wife; thus, the in-law of an in-law)

- (53) # *Mbeaka ku-hoto ikaka.*  
 not 1SG-have elder.sibling  
 'I don't have an elder brother.'

In (52) and (53) we can also see the use of the predicate negator *mbea(ka)* with *hoto* (the *-ka* is frequently omitted before other aspect marking; *mbea-ho* 'not yet', *mbea-mo* 'not any more', *mbea-do* 'certainly not yet'. For emphatic use, the *-ka* may be preserved). The verbal identity of *hoto* is clear; object suffixes can be used on the verb to emphasise the identity of the possessed, as seen in (54):

- (54) *Te wunua to'oge, ku-hoto-'e.*  
 TOP house big 1SG-have-3OBJ  
 'I have a big house.'  
 (not something else, like just a little hut in the gardens)  
 (Note that the nominal object here is NOT incorporated; the object suffix occupies the object position in the verbal complex, and the nominal is a nominative adjunct to this pronominal representation. See chapter 5 for a discussion of the status of verbal indexing.)

An alternative to this verbal means of indicating possession at the clause level is the use of a variant of the existential clause, using the semi-verb *ane* 'have, be, exist'. The nominal governed by this semi-verb is present in an oblique phrase, and is suffixed by possessive suffixes, or a genitive phrase, and these show the identity of the owner:

*ane ke X-POSS*  
 exist and X-POSS  
 'POSS has an X.'

The *ane* construction is in near-complementary distribution with *hoto*, with respect to the person of the possessor and the identity of the possessed. Constructions with *ane* tend not to be used so much with third person possessors. They may be used for all manner of possession: kin (including cosanguinal kin), body parts, or run-of-the-mill objects and things). The equivalents of the *hoto*-constructions in (47) - (51) are presented in sentences (55) - (59):

- (55) *Ane ke wunua to'oge-su.*  
 exist and house big-1SG.POSS  
 'I have a big house.'
- (56) *Ane ke kabali leama-no.*  
 exist and machete good-3POSS  
 'He has a good machete.'
- (57) *Ane ke ana-su.*  
 exist and child-1SG.POSS  
 'I have children.'
- (58) *Ane ke lima mohoo-su.*  
 exist and hand sick-1SG.POSS  
 'I have a sore hand.'
- (59) *Te bangka ana, ane ke lepelepe wo'ou-no.*  
 TOP ship this exist and guard.rail new-3POSS  
 'This ship has a new guard rail.'

We can show that the NP is not nominative, despite being the sole argument in the clause, as evidenced by the adjective - possessive order. Nevertheless, neither *te* nor *na* may appear in place of *ke*, unless the possessed is topicalised, as in (55)':

- (55)' *Te wunua to'oge-su, ane.*  
 TOP house big-1SG.POSS exist  
 'As for my big houses, (it) exists'

The structure of the above sentences is the same structure as the general existential construction (chapter 14). A more literal translation of (55) might be 'My big house exists.' Compare the formal similarities of (55) with those in (55b), below:

- (55) b. *Ane ke wunua to'oge i iwo.*  
 exist and house big OBL that:lower  
 'There is a big house down there.'

Emphatically, *ane* may also take object suffixes:

- (60) *Ane-'e na wunua-su!*  
 exist-3OBJ NOM house-1SG.POSS  
 'I do so too have a house!'  
 (more commonly, as a reply: *ane'e!*)

Here too we see the nominative article being used on the object of emphatic possession, despite the lack of applicative morphology that would make the oblique comitative argument marked by *ke(ne)* a core one. The grammatical status of the nominatively marked existant is, however, somewhat problematic, and is not the same as a nominative verbal argument (see chapter 20 for a fuller discussion of the issues).

The nominative article is also used when a numeral phrase or other adverbial expression is used immediately after the verb, thus intervening between *ane* and the



existent. In this case the comitative preposition *ke(ne)* is replaced by the nominative article *na*:

|                    |           |           |        |
|--------------------|-----------|-----------|--------|
| <i>Ane</i>         | NUM-CLASS | <i>na</i> | X-POSS |
| exist              | NUM-CLASS | NOM       | X-POSS |
| 'POSS has NUM Xs.' |           |           |        |

The difference between this and the basic ownership expression using an existential clause is in the emphasis: here we see an emphasis on the number of entities. An example of this construction is (61):

(61) *Ane gana-mia na ana-su.*  
 exist 4-CLASS NOM child-1SG.POSS  
 'I have four children.'

The formal differences between this 'focussed' construction (it presents more and detailed information about the predicate) and the neutral construction can be seen in (62a) and (62b):

(62) a. *Ane ke loka-su dua-'asa.*  
 exist and banana-1SG.POSS 2-CLASS  
 'I have two pieces of (fried) banana.'

b. *Ane dua-'asa na loka-su.*  
 exist 2-CLASS NOM banana-1SG.POSS  
 'I have two pieces of (fried) banana.'

In (53) we saw that the verb *hoto* uses the normal verbal negator *mbea(ka)*. In order to present a negated version of a possessive clause using *ane*, the negative existential *mbea'e* is used:

(63) *Mbea'e na mo'ane-su.*  
 not.exist NOM man-1SG.POSS  
 'I don't have a husband.'

(it is worth noting in passing that the *-e* ending on *mbea'e* is identical to the third person object marker, and may well reflect a historical origin in that morpheme, given the other morphosyntax associated with the construction. Synchronically, however, it is not separable)

The only article that may be used with an NP that has not been fronted in this construction is *na*; contrastive focus is automatically present with any NP that has its existence denied. Just as a more literal translation of the *ane* sentences is existential, such as for (55) 'My house exists', so too is *mbea'e*, as in (63), more literally translated as 'My husband does not exist.' Compare (55b) with the negative existential clause in (64):

(64) *Mbea'e na wunua to'oge i iwo.*  
 not.exist NOM house big OBL that:lower  
 'There aren't any big houses down there.'

The *hoto* construction only permits a numeral phrase to appear outside the verb, i.e., following the noun that it modifies, and does not allow it to float:

- (65) a. *Ku-hoto loka dua-'asa.*  
 1SG-have banana 2-CLASS  
 'I have two pieces of (fried) banana.'
- b. \* *Ku-hoto dua-'asa (na) loka.*

### 13.4 Summary

We have seen in this chapter that there is no distinction made between different types of possession at the phrasal level. The concepts of alienable versus inalienable, part/whole, etc., are not directly relevant to the operation of possession at that level of grammar. At the clausal level, however, there is a strong preference towards using one form of possession, the *ane* construction, with certain 'inalienables', namely cosanguineal kin terms, body parts, and part-whole relationships, which are less acceptably possessed with the incorporating verb *hoto-*. Thus we can say that the categories alienable / inalienable are relevant to a description of the possessive construction in *Tukang Besi*, but not at the phrasal level. Also interesting is the marker *mai*, that either (optionally) indicates inalienability, or indicates plurality of inalienable objects.

The salient features that distinguish these different modes of expression of clausal possession can be summarised in table 27:

Table 27. Differences between *hoto-* and *ane* in possession

| FORM OF CLAUSAL POSSESSION | <i>hoto</i> | <i>ane</i> |
|----------------------------|-------------|------------|
| Used on kin terms?         | NO          | YES        |
| Used with in-laws?         | MAYBE       | YES        |
| Common object use          | YES         | YES        |
| Use verbal negator?        | YES         | NO         |
| floating numerals?         | NO          | YES        |
| Take subject prefixes?     | YES         | NO         |
| Take object suffixes?      | YES         | YES        |

The semi-verb *ane* also has an auxiliary use, to specify a continuing action; this is dealt with in chapter 7.

# Chapter 14

## Non-verbal and semi-verbal clauses

### 14.1 Introduction

There are several types of non-verbal clauses, or clauses in which the only verbal element present, if any, is referential, rather than predicative. Amongst the clause types discussed here there are a number that CAN occur with verbal rather than nominal predicates. These clause types are more commonly encountered with non-verbal predicates, however, and so are discussed in this chapter rather than in chapter 19. If a particular clause type has verbal as well as non-verbal uses, these verbal uses are exemplified here as well.

The different clause types that are the subject of this chapter are:

- Equative clauses
- Oblique predicate clauses
- Presentative clauses
- Numerical clauses
- Comparative clauses
- Exclamatory clauses
- Existential clauses
- Negative existential clauses

These are discussed in turn in the sections that follow.

### 14.2 Equative clauses

*Te X te Y*      'X is Y'  
*Te Y na X*      'It's Y that X is.'

The equative clause type is used to assert information about the identity of a referent, presenting either an identificational characteristic of that referent, or additional information about it. An equative clause is formed by presenting two nominals one after the other, with the predicative nominal in the second position. Unless the subject is fronted, both NPs are marked with the general core article *te*. There is no pause possible between the two parts of the clause, which would be characteristic of a topic-comment construction (see chapter 3.7.1). The ordering possibilities found with equative clauses have already been discussed in chapter 3. Some further examples of the use of these clause types can be found in the examples below:

- (1) [Te mia [m]aga-[m]a-ganda iso]<sub>KP</sub> [te guru]<sub>KP</sub>.  
CORE person RED-OCC.SI-chat yon CORE teacher  
'That person who's chatting is a teacher.'

- (2) [Te *ngaa-no*]<sub>KP</sub> [te *Wa Sabusaburengki*]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 CORE name-3POSS CORE Wa Sabusaburengki  
 'Her name is Wa Sabusaburengki.' (Sab:1)
- (3) [Te *mia di Mola iso*]<sub>KP</sub> [te *amai Wajo*]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 CORE person OBL Mola yon CORE 3PL Bajau  
 'The people in Mola there are Bajau.' (D:13)
- (4) [Te *wurai meha iso*]<sub>KP</sub> [te *i-'aso nu mia*  
 CORE sarong red yon CORE OP-sell GEN person  
*la'a-mo mai min(a) i Kapota i rearea*]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 just-PF come from OBL Kapota OBL morning  
 'That red sarong is being sold by the person who just came from Kapota  
 this morning.'
- (5) [Te *soami*]<sub>KP</sub> [te *i-manga-no i-harai i-po-ilu-su*]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 CORE soami CORE OP-eat-3POSS OP-most OP-REC-lust-1SG.POSS  
 'Soami is the food that I like the best.'  
 (*soami* is grated and boiled cassava)

The negation of equative clauses is expressed with the predicative negator *mbeaka* preceding the predicate KP. A negated version of (2) would be (2)':

- (2)' [Te *ngaa-no*]<sub>KP</sub> *mbeaka* [te *Wa Sabusaburengki*]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 CORE name-3POSS not CORE Wa Sabusaburengki  
 'Her name is not Wa Sabusaburengki.'

More details on negation can be found in chapter 18. A similar sort of clause can occur with a clause as the predicate:

- (6) [Te *sida*]<sub>KP</sub> [no-wila *i rearea ai*]<sub>Clause</sub>.  
 CORE truth 3R-go OBL morning ANA  
 'Actually he left this morning.'

#### 14.2.1 Fronted predicates

If the predicate is focussed, the predicate KP is moved to clause initial position preceding the subject of the clause, and the subject KP is marked with *na*. The same marking strategy is found with some topic-comment constructions

- (7) *Mbeaka* [te *guru*]<sub>KP</sub>, *toka* [te *mia [m]o-daga*]<sub>KP</sub>  
 not CORE teacher but CORE person REC.SI-trade  
 [na *iaku*]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 NOM 1SG  
 'I'm not a teacher, but rather a trader.'
- (8) [Te *watu torusu*]<sub>KP</sub>, [na *kampo-no*]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 TOP stone continuous NOM village-3POSS  
 'It's stones all the way (in) their villages.' (TB:30)  
 (i.e., there's no topsoil)

Fronting the predicate is compulsory for questions using equational clauses:

- (9) a. \* [Te atu]<sub>KP</sub> [te paira]<sub>KP</sub>.  
           CORE that CORE what  
           ‘What is that?’
- b. [Te paira]<sub>KP</sub> [na atu]<sub>KP</sub>.  
           CORE what NOM that  
           ‘What is that?’

### 14.3 Oblique predicate clauses

- Te X di Y*        ‘X is in Y.’  
*Di Y na X*        ‘It’s in Y, that X is.’

An oblique predicate is used to present information about the spatial location or direction of the subject. The ability of the different prepositions to act predicatively has been discussed in chapter 12. Clauses with an oblique phrase as the predicate are similar in structure and restrictions to equative clauses. A locative clause uses the article *dii* on the predicative phrase in order to describe the location of the subject:

- (10) [Te 'ido-'a-su]<sub>KP</sub> [di. Inggilisi]<sub>KP</sub>.  
       CORE live-NL-1SG.POSS OBL England  
       ‘I was born in England.’ / ‘My birthplace is England.’

Focussing the predicate can be achieved by placing it at the beginning of the clause and marking the subject with the nominative *na*, as for equative clauses:

- (11) [I Irián]<sub>PP</sub> [na 'ido-'(a) u mia biru iso]<sub>KP</sub>.  
       OBL Irian Jaya NOM live-NL GEN person black yon  
       ‘It’s in Irian Jaya that the black people live.’

Examples of the other local prepositions *kua* and *mina i* functioning as predicates were presented in chapter 12. The use of *kua* as a predicative prepositional phrase is rather unusual, most speakers preferring to make an equative clause, with the prepositional phrase embedded in a KP:

- (12) # [Te amai]<sub>KP</sub> [kua 'One melangka]<sub>PP</sub>.  
       CORE 3PL ALL 'One melangka  
       ‘They are going to 'One melangka.’
- (13) [Te amai]<sub>KP</sub> [na [kua 'One melangka]<sub>PP</sub>]<sub>KP</sub>.  
       CORE 3PL NOM ALL 'One melangka  
       ‘They are going to 'One melangka.’  
       (Lit., ‘It’s they who are (the ones going) to 'One melangka.’)

This process of embedding the prepositional phrase in a KP is also commonly found with *mina i*, though speakers are happier with *mina* appearing as a predicative PP than with

*kua* in the same function. This might reflect the fact that *mina* has verbal origins, and is being regrammaticalised as a preposition.

- (14) # [*Te amai*]<sub>KP</sub> [*mina i 'One melangka*]<sub>PP</sub>.  
 CORE 3PL from OBL 'One melangka  
 'They are from 'One melangka.'  
 (more likely to be interpreted as a single KP: [*Te amai [mina i 'One melangka]*]<sub>PP</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub>..., 'Those people from 'One melangka ...')
- (15) [*Te amai*]<sub>KP</sub> [*na [mina i 'One melangka]*]<sub>PP</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 CORE 3PL NOM from OBL 'One melangka  
 'They are from 'One melangka.'  
 (Lit., 'It's they who are from 'One melangka.')

Notice that the equivalent sentence with *mina* functioning as a verb, and prefixed to indicate the subject (as is usual for verbs) has a different interpretation:

- (16) [*Te amai*]<sub>KP</sub> [*no-mina*]<sub>VP</sub> [*i 'One melangka*]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 CORE 3PL 3R-ever OBL 'One melangka  
 'They have been to 'One melangka.'

When the PP is fronted, the preferences for embedding it within a KP vanish:

- (17) [*Kua 'One melangka*]<sub>PP</sub> [*na amai*]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 ALL 'One melangka NOM 3PL  
 'They are (going) to 'One melangka.'  
 (Lit., 'It's to 'One melangka that they are (going).')
- (18) [*Mina i 'One melangka*]<sub>PP</sub> [*na amai*]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 from OBL 'One melangka NOM 3PL  
 'They are from 'One melangka.'  
 (Lit., 'It's from 'One melangka that they are.')

As noted in chapter 12, *apa i* and *kene* (functioning as a preposition) may not appear in predicative positions (see the discussion in chapter 12). Thus, for example, (19) is ungrammatical:

- (19) \* [*Te amai*]<sub>KP</sub> [*apa i Wa Sorou'u*]<sub>PP</sub>.  
 CORE 3PL ENDPOINT OBL Wasorou'u  
 'They are (going) as far as Wasorou'u.'

Similar to this prepositional function, the serial verb *ako* is used without subject prefixes to introduce benefactive or purpose phrases:

- (20) [*Te arolojii ana*]<sub>KP</sub> [[*ako [te ana]*]<sub>KP</sub> ]<sub>VP</sub> ]<sub>SVC</sub> *i*.  
 CORE watch this BEN CORE this FAMILIAR  
 'This watch is for me, isn't it....'
- (21) \* [*Te gora'u i-gule ana*]<sub>KP</sub> [*ako te karia'a*]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 CORE egg OP-sweet.curry this PURP CORE festival  
 'These eggs that have been carried are for the festival...'

Even though the predicate contains a full KP, this KP is embedded in a reduced VP (reduced because it is not prefixed to indicate the subject). Notice that if *ako* is prefixed in a verbal manner, the sentence is ungrammatical, even with an initial predicate, since *ako* is only a two-place verb, and only allows one (dative) object. If the theme object, *te arolojii ana*, is omitted, the sentence is grammatical:

- (22) \* [*No-ako* [*te ana*]<sub>KP</sub>]VP ( \* [*te arolojii ana*]<sub>KP</sub> ).  
 3R-do.for CORE this CORE watch this

Note also that in this predicative function *ako* can only introduce benefactive or purpose arguments. When serving in adjuncts instrumental and purpose phrases could also be introduced by *ako*, but this is not possible in a predicative position. Sentences (23) and (24) provide examples of the ungrammaticality of these other semantic roles introduced by *ako* predicatively:

Instrumental:

- (23) \* [*Te ika dawu ana*]<sub>KP</sub> [*ako te poda*]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 CORE fish portion this INSTR CORE knife  
 'This fish portion (was cut up) by means of a knife'

Cause:

- (24) \* [*Te mia mate meana'e*]<sub>KP</sub> [*ako te buti*]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 CORE person dead REF-this CAUS CORE fall  
 'This dead guy (died) from a fall.'

The grammaticality of these sentences can be rescued by inserting a verb in the sentence, as in (23)':

- (23)' [*Te ika dawu ana*]<sub>KP</sub> *no-hugu-'e* [*ako te poda*]<sub>SVC</sub>.  
 CORE fish portion this 3R-chop-3OBJ INSTR CORE knife  
 'This fish portion was cut up by means of a knife'

#### 14.4 Presentative clauses

*Ka-DEM<sub>1</sub>-e na X* 'T/here's an X'

Presentative clauses are used to present new things to the listener, and are accompanied by the display of the object indicated or a gesture (with the fingers or the chin) to point out the object. Note that the KP presented appears with the nominative article *na*, as would the subject in a prepositional clause with the predicate fronted. The nominative marking on the subject is the main structural difference between this clause type and an equative clause.

- (25) *Kaana'e na loka.*  
 PRES-this NOM banana  
 'Here's a banana.'

Compare (26) with similar equative and prepositional clauses:

(26) *Te loka na ana.*  
 CORE banana NOM this  
 'It's a banana that this is.'

(27) *Di ana na loka.*  
 OBL here NOM banana  
 'Here is a banana.'

In (26), the emphasis is on the identity of the object. Sentence (26) emphasises that the object is in fact a BANANA, and not some other kind of thing. In (27), the emphasis is on the contrast of locations. This sentence would be uttered to stop someone looking for a banana in another locale, presenting a new location as a better option than the location that is currently being searched in:

(28) *Bara 'u-lolaha di atu la, mbea'e ala'a.*  
 don't 2SG.R-search OBL there ILL.FORCE not.exist just  
*Di ana na loka.*  
 OBL here NOM banana  
 'Don't go searching over there, there aren't any. Here are the bananas.'

The presentative clause in (25) is neutral with respect to both these criteria, simply offering information (and a banana).

Other examples of the use of the different deictic locations with the presentative affix are seen in (29) - (32):

(29) *Kaatu'e na bangka nu Tobelo Mangindanao.*  
 PRES-that NOM ship GEN generic.nothern.pirates  
 'There's a pirate ship (come to take you away).'  
 (said to children to make them behave)

(30) *Kaaso'e na wunua-no.*  
 PRES-yon NOM house-3POSS  
 'There is her house over there.'

(31) *Kaito'e na Tindoi.*  
 PRES-that:higher NOM Tindoi  
 'Up there is Tindoi.'  
 (Tindoi is the highest point of the island, a hill and village district)

(32) *Kaiwo'e na Wuta Wolio.*  
 PRES-there:lower NOM land Wolio  
 'There's Buton off to the west.'  
 (Buton is sometimes referred to as Wuta Wolio, the land belonging to Wolio, the name of the Sultanate. See chapter 6 for information in the use of *ito* and *iwo* to refer to east and west (amongst other) directions)

Presentative clauses have not been observed in focussed constructions. This would accord with their use as presenters of new information into the discourse, which cannot be focussed information at the same time as being topicalised.



## 14.5 Numerical clauses

*Te* X NUMBER 'X is NUMBER.' / 'There are NUMBER Xs.'

In the numerical clause type a numeral functions as the predicate to the subject of the clause, which is obligatorily topicalised. The numeral clause functions to indicate the quantity in which the subject occurs. This clause type cannot be treated as a verbal clause because there are no subject prefixes on the numeral, even when in the reduplicated form characteristic of numeral verbs. Additionally, numeral + classifier combinations are often found as the predicate of this clause type (such as seen in (34)), and these are definitely not eligible to be treated verbally..

(33) [*Te mia i iso*]<sub>KP</sub> [*dodua*]<sub>NUM.</sub>  
 CORE person OBL yon 2  
 'There are two people over there.'  
 (Lit., 'The people over there are two.')

(34) [*Te kaubarasa-su*]<sub>KP</sub> [*tolu-hu'u labi*]<sub>NUM.</sub>  
 CORE custard.apple-1SG.POSS 3-CLASS more  
 'I have three or more trees of custard apples.'  
 (Lit., 'My custard apples are three or more.')

Almost identical in meaning, but without the overtones of topicality, is the following existential clause (see below, 14.5):

(35) *Ane ke kaubarasa-su tolu-hu'u labi.*  
 exist and custard.apple-1SG.POSS 3-CLASS more  
 'I have three or more trees of custard apples.'

## 14.5.1 Distributive possessive clauses

*Te* X, NUMBER<sub>1</sub>-Class NUMBER<sub>2</sub>-Class  
 'As for X, there are NUMBER<sub>1</sub> per NUMBER<sub>2</sub>.'

The distributive clause is used to indicate a distribution of a particular countable item amongst another group of count nouns. A distributive clause is a variant of the numerical clause, in which both the subject and the predicate are numeral-plus-classifier phrases. There is usually a topicalised referent that precedes both phrases, providing information in which to place the information presented in the clause.

(36) [*Te gaji-no*]<sub>TOP</sub> [*lima hulu*]<sub>N-C</sub> [*sa-'oloo*]<sub>N-C</sub>.  
 TOP wage-3POSS 50 1-day  
 'His wages are 50,000 rupiah per day.'

(37) [*Te lemba-no*]<sub>TOP</sub> [*tolu hulu-kilo*]<sub>N-C</sub> [*sa-mia*]<sub>N-C</sub>  
 TOP carry.on.shoulder-3POSS 30-CLASS 1-CLASS  
*pia-wali-mo.*  
 how.many-times-PF  
 'They carried 30 kilos each, time after time.'

(Lit., 'Their carried amount, it was thirty kilograms per person...')

- (38) [Te mi(a) u kampo iso]<sub>TOP</sub> ane ke kadola  
 TOP person GEN village yon exist and chicken  
 [dua-'ulu]<sub>N-C</sub> [sa-tuha]<sub>N-C</sub>  
 2-CLASS 1-family  
 'The people in that village have two chickens per family.'

- (39) Ane ke kadola dua-'ulu sa-tuha  
 exist and chicken 2-CLASS 1-family  
 na mi(a) u kampo iso.  
 NOM person GEN village yon  
 'There are two chickens per family for the people in that village.'

#### 14.6 Comparative clauses

*Labi di X (ngga) te Y* 'X is better than Y'

A comparative clause is used to compare some characteristic of one of the arguments present with those of another argument. The comparative construction is used either non-verbally, using the word *labi* 'better than', or a noun, but equally may be used with a non-dynamic verbal predicate as the feature that is compared. In this verbal case, the dummy third person subject prefixes are used, rather than agreeing with one or the other of the nominals in the clause. Either the standard or the comparison may be left out of the sentence, and this is more usual than both appearing. The standard of comparison is marked by the general core article *te*. The object of comparison is marked by the oblique article *i/di*. For instance:

- (40) *Labi te iko'o wa!*  
 better CORE you ILL.FORCE  
 'Better than you!'
- (41) *No-motika di ia.*  
 3R-old OBL 3SG  
 'She's older.'
- (42) *No-metuku di iaku te iko'o.*  
 3R-strong OBL I CORE you  
 'I'm stronger than you are.'

Compare with a similar sentence simply stating that the referent is old, which marks the nominal with a nominative article

- (41)' *No-motika na ia.*  
 3R-old NOM 3SG  
 'She's old.'

The failure of the subject prefix in (42) to agree with either the standard (*iaku*) or the comparison (*iko'o*) shows that it is truly a non-referential dummy subject marker, indicating that the sentence is not truly verbal.

- (43) *No-to'oge di kumbou i wor(u) u po'o*  
 3R-strong OBL goanna OBL underneath GEN mango  
*ngga te t[um]inti.*  
 than CORE run.SI  
 'The goanna underneath the mango tree is bigger than the one that's running.'

#### 14.6.1 Similitive clauses

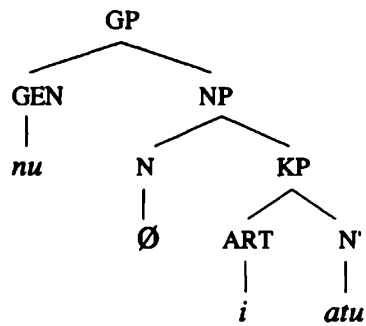
*Te X sa-Verb GEN Y 'X is as Verb-y as Y'*  
*Sa-Verb GEN Y, na X*

This sort of clause shows that the properties of the subject are identical with those of the predicate. In the absence of a verb meaning 'like' (here is a verb, *pokana*, meaning 'the same as', from the root *kana* 'be appropriate'), this construction is quite frequently used. When an adjective formed with *me-* or *mo-* is the verb in the equation, the *me-* or *mo-* prefix is usually dropped unless that would cause lexical confusion, or cause a prenasalised stop to be at the beginning of the morpheme. This is relevant because certain prenasalised stops have their source in the interaction between the prefix and the root. For instance, from proto-Austronesian \**Dalem*, *Tukang Besi* reflects both *laro* 'inside', showing no prenasalisation, and *me-ndaro* 'deep', with prenasalisation. See van den Berg (1991c) for a discussion of this process in Muna. In (45), *melangka* drops the *me-* without complications. In (46), on the other hand, *menti'i* is preserved because of the existence of the lexical root *ti'i* 'scratch a cat's bottom'.

- (44) *Te mia min(a) i Tomia iso sa-ba'a-(')u.*  
 CORE person from OBL Tomea yon same-size-2SG.POSS  
 'That guy from Tomea is the same size as you are.'
- (45) *Mbeaka sa-langka-'u, na ngo'o-no.*  
 not same-long-2SG.POSS NOM nose-3POSS  
 'It isn't as long as yours, his nose.'
- (46) *Te tinti-'a-no sa-menti'i nu ikaka-su.*  
 CORE run-NL-3POSS same-fast GEN elder.sibling-1SG.POSS  
 'That guy from Tomea is the same size as you are.'
- (47) *Te hu'u i sawengka mohii sa-basa nu i atu.*  
 CORE tree OBL side left same-big GEN OBL that  
 'The tree on the left is as big as that one by you.'

In (47), the genitive phrase contains a headless NP modified by an oblique phrase:

(47)'



## 14.7 Exclamatory clauses

*Ke* Adjective-POSS!      'Poss is really Adjective!'

This sort of exclamatory clause is commonly found in casual conversation, in which it appears with a sharply falling intonation contour that is distinctive of this speech act. It has similar effects on the initial *me-* or *mo-* of many adjectives as does *sa-* (see 14.6.1). Additionally, however, several roots with *ma-* drop this prefix in the *ke-* environment, as seen in (48), in which *ma'eka* loses the *ma-*. Additional modification by further genitive phrases is very common.

(48) *Ke 'eka-su no atu!*  
 and fear-1SG.POSS GEN that  
 'Boy was I scared!'

(49) *Ke to'oge-no garaa!*  
 and big-3POSS surprise  
 'Goodness, isn't she big!'

## 14.8 Existential clauses

*Ane ke X*      'There is an X.'  
*Ane'e na X*

An existential clause asserts the existence of the predicate, and is formed with the semi-verb *ane*. This is not a true verb in that it does not take subject prefixes (it is also used in serial verb constructions as described in chapter 8). One example of this ambient serial verb usage is seen in (50):

(50) *Te ia measo'e ai ane-ho no-saori-melai.*  
 CORE 3SG REF-yon ANA be-still 3R-extreme-far  
 'Oh, that guy, he's still very far away.'

Without a second verb in the sentence, *ane* serves as the predicate of a non-verbal clause. The 'existant' is introduced by the conjunct *kene* in a conjunct phrase, unless topicalised and fronted:

- (51) *Ara ane [ke [kene-su]<sub>NP</sub>]CONJ, o-leama ala'a.*  
 if exist and friend-1SG.POSS 3R-good just  
 'If I'm with a friend, it's great.'
- (52) *Ane [ke [po'o koruo]<sub>NP</sub>]CONJ i Tindoi.*  
 exist and mango many OBL Tindoi  
 'There are many mangoes in Tindoi.'
- (53) *[Te [po'o i Walanda]<sub>NP</sub>]KP, ane?*  
 TOP mango OBL Holland exist  
 'Mangoes in Holland, are there any?'
- (54) *Sapaira sapaira ana, ane [ke [mia sa-mia]<sub>NP</sub>]CONJ...*  
 once.upon.a.time exist and person 1-CLASS  
 'There was once a person...'

The existant is marked by the nominative article *na* if *ane* takes object suffixes, or if a floating quantifier appears between *ane* and the existant, and is marked by *te* if fronted, as seen in (53).

- (55) *Ane [sa-mia]<sub>N-C</sub> na kene, no-pogau "Mai to-moturu-ako."*  
 exist 1-CLASS NOM friend 3R-say lets 1PL.R-sleep-APPL  
 'One of the friends, he said "Let's go to sleep".' (Pod:8)
- (56) *Te wemba monda i-tihi? Ane-'e na melangka...*  
 CORE bamboo already OP-shave exist-3OBJ NOM long  
 'Smooth bamboo pieces? There're some long ones....'

Further discussion of the syntax of the existential clause is given in chapter 20.

#### 14.8.1 Ownership

*Ane ke X-POSS* 'Poss has an X.'

The possessive existential clause represents a subclass of the existential clause type, and differs only in the use of possessive suffixes on the nominal predicate. The meaning is nearly identical to a verbal clause using the verb *hoto-* 'to have', but unlike *hoto-*, an ownership construction with *ane* is more likely to be used with co-sanguinal kin terms and with body parts. This construction has been dealt with in chapter 13, and only a few illustrative examples will be given here:

- (57) *Te ia, ane ke kabali leama.*  
 TOP 3SG exist and machete good  
 'As for him, he has a good machete.'
- (58) *Ane ke ana-su hato-mia.*  
 exist and child-1SG.POSS 4-CLASS  
 'I have four children.'

- (59) *Ane ke wunua to'oge-su.*  
 exist and house big-1SG.POSS  
 'I have a big house.'
- (60) *Ane ke tuha nu mia measo'e ai?*  
 exist and family GEN person REF-that ANA  
 'Does that person have any family?'

For details on the mixed status of the arguments of existential clauses with respect to the divisions observed in pivot properties, see chapter 20.

### 14.9 Negative existential clauses

*Mbea'e na X* 'There is no X'

Just as an existential clause uses the semi-verb *ane* to show the existence of a argument, so is the semi-verb *mbea'e* used to negate the proposition. The negated proposition must obligatorily take the nominative article *na*; there is not, as was the case with *ane*, an alternative with *ke(ne)*. Examples of the use of *mbea'e* are given in (61) and(62):

- (61) *"Maka mbea'e na rengka woleke-nto?"*  
 then not.exist NOM dry mouse(k.o. fish)-1PL.POSS  
 'But don't we have a rengka woleke?' (Ind2:12)
- (62) *Mbea'e na doe ako ku-b[um]alu te kuikui.*  
 not NOM money PURP 1SG-buy.SI CORE sweets  
 'I don't have any money to buy cakes.'  
 (Lit. 'There is not the money that I buy the cakes.')

If the negation is not of the existence of an item, but of its identity, then the regular predicate negator *mbeaka* is used, rather than the existential negator *mbea'e*. (63) shows that this is the preferred pattern when a contrast is offered, and the focus of the discourse is not just about the existence or not of something.

- (63) [*Te ia ana*]<sub>KP</sub> *mbeaka* [*te tando*]<sub>KP</sub>,  
 CORE 3SG this not CORE tando  
*toka* [*te humbu*]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 but CORE humbu  
 'Now this one is not a tando, but rather a humbu.'  
 (*Tando* and *Humbu* are names for two different types of woven baskets)

The proposition of a negative existential clause may be topicalised, and it follows the normal procedure of being marked by *te*, and appearing at the beginning of the sentence:

- (64) *Te doe ako ku-b[um]alu te kuikui, mbea'e.*  
 CORE money for 1SG-buy.SI CORE sweets not  
 'As for the money to buy cakes, there isn't any.'

## 14.9.1 Non-ownership

*Mbea'e na* X-POSS 'Poss doesn't have an X.'

Just as there is a subclass of the existential clause type that is used to indicate possession, so too a subclass of the negative existential clause type is used to show the absence of possession. This sub-type has already been dealt with in chapter 13, and is not discussed in depth here.

- (65) *Mbea'e-mo na ama-su, te iaku ku-jari*  
 not.exist-PF NOM father-1SG.POSS CORE 1SG 1SG-become  
*te ana kilua-mo.*  
 CORE child half.orphan-PF  
 'I don't have a father any more, I've become a half orphan.'

(That is, a child who has only one living parent; a completely orphaned child is an *ana misikini* (< Mal. *miskin* 'poor, wretched')

- (66) *Mbea'e na tukatutu di kampo ana,*  
 not.exist NOM blacksmith OBL village this  
*o-mura ane di Wanse.*  
 3R-maybe exist OBL Wanse  
 'There isn't a blacksmith in this village, maybe there's one in Wanse.'





# Chapter 15

## Relative clauses

### 15.1 Introduction

Relative clauses in *Tukang Besi* may be divided into two structurally distinct types. In the first of these constructions the relative clause follows the head noun, and this is called the external relative clause. The second structural type shows the head noun as part of the relative clause and the whole relative construction, here termed an internal relative clause, serves as an argument in the matrix clause.

The relativised argument of most relative clauses must be a core argument of the verb in the relative clause. In order to make a relative clause about a non-core argument of its verb, applicative morphology must first be used in order for that argument to appear as a core one. The only exception to this involves the instrumental relative clause.

There are three major types of the external relative clause, divided on morphological and functional grounds:

- The subject relative clause is used to relativise an argument that is an [S] or [A] in the relative clause, and involves the use of the subject infix *-um-* and the dropping of subject prefixes on the verb. This is called the subject relative clause verb form (SRC verb form).
- The object relative clause is used to relativise on an argument in [O] function, and involves the object prefix *i-* in place of subject prefixing. This is the object relative clause verb form (ORC verb form). The relative clause takes on a nominal character, and the *by*-phrase is indicated by the use of possessive marking (chapter 13).
- The ‘instrument’ relative clause is used to relativise on an argument that is core (but is not necessarily [A], [S] or [O]), or oblique. The verb is not affixed in any special way, and only the lack of subject prefixes serves to indicate the subordinate nature of the verb. This construction is most frequently encountered to relativise the instrument of the matrix clause, and so is termed the instrumental relative clause. This construction may also be used to relativise the base object of (at least some) applicative constructions (data on this are extremely limited).

The internal relative clause has the (necessarily nominative) head inside the relative clause, and the whole relative construction serves as the nominative [S] or [O] argument in both the matrix clause and the relative clause. This restriction means that the object of a transitive verb must be indexed by object suffixes on the verb, if it is to appear as the head

of this construction, and that the subject of a transitive verb cannot appear in an internal relative clause.

Examples of each of these four relative clause types are given in (1) - (4):

Subject relative clause:

- (1) *Eaka no-koruo [na mia [b[um]alu te pandola]RC ]KP.*  
 not 3R-many NOM person buy.SI CORE eggplant  
 'Not many people buy eggplants.'  
 (Lit., 'The people who buy eggplants are not many.')

Instrument relative clause:

- (2) *No-moboha [na palu-su [hoko-lobu te poda]RC ]KP.*  
 3R-heavy NOM hammer-1SG.POSS FACT-straight CORE knife  
 'My finishing hammer for knives is heavy.'  
 (Lit., 'The hammer that is used to make knives straight is heavy.')

Object relative clause:

- (3) *O-koruo [na kengke [i-hembula di Wanse]RC ]KP.*  
 3R-many NOM cloves OP-plant OBL Wanci  
 'There are a lot of cloves grown on Wanci.'  
 (Lit., 'The cloves that are grown in Wanci are many.')

Internal relative clause:

- (4) *No-wila-mo [[ku-'ita-'e na mia]RC ]KP.*  
 3R-go-PF 1SG-see-3OBJ NOM person  
 'The person I saw has left.'  
 (Lit., '[I saw the person] has gone.')

The structure of the three post-head types of relative clauses and the internal relative clause can be summarised in the structural models in figure 8:

|               |     |      |   |                      |                              |     |
|---------------|-----|------|---|----------------------|------------------------------|-----|
| Subject:      | ART | HEAD | [ | Verb + <i>-[um]-</i> | (ART CORE NOMINAL)           | ]RC |
| Instrumental: | ART | HEAD | [ | Verb                 | (ART CORE OBJECT)            | ]RC |
| Object:       | ART | HEAD | [ | <i>i-</i> + Verb     | (GEN CORE NOMINAL)           | ]RC |
| Internal:     |     | Ø    | [ | SUBJ-Verb(-OBJ)      | (ART <sub>NOM</sub> NOMINAL) | ]RC |

Figure 8. Structural models of the relative clauses

A non-verbal phrase that modifies a head noun also fills the same position and restrictions as does a relative clause. This is discussed briefly following the discussion of the four verbal relative clause types. Preceding this is a discussion of the structural features common to all types of relative clauses.

## 15.2 Aspect and polarity in relative clauses

Aspect and modality are marked at the beginning of a relative clause, immediately before the verb (but following the head that is modified), just as various aspectual auxiliaries can occur immediately preceding the verb in the verb phrase of a main clause. Aspect may be specified by the use of *ba'i* 'previously', *monda* 'already', *ako* 'future', and *mina* 'ever'

specified by the use of *ba'i* 'previously', *monda* 'already', *ako* 'future', and *mina* 'ever' or *po'oli* 'already', as seen in (5) - (12):

Different types of aspectual modifiers:

- (5) *Te mia [ba'i w[um]ila ae]<sub>RC</sub> no-rato-mo.*  
 CORE person PREV go.SI foot 3R-arrive-PF  
 'The person who was earlier walking has already arrived.' (T1:25)
- (6) *Te mia [monda w[um]ila ae]<sub>RC</sub> no-rato-mo.*  
 CORE person already go.SI foot 3R-arrive-PF  
 'The person who was earlier walking has already arrived.'
- (7) *Te mia [ako w[um]ila ae kua Waelungo]<sub>RC</sub>*  
 CORE person PURP go.SI foot ALL Waelungo  
*no-like-mo.*  
 3R-awake-PF  
 'The person who is going to walk to Waelungo is awake.' (T1:25)
- (8) *Te kene-su [mina-mo k[um]arajaa i Singapura]<sub>RC</sub>...*  
 CORE friend-1SG.POSS ever-PF work.SI OBL Singapore  
 'My friend who's worked in Singapore...'
- (9) *Te kalambe [[m]o'oli w[um]ila i Baubau iso]<sub>RC</sub>*  
 CORE girl finish.SI go.SI OBL Baubau yon  
*no-mandawulu.*  
 3R-beautiful  
 'That girl who's been to Baubau (is beautiful).'

Aspect marked on different relative clause types:

Object relative clause:

- (10) *Te sengasenga [la'a-mo i-hole]<sub>RC</sub> atu o-saori-mohana.*  
 CORE fried.food just-PF OP-fry that 3R-very-chilli.hot  
 'The senga-senga which was just fried is very hot.'

Instrumental relative clause:

- (11) *No-tokabi-mo na palu [la'a-mo pake]<sub>RC</sub>.*  
 3R-lost-PF NOM hammer just-PF use  
 'The hammer which was just used is lost.'

Internal relative clause:

- (12) *No-tokabi-mo [la'a-mo ku-pake-'e na palu]<sub>RC</sub>.*  
 3R-lost-PF just-PF 1SG-use-3OBJ NOM hammer  
 'The hammer which I just used is lost.'

Negation is expressed with the predicate negator *mbeaka*:

- (13) *Te mia [mbeaka l[um]emba te pai-paira]<sub>RC</sub> no-menti'i.*  
 CORE person not carry.SI CORE RED-what 3R-fast  
 'The person who isn't carrying anything at all is pretty fast.'

- (14) *Te emai [mbea-do ku-po-'awa-ngkene-'e na mia]RC?*  
 CORE who not-EMPH 1SG-REC-get-COM-3OBJ NOM person  
 'Who is that person who I haven't met yet?'

The existential negator *mbea'e* is treated as a verb if it is used in a relative clause to express the absence of something. It may appear in either a subject relative clause or an instrument relative clause (see section 15.6):

- (15) *Kabi-'e na tasi-tasi pulástii mb[um]ea-'e-m(o)*  
 discard-3OBJ NOM RED-bag plastic not.exist.SI-PF  
*(n)a ne'i-no.*  
 NOM contents-3POSS (G:58)  
 'Throw out the empty plastic bags.'

### 15.3 Multiple relative clauses

More than one relative clause may modify a single head noun. These relative clauses may be, but do not have to be, of the same type. Sentence (16) shows two subject relative clauses modifying the one head, and (17) is an example of one subject relative clause and one object relative clause on the one head:

- (16) *Te ana [t[um]inti]RC [k[um]onta te kau]RC iso*  
 CORE child run.SI hold.SI CORE wood yon  
*ane-ho o-saori morunga.*  
 exist-yet 3R-very young  
 'The child who's running, holding the stick, is still very young.'
- (17) *Te mia [di-'ita-su]RC ['[um]aso te kaubarasa*  
 CORE person OP-see-1SG.POSS sell.SI CORE custard.apple  
*di aba'i-ba'i]RC no-pake te wurai mokuri.*  
 OBL RED-prior 3R-wear CORE sarong yellow  
 'The person who I saw selling little custard apples a moment ago  
 was wearing a yellow sarong.' (G:11)

Occasionally (and unsurprisingly) a serial verb construction is found in the one relative clause:

- (18) *Te i-manga [i-saori i-poilu-su]RC iso te kaitela.*  
 CORE OP-eat OP-extreme OP-like-1SG.POSS yon CORE com  
 'The food that I most like is com.'
- (19) *Te mia [b[um]asa-wila-wila te boku]RC iso*  
 CORE person read.SI-RED-go CORE book yon  
*no-koni torusu.*  
 3R-tooth continue  
 'That person who's reading the book whilst walking along is smiling all the time.'

In (18), *isaori* cannot be a relative clause on its own, as *saori* can only take objects when serialised with other verbs, so it must be in the same relative clause as *ipoilus*. In (19),

the fact that only one subordinating affix (*-[um]-*) is present on the serial verb construction is indicative of their being in one clause together.

The sentences in (16) - (17) presented two relative clauses unambiguously modifying one head noun. Ambiguities arise if there are nominal arguments (in either KPs or GPs) present in the first relative clause without demonstratives at the end of the NP, in that there are now two options for the scope of the second relative clause. In (20), there are two possible readings, whose structures are shown in (20)' and (20)'':

- (20) *No-lagu-mo na La Judi [um]ala te loka*  
 3R-song-PF NOM La Judi buy.SI CORE banana  
*la'a-mo b[um]uti.*  
 just-PF fall.SI  
 'La Judi, who is carrying some bananas and has just fallen over, is singing.'  
 'La Judi, who is carrying some bananas that have just fallen down, is singing.'

(20)' *na [La Judi [[um]ala te loka]<sub>RC</sub> [la-'a-mo b[um]uti]<sub>RC</sub> ]<sub>NP</sub>.*

(20)'' *na [La Judi [[um]ala te [loka [la-'a-mo b[um]uti]<sub>RC</sub> ]<sub>NP</sub> ]<sub>RC</sub> ]<sub>NP</sub>.*

The ambiguity is resolved if there is a demonstrative following the nominal in the relative clause, since a relative clause must precede a demonstrative in an NP, and so the second of the two relative clauses cannot be taken to refer to the NP in the relative clause:

(21)' *na [La Judi [[um]ala te loka iso]<sub>RC</sub> [la-'a-mo b[um]uti]<sub>RC</sub> ]<sub>NP</sub>.*

(21)'' \* *na [La Judi [[um]ala te loka iso [la-'a-mo b[um]uti]<sub>RC</sub> ]<sub>RC</sub> ]<sub>NP</sub>.*

Another strategy that is used to help resolve ambiguity is the use of the second relative clause in an appositional phrase (see chapter 12), in which case both relative clauses are more likely to be taken to refer to the same head:

- (22) *Ku-po-'awa-ngkene-'e na [La Judi [[um]ala te loka]<sub>RC</sub> ]<sub>NP</sub>*  
 1SG-REC-get-COM-3OBJ NOM La Judi buy.SI CORE banana  
*[na Ø [la-'a-mo b[um]uti]<sub>RC</sub> ]<sub>NP</sub>.*  
 NOM just-PF fall.SI  
 'I just bumped into La Judi, who was fetching some bananas, who had just fallen down.'  
 # 'I just bumped into La Judi, who was fetching some bananas, which had just fallen down.'

The same problems with ambiguity are found with other relative clause types used on the same head noun as well. One example is presented in (23) with object relative clauses:

- (23) *Di 'umpa na kalambensala mandawulu i-po-ilu*  
 OBL where NOM young.girl beautiful OP-REC-lust  
*nu ikaka-su i-kahu-no nu raporapo?*  
 GEN older.sibling-1SG.POSS OP-send-3POSS GEN peanut  
 'Where's that girl who my bother is in love with and has sent peanuts to?'  
 'Where's that girl who my brother who was sent peanuts to is in love with?'

(23)' *na* [kalambensala mandawulu  
[ipoilu nu ikakasu]<sub>RC</sub> [ikahuno nu raporapo]<sub>RC</sub>]NP.

(23)" *na* [kalambensala mandawulu  
[ipoilu nu [ikakasu [ikahuno nu raporapo]<sub>RC</sub>]NP ]RC ]NP.

Again, these ambiguities can be resolved by using demonstratives at the end of the NPs in the relative clause, or by using an appositional phrase strategy:

(24)' \* *na* [kalambensala mandawulu  
[ipoilu nu [ikakasu iso [ikahuno nu raporapo]<sub>RC</sub>]NP ]RC ]NP.

(24)" # *na* [kalambensala mandawulu  
[ipoilu nu [ikakasu iso [na ikahuno nu raporapo]<sub>RC</sub>]NP ]RC ]NP.

Furthermore, despite the apparent ambiguity of sentences involving two relative clauses modifying the same head, intonational cues are usually adequate for differentiating them.

An example of one internally headed relative clause and one externally headed one modifying the same noun is also possible, provided that the head of the external relative clause is also nominative.

(25) *No-mombaka mondo-mo no-manga-'e na kaujawa*  
3R-delicious already-PF 3R-eat-3OBJ NOM cassava  
[t[um]o-hembula di koranga di Waginopo]<sub>RC</sub> iso.  
PASS.SI-plant OBL garden OBL Waginopo yon  
'The cassava which they ate, which (came) from the garden in Waginopo,  
was delicious.'

I have had no success in my attempts at eliciting two internally headed relative clauses with the same head; even constructing the sentence proved to be hard, and having it accepted as grammatical was impossible ((attempts were with sentences like \* *No-pamuru* ('*u-'it-'e-mo no-wila na mia* 3R-angry 2SG.R-see-3OBJ-PF 3R-go NOM person 'The person who you saw, who left, is angry.')).

#### 15.4 Subject relative clause

A Subject relative clause (SRC) is used to relativise an argument in [S] or [A] (i.e., subject) function in the relative clause. The SRC verb form has the verb of the relative construction infixed with *-[um]-* (see also chapter 7.3 for other uses of this morpheme), and any arguments other than the relativised subject are marked just as they would be in a normal clause, either nominatively or non-nominatively:

(26) *No-lagu-mo na La Judi [b[um]alu te loka*  
3R-song-PF NOM La Judi buy.SI CORE banana  
*ako te ina-no*]<sub>RC</sub>.  
for CORE mother-3POSS  
'La Judi, who bought some bananas for his mother, is singing.'

- (27) *O-koruo na mia [w{um}jila kua Lia]RC*  
 3R-many NOM person go.SI ALL Lia  
*i rearea ai.*  
 OBL morning ANA  
 'There were a lot of people who left for Lia this morning.'

Sentences (26) and (27) show examples of both an [A] (example (26)) and an [S] (example (27)) serving as the relativised constituent in the relative clause. Notice that in (26) the object of *balu, te loka*, is marked by the non-nominative article, as would be expected in a clause headed by a verb without object suffixes.

If the transitive verb does have object suffixes, then the (non-relativised) object appears with the nominative article:

- (28) *Te ama [mbeaka '{um}jita-'e na kodipo]RC*  
 CORE father not see.SI-3OBJ NOM shark  
*no-motuturu-mo.*  
 3R-sleep.RED-PF  
 'That man who didn't see the shark was feeling sleepy.'

This strategy cannot be used to relativise the [O] of a transitive clause:

- (29) \**Te kodipo mbeaka '{um}jita-'e te ama.*  
 CORE shark not see.SI-3OBJ CORE father  
 'The shark which the man didn't see.'

See 15.6 for details on how this [O] argument may be relativised.

The head noun can bear different grammatical relations in the matrix clause and in the relative clause. Note that use of the object suffixes in a subject relative clause specifies the event as being completed in much the same way that *-mo* in a matrix clause marks the perfective aspect:

- (30) *Ku-sepa-'e na mia t{um}opa te La Udi]RC.*  
 1SG-kick-3OBJ NOM person slap.SI CORE La Udi  
 'I kicked the person who was slapping Udi.'  
 \* 'I kicked the person who had slapped Udi.' (T1:55)
- (31) *Ku-sepa-'e na mia t{um}opa-'e na La Udi]RC.*  
 1SG-kick-3OBJ NOM person slap.SI-3OBJ NOM La Udi  
 'I kicked the person who had been slapping Udi.' (T1:55)

Notice that the relative clause, apart from the verb and the relative clause head, is identical to the matrix clause from which it was derived: the noun phrases retain their articles as they were, and only the presence of the infix and lack of subject prefixes on the verb distinguishes it from a matrix clause verb. The head of the relative construction is not formally present in the relative clause, but its role may be deduced from the type of affixing on the verb, the use of the *-{um}*- infix indicating that the head of the construction is in an [S] or [A] role in the relative clause.

The selection procedure for determining if an argument is eligible to be the head of a subject relative clause is the following:





- (36) *Te kodipo [t[um]o-'ita]RC no-to'oge.*  
 CORE shark PASS.SI-see 3R-big  
 'The shark that was seen was big.'

The passive relative clause functions just as does a normal subject relative clause, except that applicative verbs may not enter into the construction (see chapter 10). Note that the passive relative clause is different from the object relative clause in that there can be no mention of the *by*-phrase in a passive relative clause:

- (37) \* *Te kodipo [t[um]o-'ita (-su / te iaku)]RC no-to'oge.*  
 CORE shark PASS.SI-see -1SG.POSS CORE ISG 3R-big  
 'The shark that was seen by me was big.'

The ability of different arguments to be genitively indexed on the verb of an object relative clause is discussed in section 15.6.

#### 15.4.2 Archaic case marking

In archaic speech the case marking of the non-head nominals in a subject relative clause does not mirror their marking in matrix clauses. Instead of using the nominative or non-nominative core articles *na* and *te*, the genitive article is used to index any nominals to the verb:

- (38) *Toka te ia tabeda no-wila i 'olota 'ura-'ura-'a*  
 but CORE 3SG must 3R-go OBL wilderness RED-live-NL  
*nu nggoalu [[m]anga nu mia [w[um]jila*  
 GEN k.o.ghost eat.SI GEN person go.SI  
*i limbo hele]RC ]RC.*  
 OBL village (arch.) other  
 However he had to go into the wilderness that was the dwelling place of the Nggoalu who ate people who travelled between villages.'

- (39) *Te mia meana'e ai te mia [[m]ande*  
 CORE person REF-this ANA CORE person frequently.SI  
*hoko-mate nu mia]RC, entaeda bisa no-salama-mo*  
 FACT-die GEN person because even.though 3R-safe-PF  
*mina di mawi toka mbeaka no-hada-'ita-'e na-'[um]ido*  
 from OBL sea but not 3R-want-see-3OBJ 3I-live.SI  
*te Mo'ori [m]ande-timbangi.*  
 CORE god frequently.SI-bless  
 'This person must surely be a murderer, because even though he has arrived safely from the sea, merciful God does not want to see him live.'

The second of these examples was produced by a 25-year old informant in 1993, whilst translating, and deliberately attempting a very formal and old-fashioned style. This indicates that, even if the use of genitives to index the non-head arguments of a subject relative clause is no longer common, it is a very recent change that has seen this usage abandoned.

## 15.5 Instrumental relative clause

An instrument may be relativised, without the use of any special morphology on the verb (in most cases it is also possible to relativise these arguments with using the *-[um]-* infix found in subject relative clauses (section 15.4) or the *i-* prefix (discussed in 15.6) on the verb.). The internal structure of the relative clause is almost the same as a subject relative clause, with a partially complete clause left behind. In the case of an instrumental relative clause there can be no mention of a *by*-phrase, only the patient/theme of the verb being present. Since there is no morphology on the verb that specifies it as subordinate, only the absence of a subject prefix on the verb indicates that the verb is introducing a relative clause. Examples of the derivation of this relative clause type from a matrix clause can be seen in (40) - (41):

Matrix clause:

- (40) *Ku-bongko te hao te osimpu.*  
 1SG-tie CORE rope CORE young.coconut  
 'I tied the young coconuts (together) with a piece of rope.'

Relative clause:

- (41) *Te iso te hao [bongko te osimpu]<sub>RC</sub>.*  
 CORE yon CORE rope tie CORE young.coconut  
 'That there is the rope that (I used / was used to) tie the young coconuts.'

Unlike the object relative clause, the *by*-phrase may not be expressed in the relative clause:

- (42) *Te baliu-su [tu'o te kau]<sub>RC</sub> no-mohama.*  
 CORE axe-1SG.POSS chop CORE tree 3R-sharp  
 'My axe that (I) chop trees with is sharp.'
- (43) \**Te baliu-su [tu'o te kau (na / nu) iaku]<sub>RC</sub>.*  
 CORE axe-1SG.POSS chop CORE tree NOM GEN 1SG  
 'My axe that (I) chop trees with is sharp.'

This morphologically unmarked relative clause type is distinguished from an adjective only by its position in the noun phrase, appearing consistently after possessive suffixing, whereas the adjective appears before the possessive:

- (44) *Te baliu-su [tu'o]<sub>RC</sub>...*  
 CORE axe-1SG.POSS chop  
 'My axe that (I) chopped with'
- (45) \**Te baliu [tu'o]<sub>RC</sub>-su...*  
 CORE axe chop-1SG.POSS
- (46) *Te baliu to'oge-su...*  
 CORE axe big-1SG.POSS  
 'My big axe'

- (47) \* *Te baliu-su [to'oge]RC...*  
 CORE axe-1SG.POSS big

This sentence is acceptable if *to'oge* is treated as a verb, and marked as such:

- (47)' *Te baliu-su t{um}o'oge.*  
 CORE axe-1SG.POSS big.SI

The fact that this relative clause type is available to any argument in instrumental semantic role, and is not limited to a particular syntactic role, means that the object of the verb *pake* 'use' may appear in an instrumental relative clause, as a result of its semantic role as the instrument of the matrix clause, or in an object relative clause, as a result of its syntactic role as the object in the matrix clause. In an instrumental relative clause, however, the agent of the sentence may not be mentioned:

- (48) *Te ndamu [pake]RC iso...*  
 CORE axe use yon  
 'The axe that was used...'

- (49) *Te ndamu [i-pake(-no)]RC iso...*  
 CORE axe OP-use(-3POSS) yon  
 'The axe that was used (by them)...'

All the examples so far have been of non-subject instruments appearing as the heads of instrumental relative clauses. It is also possible for an instrumental subject to head an instrumental relative clause, as well as a subject relative clause:

- (50) [*Te wande [raho-kami i aba]RC ]KP*  
 CORE rain affect-1PA.OBJ OBL previous  
*mbea-ho ako-m(o) te [m]eransa.*  
 not-yet PURP-PF CORE die.down.SI  
 'The rain that soaked us just then doesn't look like dying down in a hurry.'

- (51) [*Te wande [r{um}aho-kami i aba]RC ]KP*  
 CORE rain affect.SI-1PA.OBJ OBL previous  
*mbea-ho ako-m(o) te [m]eransa.*  
 not-yet PURP-PF CORE die.down.SI  
 'The rain that soaked us just then doesn't look like dying down in a hurry.'

From this we must conclude that the conditions on the ability to appear as the head of an instrumental relative clause are dependent directly on the representation of the argument in the subcategorisation frame, and not on the syntactic roles [A], [S] and [O]. The argument structure representation of the conditions on access to heading an IRC are as follows:

- (52) ⟨...[Instr]...⟩  
 |  
 IRC

That is, the argument must be an instrument, but its relative prominence in the argument structure is irrelevant for the purposes of access to this construction.

This pattern of having two relative clause options is also found for existential clauses: *ane* and *mbea'e* may be used in instrumental relative clauses or subject relative clauses without a change in meaning. Compare the following sentences:

- (53) *Ku-hugu [te saioro*  
 1SG-slice CORE vegetables  
*[i [pangka [ane ke komporo dua-ba'e]RC ]NP ]RC ]KP.*  
 OBL kitchen be and gas.cooker 2-CLASS (T1:54)  
 'I'll be chopping the vegetables in the kitchen with two gas cookers.'
- (54) ... *ba'a-no-mo te anabou [na [[um]ane]RC ]KP.*  
 focus-3POSS-PF CORE small.child NOM exist.SI  
 '...there are only children there.'  
 (Literally 'There it is only children that are.') (G:61)
- (55) *Te Pulo Hoga iso*  
 TOP Pulo Hoga yon  
*[e pulo [mbea'e na kampo-no]RC ]KP.*  
 CORE island not.exist NOM village-3POSS  
 'Pulau Hoga is an island without any villages.'
- (56) *Kabi-'e [na tasi-tasi pulástii [mb[um]ea-'e-m(o)*  
 discard-3OBJ NOM RED-bag plastic not.exist.SI-PF  
*(n)a ne'i-no]RC ]KP.*  
 NOM contents-3POSS (G:58)  
 'Throw out the empty plastic bags.'

There appears to be no difference between the forms that use a subject relative clause and those that use an instrumental relative clause. Further discussion on problems associated with the grammatical status of existential clauses is presented in chapter 20.

As has been mentioned, the only requirement for eligibility to be head of an instrumental relative clause is that the argument must be an instrument. An instrument in a lower predicate may not head an instrumental relative clause:

- (57) 'CAUS ⟨[ ], [ ] PRED ⟨[ ], [Instr]⟩⟩'  
 □  
 InstrRC

The instrumental relative clause type has also been observed, once, on an applicativised verb, *hembulati'e*, as seen in (58):

- (58) *Te koranga-su i Katapi, [te [hembula-ti-'e]<sub>RC</sub>]KP*  
 TOP garden-1SG.POSS OBL Katapi CORE plant-DIR-3OBJ  
*te jambu, lima-ta'o-mo no-ba'e.*  
 CORE jambu 5-year-PF 3R-fruit (Kor: 7)  
 'My garden in Katapi, it's planted with jambus, and I've been getting a  
 crop for the last five years now.'

This calls for further investigation. The argument structure representation of (68) is as shown in (58)':

- (58)' 'APPL <[Ag], [Loc] PRED <[Ag], [Thm]>>'  
 └──────────────────┘  
 |  
 InstrRC

It is interesting to note that when the two predicates are collapsed, the argument that may appear in an instrumental relative clause is in the same position that an instrument would occupy in a single predicate, between the highest and lowest ranked arguments:

- (58)" 'APPL-PRED <[Ag], [Thm], [Loc]<sub>APPL</sub>>'  
 |  
 InstrRC

It is not clear whether this is a productive use of the instrumental relative clause type or not; only this one example has been recorded.

## 15.6 Object relative clauses

The object relative clause is marked by the use of *i-* ( idiolectally and dialectally *di-*, *ni*) prefixed to the verb. All core arguments in an object relative clause are optional, and, if present, are indicated by possessive suffixes or genitive phrases attached to the verb. The first of these genitive phrases usually refers to the *by*-phrase, but in combination with an applicative suffix or a ditransitive verb this first possessive suffix position can mark another argument of the verb:

Possessive marking *by*-phrase:

- (59) *Te ia te mia [i-'ita-su]<sub>RC</sub>.*  
 CORE 3SG CORE person OP-see-1SG.POSS  
 'S/he is the person who I am looking at.'
- (60) *Te [i-aso-no]<sub>RC</sub> te pandola.*  
 CORE OP-sell-3POSS CORE eggplant  
 'Eggplant is what she sells.'

Possessive marking the second object or *by*-phrase on a ditransitive verb:

- (61) *Te baju [i-hu'u-no]<sub>RC</sub> o-saori-leama.*  
 CORE shirt OP-give-3POSS 3R-very-good  
 'The shirt given to him is very beautiful.' OR  
 'The shirt that he gave is very beautiful.'

Possessive marking the second object or *by*-phrase on an applied verb:

- (62) *Te po'o [i-balu-ako-su (u) ina-no]*<sub>RC</sub>.  
 CORE mango OP-buy-APPL-1SG.POSS GEN mother-3POSS  
 'The mango that was bought for me by his mother...'  
 'The mango that was bought for his mother by me ...'

(See chapter 10 for a detailed account of the restrictions involved with relative clauses built on applicative constructions)

Whilst somewhat clumsy, this label is an accurate description, in the English sense of an object-oriented (i.e., passive) sentence describing the role of the argument in question. Note that in *Tukang Besi* there is no main clause equivalent of the ORC, and so no tests for determining the core or oblique status of these *by*-phrases, though the fact that they are genitively linked to the verb rather than present prepositionally is indicative of core status. Compare the marking of 'him' in (61) with its oblique status in the following sentence:

- (61)' *Te sintere i-kahu i ia o-saori-leama.*  
 CORE torch OP-send OBL 3SG 3R-very-good  
 'The torch that was sent to him is very good.'

With many object relative clauses containing a verb with applicative morphology, there are complications in the possibilities available for the reference of the possessive marking. This is covered in Chapter 10:

The verb in an object relative clause may not be further marked with either the *-[um]*-infix or object suffixes, even if ditransitive:

- (63) *O-koruo na mia [i-hu'u]*<sub>RC</sub>.  
 3R-many NOM person OP-give  
 'There are lots of people who were given something.'  
 (Literally 'Many are the people that were given (to).')

- (64) \* *O-koruo na mia [i-hu'u-ke]*<sub>RC</sub>.  
 3R-many NOM person OP-give-3OBJ  
 'There are lots of people who were given it.'

- (65) \* *O-koruo na mia [i-[m]o'u]*<sub>RC</sub>.  
 3R-many NOM person OP-give.SI

Other languages in the area, e.g., *Pancana*, display more typical symmetrical behaviour. Compare (64) with (64)':

- (64)' *O sabo ne-waa-kainta.*  
 ART soap OP-give-1PL.IN.OBJ2  
 'The soap that was given to us.'

The object relative clause prefix can only be used with a head noun in [O] function, never with those in an [S] function, even if the noun is semantically a Theme/Patient. If the object prefix does appear on an ambitransitive verb, the verb can only be interpreted as transitive:



Table 28. Object relative clause with applied object as head

| Semantic role of APPLIED object: | Reference of possessive suffixes: |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| [Agent]                          | <i>by</i> -phrase                 |
| [Dative], [Instrument]           | <i>by</i> -phrase                 |
| [Theme]                          | <i>by</i> -phrase, [Dative]       |
| [Locative]                       | <i>by</i> -phrase, [Theme]        |

Some examples of this are presented here again in (71) and (72), showing how the possessive suffix with the base object heading an object relative clause can indicate either the *by*-phrase (in both cases), or the base object, the dative argument in (71), or the theme argument in (72):

- (71) *Te poda i-hu'u-ako-su no-molengo.*  
 CORE knife OP-give-APPL-1SG.POSS 3R-old  
 'The knife that was given to me is antique.' OR  
 'The knife that I gave is antique.'

- (72) *Te panse i-tau-pi-no no-to'oge.*  
 CORE pot OP-put-DIR-3POSS 3R-big  
 'The pot that she put (it) in is big.' OR  
 'The pot that it was put in is big.'

In addition to this quirky marking of arguments other than the *by*-phrase on the relative clause verb, in many cases the base object of the construction may head an object relative clause. In those cases, the options for the reference of the possessive suffix are determined by the semantic role of the APPLIED object (not the base object), and are as shown in table 29:

Table 29. Object relative clause with base object as head

| Semantic role of APPLIED object: | Reference of possessive suffixes: |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| [Agent]                          | n/a                               |
| [Dative], [Instrument]           | [Dative], [Instrument]            |
| [Theme]                          | n/a                               |
| [Locative]                       | [Agent]                           |

Examples of base objects in applicative constructions heading object relative clauses are given in (73) and (74):

- (73) *No-mobai na lo'ia i-hugu-ako-no.*  
 3R-hard NOM ginger OP-chop-DIR-3POSS  
 'The ginger that was being chopped with it is hard.'  
 \* 'The ginger that was being chopped by her is hard.'



- (74) *Te po'o i-tompa-api-su u La Mar*  
 CORE mango OP-throw-DIR-1SG.POSS GEN La Mark  
*no-sangka-mo ki'iki'i.*  
 3R-exceed-PF little  
 'The mango that I threw over to Mark is a bit overripe.'

Note that applicative constructions with [Agent] or [Theme] applied objects do not allow the base object to head an object relative clause, whether possessive suffixes are present or not:

- (75) \* *Te wurai i-homoru-ngkene(-su) no-leama.*  
 CORE sarong OP-weave-COM-1SG.POSS 3R-good  
 'The sarong that was woven (by me) with [someone] is beautiful.'
- (76) \* *Te mansuana i-'ema-ako(-su) no-motuturu.*  
 CORE elder OP-ask-APPL-1SG.POSS 3R-sleepy  
 'The elder that was asked [something] (by me) is sleepy.'  
 (Good with the interpretation: 'The elder that was asked about (by me) is sleepy.')

Attempting to explain the asymmetries found in table 28, we note that only [Theme] or [Locative] applied objects allow indexing of an argument other than the *by*-phrase. In terms of the thematic hierarchy, this is a contiguous group of semantic roles:

**agent - dative - instrument - [theme/patient - locative]**

Furthermore, the arguments that may be indexed are in both cases the arguments that are higher on the thematic hierarchy. In terms of the individual argument structures, the possibilities of possessive indexing may be modelled as in (77) and (78). In these and subsequent diagrams modelling the behaviour of relative clauses the arrows indicate the possible reference of the possessive suffix:

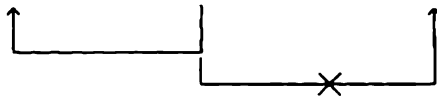
- (77) <[Agent], [Dative], [Theme]<sub>APPL</sub>>



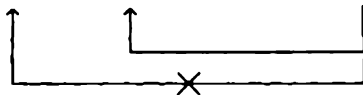
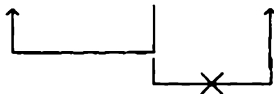
- (78) <[Agent], [Theme], [Location]<sub>APPL</sub>>



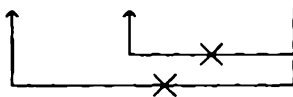
An applicative object in [Dative] or [Instrumental] role is placed higher on the thematic hierarchy than the base object, which is a [Theme/Patient] (in most cases; see examples (81) - (85)). If we posit a rule stipulating that the possessive suffixing on a verb in a relative clause headed by an applied object may index any subcategorised-for argument bearing a higher semantic role than the applied object itself, we can account for the failure of applied objects bearing these semantic roles to index theme or patient base object. This is modelled in (79):

(79) ⟨[Agent], [Dative/Instrument]<sub>APPL</sub>, [Theme]⟩

The data in table 29 concerning the details of object relative clauses headed by the base object of an applicative construction can also be explained by the relative prominence of arguments on the thematic hierarchy. A base object may head an object relative clause of an applicative construction if and only if the applied object is higher than it on the thematic hierarchy, or is locative. The possessive suffixes must index an argument higher on the thematic hierarchy than the base object, but not an agent, unless the applied object is one that could not be a core argument of a simple predicate (ie., locative). The models for examples (73) and (74) are given as (73)' and (74)':

(73)' ⟨[Agent], [Instrument]<sub>APPL</sub>, [Theme]⟩(74)' ⟨[Agent], [Theme], [Location]<sub>APPL</sub>⟩

The ungrammaticality of a base object heading an object relative clause if it bears a lower-ranked semantic role than the applied object can be explained in terms of the unavailability of a higher non-agent argument. An example of this is given in (80):

(80) ⟨[Agent], [Agent]<sub>APPL</sub>, [Theme]⟩

This still leaves the question of the behaviour of base objects in applicative constructions which are in [Dative] or [Instrumental] role, when the applied object is also either [Dative] or [Instrumental]. If we examine a verb which subcategorises for an instrumental object, and then has a dative applicative object added, we find the following patterns of indexing in object relative clauses:

- (81) *Ku-pake-ako te ina-su te kabali*  
 1SG-use-APPL CORE mother-1SG.POSS CORE machete  
 (*i koho-(a) u balangkuni*).  
 OBL chop-NL GEN k.o.fish  
 'I used a machete for my mother (to chop up the balangkuni).'

Applied object head of object relative clause:

- (82) *Te ina-no i-pake-ako-su nu kabali...*  
 CORE mother-3POSS OP-use-APPL-1SG.POSS GEN machete  
 'My mother who it was used for by me...'

- (83) \* *Te ina-no i-pake-ako-no nu iaku...*  
 CORE mother-3POSS OP-use-APPL-3POSS GEN 1SG

Base object head of object relative clause:

- (84) \* *Te kabali i-pake-ako-su...*  
 CORE machete OP-use-APPL-1SG.POSS  
 'The machete that was used for (someone) by me...'

- (85) *Te kabali i-pake-ako-no...*  
 CORE machete OP-use-APPL-3POSS  
 'The machete that was used for her...'

Sentences (81) - (85) establish that [Dative] must be ranked higher than [Instrument] on the thematic hierarchy (an assertion argued for by Bresnan and Kanerva (1989), but for which they did not provide any supporting evidence). The ungrammaticality of (83) is due to the fact that the dative applied object cannot index a lower-ranked instrumental base object, modelled in (83)'. Sentence (85) owes its grammaticality to the fact that the dative base object is higher on the thematic hierarchy than the instrumental base object, seen in (85)':

- (83)' \* ⟨[Agent], [Dative]<sub>APPL</sub>, [Instrument]⟩⟩



- (85)' ⟨[Agent], [Dative]<sub>APPL</sub>, [Instrument]⟩⟩



In summary, we can say that a base object may head an applicative relative clause if there is an argument other than the [Agent] which bears a higher-ranked semantic role. The possessive suffixes on the verb of the object relative clause headed by the applied object may index either the agent or an argument bearing a higher semantic role than the applied object.

## 15.7 Internal relative clauses

In this type of relative clause, the relative clause contains the noun that it modifies, and does not use any special morphology to indicate the subordinate nature of the verb. The main restriction placed on the relative clause is that the head noun must be nominatively marked. The matrix clause must also be constructed to allow the relative construction to occur in an KP position that can be nominatively marked. In the following examples, the marked Predicate-Head order in an equative clause provides that prerequisite:

- (86) *Te wowine [ku-'ita-'e na mia]<sub>RC</sub>.*  
 CORE woman 1SG-see-3OBJ NOM person  
 'The person that I see is a woman.' (WaI:18)
- (87) *Te porai-su [no-makanjara na kalambensala]<sub>RC</sub>.*  
 CORE fiancee-1SG.POSS 3R-"disco".dance NOM young.girl  
 'The young woman dancing is my fiancee.'

The following two sentences show verbal predicates in the matrix clause:

- (88) *No-wila-mo [ku-'ita-'e na mia]<sub>RC</sub>.*  
 3R-go-PF 1SG-see-3OBJ NOM person  
 'The person I saw has left.'
- (89) *Ku-'ita-'e [no-wila na mia]<sub>RC</sub>.*  
 1SG-see-3OBJ 3R-go NOM person  
 'I saw the person who left.'

The interesting constraint associated with this construction emerges when we consider that the following sentences are NOT acceptable:

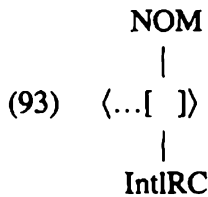
- (90) \* *Te kene-su [no-'ita te kalambe (na mia)]<sub>RC</sub>.*  
 CORE friend-1SG.POSS 3R-see CORE young.girl NOM person  
 'The person who saw the young girl is my friend.'
- (91) \* *No-'ita-aku [no-wila na mia]<sub>RC</sub>.*  
 3R-see-1SG.OBJ 3R-go NOM person  
 'The person who left saw me.'

In sentence (90) the relative construction is in a position to be nominatively marked in the matrix clause, but the sentence is unacceptable because the nominative argument in the relative construction is not an [O], but the [A] of its clause. In (91) the [S] of the relative clause is nominative, but the relative construction is not in a position that could be nominative in the matrix clause, and so is also ungrammatical (the nominative argument of the matrix clause must be the object, which is first person, and so cannot be the third person *na mia*) The ungrammaticality lies in the syntactic role played by the head noun in the relative clause: in addition to being nominatively marked, the head noun must be in [S] or [O] function, or be the 'subject' of an equative clause, in both clauses.

An example using a non-verbal equative clause is given in (92):

- (92) \* *Te kene-su [no-manga-'e na mia]<sub>RC</sub>.*  
 CORE friend-1SG.POSS 3R-eat-3OBJ NOM person  
 'The person who ate it is my friend.'  
 (Good for: 'My friend is the person who they ate.', but there are no cannibals amongst the *Tukang Besi* )

We can formulate the conditions necessary for being the head of an internal relative clause as follows:



This states that the argument must be the lowest core argument in the subcategorisation frame for its predicate. In the case of an intransitive predicate, this is the sole argument. In the case of a transitive predicate, this is the argument in [O] syntactic role. Furthermore, the argument needs to be specified as nominative.

### 15.8 Non-verbal modification: relative phrases

Oblique phrases are often used to modify a head noun, presenting information about its location or destination. Examples have already been seen in chapter 12. The examples below serve to show that regarding aspect marking these relative phrases fulfil the same conditions that relative clauses do.

- (94) *Kara [te karatu-su [ba'i di ana]RC ]KP?*  
 where CORE card-1SG.POSS previous OBL here  
 'Where're my cards that were here just a moment ago?'

- (95) *Te ia [te [ako-m(o) te wowine-su]RC ]KP?*  
 CORE 3SG CORE PURP-PF CORE woman-1SG.POSS  
 'She's my fiancée.'  
 (Lit., 'She is the (one) who is to be my wife.')

Since there are no verbs involved in this attributional structure, it cannot be classified in terms of the morphosyntactic criteria that have been used to classify the other attributional structures in this chapter. In no case, however, can the object of an oblique phrase be used as the head of the relative phrase. For example, contrast (94) with (96), which attempts to use the location of the oblique phrase as the head:

- (94) \* *Kara [te meja [ba'i ane ke karatu-su  
 where CORE table previous exist and card-1SG.POSS  
 [di wawo (nu (ia))]RC ]RC ]KP?*  
 OBL above GEN 3SG  
 'Where's the table that had my cards on (it) a moment ago?'

In order to express this meaning, the table must first be made the object of a verb, via the use of applicative morphology (see Chapter 10), and then relativised with an ORC:

- (95) *Kara [te meja [ba'i i-torae-api  
 where CORE table previous OP-place-DIR  
 nu karatu-su]RC ]KP?*  
 GEN card-1SG.POSS  
 'Where's the table that (I) placed my cards on a moment ago?'

These grammatical restrictions on accessibility to relative clauses are a strong functional

motivation for the many applicative constructions that are employed by the language, creating objects out of otherwise oblique arguments.

# Chapter 16

## Complementation

### 16.1 Types of complementation in *Tukang Besi*

Complementation in *Tukang Besi* shows a wide variety of structural varieties, using both nominal and verbal strategies extensively. The complement clause can be introduced by certain complementisers or by object suffixes on the first verb, or appear without a formal introduction. Mixtures of these strategies are also common, sometimes with minimal differentiation of meaning. A complement-taking verb is defined for the purposes of this grammar as being one in which a verbal clause appears in place of one of the arguments of the verb, or in which a nominalised construction appears as a KP or PP argument of a verb that does not normally take a nominal argument. As examples of each of these cases, the verbal and nominal complement clauses in (1) and (2) display behaviour not normally associated with nominal objects in the clauses in which they are found:

- (1) *No-'ita-'e* [no-kanalako te osimpu]COMP.  
3R-see-3OBJ 3R-steal CORE young.coconut  
'She saw him stealing the coconut.'
- (2) *Ku-hada* [te wila-'a i 'one]COMP.  
1SG-want CORE go-NL OBL beach  
'I want to go to the beach.'

In (1) the verbal complement appears in place of a KP, the normal object of the verb. In (2) the complement is in a KP, and so may not appear unusual: the verb *hada*, however, can only take nominalised complements as NP objects. A normal nominal may not appear as the object of *hada*, as seen by the ungrammaticality of (3):

- (3) \* *Ku-hada te po'o.*  
1SG-want CORE mango  
'I want a mango.'

In order to make (3) grammatical using *hada*, a serial verb construction must be used, as in (4), or a complement construction, as in (5):

- (4) *Ku-hada-'awa te po'o.*  
1SG-want-get CORE mango  
'I want to get a mango.'

- (5) *Ku-hada* [ku-'awa te po'o]COMP.  
 1SG-want 1SG-get CORE mango  
 'I want to get a mango.'

Some complement constructions appear with the complement simply in the place of an argument of the verb (usually the object). In other cases, a complementiser appears, often with a subtle change in meaning; compare (1) above with (6):

- (6) *No-'ita-'e* [kua no-kanalako te osimpu]COMP.  
 3R-see-3OBJ COMP 3R-steal CORE young.coconut  
 'She saw that he had stolen the coconut.'

The different classes of complement-taking verbs, distinguished by their morphosyntactic behaviour, are discussed in the sections that follow, as are the facts and restraints of complementisers. The parameters that prove relevant to a discussion of complement constructions are the ability to have the subject prefix in a verbal complement clause drop if coreferent with the subject in the main clause, the ability (or requirement) of the matrix clause verb to have object suffixes, the coreference restraints operating between the two clauses (subject control or object control), and the kind of phrase in which a nominal complement appears (core or oblique case phrase). These different tests, and the verbal classes that their application produces, are shown in section 16.2.

## 16.2 Types of complement-taking predicates

There are five classes of complement-taking predicates (mainly verbs, but with some nominal predicates) which may be identified on the basis of their morphosyntactic behaviour. These five classes are:

- 1 Predicates of desire
- 2 Predicates of mental perception
- 3 Predicates of decision
- 4 Predicates of physical perception
- 5 Predicates of manipulation

In this chapter I will also deal with verbs of speech that take direct or reported speech as their complements, with no difference in structure between these two cases.

The extent of the membership in each of these classes has not been investigated exhaustively. I shall only present examples of verbs that belong to each class. The defining characteristics of these classes are summarised in table 30, and exemplified in (7) - (14). The five different classes, with examples of their membership, are:

### 1. Predicates of desire:

- |              |                |
|--------------|----------------|
| <i>gau</i>   | 'desire'       |
| <i>hada</i>  | 'want, nearly' |
| <i>hempo</i> | 'wishes'       |
| <i>nde'u</i> | 'not want'     |



## 2. Verbs of mental perception:

|                |                             |
|----------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>dahani</i>  | 'know, believe, understand' |
| <i>molinga</i> | 'forget'                    |
| <i>namisi</i>  | 'feel, think'               |
| <i>roda</i>    | 'remember'                  |

## 3. Verbs of mental decision:

|               |           |
|---------------|-----------|
| <i>jandi</i>  | 'promise' |
| <i>putusu</i> | 'decide'  |

## 4. Verbs of physical perception:

|                |        |
|----------------|--------|
| <i>'ita</i>    | 'see'  |
| <i>rodongo</i> | 'hear' |

## 5. Verbs of manipulation:

|                 |                               |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>'ita'ita</i> | 'let, give permission, allow' |
| <i>karajaa</i>  | 'make, force'                 |
| <i>sundu</i>    | 'command'                     |
| <i>tumpu</i>    | 'order'                       |
| <i>waa</i>      | 'tell, command'               |
| <i>wuju</i>     | 'persuade'                    |

The morphosyntactic criteria that have been used to separate these verbs into the five different classes are presented in table 30:

Table 30. Complement-taking verbs

|                                       | 1       | 2 | 3       | 4       | 5 |
|---------------------------------------|---------|---|---------|---------|---|
| drop SUBJ- of complement verb?        | ←→      |   |         |         |   |
| drop SUBJ- after nominal main clause? | ←-----→ |   |         |         |   |
| [S,A] : [S,A] coreference?            | ←-----→ |   |         |         |   |
| Requires object suffixes if verbal?   |         |   | ←-----→ |         |   |
| [O] : [S,A] coreference?              |         |   |         | ←-----→ |   |
| [O] : [NOM] coreference option?       |         |   |         |         |   |
| may take a PP complement?             | ←-----→ |   |         |         |   |
| may take a KP complement?             | ←-----→ |   |         | ←→      |   |

## Classes of complement-taking verbs:

- 1 Verbs of desire
- 2 Verbs of mental perception
- 3 Verbs of decision
- 4 Verbs of physical perception
- 5 Manipulative verbs

Some examples showing the different behaviour of verbs of different classes to these criteria are given in (7) - (14):

Omission of subject prefixes on the verb in the complement clause:

- (7) *Ku-hada* [w[um]ila i Longa]COMP.  
 1SG-want go.SI OBL Longa  
 'I want to go to Longa.'

- (8) *Ku-molinga* [ku-wila i Longa]COMP.  
 1SG-forget 1SG-go OBL Longa  
 'I forgot to go to Longa.'

- (8)' \* *Kumolinga w[um]ila i Longa.*

Omission of Possessive markers on nominalised complement:

- (9) *Te roda-no* [te wila-'a i daoa]COMP.  
 CORE remember-3POSS CORE go-NL OBL market  
 'He remembered to go to the market.'

- (10) *Te putusu-no* [te wila-'a-no i daoa]COMP.  
 CORE decide-3POSS CORE go-NL-3POSS OBL market  
 'He decided to go to the market.'

- (10)' \* *Te putusuno te wila'a i daoa.*

[S,A]:[S,A] coreference or [O]:[S,A] coreference:

- (11) *No-jandi-'e* [no-balu te kuikui]COMP.  
 3R-promise-3OBJ 3R-buy CORE sweets  
 'She promised them that she would buy some sweets.'

- (12) *No-'ita-'e* [no-balu te kuikui]COMP.  
 3R-see-3OBJ 3R-buy CORE sweets  
 'She saw them buying sweets.'

- (12)' \* 'She saw them and she bought some sweets.'

[O]:[NOM] coreference option, with complementiser:

- (13) *To-rodongo-'e* [kua no-'ita-kita]COMP.  
 IPL.R-hear-3OBJ COMP 3R-see-IPL.OBJ  
 'We heard that she had seen us.'

- (14) *To-wuju-'e* [kua to-'ita-'e]COMP.  
 1PL.R-persuade-3OBJ COMP 1PL.R-see-3OBJ  
 'We persuaded her to let us see her.'

(13)' \* *Torodongo'e kua to'ita'e.*

(14)' \* *Towuju'e to'ita'e.*

In addition to these complement-taking verb types there are also 'discourse complements', in which a verb denoting a speech act introduces direct or indirect speech. These are somewhat different to the other five classes of complement-taking verbs described here, and are discussed in section 16.9.

### 16.3 Complementisers

The morphosyntactic differences mentioned in table 30 and exemplified in (7) - (14) are not all the variables that need to be accounted for in a description of complements in *Tukang Besi*. There are optional complementisers that may appear between the constituents of the main clause and those of the complement clause, whether the clauses are verbal or non-verbal. In the case of the verbs of decision and verbs of manipulation, the addition of the complementiser *kua* changes [S,A]:[S,A] coreference to [O]:[S,A] coreference, and vice versa; that is, subject-control verbs (verbs of decision) are treated as if they were object-control verbs, and object-control verbs (manipulative verbs) are treated as if they were subject-control verbs (see 16.6 for examples). With other classes of verbs there are different effects, mainly modal.

The different complementisers are:

|               |                                             |
|---------------|---------------------------------------------|
| <i>ako</i>    | 'future'                                    |
| <i>bara</i>   | 'lest'                                      |
| <i>ka'ano</i> | 'in order that'                             |
| <i>kua</i>    | 'that' (plus other syntactic or modal uses) |

Examples of these four different complementisers are given in (15) - (18). In each of these sentences the complement clause is bracketed in the glosses:

- (15) *No-wuju-kita* [ako ta-w[um]ila t[um]ulungi-'e  
 3R-persuade-1PL.OBJ PURP 1PL.I-go.SI help.SI-3OBJ  
*i he-lante-'a-no*]COMP.  
 OBL do-floor-NL-3POSS  
 'They persuaded us to go and help them make the floor.'  
 (at some point in the future)
- (16) *No-wuju-'e* [bara no-wila pe'esa-no]COMP.  
 3R-persuade-3OBJ lest 3R-go own-3POSS  
 'They persuaded him not to go on his own.'
- (17) *No-wuju-'e* [ka'ano saba'ane no-lemba-'e]COMP.  
 3R-persuade-3OBJ in.order all 3R-carry-3OBJ  
 'They persuaded him to carry it all.'

- (18) *No-wuju-'e* [kua saba'ane no-lemba-'e]COMP.  
 3R-persuade-3OBJ COMP all 3R-carry-3OBJ  
 'They<sub>i</sub> persuaded them<sub>j</sub> that they<sub>i</sub> \*<sub>j</sub> would carry it all.'

As mentioned above, combinations of these formal means to marking a complement clause are also found. Examples of this can be seen in (19) and (20):

Complementiser with subject/object agreement:

- (19) *Ku-sundu-'e-mo* [ako no-henahenai]COMP.  
 1SG-order-3OBJ-PF PURP 3R-learn  
 'I ordered him to study.'

Complementiser with nominalised complement:

- (20) *Ku-roda* [ako te ala-(a) u kabali-su]COMP.  
 1SG-remember PURP CORE fetch-NL GEN machete-1SG.POSS  
 'I remembered about bringing my machete.'

## 16.4 Verbs of desire

The grammatical category of verbs of wanting and desire in *Tukang Besi* is one of the more complicated areas of the language's syntax insofar as the same concept may be expressed at several different syntactic levels, using serial verb constructions and non-verbal clauses. In addition to this, *hada* 'want' can take complements and complement-like predicates at several different levels, as the nominalised main clause of a complement, a feature which it shares in common with *hempo* 'desire' and *gau* 'desire', or with verbally subordinate complement predicates, in common with *nde'u* 'not want', or a nominalised complement.

Examples of complement clauses using verbs of desire are given in (21) - (27), illustrating the use of nominalisations in both the complement clause ((21), (22), (26), and (27)) and the main clause (seen in (24)). Sentences (23) and (25) show the use of subordinating morphology on the complement verb, and the concomitant absence of a subject prefix on the complement verb:

- (21) *Ku-hada* [te moro'u-k(a) u tee]COMP.  
 1SG-want CORE drink-NL GEN tea  
 'I like drinking tea.'
- (22) *Ku-hada* [i bose-'a kua Waha]COMP.  
 1SG-want OBL paddle-NL ALL Waha  
 'I want to row to Waha.'
- (23) *Nu-nde'u* [w[um]ila]COMP.  
 2SG.R-not.want go.SI  
 'You don't want to go.'
- (24) *Te gau-su* [ku-'[um]ita te wele]COMP.  
 CORE wish-1SG.POSS 1SG-see.SI CORE film  
 'My wish is to see a film.'

- (25) *O-ha'a nu-nde'u [i-'ita nu ina-'u]COMP.*  
 3R-why 2SG.R-not.want PP-see GEN mother-2SG.POSS  
 'Why don't you want your mother to see you?'
- (26) *Ku-hada [te moro'u-k(a) u tee]COMP.*  
 1SG-want CORE drink-NL GEN tea  
 'I like drinking tea.'
- (27) *Te hada-su [te ana-su meai na-motuko]COMP.*  
 CORE wish-1SG.POSS CORE child-1SG.POSS INAL 3I-strong  
 'I want my children to be strong.'

The verbs *hada* and *nde'u* are discussed separately, as far as their verbal complement roles are concerned, and then the behaviour of all the nominal complements is discussed. This class of complement-taking verbs is unusual in that it does not require the use of the switch complementiser *kua* to indicate a change of subject. In fact, *kua* is only rarely used with verbs of desire (the only verb it appears to be compatible with is *hada*; *hempo* and *gau* function as nouns, and do not take *kua*). Of course, unless both subjects are third person, there is no problem in interpretation, as (28) shows. The unmarked interpretation of a sentence with two third person prefixes on the verbs is that the prefixes refer to the same argument, but this is not as strict as it is for other classes of complement-taking verb.

- (28) *Ku-hada ['u-tulungi-aku i he-lante-'(a) ana]COMP.*  
 1SG-want 2SG.R-help-1SG.OBJ OBL VRB-floor-NL this  
 'I'd like you to help me to make these floor sections.'
- (29) *No-hada [no-ala-ako-ko te wemba]COMP.*  
 3R-want 3R-fetch-APPL-2SG.OBJ CORE bamboo  
 'He<sub>i</sub> wants Ø<sub>i</sub> to fetch some bamboo for you.'  
 'He<sub>i</sub> wants him<sub>j</sub> to fetch some bamboo for you.'
- (30) ? *No-hada [kua no-ala-ako-ko te wemba]COMP.*  
 3R-want SW:COMP 3R-fetch-APPL-2SG.OBJ CORE bamboo  
 ? 'He<sub>i</sub> wants Ø<sub>i</sub> to fetch some bamboo for you.'  
 ? 'He<sub>i</sub> wants him<sub>j</sub> to fetch some bamboo for you.'

The same caveats apply to *nde'u*; *kua* is only rarely used, and not necessary even with switch-subject complementation. While *kua* is possible in the second reading of (31), it is not usual to find it in this position:

- (31) *No-nde'u [no-gonti-ako-ko te wemba]COMP.*  
 3R-want 3R-chop-APPL-2SG.OBJ CORE bamboo  
 'He<sub>i</sub> doesn't want Ø<sub>i</sub> to chop the bamboo for you.'  
 'He<sub>i</sub> doesn't want him<sub>j</sub> to chop the bamboo for you.'

In order to force a switch-subject interpretation, the use of a preverbal independent pronoun or nominal is sufficient (this is a general fact regarding the use of members of the independent pronoun set, as outlined in chapter 5, and is not restricted to complement clauses):

- (32) *No-hada* [*te ia no-waliako*]COMP.  
 3R-want CORE 3SG 3R-return  
 'He<sub>i</sub> wants him<sub>j</sub> to go home.'  
 # 'He<sub>i</sub> wants Ø<sub>i</sub> to go home.'
- (33) *No-hada* [*te kene-no no-waliako*]COMP.  
 3R-want CORE friend-3POSS 3R-return  
 'He<sub>i</sub> wants his friend<sub>j</sub> to go home.'  
 \* 'His friend<sub>i</sub> wants Ø<sub>i</sub> to go home.'

#### 16.4.1 *hada*

The verb *hada* has a range of meanings, from 'be about to' to 'want' (*hada* is translated and glossed as 'want' in the examples presented, though in most cases 'be about to' is an equally appropriate translation). When used to express these meanings it may not take normal nominal objects, but uses a range of morphological possibilities to express the complement. These are:

|                               |                  |
|-------------------------------|------------------|
| Serial verb construction      | (chapter 8)      |
| Verbal complement clause      |                  |
| Subordinate complement verb   |                  |
| Nominalised complement clause | (section 16.4.3) |
| Nominalised main clause       | (section 16.4.3) |

As seen in example (3), *hada* cannot take a nominal object, but must take a complement or be part of a serial verb construction. Examples of *hada* appearing in serial verb constructions can be found in chapter 8. Sentence (34) is an example of *hada* used with a verbal complement clause displaying the *-[um]-* infix that is also seen in subject relative clauses as an indicator of subordination. (35) shows the same subordinating morphology found in object relative clauses used on the complement clause:

- (34) *Ku-hada* [*b[um]alu te loka*]COMP.  
 1SG-want buy.SI CORE banana  
 'I want to buy some bananas.'
- (35) *Ku-hada* [*i-hu'u nu doe*]COMP.  
 1SG-want OP-give GEN money  
 'I want to be given some money.'

When the subordinating morphology seen in (34) and (35) is not used, then the verb in the complement clause must be prefixed to show the subject:

- (36) *Ku-hada* [*ku-balu te loka*]COMP.  
 1SG-want 1SG-buy CORE banana  
 'I want to buy some bananas.'
- (37) *Ku-hada* [*no-hu'u-naku te doe*]COMP.  
 1SG-want 3R-give-1SG.DAT.OBJ CORE money  
 'I want to be given some money.'

- (38) \* *Ku-hada* [*hu'u-naku te doe*]COMP.  
 1SG-want give-1SG.DAT.OBJ CORE money  
 'I want to be given some money.'

Of course, the subject infix *-[um]-* may appear on the verb in this case as well, just as it may appear on any main clause verb, particularly in combination with the use of the irrealis pronoun set:

- (36)' *No-hada* [*na-b[um]alu te pandola*]COMP.  
 3R-want 3I-buy.SI CORE eggplant  
 'She wants to go to buy some eggplants.'

#### 16.4.2 *nde'u*

Whilst *hada* may be negated with the normal verbal negator *mbeaka*, there is a separate verb expressing the same concept, *nde'u* 'not want'. This verb behaves quite differently from *hada*, appearing in neither serial nor complement constructions with subject prefixes on the complement verb. The complement of *nde'u* must appear with subordinating morphology, which was one of the options available to *hada*. Examples are seen in (39) - (42):

- (39) *Nu-nde'u* [*w[um]ila*]COMP.  
 2SG.R-not.want go.SI  
 'You don't want to go.'

- (40) \* *Nu-nde'u* [*nu-wila*]COMP.  
 2SG.R-not.want 2SG.R-go  
 'You don't want to go.'

- (41) *Ku-nde'u* [*i-'ita*]COMP.  
 1SG-not.want PP-see-3POSS  
 'I don't want (them) to see me.'

- (42) \* *Ku-nde'u* [*no-'ita-aku*]COMP.  
 1SG-not.want 3R-see-1SG.OBJ  
 'I don't want them to see me.'

Unlike *hada*, *nde'u* may not appear in a nominalised construction, either nominalised in the main clause, or with a nominalised complement clause:

- (43) \* *Te nde'u-su* [*ku-tul(u) i Lasalimu*]COMP.  
 CORE not.want-1SG.POSS 1SG-stop.over OBL Lasalimu  
 'What I don't want is to have to stop over in Lasalimu.'

- (44) \* *Ku-nde'u* [*te tulu-'a-su i Lasalimu*]COMP.  
 1SG-not.want CORE stop.over-NL-1SG.POSS OBL Lasalimu  
 'I don't want to have to stop over in Lasalimu.'

16.4.3 Nominal: *gau*, *hempo*, *hada*

The words *gau* and *hempo* only appear in nominal complement constructions; *hada*, in addition to its verbal appearances, may also be used in a nominal complement construction. In this construction the main clause is nominal, and the complement clause may be either nominal (in which case the whole construction is a sub-type of the equative clause type discussed in chapter 14), or verbal. With *hada*, a nominalised construction in which the main clause is still verbal, but the complement clause is nominal, is also possible. An example of the first two of these possibilities may be seen in (45) and (46):

Nominal complement:

- (45) *Te hempo-no [te wila-'a]COMP.*  
 CORE desire-3POSS CORE go-NL  
 'They want to go.'

Verbal complement:

- (46) *Te gau-su [ku-wil(a) i Matanouwe ilange]COMP.*  
 CORE desire-1SG.POSS 1SG-go OBL Matanouwe tomorrow  
 'I want to go to Matanouwe tomorrow.'

Notice that in (45) there is no overt indication of the identity of the subject of the verb *wila*; the use of possessive suffixes is optional with nominalised complements of verbs of desire, unlike the complements of other types of verbs. The use of a possessive suffix on the nominalised complement does not affect the meaning. Even with a third person reference, a switch subject interpretation is not natural. In order to force a switch subject interpretation, the different subject needs to be explicitly mentioned, as in (49):

- (47) *Te hada-no [te wila-'a]COMP.*  
 CORE want-3POSS CORE go-NL  
 'They<sub>i</sub> want  $\emptyset_{i/*j}$  to go.'
- (48) *Te hada-no [te wila-'a-no]COMP.*  
 CORE want-3POSS CORE go-NL-3POSS  
 'They<sub>i</sub> want  $\emptyset_{i/*j}$  to go.'
- (49) *Te hada-no [te wila-'a nu amai tolida-no]COMP.*  
 CORE want-3POSS CORE go-NL GEN 3PL cousin-3POSS  
 'They<sub>i/\*j</sub> want their<sub>i/\*j/k</sub> cousins<sub>\*i/j</sub> to go.'

Nominal complements may be either PPs or KPs, as seen in (50) and (51). A PP complement expresses a more general condition, and is less specific than a complement with a KP complement:

PP complement:

- (50) *Ku-hada [i moro'u-k(a) u tee]COMP.*  
 1SG-want OBL drink-NL GEN tea  
 'I like drinking tea.'



KP complement:

- (51) *Ku-hada* [*te* *moro'u-k(a)* *u* *tee*]COMP.  
 1SG-want CORE drink-NL GEN tea  
 'I feel like drinking some tea.'

It is interesting to note that a KP complement must be non-nominative. A nominative nominal complement is not grammatical:

- (52) \* *Ku-hada-'e* [*na* *moro'u-k(a)* *u* *tee*]COMP.  
 1SG-want-3OBJ NOM drink-NL GEN tea

The motivation for this constraint is not entirely clear. The fact that *hada* cannot take a normal object KP might point to the fact that the putative KP in (51) and (52) are not really core arguments of the verb, and so are not eligible to be nominative; compare (51) with the ungrammatical alternative using a normal KP as object seen in (51)':

- (51)' \* *Ku-hada* [*te* *tee*]KP.  
 1SG-want CORE tea  
 'I feel like drinking some tea.'

The alternations of complement KPs with PPs (as seen in (50)) also points in this direction. Some further examples of nominalised main clauses with complements are presented in (53) and (54):

- (53) *Te* *gau-su* [*ku-'[um]ontoo*]COMP.  
 CORE wish-1SG.POSS 1SG-recover.SI  
 'My wish is to get better.'

- (54) *Te* *hada-su* [*te* *ana-su* *mai*  
 CORE wish-1SG.POSS CORE child-1SG.POSS INAL  
*na-[m]otuko* *kene* *na-s[um]eha*]COMP.  
 3I-strong.SI and 3I-healthy.SI  
 'I want my children to be strong and healthy.'

Unlike a nominalised complement clause, the verbal complement clause in (53) requires the subject to be indexed on the verb, even when coreferential with the main clause subject:

- (53)' \* *Te* *gau-su* [*'[um]ontoo*]COMP.  
 CORE wish-1SG.POSS recover.SI  
 'My wish is to get better.'

## 16.5 Verbs of mental perception

These verbs are distinguished by the nominalisation in their complements, which are usually core and not oblique. With *ma'eka* 'fear', the complementiser *bara* 'lest' is also commonly found (in a main clause, *bara* means 'don't'. See chapter 19):

- (54) *Ku-ma'eka* [*bara* *na-w[um]ande-mo*]COMP.  
 1SG-fear lest 3I-rain.SI-PF  
 'I'm worried that it might be about to rain.'

As with verbs of desire, the complement clause may be either verbal or nominal, and the main clause may also be either verbal or nominal. Cases with both the main clause and the complement clause appearing as nominalisations have not been observed.

### 16.5.1 Verbal - verbal

This is the most commonly encountered way of presenting mental perception complements. The use of a complementiser is optional, and if used functions significantly as a switch reference marker:

- (55) *Ku-ma'eka* [*kua mondo-mo no-wila*]COMP *ga...*  
 1SG-fear SW:COMP already-PF 3R-go ILL.FORCE  
 'I'm afraid that she's already gone...'

- (56) *Ku-ma'eka* [*bara no-rato mina mbea-ho*  
 1SG-fear lest 3R-arrive from not-yet  
*no-mota'a-mo na imanga*]COMP.  
 3R-cooked-PF NOM food  
 'I'm concerned that they might arrive before the food is ready.'

- (57) *No<sub>i</sub>-roda* [*tabeda no<sub>i</sub>-wila*]COMP.  
 1SG-remember must 3R-go  
 'She<sub>i</sub> remembered that she<sub>i</sub> had to go.'  
 \* 'She<sub>i</sub> remembered that she<sub>j</sub> had to go.'

- (58) *No<sub>i</sub>-roda* [*kua tabeda no<sub>j</sub>-wila*]COMP.  
 1SG-remember SW:COMP must 3R-go  
 'She<sub>i</sub> remembered that she<sub>j</sub> had to go.'  
 \* 'She<sub>i</sub> remembered that she<sub>i</sub> had to go.'

### 16.5.2 Verbal - nominal

Examples of both core and oblique nominal complements are shown in (59) and (60):

- (59) *Ku-roda* [*te ala-'a nu po'o ako-ko*]COMP.  
 1SG-remember CORE fetch-NL GEN mango BEN-2SG.OBJ  
 'I remembered to get a mango for you.'

- (60) *Ku-roda* [*i ala-'a no doe*]COMP.  
 1SG-forget OBL fetch-NL GEN money  
 'I forgot to take money.'

Unlike the similar case with verbs of desire, the nominal complement of a mental perception verb may be in nominative case:

- (61) *Ku-molinga-'e* [*na helo'a-'(a) u ndawu-ndawu*]COMP.  
 1SG-forget-3OBJ NOM cook-NL GEN k.o.soup  
 'I forgot to cook the ndawu-ndawu.'

This is consistent with the fact that these verbs, when used with a normal nominal object, and not a complement, require nominative case on the object. Although this is not a requirement for complementation, it is consistent with their behaviour in non-complement clauses that they should allow nominative case marking on nominal complements. Compare (62) with (63), illustrating the ungrammaticality of a non-nominative object:

(62) *Ku-molinga-'e* [na *ngaa-'u*]<sub>KP</sub>.  
1SG-forget-3OBJ NOM name-2SG.POSS  
'I've forgotten your name.'

(63) \* *Ku-molinga* [*te ngaa-'u*]<sub>KP</sub>.  
1SG-forget CORE name-2SG.POSS  
'I've forgotten your name.'

This has already been briefly discussed in chapter 7.6.1.

### 16.5.3 Nominal - verbal

This is a rather rare construction, but found with all the verbs in this class. It is similar to a verbal variation of an equative clause (chapter 14):

(64) *Te molinga-su* [*balu te gara mina i waru*]<sub>COMP</sub>.  
CORE forget-1SG.POSS buy CORE salt from OBL shop  
'I forgot to get salt from the store.'

Notice that it is grammatical to omit the subject prefixes in the complement clause for mental perception verbs, unlike verbs of desire (compare with example (53)).

## 16.6 Verbs of decision

Decision verbs require an object suffix, and display same-subject coreference. The verb in the complement clause (which must be verbal, and cannot be nominal) is marked with subject prefixes that refer to the same subject as those of the main clause verb. With the switch complementiser *kua*, there is object control rather than subject control. For example, the verb *jandi* 'promise' normally displays subject control in its complement constructions:

(65) *No<sub>i</sub>-jandi-'e<sub>j</sub>* [*no<sub>i</sub>-wila*]<sub>COMP</sub>.  
3R-promise-3OBJ 3R-go  
'She<sub>i</sub> promised them<sub>j</sub> that she<sub>i</sub> would go.'  
\* 'She<sub>i</sub> promised them<sub>j</sub> that they<sub>j/k</sub> would go.'

With *kua* at the beginning of the complement clause, however, the subject of *nowila* is interpreted as being coreferential with the object of the main clause, as in (66):

(66) *No<sub>i</sub>-jandi-'e<sub>j</sub>* [*kua no<sub>j</sub>-wila*]<sub>COMP</sub>.  
3R-promise-3OBJ SW:COMP 3R-go  
'She<sub>j</sub> promised them<sub>j</sub> that they<sub>j</sub>\*<sub>k</sub> would go.'  
\* 'She<sub>i</sub> promised them<sub>j</sub> that she<sub>i</sub> would go.'

The same effect of switch-reference being monitored by the use or non-use of *kua* is found with *putusu* 'decide':

- (67) *Ku<sub>i</sub>-putusu-'e∅* [*ku<sub>i</sub>-balu te simbuku*]COMP.  
 1SG-decide-3OBJ 1SG-buy CORE octopus  
 'I<sub>i</sub> decided that I<sub>i</sub> would buy some octopus.'
- (68) \* *Ku<sub>i</sub>-putusu-'e∅* [*'u<sub>j</sub>-balu te simbuku*]COMP.  
 1SG-decide-3OBJ 2SG.R-buy CORE octopus  
 'I<sub>i</sub> decided that you<sub>j</sub> would buy some octopus.'
- (69) \* *Ku<sub>i</sub>-putusu-'e∅* [*kua ku<sub>i</sub>-balu te simbuku*]COMP.  
 1SG-decide-3OBJ SW:COMP 1SG-buy CORE octopus  
 'I<sub>i</sub> decided that I<sub>i</sub> would buy some octopus.'
- (70) *Ku<sub>i</sub>-putusu-'e∅* [*kua 'u<sub>j</sub>-balu te simbuku*]COMP.  
 1SG-decide-3OBJ SW:COMP 2SG.R-buy CORE octopus  
 'I<sub>i</sub> decided that you<sub>j</sub> would buy some octopus.'

Notice that the third person object suffixes are used, even when there is a second person subject in the complement clause to switch to. It is not usual (not completely ungrammatical, but definitely not preferred) to use object suffixes that show the same person and number as the subject of the complement clause in constructions involving verbs of decision, because the complement subject has no grammatical function assigned by the matrix verb. Versions of (71) and (72) without the object suffixes on *putusu* are perfectly grammatical.

- (71) # *Ku<sub>i</sub>-putusu-aku<sub>i</sub>* [*ku<sub>i</sub>-balu te loka*]COMP.  
 1SG-decide-1SG.OBJ 1SG-buy CORE banana  
 'I<sub>i</sub> decided that I<sub>i</sub> would buy some bananas.'
- (72) # *Ku<sub>i</sub>-putusu-ko<sub>j</sub>* [*kua 'u<sub>j</sub>-balu te loka*]COMP.  
 1SG-decide-2SG.OBJ SW:COMP 2SG.R-buy CORE banana  
 'I<sub>i</sub> decided that I<sub>i</sub> would buy some bananas.'

## 16.7 Physical perception complements

This group is morphosyntactically defined on the basis that all of its members can take the object-control strategy of complementation, or a nominalised complement clause, with a consistent difference in meaning. The first of these strategies assumes a direct perception of the complement clause, whereas the second strategy is not so direct.

These verbs are morphosyntactically defined on the basis that all of its members take an object control strategy of complementation, or a nominalised complement clause, with a consistent difference in meaning. The first of these strategies assumes a direct perception of the complement clause, whereas the second strategy is not so direct or specific. Sentence (75) differs from (74) in that it refers to an entire, specific event, whilst (74) refers to an occurrence of the sighting of some of (perhaps all) of an event:

- (73) *No-'ita-aku* [ku-moro'u te tee]COMP.  
 3R-see-1SG.OBJ 1SG-drink CORE tea  
 'They saw me drinking tea.'
- (74) *No-'ita* [te moro'u-ka-su u tee]COMP.  
 3R-see CORE drink-NL-1SG.POSS GEN tea  
 'They saw my drinking the tea.'
- (75) *No-'ita-ko-mo* [nu-manga te po'o-no]COMP.  
 3R-see-2SG.OBJ-PF 2SG.R-eat CORE mango-3POSS  
 'He's already seen you eating his mangoes.'

Verbs in the physical perception class may occur with a complementiser as well. This use is covered in section 16.7.2.

### 16.7.1 NP complements versus verbal complements

An NP complement is used with verbs of physical perception to denote the perception of a part of an event, not necessarily the entire event. The NP may appear in either a PP or in a KP, with slight semantic differences, but not as great as the differences between the use of an NP in either phrase type as against the use of a verbal complement. Compare (76) and (77):

- (76) *Ku-rodongo* [te manga-'a-no u ba'so]COMP.  
 1SG-hear CORE eat-NL-3POSS GEN bakso  
 'I heard his eating the bakso.'  
 (may refer to the entirety of the eating, or only part of it)  
 'I have ever heard him eating bakso.'  
 (not necessarily with a specific event in mind)
- (77) *Ku-rodongo-'e* [no-manga te ba'so]COMP.  
 1SG-hear-3OBJ 3R-eat CORE bakso  
 'I heard him eating the bakso.'  
 (a specific event, referring to the whole action)

Notice that this is a different distinction to that made by the use of the *kua* complementiser. Rather than refer to the main clause subject's commitment to the factuality of the complement clause, the difference between a verbal and a nominal complement clause is the difference between a specific instantiation of the event, or a general comment.

### 16.7.2 Perception complements with *kua*

The complementiser *kua* may appear with verbs of physical perception. An example of this distinction has already been given in (1) and (6), which are repeated here:

- (1) *No-'ita-'e* [no-kanalako te osimpu]COMP.  
 3R-see-3OBJ 3R-steal CORE young.coconut  
 'She saw him stealing the coconut.'

- (6) *No-'ita-'e* [*kua no-kanalako te osimpu*]COMP.  
 3R-see-3OBJ COMP 3R-steal CORE young.coconut  
 'She saw that he had stolen the coconut.'

In (1), the assertion is of the fact that the seer saw the actual act of stealing. In (6) there is no such commitment, but merely the statement that the seer ('she') is aware of the fact that the coconuts had been stolen, perhaps through direct perception of the act of stealing, but also perhaps merely because of circumstantial evidence, such as the sight of distinctive footprints and the absence of coconuts, and perhaps some corroboration of the story by other people. We may thus characterise the difference between complement construction with and without *kua* as being concerned with the modality of the statement; a complement with *kua* implies less direct evidential perception of the event. Morphologically, there is no longer a requirement that the object suffixes on the main clause verb agree with the subject of the complement clause (or, indeed, that they be present at all). Some additional contrastive examples are given in (78) and (79):

- (78) *No-'ita-ko* [*'u-moro'u te tee*]COMP.  
 3R-see-2SG.OBJ 2SG.R-drink CORE tea  
 'They saw you drinking the tea.'  
 (direct perception of the event)

- (79) *No-'ita* [*kua nu-moro'u te tee*]COMP.  
 3R-see SW:COMP 2SG.R-drink CORE tea  
 'They saw that you had drunk the tea.'  
 (through circumstantial evidence, like the empty cup left behind)

## 16.8 Verbs of manipulation

The group of manipulative complement verbs all take the morphological object control strategy, with obligatory object suffixes. A complementiser is sometimes inserted between the two clauses, in which case the subject of the main clause verb is (usually - see the verb *waa* in example (85)) the subject of the complement clause verb as well, and the interpretation of the sentence is as a discourse complement. With *'ita'ita*, already expressing a rather weak command, no complementiser may intrude between the two clauses.

Examples of the use of these various verbs are presented in (80) - (82):

- (80) *Ku-'ita-'ita-'(e)* [*o-'aka-'aka*]COMP.  
 1SG-RED-see-3OBJ 3R-RED-play  
 'I let her/him/they play.'
- (81) *No-karajaa-aku* [*ku-hu'u-ke te kabali-su*]COMP.  
 3R-make-1SG.OBJ 1SG-give-3OBJ CORE machete-1SG.POSS  
 'She made me give her my machete.'

- (82) *Awana 'umpa no-wuju-ko*  
 manner which 3R-persuade-2SG.OBJ  
*[nu-he-ta'o sa-'oloo labi]COMP?*  
 2SG.R-VRB-wait 1-day more  
 'How did he talk you into waiting for more than a day?'

### 16.8.1 Manipulative verbs with complementisers

Most of the members of this complement verb class can appear with a complementiser. The difference in interpretation between sentences using a complementiser and those without can be seen in (83) and (84):

- (83) *Ku-waa-'e [o-manga]COMP.*  
 1SG-tell-3OBJ 3R-eat  
 'I told them to eat.'
- (84) *Ku-waa-'e [kua manga]COMP.*  
 1SG-tell-3OBJ COMP eat  
 'I told them they could eat.'

Unique to this class of complement-taking verbs, the verb in the complement clause does not have to take subject prefixes, if there is a complementiser present:

- (85) *Ku-waa-'e [kua huri te sura kua mansuana-no]COMP.*  
 1SG-tell-3OBJ COMP write CORE letter ALL parent-3POSS  
 'I told her to write a letter to her parents.' (T1:5)

This is, however, unusual, and the use of subject prefixes is preferred, and indeed the only option for many speakers. With *sundu* 'command', the use of a complementiser is compulsory. The unmarked choice of complementiser for *sundu* is *ako*. Notice how in the following examples the choice of realis or irrealis subject prefixes alters the meaning of the sentence:

- (86) *Ku-sundu-'e-mo [ako no-henahenai]COMP.*  
 1SG-command-3OBJ-PF PURP 3R-learn  
 'I commanded them to learn (it).'  
 (they must learn it now)
- (87) *Ku-sundu-'e-mo [ako na-{m}ena{m}enai]COMP.*  
 1SG-command-3OBJ-PF PURP 3I-learn.SI  
 'I commanded them to learn (it).'  
 (they will learn it later)

(the verb *henahenai* is transparently a reduplicated form (even though \**henai* does not occur on its own). When the subject infix *-[um]-* is added to it, it may appear as *menahenai* or *menamenai*.)

The same difference is found with verbs of this class without complementisers:

- (88) *Ku-'ita-'ita-'e*      [*no-moro'u*]COMP.  
 1SG-RED-see-3OBJ      3R-drink  
 'I have let her/him/they drink (something).'  
 (and he/she/they are drinking it now)
- (89) *Ku-'ita-'ita-'e*      [*na-moro'u*]COMP.  
 1SG-RED-see-3OBJ      3I-drink  
 'I have let her/him/they drink (it).'  
 (but he/she/they aren't drinking it yet)

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the use of complementisers can change the interpretation of a sentence from that of a manipulative complement to a discourse complement, and the object control verb is treated as a subject control verb. An example of this can be seen in (90) and (91):

- (90) *Ku-wuju-'e*      [*no-lemba-'e*]COMP.  
 1SG-persuade-3OBJ      3R-carry-3OBJ  
 'I persuaded them to carry it.'
- (90)' \* *Ku-wuju-'e*      [*ku-lemba-'e*]COMP.  
 1SG-persuade-3OBJ      1SG-carry-3OBJ  
 'I persuaded them that I carried it.'
- (91) *Ku-wuju-'e*      [*kua*      *ku-lemba-'e*]COMP.  
 1SG-persuade-3OBJ      SW:COMP 1SG-carry-3OBJ  
 'I persuaded them that I carried it.'
- (91)' *Ku-wuju-'e*      [*kua*      *no-lemba-'e*]COMP.  
 1SG-persuade-3OBJ      SW:COMP 1SG-carry-3OBJ  
 'I persuaded them; that they\*<sub>i/j</sub> carried it.'  
 \* 'I persuaded them to carry it.'

## 16.9 Discourse complements

The set of discourse complements (complements which present direct or indirect speech) is used without formal change in form for both direct and indirect quotation, the only difference being the choice of subject prefix on the verb in the complement clause. If there is an object suffix on the first verb, then it refers to the addressee, and has nothing to do with the complement clause, thus creating seeming anomalies with the rest of the system of complementation in that there is frequently a mismatching of person/number categories across the complement clause boundary (such as in (93)). This group of complement-taking verbs is defined on the basis that all of its members simply take a complementiser, almost always *kua*, and cannot use the subject/object or nominalised complement clause strategy of complementation. A non-exhaustive list of discourse complement verbs is given below:

|              |          |
|--------------|----------|
| <i>'elo</i>  | 'call'   |
| <i>'ema</i>  | 'ask'    |
| <i>'balo</i> | 'answer' |



|                |                |
|----------------|----------------|
| <i>harapu</i>  | 'hope'         |
| <i>hekarau</i> | 'cry out'      |
| <i>ngaa</i>    | 'name'         |
| <i>pogau</i>   | 'say'          |
| <i>potae</i>   | 'say, mention' |
| <i>waa</i>     | 'tell, inform' |

There are no morphosyntactic differences between direct and indirect speech in *Tukang Besi*. Compare the forms used in (90) and (91), the first showing a direct quote, the second an indirect speech quote.

- (90) *No-potae-m(o)*      *kua*      "To-motindo'u    *na*    *ikita*."  
 3R-say-PF                  COMP      1PL.R-thirsty      NOM    we  
 'They said "We're thirsty."'
- (91) *No-potae-m(o)*      *kua*      *no-motindo'u*    *na*    *amai*.  
 3R-say-PF                  COMP      3R-thirsty      NOM    3PL  
 'They said that they were thirsty.'
- (92) *Nu-pogau na iko'o kua*  
 2SG.R-say    NOM    2SG    COMP  
*te iaku ku-hada te 'onu-'onu-'a*.  
 CORE 1SG    1SG-want    CORE    RED-swim-NL  
 'You said that you wanted to go swimming.'  
 (Lit., 'You said that you wanted the swimming.')

Further examples of the use of discourse complement verbs are given in (93) - (99):

- (93) *No-waa-aku kua nu-motindo'u*.  
 3R-say-1SG.OBJ    COMP      2SG.R-thirsty  
 'They told me that you were thirsty.'
- (94) *No-pogau-mo kua "Kambeda mombaka*  
 3R-say-PF      COMP      fact                  delicious  
*La bela Kolokolopua."*  
 La dear    Tortoise  
 'He answered 'They're really delicious, Tortoise.'      (SA:38)
- (95) *Sa-mai-no na beka-no iso no-kadu-'e-mo*  
 when-come-3POSS    NOM    cat-3POSS    yon    3R-cradle-3OBJ-PF  
*maka la'a-mo no-waa-'e kua*  
 and.then    just-PF    3R-tell-3OBJ    COMP  
 "Wila po-kaha-kaha-kene-'e    *na*    *La bela Kompakompa."*  
 go    REC-RED-bite-COM-3OBJ    NOM    La dear Eel    (Oen :15-16)  
 'When his cat came, he picked it up and cradled it, and then he told it: 'Go and bite with Eel.'
- (96) *No-balo kua "Oho, leama."*  
 3R-answer    COMP      yes    good      (RA:12)  
 He answered "OK, fine."

- (97) *Jari o-pogau-mo na ana-no iso kua* “*Wa Papa,*  
 so 3R-say-PF NOM child-3POSS yon COMP *Wa Daddy*  
*ku-[m]epe-'ita-taria-'a ako-ko, di 'umpu na atu?’*  
 1SG-REQ.SI-see-ESP-NL BEN-2SG.OBJ OBL where NOM that (WaI:4)  
 ‘So that child said: “Dear daddy, I ask to be allowed to search for magic for  
 you, where is that?”’
- (98) *Nu-pogau na iko'o*  
 2SG.R-say NOM 2SG  
*kua nu-hada te 'onu-'onu-'a ilange.*  
 COMP 2SG.R-want CORE RED-swim-NL tomorrow  
 ‘You said that you wanted to go swimming tomorrow.’  
 (Lit., ‘You said that you wanted the swimming tomorrow.’)
- (99) *ku-harapuu*  
 1SG-hope  
*kua te kapala-'u mbeak(a) a-s[um]aori-mohoo.*  
 COMP CORE head-2SG.POSS not 3I-very.SI-sick  
 ‘I hope that your head won’t be too sore.’

These examples show uncomplicated use of discourse complements, in which there is no clear relationship between the complement clause and the main clause; there are no restrictions on coreference of arguments, nor any correlations with reported vs. direct speech.

# Chapter 17

## Adverbials

### 17.1 Adverbial clauses

A subset of the types of adverbial modification has already been discussed in chapter 7, where the phenomenon of floating adverbs was described. In that chapter, adverbials that were verb-level (i.e., referring to modifications on the action of the verb itself) were discussed. There are also adverbials that are sentence-level, serving to modify the entirety of the sentence in which they occur. These include time expressions, whose placement has been discussed in chapter 3, prepositional purpose clauses, and possessed modifiers, two of which are floating adverbs. These types of subordinate clauses are discussed in the following sections; the data on floating adverbs from chapter 7 will not be repeated here.

### 17.2 Clauses of reason

A clause expressing the reason for which an action is undertaken can be expressed in several manners. If the reason clause is nominalised, a very common option, then it may appear in a PP or a KP preceded by *ako* 'purpose'. If it is not nominalised, then it appears as a normal clause preceded by *ako* 'in order that, purpose' or *bara* 'lest, so that it not happen'. The different options for presenting purpose adverbials, as well as the different discourse connectives that are used for this purpose, are examined separately.

#### 17.2.1 Verbal purposive clause with *ako*

When a full clause appears as an adverbial denoting purpose, there is no change in the structure of the clause. These purpose clauses are invariably verbal; a clause such as English 'She studied in order to be a teacher', with an equative clause (which in *Tukang Besi* is non-verbal; see chapter 14), would be expressed as seen in (1):

- (1) *No-kulia* [ako na-j[um]ari guru].  
3R-study.at.university PURP 3I-become.SI teacher  
'She studied so that she could become a teacher.'

Other examples of this clause type are given in (2) and (3):

- (2) *No-hopo-'elo-'e* [ako no-rato sabentara]  
3R-SOC-call-3OBJ PURP 3R-arrive in.a.moment  
'She summoned them so that they would arrive in a short while.'

- (3) *Bisa no-wande tabe(a) ala'a ku-w[um]jila*  
 even.though 3R-rain but just 1SG-go.SI  
*di koranga [bara no-hancuru na kahitela].*  
 OBL garden don't 3R-ruin NOM corn  
 'Even though it's raining, I'll have to go to the garden so the corn isn't ruined.'

### 17.2.2 Discourse connectives indicating purpose

A clause may specify the reason for the activity described in another preceding clause if it is preceded by one of the following:

- karena, karna, kana* 'Because...' (< Malay *karena*)  
*ka'ano* 'In order that...'  
*tabeda, tabea* 'That is,...'  
*parantaeda, parantaeta, entaeda,*  
*entaeta, ntaeta* 'The fact is...', 'Because...'

The lexeme *ka(r(e))na* is frequently pronounced as a retroflex (geminate) nasal: ['kaŋa], ['kaŋ:a].

Examples of these in sentences include:

- (4) *No-bose ka'ano no-rato i bangka-no.*  
 3R-paddle in.order.that 3R-arrive OBL ship-3POSS  
 'He's paddling in order to get to his ship.'
- (5) *E, inggawi o-to-puge-(e) a lima-no,*  
 Ah yesterday 3R-PASS-break-3OBJ NOM arm-3POSS  
*entaeda o-golu ke kene-no.*  
 because 3R-muck.around and friend-3POSS (Obuti:1)  
 'Ah, yesterday he broke his arm because he was mucking around with his friends.'
- (6) *I Daoa Wajo, ku-sawi-mo i jonso min(a)*  
 OBL Pasarwajo 1SG-ride-PF OBL Johnson from  
*i Daoa Wajo kua Wanse kana te jonso*  
 OBL Pasarwajo ALL Wanci because TOP johnson  
*min(a) i Daoa Wajo buntu-mo molengo-no-mo*  
 from OBL Pasarwajo focus-PF long-3POSS-PF  
*nomo-jamu to-rate Wanse.*  
 6-hour 1PL.R-arrive=OBL Wanci  
 'From Pasarwajo, I take a johnson from Pasarwajo to Wanci, because a johnson from Pasarwajo, is only six hours and we arrive at Wanci.'
- (7) *O-ha'a to-wila to-ala te kaluku?*  
 3R-why 1PL.R-go 1PL.R-fetch CORE coconut  
*Parantaeda ako te santa nu helo'a.*  
 because PURP CORE coconut.milk GEN cooking (Pada: 16-17)  
 'Why do we go and fetch coconuts?' 'It's for the coconut milk for cooking.'

## 17.2.3 Locative + nominalisation

These sentence types are nearly the same as the forms presented in 17.2.1, the difference being that the verbal clause is now nominalised, and presented in a KP headed by *i*.

- (8) *Ku-hada-wila* [*i tihī-'a u lante i Pada*].  
 1SG-want-go OBL shave.bamboo-NL GEN flooring OBL Pada  
 'I want to go to shave bamboo for the flooring, in Pada.'

- (9) *No-wila* [*i 'ita-'(a) u po-sepa-'a i Lia*].  
 3R-go OBL see-NL GEN REC-kick-NL OBL Lia  
 'They went to see the posepa'a in Lia.'  
 (A *posepa'a* is a traditional kicking sport/ritual undertaken four times a year in Lia.)

17.2.4 *ako te* + nominalisation

These sentence types have the same as the forms presented in 17.2.3, the difference being that the nominalised purpose clause is presented in a KP with the purpose marker *ako*:

- (10) *Ku-wila* [*ako te moro'u-k(a) u tee*].  
 1SG-go PURP CORE drink-NL GEN tea  
 'I went to drink some tea.'

- (11) *No-wila* [*ako te 'ita-'(a) u po-sepa-'a i Lia*].  
 3R-go PURP CORE see-NL GEN REC-kick-NL OBL Lia  
 'They went to see the posepa'a in Lia.'

- (12) *Ku-halihali* [*ako te mele ala'a*].  
 1SG-stroll PURP CORE happy just  
 'I'm strolling about just for fun.'

## 17.3 Adverbial clauses of time

Time is a category separate from location in *Tukang Besi*. All locative expressions, whether expressing position, movement towards, movement away from, or movement up to a point, are expressed in prepositional phrases or an oblique case phrase (see chapter 12). Whilst some time expressions are also to be found overtly oblique phrases, there are many that appear as bare NPs in the clause. Regardless of how a time expression appears, there are different restrictions on the positions in which it may occur in the clause (see chapter 3).

17.3.1 Morphological: *sa-*

There are two prefixes that can occur on verbal bases, *paka-* and *sa-*. One of them, *sa-* 'when', differs from *paka-* in that it may take possessive suffixes to index one of its arguments. With an intransitive verb, this is the subject of the verb. With a transitive verb, however, the applicative suffix *-ako* must be used on the verb, and the argument that is indexed by the possessive suffix is the [O], and never the [A], of the verb. This is good

evidence for the claim that *sa-* is a valency announcing affix (see chapter 11) with an [S,O] pivot, and so a transitive verb requires applicative morphology to re-introduce the object in order to have an argument available to be affixed. The indexed argument may optionally be repeated in a nominative KP; this is not possible (or necessary) if the single argument of the verb is present in a genitive phrase. An example of both an intransitive and transitive verb used in this construction is given in (13) and (14):

- (13) *Sa-rato-no<sub>j</sub>*                      *ku<sub>i</sub>-'elo-'e<sub>j</sub>*  
 when-arrive-3POSS      1SG-call-3OBJ  
 'When she<sub>j</sub> arrived, I<sub>i</sub> called her<sub>j</sub>.'
- (14) *Sa-'ita-ako-no<sub>j</sub>*                      *na*      *Aswi*      *te*      *sanggila*      *o<sub>i</sub>-topa-'e<sub>j</sub>-mo*  
 when-see-APPL-3POSS      NOM      Aswi      CORE      pirate      3R-slap-3OBJ-PF  
 'When the Pirate<sub>j</sub> saw Aswi<sub>j</sub>, he<sub>j</sub> slapped him<sub>j</sub>.'

Note the different grammaticality judgements that are associated with the use of a nominative KP in the two different sentences that may be used to present the identity of the arriver in (13):

- (13)' *Sa-rato-no<sub>j</sub>*                      *na*      *bela-su*,                      *ku<sub>i</sub>-'elo-'e<sub>j</sub>*  
 when-arrive-3POSS      NOM      spouse-1SG.POSS      1SG-call-3OBJ  
 'When my wife<sub>j</sub> arrived, I<sub>i</sub> called her<sub>j</sub>.'
- (13)" *Sa-rato*                      (*nu* / \* *na*)      *bela-su<sub>j</sub>*,                      *ku<sub>i</sub>-'elo-'e<sub>j</sub>*  
 when-arrive      GEN      NOM      spouse-1SG.POSS      1SG-call-3OBJ  
 'When my wife<sub>j</sub> arrived, I<sub>i</sub> called her<sub>j</sub>.'

The reference of the possessive suffix on a transitive base can only refer to the [O] of that verb; compare the grammatical and ungrammatical translations of (15):

- (15) *Sa-rodongo-ako-su*                      *te*      *amai...*  
 when-hear-APPL-1SG.POSS      CORE      3PL  
 'When they heard me ...'  
 \* 'When I heard them...'
- (16) *Sa-'ita-ako-no<sub>j</sub>*                      [*te*      *manusia*      *nu*      *kampo*]<sub>i</sub>  
 when-see-APPL-3POSS      CORE      people      GEN      village  
 [*na*      *kau*      *ba'i*      *measo'e*      *ai*]<sub>j</sub>, ...  
 NOM      tree      PREV      REF-yon      ANA  
 'When the people of the village saw that tree, ...'                      (Sab: 15)
- (17) *Sa-mate-no<sub>j</sub>*                      *noj-ala-'e<sub>i</sub>-mo*      [*na*      *ate-no*]  
 when-dead-3POSS      3R-fetch-3OBJ-PF      NOM      liver-3POSS  
 [*te*      *La Kolokolopua*]<sub>j</sub>      *Maka*      *la'a-mo*      *no-wila*      *no-aso-ne*  
 CORE      La Tortoise      and.then      just-PF      3R-go      3R-sell-3OBJ  
 'When he was dead, Tortoise took his liver. And then he just went and sold it.'                      (SA: 58-59)

(This sentence also displays external possession of the third person possessor 'Monkey'; the reference to dying is not of the death of the liver, yet that is the

logical coreferential NP. The possessor of the liver, the monkey, is however taken to be the nominative argument, as seen by the coordinated clauses, in an interesting example of cross-referential possessor raising (see chapters 7.7 and 11.6.2 for a more detailed discussion of external possession ))

- (18) *Sa-sepa liku-ako-no<sub>i</sub>                      no<sub>i</sub>-nggolo-mo.*  
 when-kick back-APPL-3POSS 3R-collapse-PF  
 'When he<sub>i</sub> was kicked, he<sub>i</sub> collapsed.'

### 17.3.2 Morphological: *paka-*

*Paka-* functions similarly to *sa-*, except that it does not occur with transitive verb stems, and may not take any possessive suffixes. It has the meaning 'as soon as...', and is often ambiguous when taken out of context since there is no indication of the subject of the verb. For example, (19) has two possible interpretations:

- (19) *Paka-rato,      ku<sub>i</sub>-'elo-'e<sub>j</sub>.*  
 when-arrive 1SG-call-3OBJ  
 'As soon as she<sub>j</sub> arrived, I<sub>i</sub> called her<sub>j</sub>.'  
 'As soon as I<sub>i</sub> arrived, I<sub>i</sub> called her<sub>j</sub>.'

This ambiguity is resolved in normal discourse, however, as the preceding clause would have mentioned the travel:

- (20) *Jari      ku-pajulu      torusu      kua      Sandaha.*  
 so      1SG-continue      continue      ALL      Sandaha  
*Paka-rato,      ku<sub>i</sub>-'elo-'e<sub>j</sub>.*  
 when-arrive 1SG-call-3OBJ  
 'So I<sub>i</sub> continued on to Sandaha. As soon as I<sub>i</sub> arrived, I<sub>i</sub> called her<sub>j</sub>.'  
 # 'So I<sub>i</sub> continued on to Sandaha. As soon as she<sub>j</sub> arrived, I<sub>i</sub> called her<sub>j</sub>.'
- (21) *Paka-rato      (a)la'a      na      sanggila      mai      iso*  
 when-arrive      just      NOM      pirate      INAL      yon  
*no-po-hoko-hoko-mate-mo      ke      manusi(a)      u      kampo.*  
 3R-REC-RED-FACT-dead-PF      and      people      GEN      village  
 'As soon as those pirates arrived, they and the villagers started to kill each other.'

### 17.3.3 Time expressions in bare NPs

There are several time expressions that may appear as a bare NP in the clause. The positions in the sentence in which these expressions may appear has been discussed in chapter 3. These bare NP time expressions include:

|                          |                                          |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| <i>dinggawi, inggawi</i> | 'yesterday'                              |
| <i>(mea-)meana'e</i>     | 'now'                                    |
| <i>le'ale'ana</i>        | 'today'                                  |
| <i>ilange</i>            | 'tomorrow'                               |
| <i>dua-alo</i>           | 'in two days' time' / 'two days ago'     |
| <i>tolu-alo</i> etc.     | 'in three days' time' / 'three days ago' |
| <i>sabentara</i>         | 'in a moment'                            |

Another common manner to mention the passage of time is to mention it as a numeral-classifier expression, with a perfective marker (or other aspectual marker, though most commonly *-mo*), and the following clause is interpreted as conditional on the passage of time specified in the numeral-classifier phrase. Some examples:

|                   |                     |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| <i>saminggumo</i> | 'in a week's time'  |
| <i>dua'oloomo</i> | 'in two days' time' |
| <i>toluta'omo</i> | 'in three years'    |
| <i>sajamumo</i>   | 'in an hour'        |

- (22) *Sa-minggu-mo maka ku-wila-mo.*  
 1-week-PF and.then 1SG-go-PF  
 'It's yet one more week and then I'm out of here.'

- (23) *Dua-'oloo-do no-rato ara mbeaka no-tolaki.*  
 2-day-EMPH 3R-arrive if not 3R-late  
 'He'll be here in just two more days, if he's not late.'

Further examples can be found in the texts.

#### 17.3.4 Time expressions with the oblique article *i*

Many time expression cannot appear as bare NPs, but appear instead in a case phrase with the oblique case *i*. Despite this different structure they have the same restriction on the positions in which they may appear as do bare-NP time expressions. Only a small representative selection of examples is given below:

|                         |              |                                              |
|-------------------------|--------------|----------------------------------------------|
| <i>i komba meatu'e</i>  | 'next month' | (lit., 'in that month')                      |
| <i>i ta'o i aropa</i>   | 'next year'  | (lit., 'in the year (that is) in the front') |
| <i>i ta'o lumapasi</i>  | 'last year'  | (lit., 'in the year that has passed')        |
| <i>i komba lumapasi</i> | 'last month' |                                              |
| <i>i komba ana</i>      | 'this month' |                                              |
| <i>i waktuu [vp ]</i>   | 'when [vp ]' |                                              |

- (24) *I Patuno iso ai [i molengo]*  
 OBL Patuno yon ANA OBL long  
*te kampo ki'iki'i.*  
 CORE village small  
 'Well, in Patuno there, long ago (it) was a small village.'



- (25) *O-melampa na imanga*  
 3R-few NOM food  
 [*i wakutuu no-jaja-kita te Japaa*].  
 OBL time 3R-colonise-1PL.OBJ CORE Japan  
 'There wasn't a lot of food during the Japanese occupation.'

### 17.3.5 Time expressions with the preposition *mina*

Time expressions with *mina* and a following verb phrase are found very frequently, occurring with the predicate negator, or with *nggai* 'immediate', to show that one clause precedes the other (with *mbeaka*) or is coincidental with the other (*nggai*).

- mina mbeaho* [VP ] 'before [VP ]' (lit., 'from not yet [VP ]')  
*mina mbeado* [VP ] 'before [VP ]' (lit., 'from not yet [VP ]')  
*mina nggai* [VP ] 'as soon as [VP ]' (lit., 'from as soon as [VP ]')

- (26) *No-rato na La lai mina mbea-ho no-wande.*  
 3R-arrive NOM La lai from not-yet 3R-rain  
 'La lai got here before is started to rain.'

- (27) *Mina nggai no-wande no-waliako*  
 from immediate 3R-rain 3R-return  
*na ana-anabou '[um]aka'aka.*  
 NOM RED-small.child RED.SI-play  
 'As soon as it started to rain the kids who had been playing came back.'

- (28) *Mina nggai ku-rodongo-'e na amai...*  
 from immediate 1SG-hear-3OBJ NOM 3PL  
 'When I heard them...'

*Mina mbeado* is more emphatic than *mina mbeaho*.

### 17.4 Conditional *ara, karo*

Conditional meaning can be ascribed to a clause with the use of *ara* or *karo* at the beginning. These are also used to emphasise a topicalisation (see chapter 3).

- ara* 'If...'  
*karo* 'Suppose...' (< Malay *kalau*, Ambonese Malay *kalo*)

- (29) *Ara mbeaka no-komo te Wuta Wolio no-to-'ita.*  
 if not 3R-fog CORE land Wolio 3R-PASS-see  
 'If it's not misty you can see Buton.'

- (30) *Toka ara i tangku-tangk(u) u daoa i Patuno*  
 but if OBL RED-close GEN market OBL Patuno  
*iso, saga'a eak(a) o-dai sa-metere*  
 yon sometimes not 3R-left.over 1-metre  
*to-po'-awa-m(o) te uwe.*  
 1PL.R-REC-get-PF CORE water (WW: 12)  
 'But if it's close to the market in Patuno, sometimes we don't even have  
 to (dig) one metre and we get water.'

### 17.5 Concessional *bisa*

Frequently a concessory clause is used simply juxtaposed to the next clause. The word *bisa* 'even though', a loan word from Malay *bisa* 'be able to, can', may also be used in this context.

- (31) *Bisa no-wande tabe(a) ala'a ku-w[um]jila*  
 even.though 3R-rain but just 1SG-go.SI  
*di koranga [bara no-hancuru na kahitela].*  
 OBL garden don't 3R-ruin NOM corn  
 'Even though it's raining, I'll have to go to the garden so the corn isn't ruined.'
- (32) *Toka ane kene uwe di iso (a)i, bisa*  
 but exist and water OBL yon ANA even.though  
*di Wakomba eaka no-po'oli no-motiti.*  
 OBL Wakomba not 3R-finish 3R-dry (WW: 16)  
 'But there is water there, even in Wakomba it doesn't dry out.'
- (33) *Te mia meana'e ai te mia [m]ande*  
 CORE person REF-this ANA CORE person frequently.SI  
*hoko-mate nu mia, entaeda bisa no-salama-mo*  
 FACT-die GEN person because even.though 3R-safe-PF  
*mina di mawi toka mbeaka no-hada-'ita-'e na-'[um]ido*  
 from OBL sea but not 3R-want-see-3OBJ 3I-live.SI  
*te Mo'ori [m]ande-timbang.*  
 CORE god frequently.SI-bless  
 'This person must surely be a murderer, because even though he has  
 arrived safely from the sea, merciful God does not want to see him live.'

This use of a genitive marker rather than an article is no longer used in normal language, and marks the speech as very formal and archaic. See chapter 15.4.2.

### 17.6 Possessed floaters: *karama-* and *pe'esa-*

In chapter 7 the distribution of adverbs within the verb phrase was discussed, including the fact that they can only be launched out of the immediate post-verbal position by a non-nominative argument. There are also floating quantifiers, such as *saba'ane* 'all', which can be floated out of the NP in which they are found to anywhere else in the clause, if launched by a nominative argument (chapter 20). In addition to these two large classes of floating words (or phrases) there are two floating modifiers that are obligatorily possessed, *karama-* 'self', often used in the formation of reflexive expressions, and *pe'esa-* 'own',

specifying the solitary manner in which something was done.

### 17.6.1 'self' *karama-* reflexive

The nominal *karama-* is used to form reflexives, amongst other such as emphatic and adverbial uses and it obligatorily occurs with a possessive suffix. As an adverbial modifier it occurs as a bare NP in the clause, not inside a KP or PP, but if used reflexively it appears in a KP. Two examples of the adverbial and emphatic uses are given in (34):

- (34) a. *Ku-'oko karama-su.*  
 1SG-hide self-1SG.POSS  
 'I hid (myself).'
- b. *Te atu te kondi karama-su.*  
 CORE that CORE water.vessel self-1SG.POSS  
 'That is my very own water vessel.'

The preferred position for an adverbial *karama-* is in the immediate post-verbal adverb position, just like an adverb; as with other adverbs in the VP, *karama-* can float to other positions in the VP when referring to a non-nominative argument. Unlike other adverbs, *karama-* is restricted to appearing with reference to the [S] or [A] of a sentence, and the possessive suffixes on *karama-* must always show the same person/number category as that of the [S] or [A]:

Referring to the [A]:

- (35) *Karama-su ku-laha-'e na beka-no.*  
 self-1SG.POSS 1SG-search-3OBJ NOM cat-3POSS  
 'I searched for the cat myself.'

- (36) \* *Karama-su ku-laha te beka-no.*  
 self-1SG.POSS 1SG-search CORE cat-3POSS  
 'I searched for the cat myself.'

Referring to the [O]:

- (37) \* *Karama-no ku-laha-'e na beka-no.*  
 self-3POSS 1SG-search-3OBJ NOM cat-3POSS  
 'I searched for the cat itself.'

- (38) \* *Karama-no ku-laha te beka-no.*  
 self-3POSS 1SG-search CORE cat-3POSS  
 'I searched for the cat itself.'

The meanings in (36) and (37) would normally be expressed with a cleft construction, as in (36)':

- (36)' *Te beka ala'a na i-laha-su.*  
 CORE cat just NOM OP-search-1SG.POSS  
 'It's the cat itself that is the one I'm looking for.'

When used to form reflexives, in which case it is synonymous with *orungu-* 'body', also obligatorily possessed when forming reflexives, it may appear as a nominative or non-nominative argument:

(39) *Ku-'ita-'e na (orungu-su / karama-su).*  
 1SG-see-3OBJ NOM body-1SG.POSS self-1SG.POSS  
 'I saw myself.'

(40) *Ku-'ita te karama-su.*  
 1SG-see CORE self-1SG.POSS  
 'I saw myself.'

(41) *O-pepe-'e na karama-no te ana.*  
 3R-hit-3OBJ NOM self-3POSS CORE child  
 'The child hit itself.'

(42) *O-pepe te karama-no na ana.*  
 3R-hit CORE self-3POSS NOM child  
 'The child hit itself.'

In all cases it must be the [O], regardless of nominative status. Compare (40) and (41) with sentences (40)' and (41)':

(40)' \* *O-pepe-'e na ana te karama-no.*  
 3R-hit-3OBJ NOM child CORE self-3POSS  
 'Itself hit the child.'

(41)' \* *O-pepe te ana na karama-no.*  
 3R-hit-3OBJ CORE child NOM self-3POSS  
 'Itself hit the child.'

With sentences involving two predicates, it is always the lower predicate that controls binding of a reflexive anaphora:

(43) *No-pa-balu te mia hele te baju*  
 3R-CAUS-buy CORE person other CORE shirt  
*(na ina-su) ako te karama-no.*  
 NOM mother-1SG.POSS BEN CORE self-3POSS  
 'My mother<sub>j</sub> made the other person<sub>i</sub> buy a shirt for her<sub>i</sub> / \*self.'

In the case of different person/number combinations, the morphological marking on the reflexive may over-ride this restriction, as seen in (44) and (45):

(44) *No-pa-balu-aku te baju ako te karama-no.*  
 3R-CAUS-buy-1SG.OBJ CORE shirt BEN CORE self-3POSS  
 'She made me buy a shirt for herself / \*myself.'

- (45) *Ku-pa-balu te mia hele te baju*  
 1SG-CAUS-buy CORE person other CORE shirt  
*ako te karama-su.*  
 BEN CORE self-1SG.POSS  
 'I made the other person buy a shirt for \* herself / myself.'

Unlike the reflexive use of *karama-*, when used adverbially in a sentence with two predicates it is taken to refer to the [A] of the outermost predicate:

- (46) *No-pa-manga karama-no te ana-no te kaujawa*  
 1SG-CAUS-buy self-3POSS CORE child-3POSS CORE cassava  
*na ina-su.*  
 NOM mother-1SG.POSS  
 'My mother<sub>i</sub> made her child<sub>j</sub> eat the cassava on her<sub>i/</sub> \*<sub>j</sub> own.'

The antecedent of *karama-* when there are two possible antecedents, such as (47), is ambiguous. Despite this, it is expected to refer to the [A], and not the [O]:

- (47) *No<sub>i</sub>-hu'u-ke<sub>j</sub> na karama-no<sub>?</sub>.*  
 1SG-give-3OBJ NOM self-3POSS  
 'She<sub>i</sub> gave (it) to her<sub>j</sub> herself<sub>?i/?j</sub>.'

### 17.6.2 'own' *pe'esa-*

With *pe'esa-* 'own' (probably related to proto Austronesian \*isa 'one') there is less ambiguity and more freedom about the choice of which argument the floating word refers to. Either of the inner core arguments of a transitive clause is allowed to launch it, since the possessive suffixes on the quantifier remove ambiguity in all cases except when both arguments are third person. In sentences (48a) and (48b) the possessive suffix on *pe'esa* makes clear the scope of its reference:

- (48) a. *Pe'esa-su ku-'ita te kalambe.*  
 own-1SG.POSS 1SG-see CORE young.girl  
 'I alone saw the girl.'  
 (Me and no-one else)
- b. *Pe'esa-no ku-'ita te kalambe.*  
 own-3POSS 1SG-see CORE young.girl  
 'I saw the girl alone.'  
 (She and she alone)

If both the referents are third person, the scope of the quantifier is still unambiguous; it can only be interpreted as being launched by the nominative NP, thus obeying the same restrictions that are found for other floating quantifiers; a reading that would require it to be launched by a non-nominative NP is ungrammatical:

- (49) a. *Pe'esa-no no-'ita te 'obu na anabou.*  
 own-3POSS 3R-see CORE dog NOM small.child  
 'The small child alone saw the dog.'  
 \* 'The small child saw the dog on its own.'

- b. *Pe'esa-no no-'ita-'e na 'obu te anabou.*  
 own-3POSS 3R-see-3OBJ NOM dog CORE small.child  
 'The small child saw the dog on its own.'  
 \* 'The small child alone saw the dog.'

We can see that *pe'esa-* behaves basically as a normal floating quantifier, except that it allows the reference of its possessive suffixing to overrule the requirement that it must refer to a nominative argument. Since no other known floating quantifiers include the use of possessive suffixes, it cannot be determined if this is a property restricted to *pe'esa-*, or a more general tendency.

# Chapter 18

## Conjoining

### 18.1 Levels of coordination

This chapter is concerned with means of connecting clauses, sentences, and other syntactic units. Clauses are linked at the outermost level, and this is evidenced by the separate intonation that can be assigned to the different parts of the unit, and by the scope of certain operators, such as negation. For instance, in (1), the negator affects only one of the two clauses:

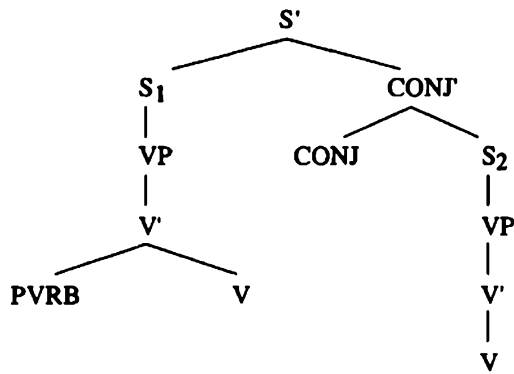
- (1) *No-tade toka mbeaka no-lagu.*  
3R-stand but not 3R-sing  
'He is standing but isn't singing.'

This is not always so simple; for some conjunctions, notably *kene*, which can operate to conjoin units of different levels, different interpretations are possible, revealing different levels of operation by the conjunction. In (2), if the conjunction is taken to be linking two clauses, then the only interpretation is that the negator has scope over only the first verb; if, in the second interpretation, the conjunction is interpreted as joining two verbs, then the negator must have scope over both verbs.

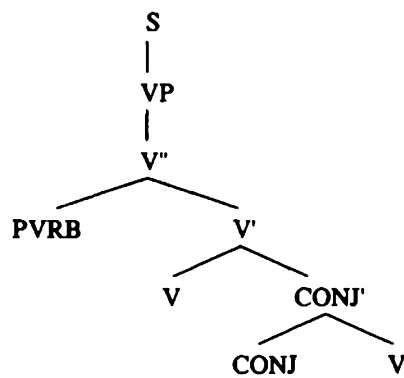
- (2) *Mbeaka no-tade ke o-lagu.*  
not 3R-stand and 3R-sing  
'He isn't standing whilst he's singing.'  
'He isn't standing and singing.'

Compare the constituent structures associated with the two possible (but intonationally distinct) interpretations of (2) (see Borseley (1994) and the references contained there for a discussion of different constituent structure representations of phrases involving conjunctions. The binary-branching version shown here has been adopted mainly to account for the facts of verbal indexing that are found with conjoined NPs, and in reciprocal constructions.):

(2)'



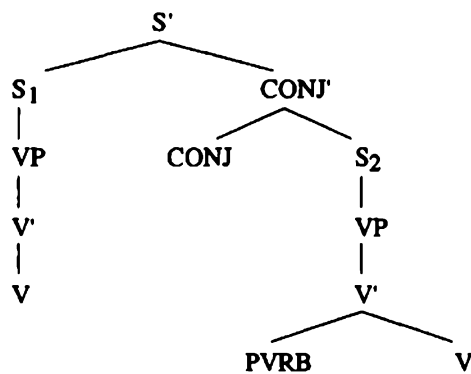
(2)''



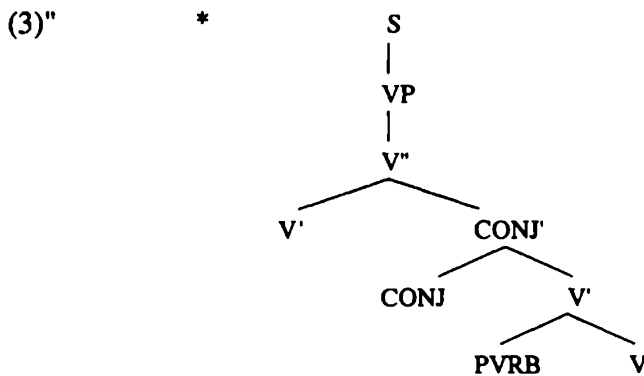
It is of course possible to negate the second verb alone, in this case, the only possible interpretation (justified by intonation) is that the conjunction links two clauses. This is the case with (3):

- (3) *No-tade ke mbeaka no-lagu.*  
 3R-stand and not 3R-sing  
 'He is standing and isn't singing.'  
 'He's standing whilst not singing.'

(3)'

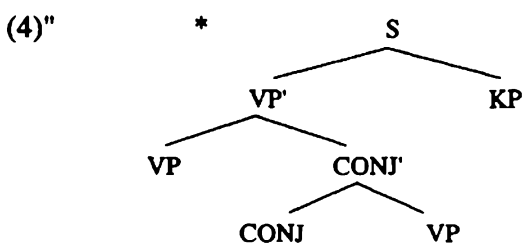
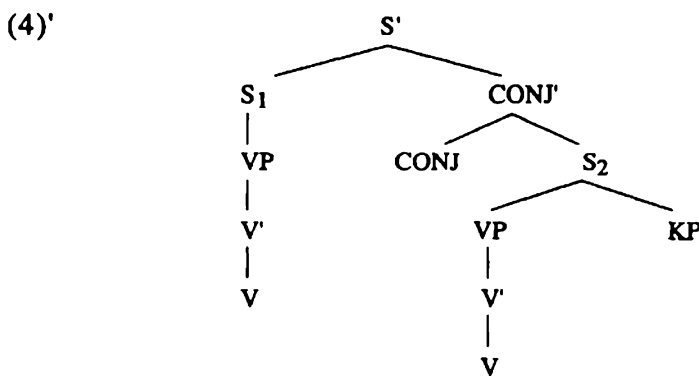






This shows that whilst we can conjoin clauses, or Vs, it is not possible to conjoin a V'. The inability to conjoin two VPs can be demonstrated with (4). If it were possible for two VPs to be conjoined, then the second interpretation of (4) would be more natural, and there would not have to be an intonation break between the two verbs. (4) is somewhat odd regardless of the interpretation put on it, in that, since the expectation is that a different agent paints the house after the building is done, a different conjunction such as *toka* 'but' or *maka* 'and then' would be more likely to be used.

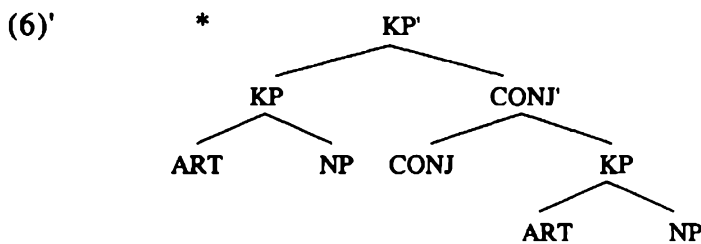
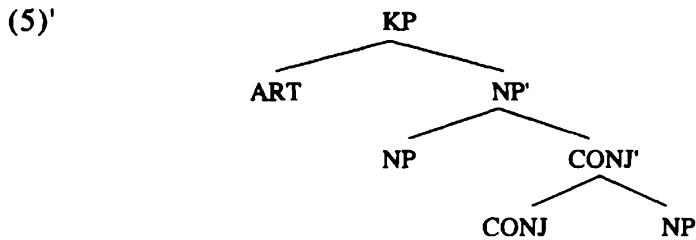
- (4) # *No-he-tade-'e kene no-kamalo-'e te Wa ama.*  
 3R-DO-stand-3OBJ and 3R-paint-3OBJ CORE Wa father  
 'They built it and Dad painted it.'  
 ? 'Dad built (it) and painted it.'



KPs may not be conjoined, but NPs may be. This is seen in sentences (5) and (6), in which the presence of articles in the ungrammatical (6) shows that KPs are not coordinated:

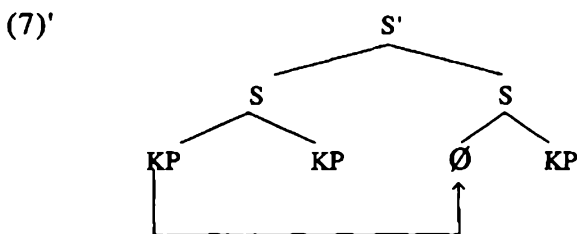
(5) *Te Wa ama kene Wa ina.*  
 CORE Wa father and Wa mother  
 'Mum and Dad.'

(6) \**Te Wa ama kene te Wa ina.*  
 CORE Wa father and CORE Wa mother  
 'Mum and Dad.'

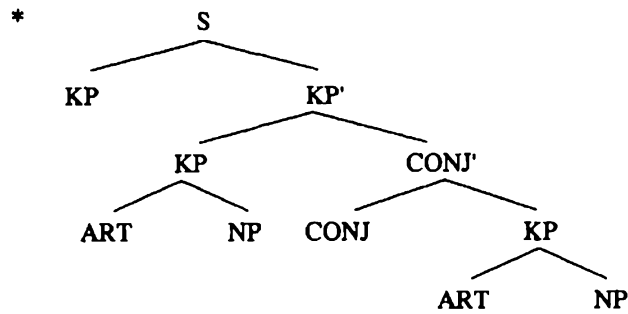


Two KPs may appear to be conjoined if they are functioning predicatively; an example of this is seen in (7). This is, however, not coordination of KPs, but is better thought of as the coordination of two clauses, with zero anaphora operating on the subject of the equative clause:

(7) *Te Wa ama te guru di SMP,*  
 CORE Wa father CORE teacher OBL high.school  
*kene 'uka te iai nu La Kasi.*  
 and also CORE younger.sibling GEN La Kasi  
 'My father is a teacher at the high school, and is also La Kasi's younger brother.'



(7)"



This same pattern of apparent conjunction is found with PPs as well; an example is given in (8), also better considered as zero anaphora in two clauses:

- (8) *Te [m]o-daga, ane di Wanse kene di Binongko,*  
 TOP REC.SI-trade exist OBL Wanci and OBL Binongko  
*toka di Tomia mbea'e.*  
 but OBL Tomea not.exist  
 'Traders, they're at Wanci and at Binongko, but in Tomea there aren't any.'

The inability to coordinate N's has already been discussed in chapter 5, and need not be repeated here. In short, we find that different conjunctions can serve to join Clauses (Ss), verbs (Vs), or NPs. These different categories of conjunction are discussed below in sections 18.2 - 18.3.

## 18.2 Clauses joined without a conjunction

Two clauses can be conjoined without an overt conjunction being necessary, nor even a separate intonational contour. As has already discussed in chapter 8 on serialisation, many such constructions can be ambiguously interpreted as either a core-level serial verb construction or a pair of conjoined clauses; in the case of a conjoined pair of clauses, an intonational break is always possible, even if not actually realised, whereas a serial verb construction allows for no such pause. Only a few examples are given here of two clauses without an overt conjunction between them

- (9) *Molengo molengo [no-wila] [no-'awa-mo te opa*  
 long long 3R-go 3R-obtain-PF CORE grotto  
*nu mata meha] [no-kai-'e-mo] kambeda te mata meha.*  
 GEN eye red 3R-hook-3OBJ-PF fact CORE eye red  
 'After a while he went and came across a Matameha's hole, and he hooked it because there was a Matameha.' (Oen:3)  
 (a *Matameha* is a kind of crab)
- (10) [*Te La Kolokolopua no-hembula te hu'u-no*],  
 TOP La Tortoise 3R-plant CORE trunk-3POSS  
 [*te La Kandokendoke no-hembula te umbu-no*].  
 TOP La Monkey 3R-plant CORE extremity-3POSS (SA:9)  
 'Tortoise planted the trunk, and Monkey planted the top.'

- (11) [No-rato di umbu-no] [no-manga-mo]  
 3R-arrive OBL extremity-3POSS 3R-eat-PF  
 na La bela Kandokendoke].  
 NOM La dear Monkey (SA:37)  
 'When he arrived at the top, Monkey just ate.'
- (12) O-raho-'e te watu, o-to-puge ke lima.  
 3R-affect-3OBJ CORE stone 3R-PASS-break and arm (Obuti: 3)  
 'He banged himself on a stone, and it was so bad that (his) arm broke.'

### 18.3 Clauses joined with a conjunction

There is a range of different choices of linkers that may be used to join two clauses into connected discourse; some of these are clearly subordinating in function, even though formally there is no indication of subordination in the morphology used in the clause, and these have been dealt with in chapter 17. The remainder are grouped here according to the function that they carry out.

#### 18.3.1 Alternative *tawa*

The conjunction *tawa* is used to present two options in a predicate (thus linking units smaller than the clause), and may also be used to join two clauses or topics together, usually with extensive zero anaphora. (12) shows two options presented as the object of the verb 'Uhadabalu. (13) shows an alternative to the use of *oki'iki'i* as a predicate, presenting *te iaiiai nu bangka* as a non-verbal equivalent of *oki'iki'i*, and then a further alternative, *te ikaka u kolikoli*:

- (13) 'U-hada-balu te ana, tawa te ana?  
 2SG.R-want-buy CORE this or CORE this  
 'Do you want to buy this one, or this one?'
- (14) Ara o-ki'iki'i atawa te iai-iai nu bangka,  
 if 3R-small or CORE RED-younger.sibling GEN ship  
 atawa te ikaka u kolikoli iso, e ngaa-n(o)  
 or CORE elder.sibling GEN canoe yon CORE name-3POSS  
 e sopesope. Sopesope.  
 CORE sopesope. sopesope (May: 134)  
 'If it's small, or like the "younger brother" of a ship, or the elder brother of a canoe, its name is sope-sope. Sope-sope.'

#### 18.3.2 Simultaneous *kene*

The general conjunction / serial verb *kene* may be used to conjoin two clauses, indicating that they take place at the same time:

- (15) [Dari no-wila-mo na La Kape'ingkape'i ana]  
 so 3R-go-PF NOM La Fool this  
 kene [no-bawa-'e kene Bekabeka-no ana].  
 and 3R-bring-3OBJ COM Cat-3POSS this (Oen:17)  
 'So Fool went, and he took this Cat of his as well.'

- (16) [Te mia no-rato], kene [no-ganta-'e na uwe].  
 CORE person 3R-arrive and 3R-scoop-3OBJ NOM water  
 '..., people keep coming and fetching water,....' (WW: 29)

### 18.3.3 Sequential *maka*

The discourse connective *maka* is sometimes used to join two clauses, indicating that they take place in a sequential order, and that they contribute to the growing narrative that the speaker is planning:

- (17) [Jari, sa-rato-no i umbu na Ndokendoke]  
 so when-arrive-3POSS OBL edge NOM Monkey  
 [o-sampi-'e-mo a loka iso] maka [o-manga].  
 3R-pee[-3OBJ-PF NOM banana yon and.then 3R-eat (And:53)  
 'So when Monkey arrived at the top he peeled the bananas, and then he ate them.'

- (18) [To-rato i Ambo to-he-lawe 'uka a, sekitar  
 IPL.R-arrive OBL Ambon IPL.R-rest also m about  
 hato-jamu] [maka la'a-mo to-langke kua Baubau].  
 4-hours and.then just-PF IPL.R-sail ALL Baubau (Jay: 25)  
 'We arrived in Ambon and rested for, hmm, about four hours, and then sailed on to Baubau.'

- (19) [Te mia no-rato], kene [no-ganta-'e na uwe].  
 CORE person 3R-arrive and 3R-scoop-3OBJ NOM water  
 '..., people keep coming and fetching water,....' (WW: 29)

The loan *torusu* 'continue' (< Malay *terus*) can be used in the same way as *maka*:

- (20) O-tamba-'e te голу, jari o-mboti, torusu o-buti.  
 3R-score-3OBJ CORE goal so 3R-stumble continue 3R-fall  
 'He scored with a goal, and then stumbled, and so fell.' (Obuti: 2)

### 18.3.4 Free conjunctions *po'oli, pasi, ahiri*

I use the term 'free' conjunction to describe these words because they do not require the appearance (or even implication) of a previous clause. *Po'oli* 'finish' may be used to show that one clause is in a temporal sequence with another, preceding it. The preceding clause is usually not repeated.

- (21) [Po'oli te atu] no-wila-mo 'uka no-po-'awa-mo  
 finish CORE that 3R-go-PF again 3R-REC-obtain-PF  
 te opa nu wela'a...  
 CORE grotto GEN k.o.crab (Oen:4)  
 'After that he went again and met a wela'a's hole...'

- (22) [Po'oli] *no-nabu-ako-'e-mo te kuli-no*  
 finish 3R-drop-APPL-3OBJ-PF CORE skin-3POSS  
*na La Kolokolopua.*  
 NOM La Tortoise  
 'And then he dropped the skins (of the bananas) for Tortoise.' (SA:41)
- (23) *Jari sa-, [po'oli-mo iso], o-, o-waliako-mo.*  
 so when- finish-PF yon, 3R- 3R-return-PF (LaM:16)  
 'So when,...after that, he..., he came home.'

The same function is filled by *ahiri*, a loan from Malay *akhir*:

- (24) [Ahiri-no] *no-siasia-'e na ina-no.*  
 end-3POSS 3R-hit-3OBJ NOM mother-3POSS (SI:7)  
 'In the end his mother was beaten.'

The conjunction *pasi* functions in a similar way:

- (25) [Pas(i) iso] *(o)-waliako-mo.*  
 after yon 3R-return-PF (WW: 30)  
 'After that, they go home.'

### 18.3.5 Contrasting *toka*, *tabeda*

*toka* is an unproblematic conjunction indicating a contrast, or something contrary to what has preceded the clause with *toka*. It is closely translatable by 'but':

- (26) *Te ia ana mbeaka [te tando], toka [te humbu].*  
 CORE 3SG this not CORE tando but CORE humbu  
 'Talking about this, it is not a tando, but rather a humbu.'  
 (*Tando* and *Humbu* are names for two different types of woven baskets)
- (27) *Mbea'e na doe-su ako ku-b[um]alu te kuikui*  
 not.exist NOM money-1SG.POSS PURP 1SG-buy.SI CORE cakes  
*meana'e ai, [toka sabantar(a) atu ko-mai].*  
 now ANA but in.a.while that 1PA.R-came  
 'I don't have the money to buy the cakes right now, but in a moment I'll be back.'
- (28) *Maka la'a-mo te, e olo-m(o),*  
 and.then just-PF CORE CORE part.of.deep.sea-PF  
*[toka mbeaka o-mendaro].*  
 but not 3R-deep (May: 117)  
 'And then it's the olo. But it's not deep.'

*tabeda* is a more complex conjunction than *toka*, and in addition to contrast shows that the following clause is an exception to what has preceded it, or that the following state of affairs is more desirable or necessary in some way:

- (29) *Tabea ane ke iko'o, maka na-j[um]ari a-t[um]o-tu'o*  
 but exist COM 2SG then 3I-become.SI 3I-PASS.SI-fell  
*na kau itu."*  
 NOM tree that (Sab:25)  
 'But if you were there then that tree could be chopped down.'
- (30) *Tabea ke mi(a) b[um]alu ala'a.*  
 but and person sell.SI just (TB:13)  
 'There are only people selling.'
- (31) *Tabeda to-sawi i honda.*  
 but 1PL.I-travel.by OBL motorbike  
 'We should better go by motorbike.'
- (32) *Sa'asa te Desa Wali, termasuk te Wakamendo,*  
 firstly CORE Desa Wali including CORE Wakamendo  
*ke Oitiu, kene Mole, te pogau-no te Ciacia,*  
 and Oitiu and Mole CORE language-3POSS CORE Cia-Cia  
*po-kana ke pogau Sampolawa.*  
 REC-same and language Sampolawa  
*Tabea te, te Rukuwa, Taipabu, Bante, 'One'one,*  
 but TOP TOP Rukuwa Taipabu Bante 'One'one  
*Hopalia te pogau-no te Ka'umbeda.*  
 Popalia CORE language-3POSS CORE Ka'umbeda (TB:25-26)  
 'Firstly in Desa Wali, Wakamendo, Oitiu, and Mole, the language is Cia-Cia, the same as the Sampolawa language. But as for Rukuwa, Taipabu, Bante, 'One'one, Popalia, the language is Ka'umbeda.'
- (33) *Ka'ano no-ama te kodipo iso,*  
 in.order 3R-safe TOP shark yon  
*tabea ta-[m]oko-mate-'e.*  
 but 1PL.I-FACT.SI-dead-3OBJ  
 'For safety's sake, that shark, we should kill it.'

### 18.3.6 Surprising *io, padahal*

The conjunctions *io* and *padahal* (a loan from Indonesian) are used in discourse to show the surprising and exceptional nature of what follows.

- (34) *Io te karna te anu, o-koruo na amai Rupu,*  
 in.fact CORE because CORE whatsit 3R-many NOM 3PL Rupu  
*s[um]jikola, wila [m]o-daga, wila [m]a-langke*  
 go.to.school.SI go REC.SI-trade go OCC.SI-sail  
*i Ambo, i Singapura, Malahau.*  
 OBL Ambon OBL Singapore Malahau (WW: 74)  
 'In fact it's because it's, what's that, many of those Rupu go to school, go trading, go sailing in Ambon, to Singapore, to Malahau.'

- (35) *Io te i-manga i-helo'a-no iso*  
 whereas CORE OP-eat OP-cook-3POSS yon  
*mbea-'e a hebuntu, te watu na ni-helo'a-n(o).*  
 not.exist NOM state CORE stone NOM OP-cook-3POSS  
 'But in fact the food that she was cooking didn't really exist, It was a  
 stone that she was cooking.'

### 18.3.7 Concluding *jari*

The verb *jari* 'become' is also used to indicate the continuation of discourse. It is very frequently used when concluding a piece of narrative, but is also commonly used simply to indicate that the narrative is proceeding, with no sense of finality. Numerous examples can be found in the texts included in the appendices.

- (36) *I Wanse o-kura na guru, jari no-koruo*  
 OBL Wanci 3R-lack NOM teacher so 3R-many  
*na mia w[um]ila '[um]e-SMA di Baubau.*  
 NOM person go.SI do.SI-high.school OBL Baubau  
 'There aren't many teachers on Wanci, so a lot of people go to Baubau to  
 do their high school.'

- (37) *Jari o-rato i sikola-'a, o-wila-mo hali-hali di anu,*  
 so 3R-arrive OBL school-NL 3R-go-PF RED-stroll OBL whatsit  
*di ai anu, apa i Nua Ponda.*  
 OBL ANA whatsit ENDPOINT OBL Nua Ponda  
 'So they arrived at the school, and went strolling down to, that place, up  
 to Nua Ponda.'

### 18.3.8 Clarificatory

Information clarifying a point, or emphasising the reason for something occurring can be added at the beginning of a sentence. In addition to the native *Tukang Besi* terms that are used in this environment, which are non-verbal, there are also some unassimilated loans, such as the frequently heard *berarti*. Only some of the more common of these linkers are listed.

|                                         |                                    |                           |
|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>berarti</i>                          | 'I mean to say,...', 'That is,...' | (< Malay <i>berarti</i> ) |
| <i>te ma'ano</i>                        | 'That is,...'                      | (< Malay <i>makna</i> )   |
| <i>te sida</i>                          | 'In fact,...'                      |                           |
| <i>kambeda, kambea,</i><br><i>kamba</i> | 'The fact is...', 'Because...'     |                           |

- (38) *Ko-ma'eka mbea i pante 'oliha*  
 IPA.R-fear not OBL beach centipede  
*Kamba te nduli.*  
 fact CORE cockroach (NP: 20-21)  
 'We were afraid that we mightn't be on a centipede beach. But it was  
 really cockroaches.'



- (39) *Eak(a) tabeda a-mohali. Berarti, mbeak(a) o-koruo.*  
 not need 3I-expensive I.mean not 3R-much  
 'It doesn't have to be expensive. I mean, there isn't much.'

The word *kambeda* is the source of the one native term for the language group as it extends over the four main Tukang Besi islands; the word varies in the four main dialects as follows:

Wanci *kambeda*  
 Kaledupa *'umbeda*  
 Tomea *'ummea*  
 Binongko *ka'umbe*

from which folk etymologies construct \**ka'umbeda* as a proto-form, and use this as the name for the ethnic group as a whole. The use of this term is not very widespread.

#### 18.4 Conjoining Vs

It is often difficult to show that a conjunct is a V, and not a clause. The presence of oblique nominals between the verbs is clear evidence that two nodes are joined at the clausal level, but the absence of such adjuncts is not proof for either stance. If a non-prominent object is shared, or an adverb appears after the second verb, this is good proof that the two verbs are joined within the VP. For instance, whilst (45) is most likely to be joined at the clause level:

- (40) *No-wila kene no-waliako*  
 3R-go and 3R-return  
 'She went and came back.'

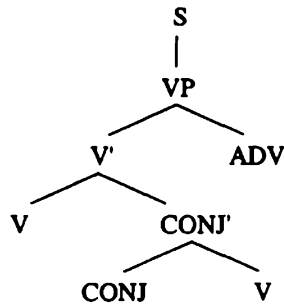
Compare with (40)', which has prepositional adjuncts inserted between the two verbs, clearly indicating that there are two clauses involved:

- (40)' *No-wila i daoa kene no-waliako.*  
 3R-go OBL market and 3R-return  
 'She went to the market and came back.'

Sentence (41) shows a conjunction within the VP:

- (41) [[[*No-lemba* [ *kene no-waliako* ]<sub>CONJ'</sub> ]<sub>V'</sub> *moboha*]<sub>VP</sub> ]<sub>S</sub>.  
 3R-carry.on.shoulder and 3R-return heavy  
 'She carried (it) with difficulty and came back.'

(41)'



### 18.5 Conjoining NPs

Two NPs may be conjoined using *ke(ne)* to link them. They both appear in a higher KP or PP. An example of each is seen in (42) and (43):

(42) [*Te* [[*'obu*]<sub>NP</sub> [*kene* [*beka*]<sub>NP</sub> ]<sub>CONJ'</sub> ]<sub>NP'</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 CORE dog and cat  
 'cats and dogs.'

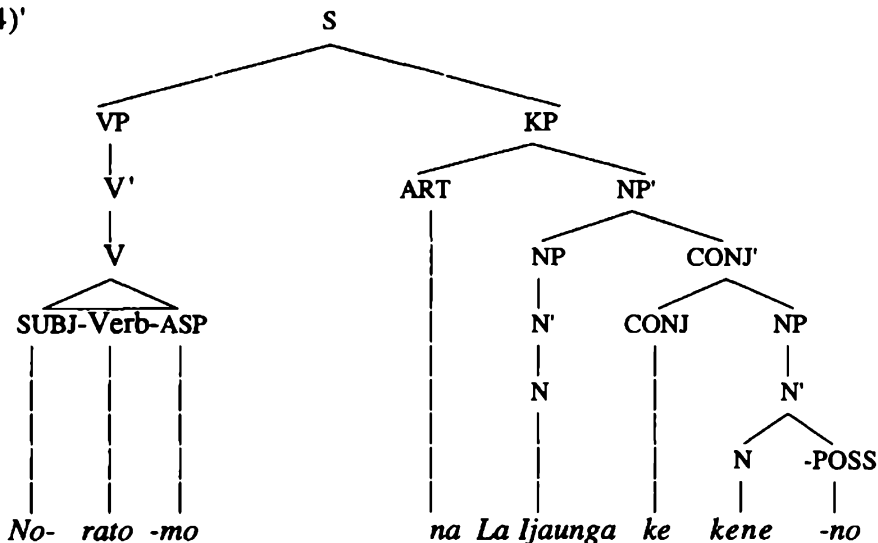
(43) [*Kua* [[*Waelumu*]<sub>NP</sub> [*kene* [*Patuno*]<sub>NP</sub> ]<sub>CONJ'</sub> ]<sub>NP'</sub> ]<sub>PP</sub>.  
 ALL Waelumu and Patuno  
 'to Waelumu and Patuno.'

If part of a KP, the two conjuncts are both seen as participating in the verb, and may be indexed on the verb either jointly or partly. An example of this is:

(44) *No-wila-mo* [*na* [[*La Ijaunga*]<sub>NP</sub> *ke* [*kene-no*]<sub>NP</sub> ]<sub>NP'</sub> ]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 3R-go-PF NOM La Kasi and friend-3POSS  
 'And then La Kasi and his daughter arrived.'

The structure representing (44) is given in (44)':

(44)'



This is relatively unproblematic when used with intransitive verbs. One interesting feature is that the verbal index need not agree with the sum of all the arguments in the KP. This is

not apparent when two third person arguments are conjoined, as in (44), since there is no distinction made between singular and plural in the third person in the third person indexing on verbs. If one or more of the arguments is not third person, the situation becomes more complicated. From a sentence like

- (45) *To<sub>i</sub>-wila* [*na* [*ikita*]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>KPi</sub>.  
 1PL.R-go NOM 1PL  
 'We left.'

we can also say

- (46) *To<sub>i,j</sub>-wila* [*na* [[*iaku*]<sub>NP<sub>i</sub></sub>] [*ke* [*tuha-su*]<sub>NP<sub>j</sub></sub>]<sub>CONJ'</sub>]<sub>NP<sub>i,j</sub></sub>]<sub>KPi,j</sub>.  
 1PL.R-go NOM 1SG and family-1SG.POSS  
 'My family and I left.'

in which the form of the subject prefix does not agree in person and number with either of the two arguments in the KP, but does agree with the total of their features; this can be expressed as shown in figure 9:

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED 'iaku'} \\ \text{NUM SG} \\ \text{PERS I} \end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED 'tuhasu'} \\ \text{NUM PL} \\ \text{PERS III} \end{array} \right] = \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED (comb)} \\ \text{NUM PL} \\ \text{PERS I} \end{array} \right]$$

Figure 9. Feature combination of two arguments

However, there are still other options, in which the mismatch between the pronominal indexing and the nominals is greater:

- (47) *Ku<sub>i</sub>-wila* [*na* [[*iaku*]<sub>NP<sub>i</sub></sub>] [*ke* [*tuha-su*]<sub>NP<sub>j</sub></sub>]<sub>CONJ'</sub>]<sub>NP<sub>i,j</sub></sub>]<sub>KPi,j</sub>.  
 1SG-go NOM 1SG and family-1SG.POSS  
 'My family and I left.'

In (47), only one of the nominals has its person and number features indexed on the verb, despite both of them appearing in the same KP. If we try to index the person and number categories of the second nominal, the result is ungrammatical:

- (48) \* *No<sub>j</sub>-wila* [*na* [[*iaku*]<sub>NP<sub>i</sub></sub>] [*ke* [*tuha-su*]<sub>NP<sub>j</sub></sub>]<sub>CONJ'</sub>]<sub>NP<sub>i,j</sub></sub>]<sub>KPi,j</sub>.  
 3R-go NOM 1SG and family-1SG.POSS  
 'My family and I left.'

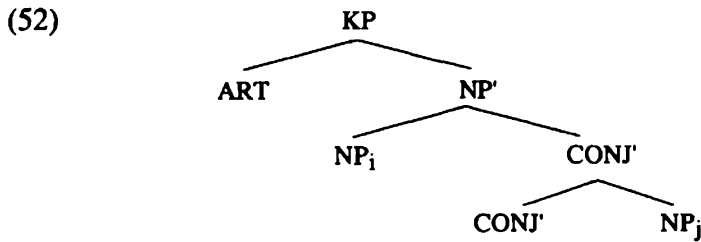
Even rearranging the order of the two nominals leaves a third person subject prefix on the verb inadequate:

- (49) \* *No<sub>j</sub>-wila* [*na* [[*tuha-su*]<sub>NP<sub>i</sub></sub>] [*ke* [*iaku*]<sub>NP<sub>j</sub></sub>]<sub>CONJ'</sub>]<sub>NP<sub>i,j</sub></sub>]<sub>KPi,j</sub>.  
 3R-go NOM family-1SG.POSS and 1SG  
 'My family and I left.'

Even with a first person subject prefix, this ordering of nominals is ungrammatical, because of animacy constraints (see below):



Given a structure like (52):



we can state that the verbal indexing will agree with either the sum of the person and number features of the whole KP, of just those of the first conjunct. This may be formalised as follows:

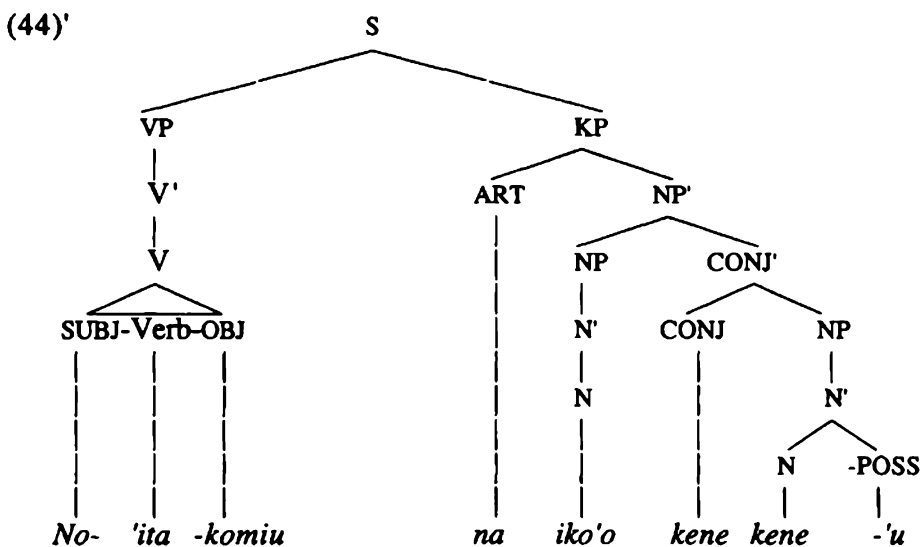
$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{PERS, NUM}_{\text{SUBJ, Verbal}} &= \text{PERS } [NP_i], \text{ NUM } [NP_i + NP_j] && \text{OR} \\
 &= \text{PERS } [NP_j], \text{ NUM } [NP_i]
 \end{aligned}$$

An argument may appear in the first conjunct position ( $NP_i$ ) if it outranks the second in terms of the animacy hierarchy ( $[NP_i > NP_j]_{\text{Animacy}}$ ).

If the conjunction occurs in a KP serving as object in a transitive clause, the rules are slightly different. In (58), for instance, the object suffix may index the person and number features of both the conjoined NPs:

- (53) *No*<sub>k</sub>-*'ita-komiu*<sub>i,j</sub> [*na* [[*iko'o*]<sub>NP<sub>i</sub></sub> [*ke* [*kene-'u*]<sub>NP<sub>j</sub></sub> ]CONJ']<sub>NP<sub>i,j</sub></sub> ]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 3R-see-2PL.OBJ NOM 2SG and friend-2SG.POSS  
 'They saw you and your friend.'

The constituent structure representing (53) is given in (53)':



Just as for an intransitive clause, we find that the verbal index may reflect only the person and number categories of one of the conjoined arguments, the one that is highest on the animacy hierarchy:

(54) *No-'ita-ko<sub>i</sub>*      [*na*    [[*iko'o*]<sub>NP<sub>i</sub></sub>]    [*ke*    [*kene-'u*]<sub>NP<sub>j</sub></sub>] CONJ' ] NP<sub>i,j</sub> ] KP.  
 3R-see-2SG.OBJ    NOM    2SG                    and            friend-2SG.POSS  
 'They saw you and your friend.'

(55) \* *No-'ita-'e<sub>j</sub>*    [*na*    [[*iko'o*]<sub>NP<sub>i</sub></sub>]    [*ke*    [*kene-'u*]<sub>NP<sub>j</sub></sub>] CONJ' ] NP<sub>i,j</sub> ] KP.  
 3R-see-3OBJ    NOM    2SG                    and            friend-2SG.POSS  
 'They saw you and your friend.'

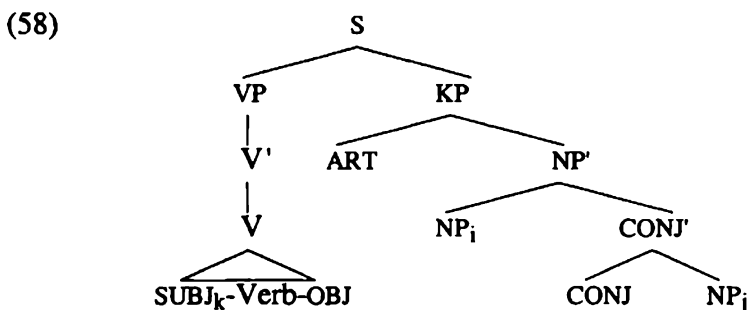
There is, however, a further restriction on the ability of an argument to impose its person and number features over those of the KP as a whole. Compare (56) and (53) earlier with the ungrammatical (57):

(56) *Ku-'ita-komi<sub>i,j</sub>*    [*na*    [[*iko'o*]<sub>NP<sub>i</sub></sub>]    [*ke*    [*kene-'u*]<sub>NP<sub>j</sub></sub>] CONJ' ] NP<sub>i,j</sub> ] KP.  
 1SG-see-2PL.OBJ    NOM    2SG                    and            friend-2SG.POSS  
 'I saw you and your friend.'

(57) \* *Ku-'ita-ko<sub>i</sub>*      [*na*    [[*iko'o*]<sub>NP<sub>i</sub></sub>]    [*ke*    [*kene-'u*]<sub>NP<sub>j</sub></sub>] CONJ' ] NP<sub>i,j</sub> ] KP.  
 1SG-see-2SG.OBJ    NOM    2SG                    and            friend-2SG.POSS  
 'I saw you and your friend.'

The ungrammaticality in (57) is due to the fact that the subject of the sentence outranks the highest of the objects on the animacy hierarchy. We must formulate the condition for person and number categories of objects on the verb as follows.

Given a structure like (58):



we can state that the verbal indexing will agree with

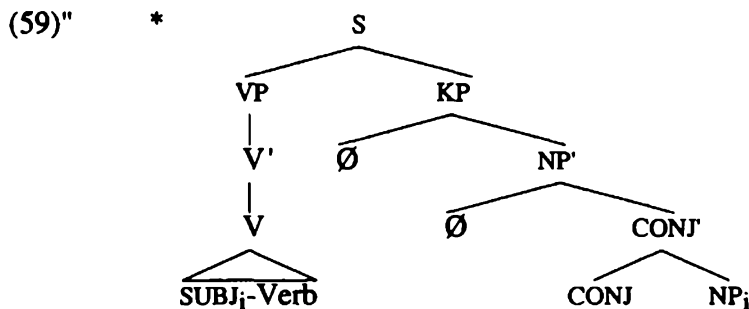
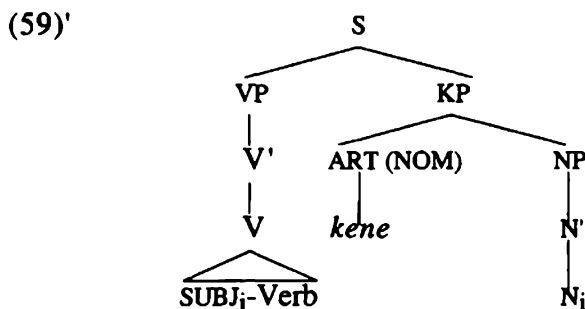
$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{PERS, NUM}_{\text{OBJ, Verbal}} &= \text{PERS } [NP_j], \text{ NUM } [NP_i + NP_j] && \text{OR} \\
 &= \text{PERS } [NP_i], \text{ NUM } [NP_j] \\
 &\text{iff } [NP_i > NP_j]_{\text{Animacy}} \text{ and } [NP_i > NP_k]_{\text{Animacy}}
 \end{aligned}$$

That is, the object pronominal indexing may agree with either the features of the KP as a whole, or with those of the first conjunct NP, if it outranks the subject of the clause in terms of the animacy hierarchy ( $[NP_i > NP_k]_{\text{Animacy}}$ ). An argument may appear in the first conjunct position ( $NP_i$ ) if it outranks the second in terms of the animacy hierarchy ( $[NP_i > NP_j]_{\text{Animacy}}$ ).

Notice that the structures proposed in this section are very different from that exhibited by sentences like (59):

- (59) *Ku-wila ke iaku.*  
 1SG-go and 1SG  
 'I went too.'

In (59) *ke* replaces the article in a KP, a device used to emphasise the inclusion of the speaker (described in chapter 12); when *kene* appears in this use, it replaces any core articles that would normally be there. Sentence (59) does not, then, represent a coordinate structure in which the person and number indexed on the verb represent only one of the NPs. This would be ruled out by the account that has been proposed because the first person *iaku* necessarily outranks any other NPs on the animacy hierarchy, and so cannot have another argument outranking it in terms of animacy, and appearing as the first conjunct. The structure behind (59) is shown in (59)':



As explained in chapter 12, only a nominative article may be replaced in this way; the article *te* on a fronted (preverbal or topicalised) KP may not be replaced in this way, nor may the non-nominative article on a post-verbal core argument:

- (60) \* *Ke iaku ku-wila.*  
 and 1SG 1SG-go  
 'I went too.'

- (61) *No-'ita-aku ke La Hadi.*  
 3R-see-1SG.OBJ and La Hadi  
 \* 'Even La Hadi saw me.'  
 (Good for: 'They saw me and La Hadi.')

### 18.5.1 [A], [O] and Instrument


This same person hierarchy is also reflected morphosyntactically when instrumental NPs are presented in a sentence that does not use *ako*. Compare (62) and (63) with (64) and

(65):

(62) *No-pisa te gora'u te sidu.*  
 3R-break CORE egg CORE spoon  
 'S/he broke an egg with a spoon.'

(63) *No-pisa te gora'u kene sidu.*  
 3R-break CORE egg INSTR spoon  
 'S/he broke an egg with a spoon.'

(63)'



```

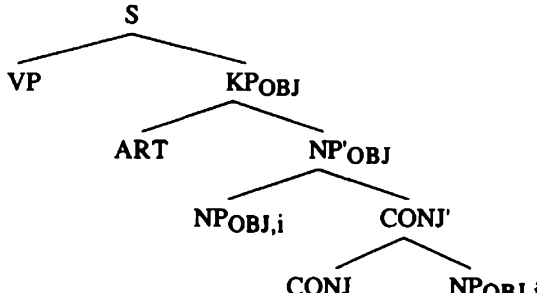
graph TD
 S --- VP
 S --- KPOBJ
 S --- PPINSTR

```

(64) *Ku-pisa te gora'u te sidu.*  
 1SG-break CORE egg CORE spoon  
 'I broke an egg with a spoon.'

(65) *Ku-pisa te gora'u kene sidu.*  
 1SG-break CORE egg and spoon  
 'I broke an egg and a spoon.'

(65)'



```

graph TD
 S --- VP
 S --- KPOBJ
 KPOBJ --- ART
 KPOBJ --- NP'OBJ
 NP'OBJ --- NPOBJ_i[NPOBJi]
 NP'OBJ --- CONJ'
 CONJ' --- CONJ
 CONJ' --- NPOBJ_j[NPOBJj]

```

In (62) and (63) we can see that the instrumental NP may use either a core (non-nominative) or comitative marking strategies with equal effect; the role of *sidu* is only interpretable as that of instrument in both cases, and the patient can only be *gora'u*. Note that the relative positions of *te gora'u* and *te sidu* are important; were they reversed, a technically grammatical but pragmatically nonsensical sentence would result. With a first or second person (the first person subject prefix in the above examples may be replaced by second person subject prefixes with no loss in grammaticality) subject the non-nominative core article will allow an identical interpretation to that found with the third person examples, but using *kene* results in only one possible interpretation, that *sidu* is coordinated with the object NP; *kene* is interpreted not as modifying the clause as a whole with an instrumental role, but as conjoining two NPs together. In short, the level to which *kene sidu* is interpreted as belonging to depends on the person of the subject; it is interpreted as modifying the whole clause if the subject is third person, and as modifying the object NP if the subject is first or second person. We may formalise this observation as follows:



$$\text{NP}_{\text{OBJ}} \textit{kene} \text{ NP} = [\text{NP}_{\text{OBJ}} [\text{CONJ} [\text{NP}_{\text{OBJ}}]] \text{CONJ}] \text{NP}'$$

*iff*      SUBJ [PERS 3]

$$\text{NP}_{\text{OBJ}} \textit{kene} \text{ NP} = [\text{NP}_{\text{OBJ}}] [\text{PREP} [\text{NP}]] \text{PP}$$

*iff*      SUBJ [PERS 1/2]

## 18.6 'Floating' conjuncts

When two arguments are presented as participating in a verbal clause together, they may be joined with *ke*. Numerous examples of this have been seen in this chapter and elsewhere; further examples are given in (66) and (67):

(66) *Maka no<sub>i</sub>-rato [na [[La Kasi]<sub>NP</sub> [ke [ana-no]<sub>NP</sub>]CONJ]NP<sub>i</sub>]KP.*  
 and.then 3R-arrive NOM La Kasi and child-3POSS  
 'And then La Kasi and his daughter arrived.'

(67) *Jari to<sub>j</sub>-po-'awa-ngkene-'e<sub>i</sub>*  
 so 1PL.R-REC-get-COM-3OBJ  
*[na [[La Ijaunga]<sub>NP</sub> [ke [kene-no]<sub>NP</sub>]CONJ]NP<sub>i</sub>]KP<sub>i</sub> i Wa 'Ega.*  
 NOM La Ijaunga and friend-3POSS OBL Wa Ega  
 'So we met La Ijaunga and his friend in Wa 'Ega.'

If one of the arguments is already established in the discourse, then it does not have to be expressed nominally, the pronominal affix on the verb carrying this load. Thus, an alternative to (66) is (68), in which we interpret the subject prefix as referring to both the NP present, and another argument:

(68) *Maka no<sub>i,j</sub>-rato [[ke [ana-no]<sub>NP<sub>j</sub></sub>]CONJ].*  
 and.then 3R-arrive and child-3POSS  
 'And then (he) and his daughter arrived.'

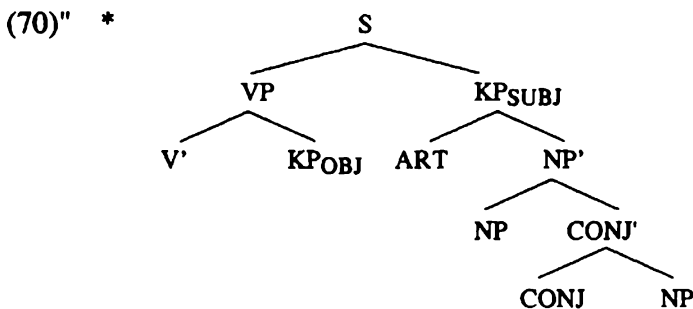
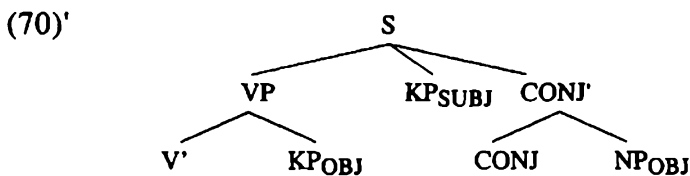
Notice that in (68) there is no article used with the NP; this is the cue that lets the hearer know that the child is not the only one to arrive. An alternative interpretation is 'And then even their child arrived.', with *kene* interpreted replacing the article on the KP *na anano*. Given a sentence such as (68), we must assume that the pronominal index carries all and sufficient information about the arguments in the clause, as argued in chapter 5, even when not expressed nominally.

A potential problem in interpretation emerges when both the subject and the object arguments of a transitive verb are present only by means of the pronominal affixes on the verb, and one conjunct is left behind without an article. In a sentence like (69), there are intuitively two different possible interpretations to the sentence, one in which the floating conjunction is associated with the [A] argument, and one in which it is associated with the [O] argument:

(69) *Maka no-po-'awa-ngkene-'e [[ke [ana-no]<sub>NP</sub>]CONJ].*  
 and.then 3R-REC-get-COM-3OBJ and child-3POSS  
 A: \* 'And then he and his child met them.'  
 B: 'And then he met them and his child.'

In fact, (69) is not ambiguous. In transitive sentences in which a floating conjunction can be interpreted as being launched by either the [A] or the [O] of the sentence, it is always interpreted as being associated with the [O], and never with the [A]; the (A) reading of (69) is therefore ungrammatical. This restriction is so strong that in some cases, for some people, a sentence with a nominal [A] that has a clause-final conjunct immediately following it is interpreted with the conjunct referring to the [O] argument, and not the contiguous [A] argument. For example, example (70), in which there is a conjunction immediately following *na iaku*, was judged as having only one possible interpretation, in which the conjunction referred to *te ia*. The constituent structures representing both the grammatical and ungrammatical interpretations of (70) are given in (70)' and (70)".

- (70) *Ku-pepe te ia na iaku kene mia hele.*  
 1SG-hit CORE 3SG NOM 1SG and person other  
 'I hit him and another person.'  
 \* 'I and another person hit him.'



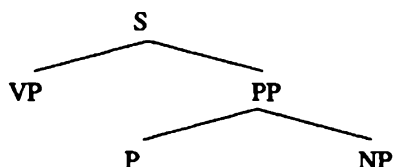
The same interpretations are found when there is a third person subject, showing that this aspect of the grammar of conjunctions is not dependent on the hierarchy ordering first and second person above third person that has been observed elsewhere:

- (71) *No-pepe te iaku na ia kene mia hele.*  
 1SG-hit CORE 1SG NOM 3SG and person other  
 'He hit me and another person.'  
 \* 'He and another person hit me.'

Sentence (71) also show that the status of the KPs as nominative or non-nominative is also irrelevant to the interpretation of a floated conjunct; that is, the structure representing (71) is as seen in (71)':

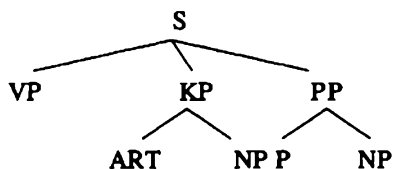


(51)'



The reason that such an analysis is not adopted here is based on two factors. The first is that *kene* does not behave as a typical preposition in some ways, most notably its ability to have the NP that it governs replaced by object suffixes (as discussed in chapter 12.12). Secondly, if we assumed a structure such as (51)' to represent (51), we would, to be consistent, have to assume that the structure behind sentences such as (47) is that given in (47)':

(47)'

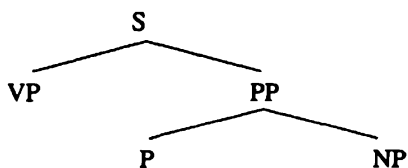


despite the clearly conjoining function that *kene* plays in (47) and sentences like it.

Furthermore, we would have trouble explaining why a prepositional phrase, a supposedly independent syntactic unit serving as an adjunct in the clause, can only refer to an antecedent in [O] syntactic role. That is, if the structure behind (69) was that shown in (69)':

- (69) *Maka no-po-'awa-ngkene-'e* [[*ke* [ana-no]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>CONJ</sub>]  
 and.then 3R-REC-get-COM-3OBJ and child-3POSS  
 'And then he met them and his child.'

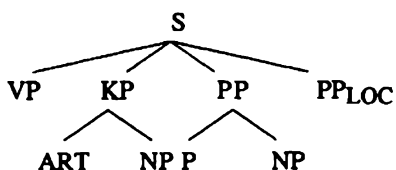
(69)'



we would have to explain why *ke anano* can only refer to an addition to the [O] argument, and not the [A] argument. If the prepositional analysis was taken, the structure behind (67), repeated here, would be that shown in (67)':

- (67) *Jari toj-po-'awa-ngkene-'e<sub>i</sub>*  
 so 1PL.R-REC-get-COM-3OBJ  
 [*na* [[*La Ijaunga*]<sub>NP</sub> [*ke* [*kene-no*]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>CONJ</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>KPI</sub> *i* *Wa 'Ega.*  
 NOM La Ijaunga and friend-3POSS OBL Wa Ega  
 'So we met La Ijaunga and his friend in Wa 'Ega.'

(67)'

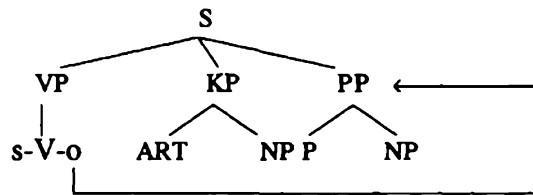


and again we would have to explain why a prepositional adjunct is restricted to referring to one of the arguments in the clause, and not the other (in practical terms, why the reading 'So we and his friend met La Ijaunga in Wa 'Ega.' is ungrammatical for (67)). With other oblique arguments, such as *i*, an adjunct phrase can refer to either (or both) of the arguments in a transitive clause:

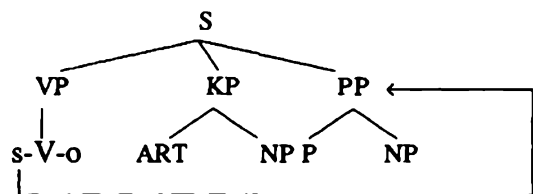
- (73) *No-'ita-'e* [[*na* [*ama-no*]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>KP</sub>] [[*i* [*koranga*]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>KP</sub>].  
 3R-see-3OBJ NOM father-3POSS OBL garden  
 'She saw her uncle in the garden.'  
 A: 'She saw her father whilst he was in the garden.'  
 B: 'She saw her father whilst she was in the garden.'  
 C: 'She saw her father who was in the garden.'

The structures associated with the different interpretations of (73) are shown in (73)' A, (73)' B and (73)' C, the arrows in the first two indicating which argument the prepositional phrase is associated with:

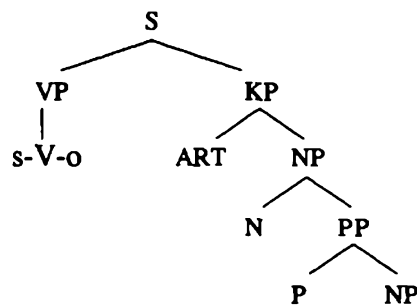
(73)' A



(73)' B



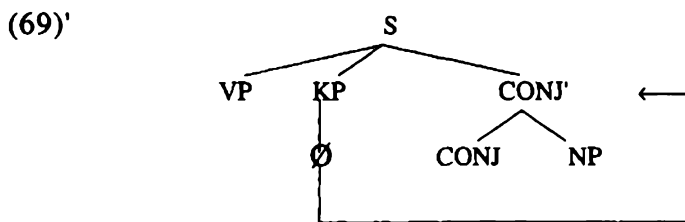
(73)' C



The alternative interpretations of (73) show that prepositional phrases are not restricted to appearing with a particular argument; nominative or not, [A] or [O] are equally likely antecedents of a prepositional phrase.

If, on the other hand, we assume that the restriction is on the ability to float away from the CONJ's normal position in the KP (floating out of normal position is also found with adverbs, described in chapter 7, and certain qualifiers, described in chapter 20, and so is not a process that would need to be invoked especially to account for these data), then the control ceases to be a problem, and we have a simple grammatical restriction (only the [S]

or [O] argument in a clause) as to the ability to launch a floated conjunct. The structure behind (69) is thus taken to be analogous to that shown in (70)' and (71)', and is shown in (69)'':



## 18.7 Reciprocal constructions

In a reciprocal construction, using the prefix *po-* (see chapter 11), there are necessarily two NPs at the level of argument structure. Often only one of these is found in the surface structure. Compare (74), showing a subject prefix on the verb that agrees with the person and number features of the NP', and (75), in which only one of the NPs is indexed on the verb, the one that is not present:

- (74) *I sala kua Waha, i rearea ai to<sub>i,j</sub>-po-'awa*  
 OBL road ALL Waha OBL morning ANA IPL.R-REC-get  
 [*na [iaku]<sub>NPi</sub> [kene [Wa Inggi]<sub>NPj</sub>]CONJ' ]NP<sub>i,j</sub>]KP.  
 NOM 1SG and Wa Inggi  
 'On the road to Waha, Wa Inggi and I met this morning.'*

- (75) *I sala kua Waha, i rearea ai ku<sub>i</sub>-po-'awa*  
 OBL road ALL Waha OBL morning ANA 1SG-REC-get  
 [[*kene*[*Wa Inggi*]<sub>NPj</sub>]CONJ'.  
 and Wa Inggi  
 'On the road to Waha, Wa Inggi and I met this morning.'

This appears to be the same phenomenon that was seen in the previous section on floating conjunctions, namely that there is KP-obviation at work removing one of the NPs and the article. The syntax in a reciprocal construction is slightly different, however, in that (76) is not grammatical (compare with (47) in section 18.4):

- (76) \**I sala kua Waha, i rearea ai ku<sub>i</sub>-po-'awa*  
 OBL road ALL Waha OBL morning ANA 1SG-REC-get  
 [*na [iaku]<sub>NPi</sub> [kene [Wa Inggi]<sub>NPj</sub>]CONJ' ]NP<sub>i,j</sub>]KP.  
 NOM 1SG and Wa Inggi  
 'On the road to Waha, Wa Inggi and I met this morning.'*

The following restriction is found in reciprocal constructions: if one NP (the first, and highest in animacy) in the coordinated KP imposes its person and number categories over those of the KP as a whole, then it may not be overtly realised in the KP. In other words, the verbal index is obligatorily interpreted as pronominal in this case. We may formalise this as follows:

$\text{PRO}_{\text{SUBJ}} [\text{REC}], \text{Verbal} = [+]$   
 $\text{if PERS, NUM}_{\text{SUBJ}}, \text{Verbal} = [\text{NP}_i]$

This does not state that the PRO value of a subject prefix is [ - ] if the person and number categories indexed there are those of  $[\text{NP}_i + \text{NP}_j]$ , but rather that the PRO value of a subject prefix must be [ + ] if it indexes the person and number values of  $[\text{NP}_i]$  alone.





# Chapter 19

## Speech acts

### 19.1 Speech acts: introduction

A discussion of sentence types must include reference to both the number of distinctions that a language makes in terms of morphosyntactic peculiarities that a particular sentence type possesses, and the different types of speech acts that may be carried out by the use of one and the same grammatical category. Most researchers into the topic (e.g. Searle 1979) make a distinction between **SITUATIONAL CATEGORIES**, which are concerned with the intent of the speech act regardless of the sentence type used, and **GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES**, which are sentence forms used to realise the different situational categories. Important to this thesis is that these different categories do not share a one-to-one relationship; whilst a statement is usually realised as a sentence with the grammatical category of declarative, for instance, this is not always the case. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975:29) state that

Of the nine possible combinations—declarative statement, declarative question, declarative command, and so on—there is only one we cannot instance: imperative statement.

They give the following example of an indirect correspondence between categories:

The interrogative, ‘What are you laughing at?’, is interpretable either as a question, or as a command to stop laughing.

The different situational and grammatical categories that they found necessary to distinguish their recorded data in English are as shown in figure 12:

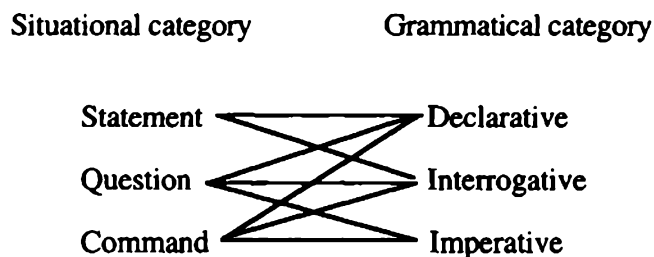


Figure 12. Situational and grammatical categories

The same facts are found in general terms in *Tukang Besi*; whilst a grammatically imperative clause is the most common way of expressing a command, it is not the only way, with both interrogative and declarative clauses used for the same function (though

often with different nuances in terms of politeness and abruptness). Note that each situational category has a grammatical category that corresponds to it, but is not restricted to using that grammatical category alone.

In addition to Sinclair and Coulthard's categories, I would like to add some other sets. Declarative sentences have been amply illustrated in the rest of this description; in this chapter I will deal with the large categories of interrogative and imperative clauses, as well as several other minor clause types. This is all preceded by a discussion on negation. The different situational and grammatical categories that are discussed here are as shown in figure 13:

|        | Situational category | Grammatical category    |
|--------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| Major: | Statement            | Declarative             |
|        | Question             | Interrogative           |
|        | Command              | Imperative              |
| Minor: | Insult               | Imprecative             |
|        | Suggestion           | Hortative               |
|        | Summons              | Vocative                |
|        | Request              | Requestive performative |
|        | Surprise             | Exclamatory             |

Figure 13. Situational and grammatical categories in *Tukang Besi*

The major grammatical categories, the ones identified by Sinclair and Coulthard, are used for a large range of situational categories, whereas the minor grammatical categories tend to have a much more restricted use, generally being used only for their corresponding situational category. A vocative sentence, for instance, is only ever used for a summons, whereas an interrogative sentence can be used for a statement, question, command, insult, suggestion, or summons. An imprecative clause is only used in swearing and insulting, and a hortative clause type only used for suggestions.

## 19.2 Negation

Negation is expressed at the beginning of the predicate; in the case of a verbal predicate, the negator *mbeaka* appears in a position inside the verb phrase, in the same position as an auxiliary (see chapter 7). With non-verbal predicates, the negator appears immediately preceding the KP or PP that is the predicate in a positive clause, whether this is fronted or not. With a negative existential clause, *mbea'e* appears in place of the existential semi-verb *ane* (see chapter 14). Examples of these can be seen in the following:

- (1) [[*Mbeaka*]<sub>NEG</sub> *na-w[um]ila*]<sub>VP</sub> *ilange*.  
 not 3R-go.SI tomorrow  
 'They don't want to go tomorrow.'
- (2) [*Te La Udi*]<sub>KP</sub> [[*mbeaka*]<sub>NEG</sub> [*te ako w[um]ila*]<sub>KP</sub> ]<sub>PRED</sub>.  
 CORE La Udi not CORE PURP go.SI  
 'La Udi isn't the one who's going to go.'

- (3) [[*Mbeaka*]<sub>NEG</sub> [*te La Udi*]<sub>KP</sub> ]<sub>PRED</sub> [*na ako w{um}jila*]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 not CORE La Udi NOM PURP go.SI  
 'It's not La Udi who's going to go.'
- (4) [*Te ndanga*]<sub>KP</sub> [[*mbeaka*]<sub>NEG</sub> [*di wombo*]<sub>PP</sub> ]<sub>PRED</sub>.  
 CORE jackfruit not OBL upstairs  
 'The jackfruit isn't upstairs.'
- (5) [[*Mbeaka*]<sub>NEG</sub> [*di wombo*]<sub>PP</sub> ]<sub>PRED</sub> [*na ndanga*]<sub>KP</sub>.  
 not OBL upstairs NOM jackfruit  
 'It isn't upstairs that the jackfruit is.'
- (6) *Meana'e te wudo 'oloo,*  
 now CORE season sun  
 [[*Mbea'e-mo*]<sub>NEG</sub> [*na po'o*]<sub>KP</sub> ]<sub>PRED</sub> [*i pulo-pulo ana*]<sub>PP</sub>.  
 not.exist-PF NOM mango OBL RED-island this  
 'It's the dry season now, there aren't any mangoes any more on these islands.'

### 19.3 Interrogative clauses, questions and answers

Questions may be formed with interrogative or declarative grammatical structures, the use of a declarative form being on the whole more polite than an interrogative one. Interrogative structures may further be divided into yes-no questions, which question the polarity of a presented sentence or situation, and content questions, which seek further information about some aspect of the sentence or situation. These different types of questions are dealt with separately in 19.3.2 and 19.3.3

#### 19.3.1 Declarative questions

A declarative pattern is used to make a question either very polite, or to express hesitancy on the speakers part about her/his knowledge. A declarative question is usually distinguished from a declarative statement by a drawn out intonation pattern. An example of this is:

- (7) *Ara te iaku, no-wila-mo i Mandati i rearea ai...*  
 if TOP 1SG 3R-go-PF OBL Mandati OBL morning ANA  
 'If you ask me, they went to Mandati this morning.'  
 (Implied question: 'Did they?')
- (8) *Te koranga ana te an(u) u La Hadi atu ai.*  
 CORE garden this CORE property GEN La Hadi that ANA  
 'This garden is your friend La Hadi's.'  
 (Implied question: 'Isn't it?')

This type of question is very commonly found with *mbea'e* 'not exist' used as a tag question particle following after the pause, as in the example below:

- (9) *Te ana na [m]ombaka..... mbea'e?*  
 CORE this NOM delicious.SI not  
 'These ones are the yummiest.....aren't they?'

Declarative questions are answered in the same way as yes-no questions, described in the following section.

### 19.3.2 Yes-no interrogatives

Polar questions, not involving the use of question words (see 4.6.2, and the following section in this chapter), involve no special restrictions or grammatical forms; there is no clause order found in a yes-no question that is not found in a normal declarative clause. It is very uncommon to hear a question without an illocutionary force particle at the end in all but the most formal speech, but this is not a grammatical requirement, more the need to grab attention. The intonation pattern of a polar question is more constantly rising than a content question, which relies more on a high intonational peak on the questioned word. A positive reply to a polar question may be answered with a repeat of the predicate; this is the most explicit, and most formal, way of responding. Other alternatives are to simply agree with the questioner verbally (the responses are *oho* or *oo*, with strong falling intonation), or through body language (raising the eyebrows and tilting the head backwards), or a combination of any of these. For instance, in response to the question in (10):

- (10) *Te iko'o 'uka nu-wil(a) i karia'a la?*  
 CORE 2SG also 2SG.R-go OBL festival ILL.FORCE  
 'Are you going to the festival as well?'

appropriate answers include (using the convention  $\frown$  to represent raised eyebrows), from most to least formal:

- (10)' a. *Oho, ku-wila.* ( $\frown$ ) b. *Ku-wila.* c. *Ku-wila.* ( $\frown$ )  
 yes 1SG-go I'm going. 1SG-go 1SG-go  
 d. *Oo.* ( $\frown$ ) e. *Wila.* f. ( $\frown$ )  
 yeah go

Negative responses are likely to become positive ones due to the constraints of politeness and the desire to give an answer that will please the questioner. If a negative reply is actually given, the same pattern of predicate repetition is found, but with the negator *mbeaka* added. A simple *mbea'e* 'no' may be used as a complete answer, or less formally [ $\eta$ :::] and stare. Again, these may be combined (though stare (here represented by 'o o') is not very polite, and incompatible with formality). Some negative responses to (10) are seen in (10)", again ranged in a rough order from most to least formal:

- (10)" a. *Mbeaka, mbeaka ku-wila.* b. *Mbeaka, ku-wila.* c. *Mbeaka.*  
 no not 1SG-go not 1SG-go no  
 'I'm not going.'

d. *Mbeaka.* (o o)  
uh-uh

e. [ŋ:.....] (o o)  
hmm

f. (o o)

With a non-verbal clause, an entire non-verbal clause is likely to be used in the response (if formal), with the predicate fronted. For instance, in response to (11):

- (11) *Te tolima-'u Uruwii iso ai te guru 'uka*  
CORE cousin-2SG.POSS Urfin yon ANA CORE teacher also  
*da?*  
ILL.FORCE  
'Is your cousin Urfin a teacher as well?'

the following responses (by no means exhaustive) are possible:

- (11)' a. *Oho, te guru na ia.* b. *Oho, te guru.*  
yes CORE teacher NOM 3SG yes CORE teacher  
'Yes, he's a teacher.'
- c. *Oho.* ( ̄ ̄ ) d. *Mbea'e, mbeaka te guru na ia.*  
yes no not CORE teacher NOM s/he  
'No, he's not a teacher.'
- e. *Mbea'e.* (o o) f. [ŋ:.....] (o o)  
no

### 19.3.3 Content questions

Content questions involve the use of a question word to query a piece of information. If the questioned word would otherwise be nominative, a cleft construction with a relative clause must be used (this was illustrated in chapter 5). If the questioned argument is not nominative, there is no change in the clausal order, whether the argument questioned was core or oblique:

- (12) *Te iko'o ehi(a) i-rato-mi-kita?*  
TOP 2SG when.PAST 2SG.R-arrive-DIR-1PL.OBJ  
'Hey, when did you come to us?'
- (13) *'U-manga te paira wa?*  
2SG.R-eat CORE what ILL.FORCE  
'What are you eating, girl?'
- (14) *Te amai ana no-mai mina di 'umpa ka?*  
CORE 3PL this 3R-come from OBL Q ILL.FORCE  
'Where did these guys come from?'

If the questioned constituent is nominative, then a cleft construction must be used; compare (13) with two versions that question the subject:

- (13) b. *Te emai na [m]anga te kaujawa wa?*  
 CORE who NOM eat.SI CORE cassava ILL.FORCE  
 'Who is eating the cassava , girl?'
- c. *No-manga-'e na kaujawa te emai?*  
 3R-eat-3OBJ NOM cassava CORE who  
 'Who is eating the cassava ?'

The usual response to a content question is to repeat the NP, KP or PP that was questioned. Sample responses to (12) - (14) are given as (12)' - (14)':

- (12)' *Gana-'oloo-mo.*  
 4-day-PF  
 'Four days ago.'
- (13)' *Te pandola, Wa Ama.*  
 CORE eggplant Wa father  
 'Eggplant, father.'
- (14)' *Mina di Lia.*  
 from OBL Lia  
 'From Lia.'

Content questions with declarative sentence forms may be made, but this is rare. This usually takes the form of an assertion of something happening, though a declarative question without a tag of some sort is rare:

- (15) *Ku-'ita-ko i aba 'u-manga te pandola wa-i.*  
 1SG-see-2SG.OBJ OBL earlier 2SG.R-eat CORE eggplant ILL.FORCE-TAG  
 'I saw you eating some eggplant earlier on...'
- (16) *Ku-rodongo kua te iai-no*  
 1SG-hear : CORE younger.sibling-3POSS  
*te sisua di Haluoleo, to?*  
 CORE university.student OBL Haluoleo TAG  
 'I heard that his younger sister is a university student at Haluoleo university.'

#### 19.4 Imperative verb forms and commands

The imperative form of a word is the normal verbal root without subject prefixes. The addressee is necessarily second person, and if plural the subject prefixes may be used (either for a plural addressee, or if the speaker wishes to show more respect to the addressee), though they are normally omitted for second person singular addressees. The following sentences illustrate the use of the imperative:

- (17) *Wila-tinti!*  
 go-run  
 'Go away!'

- (18) *Kabi-'e na kaluku atu wa!*  
 throw.away-3OBJ NOM coconut that ILL.FORCE  
 'Throw that coconut away!'
- (19) *I-sumbere-waliako!*  
 2PL.R-immediate-return  
 'Go back home this instant, you lot!'

The sentence final particles are often used in imperatives, especially amongst friends; use of an imperative without these particles is not ungrammatical, nor even explicitly rude, but is felt to be somewhat abrupt, perhaps overly domineering. Softening the imperative can also be accomplished by adding the perfective *-mo* to the verb; this is more common with verbs that do not already have object suffixes. Accompanying the use of *-mo* to make a command more polite is an exaggerated intonation pattern, with a greater drop in pitch after the accent than is normal:

- (20) *kede-mo.* [kɛ'dɛmɔ] [ \_ — \_ ]  
 sit-PF  
 'Sit down.'

The same sentence, segmentally, can be used with a different intonation pattern to signify an irritated or impatient command:

- (21) *Kede-mo!* [kɛ'dɛ:mɔ:] [ - ˉ \_ ]  
 sit-PF  
 'Sit down!'

A similar irritated tone is indicated by the use of *garaa* 'SURPRISE following the verb:

- (22) *Kede garaa.*  
 sit SURPRISE  
 'Sit down!'

Excessive frustration and impatience involve the use of the second person demonstrative *atu* to refer to the addressee pronominally, and making the sentence a negative question:

- (23) *Eak(a) o-k[um]jede na atu!*  
 not 3R-sit.S1 NOM that  
 'Aren't you going to sit down!?!'

More polite requests can be made by the use of a statement with *labi* 'better':

- (24) *Labi nu-kede meana'e la...*  
 better 2SG.R-sit now ILL.FORCE  
 'You should sit down now.'

#### 19.4.1 Prohibitives

There are two forms that function as the prohibitive in *Tukang Besi*, *bara* and *ka'ulu*

'don't'. These are placed immediately before the verb in a verbal clause, or before the predicative KP or PP in a non-verbal clause, and prohibit the whole of the following sentence. The first of these is by far the most common, and is much more polite and less conclusive than *ka'ulu*, which has a sense of meaning 'don't (ever)' (and has only been observed on verbal clauses). The realis set of subject prefixes are obligatorily used with the prohibitive construction, unlike the imperative, and the last vowel of *bara* is often lost to the first vowel of the verb, even if a glottal consonant intervenes:

- (25) *Bar(a) ('u-kede i atu!*  
 don't 2SG.R-sit OBL there  
 'Don't sit there!'
- (26) *Bara te ia na ako [m]jopo-talo wa!*  
 don't CORE 3SG NOM PURP SOC.SI-beat ILL.FORCE  
 'Don't let her win!'  
 (Lit., 'Don't let it be her that is the one that will win!')
- (27) *Bara di atu ga!*  
 don't OBL there ILL.FORCE  
 'Not there, fool!'
- (28) *Ka'ul(u) 'u-wila-mo pe'esa-'u i iso!*  
 don't 2SG.R-go-PF own-2SG.POSS OBL you  
 'Don't you ever go over there alone again!'

The prohibitive can also be used in expressions in which an undesired result is discussed, forming the negative equivalent of *ka'ano* 'in order'.

#### 19.4.2 Use of pronouns

Free-form personal pronouns can be used to soften an imperative, whether or not the verb is used with subject prefixes or not. It is common to see the demonstratives used as replacements for pronouns in this position.

- (29) *E, iko'o na atu, mai-mo la!*  
 Hey 2SG NOM that come-PF ILL.FORCE  
 'Hey, you there, come here!'
- (30) *Mai-mo na atu la!*  
 come-PF NOM that ILL.FORCE  
 'Come here, you!'

#### 19.4.3 Modifying the imperative

Firm commands can be made from normal imperatives by not using the perfective *-mo*, as described already, or any sentence final particles, but by beginning the sentence with *ma'inde* 'COMMAND':



- (31) *Ma'inde hu'u-naku te doe-'u!*  
 COMMAND give-1SG.DAT.OBJ CORE money-2SG.POSS  
 'Give me your money now!'

### 19.5 Imprecatives and insulting

Imprecatives form a special sub-type of clauses in that they consist of bare possessed NPs; unlike almost all other sentence types in *Tukang Besi*, which require all non-time expressions to occur in either PPs or KPs; even when eliciting vocabulary, completely out of any sentential context, a core article (usually *te*) is given with the word. Chapter 3 deals with the normal constituency of clauses. The nominals in an imprecative utterance are simply NPs in the sentence alone, a structure that is ungrammatical in any other sentence type (see Quang (1971) for similar observations on English.). An example of this is:

- (32) *Pe'i-(')u la'*  
 stupidity-2SG.POSS ILL.FORCE  
 'Geeze you're stupid!'

Other typical examples of the use of this sentence type include:

- (33) *Ta'i-(')u!*  
 faeces-2SG.POSS  
 'Shit on you!'
- (34) *Lau-'u!*  
 penis-2SG.POSS  
 'Fuck you!'  
 (male addressee only)
- (35) *Buta-'u!*  
 vagina-2SG.POSS  
 'Fuck you!'  
 (female addressee only)

An interesting variant of the first of these is *kempeta'i*, in which *ta'i* is the same as in (33), and the apparent 'prefix' *kempe-* carries no overt meaning. The derivation of the word goes back to World War II, when the Japanese secret police, the *kempetai* (Japanese), were known and feared on the islands. *Kempeta'i* is thus a formation based on the name of the loathed organisation, combined with a native imprecative. It has a much stronger effect than *ta'iu* alone, and is used without possessive suffixes (since the *kempetai* belonged to noone on the islands).

Although there is a special imprecative sentence type, it is quite possible to insult someone with declarative, interrogative or exclamatory sentence types as well. Some examples include:

Declarative:

- (36) *Ku-kalu-kompo-ko!*  
 1SG-string-stomach-2SG.OBJ  
 'I'll have your guts for garters!  
 (Lit., 'I'll disembowel you!')

Interrogative:

- (37) *Te rou-'u salalu awan(a) atu ala'a la?*  
 CORE face-2SG.POSS always manner that just ILL.FORCE  
 'Has your face always been like that?'

Exclamatory:

- (38) *Ke molau-'u!*  
 and stink-2SG.POSS  
 'You stink to high heaven!'

## 19.6 Suggestions and hortatives

There are two forms that determine a sentence as being hortative, and they may combine together. The first is the use of *mai* 'come' at the beginning of the sentences, and the second is the use of *ako* 'purpose', either as a sentence-initial particle, or as a suffix to the verb. In both cases the verb is subject prefixed with the realis form of a first person non-singular pronoun, usually the plural.

- (39) *Mai to-rambi-ako!*  
 come 1PL.R-play.music-APPL  
 'Let's go and join in the orchestra.'
- (40) *Ako to-wila i lapanga.*  
 PURP 1PL.R-go OBL sport.field  
 'Let's go the sports field.'
- (41) *Mai to-wila-ako i wombo ka'ano mbeak(a)*  
 come 1PL.R-go-APPL OBL upstairs in.order not  
*o-ganggu-kita te mia.*  
 3R-annoy-1PL.OBJ CORE person  
 'Let's go upstairs so that we don't get bothered.'
- (42) *To-manga-ako.*  
 1PL.R-eat-APPL  
 'Let's eat.'

Suggestions may also be phrased with interrogatives, declaratives and exclamations, such as seen in (43) - (45):

- (43) *Ea-do to-manga ka?*  
 not-EMPH 1PL.R-eat ILL.FORCE  
 'Aren't we eating yet?'  
 (Implication: 'Let's eat.')

- (44) *Ar(a) e iaku ana, labi ta-manga-mo meana'e ala'a.*  
 if TOP 1SG this better 1PL.I-eat-PF now just  
 'If you ask me, we should just start eating now anyway.'  
 (Implication: 'Let's eat.')
- (45) *Ke mo'aro-nto ka-i.*  
 and hungry-1PL.POSS ILL.FORCE-TAG  
 'We're really hungry, huh?'  
 (Implication: 'Let's eat.')

### 19.7 Summonses and vocatives

A common attention getting and summoning strategy is to replace the last vowel of the name or title of the person called with an accented *-ó*. The word-accent always attaches to this final syllable, and is then placed at each alternating syllable before it. In the case of a drawn-out series of calls, every second repetition of the name is without this vocative suffix, but with the aberrant accent placement.

- (46) *Dauná! Daun-ó! Dauná! Daun-ó!*  
 Dauna Dauna-VOC Dauna Dauna-VOC  
 'Dauna! Oh, Dauna! Dauna! Oh, Dauna!'

A summons may also be made using an imperative, interrogative or declarative form:

- (47) *Mai-mo la!*  
 come-PF ILL.FORCE  
 'Come here lad!'
- (48) *Mbeaka ko-mai la?*  
 not 2SG.I-come ILL.FORCE  
 'Aren't you coming?'
- (49) *Ku-'elo-ko garaa!*  
 1SG-call-2SG.OBJ SURPRISE  
 'I'm calling you, you know.'

### 19.8 Requests and performatives

Requests can be easily formed in *Tukang Besi* by starting the sentence with *membali* or *o-jari* 'become'. The use of sentence final particles is less common in this speech act than in others.

- (50) *Membali ku-ada te sipeda-'u?*  
 become 1SG-borrow CORE bicycle-2SG.POSS  
 'May I borrow your bicycle?'
- (51) *O-jari to-manga-dodua-ngkita?*  
 3R-become 1PL.R-eat-be.two-1PL.OBJ  
 'Will you have dinner with me?'

An alternative, and very common, way of forming a request is to phrase the request as a performative, the speech-act explicitly part of the request:

- (52) *Ku-melu te uwe mena.*  
 1SG-request CORE water hot  
 'May I have some hot water?'  
 (Lit., 'I request some hot water.')
- (53) *No-melu-do te soami lagi.*  
 3R-request-EMPH CORE cassava.bread now  
 'He would like some cassava bread first.'  
 (Lit., 'He asks for some cassava bread now.')

The requestive prefix *hepe-* can similarly be used to make a performative request out of many verbal bases:

- (54) *Hepe-'ita-aku te lonsi-'u.*  
 REQ-see-1SG.OBJ CORE watch-2SG.POSS  
 'Can I see your watch?'  
 'Could you show me your watch?'
- (55) *Hepe-ala-ako-naku te karatasi.*  
 REQ-fetch-APPL-1SG.DAT.OBJ CORE cards  
 'Could you bring the cards along?'

### 19.8.1 Permission-giving

Exclamations concerning an attribute or distinguishing feature of something can be expressed by topicalising the referent about which the exclamation is made, and placing the attribute in a comitative prepositional phrase.

- (56) *Mbula no-manga.*  
 let 3R-eat  
 'Let them keep on eating.'
- (57) *Mbula na-manga.*  
 let 3I-eat  
 'Let them (start to) eat.'
- (58) *Membali nu-wila.*  
 become 2SG.R-go  
 'You may go.'

### 19.9 Exclamatory sentences and surprise

Exclamations concerning an attribute or distinguishing feature of something can be expressed by topicalising the referent about which the exclamation is made, and placing the attribute in a reduced conjunct phrase (as described in chapter 18). These constructions are discussed in chapter 20 as well, concerning their lack of pivot properties.

- (59) *Ke apata-mo nu pe'i-no! Bukamai.*  
 and extremity-PF GEN stupidity-3POSS unbelievable  
 'He is so dumb! No joke.'
- (60) [*I wudo monini-'a i Walanda*]<sub>TOP</sub> *ke nini-no atuuu!*  
 OBL season cold-NL OBL Holland and cold-3POSS that  
 'In winter in Holland it's very cold!'
- (61) [*I wudo monini-'a di Walanda*]<sub>TOP</sub> *ke saori-nini-no!*  
 OBL season cold-NL OBL Holland and very-cold-3POSS  
 'In winter in Holland it's very cold!'

Exclamatory sentence types are typically used to present unusual or surprising information; they seem to be the only way of representing genuine surprise verbally.

### 19.10 Sentence-final particles

Illocutionary Force particles are used in all situational categories; the difference between categories is signalled by the intonation, not by the choice of particle itself. The different illocutionary force particles do not signal a particular situational category, but rather the relationship, between the two participants in the speech act.

- (62) *No-manga te bae ka (?)*  
 3R-eat CORE rice ILL.FORCE  
 'He eats rice.'  
 'Does he eat rice?'

The more common illocutionary force particles are listed below. The correct use of the different particles is determined by reference to the relationship that the speaker and the addressee share (casual, joking or formal and distant), and are also dependent on the sex of the addressee, and relative age of the speaker and the addressee. Often more than one particle is appropriate to any two persons speaking to each other; in these situations, the use of the particle may be taken to show the speaker's degree of empathy with her or his audience. For example, between two sisters, (63) is much colder and more pompous than is (64):

- (63) *Te iko'o na ako t[um]ulungi-aku wa?*  
 CORE 2SG NOM PURP help.SI-1SG.OBJ ILL.FORCE  
 'Are you going to help me?'
- (64) *Te iko'o na ako t[um]ulungi-aku da?*  
 CORE 2SG NOM PURP help.SI-1SG.OBJ ILL.FORCE  
 'Are you going to help me?'

Whilst both are appropriate to the situation, the use of the less casual *wa* in (63) can be construed as excluding the listener from the relationship that would be signalled by the use of *da*. Further work remains to be done on the use of the illocutionary force particles.

The particles so far identified are:

- a casual, joking address
  - da expressing camaraderie; 'as you know', between (rough) equals
  - ga (close) family relation
  - ka child or very familiar addressee
  - la male addressee
  - na familiarity and certainty of message
  - wa female addressee
- (all glossed as ILL.FORCE)
- i 'isn't it?' (used in combination with the other IF particles)
- (glossed as TAG or FAMILIAR)

Of these, *la* and *wa* are by far the most common in use, and *ga* the least common. Individuals show variation as to the degree of flexibility they use in the application of *da* or *ka*; a seventy year old shaman, for instance, has no qualms with using *ka* to the author, and even *da* as the situation demands (expressing solidarity), but would not use *ga*. Some children will use *ga* to distant relatives in order to try and force them to do something normally only required of an immediate parent or cousin, but would not use *ka* to the same person (even if the same age).

The common male and female particles *la* and *wa* serve an interesting function when addressing a mixed group: a speaker can single out only the male, or only the female members of the group as the addressee of a command through the addition of the appropriate particle:

- (63) *Mai t[um]julungi-aku wa!*  
 come help.SI-1SG.OBJ ILL.FORCE  
 'Come on (you girls) and give me a hand!'  
 (boys: keep on playing)

- (63) *Mai, hena'u soro te kolikoli-no na ikomiu*  
 come descend push CORE canoe-3POSS NOM 2PL  
*saba'ane la!*  
 all ILL.FORCE  
 'Hey, go on all of you (boys) and push my canoes (further up the beach)!'  
 (so the tide won't carry them away)  
 (girls: keep on playing)

This use is not often found with the other, less rigidly defined illocutionary force particles (such as *ka*) since the commands are then more ambiguous. In those cases, the current activity (in a headless relative clause) or (nick)name of the desired performer is used.

# Chapter 20

## Pivots and grammatical relations

### 20.1 Introduction: kinds of pivots

This chapter brings together the information on syntactic and morphological pivots from various parts of the preceding description, and adds additional information on phenomena not yet covered. This is done with the purpose of exemplifying the problems associated with the notion of 'pivot' and 'subject' in *Tukang Besi*.

I shall use 'pivot' in the same sense that it is used in Dixon (1979) to refer to the argument or particular grouping of arguments to which a particular syntactic or morphological operation is sensitive. These arguments in turn have usually been defined in terms of the syntactic roles that they bear (Dixon (1994: 6) calls these "semantic-syntactic primitives"). The syntactic roles relevant to the easy discussion of these processes are [S], [A] and [O]; these have been explained and defined in chapter 3. A similar use of the term 'pivot' is found in Van Valin (1981), and Foley and Van Valin (1984).

Given the [A], [S] and [O] syntactic roles, we may observe that different languages use different groupings of these roles in the formation of pivots for grammatical processes. Furthermore, there are two sorts of pivots. Firstly, there are **GRAMMATICAL PIVOTS**, those whose identity is particular to the language or grammatical process in question, such as the common [S,A] pivot in English, or the [S,O] pivot of *Yup'ik*, exemplified above.

On the other hand we also find **SEMANTIC PIVOTS**, those that are determined by the inherent semantics of the syntactic process to which they apply, such as the addressee of imperatives being restricted to Agents, regardless of the language's pivot choice in other syntactic processes. (Dixon (1994 and elsewhere) claims that the restriction is to arguments in [S] or [A] function, and this is certainly true for many languages, but this is not the case in *Tukang Besi*, in which it is ungrammatical to request someone to be the subject of a passive verb, or to hear something by chance, or (pragmatically possible with a shaman) to request the sun to dry something, or the rain to fall (these meteorological requests are phrased with the natural force as the causer of a causative verb, and thus an agent). In many cases the morphological and syntactic groupings that a language distinguishes are identical, such as the consistent use in English of an [S,A] grouping in its choice of both morphological pivots (the use of nominative or oblique case on pronouns) and syntactic pivots (such as conjunction reduction exemplified in (1)).

Furthermore, morphological classification and syntactic pivots don't have to agree; Chung noted, in her study of grammatical relations in Polynesian languages, that

The NP categories picked out by the case marking rule(s) of a language may differ from the categories to which other syntactic rules refer. (1978:99)

leading to the extra problems of classifying the morphological categories and the syntactic

categories of a language.

So far we have discussed pivots that can be defined in terms of syntactic roles - [A], [S] (with its subsets) and [O] (as defined in chapter 3, and see also Dixon 1994). There are also languages with definite, morphologically distinct, pivots that do not operate in these terms. Good examples of the latter are those languages of the Philippine-type that do not (despite more than their share of attempts to force them into either an ergative or an accusative mould. For some examples of these analyses see, amongst many others, Blake (1991), De Guzman (1988), Gerdts (1988), Guilfoyle et al (1992), Byma (1986). For a counter to these views, see Foley and Van Valin (1984), Kroeger (1993), Maclachlan (1995b)) have a fixed choice of pivot, but need to specify in each clause which argument is the pivot (for most grammatical constructions, including, for Tagalog, Quantifier Float, Relativisation, Number Agreement, Raising, Possessor Ascension, and Conjunction Reduction. See Schachter (1976, 1977) or Kroeger (1993) for exemplification of these properties) - the nominative argument, using the terminology introduced in chapter 3. (I shall not enter a discussion of the very interesting languages with inverse systems of verbal indexing, such as various Algonquian languages (see e.g. Wolfart 1973, or more recently Dahlstrom 1991) and others (Dunn 1995 MS, Donohue 1996d), which also appear to display mismatches between morphological and syntactic categories, and which also display wide-reaching morphological reflections of pragmatic status). It is possible for a clause to select either [A] or [O] to be the pivot of a transitive construction, but each choice involves morphological choices as well. The choice of which argument is nominative is presumably determined by pragmatics (although how remains unclear. See Kroeger 1993 (Chapter 3) for a counter view with respect to Tagalog), and indicated by morphology on both the verb and the nominal. Different Philippine-type-languages may have anything upwards of two (e.g., Sama/Bajau) basic morphologically distinct pivot choices. As Givón (1984: 167) puts it,

...case-marking systems of various kinds may be viewed as different solutions to the same functional dilemma...With respect to subjectivization, the Philippine solution is in a way rather elegant. Nouns that are *not* in the pragmatic case-role of subject/topic are marked for their *semantic* roles, by prefixes. The subject/topic noun is marked by prefix for its *pragmatic* role. And the verb is marked (by various prefixes/infixes/suffixes) for the *semantic* role of the subject/topic.

In the rest of this chapter different constructions that are restricted to a subset of the total possible set of arguments in a clause in *Tukang Besi* will be examined to see which syntactic and morphological processes are relevant to which types of pivot, and which groupings of roles within those broader categories.

## 20.2 Pivots in *Tukang Besi*

The concept of the morphological and syntactic pivot in *Tukang Besi* requires reference to the pragmatic, syntactic and semantic role information about the argument in question. In some grammatical processes in *Tukang Besi* the choice and definition of the pivots is syntactically-dominated (that is, definable in terms of the [A], [S] and [O] syntactic roles). Other processes, on the other hand, are defined pragmatically (that is, for which the labels [A], [S] and [O] do not help to define the pivots that the language selects), and this



pragmatic choice is morphologically marked. Additionally, there are several constructions, both morphological and syntactic, that display restrictions based directly on the semantic roles that are borne by the arguments, regardless of the syntactic or pragmatic roles that these arguments bear.

### 20.3 [S,A] and [O] pivots

There are several morphological and syntactic processes in *Tukang Besi* that refer to the familiar grouping of [S] and [A] on the one hand, and [O] on the other. In all the cases listed in this section, either [A] and [S] behave in the same way, morphologically or syntactically, or else the process is available to an [O], but not to either [A] or [S]. The processes are discussed individually.

#### 20.3.1 Pronominal indexing on the verb

The verb in *Tukang Besi* is obligatorily prefixed, and optionally (though usually) suffixed, to indicate the person and number of the core arguments in the clause (chapters 3 and 5). Regardless of the semantic role that it bears, the argument in [S,A] syntactic role is always prefixed on the verb:

Intransitive [Agent]:

- (1) *Ku-pajulu kua Waginopo.*  
 1SG-continue ALL Waginopo  
 'I went on to Waginopo.'

(from *pa-* 'causative' and *julu* (< Malay *dulu / dolo*, 'first, earlier'))

Transitive [Agent]:

- (2) *Ku-manga te sede koruo.*  
 1SG-eat CORE taro many  
 'I ate a lot of taro.'

Intransitive [Dative]:

- (3) *Ku-mo'aro (te sede).*  
 1SG-hungry CORE taro  
 'I am hungry (because of the lack of taro).'

Transitive [Dative]:

- (4) *Ku-'awa te sede koruo.*  
 1SG-get CORE taro many  
 'I got a lot of taro.'

Transitive [Instrument]:

- (5) *No-mepa-'e na sede te wande.*  
 3R-soaking-3OBJ NOM taro CORE rain  
 'The rain soaked the taro.'

Intransitive [Theme/Patient]:

- (6) *Ku-pa-muru.*  
1SG-OCC-bald  
'I am angry.'

(as discussed in chapter 7, with a body-part affected experiencer, the subject may alternatively be indexed by means of the possessive suffixes)

The suffixes may not be used to index this [S,A] argument, regardless of its semantic role:

- |                                               |                                         |                                                |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| (1)' * <i>Pajulu-aku.</i><br>continue-1SG.OBJ | (2)' * <i>Manga-aku.</i><br>see-1SG.OBJ | (3)' * <i>Mo'aro-aku.</i><br>hungry-1SG.OBJ    |
| (4)' * <i>'Awa-aku.</i><br>get-1SG.OBJ        | (5)' * <i>Mepa-'e.</i><br>soaking-3OBJ  | (6)' * <i>Pa-muru-aku.</i><br>OCC-bald-1SG.OBJ |

Similarly, the suffixes are used to index the [O] of a transitive sentence, regardless of its semantic role:

[Agent]:

- (7) *No-laha-ngkene-aku te lei i kente.*  
3R-search-COM-1SG.OBJ CORE sea.urchin OBL shallow.tidal.reach  
'They went searching for sea urchins with me on the tidal flats.'

[Dative]:

- (8) *No-hoti-aku te sede.*  
3R-donate-1SG.OBJ CORE taro  
'They donated (some taro) to me.'

[Instrument]:

- (9) *No-pake-'e te kalambe.*  
3R-use-3OBJ CORE young.girl  
'The young girls used them.'

[Theme/Patient]:

- (10) *No-sepa-aku te amai.*  
3R-kick-1SG.OBJ CORE 3PL  
'They kicked me.'

With a ditransitive verb (*hu'u* 'give', *kahu* 'send', *sumbanga* 'donate'), or with a verb with two objects by virtue of having causative or applicative morphology added, it is the [Dative], not the [Theme], role that is indexed by the object suffixes. It is not possible for both of the non-subject roles to be indexed (nor is this possible with a verb with two objects by virtue of having causative or applicative morphology added):

- (11) *No-hu'u-kita te ia.*  
3R-give-1PL.OBJ CORE it  
'They gave it to us.'

(12) \* *No-hu'u-ke te ikita.*  
 3R-give-3OBJ CORE 1PL  
 'They gave it to us.'

(13) \* *No-hu'u-kita-'e.*  
 3R-give-1PL.OBJ-3OBJ  
 'They gave it to us.'

One complication in this otherwise neat paradigm is that some instruments can also be indexed on the verb by these object suffixes (and, if so, exclude the patient/theme, otherwise obligatorily present, from being indexed), but only if the patient/theme is third person; the object suffixes may index thus either the instrument, in restricted circumstances, or the primary object (at all times). See chapter 4 for examples, and also section 20.11.1.

### 20.3.2 Object incorporation

Incorporated object nominals occur immediately following the verb root. Typically (but not always) these incorporated nominals refer to the generic object of a habitual or customary action. The object may be in any semantic role, but must be an [O]; [S] or [A] nominals may not be incorporated, regardless of their semantic roles (Chukchi is a language that allows the incorporation of unaccusative [S] roles; this is not allowed in *Tukang Besi*):

Incorporated [O]:

(14) *No-pake-palu.*  
 3R-use-hammer  
 'S/he uses hammers.'

(15) *No-sai-kuikui.*  
 3R-make-cakes  
 'S/he makes cakes.'

[S] not incorporated:

(16) a. \* *No-tinti-kumbou.*  
 3R-run-goanna  
 'Goannas run.'

b. \* *No-ja'o-kumbou.*  
 3R-bad-goanna  
 'Goannas are bad.'

Object incorporation is discussed in more detail in chapter 7.8.

### 20.3.3 Unspecified object deletion

A generic object of an action may be omitted from the sentence in a process known as unspecified object deletion (UOD) (also referred to as *theme suppression*; I shall not use this label, as the object in question is not always a [Theme]). Either [Dative], [Instrumental], [Theme] or [Patient] roles may be deleted in this manner; similar deletion

(that is, no reference by either nominal or verbal affixal means) is not possible with [S] or [A] arguments. Sentences displaying UOD are fully formed and complete sentences, and are not just restricted to certain discourse environments.

- (17) *No-hoti*  $\emptyset$   
 3R-donate.charitably  
 'S/he gives (food and clothing)(to poor people).'
- (18) *No-manga*  $\emptyset$   
 3R-eat  
 'S/he eats (cassava).'
- (19) \* *Nangu (di olo)*.  
 swim OBL deep.sheltered.water  
 '[ ] swims (in the sea).'
- (20) \* *Manga te soami*.  
 eat CORE cooked.grated.cassava  
 '[ ] eats soami.'

#### 20.3.4 Input to passives

There are three different passive(-like) prefixes used on verbs in main clauses in *Tukang Besi* (described in detail in chapter 11). The most neutral (and productive) of these is *to-*, which is used here to exemplify the properties of passive verb forms. Only transitive verbs may appear with passive morphology, and the addition of passive morphology serves to make the argument [O] into an [S]-like argument (though not identical; Almost. The resulting [S] argument is not nominative, syntactically, despite its case marking. This is unlike an underived [S], which is nominative unless it is a weather verb. See chapter 11 for details). Examples follow illustrating [Patient], [Instrument] and [Dative] objects:

- (21) *Ku-to-pa-he-ta'o-mo*.  
 1SG-PASS-CAUS-DO-wait-PF  
 'I was made to wait.'
- (22) *No-to-pake-mo na poda*.  
 3R-PASS-use-PF NOM knife  
 'The knife has been used.'
- (23) *Ku-to-hoti-mo*.  
 1SG-PASS-donate.charitably-PF  
 'I was donated to.'

The *by*-phrase in these clauses cannot be mentioned. For instance, a version of (21) with a *by*-phrase (whether marked as core or oblique) is ungrammatical:

- (21)' \* *Ku-to-pa-he-ta'o-mo te / i kene-su*.  
 1SG-PASS-CAUS-DO-wait-PF CORE OBL friend-1SG.POSS  
 'I was made to wait by my friend.'

An [S] argument may not be passivised, regardless of whether its verb is unergative or unaccusative:

(24) \* *No-to-nangu-mo.*  
3R-PASS-swim-PF  
'It has been swum.'

(25) \* *No-to-mate-mo.*  
3R-PASS-die-PF  
'It has been died.'

### 20.3.5 External relative Clauses: Subject relative clauses and Object relative clauses

Tukang Besi uses the Subject infix (SI) *-[um]-* to mark a relative clause with the subject ([S,A]) as its head, and the Object prefix (OP) *i-* to show that the head of the relative clause is an object ([O]) (details in chapter 15).

Main clauses:

(26) *No-balu te pandola na wowine.*  
3R-buy CORE eggplant NOM woman  
'The woman bought an eggplant.'

(27) *No-balu-'e na pandola te wowine.*  
3R-buy-3OBJ NOM eggplant CORE woman  
'The woman bought the eggplant.'

Relative Clauses:

(28) *Te ia iso te wowine [b[um]alu te pandola]RC.*  
CORE 3SG yon CORE woman buy.SI CORE eggplant  
'That's the woman who bought the eggplant.'

(29) *Te iso te pandola [i-bal(u) u wowine]RC.*  
CORE yon CORE eggplant OP-buy GEN woman  
'That's the eggplant that was bought by the woman.'

(30) \* *Te ia iso te pandola [b[um]alu te wowine]RC.*  
CORE yon CORE eggplant buy.SI CORE woman  
(Good for: 'That's the eggplant that bought the woman.')

(31) \* *Te ia iso te wowine [i-bal(u) u pandola]RC.*  
CORE 3SG yon CORE woman OP-buy GEN eggplant  
(Good for: 'That's that woman who was bought by the eggplant.')

Intransitive clauses:

(32) *No-kengku na uwe iso.*  
3R-cold NOM water yon  
'That water is cold.'

(33) *Te iso te uwe [k{um}jengku]RC.*  
 CORE yon CORE water cold.SI  
 'That's the cold water.'

(34) \**Te iso te uwe [i-kengku]RC.*  
 CORE yon CORE water OP-cold

Note that it is not simply the nominative argument that is the pivot for this construction. If there are object suffixes on the verb of the relative clause, then the object in the relative clause will receive nominative marking:

(35) *Ku-'ita te kalambe [k{um}jele-'e na kaujawa]RC.*  
 1SG-see CORE girl carry.by.strap.SI-3OBJ NOM cassava  
 'I can see the girl who's carrying the cassava.'

### 20.3.6 Complements and control : deletion and coreference

Certain complement clauses in *Tukang Besi* impose the restriction that the argument in the main clause and that in the subordinate clause both be in either [S] or [A] syntactic role. Under these conditions the verbs *hada* 'want, will' and *nde'u* 'not want, will not' allow deletion of the subject prefix in the second element. Other verbs do not allow deletion of the prefix, but nevertheless require that the coreferential arguments are both in [S] or [A] function. The details of coreference constraints in complement structures are more fully discussed in chapter 16.

(36) *Ku-nde'u (ku)-manga te senga.*  
 1SG-not.want 1SG-eat CORE fried.food  
 'I don't want to eat the senga.'

(37) *Ku-hada-hesowui.*  
 1SG-want-wash  
 'I want to wash.'

(38) *To-parahuu / -hematuu / -mulai to-he-koranga.*  
 1PL.R-begin 1PL.R-DO-garden  
 'We began to garden.'

(39) *Ku-soba ku-bose kua 'Oroho pe'esa-su.*  
 1SG-try 1SG-paddle ALL 'Oroho self-1SG.POSS  
 'I tried to paddle to 'Oroho on my own.'

(40) *Ku-molinga ku-ala te loka.<sup>1</sup>*  
 1SG-forget 1SG-fetch CORE banana  
 'I forgot to fetch some bananas.'

If the [A] of the main clause is coreferential with an [O] in the subordinate clause, then this [O] cannot be deleted and must necessarily be expressed by an object suffix and/or an object NP:<sup>2</sup>

- (41) *Nu-nde'u no-hu'u-ko?*  
 2SG.R-not.want 3R-give-2SG.OBJ  
 'Don't you want them to give (it) to you?'
- (42) *No-nde'u ku-pepe te amai.*  
 3R-not.want 1SG-hit CORE 3PL  
 'They<sub>i</sub> don't want me to hit them<sub>i/j</sub>.'

Other forms of complementation require [O]:[S,A] coreference, which also clearly points to the importance of the grouping of [S] and [A] roles in Equi-deletion. Another important facet of complementation, the use of the complementiser *kua*, is tied in to the monitoring of [S,A] coreference in the two clauses. These are all more fully described in chapter 16.

### 20.3.7 Article adoption

By 'article adoption' I refer to a process by which the nominative article of an inalienably possessed nominal in [O] function is copied onto the possessor-[A] NP. Compare the following sentences:

- (43) *No-elo-'e te ina iso na ana-no.*  
 3R-call-3OBJ CORE mother yon NOM child-3POSS  
 'That woman<sub>i</sub> called her<sub>i/j</sub> child.'
- (44) *No-elo-'e na ana-no na ina iso.*  
 3R-call-3OBJ NOM child-3POSS CORE mother yon  
 'That woman<sub>i</sub> called her<sub>i/\*j</sub> child.'

In (43) the articles used are the expected ones for a clause with object suffixes. In (44), however, we see the nominative article copied onto the subject from the object, and so specifying the object as being inalienably possessed by the subject. Sentence (44) cannot have the interpretation that the called person is someone else's child, and not the child of the calling woman's, whereas (43) is ambiguous as to the antecedent of the possessive suffix. Only a nominative [O] can launch a copy article in this manner. Compare the above sentences with the following pair showing attempted launching of the nominative article by a nominal in [A] function:

- (45) *No-po-'awa-ngkene te ina-no na kene-su.*  
 3R-REC-get-COM CORE mother-3POSS NOM friend-1SG.POSS  
 'My friend met her aunt.'
- (46) \* *No-po-'awa-ngkene na ina-no na kene-su.*  
 3R-REC-get-COM CORE mother-3POSS NOM friend-1SG.POSS  
 'My friend met her aunt.'

## 20.4 Nominative pivots

Whether an argument is selected as being in nominative case or not is very important for *Tukang Besi* discourse (see, for instance, the examples in chapter 3.9), and also for

several clause-internal grammatical processes. There are two processes that are sensitive to an argument being nominative or not, and several other processes that require both nominative case and a further specification, either in terms of the semantic role borne by the argument, or the syntactic role that it plays in the clause.

#### 20.4.1 Floating quantifiers

In *Tukang Besi*, *saba'ane* 'all' may occur in the NP (following the head), or 'float' to a position outside its NP, and appear as the last element of the clause, or moved to a pre- or post-verbal position. It is in all cases launched by the NOMINATIVE NP, regardless of the syntactic or semantic role borne by that NP. Some examples are presented below:

Launched by a nominative [A]:

- (47) *No-lemba te kaluku [na amai [saba'ane]QUANT ]KP.*  
 3R-carry CORE coconut NOM 3PL all  
 'All of them carried coconuts.'

\* 'They carried all of the coconuts.'

Floated:

- (48) *Nolemba te kaluku [na amai]KP [saba'ane]QUANT.*  
 (49) *Nolemba [saba'ane]QUANT te kaluku [na amai]KP.*  
 (50) *[Saba'ane]QUANT nolemba te kaluku [na amai]KP.*

Launched by a nominative [O]:

- (51) *No-lemba-'e [na kaluku [saba'ane]QUANT ]KP te amai.*  
 3R-carry-3OBJ NOM coconut all CORE 3PL  
 'They carried all of the coconuts.'

\* 'All of them carried coconuts.'

Floated:

- (52) *Nolemba'e [na kaluku]KP te amai [saba'ane]QUANT.*  
 (53) *Nolemba'e [saba'ane]QUANT [na kaluku]KP te amai.*  
 (54) *[Saba'ane]QUANT nolemba'e [na kaluku]KP te amai.*

Launched by a nominative [S]:

- (55) *No-mbule-mo [na amai [saba'ane]QUANT ]KP.*  
 3R-return-PF NOM 3PL all  
 'They all went home.'

Floated:

- (56) *Nombulemo [na amai]KP [saba'ane]QUANT.*  
 (57) *Nombulemo [saba'ane]QUANT [na amai]KP.*  
 (58) *[Saba'ane]QUANT nombulemo [na amai]KP.*

#### 20.4.2 Coreferential deletion in coordinate clauses

In *Tukang Besi*, the nominative argument functions as the pivot in conjoined clauses, serving as the preferred controller and the preferred target of zero anaphora:



- [A]<sub>NOM</sub> → [S]<sub>NOM</sub>
- (59) [No-kiki'i te iko'o (na 'obu)] kene  
 3R-bite CORE 2SG NOM dog and  
 [no-tode (na 'obu)].  
 3R-flee NOM dog  
 'The dog bit you, and fled.'
- [O]<sub>NON-NOM</sub> → [S]<sub>NOM</sub>
- (60) # [No-kiki'i te iko'o na 'obu] kene ['u-tode].  
 3R-bite CORE 2SG NOM dog and 2SG.R-flee  
 'The dog bit you, and you fled.'
- [A]<sub>NOM</sub> → [O]<sub>NOM</sub>
- (61) [No-kiki'i te iko'o (na 'obu)] kene  
 3R-bite CORE 2SG NOM dog and  
 ['u-sepa-'e (na 'obu)].  
 2SG.R-kick-3OBJ NOM dog  
 'The dog bit you, and you kicked it.'
- [A]<sub>NOM</sub> → [A]<sub>NOM</sub>
- (62) [No-kiki'i te iko'o], [no-kaha te anabou (na 'obu)].  
 3R-bite CORE 2SG 3R-chew CORE small.child NOM dog  
 'The dog bit you, and chewed the small child.'
- [O]<sub>NOM</sub> → [S]<sub>NOM</sub>
- (63) [No-kiki'i-ko (na iko'o) te 'obu-no] kene ['u-tode].  
 3R-bite-2SG.OBJ NOM 2SG CORE dog-3POSS and 2SG.R-flee  
 'The dog bit you, and you fled.' / 'You were bitten by the dog, and fled.'
- [A]<sub>NON-NOM</sub> → [S]<sub>NOM</sub>
- (64) # [No-kiki'i-ko (na iko'o) te 'obu-no] kene [no-tode].  
 3R-bite-2SG.OBJ NOM 2SG CORE dog-3POSS and 3R-flee  
 'The dog bit you, and fled.' / 'You were bitten by the dog, and it fled.'
- [O]<sub>NOM</sub> → [O]<sub>NOM</sub>
- (65) [No-kiki'i-ke na ana te 'obu] kene [no-kaha-'e].  
 3R-bite-3OBJ NOM child CORE dog and 3R-chew-3OBJ  
 'The dog bit the child, and chewed it.'  
 'The child was bitten and chewn by the dog.'
- [O]<sub>NOM</sub> → [A]<sub>NOM</sub>
- (66) [No-kiki'i-ko (na iko'o) te 'obu] kene  
 3R-bite-2SG.OBJ NOM 2SG CORE dog and  
 ['u-sepa te 'obu].  
 2SG.R-kick CORE dog  
 'The dog bit you, and you kicked (back).'  
 'You were bitten by the dog, and kicked the dog.'

## 20.5 Nominative pivots with [S,O] constraints

## 20.5.1 Internal relative clauses

In this type of relative clause, (discussed in detail in chapter 15) the restrictions on the head are that it must be both nominative and either [S] or [O] in both the main clause and the relative clause:

- (67) *Te wowine [ku-'ita-'e na mia]RC.*  
 CORE woman 1SG-see-3OBJ NOM person  
 'The person that I see is a woman.' (WaI:18)
- (68) *Te porai-su [no-makanjara na kalambensala]RC.*  
 CORE fiancée-1SG.POSS 3R-"disco".dance NOM young.girl  
 'The young woman dancing a makanjara is my fiancée.'

The following two sentences show verbal predicates in the main clause:

- (69) *No-wila-mo [ku-'ita-'e na mia]RC.*  
 3R-go-PF 1SG-see-3OBJ NOM person  
 'The person I saw has left.'
- (70) *Ku-'ita-'e [no-wila na mia]RC.*  
 1SG-see-3OBJ 3R-go NOM person  
 'I saw the person who left.'

## 20.5.2 Temporal clause

There is a morphological device used to set the time at which an event occurs, with reference to a previous one. This is comprised morphologically of the prefix *sa-* and a verb stem. There may be one nominal argument of the verb, and it is expressed by either possessive suffixes or a genitive phrase. If expressed by possessive suffixes, a nominative noun phrase may also be used to expand the identity of the argument. With an intransitive verb stem, the possessor corresponds to that verb's [S]:

- (71) *Sa-rato-su, to-pajulu kua kampo-no.*  
 when-arrive-1SG.POSS 1PL.R-continue ALL village-3POSS  
 'When I arrived, we continued on to their village.'

When this construction is used with a transitive verb used in an overtly transitive manner (that is, not displaying theme suppression, as in 'We ate yesterday'), the verb must include a dummy applicative suffix *-ako* (by which I mean that it does NOT introduce any new core argument, but merely serves to make the basic object grammatical in this construction, which would appear to be inherently intransitive), and the possessively indexed nominal can only be interpreted as serving as the [O] of the sentence, never as the [A]:

- (72) *Sa-'ita-ako-su, no-elo-'e te kalambe.*  
 when-see-APPL-1SG.POSS 3R-call-3OBJ CORE young.girl  
 'When (they) saw me the young girls called him.'

\* 'When I saw (them) the young girls called him.'<sup>3</sup>

This construction is described in more detail in chapter 17.

## 20.6 Nominative pivot with a [theme/patient] constraint

### 20.6.1 External possession

The possessor of an 'inalienably' possessed item (body part, cosanguinal kin) may be indexed on the verb in place of the third person object suffix that would represent the body part or relative (see chapter 7). The possessed item appears in the sentence as an independent KP, and may again be treated as the object of the clause if the possessor is removed as object by some other grammatical process - see chapter 11.6 for examples. Such raising is only available for the possessor of a theme/patient object of a transitive clause or unaccusative theme/patient subject of an intransitive one, never for the [A] of a transitive one or unergative subject of an intransitive clause. Compare the following sentences, mainly repeated from Chapter 7 (idiosyncratic English translations are given to allow for the flavour of the *Tukang Besi* style):

[Patient] [O] of a transitive clause:

- (73) *No-pepe-aku<sub>i</sub> na iai-su<sub>i</sub>.*  
 3R-slap-1SG.OBJ NOM younger.sibling-1SG.POSS  
 'He slapped me my younger brother.'

[Patient] [S] of an intransitive clause:

- (74) *Ku<sub>i</sub>-mohoo na lima-su<sub>i</sub>.*  
 1SG-sick NOM hand-1SG.POSS  
 'My hand am sore.'

[Agent] [S] of an intransitive clause:

- (75) \* *To<sub>i</sub>-kulia i Haluoleo na tolida-nto<sub>i</sub>.*  
 1PL.R-study.at.university OBL Haluoleo NOM cousin-1PL.POSS  
 'Our cousin are studying at Haluoleo university.'

[Agent] [S] of a transitive clause:

- (76) \* *Ku<sub>i</sub>-hu'u te Wa Kopi te kabali*  
 1SG-give CORE Wa Kopi CORE machete  
*na iai-su<sub>i</sub>.*  
 NOM younger.sibling-1SG.POSS  
 'My younger brother gave Wa Kopi a machete.'

Compare the following ungrammatical sentences employing [Dative] and [Instrumental] arguments:

- (77) \* *No-hoti-aku<sub>i</sub> na tolida-su<sub>i</sub>.*  
 3R-give-1SG.OBJ NOM cousin-1SG.POSS  
 'He donated to my cousin.'

(78) \* *Ku<sub>i</sub>-motindo'u na tolida-su<sub>i</sub>.*  
 1SG-thirsty NOM cousin-1SG.POSS  
 'My cousin is thirsty.'

(79) \* *No-pake-aku<sub>i</sub> na palu-su<sub>i</sub>.*  
 3R-use-1SG.OBJ NOM hammer-1SG.POSS  
 'He used my hammer.'

Of course, the above sentences may be expressed with a third person affix on the verb. The difference, however, is that sentences using the possessor raising strategy imply that the possessor is more affected.

## 20.7 Non-nominative pivot

### 20.7.1 Floating adverbs

In addition to floating quantifiers, which are launched by the nominative argument in the sentence, it is also possible for an adverb to be launched by the non-nominative argument in the clause. This has been discussed in chapter 7.10. A floating adverb may be floated to anywhere in the verb phrase: immediately pre- or post-verbal, or following the object (if the object appears in the verb phrase; see chapter 3 and chapter 7). Only a few examples are given here. Additional examples are found in chapter 7.10.

(80) [*No-lemba [moboha]<sub>ADV</sub> ]<sub>VP</sub> te wemba*].  
 3R-carry.on.shoulder heavy CORE bamboo  
 'They carried the bamboo with difficulty.'  
 (with the sense that the heaviness of the bamboo made it difficult)

(81) [*Nolemba te wemba [moboha]<sub>ADV</sub> ]<sub>VP</sub>.*

(82) [[*Moboha*]<sub>ADV</sub> *nolemba te wemba*]<sub>VP</sub>.

(83) \* [[*Moboha*]<sub>ADV</sub> *nolemba'e*]<sub>VP</sub> *na wemba*.

(84) [*No-ala-'e [menti'i]<sub>ADV</sub> ]<sub>VP</sub> na kaitela*.  
 3R-fetch-3OBJ fast NOM corn  
 'They fetched the corn quickly.'

(85) [[*Menti'i*]<sub>ADV</sub> *noala'e*]<sub>VP</sub> *na kaitela*.

(86) \* [*Noala'e*]<sub>VP</sub> *na kaitela [menti'i]<sub>ADV</sub>*.

(87) \* [[*Menti'i*]<sub>ADV</sub> *noala te kaitela*]<sub>VP</sub>.

## 20.8 [S,O] pivot

### 20.8.1 Reference of a floated conjunct

As has been seen in chapter 18, a conjoined core NP can sometimes 'break up', and the second conjunct appear floated away from the first conjunct. The reference of the floated conjunct is a KP in [S] function if the sentence is intransitive, but if transitive the floated conjunct can only be taken to refer back to a KP in [O] function, never one in [A] function. For instance, in (88) there is only one core argument in the clause, so the reference of the

floated conjunct is not ambiguous:

- (88) *Ku-wila na iaku kua pante [kene Wa Akiri]CONJ.*  
 1SG-go NOM 1SG ALL beach and Wa Akiri  
 'I went to the beach with Wa Akiri.'

With a transitive clause a floated conjunct can only refer to the [O] (that is, it can only have floated away from an [O] KP, not an [A] KP). This is exemplified in (89):

- (89) *Ku-po-'awa-ngkene-'e te iaku na tolida-'u*  
 1SG-REC-get-COM-3OBJ CORE 1SG NOM cousin-2SG.POSS  
*di koranga [kene iai-su]CONJ.*  
 OBL garden and younger.sibling-1SG.POSS  
 'I met your cousin and my younger brother in the gardens.'  
 \* 'Me and my younger brother met your cousin in the gardens.'

This is examined in more detail in chapter 18, but the broad facts are that floating conjuncts are a process that ignores semantic roles or nominative status, and singles out [S] and [O] roles for the ability to launch a floating conjunct. A version of (89) with a nominative [A] shows that this is not sufficient to allow it to launch a floating conjunct:

- (90) *Ku-po-'awa-ngkene te tolida-'u na iaku*  
 1SG-REC-get-COM CORE cousin-2SG.POSS NOM 1SG  
*di koranga [kene iai-su]CONJ.*  
 OBL garden and younger.sibling-1SG.POSS  
 'I met your cousin and my younger brother in the gardens.'  
 \* 'Me and my younger brother met your cousin in the gardens.'

## 20.9 Agent pivots

### 20.9.1 Addressee of imperatives

Tukang Besi requires that the addressee in an imperative be an agent regardless of the nominative/ non-nominative status of the argument:

- (91) *Tu'o te kau measo'e ai! (na iko'o).*  
 fell CORE tree REF-yon ANA NOM 2SG  
 'Chop down that tree!'
- (92) *Tu'o-ke na kau measo'e ai! (te iko'o).*  
 fell-3OBJ NOM tree REF-yon ANA CORE 2SG  
 'Chop down that tree!'

The fact that the restriction is that the addressee must be an [Agent], and not just an [S] or [A], is evident from the following sentences:

- [Dative] [A]:
- (93) \* *'Awa te kado!*  
 get CORE present  
 'Receive the present!'

[Theme] derived [S] of a passive sentence:

- (94) \* ('U-)to-'ita!  
2SG.R-PASS-see  
'Be seen!'

## 20.10 Instrumental pivots

### 20.10.1 Object suffixes

An 'intermediary-agent' instrument (in Marantz's (1984: 247) sense, one that is a direct source or the action's success or failure) of a verb may be marked either as a core argument of the verb, as the object of a serialised verb, or as an oblique argument in a prepositional phrase. If it is treated as a core argument, it may be assigned nominative case and be indexed on the verb with object suffixes:

- (95) *No-tu'o-ke na kau kuu (te baliu-no).*  
3R-fell-3OBJ NOM wood ebony CORE axe-3POSS  
'He felled the ebony tree (with his axe).'

- (96) *No-tu'o-ke te kau kuu na baliu-no.*  
3R-fell-3OBJ CORE wood ebony NOM axe-3POSS  
'He felled the ebony tree with his axe.'

The instrument is not quite the same as other objects. It may not stand as the sole object KP, unlike the patient object of the verb or either of the objects of a ditransitive verb such as *hu'u* 'give', *sumbanga* 'donate' or *kahu* 'send', or be indexed on the verb without appearing as a full nominal as well:

- (97) \* *No-tu'o-ke na baliu-no.*  
3R-fell-3OBJ NOM axe-3POSS  
'He felled with his axe.'  
\* 'He felled them with his axe.'  
(Technically possible for: 'He chopped his axe down', but seriously odd)

- (98) *No-hu'u-(ke) te baliu-no.*  
3R-give-3OBJ CORE axe-3POSS  
'He gave (them) his axe.'

- (99) *No-hambere-(aku / -ko) te loka.*  
3R-throw.rotating-(1SG.OBJ / -2SG.OBJ) CORE banana  
'He threw a bit of banana tree at (me / you).'

- (100) \* *No-hambere-'e te (iaku / iko'o).*  
3R-throw.rotating-3OBJ CORE 1SG 2SG  
(Good for: 'He threw me/you at it.')

### 20.10.2 Instrumental relative clauses

The instrument of a verb may head a relative clause, using neither the *-[um]-* infix nor the

*i-* prefix on the verb (as in 1.5). The internal structure of the relative clause is almost the same as a subject relative clause, with a roughly complete clause left behind. Only the absence of a subject prefix on the verb indicates the subordinate status of the verb and its clause.

Main clauses:

- (101) *Ku-bongko (te hao) te osimpu.*  
 1SG-tie CORE rope CORE young.coconut  
 'I tied the young coconuts (together) with a piece of rope.'

...and with object suffixes: two options

- (102) *Ku-bongko-'e te hao na osimpu.*  
 1SG-tie-3OBJ CORE rope NOM young.coconut  
 'I tied the young coconuts (together) with a piece of rope.'

- (103) *Ku-bongko-'e na hao te osimpu.*  
 1SG-tie-3OBJ NOM rope CORE young.coconut  
 'I tied the young coconuts (together) with a piece of rope.'

But note:

- (104) \* *No-bongko te osimpu na hao.*  
 3R-tie-3OBJ CORE young.coconut NOM rope  
 'The rope tied the young coconuts.'

Relative Clause:

- (105) *Te iso te hao [bongko te osimpu]RC.*  
 CORE yon CORE rope tie CORE young.coconut  
 'That there is the rope that (I used / was used to) tie the young coconuts.'

We might expect that an [A] or [O] argument that is also an [Instrument] should be able to appear in this sort of relative clause, in addition to its subject or object relative clause, and this is in fact the case:

Subject Relative Clause, instrumental [A]:

- (106) *O-saori-meransa na wande [r[um]aho-'e i aba]RC.*  
 3R-very-heavy NOM rain affect.SI-3OBJ OBL earlier  
 'The rain that soaked them earlier on was really heavy.'

Instrumental Relative Clause, instrumental [A]:

- (107) *O-saori-meransa na wande [raho-'e i aba]RC.*  
 3R-very-heavy NOM rain affect-3OBJ OBL earlier  
 'The rain that soaked them earlier on was really heavy.'

Instrumental Relative Clause, instrumental [O]:

- (108) *O-isala-moboaha na palu [pake i aba]RC.*  
 3R-rather-heavy NOM hammer use OBL earlier  
 'The hammer that (I was) using earlier is pretty heavy.'

Object Relative Clause, instrumental [O]:

- (109) *O-isala-moboha na palu [i-pake-(su) i aba]RC.*  
 3R-rather-heavy NOM hammer OP-use-1SG.POSS OBL earlier  
 'The hammer that (I was) using earlier is pretty heavy.'

Sentences (106) - (109) show that the syntactic role played by the argument is irrelevant for the purposes of determining eligibility for this construction; only the fact of an argument being an instrument or not is relevant.

### 20.10.3 The *by*-phrase in passive constructions

In chapter 11 we saw that there is a restriction such that there can be no mention of a *by*-phrase in a clause in which the verb is in a passive construction. If the [A] of the non-passive verb is an instrument, however, it may be mentioned as a core argument in the passive construction:

- (110) *No-to-raho-mo te wande na amai min(a) i Tindoi.*  
 3R-PASS-affect-PF CORE rain NOM 3PL from OBL Tindoi  
 'Those people from Tindoi have been rained on.'

Only an instrumental noun may be mentioned as the [A] in a passive construction; in 20.3.4 we saw that [Agent] actors may not be mentioned, and (130) shows that [Dative] actors are also completely deleted:

- (111) *No-to-'awa-mo (\* te kalambe) na towu.*  
 3R-PASS-get-PF CORE young.girl NOM sugarcane  
 'The sugar cane has been got (\* by the girls).'

### 20.11 Mixed pivot: existential clauses

The pivot in an existential clause behaves unusually, the 'existent' NP appearing to be marked by the conjunct *ke(ne)*, as in (112):

- (112) *Ane ke boku i waw(o) u meja.*  
 exist and book OBL top GEN table  
 'There is a book on the table.'

Compare this with the following sentences, in which the existent *boku* is separated from *ane* by a nominal phrase or object suffixes, and in which the existent is marked with the nominative article *na*.

- (113) *Ane i waw(o) u meja na boku.*  
 exist OBL top GEN table NOM book  
 'There is a book on the table.'

- (114) *Ane-'e na boku i waw(o) u meja.*  
 exist-3OBJ NOM book OBL top GEN table  
 'There is a book on the table.'

(This is also the usual pattern with the negative existential verb *mbea-'e*,



which is obligatorily suffixed to agree with the existent. All the remarks applying to *ane* also apply to *mbea'e*.)

In none of these sentences, however, does this 'nominative' NP have any of the properties associated with a nominative NP, such as launching floating quantifier and controlling deletion in coordinate structures:<sup>4</sup>

- (115) \* *Saba'ane ane ke boku i waw(o) u meja.*  
 (116) \* *Ane ke boku i waw(o) u meja i aba,*  
 exist and book OBL top GEN table OBL previous  
*meana'e no-buti-mo.*  
 now 3R-fall-PF  
 'There was a book on the table earlier, but it's fallen (off) now.'

It would appear that the nominative KP is a false nominative, just as was the case with the nominative argument in a passive clause. On the other hand, floating adverbs, which can be launched by a non-nominative core argument are out of the question. Pivot properties associated with an [S,A] pivot, such as indexing by subject prefixes or being the head of a relative clause, are also not allowed.<sup>5</sup> It can be indexed on the semi-verb by means of object suffixes, but may not head an object relative clause, or any other of the properties associated with [O] arguments:

- (117) \* *Te komporo i-ane i pangka.*  
 CORE gas.cooker OP-exist OBL kitchen  
 'The gas cooker that is in the kitchen.'

In order to grammatically express the meaning intended for (117), a simple verbless relative phrase is used, as in (117)':

- (117)' *Te komporo na di pangka.*  
 CORE gas.cooker NOM OBL kitchen  
 'The gas cooker that is in the kitchen.'

The existent does count as an [S,O] argument for the purposes of heading an object-suffixed external relative clause:

- (118) *Ane ke mia g[um]ande-'e.*  
 exist COM person give.a.lift.SI-3OBJ  
 'Someone gave him a lift.'

## 20.12 Pivotless constructions

Some constructions do not appear to have any pivot at all, in terms of the processes outlined above. These are clauses involving meteorological phenomena, and exclamatory clauses.

### 20.12.1 Weather verbs

Tukang Besi weather verbs do take a third person subject prefix, but cannot expand that

with the addition of a full NP, or any of the properties already shown for any of the pivot constructions (only a few of which are (negatively) illustrated):

(119) *No-wande* (\* *na wande / langi / 'oloo / lono/ ia*).  
 3R-rain NOM rain / sky / cloud / day / /3SG  
 'It's raining.'

(120) \* *Te 'oloo w[um]ande iso dinggawi ala'a*.  
 CORE day rain.SI yon yesterday just  
 'It was just yesterday that it was a rainy day.'<sup>6</sup>

(121) \* *Sa-wande-no...*  
 when-rain-3POSS  
 'Just as it started to rain...'

### 20.12.2 Exclamatory clauses

Exclamatory clauses are used to comment about some property that an object has, or a feeling that the speaker feels are pivotless construction. A special nominal frame is used to present the information, using the conjunction *kenelke* and possessive suffixes on the verb; the single nominal in the clause has none of the properties normally associated with arguments of any category described in this chapter. Some examples

(122) *Ke 'eka-su i aba!*  
 and fear-1SG.POSS OBL earlier  
 'I was really frightened just then!'  
 (Lit., 'And my fear earlier!')

(123) *Ke to'oge nu ana-'u!*  
 and big GEN child-3POSS  
 'Hasn't your son grown up!'  
 (Lit., 'And the bigness of your child!')

### 20.13 Grammatical categories

The different pivots and the processes in which they are relevant, which have been exemplified in the preceding sections, can be summarised as follows:

| <b>PIVOT RESTRICTED TO:</b> | <b>GRAMMATICAL PROCESS(ES)</b>                 |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| [NOM]                       | Floating quantifiers<br>Cross-clausal deletion |
| [NOM] + [S,O]               | Internal relative clauses<br>Temporal clause   |
| [NOM] + [Theme/Patient]     | External Possession                            |
| [- NOM]                     | Floating adverbs                               |

|               |                                                                                                                                                               |
|---------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| [S,A]         | External relativisation: <i>-[um]-</i><br>Number agreement: subject<br>Equi-deletion or coreference                                                           |
| [S,O]         | Launch floating conjunctions                                                                                                                                  |
| [O]           | External relativisation: <i>i-</i><br>Number agreement: object<br>Object Incorporation<br>Article adoption<br>Unspecified Object Deletion<br>Input to passive |
| [Agent]       | Position in Imperatives                                                                                                                                       |
| [Instrument]  | External relativisation: unmarked<br>Number agreement: object<br>Presence of actor in a passive construction                                                  |
| (no pivot)    | meteorological verbs<br>exclamatory clauses                                                                                                                   |
| (mixed pivot) | existential constructions                                                                                                                                     |

Even allowing for some of these pivots being trivial, or argument-structure defined and thus not germane to the discussion of alignment in a particular language (see Manning 1995 for discussion of which sorts of grammatical constructions fit into this category), there is still a bewildering array of grammatical pivots shown in the summary above.

We can make more sense out of this apparent confusion by an examination of the terms and categories involved. The core semantic roles of [Agent], [Dative], [Instrument], [Theme/Patient] have been established by reference to the facts concerning causatives and applicatives (see chapters 9 and 10). Further restrictions on accessibility to various grammatical processes that are dependent on an argument bearing [Agent], [Instrument] or [Theme/Patient] role have been presented and summarised in this chapter. Reference to this thematic hierarchy and the semantic role that an argument bears is thus established as essential to a description of grammatical processes in *Tukang Besi*. The other terms used, the syntactic roles ([A], [S] and [O]) and the pragmatic roles ([NOM] and [-NOM]) will now be examined to determine their function in the description.

### 20.13.1 The category [A]

The [A] syntactic role, as defined in chapter 3, is a category that is filled by the [Agent] argument of a transitive verb that subcategorises for such an argument in all cases. In *Tukang Besi*, it sometimes includes a [Dative] or [Instrument] argument of a transitive verb if that is the most prominent argument (as defined in chapter 3). For example, with *hoti* 'donate', the [Dative] argument is not an [A], but with *tarima* 'receive' it is, as defined by, for instance, the ability of that argument to head a subject relative clause:

- (124) \* *Te mia h[um]oti...*  
 CORE person donate.SI  
 'The person who was donated to...'  
 (Good for: 'The person who donated (something to someone)...')

- (123) *Te mia t[um]arima.*  
 CORE person receive.SI  
 'The person who received something...'

The category [A] is thus independent of the actual semantic roles that the arguments bear. It is, however, predictable in terms of its position in the verb's subcategorisation frame. We can define the [A] role as being that borne by the argument in a transitive construction with the highest semantic role, as seen in (145):

- (126) 'PRED <[ ], [ ], ...>  
 |  
 [A]

An intransitive verb has no [A], by definition, since, although it has a highest semantic role that argument is not higher than any other semantic role in the predicate. In order for an argument to be considered an [A] it must be both the highest-ranked semantic role in its predicate, and be higher than at least one other core argument in that predicate.

### 20.13.2 The category [S]

In chapter 3 the notion of a split [S] category was introduced in terms of unergative subjects [ $S_A$ ] and unaccusative subjects [ $S_O$ ].<sup>7</sup> There have been many reports of case marking or verbal indexing that monitor the unergative/unaccusative split, but many fewer of languages that monitor this difference syntactically; to my knowledge only Acehnese (Durie 1985, 1987), Eastern Pomo (Maclendon 1978, Foley and Van Valin 1984: 95-97) languages of the Dani family (e.g. Bromley 1981, C. Grimes p.c., own field notes), Bauzi (David Briley p.c.) and Burmeso (own field notes) display split-intransitive switch-references systems, showing split-intransitivity to be a phenomenon which extends beyond the clause in which the verb is (such as the well described auxiliary choice in Indo-European).

The data from *Tukang Besi* suggests that in order to account for the treatment of the subjects of intransitive verbs in different syntactic processes we need to recognise not two, but three different groupings of intransitive subjects, those that have been referred to in chapter 4 as the verbs taking an [Agent] subject (active verbs), those that have a [Dative] subject (experiencer verbs), and those that have a [Theme/Patient] subject (non-active). These last two are collapsed for some purposes in the larger category "unaccusative". The processes that differentiate these three groups of intransitive subjects are the ability to participate in a comitative applicative construction with *-ngkene* (chapter 10), and the ability to be the object of a factitive causative construction with *hoko-* (chapter 9). Examples of these constructions on three verbs from the three different groups are presented in the sentences in (127) - (132):

Active verb:

- (127) *No-wila-ngkene-'e.*  
3R-go-COM-3OBJ  
'They went with him.'

Experiencer verb:

- (128) \* *No-mo'aro-ngkene-'e.*  
3R-hungry-COM-3OBJ  
'They were hungry with him.'

Non-active verb:

- (129) \* *No-mate-ngkene-'e.*  
3R-die-COM-3OBJ  
'They died with him.'

Active verb:

- (130) \* *No-hoko-wila-'e.*  
3R-FACT-go-3OBJ  
'They made him go.'

Experiencer verb:

- (131) \* *No-hoko-mo'aro-'e.*  
3R-FACT-hungry-3OBJ  
'They made him hungry.'

Non-active verb:

- (132) *No-hoko-mate-'e.*  
3R-FACT-die-3OBJ  
'They killed him.'

There is some evidence to suggest that both [Dative]-subject and [Theme/Patient]-subject verbs are in one class. When the purposeful verbalising prefix *hoN-* (see chapter 11.4.3) is added to verbs of both these classes, the [S] becomes an [O] in the derived transitive verb, whereas when an [Agent]-subject verb is prefixed with *hoN-* the [S] becomes the [A] of the derived verb (That is, the prefix is treated as a causative process with unaccusative verbs, and as an applicative process with unergative verbs.). This is illustrated in (133) - (135):

Active verb:

- (133) *No-ho-rau-'e.*  
3R-VRB-yell-3OBJ  
'She screamed at it.'

Experiencer verb:

- (134) *No-ho-mente-'e.*  
3R-VRB-surprise-3OBJ  
'They scared him half to death.'

Non-active verb:

- (135) *No-ho-like-'e.*  
3R-VRB-awaken-3OBJ  
'They woke him up with a start.'

The only way to morphologically causativise *rau* is with the causative morpheme, as in (133)':

- (133)' *No<sub>i</sub>-pa-rau-'e<sub>j</sub>.*  
3R-CAUS-yell-3OBJ  
'They<sub>i</sub> made her<sub>j</sub> scream.'

Experiencer verbs can also be classed together with other non-active verbs in a greater unaccusative class on the basis of their common ability to have their subjects appear as the head of a subject relative clause with a nominative object. This contrasts with the inability of the subject of an active verb (unergative) to appear in this position:

Active verb:

- (136) \* *No-wila na kalambe '[um]ita-aku.*  
3R-go NOM girl see.SI-1SG.OBJ  
'The girl who saw me has gone.'

Experiencer verb:

- (137) *No-mo'aro na kalambe '[um]ita-aku.*  
3R-hungry NOM girl see.SI-1SG.OBJ  
'The girl who saw me is hungry.'

Non-active verb:

- (138) *No-mate na kalambe '[um]ita-aku.*  
3R-die NOM girl see.SI-1SG.OBJ  
'The girl who saw me is dying.'

The groupings that arise from looking at the restrictions found in these different grammatical processes is summarised in table 31:

Table 31. Morphological criteria for the division of the category [S]

|              | <i>-ngkene</i> | <i>hoN-</i> as<br>causative | Relative<br>Clause | <i>hoko-</i> |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| Active:      | √              |                             |                    |              |
| Experiencer: |                | √                           | √                  |              |
| Non-active:  |                | √                           | √                  | √            |

This implies a classification of the category [S] as illustrated in figure 14:

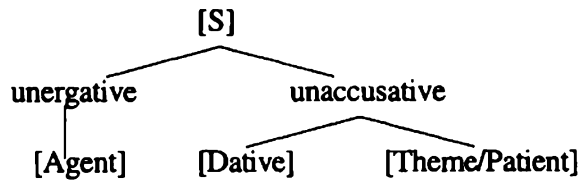
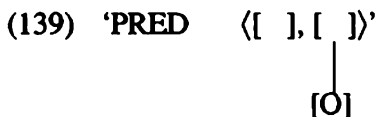


Figure 14. The category [S] in *Tukang Besi*

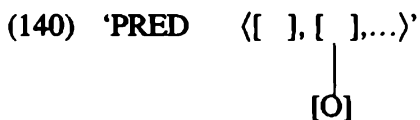
In short, although we can say that there is a unified concept of [S] in the grammar of *Tukang Besi*, as evidenced by their similar treatment in relative clauses and pronominal indexing, there are many points of grammar that require reference to smaller divisions. This reference needs to mention to the particular semantic roles that are borne by those arguments, and this entails a division into three different groups.

### 20.13.3 The category [O]

There is generally only one argument in a clause that is treated in the same manner as the patient argument of a primary transitive verb (as per Andrews' definition of the term, described in chapter 3). However, there are many cases of transitive clauses in which there is no argument that is treated in the same manner; all applicative constructions, for example, forbid a passive subject relative clause to be headed by either of the objects in the clause (see chapter 10), thus creating a situation in which a morphosyntactic property of the patient argument of a primary transitive verb is not replicated in a different construction. For simple transitive verbs, the second-highest ranked argument in the thematic hierarchy is the [O] of the clause, as seen in (139):



If we examine ditransitive, underived verbs we find that the argument most likely to be treated in the same way as the patient of a primary transitive verb depends on the semantic roles played by the different arguments in the clause. If the subcategorisation frame includes a recipient, and has the form <[Ag], [Dat], [Thm]>, such as is found with *hu'u* 'give', then the second argument in this hierarchy is treated as the [O], and the lowest ranked argument has no object properties at all:



If, however, the verb subcategorises for an instrument, <[Ag], [Instr], [Thm/Pt]>, then the lowest ranked argument is treated as the [O] of the clause, and the instrumental argument is available for some properties otherwise associated with an object by virtue of its bearing the semantic role of [Instrument]:

(141) 'PRED <[ ], [ ], [ ]>  
 |  
 [O]

The differences between the two types of ditransitives are actually not quite this simple. If we examine four different properties normally associated with the [O] in *Tukang Besi*, passivisation, the ability to head an Object Relative Clause, the ability to be indexed by object suffixes, and the ability to participate in a reciprocal predicate, we find the following properties for the two objects in the two different classes (table 32):

Table 32. Tests for object properties in ditransitive verbs

|      | <[Ag], [Dat], [Thm]> | <i>hu'u</i> |
|------|----------------------|-------------|
| PASS | √                    | √           |
| ORC  | √                    |             |
| -OBJ | √                    |             |
| REC  | √                    |             |

|      | <[Ag], [Instr], [Thm]> | <i>simb</i><br><i>i</i> |
|------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| PASS |                        | √                       |
| ORC  |                        | √                       |
| -OBJ | √                      | √                       |
| REC  |                        | √                       |

In other words, there is in neither case an absolutely and exclusively definable [O] in the construction. In both cases, one object property is shared by both objects. I shall take the [O] position to be the second on the hierarchy, and the instrumental ditransitives to be irregular, on the basis of some subcategorisation frame alternations. In chapter 4 we saw that *kahu* 'send' has two possible subcategorisation frames, one ditransitive with three core arguments (<[Ag], [Dat], [Thm]>), and one with only two core arguments (<[Ag], [Thm]> <[Dat]>). In both of these cases it is the SECOND position that is treated as the [O] of the sentence. If we examine valency-increasing morphology (as seen in chapters 9 and 10), in all cases the most [O]-like argument is the one that is second on the hierarchy. Finally, when a ditransitive predicate has an applicative predicate added that would add an argument bearing the same semantic role as the SECOND argument in the base predicate, one argument in the base predicate is made oblique; if the applied object bears the same semantic role as the third-ranked argument of the base predicate, there is no such demoting behaviour (see chapter 10, sections 10.6 and 10.3.3 for details and examples exemplifying these points).

It may be that there is a process of reanalysis going on here, with a non-core instrument being reanalysed as a core argument. Compare the sentences with an instrument introduced with a serial verb construction, and with it appearing as a core argument:



(142) *No-hugu te ro'o ako te poda.*  
 3R-chop CORE leaves INSTR CORE knife  
 'She chopped the leaves up with the knife.'

(143) *No-hugu te ro'o te poda.*  
 3R-chop CORE leaves CORE knife  
 'She chopped the leaves up with the knife.'

The process is analogous to one that appears to be operating in Tagalog, in which a sentence such as (163) is being used without the overt oblique marker *sa*, as seen in (163)', by some speakers:

(163) Tagalog:  
*Nag-hiwa si Mark ng mangga*  
 cut.AV NOM Mark GEN mango  
*sa pamamagitan ng kampil.*  
 OBL use GEN knife  
 'Mark cut the mango with a knife.'  
 (Lit., 'Mark cut the mango with the use of a knife.')

(163)' Tagalog:  
*Nag-hiwa si Mark ng mangga [ ] ng kampil.*  
 cut.AV NOM Mark GEN mango GEN knife  
 'Mark cut the mango with a knife.'

Just as the non-core instrument in Tagalog is (perhaps) being reanalysed, or at least case marked, as a core argument, the same might be happening in *Tukang Besi*. The only property that the instruments in these ditransitive verbs share with objects is the ability to be indexed on the verb with object suffixes, as seen in (164). This is also a property they have when in a serial verb construction, and are not core arguments of the left-most verb, as (165) shows:

(164) *No-hugu-'e te ro'o.*  
 3R-chop-3OBJ CORE leaves  
 'She chopped the leaves up with it.'

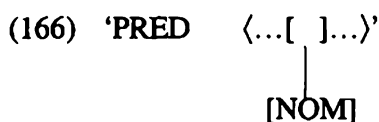
(165) *No-hugu te ro'o ako-'e.*  
 3R-chop CORE leaves INSTR-3OBJ  
 'She chopped the leaves up with it.'

The fact that the instrumental argument *poda* does not gain any object properties in the (putatively) ditransitive verbal analysis is a good argument for treating the assignment of object properties associated with the instrumental ditransitive verb pattern (seen in the second part of table 32) as not being the basic one in terms of assignment of [O] and [A] properties to arguments.

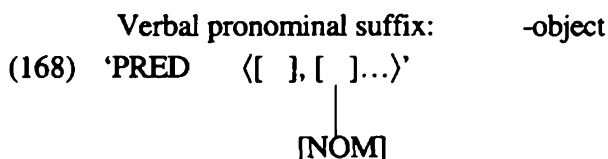
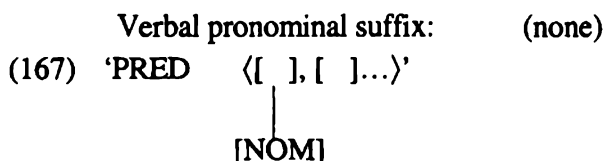
#### 20.13.4 Nominative

The nominative argument in a simple intransitive clause is the sole argument of that clause.

In a transitive clause the nominative argument may be either the [A] or the [O] (Though some verbs (see chapter 4) require that if there is an [O] present, it must be nominative); this alternation is monitored in *Tukang Besi* by the presence or absence of object suffixes on the verb (as described in chapter 3). The important point to note is that the nominative argument is NOT definable in terms of the syntactic roles [A], [S] and [O] (either [A] or [O] may be the nominative argument in a transitive clause), nor in terms of the semantic roles that the argument bears (any argument in [A], [S] and [O] role may be the nominative argument in a clause regardless of its semantic role). It is thus an independent variable (probably based on pragmatic factors), and we must conclude that there are two different types of basic transitive clauses (discussed in chapter 3), with one more prevalent than the other. The assignment of the nominative grammatical relation is essentially as seen in (166) (though see the concluding remarks to chapter 3 for a more detailed representation of the structure of a clause):



That is, any argument that is subcategorised-for by the verb may be nominative (though see the discussion of the category [O] in 20.14.3 for the problems associated with ditransitive verbs). If there are no object suffixes on the verb, the [A] is the nominative argument. If there are object suffixes on the verb, the [O] is nominative:



This is the same set of positions that are defined in the better-known Philippine type languages, such as Tagalog which uses the *mag-* and *-in-* forms of the verb to distinguish these categories, though with less regularity and more lexically-determined classes (see Donohue and Maclachlan forthcoming).

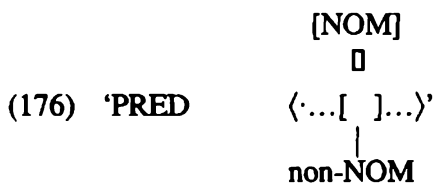
The fact that the *Tukang Besi* system of alternation involving the presence versus the absence of object suffixes on the verb monitors exactly the same set of relationships between arguments of the verb is strong evidence that the *Tukang Besi* system is, despite the appearance of being a system simply dedicated to inflecting the verb for person and number categories of the object, actually serving in the same function as the less ambiguous Tagalog system. Note that Sells' suggestions that the subject (the nominative argument) in Philippine languages "is itself a null pronominal argument" would fit in well with the apparently conflicting evidence that the object suffixes in *Tukang Besi* are simultaneously pronominal elements and Philippine-style voice markers (Sells 1995b); the

object suffixes would be viewed as overt pronominal elements (as described in chapter 5), and also part of the system monitoring the voice system (as described in chapter 7).

### 20.13.5 Non-nominative

The literature on Philippine languages is in the main concerned with the division of syntactic properties between what Philippinists have called the “Actor” ([S,A] pivot) and the nominative argument. There have been almost no reports of any syntactic properties associated exclusively with a non-nominative argument (that is, a process for which a non-nominative argument is eligible, but for which a nominative argument is not eligible), the only exception known to me being the ability of a non-nominative “Actor” to appear pre-verbally, a position in which a non-nominative non-actor may not appear (see Sityar 1994 on Cebuano, Maclachlan 1995b on Tagalog).

In *Tukang Besi*, on the other hand, there is one property, the ability to launch a floated adverb, that depends exclusively on the launching argument being a (core) non-nominative argument, regardless of its syntactic or pragmatic role in the clause, and is not available to a nominative argument. It is important, therefore, to identify which core arguments of a predicate are not nominative. The non-nominative pivot may be defined as in (176):



This odd notation states that the non-nominative properties are assigned to a core argument that does not bear the nominative grammatical relation; this assignment of properties, like that of [Nominative], is not dependent on syntactic roles or semantic roles.

## 20.14 Summary

There is no one unified concept of the pivot in *Tukang Besi*, in the sense that one set of grammatical relations is the pivot for all constructions in the language. Even discounting the fairly universal pivot that seems to apply for imperatives and some *Equi* constructions, there is more than one pivot in *Tukang Besi* which a grammatical process can refer to, and often an argument is the pivot for some processes, but at the same time not for others. The labels ‘ergative’ and ‘accusative’ cannot be applied to the whole of *Tukang Besi* in any meaningful sense, only to individual grammatical constructions.

Perhaps more importantly, the notion of pivot in *Tukang Besi* is one not just based on one set of criteria. Languages such as English or *Yup'ik Eskimo* (Payne 1982), and many more, may all be characterised as having pivots based on syntactic categories (hence the use of the labels [A], [S] and [O], referring to syntactic roles). Typically, the language has either an [S,A] pivot, or an [S,O] pivot, though some languages refer to both of these for different processes (such as several *Mayan* languages; see Craig 1977, Day 1973, England 1983, Bear 1992). Other languages, such as *Archi* (Kibrik 1979) or *Aceh* (Durie 1985, 1987, Foley 1991b) appear to refer to the semantic roles directly, without the need to mediate these by means of syntactic roles (or grammatical functions, such as ‘subject’ and

'object'). Yet others, notably those of the Philippine group, have a stronger orientation towards the direct encoding of pragmatic prominence, and do not operate directly in terms of either syntactic roles or semantic roles (Thai appears to be a language with a pragmatic pivot, but with no morphological coding of the pivot choice.).

The pivots in *Tukang Besi*, however, are divided amongst those that are based on syntactic roles, those based on pragmatic factors (i.e., set by discourse constraints, with a fair degree of freedom), and those that are dependent on semantic roles directly, regardless of their syntactic status. Additionally, the existential construction presents a mix of properties from several of these types, none of them as complete as a 'normal' verbal clause presents.

In short, whilst the labels [A], [S] and [O] are useful shorthand in a description of a language such as *Tukang Besi*, they are not sufficient, and moreover, as has been seen in sections 20.14.1 - 20.14.3, these syntactic roles are actually predictable for a given clause if we know the subcategorisation frame of its verb. That is, given the argument structure representation of semantic roles in the predicate, the syntactic roles [A], [S] and [O] are derivable concepts. The assignment of nominative case does not follow from any automatic process similar to the assignment of the [A], [S] and [O] syntactic roles, but is similarly based on the information present in the thematic hierarchy and thus the subcategorisation frame of the verb. Some processes, notably the ability to head an Instrumental relative clause, are sensitive only to semantic role information, and not to syntactic role information. We must, therefore, look past the labels [A], [S] and [O], the grammatical relations 'subject' and 'object', and the Philippine-style notions of nominative and non-nominative arguments, if we are to economically describe the full range of grammatical processes that are operating in *Tukang Besi*. Realising that all the processes are easily explainable in terms of the relative ordering provided by the thematic hierarchy, we can propose one underlying system that accounts for the large range of different groupings of arguments that are accessible to different grammatical processes in the language.

# Appendix: Texts

## 1. WA IAMBO

1. *Te tulatula nu Wa Iambo iso, no-mohoo*  
 TOP story GEN Wa Iambo yon 3R-sick  
*na mata-no, te kalambe.*  
 NOM eye-3POSS CORE young.girl  
 'Well, as for the story of Wa Iambo, her eye was sick, that girl.'

(the story teller mixes up Wa Iambo and her mother at this point)

2. *Jari no-mohoo na mata-no iso o-mohoo na mata*  
 so 3R-sick NOM eye-3POSS yon 3R-sick NOM eye  
*n(u) ina-no. Te kalambe ana te kalambe mandawulu.*  
 GEN mother-3POSS CORE girl this CORE girl beautiful  
 'So her eye was sick, her mother's eye was sick. This young girl, she was a beautiful young girl.'

3. *Jari no-pogau-mo kua pe'esa-no o-pogau-mo kua:*  
 so 3R-say-PF : alone-3POSS 3R-say-PF :  
 "Mohoo iso na mata-su. Mohoo iso na mata-su."  
 sick yon NOM eye-1SG.POSS sick yon NOM eye-1SG.POSS  
 'So she said, on her own, she said "Oh my eye hurts! Aagh, my eye hurts."

4. *Jari o-pogau-mo na ana-no iso kua*  
 so 3R-say-PF NOM child-3POSS yon :  
 "Wa Papa, ku-[m]epe-'ita-taria-'a-ako-ko,  
 Wa father 1SG-REQ.SI-see-ESP-NL-APPL-2SG.OBJ  
*di 'umpa na atu?"*  
 OBL where NOM that  
 'So her child said "Father, I ask to be let go to see a sage for you, where is that?"

5. *No-mohoo na mata-'u atu kene pe'e-pe'esa-su.*  
 3R-sick NOM eye-2SG.POSS that and RED-alone-1SG.POSS  
 'Your (wife's) eye is hurting, so I shall (go) alone.'

6. *Jari no-pogau-mo na Papa iso kua "O, bara-mo*  
 so 3R-say-PF NOM father yon : Oh, don't-PF  
 (a) *hali-'a! Buntu pe'esa-'u bara*  
 NOM wander-NL only alone-2SG.POSS don't  
 (o)-*hoko-mate-ko te mia. Ea-'e ku-w[um]jila ala'a.*  
 3R-FACT-dead-2SG.OBJ CORE person not-3OBJ 1SG-go.SI just  
 'Well, that father said "Oh, don't go! (If) you're on your own, someone will kill you! I wouldn't go just (like that).'

7. *Jari no-, o-makanu mo'ane-mo, bapa.*  
 so 3R- 3R-get.ready male-PF father  
 'So, she dressed as a man, father.'

8. *O-makanu mo'ane-mo iso, no-he-sala.*  
get.ready male-PF yon 3R-do-trousers  
'She made ready as a man, she put on trousers.'
9. *Maka no-he-baju mo'ane, maka no-he-songka, maka*  
and.then 3R-do-shirt male and.then 3R-do-k.o.hat and.then  
*no-wila.*  
3R-go  
'Then she put on a man's shirt, a man's hat, and then she left.'
10. *No-wila i iso kambea no-hepe-tari-'e o-wila-isi*  
3R-go OBL yon fact 3R-REQ-ESP-3OBJ 3R-go-DIR  
*e [m]epe-tari-'a.*  
CORE REQ.SI-ESP-NL  
'She went away yonder, her purpose was to ask for magic, she went to visit someone to ask for magic.'
11. *Jari no-, mina no-rato i iso, no-rambi-mo te anu.*  
so 3R- from 3R-arrive OBL yon 3R-music-PF CORE whatsit  
'So, after she arrived there, they were playing music, playing a whatsit,.'
- (the place where Wa Iambo arrives is a King's town, where the right trees for the medicine that her mother needs are found.)
12. *O-rambi-mo te ganda (a)na.*  
3R-play.music-PF CORE orchestra this  
'They were playing this orchestra.'
13. *Jari o-pogau-mo na kapala desa iso kua*  
so 3R-say-PF NOM head village yon :  
*"E, te paira na ana?" I o, pa'(a) u wungka.*  
hey CORE what NOM this OBL thigh GEN ridge  
'So the village chief there, he said "Hey, what's this? At the foot of the ridge?"
14. *No-rambi-mo 'uk(a), te motoro 'umpa na-rambi-mo*  
3R-play.music-PF also CORE instrument which 3I-play.music-PF  
*no-rambi-mo te ganda pe'esa-no i iwo.*  
3R-play.music-PF CORE orchestra alone-3POSS OBL that:lower  
'She was playing as well, whatever instrument it was she was playing it, she was playing a whole orchestra all by herself down there.'
15. *Jari o-pogau-mo na ia na ana u raja iso*  
so 3R-say-PF NOM 3SG NOM child GEN king yon  
*kua "Mai to-wila-isi-'e."*  
: come 1PL.R-go-DIR-3OBJ  
'So he said, that child, that son of the king, "Come, let's go and pay him a visit."

(the king's son doesn't realise that the disguised Wa Iambo is a woman; this is not explicit, as the object suffix carries no reference to sex)

16. *Jari o-wila-isi-'e-mo.*  
 so 3R-go-DIR-3OBJ-PF  
 'So they<sub>King & son</sub> went and paid her a visit.'
17. *Kambea te ana-no no-pogau-mo kua "Te mo'ane."*  
 fact CORE child-3POSS 3R-say-PF : CORE man  
 'And in fact his child said "That's a man."
18. *Pogau-mo na raja ana mo'ane iso kua*  
 say-PF NOM king this male yon :  
*"Te wowine ku-'ita-(e) na mia atu. Te wowine!"*  
 CORE woman 1SG-see-3OBJ NOM person that CORE woman  
 'This king, that man, said "That person who I can see is a woman. She's a woman!"
19. *Pogau-mo na, na ana nu raja iso kua "Mbea'e.*  
 say-PF NOM NOM child GEN king yon : no  
*Te mo'ane."*  
 CORE man  
 'That son of the king said "No. He's a man."
20. *(O-pota)e-m(o) kua "Mbea'-e. E sa-ngaa-n-sa-ngaa-mo*  
 3R-say-PF : no CORE 1-name-GEN-1-name-PF  
*te wowine na atu."*  
 CORE woman NOM that  
 'He<sub>King</sub> said "No. I'm certain that that is a woman."
21. *(P)o-tae-m(o) k(u)a "Mbea'(e), te mo'ane."*  
 3R-say-PF : no CORE man  
 'He<sub>Son</sub> said "No, he's a man."
22. *"E, parisa-'e. Parisa-'e, te wowine na iso."*  
 Hey investigate-3OBJ investigate-3OBJ CORE woman NOM yon  
 'Well, check it out. Check it out, That's a woman, that one over there.'
23. *Jari no-sale-'e-mo "Mai-mo to-wila-ako."*  
 so 3R-command-3OBJ-PF come-PF 1PL.R-go-APPL  
 'He<sub>King</sub> commanded him<sub>Son</sub> "Come on, let's go."
24. *Jari kambea, o-potae "Te awana ku-mai-mo mina*  
 so fact 3R-say CORE manner 1SG-come-PF from  
*ku-l[um]aha-ako te ro'o te mansuana-su."*  
 1SG-search.SI-APPL CORE medicine CORE parent-1SG.POSS  
 'Well, she said "The reason is that I am searching for a medicine for my parents.'
25. *Te kaluku b[um]angu-ntiu-mo na ro'o-mo.*  
 CORE coconut half.old.SI-old-PF NOM medicine-PF  
 'A coconut that is bangu, its leaves.'

26. *Jari o-pogau-mo na bapa-no iso kua* “Ara  
so 3R-say-PF NOM father-3POSS yon : if  
*no-[m]o'oli-'e na kaluku iso, te mo'ane,*  
3R-finish.SI-3OBJ NOM coconut yon CORE man  
*buntu kua mbeaka no-[m]o'oli-'e, te wowine.”*  
only not 3R-finish.SI-3OBJ CORE woman  
'Well, the father said "If she succeeds in getting those coconuts, she's a  
man, but if she doesn't, she's a woman.'
27. *Jari no-'eka-mo.*  
so 3R-climb-PF  
'So she climbed.'
28. *Kamba no-'eka i (i)so no-pogau kene honi-honiki meai,*  
fact 3R-climb OBL that 3R-say and RED-bat INAL  
*kene toke-tokea meai kua "Nabu-ako-naku sa-tonga.*  
and RED-termite INAL : drop-APPL-1SG.DAT.OBJ 1-half  
*Bara ku-ambanga di togo ba'a ana i.*  
don't 1SG-embarrasses OBL town size this FAMILIAR  
'And in fact as she climbed she spoke with the bats, she poke with the  
termites, saying "Drop some (of the coconuts) for me, don't let me get  
embarrassed in this large town."
29. *Jari no-'eka i iso dei-mo no-saka.*  
so 3R-climb OBL yon left.over-PF 3R-show.off  
'So she climbed up there, and at the end she showed off.'
30. *O-saka-'e-mo te an(a) u iso, o-saka-'e-mo*  
3R-show.off-3OBJ-PF CORE child GEN yon 3R-show.off-3OBJ-PF  
*te Wa Iambo iso.*  
CORE Wa Iambo yon  
'She showed them (the coconuts) off to that child, that Wa Iambo  
showed them off.'
31. *Jari o-hena'u no-waa-'e-mo kua "U-po'oli-'e?"*  
so 3R-descend 3R-tell-3OBJ-PF : 2SG.R-finish-3OBJ  
'So she descended and they asked her "Are you finished?"
32. *"Po'oli-'e, ka-ana-'(e) na ia."*  
finish-3OBJ PRES-this NOM 3SG  
'Done it, here it is.'
33. *Jari o-waa-'e-m(o) te raja na ana-no iso kua*  
so 3R-tell-3OBJ-PF CORE king NOM child-3POSS yon :  
*ana iso kua "Te wowine ku-'ita-'e na mia (a)tu?"*  
child yon : CORE woman 1SG-see-3OBJ NOM person that  
'Well, the king told his son, he told his son "Is that a woman, that  
person that I can see?"
34. *Potae-m(o) ka "Mbeaka kambea te mo'ane."*  
say-PF : not fact CORE man  
'He<sub>son</sub> said "No, he's a man."



35. *Jari te ia (a)na o-potae kua* “*O-[m]o'oli-aku-mo*  
 so CORE 3SG this 3R-say : 3R-finish-1SG.OBJ-PF  
*te mia ana. E, ana ana.*  
 CORE person this Hey here child  
 ‘So he<sub>King</sub> said “She will convince me, this person; here, child.”
- (although Wa Iambo has the coconuts, the King is not convinced, because of the unusual way she got them)
36. *Jari no-anu-mo no-, no-po-tonda-tonda-kene-'e-mo,*  
 so 3R-whatsit-PF 3R- 3R-REC-RED-grope-COM-3OBJ-PF  
*o-panganta no-gua.*  
 3R-not.willing 3R-pull back  
 ‘Well then he<sub>King</sub>, whatsit, he groped at her, but she wasn’t willing, she pulled back.’
- (the verb *tonda* should take a body part as its object; the object suffix refers to the whole body of Wa Iambo, seen as an ‘instrument’ that permits the groping to go ahead)
37. *Potae-m(o) kua* “*Oho. O, ku-wila-mo.*”  
 say-PF : yes right 1SG-go.SI-PF  
 ‘She said “Yes, I will go.”
38. *Jari no-morondo no-ho-mo-moturu-mo 'uka moturu-mo ka*  
 so 3R-night 3R-VRB-RED-sleep-PF also sleep-PF :  
*dodua-'e.*  
 be.two-3OBJ  
 ‘Well, when it was night he<sub>King</sub> tried to sleep around as well, to sleep, with her.’
39. *O-nggaleso-mo nggaleso-mo nggaleso-mo, eaka o-hada*  
 3R-nervous-PF nervous-PF nervous-PF, not 3R-want  
*di-moturu-ngkene.*  
 OP-sleep-COM  
 ‘She was very nervous, she didn’t want to be slept with.’
40. *A buntu kua no-ilange no-waa-'e-mo kua* “*Te awana*  
 NOM only : 3R-tomorrow 3R-tell-3OBJ-PF : TOP manner  
*ara ane na-manu ku-[m]aliako-mo kua wunua-mami.*  
 if exist 3I-chicken 1SG-return.SI-PF ALL house-1PA.POSS  
 ‘So it came about that the next day she told him<sub>King</sub> “The fact is, if the sign of the chicken comes down, I’m going home to our own house.”
41. *O-potae-m(o) kua* “*Awana atu ku-s[um]ai-ako-ko*  
 3R-say-PF : manner that 1SG-make.SI-APPL-2SG.OBJ  
*te winalu.*”  
 CORE food.supplies  
 ‘He<sub>King</sub> said “If it’s like that, I shall put together some supplies for you.”

42. *Jari o-sai te winalu iso.*  
so 3R-make CORE food.supplies yon  
'So they made some food supplies.'
43. *O-potae-mo kua "Ai, ka-[m]jaliako-mo kua togo-su*  
3R-say-PF : well 1PA.I-return.SI-PF ALL town-1SG.POSS  
*na iaku ana."*  
NOM 1SG this  
'She said "Well, I here am going back to my town now."
- (although the verb marks paucal number of subject, the noun phrase *na iaku ana* is clearly singular; Wa Iambo is probably referring to the various animal (spirit)s that have been accompanying her)
44. *Kamba morondo sa- no-pogau-mo 'uk<sup>w</sup>a "Wole-woleke,*  
fact night when- 3R-say-PF also RED-rat  
*pu'o-pu'oi wila tongka-tongka-(e) na kolikoli saba'ane-'e."*  
RED-termite go RED-hole-3OBJ NOM canoe all-3OBJ  
'Well, that night when, she said "Rats, termites, go and bite holes in all of the canoes."
45. *Bara ku-insawu di togo ba'a ana i.*  
don't 1SG-ashamed OBL town size this FAMILIAR  
'Don't let me be ashamed in this great town.'
- (*insawu* means the same as *ambanga* 'embarrassed', and is felt to belong to the same dialect, but is considered to be more polite )
46. *Bara no-dahani-aku kua ku-wowine.*  
don't 3R-know-1SG.OBJ : 1SG-woman  
'Don't let them realise that I'm a woman.'
- (note the verbal use of *wowine* in this sentence)
47. *Jari no-, no-anu-mo o-wila-mo.*  
so 3R- 3R-whatsit-PF 3R-go-PF  
'So they, uhm, they went.'
48. *O-posanga-mo kua "E iaku ana, Raja, ku-[m]jaliako-mo*  
3R-take.leave-PF : TOP 1SG this king 1SG-return.SI-PF  
*kua togo-mami.*  
ALL town-1PA.POSS  
'She took her leave, saying "I, O King, I'm going back to my town now."

49. *O-waa-'e-mo te bapa-no na ana n raja iso*  
 3R-tell-3OBJ-PF CORE father-3POSS NOM child GEN king yon  
*kua, o-waa-'e-mo te raja (i)so na ana kua*  
 : 3R-tell-3OBJ-PF CORE king yon NOM child :  
 "Te wowine! ko-[m]e-noso na atu.  
 CORE woman 2SG.I-do.SI-follow NOM that  
 Te wowine, na mia i!"  
 CORE woman NOM person ILL.FORCE.  
 'The king told his son, he told him, "She's a woman! You go and follow, that person's a woman, I tell you!"
50. *T(a)e-m(o) kua "Mbea'e, Te mo'ane."*  
 say-PF : no CORE man  
 'He<sub>Son</sub> said "No, He's a man."
51. *Jari no-rato na iso na makanu-'a no-sai-ako-m(o)*  
 so 3R-arrive NOM yon NOM get.ready-NL 3R-make-APPL-PF  
*te winalu no-makanu-mo.*  
 CORE food 3R-get.ready-PF  
 'So it came time for the packing up, she made the supplies ready, she packed up.'
52. *No-rato na ilange iso no-he-bambai-mo maka*  
 3R-arrive NOM tomorrow yon 3R-do-comb-PF and.then  
*no-waa-'e kua "Oi, ku-wila-mo."*  
 3R-tell-3OBJ : Hey 1SG-go-PF  
 'When the next day dawned, she combed her hair, and then she told him<sub>King</sub> "Well, I'm going."
53. *Potae-m(o) kua "Oo."*  
 say-PF : OK  
 'He<sub>King</sub> said "All right."
54. *Jari o-wila-mo kua kambea o-rato i bangka-no*  
 so 3R-go-PF ALL fact 3R-arrive OBL ship-3POSS  
*i iwo, no-ambe-'e-mo no-he-pake-mo,*  
 OBL there:lower 3R-change.clothes-3OBJ-PF 3R-do-wear-PF  
*no-wila-mo no-he-bambai, no-he-bura,*  
 3R-go-PF 3R-do-comb 3R-do-face.powder  
*na baju (u) wowine.*  
 NOM shirt GEN woman  
 'Well, she went and she got to her boat down on the water, and she changed her clothes, she put on clothes, combed her hair, put on face powder; a woman's shirt.'
- (notice how the nominal object of *noambe'emo*, *na baju u wowine*, is separated from it by four intransitive verbs, all with the same coreferent subject)
55. *Maka (la)'a-mo no-waa-'e-mo kua "Oi, Ka-ana'e ka-wila-mo."*  
 and.then just-PF 3R-tell-3OBJ-PF : Hey PRES-this 1PA.I-go-PF  
 'Then she told them "Hey, Here I am, we're out of here!"

56. *Jari no-elo-mo na ana iso kua “Bapa bapa*  
 so 3R-call-PF NOM child yon : father father  
*bapaaa, Te wowine! Te wowine, te wowine,*  
 father CORE woman CORE woman CORE woman  
*o-kamba te wowine.”*  
 3R-fact CORE woman  
 ‘So the son cried out “Daddy daddy daddy, She’s a woman, she’s a woman, she’s a woman, she’s actually a woman.”’
57. *“Ane ku-waa-ko kua te wowine, toka nu-pogau-m(o)*  
 exist 1SG-tell-2SG.OBJ : CORE woman but 2SG.R-say-PF  
*kua “Mbea’e.”*  
 : no  
 “I told you that she was a woman, but you said “No.”
58. *Jari no-soro te kolikoli no-motongka, no-soro*  
 so 3R-push CORE canoe 3R-sink 3R-push  
*te bangka no-motongka, “E, lo o-mai*  
 CORE ship 3R-sink Hoi, in.fact 3R-come  
*no-dola-dola pe’esa-no, te wowine.”*  
 3R-RED-float alone-3POSS CORE woman  
 ‘So he<sub>son</sub> pushed out a canoe, and it sank; he pushed out a ship, and it sank. “Hoi, in fact she came and she’s the only one floating, that woman.”’
59. *Jari no-’eka di wunua-no no-pogau-mo*  
 so 3R-climb OBL house-3POSS 3R-say-PF  
*o-moturu-to’oko-mo kua “Ku-[m]o-ha’a, ku-[m]o-ha’a*  
 3R-sleep-face.down-PF : 1SG-VRB.SI-how 1SG-VRB.SI-how  
*na iaku ana ku-[m]ila-isi-’e na wowine iwo.*  
 NOM 1SG this 1SG-go.SI-DIR-3OBJ NOM woman that:lower  
*Ku-[m]o-ha’a, ku-[m]o-ha’a-mo?”*  
 1SG-VRB.SI-how 1SG-VRB.SI-how-PF  
 ‘Well, he<sub>son</sub> went to his house, and lay straight down, fretting “What shall I do, what shall I do, I want to visit that woman. What shall I do, what shall I do?”’
60. *O-potae-m(o) kua “Ane ku-waa-ko.”*  
 3R-say-PF : exist 1SG-tell-2SG.OBJ  
 ‘He<sub>king</sub> said “I told you so.”’
61. *Jari no-poso-mo na ia mo’ane iso, o-, no-mate-mo.*  
 so 3R-dizzy-PF NOM 3SG male yon, 3R- 3R-die-PF  
 ‘That boy felt dizzy, he was weakening and dying.’
62. *No-usaha-mo na mia nu kampo kua “Te ana*  
 3R-worry-PF NOM person GEN village : CORE child  
*no raja no-mate-ako te wowine no-wila mbeaka no-,*  
 GEN king 3R-die-APPL CORE woman 3R-go not 3R-  
*no-sala-’ili kua te mo’ane.”*  
 3R-fault-assume ALL CORE man  
 ‘The villagers were all worried “The son of the king is pining away for a woman, she didn’t, she got the wrong impression about that man.”’

63. *Jari no-he-pago-mo no-ho-mbala-ako-'e te mia*  
 so 3R-do-quickly-PF 3R-VRB-chop.dugout-APPL-3OBJ CORE person  
*koruo iso te sawi-ka, maka no-wila-isi-'e.*  
 many yon CORE travel.by.vehicle-NL and.then 3R-go-DIR-3OBJ  
 'They quickly made a dugout canoe, that crowd of people, they made  
 transport for him, and then he went to visit her.'
64. *Jari no-langke-mo na ia mo'ane no-rato*  
 so 3R-sail-PF NOM 3SG male 3R-arrive  
*i o'a nu wowine iso, no-, no-rato*  
 OBL mooring.place GEN woman yon 3R- 3R-arrive  
*di o'a nu ia wowine iso,*  
 OBL mooring.place GEN 3SG woman yon  
*o, te ia wowine no-rato-mo pedembula.*  
 CORE 3SG female 3R-arrive-PF earlier  
 'That man sailed and arrived at that woman's mooring place, he arrived  
 at the place where she had put her boat in, but that woman had already  
 arrived earlier.'
- (there is a quick bit of backtracking by the story teller here, to place Wa  
 Iambo back in her village before the King's son arrives)
65. *O-potae kua "Oi. Wa Ina, ka-ana-(e)-mo na iaku."*  
 3R-say : Hey Wa mother, PRES-this NOM 1SG  
 'She said "Ho, Mother, it's me."
66. *Potae-m(o) kua 'Epe, te emai na '[um]elo-'elo-aku*  
 say-PF : 'What, CORE who NOM RED.SI-call-1SG.OBJ  
*iso, te Wa Iambo no-mate-mo."*  
 yon CORE Wa Iambo 3R-die-PF  
 'She answered "What, who is that calling me, Wa Iambo is dead."
67. *Potae-m(o) kua, Wa Iambo kua "Mbea'e Wa Ina,*  
 say-PF : Wa Iambo : "no Wa mother  
*te iaku-mo ana na Wa Iambo, mai. Mai he-pago*  
 CORE 1SG-PF this NOM Wa Iambo INAL come do-quick  
*no-he-po-rou-'e-mo te uwe nu kaluku na mata iso.*  
 3R-do-REC-leaves-3OBJ-PF CORE water GEN coconut NOM eye yon  
 'Wa Iambo said "No, Mother, it really is me here, Wa Iambo. Come,  
 come, and she quickly applied the coconut milk to (her mother's) eye.'
68. *No-bulara-mo, po'oli-mo.*  
 3R-have.vision-PF finish-PF  
 'She could see again, it was over.'
69. *Jari no-po'oli molengo molengo 'uka pia-'oloo 'uka*  
 so 3R-finish long long also how.many-day also  
*ka-atu-mo no-nduu-mo na tawatawa i molengo.*  
 PRES-that-PF 3R-make.noise-PF NOM hand.gong OBL long  
 'And after some time, after several more days, there it was there, a hand  
 gong (that she'd heard) earlier on was making a noise.'

(the reference is to the music that was playing when Wa Iambo arrived at the king's town earlier)

70. *O-pogau-mo na mia kua "E, te ndonga-ndonga*  
 3R-say-PF NOM person : Hey CORE RED-clang  
*o-tawatawa-mpaira, kamba na goea (i) iwo.*  
 3R-hand.gong-GEN-what fact NOM wobble OBL there:lower  
 'The people said "Hey, what kind of hand gong thing is that clanger doing, it seems to be coming from down by the sea."
71. *Jari no-'ema-mo 'uka, no-tuhu-mo kua "Te w[um]ila*  
 so 3R-ask-PF also 3R-descend-PF : CORE go.SI  
*kua 'umpa?"*  
 ALL where  
 'So they asked, as he<sub>SON</sub> came off his canoe, "Where are (you) going to?"
72. *No-potae kua "Na bangka atu."*  
 3R-say ALL NOM ship that  
 'He<sub>SON</sub> answered "That ship there."
73. *O-potae-mo kua "Te iaku ana ku-laha te La Iambo*  
 3R-say-PF : CORE 1SG this 1SG-search CORE La Iambo  
*ng-ku-lake. Ku-lake e La Iambo."*  
 GEN-1SG-related 1SG-related CORE La Iambo  
 'He said "I am searching for La Iambo, to whom I am related. I am related to La Iambo."
- (not quite true; the King's son might be implying that he will be related (after marriage), but is more likely just trying to scam the villagers into helping him. The use of *-ng-*, presumably a reduced form of *nu* before a velar stop, has only ever been observed here in this text, and so cannot be commented on further)
74. *Potae-m(o) kua "Mbea'e na ngaa me-atu-'e di ana."*  
 say-PF : not.exist NOM name REF-that OBL here  
 'They said "There is not such a name here."
75. *Jari o-goea-goea-'e na tawatawa iso o-potae-m(o)*  
 so 3R-RED-wobble-3OBJ NOM hand.gong yon 3R-say-PF  
*kua "Ea, i-ha'a."*  
 : Hey 2PL.R-what  
 'He shook his hand gong, and they said "Hey, what do you think you're doing?"
- (although there is only one addressee, the plural form is used for politeness)
76. *Potae-mo kua "Di 'umpa na wunua nu La Iambo."*  
 say-PF : OBL where NOM house GEN La Iambo  
 'He said "Where is the house of La Iambo?"

77. *Potae-m(o) kua* “*Mbea'e na ngaa-ako La Iambo*  
 say-PF : not.exist NOM name-APPL La Iambo  
*di ana.*”  
 OBL here  
 ‘They said “There isn’t anyone called La Iambo here.”’
78. *E sapaira-sapaira no-labu-labu-mo na bangka iso,*  
 CORE how.many 3R-RED-anchor-PF NOM ship yon  
*bara ane no-'ita-'e na La Iambo iso.*  
 don't exist 3R-see-3OBJ NOM La Iambo yon  
 ‘Time and time again the ship was moored, but he didn’t see that La Iambo.’
79. *O-pogau-mo kua* “*Te goea-mpaira na tawatawa atu.*”  
 3R-say-PF : CORE wobble-what NOM hand.gong that  
 ‘They said “What sort of rhythm is that hand gong of yours (making)?”’
80. *No-potae-m(o) kua* “*Ku-laha te kampo nu La Iambo.*”  
 3R-say-PF : 1SG-search CORE village GEN La Iambo  
 ‘He answered “I am searching for the village of La Iambo.”’
81. *O-potae-m(o) kua* “*Mbea'e tabea te wunua*  
 3R-say-PF : not.exist but TOP house  
*nu Wa Iambo ka-iso-'(e) (a) ia.*”  
 GEN Wa Iambo PRES-yon NOM it  
 ‘They said “Don’t have such, but the house of Wa Iambo, there it is.”’
82. *Jari no-'eka-mo na La Iambo iso, no-waa-'e-m(o) kua*  
 so 3R-climb-PF NOM La Iambo yon 3R-tell-3OBJ-PF :  
*“Kamba te iko'o na w[um]ila '[um]akala-aku jari*  
 fact CORE 2SG NOM go.SI trick.SI-1SG.OBJ so  
*ta-k[um]awi-mo.*  
 1PL.I-marry.SI-PF  
 ‘So La Iambo climbed up, and she was told “So, it’s you who went and tricked me, so we will be married straight away.”’
- (The story teller refers to the King’s son as La Iambo because he is about to marry Wa Iambo)
83. *Jari no-kawi-mo dodua-'e.*  
 so 3R-marry-PF be.two-3OBJ  
 ‘So they were married to each other.’
84. *Jari sapaira sapaira na-kawi iso kene-mo no-hoto ana,*  
 so after.a.while 3I-marry yon and-PF 3R-have child  
*no-mai-si-'e-m(o) na mansuana-no meai.*  
 3R-come-DIR-3OBJ-PF NOM parent-3POSS INAL  
 ‘So after a while they even had a child, and brought it to her parents.’

85. *No-ala-'e* ('*uka na Wa lambo kene ana nu raja*  
 3R-take-3OBJ also NOM Wa lambo and child GEN king  
*no-pa-waliako-'e no-bawa-'e kua wunua-no, kua*  
 3R-CAUS-return-3OBJ 3R-carry-3OBJ ALL house-3POSS ALL  
*wunua u ia mo'ane iso.*  
 house GEN 3SG male yon  
 'Wa lambo was taken back with the king's son, she was carried back to  
 his house, to the house of that man.'
86. *O-reko-mo di wunua u mo'ane iso kene*  
 3R-settle-PF OBL house GEN man yon and  
*ana-no meai, kene o-ala-'e ke ina-no meai,*  
 child-3POSS INAL and 3R-fetch-3OBJ and mother-3POSS INAL  
*maka o-bawa-'e.*  
 and.then 3R-carry-3OBJ  
 'They were settled in that man's house, with their child, and they even  
 fetched her mother, and took her.'
87. *Po'oli. Sapaira tangka-no.*  
 finish They.all.lived.happily.ever.after  
 'The end. They all lived happily ever after.'



## 2. PADA

1. *I le'ale'ana ku-'eka motoro kua tuha-su mai*  
 OBL today 1SG-climb motor bike ALL family-1SG.POSS INAL  
*i Pada.*  
 OBL Pada  
 'Today, I went by motorbike to my family in Pada.'

(The normal word for motorbike is *honda*; the speaker uses *motoro*, normally meaning 'motorised boat' for 'motorbike' by analogy with Indonesian *sipeda motor*. This is not accepted by most speakers)

2. *Min(a) i Pada ku-wila ae kua Tindoi.*  
 from OBL Pada 1SG-go foot ALL Tindoi  
 'From Pada I went by foot to Tindoi.'
3. *Ku-helawe ki'iki'i i wunua no tuha mai.*  
 1SG-rest small OBL house GEN family INAL  
 'I rested a little bit in the house of some of my relatives.'
4. *Po'oli ko-tula-tula ku-torusu-mo ku(a) koranga.*  
 finish 1PA.R-RED-tale 1SG-continue-PF ALL garden  
 'After we had gossiped, I continued on to the garden.'
5. *Sa-rato-su i koranga ku-hemona-mo e kaluku.*  
 when-arrive-1SG.POSS OBL garden 1SG-collect-PF CORE coconut  
 'When I arrived in the garden I collected some coconuts.'
6. *Po'oli ku-hemona nomo-ba'e ku-tanta-mo te ro'o u*  
 finish 1SG-collect 6-CLASS 1SG-install-PF CORE leaf GEN  
*kaluku ako te kede-ma-su.*  
 coconut PURP CORE sit-NL-1SG.POSS  
 'After collecting six, I used the coconut leaves for a sitting mat.'
7. *Ku-benu-si te kaluku.*  
 1SG-husk-DIR CORE coconut  
 'I husked the coconuts.'
8. *Ku-ala te kaluku maka la'a-mo ku-benu-si-'e.*  
 1SG-take CORE coconut then just-PF 1SG-husk-DIR-3OBJ  
 'I took the coconuts, and then I husked them.'
9. *Te benusi iso, to-'ambe te benu nu kaluku.*  
 TOP husking yon 1PL.R-remove CORE husk GEN coconut  
 '(For) that husking, you take off the husk of the coconut.'
10. *Te cara-no, to-simbi-'e te kabali.*  
 TOP method-3POSS 1PL.R-slash-3OBJ CORE machete  
 'The way to do it, you slash it with a machete.'

11. *Te simbi iso, to-taha-ako-'e na kabali di kaluku.*  
 CORE slash yon 1PL.R-hit.in-for-3OBJ NOM machete OBL coconut  
 'That slashing, you use the machete to hit into the coconut.'
12. *To-taha-ako-'e, sampe to-pali-'e na kaluku.*  
 1PL.R-hit.in-APPL-3OBJ such.that 1PL.R-go.around-3OBJ NOM coconut  
 'You hit in with it, until you've gone all round the coconut.'
13. *Maka to-benu-si-'e.*  
 then 1PL.R-husk-DIR-3OBJ  
 'Then you husk it.'
14. *Sa-benusi sa-benusi.*  
 1-husking 1-husking  
 'Husk it a bit, husk it a bit.'
15. *Maka la'a-mo to-ndai-'e.*  
 then just-PF 1PL.R-tie.together-3OBJ  
 'Then you tie them together.'
16. *O-ha'a to-wila to-ala te kaluku?*  
 3R-why 1PL.R-go 1PL.R-fetch CORE coconut  
 'Why do we go and fetch coconuts?'
17. *Parantaeda ako te santa nu helo'a.*  
 because PURP CORE coconut.milk GEN cooking  
 'It's for the coconut milk for cooking.'
18. *Te santa u saioro, te santa ndawu-ndawu.*  
 CORE coconut.milk GEN vegetables CORE coconut.milk k.o.soup  
 'The coconut milk for vegetables, or for a ndawu-ndawu.'

### 3. WA SABUSABURENGKI

1. *Sapaira sapaira ana, ane kene wowine sa-mia*  
once.upon.a.time exist COM woman 1-CLASS  
*te ngaa-no te Wa Sabusaburengki.*  
CORE name-3POSS CORE Wa Sabusaburengki  
‘Once upon a time there was a woman, and her name was Wa Sabusaburengki.’
  
2. *Te Wa Sabusaburengki ana a-s[um]jumbele te kadola.*  
CORE Wa Sabusaburengki this 3I-decapitate.SI CORE chicken  
‘Now this Wa Sabusaburengki was going to chop off a chicken’s head.’
  
3. *La'a-mo na-s[um]jumbele-'e na kadola iso, no-pogau-mo*  
just-PF 3I-decapitate.SI-3OBJ NOM chicken yon 3R-say-PF  
*na kadola iso kua*  
NOM chicken yon :  
‘*Wa Sabusaburengki, ara pasi ko-s[um]jumbele-aku*  
Wa Sabusaburengki if already 2SG.I-decapitate.SI-1SG.OBJ  
*atu, ko-[m]o-ha'a-aku-mo?”*  
that 2SG.I-VRB.SI-what-1SG.OBJ-PF  
‘Just as she was about to chop that chicken’s head off, it spoke: “Wa Sabusaburengki, if you’ve already chopped my head off, what will you do to me then?”’
  
4. *No-pogau-mo na Wa Sabusaburengki kua*  
3R-say-PF NOM Wa Sabusaburengki :  
‘*Ku-[m]e-wulu-i-k-mo.”*  
1SG-DO.SI-feather-DIR-2SG.OBJ-PF  
‘Wa Sabusaburengki said “I’m going to pluck you.”’
  
5. *No-pogau-mo na kadola kua “Ara pasi*  
3R-say-PF NOM chicken : if already  
*ko-[m]e-wulu-i-aku atu ko-[m]o-ha'a-aku 'uka?”*  
2SG.I-DO.SI-feather-DIR-1SG.OBJ that 2SG.I-VRB.SI-what-1SG.OBJ also  
‘And the chicken said “If you’ve finished plucking me, what else will you do to me?”’
  
6. *No-balo-mo na Wa Sabusaburengki kua*  
3R-answer-PF NOM Wa Sabusaburengki :  
‘*Ku-g[um]jule-i-ko-mo.”*  
1SG-sweet.curry.SI-DIR-2SG.OBJ-PF  
‘Wa Sabusaburengki replied: “I’m going to curry you.”’
  
7. *“Pasi atu ka?”*  
already that ILL.FORCE  
‘“And after that?”’
  
8. *“Ku-manga-ko-mo.”*  
1SG-eat-2SG.OBJ-PF  
‘I’m going to eat you.’

9. *Jari no-pogau-mo na kadola kua* “Ara pasi  
so 3R-say-PF NOM chicken : if already  
*i-manga-aku, tita'i-ako-aku di mela(i) ito!*”  
2PL.R-eat-1SG.OBJ defecate-APPL-1SG.OBJ OBL far that:higher  
'So the chicken said “If you've finished eating me, then excrete me in the  
distance up there.”'
10. *Jari pasi o-manga-'e na kadola iso no-wila-mo*  
so already 3R-eat-3OBJ NOM chicken yon 3R-go-PF  
*no-tita'i na Wa Sabusaburengki di melai.*  
3R-defecate NOM Wa Sabusaburengki OBL far  
'So after she had eaten that chicken, Wa Sabusaburengki went and  
defecated in the distance.'
11. *Sa-anu-n(o) o-waliako-mo.*  
when-whatsit-3POSS 3R-return-PF  
'Having done that, she went back home.'
12. *Eaka molengo i aso nu tita'i-ka nu*  
not long OBL remains GEN defecate-NL GEN  
*Wa Sabusaburengki iso no-'ido-mo na kau to'oge.*  
Wa Sabusaburengki yon 3R-live-PF NOM tree big  
'Not long afterwards in that place where Wa Sabusaburengki had  
defecated there grew a large tree.'
13. *'E kau iso no-ba'e te malingu-giu: ane ke*  
CORE tree yon 3R-fruit CORE various-kind exist and  
*bulawa, ane ke pera, (k)e inta, ke poko-no*  
gold exist and silver and inta and clear-3POSS  
*malingu-giu [m]oto haragaa.*  
various-kind have.SI value  
'And that tree had lots of different types of fruit: there was gold, there  
was silver, there were diamonds, there were all manner of valuable  
things.'
14. *Sa-'ita-ako-no te manusia nu kampo*  
when-see-APPL-3POSS CORE people GEN village  
*na kau ba'i measo'e ai no-po-kana-gau-mo*  
NOM tree PREV REF-yon ANA 3R-REC-appropriate-desire-PF  
*na manusi(a) u kampo ka'ano:*  
NOM people GEN village in.order.that  
*na-wila na-t[um]u'o-ke.*  
3I-go 3I-chop.SI-3OBJ  
'When the people of the village saw that tree, all the people of the village  
decided that they were to go and chop it down.'
15. *Jari te manusi(a) u kampo iso o-sumbere-wila-mo*  
so CORE people GEN village yon 3R-suddenly-go-PF  
*saba'ane ako na-t[um]u'o te kau iso.*  
all PURP 3I-chop.SI CORE tree yon  
'So the people of that village all went off immediately and were going to  
chop that tree down.'

16. *Sa-rato-n(o) n)a waktuu-no ane-mo ke mia*  
 when-arrive-3POSS NOM time-3POSS be-PF COM person  
*[m]ala te baliu maka a-t[um]u'o-ke.*  
 fetch.SI CORE axe and.then 3R-chop.SI-3OBJ  
 'There came the moment that there was someone with an axe, and he was going to chop it down.'
17. *Toka bisa no-tu'o-ke (a)wana 'umpa te kau measo'e*  
 but allow 3R-chop-3OBJ manner Q CORE tree REF-yon  
*ai mbeaka no-hama-'e na la'a-no.*  
 ANA not 3R-scratch-3OBJ NOM just-3POSS  
 'But no matter how much he tried chopping it, that tree wasn't scratched one little bit.'
18. *Bisa no-ko-koruo na ko'e te tu'o mbeak(a)*  
 even.though 3R-RED.many NOM stroke CORE chop not  
*ala'a no-hama-'e.*  
 just 3R-scratch-3OBJ  
 'Even though he chopped at it many times it wasn't scratched one little bit.'
19. *Jari no-me-mente-mo na mia.*  
 so 3R-RED-surprise-PF NOM person  
 'Well, those people were very surprised.'
20. *Sa-anu-no ane ke mia pande sa-mia*  
 when-whatsit-3POSS exist and shaman 1-person  
*o-tari-ako-'e na kau iso.*  
 3R-ESP-APPL-3OBJ NOM tree yon  
 'When that happened a certain shaman sued his ESP on that tree.'
21. *Sa-anu-no o-pogau-mo kua "Suru mbeaka*  
 when-whatsit-3POSS 3R-say-PF : order not  
*no-to-bata na kau ana entaea mbea'e*  
 3R-PASS-chop NOM tree this because not.exist  
*na Wa Sabusaburengki."*  
 NOM Wa Sabusaburengki  
 'And then he said: "Tell them that this tree is not able to be chopped, because Wa Sabusaburengki is not here.'
22. *Jari te kapala kampo no-tumpu-mo te mia ako*  
 so CORE village head 3R-order-PF CORE person PURP  
*na-'[um]jelo te Wa Sabusaburengki.*  
 3I-call.SI CORE Wa Sabusaburengki  
 'So the village chief ordered a person to go and summon Wa Sabusaburengki.'

23. *Sa-rato-no* *di* *wunua* *nu* *Wa Sabusaburengki*  
 when-arrive-3POSS OBL house GEN Wa Sabusaburengki  
*o-pogau-mo na mia iso kua* “*Wa Sabusaburengki,*  
 3R-say-PF NOM person yon : Wa Sabusaburengki  
*i-tumpu-mo na ana mina di manusia koruo o-dei-mo*  
 OP-order-PF NOM this from OBL people many 3R-left.over-PF  
*te iko'o na ana na i-ta'o-nta'o di melai (a)tu.*  
 CORE 2SG NOM this NOM OP-RED-wait OBL far that  
 ‘When he arrived at the house of Wa Sabusaburengki that person said  
 “Wa Sabusaburengki, I have been ordered (here), from the multitude,  
 that you who are left over here are awaited in the distance there.’
24. *Tabea ane ke iko'o maka na-j[um]ari a-t[um]o-tu'o*  
 but exist COM 2SG then 3I-become.SI 3I-PASS.SI-fell  
*na kau itu.”*  
 NOM tree that  
 ‘But if you were there then that tree could be chopped down.’
25. *Jari te Wa Sabusaburengki ana no-wila-mo.*  
 so CORE Wa Sabusaburengki this 3R-go-PF  
 ‘So Wa Sabusaburengki went.’
26. *Sa-rato-no o-sembere-pogau-mo na mia koruo*  
 when-arrive-3POSS 3R-immediate-say-PF NOM person many  
*kua* “*A-tu'o-'e-mo Wa Sabusaburengki, te iko'o,*  
 : 3I-chop-3OBJ-PF Wa Sabusaburengki CORE 2SG  
*na kau atu.*  
 NOM tree that  
 ‘When she arrived the multitude immediately said “Wa Sabusaburengki  
 will chop it down, you, that tree.’
27. *Te ikami ko-kalu-mo toka mbeak(a) ala'a no-to-bata.”*  
 CORE 1PA 1PA.R-tired-PF but not just 3R-PASS-scratch  
 ‘We are tired yet it isn’t even scratched.’
28. *Sa-anu-no o-wila-mo na Wa Sabusaburengki*  
 when-whatsit-3POSS 3R-go-PF NOM Wa Sabusaburengki  
*i wor(u) u kau iso, o-kede-paseba.*  
 OBL under GEN tree yon 3R-sit-cross.legged  
 ‘Well, after that Wa Sabusaburengki went and sat cross-legged on the  
 ground under that tree.’
29. *Maka la'a-mo no-basa te jo'a.*  
 and.then just-PF 3R-read CORE spell  
 ‘And then she recited a spell.’
30. “*Iko'o Wa Kau mai pa-mopera kua wuta*”  
 2SG Wa Tree come CAUS-short ALL ground  
 ‘You, O Tree, shrink down to the ground.’
31. *Jari te kau iso no-mopera-mo.*  
 so CORE tree yon 3R-short-PF  
 ‘And that tree shrunk right down.’

32. *Sa-'ita-ako-no no-mopera-mo iso o-sumbere-tinti-mo*  
 when-see-APPL-3POSS 3R-short-PF yon 3R-immediate-run-PF  
*na manusia koruo ako na-[m]ala te ba'e nu*  
 NOM people many PURP 3I-fetch.SI CORE fruit GEN  
*kau iso.*  
 tree yon  
 'When the people saw that it was low, they immediately rushed to fetch the fruits of that tree.'
33. *Toka mina mbea-ho no-mangule-ala-'e no-pogau-mo*  
 but from not-yet 3R-exhaust-fetch-3OBJ 3R-say-PF  
*na Wa Sabusaburengki kua "Iko'o Wa Kau melanga*  
 NOM Wa Sabusaburengki : 2SG Wa Tree high  
*kua lange ito!"*  
 ALL sky that:higher  
 'But before they could fetch them Wa Sabusaburengki said "You, O Tree, rise up to the sky.'
34. *Sa-anu-no te kau iso no-melanga-mo sa-wali.*  
 when-whatsit-3POSS CORE tree yon 3R-high-PF 1-time  
 'And then the tree heightened up another time.'
35. *Tolu-wali no-po-sunsu-sunsu awana iso.*  
 3-time 3R-REC-RED-fool manner yon  
 'Three times they tricked them in that way.'
36. *Pasi pasi no-mopera no-melanga-mo sa-wali.*  
 already already 3R-short 3R-high-PF 1-time  
 'And after that it shrank and lengthened one more time.'
37. *Sa-ako-hato-wali-no no-pogau-mo*  
 when-PURP-four-time-3POSS 3R-say-PF  
*na Wa Sabusaburengki kua "Iko'o Wa Kau pa-mopera-mo!"*  
 NOM Wa Sabusaburengki : 2SG Wa Tree CAUS-short-PF  
 'On the fourth time Wa Sabusaburengki said "You O Tree shrink down!"
- (Note the use of the causative in this sentence. Seakers, when questioned on *tis*, say that this *si* shorthand for 'Make your height shorter')
38. *Jari te kau iso no-mopera-mo.*  
 so CORE tree yon 3R-short-PF  
 'And so that tree shrank down.'
39. *Sa-mopera-no no-sumbere-ala-mo na mia.*  
 when-short-3POSS 3R-immediate-fetch-PF NOM person  
 'When it was short the people immediately (went and) fetched (the fruits).'

40. *Ane ke mia [m]jala te bulawa, te pera,*  
 exist and person fetch.SI CORE gold CORE silver  
*te inta, te salaka saba'a-ba'ane na mia*  
 CORE diamond CORE salaka all.RED NOM person  
*no-homo-ngkaru sa-'apa-'apata-no.*  
 3R-VRB-carry 1-RED-extremity-3POSS  
 'There were people taking gold, and some taking silver, and diamonds,  
 and salaka, all the people were carrying as much as they could.'
41. *Maka no-waliako kua kampo.*  
 and.then 3R-return ALL village  
 'And then they returned to their village.'
42. *Pasi te iso te kau iso no-ila-mo kene te*  
 already CORE yon CORE tree yon 3R-wither-PF and CORE  
*mia nu kampo iso no-sumbere-sumbere-kaea-mo.*  
 person GEN village yon 3R-RED-immediate-rich-PF  
 'After that the tree withered away, and the people of the village became  
 fabulously wealthy.'
43. *Entaea no-sumbere-aso-mo te harabara di-ala-no*  
 because 3R-immediate-sell-PF CORE things OP-fetch-3POSS  
*i kau iso.*  
 OBL tree yon  
 'Because they sold the things that they had fetched from that tree straight  
 away.'
44. *Sapaira sapaira tangka-no-mo.*  
 And.they.all.lived.happily.ever.after  
 'The End.'



#### 4. TUKANG BESI

1. *E, 'e pulo hatu-pulo ana, no-po-sala-sala*  
 TOP TOP island 4-CLASS this 3R-REC-RED-fault  
*na adati-no, na monea-no.*  
 NOM customs-3POSS NOM customs-3POSS  
 'Well, these four islands, the customs, yes the customs, are different.'  
 (*adati* is a loan from Indonesian *adat*; *monea* is the *Tukang Besi* term)
2. *Te bahasa-no, te pogau-no no-po-sala 'uka.*  
 CORE language-3POSS CORE speech-3POSS 3R-REC-fault also  
 'The language, the speech differs as well.'
3. *Awana i Wanse ana, kene Kahedupa, kene Tomia,*  
 manner OBL Wanci this and Kaledupa and Tomea  
*kene Binongko, te sida te pulo hatu-pulo ana,*  
 and Binongko TOP truth TOP island 4-CLASS this  
*te pogau Ka'umbeda sa-liu ane ke po-sala-sala-no.*  
 CORE speech Ka'umbeda 1-sort exist and REC-RED-fault-3POSS  
 'Like on Wanci here, and Kaledupa, and Tomea, and Binongko, in fact  
 on these four islands the language is the Ka'umbeda language, with  
 some differences.'
4. *Te po-sala-ako tingka lagu 'uka*  
 CORE REC-fault-APPL level song also  
*u mia-no 'uka, ane.*  
 GEN people-3POSS also exist  
 'There are differences in the intonation, and with the people as well.'  
 (*tingka lagu* is code-switching from Indonesian *tingkat lagu*)
5. *Te Wanse, o-monea na-po-daga no-para-aso, no-karajaa,*  
 CORE Wanci 3R-usual 3I-REC-trade 3R-ITER-sell 3R-work  
*a mo'ane, wowine.*  
 NOM man woman  
 'On Wanci, normally both men and women trade, and sell things, and  
 work.'
6. *He-buntu ara te awana i Kahedupa, koruo 'uka*  
 DO-only if TOP manner OBL Kaledupa many also  
*no-sikola na amai.*  
 3R-school NOM 3PL  
 'But in fact on Kaledupa, a lot of them go to school.'
7. *O-pisi to'oge, te sikola kene langke-'a.*  
 3R-separate big CORE schooling and sail-NL  
 'That's quite different, schooling and sailing.'

8. *Jari te po-sala-'a u Wanse kene Kahedupa,*  
 so TOP REC-fault-NL GEN Wanci and Kaledupa  
*te Wanse bisa te wowine mai o-karajaa,*  
 TOP Wanci can CORE woman INAL 3R-work  
*no-para-aso.*  
 3R-ITER-sell  
 'So the differences between Wanci and Kaledupa are that on Wanci even the women work and sell things.'
9. *Te Kahedupa, buntu te mo'ane na koruo*  
 TOP Kaledupa only CORE man NOM many  
*k[um]arajaa, te wowine mai, e, no-he-'uranga di wunua.*  
 work.SI TOP woman INAL ah 3R-DO-live OBL house  
 'On Kaledupa only the men do a lot of work, and those women, well, they stay at home.'
10. *Kana eaka no-monea i para-asa-'a.*  
 because not 3R-usual OBL ITER-sell-NL  
 'Because they're not used to selling things.'
11. *Te bukti-no, te Kahedupa apa me-ana'-e ai*  
 TOP proof-3POSS TOP Kaledupa ENDPOINT now ANA  
*apa le'ale'ana mbea-ho a daoa-no.*  
 ENDPOINT today not-yet NOM market-3POSS  
 'I mean, really, on Kaledupa up to now, up to this very day, they still don't have a market.'
- (*bukti* is either an unassimilated Indonesian loan, or more likely an example of code switching; Kaledupa gained a market in Ambeua in 1993 (a *Pasar Inpres*), after this text was recorded)
12. *A[um]ane-(e) a na dao(a) atu 'umpa-mo kana*  
 RED-exist.SI-3OBJ NOM NOM market that Q-PF because  
*parantai mbea'e a mia [m]ara-aso-api-'e.*  
 because not.exist NOM person ITER.SI-sell-DIR-3OBJ  
 'In order to have a market, well how can they because there aren't any people selling things to other people.'
13. *Tabea ke mi(a) o- b[um]alu ala'a.*  
 because and person 3R- buy.SI just  
 'Because there are people who, who buy, that's all.'
14. *Te mia u Wanse ane, te mia b[um]alu*  
 TOP person GEN Wanci this TOP person buy.SI  
*ane, te [m]ara-aso, koruo h[um]ada-para-aso.*  
 exist, CORE ITER.SI-sell many want.SI-ITER-sell  
 'On Wanci they have them, people who buy, and they have them, people who sell, lots who want to sell things.'

15. *Buntu te awana amai Tomia, te Tomia, o-harai*  
 only TOP manner 3PL Tomea TOP Tomea 3R-very  
*a-poilu-'e a i he-koranga-'a, o-langke-langke a-*  
 3I-love-3OBJ NOM OBL DO-garden-NL 3R-RED-sail 3I-  
*o-wila kua pulo Sapaka, o-wila he-'uranga i Maluku,*  
 3R-go ALL island Sapaka 3R-go DO-garden OBL Maluku  
*o-dai-'e a togo na-langke-ako te he-mbula-'a*  
 3R-left.over-3OBJ NOM town 3I-sail-APPL CORE plant-NL  
*u cengke a kaluku, awa te para-pola-'a.*  
 GEN cloves or coconut or CORE ITER-fish.trap-NL  
 'Like those people on Tomea, the Tomeans, they really like gardening,  
 they sail, they'll go to Sapaka, they go gardening in Maluku, and those  
 left over in the towns will go sailing in order to plant cloves, or  
 coconuts, or for fishing.'

16. *Kana te, te kada-'a u, te wuta*  
 because CORE CORE situation-NL GEN CORE ground  
*he-'uranga ana, i Tomia, o- mbeaka no-, saori-subur.*  
 DO-live this OBL Tomea 3R- not 3R- very-fertile  
 'Because, well, the, ah, the situation of the, ah, the ground they live on,  
 in Tomea, it's, it's not very fertile.'

(*kada'a* < Indonesian *keadaan*, with the Indonesian *-an* reinterpreted as the *Tukang Besi* *-a* suffix, probably reflecting an accurate picture of the historical linguistic situation. *Subur* is another example of code-switching)

17. *No-panta ba'a-no-mo te bawa ana no-hembula*  
 3R-extent only-3POSS-PF CORE onion this 3R-plant  
*na-j[um]ari.*  
 3I-become.SI  
 'It's so bad that only onions like this will grow if you plant them.'
18. *Ara te kaujawa (o)-kura, te kahitela (o)-kura,*  
 if TOP cassava 3R-lack TOP corn 3R-lack,  
*te kaluku no-kura, karna mbeaka no-membali.*  
 TOP coconut 3R-lack because not 3R-happen  
 'And cassava, there's not enough of, corn is lacking, coconuts are  
 scarce, because they don't come up.'
19. *Awana 'uka ai, Binongko, i Binongko,*  
 manner also ANA Binongko OBL Binongko  
*'e mone(a) ana, e amai o-langke.*  
 CORE usual this CORE 3PL 3R-sail  
 'It's like that on Binongko as well. On Binongko, they usually go  
 sailing.'
20. *Ara te l[um]angke i po-daga-'a o-paraki.*  
 if TOP sail.SI OBL REC-trade-NL 3R-carry.cargo  
 'And those sailors, it's for the trade, for carrying cargo.'

21. *O-wila* *saga'a* *hato-komba* *lima-komba* *maka* *no-mai*  
 3R-go sometimes 4-month 5-month and.then 3R-come  
*saga('a)* *'uka* *kana* *nomo-komba* *maka* *no-mai*  
 sometimes also because 6-month and.then 3R-come  
*sa-wali* *sampe* *o-'awa* *te* *paraki-'a*.  
 1-time until 3R-get CORE carry.cargo-NL  
 'They go for four, five months before they return, sometimes as long as six months before they come back from the one trip, until they get a cargo..'
22. *Maka* *no-mai* *kene* *te,* *di* *Binongko* *'uka*  
 and.then 3R-come and CORE OBL Binongko also  
*o-ilu* *'uka* *na* *langke-'a* *sahu-sahu* *'uka*  
 3R-lust also NOM sail-NL RED-family also  
*kene* *mo'ane-no* *ke* *wowine-no*.  
 and man-3POSS and woman-3POSS  
 'And then they came with...on Binongko as well they like to go sailing, the whole family as well, men and women.'
23. *Te* *mone-monea-no-mo* *'uk(a),* *u* *amai*.  
 CORE RED-usual-3POSS-PF also GEN 3PL  
 'That's what they're used to.'
24. *A,* *te* *Binongko,* *ane* *dua* *bahasa,* *ane* *dua-'asa*  
 eh TOP Binongko exist 2 language exist 2-CLASS  
*na* *pogau* *daera-no*.  
 NOM language local-3POSS  
 'And (on) Binongko, there are two speeches, there are two local languages.'
25. *Sa'asa* *te* *Desa Wali,* *termasuk* *te* *Wakamendo,*  
 firstly TOP Desa Wali including CORE Wakamendo  
*ke* *Oitiu,* *kene* *Mole,* *te* *pogau-no* *te* *Ciacia,*  
 and Oitiu and Mole CORE language-3POSS CORE Cia-Cia  
*o-po-kana* *ke* *pogau* *Sampolawa*.  
 3R-REC-fitting and language Sampolawa  
 'Firstly in Desa Wali, Wakamendo, Oitiu, and Mole, the language is Cia-Cia, the same as the Sampolawa language.'
- (it is not quite true that the language of Desa Wali is identical with mainland Butonese Cia-Cia (on lexical, gramatical and internal sociolinguistic grounds), but it is certainly part of the Cia-Cia language complex, and the two speech varieties are much closer to each other than to Tukang Besi)
26. *Tabea* *te,* *te* *Rukuwa,* *Taipabu,* *Bante,* *'One'one,*  
 but TOP TOP Rukuwa Taipabu Bante 'One'one  
*Hopalia,* *te* *pogau-no* *te* *Ka'umbeda*.  
 Popalia CORE language-3POSS CORE Ka'umbeda  
 'But as for Rukuwa, Taipabu, Bante, 'One'one, Popalia, the language is Ka'umbeda.'

27. *O-hada [m]o-kana kene pogau Wanse, sa-liu te*  
 3R-almost REC.SI-fitting and language Wanci 1-type CORE  
*po-sala-ako-no, a, sa-ba'e-ba'e,*  
 REC-fault-APPL-3POSS NOM 1-RED-fruit  
*ke lagu no-po-sala.*  
 and song 3R-REC-fault  
 'Well, these four islands, the customs, yes the customs, are different.'
28. *Te [m]a-langke, o-wila kua pa Buru, o-wila kua Sanana,*  
 TOP OCC.SI-sail 3R-go ALL ah Buru 3R-go ALL Sanana  
*o-wila kua pulo-pulo i Taliabu, o-wila kua Wawoni'i.*  
 3R-go ALL RED-island OBL Taliabu 3R-go ALL Wawoni'i  
 'The sailors, they go to Buru, they go to Sanana, they go to the islands  
 around Taliabu, they go to Wawoni'i.'
29. *No-dai 'uka na i togo na laha u 'ido-no.*  
 3R-left.over also NOM OBL town NOM search GEN live-3POSS  
 'They stay behind as well, in the town, to look for a living.'
30. *E laha u he-'uranga-'a, karna i Binongko*  
 CORE search GEN DO-live-NL because OBL Binongko  
*iso, te watu torusu, na kampo-no.*  
 yon CORE stone continue NOM village-3POSS  
 'The search for places to do gardening, because on Binongko there, it's  
 stones all the way, in the villages.'
31. *Kene te uwe, o-, o-kura na uwe motembe.*  
 and TOP water, 3R- 3R-lack NOM water fresh  
 'And water, there's a shortage of fresh water.'
32. *Ane ke uwe motembe, ba'a-no-mo*  
 exist and water fresh only-3POSS-PF  
*i Wakarumembe kene Popalia.*  
 OBL Wakarumembe and Popalia  
 'There is fresh water, but only in Wakarumembe and Popalia.'
33. *Ara i Rukuwa, i Bante, i Mole, i Oitiu,*  
 if OBL Rukuwa, OBL Bante, OBL Mole, OBL Oitiu,  
*o-mokeha sa-mata-mata na uwe-no.*  
 3R-brackish 1-RED-CLASS NOM water  
 'And in Rukuwa, Bante, Mole, Oitiu, all the water is brackish.'

## 5. LA KOHOKOHO KENE LA KANDOKENDOKE

### The Heron and the Monkey.

The title of a story often serves as the introduction of the protagonists for the audience; they are not introduced in the body of the text.

1. *Te La Kohokoho ana no-waa-mo te La Kandokendoke*  
 CORE La Heron this 3R-tell-PF CORE La Monkey  
*kua "Mai to-wila-ako to-tunga-ntunga,*  
 COMP come 1PL.R-go-APPL 1PL.R-RED-fish  
*La bela Kandokendoke."*  
 La dear Monkey  
 'Heron said to Monkey "Hey, let's go and do some fishing, Dear Monkey.'
2. *No-balo-mo na La bela Kandokendoke kua*  
 3R-answer-PF NOM La dear Monkey COMP  
 'Monkey answered'
3. *"Oho, membali. Toka tabea ta-[m]jeka-wou-wou."*  
 yes, agree but condition 1PL.I-INTENS.SI-RED-cast.line  
 "OK, I agree, but only if we can go angling."
4. *Jari no-balo-mo na La Kohokoho kua*  
 so 3R-answer-PF NOM La Heron COMP  
*"Ara awan(a) atu tabea ta-l[um]jaha te upa."*  
 if manner that condition 1PL.I-search.SI CORE bait  
 'So Heron answered, "In that case, we'll have to search for some bait.'
5. *Jari awana iso no-wila-mo no-tutu*  
 so manner yon 3R-go-PF 3R-pound  
*te kombokombo ako te upa-no.*  
 CORE k.o.shellfish for CORE bait-3POSS  
 'Thus they went, and they pounded the kombokombo shells to make their bait.'
6. *Sa-koruo-no na upa-no no-wila-mo*  
 when-many-3POSS NOM bait-3POSS 3R-go-PF  
*no-heka-wou-wou.*  
 3R-REP-RED-cast.line  
 'When they had a lot of bait they went and they fished.'
7. *No-rato i wawo nu waturumbu no-kede-mo i atu.*  
 3R-arrive OBL above GEN coral 3R-sit-PF OBL there  
 'They arrived at (the edge of) the coral, and they sat down there.'
8. *Jari no-heka-wou-wou mina i wawo nu waturumbu iso.*  
 so 3R-REP-RED-cast.line from OBL above GEN coral yon  
 'So they cast their lines from on top of that coral.'

9. *No-wini no-wini sa-'ulu no-tau-'e-mo i laro*  
 3R-drag 3R-drag 1-CLASS 3R-place-3OBJ-PF OBL inside  
*no 'uranga-no.*  
 GEN place-3POSS  
 'They pulled them in, and they wound them in one (after the other), and put them in the container.'
10. *Te 'uranga-no iso te humbuhumbu na ngaa-no.*  
 CORE place-3POSS yon CORE k.o.basket NOM name-3POSS  
 'The container was a humbu-humbu, that was its name.'
11. *Molengo molengo no-heka-wou-wou no-pogau-mo*  
 long long 3R-REP-RED-cast.line 3R-say-PF  
*na La Kohokoho kua "Mai ku-konta-ako-'e*  
 NOM La Heron COMP come 1SG-hold-APPL-3OBJ  
*e iaku na ika-nto atu, La bela Kandokendoke."*  
 CORE 1SG NOM fish-1PL.POSS that La dear Monkey  
 'After they had been casting a while, Heron said "Hey, Dear Monkey, how about I hold our fish?"
12. *No-balo kua "Oho, leama."*  
 3R-answer COMP yes good  
 'He answered "OK, fine."
13. *Jari no-rongo-'e-mo te La Kohokoho*  
 so 3R-string.handle-3OBJ-PF CORE La Heron  
*na humbu iso ba'i.*  
 NOM k.o.basket yon PREV  
 'So Heron took that humbu there by its string handle.'
14. *Sa-molengo-no no-heka-wou-wou no-'ema-mo*  
 when-long-3POSS 3R-REP-RED-cast.line 3R-ask-PF  
*na La Kandokendoke ana kua "Mbea-ho no-buke*  
 NOM La Money this COMP not-yet 3R-full  
*na 'uranga-nto atu La bela Kohokoho?"*  
 NOM place-1PL.POSS that La dear Heron  
 'When they had been fishing for a while, Monkey asked "Isn't our container there by you full yet, Dear Heron?"
15. *No-balo-mo na La Kohokoho kua "Mbea-ho."*  
 3R-answer-PF NOM La Heron COMP not-yet  
 'Heron answered "Not yet."
16. *Molengo molengo no-'ema-'e-mo na La Kohokoho kua*  
 long long 3R-ask-3OBJ-PF NOM La Heron COMP  
*"Na dara-no-mo no-wini te ika, no-ha'a*  
 NOM many-3POSS-PF 3R-drag CORE fish 3R-why  
*mbeaka-do no-buke-buke?"*  
 not-EMPH 3R-RED-full  
 'After a while he asked Heron "The fish that have been pulled in are very many, how can it be that it still isn't full?"

17. *No-balo-mo na La Kohokoho kua*  
 3R-answer-PF NOM La Heron COMP  
*"Parantai no-to'oge na humbu-nto."*  
 because 3R-big NOM k.o.basket-1PL.POSS  
 'Heron answered "Because our humbu is very big."
18. *Po'oli te iso o-soba-mo no-parisa-'e na ne'i*  
 finish CORE yon 3R-try-PF 3R-investigate-3OBJ NOM contents  
*nu humbu-no iso ba'i.*  
 GEN k.o.basket-3POSS yon PREV  
 'After that he<sub>Monkey</sub> tried to check out the contents of that humbu there.'
19. *Kambeda mbea-mo na ika-no parantai*  
 because not-PF NOM fish-3POSS because  
*no-pidi-'e-mo te manga, te La Kohokoho.*  
 3R-rubbish-3OBJ-PF CORE eat CORE La Heron  
 'In fact they didn't have any fish any more, because they had been trashed by eating, by Heron.'
20. *Awana atu te La Kandokendoke no-hawasaa-mo.*  
 manner that CORE La Monkey 3R-angry-PF  
 'So in that way Monkey became angry.'
21. *Parantai ara na-[m]o-busu no-wikirii kua*  
 because if 3I-REC.SI-forward.fist 3R-think COMP  
*"Na-t[um]alo-'e te La Kohokoho na La Kandokendoke."*  
 3I-win.SI-3OBJ CORE La Heron NOM La Monkey  
 'Because he wanted to fight, he thought "Monkey would be beaten by Heron."
22. *Liu te La Kohokoho mebuku na tuno*  
 reason CORE La Heron strong NOM heel  
*kene no-melangka na ngusu-no.*  
 COM 3R-long NOM beak-3POSS  
 'The reason was that Heron is strong of heel and long of nose.'
23. *Jari no-laha-mo te akala na La Kandokendoke*  
 so 3R-search-PF CORE trick NOM La Monkey  
*ana ba'i.*  
 this PREV  
 'So this Monkey looked for a trick.'
24. *Pia-mo no-wikirii kua "Labi ku-akala-'e sa-giu*  
 sudden-PF 3R-think COMP better 1SG-trick-3OBJ 1-type  
*na La Kohokoho ana parantai ara ku-[m]o-busu*  
 NOM La Heron this because if 1SG-REC.SI-forward.fist  
*na-t[um]alo-aku, kene te ia no-pande di lola-'a,*  
 3I-win-1SG.OBJ COM CORE 3SG 3R-clever OBL fly-NL  
*jari labi ku-akala-'e.*  
 so better 1SG-trick-3OBJ  
 'Suddenly he thought "It'd be better if I tricked this Mr. Heron in a way, because if I want to fight he'll beat me, and he's good at flying, so it'd be better if I tricked him.'



25. *Te sida-mo no-waa-'e-mo na La Kohokoho kua*  
 CORE truth-PF 3R-tell-3OBJ-PF NOM La Heron COMP  
*"Te iaku iso La Kohokoho ku-kutu-ó, labi*  
 CORE 1SG yon La Heron 1SG-lice-infested better  
*to-po-laha-laha kutu lagi."*  
 IPL.R-REC-RED-search louse now  
 'So, what happened was that he told Heron: "I, O Heron, I have lice, it would be better if we deloused each other now."
26. *Jari no-hada-mo na La Kohokoho.*  
 so 3R-like-PF NOM La Heron  
 'And Heron liked (the idea).'
27. *No-waa-'e-mo na La Kohokoho kua "Mai ku-laha*  
 3R-tell-3OBJ-PF NOM La Heron COMP come 1SG-search  
*lagi-'e na kutu-'u La bela Kohokoho."*  
 now-3OBJ NOM louse-2SG.POSS La dear Heron  
 'He<sub>Monkey</sub> told Heron "Come, I'll begin by looking for your lice, Dear Heron."
28. *No-balo-mo kua "Oho."*  
 3R-answer-PF COMP yes  
 'He<sub>Heron</sub> answered "OK"
29. *Jari no-pa-kipu-'e-mo na La Kohokoho maka*  
 so 3R-CAUS-close.eyes-3OBJ-PF NOM La Heron and.then  
*no-ho-(ng)obu-'e na wulu no kape; no-kobu*  
 3R-VRB-pull.out-3OBJ NOM feather GEN wing 3R-pull.out  
*no-kobu sa-wulu no-retu-mo.*  
 3R-pull.out 1-feather 3R-alveolar.click-PF  
 'So he closed Heron's eyes, and plucked the wing feathers. He plucked, and he plucked, and with each feather he made a click noise.'
30. *No-waa-'e-mo kua "Kambeda na basa ana*  
 3R-tell-3OBJ-PF COMP fact NOM large this  
*na retu nu kutu-'u, La Kohokoho."*  
 NOM alveolar.click GEN louse-2SG.POSS La Heron  
 'He told him "It's because of this great size that your lice pop so, Heron."
31. *No-balo-mo kua "Oho."*  
 3R-answer-PF COMP yes  
 'He<sub>Heron</sub> answered "OK"
32. *Tungga-tunggal sa-wulu no-kobu te kape-no*  
 RED-each 1-feather 3R-pull.out CORE wing-3POSS  
*no-waa-'e kua "Kambeda na basa ana*  
 3R-tell-3OBJ COMP fact NOM large this  
*na retu nu kutu-'u, La bela Kohokoho."*  
 NOM alveolar.click GEN louse-2SG.POSS La dear Heron  
 'With each feather that he<sub>Monkey</sub> plucked from his<sub>Heron</sub>'s wings, he<sub>Monkey</sub> told him "It's because of this great size that your lice pop so, Dear Heron."

33. *Molengo molengo no-po'oli-'e-mo no-he-wulu-i-'e*  
 long long 3R-finish-3OBJ-PF 3R-do-feather-DIR-3OBJ  
*na kape-no dari mbeaka-mo no-po'oli no-lola*  
 NOM wing-3POSS so not-PF 3R-finish 3R-fly  
*na La Kohokoho ana.*  
 NOM La Heron this  
 'After a while he had finished plucking the wings, so Heron couldn't fly any more.'
34. *Po'oli awana iso no-agori-mo no-tode*  
 finish manner yon 3R-immediate-PF 3R-flee  
*na La Kandokendoke.*  
 NOM La Monkey  
 'And with that Monkey leaped up and ran away.'
35. *No-heka-heka-rau-mo na La Kohokoho kua*  
 3R-RED-REP-yell-PF NOM La Heron COMP  
*"Tonda-aku ke iaku, La bela Kandokendoke."*  
 pull.by.wrist-1SG.OBJ COM 1SG La dear Monkey  
 'Heron cried out: "Take me by my hand as well, Dear Monkey."
36. *No-balo-mo kua "Ta-inta, e iaku la'a*  
 3R-answer-PF COMP 1PL.I-wait CORE 1SG just  
*ku-wila-si-ko."*  
 1SG-go-DIR-2SG.OBJ  
 'He answered "Please wait, I'll come and visit you in a moment."
37. *Kambeda sampe no-tawo mbeaka-mo no-wila-si-ne.*  
 fact such.that 3R-rising.tide not-PF 3R-go-DIR-3OBJ  
 'In fact it was so late that the tide was rising, and heMonkey didn't go to him again.'
38. *Jari no-raha-'e-mo te tawo, mbeaka-mo no-po'oli*  
 so 3R-blood-3OBJ-PF CORE rising.tide not-PF 3R-finish  
*no-lola parantai mbea-mo na wulu nu kape-no.*  
 3R-fly because not-PF NOM feather GEN wing-3POSS  
 'So heHeron was dashed about until he bled by the rising tide, he couldn't fly any more because he didn't have any feathers in his wings any more.'
39. *Jari te La Kohokoho no-mate-mo, no-mate-ako*  
 so CORE La Heron 3R-dead-PF 3R-dead-APPL  
*te molo-mo.*  
 CORE drowning-PF  
 'So Heron died, he died by drowning.'
40. *Mbea-mo, po'oli-mo.*  
 not-PF finish-PF  
 'There is no more, it is finished.'

## 6. LA KOLOKOLOPUA KE LA KANDOKENDOKE

### The Tortoise and the Monkey

1. *La Kolokolopua ke La Kandokendoke no-po-bela-bela.*  
 La Tortoise and La Monkey 3R-REC-RED-dear  
 'The Monkey and the Tortoise were good friends'
  
2. *No-mai-mo na La Kandokendoke no-waa-'e-mo*  
 3R-come-PF NOM La Monkey 3R-tell-3OBJ-PF  
*na La Kolokolopua. "O, La bela Kolokolopua*  
 NOM La Tortoise hey, La dear Tortoise  
*mai to-he-mbula-ako te loka."*  
 come 1PL.R-do-plant-APPL CORE banana  
 'Monkey came and told Tortoise "Hey, Dear Tortoise, let's plant banana trees."
  
3. *No-balo-mo na La Kolokolopua kua "Oho, leama."*  
 3R-answer-PF NOM La Tortoise : yes good  
 'Tortoise answered 'All right, fine.'
  
4. *Po'oli te iso no-bisara-mo na La Kolokolopua kua*  
 finish CORE yon 3R-say-PF NOM La Tortoise :  
*"Ta-[m]jala te loka di 'umpa,*  
 1PL.I-fetch.SI CORE banana OBL Q  
*La bela Kandokendoke."*  
 La dear Monkey  
 'After that Tortoise said "Where will we get the banana trees, dear Monkey?"'
  
5. *No-balo-mo na La Kandokendoke kua*  
 3R-answer-PF NOM La Monkey :  
*"Ku-wila ku-[m]jala-kita di iso."*  
 1SG-go 1SG-obtain.SI-1PL.OBJ OBL yon  
 'Monkey answered "I'm going to get (one) for us, there."
  
6. *Balo-mo na La Kolokolopua kua*  
 answer-PF NOM La Tortoise :  
*"Membali toka ara ta-[m]je-mbula te loka*  
 agree but if 1PL.I-do.SI-plant CORE banana  
*ta-[m]jo-pale-ne, te iaku ku-[m]je-mbula te hu'u-no.*  
 1PL.I-make.SI-chop-3OBJ TOP 1SG 1SG-do.SI-plant CORE trunk-3POSS  
 'Tortoise answered "Right. But if we're planting bananas, we will chop it: I will plant the trunk,'
  
7. *Te iko'o ko-[m]je-mbula te umbu-no."*  
 TOP 2SG 2SG.I-do.-SI-plant CORE extremity-3POSS  
 'You shall plant the top.'
  
8. *Jari no-po-pale-'e-mo na loka iso.*  
 so 3R-REC-chop-3OBJ-PF NOM banana yon  
 'So they chopped that banana tree.'

9. *Te La Kolokolopua no-he-mbula te hu'u-no,*  
 TOP La Tortoise 3R-do-plant CORE trunk-3POSS  
*te La Kandokendoke no-he-mbula te umbu-no.*  
 TOP La Monkey 3R-do-plant CORE extremity-3POSS  
 'Tortoise planted the trunk, and Monkey planted the top.'
10. *Molengo molengo no-mai-mo na La Kandokendoke*  
 long long 3R-come-PF NOM La Monkey  
*no-'ema-mo "No-ha'a-ha'a-mo na loka-'u,*  
 3R-ask-PF 3R-RED-why-PF NOM banana-2SG.POSS  
*La bela Kolokolopua?"*  
 La dear Tortoise  
 'Later Monkey came and asked "How is your banana tree, dear Tortoise?"
11. *No-balo-'e kua "Sa-ro'o-mo.*  
 3R-answer-3OBJ : 1-leaf-PF  
*Karo te iko'o La bela Kandokendoke?"*  
 and.if TOP 2SG La dear Monkey  
 'He answered him "There's already one leaf. And (how is it) with you, dear Monkey?"
12. *No-balo-mo na La Kandokendoke kua*  
 3R-answer-PF NOM La Monkey :  
*"No-ido mba-ole-ole-mo, no-mate mba-ole-ole-mo."*  
 3R-live shoot-RED-wither-PF 3R-dead shoot-RED-wither-PF  
 'Monkey answered "One withered shoot lives, one withered shoot dies."
13. *Mbeaka 'uka molengo no-mai-mo 'uka*  
 not again long 3R-come-PF again  
*na La Kandokendoke no-'ema-mo 'uka*  
 NOM La Monkey 3R-ask-PF again  
*"No-ha'a-ha'a-mo na loka-'u, La bela Kolokolopua?"*  
 3R-RED-why-PF NOM banana-2SG.POSS La dear Tortoise  
 'Not long afterwards Monkey came and asked again "How is your banana tree, dear Tortoise?"
14. *No-balo-mo na La bela Kolokolopua kua "Dua-ro'o-mo."*  
 3R-answer-PF NOM La dear Tortoise : 2-leaf-PF  
 'Tortoise answered "Two leaves."
15. *Po'oli no-'ema-mo na La bela Kolokolopua kua*  
 finish 3R-ask-PF NOM La dear Tortoise :  
*"Karo te iko'o La bela Kandokendoke?"*  
 and.if TOP 2SG La dear Monkey  
 'Then Tortoise asked "And you, Monkey?"
16. *No-ha'a-mo na loka-'u?"*  
 3R-why-PF NOM banana-2SG.POSS  
 'How are your bananas?"

17. *No-ido mba-ole-ole-mo, no-mate mba-ole-ole-mo.*  
 3R-live shoot-RED-wither-PF 3R-dead shoot-RED-wither-PF  
 "One withered shoot lives, one withered shoot dies."
18. *No-waliako-mo 'uka na La Kandokendoke.*  
 3R-return-PF again NOM La Tortoise  
 'Monkey went back home again.'
19. *Mbeaka molengo no-mai-mo 'uka no-'ema-mo*  
 not long 3R-come-PF again 3R-ask-PF  
*"O, La bela Kolokolopua, no-ha'a-mo na loka-'u"*  
 Hey, La dear Tortoise 3R-why-PF NOM banana-2SG.POSS  
 'Not long afterwards he came again and asked "O dear Tortoise, how is your banana tree?"'
20. *"Tolu-ro'o-mo."*  
 3-leaf-PF  
 "Already three leaves."
21. *Po'oli no-'ema-mo 'uka na Kolokolopua "Karo te iko'o*  
 finish 3R-ask-PF again NOM Tortoise and.if TOP 2SG  
*La bela Kandokendoke? No-ha'a-mo na loka-'u?"*  
 La dear Monkey 3R-why-PF NOM banana-2SG.POSS  
 'Then Tortoise asked again "And you, dear Monkey? How is your banana tree?"'
22. *"No-ido mba-ole-ole-mo, no-mate mba-ole-ole-mo."*  
 3R-live shoot-RED-wither-PF 3R-dead shoot-RED-wither-PF  
 "One withered shoot lives, one withered shoot dies."
23. *Po'oli te iso no-waliako-mo 'uka.*  
 finish CORE yon 3R-return-PF again  
 'After this he went home again.'
24. *Mbeaka molengo no-mai-mo 'uka no-'ema-mo*  
 not long 3R-come-PF again 3R-ask-PF  
*na La bela Kandokendoke kua*  
 NOM La dear Monkey :  
*'O La bela Kolokolopua no-ha'a-mo na loka-'u?"*  
 Hey La dear Tortoise 3R-why-PF NOM banana-2SG.POSS  
 'Not long afterwards he came again and asked "O dear Tortoise, how is your banana tree?"'
25. *"No-pepu'u-mo. Karo iko'o La bela Kandokendoke?"*  
 3R-ripe-PF and.if 2SG La dear Monkey  
 "(The) heart of the banana is already (there). And how about yours, dear Monkey?"
27. *"No-ido mba-ole-ole-mo, no-mate mba-ole-ole-mo."*  
 3R-live shoot-RED-wither-PF 3R-dead shoot-RED-wither-PF  
 "One withered shoot lives, one withered shoot dies."

28. *Po'oli no-mbule-mo 'uka.*  
finish 3R-return-PF again  
'Then he went home again.'
29. *Molengo no-mai-mo 'uka no-'ema-mo kua*  
long 3R-come-PF again 3R-ask-PF :  
'O *La bela Kolokolopua no-ha'a-mo na loka-'u?"*  
Hey La dear Tortoise 3R-why-PF NOM banana-2SG.POSS  
'Much later he came again and asked "O dear Tortoise, how is your  
banana tree?"
30. *No-balo-'e kua "No-mota'a-mo.*  
3R-answer-3OBJ : 3R-ripe-PF  
'He answered him "They are ripe.'
31. *Kare eko'o La bela Kandokendoke?"*  
and.if=TOP 2SG La dear Monkey  
'And you, Monkey?"
32. *"No-ido mba-ole-ole-mo, no-mate mba-ole-ole-mo."*  
3R-live shoot-RED-wither-PF 3R-dead shoot-RED-wither-PF  
'One withered shoot lives, one withered shoot dies."
33. *Po'oli no-waa-'e-mo na La Kolokolopua kua*  
finish 3R-tell-3OBJ-PF NOM La Tortoise :  
'*Mai ku-'eka-ako-ko La bela Kolokolopua.*'  
come 1SG-climb-APPL-2SG.OBJ La dear Tortoise  
'Then he told Tortoise "Come, let me climb for you, dear Tortoise."
34. *No-balo-mo kua "Oho. Toka nabu-ako-aku ke iaku*  
3R-answer-PF : yes but drop-APPL-1SG.OBJ and 1SG  
*te mota'a-no."*  
CORE ripe-3POSS  
'He answered "OK. But drop the ripe ones for me."
35. *No-balo-mo La Kandokendoke "Oho. Ku-n[um]abu-ako-ko."*  
3R-answer-PF La Monkey yes 1SG-drop.SI-APPL-2SG.OBJ  
'Monkey answered "Yes. I'll drop (some) for you."
36. *Jari awana iso no-wila-mo no-'eka-'e*  
so manner yon 3R-go-PF 3R-climb-3OBJ  
*na loka-no iso.*  
NOM banana-3POSS yon  
'So with that, he went and climbed up that banana tree'
37. *No-rato di umbu-no no-manga-mo*  
3R-arrive OBL extremity-3POSS 3R-eat-PF  
*na La bela Kandokendoke.*  
NOM La dear Monkey  
'Arriving at the top, Monkey ate.'

38. *No-pogau-mo kua* “*Kambeda* *mombaka*  
3R-say-PF : fact delicious  
*La bela Kolokolopua.*”  
La dear Tortoise  
‘He said “They’re delicious, dear Tortoise.”’
39. *No-balo-mo La Kolokolopua* “*Oho. Toka nabu-ako-aku*  
3R-answer-PF La Tortoise yes but drop-APPL-1SG.OBJ  
*ke iaku.*”  
and 1SG  
‘And Tortoise answered “Uh-huh. But drop (some) for me.”’
40. *O-balo na Kandokendoke kua*  
3R-answer NOM Monkey :  
“*Ku-nami-nami-ngkuku-'e-do.*”  
1SG-RED-taste-prior-3OBJ-EMPH  
‘Monkey answered “I’m tasting them first, you see.”’
- (Exactly this formula is found in the tale when related in other languages of the area (Muna, Wolio), so the glossing here is rather arbitrary; it is quite likely that the meaning of the word exists only in the context of the story as a lexicalised whole, and that the morphological division shown here is overly ambitious)
41. *Po'oli no-nabu-ako-'e-mo te kuli-no*  
finish 3R-drop-APPL-3OBJ-PF CORE skin-3POSS  
*na La Kolokolopua.*  
NOM La Tortoise  
‘Then he dropped the skins for Tortoise.’
42. *Po'oli no-waa-'e-mo* “*Koka! Nabu-ako-aku*  
finish 3R-tell-3OBJ-PF peel drop-APPL-1SG.OBJ  
*te ba'e-no La Kandokendoke.*”  
CORE fruit-3POSS La Monkey  
‘Then (Tortoise) told him “Peel! Drop the fruits for me, Monkey.”’
43. *No-balo-mo na La Kandokendoke kua*  
3R-answer-PF NOM La Monkey :  
“*Ku-nami-nami-ngkuku-'e-do.*”  
1SG-taste-RED-prior-3OBJ-EMPH  
‘Monkey answered “I’m tasting them first, you see.”’
44. *Po'oli no-nabu-ako-'e-mo 'uka te kuli nu loka*  
finish 3R-drop-APPL-3OBJ-PF again CORE skin GEN banana  
*manga-'a-no na La Kolokolopua.*  
eat-NL-3POSS NOM La Tortoise  
‘Then he dropped the skins of the bananas he’d dined on for Tortoise’

45. *No-waa-'e-mo te La Kolokolopua kua "Ara 'u-hena'u,*  
 3R-tell-3OBJ-PF CORE La Tortoise : if 2SG.R-descend  
*La bela Kandokendoke, waa 'e iaku ako are*  
 La dear Monkey tell CORE 1SG for have  
*ku-sai-ako-ko te pasapu ako te tuhu-'a-'u."*  
 1SG-make-APPL-2SG.OBJ CORE mat for CORE descent-NL-2SG.POSS  
 'Tortoise told him "When you come down, dear Monkey, tell it to me, so  
 I can make a mat for you, for your descent."
46. *No-balo-mo kua "O."*  
 3R-answer-PF : yes  
 'He answered "OK."
47. *Po'oli no-sai-ako-'e-mo te ampu.*  
 finish 3R-make-APPL-3OBJ-PF CORE punji.stake  
 'Then he made bamboo stakes.'
48. *Jari no-'ema-'e-mo na La Kandokendoke kua*  
 so 3R-ask-3OBJ-PF NOM La Monkey :  
*'O La bela Kandokendoke, ko-t[um]ujuhu di pasapu*  
 O La dear Monkey 2SG.I-descend.SI OBL mat  
*ara di bungadu."*  
 if OBL k.o.cloth  
 'So, he asked Monkey "Hey, dear Monkey, do you want to descend on a  
 mat or on a bungadu cloth?"
49. *No-balo-mo kua "Ku-t[um]ujuhu di bungadu."*  
 3R-answer-PF : 1SG-descend OBL k.o.cloth  
 'He answered "I'll come down on the bungadu cloth."
50. *"Jari awan(a) atu ku-sai-ako-ko lagi."*  
 so manner that 1SG-make-APPL-2SG.OBJ now  
 "In that case, I'll make it for you now."
51. *Sa-mondo-no no-'elo-'e-mo na La Kandokendoke*  
 when-already-3POSS 3R-call-3OBJ-PF NOM La Monkey  
*kua "Tuhu-mo La bela Kandokendoke."*  
 : descend-PF La dear Monkey  
 'As soon as it was (ready), he called Monkey "Descend, dear Monkey."
52. *No-balo-mo kua "O. Ku-t[um]ujuhu-mo.*  
 3R-answer-PF : yes 1SG-descend.SI-PF  
 'He answered "OK. I'm coming.'
53. *Di 'umpa ku-t[um]ujuhu La bela Kolokolopua?"*  
 OBL which 1SG-descend.SI La dear Tortoise  
 'Where shall I come down, dear Tortoise?"
54. *No-sinu-ako-'e-mo kua "Di ara tuhu-mo ka i."*  
 3R-indicate-APPL-3OBJ-PF : OBL this descend-PF ILL.FORCE  
 'He indicated it: "Come down here, you see"



55. *Jari te sida no-tuhu-mo na La bela Kandokendoke.*  
 so CORE truth 3R-descend-PF NOM La dear Monkey  
 'So in fact Monkey descended.'
56. *Sa-tuhu-no kambeda no-raha-mo te ampa.*  
 when-descend-3POSS fact 3R-blood-PF CORE punji.stake  
 'When he came down, he bled (from) the bamboo stakes.'
57. *Jari no-mate-mo.*  
 so 3R-dead-PF  
 'So he died.'
58. *Sa-mate-no no-ala-'e-mo na ate-no*  
 when-dead-3POSS 3R-fetch-3OBJ-PF NOM liver-3POSS  
*te La Kolokolopua.*  
 CORE La Tortoise  
 'When he was dead, Tortoise took his liver.'
59. *Maka la'a-mo no-wila no-aso-ne.*  
 and.then just-PF 3R-go 3R-sell-3OBJ  
 'And then he just went to sell it.'
60. *No-rato i kampo no-'elo-'elo-mo.*  
 3R-arrive OBL village 3R-RED-call-PF  
 'Arriving in the village he called around'
- "Emai, emai, mai [m]ala te ate nu komparu ako*  
 who who come take.SI CORE liver GEN k.o.fish for  
*te ganda ke mbololo.*  
 CORE orchestra and gong  
 'Someone, someone, come and take the liver of a komparu for an  
 orchestra, including a gong.'
61. *Emai, emai na [m]ala te ate nu komparu ako*  
 who who NOM take.SI CORE liver GEN k.o.fish for  
*te ganda ke mbololo."*  
 CORE orchestra and gong  
 'Someone, someone, will take the liver of a komparu for an orchestra,  
 including gong'
62. *Jari no-mai-si-'e-mo te ndoke meai*  
 so 3R-come-DIR-3OBJ-PF CORE Monkey ANA  
*no-balu-'e-mo na ate-no iso.*  
 3R-buy-3OBJ-PF NOM liver-3POSS yon  
 'Well, a certain monkey came to him and examined it, and bought that  
 liver.'
63. *Jari no-mbule-mo na La Kolokolopua no-lagu-mo kua*  
 so 3R-return-PF NOM La Tortoise 3R-song-PF :  
 'So Tortoise went home, and sang'

- "Manga-'e manga-'e na bakasa nu ndoke-m(o) kene-miu,*  
 eat-3OBJ eat-3OBJ NOM offal GEN monkey-PF and-2PL.POSS  
 "Eat up, eat up the offal of the monkey all of you,
- "Manga-'e manga-'e na bakasa nu ndoke-m(o) kene-miu,*  
 eat-3OBJ eat-3OBJ NOM offal GEN monkey-PF and-2PL.POSS  
 "Eat up, eat up the offal of the monkey all of you,
- "Manga-'e manga-'e na bakasa nu ndoke-m(o) kene-miu.*  
 eat-3OBJ eat-3OBJ NOM offal GEN monkey-PF and-2PL.POSS  
 "Eat up, eat up the offal of the monkey all of you."
64. *Jari no-dahani-'e-mo te ndoke mai ana kua*  
 so 3R-know-3OBJ-PF CORE monkey INAL this :  
*"Kambeda to-balu te ate nu ndoke kene-nto,*  
 fact 1PL.R-buy CORE liver GEN monkey friend-1PL.POSS  
*mbeaka kambeda te ate nu komparu."*  
 not fact CORE liver GEN fish.sp.  
 'So these monkeys knew "We have bought the liver of our monkey friend, not the liver of a komparu."
65. *Po'oli no-po-'awa-'awa-mo na ndoke-ndoke*  
 finish 3R-REC-RED-get-PF NOM RED-monkey  
*mai ako na-s[um]umbele-'e na La Kolokolopua.*  
 ANA for 3I-decapitate.SI-3OBJ NOM La Tortoise  
 'Then all these monkeys assembled to decapitate Tortoise.'
66. *No-he-po-'elo-'elo na La Kolokolopua no-mai-mo.*  
 3R-do-REC-RED-call NOM La Tortoise 3R-come-PF  
 'They summoned Tortoise, and he came.'
67. *Jari te keputusa u po-'awa-'awa no ndoke*  
 so CORE decision GEN REC-RED-get GEN monkey  
*mai ana na-s[um]umbele-'e na La Kolokolopua.*  
 ANA this 3I-decapitate.SI-3OBJ NOM La Tortoise  
 'So the decision of this meeting of the monkeys was to decapitate Tortoise.'
68. *No-setuju na La Kolokolopua na-s[um]umbele-'e*  
 3R-agree NOM La Tortoise 3I-decapitate.SI-3OBJ  
*tangka sa-ramba tabeda di pa'a no*  
 place 1-thread except OBL thigh GEN  
*bonto ndoke iso.*  
 ruler monkey yon  
 'Tortoise agreed to be decapitated, as long as it was on the thigh of the ruler of those monkey.'
69. *Jari no-mbale-mo i pa'a no bonto*  
 so 3R-lie.down-PF OBL thigh GEN ruler  
*na La Kolokolopua.*  
 NOM La Tortoise  
 'So Tortoise lay down on the thigh of the ruler.'

70. *Jari no-mai-mo na raja no ndoke maka*  
 so 3R-come-PF NOM king GEN monkey and.then  
*no-sumbele-'e na La Kolokolopua.*  
 3R-decapitate-3OBJ NOM La Tortoise  
 'The king of the monkeys came to decapitate Tortoise.'
71. *La'a-mo no-koho-'e kambeda te kapala La Kolokolopua*  
 just-PF 3R-cut-3OBJ fact CORE head La Tortoise  
*no-agori no-moso.*  
 3R-sudden 3R-retract  
 'Just as he cut, the head of Tortoise suddenly retracted.'
72. *Jari dei-mo te pa'a no bonto iso ba'i*  
 so left.over-PF CORE thigh GEN ruler yon prior  
*na i-ko-koho.*  
 NOM OP-RED-cut  
 'So it was the thigh of that ruler before that was cut.'
73. *Jari no-mate-mo na bonto iso.*  
 so 3R-dead-PF NOM ruler yon  
 'And so that ruler died.'
74. *Sa-mate-no na bonto no ndoke iso*  
 when-dead-3POSS NOM ruler GEN monkey yon  
*te ndoke hele no-sumbere-tode-mo.*  
 CORE monkey other 3R-immediate-flee-PF  
 'When that ruler of the monkeys was dead, all the monkeys immediately fled.'
75. *Jari no-tama-mo.*  
 so 3R-conclude-PF  
 'The end.'

## 7. TE DAOA The Market

This text takes the form of a dialogue between two people, one identified by the numbers 1–12, and the other identified by the letters A–J.

- A. *Ane ke daoa di Wanse?*  
 exist and market OBL Wanci  
 'Is there a market on Wanci?'
1. *Ane. Ane ke daoa to'oge i tangk(u) u Mola.*  
 exist exist and market big OBL close GEN Mola  
 'Yes. There's a big market close to Mola.'
- B. *O-koruo na barabara i-aso?*  
 3R-many NOM things OP-sell  
 'Are there many things sold there?'
2. *Tantu-mo no-koruo. Ane kene malingu-ba'e.*  
 certainly-PF 3R-many exist and various-CLASS  
 'Very many. There are all sorts of things.'
3. *Ane ke tukambasi, o-koruo na mia [um]aso*  
 exist and blacksmith 3R-many NOM person sell.SI  
*te pakea RB min(a) i Singapura.*  
 CORE clothing smuggle from OBL Singapore  
 'There's a blacksmith, and lots of people selling smuggled clothing from Singapore.'
- C. *Buabuaha-m-paira na i-aso?*  
 fruits-GEN-what NOM OP-sell  
 'What sorts of fruits are sold?'
4. *Ara i bulandua awana meana'eai, ane ke*  
 if OBL month-GEN-two manner now exist and  
*po'o, ke kaubarasa, nangka, ndanga, ke*  
 mango and custard.apple jackfruit jackfruit and  
*ane-h(o) o-koruo-do 'uka.*  
 exist-yet many-EMPH again  
 'In February like it is now, there are mangoes, custard apples, nangka,  
 ah jackfruit, and lots more besides.'
- (*Nangka*, although in common use in western Wanci, is a loan word from Malay, and *ndanga* is the original *Tukang Besi* word. The speaker repeats the lexical item with the native word in order to impress the linguist.)
- D. *O'o, ara awana (a)tu o-koruo.*  
 yes if manner that 3R-many  
 'Hmm, well, if it's like that that's a lot.'

- E. *Te mia [m]ar-aso di daoa atu*  
 CORE person ITER.SI-sell OBL market that  
*te mi(a) u Wanse?*  
 CORE person GEN Wanci  
 'Are the people who sell things in the market Wanci people?'
5. *Mbeaka ba'a-no-mo te min(a) i Wanse.*  
 not only-3POSS-PF CORE from OBL Wanci  
 '(They) aren't only people from Wanci.'
6. *Ane ke min(a) i Kahedupa, Bugisi, ane 'uka*  
 exist and from OBL Kaledupa Bugis exist also  
*ke min(a) i Mola.*  
 and from OBL Mola  
 'There are people from Kaledupa, and Bugis, and also some from Mola.'
- F. *Te mia 'um]jura-'ura i Mola atu*  
 CORE person RED.SI-live OBL Mola that  
*te amai Wanse 'uka?*  
 CORE 3PL Wanci also  
 'Are the people living in Mola also Wancinese?'
7. *Te mia di Mola iso te amai Wajo.*  
 CORE person OBL Mola yon CORE 3PL Bajau  
 'The people in Mola are Bajau.'
8. *Te s[um]jai te kampo i Mola iso*  
 CORE make.SI CORE village OBL Mola yon  
*te amai Wajo (a)la'a.*  
 CORE 3PL Bajau just  
 'The ones who built the village in Mola are Bajau.'
- G. *Te mia min(a) i Kahedupa, tungga-tunggala*  
 TOP person from OBL Kaledupa RED-every  
*'oloo ane ke r[um]jato ke o-wila i daoa atu?*  
 day exist and arrive.SI and 3R-go OBL market that  
 'Those people from Kaledupa, are there some who come every day and go to the market?'
9. *Ane. O-pande-pande-koruo.*  
 exist 3R-RED-frequent-many  
 'Oh yes. Sometimes a lot.'
- H. *Ane ke mia 'uka min(a) i Tomia ke Binongko?*  
 exist and person also from OBL Tomea and Binongko  
 'Are there also people from Tomea and Binongko?'
10. *Ea-'e. Ara ane no-melampa.*  
 not.exist if exist 3R-few  
 'No. If there are any, there aren't many.'

- I. *Lengo-'umpa min(a) i Kahedupa iso*  
 long-Q from OBL Kaledupa yon  
*æa te pake-jonso?*  
 if CORE use-Johnson  
 'How long does it take from Kaledupa, if you use a Johnson?'
11. *Kirakira tolu-jamu, hatu-jamu.*  
 About 3-hours 4-hours  
 'About three, four hours.'
- J. *Sapair(a) a sewa-no?*  
 how.much NOM rent-3POSS  
 'How much is the rent?'
12. *Tolu-riwu.*  
 3-thousand  
 'Three thousand.'

# Wordlist

The following word list is not intended to be exhaustive, either in terms of the lexicon it encompasses or the details which it gives about that lexicon. Rather, it is presented as a quick guide to the variation in form of *Tukang Besi* roots, and an indication of the relative frequency of different parts of speech in the language. The words here cover most of what has appeared in the grammar, and certain other prominent lexical items, but are a long way from exhausting the lexical richness of the *Tukang Besi* language. The following abbreviations have been used for convenience; a more full description of the word classes and differences between them can be found in Chapter 4. Where a word cannot be unambiguously assigned to one word class, both have been listed, except where the alternation is between the major classes of noun and verb, in which case the item is listed as precategoryal.

|     |                     |     |                           |
|-----|---------------------|-----|---------------------------|
| A   | adjective           | AA  | ambitransitive adjective  |
| ADV | adverb              | AUX | auxiliary                 |
| C   | conjunct, case      | CL  | classifier                |
| DEM | demonstrative       | EP  | epistememe                |
| N   | noun                | NUM | numeral                   |
| PC  | precategoryal root  | PR  | preposition               |
| VA  | ambitransitive verb | VD  | ditransitive verb         |
| VI  | intransitive verb   | VR  | reciprocal/reflexive verb |
| VT  | transitive verb     | X   | other                     |

The 'other' category is used for many discourse connectives, interjections, and ubiquitous words such as *oho* 'yes'.

The words included here overwhelmingly reflect the *Rupu* subdialect of the *Wanci* dialect of Northern *Tukang Besi*. When a lexical item's distribution is known to be restricted to a particular range (see, for example, the entries for '*inte*' and '*iri*' below), this has been indicated with the following abbreviations:

|     |                 |   |             |
|-----|-----------------|---|-------------|
| B   | Binongko        | K | Kaledupa    |
| Kap | Kapota (Wanse)  | L | Lia (Wanse) |
| M   | Mandati (Wanse) | T | Tomea       |
| W   | Wanse           |   |             |

In cases where the origin of the word is clearly not *Tukang Besi*, the source of the borrowing has been indicated, where this is known or guessable with a degree of confidence. These sources are indicated following a '<', and the following abbreviations are used to identify the source:

D. Dutch      I. Indonesian      M. Malay      P. Portuguese      W. Wolio

The use of these abbreviations can be seen in, for example, the entry for *adati*. 'Malay' and 'Indonesian' are distinguished primarily on the basis of register: a word is listed as

standard Malay, a mixture of Ambonese and Sulawesi varieties; this is usual for more formal words associated with administration and government. In other cases trade Malay is assumed to be the source, a decision based on phonological differences between the two varieties and the greater number of people on the *Tukang Besi* islands who speak non-standard Malay to some degree, as opposed to more formal Indonesian.

The reversal is not intended for use alone as a dictionary or wordlist of *Tukang Besi*, but merely as an aid to finding the word in the other section; many apparent synonyms are resolved with more semantic and grammatical clarity in the *Tukang Besi* section.

- '*ada*, VT, send. See *kahu*  
 '*aka'aka*, VI, play  
 '*angka*, VT, forbid  
 '*aso*, VT, sell  
 '*awa*, VT, get, receive  
 '*eda*, VT, throw underarm  
 '*eka*, VI, climb, go up, ascend. See chapter 6  
 '*elo*, VT, call, summon  
 '*ido*, VI, live  
 '*ili*, VC, assume  
 '*inte*, VI, go (T, B). See *wila*  
 '*iri*, PC, wind (W)  
 '*iro*, VI, be a sort, a type  
 '*ita*, VT, see, watch, look at  
 '*ita'ita*, VT, allow  
 '*obu*, N, dog  
 '*oko*, VR, hide  
 '*oliha*, N, scorpion  
 '*oloo*, PC, day, sun  
 '*olota*, N, wilderness (uninhabited and uncultivated)  
 '*one*, PC, sand  
 '*onu*, VI, swim  
 '*onitu*, N, ghost  
 '*ontoo*, VI, recover, get well  
 '*onu*, VI, swim  
 '*oro'oro*, N, earthworm  
 '*ua*, PC, crowbar (K, T, B, Kap., M-L). See *kali*  
 '*ue*, N, rattan  
 '*uka*, ADV, also  
 '*ulu*, CL, classifier for animals: 'head'  
 '*umpa*, EP, where
- '*ura*, VI, dwell, stay. See also '*uranga*, *he'uranga*  
 '*uranga*, VI, dwell, stay
- a**
- aba*, N, earlier, previously  
*ada*, VT, borrow  
*adati*, N (< M. adat), customs. Synonym with *monea*  
*ae*, N, foot, leg  
*agori*, V, immediate  
*ahaji*, PC (< M. ahad), sunday  
*ahiri*, N (< M. akhir), end  
*ahu*, N, fire  
*ai*, DEM, discourse reference. See chapters 6 and 13  
*aka*, PC, root  
*akala*, PC, trick  
*ako*, PR/VT, for, with  
*ala*, VT, fetch, bring  
*ala'a*, A, just, only  
*alu*, NUM, eight  
*alunga*, N, pillow  
*ama*, PC, father, father's brothers, mother's brothers  
*amai*, N, they  
*ambanga*, VI, embarrassed  
*ambe*, PC, change clothing, remove skin or husk  
*ambere*, PC, bucket, fetch water from a well in a bucket  
*ampu*, N, sharpened stakes used in pits to trap animals  
*ana*, DEM, this  
*ana*, PC, child  
*anabou*, N, small child (< *ana* child and *bo'ubo'u* small (of objects)). Often used



to refer to male children, as opposed to female children (*kalambe*)

*ane*, VI, exist

*anga*, N, gills (of a fish)

*angka*, VT, add up

*antara*, VT (< M. antar), accompany.

Synonym for *kene*

*anti*, VT, smell

*anu*, PC, whatsit, thingy, do what, do that

*apa*, PR, until, up to. Used with an oblique

KP

*apata*, N, extreme

*ara*, C, if, regarding

*ariha*, N, spider. Also *kokekoke*

*aroljii*, N, watch. Synonym for *lonsi*

*aropa*, N, front, face

*asa*, NUM, one

*asara*, N (< M. acara), method, means

*ase*, N, chin

*aso*, N, remains. \_\_\_ *nu bela* wound

*atawa*, C (< M. atau), or

*atiho*, PC, sneeze

*ato*, N, roof

*atu*, d, that (near addressee)

*awa*, VT, lend

*awana*, ADV, manner

*awanana*, ADV, in this way

*awanatu*, ADV, in that way

*awu*, PC, ashes. \_\_\_ *wuta* dust

## b

*ba'a*, N, only, just (restrictive for nouns)

*ba'a*, N, size

*ba'e*, N, heart

*ba'e*, PC, fruit

*ba'i*, DEM, earlier, previously

*ba'so*, N (< M. bakso), soup with meat balls

*baa*, *baaba*, C, first(ly)

*ba̱bi*, N (< M. babi), pig. Synonym for *wawu*

*bae*, N, rice. \_\_\_ *pulu* glutinous rice

*baga*, N, cheek

*baguli*, N, marble (child's game)

*bahasa*, N (< M. bahasa), language

*bahu*, N, shoulder

*baiara*, VT (< M. bayar), pay. Synonym for *pomea* (Arch.)

*baju*, N (< M. baju), shirt

*bakasa*, N, offal

*bala*, CL, classifier for soap

*balangkuni*, N, yellow-finned tuna

*balara'a*, N, post used for tying bunches of coconuts around for storage

*bale*, N, leaf of a young coconut tree

*ba̱le*, VT (< M. balik), turn over

*bali*, N, enemy, opponent

*bali*, VI, turn a corner

*baliu*, N, axe

*balu*, VT, answer, reply

*balobalo*, N, window

*balu*, VT, buy

*bambai*, N, comb

*Banda*, N, Banda islands

*ba̱na*, N (< M. benang), string

*bangka*, N, sailing ship

*banguntiu*, PC, stage of life of a coconut

*bantu*, A, blunt

*bapa*, N (< M. bapak), father. See *ama*

*bara*, X, don't

*bara*, N (< M. barang), things, goods, possessions

*ba̱sa*, N (< M. bahasa), language. See *pogau*

*bata*, VT, chop down, inflict damage

*bato*, ADV, must be, necessity

*batu*, PC, stone (as a root for verbal derivation); used in *hekabatu*

*bawa meha*, N, onion

*bawa mohute*, N, garlic

*bawa*, VT (< M. bawa), carry

*bawabawa*, VI ((< W. bawabawa), pregnant. See *hotokompo*

*ba̱be*, N (< M. bebek), duck

*beka*, N, cat

*bela*, N, dear, beloved; spouse

*beleke*, N (< D. blik), can

*bengki*, VI, swell up

*beni*, PC, seed

*benu*, PC, husk of a coconut

*berarti*, C (< M. berarti), I mean, ..., that is...

*bija*, VT, incite to aggression  
*bikubiku*, N, ankle. Also *pigupigu*  
*bila*, VI, count. See also *reke*  
*binta*, VI, slack (of a rope)  
*biru*, A, black  
*bisa*, C (< M. bisa), allowing for, even though  
*bisara*, VI, speak  
*bisu*, PC, boil  
*bo'ubo'u*, A, small  
*boke*, VT, tie (K). See *bongko*  
*boku*, N, book  
*bomba*, PC, wave  
*bongko*, VT, tie up  
*bonto*, N, traditional ruler (arch.)  
*boru*, N, sago tree (species)  
*bose*, PC, oar, paddle  
*bosu*, N, kind of water container  
*bu'ea*, N, crocodile. Also *buea* (<M. buaya)  
*buabuaha*, N (< M. bua-buahan), fruit  
*buebue'a*, PC, steering rudder  
*Bugisi*, N, Bugis (people)  
*buka'a*, N, festival  
*buka*, PC, celebrate  
*bukamai*, ex (< M. bukan main 'no joke'),  
 unbelievable, extraordinary  
*buke*, VA, open  
*buku*, N, bone  
*bulara*, VI, sighted, have vision  
*bulawa*, N (< M. bulawa), gold  
*bulungusu*, PC, moustache  
*bunduru*, N, hairbrush  
*bungadu*, N, k.o. cloth  
*bungantiu*, PC, stage of growth of a coconut  
*buntu*, C, See Chapter 18  
*bura*, PC, face powder  
*huri*, VT, write  
*buso'a*, N, bellows used when forging  
*busu*, VT, hit with a fist  
*busuki*, VT, punch  
*buta*, N, vagina  
*buti*, VA, fall, drop

## c

*cartere*, VT (< M. carter), charter

## d

*da'olaro*, PC, angry  
*daga*, ex (< M. jaga), look out  
*dahani*, VT, know  
*dai*, VI, remain, be left over  
*daoa*, N, market  
*dapi*, PC, twin  
*dara*, VI, many. See *koruo*  
*dari*, C (< M. jadi). See *jari*  
*dasa'a*, N, anvil  
*dawu*, N, portion  
*dei*, VI, be left over, remain  
*desa*, N (< I. desa), village. Formal. See  
*kampo*  
*deu*, PC, needle  
*di*, C, oblique case. Also *i*  
*dinggawi*, ADV, yesterday  
*dodua*, NUM, be two  
*doe*, N (< M. doi), money  
*doito*, VI, cry  
*dola*, VI, float  
*domi*, PC (< M. domino), (play) domino  
 cards  
*doromo*, N, drum of diesel fuel  
*dowo*, VT, hunt (Kap.)  
*dua*, NUM, two  
*duaalo*, ADV, two days  
*duria*, N, tailbone

## e

*ea'e*, X, no, none  
*ea, eaka*, AUX, no  
*ehia*, EP, when (past). From *dehia*  
*ela*, N, tongue  
*ema*, VT, ask  
*emai*, EP, who  
*entaetae, entaeta*, C, because

## g

*gaba*, N, loom  
*gai*, VT, pull in  
*gaji*, N (< M. gaji), wage  
*gana*, NUM, four  
*ganda*, PC, orchestra

*gande*, VT, give a lift to  
*gandu*, N, corn. Formal. See *kaitela*  
*ganggu*, VT, annoy, bother  
*ganta*, VT, scoop water  
*gara*, N (< W. < M. garam), salt  
*garaa*, c, surprise particle  
*garisi*, N, match (for cigarettes)  
*gau*, PC, desires, wishes  
*gawu*, PC, dust  
*gelagelampa*, N, sitting place. See  
*godegode*  
*gendi*, N, sarong (M-L). See *wurai*  
*gere*, PC, fight. Used as *pogere* 'fight each  
other'  
*giu*, CL, sorts, kinds  
*gode*, PC, thin layer of mud  
*godegode*, N, sitting place (at front of  
house or under a tree)  
*goea*, VI, tossing and turning, unsettled  
*golegole*, VI, lie. See *loeloe*  
*gol*, N, goal (in soccer)  
*gonti*, VT, chop  
*gopo*, VI, foggy  
*gora'u*, N, egg  
*gora*, VT, brawl, fight  
*gua*, VI, pull back, withdraw  
*gue*, N, bucket (Kap.). See *timba*  
*gugudu*, VI, make noise  
*gule*, PC, sweet curry  
*gunti*, PC, scissors  
*gunu*, N (< M. gunung), mountain Formal,  
synonym for *wungka*

## h

*ha'a*, PC, why, do what  
*ha'o*, PC, hammer  
*habisi*, VT (< M. habis), finish  
*habiti*, N, calf (of leg)  
*hada*, PC, want, be about to, plan to  
*haji*, PC, haj (person who has completed the  
pilgrimage to Mecca)  
*hali*, VI, wander, stroll. Usually  
reduplicated as *halihali*  
*hambere*, VT, throw in a rotating fashion,  
as of a stick thrown by being grasped at  
one end

*hancuru*, VT (< M. hancur), ruin  
*handu*, N (< M. handuk), towel  
*hanga*, N, betel leaf (*sirih*)  
*hansu*, N, sword  
*hao*, N, rope  
*haragaa*, N (< M. harga), price  
*harai*, V, very  
*harapu*, *harapuu*, N (< M. harap), hope,  
wish  
*hato*, NUM, four (when used with other  
numbers)  
*hatu*, NUM, hundred (bound form). *Sahatu*  
one hundred  
*hawaa*, A, angry  
*hawasaa*, A, angry  
*hawu'a*, N, dry field  
*hebai*, VT, sew. Also *hobai*  
*hebongko*, PC, loincloth. See *bongko*  
*hebuntu*, c, See Chapter 18  
*hedoo*, VI, wail, cry, howl  
*hekabatu*, VT, stone (note that stone (N) is  
*watu*)  
*hekarau*, VI, yell  
*heil*, VI, spit  
*helante*, VI, make a floor for a house or  
shelter  
*helawe*, VI, rest  
*helahi*, N, breakfast  
*hele*, A, other, different  
*helém*, N (< D. helm), bicycle helmet  
*helo'a*, VT, cook, boil  
*helumpu*, N, blanket  
*hematu*, *hematuu*, VI, begin  
*hembula*, PC, plant  
*hemona*, VT, collect  
*hempo*, N, wishes  
*hena'u*, VI, descend, go west. See chapter 6  
*henahenai*, VI, learn. (T, B) *hisinga*  
*henangka*, VA, accompany  
*henenasi*, VI, vomit  
*hengolo*, VT, boil  
*herubu*, VT, pierce, puncture  
*hesowui*, VA, wash  
*hesulu*, PC, sibling  
*hewanu*, VI, wash hands. See *wuwu'i*

*hitu*, NUM, seven (when used with greater units)

*hobai*, VT, sew. Also *hebai*

*homali*, VT, forbidden, proscribed

*homba*, N, lung

*homoru*, VT, weave

*honda*, N, motorbike

*hongolo*, VI, boil

*honiki*, N, bat. (T) *nggulingguli*

*hopu*, VI, blow (at a fire)

*hoti*, PC, donate food or clothing to the poor. meal given to the poor

*hoto*, VT, own, possess

*hotokompo*, VI, pregnant (have stomach).

Also *bawabawa*

*hotu*, N, hair

*hua*, N, joints, flesh in joints

*hu'u*, N, tree, base of trunk

*hu'u*, VD, give

*hua*, N, veins

*hugu*, VT, slice, chop (small things) with a knife

*hulu*, NUM, ten (used with multiples)

*humbu*, *humbuhumbu*, PC, k.o. basket

*huu*, N, part of a loom

## i

*i*, X, oblique case. Also *di*

*ia*, N, he, she, it

*iai*, PC, younger sibling

*iaku*, N, I, me

*ie'ei*, EP, who

*ie'emai*, EP, who

*ijo*, VI, green

*ika*, N, fish

*ikaka*, PC, elder sibling

*ikami*, N, we (few). we (exclusive). See Chapter 5

*ikita*, N, we (many). we (plural). See Chapter 5

*iko'o*, N, you

*ikomiu*, N, you

*iku*, N, tail

*ilange*, ADV, tomorrow

*ilu*, VT, lust after

*imanga*, N, food

*impi*, VT, steal

*ina*, PC, mother, mother's sisters, father's sisters

*inggawi*, ADV, yesterday. also *dinggawi*

*Inggilisi*, N, England

*insawu*, VI, ashamed

*io*, C, whereas, in fact, actually

*Iriá*, N, Irian Jaya

*isala*, VI, rather, somewhat

*iso*, DEM, that (distant, not near speaker or addressee)

*ito*, DEM, that higher, above. See chapter 6

*iwo*, DEM, that lower, below. See chapter 6

## j

*ja'o*, AA, bad, ruin

*jaja*, VT (< M. (men)jajah), colonise

*jambata*, N (< M. jembatan), pier, wharf

*jambu*, N (< M. jambu), jambu

*jamu*, N (< M. jam), hour

*jandi*, VT (< M. janji), promise

*jangkapaku*, PC, hair clip

*jari*, VI (< M. jadi), therefore, and so, become

*jari*, PC (< M. jaring), net

*jo'a*, PC (< M. do'a), prayers, spells

*jonso*, PC (< Johnson motor), small boat with a motor

*juta*, NUM (< M. juta), million

## k

*ka'ana*, DEM, this. See chapter 6

*ka'ano*, C, in order

*ka'asi*, X, What a shame!

*ka'aso*, DEM, that. See chapter 6

*ka'atu*, DEM, that. See chapter 6

*ka'awulu*, N, coconut husk

*ka'ulu*, AUX, Don't ever!

*Ka'umbeda*, N (Archaic), name for the collective Tukang Besi peoples

*kabali*, N, machete

*kabi*, VT, throw away, discard

*kabongo*, A, deaf

*kadadi*, N, bird; animal (Arch.)

*kadera*, N (< M. kadera, < P. cadeira), chair

*kado*, N (< M. kado < D. kado), present

- kadola*, N, chicken  
*kadondo*, N, k.o. fruit  
*kadu*, VT, cradle, nurse  
*kaea*, VI (< M. kaya), rich  
*kaha*, VT, bite, chew  
*kahitela*, N (< P. castilla), corn  
*kaho*, VT, scratch  
*kahu*, VD, send  
*kai*, PC, fish hook  
*kaipu*, A, last born  
*kaitela*, N, corn. See *kahitela*  
*kaito'e*, DEM, See chapter 6  
*kaiwo'e*, DEM, See chapter 6  
*kakanda*, VI, blue  
*kalambe*, PC, young girl  
*kalambensala*, PC, young girls  
*kalaminsala*, PC, elder sister  
*kali*, PC, (dig with) crowbar  
*kalipopo(ndangi)*, N, firefly  
*kalu*, A, tired physically  
*kaluku*, PC, coconut (old). (T) *kulou*  
*kamali to'empa*, N, Southern Cross  
 (constellation). Lit. 'slanted palace'  
*kamalo*, VT, paint  
*kamara*, N (< M. kamar), room  
*kamba*, *kambea*, *kambeda*, C, in fact. Also  
*kambea*, *kambeda*. See Chapter 18  
*kamba*, PC, flower  
*kamberombero*, N, butterfly. See *mbero*  
*kamiamia*, PC, shadow  
*kamondo*, PC, (pay) brideprice  
*kampalei*, N, old technique of reckoning  
 the success or failure of a sailing  
 voyage; system of counting on the hand.  
 See Chapter 4  
*ka(i)mpanase*, N (< M. kain panas), blanket  
*kampo*, N (< M. kampong), village. See  
 also *limbo*  
*kana*, A, suitable, right  
*kana*, *karena*, *karenaa*, *karna*, C (< M.  
*karena*), because. Also *karna*,  
*karena(A)*  
*kanalako*, VT, steal  
*kandala*, A, blind  
*kanduru*, N, k.o. vegetable  
*kangkau*, N, crow  
*kano*, N, sweet potato(sp.)  
*kantoru*, N (< M. kantor), office  
*kapala*, N (< M. kapal), ship,  
*kapala*, N (< M. kepala), head,  
*kape*, N, wing  
*kapo*, A, full (stomach)  
*kara*, EP, where (close at hand)  
*karajaa*, VA (< M. kerja), work  
*karakara*, A, ribs (buku karakara)  
*karama*, N, self (reflexive)  
*karambau*, N, buffalo  
*karatasi*, *karatu*, N, cards  
*karia'a*, PC, circumcision festival  
*karii*, N, sea urchin (K, T, B). See *lei*  
*kariu*, VA, wash (T)  
*karo*, C, if, supposing, as for  
*kasi*, N, shame, pity  
*kaso*, N, ridge pole  
*kato*, C, only then  
*katumpu*, N, house post (on outside edges,  
 or generic)  
*kau*, N, wood, tree  
*kaubarasa*, N, custard apple  
*kaujawa*, N, cassava  
*kawea*, PC, wind (K, T, B). See 'iri  
*kawi*, VT, marry  
*kawu'u*, N, neck  
*kawukawu*, N, cotton  
*ke*, PC, with, and  
*kede*, VI, sit. \_\_ *ntigi* squat.  
*kee*, VI, hop on one leg in a direction  
*kehia*, EP, when (future time)  
*keke*, VI, dig  
*kela*, N, ring  
*kele*, VT, carry on back  
*keleu*, N, basket used for carrying on back  
 with a strap around the forehead  
*kene*, PC, and, with, friend, accompany  
*kengke*, PC, cloves (Arch.)  
*kengku*, A, cold (of water)  
*kenta*, N, fish (W: Arch; K, T, B)  
*kentá*, N (<M. kentang), potato  
*kente*, PC, low tide; tidal flats  
*kepu*, PC, lime  
*keputusa*, N (< M. keputusan), decision,  
*kesu*, N, ant

*ki'iki'i*, A, small  
*kie*, N, mat  
*kiki'i*, VT, bite  
*kikisi*, VT, rub an itch  
*kili*, VI, clean  
*kilua*, A, orphan with only one parent dead  
*kinda*, PC, lightning. (T) *lala*  
*kipu*, VA, close eyes  
*kirakira*, VI, approximately, about, roughly  
*kire*, N, eyebrow  
*ko'e*, VT, chop down  
*ko'o*, PC, smoke  
*kobe*, VI, correct  
*kobu*, VT, pluck, pull out  
*koburu*, PC, grave, bury someone  
*kode*, VT, beckon with a hand gesture  
*kodipo*, N, shark  
*kohe*, VT, beckon someone, summon  
 someone with downward gesture  
*koho*, N, heron  
*koho*, VT, chop, sever  
*koila*, N, small tortoise  
*koka*, N, peel (of bananas, etc.)  
*kokombu*, N, mast  
*kolikoli*, N (< M. kolikoli), canoe  
*kolo*, PC, bay  
*kolo*, VI, smoke tobacco  
*kolopua*, N, turtle  
*komba*, PC, moon  
*kombeo*, A, unusual, non-conformist, mad,  
 insane  
*kombi*, PC, medicine, cure  
*kombokombo*, PC, k.o. basket  
*komo*, N, raincloud  
*komo*, VI (< D. kom), come (Ritual)  
*komokomoro*, N (< D. komkommer),  
 cucumber  
*kompa*, N, eel  
*komparu*, N, k.o. fish  
*kompo*, PC, stomach  
*komporo*, N, paraffin stove  
*kondi*, PC, water carrying vessel made from  
 bamboo  
*kongka*, N, crow

*koni*, pc tooth. smile (smiling involves a lot  
 of compulsory tooth-showing in Tukang  
 Besi culture)  
*konta*, VT, hold, grasp  
*koosu ae*, N (< D. kous), socks  
*kora*, N, pandanus  
*koranga*, PC, garden. (T) *helalo'a*. (B) *kowa*  
*koruo*, A, many, much  
*kota*, N (< M. kota), city  
*kua*, prep, to, towards  
*kuku*, N, fingernail, claw  
*kuikui*, N (< M. kue), sweets, cakes,  
 desserts  
*kukuru'u*, PC, cock-a-doodle-doo  
*kuli*, N, skin, hide  
*kulia*, VI, study at university  
*kumbou*, N, monitor lizard  
*kumbu*, PC, arrow-head fist  
*kura*, VI (< M. kurang), lacking  
*kuru*, N, gills (of a fish). (B) *siri*  
*kurusu*, A (< M. kurus), skinny  
*kutu*, PC, head louse  
*kuu*, N, ebony wood

## I

*La*, X, male prefix for names  
*la'a*, X, just. Short for *ala'a*  
*labi*, X, better  
*labu*, N, pumpkin  
*labu*, PC, anchor  
*lagi*, ADV, now  
*lagu*, N (< M. lagu), song  
*laha*, *lolaha*, VT, search for  
*lai*, N, distance  
*laiare*, N, sail  
*laiga*, N, shelter  
*lake*, VT, be related to  
*laku*, N, cuscus  
*lalesa*, A, wide, spacious  
*lalo*, N, fly  
*lancara*, v (< M. lancar), fluent  
*landa*, VI, stamp  
*langano*, N, stone used to support a  
 katumpu  
*lange*, *langi*, N, sky  
*langkau*, N, spider (species)

*langke*, VI, sail, travel by sea  
*lante*, N (< M. lantai), floor  
*lapahi*, N, forehead pad used when carrying baskets no back  
*lapanga*, v (< M. lapangan), field  
*lapasi*, VI, past  
*laporu*, VI (< M. lapor), report  
*laro*, N, inside  
*lau*, N, penis  
*lawa*, CL, classifier for cloth  
*le'ale'ana*, ADV, today  
*leama*, A, good  
*legolego*, ADV, swinging arms  
*lei*, N, sea urchin (W)  
*lele'e*, PC, urinate  
*leluma*, VI, dirty  
*lemari*, N (< M. lemari), cupboard  
*lemba*, VT, carry on shoulder  
*lembe*, VI, taut  
*lembuko*, N, pigeon  
*lende*, VT, squeeze  
*lengke*, PC, homosexual  
*lepalepa*, N, small canoe  
*lepe*, N, edge of sea, line between land and sea  
*letere*, PC, litre; measuring can of approximately 1l size  
*lewunse*, A, fragrant, nice smelling  
*lia*, N, cave  
*liku*, PC, back, outside, back of hand  
*lima*, N, hand, arm  
*lima*, NUM, five  
*linda*, VI, move household  
*liu*, N, reason, cause  
*lo'ia*, N, ginger  
*loba*, N, valley  
*loeloe*, VI, lie  
*loeloe*, ADV, slowly  
*lohoror*, PC, Lohor prayers; time  
*loiloi*, VI, lie, fib  
*loka*, PC, banana  
*lola*, VI, fly, jump  
*lolaha*, VT, search for  
*lolima*, NUM, be five  
*longe*, N, shallow water  
*lono*, PC, cloud

*lonsi*, N (< M. lonceng), watch, clock  
*loro*, VI, sexy  
*lota*, N, space between things; used in *polota'a*  
*lu'u*, N, tears  
*luara*, N (< M. luar), outside  
*ludu*, PC, earthquake  
*lule*, VI, naked  
*luluta*, N, k.o. snack made from rice wrapped in banana leaves and cooked with egg

### m mb mp

*ma'a*, N (< M. makna), meaning  
*ma'ano*, N, I mean ...  
*ma'eka*, A, scared, fear  
*ma'inde*, AUX, Don't ever  
*maho*, VI, to breath  
*mai*, VI, come, let's  
*maka*, C, and then  
*makanjara*, PC, fast dancing form  
*makanu*, VI, get ready (for something)  
*malingu*, A, various  
*malino*, A, lonely  
*malobu*, A, straight  
*malute*, A, weak  
*mama*, VT, chew  
*mameko*, A, sweet  
*mamuda*, A, easy, comfortable, pleasant  
*manari*, VI (< M. menari), dance  
*mandara*, N, sweet potato  
*mandawulu*, A, beautiful  
*manga*, PC, eat; boiled cassava  
*mangule*, VI, exhausted  
*mansa*, PC, martial arts involving hands only  
*mansuana*, PC, old (of people)  
*manu*, N, bird, chicken (L). \_\_ *baha* cicada  
*manusia*, N (< M. manusia), people, humans  
*marasai*, A, difficult  
*marica*, N (< M. merica), pepper  
*marombu*, A, dirty, More commonly  
*kotoror*, A, (< M. kotor)  
*masigi*, N (< M. mesjid), mosque  
*mata*, CL, classifier used for sharp objects

- mata*, N, eye  
*matameha*, N, crab sp.  
*mawa*, VI, flow  
*mawi*, PC, open sea  
*mbala*, VI, make a dugout canoe by chopping  
*mbale*, VI, lie around  
*mbea'e*, X, no, not exist  
*mbea*, *mbeaka*, AUX, not  
*mbero*, VT, gesture to someone with hand  
*mbololo*, N, large gong  
*mboti*, PC, trip, stumble  
*mbule*, VI, return. Synonym with *waliako*  
*mburi*, PC, behind (T, B)  
*meai*, DEM, See chapter 12  
*meana'e*, DEM, now. See chapter 6  
*meantu'u*, m, traditional ruler, based in the kraton in Lia; sultan  
*measo'e*, DEM, See chapter 6  
*meatu'e*, DEM, See chapter 6  
*mebuku*, A, strong  
*medumpu*, A, short  
*meha*, A, red  
*meito'e*, DEM, See chapter 6  
*meiwo'e*, DEM, See chapter 6  
*meja*, N (< M. meja), table  
*melai*, A, far, distant  
*melampa*, A, few, scarce  
*melanga*, A, long, high  
*melangka*, A, long (horizontally)  
*mele*, VT, happy, content  
*melu*, VI, request  
*membali*, VI, all right, ok, fine  
*mena*, A, hot (of liquids. hot (of people, metaphorically)  
*mendaro*, A, deep  
*mente*, VA, surprise  
*menti'i*, A, fast  
*menturu*, PC, normal(ly)  
*menuru*, X (< M. menurut), according to  
*mepa*, VA, wet  
*mepanda*, N, dwarf(ish)  
*meransa*, A, heavy (of rain or wind)  
*merimba*, A, fast  
*mesi*, N (< M. mesin), mechanised transport: motorbike, outboard motor  
*metangku*, A, close  
*metere*, CL, metre  
*metuku*, A, strong. See *motuko*, *tuko*  
*mia*, PC, person  
*mimbontangi*, N, scorpion  
*mina*, PR/VI/AUX, from, ever  
*minggu*, PC, week. Sunday  
*misikini*, A, orphan without both parents  
*miso*, VI, suck  
*mo'ane*, PC, male, man, husband  
*mo'aro*, VI, hungry  
*mo'ini*, A, shy (T, B)  
*mo'omuru*, A, hungry (T, B)  
*Mo'ori*, N, God  
*mo'owu*, A, fat  
*moana*, A, right hand side  
*mobai*, A, hard, tough, chewy  
*mobasa*, A (< M. besar ?), big, great  
*mobela*, A, injured, wounded  
*mobila*, AA, full, satisfied  
*moboha*, A, big, large  
*modo*, ADV, soon  
*moha'ato*, A, itchy  
*mohaki*, A, bitter  
*mohali*, A, expensive, difficult  
*mohama*, A, sharp  
*mohana*, A, salty, hot (from chilli)  
*mohii*, A, left, left handed  
*mohoo*, A, sick  
*mohulu*, A, chewy  
*mohute*, A, white  
*moina*, PC, day (T, B)  
*mokado*, A, hot (K.)  
*mokeha*, A, salty (water)  
*mokobo*, A, thick  
*mokuri*, A, yellow  
*molango*, A, drunk, \_\_ *mawi* seasick  
*molau*, A, smelly  
*molengo*, A, long (time)  
*molinga*, A, forget  
*molo*, VI, drown in shallows  
*molobu*, A, straight  
*molola'a*, PC, widow(er)  
*molulungu*, A, slippery  
*molungu*, A, wet  
*moma'a*, PC, yawn



*mombaka*, VI, delicious  
*monda*, AUX, already  
*mondilu*, A, sour  
*mondo*, AUX, already  
*monea*, PC, usual, normal; customs  
*moniasi*, VT, feel pity for, be pitiful  
*monihi*, A, thin  
*monimpala*, PC, miss, feel homesick  
*monini*, A, cold  
*mopaa*, A, light (not heavy)  
*mopera*, A, short  
*moree*, VI, to cough  
*mori*, N (< M. murid), student  
*moro'u*, VT, drink  
*morombo*, A, dirty  
*mowondu*, XX, strong smell (mo~)  
*morondo*, PC, night  
*morunga*, A, young  
*morusu*, A, skinny  
*mosega*, A, naughty, criminal  
*mosenga*, A, pink  
*moso*, VI, retract head (of a tortoise)  
*mososoa*, A, sweaty  
*mota'a*, VI, ripe  
*motalo*, VI, lose  
*motembe*, A, fresh (of water)  
*motika*, A, old (not as old as mansuana)  
*motindo'u*, VI, thirsty  
*motiti*, AI, dry  
*motokau*, N, forest, scrub (*hoto-* 'have',  
 -[um]- 'subject infix', *kau* 'tree')  
*motondu*, VI, drown at sea  
*motongka*, VI, sink  
*motoro*, N, engine-powered sea vessel  
*motuko*, N, strong. See *metuko*  
*moturu*, VI, sleep  
*motutu*, A, blunt (edge, not point)  
*motuturu*, VI, tired, sleepy  
*mowangi*, A, fragrant. Source of the name  
*Wangi wangi* for the island Wanci,  
 referring to the time when there were  
 many cloves (*kengke*) plantations.  
*mowuru*, A, rotten  
*mpa'ampa'a*, N, starfish  
*mpunda*, VI, sit (Kap). See *kede*  
*mulai*, VI (< M. mulai), begin

*muluru*, VI, lose footing (not because of  
 slipperiness)  
*muntu*, A, sweet (Lia)  
*mura*, VI, cheap  
*mururu*, VI, be bald

## n nd ng ngg ngk nt

*na*, X, nominative case  
*nabu*, VT, drop. In Tomea *nabu* is  
 transitive, and *monabu* is the  
 intransitive equivalent  
*nami*, N, taste  
*namisi*, VT, taste  
*angka*, N (< M. angka), jackfruit.  
 Synonym for *ndanga*, *kanasa*  
*nangu*, VI, swim  
*ndai*, VT, tie together (string)  
*ndamu*, N, axe (K)  
*ndanga*, N, jackfruit  
*ndangundangu*, N, glockenspiel with three  
 boards  
*ndawu*, N, k.o. soup made from pumpkin  
 and coconut milk  
*nde'u*, VT, don't want  
*ndoke*, N, monkey  
*ndonga*, VI, make a metallic, clanging  
 noise  
*nduli*, N, cockroach  
*nduu*, PC, gong-like noise  
*ne'i*, PC, flesh, contents, essence, fill  
*ngaa*, PC, name  
*ngaro*, N, gums. (K) mouth  
*ngeo*, PC, charcoal  
*ngga*, X, than  
*nggai*, ADV, moment  
*nggala*, VT, (be) exactly  
*nggaleso*, VI, nervous  
*nggoalu*, N, ghost sp.  
*nggolo*, VI, roll about the floor  
*ngkaru*, VT, carry  
*ngo'o*, N, nose  
*nguruma*, N, centipede  
*ngusu*, N, mouth, beak. (K) lip  
*no'o*, NUM, six  
*nomo*, NUM, six  
*nono'o*, NUM, six

*noso*, VT, follow  
*ntaea*, *ntaeda*, C, because  
*nu*, X, genitive case. Also *u*  
*nua*, N, island. Only found in place names:  
 See *pulo*

**O**

*o'a*, N, mooring place for boats behind a sandbar or reef  
*oalu*, NUM, be eight  
*odo*, VI, yawn  
*oho*, X, yes  
*olibolu*, N (< D. oliebol), sweet oily cake  
*oliha*, N, centipede  
*olo*, N, mooring place where the sea is kept at bay by a sandbar or a high patch of coral  
*olota*, N, uninhabited valley; wilderness  
*om*, N, (< M. om, < D. oom) uncle  
*ompu*, N, grand(father, mother, child)  
*ompulu*, NUM, ten  
*onga nu soha*, N, rungs of a ladder. See *soha*  
*onuae*, N, poisonous centipede (species)  
*onuberena*, N, poisonous centipede (species)  
*oo*, X, yes  
*opa*, N, underwater cave  
*opa*, N, sweet potato(sp.)  
*orungu*, N, body  
*osimpu*, PC, young coconut. (T) *niu*  
*otiwō*, PC, span of fingers  
*oto*, N (< M. oto, < D. auto), car, vehicle  
*owaha*, N, horizontal roof support

**P**

*pa'a*, N, thigh  
*pada*, PC, kunai grass  
*pagara*, PC, fence (wooden)  
*pago*, VI, fast  
*paha*, PC, thunder. (T) *tondu*  
*paiasa*, N, mirror  
*paira*, EP, what  
*pajulu*, VI (< TkB pa- 'cause' and M. dolo 'first, prior), continue  
*pake*, VT (< M. pakai), use, wear

*pakea*, N (< M. pakaian), clothing  
*pale*, VT, chop, hack  
*pali*, VI, turn around  
*pali*, VT, encircle  
*palu*, PC, hammer  
*pamarenta*, N (< I. pemerintah), government  
*pamuru*, v, be angry (from muru 'bald')  
*pana*, PC, arrow, bow  
*pandanga*, N, k.o. land spear  
*pande*, VI, clever, frequently  
*pandola*, N, eggplant  
*panga*, N, branch (of tree). *hepanga* chop branches off a tree  
*panganta*, VI, unwilling  
*pangka*, N, kitchen, back of a house  
*pangku*, N, lower back  
*pangkulela*, N, starfruit  
*panse*, N (< M. panci), pot  
*pante*, N (< M. pantai), beach  
*parahuu*, v, begin (arch.). See *mulai*  
*paraki*, VI, carry cargo, sail laden with trade goods  
*paraluu*, PC (< M. perlu), need  
*parantaea*, *parantaeda*, *parantai*, because  
*parenta*, N (< M. perintah), government  
*parisa*, VT (< M. periksa), examine  
*pasapu*, PC, k.o. mat  
*paseba*, VI, sit cross-legged  
*pasi*, AUX, just then  
*pau*, N (< M. payung), umbrella  
*pe'esa*, ADV, alone, self  
*pe'i*, A, stupid  
*pedembula*, ADV, earlier  
*peku*, VT, backfist  
*pepe*, VT, slap with the whole palm  
*pepu'u*, VI, ripe. See *mota'a*  
*pera*, N, silver  
*pesuria*, N, heart  
*pia*, NUM, how many?  
*pida*, N, banana (M-L, K). See *loka*  
*pidi*, PC, rubbish  
*pili*, PC, choose  
*pindi*, PC, firm excrement  
*pinse*, VT, squeeze  
*piri*, N (< M. piring), plate

*pisa*, VA (< M picah), break  
*pitu*, NUM, seven  
*po'awa*, VR, meet  
*po'o*, N, mango  
*po'oli*, VT, finish, complete  
*poda*, N, knife  
*podu*, N, chicken louse  
*pogau*, PC, say, speak, language  
*pogira*, VR, fight  
*poilu*, VR, love, desire  
*poko*, VI, clear, see through  
*polisi*, PC (< M. polis), police  
*polota'a*, N, (in)between  
*pono*, A, full  
*ponu*, N, fish scales  
*popia*, EP, how many?  
*popitu*, NUM, be seven  
*porai*, PC, fiancée  
*poripori*, N, vein  
*posanga*, X, excuse oneself (leave-taking  
 formula: *Kuposangamo*)  
*posepa'a*, N, kicking festival in Lia  
*poso*, VI, dizzy. See *pusi*  
*posolo*, PC, scabbard  
*potae*, VI, say, mention  
*potoloti*, N (< D. potloot), pencil  
*pu'oi*, N, termite  
*pu'ou*, N, gall bladder. (T) *ho'ou*, (B) *pu'ou*  
*puai*, VA, dry in the sun  
*puge*, VI, break a bone in your body  
*pulástii*, N (< M. plastik), plastic  
*pulo*, N (< M. pulau), island  
*puria*, N, edge (on land)  
*pusi*, VI (< M. pusing), dizzy  
*pusu*, VT, release  
*putara*, VI (< M. putar), turn around,  
 revolve, play (of a tape)  
*putusu*, VI (< M. putus), decide

## R

*raha*, PC, blood  
*raho*, VT, affect  
*raki*, N, raft  
*ramba*, PC, thread  
*rambi*, VI, play musical instruments  
*rambi*, A, ancestor. *ompu* \_\_\_ ancestors

*rambu*, N, string  
*rame*, A (< M. ramai), lively, busy  
*ramo*, N, flesh  
*rampu*, VA, burn (firewood), roast  
*randa*, N, chest, flat part of body. \_\_\_ *nu ae*,  
 sole of foot, \_\_\_ *nu lima* palm of hand  
*rante*, PC, chain  
*rapi*, VI, stick (to)  
*raporapo*, N, peanuts  
*rato*, VI, arrive  
*rau*, VI, yell  
*RB*, A, [erbee], smuggled goods  
*rearea*, N, morning  
*rede*, VI, boiling  
*ree*, VI, cough  
*reke*, VT (< D. reken), count exactly, See  
 also *bila*  
*reko*, VI, crush lice  
*rekui*, N, rudder. Also *rukui*  
*rengka*, A, dry (as a result of being dried  
 out)  
*retu*, PC, alveolar click  
*riirii*, PC, young duck or chicken  
*rinso*, N, washing powder for clothes  
*riwu*, NUM, thousand  
*ro'o*, PC, leaf, medicine  
*robu*, PC, bamboo shoots; soup made from  
 bamboo shoots and coconut milk  
*roda*, VA, remember  
*rodongo*, VT, hear  
*rombo*, N, kite (toy)  
*rongo*, PC, carrying strap for baskets that  
 goes around head  
*roo*, N (< M. rok), skirt  
*rou*, N, forehead  
*roukau*, N, vegetables. (< *ro'o nu kau*,  
 leaves of trees)  
*ruerue*, N, cicada  
*ruhi*, PC, thorn  
*rukui*, N, rudder. Also *rekui*  
*rumbia*, N, sago palm

## S

*sa'a*, N, snake  
*sa'asa*, NUM, one, be one  
*saba'ane*, QUANT, all

- sabentara*, C (< M. *sebentar*), in a moment  
*sabo*, N (< M. *sabun*), soap  
*sabu*, VI, descend (K)  
*saga'a*, *sagaa*, ADV, sometimes  
*saha*, N, chilli  
*sahu*, N, family (T, B). See *tuha*  
*sai*, VT, make  
*saioro*, N, vegetables. See *roukau*  
*saka*, VI, show off  
*sakopu*, PC, space enclosed by arms  
*sala*, N (< W. < M.), trousers  
*sala*, N, road  
*sala*, VI, be faulty, be different  
*salaka*, N, k.o. metal  
*salalu*, ADV (< M. *selalu*), always  
*salama*, ADV (< M. *selama*), as long as  
*sambahaea*, *sambahea*, PC (< M. *sambahyang*), prayers  
*samburu*, PC, broom; sweep  
*samparaja*, N, anchor. Also *labu*  
*sampe'a*, N, place-of-arrival (*sampe* + -'a); proper name for a place in the south of Wanci where the *Tukang Besi* people first arrived  
*sampe*, VI (< M. *sampai*), arrive  
*sampi*, VT, pick (fruit)  
*sanggalapa*, N, wife's sister's husband  
*sanggila*, N, pirate  
*sangia*, N, culture hero  
*sangka*, VI, pass, exceed  
*sangka*, VT, weave (sarong)  
*santa*, N (< M. *santan*), coconut cream  
*saori*, VI, very. Also *sauri*  
*sapaira*, EP, how much (price)  
*sapi*, N (< M. *sapi*), cow  
*sapi*, N, cousin (T, B). See *tolida*  
*saroha*, PC, span of arms  
*satenga*, X (< M. *setengah*), half. Only used in the expression *satenga mate* (< M. *setengah mati*) difficult, troublesome  
*satonga*, PC, half  
*sauri*, VI, very. Also *saori*  
*sawengka*, N, side  
*sawi*, VI, ride, travel by means of  
*SD*, N, [es[i]dee], primary school. Synonym with *sikola'a*  
*sede*, N, taro  
*seha*, VI (< M. *sehat*), healthy  
*sekitar*, NUM (< M. *sekitar*), about, approximately  
*selo*, N, short (edible) roots of sago tree  
*sende*, VI, breathe (in)  
*séng*, N, galvanised iron (roof)  
*sengasenga*, N, fried food  
*sepa*, VT, kick  
*sepe*, VT, separate from (speaking of children and parents)  
*setuju*, VI, agree  
*sewa*, PC, rent, tariff, cost (for a service)  
*sia*, NUM, nine  
*siasa*, *siasia*, VT (< M. *siaksa*), beat  
*sida*, N, fact, truth  
*sidu*, N, spoon  
*sikola'a*, N, school  
*sikola*, VI, attend school  
*siku*, N, elbow  
*simbi*, VT, slash (with a bladed object)  
*simbuku*, N, octopus, squid  
*simpo*, VT, prepare food  
*sintere*, N (< M. *senter*), torch  
*sinu*, VT, indicate, point out  
*sio'oloo*, PC, afternoon  
*sio*, PC, afternoon  
*sipeda*, PC, bicycle  
*sisi*, N, fence (Lia)  
*sisua*, N (< M. *siswa*), university student  
*SMA*, PC, [esemaa], (attend) upper high school  
*SMP*, PC, [esempee], (attend) lower high school  
*soa*, PC, sweat  
*soami*, N, grated, boiled cassava  
*soba*, VT (< M. *coba*), try  
*soha*, N, ladder, door; entrance  
*soka*, N, knife (K, T, B)  
*sombu*, N, narrow valley, gorge  
*sombure*, N, stick of wood  
*sondai*, N, thread made of coconut fibre. See *ndai*  
*songka*, PC, k.o. hat  
*songko*, A, narrow, cramped  
*sopesope*, N, small sailing ship

*sopo*, N, stone wall  
*soro*, VT, push  
*soroa*, N, sweat  
*soropu'a*, N, section of bamboo with water  
 for cooling machete blades when they  
 are being forged  
*sosia*, NUM, be nine  
*sula*, VT, to burn weeds in a garden  
*sulo*, VT, put in, insert  
*suma*, C, be sure, make certain  
*sumbanga*, vd (< M. sumbang), donate (to  
 a mosque)  
*sumbele*, VT, cut throat of animal in halal  
 butchering  
*sumbere*, v, immediately  
*sundu*, VT, command  
*sunsu*, N, relative  
*sura*, N (< M. surat), letter  
*suru*, VT (< M. suruh), command, order  
*surui*, PC, comb  
*susu*, N (< M. susu?), milk

## t

*ta'i*, N, shit  
*ta'o*, N, year  
*tabako*, PC (< M. tabako), cigarette  
*tabea*, *tabeda*, C, but  
*tade*, N, stand  
*tadentade*, N, grave marker  
*taha*, VI, hit with a sharp object so the  
 blade sticks in  
*taho*, N, bait for fishing  
*talapihi*, N, temple  
*taliku*, N, behind, back  
*talinga*, N, ear  
*talo*, VA, win, beat  
*tama*, VI (< M. tamat), end  
*tamba*, VT, score (a goal in soccer)  
*tambitambi*, N, buttocks, anus  
*tampa*, N (< M. tempat), place  
*tanda*, N (< M. tanda), sign  
*tandara*, PC, rainbow  
*tando*, N, k.o. basket  
*tano*, VT, bury  
*tandu*, PC, horn  
*tangka*, N, place, position

*tangkapu*, VT (< M. tangkap), capture  
*tanta*, N (< M. tanta), aunt  
*tanta*, VT, install  
*tantu*, VI (< M. tentu), certain  
*tara*, VI, depart  
*tari*, PC, (use) psychic powers. Also *taria*  
*tarima*, VT, receive  
*tasi*, *tasitasi*, N (< M. tas), bag  
*tau*, VT, know  
*tau*, VT, put, place  
*tawa*, C, but  
*tawatawa*, PC, hand gong  
*tawo*, PC, high tide  
*te'e*, N, water (K, T, B). See *uwe*  
*te*, X, non-nominative core case  
*tee*, N, tea  
*teepu*, N, cassette tape  
*tenda*, N, shelf  
*tendeki*, VT, kick with instep  
*ti'i*, VT, scratch a cat's bottom for  
 amusement  
*tido*, VT, delouse someone  
*tih*, VT, shave bamboo or other woods  
*timba*, PC, bucket; fetch water from a well  
 with a bucket  
*timu*, N, east  
*tinti*, VI, run  
*tita'i*, VI, defecate  
*titi*, N, breast  
*to'o*, N, Orion's belt (constellation)  
*to'oge*, A, big  
*to'oko*, VI, sleep face down  
*tobaru*, N, sago soup  
*tobo*, VT, stab  
*tode*, VI, flee  
*todo*, PC, sea-fog  
*togo*, PC, town  
*toha*, VT, wash (clothes)  
*toka*, C, but  
*tokabi*, VI, lost  
*tokea*, N, termite  
*toko*, PC, necklace  
*tolaki*, VI, be late  
*tolida*, PC, cousin  
*tolo*, VT, swallow  
*tolonga*, N, throat

*tolu*, NUM, three  
*tolua*, VI, vomit (T, B)  
*tomba*, PC, mud  
*tompa*, VT, throw  
*tonda*, VT, drag a child along by the hand  
*tonde*, N, cup and saucer  
*tondo*, N, fence (stone)  
*tondu*, VI, fade from sight (in the distance),  
 vanish; fade (of paint or dye)  
*tonduri*, PC, hook for fishing  
*tonga*, N, middle  
*tongka*, PC, fighting staff  
*tonto*, VT, watch,  
*topa*, PC, slap, hand-drum  
*torae*, VT, place  
*torusu*, VI, and then, continue  
*totoha*, VT, wash clothes semi-effectually  
*totolu*, NUM, be three  
*totumbo*, N, house post in centre line of  
 house  
*towu*, PC, sugar cane  
*tu'o*, VT, chop down, fell  
*tu'u*, N, knee  
*tuba*, N, walking staff  
*tudu'a*, PC, slave  
*tuduhi*, PC, heel kick  
*tuha*, PC, family  
*tuhu*, VI, descend (in one action)  
*tuju*, VT (< M. tujuh), point, indicate. Also  
*saha*  
*tuka tutu*, N, blacksmith  
*tuka*, N, occupation  
*tukambasi*, N (M. tukang besi), blacksmith  
*tukambesi*, N, name of the island  
 archipelago: Tukangbesi islands  
*tuko*, PC, support legs used on ships when  
 in dry-dock  
*tula*, *tulatula*, PC, story  
*tuli*, N, ear (T, B). See *talinga*  
*tulu*, VI, stop by, rest, break a journey  
*tulungi*, VT (< M. tolong), help  
*tuma*, N, clothes louse  
*tumbakeke*, N, spider (species)  
*tumbekeke*, N, frog  
*tumbu*, VI, live  
*tumbu*, VT, pound (rice)

*tumbu'a*, N, mortar (for pounding grains).  
*ana nu* \_\_ pestle  
*tumpe*, A, first-born  
*tumpu*, VT, command  
*tunga*, VI, go fishing  
*tungga*, *tunggala*, NUM, every, each  
*tuno*, N, heel  
*tunu*, VI, burn  
*turu*, VT, beat a fish unconscious when it's  
 on the end of a fishing line  
*turua*, N, cicada (species)

**U**

*u*, C, genitive case. See *nu*  
*u'u*, PC, dew  
*ulo*, N, caterpillar, earthworm  
*umala*, N, river  
*umangge*, N, spouse (Kap.). See *bela*  
*umba*, VI, rise up, surface  
*umbu*, N, extremity, edge  
*umpa*, N, bait. Also *upa*  
*usaha*, N (< M. usaha), need  
*usalao*, PC, heavy storm  
*uto*, N, skull  
*uutu*, N, night (K, T, B). See *morondo*  
*uwe*, N, water (W)  
*uwu*, CL, classifier for foldable cloth

**W**

*Wa*, x, female or diminutive prefix for  
 names or kin terms  
*waa*, VT, tell, inform, command  
*waha*, N, (hot) coals in a fire  
*waha*, N, west  
*waho*, PC, k.o. boil  
*wai*, N, mosquito  
*Wajo*, PC, Bajau  
*wakowako ahu*, N, stonefish  
*wakutuu*, N (< M. waktu), time  
*Walanda*, PC (< M. < D.), Dutch; foreign,  
 western  
*walewale*, N, shade shelter  
*wali*, VT, turn over (when cooking)  
*waliako*, VI, return  
*walobu*, N, freshwater pool, sinkhole  
*wande*, PC, rain. \_\_ *-nsangia* north

*wanga*, PC, k.o. machete  
*wara*, N, sinkhole, small cave  
*warigo'o*, N, space under house for storage, fish pens under house built over water  
*waru*, N (< M. warung), shop, stall  
*watu*, PC, stone. \_\_ *mata* pupil  
*waturumbu*, PC, brain coral  
*wawo*, N, above  
*wela'a*, N, k.o. crab  
*wele*, N, film  
*wemba*, N, bamboo  
*wembe*, N, goat  
*wengka*, N, betelnut  
*wetu'o*, N, star  
*wikirii*, VI, think  
*wila*, VI, go  
*winalu*, N, food supplies  
*wine*, PC, seedling  
*wini*, VT, pull in fish  
*wiri*, PC, snot  
*wiwi*, N, edge  
*wiwi*, N, lips (or: *wiwi ngusu*)  
*wo'ou*, A, new  
*wolanga*, N, cooking pot  
*woleke*, N, mouse, rat  
*wolua*, N, natural spring on the beach  
*wombo*, N, upper story of a building  
*wongka*, N, comb  
*worai*, N, sarong  
*woru*, N, underneath  
*wose*, N, prawn, lobster  
*wou*, VT, term for fishing  
*wowine*, PC, woman, wife, female  
*wudo*, PC, season  
*wui*, N, bead  
*wuju*, VI, wash face before prayers  
*wuju*, VT, persuade  
*wulelu*, N, eel. (T) *bolu*  
*wulili*, VT, to turn, to twist (fibres, strings)  
*wulu*, N, body hair, fur, feathers. \_\_ *jumba* (< M. bulu domba) blanket. \_\_ *mata* eyelashes  
*wulu*, VI, flow (currents in sea, menstrual blood)  
*wulumba'a*, N, neighbours  
*wunga*, PC, blossom, \_\_ *nu lima* finger, \_\_ *nu ae* toe  
*wungancili*, N, little finger  
*wunganja'o*, N, ring finger  
*wungansaha*, N, index finger  
*wungantonga*, N, middle finger  
*wungka*, N, ridge, hill-top  
*wunua*, N, house  
*wurai*, N, sarong. Also *worai*  
*wuta*, N, earth  
*wuwu'i*, VI, wash hands

The following finderlist is not intended to function as a full wordlist, let alone dictionary, but simply to enable words in the *Tukang Besi* - English section to be located without having to search through all the words listed. Because of this, often several very different meanings have been collapsed, for example *lola* and *lalo*, 'fly (verb)' and 'fly (noun, insect)'.

|                                               |                                                             |                                    |                                                            |
|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| above, <i>wawo</i>                            | already, <i>monda</i> ,<br><i>mondo</i>                     | answer, <i>balo</i>                | back, <i>liku</i> , <i>pangku</i>                          |
| accompany, <i>antara</i> ,<br><i>henangka</i> | also, 'uka                                                  | ant, <i>kesu</i>                   | backfist, <i>peku</i>                                      |
| according to, <i>menuru</i>                   | always, <i>salalu</i>                                       | anvil, <i>dasa'a</i>               | bag, <i>tasi</i> , <i>tasitasi</i>                         |
| add up, <i>angka</i>                          | ancestor, <i>ompu rambi</i>                                 | approximately,<br><i>kirakira</i>  | bait, <i>taho</i> , <i>umpa</i>                            |
| affect, <i>raho</i>                           | anchor, <i>labu</i> ,<br><i>samparaja</i>                   | arm, <i>lima</i>                   | Bajau, <i>Wajo</i>                                         |
| afternoon, <i>sio</i> ,<br><i>sio'oloo</i>    | and, <i>ke</i>                                              | arrive, <i>rato</i> , <i>sampe</i> | bald, <i>muru</i>                                          |
| agree, <i>setuju</i>                          | and then, <i>maka</i>                                       | arrow, <i>pana</i>                 | bamboo, <i>wemba</i>                                       |
| all, <i>saba'ane</i>                          | angry, <i>da'olaro</i> ,<br><i>hawaa</i> , <i>hawasaa</i> , | ashamed, <i>insawu</i>             | bamboo carrying<br>vessel, <i>kondi</i>                    |
| all right, <i>membali</i>                     | <i>pamuru</i>                                               | ashes, <i>awu</i>                  | banana, <i>loka</i> , <i>pida</i>                          |
| allow, 'ua'ua                                 | ankle, <i>bikubiku</i>                                      | ask, <i>ema</i>                    | basket, <i>humbu</i> , <i>keleu</i> ,<br><i>kombokombo</i> |
| alone, <i>pe'esa</i>                          | annoy, <i>ganggu</i>                                        | assume, 'ili                       | bat, <i>honiki</i>                                         |
|                                               |                                                             | aunt, <i>tanta</i>                 | bay, <i>kolo</i>                                           |
|                                               |                                                             | axe, <i>baliu</i> , <i>ndamu</i>   |                                                            |

- beach, *pante*  
 bead, *wui*  
 beak, *ngusu*  
 beat, *siasa, talo*  
 beautiful, *mandawulu*  
 because, *entaeta, entaeta, ntaeta, ntaeta*  
 beckon, *kode, mbero, kohe*  
 begin, *hematu, hematuu, mulai*  
 begin, *parahuu*  
 behind, *mburi, taliku*  
 bellows, *buso'a*  
 betelnut, *wengka*  
 better, *labi*  
 between, *polota'a*  
 bicycle, *sipeda*  
 big, *to'oge*  
 bird, *manu*  
 bird; animal, *kadadi*  
 bite, *kaha, kiki'i*  
 bitter, *mohaki*  
 black, *biru*  
 blacksmith, *tuka tutu, tukambasi*  
 blanket, *kampanase, wulujumba, helumpu,*  
 blind, *kandala*  
 blood, *raha*  
 blossom, *wunga*  
 blow, *hopu*  
 blunt, *bansu*  
 boat, *jonso, motoro*  
 body, *orungu*  
 boil, *hengolo, bisu, waho*  
 boiling, *rede*  
 bone, *buku*  
 book, *boku*  
 borrow, *ada*  
 branch, *panga*  
 brawl, *gora*  
 break, *pisa*  
 break a bone, *puge*  
 breast, *titi*  
 breathe, *sende, maho*  
 bride price, *kamondo*  
 broom, *samburu*  
 brush, *bundururu*  
 bucket, *ambere, gue, timba*  
 buffalo, *karambau*  
 burn, *rampu, tunu, sulu*  
 bury, *tano*  
 but, *tabea, tabeda, tawa, toka*  
 butterfly, *kamberombero*  
 buttocks, *tambitambi*  
 buy, *balu*  
 calf, *habiti*  
 call, *'elo*  
 can, *beleke*  
 canoe, *kolikoli*  
 capture, *tangkapu*  
 cards, *karatasi, karatu*  
 carry, *kele*  
 carry, *ngkaru*  
 carry on shoulder, *lemba*  
 cassava, *kaujawa, soami*  
 cassette tape, *teepu*  
 cat, *beka*  
 caterpillar, *ulo*  
 cave, *lia, opa*  
 celebrate, *buka*  
 centipede, *oliha, nguruma, onuae, onuberena*  
 certain, *tantu*  
 chain, *rante*  
 chair, *kadera*  
 change clothing, *ambe*  
 charter, *cartere*  
 cheap, *mura*  
 cheek, *baga*  
 chest, *randa*  
 chew, *kaha, mama*  
 chewy, *mohulu*  
 chicken, *kadola, manu*  
 child, *ana, anabou*  
 chilli, *saha*  
 chin, *ase*  
 choose, *pili*  
 chop, *bata, gonti, ko'e, tu'o*  
 cicada, *ruerue, manubaha, turua*  
 circumcision festival, *karia'a*  
 city, *kota*  
 clean, *kili*  
 clear, *poko*  
 clever, *pande*  
 click, *retu*  
 climb, *'eka*  
 close, *metangku*  
 close eyes, *kipu*  
 cloth, *bungadu*  
 clothing, *pakea*  
 cloud, *komo, lono*  
 cloves, *kengke*  
 coals, *waha*  
 cock-a-doodle-doo, *kukuru'u*  
 cockroach, *nduli*  
 coconut, *kaluku, osimpu, ka'awulu, benu*  
 coconut cream, *santa*  
 cold, *kengkku, monini*  
 collect, *hemona*  
 colonise, *jaja*  
 comb, *bambai, wongka, surui*  
 come, *komo, mai*  
 comfortable, *mamuda*  
 command, *sundu, suru, tumpu, waa*  
 contents, *ne'i*  
 continue, *pajulu, torusu*  
 cook, *helo'a*  
 coral, *waturumbu*  
 corn, *gandu, kahitela, kaitela*  
 correct, *kobe*  
 cough, *(mo)ree*  
 count, *bila, reke*  
 cousin, *sapi, toлада*  
 cow, *sapi*  
 crab, *wela'a*  
 cradle, *kadu*  
 crocodile, *bu'ea*  
 cross-legged, *paseba*  
 crow, *kangkau, kongka*  
 crowbar, *'ua, kali*  
 crush lice, *reko*  
 cry, *doito*  
 cucumber, *komokomoro*  
 cup and saucer, *tonde*  
 cupboard, *lemari*  
 cuscus, *laku*  
 custard apple, *kaubarasa*  
 customs, *adati, monea*  
 dance, *makanjara, manari*  
 day, *moina*  
 deaf, *kabongo*  
 decide, *putusu*  
 decision, *keputusa*  
 deep, *mendaro*  
 defecate, *tita'i*  
 delicious, *mombaka*  
 depart, *tara*  
 descend, *hena'u, sabu, tuhu*  
 desire, *gau*  
 different, *sala*  
 difficult, *marasai, mohali*  
 dig, *keke, hongali*  
 dirty, *marombu, leluma*  
 distance, *lai*  
 distant, *melai*  
 dizzy, *poso, pusi*  
 dog, *'obu*  
 domino cards, *domi*  
 Don't ever, *ma'inde, ka'ulu*  
 don't want, *nde'u*  
 donate, *hoti*  
 donate, *sumbanga*  
 drag, *tonda*  
 drink, *moro'u*  
 drop, *buti, nabu*  
 drown, *molo, motondu*  
 drum of diesel fuel, *doromo*  
 drunk, *molango*  
 dry, *motiti, rengka, puai*  
 duck, *hebe, riirii*  
 dust, *awu, gawu*  
 dwarf, *mepanda*  
 dwell, *'ura, 'uranga*  
 earlier, *aba, ba'i, pedembula*  
 earth, *wuta*  
 earthquake, *ludu*  
 east, *timu*  
 eat, *manga*  
 ebony, *kau*  
 edge, *wiwi, puria*  
 eel, *kompa, wulelu*  
 egg, *gora'u*  
 eggplant, *pandola*  
 eight, *alu, oalu*  
 elbow, *siku*  
 elder sibling, *ikaka*  
 elder sister, *kalaminsala*  
 embarrassed, *ambanga*  
 encircle, *pali*  
 end, *ahiri, tama, po'oli*  
 even though, *bisa*



- every, *tungga*,  
*tunggala*  
 exactly, *nggala*  
 examine, *parisa*  
 excuse, *posanga*  
 exhausted, *mangule*  
 exist, *ane*  
 extreme, *apata*  
 extremity, *umbu*  
 eye, *mata*  
 eyebrow, *kire*  
 eyelash, *wulu mata*  
 face powder, *bura*  
 fact, *sida*  
 fade, *tondu*  
 fall, *buti*  
 family, *sahu*, *tuha*  
 fast, *menti'i*, *pago*,  
*merimba*  
 fat, *mo'owu*  
 father, *ama*, *bapa*  
 faulty, *sala*  
 fear, *ma'eka*  
 February, *bulandua*  
 fence, *tondo*, *pagara*,  
*sisi*  
 festival, *buka'a*  
 fetch, *ala*  
 fiancée, *porai*  
 fib, *loiloi*  
 field, *lapanga*,  
*hawu'a*  
 fight, *pogira*, *gere*  
 film, *wele*  
 finger, *wunga*  
 fingernail, *kaku*  
 finish, *habisi*  
 finish, *po'oli*  
 fire, *ahu*  
 firefly, *kalipopo-*  
*(ndangi)*  
 first, *baaba*  
 first-born, *tumpe*  
 fish, *ika*, *kenta*,  
*komparu*, *wou*  
 fist, *kumbu*  
 five, *lolima*, *lima*  
 flee, *tode*  
 flesh, *ramo*  
 float, *dola*  
 floor, *lante*  
 flow, *wulu*  
 fluent, *lancara*  
 fly, *lalo*, *lola*  
 fog, *todo*  
 foggy, *gopo*  
 follow, *noso*  
 food, *imanga*, *winalu*  
 forbid, *'angka*  
 forbidden, *homali*  
 forehead, *rou*  
 forehead pad, *lapahi*  
 forget, *molinga*  
 four, *gana*  
 four, *hato*  
 fragrant, *lewunse*,  
*mowangi*  
 fresh, *motembe*  
 fried food,  
*sengasenga*  
 friend, *kene*  
 frog, *tumbekeke*  
 front, *aropa*  
 fruit, *ba'e*, *buabuaha*,  
*kadondo*  
 full, *mobila*, *pono*  
 gall bladder, *pu'ou*  
 galvanised iron, *séng*  
 garden, *koranga*  
 garlic, *bawa mohute*  
 genitive case, *nu*  
 ghost, *'onitu*, *nggoalu*  
 gills, *anga*, *kuru*  
 ginger, *lo'ia*  
 give a lift, *gande*  
 go, *'inte*, *wila*  
 goal, *golu*  
 goat, *wembe*  
 God, *Mo'ori*  
 gold, *bulawa*  
 gong, *mbololo*  
 good, *leama*  
 goods, *bara*  
 government,  
*pamarenta*, *parenta*  
 grandparent,  
 grandchild, *ompu*  
 grave, *koburu*  
 grave marker,  
*tadentade*  
 great, *mobasa*  
 green, *ijo*  
 hair, *hotu*, *wulu*  
 hairclip, *jangkapaku*  
 haj, *haji*  
 half, *satonga*  
 hammer, *ha'o*, *palu*  
 hand drum, *kape*  
 hand gong, *tawatawa*  
 hand-drum, *topa*  
 happy, *mele*  
 hard, *mobai*  
 hat, *songka*  
 head, *kapala*  
 healthy, *seha*  
 hear, *rodongo*  
 heart, *ba'e*, *pesuria*  
 heavy, *meransa*  
 heel, *tuno*  
 heel kick, *tudu'a*  
 helmet, *helém*  
 help, *tulungi*  
 hero, *sangia*  
 heron, *koho*  
 hide, *'oko*  
 high, *melanga*  
 high tide, *tawo*  
 hit, *busu*, *taha*  
 hold, *konta*  
 homosexual, *lengke*  
 hop, *kee*  
 hope, *harapu*  
 horn, *tandu*  
 hot, *mena*  
 hour, *jamu*  
 house, *wunua*, *sapo*  
 house post, *katumpu*,  
*totumbo*  
 How much?, *harai*  
 how many?, *pia*,  
*popia*  
 what, *paira*  
 how much?, *sapaira*  
 hundred, *hatu*  
 hungry, *mo'aro*,  
*mo'omuru*  
 hunt, *dowo*, *hengala*  
 husk of a coconut,  
*benu*  
 I, me, *iaku*  
 immediate, *agori*  
 immediately, *sumbere*  
 incite, *bija*  
 indicate, *sinu*  
 inform, *waa*  
 insert, *sulo*  
 inside, *laro*  
 install, *tanta*  
 Irian Jaya, *Iriá*  
 island, *nua*, *pulo*  
 it, *iz*  
 itch, *moha'ato*  
 jackfruit, *nangka*,  
*ndanga*  
 jambu, *jambu*  
 jetty, *jambata*  
 just, *ala'a*  
 just then, *pasi*  
 kick, *sepa*  
 kinds, *giu*  
 kitchen, *pangka*  
 kite, *rombo*  
 knee, *tu'u*  
 knife, *poda*, *soka*  
 know, *dahani*, *tau*  
 kunai grass, *pada*  
 lacking, *kura*  
 ladder, *soha*  
 language, *bahasa*,  
*hása*, *pogau*  
 large, *moboha*  
 last born, *kaipu*  
 late, *tolaki*  
 leaf, *ro'o*  
 leaf of a young  
 coconut tree, *bale*  
 learn, *henahenai*  
 left, *mohii*  
 leg, *ae*  
 lend, *awa*  
 letter, *sura*  
 lies, *golegole*, *loeloe*  
 lie around, *mbale*  
 light, *mopaa*  
 lightning, *kinda*  
 lime, *kepu*  
 lips, *wiwi*  
 litre, *letere*  
 live, *'ido*, *tumbu*  
 lively, *rame*  
 lizard, *kumbou*  
 loincloth, *hebongko*  
 lonely, *malino*  
 long, *melangka*,  
*molengo*  
 loom, *gaba*  
 lose, *motalo*  
 lost, *tokabi*  
 louse, *kutu*, *podu*,  
*tuna*  
 love, *poilu*  
 low tide, *kené*  
 lung, *homba*  
 lust, *ilu*  
 machete, *kabali*,  
*wanga*  
 mad, *kombeo*  
 make, *sai*  
 make noise, *gugudu*  
 man, *mo'ane*  
 mango, *po'o*  
 manner, *awana*  
 many, *dara*, *koruo*  
 marble, *baguli*  
 market, *daoa*  
 marry, *kawi*  
 mast, *kokombu*  
 mat, *kie*, *pasapu*  
 match, *garisi*  
 meaning, *ma'a*  
 medicine, *kombi*, *ro'o*

meet, *po'awa*  
 mention, *potae*  
 metal, *salaka*  
 method, *asara*  
 metre, *metere*  
 midday, *kada'oloo*  
 middle, *tonga*  
 milk, *susu*  
 million, *juta*  
 mirror, *paiasa*  
 miss, *monimpala*  
 moment, *nggai*,  
*sabentara*  
 monkey, *ndoke*  
 moon, *komba*  
 mooring place, *o'a*,  
*olo*  
 morning, *rearea*  
 mortar, *tumbu'a*  
 mosquito, *wai*  
 mosque, *masigi*  
 mother, *ina*  
 motorbike, *honda*  
 mountain, *gunu*  
 mouse, *woleke*  
 moustache, *bulungusu*  
 move, *linda*  
 mud, *gode*  
 mud, *tomba*  
 naked, *lule*  
 name, *ngaa*  
 narrow, *songko*  
 naughty, *mosega*  
 necessity, *bato*  
 necklace, *toko*  
 need, *paraluu*, *usaha*  
 needle, *deu*  
 neighbours,  
*wulumba'a*  
 nervous, *nggaleso*  
 net, *jari*, *hebuani*  
 new, *wo'ou*  
 night, *morondo*, *uutu*  
 nine, *sia*, *sosia*  
 no, *ea*, *eaka*  
 no, *mbea'e*  
 noise, *ndonga*, *nduu*  
 none, *ea'e*  
 normal, *menturu*  
 north, *wandensangia*  
 nose, *ngo'o*  
 now, *lagi*  
 occupation, *tuka*  
 octopus, *simbuku*  
 offal, *bakasa*  
 office, *kantoru*  
 old, *mansuana*,  
*motika*

one, *asa*, *sa'asa*  
 onion, *bawa meha*  
 only, *ba'a*  
 only then, *kato*  
 open, *buke*  
 sea, *mawi*  
 opponent, *bali*  
 or, *atawa*  
 orchestra, *ganda*  
 Orion's belt, *to'o*  
 orphan, *kilua*  
 orphaned, *misikini*  
 other, *hele*  
 outside, *luara*  
 paddle, *bose*  
 paint, *kamalo*  
 pandanus, *kora*  
 paraffin stove,  
*komporo*  
 pass, *sangka*  
 past, *lapasi*  
 pay, *hainya*  
 peanuts, *raporapo*  
 peel, *koka*  
 pencil, *potoloti*  
 penis, *lau*  
 people, *manusia*  
 pepper, *marica*  
 person, *mia*  
 persuade, *wuju*  
 pick, *sampi*  
 pierce, *herubu*  
 pig, *hahi*  
 pigeon, *lembuko*  
 pillow, *alunga*  
 pirate, *sanggila*  
 pity, *moniasi*  
 place, *tampa*, *tangka*,  
*torae*  
 plant, *hembula*  
 plastic, *pulástii*  
 plate, *piri*  
 play, *'aka'aka*, *rambi*  
 pluck, *kobu*  
 police, *polisi*  
 pool, *walobu*  
 portion, *dawu*  
 possess, *hoto*  
 post, *balara'a*  
 pot, *panse*, *wolanga*  
 potato, *kentá*  
 pound, *tumbu*  
 prawn, *wose*  
 prayers, *jo'a*,  
*sambahaea*  
 prepare food, *simpo*  
 present, *kado*  
 price, *haragaa*

promise, *jandi*  
 psychic powers, *tari*  
 pull in, *gai*, *kai*  
 pull in fish, *wini*  
 pumpkin, *labu*  
 punch, *busuki*  
 push, *soro*  
 put, *tau*  
 rain, *wande*  
 rather, *isala*  
 rattan, *'ue*  
 ready, *makanu*  
 reason, *liu*  
 receive, *'awa*, *tarima*  
 recover, *'ontoo*  
 red, *meha*  
 regarding, *ara*  
 related, *lake*  
 relative, *sunsu*  
 remain, *dai*, *dei*  
 remains, *aso*  
 remember, *roda*  
 rent, *sewa*  
 report, *laporu*  
 request, *melu*  
 rest, *helawe*, *tulu*  
 retract head, *moso*  
 return, *mbule*, *waliako*  
 revolve, *putara*  
 ribs, *karakara*  
 rice, *bae*  
 rich, *kaea*  
 ride, *sawi*  
 ridge, *wungka*  
 ridge pole, *kasu*  
 right, *moana*  
 ring, *kela*  
 ripe, *mota'a*, *pepu'u*  
 rise up, *umba*  
 road, *sala*  
 roll, *nggolo*  
 roof, *ato*  
 room, *kamara*  
 root, *aka*  
 rope, *hao*  
 rotten, *mowuru*  
 rubbish, *pidi*  
 rudder, *buebue'a*,  
*rekui*, *rukui*  
 ruin, *hancuru*  
 ruin, *ja'o*  
 ruler, *bonto*  
 ruler, *meantu'u*  
 run, *tinti*  
 rungs, *onga*  
 sago, *boru*, *rumbia*,  
*tobaru*  
 sail, *laiare*, *langke*

salt, *gara*  
 salty, *mohana*,  
*mokeha*  
 sarong, *worai*, *wurai*,  
*gendi*  
 scabbard, *posolo*  
 scarce, *melampa*  
 school, *sikola'a*  
 scissors, *gunti*  
 scoop water, *ganta*  
 score, *tamba*  
 scorpion, *'oliha*  
 scratch, *kaho*  
 search for, *laha*,  
*lolaha*  
 season, *wudo*  
 see, *'ita*  
 seed, *beni*  
 seedling, *wine*  
 self, *karama*  
 sell, *'aso*  
 send, *'ada*, *kahu*  
 separate, *sepe*  
 seven, *hitu*, *pitu*,  
*popitu*  
 sew, *hebai*, *hobai*,  
*sangki*  
 sexy, *loro*  
 shade shelter,  
*walewale*  
 shadow, *kamiamia*  
 shallow water, *longe*  
 shame, *kasi*  
 shame!, *ka'asi*  
 shark, *kodipo*  
 sharp, *mohama*  
 shave bamboo, *tih*  
 shelf, *tenda*  
 shelter, *laiga*  
 ship, *bangka*, *kapala*,  
*sopesope*  
 shirt, *baju*  
 shit, *pindi*, *ta'i*  
 shop, *waru*  
 short, *medumpu*,  
*mopera*, *mepanda*  
 shoulder, *bahu*  
 show off, *saka*  
 shy, *mo'ini*  
 sibling, *hesulu*  
 sick, *mohoo*  
 side, *sawengka*  
 sighted, *bulara*  
 sign, *tanda*  
 silver, *pera*  
 sink, *motongka*  
 sinkhole, *wara*  
 sit, *kede*, *mpunda*

- sitting place, *gelagelampa*  
sitting place, *godegode*  
six, *no'o, nomo, nono'o*  
size, *ba'a*  
skin, *kuli*  
skinny, *kurusu, morusu*  
skirt, *roo*  
skull, *uio*  
sky, *lange, langi*  
slack, *binia*  
slap, *pepe*  
slash, *simbi*  
slave, *tudu'a*  
sleep, *moturu*  
sleep face down, *to'oko*  
sleepy, *motuturu*  
slice, *hugu*  
slip, *muluru*  
slippery, *molulungu*  
slowly, *loeloe*  
small, *bo'ubo'u, ki'iki'i*  
smell, *anti*  
smelly, *molau, mowundu*  
smoke, *ko'o*  
smuggled goods, *RB*  
snack, *luluta*  
snake, *sa'a*  
sneeze, *atiho*  
snot, *wiri*  
soap, *sabo*  
socks, *koosu ae*  
sometimes, *saga'a*  
song, *lagu*  
soon, *modo*  
sort, *'iro*  
soup, *ba'so, ndawu, mokada*  
sour, *mondilu*  
space under house, *warigo'o*  
speak, *bisara*  
spear, *pandanga, sarampa*  
spider, *ariha, langkau*  
spoon, *sidu*  
spouse, *bela, umangge*  
spring, *wolua*  
squeeze, *lende, pinse*  
stab, *tobo*  
staff, *tongka, tuba*  
stakes, *ampu*  
stamp, *landa*  
stand, *tade*  
star, *wetu'o*  
starfish, *mpa'ampa'a*  
steal, *kanalako, impi*  
stick, *sombure, rapi, panga*  
stomach, *kompo*  
stone, *watu*  
stonefish, *wakowako ahu*  
storm, *usalao*  
story, *tula, tulatula*  
straight, *malobu, molobu*  
strap, *rongo*  
string, *rambu, sondai*  
strong, *mebuku, metuku, motuko*  
student, *mori, sisua*  
study, *kulia*  
stupid, *pe'i*  
suck, *pono, miso*  
sugar cane, *towu*  
suitable, *kana*  
summon, *'elo*  
sun, *'oloo*  
sunday, *ahaji*  
supposing, *karo*  
sure, *suma*  
surprise, *mente*  
swallow, *tolo*  
sweat, *soa, soroa*  
sweaty, *mososoa*  
sweet, *muntu, mameko*  
sweet curry, *gule*  
sweet oily cake, *olibolu*  
sweet potato, *mandara, kano, opa*  
sweets, *kuikui*  
swell up, *bengki*  
swim, *'onu, nangu*  
swinging arms, *legolego*  
sword, *hansu*  
table, *meja*  
taro, *sede*  
taste, *nami, namisi*  
taut, *lembe*  
tea, *tee*  
tears, *lu'u*  
tell, *waa*  
temple, *talapihi*  
ten, *hulu*  
ten, *ompulu*  
termite, *pu'oi, tokea*  
than, *ngga*  
that, *atu, iso, ito, iwo*  
therefore, *jari*  
they, *amai*  
thick, *mokobo*  
thigh, *pa'a*  
thin, *monihi*  
think, *wikirii*  
thirsty, *motindo'u*  
this, *ana*  
thorn, *ruhi*  
thousand, *riwu*  
thread, *ramba*  
three, *tolu, totolu*  
throat, *tolonga*  
throw, *'eda, hambere, tompa*  
throw away, *kabi*  
thunder, *paha*  
tie together, *ndai*  
tie up, *bongko*  
tie, *boke*  
time, *wakutuu*  
tired physically, *kalu*  
today, *le'ale'ana*  
tomorrow, *ilange*  
tongue, *ela*  
tooth, *koni*  
torch, *sintere*  
tortoise, *koila*  
towards, *kua*  
towel, *handu*  
town, *togo*  
tree, *kau*  
trick, *akala*  
trip, *mboti*  
trousers, *sala*  
try, *soba*  
tuna, *balangkuni*  
turn around, *pali*  
turn corner, *bali*  
turn over, *hale, wali*  
turtle, *kolopua*  
twin, *dapi*  
twist, *wulili*  
two days, *duaalo*  
umbrella, *pau*  
uncle, *om*  
underneath, *woru*  
unsettled, *goea*  
until, *apa*  
unwilling, *panganta*  
urinate, *lele'e*  
usual, *monea*  
vagina, *buta*  
valley, *sombu*  
various, *malingu*  
vegetable, *kanduru*  
vegetables, *roukau, saioro*  
vehicle, *oto*  
veins, *hua*  
very, *saori, sauri*  
village, *desa, kampo*  
vomit, *henevasi, tolua, honolokea*  
wage, *gaji*  
wail, *hedoo*  
wall, *sopo*  
wander, *hali*  
want, *hada*  
wash, *hesowui, toha, totoha*  
wash face, *wuju*  
wash hands, *wuwu'i, hewanu*  
washing powder, *rinso*  
watch, *arolajii, lonsi*  
watch, *tonto*  
water, *uwe*  
watermelon, *'ontimu*  
wave, *bomba*  
we, *ikami, ikita*  
weak, *malute*  
wear, *pake*  
weave, *homoru, sangka*  
week, *minggu*  
west, *waha*  
wet, *mepa, molungu*  
whatsit, *anu*  
when, *ehia, kehia*  
where, *'umpa, kara*  
whereas, *io*  
white, *mohute*  
who, *emai*  
who, *ie'ei*  
who, *ie'emai*  
wide, *lalesa*  
widow(er), *molola'a*  
wilderness, *'olota*  
wind, *'iri, kawea*  
window, *balobalo*  
wishes, *hempo*  
with, *ako*  
withdraw, *gua*  
woman, *wowine*  
wood, *hu'u, kau*  
work, *karajaa*  
worm, *ulo, 'oro'oro*  
wounded, *mobela*  
write, *huri*  
yawn, *moma'a*  
year, *ta'o*  
yell, *hekarau*

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yell, *rau*  
yellow, *mokuri*  
yes, *oho, oo*

yesterday, *dinggawi,*  
*inggawi*  
you, *iko'o, ikomiu*

young, *morunga*  
young girl, *kalambe,*  
*kalambensala*

younger sibling, *iai*

# Notes

## Chapter 4: Word classes

1. Indeed, this has occurred in Onin (Austronesian, Bomberai peninsula, Irian Jaya), in which *foka* (cognate with *hoko-*) is an independent verb (data from my own fieldnotes):

*lai roa ea mane sina foka ia a-sofa.*  
1SG see child that they make 3SG PRED-wash  
'I saw the child that they made wash.'

2. More correctly, a group of closely spaced villages with a central authority.

## Chapter 8: Serial verb constructions

1. Conceivably more than one verb can appear, preferably at different layers of the cause. For instance, (i) has a contiguous serial verb construction, as well as an additional non-contiguous one:

(i) [[*No*-[*tu'o*]<sub>v</sub>-[*ngkene*]<sub>v</sub> *te kene-su te kau*]<sub>VP</sub>  
3R-chop-accompany CORE friend-1SG.POSS CORE tree  
[[*ako*]<sub>v</sub> *te baliu mohama*]<sub>VP</sub> ]<sub>S</sub>.  
INSTR CORE axe sharp  
'He, with my friend, chopped the tree with sharp axes.'

2. This can be shown to be a complement, and not a serial verb construction, by the placement of the negator *mbeaka*, which may appear in a complement clause, as in (i), but may not intrude in a serial verb construction:

(i) *Ku-hada [mbeak(a) o-mohoo]*<sub>Complement</sub>  
1SG-want not 3R-sick  
'I want her to not be sick.'

3. The sentiment is expressible either in a serial verb construction or a complement construction:

(i) *Mbeaka ku-[hada]-[mohoo]*  
not 1SG-want-sick  
'I don't want to be sick.' or

(ii) *Ku-hada [mbeaka ku-mohoo]*.  
1SG-want not 1SG-sick  
'I want that I am not sick.'

4. Object suffixes on the verb of the second clause in (11) would leave a nonsensical reading of 'Their mother went to the market and they did (it) for her', under the rules of cross-clausal deletion. See Chapter 3 for an introduction to the constraints on cross-clausal zero-anaphora.

## Chapter 12: Noun phrases: core and oblique phrases

1. A proper name or plural pronoun followed by quantity adjectives, or numerals greater than one, is taken to refer to a group:

- (i) *No-'ita* [*te La Pe'i [tolu-mia]*<sub>N-C</sub>] *KP*.  
 3R-see CORE La Pe'i 3-CLASS  
 'They saw La Pe'i and two of his friends.'
- (ii) *No-rato* [*na ikami [gana-mia]*<sub>N-C</sub>] [*atu*]<sub>DEM</sub> *KP*.  
 3R-arrive NOM 1PA 4-CLASS that  
 'Those four of us arrived.'

## Chapter 20: Pivots and grammatical relations

1. How to say 'I forgot that you fetched the bananas.'? With *kua*:

*Ku-molinga kua 'u-ala te loka.*  
 1SG-forgot SW:COMP 2SG.R-fetch CORE banana

2. Making the subordinate verb passive is not an option; the derived subject of a passive verb does not gain the ability to be controlled by the subject of the main clause:

- (i) \* *Nu-nde'u (nu-)to-hu'u.*  
 2SG.R-not.want 2SG.R-PASS-give  
 'Don't you want to be given it?'

3. How to say this?:

- (i) *Mina nggai ku-'ita-'e, no-elo te ia na kalambe.*  
 from immediate 1SG-see-3OBJ 3R-call CORE 3SG NOM young.girl

4. How are these concepts expressed? Qualifiers may of course appear in the KP, and simply not float; coreferential deletion simply doesn't work, and the KP needs to be mentioned again:

- (i) *Ane ke boku i wawu meja i aba; meana'e te boku iso nobutimo.*  
 CORE book yon

5. Though the owner of something may be the head of a relative clause:

- (i) *Te mia [un]ane ke kolikoli.*  
 CORE person exist.SI and canoe  
 'The person who has a canoe.'

6. This would be expressed as (i) *Dinggawi ala'a no-wande,*  
 yesterday just 3R-rain

7. This is the case in most languages with a split-intransitive system. Other languages, such as Lamma (Timor–Alor–Pantar family, own fieldnotes) group unergative subject ([S<sub>A</sub>]) with [O], and unaccusative subject ([S<sub>O</sub>]) with [A]. Kolana, of the same family, has a split-intransitive system, but one in which none of the three ways of expressing the intransitive subject are the same as that used to indicate the [A] (own fieldnotes, thanks to Johanna Nichols). Choctaw (Davies 1986) also shows a three-way split in the verbal indexing of intransitive subjects, and several Dagestania languages show three different patterns of case-marking on the subjects of intransitive verbs. The most common form of split intransitive system, however, is that exemplified by Eastern Pomo (McLendon 1978).

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